IRANIAN HISTORY

— Reaching a New Stage —

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I. Up to the Eighteenth Century

General Trends

Concerning pre-modern Iranian history, there are two streams in studies in Japan. One is a part of Islamic studies which were imported from Europe or America after the World War Two. The other originated from traditional Asian historical studies in Japan about ninety years ago when Japanese scholars, who were good at reading Chinese classical sources, started studying on the political and institutional history of the Mongol Empire, based on the sources. Now, Japanese researchers have acquired new tools, Persian sources, and especially Persian chronicles, and deal with the history of Mongol and Turkic people, not only those of China and Central Asia but also those of Iran, who built most of ruling dynasties even there. These two streams, mingling, and sometimes repelling each other, thus characterize the studies of Japanese researchers. On the other hand, pre-Islamic Iranian elements have not been considered much in this field.

The first scholar who introduced Persian historiography to Japan was Minobu Honda (1923–1999). His early articles concern to the army of Chingīz Khān, but after studying at Cambridge University for four years, he started his study on the Ilkhanids. His article on *iqṭaʿ* in the Ilkhanids was published in 1959, followed by the articles, on the taxation reform of Ghāzān Khān in 1961, on the early Mongol administration in Iran in 1967, and on the standardization of weight and measures by Ghāzān Khān in 1972, and the winter and summer quarters of the Īlkhāns in 1976. He also wrote a good introduction to Persian historical sources in Japanese in 1984. All these essays collected in (Honda 1991). In addition, he contributed to collect Persian printed books as well as microfilms of Persian manuscripts. He taught at Hokkaido University and Kyoto

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University, and fostered many researchers; today most of professors in this field over the age of forty are his disciples.

The structure of the armies and tribal groups of the Turk-Mongolian Nomadic States were attractive to a number of Japanese researchers after Honda. Eiji Mano's article on a family of Timurid amirs is one of the earliest (Mano 1977). Hirotoshi Shimo, who started his study in late 1960's, dealt with the Mongol army and generals under the Ilkhanids. His precise study is mainly based on the description of the genealogy of Mongol tribes written by Rashid al-Dīn. The results of his 27 years work were published as a monograph (Shimo 1995) and an early version of one chapter was translated into English (Shimo 1977).

The monograph by Masashi Haneda on the Qizilbāsh under the Safavids (Haneda 1987), and Shiro Ando (1958-96) on the Timurid amirs (Ando 1992) can be considered as the adaptation of the Japanese tradition for the study of the Safavid and Timurid history. However, though basing their work on the traditional studies, they studied in Europe, learned the essence of studies there, and succeed in publishing their works in European language in Europe. In this sense they are pioneers of the internationalization of Iranian Studies in Japan and contributed much to raising level of studies in Japan.

Besides internationalization, another topic in recent years has been discussions on "the Eastern Islamic World," started by M. Haneda. Since the number involved in Iranian studies in Japan is comparatively small, Japanese Iranists have more opportunity for discussion with Arabists and Ottomanists than do their European and American counterparts, and the comparative aspects are very important for them. However, because Turko-Mongolian elements have been prominent in the study of Iranian history, especially in Japan, it was difficult for Japanese Arabists and Ottomanists to understand. He explains the place of Turko-Mongolian elements thus. According to him, after the Mongol invasion, Iranian society included Turko-Mongolian nomadic people, who built most of the ruling dynasties in Iran. They provided military power to the rulers, while the Iranian settled people served as bureaucrats. The presence of the nomadic people had a large influence on all parts of society. In this sense, Iranian society was very different from its Arab and Ottoman counterparts, where non-nomadic *mamlūks* or *yeniçeris* provided military power. He called Turko-Mongolian-influenced areas "Eastern Islamic World" (Haneda 1993). Through the discussion, he bridged the gap and paved the way to comparative

studies (Haneda & Miura 1994).

The Pre-Mongol period

Each ruling dynasty at least has one specialist in Japan. Inaba is the one for the Ghaznavids. In his article on the Ghaznavid capital, Ghazna, he discusses why the Ghaznavids chose that city as their capital. Although it was not a big city, it was conquered by Arptegīn and became his military base for plundering expeditions to India. In the reign of Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd, the Ghaznavids ruled over Khorasan and India, and the city was very suitable for them because it was located in the center of their empire and a convenient base for their moving court and army. Also, they succeeded in controlling the trade among Central Asia, Khorasan and India at the city (Inaba 1994).

Kosuke Shimizu is the pioneer of Seljuq history in Japan. He has an article on the title of Tughril Beg. According to him, Tughril Beg's well-known title, *sulṭān* appeared before his negotiation with Caliph Qa'im. Therefore, Tughril Beg first assumed the title by himself, and later the Caliph confirmed it. Before 1055 Tughril Beg had already styled himself *sulṭān* and *shāhanshāh*, the Iranian title, and the caliph had permitted it. That year the caliph permitted Tughril's name to be inserted after the caliph's in *khutba* in Baghdad, and also allowed coins with Tughril's name to be minted. That meant official recognition of the Seljuq rule by the caliph. Shimizu's discussions are based on written and numismatic sources (Shimizu 1986).

Kozo Itani is the specialist on the Rum Seljuqs and has written many articles. He examined the relation between the Great Seljuqs and the Rum Seljuqs (Itani 1994). His argument is that the Rum Seljuqs did not consider themselves as "Seljuqs" until the fall of the Great and Iraq Seljuqs; they were one of the rivals of the Great Seljuqs, and sometimes clashed with them. However, after the fall of the Great and Iraq Seljuqs, they began to claim their position as successor of the Seljuqs. Itani also has an English article on the Khorazmshahs (Itani 1989).

The Mongol and Timurid period

Besides Honda and Shimo, Seiichi Kitagawa is a researcher on Ilkhanid history with unique features. He introduced Armenian and Georgian sources into Japan, and is also considered a pioneer of Caucasian history in Japan. His studies mainly concentrated into the Ilkhanid rule over the provinces, first in the

Caucasus (Kitagawa 1978), then in Lorestān (Kitagawa 1987). A recent article of Ryoko Watabe also concerns the Ilkhanid rule over Fars province (Watabe 1997).

Akio Iwatake (1962–2000) led young Japanese scholars in the field of the study of the Mongol period. He was one of the pioneers of waqf studies in Japan, too. First, he made comprehensive study of a collection of waqf documents named *Jāmi' al-khayrāt*, which is still the best study on that valuable collection (Iwatake 1989). Iwatake's article on the *dār al-siyādas* of Ghāzān Khān is also unique. Basing his work on narrative sources and documents, he makes clear their function as hotels and charity centers on behalf of sayyids supported by waqfs. According to him, Ghāzān Khān protected sayyids and built *dār al-siyādas* because he needed a religious authority to cooperate with him after the Caliphate had vanished. Along with supporting *naqībs*, who were leaders of the sayyids, building and maintaining the *dār al-siyāda* became a main religious policy of the Ilkhanids after they accepted Islam. This policy caused the elevation of the status of sayyids in the Iranian society (Iwatake 1992).

Historiography of Persian and Turkic sources also attracted Japanese researchers. The most important work is, of course, Eiji Mano's work on the *Bābur-nāma* (Mano 1995-98). The *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn is a major issue for Japanese scholars. Iwatake proved that the list of works which had been considered as Rashīd al-Dīn's plan of writing was none other than a list of his complete works. These works, titled *Jāmi' al-taṣnīf*, were actually collected and kept, first in the main hall of the Rashīd quarter, and then in the library (Iwatake 1997). Tsuneaki Akasaka discusses the relation between the section of the *Shu'ab-i panjgānah*, that deals with Mongols, and the manuscripts of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*. According to him, that section was based on a missing manuscript of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, and includes valuable information which is not found in other manuscripts of the work (Akasaka 1998). Of course historiographical approach is essential for articles in other fields, too. For example, Hiroshi Ono's article on the military system of the Aq Qoyunlus is based on a deep historiographical analysis of the *'Arz-nāma* (Ono 1988).

Some researchers are interested in Sufism and folk Islam of the period. Shiro Ando described how the sufi shaykhs of Jam confronted the ruling dynasties. The Karts and Timurids recognized their authority and confer official positions on them because the rulers needed shaykh's cooperation for their rule

(Ando 1994). Yoichi Yajima was concerned with 'Alā al-Dawla Simnānī and his order. According to him, Simnānī was a sufi shaykh who had only a weak connection with the rulers and tried to keep the real Sufism (Yajima 1998). Two sayyid dynasties the Mar'ashīs in Māzandarān and the Kiyās in Gilan are studied by Yukako Goto. She stated that their background was "folk Islam", and that their emergence prepared the religious and social conditions for the establishment of the Safavids (Goto 1999).

More works on the Mongols and Timurids will be discussed in the article on Central Asian History.

The Safavid period and post Safavid period.

The study of Safavid History in Japan was started by Koichi Haneda. He studied in Iran and wrote some articles in such Persian journals as *Barrasīhā-yi Tārīkhī* and *Farhang-i Īrānzamīn* as a specialist on Persian manuscripts. His article on Persian chronicle called "Ross Anonymous" (Haneda, K. 1989) is very unique because he compares poems in it with poems included in other Persian chronicles, and decides the date of compilation based on the result. He also edited such chronicles as *Javāhir al-Akhhār* (Haneda, K. & Naṣīrī 1999) and *Tārīkh-i Īlchī-i Nizām Shāh* with the collaboration of an Iranian scholar.

It should not be necessary to give a detailed introduction to Masashi Haneda, an established Safavid researcher. After completing his study on the Safavid army, he started urban studies. First, he discussed the construction of the new capital, Isfahan by Shah 'Abbas and found Turko-Mongolian elements in his urban plan (Haneda, M. 1990). He published with very detailed annotations a Japanese translation of the description of Isfahan by J. Chardin, the famous French traveler (Haneda, M. 1996). He is now interested in cross-cultural contacts and is working on the history of Bandar 'Abbās. Kazuyuki Kubo, the specialist on the Timurids, has an article which deals with the Safavid and Shaybanid conquest of Herāt (Kubo 1988).

In recent years, some younger researchers have been working on the Safavid history. Nobuko Hasebe studied the history of Gilan and examined the local policy of Shāh 'Abbās (Hasebe 1990-91). Tomoko Morikawa discussed the Safavid religious policy, linking it with the urban development of the city of Mashhad and its relationship with the Uzbeks (Morikawa 1997). Yutaka Hirano is working on Safavid urban policy and especially on its second capital, Qazvīn (Hirano 1997). Hiroki Maeda deals with *ghulāms* and Caucasian elements of the

Safavid States, basing his work on Persian, Georgian and Armenian sources (Maeda 1999).

The Japanese pioneer in the history of eighteenth century Iran is Shohei Komaki. First he surveyed political history after the death of Nādir Shāh, and then clarified the political process which established the Qajars. He considered that the revolt of Ḥoseyn Qolī Khān, brother of the founder of the dynasty was important in that process (Komaki 1989). In his article on the later Afsharids he discussed on close relationship between Khorasan and Afghanistan even after the emergence of the Durranis (Komaki 1997).

Akihiko Yamaguchi is interested in local societies of Western Iran and is working on Ottoman Tapu registers, which were compiled at the time of Ottoman occupation after the fall of the Safavids. His article on the Ardalan region provides us detailed information and statistical data on villages and nomadic people there (Yamaguchi 2000). Nobuaki Kondo also focuses on local societies from the Safavid to the Qajars. His article on the Afshars of Urumiya is published in English (Kondo 1999).

Conclusion

Though the studies in traditional style still continue, many Japanese researchers are now going into new fields of study; Urban history, waqf, sufism etc. The conditions of Iranian studies in Japan also have developed much in the past fifteen years, with considerable numbers of researchers engaging in the study. Though most Japanese researchers published their work in Japanese and so are little known in other countries, it may not be so very long until many Japanese researchers write papers in foreign languages and so contribute to the international academic world of Iranian studies.

II. After the Nineteenth Century.

General Trends

Japanese encounter with Iran started in the second half of the nineteenth century. The famous Yoshida-Furukawa mission visited Iran in 1880 and met Nasir al-Din Shah. They wrote travelogues, and these show the first Japanese impressions of Iran. Since then Japan have kept diplomatic relations with Iran, and there are some memoirs written by diplomats, journalists and military

officers.

However, Japanese academic study of the modern history of Iran started after the World War Two. It had common characteristics with other Asian and African studies in Japan and was very different from its counterparts in America and Europe, at least until the early 1980's. Because of penitence for Japanese imperialism and invasion of Asian countries, Japanese intellectuals had been affected much by anti-imperialism and Marxism. Thus their main interest concentrated on Iranian nationalism and nationalist movements, such as the Tobacco Protest, the Constitutional Revolution, Mosaddeq, etc.

The pioneer in this field is Hiroshi Kagaya. He studied in Iran for over a year in the 1950's and wrote many articles on Aḥmad Kasravī (Kagaya 1958), and the Constitutional Revolution (Kagaya 1962), etc. In these articles, he used many Persian primary sources, and paved the way for the later development. His survey of the Modern history of Iran (Kagaya 1975 and 1979), which deals mainly with nationalism and nationalist movements of Iran, is still useful for Japanese readers.

The Islamic Revolution in 1979 had, of course, a big impact on Japanese researchers. Naturally, like in the West, Japanese researchers were obliged to re-evaluate Islamic elements in the modern history of Iran. It was difficult to explain the emergence of an Islamic regime by the framework Japanese Researchers had been using to understand Iranian history, so researchers have been struggling to find other frameworks. Another important point is that the Islamic revolution brought about a closer relationship between Iran and Japan. Some Japanese libraries started collecting Persian materials at that time. Some of Japanese researchers visited Iran even during the Iran-Iraq War. In this respect, Japanese researchers had an advantage and succeeded in developing their study, while Iranian studies were rather stagnated in America and Europe.

One of the features of the recent trend is to attach importance to "Area Studies" or Regional Studies. It means a multi-disciplinal approach to the subject, including using fieldwork. For example, the pioneer of Iranian rural studies in Japan, Morio Ono (1925–2001), wrote a unique history covering the recent 25 years of a village near Shiraz. Basing it on his field research from 1964 on, he vividly describes social change in the village through the White Revolution and the Islamic Revolution (Ono 1990). The book was translated into Persian and published under the title *Kheyṛābād nāme*.

Shoko Okazaki is famous even outside Japan. First he studied rural society

in Iran, and then dealt with Qajar history. His book on *qanāt* is a result of the combination of two approaches: rural study and history (Okazaki 1988).

Makoto Hachioshi is one of the Japanese researchers who has kept a close contact with Iran. He studied in Iran around 1980 and much involved in collecting Persian printed materials for Japanese libraries. He himself edited and published a catalogue of local histories published in Persian (Hachioshi 1997). His first article was also related to the Constitutional Revolution, but his recent monograph is an attempt to clarify the process of nation-state building of Iran (Hachioshi 1998). Basing his work on rich materials that he collected in Iran, he maintains the importance of the multidisciplinary approach to Iran.

Another important work is Keiko Sakurai's monograph on modern education of Iran (Sakurai 1999). By analyzing Iranian school textbooks, she shows how the official ideology of the state changed throughout the 20th century.

The area study approach is also found in collaborative work. Akira Goto and Suzuki's work is a collection of articles concerning center-periphery relationships mainly in Iran. Six articles concerning the Jangali Movement, the Islamic Republic, language policy etc. are included in it (Goto & Suzuki 1997).

Qajar Period

First of all, we can not forget the comprehensive bibliography on Qajar history edited by Okazaki and Eura. Though its distribution was very limited, it is useful for all Qajar researchers. It includes western, Russian and Japanese articles and books (Okazaki & Eura 1985). A revised edition is much to be desired.

Though the Early Qajar period has not attracted much attention abroad, some researchers have been concerned with the period in Japan. Shohei Komaki is the pioneer in this field, and he has an article on the Qajar rule over Khorasan. His discussion concentrates on how the Qajar state integrated the provinces into its realm (Komaki 1995). Kondo deals with provincial powers in Iran. He discussed the power structure of the khans of Yazd and their relation with the Zand and Qajar states (Kondo 1993). Hasegawa studied the political conditions in Fars during the reign of Fath 'Ali Shāh, especially the role of Nūrī *gholāms* in local politics (Hasegawa 1992).

More Japanese researchers were interested in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the field of social and economic history, Okazaki is the pioneer. One of his articles concerns the handicrafts industry in Isfahan and

examines the influence of the growing trade with the West (Okazaki 1978). He is interested also in the relation between the poppy plantation and bread riots. According to him, the main reason for the shortage of wheat was not the growth of poppy plantations, but hoarding of merchants who wanted to sell wheat by a high price (Okazaki 1989). Sakamoto wrote a long article as a comprehensive study on Qajar Isfahan (Sakamoto 1980). His discussion starts with changes of the city plan, then goes on to the population, the guilds, and the function of city squares. He also has many articles on international trade as related to Iran. In his article (Sakamoto 1993), he shows how Iran tried to rebuild its silk production and its export after the outbreak of the pebrine epidemic in Gīlān province in 1864. Mizuta is a specialist on Qajar economy. His research attempts to place Iran within the context of the world economy in terms of the international flow of currency and capital. He clarified the actual functioning of the foreign trade economy of Tabriz, using reports from the British Consulate (Mizuta 1993). Studies on Persian documents which are indispensable for social and economic history also have started in Japan. Two volumes of collections of Qajar documents were edited and published by Rajabzāde, Haneda and Eura. The first volume concerns administrative documents like farmans (Rajabzāde & Haneda 1997), and the second is related to transactions of agricultural lands (Rajabzāde & Eura 1999).

With respect to the topic of religious aspect of Qajar society, Shimamoto has contributed much. He collected and analyzed examples of *bast* (seeking refuge in sanctuaries) found in chronicles, emphasizing that underlying this practice was both respect for things sacred and its social acceptance (Shimamoto 1985). Yamagishi has been working on the *ta'ziye*, the ceremony mourning Imam Husayn. Her article shows how the ceremony was held in Khūr, a small town at the edge of the Kavīr desert. The family of Yaghmā, a famous poet, gave financial support for the ceremony (Yamagishi 1998).

Concerning Iranian nationalism, Fujii has articles on Ākhondzāde. His argument is that Akhondzade should be placed in the tradition of '*erfān*, Iranian sufi thought, and be considered as an Iranian nationalist who praised the *Shāhnāme* (Fujii 1986). Komaki dealt with Malkom Khān, an ideologue of the Constitutional Revolution. Analyzing articles of the newspaper *Qānūn*, Komaki argues that Malkom Khān agitated for the nationalism movement through the newspaper after his reform plans were rejected by the Iranian government. However, after the accession of Moẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh, he again sought to carry

out his reform plan within the government, and *Qānūn* went away from the nationalism movement (Komaki 1983). Hitoshi Suzuki is concerned with another newspaper, *Akhtar*. He summarizes its editorial position as loyalty to the Shah, patriotism, and modernism. According to him after the nationalist movement began criticizing the Shah's absolutism, *Akhtar* lost its leadership role in the movement (Suzuki 1986).

Kuroda is the most productive researcher on the Constitutional Revolution. He is a specialist on Gīlān province, and in an article (Kuroda 1994) describes the activities of the *anjoman* in the province, and summarized the arguments which were found in several newspapers at that time. He concludes that the constitutional system in regional society was characterized by the protection of individual rights on the level of everyday life.

Kuroda also has many articles on the Jangalī movement. He describes the process of the movement up to the establishment of the Gīlān republic in detail, and discusses its character by taking up the Islamic and nationalist values that supported the movement throughout (Kuroda 1988-89). Yoshii dealt with the National Defense Committee at the time of World War I. In his opinion, in the early stage, many nationalists took part in the committee, but after the establishment of the National Government in Kermānshāh, it was affected by the personal interest of Neẓām al-Saltāne, and gradually became the puppet of Germany (Yoshii 1986).

Pahlavi Period

Compared to the Qajar period, the Pahlavi period does not attract many Japanese researchers. Yoshimura is working on political history from the Constitutional Revolution to the establishment of Reẓā Shāh's regime. Describing the political process of the coup d'état of 1921, he concluded that the coup d'état was provoked not by British intrigue, but by anti-British protests of Iranians. Though the British embassy took part in the coup, the new regime confronted British government (Yoshimura 1987). Morishima has an article on the language policy during Reẓā Shāh period. The Farhangestān (Academy) of Iran was established in 1935, but unlike its Turkish counterpart, it did not aim at expulsion of Arabic words from Persian language. Forūghī, the president of Farhangestan, though recognizing Persian language must be the core of Iranian identity, realized that Arabic words were also its integral part (Morishima 1998).

Tokumasu described the political situation in Iran and around during the

World War II (Tokumasu 1998). The article will be an introduction to his forthcoming study on the Azerbaijan National Government established in 1945. Yamaguchi has an article on the Kurdish nationalist movement during the World War II (Yamaguchi 1994). He reexamined the transformation of the Kurdistan Restoration Committee to the Kurdistan Democratic Party: After the war, the movement needed a military force from the tribes, and chose Qāzī Moḥammad as a leader who would be able to control the army. That changed the course of the movement. Miyata discussed about the split of Tudeh party in 1948. The faction of Khalīl Malekī advocated the acquisition of power within a parliamentary system and supported constitutionalism and democracy. That caused a clash with the Soviet group in the party, and Malekī lost its power. However, his movement was succeeded by the National Front in the Moṣaddeq era (Miyata 1988a).

For Moṣaddeq and the oil nationalism movement, Miyata clarified the political process of the movement, and especially the character of the events of 21st July 1952. According to him, the Iranian people supported Moṣaddeq by their uprising that day because they expected Moṣaddeq to bring real independence and democracy to them (Miyata 1988b). Nakanishi examined Anglo-America relations during the Moṣaddeq era. America's aim in the consortium, which was formed after the oil conflicts between Iran and Britain, was to maintain good relations with Britain and preserve the balance of oil share between America and Britain (Nakanishi 1998). Hidaka compiled a day-to-day chronology of Moṣaddeq period and of the time of World War Second. Surveying such Persian newspapers as *E 'telā 'āt*, he published an eight-volume work (Hidaka 1992-98). Since this kind of work has not been published yet in either Persian or in English, Japanese researchers have got an advantage in this field.

Conclusion

We can see that a good number of researchers on Modern Iran. The problem is how to make the research available to foreign researchers. Another problem is the weakness of the theoretical approach. Multi-disciplinary work must be recommended but nevertheless we cannot make it an excuse for lack of disciplinary training.

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