The *Javānmardī* Tradition in Iran: A Textual Review and its Reflection in the Iranian Institution of the *Zūrkhānā*

By

Fakhrodin Kazemi

(Under the Direction of Kenneth L. Honerkamp)

Abstract

The term *Javānmardī* or *Futuwwa* apply to a semantic field that includes a wide range of associations with initiation rituals and moral and ethical codes in the Islamic world. It, also, refers to the ethical or philosophical foundations of such associations, namely an ethical system based upon altruism, magnanimity, liberality, and wholehearted faithfulness to fellow members of the association and community as a whole. These ethical values are a path way seen by Sufis to lead to inner perfection. These values and related character traits include generosity, humility, courage, and turning a blind eye to the sins of others. The term *futuwwa* embraces, in effect, all the good manners (*adab*) of the Sufis good. This thesis will discuss, first, the term *futuwwa* and its occurrence and meanings in the *futuwwa* literature, and secondly, the role of these values and the character traits of *futuwwa* as they became applied in the institution of the *zūrkhāna*.

INDEX WORDS: *Javānmardī*, *Futuwwa*, Spiritual Chivalry, Sufism, Literature, Ethics, Persian, Shi'ism, Religion, *Zūrkhāna*, Iranian Identity.

The *Javānmardī* Tradition in Iran: A Textual Review and its Reflection in the Iranian Institution of the *Zūrkhānā*

By

Fakhrodin Kazemi

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

Athens, Georgia

2017

The *Javānmardī* Tradition in Iran: A Textual Review and its Reflection in the Iranian Institution of the *Zūrkhānā*

By

Fakhrodin Kazemi

Major Professor: Kenneth Lee Honerkamp

Committee: Carolyn Jones Medine

Alan Godlas

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2017

DEDICATION

I love the good that others do; for their activity is an assurance that whether I can help or not, the true and the good will stand sure.

-Hellen Keller

پیشکش به نسرین توفیقیان روحانی و حسن انیس،

بخاطر اراده ی معطوف به خیرشان.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My profound gratitude goes to my family, who live in Shiraz. They have been a huge support to me, all my life. My father for his encouragements and my mother for her kindness. I would like to thank Dr. Honerkamp who was patient with me and made this thesis possible. Without him these words would never have come on the pages. To Dr. Godlas for his reviews and sense of humor. To Dr. Medine whose kind heart and manner was inspiring. Dr. Lyon and Dr. Foster are angels whom I learned a lot from. Finally, many thanks to my colleagues and friends in and out of the department who lifted many burdens from my shoulders.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS……. V

CHAPTER

1. Introduction……1
2. *Javānmardī:* An Overview …….....6
3. *Futuwwa/ Javānmardī* Within the Religious Context……..……17
4. Four Treatises on *Javānmardī/Futuwwa*……..…….....26
5. The Role of *Javānmardī* in the *Zūrkhāna*…… 43
6. Conclusion……62

REFRENCES……...…64

Introduction

This thesis in an investigation into one of the most influential elements of Persian Sufism over the last one thousand years, and the literature it has engendered and the impact it has had in early and modern times upon the traditional Iranian institution of the *zūrkhāna*. The ethical code known as *javānmardī* (usually translated as chivalry) encompasses traits of bravery, loyalty, courage, fairness and honesty. It has been embraced by multiple groups within the fabric of Iranian society including artisans and tradesmen, and the educated elite revealing the degree to which Sufi viewpoints infused pre-modern society. Just as views of identity transform in individuals and in societies, so too the interpretation of *javānmardī* and its relationship with Sufism develops through the course of history. An in-depth study of *Javānmardī* suggests that it is one of the unique characteristics of Persian Sufism itself, which apart from its mystical component (striving for unity with God) includes a focus on an ethical code of piety, altruism, and shunning all hypocrisy. The impact of this legacy is worthy of some speculation; as certain Iranians view the *javānmardī* heritage as an overriding attitude of the Iranian psyche. Sufism and *javānmardī* have long been considered important elements with the unfolding of Persian history, especially in the pre-modern age. Given that Sufism has contributed significantly to Persian culture heritage, as exemplified in the poetry of Rumi and Hafiz, an assessment of how Persian Sufis developed the ethical teachings of *javānmardī* into a code of normative conduct is worthy of careful consideration. In short, *javānmardī* is a key element in the understanding the non-mystical codes of conduct that people applied to social comportment on a multitude of levels and in particular how it influenced Iranian identity itself. In my research I have availed myself of some existing English translations, and certain works in Arabic, but the bulk of the material used will be from Persian texts, many of

which have been edited and published in Tehran in recent years. The lack of English materials on *javānmardī* and its role in Iranian history, intellectual, social and political may be one of the reasons it has been so neglected in scholarly works in the English language. A number of significant contributions have been made, however, these include the works of Lloyd Ridgeon, Julian Baldick and Mohsen Zakeri in recent years. My research will concentrate on, first, the term *javānmardī* and its occurrence and meanings in the *futuwwa* literature, and secondly, the role of these values and the character traits they engender in the within the traditional Iranian institution of the *zūrkhāna.*

The first chapter of this thesis is an overview on some definitions on *javānmardi* and its relationship to a similar term *futuwwa*. In my treatment of the definition of *javānmardī*, I will consider the code of ethical piety that accentuates altruism (*īthār*). Altruism is preferring others over ourselves, or putting the need of the other over our needs, a trait lauded in traditional Sufism and supported within the textual traditions of the Qurʾān and Sunna. The theme of selflessness is found in numerous Persian and Arabic Sufi and non-Sufi texts which clarifies the significance of contextualizing moral codes within a social context as well as their spiritual significance. Authors of *futuwwa/javānmardī* treatises, historiographical literature, folk narratives and *futuwwat-nāmas* have provided an astonishing variety of definitions for *futuwwa/ javānmardī* each differing notably in its preception and explanation of the theme. This chapter will end with a careful consideration of a definition by Suhrawardī in his *futuwwat-nāma* as one of the earliest definitions within the literature.

The second chapter of this thesis addresses the concept of *futuwwa/ javānmardī* within the religious context. The Qur'an and Hadith have shown different aspects of human nature. Some of Quranic commentators and traditionalists have interpreted these textual sources on more

esoteric layers than others. Translators and interpreters of the Qur'an have put forth different meanings of the word *fatā* and its derivations. The two most common meanings are "servant" and "youth." In chapter 12, verse 62, it can be translated "[Joseph] said unto his servants." Verses 14.25, 24.33, and 12.30 also use the word servant. "Young men" is used for the story of The People of the Cave in 18.13 and similarly used in 18.10 and 21.60. This chapter further talks about the *sira* of the prophet, *hadith,* and Quran exegesis as sources of inspiration for the people of *futuwwa/ javānmardī.* This chapter further examines the persona of 'Ali, Shi'ism and *futuwwa*. One of the most often mentioned figures in Persian *futuwwa* treatises is 'Ali 'ibn Abi Talib. The spiritual lineage of *futuwwa* traces itself back to him. Ali was called the leader of people of *futuwwa* and their "pole of poles." I will complete this chapter by concluding that although the concept of spiritual chivalry is not strictly religious and has other manifestations, it has its religious ideals. As the concept of *futuwwa* unfolds in its religious setting, it is evident in the Persian and Arabic sources that there is a focus in it upon inter-human relations. That is how people of *futuwwa* seek moral perfection by applying religious sources. The Qur'an and Hadith, traditions of the prophets and Shi'ism are among the most influential springs of proper conduct for the *fityān*.

In the **third chapter** of this thesis I will introduce four treatises on *javānmardī/futuwwa*. I will initially introduce *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān fī khaṣāʾiṣ al-fityān* (A Precious Gift for the Brethren Dealing with the Traits of Young Manliness). The second treatise I will deal with is *Kitāb fī'l Futuwwa* by Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. The role and eminence of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in al-Suhrawardī's *Kitāb fī'l futuwwa* as a merciful saint in the *futuwwa* tradition has been developed in this work. Perhaps al-Suhrawardī wished to build upon the legacy of ʿAlī in order to offer a more merciful version of Islam, as he pointed out in his treatise on *futuwwa*. The themes developed in al-Suhrawardī's treatise will be representative of Persian *futuwwat namas* for the following three

hundred years, as well as establishing the normative practices the would constitute the *ādāb* in ritual activities; compassion and mercy in one's dealing with others. The third treatise is the *Futuwwat nama* of Mīrzā ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Khān Qarīb-i Garakānī. The *Futuwwat nama* that has been preseerved in the collection of Mīrzā ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Khān Qarīb-i Garakānī (a professor of Persian literature at Tehran University under Reza Shah) is named *Futuwwat nama* of Mīrzā ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Khān Qarīb-i Garakānī. The author is unknown but he seems to be an admirer of Sufism given the number Sufi poets quoted in the text. The author shows some knowledge of the Qur'an and employs *hadith* to address some standpoints in of the *futuwwa* path. He also makes extensive use of *Kīmiyāʾ al-saʿāda,* Abū Ḥāmid al- Ghazālī's work in Persian. Moreover, he reveals sophistication by including Persian poetry from Sa'dī, (who some scholars see as a teacher of the *futuwwa* tradition), Awḥadī (d.635), Rumi and ʿAṭṭār. The author was probably a Sunni Muslim as he uses the term *ahl-i sunnat wa jamāʿat* (a term to describe Sunnis in a positive fashion). However, without any denominational leanings he incorporates stories, anecdotes and allegorical tales about ʿAlī as the hero of *futuwwa* (as it was common in *futuwwa namas*). The last treatise I will deal with here is *Treatise of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī.* The over-all message of the *Treatise of Ḥātim* comprises an ethic of hospitality and generosity; however, there is a tension between the idea of complete selflessness and the desire within *futuwwa* to earn a good reputation and lasting fame. In effect, the type of hospitality and generosity in the *Treatise of Ḥātim* is aimed at both selfless and self-interested intentions. These four texts treated here are presented in the guise of examples of a rich literature that has been little dealt with and which it is my intention to continue researching and developing.

The **final chapter** of this work focuses on the role of *javānmardī* in the traditional Iranian institute of the *zūrkhāna*. In this chapter I will discuss the role of the *zūrkhāna* as an image of the

Iranian collective memory that reflects a variety of beliefs, ideas and moral attitudes the have gone to make up that which we recognize today as Iran's self-image. I will first provide an overview of the traditional athletics of the *zūrkhāna*; secondly I will treat the multifaceted roles of the *zūrkhāna*, and finally I will delimitate the trilateral symbolic facets of nationalism, Sufism and Shi'ism that constitute the often contradictory character of the *zūrkhāna* through an exposition of the lives and times of three notable personalities in the history of the institution; the 8th/14th-century Sufi-wrestler Pūryā-yi Valī, a modern exponent of the quality of chivalry, *javānmardī*, Gholāmrezā Takhtī (1930 – 1968) and the paradoxical personality of Shaʿbān Jaʿfarī (1921-2006).

Javānmardī: An Overview

Much of the classical Persian and Arabic literature on *javānmardī / futuwwa* (Chivalry)[1] deals with the idea and ideal of *adab* by including the discourse, definition, and formation of rules and norms that pertains to individual conduct, social etiquette, and ethical norms in one way or another. In a bare translation from Persian and Arabic, into English, *adab* could be taken as conduct.

The Persian word *javānmardī* (or its Arabic equivalent, *futuwwa*) is a term that developed its meaning in the 10th-11th centuries (C.E.) as a character trait that encompassed bravery, courage, loyalty, mercy, and generosity, to a spiritual disposition, or a worldview, that was epitomized by the sober, medieval, Sufi tradition in the Persian world.[2] *Futuwwa* morals accentuate altruism *(īthār)* as the unselfish orientation for others, voiced in traditional Ṣūfism and backed up by the Qurʾān. Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Ḥaddād al-Nīsābūrī (d. between 265/879 and 270/884) defines *īthār*

[1] For the first time the term 'chivalry' was coined in relation to *futuwwa* by the Austrian orientalists and scholar Joseph van Hammer-Purgstall in his two articles on the topic : '*Sur la chevaleries des Arabes anterieure a celle de l'Europe, sur l'influence de la premiere sur la seconde' journal Asiatique* (Quatrieme Serie.Tome XIII, 1849), PP.4-1 *; Sur les passages relatifs a la chevalerie dans le historiens arabes'* , journal Asiatique (Cinquieme Serie, Tome VI, 1855), pp. 282-290.(Gevorgyan, Khachik. "*Futuwwa Varieties and the Futuwwat-nāma Literature: An Attempt to Classify Futuwwa and Persian Futuwwat-nāmas.*" British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 40 (2013): 2-13.)

[2] Lloyd Ridgeon, "Javanmardi: Origins and Development until the 13th Century and Its Connection to Sufism." *Annals of Japan Association for Middle Eastern Studies*, (2006), 49-74.

as “preferring the lot of one's brethren over one's own, in both this world and the next”[3] Al-Sulamī as an example uses the theme of selfless preference in his works specially in *Kitāb al-futuwwa,* a usage that continue to be in the Persian genre of *futuwwat-nāma.*[4]This theme of selflessness is found in numerous Persian and Arabic Sufi and non-Sufi texts which illuminates the importance of contextualizing moral codes in social context as well as their psychological components. According to Mohammad Ajmal in his article, “A Note on *Adab* in the *Murshid-Murīd* Relationship:”

> From the psychological point of view, the concept of *adab* derives its salience from the distinction between the sacred and the profane. In a social situation where the distinction has been blurred or obviated, the concept of *adab* has scarcely any meaning. The true relationship of *adab* is very much like the emotion of awe, which is blend of fear and love, a sense of inadequacy mingled with a sense of profound longing. [5]

Sufi longing for the Divine requires its *ādāb* (s.*adab*) in approaching God's proximity, This longing for the Divine will occur when one distinguishes between outward conduct and inner attitudes. “These inner attitudes named *māqamāt* (stages or way stations representing virtues acquired by the Sufi itinerary) or *aḥwāl* (states or dispositions experienced by the mystic as divine

[3] Al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAṭā, (Beirut 1998), 109

[4] Erik Ohlander, "Altruism." *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Volum 3. (Leiden: Brill), Consulted online on 16 January 2017

[5] Christian W.Troll and Barbara Daly Metcalf. "Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 44, no.4 (1985), 246.

gifts)".[6]Al-Sulamī in his Sufi hagiography *Ṭabaqāt* al-*ṣūfiyya,* quotes Abū Ḥafṣ al-Haddād (d. C.270/883) by citing:

> To each mystical moment (*waqt*), each state (*ḥāl*), and each stage (*māqam*) belongs a discipline (*adab*). Whoever adheres to the ways of behavior (*ādāb*) of the mystical moments has reached the rank of mature men. Whoever neglects Ways of behavior is far from where he supposes (God's) nearness lies and is driven away from where he expects he will be acceptance.[7]

Admittedly it is challenge to write on *adab* and *Futuwwa/ Javānmardī,* seeing them interwoven, however, it could be argued that *adab* by which one makes room for the other frames an individual who knows himself/herself in the Divine presence, de-centered and alchemized. This decentralization is revealed in a close examination of pertinent Persian, and Arabic literature. *Sa'di,* byname of Musharrif al-Dīn ibn Muṣlih al-Dīn (born *c.*1213, Shīrāz, Iran—died Dec. 9, 1291, Shīrāz) in his *Golistān/Golestān*, perhaps the most influential prose work in Persian tradition completed in 656/1258 addresses the *sine qua non* of human beings by versing:

> The children of Adam are limbs of but one body
> Having been created of but one essence.
> When the calamity of time afflicts one limb,
> The other limbs will not remain at ease.
> If thou hast no sympathy for the troubles of others,

[6] Metcalf, Barbara Daly,*"The Ādāb Literature of Classical Sufism: Anṣārī's Code of Conduct*," in *Propriety and Authority: Sources of Moral Authority in South Asia*, (Berkeley: University of California Press 1984), 67.

[7] Al-Sulami, ed. Johannes Pedersen. *Kitab Tabaqat Al-Sufiyya*, (Leiden 1960), 42.

Thou art unworthy to be named human.[8] [9]

In this oft-quoted combination of rhetoric and picture, Sa'di regards human beings not only brothers and sisters but also as extensions of a same core, substantiating the unit. According to Wheeler M. Thackston the *Golistān/Golestān (Rose Garden)* "almost from the time it was written it was the first book studied by school children throughout the entire Persian-speaking and reading world from Constantinople to Bengal and from Central Asia to East Africa." [10] This didactic book "was an exemplar of social *adab*...Social *adab* was not just proper social conduct, but also the attitudes and sensibilities behind these idealized forms of behavior."[11]

Mohammad Reza Shafiei Kadkani (1939 Nishabur) Persian poet and literary critic in his article *Sa'di in the chains of Javānmardān* referred to *Futuvvat-nāma-yi sulṭānī* (The Royal Book of Spiritual Chivalry*)* showed that Sa'di was among people of futuwwa.[12] As mentioned above Sa'di shows this "sympathic inclusiveness" and compassionate sensibility as a form of behavior and approach which is no surprise since the nature of futuwwa is all-embracing.

Lloyd Ridgeon in his article on origins and development of *Futuwwa/Javānmardi* emphasizes the encompassing quality of *futuwwa/javānmardi* by quoting from Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) a Sufi and Ash̲ʿarī theologian who was a great contributor of

[8] The poem is cited in a story from *Golestan*, in which Sa'di reports he was visiting the mausoleum of John the Baptist in Damascus when an Arab prince approached him asked him to pray for him, for he was about to face a mortal enemy."Be merciful to your weak subjects, so you won't be harmed by your mighty enemy, "Sa'di responded and then this poem for him."

[9] Hamid Dabashi. *The world of Persian literary humanism*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 5-6.

[10] Wheeler M. Thackston, *The Gulistan; or Rose-Garden of Shekh Muslihu'D-Din Sadi Shiraz*.(London:Forgotten Books, 2000), , Translator's Preface.

[11] ManaKia, and Daniel J. Sheffield. "Adab as Ethics of Literary Form and Social Conduct: Reading the Gulistan in Late Mughal India.". *No Tapping Around Philology': A Festschrift in Celebration and Honor of Wheeler McIntosh Thackston Jr.'s 70th Birthday*, (2014), 281-308.

[12] Mhammad Reza S. Kadkani, "Sa'di Dar Salāsel Javānmardān." *Motaleat Erfani*, no. 2 (2006), 112-13.

futuwwa who put together two *futuwwa* treatises in Persian, *Kitāb al*-futuwwa (The book of futuwwa) and *Risālat al-futuwwa* (The treatises on *futuwwa*):

> There is not one person among all the religious communities (*mellat-ha*) and religious schools (*madhab-ha*) of the Christians, Jews and Magians[13] who has not traced his origin to Abraham's royal court. Of necessity. The sun of *fotovva* shines upon each group of people.[14]

In comparison to European chivalry (The word 'chivalry' could be misleading and inexplicit in Iranian-Islamic context)[15], which was by and large limited to upper and middle class and prohibited to the lower class, was not only for different religions but also for different social and economic classes. Khachik Gevorgyan has observed:

> There are many parallels between Islamic *futuwwa* and its European equivalent. For example, one may point to the similar concept of behavior -similar rites of initiation, Similar interpretations of those who are worthy of becoming members of the organization (based on generosity or other virtues), as well as a very similar interrelation between Secular and religious origins of the ideology. However, unlike its European counterpart, *futuwwa* combined martial, aristocratic and Islamic pietistic elements with ideologies of craft guilds, peasants and workers. Thus, in Islamic chivalry, the lower class- artisans and tradesmen – was one of the

[13] Originally a term for the professional priesthood of the pre-Islamic religious institution in Iran, in Qurʾānic usage it is presumably a term for all followers of that religion (Darrow, William R. "Magians." Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān. General Editor: Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Georgetown University, Washington DC. Brill)

[14] Ridgeon, Lloyd. "Javanmardi: Origins and Development until the 13th Century and Its Connection to Sufism", 49-74.

[15] See: Julian Baldick, *"The Iranian Origin of the Futuwwa,"* (Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli 50, 1990), 345-61.

main components of the organization. Accordingly, one of the characteristics of Islamic chivalry was its accessibility to ordinary people.[16]

Suhrawardī states: "The *futuwwa* is the simplified form of Sufism, and its rituals and traditions are easier to understand for ordinary people"[17] On the on the other hand Ridgeon asserts "*futuwwa* was not concerned with the kind of abstract theoretical speculations on mystical and ontological issues that occupied the minds of Sufis who were attracted to the teaching of Sufis such as Ibn 'Arabi" [18] It should not be assumed that ***futuwwa/ javānmardī*** lacks interiorized or spiritual dimensions of *ādāb*. Ḥusain wāʿihẓ Kāshifī (b. Sabzavār, ca. 840/1436-37; d. Herat), in *Risāla-yi Ḥātimiya* (This treatise is a biography of *Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī* who was a pre-Islamic Christian poet, famous for his extravagant generosity, hospitality and liberality) narrates Ḥātim as this:

> I have never made a beggar feel indebted by a gift, rather I have felt indebted, and I have asked forgiveness. I have deliberated that if the duty to give alms is incumbent on me, then my duty to give alms must be evident for the beggar. He has begged for something from me because he has a good opinion of me and thinks I am worthy. The duty of honoring someone is greater than the duty of giving alms. So, his duty takes precedence over mine, and his duty of honoring me should not be lessened through service.[19]

[16] Khachik, Gevorgyan, "Futuwwa Varieties and the Futuwwat-nāma Literature: An Attempt to Classify Futuwwa and Persian Futuwwat-nāmas." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 40 (2013): 2-13

[17] In Muḥammad Jaʿfar Maḥjūb, *Ā'īn-i javānmardī, yā, Futuvvat,* (New York: Bibliotheca Press, 2000), 107

[18] Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-futuwwat in Iran*.102

[19] Ibid.p.113

The introspective element extends beyond the acceptance of being generous and kind to the poor and shows a magnanimous character of Ḥātim which we see in other stories of him as well. For instance:

> A Bedouin came to ask for a bag of flour from Ḥātim but received a sack of gold, and a camel by which he could return home. On being questioned about the wisdom of such generosity, Ḥātim replied: If the beggar requests something appropriate to this state, what I give shows my magnanimity. I don't pay attention to the humble beggar. I pay attention to my generosity.[20]

The moral consideration regarding the reverence of the other as portrayed and defined in Kāshifī's works and as illustrated by narrations, allegories and parables seems to go beyond a naïve mannerism it is rather a way of combining exterior courtesies and interior attitude for people of *futuwwa.* In examining Kāshifī's works on *futuwwa/ javānmardī* one finds few disparities between Sufism and *futuwwa/ javānmardī*, however, in most of *futuwwa/javānmardi* treatises there is not any abstraction on the "Unity of being " [21] Javad Nurbakhsh belives that "theoretical" "unity of being "may lead to a sort of moral decay which is largely in opposition to "ideals" of *futuwwa/ javānmardī.* Nurbakhsh in his article *"The Key Features of Sufism in the Early Islamic Period"* distinguish between visionary and theoretical "Unity of Bing" and castigates the latter:

> Theoretical 'Unity of Being', on the other hand, is a philosophy concocted by the ratiocinative reason (*'aql*), and as such, belongs to the realm of the ego. Belief in

[20] Ibid.p.112

[21] Ibid.p.117

this philosophy is devoid of all spiritual benefit-in fact, it only serves to send person socially and morally astray, since one may easily misuse this philosophy to justify indulgence in various vices or offensive behavior by claiming that "since all is Unity, anything goes." Thus, reasonable adherence to this philosophy is suspect, because it actually may lead to moral decay, lowering an individual from the sublime station of humanity. Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 672/1273) illustrates this danger in his story of the thief who enters an orchard and steals some apricots. The owner happens to come by at that moment and seizes him. "Are you not afraid of God?" he asks the thief. "Why should I be afraid?" replies the man. "This tree belongs to God; the apricots belong to God and I am God's servant. God's servant is but eating God's property." At this, the owner orders his servants to fetch a rope and tie the man to the tree. "Here is my answer," explains the owner as he begins to beat the thief. In response, the thief exclaims, "Are you not afraid of God?" Smiling, the owner replies, "Why should I be afraid? This is God's stick, the rope belongs to God and you are God's servant. Thus, I am only beating God's servant with God's stick.[22] [23]

While highlighting the moral underpinning of the *javānmardī* worldview one should not forget the variety of associations that *javānmardī* denotes. In spite on the virtuous connotation of *javānmardi* it has been occasionally and on the contrary

[22] Javad Nurbakhsh, "The Key Features of Sufism in the Early Islamic Period". *The Heritage of Sufism* Volume 1(London: Oneworld Publications, 1999), xviii.

[23] Nurbakhsh continues: In contrast to the theoretical approach to the Unity of Being, the visionary approach is founded on love and practiced solely by those free of self-interest.

debaucheries. *Al-fityān al-lāhun* were associations of hedonistic youth from whom the ethical principles of *futuwwa* appears to have been conspicuously absent, with the single exception of loyalty to the group. From the early 8th century onwards, chronicles and works of adab speak of affluent and often unmarried youths who formed associations dedicated to hedonism and the pursuit of amusement. They vowed to support their comrades at times of need and to keep their proceedings secret from outsiders.[24]

Arrival of such associations over the course of time and under the title of *futuwwa/ javānmardī* pushes one to hesitate on an "essential" definition for *futuwwa/ javānmardī.* Nevertheless, by keeping *Al-fityān al-lāhun*-like associations at bay and seeing the symbiotic life of Sufism and *futuwwa/ javānmardī* we can take their moral ideals into consideration. As Kashifi, in (*Futuwwat-nāma-yi sultāni*), magnum opus on *futuwwa/ javānmardī* in Islamdom, states "The science of chivalry is a branch of the science of Sufism."[25]

Authors of *futuwwa/ javānmardī* treatises, historiographical literature, folk narratives and *futuwwat-nāmas* have provided an astonishing variety of definitions of *futuwwa/ javānmardī* which differ notably in its idea and explanation of the theme.[26] But if we trace back the definitions to the first treatise of *futuwwa/ javānmardī* we might arrive at, possibly, a more authentic definition. Shaykh Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Abi'l-Makarim, otherwise known as Ibn Mi 'mar Hanbali Baghdadi, was the author of what

[24] http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/javanmardi

[25] M.J. Mahjub, *Futuwwat-nāma-yi sultāni* (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran 1350 A.Hsh./1972), 7

[26] Leonard, Lewisohn, ed. "*The Heritage of Sufism. Classical Persian Sufism from Its Origins to* Rumi (700-1300)." 1 (1999), 551.

maybe the oldest text on *futuwwa/ javānmardī*: the 'Book of Chivalry' (*Kitāb al-futuwwa*). He remarks:

> In the Sunna of the Prophet there are certain traditions concerning *futuwwa* to be found. The most select definition of the subject is that given by Imam Ja'far Sadiq [d. 148/765] which he related on the authority of his father, and the latter from his ancestor. [According to this tradition, it is said that] the Prophet declared that, "The chevaliers (*jawānmardān*) of my Community have ten characteristics." "O Prophet of God," they asked, "what are these characteristics?" He pronounced, "Honesty (*rāst-gū'i*), faithfulness to their word (*wafā be-'ahd),* trustworthiness (*idāyi amānat*), abandoning lying (*tark-i durūgh-gu'i*), being charitable to orphans (*bakhshūdan bar yatīm),* assisting the poor and needy (*dastgiri-yi sā'il*), giving away one's income (*bakhshūdan ānchih rasida-ast*), great benevolence (*bisyāri-yi iḥtsān*), hospitality- but foremost of all these is modesty (*ḥayā*).[27]

Suhrawardī in his *futuwwat-nāma* writes:

> Some of the *shaykhs* say that the *ṭārīqa* (Sufi path) is the essence of *sharīʿa* (exoteric path), the *ḥaqīqa* (truth) is the essence of *ṭārīqa* and the *futuwwa/ javānmardī* is the essence of *ḥaqīqa.*[28]

It would not be wrong to posit that the chevaliers (*javānmardān*) lived their ethical-life by practicing disinterested and de-centered concern and responsibility for the well-being of others

---

[27] lbn Mi 'mar Hanbali Baghdadi, *Kitab al-futuwwa* (Baghdad: Maktabat alMuthanna 1985), 132-33. (The above translation is from Prof. Mahjub' s Persian text, not lbn Mi'mar's Arabic original. -TRANS.)

[28] Murtazā, Sarrāf, "*Rasā'il-i Javānmardān: Mushtamil Bar Haft Futuvat Namah*." Compiled by Henry Corbin. (Tihrān: Institū-yi Faransavī-i Pizhūhish'hā-yi ʻIlmī dar Īrān, 1352) 105-06.

which not only crosses the line of "immature nicety" but also forms their interior perfection. If we accept the above-mentioned clarification of Suhrawardī then we may accept *javānmardān'* s liberal approach toward the others by which they shaped their moral exercise.

Futuwwa/ Javānmardī within the Religious Context

Scholars have paid Sufism a great amount of attention in forms of surveys and studies over the centuries. Although *futuwwa* has been tied to Sufism, it has a wider range of audiences that followed its codes. There are many definitions for *Futuwwa* either by the people of *futuwwa* or by Western and Eastern scholars, but *futuwwa* has been defined as spiritual chivalry according to English translations. This chivalry is the system of ethics followed by Sufis and others in order to attain spiritual perfection.

This chapter will shed light on more traditions that make use of the multi-faceted phenomena of *futuwwa*. This code of ethics has played a remarkable socio-political role in the history of mainly Islamic societies. In different manifestations of *futuwwa*, there is a thread of emphasis on interpersonal human-oriented ethics. Due to the restriction of space, this study only analyzes *futuwwa* in a more religious context including Qur'an and *hadith,* prophetic tradition and Shi'ism in a literature based approach.

Persian and Arabic etymology:

The term *Javānmardī* by a literal translation into English is young manliness which is derived from the Persian word, *javān* which means young. Another common translation is Spiritual Chivalry. The Arabic equivalent is *futuwwa* which has the root of *fata* (young man). *fata* is a period of life between sixteen and thirty. According to Henry Corbin, being young has a literal and figurative meaning. The literal meaning is youth of body and the metaphoric denotation is a mystical traveler who has perceived the inner-esoteric reality of human existence. Physically

speaking Young is the one who achieved the bodily perfection. Spiritually speaking young is the one who has actualized inner ethical potentials[29]. So, based upon the language of the literature authors would use *javānmard* or *fata* to refer to the people of *futuwwa*. *Futuwwa* as a word does not appear in the Qur'an, notwithstanding the Qur'an does mention different young men (*ftyān*) in a favorable manner. Much as in *hadith*, Arabic and Persian literature we could see other lexical forms of *futuwwa*.

The Qur'an and Hadith

The Qur'an and Hadith have shown different aspects of human nature to different groups of Muslims. Some of interpreters and traditionalists conceive more esoteric layers in these sources. Translators and interpreters of the Qur'an have put forth different meanings of the word *fatā* and its derivations. The two most common meanings are "servant" and "youth." In chapter 12, verse 62, it can be translated "[Joseph] said unto his servants." Verses 14.25, 24.33, and 12.30 also use the word servant. "Young men" is used for the story of The People of the Cave in 18.13 and similarly used in 18.10 and 21.60.

The first type of verses in the Qur'an refer to servants as young people (*fata*) in order to be more respectful to slaves who had a low status in society[30]. The second type, which uses the definition of youth, moves closer to the translation of *futuwwa* that appeared after the Qur'an in literature. These two kinds of verses in which the word *fatā* or its derivatives are used are not the only way that *futuwwa* is talked about in the Qur'an. However according to Henry Corbin's explanation, as mentioned above, a youth (*fatā*) signifies a person who is ethically mature.

---

[29] Henry, Corbin,. *Traités Des Compagnons-Chevaliers: Recueil De Sept "Fotowwat-Nâmeh" (Teheran: Département D'iranologie De L'Institut Franco-iranien De Recherche*, 1973), 23.

[30] Alī Akbar, Vilāyatī, *Dānishnāmah-'i Javānmardī (futuvvat). (*Tehran: Mu'assasah-'i Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 2013), 67.

‘Ibn ‘Arabi, one of the greatest and most respected Sufis considers the state of *fatā* as the highest rank in closeness to God. The idea of imitation of God and actualizing divine attributes by Muslims led him in his greatest work *The Meccan Openings* to take verse 51.58 as a representative of *futuwwa.*[31] Indeed, it is God who is the Provider, the firm possessor of strength. People of *futuwwa* follow the Qur’an and try to be providers for others. The *sira* of the prophet is the manner of preceding with respect to a certain affair in Mohammad’s life as it ties with Qur’anic tradition. This is another source for ***ftyān***. Sūrābādī exegesis (one of the early Persian Qur'anic exegetic works) in explanation of verses 1-3 of *Sūrat al-Mā'ūn*, talks about Abū Jahl, one of the Meccan polytheist enemies of Muhammad who grabbed an orphan's wealth by force. He would not return the money until the orphan came to Muhammad and addressed him "O *fatā*.” Muhammad retrieves the orphan’s money[32]. Clearly the ***ftyān*** consider Muhammed as *fatā* and seek his attitudes in taking care of low and weak classes in the community.

Abū al-Faḍl Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī (*fl*. early 12th century), a Sunni scholar, mystic and author of the *Kashf al-asrār waʿuddat al-abrār (*Unveiling of mysteries and provision of the righteous), wrote a monumental Persian Sufi commentary on the Qurʾān. He interprets verse 16.90 by saying that the people of *futuwwa,* or *javānmardān* in Persian, do good deeds in response to bad ones[33]. “Surely God enjoins justice, kindness and the doing of good to kith and kin, and forbids all that is shameful, evil and oppressive. He exhorts you so that you may be mindful.”

In the same work Maybudī explains the following verse. “Say, [O Muhammad], ‘Praise be to Allah, and peace upon His servants whom He has chosen. Is Allah better or what they associate

[31] *Al-Ḥātimī Aṭ-Ṭāʾī, Ibn `Arabī. Al-Futūḥāt Al-Makkīyah.* Vol.1. (Beirut: Dar Sader), 104.

[32] Alī Akbar, Saʻīdī Sīrjānī, *Tafsīr-i Sūrābādī: Tafsīr Al-tafāsīr* .(Tehran: Farhang-i Nashr-i Naw, 1381), 67.

[33] Abū al-Faḍl Rashīd al-Dīn, Maybudī, *Kashf Al-asrār Wa-ʻuddat Al-abrār Maybudī.* (Tihrān: Sāzmān-i Muṭālaʻah Va Tadvīn-i Kutub-i ʻUlūm-i Insānī-i Dānishgāh′hā, 1384), 143.

with Him?' (27.59)." Maybudī counts honesty, justice, shame and generosity as qualities of *javānmardān* [34]. These qualities are the same qualities cited in the Qur'an defining *futuwwa*. After Islam, people of *futuwwa* were inspired by these verses and they became the foundations of their moral codes. Thus, *futuwwa* can be traced back to the Qur'an. Following the example of Muhammad in their behaviors Mīr Sayyid ʿĀlī Hamedānī, a Persian Sufi of the *Kubrāwī* order, a poet and prominent Islamic scholar, clarifies of one of the Muhammad's *hadith*. He argues that the most important quality of *futuwwa* is its emphasis on the human rights of God's servant's[35].Generosity is another cultural attribute of Futuwwa. In one hadith by the Prophet we read: "A good-tempered generous young man is better than a stingy curmudgeon in God's eyes[36]. Without ignoring Human-God kinship, the *ftyān* point to those verses and *hadith* which are potential to a benevolent relationship between people. In this regard, they could not ignore ethical prophetic heritage.

Prophetic Tradition

People of *futuwwa* used to compile *hadith* from Muhammad and other prophets in their works by the name of *futuwwat-nama* or the book of spiritual chivalry. Although the authenticity and accuracy of stories which are narrated by the *ftyān* is obviously questionable, the inspiration which they get from these narrations for their moral teachings is undeniable[37]. The most mentioned prophet in *futuwwa-namas* is Muhammad. They consider Muhammad to be the highest rank of

[34] Ibid.

[35] Riyāẕ.Khan, *Muḥammad. Shāh-i Hamadān, Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī*: (Islām′ābād, Pākistān: Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Fārsī-i Īrān Va Pākistān, 1995.), 714-786.

[36] Abd Al-Razzaq, Kashani, *Tuḥfat Al-ikhvān: Dar Bayān-i Uṣūl-i Futuvvat Va Ādāb-i Fityān*. Edited by Muḥammad Dāmādī. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1351), 79.

[37] For instance, originally sound hadith talk about ten recognizable traits of the people of *futuwwa*. However, in Najm al-Din Zarkub's *futuwwa-nama*, there are only seven.

fata since he is the seal of prophets. He is also a teacher of *futuwwa*. Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani Persian Sufi of *Kubrawi* order in his *futuwwa-nama* is emphasizing the importance of servicing people in the Muhammadan tradition by inserting a hadith in his work which says: "People are family of God and most beloved person to God is the one who more benefits His (God's) family."

The first historical prophet is Adam and it is said that he is the first person who wore the cloth of *futuwwa*. Because of a wrong deed which Adam committed in the Garden by eating the forbidden fruit, he tried to repent for years. God accepted his repentance and Gabriel brought him the cloth of *futuwwa* to designate him in a state of *fatā*[38]. The ideal of having a job was a difference between some Sufis and *ftyān*. Not being a burden in society is one of the moral codes of the *fityān*. Some Sufis spent all their time in places like *khānqāh*, which is a place for gathering of Sufi brotherhood /sisterhood. That is why Lloyd Ridgeon a Reader in Islamic studies calls *fityān* second class Sufis[39].

Fityān tried to trace back their preferred occupations in society to different prophets. For instance, based on their report Adam was a baker and a barber and Seth was a weaver and farmer[40]. After Adam, prophetic chain of *futuwwa* continued to other prophets[41]. According to tradition, Abraham sacrificed his life and wealth to the point that some people call him as the first "*qutb*"[42], or Pole in *futuwwa*. Abraham's hospitality was famous among people to the extent that he sacrificed one lamb for each of his guests. Then God said, "O Abraham, Honor your guest." After

[38] Mihrān Afshārī, and Mahdī Madāyinī, *Chahārdah Risālah Dar Bāb-i Futuvvat Va Aṣnāf*. (Tehran: Nashr-i Chashmah, 1381), 23.

[39] Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism*: A History of *Sufi-Futuwwat* ,47

[40] Afshārī, 35

[41] Mihrān, Afshārī, *Futuvvat'nāmah'hā Va Rasā'il-i Khāksārīyah: Sī Risālah*. (Tehran: Pizhūhishgāh-i 'Ulūm-i Insānī Va Muṭāla'āt-i Farhangī, 2003),71

[42] Vā'iẓ Kāshifī, 120.

that he sacrificed a bigger animal until he sacrificed a camel per guest. Again God said, "O Abraham, honor your guest," and Abraham answered by a question. "O God, Is it honoring guests if I sacrificed myself?" He received a revelation: "Serve your guests by your hand and he started washing his guest's feet by hand[43].Regarding Abraham's giving quality, Kāshifī says:

> Abraham sacrificed all of his three: his wealth for guests, his child for The Friend (God) and his self for loving the Truth[44].

Modesty, chastity, and shame were other virtues that were important to the people of *futuwwa*. The story of Joseph's *futuwwa* towards Zulaikhā which is written in The Qur'an and used by many poets is called *Aḥsan al- qiṣāṣ*, or the best stories[45]. A considerable amount of attention is paid to human dignity in John's (Yaḥyā's) dialogue with Iblis, or the Devil. John said, "Whom you like more and whom you hate more?" The Devil replied, "I like the stingy austere one who prays and I hate a generous sinner who lives happily for the time being. I am afraid that God gives him mercy because of his generosity."[46]In addition to aforementioned prophets, there are many more discussed in *futuwwa* Namas. This shows the emphasis of ***fityān*** on prophetic traditions as seen with authors like Abu ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, who was a Sunni *hadith* scholar. Nevertheless, the role of Shi'ism in study of ***fityān's*** codes is very significant.

'Ali, Shi'ism and *Futuwwa*

One of the most often mentioned figures in Persian *futuwwa* treatises is 'Ali 'ibn Abi Talib. The spiritual lineage of Futuwwa traces back to him. Ali was called the leader of fityan and their

[43] Afshārī, 93.

[44] Vā'iẓ Kāshifī,121.

[45] Vilāyatī, 59.

[46] Afshārī, Mihrān, and Mahdī Madāyinī, *Chahārdah Risālah Dar Bāb-i Futuvvat Va Aṣnāf*. (Tehran: Nashr-i Chashmah, 1380), 48.

"pole of poles"[47] because of his many qualities including generosity. His sacrifice is mentioned in books of *futuwwa*[48] In different stories such as the story of *laylat al-mabīt* (the night of sleeping) in which the prophet travels from Mecca to Medina. Due to the decision of the Meccan tribe Quraysh to assassinate the prophet, ʻAli slept in his bed so the assassin would not notice his absence. The protection of Muhammad by ʻAli in the *Uḥud* War caused a heavenly caller to say " *Lā fatā illā ʿAlī, lā sayf illā Dhu 'l-Faqār*," or there is no fata except for Ali and there is no sword except for *Dhu 'l-Faqār*.

ʻAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī in *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān fī khaṣā'iṣ al-fityān* relates the following story to a verse in the Qur'an. 'Ali and Fatima are fasting for three days and bake bread for "*Iftār*" breakfast. Every time a poor person comes to their door, they offer their food to the poor "[49]And they give food in spite of love for it to the needy, the orphan, and the captive (The Qur'an 76.8)." By writing this story and relating this story to that verse, Kāshānī praises the dignity of ʻAli by addressing him as a *fatā.*

Maybudī in his exegesis believes that Muhammad told ʻAli about the approach of *Javānmardān*. "O ʻAli, *javānmard* is honest, faithful, trustee, compassionate, giving, gifting, hospitable, benefactor, and modest."[50] ʻAli says that *fatā* has ten qualities: honesty, fairness, being hard on yourself, being in service of great people, being kind to a servant, being generous to the

[47] Kashani, 65.

[48] Abū Al-Futūḥ Rāzī, Ḥusayn Ibn ʻAlī, and Muḥammad Jaʻfar Yāḥaqqī. *Rawḍ Al-jinān Wa-rawḥ Al-janān Fī Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān: Mashhur Bih, Tafsīr-i Shaykh Abū Al-Futūḥ Rāzī.* (Mashhad: Āstān-i Quds-i Riẓāvī, Bunyād-i Pizhuhishhā-yi Islāmī, 1371), 97.

[49] Kashani, 71.

[50] Maybudī,. Kashf Al-asrār Wa-ʻuddat Al-abrār Maybudī. (Tehran: Sāzmān-i Muṭālaʻah Va Tadvīn-i Kutub-i ʻUlūm-i Insānī-i Dānishgāh'hā, 1384), 96.

poor, being humble with scholars, being advisory to friends, being silent to ignorant enemies and being positive with people of God [51].

Some people asked ‘Ali about the meaning of *fatā* / *javānmard*. He answered, “This is what God says: And the servants of the Most Affectionate are those who walk on the earth modestly.[52]” Another time he states that, “The principles of futuwwa are four: forgiveness in time of power, meekness in time of rage, advice in time of enmity, and sacrifice in time of need[53].” He was advising people to be patient when they are cursed by other people[54]. He respects and loves his guests to the extent that if he did not have a guest for a while he would have cried[55]. He would close his eyes to other people’s sin. Once he was sent by Muhammad to investigate an adultery. He went to a place of adultery and closed his eyes so that he would not witness any sin. Then he came back and said he did not see anybody[56].

‘Ali is not the only Imam among Shia people who is venerated and exemplifies Futuwwa codes of honor. The son of ‘Ali who was the second Imam of Shia was munificent and people called him “*Karīm Ahl al-Bayt*,” the munificent of the people of the house. One of his hadith about the idea of futuwwa says that *futuwwa* is chastity, continence and mercy in times of wealth and poverty[57]. In *Tarikh al-Tabari History of the Prophets and Kings*, after describing the tragedy of

[51] Afshārī, Mihrān, ed. *Futuvvat'nāmah'hā Va Rasā’il-i Khāksārīyah*, 148.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Riyāẕ.Khan, *Muḥammad. Shāh-i Hamadān, Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī*: 714-786 H.Q. Chāp-i 1. ed. Islām′ābād, Pākistān: Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Fārsī-i Īrān Va Pākistān, 1995.

[54] Muẓaffariyān, Manūčihr, ed. Miftāḥ Al-hidāya Wa-miṣbāḥ Al-‘ināya: (sīratnāma-i Saiyid Amīn-ad-Dīn Balyānī). Čāp 1. ed. Tihrān: Našr-i Ātār, 1380.

[55] Najm Al-Din Razi, Muhammad. *Kitāb Manārāt Al-sā’irīn Wa-maqāmāt Al-ṭā’irīn*. Edited by Sa‘īd ‘Abd Al-Fattāḥ. Al-Ṭab‘ah 1. ed. Al-Ṣafāt, Al-Kuwayt: Dār Su‘ād Al-Ṣabāḥ, 1993.

[56] Ṣarrāf, Murtaẓá, ed. *Rasāyil-i Javānmardān: Mushtamil Bar Haft Futuvvat Nāmah*. Tihrān: Institū-yi Faransavī-i Pizhūhish'hā-yi ‘Ilmī Dar Īrān, 1352.

[57] Afshārī, *Futuvvat'nāmah'hā Va Rasā’il-i Khāksārīyah: Sī Risālah*,94.

Karbala and explaining the qualities of Hussain ibn ‘Ali, Ṭabarī describes Hussein as honest, patient, trustworthy, *javānmard* and knowing[58].

Ayn-al-Qużāt Hamadānī tells one of the sayings of Imam Muhammad Baqir, the 5th imam of the Shia: “*Futuwwa* is preferring everyone over oneself.” -Ja'far al a,The sixth Imam of Shi [59] Sadiq, talks about hospitality, gifting, and avoiding nuisance as the qualities of *futuwwa*.[60]

Conclusion:

Although the concept of spiritual chivalry is not strictly religious and has other manifestations, it has its religious ideals. As the concept of *futuwwa* unfolds in its religious setting, it is evident in the Persian and Arabic sources that we see a kind of stress on inter-human relations. That is how people of *futuwwa* seek moral perfection using religious sources. The Qur’an and Hadith, traditions of the prophets and Shi’ism are among the most influential springs of proper conduct for the *fityān*.

[58] Muḥammad B Ǧarīr, Iḥsān ‘Abbās Al-Ṭabarī, Iḥsān Yāršāṭir, and John Alden Williams. *The History of Al-Ṭabarī.*(Albany: State University of New York, 1985), 93.

[59] ‘Ayn Al-Quẓāt, Hamadānī, *Nāmah'hā-yi ‘Ayn Al-Quẓāt Hamadānī.*(Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1969), 87.

[60] Muḥammad Ibn Ibn Babawayh, *‘Alī, and Ḥasan Al-Mūsawī. Kitāb Man Lā Yaḥḍuruhu Al-faqīh*, (Beirut: Dār Ṣa‘b, 1981), 78.

Four Treatises on *Javānmardī/Futuwwa*

1. *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān fī khaṣāʾiṣ al-fityān* (*A Precious Gift for the Brotheren Dealing with the Traits of Youngmanliness*)

What is known as the ascetic and mystical element of Islam, Sufism, is essentially an ethical structure for comportment. Works on the ethical virtues in manuscripts and texts form a genre of literature in and of themselves. Although Sufis did not always record their ethical ideals under the specific title of *futuwwa*, we find many works on ethics under this title. *Futuwwa* itself comes under the umbrella of *ādāb,* the moral basis for normative comportment in Sufism.[61] *Futuwwa* literature in the works of ʻAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī (born between 650–60/1252–61, died between (730–6/1329–35) deals with correct comportment vis-à-vis others (*adab al-khidma/al-muʿāmalāt*). This chapter will examine selfless conduct exemplified in generosity, humility, truthfulness and such based on work by Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshānī. Works by al-Kāshānī in *futuwwa* has rarely been discussed in English scholarship. Shedding a new light on the moral attributes in regard to moral perfection is my primary concern here.

The Author

Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshānī was an Iranian Sufi who lived during the Ilkhanid period, he was one of the proponents and a defender of Ibn ʻArabi (d.1240), a well-known, Andalusian Sufi. Ibn ʻArabi, known for his teaching on the oneness of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*).

Kāshānī was a *shaikh* [62] in the Suhrawardīyah order[63]. He had learned the spiritual rituals from The Knowledge of the Spiritually Learned (*ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*) the foundational text of the order written by Shihāb al-dīn abū ḥafṣ ʿumar al- Suhrawardī (632/1234), supported *futuwwa* during the time of al- Nāṣir Li- Dīn Allāh (reigned 575-622/1180-1225) during the 34th Abbasid Caliphate and believed in the integral nature of *futuwwa* and Sufism[64]. Kāshānī played an important role in Sufi circles of his time by incorporating works of Ibn 'Arabi into the Sufism at that time. He was a prolific writer, authoring several seminal works. His most important work on the subject of *futuwwa* is The Gift for the Brethren on Attributes of People of *Futuwwa* (*Tuḥfat al-ikhwān fī khaṣāʾiṣ al-fityān*).

Some of the sources of *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān fī khaṣāʾiṣ al-fityān*

Kāshānī was heavily influenced by *Shihāb al-Dīn Abū ḥafṣ ʿUmar al- Suhrawardī's ʿAwā rif al-maʿārif*, a comprehensive handbook for Sufis, and Abū ḥāmid al- Ghazālī's (505/1111) *The Revival of the Religious Sciences* (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn)*. The stories and narratives found in these

[62] This title given to the founder of a religious brotherhood is also borne by his successors at the head of the hierarchy of the order and also by the heads of the various branches. The *shaikh al-ṭarīḳa*, at once the spiritual and the temporal director of his group, must possess all moral qualities: he ought to be high-souled, austere, endowed with all the virtues, he must also possess all knowledge. Favored by God who has endowed him with Baraka (grace), he is the intermediary between the divinity and man. (Cour, A. "Shaikh." *Encyclopedia of Islam*, First Edition (1913-1936). Edited by M. Th. Houtsma, T.W. Arnold, R. Basset, and R. Hartmann. Brill Online, 2015)

[63] Suhrawardīyah, Muslim order of mystics (Sufis) noted for the severity of its spiritual discipline, founded in Baghdad by Abū Najīb as-Suhrawardī and developed by his nephew ʿUmar as-Suhrawardī. The order's ritual prayers (dhikr) are based upon thousands of repetitions of seven names of God, identified with seven "subtle spirits" (*laṭāʾif sabʿah*) which in turn correspond to seven lights. The main order became concentrated in Afghanistan and the Indian subcontinent, while other branches moved westward. The orthodox *Khalwatīyah*, also strictly disciplined, was founded in Iran by ʿUmar al-Khalwatī, then spread into Turkey and Egypt in many branches. The Ṣafawīyah, organized by Ṣafī od-Dīn, at Ardabīl, Iran, gave rise to the Iranian Ṣafavid dynasty (1502–1736) and several Turkish branches active against the Ottomans early in the 16th century. The Algerian Raḥmānīyah grew out of the Khalwatīyah in the second half of the 18th century, when ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Ghushtulī, the founder, made himself the centre of Khalwatī devotion. (Encyclopædia Britannica Online, s. v. "Suhrawardiyah", accessed November 07, 2015, http://www.britannica.com/topic/Suhrawardiyah.)

[64] Angelika Hartmann,"al-Suhrawardī." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, Consulted online on 19 April 2016.

works are foundational elements of his book on *futuwwa*. Kāshānī modeled *The Lamp of Guidance and The Key to Sufficiency* (*Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa-miftāḥ al-kifāya*), a Persian manual on Sufism by his contemporary the Sufi scholar ʿIzz al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī-i Kāshānī (d. 735/1334-5)[65] in organizing his thoughts. In synthesizing the works of all these important sources, Kamāl al-Dīn's had a very important role in Sufism. Many writers would use his work in later treatises. *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān* was one of Kamāl al-Dīn's most influential works. Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd Amulī (1342-1345) in his book The Precious Art Forms for the Beholder of the Brides (*Nafa'is al-funun fi 'ara'is al-'uyun*) wrote a chapter dedicated to "taṣawwuf." In this chapter, he focuses on *futuwwa* which is clearly drawn from "*Tuḥfat*."[66] Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī [67] (b. Sabzavār, ca. 1436-37; d. Herat, 1504-5) in his famous treatise on *futuwwa, The Royal Book of Spiritual Chivalry* (*Futūwat nāmah-yi sulṭāni*), "outlined the theoretical, practical, and institutional dimensions of *futuwwa*." [68] He also drew from *"Tuḥfat"* among other sources.[6970] The work comprises an introduction dealing with the origins and foundational precepts of *futuwwa,* chapters dealing with the key interior attitudes that define the *fatā* and a conclusion. The introduction of *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān fī khaṣāʾiṣ al-fityān* consists of four parts: 1.the definition of *futuwwa,* 2. practical manifestations of *futuwwa,* 3.the principles of *futuwwa* and 4. the origins of *futuwwa*, Kāshānī begins the introduction with the traditional praising and thanking God. He sends peace and salutations to

[65] ʿIzz al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī-i Kāshānī b. ʿAlī Naṭanzī, an author and Sufi of the early 8th century (d. 735/1334).

[66] Kāshānī, 90.

[67] Prolific prose-stylist of the Timurid era, religious scholar, Sufi figure, and influential preacher.

[68] Ridgeon, 92.

[69] Kāshānī, 94.

[70] "He has a second work on *futuwwa*, *Risāla-yi Ḥātimiya* is a much shorter work which provides an ideal of the *futuwwa* ethic through a series of episodes in the life of the pre-Islamic Arab tribal leader, Ḥātim Ṭā'ī". Ridgeon, Lloyd V. J. Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism, 92

Muhammad and his family, and he lauds ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [71] (c. 600-660) in particular. Kāshānī goes on to say that he wrote the treatise by request of the "great people" of his era. The book was originally written in Arabic, but he translated it into Persian so that it would be accessible to the people of *futuwwa* (*fityān*).

The Origins of *Futuwwa*

In his introduction Kāshānī defines *futuwwa* as the manifestation of the primordial nature (*fiṭra*). All virtues from his perspective originate in the soul in this state of *fiṭra*. He discusses the relationship between courage and *futuwwa* saying that the perfection of courage is the perfection of *futuwwa*. For Kāshānī achieving the state of *futuwwa* is a sign of being in the proximity to God. Kāshānī considers the state of *futuwwa* to be the foundation of sanctity (*wilāya*) which is divine regency on earth. To him, *walāya* and *fanā* [72] or effacement of the self, are different aspects of the same state. The fully realized state of *futuwwa* is the beginning of *walāya.*[73]

He organizes the following chapters in a unique fashion by affirming that all virtues fall into four basic categories: Chastity (*ḥayā*), courage (*shajā'a*), wisdom (*ḥikma*) and justice (*'adl*). In addition, he derives eight principles of *futuwwa* from these four virtues. Repentance (*tawba*) and generosity (*sakhā*) come from the virtue of chastity. Humbleness (*tawāḍu'*) and security [in heart] (*'amn*) derive from Courage. Honesty (*ṣidq*) and guidance (*hidāya*) are products of the virtue

[71] Cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, and fourth caliph in Sunni Islam and first Imām (spiritual leader) in the Shīʿa Islam, was one of the first to believe in Muḥammad's mission.

[72] *Fanā'* is a key term in Sufism, is the state of perfection for a Sufi.

[73] For a linguistic study of the term walāya and its derivatives see Michel Chodkiewicz, *Le Sceau des Saints: prophétie et sainteté dans la doctrine d'Ibn Arabī* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 29-78.

of wisdom. On being true to one's pledge (*wafā*) and advice (*naṣiha*) derive from the virtue of justice.

These chapters concentrate on the purification of the self by the means of correct comportment, *ādab* is one of the foundations of *futuwwa*. Shame is an ethical virtue which limits the amount of immoral deeds that people do and is thus a criterion of this comportment. He relates shame to the virtue of chastity because shame is a requirement of chastity. Chastity is an essential virtue for living among the people of *futuwwa.*

Regarding the origins of *futuwwa*, Kāshānī narrates a story in which Muhammad and his companions receive news about a situation in which adultery had occurred. Some of his companions asked for permission to investigate the issue. Muhammad gave none of them permission except for ʿAlī. ʿAlī closed his eyes in order to prevent himself from witnessing any sin. The news of Ali's actions were revealed to Mohammad and he addressed ʿAlī saying, "O ʿAlī you are the *fatā* of this "*umma*" (community)." The prophet gave ʿAlī a mix of water and salt and asked him to drink it. Kamāl al-Dīn interprets the water as a sign of wisdom and the salt as a representation of justice. He regards wisdom and justice as the perfect combination of ethical virtues.

On Repentance (*Tawba*)

In the first chapter Kāshānī asserts that repentance *tawba*, which literally means returning, as the foundation of chastity (*ḥayā*). For this reason, he makes it the first chapter in his book. Chastity is dissuading the ego from falling prey to lust by reason and Islamic law *sharʿ*. He sees repentance as a way to directly address the ego's vices. Repentance is the first step in the path of *futuwwa*. In his discussion of a "sincere return" (*tawbatan naṣūḥan*), he says that repentance

requires patience, which is one of the major attributes of people of futuwwa. He further discusses the sedation (*sukūn*) of the ego-self at the time of excitement of lusts and sees this state as the result of patience. By calming one's ego-self, purity will appear in the ego-self and one will practice piety. Through piety we attain contentment. For Kamāl al-Dīn the end of contentment is freedom which ends with generosity.

On Generosity (*Karam*)

In this chapter Kāshānī defines generosity giving without taking or expecting anything in return. He regards generosity as the last station in for people of *futuwwa*. There are five levels of generosity: The first and lowest level is *mūsāhima,* which is mutual sharing money or possessions [of one's own]. The next level is selfless generosity *(samāha),* which is giving freely of that which the giver would simply prefer someone else to have. The third level is pious donation (*muwāsāt),* which is giving possessions in order to help companions and friends. The fourth level is noble generosity (*karam*,) and that is giving one's possessions with ease for great causes. The fifth level is selfless generosity (*badhl*) which is giving with a cheerful spirit. The last and highest station is preferring others over oneself which is giving one's possessions while being in need oneself. In support of this category he uses two verses: 59:9 "They give them preference over themselves, even if they are too poor. And 76:8: "They give food to the poor, the orphan and the captive though they love it themselves." This quality is the criterion and touchstone for "*Javānmardān*" (people of *futuwwa*) and the highest of all morals.

On Humility (*Tawāḍu*ʿ)

Humility is the first station of courage which is placing anger under the faculty of intellect (*ʿaql*). Humility is cherishing the people of knowledge and friends, with respecting those who are less than you in status. The trait of humility is unattainable unless one affords little attention to oneself. Patience helps one to have courage because it requires calm under duress. Calm gained from patience makes courage possible and through courage, the self may attain great things. Courage is a necessary component to absolving others' sins, in this manner Kāshānī connects the virtues to one another and demonstrates how they are mutually complimentary.

On Security [in heart] (*ʿAmn*)

In the next chapter Kāshānī begins with the definition of security (*ʿamn*) which is remaining inwardly calm in difficulties. He ties it with certainty (*yaqīn*) and finding every power in God's power. If one does not have any certainty in God they suffer from anxiety and fear. He further cites a verse from Quran 9:51: Only what God has decreed will happen to us to describe the secure and fearless people.

On Truthfulness (*Sidq*)

In this chapter Kāshānī defines truthfulness as the basis of wisdom. For Kāshānī truthfulness comprises three major elements: Intention, speech and action. Honesty in intention demands full attention to God without any hypocrisy. Honesty in speech is speaking in accordance to facts and honesty in action is not secreting one's deed out of shame of exposure, all this entails a unity of conduct inwardly and outwardly.

On Guidance (*Hidāya*) **and Advice** (*Naṣīḥa*)

Guidance is divine opening of one's insight and has two divisions: first knowledge of God and knowledge of unity (*tawḥīd*) and knowledge of attributes and knowledge of prophets and friends of God, second is ability to differentiate divine orders. In this chapter Kāshānī defines advice seeking the best for all creation and counselling them on the path of righteousness and goodness and encouraging them that which benefits them and admonish them from that which is harmful to them.

On being true to one's pledge and the perils of *futuwwa*

Kāshānī this state as the last step on the journey of *futuwwa* because *futuwwa* because it comes from purification of primordial nature primordial nature should become pure from its inherent darkness and the ego-self should become purified of its low nature. The greatest of which is making false claims and ostentation because *futuwwa* is based upon divesting oneself of attachments and a minimum concern for one's own affairs and this only can be achieved through effacing one's baser human attributes and removal of claims that come from love of station (*jāh*) and recognition among people and taking one's heart on the path of virtue based on the light of primordial nature which purifies to heart and allows it to reflect the light of divinity.

The True *fatā*

Chapter 10 deals with difference between the true fatā and aspirant on the path of *futuwwa* and one who falsely claims to be aspiring on the path of *futuwwa* for personal gain public recognition. At the end Kāshānī deals with differences between theories and practical aspects of *futuwwa* and its people such as hospitality and service. Since a *fatā* considers other people as parts of his existence he shows benevolence and affection to them.

Conclusion

ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī, who was influenced by Ibn ʻArabi in his work on *futuwwa* shows a connection between spiritual perfection and morals which is mostly human oriented. Attributes such as generosity, humility, loyalty, courage, and turning a blind eye to others' sins are in relation to other humans but makes one to be in presence of the divine, in other words for Kāshānī, it seems, translation of spirituality is morality.

2. *Kitāb fī'l Futuwwa*

Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī is one of the most significant figures of medieval Sufism, who was born in 1145 into a Sufi family. Abū Ḥafs studied at the Niẓāmiyya, the foremost instructive center in Baghdad. In Baghdad, the capital of the caliphate, al-Suhrawardī would have had access to collections and the teachings of other scholars of Islam.[74] al-Suhrawardī's fame was due to his written works, perhaps the best-known of which was Awārif al-maʿārif. On the topic of *futuwwa,* al-Suhrawardī composed two works, namely, *Kitāb fī'l futuwwa* and Risāla al-futuwwa. These two treatises are relatively short yet of great importance in locating Sufi-*futuwwa* as legitimate manifestation of Islam. It is noteworthy that there is an emphasis on being careful about matters pertaining to correct conducts and considerations both between individuals. For instance, on consuming anything that is *Ḥarām,* al-Suhrawardī says: "*Futuwwa* transcends the boasting of the individual who takes a mouthful of food with no concern whether it is legally permitted or forbidden."[75]

A.J. Arberry, '*The Teachers of Shihab al-Din 'Umar Suhrawardi', Bulletin of the school of Oriental and Islamic Studies,* 13 (1950), 339-56

[75] Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, *Kitāb fī'l futuwwa*, paragraph 23.

One could state that the outer attributes of the *fatā* were of great concern to al-Suhrawardī. For instance, he maintained that shabby or torn garments were not accepted in *futuwwa* due to the lack of good impression to viewers. Concern with clothing also was telling of an inner significance. Colorful garments were an indication of arrogance. It was not ideal to stand out in a crowd so *fatā* had to be properly groomed.[76]

Communal eating is another point of interest where al-Suhrawardī pays attention to correct external behavior, rules and regulations. The correct place to sit, the manner of eating food, the posture, the amount of food, when to speak, how to drink etc. are all courtesies (*ādab*) that al-Suhrawardī outlined. Such detail was an attempt to edify the man of *futuwwa* at his most visible. All these rules were to make him invisible. While al-Suhrawardī's stress was on the outer dimension of deeds, he also agreed on perfection in the inner dimensions that, were from his perspective, crucial to have the right inner attitude and intention. The indications to inner elements are those typically found in Sufi treatises such as contentment, compassion, inner purity, patience etc. For al-Suhrawardī, *futuwwa* did not contradict the *Sharīʿa*[77]. He went so far as to claim that the sinner must be forgiven even if he committed seventy sins in one day.[78] This viewpoint should not be considered as innovation (*bidʿa*), as the covering of sins had been one of features of *futuwwa*.[79] Al-Suhrawardī's futuwwa allowed a much greater degree of suppleness within society, without having to sacrifice its Islamic cultural heritage. The continuity of al-Suhrawardī's form of Sufi-*futuwwa* with Sulami's *futuwwa-nama* is clear in highlighting compassion. [80]

[76] ibid

[77] Having a primary range of meaning in relation to religion and religious law.

[78] See paragraph 62.

[79] Lloyd Ridgeon, *Jawanmardi: a sufi code of honour.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 35

[80] Ibid,p.37

The role and eminence of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in al-Suhrawardī's *Kitāb fī'l futuwwa* as a merciful saint in the *futuwwa* tradition has been developed. Perhaps al-Suhrawardī wished to build upon the legacy of ʿAlī to offer a more merciful version of Islam, as he pointed out in his treatise on *futuwwa*.[81] The themes in al-Suhrawardī's treatise are representative of Persian *futuwwat-namas* for the following three hundred years, that are *ādāb* in ritual activities; and compassion and mercy. An indication of which is highlighted below:

> The possessor of *futuwwa* must not partake of food unless his soul is really in need and he is hungry. There is no necessity for him to eat after he has eaten well and it is still in his stomach. He should not eat alone when it is time to eat; [there should be] other companions and guests at the table. This is because eating alone is caused through meanness or a lack of generousity. Meaness is not allowed wherever *futuwwa* exists. But it is a sign of the deficiency in *futuwwa* wherever a trace of stinginess appears… It is right for [the man of *futuwwa*] to glance to the left and right in order to see that each person has the same amount of food as he does, or less. If someone has less, then [the man of *futuwwa*] takes some food from his own [plate] and gives it to his guest.[82]

3. *Futuwwat nama* of Mīrzā ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Khān Qarīb-i Garakānī.

The *futuwwat-nama* that has been kept in the collection of Mīrzā ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Khān Qarīb-i Garakānī (who was a professor of Persian literature at Tehran University under Reza Shah)

[81] See Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, *Kitāb fī'l futuwwa*, paragraph 63.

[82] Ridgeon, *Jawanmardi: a sufi code of honour,* 85.

is named *futuwwat-nama* of Mīrzā ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Khān Qarīb-i Garakānī. The author is unknown but he seems to be an admirer of Sufism given the number Sufi poets quoted in the text. The author shows a certain knowledge of Qur'an and *hadith* to address some standpoints in the futuwwa path. He also makes an extensive use of *Kīmiyāʾ al-saʿāda* [83], Abū Ḥāmid al- Ghazālī's Persian work. Moreover, he reveals sophistication by including Persian poetry from Sa'dī (Some scholars appreciate him as a teacher of *futuwwa*), Awḥadī[84] (d.635), Rumi and ʿAṭṭār. The author was probably a Sunni Muslim as he uses the term *ahl-i sunnat wa jamāʿat* (which is term to describe Sunnis) in a positive fashion. Yet without any denominational leaning he incorporates stories, anecdotes and symbolic tales about ʿAlī as the hero of *futuwwa* (as it was common in *futuwwa namas*).

The Garakani's *futuwwa-nama* underlines the need to advance in hospitality. The warmth and cordiality among the people of *futuwwa* was not a theoretic distinction but essentially a practical issue reflected in the Qur'an. The *futuwwa* convention honors Abraham not only he was ready to sacrifice his son and was called a *fata* in the Qur'an but also for his ideal hospitality. Another model originated in the Qur'an, *hadith,* and *sīra* literature[85] was Muhammad who encouraged his followers to show sympathy and bounty to the needy, orphans, the poor and the destitute. As a companion of Muhammad and spiritual heir of Abraham, ʿAlī's actions mirrored those of his predecessors. Accordingly, *futuwwa* champions from Abraham to ʿAlī offered exemplary models for the adherents of *futuwwa*, an extensive range of accounts and stories to

[83] *Kīmiyāʾ al-saʿāda* is in the main an abridgement in Persian of the Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn ("The Revival of the Religious Sciences"), but there are some differences which have not been fully investigated.

[84] Not to be confused with Rukn al-Dīn Awḥadi of Maragha who was also called Awḥad al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and who died in 738/1337-8.

[85] A genre of early Islamic literature: Sīra means "way of going"; "way of acting", "conduct", "way of life". "The *sīra", sīrat rasūl allāh* or *al-sīra al-nabawiyya*, have been the most widely used names for the traditional account of Muḥammad's life and background.

exemplify a similar underlying moral. Here is an example from chapter six of Garakani's *futuwwat-nama*:

> *Hadith:* Respect the guest even if he is a *kāfir* (infidel, not a believer).[86]
>
> They have said that a Bedouin came to the door of ʿAlī's house and said, 'I have come from far away and faced many difficulties. For three days I have not eaten a thing. For God's sake give me some food!' ʿAlī said, 'Bring any food that is in the house.' Fatima replied, 'There is nothing except for three loaves of bread.' He took that bread with some salt and water and gave to the Arab. The Bedouin wasn't able to eat the bread. ʿAlī said, 'I will send you to a place where there is good food, and you can eat until you become full. Go to such and such a location and sit down when you get there.' That [place] was Hasan's house; a large mansion where there were many servants. The [Bedouin] went there [and he found that] many people had gathered. He gave a greeting and sat down. After an hour, different foods, various soups and halves were brought out. The multitude began their feast. It was Hasan's custom that once the food had been set out he would stand by and serve [the guests]. The Arab ate with great pleasure due to the diversity of food, and he thought to himself, 'I will take a plate of food to the person sent me here.' He prepared a plate, and Hasan took it and placed it on [the bedouin's] shoulder and he carried it to ʿAlī. Hasan sent servants to follow so that they could see whether he had taken the plate to sell or whether he had taken it to his family. Hasan told the servants that if he carried the plate to his family's house, they should give him

[86] Originally "obliterating, covering", then, "concealing benefits received" = "ungrateful"; this meaning is found even in the old Arab poetry and in the Qur'an, later it had a more general meaning of "infidel".

a hundred dinars, but if he sold the food then they should give him nothing. [The Bedouin] took the plate to ʿAlī [and said], 'I have brought some food for you from that lord's house.' ʿAlī laughed and picked up his prayer mat, saying, 'Look!' The Bedouin looked, and beneath his prayer rug were rubies and jewels. He said, 'Why don't you sell some of these and enjoy yourself, and free yourself from these loaves of bread?' He said, 'Oh bedouin! We have divorced ourselves from this world and everything that is in it.' The bedouin replied, 'We have heard it is ʿAlī who has divorced [himself] from this world.'

4. Treatise of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī

Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī who lived just prior to the advent of Islam was renowned for his munificence. This pre-Muhammadan poet's noble way was praised and approved by Muhammad. After Muhammad, Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī became celebrated for his generosity and *futuwwa* by poets and the literati in their lyrics. As his fame spread further Persians started to compose anecdotes about his life in numerous works. Saʿdi, poet and prose writer of the 7th/13th century, Mawlānā Rumi[87] and Awfi among others frequently mentioned him in their works. The impact of *futuwwa* in Persian-Speaking lands developed in the figure of Ḥātim's importance to promote ethics among people. A short sketch of the life and deeds of Ḥātim has been given by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī in *Risāla-i Ḥātimiyya* or Treatise of Ḥātim, a work that was completed in 1486.

The Treatise of Ḥātim offers a version of *futuwwa* that was intended for the learned connoisseur who could value both altruistic idea of *futuwwa* and Kāshifī's sophisticated prose. Kāshifī's refined literary style and erudition is recognizable from the inclusion of couplets and

[87] Rumi uses expressions such as Ḥātim of the age 'to denote the ideal of generosity.

hemistiches from masters such as Saʿdi, Rumi, Ḥāfiẓ and Jāmī. While avoidance of excessive Arabic was one of the features of Kāshifī's period (Timurid literature), he manifests his substantial diction by containing Quranic and *hadith* illustrations and great take of Arabic words. Kāshifī's elegant Persian text is not an easy read, nonetheless, his stylishness and wording was a deliberate rhetoric device. His application of metaphors and Sufi technical terms was to embellish the underlying ethical implications.[88]

There are no divisions or chapter headings into the Treatise of Ḥātim. The relative brevity of the text allows it to be read in one sitting. Among anecdotes, Kāshifī inserts several edifying statements from Ḥātim which exemplifies his humbleness, benevolence and appreciation of how to achieve a peaceful life. The over-all message of the Treatise of Ḥātim comprises an ethic of hospitality and generosity; however, there is a tension between the idea of complete selflessness and the desire within *futuwwa* to earn a good reputation and lasting fame. In effect, the type of hospitality and generosity in the *Treatise of Ḥātim* is aimed at both selfless and self-interested intentions:

> No praiseworthy attribute or pleasing quality lasts as long as [either] a good name on the page of time [or] a good recollection on the pages of the books of night and day, because they are derived through the nature of benevolence and *javānmardī,* and the path of generosity and performing good acts. The evidence for this is that it is the year 1486 (891 *hijri*), and nine hundred and thirty-six years have passed since the date of Ḥātim Ṭāʾī's death, and the meadow of his good name blossoms with eulogies and approval.

[88], Christine Van, Ruymbeke "Kashifi's forgotten masterpiece: why rediscover the Anva¯r-i Suhaylı¯?" *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 4 (2003), 577.

The desire to leave behind a good name may reflect the tradition of a pre-Islamic Arab where honor and virtue were matched in the name of the individual and the tribe. This tension needs to be moderated with the emphasis on humility and bounty in the treatise. The life of Ḥātim as depicted in the treatise is pedagogic yet impossible to imitate. On several occasions, he offered everything he possessed or provided more than he was expected to offer. Still, the virtuous requirement for generosity is present as the general application of the story was intended by the writer. The hyperbolic tales were most likely suggested to force the wealthy into an uncomfortable corner and guide them into a more compassionate way of life. After all, it was the wealthy and the well-educated who would read or listen to the embellished work of Kāshifī.[89]

> One day one of the Bedouin came to Ḥātim because [he was] extremely thin and emaciated. He held a bag in his hand and said, 'Oh Ḥātim! Fill my bag with flour and save my family from starvation.' Ḥātim said, 'I knew what you wanted, but you did not know whom you ask' So he ordered his treasurer, 'Fill the bag of this Arab with pure, red tinged gold in the place of white flour from my treasury.' The treasurer obeyed the command and filled the bag with pure gold and held it out for the poor Arab. He wanted to take it but he could not because of his extreme weakness, emaciation and utter weakness. He said… I am a very small man and your gift is very large, I can't take it away without your camel.' Ḥātim smiled and ordered that his servants give him the red-haired camel, and he dressed him in luxurious clothing and the Arab rode away holding on to his bag of gold. He said, 'I asked the question of a man reduced to captivity and received a princely reply. I

[89] Ridgeon, p.164-173.

begged [for something] befitting my circumstances and state, and received a gift that was greater than my worth.

I asked but a drop. I was offered a sea!
I asked but a stone. Pearls were given to me![90]

…In [Saʿdī's] *Būstān* there are stories as the following.

An old man came walking to Ḥātim's store-
'Spare a few grains of sugar, nothing more!'
As I recall the narrator's report
He received a sackful more than he sought.
Ḥātim's wife said, 'Is this economy?
Only a few grains was old man's plea!
On hearing this, said that great one of Ṭāʾī,
'Oh Precious of the tribe! Must you ask why?
He may have asked according to his need
But to *javānmardī* I must pay heed.'[91]

[90] Ridgeon, p. 193

[91] Michael, Wickens, *Morals pointed and tales adorned: the Bustan of Sa'di*. (Leiden: Brill 1974), lines 1,504-8.

The Role of *Javānmardī* in the *Zūrkhāna*

The *zūrkhāna* is the name given to the traditional gymnasium of urban Iran and neighboring countries such as Turkey, Afghanistan and Tajikistan.[92] The *zūrkhāna* (lit. the house of strength) is recognized as an institution where the "ancient sport" (*varzish-i bāstantī*) is practiced and learned. Apart from the athletic values the *zūrkhāna* represents for the Persian people, this ancient Iranian institution has been a symbol of their very identity. As complex as Iranian identity is, the *zūrkhāna* in many ways manifests this complexity by being a focal point where a variety of contradictory facets of Iranian identity meet. While the *zūrkhāna* has been a citadel of traditional moral ideals, namely, the ethics of Javānmardī (literally 'young-manliness', also translated by some as 'chivalry'), the *zūrkhāna* has also been at times a hangout for thugs and in the political atmosphere of the 1953 Iranian coup d'état that overthrew Moṣaddiq, the former prime minister of Iran, it played a very political role.

In this chpater, I will discuss the role of the *zūrkhāna* as an image of the Iranian collective memory that reflects a variety of beliefs, ideas and moral attitudes the have gone to make up that which we recognize today as Iran's self-image. I will first provide an overview of the traditional athletics of the *zūrkhāna*; secondly I will treat the multifaceted roles of the *zūrkhāna*, and finally I will delimitate the trilateral symbolic facets of nationalism, Sufism and Shi'ism that constitute the often contradictory character of the *zūrkhāna* through an exposition of the lives and times of three

[92] However, the *zūrkhāna* is not restricted to these countries and stretches its locality to other places.

notable personalities in the history of the institution; the 8th/14th-century Sufi-wrestler Pūryā-yi Valī, a modern exponent of the quality of chivalry, *javānmardī*, Gholāmrezā Takhtī (1930 – 1968) and the paradoxical personality of Shaʿbān Jaʿfarī (1921-2006).

The *Zūrkhāna* as an Ethical/Moral Tradition

From the earliest times the *zūrkhāna* has served as a locale for body building and gymnastics that have been called since 1934 as the 'ancient sports.'[93] The architecture of the *zūrkhāna* resembles somewhat the architecture of a public bath (*ḥammām*).[94] One enters the *zūrkhāna* through a low door frame, which reminds each athlete that no matter how strong and powerful one may be one needs to go enter the *zūrkhāna* with their heads down and in a humble posture.[95] One should enter the *zūrkhāna* in a state of inner and outward purity. It is common to find above these doorways, in *nastaʿliq* script, poems encouraging the athletes to realize and practice inward and outward purity.[96] An example of such is this poem by Ḥāfiẓ (1325/26–1389/90), the beloved Persian lyric poet:

شست و شویی کن و آنگه به خرابات خرام تا نگردد ز تو این دیر خراب آلوده

Wash and scrub, and then walk proudly to the tavern

So that this ruined cloister is not strained by you.[97]

[93] Philippe Rochard and H. E. Chehabi. *"The Identities of the Iranian Zūrkhanah*." *Iranian Studies* 35, no. 4 (September 2002), 313

[94] Also called a steam bath, often still referred to as "Turkish bath" (and in French as "*bain maure*"), is one of the typical neighborhood institutions of the Islamic world.

[95] Most Information presented here about the athletic and physical features of the *zūrkhāna* has been taken from Partaw Bayḍā'ī Ḥusayn, *Tārīkh-i Varzish-i Bāstānī-i Īrān: Zūrkhānah* (Tihrān: Intishārāt-i Zavvār, 2003), pp. 35-85

[96] Avoiding physical contact with women in belief that this would sap the athletes' energy was one aspect of purity.

[97] Sayyed Mohammed Ali Jamālzādeh, *Isfahan Is Half the World. Memories of a Persian Boyhood*. Translated by W.L. Heston. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 170

The *zūrkhāna* has traditionally has been limited to adult Muslim men. Women, non-Muslims and prepubescent boys were not allowed. This restriction in effect provided a fraternal lifestyle for the men of the neighborhood and provided activities that prevented them from getting involved in disorderly conduct or becoming engaged in illicit acts. In addition, this exclusivity provided an environment that exemplified and encouraged the traditional ideals of ethical piety and social morality of masculinity in Islamic society.[98]

The Architecture & Athletic Practices of the *Zūrkhāna*

Upon entering the *zūrkhāna* a visitor finds before themselves an octagonal pit about a meter deep where the exercises take place; this is the *gawd / gowd*. In order to provide a soft resilient surface for wrestling and doing acrobatics the floor used to be covered with clay and later was covered with wooden planks. The *gowd* is surrounded by a circular stepped amphitheater where attendees and spectators may sit. The wall of the *zūrkhāna* are hung with framed portraits of athletes and devotional representation of saints such as Imam ‘Ali, the first Shi’ite Imam, as well as banners portraying The Seven Herculean Deeds (*haft khʷān*) of Rustam, the prominent hero of the *Shāh-nāma.*

In the center, across from the door above the *gawd* is a raised ornamented platform on which is placed a chair, the *sardam*, this chair is reserved for the man who accompanies the athletic performances and exercises with a pulsing drumming and the chanting of classical Persian poetry. It should be no surprise that poetry would accompany the practices of the *zūrkhāna*; given the importance of poetry in all facets of Persian culture. The poems of Firdawsī (c. 935-1020-26),

[98] Zachary Smith, "More than One Way to Measure: Masculinity in Zurkhaneh of Safavid Iran." *The Hilltop Review* 8, no. 2 (2016): 78.

Saʿdī (c. 1213-1291), and Ḥāfiẓ formed an important repertoire for the practices of the *zūrkhāna*. In particular during the Safavid period the poem *Gul-i kushtī* (The Flower of Wrestling / The Rose of Wrestling) by the poet, Mīr Nadjāt Iṣfahānī's, this poem was written exclusively for the *zūrkhāna* recited regularly during its sessions. In this poem Mīr Nadjāt Iṣfahānī states:

My heart was taken from me again, artfully with planning
You are the lion-bodied idol, novice, and wrestler.
Flame of action, look at all the height and form,
Bitter and full-strength affliction, just like Shiraz wine,
His forelock the hyacinth, his face the flower, and his stature the cypress,
Above his head the pheasant's wing just like the felt cap.
Your fascinating eyes are full of sense-robbing graces,
Captivating narcissus, thief-like night patrols.
Whoever saw your chest bared during exercise
Fills his own chest with fingernail scratches.
My moon, you are a king in the eyes of the consumed,
You are the novice of the Lion of God, the *lūṭī*[99] of Allah.[100]

Reciting poetry helped athletes in their routines of exercise and better and imbued the *zūrkhāna* with an ambience for recalling heroic values. From the early 20th century, the drummer who set the cadence of the exercises was called the *murshid* (literally: one who gives right guidance, from *irshād*). During the exercises the *murshid* also strikes a percussion instrument (*żarb*), and rings a bell (*zang*). Since 1941, these rhythmic chants have been broadcast on Iranian

[99] The word *lūṭī*, in certain aspects of Ṣūfī thought such as *Malāmatiyya* tradition, expressions such *as lūṭī-yi Allāhī, lūṭī-yi Khudāʾī*, are found with the significance of "generous, manly".

[100] Jamālzādeh, .189 The Lion of God is 'Ali.

state radio each morning to encourage people outside of the *zūrkhāna* tradition to exercise at.[101] Being bare-chested and bare-footed was a requisite in the *zūrkhāna,* this signified the peripheral nature of formal manifestation and outward distinctions. The customary attire for the athletes is the *lung*, a red square cloth wrapped around the loins and passed between the legs; however, wrestlers wear leather breeches (*tunbān*). In the Qājār period (1794 to 1925) athletes shaved the middle of their head, comparable to *Qalandar* Sufis' ritual of shaving the head.[102]

Hierarchies and rankings among the athletes is an important facet of the *zūrkhāna*. While taking part in the practices a circle is formed in the *gawd in which* the participants face the session's exercise leader or captain, the *miyāndār,* who stands at the center of the circle and leads the exercises. The hierarchy determines the participant's place within the circle. The place closest to the *murshid* is the place of honor which is taken by the most senior members, the *pīshkesvats.* The young members stand in descending order of seniority to the left and right sides of the elders. The beginners stand farthest from the *murshid* 's podium. Other than the senior members, young members fall into three categories: beginners (*nawchah*), novices (*nawkhāstah*) and *pahlawān* who are more experienced and more skillful in wrestling and have passed the levels of the beginners and novices.

The *zūrkhāna,* for its participants as athletes and attendees as onlookers is considered to be a sacred space and is revered. The trainers of the athletes insist upon cleanliness and modesty. The athletes traditionally begin entering the *zūrkhāna* early after the Morning Prayer, some even

[101] Rochard, 57.

[102] A group of Sufis engaged in a ritual of shaving the hair of the head, eyebrows, beard and moustache, the so- called "four shaves" (*chahār-zarb*), which made them instantly recognizable in society and set them apart from other Muslims. These individuals were known as Qalandars, a term that emerged as a literary trope in the 10th – 11th centuries. A.D. (Ridgeon, Lloyd. "Shaggy or Shaved? The Symbolism of Hair among Persian Qalandar Sufis." Iran and the Caucasus 14, no. 2 (2010.)

preferred to pray in the *zūrkhāna*. During the month of Ramadan nightly practices occur after breaking the fast (*ifṭār*). As athletes, of any age come into the *gowd* they kiss the ground and consecrate the place and space or they touch the ground with their fingers then raise their hands to their lips. Eating, drinking, smoking, laughing and profanity should be abstained from inside the *gowd*. Permission to enter the *gowd* is obtained by saying *rukhṣat* (asking permission) and hearing the answer *forṣat* (chance, opportunity) whereupon the athletes enter the *gowd*. The *miyāndār* enters first, and the rest of athletes enter in order of age or experience except the descendants of the first Shīʿite Imam ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (*Sādāt*), however young, have priority in the *zūrkhāna*. Invoking benediction (*ṣalawāt*) or *Māshāʾallāh* (an Arabic phrase that expresses appreciation, joy, praise, or thankfulness) upon the athletes are ways of cheering the athletes on by the audience.[103]

Javānmardī in the *Zūrkhāna*: Multifaceted Roles:

For many of the members and regular attendees the atmosphere of the *zūrkhāna* extends beyond the bodily exercises or athletic rituals rooted in its traditions. The defenders of the *zūrkhāna* hold that it teaches a spiritual system of morality known as *javānmardī / futuwwa*.[104] The *zūrkhāna* is a place of community service where chivalrous men come together to provide for the care of

[103] *Partaw Bayḍāʾī*, p.58

[104] The concept of *javānmardī* has been discussed by many authors in different fashions. See Lloyd Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran* (Routledge Sufi S. (London, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2010); Lloyd Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran* (Routledge Sufi S. (London, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2010); Fariba Adelkhah and Jonathan Derrick, *Being Modern in Iran* (New York, NY, United States: Columbia University Press, 2004); Maḥjūb Muḥammad *Jaʿfar, Āʾīn-i Javānmardī, Yā, Futuvvat* (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2000), Mihrān Afshārī, *Chahārda risāla-yi dar bāb-i futuvvat va aṣnāf*, (Tehran 1381sh/2002), M. A. Maḥjūb (ed.), *Futuvvat nāma-yi sulṭānī*, (Tehran 1349–50/1971); Murtaḍā Ṣarrāf (ed.), *Rasāʾil-i jawānmardān*, (Tehran 1991) and Mohsen Zakeri, *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society: The Origins of ʿayyārān and Futuwwa* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995).

widows and orphans and monetarily support the poor merchants in the bazaar.[105] The ethical conduct (*akhlāq*) of *javānmardī* encompasses character traits such as courage, loyalty, generosity, humility and turning a blind eye to others' sins; these traits have led many to see similarities between *javānmardī* and traditional masculinity (*mardānagī*).[106] The following depiction of men in the *zūrkhāna* by Moḥammad-ʿAli Jamālzāda (1892-1997) the pioneer of modern Persian prose fiction and the genre of the short story writes in his 1965 "*Isfahan is Half of the World*" portraying the dual role of the physical and moral excellence that is the essence of the culture of the *zūrkhāna*:

> I saw physiques there that day unlike any I had ever in my lifetime seen. All stood in a circle around the pit [the main arena of the zūrkhāna] with the thick, heavily knotted arms, broad, shield-like chests, exercised bellies, swelling flanks, bulging oval muscles, narrow waists, taut thighs, solid frames, and hollow cheeks without flesh which are the signs of a gymnast. It was truly a sight to exhilarate any man looking at it! I, the wretched, shaking, quaking Haji's boy ignorant of the world ... now lost himself completely in these surroundings where there was a belief in the status of manhood and manliness and manners and respect and forbearance and magnanimity and kindness and trust in strength of arms, and truly, sometimes thought I was asleep and dreaming.[107]

The ideals of sportsmanship within the practice of wrestling in the *zūrkhāna* are seen as a means of transforming base character traits into worthy ones, teaching that true wrestling is between these two forces in the individual, the aim being *Iṣlāḥ al-akhlāq* (Improvement of

[105] Houshang Chehabi, "Sport and Politics in Iran: The Legend of Gholamreza Takhti." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12, no. 3 (1995), 50.

[106] Rochard, 318.

[107] Jamālzādeh, 108.

character traits). Wrestling was thought to be a science (ʿ*ilm*) to be accompanied by practice (*ʿamal*). Being of good character was a prerequisite for both tutors and novices. Being of good character for the wrestling tutors included but was not limited to, being chaste, guiding learners to chastity, being generous, being compassionate, not being greedy, being honest, and never wishing ill for the novices. Novices also had to be pious, have good intentions, be honest before their tutor and be neither envious nor proud of their strength.[108]

The *Zūrkhāna* and Iranian Identity

While the *zūrkhāna* in many ways reflects the complexities of Iranian identity it could also be said to, in a variety of ways, challenge its cultural heritage. The official religion in Iran is Twelver Shi'ism which believes that Muhammad designated ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as the rightful leader of Islam and in the importance of other eleven Imams.[109] The symbolism of Shi'ite Islam and nationalist Iran come together in the *zūrkhāna*. Shi'ism accentuates Imam 'Ali and Iranian nationalism is exemplified in the figure of Rustam,[110] the hero of Firdawsī's eleventh-century *Shāh-nāma* (*The Book of Kings*). Finally, *futuwwa*-Sufism is symbolized in the person of Pūryā-yi Valī, the fourteenth century wrestling champion and a *malāmati* Sufi. Many of the rituals and exercises in the *zūrkhāna* are associated with one of these three individuals. This association enables the athletes to identify themselves with 'Ali, Rustam and Pūryā-yi Valī and bring the

[108] Inṣāfpūr, Ġulām Riḍā. *Tārīkh Wa Farhang-i Zūrẖāna Wa Gurūhhā-i Ijtimāʿī-i Zūrkhāna-rau*. (Tehran: *Našr-i Aẖtarān*, 2007), 35.

[109] Denis Hickley, "Some Impressions of Iranian Islam." *New Blackfriars* 54, no. 640 (1973): 417.

[110] Only Firdawsī's Shāh-nāma contains a continuous story of the hero. His ancestors were local rulers of Sīstān and Zābulistān, who were vassals to the kings of Iran… His body, commonly compared to that of an elephant, was already at the time of his birth so enormous that he could only be delivered with the help of the miraculous bird, Sīmurg̲h.

venerated past to the present. Revitalization of the Iranian identity through nationalism, Sufism, Shi'ism or a combination of the three implies a continuity between the past and the present of the cultural identity. Shi'ism is manifested in the *zūrkhāna* by devotional prayers and the praise to Moḥammad and the Imams. Some exercises like the "push-up" (*shenu/shenā*) are performed by chanting of the *murshid* and the athletes responding to Shi'ite motifs of invocation for counting the push-ups.[111]The captain begins counting and the athletes repeat "O 'Ali" after each phrase.

> *Murshid*: "Our 'In the name of Allah' begins the Quran Merciful and Compassionate! Permission is from God!"
>
> *Murshid*: "God is one!" The athletes answer: "O 'Ali!" "God is not two!" "O 'Ali" "Lord of Beings!" "O 'Ali" "Curer of the Wretched!" "O 'Ali" "Five finger of God's hand!" "O 'Ali" "Six corners of the grave of Ḥusayn!" "O 'Ali" "The eight *qibla*" "O 'Ali" "The Prophet Noah!" "O 'Ali" "Giver without Obligation!" "O 'Ali" "Eleven Pure Jewels!" "O 'Ali" "Our Twelve Imams!" "O 'Ali" "Curses on the black heart!" "O 'Ali" "Fourteen Pure Innocents!" "O 'Ali" "Fifteen, half the Qurʾān!" …up to fifty.[112] [113]

The practice of the athletes lifting heavy wooden beams (*sang*) as they lie on their backs outside the *gawd* evokes and symbolizes 'Ali's heroism in defeating the Jews at the Battle of Khaybar in which 'Ali carried the day by wielding a fortress door as a shield and bridge for the

[111] Lloyd Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran*, 191

[112] In this counting series, there are phonetic similarities with the numbers in some cases. The eleven Pure Jewels are the eleven Shia Imams succeeding 'Ali. For the unlikely number, thirteen, a curse is replaced. The fourteen Pure innocents are the Twelve Imams plus Muhammad and his daughter, Fāṭima. The Qurʾān is sometimes divided into thirty sections, and can be completely read, one section per day, in a month; fifteen is therefore "half of the Qurʾān".

[113] Jamālzādeh, 178-179.

Muslims that led to victory against their enemies. [114] Decoration of the *zūrkhāna* by portraits of the Shi'ite Imams' and calligraphy such as statements of: *Lā fatā illā ʿAlī, lā sayf illā Dhu 'l-Faqār* (There is no chivalrous man but 'Ali, and there is no sword but *Dhu 'l-Faqār*) are another aspect of Shi'ite influence with the *zūrkhāna*. Even within the *zūrkhānas* of non-Muslims Iranians such as the Jewish and Zoroastrian *zūrkhānas* in Tehran, Shiraz and Yazd some Shi'ite rituals are practiced.[115]

Shi'ism, however, is not the only symbolic facet of the *zūrkhāna* exercises. *Charkh* exercise or whirling is believed by many people in the zūrkhāna to have been derived from the Sufi practice of *samāʿ* (audition) of the whirling dervishes. In addition to this understandable association of *charkh* with the Sufi practice of *samāʿ*, the term *murshid* as the director of the exercise session of *zūrkhāna* through his drum, bell and chanting is also recognizable within the Sufi context as the initiator and director of the session of dhikr (invocation) and may even be applied to the founder of a Sufi order (Tarīqa). This relationship between the *zūrkhāna* and Sufi Khānaqāh has long been recognized within scholarly circles. Even the architecture of the *zūrkhāna* bears certain resemblance to structure with the Sufi Khānaqāh.[116]

In Addition to Sufi and Shi'ī symbolism, the nationalistic symbolism in the *zūrkhāna* is reflected in the practice of manipulating the *kabbāda*, a heavy iron bow strung with heavy rings on a cord which athletes swing above their heads. The maneuvering of the *kabbāda* is linked with Rustam, the hero of *Shāh-nāma* and his killing of his enemy, Ashkābūs; and it is usual for the

[114] Ridgeon, 175

[115] Ibid, 169

[116] Ibid, 176

murshid to recite the section of the *Shāh-nāma* depicting the battle between Rustam and Ashkābūs during the exercise session with the *kabbāda.* [117] Saying:

Rustam rubbed the bow in his grasp,

He roared like the roaring leopard.

He brought up a poplar shaft with arrowed of water's sheen,

On it he'd put four eagle feathers.

He rubbed the Tashkent bow in hand,

He put his thumb inside deer leather.

He stiffened his left arm and bent the right;

A howl went up from the curve of the Tashkent arc.

When the arrow kissed his finger,

It extended to his spine in the back.

When the arrow stuck the chest of *Ashkābūs*,

Then the heavens kissed his hands.

Fate said, "Take!" and destiny said, "Give!"

The heavens said, "Most excellent!" the angel said, "Bravo!"[118]

The white feather that decorates the *sardam* of many traditional *zūrkhānas* is a symbol of the Sīmurgh which is best remembered in the epic of *Shāh-nāma* as a mythical bird and a special protector of Rustam's father, Zāl. Sīmurgh also appears in ʿAṭṭār's *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* and Aḥmad al-Ghazālī's *Risālat al-ṭayr* as an elaborate allegory for the relationship between the worshipper and God and recognition of *fanā* (annihilation in the Divine). In *Shāh-nāma* however the white feather

[117] Ibid, 176

[118]Jamālzādeh, 189-190

is a symbol of God. But, for many, the white feather also symbolizes the helmet of Imam Ḥusayn in the massacre of *Karbala.*[119] In this way, the white feather of the *Sardam* fuses the Sufi, Shi'ite and national allegories into one national narrative.

The Paradoxical Status of the *Zūrkhāna*: Three Case Studies

Despite the representational presence of Sufism, Shi'ism and nationalism in the *zūrkhāna* and the commemorative nature of the discourse on the institution, the *zūrkhāna* has also accrued to itself a negative reputation for being a house of ruffians and bullies (*garden-kuluft, sībīl kuluft* lit. those of thick-neck and thick moustache)[120] who were glad to indulge in criminal acts by offering their service to whoever would pay the most. This stigmatization that has sullied the reputation of the *zūrkhāna* reflects the ambiguity of the aura of the Iranian "strong man" that leaves him as either a noble hero or a low-class ruffian. Even though the activity of wrestling was seen as the origin and inspiration for exemplary moral conduct, most wrestlers did not live noble lives. Sir John Chardin the seventeenth century traveler, took note of this in his travelogue "Travels in Persia, 1673-1677" writing:

> Wrestling is the Exercise of People in a lower Condition; and Generally speaking, only of People who are Indigent. They call the Place where they Show themselves to Wrestle, *Zour Kone*, that is to say, The House of Force. They have of'em in all the Houses of their great Lords, and especially of the Governors of Provinces, to Exercise their People. Every town has besides Companions of those Wrestlers for

[119] Ridgeon, 192

[120] Rochard, p.323.

show. They call the *Wrestlers Pahlevon*, a Word which signifies Brave, Intrepid. They perform their exercises to divert people; this is a show, as I have said.[121]

Those who frequented the *zūrkhāna* partook of a nuanced and puzzling image that on the one hand was connected to chivalrous heroes upholding the lofty mystical ideals of *futuwwa / javānmardī* and on the other hand related to gangs of local criminals of accuses of pederasty and extortion who were sheltered by the institution itself.[122] While notable wrestlers such as Pūryā-yi Valī and Gholāmrezā Takhtī (1930-67) have been praised for the quality of chivalry, *javānmardī*, there is a general agreement that in ethical terms a gap emerged between the ideals of chivalry and the reality of the *zūrkhāna*. Wrestlers such as Shaʿbān Jaʿfarī, who was an influential proponent of ancient sports in pre/post-revolutionary Iran had originally been a *chāqū kish* (knife-drawer, thug). These contradictory trends within the *zūrkhāna* were represented within the actual case of three personalities associated the *zūrkhāna* tradition and as case studies give us an excellent means of delving into the paradox of the *zūrkhāna*.

The Case of Pūryā-yi Valī

The great poet and wrestler Pūryā-yi Valī's memory is commemorated in many of the practices and rituals associated with the *zūrkhāna*. His original name was Maḥmūd "Pūr-Yār"[123] Khwārazmī (d.1322), poet and wrestler. He was known to be a Sufi and his biography was narrated by the fifteen century Sufi scholar Jāmī in his *Nafaḥāt al-Uns min haḍarāt al-quds*.[124] According

[121] Sir John Chardin, *Travels in Persia, 1673-1677*(New York, 1988), 200-201

[122] Rochard, 323.

[123] Kāshifī, 307

[124] *Jāmī, Nafaḥāt Al-Uns Min ḥaḍarāt Al-Quds*, ed. ʿĀbidī Maḥmūd (Tehran, 1994), 882.

to two Sufi hagiographies, namely *Khulāsa al-Manāqib*[125] written by Nūr al-Dīn Jaʿfar Badakhshī (1339-1395) and *Rawḍa al-Jinān wa Jannāt al-janān* by Ḥusayn Karbalāʾī Tabrīzī he was of the Khurasanian mystical tradition known as the *Malāmatiyya.*[126] His wisdom teachings were cherished by the wrestlers of Central Asia, Turkey and Iran. He is called Pūryā-yi Valī in contemporary Persian pronunciation. Being a poet under the *takhalluṣ* (pen name) of *Qattālī* (the combative one) he left a poetic opus entitled *Kanz al-Ḥaqāīq* that recapitulates some teachings of the Malāmatiyya such as being suspicious of one's *nafs* (ego-self), continuously struggling against capricious desires, not being proud of physical strength and living a normal life among the people of the market place, and holding oneself constantly as the object of blame (*malāma*, from the root *lāma* "to blame").

Pūryā-yi Valī 's chivalrous compassion and clemency is typified in this story narrated in *Majālis al-'Ushshsāq* written by Amir Kamāl al- Dīn Ḥusayn Gārgazgāhī (d.1502) in which, moved by the tears of his opponent's mother who prayed for her son's victory so that he would not be humiliated in front of the onlookers, he allowed his Indian opponent to defeat him.[127] It has been said that while lying on his back, after this feigned defeat, he received an illumination that the victory one attains over oneself is the highest form of victory.[128] Asked by the ruler of the city

[125] Badakhshī Nūral-Dīn Jaʿfar, *Khulāsa al-Manāqib*. (Islam Abad,1995), 73. The Mālamatīs (Path of Blame) was derived from Qurʾān, verse 5:54 (*they struggle in the path of God and fear not the blame of any blamer*), a verse referring to the Prophet and his Companions. (Hud̲jwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥd̲jūb*, Leningrad, 1926, repr. Tehran 1399/1979, 78.) Two basic texts on Malāmatiyya are: *Risālat al-Malāmatiyya* by Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī edited in *al-Malāmatiyya wa 'l-taṣawwuf wa-ahl al-futuwwa* by Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ ʿAfīfī.

[126] Ḥusayn Karbalāyī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍa Al-Jinān Wa Jannāt Al-Janān* (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjumah va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1965)

[127] Ghulāmrizā Inṣāfpūr, *Pūriyā-Yi Walī: Dāstānhāyī Az Pahlawānān-i Qadīm-i Īrān Az Qarn-i Haftum Tā Qarn-i Sīzdahum-i Hiğrī* (Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1996), 80-81

[128] Mihrān Afshārī, *Aīyīn-i Javānmardī: Marām Va Sulūk-i ṭabaqah'i 'ammah'i Irān* (Tehran: Daftar-i Pazūhishha-yi Farhangī, 2005), 56

how such a strong, skilled wrestler could have been beaten by the younger Indian wrestler, Pūryā-yi Valī recites a quatrain that is still repeated by veteran athletes in Iran today:

Gar bar sar-i nafs-i khūd amīrī, mardī

Var bar digarī nuktah nagīrī, mardī

Mardī nabuvad fītādah rā pay zadan

Gar dast-i fitādah ra begīrī, mardī

If you can dominate your own self, you are a man

If you don't find fault with others, you are a man

It is not manly to kick one who's down

If you take the hand of one who is down, you are a man[129]

His esteem among his contemporaries and the lofty moral and spiritual ideals he represented along with his being a wrestler, bestowed upon Pūryā-yi Valī the celebratory title of *pahlavān/pahlawān,* a person in Iranian chivalry who is a champion, just, fair, self-abnegating and kind to the weak.[130] The association between the valiant wrestling of Pūryā-yi Valī and chivalrous moral ideals of the *zūrkhāna* are set forth in the *Ṭumār-i afsānah-i Pūryā-yi Valī* (The Scroll of the Legend of Pūryā-yi Valī) a work composed by an unknown writer in late Safavid Azerbaijan. As the oldest identified document on wrestling, The Scroll of the Legend of Pūryā-yi Valī gives us with a graphic example of the different exercises practiced in the *zūrkhāna*.[131] Although the historicity of details of Pūryā-yi 's biography are a matter of debate, in modern-day Iran Pūryā-yi has become an exemplar of the ultimate ethical/moral ideals of chivalry. The story

[129] Rochard, 333

[130] Chehabi, 48.

[131] Rochard, p.334

of his self-denial is narrated in many forms for the old and young and many modern participants in the ancient sports and wrestlers such as Gholāmrezā Takhtī, Iran's gold medalist at the 1956 Melbourne Olympic games, holds Pūryā-yi 's do their best to uphold his ethos of *javānmardī.*

The Case of Gholāmrezā Takhtī

Gholāmrezā Takhtī was born in Tehran's lower-middle class *Khanī-Abād* neighborhood on the 27 August, 1930. Due to his family's poverty Takhtī's father's creditors took possession of the family's home, and their family had to spend two nights outside in the street before neighbors took them in. This experience at the age of seven is believed to have created a traumatizing dynamism for him and infused him with compassion for the poor. Later, by practicing hard in the *zūrkhāna,* the Pūlād (Steel) Club, Takhtī started his career in freestyle wrestling. He is generally known to be the supreme Iranian sports legend of the twentieth century.[132] Embodying the virtues and ideals of traditional *javānmardī,* his reputation and veneration are due not only to his athletic competency but more to his having been a moral exemplar, and Iranians accordingly and affectionately nicknamed him *Jahān- pahlavān* (Universal Hero).

For most Iranians, Takhtī brought the chivalrous ideas and social values of Pūryā-yi Valī to life. The Takhtī phenomenon, in the history of the *zūrkhāna* and ancient sports personifies the altruism, patience under pressure, generosity, kindness, forgiveness, a concern for the common people, and *ṣafāy-i bāṭin* (inner purity) that represent the highest spiritual and social values in contemporary Iran. Although there was a certain tolerance for the offense of sodomy in modern era wrestling, in Iran Takhtī had been famous for never becoming involved in that practice, nor

[132] Chehabi, 51-52

was he a philanderer to the point that he was occasionally teased because of his bashfulness.[133] He typified the ideals of a *pahlavān/pahlawān* and was known as going beyond being a *qahramān* (champion).[134] For instance, during the 1962 World Wrestling Championships held in Toledo, Ohio Takhtī found out and the night before the match that his Russian opponent, Aleksander Medved, had received an injury in his right knee. In the match Takhtī avoided grabbing the injured leg and lost. Later in an interview, Medved referred to that match as the most honest match he ever had and he lauded Takhtī 's everlasting influence chivalry on his life. [135].

The death of Takhtī, however has been a matter of controversy. Coming from a traditional and lower-middle class background, he was progressive in his political orientation. He was a loyal supporter of Mohammad Moṣaddiq (1882 – 1967) Prime Minister of Iran from 1951 until 1953, and his project to nationalize the Iran oil industry. Supporting Moṣaddiq,[136] being too popular and not being submissive to the royal power that supplanted the Moṣaddiq government, are seen to the reasons for his murder by the SAVAK, then secret police and intelligence security of the Shah. Another scenario offered for Takhtī's suspicious death is that he committed suicide because of his marital problems with his wife as well as depression due to Moṣaddiq's death in 1967. Whether Takhtī's death was a suicide or he was a murder by the SAVAK, as has been asserted by progressive intellectuals of the period, Jalāl Āl-i Aḥmad and ʿĀlī Sharīʿatī,[137] Takhtī's death was not the only deplorable case in the contemporary history of the *zūrkhāna*.

---

[133] Chehabi, 65

[134] Fariba Adelkhah and Jonathan Derrick, *Being Modern in Iran* (London: Hurst & Company in association with the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales Paris, 1999), 143.

[135]http://www.isna.ir/news/93101608577/%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%AA%DB%8C. (January 6, 2015)

[136] The Shah and Mosaddegh had a power struggle.

[137] Chehabi, 55

The Case of Shaʿbān Jaʿfarī

Shaʿbān Jaʿfarī, was born in 1921 in the *Darkhūngāh* neighborhood in Tehran. From early in his life was known as *Shaʿbān bīmukh* (meaning *Shaʿbān* the brainless / simple-minded). He was a *zūrkhāna* athlete and practitioner of the ancient sports. He began frequenting Darkhūngāh *Zūrkhāna* close to the Tehran Bazar as a teenager. He soon gained the reputation as a street fighter and went to prison for the first time at the age of fifteen. After being freed from prison in 1943, he became a national champion in *kabbāda* and *charkh*, two *zūrkhāna* specialized exercises. Jaʿfarī was known as a *lūṭī.* The *lūṭī* is a term that has positive and negative connotations.[138] The word *lūṭī* connotes "companion of God" and a person who is loyal to his friends and fearless vis-à-vis the strong. But it is also true that for many it defines a certain class of men with a questionable morality. In current parlance, *lūṭī* also means "rascal or vagabond". Being a *lūṭī*, Jaʿfarī benefited from the *esprit de corps* of other *lūṭīs.* It is widely believed that Jaʿfarī was one of the ringleaders of the demonstrations that accompanied the coup d'état in Iran of August 1953 that overthrew the elected President Moṣaddiq. Beyond being involved in the politics of the of summer of 1953, he was accused of being a *chāqū kish* (knife-drawer), a hoodlum and a murderer[139] which made him one of the most hated figures of 20th century Iran for Moṣaddiqists and proponents of the nationalization of Iran's oil industry.

Irrespective of 1953 the putsch in Iran and the differing political orientations around it, one may even question the life résumé of Jaʿfarī as an individual associated with the *zūrkhāna*. In fact, after the 1953 coup Jaʿfarī's demeanor became more respectable and he became more focused on

[138] For Janus-faced nature of the *lūṭī* see *Dāsh Akul* (in the collection of short stories entitled *Sādiq Hidāyat, Sih Qaṭra Khūn* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Āzadmihr, 2005). Also, watch the movie Qayṣar (1969) by Masʿūd Kīmīā'ī.

[139] "BBCPersian.Com," BBC, August 23, 2006, accessed September 12, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/persian/iran/story/2006/08/060820_mv-mb-shaban-jafari.shtml.

athletics. He established the Jaʿfarī club, as Iran's first modern *zūrkhāna*. His efforts played a major role in keeping the ancient sports alive for the younger generations in Iran and abroad. After the 1978-1979 Iranian revolution, he moved to Los Angeles where he passed away on 19 August 2006, the anniversary of the coup against Moṣaddiq.[140]

Conclusion

The *zūrkhāna* is one of Iran's native institutions, its religious, social and political role goes beyond its athletic aspects, reflecting the complex inter-relatedness of nationalist, Shi'ite and Sufi orientations in contemporary Iran. The ideals of *javānmardī* that contribute to the complexity of the Iranian identity demonstrate themselves in the *zūrkhāna* culture. In the *zūrkhāna*, athletes aspire to the noble qualities of valor, purity, humility, honesty, generosity and avoiding harming anyone. All aforesaid qualities take on deeper meanings for people of *futuwwa* (*javānmardān*) who seek to put aside self-aggrandizement, to feel their inherent responsibilities to give without being asked and to live without knowing fear.[141] In the Iranian collective memory figures, such as Pūryā-yi Valī, Gholāmrezā Takhtī and Shaʿbān Jaʿfarī became icons of the *zūrkhāna* and to some extent provided a contradictory examples of these ideal. Pūryā-yi Valī and Gholāmrezā Takhtī remained legends and *pahlavāns* while Shaʿbān Jaʿfarī is considered by some to have been a hoodlum during part of his life. However, Jaʿfarī played a major role in establishing a new phase of the *zūrkhāna*, by instituting Iran's first modern *zūrkhāna* in Tehran during the second chapter of his life until he finally immigrated to Los Angeles, where he died and the Los Angelono *zūrkhāna* came into existence.

[140] See Encyclopaedia Iranica (2012), s.v "JAʿFARI, ŠAʿBĀN" by Houchang E. Chehabi, accessed September 2, 2016, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jafari-saban.

[141] Reza Arasteh, "The Character, Organization and Social Role of the Lutis (Javan-Mardan) in the Traditional Iranian Society of the Nineteenth Century)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 4, no. 1 (January 1, 1961), 48.

Conclusion

Sufism and the *javānmardī* heritage in Persian history, especially in the pre-modern era has long been viewed as being of integral to our understanding of Islam in Iran. One can consider *javānmardī/futuwwa* as a manifestation of complex Iranian Shi'ite, Sufi and nationalist identities. Despite this fact, the concept of *javānmardī/futuwwa* as integral facets of the fabric of Iranian society has attracted very limited scholarly attention. The scope and quantity alone of the body of primary literature on *javānmardī/futuwwa* may be the reason for scholars' disinclination to engage with the topic; nevertheless, *javānmardī/futuwwa* has been examined within the Persian context by scholars such as Eric Ohlander, Khachik Gevorgyan and Lloyd Ridgeon as 'social realities' and by Henry Corbin in his *Traités des compagnons-chevaliers* (1973), within the context of history. The present project was inspired, in part, by the lack of research into the area of social/historical identity in the Iranian context where *javānmardī* concerned. This led to my realization of the key role of the ethical facets of *javānmardī/futuwwa* to this domain and led me to select a number of Persian treatises on the subject. Then in order to better understand the importance of the *javānmardī* tradition in application within the formative and contemporary context I carried my research into the domain of the traditional Iranian institution of the *zūrkhāna.*

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the semantic field of *javānmardī/futuwwa* that has been a major influence within Persian Sufism and its literature for over one thousand years. The ideal of *javānmardī* embraces the noble qualities of bravery, loyalty, courage, fairness and honesty. Focusing upon *javānmardī* literature enhanced our appreciation of it as one of the unique

features of Persian Sufism, which apart from its mystical elements includes an emphasis on munificence and compassionate altruism. The precious influence of the *javānmardī* heritage is remarkable on Iranian self-awareness and collective memory. As a result of the substantial contribution of Sufism to Persian culture through literature an evaluation of how Persian Sufis cultivated the ethical teachings of *javānmardī* is worthy of more research and exploration. In short, *javānmardī* has long been a key element to the establishing and delineating of non-mystical codes of normative conduct and that have long make up the fabric of Iranian identity.

REFRENCES

Abū Al-Futūḥ Rāzī, Ḥusayn Ibn ʻAlī, and Yāḥaqqī Muḥammad Jaʻfar, *Rawḍ Al-jinān Wa-rawh Al-janān Fī Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān: Mashhur Bih, Tafsīr-i Shaykh Abū Al-Futūḥ Rāzī*, Mashhad: Bunyād-i pizhuhishhā-yi Islāmī, 1988.

Adelkhah, Fariba and Derrick Jonathan, *Being Modern in Iran*. London: Hurst & Company in association with the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales Paris, 1999.

Afshārī, Mihrān *Aīyīn-i Javānmardī: Marām Va Sulūk-i ṭabaqah'i 'ammah'i* Irān, Tehran: Daftar-i Pazūhishha-yi Farhangī, 2005.

----------, *Futuvvat'nāmah'hā Va Rasā'il-i Khāksārīyah: Sī Risālah*. Tehran, Pizhūhishgāh-i ʻUlūm-i Insānī Va Muṭālaʻāt-i Farhangī, 2003

Arasteh Reza, "The Character, Organization and Social Role of the Lutis (Javan-Mardan) in the Traditional Iranian Society of the Nineteenth Century*)," Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* 1961.

Badakhshī Nūral-Dīn Jaʿfar, *Khulāsa al-Manāqib*. Islam Abad, 1995.

Chardin, Sir John, *Travels in Persia, 1673-1677*. New York: Dover Publications, 1988.

Chehabi, H. E. "Sport and Politics in Iran: The Legend of Gholamreza Takhti." *The International Journal of the History of Sport 12, no. 3* (1995).

Corbin, Henry. *Traités Des Compagnons-Chevaliers: Recueil De Sept "Fotowwat-Nâmeh"*. Teheran: Département D'iranologie De L'Institut Franco-iranien De Recherche, 1973.

Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāyī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍa Al-Jinān Wa Jannāt Al-Janān*. Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjumah va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1965.

Hamadānī, ʻAyn Al-Quẓāt. *Nāmah'hā-yi ʻAyn Al-Quẓāt Hamadānī.* Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1969.

Hartmann, Angelika. "al-Suhrawardī." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrich.

Ḥātimī Aṭ-Ṭāʾī, Ibn `Arabī. *Al-Futūḥāt Al-Makkīyah*. Beirut: Dar Sader, 1997.

Hickley, Denis. "Some Impressions of Iranian Islam." *New Blackfriars* 54, no. 640 (1973).

http://www.bbc.com/persian/iran/story/2006/08/060820_mv-mb-shaban-jafari.shtml.

http://www.isna.ir/news/93101608577/%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%AA%DB%8C. (January 6, 2015).

Ibn Abī Al-Ḥadīd, ʻAbd Al-Ḥamīd. Sharḥ Nahj Al-balāghah. Al-Ṭabʻah, Al-Qāhirah: ʻĪsá Al-Bābī Al-Ḥalabī, 1959.

Ibn Babawayh, Muḥammad Ibn ʻAlī, and Ḥasan Al-Mūsawī. *Kitāb Man Lā Yaḥḍuruhu Al-faqīh.* Bairūt: Dār Ṣaʻb, 1981.

Insāfpūr, Ġulām Ridā, *Tārīkh Wa Farhang-i Zūrẖāna Wa Gurūhhā-i Ijtimāʻī-i Zūrkhāna-rau.* Tehran: Našr-i Aḫtarān, 2007.

Jamālzādeh, Sayyed Mohammed Ali. *"Isfahan Is Half the World. Memories of a Persian Boyhood."* Translated by W.L. Heston. 1983.

Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt Al-Uns Min ḥaḍarāt Al-Quds*, Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-i Saʻdī, 1994.

Kashani, Abd Al-Razzaq. *Tuḥfat Al-ikhvān: Dar Bayān-i Uṣūl-i Futuvvat Va Ādāb-i Fityān*. Edited by Muḥammad Dāmādī. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1351.

Kāshifī, Ḥusayn. *Futuwatnāma-i Sulṭānī*. Edited by Muḥammad Ja'far Maḥjūb. Tihrān: Intišārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1971.

Madāyinī, Mahdī, Afshārī, Mihrān, and *Chahārdah Risālah Dar Bāb-i Futuvvat Va Aṣnāf*. Tehran: Nashr-i Chashmah, 1381.

Maybudi, Abulfadl Rashid al-Din. *Kashf Al-asrār Wa-'uddat Al-abrār Maybudī*. Chāp-i 6. ed. Tihrān: Sāzmān-i Muṭāla'ah Va Tadvīn-i Kutub-i 'Ulūm-i Insānī-i Dānishgāh'hā, 1384.

Muẓaffariyān, Manuuchehr, ed. *Miftāḥ Al-hidāya Wa-miṣbāḥ Al-'ināya: sīratnāma-i Saiyid Amīn-ad-Dīn Balyānī*. Tihrān: Našr-i Ātār, 1380.

Najm Al-Din Razi, Muhammad. *Kitāb Manārāt Al-sā'irīn Wa-maqāmāt Al-ṭā'irīn*. Kuwayt: Dār Su'ād Al-Ṣabāḥ, 1993.

Partaw Bayḍā'ī Husayn, *Tārīkh-i Varzish-i Bāstānī-i Īrān: Zūrkhānah* ,Tehran: Intishārāt-i Akhtarān, 2007.

Ridgeon, Lloyd V. J. *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2010.

----------. "Futuwwa (in Ṣūfism)." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, THREE. Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Everett Rowson. Brill, 2015.

----------. "Shaggy or Shaved? The Symbolism of Hair among Persian Qalandar Sufis."

Riyāẕ.Khan, Muḥammad. *Shāh-i Hamadān, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī*. Islām'ābād, Pākistān: Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Fārsī-i Īrān Va Pākistān, 1995.

Rochard, Philippe and Chehabi Houchang “The Identities of the Iranian Zūrkhanah.” *Iranian Studies* (2002).

Saʻīdī Sīrjānī, Alī Akbar. Tafsīr-i Sūrābādī: Tafsīr Al-tafāsīr. Chāp-i 1. ed. Tihrān: Farhang-i Nashr-i Naw, 1381.

Ṣarrāf, Murtaẓá, *Rasāyil-i Javānmardān: Mushtamil Bar Haft Futuvvat Nāmah*. Tihrān: Institū-yi Faransavī-i Pizhūhish'hā-yi ʻIlmī Dar Īrān, 1352

The Hilltop Review 8, no. 2 (2016).

Vilāyatī, Alī Akbar. *Dānishnāmah-'i Javānmardī (futuvvat).* Tehran: Mu'assasah-'i Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 2013

Yarshater, Ehsan, Encyclopaedia Iranica (2012), s.v “JAʿFARI, ŠAʿBĀN” by Houchang E. Chehabi, accessed September 2, 2016, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jafari-saban.

---------, *The History of Al-Ṭabarī.* Albany: State University of New York, 1985

Zachary Smith, "More than One Way to Measure: Masculinity in Zurkhaneh of Safavid Iran."