



ANJOMAN (ORGANIZATION)

ANJOMAN (gathering, association, society), general designation of many private and public associations:

- i. Political (*anjoman-e siāsī*).
- ii. Religious (*anjoman-e madhabī*).
- iii. Literary (*anjoman-e adabī*).

i. Political

Anjoman was the designation of political organizations during the Constitutional Revolution of 1324-27/1906-09. Some contemporary Iranian scholars compare it to the Russian soviet, or council, which was established by Russian revolutionaries at the turn of the century (H. Nāṭeq, “Anjomanhā-ye šūrā’ī dar enqelāb-e mašrūṭiyat,” *Alefbā*, N.S., 4, 1362 Š./1983, p. 53). According to F. Ādamīyat, in the early 1900s translators of Russian works used the term *anjoman* for soviet to emphasize the similarities between the two organizations (*Fekr-e demokrāsī-e e eṣtemā’ī dar nahzat-e mašrūṭiyat-e Īrān*, Tehran. 1356 Š./1975, p. 36). But the idea of secret groupings for political action, religio-political movements, or revolt, has a long tradition in Iran. In the second half of the 19th century, during the long reign of Nāṣer-al-dīn Shah (1264-1313/1848-96), reform-minded intellectuals, government officials, and members of the mercantile class, and of the ‘*olamā*’ formed loosely defined, often secret, associations with the purpose of formulating and disseminating



their socio-political and cultural views. The best known was Maǰma‘-e ādamīyat, also known as Farāmūš-kāna, founded by Mīrzā Malkom Khan (1249-1326/1833-1908) in 1858 on the model of European Freemasonic lodges, with secret cells and a hierarchy of leadership. A. de Gobineau considered it as a mere imitation of French Freemasonry (*Religions et Philosophie dans l’Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1865, p. 306), while according to H. Algar it was just a means to achieve worldly ends and to introduce Western ideas into Iran (*Mīrzā Malkom Khān: A Biographical Study in Iranian Modernism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973, chap. 2). In fact it had no formal ties with any European organization and pursued an independent nationalist reform program. At first it enjoyed the support of Nāṣer-al-dīn Shah and recruited its members from among the influential government circles and ruling classes. It is reported that it cultivated the support of liberal ‘*olamā*’ such as Sayyed Šādeq Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, the father of Sayyed Moḥammad Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, a foremost leader of the Constitutional Revolution (*Ādamīyat, Andīša-ye taraqqī wa ḥokūmat-e qānūn: ‘Aṣr-e Sepahsālār*, Tehran, 1972, p. 68; Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969, pp. 191-92). Rapidly, however, Malkom’s humanist and modern ideals attracted the hostility of the conservative ‘*olamā*’ and the Farāmūš-kāna was accused of disseminating corrupt ideas, sheltering infidels, promoting harmony between Muslims and non-Muslims, and, above all, constituting religious innovation contrary to Islamic precepts (*Ādamīyat, Andīša-ye taraqqī*, pp. 69-75). It was closed down by order of the Shah in 1861, and shortly afterward Malkom was banished to Iraq.

While in exile in London, he claimed to have set up the Jāme‘a-ye Ādamīyat with the purpose of disseminating the new religion he allegedly had founded, the “religion of humanity.” We have no records on this organization, nor was there a list of its members apart from scant references found in his correspondence with Iranian collaborators such as Mīrzā Āqā Khan Kermānī who was in charge of distributing Malkom’s paper *Qānūn* in Turkey and Iran (M. Bayat, “Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani, a Nineteenth Century Persian Nationalist,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 10, 1974, pp. 36-59). Malkom failed in any prophetic ambitions that he might have entertained, but he was more successful in encouraging secularist cultural programs and political action, as his idea of worldly reforms “clothed in the garb of religion” (reported by W. S. Blunt, *The Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt*, London, 1907, p. 83) was enthusiastically adopted by some other secret societies which came to play a more direct role in Iranian politics of the day.



Anjomans proliferated by the turn of the century, with many involved in cultural activities and scattered in the major cities of the country. Some were established to carry on the task of “awakening” the Iranians, setting up new secular schools, and founding public libraries. The best known was Anjoman-e Ma‘āref, founded in Tehran in 1315/1897 under the patronage of the prime minister **Mīrzā ‘Alī Khan Amīn-al-dawla**. Its membership list, which included a number of intellectuals such as ‘Alī Khan Nāẓem-al-‘olūm, Maḥdī Khan Momtaḥan-al-dawla, Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, Ḥājj Moḥammad-Ḥasan Amīn-al-ẓarb and his son, **Ḥājj Moḥammad-Ḥosayn** (Malekzāda, *Tārīk-e enqelāb-e mašrūṭiyat-e Īrān*, Tehran, n.d., I, p. 259; Y. Dawlatābādī, *Tārīk-e mo‘āṣer yā ḥayāt-e Yaḥyā*, Tehran, n.d., I, pp. 79-198; see also A. Maǰd-al-eslām Kermānī, *Tārīk-e enḥelāl-e maǰles*, Isfahan, 1968, pp. 166-67; Ḥ. Maḥbūbī Ardakānī, *Tārīk-e mo‘assasāt-e tamaddonī-e ḡadīd dar Īrān* I, Tehran, 1354 Š./1975, pp. 369-70). It set up a number of new schools, founded a public library (*Ketāb-kāna-ye mellī*), in its main office, and made efforts to create a translation and publication center and to found a printing firm. However, already plagued by internal strife and rivalries, it did not last long after the fall of its patron Amīn-al-dawla (1316/1898) and was eventually replaced by Šūrā-ye Ma‘āref in 1319/1901. At the same time, a library established by the Tarbiyat brothers ‘Alī-Moḥammad Khan and Mīrzā Moḥammad-‘Alī Khan became the meeting place of intellectuals like S. Ḥ. Taqīzāda, and Mīrzā Yūsof Khan E‘tešām-at-molk who, together, published a bi-weekly paper called *Ganjīna-ye fonūn* (A. K. S. Lambton, “The Secret Societies and the Persian Revolution of 1905-06,” *St. Anthony’s Papers* IV, 1958, p. 52; K. Ṭāherzāda Behzād, *Qīām-e Ādarbāyġān dar enqelāb-e Mašrūṭiyat-e Īrān*, Tehran, n.d., pp. 409, 463-64). On the eve of the revolution other individuals were involved in establishing other, more politically active, secret societies. The Anjoman-e Eslāmī, founded by Mīrzā Našrallāh Malek-al-motakallemīn and Sayyed Jamāl-al-dīn Wā‘eẓ Ešfahānī, and the Anjoman-e Maḡfī (Secret Society), founded in 1322/1904 by Nāẓem-al-eslām Kermānī are the best known, since their activities are chronicled in the standard accounts of the revolution by Nāẓem-al-eslām himself and Malek-al-motakallemīn’s son, Maḥdī Malekzāda. They both, together with Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, who wrote his own eye-witness account of the revolution, were the chief architects of the alliance forged between Sayyed Moḥammad Ṭabāṭabāī and **Sayyed ‘Abdallāh Behbahānī**, who initiated the first phase of the movement that eventually led to the promulgation of the Constitution and the establishment of the majlis in 1906. However, the accuracy of their accounts in accrediting their respective anjomans with such a major role in bringing about the revolution remains to be more thoroughly investigated.



In the late 1880s and early 1890s Sayyed Jamāl-al-dīn Wāʿeẓ, Mīrzā Naṣrallāh Malek-al-motakallemīn, Shaikh Aḥmad Maǰd-al-eslām Kermānī and Dawlatābādī, among others, had founded in Isfahan a secret *anjoman* that met regularly in private homes and set up a school to promote modern education. They were soon charged with heresy, and a number of them were expelled from the city (Malekzāda, *Tārīk-e enqelāb* I, pp. 251-52). Back in Isfahan around 1900, Jamāl-al-dīn Wāʿeẓ, Malek-al-motakallemīn, and Maǰd-al-eslām collaborated in writing *Roʿyā-ye šādeqa*, a fiery anticlerical polemic that gained notoriety through clandestine circulation (Malekzāda, *Tārīk-e enqelāb* I, p. 200; Idem., *Zendagānī-e Malek-al-motakallemīn*, Tehran, 1346 Š./1967, pp. 57-64; the complete text or *Roʿyā* is reprinted in E. Yaǧmāʿī, ed., *Šahīd-e rāh-e āzādī: Sayyed Jamāl Wāʿeẓ Eṣfahānī*, Tehran, 1978, pp. 306-36). In 1900-01, both Malek-al-motakallemīn and Jamāl-al-dīn Wāʿeẓ played a leading role in founding the Šerkat-e Eslāmī, a commercial company (not an *anjoman* as asserted by Lambton, “Secret Societies,” p. 51) financed by a wealthy Isfahani merchant-entrepreneur, Ḥāǰǰ Moḥammad-Ḥosayn Kāzerūnī, to promote the textile products of his company and seek, through the two preachers, the religious sanctioning of national industry against European imports (Jamāl-al-dīn Wāʿeẓ, *Lebās al-taqwā*, lithograph, Shiraz, n.d.; see also Yaǧmāʿī, *Šahīd*, pp. 6-11).

In Tehran, an organization referred to in sources as the Revolutionary Committee first met on 12 Rabīʿ I 1322/28 May 1904 and pursued its activities, as recorded in Malekzāda’s account, through the various phases of the revolution. It enjoyed a broader based membership that included Zoroastrians, a tribal leader, merchants, ‘*olamā*’, and lower ranking government officials. Some members, such as Moḥammad-Rezā Mosāwāt, Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, Ḥāǰǰ Abu’l-Ḥasan Mīrzā Šayk-al-ra’īs, Aḥmad Maǰd-al-eslām Kermānī, Mahdī Baḥr-al-‘olūm Kermānī, Mīrzā Ḥasan Rošdīya, Mīrzā Jahāngīr Khan Šīrāzī, were to play important parts in the revolution (Malekzāda, *Zendagānī*, pp. 152-55; Idem, *Tārīk-e enqelāb* II, pp. 8-10; see also E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Princeton, 1982, pp. 78-79). Later, as the movement for revolution gained momentum, the Anjoman-e Maḵfī underwent adjustment, and in January, 1906, following the ‘*olamā*’s return from their first *bast* (sanctuary) in the shrine of Shah ‘Abd-al-‘Azīm south of Tehran, it was declared defunct, and replaced by a second *anjoman*, which retained a number of the old members in addition to new recruits (Nāẓem-al-eslām, *Tārīk-e bīdārī*, ed. M. Hāšemī Kermānī, Tehran, 1346 Š./1967, II, pp. 223-25, 340). No list is provided, and references to its activities, which



intensified during the second *bast* in Qom in July, 1906, are anonymous. Thus it appears that the *anjomans*, under the leadership of the same individuals, gradually evolved through distinct phases from cultural societies with strong anti-clerical overtones to emerge as more pragmatic, politically oriented organizations aiming at broadening the base of their appeal, forging new alignments, and coordinating political action through a vast underground network reaching all levels of government and religious circles, the bazaar and the professional guilds. They wrote broadsheets, printed and distributed them; and they sponsored fiery sermons in mosques and *madrasas*. According to Nāẓem-al-eslām and Malekzāda, the two *anjomans* were highly successful in coordinating the efforts of Behbahānī and Ṭabāṭabā'ī (see., e.g., *Tārīḳ-e bīdārī* II, pp. 222, 236-37; Malekzāda, *Tārīḳ-e enqelāb* II, pp. 73-79). Furthermore, in order to exert better control on the religious circles, a new *anjoman*, the Anjoman-e Etteḥādīya-ye Ṭollāb, was founded and put under Malek-al-motakallemīn's leadership. It recruited from among the *madrasa*'s students, and proved to be vital in exerting pressure on the high ranking 'olamā' to resist government's conciliatory overtures (*Tārīḳ-e bīdārī* II, pp. 141-44).

H. Nāṭeq alleges that a secret Bābī *anjoman* was founded at about that time, without giving any details ("Anjomanhā," p. 51). Similarly, E. Şafā'ī claims that the activities of Malek-al-motakallemīn and other Azalīs were motivated by a desire to realize the Bābī dream of establishing the rule of the Bābī holy book, the Bayān (Şafā'ī, *Rahbarān-e maşrūṭa*, Tehran, 1344 Š./1965, pp. 10-11). But neither one produces any evidence. In fact, the Anjoman-e Maḳfī and the Revolutionary Committee, which included a large number of Azalī members, had secular, nationalist characteristics, with members from among the 'olamā' as well as from Zoroastrian, Christian, and Jewish communities, and emphasized the national character of the homeland. Both welcomed western concepts and ideas, but blended them with Islamic rhetoric, thus equating *maşrūṭīyat* with *maşrū'īyat*, in keeping with Malkom Khan's practice of seeking "reformation clothed in the garb of religion."

At the time of the second *bast* both *anjomans* worked in alliance with a more moderate society which was composed mainly of foreign-educated Iranian bureaucrats. Mīrzā 'Abbās-qolī Khan Qazvīnī, a senior government official and close friend of Malkom Khan, had established the Jāme'a-ye Ādamīyat based on the latter's ideals. Şanī-al-dawla, Sa'd-al-dawla, Eḥteşāmal-salṭana, and Solaymān Mīrzā Eskandarī and his brothers figured among the original members (F. Ādamīyat, *Fekr-e āzādī wa moqaddama-ye nahẓat-e maşrūṭīyat*,



Tehran, 1340 Š./1961, pp. 206-44). This new alliance was most fruitful in organizing the *bast* in the British Embassy which housed a crowd of ten to fourteen thousand people for one month. The allied *anjomans* “educated” the *bastīs* as to the merit of a constitutional monarchy and representative government. It was the *bastīs* of the Embassy who demanded from the government the establishment of a National Consultative Assembly (Maǰles-e Šūrā-ye Mellī), and pressed the *bastīs* in Qom to make identical demands.

In Tabrīz *anjomans* were created on the eve of the revolution, and rapidly assumed a leading role in the major political events of Azarbaijan. A group of twelve men, headed by a merchant by the name of ‘Alī Karbalā’ī (nicknamed “Monsieur” for his interest in French literature) founded the Markaz-e Ġaybī. It established close ties with the Social Democratic Party (Hezb-e Eǰtemā’iyūn-e ‘Āmmīyūn) of Baku, which was founded by Iranian Azarbaijani émigrés and was active among Iranian workers in the oil fields (Abrahamian, *Iran*, pp. 76-77). In 1905 the Social Democratic Party set up its own Tabrīz *anjoman*, which maintained its links with the original Baku party and reflected identical social-democratic radicalism (Kasravī, *Mašrūṭa*, Tehran, 1974, p. 167). According to Nāṭeq, the Anǰoman-e Tabrīz, which was to play the all-important role in the revolution following the establishment of the first majlis, was founded by the same leaders of the Social Democratic Party in 1906, not in October after the *bast* at Tabrīz, as Kasravī maintains, but a month and a half earlier (see Nāṭeq, “Anǰomanhā,” p. 53; N. Fathī, *Soǰangūyān-e segāna-ye Ādarbāyǰān dar enqelāb-e mašrūṭīyat-e Īrān*, Tehran, 1977, pp. 53-54). The Anǰoman-e Tabrīz, which was in fact a broader extension of the Social Democratic Party, incorporated a small secret society which was active years earlier and was anti-clerical and had secular-nationalist characteristics. It also opened several branches in Azarbaijan and Ġilān. It had its own printing press and published its own broadsheets and its newspaper, first called *Jarīda-ye mellī* and then *Rūz-nāma-ye Anǰoman*.

With the promulgation of the Constitution in August, 1906, and the establishment of the majlis, the *anjomans* proliferated. In Tehran alone 120 (or 200 by another account) new *anjomans* were established between 1906 and 1909 (Nāṭeq, “Anǰomanhā,” p. 51). They represented the various professions and guilds, geographic regions, city quarters, religious minorities, or interest groups, forming alliances not intended to outlive an immediate political goal. Their ideological stand ranged from radical, such as the Revolutionary Committee, the Anǰoman-e Tabrīz, and the Barādarān-e Darvāza-ye Qazvīn, to



reactionary, such as the Anjoman-e Eslāmī, founded under the auspices of Shaikh Fażlallāh Nūrī and fellow anti-constitutionalist ‘*olamā*’, with branches in Tehran, Tabrīz, and other cities. The Anjoman-e Tabrīz with its two militant centers in Tabrīz and Tehran, due to its direct contact with Russian revolutionaries in the Caucasus who provided it with weapons, slogans, and moral support, emerged as the most determined, best led, and best equipped political organization. In the capital this *anjoman* and its allies, the Revolutionary Committee and the Barādarān-e Darvāza-ye Qazvīn, came to dominate the majlis and attempted to enforce its views against the no less fierce opposition of the more conservative and the reactionary groups. Malek-al-motakallemīn, Sayyed Jamāl-al-dīn Wā‘eẓ, Jahāngīr Khan, Mosāwāt, Solaymān Eskandarī, and a handful of other radicals, formed a so called Anjoman-e Markazī, or Central Anjoman. Maǰd-al-eslām, in an illuminating account of the Anjoman’s activities (*Enḥelāl-e majles*, pp. 41-56) claims the Central Anjoman under Malek-al-motakallemīn’s supreme control assumed arbitrarily absolute power over all *anjomans*. This *anjoman* took over the task of ensuring public safety, and armed its own street gangs to patrol the city. The radicalization of the *anjomans* provoked a strong reaction among court officials, who then began to infiltrate their ranks in order to gather information on their activities, and even acted as “agents provocateurs” to precipitate the downfall of the majlis (*ibid.*, pp. 53-56, 81-86, 89-91; Y. Dawlatābādī, *Ḥayāt-e Yaḥyā II*, pp. 160-61). Tension arose in the city as the radical *anjomans*, dissatisfied with the moderate stand of the majlis deputies and fearing possible backlash on the part of the reactionaries, organized and trained militias to defend the Constitution (see “Secret Reports,” in Yaǧmā‘ī, *Šahīd*, pp. 279-85, and speeches of Sayyed Jamāl-al-dīn, *ibid.*, pp. 102-223). The situation alarmed the British Minister in Tehran, who wrote to London about the increasing contacts between some of the *anjomans* and the revolutionaries in the Caucasus, explaining that Iran was developing a national resistance movement akin to its northern neighbor’s (C. Spring-Rice to Grey, 23 May 1907, H. Mo‘āṣer tr., *Tārīk-e esteqrār-e mašrūṭiyat dar Īrān*, Tehran, 1347 Š./1968, p. 341).

In Tabrīz the *anjoman* assumed political authority over local affairs in the province, and often bypassed Tehran’s rulings. It enacted its own laws, set up its own courts to ensure their proper application. It turned increasingly anti-clerical, secular-nationalist, and even, according to Nāṭeq, anti-monarchical (“Anjomanhā,” pp. 57-59). When, in its crackdown on the inflation which was rampant, it ordered the expulsion of the Emām-e Jom‘a and the *mojṭahed* Ḥājī



Mīrzā Ḥasan Āqā from the city for their illegal role in hoarding wheat and raising its price, the moderate elements in the majlis in Tehran ordered the *anjōman* to close down. But the majlis had no power to enforce its commands. A general strike was declared in Tabrīz, which, in addition to the strong protest of the majlis's radicals led by Ḥ. Taqīzāda, the Tabrīz deputy, forced the moderates to give up. The Anjōman-e Tabrīz resumed its activities.

The majlis's promulgation in spring, 1907, of new rules to regulate the activities of the *anjōmans* was of no avail. They intensified their activities as crucial issues severely split the ranks of the constitutionalists: the drafting of the new Supplement to the Constitution; the separation of government from religious courts; the return to power of Mīrzā 'Alī-Aṣḡar Khan Amīn-al-soltān (the former prime minister) and his subsequent assassination by a radical member of the Anjōman-e Tabrīz. The secularists' impatience with continued influence of the '*olamā*' in the majlis, and the '*olamā*'s growing fear of the "irreligious" tendencies in national politics, played into the hands of Moḥammad-'Alī Shah, who engineered the coup against the majlis in June, 1908.

The Anjōman-e Tabrīz took over the task of organizing a nationalist resistance, but not before undergoing change of leadership. An alliance of local gang leaders with Armenian and Caucasian fighters successfully resisted the royalist troops sent against Tabrīz. However, when the constitution was restored and the second majlis convened in August, 1909, the *anjōmans* had lost ground and were replaced with more formal, better coordinated, and ideologically more cohesive parties.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See also M. Kaṭīrā'ī, *Frāmāsonrī dar Īrān*, Tehran, 1968.

E. Rā'īn, *Anjōmanhā-ye serrī dar enqelāb-e mašrūṭiyat-e Īrān*, Tehran, 1966.

Idem, *Farāmūš-ḡāna va frāmāsonrī dar Īrān*, 3 vols., Tehran, 1357 Š./1978.



(M. Bayat)

ii. Religious

Islamic organizations of a cultural, educational, and sometimes political nature, were active in Iran and among Iranian students abroad from 1942 on. Addressing themselves largely to persons without formal religious education, they have sought to present Islam as a religion compatible with modernity and science and, more recently, as a revolutionary socio-political system. These associations began their activity soon after the abdication of Reżā Shah in 1320 Š./1941, their immediate forerunner being the Kānūn-e Eslām founded that year in Tehran by Āyatallāh Maḥmūd Ṭālaqānī. The Kānūn-e Eslām was devoted primarily to the study of the Koran and published a periodical called *Dānešāmūz*. The following year, some former members of Kānūn-e Eslām who were students at Tehran University's Faculty of Medicine established a university Anjoman-e Eslāmī-e Dānešjūyān (Islamic Students' Association). Its chief patron was Maḥdī Bāzargān, a professor at the university; he was soon joined in guiding its activities by Ṭālaqānī and Yadallāh Saḥābī among others. According to Bāzargān (*Modāfa'āt dar dādghāh-e ḡayr-e ṣāleḥ-e tajdīd-e naẓar-e neẓāmī*, n.p., 1350 Š./1971, p. 79), the association first came into being to counteract anti-Islamic activities conducted at the university by Baha'is and members of the Tūda (Communist) Party and to provide support for Islamically-oriented students, then a minority among the student body. According to the association's platform (*marām-nama*), its chief goals were (1) the reform of Iranian society in accordance with Islamic precepts, (2) the fostering of close ties among all Muslims, especially young intellectuals, (3) the propagation of Islam by means of the spoken and written word, and (4) the struggle against superstitious distortions of Islam.

Similar student associations came into being in major provincial cities. In 1946, Moḥammad-Taqī Šarī'atī founded the Kānūn-e Naṣr-e Ḥa q ā'eq-e Eslāmī (Center for the Propagation of Islamic Truths) in Mašhad, this organization, like Ṭālaqānī's Kānūn-e Eslām, was dedicated to teaching the Koran to the young in a nontraditional fashion. When the first members of this group entered Mašhad University, they founded the Islamic Students' Association of Mašhad. In 1949, a similar association was founded in Shiraz and included high school as well as university students among its members; at about the same time, an association also came into being in Tabrīz under the leadership of Yūsof Še'ār. Further expansion occurred as members of the Islamic students' associations were graduated from the universities and went on to



found a series of Islamic professional associations, the most important being those of the doctors, engineers, and teachers. For many years, possibly the major activity of both student and professional associations was the organizing of lectures, many of which were later published in book form. Most of the writings of Bāzargān, for example, had their origin in lectures delivered to the Islamic associations. Other lecturers included Ḥabībballāh Āmūzgār, Ṣadr Balāgī, Reżāzāda Šafaq, Ṭālaqānī, and Mortazā Moṭṭaharī. The associations also published a periodical entitled *Ġanj-e šāygān*. The intellectual impact of all this activity was considerable; it can be said that the associations laid the foundations of the modern Islamic movement in Iran.

The content of the lectures and publications was cultural and educational; political activity appears to have been discouraged. Addressing the second national congress of Islamic associations in 1962, Bāzargān reminded those present that the associations were apolitical in nature and criticized those who, even in good faith, sought to carry on political activity within their framework (*Marz-e miān-e dīn sīāsī*, Tehran, 1341 Š./1962, pp. 3, 20-21, 51). When tried the following year for political offenses, Bāzargān was accused of using the Islamic associations as a cover for the activities of the Nahzat-e Āzādī-e Īrān (Freedom Movement of Iran). The charge was baseless insofar as there was a complete organizational separation between the two, but there was considerable overlapping of membership, with Bāzargān and other prominent Nahzat-e Āzādī members playing an important role in the associations; moreover, the view of Islam as a complete and self-sufficient ideology that the associations promoted doubtless predisposed their members to political activity.

More overtly political than the Islamic associations within Iran were, from their very inception, the Islamic associations of Iranian students abroad. The first was organized in 1959 in Washington, D.C. by Šādeq Qoṭbzāda. There was little response to his initiative, and the majority of politically active Muslim students remained within the Iranian Student Confederation, at that time an ideologically neutral body. In 1964, however, most Muslims left the Confederation because of what they regarded as its inadequate response to the uprising of Kordād, 1342 Š./June, 1963. Under the leadership of Moṣṭafā Čamrān and Ebrāhīm Yazdī they organized the Islamic Students' Association of America and Canada. This organization was formally incorporated into the Muslim Students' Association (MSA) of the United States and Canada, which had recently been established by Arab and Pakistani students in the United



States, and became designated as the “Persian-speaking group” of the parent organization. While affiliation with the MSA provided a useful security cover, the Iranian organization retained its autonomy at all times. When the parent organization began receiving funds from Saudi Arabia and the Iranians moved increasingly in the direction of revolutionary political activity, tensions emerged between the “Persian-speaking group” and the MSA and culminated in a complete break in 1978. The official English designation of the Islamic Students’ Association has remained, however, Muslim Students’ Association (Persian-Speaking Group).

Islamic student associations also emerged among Iranian students in Europe. The first traces of scattered activity in England and Germany are encountered in 1960; four years later, the *Etteḥādīya-ye Anjomanhā-ye Eslāmī-e Dānešjūyān dar Orūpā* (Federation of Students’ Islamic Associations in Europe) was founded. Like its North American counterpart, it was linked to a supranational organization, the United Muslim Students’ Organization in Europe. In 1967, it began publishing a quarterly journal, *Eslām: maktab-e mobārez*, which later became the joint organ of the European and North American associations.

The Islamic student associations in Europe and North America both supported and mirrored political and ideological developments in Iran; they espoused, for example, the cause of the *Moḡāhedīn-e Kaḡ* during their early years and widely distributed the works of ‘Alī Šarī‘atī. More important, they established direct links with Āyatallāh Ḳomeynī during his exile in Naḡaf, the first of many student delegations from North America and Europe went to see him there in 1965. Given these links, as well as the continuous though remote involvement of the associations in the development of the Islamic movement inside Iran, it is not surprising that many of their former members rose to positions of prominence in the Islamic Republic.

During the revolution of 1978-79, the Islamic associations that had formerly been confined to a few professions proliferated spontaneously throughout the country, so that few workplaces remained without one. In many instances these new associations served as strike committees; they also issued declarations and helped in organizing mass demonstrations. They have survived into the period of the Islamic Republic and form an important element in the network of revolutionary institutions. Their chief role appears to be assisting in the maintenance of political and ideological solidarity; in addition, they have given weapons training to their members and gathered



contributions in cash and kind for the war effort against Iraq. Finally, with respect to the Islamic associations in revolutionary Iran, it may be noted that the original 300-person nucleus of the organization that occupied the United States embassy in Tehran on 4 November 1980, the *Dānešjūyān-e Mosalmān-e Peyrow-e Kaṭṭ-e Emām* (Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam), was composed of members of the Islamic students' associations at the four major institutions of higher learning in Tehran.

Bāzargān, *Modāfa'āt*, pp. 78-88.

Jonbeš-e dānešjū'ī-e kāreš az kešvar, undated publication of the Anjoman-e Eslāmī-e Dānešjūyān-e Emrīkā wa Kānādā, pp. 36-47.

(H. Algar)

iii. Literary

Anjoman-e adabī "literary society," a feature of Persian urban literary life that began in the 12th/18th century and became widespread after the Constitutional Revolution. The main purposes of such societies were to provide a forum for discussion and the recitation of poetry, to create or edit works, and to publish journals. The earliest such society appears to have been organized by Mīr Sayyed 'Alī Moštāq of Isfahan (d. 1171/1757-58), whose group led the "literary return" movement (*bāzgašt-e adabī*, 'A. Eqbāl, introduction to *Dīvān-e Hātef Ešfahānī*, ed. W. Dastgerdī, Tehran, 1312 Š./1933; repr. 1345 Š./1965, p. 10; and *Dīvān-e Moštāq*, ed. H. Makkī, Tehran, 1320 Š./1941, intro., pp. 14, 20, 24). The first officially sponsored literary society was the Anjoman-e Kāqān, founded by a group of court poets at the order of Faṭḥ-'Alī Shah Qājār (r. 1212-50 Š./1797-1834) to prepare the *Tadkera-ye Anjoman-e Kāqān*, which was completed in 1234 Š./1818-19 (Goļčīn-e Ma'ānī, *Tadkerahā* I, pp. 46-53, 60-67; Y. Āryanpūr, *Az Šabā tā Nīmā*, Tehran, 1350 Š./1971, I, p. 193). During the Constitutional period, literary societies began to appear more frequently. One of the first was the Šerkat-e Farhang, founded in about 1328/1910 by a group of young liberals from the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Justice. Its first president was Moḥammad-'Alī Forūgī, and among its active members were 'Abdallāh Mostawfī and Mīrzā 'Alī-Akbar Khan Dāvar. The members wrote, translated, and staged plays to raise money for the society's publishing activities ('A. Mostawfī, *Šarḥ-e zendagānī-e man*, repr. Tehran, 1343 Š./1964, II, pp. 315-16). In 1335/1916-17, Rašīd Yāsamī and others organized the Jarga-ye Dānešvarī; this society was taken over in the following year by M. T. Bahār,



who changed its name to Anjoman-e Dāneškada. Its purposes were to discuss new and timely subjects using traditional forms of poetry and prose and to encourage respect for great literary works of the past. The society's journal, *Dāneškada*, appeared in 1297-98 Š./1918-19 (R. Yāsamī, *Adabīyāt-e mo'āṣer*, Tehran, 1316 Š./1937, p. 119; Āryanpūr, *Az Šabā* II, pp. 430, 436).

Most of the literary societies founded before 1925 suffered as a result of their political involvements. Such was the case with the Anjoman-e Adabī-e Īrān, founded in 1299 Š./1920 by Ḥ. Waḥīd Dastgerdī. The society was officially recognized by the Ministry of Education (Wezārat-e Ma'āref), and branches were founded in Hamadān, Isfahan, and Shiraz. It ceased functioning in Bahman, 1310 Š./1932 after losing both its initial reputation and many of its prominent members. It was later revived but apparently did not last very long (Āryanpūr, *Az Šabā* II, pp. 430-31; F. Machalski, *La Littérature de l'Iran contemporain* II, Wrocław, 1967, passim).

Waḥīd renewed his efforts and in 1311 Š./1932 founded the Anjoman-e Ḥakīm Neẓāmī with a more clearly defined purpose; over the years it edited and published more than forty classical texts, in addition to publishing the journal *Armağān* (*Armağān* 15, 1314 Š./1935, p. 726; 23, 1327 Š./1948, pp. 34-38; 45, 2535 [1355 Š./1976, pp. 449-53).

An internationally oriented literary society was the Anjoman-e Rawābeṭ-e Farhangī-e Īrān bā Etteḥād-e Jamāhīr-e Šūrāwī, founded in 1322 Š./1943 to encourage cultural cooperation between Iran and the USSR, especially in literature and the fine arts. Although not sponsored by the government, it counted among its members high government officials and important literary figures. Political difficulties caused its journal, *Payām-e now*, to cease publication in Esfand, 1333 Š./1955; this was succeeded in 1337 Š./1958 by a new journal, *Payām-e novīn*. The society organized the first Congress of Iranian Writers in 1325 Š./1946 and published the proceedings that year.

The aims of the Anjoman-e Ketāb, organized in 1337 Š./1958 by Ehsan Yarshater, were to institute a book club and a lending library, to circulate collections of books to villages, to publish bibliographies, and to award an annual prize for the best book of the year. In the same year Yarshater, with the assistance of Īraġ Afšār, founded the journal *Rāhnāma-ye ketāb* for book reviews and literary scholarship (*Rāhnāma-ye ketāb* 1, 1337 Š./1958, pp. 94-95, 224, 354-55; private communication from Yarshater).



In 1347 Š./1968 a group of writers and intellectuals founded the Kānūn-e Nevīsandagān-e Īrān, primarily in order to combat censorship. It was denied official recognition, and within two years governmental pressure and internal dissention silenced the organization. In 1356 Š./1977 official recognition was again requested and denied. That October, the group organized ten nights of poetry readings in Tehran; these resulted in violent anti-government protests and one death. After the revolution it attempted a similar protest with no success, and soon its office was ransacked by a mob (Ĝ. Ḥ. Sā'edī, "Farhangkoši wa honaržadā'i dar jomhūrī-e eslāmī," *Alefbā*, N.S. 1, [Paris], 1361 Š./1982, p. 7); by 1359 Š./1980 all of its activities had ceased. In Mordād, 1361 Š./1982 several prominent writers announced the formation of the Kānūn-e Nevīsandagān-e Īrān dar Tab'īd in Paris (private communication of F. Mīlanī; *Īrān wa jahān* 3, no. 118, 15 Āḍar 1361 Š./6 December 1982, p. 15).

Given in the text.

(W. L. Hanaway, Jr.)