Political Time in the Iranian Bio-power: Re-approaching the Tanzimat in the Qajar

Reza Najafzadeh - Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations
Faculty of Economics and Political Science Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran, Iran.

Abstract

Policy developments over time and the dialectic of time and power in modern Iran have a long fluctuating history. There has not been much research on the foundations of political time in Iran. The birth of a new government in Iran within the Tanzimat system coincides with the birth of a new subjectivity that has been determined in the game with the institutions. Contemporary Iranian timescapes is actually the result of tension between the Antiqui and the Moderni, the Old and the New, on the eve of the transition from medieval Iran to Iranian modernity. This temporal-spatial transition is the sphere of dialectical link between Iranian designers of Tajaddod (modernity) and the conservative body of the royal court. This article tries to apply the theoretical tools of comparative historical analysis to s   "mmmmrrrrr nnd "mmnnoudd no b nggeeee nn Irnnnnn govrr nmnn suud Genealogical philosophy of time would be the main approach of research. It is well recognized how useful the Foucauldian genealogy and discourse analysis could be for historical sociology and institutionalism. The creative hermeneutic toolbox will also be used in this hybrid approach. Then combined theoretical concepts from the theoreticians of `timescape`, `political time`, `short-term society`, and socio-historical concepts such as `rhizome`, `territorialization` and `bio-politics` would be used in a hermeneutical way. The main contribution is the application of timescape theory and its integration with genealogy and creative hermeneutics on Iran.

Keywords: Timescape, Political Time, Iranian Modernity, Government Studies, Bio-Politics.

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E-mail : r_najafzadeh@sbu.ac.ir

1.Introduction

Policy developments over time and the dialectic of time and power in modern Iran have a long fluctuating history. The multi-layered constellation of political time in Iran lives with turbulence. Short durations of policy-making and discontinuous trends of administrating are significant features of so called `Iranian Short-Term Society` or `pick-axe society` (see Katouzian, 2004: 1-22, and 2007). The time of society determines the time of politics and policy-making. We know that political time is the field of transformations and given that time is an institution and a resource affecting the distribution of power, the range of demands would play a major role. Here, `speed` finds a place in political theory. Given that political notion of time is always institutionalized through some governing and determining rules, we are facing certain problematics that must be investigated when it comes to the Middle Eastern political systems especially in Iran.

It seems that discussing the problematics of political time, timescape and historico-temporal location of changes in the Middle East will help to improve the valuable literature of temporality in administration and government studies. There has not been much research on the foundations of political time in Iran. Most time-based researches in Iran has been done from a mythological, literary, or ultimately historical point of view. It is possible to say that the most important insights about the political time in Iran were put forward by Homa Katouzian during his theory of short-term society (for example, see Katouzian,2004). But his insights suffer first from a lack of understanding of the micro-domain of politics, and second from lack of regarding the power/knowledge relationship. In other words, his emphasis on Eastern despotism in a context of dehydration limits his approach to such a large historical structure that he cannot pay attention to the multifaceted field of life within the context of the new Iranian bio-power.

The birth of a new government in Iran within the Tanzimat system[1] coincides with the birth of a new subjectivity that has been determined in

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1. The so-called reform arrangements were made in nineteenth-century Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, and Iran to change the structure of governance and the social system. For example, Supreme Edict of the Rosehouse or Hatti-Chérif de Gulhané as an imperial order for overall reorganization, were aimed at reorganizing the space and territorializing all the spheres of life in Ottoman Empire. Professor Abbas Amanat in Pivot of the Universe has translated the

the game with the institutions (see Tavakoli-Targhi,2001). In fact, the location of the new Iranian subjectivity is in fact the location of policy-making and administration of the State institution. The new subjectivity could not but work within the timescapes.

Contemporary Iranian timescapes is actually the result of tension between the Antiqui and the Moderni, the Old and the New, on the eve of the transition from medieval Iran to Iranian modernity. This temporal-spatial transition is the sphere of dialectical link between Iranian designers of Tajaddod (modernity) and the conservative body of the royal court. The strategic relationships of the major actors from the King, the premier (sadr-i a'zam), princes, foreign consultants and military commanders to the ordinary peoples are involved in the formation of this timescapes.

In order to get closer to the nature of the political time in Iran, we need to try to make things more problematic. For the study of political time in the contemporary Iran we can pose some fundamental questions. Some aspects of the problematization on the political time of Iranian bio-power can be so:

1. When and how was `time` institutionalized during modernizing sequences of governance in Iran, and how did they create the temporality of behaviors in Iranian modern spaces?

2. When and how the time of politics and political time were construct in the threshold of Modern Iran, and what are the continuities and discontinuities between the old and new regimes of time?

3. How the new philosophy of time has articulated in discursive and non-discursive practices in the Qajar period?

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term as `restructuring`. But since the men of Tanzimat, from Amir Kabir to Malkum Khan intended to create the administrative and legal system necessary to form the order of governance, industry, commerce, culture and education in its general sense, the concept of `regulations`, `arrangements` or `settings` seems more appropriate for Tanzimat. The management of Iranain`s affairs is at the core of the Tanzimat. In fact, Tanzimat are not just an institution, but a science as well; science of arranging the human affairs in line with what was later called national interest. The very core idea in Tanzimat is a kind of contractualism or better the rule of law. Managing the time would be one of the outcomes or expectations. oo wevrr, hhe ddddhrg govrrnmnn eeeeeuu ḥammdd aaaa n hh ān I'iimād al-Salṭanah who also was a minister and special translator of the Shah has applied the term Tanzimat in both meaning of restructuring and administrative regulations. (see I'mnād al-Salṭanah,1966 and 1984)

Of these basic questions, the first is more fundamental and relates to the threshold of new political time of Iran. In this article we try to shine a little light on them. In general, as the objective, this article will investigate the theoretical ways that time represented in Iranian administrative institutions and its modern socio-political sphere of life. The threshold of the modern locality of politics in Iran is at the core of the article. Only then the meaning of temporality politics, administration, and policy and the linkage between the so-called `institution of time` and social forces in contemporary Iran could be investigated. In this article we expect to get close to the historico-temporal location of institution-making in modern period of Iran. This is also how we can achieve the diachronic-historical and synchronic trends of institution-change in the Middle East especially in Iran.

The main part of this article i.e the part of findings has organized in 4 sections. First of all, dichotomies of the new regime of timing confronting the old regime of temporality in the body of Tanzimat institution at the threshold of birth of Iranian bio-power in the Qajar period would be our focus of historical analysis. Secondly, we will re-approach the structure of Tanzimat as the institutional location of new regime of time. Thirdly, discursive and non-discursive practices in the new spheres of Iranian modernity would be the topic of archaeological interpretation. And fourthly, revolutionizing sequences of time at the wake of the intervention of the Russian military forces within the emerging Tanzimat or Constitutional governance would be another dimension of this study. At the end of the article we will also critically address the theoretical and strategic conclusions.

2. Theoretical Framework: Genealogical Philosophy of Time

In addition to histoire événementielle or evental history, social sciences are expected to remain attentive also to what Fernand Braudel calls longue durée, according to which long-run trajectories of changes have to be taken seriously. In longue durée historian concentrating on all-but-permanent structures slowly evolving. (see Braudel,1958 and 1980)

As we have learned from the thinkers of `historical turn` in social sciences and especially in the study of public policy, time is the dimension, through which ideas, institutions and beliefs evolve. Multiplicity is the indispensable feature of the political power constellations that we are facing, working with, living in, and challenging. That is why understanding the links

between time and power is of tremendous importance. Therefore, situating politics in time frames can greatly enrich our understanding of complex social dynamics and policy developments.

As Howlett and Goetz mentioned, problems of time pervade political life. Timing, sequence, speed, and duration are of high importance in government studies. Time is an institution and a resource. As Goetz and Mayer-Sahling (2009) point out, existing and operating within a specific temporal location constitutes the temporality of politics or historical time. Indeed, when things happen within a sequence affects how they happen. Thus, it is worth researching those specific elements of institutional settings in the Middle Eastern countries, within which policy-making takes place. However, the linkages between the time-centered institutional settings and the dynamics of policy-making must be the focus of any systematic exploration. (Howlett and Goetz,2014:486; Pierson,2004; Abbott,2001 and 1990)

The political time studies have deeply inspired by theory of longue durée but cannot be loyal to all denotations of the `structural prison` that Braudel speaks about. Braudel in his short but important article differentiates so the longue durée in opposition to histoire événementielle:

Far beyond this second account we find a history capable of traversing even greater distances, a history to be measured in centuries this time: the history of the long, even of the very long time span, of the longue durée. This is a phrase which I have become accustomed to for good or in order to distinguish the opposite of what François Simiand, not long after Paul Lac heeeeeeee"l'httt eeee eeeee,,,,,,,,,, , tttt rr y o eee e phrases matter little; what matters is the fact that our discussion will move between these two poles of time, the instant and the longue durée. (Braudel, 1980:30; see the original French, Braudel,1958)

Based on this corollary, in Braudel`s word a new kind of historical narrative has appeared, that of the conjuncture, of the cycle, and even of the `inter-cycle`, covering a decade, a quarter of a century and, at the outside, the half-century of Kondratiev's classic cycle.

The more useful key of Braudel`s terminology is the word structure. He designates very clearly the `prisons of the longue durée` as a structural state:

 For good or ill, this word dominates the problems of the longue durée. By structure, observers of social questions mean an organization, a coherent and

fairly fixed series of relationships between realities and social masses. For us historians, a structure is of course a construct, an architecture, but over and above that it is a reality which time uses and abuses over long periods. Some structures, because of their long life, become stable elements for an infinite number of generations: they get in the way of history, hinder its flow, and in hindering it shape it. Others wear themselves out more quickly. But all of them provide both support and hindrance. As hindrances they iiii ""ɛvvepppæ… eeeeeee eeeee eeee bey ccccch aa n and his experiences cannot go. Just think of the difficulties of breaking out of certain geographical frameworks, certain biological realities, certain limits of productivity, even particular spiritual constraints: mental frameworks too can form prisons of the longue durée (Ibid).

So this image of the longue durée informs about a reality that dominates and above all limits the state of the things. The structural thinking in its renewed formulation based on the concepts like "____" """""" "pp_ce_ "eee_d" "ii o-iiii iic"" a "geeeeeee tttttt t" would be more explanative. Furthermore, the Foucauldian division between the discoursive field and non-discoursive fields can be regarded as complementary. Foucault in The Archaeology of Knowledge, states:

Archaeology also reveals relations between discursive formations and non-discursive domains (institutions, political events, economic practices and processes). These rapprochements are not intended to uncover great cultural continuities, nor to isolate mechanisms of causality. Before a set of enunciative facts, archaeology does not ask what could have motivated them (the search for contexts of formulation); nor does it seek to rediscover what is expressed in them (the task of hermeneutics); it tries to determine how the rules of formation that govern it and which characterize the positivity to which it belongs may be linked to non-discursive systems: it seeks to define specific forms of acccaaaii(((((((cccattt :::::: 174).

In this methodological framework of archaeological analysis comparison is always limited and regional, and far from wishing to reveal general forms, archaeology tries to outline particular configurations. So from this perspective, time especially in the so-called developing countries is deeply depended on the institution mainly governmental one. However, the time in itself is an institution and a resource. Barbara Adam in Timescapes of Modernity focuses on time to prepare a deeper understanding of the

interactions between environmental, economic, political and sociocultural concerns. Timescapes indeed is a way of seeing and a conceptual approach that permeates and informs the researcher to understand socio-environmental phenomena and processes. Adam suggests:

Where other scapes such as landscapes, cityscapes and seascapes mark the spatial features of past and present activities and interactions of organisms and matter, timescapes emphasise their rhythmicities, their timings and tempos, their changes and contingencies. A timescape perspective stresses the temporal features of living. Through timescapes, contextual temporal practices become tangible. Timescapes are thus the embodiment of practiced : aaaaaahe   ii   Scc   a__eeee aaaannng   aa   eee   ee environmental praxis and the potential to create sustainable futures. (Adam,1998:10)

Based on the timescapes insight, in reality time existing and operating within a specific temporal location constituting temporality or historical time. And given that formal time rules are complemented by deeply entrenched informal rules we can investigate time rules and conventions, the time budgets available to political and administrative actors and the typical time horizons with which they operate. As Charles Tilly has said in `The Time of States`, when things happen within a sequence affects how they happen (Tilly,1994). Then it's worth researching the elements of the institutional setting in Middle Eastern countries within which policy-making takes place. Indeed, the linkages between the time-centered institutional setting and the dynamics of policy-making must be the focus of systematically exploration. (Howlett and Goetz,2014:486; Goetz and Mayer-Sahling,2009) Then as a main contribution.

3. Methodology

This article tries to apply the interpretative tools of comparative historical analysis to state tha "ii   rrrrrr rr add "ii   c   ee ee geœ""""" nn Iranian government studies. It is well recognized how useful the Foucauldian genealogy and discourse analysis could be for hermeneutics of regional political times. Then combined theoretical concepts from the theoreticians of `timescape`, `political time`, `short-term society`, and socio-historical concepts such as `rhizome`, `territorialization` and `bio-politics` would be used. In terms of analysis tools, this research is based on discourse

analysis a   eeeee eeiii c   ceeaii   Fccc attt aa   aa   " eeery society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade tt eeeee eeeeeceeii aa   eeee aaaity" (Foucault,2006:52). And also based on Ricoeur's hermeneutics of creation the rules of distanciation. As he has aa   "___a__iaii   n   a aaa iii eeeeeeeee oo   dynaii c counterpart of our need, our interest, and our effort to overcome cultural estrangement. Writing and reading take place in this culture struggle. Reading is the pharmakon, the ... remedy," by which the meaning of the text is "rescued" from the estrangemenl of distanciation and put in a new proximity, a proximity which suppresses and preserves the cultural distance and includes the otherness iiii iiiiiiii   iii ((((((((eeee,,, 1977:14)

Innovation

We have tried to combine the timescapes approach with archeological concepts and critical discourse analysis. Emphasis on the element of locality alongside political time is another innovation of this article. Especially in Iran and about Iran, so far no significant research has been done on political time.

4. Finding

4-1. Dichotomies in Philosophy of Time: Old and New Regimes of Time

At the first decade of the twentieth century, after the so called Persian Constitutional Revolution took place, Iranian traditional public sphere has started limpingly and lamely interring into the era that we can call it the age of Iranian bio-power. All fields of The Guarded Domains of Iran (Mamâlek-e Mahroseye Irân) including government institutions, cultural spaces, economic life and political relations has taken a new form differing from the old ones. Technologies of bio-power mainly in post-Tanzimat states with the reign of Reza Shah and his all-embracing modernization has made possible creation of new Iranian subjectivity (Boroujerdi, 1996 and 2010). In addition to the dialectic of power/knowledge, another dialectic was working; dialectic of power and resistance. The story of this dialectics is the story of tragedies and ironies.

Indeed, the study of time in politics have taken its presuppositions from the philosophy of time as a branch of philosophy of history. In the philosophy of time, we can attend the time as a dialectical phenomenon. Here the

dialectics itself occurs in the sphere of history. This dialectics founded on a dichotomy between ancient meaning of time and the new one. Dichotomies contains confronting terms: subjective time vs objective time, mystical time vs historical time, ideal time vs real time, ethereal time vs material time, nominal time vs phenomenal time, theological time vs scientific time, and etc. Dichotomies of ancient meaning of time and the new one could be compared in the below table.

Table (1): Dichotomies of Time

The Old Image of Time	The New Perception of Time
Subjective	Objective
Mystical	Historical
Ideal	Real
Ethereal	Material
Imagination	Reflection
Nominal	Phenomenal
The holy	The profane
Theology	Philosophy
Mythos	Logos
Transcendence	Immanence
Anticipation as Prophetism	Anticipation as Reasonable Calculation
Soul	Nature
Cosmos	World
Faith	Territory
Mythological Astronomy	Mathematical Astronomy
Aleatory Common Sense	Statistics as an Exact Science

4-2. Tanzimat and New Regime of Time
As we are entering to the new period of politics in New Iran or the period of Iranian Modernity (Tajaddod-e Irani) new meaning of time creating in institutions preparing the ways of entering into the new public space. Indeed a kind of territorializing the nomadic entities has begun.[1] The reflection of old regime of time in administrating the old public sphere of Iranian life, has documented in the reports of orientalists. The orientalist documents show the intertwined connections of religious-mythological ontology and the form of traditional economic policy (Browne,1893:507–8).
The Iranian interest in European thought was an important factor for

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1. Indeed, we observe that the very concept of `space` was born in a new sense from this historical moment onwards.

inaugurating new techniques of thought in governance. Initially, however, the Iranian interest in European thought was frequently of a technical rather than a philosophical nature. As we will see, epistemological work was done, of course, but generally due to the structural conditions of Iranian society that day, technical issues were generally considered a priority. Facing with the enormous military, administrative and economic superiority of Europe, reformists, state officials and intellectuals propagated the idea that reform was needed in matters relating to the army and governmental administration. This reform movement in the context of the Irano-Russian wars, became aaaaaaa aaaaaam-jjjaeeeeeeeeæee eee..[1]

The Iranian reformist treaties of New Order could be seen as a foundation of new subjectivity of Iranian governance. The Sublime State of Persia (Dowlat-e Aliyye-ye Irân) or The Guarded Domains of Iran (Mamâlek-e Mahrose-ye Irân) had required new paradigms. Indeed, the experience as the actual-objective drive of the necessity of reformism, accompanied with the philosophical reflections on the time. The treaties of Mirza Malkum Khan here could be referred as an inaugural example. However comparing with the great treaties of politics and philosophy in European Modernity, Malkum`s ones could not mention philosophically deep, from the perspective of government studies his treaties have strong sharing for the new regimes of governance and thereby new temporality in Iran, and directly or indirectly helped to construct the political time of Iran.[2]

As Abbas Amanat points out, Mirza Malkum Khan has had extraordinary role in the linkage of the knowledge of Tanzimat to the royal court. In other word, his role was crucial in making discursive practice connected to the non-discursive practices. However, the linkage between domestic sphere of Iran to the international sphere has made possible by Malkum (Amanat, 1997:275).

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1. See Adamiyat and Natiq, 1977; Gleave, 2005; Seidel, 2018: 313-314. Also see Martin, 1996: 1–24; Bakhash: 139–168; and Cronin, 2008: 197–226. For more details, the readers could be referred to the works of Seyyed Javad Tabatabaii 2006 and 2007. For an another analytic view see: Katouzian, 2003, 2000, and 1981.

2. His reflections on the time indeed are reflections of a governor not a philosopher. See Treaties of Mirza Malkum Khan, especially ``Dafter-e tanzimat`` and ``Rafigh o vazir``, in Malkum Khan, 1381; and Malkum Khan, 1948. Malkulm identified himself as a Muslim and told Wilfred Blunt that he was an Armenian Christian, but grew up among the Muslims and and was influenced by their thoughts.

Malkum`s imagination on the Tanzimat in so many aspects is contrary to that of Fath Ali Akhundzadeh. Malkum sees no contradiction between Islam and progress (taraghghi), and recounts this on various occasions, even as he speaks of Faramush-khana [1] and of the Human Assembly (majmae adamiyat), trying to justify his works and ideas by reference to Quranic verses and Hadiths. Order, discipline and timing are the core elements of new form of governance. The most prominent aspect of Malkum's thought is the Rule of Progress (ayin-e taraghghi). Malkum considers progressivism to be unified and overarching. A disciplinary state with its calculative functions were designed. "The various things of civilization are intertwined," he quotes from August Comet, "and everything that affects one of them is influenced by the other, and some things cannot be achieved without the other." This image of the systematic thought and its implications in the governing are at the core of Malkum`s rule of progression. Malkum also used the assumption of progressive integration to respond to those who said that Western civilization should only be partially adapted. In other words, one of the aspects of Melcum's distinction with reformers like Sayyi Ja   al-nnn al-ff gāā   can be considered here. For Malkum Khan, human progression is the hallmark of human beings against animals. He believes that human dignity over other animals means that other animals could not be progressive and also could not be degraded, but humans could. Malkum sees government as an organization that is independent of the nation and is the source of order and prohibition in society. Thus, the government is defined as the source of rights and duties. Such a task, in Malkum Khan's view, consists of maintaining order, protecting civil rights and preserving financial rights, and the government has no obligation outside of these three laws.

Here Tanzimat or regulation is a key term form newly emerging Iranian bio-power. Bio-power is a regulatory apparatus, and `timing` is its indispensable function. Malkum`s definition of government apparatuses is very simple. On

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1. "rrr amush-khana (literally, "the house of oblivion"), the society was meant to transmit a sense of mystery and magic, to serve as an invisible source of "knowledge" and to acquaint "initiates" with the "secrets of progress." In reality Faramush-khana was a political club with a semisecret membership striving to broaden its popular base by advocating a message of liberal secularism embellished with quasi-masonic rites and loyalties. `` (Amanat, 1994:362)

the form of government, he divides it into two kinds of royal and republican. The focus of these two types of government is how rulers obtain government and their permanence or instability. Whenever there is one person in a tribe of government, and the execution of the government in that family is hereditary, its composition is called monarchy, and if the rule of a tribe is passed in accordance with a particular order, it is called republic. The monarchy is also divided into two types: absolute and moderate or constitutional. In any state that has both the legislation and implementing the law in the hands of the king, the composition of the state is called absolute monarchy. In a state where the legislation is for nation and implementing is the duty of King, its composition is called moderate or constitutional monarchy. Anyway Malkum`s political cause was the rule of law, and he claims that the rule of law is problematic even in a despotic system. Rhythmicities, timings and tempos, as well as changes, contingencies and temporal features of living in the State-form all have predicted by Malkum`s Tanzimat. In effect through the idea of Tanzimat and the `Factory of Humanity` in Malkum`s word we can see the embodiment of time within institution.

From another perspective, Malkum`s regulationism introduces the elementary ideas of disciplinary power in modern Iran and informs on the new political time of Iran. As Foucault states:

The principle that underlay the time-table in its traditional form was essentially negative; it was the principle of non-idleness: it was forbidden to waste time, which was counted by God and paid for by men; the time-table was to eliminate the danger of wasting it – a moral offence and economic oooo◍o_y___ ____lll_____ _____rr_____. iiii iiee ecmmmyn it poses the principle of a theoretically ever-growing use of time: exhaustion rather than use; it is a question of extracting, from time, ever more available moments and, from each moment, ever more useful forces (Foucault,1995: 154).

Foucault sums up so:
To sum up, it might be said that discipline creates out of the bodies it controls four types of individuality, or rather an individuality that is endowed with four characteristics: it is cellular (by the play of spatial distribution), it is organic (by the coding of activities), it is genetic (by the accumulation of time), it is combinatory (by the composition of forces).

And, in doing so, it operates four great techniques: it draws up tables; it prescribes movements; it imposes exercises; lastly, in order to obtain the combination of forces, it arranges 'tactics'. (Foucault,1995:167)

In the Kitabcha-yi Majlis-i Maslahat-khana or Handbook of the Consultative Council, men of Tanzimat at the very beginning argues in praise of reason and the impact of reason on the advancement of civilization. Because in their word when the God of every nation wishes to please them and to rise them to the height of dignity, he raises the intellect as the first creature and eæaeeee amggg We haee a exeeeeœce that the advancements of the former nations were caused by the spread of wisdom and discipline, and the decline of each of them has also been due to the decline in wisdom and the extinction of the sages and the decline of cccccœ annn g ''''''''' ''''eeee aaaaee ee eeiieea ccccе rrrr of Tanzimat in the dialectic of knowledge/power and drives the timescapes of newly emerging Iranian governmentality (Adamiyat,2013:57; Nasir al-Din Shah,1859).

In fact, from the perspective of the timescapes, astronomy and its metamorphosis as a paradigm of knowledge has had the key role in this dialectic. In fact, up until then, politics was based on mythological astrology. Politics usually was operating on recognition of the fortunate time of action through discerning the dreaded Omens and the Starred in horoscope and other traditional fortunetelling methods. The Guarded Domains of Iran needed a new paradigm of time and mythological astronomy could not help sufficiently. The new system of regulations needed a new astronomy and consequently a new mathematics and statistics as well. Mirza Abdul Ghafar Najm al-Dawlah has an exclusive role in compiling new calendar and recording population and housing statistics. Slowly registering the status of things and numerating them through sssssssc .. ca aaaa geeemmm cccccc a llllll llMzzā ʻʻ żżźãd-al-Saṭṭaaa' add I'ii al-Saltana' (Isfahani Najm al-Dawlah, 1974/5).

Perhaps the idea of Tanzimat has nowhere been visualized as much as the police institution of Nazmiyeh. The system of cultural control was also considered to be desirable by Nasir al-Din Shah. Modernization was associated with urbanization, and this brings together an unprecedented number of people in a territorialized space and inevitably rises the

possibility of social unrest. The birth of new subjectivity accompanies with it new demands that the sovereign may find them politically illegitimate. A new regime of verification, namely veridiction, a new regime of legitimation and a new regime of rights was thus emerging. The herald of modernization was a complex social control system that provides maximum supervision and disciplining with minimal effort. So, after his second trip to Europe, the Shah hired a consultant to regulate Dar al-Khilafah`s internal security. He was Austrian Conte de Monte Forte that established and passed the Law of Conte as the first modern police regulations. In effect, Conte so established the first modern police apparatus in Tehran.

Conte had planned to make the police system more efficient, and this planning had a relatively successful achievement. In reality he wanted to create a network to monitor newly emergent urban masses. Turbulence of the public spheres also imposed its logic on government policy. It can be said that this supervision network was apparently fitted Michel Foucault's comprehensive surveillance model, and can be regarded as preliminary form of panopticon that is a keystone of bio-power. On Conte's recommendation, a café or tea parlor should be established in every neighborhood, including a small tearoom and guesthouse, and small abodes and seats and a sentinel or warder that will have a cautious and courteous soldier. In addition, cafés must be contacted by telephone to the department of Nazmiyeh in case of emergency. Nassir al-Din Shah, aware of the political storms, of course kept silent about in his travelogues, knew that similar dangers would threaten his government and, as a result, immediately passed the proposed police Law of Comte and ordered it to be enforced. That surveillance policy was implemented in a state of turbulence and with aleatory logic.

Disciplining in a centralized and arbitrary mode, furthermore, were the core feature of the Tanzimat system. This centralized and arbitrary disciplining represented in a best way in the department of justice (divankhanih-yi _adliyya) and Royal Jurisdiction (divankhanih-yi mubarak) especially in the institution of Mazalim as the Royal Court of Complaints against injustices in Qajar time. However in shadow of longue durée of political Iran the Court of Complaints can be regarded as an institution model in measuring the continuity and/or dis-continuity of the old regime of politico-judicial temporality within the new regime of time.[1]

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1. Sefatgol, 2005; and about an outline of the conception which the subjects had about the

4-3. Discursive and Non-Discursive Practices
According to Michel Foucault's conceptual tool, new philosophy of time has articulated in discursive and non-discursive practices of reformism in the Qajar period. Here the Constitution movement plays an important role in constructing a new concept of political time. Fereydun Adamiyat has made a number of historical leaps to the realization of the Iranian Constitution movement: the beginning of Abbas Mirza's reforms; comprehensive reforms or the era of Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Kabir; and historical limelight, and then mobility of modernization or the age of the Mirza Hosein Khan Moshir od-Dowleh Sepahsalar and the development of Constitutional ideology. Adamiyat views Amir Kabir as a representative of the great leap of society in an important historical period through the publication of newspaper and the establishment of Dar ol-Funun as a new high-school and university model of education that led to the awakening of ideas. Dar ol-Funun symbolized the transformation of the mind and the location for the birth of new political time. Indeed, in Dar ol-Funun two spheres of discursive and non-discursive practices of reformism coincides. It took twenty years (in three stages) from the overthrow of the Amir to the Sepahalar government: Seven-year-old interregnum in the reactionary vizart of Etemad al-Dawlah Nouri, three-year progression, and then ten years socio-economic crisis. We can interpret these post-awakening skirmishes as a war between the Antiqui and the Moderni. This conflicts that really exists in discursive and/or non-discursive practices directly reflects upon the problem of `the time`. The time as a politico-institutional phenomenon becomes an arena for political strife. Etemad al-Dawlah Nouri after Amir Kabir's assassination represented a reactionary thinking that was hostile to Tanzimat and opposed Dar ol-Funun and new idea of the political time. After Nouri was relinquished, the desire to progress within three years was manifested: publishing several critical treatises on politics; establishing Faramush-khana as a model assemblage of Freemasonry of thinking elites; electing a committee to promote industry and commerce; reforming the Court of Justice law; development of mining; and reforming and promoting the official newspaper's content.
With Nasir al-Din Shah's reign and Amir Kabir's vizarat, there was no talk

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jurisdiction, especially the institution of mazalim and the intention of the Shah when initiating the mazalim sessions as Justizphantasien see Schneider, 2005.

of parliament and council until the Shah, after Mirza Agha Khan Nouri's dismissal, decided to administer the affairs of the country within the framework of the six ministries. A new division of administrative functions has officially begun. Despite the heavy presence and persistence of medieval mythological time, a new understanding of the concept of time was emerging in the new apparatuses (Etemad al-Saltanah,1983:144). A year later, in 1859, the Shah ordered the establishment of the Consultative Council (Majlis-i Maslahat-khana).

This assembly is also called the Public Governmental Consultation House (Majlis-i Maslahat-khaneye Aammeye Dowlati). The Shah, along with the decree of the establishment of the Majlis, also issued its Book of Rules. In a part of his decree, he stated:

We have ordered that another assembly of experienced practitioners be convened to consult and discuss matters which are in the interest of the State and the prosperity of the country. And we also gave the public permission for each of the chieftains and the wise intellectuals and those who thought of trustful to do what was in the interest of the country and for the good of the people's affairs, to present and speak in the presence of the Speaker of the Majlis (Adamiyat,2013:59; Nasir al-Din Shah,1859). Maslahat-khaneh was, in fact, the first national-level consultative assembly in new Iran, though its members consisted mostly of princes, ministers, and government officials, but was a step in the direction of a larger circle of decision-makers in national affairs. House of Emirates or Majlis-i Omaraye Jomhour and The House of Dar al-Shuraye Kobra were two other policymaking institutions during this period, with prominent reformers such as Sepahsalar. These fledgling institutions faced strong opposition from within the court, and were not of a stable nature. Nevertheless, they should be remembered as the first pillars of the institutionalization and politicization of the time in its new meaning.

But the establishment of the first latter-day national parliament dates back to the Constitutional Revolution, which its royal proclamation was signed on August 5, 1906 by Mozaffar al-Din Shah. This form of Constitution was in force with several readjustments until the 1979 revolution. The spirit of that first Constitution was alive after the 1979 revolution and continued with other names and content.

On the discursive level certain epistemological developments have taken

place that directly or indirectly could be regarded as preliminary arrangements for changing the philosophy of time. As Abbas Amanat refers, "aa al-Din Shah's fascination with Europe thus remained decidedly nontechnical. His attraction to European history, world geography, and new discoveries, as well as current affairs, the various royal houses and their private scandals, and even the mundane curiosities covered in the European press, resulted in no distinct practical application. Nasir al-Din commissioned a substantial body of historical and geographical translations almost exclusively for his own personal use and out of the reach of the public. The biographies of Alexander of Macedonia, Peter I, Frederick the Great, Christopher Columbus, and Napoleon Bonaparte, together with numerous other volumes in history, travel, geography, and popular literature, were translated in the royal dragoman's bureau, read by the Shah, and shelved in the royal library. The Shah was well aware of the power of words and perhaps could have foreseen the outcome of the press revolution that started soon after his death. Nasir al-Din Shah may have seen in his own rule a parallel with Frederick's `enlightened despotism. ` Finally, in the life of Louis XIV, with which he was familiar through I'timad al-Saltana's translations of Voltaire, the shah could admire the complementary qualities of royal grandeur, military might, and artistic patronage. Louis, too, had been a boy-king who liberated himself from the yoke of a powerful minister, Mazarin, and a manipulative mother to reduce the power of the French nobility and to become, in due course, an absolute ruler, le Roi Soleil, with self-assumed attributes not unlike those of the Persian Pivot of the eeeee eeě" (Amanat,1997:430-1).

During this period, the publication of two important books underpinned the tendency to precisely measure the relations of daily life and to decide and execute political affairs. New timescapes would emerge. The first was Resaleye Diakrat ya Hekmate Naseriye, literary we can say The Wisdom of Nasiriyah or Diakrat. The book indeed was a translation of the Descartes Discours de la Méthode Pour bien conduire sa raison, et chercher la vérité dans les sciences (Descartes,2014). This can be regarded as one of the first serious encounters of the Iranians with the Modern epistemology that co-translated by al-Azaar Rahim Moosaii Hamedani and Emil Berne with Joseph Arthur de Gobineau`s order.[1] The other book is Falak al-Sa'adah by

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1. This book was published with the permission of Nasir al-Din Shah in Tehran 1862. The

the Minister of Science, Ali Quli Mirza. The essence of Descartes' thought aa   ee   ttt ooo anyiii ng ttttttt trrrr ggg vvʋeiii gaii   a   ddd   eeny anyiii ng exce   cccre   ennnnme"" Fa   al-Sa'adah was written based on Newton's research which could have a profound effect on transforming the principles of natural wisdom. Understanding the constant mechanical system of nature also reinforced the same possibility in the social system. During three-year period, the tendency toward rational politics increased and critical writings expanded. Intellectual rationalism turned against traditional thinking and infiltrated the state apparatus of thought. The discursive practices admittedly was in a kind of dialectical relationship with the institutions like Dar ul-Fonun, Majlis and Faramush-khana. The goal was first to discredit and to deny centralized power. Secondly, the Law of Consultation should be formed, and as a result the affairs of the country will be divided functionally (Adamiyat,2013:13-20). But in any case, the basic structure of government was the monarchy. There was fierce fighting between the court forces and the social forces. In parallel with the formation of new institutional structures and the construction of the early nuclei of the bio-political mechanisms of governance, the Iranian urban public sphere was in fact formed. There was a strong relationship between knowledge, power and society. Paying attention to the element of time and context is not something only the reformists and intellectuals have realized. Yet, a conservative jurist like Sheikh Fazlullah has taken notice of it.

According to historiography of Nazim al-Islam Kermani, during a meeting with Mullah Mohammad Hussein Tabatabai he quotes: The day that Haj Sheikh Fazlullah Nouri came to Mr Tabatabai's house, he was in parliament for talks, saying that people would not work today as three hundred years ago people used to do. The Sheikh replied that you had gone too far, but that people would not be in pain today like thirty years ago. [Mullah] Must be aware of the time requirements, must be aware of the day's relationships,

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book, in addition to the introduction to Descartes' life and affairs, contains six chapters: "On the Natural Life and Compilation of the Science and Benefits of Each", "On the Study of Science, and the Examination and Seeking of Beliefs," "On the Rules of the study of the science of wisdom "," In Proving the Self-existent and the Transcendence of the God"," In Describing the Heart and Blood in the Human Body to Prove the Transcendent Power "," In the Conclusion and End of Descartes` ideas`. (Descartes,2014)

and must also be the first of the worlds (Kermani,2009:256).

4-4. Revolutionary Time Embodied in Reformist Time
Within the dialectic of time and power in new Iran, revolutionary impulses can be seen as the exceptional moments which are latent and occasionally arise under structural conditions. The emergence of the revolutionary event as a fissure in the dominant timeline has fundamentally ethical and idealistic anchors. The idea of Iran is usually one of the moral bastions that guided revolutionary temporality and determined the timing, sequence, speed, and duration of events both in a de-territorializing and re-territorializing way. Formal time rules confronting deeply entrenched informal time rules.

On February 7, 1905 Mirza Mohammad Nazem al-Islam Kermani historiographer of `Iranian Awakening Movement`, during a meeting with Mirza Seyyed Mohammad Tabataba'i, heard the following:

`Until the Iranian government becomes Constitutional and has its Constitution in place and this tyranny is not abolished, it must never wait for reform and wait for the discipline. That this Muslim fist should not be trampled on. Otherwise, if the current situation does not change, it will soon be that the Islamic nation will be lost and we will fall into the hands of the strangers. It is not too late to make sure that this Muslim community does not fall under the aliens.` When, Nazem al-Islam asks, the government would be constitutional? He said that `when people of the nation become aware and awake of neglect and know the meaning of nationality and ethnicity and realize the benefit and disadvantage of the property we have in common for the public of the country; when the number of the conscious is greater than the ignorant; or at least equal to the ignorant; and at least they know that they must not bear the burden of oppression, and that they know that the oppression can be eliminated by their hands. The Kavianis [Iranians] will cut the head of Zahhaks.` Again Nazem al-Islam has said that for eight years you have apparently acted on this sacred important thing, as yourself opened up the school of Islam and allow other schools to be opened up and promoted in the traditions and teachings. It is rather that you have been forced to read the newspaper in the cafeterias, passageways and pulpits. What is the result whether it did or did not work? Mirza Seyyed Mohammad Tabataba'i responded that these measures and preparations would produce results in due time. You should immediately conclude parliaments and associations and sit down with civilized and open-minded

people and talk about dear homeland and the correction of ruins. And students of schools and scholars of the sciences, but also of the friends of the public at home, be aware of the defects and deficiencies, and be sensitive with national dignity. Realize that time is very thin and the country is in a state of great crisis. The country is in a state of severe ill health. Now is the time to unite. Let us, brotherly and unobtrusive, strive for service to Islam and the homeland` (Kermani,2009:159).

At the same meeting Tabataba'i insisted on the necessity of police aaaa aassse rrr peeeeciio aaugrrrr s iig oo education and travelling. Then again we can see the idea of institutionalization of the time in the form the police discipline. The institutionalization of the liberties here is protected with a nationalistic attitude. The time must be managed to not to be too late. Time must be administered to prevent the collapse of the homeland. The disciplinary imagination necessarily accompanied such reformistic aspirations.

The fundamental point here is that institutionalist thinking is the same that advocates for public liberties. So here is the time of unification of the revolution and the institution. In another word, the revolutionary time merges with the institutional time.[1]

Nasser al-Din Shah, the king who represented the reformist or institutionalist concept of the time, shut by the throat of one of the revolutionaries. The revolutionary time was in opposition to the time of State reform. However, it is in the post-Nasserian period that this dialectic is most prominently manifested. The Iranian Revolutionary Social-Democratic Party (Feqqa'ye āāāāāā āāyūn-e ʿāmmīynn), often referred to as the Secret Centre (Markaz-i Ghaibi), worked effectively with the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP).[2] Vladimir Lenin sent his leaflets to his

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1. It should be noticed that our conception of revolutionary time here is fundamentally different from that of Antonio Negri in collective time, productive time, constitutive time and the time of revolution. (Negri, 2003: 192)

2. "nn 23 Jumdd I 1326/23 Jun 1908, hh mjj sssw ooosdd by royiii s ooup dddby hhe Russian officer of the Cossack Brigade, Colonel Liakhoff. Many leading constitutionalists of Tehran went into exile, and the revolutionary center moved to Tabriz. The Azarbayjan Provincial Council (Anjuman-i Iyalati-yi Azarbayjan, also known as Anjuman-i Tabriz), the social democratic Secret Center (Markaz-i Ghaybi), and the rank-and-file mujahidin fighters would soon form the revolutionary army of Tabriz, whose military leadership was held by the former horse-dealer and outlaw Sattar Khan and his colleague the stone mason

friends and the Russian revolutionaries via Tabriz. Tabriz's revolutionary arrangements embodied the radical notion of time based on the principles of secret organization with high secrecy and concealment tactics. In addition to the traditional network of links within Iran, the organization was also linked rhizomaticly to the Russian revolutionaries and thereby to European socialists. (Afary,2004:69; Dailami,2004:95-100; Atabaki,2004:147-165; Cronon,2004; Chaqueri,1979)

I aa bzzz Riiii aSSSc Weeee''' ceœ aa aaæeeeeœttt Peaaaa a made available to the Iranian revolutionaries. Thus, the Tabriz secret committee organized armed groups in support of the Constitutional Revolution in the name of Mujahideen and Fada'i. As Ahmad Kasravi wrote, this secret committee was guiding the revolutionary praxis in a collective way. For the first time in the heart of the nascent Iranian bio-power, programs were being planned for anti-State education and training simultaneously with anti-colonial and emancipatory causes. A kind of scheduled precision was at the heart of the revolutionary organization. The temporality of the court, the feudals and the royal clerics contrasted with the temporality of the revolutionary actors. From discursive point of view, in the days and weeks leading up to December 31, 1911, the members of the secret committee were excommunicated by Russophile clerics of the court and called atheists, unbeliever, materialists and Bábí. Thereby the `intransigents` permitted to be annihilated (Kasravi,1961,1971-72).

In the chaotic atmosphere of the Constitutional movement and in the context of confrontation between Tsarist Russia and Britain in Iranian geopolitics, the position of institution and counter-institution were constantly changing. The idea of Tanzimat was always challenged both by actors within the institution and by opposing actors. The political time could not last.

5.Conclusion

In this article, we tried to study political time in its locality based on conceptual tools of timescapes approach combined with archeology and

Baqir Khan. A number of Transcaucasian revolutionaries (Muslims, Armenians, Georgians), as well as many Iranian-Armenians, joined th rssssaanee w.... (ff rry, 2004:69)

critical discourse analysis. The obstructed economic situation of Iran in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in a regionally and internationally critical environment, especially in the early twentieth century, is in fact the decisive structural element in the timescapes of Iranian Modernity. During the nearly fifty years of Nasser al-Din Shah's reign (September 1848–May 1896), we are witnessing the emergence of new awareness that organizes macro-policy in Iran based on new disciplinary technology. Those governmental mechanisms also have a special time policy and in the midst of the Anqui of Iran and its Moderni, founded the initial nucleus of Iranian bio-power in the form of the Tanzimat system. Since then we are simultaneously facing with the new social subjects that could occupy public spaces and governments wants them to be disciplinized. New textualities and territorialities also has been shaping; texts became the fields of battle of ideas, as well as the territories. New languages created to represent the causes of institutions and social movements. The past reflects on the present and the present looks forward the gateways of the uncertain futures. Over the past century at the same time the new power infuses millions of ordinary people's everyday lives. Iranian subjectivity is shaping and re-shaping always anew and something is always constant. The Guarded Domains of Iran (Mamâlek-e Mahroseye Irân) gradually went under the necessities of the rule of law or Constitutionalism in a modern sense.

Turbulence has always been going on in the trends of Iranian Constitutional history. The instances of authoritarian stability and institutionalization, due to the lack of an enduring system of regulation and predominance of non-adversarial and aleatory logic, have always fueled the emergence of warlike events both in de-territorializing and re-territorializing fashion.

Iran's histoire événementielle intertwined with its longue durée has been a warlike field in which one can see the rhizomatic continuities and discontinuities of institutions as well as concepts. However, disruptions in socio-historical sequences are exceptional moments in political condition but not in `political time` as a whole. In other word, despite the deferential necessities in the governance structure and the pre-requisites in processes of elite selection and arrangements (Tanzimat) of each government, historical sequences have the same general logic and structural rationality that guaranties the continuity of policies and procedures. A kind of orderly disorder and aleatoriness lives in and accompanies the centrality and

arbitrariness of the governance structure. It seems that we can link the rhizomatic structure of changes to phenomena like variability, inconsistency, irregularity, unexpectedness, unpredictability, randomness and chaos. Thus the dialectic of time and power in modern Iran cannot but are fundamentally dependent on this long-standing basement. Substantially de-territorializations taken place within re-territorializing processes with durable and replaceable elements. Turbulence carves itself into territorialized spaces.

The aleatoriness of Tanzimat institution in its centralized Qajar model can be traced in the current apparatuses of policy-making and administration. The short durations of policy-making and discontinuous trends of administrating would be the sprite of the political time of Iran from the 1840s to the 2020s. For example, in August 2005–August 2013, `Projects with Rapid Result` in public policy-making may be referred to as a symptom of turbulence in Iranian political time which is similar to many of the other ephemeral Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat policies.

Iran's economic development policies from the 1940s to the 2010s, that is, in the post-Tanzimat period, have essentially similar bio-political trends, and the institutionalization of time, along with the increasing organization of living spaces and continuous de-territorialization and re-territorialization, indicate unfilled splits in the thought of the Iranian governmentality. The multi-layered constellation of political time in Iran then lives with turbulence, and searching for possibilities of the `Long-Term Society` to make policy-making trends durable are of great importance for the study of political time in Iran.

6. Acknowledgement

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