

Notes

Chapter 1

- 1 For further information on the Safavids see Darwīsh Tawakulī ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī, *Şafwat al-Şafā* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Zaryāb, 1375 A. Hsh./1997 C.E.); Rasūl Ja'fariyān, *Dīn wa siyāsāt dar dawra-yi Şafawī* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Anşāriyān, 1370 A. Hsh./ 1991); Abbas Amanat, *Iran: A Modern History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 33-175; Leonard Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Işfahān', in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan (eds.) *The Heritage of Sufism; Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501-1750)*, vol. III (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999); Maryam Mīr Aḥmadī, *Dīn wa dawlat dar 'aşr Şafawī* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1369 A. Hsh./ 1990); David Morgan, 'Rethinking Safavid Shī'ism', in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan (eds.), *Heritage of Sufism*, vol. III (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 'The Place of the School of Işfahān in Islamic Philosophy and Sufism', in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan (eds.), *Heritage of Sufism*, vol. III (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 'The School of Isfahan', in M. M. Sharif (ed.), *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, vol. II (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1966); Andrew J Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006); Roger Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- 2 Robert Gleave, 'Religion and Society in Qajar Iran', in R. Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), pp. 3-4.
- 3 Azar Tabari, 'The Role of the Clergy in Modern Iranian Politics', in Nikki R. Keddie (ed.), *Religion and Politics in Iran* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 48.
- 4 The relationship between clerics, Sufis, Nādir Shāh and Karīm Khān is explained in Chapter Two.
- 5 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 122.

- 6 Michael Axworthy, *A History of Iran: Empire of Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), pp. 166-167; Dr. Ghulām Riḍā Warhām, *Tārikh-i Siyāsī va Ijtimā'ī Irān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Mu'īn, 1368 A. Hsh./1989), p. 31.
- 7 Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Tārikh-i Ijtimā'ī wa Siyāsī dar dawra-yi mu'āṣir*, vol. I (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād, 1354 A. Hsh./1975), p. 45.
- 8 For further information about his wars and negotiation with neighbouring countries see Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, pp. 130-158; Nafīsī, *Tārikh-i Ijtimā'ī wa Siyāsī*.
- 9 Edward Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. IV-*Modern Times (1500-1924)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 144.
- 10 Sa'īd Arjomand, 'Political Ethic and Public Law in the Early Qājār Period', in R. Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qājār Iran* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 21.
- 11 The term 'mujtahid' in Shi'ism means a high ranking Shi'ite cleric who is authorised to interpret religious legal issues not explicitly explained in the Qur'ān and religious traditions. A mujtahid is a highly qualified jurist, who is qualified to practise *Ijtihad*, which is personal interpretation and decisions about Islamic laws. A mujtahid is imitated by his followers. For further information about the concept of *ijtihād* see Norman Calder, 'Doubt and Prerogative: The Emergence of the Imāmī Shi'ī Theory of Ijtihād', *Studia Islamica*, Vol. 70 (1989), pp. 31-51; Oliver Scharbrodt, 'The *qutb* as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam: The Conflation of Shi'ī and Sufi *Vilāyat* in the Ni'matullāhī Order', in D. Hermann and S. Mervin (eds.), *Shi'ī Trends and Dynamics in Modern Times (XVIIIth-XXth centuries) Courants et dynamiques chiites à l'époque modern (XVIIIe-XXe siècles)* (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 2010), p. 33.
- 12 For his biography see Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān Tunikābunī, *Qīṣaṣ al-'Ul-amā'* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i 'ilmī farhangī, 1383 A. Hsh./2004), pp. 225-228.
- 13 Arjomand, 'Political Ethic and Public Law', p. 24.
- 14 Robert Gleave, 'Jihād and the Religious Legitimacy of the Early Qājār State', in R. Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qājār Iran* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 43.
- 15 'Abd al-Hādī Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn rüyārūyī andīshih garān-i Irān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1367 A. Hsh./1988), p.233.
- 16 Ibid., p. 240.
- 17 Ibid., pp. 239-242.
- 18 Muḥammad Hāshim Āṣif (Rustam al-Ḥukamā'), *Rustam al-tawārikh* (Tehran: Chāpkhānīh Sipīhr, 1352 A. Hsh./1973), p. 21.
- 19 Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. IV, p. 146.

- 20 Denis Wright explains Richard Wellesley's entitlements from England as follows 'Richard Wellesley, 1st Marquess, Earl of Mornington (1760-1842). Governor General of India 1787-1805; Foreign Secretary 1809-12; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1821-8 and 1833-4; Elder brother of the 1st Duke of Wellington' (Denis Wright, *The English Amongst Persians* (London: William Heinmann Ltd., 1977), p. 3, footnote).
- 21 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, pp. 244-245; Wright, *The English Amongst Persians*, pp. 3-7.
- 22 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, pp. 247-248.
- 23 For further information see Iradj Amini, *Napoleon and Persia; Franco-Persian relations under the first empire* (Washington, DC: Mage Publisher, 1999).
- 24 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, pp. 250-251.
- 25 Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. IV, p. 146.
- 26 Āṣif, *Rustam*, p. 464.
- 27 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 252.
- 28 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 253; Wright, *The English Amongst Persians*, p. 7.
- 29 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, pp. 255-257; Wright, *The English Amongst Persians*, p. 7.
- 30 Arjomand, 'Political Ethic and Public Law', p. 21; Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 357.
- 31 The 'greater occultation' of twelfth Imām was followed by the 'lesser occultation'. During the 'lesser occultation', there were agents as intermediaries between the twelfth Imām and the Imām's followers. By the death of the last agent (*vakīl*) in 329/940, the 'greater occultation' had started and is still continuing, and since then there had been no direct contact with the Imām. The twelfth Imām is the last Imām of Twelver Shi'ites, and is the Messiah for Shi'ites. Although since then, there has been no direct contact with the twelfth Imām. There are seminary scholars acting as his representation in Shi'ite culture. (Hamid Algar, *Religion and state in Iran* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1969), p.262; Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam* (New York: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 162-171.)
- 32 Algar, *Religion and State in Iran*, p. 3.
- 33 Mangol Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999), pp. 21-23.
- 34 Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. IV, p. 353.
- 35 Algar, *Religion and State in Iran*, p. 5; Henry Corbin, *Pour une Morphologies de la Spiritualité Shi'ite* (Zurich: Eranos Jahrbuch, 1960), p. 69.
- 36 Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent*, pp. 21-25; Scharbrodt, 'The *quṭb* as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', p.34.

- 37 Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent*, p. xii-xiii.
- 38 Algar, *Religion and State in Iran*, p. 5; Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 323.
- 39 Arjomand, 'Political Ethic and Public Law', p. 21.
- 40 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 324; Tunikābunī, *Qīṣaṣ*, p. 252.
- 41 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 324.
- 42 Ibid., p. 325.
- 43 Ibid., p. 324.
- 44 The literal meaning of Mahdī is 'guided one'. He is an eschatological figure in Islamic tradition, who is the Messiah for Muslims. Twelver Shi'ites believe that the twelfth Imām, Muḥammad al-Mahdī (b. 255/860), is the messiah, who is in occultation (Momen, pp. 161-172). For further information see Said Amir Arjomand, 'Messianism, Millennialism and Revolution in Early Islamic History', in Abbas Amanat and Magnus T. Bernhardsson (eds.), *Imagining the End* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), pp. 116-129.
- 45 Ḥā'irī, p. 326.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Arjomand, 'Political Ethic and Public Law', p. 31.
- 49 Ibid.; Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, pp. 326-327.
- 50 Arjomand, 'Political Ethic and Public Law', p. 31; Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, pp. 327-328.
- 51 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 356.
- 52 Ibid., p. 358.
- 53 Muḥammad Ma'sūm Shīrāzī, *Tarā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq*, Vol. III (Tehran: Sanā'ī publication, 1966). p. 171.
- 54 Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran*, pp. 5-6.
- 55 Ibid., p. 7.
- 56 For further information about the Akhbārī school of Shi'ism see Robert Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Devin J. Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: Twelver Shiite Responses to the Sunni Legal System* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1998), pp. 175-209.
- 57 Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal, the making of the Babi movement in Iran, 1844-1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 34-38; Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 217; Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 361.
- 58 Mangol Bayat, 'Anti-Sufism in Qajar Iran', in F. De Jong and B. Radtke (eds.), *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 627.

- 59 Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent*, p. 21.
- 60 For further information about Muḥammad ‘Alī Bihbahānī see Ni‘matullāh Chugānī, *Ta’mūlī dar zindigī-yi Āqā Muḥammad‘Alī Kirmānshāhī (Šūfik-ush)* (M.A. Dissertation, Danishgāh Adyān wa Mazāhib, Qum, 1385 A. Hsh./2006).
- 61 Shīrāzī, *Tarā‘iq*, vol. III, pp. 209-210.
- 62 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 77.
- 63 Juan R. Cole, ‘Imami Jurisprudence and the Role of the Ulama: Morteza Ansari on Emulating the Supreme Exemplar’, in Nikki R. Keddie (ed.), *Religion and Politics in Iran* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 40; Moojan Momen, *Introduction*, p. 128. For further information about thugs, mobs and their relationship with Shi‘ite clerics see Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent*, p. 42; Juan R. I. Cole and Moojan Momen, ‘Mafia, Mob and Shiism in Iraq: The rebellion of Ottoman Karbala 1824-1843’, in *Past and Present*, No. 112 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Aug. 1986), pp. 112-143.
- 64 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, pp. 77-78.
- 65 Leonard Lewisohn, ‘An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part I: The Ni‘matullāhī order: persecution, revival and schism’, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), vol. 61, Part 3, p. 440.
- 66 Muḥsin Kīyānī, *Tārīkh-i khāniqāh dar Īrān* (Tehran: Kitābkhānih Ṭahūrī, 1369 A. Hsh./1990), p. 213.
- 67 Algar, *Religion and State in Iran*, p. 14.
- 68 Ibid., p. 11.
- 69 Ḥā‘irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 357.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 The use of the term ‘Islamic fundamentalism’ in this book refers primarily to hard-line, intolerant elements of thinking that belonged to the Uṣūlī theological tradition going back to the 16th century Safavid Persia. For further information relevant to this discussion about Islamic fundamentalism see A. K. S. Lambton, ‘The Clash of Civilizations: Authority, Legitimacy, and Perfectibility’, in R. M. Burrell (ed.), *Islamic Fundamentalism* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1989), pp. 33-47; Juan Cole, *Sacred Space and Holy War: The Politics, Culture and History of Shi‘ite Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), pp. 31-78; Richard Hrair Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution: Fundamentalism in the Arab World* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995); B. B. Lawrence, ‘Fundamentalists in Pursuit of an Islamic State’, in his *Defenders of God: The Fundamentalist Revolt Against the Modern Age* (London: I. B. Tauris 1990), pp. 189-226; Bernard Lewis, *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror* (New York: Random House, 2004).

- 72 Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. IV, p. 168.
- 73 Ibid., pp. 177-181.
- 74 Ibid., pp. 181-182.
- 75 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 352.
- 76 Āṣif, *Rustam*, p. 231.
- 77 Ibid., p. 232.
- 78 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 353.
- 79 Ibid., p. 354.
- 80 Ibid., p. 374.
- 81 Ibid., p. 363.
- 82 Ibid., p. 365.
- 83 Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. IV, p. 298.
- 84 Ibid., p. 309.
- 85 Muḥammad Taqī Bahār (Malik al-Shu'arā), *Sabk Shināsī ya tārikh taṭawur nathr-i fārsī*, vol. III (Tehran: Intishārāt-i zawwār, 1381 A. Hsh. /2002), pp. 311-312.
- 86 The name of Maḥmūd Khān was used by 'Abd al-Hādī Ḥā'irī, whereas the majority of other sources called him Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān of Kāshān.
- 87 Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. IV, p. 307.
- 88 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 407.
- 89 Ibid., p. 407.
- 90 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 14.
- 91 Muḥammad Taqī Khuyī, *Ādāb al-Musāfirīn*, (Tehran: Kitābkhānih Dānishgāh-i Tehran, Manuscript number: 2409), p. 372.
- 92 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla-yi Justujū dar taṣawwuf-i Irān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1362 A. Hsh./ 1983), p. 309.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Ata Anzali, 'Safavid Shi'ism and the Eclipse of Sufism and the Emergence of 'irfān' (Ph.D.thesis, Houston, TX: Rice University, 2012), pp. 193-209; Leonard Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part II: A socio-cultural profile of Sufism, from the Dhahabī revival to the present day', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), vol. 62, Part 1, p. 47.
- 95 Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part II', p. 57.
- 96 Leonard Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part I: The Ni'matullāhī order: persecution, revival and schism', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), vol. 61, Part 3, p. 438; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 309.

- 97 ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Justujū dar taṣawwuf-i Īrān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1367 A. Hsh./ 1988), p. 375.
- 98 Ḥusayn Munajjimī (Lāhījānī), *Mabānī-yi Sulūk dar silsila Khāksār-i Jalālī wa taṣawwuf* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tābān, 1378 A. Hsh./ 1999), p. 40. For further information about Ghulām ‘Alī Shāh see Tūraj Adhamī, *Az khāk tā Khāksār, silsila-yi Salmānī Abū Turābī Jalālī* (Tehran: Nashr-i Shaivard, 1387 A. Hsh./ 2008), pp. 592-605.
- 99 Zayn al-‘Abidīn Shīrwānī (Mast ‘Alī Shāh), *Bustān al-Sīyāḥa* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ḥaqīqat, 2010), pp. 364-365.
- 100 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 310.
- 101 Frithjof Schuon, *Understanding Islam* (Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom Ltd., 1998), p. 37.
- 102 Sulṭānī, Ḥāj Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir. *Rahbarān-i ṭarīqat wa ‘irfān* (Tehran: Mu’asisih Intishārātī Maḥbūb, 1371 A Hsh/ 1992), p. 180.
- 103 Dr. Ḥamīd Farzām, *Tahqīq dar aḥwāl wa naqd athār wa afkārī Shāh Ni‘matullāhi Walī* (Tehran: Soroush Press, 2000), pp. 34-39.
- 104 Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān-i ṭarīqat wa ‘irfān*, p. 177.
- 105 Shāh Ni‘matullāh Walī, *Kuliyāt-i ash‘ār-i Shāh Ni‘matullāh Walī*, Javad Nurbakhsh (ed.) (Tehran, 1361 Hsh/1981), p. 880.
- 106 Ni‘matullāh Walī, *Kuliyāt*, p. 880; Shahrām Pāzūkī, ‘Shāh Ni‘matullāh Walī wa ṭarīqa way’, in Seyyed Hossein Nasr (ed.), *Jilwih ḥay-i ma‘nawī dar jahān-i islām; ṭarīqih ḥay-i ‘irfānī*, trans. Faṭīmih Shāhhosseini (Tehran, 1391Hsh/2012), p. 321.
- 107 Javad Nurbakhsh, ‘The Nimatullāhī’, in Seyyed Hossein Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality; Manifestations* (New York, 2015), p. 147.
- 108 Javad Nurbakhsh, ‘The Nimatullāhī’, p. 148.
- 109 See Javad Nurbakhsh, ‘The Ni matullāhī Order’, *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations*, pp. 145-150.
- 110 Anzali, ‘Safavid Shi‘ism’, p. 252; Terry Graham, ‘The Ni‘matullāhī Order under Safavid Suppression’, p. 178; Scharbrodt, ‘The *quṭb* as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam’, p.37.
- 111 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 71; Anzali, ‘Safavid Shi‘ism’, p. 252; Sayyid Aḥmad Dīwānbaygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadīqat al-Shu‘arā*, vol. II, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawā‘ī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Zarrīn, 1364 A. Hsh./ 1985), p. 1036; Scharbrodt, ‘The *quṭb* as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam’, p. 37.
- 112 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 295.
- 113 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 71; Scharbrodt, ‘The *quṭb* as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam’, pp. 37-38.

- 114 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 72; Dīwānbaygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadiqat al-Shu'arā*, vol. II, p. 1037; Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 230; Khuyī, *Ādāb*, pp. 352-353; Javad Nurbakhsh, *Masters of the Path; a History of the Masters of the Nimatullahi Sufi Order* (New York: Khaniqahi-Nimatullahi Publication, 1980), p. 76; Scharbrodt, 'The *quṭb* as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', pp. 37-38; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. II, p. 332 and vol. III, p. 171; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 661; Zayn al-'Ābidīn Shīrwānī (Mast 'Alī Shāh), *Ḥadā'iq al-Siyāḥa* (Tehran: Sāzmān-i Chāp-i Danishgāh, 1348 A. Hsh./ 1969), p. 27; Sultānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 206.
- 115 During that era there was no distinction between the *Qalandars* (as a formal order) and itinerant wandering dervishes. Specific *Qalandarī* beliefs are explained below.
- 116 Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, p. 358.
- 117 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 295.
- 118 Dīwānbaygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadiqat al-Shu'arā*, vol. II, p. 1037; Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 230; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl* (Hamadān), p. 359.
- 119 This event of Jānī is explained in detail in Chapter Three.
- 120 Kiyānī, *Tārīkh*, p. 267.
- 121 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 231; Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 38; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 173; Sultānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 207; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 320.
- 122 Kiyānī, *Tārīkh*, p. 269.
- 123 Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part I', p. 441.
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 287.
- 126 For further information about Mullā 'Abd al-Ṣamad Hamadānī see Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ*, p. 555; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1911-1914. For further information see Shīrāzī, *Ḥadiqat al-Shu'arā*, vol. II, p. 1044; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ*, p. 542; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 233; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 884-886 and p. 662.
- 127 Nasrollah Pourjavady in *Kings of Love* has a chapter called 'Mullās and Kings' elaborating on this transformation of the Ni'matullāhi order from a Qalandarī'ite to a scholarly movement (Pourjavadi and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, pp. 136-155).
- 128 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 72.
- 129 Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, p. 360.
- 130 Ibid., p. 362.
- 131 Muḥammad Ja'far Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il Majdhūbiyya* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ḥaqīqat, 1377 A. Hsh./ 1998), p. 5; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ*, p. 639.

- 132 Āqā Muḥammad ‘Alī Bihbahānī, *Khayrātīyya* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Anṣārīyān, 1412 A.Hsh./1991 C.E.). For further information about *Khayrātīyya* see Chugānī, *Ta’mulī dar zindigī-yi Āqā Muḥammad ‘Alī Kirmān-shāhī (Šūfīkush)*, pp. 7-11; Royce, *Mīr Ma’šūm ‘Alī Shāh and the Ni’mat Allāhī Revival*, pp. 169-172; Sayyid Muḥammadhādī Abū Turābī, *Naqdī bar Kharātīyya* (M.A. dissertation, Danishgāh Adyān wa Mazāhib-i Qum, Qum 1385 A. Hsh./ 2006).
- 133 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 43.
- 134 For further information one can study the lifestyle of the Dhahabī masters of Shīrāz living in this era: Dr. Iḥsānu’llāh Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf* (Tehran: Chāpkhānīh Būzarjūmīhrī, 1338 A. Hsh./ 1959), pp. 422-496.
- 135 Lewisohn, ‘An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part II’, pp. 46-47.
- 136 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, pp. 332-333.
- 137 Ibid., p. 332.
- 138 Dhahabī Shīrāzī, *Khurshīd-i Jān*, p. 11; Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, pp. 462-463; Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, p. 328; Lewisohn, ‘An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part II’, p. 37; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā’iq*, vol. III, p. 219; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, pp. 335-336.
- 139 Dhahabī Shīrāzī, *Khurshīd-i Jān*, pp. 12-13; Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, pp. 463-464; Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, p. 329.
- 140 Dhahabī Shīrāzī, *Khurshīd-i Jān*, p. 13; Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, p. 464; Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, p. 329.
- 141 Dhahabī Shīrāzī, *Khurshīd-i Jān*, pp. 15-16; Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, pp. 330-331; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 336.
- 142 Dhahabī Shīrāzī, *Khurshīd-i Jān*, p. 16; Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, p. 465; Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, p. 331; Lewisohn, ‘An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part II’, p. 37; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 336. For further information about Shaṭṭārīyya Sufi Order see J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 96-98.
- 143 Dhahabī Shīrāzī, *Khurshīd-i Jān*, p. 17; Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, p. 466.
- 144 Dhahabī Shīrāzī, *Khurshīd-i Jān*, p. 22; Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, p. 470.
- 145 Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, p. 472; Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, p. 337; Lewisohn, ‘An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part II’, p. 37.
- 146 Ibid.
- 147 Dhahabī, *Manāhil*, p. 5; Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, p. 338.
- 148 Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, p. 476; Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, p. 342; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 336.

- 149 Āqā Muḥammad Hāshim Dhahabī Shīrāzī, *Khurshīd-i Jān; Qaṣīda-yi Shamsīyya*, ed. M. Nayirī (Qum: Intishārāt-i Daryāyi Nūr, 1381 A. Hsh./2002).
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- 151 Ibid., p. 348.
- 152 Ibid., pp. 352-353.
- 153 Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, p. 476.
- 154 Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, pp. 351-352.
- 155 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 336.
- 156 Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, p. 354.
- 157 Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, p. 492; Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, p. 357; Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part II', p. 38.
- 158 Ibid., p. 98.
- 159 Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, pp. 698-711; Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, pp. 157-165.
- 160 Ibid., p. 67.
- 161 Istakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, p. 657.
- 162 Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part II', p. 37.
- 163 Khāwarī, *Dhahabīyya*, pp. 72-88.
- 164 Baluchistān is a province located in the South East of Iran, mostly inhabited by Sunni Muslims (Zibā 'Arshī and Naṣr Allah Kasrā'īyān, *Baluchistān* (Tehran: Nashr-i Āgah, 1380 A. Hsh./2001)).
- 165 The literal translation of Sayyid is 'lord', indicating a leader. Descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad are called Sayyids to indicate their superior spiritual lineage.
- 166 Kamāl Rūḥānī, *Taṣawwuf-i Kurdistān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Samirand, 1385 A. Hsh/2006), pp. 129-130.
- 167 Rūḥānī, *Taṣawwuf-i Kurdistān*, p. 230; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1834.
- 168 Ibid.
- 169 Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part I', p. 438.
- 170 Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism; Naqshbandīs in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005), pp. 23-25.
- 171 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1071.
- 172 Ibid., p. 1835.
- 173 Ibid., p. 1838.
- 174 Ibid., p. 1342.
- 175 Ibid., p. 1439.

- 176 Dr. Mahīndukht Mu'tamidī, *Mawlānā Khālid Naqshbandī wa payruwān ʿarīqat ū* (Tehran: Pazhang, 1368 A. Hsh./ 1989), p.17.
- 177 Mu'tamidī, *Mawlānā Khālid*, p. 23; Rūhānī, *Taşawwuf-i Kurdistān*, pp. 259-263.
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- 179 For general information about the Qādiriyya order see Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, 'The Qādiriyya Order', in Seyyed Hossein Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality* (Lahore: Caravan Press, 2000), vol. II, pp. 6-26; Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders of Islam*, pp. 40-44.
- 180 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1075.
- 181 Ibid., p. 437.
- 182 Rūhānī, *Taşawwuf-i Kurdistān*, p. 134; Muḥammad Ra'ūf Tawakulī, *Tārīkh taşawwuf dar Kurdistān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i tawakulī, 1381 A. Hsh./ 2002); pp. 155-156.
- 183 Ibid., p. 128.
- 184 For further information on Badawī see Muḥammad Abū Zayd, *Al-murabī al-rabbānī al-sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī* (Cairo: Dār al-Īmān wa al-ḥayāt, 2007); Abdullah Schleifer, 'Sufism in Egypt and the Arab East', in Seyyed Hossein Nasr (ed.), *Islamic Spirituality*, vol. II, pp. 195-196. For further information on Rifā'ī see Schleifer, 'Sufism in Egypt and the Arab East', pp. 194-195.
- 185 Rūhānī, *Taşawwuf-i Kurdistān*, p. 192.
- 186 Ibid., pp. 137-140.
- 187 Ibid., p. 152.
- 188 Ibid., p. 155; Tawakulī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 161-162.
- 189 Rūhānī, *Taşawwuf-i Kurdistān*, pp. 155-156; Tawakulī, *Tārīkh*, pp. 162-164.
- 190 Rūhānī, *Taşawwuf-i Kurdistān*, p. 130.
- 191 Nūr 'Alī Ilāhī, *Burhān al-Ḥaqq* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Jayhūn, 1373 A. Hsh./ 1994), pp. 634-654.
- 192 Ibid., pp. 15-16.
- 193 Muḥammad 'Alī Sulṭānī, *Qiyām wa nihdzat 'Alawīyān zāgrus ya tārīkh tahlīlī ahl-i Ḥaqq* (Tehran: Mu'asisih farhangī-yi Nashr-i Suhā, 1377 A.Hsh./ 1998), p. 143.
- 194 Sulṭānī, *Qiyām wa nihdzat 'Alawīyān*, pp. 144-145.
- 195 Dr. Şiddiq Şafāzāda, *Dānishnāmih nām āvarān-i yārisān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Hirmand, 1376 A. Hsh./ 1997), pp. 335-339.
- 196 On these figures, see ibid., pp. 339-347.

Chapter 2

- 1 For further information see Josef Van Ess, 'Sufism and its Opponents. Reflection on Topoi, Tribulations, and Transformations', in Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radtke (eds.) *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies & Polemics* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 22-44.
- 2 Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radtke, 'Introduction', in de Jong and Radtke (eds.), *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, p. 1.
- 3 Ibid., p. 26.
- 4 Vincent J. Cornell, 'Faḳīh versus Faqīr in Marinid Morocco: Epistemological dimension of a polemic', in Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radtke (eds.) *Islamic Mysticism Contested* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 32.
- 5 'The Meccan Revelation (*Futūḥāt-i al-Makkiyya*)', as James W. Morris states, 'is Ibn 'Arabī's longest and most comprehensive work' (Muḥyi Al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī, *The Meccan Revelations*, trans. William C. Chittick and James W. Morris (New York: Pir Press, 2002), pp. 1-6).
- 6 Cited by Leonard Lewisohn, 'Overview: Iranian Islam and Persianate Sufism', in Leonard Lewisohn (ed.), *Heritage of Sufism: The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)*, vol. II (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999), p. 21.
- 7 Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders of Islam*, p. 1.
- 8 Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press,), p. 43.
- 9 Michael A. Sells, *Early Islamic Mysticism* (New York: Paulist Press, 1996), pp. 116-117.
- 10 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Arzish-i mīrāth-i Ṣūfīyya* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1385 A. Hsh./ 2006), p. 167.
- 11 Gerhard Böwering, 'Perimeters and Constants', in de Jong and Radtke (eds.), *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, p. 45.
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- 15 Aḥmad Tamīm-dārī, *ʿirfān wa adab dar ʿaṣr-i Ṣafawī* (Tehran: Intishārāt Hīkmat, 1373 A. Hsh./ 1994).
- 16 Muqaddas Ardībīlī, *Ḥadiqat al-Shīʿa*, eds. Ṣādiq Ḥassanzāda (Qum: Intishārāt Anṣārīyān, 1383 A. Hsh./ 2004), pp. 563-564; Āqā Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbahānī, *Khayrātīyya*, vol. I (Qum: Intishārāt-i Anṣārīyān, 1412 A.Hsh./1991), p. 38; 'Allāma Āqā Muḥammad Ja'far ibn Āqā Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbahānī, *faḍāyih al-Ṣūfīyya* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Anṣārīyān, 1413

- A. Hsh./1992), p. 38; Zayn al-Ābidīn Shīrwānī (Mast ‘Alī Shāh), *Rīyād al-Siyāḥa* (Tehran: Chāpkhānih Zuhrih, 1339 A. Hsh./1960), pp. 301-302.
- 17 Shīrwānī, *Rīyād*, pp. 301-302.
- 18 He will be discussed in this chapter.
- 19 Mangol Bayat, ‘Anti-Sufism in Qajar Iran’, p. 626.
- 20 Zarrīnkūb, *Justujū*, p. 358.
- 21 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. I, p. 6.
- 22 Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār Nayshāburī, *Tadhkirat al-ulīā*, Muḥammad Istīlāmī (ed.) (Tehran: Intishārāt Zawwār, 1383 A. Hsh./2004).
- 23 Leonard Lewisohn, *Beyond Faith and Infidelity* (Richmond Surrey: Curzon Press, 1995), p. 56.
- 24 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1779.
- 25 Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. IV, p. 4.
- 26 Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, p. 23.
- 27 Ibid.; Muḥammadriḍā Yūsifī and Aḥmadriḍā Riḍāyī Jamkarānī, ‘Taṣawwuf tashayyū’ garāy-i qarn-i nuhum’, in *Majalīh pazhuhishī muṭālīāt-i ‘irfānī* (Kāshān: Danishkadīh’ulūm-i Insānī Kāshān, 1386 A. Hsh./2007), pp. 166-167.
- 28 Lewisohn, *Beyond Faith*, p. 56.
- 29 For further information about the Ilkhanid dynasty see Reuven Amitai, *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands: Studies in the history of the Ilkhanate*, London: Routledge, 2007); Feralk Hawting (ed.), *Muslim Mongols and Crusaders* (Oxford: Routledge, 2005); Dorothea Krawulsky, *The Mongol Ilkhans and Their Vizier Rashid al-Din* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2011).
- 30 Lewisohn, *Beyond Faith*, p. 32.
- 31 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1314; Shīrwānī, *Rīyād*, p. 61.
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- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Shīrīn Bayānī, *Dīn wa dawlat dar Īrān-i ‘aḥd mughul*, vol. II (Tehran: Markaz-i nashr-i dānishgāhī, 1371 A. Hsh./ 1992), pp. 481-482; ‘Abd Allāh Abū al-Qāsim Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljāyṭu*, ed. Mahīn Hanbalī (Tehran: Bungāh-i tarjumīh wa nashr-i kitāb, 1348 A. Hsh./1969), pp. 90-96 and pp. 99-101; Shīrwānī, *Rīyād*: pp. 67-68.
- 36 Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uljāyṭu*, pp. 99-101; Shīrwānī, *Rīyād*, pp. 67-68.
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- 38 Shahzad Bashīr, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhshīya Between Medieval and Modern Islam* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), p. 9.

- 39 For further information about the Sarbidārān dynasty see John M. Smith, *The History of the Sarbadar Dynasty 1336-1381 A.D. and its Sources* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012). Cf. Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 49.
- 40 Ibid., pp. 49-54.
- 41 Muḥammad Jāwidān, ‘Ālimān-i Shīʿa wa taṣawwuf’, in *Haft Āsmān: faṣl-nāma-yi takhaṣuṣī adyān wa madhāhib* (Qum: Haft Āsmān Publications, 1383 A. Hsh./2004), Vol. 6, No. 22, p. 210.
- 42 Leonard Lewisohn, ‘The Transcendental Unity of Polytheism and Monotheism in the Sufism of Shabistari’, in Leonard Lewisohn (ed.), *The Heritage of Sufism: vol. II: The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)*, (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999), p. 385.
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- 46 Justin Marozzi, *Tamerlane: Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2004), p. 8.
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- 50 Ibid.
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- 52 For further information about the Kubrawī Sufi order see Muhammad Isa Waley, ‘Najm al-Dīn Kubrā and the Central Asian School of Sufism (The Kubrawiyyah)’, in H. Nasr, *Islamic Spirituality*, vol. II, pp. 80-105.
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- 62 Terry Graham, 'Shāh Ni'matullāh: Founder of the Ni'matullāhī Sufi Order', in Leonard Lewisohn (ed.), *Heritage of Sufism, II: The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)*, p. 174.
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- 66 He was a well-known Sufi Shaykh during the Ilkhanid period, under the rulers Oljeitu and Abū Sa'īd. See Darwīsh Tawakkulī ibn Bazzāz Ardabīlī, *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Zaryāb, 1375 A. Hsh./ 1997), pp. 640 and 267.
- 67 Shaykh Zāhid traced his order back to Abū Najīb Suhrawardī (d. 1168 C.E.), and from there to Ma'rūf Karkhī (Bazzāz Ardabīlī, *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā*, pp. 180-181).
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- 69 Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids*, p. 9.
- 70 Leonard Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 68.
- 71 David Morgan, 'Rethinking Safavid Shī'ism', p. 20; Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids*, pp. 23-24.
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- 76 Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 73.
- 77 Shaykh Abū Ishāq Kāzīrūnī (d. 426/1035) was a great Sufi master who became popular in the Fārs region and the Kāzīrūniyya order was named after him. For further information see Zarrīnkūb, *Justujū*, pp. 217-219.
- 78 Graham, 'The Ni'matu'llāhī order under Safavid Suppression', in L. Lewisohn and D. Morgan (eds.), *The Heritage of Sufism; Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501-1750)*, vol. III (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999), p. 176.

- 79 Newman, *Safavid Iran*, pp. 32-33.
- 80 Anzali, 'Safavid Shi'ism', p. 252; Graham, 'The Ni'matu'llāhī Order under Safavid Suppression', p. 178; Scharbrodt, 'The *qutb* as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', p. 37.
- 81 Graham, 'The Ni'matu'llāhī order under Safavid suppression', pp. 183-184.
- 82 Zarrīnkūb, *Justujū*, p. 369.
- 83 Kathryn Babayan, *Mystic, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 225.
- 84 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 115.
- 85 Many Sufi orders claimed that Bahā' al-Dīn Āmilī was a member of their order. However, the Nūrbakhshī order has a more authentic claim in putting Shaykh Bahā'ī's (Shaykh al-Islām of Iṣfahān) name in Nurbakhshī's genealogies. There is no strong evidence that indicates that Shaykh Bahā'ī was initiated into a Sufi order, and it is possible that he dissimulated his affiliation with a Sufi order. The name of Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1030/ 1621), who lived during Shāh 'Abbās II's reign, also appears in Nurbakhshī genealogies (Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 116).
- 86 Ḥāfiz Ḥusayn Karbalā'ī, *Rawḍāt al-jinān wa Janāt al-jinān* (Tabriz: Intishārāt-i sutūdiḥ, 1381 A. Hsh./ 2002), p. 159.
- 87 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 14.
- 88 Mansur Sefatgol, 'From Dār al-Salṭana-yi Iṣfahān to Dār al-Khilāfa-yi Ṭihrān: continuity and change in the Safavid model of state-religious administration during the Qājārs (1795-1895/1209-1313)', in R. Gleaves (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 72.
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir Khunsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Janāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Islāmiyya, 1991), vol. IV, pp. 346-348.
- 91 Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 79.
- 92 Khunsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Janāt*, vol. IV, pp. 348-349.
- 93 Maryam Mir Aḥmadī, *Dīn wa dawlat dar 'aṣr Ṣafawī* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1369 A. Hsh./ 1990), p. 77.
- 94 Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 80. Āqā Buzurg Tihrānī and some other scholars recalled that Karakī wrote a treatise in refutation of Sufism entitled '*al-Maṭā'in al-muḥrimīyya fī radd-i al-Ṣūfiyya*'. However, this treatise has been lost: Āqā Buzurg Tihrānī, *al-dhuriya ilā taṣānīf-i al-Shi'a*, vol. 21 (Qum: Mu'asisih Ismā'iliyān, 1187 A.H./ 1773), p. 328.
- 95 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 244.

- 96 For further information about La'l Shabbāz Qalandar see Sarah Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: the Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 19. Abū 'Alī Qalandar's poetry made a great contribution to the Qalandari'ite literary canon. For further information about Abū 'Alī Qalandar see *Dīwān-i Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Bū 'Alī Qalandar*, ed. Mīr Ṭāhir (Tehran: Intishārāt-i tikkiya Khāksār, 1361 A.Hsh./1981).
- 97 Malāmatiyya began as an ascetic movement without any hypocrisy (Zarrīnkūb, *Justujū*, p. 346).
- 98 Zarrīnkūb, *Justujū*, pp. 372-373.
- 99 For further information see Muḥammad Riḍā Shafī'ī Kadkanī, *Qalandariyya dar tārikh: digardīshāy-i yik īdiuluzhī* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i sukhan, 1386 A. Hsh./2007 C.E.).
- 100 Zarrīnkūb, *Justujū*, p. 346
- 101 Ibid., pp. 372-373.
- 102 They were called *Jalālī* because they were named after Sayyid Jalāl Thānī (d. 785/1383), known as *Makhdūm Jahānīān* (Master of both worlds). His grandfather was a master of the Suhrawardiyya order, but Sayyid Jalāl was a deputy of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar. He spread the Qalandari'ite spiritual doctrines but did not accept any disciples, as he believed that he was not qualified to be a master (Zarrīnkūb, *Justujū*, p. 373).
- 103 Zarrīnkūb, *Justujū*, p. 375.
- 104 Ibid., p. 359.
- 105 It has been said that Shaykh Ḥaydar ibn Junayd (the father of Shāh Ismā'īl) had a vision of Imām 'Alī who commanded him that he had to make a sign for his followers to distinguish them from hypocrites. Therefore, he commanded his disciples, to wear red hats, and they were called *Qizilbāsh* ('red heads') (Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1328-1329).
- 106 Anzali, 'Safavid Shi'ism', p. 42.
- 107 al-Shaybī, *Tashayū' wa Taṣawwuf*, p. 399.
- 108 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 239.
- 109 Anzali, 'Safavid Shi'ism', pp. 54-56; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 241.
- 110 Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 83.
- 111 Rasūl Ja'fariyān, 'Tashayū' I'tidālī', in *Haft Āsmān: faṣlnāma-yi takhaṣuṣī adyān wa madhāhib* (Qum: Haft Āsmān Publications, 1383 A. Hsh./2004), Vol. 6, No. 22, pp. 58-59.
- 112 Ibid., p. 57.
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 Rasūl Ja'fariyān, *Dīn wa siyāsāt dar dawra-yi Ṣafawī*, pp. 251-254.

- 115 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 200.
- 116 Ibid., p. 262, 1848.
- 117 Tamīmdārī, *ʿirfān wa adab dar ʿaṣr ṣafawī*, vol. I, p. 37.
- 118 Hamid Dabashi, 'Mir Damad and the founding of the 'School of Isfahan', in O. Leaman and S. H. Nasr (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy* (London: Routledge Curzon, 1996), p. 597.
- 119 Nasr, 'The Place of the School of Iṣfahān', p. 11.
- 120 Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 86.
- 121 Ibid., p. 67.
- 122 Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 90; Nasr, 'The Place of the School of Iṣfahān', p. 121.
- 123 Ibid., p. 8.
- 124 Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 95.
- 125 Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, *Kaṣr al-aṣnām al-jāhiliyya fī dham-i al-jamāʿat al-Ṣūfīyya* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh Tehran, 1340 A. Hsh./ 1961).
- 126 Jāwidān, 'Ālimān-i Shīʿa wa taṣawwuf', pp. 210-211.
- 127 Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', pp. 95-96.
- 128 Ibid., p. 97.
- 129 Ibid., p. 98.
- 130 Ibid., pp. 130-131.
- 131 Known as Shaykh Bahāʾī, he was born in 1546 in Baʿalbak in present-day Lebanon. His father emigrated to Persia as a Shīʿite seminary scholar (Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 88).
- 132 Royce, *Mīr Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 37; private interview with Dr Shahrām Pāzūkī, August 2011, and Nasr, 'The School of Isfahan', p. 910.
- 133 Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 93.
- 134 Jāwidān, 'Ālimān-i Shīʿa wa taṣawwuf', p. 211.
- 135 Jaʿfariyān, *Dīn wa siyāsāt dar dawra-yi Ṣafawī*, p. 227; Jāwidān, 'Ālimān-i Shīʿa wa taṣawwuf', p. 211.
- 136 Ibid.
- 137 For this dispute between Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī and Qumī see Jaʿfariyān, *Ṣafawīyya dar ʿarṣih dīn, farhang wa siyāsāt*, vol. II, pp. 605-658.
- 138 Ibid., p. 241.
- 139 Ibid., pp. 242-243.
- 140 Aḥmad Muqadas Ardibīlī, *Ḥadiqat al-Shīʿa* (Tehran: Nashr-i Dilshād, 1387 A. Hsh./ 2008). Allāma Burqīʾī has a detailed explanation about Shīʿite clerics proving that *Ḥadiqat al-Shīʿa* was written by Ardibīlī (Allāma Burqīʾī, *Ḥaqīqat al-ʿirfān* (place unknown, date unknown), pp. 47-48).

- 141 Nasrollah Pourjavady, 'Opposition to Sufism in Twelver Shiism', in F. de Jong and B. Radtke (eds.), *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 622.
- 142 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1109; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 55.
- 143 Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 132; Scharbrodt, 'The *quṭb* as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', p. 34.
- 144 Ja'fariyān, *Dīn wa siyāsāt dar dawra-yi Ṣafawī*, p. 254.
- 145 Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', pp. 132-133.
- 146 Bayat, 'Anti-Sufism in Qājār Iran', p. 625.
- 147 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1114-1115.
- 148 Muḥammad Bāqir Khuwnsārī, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī aḥwāl al-'ulamā' wa al-sādāt*, vol. I (Tehran: Ismā'īliyyān publication, 1390/ 2011), p. 129; Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 38.
- 149 The school of *Akhbārism* is explained below.
- 150 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. I, p. 268.
- 151 Kabūdarāhangī, *Ras'āl Majdhūbiyya*, p. 5; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ al-Sīyāḥa*, p. 621.
- 152 Ja'fariyān, *Dīn wa siyāsāt dar dawra-yi Ṣafawī*, p. 235.
- 153 Ibid., pp. 246-249.
- 154 Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, *Risāla tashwīq al-sālikīn* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Nūr-i Fāṭima, 1375 A. Hsh./1996).
- 155 Ibid., pp. 1115-1116.
- 156 Ja'fariyān, *Dīn wa siyāsāt dar dawra-yi Ṣafawī*, p. 253; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1115-1116.
- 157 Ibid., p. 256.
- 158 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 262-265.
- 159 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 171.
- 160 Ibid.
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Sefatgol, 'From Dār al-Saltāna-yi Iṣfahān to Dār al-Khilāfa-yi Ṭihhrān', p. 72.
- 163 Axworthy, *Sword of Persia*, pp. 17-18; Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 3-4. Amanat, *Modern Iran*, pp. 142-151.
- 164 Āṣif, *Rustam*, p. 182.
- 165 Axworthy, *Sword of Persia*, pp. 165-166 and pp. 171-193; Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 45; John R. Perry, *Karīm Khan Zand* (Oxford: One-world Publications, 2006), p. 12.
- 166 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 45; Perry, *Karīm Khan Zand*, p. 12.
- 167 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 45.

- 168 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1770.
- 169 Ibid., p. 51.
- 170 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 51.
- 171 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1848.
- 172 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. I, p. 58.
- 173 Ibid., p. 59.
- 174 Amanat, *Modern Iran*, pp. 152-153.
- 175 Ibid., p. 153.
- 176 Ibid.
- 177 Āṣif, *Rustam*, p. 408.
- 178 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 71.
- 179 Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 91.
- 180 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 71.
- 181 Perry, *Karīm Khan Zand*, p. 123; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 661.
- 182 Perry, *Karīm Khan Zand*, p. 123.
- 183 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, p. 87.
- 184 Āṣif, *Rustam*, pp. 322-324.
- 185 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 86.
- 186 Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 127.
- 187 Perry, *Karīm Khan Zand*, p. 122.
- 188 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Ruzigārān: Tārīkh-i Īrān az āghāz ta suqūṭ-i salṭanat pahlawī* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Sukhan, 1390 A. Hsh./ 2011), p. 727.
- 189 Āṣif, *Rustam*, p. 436.
- 190 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 75; Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 130; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq Al-Ḥaqā'iq*, Vol. III, p. 187.
- 191 Zarrīnkūb, *Justujū*, p. 376.
- 192 Joanna De Groot, *Religion, Culture and Politics in Iran* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), p. 89.
- 193 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 40.
- 194 Zarrīnkūb, *Arzish-i mīrāth*, p. 98.
- 195 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 66; Amanat, *Modern Iran*, pp. 162-166.
- 196 For further information about his wars and negotiation with neighbouring countries see Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 130-158; Amanat, *Modern Iran*, pp. 166-172.
- 197 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 75.
- 198 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1283.
- 199 Bayat, 'Anti-Sufism in Qājār Iran', p. 627.

- 200 Ibid.
- 201 Hidāyat, *Riyād*, p. 540.
- 202 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 359.
- 203 Kamran Aghaie, 'Religious Rituals, Social Identities and Political Relationships in Tehran under Qājār Rule, 1850s-1920s', in R. Gleaves (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qājār Iran* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 376.
- 204 Arjomand, 'Political Ethic and Public Law', p. 21.
- 205 Ibid.
- 206 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, pp. 76-77; Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 358.
- 207 De Groot, *Religion, Culture and Politics in Iran*, p. 90.
- 208 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1432.
- 209 Ibid., p. 1433.
- 210 Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent*, p. 21.
- 211 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1431.
- 212 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 410; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 251.
- 213 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1912; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, pp. 314-315.
- 214 Zarrīnkūb, *Justujū*, p. 375.
- 215 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 364-365 and 1054.
- 216 Ibid., p. 1041.
- 217 Āqā Muḥammad Bāqir was highly regarded by the followers of the Uṣūlī school. As Abbas Amanat observed, 'In the late eighteenth century, perhaps with some attention to the great scholars of the past and in comparison with the Sunni religious hierarchy, Āqā Muḥammad Bāqir Bihbahānī was acknowledged the "master of all," the "unique," and the "promoter" of the modern Uṣūlī school. Some scholars, most of them Bihbahānī's own students, regarded him as the "renewer of the beginning of the century," a concept more familiar in Sunni than in Shi'ite thought' (Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 41).
- 218 Bayat, 'Anti-Sufism in Qājār Iran', p. 627.
- 219 Ibid.
- 220 Andrew Newman, 'Anti-Akhhārī Sentiment among the Qājār 'Ulamā's: the case of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khwānsārī (d. 1313/ 1895)', in R. Gleaves (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qājār Iran* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 155.
- 221 De Groot, *Religion, Culture and Politics in Iran*, pp. 95-96.
- 222 Newman, 'Anti-Akhhārī', p. 165; Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 77; Jāwidān, 'Ālimān-i Shī'a wa Taṣawwuf', p. 210.
- 223 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 43.
- 224 Ibid.

- 225 Ibid., p. 78.
- 226 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1461-1463.
- 227 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 267; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 657.
- 228 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1495; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 315.
- 229 Āqā Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbahānī, *Khayrātīyya* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Anṣārīyān, 1412 A.H./1991), p. 459.
- 230 Jāwidān, 'Ālimān-i Shī'a wa Taṣawwuf', p. 211. For further information see Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, pp. 169-172.
- 231 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1433.
- 232 Bihbahānī, *Khayrātīyya*, vol. I, p. 9.
- 233 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 77.
- 234 Bihbahānī, *Khayrātīyya*, vol. I, p. 16.
- 235 Ibid., pp. 40-43.
- 236 Ibid., pp. 30-40.
- 237 Ibid., pp. 13-15.
- 238 Ibid., pp. 23-29.
- 239 Ibid., pp. 21-23, 29-30.
- 240 Ibid., pp. 15-21.
- 241 Āqā Muḥammad Ja'far ibn Āqā Muḥammad 'Alī, *faḍāyih al-Ṣūfiyya* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Anṣārīyān, 1413 A.H./ 1992 C.E.).
- 242 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 267; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 657.
- 243 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 257.
- 244 His role in Shī'ite seminary schools was explained in Chapter One.
- 245 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, pp. 356-357.
- 246 Ibid., p. 360.
- 247 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 358.
- 248 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 199.
- 249 Richard C. Foltz, *Spirituality in the Land of the Noble: How Iran Shaped the World's Religions* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2008), p. 145.
- 250 Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 655.
- 251 Ibid., p. 265.
- 252 Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, pp. 142-143.

Chapter 3

- 1 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 14.
- 2 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 229; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl al-fuṣūl*, Hamadān, fols. 358-359; Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 10; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiq al-ḥaqāʾiq*, vol. III, p. 171; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 309.
- 3 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 262. Muḥammad Maʾṣūm Shīrāzī likewise asserts that prior to the spiritual leadership of Maʾṣūm ʿAlī Shāh for 70 years no one in Persia had received any spiritual guidance and Sufi mystical teaching (Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiq*, vol. III; p. 171).
- 4 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 264.
- 5 Foltz, *Spirituality in the Land of the Noble*, p. 143.
- 6 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 71.
- 7 That is to say, they originated from the Deccan Plateau in India.
- 8 Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 93; Royce, *Mīr Maʾṣūm ʿAlī Shāh and the Niʾmat Allāhī Revival*, pp. 82-83.
- 9 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 71; Royce, *Mīr Maʾṣūm ʿAlī Shāh and the Niʾmat Allāhī Revival*, pp. 83-86.
- 10 Dīwānbaygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadiqat al-Shuʿarā*, vol. II, p. 1036.
- 11 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 219; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl* (Tehran), p. 547; Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 11; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiq*, vol. III: pp. 170-171; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 264; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 206.
- 12 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 264.
- 13 Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 11; Royce, *Mīr Maʾṣūm ʿAlī Shāh and the Niʾmat Allāhī Revival*, pp. 86-87.
- 14 Īzadgushasb, *Shams al-tawārīkh* (Tehran: Chāpkhānih Naqshi Jahān, 1345 A. Hsh./ 1966), p. 75; Khuyī, *Ādāb*, p. 351; Royce, *Mīr Maʾṣūm ʿAlī Shāh and the Niʾmat Allāhī Revival*, p. 87; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiq*, vol. III, p. 170; Sulṭānī, p. 206.
- 15 Īzadgushasb states that many have used the word ʿdhūʾlgharnaynʾ as the numerical value 1147 A.H. (Īzadgushasb, *Shams*, p. 75).
- 16 Khuyī, *Ādāb*, p. 352; Royce, *Mīr Maʾṣūm ʿAlī Shāh and the Niʾmat Allāhī Revival*, p. 87; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiq*, vol. III, p. 170; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 660; Sulṭānī, p. 206.
- 17 Royce, *Mīr Maʾṣūm ʿAlī Shāh and the Niʾmat Allāhī Revival*, p. 87; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 660.
- 18 Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 94; Royce, *Mīr Maʾṣūm ʿAlī Shāh and the Niʾmat Allāhī Revival*, p. 673.

- 19 Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 10; Khuyī, *Ādāb*, p. 352; Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, pp. 87-88; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 170; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 660.
- 20 Camel dung is still used for fuel among the lesser classes in India.
- 21 Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 94.
- 22 Khuyī, *Ādāb*, p. 352; Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 89; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 170; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 661.
- 23 Hidāyat, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 451; Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 90; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 160; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 661.
- 24 Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 125.
- 25 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 220.
- 26 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 71; Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 10; Khuyī, *Ādāb*, p. 342; Pāzūkī, 'qarn shishum', p. 43; Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 90; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 661; Sulṭānī, p. 206.
- 27 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, pp. 229-230.
- 28 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 71.
- 29 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 220; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 310. [cf Amanat, *Modern Iran*]
- 30 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 295.
- 31 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 171.
- 32 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 71.
- 33 For further information about Fayḍ 'Alī Shāh see Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, pp. 93-101.
- 34 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 72; Dīwānbaygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadīqat al-Shu'arā*, vol. II, p. 1037; Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 230; Khuyī, *Ādāb*, pp. 352-353; Javad Nurbakhsh, *Masters of the Path: A History of the Masters of the Nimatullahi Sufi Order*, trans. Leonard Lewisohn (New York: Khaniqahi-Nimatullahi Publication, 1980), p. 76; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. II, p. 332; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 171; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq al-Sīyāḥa* (Tehran: Sāz-mān-i Chāp-i Danishgāh, 1348 A. Hsh./ 1969), p. 27; Sulṭānī, p. 206.
- 35 Dīwānbaygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadīqat al-Shu'arā*, vol. II, p. 1037; Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 230; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. II, p. 332; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 661. For additional biography of Mushtāq 'Alī Shāh see Gulābzada, *Pazhūhishī dar rūy-dād-i qatl-i Mushtāq*.
- 36 Nurbakhsh, *Masters of the Path*, p. 84.
- 37 Āṣif, *Rustam*, p. 408.
- 38 Ibid., p. 234.

- 39 Sufi masters, as spiritual guides, were viewed as deputies of God. Some Sufis took this philosophy to extremes. Shi'ite Sufis, who believed in the deputyship of Imām or had chiliastic beliefs, were always in danger of being accused of claiming their master to be the Mahdī. Shāh Ni'matullāh (d. 834/1431) with strong chiliastic beliefs was among the prominent Sufi masters, whose order, as explained, became one the most influential Sufi orders within Shi'ite culture. Shaykh Ishāq Khutlānī (d. 826/1423) and Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1464) were also among those Sufi masters who created fertile ground for chiliastic beliefs. Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh's views on the advent of the promised Messiah or Mahdī, for instance, did not provide any clear distinction between the person of the Mahdī and that of the Sufi master.

There were also extremist movements based on messianic beliefs. Shaykh Khalifa (d. 736/1335) and Ḥassan Jūrī (d. 743/1342) formed a rebellious movement against the tyranny of Ilkhanid rulers in Persia, known as the Sarbidārī movement (explained in Chapter Two). Extremist mystical quasi-Sufi philosophies were also formed by Sufis like Faḍlullāh Astarābādī (d. 796/1394), the founder of the Ḥurūfī movement, who was brutally executed for his heretical beliefs. Maḥmūd Pasīkhānī (d. 831/1427) also formed the Nuqtawīyya movement and declared himself to be the promised Mahdī. Furthermore, Muḥammad Musha'sha' (d. circa 1461) was the founder of the Musha'sha'īyya movement and claimed to be the earthly representative of the Mahdī. For further information see Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, pp. 13-15; Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*; Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis*; Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions*; Siyāwash Dīlfānī, *Tārīkh-i Musha'sha'īyān* (Qazwīn: Baḥr ul-'ulūm publication, 1379 A. Hsh/2000); Muḥammadali Ranjbar, *Musha'sha'īyān: māhīyat fikrī-Ijtimā'ī wa farāyand taḥawulāt-i tārīkhī* (Tehran: Nashr-i āgah, 1382 A. Hsh./ 2003).

- 40 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 17.
 41 Ibid., vol. III, p. 18.
 42 Royce, *Mīr Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 128.
 43 Āshif, *Rustam*, p. 323.
 44 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 295.
 45 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p.75; Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 295.
 46 Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 76; Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, p. 295; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 172; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 661; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 320.

- 47 Khuyī, *Ādāb*, p. 353; Nurbakhsh, *Masters of the Path*, p. 77; Royce, *Mīr Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 129; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 266-267; Scharbrodt, 'The quṭb as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', p. 38; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 207.
- 48 Khuyī, *Ādāb*, p. 353; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 172; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 266-267 and 661.
- 49 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 295; Royce, *Mīr Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 93.
- 50 A *tekke* is a building for Sufi gatherings. In Persia *tekkes* were also called *khānaqāh* and these buildings were often part of a complex which included the shrine of masters. A perfect example is the complex of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī, which is located in Ardabīl. For further information about *tekke* see Muḥsin Kīyānī, *Tārīkh-i khānaqāh dar Īrān*, pp. 106-110.
- 51 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 75; Dīwānbaygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadīqat al-Shu'arā*, vol. II, p. 1037; Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, pp. 230-231; Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, p. 296; Nūr 'Alī Shāh, *Majmū'a az āthār-i Nūr 'Alī Shāh Isfahānī*, ed. Jawād Nūrbakhsh (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Khānaqāh-i Ni'mat-ullāhī, 1350 A. Hsh./1971-1972), introduction; Scharbrodt, 'The quṭb as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', p.38; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 207; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 320.
- 52 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 296; Scharbrodt, 'The quṭb as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', pp. 38-39; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 207.
- 53 Wandering dervishes wandered around and received donations from the public. Whenever they received a donation they would blow their trumpets in honour of the donor, which was a sign of joy, appreciation and happiness. Blowing their trumpets when 'Alī Murād Khān escaped Isfahān represented their joy at his escape and their aversion to 'Alī Murād Khān.
- 54 Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, pp. 37-38; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl* (Hamadān), p. 359; Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 296; Royce, *Mīr Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 137; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 172; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 207; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 320.
- 55 Muḥammad 'Alī Isfahānī (Nūr 'Alī Shāh), ed. Dr. Jawād Nūrbakhsh, *Dīwān* (Tehran: Intishārāt Yaldā Qalam, 1381 A. Hsh/ 2002), p. 6.
- 56 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 75.
- 57 Dīwānbaygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadīqat al-Shu'arā*, vol. II, pp. 1037-1038; Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 231; Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 38; Īzadgushasb, *Shams*, p. 76; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl* (Hamadān), p. 359; Royce, *Mīr Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, pp. 138-139; Scharbrodt, 'The quṭb as Special Repre-

- sentative of the Hidden Imam', p. 39; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, pp. 172-173; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 207.
- 58 Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 38; Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 144; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 173; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 207; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 320.
- 59 Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 38; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 173; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 207; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 320.
- 60 Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 39; Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 297.
- 61 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 232.
- 62 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 662; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 320.
- 63 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 297.
- 64 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 232.
- 65 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, pp. 234-235; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 321.
- 66 *Kings of Love* has a chapter called 'Mullās and Kings' which elaborates and explains this transformation of the Ni'matullāhī order from a Qalandari'ite movement to a scholarly movement (Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, pp. 136-155).
- 67 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 234; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl* (Hamadān), p. 361; Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 297-298; Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 171; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 174; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 663; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 208; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 321.
- 68 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 174; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 267 and 663; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 208; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 317.
- 69 Dīwānbaygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadīqat al-Shu'arā*, vol. II, p. 1039.
- 70 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 77; Dīwānbaygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadīqat al-Shu'arā*, vol. II, p. 1039; Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 15; Īzadgushasb, *Shams*, p. 76; Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 359; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl* (Hamadān), p. 361; Pāzūkī, 'qarn shishum', p. 43; Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 171; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 174; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 663.
- 71 Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 172.
- 72 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 175; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 663.
- 73 Khuyī, *Ādāb*, pp. 365-366. Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 175; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 663.
- 74 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 72.
- 75 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, pp. 242-244.
- 76 Michael A. Sells, *Early Islamic Mysticism: Sufi, Qur'an, Poetic and Theological writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1995), pp. 18-20.

- 77 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 185; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 666; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 209.
- 78 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 186; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 668.
- 79 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 171.
- 80 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 666, 668.
- 81 Cited in Sells, *Early Mysticism*, p. 163.
- 82 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 666; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 209.
- 83 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 184.
- 84 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 72.
- 85 He is discussed in the next chapter.
- 86 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 249.
- 87 Ibid., pp. 1911-1912.
- 88 Hidāyat, *Uṣūl* (Tehran), p. 509.
- 89 De Groot, *Religion, Culture and Politics in Iran*, p. 89.
- 90 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 35.
- 91 Ibid., pp. 77-78.
- 92 Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 124; Scharbrodt, 'The quṭb as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', p. 40.
- 93 For further information about the spiritual life of Nūr 'Alī Shāh see Michel de Miras, *La method spirituelle d'un maître du Soufism iranien, Nur 'Ali-Shah, circā 1748-1798* (Paris: Edition du Sirac, 1974).
- 94 Hidāyat, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 699; Khuyī, *Ādāb*, p. 365; Scharbrodt, 'The quṭb as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', p. 37; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 187.
- 95 Hidāyat, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 699; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 187.
- 96 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 690; Khuyī, *Ādāb*, p. 365; Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 93; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 187; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 262.
- 97 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 72.
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- 99 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 72.
- 100 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 690; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 198.
- 101 Khuyī, *Ādāb*, p. 365.
- 102 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 198; Hidāyat, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 699; Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 690; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 661; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 206; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, pp. 319-320.
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- 104 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 661; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 206.
- 105 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 188.

- 106 Dīwānbaygī Shīrāzī, *Ḥadiqat al-Shu'arā*, vol. II, pp. 1037-1038; Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 38; Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 231; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl* (Hama-dān), p. 359; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, pp. 172-173.
- 107 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 690; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 198.
- 108 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, pp. 171, 198; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 661.
- 109 Pāzūkī, 'qarn shishum', p. 43; Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 125; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 206.
- 110 Īzadgushasb, *Shams*, p. 76; Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 102.
- 111 Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, vol. 6 (Tabriz: Nashr-i Khayyām, 1335 A. Hsh./1956), p. 256.
- 112 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 198.
- 113 Iṣfahānī (Nūr 'Alī Shāh), *Dīwān*, p. 122; Scharbrodt, 'The *quṭb* as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', p. 43.
- 114 Iṣfahānī (Nūr 'Alī Shāh), *Dīwān*, p. 117; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 199.
- 115 Nurbakhsh, *Masters of the Path*, pp. 94-95; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 199.
- 116 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 199.
- 117 Ibid.
- 118 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 691; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ*, p. 699; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, pp. 199-200. For further information see Tunikābunī, 'Qīṣaṣ', pp. 211-218.
- 119 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 43.
- 120 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 323.
- 121 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 215.
- 122 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 692; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ*, p. 699; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 200; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 268.
- 123 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, pp. 200-201; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ*, p. 699; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 269.
- 124 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 328.
- 125 Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ*, p. 699; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, pp. 200-201; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 269.
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- 128 Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ*, p. 699; Muḥammad 'Alī Isfahānī (Nūr 'Alī Shāh), Rawnaq 'Alī Shāh and Nizām 'Alī Shāh, *Janāt al-Wiṣāl*, Dr. Javad Nurbakhsh (ed.) (Tehran: Intishārāti Khāniqāh Ni'matullāhī, 1348 A. Hsh./ 1969). Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, pp. 200-201; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 268-269.
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- 131 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, pp. 200-201.
- 132 Ḥaḳīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 692.
- 133 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 200.
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- 135 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 268.
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- 137 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 324.
- 138 Muḥammad 'Alī Iṣfahānī (Nūr 'Alī Shāh), *Rasā'il 'awārif al-ma'ārif* (Shīrāz: Intishārāt-i Kitābkhānīh Aḥmadī, 1363 A. Hsh./1984).
- 139 Hamadānī, 'Ṭarīqih ma'nawī Nūr 'Alī Shāh 'arif Īrānī', pp. 128-130.
- 140 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 249.
- 141 Ibid., p. 1492.
- 142 Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Pārīzī, 'Mushtāq 'Alī Shāh Shahīd Kirmānī', in M. Azmāyish (ed.), *'irfān-i Īrān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ḥaḳīqat, 1378 A. Hsh./1999), No. 2, p. 32.
- 143 Hidāyat, *Rīyād*, p. 587.
- 144 Ibid.; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1493.
- 145 Bāstānī Pārīzī, 'Mushtāq 'Alī Shāh Shahīd Kirmānī', pp. 32-33.
- 146 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1494.
- 147 Ibid., p. 662.
- 148 Ibid., p. 1494.
- 149 Hidāyat, *Rīyād*, p. 587; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1492-1493.
- 150 Bāstānī Pārīzī, 'Mushtāq 'Alī Shāh Shahīd Kirmānī', p. 35.
- 151 Hidāyat, *Rīyād*, p. 587.
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- 153 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1494-1495.
- 154 Ibid.
- 155 Muḥammad Taqī Kirmānī (Muḥafar 'Alī Shāh), *Kibrīt aḥmar wa baḥr al-asrār*, Dr. Javad Nurbakhsh (ed.) (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Khānīqāh Ni'matullāhī, 1350 A. Hsh./1971).
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- 159 Scharbrodt, 'The quṭb as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam,' pp. 43-44; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 664.
- 160 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 74.
- 161 Scharbrodt, 'The quṭb as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam,' p. 43; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1497.
- 162 For further information about Majdhūb 'Alī Shāh see Chapter Five.
- 163 Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 117.
- 164 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 319.
- 165 Hamadānī, 'Ṭarīqih ma'nawī Nūr 'Alī Shāh 'arif Īrānī', p. 124.
- 166 Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 93.

Chapter 4

- 1 Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i Ijtimā'ī wa Siyāsī*, vol. I, pp. 102-103.
- 2 Ibid., p. 100.
- 3 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, pp. 356 and 360.
- 4 Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i Ijtimā'ī wa Siyāsī*, vol. I, p. 107.
- 5 Ibid., p. 98.
- 6 Algar, *Religion and State*, p. 16.
- 7 Tunikābunī, *Qiṣaṣ*.
- 8 Algar, *Religion and State*, p. 72.
- 9 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 355.
- 10 This term refers to a verse from the Qur'ān: 'O you who believe! Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those vested with authority (*ulū'l-amr*) from among you' (Qur'ān 4:59). There were disagreements between Shi'ite clerics and Sunni scholars about who were 'those vested with authority' and what their role was. Qummi, a Shi'ite cleric, condemned those believing the monarch to be 'vested with authority' as being part of Sunni tradition. There are different interpretations of the term 'vested with authority'. For further information see Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, pp. 327-356; Said Amir Arjomand, 'Ideological Revolution in Shi'ism', in S. A. Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988), pp. 178-209.
- 11 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 355.
- 12 Ibid., p. 360.
- 13 Algar, *Religion and State*, p. 64; M. Samī'ī and Kaywān Ṣadūqī, *Du Risāla dar Tārīkhi jadīd-i taṣawwuf* (Tehran: Pāzhang Publication, 1370 A. Hsh./1991), p. 63.

- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbahānī, *Khayrātiya* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Anṣāryān, 1370 A.Hsh./ 1991 C.E.).
- 16 Ibid., p. 457.
- 17 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 316.
- 18 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 249; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl* (Tehran), p. 644.
- 19 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 221; Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 78.
- 20 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 249.
- 21 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 249; Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 140.
- 22 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 221.
- 23 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 250.
- 24 Shīrāzī, vol. III, *Ṭarā'iq*, p. 221; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl*, p. 647.
- 25 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 250; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, p. 222.
- 26 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, p. 221.
- 27 Hidāyat, *Uṣūl*, p. 648.
- 28 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 78.
- 29 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, Vol. III, p. 221.
- 30 Ibid., p. 226.
- 31 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 341.
- 32 Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 141; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, p. 225.
- 33 Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh Qaragūzluw, *Abḥāth-i 'ashara* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ḥaqīqat, 1385 A. Hsh./ 2007), p. 129; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, p. 223; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl*, p. 649; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 341.
- 34 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 250-251.
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- 38 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 251-252; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, p. 232; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 341.
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- 56 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 227.
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- 96 Ibid., pp. 52-53.
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 'Aliriḍā Masjid Jāmi'i, *Pazhuhishī dar ma'ārif imāmīyih* (Tehran: Sāzmān-i chāp wa intishārāt-i wizārat irshād-i Islāmī, 1380 A. Hsh./ 2001), p. 329.
- 99 For further information see Muḥammadtaqī Miṣbāḥ Yazdī, *Ma'ārif-i Qur'an: rāh wa rahnamāshināsī* (Qum: Mu'asisih amuzishī wa pazhuhishī Imām Khumaynī, 1386 A. Hsh./2007), vols. 4 and 5; Ja'far Subḥānī Tabrizī, *Manshūr-i 'aqāyid imāmīyya: sharḥī gūyā wa mustadal az 'aqāyid Shī'a; athnā 'asharī dar yikṣad wa panjāh aṣl* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Imām Ṣādiq, 1385 A. Hsh./ 2006); Murtiḍā Muṭaharī, *Khatm nubuwat* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ṣadrā, 1388 A. Hsh./ 2009).
- 100 Ḥusayn 'Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, pp. 65-66. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Fasā'ī in his Arabic treatise (*Risāla*) in refutation of Henry Martyn wrote a detailed explanation of 'specific prophecy' and 'general prophecy' (Amanat, 'Mujtahids and Missionaries', p. 252).
- 101 Ḥusayn 'Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, p. 66.
- 102 Ibid., pp. 66-67.
- 103 Ibid., pp. 98-99.
- 104 Ibid., p. 54.
- 105 Ibid., pp. 68-70.
- 106 Ibid., pp. 76-80.
- 107 Ibid., p. 80.
- 108 Ibid., p. 120.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Ibid., pp. 120-121.
- 112 Ḥusayn 'Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, pp. 187-188.
- 113 Cited by Mahmoud M. Ayoub, *The Qur'an and its Interpreters*, vol. I (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984), p. 24.
- 114 Ibid., p. 34.
- 115 Qur'an, 56: 78-79.
- 116 Cited by Ayoub, *The Qur'an and its Interpreters*, vol. I, p. 35.
- 117 Ḥusayn 'Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, pp. 255-256.
- 118 Ibid., pp. 252-256.

- 119 Prophet Muhammad, *The Sayings of Muhammad*, trans. Neal Robinson (London: Gerald Duckworth, 2003), p. 18.
- 120 Ḥusayn 'Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, pp. 173-174.
- 121 Ibid., p. 174.
- 122 R. J. W. Austin, 'The Sophianic Feminine in the Work of Ibn 'Arabī and Rumi', in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Heritage of Sufism: The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)*, Vol. II (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999), p. 240.
- 123 Ḥusayn 'Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, pp. 175-176.
- 124 Ibid., p. 177.
- 125 Ibid., pp. 47-52. Sunni Muslim theologians generally accept that one must have faith in three principles of religion: Divine Unity (*tawḥīd*), Prophecy (*nubuwwa*) and Resurrection (*ma'ād*), to which Shī'ite theologians add two more: Imamate (*Imāmat*) and Justice (*'adl*): Sachiko Murata and William C. Chittick, *The Vision of Islam* (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 1998), p.43.
- 126 Ḥusayn 'Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, pp. 51-52.
- 127 Ibid., pp. 45-46
- 128 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, pp. 109, 119-121, 165-170 and 210-211.
- 129 Ḥusayn 'Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, pp. 51-52 and 45-46.
- 130 Ibid., pp. 48-49.
- 131 Ibid., pp. 224-225.
- 132 Ibid., p. 120.
- 133 Ibid., pp. 224-225.
- 134 Ibid., pp. 45-46.
- 135 For further information on this idea see Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Tafsīr al-Mizān*, trans. Naṣīr Makārim Shīrāzī (Qum: Bunyād 'ilmī wa Farhangī 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1364 A. Hsh./ 1985); Murtidā Muṭaharī, *Āshnā'ī bā Qur'ān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ṣadrā, 1381 A. Hsh/ 2002).
- 136 Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Ṭūsī, *Al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol. 12 (Beirut: Dār al-Iḥyā al-Tirāth Al-'Arabī, date unknown), p. 214.
- 137 Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī, *The Mathnawī*, trans. Reynold A. Nicholson (reprt. Istanbul: Konya Metropolitan Municipality, 2004), VI: 167.
- 138 Ibid., III, 1783-1788.
- 139 Qur'ān, trans. Sahih international, 6:164.
- 140 Ḥusayn 'Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, p. 204.
- 141 Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, trans. Nicholson, I, 23-24.
- 142 Ibid.: I, p. 30.
- 143 Cited by Toshihiko Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1984), p. 173.

- 144 Ibid.
- 145 Ḥusayn ‘Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, p. 204.
- 146 Ibid.
- 147 Abū al-Qāsim Qushayrī, *Risāla Qushayrīyya*, trans. Unknown (Tehran: Markaz Intishārāt-i ‘ilmī wa farhangī, 1361 A. Hsh./ 1982), pp. 136-145.
- 148 Abū Naṣr Sarrāj Ṭūsī, *al-Lum’a fi taṣawwuf*, trans. Dr. Miḥdī Maḥabbatī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Asāṭīr, 1381 H. Sh./ 2004), pp. 98-99.
- 149 Hujwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 274.
- 150 Ḥusayn ‘Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, p. 205.
- 151 Ibid., pp. 210-211.
- 152 Ibid., pp. 219-220.
- 153 Ibid., pp. 97-98.
- 154 Ibid., pp. 98-99.
- 155 Ibid., p. 108.
- 156 Ibid., pp. 124-128.
- 157 Ibid., pp. 128-129.
- 158 Ibid., p. 158.
- 159 Ibid., pp. 155-156.
- 160 Ibid., pp. 158-159.
- 161 Ibid., p. 208.
- 162 Ibid., pp. 208-209.
- 163 Ibid., p. 209.
- 164 Ibid.
- 165 Ibid., p. 225.
- 166 Ibid., p. 221.
- 167 Ibid., p. 222.
- 168 Ibid.
- 169 Ibid., pp. 215-216.
- 170 Ibid.
- 171 Ibid., pp. 225-226 and 220.

Chapter 5

- 1 Massoud Homayouni, *Tārīkh-i silsilihāy-i ṭarīqa Ni‘matullāhīyya dar Irān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Maktab-i ‘irfān, 1358 A. Hsh./ 1979 C.E.), p. 92; Kabūdarāhangī, *Aqā’id*, p. 3; Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā’il*, p. 5; Muḥammad Ja’far Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil al-Sālikīn* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Khaniqāh Ni‘matullahī, 1351 A. Hsh./ 1973), p. ٤; Muḥammad Ja’far Kabūdarāhangī,

- Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ḥaqqīqat, 1382 A.Hsh./ 2004), p. پانزدهه; Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 144; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 380; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1291; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 219; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 341.
- 2 Hidāyat, *Rīyād*, p. 638; Īzadgushasb, *Shams*, p. 79; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 258; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 416-417.
 - 3 Hidāyat, *Rīyād*, p. 638; Īzadgushasb, *Shams*., p. 79; Kabūdarāhangī, *ʿAqā'id*, p. 4; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 258; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1293.
 - 4 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 380; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1291.
 - 5 Ibid.
 - 6 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 78; Hidāyat, *Rīyād*, p. 582; Homayouni, *Tārīkh*, p. 92; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 551-552; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1914-1915; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 341.
 - 7 Homayouni, *Tārīkh*, p. 92; Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 144; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 260; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 418; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 216; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 341.
 - 8 Kabūdarāhangī, *ʿAqā'id*, p. 3; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 341.
 - 9 Kabūdarāhangī, *ʿAqā'id*, p. 3.
 - 10 The founder of the Shaikhi School. For further information see Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, pp. 48-65; Abū al-Qāsim Khān Ibrāhīmī, *Fihrist-i kutub mashāyikh 'izām* (Kirmān: Chāpkhānih Sa'ādat, date: unknown), pp. 128-156; Zayn al-Ābidīn Ibrāhīmī, *Aḥsā'ī*, in *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-i Islāmī*, Vol. 6 (Tehran: Markaz-i Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif Buzurgi Islāmī, 1373 A. Hsh./ 1994 C.E.), pp. 662-667; Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Najafī, *Bahā'iyān* (Tehran: Kitābkhānih Ṭahūrī, 1357 A. Hsh./ 1979), pp. 1-90; Sayyid Kāzīm Rashtī, *Dalīl al-Mutiḥayyirīn* (Kirmān: Chāpkhānih Sa'ādat, date: unknown), pp. 2-85; 'Abd al-'Azīm. Riḍāyī, *Ganjīnīh Tārīkh Irān*, (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Atlas, 1378 A. Hsh./ 1999), p. 588; Tunikābunī, *Qīṣaṣ al-'Ulamā*, pp. 40-68; Taqī Wāḥidī, *Az kūy-i ṣufiyān tā ḥuzūr-i ʿArīfān* (Tehran: Chāpkhānih Ḥaydari, 1375 A. Hsh./ 1995), pp. 217-220.
 - 11 Ḥaqqīqat, *Tārīkh*, pp. 222-228.
 - 12 Kabūdarāhangī, *ʿAqā'id*; Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, pp. 1-111.
 - 13 Ḥaqqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 701; Homayouni, *Tārīkh*, p. 92; Kabūdarāhangī, *ʿAqā'id*, p. 3; Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥīl*, p. چ (of the Persian alphabet); Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 144; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 257; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1292.

- 14 Hidāyat, *Riyād*, p. 638; Īzadgushasb, *Shams*, p. 79; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 380; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 416-417; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 219; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 258.
- 15 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 258; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 380.
- 16 Hidāyat, *Riyād*, p. 638; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 258; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 380; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1292-1293; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 219.
- 17 Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, p. 4; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 258; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 380; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 219.
- 18 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 382-384; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1298-1299.
- 19 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, pp. 701-702; Hidāyat, *Riyād*, p. 638; Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, p. 4; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 381.
- 20 Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, p. 80; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1293.
- 21 Īzadgushasb, *Shams*, p. 79; Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, p. 4; Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 702; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 258; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 381; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1293.
- 22 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 702; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1293; Tunikābunī, *Qīṣaṣ*, pp. 168-170.
- 23 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 702; Hidāyat, *Riyād*, p. 639; Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, p. 4; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 381; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1293; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 341.
- 24 Hidāyat, *Riyād*, p. 639; Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, p. 5.
- 25 Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, p. 4.
- 26 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1293; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 381.
- 27 Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, pp. 4-5.
- 28 Hidāyat, *Riyād*, p. 639; Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, p. 5.
- 29 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1294; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 381.
- 30 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 70.
- 31 Ibid., p. 6.
- 32 Hidāyat, *Riyād*, p. 639.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt*, p. 31.
- 35 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 702; Hidāyat, *Riyād*, p. 639; Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, p. 7.
- 36 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 259.
- 37 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1299.
- 38 Hidāyat, *Riyād*, p. 639; Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, p. 8; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1308.
- 39 Kabūdarāhangī, *'Aqā'id*, p. 8.
- 40 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1295; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 381.

- 41 Hidāyat, *Rīyād*, p. 639; Īzadgushasb, *Shams*, p. 80; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1295; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadāʾiq*, p. 381.
- 42 Some believe that Majdhūb met Nūr ʿAlī Shāh in Karbalā and was instructed by him (Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 341).
- 43 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadāʾiq*, p. 381. However, Maʿšūm Shīrāzī and ʿAbd al-Rafī Ḥaqīqat believe that Majdhūb was appointed by Nūr ʿAlī Shāh (Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 702; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiq*, vol. III, p. 259).
- 44 Sulṭānī, *rahbarān*, p. 205.
- 45 Sulṭānī believes that it happened in the year 1817 (1233 H.Q.) (Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 220).
- 46 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiq*, vol. III, p. 259; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadāʾiq*, p. 381.
- 47 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiq*, vol. III, p. 260; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadāʾiq*, p. 381; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1296.
- 48 Kabūdarāhangī, *ʿAqāʾid*, p. 80; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 341.
- 49 Companion of Prophet Muḥammad known for his piety and asceticism. Annemarie Schimmel quoting Massignon says, ‘Even more important is Salmān al-Fārisī, a Persian-born barber was taken into Muhammad’s household and became the model of spiritual adoption and mystical initiation—he is, thus, the symbol of the Persians, who were adopted into Islam, and links the Arabian world with Iranian tradition. His spirituality was later considered a decisive element in the history of Persian Sufism and in Shia thought. Salmān the Barber was later regarded as the patron saint of small artisans, just some of the ninth- and tenth-century Sufis were to become patrons of the artisan groups whose professions they shared; Salmān came to stand for the impact of Sufism on the large masses’ (Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, p. 28).
- 50 Companion of Prophet Muḥammad known for his sincerity. Schimmel says, ‘Among the Prophet’s companions, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (d. 653) is often mentioned as “un socialiste avant la lettre,” as Louis Massignon puts it, it is to him that the tradition ascribes many sentences about poverty, and he appears as the prototype of the true *faqīr*, the poor person who possesses nothing but is totally possessed by God, partaking of His everlasting riches’ (Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, p. 28).
- 51 Hidāyat, *Rīyād*, p. 640; Īzadgushasb, *Shams*, p. 80; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadāʾiq*, p. 381; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1297.
- 52 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadāʾiq*, p. 381.
- 53 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1308; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadāʾiq*, p. 384.
- 54 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiq*, vol. III, p. 260.
- 55 Hidāyat, *Rīyād*, p. 640; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiq*, vol. III, p. 261.

- 56 Sultānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 221.
- 57 Īzadgushasb, *Shams*, p. 80; Shīrāzī, *Tarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 261.
- 58 Kabūdarāhangī, *ʿAqā'id*, p. 81.
- 59 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1297-1304; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 381.
- 60 Kabūdarāhangī, *ʿAqā'id*, p. 7.
- 61 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1300-1301; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 381.
- 62 L. Clarke, 'The Shī'ī Construction of *Taqīd*', in *Oxford Journal of Islamic Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 40.
- 63 Momen, *Introduction*, pp. 316-317.
- 64 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 139; Cole, 'Imami Jurisprudence', pp. 36, 39; Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy*, p. 182; Tunikābunī, *Qīṣaṣ*, p. 415.
- 65 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 138.
- 66 Ibid., p. 139.
- 67 Bayat, *Mysticism*, p. 21; Cole, 'Imami Jurisprudence', p. 39; Momen, *Introduction*, pp. 117 and 302; Kaykhusruw Isfandiyār, *Dabistān-i Mazāhib* (Tehran: Kitābkhānih Tahūrī, 1362 H. Sh./ 1983), p. 247; Sayyid Riḍā Niyāzmand, *Shī'a dar tārikh Īrān* (Tehran: Hikāyat Qalam Nuvīn, 1383 H.Sh./ 2004), p. 190.
- 68 Bayat, *Mysticism*, p. 21; Cole, 'Imami Jurisprudence', p. 39; Gleave, *Scripturalist*, p. 79; Isfandiyār, *Dabistān*, p. 253; Robert Gleave, 'Scriptural Sufism and Scriptural Anti-Sufism: Theology and mysticism among the Shī'ī Akhbāriyya', in Ayman Shihadeh (ed.), *Sufism and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 159; Momen, *Introduction*, p. 118; Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy*, p. 180.
- 69 Momen, *Introduction*, pp. 118, 222.
- 70 Momen, *Introduction*, p. 224; Niyāzmand, *Shī'a*, p. 161.
- 71 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 146; Gleave, 'Scriptural Sufism and Scriptural Anti-Sufism', p. 160; Leonard Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfāhān', p. 81; Momen, *Introduction*, p. 223.
- 72 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 146.
- 73 Momen, *Introduction*, p. 225.
- 74 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 153; Gleave, 'Scriptural Sufism', p. 160; Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam*, p. 175; Momen, *Introduction*, p. 222.
- 75 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 146; Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam*, p. 298; Niyāzmand, *Shī'a*, p. 190.
- 76 Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam*, pp. 164-165; Gleave, 'Scriptural Sufism', p. 161; Momen, *Introduction*, pp. 117, 133.
- 77 Momen, *Introduction*, p. 115.
- 78 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 44.

- 79 Ibid., p. 42; Momen, *Introduction*, p. 186.
- 80 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 231.
- 81 For his short biography see Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 35; Momen, *Introduction*, p. 312.
- 82 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 217; Bayat, 'Anti-Sufism in Qājār Iran', p. 627; Cole, 'Imami Jurisprudence', pp. 39-40; Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam*, p. 301; Niyāzmand, *Shi'a*, pp. 161 and 202; Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy*, p. 180.
- 83 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 62.
- 84 Ibid., p. 104.
- 85 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 59.
- 86 Ibid., p. 60.
- 87 Ibid., p. 153.
- 88 Gleave, 'Scriptural Sufism', p. 163.
- 89 Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam*, pp. 89, 99.
- 90 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 61. Shaykh Bahā'i in 'Arba'in' claims that a jurist, *faqih*, must be endowed with spiritual insights (*ṣāhib baṣīrat*) about the afterworld. The jurist must have the eschatological knowledge (Shaykh Bahā al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Āmilī, *Arba'in*, trans. Shams al-Dīn Khātūn Ābādī (Tehran: Intishārt-i Ḥikmat, 1368 H.Sh./ 1989), p. 44).
- 91 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 60.
- 92 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
- 93 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, pp. 4-5.
- 94 Bayat, 'Anti-Sufism in Qājār Iran', p. 626.
- 95 The term *ijtihād* was not used because there are some Akhbārī scholars and Shaykhī scholars (Neo-Akhbārīs) who emphasised the 'divine faculty' as being one of the qualifications for issuing religious verdicts.
- 96 Ja'far al-Šādiq, *Misbāḥ al-Sharī'a wa Miftāḥ al-Ḥaqīqa*, trans. 'Abbas 'Azīzī (Qum: Intishārāti Salāt, 1383 A. Hsh/ 2004), pp. 182-184.
- 97 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 441-446.
- 98 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 22.
- 99 Ibid., pp. 21-22.
- 100 Ibid., p. 22.
- 101 Ibid., pp. 22-23.
- 102 Ibid., p. 14.
- 103 Ibid., p. 15.
- 104 Ibid., p. 16.
- 105 Ibid., p. 22.
- 106 Sarraj, *al-Lum'a*, pp. 257-258.

- 107 Qushayrī, *Risālih Qushayrīya*, pp. 346-354.
- 108 Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, *Mirṣād al-‘ibād* (Tehran: Intishārāti Tūs, 1368 A. Hsh. / 1989), pp. 145-152.
- 109 Hujwīrī narrates from Abū al-Sirrī Mansūr ibn ‘Ammār that God the Transcendent had set the hearts of gnostics (*‘ārifān*) as the place of dhikr (Hujwīrī, *Kashf al-mahjūb*, p. 193). He also narrates from Abū Bakr Muḥammad Wāsiṭī about the dhikr and the wayfarers practising dhikr (*dhākir*) (Hujwīrī, *Kashf al-mahjūb*, pp. 235-236).
- 110 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir’āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 160-161.
- 111 Ibid., pp. 207-208.
- 112 Rāzī, *Mirṣād*, p. 146.
- 113 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir’āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 161-162.
- 114 Ibid., pp. 247-249.
- 115 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 112.
- 116 Rāzī, *Mirṣād*, p. 150.
- 117 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 105.
- 118 Ibid., p. 107.
- 119 Ibid., pp. 109-111.
- 120 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir’āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 163-166.
- 121 Ibid., p. 229.
- 122 Ibid., p. 167.
- 123 Ibid., pp. 207-208.
- 124 Ibid., p. 209.
- 125 Ibid., pp. 211-214.
- 126 Ibid., pp. 214-215.
- 127 Rāzī, *Mirṣād*, p. 149.
- 128 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 81; Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir’āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 176-177; Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā’il*, pp. 132-133.
- 129 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir’āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 177-179.
- 130 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā’il*, pp. 149-150.
- 131 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 83.
- 132 Ibid., pp. 84-85.
- 133 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā’il*, pp. 5, 132-133.
- 134 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 86.
- 135 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir’āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 252.
- 136 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 112.
- 137 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir’āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 252-253.
- 138 Ibid., pp. 254-255.
- 139 Ibid., pp. 260-261.

- 140 Anzali, 'Safavid Shi'ism', p. 240; Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 116; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāq*, vol. III, p. 163. For further information about 'Abd al-Raḥīm Damāwandī see Anzali, 'Safavid Shi'ism', pp. 233-242.
- 141 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 262-264.
- 142 Ibid., pp. 267-269.
- 143 Ibid., pp. 270-271.
- 144 Ibid., p. 255.
- 145 Ibid., p. 274.
- 146 Ibid., p. 218.
- 147 Ibid., pp. 257-258.
- 148 Ibid., pp. 275-276.
- 149 A well known Akhbārī scholar and student of Majlisī I (Robert Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam*, p. 172).
- 150 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 5.
- 151 Ibid.
- 152 Said Amir Arjomand, 'Religious Extremism (*ghuluww*), Šūfism and Sunnism in Safavid Iran: 1501-1722', in *Journal of Asian Heritage*; 15, I (Wiesbaden: Journal of Asian Heritage, 1981), p. 1; Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', pp. 21-35.
- 153 Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1988), p. xiii.
- 154 Arjomand, 'Religious Extremism (Ghuluww)', p. 34.
- 155 Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-asrār*, p. 221.
- 156 Arjomand, 'Religious Extremism (Ghuluww)', pp. 4-5.
- 157 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, pp. 6, 14.
- 158 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
- 159 Muhammad Isa Waley, 'Contemplative Disciplines in Early Persian Sufism', in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Heritage of Sufism: Classical Persian Sufism from its origin to Rumi (700-1300)*, Vol. I (Oxford: Oneworld Publication, 1999), pp. 535-538.
- 160 Sarraj, *al-Lum'a*, pp. 107-108.
- 161 Qushayrī, *Risāla Qushayrīyya*, pp. 288-293.
- 162 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 194.
- 163 Ibid., p. 301.
- 164 Ibid., pp. 303-308, 194.
- 165 Ibid., 197.
- 166 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 89.
- 167 Ibid., p. 96.
- 168 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 189.

- 169 Ibid., pp. 167-168.
- 170 Ibid., pp. 168-169.
- 171 Ibid., p. 241.
- 172 Ibid., p. 242.
- 173 William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989), p. 108.
- 174 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 244.
- 175 For further information about these terms see Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 43-45; Dr. Javad Nurbakhsh, *The Psychology of Sufism* (London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publication, 1993).
- 176 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, pp. 144-146.
- 177 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 246.
- 178 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, pp. 61-66.
- 179 Ibid., p. 126.
- 180 For further information about this famous poem by Abū al-Qāsim Rāz-i Shīrāzī (d. 1285/1869), a Dhahabī master of the 17th century, see Leonard Lewisohn, 'The Qawā'im al-anwār of Rāz-i Shīrāzī (d. 1869) and Shī'ite Sufism in Qājār Persia', in *Islam in the Indo-Iranian World during the Modern Epoch*, eds. Denis Hermann and Fabrizio Speziale (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag-IFRI, 2010), pp. 67-89.
- 181 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 529-534.
- 182 Ibid., p. 247.
- 183 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, pp. 67-68.
- 184 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 247-248.
- 185 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, pp. 61-66; Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 248-249. Ibn 'Arabī in this sense, following the famous *ḥadīth* to this effect, speaks of the heart as being the divine Throne (*al-'arsh*) (Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 107; Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-asrār*, p. 544).
- 186 Ian Richard Netton, *Allāh Transcendent* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), p. 268.
- 187 Claude Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, trans. Peter Kingsley (Cambridge: The Islamic Text Society, 1993), p. 290.
- 188 Henry Corbin, *Alone with the Alone: Creative Imagination in Sūfism of Ibn 'Arabī*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 25-29.
- 189 Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī* (Cambridge: The Islamic Text Society, 1993), p. 5.
- 190 Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, p. 15.

- 191 Cited by William Chittick from *Futūḥāt* (Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 80).
- 192 Ibid., pp. 80-90.
- 193 *Fuṣūṣ* Cited by Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p.112.
- 194 Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, pp. 9, 58, 69; Robert Wisnovsky, 'One Aspect of the Akbarian Turn in Shīʿī Theology', in A. Shihadeh (ed.), *Sufism and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 53.
- 195 Chittick, *The Sufi*, pp. 9, 58, 69; Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, p. 135.
- 196 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 27.
- 197 Ibid., p. 33.
- 198 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 500-501.
- 199 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 37.
- 200 Momen, *Introduction*, p. 131.
- 201 Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsim Qumī, 'Masā'il ar-Rukniyya', in S.H. Modaressi Tabātabā'i (ed.), *Qum-nāmih* (Qum: Khayyām Publication, 1985).
- 202 Qumī, 'Masā'il ar-Rukniyya', pp. 330-331, 357-360.
- 203 Ibid., pp. 333-334.
- 204 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 73.
- 205 Qumī, 'Masā'il ar-Rukniyya', p. 331.
- 206 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 27.
- 207 Ibid., p. 45.
- 208 Ibid., pp. 47-51.
- 209 Ibid., p. 27.
- 210 Ibid., p. 32.
- 211 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 502-504.
- 212 Ibid., pp. 71-73.
- 213 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, pp. 47-48.
- 214 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 48.
- 215 Wisnovsky, 'One aspect of the Akbarian turn in Shīʿī theology', p. 55.
- 216 Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 89.
- 217 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p 50.
- 218 Ibid., p. 51.
- 219 Ibid., p. 63.
- 220 Qur'ān, 7:156.
- 221 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 52.
- 222 Murtidā Muṭaharī, *Sharḥ-i Mabsūṭ-i Manzūma*, vol. I (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ḥikmat, 1367 A. Hsh./1988), p. 246.
- 223 Ibid., p. 43.
- 224 Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 154.

- 225 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 46.
- 226 Ibid., p. 54.
- 227 Ibid., p. 57.
- 228 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 137.
- 229 Ibid., p. 138.
- 230 Ibid., pp. 137-138.
- 231 Ibid., p. 142.
- 232 Ibid., p. 139-140.
- 233 Wisnovsky, 'One Aspect of the Akbarian Turn in Shī'ī Theology', p. 51.
- 234 Ibid., pp. 54-56; Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-asrār*, pp. 134, 137.
- 235 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, pp. 130-131.
- 236 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 539.
- 237 Ibid., pp. 540, 546-548.
- 238 Ibid., pp. 550-551.
- 239 Ibid., pp. 552-554.
- 240 Ibid., p. 554.
- 241 Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 168.
- 242 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p.132.
- 243 Ibid., p. 33.
- 244 Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-asrār*, p. 307.
- 245 Ibid., p. 461.
- 246 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, pp. 133-134.
- 247 Ibid., p. 134.
- 248 Ibid., p. 135.
- 249 Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-asrār*, p. 125.
- 250 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 598-600.
- 251 Ibid., p. 600.
- 252 Ibid., pp. 607-608.
- 253 Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 34.
- 254 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 535-538.
- 255 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, pp. 36-37.
- 256 Ibid., p. 71.
- 257 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 521-524.
- 258 Ibid., p. 527.
- 259 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, pp. 38, 41, 42.
- 260 Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p. 238.
- 261 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 56.
- 262 Ibid., p. 57.
- 263 Ibid.

- 264 Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-asrār*, p. 541.
- 265 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasāʿil*, p. 58.
- 266 Ibid., p. 58.
- 267 Ibid., p. 55.
- 268 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasāʿil*, p. 71.
- 269 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 548-549.
- 270 Ibid., pp. 275-277.
- 271 Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-asrār*, p. 175.
- 272 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasāʿil*, p. 58.
- 273 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 75.
- 274 Ibid., pp. 78-79.
- 275 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 194.
- 276 Ibid., p. 197.
- 277 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, pp. 130-131.
- 278 Ibid., pp. 135, 137.
- 279 Ibid., p. 143.
- 280 Referring to Sura 53:9.
- 281 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 144.
- 282 Ibid., pp. 146-147.
- 283 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 167-168.
- 284 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasāʿil*, p. 87.
- 285 Ibid., p. 43.
- 286 Ibid., p. 88.
- 287 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 120-123.
- 288 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasāʿil*, p. 3.
- 289 Ibid., p. 107.
- 290 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 33-34.
- 291 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasāʿil*, pp. 3, 7.
- 292 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasāʿil*, pp. 3, 7; Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 35.
- 293 Shaykh al-Saduq, *al-Tawḥīd*, II, p. 289.
- 294 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasāʿil*, p. 87.
- 295 Ibid., p. 16.
- 296 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 12.
- 297 Ibid., p. 13.
- 298 Ibid.
- 299 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasāʿil*, pp. 17-20.
- 300 Ibid., p. 18.
- 301 Ibid., p. 18-19.
- 302 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 92-96.

- 303 Ibid., pp. 14-16.
- 304 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 14-16.
- 305 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, pp. 88-89.
- 306 Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, pp. 36-41.
- 307 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, pp. 87-89.
- 308 Ibid., pp. 150-151.
- 309 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 21.
- 310 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 114.
- 311 Ibid., pp. 115-116.
- 312 Ibid., pp. 104-105.
- 313 Ibid., pp. 128-129.
- 314 Ibid., pp. 147-148.
- 315 Ibid., p. 127.
- 316 Ibid., p. 125.
- 317 Ibid., pp. 377-378.
- 318 Ibid., p. 382.
- 319 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 106.
- 320 Ibid., p. 14.
- 321 Ibid., p. 106.
- 322 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 106-109.
- 323 Ibid., p. 125.
- 324 Ibid., pp. 128-130.
- 325 Ibid., pp. 133-135.
- 326 Ibid., pp. 135-139.
- 327 Ibid., pp. 148-149.
- 328 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, pp. 3, 7.
- 329 Ibid., p. 20.
- 330 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p.88.
- 331 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, pp. 8-11.
- 332 Ibid., pp. 41-43.
- 333 Ibid., p. 43.
- 334 Ibid.
- 335 Ibid., pp. 5, 7.
- 336 Ibid., pp. 50, 52-53, 54-58.
- 337 Ibid., pp. 79-80.
- 338 Ibid., pp. 81-86.
- 339 Ibid., pp. 96-98.
- 340 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, pp. 21-22.
- 341 Ibid., p. 24.

- 342 Ibid., p. 78.
- 343 Ibid., p. 24.
- 344 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*, p. 99.
- 345 For further information about the Nuḡṭawīyya see 'Aliriḏā Dhikāwatī Qarāquzlūw, *Junbish-i Nuḡṭawīyya* (Qum: Nashr-i Adyān, 1383 A. Hsh./2004).
- 346 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 11.
- 347 Ibid., pp. 24-25.
- 348 Ibid., p. 25.
- 349 Ibid.
- 350 Ibid., p. 26.
- 351 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 78.
- 352 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 211.
- 353 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 244; Nafisī, *Tārīkh-i Ijtimā'i wa Siyāsī*, vol. I, p. 443; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 260; Zarrinkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 341.

Chapter 6

- 1 Hā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 437; Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 709; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 972; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 222; Zarrinkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 342.
- 2 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 2.
- 3 Sayyid 'Alī Tabātabā'ī wrote one of the most important commentaries among Uṣūlī Shī'ites called '*Rīyāḏ al-masā'il*' in justification of Uṣūlī jurisprudence. Cf. Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 38.
- 4 For further information about Muḥammad Bāqir Bihbahānī see Tunikābūnī, *Qīṣaṣ*, pp. 248-255; Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, pp. 35-38.
- 5 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 2.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 709; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 4 and 973; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 222.
- 8 The Sufi notion of the inadequacy of external knowledge ('ilm-i *ẓāhir*) and the shortcomings of the seminary sciences for the attainment of spiritual self-realisation were discussed in Chapter Two.
- 9 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 973; Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 3; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 275; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḏ*, p. 83.
- 10 *Ṭalab* is a technical term in Sufism referring to the first stage of the spiritual path (*ṭarīqa*), which is seeking for God. 'Aṭṭār dedicated a large section of

his epic *mathnawī* poem, the *Mantiq al-ṭayr*, to explaining the ‘valley of spiritual search’ (*wādī-yi ṭalab*). For further information see Shaykh Farid al-Dīn Muḥammad ‘Aṭṭār Nayshābūrī, *Mantiq al-ṭayr*, ed. Sayyid Ṣādiq Guwharīn (Tehran: Intishārāt-i ‘ilmī wa farhangī, 1378 A. Hsh./1999), pp. 180–181.

- 11 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 973; Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 3; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 222.
- 12 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 25.
- 13 In *Kashf al-ma‘ārif*, Shīrwānī says that for 27 years he travelled in search of the truth (Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 25). However, in *Bustān*, he says that it was for a period of 36 years (Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1076).
- 14 Hā’irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 437; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1076 and 974–975; Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 25; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 342.
- 15 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 975.
- 16 Mast ‘Alī Shāh mentioned this name but he meant either Āqā Muḥammad Bāqir Bihbahānī, known as Wahīd, or his son Āqā Muḥammad ‘Alī Kirmānshāhī, known as ‘Sufi-killer’ (*Ṣūfī kush*).
- 17 Shaykh Ja‘far Najafī is among the famous Shī‘ite seminary scholars of Mast ‘Alī Shāh’s era. Ja‘far Najafī, later known as *Kāshif al-ghitā’*, wrote *Kashf al-Ghitā’*, which later became the classic text for Shī‘ite curricula (*Amanat, Resurrection and Renewal*, pp. 37–42).
- 18 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 16; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 83.
- 19 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1076 and 1301–1302; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 223.
- 20 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 439.
- 21 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 252; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā’iq*, p. 275.
- 22 ‘Fars Province in south-central Iran was the heart of the Achaemenian empire (559–330 B.C.) founded by Cyrus the Great, and had its capital at Pasargadae . . . Not until the 18th century, under the Zand dynasty (1750–79) of southern Iran, did Fars again become the heart of an empire, this time with its capital at Shiraz’ (Javad Yassavoli, *Iran, Land and People* (Tehran: Yassavoli Publication, 2004), p. 34). Therefore, the province of Fārs enjoyed relative prosperity and tranquility during Mast ‘Alī Shāh’s era.
- 23 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 976; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 84.
- 24 Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 223; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 342.
- 25 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā’iq*, vol. III, p. 287; Hā’irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 437; Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 342.
- 26 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā’iq*, vol. III, pp. 285–286; Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Majma‘ al-fusaḥā* (Manuscript, private collection in the author’s possession, n.d.), p. 83.

- 27 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 16.
- 28 Farhad Daftary, *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 507; Todd Lawson, 'Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Twelver Shi'ism: Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī on Fayḍ Kāshānī (the *Risālat al-'ilmiyya*); in R. Gleaves (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qājār Iran* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005).
- 29 Daftary, *The Isma'ilis*, p. 507; Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part I', p. 449.
- 30 Hā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, p. 437.
- 31 Ibid., pp. 438-439.
- 32 Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism, Part I, p. 446.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 477.
- 35 Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism', Part I, p. 446.
- 36 Zayn al-Ābidīn Shīrwānī (Mast 'Alī Shāh), *Kashf al-Ma'ārif* (Tehran: Chāpkhānih Firdawsī, 1350 A. Hsh./1971).
- 37 Ibid., p. 1.
- 38 Shīrwānī, *Ri'yāḍ* (Tehran: Kitāb Furūshī-yi Sa'dī, 1339/ 1960).
- 39 Homayouni, *Tārīkh*, p. 183.
- 40 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 286.
- 41 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq al-Siyāḥa* (Tehran: Sāzmān-i Chāp-i Danishgāh, 1348 A. Hsh./ 1969).
- 42 Shīrwānī, *Bustān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ḥaqīqat, 2010).
- 43 Ibid., p. 21.
- 44 Ibid., p. 20.
- 45 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 283.
- 46 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 21.
- 47 Muḥammad ibn 'Abdul-Allāh al-Ḥākīm al-Nayshābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 4 vols. (Riyadh: Maktabat an-Naṣr al-Ḥaditha, n.d.), pp. 150-151; Aḥmad ibn Ḥajārah al-Makkī, *aṣ-Ṣawā'iq al-Muhriqa*, ed. 'Abdul-Wahhāb 'Abdul-Laṭīf, (Cairo: Maktab al-Qāhira, 1375/ 1955), pp. 150, 184; Momen, *Introduction*, p. 17.
- 48 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 30.
- 49 For further information about the signs of the return of the Mahdī see Sayyid Ibrāhīm Musawī, *Ithbāt al-Ḥujja wa 'alā'im al-ḡuhūr* (Tehran: Kitābforūshī Muṣṭafawī, 1344 A. Hsh./1965); Sayyid Aḥmad Ḥusaynī

- Ardikānī, *Surūr al-muminīn* (Qum: Markaz-i al-Iḥyā' al-tarāth al-Islāmī, 1294 A. H./1877); Momen, *Introduction*, pp. 171.
- 50 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1694-1699; Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, pp. 30-31.
- 51 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 31. The subject of 'intercession' was explained in Ḥusayn 'Alī Shāh's chapter. For further information about intercession and Shi'ism see Muḥammad ibn Nu'mān Mufid, *Awā'il al-maqāmāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Mufid, 1414 A. H./ 1993), pp. 79-101; Muḥammad ibn Ḥassan Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān fi al-tafsīr Qur'ān* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-tarāth al-'Arabī, date unknown), pp. 213-214; Ḥassan Ṭabrasī, *Majma' al-bayān fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Mu'asisat al-a'lāmī lil-maṭbū'āt, 1415 A. H./1994), p. 201.
- 52 Some of the differences between these schools of Shi'ism were explained in the chapter on Majdhūb.
- 53 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1498. The general beliefs of the Akhbārī were explained in the chapter on Majdhūb.
- 54 Ibid., p. 1501.
- 55 Royce, *Mīr Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh and the Ni'mat Allāhī Revival*, p. 13.
- 56 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 32.
- 57 Ibid., pp. 32-33.
- 58 Ibid., pp. 24-47.
- 59 Ibid., p. 51.
- 60 Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 79.
- 61 Ibid., p. 80.
- 62 Ibid., p. 61.
- 63 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1863.
- 64 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1863-1864; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 564.
- 65 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1863.
- 66 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1865; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 564-565.
- 67 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1868.
- 68 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1862-1880; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 569-570.
- 69 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 822; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 244. For further information about *fanā'* see Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, pp. 130-148.
- 70 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 823; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 244-245.
- 71 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 825; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 245.
- 72 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 310; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 245. The Kūfiyān (People of Kufa) were known as traitors to the second Shi'ite Imam. For further information see Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifi, *Rawḍat al-shuhadā'* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Islāmīyya, date unknown).
- 73 Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, p. 13.

- 74 Dhabīḥu'llāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt-i Īrān* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Firdaws, 1373 A. Hsh./ 1994), vol. V, pp. 203-204. Cited by Leonard Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Heritage of Sufism: Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501-1750)*, Vol. III (Oxford: One-world Publications, 1999), p. 74, n. 53.
- 75 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 824.
- 76 Momen, *Introduction*, pp. 147-148.
- 77 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 824.
- 78 Momen, *Introduction*, p. 149; Muḥammad Khān Kirmānī, *Kitāb al-Mubīn* (Kerman: Chāpkhānīh Sa'ādat, 1354 A. Hsh./ 1975 C.E.), Vol. I, p. 281.
- 79 Rūmī, *The Mathnawī*, I, pp. 1461-1462.
- 80 Ibid., IV, pp. 1851-1855.
- 81 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 824-825.
- 82 Chodkiewicz, *The Seal of the Saints*, p. 30.
- 83 Nur al-Dīn Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī, *Kulliyāt Ash'ār-i Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī*, ed. Dr. Jawād Nūrbakhsh (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Khāniqāh-i Ni'matullāhī, 1361 A. Hsh./1982), p. 754.
- 84 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 827-830.
- 85 Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-asrār*, p. 384.
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 827.
- 88 Chodkiewicz, *The Seal of the Saints*, pp. 27-29.
- 89 Āmulī, *Jāmi'*, pp. 391 and 400-437.
- 90 Cited by Leonard Lewisohn, 'In Quest of Annihilation: Imaginalization and Mystical Death in the *Tamhīdāt* of 'Ayn al-Quḍāt Hamadhānī', in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Heritage of Sufism: Classical Persian Sufism from its origin to Rumi (700-1300)*, Vol. I (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999), p. 314.
- 91 ⁹ Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 28.
- 92 Nasrullah Pourjavadi, *Ru'yat māh dar āsimān* (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dānishgāhī, 1375 A. Hsh./ 1996 C.E), pp. 51-54.
- 93 Ibid., pp. 51-52.
- 94 Sells, *Early Islamic Mysticism*, p. 80; Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Sulamī, *Tafsīr Ja'far al-Ṣādiq naghlan 'an haqā'iq al-tafsir al-Sulamī*, eds. Paul Nwiya, Vol. I (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dānishgāhī, 1369 A. Hsh./1990 C.E.).
- 95 Pourjavadi, *Ru'yat māh*, p. 64.
- 96 Ibid., pp. 65, 68.

- 97 Abū Ḥamid Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm dīn, rub' munjīyāt*, vol. III, eds. Ḥusayn Khadiw Jam, trans. Mu'ayid al-Dīn Muḥammad Khawrazmī (Tehran: Bunyād Farhang Īrān, 1359 A. Hsh./ 1980 C.E.), pp. 870, 880.
- 98 ⁰⁶ Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 29.
- 99 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 3.
- 100 Ibid., pp. 6-7. The early Shī'ite mystic and philosopher Āmulī, who was significant in the formation of Shī'ite Sufi beliefs later on and an influence on Majdhūb and Mast 'Alī, believed that real knowledge is in the hearts of prophets, saints and realised ones; it is the secret of unity and the reality of all beings (Āmulī, *Jāmi'*, pp. 520-522).
- 101 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 3.
- 102 Ibid., p. 24.
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1497.
- 105 Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sa'd Kāzīrūnī, known as Muḥaqiq Dawānī, was one of the *Ishrāqī* philosophers of the School of Shīrāz. For further information about this philosopher see Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from its Origin to the Present; Philosophy in the Land of Prophecy* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), pp. 197-199.
- 106 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1515-1516.
- 107 Abū al-Qāsim Pāyandih, *Nahj al-fisāḥa* (Tehran: Intishārāti Jāwīdān, 1374 A. Hsh./ 1995), p. 580.
- 108 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, pp. 4-5.
- 109 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1496.
- 110 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, pp. 4 and 24; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 451.
- 111 He was known for cursing Mullā Ṣadrā, Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī and other great followers of the Akbarian school of thought within Shī'ite culture. In his speeches he used to repeat the damnation of all Sufis (Tunikābunī, *Qīṣaṣ*, p. 84).
- 112 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1301.
- 113 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, pp. 48-49.
- 114 Ibid., p. 50.
- 115 Āmulī, *Jāmi'*, p. 390.
- 116 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, pp. 48-49.
- 117 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1502.
- 118 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, pp. 52-53.
- 119 Ibid., p. 6.
- 120 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 973.
- 121 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 52.

- 122 Ibid., pp. 10, 25.
- 123 For further information about the Spiritual Path (*ṭarīqat*) see Schimmel, *Mystical Dimension*, pp. 99-186.
- 124 For further information see Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vol. II (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 188-192.
- 125 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 15.
- 126 Ibid., p. 12.
- 127 Ibid., 14.
- 128 Qur'ān: 2:170.
- 129 Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, p. 29.
- 130 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 11.
- 131 Āmulī, *Jāmi'*, pp. 32-33.
- 132 Ibid., pp. 36-37.
- 133 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1040.
- 134 Ibid., p. 1520.
- 135 Ibid., pp. 1524-1525.
- 136 Ibid., p. 1525-1526.
- 137 Ibid., p. 1531.
- 138 Leonard Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 66.
- 139 Ḥamid Farzām, *Tahqīq dar aḥwāl wa naqd athār va afkār Shāh Ni'mat-ullāh Walī* (Tehran: Surūsh, 1379 A. Hsh./ 2000), pp. 613-620.
- 140 Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifī, *Rashahāt-i 'ayn al-ḥayāt*, ed. 'Alī Asghar Mu'inīyān (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Nikūkārī Nūriyānī, 1977).
- 141 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1042. In *Kashf al-Ma'ārif*, Mast 'Alī does not refer to the book by name (Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 21).
- 142 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 21; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1042.
- 143 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1362; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 39.
- 144 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 311.
- 145 Shīrwānī, *Riyāḍ*, p. 160.
- 146 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 872.
- 147 Ibid., p. 22.
- 148 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 22; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 311-312.
- 149 Murtidā Muṭaharī, *Sharḥ-i Mabsūṭ*, p. 246.
- 150 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 224.
- 151 Ibid., pp. 224-232.
- 152 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1041-1042; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 449.
- 153 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 76.

- 154 Daftary, *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines*, p. 507; Lawson, 'Orthodoxy and heterodoxy'.
- 155 Daftary, *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines*, p. 507; Lewisohn, 'An introduction to the history of modern Persian Sufism, Part I', p. 449.
- 156 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 524.
- 157 The author of "*Tabṣarat al-ʿawām*" lived during the tenth-eleventh centuries (5th-6th A.H.).
- 158 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 312-313.
- 159 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 18; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 450.
- 160 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, pp. 19-21; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 450.
- 161 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 19; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 450.
- 162 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, pp. 19-20.
- 163 Ibid., p. 12.
- 164 Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 163.
- 165 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1110.
- 166 Ibid., p. 1070.
- 167 Ibid., p. 872.
- 168 Literally means 'those who makes themselves alike'.
- 169 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 315; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1052-1053; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 169.
- 170 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 315; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1053; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 169.
- 171 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 315; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1053; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 169.
- 172 For further information see Muḥammad Reza Shafī'i Kadkani, *Qalandariyya dar tārikh: Digardisihāy-i yik idi'ulugy* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Sukhan, 1386 A. Hsh./2007); Sayyid Abū Ṭālib Mīr'ābidīnī and Mīhrān Afshārī, *Āyīn qalandari* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i farārawān, 1374 A. Hsh./1995).
- 173 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 315-316; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1054; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 169.
- 174 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 316; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1054; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 170.
- 175 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 316; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1055-1056; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 169.
- 176 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 315; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1053; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 169.
- 177 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 316; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1054; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 170.
- 178 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 316; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1054-1055; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 170.
- 179 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 316; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1055-1056; Shīrwānī, *Rīyāḍ*, p. 170.

- 180 For further information see 'Allāma Qāḍī Nūrullāh Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Islāmīyya, 1377 A. Hsh./1998 C.E.), vol. I.
- 181 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 1834-1840.
- 182 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 342.
- 183 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 95-96.
- 184 Ibid., p. 889.
- 185 Ibid.
- 186 Ibid., p. 941.
- 187 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 277.
- 188 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 976.
- 189 Hidāyat, *majma' al-fusahā*, p. 83.
- 190 Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran*, p. 109; Muḥammad 'Alī Mu'allim, *Makārim ul-Āthār dar Aḥwāl-i Rijāl-i dawra Qājār* (Iṣfahān: mu'asisih nashr makhṭūṭāt-i Iṣfahān, 1337 A.H./1958 C.E.), vol. I, p. 18.

Chapter 7

- 1 Graham, 'The Ni'matullāhī Order under Safavid Supression', p. 173.
- 2 Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, p. 14.
- 3 Ibid., p.71; Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 10; Khuyī, *Ādāb*, p. 342; Pāzūkī, 'qarn shishum', p. 43; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 661; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 206.
- 4 Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, pp. 170-171.
- 5 Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 93.
- 6 It was only during the 16th century that Shāh 'Abbās I encouraged seminary Shi'ism, and around the year 1597 he built the first Shi'ite seminary school in Iṣfahān (Momen, *Introduction*, p. 111).
- 7 Between 1433 and 1435.
- 8 Ḥaqīqat, *Tārīkh*, p. 219; Hidāyat, *Uṣūl* (Tehran), p. 547; Īzadgushasb, *Nūr al-abṣār*, p. 11; Shīrāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, pp. 170-171; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 264; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 206.
- 9 Pourjavady and Wilson, *Kings of Love*, p. 94.
- 10 Momen, *Introduction*, p. 127.
- 11 Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 45.
- 12 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1770.
- 13 Perry, *Karīm Khan Zand*, p. 122.
- 14 Ḥā'irī, *Nakhustīn*, pp. 356 and 360; Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i Ijtimā'i wa Siyāsī*, vol. I, pp. 100 and 107; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 217.
- 15 Algar, *State and Religion*, p. 44.

- 16 M. Samī'ī and Kaywān Ṣadūqī, *Du Risāla dar Tārīkhi Jadīd-i Taṣawwuf* (Tehran: Pāzhang Publication, 1370 A. Hsh./ 1991), p. 63.
- 17 Shirāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, p. 226.
- 18 Ibid., p. 222.
- 19 Ibid., p. 226.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid., p. 223.
- 22 Elder, *Tārīkh-i mīssiun Āmrīkāī*, pp. 9-15; Waterfield, *Christians*, pp. 79-84.
- 23 Hellot, 'The Western Missionaries in Azerbaijani Society', p. 287.
- 24 Shirāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, vol. III, p. 227. The term *fitna*, translated more literally as 'trial', indicates the danger of Martyn's beliefs for the Shī'ite society. *Fitna* is a great trial and tribulation experienced by a Muslim society; the Islamic society (*Umma*) was put to the test to find the straight path to God: Frederick Mathewson Denny, *An Introduction to Islam* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1994), p. 388.
- 25 Ibid., p. 227.
- 26 Ḥusayn 'Alī Shāh, *Radd-i Padrī*, pp. 187-188.
- 27 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 380; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 416.
- 28 Kabūdarāhangī, 'Aqā'id', p. 3.
- 29 Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 380; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 416-417; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ*, p. 638; Īzadgushasb, *Shams*, p. 79; Sulṭānī, *Rahbarān*, p. 219; Shirāzī, *Ṭarā'iq*, p. 258; Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 416-417.
- 30 Momen, *Introduction*, pp. 224-225; Lewisohn, 'Sufism and the School of Iṣfahān', p. 81.
- 31 Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, p. 146.
- 32 Gleave, 'Scriptural Sufism and Scriptural Anti-Sufism', p. 160.
- 33 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 104.
- 34 Ibid., p. 62.
- 35 Ibid., p. 18; Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirā't*, p. 60.
- 36 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 19.
- 37 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirā't al-Ḥaqq*, p. 60.
- 38 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, pp. 21-22.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 13-16.
- 40 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirā't*, pp. 207-208.
- 41 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 105.
- 42 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirā't*, pp. 211-214.
- 43 Kabūdarāhangī, *Marāḥil*, p. 86; Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirā't*, pp. 176-177.
- 44 Ibid., pp. 252-253.
- 45 Ibid., pp. 262-264.

- 46 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, pp. 149-151.
- 47 Ibid., pp. 87-88.
- 48 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirā't*, pp. 120-123.
- 49 Kabūdarāhangī, *Rasā'il*, p. 14.
- 50 Ibid., pp. 87-89.
- 51 Kabūdarāhangī, *Mirā't*, pp. 104-129.
- 52 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, pp. 32-33.
- 53 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 823-825; Shīrwānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 244-245.
- 54 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, p. 1497.
- 55 Shīrwānī, *Kashf*, p. 14.
- 56 Ibid., p. 1521.
- 57 Ibid., p. 1498.
- 58 Ibid., pp. 1498-1499.
- 59 Ibid., p. 1501.
- 60 Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla*, p. 342.
- 61 Shīrwānī, *Bustān*, pp. 95-96.
- 62 Ibid., p. 889.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid., p. 941.
- 65 Anzali, 'Safavid Shī'ism', p. 257.
- 66 Ibid., p. 257.

Afterword

- 1 Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, p. 51; Ḥusayn Ruḥānīnizhād, *Wilāyat dar 'irfān 'irfān* (Tehran, Sāzmān-i Intishārāt-i pazhūhishgāh-i farhang wa andishih Islāmī, 1387 A. Hsh./ 2008), p. 61.
- 2 Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, pp. 13, 51.
- 3 Nūr 'Alī Shāh, Majmū'a az āthār, p. 45; Scharbrodt, 'The *quṭb* as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', p. 42.
- 4 Ibid., p. 34.
- 5 Ibid., p. 41.
- 6 Bayat, 'Anti Sufi', p. 627; Scharbrodt, 'The *quṭb* as Special Representative of the Hidden Imam', p. 41.
- 7 Ibid., p. 35.
- 8 For further information about current persecution of Sufis see Leonard Lewisohn, 'Extremes of the Study of Mystic Man in Modern Iran: Review Article', in *Iranian Studies* (London: Routledge, 2009), vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 285-310.