Persia in the Trans-Atlantic Context:
From Nineteenth-Century British Imperial Literature to American Transcendental Embrace

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Abstract

Persia in the Trans-Atlantic Context: From Nineteenth-Century British Imperial Literature to American Transcendental Embrace principally explores the battle over the "discursive formation" of Persia in the nineteenth century within a primarily intra-European "discourse," first with an overt emphasis on English works, and then from a trans-Atlantic perspective.

This dissertation offers an analysis of the pivotal *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) and tries to demonstrate how the emergence of this book in the Imperial Century introduced a *novel* and politically-charged image of the Qajar Persia, altering the aesthetic, historical, literary, mystical and generally civilizational perceptions of Persia that dominated the Western "discursive" reservoir during the previous centuries. Contextualizing this work and many other secondary sources within the very elaborate networks of imperial strife, intrigues and alliances, I argue that the entity of Persia does not emerge as homogenously as expected, while certain modes of "discourse" within the intra-European setting inhibits the realization of the British imperial "discursive" policy *vis-à-vis* the dwindling Imperial State of Iran. I then show how these alternative "discourses," with their deep roots in Germanophone intellectual circles, try to challenge and *decenter* the "discourse" that emerged from the British imperial enterprise with regard to the Sublime State of Persia, as its geo-political "Other."

I will then show how this sympathetic mode of German "Orientalism," together with the British imperial "Orientalism," trickled across to the other side of the Atlantic and paved the way for the same battle in the New World over the same entity. I contend that the aesthetically and philosophically-charged modes of "discourse," however, could find a more fertile ground in the nineteenth-century New World, where, for instance, a figure like Ralph Waldo Emerson, the distinguished transcendentalist philosopher and poet, tried to introduce and appropriate many tenets of pre-Islamic and Islamic Persia for his own intellectual purposes. This has been shown through a close reading of Emerson's "Oriental" endeavors.

Abstract

Dieses Projekt untersucht hauptsächlich den Kampf um die „diskursive Formation“ Persiens im 19. Jahrhundert.

Diese Dissertation bietet eine umfassende Analyse des sehr wichtigen pikaresker Roman *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824). Es versucht auch zu zeigen, wie die Entstehung dieses Buches im imperialen Jahrhundert ein neues und politisches Bild des Kadschar-Persiens eingeführt hat. Anschließend wird gezeigt, wie dieses Buch die ästhetischen, historischen, literarischen, mystischen und allgemein zivilisatorischen Wahrnehmungen Persiens veränderte, die in den vergangenen Jahrhunderten das westliche „diskursive“ Reservoir dominierten.

Durch die Analyse dieses Werkes und vieler anderer Werke aus dem gleichen Zeitabschnitt wird argumentiert, dass die „diskursive Formation“ Persiens im Westen nicht so homogen erscheint wie erwartet. Ein Großteil dieser Dissertation analysiert den diskursiven Kampf um Persien im transatlantischen Kontext.

In loving memory of

Zahra, Mehrangiz and Masoud

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And the riches of the regions will be ours from land to
land,
Falling as a willing booty under our marauding
hand,
Rugs from Persia, gods from China, emeralds from
Samarcand!

Vita Sackville-West (1892-1962)

With them the Seed of Wisdom did I sow,

And with my own hand labour'd it to grow:

And this was all the Harvest that I reap'd_

'I came like Water, and like Wind I go.'

Khayyam of Nishapur (1048-1131)

Translation of Edward Fitzgerald (1809-1883)

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE
Preface

> History, in other words, is not a calculating machine. It unfolds in the mind and the imagination, and it takes body in the multifarious responses of a people's culture, itself the infinitely subtle mediation of material realities, of underpinning economic fact, of gritty objectivities.
>
> Basil Davidson, *Africa in Modern History*[1]

1.1. Introduction

"The East is a career." This is one of the two sentences we read when opening Edward Said's groundbreaking book, *Orientalism*. This sentence is borrowed from a dialog in Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred; or, The New Crusade* (1847). In Disraeli's novel, the characters "seated themselves at a round table, on which everything seemed brilliant and sparkling; nothing heavy, nothing oppressive."[2] In their conversation, when one character decides to compliment the other and introduces him to another personage, he says, "you must get hold of him after dinner."[3] This statement is immediately responded to as follows: "but they say he is going to Jerusalem."[4] Then, the speaker emphasized that "he will return," receiving the decisive response from the other person who says, "I do not know that; even Napoleon regretted that he had ever re-crossed the Mediterranean. The East is a career."[5]

The other sentence that appeared at the beginning of Edward Said's *Orientalism* is a sentence from Karl Marx's "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," originally published in 1852: "They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented." These two sentences are arguably the backbone of Edward Said's study on "Orientalism," which, in his view, is a "mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even

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1. Basil Davidson, *Africa in Modern History: The Search for a New Society* (London, UK: Allen Lane, 1978), 200.

2. Benjamin Disraeli, *Tancred; or, The New Crusade* (London, UK: M. Walter Dunne, 1847), 181.

3. Disraeli, 182.

4. Disraeli, 182.

5. Disraeli, *Tancred*, 182.

colonial bureaucracies, and colonial styles."[6] Focusing on the previously quoted terms "career," "be represented," and "discourse" can help us greatly to navigate through this citadel of obscurity and occasional *paradox* called "Orientalism."

"Orient," as a Western entity, is a broad concept: It is more of an umbrella term that encompasses a variety of intrinsically different cultures and modes of civilization. Geographically speaking, this vague term has the potential to cover issues related to diverse groups of people from Al-Andalus, North Africa and Balkan frontiers to East Asia. First of all, it should be borne in mind that "the Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, and remarkable experiences."[7] The best, and probably the oldest, example of the Orient's *historical* embeddedness in the European mode of existence is the ancient Greek tragedy *The Persians*, written by Aeschylus in 472 BC, through which "the Orient is transformed from a very far distant and often threatening Otherness into figures that are relatively familiar."[8] The play's "dramatic immediacy of representation […] obscures the fact that the audience is watching a highly artificial enactment of what a non-Oriental has made into a symbol for the whole Orient."[9]

Taking the "late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point" of "Orientalism," Edward Said believes that "Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient" through various methods, ranging from "making statements about it" to "describing" and "teaching" about it.[10] According to Said, "Orientalism" is "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[11] Based on his approach, "Orientalism" is therefore a prerequisite for successful imperialism. On the one hand, "Orientalism" as a "style of thought" and "discourse" is stubbornly "based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction"[12] between "the Occident" and its unequal *Other*, the "Orient." On the other hand, we know that generalizations and homogenizations, or "totalizing discourses," as Said puts it,[13] are intrinsic components of the "Othering" discourse of "Orientalism," even though we are talking about an imaginary place whose borders stretch from the westernmost to the easternmost of the Old World. A group of people who primarily inhabit the western part of this geographically vast and culturally diverse

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6. Said, *Orientalism*, 2.

7. Said, 1.

8. Said, *Orientalism*, 21

9. Said, 21.

10. Said, 3.

11. Said, 3.

12. Said, 2.

13. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1994), xxiv.

landmass called the "Orient" are the Muslims who are the immediate neighbors of Christian Europe to both the East and the South.

In *Orientalism*, Edward Said's case study focuses on Muslim Orientals, and Arabs in particular, and their "discursive formation." If we consider the "late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point"[14] of "Orientalism," two empires had the greatest authority in the Muslim "Orient," which, based on their proximity to Europe, are the Sunni Ottoman Turks and the Shiite Persians. However, only the latter is of particular scholarly interest for this dissertation.

As I have already indicated, Persia has been an integral part of the European existence since antiquity. This entity, like all "discursive constructs," has undergone a myriad of transformations over time. Traditionally speaking, until the nineteenth century, "in the case of the Western cult of all things Persian," the "appreciation of Persian poetry" and "the art of the Persian miniature" have been to the fore.[15] In other words, with respect to Persia, the West's focus was on "aesthetic" and "mystical interests," and not on "theology" and "history."[16] For instance, in his very detailed account of travels in Persia between 1673-1677, the French Huguenot jeweler Sir Jean-Baptiste Chardin (1643–1713) declares that "luxury, sensuality, licentiousness, on the one hand, Scholasticism and literature on the other, have made the Persian effeminate."[17] In English, Sir Anthony Sherley (1565–1635) published his accounts of travel into Persia in 1613 in London. Along with some other early English travelogues, his book *SIR ANTONY SHERLEY HIS RELATION OF HIS TRAVELS INTO* PERSIA [. . .] became the harbinger of the English representation of a far-off land. Although aesthetics is still among the main concerns of the book, parts of the book dealt with politics and trade. In the case of Sherley, it must be kept in mind that "at the time of Shah Abbas [Safavid] accession to the throne in 1587, Persia was favorable in Venice," the city to where Sherley sojourned; Furthermore, "the Shah was eagerly looking for an alliance with the Christian powers of Europe against the Turks, and for a customer for Persian silk."[18]

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), the influential German philosopher regards the Persians in his *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1764) as "good poets, courtly, and of rather fine taste" who "are not such strict observers of Islam and allow their cast of mind,

14. Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

15. Robert Irwin, "The Real Discourses of Orientalism" in *After Orientalism: Critical Perspectives on Western Agency and Eastern Re-Appropriations*, ed. François Pouillon and Jean-Claude Vatin (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Academic Pub., 2014), 20.

16. Irwin, "Real Discourses of Orientalism," 20.

17. Hamid Dabashi, *Persophilia: Persian Culture on the Global Scene* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 1.

18. Hasan Javadi, *Persian Literary Influence on English Literature* (Calcutta, India: Indo-Iranica Society, 1983), 15-16.

inclined to gaiety, a rather mild interpretation of the Koran."[19] Hegel's accounts are very much in line with those of Kant on Persia and Persians; they even have a much more favorable tone: Hegel's *Lectures on The Philosophy of History* (*Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte, VPW*) is a collection of the philosopher's lectures at the University of Berlin from 1822, 1828 and 1830 in which he states "the Persians are the first Historical People" and "with the Persian Empire we first enter on continuous History."[20] As Ian Almond argues in his *History of Islam in German thought: From Leibnitz to Nietzsche*

> Hegel talks about Persians like he talks about no other Muslims. Bearing in mind his wholesale dismissal of Turks and ambiguous portrayal of Arabs, it is difficult not to be impressed by the way he weaves poets such as Rumi, Nisami [Nezami] and Firdusi [Ferdowsi] in and out of analyses filled with a whole variety of references to European literature.[21]

On the other hand, we will observe how, at the end of the same century, "*Splendide mendax*," or being "nobly false" or brilliant liars is "taken as the motto of Persian character" by Lord Curzon, the viceroy of India and British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.[22] In addition to the Latin phrase borrowed from Horace, the Roman poet and satirist, in his extensive *Persia and the Persian Question* (1892) Lord Curzon attempts "to trace the steps by which Persia has passed, and is still passing, from barbarism to civilization."[23]

The nineteenth century and the heyday of the British empire would inflict great changes to the sympathetic, aesthetic-based and mysticism-centered "discursive formation" of Persia in Europe. By the nineteenth century, a mode of *novel* imperial "discourse" was about to emerge from the British imperial machinery when, to quote Edward Said, the eternal "division" between "us and they" became "the hallmark of imperialist cultures."[24]

1.2. Aims and Objectives of the Study

19. Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime and Other Writings*, ed. and trans. Patrick Frierson and Paul Guyer (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 58.

20. Georg W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (London, UK: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1914), 180.

21. Ian Almond, *History of Islam in German Thought: From Leibnitz to Nietzsche* (London, UK: Routledge, 2010), 132.

22. Javadi, *Persian Literary Influence*, 110.

23. George N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (London, UK: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1892), ix.

24. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xxviii.

My project primarily sets out to explain the battle over the "discursive formation" of Persia in literary works, primarily within Europe, and then in a transatlantic context with respect to the *Zeitgeist* and state of affairs (*Sachverhalt*) in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century marks the expansion of the British Empire with the destructive repercussions it implied for the Imperial State of Iran, known in the West as Persia until 1935. Ruled by the newly established Qajar dynasty (1789-1925), in the years of the imperial century, Persia was frequented by many English diplomats and traders seeking to sign political and later trade treaties with the naively governed Persia. The primary goal of the British Empire was to defend India from Napoleonic, and later Tsarist, encroachments. Therefore, according to Sir John Malcolm, the Englishmen were forced to "penetrate as far as Persia"[25] to build a fortress against the Russian threats and Napoleon's ambitions. In order to effectively contextualize this issue, it is imperative to note that "between the years 1600 and 1700 only fourteen travelers to Persia recorded their adventures; twenty English books of Persian travel were published in the eighteenth century, in the nineteenth century the number of Persian travels, written in English (including American), amounted to over one hundred, only forty-six of these being published between 1800 and 1850."[26] I reiterate that the genre of travel literature does not hold any distinct position in this study; however, profiting from the bulk of these works could tremendously help us to contextualize our literary "discourses" on Persia.

While very little *critical* attention has been paid to the emergence of a *novel* Persia in English imperial "discourses," I contend that this enormous body of work on Persia in the imperial century established a new mode of "discourse" on Persia, the repercussions of which are still detectable within the "discursive formations" of not only Iran, but also of the Muslim "Orient," particularly throughout the English-speaking world.

It must be borne in mind that, apart from the United Kingdom's imperial triumph overseas, the early years of the nineteenth century were a very fertile ground for a flourishing mass culture at the domestic level. The emergence of the middle class in the post-Industrial Revolution society as well as the inception of the advertising industry would contribute to the formation of "an amorphous publishing front" under which, for instance, "radical propaganda found an unending series of politically ambivalent but commercially sharp allies in the gutter press."[27] It was in this context that English diplomat and writer James Justinian Morier (1782-1849) was able to seize the opportunity and publish two imperial novels *par excellence: The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) and *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, in England* (1828). Through a very detailed reading of his first work and other imperial

25. Sir John Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia* (London, UK: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1861), xii.

26. Michiel Henderikus Braaksma, *Travel and Literature: An Attempt at a Literary Appreciation of English Travel-Books About Persia, from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Groningen, the Netherlands: J. B. Wolters, 1938), 71.

27. Marcus Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture 1790-1822* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1994), 6.

"discourses," I will demonstrate how this picaresque novel served the geopolitical agenda of the British Empire *vis-à-vis* the Greater Persia.

I will also argue that the epoch-making *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) is the harbinger of a new imperially-charged mode of a literary rendition of Persia and Persian entity for the Western readership. As Abbas Amanat puts it, the volumes of *Hajji Baba* are "the most popular Oriental novel in the English language and a highly influential stereotype of the so-called 'Persian national character' in modern times."[28] We also know that Morier's "satirical caricature of a Persian charlatan became widely popular in Europe when it was first released and eventually turned out to be a landmark in the genre of European picaresque novel."[29]

I will then juxtapose these imperial "discourses" with *apolitical*, historical, Idealist, and Romantic German "discourses" on Persia that emerged during that period of history in the Continent. There will be an emphasis on the literary battle over the same entity between English Imperialists and German Idealists and Romanticists at the "discursive" level. In analyzing this "discursive" battle, it will become fully evident that how the "systems of thought and knowledge ('epistemes' or 'discursive formations' in Foucault's terminology) are governed by rules, beyond those of grammar and logic" that operate "beneath the consciousness of individual subjects and define a system of conceptual possibilities that determines the boundaries of thought in a given domain and period."[30] Given the fact that "discourse constitutes society and culture," and it also "does ideological work,"[31] we have to keep in mind that "the discourse of an era, instead of reflecting preexisting entities and orders, brings into being the concepts, oppositions, and hierarchies of which it speaks."[32] Furthermore, "the particular discursive formations of an era determine what is at the time accounted 'knowledge' and 'truth.'"[33]

I am also going to reveal how these two contrasting "discursive formations" evolve and are transferred to the other side of the Atlantic. Furthermore, I will argue how the pro-German and pro-English "discourses" will penetrate New England and then continued to evolve in the new context. I will then analyze the works of two New Englanders, Reverend Justin Perkins (1805-1869) and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) and elaborate on their essentially different Persian "discourses." As the very primary encounter of the New World with Persia, I will study Justin Perkins' 1843 *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, Among the Nestorian Christians; with*

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28. Abbas Amanat, "Hajji Baba of Ispahan," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XI/6 (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2003), available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hajji-baba-of-ispahan

29. Dabashi, *Persophilia*, 163.

30. Garry Gutting and Johanna Oksala, "Michel Foucault," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Stanford, CA: Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2018), available online at https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/foucault/

31. Teun A. van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis" in *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, eds. Deborah Tannen et al. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2015), 467.

32. Meyer H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle: Thomson Learning, 1999), 183.

33. Abrams, 183.

Notices of the Muhammedans, which is evidently not a literary work. The reason I have chosen to include this work will be extensively discussed in the respective chapter. I will then conduct a thorough study of Emerson's "discourses" on Persia; his two important literary essays, "Persian Poetry" (1858), and "Saadi" (1864) will also be studied.

1.3. The Rationale of the Study and the Current State of Literature

As a scholar of postcolonial studies, the nature of contemporary Anglo-American relations with Iran has always been a source of investigation for me. The core idea for this project evolved from contemplations about the Iranian women's post-9/11 memoirs that could gain so much success in *Kulturindustrie,* as well as lots of attention in academia. Works like Azar Nafisi's international bestseller *Reading Lolita in Tehran* (2003) and Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* (2000) have been at center stage since their emergence. The precursor to these and countless other "Oriental" narratives, which in number probably supersede that of the nineteenth-century English imperial travelogues, should not be forgotten: Betty Mahmoody's *Not Without My Daughter* (1991), an imperial work *par excellence*, which, despite the two other works, is not written by a native Iranian.

In addition to these "Oriental" women's narratives, another emerging genre that saturated the American market in the 2010s attracted my attention: the American political formula fiction which could also be called political thrillers about the Muslim "Orient," especially Iran. Skimming through some of them was very helpful and eye-opening. Such specimens of post-9/11 works of "Neo-Orientalism" are subservient to (geo-)political agendas of certain political factions and have the potential to very efficiently create the apparatus of false or distorted knowledge of the "Orient" not only in the West, but also in the East: these works have had a great impact on the citizens of the global community due to the superior position they have been granted in the entertainment industry, be it on paper or the silver screen.

After critically studying the "discourse" of these "Neo-Orientalist" works, I finally decided to investigate this dominantly American mode of "discourse" from a *diachronic* perspective. If we agree upon the notion that "every discourse is historically produced and interpreted" and "situated in time and space," and also accept that the "dominance structures are legitimated by ideologies of powerful groups,"[34] then we come to the point that a *critical* account of discourse "would require a theorization and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text," as well as "the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social historical subjects, create meaning in their interaction with texts."[35]

As stated above, a great deal has been written about the bulk of post-9/11 "Oriental" women's memoirs, which could entice Western readers with a mode of "discourse" that, in my opinion, is the outburst of "Orientalism" on the dystopian ground. With reference to the

34. Ruth Wodak, "What CDA is About: A Summary of its History, Important Concepts and its Developments" in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis,* ed. Ruth Wodak and Micheal Meyer (London, UK: Sage, 2001), 3.

35. Wodak, "What CDA is About," 3.

previously-mentioned American political formula fictions, it is noteworthy that many of these dystopian political thrillers could be regarded as the outburst of dystopian/apocalyptic "discourse" in the framework of "Neo-Orientalism." The combination of these two modes of "discourse" constitutes the contemporary "discourse" of the Muslim "Orient." I coined the term *DysOrienTopia* to refer to this mode of literary renditions of the "Orient" in the 21st century. After contemplating these works, I decided to trace these American *imperial* "discourses" on Iran back to the beginning of the nineteenth century and, in some instances, even earlier.

In critically studying "discourse," Siegfried Jäger believes, "various discourses are intertwined or entangled with one another like vines or strands; moreover, they are not static but in the constant motion forming a *diskursives Gewimmel* ('discursive milling mass') which at the same time results in the *wuchern der Diskurse* ('constant rampant growth of discourses')."[36] From Jäger's perspective, "it is this mass that discourse analysis endeavors to untangle."[37]

I endeavor to untangle this "milling mass" as well as find out how the "episteme" of Persia has evolved over the course of the Imperial Century. I also try to illustrate how various elements within this *diskursives Gewimmel* interact or counteract with respect to *Zeitgeist* and *genius loci*.

Given the fact that the Foucauldian notion of "discourse" as well as "discursive formation" and (Critical) Discourse Analysis are the foundations of this study, I must mention that I could not find any studies conducted on the "discursive formation" of Persia from a diachronic nor from a transatlantic perspective. I would like to reaffirm that in order to understand today's "discourse" of "Neo-Orientalism," we have to study, in Siegfried Jäger's term, *Diskursstränge* or "discourse strands" of any given "discursive" construct. According to Jäger, "discourse strands" are "thematically uniform discourse processes"; each of them therefore "has a synchronic and diachronic dimension."[38] The analysis of these "synchronic" and "diachronic" dimensions of the "discourses" on Persia is a fundamental element of my work. Moreover, I will analyze these *Diskursfragmente* (Discourse fragments),[39] again using Jäger's term, from a teleological perspective.

Based on the Duisburg School of (Critical) Discourse Analysis, "each discourse strand comprises a multitude of elements which are traditionally called texts"; however, this approach uses the term "discourse fragment" instead of "text," while "texts (can) address several themes and thus contain several discourse fragments."[40] The ultimate objective of this scholarly work is

36. Siegfried Jäger, "Discourse and Knowledge: Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of a Critical Discourse and Dispositive Analysis" in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Micheal Meyer (London, UK: Sage, 2001), 35.

37. Jäger, 35.

38. Jäger, 47.

39. Jäger, 47.

40. Jäger, "Discourse and Knowledge," 47.

to show how these “discourse fragments” merge and transform into distinct “discourse strands,” finally constituting what I call the *Persian antinomy* in the West.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

2.1. The Triangle of Discourse, Power and Knowledge in the Formation of an Empire

> Thus, the British Empire came into existence; and thus_ for there is no stopping damp; it gets into the inkpot as it gets into the woodwork_ sentences swelled, adjectives multiplied, lyrics became epics, and little trifles that had been essays a column long were now encyclopaedias in ten or twenty volumes.
> Virginia Woolf, *Orlando: A Biography* [41]

Empire, as a very contentious word in the socio-cultural and socio-political milieu of human history, is a term that, for many, denotes exploitation and repression, while for others it connotes a mode of arrogance and pride. However, no one can deny the pervasive control, domination and subordination interwoven within the texture of its very concept. As Robert J. C. Young rightly declares in his *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, "the words 'empire,' 'imperial' and 'imperialism' have different histories and different political resonances" which are often used interchangeably, or at least not in their appropriate contexts.[42]

According to Michael Doyle, empire is "a relationship, formal or *informal* in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society. It can be achieved by force, by political collaboration, by economic, social, or cultural dependence"; therefore, "imperialism is simply the process or policy of establishing or maintaining an empire."[43] With this definition in mind, we can ask ourselves the following questions: What are the *informal* aspects of an empire? And through which methods can these informal aspects be accomplished? How do the cultural aspects of an empire have linkage to the formal or *informal* dimensions of empire-building? What are these cultural policies? Moreover, how can they be initiated, and finally put into practice, and for what purposes? Who are the agents and practitioners of this

41. Virginia Woolf, *Orlando: A Biography*, ed. Brenda Lyons (London, UK: Penguin Books, 2000).

42. Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Malden, MA: John Wiley and Sons, Ltd., 2016), 25.

43. Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 45 (emphasis added).

policy-making process and soft mode of power? And through what modes of "discursive practices" can they be successfully attained?

The ancient Greek tragedy *The Persians*, written by Aeschylus in 472 BC during the Greco-Persian wars (ca. 499-449 BC), is probably the oldest example of a cultural text that aims to designate another group of people as political "Others." Edward Said justly declares that "the dramatic immediacy of representation in *The Persians* obscures the fact that the audience is watching a highly artificial enactment of what a non-Oriental has made into a symbol for the whole Orient."[44] This work can be considered the harbinger of representing the Oriental despotism to non-Orientals. This is a notion that the Greeks have pronouncedly emphasized since antiquity. Ivan Kalmar states, "the historical existence of despotism in the Orient is not a figment of the imagination. There were, famously, tyrants in ancient Greece," but

> no little dictator of a Greek *polis* matched in power and splendor the Persian Emperor regarded as a divinized king of kings. This was true even if the Persian ruler's power and its abuse were exaggerated by the Greek observers in order to make a cautionary point about tyranny.[45]

Let us shift more than a millennium forward to *The Battle of Maldon,* the undated old English poem recounts the details of the Anglo-Saxons' failure to prevent the "heathen," "pagan," "ruthless" Vikings from invading England in 991 AD. Here we observe that the literature of the world is replete with this mode of narratives and discursive practices *vis-à-vis* the "Other." Upon studying these texts from a critical perspective, they disseminate certain socio-political and socio-cultural constructs, subservient to the broader webs of power relations in any given society and at any given time. In other words, these political works of literature, among them colonial and imperial texts, are principally concerned with constituting the "Other" by promoting binary oppositions. At this point, some other questions must be asked: What are the teleological aspects of such binaries? How are they formed and what are the internal dynamics of this constitution? Why is promoting these binaries so important for reflecting on our own "imagined communities," using Benedict Anderson's terminology? Is the existence of the "Other" necessary for us to shape our individual as well as "collective" identities?

In his book *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said reaffirms that this "division [between 'us' and 'they'] goes back to Greek thought about barbarians, but whoever originated this kind of 'identity' thought, by the nineteenth century it had become the hallmark of imperialist cultures as well as those cultures trying to resist the encroachments of Europe."[46] The nineteenth century is

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44. Said, *Orientalism*, 21.

45. Ivan Kalmar, *Early Orientalism: Imagined Islam and the Notion of Sublime Power* (Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 130.

46. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xxviii.

known to us through the innumerable clashes of interests between the empires. Edward Said discusses the importance of this century in his groundbreaking book *Orientalism*. The Palestinian-American scholar argues, "nearly every nineteenth-century writer (and the same is true enough of writers in earlier periods) was extraordinarily well-aware of the fact of empire."[47] Jeremy Black makes it clear in his book *The British Empire: A History and a Debate* that

> the nineteenth century saw a marked expansion in the extent of the empire as well as its development into a central source of themes for British public culture and identity. Britain's impact, for what at the time was, or for what subsequently would be, seen as good and ill, increased greatly. Again, this was scarcely a process in which Britain was alone. Indeed, the number of imperial powers increased during the century. Britain was the exceptional empire, and was seen thus both by the British and by others. The British empire spread on every continent, although there were significant variations in the nature and pace of British imperialism.[48]

There is an important point to consider at this stage. The term British Empire, which was first invented by the Elizabethan ideologist John Dee, pre-dated British imperialism by several centuries.[49] That was, however, a "descriptive term that did not carry the full ideological connotations of what was to become 'imperialism.'"[50]

Another aspect that deserves attention is the role of fictional narratives in forming, controlling and exerting authority over the "Other." Edward Said reflects on this issue by stressing the fact that "stories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world; they also become the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and existence of their own history."[51] Edward Said also believes that the power of a nation to narrate, or block other narratives from forming and emerging, is of utmost importance to culture and imperialism, and "constitutes one of the main connections between them."[52]

Furthermore, Edward Said approaches the Western views of the Third World through the works of novelists, theoreticians of imperialism, travel writers, filmmakers and polemicists whose "specialty is to deliver the non-European world either for *analysis* and *judgement* or for satisfying the *exotic tastes* of European or North American audiences."[53] I strongly believe that if

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47. Said, *Orientalism*, 14.

48. Jeremy Black, *The British Empire: A History and a Debate* (London, UK: Routledge, 2015), 107.

49. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, 26.

50. Young, 26.

51. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xii.

52. Said, xiii.

53. Said, xviii (emphases added).

we look at the concept of *le regard*, or "Gaze," from the Critical Theory perspective, "the paternalistic arrogance of imperialism"[54] that is pertinent to works of imperial literature can be better studied and understood. This is manifestly in line with the colonial idea that

> the source of the world's significant action and life is in the West, whose representatives seem at liberty to visit their fantasies and philanthropies upon a mind-deadened Third World. In this view, the outlying regions of the world have no life, history, or culture to speak of, no independence or integrity worth representing without the West.[55]

Consequently, this process of constructing and maintaining an empire, or scattering imperial modes of thought, as well as writing its succeeding narratives, have been of paramount importance for nineteenth-century Britain. Constituting an empire, propagating its triumph and superiority, as well as maintaining its outer image play a very crucial role in the process of empire-building.

It must be kept in mind that presenting an enticing and triumphant self-image at the domestic level would be more successful when completed with a comprehensive elaboration on the inferior "Other." This is where the importance of "discursive formation" of the "Other" emerges. As Simone de Beauvoir has explained in *The Second Sex* (1949): "it is not the Other who, defining itself as Other, defines the One; the Other is posited as Other by the One positing itself as One. But in order for the Other not to turn into the One, the Other has to submit to this foreign point of view."[56]

At this stage, a thorough reflection on the notion of "discourse" is needed, while the core concept in the methodology of this project is Discourse Analysis, particularly from a Foucauldian perspective.[57] The preoccupation of this project with imperial literature, as a form profoundly embedded in relations of power, requires a conceptual framework that enables us to critically address the concerns of this inquiry.

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54. Said, xviii.

55. Said, xix.

56. Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2011), 27.

57. The Foucauldian notion of "discourse" is of utmost importance for this project, while it is the founding component of almost every corpus of theories and approaches that will be applied in this qualitative scholarly pursuit.

In his book *The Archeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*, Michel Foucault suggests that "the questioning of the *document*" must be at the center of studies related to history.[58] He states,

> it is obvious enough that ever since a discipline such as history has existed, documents have been used, questioned, and have given rise to questions; scholars have asked not only what these documents meant, but also whether they were telling the truth, and by what right they could claim to be doing so, whether they were sincere or deliberately misleading, well informed or ignorant, authentic or tempered with.[59]

Foucault's attitudes toward this historical *document* and the "critical concerns" regarding the questions above can be summed up as follows:

> each of these questions, and all this critical concern, pointed to one and the same end: the reconstitution, on the basis of what the documents say, and sometimes merely hint at, of the past from which they emanate, and which has now disappeared far behind them. […] History has altered its position in relation to the document: it has taken as its primary task, not the interpretation of the document, nor the attempt to decide whether it is telling the truth or what is its expressive value, but to work on it from within and to develop it: history now organizes the document, divides it up, distributes it, orders it, arranges it in levels, establishes series, distinguishes between what is relevant and what is not, discovers elements, defines unities, describes relations.[60]

In a further elaboration on the interrelation between "document" and history, Foucault notes that

> the document, then, is no longer for history an inert material through which it tries to reconstitute what men have done or said; history is now trying to define within the documentary material itself unities, totalities, series, relations. […] [H]istory is the work expended on material documentations (books, texts, accounts, registers, acts, buildings, institutions, laws, techniques, objects, customs, etc.) that exists, in every time and place,

58. Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1972), 6.

59. Foucault, 6.

60. Foucault, 6.

> in every society, either in a spontaneous or consciously organized form. The document is not the fortunate tool of a history that is primarily and fundamentally *memory*; history is one way in which a society recognizes and develops a mass of documentation with which it is inextricably linked.[61]

Michel Foucault's ideas influenced the entire field of Critical Studies of institutions and "discourse" ("epistemes," and "discursive formation") in such a way that conducting a critical inquiry without benefiting, directly or indirectly, from his notions and ideas does not seem possible in today's academia. His notions of "discourse" and Discourse Analysis are of ultimate significance for this study. It must also be said that his perceived-to-be only methodological treatise, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* is a canonical work that is the backbone of the methodology of this project.

Michel Foucault used the "archaeological" approach in nearly all of his previous books, for instance, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1961), *The Birth of The Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (1963), and *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1966). The core idea of this approach is that "systems of thought and knowledge ('epistemes' or 'discursive formations' in Foucault's terminology) are governed by rules, beyond those of grammar and logic, that operate beneath the consciousness of individual subjects and define a system of conceptual possibilities that determines the boundaries of thought in a given domain and period."[62]

In conducting discourse analysis, we have to keep in mind that "statements different in form, and disperse in time, form a group if they refer to one and the same object."[63] According to one of the definitions of "discourse," it is a historically accumulated social system that produces knowledge and meaning, and will finally be embodied as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak."[64] As a way of organizing knowledge that finally leads to the constitution of social structures, as well as modifying and altering the state of affairs in a given domain, "discourse" can then be considered a sociocultural entity, and "discursive formation" of an object in any given milieu is a social act. It can be argued that every social act, as a politically-charged behavior, addresses a wide range of logics and agendas which operate beneath the level of "collective consciousness" of a group of people, to borrow the words of Emile Durkheim.

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61. Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, 6-7.

62. Garry Gutting and Johanna Oksala, "Michel Foucault," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Stanford, CA: Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2018), available online at https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/foucault/

63. Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge*, 32.

64. Foucault, 49.

"Discourse," defined as orders of speech, on the one hand, is interconnected with the broader web of "*epistemes*," or orders of knowledge, in any historical period. This is the reason that the concepts of *Zeitgeist* and *Sachverhalt* (state of affairs) are of importance in the study of the political "Other." As Michel Foucault states, "in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality."[65]

According to Kay E. Cook's entry in *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, "discourse," in its most general sense, is "the study of language as it is used in society expressed either through conversations or in a document. However, the term *discourse* also carries with it various historical traditions influencing the definition employed and the type of research conducted."[66] It must also be said that "the two major approaches to discourse analysis are influenced by either ethnomethodological or Foucauldian traditions. Regardless of the approach, discourse analysis can be distinguished from strict conversation analysis and other forms of linguistic analysis by its focus primarily on the meaning of talk (or text) rather than on the linguistic organization of the components of talk (e.g., grammar, sentence structure, word choice)."[67] In Foucauldian discourse analysis, the emphasis is then put on "the power inherent in language," while this mode seeks to understand "how historically and socially instituted sources of power construct the wider social world through language."[68]

While they originate from different disciplinary and theoretical traditions, the terms "discourse" and "discourse analysis" cannot have single and absolute definitions.[69] "Whatever the theoretical frame that is informing the understandings of discourse will also inform and shape the understanding of discourse analysis that is in use."[70] Consequently, "like other qualitative analytical approaches, discourse analysis is not a unified, unitary approach. However, although the principles of analysis may differ according to the approach to discourse analysis that is adopted."[71] In other words, Cheek asserts, "Foucauldian discourse analysis offers the potential to challenge ways of thinking about aspects of reality that have come to be viewed as being natural or normal and therefore tend to be taken for granted. It can enable us to explore how things have

65. Foucault, 216.

66. Kay E. Cook, "Discourse," in *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, ed. Lisa M. Given (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2008), 216.

67. Cook, 216.

68. Cook, 217.

69. Julianne Cheek, "Foucauldian Discourse Analysis," in *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, ed. Lisa M. Given (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2008), 355.

70. Cheek, "Foucauldian Discourse Analysis," 355.

71. Cheek, "Foucauldian Discourse Analysis," 355.

come to be the way they are, how it is that they remain that way, and how else they might have been or could be."[72]

Julianne Cheek further elaborates that "Foucault challenged the idea that knowledge is objective and value-free, inevitably progressive, and universal. Instead, he argued for an inextricable link between power and knowledge and used his concept of discourse to explore this power-knowledge nexus. Put simply, drawing on Foucauldian understandings, discourse refers to ways of thinking and speaking about aspects of reality."[73] Another very important note is the fact that "discourses operate to order reality in certain ways. At any point in time, there are a number of possible discursive frames for thinking, writing, and speaking about aspects of reality. However, as a consequence of the effect of power relations, not all discourses are afforded equal presence or equal authority."[74] The basis of Cheek's argument is that

> Foucault described power as a network or a web that enables certain knowledge(s) to be produced and known. Somewhat paradoxically, such power can also constrain what it is possible to know in certain situations. Thus, in Foucault's analysis, power is a productive concept; it is not simply repressive. Nor is power a hierarchical concept, but rather it is an effect of socio-historic processes in that knowledge underpinning a discourse can be used by proponents of that discourse both to claim authority and presence in certain settings and to exclude other possible discursive framings or ways of viewing those Settings.[75]

Drawing on a Foucauldian understanding of "discourse," we arrive at the conclusion that although discourses "order reality in a particular way, rendering it visible and understandable, they may also constrain or even exclude the production of understandings and knowledge that could offer alternative views of that reality."[76] Thus, "Foucauldian-influenced discourse analysis offers the possibility of illuminating the effects of power Foucault posited as being exercised from innumerable points within a given context, and this possibility is one of the attractions of the approach in qualitative research," therefore "the task of the discourse analyst is to make explicit the ways in which discourses operate and their effects within particular contexts."[77]

Another noteworthy notion concerning the theoretical perspectives of Foucauldian discourse analysis is the idea that this mode of analysis "involves more than analyzing the content of texts for the ways in which they have been structured in terms of syntax, semantics,

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72. Cheek, 355.

73. Cheek, 356.

74. Cheek, 356.

75. Cheek, "Foucauldian Discourse Analysis," 356.

76. Cheek, 356.

77. Cheek, 356.

and so forth"; rather, it is "concerned with the way in which texts themselves have been constructed, ordered, and shaped" with respect to their "social and historical situatedness. Texts are thus both product of and in turn, produce, discursive-based understandings of aspects of reality."[78] Meanwhile, the key assumption in Foucauldian discourse analysis that language cannot be considered transparent nor value-free must always be kept in mind.

Another very crucial canon in this mode of analysis is about "situating texts in their wider contexts, what these contexts are and where to stop in such contextualization."[79]

If we consider the orders of knowledge ("epistemes"), and orders of speech ("discourses") to be the founding components in internalizing an entity in our sociocultural *habitus*; then critically analyzing "discourses" and genealogically studying "epistemes" will be of paramount importance in understanding the status quo of our environment.

One of the many tenets of Discourse Analysis is Critical Discourse Analysis, which is in line with the Foucauldian notion of discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an appropriate method for analyzing imperial texts and its repercussions in sociopolitical and sociocultural spheres in any given society for two reasons: the very first canon of Critical Discourse Analysis deals with language as a social practice; and most of the Critical Discourse analysts endorse Habermas' claim that "language is also a medium of domination and social force."[80]

When conducting Critical Discourse Analysis, we must aim at the "theorization and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text," as well as "the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social-historical subjects, create meaning in their interaction with texts. Consequently, three concepts figure indispensably in all CDA: the concept of power, the concept of history, and the concept of ideology."[81] With respect to the fact that discourse is structured by dominance, Ruth Wodak believes that "every discourse is historically produced and interpreted, that is, it is situated in time and space, and that dominance structures are legitimated by ideologies of powerful groups [and] dominant structures stabilize conventions and naturalize them."[82] She also points out that the "effects of power and ideology in the production of meaning are obscured and acquire stable and natural forms: they are taken as 'given.'"[83]

It is also noteworthy that many scholars in the field, such as Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak, do not consider Critical Discourse Analysis to be a wholly novel mode of Discourse Analysis. Concerning the features of Critical Discourse Analysis, van Dijk

78. Cheek, 356.

79. Cheek, "Foucauldian Discourse Analysis," 357.

80. Jürgen Habermas, *Erkenntnis und Interesse*, (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1977), 259.

81. Wodak, "What CDA is About," 3.

82. Wodak, "What CDA is About," 3.

83. Wodak, 3.

reflects on some of the key ideas that must be considered when conducting a CDA. Ideas and principles such as "discourse constitutes society and culture," "discourse does ideological work," and "discourse is a form of social action."[84] One must also consider that "most kinds of CDA will ask questions about the way specific discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance."[85] As a result, the conventional set of vocabulary of many scholars in this tenet of Discourse Analysis "will feature such notions as 'power,' 'dominance,' 'hegemony,' 'ideology,' 'class,' 'gender,' 'race,' 'discrimination,' 'interests,' 'reproduction,' 'institutions,' 'social structure,' and 'social order.'"[86]

In other words, "Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context."[87] Another point that plays a significant role in conducting Discourse Analysis is the fact that "texts inevitably make assumptions. What is 'said' in a text is 'said' against a background of what is 'unsaid,' but taken as given. As with intertextuality, assumptions connect one text to other texts, to the 'world of texts' as one might put it."[88]

CDA, as a mode of Discourse Analysis, is intertwined with Foucauldian notion of discourse as well as Foucauldian discourse analysis, which is the indisputable methodological basis of this inquiry for numerous reasons. Most significantly, this project, with its overt preoccupation with empire, its subordinating "discourse" and its literature, is extensively in a direct negotiation with concepts like ideology, power, interests, dominance, hegemony, discrimination, class, gender, race, cultural stereotyping, stigmatizing, reproduction, institutions, social structure, hierarchization of race, Orientalism, etc.

Sigfried Jäger [89] is a Germanist who emphasizes the linguistic and iconic characteristics of "discourse." He introduced the concept of "collective symbols" or *topoi*, which possess cohesive functions in texts. In Jäger's view, "discourse" can be regarded as the "flow of knowledge – and/or all societal knowledge stored – throughout all time, which determines individual collective doing and/or formative actions that shape society, thus exerting power. As

84. Van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis," 467.

85. Van Dijk, 468.

86. Van Dijk, 468.

87. Van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis," 466.

88. Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (London, UK: Routledge, 2003), 40.

89. There are many scholars contributing to the field of Critical Discourse Analysis with extremely diverse, and in some instances contrasting approaches to the subject; to name a few Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, Siegfried Jäger, Theo van Leeuwen, Gunther Kress. The ideas of Norman Fairclough, van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak will be of use for this project; however, the notions elaborated by Siegfried Jäger play a more distinctive role in this project, while Siegfried Jäger, and the "Duisburg School of Critical Discourse Analysis" in general are greatly influenced by Michel Foucault's theories and ideas. This scholarly pursuit is also primarily based on the Foucauldian notion of Discourse. Furthermore, I will pursue the way of Continental mode of thought, while the backbone of this project has been formed through contemplating the problem based on the ideas of Continental Philosophy.

such, discourses can be understood as material realities *sui generis*."[90] Jäger considers discourse analysis to be

> the respective spectrum of what can be said in its qualitative range and its accumulation and/or all utterances which in a certain society at a certain time are said or can be said. It also covers the strategies through which the spectrum of what can be said is extended on the one hand, but also restricted on the other, for instance, by denial strategies (*Verleugnungsstrategien*), relativizing strategies, strategies to remove taboos (*Enttabuisierungsstrategien*) and so on. Demonstration of the restrictions or lack of restrictions of the spectrum of what can be said is subsequently a further critical aspect of discourse analysis.[91]

Given the fact that "discourse" is a regulating body that forms consciousness, Jäger maintains the position that "discourse creates the condition for the formation of subjects and structuring and shaping societies."[92] Another very important notion in the "Duisburg School" of Discourse Analysis is the concept of *diskursives Gewimmel*. Drawing on this concept, Jäger believes, "the various discourses are intertwined or entangled with one another like vines of strands; moreover they are not static but in the constant motion forming a 'discursive milling mass' (*diskursives Gewimmel*) which at the same time results in the 'constant rampant growth of discourses' (*Wuchern der Diskurse*)."[93] The main objective of any Discourse Analysis must therefore be to "untangle" this "milling mass."[94] Jäger also introduces the concept of "collective symbolism," as "important means of linking up discourses with one another," which are then defined as "cultural stereotypes (frequently called *topoi*)," that "are handed down and used collectively."[95] It is a clear and accepted notion in discourse studies that "in discourses, reality is not simply reflected, but that the discourses live a life of their own in relation to reality, although they impact and shape and even enable societal reality."[96] In analyzing the notion of "discourse" and its disposition to reality, Siegfried Jäger believes that

> the discourse cannot be reduced to a mere "distorted view of reality" or a "necessarily false ideology" – as is frequently done by the concept of "ideology critique" following

90. Jäger, "Discourse and Knowledge," 34.

91. Jäger, 35.

92. Jäger, 35.

93. Jäger, 35.

94. Jäger, "Discourse and Knowledge," 35.

95. Jäger, 35.

96. Jäger, 35.

> orthodox Marxist approaches. In fact, a discourse represents a reality of its own which in relation to "the real reality" is in no way "much ado about nothing," distortion and lies, but has a material reality of its own and "feeds on" past and (other) current discourses. […] This characterization of discourses as being material means at the same time that discourse theory is strictly a materialistic theory. Discourses can also be regarded as societal means of production. Thus, they are in no way "merely ideology," they produce subjects and – conveyed by these in terms of the "population"– they produce societal realities. Subsequently, discourse analysis is not (only) about interpretations of something that already exists, thus not (only) about the analysis of the allocation of a meaning post festum, but about the analysis of the production of reality which is performed by discourse – conveyed by active people.[97]

Drawing on Foucault's ideas regarding the notion of "discourse" as the constitutive factor of knowledge in a given time and place, and how the concept of knowledge will contribute to the broader webs of power relations; at this point, the concept of "power" comes to be of utmost significance in analyzing the dominant discourses formed within the texture of any society. Foucault maintains that "we are all subjected to production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth."[98] He further states that "power never ceases its interrogation, its inquisition, its registration of truth" declaring that "we must produce truth as we must produce wealth, indeed we must produce truth in order to produce wealth in the first place."[99] Michel Foucault also suggests that "one should try to locate power at the extreme points of its exercise, where it is always less legal in character."[100] Elaborating on the notion of "Power/Knowledge," Foucault argues that

> power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application.[101]

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97. Jäger, "Discourse and Knowledge," 36.

98. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1980), 93.

99. Foucault, 93.

100. Foucault, 97.

101. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 98.

2.2. Orientalism: Occident's Encounter with Its Immediate Other

As a critical field subjected to both praise and critique, postcolonial theory is gaining more and more legitimacy in Western academia. While colonial practices and colonial exploitation take center stage in the field of Postcolonial studies, the field enjoys enough potentiality and substance to reflect on imperial modes of literature targeting indirectly colonized entities.

Postcolonial studies' contribution to imperial modes of literature and "discourse" is comparatively smaller than its devotion to studying the former *direct* colonies. There is an obvious necessity of studying and shedding light on the heinous history of colonialism but theorizing and studying imperial "discourses" on indirectly subjugated subjects are also within the scope of the field. According to Abrams, "postcolonial studies sometimes encompass also aspects of British literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, viewed through a perspective that reveals the extent to which the social and economic life represented in the literature was tacitly underwritten by colonial exploitation."[102] This Western imperial mode of "discourse" is also applied to those entities that their colonial exploitation was not taken place through the conventional colonial methods. These entities are principally "Other" sovereign states with explicitly different cultures and modes of existences possessing the potentiality to challenge the Western imperial enterprise in various fields. It is due primarily to this fact that these rival powers would be situated in a culturally, politically, economically, and morally inferior, bizarre, and subordinate position through imperial "discourses." The immediate "Others" of the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment European empires to the east were the Muslim Orientals, Ottoman Turks and Persians being the most geographically and politically dominant among them.

In his pivotal and, for some scholars, controversial book *Orientalism,* Edward W. Said determines that "the Orient is an integral part of European material civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles."[103] On the one hand, Edward Said rightly believes that the "Orient" served "as a contrasting image, idea, personality and experience" for Europe, and

102. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 236.

103. Said, *Orientalism*, 2.

broadly speaking the West, that helped it define itself.[104] On the other hand, according to Robert Lemon, "Orientalism" can be considered the "ideological cohort to occidental imperialism."[105]

In addition to that, Said affirms that "Orientalism" as

> a very roughly defined starting point, can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient_ dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.[106]

It is noteworthy that Edward W. Said, in his study of the colossal body of "Oriental" literature, has applied Michel Foucault's notion of "discourse," based on Foucault's elaboration on the concept in his *The Archeology of Knowledge* and *Discipline and Punish*. Edward Said profoundly supports his application of the Foucauldian notion of discourse in his analysis of Western literature about the "Orient" as well as in theorizing "Orientalism," as a mode of thought and action. In this respect, he believes that "without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage and even produce- the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period."[107]

In *Orientalism*, Edward Said has applied

> a revised form of Michel Foucault's historicist critique of discourse to analyze what he called 'cultural imperialism.' This mode of imperialism imposed its power not by force, but by the effective means of disseminating in subjugated colonies a Eurocentric

104. Said, 2.

105. Robert Lemon, *Imperial Messages: Orientalism as Self-Critique in the Habsburg 'Fin de Siècle'* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), 1.

106. Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

107. Said, 3.

> *discourse* that assumed the normality and preeminence of everything 'occidental,' correlatively with its representations of the 'oriental' as an exotic and inferior other.[108]

With respect to the fact that postcolonial studies cannot be considered a "unified movement with a distinctive methodology," one can, however, identify several recurrent tenets in this critical field of research and scholarship. Postcolonial studies "rejects the master-narrative of Western imperialism—in which the colonial other is not only subordinated and marginalized, but in effect deleted as a cultural agency—and its replacement by a counter-narrative in which the colonial cultures fight their way back into a world history written by Europeans."[109] On the other hand, this critical perspective tends to have an "abiding concern with the formation, within Western discursive practices, of the colonial and postcolonial 'subject,' as well as of the categories by means of which this subject conceives itself and perceives the world within which it lives and acts."[110] Another very crucial component in the postcolonial research, as Abrams puts it, is that the scholar tries "to disestablish Eurocentric norms of literary and artistic values, and to expand the literary *canon* to include colonial and postcolonial writers."[111]

In line with Said's ideas, Farid Laroussi declares that Said's "critical approach can be employed to develop new perspectives on the larger question of representation and its origins and politics; however, this is neither a blank cheque for Said nor a vindication of Saidian discourse."[112] He also extensively reflects on the critiques directed at Edward Said's *Orientalism* in his book. Laroussi believes that the key criticisms of Edward W. Said's work have been that the work "fails to historicize colonial representations; at the same time, its historical scope is too wide, so that he often falls into sweeping generalizations, thereby trivializing his subject matter."[113] He then shares with the readers a very detailed account of what is perceived as "Orient" by Europeans. Laroussi offers thorough insights into the issue by considering the teleological connotations:

> in representation of the Orient, truth and falsehood matter less than the responses they elicit, with the result that perceptions create their own reality. Most of these

108. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 236.

109. Abrams, 237.

110. Abrams, 237.

111. Abrams, 237.

112. Farid Laroussi, *Postcolonial Counterpoint: Orientalism, France, and the Maghreb* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 21.

113. Laroussi, 21.

> representations, which Said tells us can be traced back to Euripides or Dante, have been by-products of the process of European self-affirmation. The consolidation of Europe as a single geohistorical entity stemmed from the expansion of trade in the transatlantic triangle that reached its apogee in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the full flower of colonialism.[114]

He further elaborates on the ontological aspects of this Eurocentric formation/representation of the "Orient":

> The essential view of the Orient also grew from ontological distinctions. As early as twelfth century, the various European perceptions of the Orient coalesced into labels that contributed to polarizing the Christian and Islamic worlds, although other factors came into play as well, such as the rise in the fifteenth century of the Ottoman Empire, which came to control most of the trade routes in the Mediterranean. Clearly these narratives about the Orient were teleological in structure: the politics behind Europe-Orient interactions were goal-driven. And they led to something probably unique in Western culture_ a hybrid discourse that blended inclusion in the Judeo-Christian world with exclusion from the utopian world of the Islamic Other. Now the Orient, having been contacted through trade, needed not to be not just represented, but organized in the imagination.[115]

In the above-mentioned quotation from Laroussi, I see a very controversial and vague phrase, at least from the viewpoint of the post-Enlightenment era citizens in the West and their national self-images, and that phrase is "the *utopian* world of the Islamic Other." The author should have elaborated on, and analyzed, the concept of "utopian" in order to avoid misunderstandings. We have to pronouncedly differentiate between the romantic mode of thoughts and narratives about the Orient in (mostly) the Continental Europe, and the politically-charged and goal-driven modes of "discourses" that primarily emerged in places with overt imperial projects and ambitions, such as nineteenth-century Britain. Consequently, a rift has been appeared on the texture of the discursive rendition of what Laroussi calls the "utopian world of the Islamic Other," particularly since the nineteenth century. This rift has permeated the entire project of the "discursive formation" of the "Orient" ever since. However, certain works about the "Orient" contribute perfectly to a mode of sympathetic, or in Laroussi's words "utopian," discourse. These works have principally been written by members of certain intellectual circles,

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114. Laroussi, 23.

115. Laroussi, *Postcolonial Counterpoint*, 23.

a good example of which are certain works within the Germanophone "Orientalism." I will extensively reflect on this issue in the next chapter.

One of the scholars who criticized Edward W. Said's approach and ideas in *Orientalism* is Robert Irwin. In his "The Real Discourses of Orientalism," he declares that "Orientalism was not cut from one cloth" and "in different European countries it developed at different times, with varying intensities and varying emphases."[116] However, in his view, religious concerns dominated the study of the Arab world until at least the twentieth century.[117] At least one of these notions, if not both, can be contested. It is clear that, even today, "Orientalism" in every Western country is a direct outcome of the country's internal agendas and policies regarding the "Orient." Being a politically charged field of inquiry, the relations of power impose an everlasting authority over the field of Area studies, as a whole, and Near-Eastern studies, in particular. As a result, the French and British "Orientalism" was necessarily different from German, Italian, or even Dutch "Orientalism." However, this issue is not among the concerns of this study. I will therefore skip over that after adding just one more point: Robert Irwin reflects on the reasons of German supremacy in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies starting in the early nineteenth century in comparison to British and French scholarship. This is a good point of departure to strengthen my argument about the role of *Zeitgeist* and *genius loci* in the processes of initiation, formation, and perpetuation of Area studies, in this instance, Near Eastern studies and/or Middle Eastern studies. The name of the field can also vary depending on if the scholarship is produced in Europe or North America.

In his reflections on the ideological construction of the "Other" in his article "Europe and the Orient: An Ideologically Charged Exhibition" Oleg Grabar categorizes the functional and ideological relationships between Europe and the "Orient" according to seven modes. His clusters are "contact and souvenir," "learning," "exoticism," which includes subcategories of "luxury" and "themes of sensual sexuality," and "escapism." The fourth category, in his view, is "imitation," mostly in artistic techniques, and the last three clusters are "recording," "representation or re-representation," and finally "manipulation."[118] The last three categories are of considerable significance for this project.

Getting back to the point of German academic excellence in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies, Robert Irwin believes that the existence of so many universities in Germany is one of the main reasons for this prevalence of a successful and substantial mode of "Orientalism"

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116. Robert Irwin, "The Real Discourses of Orientalism" in *After Orientalism: Critical Perspectives on Western Agency and Eastern Re-Appropriations*, ed. François Pouillon and Jean-Claude Vatin (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Academic Pub., 2014), 19.

117. Irwin, "Real Discourses of Orientalism," 19.

118. Oleg Grabar, "Europe and the Orient: An Ideologically Charged Exhibition," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 4-6, https://doi.org/10.2307/1523117

in Germany, with Göttingen as a particularly important university and a pioneer in "the new more contextual approach to classical texts and then by extension to Biblical and Arabic texts."[119] The other strong point that could contribute to the pre-eminence of German universities in Oriental studies was "their embrace of philology" as a very "exciting, cutting-edge science in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."[120] This science was believed to be a mode and, as the author believes, "a tool" for discovering and analyzing the lives of the people who lived, thought and wrote even in centuries before recorded history.[121] On the other hand, we must be aware of the fact that "very few British scholars had had philological training and most of the few that did had acquired that training in Germany."[122] Furthermore, Robert Irwin also praises the strategy of German universities in "allowing unpaid *Privatdozenten* to offer specialized courses on any subject they choose" as another reason for the "German lead in the obscure territories of Orientalism."[123]

In addition to that, there are two other points that can contribute to our deeper understanding of "Orientalism" in Europe during the previous centuries. While this project is predominantly preoccupied with cultural texts from nineteenth-century Britain and the United States, whose profound impacts on other contemporary Western cultures are immense, it is necessary to delve more deeply into various aspects of literary traditions of "Orientalism" in Europe. We need to make a clear distinction between the mode of "Orientalism" propagated by countries with fierce imperial/colonial ambitions in the East, like Great Britain, France, Spain, and even Portugal, and those bystander countries that were not as deeply involved in the process of colonialization and/or maintaining an imperial agenda in that world region, for instance, Germany.

The modes, approaches and methods of dealing with Arabic and Persian literature among Europeans in the post-Renaissance era are somehow contrasting. From Robert Irwin's point of view, "Arabic literature had a negligible impact on European culture in the post-Renaissance, with the single but mighty exception of *The Arabian Nights*."[124] Let us circle back to our initial point here, which is the impacts of Persian and Arabic literature on the West. We know that "religious concerns" dominated the study of the Arab world; however, "the case with Persian literature and art and their impact on the West was quite different from that of Arab studies. Academic and religious agendas [in Persian studies] were less prominent."[125] Another point that

119. Irwin, "Real Discourses of Orientalism," 25.

120. Irwin, 25.

121. Irwin, 25.

122. Irwin, "Real Discourses of Orientalism," 25.

123. Irwin, 25.

124. Irwin, 20.

125. Irwin, "Real Discourses of Orientalism," 20.

deserves consideration while studying this issue is the fact that, according to Robert Irwin, British and German knowledge of Persia during the post-Renaissance era was "mostly filtered through French sources":

> The translation in 1630s by André du Ryer, one of the first Frenchmen to study Persian, were of primary importance. The *intermittent fad* for Persian culture is best understood mostly in terms of a series of landmark translation of poetry, including André du Ryer's translation of Saadi, William Jones's translation of Hafez and Saadi, Julius Mohl's translation of Firdausi's Shahnama [*sic*] and Fitzgerald's translation of Umar Khayyam. To this cluster of poetry translations, we should add writings by a handful of people who had actually travelled in Persia, notably Pietro della Vale, Jean Chardin, James Morier, Joseph Arthur de Gobineau and Pierre Loti.[126]

The writer of the riposte to Edward Said's *Orientalism* finally concludes that "in the case of the Western cult of all things Persian, this centered not round theology or history, but was based instead first, on the appreciation of Persian poetry, and, secondly on a developing appreciation of the art of the Persian miniature. Aesthetic and mystical interests were thus to the fore."[127] However, another point must be added about the literary "Orientalism" in Germany, more precisely the Germanophone world. Comparing it with the Anglophone and Francophone "Orientalism," I would like to argue that the socio-political state of affairs and the *Zeitgeist* determine how the German academia deal with their Oriental "Other." Paying distinctive attention to Romanticism in Germany is of paramount significance in this context.

We must also keep in mind that until the onset of nineteenth century, Orientalist inquiries, particularly in Britain and France, were more in the hands of aristocrats and clergymen, with their specific idiosyncrasies; a fact that also remained somehow intact until the twentieth century; "Orientalism was a field that was dominated by Christian gentlemen_ and the odd princess."[128] Another crucial point is the fact that "until the twentieth century, Orientalist publications, with their expensive typefaces and restricted leaderships, were rarely funded by universities. Instead, they owed almost everything to aristocratic and episcopal patronage."[129]

In comparing the politically-fueled "Orientalism" of the nineteenth century, which necessarily contains tenets of the political tendency to maintain, and even promote, the imperial

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126. Irwin, 20 (emphasis added).

127. Irwin, 20.

128. Irwin, "Real Discourses of Orientalism," 26.

129. Irwin, 26.

agenda, particularly on the part of the countries with imperial ambitions (e.g., Britain and France) with the artistic, humanist, exotic, and romantic mode of "Orientalism" practiced at the same time in the German-speaking world, we can argue that approaching "Orient" for textual construction could extremely vary from one political system to another, or from one author to the other, even at the same portion of time. This notion would assist me to theorize the Persian entity in the imperial context of the nineteenth century. A whole section will be devoted to this argumentation in the next chapter.

2.3. New Historicism: Redefinition of Context-Text Relationship

New Historicism is another very important mode of literary study that is chiefly interrelated with the Foucauldian notion of "discourse," and it forms the methodological bedrock of this qualitative scholarly pursuit. New Historicism is often considered to be a mode of "cultural poetics" as well as a form of literary theory. It primarily emphasizes the understanding of intellectual history through literature, and the understanding of literature through its cultural context.

Harold Aram Veeser recounts the fundamental assumptions of New Historicism in his introduction to *The New Historicism*, a collection of scholarly essays he edited. Based on his view, on the one hand, "every expressive act is embedded in a network of material practices," while on the other hand, we maintain that "every act of unmasking, critique and opposition uses the tools it condemns and risks falling prey to the practice it exposes."[130] Veeser also believes that in New Historicism "literary and non-literary 'texts' circulate inseparably" and "no discourse, imaginative or archival, gives access to unchanging truths, nor expresses inalterable human nature."[131]

The idea of New Historicism, primarily as introduced by Stephen Greenblatt, has profound affinities with the concept of "resonance." This means that "its concern with literary texts has been to recover as far as possible the historical circumstances of [the] original production and consumption [of literary texts], and to analyze the relationship between these circumstances and our own."[132] Thus, New Historicist critics aimed at understanding the

130. Harold A. Veeser, "Introduction," in *The New Historicism*, ed. Harold A. Veeser (New York, NY: Routledge, 1989), xi.

131. Veeser, "Introduction," xi.

132. Stephen Greenblatt, "Resonance and Wonder," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 43, no. 4 (1990): 20, https://doi.org/10.2307/3824277

"intersecting circumstances not as stable, prefabricated background against which the literary texts can be placed, but as dense network of evolving and often contradictory social forces."[133] It is profoundly believed that "the idea is not to find outside the work of art some rock onto which literary interpretation can be securely chained but rather to situate the work in relation to other representational practices operative in the culture at a given moment in both history and our own."[134] According to Greenblatt, "resonance" could also mean "the power of the object displayed to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world, to evoke in the viewer the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged and for which, as metaphor or simply as metonymy it may be taken by viewer to stand."[135]

Regarding Greenblatt's reflections on the concept of "resonance," Prafulla C. Kar argues, "Greenblatt locates the source of the text's resonance in both the complex context of its formation and its subsequent transmissions."[136] Kar also believes that "the New Historicists have tried to redefine the context-text relationship through the dynamics of their 'negotiation and exchange,' to use Greenblatt's phrase."[137] He further elaborates that "history as a repository of knowledge providing a base for literature was the product of binarism of the West which resulted in the hegemonic discourse of history drawing its power and ideology from the belief that there is an unbridgeable gap between the self and the Other."[138]

Another comprehensive description of New Historicism as a concept and method in literary theory has been introduced by Peter Barry in his book *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*. Barry considers New Historicism as a method based on "the *parallel* reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period. That is to say, new historicism refuses (at least ostensibly) to 'privilege' the literary text: instead of a literary 'foreground' and a historical 'background' it envisages a mode of study in which literary and non-literary texts are given equal weight and constantly inform or interrogate each other."[139] According to Barry:

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133. Greenblatt, 20.

134. Greenblatt, 20.

135. Greenblatt, 19-20.

136. Prafulla C. Kar (1995). "New Historicism and the Interpretation of the Text," *Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences* 2, no. 1 (1995): 76.

137. Kar, "New Historicism and Interpretation of Text," 76.

138. Kar, "New Historicism and Interpretation of Text," 77.

139. Peter Barry, *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995), 172.

> this 'equal weighting' is suggested in the definition of new historicism offered by the American critic Louis Montrose: he defines it as a combined interest in 'the textuality of history, the historicity of texts. It involves (in Greenblatt's words) 'an intensified willingness to read *all* of the textual traces of the past with the attention traditionally conferred only on literary texts.' So new historicism (as indeed the name implies) embodies a paradox (and, for some, a scandal); it is an approach to literature in which there is no privileging of the literary.[140]

Following the fundamental idea of "historicity of texts and the textuality of history" in New Historicism, the American literary critic M. H. Abrams introduces the very crucial notion that the "new historicists conceive of a literary text as 'situated' within the totality of the institutions, social practices, and discourses that constitute the culture of a particular time and place," and "with which the literary text interacts as both a product and a producer of cultural energies and codes."[141] Abrams considers the distinctiveness of this mode of historical study mainly the "result of concepts and practices of literary analysis and interpretation that have been assimilated from various recent post-structural theorists."[142] For Abrams, one of the decisive figures in this field of study is Michel Foucault and his notion that

> the *discourse* of an era, instead of reflecting preexisting entities and orders, brings into being the concepts, oppositions, and hierarchies of which it speaks; that these elements are both products and propagators of "power," or social forces; and that as a result, the particular discursive formations of an era determine what is at the time accounted 'knowledge' and 'truth,' as well as what is considered to be humanly normal as against what is considered to be criminal, or insane, or sexually deviant.[143]

Drawing on the oft-quoted phrase by Louis Montrose that new historicism is "a reciprocal concern with the historicity of texts and the textuality of history," Abrams further declares that

> history is conceived not to be a set of fixed, objective facts but, like the literature with which it interacts, a text which itself needs to be interpreted. Any text, on the other hand, is conceived as a discourse which, although it may seem to present, or reflect, an external reality, in fact consists of what are called representations—that is, verbal formations

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140. Barry, 172-3.

141. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 183.

142. Abrams, 183.

143. Abrams, 183.

> which are the 'ideological products' or 'cultural constructs' of the historical conditions specific to an era. New historicists often claim also that these cultural and ideological representations in texts serve mainly to reproduce, confirm, and propagate the power-structures of domination and subordination which characterize a given society.[144]

We have to keep in mind that there is an agreement among the New Historicists about the contextualism of literature within other elements of culture; however, they pursue different modes in theorizing the field and offer different proposals or theoretical bases with respect to the field. It is noteworthy that "a number of historicists assign the formative period of these traditional views to the early era of capitalism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."[145]

Here, a very short summary of the main points frequently mentioned in new historicists' texts will be provided based on Abrams' reflections on the term in his *A Glossary of Literary Terms*. We must first be aware that

> literature does not occupy a 'trans-historical' aesthetic realm which is independent of the economic, social, and political conditions specific to an era, nor is literature subject to timeless criteria of artistic value. Instead, a literary text is simply one of many kinds of texts—religious, philosophical, legal, scientific, and so on—all of which are formed and structured by the particular conditions of a time and place, and among which the literary text has neither unique status nor special privilege.[146]

The second aspect that is also of utmost importance in New Historicism, as an approach to contemplating literary texts, is the notion that

> history is not a homogeneous and stable pattern of facts and events which can be used as the 'background' to the literature of an era, or which literature can be said simply to reflect, or which can be adverted to as the 'material' conditions that, in a unilateral way, determine the particularities of a literary text. In contrast to such views, a literary text is said by new historicists to be 'embedded' in its context and in a constant interaction and interchange with other components inside the network of institutions, beliefs, and cultural power relations, practices, and products that, in their ensemble, constitute what we call history.[147]

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144. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 183-4.

145. Abrams, 184.

146. Abrams, 184.

147. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 184.

The third point is "the humanistic concept" that also plays a significant role in this mode of analysis. Abrams declares

> the *humanistic* concept of an essential human nature that is common to the author of a literary work, the characters within the work, and the audience the author writes for, is another of the widely held ideological illusions that, according to many new historicists, were generated primarily by a capitalist culture.[148]

The fourth notion is that we must consider the fact that, like the author, the consumer of the text is also a "subject" targeted by "the ideological formations of their own era," and as a result, we have to be aware that

> like the authors who produce literary texts, their readers are 'subjects' who are constructed and positioned by the conditions and ideological formations of their own era. All claims, therefore, for the possibility of a disinterested and objective interpretation and evaluation of a literary text are among the illusions of a humanistic idealism. Insofar as the ideology of readers conforms to the ideology of the writer of a literary text, the readers will tend to *naturalize* the text—that is, interpret its culture-specific and time-bound representations as though they were the features of universal and permanent human experience. On the other hand, insofar as the readers' ideology differs from that of the writer, they will tend to *appropriate* the text—that is, interpret it so as to make it conform to their own cultural prepossessions.[149]

Therefore, it appears necessary to be aware of a parallel conception, that being the "intertextuality of literature and history, and similar views that the 'representation' in literary texts are not reflectors of reality but 'concretized' forms of ideology."[150]

In elaborating on the concept of "political reading" of a literary text, Abrams writes that

> historicists of Romantic literature, however, in distinction from most Renaissance historicists, often name their critical procedures *political readings* of a literary text—readings in which they stress quasi-Freudian mechanisms such as 'suppression,' 'displacement,' and 'substitution' by which, they assert, a writer's political ideology (in a process of which the writer remains largely or entirely unaware) inevitably disguises, or entirely elides into silence and 'absence,' the circumstances and contradictions of contemporary history. The primary aim of a political reader of a literary text is to undo

148. Abrams, 185.

149. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 185-6.

150. Abrams, 186.

these ideological disguises and suppressions in order to uncover the historical and political conflicts and oppressions which are the text's true, although covert or unmentioned, subject matter.[151]

151. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 186-7.

CHAPTER THREE

Brave New Orient:

Novel Discourses on Persia in the Imperial Century

> O, wonder!
> How many goodly creatures are there here!
> How beauteous mankind is! **O brave new world**,
> That has such people in't!
>
> W. Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, Act V, Scene I.

3.1. Literary Rendition as the Solid Pillar of Building an Empire

For the United Kingdom, the nineteenth century was not only the hotbed of imperialism and clash of interests with other imperial powers abroad, but it was also a very fertile ground for a flourishing mass culture at the domestic level. The emergence of a vibrant middle class that resulted from the Industrial Revolution and the development of the advertising industry at the beginning of the nineteenth century coincided with the heydays of the British Empire. This led to "an amorphous publishing front" under which "radical propaganda found an unending series of politically ambivalent but commercially sharp allies in the gutter press."[152] In addition to the above-mentioned notions, the expansion of the print trade and "the rise of satiric etching, in particular, the growth of the periodical publications" efficiently contributed to the "production of social satire and political propaganda" insofar as "radical spokesmen and propagandist in the second decade of the nineteenth century came from a variety of social backgrounds and levels of political commitment."[153] In his book *Radical Satire and Print Culture 1790-1822,* Marcus Wood argues that the advertising industry in England began to take on its modern shape between 1780 and 1820. Moreover, he reflects on how the advertising industry "popularized, appropriated, and imitated different writing styles and systems of iconography" within that period of time.[154]

On the one hand, it is already known that "as the nineteenth century progressed, poetry began to lose its hold on the popular imagination, and was rapidly replaced by a rising interest in the novel" to the degree that the publishers were "reluctant to publish first editions of poetry due to reasons like public's growing indifference [to the poetry]" and "insecurities fostered by the financial crisis of 1826."[155] With regards to the novel and its evolution during the nineteenth century, we must adequately consider the fact that "the term 'novel' did not become widely used until the end of the eighteenth century, which had seen the progression of the form through autobiographical narratives and the epistolary novel,"[156] both of which are of utmost importance for this study. As "realism" was at the center of nineteenth-century novels, this realist

152. Wood, *Radical Satire*, 6.

153. Wood, 4-5.

154. Wood, 4.

155. Patricia Pulham, "The Arts," in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Chris Williams (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 444.

156. Pulham, 446.

perspective materialized in various forms. As Patricia Pulham puts it: the foundation of the historical novel, social-problem novel and community novel was the "question of self and society."[157] In my opinion, Pulham's categorization can be expanded by the categorization of imperial novels.

The imperial novel can be defined as a form of imperial literature that primarily aims at consolidating the superior position of the empire *vis-à-vis* the entity that is perceived as "inferior" by offering *hybrid* and dichotomizing narratives about the subordinate entity. Another characteristic of this type of novel is a multifaceted reflection on different aspects of daily life, politics, society, religion, culture, geography, geopolitics, customs and more of the target country in a way that is designed to invoke contempt, disdain, or even hatred. Furthermore, like all other cultural texts emerging from the imperial machinery of "discursive formation," this genre contributes to the larger web of power relations and imperial strategies with respect to the represented entity.

In order to build a solid foundation for my future arguments, there is a very important point that must be dealt with at this stage. As stated above, at the turn of nineteenth century in Imperial Britain, the novel would go on to replace poetry and take over its prominent position in the sphere of public imagination. This shift from a sensational form of literature to the solid and "realist" mode of letters can be analyzed by paying adequate attention to the *Zeitgeist* of post-enlightenment European societies. This shift of genres in nineteenth-century Britain makes more sense when juxtaposed with other modes of literary works dealing with the same subject: the "Oriental Other." These other modes of literary works are those which were written during the same time period in continental Europe and that had a profound attachment to a Romantic mode of thought. Goethe's *West-östlicher Diwan* (1819) is one of the most prominent examples of these, in my opinion. This shift is interesting for two reasons. One is the difference between the post-Industrial Revolution modes of thought and Romanticism. We have to keep in mind that the latter is often considered a response to the prior. The second interesting point is the commodification of culture due mainly to the emergence of a vibrant middle class, the members of which could become the potential consumers of such products.

I believe that the logics of the Industrial Revolution, British imperialism, and the abrupt turns and shifts in the sphere of English mass culture in the nineteenth century undoubtedly called for the development/emergence of new forms of literature that were initially based on the discursive *reservoir* of the nation as well as relations of power during that time period. The sphere of English mass culture therefore became the playground of various writers whose works can tell us so much not only about that culture, but also about imperialism. Such works are tremendously important sources of information for the study of the state of affairs at the time.

157. Pulham, 446.

3.2. The British Imperial Project and its Repercussions for Persia

After reviewing the literature on the subject it becomes clear that "no history of nineteenth-century Britain can be complete without acknowledging the impact that the empire had in fashioning political culture, informing strategic and diplomatic priorities, shaping social institutions and cultural practices, and determining, at least in part, the rate and direction of economic development."[158] Concerning this fact, Douglas M. Peers determines that imperial historiography "had, from the outset, a predisposition towards emphasizing what was unique and exceptional to Britain, often delivered in a celebratory manner."[159] Furthermore, "the empire, both imagined and directly experienced, was a powerful part of what it meant to be English, intimately linked to what it meant to be white."[160] However, "imperialism was never a monolithic enterprise. Imperialism meant and continues to mean different and sometimes opposing things to different groups."[161]

As Peers states that in its simplest definition, empire refers to "a geographically defined area brought under the territorial control of another state."[162] It has, however, an overt "emphasis on formal political control over a fixed area."[163] It has also been found wanting, for "it fails to address those instances where one state controls or has considerable influence over another without necessarily claiming sovereignty," which is where the concepts of "informal imperialism and cultural imperialism" would emerge, neither of which require overt political domination.[164] Peers explains that"[s]uch a definition makes allowance for the great number of *avenues* through which authority can be exercised, and does not require power to be politically formalized and applied to a clearly demarcated territory."[165]

What are these great number of *avenues* that can help the agents of an empire to exert their authority? What are the cultural aspects of an empire? How does the empire deal with its enemies, antagonists, or "Others"? What are the *epistemological* and *discursive* aspects of imperial rhetoric? What are the forms of "Othering" within and beyond the borders of an empire? How can we define this ideology that generates Otherness?

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158. Douglas M. Peers, "Britain and Empire," in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Chris Williams (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 55.

159. Peers, 55.

160. Peers, 56.

161. Peers, 56.

162. Peers, 57.

163. Peers, "Britain and Empire," 57.

164. Peers, 57.

165. Peers, 57 (emphasis added).

With respect to the nineteenth century and British Imperialism, three extremely important periods that are utterly defining for contextualization of this project must be kept in mind: "the period up to around 1820, when, as a consequence of the global wars against France and its allies, the empire was expanding, a prolonged period between 1820 and 1870 when interest in empire was either languishing or declining, and then a resurgence in imperial interest in the last three decades, symbolized by British participation in the scramble for Africa."[166]

The concept of "informal imperialism" has also been introduced in studying the nineteenth-century British Empire. This concept can greatly help us to reach a better understanding of our issue. By contemplating this notion, we can arrive at the idea that "if imperialism was about ends rather than means, then imperialism could not simply be mapped according to its political frontiers."[167] This could also "raise the possibility that British ends could be pursued indirectly; its interests did not require armies or administrators but could be secured through investments, imports and exports, and cultural ties."[168]

John Gallagher and Roland Robinson reflected on the concept of "informal empire" in their 1953 article. They urge, "the conventional interpretation of the nineteenth-century empire continues to rest upon study of the formal empire alone, which is rather like judging the size and character of iceberg solely from the parts above the water-line."[169] Therefore, it is necessary to study the sociocultural aspects of building and maintaining an empire because these aspects can be considered the cornerstone of exerting power and hegemony. By realizing these sociocultural prerequisites, an Empire can then constitute, maintain and exert the desired authority over its subjects.

The cultural narratives and/or "discourse" that a citizen consumes, be it consciously or unconsciously, are a determining factor in defining their subsequent perceptions about the wide range of issues surrounding the individual in their respective society, or cultural *habitus*. This chapter thus focusses on a certain mode of imperial text that can be considered canonical and *novel* in narrating the immediate neighbors of Christian Europe, the Muslims, with Persians at the center.

Sir Denis Arthur Hepworth Wright (1911-2005), the renowned English diplomat and long-serving ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain to Iran, published a book in the 1970s entitled *The English Amongst the Persians: Imperial Lives in Nineteenth-Century Iran*. The book offered his readers a number of basic facts about Anglo-Iranian relations since the end

166. Peers, 60.

167. Peers, "Britain and Empire," 70.

168. Peers, "Britain and Empire," 70.

169. John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 6, no. 1 (1953): 1. https://doi.org/10.2307/2591017

of eighteenth century. Reading between the lines, from a Discourse Analysis perspective, one can deduce many things from the information provided by a writer who was such an authority on Iran in the Anglophone world. Wright believes that knowledge of the history, especially that of the Qajar period (1787-1925), which "coincided with the heyday of British Imperialism, is essential for an understanding of the complexities that still underlie the Anglo-Iranian relations" and declares that

> until the Qajars come to power at the end of the eighteenth century, Britain's only interest in the country had been trade, then in the exclusive hands of the East India Company, operating from their base at Bushire [Bushehr] on the Persian Gulf. However, by the turn of the century the Honorable Company's territorial acquisitions in India had added an over-riding political dimension to Britain's interest in Iran, now seen as an outer bastion in the defense of its growing Indian empire. A century later, oil_ discovered, developed, and owned by the British_ enhanced Iran's importance for Britain, especially after the Royal Navy changed from coal to oil to fire their ships.[170]

Denis Wright maintains the position that

> for Britain a Persia (as Iran was known in the West until 1930s) friendly to Great Britain and independent of foreign control thus became a fixation in its foreign policy. In order to *protect* Iran, first from the ambitions of Napoleonic France, then from Tsarist Russia and eventually from the Communist Soviet Union, Britain often rode rough-shod over Iranian sensibilities and interests. In doing so 'the English' (as all Britons were known) left on so many Iranian minds feelings of awe, resentment, and distrust rather than affection.[171]

In genealogizing these emotions, this highly regarded contemporary author on Iran suggests that the Iranians possess an "awe for British power and might together with a wildly exaggerated belief in British cleverness and ingenuity."[172] Wright believes that the root of the resentment stems from the fact that "the British were all too inclined, as the Iranian foreign minister told Lord Curzon in 1919, 'not to treat Persians on equal terms'."[173] The Iranians also

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170. Denis Wright, *The English Amongst the Persians: Imperial Lives in Nineteenth Century Iran* (London, UK: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2001), ix.

171. Wright, *The English Amongst Persians*, ix.

172. Wright, ix.

173. Wright, ix.

"distrust[ed the British statesmen] because Britain was seen to have reneged on treaty obligations negotiated with Fath Ali Shah, [and] had forced Iran to abandon its historical claims to Herat [Afghanistan] and had ignored Iran's declared neutrality in WWI."[174] He also declares that

> in Iranian eyes Curzon's cherished Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 was an unwanted take-over of their country. Worst of all, though, had been the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907_ a successful attempt by Britain and Russia to settle their worldwide differences_ but which, by dividing Iran into spheres of influence, was seen by Iranians as a betrayal.[175]

Proceeding on the track of mistrust, a key question must be asked here: How is the Persian-ness constructed among Englishmen? It is necessary to mention that this author penned another book in 1985 entitled *The Persians Amongst the English: Episodes in Anglo-Persian History*. This book reveals his personal accounts of what this work also seeks to elaborate on: What is an English person's understanding of what Persian-ness is? How is the Persian national character constructed through English imperialists' writing? What were the defining criteria in this "discursive formation"? In order to seek answers to such questions, the comprehensive study of James Morier's *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) is necessary. This canonical work in the English language about Persia is not only known for the impact it had on English elites' and the masses' attitudes toward Persia, but it would arguably alter the general knowledge about Persia in the West.

3.3. James Morier and Construction of a Novelistic Persia

One of the figures who swam with the tide of the English booming mass culture in the early decades of the nineteenth century was James Justinian Morier (1782-1849), English diplomat and writer whose extensive works on Persia and Persian lives would greatly entice the eager, interested readers in the West. Morier was born in Smyrna (Izmir) in Ottoman Turkey and began his diplomatic service in 1807. He was "by origin a French foreign-born Jewish convert to Protestantism."[176] He was the son of Isaac Morier, a Swiss-born naturalized British citizen who was promoted to the position of consul-general of the Levant Company at Constantinople. Stanley Lane-Poole (1854-1931), the British Orientalist and archaeologist who wrote the

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174. Wright, ix-x.

175. Wright, *The English Amongst Persians*, x.

176. Abbas Amanat, "Hajji Baba of Ispahan," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XI/6 (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2003), available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hajji-baba-of-ispahan

Morier's entry in Dictionary of National Biography, declares that Morier was involved in Sir Harford Jones Brydges' mission to the court of Persia in the capacity of private secretary.[177]

James Morier proceeded to Persia and was "promoted to the post of secretary of legation in February 1809 but was sent home after three months probably with despatches."[178] The records of his first trip were published in 1812 as *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the Years 1808 and 1809*, which "at once took rank as an important authority on a country then little known to Englishmen," and due to its "admirable style and accurate observation, its humor and graphic power, still holds a foremost place among early books of travel in Persia."[179] The book was also translated into French and German in 1813 and 1815, respectively.[180] After some months, he returned to Persia when he was appointed secretary of the embassy to Sir Gore Ouseley, ambassador extraordinary to the court of Tehran.[181] Upon Sir Gore Ouseley's return to England in 1814, Morier was left in charge of the embassy in Tehran, but "he did not long remain in command, however, for his letter of recall was sent out on 12 July 1815, and he left Tehran 6 Oct and in 1817, was granted retiring pension by the government."[182] In 1818, only one year after retiring, he published his second travelogue, *A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, Between the Years 1810 and 1816: With a Journal of the Voyage by the Brazils and Bombay to the Persian Gulf: Together with an Account of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Embassy under His Excellency Sir Gore Ouseley.*

It must be kept in mind that Morier resided in Persia for nearly six years in total. One stay was from 1808 to 1809, and the other from 1810 to 1814; however, his period of residency coincided with an extremely "critical juncture during [Iranian] diplomatic entanglements with European powers."[183] He later wrote a series of tales and romances that were mainly set in an Oriental atmosphere, among which the first and most successful was *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, published in 1824. Morier also wrote a two-volume sequel entitled *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, in England* four years later, in 1828. He also published a series of other works of fiction revolving around Persia and its people, the most important of which are *Zohrab the Hostage* (1832) and *Ayesha, the Maid of Kars* (1834). None of these works

177. Stanley Lane-Poole, "Morier, James Justinian," *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Vol.* 39 (London, UK: Smith, Elder & Co., 1894), 51. Available online at https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Morier,_James_Justinian_(DNB00)

178. Lane-Poole.

179. Lane-Poole.

180. Lane-Poole.

181. Lane-Poole.

182. Lane-Poole.

183. Amanat.

would bring the success that *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* had brought to this "seasoned" diplomat who was "embedded in the British Empire machine for years" and is believed to have been "a pragmatic man with little penchant for enchantment."[184]

In the eyes of some scholars and historians, he could not maintain his position as a well-regarded diplomat, and as a result of this deficiency, he "resorted to writing fiction primarily to compensate for his insufficient salary."[185] In addition to that, Henry McKenzie Johnston believes that Morier was not able to hold onto his position in the diplomatic world primarily due to his unwise conduct as the English chargé d'affaires in Tehran and the publication of sensitive material against the wishes of the Foreign Office.[186] However, this claim is a controversial issue among Iranian scholars; for some scholars, such as Homa Nategh, have stated that Morier was able to effectively fulfill the assigned tasks of his diplomatic mission to the court of Persia.[187] From Nategh's perspective, Morier's assigned task was "investigating the culture, traditions, and rituals of the masses."[188] He was also involved in finalizing a treaty between Persia and the United Kingdom with political, economic and security implications for both parties, which was known as *Ahd-Nameye Mojmal* (Preliminary Treaty); the treaty was signed on March 12, 1809.[189] The Preliminary Treaty is seen as the abrogation of the Treaty of Finckenstein (1807) between Persia and Napoleon's France, which was the cornerstone of the ephemeral Franco-Persian alliance against Russia and Great Britain between 1807 and 1809. Additionally, a Definitive Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, known to speakers of Farsi as *Ahd-Nameye Mofassal,* was signed on March 14, 1812.

As stated above, Morier left Iran in the spring of 1809 with dispatches, among them, most probably, the Preliminary Treaty. Mirza Abolhassan Khan Ilchi, the first ambassador of Persia to the United Kingdom (1809-1810), and later the long-term Minister of Foreign Affairs, joined Morier in this journey as the Persian Envoy Extraordinary to the English court. The presence of Ilchi and other "volatile Persians," as E. G. Browne states, "relived the monotony of the tedious and protracted voyage, and supplied Morier with plenty of good material for the second part of

184. Amir Ahmadi, "*The Fictional Construction of Iran for a Western Readership: From Montesquieu to Nafisi*" (PhD diss. The University of Queensland, 2016), 70.

185. Amanat.

186. Henry McKenzie Johnston, *Ottoman and Persian Odysseys: James Morier, Creator of "Hajji Baba of Ispahan," and His Brothers* (London, UK: I. B. Tauris, 1998), 205-8.

187. Homa Nategh, "Hajji Morier va ghesseye estemaar" [Hajji Morier and the Story of Colonialism], *ALEFBA*, 4 (Tehran, Iran: Amir Kabir Publisher, 1972), 31.

188. Nategh, 31.

189. Nategh, 31.

Hajji Baba."[190] The two men started their journey back to Persia after eight months of residence in England; this time in the company of the newly appointed British ambassador extraordinary, Sir Gore Ouseley, and his brother, Sir William Ouseley, the renowned Orientalist.

Nategh also turns the reader's attention to a letter dated June 20, 1814 from Sir Gore Ouseley to James Morier, through which the ambassador explained "the ethical, behavioral, and political obligations" of Morier in Persia:

> Ouseley asked the author of *Hajji Baba* to 'hinder the chance of any probable relations between Iran and European countries, especially France and Russia,' and 'report to the Foreign Office about his activities in this field' […]. More importantly, Ouseley asked Morier and the fellows of the embassy to conform and respect 'Persian manners, traditions, and customs' so that they can win 'the affiliation' and 'trust' of the power owners in the country.[191]

The letter was written in the first months after Ouseley's departure from Persia and within that very short period, James Morier had become Minister *ad interim* in the British diplomatic mission to Tehran. Again, we have here the clash of "discourses" between English and Iranian scholars. We have observed that Homa Nategh considers Morier to have played an important role in the British imperial machinery, while McKenzie Johnston regards Morier to have been "briefly a diplomat not without distinction" whose political career was devoted to apparently insignificant jobs.[192] None of these, however, can downplay the significance of his published works, especially the two travelogues and the volumes of *Hajji Baba*: they have had enormous impacts on the attitudes of Western people toward Persia and, in a broader sense, the "Orient," which has appeared a more *homogenous* entity. *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) can be considered a turning point in the "discursive formation" of the "Orient" for Western consumption for a number of reasons, which will be dealt with in detail in the following pages.

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190. Edward Granville Browne, "Introduction," *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (London, UK: Methuen and Company, 1895), xv.

191. Nategh, "Hajji Morier va ghesseye estemaar," 31 (my rendition from Farsi).

192. Henry B. McKenzie Johnston. "Hajji Baba and Mirza Abul Hasan Khan: A Conundrum," *Iran* 33 (1995): 93.

3.4. Hajji Baba: An Oriental Lantern for Political Navigation in the Greater Persia

James Morier's magnum opus, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, was published anonymously in 1824 and, as Lord George Curzon wrote in his introduction to the 1895 edition of the book, "at once became a favourite of cultured reading public, and passed speedily through several editions."[193] Lord Curzon regards the book as a pivotal work in Oriental literature that gained a popularity that "has never since been exhausted."[194] "[A]fter the lapse of three quarters of a century" since the publication of *Hajji Baba*, Lord Curzon declares that

> the constant demand for a new issue is a proof not merely of the intrinsic merit of the book as a contemporary portrait of Persian manners and life, but also of the fidelity with which it continues to reflect, after the lapse of three-quarters of a century, the salient and unchanging characteristics of a singularly unchanging Oriental people.[195]

For Lord Curzon, the book is not a "frolic or imaginative satire only," but "a historical document" and is considered "an invaluable contribution to sociology, and conveys a more truthful and instructive impression of Persian habits, methods, points of view, and courses of action than any disquisition in the more serious volumes of statesmen, travellers, and men of affairs."[196]

Why is this work so important that the viceroy of India and author of the significant *Persia and the Persian Question* (1892) considers Morier's book, along with Sir John Malcolm's 1827 *Sketches of Persia*, "an epitome of modern and moribund Iran"?[197] In his Introduction, Curzon repeatedly reasserts his own authority in the field of Oriental studies, but the future viceroy of India still regards Morier's work to be an extremely important tile in the mosaic of works on the "Oriental Other". He writes,

> I am conscious myself of having added no inconsiderable quota to [the] bulk [of works on the Orient]; but if all this solid literature were to be burned by an international hangmen to-morrow, and were *Hajji Baba* and the *Sketches* of Sir John Malcolm alone to

193. George N. Curzon, "Introduction," *The adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (London, UK: McMillan and Co.), ix.

194. Curzon, ix.

195. Curzon, ix.

196. Curzon, xiv.

197. Curzon, xxiv.

> survive, I believe that the future diplomatist or traveller who visited Persia, or the scholar who explored it from a distance, would from their pages derive more exact information about Persian manners, and acquire a surer insight into Persian character, than he would gain from years of independent study or months of local residence.[198]

George Nathaniel Curzon had published his significant book *Persia and Persian Question* (2 Volumes) in 1892, seven years before assuming his six-year term as the viceroy of India, and three years before writing the above-mentioned introduction to the 1895 edition of *Hajji Baba*. He became the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1919 and maintained his position until 1924. He died one year later. This concise biographical account of Lord Curzon serves to highlight the prominent position of this person in the British imperial enterprise, especially the "Asiatic schemes," as the practitioners including Curzon would like to label it. While this work is primarily concerned with "discourses" and the "discursive formation" of Persia/Iran in the Anglophone world, there will be some instances throughout this study when it will be necessary to shift back and forth in time in order to reflect fully on various mechanism, tropes, and trends of this "discursive formation."

In his "Preface" to *Persia and Persian Question,* Lord Curzon discloses that his work is "the result of three years almost uninterrupted labor, of a journey of six months duration to the country concerned, as well as of previous travel in adjacent regions, and communications maintained ever since with the most qualified resident authorities in Persia."[199] Furthermore, he claims that "until superseded by a better, [the book] may be regarded as the standard work in the English language on the subject to which it refers."[200] The work, as it is claimed by Lord Curzon, was written as a response to the inadequacy of "existing source of knowledge about Persia," while there had been "genuine and imperative need for a compendious work dealing with every aspect of public life in Persia, with its inhabitants, provinces, cities, lines of communication, antiquities, government, institutions," as well as "resources, trade, finance, policy, and present and future development_ in a word, with all that has made or continues to make it a nation."[201] Curzon claims that he has either read or referred to nearly all the works written about Persia during "the last five centuries," which were "between 200 and 300 in number."[202] He explicitly considers the primary objective of his work to be political, although "there will yet be found a good deal of History in its pages," as Lord Curzon claims to endeavor

198. Curzon, "Introduction," xxiv.

199. George N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (London, UK: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892), vii.

200. George N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, vii.

201. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, viii.

202. Curzon, viii.

> to trace the steps by which Persia has passed, and is still passing, from barbarism to civilization, as she exchanges the slow beat of the Oriental pendulum for the whirr and crash of Western wheels; or whether I pick up the floating threads which, when woven into a single strand, will exhibit a connection between Europe, and especially between Great Britain, and Persia, extending over three centuries, and equally emphatic in the *departments of international intercourse* and *of trade*.[203]

It is very interesting that Curzon explicitly accepts "sole responsibility" for any "political opinion expressed" in his book because he tries to exonerate the British Legation in Tehran by asking to what "proportion" the entire truth "ought to be told in the domain of statecraft."[204] However, he decides to "side with those who abhor diplomatic lie."[205] One can therefore expect the publication to be an imperial work *par excellence* written by a renowned and pragmatist colonial agent that was written during an era in which political correctness had not been as much of a concern for statesmen as it would become during the post-WWII period and the twenty-first century.

Here I would like to circle back to Lord George Curzon's reference to Sir John Malcolm's (1769-1833) *Sketches of Persia* (1827) and *Hajji Baba* as "an epitome of modern and moribund Iran."[206] Due to this overt emphasis, it is indispensable to reflect on Sir John Malcolm's "authoritative" work on Persia.

Sir John Malcolm (1769–1833), renowned Scottish soldier, author, diplomat and administrator, started to study Persian in 1792, and was later "appointed to the staff of Lord Cornwallis as Persian interpreter."[207] During the final years of the eighteenth century in India, Malcolm developed a friendship with Colonel Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington, who was one of the leading political and military figures in nineteenth-century Britain, the foreign minister of the country and two-time Prime Minister in the ensuing years.[208] Their close friendship finally led to Malcolm's dispatch as an envoy to the court of Persia. He arrived in Tehran in December of 1800 to "counteract the policy of the French by inducing that country to form a British alliance" and was tremendously "successful in negotiating favourable treaties,

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203. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, ix (emphases added).

204. Curzon, xi.

205. Curzon, xi.

206. Curzon, "Introduction," xxiv.

207. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "Malcolm, Sir John." (Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge, 1911), Available online at https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Malcolm,_Sir_John

208. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Malcolm, Sir John."

both political and commercial, and returned to Bombay by Way of Bagdad in May 1801."[209] We also know that he tried to undertake a mission to Persia again in 1808:

> but circumstances prevented him from getting beyond Bushire [Bushehr]; on his reappointment in 1810, he was successful indeed in procuring a favorable reception at court, but otherwise his embassy, if the information which he afterward incorporated in his works on Persia be left out of account, was (through no fault of his) without any substantial result.[210]

Sketches of Persia was published anonymously in 1827. In the first sentences of the book, which was later attributed to Sir John Malcolm, we read that "once upon a time this Island of Great Britain had some spots where men and women and little children dwelt or were believed to dwell, in innocence, ignorance, and content. Travelers seldom visited them; poets saw them in their dreams, and novelists told stories of them, but these days are now past."[211] The emphasis that Malcolm puts on poets and novelists and their dreams about those remote lands alludes to the fact that his work aims to challenge and decenter certain literary constructs; an objective which he would flawlessly achieve. Thanking the "steam-boats and stage-coaches," Malcolm states, "one half of the [British] population is on the highways the other half is on the narrow seas" due to "love of travel."[212] According to Malcolm, the British lovers of travel visited not only the neighboring European countries, but they also "overrun" remote lands of Greece and Egypt due primarily to "the ardor of curiosity, and an ambitious desire of escaping from the beaten track."[213] He continues by explaining that these travelers ventured out,

> exploring ruins; measuring pyramids; groping in dark caverns; analyzing the various properties of earth, air, and water; carrying off mutilated gods and goddesses; packing up common stones and pebbles, as if they were rubies and diamonds; and even bearing away the carcasses of the dead, strangely preferring the withered frame of a female mummy,

209. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Malcolm, Sir John."

210. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Malcolm, Sir John."

211. John Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia* (London, UK: John Murray, 1861), xi.

212. Malcolm, xi.

213. Malcolm, xi.

> which has been moldering for four thousand years in its sepulcher, to the loveliest specimens of living and animated beauty.[214]

Malcolm declares that these "wandering tribes of writers" have "recently begun to migrate into Syria, Asia Minor, and some have actually penetrated as far as Persia."[215] The invasion of these groups to this far and remote country of Persia has given the anonymous writer "no small alarm," for he "has long had designs upon that country [himself]" as he "had seen something of it" and, at the proper time of "leisure," wanted to "gratify the public by allowing them to participate in [his] stock of information."[216] The writer then emphatically shares with his readers that "nothing that had hitherto appeared respecting Persia at all frightened" him.[217]

The then anonymous writer of *Sketches of Persia* does not consider himself a historian, "therefore [he] did not tremble at Sir John Malcolm's ponderous quartos."[218] The writer of *Sketches*, who was later revealed to be Sir John Malcolm himself, considers his own "ponderous" quartos as no rival to his *own* new book. What could he mean by that? Is he distancing himself from what he wrote twelve years earlier in *The History of Persia* (1815)? Does the book contribute to a mode of "discourse" that cannot be published by a government servant, just like Morier's sarcastic work that was published anonymously? Furthermore, we must keep in mind that Lord Curzon explicitly prefers to "side with those who abhor diplomatic lie"[219] in his *Persia and the Persian Question* around seven decades later.

Let us return to the *Sketches of Persia* and follow the narrative of its Introduction through which the anonymous writer discusses the difference between his work and that of Sir John Malcolm! In distinguishing his book from other works on Persia, the author writes:

> I am no tourist, Mr. Morier's Journeys gave me no uneasiness; the learned Researches [*sic*] of Sir William Ouseley were enough to terrify an antiquarian, but that was not my trade; and, as I happen to have clumsy, untaught fingers, and little if any taste for the *picturesque*, I viewed, without alarm, the splendid volumes of Sir Robert Ker Porter.[220]

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214. Malcolm, *Sketches*, xii.

215. Malcolm, xii.

216. Malcolm, xii-xiii.

217. Malcolm, xiii.

218. Malcolm, xiii.

219. Curzon, *Persia and Persian Question*, xi.

220. Malcolm, *Sketches*, xiii.

Malcolm then considers the affairs "far different" when "that rogue Hajji Baba made his appearance" anonymously.[221] We can also ascertain that by naming Morier, Malcolm is clearly referring to Morier's two travelogues. Furthermore, we have observed that Sir John Malcolm considered James Morier a "tourist" and not even a diplomat, and Malcolm is probably among those who did not know that Morier published *Hajji Baba*. However, there is no proper evidence to prove or disprove Malcolm's knowledge of the real writer of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*.

Reflecting on *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, Malcolm writes, "I perused him with anxiety, but was consoled by finding that, though he approached the very borders of my province, he had made no serious inroads."[222] We can observe Malcolm's appreciation for the anonymously published *Hajji Baba* in a way that he "was roused into action, and determined instantly to rummage those trunks into which [his] sketches had been thrown as they were finished, and where many of them had slumbered undisturbed for nearly thirty years."[223]

At this point of his Introduction to *Sketches of Persia*, Sir John Malcolm interestingly claims that his "trunk" actually "bears no resemblance whatever to those imaginary boxes which it has lately been the fashion to discover, filled with MSS., unaccountably deposited in them by some strange and mysterious wight."[224] His manuscripts, on the other hand, "are all real, well-made, strong, iron-clamped boxes, which [he] had prepared with great care, in order that they might preserve the papers [he] from time to time intrusted [*sic*] to them."[225] He then affirms that "the sense, the nonsense, the anecdotes, the fables, and the tales,—all, in short, which these volumes contain, with the exception of a few *sage reflections* of my own, do actually belong to the good people amongst whom they profess to have been collected."[226]

In pursuing the "discursive" impacts of *Hajji Baba* on the cultural and literary scene in nineteenth-century England, it seems necessary to reflect on another essay by the very prominent literary and cultural scholar in Oriental studies, Edward Granville Browne. He wrote an extensive introduction to the 1895 edition of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* the same year that Lord Curzon did (1895), "perhaps in competition with Curzon's edition."[227]

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221. Malcolm, xiii.

222. Malcolm, *Sketches*, xiii.

223. Malcolm, xiii.

224. Malcolm, xiii.

225. Malcolm, xiv.

226. Malcolm, xiv.

227. Amanat, "Hajji Baba of Ispahan."

E. G. Browne believes that describing *Hajji Baba* "merely as an entertaining story would be to give a most inadequate idea of its value."[228] Going through numerous editions in 1828, 1835, 1856,1863 and more, E. G. Browne regards *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* not only as an appropriate choice for the "ordinary novel-reader," but he arguably pushes his praise of this work beyond customary limits by declaring that "every cultivated Englishman who has not read *Hajji Baba* should at once proceed to remedy this defect in his education."[229] We have to bear in mind that Browne is talking about a piece of literature that is claimed to be the reflections of a seasoned diplomat and not those of a well-known writer; and as Sir John Malcolm states in his "Introduction" to *Sketches of Persia*, he is considered merely a "tourist."[230] Although *Hajji Baba* was written seventy years earlier, Browne still highly regards the book and emphasizes its profound authenticity, just as Lord Curzon does:

> Considered merely as a piece of fiction, *Hajji Baba* has many rivals; considered as a faithful picture of the living East (as opposed to the purely imaginary and unreal East of Moore and Southey), it has none. Indeed, I might almost venture to assert that never has any writer of any nation succeeded in portraying, not merely the manners, customs, and forms of speech, but the character and modes of thought, of an alien race, as Morier has portrayed the Persians in his immortal pages.[231]

Like many other works of "Orientalism" that claim to be "authentic," *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* is perceived to be an accurate source of knowledge for "learning,"[232] even for a renowned and prominent Orientalist like E.G. Browne. In his Introduction, Browne also mentions Theodor Nöldeke, one of the most acclaimed Germanophone Orientalists, is a sincere supporter of the work. Browne declares that Nöldeke "freely acknowledges" in the preface to his classical *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* his profound "indebtedness to Morier's Romance": "*Aus Moriers Hajji Baba kann man auch für das alte Persien sehr viel lernen! Auch in den persischen Heroen steckt immer wieder der edle Hajji Baba*" [You can also learn a lot about ancient Persia from Morier's *Hajji Baba*: Time and again, some of the noble Hajji Baba can be found in Persian heroes].[233]

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228. Edward G. Browne, "Introduction," *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (London, UK: Methuen and Company, 1895), ix.

229. Browne, ix.

230. Malcolm, *Sketches*, xiii.

231. Browne, x.

232. Browne, "Introduction," x.

233. Browne, xi.

Browne adores the novel as a work that "displays genius of the very highest order," and reaffirms that *Hajji Baba* "contains not merely the cream of the author's two great folio volumes of travels, but the cream of all volumes of Persian travel, and a great deal besides; all assorted and arranged in a continuous narrative of sustained and unflagging interest."[234] With some references to the travelogues of James Morier, E.G. Browne concludes that "the characters are manifestly drawn from life, but they are characters created by Morier, not caricatures of actual personage."[235]

The tributes paid to James Morier and his "authentic" account(s) of Persia by two of the most prominent figures of Oriental studies in the late nineteenth century do verify the fact that Persia maintained its sound position within the British imperial scheme in the East over the course of the entire century, if not longer. This can also be verified if we consider the state of affairs and the incidents that happened in the country from the Iranian side; however, these issues are not the focus of this project. Furthermore, it could also be argued that at the end of the imperial century, we face a resurgence of interest in the "discursive" construction of Persia in the Western societies. This calls for new propagation and reappearance of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* with new introductory essays written by two men of letters and politics who were very renowned in their day.

A large corpus of literature about the "Orient" and the Muslim world had been written and disseminated prior to *Hajji Baba*; the most significant novel of which is *Anastasius; or, Memoirs of a Greek* (2 Vol.) published in 1819 by Thomas Hope (1769-1831), a Dutch-British merchant banker, author and art collector. *Anastasius* is a work that casts a long shadow over the literary landscape and mass culture, including *Hajji Baba*. When the first edition of *Hajji Baba* was published anonymously five years after Hope's *Anastasius* in 1824, many believed that the book was another novel by the writer of *Anastasius*. *Anastasius* recounts the course of events in the Ottoman Empire and aims to showcase the social decay and political corruption through the eyes of a Christian Greek pretending to be a Muslim.[236] On the one hand, *Hajji Baba* is considered by many to be a literary replica of *Anastasius*. This mistake was so far-reaching that U.S.-American literary critic Eliakim Littell (1797-1870) took *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* to be the new work of Thomas Hope. In 1824, Littell wrote a very harsh literary critique on the work for the fourth volume of the periodical *The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art*.

While Discourse Analysis is at the heart of this scholarly pursuit, it would be beneficial to take Eliakim Littell's article (1824) into consideration so that we can gain a better understanding

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234. Browne, xi.

235. Browne, xi.

236. Nategh, "Hajji Morier," 32.

of various "discourses" that developed around the time *Hajjii Baba* was published on the other side of the Atlantic. Although studying *Anastasius* offers promising research perspective for scholars of Postcolonial studies, it will only be used as a point of reference for this project.

Eliakim Littell believes that after the publication of *Anastasius*, "everybody thought Lord Byron was taking to write prose; while there was no living author but Lord Byron supposed capable of having written such a book," which was replete with "bold incidents, brilliant descriptions_ with historical details, given in a style which [David] Hume or [Edward] Gibbon could scarcely have surpassed; and with analysis of human character and impulse, such as even [Bernard] Mandeville might have been proud to acknowledge."[237] The literary critic praises *Anastasius* as "not merely *one* of the most vigorous, but absolutely, the *most* vigorous of the 'dark-eyed and slender-waisted heroes,' that had appeared."[238] Littell followed this glowing review with his critique of *Hajji Baba* in which he states that he detects "a blot in the very outset of the book": "Mr. Hope starts, most transparently, with Gil Blas in his eye, and never considers that a character perfectly fitted for a hero in one country, may not be so well calculated to fill the same role in another."[239] In following the viewpoints of this American literary critic, we can observe his bold critical stance vis-à-vis the alleged second work of Thomas Hope by accusing the writer of "an affectation of setting out about twenty unconnected facts, in just the same number of short unconnected sentences," allegorizing it as "a rolling up of knowledge into little hard pills, and giving [the readers] dozens of them to swallow, (without diluent,) one after the other."[240] He concludes that "this avoidance of conjunction, and connecting observation, leads to an eternal concurrence of pronouns_ rattling *staccato* upon the ear," which makes the book "read like a judge's note of a trial, or a report of a speech of a newspaper."[241]

It is important at this point of the research to become acquainted with the protagonist of the novel, the "rogue" Hajji Baba of Ispahan, as well as become familiar with his biography and his environment.

In the novel, Hajji Baba is the son of *Kerbelai* Hassan who was "one of the most celebrated barbers of Ispahan" and his second wife.[242] *Kerbelai* Hassan "undertook a pilgrimage to the tomb of Hosein [Hossein] at *Kerbelah* [Karbala]," which prompted people to give him the

237. Eliakim Littell, "The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan," *The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art* 4, no. 1 (1824): 289.

238. Littell, 289.

239. Littell, 289.

240. Littell, "Adventures of Hajji Baba," 293.

241. Littell, 293.

242. James Morier, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan with an Introduction By the Hon. George Curzon, M.P.* (London, UK: McMillan and Co., 1895), 1.

epithet *Kerbelai.*[243] He took his new wife with him, who gave birth to Hajji Baba along their journey. Hajji Baba received his education from a "*mollah*" to learn to say his prayers, "decipher the Koran" and "write a legible hand"; when he was not at school, he attended to his father's barbershop to learn the basics of the profession.[244] By the time he was sixteen, it was "difficult to say" whether he "was most accomplished as a barber or a scholar," while, as he puts it,

> I had learnt sufficiently of our poets to enable me to enliven conversation with occasional apt quotations from Saadi, Hafiz, etc.; this accomplishment, added to a good voice, made me considered as an agreeable companion by all those whose crowns or limbs were submitted to my operation.[245]

He concludes that "it may, without vanity, be asserted that Hajji Baba was quite the fashion among the men of taste and pleasure [in Isfahan]."[246] As Hajji Baba "associated the two qualifications of barber and scribe," he received an "advantageous offer" by a "Bagdad merchant" who was "in want of someone to keep his accounts"; Hajji Baba immediately decided to follow the merchant and began his journey with "a new case of razors" from his father.[247] He starts the journey along with his new master, *Osman Aga*, who was "a great hater of the sect of Ali, a feeling he strictly kept to himself, as long as he was in Persia."[248] Hajji's mother, however, "augured no good from a career begun in the service of a *Sunni*."[249]

They started their journey toward the holy city of "Meshed" [Mashhad] with the purpose of purchasing "the lamb-skins of Bokhara," which they "afterwards purposed to convey to Constantinople for sale"; however, they were raided by the Sunni *Turcoman* bandits on the way, and were taken captive.[250] His master felt compelled to plan a sectarian action in hopes of "softening" the Sunni *Turcoman* [Turkmens] master, emphasizing the fact that he is also a Sunni by "invoking Omar and cursing Ali."[251]

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243. Morier, 1.

244. Morier, 2.

245. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 2.

246. Morier, 2.

247. Morier, 4.

248. Morier, 4-5.

249. Morier, 4.

250. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 5-7.

251. Morier, 10-11.

This is the inception of the long-lasting vicissitudes of Hajji Baba. Hajji Baba finally manages to survive due to his barber skills. He joins the bandits and leads them in raiding the *Caravanserai* of his own native Isfahan, finally escaping from the "*Turcomans*" and becoming a very successful *Saka*, or watercarrier, and later an "itinerant vender of smoke" during a period of financial hardship. He coincidentally forms a profound acquaintance with a group of dervishes and he can learn from their master the essentials of being a dervish: "the assurance" and "the impudence."[252] Following the fluctuations of life, Hajji Baba of Ispahan leaves Mashhad for the capital, Tehran, and "goes to the bath, puts on new clothes, appears in a new character."[253] Then, once again with the help of his fraudulence and deceitfulness, he enters "into the service of the King's physician_ of the manner he was first employed by him."[254] He falls in love with the "fair" Zeenab, a woman from the doctor's harem, and finds out about the gloomy story of this "Curdish (Kurdish) slave." He must then witness how his fair lady is eventually presented to the *Shah* (king) as a gift by the physician.

Hajji Baba manages to get closer and closer to the court of the *Shah,* to the point that he accompanies the *Shah* to his leisure camp. He becomes an executioner, attends the expedition against the Russians, becomes a saint, and "associates with the most celebrated divine in Persia."[255] However, he is once again left "utterly destitute."[256] Hajji Baba gets back to his native Isfahan and after so much misfortune, "becomes the scribe to a celebrated man of the law," and goes through lots of other adventures. [257] He is seized again, but "his good stars again befriend and set him free."[258] After reaching Baghdad and reuniting with his first master, *Osman Aga*, he "turns his views to commerce again"[259] and becomes a merchant, "leaves Bagdad, and accompanies a caravan to Constantinople,"[260] where he "makes a conquest of the widow of an *emir*,"[261] who he eventually marries. The marriage fails when she discovers the fact that Hajji

252. Morier, 49.

253. Morier, 83.

254. Morier, 90.

255. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 278.

256. Morier, 284.

257. Morier, 315.

258. Morier, 375.

259. Morier, 379.

260. Morier, 389.

261. Morier, 392.

Baba is "an impostor."[262] He later becomes "useful to an ambassador" and "writes the history of Europe [for the Persian King], and with his ambassador returns to Persia."[263]

In the following subchapter, I will thoroughly analyze the Introductory Epistle at the beginning of the novel, as it is of paramount importance for the meaningful contextualization of the work.

3.5. The Introductory Epistle, or the Black Box of the Narrative

3.5.1. The Epistle as the Conglomerate of all Imperial Agendas

It is clear that in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Persia came into the orbit of "Oriental" interest of English and Indian Statesmen, and the publication of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* in 1824 can be studied against the background of the respective imperial agendas. In his significant introduction to the 1895 edition of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan,* Lord Curzon sheds light on many neglected aspects of this work. Before moving on to an analysis of the Introductory Epistle, it is important to consider the notion of Cultural Poetic critics that "all texts are social documents that reflect but also, and more importantly, respond to their historical situation."[264] Furthermore, since any historical situation is "an intricate web of oftentimes competing discourses, Cultural Poetics scholars necessarily center history and declare that any interpretation of a text would be incomplete if we do not consider the text's relationship to the discourses that helped fashion it and to which the text is a response."[265] From this standpoint, a text becomes "a battleground of competing ideas among the author, society, customs, institutions, and social practices that are all eventually negotiated by the author and the reader and influenced by each contributor's episteme."[266]

The "discourse" that the pivotal *Hajji Baba of Ispahan* constitutes is fundamentally a multifaceted and hybrid mode of "discourse" and was capable of bringing about enormous changes in the "discursive formation" of Persia in the West, either at the time of publication or afterward. It could be argued that this literary work could challenge and decenter a large corpus of Romantic "discourses" about the "Orient," specifically about Persia, in the Western world. This happened primarily through the translation of the novel into other languages at or around the time of publication. I would like to argue that the *mundaneness* of the book is a defining factor in constituting this new mode of "discourse" when compared to the extensive body of

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262. Morier, 410.

263. Morier, 424-434.

264. Charles E. Bressler, *Literary Criticism: An Introduction to Theory and Practice* (New Jersey, US: Pearson Education, Inc., 2003), 187.

265. Bressler, 187.

266. Bressler, *Literary Criticism*, 187.

other modes of literary "discourses" of that period. It is already known that the publication of many significant works of Romanticism roughly coincides with that of *Hajji Baba*, especially in other regions of the Western world.

As stated earlier, the importance of the Industrial Revolution in England and the (geo-)political "state of affairs" (*Sachverhalt*) are of great significance for the analysis of the roots of the emergence of this work. The new industrial development and the increase of international trade, the emergence of a middle class, the commodification of culture, as well as the colonial and imperial interests of a globally dominate power like Imperial Britain call for new poetics of constituting "the Other" as well as new politics of "gaze."

One can therefore argue that the boundaries of traditional "Orientalism" had to be redrawn. The trendy tropes of *One Thousand and One Nights* could not meet the demands and logic of a new era: And a new model was about to emerge to do just that.

In my opinion, regardless of its profound impact on the Western perception of "the Orient," *One Thousand and One Nights* was not originally written for a Western readership, rather it is a work that was *canalized* into mainstream Western culture. However, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* and many other imperial travelogues that were perceived as "investigative" works by Western sojourners, diplomats and visitors were principally written for the Western horizon of understanding. However, the importance of the fantastic and rather romantic *One Thousand and One Nights* as one of the bedrocks of the "Oriental" narratives up until the nineteenth century cannot be forgotten. This is a very crucial notion that was also mentioned in the Introductory Epistle of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*.

I have already discussed the (geo-)political importance of Persia during the first decades of the nineteenth century during the clash of empires, as well as the implications that these clashes had for "little known and scarcely visited"[267] Persia, as Lord Curzon refers to it. Lord Curzon implied the (geo-)political significance of Persia for the British Imperialism in numerous instances. Referring back to his "Introduction" to the 1895 edition of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, he writes:

> but little known and scarcely visited during the preceding century, [Persia] suddenly and simultaneously focused the ambitions of Russia, the apprehensions of Great Britain, the Asiatic schemes of France. The envoys of great Powers flocked to its court, and vied with each other in the magnificence of the display and the prodigality of the gifts with which they sought to attract the superb graces of the sovereign, Fath Ali Shah. Among these supplicants for the Persian alliance, then appraised at much beyond its real value, the most assiduous and also the most profuse were the British, agitated at one moment by the

267. Curzon, "Introduction," vii.

> prospect of an Afghan invasion of India, at another by the fear of an overland march against Delhi of the combined armies of Napoleon and the Tsar.[268]

If read critically, this excerpt from Lord Curzon's introduction can lead to a better appreciation of this novel as a significant cultural text for both the educated English as well as for diplomats. Amir Ahmadi believes that *Hajji Baba* "seems to have been almost compulsory reading for American and British diplomats decades into the twentieth century."[269] Ahmadi also recounts an event mentioned by the renowned Iranian poet, scholar and historian, Mohammad Taqi Bahar (1886-1951), in one of his books:

> [I] recollect a night sometime in the 1910s, in which people from European and American embassies gathered to have a party. As was often the case, the backwardness of Iranians was a favorite subject. Someone recounted what he had heard about the superstitions around *Saqa-khaneh*.[270] Others asked for more detail, to which responded: "It is a long story. You don't get such an anecdote even in Hajji Baba!"[271]

In reference to the importance of *Hajji Baba* for the Western readership, Abbas Amanat believes that

> far beyond its worth as a work of fiction, *Hajji Baba* was regarded as a true display of Persian roguery and villainy hidden behind deceptive appearances. Not surprisingly, it became standard reading for all Westerners dabbling in Persian, and, in a broader context, any "Oriental" affairs. This included diplomats and statesmen, political commentators, missionaries, academics, archeologists, physicians, educators, travelers, artists, writers and even casual readers who wished to know something about Persia.[272]

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268. Curzon, "Introduction," vii.

269. Ahmadi, "*The Fictional Construction of Iran*," 72.

270. In traditional Iranian architecture, *Saqa-Khaneh* is a small space on the public sidewalks that are erected by the residents or merchants of a neighborhood in order to offer the passersby and wayfarers free potable water. This space has gained a religious connotation over time.

271. Mohammad Taqi Bahar, *Tarikh-e mokhtasar-e ahzab-e siasi-ye Iran* [The Brief History of Iranian Political Parties] (Tehran, IR: Amirkabir Publication, 1979), 117.

272. Amanat, "Hajji Baba of Ispahan."

Edward W. Said believes that authors are not "mechanically determined by ideology, class, or economic history, but authors are very much in the history of their societies, shaping and shaped by that history and their social experience in different measures," and "culture and the aesthetic forms it contains derive from historical experience."[273] With this in mind, the embeddedness of James Justinian Morier and his published novel within the imperial enterprise can be read using a multidimensional approach, ranging from the study of geopolitical agendas and mass culture, to that of the exoticness, outlandishness and bizarreness of the "Other."

There is also another important "discursive" notion that I have identified in Curzon's above-mentioned reflections on Persia: A trope that is still an inseparable part of our "discursive formations" of a "subordinate" subject. I can observe a discursive strategy here that I would like to identify as the political trivialization of the "Other." Let us briefly concentrate on some phrases used by Lord Curzon in reflecting on Persia and its importance for the British "Asiatic schemes" in the early nineteenth century. Curzon opens his 1895 introduction to James Morier's *Hajji Baba* by stating that Persia was "then appraised at much beyond its real value."[274] He also considers this "satire" as an "epitome of modern and moribund Iran"[275] aiming at "exposing the foibles of a people through the mouth of one of their own nationality."[276] On the one hand, the whole concept embodies what Edward Said calls the "paternalistic arrogance of imperialism,"[277] as well as poetics and politics of "gaze." We can gain a better understanding of this trivialization by reflecting on other travelogues and itineraries written about Persia during the first half of the nineteenth century. We can also ask ourselves what the practical reasons could have been for disseminating so much information about a faraway land which was overestimated "beyond its real value."

Chronologically speaking, there were a few travelers who visited Persia in the first half of the eighteenth century; Jonas Hanway was among the most distinguished of them. However, the works of John Bell of Antermory in 1717 and James Spilman in 1739 were the precursors to the works discussed here; they were, however, much less popular among the English readers. .[278] According to M. H. Braaksma in his *Travel and Literature*, "between the years 1600 and 1700 only fourteen travelers to Persia recorded their adventures; twenty English books of Persian travel were published in the eighteenth century, in the nineteenth century the number of Persian travels, written in English (including American), amounted to over one hundred, only forty-six of

273. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xxii.

274. Curzon, "Introduction," vii.

275. Curzon, xxiv.

276. Curzon, x.

277. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xviii.

278. Javadi, *Persian Literary Influence*, 104.

these being published between 1800 and 1850."[279] Javadi (1983) states that "we find chauvinistic travelers, intolerant towards anything unlike their own manners, and sometimes with a strong streak of religious prejudice, firmly convinced of the predestined superiority of the 'advanced' West over the 'backward' East."[280] He rightly declares that "the fullest expression of this Kiplingesque dogma is found at the end of the century in Lord Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question*" where "[Curzon] wrote: '*Splendide mendax* might be taken as the motto of Persian character.' Then he applied this to the manners, religion, government and the whole way of life of the Persians."[281]

Javadi also shares with us another overlooked book of travel, that was the precursor of Lord Curzon's attribution of *Splendide mendax* as the motto of Iranian national character: Edward Scott Waring's *A Tour to Shiraz* that was published in London in 1807. Through applying a theory of David Hume, Waring deduced from "the large number of Persian words indicating different gradations of robbery and crime that the state of the nation must be one of moral degeneracy."[282] Waring declares, "the sun of Eastern learning has set for ever, while the one which irradiates our Western sky shines with daily increasing splendor."[283] His final verdict on the Persians is that "they are excellent companions, but detestable characters."[284] We cannot forget the fact that "in representation of the Orient, truth and falsehood matter less than the responses they elicit, with the result that perceptions create their own reality."[285]

The *triviality* of the "Oriental Other" can also be seen and analyzed from another perspective. In so doing, another question must be asked: If the value of Persia, as Curzon believed, was overestimated by global powers in the heyday of British Empire and the clash of empires, why did Curzon write *Persia and Persian Question* at the end of the century? And why does Lord Curzon mention the inadequacy of sources on Persia as his distinct reason for publishing *Persia and the Persian Question*? Does Persia attain its "real value" at the end of century? What was the reason for the reappearance of two new editions of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* within the same year, the forewords of which were written by two eminent men of politics and letters, Lord Curzon and E.G. Browne?

One can consider *Hajji Baba* as an extremely important narrative due to its considerable impact on both the Iranian and Western influences. In addition to its importance in altering the

279. Javadi, 105.

280. Javadi, 108.

281. Javadi, 108.

282. Javadi, *Persian Literary Influence*, 108.

283. Javadi, 108.

284. Javadi, 108.

285. Laroussi, *Postcolonial Counterpoint*, 23.

classic mode of the "discursive formation" of Persia in the West, this picaresque novel also plays the most crucial role in forming and developing the novel as a genre in Persian literature. A very loose translation of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) was published in 1886 by Mirza Habib Esfahani (1835-1893), the Iranian poet, grammarian and translator who spent most of his life in exile in Ottoman Turkey. Mirza Habib's "imaginative rendering" of *Hajji Baba* into Farsi is considered his "main impact on Persian prose."[286] Interestingly, the exiled scholar is also the first translator of *L'Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane* into Farsi in 1904.

Mirza Habib Esfahani was a political dissident to Qajar rulers, who had a formidable position in the Ottoman literary and educational scene, first as instructor of Persian and Arabic in *Maktab-e Soltani* (Imperial College) in Galata, and later as inspector at the Ottoman ministry of education.[287] I would like to argue that his decision to translate this novel was chiefly based on political motivations, those being denouncing the Qajar dynasty as well as reflecting on the pervasive tyranny and injustice prevalent in Persia. Therefore, "he adds extra information and notions to the text in order to appropriate the outcome for Persian readers."[288] Surprisingly, his translation was banned in Ottoman Turkey, but finally went through numerous printings in Calcutta, Lahore and Tehran over the course of the following years. It is noteworthy that Mirza Habib Esfahani's additions to his rendition of the novel from French are mostly political in nature; however, there are also many literary additions that aimed to appeal to the readers. The literary additions are mostly couplets from the large body of Persian poetry that were included in order to meet the expectations of the Persian readers. It also offered Persian readers a more pleasurable reading experience given the fact that poetry is an inseparable part of the Persian national character. Mirza Habib's translation of *Hajji Baba* is so genuine and easy-to-read that it made the Iranians suspect that Mirza Habib himself wrote the book in Ottoman Turkey in order to attack the Qajar dynasty and many aspects of it. The Iranian literary society held onto this belief until the mid-twentieth century. Mirza Habib's rendition of *Hajji Baba* indicates how an imperial piece of literature could become a profoundly political text at the domestic level through a culturally elaborate and dexterous translation and detailed localization.

As stated above, the importance of this novel as "a turning point in the tradition of literary rendition of the near East"[289] cannot be ignored. Some scholars believe that this work is among the inaugural pieces of "colonial literature" on the "Orient."[290]

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286. Tahsin Yazici, "Habib Esfahani," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2002), available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/habib-esfahani

287. Yazici, "Habib Esfahani."

288. Yazici, "Habib Esfahani."

289. Ahmadi, "*The Fictional Construction of Iran*," 70.

290. Homa Nategh, "Hajji Morier va ghesseye estemaar."

It has already been argued that the Introductory Epistle of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* is of utmost importance for the understanding of the *raison d'être* of the novel. The "Epistle" is written in the form of a letter to "Rev. Dr. Fundgruben Chaplain to the Swedish Embassy at the Ottoman Porte."

The letter opens with the appreciation of a historical work by the chaplain who is introduced as the "esteemed and learned sir."[291] The narrator recounts the "good old conversation" that he and Dr. Fundgruben had enjoyed "one beautiful moonlight night, reclining upon a sofa of a Swedish palace, and looking out of those windows which command so magnificent and extensive a view of the city and harbor of Constantinople" while discussing "subjects which had reference to the life and manners of extraordinary people" of the Orient.[292] The narrator of the Introductory Epistle recollects the observation made by the Swedish chaplain that "no traveler had ever satisfied" him in his

> delineation of Asiatic manners; 'for,' said you, in general their mode of treating the subject is by sweeping assertions, which leave no precise image on the mind, or by disjointed and insulated facts, which, for the most part, are only of consequence as they relate to the individual traveler himself.[293]

At this point, they both "agreed, that of all the books which have ever been published on the subject, the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* gives the truest picture of the Orientals, and that, for the best of all reasons, because it is the work of one of their own community."[294]

At this stage, emphasis must be put on the very foundational point that has been explicitly mentioned in the Introductory Epistle, which, even today, still plays a crucial role in the formation of imperial literature for the Western readers: the importance of native informers in the process of creating imperial literature.

The authenticity of a work written by a native informer has been emphasized in numerous instances of the Introductory Epistle, considering *One Thousand and One Nights* to be the precursor of this narrative method. However, I would like to argue that *One Thousand and One Nights*, as a pivotal text in the East and the West, is a narrative essentially beyond the works that are written based on certain political "discourses" and agendas. Since its first emergence in 1706

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291. James Morier, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan With an Introduction By the Hon. George Curzon, M.P.* (London, UK: McMillan and Co., 1895), xxxix.

292. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xl.

293. Morier, xl.

294. Morier, xl.

as *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, this work can be considered the bedrock for the subsequent narratives about the wonders of the "Orient" in the West. In Andrew Lang's words, this work is like "all the East had contributed its wonders, and sent them to Europe in one Parcel."[295]

I would like to reaffirm that we have to emphatically differentiate between a work like *One Thousand and One Nights* and a work such as *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan.* This first is the diachronic accumulation of a wide range of folklore from people of different ethnicities as diverse as Persians, Indians, Turks and Arabs, with their prototypes likely having been written in Pahlavi, Zoroastrian and old Sanskrit. The second is written during the post-Enlightenment and post-Industrial Revolution era in a colonial and imperial context. The prior was also translated into Western languages, in this case English, and culturally appropriated for the sake of familiarizing Western people with their immediate "Others" through the use of very old, inauthentic, and unrealistic tales that lack the wisdom of the Age of Reason, which more or less coincides with the first translation of *One Thousand and One Nights* into English.

In his letter to the Chaplain of Swedish Embassy at the Ottoman port, the writer of the Introductory Epistle further declares that

> But, 'said you,' if a native Oriental could ever be brought to understand so much of the taste of Europeans, in investigations of this nature, as to write a full and detailed history of his own life, beginning with his earliest education, and going through to its decline, we might then stand a chance of acquiring the desired knowledge.'[296]

It has become clear that we are dealing with a life narrative that is primarily supposed to be an *authentic* source about Persian lives during a time in which the British readership in particular found it highly important to distance themselves from the Romantic mode of "discourse" on Persia in the United Kingdom. We have also observed how the role of native informers is emphatically highlighted by the writer of the Introductory Epistle, and how this *nativity* heralds the authority and authenticity of a cultural text. From this perspective, one might argue that this work could be regarded as the first example of later fictions, then memoirs, that were written by the native informers for the *Kulturindustrie*. It is, however, a very contested issue because we do not exactly know if the writer of some chapters of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* is James Morier himself or if he is solely the translator of a text written by a

295. Andrew Lang, *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments* (London, UK: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898), xi.

296. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xli.

native Iranian. It does not, however, affect my argument regarding the role of native informers in constituting such pro-imperial texts at the discursive level.

Drawing on this "discourse," the publication of *Hajji Baba* in 1824 could be considered the precursor of the integration of "native informants," to quote Hamid Dabashi, into the imperial enterprise. The use of "native informants" reached its peak after WWII as well as during the post-Cold War era and the emergence of the United States as the unrivaled global empire.

Citizens of the twentieth century onward have experienced – and are still experiencing – a publication boom on the Islamic "Orient" in various forms, ranging from broadcast and print media to the entertainment and publishing industries. This publishing spree on "the Oriental Other" in today's world provides us with an abundance of sources that warrant further investigation. It is evident that propagating the narratives of "native informants" and "comprador native intellectuals," again using Dabashi's terms, still plays a crucial role in enriching and diversifying the imperial discursive *reservoir* and serves as "a crucial function in facilitating public consent to imperial hubris."[297]

The real authorship of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* is also a highly disputed and hotly debated issue among many scholars: they cannot come to an agreement about whether or not James Morier is the author or merely the translator of the work. One party to the conflict, which includes mostly Western scholars, argues that Morier's work is the result of the author's utmost genius and deep knowledge of Persia, while the other party, the Iranians, more broadly non-Western scholars, reject the authorship of James Morier. For instance, Terry H. Grabar argues in his "Fact and Fiction: Morier's Hajji Baba" (1969) that

> Hajji Baba himself has no single model among the men whom Morier knew in Persia, but is simply a Persian-style picaro. His origins, however, do not lie only in Western literary tradition. He becomes Morier's hero for a non-literary reason: Morier was struck by the similarity of the picaresque tradition and the kind of life he saw in Persia.[298]

What this piece of writing tells us is that the author considers James Morier and his travelogues to be the raw material for *Hajji Baba.* This scholar further elaborates that

> [Morier] found the Persians gay, friendly, pliable, as clever as any people in the world; but he was astonished by their flattery, intrigue, falsity, and deceit, which they hardly

297. Hamid Dabashi, "Native Informers and the Making of the American Empire," *Al-Ahram Weekly*, June 1, 2006.

298. Terry H. Grabar, "Fact and Fiction: Morier's Hajji Baba," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 11, no. 3 (1969): 1224.

> bothered to conceal and to which they attached no moral reprehensibility. The Persians were, in Morier's mind, a whole nation of picaros, forced by despotism to learn to live by their wits, bouncing back from every vicissitude with the vigor and gaiety of *Gil Blas*.[299]

Grabar then concludes that "Hajji is not only a stock literary character but also a representative type, illustrating what Morier conceived to be the 'national character' of the Persians."[300]

With respect to Morier's authorship of the novel, I personally believe that the work is so detailed, so elaborate, and so eloquent from cultural, ethnical, social, political, geographical, folklore, and literary points of view that no foreign individual, regardless of his pliability and talent, can write such a work after altogether six years (1808-1809 and 1810-1814) of diplomatic residence in a multicultural and multiethnic country like Iran. As Pouralifard and Omar argued in their article entitled "Morier; the Writer or the Translator of Hajji Baba," James Morier "can hardly be but the translator of the book from Persian into English and that Morier's authorship of the novel cannot have any scientific or historical base."[301] They recount numerous problems in supporting their argument, among them are problems concerning "pronunciation and transliteration," as well as Morier's "difficulties in translating the words, expressions and sentences of the original book" from Farsi.[302] They also propose that the extremely genuine native Persian proverbs, idioms, expressions, names and more provide sufficient proof that the book was initially written in Farsi. The literal (word-for-word) translation of Farsi idioms and expressions into English is done in such a way that it would be difficult for English speakers to easily understand them. I would like to argue that this greatly increases the probability that Morier was not the original author of the book. The work is replete with "bumbling translations," as Pouralifard and Omar put it, which seem like nothing but a group of words that need profound contemplation to be understood when read by a native English speaker. Here are some example of expressions that would be difficult for English speakers to understand: "I'll burn your father" suggests a direct threat and could be substituted with "I'll lower the boom on you"; Pouralifard and Omar propose that "his place has long been empty here" could be equivalent to "he has long been missed here"; "you father of a dog, if you lie" could be interpreted as "you, a rascal or knavish, if you lie."[303] However, seeing as how Discourse Analysis is the primary concern of this project, and not literary and textual analysis, I will not delve deeper into this subject. Pouralifard

299. Grabar, "Fact and Fiction," 1224.

300. Grabar, 1224.

301. Akram Pouralifard, and Noritah Omar, "Morier; The Writer or the Translator of Hajji Baba," *International Journal on Studies in English Language and Literature (IJSELL)* 2, no. 9 (September 2014): 26.

302. Pouralifard, and Omar, 27.

303. Pouralifard, and Omar, 28.

and Omar's investigation also provides us with another, yet more important, historical clue that rejects Morier's authorship of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. They declare,

> Lord Holland the fourth, a contemporary of Morier who kept an acquaintance with him, is the contestant to Morier's authorship of the novel. He says that, 'Morier's conversation is sensible and totally unaffected, but neither wit nor eloquence makes one judge him capable of having written that delightful book of Hajji Baba.'[304] Lord Holland seems to refer to the incompatibility of the book's fascinating nature with Morier's capabilities in Persian language and his familiarity with the cultural and national texture of the country despite his possible 'eloquence and wit.'[305]

Up to this point, we can be, to some extent, confident about the existence of a native informer in the development of James Morier's *magnum opus*. Looking at the issue from a modern perspective, one can juxtapose James Morier's work from the heyday of the British Empire with the mostly American contemporary works of "Neo-Orientalism" in the third millennium. It could be argued that this American mode of literature is the perpetuation of the "discursive practices" of the colonial empires of the previous centuries in dealing with the "Oriental Others."

In their article "Neo-Orientalism," Ali Behdad and Juliet A. Williams elaborate on the concept of "Neo-Orientalism," ascertaining that neo-Orientalism denotes "a mode of representation which, while indented to classical Orientalism, engenders new tropes of othering."[306] They argue that, unlike its classical counterpart, neo-Orientalism "entails a popular mode of representing, a kind of *doxa* about the Middle East and Muslims which is disseminated, thanks to new technologies of communication, throughout the world."[307] They defend their decision to designate this mode of representation as *neo* rather than *new* by highlighting the fact that it emphasizes "the continuity between contemporary and traditional forms of Orientalism"[308] that has been carefully mapped by Edward Said. Neo-Orientalism is a mode that "designates a shift in the discourse of Orientalism that represents a distinct, and in ways novel formation, it nonetheless entails certain discursive repetitions of and conceptual continuities with its

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304. This is an excerpt from page 371 of *The Journal of Hon. Henry Edward Fox (Afterwards Fourth and Last Lord of Holland) 1818-1830* published in 1923 by T. Butterworth Limited in London.

305. Pouralifard, and Omar, 28.

306. Ali Behdad, and Juliet A. Williams, "Neo-Orientalism," in Globalizing American Studies, ed. Brian T. Edwards (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010). 284.

307. Ali Behdad, and Juliet A. Williams, "Neo-Orientalism," 284.

308. Behdad and Williams, "Neo-Orientalism," 284.

precursor."[309] However, neo-Orientalism should not be understood as a mode *sui generis*, but rather as a complement to enduring modes of Orientalist representation.[310]

In outlining some of the features of neo-Orientalism, Behdad and Williams reflect on important points in theorizing this concept. In their view, "neo-Orientalism is characterized by an ahistorical form of historicism. While claiming to be attentive to historical changes in the Middle East, neo-Orientalists tend to mis-represent important aspects of recent events in the region while denying the neo-imperialist relation of the United States to the Middle East."[311] In their opinion, "unlike the 'will to knowledge' of classical Orientalism, a journalistic pretense of direct access to truth and the real dominates the current form, as neo-Orientalists deploy superficial empirical observations about Muslim societies and cultures to make great generalizations about them."[312] Finally, it must be kept in mind that the term neo-Orientalism, like its classical counterpart, is "monolithic, totalizing, reliant on binary logic, and based on assumption of moral and cultural superiority over the Oriental other"[313] as West's enduring "*spectacle*," to quote Stuart Hall. As a very important figure in literary "Orientalism," James Morier also reflects explicitly on this *spectacle* in the Introductory Epistle of the novel by claiming that he aims to depict that "a picturesqueness pervades the whole being of Asiatics, which we [Europeans] do not find in our own countries."[314] This *picturesqueness* plays a very crucial role in the of stories and narratives in the history of empires. As Edward Said argues in his *Culture and Imperialism*, "stories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world; they also become the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and the existence of their own history."[315] With respect to this argument, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* can be regarded as an imperial novel *par excellence*, which, according to Lord Curzon's and E. G. Browne's statements, had been written for diplomats and cultured reading public. The impacts of this novel on various aspects of Western mass culture even many decades after the original date of publication cannot be negated. An example that supports this claim is the production of a Hollywood blockbuster in 1954 based on a free reading and the appropriation of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*.

309. Behdad and Williams, 284.

310. Behdad and Williams, 284.

311. Behdad and Williams, 285.

312. Behdad and Williams, "Neo-Orientalism," 285.

313. Behdad and Williams, 284.

314. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xlii.

315. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xii.

3.5.2. Hierarchical "Othering" in an Imperial Strife

Many of my arguments about *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) and its ensuing *discourses* can be analyzed through a critical reading of the very first chapters of the book. In other words, the underlying "discourses" that are frequently used throughout the whole novel and can be considered the backbone of the work are all referenced in the first few chapters. It must also be taken into account that *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* is a picaresque novel that not only focuses on the Persians and their manners, but also provides us with a great range of information about other nations from the British imperial point of view. Thus, a study of British imperial literature and its portrayal of "the life and manners of the extraordinary people"[316] of the South and the East would be incomplete without touching upon these extremely important trends of hierarchical "Othering," as I prefer to call it. Morier not only had Thomas Hope's *Anastasius* in mind when he published *Hajji Baba*: the "seasoned" English diplomat also could not hide his fondness for *Gil Blas* by Alain Rene Lesage, which he referenced on numerous occasions in his Introductory Epistle. One example is the point at which he writes,

> if an European would give a correct idea of Oriental manners, which would comprehend an account of the vicissitudes attendant upon the life of an Eastern, of his feelings about his government, of his conduct in domestic life, of his hopes and plans of advancement, of his rivalities [*sic*] and jealousies, in short, of everything that is connected both with the operations of the mind and those of the body, perhaps his best method would be to collect so many facts and anecdotes of actual life as would illustrate the different stations and ranks which compose a Mussulman [Muslim] community, and then work them into one connected narrative, upon the plan of that excellent picture of European life, *Gil Blas* of *Le Sage*.[317]

It is plainly detectable that the writer sets the *L'Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*, originally published between 1715 and 1735, and later in four volumes in English, as the touchstone and front burner for publishing *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. The resemblance between the titles of books, most prominently the inclusion of the picaros' cities of origin, *Santillane,* and *Ispahan* (Isfahan)[318] is another aspect that deserves attention. The

316. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xl.

317. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xli.

318. Isfahan is an important metropole in central Iran, which also served as the third and most flourished capital of the Safavid Dynasty (1501-1736) and is home to two UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

inclusion of the picaro's city or country of origin is admittedly a pertinent feature of the picaresque novel.

The imperial and political nature of the book can be easily identified when reading the dichotomizing "discourse" at the outset of the book. One instance would be when the writer of the Introductory Epistle, who is undoubtedly James Morier, quotes the chaplain of the Swedish embassy in Constantinople making a statement regarding the Westerners who rejected their own faith in favor of Mohammedanism: "it is almost impossible that an European, even supposing him to have rejected his own faith and adopted the Mohammedan, as in the case of Monsieur de Bonneval, who rose to high rank in the Turkish government, and of Messrs. C___ and B___ in modern times (the former a *Topchi Bashi*, or general of artillery, the latter an attendant upon the Capitan Pasha), could ever so exactly seize those nice shades and distinctions of purpose, in action and manner, which a pure Asiatic only could."[319] We can observe how James Morier mentions the names of two (probably British) people out of context, explaining that they converted to Islam and decided to serve the interests of Ottoman Turkey. This act immediately reminds me of the Old English poem *The Battle of Maldon* that celebrates the real battle of 991 A.D. between the defeated Anglo-Saxon army and the triumphant Vikings. This Old English poem offers the reader a detailed account of the name of heroes and traitors.

I have already elaborated a great deal on the role of "native informers" in enriching and diversifying the imperial *discursive reservoir* in our contemporary world. It would thus be very helpful to read this part of the Introductory Epistle that explicitly calls for integrating the natives into the machinery of imperial enterprise:

> "But" said you, "if a native Oriental could ever be brought to understand so much of the taste of Europeans, in investigations of this nature, as to write a full and detailed history of his own life, beginning with his earliest education, and going through to its decline, we might then stand a chance of acquiring the desired knowledge."[320]

While the above conversation "remained treasured up" in the narrator's mind, Morier resolutely decided to

> never lose sight of the possibility of either falling in with a native who might have written his own adventures, or of forming such an intimacy with one, as might induce him

319. Morier, xli.

320. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xli.

> faithfully to recite them, and thus afford materials for the work which my imagination had fondly conceived might be usefully put together.[321]

When comparing these two texts, it becomes evident how explicitly the two discuss the necessity of integrating natives into the imperial enterprise. I could not find any indication that the "Other" was granted a voice to "recite" his own story in works published before *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824). The point here is that granting "agency" and authority to the subordinate "Other" to narrate their own story in an imperial narrative can be regarded as a *paradigm shift* in English Orientalism as a field that had predominantly been the monopoly of "aristocrats and clergymen, with their specific idiosyncrasies,"[322] as Irwin put it. This "agency" *per se*, and not the subsequent "discourses," is the crucial point of my argument at this point of the research.

Edward W. Said elaborates on the concept of "authority" in his significant work *Orientalism*. He believes that

> there is nothing mysterious or natural about authority. It is formed, irradiated, disseminated; it is instrumental, it is persuasive; it has status, it establishes canons of taste and value; it is virtually indistinguishable from certain ideas it dignifies as true, and from traditions, perceptions, and judgments it forms, transmits, reproduces. Above all, authority can, indeed must, be analyzed.[323]

I would therefore like to argue that *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) set a new stage from which the pro-imperial voices from the Muslim "Orient" could be heard and propagated in the West. This was a very important turning point in the literary representation of the Muslim "Orient" and "Orientalism."

It must be said that the main arguments of this project will remain intact regardless of who in fact wrote *Hajji Baba*. The main objective of my work is to detect, unfold and analyze the "discourses" that this work reinforces, and respectively alters. We have already ascertained that granting the utmost "agency" to a Muslim narrator was unprecedented. Regardless of how wicked, inauthentic, totalizing, deceptive, distorted or imperially-charged their subsequent "discourses" would be, studying and analyzing them will be of great value. I do gladly ask other scholars to rectify me if traces of such "agency" can be found in any other English imperial

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321. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xli.

322. Robert Irwin, "Real Discourses of Orientalism," 26.

323. Said, *Orientalism*, 19-20.

work. It must be said that *One Thousand and One Nights* cannot be regarded as an appropriate example due to the reasons discussed above.

Referring back to the novel, in reflecting on the course of events before encountering the protagonist, Mirza Hajji Baba, in Turkey, James Morier, as the author/narrator of the Introductory Epistle, recounts the hardships of his journey from Persia to England. Morier reflects on his passage through the "cold regions of Armenia," emphasizing it by including a Latin stanza[324] by Horace. He also reflects on crossing "the dangerous borders of Turkey and Persia,"[325] and further elaborates on the dangerous and menacing frontiers of the two most important Muslim empires of the time before he coincidentally meets a dying Hajji Baba in a post house in Tocat [Tokat], a city in Asia Minor. The narrator could immediately recollect Hajji Baba as being "a man of position" in the Persian court.[326] The narrator then considers meeting Hajji Baba as a "befall," or encounter, that "the world" is indebted to "for the accompanying volume."[327]

It is very helpful to read a short passage from Morier's narrative about the condition of this Persian "man of position," Hajji Baba, in his neighboring Muslim country. The narrative begins at the point that Mirza Hajji Baba's servant "unceremoniously walked into the [narrator's] room."[328] Morier writes in his Introductory Epistle that

> I discovered that he had a tale of misery to unfold, from the very doleful face that he was pleased to make on the occasion, and I was not mistaken. It was this,—that his master, one Mirza Hajji Baba, now on his return from Constantinople, where he had been employed on the Shah's business, had fallen seriously ill, and that he had been obliged to stop at Tocat [*sic*]; that he had taken up his abode at the *caravanserai*, where he had already spent a week, during which time he had been attended by a Frank[329] doctor, an inhabitant of Tocat, who, instead of curing, had, in fact, brought him to his last gasp,—that having heard of my arrival from Persia, he had brightened up, and requested, without loss of time, that I would call upon him, for he was sure the presence of one coming from

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324. *nec Armeniis in oris stat glacies iners menses per omnes*.

325. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xliv.

326. It is mentioned in the book that Mirza Hajji Baba accompanied the first Persian ambassador to Great Britain in modern times.

327. Morier, Hajji Baba, xliv.

328. Morier, xlv.

329. In Farsi, *Farangi* (singular) *and Farangi-an* (plural) is a very general term referring to Western European and American people, and not necessarily to French people.

> his own country would alone restore him to health. In short, his servant, as is usual on such occasions, finished his speech by saying, that, with the exception of God and myself, he had nothing left to depend upon in this life.[330]

This piece of imperial literature highlights an interesting point that can tell us a lot about the hierarchical "Othering" among the Muslim Orientals. Prior to Morier's arrival, Mirza Hajji Baba "enquired for a physician and [he] was told there were two practitioners in the town, a Jew and a Frank." Mirza "of course chose the latter," but he was not "able to discover to what *tribe* among the Franks [the doctor] belongs_ certainly he is not an Englishman"; Mirza Hajji Baba later calls him an "extraordinary ass."[331]

After listening to Mirza's story of misery, the narrator "returned to the post-house, applied to [his] medicine-chest, and prepared a dose of calomel, which was administered that evening with all due solemnity" and "performed [a] wonder" the next morning when the narrator paid a visit to Mirza Hajji Baba and encountered a "strange figure in the room."[332]

James Morier then provides his readers with a detailed elaboration on his "rival" doctor, who is an "itinerant quack, who, perhaps, might once have mixed medicines in some apothecary's shop in Italy or Constantinople," and who "had now set up for himself in this remote corner of Asia, where he might physic and kill at his pleasure."[333] In a further elaboration on the Italian "quack," we find out that his name is Ludovico Pestello and that he "pretended to have studied at Padua." Pestello had not been in Constantinople for very long and had

> the intention of setting up for himself, where, finding that the city overflowed with *Esculapii* [Asclepius], he was persuaded to accompany a Pasha of two tails to Tocat [*sic*], who had recently been appointed to its government, and was there now established as his body physician.[334]

The narrator, however, finds "the galimatia which [the quack] unfolded […] so extremely ridiculous" and, after using some conversational tricks, makes the Italian confess that

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330. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xlv.

331. Morier, xlvi, emphasis added.

332. Morier, xlvii.

333. Morier, xlvii.

334. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xlviii.

> he knew nothing of medicine, more than having been servant to a doctor of some eminence at Padua, where he had picked up a smattering; and that, as all his patients were heretics and abominable Mussulmans, he never could feel any remorse for those which, during his practice, he had dispatched from this world.[335]

This part of the book and its conversations are of paramount importance and help us to understand the significance of "Othering" as well as the *hierarchy* of peoples within the white race from a British imperial perspective. At this level, gaining insights into the concept of "race" among the European intellectuals of the time would assist us in contextualizing this study appropriately.

One of the philosophers who provided us with numerous reflections on the concept of "race" (*Rasse*) is the influential German philosopher in the Age of Reason, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Kant's article "Of the Different Human Races," originally published in 1777, is widely recognized as the first attempt to give a scientific definition of "race." In theorizing "race," he adhered to the notion that "races are deviations that are constantly preserved over many generations and come about as a consequence of migration (dislocation to other regions) or through interbreeding with other deviations of the same line of descent."[336] Immanuel Kant categorizes the human races into four main groups "the white race, the Negro race, the Hun race (Mongol or Kalmuck), and the Hindu or Hindustani race."[337] He explicitly considers "the Moors, the Arabs (following [Barthold Georg] Niebuhr), Turkish-Tatars and the Persians" among the "white race" that "we find primarily in Europe."[338]

Another philosopher with comprehensive reflections on the concept of race is the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), who divided humankind into three racial groups: "the Ethiopian or African race, the Mongol (in which Hegel, contra Schlegel, included both Indian and Chinese peoples) and the Caucasian race, a term Hegel borrowed from the anthropologist/anatomist [Johann Friedrich] Blumebach."[339] Hegel believes that his concept of "genuine history (as opposed to what he termed as 'unhistorical history') can only really be

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335. Morier, xlviii.

336. Immanuel Kant, "Von der verschiedenen Rassen der Menschen" (1777), trans. Jon Mark Mikkelsen, in *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*, ed. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1997).

337. Kant, "Von der verschiedenen Rassen."

338. Kant, "Von der verschiedenen Rassen."

339. Ian Almond, *History of Islam in German Thought: From Leibnitz to Nietzsche* (London, UK: Routledge, 2010), 130.

said to begin with the Caucasian race, a racial group to whom belonged not simply Europeans but all three major Muslim peoples, Arabs, Persian and Turks."[340]

With respect to Kant's and Hegel's arguments, *The Adventure of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) is not an *inter*-racial work of literature, like those works that emerged from colonialism and colonial expeditions. This novel is, on the contrary, a literary phenomenon rooted in the white race's efforts to demonize, ridicule, lampoon and distort the image of other established imperial challengers in a way that could bring about the immediate (discursive) alterations based on the specific demands of the time. The work can therefore be labelled as an *intra*-racial work of literature, just like the entire corpus of "Orientalism." This work could also be regarded as one of the first, if not the very first, works of *intra*-racial literature that "gazes" at the Muslim "Oriental Other" based on a genuinely political agenda, and not merely on aesthetic, literary, and theological ones. The "agency" of the subordinate "Other" must also be added to the previous criteria that make this work extremely unique among those in the imperial "discursive" *reservoir*.

As we have observed, many parts of this picaresque novel are set in Turkey; as a result, the Ottoman Turks are also an integral part of this English imperial narrative. It would only be diligent to also reflect on the way they are portrayed in this "discursive formation." But what is the background of the Turkish "entity" in the European socio-cultural mosaic? It is a question that deserves deeper contemplation in order to ensure this research is as exhaustive as possible.

We already know that "Hegel was certainly aware of the Turks' central Asian background, and many of the qualities he attributes to the Mongol race he also gives to the Turks," for instance, "a nomadic, destructive nature, a disinclination to build or produce culture."[341] Hegel "even used the same word_ *Überschwemmung* [flooding]_ to describe the conquests of Turks and Mongols as they spilled over into other lands."[342] However, Hegel's overall positive treatment of Persia and Persians was mentioned numerous times throughout his works, especially in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History (Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte, VPW*), where he elaborates extensively on Persia and Persian-ness. Almond declares in his *History of Islam in German Thought* that

> If Turks are incapable of culture and Arabs forever prone to fanaticism, it seems fair to say Hegel's treatment of Persia and Persians hardly ever strays into the negative. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, spurred by the discovery of Sanskrit and Avestan's proximity to German and Latin (through figures such as Jones and Schlegel), a number of

340. Almond, 130.

341. Almond, *History of Islam in German Thought*, 131.

342. Almond, 131.

> thinkers were looking to Persia as the original homeland (*Urheimat*) of the German people. The philologist Adelung (whom Hegel had read) argued as early as 1806 that Persians and Goths enjoyed a 'common derivation' (*ursprüngliche Abstammung*), whilst one of the key texts in Hegel's Oriental research—von Hammer's *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* (1818)—had called Persia 'a high intellectual-culture' and a 'near-relative of the West.'[343]

I would like to call this mode of "discourse" the Persian exceptional position in the Orient. This mode of "discourse" attracts Hegel's attention up to the point that he writes in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (1914) that "the Persians are the first Historical People," and "with the Persian Empire we first enter on continuous History."[344] If we look at this paradigm alone, and think about the repercussions that this *idea* could have for British interests in Western parts of Asia, or "*Vorderasien*," as Hegel puts it, the reason for constituting *novel* imperial "discourses" about Persia like that of *Hajji Baba* could more easily be explained and studied. I will elaborate extensively on my notion of the Persian exceptional position in the Orient in subchapter 10.

As discussed above, we cannot label these modes of "discursive practices," especially those from the nineteenth century onward, as "racism." Furthermore, the idea of racial difference between Muslims "Orientals" and Christian Europeans is rejected in significant works like Kant's and Hegel's. Consequently, I find the phrase *hierarchical Othering* to be more appropriate to describe the discourse in imperial strife. How deceptive the seemingly racial the nature of such works would appear to someone unfamiliar with the material and context, I believe that the main pillars of these works are political rivalries and economic benefits, as well as expansionism.

Let us now return to the novel and read an excerpt from the conversation between James Morier and the Italian "quack":

> 'But, *caro Signor Dottore*,' said I, 'how in the name of all that is sacred, how have you managed hitherto not to have had your bones broken? Turks are dangerous tools to play with.' 'Oh,' said he, in great unconcern, 'the Turks believe anything, and I take care never to give them medicine that can do harm.' 'But you must have drugs, and you must

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343. Almond, *History of Islam in German Thought*, 132.

344. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (London, UK: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1914), 180.

> apply them,' said I. 'Where are they?' 'I have different colored liquids,' said he, 'and as long as there is bread and water to be had I am never at a loss for a pill. I perform all my cures with them, accompanied by the words *Inshallah* and *Mashallah*!' 'Bread and water! wonderful!' did I exclaim. '*Signor, si*,' said he, 'I sprinkle my pills with a little flour for the common people, cover them with gold leaf for my higher patients, the Agas and the Pasha, and they all swallow them without even a wry face.'[345]

The interview with this "extraordinary fellow" would move the narrator to invite the "Italian quack" to dinner and finally repay him with "presents" from his "medicine-chest," which he assured the Italian would "be plentifully sufficient to administer relief to the whole of Asia Minor."[346] In the above-mentioned text, there is a high discursive tendency toward homogenizing Persia and Turkey. The Italian "quack" was not harmed or have any problems while in Turkey or in his interactions with the Turks, although James Morier mentioned that "Turks are dangerous tools to play with."[347]

It must be said that there were very few traces of a sort of affinity with Persia in the Introductory Epistle, as the only chapter we can be sure is written by James Morier, as well as in some parts of his two travelogues, particularly in his first one. He emphasizes their praise of the "European" mode of existence, and also Persian's tendency to adopt European manners. However, Morier does not feel the same way about Turkey, which was his birthplace and where his father's business was based.

The following is an excerpt from *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the Years 1808 and 1809* (1812) that can enormously contribute to our understanding of the existing imperial "discourses" about Persia in the early nineteenth century:

> In the national character of the Persian, the most striking difference from that of the Turk is perhaps the facility with which he adopts foreign manners and customs. […] I am sure then that if the Persians had possessed as much communication with Europeans, as the Turks have had, they would at this day not only have adopted many of our customs, but, with their natural quickness, would have rivalled us in our own arts and sciences.[348]

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345. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xlix.

346. Morier, xlix.

347. Morier, xlix.

348. James Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the Years 1808 and 1809* (Philadelphia, PA: Carey, and Wells and Lilly, 1816), 354.

In his further elaboration on the difference between Turks and Persians, Morier writes in his first travelogue some imperially-charged sentences that would have been useful for the British imperial mode of thinking at the domestic level, but at the same time revealed a lot about the British mode of thought vis-à-vis Persia:

> Unlike the Turks, they [the Persians] never scruple to acknowledge our [British] superiority, always however reserving to themselves the second place after the English in the list of nations: whereas the Turk, too proud, too obstinate, and too ignorant to confess his own inferiority, spurns at the introduction of any improvement with equal disdain from any nation.[349]

These sentences can also be read from an acculturation perspective. In many instances of the travelogues and the novel, there was an emphasis on the importance and possibility of acculturating Iranian folks in favor of British interests. There is, however, evidence corroborating the British ambitions to dismantle the Iranian imperial existence into a divided client state, to put it in the most conservative of terms, if not a colony. The repercussions of such colonial "discourses" and ambitions in the form of various treaties and financial contracts would emerge over the coming decades.

The probable feeling of inferiority embedded in the minds and behaviors of some individuals in the Persian ruling class as well as the *naiveté* of the Qajar elites about the global state of affairs would cost the country its sovereignty in an unprecedented way. This led to a wide range of treaties and contracts that resulted in nothing but the impoverishment of the masses as well as the consolidation of the Anglo-Russians' dominance in nearly every aspect of Iranian existence. The following will give an overview of some of these treaties and contracts.

It is also very noteworthy that Morier's travelogues cover various customs, manners, rituals, as well as the role of religion in Qajar Persia and Ottoman Turkey. Another appropriate example of Morier's meticulousness in reflecting on the difference between the two Muslim empires appeared in his first travel book. Morier writes, "the Turks never use the 'selam alek' to a Christian, or to one who is not of the faith; but the Persians are less scrupulous."[350] Another point that deserves a more profound analysis is how Morier emphasizes the enduring conflict between national and religious principles in Persia and Turkey, and how differently the two empires deal with these criteria. Morier believes that

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349. Morier, *A Journey through Persia,* 354-355.

350. Morier, *A Journey through Persia,* 104.

> the national levity of the Persians counteracts the original rigor of their religious principles, and disposes them, from the mere love of change, to admit the encroachments of European manners, which would rouse to despair and revenge the less volatile character of the Turks, and animate them in defence of their least usage with all the first enthusiasm of their faith.[351]

Drawing on Morier's statements, the interaction between "national levity," lack of rigorous religious doctrine and a "volatile character" would eventually facilitate the encroachment of European manners in Persia; and the adoption of these manners could herald the cultural imperialism and its subsequent political, cultural and economic infiltration of the British in Iran. This flawlessly took place and was embodied in the unequal relationships between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and the Sublime State of Persia[352] in any given field. At the end of this section, I will reflect on some of the important political treaties and economic concessions between Persia and the United Kingdom during the Qajar reign (1779-1925) that will contribute greatly to a better understanding of the intricate web of relationships between the two empires.

Continuing with the plot of the Introductory Epistle, the narrator decides not to leave the "poor Persian" in the hands of the itinerant quack and sees himself as "the means of saving his life."[353] Morier could not proceed on his journey without paying attention to Hajji Baba's need for help. As he says, "because having lived so long in Persia, I felt myself, in some measure, identified with its natives, and now in a country where both nations were treated with the same degree of contempt, my fellow-feeling for them became infinitely stronger."[354] His protective and supportive attitude expressed in this part of the novel reminds me of another saying that has already been shared in my work: Sir Denis Wright's statement regarding the need to protect Iran "first from the ambitions of Napoleonic France, then from Tsarist Russia and eventually from the Communist Soviet Union."[355] This statement connotes nothing but an enduring imperial *patronage* over another sovereign country. Getting back to Tokat, where Mirza Hajji Baba is

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351. Morier, *A Journey through Persia*, 42.

352. The rough English equivalent of *Dowlate Elliye Iran*, the official name of the country in Farsi during the Qajar rule.

353. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xlix.

354. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xlv.

355. Wright, *The English Amongst Persians*, ix.

thinking about compensating Mr. Morier for miraculously saving his life. Just before Morier's departure, Mirza asked all of his servants to leave the room, and spoke to the narrator as follows:

> You have saved my life; you are my old friend and my deliverer. What can I do to show my gratitude? Of worldly goods I have but few: it is long since I have received any salary from my government, and the little money I have here will barely suffice to take me to my own country. Besides, I know the English, —they are above such considerations; it would be in vain to offer them a pecuniary reward.[356]

The reader of the novel, on the one hand, faces a bankrupt government that cannot finance its emissary's journey to a neighboring country. On the other hand, a considerable weight is put on the superior moral and intellectual position of the English people, as well as their infinite hunger for non-pecuniary rewards. This issue becomes bolder when Hajji Baba emphasizes that offering a "pecuniary reward" to the English people would be in vain. Mirza Hajji Baba continues,

> but I have that by me which, perhaps, may have some value in your eyes; I can assure you that it has in mine. Ever since I have known your nation, I have remarked their *inquisitiveness*, and *eagerness* after knowledge. Whenever I have travelled with them, I observed they record their observations in books; and when they return home, thus make their fellow-countrymen acquainted with the most distant regions of the globe. Will you believe me, that I, Persian as I am, have followed their example; and that during the period of my residence at Constantinople, I have passed my time in writing a detailed history of my life, which, although that of a very obscure and ordinary individual, is still so full of vicissitude and adventure, that I think it would not fail to create an interest if published in Europe? I offer it to you; and in so doing, I assure you that I wish to show you the confidence I place in your generosity, for I never would have offered it to anyone else. Will you accept it?[357]

This is how James Morier, with a "glistening eye," gains access to the very intricate world of Mirza Hajji Baba and its vicissitudes through the latter's memoirs.[358]. Based on the previously mentioned excerpt, one of the *main* superiorities of the English people is their

356. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xlix.

357. Morier, xlix-l (emphases added).

358. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, l.

insatiable hunger for knowing the remote corners of the world. Following Morier's narrative, this intellectual feature mesmerized Mirza Hajji Baba, inspiring him to imitate the Englishmen and write a detailed history of an ordinary Persian individual; however, in the most self-abasing and *self-orientalizing* manner.

A recurrent notion that reappears in this part, and which was discussed earlier in this chapter, is the role of native informers and the constitution of apparently authentic "discourses" for the imperial enterprise. I was unable to find any colonial or imperial work published prior to *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) that was written by a native, even at the discursive level.[359] This would be a good topic for future academic pursuits by other scholars. A genealogical study regarding the role of native agents in producing literature within the framework of the Old Empire (Britain) would deepen our understanding of the emergence of mass-produced works of Neo-Orientalism in the New Empire, the United States. Possible points of departure for new projects that offer postcolonial scholars innumerable useful insights are reflections on "interdiscursivities" between the "discourses" of Old and New Empires as well as the study of discursive innovations and discursive appropriations of the old narratives in the new framework with respect to *Zeitgeist.*

I try, at this point, to offer my readers a very concise outline of the intricate web of political treaties and economic contracts signed between Persia and foreign countries, with an overt emphasis on the United Kingdom. These treaties and concessions, which were finalized during the Qajar reign, have plagued the Iranian "collective consciousness" throughout its modern history. I have divided them into three categories: The first category includes the treaties between Iran and other countries; the second category is concessions between Iran and foreign merchants, companies and consortiums; and the third category covers the treaties between other imperial powers regarding Iran.

In the first category, the most significant treaties are the following: the treaty of Finckenstein with Napoleon's France (1807); the Preliminary Treaty with the UK (1809); Definitive Treaty of Friendship and Alliance with the UK (1812); Treaty of Golestan with Tsarist Russia (1813); Treaty of Turkmenchay with Tsarist Russia (1828); the Treaty of Paris that ended Anglo-Persian wars and separated parts of Afghanistan, most importantly Herat, from Iran (1857); and the subsequent Goldsmith Treaty (1872) that forced Qajar to revoke the Iranian historical claims on Baluchistan in southeastern Iran. The Treaty of Akhal (1881) is also among the other treaties signed between Iran and Russia, through which Iran officially recognized Khwarazm's annexation by the Russian Empire. Although all of these treaties had a negative effect on the Iranian peoples' subconscious, Curzon's stigmatic Anglo-Persian Agreement of

359. As stated above, there are very contrasting ideas about the authorship of some chapters of the first volume of *Hajji Baba* regarding the incidents in Persia and Turkey. The authorship, however, is not relevant to the argument of this project. The sole claim of authority and authenticity of a work written by a native, even on a discursive level, would be enough to fulfill the arguments of this inquiry. Here it must be mentioned that there is the sequel of the book entitled *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, in England* (1828). While it will not be discussed here, it would be a great source for further studies.

1919 can be considered the jewel on the crown of imperial treaties. This agreement was not ratified by the newly established Iranian parliament and, in the end, it was not fully implemented. As stated above, Sir Denis Wright, the long-term British ambassador to Persia, maintained that the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 was "an unwanted take-over of [the] country."[360]

Before moving onto the extensive second category, which includes the contracts and concessions between Iran and foreign merchants, companies and consortiums, I would like to reflect on the third category that covers the treaties between other imperial powers with respect to Iran. This category contains three significant official agreements with tremendous repercussions for Iran economically, politically and socially. Two of them were the Treaties of Tilsit signed between Napoleon's France and Tsarist Russia. The treaties abrogated the Finckenstein Treaty and brought Qajar Persia into the political proximity of the United Kingdom, which was primarily due to the fact that the Iranians were disappointed by Napoleon's lack of support vis-à-vis Imperial Russia. This disappointment immediately manifested itself in the form of the Preliminary Treaty of 1809 and the Definitive Treaty of Friendship and Alliance in 1812, both signed with the United Kingdom, which changed the course of history for Iran. The third treaty is the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, also known as the "Convention Between The United Kingdom And Russia Relating To Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet." The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, in Sir Denis Wright's words, was "worst of all," and is considered to be "a successful attempt by Britain and Russia to settle their worldwide differences_ but which, by dividing Iran into spheres of influence," was an act that "was seen by Iranians as a betrayal."[361]

The second category covers the economic and financial contracts between Iran and citizens of the two imperial powers, Great Britain and Tsarist Russia. With respect to the treaties in this category, it could be argued that the British merchants had the upper hand. It can also be argued that Russia's imperial agenda regarding its southern neighbor was principally expansionism, and not solely trade and commerce. This may have been due primarily to Russia's mode of imperialism as well as Russia's inferior financial, commercial, and industrial ability vis-à-vis Imperial Britain in its heyday.

If we consider the first half of the nineteenth century to be the hotbed of political treaties aimed primarily at conquering the land politically and dismantling its territory, during the second half of the century, Persia observed the onrush of imperial merchants and companies. The sole aim of the contracts these companies established with Iran was the exploitation of Iranian resources. The Reuter Concession (1872) was arguably the most embarrassing concession for Iranians that was signed between the Iranian court and foreign nationals and companies. The beneficiary of the concession was Paul Julius Freiherr von Reuter, who also went by Baron von Reuter (1816 –1899), who was a German-born British entrepreneur of Jewish background. This

360. Wright, *The English Amongst Persians*, ix-x.

361. Wright, ix-x.

concession allowed Baron Reuter to take over full control of the construction of any kind of roads and railroads, telegraphs, mills, factories, mining extraction (except gold and silver), and other public works. Even Lord Curzon, an imperialist *par excellence*, takes a very strong stance against the Reuter Concession. When the details of the concession were made public, Curzon even stated that it "was found to contain the most complete and extraordinary surrender of the entire industrial resources of a kingdom into foreign hands that has probably ever been dreamed of, much less accomplished, in history."[362] This concession caused so much outrage among the people, religious clergy and intellectuals that it was abrogated by a royal decree. The concession of exclusive navigation of the Karun river (1888), as well as the establishment of the Imperial Bank of Persia (1889) can be added to the list of financial contracts and concessions granted to British citizens and companies.

Chronologically speaking, the other extremely controversial concession granted by the Qajar monarchy to foreign citizens was the absolute monopoly of the production, domestic distribution and export of Iranian tobacco to Major G. F. Talbot in 1890 under the establishment of Imperial Tobacco Corporation of Persia. This concession was also abrogated after the national mobilization of the people through a religious edict, known as a *fatwa*, by the Grand Ayatollah Mirza Shirazi (1814-1895). It must be emphasized that the independent press and intellectuals played an important role in this mobilization and abrogation of the concession. The most significant of all, however, was the D'Arcy Concession (1901), through which the exclusive possession of any prospect of Iranian oil, as well as petroleum products, was granted to William Knox D'Arcy. It is important to bear in mind that exploiting Iran's mineral resources, including oil, had been included in the annulled Reuter Concession in 1872.

The implementation of the D'Arcy Concession led to the establishment of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) in 1908. The British oil holding is considered (one of) the most lucrative British enterprises on the planet. The holding was finally nationalized in March 1951 under the leadership of then Iranian prime minister Dr. Mohammad Mosaddegh. The very short, yet popular and fruitful, government of Dr. Mosaddegh was overthrown in 1953 by a joint *coup d'état* orchestrated by the CIA and MI6 in a maneuver that is known as Operation Ajax in the United States, and as Operation Boot in Great Britain.

3.5.3. Morier's Political and Diplomatic Disclaimer

As I have explained above, James Morier is undoubtedly the writer of the Introductory Epistle of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, which is written under the pseudonym "peregrine Persic."[363] However, at no time in the novel does Morier claim authorship of the

362. Curzon, *Persia and Persian Question*, 480.

363. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, lii.

chapters of the first volume. After dedicating the work to "whom first awakened [his] mind to its value,"[364] Morier explicitly confirms that he has "done [his] best endeavor to adapt [the original novel] to the taste of European readers," as well as

> divesting it of the numerous repetitions, and the tone of exaggeration and hyperbole which pervade the compositions of the Easterns; but still you will, no doubt, discover much of that deviation from truth, and perversion of chronology, which characterize them. However, of the matter contained in the book, this I must say, that having lived in the country myself during the time to which it refers, I find that most of the incidents are grounded upon fact, which, although not adhered to with that scrupulous regard to truth which we might expect from an European writer, yet are sufficient to give an insight into manners. Many of them will, no doubt, appear improbable to those who have never visited the scenes upon which they were acted; and it is natural it should be so, because, from the nature of circumstances, such events could only occur in Eastern countries.[365]

One must bear in mind the delicacy of the new Iranian-British political ties back then, along with the importance of Persia in Britain's Asiatic schemes at the early nineteenth century. As a result, it was to be assumed that the publication of such works could bring chaos and turmoil to the Persian court and foster distrust among Iranian elites, which could in turn eventually jeopardize the newly forged political relationship between the two countries. In the end, the latter did, in fact, take place, which will be discussed in the following.

With regard to the long excerpt from the Introductory Epistle, we can observe, again, a wide range of Orientalist tropes and clichés that are all inseparable components of imperial works. However, the crucial point here is the political disclaimer that affirms that the work was written by a native informer, stating that Mr. "peregrine Persic" is solely the editor, translator and publisher of the work. As mentioned earlier, "peregrine Persic" emphasizes that he discovered "much of the deviation from truth [in the book]," and he considers this deviation pertinent to being an Easterner. Thus, from his point of view, these deviations and exaggerations are normal with regard to the hyperbolic nature of the Muslim "Oriental" existence. However, he *benevolently* rectifies them for the sake of "scrupulousness," and adapts them to the taste of European readers.

In the final pages of the Introductory Epistle, "peregrine Persic" introduces his readers to the backbone of his imperial "discourse" in the most explicit and practical way. As opposed to

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364. Morier, l.

365. Morier, l.

his earlier travelogues, here there was not the slightest mention of his affiliation with, or fondness for, the Persians, who he once called "the first and most civilized of nations."[366] Morier asserts that "a distinct line must ever be drawn between 'the nations who wear the hat and those who wear the beard'; and they must ever hold each other's stories as improbable, until a more general intercourse of common life takes place between them."[367] One could ask what this "more general intercourse of common life" means. Is it acculturation? Or the globalization of certain values and the homogenization of "inferior" cultures that efficiently took place over the subsequent centuries, but which was still unable to eliminate the dichotomy of "us" and "they" by the 21st century?

Morier immediately shifts to the plane of ethics by dichotomizing this plane in a very unequal way, without using any example to support his sweeping generalizations. He writes that "what is moral and virtuous with the one, is wickedness with the other, —that which the Christian reviles as abominable, is by the Mohammedan held sacred."[368] The narrator of the Introductory Epistle continues by stating that

> although the contrast between their respective manners may be very amusing, still, it is most certain that the former [Christian] will ever feel devoutly grateful that he is neither subject to Mohammedan rule, nor educated in Mohammedan principles; whilst the latter [Muslim], in his turn, looking upon the rest of mankind as unclean infidels, will continue to hold fast to his bigoted persuasion, until some powerful interposition of Providence shall dispel the moral and intellectual darkness which, at present, overhangs so large a portion of the Asiatic world.[369]

These are the concluding sentences of the Introductory Epistle, and I consider them to be the most important excerpt of all the volumes. It is clear that these sentences are the conclusion of a political essay and are not parts of a genuine picaresque novel.

This paragraph comes before the final courtesies of "peregrine Persic" to the "esteemed and learned" chaplain of the Swedish embassy at Ottoman Porte, Rev. Dr. Fundgruben. There is no need to argue how vivid and viable such "discourses" have been in the Western discursive *reservoir* over the past two hundred years. It is also interesting how this mode of "discourse" managed to become fully integrated into the socio-cultural *mosaic* of the non-Muslims in their

366. Morier, *A Journey through Persia*, 169.

367. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, li.

368. Morier, li.

369. Morier, li.

encounters with their Mohammedan "Others." It is discernible in the twenty-first century how arbitrarily these "discursive" notions can be extracted and applied to various instances and in diverse contexts, ranging from mass media to *Kulturindustrie,* from academia to everyday life.

Edward Said reflects extensively on a twentieth-century mode of this encounter between corporate media and Islam is his 1981 book entitled *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*. In my opinion, this book is the most neglected of Said's work, even among academics and scholars. Said declares that the "knowledge of Islam [in the West] ought to be subservient to the government immediate policy interests," and the production of this knowledge will be accomplished through an "admixture of indirect evidence with the individual's personal situation, which includes time, place, personal gifts, historical situation, as well as the overall political circumstances."[370] The Palestinian-American intellectual believes that the accuracy or inaccuracy of this knowledge "has to do mainly with the needs of the society in which that knowledge is produced."[371] The ultimate authority of Western powers over constructing their "Oriental Others," along with Edward Said's notion in *Orientalism* that "knowledge of the Orient, because generated out of strength, in a sense creates the Orient, the Oriental, and his world,"[372] would cement the "discourse" of Orientalism in the West.

Reviewing the terms and phrases applied by James Morier in the concluding paragraph of the Introductory Epistle and studying how these phrases contribute to the "discursive formation" of the "Oriental Other," be it denotatively or connotatively, would help us gain a better understanding of the issue. Before reflecting on them, it seems necessary to re-think Michel Foucault's notion of "discursive formation." According to Foucault, "whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functioning, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a *discursive formation*."[373] Furthermore, he attached to the idea that "discursive formation" is *individualized* "if one can define the system of formation of the *different strategies* that are deployed in it [the discursive practice]; in other words, if one can show how they [discursive formations] all derive (in spite of their sometimes extreme diversity, and in spite of their dispersion in time) from the same set of relations."[374] This falls in line with what Siegfried

370. Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1997), 168.

371. Said, *Covering Islam*, 168.

372. Said, *Orientalism*, 40.

373. Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, 38.

374. Foucault, 68 (emphasis added).

Jäger has reintroduced as a "discursive milling mass." He also considers the main objective of Discourse Analysis to be the untangling of this "constant rampant growth of discourses."[375]

Morier imposes a certain amount of emotional weight on the reader throughout the story with his explicit statements about the necessity of drawing "a distinct line" between "the nations who wear the beard" and "the nations who wear the hat," and calling for a "more general intercourse of common life" between the two ends of this dichotomy, as well as through his emphasis on the "contrast" between them. First of all, these sentences act as a conclusion to the Introductory Epistle, which is essentially the cornerstone of the whole narrative. Second, these notions emerge after "peregrine Persic's" extensive and multidimensional circumlocution as a verdict that foreshadows the upcoming themes of the narrative.

Another very important point here is the constant application of the word "nations." Despite classic "Orientalism," with its generalizations and sweeping assertions about the Muslim "Orient" as a homogenous entity, here we can observe more detailed specificities of *geography* and *geo*politics.

The narrator also adds *religion* as another crucial point in the concluding paragraph of the Epistle, which, along with geography, play the most significant role in the formation of this piece of imperial literature. A foreshadowing of the "discourse" that is constituted in the coming chapters of the book is provided by Morier's emphasis on the "devout gratefulness" of Christians that they are "neither subject to Mohammedan rule, nor educated in Mohammedan principles" and his firm assertion that Muslims continue to "hold fast to [their] bigoted persuasion" and "[look] upon the rest of mankind as unclean infidels."[376] Morier also calls for a "powerful interposition of providence" to "dispel the moral and intellectual darkness which, at present, overhangs so large a portion of Asiatic world."[377] An analysis of the constituted "discourse" of this narrative reaffirms Edward Said's idea that "the Oriental's world, its intelligibility and identity was not the result of his own efforts but rather the whole complex series of knowledgeable manipulations by which the Orient was identified by the West."[378] To quote Robert Lemon, it is "the ideological cohort to occidental imperialism" that "invariably casts the Orient as the feeble Other dominated by the mighty West."[379]

3.6. Publication of Hajji Baba and the Turmoil in the Persian Court

375. Siegfried Jäger, "Discourse and Knowledge," 35.

376. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, li.

377. Morier, li.

378. Said, *Orientalism*, 40.

379. Robert Lemon, *Imperial Messages*, 1.

Based on numerous English sources, the 1824 publication of the first volume of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* caused tremendous turmoil in the court of Persia. This claim was made by "the author" himself in a five-page Introduction to the sequel of the novel entitled *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England*, published in 1828. Morier had promised the publication of the adventures of the picaro in England in the final pages of the first volume four years earlier:

> And here, gentle Reader! the humble translator of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba* presumes to address you, and, profiting by the hint afforded him by the Persian story-tellers, stops his narrative, makes his bow, and says, 'Give me encouragement, and I will tell you more. You shall be informed how Hajji Baba accompanied a great ambassador to England, of their adventures by sea and land, of all he saw, and all he remarked, and of what happened to him on his return to Persia.' But he begs to add, [. . .], he will never venture to appear again before the public until he has gained the necessary experience to ensure success.[380]

At the beginning of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England*, Morier begins his discourse by reminding his "gentle readers" about the "declaration" that he has made at the end of the first volume. He promised "that if the translator were to meet with encouragement, he would inform you how his hero (if such he may be called) accompanied a great ambassador from Persia to England, and of their subsequent adventures."[381] He immediately questions the nature of his previously-mentioned "encouragement," and declares that he, as the author, "has placed himself in a dilemma, for what is encouragement?"[382] Morier then begins asking rhetorical questions about the nature of the "encouragement" that he envisioned would be a pre-requisite for publishing the sequel: "Is it the applause of friends? No; they are partial. The notice of the daily press? Puffing is no encouragement. The criticism of reviewers? They lose sight of the work, and write their own essays. Not even the several editions through which a book may pass can be appealed to as a decided test."[383] He then confesses that the first volume was not as successful as expected, stating that his "book has scarcely exhausted a second edition."[384]

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380. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 455-56.

381. James Morier, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba, of Ispahan, in England* (London, UK: J. Murray, 1835), v.

382. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, v.

383. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, v.

384. Morier, v.

Despite the first volume's lack of success, "the humble translator" decided to "bid adieu to ambition, and to seat [himself] amongst the obscure class of second or third-rate scribblers"[385] in order to create the adventures of the Persian picaro in England. His task, however, was interrupted by an obligation "to cross the Atlantic to visit certain countries in America," where he "had almost forgotten the projected continuation of [his] translation; and, absorbed in the affairs of the New World," and "became neglectful of [his] plans in the Old."[386]

Following James Morier's narrative, on his return to England, he was

> one morning roused by the reception of a letter from Persia. It came from one high in office, [387] and with whom I had lived in habits of intimacy during my residence in that country, and its perusal threw me at once into the very heart of my Asiatic recollections. As I considered and reconsidered its contents, I could not forbear exclaiming, Encouragement! do I seek for encouragement to proceed with Hajji Baba? Here it is in abundance—this letter alone is sufficient![388]

Morier, then, discloses a letter from Tehran, dated May 21, 1826:

> My dear Friend,
>
> I am offended with you, and not without reason. What for you write Hajji Baba, sir? King very angry, sir. I swear him you never write lies; but he say, yes—write. All people very angry with you, sir. That very bad book, sir. All lies, sir. Who tell you all these lies, sir? What for you not speak to me? Very bad business, sir. Persian people very bad people, perhaps, but very good to you, sir. What for you abuse them so bad? I very angry. Sheikh Abdul Russool[389] write, oh! very long letter to the king [a]bout that book, sir. He say you tell king's wife one bad woman, and king kill her. I very angry, sir. But you are my

385. Morier, v.

386. Morier, vi.

387. Mirza Abolhassan Khan Ilchi was a very controversial and notorious figure in Iranian politics in the nineteenth century who served as the first Minister of Foreign Affairs and the first envoy to England. His trip resulted in the publication of his memoir, entitled *Heyrat Nameh* (Book of Wonders). *Heyrat Nameh* is translated into English as *A Persian at the Court of King George 1809-10: The Journal of Mirza Abul Hassan Khan* in 1988.

388. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, vi.

389. Morier mentions in a footnote that he is the governor of Bushehr, a city on the coast of the Persian Gulf, by which it appears that the book reached Persia through India.

> friend, and I tell king, sheikh write all lie. You call me Mirza Firouz, I know very well, and say I talk great deal nonsense. When I talk nonsense? Oh, you think yourself very clever man; but this Hajji baba very foolish business. I think you sorry for it some time. I do not know, but I think very foolish. English gentlemen say, Hajji Baba very clever book, but I think not clever at all—very foolish book. You must not be angry with me, sir. I your old friend, sir. God know, I your very good friend to you, sir. But now you must write other book, and praise Persian peoples very much. I swear very much to the king you never write Hajji Baba. I hope you will forgive me, sir. I not understand flatter peoples, you know very well. I plain man, sir—speak always plain, sir; but I always very good friend to you. But why you write [a]bout me? God know I your old friend.[390]

The letter is followed with a postscript:

> P. S. I got very good house now, and very good garden, sir; much better as you saw here, sir. English gentlemans [*sic*] tell me Mexico all silver and gold. You very rich man now, I hope. I like English flowers in my garden—great many; and king take all my china and glass. As you write so many things [a]bout Mirza Firouz, I think you send me some seeds and roots not bad; and because 1 defend you to the king, and swear so much little china and glass for me very good.[391]

The most striking aspect of this letter is not its broken and ridiculous style of English and lack of cohesion, its evident contradiction to diplomatic language, or even the overall inferiority of the sender's character. All of the previously mentioned criteria and discursive tropes are profoundly embedded in "Orientalism" as a mode of thought. What is interesting is how James Morier considers this letter to be a source of "encouragement" to compile the sequel to *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, even though the first volume was not as successful as expected. The author claims that he looks "upon [the letter] as an encouragement to have produced any sort of sensation among a lively people like the Persians, by which they may be led to reflect upon themselves as a nation. Touch but their vanity, and you attack their most vulnerable part."[392] This explicit *imperial* proclamation makes *Hajji Baba* the pivotal work in constructing the Persian national character in the West through a new mode of *geopolitical* "Orientalism." But why did the construction of a *novel* national character of Iranians seem

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390. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, vi-vii.

391. Morier, vii.

392. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, vii.

necessary at the time? I have elaborated on the *raison d'être* of this work of imperial literature and contextualized it in the intricate web of geopolitics of the early nineteenth century.

In his Introduction to *The Adventures of Hajji Baba, of Ispahan, in England* James Morier writes about the necessity of deriding Persians so that certain changes might be inflicted upon their national character and "vanity." Morier did not clearly express what aspects of the socio-cultural and socio-political existence of Iran must be modified according to his imperial perspective. He writes, "let them see that they can be laughed at, you will make them angry"; a statement that is followed by a very important hint that must be contemplated thoroughly:

> reflection will succeed anger; and with reflection, who knows what changes may not be effected? But having produced this effect, let me ask what further good may not be expected by placing them in strong contrast with the nations of Christianity, and more particularly with our own blessed country? And it is this which has been attempted in the following pages.[393]

Morier then decides to "adopt [the high official in Persian court's] style of language" when responding to "[his] friend's letter."[394] He declares in a footnote that "the following letter can be looked upon as of no consequence, excepting, perhaps, to illustrate the sort of answer which is likely to have weight with a Persian."[395] Morier writes his response from London on September 10, 1826:

> My dear Friend,
>
> I have received your letter, and I pray that your shadow may never be less. As for Hajji Baba, what for you not read that book before you write me such letter, sir? Sheikh Abdul Russool great fool; he eats dirt, and knows no better; but you, *Mashallah*! you very clever man, sir, now, vizier, how you not read before you write? You say Hajji Baba all lies. To be sure all lies. Thousand and One Nights all lies. All Persian story-books lies; but nobody angry about them. Then why for you angry with me? You say Persian people very good to me. Perhaps, not kill me, not make me Mussulman; that very good; thank you, sir, for that: but that's all. You say you my very good friend, sir. Yes, sir, you my very good friend. You lie and swear for me to shah, that very good: but one thing little bad. You say because Mexico rich, I very rich. That no very clever, sir. If I say, because

393. Morier, vii.

394. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, vii.

395. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, viii.

> shah very rich, you very rich, that stupid. I same as was; but you great vizier now, and got very good house, and very good garden. I send you, *Inshallah*! some seeds and roots by ship to India or Constantinople, and if you go on swearing so much to shah, perhaps send some china and glass.
>
> I hope you forgive me, sir; I not understand flatter peoples; you know very well I plain man, sir—speak always plain, sir; but I always good friend to you. But why you write such bad letter to me? God knows I your old friend.
>
> P.S. I got very good wife now, and very good child, sir. You grand vizier now, and got all silver and gold, and shawls, and turquoise. I like silver and gold and nice things. As you write such bad letter, and so much abuse, and tell me I say lies, 1 think you send me some silver and gold; and because I got good wife and child now, little shawls and turquoise for me very good.[396]

This correspondence is presented as the reason he wrote the sequel, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England*, which admittedly aims at "attacking" the most "vulnerable part" of Persians to inflict "changes" that the imperial enterprise seeks in that part of the world. Studying these correspondences from a Discourse Analysis perspective would help us gain a profound understanding of the role of lampooning the political "Other" as a new mode of Othering.

There is an important point here that must be taken into consideration. Abbas Amanat believes that the volumes of *Hajji Baba*

> should be read in the context of Morier's deeper frustration with the Persian government's refusal in 1822-23 to accept him as the British envoy to the Persian court, after having to wait several years for a diplomatic posting. His hostile comments in his second journal published in 1818 had angered the Persian authorities, and the [Mirza Abolhassan khan] *Ilchi* appointment to the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1823 only diminished his chances further.[397]

Moreover, this mode of lampooning and sarcasm is exactly in line with the *Zeitgeist*. According to Marcus Wood in his *Radical Satire and Print Culture 1790-1822*, the expansion of the print trade and "the rise of satiric etching" and "the growth of the periodical publications"

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396. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, viii.

397. Amanat, "Hajji Baba of Ispahan."

tremendously contributed to the "production of social satire and political propaganda" insofar as the "radical spokesmen and propagandist in the second decade of the nineteenth century came from a variety of social backgrounds and levels of political commitment."[398]

The most baffling point is that the first letter, which Morier regarded as the reason for writing the sequel to *Hajji Baba*, was a forged letter by "Dr. (later Sir) John McNeill,"[399] the Scottish surgeon and diplomat.[400] Henry B. McKenzie Johnston declares that "in 1985 Sir Denis Wright drew attention to evidence suggesting that the poorly written letter had in fact been concocted by Dr John McNeill. This evidence appears in a letter addressed to McNeill (in Persia) by James B. Fraser (in Edinburgh) dated 5 April 1829"[401]The following is an excerpt of the letter:

> I was much amused by Mrs. McNeill [then on home leave from Persia without her husband] telling me that the letter from Mirza Abul Hasan Khan, which the Quarterly Review lays so much stress upon as a genuine Persian production, was written by your worship.[402]

In his investigations into the life of James Morier in the 1990s, McKenzie Johnston came across three documents "among unpublished Morier papers in private ownership" suggesting that "what James published could have been part of a genuine letter" from Abolhassan Khan Ilchi.[403] The first is a letter to James' brother David Morier from (later Sir) Henry Willock. [404] The letter was written at the Fath Ali Shah's summer camp at *Sultaniyeh* in Persia and dated August 26, 1825:

> The Adventures of Hajee [*sic*] Baba have got wind in Persia and have produced a bad feeling at this court against the author as I anticipated. I concealed the existence of the

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398. Marcus Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture*, 4-5.

399. McKenzie Johnston, "Hajji Baba and Mirza Abul Hasan Khan," 94.

400. Sir John McNeill was the Scottish surgeon and diplomat who resided in Persia. He initially worked there as a surgeon, later as a political assistant to the East India Company's legation in Persia.

401. McKenzie Johnston, 94.

402. McKenzie Johnston, 94.

403. McKenzie Johnston, "Hajji Baba and Mirza Abul Hasan Khan," 94.

404. The lieutenant-colonel and the British Envoy to Persia from 1815 to 1826.

> work but it found its way to [southern port of] Bushire and was at last reported to the Shah at Ispahan by the Prince of Shiraz.[405]

According to McKenzie Johnston's article, the second letter is also between Willock and David Morier that was written around one year later, on June 19, 1826 from *Sultaniyeh*:

> Hajee [*sic*] Baba is blown at court, And Abul Hasan [*sic*] is outrageous at his picture under the name of Mirza Firouz. He wrote a very angry letter to James which I recommend you to get sight of.[406]

The third document is a copy of the letter that Morier published in the Introduction of his *Adventures of Hajji Baba, of Ispahan, in England* with some omissions, among them the first paragraph "which is evidently written by an English hand."[407] This document also contains a last paragraph written in coherent and grammatical English, which was also censored in the published version of the book. The letters are both dated May 21, 1826.

The use of the English language in the unpublished letter,[408] which contains the first and last paragraph, is not as broken as the letter that what published in the book. Our evidence supports the assumption that Morier might have published the letter only partially, and in radically broken English. Iranian sources do not provide traces of Abolhassan Khan's letter to Morier or about the disarray that the publication of *Hajji Baba* caused the Persian court. This remains an unanswered question that could be investigated by other scholars.

3.7. An Overview of the Geopolitics of the Imperial Century

The evidence presented in the previous section suggests that the foundation of the sequel of the novel, which covers Hajji's adventures in England as the first Persian envoy, was based on

405. McKenzie Johnston, 94.

406. McKenzie Johnston, 94.

407. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, vi.

408. These three letters were discovered by Henry B. McKenzie Johnston. They were among the documents in the possession of the Morier family. They were passed down from James' brother David, father of Sir Robert, the British diplomat who mostly served in Russia. McKenzie Johnston concludes that what James Morier published could be part of a genuine letter from Abul Hasan Ilchi.

a literary forgery. I would like to argue that this "concoction" was a response to the immediate need to modify the existing "discourse" on Persia. In his Introductory Epistle to the first volume and in some parts of his travelogues Morier expresses his attitudes toward Persia in a tremendously different mode. This mode slightly resembled the romantic *mode* that stemmed from the accumulation of *existing* "discourses" in England about the "Orient," especially that which endured until the first half of the nineteenth century and was expressed by literary figures like Robert Southey (1774-1843), Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), and Lord Byron (1788-1824). For the sake of brevity, I will only mention two examples of Morier's ambivalence toward Persian "Oriental" mode of being. The first example is Morier's expression of joy and anticipation at the prospect of his imminent travel to Persia: "Persia, that imaginary seat of Oriental splendour! that land of poets and roses! that cradle of mankind, that uncontaminated source of Eastern manners lay before me."[409] In this excerpt, the choice of words express obvious admiration, and they need no further elaboration. The second example is the praise Morier had expressed in his first travelogue more than a decade earlier about *Chehel Sotoun Palace*.[410] He explains that it is a monument constructed and decorated "with a taste and elegance worthy of the first and most civilized of nations."[411] We have to keep in mind that the *Chehel Sotoun Palace* was constructed less than two centuries before Morier's visit and that is not among the ancient monuments of the old dynasties who ruled Iran and whose constructs date back to millennia. Although the palace is a relatively new construct, it still earned Mr. Morier's great praise in the context of his first journey to Persia in 1808 and 1809.

The early nineteenth century marked the period of a discursive shift in the West vis-à-vis Persia. There are, however, certain works of "sympathetic romanticism"[412] about Persia, a term which I have borrowed from Oleg Grabar. Most of these works were written in Europe, more precisely among Germanophone writers. The best example would be the *West-östlicher Diwan* (1819) by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), which will be studied in more detail in the following.

This *discursive shift*, as I would like to call it, is the direct outcome of the British Empire's (geo-)political and (geo-)strategic needs and demands in its heyday, for instance, the Great Game and the Asiatic schemes. We have to keep in mind that at the time, the United Kingdom was in a multifaceted and antagonistic rivalry primarily with Napoleonic France, and then with Tsarist Russia. Furthermore, Napoleon was able to use the Iranian Plateau and Persian Gulf as the gateway to India, the priceless British colony. From the British imperial point of

409. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, xliii.

410. *Chehel Sotoun* literally means Forty Columns. It is the Safavid royal palace used for coronations and the reception of dignitaries and ambassadors. It is also a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

411. Morier, *A Journey through Persia*, 169.

412. There will be more explanations on this term in the coming pages.

view, the northeastern territories of Iran, such as Herat [413] in today's Afghanistan, needed to be fortified well enough to deter Imperial Russia from expanding toward India through Afghanistan. The Qajar rulers of Persia signed the ephemeral Treaty of Finckenstein with Napoleon's France in May 1807 in hopes of regaining the lost Caucasus territories with the help of Napoleon. In return, the Iranians pledged their allegiance to Napoleon against Britain. Napoleon, however, signed the Treaties of Tilsit on July 7, 1807 with Russia. The Finckenstein Treaty was abrogated with the signing the *Ahd-Nameye Mojmal* (the Preliminary Treaty) with the United Kingdom in 1809, which was followed by the signing of *Ahd-Nameye Mofassal* (the Definitive Treaty of Friendship and Alliance) in 1812 under Sir Gore Ouseley's mediation, or "auspices," as Elton L. Daniel puts it.[414] Meanwhile, the Imperial State of Iran was deeply involved in a war with Russia (1804-1813) over its territorial disputes in Caucasus, which finally led to the notorious Golestan Treaty (1813) under the mediation of Great Britain. Based on the Golestan Treaty, Iran ceded the northwestern part of the country to Tsarist Russia. This territory includes parts of today's Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. The content of the Golestan Treaty was written by Sir Gore Ouseley, the British ambassador and minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia and was signed by Mirza Abolhassan Khan Ilchi. Ilchi was the chief negotiator for the Iranian party, and it is believed that his character is portrayed as Mirza Firouz in *Hajji Baba*. Fifteen years later, in 1828, the Turkmenchay Treaty was imposed on Qajar Persia as a result of another war with Russia (1826-1828) through which Iran lost its claim on their remaining khanates in Caucasus, including areas in South Caucasus, Erivan Khanate (Armenia and parts of present-day Turkey), Nakhichevan Khanate and more. These historical events still occupy a very important position in Iranian the "collective consciousness" even today. However, this project does not aim to study these treaties or the intricate web of incidents leading to their initiation and formation.

Studying the geopolitics of the early nineteenth century is pertinent to gain an understand of the *novel* politics and poetics of the "discursive formation" of the "Orient," which were introduced by *Hajji Baba* and contributed substantially to a *discursive shift* in constructing the "Other."

Given the fact that the "Orient," in this case Persia, existed in a predominantly romantic and exotic mode in the Western sociocultural mosaic, a "re-representation" was required in order to adjust the fine details of the new mode of "Orientalism" to the *Zeitgeist*. "Re-representation" and "manipulation" were the discursive tools through which the *novel* "discourses" about Persian entity could be formed. "Re-representation," in Grabar's words, "transforms an event that

413. Some decades later, as a result of the Anglo-Persian war (1856-1857), Iran was forced to withdraw its troops from Herat, therefore relinquishing its historical claims to that region and recognizing Afghanistan as a sovereign country based on the Treaty of Paris (1857).

414. Elton L. Daniel, "Golestan Treaty," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XI/1(New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2001), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/golestan-treaty

happened or a person who existed into the image the viewer wanted to see."[415] "Manipulation," on the other hand, is "the transformation of a topic in a way that would invite hate, contempt, or, much more subtly, alienation from the world to which it is destined, as though it does not belong to the 'civilized' world or else exists only for certain clearly defined function."[416] The textual embodiment of what Grabar has theorized can be observed in Morier's work.

Morier's work includes all of the necessary components an imperial work of literature needs. Furthermore, it has another asset that makes it unique, and which is of paramount importance: the "agency" of the narrator. Hajji Baba is not only the protagonist, but also the narrator of the story whose unprecedented "agency" makes him the only dominant voice in the novel, granting him the highest level of authority. This fact serves the *raison d'être* of the picaresque as a genre, while also fulfilling the claim of authenticity of "Orientalism." In colonial literature the narrator is generally an agent of the colonial enterprise. In other words, the colonized entity (the inferior "Other") has no "agency" vis-à-vis the "superior" white, who is generally the narrator. Therefore, the subordinate entity is not given a voice, or more specifically, they are not considered deserving of a voice in most cases. Hajji Baba, however, appears to be the first exception within this "Oriental" kind. Encountering the *new* Orient, which primarily consists of the Persians and Ottomans as the cultural and political "Others" to the British, the machinery of imperial representation decided not to designate these "Others" as voiceless entities. This might be due to the fact that the "Orientals" had already occupied a certain space in the sociocultural matrix of the West; mainly through Western travelogues from centuries past and the respective intercourses between them and the West. They could not be represented as *voiceless* and *faceless* beings when Western imperial literature was replete with travel narratives regarding the *cultured* "Oriental Others." I put considerable emphasis on the word "cultured" because it is exactly this field that such works of literature are designating to distort and "manipulate" in a way that invites "hate" and "contempt."

3.8. Thorough Reflections on Ethnic and Political Fault Lines of Qajar Persia

I have discussed in detail why the first volume of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) is extremely significant for the literary rendition of the "Orient," specifically Persia. The work depicts a profoundly vivid and multidimensional portrait of Persia at the beginning of the nineteenth century through comprehensive reflections on miscellaneous aspects of an equivocal society from an imperial perspective. The work can also be regarded as an imperial encyclopedia of Persian geography and society in the form of a picaresque novel, which

415. Oleg Grabar, "Europe and the Orient: An Ideologically Charged Exhibition," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 6.

416. Grabar, "Europe and the Orient," 6.

was a popular genre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The overt elaborations on all the avenues of life, geography, culture, as well as dynamics of power in the country, admittedly from an imperial perspective, make this work the epitome of imperial literature about the "Orient," the demand which would not wane until the next century. Good examples that support my claim would be Lord Curzon's and E. G. Browne's Introductions to the two 1895 editions of the book and the 1954 Hollywood adaptation and appropriation of the novel. I have already presented a very brief summary of the plot of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan,* which will serve as an appropriate foundation for my new argument: *Hajji Baba*'s success is primarily due to the triumph of the work in clustering the Iranian society through its depiction of all the significant avenues of life for the enthusiastic Western readers. This task was accomplished by shedding light on all the probable fault lines of a naively governed Empire such as Qajar's Persia, and indicating the ways this "lion"[417] can be conquered, or, in Morier's term, be "attacked" in "the most vulnerable" parts.

My assertion that Qajar Persia was an empire is primarily based on the definition of Anthony Pagden in his book *The Burdens of Empire: 1539 to the Present*. In his book, he distinguishes between a "nation state" and "an empire." Pagden believes that "a nation state is a piece of territory occupied by a single ethnic group, probably speaking a single language, professing a single religion, and most certainly being ruled by a single indivisible power."[418] Empires are, "by contrast, not only ethically, religiously, and linguistically diverse but also, by definition, societies in which sovereignty was divided between a large number of political authorities."[419] It is "impossible for any empire to thrive for long without sharing at least some measure of sovereign authority with either local settler elites or with the local inhabitants."[420]

Another credible source is Hegel's important work "Lectures on the Philosophy of History" (*Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte, VPW*), which is the collection of his lectures at the University of Berlin in 1822, 1828 and 1830. It surprisingly coincides with

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417. I borrowed the term from C. J. Wills' memoirs, *In the Land of the Lion and Sun, or Modern Persia*: *Being Experiences of Life in Persia from 1866 to 1881,* published in 1891 in London by Ward, Lock, and Co. Although this attribution has been applied in many other sources, Wills' is the most prominent of them. The Lion and Sun is one of the national emblems of Iran and has been a popular symbol since the 12th century, according to Shapur Shahbazi's entry on "Flags i. of Persia" in *Encyclopædia Iranica*. The lampooning of the Persian Lion would be better manifested when it is juxtaposed to a Persian cat in a cartoon called "As Between Friends," published in Punch Magazine on December 13, 1911, two decades after Wills' book. This cartoon reflects on the Great Game and its implications for Persia. The drawing depicts the British lion, while looking at the two other parties, telling the Russian bear who sits firmly on the Persian cat: "IF WE HADN'T SUCH A THOROUGH UNDERSTANDIG I MIGHT ALSO BE TEMPTED TO ASK WHAT YOU'RE DOING THERE WITH OUR LITTLE PLAYFELLOW" (capitalization in the original).

418. Anthony Pagden, *The Burdens of Empire: 1539 to the Present* (New York: NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 30.

419. Pagden, *The Burdens of Empire*, 30.

420. Pagden, 30.

the publication of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) and *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, in England* (1828). Hegel declares that

> the Persian Empire is an Empire in the modern sense, like that which existed in Germany, and the great imperial realm under the sway of Napoleon; for we find it consisting of a number of states, which are indeed dependent, but which have retained their own individuality, their manners, and laws. The general enactments, binding upon all, did not infringe upon their political and social idiosyncrasies, but even protected and maintained them; so that each of the nations that constitute the whole, had its own form of Constitution.[421]

It is noteworthy that the territory Qajar ruled over was comprised of various ethnicities, such as Persians, Azeris, Kurds, Lurs, Baloch, Turkmens, Arabs, Talysh and more.[422] Various orthodox religions were also represented, such as Shia and Sunni Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, among others. There were – and still are – different languages spoken in Iran, such as Farsi, Azerbaijani and other Turkic dialects, Kurdish, Gilaki, Mazandarani, Arabic, and Baluchi. Other minority languages, such as Hebrew, Tati, Talysh, Armenian, Georgian and Circassian, must not be forgotten.

As I discussed earlier, as an imperial work of literature, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* delves deeply into the very foundations of Iranian ethnical and geographical existence from a profoundly political perspective in order to bring about the desired discursive fluctuation in the large body of conventional Romantic "Orientalism." A new era demands new poetics and politics of representation; a task that *Hajji Baba* was able to fulfill.

At this point in the project, it will be helpful to briefly cover the novel as a genre. Looking at *Hajji Baba* from a critical perspective, we can easily see how independent narratives of all Persian strata merge and constitute new "discourses" on Persia in a way that is far different from Romantic "Orientalism." Many of the stories narrated in the novel are fully irrelevant to the picaro's adventures and are emphasized in order to familiarize the reader with certain walks of life through the eyes and experiences of the native "rogue" personage. We must consider the fact that the picaresque novel's popularity had never ended since the publication of *Gil Blas* more than a century earlier. However, in his contemporaneous critique of *Hajji Baba* in an American journal, Littell (1824) writes that "we have got imitations of him [*Gil Blas*] already enough, to be

421. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, 195.

422. A considerable number of Afro-Iranians who still inhabit the southern part of the country on the coast of the Persian Gulf are generally neglected in British imperial literature when compared to the detailed elaboration on other minorities in the country.

forgotten. The French Gil Blas_ the German Gil Blas[423]_ and now, the Persian Gil Blas! It is an unprofitable task."[424]

James Morier appears to find the picaresque the most appropriate genre to efficiently serve both the demands of the era as well as the demands of the market. As Abbas Amanat states, "the translation of *Gil Blas* in 1749 enjoyed much popularity in the early 19th century, which with no doubt provided an incentive for Morier to produce a similar account, that of *Hajji Baba of Ispahan* after *Gil Blas de Santillane.*"[425] The importance of *Gil Blas* in the creation of *Hajji Baba* is a point that has been extensively discussed by many other scholars such as Homa Nategh.[426]

If we consider picaresque to be a genre that revolves around a picaro's adventures, rogueries and the general battle for survival, *Hajji Baba* cannot be considered a mere picaresque novel: there is much more to the novel than rogueries of the protagonist. This work is a conglomerate of miscellaneous fragmented narratives imposed on the reader in a crude manner. It must be said that many of these narrative fragments are presented in an out-of-context manner. They are so irrelevant that omitting them would not affect the picaro's story at all.

To support my argument regarding the reflection on fault lines of Qajar Persia, it would be valuable to this study to focus briefly on the sociocultural and sociopolitical milieus that this narrative episodically touches upon. The most crucial aspect that this novel shed light upon is the multicultural and multiethnic texture of Iranian existence, primarily through reflecting on the minorities such as Sunnis, Turkomen, Kurds, Armenians, Dervishes, Christians, and their respective narratives.

At the same time, there is also a detailed elaboration on the geography of the country, especially the frontiers that were tumultuous at the time, like the regions of Caucasus that were inhabited partly by Christians, and the northeastern frontiers inhabited by Sunni Turkmens, parts of which were separated from Iran through the previously-mentioned political treaties. The Caucasus frontiers were extensively described in chapter 37 of the book, "The history of Yusuf, the Armenian, and his wife Mariam," as well as chapters 39 and 41 that deal with the Iranian "expedition against the Russians." The northeastern frontier was described at the beginning of the book in chapters two to eight, which provide the reader with a detailed "discursive practice"

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423. *The German Gil Blas; or The Adventures of Peter Claus* (1793) by Adolf Freiherr Knigge (1752-1796), the German writer and Freemason. The original volumes published between 1783-85 in three volumes as *Geschichte Peter Clausen.*

424. Eliakim Littell, "The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan," *The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art* 4, no. 1 (1824): 294.

425. Amanat, "Hajji Baba of Ispahan."

426. Homa Nategh, "Hajji Morier va ghesseye estemaar" [Hajji Morier and the Story of Colonialism], *ALEFBA,* 4 (Tehran, Iran: Amir Kabir Publisher, 1972).

on the lives of "Sunni" Turkmen "bandits." The part of the story that involves the "fair Zeenab," a "Curdish [Kurdish] slave" who is in a physician's *harem,* is also very important with respect to minorities. The narrative recounts the life story of the Kurdish "slave" and her tragic fate: When it is revealed that she has had an affair with someone (that someone being Hajji Baba), she is executed by being thrown from a tower by the royal command of the Shah.

It is noteworthy that the novel acts selectively and partially when reflecting on the Iranian ethnoreligious mosaic. For instance, there are no explicit reflections on Iranian Jews and Iranian Zoroastrians, although they are inseparable elements of Iranian sociocultural mosaic. In the whole novel, the most pronounced continuity is the enduring confrontation between the Shiite, the Sunni and the Christians, the three most prominent corners of the (geo-)political delta that the book deals with, which are represented by the Persians, Turks, and the British. This fact reminds me of Edward Said's ideas at the end of the twentieth century. Said affirms, "knowledge of Islam [and Islamic societies] ought to be subservient to the government immediate policy interests,"[427] which here, in Morier's words, would be "a change in the edifice":

> In talent and natural capacity, the Persians are equal to any nation in the world. In good feeling and honesty, and in the higher qualities of man, they would be equally so, were their education and their government favourable to their growth. What is wanted, then, but some strong incentive to reflection? And if an insignificant work as the one in question [*The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*] can have produced the feelings with which the foregoing letter has been written, what might not the labours of some of the high and mighty in genius and ability produce, if applied to the same purpose? A change in the edifice may be made, that is certain; the only question is, on what side of it shall we begin to knock down?[428]

In dealing with the "Oriental Other," the book provides the readers with an extremely detailed network of jobs and professions in Qajar Iran and Ottoman Turkey. The order of events is then set in a way that, regardless of the professions, the reader is confronted with nothing but moral decay, hypocrisy, bigotry and impudence of the characters. It is definitely beyond the limits of this project to reflect on the extensive constellation of derogatory attributes used to describe the representatives of nearly *all* avenues of life in Persia. The objective of this juxtaposition, in Morier's words, is "placing [Muslims] in strong contrast with the nations of Christianity, and more particularly with our own blessed country."[429]

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427. Said, *Covering Islam*, 168.

428. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, vii.

429. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, vii.

The professions that the book deals with are the barber, thief, bandit, robber, poet, *Saka* (water-carrier), itinerant vender of smoke, Dervish, physician, Shah, executioner, saint ("the most celebrated divine in Persia"), ("celebrated") man of law, Mullah, promoter of matrimony, merchant, ambassador, grand vizier and historian, to name only a few. Hajji Baba practiced nearly all of these professions at some point during the novel. Concerning the vicissitudes of life in the "Orient," Amanat reflects on the notion of "upward mobility," and what it means for people at both ends of the spectrum from East to West. From Amanat's viewpoint, the idea that "Hajji Baba could move from humble origins to a high status [in the Persian court] itself implies the absence of insurmountable barriers in the hierarchy of Persian society at the time," a notion which "stood in striking contrast to the English society where Morier, by origin a French foreign-born Jewish convert to Protestantism, had his own direct experience of social barriers."[430]

3.9. The Historian Hajji Baba as the Pioneer of Occidentalism

3.9.1. Occidentalism: The Modern Political Backlash Against Orientalism

In 2004, amid the US "war on terror" in Iraq and Afghanistan, Ian Buruma, a Dutch journalist and writer, and Avishai Margalit, professor emeritus of philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, published a very short book with the prestigious Penguin Press in New York City entitled *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies*.[431] The authors describe the book as "a pioneering investigation of anti-western stereotypes that traces their source back to the West itself." It does not take long for the reader to conclude that the book is principally a riposte to Edward Said's 1978 *Orientalism*. The back cover of the book explains that "twenty-five years after Edward Said's *Orientalism*, a whole field of study has developed to analyze and interpret the denigrating fantasies of the exotic East that sustained the colonial mind. But what about the fantasies of the West in the eyes of our self-proclaimed enemies?" The book further sees itself as a "groundbreaking investigation into the dreams and stereotypes of the western world that fuel hatred in the heart of Al Qaeda and its ilk," and "argues that the origin of these dreams lies in the West itself."

It also claimed that "the anti-western virus has found a ready host in the Islamic world for a number of reasons, but it is not native there. The West that these Jihadis imagine themselves fighting is the same menace that has haunted the thoughts of revolutionary groups since the early nineteenth century."[432] The eye-opening sentences of the first chapter of the book, called "War Against the West," complete the image that the authors seek to depict for their readers:

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430. Amanat, "Hajji Baba of Ispahan."

431. The traces of the same discourse can be found in Bernard Lewis' works, for instance, *Islam and the West* (1993).

432. Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies*. (New York, NY: The Penguin Press, 2004), 169.

> In July 1942, just seven months after the Japanese bombed the American fleet in Pearl Harbor and overwhelmed the Western powers in Southeast Asia, a number of distinguished Japanese scholars and intellectuals gathered for a conference in Kyoto. Some were literati of the so-called Romantic Group;[433] others were philosophers of the Buddhist/Hegelian Kyoto School. Their topic of discussion was 'how to overcome the modern.'[434]

The book claims it offers a genealogy, or at least a diachronic study of, the "Occidentalism" "practiced" in the Muslim world. The authors do so by starting with what they called "Occidentalism" in Asia. This arbitrary juxtaposition of the postcolonial countries in the Western part of Asia and North Africa (nearly all of which were established after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, as well as the decolonization of North Africa) with the Romantics of Imperial Japan does not seem to lead us anywhere. Considering the Romantics in Imperial Japan as the touchstone for reflecting on the so-called "Muslim Occidentalism" leads us in no way to an in-depth analysis of the issue of "Occidentalism." The comparison is altogether deceptive. What has been labeled here as (East Asian) "Occidentalism" (or Nativism or Cultural Protectionism, during the first half of the twentieth century cannot be a good touchstone to reflect on the post- "war on terror" "Occidentalism" in the post-Cold War world.

An analysis of the "discourse" that the first paragraph of the book constitutes can reveal how vividly Continental Philosophy and Romanticism are to blame for being the harbinger of the Muslim "Occidentalism" in our contemporary world.

As expected, the pros and cons of this brief but extremely controversial and *journalistic* account of a highly complex issue have been commented on in numerous critiques and praises at or around the time of publication. One of the critics of the work, Ataullah Bogdan Kopanski, believes that the book "filled the colossal intellectual abyss between Sir Isaiah Berlin and George Bush Jr."[435] and "will surely be read by all militant crusaders."[436] One of the very detailed and positive critiques written about this book, on the other hand, is Daniel Moran's 2004 article for

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433. *Nihon Roman-ha*, or Japanese Romantics, was a prominent literary magazine launched in March 1935 by eminent literary figures affiliated with Romanticism.

434. Buruma and Avishai, *Occidentalism*, 1.

435. Ataullah Bogdan Kopanski, "Review of Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies," *Intellectual Discourse* 13, no. 1 (June 2005): 100.

436. Kopanski, 102.

"Strategic Insights," a journal published by the Center for Contemporary Conflict. Moran believes that this "slim volume" stands out in the publication boom about the "contemporary security environment."[437] He further declares that "[the writers] lay a large share of the world's troubles at the feet of a pernicious ideology they call 'Occidentalism,' by which the core values of the West have been traduced in the minds of its enemies."[438] He asserts that

> this distorted image has in turn inflamed the hatreds that, over the last two centuries, have fueled resistance to the spread of liberal and democratic ideas. The current mess, they conclude, is neither a clash of civilizations nor the accidental product of recent policy mistakes, but a reflection of old and stubborn misapprehensions about what the West stands for, and what it wants.[439]

Another point argued in the book that Moran's article dealt with in an affirming manner is that "the Occidentalists [meant those of the final decades of the twentieth century and the third millennium] are connected by a common intellectual descent, extending back to European romantic critics of the Enlightenment, and passing into our own time through a variety of fascist, communist, and religious conservative movements" that "spread around the world as part of the baggage of European imperialism."[440] He finally proposes that "up to a point, the German Romantics, Hitler, Ayatollah Khomeini, Franz Fanon, [Hideki] Tojo, Slavophiles, Osama bin Laden, and Mao (among others), all expressed their contempt for modernity in similar terms."[441] Moran also sees the whole process of Occidentalism as a "global and historical unity" which "resides chiefly in shared resentment, and in the common rhetorical strategies that these have engendered."[442]

Regardless of the haphazard definition of the concept and the arbitrary genealogy presented by the supporters of the concept, there is also another groundbreaking article that must be considered before introducing my arguments about "Occidentalism": "The Roots of Muslim Rage: Why so Many Muslims Deeply Resent the West, and Why Their Bitterness Will Not Easily be Mollified," written by the prominent Orientalist and historian of Islam, Bernard Lewis (1916-2018). The article was published in 1990 in *The Atlantic Monthly*.

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437. Daniel Moran, "Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies," *Strategic Insights* 3, no. 5 (May 2004).

438. Moran, "Occidentalism."

439. Ibid.

440. Ibid.

441. Moran, "Occidentalism."

442. Moran, "Occidentalism."

In his article, Bernard Lewis declares that "Islam, like other religions, has also known periods when it inspired in some of its followers a mood of hatred and violence. It is our misfortune that part, though by no means all or even most, of the Muslim world is now going through such a period, and that much, though again not all, of that hatred is directed against us."[443] Lewis also believes that the dimensions of the problem should not be exaggerated, as he considers the Muslim world "far from unanimous in its rejection of the West," going further by saying that

> certainly nowhere in the Muslim world, in the Middle East or elsewhere, has American policy suffered disasters or encountered problems comparable to those in Southeast Asia or Central America. There is no Cuba, no Vietnam, in the Muslim world, and no place where American forces are involved as combatants or even as 'advisers.' But there is a Libya, an Iran, and a Lebanon, and a surge of hatred that distresses, alarms, and above all baffles Americans.[444]

It must be noted that Bernard Lewis wrote this article more than a decade before U.S. direct military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq. Another very important point about Lewis' article is how he introduces the concept of "enemies of God," offering it as a buzzword applied by Muslims to target their Christian "Others." Referring to this buzzword, he declares, "the concept of the enemies of God is familiar in pre-classical and classical antiquity, and in both the Old and New Testaments, as well as in the Koran."[445] This renowned scholar of Oriental studies, however, considers "a particularly relevant version of the idea" occurring in the "dualist religions of ancient Iran, whose cosmogony assumed not one but two supreme powers."[446] He further maintains that "the Zoroastrian devil, unlike the Christian or Muslim or Jewish devil, is not one of God's creatures performing some of God's more mysterious tasks but an independent power, a supreme force of evil engaged in a cosmic struggle against God."[447] Bernard Lewis' highly important article is deserving of deeper contemplation, but for the sake of relevance and brevity I will have to skip further investigations about this article.

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443. Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage: Why so Many Muslims Deeply Resent the West, and Why Their Bitterness Will not Easily be Mollified," *The Atlantic*, September 1990, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/

444. Lewis, "Roots of Muslim Rage."

445. Lewis.

446. Ibid.

447. Ibid.

Two genealogic notions of "Occidentalism" have been detected thus far. One of them dates back to European Romantics, the other to the ancient Iranian religion of Zoroastrianism, at the center of which is the dichotomy of good and evil, or *Ahura* and *Ahriman.* This dichotomy of the ancient Iranian religion tends to serve the "interest" of certain political factions in the West, particularly the United States, in constituting the "Occidentalist" thoughts. The following chapters are dedicated to deal with this issue in detail. Throughout this discussion we must keep in mind that "*interest* derives from need, and need rests on empirically stimulated things working and existing together_ appetite, fear, curiosity, and so on_ which have always been in play wherever and whenever human beings have lived."[448]

I have to resolutely point out that a very crucial notion has been neglected entirely in the *diachronic* contemplation of the discourse regarding the "Oriental hatred" towards the "Occidentals": imperial literature produced by the Christian West played a key role in the shaping of such a "discourse." My investigation would be incomplete without an analysis of this fact.

I would like to argue that the "discourse" represented by what has been called "Occidentalism" in our contemporary world has its deep roots in the old *imperial literature* produced and circulated by the colonial and imperial powers at any given point in time. Contemporary "Occidentalism" definitely has its complex dynamics, and analyzing them is not among the concerns of my study. However, the stereotypes that are constituent of today's "Occidentalism" did not develop overnight, and they are deep-seated entities within the boundaries of traditional "Orientalism." "Occidentalism" is then the accumulation of many "discourse strands" amassed in the discursive reservoir of the Empire and are then extracted and promoted as necessary based on the (geo-)political *Sachverhalt* and *Zeitgeist*. "Occidentalism" has certain roots and reaching them would only be possible by delving meticulously into the bulk of politically-charged imperial literature written by Western authors for the Western readership.

Since the Western part of Asia and North Africa have been the hub of Islam for centuries, Ottoman Turks and Persians have had the upper hand and ultimate command over the entire region since the Early Modern Age, which began around the early sixteenth century. These two states also had their profound antagonisms and rivalries. The proximity of the Ottoman Empire (1299-1922) to Christian Europe and the numerous ambitious attacks on the part of the Ottomans to take over parts of European soil played a crucial role in the formation of the European perception of Muslim "Orient" during and after the Renaissance. This is a very important point that must be taken into account when analyzing the cultural and military ties between Muslims and Christians during the Early Modern Age.

As discussed above, Iran was the other imperial power with a substantial amount of authority in the Muslim world from the western regions of Asia up to Caucasus and the Russian frontiers as well as down east to the Indian borders. Iran was ruled by various dynasties and

448. Said, *Orientalism*, 139.

experienced tremendous fluctuations throughout its post-1500 imperial existence. The most notable of these empires were the Safavid dynasty (1501-1736), the Afsharid dynasty (1736-1796), the Zand dynasty (1751-1794) and finally the Qajar dynasty that ruled Iran from 1789 to 1925. These vicissitudes partially coincided with the period of the Ottomans' encroachment into Europe and the consolidation of their long reign as the Muslim neighbors of the Christian nations.

The immediate proximity of the Ottomans to Europe during the Renaissance, and later during the Age of Reason and the Industrial Revolution, played a crucial role in constituting the Muslims as backward, intellectually incapable "Others" within the European sociocultural mosaic. Shiite Iran, however, was located further to the East, and was geographically mediated by Sunni Ottomans, therefore sharing no immediate territorial contact zone with Europe. But does this affect the European "discourses" on Persia? And if it does, then how?

English imperial literature about the Muslim "Orient," in the most classic sense, can be regarded as a complementary genre to the colonial literature, whose primary objective is representing the authoritative, autonomous, and rival empires as *cultural* "Others." As it has already been discussed, these imperial "Others," such as the Ottomans, were considered a grave threat to European culture and civilization.

At this point, we have to differentiate between two modes of "Othering." One of them is what can be called racial "Othering," which is the exclusive component of colonial literature. The second mode is cultural "Othering" that aims to construct a bizarre, outlandish and threatening "Other" that is generally depicted as *culturally*, and not necessarily racially, inferior to the supposedly superior "imagined community," to use Benedict Anderson's term. On the one hand, colonial literature aims at teaching the racially inferior "Others" the principles of *human* life and civilization. The imperial literature, on the contrary, calls for *acculturating* the supposedly subordinate "Others" by acting on the necessity of adoption of new cultural and civic traits from the superior, *enlightened* culture. As Edward Said writes in the preface to the 2003 edition of *Orientalism*:

> every single empire in its official discourse has said that it is not like all the others, that its circumstances are special, that it has a mission to enlighten, civilize, bring order and democracy, and that it uses force only as a last resort. And, sadder still, there always is a chorus of willing intellectuals to say calming words about benign or altruistic empires, as if one shouldn't trust the evidence of one's eyes watching the destruction and the misery and death brought by the latest *mission civilizatrice*.[449]

449. Said, *Orientalism* (London, UK, Penguin Books, 2003), xvi.

With regard to English imperial literature in the nineteenth century, we have to keep in mind that the target group of such works were the citizens of the Empire, or more broadly, Western citizens. It could therefore be argued that the principal objective of imperial literature is to elaborate on the socio-cultural provinces of the "inferior" society, portraying them in sharp contrast to those of the "superior," "enlightened" Western culture. "[A] change in the edifice,"[450] to use Morier's words, would therefore seem utterly necessary. Concerning this "change in the edifice," I would like to argue that a tridimensional and not necessarily intertwining process should take place. One of the dimensions, which is arguably the most important one, is the modification of a pre-existing "discourse" in the cultural domain of the supposedly "superior" culture by introducing new modes of "discourse" as well as "discursive practices." The second dimension is familiarizing the target group of a cultural text with comprehensive yet distorted knowledge about the subject so that the culturally "superior" and "enlightened" reader reacts contemptuously while contemplating the "inferior" entity. This notion can be analyzed in line with the concept of "manipulation" as presented by Oleg Grabar. The third dimension is the impact that the work of imperial literature could have upon the educated and cultivated strata of the "inferior" society who may come across the original work or its translation. This is the type of incident that unfolded in the case of Mirza Habib Esfahani's translation of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*.

It has already been discussed how *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) introduced the very *novel* notion of integrating a "native informer," even on a "discursive" level, into the imperial machinery of "discursive formation" in order to modify the field. However, it has also been discussed that an imperial work of literature could become a political medium to challenge the status quo among the intellectuals of Qajar Persia through Mirza Habib Esfahani's brilliant translation in 1886.

3.9.2. Sowing the Seeds of Hatred: Hajji Baba and "Occidentalism"

After laying the theoretical foundation, it is time to get back to *The Adventure of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* and analyze this groundbreaking novel from the perspective of literary "Occidentalism." As explained earlier, *Anastasius* by Thomas Hope, written at the end of the eighteenth century and published in 1819, is the only precedent to *Hajji Baba*. But *Anastasius* is not a Muslim, but a Christian Greek who pretended to be a Muslim while travelling through Ottoman Egypt. Hajji Baba, on the other hand, is a native "Oriental," and as discussed earlier, enjoys the utmost "agency" as a "native informant."

450. Morier, *Hajji Baba in England*, vii.

I also argued that *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) sets a precedent in the history of representing the political "Other" in the form of a novel. It is also possible to find such discursive traces in the early works of imperial agents who travelled to the Iranian plateau. However, it was unprecedented for all the existing "discourses," ranging from the religious to the geographical, and from the political to everyday "rogueries" of the people, to be linked together in the form of a picaresque novel. One of the most important components that this novel introduces to the reader in the most explicit way is a concept only deemed "Occidentalism" after nearly two centuries. Putting it simply, "Occidentalism" is the Oriental hatred and contempt for the Christian West and what it symbolizes.

Hajji Baba is replete with phrases that denote and connote the Muslim "Oriental" contempt, disdain, and hatred toward the Christian West. It would go beyond measure to count every corresponding term and phrase that were printed. Two specific chapters of the book that offer the reader highly detailed accounts of all of the "discursive" tropes and trends of "Occidentalism" are of utmost importance here. These chapters, which reflect on the mutual Turco-Persian (Sunni-Shiite) hatred and contempt for the Western mode of being, civilization and religion will be comprehensively outlined in this chapter.

After Hajji Baba's meeting with the Persian ambassador to Ottoman Turkey near the end of novel, in chapter 74, he was summoned to the ambassador's residence so that the ambassador could have "some private conversation" with him. The ambassador opens this conversation as follows:

> Hajji, I have long wished to speak to you. Those who compose my suite, between you and I, do not possess the sort of understanding I require. 'Tis true, they are Persians, and are endowed with more wit than all the world beside; but in affairs of the *dowlet* (the state) they are nothing, and rather impede than forward the business upon which I have been sent. Now, praise be to Allah! I see that you are not one of them. You are much of a man, one who has seen the world and its business, and something may come from out of your hands. You are a man who can make play under another's beard, and suck the marrow out of an affair without touching its outside. Such I am in want of, and if you will devote yourself to me, and to our Shah, the King of Kings, both my face as well as your own will be duly whitewashed; and, by the blessings of our good destinies, both our heads will touch the skies.[451]

The ambassador aims to assign Hajji Baba a certain task, which Hajji immediately accepts. The ambassador then reveals that his mission to Constantinople is not for "buying

451. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 425.

women slaves for the Shah" or procuring "luxuries for [the Shah's] harem," explaining that these are "a blind for the multitude" affirming that he is not "an ambassador for such miserable purposes."[452] The ambassador then discloses his main objective for the mission to Hajji Baba:

> [. . .] a few months ago an ambassador from Europe arrived at the Gate of Empire, Tehran, and said he was sent by a certain Boonapoort, calling himself Emperor of the French nation, to bring a letter and presents to the Shah. He exhibited full powers, by which his words were to be looked upon as his master's, and his actions as his actions; and he also affirmed, that he had full instructions to make a treaty. He held himself very high indeed, and talked of all other nations of Franks [foreigners] as dirt under his feet, and not worth even a name. He promised to make the Russians restore their conquests in Georgia to us, to put the Shah in possession of Teflis [Tbilisi], Baadkoo [Baku], Derbent, and of all which belonged to Persia in former times. He said, that he would conquer India for us, and drive the English from it; and, in short, whatever we asked he promised to be ready to grant.[453]

The ambassador further naively recounts a history about the presence of one French emissary from "a certain Shah Louis of France" at the court of Shah Sultan Hosein [of the Safavid dynasty], coming to the conclusion that nobody in Persia could explain how "this Boonapoort had become Shah."[454] In his further elaboration on "Boonapoort," the ambassador says that, based on the information that the Persians could have acquired from "Armenian merchants who travel into all countries," such a person actually "exists."[455] Following the ambassador's narrative, we also read how "the English infidels who trade between India and Persia" and "some of whom reside at Abusheher [Bushehr]," upon hearing "of the arrival of this ambassador," immediately sent off "messengers, letters, and an agent, to endeavor to impede the reception of this Frenchman" with "such extraordinary efforts to prevent his success"; through which the Persians would soon discover "much was to be got between the rival dogs."[456]

Based on the ambassador's narrative, the Shah of Persia perceived this course of events as "the ascendant of [his] good stars."[457] The ambassador then quotes the "King of Kings" who

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452. Morier, 425.

453. Morier, 426.

454. Morier, 426.

455. Morier, Hajji Baba, 426.

456. Morier, 427.

457. Morier, 427.

asserts, "here sit I upon my throne, whilst the curs of uncleanness come from the north and the south, from the east and west, bringing me vast presents for the liberty of fighting and quarrelling at the foot of it. In the name of the Prophet, let them approach!"[458]

At this point, and after much circumlocution, the ambassador offers his proposal to Hajji Baba:

> The Franks are composed of many, many nations. As fast as I hear of one *hog*, another begins to *grunt*, and then another and another, until I find that there is a whole *herd* of them. You must become acquainted with some *infidels*; you understand the Turkish language, and they will be able to inform you of much that we want to know.[459]

Paying especial attention to the italicized words in the quote above regarding the Franks is of utmost importance from an "Occidentalist" point of view. Hajji Baba is then "furnished with a copy of the Shah's instruction" to pursue his sensitive imperial decree to gather comprehensive information about the *Farangistan* (the foreign countries) and writing the history of Europe for his court.

It is interesting to return now to the beginning of the chapter and Hajji Baba's confession about his familiarity with the world around him. Hajji Baba narrates as follows:

> of the nations of the world I scarcely knew any but my own and the Turks. By name only the Chinese, the Indians, the Affghans [*sic*], the Tartars, the Curds, and the Arabs were known to me; and of the Africans I had some knowledge, having seen different specimens of them as slaves in our houses. Of the Franks,— the Russians (if such they may be called) were those of whom we had the most knowledge in Persia, and I had also heard of the *Ingliz* and the *Franciz*. When I reached Constantinople, I was surprised to hear that many more Frank nations existed besides the three above mentioned.[460]

Chapter 75 follows, revealing to readers the grotesque decree of the Shah of Persia, which was assigned to the ambassador with seven diplomatic tasks. It is necessary to reflect on all these decrees with the original phraseology through direct speech because the choice of words is a quintessential component of the formation of a "discourse." The first task of the imperial

458. Morier, 427.

459. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 427-28 (emphases added).

460. Morier, 424.

decree is that the ambassador was "enjoined to discover, in truth, what was the extent of that country called *Frangistan*; and if the Shah, known in Persia by the name of the *Shahi Frang*, or king of the Franks, actually existed, and which was his capital."[461] Secondly, the ambassador "was ordered to discover how many *Ils*, or tribes, of Franks there were; whether they were divided into *Shehernisheens* and *Sahranisheens*, inhabitants of towns and dwellers in the desert, as in Persia, who were their khans [rural and tribal chiefs], and how governed."[462] The third duty assigned to the ambassador was "to enquire what was the extent of France; whether it was a tribe of the Franks or a separate kingdom, and who was the infidel Boonapoort, calling himself emperor of that country."[463] Fourth pillar of the investigation was about "*Ingliz*" [England] who had long been known in Persia, by means of their broadcloth, watches, and penknives"; the ambassador "was to enquire what description of infidels they were, whether they lived in an island all the year round, without possessing any *kishlak* (warm region) to migrate to in the summer, and whether most of them did not inhabit ships and eat fish; and if they did live there, how it happened that they had obtained possession of India."[464]

He was also asked "to clear up that question so long agitated in Persia, how England and London were connected, whether England was part of London, or London part of England?"[465]

Fifth, "he was commanded to bring positive intelligence of who and what the *Coompani* [East India Company] was, of whom so much was said,—how connected with England,—whether an old woman, as sometimes reported, or whether it consisted of many old women."[466] The ambassador was also supposed to find out whether this "old woman" or these "old women" is/are immortal "like the lama of Thibet [*sic*]," and also "enjoined to clear up certain intelligible accounts of the manner in which England was governed."[467]

As a sixth task, the ambassador was obliged to provide the Shah of Persia with "some positive information concerning *Yengi duniah*, or the New World" and "he was to devote part of his attention to that subject."[468] Lastly, the ambassador "was ordered to write a general history of

461. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 428.

462. Morier, 428.

463. Morier, 428.

464. Morier, 428-29.

465. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 429.

466. Morier, 429.

467. Morier, 429.

468. Morier, 429.

the Franks, and to enquire what would be the easiest method of making them renounce pork and wine, and converting them to the true and holy faith, that is, to the religion of Islam."[469]

It must be said that chapters 75 and 76 of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) are of paramount importance for my research project, mainly due to the importance of the issues covered in these chapters and how these tropes, clichés and the distorted knowledge would foment the "discourse" of "neo-Orientalism" in the following century, or even centuries. These chapters deserve their own in-depth investigation that would occasionally require over-quotation from the primary source.

After exposing the Shah of Persia's political naivety, it is Hajji Baba's turn to seek appropriate and convincing responses that can fulfil the imperial decree. In so doing, Hajji Baba decides to "get [the questions] answered through the means of a *katib*, or scribe, attached to the then *Reis Effendi* [chief of the scribes], and with whom, during the short gleam of splendour and riches which had shone upon" through his ephemeral marriage to the widow of an *emir*, Hajji Baba had "formed a great intimacy."[470] At this point, we can clearly observe how the Persians' knowledge of the Christian West comes to be filtered through the Ottomans' narratives of "Occidentalism."

The role of Ottomans in the European "collective consciousness" must always be considered. As Farid Laroussi declares,

> as early as twelfth century, the various European perceptions of the Orient coalesced into labels that contributed to polarizing the Christian and Islamic worlds, although other factors came into play as well, such as the rise in the fifteenth century of the Ottoman Empire, which came to control most of the trade routes in the Mediterranean.[471]

The fact that the "narratives about the Orient were teleological in structure"[472] must not be forgotten. We know that the politics behind the Europe-Orient ties were "goal-driven," a fact that finally "led to something probably unique in Western culture_ a hybrid discourse that blended inclusion in the Judeo-Christian world with exclusion of the Islamic Other."[473] Laroussi also points out that the "Orient" that has been "contacted through trade, needed not to be not just

469. Morier, 429.

470. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 429.

471. Laroussi, *Postcolonial Counterpoint*, 23.

472. Laroussi, 23.

473. Laroussi, 23.

represented, but organized in the imagination."[474] However, I would like to argue that in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and in the case of Imperial Iran, "trade" was secondary to politics and geopolitics, as well as the rivalries between the United Kingdom, the Napoleon's France, and Imperial Russia. A clash of empires followed later with "The Great Game," with British and Russian Empires in conflict over Afghanistan and other territories in central and southern Asia, which granted Persia an enduring fixation in the imperial agendas of both.

As it was said earlier, Hajji Baba decided to seek help from his *katib* friend, an idea which he shared with the ambassador, who accepts his idea after praising Hajji Baba as "a man of ingenuity."[475] In fulfilling "the instructions of the Asylum of the Universe [Shah of Persia]," Hajji goes to the coffee house frequented by the *katib*, empowered by the ambassador's suggestion "to promise [the katib] a present, by which means, should there be any deficiency in his information."[476] Hajji Baba found the katib there and ordered the "best Yemen coffee," initiating the conversation by asking if the katib's watch is a European one. The katib responds, and delves deeper into the issue.

Hajji Baba begins by saying that "those Franks must be an extraordinary people," which followed immediately by the katib's response: "Yes, but they are *kafirs* (infidels)."[477] The entire chapter revolves around exactly this word. After understanding that *Farangistan* is not one country with one king, Hajji Baba declares that, based on what he has heard, the *Farangistan* is composed of "many tribes, all having different names and different chiefs; still being, in fact, but one nation."[478] We can observe here, again, a sweeping generalization, which is an essential factor in the process of "Othering." The katib's answer fulfills Hajji Baba's demand very efficiently:

> you may call them one nation if you choose, and perhaps such is the case, for they all shave their chins, let their hair grow, and wear hats,—they all wear tight clothes, —they all drink wine, eat pork, and do not believe in the blessed Mahomed. But it is plain they are governed by many kings; see the numerous ambassadors who flock here to rub their foreheads against the threshold of our Imperial Gate. So many of these dogs are here, that it is necessary to put one's trust in the mercies of Allah, such is the pollution they create.[479]

474. Laroussi, 23.

475. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 429.

476. Morier, 430.

477. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 430.

478. Morier, 430.

479. Morier, 430.

Hajji Baba encourages the katib to continue talking by providing him with some information about the "tribes" of the Franks, taking out his inkstand from his girdle:

> But why trouble yourself? They all are dogs alike,—all sprung from one dunghill: and if there be truth in heaven, and we believe our blessed Koran, all will burn hereafter in one common furnace. […] in the first place, there is this *Nemse giaour*, the Austrian infidel, our neighbours; a quiet smoking race, who send us cloth, steel, and glassware; and are governed by a shah, springing from the most ancient race of unbelievers.[480]

The katib then presents a survey of all the European nations to Hajji Baba, who enthusiastically takes notes for his court. Katib's statements are "Occidentalism" *par excellence*:

> then come those heretics of Muscovites, a most unclean and accursed generation. Their country is so large, that one extremity is said to be buried in eternal snows, whilst its other is raging with heat. They are truly our enemy; and when we kill them, we cry *Mashallah*, praise be to God! Men and women govern there by turns; but they resemble us inasmuch as they put their sovereigns to death almost as frequently as we do.[481]

After Russians is the turn of Prussians:

> Again, there is a Prussian infidel, who sends us an ambassador, Allah only knows why; for we are in no need of such vermin: but you well know that the Imperial Gate is open to the dog as well as the true believer; for the rain of Providence descends equally upon both.[482]

We can read here the downplaying of the Prussian diplomatic ties with Ottoman Turkey. After some hesitation and contemplation, the *katib* continues:

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480. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 431.

481. Morier, 431.

482. Morier, 431.

> Who shall I say next, in the name of the Prophet? Let us see: there are two northern unbelievers, living at the extremity of all things,—the Danes and Swedes. They are small tribes, scarcely to be accounted among men, although it is said the Shah of Denmark is the most despotic of the kings of Franks, not having even *janissaries* to dispute his will; whilst the Swedes are famous for a madman, who once waged a desperate war in Europe; caring little in what country he fought, provided only that he did fight; and who, in one of his acts of desperation, made his way into our borders, where, like a wild beast, he was at length brought to bay, and taken prisoner. Owing to this circumstance we were introduced to the knowledge of his nation: or otherwise, by the blessing of Allah, we should never have known that it even existed.[483]

The Turkish scribe continues by introducing another tribe of the Franks, the Belgians, or in his word, the "Flemings," who are

> infidels, dull, heavy, and boorish; who are amongst the Franks what the Armenians are amongst us, —having no ideas beyond those of thrift, and no ambition beyond that of riches. They used to send us a sleepy ambassador to negotiate the introduction of their cheeses, butter, and salt-fish; but their government has been destroyed since the appearance of a certain Boonapoort, who (let them and the patron of all unbelief have their due) is in truth a man, one whom we need not be ashamed to class with the Persian Nadir, and with our own Suleiman.[484]

At this point in the narrative, the name of Napoleon is referred to as the intra-European geopolitical "Other." It is not surprising that Napoleon was praised by the katib. The interesting point here is the juxtaposition of Napoleon's name to Nader Shah Afshar[485] and Suleiman the Magnificent of Ottoman Turkey, [486] who together forming the Triangle of Threat. Neither Nader nor Suleiman were considered benign powers from a Western point of view, they were both

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483. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 431.

484. Morier, 431-32.

485. Nader Shah Afshar only ruled Iran from 1736-1747. He launched successful campaigns and is described by many as the Napoleon of Persia due to his military genius that resulted in numerous triumphs throughout the Middle East, Caucasus and Central and South Asia. The Battle Of Karnal is one of the most prominent of his campaigns.

486. Suleiman I, commonly known as Suleiman the Magnificent in the West, was a prominent monarch in sixteenth-century Europe, under whose command the Ottomans were able to conquer the Christian strongholds of Belgrade and Rhodes, as well as most of Hungary. The first Siege of Vienna in 1529 took place during his reign.

perceived as grave threats to Western and Christian interests, territories and existence. The reference to Suleiman, who heralds death, havoc, and terror, necessarily imply a negative connotation for nineteenth-century Christian readers. One could argue that conveying the sense of terror is among the objectives of this narrative. Placing him in the same category with Napoleon and Nader cannot be considered an arbitrary or haphazard "discursive practice" by the superior imperial power of the time.

We will now return to the part of the plot where the katib reached Napoleon "Boonapoort," whose name immediately piqued Hajji Baba's interest, prompting him to ask for more information on this "rare and a daring infidel."[487] The Turkish katib continues,

> he once was a man of nothing, a mere soldier; and now he is the sultan of an immense nation, and gives the law to all the Franks. He did his best endeavours to molest us also, by taking Egypt, and sent innumerable armies to conquer it; but he had omitted to try the edge of a true believer's sword ere he set out, and was obliged to retreat, after having frightened a few *Mamalukes*, and driven the Bedouins into their deserts.[488]

At this point of the narrative, Hajji Baba asks his most important question about the English people: "but is there not a certain tribe of infidels called *Ingliz*? the most unaccountable people on earth, who live in an island, and make penknives?"[489] This is confirmed by Hajji Baba's informant. The katib continues, "they, amongst the Franks, are those who for centuries have most rubbed their heads against the imperial threshold, and who have found most favour in the sight of our great and magnanimous sultan. They are powerful in ships; and in watches and broadcloth unrivalled."[490] Hajji Baba then enquires about their form of government, asking "is [their government] not composed of something besides a king?" to which katib responds:

> you have been rightly informed; but how can you and I understand the humours of such madmen? They have a shah, 'tis true; but it is a farce to call him by that title. They feed, clothe, and lodge him; give him a yearly income, surround him by all the state and form of a throne; and mock him with as fine words and with as high sounding titles as we give our sovereigns; but a common *aga* of the *Janissaries* has more power than he; he does not dare even to give the bastinado to one of his own viziers, be his fault what it may;

487. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 432.

488. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 432.

489. Morier, 432.

490. Morier, 432.

> whereas the *aga*, if expedient, would crop the ears of half the city, and still receive nothing but reward and encouragement.[491]

It becomes evident that the two "Orientals," *incapable* of understanding democracy, one of whom is in the superior position of *knowing* the West, are lampooning the English "democracy" from their "despotic" horizon of understanding. This is a very important notion that still haunts the "discourses" in the "democratic" West in dealing with their "Oriental Others" two centuries later. This lack of understanding of democratic values, and of democracy in general, is a central theme in dealing with the Islamic "Orient," which has become more emphatic since WWII and the emergence of the American Empire. However, Anglo-American plans and operations aimed at hindering and laming the democratic processes and formation of governments in the western part of Asia and North Africa must not be forgotten.

Continuing with the plot, we encounter the katib's reflections on the "madmen" of British "democracy." This part provides us with interesting material about the heart of British democracy, the Parliament, from a Muslim-Oriental, "despotic" perspective. A critical reading of this section of the book can help us gain a better understanding of the *interpenetrating* and *interactive* "discourses" of "Orientalism" and "Occidentalism," not only in the nineteenth century, but also in our contemporary world. We can also detect how these two modes of "discourse" have reciprocally nurtured one another; and how these two inseparable modes of "discourse" are introduced and reintroduced, appropriated and re-appropriated over the course of two centuries.

Reflecting on British democracy and its dynamics, the Turkish scribe declares, "[the British] have certain houses full of madmen, who meet half the year round for the purposes of quarrelling. If one set says white, the other cries black; and they throw more words away in settling a common question, than would suffice one of our *muftis* during a whole reign."[492]

This is exactly the opposite of what the first ambassador of Persia to the United Kingdom, Mirza Abolhassan Khan Ilchi, actually articulated in his travelogue entitled *Heyrat Naame*, the literal translation of which is *The Book of Wonders*. Ilchi accompanied Morier to his first journey to England and back, and is believed to be depicted as Mirza Firouz in *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. Ilchi's fascination with *Farangistan* and his admission to the League of Freemasons in London are described in detail in his book.

The katib continues in an extremely dichotomic manner:

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491. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 432.

492. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 433.

> in short, nothing can be settled in the state, be it only whether a rebellious *aga* is to have his head cut off and his property confiscated, or some such trifle, until these people have wrangled. Then what are we to believe? Allah, the almighty and all-wise, to some nations giveth wisdom, and to others folly! Let us bless him and our Prophet, that we are not born to eat the miseries of the poor English infidels, but can smoke our pipes in quiet on the shores of our own peaceful Bosphorus![493]

Before proceeding to an analysis of various components of the "discourse" of "Occidentalism," let us briefly touch upon the last point that Hajji Baba was supposed to gain some information about: India. Upon asking if all "India belongs to them [the English], and that it is governed by old women," the *katib* responds apathetically, "I shall not be surprised to hear of anything they do, so mad are they generally reported to be; but that India is governed by infidel old women, that has never yet reached our ears. Perhaps it is so. God knows."[494] Hajji Baba then asks if there are still some unarticulated information about the Franks. The katib then reflects on the "infidel" Mediterranean "Others." He asserts,

> I forgot to mention two or three nations; but, in truth, they are not worthy of notice. There are Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian infidels, who eat their swine, and worship their image after their own manner; but who, in fact, are nothing even amongst the Franks. The first is known to us by their *patakas*; the second sends us some Jews; and the third imports different sorts of dervishes, who pay considerable sums into the imperial treasury for building churches, and for the privilege of ringing bells. I must also mention the *papa* (pope), the caliph of the Franks, who lives in Italia, and does not cease his endeavors to make converts to his faith; but we are more than even with him, for we convert the infidels in much greater proportion than they, notwithstanding all the previous pain which man must suffer before he is accepted for a true believer.[495]

Hajji Baba then raises his last question about the *Yengi duniah*, or the New World. The *katib* responds in a very unsympathetic and naïve manner:

> We have not had many dealings with it, and therefore know not much of the matter; but this is true, that one can get there by ship, because ships belonging to the New World

493. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 433.

494. Morier, 433.

495. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 433.

> have actually been seen here. They are all infidels, my friend, all infidels, as much as those of the old world, and, by the blessing of Allah, will all grill in the same furnace.[496]

After his successful "first essay in diplomatic life," Hajji Baba returns to his ambassador, who "was delighted at the memoir" and "the materials furnished by the *katib*"[497] Hajji Baba was sent out daily in search "of further particulars, until [they] both thought [themselves] sufficiently in force to be able to draw up a general History of Europe, which the Centre of the Universe [the Shah of Persia], in his instructions [to the ambassador], had ordered to present on return."[498] Hajji Baba finally made "a rough draught" of the information he had collected, and submitted it to the ambassador for editing:

> and when he had seasoned its contents to the palate of the King of Kings, softening down those parts which might appear improbable, and adding to those not sufficiently strong, he delivered it over to a clerk, who in a fair hand transcribed the whole, until at length a very handsome volume was produced. It was duly bound, ornamented, and inserted in a silk and muslin bag, and then the ambassador conceived it might be fit to be placed in the hands of the Shah.[499]

This part of the novel is among the most significant chapters of the book and could be seen as the most practical reason for the publication of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* from a postcolonial perspective. I will elaborate on this reason in the coming pages.

Before moving forward, however, it seems pertinent to discuss the pragmatics of the picaresque as a genre for this imperial narrative. Given the fact that picaresque is undoubtedly a fitting literary genre to offer readers an exotic mode of escapism, I believe that the publication of this groundbreaking work in the heyday of the British Empire was not an arbitrary act.

Gunther Kress declares in his "Against Arbitrariness: The Social Production of the Sign as a Foundational Issue in Critical Discourse Analysis" that the Critical Discourse Analysts are obliged to "produce a clearly articulated theory of the reading of texts as much as a theory of the production of texts, and that such a theory needs, crucially, to be founded on a theory of the

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496. Morier, 434.

497. Morier, 434.

498. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 434.

499. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 434-35.

social production and reading of signs."[500] Furthermore, Critical Discourse Analysis, in its very essence, seeks

> to reveal the structures, locations and effects of power _ whether in the operation of discourses of race, or of gender, or of ethnicity; or in the operation of power at micro-levels as in relations across the institutional/individual divide (doctor- patient interactions, for instance); or in the interactions of socially positioned individuals in everyday relations.[501]

With these notions in mind, one can ask about the nature of "discourse" that this work constitutes, or the "discourses" that this work alters and modifies, or even, at the highest level, the "discourses" that this work aims to challenge and *decenter*. Reflecting on these obscure and unanswered points, I will attempt to position this novel within the intricate web of relations of power in the nineteenth century. This objective leads us to a more profound understanding of the *raison d'être* of works such as *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. Let us thereby reflect on the process of writing the History of Europe for the Persian imperial readership, which Hajji Baba did through the Ottoman *katib*'s narrative.

It is not an easy task to reflect on the precarious nature of political ties between the Persians and Ottoman Turks, whose last battle (1821-1823) ended just one year before the publication of *Hajji Baba.* One defining point must be pronouncedly stressed in order to gain a better understanding of the significance of this important chapter and that is the notion of *proximity* through which we can easily read so much between the lines of this narrative. As I have already discussed in detail, the Ottoman Turks played the most significant role in shaping the "episteme" of Islam in modern Europe. In other words, the Muslim Ottomans, as the immediate neighbors of Christian Europe, provided the Europeans with adequate "discursive" materials for constructing the Muslim "Orient" for Christian Europe's domestic consumption. In reference to the early nineteenth century, Christian Europe was not as homogenous as it is today in dealing with Islam and the Islamic "Other," neither in intellectual nor political spheres. There has been a multidimensional "discursive" clash between different factions and schools of thought within the European intellectual and political circles. This *clash* of "discourses," however, cannot be contextualized without touching upon Romanticism's impact on the sociocultural existence of Europe.

The entirety of what has traditionally been called "Orientalism," and what has recently been introduced as "Occidentalism," is deeply rooted in the discourse of "Orientalism" as a

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500. Gunther Kress, "Against Arbitrariness: The Social Production of the Sign as a Foundational Issue in Critical Discourse Analysis," *Discourse & Society* 4, no. 2 (1993): 170.

501. Kress, 169-70.

Western construct propagated through imperial literature and "discourse." "Occidentalism" in the third millennium must therefore be a pragmatical *re*-appropriation of certain aspects of the conventional "Orientalism" as it exists in the Western discursive *reservoir*. All of these discursive appropriations are genuinely in line with Edward Said's proposition of the fact that "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of *surrogate* and even underground self ."[502] Concerning this proposition, Ivan Kalmar goes deeper into the matter in his *Early Orientalism: Imagined Islam and the Notion of Sublime Power*, supporting Said's proposition by presenting the Orient "as an imagined 'surrogate' realm of malign power: power that the West anxiously recognizes but wishes to disavow in the West itself ."[503] This scholar justly distinguishes between "oft" and "hard orientalism." According to Kalmar, "soft orientalism" is an "admiration for the 'true sublime' of the Orient" and is believed to be the "characteristic of much orientalism in all of its phases, and it persisted into later orientalism during the age of high imperialism, Said's focal period";[504] he finds this mode of "Orientalism" to be greatly "in decline."[505] Kalmar also believes that the "certain nostalgia after the romantic sort of [soft] orientalism" has "today all but disappeared in favor of the hard orientalism of uncompromising Islamophobia."[506] Reflecting on "hard orientalism," he touches upon the grounds of formation of such modes, a fact which I reflected on earlier in this chapter from another perspective. He believes that

> during the centuries between the successful Ottoman campaign to conquer Constantinople in 1453 and the unsuccessful one to capture Vienna in 1683, Christian unity in face of the Muslim threat seemed to demand hard orientalism as a motivational rhetoric essential to the Christian West's military tactics. While the Muslim Ottoman Empire posed a realistic threat of expanding further west, the thought of union between East and West did far more to frighten than to inspire. […] I believe that it is a demonstrable fact that the alleged radical opposition between the Christian West and the Muslim East is a superficial historical construct, conjured out of a fundamental unity.[507]

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502. Said, *Orientalism*, 3 (emphasis added).

503. Ivan Kalmar, *Early Orientalism: Imagined Islam and the Notion of Sublime Power* (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2012), 18.

504. Kalmar, *Early Orientalism*, 19.

505. Kalmar, 130.

506. Kalmar, 8.

507. Kalmar, 6.

At this point, a very important notion presented by Gil Anidjar in his *The Jew, The Arab: A History of The Enemy* must be taken into account: "if Kant invented Jewish law as sublime, and if Montesquieu invented despotism, theirs was undoubtedly a paving and a partaking of the ways. After them, though, it is no less undoubtedly Hegel who invented the Muslim."[508] Some basic questions must be asked at this point: How did German thinkers, for instance Hegel as a philosopher and Goethe as a man of letters, reflect on the Persian Muslim existence? Did they grant them a homogenized mode of "Oriental" being? How did German intellectuals deal with Persia as a part of the Muslim "Orient?" Was the Persia that was constructed in German language as bigoted as that constructed in Great Britain in the nineteenth century? Is there any difference between the mode of "discourses" that English and German sources offer when they deal with Persia? The next section of this chapter will try to answer these basic questions. I must reiterate that this project focuses on the "discursive formation" of Persia in the Anglophone world. However, reflecting on the parallel "discursive formations" of Persia, for instance in the German language, could be very useful in order to achieve a profounder contextualization of the matter.

3.10. Persian Exceptionalism and Its Deconstruction

A good example that can verify the role that location as well as sociopolitical atmosphere played in the construction of the "Orient" for Western readership is Johan Wolfgang von Goethe's 1819 *West-östlicher Diwan*, a tremendously valuable work of German Romanticism. Putting it in the simplest terms, the history of German Romanticism is "embedded in an exceptionally complex configuration of sociopolitical, religious, and aesthetic phenomena."[509] Furthermore, it could be considered the "concept of an era informed by the profound experience of momentous political, social and intellectual revolutions," among them the American Revolution (1765-1783) and French Revolution (1789-1799), as well as their simultaneity with Industrial Revolution and "Immanuel Kant's 'Copernican Revolution' _that inaugurated the Age of Enlightenment in Europe."[510] "This seismic transformation of European culture required new modes of understanding the world, and Romanticism came to symbolize the consciousness of the new age."[511] As a result, the logic of the new times did most prominently manifest itself in the Continent in the form of a Romantic "discourse" of humanism, Goethe's *West-östlicher Diwan* being one of the most eye-catching and pivotal examples.

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508. Gil Anidjar, *The Jew, the Arab: A History of the Enemy*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 133.

509. Azade Seyhan, "What is Romanticism, and Where Did it Come From," in *The Cambridge Companion to German Romanticism*, ed. Nicholas Saul (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1.

510. Seyhan, "What is Romanticism," 2.

511. Seyhan, 2.

Edward Dowden, the Irish poet and critic, writes in the introduction to his translation of the *West-östlicher Diwan* in 1913 that "even in Germany the *Divan*, as a whole, is much less known than it deserves to be"; however, "the *divan* has had, as a whole, worthy lovers and diligent students. Hegel placed it in the forefront of modern poetry; Heine learnt from it some of his lyrical manner, and wondered how such ethereal lightness as that of certain of its poems was possible in the German language."[512] Hegel makes it clear for us that "a noble poetry and free imagination was kindled among the Germans by the East" and that is the "fact which directed Goethe's attention to the Orient and occasioned the composition of a string of lyric pearls, in his *Divan*, which in warmth and felicity of fancy cannot be surpassed."[513] We are already aware of Hegel's admiration for Goethe. An admiration that was so profound that Hegel "famously considered himself to be the poet's spiritual son."[514]

It is not hard at all to understand the unifying discourse of Goethe when dealing with Persia. Let us read one of the beginning stanzas of the *Moganni Nameh* (the Book of Singers), which is the first chapter of the *West-östlicher Diwan*, and observe how this significant cultural text, written more or less at the same time as *Hajji Baba*, reflects on Persia and the Persian existence during the time that the Anglo-French-Tsar rivalry took bolder stances on devouring the East for their imperial agenda:

> Nord und West und Süd zersplittern
>
> Throne bersten, Reiche zittern,
>
> Flüchte du, im reinen Osten
>
> Patriarchenluft zu kosten;
>
> Unter Lieben, Trinken, Singen
>
> Soll dich Chisers Quell verjüngen.[515]

512. Edward Dowden, "Foreword," in *The West-Eastern Divan: In Twelve Books* (London, UK: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1914), ix-x.

513. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 374.

514. Almond, *History of Islam in German Thought*, 108.

515. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *West-östlicher Divan: Herausgegeben und mit Erläuterungen von Hans-J. Weitz* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1974), 9. [Edward Dowden's Translation: North and West and South up-breaking! /Thrones are shattering, Empires quaking;/ Fly thou to the untroubled East, / There the patriarchs' air to taste! / What with love and wine and song/ Chiser's fount will make thee young.]

It is very interesting that Goethe decided to reflect on *other* aspects of Persia with his "sympathetic romanticism,"[516] as Oleg Grabar puts it, during the tumultuous decades of the imperial century. The fact that Goethe aggrandized and praised Persia in an anachronistic manner does not downplay the importance of the "discourse" that his work came to constitute during the time when the Western perception of Persia was about to be redefined by both diplomatists' imperial narratives and intense rivalries between the Empires on their quest to take over Persia. Bringing these aspects of Persia to light is an important action *per se*. The emergence of *West-östlicher Diwan* may have been a solace at a time when Persia is at the center of imperial rivalries between Great Britain and France, Persia is in a multifaceted war with Tsarist Russia, and the European market is saturated with travelogues by diplomats as the agents of the imperial enterprise. I believe this mode of "discourse" has its roots in the much less hostile and less politically-fueled mode of Germanophone "Orientalism" of the time as well as the very nature of Romantic Movement. I would like to argue that this extremely important piece of literature is among one of the very few in the nineteenth century that could change the discursive *aura* of "Orientalism" in Western languages, specifically those about the *novel* Persia, which did not have very much in common with the Persia of gardens and poets. Goethe's call for unity between the "Orient" and the "Occident" does not seem to fit the state of affairs in our globalized and culturally interwoven world, let alone the nineteenth century:

> Wer sich selbst und andre kennt
>
> wird auch hier erkennen:
>
> Orient und Okzident
>
> Sind nicht mehr zu trennen.[517]

Edward Dowden also declares in the introduction to his translation of the *Diwan* that

> the East of Goethe's imagination was not the East of the English poets who had looked Eastward: Southey, Shelley or Byron. From Byron's East, indeed, it was as remote as possible… Goethe turned to the East as to a refuge from the strife of tongues, as well as from the public strife of European swords. There the heavens were boundless, and God _the one God_ seemed to preside over the sand-waste. There, Islam _submission to

516. Grabar, "Europe and the Orient," 4.

517. Goethe, *West-östlicher Divan,* 279.

> God's will_ seemed to be the very rule of life. Before all else the merchandise which Goethe sought to purchase in the East was wisdom and piety and peace.[518]

Dowden's brief words about Goethe and his Divan support, once again, a mode of "discursive" fluctuation that Goethe managed to establish in the politically charged corpus of literature regarding Persia. We have to keep in mind that Dowden's translation was published at the beginning of the twentieth century, when Persia is in a very miserable situation.

Returning to the early nineteenth century, at the philosophical and intellectual level we have Hegel, whose "discourse" on Persia is profoundly and essentially different from that of English imperialists, who were to gain the upper hand. In his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, Hegel provides us with reflections that are critically different from the dominant "discourse" of English "Orientalism," such as that in *Hajji Baba*, as well as nearly all the other works that I consulted for this project. The German philosopher declares,

> the European who goes from Persia to India, observes, therefore, a prodigious contrast. Whereas in the former country he finds himself still somewhat at home, and meets with European dispositions, human virtues and human passions — as soon as he crosses the Indus (*i.e.*, in the *latter* region), he encounters the most repellent characteristics, pervading every single feature of society.[519]

Hegel's affinity with Persia crystalizes when he considers the Islamic faith as secondary to their Persian-ness. It could be argued that Hegel grants the Persians the highest level in his hierarchization of the Muslims, or "Orientals" in more general terms. This is a very interesting notion when juxtaposed with the "discourse" of his contemporary English Orientalists who emphatically try to merge the Persian and Ottoman Turkish identities in order to represent Islam as a homogenous entity. I have shown that *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* is a prime example of this stark generalization. On the other hand, Hegel also constitutes and defends another mode of "discourse" through which he regards Arabs and Turks as a *Volk* who "have shown themselves to be wholly incapable of culture" by characterizing Arabs as "fanatics" and Turks as "raw."[520] It would go beyond the scope of this project to delve into all of Hegel's positive accounts about Persia and his profound fondness for it. However, some points have to be made in order to introduce Hegel's alternative intellectual "discourse" with regard to Persia.

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518. Dowden, "Foreword," xii- xiii.

519. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 180.

520. Almond, *History of Islam in German Thought*, 110.

It is noteworthy that some modes of positive, humanistic "discursive formation" of Persia had appeared in English literature, some traces of which can be found even in Morier's two travelogues. The way Hegel encounters Persia, however, is vastly different from what the English imperial "Orientalism" offers. From Hegel's point of view, "we first enter on continuous History with the Persian Empire" and, to him, "the Persians are the first Historical People."[521] Hegel also believes that

> Persia was the first Empire that passed away. While China and India remain stationary, and perpetuate a natural vegetative existence even to the present time, this land has been subject to those developments and revolutions, which alone manifest a historical condition.[522]

Hegel then shifts to elaborate on the Persian monotheistic ancient religion of Zoroastrianism by declaring that

> here in Persia first arises that light which shines itself, and illuminates what is around; for *Zoroaster's* 'Light' belongs to the World of Consciousness — to Spirit as a relation to something distinct from itself. We see in the Persian World a pure exalted Unity, as the essence which leaves the special existences that inhere in it, free; — as the Light, which only manifests what bodies are in themselves; — a Unity which governs individuals only to excite them to become powerful for themselves — to develop and assert their individuality.[523]

Interestingly enough, referring back to Morier's book, there is not even a trace of the ancient Persian religions in *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. The "discourse" of *Hajji Baba* only revolves around Sunni and Shiite Islam and its mutual hatred for Christian Europe. It also depicts Islam as homogenously as possible, elaborating on generalized tropes of what I would like to call *vulgar* "Orientalism."

Teleologically speaking, the novel's primary objective was to decenter and modify any humanistic "discourses" except the bigoted "Islamic" one that was being shaped by the British imperial machinery. From this standpoint one can consider *Hajji Baba* a new mode of literary

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521. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 191.

522. Hegel, 180.

523. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 180-81.

and discursive rendition of Persia in the West: a mode of "discourse" that initiated the fortified stronghold of *mis*-representing Persia thereafter.

It is interesting to note at this stage that, except for very few instances, there was an almost complete absence of Arabs throughout the entire novel. It is very clear that *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* focuses on Turks and Persians, but we cannot ignore the fact that Arabs are only mentioned on very few occasions. I observe in the narrative a mode of superiority attributed to Arabs when they do appear. It could be argued that in Morier's work, the Arabs are portrayed as superior to Persians and Turks. Let us read just this one excerpt of when Hajji Baba boasts about his Arab blood when he wants to propose to an *emir*'s widow:

> if your mistress wants high blood, then let her look to me. Be assured, that she and her brothers, be they who they may, will never exceed me in descent. Arab blood flows in my veins, and that of the purest kind. My ancestor was a Mansouri Arab, from the province of Nejd in Arabia Felix, who with the whole of his tribe was established by Shah Ismael of Persia in some of the finest pastures of Irak [*sic*], and where they have lived ever since. My great ancestor…was of the tribe of Koreish [Quraysh], and that brought him in direct relationship with the family of our blessed prophet, from whom all the best blood of Islam flows.[524]

Let us return to Hegel and how he described Persia at the very same time as Morier. In praising the ancient Persian religion, Hegel writes,

> light is vitalizing only in so far as it is brought to bear on something distinct from itself, operating upon and developing that. It holds a position of antithesis to Darkness, and this antithetical relation opens out to us the principle of activity and life.[525]

On a further elaboration on the same subject, Hegel states that

> the Purity of Light which we observe in Persia; that Abstract Good, to which all are equally able to approach, and in which all equally may be hallowed. Light puts man in a position to be able to exercise choice; and he can only choose when he has emerged from

524. Morier, *Hajji Baba*, 397.

525. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 181.

> that which had absorbed him. But Light directly involves an Opposite, namely, Darkness; just as Evil is the antithesis of Good. As man could not appreciate Good, if Evil were not; and as he can be really good only when he has become acquainted with the contrary, so the Light does not exist without Darkness. Among the Persians, *Ormuzd* [Ahura Mazda] and *Ahriman* present the antithesis in question. *Ormuzd* [*sic*] is the Lord of the kingdom of Light — of Good; *Ahriman* that of Darkness — of Evil.[526]

I must reiterate that *The Adventures of Hajji Baba* neither praises nor criticizes this antique religious aspect of Persian-ness. The response to Hegel's idea, however, emerges more than one and a half centuries later in Bernard Lewis' 1990 article "The Roots of Muslim Rage," which I have discussed earlier in this chapter. Here it seems necessary to elaborate again on one aspect of this groundbreaking article, whose core idea still plays an important role in the politics of representation of the Muslim world. Bernard Lewis wrote that "despite this monotheism, Islam, like Judaism and Christianity, was at various stages influenced, especially in Iran, by the dualist idea of a cosmic clash of good and evil, light and darkness, order and chaos, truth and falsehood, God and the Adversary, variously known as devil, Iblis, Satan, and by other names."[527] Lewis then applies the very canon of Zoroastrianism, elaborating on the binary of friends of God and "enemies of God" by asserting that Western Christians are the latter in the eyes of Muslims, with an overt emphasis on Iran. It must be kept in mind that the very same idea can be used for extremely different purposes when it comes to the *Zeitgeist* and *genius loci*; and the very same canon could be read differently based on the "discourse" that it is meant to constitute.

By analyzing the two very important works written during the same period by two prominent German intellectuals, I have shown that the understanding of Persia for German speakers was profoundly different than the Persia constructed by the English imperialism. We must consider the fact that "statements different in form, and disperse in time, form a group if they refer to one and the same object."[528] I would like to propose that, in this clash of "discourses," these certain German sources elaborate on a mode of "discourse" that Persia is an *exception* in the religious and cultural mosaic of the "Orient." The English imperialism, on the contrary, *initiates* a rather new mode of constructing Persia as an entity that religiously, ideologically and discursively resembles the Ottomans, who had long been the cornerstone of the "discursive formation" of the Islamic "Other" among the Europeans. It was also evident that up until the publication of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* in 1824, Persia had occupied another mode of "discourse" in the European "discursive" *reservoir* of the "Orient" through

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526. Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 185-86.

527. Lewis, "Roots of the Muslim Rage."

528. Foucault, The Archeology of Knowledge, 32.

which its political and religious affairs were subservient to its aesthetic, mystical and literary aspects. There were some works among English itinerants and political figures that belonged to the school of *un*aesthetic "Orientalism," such as *A Tour to Shiraz* by Edward Scott Waring that was published in 1807 in London; or the harbinger of the English representation of Persia by Sir Anthony Sherley that was published in 1613.

Sir Anthony Sherley (1565–1635) and Sir Robert Sherley (1581–1628) wrote about their journey to Safavid Persia and their encounter with Shah Abbas the Great (1571–1629), and published a book, entitled *SIR ANTONY SHERLEY HIS RELATION OF HIS TRAVELS INTO PERSIA*[. . .]. [529]

I have already discussed that in the German Romantic and Idealist "discursive formation" of Persia, a mode of exception has been granted to Persia and Persian-ness, which I refer to as Persian exceptionalism. Let us briefly return to what Robert Irwin shared in his "Real Discourses of Orientalism." He believes that in the case of the Western obsession with Persia, "theology" or "history" were not at the center of attention.[530] Irwin's article also made many references to German universities and their impressive contributions to the field of Oriental studies. But there is a point here that must be carefully dealt with: Irwin's claim that "theology and history" were secondary among the "Western cult of all things Persian." He also believes that there was not a continuous or well-established Persian studies program in Britain, Germany or France, emphasizing the fact that the British and the Germans obtained their knowledge of Persia through France up until the eighteenth century. By this he probably means literary and aesthetic knowledge, while the Sherley Brothers' accounts of their Persian voyage is one of the first Western encounters with Persia, its society, geography, as well as political and ideological systems.

Persia came to occupy an important position in the intra-European intellectual "discourse" of the early nineteenth century. This was due to the exceptional position Hegel and Goethe, for instance, granted Persia and the simultaneous attempt of English imperial literature to de-construct and re-introduce the preexisting "discourse" about the Persian entity, which I have concisely reflected upon above. This resulted in an enduring clash between philosophical, historical, and humanist mode of Romantic and Idealist "discourse," and political, paternalistic, dehumanizing, and subordinating mode of imperial "discourse." In presenting the idealist and imperial worldviews as a dichotomy, I would like to argue that the mode of imperial "discourse"

529. The complete title of the book as it appears on the front page is as follows: *SIR ANTONY SHERLEY HIS RELATION OF HIS TRAVELS INTO PERSIA. THE DANGERS, AND DISTRESSES, which befell him in his passage, both by sea and land, and his strange and unexpected deliverances. HIS MAGNIFICENT ENTERTAINMENT in Persia, his Honourable imployment there - hence, as Embassadour to the princes of Christendome, the cause of his disapointment therein, with his advice to his brother, Sir Robert Sherley, ALSO, A TRUE RELATION OF THE great Magnificence, Valour, Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and other manifold Vertues of ABAS, now King of PERSIA, with his great Conquests, whereby he hath inlarged his dominions*.

530. Irwin, "Real Discourses of Orientalism," 20.

would dominate in a "discursive" clash regarding Persia, and present-day Iran, with grave repercussions in the post-Soviet world.

It must be reiterated that we have already observed how the multifaceted imperial English "discourses" came to decenter the Persian exceptionalism in a tremendous and effective way. Persian exceptionalism was replaced by stereotypical, racial, religious, dehumanizing and subordinating tropes of imperial "Orientalism" that was meant to serve the immediate economic, religious and geopolitical agendas of the empire. This heralded new politics and poetics of the "discursive formation" of the "Orient," which is still powerful and valid today. Furthermore, I believe the fall of the Persian exceptional position as the last stronghold of "Oriental" splendor, which received European praise and appreciation up until the nineteenth century, led to the subsequent generalizing and dehumanizing tropes of the construction of the "Orient" as a homogenous entity. This then brought about a *paradigm shift* in our understanding of the "Oriental Other": a shift from philosophical, historical and artistic reflections to a mode of blunt imperial "Othering." Both of these topics have yet to be thoroughly studied.

One last point that must be taken into account is the fact that this project focuses on the "discursive formation" of Persia in the Anglophone world; reflecting on German sources was a secondary task. There are a number of German works that offer a rather different perspective on Persia. While it would go beyond the scope of this project to offer a detailed analysis of them all, a select few are worth mentioning here: *Die heutige Historie und Geographie oder der gegenwärtige Staat vom Königreich Persien* by Thomas Salmon and Matthias van Goch (1739); *Reise in Persien: nach Chardin, Forster, Franklin, Gmelin und andern Reisebeschreibern* by Johann Adam Bergk (1805); *Reise nach Persien mit der Russisch-kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft im Jahre 1817* by Moritz von Kotzebue (1825); Johann Georg August Galletti's *Geschichte von Persien* (1827); *Persien: Nach Jourdain, Moner, Jaubert, v. Kotzebue, Tancoigne* in 2 Volumes by Franz Gräffer (1829); *Der europäische Handel in der Türkei und in Persien* by Julius von Hagemeister (1838); *Reise der K. Preußischen Gesandtschaft nach Persien 1860 und 1861* by Heinrich Brugsch (1862); and *Persien: Das Land und Seine Bewohner. Ethnographische Schilderungen* by Jakob Eduard Polak (1865).

CHAPTER FOUR

Nineteenth-Century Persia on the Other Side of the Atlantic

4.1. The Initial Encounters of the New World with Persia

The very first encounters of Americans with Persia date back to colonial times: in the 1720s, the very first newspapers published in Boston and Philadelphia "reported regularly on events in the Persian Empire_ with a breathless, even hysterical energy."[531] When the Americans started printing newspapers in the 1720s, "the big story of the day" was the insurrection of Mir Mahmud Hotaki, the Sunni Afghan tribal leader, against the dwindling Shiite Safavid Dynasty of Persia; the colonial American newspapers "went into overdrive, openly cheering for the Persian king to defeat 'usurper' Mahmud."[532] As John Ghazvinian declares,

> the answer [to this behavior] has to do with the peculiar understanding that North Americans had of Middle East politics in this period. Because Mahmud had rebelled explicitly in the name of Sunni Islam against his Shia overlords, Americans believed he must have received encouragement, and even diplomatic recognition, from the hated Ottoman Empire.[533] […] It was another sign of the creeping expansionism of Ottoman Turkey, an evil empire that they had been told was a danger to Christendom_ and to their very way of life.[534]

This excerpt shows that modes of "biblical interpretations" of the "Orient," as a recurrent theme on the other side of the Atlantic, "reflected and reinforced the political prejudices of the day."[535] Another important aspect that must be kept in mind is the notion that

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531. John Ghazvinian, *America and Iran: A History, 1720 to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2021), 10.

532. Ghazvinian, *American and Iran,* 10-11.

533. Ghazvinian offers his readers a thorough reflection on the media coverage of these incidents by studying the articles from various newspapers, such as the *New England Courant*, *Boston News-Letter*, and *Boston Gazette*. He also argues that the newspapers made "heroic," and at the same time "crude attempts to help Americans understand the difference between Shia and Sunni Islam," up to the point that "the conflict was sometimes described as a holy war between 'Muslims and Persians'" (p. 14).

534. Ghazvinian, *American and Iran,* 11.

535. Ghazvinian, 13.

> Persia was also the land of Cyrus the Great, the famous King who, in Ezra I:I, is praised for liberating the Jews from the Babylonian captivity.[536] By contrast, the Ottoman Empire was heir to the ancient kingdom of Babylon_ the hated empire whose name [in] the Book of Revelation equates with every imaginable kind of evil. Even more important, because virtually every place describe in the Bible was now under the control of the hated Ottomans, pious Christians felt the Turks had 'defiled' all their holy sites.[537]

The first encounters of the Americans with Persia on Iranian soil, on the other hand, "were spurred by a humanitarianism heavily tinged with ethnocentric strains of superiority and proselytization": according to James A. Bill's account, Harrison Gray Otis Dwight (1803-1862) and Eli Smith (1801–1857) were the first Americans[538] known to have traveled to northwestern Iran in 1830 "to reconnoiter the area for future missionary purposes"[539] The expedition led to the establishment of five American missionaries in the city of Urmia in 1835.[540] Afterward, the Americans started to work very actively among "the twenty thousand Nestorian Christians who then inhabited that area."[541] As we read in the chapter "Reentering Bible Lands" of William E. Strong's *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (1910), "the tour of Smith and Dwight had brought to light another people, the Nestorians of Persia" whom he labels as the unknown and "ancient sect of the Christian Church."[542]

It is also known that during their first twenty-five years in Iran, the American missionaries "made fundamental contributions to the health, education, and overall social well-being of the Iranians they served."[543] *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian*

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536. Ghazvinian's investigation also provides us with a detailed account of the appreciation of ancient Persia among America's Founding Fathers. He argues in one instance that "Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison […] were particularly impressed by the legendary emperors Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, whose exemplary leadership abilities they saw as a potential model for the new republic" (p. 17).

537. Ghazvinian, 12.

538. John Ghazvinian considers Joel Roberts Poinsett (1779-1851), who "briefly crossed the border from Russia into Persia" in 1807, to be "the first [American] citizen recorded as setting foot on Persian soil" (2021, p. 19).

539. James A. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 15.

540. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion, 15.

541. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion*, 15.

542. William E. Strong, *The Story of American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Norwood, MA: Pilgrim Press., 1910), 93.

543. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion*, 15.

Relations (1988) explains that "the first contingents" and the "foremost goal" that was "quietly discussed among" Americans who "looked down on their Iranian brethren," especially the Muslim majority, with a profound and pronounced "contempt and condescension," was nothing but "conversion."[544] The embodiment of this contempt is explicitly shared in Reverend Justin Perkins' *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, Among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Muhammedans* (1843), in which he reflects on his experiences as a "missionary, so long immured in the deep darkness of benighted Persia."[545] In 1833, Justin Perkins, a twenty-nine-year-old tutor from Amherst College in Massachusetts, traveled with his "heavily pregnant young bride, Charlotte" to establish the permanent mission in the northwestern frontier of Persia, in the city of Urmia, and were joined the following year by another young couple, the physician Asahel Grant[546] and his wife Judith.[547]

In Justin Perkins' book, we read the accounts of an American proselytizer and missionary, who is resolutely believed to be the first American citizen *residing* in Persia since 1833 for the duration of eight years. Perkins then established in "the next year" the "[missionary] headquarters at Urmia in [the province of West] Azerbaijan [in today's Iran], where they founded a church, a school, and a printing house"[548] with the principal goal of "educating Nestorians to carry the Christian message to their Muslim compatriots."[549]

At this stage, I am going to reflect on Justin Perkins' narrative in his proselytizing mission among Persians. While serving the Nestorian Christians in the northwestern frontiers of Persia, still a part of present-day Iran, Rev. Justin Perkins clearly stresses the hardship and sacrifice pertaining to missionary life, especially when it comes to a Muslim land. He believes, "most Christians at home have hardly yet known the meaning of the term, *sacrifice*, in connexion [*sic*] with the work of missions" when man navigates a land "encompassed by vast territories of Muhammedan dominion."[550] Talking about the Nestorian Christians and their "independence" in the sociocultural texture of the region, Rev. Justin Perkins finds a profound "charm in the word,

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544. Bill, 15.

545. Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; With Notices of the Muhammedans*, (Andover, NJ: Allen, Morrill and Wardwell., 1843), v.

546. Asahel Grant published detailed accounts of his journey and life among the Nestorians of Persia as a physician in a book entitled, *The Nestorians; or, the Lost Tribes* two years before Perkins' in London.

547. Ghazvinian, *America and Iran*, 23.

548. Yahya Armajani, "Christianity viii. Christian Missions in Persia," *Encyclopædia Iranica* V/5 (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 1991), available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/christianity-viii

549. Robin E. Waterfield, *Christians in Persia. Assyrians, Armenians, Roman Catholics and Protestants* (London, UK: Allen and Unwin, 1973), 103.

550. Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years*, 495.

independence, especially to [his] *republican* ear."[551] Perkins also finds "a peculiar charm when the term is applied to nominal Christians in a Muhammedan land" who could "have so long maintained a species of independence among savage Muhammedans."[552]

In further reflections on the Muslim and Mohammedan mode of being, Perkins articulates,

> Yes! Muhammedism, proud, exclusive, corrupt, revengeful and bloody, as it is, is tottering in its dotage, and ready to fall. Its walls, high as heaven, that have so long bid defiance to every assault, the silent power of a holy example, reflected from the reformed lives and elevated characters of nominal Christians, the prayer of faith and the labors of love, will gradually shake to the ground.[553]

A further analysis of the dichotomizing "discourse" that Perkins' book constitutes brings us to the following sentences: "like a mighty polar iceberg, breaking away from its dreary moorings and floating gently downward into a kindlier zone, so Muhammedism, amid the growing light and warmth of civilization and Christianity, that are kindled up around it, is silently and harmlessly melting away!"[554]

A very important notion is then presented after the above-mentioned sentences that support the political favoritism of American proselytization and its related institutions. Pursuing Perkins' statements about the "melting away" of "Muhammedism" from the "Bible Lands," he declares "do we doubt this? Look at the Muhammedan monarchs of the bloody empires of Turkey and Persia, jointly laying aside their swords, and referring their political disputes to Christian governments for arbitration!"[555]

Further reflecting on this *white man's burden*, Perkins then "as a Christian philanthropist and missionary" and "not of course as a [republican] party politician," praises the "extension of British political influence and power in Asia," which he personally "had abundant opportunity to observe and to *feel*," as "another sign of the times, auguring most auspiciously for the spread of the gospel over that continent."[556]

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551. Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years*, 500.

552. Perkins, 500.

553. Perkins, 506.

554. Perkins, 506.

555. Perkins, 506-7.

556. Perkins, 507.

At this point, it would be very relevant to keep an eye on how this allegedly apolitical philanthropist reflects on English colonialism in faraway lands of Asia, and what the connotations of the British imperialism for American Protestant missionary and its related institutions were:

> Wherever English power prevails in Asia, it is, in general, no more certain, that there, the rod of oppression is broken, the captive liberated, and the condition and prospects of the inhabitants vastly meliorated, than that there the Protestant missionary_ and especially the *American* missionary_ has an unfailing pledge of protection, encouragement and aid, in his object and labors; and there only has he any such sure and permanent security. To the eye of the *Christian* observer, it is clearly not fortuitous chance, nor sagacity in the game of politics, nor military skill or prowess, merely nor mainly, that is placing so much of Asia under British control. It is the hand of *Providence*_ the right arm of the God of missions.[557]

This mode of "Othering," with its overt emphasis on religion can be seen in many previous works studied in this project, however to a lesser extent. The previous chapter of this project focused on *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) as well as James Morier's Introductions to *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England* (1828), both of which were obsessed with the dichotomization of Islam and Christianity in imperial conflicts.

We must consider the fact that Perkins' book was published less than two decades after the pivotal *Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824), and during the reign of the third Qajar king, Mohammad Shah Qajar, who ruled Imperial Iran from 1834 to 1848. As it was suggested earlier, based on my investigations, Justin Perkins' *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, Among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Muhammedans* (1843) can be considered the first comprehensive American book on Persia. Justin Perkins' work is therefore very important for this project, as well as for the study of the primary stages of American and Iranian encounters.

Analyzing Perkins' work, even from the most uncritical perspective, would reveal a mode of "discursive formation" which is, to some extent, different from the English works. It offers a new mode for approaching Persia: a proselytizing mission.

Perkins' book also clearly illustrates that a supposedly religious mission can embrace the political agendas of the time in the most explicit manner:

557. Perkins, 507.

> the wonderful political revolutions and civil changes of our day, in all parts of the world, the general success of missions, and the copious effusion of the Holy Spirit, vouchsafed in some cases, are sufficient to assure us, that God waits only to be properly inquired of by his people, in fervent prayer and corresponding exertion, to give to His Son the heathen for an inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession, _to fill the whole world with the knowledge and glory of his name, as the waters fill the mighty deep. [. . .] and how soon would the light of the moon be as the light of the sun_ the light of the sun be seven fold_ and all the ends of the earth behold the salvation of our God.[558]

Perkins' sympathy for the English imperial agenda in Asia is overtly expressed in his text. According to Perkins' notes, the importance of English imperial and colonial presence in Asia is perceived as a two-fold entity. One is the "liberating" force of British imperialism as it is discursively embedded in phrases like "breaking the rod of oppression," "liberation of captives," improvement of "condition and prospects of the inhabitants."[559] The other entity, however, is directly related to "Protestant missionary," especially "the *American* missionary" who enjoys "an unfailing pledge of protection, encouragement and aid, in his object and labors" leading to a "sure and permanent security."[560] The relationship between missionaries and imperial enterprise in the "Orient" (Persian and Ottoman Empires) would be a very interesting and promising research perspective for future research.

Furthermore, David Weir writes in his *American Orient: Imagining the East from the Colonial Era Through the Twentieth Century* that "the [American] missionaries had no difficulty determining that the people of the East were ignorant and superstitious, in desperate need of Christian conversion."[561] In a further elaboration on the American "Orient" and its *formation*, Weir astutely affirms that "for the American no less than the European, the Orient was a representation of exotic otherness, but the American Orient was quite unlike the European one that [Edward] Said describes, mainly because the United States was not a colonial power."[562] Given the fact that "colonial subjugation was itself a part of the American experience," in "eighteenth- and nineteenth-century," as Weir puts it, the "Americans experienced the Orient in a fundamentally different way than the Europeans did."[563] We must keep in mind that by referring to the "Orient," the author generally means the "Far East," as "the idea that Americans somehow

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558. Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years*, 509.

559. Perkins, 507.

560. Perkins, 507.

561. Weir, *American Orient*, 2.

562. Weir, *American Orient*, 3.

563. Weir, 3.

recovered something authentic in themselves—or remade themselves as they wished they were—by taking inspiration from the Far East is the basic argument" of his book.[564] Weir also states that America itself emerged out of "the same commercial spirit that led Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, and other European nations to form trading companies in the Far East."[565] He considers this point to be the reason for American affiliation with the colonized "Others" of the (Far) East; this affiliation, however, would not last very long.

I would like to argue that David Weir's notions of the Far East could partially be applied to address issues related to Edward Said's "Orient," too. This can at least be done in the case of Persia. My argument is primarily based on the fact that "exotic Otherness" was a crucial part of the "discursive formation" of both the Near and the Far East in the Western discursive reservoir. With respect to the fact that the very same colonial powers shared the Near and Far East in their colonial and imperial encroachments, I will elaborate on my argument in the following after first reflecting on how different the Europeans and Americans dealt with the "discursive formation" of (East) Asians. David Weir believes,

> for a variety of reasons, the American experience of the Orient is fundamentally different from that of Great Britain, France, and other European nations. In eighteenth-century America the East was, paradoxically, a means of reinforcing the enlightenment values of the West: Franklin, Jefferson, and other American philosophers found in Confucius a complement to their own political and philosophical values. In the nineteenth century, with the U.S. shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy, the Hindu Orient emerged as a mystical alternative to American reality. During this period, for Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and other transcendentalists, the Oriental was not an exotic Other but an idealized one, an Other who was oddly the Same: the American not as he was but as he should be, stripped of all the components of commercialism and materialism that now set him apart from the ideal he had of himself. In this formulation the American is the Other of himself, alienated from what his Puritan origins say he should be.[566]

In his book, David Weir emphatically argues that the entity of "Near East" did not attain an appropriate space within the American sociocultural *discourse* when compared to the Far East. He affirms, "the Near East, also known, oddly, as the Middle East, could never offer the kind of spiritual and aesthetic satisfaction that came to be associated with the Far East, for the

564. Weir, 4.

565. Weir, 3.

566. Weir, 3.

very good reason that the Near East was overrun by pagan infidels."[567] Weir then highlights the fact that the Ottoman Empire "[held] sway over the Holy Land" and argues that the possession of this important site on the part of the "pagan infidels" could cause the Near Eastern "Orient" to be "subject to Christian disapproval in a way that the Far Eastern Orient was not."[568] David Weir, however, did not mention the integration of pre- and post-Islamic Persia in the works of the American transcendentalists, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau.

There is also another interesting notion that played a major role in dealing with the Near Eastern "Orient" according to Weir, and that is the fact that "Christian missionaries faced far less resistance from Hindus and Buddhists in faraway Asia than they did from Turks and Arabs on the doorstep of Europe."[569] This is a very important point that I have already illustrated in my brief analysis of Justin Perkins's "discourse" on Persia, its Christians and Mohammedans, as well as its people trapped "in the deep darkness of [a] benighted" country.

This geographical proximity of the Muslim "Orient" to Europe, which played the most crucial role in constructing the "Orient" as a politically-charged entity in the Old World, is revisited in Perkins' work (as one of the first comprehensive encounters of the New World with the Persian entity) in an even more pronounced way. It could be argued that this is due principally to the fact that proselytization and religion are the focus of the primary encounters of the New World with Persia. As discussed above, the Old World dealt with Persia through its art, literature, as well as (geo-)politics and imperial ambitions. But could it be argued that the New World did not appreciate other aspects of the Persian "Oriental" existence? Is proselytization the only criterion for the New World's engagement with Persia in the nineteenth century?

If we consider "discourse" to be the way we relate and dispose ourselves to our surrounding world, or as the lens through which we filter our knowledge of the things we perceive around us, it could be argued that the narratives of the New World were not likely to be drastically different from the "discourse" of the Old World. First of all, "discourse" is not constructed overnight; it is principally the accumulation of certain modes of thought as they relate to power relations. Secondly, "discourse" is not necessarily a homogenous entity, it can even contain paradoxical trends and "strands," as well as a pervasive "interdiscursivity" within their intertwined existence.

Let us now return to our previous point regarding the New World's application/appropriation of the Old World's "discourse." One must keep in mind that Americans were ethnically "Anglo-Europeans who took great pride in their Aryan heritage, especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and they were deeply suspicious of all Asian peoples as inherently un-Christian and therefore uncivilized."[570] Another very crucial

567. Weir, *American Orient*, 4.

568. Weir, 4.

569. Weir, 4.

570. Weir, *American Orient*, 5.

point made by David Weir in his study of the Far Eastern entity in the American world is that "the absence of colonialist ambition did not exempt Americans from many of the same political and cultural misconceptions that their European contemporaries took for granted as Oriental reality," and as a result "the European stereotype of the devious, uncivilized Oriental was kept alive in the United States through the popular press."[571] This "interdiscursivity" between the repertoire of the Old and New Worlds regarding the Far Orient can also be observed when studying the Muslim "Orient." Regardless of the period of history, it is clear that the clichés of the Old World were applied/appropriated by the residents on the other side of the Atlantic, primarily for domestic cultural usage, and later for imperial consumption and propagation. Because the main objective of this scholarly pursuit is Persia, and theorizing its "discursive formation" in the Anglo-American world, it must not be forgotten that the author means to a greater extent Persia/Iran when using the term Muslim "Orient."

As discussed in the previous chapter, at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a European clash of "discourse" regarding Persia, which is exactly in line with the concept of Siegfried Jäger's *diskursives Gewimmel* that Discourse Analysis should "untangle." Another noteworthy point is that the British imperial publishing spree on the "Orient" coincides more or less with Romanticism in Europe, and Transcendentalism among prominent intellectuals in New England. This coincidence, as well as the underlying "discourse" of both movements regarding the Muslim "Orient," more precisely Persia, are of paramount importance for this project. Most aspects of this issue have been studied in the previous chapter through juxtaposing German Romanticism and English imperial literature. At this point, we encounter a mode of "discourse" which could be considered the *doppelgänger* of German Romanticism on the other side of the Atlantic: a mode of "discourse" that fosters an *exceptional* mode of "discursive formation" of Persia.

As it was argued earlier, based on my investigations, the memoirs of pro-imperial Justin Perkins (1843) are the cornerstone of the American literary rendition of Persia. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, Eliakim Littell's critical essay in ***The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art*** (1824) showed that *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) was received across the Atlantic by literary magazines in New England the same year it was published.

Here, it appears necessary to pay attention to two notions presented by David Weir in order to lay the appropriate groundwork for my next argument. On the one hand, it has been argued that America itself emerged out of "the same commercial spirit that led Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, and other European nations to form trading companies in the Far East."[572] To put it simply, this *could* be perceived as the reason for a sort of sympathy that the

571. Weir, *American Orient*, 5.
572. Weir, *American Orient*, 3.

Americans would generally possess toward the Easterners in comparison to European imperialists. On the other hand, Weir resolutely argued that the Near East "could never offer the kind of spiritual and aesthetic satisfaction that came to be associated with the Far East, for the very good reason that the Near East was overrun by pagan infidels."[573] We can accept Weir's notions to some extent by juxtaposing these two statements, while simultaneously evaluating Justin Perkins' writing as the American inaugural work on Muslim Persia. But can it be said that the Muslim "Orient," for instance, Persia, *never* provides the United States with *spiritual* and *aesthetic* satisfaction? Can we delineate any interaction between the American and Muslim "Orient" scholarships? Is the literary and intellectual intercourse between liberated Americans and "pagan infidels" overrunning the "Orient" as disconnected as Weir portrays them to be? Can we consider the Muslim "Orient" in American eyes as a homogenous entity, or can we search for an *exceptional* position similar to that found in the works of German Romantics in Europe?

4.2. Transcendentalism: An Outburst of Romanticism on American Soil

As a philosophical and literary movement in New England, Transcendentalism is considered a mode of intellectual life that began in 1836, when it was inaugurated by a Unitarian discussion group that would later be called the Transcendental Club. The club met between 1861 and 1865, until just before the American Civil War began.[574] The group included figures such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Bronson Alcott, Frederick Henry Hedge, W. E. Channing, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth Peabody, George Ripley, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry Thoreau, and Jones Very whose early essays were published in the form of a quarterly periodical called *The Dial* between 1840 and 1844.[575]

As Abrams declares, "Transcendentalism was neither a systematic nor a sharply definable philosophy, but rather an intellectual mode and emotional mood that was expressed by diverse, and in some instances rather eccentric, voices," its deepest roots being in German Idealism, particularly Immanuel Kant's notion of "transcendental knowledge."[576] To quote Abrams, the "intellectual antecedents of American Transcendentalism" are so diverse that categorizing them in a homogenous group is no easy task. These antecedents include, but are not limited to "post-Kantian German Idealists, English thinkers like Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Thomas Carlyle who themselves were exponents of German Idealism, Plato and Neoplatonists, and the occult Swedish theologian Emanuel Swedenborg, as well as some varieties of Oriental philosophy."[577]

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573. Weir, 4.

574. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 326.

575. Abrams, 326.

576. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 326.

577. Abrams, 326.

In addition to these points, it is also noteworthy that the "Transcendentalists were highly individualistic in both character and philosophical outlook, resisting any common doctrinal or intellectual stance," and collectively shared "a highly optimistic vision of humanity and a confidence in the future of American intellectual life and thought, freed from the bonds of intellectual precedent or religious superstition."[578] Epistemologically speaking, "the Transcendentalists resisted Locke's empiricist approach, which proposed that knowledge comes from sense experiences which are impressed on the waiting mind just as words are written on a blank slate."[579] Rebecca Kneale Gould's point is supported by Kevin MacDonald, who also declares in his essay *American Transcendentalism: An Indigenous Culture of Critique* that "the Transcendentalist belief that the mind is creative and does not merely respond to external facts is quite accurate in light of modern psychological research."[580] Therefore, it is still necessary to delve deeper into what the connotations of the term "Transcendental" were for the American elite circle in Concord and Boston, and contemplate what the term can imply with respect to their mode of literary and intellectual works. Rebecca Gould maintains,

> what was 'transcendental' for the Transcendentalists was a preference for spiritual (or 'intuitional') over material (sense-based) forms of knowledge. Similarly, they expressed a commitment to shaping life according to individually discerned aesthetic and spiritual priorities, rather than those of social conventions or the marketplace. The intellectual stance was the starting place from which they developed their ideas of nature, as well as their moral and religious views.[581]

It must be admitted that the importance of notions such as "preference for spiritual over material forms of knowledge," and distancing from "social conventions and marketplace" in shaping life, along with the importance of "some varieties of Oriental philosophy," as declared by Abrams, which are intrinsically in sharp contrast to British imperial agenda toward the "Orient", motivated me to conduct inquiries on the "discursive formation" of Persia on the other side of the Atlantic.

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578. Rebecca Kneale Gould, "Transcendentalism," In *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Nature*, ed. Bron R. Taylor (London, UK: Continuum, 2005), 1652.

579. Gould, "Transcendentalism," 1653.

580. Kevin MacDonald, "American Transcendentalism: An Indigenous Culture of Critique," *The Occidental Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 105.

581. Gould, "Transcendentalism," 1652-53.

Another significant point about "Transcendentalism" is the socio-cultural as well as political milieu within which the movement flourished. In order to gain a better understanding of the *state of affairs*, investigating the context of the formation of such "discourse" is necessary.

Drawing on Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay "The Transcendentalist" (1942), a Transcendentalist could be defined as "an aspiring and stubborn youth who is pressed to justify a younger generation's hopes and actions before the skeptical inquiries of the 'world,' a voice of conventional common sense with a recognizably parental attitude" that "confesses to being 'miserable with inaction,' but rejects the avenues of engagement that the world offers."[582]

The culture of resistance and non-conformity are clear components in the "Transcendentalist" mode of thought, behavior and culture. At this stage, contemplating one part of Emerson's lecture "The Transcendentalist" will help shed light on the intellectual backbone of this movement. Emerson held the lecture at the Masonic Temple in Boston in January 1842, during which he revealed that

> the first thing we have to say respecting what are called 'new views' here in New England, at the present time, is, that they are not new, but the very oldest of thoughts cast into the mould of these new times. The light is always identical in its composition, but it falls on a great variety of objects, and by so falling is first revealed to us, not in its own form, for it is formless, but in theirs; in like manner, thought only appears in the objects it classifies.[583]

These very few sentences show how vigorous and meticulous the American Transcendentalist is about favorably *re*-reading the "variety of objects," which were wholly or partially neglected, hidden or distorted within the "mold" of Anglo-American Christian *discourse.* This is exactly what makes Emerson a very interesting figure to be studied in the framework of this work.

Before moving on to Emerson and his essays on Persian literature and culture, two crucial aspects of Transcendentalism and its formation have to be mentioned. Firstly, it must be kept in mind that "Transcendentalism was a moment in history containing both expansive hope and a sense of strife and embattlement and marked by the emergence of new intellectual categories, new relations among persons and classes, and new ethical and political

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582. David M. Robinson, "Transcendentalism and Its Times" in *The Cambridge Companion to Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Joel Porte and Saundra Morris (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 13.

583. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Transcendentalist: A Lecture Read at the Masonic Temple, Boston," in *The Complete Works* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1903-4), available online at https://www.rwe.org/the-transcendentalist/

imperatives."[584] Secondly, "Transcendentalists found themselves arrayed against the mainstream by reason of their aesthetic sensibilities" as well as "heterodox spiritual aspirations"; furthermore, they were "profoundly affected by the claims of the reform movements of the day."[585]

The fact that "the 1830s and 1840s were a time of political ferment internationally, with revolutions wracking Europe in the late 1840s, as democratic forces began to challenge the established hierarchical regimes"[586] is of utmost importance for the study of Transcendentalism. As articulated by Robinson, "tension was building in America as well over the conditions created by the economic inequities that were the result of the industrial revolution. Moreover, the continued existence of slavery in the South was a source of increasing moral outrage and political tension."[587]

Prior to our shift to the more profound reading of Emerson, his "Oriental" works, and his environment, we must again evaluate the domain of Romanticism as an Old World's phenomenon, and how it affected the "Transcendental" modes of thought in the New World. The peak of Romanticism as a literary, philosophical, and artistic movement in various European countries is estimated to have been between the 1780s to 1830s. Among many characteristics and features attributed to Romanticism, the most important ones could be summarized as follows:

> an intense inwardness that led at times to melancholy; a preference for lyrical or descriptive genres; sympathy for human passion in all its forms; a willingness to question existing institutions, especially if they threaten the primacy of the self; a willingness to countenance resistance or revolution as a way of achieving a just society; and a vision of nature as a place not only of beauty but also of innocence and authenticity.[588]

It is evident that among all the Romantic features mentioned by Barbara L. Packer, "the intense inwardness," "the reverence for nature" and the "willingness" to oppose "existing institutions" are more evident among the members of the Transcendentalist movement. The following subchapters will analyze what this meant for the Persians.

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584. Robinson, "Transcendentalism and Its Times," 13.

585. Robinson, 16-17.

586. Robinson, 17.

587. Robinson, 17.

588. Barbara L. Packer, "Romanticism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Transcendentalism*, ed. Sandra Harbert Petrulionis, Laura Dassow Walls, and Joel Myerson (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010). Online edition.

4.3. Re-Launching the *A*political Persia in Trans-Atlantic Context

I have already indicated that Americans have developed ambivalent attitudes toward Persia since their very first encounters with this "Oriental" entity. This ambivalence could be observed on many "discursive" levels within the texts and narratives written in the New World about Persia. Among the Americans who studied Persia from artistic, poetic and literary perspectives, the most important figure is Ralph Waldo Emerson, who showed his literary affinity with Persia in his "lengthy essay on Persian poetry for *The Atlantic Monthly* of 1858 [that] fairly equably surveyed the entire range of Persian poetry."[589] There is no doubt that his sources were "almost exclusively two books by the German [Austrian] author Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall: *Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemseddin Hafiz* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1812-13) and *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* (Vienna, 1818)"; furthermore, "it is likely that Emerson's attention was directed to these two books by Goethe's use of them to produce his own *West-östlicher Diwan*."[590]

We could not adequately study Emerson's Persian "discourse" without due consideration of the fact that Americans at the time were striving to develop their own independent Christian-American identity. There have always been very scholarly discussions regarding the role of non-Western influences on American theology during the early nineteenth century, Eastern Hinduism being as the most significant of these influences. In this respect, David Weir declares, "the theological ground shifted when Unitarian leaders in New England began to learn more and more about the Hindu East, not only from books by British orientalists like Jones and his colleague Charles Wilkins but also from reports by missionaries in India who had firsthand contact with Brahmin intellectuals."[591] He also asserts that "these theological interests came to the fore as political meanings receded and the literary value of newly translated (or newly arrived) Hindu classics slowly began to be appreciated."[592] Keeping in mind the "basic observation that Hinduism was valued for theological rather than literary reasons at the beginning of the nineteenth century" in America, David Weir argues that "even the great figures of the American Renaissance who helped to establish a national literature, notably Emerson and Thoreau, did not really focus on the aesthetic import of the Asian texts they read so avidly, contenting themselves mainly with theological meanings."[593]

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589. John D. Yohannan, "Emerson, Ralph Waldo," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VIII/4 (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 1998), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/emerson

590. Yohannan, "Emerson, Ralph Waldo."

591. Weir, *American Orient*, 47-48.

592. Weir, *American Orient*, 48.

593. Weir, 48.

It is also noteworthy that "the growth of Unitarianism in New England runs parallel with emerging awareness of Indian religion," and "time and again, the *religious intelligence* sections of Unitarian periodicals alert their readers to the possibility that rational religion has a counterpart in Hinduism or in other Eastern *sects*."[594] The cruciality of the "Eastern sects" in constructing the intellectual backbone of the newly-born nation is a very significant issue that must be thoroughly analyzed. A superficial analysis alone can reveal that the American "discursive formation" of the "Orient" is not identical to the British imperial discourses. So much has already been said about "sympathetic" and "hostile," or "soft" and "hard" *Orientalism*. But where on this scale of discourse, if you will, do the Americans fall at the beginning of their independent "Oriental" quests? In Justin Perkins' *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Muhammedans* (1843) we read how supportive the American proselytizer acts when it comes to British colonialism and its faraway missions, for instance, in the remotest frontiers of Persia. Is the same true among the intellectual and academic spheres in the New World?

The foundation of the American Oriental Society in 1842 played a major role in shifting the discourse on the "Orient" from the sphere of theology to academic scholarship. However, we must keep in mind that "even before the society was founded in 1842, Isaac Nordheimer (1809–1842) had begun teaching Sanskrit at the City University of New York, offering a course in 1836 on Wednesday and Friday evenings."[595] Weir explained that Nordheimer was born in Bavaria and studied philology at the University of Munich, concentrating on Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Hebrew.[596]

On the other hand, we have Edward E. Salisbury (1812-1901) "who was appointed chair of Arabic and Sanskrit at Yale University in 1841, the first such post in the United States. Salisbury, like Nordheimer, was trained in the German system, having studied in Berlin with Franz Bopp, the celebrated professor of Sanskrit and comparative philology."[597] It is also known that "Salisbury delayed acceptance of the Yale position until he had completed additional European study in Sanskrit, mainly in Paris and Bonn (where August Wilhelm Schlegel held the first Sanskrit chair in a German university)," and "in 1843 he began teaching his Yale courses in Sanskrit and Arabic while also becoming extremely active in the American Oriental Society."[598]

Keeping in mind Robert Irwin's notion about "German supremacy" in Oriental studies during the nineteenth century, as well as my efforts to expose the dynamics of the imperial mode

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594. Weir, 48 (emphases added).

595. Weir, 75.

596. Weir, 75.

597. Weir, 75.

598. Weir, *American Orient*, 75.

of British "Orientalism," one could argue that the tradition of Oriental studies in America has *primarily* been founded on the German mode of thought rather than the conventional imperial and colonial mode common among the British. I have already reflected on some of the reasons for American admiration of the Far East, its philosophies and religions, but how was the Muslim "Orient," for instance, Persia, as the main objective of this study, constructed discursively in the New World?

I have already reflected on one of the very first American books that deals exclusively with Persia in detail and emphasizes the support of the American Proselytization mission for the presence of British imperial enterprise in the northwestern frontiers of Persia. In his book, Justin Perkins avows, "wherever English power prevails in Asia, it is, in general, no more certain, that there, the rod of oppression is broken, the captive liberated, and the condition and prospects of the inhabitants vastly meliorated."[599] Due primarily to the religious and theological nature of American "Orientalism" in its early stages, it pursues the same path as the mainstream British imperial "Orientalism."

A sufficient amount of information has been presented by many scholars regarding the American obsession with Asian texts, especially Indian, for solely theological purposes. It is necessary here to mention again David Weir's notion that "even the great figures of the American Renaissance who helped to establish a national literature, notably Emerson and Thoreau, did not really focus on the aesthetic import of the Asian texts they read so avidly, contenting themselves mainly with theological meanings."[600] But did this also apply to Persia?

There is no doubt that studying the ancient Persian religions, most importantly Zoroastrianism, Manichaeanism, and Mazdakism, as well as Shiite Islam has been the *idée fixe* in the field of Persian studies in Europe. However, we must bear in mind Robert Irwin's notion that this Western obsession with Persia "centered not round theology or history, but was based instead first, on the appreciation of Persian poetry."[601] In his view, aesthetics and mystical interests were the primary Western foci when it came to Persia. Prior to discussing Persia and its emergence in the intellectual spheres of the New World, we must first reflect on Ralph Waldo Emerson's "discursive" encounter with Asia in the Imperial Century.

4.4. Ralph Waldo Emerson and Regenerating Grandsire [602]

599. Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years*, 507.

600. Weir, 48.

601. Irwin, "Real Discourses of Orientalism," 20.

602. At twenty-one years of age, in February of 1824, Emerson wrote in a long text entitled "ASIA. ORIGIN" that "Europe is thy father, bear him on thy Atlantean shoulders. Asia, thy grandsire, regenerate him."

During his intellectual career, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) oscillates between fascination and aversion when it comes to Asia and Asian modes of thought, being and philosophy. This may be a direct outcome of contrasting and dichotomic "discourses" on Asia in New England. In his valuable book *Emerson and Asia,* first published by Harvard University Press in 1930, Frederic Ives Carpenter declares that Emerson "heard these conflicting reports, and reacted to them sensitively, vacillating between their two extremes."[603] Carpenter continues,

> in his later life [Emerson] was to explore this mysterious literature for himself, and to appropriate much of its rich wisdom; but he was not an orientalist from the outset, and throughout his early life, Oriental literature was known to him only indirectly. His philosophy was formed in ignorance of it, and not until his mature years did it strongly affect his thought.[604]

It is also known to us that Emerson "first learned something of an ancient Eastern civilization that had existed before the civilization of Europe" during his college years, and "later in his college career he was inspired to compose a poem of some length, entitled 'Asia,' which he read to a group of literary friends"; however, "all these remarks of Emerson's contain no hint of a direct knowledge of Oriental literature, and it was appropriate that his aunt Mary Moody Emerson should have interested him in this."[605]

It has already been discussed that "for many centuries, the rich heritage of Asian civilizations had been effectively closed to the European West as a result of the vigorous expansion of Islam in the seventh century, the dominion of the Islamic Caliphates from the seventh through the twelfth centuries and the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century."[606] This incident casted a long shadow over the cultural interactions between the "Occident" and "Orient" until its "renaissance" in the late eighteenth century, as Hodder calls it. "[F]or the sake of convenience," he dates the beginning of "this renaissance to the founding in 1784 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a scholarly association composed initially of some thirty British civil servants working in Calcutta under the auspices of the East India Trading Company."[607]

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603. Frederic Ives Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), 2.

604. Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia,* 2.

605. Carpenter, 3-4.

606. Alan Hodder, "Asia in Emerson and Emerson in Asia," in *Mr. Emerson's Revolution*, ed. Jean McClure Mudge (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2015), 374.

607. Hodder, "Asia in Emerson and Emerson in Asia," 374.

Let us now return to Emerson and the development of his interest in "Oriental" thoughts and texts. Carpenter presents a letter from Emerson to his aunt Mary Moody, dated June 10, 1822, a year after his graduation from college, where the young Emerson wrote very casually:

> I am curious to read your Hindoo mythologies. One is apt to lament over indolence and ignorance, when he reads some of these sanguine students of the Eastern antiquities, who seem to think that all the books of knowledge and all the wisdom of Europe twice-told lie hid in the treasures of Bramins [*sic*] and the volumes of Zoroaster. When I lie dreaming on the possible contents of pages as dark to me as the characters on the seal of Solomon, I console myself with calling it learning's El Dorado. Every man has a fairy-land just beyond the compass of his horizon, and it is very natural that literature at large should look for some fanciful stores of mind which surpassed example and possibility.[608]

One year after the above-mentioned text was written, Emerson refers to Asia in a totally different tone in another letter, writing "that fables should abound, seems not to indicate any especial activity of mind, for, though Greece had many, stupid Indostan [*sic*] has more. It may be that theirs are the traditionary ingenuity of that supposed ancient parent people of Asia."[609]

Following Carpenter's analysis, we can observe how R. W. Emerson's pendulum swung completely back one year later at the age of 21. Emerson writes in his rather long essay "ASIA. ORIGIN" in February 1824 that

> Humanity finds its curious and good to go back to the scenes of Auld Lang Syne, to the old mansion house of Asia, the playground of its childhood. It brings the mind palpable relief, to withdraw it from the noisy and overgrown world to these peaceful, primeval solitudes. […] Strong man! Youth and glory are with thee. As thou wouldst prosper, forget not the hope of mankind. Trample not upon thy competitors, although unworthy. Europe is thy father, bear him on thy Atlantean shoulders. Asia, thy grandsire, _ regenerate him.[610]

Another important notion that should be mentioned here is the special interest Emerson had in India and Indian religions, which started at a young age. However, Persia and its religion

608. Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia*, 5.

609. Carpenter, 6.

610. Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia*, 8.

and literature grab Emerson's attention in his mid-thirties. This interest would grow over the following decades. We know that "between 1837 and 1840 Emerson was reading a steadily increasing number of Oriental books including Calidasa [Kālidāsa], the Code of Menu, Zoroaster, Buddha, Confucius, the Vedas, the Koran, the Vishnu Sarna."[611]

At this point I would like to juxtapose two contrasting arguments regarding Asia and its theological and literary importance for the New World. On the one hand, in his article "Asia in Emerson and Emerson in Asia," Alan Hodder (2015) declares that "Emerson's study of Islamic literature and culture was more selective but no less consequential. While he sampled various travel accounts and classical texts, including George Sales' English version of the Koran, he showed no particular regard for Islamic theology as such. Instead, he focused almost exclusively on the poetry of Persian Sufism, particularly the poetry of *Saadi* [612] and *Hafiz*[613]. "[614]

On the other hand, David Weir, whose reflections were discussed earlier, believes that even the important figures of the American Renaissance "who helped to establish a national literature, notably Emerson and Thoreau, did not really focus on the aesthetic import of the Asian texts they read so avidly, contenting themselves mainly with theological meanings."[615] These two contrasting arguments call for a thorough analysis of the "discursive formation" of Persia in a transatlantic context in order to evaluate whether or not politics, theology or aesthetics were among the objectives of the intellectual life in the New World.

We know that R. W. Emerson was highly interested in Persian poetry, especially poems by Saadi and Hafez. With respect to this profound fondness, Hodder sheds light on the fact that Emerson was "familiar with some of the conventions of Arabic and Persian literature since his school days, especially as it was manifested in the Oriental tales," and as a result "he conceived a great fondness for Sufi poetry when he read Joseph von Hammer's German translations in 1841."[616] It is also argued that Emerson "looked to Persian poetry as an inspiration for his own verse, even to the point of adopting the cryptic name of 'Seyd' (a kind of anagram of the name of

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611. Carpenter, 12.

612. Abu-Mohammad Mushref al-Din Musleh bin Abdullah Shirazi better known as Saadi of Shiraz (born 1210 in Shiraz, died 1291 or 1292 in Shiraz) was a major Persian poet and prose writer whose most important works are *Bustan* (Orchard), completed in 1257, and Gulistan (Rose Garden), completed in 1258 along with a collection of hundreds of lyrics, known as *Ghazaliyat*. *Bustan* is a book of poetry and *Gulistan* is predominantly a work of prose with sporadic poems between the texts, which are principally meant to support the main argument of the prose.

613. Shams-ud-Din Mohammad Hafez Shirazi, better known as Hafiz (born ca. 1315 in Shiraz, died ca. 1390 in Shiraz) is a pivotal literary and cultural figure in the Persian-speaking world, whose *Divan* can be found in almost every Iranian home. Hafiz, who is believed to be Goethe's source of inspiration for composing *West-östlicher Diwan*, is praised by Goethe on numerous occasions.

614. Hodder, "Asia in Emerson and Emerson in Asia," 383.

615. Weir, *American Orient*, 48.

616. Hodder, "Asia in Emerson and Emerson in Asia," 384.

the Sufi poet Saadi [aka Saady]) as his designation of the ideal poet."[617] Hodder also believes that "although the Puritan in Emerson shied away from the sensuality of Sufi poetry, he admired its richness of imagery and expansiveness of expression."[618] In his view, "above all perhaps," Emerson "found in the ecstatic, aphoristic, and somewhat disjointed character of this verse a model and sanction for his own preferred mode of literary performance, both in poetry and prose."[619]

Bearing in mind the enchanting nature of Persian religious and literary existence for Ralph Waldo Emerson, Marwan Obeidat argued that the involvement of figures like "Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott in Oriental thought is essentially part of the beginnings of comparative religion as a field for further study."[620] On the one hand, based on his analysis of Carl T. Jackson's *The Oriental Religions and American Thought: Nineteenth-Century Explorations* (1981), Obeidat declares "the beginnings and rise of America's discovery of the Asian religions_ particularly of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism" go back to as early as the 1700s and cannot be considered a "passing fad"; however, "during the nineteenth century, with the emergence of the transcendental explorations, this interest exploded."[621] We have to be aware of the fact that Carl T. Jackson "limits the term Oriental religion to the religions of the Far East, mainly India, China, Japan and excludes Islam and other religions of Western Asia."[622]

I will not put my emphasis on Islam, which Jackson excludes from the category of "Oriental" religions, but on *other* religions of Western Asia, such as Zoroastrianism, which, in spite of its rather crucial role in Emerson's essays and speeches, has been neglected in academic research thus far. Emerson reflected on Zoroastrianism as an ancient "Oriental" religion. This was openly discussed in his previously mentioned correspondences, as well as numerous times in his essays:

> [. . .] and yet I might as well not have begun as to leave out a class of books which are the best: I mean the Bibles of the world, or the sacred books of each nation, which express for each the supreme result of their experience. After the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, which constitute the sacred books of Christendom, these are, the Desatir of the Persians, and the Zoroastrian Oracles; the Vedas and Laws of Menu; the Upanishads, the Vishnu

617. Hodder, 385.

618. Hodder, 385.

619. Hodder, 385.

620. Marwan M. Obeidat, "Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Muslim Orient," *The Muslim World* 78, no. 2 (April 1988): 132.

621. Obeidat, "Emerson and the Muslim Orient," 132.

622. Obeidat, 132.

> Purana, the Bhagvat Geeta, of the Hindoos; the books of the Buddhists; the Chinese Classic, of four books, containing the wisdom of Confucius and Mencius.[623]

Heading down this particular path, immediately after mentioning the canonical texts of "Christendom," he mentions two authoritative Zoroastrian texts before shifting his "discourse" eastward to India and the Far East. This is a notion that indicates Emerson's interest in pre-Islamic religions of Western Asia. In my opinion, Emerson did his best to apply and adapt these ideas in his works as much as his knowledge and resources allowed him to. In his article, "The Influence of Asia upon American Thought: A Bibliographical Essay," Carl T. Jackson declares that "as Asia has become more important to American national interests, scholars have begun to explore American perceptions of and interactions with Eastern peoples and civilizations."[624]

Surprisingly, in Jackson's article, there was no trace of the Near Eastern impacts on American thoughts. This author declares that transcendentalists, "led by Ralph Waldo Emerson, are generally recognized as the first American intellectuals to devote serious attention to Asian thought."[625] Unfortunately, the impact of West Asian ideas and thoughts upon American intellectual life is greatly overlooked in the field of American studies. My project therefore seeks to shed some light on this issue. Tracing the American awareness back to their encounter with Western Asia, and with respect to Emerson's interest in pre-Islamic religions of that region, I will briefly reflect on Zoroastrianism and the two very canonical Zoroastrian texts [626] mentioned by Emerson, before moving on to his essays.

The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines Zoroastrianism as "a Persian religion founded in the sixth century B.C. by the prophet Zoroaster, promulgated in the *Avesta*, and characterized by worship of a supreme god *Ahura Mazda* who requires good deeds for help in his cosmic struggle against the evil spirit *Ahriman*."[627] Based on *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Zoroastrianism is "the ancient pre-Islamic religion of Iran that survives there in isolated areas and, more prosperously, in India, where the descendants of Zoroastrian Iranian (Persian) immigrants are

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623. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Chapter VIII Books," in *The Complete Works* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1903-4), available online at https://www.rwe.org/chapter-viii-books/

624. Carl T. Jackson, "The Influence of Asia upon American Thought: A Bibliographical Essay," *American Studies International* 22, no. 1 (1984): 3.

625. Jackson, "Influence of Asia upon American Thought," 11.

626. Emerson praised Zoroaster, the ancient Iranian prophet, and his religion on many occasions in his essays and speeches. It would, however, go beyond the scope of this project to mention them all. As stated earlier, Emerson ambidextrously appropriated all of his knowledge of the East in order to fortify his transcendentalist mode of thought.

627. Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. "Zoroastrianism," accessed September 22, 2020, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Zoroastrianism.

known as *Parsis*, or *Parsees*."[628] Duchesne-Guillemin considers Zarathustra as "the Iranian prophet and religious reformer, more widely known outside Iran as Zoroaster, the Greek form of his name" who "is traditionally regarded as the founder of the religion."[629] In a further reflection on Zoroastrianism, Duchesne-Guillemin also declares that "Zoroastrianism contains both monotheistic and dualistic features" emphasizing the fact that this ancient Iranian religion "likely influenced the other major Western religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam."[630]

According to William W. Malandra, the most "important source for our knowledge of the ancient period of Zoroastrian history is the collection of scriptures known by its Middle Persian (Pahlavi) name *Abestāg* (Avesta)," which was written in "an ancient Eastern Iranian language, *Avestan*."[631] It is also regarded to be "the great achievement of learned Zoroastrian priests" who meticulously "collected, edited, and codified a variety of written and oral traditions during the Sasanian period, that is, during an era far removed from the times when the constituent pieces of the tradition were composed."[632]

It seems necessary to gather some information about the historical background of these religions in order to understand Emerson's enthusiasm for ancient Indian and Persian religions. We already know that

> during the 3rd millennium [BC], a large group of loosely associated tribes calling themselves *Arya*, living somewhere in central Asia and speaking related dialects of what is now known as the Indo-Iranian group of Indo-European languages, differentiated itself into two major linguistic and cultural groups. By the middle of the 2nd millennium one group was migrating into the Punjab region of the Indian subcontinent and into Anatolia, while the other group was migrating over the Iranian plateau.[633]

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628. Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "Zoroastrianism," *Encyclopædia Britannica,* (Chicago, IL: Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 1998), available online at https://www.britannica.com/topic/Zoroastrianism

629. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Zoroastrianism."

630. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Zoroastrianism."

631. William W. Malandra, "Zoroastrianism i. Historical Review Up to the Arab Conquest," Encyclopædia Iranica, (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2005), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/zoroastrianism-i-historical-review

632. Malandra, "Zoroastrianism."

633. Malandra, "Zoroastrianism."

Malandra also believes that "the Indo-Aryans who found themselves in the ancient Near East played a brief role in political and military affairs, but were soon absorbed by the dominant cultures," and continues by explaining that "the Indo-Aryans who settled the Punjab and the Iranians soon overwhelmed the respective indigenous populations politically, linguistically, and culturally."[634] In his view, after settling down, these two groups who "once [shared] common religious ideologies and cultic practices" then "began to develop their religious lives along separate lines. Nevertheless, when the religious texts of both are studied together they provide a basis for reconstructing common features and for identifying innovations."[635]

William W. Malandra explains that locating Zarathustra in time and place is "one of the most vexing problems for a history of Zoroastrianism" and declares,

> while there is general agreement that [Zarathustra] did not live in western Iran, attempts to locate him in specific regions of eastern Iran, including Central Asia, remain tentative. Also uncertain are his dates. Plausible arguments place him anywhere from the 13th century BCE to just before the rise of the Achaemenid empire with the majority of scholars seeming to favor dates around 1000 BCE, which would place him as a contemporary, at least, of the later Vedic poets.[636]

As we have observed, Emerson singles out two Zoroastrian texts "the *Desatir* of the Persians" and "the Zoroastrian Oracles," and introduces them immediately after introducing the significant works of Christendom. We have already gained an extremely short glimpse into ancient Zoroastrianism and its most significant text, *Avesta*, but the second book Emerson mentions, "Desatir of the Persians," is a rather new and very controversial book when compared to millennial-old and widely-accepted *Avesta* and *Gatha(s)*.[637]

Fathollah Mojtabaei regards *Dasatir* as "the most important tract of the Azar Kayvani sect [of Zoroastrianism]" and "almost certainly the work of its founder," Azar Keyvan.[638]

Azar Keyvan (birth between 1529 and 1533; death between 1609 and 1618), in Henry Corbin's words, was "a Zoroastrian high priest and native of Fars [province] who emigrated to

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634. Malandra, "Zoroastrianism."

635. Malandra, "Zoroastrianism."

636. Malandra, "Zoroastrianism."

637. Gatha is one of the seventeen Avestan hymns or psalms attributed to Zarathustra himself, and form together the Zoroastrian liturgy, or *Yasna*.

638. Fathollah Mojtabaei, "Dasātīr," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, VII/1 (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 1994), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/dasatir

India and became the founder of the Zoroastrian *Eshraghi* or Illuminative School. The literature produced by this school constitutes a Zoroastrian *Eshraghi* literature."[639] *Dasatir* was written in "an invented language" and is about "supposedly ancient Iranian prophets and includes accounts of events that have no historical basis."[640] In an additional postscript to Henry Corbin's entry on "Azar Kayvan" in the *Encyclopædia Iranica*, it has been declared that

> the *Dasatir* has been proved a fabrication of the time of the Mughal emperor, Akbar [of India], and was almost certainly written in India, apparently when Akbar's search for an ecumenical religion encouraged religious invention. Its contents have no relation to Zoroastrianism as embodied in the authentic literature of that religion. It contains gross absurdities, and claims, names and events born of fantastic imagination. Its text consists of unintelligible gibberish and the so-called commentary is in affected 'pure' Persian, devoid of any Arabic words.[641]

It has been evidently observed how R. W. Emerson fell into the trap of aggrandizing an inauthentic book, written by a Zoroastrian magus in an invented language. Emerson was first and foremost a Persian poetry enthusiast, and not necessarily a well-regarded scholar. Furthermore, he could not have been regarded as an authority in the field of ancient religious studies. I reiterate that Emerson's knowledge of Persian poetry was not first-rate or exhaustive; however, his works have played a central role in familiarizing Americans with Persian literary and religious modes of thought. Following these reflections on Emerson's "discourse" on the Iranian pre-Islamic mode of being, the next section will analyze Emerson's contemplations on Persian poetry, as the most important part of his encounter with post-Islamic Iranian existence.

4.5. "Persophilia" as the American Culture of Resistance

There is no doubt that Ralph Waldo Emerson's knowledge of Persian literature is primarily gained through certain sources in German. The most significant figure whose works shaped Emerson's knowledge of Persia was Baron Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), the Austrian Orientalist and historian. Baron von Hammer-Purgstall translated the *Diwan des*

639 . Henry Corbin, "Āẕar Kayvān," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, III/ 2 (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 1987), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/azar-kayvan-priest

640. Mojtabaei, "Dasātīr."

641. Corbin, "Āẕar Kayvān."

Hafis aus dem Persischen in two volumes in 1812 and 1813. This Austrian diplomat also introduced the German-speaking enthusiasts to a selection of Persian poetry in a unique collection entitled *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens: mit einer Blüthenlese aus zweihundert persischen Dichtern* in 1818. I have already discussed that these two groundbreaking literary works, along with other modes of benign, cordial and sympathetic (mostly German) "discourse" on Persia had emerged at the exact same time that Iran, as a dwindling empire, was losing ground to Anglo-Russian imperial intrigues; an issue which I have extensively dealt with in the previous chapter.

Let us shift some decades forward to the year 1858 when the lengthy essay "Persian Poetry" was written for *The Atlantic Monthly* by the distinguished American Transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson. This chapter will analyze the essay as well as Emerson's other work on *Saadi Shirazi*, which was initially written in 1864 for the "Preface to the American edition" of Francis Gladwin's translation of *The Gulistan: or Rose Garden by Musle-Huddeen Sheikh Saadi of Shiraz* (1865). Like "Persian Poetry" the essay on "Saadi" also appeared for the first time in the July 1864 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*, an important magazine that R. W. Emerson co-founded. Interestingly, this is the same magazine that published Bernard Lewis' article "The Roots of Muslim Rage: Why So Many Muslims Deeply Resent the West, and Why Their Bitterness Will Not Easily Be Mollified" in September 1990.

Talking about Emerson and his engagement with post-Islamic Persia, Carpenter declares that although Emerson was "vaguely attracted" to "Oriental" books "at first, he later abandoned [them] as too outlandish, or else too inaccessible. Then gradually he began to rediscover them, and later to read all the Oriental books that he could lay his hands on."[642] In Carpenter's words, "beginning about 1837 [Emerson] read more and more of such material, until in 1845 he suddenly became an Orientalist in earnest."[643] On his way to becoming an "earnest Orientalist," Emerson "first came on his favorite Persian poets" in 1841.[644] It is also crucial to mention that "for thirteen years, from the age of twenty-one to thirty-four (the period from 1824 to 1837), Emerson did not record any significant ideas or concern with the Orient, either Islamic or non-Islamic"; however, "later in his career Emerson exploited the attractive mystery of the Orient and appropriated much of its culture to his own uses."[645]

In Frederic Ives Carpenter's view, "in 1845 when Emerson was forty-two, these earlier years of Oriental reading began to bear fruit. His mind has gradually become accustomed to the Eastern mode of thought," and "in the year 1845 alone, his Journals contain almost as many references and quotations from the Orient as those of all his previous life"; this is around the

642. Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia*, 13.

643. Carpenter, 13.

644. Carpenter, 12.

645. Obeidat, "Emerson and the Muslim Orient," 134.

time that "he may be said to have gained the ability to use Oriental ideas in his own thought processes."[646] In a further elaboration on Emerson's "Oriental" endeavors, Carpenter states that

> for [Emerson] the Orient had always been the unexplored country_ the land where humanity had originated_ the birthplace of all civilization and literature. As in his youth, so in his mature years, _ and he noted with interest late in life: 'It is only within this century that England and America discovered that their nursery tales were old German and Scandinavian stories; and now it appears that they came from India and are the property of all the nations descended from the Aryan race.'[647]

There is no doubt that for Emerson philosophical and mystical interests were *idée fixe* when it came to the "Orient," but the importance of literary joy must not be forgotten. A fact that has been articulated by Carpenter:

> Parallel with this philosophic interest may be listed the poetic stimulation and enjoyment which Emerson derived from the Persian poets in particular, and from the poetic quality of all Oriental literature in general. In most ways this interest was less important than that of Oriental philosophy, but perhaps it has been more generally recognized, because Emerson acknowledged it more specifically, and wrote more articles and poems as a result of it.[648]

It is pertinent to bear in mind the notion that "the leading popularizers of Persian literature in England and America in the mid-nineteenth century often took their cue from the Germans. Edward B. Cowell, who taught FitzGerald to read Persian, owed his later interpretations to German sources; Samuel Robinson, a businessman who was an amateur of Persian, owed both texts and translations to them."[649] It is also known to us that "the two most widely read anthologies of Asian literature_ Louisa Costello's *The Rose-Garden of Persia* in England, and William R. Alger's *The Poetry of the Orient* in America_ contained numerous English translations of German versions of Persian poetry."[650] This is exactly the type of argument that can be applied when studying Emerson's Persian "discourse." Hamid Dabashi also

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646. Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia*, 13-14.

647. Carpenter, 17-18.

648. Carpenter, 20.

649. John D. Yohannan, "Persian Literature in Translation," in *Persian Literature*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (Stony Brook, NY: State University of New York Press,1988), 484.

650. Yohannan, "Persian Literature in Translation," 484.

proposes that "it seems that the Persian ingredient of German Romanticism was the chief attraction for its transmission both to the rest of Europe and to the North American continent."[651] Concerning Emerson's "Oriental" endeavors, we know that "during the general period of 1850 to 1860 [he] was widely interested in Oriental literature in every way" that he "did not merely accept Oriental ideas" but "he transmuted them" and "used them to illustrate and give substance to his own thought."[652]

Delving deeper into "the widening gyre [653] of Persophilia,"[654] and keeping in mind the "half-hidden, half-visible history" of this phenomenon in the West, Hamid Dabashi eventually proposes that "Persophilia was adapted in Germany, reclaimed in India, and introduced in America."[655] Moreover, he declares that "while in its North American sojourn, German Romanticism transmuted into transcendentalism and from there eventually informed the civil disobedience ideas of key thinkers from Thoreau to Martin Luther King Jr."[656] But could all these "discursive practices" be regarded as the New World's attempt to resist English contemporaneous imperial "Orientalism," just like European Romanticism at the beginning of the century, which is regarded by many as a form of cultural resistance to the Industrial Revolution and imperialism? Reflecting on this issue, Alan Hodder maintains the following:

> as Americans still recovering from Britain's recent colonial project in North America, Transcendentalists like Emerson occupied a more ambiguous political position than European orientalists did, but his language and general way of thinking about 'the East' is nonetheless clearly indebted to standard orientalist tropes. To be sure, Emerson's particular motive for conceptualizing the relationship between East and West in this general way was partly rhetorical _ to illustrate his pet doctrine of polarity, with East and West defining the two poles to which Plato was assigned the role of mediator _ but he never entirely abandoned this schematic and stereotypical way of thinking about Asian cultures even in his more studious moments.[657]

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651. Dabashi, *Persophilia*, 118.

652. Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia*, 23-24.

653. The phrase comes from William Butler Yeats' 1919 poem, "The Second Coming": Turning and turning in the widening gyre/ The falcon cannot hear the falconer;/ Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;/ Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.

654. Dabashi, *Persophilia*, 120.

655. Dabashi, 121.

656. Dabashi, 121.

657. Hodder, "Asia in Emerson and Emerson in Asia," 386-87.

The point here is that a close and firsthand reading of Emerson's "Oriental" writings could help us gain more profound insights into Emerson's mode of "Orientalism."

4.6. Persian Poetry as "Formulas Superseding All Histories"

4.6.1. Persians, the Miscellany of the "Orient"

This subchapter will analyze Emerson's two significant works on post-Islamic Persia, both of which are dedicated to Persian poetry as one of the main pillars of Iranian culture and civilization. The first one, as I elaborated earlier, is the lengthy essay entitled "Persian Poetry," and the second one is an essay on the Persian poet Saadi. We already know that there are "only two other major Western authors [who] have contributed as much to the cultivation of Persian poetry [in the West] as Emerson: Goethe, in the early years of the nineteenth century and Edward FitzGerald [658] in the later years."[659] But in the case of Emerson, "equally notable has been the reverse influence exerted by Persian poets upon Emerson's own work."[660] This influence had a profound impact, but it would go beyond the scope of this project to go into a deeper analysis of it. I have elaborated somewhat on Goethe and his mode of "Oriental" thought; talking about Edward FitzGerald and *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, we have to be aware that this book "is by far the most famous translation ever made from Persian verse into English, and it had a considerable influence on the development of late Victorian and Edwardian British poetry as well as the awakening of a much wider interest, in English speaking countries and Europe, in Persian literature than had previously been the case."[661]

But what was the importance of post-Islamic Persia for the American philosopher? To what extent does transcendentalist "Orientalism" differ from imperial "Orientalism?" Where can we dispose the Emersonian "discourse" on Persia in the mid-nineteenth century? Which position can we grant his "discourse" while analyzing the *diskursives Gewimmel* of the imperial century? In order to find appropriate answers, I will conduct an analysisof Emerson's works on Persia as a rather *novel* entity for Americans.

At the very onset of his "Persian Poetry" (1858), Emerson makes it fully clear to all his readers that his knowledge of post-Islamic Persia has been gained through German sources.

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658. Edward Fitzgerald (1809-1883) is the British translator of *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (London, 1859), as well as numerous other works from Persian literature.

659. Yohannan, "Emerson, Ralph Waldo."

660. Yohannan, "Emerson, Ralph Waldo."

661. Dick Davis, "FitzGerald, Edward," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, X/1 (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 1999), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/fitzgerald-

Emerson declares that he owes his "best knowledge of Persians" to Baron Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall who "translated into German, besides the *Divan* of Hafiz, specimens of two hundred poets, who wrote during a period of five and a half centuries, from A.D. 1050 to 1600."[662] He then mentions the names of "the seven masters of the Persian Parnassus," who through Baron von Hammer's translation "ceased to be empty names": "Firdousi [Ferdowsi], Enweri [Anvari], Jelaleddin [Rumi], Saadi, Hafiz, and Jami."[663] Emerson also stresses that Baron von Hammer's translation would "promise [the] rise" of figures like "Ferideddin Attar and Omar Khayyam" in "Western estimation."[664] However, going into further details of works and environs of these grandmasters of Iranian culture and literature would go beyond the limits and scope of this work. However, it will be unavoidable in some instances to include some information about these figures of classical Persian literature and mysticism.

Jean McClure Mudge also reiterates that Emerson's "preference for this impressionistic style had only strengthened after the 1840s" and declares,

> it was then that he was first drawn to Eastern mysticism, becoming fascinated by the Persian Sufi poets, especially *Hafiz* and *Saadi*. By 1864, he was applauding their 'inconsecutiveness' and lack of unity. These virtues matched his long-sought goal in writing: to reflect nature's constant change, irregularities and mysteries. In addition, both of Emerson's expressed strengths — imagination and intuition — and his Romantic philosophy made him share the Persians' suspicion of pure reasoning and logic, and its authoritative result, religious orthodoxy.[665]

In addition to the crucial comments made by Mudge about Emerson's insatiable desire for Persian mysticism toward the end of his life, as well as appropriating and matching certain Persian mystical tenets with his strong points, "imagination and intuition" are aspects that Mudge only briefly mentioned. Here, we must delve deeper into both imagination and intuition, as they warrant a more elaborate discussion. On the one hand, we can observe that Jean McClure Mudge correctly emphasizes the year "1864" as the time that Emerson starts praising the Persian poets' "inconsecutiveness and lack of unity."[666] This is the same year that Emerson wrote his second

662. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Persian Poetry," in *The Complete Works* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1903-4), available online at https://www.rwe.org/persian-poetry/

663. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

664. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

665. Jean McClure Mudge, "Actively Entering Old Age, 1865–1882," in *Mr. Emerson's Revolution*, ed. Jean McClure Mudge (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2015), 234.

666. Mudge, "Actively Entering Old Age," 234.

essay on Persian literature; the essay on Saadi, written as the "Preface to the American edition" of Francis Gladwin's translation of Saadi's *The Gulistan: or Rose Garden*. On the other hand, in his primary, 1858 essay entitled "Persian Poetry," he uses the term "inconsecutiveness" to describe the Persian poets in a way that had a different connotation. Let us juxtapose these two texts in order to gain a better understanding of Emerson's attitude toward the Persian existence. In his 1858 "Persian Poetry," Emerson asserts,

> The Persians have epics and tales, but, for the most part, they affect short poems and epigrams. Gnomic verses, rules of life conveyed in a lively image, especially in an image addressed to the eye, and contained in a single stanza, were always current in the East; and if the poem is long, it is only a string of unconnected verses. They use an *inconsecutiveness* quite alarming to Western logic, and the connection between the stanzas of their longer odes is much like that between the refrain of our old English ballads.[667]

Keeping in mind the "quite alarming," "inconsecutiveness" of Persian poetry "to the Western logic," let us shift to Emerson's essay on Saadi that was written in 1864, in which he most explicitly states,

> in a country where there are no libraries and no printing, people must carry wisdom in sentences. Wonderful is the inconsecutiveness of the Persian poets. European criticism finds that the unity of a beautiful whole is everywhere wanting. Not only the story is short, but no two sentences are joined. In looking through Von Hammer's anthology, culled from a paradise of poets, the reader feels this painful discontinuity.[668]

This shows that Emerson did not consider this Persian "inconsecutiveness" a reprehensible "Oriental" quality, or even "quite alarming to Western logic." This shift contradicts the more ambivalent statements he made at a younger age regarding the "Orient" and its existence.

Admittedly, "the names of the poets *Ḥafeẓ* and *Saadi* appear on Emerson's 1841 reading list and frequently thereafter in his journals and notebooks,"[669] but it took more than fifteen years

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667. Emerson, "Persian Poetry," (emphasis added).

668. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Preface to the American Edition," in *The Gulistan or Rose Garden. By Musle-huddeen Sheikh Saadi, of Shiraz,* trans. Francis Gladwin (Boston, MA: Ticknor and Fields, 1865), xi.

669. Yohannan, "Emerson, Ralph Waldo."

for these ideas to come to the fore, finally taking shape as Emerson's first essay on "Persian Poetry."

When closely reading Emerson's "Persian Poetry", the very first paragraph reveals how Emerson draws the readers' attention to the qualities of "a good telescope." He writes that "many qualities go to make a good telescope, as the largeness of the field, facility of sweeping the meridian, achromatic purity of lenses, and so forth,_ but the one eminent value is the space-penetrating power."[670] The American scholar then emphatically shifts to the field of literature and states that "there are many virtues in books, _ but the essential value is the adding of knowledge to our stock, by the record of new facts, and, better, by the record of intuitions, which distribute facts, and are the formulas which supersede all histories."[671] There are certain words in the last sentence about the virtues of books that are of utmost importance and help decipher Emerson's subsequent "discourse" on Persian literature. For Emerson, the "essential value" of a book, as a medium, is its potential for the "adding of knowledge" to one's stock. Following his narrative, this addition of knowledge to one's *reservoir* is done through "recording new facts," and more precisely, in Emerson's words, "by the record of intuition, which distribute facts." With respect to Emerson's discourse, and given the fact that Mudge correctly considers "imagination and intuition" to be Emerson's "expressed strengths," we then read that Emerson explicitly indicates that "intuition" as a fact-distributing medium constitutes the "formulas which supersede all histories." At the end of the first paragraph of the essay, Emerson's pure Transcendentalist "Orientalism" begins; a mode of thought that could also be considered a mode of cultural resistance to other modes of "Orientalism," including English imperialist tenets.

"Orientalism" as a mode of "discourse" is not an inert entity, and even in today's world, this vibrant entity is constantly changing and fluctuating in every corner of the world. In other words, it is a well-known fact among scholars that "Orientalism was not cut from one cloth," and in different places, "it developed at different times, with varying intensities and varying emphases."[672] The objective of this chapter is identifying the American Transcendentalist mode of "Orientalism" by analyzing the works of the most important figure of the movement, who specifically wrote about the "Oriental subjects." We therefore have to pay attention to the fact that "Orientalism" is an intrinsically interdependent entity. As Edward Said reveals in his *Orientalism*, it primarily "connotes the high-handed executive attitude of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century European colonialism."[673] The previously mentioned notion must be kept in mind so that we can avoid having high expectations of the American Transcendentalist mode of "Orientalism" to be wholly and *essentially* different from European "discourses."

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670. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

671. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

672. Irwin, "The Real Discourses of Orientalism," 19.

673. Said, *Orientalism*, 2.

At this point, we must keep in mind two important notions that will be of great use for the analysis of Emerson's works on post-Islamic Persia. One of them is the notion of the "Oriental Renaissance." As Edward Said explains in his groundbreaking *Culture and Imperialism* (1994), the concept of "Oriental Renaissance," as it is introduced by Raymond Schwab, primarily pertains to the period "from the late eighteenth to the middle nineteenth century, when the cultural riches of India, China, Japan, Persia, and Islam were firmly deposited at the heart of European culture."[674] Then, according to Raymond Schwab, and as it is paraphrased by Edward Said, we face "Europe's magnificent appropriation of the Orient" that includes "the discoveries of Sanskrit by German and French grammarians, of the great Indian national epics by English, German, and French poets and artists, of Persian imagery and Sufi philosophy by many European and even American thinkers from Goethe to Emerson."[675] This intellectual expedition is regarded as "one of the most splendid episodes in the history of the human adventure."[676]

In his *Persophilia: Persian Culture on the Global Scene*, Hamid Dabashi explains that "beginning with the seventeenth century there was a sudden and dramatic increase in European interest in Persian language and literature, religion and culture, history, geography, and archeology—in both real and imaginative ways."[677] Dabashi then considers two classic responses to this profound enthusiasm for Persia in the West. He then adds, "whereas Raymond Schwab (1884–1956), in *The Oriental Renaissance* (1950), considered such attentions to Persian, Indian, or any other "Oriental" matter as integral to the European romantic longing for originality, Edward Said (1935–2003), in his *Orientalism* (1978), paid almost exclusive attention to European imperialism as the *modus operandi* of knowledge production about the Orient in general."[678] According to Dabashi, in the end, these two perspectives "complement and corroborate each other: while in one we are witness to the internal dynamics of this attention to the Orient, in the other we understand its more global condition and consequences."[679] These points of view therefore "do not negate each other but in fact result in a more sculpted vision of what we understand as 'Orientalism'."[680]

Talking about Emerson's mode of "Orientalism" in "Persian Poetry," we can identify tropes of mainstream "Orientalism" at the very beginning of the essay. Emerson believes that

674. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 194-95.

675. Said, 195.

676. Said, 195.

677. Dabashi, *Persophilia*, 2.

678. Dabashi, 2.

679. Dabashi, 2.

680. Dabashi, *Persophilia*, 2.

> Oriental life and society, especially in the South-ern nations, stand in violent contrast with the multitudinous detail, the secular stability, and the vast average of comfort of the Western nations. Life in the East is fierce, short, hazardous, and in extremes. Its elements are few and simple, not exhibiting the long range and undulation of European existence, but rapidly reaching the best and the worst. The rich feed on fruits and game, _ the poor, on a watermelon's peel. All or nothing is the genius of Oriental life. Favor of the Sultan, or his displeasure, is a question of Fate. A war is undertaken for an epigram or a distich, as in Europe for a duchy.[681]

We can read that from the very beginning, the backbone of Emerson's Transcendentalist "Orientalism" does not seem to greatly differ from what we have already perceived as traditional "Orientalism" in the European "discursive formation" of the Muslim East. Michel Foucault's important notion regarding "discursive formation" in *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (1972) presents itself here for an evaluation of this matter. Foucault believes that

> different *oeuvres*, dispersed books, that whole mass of texts that belong to a single discursive formation _ and so many authors who know or do not know one another, criticize one another, invalidate one another, pillage one another, meet without knowing it and obstinately intersect their unique discourses in a web of which they are not the masters, of which they cannot see the whole, and of whose breadth they have a very inadequate idea_ all these various figures and individuals do not communicate solely by the logical succession of propositions that they advance, nor by the recurrence of themes, nor by the obstinacy of a meaning transmitted, forgotten, and rediscovered; they communicate by the form of positivity of their discourse, or more exactly, this form of positivity [. . .] defines a field in which formal identities, thematic continuities, translations of concepts, and polemical interchanges may be deployed.[682]

The very core concept of "Orientalism" also applies to Emerson's mode of "Orientalism," as he declares in his opening sentence that "Oriental life and society" in "South-ern nations" are in "violent contrast with" the "Western nations."[683] He consistently and resolutely upholds the dichotomizing "discourse," if not the Western superior position over that

681. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."
682. Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge*, 126-27.

683. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

of the "Oriental" life. In supporting this claim, he then attributes three features to Western existence: "the multitudinous detail, the secular stability, and the vast average of comfort." According to Emerson, the life in the East is "fierce, short, hazardous, and in extremes" possessing very "few and simple" elements that are "not exhibiting the long range and undulation of European existence, but rapidly reaching the best and the worst." To Emerson, "all or nothing is the genius of Oriental life," where fatalism rules over all the human endeavors, and "favor of the Sultan, or his displeasure, is a question of Fate." In a further comparison between the "Oriental" existence and European mode of being, Emerson makes it clear that in the Muslim East "a war is undertaken for an epigram or a distich, as in Europe for a duchy." Due to Emerson's *Weltanschauung* and his profound praise for "imagination" and "intuition," I personally do not know whether to consider that last sentence as an expression of the superiority of Persians – or of their inferiority. Edward Said proposes in *Orientalism* that

> the Orient and Orientals (are considered by Orientalism) as an "object" of study, stamped with an otherness _as all that is different, whether it be "subject" or "object" but of a constitutive otherness, of an essentialist character [. . .]. This "object" of study will be, as is customary, passive, non-participating, endowed with a "historical" subjectivity, above all, non-active, non-autonomous, non-sovereign with regard to itself.[684]

Considering Edward Said's notions, to what extent does Emerson's "Orientalism" conform to the imperial English mode of "discourse," which more or less includes all the criteria Edward Said mentioned? Seeking a proper response requires profound contemplation of various aspects of Emerson's works and intellectual doctrine. It must be reiterated that Emerson willingly chooses to shed light on other apolitical aspects of being a Persian, being classical works of literature and Sufism, or the pre-Islamic Iranian existence, neither of which contribute directly to the contemporary "discourse" of imperial "Orientalism." Regardless of his goal, this act alone could cause a fluctuation in the "discourse" of Anglophone "Orientalism." However, such explanations should not overlook the fact that the tropes of mainstream "Orientalism" are omnipresent in Emerson's accounts of Persia. Persians, for Emerson, are still Oriental "subjects" who constitute a mode of a highly-regarded "Other," to the point that Emerson writes in his "Preface" to *The Gulistan: or Rose Garden by Musle-Huddeen Sheikh Saadi of Shiraz* (1865) that

> the Persians have been called 'the French of Asia'; and their superior intelligence, their esteem for men of learning, their welcome to Western travellers, and their tolerance of

684. Said, *Orientalism*, 97.

> Christian sects in their territory, as contrasted with Turkish fanaticism, would seem to derive from the rich culture of this great choir of poets, perpetually reinforced through five hundred years, which again and again has enabled the Persians to refine and civilize their conquerors, and to preserve a national identity.[685]

Attributing qualities like "superior intelligence," "esteem for men of learning," "welcoming Western travelers," and "tolerance of Christian sects in their territory" to the Persians are characteristic of Emerson's sympathetic attitude toward Persians. Another point here is how Emerson, like Hegel, contrasts the qualities of Persian "rich culture" with "Turkish fanaticism." Emerson believes these qualities "would seem to derive from the rich culture of this great choir of poets, perpetually reinforced through five hundred years." Emerson also emphasizes another aspect of Persian culture: its acculturating capital; a quality that "again and again has enabled the Persians to refine and civilize their conquerors, and to preserve a national identity." All these attributions and qualities theoretically contrast with what we have perceived as mainstream imperial "Orientalism."

Let us now return to Edward Said's notions about the "Oriental subjects" as being perceived as "passive," "non-participating," "endowed with a historical subjectivity," "non-active," "non-autonomous," and "non-sovereign."[686] We can see how Emerson's attributions, especially the *acculturating* capital of Persian culture, its openness for non-Muslims, intelligence and hunger for knowledge are a contrast to the "discourse" of Said's "Orientalism." It could also be argued, however, that Said's notions cannot be applied to Morier's mode of imperial "Orientalism," either. As indicated above, the protagonist of our extensively studied novel, Hajji Baba, is not "passive," and as I have argued, he owns the utmost "agency." As a result of this unprecedented "agency," he is active, autonomous, and *partially* sovereign.

As explained above, Emerson's "Persian Poetry" is replete with examples of classic "Orientalism." One example of this is the stereotypical climatic features of the "Orient." Emerson proclaims,

> The prolific sun, and the sudden and rank plenty which his heat engenders, make subsistence easy. On the other side, the desert, the simoom, the mirage, the lion, and the plague endanger it, and life hangs on the contingency of a skin of water more or less. The very geography of old Persia showed these contrasts. "My father's empire," said Cyrus to Xenophon, "is so large, that people perish with cold, at one extremity, whilst they are

685. Emerson, "Preface to the American Edition," xiv-xv.

686. Said, *Orientalism*, 97.

suffocated with heat, at the other." The temperament of the people agrees with this life in extremes.[687]

To Emerson, the "prolific sun" and the "rank plenty," as the direct result of the sunlight, are considered to be the cornerstone of Persian's easy "subsistence." However, he sees "the desert," "the simoom," "the mirage," "the lion" and "the plague," all of which are the tropes of classic "Orientalism," as the perils of their "Oriental" existence, where "life hangs on the contingency of a skin of water more or less." We then read a dialogue between the Achaemenid emperor Cyrus [the Younger] and Xenophon, the Athenian "historian and essayist who served among the Greek mercenaries of Cyrus the Younger"[688] that underlines the "contrast" that Emerson advocates for. He also thinks that the "temperament of the people agrees with this life in extremes."

At this point, Emerson shifts his "discourse" to another plane, which is the backbone of his essay: "religion" and "poetry." Emerson regards "religion and poetry" as the only defining factors in Persian civilization. He states, "religion and poetry are all their civilization," and religion, from his standpoint, "teaches an inexorable Destiny" to the Persians.[689] Based on the doctrine that Emerson adheres to, nothing except "two days in each man's history" is distinguishable: "his birthday, called the Day of the Lot, and the Day of Judgement."[690] Furthermore, in Persian "Oriental" existence, as perceived by Emerson, "courage and absolute submission to what is appointed him are his virtues."[691] Terms like "Destiny," "the Day of the Lot, and the Day of Judgement," as well as "absolute submission of what is appointed" explicitly denote the absolute Fatalism ingrained in the Orientalist mode of thought.

Emerson reiterates that the "the favor of the climate" and its role in "making subsistence easy," which leads to "encouraging an outdoor life, allows the Eastern nations a highly intellectual organization."[692] Given the fact that in imperial "Orientalism," the harshness of the "Oriental" sunshine and unbearable deserts are omnipresent, referring to "favor of climate" and "intellectual organization," with my emphasis on the term "intellectual," seems less conventional. Let us return to Edward Said's ideas, where he reflects on the genealogy of

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687. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

688. Christopher J. Tuplin, "Xenophon," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2000), available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/xenophon

689. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

690. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

691. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

692. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

"Orientalism," emphasizing that "Orientalism" is handed down through Renaissance to us. Said believes that the figures of speech associated with the Orient, its "strangeness," its "difference," its "exotic sensuousness," and so forth are

> all declarative and self-evident; the tense they employ is the timeless eternal; they convey an impression of repetition and strength; they are always symmetrical and yet diametrically inferior to, a European equivalent, which is sometimes specified, sometimes not. For all these functions it is frequently enough to use the simple copula *is*. Thus, Mohammed *is* an imposter. [. . .] No background need be given; the evidence necessary to convict Mohammed is contained in the 'is.' One does not qualify the phrase, neither does it seem necessary to say that Mohammed *was* an imposter, nor need one consider for a moment that it may not be necessary to repeat the statement. [. . .] Thus Humphrey Prideaux's famous seventeenth-century biography of Mohammed is subtitled *The True Nature of Imposture*.[693]

Edward Said finally concludes, "of course, such categories as imposter (or Oriental, for that matter) imply, indeed require, an opposite that is neither fraudulently something else nor endlessly in need of explicit identification. And that opposite is 'Occidental,' or in Mohammed's case, Jesus."[694] From Edward Said's point of view, philosophically speaking, "the kind of language, thought, and vision" that he has been calling "Orientalism, very generally is a form of radical realism; anyone employing Orientalism, which is the habit for dealing with questions, objects, qualities, and regions deemed Oriental, will designate, name, point to, fix what he is talking or thinking about with a word or phrase, which then is considered either to have acquired, or more simply to be, reality."[695] From a rhetorical perspective, Edward Said considers "Orientalism" as "absolutely anatomical and enumerative: to use its vocabulary is to engage in the particularizing and dividing of things Oriental into manageable parts."[696] And finally, psychologically speaking, "Orientalism" "is a form of paranoia, knowledge of another kind, say, from ordinary historical knowledge."[697] What can we designate R. W. Emerson's Persian *discourses* as? How "Oriental" are they? How different are they from imperial "Orientalism?" How does Emerson confront "the children of the desert," as he puts it?

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693. Said, *Orientalism*, 72.

694. Said, *Orientalism*, 72.

695. Said, 72.

696. Said, 72.

697. Said, 72.

In analyzing Emerson's "Persian Poetry," we have observed that Emerson explicitly embraces the "favor of the climate" as the bedrock on which "the Eastern nations' intellectual organization" is founded. Emerson then moves on to the field of poetry and declares, "the Persians and the Arabs, with great leisure and few books, are exquisitely sensible to the pleasures of the poetry."[698] In supporting his argument, he then recounts "some details of the effect which the *improvvisatori* produced on the children of the desert" written by the English diplomat, archeologist, and historian, Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894):

> When the bard improvised an amatory ditty, the young chief's excitement was almost beyond control. The other *Bedouins* were scarcely less moved by these rude measures, which have the same kind of effect on the wild tribes of the Persian mountains. Such verses, chanted by their self-taught poets, or by the girls of their encampment, will drive warriors to the combat, fearless of death, or prove a simple reward, on their return from the dangers of the *ghazon*, or the fight. The excitement they produce exceeds that of the grape. He who would understand the influence of the Homeric ballads in the heroic ages should witness the effect which similar compositions have upon the wild nomads of the East.[699]

We have observed how Emerson informs his readers through Layard's narrative about "the wild tribes of the Persian mountains," and how the poetry is used among them as a motivation for "driving warriors to the combat, fearless of death." Layard, in emphasizing the role of poetry in Iranian culture, resolutely certifies that "the excitement [the poems] produce exceeds that of the grape," stressing that only those should witness the effects of poetry "upon the wild nomads of the East" who can flawlessly "understand the influence of Homeric ballads in the heroic ages."

At this point, Emerson again quotes Layard, which, in my opinion, is deceptive. If his words were quoted unintentionally, then it indicates his naiveté; and if it was done purposefully, is pure "Orientalism." Layard believes, "poetry and flowers are the wine and spirits of the Arab; a couplet is equal to a bottle, and a rose to a dram, without the evil effects of either." Just before mentioning Layard in the essay, Emerson writes, "the Persians and the Arabs, with great leisure and few books, are exquisitely sensible to the pleasures of the poetry." Keeping these two quotes by Emerson and Layard in mind, we again observe the conventional homogenizing approach in dealing with two distinct people: "the Arabs and the Persians." For the sake of academic accuracy in the field of area studies, this confusion has to be emphasized. However,

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698. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

699. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

generalizations and homogenizations are the most central tenets of "Orientalism" and "Neo-Orientalism." In Edward Said's eyes, the Orientalist projection "makes out of every observable detail a generalization and out of every generalization an immutable law about the Oriental nature, temperament, mentality, custom, or type; and, above all, to transmute living reality into the stuff of texts."[700]

Another point that Emerson introduces in one of his perspectives on Persian poetry is its mythological basis. Emerson explains that "the Persian poetry rests on a mythology whose few legends are connected with the Jewish history, and the anterior traditions of the *Pentateuch.*"[701] This argument does not seem fully accurate or inclusive based on our contemporary knowledge and scholarships. The phrase "few legends" that Emerson applies in his essay could also be a point of controversy. Emerson then immediately announces that "the principal figure in the allusions of Eastern poetry is Solomon."[702] There is no doubt that Solomon plays a vital role in the mythology of Persian poetry, but many other names, Iranian and non-Iranian, pre-Islamic and Islamic, with their pervasive presence in Iranian literature must not be forgotten.

Emerson dedicates this section of his essay to Solomon's "three talismans" followed by a story of "Queen of Sheba." We read in Emerson's essay that

> Solomon had three talismans: first, the signet-ring, by which lie commanded the spirits, on the stone of which was engraven the name of God; second, the glass, in which he saw the secrets of his enemies, and the causes of all things, figured; the third, the east-wind, which was his horse. His counsellor was *Simorg*, king of birds, the all-wise fowl, who had lived ever since the beginning of the world, and now lives alone on the highest summit of *Mount Kai'* [*sic*].[703]

According to Hanns-Peter Schmidt, "*Simorg*," as the "counsellor" of the king-prophet Solomon, is "a fabulous, mythical bird" that has been present in Iranian culture since pre-Islamic times; however, "in post-Sasanian times the *Simorg* occurs in the epic, folktales, and mystical literature."[704] Schmidt refers to the *Simurgh* as "the king of the birds; he is close to them, but they are far from him, he lives behind the mountains called *Kaf* (*Qaf*), his dwelling is

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700. Said, *Orientalism*, 86.

701. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

702. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

703. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

704. Hans-Peter Schmidt, "Simorg," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2002), available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/simorg

inaccessible, no tongue can utter his name. Before him hang a hundred thousand veils of light and darkness."[705]

After discussing Solomon and *Simurgh*, Emerson shifts to the field of Persian epic poetry and devotes one short part of his essay to a concise reflection on Ferdowsi, the national poet of Greater Iran, and his popular and extremely influential epic entitled *Shahnameh* (the literal translation of which is Book of Kings). The *Shahnameh* as "a poem of nearly 60,000 verses" was completed in 1010 A.D. after nearly 30 years of work. It is respected as a work "in which the Persian national epic found its final and enduring form" and "for nearly 1,000 years, it has remained one of the most popular works in the Persian-speaking world."[706]

Emerson regards "Firdousi" as the "Persian Homer" who "has written the *Shah Nameh*" as "the annals of the fabulous and heroic kings of the country."[707] Based on my investigations and readings of *Shahnameh*, I have identified five characters in this section that appear to be from the *Shahnameh*; however, the first character, Karun, is not appropriately presented in this context.

In recounting the "fabulous and heroic kings" of Greater Iran as presented in *Shahnameh*, Emerson mentions the name of "Karun" as the first figure. In Emerson's view, "Karun (the Persian Croesus)," is "the immeasurably rich gold-maker, who, with all his treasures, lies buried not far from the Pyramids, in the sea which bears his name."[708] Based on my inquiries, Emerson probably mistook *Qaren* (*Karen*) for the Croesus: Karen is the son of Kaveh The Blacksmith, an extremely important figure both in Iranian mythology and in the *Shahnameh*; *Croesus* is the King of Lydia. It is also very probable that Emerson's take on *Karun* alludes to the Biblical and Quranic figure, *Korah* or *Kórach*, who does not have anything to do with pre-Islamic Iranian mythology.

In Emerson's narrative on the Persian mythical figures of *Shahnameh*, he mentions four other names, "Jamschid," "Kai Kaus," "Afrasiyab" and "Rustem," who are not necessarily "fabulous and heroic kings of the country." Jamshid, in Emerson's view, is "the binder of demons, whose reign lasted seven hundred years."[709] In his book *The Shahnameh: The Persian Epic as World Literature*, Hamid Dabashi describes Jamshid as the "handsome" and "valiant" king "under whose reign civilization as we now know it begins to take full shape. Jamshid becomes the first king, Mubad [magus], combining political and religious authority that is at

705. Schmidt, "Simorg."

706. Editors of the Encyclopedia, "Shahnameh: Work by Ferdowsi," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, (Chicago, IL: Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 2019), available online at https://www.britannica.com/topic/Shah-nameh

707. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

708. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

709. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

once royal and pastoral."[710] In Iranian mythology, Jamshid is a "just and magnanimous king" who was "ruling the world, and yet eventually arrogance and hubris took over him and weakened his kingdom."[711]

The other figure in Emerson's essay is "Kai Kaus [Kay Kavus]," another mythological king of Greater Iran, "in whose palace, built by demons on Alberz [Alborz mountains], gold and silver and precious stones were used so lavishly, that in the brilliancy produced by their combined effect, night and day appeared the same."[712] "Afrasiyab" (Afrasiab) is the Turanian, (not Iranian) king whose name is mentioned in Emerson's essay before "Rustem [Rustam]," the Iranian nobleman and army chief who is regarded by the people of the Farsi-speaking world as the symbol of power, patriotism, and benevolence. Let us move on to read how Emerson introduces these two intransigent figures of the *Shahnameh*: Rustam is among the main Iranian protagonists, while the other figure, Afrasiab, is among the principal foreign antagonists in the epic. In describing these two irreconcilable powers, Emerson writes,

> Afrasiyab, strong as an elephant, whose shadow extended for miles, whose heart was bounteous as the ocean, and his hands like the clouds when rain falls to gladden the earth. The crocodile in the rolling stream had no safety from Afrasiyab. Yet when he came to fight against the generals of Kaus, he was but an insect in the grasp of Rustem, who seized him by the girdle, and dragged him from his horse. Rustem felt such anger at the arrogance of the King of Mazinderan, that every hair on his body started up like a spear. The gripe of his hand cracked the sinews of an enemy.[713]

Ehsan Yarshater describes Afrasiab as the "Turanian king and hero and Iran's archenemy in its legendary history," who is "by far the most prominent of Turanian kings."[714] He utters, "Afrasiab is depicted in Iranian tradition as a formidable warrior and skillful general; an agent of *Ahriman* [the evil spirit in the Zoroastrian worldview], he is endowed with magical powers and bent on the destruction of Iranian lands."[715] Afrasiab along with Alexander, and the mythological figure Zahhak, "form a most hated trio that according to Zoroastrian writings *Ahriman* set

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710. Hamid Dabashi, *The Shahnameh: The Persian Epic as World Literature* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2019), 119.

711. Dabashi, *Shahnameh*, 4.

712. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

713. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

714. Ehsan Yarshater, "Afrasiab," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/6 (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 1984), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/afrasiab-turanian-king

715. Yarshater, "Afrasiab."

against the Iranians."[716] Afrasiab also "symbolizes the opposition between Iran and Turan, which constitutes the main theme of the Iranian national saga and fills more than half of Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*."[717] However, apart from his epic and mythological presence in Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, Rustam is believed to be a "Sasanian military commander and provincial ruler," who "met his death leading the Sasanian army at the Battle of *Qadisiya* during the Arab-Islamic conquest of Iran" in the mid-630s CE.[718]

At the very beginning of the section in which Emerson discusses Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, he promises to familiarize us with the "fabulous and heroic kings of the country"; however, the result is a haphazard assemblage of figures from Iranian, Turanian and Abrahamic religions' mythologies that have been woven together in an erratic way. I have already discussed several flaws in Emerson's arguments, which could be the direct result of his superficial and inexact knowledge of the Iranian culture and literature that he acquired through German sources. The importance of his works in familiarizing the readers on the other side of the Atlantic with Iranian culture and literature during the imperial century can neither be negated nor downplayed.

Following Emerson's considerations of Iranian mythology, he names "Chiser" as "the fountain of life,"[719] which is an utter imprecision. The "Chiser," as Emerson refers to it, must be *Khizr* ("green" and "verdure" in Arabic) who is believed to be "a prophet known to Islamic written tradition and folklore, from the Balkans to India" whose widespread "worship, all over Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia, is connected with local calendar beliefs and fertility cults."[720] It must also be said that "the origins of the Khizr legend are obscure" and "no prophet of this name is known to the Old Testament, neither is he mentioned by name in the Koran."[721]. Directly after recounting the legends of *Shahnameh*, Emerson writes that

> these legends,_ with Chiser, the fountain of life, Tuba, the tree of life,_ the romances of the loves of Leila and Medschun, of Chosru and Schirin, and those of the nightingale for the rose,- pearl-diving, and the virtues of gems,_ the cohol [kohl]; a cosmetic by which pearls and eyebrows are indelibly stained black,_ the bladder in which musk is brought,_

716. Yarshater, "Afrasiab."

717. Yarshater, "Afrasiab."

718. D. Gershon Lewental, "Rostam b. Farrok-Hormozd," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Online edition (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2017), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/rostam-farrokh-hormozd

719. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

720. Anna Krasnowolska, "Kezr," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Online edition (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2009), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/kezr-prophet

721. Krasnowolska, "Kezr."

> the down of the lip, the mole on the cheek, the eyelash,_ lilies, roses, tulips, and jasmines,_ make the staple imagery of Persian odes.[722]

Here, Emerson adds some new elements to his previously-mentioned "Oriental" tropes of Persian existence. The main theme of Emerson's essay is supposed to be Persian odes. Before dedicating himself to the topic, however, he first mentions two different important things: For one, he refers to two crucial romances of Persian literature, *Layla and Majnun* as well as *Khosrow and Shirin*, both written by the 12th century Persian master of lyrical poetry and romance, Hakim Nezami Ganjavi. Second, he also mentions a handful of other notions, emphasizing the *mundane* and exotic mode of Persian "Oriental" existence. It is with these references that he finalizes his semi-introductory accounts.

4.6.2. "The Inconsecutiveness Alarming to Western Logic"

After superficial elaboration on Iranian epics and tales, Emerson begins another discussion about "gnomic verses" and "short poems and epigrams," both of which Emerson considers to be the mode of literature that, "for the most part," the Iranians "affect."[723] He explains that "Gnomic verses" are "rules of life conveyed in a lively image, especially in an image addressed to the eye, and contained in a single stanza," and have continually been "current in the East."[724] Emerson also points something out that, from my point of view, cannot be regarded as a valid argument. He points out that "if the poem is long, it is only a string of unconnected verses," stressing that there is "an inconsecutiveness" in the poems that are "quite alarming to Western logic, and the connection between the stanzas of their longer odes is much like that between the refrain of our old English ballads."[725]

In order to elaborate on Emerson's notion of "inconsecutiveness," one must keep in mind that Emerson did not speak Farsi nor was he well-acquainted with Iranian literature and culture like many continental and British Orientalists were. His knowledge of Iran and Iranian culture was principally derived from German sources. I am also not sure about Emerson's command of the German language. Secondly, reading literature in a foreign language, especially when it is obtained through the mediation of a third foreign language, is inherently complicated and is likely to be flawed. There are so many counterarguments to what Emerson calls the "inconsecutiveness" of Persian poetry, a deep discussion of which cannot be undertaken here. It

722. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

723. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

724. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

725. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

can be said, however, that reading literature, especially the poetry of a foreign and distant culture such as that of Persia, first and foremost requires a great deal of lingual, cultural, ideological, political, historical and even ethnic knowledge. If these criteria are not met, the reader is unlikely to be able to internalize the content of a text.

At the end, Emerson gives us two "specimens of these gnomic verses," the first appears to be anonymous, the second one is by Omar Khayyam. In my opinion, reading these poems can deepen our understanding of what Emerson means by "gnomic verses." The first poem reads as follows:

> The secret that should not be blown
>
> Not one of thy nation must know;
>
> You may padlock the gate of a town,
>
> But never the mouth of a foe.[726]

The second poem is by Omar Khayyam, who, along with Rumi, is arguably the most-read and well-known Persian poet on the international literary stage:

> On earth's wide thoroughfares below
>
> Two only men contented go:
>
> Who knows what's right and what's forbid,
>
> And he from whom is knowledge hid.[727]

After mentioning one more poem, Emerson directly shifts to Hafez, who the rest of his essay deals with. The next section of this chapter is dedicated to the analysis of Emerson's engagement with Hafez.

4.6.3. The Oriental Audacity of Accosting All Topics

726. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

727. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

Hafez is undoubtedly the most popular Persian poet in Iran, which likely applies to all Persianate societies. "If a book of poetry is to be found in a Persian home," Yarshater writes, "it is likely to be the Divan (collected poems) of Hafez."[728] On the other hand, "no other Persian poet has been the subject of so much analysis, commentary, and interpretation."[729] My work does not focus on reflecting on the commentaries, analyses, and interpretations of Hafez's poetry; however, it will occasionally be necessary to reflect on Hafez and his environ. Emerson declares in his "Persian Poetry" (1858) that

> Hafiz is the prince of Persian poets, and in his extraordinary gifts adds to some of the attributes of Pindar, Anacreon, Horace, and [Robert] Burns the insight of a mystic, that sometimes affords a deeper glance at Nature than belongs to either of these bards. He accosts all topics with an easy audacity. "He only," he says, "is fit for company, who knows how to prize earthly happiness at the value of a night-cap. Our father Adam sold Paradise for two kernels of wheat; then blame me not, if I hold it dear at one grape stone."[730]

Reading the very first introductory sentences on Hafez, I chose three phrases from this excerpt that could assist us in reaching a better understanding of Emerson's Hafez. These appropriate attributions are "mystic," "deeper glance at Nature" and "easy audacity," which finally formulate Emerson's perception of Hafez. It is true that Hafez confronts "all topics with an easy audacity" and this feature of Hafez poetry, as we have seen, is supported by couplets from a poem. These might be the features of Hafez's work that make this Persian poet so alluring for the American intellectual, while the trio of mysticism, nature, and the audacity of non-conformity and accost can also be seen as the pillars of a Transcendentalist mode of thought. Drawing on Hafez's infinite "audacity," Emerson mentions another piece by Hafez affirming Hafez's interest in breaching all topics:

> I batter the wheel of heaven
>
> When it rolls not rightly by;

728. Ehsan Yarshater, "Hafez i. An Overview," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XI/5 (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2002), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/hafez-i

729. Yarshater, "Hafez i. An Overview."

730. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

I am not one of the snivelers,

Who fall thereon and die.[731]

Who is this Persian poet? What features can be found in his works that have helped his "Oriental" poetics and thoughts to be passed down to the realm of Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900) and his writings?

Talking about Nietzsche and Persian poetry, it is abundantly clear that "Saadi and Hafez are the only Persian names of the Islamic era mentioned in Nietzsche's writings."[732] We also know that "Goethe's admiration for Hafez and his 'Oriental' wisdom, as expressed in *West-östlisches* [*sic*] *Divan*, has been the main source of attracting Nietzsche to the Persian poet."[733] Moreover, we can find a short poem in Nietzsche's collected works entitled *An Hafis: Frage Eines Wassertrinkers*.[734] Interestingly, in the Persian poetical tradition, Hafez, "falls short of the epic poet Ferdowsi (10th century) in terms of panoramic scope and socio-political significance, and Saadi (13th century) in terms of versatility, verve, and vivacity, and Rumi in rhythmic musicality, but by common consent he represents the zenith of Persian lyric poetry."[735]

In the rest of Emerson's essay, there are numerous couplets, stanzas, and poems by Hafez; however, Emerson, in an extremely sporadic manner and a very out-of-context way, tries to include other Persian poems into the texture of his essay. The poets mentioned in Emerson's essay are Anwari (1126-1189), Ibn Yamin (1286/87-1368), Abd al-Rahman Jami (1414-1492), Nezami Ganjavi (1141-1209) and Farid al-Din Attar of Nishapur (1145/46-1221).

I would like to reiterate that touching upon the works and lives of these poets would go beyond the scope of this project. However, should be said that this colorful but incomprehensive set of poets are among the celebrated figures of Persian poetry. They are also outstanding personalities in Iranian mysticism, music, science and philosophy.

Another feature that Emerson observes in Hafez's poetry is "the rapidity of his turns," a tenet that could be found in the discourse of "Orientalism" and has also been highlighted by Emerson in his previous reflections in the same essay. Emerson shares a stanza to support his argument:

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731. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

732. Daryoush Ashouri, "Nietzsche and Persia," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Online edition (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2003), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/nietzsche-and-persia

733. Ashouri, "Nietzsche and Persia."

734. "To Hafez: Question from a Water Drinker."

735. Yarshater, "Hafez i. An Overview."

See how the roses burn!

Bring wine to quench the fire!

Alas! the flames come up with us,

-We perish with desire.[736]

Emerson also discusses how Hafez's poetry "after the manner of his nation, [. . .] abounds in pregnant sentences which might be engraved on a sword-blade and almost on a ring,"[737] supporting his argument with a handful of examples from Hafez's work:

The world is a bride superbly dressed;

_ Who weds her for dowry must pay his soul.[738]

Here is another example:

Loose the knots of the heart; never think on thy fate:

No Euclid has yet disentangled that snarl.[739]

Emerson's translations of Hafez's poems through German sources cannot be considered authentic because so many misinterpretations, appropriations and additions are detectable in their texture. A small example is Euclid's name: according to my knowledge of Hafez's poetry that name was not mentioned in the original poem. The original word in the couplet is *Mohandes*, meaning geometer or calculator. In the original translation of Joseph vom Hammer, the word "Geometer," and not "Euclid," is used.[740] The other term that is misinterpreted is "thy fate" that, in my opinion, cannot be considered the most suitable equivalent for the Farsi word *Sepehr*,

736. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

737. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

738. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

739. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

740. "Löse den Knoten des Herzens, und sorge dich weiter um's Loos nicht,/ Kein Geometer hat noch diese Verwirrung gelößt." Available online at http://www.deutsche-liebeslyrik.de/hafis/hafis135.htm

which can be translated as empyrean, and appeared in the original poem without the possessive pronoun "thy." In the German translation, we cannot find the possessive pronoun "thy."

Apart from glorifying the "audacity" of Hafez in confronting even the empyrean and its unattainability, Emerson also stresses mundane "Oriental" tropes of Hafez's poetry, which are worthy of consideration. Emerson writes, "Harems and wine-shops only give [Hafez] a new ground of observation, whence to draw sometimes a deeper moral than regulated sober life affords"[741] proposing two poems to clarify what he means by that:

> On turnpikes of wonder
>
> wine leads the mind forth,
>
> Straight, sidewise, and upward,
>
> West, southward, and north.

The other example is:

> Stands the vault adamantine
>
> Until the Doomsday;
>
> The wine-cup shall ferry
>
> Thee o'er it away.

There is a point to clarify here, and that is the term "Harem," which Emerson has mistakenly applied in accordance with classic "Orientalism." I would like to argue that the term "Harem," with its "Orientalist" and *royal* connotations, fits neither the context of Hafez's poetry nor his environs as an individual. It must be said that Hafez applied the term "Harem" in his poems in some instances, however, in an entirely different context. This term is generally applied in his mystical poems, not serving the purpose that Emerson had in mind. Furthermore, Hafez did not have a royal or high-ranking position that would have allowed him access to his own "Harem."[742]

741. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

742. We must distinguish between two concepts here: *Andaruni* and *Harem*. In Iranian traditional architecture, *Andaruni* was the inner quarter where the female members of the family lived. In Arabic language, the term *Harem* also applied to this space, but it would be naïve to consider that Hafez refers to his own *Andaruni* in his highly symbolic, metaphorical,

Drawing on what Emerson probably had in mind, many classic figures of Persian literature, very especially Hafez, have perpetually used the term *kharabat* instead of what has been rendered as "Harem." The term *kharabat*, along with *meykhaneh*, which specifically means tavern and is equivalent to Emerson's "wine-shops," as well as *rend*, meaning a "debauchee," a term that Hafez occasionally attributes to himself and his milieu, are omnipresent components in Hafez's poetry. We must therefore be careful not to confuse the "Orientalist" concept of "Harem" with *kharabat*, and "wine-shop" with *meykhaneh* (tavern). We must consider the political, social, and most importantly cultural implications of these terms in medieval Persia. De Bruijn (2002) correctly states that "Hafez frequently poses as a *rend* (debauchee)" and "the *rend* despises conventional piety as mere hypocrisy, and seeks refuge from the mosque and the cell of the ascetic in a tavern (*meykhaneh*) or ruined places (*kharabat*) of ill repute."[743]

Hafez's debauchery, or *rendi*, become more significant when juxtaposed with the numerous antagonists of his Divan, such as the bigoted *mohtaseb* (the sheriff), whose responsibility is the flawless implementation of bigoted religious orders and doctrines; a task that the *mohtaseb* follows strictly and indefectibly. *Rend*, the humble character whose inner spirit is pure, finds himself in an enduring battle with the *Zahed*; the devout ascetic antagonist in the Divan, whose pretense and mere ostentation is his principal characteristic. *Rend*'s despise of hypocrisy makes him choose the opposite path: being a debauchee. We must consider the metaphorical nature of these terms as well as the fact that the connotations of these terms in Medieval Persia were far different from their denotations today.

Following Emerson and his account of Persian poetry for the American readership, he declares,

> that hardihood and self-equality of every sound nature, which result from the feeling that the spirit in him is entire and as good as the world, which entitle the poet to speak with authority, and make him an object of interest, and his every phrase and syllable significant, are in Hafiz, and abundantly fortify and ennoble his tone.[744]

"Intellectual liberty" is another "merit" Emerson attributed to Hafez, who is also regarded by him as "a certificate of profound thought."[745] The concept of "intellectual liberty" and being

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mystical and socio-politically aware poems. Furthermore, the term *Harem* in traditional "Orientalism," be it writings or paintings, is pertinent to licentiousness of the Sultans and high-ranking people.

743. J. T. P. de Bruijn, "Hafez iii. Hafez's Poetic Art," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XI/5 (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2002), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/hafez-iii

744. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

745. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

an active and free thinker are among the pillars of the Transcendentalist mode of thought. In his oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1837 Emerson asserts that

> the one thing in the world, of value, is the active soul. This every man is entitled to; this every man contains within him, although, in almost all men, obstructed, and as yet unborn. The soul active sees absolute truth; and utters truth, or creates. In this action, it is genius; not the privilege of here and there a favorite, but the sound estate of every man.[746]

More than twenty years after this address, Emerson writes in "Persian Poetry" that

> we accept the religions and politics into which we fall; and it is only a few delicate spirits who are sufficient to see that the whole web of convention is the imbecility of those whom it entangles, – that the mind suffers no religion and no empire but its own. It indicates this respect to absolute truth by the use it makes of the symbols that are most stable and reverend, and therefore is always provoking the accusation of irreligion.[747]

Emerson then announces that "wrong shall not be wrong to Hafiz, for the name's sake. A law or statute is to him what a fence is to a nimble school-boy, _ a temptation for a jump," and finally reaches to the conclusion that due to "his complete intellectual emancipation, [. . .] nothing is too high, nothing too low, for his occasion. He fears nothing, and he stops for nothing."[748] To Emerson's Hafez, "love is a leveller, and Allah becomes a groom, and heaven a closet, in his daring hymns to his mistress or to his cupbearer" and "this boundless charter," in Emerson's view, "is the right of genius."[749]

In this section of the essay, Emerson sheds light on non-hypocritical aspects of Hafez's poetry; a notion of utmost importance when reading Hafez. Emerson declares that "Hafiz himself is determined to defy all […] hypocritical interpretation, and tears off his turban and throws it at the head of the meddling dervish, and throws his glass after the turban."[750] There is no doubt that the phrase "meddling dervish" must be substituted with meddling Zahed, the hypocrite devout ascetic who is the antagonist throughout the whole divan. However, "dervish" possesses the

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746. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The American Scholar," in *The Complete Works* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1903-4), available online at https://www.rwe.org/the-american-scholar/

747. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

748. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

749. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

750. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

opposite attributions. This can be considered one of Emerson's many misunderstandings of Hafez. Interestingly, Emerson defines Hafez in a highly transcendental and sublime way possible:

> but the love or the wine of Hafiz is not to be confounded with vulgar debauch. It is the spirit in which the song is written that imports, and not the topics. Hafiz praises wine, roses, maidens, boys, birds, mornings, and music, to give vent to his immense hilarity and sympathy with every form of beauty and joy; and lays the emphasis on these to mark his scorn of sanctimony and base prudence. These are the natural topics and language of his wit and perception. But it is the play of wit and the joy of song that he loves; and if you mistake him for a low rioter, he turns short on you with verses which express the poverty of sensual joys, and to ejaculate with equal fire the most unpalatable affirmations of heroic sentiment and contempt for the world.[751]

This text shows how transcendental and *unworldly* Emerson deals with a very complicated body of work, like Hafez's poetry, even though the mundaneness of the poems, as well as the sociopolitical and sociocultural implications of Hafez's thought, make him an omnipresent figure in the "collective consciousness" of Farsi-speaking nations. Because Hafez memorized the entire Koran, he chose the pseudonym Hafez, which comes from the Arabic root word meaning to memorize, to keep and to protect. It is also noteworthy that in the older Iranian traditions, the term "Hafez" was also attributed to singers. This also supports the claim that he was a musician. It is strongly believed that

> Hafez's poems are the most ambiguous works in Persian literature. They are like a multidimensional prism: one can understand different things depending on the angle they choose. This is a mode of poetry that is open to various interpretations, and due primarily to this reason, there have always been different, paradoxical, and contrasting perspectives on Hafez's work. Without a doubt, Hafez personally contributed the most in introducing such an incongruous portrait of himself to the readers.[752]

Abdolhossein Zarrinkoub (1923-1999), the renowned scholar of Iranian literature, history and culture, clearly states in his introduction to *Through the Debauchees' Alley: About Life and*

751. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

752. Kavoos Hasanli, *Cheshme-ye khorshid: Baz khaani-ye zendegi, andisheh, va sokhan-e hafez-e shirazi* [The Spring of Sun: Re-reading Life, Thought, and the Poetry of Hafez of Shiraz] (Shiraz, IR: Center for Hafez Studies, ISESCO, Navid publication, 2006), 21 [my rendition from Farsi].

Philosophy of Hafez that "we cannot hunt the real slippery shadow of Hafez" because this *rend* (debauchee) of Shiraz did not leave behind any trace of his life or mode of thought.[753] It can be gathered from the title of his book that Zarrinkoub regards Hafez as the resident of a "mysterious" milieu, or an "alley" as he calls it, where "bits and pieces are different from the normality of other people's lives. The people there do not bow to the world or the afterlife. They seek neither wealth and status nor joy and comfort. They do not succumb to disgracing or honor and they are not bound to religion, codes or conventions."[754]

Therefore, unworldly and transcendental readings of Hafez, such as that of Emerson, are infeasible and inadequate when it comes to a politically aware and socially discontent poet like Hafez, who lived in a very tumultuous period of the post-Mongol conquest of Persia. His Divan, as the only source available to us, depicts the ups and downs of that era very meticulously. Emerson's reading of Hafez oscillates between a worldly and unworldly treatment of his work with an emphasis on the latter. Emerson's accounts of Hafez are not free from mundane fables that contradict his celestial "discourse." Emerson writes,

> it is told of Hafiz, that, when he had written a compliment to a handsome youth, _ "Take my heart in thy hand, O! beautiful boy of Shiraz! I would give for the mole on thy cheek Samarcand [Samarkand] and Buchara [Bukhara]!" The verses came to the ears of Timour [Tamerlane] in his palace. Timour taxed Hafiz with treating disrespectfully his two cities, to raise and adorn which he had conquered nations. Hafiz replied, "Alas, my lord, if I had not been so prodigal, I had not been so poor!"[755]

From this point on, Emerson includes more long poems in the essay, not only from Hafez, but also from different Persian poets without any contextual information for the reader, and in an arguable incoherent manner. Emerson also maintains that "the Persians had a mode of establishing copy-right [in their poems]," which in his view, is "the most secure of any contrivance with which we are acquainted."[756] He continues by explaining that "the law of the *ghaselle* [*Ghazal*], or shorter ode, requires that the poet insert his name in the last stanza. Almost every one of several hundreds of poems of Hafiz contains his name thus interwoven more or less closely with the subject of the piece."[757] Emerson rightly believes that this last stanza containing

753. Abdolhossein Zarrinkoub, *Az koocheye rendan: Darbareye zendegi va andishe-ye hafez* [Through the Debauchees' Alley: About Life and Philosophy of Hafez] (Tehran, IR: Sokhan Publishing House, 1995), xi.

754. Zarrinkoub, *Through the Debauchee's Alley*, 41 [my rendition from Farsi].

755. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

756. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

757. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

the name of the poet, called *takhallos*, "is itself a test of skill, as this self-naming is not quite easy," emphasizing he could "remember but two or three examples in English poetry."[758] It must also be briefly mentioned that Emerson used the past tense when explaining this "mode of establishing copy-right" in the Persian *Ghazal*, which indicates that he sees this as being a relic of the past. However, this self-naming tactic is not an obsolete tradition in Persian literature, and even today many poets insert the *takhallos* toward the end of their poem if it is in the form of *Ghazal*.

Emerson's elaboration on the Persian "mode of establishing copy-right" concludes that it gives Hafez "the opportunity of the most playful self-assertion, always gracefully, sometimes almost in the fun of Falstaff, sometimes with feminine delicacy." He follows his argument with some examples of self-naming couplets and stanzas, which include these couplets from one *Ghazal*:

> Out of the East, and out of the West, no man understands me;
>
> O, the happier I, who confide to none but the wind!
>
> This morning heard I how the lyre of the stars resounded,
>
> 'Sweeter tones have we heard from Hafiz![759]

Another point, that has been emphatically discussed by Emerson is the role of nature in Hafez's poetry. Emerson affirms that "the cedar, the cypress, the palm, the olive, and fig-tree, the birds that inhabit them, and the garden flowers, are never wanting in these musky verses, and are always named with effect. 'The willows,' he says, 'bow themselves to every wind, out of shame for their unfruitfulness'."[760]

Emerson explains that upon opening Hafez's Divan, "we may open anywhere on a floral catalogue" and mentions some stanzas to support his statement.[761]

"Friendship," according to Emerson's observations, "is a favorite topic of the Eastern poets, and they have matched on this head the absoluteness of [Michel de] Montaigne."[762] He

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758. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

759. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

760. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

761. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

762. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

supports this idea with a couplet by Hafez as well as with stanzas written by Ibn Yamin and Jami. Hafez's couplet of choice here was the following:

> thou learnest no secret until thou knowest friendship;
>
> since to the unsound no heavenly knowledge enters.[763]

Emerson also regards the "amatory poetry of Hafez" as the "staple of the Divan," stressing that Hafez "has run through the whole gamut of passion, _ from the sacred to the borders, and over the borders, of the profane. The same confusion of high and low, the celerity of flight and allusion which our colder muses forbid, is habitual to him" and he cites a stanza "from the plain text":

> The chemist of love
>
> Will this perishing mould,
>
> Were it made out of mire,
>
> Transmute into gold.[764]

We then read in Emerson's essay that Hafez

> proceeds to the celebration of his passion; and nothing in his religious or in his scientific traditions is too sacred or too remote to afford a token of his mistress. The Moon thought she knew her own orbit well enough; but when she saw the curve on Zuleika's cheek, she was at a loss: _ "And since round lines are drawn/ My darling's lips about,/ The very Moon looks puzzled on,/ And hesitates in doubt/ If the sweet curve that rounds thy mouth/ Be not her true way to the South."[765]

The name of Zulaikha, the minor character in the Hebrew Bible and Koran, is only mentioned once in Hafez's poems and not in this context. As De Bruijn proposes, Hafez's "stock

763. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

764. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

765. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

of images" includes "the exempla drawn from the spheres of history, mythology and literature, and the motifs drawn from the sciences and various other spheres of life."[766] "In no other Persian poet," Ehsan Yarshater asserts,

> can be found such a combination of fertile imagination, polished diction, apt choice of words, and silken melodious expressions. These are all wedded to a broad humanity, philosophical musings, moral precepts, and reflections about the unfathomable nature of destiny, the transience of life, and the wisdom of making the most of the moment_ all expressed with a lyrical exuberance that lifts his poetry above all other Persian lyrics.[767]

Emerson's last analysis is of the amatory aspects of Hafez's poetry, including some corresponding stanzas. In the end, Emerson also finally adds "to these fragments of Hafiz a few specimens from other poets," such as Nezami, Anwari and Ibn Yamin. Emerson ends his lengthy essay, which is the result of decades of contemplation on Persian poetry, with a rather long piece from *Mantiq ut-Tayr*, or The Conference of the Birds, translated by Emerson as "Bird Conversations," which was written by the Sufi poet and hagiographer Farid al-Din Attar of Nishapur (ca. 1145-1221). Emerson regards this work as "a mystical tale, in which the birds, coming together to choose their king, resolve on a pilgrimage to Mount Kaf, to pay their homage to the Simorg."[768] Emerson states that he believes "this poem, written five hundred years ago" is "proof of the identity of mysticism in all periods," putting an emphasis on the modern tone of the poem.[769] "In the fable, the birds were soon weary of the length and difficulties of the way, and at last almost all gave out. Three [actually thirty] only persevered, and arrived before the throne of the Simorg."[770] Based on Attar's tale, on the other hand, thirty, not three, of the birds make it to visit the *Simurgh* on the peak of Mount Qaf. We have to bear in mind that *Si* in Farsi means thirty and *Murgh* means bird; this play on words is the backbone of Attar's mystical tale, stressing that the seeker and that which they find are ultimately one in the same. In other words, you are exactly what you are looking for, and all you need can be found within yourself.

766. De Bruijn, "Hafez iii. Hafez's Poetic Art."

767. Yarshater, "Hafez i. An Overview."

768. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

769. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

770. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

4.6.4. Saadi, the Paradox in "Repulsion in the Genius of Races"

Emerson's also wrote another work on post-Islamic Persian literature: his essay on the Persian poet and prose writer, Saadi of Shiraz who "widely recognized as one of the greatest masters of the classical literary tradition."[771] The essay on Saadi was originally written as the "Preface to the American Edition" of Francis Gladwin's translation of *The Gulistan: or Rose Garden by Musle-Huddeen Sheikh Saadi of Shiraz* published in 1865. Emerson wrote the essay in February 1864, and it was published in the July 1864 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly* before it became the preface to Gladwin's book. Before moving on to a closer reading of this essay, it is necessary to lay the appropriate groundwork for our analysis of Emerson's "discourse" on Saadi and his literature.

Abu Mohammad Mushref al-Din Musleh bin Abdullah Shirazi, better known as Saadi of Shiraz, was born in Shiraz around 100 years before Hafez, the other figure of Emerson's interest in his Muslim "Oriental" accounts. There are many written sources accounting for Saadi's life, including his writings, parts of which could be regarded as autobiographical, although little can be confirmed with absolute certainty. Saadi, like Hafez, was born in Shiraz around 1210 C.E., he also died in the same city in "1291 or 1292."[772] Mazaher Mosaffa, on the contrary, believes that the dates of birth and death can only be approximated, determining that Saadi's birth was "between 1203 and 1218" and his death "between 1291 and 1294."[773] Saadi finished his primary education in Shiraz and left his hometown at a young age "between [the years] 1223 and 1226,"[774] which corresponds with the first stage of the Mongol invasions of Iran. Saadi left his hometown to study at the Nizamiyyah of Baghdad, which was one of the most prestigious higher education establishments in the Islamic world.

Enjoying his student life in the very cosmopolitan Baghdad, Saadi of Shiraz remained a sojourn in the Arab world for more than thirty years, residing in Baghdad, Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli (in the Levant), Baalbek and Yemen, among other places. He undertook numerous pilgrimages to Mecca and Hijaz, and finally returned to his hometown of Shiraz in 1256, which was enjoying a peaceful period far from the upheavals of the Arab world.[775] Throughout his long journey, Saadi was a praised poet wherever he resided, but he was not regarded as a man of

771. Paul Losensky, "Saʿdi," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2000), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/sadi-sirazi

772. Losensky, "Saʿdi."

773. Mazaher Mosaffa, *Matn-e kamel-e divan-e sheikh ajal Saadi-e Shirazi* [The Unabridged Works of Sheikh Saadi Shirazi] (Tehran, IR: Rozaneh Publishing House, 2004), xvii.

774. Mosaffa, *Unabridged Works of Saadi*, xvii.

775. Mosaffa, *Unabridged Works of Saadi*, xvii.

letters in his hometown.[776] Upon his return to the sanctuary of Shiraz, the city that he wholeheartedly adored, he wrote his two significant books, *Bustan* (Orchard) in 1257 and *Gulistan* (Rose Garden) in 1258; Zarrinkoub regarded both works as "the souvenirs of [Saadi's] long sojourn in the Arab world," as he put it.[777] It is a noteworthy point that *Gulistan* was written in 1258, the year of the siege of Baghdad and its fall to the Mongol Ilkhanate.

As stated above, Saadi's works "contain many purportedly autobiographical reminiscences, a good number of these are historically implausible and are probably fictionalized or cast in the first-person for rhetorical effect."[778] These fictionalizations are so pervasive that they could have misled James Ross, who translated *Gulistan* into English in 1823. For instance, in his "An Essay on the Life and Genius of Sheikh Saadi," which was initially written on January 1, 1823 and then (re-)appeared in Gladwin's translation of *Gulistan,* James Ross claims that "Saadi had a personal acquaintance with some of the principal poets and literary characters of his time: [. . .] particularly [. . .] Jilal-ud-din Rumi, commonly known as the *Mulowi Manowi,* or mystical doctor."[779] The notion that Saadi and Rumi were personally acquainted can be verified neither through reliable sources nor through the firsthand reading of Saadi's work, except for one very controversial *Ghazal*. However, it would go beyond the scope and feasibility of this work to go into more detail about this topic. "Since there are no contemporary external sources to confirm what Saadi's works tell us of their author's life before his return to Shiraz," Losenksy utters, "any account of these years is necessarily tentative."[780]

Another cornerstone that has to be laid before moving on to Emerson's essay is the presence of Saadi in the New World. As Robert Irwin states, "the intermittent fad for Persian culture is best understood mostly in terms of a series of landmark translation of poetry, including André du Ryer's translation of Saadi" in the 1630s.[781] As Franklin Lewis (2001) puts it, Saadi "had been first introduced to the West in a partial French translation by André du Ryer (1634), upon which Friedrich Ochsenbach based a German translation in 1636."[782] However, Zarrinkoub mentions that Friedrich Ochsenbach translated Saadi into German not two years, but one year

776. Abdolhossein Zarrinkoub, *Hadis-e khosh-e Saadi: Darbare-ye zendegi va andishe-ye saadi* [The Delightful Dictum of Saadi: About Life and Thoughts of Saadi] (Tehran, IR: Sokhan Publishing House, 2000), 25.

777. Zarrinkoub, *Delightful Dictum of Saadi*, 70.

778. Losensky, "Saʿdi."

779. James Ross, "An Essay on the Life and Genius of Sheikh Saadi,"in *The Gulistan or Rose Garden. By Musle-huddeen Sheikh Saadi, of Shiraz,* trans. Francis Gladwin (Boston, MA: Ticknor and Fields, 1865), 49.

780. Losensky, "Saʿdi."

781. Robert Irwin, "The Real Discourses of Orientalism," 20.

782. Franklin Lewis, "Golestan-e Saʿdi," *Encyclopædia Iranica,* XI/1 (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2001), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/golestan-e-sadi

after André du Ryer.[783] Following this, in Amsterdam in 1651, "Georgius Gentius produced a Latin version accompanied by the Persian text" entitled *Rosarium Politicum.*[784] Zarrinkoub asserts that the *Rosarium Politicum* was translated by Georgius Gentius for the prince of Saxony.[785]

Adam Olearius (Ölschläger) (1599-1671), "German author, secretary to the Holstein mission to Persia (1635-39), court mathematician and librarian at Holstein-Gottorp" offered "the first unmediated translation"[786] of Saadi's *Gulistan* for the German readership in a book entitled *Persianischer Rosenthal*, published in 1654 in Hamburg. As Werner argues, "the remarkably faithful translation places Saadi's work in the context of baroque aphorisms or '*apophthegma*,' but almost entirely ignores the mystical dimension of Persian poetry."[787] Franklin Lewis believes that Adam Olearius, "who had learned Persian in Persia with the help of a Persian convert to Christianity, Hakwirdi (Ḥaqqverdi), made [*Gulistan*] the first direct German translation from a Persian work; upon this J. V. Duisberg based a Dutch version," which was also written in 1654.[788] Lewis comments on these comprehensive works that introduce Saadi to Western readers, stating,

> these and other translations of the *Gulistan* (and, to a lesser extent, of the *Bustan*) established Saadi's reputation among Enlightenment thinkers as a didactic but entertaining poet of manners and morals; the 18th century vogue for the "Oriental tale" in Europe only reinforced the popularity of Saadi's stories, leading many western writers to champion or exploit them, including Denis Diderot, Voltaire, and Ernest Renan, who considered Saadi to share in French sensibility, as well as Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.[789]

As we know, the first English translation of Saadi's works was a selection by Stephen Sulivan in 1774, "followed by Francis Gladwin in 1806 and James Ross in 1823, (based on the Gentius edition)," both in prose.[790] Prose and verse translations of Saadi's works, furthermore,

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783. Zarrinkoub, *Delightful Dictum of Saadi*, 103.

784. Lewis, "Golestan-e Saʿdi."

785. Zarrinkoub, *Delightful Dictum of Saadi*, 103.

786. Christoph Werner, "Olearius, Adam," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Online edition (New York, NY: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2008), available online at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/olearius-adam

787. Werner, "Olearius, Adam."

788. Lewis, "Golestan-e Saʿdi."

789. Lewis.

790. Lewis.

"were offered by Edward Eastwick in 1852 and Edwin Arnold in 1899."[791] English readers first came to read a selection of Saadi's texts more than a century after the French, Germans, and other continental Europeans. As it was already discussed in the second chapter, the nineteenth century would bring a surge of interest in the English-speaking world vis-à-vis Persia.

On the other side of the Atlantic, Ralph Waldo Emerson became familiar with Saadi by reading the *Gulistan* "in translation in 1843," and in the preface he penned for the American edition of Gladwin's translation in 1865, "he introduces the work as one of the world's sacred books."[792] Furthermore, we also know that "Henry David Thoreau knew it by 1847, quoting from it twice in *Concord River* and in his closing remarks on philanthropy in *Walden*."[793] The emergence of William Rounseville Alger's *The Poetry of the East* in 1856, two years before Emerson's "Persian Poetry," must not be forgotten. This book was an anthology of Eastern poetry, introducing works from Chinese, Hebrew, Persian, Hindu and Arab, as well as Sufi poetry to the American readers. Alger once again emphasizes the notion of German intellectual lead in the studies of the Eastern World:

> The Germans have transplanted much more extensively than the English from this wide and winsome field. More than a score of her heroic scholars, toiling devotedly in this long-neglected department, have enriched the mother tongue of Germany with copious contributions of choice-culled flowers from the Eastern Muses, and made the names of Valmiki, Vyasa, and Kalidasa, Firdousi, Hafiz, and Saadi, well-nigh as familiar on the banks of the Rhine and beneath the lindens of Vienna, as they are along the shores of the Ganges and amidst the kiosks of Shiraz.[794]

Saadi's magnum opus, *Gulistan* (1258), contains a preface and eight distinct chapters, each of them revolves around a certain theme, including various anecdotes written in prose and occasional verses. In Gladwin's translation, the chapters of the *Gulistan*, besides *dibache*, or the "Preface," are the following: "On the Morals of Kings," "On the Morals of Durwaishes [Dervishes]," "Of the Excellency of Contentment," "Of the Advantages of Taciturnity," "Of Love and Youth," "On Imbecility and Old Age," "Of the Effects of Education," and "Rules for Conduct in Life."

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791. Lewis.

792. Lewis, "Golestan-e Saʿdi."

793. Lewis, "Golestan-e Saʿdi."

794. William Rounseville Alger, *The Poetry of the East* (Boston, MA: Whittemore, Niles, and Hall, 1856), 12.

Here we will recall that in his essay "Persian poetry," Emerson asserts that "religion" and "poetry" are the foundations of Persian civilization. Nevertheless, he wrote a preface to *Gulistan*, a work that is predominantly written in pose, less than a decade later, in 1864. In addition to *Gulistan*, Saadi also composed other works in prose. Post-Islamic Persian literature generally offers a wide range of works in prose, including the following: Rumi's *Fihi Ma Fihi* (It Is What It Is) also known as *Discourses of Rumi*, *Siyasatnama* (Book of Politics) by Nizam al-Mulk (1018-1092), *Qabus-Nama* (ca. 1080) by Keikavus, Emir of the Ziyarid dynasty, *Nasirean Ethics* by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (1201-1274), Sufi and mystical works like that of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari (1006-1088), etc.

Emerson's Preface to *Gulistan* starts by criticizing the inaction of America's literati in introducing even one "Eastern poet" through translation in America despite "the presence of good Semitic and Sanskrit scholars" at American colleges and universities.[795] Emerson then states that all of Americans' knowledge about the "genius" of "the two hundred Persian bards" comes from Baron von Hammer Purgstall through "fragments collected in journals and anthologies"; however, in Emerson's view, "there are signs that this neglect is about to be retrieved."[796]

After reemphasizing the lack of appropriate American translations of Eastern poets, Emerson states that "the [American] publishers" are about to give Saadi's *Gulistan*, as a book, "which now for six hundred years has had currency in other countries, a popular form for the American public."[797] Emerson then asserts, "the slowness to import these books into our libraries," which "mainly owes, no doubt, to the forbidding difficulty of the original languages," is also "in part" due to "some *repulsion* in the *genius of races*": Emerson maintains that upon first glance, "the Oriental rhetoric does not please our Western taste."[798] Emerson then declares that "life in the East wants the complexity of European and American existence; and in their writing a certain monotony betrays the poverty of the landscape, and of social conditions. We fancy we are soon familiar with all their images."[799]

Emerson's notion of "repulsion in the genius of races," as well as the banality of the "Oriental rhetoric" to the Western minds indicate "flexible positional superiority" of the West, according to Said. Edward Said believes, "in a quite constant way, Orientalism depends for its strategy on this flexible *positional* superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of

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795. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Preface to the American Edition," in *The Gulistan or Rose Garden. By Musle-huddeen Sheikh Saadi, of Shiraz*, trans. Francis Gladwin (Boston, MA: Ticknor and Fields, 1865), iii.

796. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," iii.

797. Emerson, iii.

798. Emerson, iv (emphases added).

799. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," iv.

possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand."[800] But is that what Emerson tries to convey? Does he mean reinforcing the pervasive *discourse* of "Orientalism?" In following Emerson's mode of "Orientalism," we read

> Medschun and Leila, rose and nightingale, parrots and tulips; mosques and dervishes; desert, caravan, and robbers; peeps at the harem; bags of gold dinars; slaves, horses, camels, shawls, pearls, amber, cohol [kohl], and henna; insane compliments to the Sultan, borrowed from the language of prayer; Hebrew and Gueber [*giaour*] legends molten into Arabesque; _'tis a short inventory of topics and tropes, which incessantly return in Persian poetry.[801]

Emerson then continues, "I do not know but, at the first encounter, many readers take also an impression of tawdry rhetoric, an exaggeration, and a taste for scarlet, running to the borders of the negrofine, _or, if not, yet a pushing of the luxury of ear and eye where it does not belong."[802] In previously-mentioned excerpts, Emerson tries to encapsulate nearly all the attributions and institutional ethos of "Orientalism" as concisely as possible with the aim of *decentering* that mode of "discourse." Grouping phrases like "tawdry rhetoric," "a taste for scarlet," "running to the borders of negrofine," and also "a pushing of the luxury of ear and eye where it does not belong" give the reader the impression that Emerson is going to pursue the mode of trite "Orientalism." However, he ends this with one sentence in which he writes, "these blemishes disappear or diminish on better acquaintance," concluding "where there is real merit, we are soon reconciled to differences of taste."[803] Emerson then readdresses his previous remark on the "monotony" of "Oriental" writings: "the charge of monotony lies more against the numerous Western imitations than against the Persians themselves, and though the torrid, like the arctic zone, puts some limit to variety, it is least felt in the masters."[804] Emerson finally wraps up his accounts by accentuating the idea that "it is the privilege of genius to play its game indifferently with few as with many pieces, as Nature draws all her opulence out of a few elements."[805]

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800. Said, *Orientalism*, 7.

801. Emerson, iv.

802. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," iv-v.

803. Emerson, v.

804. Emerson, v.

805. Emerson, v.

Emerson's endeavor to decenter trite "Orientalism" becomes fully evident within the first three pages of his Preface to *Gulistan*. His sympathy for the "Orient" intensified and his tone softened; although what he wrote in his first essay "Persian Poetry" (1858) was not unsympathetic at all. When we talk about "Orientalism" as a "discourse," we have to pay adequate attention to certain notions in order to avoid misunderstandings. First of all, we have to be aware that

> Orientalism is not a mere political subject matter or field that is reflected passively by culture, scholarship, or institutions; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the Orient; nor is it representative and expressive of some nefarious 'Western' imperialist plot to hold down the 'Oriental' world. It is rather a *distribution* of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts; it is an *elaboration* not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also of a whole series of 'interests' which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains; it *is*, rather than expresses, a certain *will* or *intention* to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world.[806]

Secondly, and in line with Edward Said's elaboration on the concept of "Orientalism," another very crucial point is the fact that "Orientalism" is

> above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste texts, values) power moral (as with ideas about what 'we' do and what 'they' cannot do or understand as 'we' do.[807]

We have observed that in his introductory account of Persian literature in the Preface to *Gulistan*, Emerson touches upon Saadi's works from "power intellectual," "power moral," and "power cultural" standpoints, to use Edward Said's terms. We finally see how Emerson tries to

806. Said, *Orientalism*, 12.

807. Said, *Orientalism*, 12.

"reconcile [. . .] differences of taste," due mainly to the fact that Saadi's works are the place where the "real merit" lays. Furthermore, we see how Emerson, in spite of his sympathetic "Orientalism," still looks at the "blemishes" of Saadi's works, which, in his view, would "disappear or diminish on better acquaintance." All of the previously-mentioned notions are eloquent expressions of the dichotomic mode of thought, deep-seated in the texture of "Orientalism," especially its "power cultural" and "power moral" aspects. The perpetual clash between these superior and inferior positions are inherent to "Orientalism," and the works of Ralph Waldo Emerson are not exception.

In his very first reflection on Saadi, Emerson states, "Saadi exhibits perpetual variety of situation and incident, and an equal depth of experience with Cardinal de Retz in Paris, or Doctor Johnson in London."[808] After comparing Saadi to the two European figures, Emerson stresses that Saadi "finds room on his narrow canvas for the extremes of lot, the play of motives, the rule of destiny, the lessons of morals, and the portraits of great men."[809] He then attributes the origin of various tales and proverbs in the West to Saadi: "He has furnished the originals of a multitude of tales and proverbs which are current in our mouths, and attributed by us to recent writers;" Emerson writes, adding, "as, for example, the story of 'Abraham and the Fire-worshipper,' once claimed for Doctor Franklin, and afterwards traced to Jeremy Taylor, who probably found it in Olearius."[810]

From Emerson's point of view, "it is provincial to ignore" such works, adding, "if, as Mackintosh said, 'whatever is popular deserves attention,' much more does that which has fame."[811] The American Transcendentalist also observes the way Saadi "stands in a strict relation to his people" possessing "the over-dose of their nationality"; and based on Emerson, "foreign criticism might easily neglect him, unless their applauses showed the high historic importance of his power."[812] Emerson again rehashes the topic of the "monotony" of Persian literature, trying to establish a very unifying "discourse" between the West and the East. Emerson resolutely proclaims,

> the monotonies which we accuse, accuse our own. We pass into a new landscape, new costume, new religion, new manners and customs, under which humanity nestles very comfortably at Shiraz and Mecca, with good appetite, and with moral and intellectual results that correspond, point for point, with ours at New York and London. It needs in

808. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," v.

809. Emerson, v.

810. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," v.

811. Emerson, vi.

812. Emerson, vi-vii.

> every sense a free translation, just as, from geographical position, the Persians attribute to the east wind what we say of the west.[813]

"If the essence of Orientalism," to use Edward Said's terms, "is the ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority, then we must be prepared to note how in its development and subsequent history Orientalism deepened and even hardened the distinction."[814] At this point of Emerson's essay there is a profoundly unifying "discourse" that aims to equalize the relationship between two poles of the West-East dichotomy. We saw how Emerson tries to swim against the tide of commonplace "Orientalism," and challenged the "common cultural currency"[815] of the West, to quote Edward Said, as well as its intellectual apparatus and dogmas through this unifying "discourse." It is noteworthy that "one ought never to assume that the structure of Orientalism is nothing more than a structure of lies or of myths which, were the truth about them to be told, would simply blow away."[816] The episodic nature of "Orientalism" as a mode of "discourse," leaves no room for such naïve utterances.

Returning to Saadi and Emerson's take on this master of Persian prose and poetry, "wit," "practical sense," "just moral sentiments," "instinct to teach" and drawing "the moral" from "every occurrence [. . .] like Franklin" are attributed to Saadi, as the most significant features.[817] To Emerson, Saadi is "the poet of friendship, love, self-devotion, and serenity" having "a uniform force in his page":

> In him the trait is no result of levity, much less of convivial habit, but first of a happy nature, to which victory is habitual, easily shedding mishaps, with sensibility to pleasure, and with resources against pain. But it also results from the habitual perception of the beneficent laws that control the world. He inspires in the reader a good hope. What a contrast between the cynical tone of Byron and the benevolent wisdom of Saadi![818]

We have to be aware of the notion that "the *Gulistan* is a world per se, or at least can be regarded as a vivid image of the outer world. Saadi familiarizes his readers with all the defects

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813. Emerson, vii.

814. Said, *Orientalism*, 42.

815. Said, 252.

816. Said, 6.

817. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," vii.

818. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," vii-viii.

and niceties, with all the incongruities and disparities of a world, in which the beauty sits beside heinousness and grief goes hand in hand with joy."[819] After emphasizing that Saadi has been known longer and better in the Western nations than any of his countrymen, by using Saadi's own anecdotes in the *Gulistan,* Emerson creates a biography of Saadi that cannot be considered completely true, while "a more skeptical consensus about Saadi's historical reliability has been building."[820] On the other hand, Saadi "who appears as protagonist in over 40 stories in the *Gulistan* should be understood primarily as a poetic persona, rather than as a chronicler of events."[821] In portraying Saadi's life and environs, Emerson writes, "by turns, a student, a water-carrier, a traveller, a soldier fighting against the Christians in the Crusades, a prisoner employed to dig trenches before Tripoli [in the Levant], and an honored poet in his protracted old age at home,_ his varied and severe experience took away all provincial tone, and gave him a facility of speaking to all conditions."[822]

We must keep in mind that Saadi lived during "one of the most eventful and traumatic centuries in the history of Asia and the Middle East," which was principally due to the "expansion and consolidation of Mongol power," which was "marked by the destruction of old centers of culture and civilization, the upheaval of established political institutions, and the mass migration of populations. Mere survival demanded luck, wit, determination, and practical savvy."[823] The Mongol invasion did not only affect Saadi and his contemporaries; its repercussions, however, remained intact in the collective memory of Iranians, and would influence the works of many Persian literary sages for centuries to come.

For Emerson, the sophisticated Saadi with his "deeper sense" was able to "expand the local forms and tints to a cosmopolitan breadth" through which he could "speak to all nations, and, like Homer, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Montaigne, is perpetually modern."[824] In another passage of his writing, Emerson states that he regards "conversation" as "a game of skill" to "the sprightly but indolent Persians," and considers "the poet or thinker [. . .], in a rude nation, the chief authority on religion" [825] Another notion that could be found in Emerson's "discursive practice" on Persia is giving "prominence to fatalism" as "a doctrine which, in Persia, in Arabia, and in India, has had, in all ages, a dreadful charm," supporting his argument by quoting one verse of the Koran and one *Hadith* of Prophet Mohammad. We read in Emerson's essay that

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819. Zarrinkoub, *Delightful Dictum of Saadi,* 85 [My rendition from Farsi].

820. Lewis, "Golestan-e Saʿdi."

821. Lewis.

822. Emerson, viii.

823. Losensky, "Saʿdi."

824. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," viii.

825. Emerson, viii-ix.

> "To all men," says the Koran, "is their day of death appointed, and they cannot postpone or advance it one hour. Wilt thou govern the world which God governs? Thy lot is cast beforehand, and whithersoever it leads, thou must follow." "Not one is among you," said Mahomet, "to whom is not already appointed his seat in fire or his seat in bliss."[826]

Other features that Emerson observes in Saadi's works are, for instance, "the universality of moral law" and "the perpetual retribution," "a pure theism" that celebrate "the omnipotence of a virtuous soul," "a certain intimate and avowed piety," and a country where "all the forms of courtesy and of business in daily life take a religious tinge, as did those of Europe in the Middle Age."[827] In Emerson's eyes, "Saadi praises alms, hospitality, justice, courage, bounty, and humility; he respects the poor, and the kings who befriend the poor. He admires the royal eminence of the dervish or religious ascetic."[828] In another part of Emerson's essay we encounter very important notions regarding Emerson's mode of "Orientalism". He states,

> in a country where there are no libraries and no printing, people must carry wisdom in sentences. Wonderful is the inconsecutiveness of the Persian poets. European criticism finds that the unity of a beautiful whole is everywhere wanting. Not only the story is short, but no two sentences are joined.[829]

With respect to this "inconsecutiveness," I have already discussed that Mudge (2015) believes that "by 1864, Emerson was applauding [the Persian poets'] 'inconsecutiveness' and lack of unity," declaring "these virtues matched [Emerson's] long-sought goal in writing," which were mainly "to reflect nature's constant change, irregularities and mysteries."[830] Furthermore, "both of Emerson's expressed strengths _imagination and intuition_ and his Romantic philosophy made him share the Persians' suspicion of pure reasoning and logic, and its authoritative result, religious orthodoxy."[831] In pursuing this "inconsecutiveness," Emerson

826. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," ix.

827. Emerson, x.

828. Emerson, x.

829. Emerson, xi.

830. Jean McClure Mudge, "Actively Entering Old Age, 1865–1882," 234.

831. Mudge, 234.

shares the "painful discontinuity" one finds when reading von Hammer's anthology adding that "no topic" to the Persian poets' "rapid suggestion [. . .] is too remote."[832]

Towards the end of his essay, Emerson once again stresses the paramount importance of Saadi for the texture of Iranian society by reflecting on the notion that "in a rude and religious society, a poet and traveler is thereby a noble, and the associate of princes, a teacher of religion, a mediator between the people and the prince, and, by his exceptional position, uses great freedom with the rulers."[833] The very last paragraph of Emerson's essay, however, is very revealing about the "discursive" domain in which the American Transcendentalist wanders. In a kind of conclusion to his essay, Emerson writes that

> the Persians have been called 'the French of Asia'; and their superior intelligence, their esteem for men of learning, their welcome to Western travellers, and their tolerance of Christian sects in their territory, as contrasted with Turkish fanaticism, would seem to derive from the rich culture of this great choir of poets, perpetually reinforced through five hundred years, which again and again has enabled the Persians to refine and civilize their conquerors, and to preserve a national identity.[834]

All the above-mentioned notions in the concluding part of Emerson's Preface to Saadi's *Gulistan* are in *sheer* contrast to the discourse of imperial "Orientalism." None of the qualities such as "esteem for men of learning," being open and hospitable to Western travelers, the "tolerance of Christian sects in their territory," and finally the juxtaposition to the "Turkish fanaticism" are part of the texture of imperial "Orientalism." To Emerson, all of these attributes are the direct outcome of a "rich culture" with a tremendous acculturating power that "enabled the Persian to refine and civilize their conquerors."

At this point we can better identify two different modes of "Orientalism" vis-à-vis Persia on both sides of the Atlantic: The acculturating power, or the Persians' ability "to refine and civilize their conquerors," as Emerson puts it, and James Morier's dictum about comparing touching Persians' "vanity" to "attack their most vulnerable part," ultimately making "a change in the edifice."

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832. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," xi.

833. Emerson, xiv.

834. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," xiv-xv.

CHAPTER FIVE

Epilogue

The main objective of this scholarly pursuit was not solely offering an overview of the entity of Persia in early nineteenth-century Anglophone literature. I have also tried to delve deeply into the "discursive" constructs of the respective entity and contextualize these "discourses" within the broader web of power relations with respect to the *Zeitgeist*. In doing so, I have outlined a genealogy of the orders of knowledge and orders of speech, or in Foucault's terms, "epistemes" and "discursive formations" of Persia in the Anglophone world. This project began by shedding light on three important issues that could be considered the cornerstone of this scholarly pursuit.

The first issue is the fact that the nineteenth century was not just the hotbed of imperial ambitions for Britain, but it was also a very fertile ground for a flourishing mass culture at the domestic level, which was primarily due to the emergence of a vibrant middle class in the post-Industrial Revolution society. One must recognize the role that the advertising industry and the expansion of print trade played in the reshaping of the British society. I have also discussed that the role of poetry simultaneously began to recede in the public domain, and "realism" took hold the popular imagination. The second issue, which is not *directly* related to Imperial Britain, is the state of affairs in the "Sublime State of Persia" under the reign of the Qajar dynasty (1789-1925). We must remember that the "Imperial State of Iran" signed the Treaty of Finckenstein with Napoleon on May 4, 1807, aiming to gain his support in the recovery of the Caucasus regions that they had lost to Imperial Russia. This treaty formalized the ephemeral Franco-Persian alliance, through which Napoleon recognized the Caucasus as an integral part of Persia,

promising to support the Qajar government in recovering the territories in various ways, including providing the Iranian army with resources. France also asked Persia to declare war against the United Kingdom and to expel British citizens from the country. Furthermore, other treaty details, as well as the geographical proximity of Persia to the most valuable British colony of India, became a source of worry for British statesmen. Napoleon's failure vis-à-vis Imperial Russia led to the Treaties of Tilsit between Napoleon's France and Imperial Russia in July 1807. As a result, the hope that the Qajar rulers invested in Napoleon proved to be in vain: none of the terms of the Finckenstein Treaty were fulfilled. The third important issue, which is my point of departure in this project, is this alliance vacuum as well as the political naivety of the Qajar elites in conducting foreign affairs in the Imperial Century that made the British encroachment possible. The short-term outcome of this encroachment was the finalization of two treaties between Iran and the United Kingdom. We must also keep in mind that Iranians did not have an ally in their fight against the Russians regarding their territorial disputes in the Caucasus. The first one of these treaties was "The Preliminary Treaty," which was signed in March 1809 between Iran and the United Kingdom and can be regarded as the final nail in the coffin of the Finckenstein Treaty of 1807. A "Definitive Treaty of Friendship and Alliance" was also signed on March 14, 1812 between the two countries.

Emphasizing the British desire to cozy up to the Qajar rulers, we have to bear in mind that during the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Iranian court had been frequented by many English statesmen and diplomats. Interestingly, one supposedly unimportant figure among them would later go on to achieve literary prominence: James Justinian Morier (1782-1849) was an English diplomat and writer who began his diplomatic service in 1807 and was part of Sir Harford Jones' mission to the court of Persia in the capacity of a private secretary. Morier was a diplomat in Iran for nearly six years, from 1808 to 1809, and later from 1810 to 1814 (or 1815 according to some sources). I have also shown that Morier's residence coincided with the beginning of Iran's diplomatic imbroglio with European powers in the nineteenth century.

It has also been discussed that there are very contrasting ideas about Morier's role in the 1809 and 1812 treaties between the Sublime State of Persia and imperial Britain. Morier's importance is chiefly due to the publication of the travelogues of his two trips to some parts of the Iranian Plateau. The first one, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the Years 1808 and 1809* was published in 1812 and was translated into French and German in 1813 and 1815 respectively. Morier's second travelogue, *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the Years 1810 and 1816 with a Journal of the Voyage by the Brazils and Bombay to the Persian Gulf* was published in 1818. It is noteworthy that the British government granted Morier a full pension, after which he most likely started writing a series of tales and romances. Generally speaking, these works were set in an "Oriental" atmosphere and included his magnum opus, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824), which is the primary source of investigation for the third chapter of my project. Morier also wrote a sequel to this work, entitled *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in*

England in 1828. In 1832 and 1834 he published two other long-forgotten "Oriental" novels *Zohrab the Hostage* and *Ayesha, the Maid of Kars*, none of which were as successful as the *Hajji Baba* series were. I have argued that Morier's picaresque novel *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) is one of the precursors, if not *the* precursor of imperial fiction that would cause an enormous fluctuation in the "discourse" of the literary construction of Persia for the Western readership. I define an imperial novel as a form of imperial literature that primarily tries to consolidate the superior position of the Empire vis-à-vis the supposedly "inferior" entity by offering *hybrid* and dichotomizing narratives about the subordinate entity. Another characteristic of this genre is a multifaceted reflection on the different avenues of daily life, politics, society, religion, culture, geography, geopolitics, customs and more of the target country in a way that primarily invokes contempt, disdain, and even hatred. Secondly, this genre, like all other cultural texts emerging from the imperial machinery of "discursive formation," contributes to the larger web of power relations as well as imperial strategies with respect to the supposedly inferior entity.

I have also explained that the novel *Anastasius; or, Memoirs of a Greek* published in 1819 by Thomas Hope (1769-1831), could, to some extent, be regarded as the *only* precursor to *Hajji Baba*. I have also indicated that from a literary point of view, Hope's work was considered more successful. However, as I have explained above, what makes *Hajji Baba* (1824) so extremely unique is the integration of a native informer in the narrative process. The entire picaresque novel is narrated by a Persian picaro from the city of Isfahan, which is in the heartland of Iran, geographically speaking; this offers the readers an unrivaled air of authenticity. According to my investigations, this authenticity was unprecedented up to that point. This stands in juxtaposition to the narrative of Thomas Hope's *Anastasius*, in which the protagonist is a Christian Greek posing as a Muslim who describes the social decay in Ottoman territories as an outsider. Hajji Baba, on the other hand, is a Shiite Muslim who possesses unrivaled "agency" throughout the novel, offering his readers an insider's view on all the subjects he discusses and reflects on. Granting the utmost "agency" to the subordinate "Other" to narrate *their* own "authentic" story in an imperial narrative can be regarded as a *paradigm shift* in English "Orientalism." This is noteworthy because the field had predominantly been monopolized by certain aristocratic and religious men. My investigations did not lead to the discovery of any other work preceding *Hajji Baba* that fulfill the criteria discussed here; however, this field remains open to other interested scholars for further investigation. At this point I would also like to reiterate that there are serious speculations about the real authorship of *Hajji Baba*. We can only be sure about Morier's authorship of the novel's "Introductory Epistle." The real authorship of the 1824 novel is still unknown. I believe that this work of imperial fiction is so detailed, so elaborate and so eloquent from cultural, ethnical, geographical, folklore, literary and political points of view that no foreign individual, regardless of their pliability and talent, could write such a novel after only six years of diplomatic residence in a multicultural, multireligious, multiethnic and multilingual country like Iran.

I have attempted to refrain from providing a simplified evaluation of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824), which is undoubtedly a first-rate example of imperial literature. I have analyzed numerous nineteenth-century British works about Persia, exploring the ways in which these works try to modify and decenter the precedent and recurrent "discourse" of Persian aestheticism and mysticism in the West. In the chapter "Brave New Orient: *Novel* Discourses on Persia in the Imperial Century" I have explained how *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) was able to lay a solid "discursive" foundation for future imperial works not only vis-à-vis Persia, but the whole Muslim "Orient." The "Orient" has since emerged as a homogenized entity. As Persia's "discursive formation" shifted from poetry and aestheticism to fiction and politics, Persia was granted a *new* invincible position in the sociocultural domain of the nineteenth-century United Kingdom. I have also discussed how the concept of integrating native narrators into the imperial machinery of "discursive formation" would later be adopted by twentieth and twenty-first-century authors of "Neo-Orientalist" works on both sides of the Atlantic.

I also have analyzed how *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* depicts a prismatic view of the entity of Iran for its readers and demonstrated how the novel reflects on the Iranian mode of existence from an imperial perspective. The work deals with nearly all avenues of the lower-class, middle-class, and upper-class lives in Iran, from the Shah to the thieves and bandits at the border; from the barber to the poet; from the Dervish and physician to the executioner and saint; from a man of law and Mullah to promoter of matrimony and ambassador; from the grand minister to the historian. What is interesting is how our picaro practiced nearly all of these professions throughout the vicissitudes of his "Oriental" life. I have also shown that the novel meticulously elaborates on different geographical frontiers as well as political fault lines of the Qajar Iran. *Hajji Baba* could also be regarded as an imperial encyclopedia of the "Oriental Other," while many parts of the novel also deal with Persians and Turks. The novel tries to offer an extremely *totalizing* "discourse" vis-à-vis what had been two different "Oriental" entities up until that point and merge them as efficiently as possible at the "discursive" level.

I have argued in detail that at the end of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, the Persians' naivety in the sphere of international politics is articulated in the most exaggerated way. In the subchapter "The Historian Hajji Baba as the Pioneer of 'Occidentalism'" I have explained that the Persians, their knowledge, and their doctrine in international politics are depicted as being filtered through the Ottoman Turks' knowledge of the West. In other words, the Iranians are depicted as protégés of the Turks in the sphere of international politics. I have also explained how European knowledge about Islam had been shaped by the proximity to Ottoman Turks before and during the Enlightenment, and how this could have negatively affected the European perception of Islam.

I have also argued that the respective "discursive formations" of Persians and Ottoman Turks were *essentially* different in the Western "collective consciousness" until the publication of *Hajji Baba*. In order to support my argument, I consulted works by continental figures, mostly

Germans, that corroborate my principal argument about a mode of what I call Persian exceptionalism among the Western intellectual spheres. I have reflected on Hegel's and Goethe's Idealist and Romantic "discourses" about Persia primarily because their works on Persia were published around the same period as *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. I have discussed how the humanist and unifying "discourse" of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe about Persia, its bards and poets in his *West-östlicher Diwan* (1819) challenged the imperial "discourses" of the United Kingdom by emphasizing the tenets of aesthetically-charged "Orientalism." I have also consulted Hegel's works in order to demonstrate how the German philosopher deals with Persians and how he grants them an exceptional position among the "Oriental" people in general. It has been discussed how passionately Hegel elaborates on Persians, their history and their pre-Islamic religion and worldview. Against the background of Hegel's dismissal of Turks and his ambiguous depiction of Arabs, it is clear that he reflects on the Persians in a different way than other Muslims. It is also noteworthy that, decades earlier in his *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1764), Immanuel Kant labels Persians the "Frenchmen of Asia" who are, in his view, "good poets, courtly, and of rather fine taste" and "are not such strict observers of Islam and allow their cast of mind, inclined to gaiety, a rather mild interpretation of the Koran."[835] While my work analyzes the Anglophone "discourses" on Persia, non-English works served as secondary sources, which is why their analysis here was very brief. Furthermore, due to my focus on imperial literature, I excluded British Romantic works about the "Orient."

Another highly important theme that I have observed in *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) is the primary traces of a twentieth and twenty-first-century concept: "Occidentalism." In 2004, amid the United States' "war on terror" in Afghanistan and Iraq, the very short book *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies* was published by the prestigious Penguin Press; it can be considered a riposte to Edward Said's *Orientalism*. The authors label the book "a pioneering investigation of anti-western stereotypes that traces their source back to the West itself": They consider it to be a "groundbreaking investigation into the dreams and stereotypes of the western world that fuel hatred in the heart of Al Qaeda and its ilk," arguing that the origin of these dreams can be traced back to the West itself.[836] Twenty-four years earlier, *The Atlantic Monthly* published a very important essay by the renowned historian Bernard Lewis (1916-2018) entitled "The Roots of Muslim Rage: Why So Many Muslims Deeply Resent the West, and Why Their Bitterness Will Not Easily be Mollified." Of the many themes that this prominent historian and Orientalist featured in his article, the overt emphasis on the concept of "enemies of God" is of great significance.

After introducing this buzzword, Lewis declares that although this concept existed in pre-classical and classical antiquity as well as in Abrahamic religions, "a particularly relevant

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835. Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime and Other Writings* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 58.

836. Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies*. (New York, NY: The Penguin Press, 2004).

version of the idea" is found in the "dualist religions of ancient Iran, whose cosmogony assumed not one but two supreme powers."[837] He further declares that "the Zoroastrian devil,[838] unlike the Christian or Muslim or Jewish devil, is not one of God's creatures performing some of God's more mysterious tasks but an independent power, a supreme force of evil engaged in a cosmic struggle against God."[839]

Based on the works that have been analyzed, two traces of "Occidentalism" have been detected so far. On the one hand, the Western Romantics, Idealists and (American) Transcendentalists can be accused of promoting "Occidentalism" by fostering *critical* attitudes toward the West. On the other hand, according to Lewis, the ancient Iranian religions, as "a particularly relevant version" of the dualist mode of thought, grant the West the position of "enemy of God," which is equivalent to *Ahriman* (Devil) in their worldview. Based on this trend, the ancient Iranian religions' cosmogony was eventually cause for the Muslim "rage" at the end of the twentieth century. I have argued here that the missing link can be found in the colonial and imperial literature written by the respective powers. In the case of my investigation, the groundbreaking early imperial work of literature, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824), is replete with tropes of "Occidentalism." In the subchapter "The Historian Hajji Baba as the Pioneer of 'Occidentalism'" as well as in the subchapter "'Occidentalism': The Modern Political Backlash Against 'Orientalism'" and "Sowing the seeds of hatred: Hajji Baba and 'Occidentalism'" I have tried to offer a panoramic view of the issue of "Occidentalism," arguing how the magnum opus of imperial literature heralds a *novel* "discourse" about the Muslim Orientals' disdain for Christian Occidentals. This feature of *Hajji Baba* contributed greatly to the formation of "Occidentalism" in the distinct genre of imperial novels. However, tropes of what was later called "Occidentalism" can be found sporadically in imperial and colonial travelogues before *The Adventures of Hajji Baba*. Throughout this project, I also highlighted the internal paradoxes of "Occidentalism" as a "discourse," emphasizing that, up to a specific point in time, "Occidentalism" was an *integral* part of "Orientalism" as the enduring "discourse" of reciprocal exchanges and negotiations between the West and East.

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837. Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage: Why so Many Muslims Deeply Resent the West, and Why Their Bitterness Will not Easily be Mollified," *The Atlantic*, September 1990, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/

838. In the respective chapter I have discussed that Western encounters with the ancient Iranian civilization are far from homogenous. Specifically referring to the ancient Iranian religion Zoroastrianism, Hegel, for instance, believes that the "Zoroaster's 'Light' belongs to the World of Consciousness," and he observes in "the Persian World a pure exalted Unity." On the other hand, we have observed that *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* contains no reference whatsoever to the pre-Islamic Persian mode of thought and civilization and ignores the theme completely. In the fourth chapter I have shown how the primary *intellectual* encounters of the New World with Persia were partially affected by an *apolitical* mode of thought that stemmed from Germanophone works and ideas. The mid-twentieth century, however, can be considered a turning point in the New World's confrontation with the entity of Iran. I expect that anyone reading my work is familiar with the state of affairs since the 1970s, and this is the point that the hardline "Orientalism," or right-wing "Orientalism" of the New World begins.

839. Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage."

I have also introduced the concept of Persian exceptionalism in the process of the "discursive formation" of Persia in the West; a mode of "discourse" that was dominant until the mid-nineteenth century in different parts of Europe. While the objective of this project is to offer a panoramic view of the entity of Persia in nineteenth-century Anglophone literary works, I primarily tried to investigate the works written during this critical time period. I use the term Persian exceptionalism to describe the mode of civilizational and cultural superiority that some European philosophers and literati latched on to when they situated Persia in the "Oriental" context. I have shown how, in the early nineteenth century, when Persia was entrapped within the web of imperial clashes, the Germanophone thinkers constituted an alternative "discourse" that was genuinely in line with the sympathetic-romantic "Orientalism." In this context it would be very helpful to pay close attention to pre-Romantic and Romantic modes of thought and "discourse" in order to understand these affectionate confrontations with a culturally and religiously different entity like Persia. The way that Goethe and Hegel came to read Persia, for example, was drastically different from the way that Imperial Britain *affronted* the same entity as its (geo-)political "other" in its "Asiatic schemes." I reiterate that the French discourses on Persia must be studied in detail in order to offer a broader and more accurate picture of the Persian entity in nineteenth-century Europe. I have argued and explained that *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824) was the first crack in the edifice of Persia's exceptional and superior existence within the West's "Oriental" constellation.

One might argue that my project has put an overt emphasis on the Germanophone works regarding Persia although studying the Anglophone literature is the objective. However, I have reflected on the German universities' outstanding studies of "Oriental" literature and culture during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, which was due principally to the new and more contextual approach to the study of classical as well as Biblical and Arabic texts. Another crucial point that undoubtedly contributed to this superiority was the Germans' embrace of philology as a cutting-edge science in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I also mentioned that very few English scholars were familiar with philology and that most of the few who did have some philological knowledge had acquired it in Germany. I have also argued that many works of Persian literature have been filtered through French and German sources that eventually trickled down into the English reservoir, in many cases long after their emergence in Germanophone and Francophone intellectual and literary circles.

Furthermore, I have also discussed the importance of the German mode of "Orientalism" for the constitution of Oriental studies in the United States. We know that the foundation of the American Oriental Society in 1842 played a major role in shifting the discourse on the "Orient" from the sphere of theology to that of scholarship. Prior to the establishment of the American Oriental Society, figures such as Isaac Nordheimer (1809-1842), born and educated in Bavaria, had begun teaching Sanskrit at the City University of New York. Another figure, Edward E. Salisbury (1812-1901), was the first chair of Arabic and Sanskrit at Yale University in 1841 and the first holder of such a position in the United States. He also went through the German

academic system, having studied in Berlin under the supervision of Franz Bopp (1791-1867). It is also known that "Salisbury delayed acceptance of the Yale position until he had completed additional European study in Sanskrit, mainly in Paris and Bonn (where August Wilhelm Schlegel held the first Sanskrit chair in a German university)," and "in 1843 he began teaching his Yale courses in Sanskrit and Arabic while also becoming extremely active in the American Oriental Society."[840]

In addition to the above-mentioned information about the importance of the German mode of "Orientalism" for the establishment of the academic studies of the "Orient" in the United States, we must ask ourselves how the American intellectuals from non-academic backgrounds dealt with the "Oriental" entity from an artistic and philosophical point of view. The fourth chapter primarily focused on this question by discussing the "discursive formation" of Persia on the other side of the Atlantic.

In the fourth chapter I reflected on the very primary encounters of the New World with the entity of Persia on Iranian soil. This confrontation was believed to have had certain "humanitarian" aspects. Harrison Gray Otis Dwight (1803-1862) and Eli Smith (1801–1857) were among the first Americans to set foot on Iranian soil in 1830 to investigate the area for "missionary purposes," which eventually led to the establishment of five American missionaries in the northwestern frontiers of Iran in order to serve the Nestorians of Persia, who were later considered to be the unknown and ancient sect of the Christian Church.

By further elaborating on the issue, I have analyzed certain relevant parts of *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Muhammedans* (1843) by Reverend Justin Perkins (1805-1869). My analysis of the accounts of a "missionary, so long immured in the deep darkness of benighted Persia"[841] explained how his constituted "discourse" is fully in line with the imperial spirit of the time. I have shown Perkins' affiliation and sympathy with the British Empire by stressing how the "republican" American missionary regards the "English power" and its prevalence in "Asia" as the breaker of "the rod of oppression."[842]

The "republican" missionary also perceived the British imperial presence in remote corners of the world as a liberating force for "captives," and praised the "English power" in the respective countries for offering "the *American* missionary" an "unfailing pledge of protection, encouragement, and aid."[843] From Perkins' viewpoint, "to the eye of the *Christian* observer," it is "the hand of *Providence*_ the right arm of the God of missions" that "is placing so much of Asia

840. Weir, *American Orient*, 75.

841. Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years*, v.

842. Perkins, 507.

843. Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years*, 507.

under British control" and "not fortuitous chance, nor sagacity in the game of politics, nor military skill or prowess."[844] In other parts of his work, Perkins also foresaw that "Muhammedism, proud, exclusive, corrupt, revengeful and bloody, as it is, is tottering in its dotage, and ready to fall. Its walls, high as heaven, [. . .], will gradually shake to the ground" and will "break away" like a "mighty polar iceberg [. . .] amid the growing light and warmth of civilization and Christianity."[845] He continued by stating that "the Muhammedan monarchs of the bloody empires of Turkey and Persia, jointly laying aside their swords, and referring their political disputes to Christian governments for arbitration!"[846] These quotes show that the very first encounters of the Americans with Iranians on Iranian soil were nothing more than radical religious "Orientalism," and above all, as Bill puts it, "conversion."[847] A "discourse" that resembles what the British imperial machinery, with its "change-in-the-edifice" motto,[848] would like to publicize; a task that Justin Perkins was able to fulfill to the utmost on the other side of Atlantic. We have to keep in mind that there were no political ties between the Imperial State of Iran and the very young United States of America; as a result, Perkins' work would not have the diplomatic consequences that the publication of *Hajji Baba* did, but it did serve the demands of the British imperial "discourse" in the New World. I have shown how Justin Perkins took the British imperial path and conveyed the British imperial message to the New World through his book.

Another American who also came from a Christian background in New England and devoted a good deal of his intellectual work to studying non-Western religions, philosophies and literature is Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), the leading figure of American Transcendentalism. As I indicated earlier, one must recognize the role of German academia in the formation of Oriental studies in American universities. Apart from academia, in the chapter "American Transcendentalism: Outburst of Romanticism on Puritan Ground" I discussed in great detail how Transcendentalism, as a philosophical and literary mode of thought, came into existence in 1836 during a Unitarian discussion group, which was later called the Transcendental Club, that met between 1861 and 1865, until just before the American Civil War broke out. Due to the limits and scope of this project, I decided to only concentrate on Emerson, who was the most prominent figure of this movement, having dedicated a larger portion of his work to the study of the "Oriental Other" than his fellow Transcendentalists. In so doing, I opted to reflect on a wide range of Emerson's work dealing with the pre-Islamic and Islamic "Orient"; Persia is an integral part of both aspects here.

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844. Perkins, 507.

845. Perkins, 506.

846. Perkins, 506-7

847. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion*, 15.

848. I borrowed the phrase from James Morier's Introduction to *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, in England.*

I have demonstrated how Emerson oscillates between aversion and fascination in his confrontations with Asia and Asian modes of thought, existence and philosophy. This could be a direct result of contrasting "discourses" on Asia in New England. Some scholars such as Weir believe that the Near East "could never offer the kind of spiritual and aesthetic satisfaction that came to be associated with the Far East, for the very good reason that the Near East was overrun by pagan infidels."[849] Although I partially agree with Weir's argument, I tried to show that there has *definitely* been a certain amount of intellectual exchange between American Transcendentalism and pre- and post-Islamic Persian literature and scholarship. I aimed to delineate a certain spiritual and aesthetic satisfaction that pre- and post-Islamic Persia offered Transcendentalists. I therefore analyzed two essays by Ralph Waldo Emerson as my primary sources: "Persian Poetry" (1858) and "Saadi" (1865). Other thematically related essays by Emerson were also helpful in analyzing his Transcendental Persian "discourse." I have also demonstrated how the German sources played the most crucial role in Emerson's Transcendental embrace of Persia insofar as one might consider Emerson's Persian "discourse" a doppelgänger of Germanophone Romantic and Idealist notions of the same subject.

Emerson shows his profound fondness for ancient as well as post-Islamic Iran in his later years. The scholarship of both his earlier and later years is not free from misapprehensions, which has been extensively discussed in the respective chapter. I have also indicated that just like Goethe and Hegel, Emerson, grants the Persians an exceptional position among the Muslim "Orientals." On the other hand, his language and general way of thinking about "the East" is often rooted in the "discourse" of conventional "Orientalism." We have to keep in mind that "Orientalism" as a mode of "discourse" is not an inert entity; even in today's world, this vibrant entity is undergoing constant fluctuations in every corner of the world and it is an intrinsically interdependent entity.

I have argued that, despite his Christian background, Emerson willingly chooses to shed light on certain aesthetic and mystical aspects of Persian-ness that are in sharp contrast with the discourse of imperial "Orientalism." Regardless of his Transcendentalist concerns, this act alone caused a fluctuation in the field of Anglophone "Orientalism" in the nineteenth century.

I have shown that Emerson resolutely maintains the Western superior position over the "Oriental" life and mode of thought throughout his "Persian Poetry," which was his most elaborate account on Persia. It has also been discussed that Emerson's essay, which was the result of many years of inquiry in the field, is not free from inaccuracies or mistakes. His writing often shows how imprecise and basic his knowledge was. However, the value of his pioneering work in introducing Persian literature and culture to the US-American readership cannot be downplayed.

The essay is not, however, a general assessment of Persian poetry as one might expect: A large part of the essay is solely dedicated to the Persian poet Hafez (1315-1390). In covering

849. Weir, *American Orient*, 4.

Hafez, who is believed to be Goethe's source of inspiration for *West-östlicher Diwan* (1819), Emerson attributes three characteristics to Hafez, all of which were also of great significance to Emerson and his Transcendental *Weltanschauung*. These features are mysticism, a "deeper glance at Nature" and an "easy audacity" in his discussion of all topics. It has been argued that these features made the Persian poet so alluring for the American intellectual, while the trio of mysticism, nature and the audacity of non-conformity can also be regarded as the backbone of the Transcendental mode of thought. Emerson praises Hafez's "intellectual liberty" with an emphasis on "[Hafez's] complete intellectual emancipation" in "accost[ing] all topics": "nothing is too high, nothing is too low, for [his] occasion. He fears nothing, and he stops for nothing."[850] To Emerson, the Medieval Persian poet has a "boundless charter" which "is the right of genius."[851] Attributing such features to a Muslim "Oriental" poet challenges what Edward Said calls the "common cultural currency" of the Imperial Century. Another interesting point is how transcendental and unworldly Emerson deals with Hafez in spite of the fact that the *mundaneness* of Hafez's poetry, as well as the sociopolitical and sociocultural connotations of his work made this poet an omnipresent companion of Farsi speakers even seven centuries later. I have argued that such unearthly readings of a politically-aware and socially-discontent poet like Hafez, whose poems reflect the very tumultuous period of the post-Mongol conquest of Persia, would only serve Emerson's Transcendental ambitions and does not necessarily mirror Hafez and his environ.

Emerson's "Oriental" endeavors are also largely dedicated to Saadi of Shiraz, the Medieval Persian poet and prose writer, who had the highest "reputation among Enlightenment thinkers as a didactic but entertaining poet of manners and morals."[852] In analyzing Emerson's essay about the Medieval Persian poet and prose writer Saadi (1210 Shiraz-1291 or 92 Shiraz), the first point that strikes us is Emerson's emphasis on the necessity of publishing "Eastern" poetry in America and his harsh criticism of the American literati's "inaction" in this respect, considering *Gulistan* a work "which now for six hundred years has had currency in other countries."[853] Emerson considers "religion" and "poetry" as the foundational elements in Persian civilization in his other essay "Persian Poetry." However, less than a decade later, in 1864, his new essay revolves around a work predominantly written in prose that he claimed had a considerable "currency" in other corners of the world. In tracing the reason for this "inaction," Emerson considers "some repulsion in the genius of races [among American intellectual circles]" as the underlying reason for "the slowness to import these books into [American] libraries."[854]

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850. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

851. Emerson, "Persian Poetry."

852. Lewis, "Golestan-e Saʿdi."

853. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," iii.

854. Emerson, iv.

I have argued that Emerson immediately reintroduces the notion of the simplicity of "Oriental" life in comparison to the European and American existences, declaring the conventional notion that "in [the 'Oriental'] writing a certain monotony betrays the poverty of the landscape, and of social condition."[855] As I have shown, Emerson then combines all trends and institutional ethos of traditional "Orientalism" as concisely as possible, giving his readers the impression that he will also follow the path of trite "Orientalism." One sentence, however, ends this limbo. Emerson writes, "these blemishes disappear or diminish on better acquaintance," concluding that "where there is real merit, we are soon reconciled to differences of taste."[856] I would like to point out the term "blemish" here and argue that Emerson's regard for all traditional features of "Orientalism" as "blemishes" that would "disappear and diminish on better acquaintance" is a radical and revolutionary act that contradicted the epistemic epoch. After comparing Emerson's essays "Saadi" (1865) and "Persian Poetry" (1858), which can both be regarded as works of sympathetic "Orientalism," I argue that Emerson's intimacy and intellectual intercourse with Persia reached a new level. This applies especially to "Saadi," in which Emerson states that ignoring "Eastern" poets is a "provincial" act.[857]

I have argued that in another passage of this essay, Emerson readdresses the topic of the "monotony" of Persian literature, surprisingly defying this notion by declaring "the monotonies which we accuse, accuse our own."[858] I have also discussed that Emerson elaborates on the notion of "inconsecutiveness" in Persian literature and considers it to be a very alarming feature according to Western logic. In his 1865 essay, however, he used an extremely unifying "discourse," calling upon us to be aware that, while reading "Eastern" literature, "we pass into a new landscape, new costume, new religion, new manners and customs, under which humanity nestles very comfortably at Shiraz and Mecca, with good appetite, and with moral and intellectual results that correspond, point for point, with ours at New York and London."[859] Emerson's great efforts to flatten the unequal relationship between the two ends of the East-West dichotomy is fully evident. He also tries to swim against the tide of commonplace "Orientalism" and challenge the dogma as well as the bigoted intellectual apparatus through his unifying "discourse."

Shifting to Saadi of Shiraz and his poetics, Emerson ascribes him features such as "wit," "practical sense," "just moral sentiments," "instinct to teach" and the ability to draw "the moral" from "every occurrence [. . .] like Franklin."[860] Emerson considers this Medieval Persian man of

855. Emerson, iv.

856. Emerson, v.

857. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," vi.

858. Emerson, vii.

859. Emerson, vii.

860. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," vii.

letters to be "the poet of love, self-devotion, and serenity."[861] Furthermore, Emerson's Saadi is a poet that "inspires in the reader a good hope": "What a contrast between the cynical tone of Byron and the benevolent wisdom of Saadi!"[862]

Emerson's very short biographical account of Saadi, regarding his vicissitudes in life, extracted from his anecdotes in *Gulistan*, shows how the very same "discursive" materials were used to highly different ends in different domains of the Anglophone world. The resemblance of this short account of Saadi with the vicissitudes of Hajji Baba's life is undeniable, but how does it come that these two partially resemble "discursive" tropes would possess such different connotations in the Trans-Atlantic context? One of them is tagged as a rascal picaro and the other one is regarded as a celebrated poet whose vicissitudes in life enable him to remove his "provincial tone" and empower him to "speak to all conditions." It could be argued that from the viewpoint of Transcendentalism and its introversion, Saadi was a source of inspiration for the New World's establishment of the required cultural resistance to the Anglophone Old World with its nineteenth-century imperial idiosyncrasies.

I would also like to argue that Emerson's obsession with the Asian mode of thought in general, and with pre-Islamic and Islamic Persia in particular, is an endeavor that offers an alternative mode of intellectual existence to the New World at a very crucial point in time, in which deconstructing and challenging the *prototypes* and *archetypes* of the Anglophone Old World seemed utterly necessary for initiating and constructing the New World's mode of identity. Therefore, one can consider the underlying logic of Transcendental endeavors as a mode of cultural resistance to the mainstream imperial and colonial "Orientalism" of the Old World. This American endeavor can be regarded as an intrinsically and essentially political act.

Returning to Saadi and his ability to "speak to all conditions," Emerson once more points out a "deeper sense" in Saadi's works that allow him to "expand the local forms and tints to a cosmopolitan breadth" through which Saadi could "speak to all nations, and, like Homer, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Montaigne, is perpetually modern."[863] Some characteristics that Emerson attributes to Saadi and his work are "the universality of moral law" and "the perpetual retribution," "a pure theism" celebrating "the omnipotence of virtuous soul," "a certain intimate and avowed piety," and a country where "all the forms of courtesy and of business in daily life take a religious tinge, as did those of Europe in the Middle Age."[864] In his continued efforts to decenter the tropes of harsh "Orientalism," Emerson attributes other features such as "alms, hospitality, justice, courage, bounty, and humility"[865] to Saadi and his works.

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861. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," vii.

862. Emerson, viii.

863. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," viii.

864. Emerson, x.

865. Emerson, x.

Another series of characteristics that stress the Persian exceptional position in the Muslim "Orient" can be found in the very final paragraph of Emerson's essay." Borrowing Immanuel Kant's notion that the Persians are "the French of Asia," Emerson considers the Persians' "superior intelligence," "their esteem for men of learning," "their welcome to Western travelers" and "their tolerance of Christian sects in their territory, as contrasted with Turkish fanaticism" as the outcome of "the rich culture of [the] great choir of poets, perpetually reinforced through five hundred years" which, in his view, "again and again has enabled the Persians to refine and civilize their conquerors, and to preserve a national identity."[866] As I discussed in the respective chapters, all of the qualities mentioned above starkly contrasts with the "discourse" of imperial "Orientalism," be it that of the nineteenth-century British imperial discursive reservoir or that of today's American Empire, with its far-reaching "discourse" of "Neo-Orientalism" *par excellence*.

There is no doubt that "Orientalism" is an intrinsically episodic phenomenon due to its "discursive" nature. The term has different connotations in different parts of the globe during different periods of time. In other words, "Orientalism," and its occasionally contrasting ramifications, as various "strands" of a "discourse," with their perpetually changing trajectories and frontiers as well as their ostensibly political nature, are perpetually changing in every corner of the world to better meet the *Zeitgeist* and the *genius loci*.

866. Emerson, "Preface to American Edition," xiv-xv.

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