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# REMAKING WOMEN

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FEMINISM AND MODERNITY  
IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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**Part Two**

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MOTHERS, WIVES, AND CITIZENS:  
THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

## Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran

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SEVERAL recent writings on women in the turn-of-the-century Middle East have noted the centrality of motherhood and wifeness, particularly their regulation through textbooks of domestic sciences, to the discussions of the notion of “woman” in this period.<sup>1</sup> Whether it is argued that women themselves used this modernization and scientization to improve their status in society, or that the process contained and frustrated the possible feminist potentials of women’s awakening, or even that the scientization was a disciplinary and regulatory process that crafted a modern womanhood in contradistinction to a traditional one, these arguments do not adequately deal with the significant shifts that concepts of motherhood and wifeness had gone through to produce this discourse in the first place.

If the well-known argument for women’s education—that educated women made better mothers and wives—sounds very traditional and, given our late-twentieth-century sensibilities, reads as a reinforcement of women’s old professions, this disappointment perhaps arises from lack of attention to what important shifts in “mother” and “wife” constituted the subtext of that argument.<sup>2</sup> In Persian texts, these shifts in meaning from premodern to modern normative concepts reconfigured woman from “house” (*manzil*) to “manager of the house” (*mudabbir-i manzil*). They were closely linked to the educational debates of the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. The modern educational regimes, deeply gendered from the start, were central to the production of the woman of modernity through particular regulatory and emancipatory impulses that I will review in this essay. Moreover, I hope to demonstrate that these two seemingly conflictive impulses in fact enabled each other’s work. For woman, the emancipatory possibilities of modernity and its disciplinary “technologies” were mutually productive.

## FROM “HOUSE” TO “MANAGER OF THE HOUSE”

Premodern normative concepts of wife and mother can be read through Persian books of ethics that were aimed at producing a perfect Muslim man, as man of God, man of the household, and man of the polis.<sup>3</sup> Although these books vary, there are a number of common points that are at the center of my concern here:

that the father, not his wife, was the manager of the household (*mudabbir-i manzil*) and in charge of the discipline and education of the children (sons, more specifically), and that the biological mother was not necessarily and at times not preferably the nurturer and caretaker of the child.<sup>4</sup> These texts were male-authored; moreover, the reader was assumed to be male, and in the section on discipline and management (*siasat va tadbir*) of the household, he was addressed as the head of the household, as the managing owner of property, wives, children, servants, and slaves. The first function (regulation of property) had not only textual priority over the other three; in fact, the other three seem to have been at the service of the first: "The motive for taking a wife should be twofold, the preservation of property and the quest of progeny; it should not be at the instigation of appetite or for any other purpose."<sup>5</sup> The man was given advice on who constituted a good wife ("The best of wives is the wife adorned with intelligence, piety, continence, shrewdness, modesty, tenderness, a loving disposition, control of her tongue, obedience to her husband, self-devotion in his service and a preference for his pleasure, gravity, and the respect of her own family").<sup>6</sup> He was also advised on how to regulate and rule his wives: "Once the bond of union is effected between husband and wife, the husband's procedure in ruling his wife should be along three lines: to inspire awe, to show favor, and to occupy her mind."<sup>7</sup>

Similarly, the section on children was directed to the man.<sup>8</sup> It was the father, not the mother, who was in charge of a child's upbringing. He was the one who named him, chose a wet nurse, and was responsible for his physical and mental development.<sup>9</sup>

Not a nurturer and an educator—like the later mother of late-nineteenth-century Persian texts on women and education of the nation—the motherhood depicted in these treatises resides in the first place in the womb. Although the mother is given a secondary nurturing role in much of the premodern literature on parenting, her primary contribution is to provide the vessel of the womb for conception and prebirth nurturing of the fetus.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, some of the reformist critical literature of the nineteenth century continued to treat mothering in apparently similar terms. Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani (1853/54–96), one of the most important critical intellectuals of nineteenth-century Iran, wrote in *Sad khatabah* (One hundred discourses) of five schools in which "every individual man gains his ethics and perfects his temperament and character. The first of these schools is the womb of the mother where the fetus gains the fundamentals of his ethics and acquires those character traits and attitudes that during the term of pregnancy were in the mother, innately or as acquired character. If, for instance, the mother is mean and jealous, whether she was innately so or became so, undoubtedly this character trait will inhere in that fetus."<sup>11</sup> If she was scared of something, had bad or good dreams, or became ill, this experience, Kirmani argued, would be transmitted to the fetus.

The second school was the family. Every suckling child was trained according to the manners and ethics of his family, the closest among them his mother.<sup>12</sup> This was the only place that Kirmani wrote of the mother as an educator for the child, after which he returned to emphasizing the influences of the womb. For instance, he argued that the reason Iranian children were ugly and ill-statured was because at the time of conception the father had not approached the mother with desire and happiness.<sup>13</sup>

Kirmani argued at great length that the first school, the womb of the mother, was the most important and most influential. What traits of temperament and manners entered into the fetus's blood was very difficult to change. It was for this reason that one had to be considerate toward women and have regard for their rights. He argued that when the time came for people to address their oppressors and complain, the son would seek his rights against the father who had failed to take him to school to learn sciences and skills and techniques and crafts and manners and ways of humanity. In contrast, the fetus in the mother's womb would ask why she had taken it to mourning sessions and cried so much for the dead *imams* and their relatives, instead of taking care of it in happiness and kindness.<sup>14</sup> Notably, Kirmani suggested that the wife would interrogate the husband about why he had not treated her as a companion and helpmeet, why he had made her dumb, deaf, and blind, deprived her of all rights of humanity, and buried her alive in a house, forcing her to take refuge in tricks and guile. The husband, on the other hand, would complain that the wife, instead of being a companion in life, had ruined his life with trickery.<sup>15</sup>

Despite some similarities between Kirmani's nineteenth-century *Sad khatabah* and a premodern text like Tusi's thirteenth-century *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, these works differ vastly. Whereas Tusi wrote as a Muslim philosopher for other Muslims and was concerned with the production of the perfect Muslim man, the author of *Sad khatabah* spoke of himself as an Iranian (*man-i Irani*),<sup>16</sup> concerned with the sorry state of the Iranian nation (*millat-i Iran*). He considered his ideal reader to be not a Muslim man in search of this-worldly and otherworldly perfection but an Iranian man concerned with the fate of Iran.<sup>17</sup> The perfect man had changed from a Muslim believer to an Iranian citizen.

The continuities and discontinuities of Kirmani's concept of mother and wife with Tusi's are worth pointing out. To envisage the womb not simply as a vessel but as a school (*maktab*) imputed all the disciplinary and regulatory functions of school to the womb. Not only did the bearer of the womb regulate the character of the fetus, but now the regulatory process turned back upon the womb/woman. National formation began with the womb. If differently constructed Iranians were to be produced, woman as potential mother needed to be regulated and reconstructed. But the new notion of schooling also heralded new rights: because of the womb's central importance, "one needs to pay special attention to and care for women and their rights so that children will not become ill-tempered and bad-natured."<sup>18</sup> In Iran, however, Kirmani argued,

"women are deprived of all rights of humanity and are forbidden the pleasures of life. . . . Iranian women are treated as lower than animals; nay, they are less valued than the dogs of Europe and the cats of cemeteries."<sup>19</sup>

Thus in Kirmani's rearticulation of premodern wisdom, the womb became the ground at once for regulatory practices toward women and for awarding women particular rights. This double movement, combining disciplinary techniques and emancipatory promises, becomes a general feature in the rethinking of gender in the Iranian modernist imagination. I will discuss its workings on several levels later in this essay, but here I want to point out the enabling dynamic of this double movement. It is by no means the case that the two strands of this movement simply contradicted and frustrated one another. Rather, the disciplinary and emancipatory moments enabled each other's work; in this particular case, a newly envisaged womb produced the regulatory and emancipatory drives at once in order to produce children worthy of modernity.

Woman was also reconfigured as wife: she was to be man's companion in life. Kirmani argued at length against gender segregation and against the veil, which in his opinion not only failed to guarantee a woman's chastity but constituted a severe hindrance to her belonging to humanity and her attainment of education and knowledge. It had reduced half of the Iranian people to a paralyzed, enchained state of ignorance with no ability to render any service to society. Rules of segregation also deprived men of the beneficial effects of socializing with women. Kirmani held these restrictions responsible for pederasty in Iran.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, he argued that men and women married without having known or even seen each other and thus began their married life, more often than not, with dislike—if not hatred—from the first night of marriage when they would finally set eyes upon each other.<sup>21</sup>

In another work, *Hasht bihisht*, most likely coauthored with Shaykh Ahmad Ruhi around 1892 as an explication of Babi religion, Kirmani had expressed similar but more radical views.<sup>22</sup> The authors of *Hasht bihisht* argued strongly against parents' forcing their children to particular choices of spouse, and for the need of men and women to choose their own mates willingly and get to know each other for several years during their engagement. They also spoke of the equality of women and men in the pleasures, benefits, and rights of marriage, and of the necessity that women be educated in all sciences, skills, crafts, and ethical matters. They argued for the removal of the veil, but at the same time, to prevent sin, evil, and fornication, they prohibited women from talking to men who were strangers to them.<sup>23</sup> They emphasized women's comprehensive equality with men and recommended that men include women as their left hand in all activities so that both hands could work equally. Furthermore, they linked the social lot of women, through motherhood, to the fate of humanity. In other words, motherhood became a mediating term between two concepts central to modernity: progress and women's rights. "Women's *hijab* (veil) and

*tura* (laced face cover), their segregation from men, and their loss of all rights of humanity such that they are not even counted among human beings cause great corruption in the world of humanity, because this delicate kind constitutes children's early education. They are the teachers in the household and the fountainhead of all progress for humanity."<sup>24</sup>

This argument differentiates a modernist work such as *Hasht bihisht* from earlier books of advice and ethics. Instead of being part of the household—in fact, sometimes collapsed into the household and referred to as the household (*manzil*)—and subject to the man's management, woman has become the manager of household affairs and the educator of children.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Kirmani and Ruhi continued to press their argument to full equality of men and women:

Because of the ill ways men have treated them and have placed them outside the domain of humanity, half of the world of civilization and urbanity has remained unused and without effect. But the world of humanity cannot reach for perfection unless women become equals and partners with men in all affairs and rights; in fact, human traits are much more perfect in women compared to men. . . . in all rights including learning and education, government, inheritance, industries, and commerce women must be equal to men. . . . This decree is for the reform and education of women, to bring them out of the terror house of darkness and ignorance into the open field of the city of humanity and civility. Undoubtedly because of this decree the world of humanity and civility will double in size.<sup>26</sup>

### EDUCATIONAL REGIMES

Few, if any, of the nineteenth-century reformers would call for such radical gender parity as Kirmani and Ruhi did. But by the first decade of the twentieth century, in articles in the constitutionalist press, the argument that women should be educated because they were educators of children, companions of men, and half of the nation had gained wide currency and was reiterated as a matter of obvious fact—"like the sun in the middle of the sky."

*Hasht bihisht's* concept of an ideal educational regime was exceptionally severe: "Children should be taken away from mothers upon birth and taken to a house of education to be brought up under the supervision of skilled teachers and clever women (*zanan-i shatir*) who, in appropriate schools, have studied especially the science of education and upbringing of children."<sup>27</sup> The authors drew on a manufacturing analogy to demonstrate their meaning. Such schools were like a factory that took in as raw material bits of wool and produced delicate fabric.<sup>28</sup> This became a common metaphor even in writings of reformers who did not advocate such a radical break. Schools were often referred to as human-making factories (*karkhanah-'i adam'sazi*), bringing the transformative and regulatory punctuations of modern production onto human beings.

That many writers found this metaphor apt reflects how vastly the concept of education that they were advocating differed from what it sought to replace. The education of men and women in premodern institutional and informal settings of mosques, Qur'anic neighborhood schools, or in the home, could hardly be compared to an orderly regulated manufacturing process.<sup>29</sup>

Not only the educational regime and institutions but the very concept of knowledge was consciously formulated in contradistinction to older concepts of knowledge.<sup>30</sup> In *Sad khatabah*, Kirmani contrasted the concepts of science/knowledge (*'ilm*) of religious scholars (*'ulama'*) with that of chemistry, politics, law, political economy, and natural sciences, arguing that "any nation that is more civilized has higher sciences, vaster needs, and higher means."<sup>31</sup>

Whereas in premodern texts knowledge pertained to man's perception of God and his rules,<sup>32</sup> modern knowledge pertained to issues of civilization and progress. The nineteenth-century writers took pains to distinguish their concept from the older "order of things."<sup>33</sup> Zuka' al-Mulk, editor of *Tarbiat* (Education)<sup>34</sup> felt obliged to make this distinction explicit: "If in this newspaper we speak of the weakness of science and the lack of learned men, this has nothing to do with the science of religion and guiding learned men. . . . Undoubtedly religion and faith supersede all else . . . and our learned men . . . are suns in the heaven of truth and stars of the sky of guidance."<sup>35</sup> He then went on to emphasize, however, that "the point is that the order of the day of Resurrection (*nizam-i kar-i mu'ad*) depends on the order of making a living (*intizam-i amr-i mu'ash*) . . . and of course the country, in order to put in order the affairs of this world, needs arithmetic and geometry and algebra and calculus and analysis and medicine and rules of agriculture and commerce and many other things. For instance, if we want to build a dam or construct a bridge or cure an ill person, would it be correct to go to a learned man of religion?"<sup>36</sup>

Another significant shift was the emergence of a concept of education that had become centered on literacy. The authors of *Hasht bihish* considered "reading and writing . . . [as] self-evidently the basis for prosperity of any group of people and the key to all progress in the world."<sup>37</sup> Emphasizing literacy as central to the new education, Zuka' al-Mulk wrote, "Whoever cannot read, cannot know, and if he does not know, how can he be a capable person?"<sup>38</sup> This emphasis on reading and writing is related to the shift from a largely oral culture, supplemented with a calligraphic writing tradition, to a print culture.<sup>39</sup> Whereas in the old system of knowledge, it was conceivable that one might become knowledgeable without being literate if one had a powerful and well-trained memory—a cherished quality<sup>40</sup>—the new knowledge could be attained only through reading and writing.<sup>41</sup> Reading now became distinct from reciting—though in many languages such as Persian and Arabic the same word continues to be used for both. Zuka' al-Mulk referred to the ability to read and write as "the key to prosperity and happiness (*kalid-i sa'adat*); nay, it is its elixir (*kimia-yi sa'adat*)."<sup>42</sup> *Kimia-yi sa'adat*, once

totally associated with the sciences of religion (the title of the Persian version of Ghazali's *Revival of Religious Sciences* (*Ihya al-'ulum al-din*) is *Kimia-yi sa'adat*), now had come to be defined as the skill of reading and writing.

It is noteworthy that the nineteenth-century educational treatises, though addressed to men, were not addressed to them as private men, as fathers of the household in their responsibility to educate their sons—as, for instance, *Akhlaq-i Nasiri* had been. Education was now a national concern. It was for the sake of national progress and as a public duty, rather than for individual perfection or as a religious obligation, that the new education was urgently needed. It was thus expected that *the government* would undertake the task. After prophets sent by God to educate people, one writer argued, the task of education fell upon "people in charge and the wise men and kings."<sup>43</sup> The educational duties of the government were to be supplemented by those of private persons of means, not as heads of households but as men of the nation, as citizens: "It is incumbent on any patriot of means and on all powerful lovers of the nation to spread as much as possible these good methods [of education] and to guard the means of universal education (*tarbiat-i 'ammah*)," Mirza Taqi Khan Kashani wrote.<sup>44</sup>

It was within these more general debates on education that girls began to creep in as subjects worthy of being educated. In a significant departure from premodern texts, Kashani's essay, for instance, ended with a section that was addressed to fathers and mothers and called for the education of girls as well as boys: "Teach your children, sons and daughters, science and obedience."<sup>45</sup>

#### THE DIFFERENCE GENDER MAKES

In addition to their appearance as subjects worthy of education, girls also began to appear next to boys as characters in books designed for the education of the young. A book of parables from 1876 has as many female as male characters in its stories.<sup>46</sup> Designed to highlight good and bad character traits, the stories are thoroughly gendered: those with boys as central characters teach lessons about what character traits were desirable in little boys, and those with female characters construct the desirable character traits for girls. In one parable, Mas'ud's New Year's present to his parents is to demonstrate that he can read any text they choose.<sup>47</sup> A frivolous little girl, Kawkab, is disliked by everyone because she is undisciplined and shameless, laughs a great deal for no reason, opens her mouth in front of people and makes awful noises, runs around and pays no attention to others, does not greet people properly, talks nonsense, eavesdrops on others' conversations, and so forth. In contrast, the four-year-old exemplary girl, Khawrshid Khanum, is impeccably obedient and well-mannered. Everyone likes her; she gets up in the morning with her parents without a fuss, dresses herself up, cleans herself, performs her ablu-

tions, and prays. She spends her whole day doing only good things, plays by herself contentedly, does not bother adults, does not meddle, is already in a Qur'anic school and can read the Qur'an and other texts, and does nothing without her mother's permission. The tale ends happily: Kawkab, despite her many defects, is a very smart girl and decides to become friends with Khawrshid Khanum and to learn everything from her. Kawkab reforms and becomes well-liked.<sup>48</sup>

This pattern of moral construction continues throughout the book. Desirable moral traits for boys include being content with life, generosity, not being prone to anger and cruelty, knowing one's manners, being God-fearing and charitable, honesty, and pursuit of sciences and higher education. For girls, they include tidiness, being obedient to one's mother, not hiding anything from one's parents, lack of arrogance, hard work, and learning womanly crafts. One girl, in addition to learning her knitting, sewing, needlework, and embroidery, learns reading, arithmetic, and "the prices of everything." This proves useful since she keeps account of her mother's little sewing and embroidery business. When she loses her mother at the age of eleven, she is already a competent businesswoman and brings one of her aunts to manage household affairs so that she can take care of the business with peace of mind.<sup>49</sup>

Unlike the bulk of the book, which according to the author was a translation/adaptation from Arabic of an originally French text, the epilogue concerns only young men.<sup>50</sup> It was written by the author himself and titled "On Manners of Talking, Movement, and Eating." In a remarkable cultural shift, the epilogue serves to buttress the gender hierarchies that might have been interrogated by the previous tales. Now the young man is advised to avoid, insofar as is possible, talking to commoners, children, women, and mad or drunk people.<sup>51</sup> He should not walk moving his arms and shoulders, as do women and hermaphrodites.<sup>52</sup> The famous wise man Luqman appears as an interlocutor, advising "his son" not to trust women, not to tell his secrets to women and children, and not to adorn himself as women do.<sup>53</sup> Another figure of wisdom, Abuzarjumih-r-i hakim, advises his pupil that what ruins greatness is meanness in rich people, arrogance in 'ulama', shamelessness in women, and deceit in men.<sup>54</sup> In answer to the question, "Could anyone become fortunate through another person?" he responds, "Man through God, child through father and mother, and wife through a good husband."<sup>55</sup> Thus, through a parallel construction, the wife is placed in the same relation of subordination to her husband as man to God and as children to parents. Despite the epilogue, however, the text is novel for its inclusion of girls as subjects of specific educational attention, unlike the corresponding chapters in *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, for instance, where the child was evidently, if unstatedly at first, a son.

Other educational texts of the period similarly include girls while clearly marking gender distinctions and hierarchies within that inclusion. *Ta'lim al-afal* (Teaching children), a teacher's manual on how to teach the alphabet

more efficiently through new techniques, has drawings depicting both boys' schools and girls' schools, all pupils properly seated behind desks; however, whereas the boys are all sitting on chairs, the girls are squatting on the floor, behind low desks.<sup>56</sup> After instruction in the alphabet, numerals, and months and years of the zodiac system, a male character, Mirza Muhammad, is used to teach prayers, followed by a female character, Fatima Khanum, to teach fundamentals of religion and the names of the twelve Shi'i Imams.<sup>57</sup> Subsequently, Mirza Muhammad sets an example by becoming a prayer leader for his classmates. Fatima Khanum invites her classmates on a Friday to play with dolls and to sew and "thus they learn the science of housekeeping and the necessary arts."<sup>58</sup> In a second volume, the students are taught poetry, geography, and arithmetic. Notably, there are no girls in the second volume.

The encouragement to include girls in the new educational regime became less ambivalent by the turn of the century. In a cautious statement, Zuka' al-Mulk, after reiterating that the education of children was the key to everything else, noted that this had to start with fathers and sons, but he went on to say that, "God willing, the turn for mothers and daughters to be educated will also come, since experienced scientists and skilled educators have said that the bulk of the education of children is in the hands of mothers. . . . It is evident that daughters like sons need teachers . . . but for now we should pay attention to more urgent matters and reforms."<sup>59</sup> Following this brief remark on daughters' and mothers' education, the paper received and published a piece by no less a personage than Hajji Sadr al-Saltanah, the minister of general welfare (*favayid-i 'ammah*).<sup>60</sup> After a brief introduction, the author quotes Napoleon to the effect that one must try harder for girls' education than boys', since girls (as future mothers) aid our dear children and lay the foundation for children's education.<sup>61</sup> He continues, "In Europe, girls' schools are separate from and not mixed with boys'. In India, in one of the schools for girls that is built from the charitable deeds of Suhrajji Shahpurji, I saw Zoroastrian girls who shone like stars from the light of science. I went to another school built by Manikji Khawrshidji. Girls were learning crafts and were skilled in sewing." He then expounds on the bad conditions of Iranian women, because they have no literacy skills (*savad*) and are ignorant of any crafts and arts, whereas even ugly women of Europe are moons in the sky of perfection, because of the holy spirit (*ruh al-qudus*) of science.<sup>62</sup>

Comparison with Europe also provided an important subtext of Talibuf's *Kitab-i Ahmad*, one of the most influential books on education in late-nineteenth-century Iran.<sup>63</sup> In the preface, Talibuf speaks as a concerned citizen of Iran. In the book he takes on the voice of a father, tutoring his son, Ahmad. The triple position of citizen/father/tutor allowed Talibuf to write the book not only as a treatise on education but as a modernist text on Iran's sociopolitical problems and how to overcome them. The book was explicitly modeled after Rousseau's *Émile*. Yet the differences are significant. In the eighth chapter of

the first book, the author notes that while in much of the introductory section Ahmad has been echoing Émile's conversations, one must adapt the conditions of the Western Émile (*Imil-i maghribi*) to those of the Eastern Ahmad (*Ahmad-i mashriqi*).<sup>64</sup> The central problem informing the book is not how through a model education to resolve the conflicts between the natural and the social man; rather, it is how to overcome the disparity between the innate giftedness of Iranians and their current state of ignorance and idleness. In other words, how through a scientific education to produce a competent and patriotic citizen. Unlike the solitary Émile, Ahmad has two brothers and two sisters. Through comparison with the experience of the older brother, Mahmud, who has attended the old school system, Talibuf constructs the difference that his proposed educational methods represent: Ahmad is first tutored at home by his father—the narrator of the book—and later, in the second volume, he is sent to one of the new schools. In the third volume, he has already earned an engineering degree and has authored many books. He has become a model scientific citizen. The depiction of the two sisters, Zaynab and Mahrukh, constructs the gender difference. They are childish and playful; at times they are reprimanded by Ahmad for their unbecoming behavior or their ignorance; they are in awe of their smart brother's scope of knowledge. Yet as spectators to Ahmad's various experiments at home—through which he is learning scientific reasoning—they occasionally get to ask a question or offer him a helping hand, confirming his superior knowledge and status while making the point that girls are also eager to learn something. Surprisingly, although at several points Talibuf notes that in "civilized countries" both women and men are educated, there is nothing in these three volumes about the daughters' education.<sup>65</sup> In fact, by the third volume, where Ahmad speaks as an adult model citizen, Mahrukh and Zaynab have totally disappeared. This tension in Talibuf's text is worthy of further consideration. Talibuf presents rather negative judgments about European women and gender relations. He writes with disdain and disapproval of women's wearing low-cut dresses, putting on makeup, and going to dances.<sup>66</sup> The paradox of his noting women's education in "civilized countries" yet not advocating it for Iran perhaps stemmed from this moral anxiety.

#### EDUCATING EDUCATORS OF THE NATION

The issue of women's education received its first full, detailed attention with the publication in 1900 of a partial translation/adaptation of Qasim Amin's book, *The Liberation of Women*, only a year after its Arabic publication in Cairo.<sup>67</sup> A number of chapters were translated by Yusuf Ashtiani (I'tisam al-Mulk) and published under a significantly different title, *Education of Women* (*Tarbiat-i nisvan*).<sup>68</sup> Amin's status as an Egyptian Muslim thinker served to authorize the publication of the first full-length book in Persian devoted to

advocacy of women's education. In his preface, Ashtiani notes that not only had European thinkers composed books on the subject of women's education and its importance, but a group of famous Egyptian writers had also written extensively on women's rights and the necessity of their education.<sup>69</sup> But, he continues, there were still no books in Persian that would uncover the benefits and harms of women's education, and it was for this reason that he has translated a number of the chapters from *The Liberation of Women*. His selectivity is worth noting. Not only is the second chapter, "Women and the Veil," completely eliminated in Ashtiani's adaptation, but the final paragraph of the introductory chapter is changed. Amin wrote,

Were women's socialization effected in accordance with religious and moral principles, and were the use of the veil terminated at limits familiar in most Islamic schools of belief, then these criticisms would be dropped and our country would benefit from the active participation of all its citizens, men and women, alike.<sup>70</sup>

Ashtiani changes it to the following,

Provided education of women is carried out according to fundamentals of our solid religion and rules of morals and manners, and with due regard to conditions of *hijab*, we will reach our goal, bitter conditions will be behind us, and sweet days will emerge.<sup>71</sup>

Whether he modified Amin's proposition to avoid the kind of reception this book had received in Egypt, or because this reflected his own stance on the issues of veiling and gender segregation at this time, the selectivity and adaptation, as well as the change in the book's title, point to two important conclusions. First, for him and other Iranian reformers of this period, the central target of reform regarding women's status was women's education. On this there was a strong consensus. Second, no fixed connection existed between the issue of veiling and women's education. While some, such as Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani, considered the veil and gender segregation as signs of backwardness and impediments to women's progress, other reformers, such as I'tisam al-Mulk and Talibuf, considered the veil and gender segregation customs worthy of respect and preservation.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, in the writings of women on education from the end of the nineteenth century onward, there was no single position on the issue of unveiling among the women who worked for education. Muzayyan al-Saltanah, a tireless educationalist, publisher and editor of one of the most important early women's journals, *Shukufah* (1914–18), vehemently opposed unveiling and wrote in her journal against women's abandonment of *hijab*. At the same time, she published essays and poetry by women such as Shams Kasma'i and Shahnaz Azad known for their alternative views.<sup>73</sup>

For Kirmani and Ashtiani, as much as for Amin, the central conviction was that the "evidence of history confirms and demonstrates that the status of



women is inseparably tied to the status of a nation."<sup>74</sup> The progress of the nation was seen as dependent on the progress of women.<sup>75</sup> And if the country's backwardness as compared to Europe could be overcome through the acquisition of sciences and a new kind of education, then the conditions of women could also be improved in a similar move.<sup>76</sup> Women's education was now perceived as the most fundamental step in the nation's quest for civilization. As we come to the first years of the twentieth century, we encounter the argument that women's education should be given higher priority than men's, since from educated women would arise a whole educated nation.

From the very beginning, women's education was seen as distinct from men's education. Once the domain of the man of the polis had expanded into the national community, this man of the nation, unlike the man of *The Nasirean Ethics*, could no longer be expected to be in charge of both national politics (*siasat-i mudun* having become *siasat-i mamlikat*) and management of the household (*tadbir-i manzil*). Woman was now to become his helpmeet, to become the manager of the household (*mudabbir-i manzil*), instead of being subject to his management. Like the transformation of the womb from a vessel to a school, the transformation of woman from house to manager of the house was at once a regulating and an empowering moment. The regulatory and disciplinary regime of modern sciences was to come to bear on woman's daily life activities. Whereas the man was to be educated in the new sciences to be up to the tasks of national politics, economics, and modern industries, the woman was above all to be educated in the science of home management:

[A] woman cannot run her household well unless she attains a certain amount of intellectual and cultural knowledge. She should learn at least what a man is required to learn up through the primary stage of education. . . . It is important for a woman to be able to read and write, to be able to examine the basis of scientific information, to be familiar with the history of various countries, and to be able to acquire knowledge of the natural sciences and of politics. . . . [A] woman who lacks this upbringing will be unable adequately to carry out her role in society or in the family.<sup>77</sup>

Transformation of the wife from household to manager of the household required the breakup of female homosociality within that space. Whereas previously female homosociality was seen as a threat to male bonding, a disruption of the world of men, of the relation between men and between man and God, now it would pose a threat to the orderly management of the household, which required the wife to regulate her female servant instead of chatting, socializing, and solidarizing with her. This was explicated at some length in the literature that advised women on how to deal with their servants.<sup>78</sup>

Family itself was now reenvisioned. Socially, it became relocated in relation to the national community, rather than in relation to other kin groups and families: "[T]he family is the foundation of a country," and within the family,

woman as mother was the foundation. As such "her intellectual development or underdevelopment becomes the primary factor in determining the development or underdevelopment of the country."<sup>79</sup> This reconfiguration gave new meanings to motherhood. A mother was no longer merely the vessel for the growth of the fetus; her nurturing and educating roles became more important and began to overshadow her function as a womb. Mothering came to be defined as nurturing and educating. In fact, she was now to mother the country. Unlike the situation in the Nasirean household, in which the father was fully in charge of the children's upbringing, now the mother acquired the primary responsibility.<sup>80</sup> Maternal ignorance was now seen as the prime reason for troubles of all kinds.<sup>81</sup> Women's education was therefore oriented toward the upbringing of an educated (male) citizenship. This was not a call "for equality of education for men and women," but for "the possibility for boys and girls to have a comparable educational experience throughout the primary stage."<sup>82</sup>

The envisaging of the family as the foundation of the nation, as standing for a building block of the nation, also meant reenvisioning relationships within it. Ignorant women were not only unsuitable as mothers but also unfit as spouses: "An educated man likes order and a systematically arranged home. . . . When a man finds his wife in this ignorant condition, he quickly despises her."<sup>83</sup> In place of the Nasirean awe of wife for husband, in an evident heterosexualization of male homosociality, a sentiment comparable to friendship between men was proposed to constitute the right bond between husband and wife: "Friendship provides us with a good example of the power of true love between individuals."<sup>84</sup> This was yet one more reason for women's education: "A man and woman whose upbringing and education differ cannot experience this type of love."<sup>85</sup>

Unlike the original publication of the Arabic text in 1899, the translation and publication of Amin's book in Persian in 1900 did not become an occasion for public debate on the education and status of women. The publication was well received among reform-minded intellectuals but does not seem to have provoked counterarguments.<sup>86</sup> There were occasional articles that obliquely talked of women's education.<sup>87</sup> More explicitly, a serialized article in the Calcutta-published journal *Habl al-matin* argued extensively along the same lines as Amin's book. It emphasizes women's lack of education as the cause of a nation's decline and misfortune, expresses its regret that "we Muslims have neglected this important matter and have done nothing to educate our women," and asks, "How could any people hope for progress if their women who constitute the first teachers and educators of their children are captives in the realm of ignorance?"<sup>88</sup> A subsequent section gives four reasons why education of women would benefit men: (1) children's education would become perfect because both parents would be working on it, (2) children's gifts would become evident at an earlier stage of life, (3) today's men are educated, but

they are stuck with uneducated wives; children thus receive contradictory training and education from their fathers and mothers, which produces problems in their education, and (4) every nation's civilization is dependent on women's and men's education, since men and women need to live and socialize together.<sup>89</sup>

Education of women is also linked in this article to the imperial power of Europeans: "But even in household management women of Europe and America have surpassed those of Asia. A European household gives cause for envy to an Asian king's palace. The good order of household objects and the pleasantness of the rooms . . . competes with the gardens of paradise. . . . Husband and wife, like body and soul, provide each other with comfort of life and happiness of soul. They assist and love each other. . . . Nations that have mothers like European women can conquer other lands and rule over other nations."<sup>90</sup> In the East, however, women are kept ignorant yet expected to fulfill three immense tasks: to keep their husbands happy, educate their children, and manage the house. This is beyond their ability. How can a woman who is ignorant of her tasks and her husband's rights manage to satisfy him, especially if the husband is a man of science and a master of an art? Their pairing is like putting a parrot and a crow in the same cage.<sup>91</sup> Most interestingly, women's role in the house is projected as paralleling that of men in social affairs and national politics. In fact, for man to be able to be the good citizen, woman must be a good household manager: "Woman's role in the management and order of the house and in supervising its income and expenditure is like that of a minister of the land. . . . The well-being of the family and supervision of rights of the people of the household and the general direction of the household belong to the mistress of the house. Men who are in charge of the big affairs of the world cannot spend their valuable time in these small matters."<sup>92</sup>

These discussions do not seem to have produced immediate results in terms of furthering women's education. Three and a half years later, another series of articles in the same journal, entitled "Rights and Liberties of Women," referred to Qasim Amin as a pioneer of women's education and reviewed the attacks against him and the debates of that time in the Egyptian press. It noted the translation of his book by Mirza Yusuf Khan I'tisam al-Mulk into Persian, its publication in Tabriz, and its favorable reception in Iran, expressing regret that in Iran, unlike other Islamic countries, nothing but talk had come of it all.<sup>93</sup>

As in Egypt, as Omnia Shakry shows (chapter 4 in this volume), the conceptual shifts in meaning of "wife" and "mother" found their more immediate effect in projections of a new kind of mother and wife in texts on child rearing. One such text was *Tarbiat-i atfal* (Rearing of children).<sup>94</sup> Whereas there were no assumptions in the premodern texts that the biological mother and the breast-feeder of the child should be one and the same person (in fact, the child

was to be entrusted to a wet nurse upon birth), the author of *Tarbiat-i atfal* argues that "a mother who entrusts her child to someone else upon birth has taken away from herself half of the label 'mother' and should thus not be called a mother. What is better and lovelier and more suitable than a mother looking after her own children? But some mothers prefer to leave this job to others and engage in useless leisure activities. This is the result of bad education that these mothers have received from their forebears."<sup>95</sup> The author regrets that mothers are ignorant of motherly skills and promises that if "women, instead of learning useless arts, would spend their time learning how to look after their children, how to dress them with ease and handle them safely, how to feed them to ensure their health, how to exercise them," soon wonderful results would emerge.<sup>96</sup>

While the mother, rather than the father, is now the person addressed in a text on the upbringing of children, the child remains a male child. She is to mother sons of the homeland (*abna'-i vatan*). After some introductory remarks about the relationship between physical and mental health, the author, quoting Montaigne, recommends that children should be kept away from things that would make them female-tempered and turn them into beautiful youth. They should instead become strong young men; if children were brought up in comfort and ease, they would not become men.<sup>97</sup>

The book is composed of three parts: on physical upbringing, mental upbringing, and on (wet) nurses. In chapter 1, we are told that the health of a newborn depends on things prior to birth, such as the state of intercourse between husband and wife, the conditions of marriage, their age, manners, and other qualities. Subsequent chapters give advice to pregnant women on how they should dress, eat, move, wash, and bathe, on the state of their feeling, and on sexual intercourse during pregnancy. Other chapters cover in detail such topics as hygiene of the newborn, effects of cold and heat on the newborn, clothing of the newborn, how to put it to sleep, and feeding the baby (the differences between human milk and that of cow, goat, or donkey, the amount of milk and for how long the baby should be breast-fed, the effect on their milk of what mothers and wet nurses eat, the effect of their menstruation, the effect of sexual intercourse, of pregnancy, of anxiety and nervous conditions on milk, how to tell good and bad milk apart). Five chapters are devoted to arguing why, for the mother, the child, the family, and the nation—and on no less than physiological, emotional, and moral grounds—it is best for the child to be nursed by the mother. The next four chapters cover the qualities of a mother who wants to breast-feed her own baby. Mixed feeding receives a one-page chapter, poor mothers and difficulties of infants in suckling one each, before a concluding chapter brings this long subsection to a close.

Despite such detailed persuasions and exhortations, the author concedes that some mothers may not be able to breast-feed their own infants; in such cases

hiring a wet nurse is preferable to artificial feeding. A wet nurse should be brought in, rather than the infant's being sent out. Other chapters cover artificial feeding (a very last resort), bowel movements, urination, perspiration, and monitoring the child's weight, teething, weaning the baby, walking, exercising, and taking the child outdoors, smallpox vaccination and other childhood diseases, and how to deal with a child's death.

Book 2 is devoted to the mental upbringing of the child (*tarbiat-i 'aqlani*). Reiterating the advantages of a child's growing up on mother's milk and father's kindness, instead of being sent away for a couple of years to a village wet nurse, the author emphasizes that even if the child is entrusted to a wet nurse for physical care, the mother must remain in charge of mental care and intellectual development.<sup>98</sup> Again unlike the *Nasirean Ethics*, which assumed that the father was in charge of the child's upbringing, this section of the book is addressed to the mother. A third book discusses the issue of whether children should be brought up with other children or individually. A chapter on crèches for working mothers has been omitted in the translation, the translator notes, since it was not seen as relevant to the conditions of Iran. The translator finally brings the book to a close by reminiscing about his own mother.<sup>99</sup>

The publication of a book of this genre marked an important moment: the moment of entry of the printed words of male authors (a European author mediated through the Iranian translator) and modernist reformers into a domain that had been largely oral and female. Previously, advice on child rearing had been passed orally among women, mothers and daughters, wet nurses and nannies, sisters, female friends, and neighbors. The entry of male-authored texts into this female domain began to regularize mothering practices toward the upbringing of new men, men of the nation.

These early themes, the crafting of a new kind of mother and of a new kind of wife, and the accompanying proposition that the progress of the nation depended on the education of women, were echoed in articles in the constitutionalist press of the first decade of the twentieth century. The following passage from the constitutionalist journal *Adalat* combines many of the oft-repeated arguments in favor of women's education:

It is evident that the progress and prosperity of every country and nation are dependent in general on science and the knowledge of men and in particular on the education of women. . . . If our women [*pardagian*—the veiled ones] are not educated, how can they take proper care of our newborn who are the hope of our dear homeland? How can they know the correct rules of nursing the child, that is, the three ways of natural nursing, artificial feeding and the proper combination of both? How will they know how many times and how much daily they must feed the child and how to organize the child's sleep time, how to bathe it and keep it tidy and clean? And should it become necessary to entrust these fruits of our

hearts to nannies, how will they know what the shape and face and hair and teeth and milk and age and breast of the nanny they choose should be like? How will they know when it is time to wean a child? What proper food to give it? . . . Doesn't a man who is sensitive and thinks dearly about his religion and homeland deserve a companion who shares his grief and comfort? . . . Also if our women continue to be ignorant, how can they manage the affairs of the household? . . . If they know nothing about hygiene, how can they nurse the sick?<sup>100</sup>

It was in the same period that the establishment of new schools for girls gained momentum.<sup>101</sup>

#### MOTHERS OF THE NATION CLAIMING CITIZENSHIP

By the first decade of the century, women had taken charge of girls' education, wrote tirelessly in the press on female education, encouraged women of means to put their resources into this cause, organized fund-raising events, and provided free schooling for those who could not afford it. The early girls' schools were all established by women and often in their own residences. Many of them faced hostility. Memoirs and letters of some of the women involved provide us with moving accounts of the difficulties they faced in this pioneering work.<sup>102</sup> The issue of women's education became one of the bones of contention between pro- and anticonstitutionalist forces. Shaykh Fazl Allah Nuri (discussed in Sullivan's essay, chapter 6, this volume), a prominent anti-constitutionalist cleric, saw "the opening of schools for women's education and elementary schools for young girls," along with "spread of houses of prostitution," as one of the breaches in Islamic law perpetrated by constitutionalists.<sup>103</sup> This statement was construed as the Shaykh's fatwa against women's education and was used to agitate for the closing down of the new educational establishments. Women educationalists voiced the most articulate defenses of girls' schools in this debate. Addressing Shaykh Fazl Allah Nuri directly, one woman essayist took him to task on his religious credentials. She insisted that her God, unlike his, was just and had not created men and women of different essences such that one deserved the blessings of education and the other was to remain bestial; that the Prophet of her God had made it obligatory for all Muslim men and women to seek education, whereas his God had forbidden women to seek education. She challenged him to name a single woman close to the Prophet who was illiterate or ignorant, and interrogated his right to speak in the name of *shari'a* (Islamic law), going on to defend the structure and curriculum of modern schools over traditional *maktabs*, explaining the benefits of education for women, and eventually concluding that nothing in Islam opposed women's education. Unless he could answer all her arguments, he would have to admit that he had spoken thoughtlessly.<sup>104</sup>

In the women's writings of this period, both the general discourse of progress and civilization and the more particular notion of women's roles as educated mothers, wives, and household managers were employed not only to insist on their right to education but as a jumping-off point for demands for further equality with men: If the backward nation could catch up with European civilized nations through the acquiring of modern sciences and education, as the modernist discourse upheld, the backward woman could catch up with the modern man in a similar move, women authors argued. A female teacher of one of the new girls' schools wrote, "What is the difference between women of Iran and those of Europe except for science? Why is it that women of Europe are on a par with men or are even superior to them?"<sup>105</sup> Connecting the modernist theme of the centrality of science to the progress of nations, a female school principal similarly argued:

The key to the treasure of prosperity in both worlds . . . is science alone. Through science alone humanity can succeed in satisfying its needs and pushing forward its civilization. Its principles of ethical purification, home management, and politics could be based only on science. And solely through science can it protect its honor, property, life, and religion. . . . It was through science that they [Europeans] took away Turkistan and the Caucasus from us;<sup>106</sup> it was through the force of science that India, with such glory and with some 260 million inhabitants . . . was separated from us. The same with Egypt, Greece, Crete, Sicily, Spain, etc. . . . Through science they have swallowed more than half of Iran, the true birthland of ourselves and our forefathers, and they intend to take away the rest. . . .

Perhaps some may think that the Europeans are not of our kind, and therefore to think of becoming their equal is impossible. First, this is utterly false. . . . Second, even if that were true, what do you say about the Japanese? At least we should follow our Asian sisters, the Japanese, . . . in pursuing sciences and acquiring industries. It must be emphasized that educating women is more important than educating men, since the education of men is dependent on education of women and their caretakers. Therefore, you respected women must seriously and with great effort seek sciences and spread knowledge . . . so that liberty, equality, and fraternity can be established in our homeland and we too can acquire that civilization and life that the Europeans have.<sup>107</sup>

Claiming oneself as a new kind of mother and wife was the crucial link in these arguments:

Because of the duties of a woman to mother and educate humanity, the harms of ignorance are a hundredfold worse for them and the advantages of learning a thousand times greater. A learned woman will keep her house clean and orderly, thus making her spouse happy. A learned woman will educate her child according to rules of health and hygiene and wisdom. . . . A learned woman will protect her

family relationship and will prevent discord and difference, which is the greatest cause of destruction of family and nation. . . . A learned woman can advise her spouse in some worldly affairs. . . . A learned woman can increase her spouse's happiness when he is happy and console him when he is sad.<sup>108</sup>

Daughters of Shams al-Ma'ali, founders of two schools for girls, explained in a letter to the journal *Iran-i naw* that they had decided to establish these schools so that "in the future, every household is headed by a learned lady who knows well household management, child rearing, sewing, cooking, and cleaning, and from whose breast milk love of homeland will be fed to the infants so that they shall be deserving of service and sacrifice."<sup>109</sup>

The trope of family was sometimes used analogically (the country is like a family), sometimes as a unit that went into the composition of the country ("the prosperity of every city and country is dependent on the order and prosperity of its homes. . . . if there is order and progress in every home, a city will progress and become civilized and wealthy"). Both were put to work in support of women's education: "Progress, prosperity, and the order of every home are dependent upon [a nation's] women. . . . Until women are educated, progress and civilization of the country are impossible."<sup>110</sup>

What has been subsequently categorized as a "discourse of domesticity"—that is, the vast literature on scientific housekeeping, child rearing, and husband keeping that was produced at the turn of the century by both male and female writers—and from a late-twentieth-century viewpoint may seem to have frustrated the perspectives of women's lives and contained their social advance, for women of the early twentieth century provided the very grounds upon which the male domain of modern education could be opened up to women: women needed to be educated in all these sciences of household management in order for families to prosper and for the country to become civilized.<sup>111</sup> Women's assuming the position of the learned (*mudabbir va mudir*) manager and head of the household (*manzil*)—instead of being part of the household subject to the management of the man—far from frustrating the dynamics of women's movement into public life and national recognition provided the empowering basis for it. That this move also produced the later containment of women's drive toward higher education became evident in the 1930s when the issue of university education for women was debated and those opposing it used these arguments against women's admission to universities.<sup>112</sup> But that is a much later episode of the story and for that reason, I would argue, that categorization of the literature which scripted a new concept of woman centered on notions of scientific household management, learned mothering, and educated husband keeping as a discourse of domesticity or cult of domesticity is a misnomer that prevents us from understanding why women embraced these notions in the first place.

The literature on scientific household management achieved its full development in the pages of the women's press. The first women's journal was in fact named *Danish* (Knowledge). Edited by Dr. Kahhal, a woman ophthalmologist with an active practice,<sup>113</sup> it began publication in September 1910, with a banner that read: "This is an ethical journal of the science of housekeeping, child rearing, husband keeping; useful for girls' and women's moral development. It will not say a word on national politics." Many articles were devoted to household management<sup>114</sup> (including discussion of how to manage servants—a topic that occupied an even more prominent place in the pages of Iran's second women's journal, *Shukufah*), husband management,<sup>115</sup> child rearing,<sup>116</sup> and children's health and hygiene.<sup>117</sup>

Though later issues began to run articles on how to look after one's clothes and hair, and information on cosmetics, the emphasis for sustaining one's marriage was put on education.<sup>118</sup> "A girl educated in Europe," praised the "new situation of women." In the old days, she argued, women had no education and had no status in their husband's eyes unless they were young and beautiful; now educated women had many good qualities. One good moral outcome of this situation was that husband and wife now lived together in affection and did not look at other people. What a big mistake it had been when women sought their place in their husband's heart through making up their faces and putting on fancy clothes, instead of paying attention to educating their children and housekeeping. It was in fact knowledge and good qualities that a husband never tired of, not good looks and fancy clothes. She exhorted her dear sisters who were already educated to continue seeking knowledge and not to waste their lives. She urged them to be equal to their husbands, at least in education. They should not think that having pleasant manners and a kind tongue could guarantee his love. A wife should be a friend and companion to her husband; that is, in every work and every matter she should be a help to him. But how could an uneducated wife give help to her husband?<sup>119</sup>

By this time both male and female authors placed higher national priority on girls' education than on boys' education, or even on the development of a body of new law, the issue that had occupied the center of modernist discourse a few decades earlier: "The progress, uplifting, and civilization of every nation, every country, is dependent on three things: first, the education of girls; second, science; third, law. . . . The education of girls, which is the first step for prosperity and the first step for uplifting, is far more important than the other two, since it is girls and women from whom sons and daughters come and by whom they are educated until they are of school age."<sup>120</sup>

As I have already indicated, discussion of these issues was used not to contain and frustrate women's activity but to effect it. For instance, women were told that "if a woman is illiterate, she should pursue literacy immediately, because only if she can read the newspapers will she know everything and be able to communicate effectively with her husband."<sup>121</sup>

Though earlier articles were sometimes addressed to both mothers and nannies, the emphasis was decidedly on biological mothers' nurturing their children and using nannies only as a last resort. An article in the third issue of the journal was devoted to all the physical, moral, and political ills that ensue from entrusting one's child to a nanny.<sup>122</sup> Mothers were told to avoid giving their unique (*yiganah*) child to a stranger (*biganah*) nanny; the child must receive nourishment from the breast of mother's love.<sup>123</sup> Much was made of the goodness of the mother's milk and of the dirty/impure milk of a nanny who lived an unhygienic life. The author described a child whose eyes developed a twisted condition because the nanny had twisted eyes, a Persian prince who drank camel's milk and rode camels all his life because he had been entrusted to an Arab lady in childhood, an honorable lady who was incontinent all her life because her nanny had been so and she had inherited the disability from her,<sup>124</sup> and the foul language that children pick up from their nannies.<sup>125</sup> The article ended with a list of conditions to set and qualities to look for should one have no recourse but to entrust the child to a nanny.<sup>126</sup>

Perhaps even more than *Danish*, the journal *Shukufah*, begun in 1914, was oriented toward production of a new type of mother and envisaged new marital relationships. *Shukufah* was edited by Muzayyan al-Saltanah, herself an active educationalist who established three elementary schools and one vocational school for girls during the same period as she was publishing *Shukufah*. She also served as a kind of inspector ("investigative reporter") of girls' schools in Tehran in that period. She would visit schools and write reports in the pages of *Shukufah* about the students and the quality of teaching.

Article after article in the pages of *Shukufah* advised women to forget all the nonsense that their mothers and grandmothers had taught them about how to keep their husbands. To become a woman of modernity was a learning process that demanded an unlearning, a de-constitution, of womanhood.<sup>127</sup> Women were told that they should consider the house their kingdom to run. All the important qualities necessary for running the affairs of a country, such as the basics of humanity, honesty, trustworthiness, hygiene, working hard, valuing time, seeking knowledge, resistance in the face of hardship, avoiding bad manners, were learned in childhood, argued Maliktaj. If there was a woman who taught these to her children, then you knew for certain that the affairs of that country would fare well and the country would advance, and vice versa.<sup>128</sup> Muzayyan al-Saltanah also demonstrated a concern about regularization of schools' curriculum and put great emphasis on schools as the place for ethical and moral development of young girls.<sup>129</sup> Though the journal continued *Danish's* tradition of publishing series of articles on women's as well as children's health and hygiene, a growing number of articles were concerned with women's moral development, demonstrating a clear anxiety over the direction of changes that were becoming evident in women's social performance.<sup>130</sup>

The new schools were constituted as the social space for development of moral behavior, and for learning the sciences of cooking, sewing, child care, and husband management. A special curriculum was thus developed for the scientization of household affairs (*umur-i baytiyah*); it included courses on home management, education of children, hygiene, fine arts and crafts, and cooking. Textbooks were also produced with this orientation in mind. *Tarbiat al-bunat* (The education of girls), for instance, one of the texts prepared for the new girls' schools, was translated from the French by Mirza 'Azizallah Khan, with the express intent of its becoming a second-grade textbook. It was published in 1905, and by 1911 it was already into its second printing. The book, subtitled "The Science of Home Management," is organized in six parts (twenty lessons). It begins with a definition of this science, "on which the happiness and prosperity of every family depends,"<sup>131</sup> and goes on to explain why, despite possible popular cynicism, home management is a science and ought to be taught and learned as such. The book ends with a dozen recipes for French soups and other food. It gives examples of positive and negative repercussions for the lives of families with learned versus illiterate housewives, defines the necessary characteristics of a competent housewife as order, competence, and cleanliness, and projects three female character types among housewives. The first is disorderly and careless. Named Lady Pleasure ('Ishrat Khanum), she is wasteful of her own efforts and her husband's property, and spends her time chatting away with other women of the neighborhood. The second, Lady Agreeable (Bihjat Khanum), strives to be a good housewife, draws upon her traditional know-how to do her best, but is disorderly because she has never properly learned how to run a household. The third, who is held up as an exemplar, knows how to categorize and to label things properly, to keep a budget book, and to organize her time efficiently, and thus is able to finish her chores before her husband and children return home. When they are back, she busies herself with some light sewing, or reading a book, or keeping her husband company. Unlike Lady Pleasure, who spends her time in idle conversation with other women—a disapproved female social activity—the exemplary woman is oriented toward companionship with her husband. Significantly, she is named Lady Chaste ('Ismat Khanum), transmitting chastity through the new science to the modern educated woman.<sup>132</sup>

Thus was crafted the new woman: the scientific mother and the companionate wife, the learned woman versed in the sciences of cooking, sewing, and breast-feeding. Of such woman, ministers, state scribes, doctors, and professors would be born, not porters and mean fortune-tellers.<sup>133</sup> She would not only produce better children; she would also prevent her man from behaving badly, "as American women have stopped their men from drinking and obstinacy."<sup>134</sup>

The school curriculum included, in addition to the science of homemaking, lessons on hygiene and the introduction of sports and gymnastics. The desirability of the latter now began to be linked to a critique of veiling. In a graduation address focused on the science of hygiene, Badr al-Dujá Khanum, graduating from the American College for Girls, expressed her regret that because of veiling Iranian women had been deprived in recent centuries of engaging in sports, and thus it was not surprising that most Iranian women were weak and unhealthy.<sup>135</sup>

Later, in the 1920s, we come across a new genre, the rules of etiquette (*adab-i mu'ashirat*): texts of initiation that were designed to teach women how to interact properly with unfamiliar men. Once these were learned, it was imagined that woman would be ready to step into a heterosocial arena without undermining the social and cultural order:

The words *chastity* and *honor* are not in the vocabulary of creation. A woman is not born chaste; she becomes the protector and the policer of her chastity. Until women learn the duty of policing and guarding themselves, freedom will create irreparable damage for their womanly delicacy and feminine pride. Therefore we must teach self-policing. Freedom will follow. . . . In Europe and the free countries, in parks and promenades, one rarely sees a man gazing at a woman or a woman paying any attention [to a man], unless they have made their chastity and honor their means of livelihood. . . . A good policer is a woman who does not allow those who are seeking to deceive and use her to utter a single impolite or improper word. . . . Once women are shown the ways of policing, that is, the rules and etiquette of women's socializing with men, then freedom and sharing life between women and men will follow without any hindrance.<sup>136</sup>

I want to emphasize here again the enabling work of two seemingly conflicting notions: one disciplinary, the other emancipatory. It was the moment of "freedom and sharing life" with men that made the self-policing not only a workable but a desirable project for women. And, conversely, the new disciplinary and regulatory practices and concepts defined the acceptable social space for freedom for the modern woman. The success of this double work made her place in the nation possible. She would be ready to become a citizen. In fact it was within the space of the girls' schools that women had already begun to constitute themselves as citizens from the time of the Constitutional Revolution. Following the then popular pattern of forming associations, women formed their own associations, held meetings, and gave fund-raising "garden parties" to raise funds for the government and for girls' schools.<sup>137</sup> Forming such associations had itself become an expression of citizenship. Girls' schools, often private residences of prominent women, were at once places of learning and venues for such meetings. Thus women were constituting at once a new individual self through literacy and a new social self through patriotic

(*vatani*) political activities. As “managers of the house,” they were beginning to transform “the house” into a social space of citizenship.

Women in these meetings spoke as citizens, as “we Iranians,” addressed the general political problems facing the country, and often bemoaned the disadvantages that deprived them of the chance to be of more help to the homeland. Not only did women make a claim to the rights of citizenship, but they sometimes proved their concern as citizens by challenging the ability of men to run the Constitutional regime.<sup>138</sup>

In fact, the first cautious claims to equality made by women were formulated within the educational domain. “I take up the pen to complain greatly about fathers and husbands of Iranian girls. Why do they not know yet that woman and man in this world are like the two wheels of a carriage: they must be equal, neither having any privilege over the other. If one of the two wheels of a carriage is deficient, it will be impossible for it to move,” wrote Shahnaz Azad. This precarious claim to equality was immediately modified in these terms: “It should be evident that by equality I mean equality in education and learning of sciences, not in any other matter.”<sup>139</sup>

Another woman, Shams Kasma’i was more daring. In a poem sent to *Shukufah* from Ashkabad, she called upon her sisters to educate themselves in order to cure all their deficiencies, to use their power of speech, reason, and rationality to conquer the whole world, to set fire to all superstitions, to tear asunder the veil of oppression, and to prove the equality of their rights with men through their words, their deeds, and all their power.<sup>140</sup>

This poem could well be the first pronouncement of the language of equality of rights, of a new kind of modern feminism, in Iran. The new-mother and wife had begun to make a different claim to womanhood. These new claims eventually came to clash with the limits set by the former discourse, as I have pointed out. This clash came to the fore in the context of the new round of “educational debates” of the 1930s. Did women need to go to higher education institutes? Was not the goal of their education to become better mothers and wives? What were they going to do with their higher diplomas then? These arguments were advanced against women’s entry to upper grades of high school and later university education. Having been entrapped by the very discourse that had opened up education to them in the first place, women now opted to enlarge their notion of “domestic duties” to mean national service. The new home to whose management they now began to lay a claim was no longer their conjugal household but the national home, Iran. Women’s embrace of Riza Shah’s agenda in the 1930s can thus be seen as not a “selling out” of women’s cause to the increasingly powerful state; rather, Riza Shah’s program of constructing the citizen as a servant of the state—*nawkar-i dawlat*—provided the possibility for women to break out of the trap of what can now indeed be named domesticity. They could claim their right to higher education and to many professions in the name of service to the state. Having mothered the nation,

they could now serve the state. Again, one can see both disciplinary and emancipatory dynamics in this scenario: appropriation of the notion of servant of the state enabled women to claim their right to higher education and professions while subjecting those rights to regulations, demands, and agendas of the state—a legacy that marked the Iranian women’s movement during the Pahlavi era.

## NOTES

An earlier draft of this paper benefited from presentations in seminars at Georgetown University and New York University. I would like to thank Yvonne Haddad and Tim Mitchell for providing me with those opportunities. Work on this paper was carried out in 1994–95, during my year as a visiting fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton—an occasion that provided me with a unique working environment. Special thanks to Joan W. Scott who made that year intellectually challenging and supportive, and to Lila Abu-Lughod, Elizabeth Frierson, Yvonne Haddad, Mary Poovey, and Tim Mitchell for stimulating conversations and critical comments. I would also like to thank the readers for Princeton University Press for helpful comments.

1. Beth Baron, *The Women’s Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Afsaneh Najmabadi, “Veiled Discourse—Unveiled Bodies,” *Feminist Studies* 19, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 487–518.

2. See Baron, *Women’s Awakening*, p. 67: “An ideology of womanhood emerged from the early women’s press that reinforced women’s roles as mother, wife, and homemaker.” And Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation*, p. 63: “Education for girls was quickly harnessed to the cult of domesticity; it was put to the service of elevating women’s family roles, especially that of mother.”

3. See, for instance, Nasir al-Din Tusi, *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, ed. Mujtabá Minuvi and ‘Aliriza Haydari (Tehran: Khwarazmi, 1978), a thirteenth-century C.E. text. English translation: Nasir ad-Din Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, trans. G. M. Wickens (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964); Jalal al-Din Dawwani, *Akhlaq-i Jalali*, a fifteenth-century C.E. text (Lucknow: n.p., 1957); Muhsin Fani Kashmiri, *Akhlaq-i ‘alamara: akhlaq-i muhsini*, ed. Kh. Javidi (Islamabad: Pakistan and Iran Center for Persian Studies, 1983), a seventeenth-century C.E. text. For a discussion of ethics in Islamic premodern writings, see R. Walzer and H.A.R. Gibbs, “Akhlaq,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed., pp. 325–29; and F. Rahman, “Aklaq,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, pp. 719–23. See Avner Gil’adi, *Children of Islam: Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society* (London: Macmillan, 1992), p. 4, on the Greek origins of some of the important ethical, psychological, and pedagogical notions in these texts.

4. A note of clarification is warranted here. Although the books of ethics that I draw upon range from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, I am not presuming that the discourse on ethics remained unchanged in this period. A study of the historical transformations of the ethical discourse for this period is beyond the scope of this essay, and my arguments here do not depend on it. My use of *The Nasirean Ethics*, for instance,

is a recognition that this text had acquired a "model for imitation" status. Later texts took a great deal, in many cases verbatim reproduction of large sections and arguments, from this text and modeled their rhetorical and formal structures upon it. This does not mean that the discourse, much less child-rearing practices, remained identical. Some of these differences I will note in the text. Beyond these differences, however, it is their common assumptions that concern me here.

5. Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 161, *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, p. 215; see also Fani Kashmiri, *Akhlaq-i 'alamara*, p. 127.

6. Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 161, *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, pp. 215–16; see also Fani Kashmiri, *Akhlaq-i 'alamara*, p. 128.

7. Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 162; *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, p. 217. We are also told that "[t]he philosophers have said that a worthy wife will take on the role of mother, friend and mistress." (Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 164; *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, p. 219.) In *Akhlaq-i 'alamara*, the third point in the regulation of a wife is significantly different: that the husband should treat his wife's relatives with respect and that he should not, without good cause, hurt her by bringing in another wife: "The relation of man to *manzil* (household? wife?) is like that of heart to body. A man cannot be manager (*mudabbir*) of two *manzils*, in the same way that one heart cannot be source of life for two bodies." (Fani Kashmiri, *Akhlaq-i 'alamara*, p. 131.)

8. See Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, pp. 166–67; *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, p. 222; see also Fani Kashmiri, *Akhlaq-i 'alamara*, p. 136. Fani Kashmiri prefaced this section by emphasizing that the child was given in trust by God to father and mother and that God held both responsible for the child's upbringing (p. 135). Yet by the end of this paragraph the plural subject becomes singular and masculine (in his recitation of Arabic narratives). He also considered a wet nurse preferable to mother for the care of child (p. 136).

9. Persian does not have distinct pronouns for "he" and "she," and the words used for "child" in these writings, *farzand* and *kudak*, could refer to either a girl or a boy; that is, there is no linguistic sign to designate the child as a boy; I have followed the authors' own later textual disambiguation in using the pronoun "he" to designate the child, since at the end of this section, after all has been said about the child's tutoring, chastisement, encouragement, skills he needs to learn, qualities he needs to acquire, Tusi, for instance, concludes: "So much for the chastisement of children. In the case of daughters, one must employ, in the selfsame manner, whatever is appropriate and fitting to them. They should be brought up to keep close to the house and live in seclusion, cultivating gravity, continence, modesty and the other qualities we have enumerated in the chapter on Wives. They should be prevented from learning to read or write, but allowed to acquire such accomplishments as are commendable in women. When they reach the bounds of maturity they should be joined to one of equal standing." (Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 173; *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, pp. 229–30.) For a similar close, see Fani Kashmiri, *Akhlaq-i 'alamara*, p. 141. The textual place of this one paragraph displays the "supplementarity" of "daughter" to "child" in this ethical discourse.

10. Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, p. 179; *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, pp. 237–38.

11. Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani, *Sad khatabah*, MS in Edward G. Browne Collection, Cambridge University Library. Sections of *Sad khatabah* concerned with Kirmani's views on women were published in *Nimeye Digar*, no. 9 (Spring 1989): 101–12. Quotation from *Sad khatabah*, p. 126b; in *Nimeye Digar*, p. 103. For Kirmani's life and an

analytical survey of his writings, see Firaydun Adamiyat, *Andishah'ha-yi Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani* (Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani's thoughts) (Tehran: Payam, 1978).

12. Kirmani, *Sad khatabah*, p. 127b; in *Nimeye Digar*, p. 103.

13. Kirmani, *Sad khatabah*, p. 156b. The third school was the religion of the people, which explained why Jews, Christians, and Muslims were different in character. The fourth was the government; Kirmani argued that people under oppressive governments developed differently from those under just governments. And finally, the fifth school was the climate and natural circumstances of the land. (*Sad khatabah*, p. 128a; in *Nimeye Digar*, p. 103.)

14. The reference to "mourning sessions" concerns the many shi'ite rituals of mourning the tragic misfortunes of the eleven *imams*, 'Ali and his male descendants, the most important of which are the Muharram rituals commemorating the battle of Karbala in c.E. 680 in which Husayn and his followers were killed by Yazid's army.

15. Kirmani, *Sad khatabah*, pp. 149b, 150a and b, and 151a.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 95b.

17. On the significance of this shift in self-constitution for the emergence of nineteenth-century Iranian modernism, see Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, "The Formation of Two Revolutionary Discourses in Modern Iran: The Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1906 and the Islamic Revolution of 1978–1979" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1988).

18. Kirmani, *Sad khatabah*, p. 128b; in *Nimeye Digar*, p. 104.

19. Kirmani, *Sad khatabah*, pp. 128b and 129a; in *Nimeye Digar*, p. 104.

20. The modernist writings on gender also mark the heterosexualization of love. Love in classical Perso-Islamic literature is often male homoerotic. This is reflected not only in the celebration of male-male love couples, such as Mahmud and Ayaz, but also in books of advice with separate chapters on love and marriage, where in the former chapters the beloved is male, and issues of marriage and love, unlike the case in the later modernist discourse, are constructed as belonging to different domains. See, for instance, 'Unsur al-Ma'ali, *Qabusnamah*, ed. Ghulamhusayn Yusufi (Tehran: Jibi, 1974), chap. 14 (pp. 100–106), "On Love," and chap. 26 (pp. 144–46), "On Seeking a Wife." With the heterosexualization of love and the romanticization of marriage, homosexuality came to be viewed as a debased expression of sexual appetite that resulted from sexual segregation and the unavailability of women to men. On modernist judgment of premodern homoerotic love, see Nasrallah Purjavadi, "Badah-i 'ishq," *Nashr-i danish* 12, no. 2 (February–March 1992): 6–15, where he speaks of the love of Mahmud for Ayaz as "morally the most filthy (*aludah'tarin*) of loves" (p. 8). On similar developments within Turkish modernity, see Deniz Kandiyoti, "Afterword," in this volume.

21. Kirmani, *Sad khatabah*, pp. 135a through 138a; in *Nimeye Digar*, pp. 109–12.

22. Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani and Shaykh Ahmad Ruhi, *Hasht bihisht* (n.p., n.d.). On the significance of Babism for the emergence of Iranian modernity, see Mangol Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent: Socioreligious Thought in Qajar Iran* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1982).<sup>1</sup>

23. Kirmani and Ruhi, *Hasht bihisht*, p. 9. Later in the text, on p. 122, this prohibition is modified: women can talk to strange men, but no more than twenty-eight words, and only when matters of necessity arise.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 121.



25. For a similar shift in turn-of-the-century Lebanon, within the context of the socioeconomic transformations there, see Akram Fouad Khater, "'House' to 'Goddess of the House': Gender, Class, and Silk in Nineteenth-Century Mount Lebanon," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no. 3 (August 1996): 325–48.
26. Kirmani and Ruhi, *Hasht bihisht*, p. 122. The word "decree" (*hukm*), refers to Babi religious edicts.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
29. On premodern educational institutions and concepts of knowledge, see Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). See also his "Women and Islamic Education," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 143–57, for a discussion of premodern Islamic education of women.
30. My arguments in this essay are greatly influenced by the writings of Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi. See "Refashioning Iran," *Iranian Studies* 23, nos. 1–4 (1990): 77–101, and "The Formation of Two Revolutionary Discourses." In particular, I take from his writings the importance and meaning of conceptual shifts in notions such as science/knowledge, nation, and politics in nineteenth-century Iran.
31. Kirmani, *Sad khatabah*, pp. 94 through 98; quotation from 97a.
32. See, for instance, Zayn al-Din al-'Amili al-Jaba'i, *Munyat al-Murid* (a sixteenth-century C.E. text), trans. Muhammad Baqir Sa'idi Khurasani (n.p.: Intisharat-i 'ilmiyah Islamiyah, 1950), p. 30, on division of knowledgeable people (*danishmandan*) into three categories: *'alim bi-allah*, *'alim bi amr-allah*, and *'alim bi-allah and amr-allah*.
33. On changes in concepts of *ta'lim* and *tarbiat* as pertains to Egypt, see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Omnia Shakry, "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play: Child Rearing in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt," chap. 4 in this volume. For Morocco, see Dale F. Eickelman, *Knowledge and Power in Morocco: The Education of a Twentieth-Century Notable* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). See also Margot Badron, "From Consciousness to Activism: Feminist Politics in Early Twentieth Century Egypt," in *Problems of the Middle East in Historical Perspective*, ed. John Spagnolo (London: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 27–48.
34. It began publication in 1896 and was devoted to the idea that the contemporary differences among nations had nothing to do with any innate differences but arose from different educational regimes. ("Opening Remarks [*Aghaz-i sukhan*]," *Tarbiat*, no. 1 [December 17, 1896]: 1–3.) It advocated that "[a]ny nation that sees itself behind any other nation is obligated by requirements of humanity . . . to race after education and to go with its head instead of its feet [that is, to move at top speed] on the path of civilization to catch up with the caravan that has gone ahead of it." (*Tarbiat*, untitled lead article in no. 2 [December 24, 1896]: 1–4; quotation from p. 1).
35. *Tarbiat*, lead article dubbed a parenthetical remark (*jumlah-i mu'tarizah*) to clarify some points and avoid misunderstandings, in no. 4 (January 7, 1897): 1–4; quotation from p. 1.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
37. Kirmani and Ruhi, *Hasht bihisht*, p. 139.
38. *Tarbiat*, no. 42 (September 30, 1897): 3; in Persian it reads, "*har kah nakhwanad*

- chah danad va har kah nadanad chah tavanad?*" This represents an extension of the chain between power and knowledge, as expressed in the well-known verse from Firdawsi—"whosoever is knowledgeable, he shall be a capable person" (*tavana buvad har kah dana buvad*)—to link knowledge and reading.
39. See Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1982).
40. See Mary Carruthers, *Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
41. I would like to thank Jonathan Berkey for helpful conversations about this point. Further confirmation appears in the entries in biographical dictionaries on blind scholars, some born blind. See Fedwa Malti-Douglas, "*Mentalités* and Marginality: Blindness and Mamluk Civilization," in *The Islamic World: From Classical to Modern Times*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Charles Issawi, Roger Savory, and A. L. Udovitch (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1989), pp. 211–37. See also Dale F. Eickelman, "The Art of Memory: Islamic Education and Its Social Reproduction," in *Comparing Muslim Societies: Knowledge and the State in a World Civilization*, ed. Juan R. I. Cole (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), pp. 97–132.
42. "On Schools (*Makatib va madaris*)," no. 48 (November 11, 1897): 2.
43. Zhiniral Mirza Taqi Khan Kashani, *Tarbiat: namah'ist dar qava'id-i ta'lim va tarbiat-i atfal* (Education: An essay on rules of training and educating children) (Isfahan: Dar al-taba'ah-i farhang, 1881), p. 47.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
46. Mahmud ibn Yusuf, *Ta'dib al-atfal* (n.p., 1876).
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 6–10.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–17.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 110–19.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 185–209. Much of the educational writing in Persian from this period on was closely linked with the French educational debates and texts of the time.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 197, and 201.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 203–4.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 206–7.
56. Miftah al-Mulk Mahmud, *Ta'lim al-atfal* (Tehran: n.p., 1897), 1:5, 11, 21, 32, 42, and 96; 2:19, 32, 60, 105, and 117. In contrast, a depiction of a Qur'anic school has all the pupils sitting on the floor and the teacher in the act of caning a pupil (2:11).
57. *Ibid.*, 1:68–80 and 95–101.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 81–94 and 102–6; quotation from p. 105.
59. Untitled lead article, *Tarbiat*, no. 36 (August 19, 1897): 1–4; quotation from pp. 1–2.
60. *Tarbiat*, no. 40 (September 16, 1897): 2–4.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4. Comparison between women of Europe and Iranian women, including mention of different educational practices regarding men and women, went back at least to the late eighteenth century, to the travelogues written by Persian-speaking voyagers from India and Iran to Europe. In fact, this "travel literature" constituted

a central medium through which reconceptualizations of gender, including issues of women's education, took place. See Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, "Imagining Western Women: Occidentalism and Euro-eroticism," *Radical America* 24, no. 3 (July–September 1990): 73–87.

63. 'Abd al-Rahim ibn Abu Talib Tabrizi (Talibuf), *Kitab-i Ahmad ya safinah-i Talibi* (Istanbul: n.p., 1893). A second volume was subsequently published in 1894 (Istanbul: Matba'ah-i Khawrshid). A third volume was published under a different title, *Masa'il-i hayat* (Tiflis: Matba'ah-i Ghayrat, 1906).

64. Talibuf, *Kitab-i Ahmad*, 1:81.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 72; 2:4.

66. Talibuf, *Masa'il-i hayat*, p. 36.

67. For an English translation, see Qasim Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, trans. Samiha Sidhom Peterson (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1992). There is a large critical literature on Amin's works in English. See, for instance, Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Baron, *Women's Awakening*; Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation*; and essays by Lila Abu-Lughod and Omnia Shakry in this volume (chaps. 4 and 7). Here I am concerned with Amin's text, through its Persian translation, as a document within the educational debates of this time in Iran.

68. Yusuf Ashtiani, trans., *Tarbiat-i nisvan* (Tabriz: Matba'ah-i Ma'arif, 1900). A fuller translation was published later, translated by Muhazzib, "under instructions from the Ministry of Education," under the title *Zan va azadi* (Woman and liberty) (Tehran: Chapkhanah-i markazi, 1937). Muhazzib also translated Amin's *al-Mar'at al-jadida*, "under instructions from the Ministry of Education," under the title *Zan-i imruz* (Today's woman) (Tehran: Chapkhanah-i markazi, n.d.).

69. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, unnumbered initial pages. The titles he lists are: Amin's *Tahrir al-Mar'a*, *Falsafat al-zuwaj*, *al-Mar'a fi al-sharq* (Marqus Fahmi, 1894), *al-Mar'a fi qarn al-'ashrin*, and *al-Mar'a fi al-'usra*.

70. Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, p. 10.

71. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, p. 14.

72. For Talibuf's position, see Talibuf, *Kitab-i Ahmad*, 2:11, where the unveiling of women is seen as one of the ill consequences of falling under foreign Christian rule; and p. 34, where he refers to "the good custom of our women's *hijab*" ("*adat-i mamduhah-i hijab-i 'unas-i ma*").

73. The dichotomous division between traditionalist and modernist positions was consolidated during the Pahlavi period. In the early 1930s, under Riza Shah, all independent women's journals and organizations were replaced by a single state-sponsored organization, Ladies Center (*Kanun-i banuvan*, established in 1935). This was followed by the unveiling order in early 1936. The Ladies Center was officially under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, and schools and Tehran University were the sites where many of the initial unveiling experiments were carried out. It was these later political and cultural developments that consolidated the identity between women's rights and unveiling in the domain of the modern.

74. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, p. 12 (Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, p. 6).

75. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, p. 69 (Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, p. 75).

76. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, p. 63 (Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, pp. 63–64).

77. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, pp. 17–18 (Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, p. 12).

78. See, as an example, "The Incurable Pain of Being in the Hands of Ignorant Servants (*Dard-i bi'darman-i giriftari dar dast-i khadamah-i nadan*)," *Shukufah* 3, no. 9 (April 13, 1915): 2–3.

79. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, p. 69 (Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, p. 72).

80. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, p. 41 (Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, p. 23).

81. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, pp. 47–49 (Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, pp. 26–27).

82. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, p. 52 (Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, p. 28).

83. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, p. 29 (Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, p. 17).

84. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, p. 34 (Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, p. 20).

85. Ashtiani, *Tarbiat-i nisvan*, p. 35 (Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, p. 20).

86. See, for instance, the letter from Talibuf to I'tisam al-Mulk, dated 26 Sha'ban 1318 (December 15, 1900), reprinted in *Bahar*, nos. 9–10 (May–June 1911): 551–52.

87. See, for instance, "On Reforming the Condition of Schools in Iran (*Dar islah-i vaz'-i makatib-i Iran*)," *Parvarish* 1, no. 17 (October 15, 1900): 7–10; 'Abd al-Husayn, "Adventures in Europe (*Mukhatirat-i 'Urupa*)," *Parvarish* 1, no. 21 (November 16, 1900): 2–4; and the editorial essay (untitled) in *Ma'arif* 2, no. 34 (February 27, 1900): 3.

88. "An Essay Devoted to Education of Girls (*Maqalah-i makhsus dar ta'lim-i 'awrat*)," *Habl al-matin* 9, no. 12 (January 6, 1902): 16.

89. "An Essay Devoted to Education of Girls (*Maqalah-i makhsus dar ta'lim-i 'awrat*)," *Habl al-matin* 9, no. 16 (February 6, 1902): 5–7.

90. "An Essay Devoted to Education of Girls (*Maqalah-i makhsus dar ta'lim-i 'awrat*)," *Habl al-matin* 9, no. 17 (February 10, 1902): 15–16; quotation from p. 15.

91. *Ibid.*

92. *Ibid.*

93. "Rights and Liberties of Women (*Huquq al-mar'a va hurriyat al-nisvan*)," *Habl al-matin* 12, no. 38 (June 26, 1905): 12–14; no. 39 (July 3, 1905): 20–22; no. 43 (July 31, 1905): 6–7; no. 44 (August 7, 1905): 10–11.

94. Muhammad Tahir ibn Iskandar Mirza ibn 'Abbas Mirza, *Tarbiat-i atfal* (n.p., 1891).

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6. The class implication of this argument is worth noting. Women "of leisured classes" are assumed to engage in giving their infants to wet nurses. The practice, however, was much more widely in use. Though they did not hire professional wet nurses, women of other classes often breast-fed each other's infants, especially during the illness of a neighbor or a friend.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 234–35.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

100. "A Letter from the City (*Maktub-i shahri*)," *Adalat* (formerly *Hadid*) 2, no. 19 (November 23, 1906): 5–8. See also Sayyid Husayn, "On the Duties of the Real Teachers of Men, That Is, Women (*Dar farayiz-i murabbian-i haqiqi-i mardan ya'ni nisvan*)," *Hadid* 1, no. 13 (September 21, 1905): 4–6; "The Ill Effects of Ignorance of Mothers (*Vakhamat-i nadani-i madaran*)," *Hadid* 1, no. 15 (October 4, 1905): 2–3. Zia'allah, untitled article, *Hadid* 1, no. 20 (October 10, 1905): 5–6; Muhammad Riza, "Seeking Knowledge Is Incumbent upon Every Muslim Man and Woman (*Talab al-*

'ilm faridatun 'ala kull muslim wa muslima)," *Hadid* 2, no. 13 (September 12, 1906): 1-2; Na'mat'allah, "Family Life or Real Happiness (*Hayat-i 'a'ilah ya sa'adat-i haqiqi*)," *Adalat* 2, no. 43 (April 15, 1907): 8 and no. 44 (April 24, 1907): 5-8; Mu'avin al-Tujjar, "Letter from a Wise Person (*Maktub-i yaki az khiradmandan*)," *Adalat* 2, no. 46 (Rabi' al-awwal 1325; May 1907): 7-8; "School for Girls (*Madrasah-i bunat*)," *Vatan* 1, no. 1 (January 6, 1906): 3-4; "Education of Girls Is the Most Important Precondition of Civilization and Improvement of Ethics (*Tarbiat-i bunat shart-i a'zam-i tamaddun va tahzib-i akhlaq ast*)," *Subh-i sadiq* 2, no. 27 (March 8, 1908): 1-2; Vasiq al-Saltanah, "Seeking Knowledge Is Incumbent upon Every Muslim Man and Woman (*Talab al-'ilm faridatun 'ala kull muslim wa muslima*)," *Iran-i naw* 1, no. 56 (November 1, 1909): 4; Munir Mazandarani, "Seeking Knowledge Is Incumbent upon Every Muslim Man and Woman (*Talab al-'ilm faridatun 'ala kull muslim wa muslima*)," *Iran-i naw* 1, no. 91 (December 17, 1909): 1-2.

101. American Presbyterian missionaries had established a girls' school in 'Urumiyah in 1838. Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul opened schools for girls in 1865 in 'Urumiyah, Salmas, Tabriz, and Isfahan, and one in Tehran in 1875. In 1895 the American School for Girls was established in Tehran. Schools for girls were established by various religious denominations of Iran in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Armenian schools for girls were established in Tehran in 1870, in Qazvin in 1889, in Sultanabad in 1900, and in Isfahan in 1903. The first Jewish school for girls in Tehran, *Ittihad (Alians)*, was established in 1898, and in Kirman Zoroastrians established *'Unas-i Jamshidi* in 1902. *Tarbiat-i bunat* was established in 1911 by Baha'is in Tehran. The first Muslim school for girls on the new model is reported to have been established in Chalias near Kirman in 1897, but we know nothing more about this school. This was followed by *Parvarish* in 1903 in the residence of Hasan Rushdiyah with Tubá Rushdiyah (his sister-in-law) as its principal. This school was forced to close down within a short time because of the open hostility it faced. More lasting efforts came on the eve of the Constitutional Revolution (1906-9). *Mukhaddarat* was established in 1905, *Dushizigan* (by Bibi Khanum Astarabadi) and *Hurmatiyah-i sadat* in 1906, and in 1908 Tubá Azmudah opened *Namus*. The following years witnessed a rapid expansion of such schools in Tehran. Provincial capitals followed suit: *Bunat* was opened in Qazvin in 1908, *Bunat-i Islami* in Rasht in 1911, and *Fatimiyah* in Shiraz in 1920. The information on girls' schools has been extracted from newspaper reports of the period and from the following sources: Ministry of Education, Endowments, and Fine Arts (*Vizarat-i ma'arif va awqaf va sanayi'-i mustazrifah*), *Qavanin va nizam'namah'ha, ihsa'iyah-i madaris va makatib, a'za' va mustakhdimin* (for 1927), pp. 62, 74, 110, 112, 124, 130, 132, 142, 158, 162; "Brief History of Education (*Tarikhchah-i ma'arif*)," pt. 2, in *Ta'lim va tarbiat* 4, nos. 7-8 (October-November 1934): 459-64; Shams al-Din Rushdiyah, *Savanih-i 'umr* (Tehran: Nashr-i Tarikh-i Iran, 1983), p. 148; and Fakhri Qavimi, *Kar'namah-i zanan-i mashhur-i Iran* (Tehran: Vizarat-i Amuzish va Parvarish, 1973), pp. 128, 131, 142. By 1911, there were 47 schools for girls in Tehran with 2,187 students (compared with 78 for boys with 8,344 students). See Mustafá Mansur al-Saltanah, *Rapurt-i salianah dar bab-i ma'arif va ta'limat-i 'umumi: sanah-i 1328-29* (Tehran: Vizarat-i ma'arif va favayid-i 'ammah va awqaf, 1911), appended tables, no page number or table number. For more information on women's education and in particular the establishment of schools, see the forthcoming essays in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* on education.

102. See Qavimi, *Kar'namah*; Badr al-Muluk Bamdad, *Zan-i Irani az inqilab-i mashrutiyat ta inqilab-i sifid*, 2 vols. (Tehran: Ibn Sina, 1968, 1969) for some of these stories. For a contemporary account, see the letter by Bibi (Khanum Astarabadi), "Letter from a Woman (*Maktub-i yiki az nisvan*)," *Tamaddun* 1, no. 15 (May 7, 1907): 2-3. See also Mihrangiz Mallah and Afsaneh Najmabadi, eds., *Bibi Khanum Astarabadi and Khanum Afzal Vaziri* [in Persian] (New York and Bloomington, Ill.: Nigarish va nigارش-i zan, 1996).

103. Huma Rizvani, ed., *Lavayih-i Aqa Shaykh Faz'llah Nuri* (Tehran: Nashr-i tarikh-i Iran, 1983), pp. 28, and 62. Many other religious leaders, however, such as Hajj Mirza Hadi Dawlatabadi, father of Sadiqah Dawlatabadi (discussed by Sullivan, chap. 6 in this volume), Shaykh Hadi Najmabadi, father of Agha Baygum and Bibi Najmabadi, and Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Yazdi, husband of Safiyah Yazdi, supported the establishment of new schools for girls, and their own female family members were active educationalists.

104. "Essay from a Lady (*Layihah-i yaki az khavatin*)," *Habl al-matin* (Tehran) 1, no. 105 (September 1, 1907): 4-6. For another protest letter by a group of women, see "Grievance of Association of Women of Tehran to the Respected Association of Students (*Tazallum-i jama'at-i nisvan-i Tihran bah anjuman-i muhtaram-i ittihadiah-i tullab*)," *Musavat* 1, no. 18 (March 22, 1908): 5-6.

105. "On the Miseries of Women (*Dar bicharigi-yi zanan*)," *Iran-i naw* 3, no. 102 (July 26, 1911): 3.

106. This refers to the tzarist takeover of these provinces in northern Iran in various military campaigns in the first half of the nineteenth century, delineating the contemporary borders of Iran in the north.

107. *Iran-i naw* 1, no. 114 (January 18, 1910): 4.

108. From the speech of one of the students of the Hunar school, on the occasion of the examination of its students, *Iran-i naw* 3, no. 83 (July 3, 1910): 3.

109. *Iran-i naw* 1, no. 19 (September 15, 1909): 3. See also Tayirah, "Letter from an Iranian Lady (*Maktub-i yaki az khamumha-yi Irani*)," *Iran-i naw* 1, no. 17 (September 13, 1909): 2, and her long essay serialized in the same paper, in which she developed similar arguments for women's education: Tayirah, "Essay by a Knowledgeable Lady (*Layihah-i khamum-i danishmand*)," *Iran-i naw* 1, no. 65 (November 13, 1909): 3; no. 69 (November 18, 1909): 3; no. 78 (November 30, 1909): 2-3; no. 84 (December 8, 1909): 3; no. 92 (December 18, 1909): 3-4.

110. All quotations from Tayirah, "Essay by a Knowledgeable Lady (*Layihah-i khamum-i danishmand*)," *Iran-i naw* 1, no. 78 (November 30, 1909): 2-3.

111. It is significant that the Persian expressions, constructed in parallel, "house management," "husband management," and "child management" (*khanah'dari*, *shawhar'dari*, and *bachchah'dari*) were distinct and remain largely so, indicating rather distinct tasks and preoccupations. In other words, a combined construct, such as "housewife" (*zan-i khamum'dar*), was not opted for until recently and even then largely as a statistical category.

112. See Camron Amin, "The Rise of the Professional Woman in the Iranian Press, 1910-1946" (paper presented at the Berkshire Conference of Historians of Women, June 1996), and his "The Attentions of the Great Father: Reza Shah, 'The Woman Question,' and the Iranian Press, 1890-1946" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1996).

113. She is often wrongly referred to as the wife of one Dr. Kahhal, based on reading of *khanum duktur Kahhal* as *khanum-i duktur Kahhal*, perhaps an indication of historians' disbelief that a woman ophthalmologist could have existed.
114. "Household Management (*Khanah'dari*)," *Danish*, no. 1 (September 11, 1910): 4-5; no. 4 (October 22, 1910): 7-8; no. 6 (November 6, 1910): 4-6; no. 8 (November 28, 1910): 8.
115. "Husband Management (*Rasm-i shawhardari*)," *Danish*, no. 1 (September 11, 1910): 5-6; "Husband Management (*Shawhardari*)," no. 7 (November 13 1910): 4-6.
116. "Child Management (*Bachchah'dari*)," *Danish*, no. 10 (December 17, 1910): 2-3.
117. "Children's Hygiene (*Hifz al-sihhah-i atfal*)," *Danish*, no. 1 (September 11, 1910): 2-3; no. 3 (October 10, 1910): 4-6; no. 4 (October 22, 1910): 2-4; no. 5 (October 31, 1910): 8; no. 8 (November 28, 1910): 2-4; no. 17 (February 4, 1911): 2-3; no. 23 (March 25, 1911): 5-7; no. 25 (April 22, 1911): 5-7; no. 30 (July 20, 1911): 2-4.
118. *Danish*, no. 7 (November 13, 1910): 6-7; no. 8 (November 28, 1910): 7-8; no. 9 (December 10, 1910): 6-7; no. 10 (December 17, 1910): 5-8; no. 17 (February 4, 1911): 3-4; no. 25 (April 22, 1911): 8; no. 26 (May 8, 1911): 4-7.
119. "Letter from a Girl Educated in Europe (*Maktub-i yiki az dukhtarha-yi tarbiat' shudah-i Yurup*)," *Danish*, no. 27 (May 23, 1911): 2-3.
120. "Ali Zanjani, "Education of Girls (*Tarbiat-i dukhtaran*)," *Danish*, no. 22 (March 12, 1911): 2-3; quotation from p. 2.
121. "Husband Management (*Rasm-i shawhardari*)," *Danish*, no. 1 (September 11, 1910), p. 6.
122. "Nanny Cannot Be Kinder Than Mother (*Dayah az madar mihraban'tar ni-mishavad*)," pt. 1, *Danish*, no. 3 (October 10, 1910): 2-4, pt. 2, no. 5 (October 31, 1910): 2-4. Recall that Fani Kashmiri had argued the opposite: that it was preferable to engage a nanny for the care of the child. *Akhlaq-i 'alamara*, p. 136.
123. "Nanny Cannot Be Kinder Than Mother," pt. 1, p. 2.
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
125. *Ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 2.
126. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
127. See, for instance, R.H.M., "Iranian Women's Knowledge: One of the Origins of Our Misfortunes (*Ma'arif zanha-yi Iran: yiki az sarchashmah'ha-yi badbakhti-i ma*)," *Shukufah* 1, no. 9 (May 5, 1913): 1-2; no. 10 (May 26, 1913): 2-3; no. 11 (June 13, 1913): 3; no. 14 (August 27, 1913): 3. "On the Fundamentals of Respected Ladies' Lives (*Dar asas-i zindigi-i khanumha-yi muhtaram*)," *Shukufah* 1, no. 17 (November 4, 1913): 3; 2, no. 18 (November 21, 1913): 4; no. 19 (December 15, 1913): 3; no. 20 (December 25, 1913): 4; no. 23 (February 12, 1914): 3-4.
128. Maliktaj, Untitled article, *Shukufah* 1, no. 4 (February 14, 1913): 2-3; no. 5 (February 28, 1913): 2-3; no. 7 (April 2, 1913): 1; no. 7 (April 2, 1913): 1. For other articles on the importance of educated wives and scientific mothers for the political fate of the country, see N. R. (An Iranian girl), "Learning about the Truth of Matters (*Agahi ya haqiqat-i matlab*)," *Shukufah* 1, no. 6 (March 13, 1913): 2-3; article by principal of elementary school "Hurriyah-i sadat," "The Green Grass Was Trampled upon by Discord (*Basat-i sabzah lagadkub shud bah pa-yi nifaq*)," *Shukufah* 1, no. 7 (April 2, 1913): 1-2.

129. "What Is a School and What Are Its Qualifications? (*Madrasah chah nam ast va sharayit-i 'u kudam ast?*)," *Shukufah* 1, no. 5 (February 28, 1913): 1-2; no. 7 (April 2, 1913): 2-3; no. 8 (April 20, 1913): 2-3; no. 9 (May 5, 1913): 3; no. 14 (August 27, 1913): 2-3. "Enter the House through Its Entrance (*Fa'idkhalu al-buyut min abwabiha*)," *Shukufah* 1, no. 12 (July 28, 1913): 2-3; no. 14 (August 27, 1913): 1.
130. "Bad Imitation (*Taqlid-i bad*)," article started in issue no. 1 (which I have not been able to find), continued in *Shukufah* 1, no. 5 (February 28, 1913): 3; no. 7 (April 2, 1913): 3. "Who Is a Good Girl? (*Dukhtar-i khub kudam ast?*)," *Shukufah* 1, no. 11 (June 13, 1913): 3. A more detailed analysis of *Shukufah* deserves a separate essay.
131. Mirza 'Azizallah Khan, *Tarbiat al-bunat* (Tehran: Matba'ah Khawrshid, 1905), p. 6.
132. Emphasizing the link between the acquisition of modern education and chastity, many of the earliest schools for girls were named appropriately: *Namus* (honor), *Iffaf* (chastity), *Ismatiyah* (place of chastity/innocence), *Iffatiyah* (place of chastity), and perhaps most tellingly *Hijab* (veil). In other words, education was constructed as a replacement of the physical veil, as protector of honor and chastity. For further discussion of this point, see Najmabadi, "Veiled Discourse."
133. See "On Children's Hygiene (*Dar hifz al-sihhah-i atfal*)," *Shukufah* 1, no. 17 (November 4, 1913): 1.
134. "On Duties of Real Teachers of Men, That Is, Women (*Dar farayiz-i murabbiyan-i haqiqi-i mardan ya'ni nisvan*)," *Hadid* 1, no. 13 (September 21, 1905): 4-6.
135. *Iran-i naw* 3, no. 81 (July 1, 1911), p. 3.
136. *Payk-i sa'adat-i nisvan* (a women's journal published in the northern provincial capital city Rasht, under the editorship of a woman, Rushanak Naw'dust) 1, no. 1 (October 7, 1927): 8. See also the article titled "Chastity," in the same journal, 1, no. 6 (September 1928): 168-74. Other journals of the same period, such as *Iranshahr*, *Farangistan*, and *Nahid* had similar articles in their women's columns.
137. For a discussion of these women's activities, see Janet Afary, "On the Origins of Feminism in Early Twentieth-Century Iran," *Journal of Women's History* 1, no. 2 (Fall 1989): 65-87; Bamdad, *Zan-i Irani*; Mangol Bayat-Philipp, "Women and Revolution in Iran, 1905-11," in *Women in the Muslim World*, ed. Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 295-308; Rushanak Mansur, "Women's Images in the Constitutionalist Press (*Chihrah-i zan dar jarayid-i mashru-tiyat*)," *Nimeye Digar*, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 11-30; 'Abd al-Husayn Nahid, *Zanan-i Iran dar junbish-i mashrutah* (Saarbrücken: Nuvid, 1989); Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Zanha-yi millat: Women or Wives of the Nation?" *Iranian Studies* 26, nos. 1-2 (Winter-Spring 1993): 51-71; Homa Nategh, "The Woman Question in Some of the Writings of the Left from the Constitutional Movement to the Era of Riza Khan (*Mas'alah-i zan dar barkhi az mudavvanat-i chap az nihzat-i mashrutah ta 'asr-i Riza Khan*)," *Zaman-i naw* 1 (November 1983): 8-17, 27; Eliz Sanasarian, *The Women's Rights Movement in Iran* (New York: Praeger, 1982).
138. For a discussion of these points, see Najmabadi, "Zanha-yi millat."
139. *Shukufah* 4, no. 4 (January 20, 1916): 2-3.
140. *Shukufah* 4, no. 8 (April 2, 1916): 8-9.