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Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī
(719-787/1319-1385):
an Overview of his Doctrines

by
Morteza Agha Tehrani

December 1995

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research,
McGill University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University, Montreal

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ISBN 0-612-12000-7

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ABSTRACT

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One of the outstanding scholars of his time, Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (719-787/1319-1385) played an important role in the development of Shīʿī *ʿIrfān*, a tradition which traces its roots back to the Prophet Muḥammad and the Imāms. He gave his attention to the subject at a time when the Shīʿa Islām began to develop its characteristic set of doctrines through the efforts of ʿAllāma Ḥillī and his son Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn in Iran and Iraq.

Sayyid Ḥaydar lived at a time of great political and social upheaval. This thesis places Āmulī within this context and describes his life in some detail. Moreover, a number of problems surrounding the corpus of his writings are resolved by a complete listing of his works.

Finally, we provide an overview of his doctrines, most especially his ideas concerning the people of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*. Āmulī puts great effort into reconciling these three groups, although he consistently maintains a mystical approach in his works. While Āmulī accepts Ibn ʿArabī's metaphysical doctrines he criticizes his teachings on *walāya* and *Imāma*. This thesis deals with the issue of *Imāma* from the point of view of Āmulī in detail.

Résumé

Auteur: Morteza Agha Tehrani
Titre: Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (719-787/1319-1385): un aperçu de ses doctrines
Département: Institut des études islamiques, Université McGill.
Diplôme: Maîtrise ès arts

Un des érudits les plus éminents de son ère, Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī joua un rôle important dans le développement de l'*ʿirfān shīʿī*, une tradition qui fait remonter ses racines au Prophète Muḥammad et aux imāms. Il se préoccupa du sujet dans un temps où l'islam shīʿa commença à développer ses doctrines caractéristiques à travers les efforts d'Allāma Ḥillī et de son fils Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn en Iran et en Iraq.

Sayyid Ḥaydar vécut dans une période marquée par des convulsions politiques et sociales. Cette thèse met Āmulī dans ce contexte et décrit en détail sa vie. De plus, quelques problèmes entourant son oeuvre sont résolus par une liste détaillée de ses écrits.

Enfin, nous donnons ici un aperçu de ses propres doctrines, en particulier ses idées concernant les peuples de *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* et *ḥaqīqa*. Āmulī fait un grand effort pour réconcilier ces trois groupes, quoiqu'il maintienne toujours une approche mystique dans ses oeuvres. Tandis qu'il accepte les doctrines métaphysiques d'Ibn ʿArabī, il critique quand même ses théories à propos de *walāya* et d'imāma. Cette thèse traite du sujet d'imāma en détail selon le point de vue d'Āmulī.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

All praises are due to Allāh who made mankind the best of his creation.¹ My great respect is due to Imām Mahdī (peace be upon him) to whom all people will one day be called,² to those who sacrificed their lives, for the sake of the establishment and progress of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and to those who continue to struggle in this cause, without whose efforts this work would never have been accomplished.

I would like to express my thanks to the Institute of Islamic Studies, and especially to Professor Hermann Landolt whose supervision and valuable suggestions contributed to the development of this study. My deepest appreciation goes to the Bāqir al-ʿUlūm Cultural Foundation, its president Āyatullāh M. Taqī Meṣbāḥ, and its staff for encouraging and supporting my studies.

I would like to extend my thanks to the Library staff of the Institute of Islamic Studies, to my friends and colleagues Mr. M. Javād Zāreʿān, Mr. M. Ḥ. Mūsavizādeh, Mr. M. Shukriye and Mr. J. Darreshirī, who provided me with help and advice, and to Mr. M. Abūṭālibī who assisted me by sending several sources from Iran. I would also like to thank to Mr. Stephen Millier for translating the abstract into French and editing this work.

I am deeply grateful and indebted to my dear parents, my wife and children, Narjis, Mahdī and Zahrā' who suffered so much during the time it took to complete this task. May Allāh accept this small work and reward us with His grace.

¹ The *Holy Qur'an*, trans. M. Shakir (Qum: Anṣāriyān, 1992), *Sūrat al-ʿAlaq*, verse 5.

² Ibid., *Sūrat al-Isrā'*, verse 71.

ABSTRACT.....	2
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	4
INTRODUCTION.....	7
ĀMULI'S INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND	7
OUTLINE OF THIS STUDY	8
PART I: AN OVERVIEW OF SAYYID ḤAYDAR ĀMULI'S LIFE.....	12
CHAPTER 1. BIOGRAPHY	13
1. 1. <i>Who was Āmulī?</i>	13
1. 2. <i>Āmulī's Era</i>	18
1. 2. 1. Geographical Background.....	18
1. 2. 2. The Shīʿī and the Ṣūfī Positions.....	19
1. 2. 3. The Sarbidārīd Movement	19
1. 2. 4. Āmulī and Āmul's Government	24
CHAPTER 2. THE LIFE OF SAYYID ḤAYDAR ĀMULI	29
2. 1. <i>The First Period</i>	30
2. 2. <i>The Second Period, Spiritual Life</i>	31
2. 2. 1. Āmulī's Masters in the Second Period	37
2. 2. 2. Licenses Received by Āmulī	40
2. 2. 2. 1. Educational <i>Ijāzāt</i> (Licenses).....	40
2. 2. 2. 2. Spiritual <i>Ijāzāt</i> (Such as <i>Dhikr</i> and <i>Khirqā</i>)	44
2. 3. <i>The Third Period, Āmulī's Works</i>	49
2. 3. 1. Āmulī's Books & Treatises.....	49
2. 3. 2. Books and Treatises Attributed to Āmulī	67
2. 3. 3. Transcripts (<i>Istinsākhāt</i>).....	70
PART II: AN OVERVIEW OF THE DOCTRINE OF ĀMULI.....	73
CHAPTER 3. THREE APPROACHES TO THE TRUTH AND THEIR RELATIONS	74

3. 1. <i>The Differences Between the People of Shariʿa, Tariqa and Haqiqa</i>	75
3. 1. 1. Ameli's View of the Solution.....	75
3. 1. 2. Relation Between ʿAql and Sharʿ	77
3. 1. 3. Meanings of <i>Shariʿa</i> , <i>Tariqa</i> & <i>Haqiqa</i>	79
3. 1. 3. Relation Between <i>Shariʿa</i> , <i>Tariqa</i> & <i>Haqiqa</i>	83
3. 1. 4. The Domain of <i>Shariʿa</i> , <i>Tariqa</i> and <i>Haqiqa</i>	87
3. 1. 4. 1. <i>Shariʿa</i> in the View of Āmulī	88
3. 1. 4. 2. <i>Tariqa</i> in the View of Āmulī	90
3. 1. 4. 3. <i>Haqiqa</i> in the View of Āmulī	92
CHAPTER 4. THE LIGHT OF <i>IMĀMA</i>	96
4. 1. <i>Uṣul al-Dīn and Imāna in the View of Āmulī</i>	96
4. 1. 1. Relation Between <i>Tawḥīd</i> and <i>Imāna</i>	97
4. 1. 2. <i>Nubuwwa</i> , <i>Imāna</i> and <i>Walāya</i> in the View of the Shiʿa.....	99
4. 1. 2. 1. Kulaynī's idea on <i>Nubuwwa</i> and <i>Imāna</i>	99
4. 1. 2. 2. Ibn ʿArabi's Ideas on <i>Walāya</i>	102
4. 1. 2. 3. <i>Walāya</i> in the View of Āmulī	103
4. 2. <i>The Meaning of the Term Imāna in the View of Āmulī</i>	108
4. 3. <i>Imāna in the View of the Three Peoples</i>	115
4. 3. 1. <i>imāna</i> in the View of the People of <i>Shariʿa</i>	115
4. 3. 2. <i>Imāna</i> in the View of the People of <i>Tariqa</i>	117
4. 3. 3. <i>Imāna</i> in the View of the People of <i>Haqiqa</i>	119
CONCLUSION	120
APPENDIX:.....	123
SOURCES	143
1. CITED BOOKS	143
2. BOOKS CONSULTED BUT NOT CITED	151
3. ARTICLES AND MANUSCRIPTS:.....	154

Introduction

ĀMULI'S INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND

Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī³ was one of the spiritual masters and mystical scholars of the *Ithnā ʿasharī* (Twelver) Shīʿa,⁴ as well as a gnostic of great standing, who lived in Iran during the eighth century A.H.⁵ He was born in Āmul⁶ in 719/1319 and he died after 787/1385. He travelled in search of knowledge to many cities of Iran and Iraq. These studies lasted for twenty years and eventually took him to Iṣfahān, whence he returned to Āmul.⁷

³ For more information see Āmulī's own autobiographical notes, which have been collected by H. Corbin and O. Yaḥyā in their introduction to his *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa-Manḥaʿ al-Anwār* (Tehran: Institut Franco-Iranien, 1969). See also Muḥammad Khwājavi's introduction to Āmulī's *Asrār al-Sharīʿa wa-Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa* (Tehran: Muʾassasa-yi Muṭaliʿat va Taḥqiqat-i Farhangī, 1983).

⁴ The Twelver Shīʿa believe that after Muḥammad (Ṣ.), the seal of the prophets, the leadership of the world of Islam fell to Imām ʿAlī and then to his eleven pure progeny.

⁵ M. Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. iii.

⁶ Āmul is the name of a town in the north of Irān, on the northern slopes of the Alburz mountains. This city is located in the south-west corner of the east Mazandaran plain. Today Āmul is one of the cities of Māzandarān province. It stands on the west bank of the Harhaz river, 12 miles south of the Caspian Sea. L. Lockhart, "Āmul," in *First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936*, ed. M. Th. Houtma (New York: E. J. Brill, 1987), vol. 1, p. 459.

⁷ Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. xxi.

During his stay in Iṣfahān, he studied under Nūr al-Dīn Ṭīhrānī, from whom he eventually received a *khirqā* and *dhikr* (remembrance) of Allāh.⁸ While in Iraq he studied with Qudṣī,⁹ and read under him various subjects dealing with mysticism. During twenty-four years Āmulī studied many books on sufism and wrote about twenty-four books on this subject himself.¹⁰

Besides pursuing his education, Āmulī concentrated his efforts on the spiritual journey and - according to his introduction to *Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ* - he arrived at many of the deepest spiritual truths.¹¹ Āmulī is also known to have gone to Ḥilla, Iraq for a meeting with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn (d. 771/1370), which took place in the year 759/1357.¹²

OUTLINE OF THIS STUDY

This thesis consists of two main parts, each exploring a different aspect of Āmulī's career.

The first part deals with the life of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī and attempts to provide an in-depth biography. In doing so it will also explore the times in which he lived. One

⁸ See O. Yahya, introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 44, citing from Āmulī, *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam* (Qum: Khazana-yi Kitābhāna-yi Āyatullah al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, 1969), vol. 2, p. 190.

⁹ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Qudṣī was one of the perfect *ʿurafāʾ* (mystics) and saints (*awliya-yi ilāhi*) who lived in obscurity, but Āmulī found him to be more excellent in knowledge than other *ʿulamaʾ* (scholars). M. Khʾājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shariʿa*, p. xxix.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. xxiv-xxx.

¹¹ See Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahyā (Tehran: Institut Franco-Iranien, 1974), pp. 112-113.

¹² See appendix no. 13, and also O. Yahyā, introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 45, citing Āmulī, *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, v. 2, p. 152.

may distinguish three more or less distinct phases in Āmulī's life: the first period, when he began his studies in Āmul and Iṣfahān; the second period, when he changed his mind and travelled from his homeland to Arabia and Iraq; and the third period, when he was as a great master, author and *ʿārif*. The latter phase is documented in the licenses issued to him by his masters, showing his high level of piety and knowledge.

However, the main feature of this part is a description of the works of Sayyid Āmulī. He wrote over 30 books and treatises on different subjects; for instance, a highly symbolic interpretation of the Qur'ān in his work entitled *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*,¹³ and commentaries on the works of Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273), Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī (d. 627/1273), etc.¹⁴

The second part of this thesis is entitled "An overview of the doctrine of Āmulī." Here I will discuss why Sayyid Āmulī's thought is important, what kind of work he did, how he differed from Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), Qayṣarī and ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshānī (d. 735/1335) and why, inasmuch as he was an *ʿārif*, a *ṣūfī* and a *fuqih*, he was so critical of his fellow *ʿurafāʾ*, *ṣūfīyya* (ṣūfīs) and *fuqahāʾ*.

As is well-known, certain conflicts existed between *fuqahāʾ*, ṣūfīs and *ʿurafāʾ*. Sometimes ṣūfīs rejected *sharīʿa* law, while many *fuqahāʾ* considered some *ʿurafāʾ* to be *kāfīrs* (unbelievers). Ḥaydar Āmulī attempted to solve many problems in this

¹³ Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. xxxiv.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. xxxiv.

regard. To begin with, he put all the groups in the Shīʿī community under one umbrella.¹⁵

Likewise, according to Āmulī, *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa* are not different in origin but are rather several aspects of one reality.¹⁶ In other words, we can say they are in fact three levels or stations of faith; thus, the people of *ḥaqīqa* are at a higher level than the people of *ṭarīqa*, and the people of *ṭarīqa* are at a higher level than the people of *sharīʿa*. Āmulī adds that the *sharīʿa* must be based on the intellect.¹⁷

For Āmulī, the Roots of Religion (*Uṣūl al-Dīn*)¹⁸ as they are understood by Shīʿī thinkers may be explained in three ways:

- 1 According to the people of *sharīʿa*.
- 2 According to the people of *ṭarīqa*.
- 3 According to the people of *ḥaqīqa*.

As a result of these different understandings, it is no wonder that conflicts arose between the proponents of each of them.

I will also explain the significance of Āmulī's views about the doctrine of *imāma*, concentrating on one aspect of his thought, that is, his uniquely mystical approach to the problem of *imāma*. Āmulī refers to the *imām* using not only the Shīʿī term but also such terms as *faqīh*, *ṣūfī* and *ʿurīf*. All of these seem to feature more or less the same

¹⁵ See Āmulī, *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, pp. 4, 5, nos. 4, 5, 6.

¹⁶ Āmulī, *Asrar al-Sharīʿa*, p. 8.

¹⁷ Āmulī, *Inner Secrets of the Path*, trans. A. ad-Dhaakir Yate (Longnead: Element Books, 1989), p. 9.

¹⁸ Āmulī, *Asrar al-Sharīʿa*, p. 68.

characteristics as the word *imām* from the Shīʿī point of view. This fact raises a number of issues. For instance: What, in Āmulī's view, is the relation between these terms and the Shīʿī notion of *imāma*? Do they really have the same meaning, although employing different approaches? These are the basic questions that this part of the thesis will seek to answer.

In the course of my research I will also study other significant aspects of Āmulī's thought, such as his views on the relation between *ʿaql* (reason) and *sharʿ* (divine law).

Part I: An Overview of Sayyid Haydar Āmulī's Life

This part includes two chapters, the first dealing with the background to the life of Āmulī. The second chapter is concerned with some aspects of his biography, education and works, making reference to many biographical sources and Sayyid Haydar's own autobiography.

Chapter 1.

Biography

1. 1. Who was Āmulī?

1. 2. Āmulī's Era

1. 2. 1. Geographical Background

1. 2. 2. The Shī'ī and the Ṣūfī Positions

1. 2. 3. The Sarbidārīd Movement

1. 2. 4. Āmulī and Āmul's Government

CHAPTER 1. BIOGRAPHY

The majority of the details regarding the biography of Āmulī, his search for knowledge, his teachers, his writings, and the date of his death are recorded inaccurately. This chapter represents an attempt to correct this situation.

1. 1. WHO WAS ĀMULI?

Sayyid Ḥaydar's genealogy may be seen in the full form of his name, which he himself reports in his *tafsīr* entitled *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*: "Rukn al-Dīn Ḥaydar ibn al-Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī *Pādshāh* ibn al-Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Ḥaydar ibn al-Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī *Pādshāh* ibn al-Sayyid Muḥammad Amīr ibn ʿAlī *Pādshāh* ibn Abī Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Zayd ibn Abī Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn al-Dāʿī ibn Abī Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn *al-Kūsajī* ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sanāʾ Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥarūn ibn Ḥamzat ibn ʿUbayd Allāh *al-Aʿraj* ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar ibn *al-Imām* ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn *Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn* ibn al-Ḥusayn *al-Shahīd* ibn *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib *ʿAlayhi al-Salām* (peace be upon him)."¹⁹

Bio-bibliographers refer to Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī by a variety of names, eleven examples of which are listed by al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-ʿAmīn (d. 1371/1951);²⁰ in

¹⁹ O. Yahyā, introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 42, citing *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam* (Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi Āyatullāh al-Marʿashī al-Najafī), 2nd shelf, no. 1, serial no. 301, vol. 2, p. 190 A. For more information see also al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musawī al-Tabrizī's introduction to Amulī's *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm fī Taʾwīl Kitāb Allāh al-ʿAzīz al-Muḥkam* (Tehran: Muʾassasat al-Tibāʿa wa al-Nashr, 1414/1993), as well as Muḥammad Khʿajavi's introduction to *Asrār al-Shariʿa*.

²⁰ (1) al-Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Āmulī al-Mazandarānī *al-Ṣūfī al-Maʿrūf* (known as) al-Āmulī.

(2) al-Sayyid Ḥaydar al-Āmulī.

(3) al-Sayyid Ḥaydar al-Māzandarānī.

addition to these, other bio-bibliographers refer to him by six other names.²¹ ʿAbdullāh al-Afandī al-Isfahānī (d. 1137/1724) suggests the possibility that there is confusion over this issue, stating: "sometimes the multiplicity of these names may be imagined, but in fact, all of them allude to the same person."²² But he cautions us not to confuse Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī with the Āmulī who interpreted Ibn Sīnā's (d.

(4) al-Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥaydar al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī.

(5) al-Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn Ḥaydar al-Āmulī.

(6) Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī al-ʿUbaydlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Āmulī.

(7) al-Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Ḥaydar ibn Taj al-Dīn ʿAlī *Bādshāh* ibn Rukn al-Dīn Ḥaydar ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī.

(8) al-Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥaydar al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Āmulī al-ʿUbaydlī.

(9) al-Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥaydar al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Āmulī.

(10) Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥaydar al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Āmulī *Ṣāhib* (the author of) *al-Kashkūl fi ma Jara ʿala Āl al-Rasul*.

(11) Ḥaydar *al-Ṣūfī*. al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-ʿAmin, *Aʿyān al-Shiʿa* (Beirut: Dār al-Taʿāruf li al-Maṭbūʿat, 1986), vol. 6, p. 271.

²¹ (12) al-Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿUbaydlī al-Āmulī al-Mazandarānī *al-Ṣūfī*. See ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Mūsawī al-Muqarram, introduction to al-Āmulī, *al-Kashkūl fi ma Jara ʿala Āl al-Rasul* (Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Balāgh, 1987), p. 5.

(13) Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥaydar al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī. See Ṣamad Muwaḥḥid, "Āmulī" *Daʾirat al-Maʿārif-i Buzurg-i Islam*, ed. ʿAlī-i Rashīd, Ibn Azraq (Tehran: Markaz-i Daʾirat al-Maʿārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī, 1989), vol. 2, p. 214.

(14) Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥaydar al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasānī al-Āmulī. See Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirikli, *al-ʿAʿlām* (Beirut: Dar al-ʿIlm li al-Malāʾin, 1980), vol. 2, p. 290.

(15) Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥaydar al-Āmulī al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿUbaydlī *al-Ṣūfī*. See Muḥammad Muḥsin Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihri, *Ṭabaqāt Aʿlām al-Shiʿa, al-Ḥaqāʾiq al-Rāhina fi al-Miʾat al-Thāmina* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabi, 1975), p. 66.

(16) al-Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥaydar al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Āmulī. See M. M. Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihri, *al-Dhariʿa ila Taṣānif al-Shiʿa* (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwāʾ, 1983), vol. 2, p. 72.

(17) Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥaydar ʿAlawī Ḥusaynī ʿUbaydlī Āmulī (known as) *Ṣūfī*. See Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrizi (Mudarris), *Rayḥānat al-Adab fi Tarājim al-Maʿrūfin bi al-Kunyat wa al-Aḳāb* (Tabriz: Chāpkhāna-yi ʿIlmi, 1967), vol. 3, p. 498.

(18) Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī ʿUbaydlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Āmulī. See Qāḍi Sayyid Nūr Allāh-i Shūshtari, *Majalis al-Muʾminin* (Tehran: Kitābfurushi-yi Islāmiyya, 1955), p. 51.

²² Mirza ʿAbdullāh ʿAfandī al-Isfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamāʾ wa Ḥiyāḍ al-Fuḍalāʾ* (Qum: Maṭbaʿat al-Khayyām, 1981), vol. 2, p. 219.

428/1037) *al-Qānūn*. This Āmulī is al-Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd Āmulī al-Fārsī al-Sunnī.²³

The exact dates of the birth and death of Shams al-Dīn Āmulī, who was from the same town as Sayyid Ḥaydar, are unknown. Some of the remarks of Shams al-Dīn, who lived in the eighth/fourteenth century, have been determined as coming sometimes from a Shīʿa and sometimes from a Sunnī. A member of the circle of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda²⁴ in 716/1316, Shams al-Dīn was a master at the *Sulṭāniyya Madrasa* in Ādharbāyijān. He is best known for his great encyclopedic reference work, entitled *Nafā'is al-Funūn*,²⁵ as well as the abovementioned commentary on *Qānūn* of Abū ʿAlī Sinā and another on the medical encyclopedia of Sharaf al-Dīn Irāqī.²⁶

Shaykh Āghā Buzurg Ṭīhrānī (d. 1389/1969) believes that there were more than one Āmulī "one of whom asked many *fiqhī* (jurisprudence) and *kalāmī* (theological) questions of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn al-Ḥillī²⁷ in 759/1357 and gathered them in a

²³ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 218-219.

²⁴ Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, known as Uljaytu, brother of Sulṭān Muḥammad Ghazan Khan.

²⁵ See Shams al-Dīn M. al-Āmulī, *Nafā'is al-Funūn fi ʿArā'is al-ʿUyun*, ed. M. A. Shaʿrānī (Tehran: Kitābforūshī-yi Islāmiyya), 1337/1918.

²⁶ Henry Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, trans. Liadain Sherrad (New York: Islamic Publications Limited, 1993), p. 277.

²⁷ Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn was the son of ʿAllāma Ḥillī. He was born in 681/1283, and passed away in 771/1369. He was one of the great jurists. Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938), vol. 2, p. 209. He completed some books of his father and he wrote several of his own on *fiqh* and *kalām* such as: *al-Fakhriyya fi Niyya*. See al-Kantūrī, ʿIjaz Ḥusayn, *Kashf al-Hujub wa al-Astār ʿan Asmā' al-Kutub wa al-Asfār*, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn (Calcutta: the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1935), p. 397, no. 2195. He also wrote *ʿAqa'id* and *Jāmiʿ al-Fawa'id*. Cf. Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, vol. 2, p. 209.

treatise entitled *al-As'ilat al-Āmuliyya*." ²⁸ Āghā Buzurg adds that the author of *al-As'ilat al-Āmuliyya* differs from Rukn al-Dīn, the author of *Jawābāt al-Masā'il al-Muhannā'iyya*²⁹ (written in 761/1359). He also asserts that he does not agree with 'Afandī (d. 1137/1724) who says that "all of them are the same person."³⁰ ³¹

To sum up, according to Āghā Buzurg, there are at least four known scholars who bore the name Ḥaydar:

1. al-Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn 'Alī the author of *al-Kashkūl*, a work completed in 735/1334.³²

2. al-Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥaydar Āmulī, the author of *al-As'ilat al-Āmuliyya* in 759/1357; even though Ṭihrānī claims that these two authors were different, they nevertheless both lived in the same period.³³

3. al-Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Ḥaydar ibn Sayyid al-Sa'īd Tāj al-Dīn 'Alī Pādishāh ibn Sayyid al-Sa'īd Rukn al-Dīn Ḥaydar al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī, the author of *Jawābāt al-Masā'il al-Muhannā'iyya*, written in 761/1359.

4. al-Sayyid Ḥaydar *al-Ṣūfī al-Ārif*, the author of several works; he lived a few years after the second and the third individuals mentioned above.³⁴

²⁸ Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dhari'a ilā Taṣānif al-Shi'a*, vol. 2, p. 72.

²⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 73.

³⁰ 'Afandī al-Iṣfahānī, *Riyaḍ al-'Ulamā' wa Ḥiyāḍ al-Fuḍalā'*, vol. 2, pp. 218-219.

³¹ al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dhari'a ilā Taṣānif al-Shi'a*, vol. 2, p. 73.

³² Ibid., vol. 2, p. 73, see also O. Yahyā, introduction to *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, (1969), p. 49.

³³ al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dhari'a ilā Taṣānif al-Shi'a*, vol. 2, p. 72; see also O. Yahyā, introduction to *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, p. 51.

³⁴ al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dhari'a ilā Taṣānif al-Shi'a*, vol. 2, p. 73.

Āghā Buzurg adds that there are still others who bore this name, scholars of the eighth century, who are mentioned in his *Ḥaqā'iq al-Rāhina*.³⁵

However, Āghā Buzurg states in *Ḥaqā'iq al-Rāhina* that, after the publication of Sayyid Ḥaydar's works *Jāmi' al-Asrār* and *Naqd al-Nuqūd*, he changed his mind, and came to believe that all of the abovementioned names refer to one person who was both a *ṣūfī* and a *faqīh*. According to Āghā Buzurg's new assessment, Sayyid Ḥaydar was like Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111), who was a *ḥashwī* (literalist)³⁶ and a Sunnī in his youth, but who at the end of his life became a researcher, mystic, *ṣūfī* and *mujtahid*.³⁷ Āghā Buzurg also suggests that Sayyid Ḥaydar was known by many forms of his name, and may have referred to himself differently as his ideas developed, as can be seen from his works *Kashkūl*, *As'ilat al-Āmuliyya* and *Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*.³⁸

³⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 73.

³⁶ *Ḥashwiyya* was a contemptuous term for those among the *aṣḥab al-ḥadīth* (men of tradition), who recognised the coarsely anthropomorphic traditions as genuine, without criticism and even with a kind of choice, and interpreted them correctly. See H. Gibb, Kramers "al-Ḥashwiya," *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (London: Luzac, 1961), p. 137.

³⁷ al-Ṭihirānī, *Ḥaqā'iq al-Rāhina*, p. 68. Fayḍ-i Kāshānī, in the introduction to *al-Muḥajjat al-Bayḍa' fi Tahdhib al-Iḥyā'* says: "when Abū Ḥāmid wrote this book he was Sunnī, but at the end of his life he became Shī'ā." Ghazzālī himself states this in his book *Sirr al-ʿĀlamayn wa Kashf ma fi al-Darayn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1988), pp. 10-12, of which Ibn al-Jawzī al-Ḥanbalī says: "I am a witness that this book is from Ghazzālī," (*al-Tadhkira*, p. 36). See al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *al-Muḥajjat al-Bayḍa' fi Tahdhib al-Iḥyā'*, 2nd ed. (Qum: Daftar-i Intishārat-i Islāmī, 1980), vol. 1, p. 1. But as Watt says, Ghazzālī also wrote one or two smaller books on particular points. How influential these were is difficult to say, but they doubtless contributed to the defeat of Ismāʿīlism. Although in his own account of his development Ghazzālī speaks as if he began to study sufism only after completing his studies of philosophy and Ismāʿīlism, he had been in contact with sufis from an early age. He also reports that Ghazzālī gave himself up completely to extreme forms of mysticism and abandoned both canonical duties and Sunnite dogma. Montgomery, Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1979), pp. 119, 121, 122.

³⁸ Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihirānī, *Ṭabaqāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa, al-Ḥaqā'iq al-Rāhina fi al-Miʿa al-Thamīna*, p. 68.

1. 2. ĀMULI'S ERA

The events of the years 719-787/1319-1385, i.e. the period between the birth and death of Āmulī, should be considered in our discussion, for a knowledge of the geography and history of this period can help us to know Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī better.

1. 2. 1. *Geographical Background*

According to Lockhart:

In Muslim times Āmul became an important industrial and trading center. The great historian al-Ṭabarī and the famous jurist Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī were born there. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (134, 135) described Āmul as a great town and the capital of Ṭabaristān. It was then very prosperous, and many merchants and scholars resided there. It had a number of industries, and the surrounding district produced large quantities of fruit of various kinds. Writing at much the same time, Ibn Ḥawqal stated that Āmul was larger than Qazwīn.³⁹

More than this, Āmul was located in the time of Āmulī near the *Jādda Shāhī* (Royal Road), and the later *Jādda Ahrīsham* (Silk Road) coming from China.⁴⁰ This significant geographical location made the city an international trade center, and one of the richest cities of Iran. The culture of this city was international in scope.

³⁹ L. Lockhart, "Āmul," p. 459.

⁴⁰ See V. G. Lukonin, "Political, Social and Administration Institution: Taxes and Trade," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3/2, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 739.

1. 2. 2. *The Shī'ī and the Šūfī Positions*

During the Mongol and 'Il-Khānid periods,⁴¹ Twelver Shī'ī theology developed into the form which was to become canonical. The two leading representatives of Shī'ī thought during this period were Kh^wāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and his disciple 'Allāma Ḥillī (d. 726/1326), both of whom were religious scholars, philosophers and jurists.⁴²

During this time of political instability in Iran, two *ṭarīqas* were the most successful in attracting followers: the Kubraviyya in the east and the Suhrawardiyya in the west.⁴³

1. 2. 3. *The Sarbidārid Movement*

Another Shī'ī Šūfī movement was the Shaykhiyya-Jūriyya *silsila* in Khurāsān, which had an important political role since it was associated with the Sarbidārid movement. The Shaykhiyya of Khurāsān were followers of Shaykh Khalīfa (d. 736/1334). The latter was originally from Māzandarān, and was also a disciple of Shaykh Bālū Zāhid,⁴⁴ 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī (d. 736/1336)⁴⁵ and Kh^wāja Ghiyāth

⁴¹ The 'Ilkhānid period began with Hulāku Khān (d. 663/1265) and ended with Sulṭān Abu Sa'īd (d. 736/1335). See Ya'qūb Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shī'ī-yi Sarbidārān* (Tehran: Nashr-i Gostari, 1985), p. 15.

⁴² A. Bausani, "Religion Under the Mongols," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 544.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 544, 545.

⁴⁴ Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shī'ī-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 73, citing Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, "Dhikr-i Khuruj-i Sarbidārān wa Ibtidāyi Ḥukūmat wa Dawlat-i Ānhā," chap. in *Jughrāfiya*, manuscript, Kitābkhana-yi Malik, Tehran.

⁴⁵ Bausani, "Religion Under the Mongols," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, p. 546.

al-Dīn Hibat Allāh Ḥamawī,⁴⁶ with whom he seems to have had certain disagreements. Shaykh Khalīfa founded a school of mysticism at Sabzivār in Khurāsān.

Although, we know very little about the teachings of Shaykh Khalīfa,⁴⁷ one thing we do know is that Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Sūghandī claimed to have received the *khirqā* from him through his teacher Shaykh Ḥasan Jūrī; the accounts of this event list Sūghandī's masters:

Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Sūghandī, Shaykh Ḥasan Jūrī, Shaykh Khalīfa, Bālū Zāhid Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Mujarrad, Shaykh Faḍl Allāh, Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Kāfī, Shaykh ʿIsā Thānī, Sayyid Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣiddiq, Shaykh ʿIsā Kāmil, Shaykh Muḥammad ʿIbād, Shaykh Ādam Qudsī, Malik Ghafūr Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Ṭayfūr, Shaykh Bāyazīd Baṣāmī, Imām Jaʿfar Ṣādiq *ʿAlayhi al-Salām*.⁴⁸

He was eventually killed on the 22nd of *Rabīʿ al-Awwal* 736/1335, apparently secretly murdered by local Sunnīs.⁴⁹

Shaykh Ḥasan Jūrī lived after Shaykh Khalīfa. His movement was more markedly Shīʿī military than the others. The names of its adherents were never recorded in writing, and these were advised "to keep themselves concealed or secret until the day of the rising."⁵⁰ The Sarbidārīd movement, unlike the other *ṭarīqas*, which were far

⁴⁶ Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 74, citing Ḥafīẓ Abrū, "Dhikr-i Khurūj-i Sarbidārān wa Ibtidāyi Ḥukūmat wa Dawlat-i Ānhā," in *Jughrāfiyā*, Manuscript.

⁴⁷ For more information about him see Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi Sarbidārān*, pp. 76, 77.

⁴⁸ Sayyid Zāhir al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān wa Rūyān wa Māzandarān*, ed. ʿAbbās-i Shāyān (Tehran: Chāpkhāna-yi Firdavsi, 1333s.), p. 243, see also Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 269.

⁴⁹ Bausani, "Religion Under the Mongols," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, p. 546, and also Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi Sarbidārān*, pp. 75, 76, citing Ḥafīẓ Abrū, "Dhikr-i Khurūj-i Sarbidārān wa Ibtidāyi Ḥukūmat wa Dawlat-i Ānhā," chap. in *Jughrāfiyā*, Manuscript.

⁵⁰ Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 78, see also A. Bausani, "Religion Under the Mongols," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, p. 547.

more peaceful in their manner towards the ruling powers, had all the characteristics of social rebellion. It would appear that Ḥasan Jūrī was in fact of peasant origin.⁵¹

The dominance of Shīʿa thought, the spread of Sūfism and the revolution of Sarbidārid, more particularly the movement led by Shaykh Ḥasan Jūrī, were considerable issues at the time of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. However, Shaykh Ḥasan Jūrī was injured during the war of Zāva between the Āl-i Kurt⁵² and Sarbidārid, and died shortly afterwards on the 16th of *Ṣafar* 743/1342.⁵³

Even after the death of Ḥasan Jūrī, his *ṭarīqa* attracted a large number of new supporters in Nīshāpūr, Ṭūs, Khabūshan, Abīvard, and so on. Many of these supports were connected militarily with the Sarbidārids and helped to establish the so-called 'Shīʿī Republic' of Sabzivār.⁵⁴ The Jūriyya movement therefore did not end, but only become more entrenched with the death of Shaykh Ḥasan.⁵⁵ The uprising of Sarbidārid between the years 736-784/1335-1401, which featured the Marʿashīyyān movement in Māzandarān, is an obvious proof of this (see figure 1).

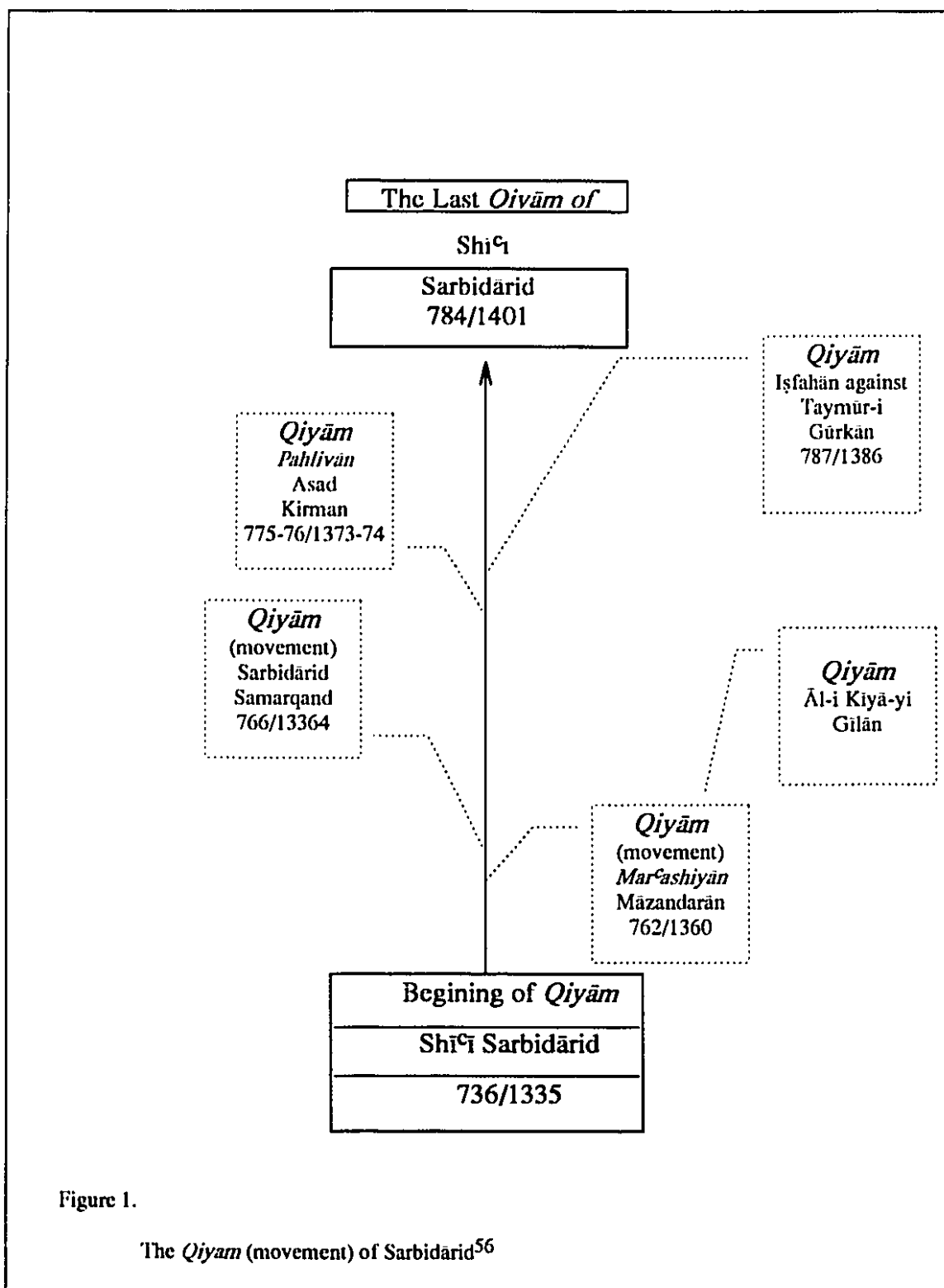
⁵¹ Bausani, "Religion Under the Mongols," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, pp. 546, 547.

⁵² This dynasty was founded in Harāt and lasted from 643/1245 until 788/1386; its members were Sunnite. Malik Muʿizz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, the seventh king, attacked Sarbidarid forces at Zava in 788/1386, and was victorious. Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 32.

⁵³ Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 267, citing Amīr Dawlatshah ibn ʿAla' al-Dawla Bakhtushah al-Ghāzī al-Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā'* (Tehran: n. p., 1338s.), p. 210. However, Bausani states that he was arrested in about the year 739/1338. See "Religion Under the Mongols," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, p. 547.

⁵⁴ A. Bausani, "Religion Under the Mongols," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, p. 547.

⁵⁵ Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 267.



⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 219-243.

Ḥasan Jūrī had granted the title of *Shaykh* to ʿIzz al-Dīn Sūghandī, the father of Qavām al-Dīn, upon his return from Sabzivār to Māzandarān. Qavām al-Dīn succeeded his father as head of the branch of the Māzandarānī *ṭarīqa*; thus Qavām al-Dīn founded a miniature Shīʿa state at Āmul and became the head of a mass movement in about the middle of the century. Qavām al-Dīn's confraternity is described in the sources as a branch of the Shaykhiyya-Jūriyya order. The Marʿashīs for their part were a family of Sayyids descended from Imām ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (d. 92/711)⁵⁷ (peace be upon him).⁵⁸

There were, at the time of Sayyid Ḥaydar and under the reign of the Marʿashiyyān, two schools of Islamic thought, i.e. Sunnī, for the most part represented by the noble families, and Shīʿī, whose adherents were young and revolutionary. However, Shīʿī thought was dominant, and had a history stretching back a hundred years.⁵⁹ Āmul, at that time was one of the few cities in Iran with a deep Shīʿī background.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Imām *Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn* was the fourth Imām of the Shīʿa, and was the second son of the third Imām (Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib). He was born on Tuesday, on the 5th of *Shuʿbān*, 38 A.H. in *Madinat al-Nabī*. This great Imām was martyred by Ḥishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik on the 25th of *Muḥarram*, 95 A.H. He was buried in the graveyard of *Baqīʿ*, in Madina, beside the grave of Imām Ḥasan (peace be upon him). For more information about him see Kulaynī's book, *al-Kaṣf; al-Uṣūl wa al-Rawḍa* (Tehran: Manshūrāt al-Maktabat al-Islāmiyya, 1962). *Kitāb al-Ḥujja*, passim.

⁵⁸ A. Bausani, "Religion Under the Mongols," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, p. 547.

⁵⁹ Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi Sarbidārān*, pp. 254, 292.

⁶⁰ See Manūchehr Murtaḍawī, *Masā'il-i ʿAṣr-i Ilkhānān* (Tabriz: Intishārāt-i Danishgah, 1358/1980), pp. 230-31, and also Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿī-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 292.

1. 2. 4. *Āmulī and Āmul's Government*

Āmulī had a good relationship with the Bāwandī dynasty, one of the most famous families of Māzandarān, and the rulers of Ṭabaristān for seven centuries, 46-750/666-1349.⁶¹ This dynasty was a continuation of the Sāsānī Kingdom of Iran. Of the family's three branches, the one known as Kīnkḥ^wāriyyān held power in Āmul during the years 635-750/1237-1349. The forefather of this branch was Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr ibn Kīnkḥ^wār.⁶²

The eighth successor of Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr and the ultimate representative of this dynasty was Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan ibn Shāh Kaykhusraw ibn Yazdagird who governed for sixteen years from 734-750/1334-1349,⁶³ and who invited Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī to join him at his court; later on Sayyid Ḥaydar became his prime minister.⁶⁴

At some point in Āmulī's youth (perhaps in his fourteenth year), Fakhr al-Dawla succeeded his brother Shraf al-Mulūk ibn Shāh Kaykhusraw,⁶⁵ who had governed with

⁶¹ H. Corbin, "Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmolī," *Bibliothèque Iranienne* (Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1989), vol. 16, p. 13.

⁶² Corbin, introduction to *Jamīʿ al-Asrār* (Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishārāt-i ʿIlmī va Farhangī, et Institut Franco-Iranien, 1368s./1989), p. 19.

⁶³ Yaʿqub Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shiʿi-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 247, and also H. Corbin, *Bibliothèque Iranienne*, vol. 16, p. 13.

⁶⁴ H. Corbin, introduction to *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, (1368s./1989), p. 19; see also: E. Kohlberg, "Āmolī," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), vol. 1, p. 983.

⁶⁵ See Corbin, *Bibliothèque Iranienne*, vol. 16, p. 13, and also Āzhand, *Qiyām-i Shiʿi-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 247.

great success for six years until he was killed in 750/1349.⁶⁶ For more information about Kinkh^wāriyya Āl-i Bāvand see figure 2.

The kingdom of Kīnk^wāriyya Āl-i Bāvand

<i>Names</i>	<i>Reigns</i>
1. Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr ibn Kīnk ^w ār	635/1237 —————> 647/1249
2. Shams al-Mulūk Muḥammad ibn Ardashīr	647/1249 —————> 665/1266
3. ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla ʿAlī ibn Ardashīr	665/1266 —————> 670/1271
4. Tāj al-Dawla Yazdagird ibn Shahriyār	670/1271 —————> 698/1298
5. Naṣīr al-Dawla Shahriyār ibn Yazdagird	698/1298 —————> 714/1314
6. Rukn al-Dawla Kaykhusraw ibn Yazdagird	714/1314 —————> 728/1327
7. Sharaf al-Mulūk ibn Kaykhusraw	728/1327 —————> 734/1333
8. Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan ibn Kaykhusraw	734/1333 —————> 750/1349 ↓

Figure 2.

See Sayyid Ṣāḥir al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Tarikh-i Ṭabaristan wa Ruyan wa Mazandaran*, pp. 193;

and also Yaʿqūb Āzhād, *Qiyām-i Shīʿi-yi Sarbidaran*, p. 247.

⁶⁶ Sayyid Ṣāḥir al-Dīn Marʿashī believes that Fakhr al-Dawla was killed by sons of Kiya Afrasiyah (ʿAlī and Muḥammad) on the 27th of *Muḥarram*, 750/1349, *Tarikh-i Ṭabaristan wa Ruyan wa Mazandaran*, pp. 191, 192; see also Corbin, introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār* (1368s./1989), pp. 19, 20; Āzhād, *Qiyām-i Shīʿi Sarbedārān*, p. 291.

When Fakhr al-Dawla in his turn died and Isfandiyār established his dynasty in Māzandarān, Sayyid Ḥaydar left Āmul for Iraq. However, one might conclude that Āmulī had abandoned his town before the death of Fakhr al-Dawla.⁶⁷

To conclude our point about the relationship between Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī and the Sarbidārid movement, while it is true that we have little information, nevertheless one can deduce from the historical explanations of that time two things worth mentioning;

The first is that Ṭughā Taymūr Khān,⁶⁸ the enemy of Sarbidārid, was protected after the battle of Zāva by Fakhr al-Dawla,⁶⁹ who, in his turn, was praised by Āmulī even some thirty years later.⁷⁰ One may conclude from Fakhr al-Dawla's protection of Ṭughā Taymūr Khān, who had a long enmity with Sarbidārids,⁷¹ and the positive attitude of Sayyid Ḥaydar toward Fakhr al-Dawla, that a kind of disagreement existed between Āmulī and the Sarbidārids.

The second is that when Kiyā Afrāsiyāb became a pupil of Sayyid Qavām, he invited Fakhr al-Dawla to become one of the followers of the latter as well, but Fakhr al-Dawla refused.⁷² More than this, we know Sayyid Ḥaydar himself was familiar with

⁶⁷ Corbin, *Bibliothèque Iranienne*, vol. 16, p. 14.

⁶⁸ Ṭughā Taymūr was one of the grandson of Chengiz Khān's brother, Jūji Qasār; he settled in Khurāsān in 705/1305. Azhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿi-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 34.

⁶⁹ Azhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿi-yi Sarbidārān*, pp. 154, 155, citing Sayyid Ṣāḥir al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān wa Rūyān wa Māzandarān*, p. 105.

⁷⁰ This was in 781/1379, when Sayyid Ḥaydar was sixty-three years old, as he states in his autobiography. See Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣṣ*, p. 535, no. 1122.

⁷¹ Azhand, *Qiyām-i Shīʿi-yi Sarbidārān*, p. 154.

⁷² Ibid., p. 250, citing Sayyid Ṣāḥir al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān wa Rūyān wa Māzandarān*, p. 267.

political issues because he at times served as prime minister (see below). Nevertheless, it is more than likely that Āmulī did not become involved as a supporter of the Sarbidārid movement but instead tried to bring all Shīʿī and also Sunnī brothers under one roof as we shall see below.

Furthermore, Shīʿism and Sufism were the two intellectual trends with which Āmulī was most concerned. He was influenced by both these systems of thought, and thus set out to resolve the duality of Shīʿism and Sufism. The latter interest led Āmulī to his later theory regarding the relation between *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa*, and *ḥaqīqa*. We will explain this theory at some length in the coming sections of this thesis.⁷³

⁷³ See the second chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 2.

The Life of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī

2.1. The First period

2. 2. The Second Period, Spiritual Life

2. 2. 1. Āmulī's Masters in the Second Period

2. 2. 2. Āmulī's Licenses From His Masters

2. 2. 2. 1. Educational *Ijāzāt* (Licenses)

2. 2. 2. 2. Spiritual *Ijāzāt* (such as *Dhikr* and *Khirqā*)

2. 3. The third Period, Āmulī's Works

2. 3. 1. Āmulī's Books and Treatises

2. 3. 2. Books and Treatises Attributed to Āmulī

2. 3. 3. *Istinsākhāt* (Transcripts)

CHAPTER 2. THE LIFE OF SAYYID ḤAYDAR ĀMULI

Sayyid Ḥaydar was born in Āmul, but the exact date of his birth is uncertain. However, one may assert that Āmulī was born in 719/1319,⁷⁴ as he himself says at the end of *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*:⁷⁵ "I have completed this commentary in 782/1380 while at the age of sixty three years."⁷⁶

There is also uncertainty over the date of his death, which must have occurred in any case after 787/1385, because the latest work known to have been written by him was completed in 787/1385,⁷⁷ as he likewise mentions in *Risālat li-ʿUlūm al-ʿĀliya*.⁷⁸

The life of Sayyid Ḥaydar may be divided into three periods:

-The first period (the Iranian period) represents the time when he was a student in Iran and when he held a government post under the Bāvandī dynasty.

-The second period (the first Iraqī period) covers the time when he began to change his views and decided to emigrate to Iraq.

-The third period (the second Iraqī period) is when Sayyid Ḥaydar became a great master in Iraq. It was during this time that he wrote most of his works.

⁷⁴ According to Corbin, Āmulī was born in (720/1320); see Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 334.

⁷⁵ Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ fi Sharḥ-i Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam li-Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī*, ed. Othmān Yaḥyā and H. Corbin (Tehran: Institut Franco-Iranien, 1974). This book is a commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* by al-Shaykh al-Akbar Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). For more information see work no. 22 in the list of Āmulī's writings included below in this chapter of the thesis.

⁷⁶ Ḥaydar Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 537.

⁷⁷ H. Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 334.

⁷⁸ Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shariʿa*, p. 26.

2. 1. THE FIRST PERIOD

As Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī explains in his interpretation of the Qur'ān entitled *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, and as well in his *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ* and *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, his education from the time of his childhood to the age of thirty or thereabouts consisted in studying the religion of his forefathers, the *maʿṣūmīn* (infallible ones).⁷⁹

In search of knowledge,⁸⁰ Āmulī pursued some of these studies in the city of Āmul, and the rest in such places in Iran as Khurāsān, Astar Ābād, and Iṣfahān.⁸¹ These studies lasted for twenty years and eventually took him to Iṣfahān, whence he returned to Āmul.⁸²

At this time, Fakhr al-Dawla invited Āmulī to take up duties in his service, and he subsequently rose to a position of great rank (that of prime minister) in his government. Under the reign of Fakhr al-Dawla and his brother (Jalāl al-Dīn), Āmulī came to live a life of honor and luxury for some years.⁸³ Finally, "a light of God" illuminated his heart and changed his way of thinking.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Othmān Yaḥyā, introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 42, citing from *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, A., vol. 2, p. 190.

⁸⁰ See facsimile no. 4 in the appendix to this thesis. It consists of an autobiography of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī inscribed at the end of the first introduction to *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*.

⁸¹ O. Yaḥyā, introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 42, citing *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, A., vol. 2, p. 190; see also appendix, no. 4.

⁸² See appendix, no. 4, and Khʿājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shariʿa*, p. xxi.

⁸³ Yaḥyā, introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 43, citing *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, A., vol. 2, p. 190. See also Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 535.

⁸⁴ See appendix, no. 4, and see also O. Yaḥyā's introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, pp. 42-43, citing from Āmulī, *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, A., vol. 2, p. 190.

As he himself states, he no longer wished to keep the company of *pādishāhān* (kings), nor to continue living in his own homeland or place of birth. Thus, it became clear to him that he was following a way of carelessness, ignorance, and was falling into oblivion and far from the straight path; it became manifest to him that he was treading the path of error, close to the precipice of crime and sin. It was at this moment that he started to pray to the Lord from deep within himself. He implored God to free him from these troubles; all his desire was to leave this world and its pleasures. It seemed to him that the best thing to do was to abandon them completely and go⁸⁵ where he could fulfill those duties essential for one who would live a fully developed life in God and give attention to his Lord Whose divine unity is of the highest order.⁸⁶

2. 2. THE SECOND PERIOD, SPIRITUAL LIFE

In 749/1348, at the age of thirty, Sayyid Ḥaydar underwent a profound spiritual crisis. He broke with all worldly ambitions⁸⁷ and as a consequence of this, left his home and went to settle in the Shīʿī holy places in Iraq.⁸⁸ As he put it, he changed his clothes and wore the most valuable clothes that he could find; their price was less than one *dīnār*.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ One may think that Āmulī was trying to follow the counsel of the 24th verse of *Surat al-Tawba* "Say [o Muḥammad]: If your fathers and your sons and your brethren and your mates and your kinsfolk and property which you have acquired, and the stackness of trade which you fear and dwellings which you like, are dearer to you than Allāh and His Apostle [Messenger] and striving in His way, then wait till Allāh brings about His command; and Allāh does not guide the transgressing people."

⁸⁶ See appendix, no. 4; see also Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. xxii.

⁸⁷ See appendix, no. 4; see also Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 334.

⁸⁸ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 334.

⁸⁹ See appendix, no. 4.

However he set out via Khurāsān,⁹⁰ Rayy, Qazvīn and Iṣfahān to travel to other countries with the intention of going as pilgrim to such holy places and cities as *Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām* (the Sacred House of God),⁹¹ *Bayt al-Muqaddas* (Jerusalem),⁹² and the shrines of his forefathers and the *A'immat al-ma'ṣūmīn* (infallible Imāms).⁹³

When he reached Iṣfahān he met Nūr al-Dīn Ṭihrānī⁹⁴ and went to stay with him in the village of Ṭihrān⁹⁵ for about one month, at the end of which he received the *al-khirqa al-ṣūriyya* ("formal" cloak, i.e. the cloak symbolic of a *Ṣūfī* master's approval of his student)⁹⁶ and the *al-dhikr al-khāṣṣ* of Allāh (special remembrance) from his teacher.⁹⁷ As Āmulī himself reports, even though his stay with him was very short, nevertheless he believes that he derived benefit even from performing the *ṣuḥba* with his master.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ Ḥ. Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 535, no. 1122.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 535, no. 1122.

⁹² See appendix, no. 4, and O. Yaḥyā's introduction to *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, p. 44.

⁹³ See appendix, no. 4, and also Kh^wājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shari'ah*, p. xxiii.

⁹⁴ According to Sayyid Ḥaydar, Nūr al-Dīn Ṭihrānī was a famous mystic (*ʿarīf*) and an ascetic such that all of the people, both the elite and common, accepted him and become his disciples (*murīd*). See Āmulī's autobiographical essay in the appendix, no. 4, as well as O. Yaḥyā's introduction to *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, p. xxiii.

⁹⁵ Ṭihrān -not to be confused with the name of the present-day capital city of Iran- is a village located in the west of the province of Iṣfahān, near Dārān, which is commonly called today Tīrān. Sayyid Ḥaydar mentions that Tīhrān was a village on the way to Iṣfahān in the region of Dardasht which is pronounced by common people as Tīrān, but that originally it was known as Ṭihrān. See appendix, no. 4. And O. Yaḥyā, introduction to *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, p. 44, citing Āmulī, *al-Muḥīṭ al-A'ẓam*, A., vol. 2, p. 190.

⁹⁶ The term "khirqa al-ṣūriyya" is not commonly used in Sufism; Āmulī coined the phrase to introduce a more complete definition of the term *khirqa*. See below our discussion of Āmulī's interpretation of it in section "2. 2. 2. 2. Spiritual *ijāzāt*". See also Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, pp. 227-231.

⁹⁷ See appendix, no. 4, and also Kh^wājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shari'ah*, p. xxiii. *Dhikr al-Khāṣṣ* is to be distinguished from the *dhikr al-ʿĀmm* (general remembrance), a more common benediction.

⁹⁸ See appendix, no. 4.

After this he went on from Iṣfahān to Dihistān and the town of Idhaj (also known as Māl Amīr);⁹⁹ while there, he made the acquaintance of another man who was one of the perfect *ʿurafāʾ* (mystics).¹⁰⁰ He spent some days waiting for the caravan that was bound for Baghdād, but the caravan never materialized. On account of this and a sudden illness he decided to return to Iṣfahān again.¹⁰¹

Āmulī eventually reached Baghdād and from there went on *ziyārat al-Mushāhid al-Muqaddasa* (a visit to the tombs) of Imām *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* ʿAlī (p.), the Imāms Ḥusayn, Mūsā and Jawād¹⁰² and the Imāms of Sāmarrāʾ (or Surra man Raʾy, i.e. Imāms Hādī and ʿAskarī p.). He spend a whole year in visiting these holy places.¹⁰³

Afterwards, he finally completed a pilgrimage to the Kaaba, alone this time; he explains in his *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ* that this was the course of his own *sayr al-maʿnawī* (spiritual journey), and that since Allāh commanded him to give up everything other than Him and to concentrate his heart on feelings of divine inspiration, he chose the noblest and sublimest localities on earth as his place of worship and residence. Thus it was that he set out for Mecca.¹⁰⁴ Āmulī states that it

⁹⁹ Idhaj or Māl-Amīr is a town in western Iran, situated on a tributary of the upper reaches of the Kārūn river, in southern Luristān. In medieval times it was reckoned to be part of the province of Khuzistān. According to geographers this city is in the *garm-sir* (hot zone), but the nearby mountains give it a pleasant and healthy climate. The winter snow from these mountains was gathered and exported from Idhaj to the torrid, low-lying parts of Ahwāz. See C. E. Bosworth, "Idhadj" *The Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition* (London: E. J. Brill, 1994), vol. 3, p. 1015.

¹⁰⁰ We do not know who he was except that he was one of the masters of Āmulī. The sources provide no further information about him. Perhaps he is Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Simnānī? (See here pp. 47, 48, 49)

¹⁰¹ See appendix, no. 4.

¹⁰² Imām Jawād al-Aʿimma was the ninth Imām of Shiʿa Islam.

¹⁰³ See appendix, no. 4, and Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shariʿa*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁴ Ḥ. Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 534.

would be impossible to contain in a whole set of books the trials and hardships, the toil and misfortunes that he underwent on the journey from Iṣfāhān to that holiest of cities.¹⁰⁵

Despite all these problems, however, as he says, the words of Allāh were always on his tongue as he was reciting:

...and whoever goes forth from his house, flying to Allāh and His Apostle, and then [before he reaches his destination] death overtakes him, his reward is indeed with Allāh; and Allāh is Forgiving, Merciful.¹⁰⁶

Why does Sayyid Ḥaydar quote this verse of the Qur'ān? One may explain it in two ways: the first in an esoteric sense, in that Sayyid Ḥaydar having changed his beliefs and having left his property, became like a dead person without any worldly attachment, and was thus going toward Allāh and His Prophet;¹⁰⁷ the second in an exoteric way, in that he left his home (Āmul, Iran) and was going toward the Sacred House of God and the shrine of his Prophet.

He also repeats the line of that Gnostic lover¹⁰⁸ of the Truth:

I have left all creation for the sake of Your satisfaction.

I have abandoned my own sons as orphans in order to 'see' You.

Thus even if You cut me into pieces,

¹⁰⁵ Ḥ. Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 535; see also O. Yaḥyā, introduction to *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, p. 11, and Kh'ājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shari'ah*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ *Holy Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Nisā'*, verse 100.

¹⁰⁷ *al-Mawt* can mean struggle with the soul. See 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms of the Ṣūfis* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1845), p. 70, no. 235, and also for more information see pp. 71 to 74 of the same work.

¹⁰⁸ Sayyid Ḥaydar does not refer to this poet by name.

my heart would be still longing for no one but You.¹⁰⁹

This was his state when Āmulī was 30 years old¹¹⁰ and newly arrived in Mecca (in 751/1350) to complete the obligatory pilgrimage, together with *al-farā'iq* (necessary rites) and *al-nawāfil* (supererogatory rites). He conceived the desire and intention to stay forever in the proximity of that illustrious house. However, it was not long before there arose within him the desire to live in the city of *Madīnat al-Nabī*.¹¹¹

It was for this reason that he set out for this city, where he visited the tomb of the Messenger of Allāh (peace be upon him) and conceived the intention of staying there. However, he was forced to leave Medina due to ill health, and appears to have spent the rest of his life in Iraq, where he took up residence in the familiar surroundings of Najaf.¹¹²

While in Najaf, Āmulī says that he was constantly occupied with religious exercises, pious seclusion and acts of worship of a severity and an intensity which he had never achieved before. By this means, and throughout this period, realities, gnosis, meanings and truths flowed into his heart from the direction of Allāh and *Ḥaḍarātihi al-Ghaybiyya* (the unseen Imāms). It would be impossible to reckon these things for

¹⁰⁹ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 535, no. 1123; see also O. Yahya, introduction to *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, p. 11, and Kh^wajavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shari'ah*, p. 18.

¹¹⁰ Āghā Buzurg al-Tīhrānī, *Ṭabaqāt A'qām al-Shi'ah, al-Ilaqā'iq al-Rahina fi al-Mi'at al-Thamina*, p. 67, citing Āmulī's *Muḥīṭ al-A'zam*.

¹¹¹ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 536, no. 1124.

¹¹² Ibid. p. 536, no. 1124; see also Yahya, introduction to *Jāmi' al-Asrar*, p. 12, and Kh^wajavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shari'ah*, p. 18.

they are divine utterances and as such cannot be contained within clearly defined limits.¹¹³ Thus Allāh commanded some of them to appear to His special slave.¹¹⁴

Finally, Sayyid Ḥaydar started to write some of his works during this period, such as *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār* and so on. As he himself mentions, he completed forty treatises and books in both the Arabic and Persian languages.¹¹⁵

Having settled in Najaf, where he lived for over thirty years, Āmulī pursued his education, concentrating his efforts on the spiritual journey and -according to his *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*- he arrived at many of the deepest spiritual truths.¹¹⁶

According to Sayyid Ḥaydar, just as Ibn ʿArabī commemorated Mecca as the cause of *al-faṭḥ* (the spiritual victory)¹¹⁷ in his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, and similarly

¹¹³ This point is cited in the Qurʾān: "... and If you count Allāh's favors, you will not be able to number them ..." *Sūrat Ibrāhīm, āya 34*.

¹¹⁴ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 536, no. 1125.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 536, no. 1125.

¹¹⁶ See Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, under the second part of *wilāya* of Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿArabī, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahyā (Tehran: Institut Franco-Iranien, 1974), pp. 112-113.

¹¹⁷ In the terminology of *ʿIrfān*, *al-faṭḥ* (spiritual victory) has three aspects:

* *al-Faṭḥ al-Qarīb*, (the door of the heart opens at this level); this term is taken from verse 13 of *sūrat al-Ṣaff*; "*naṣrun minallāh wa fathun qarīb*," "help from Allāh and victory are near at hand." The *Holy Qurʾān*. See ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms of the Ṣūfis*, p. 129, no. 407.

* *al-Faṭḥ al-Mubīn*, (at this level, he who is in the path of God receives the name and attributes of Him and also he is in *walāya* station), is obtained from verse 1 of *Sūrat al-Faṭḥ*: "*Innā fatterḥnā lake fathan Mubīnā*" "Surely We have given to you a clear victory." The *Holy Qurʾān*. See al-Qāshānī, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms of the Ṣūfi*, p. 129, no. 408.

* *al-Faṭḥ al-Futūḥ* or *al-Faṭḥ al-Muṭlaq*, (where men become possessors of *walāya* and also receive the essence of God), is based on the first verse of *Sūrat al-Naṣr*: "*Idhā jāʾa naṣrullāh-i wa al-Faṭḥ*," "Where there comes the help of Allāh and the victory." The *Holy Qurʾān*. al-Qāshānī, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms of the Ṣūfi*, pp. 129, 130, no. 409, for more information see also Rūḥullāh Khumayni, *Chihil Ḥadīth* (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Farhang-i Rajāʾ, 1368s), pp. 291, 292, 293.

Medina in his *al-Futūḥāt al-Madaniyya*, so did he, Sayyid Ḥaydar, regard Najaf, the city containing the holy shrine of ʿAlī ibn Abīṭālib, as the cause of the unseen victories in his heart, prompting him to entitle his work describing these developments as *al-Futūḥāt al-Ghaybiyya*.¹¹⁸

2. 2. 1. Āmulī's Masters in the Second Period

As Āmulī asserts, the first period of his life was spent in Iran (Āmul and Iṣfahān). According to Ayatullāh al-Marʿashī al-Najafī (d. 1411/1990)¹¹⁹ in his notes on *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, Āmulī studied during this time under his father and some of the other ʿulamāʾ of Āmul and Iṣfahān.¹²⁰ However, since he himself does not provide much information about his education in this period, no details have emerged about what books he studied or who his teachers were.

We do, however, know more about his intellectual development during the time he spent in Iraq. In Baghdād, Āmulī studied with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Kāshānī al-Ḥillī (755/1354), one of the great Shīʿī scholars.¹²¹ Prior to that, in Iraq in 753/1352, he studied with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Qudṣī,¹²² and read under him such works as *Kitāb Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* by Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) with the interpretation of Qayṣarī, and *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn* by Shaykh Abū Ismāʿīl Hirawī (d.

¹¹⁸ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 534, no. 1121.

¹¹⁹ Āyatullāh al-Marʿashī al-Najafī was born in *Ṣafar*, 1315/1897 in Najaf, and passed away in the night of the eighth of *Ṣafar*, 1411/1990, in Qum. For more information about him see: Naṣīr, Baqirī Bīd Hindī, "Āyatullāh al-Marʿashī al-Najafī," *Nur-i ʿIlm*, no. 37 (1411/1990), p. 50.

¹²⁰ See appendix, no. 1.

¹²¹ ʿAfandī al-Iṣfahānī, *Riṣāḥ al-ʿUlamāʾ*, vol. 2, p. 222.

¹²² See n. 9, above.

481/1088)¹²³ with the interpretation of ʿAlīf al-Dīn Tilimsānī,¹²⁴ as well as other books of the same nature.¹²⁵

It is recorded that Āmulī received an *ijāza* to transmit *ḥadīth* from al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamzat al-Hāshimī.¹²⁶ This would indicate that he also learned under this master certain *ḥadīth* books. However, there is some doubt as to whether the Āmulī referred to in this report is the same as Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī.

When Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī was in Iraq, he went to Ḥilla and met Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī. Āmulī mentions that he learned under Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn (d. 771/1369), the son of ʿAllāma Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), all the key works written in Arabic.¹²⁷ As this master himself mentions in an *ijāza* given to Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, the latter learned under him many books in several subject-areas of *uṣūl and furūʿ*. Āmulī furthermore states that he studied under Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn (d. 771/1369) many books that he had not read while he was in Iran,¹²⁸ such as:

¹²³ Khwāja ʿAbdullah al-Anṣārī passed away on Friday, the 22nd of *Dhī al-Ḥajja*, 481/1088 in Harāt, two weeks before *Nawruz*. See editors's introd. to Anṣārī, Khwāja ʿAbdullāh, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Sarwar Mawla'i (Iran: Intishārāt-i Tus, 1362s/1983), pp. 4-10.

¹²⁴ See appendix, no. 5.

¹²⁵ Ibid., no. 5; see also al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musawī al-Tabrizī, introduction to Āmulī's *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍammī*, p. 30, and M. Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharāʿa*, p. xxiv.

¹²⁶ al-Iṣfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlama' wa Ḥiyāḍ al-Fuḍala'*, vol. 2, p. 219.

¹²⁷ See appendix, no. 4.

¹²⁸ Ibid., no. 4.

1) *Kitāb Jawāmiʿ al-Jāmiʿ fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Majīd*. This work is an interpretation of the Qurʾān written by Shaykh Amīn al-Dīn Ṭabrisī (Ṭabarsī) (d. 548/1153 or 552/1157).¹²⁹

2) *Kitāb Sharāyīʿ al-Islām* by Shaykh Saʿīd Najm al-Dīn ibn Saʿīd.¹³⁰

3) *Kitāb Manāhij al-Yaqīn fī al-Kalām*, a work on *kalām* written by ʿAllāma Ḥilli (d. 726/1325).¹³¹

4) *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām* by Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa Abī Jaʿfar Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067).¹³²

5) *Kitāb Nahj al-Balāgha*, the sayings of Imām ʿAlī ibn Abīṭālib *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* (d. 40/661), compiled by Sharīf Raḍī (d. 406/1015).¹³³

¹²⁹ Ibid., nos. 4, 5. Shaykh Abū Jaʿfar Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī, known as Amin al-Islām and Amin al-Dīn. He was born around 470/1077 in Ṭabris, which is located between Iṣfahān and Kāshān. When he grew up he settled first in Khurasān, then in Sabziwār. He passed away in either 528/1133, 548/1153 or 552/1157 and his body was carried to Mashhad and buried there. His works are as follows: 1. *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, 2. *Jawāmiʿ al-Jāmiʿ*, 3. *al-Kaḥī al-Shafī*, 4. *al-ʿĀdāb al-Dīniyya*, 5. *ʿĪlām al-Warāʾ bi ʿĪlām al-Ḥudā*, 6. *al-Nur al-Mubīn*, 7. *Risalat Ḥuqaʿiq al-Umūr*, 8. *al-ʿUmda fī Uṣūl al-Dīn wa al-Farāʾid wa al-Nawāfil*, 9. *Shawāhid al-Taʾwīl*, and many others that are attributed to him; see Kamil Sulaymān, introduction to al-Ṭabarsī (al-Ṭabrisī), al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥasan, *Jawāmiʿ al-Jāmiʿ fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Majīd* (Beirut: Dar al-ʿAdwāʾ, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 10-14 and also see Āyatullah ṣāda al-Mazandarānī's introduction to al-Musawī al-Mayamawī [?], al-Sayyid Kāẓim, *Sharḥ-i Shawāhid-i Majmaʿ al-Bayān* (Tehran: Dar al-Kutub al-Islamiyya, 1338s.), p. 9. Also see al-Sayyid Mahdī al-Rajāʾī's introduction to al-Ṭabrisī (al-Ṭabarsī), al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥasan, *Kitāb Muntakhab al-Khilāf* (Mashhad: Majmaʿ al-Buḥūth al-Islamiyya, 1410/1989), vol. 1, pp. 31-35.

¹³⁰ See appendix, no. 5, and al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musawī al-Ṭabrizī, introduction to *Tafsīr al-Muḥḥ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, p. 28.

¹³¹ See appendix, no. 5, and also al-Musawī al-Ṭabrizī, introduction to *Tafsīr al-Muḥḥ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, p. 28.

¹³² See appendix, no. 5. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, whose nickname was Abū Jaʿfar, was known as Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa and some time Shaykh al-Imamiyya. He was one of the great Shīʿī scholars in *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *rijāl*, *tafsīr*, *kalām*, and literature. His teachers were Shaykh al-Mufīd and Sayyid al-Sharīf Murtadā. He narrated some *ḥadīths* from Ibn al-Ghaddāʾirī, Ibn ʿAbdūn, Shaykh al-Mufīd, and the other *Muḥaddithūn*. He was founder of the Najaf School. He wrote about 37 books in several subjects. Sayyid Baḥr al-ʿUlum reports that *al-Nihāya* was his first work and *Mahsul* the last. Finally, on the night of Monday, 22nd of *Muḥarram*, 460/1067, when he was 75 years old, he passed away in Najaf. See Mudarris, *Rayḥanat al-ʿAdāb*, vol. 3, p. 325.

¹³³ See appendix, no. 5, and al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musawī al-Ṭabrizī, introduction to *Tafsīr al-Muḥḥ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, p. 28.

6) *Kitāb Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, an explanation by Kamāl al-Dīn Maytham ibn ʿAlī al-Baḥrānī (d. 679/1280)¹³⁴ of the previous work.¹³⁵

In 761/1359, Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn wrote a license for Āmulī according to which he could teach all the above mentioned books.

Āmulī writes elsewhere that over the course of twenty-four years he studied most of the *ṣūfī* works available to him.¹³⁶

2. 2. 2. Licenses Received by Āmulī

In reviewing the educational and spiritual life of Sayyid Ḥaydar, the evaluation of him made by some of his teachers may help us to arrive at a better understanding of his position. There are many reflections of their views in the form of *ijāzāt* (licenses) which they issued to Āmulī. Following are some brief descriptions of a number of these licenses.

2. 2. 2. 1. Educational *Ijazat* (Licenses)

1. As Sayyid Ḥaydar mentions, one of the *ijāzāt* that he received in *Rajab* of 753/1351 was given to teach *Kitāb Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn* by Shaykh Abū Ismāʿīl al-Hirawī and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* by Ibn ʿArabī, together with their commentaries. In this

¹³⁴ His full name is Kamal al-Dīn Maytham ibn ʿAlī ibn Maytham al-Baḥrānī. He died in 679/1280. He was a famous Shīʿī philosopher and mystic who wrote many books in several subjects, among them *Istiqṣāʾ al-Nazar fī Imamat al-Aʿimmat al-Ithnā ʿAshar*. See Iʿjāz Ḥusayn al-Kantūrī, *Kashf al-Ḥujub*, p. 43, n. 198. However, to my knowledge, *Sharḥ al-Nahaj al-Balāgha* is Baḥrānī's most famous work.

¹³⁵ See appendix, no. 5, and al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musawī al-Tabrizi, introduction to *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-ʿAzam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, p. 29; see also M. Khʾajavi, introduction to *Asrar al-Shariʿa*, p. xx.

¹³⁶ Khʾajavi, introduction to *Asrar al-Shariʿa*, pp. xxiv-xxx.

license, which was issued by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Qudṣī,¹³⁷ one reads the following evaluation of Āmulī's talents: "I benefit from Sayyid Ḥaydar more than he has benefited from me."¹³⁸

Sayyid Ḥaydar is known to have gone to Hilla, Iraq¹³⁹ in order to meet and learn from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn (d. 771/1369), from whom he obtained several *ijāzāt*¹⁴⁰ as follows:

2. One of them is for *al-Asʿilat al-Āmulīyya*, written in *Rajab* of 759/1356-57. This *risāla* (treatise) includes several questions and answers on *fīqh* and *kalām* exchanged between master and pupil.¹⁴¹ Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn writes in the margin of this *Risāla* that: "In fact this (discussion) is true and he (Āmulī) read my answers (to me) and I hope that he made *shafāʿat* (intercession) for me with his forefathers, and I have therefore given Āmulī permission to repeat and teach to others my answers."¹⁴²

¹³⁷ See appendix, no. 4, and also al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musawī al-Tabrizī, introduction to *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, vol. 1, p. 535.

¹³⁸ See appendix, no. 5, and al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musawī al-Tabrizī, introduction to *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, p. 30; see also Kh^ʿajavī, introduction to *Asrar al-Sharīʿa*, pp. xxi. This license is in the same manner as Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's license written for Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī.

¹³⁹ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, vol. 2, p. 209.

¹⁴⁰ E. Kohlberg, "Āmulī," p. 983.

¹⁴¹ See appendix, no. 15, and also O. Yahyā, introduction to *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, p. 48, where he cites some of these.

¹⁴² See appendix, no. 15, and al-Mirzā ʿAbdullāh Afandī al-Iṣfahānī, *Riyaḍ al-ʿUlamaʾ wa Iḥyāʾ al-Fuḍalāʾ*, vol. 2, p. 224.

3. The other license issued by Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn to Āmulī is written at the end of the *al-Masā'il al-Madaniyya*¹⁴³ (*Masā'il Muhannā'iyya*),¹⁴⁴ and reads in part as follows:

In the Name of Allāh the Compassionate the Most Merciful. These questions and answers that I read to my father and narrated from him, I permit to *mawlānā* (our master), Sayyid, al-imām... Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Ḥaydar... al-Ḥusaynī, that he narrate, compose, and give a *fatwā* from it by me and my father.

Finally, Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn on the outside of the back cover of this treatise mentions that he wrote this license at the end of *Rabī' al-Ākhar* in 771/368.¹⁴⁵

4. Āmulī, as he himself reports, began to accompany the great Shaykh Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn before starting his different activities in Iraq. Using this opportunity, he studied many books which contained both the *uṣūl* (foundations) and *furū'* (ramifications) of the knowledge of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (the Family of the Prophet). As Sayyid Ḥaydar also states, the Shaykh bestowed on him an *ijāza* (license) in which he addresses him as "*Zayn al-Ābidīn al-Thānī*" (the second Zayn al-Ābidīn).¹⁴⁶ This

¹⁴³ *al-Masā'il al-Madaniyya*, sometimes referred to as *al-Masā'il al-Muhannā'iyya* includes some questions posed by Sayyid Muhannā' ibn Sanān al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī to 'Allāma al-Ḥillī, with the latter's replies. Today, this treatise is better known as *al-Masā'il al-Muhannā'iyya*. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Muqarram, introduction to *al-Kashkūl*, p. 6. & Āghā Buzurg, *al-Ḥaqā'iq al-Rāhina*, pp. 67-68.

¹⁴⁴ Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihirānī, *al-Ḥaqā'iq al-Rāhina*, pp. 67-68.

¹⁴⁵ *al-Masā'il al-Madaniyya* is included in the *Kitāb-i dastūr* (containing 45 treatises) collected by certain Ṣa'īd, now part of the manuscript collection of the Library of the University of Tehran (catalogue number G.6, A.1, serial no. 1022). I do not know why Āghā Buzurg in *al-Dharr'a*, vol. 2, pp. 72, 73, and Amin in *Ā'yān al-Shi'a*, vol. 6, p. 272 state that Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn wrote this license in 761/1359.

¹⁴⁶ Imam Zayn al-Ābidīn was born on the 5th of *Shawbān*, 38/658. He was named 'Alī, and later on given the title Zayn al-Ābidīn (the best example of the worshippers) and Sajjād (one who performs much prostration). One of the special features of Imam Zayn al-Ābidīn's character was his abstinence and piety, of which Imam Ṣādiq (peace be upon him) said: "'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) resembled most of all the sons of Bani Hāshim, with 'Alī ibn Abīṭālib." He was obliged to state his objects and motive in the form of prayers. These prayers, written down by his son (Imām Bāqir), were compiled in the form of a book entitled *Ṣaḥīfat al-Sajjādiyya*. On the 25th of *Muḥarram*, 95/713, he

ijāza provides the best witness of Sayyid Ḥaydar's accomplishments, for according to it his station was second only to *ʿiṣmat* (infallibility).¹⁴⁷

5. Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn also issued many other licenses to Sayyid Ḥaydar in different fields, in one of which Āmulī is referred to as follows:

...The most excellent Sayyid, the great Imām, the worthiest of the scholars of the world and the most knowledgeable of the noble amongst men, the guide to those on the spiritual path, the saviour of the souls of the gnostics, the renewer of the faith and the giver of life to the way of his forefathers, the one who combines the sciences of tradition with those of reason, and those of the foundations of jurisprudence with its branches, the possessor of a purified soul and the courtesy of a prophet, the pride of the family of the Prophet, which is the object of the special attention of the Lord of the Worlds, the pillar of the nation, of the truth and of the religion. Ḥaydar ibn Sayyid al-Saʿīd Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī...¹⁴⁸

This *ijāza* was written by Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn in *Ramaḍān al-Mubārak* of 761/1359 in Ḥilla.¹⁴⁹ Sayyid Ḥaydar received his permission to teach many subjects such as: *tafsīr*, *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *kalām*, *dirāya*, *rijāl* and all of the *ḥadīth* of the *Ahl al-Bayt*.¹⁵⁰

6. It appears that Āmulī also received an *ijāza* for *ḥadīth* from al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamzat al-Hāshimī.¹⁵¹

was killed. For more information about him see Muḥammad Baqir al-Majlisī, *Bihar al-Anwar, al-Jāmiʿa li Durar Akhbār al-Aʿimma al-Aṭṭhar* (Bairut: Muʿassasat al-Wafaʿ, 1983) in the section *Tarikh Imām ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn*.

¹⁴⁷ See appendix, no. 4, and also al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musawī al-Tabrizī, introduction to *Tafsīr al-Muḥṣi al-Aʿzam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, vol. 1, p. 28, and M. Khʿājavi, introduction to *Asrar al-Shariʿa*, p. xx.

¹⁴⁸ See appendix, nos. 4, 5; see also Khʿājavi, introduction to *Inner Secrets of the Path*, p. xxvi.

¹⁴⁹ See appendix, no. 5. Khʿājavi translates this document in his introduction to *Asrar al-Shariʿa*, p. xxi.

¹⁵⁰ See appendix, no. 5.

¹⁵¹ al-Mirzā ʿAbdullāh Afandī al-Iṣfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamaʿ wa Ḥiyāḍ al-Fuḍalaʿ*, vol. 2, p. 219.

2. 2. 2. 2. Spiritual *Ijazat* (Such as *Dhikr* and *Khirqā*)

Before explaining the nature of the spiritual licenses received by Āmulī, it may be necessary in view of his different views on the subject to review his ideas regarding the *khirqā*.

As Sayyid Ḥaydar himself reports, the *khirqā*, outwardly a cloak bestowed by a master on his pupil, is an expression of the secret of *walāya* and the hidden wisdom of *tawḥīd*. He goes on to say that the main element in this concept is the inherent relationship to *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (i.e. ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the first Imām of the Shīʿa) (d. 40/661) and his *maʿṣūm* (infallible) progeny.¹⁵²

However, Āmulī further divides *khirqā* into two categories, i. e. *ṣūrī* (formal) and *maʿnawī* (spiritual). He attributes the former category to the following three masters:

1. Imām Jaʿfar al-Šādiq (i.e. the sixth Imām of the Shīʿa) (peace be upon him) (d. 148/765),
2. Kumayl ibn Ziyād al-Nakhaʿī (d. 83/702),
3. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728).¹⁵³

Most of the chains of transmission of the *khirqā* come from Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 297/909),¹⁵⁴ says Āmulī, because he was the Shaykh of the *ṭāʾifa* (community) and lived soon after the time of the infallible Imāms.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, vol. 1, p. 526; Khʾājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. xxiiv.

¹⁵³ Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, vol. 1, p. 520.

¹⁵⁴ Junayd al-Baghdādī was one of the great *ṣūfī* masters. He was from the *ṭabaqāt al-Thāniya* (the second chain) of *ṣūfīs*. His *kunya* (patronymic) was Abū al-Qāsim, and he is known as Qawāriri, Zajjāj and Khazzāz. It is said he was born in Nāḥāvand and grew up in Baghdād. He was a pupil of Sari al-Saqāṭi, Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī and Muḥammad Qaṣṣāb. His death occurred in 297/909. ʿAbd al-

As for the latter category, Sayyid Ḥaydar states in his *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam* that this is the *khirqā* of the elite among the *muwaḥḥidīn*, and is an indication of the *sirr al-Walāya* and the *sirr al-Tawḥīd* that descended from Allāh through Gabriel to Ādam and then to his son Shayth; this *walāya* was transferred to Noah through a chain of prophets until it reached Imām Mahdī, who is the seal of the *awliyāʾ* and *sayyid al-muwaḥḥidīn*.¹⁵⁶

Thus, the *khirqā* is not simply, as ignorant people imagine, something made of wool or cotton.¹⁵⁷ It is obvious from Āmulī's perspective that there is no relation between *sirr al-Walāya* or spiritual perfection and a piece of cloth. Sayyid Ḥaydar points out that the *khirqā* is comparable to the *libās al-Taqwā* in the Qur'ān,¹⁵⁸ which is used as an *istiʿāra* (a kind of metaphor) or *majāz* (metaphor): "O children of Ādam! We have indeed sent down to you clothing to your shame, and (clothing) for beauty and clothing that guards (against evil); that is the best..."¹⁵⁹ Surely one may understand that *taqwā* (piety) does not derive from material or cloth, but rather it is in fact a symbol for those actions that purify mankind.¹⁶⁰

Rahmān ibn Aḥmad Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns* (Tehran: Kitābforūshī-yi Saʿdī, 1358), p. 80, see also A. J. Arbery, "al-Djunayd," in *the Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. vol. 2, p. 600.

¹⁵⁵ Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, vol. 1, p. 520.

¹⁵⁶ Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, vol. 1, p. 524; Khʾājavi translates this point into Persian in his introduction to *Asrār al-Shariʿa*, p. xxiii. See also Ḥ. Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 230, no. 446.

¹⁵⁷ Ḥ. Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 230, no. 445; Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, vol. 1, p. 524; idem, *Inner Secrets of the Path*, London: 1989, trans. A. ad-Dhaakir Yate, p. xx.

¹⁵⁸ *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, vol. 1, pp. 524, 25.

¹⁵⁹ *Holy Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Aʿrāf*, verse 26.

¹⁶⁰ Ḥ. Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 230, no. 445.

7. Sayyid Ḥaydar also received an *ijāza* for wearing *al-khirqat al-ṣūriyya*.¹⁶¹ Regarding this kind of *ijāza* he states: "the form of my *ijāza* to wear *al-khirqat al-ṣūriyya*, which I received from the hand of Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Ṭīhrānī, was in accordance with the same conditions under which he received *ijāza* from the Shaykh of this realm. The end of this chain of wearing the *khirqā* is ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (peace be upon him),¹⁶² who received his from his forefathers who had received theirs from the Prophet, who in turn had received his from Gabriel and thus ultimately from Allāh."¹⁶³

8. Āmulī also relates how he received *Dhikr-i Khāṣṣ* from Nūr al-Dīn Ṭīhrānī. Sayyid Ḥaydar explains that his interest in Ṭīhrānī is thought developed as a result of the time which he spent with him.¹⁶⁴ In conclusion, Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī also maintains that:

My arriving at the Truth and my unveilings were not dependent on the above; my arrival was first and foremost because of God rather than on account of my own

¹⁶¹ See appendix, no. 4, and Khʿājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharʿa*, p. xxiii.

¹⁶² Imām Riḍā was the eighth Imām of the Shiʿa, born on the 11th of *Dhīqaʿda*, 148/765 in *Madinat al-Nabī*. The seventh Imām (Mūsā al-Kāzim) was his father, who repeatedly told his friends and followers that: "You will be witnesses that this child (son) is my executor, and successor." At last Ma'mūn al-Rashid poisoned the Imām in Ṭūs, on the way back from Marw to Baghdād. This tragedy occurred on the last day of *Ṣafar*, 203/818, when he was 55 years old. Today his shrine may be found in Mashhad, known as Ṭūs in Iran. Hāshim, Maʿrūf al-Ḥusaynī, *Zandigī-yi Dawāzda Imām*, trans. M. Rakhshanda (Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Intishārāt-i Amir Kabir, 1370s.), vol. 2, pp. 357-441, in the chapter entitled *Imām-i Hashtum*.

¹⁶³ Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿzam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*, vol. 1, pp. 534, 535.

¹⁶⁴ See appendix, no. 4; see also Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿzam*, vol. 1, p. 531, and M. Khʿājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharʿa*, p. xxv.

spiritual progress. I was a *majdhūb*¹⁶⁵ amongst spiritual travellers: I was of the beloved of Him rather than of those who love Him and the former have precedence over the latter just like the prophets, the saints and their followers in the correct path for Allah says: [Surely, (as far) Those for whom the good has already gone forth from Us, they shall be kept far off from it;]¹⁶⁶ I had achieved the desired goal through the care and grace of God, not through any action on my part nor through any knowledge I possessed.¹⁶⁷

9. A special aspect of the bestowal of the *khirqā* is that of *ṣuḥba* (company), in which Āmulī affirms his relationship to Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Ḥamūya¹⁶⁸ who accompanied Khidr, an apostle.¹⁶⁹ Ḥamūya received his *khirqā* from his shaykhs, who had theirs ultimately from Imām al-Riḍā (peace be upon him).¹⁷⁰ Then Sayyid Ḥaydar relates the chain of transmission of the *khirqā* of Shaykh Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya, and thereafter that of Shahāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191), both of which reach back to the *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* (the first Imām of the Shīʿa).¹⁷¹

10. Āmulī refers to a method of *dhikr* favoured by Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr-i Samnānī. It is possible that Sayyid Ḥaydar was instructed in this method by Samnānī

¹⁶⁵ *Majdhūb* refers to a person spontaneously intoxicated by divine attraction toward God. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms of the Sūfis*, pp. 50, 51, no. 178.

¹⁶⁶ Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, vol. 1, p. 535; *Holy Qurʾān, Surat (21) al-Anbiyāʾ*, 101.

¹⁶⁷ Āmulī, *Inner Secrets of the Path*, pp. xxx, xxxi.

¹⁶⁸ See below for more information on Ibn Ḥamūya.

¹⁶⁹ Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, vol. 1, p. 520; M. Khʾājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. xxiv.

¹⁷⁰ M. Khʾājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. xxiv.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

himself, because the latter was one of his contemporaries. Sayyid Ḥaydar goes on to say: "some of the *fuqarā'* have explained their own way of *dhikr*." He continues the *silsila* (chine) of Samnānī as follows:

Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr-i Samnānī, Shaykh Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn Abī al-Khayr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad-i Iṣfahānī,¹⁷² Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Zayn al-ʿIbād, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr-i Isfarāyīnī, Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Saʿīd ibn Muṭahhar ibn Saʿīd-i Bākhārī,¹⁷³ Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh-i Khayūqī,¹⁷⁴ Shaykh Ismāʿīl-i Qaṣrī, Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Mānkīl, Shaykh Dāwūd ibn Muḥammad known as *khādīm-i fuqarā'* (the servant of the Poor) Abū al-ʿAbbās ibn Idrīs, Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ramaḍān, Abū Yaʿqūb-i Ṭabarsī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUthmān, Abū Yaʿqūb Nahr-i Jūrī, Abū Yaʿqūb-i Sūsī, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Zayd, Kumayl ibn Ziyād-i Nakhaʿī, Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī ʿAlayhi al-Salām, Messenger of God (peace be upon him), Gabriel the Guardian of Revelation, *Rabb al-ʿIzza* (Lord of Power) may He be exalted.¹⁷⁵

11. Another indication that Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr-i Samnānī may have been one of Āmulī's masters can be seen from a passage in the latter's *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, where there is a suggestion that he received the *khirqā* from Samnānī. Āmulī quotes Samnānī as having said:

I (Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr-i Samnānī), *Shaykh al-Shuyūkh* (the Shaykh of the Shaykhs) Abī al-Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar ibn Abī al-Ḥasan, have been invested with the *khirqā* from ʿImād al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbī al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad Ḥamawī and he held company with his grandfather Imām Muḥammad ibn Ḥamawī.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² He received his *ijāza* on the ʿId al-Fiṭr 703 AH in Khānqā's assembly (Ṣūfī spiritual retreat) of Samisāṭī and in the Bayt al-Aḥzān quarter near the Jāmī mosque in Damascus.

¹⁷³ Not Badkharzī as Khʿājavi in his introduction to *Asrār* mentions.

¹⁷⁴ He is the same as Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā.

¹⁷⁵ M. Khʿājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, pp. xxi-xxii.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., xxx.

This statement may have been made in the context of a presentation of the *khirqa* to Āmulī by Samnānī.¹⁷⁷

2. 3. THE THIRD PERIOD, ĀMULĪ'S WORKS

Āmulī was a prolific writer, and composed some forty works on different subjects whose titles are known to us. According to Henry Corbin:

However, with regard to the phenomenon of integration, considered from the point of view of its methodical elaboration, it is Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī's work that stands out as being of decisive importance. It is only recently that it has been possible to reconstruct his biography and part of this work, which is currently being studied and edited: its scope is overwhelming, even though it consists of only thirty-five or so titles (in both Arabic and Persian).¹⁷⁸

2. 3. 1. Āmulī's Books & Treatises

In what follows, I have tried to compile a complete list of Āmulī's works, but certain points should be mentioned beforehand:

- a. Sayyid Ḥaydar implies that the titles listed in the *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*¹⁷⁹ are arranged chronologically but in some cases this is doubtful.¹⁸⁰
- b. In spite of my best efforts, this list cannot pretend to be exhaustive. Other scholars may in future be able to discover other sources of information regarding the works of Sayyid Ḥaydar.
- c. Unless specified otherwise, the works listed below are not known to be extant.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., xxv.

¹⁷⁸ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, 334.

¹⁷⁹ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, pp. 9-13.

¹⁸⁰ See below in this section, "Āmulī's Books and Treatises," nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 15.

1. *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*.¹⁸¹ Āmulī in his *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, when he explains about the *asmāʾ Allāh* (names of God), refers to some points in his *Risālat al-Tawḥīd*.¹⁸² This means that this work was written by him before *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*. The subject of this book is close to two other writings of Āmulī, i.e. *Amthilat al-Tawḥīd wa Abniyat al-Tajrīd*¹⁸³ and *Nihāyat al-Tawḥīd lī Bidāyat al-Tajrīd*.¹⁸⁵

2. *Risālat al-Tanbīh lī al-Tanzīh*, a work about Allāh (may He be exalted).¹⁸⁶ This book was written in Persian, and Sayyid Ḥaydar indicates in the epilogue of *his Jāmiʿ al-Asrār* why he wrote it in Persian.¹⁸⁷ He obviously wrote this book before the *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*.¹⁸⁸

3. *Amthilat al-Tawḥīd wa Abniyat al-Tajrīd*, a work written after the manner of *Kitāb al-Lamaʿāt* by ʿIrāqī.¹⁸⁹ Āmulī mentions that he wrote this book in the Persian language,¹⁹⁰ before *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*.¹⁹¹

4. *Kitāb Majmaʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*.¹⁹² This was written at the beginning of the third period when Sayyid Ḥaydar was in Iraq.¹⁹³ The book was

¹⁸¹ O. Yahyā, introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, 24.

¹⁸² Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 551, no. 1134.

¹⁸³ See below in the list of Āmulī's works, no. 18.

¹⁸⁴ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 551.

¹⁸⁵ See below in the list of Āmulī's works, no. 15.

¹⁸⁶ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 11.

¹⁸⁷ At the end of Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, under the *waṣiyya* and *khātima*, p. 614.

¹⁸⁸ See appendix, no. 18 and also Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 3.

¹⁸⁹ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 11.

¹⁹⁰ Sayyid Ḥaydar makes this point at the end of his *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, under the *waṣiyya* and *khātima*, p. 614.

¹⁹¹ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 551.

completed in about the year 752/1351.¹⁹⁴ It is divided into three books, each called an *aṣl* (source, principle), with every book consisting of four *qāʿida* (large chapters). The whole structure of this book is founded upon the number twelve.¹⁹⁵ This work is an explanation of what constitutes the essence and the truth of *tawḥīd* (the unity of God). It establishes the difference between *tawḥīd-i ulūhī* (theological or exoteric monotheism), and *tawḥīd-i wujūdī* (ontological or esoteric monotheism). This book is the best-known among Āmulī's writings.¹⁹⁶

Sayyid Ḥaydar implies in his *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, in a passage devoted to a chronological listing of his books, that *Majmaʿ al-Asrār* was his first work.¹⁹⁷ However, in the *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, which is, according to Othmān Yahyā,¹⁹⁸ the same as *Majmaʿ al-Asrār*, he states that he, at the request of some Persian students, wrote various books such as *Jāmiʿ al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, *Risālat al-Tanzih* and *Amthilat al-Tawḥīd* in this language.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa* is also mentioned

¹⁹² This book was edited by Othmān Yahyā and Henry Corbin under the title of *Jāmiʿ al-Asrar wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*. In *Risālat Naqd al-Nuqud* it is referred to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrar wa Manbaʿ al-Anwar*, p. 693, but in *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ* it is called as *Majmaʿ al-Asrar wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 9.

¹⁹³ Henry Corbin, *Shiʿism, Doctrines, Thought, and Spirituality*, ed. Ḥamid Dabashi, Seyyed Ḥuseyn Naṣr, and Seyyed Vali Rezā Naṣr (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), p. 189.

¹⁹⁴ This is the conclusion reached by H. Corbin in introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrar*, 1368s/1989, p. 37; see also Dr. Henry Corbin, *Bibliothèque Iranienne*, vol. 16, p. 22.

¹⁹⁵ Corbin, *Shiʿism, Doctrines, Thought, and Spirituality*, p. 189.

¹⁹⁶ Kohlberg, "Āmoli," p. 983.

¹⁹⁷ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 9.

¹⁹⁸ O. Yahyā, introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrar*, p. 21.

¹⁹⁹ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrar wa Manbaʿ al-Anwar*, p. 614.

twice in *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*.²⁰⁰ It seems therefore that *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, and these latter works were written at about the same time.²⁰¹

5. *Risālat al-Wujūd fī Maʿrifat al-Maʿbūd*. This treatise is a discussion about the nature of existence and its connection to the issue of understanding God. Sayyid Ḥaydar (in his introduction to *Risālat Naqd al-Nuqūd*) declares that he had just finished a great *Risāla* in which he had envisaged all the aspects of being and explained the opposition between the *mutakallimūn* (scholastics) and the philosophers who profess the transcendental unity of being, and furthermore had produced testimonies from the Word of God, the Word of the Prophets and the *awliyāʾ* (saints).²⁰² In fact, no manuscript of this work has yet been found.²⁰³

Āmulī explains in his *Risālat Naqd al-Nuqūd* that it is a summary of his other work entitled *Risālat al-Wujūd*.²⁰⁴ Thus, the contents of *Risālat al-Wujūd* and information about it may be found in several pages of *Risālat Naqd al-Nuqūd fī Maʿrifat al-Wujūd*.²⁰⁵ The same may be said of the long chapter on *wujūd* in *al-Muqaddamāt* (part 3, *rukn* 2, pp. 406-470), since Āmulī himself states that most of this is taken from his own *Risālat al-Wujūd fī Maʿrifat al-Maʿbūd* (cf. *al-Muqaddamat*, p. 406, 12-22).

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 88, no. 178, and also p. 367, no. 730.

²⁰¹ The appendix to this thesis includes facsimiles of two manuscripts of this book. No. 17 was written on 16 *Rajab* in 1281/1864 by ʿAbu al-Qasim al-Nāʾini, whereas no. 18 was written in 1285/1868.

²⁰² Āmulī, *Risālat Naqd al-Nuqūd*, pp. 620, 621.

²⁰³ H. Corbin, *Shīʿism Doctrines, Thought and Spirituality*, p. 190.

²⁰⁴ S. H. Āmulī, *Risālat Naqd al-Nuqūd fī Maʿrifat al-Wujūd* (Tehran: Institut Franco-Iranien, 1969), p. 620, also see his *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 11, no. 29.

²⁰⁵ Āmulī, *Risālat Naqd al-Nuqūd*, pp. 621, 629, 638, 639, 699.

On the other hand, Sayyid Ḥaydar writes in *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār* that he hopes to write a *Risāla* (treatise) about *wujūd* (existence).²⁰⁶ One may conclude from this statement that this book was written after *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, i.e. after 752 A.H. Since *Naqd al-Nuqūd* was written in 768 A.H.,²⁰⁷ it appears that the *Risālat al-Wujūd* was written sometime between 752 and 768 A.H.

6. *Risālat al-Maʿād fī Rujūʿ al-ʿIbād*. This work is a study of *qiyāma* (the hereafter). In the view of Sayyid Ḥaydar its three aspects are:

* *ṣughrā* (the minor day),

* *wusṭā* (the intermediate day), and

* *kubrā* (the major day).²⁰⁸

7. *Kitāb al-Uṣūl wa al-Arkān fī Tahdhīb al-Aṣḥāb wa al-Ikhwān*. Each of the five principles of belief²⁰⁹ is examined in this book with regard to the three classifications of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*.²¹⁰ This book also explains *furuʿ al-Dīn*²¹¹ in relation to *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*.²¹²

²⁰⁶ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 125, no. 241.

²⁰⁷ Appendix, no. 16.

²⁰⁸ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 9.

²⁰⁹ Sayyid Ḥaydar's views regarding the *uṣūl al-Dīn* (roots of Religion) will be discussed below.

²¹⁰ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 3.

²¹¹ In the view of Sayyid Ḥaydar the *furuʿ al-Dīn* included five principles such as: *al-Ṣalat*, *al-Ṣawm*, *al-Zakāt*, *al-Ḥajj* and *al-Jihād*. *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 3. But *furuʿ al-Dīn*, according to the view of other scholars make it eight principles with the addition of *al-Khums*, *al-Amr bi al-Maʿruf* and *al-Nahy ʿan al-Munkar*, while still others believe them to consist of ten principles, adding *Tawalla* and *Tabarra*.

²¹² Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, pp. 9, 10.

8. *Risālat al-ʿIlm*. This treatise discusses knowledge from the point of view of three groups; namely, the *ṣūfīs*, the *ḥukamāʾ* (philosophers) and the *mutakallimūn* (scholastic theologians).²¹³

9. *Risālat al-ʿAql wa al-Nafs*. This *Risāla* is about the difference between the *ʿaql* (reason) and *nafs* (soul) of man in relation to various issues of faith.²¹⁴

10. *Risālat al-Amānat al-ʾIlāhiyya fī Taʿyīn al-Khilāfat al-Rabbāniyya*. This treatise is mostly concerned with the 72nd verse of *Sūrat al-Aḥzāb* and its mystical interpretation: "Surely We offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they [shrank from bearing] it and feared from it, and man [assumed] it; surely he is unjust, ignorant."²¹⁵ This book was written by Sayyid Ḥaydar in the Persian language,²¹⁶ and is also known by the title *Risālat al-Amāna fī al-Khilāfa*.²¹⁷

11. *Risālat al-Ḥujub wa Khulāṣat al-Kutub*. This work contains a study of the 32nd verse from *Sūrat al-Ḥāqqa*: "Then thrust him into a chain the length of which is seventy cubits,"²¹⁸ and includes some *aḥādīth* about the "70, 000" *ḥujub* (veils) and the few other traditions implying symbolic number.²¹⁹

²¹³ Ibid., p. 10.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

²¹⁵ *Holy Qurʾān*, 72nd verse of *Sūrat al-Aḥzāb*.

²¹⁶ Ānuṭi, *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, p. 3.

²¹⁷ Ānuṭi, *Risālat Naqd al-Nuqud fī Maʿrifat al-Wujūd*, p. 693.

²¹⁸ *Holy Qurʾān*, 32nd verse from *Sūrat al-Ḥāqqa*.

²¹⁹ These *aḥādīth* are as follows: "*Inna lillāh sabʿin alf ḥijāb min nūr wa zulma*", "*Ana aqall min rabbi bi sanatayn*" and "*Laysa bayni wa bayna rabbi farqun illā anni taqaddamtu bil ʿubūdiyya*".

Sayyid Ḥaydar adds that Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111), Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (544-606/1149-1209), Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (540-618/1145-1221),²²⁰ Najm al-Dīn Dāya (564-654/1168-1256), Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāqī (d. 688/1289) and many other scholars tried to solve the confusion surrounding the same verse and these *aḥādīth* (traditions) but were unable to do what he achieved with the help of God. In addition to this *Risāla*, he wrote a second *Risāla* in Arabic and another in Persian about the same matter.²²¹

12. *Risālat al-Faqr wa Taḥqīq al-Fakhr*. This work contains a comparison between three *aḥādīth* about *fāqr* (poverty) and *fakhr* (glorification) narrated by the Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ).²²²

13. *Risālat al-Asmā' al-Ilāhiyya wa Taʿyīn Mazāhirihā min al-Ashkhās al-Insāniyya*. The book is an account of the prophets from Ādam (the first prophet and human being) to Muḥammad the last prophet (peace be upon them), and explains in detail their lives and missions.²²³

14. *Risālat al-Nafs fī Maʿrifat al-Rabb*. This treatise contains an explanation of three sayings of the Prophet, among them, "*man ʿarafa nafsah faqad ʿarafa rabbah*" (who recognized himself, he knew his Lord), the 4th verse from *Sūrat al-Ḥadīd*²²⁴ and

²²⁰ He is the author of *Fawā'id al-Jamāl wa Fawā'id al-Jalāl* (ed. Yusuf Zaydan, Cario, 1993) and many other treatises.

²²¹ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 324, no. 716.

²²² These *aḥādīth* are: "*al-Faqr fakhri*", "*al-Faqr sawad al-Wajh fī al-Darayn*" and "*Kad al-Faqr an yakūna kufran*". See *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 10, no. 24.

²²³ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 11, no. 25.

²²⁴ "...and He is with you wherever you are:..."

the 21st verse of *Sūrat al-Dhāriyāt*.²²⁵ This book investigates the relation between the soul's knowledge and knowledge of the Lord.²²⁶

15. *Asrār al-Sharīʿa wa Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa*. This book contains a description of the people of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*. In this regard, Āmulī quotes some *aḥādīth* of the Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) pertaining to each of the groups, such as: "*al-Sharīʿat aqwālī, wa al-Ṭarīqat alʿālī, wa al-Ḥaqīqat aḥwālī*." There is also an interpretation of the 48th verse of *Sūrat al-Māʿida*²²⁷ and of the 7th verse of *Sūrat al-Wāqīʿa*.²²⁸

This work discusses each of the five theological principles, of the Shīʿa, i.e. *tawḥīd* (divine unity), *ʿadl* (justice), *nubuwwa* (prophecy), *Imāma*, and *maʿād* (hereafter). Sayyid Ḥaydar also explains *wuḍūʿ* (minor ritual ablution), *ghusl* (major ritual purification), *tayammum* (purification with earth), *miʿrāj* (the ascent of the Prophet), and then discusses the five pillars as follows: *ṣalāh* (prayer), *ṣawm* (fasting), *zakāh* (purifying tax), *ḥajj* (pilgrimage), *jihād* (holy war). As mentioned before, all of the subjects are considered from the points of view of the peoples of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*.²²⁹

In addition to this, Āmulī explains some principles such as the relationship between *sharʿ* and *ʿaql* (reason), the general precepts of the prophets in their guidance

²²⁵ "... And in your own souls (too); will you not then see."

²²⁶ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 11.

²²⁷ "... For every one of you did We appoint a law and a way,...."

²²⁸ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 11.

²²⁹ Fortunately, this book has recently been published and edited by Muḥammad Khaʿājavi. (For bibliographical details, see footnote 3, above).

and instruction, and Allāh's designation of a specific perfection for each existing thing.²³⁰

There are several different titles for this book, all of them more or less resembling each other:

a. *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*²³¹ is mentioned twice by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī in his *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*,²³² and he also refers to it by title in *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*;²³³

b. *Asrār al-Sharīʿa wa Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa*;²³⁴

c. *Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa wa Asrār al-Sharīʿa*;²³⁵

d. *Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Asrār al-Sharīʿa*.²³⁶

16. *Risālet al-Jadāwil*. This work is also entitled *Madārij al-Sālikīn fī Marātib al-ʿĀrifīn*.²³⁷ It describes one hundred basic stations of the mystic journey and how a chain of one thousand stations is formed with every ten stations representing one mystical principle.²³⁸ This book is very similar to the *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn* by Khwāja

²³⁰ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, pp. 45-65.

²³¹ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 88.

²³² Ibid., pp. 88, 367.

²³³ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 11.

²³⁴ See Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 367; this title is listed in the catalogue of the Central Library of Tehran University; Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 11.

²³⁵ Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. xxx, and cited in the catalogue of Ayatullah-i Marʿashī-yi Najafī's Library in Qum.

²³⁶ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 5.

²³⁷ O. Yahyā, introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, pp. 25, 31, and Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 11.

²³⁸ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 11.

^cAbdullāh al-Anṣārī al-Hirawī (d. 481/1088).²³⁹ Finally, this *Risāla* is referred to twice in *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*.²⁴⁰

17. *Risālat Naqd al-Nuqūd fī Maʿrifat al-Wujūd*. This is a work summarizing *Risālat al-Wujūd fī Maʿrifat al-Maʿbūd*.²⁴¹ At the end of this book Āmulī writes that he completed it on the 15th of *Jumādū al-Ākhar* in 768/1366 at *Mashhad al-Sharīf al-Gharawī* (Najaf).²⁴² The composition of the *Risāla* (treatise) was motivated by the request of a friend, with whom the author had ties of deep affection.²⁴³

18. *Nihāyat al-Tawḥīd fī Bidāyat al-Tajrīd*. This is a selection from *Majmaʿ al-Asrār wa Manḥaʿ al-Anwār*²⁴⁴ which was also written by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī.²⁴⁵

19. *Muntaqā al-Maʿād fī Murtaqā al-ʿIbād*. The book is a selection from *Kitāb al-Maʿād* (The Book of the Hereafter) which was also written by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī.²⁴⁶ Othmān Yaḥyā, in his introduction to *Jamiʿ al-Asrār*, calls it *Muntaqā al-Maʿād fī Murtaqā al-ʿIbād*,²⁴⁷ probably mistakenly.

²³⁹ O. Yahya, introduction to *Jamiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 25.

²⁴⁰ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, pp. 11, 336. Āmulī mentions on the latter page (336) that in the *khuṭba* (opening address) of this *Risāla* he clearly acknowledges his authorship.

²⁴¹ See appendix, no. 15; Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 11, and E. Kohlberg, "Āmoli," pp. 983, 984.

²⁴² See appendix, no. 16; Āmulī, *Risālat Naqd al-Nuqūd fī Maʿrifat al-Wujūd*, p. 710.

²⁴³ H. Corbin, *Shīʿism*, p. 190.

²⁴⁴ *Anḥār*, in the printed text, appears to be a printing mistake.

²⁴⁵ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 11.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11; see also Khʿājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 30.

²⁴⁷ See O. Yahya, introduction to *Jamiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 32.

20. *Risālat Kanz al-Kunūz wa Kashf al-Rumūz*.²⁴⁸ Because Āmulī does not give us any information other than the title of this work, it is not possible to say what its subject-matter was.

21. *Kitāb Taʿyīn al-Aqtāb wa al-ʿAwtād*. This work contains an explanation about the number of the "poles" or significant figures in Islamic history and descriptions of the nineteen persons who fit this description:²⁴⁹ seven great prophets and twelve Imāms.²⁵⁰

22. *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Ṭawd al-Ashamm fī Taʾwīl Kitāb Allāh al-ʿAzīz al-Muḥkam*,²⁵¹ a highly symbolic interpretation of the Qurʾān. This *Tafsīr* is known under several names, such as:

a. *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Ṭawd al-Ashamm fī Taʾwīl Kitāb Allāh al-ʿAzīz al-Muḥkam*; ²⁵²

b. *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam fī al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm*; ²⁵³

c. *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Karīm*; ²⁵⁴

²⁴⁸ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 11.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 12.

²⁵⁰ Āmulī, *Inner Secrets of the path*, p. xxxvi.

²⁵¹ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, pp. 12, 536.

²⁵² Ibid., p. 12.

²⁵³ Āmulī, in his commentary on *Sūrat al-ʾIlām* (the beginning chapter) of the Qurʾān; see Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm fī Taʾwīl Kitāb Allāh al-ʿAzīz al-Muḥkam*, ed. al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Mūsawī al-Tabrizī (Tehran: Muʾassasat al-Ṭibāʿa wa al-Nashr, 1414/1993), vol. 1, p. 198.

²⁵⁴ al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Mūsawī al-Tabrizī says that this title is written on the first page of *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam* by the hand of a person who was not Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. One may see in the appendix, no. 2, that Sayyid Ḥaydar's script has been eaten by termites, thus preventing us from reading the title.

d. *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm fī Taʾwīl Kitāb Allāh al-ʿAzīz al-Muḥkam*.²⁵⁵

But the first and the second titles are better known than the others, because Āmulī used them himself.

This work is a spiritual and mystical commentary on the Qurʾān of the variety known as *tafsīr ʿirfānī*, in seven large volumes.²⁵⁶ The first volume includes seven introductions. The first and the second volumes exist in manuscript copies preserved in Āyatullāh al-Marʿashī al-Najafī's Library in Qum, but we do not have any information about the 5 others.²⁵⁷ Recently, al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Mūsawī al-Tabrizī edited the first volume of this work; he states in his preface that the two volumes will be published in 4 volumes.²⁵⁸

Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī composed it in the manner of the *taʾwīl* (interpretation) of the great Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, known as Dāya (d. 654/1256),²⁵⁹ who wrote a further six volumes of Qurʾānic commentary after completing the volume called *Baḥr al-Ḥaqāʾiq wa Manbaʿ al-Daqāʾiq*.²⁶⁰ The whole work is known as *Taʾwīlāt-i*

²⁵⁵ See, al-Mūsawī al-Tabrizī, introduction to *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, p. 14.

²⁵⁶ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 536, no. 1126.

²⁵⁷ These five volumes contain a *tafsīr* (interpretation) of all the Qurʾān, except for *sūrat al-Ḥamd*; see al-Mūsawī al-Tabrizī, introduction to *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, p. 14.

²⁵⁸ al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Mūsawī al-Tabrizī, introduction to *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, p. 12.

²⁵⁹ There are many theories as to the authorship of this work, entitled *Baḥr al-Ḥaqāʾiq wa al-Maʿārif* or *al-Najmiyya*. Some scholars believe that it was written in its entirety by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā. Other scholars believe that it was written by Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (Dāya), while others state that the former began the wrote, and that it was continued by Dāya and completed by ʿAlā al-Dīn Samnānī. For more information see Corbin in introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, 1368s/1989, pp. 53-56, see also Corbin, *Bibliothèque Iranienne*, vol. 16, pp. 48-53.

²⁶⁰ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 12.

Najmiyya.²⁶¹ Sayyid Ḥaydar for his part completed *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam* between 777/1375²⁶² and 781/1379.²⁶³ At this time Āmulī was 63 years old.²⁶⁴

Shaykh al-Bahā'ī (d. 1030/1620)²⁶⁵ believed that this *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān shows the *ʿuluww-i sha'n* (sublime station) and *irtifāʿ-i makān* (high position) of its author.²⁶⁶

This is how Āmulī, in his introduction to his commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ* of Ibn ʿArabī, describes *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam* in the course of discussing the books he had written:

As to our own books, they form two categories: there are those that can be considered as effusion from above, and those that emanate from within us. As to the effusions from above, these are the *ta'wīlāt* of the Holy Qur'ān, which include the most precious and the most venerable of the sciences and the divine doctrines of the Qur'ān and which gather together the symbols and the figures particular to the Prophet, the subtle

²⁶¹ Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 32.

²⁶² Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī mentions at the beginning of the second volume: "I completed this at the end of the month of *Shawwāl* (777/1375), in Najaf." See al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Musawī al-Ṭabrizī, introduction to *Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam*, p. 14.

²⁶³ O. Yahyā, introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 16. Āmulī states after 30 years of effort he finished this *Tafsīr*. As we know that Sayyid Ḥaydar was born in 720/1320 and travelled to Iraq in 750/1349, then if after 30 years in Iraq he wrote this *Tafsīr* it means that Sayyid Ḥaydar completed it in about 780-781/1378-79. See Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣṣ*, p. 12.

²⁶⁴ Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihirānī, *Ṭabaqāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa, al-Ḥaqāʿiq al-Rahīna fī al-Mīʾa al-Thāmina*, 67.

²⁶⁵ His full name was Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ibn Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣalīḥ al-Ḥarithī al-Ḥamadani al-ʿĀmilī al-Jabāʿī. He was born in Lebanon in 935/1528; his father was one of the students of al-Shahīd al-Thānī. Shaykh Bahā'ī traveled to many cities and regions such as Cairo, Palestine, Adharbāyijān and Hirāt. He was a skilled writer, poet, philosopher, mathematician, engineer, *faqīh*, Qur'ān interpreter and doctor. Shaykh al-Bahā'ī succeeded his father-in-law Shakh ʿAlī Minshar in the post of Shaykh al-Islām under the Safavids. His pupils were Mullā Ṣadra Shirāzī, Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, Muḥaqqiq Sabziwārī, and Fāḍil Jawād. He wrote more than one hundred books and treatises. Finally in 1030/1620 he died on the way to Mecca and was buried in Mashhad al-Riḍā. See ʿAqīqī, Bakhshāyishī, *Fuqahāʾ-i Nāmdār-i Shīʿa* (Qum: Intishārāt-i Kitābkhāna-yi Āyatullah-i Marʿashī, 1985), pp. 209-214.

²⁶⁶ al-Mirzā ʿAbdullāh Afandī al-Iṣfahānī states that he saw a copy of Shaykh al-Bahā'ī's introduction to *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*. al-Iṣfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamāʾ*, vol. 2, p. 221.

doctrines and Muḥammadan realities that have their faithful expression in what God says about those who form the elite of his servants: "I have prepared for my servants, the just ones, what the eye has never seen, the ear [has] never heard, what has not yet reached the heart of any man." Consequently this book was entitled: *al-Muḥīṭ al-aʿẓam wa al-ṭawd al-ashamm fī taʾwīl Kitāb Allāh al-ʿazīz al-muḥkam*. It was divided into seven volumes in order thus to be able to put it under the auspices of seven great prophets, the seven poles, and the seven *abdāl*, in such a fashion that the prolegomena and the *Fātiḥa* (first *Sūrah*) form one volume together, while each sixth of the Qurʾān in turn forms another volume. This *tafsīr* is to us like what the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* are to Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿArabī, and like what the Qurʾān is to the Prophet. The plan of our *tafsīr* is the following: We start by establishing nineteen premises and circles, corresponding with the external world and the spiritual world, with the *Book of Horizons* and the *Book of Souls*, each of these universes being limited to nineteen.²⁶⁷

23. Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī also wrote an important commentary on the works of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240),²⁶⁸ known as *Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ fī Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*. This same work is referred to by Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn as *Faṣṣ al-Fuṣūṣ fī Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*.²⁶⁹ Although there were some other famous commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ* before that of Sayyid Ḥaydar,²⁷⁰ among them the works of Muʾayyad al-Dīn Khujandī,²⁷¹ Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshānī (died between

²⁶⁷ H. Corbin, *Shīʿism*, p. 192. See also Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 147, 148.

²⁶⁸ His full name was, as Sayyid Ḥaydar records it: al-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbī ʿAbdillāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Maghribī al-Undulūsī al-Ḥātamī al-Taʾī. Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 12.

²⁶⁹ See al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* (Beirut: Dār al-Taʿāruf li al-Maṭbūʿāt, 1986), vol. 6, p. 273.

²⁷⁰ In the introduction to *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, Othmān Yahyā summarizes the research into the *shurrah* (commentaries) of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, and lists about 195 of these works from the 7th until the 11th century (pp. 16-48).

²⁷¹ Muʾayyad al-Dīn Khujandī's actual name was Jandī. He was one of the pupils of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnavī. He commented on some books by Ibn ʿArabī such as *Fuṣūṣ* and *Mawāqīʿ al-Nujūm*. See, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, p. 558.

735/1334 and 751/1350-1351),²⁷² and Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350-1351),²⁷³ our author chose to write this commentary because he did not consider the others to be accurate, particularly the Sunnī approach in the works of Khujandī and Qayṣarī, and especially on the problem of *walāya*.²⁷⁴ For Sayyid Ḥaydar, the work of Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshānī, regardless of some criticism, came closest to the mark.²⁷⁵

The introduction to his commentary on Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* also constitutes a remarkable doctrinal *summa* taking up the whole of a large volume.²⁷⁶ This work, as Sayyid Ḥaydar states, was begun in 781/1379 and completed in Najaf in 782/1380-81,²⁷⁷ Āmulī says that he wrote it in less than one year when he was sixty-three years old.²⁷⁸

This work of Sayyid Ḥaydar was contained in two large manuscript volumes. The first volume includes some introductions and five *faṣṣ* of the *Fuṣūṣ*; one *faṣṣ* from this volume is lost, i.e. the *kalimāt al-Ibrāhīmiyya*. The second volume includes the other

²⁷² Kamāl-al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshī (Kāshānī) was one of the great *ṣufīs* and wrote many works such as *Tafsīr-i Taʾwīlāt*, *Kitāb-i Iṣṭilāḥāt-i ṣūfiyya*, *Sharḥ-i Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* and *Sharḥ-i Manazil al-Saʾirīn* and so on. See ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmi, *Nafāḥāt al-Uns*, p. 482.

²⁷³ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 13.

²⁷⁴ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 296.

²⁷⁵ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 435.

²⁷⁶ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 278.

²⁷⁷ The oldest Persian interpretation of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* was written by Rukn al-Dīn Shirazī, who died in 744/1343. This was not long before Sayyid Ḥaydar wrote his commentary on *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (781/1379 to 782/1380-81). See Corbin, introduction to *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ* (1368s./1989), pp. 11, 12.

²⁷⁸ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 537; E. Kohlberg, "Āmulī," p. 984.

Naṣṣ of *Fuṣūṣ*;²⁷⁹ unfortunately, we have no information about this volume, as it is now lost.²⁸⁰ To distinguish between the text of Ibn ʿArabī and his commentary, Āmulī wrote the text by Ibn ʿArabī in red ink and his own commentary in black ink; thus when Faḍl Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-ʿIbādī made a copy from it, he wrote it in two colors in the same manner as Sayyid Ḥaydar. This transcription was completed on the 20th of *Muḥarram* in 784/1382, i.e. during the lifetime of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī.²⁸¹

In a word, the subject of this work is the interpretation of all problems arising in the *Fuṣūṣ*. Sayyid Ḥaydar has much to say on such topics as: *tawḥīd*, *nubuwwa*, *Imāma*, the forgiveness of Pharaoh, the seal of *walāya* and some comments on the three great interpretations that preceded his.²⁸²

These are the books and *rasāʾil* that Sayyid Ḥaydar wrote up to 782/1380, and which have been described by him in *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*.²⁸³ He has made no reference in his writings to any other essays, but other works written by his graceful hand have been recorded by the biographers, as follows:

24. *Risālat al-Taʾwīlāt*. A Qurʾānic commentary which is a selection from his book *al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-Muḥkam*, and which is known as *Muntakhab al-Taʾwīl*.²⁸⁴ Sayyid Ḥaydar in *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār* states that when the *Risālat*

²⁷⁹ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 17, no. 84.

²⁸⁰ Corbin, introduction to *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, pp. 15, 16.

²⁸¹ Ibid., p. 35.

²⁸² Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, pp. 17, 18, no. 49, 50.

²⁸³ This account extends from p. 9-13 of Corbin's edition of *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*. Sayyid Ḥaydar also mentions briefly some titles of his works at the end of this book, pages 536 to 537.

²⁸⁴ Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. xxxii.

al-Ta'wīlāt was completed, he started to write *Risālat al-Arkān*, *Risālat al-Tanzīh* and *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Asrār*.²⁸⁵

Risālat al-Ta'wīlāt includes an explanation of *kutub Allāh al-Āfāqiyya* and *al-Ānfusiyya*, i.e. the signs and portents of God.²⁸⁶ Āmulī refers his readers occasionally to the points that he made in the pages of this work.²⁸⁷

25. *al-Masā'il al-Āmuliyya*. Muḥaddith-i Nūrī, in the *khātima* of his *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*, refers to it as *al-Masā'il al-Ḥaydariyya*.²⁸⁸ The book includes twelve questions pertaining to *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *kalām* (theology) that Sayyid Ḥaydar asked of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn, the son of 'Allāma Ḥillī. This essay is about six pages in length, and exists in an autograph manuscript of the author.²⁸⁹

Sayyid Ḥaydar mentions in this book that the answers are by Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn. Āmulī continues that the first session, which took place at the end of the month of *Rajab* in 759/1357 in the town of Ḥilla, was in the form of *istiftā'*.²⁹⁰ At the end of this essay Āmulī reports: "I, the questioner, am the *'abd* (slave) and *faqīr*, Ḥaydar ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥaydar al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī Āmulī."²⁹¹ All of the questions with

²⁸⁵ See Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, p. 3.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁸⁷ See Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, pp. 108, 116, 549, and also Āmulī, *Naqd al-Nuqud*, p. 695.

²⁸⁸ 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Mūsawī al-Muqarram, introduction to *al-Kashkul*, pp. 8-9, citing Mirza Ḥusayn Nūrī in *Khātimat of Mustadrak al-Wasā'il* (Tehran: Mu'assasa Al al-Bayt), p. 459, and also Agha Buzurg, *al-Haqā'iq al-Rāhina fī al-Mī'at al-Thāmina*, p. 70.

²⁸⁹ This book is available in the Central Library of the University of Tehran (under the catalogue no. 1022). See two pages of this work in appendix, no. 12.

²⁹⁰ al-Mirzā 'Abdullāh Afandī al-Iṣfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā wa Ḥiyāḍ al-Fuḍalā'* (Qum: Maṭba'at al-Khayyām, 1981), vol. 2, p. 224.

²⁹¹ Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shari'a*, p. 33.

the accompanying treatises are in the Arabic language, written in the hand of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī; the replies in the form of *fatwās* are in the hand of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn,²⁹² except for one that is written by Āmulī.²⁹³ The date of the transcription of the *masā'il* (questions) is 761/1359, and that of the *rasā'il* (treatises) 762/1360.²⁹⁴

26. *Jāmi' al-Ḥaqā'iq*. At the end of *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, Āmulī mentions that he wrote this essay in the Persian language before *Jāmi' al-Asrār*.²⁹⁵

27. *Risālat fī al-'Ulūm al-'Āliya*. A manuscript copy of this treatise is preserved in Najaf.²⁹⁶ This essay was the last work of Āmulī, written in 787/1385,²⁹⁷ possibly just before, the end of his life.²⁹⁸ We possess no more information about the life of Sayyid Ḥaydar after this point.

²⁹² See appendix, no. 12.

²⁹³ Ibid., no. 12.

²⁹⁴ See the introduction of Sayyid Ḥaydar to these questions in appendix, no. 12; see also al-Mirza 'Abdullah Afandī al-Isfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-'Ulūm wa Ḥiyāḍ al-Fuḍalā'*, vol. 2, p. 224, and M. Khājavī, introduction to *Asrar al-Shari'a*, pp. 32-33.

²⁹⁵ Amulī, *Jāmi' al-Asrar*, p. 614.

²⁹⁶ E. Kohlberg, "Āmulī," p. 984.

²⁹⁷ See Muḥammad 'Alī Tabrizī (Mudarris), *Rayḥanat al-Adab fī Tarajim al-Ma'rufin bi al-Kunyat wa al-Alqab* (Tabriz: 'Ilmi, 1945), vol. 2, p. 498, or (Tabriz: Kitābūrushī Khayyām), 2nd. Ed., vol. 3, p. 475. See also E. Kohlberg, "Āmulī," p. 983.

²⁹⁸ O. Yahya, introduction to *Jāmi' al-Asrar*, p. 17.

2. 3. 2. Books and Treatises Attributed to Āmulī

The above-mentioned list contains the books and treatises which are mentioned by Sayyid Ḥaydar himself. There are, however, several other works which are attributed to Āmulī by some biographers, as follows:²⁹⁹

28. *Risālat Rāfiʿat al-Khilāf ʿan Wajh Sukūt Amīr al-Muʾminin ʿan al-Ikhtilāf*

This work is also called *Rafʿ al-Munāzaʿa*.³⁰⁰ Qāḍī Sayyid Nūrullāh Shūshtarī (d. 1019/1610) attributes this work to Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī and states that it was written at the request of his teacher Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn, and remarks besides that in fact this work is one of the most *naṭāʾis* (precious) of Āmulī's works.³⁰¹

This essay investigates the topic of *khilāfat al-Ilāhiyya*. The author explains therein why Imām ʿAlī remained at home for long after the death of Prophet Muḥammad, only to become caliph twenty five years later.³⁰²

29. *Talkhīṣ Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Sūfiyya*. This is a selection from the *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Sūfiyya* of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshī (d. ca. 735/1335), but classified according to a different scheme.³⁰³

30. *Risālat al-Muʿtamad min al-Manqūl fī mā Aṣḥā ilā al-Rasūl*. This work was finished in 733/1332.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁹ In the following I also attempt to follow chronological order in listing the titles.

³⁰⁰ Āgha Buzurg, *al-Ḥaqaʾiq al-Rahina fī al-Miʾat al-Thamina*, p. 70.

³⁰¹ Shushtari, *Majālis al-Muʾminin*, vol. 2, p. 53; O. Yahya, introduction to *Jamiʿ al-Asrar*, p. 25; Āfandī al-Iṣfahānī, *Riyaḍ al-ʿUlamaʾ*, vol. 2, p. 225.

³⁰² Shushtari, *Majālis al-Muʾminin*, vol. 2, p. 53.

³⁰³ Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Mūsawī al-Muqarram citing *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, vol. 1, p. 107. Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Mūsawī al-Muqarram's introduction to Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, *al-Kashkul fī-ma Jara ʿala Al al-Rasūl* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Balagh, 1987), p. 9.

31. *al-Kashkūl fīmā Jarā ʿalā Āli al-Rasūl*.³⁰⁵ This work is referred to by its author as *al-Kashkūl fīmā Jarā li Āli al-Rasūl min al-Jumhūr baʿd al-Rasūl*.³⁰⁶ It was written in Najaf in 735/1333-34,³⁰⁷ and eventually published in 1987 in Beirut³⁰⁸ with a short introduction containing a biography of Āmulī by Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Mūsawī al-Muqarram. The authorship of this work has been in dispute for a long time.³⁰⁹ Corbin has adduced convincing evidence that it is by a different author.³¹⁰ But Shūshtarī (d. 1019/1610), in his *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, states that this book was written by Sayyid Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAbdilī [?] al-Ḥusaynī al-Āmulī because it is like his other works.³¹¹ Similarly, Afandī al-Iṣfahānī claims that this book is certainly the work of Sayyid Ḥaydar and none other.³¹²

The subject-matter of *Kashkūl* is an argument about the succession of Imām ʿAlī and the twelve Imāms (peace be upon them) according to Shīʿa belief. From it one may deduce that the author supported the Shīʿa and had some problems with the Sunnī school.³¹³

³⁰⁴ Ismaʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hidayat al-ʿĀrifīn fi Asmaʾ al-Muʾallifīn wa al-Muṣannifīn* (Istanbul, 1951), vol. 1, p. 341.

³⁰⁵ Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Muqarram tries to make the case that this book was written by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. See his introduction to *al-Kashkūl fī mā Jarā ʿalā Āli al-Rasūl*, pp. 9, 10.

³⁰⁶ Sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Muqarram, introduction to *al-Kashkūl fī mā Jarā ʿalā Āli al-Rasūl*, p. 14.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁰⁸ By Muʾassasat al-Balagh.

³⁰⁹ al-Muqarram, introduction to *al-Kashkūl fī mā Jarā ʿalā Āli al-Rasūl*, pp. 9, 10.

³¹⁰ Corbin, *La Philosophie Shiʿite* (Tehran & Paris, 1969), p. 46, see also E. Kohlberg, "Āmolī," p. 984.

³¹¹ Qaḍī Sayyid Nur Allāh Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, vol. 2, p. 53; ʿĀjāz Ḥusayn al-Kanturī, *Kashf al-Ḥujub wa al-Astar ʿan Asmaʾ al-Kutub wa al-Asfār*, p. 470.

³¹² al-Iṣfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamaʾ*, vol. 2, p. 225.

³¹³ Āmulī, *al-Kashkūl, fī mā jarā ʿalā Āli al-Rasūl*, pp. 5-6.

32. *Muntakhabāt Anwār al-Sharīʿa*. This work seems to consist of a selection from a *tafsīr* by Sayyid Ḥaydar entitled *Muntakhab al-Taʿwīl*,³¹⁴ also referred to as *Risāla Muntakhab al-Taʿwīl fī bayān Kitāb Allāh wa ḥurūfih*.³¹⁵ The subject of this essay is that of the *uṣūl al-Dīn* (the roots of religion), the *arkān al-Islām* (pillar of Islam) and the *furūʿ al-Dīn* (the fundamental principles) of Islam.³¹⁶

33. *Risālat Zād al-Musāfirīn*. The general index of *Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Irān* (Library of the Congress of the Islamic Republic of Iran), (Tehran: 1984) possesses a manuscript, no. 1468, which the compiler considers to be one of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī's writings.³¹⁷

It might have been expected that Sayyid Ḥaydar would have mentioned these attributed works (nos. 27 to 33 above), particularly *al-Kashkūl* which was written in 735/1334, in his *Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, if they had actually been written by him. For the *Muqaddamāt* was composed in 782/1380,³¹⁸ i.e. 47 years after the time of *al-Kashkūl*.

34-35. There is no trace of any of the other works attributed to our writer, such as the books entitled *ʿAnqāʾ* and *Sīmurgh-i Qāl*, but for their titles.³¹⁹

³¹⁴ O. Yahyā, introduction to *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, citing H. Corbin, pp. 32, 56.

³¹⁵ Yahyā, introduction to *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, p. 32.

³¹⁶ See appendix, no. 11.

³¹⁷ Yahyā, introduction to *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, p. 54, and Khʿajavi, introduction to *Asrar al-Sharīʿa*, p. 35.

³¹⁸ See Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 537.

³¹⁹ M. Khʿajavi, introduction to *Asrar al-Sharīʿa*, p. 26.

2. 3. 3. Transcripts (*Istinsākhāt*)

Another significant contribution of Sayyid Ḥaydar was his efforts at *istinsākh*, i.e. transcribing older writings and *istiftā'*. Apart from the *al-Masā'il al-Āmuliyya*, there are twelve other treatises, all of which are in his handwriting.³²⁰ The first of these works was copied at the end of the month of *Rajab* in 759/1356-57,³²¹ in the city of Ḥilla. The writing of the *Masā'il* occurred in 761/1358-59 and that of the other *rasā'il* in 762/1359-60.³²² The *rasā'il* transcribed by Āmulī are as follows:

1. *As'ila*, i.e. some questions posed by Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī (d. 672/1273) to Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273).³²³

2. *Iṣṭilāḥāt-i Ḥukamā'*.³²⁴

3. *Sharḥ-i Kitāb-i 'Uyūn al-Ḥikma*, of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 606/1210). Khwājavi suggests that *'Uyūn al-Ḥikma* itself is by Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī;³²⁵ however, it is clear that *'Uyūn al-Ḥikma* was written by Ibn Sīnā and *Sharḥ-i 'Uyūn al-Ḥikma* by Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī.³²⁶

³²⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

³²¹ See O. Yahya's introduction to *Jamī' al-Asrār*, p. 56, and also al-Mirzā 'Abdullāh Afandī al-Isfahānī, who says that he saw this information in copies of *al-Masā'il al-Fiḥriyya* and *al-Masā'il al-Kalamiyya*. See al-Isfahani, *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā' wa Ḥiyāḍ al-Fuḍalā'*, vol. 2, p. 224.

³²² Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharī'a*, p. 33.

³²³ Ibid., p. 34.

³²⁴ Ibid., p. 34.

³²⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

³²⁶ Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī wrote more than 67 treatises on several subjects, according to Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282). See Ibn Khallikān's biographical notice included as an introduction to al-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr* (Egypt: al-Maṭba'at al-Bahīyyat al-Miṣriyya, 1302/1884), pp. H., W. No. 51.

4. *al-Masā'il al-Madaniyya* (Madinan Questions). This book was written by ʿAllāma Ḥilli.³²⁷ There is an *ijāza* from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn on the back cover of the manuscript where he corrects some of the opinions of his father.³²⁸

5. *Masā'il-i Mutafarriqa*.³²⁹

6. *Rasā'il-i Khwāja Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī*.³³⁰

7. *Risāla fī al-Ḥajj al-Mutamatti' bihī wa Wājibātihī*. This treatise was written by Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn.

8. *Risālat al-Ḥudūd*. This *risāla* was written by Abū ʿAlī ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) (d. 428/1037).³³¹

9. *Risālat al-ʿIlm*.³³²

10. *Risālat Miʿrāj al-Salāma wa Minhāj al-Karāma*, written by ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī (d. 690/1291).³³³

11. *Risālat al-Qaḍā' wa al-Qadar*, written by Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728).³³⁴

³²⁷ His full name was Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Yūsuf ibn ʿA. Ibn al-Muḥaqqar Ayatullah al-ʿAllamah al-Ḥilli. He was born on the 20th of *Ramaḍān al-Mubārak*, 648/1250 and died on the 10th/11th of *Muḥarrām al-Ḥarām*, 726/1325. He was one of the great Shīʿī *faqih*, *uṣūlī* and *kalamī*, and wrote about 39 books in several subjects. See Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 206-209.

³²⁸ Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 34.

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 34.

³³⁰ Ibid., p. 34. M. Khwājavi does not indicate which works.

³³¹ M. Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 34.

³³² Ibid., p. 34.

³³³ Ibid., p. 34. Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī (or Baḥraynī) was one of the great philosophers of Islam in the seventh century *Hijra*. He was one of the pupils of Kamāl al-Dīn Shaykh Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī and Ibn Maytham al-Baḥrānī. He was contemporary to Khwāja Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī. The exact date of his death is unclear, but it was probably before that of Ibn Maytham, about 690/1291, in Baḥrayn. Jurfariqānī, *Az Kulayni ta Khumayni*, p. 63; for more information about ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī and Maytham al-Baḥrānī see ʿAlī al-Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," M. A. thesis (Montreal: Mc Gill University, 1992).

12. *Risāla-yi Tawḥīd*.³³⁵

³³⁴ M. Kh^ājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shariʿa*, p. 34. His full name is Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī al-Ḥasan Yaṣar al-Baṣrī. He was born in 21/642 in Medina. He grew up in *Wādi al-Qurāʾ* and, one year after the Battle of *Ṣiffin* (between Muʿāwiyat ibn Abī Sufyān and Imām ʿAlī), he went to Baṣra. He took part in the campaigns of conquest in eastern Iran (43/663). Thereafter, he lived as a famous *wāʿiẓ* (preacher) in Baṣra until his death in 110/728. H. Ritter, "Ḥasan al-Baṣrī," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 3, pp. 247.

³³⁵ M. Kh^ājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Shariʿa*, p. 34.

Part II: An Overview of the Doctrine of Amulī

The main objective of this part of the thesis is to clarify two views of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. The first view is his solution of the differences existing between the three groups of the people of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*, which forms the third chapter. The last chapter of this part is concerned with Āmulī's view of *Imāma*, by making reference to several of his works, such as *Asrār al-Sharīʿa wa-Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa-Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa*, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa-Manbaʿ al-Anwār* and etc.

Chapter 3.

Āmulī on the Relation Between *Sharīʿa*, *Ṭarīqa* and *Ḥaqīqa*

3.1. Solution to the Difference Between the people of *Sharīʿa*, *Ṭarīqa* and *Ḥaqīqa*

3. 1. 1. Āmulī's View of the Solution

3. 1. 2. The Relation Between *ʿAql* and *Sharʿ*

3. 1. 3. Meaning of *Sharīʿa*, *Ṭarīqa* and *Ḥaqīqa*

3. 1. 4. Dominance of *Sharīʿa*, *Ṭarīqa* and *Ḥaqīqa*.

3. 1. 4. 1. *Sharīʿa* in the According to the View of Amulī

3. 1. 4. 2. *Ṭarīqa* in the View of Āmulī

3. 1. 4. 3. *Ḥaqīqa* in the View of Āmulī

CHAPTER 3. THREE APPROACHES TO THE TRUTH AND THEIR RELATIONS

It should be noted that most of the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ* who used technical *ṣūfī* terms did not belong to any specific path of Sufism. Neither Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, nor philosophers such as Mīr Dāmād (d. 1040/1630) or Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1050/1640) belonged to any *ṭarīqa*.

It would seem to be the case that it was first and foremost the congregational organization of Sufism that the Shīʿī critics had in mind when they rejected it as an institution, particularly the shaykh's role as a substitute for the Imām and even more so his status as Imām *al-Ghā'ib* (hidden Imām), since he is invisible as the inner master and guide.³³⁶

Among Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī had a significant role in offering a new solution to the conflict between Shīʿism and Sufism.

To sum up, the significance of Sayyid Ḥaydar lies in the following major areas:

1. His solution to the differences between the peoples of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*;
2. Giving a clear explanation of the relation between *ʿaql* and *sharʿ*;
3. This clarification of the views on *Walāya* and *Imāma* held by the three peoples.

³³⁶ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 190.

3. 1. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF SHARĪʿA, ṬARĪQA AND ḤAQĪQA

As is well-known, certain conflicts have existed between *fuqahā'*, *ṣūfīs* and *ʿurafā'*. Sometimes *ṣūfīs* rejected *sharīʿa* law, and one may also point to those *fuqahā'* who considered some *ʿurafā'* to be *kāfīrs* (unbelievers). Āmulī attempted to resolve these conflicts. To begin with, he tried to put all groups existing within the Shīʿī community under one umbrella.

As a matter of fact, Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191), years before Sayyid Ḥaydar, took the initiative to unite philosophy with sufism; the initiative of Āmulī in the eighth/fourteenth century brought together Shīʿīs who had forgotten their origins and vocation. In his view the concepts of *ḥikmat-i ilāhiyya* (theosophy) and *ʿirfān-i shīʿī* (Shīʿa gnosis) overlapped.³³¹

3. 1. 1. Āmulī's View of the Solution

In his introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, Āmulī, before proceeding to a discussion of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*, explains why he wrote this book:

[I see] most of the elite and the common of this time think that *sharīʿah* is at variance with *ṭarīqah* and *ṭarīqah* is at variance with *ḥaqīqah*; they imagine that there are real differences between these various levels and they attribute certain things to each of them which are inappropriate, in particular to the group which affirms the Oneness of Allah, namely the group known as *Ṣūfīs*. The reason for this is their lack of knowledge of the various spiritual states of each of the three groups and their deficient understanding of their beliefs and principles. Thus I desired to make

³³¹ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, 217.

clear these different states to those who had misconceptions about them;
...³³⁸

Sayyid Ḥaydar also explains in his *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār* why he engaged in an attempt to resolve the conflicts between the above-mentioned groups: "I understood that one of the best ways of obtaining great prosperity is to be engaged in Divine knowledge and to be concentrated on that, which in its own turn is one of the causes that can solve differences between believers."³³⁹

Āmulī confirms this point with the following words of God: "There is no good in most of their secret counsels except (in his) who enjoins charity or goodness or reconciliation between people..."³⁴⁰

Similarly, he was inspired by the words "Most surely this is the mighty achievement"³⁴¹ and also the verse "For the like of this then let the workers work."³⁴²

According to Āmulī, he would deserve to be considered a *bakhīl* (miser) if he did not involve himself in such issues, for stinginess in knowledge is even worse than ordinary stinginess.³⁴³ Āmulī found support for this attitude in the following Qurʾānic verse: "And there are those of them who made a covenant with Allāh: If He give us out of His grace, we will certainly give alms and we will certainly be of the good."³⁴⁴ And

³³⁸ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 5, and idem, *Inner Secrets of the Path*, pp. 5-6.

³³⁹ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 12, under no. 20.

³⁴⁰ See *Holy Qurʾān*, *Sūrat al-Nisāʾ*, 114.

³⁴¹ Ibid., *Sūrat al-Ṣāffāt*, 60.

³⁴² Ibid., *Sūrat al-Ṣāffāt*, 61.

³⁴³ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 12, under no. 20.

³⁴⁴ See *Holy Qurʾān*, *Sūrat al-Tawba*, 75.

also "But when He gave them out of His grace, they became niggardly of it and they turned back and they withdrew."³⁴⁵

Āmulī was an early proponent of the thesis that Imāmī Shīʿism, which combines the *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa*, and *ḥaqīqa*, is identical with sufism. Every true Shīʿī referred to by Āmulī as *al-Muʾmin al-Mumtaḥan* (an examined believer), is also a *ṣūfī*, and vice versa.³⁴⁶

3. 1. 2. Relation Between ʿAql and Sharʿ

One significant feature of Āmulī's idea of *Imāma* is his view that the *sharīʿa* must be based on the *ʿaql* (intellect). Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn, the son of ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, was one of the great *faqīhs* (jurisprudences) who taught Āmulī. In an *ijāza* (license) which he wrote for the latter he mentions: "Sayyid Ḥaydar is one of the great scholars who combine the sciences of tradition with those of reason, and those of the foundations of jurisprudence with its branches."³⁴⁷

When one looks at some of the works authored by Sayyid Ḥaydar, one quickly sees that this claim is true.³⁴⁸ One example of this can be found in his discussion in the third aspect of the *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, which Sayyid Ḥaydar entitles as follows:

How the *ʿaql* (intellect) is dependent upon the *sharʿ* (divine code of laws) and how the latter is dependent upon the *ʿaql* (intellect) and how each is dependent upon the other. ³⁴⁹

³⁴⁵ Ibid., *Sūrat al-Tawba*, 76.

³⁴⁶ See Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, pp. 46-48; and see also appendix, no. 17.

³⁴⁷ See appendix, no. 4, and M. Khwājavi, introduction to *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. xx.

³⁴⁸ See Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥiṭ al-Aʿzam*, vol. 1, pp. 203-206, 293-300.

³⁴⁹ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa*, p. 36.

Āmulī investigates here the claim that the *sharʿ* is contrary to the *ʿaql*, and comes to the conclusion that, in fact, the whole system of legal duties and ordinances with all its details and ramifications is based on the intellect and is within the true grasp of the thinking man.³⁵⁰

More than this, he believes that all the workings of existence are based on the intellect and the *ʿāqil* (the man of intellect). These parameters of existence came into being and so will end with the annihilation of existence. Thus it has been said:

Glory to whom so ever brought existence into being with the intellect and sealed it with the *ʿāqil* (the men of intellect).³⁵¹

In a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet it has also been narrated:

The first thing that Allāh created was the *ʿaql* (intellect) there upon He said to it: 'Come close'; then immediately, it came closer. Then He said to it: 'Go back'; immediately it went back. Then He said: 'I swear in My Glory and My Power, I did not create any creations more beloved to Me than you (intellect): By you I take, and by you I give, by you I reward and by you I punish...'³⁵²

Sayyid Ḥaydar likens the relation and interdependence of intellect and *sharʿ* (divine code) to that of body and soul. What he means by this is that just as the workings of the soul and the manifestation of its attributes and perfection are not possible without the body, so are the workings of the *sharʿ* (divine code) and the

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 39.

³⁵¹ Ibid., p. 39.

³⁵² Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharʿa*, pp. 39, 40; this *Ḥadīth* is recorded in Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 1, p. 97, and also Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī al-Uṣūl wa al-Rawḍa*, vol. 1, p. 67.

manifestations of its various levels not possible without the *‘aql*.³⁵³ So in one word the intellect is not independent of the *shar‘*, nor the *shar‘* independent of the *‘aql*.³⁵⁴

According to Sayyid Ḥaydar, intellect consists of several different levels: the *‘aql al-hayūlānī* (material intellect), the *‘aql bi al-malaka* (faculty of intellect), the *‘aql bi al-ffl* (active intellect), and the *‘aql al-mustafād* (acquired intellect).³⁵⁵ He explains that the first and the second levels are those of the common people, the third level (*‘aql bi al-ffl*) that of the *khāṣṣ* (elite) and the fourth that of the *khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ* (elite of elite) from amongst the prophets and *awliyā’* (saints).³⁵⁶ Āmulī follows Ibn Sīnā (without saying so explaining) by dividing intellect into four levels.³⁵⁷

3. 1. 3. Meanings of *Shari‘a*, *Tariqa* & *Haqiqa*

The original definition of *shari‘a* and also that of *shar‘* is "road to the watering place;"³⁵⁸ hence by extension it came to mean the clear path to be followed, the path which the believer has to tread, and as a technical term,³⁵⁹ the totality of Allāh's

³⁵³ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Shari‘a wa Aṭwār al-Tariqa wa Anwār al-Haqiqa*, p. 40.

³⁵⁴ Āmulī, *Jāmi‘ al-Asrār*, p. 372, no. 741

³⁵⁵ Cf. Āmulī, *Asrār al-Shari‘a*, p. 135 and *Jāmi‘ al-Asrār*, p. 372, # 740. Nevertheless, a different order can be found in *Asrār al-Shari‘a*, p. 40, where *al-‘aql bi al-ffl* corresponds to *shar‘* and *al-‘aql bi al-malaka* to *tariqa*. This is more likely a mistake by the editor or a misprint.

³⁵⁶ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Shari‘a*, p. 135, and also *Jāmi‘ al-Asrār*, p. 372 no. 740.

³⁵⁷ Originally Sayyid Ḥaydar borrows these four kinds of *‘aql* from Ibn Sīnā. See Ibn Sīnā, *Ishārāt wa Tanbīhāt* (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-yi Fārābī, 1360), namaṭ. 3.

³⁵⁸ Ismā‘īl ibn Ḥammād al-Jawhārī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ; Tāj al-Lughā wa Ṣiḥāḥ al-‘Arabiyya*, ed. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Ghafūr ‘Aṭṭār (Egypt: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabi. 1955), vol. 3, p. 1236.

³⁵⁹ See Joseph Schacht, "Shari‘a," in *First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (New York: E. J. Brill, 1987), vol. 7, p. 320.

commandments to worship,³⁶⁰ the religion of Islām, the *qānūn* (canon or law) of Islām.³⁶¹

Tarīqa and also *ṭarīq* are Arabic terms, meaning "path, way, road," and have in Muslim mysticism two technical meanings:

1. In the 3rd-5th centuries A.H., they denote a method of moral psychology for the practical guidance of individuals who had a mystical call. Thus al-Jawharī (d. 396/1005), a very learned scholar, states that *ṭarīqat al-Rajul* means "the religion of the man";³⁶²

2. After the 6th century A.H., they stand for the whole system of rites for spiritual training laid down in the various Muslim religious orders which began to be founded at this time.³⁶³

Ḥaqīqa, (pl. *ḥaqā'iq*) is a noun meaning literally "reality"; thus it is said, *lā ḥaqīqata lahū* of a thing that has no reality or truth.³⁶⁴ A "reality" is a thing which of course exists; thus *ahl al-ḥaqīqa* describes those mystics who know the real nature of

³⁶⁰ al-Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, vol. 3, p. 1236. *Sharī'a* can also mean a single *ḥukm* (rule) just as the plural *shara'iyi* can mean *aḥkam*. See Joseph Schacht, "Sharī'a," in *First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936*, vol. 7, p. 320.

³⁶¹ Joseph Schacht, "Sharī'a," in *First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936*, vol. 7, p. 320.

³⁶² al-Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, vol. 4, p. 1513.

³⁶³ To the claim that the word *ṭarīqa* in the first sense (cf. texts by Junayd, Ḥallāj, Sarraj, Qushayrī and Hujwiri) is still vague, one may explain that *ṭarīqa* means perfect and ideal method or (*ri'āya*), whereas *suluk* is better suited to describe the succession psychological stage (*maqāmāt*, *aḥwāl*) leading one who has been called to proceed from the *sharī'a* to the *ḥaqīqa*. See Massignon, "Ṭarīqa," in *First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936*, vol. 8, p. 667.

³⁶⁴ Also, *al-Ḥaqīqa* is the opposite of *al-majāz* (metaphor). al-Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, vol. 4, p. 1461.

God, as apposed to *ahl al-ḥaqq*, the accepted followers of the *Sunna*. *Ḥaqqīqa* is also the goal at the end of the *darwīsh ṭarīqa*.³⁶⁵

Āmulī describes several different views about these terms, and finally elaborates his own ideas.

According to one of them, *sharīʿa* is the name of the God-given path which lies before man. It encompasses both the principles and the branches of the paths; it also includes both the *rūkhaṣ* (the special dispensations) and the *ʿazāʾim* (incantations); it also encompasses all those actions which may be qualified as *ḥasan* (good) or *aḥsan* (more excellent). *Ṭarīqa* is the way of maximum prudence, the path of the best and surest behavior, and thus is any path which leads a man to the best speech or action whether, in the attributes he acquires or the states he experiences. *Ḥaqqīqa* is an affirmation of the existence of something, whether through *kashf* (unveiling), *ʿiyān* (direct vision), or *ḥālātun wa wijdānūn* (mystical consciousness).³⁶⁶

Thus it has also been said the meaning of *sharīʿa* is that you worship God, *ṭarīqa*, that you attain His presence, and *ḥaqqīqa*, that you witness Him.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ Allah can be *Ḥaqqat al-ḥaqqīq* as the stage of unity which embraces all realities. The *ḥaqq* of Allah is distinguished by the *Ṣūfī* masters from his *ḥaqq*, in that the former indicates his *ṣifat* (qualities) while *ḥaqq* indicates his *dhat*. See Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Tahanawī, *Mawsuʿat Iṣtilāḥat al-ʿUlūm al-Islamiyya, al-Maʿruf bi Kashshaf Iṣtilāḥat al-Funūn* (Beirut: al-Maktabat al-Islamiyya Khayyat, 1966), vol. 2, p. 333. See also D. B. Macdonald, "Ḥaqqīqa," *First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936*, vol. 3, p. 223.

³⁶⁶ Āmulī, *Asrar al-Sharīʿa wa Aṭwar al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwar al-Ḥaqqīqa*, p. 8; see also his *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, p. 344, no. 685.

³⁶⁷ See Āmulī, *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, p. 344, no. 685, and also *Asrar al-Sharīʿa wa Aṭwar al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwar al-Ḥaqqīqa*, p. 8.

According to some other scholars, the *sharīʿa* means that you *tuqīmu amrahu* (respect His command),³⁶⁸ *ṭarīqa* that you *tuqīmu bi amrihī* (carry out His command),³⁶⁹ and *ḥaqīqa* that you *taqūma ʿihī* (exist by Him).³⁷⁰ Āmulī believed that this meaning is supported by the Prophet's words: "The *sharīʿa* is my *aqwāl* (words), the *ṭarīqa* is my *afʿāl* (actions), and the *ḥaqīqa* is my *aḥwāl* (moods)..."³⁷¹

Āmulī continues by pointing to a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, according to which he asked Ḥāritha³⁷² about the strength of his belief and Ḥāritha replied that he had become a *mū'minan ḥaqqan* (a true believer). After that the Messenger stated that there is a reality for every truth, and asked what was the reality of his belief. Ḥāritha said that he saw the people of Paradise visiting each other and the people of Hell howling at each other, and he saw the throne of his Lord... then the Prophet confirmed him.³⁷³

Relying on his *ḥadīth*, Sayyid Ḥaydar asserts that Ḥāritha's faith in the *Ghayb* (unseen) was his *sharīʿa*, that his in difference to this world and the actions undertaken

³⁶⁸ *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, p.

³⁶⁹ *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p.

³⁷⁰ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa wa Aṭwar al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwar al-Ḥaqīqa*, p. 8; see also *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, p. 344, no. 685.

³⁷¹ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 8; see also idem, *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, p. 346, no. 687.

³⁷² Ḥāritha was one of the companions of the Prophet who was martyred in a battle against the enemies of Islam. His full name was Ḥāritha ibn Mālik ibn Nuʿmān al-Anṣārī, and his *kunya* was Abū ʿAbdillāh. See Kulaynī, *al-Kaṣī al-Uṣūl wa al-Rawḍa*, al-Mazandarānī's commentary, vol. 8, p. 167, and Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 22, p. 126, no. 6.

³⁷³ M. Kulaynī, *al-Kaṣī al-Uṣūl wa al-Rawḍa*, vol. 8, pp. 167, 168, see also *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, pp. 345, 346, no. 685, for more information about this *ḥadīth* in Shīʿa sources see M. B. Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 22, pp. 126, 146, 304, and also vol. 67, pp. 286, 287, 299, 313. One may know Ḥāritha *ḥadīth* is also famous in Sunni sources see H. Landolt, introduction and commentary to Nur al-Dīn Isfarāyīnī, *Le Revelateur Des Mysteres, Kashif al-Asrār* (Lagrasse, [France]: Verdiner, 1986), p. 96f.

by him such as merited this degree were his *ṭarīqa*, and that his unveiling and consciousness of Hell, the throne, and Paradise were his *ḥaqīqa*.³⁷⁴

It has also been said that the Islamic legal code is like an almond nut: i.e. it includes oil, a kernel and a shell, thus the almond as a whole is the *sharīʿa*, the kernel represents the *ṭarīqa* and the oil is the *ḥaqīqa*. A similar comparison has been made on the basis of *ṣalāt* (prayer); the prayer consists of *khidma* (service), i.e. *sharīʿa*, *qurba* (coming closer), i.e. *ṭarīqa*, and *wuṣṣa* (arrival), i.e. *ḥaqīqa*. Moreover, the word prayer includes all of them.³⁷⁵

Āmulī realized that *sharīʿa* means man's affirmation of the prophets sayings in his heart and his action. *Ṭarīqa* is the fulfillment and realization of the prophets' deeds and ethics together with the putting into practice of the prophetic pattern of behavior. *Ḥaqīqa* is the witnessing of the stations and states of the prophets through unveiling.³⁷⁶

3. 1. 3. Relation Between Sharīʿa, Ṭarīqa & Ḥaqīqa

Based on the different definitions offered by Sayyid Āmulī, one may conclude that, according to him, *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa* are not different in origin but are several aspects of one reality.³⁷⁷ In other words Āmulī wanted to consider *sharīʿa*,

³⁷⁴ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa wa Aṭwar al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwar al-Ḥaqīqa*, p. 9; see also his *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, pp. 344, 345, no. 685.

³⁷⁵ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 9; see also his *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, p. 345, no. 686.

³⁷⁶ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 9; see also idem, *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, p. 345, no. 687.

³⁷⁷ Āmulī, *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, p. 354, no. 704; see also idem, *Asrar al-Sharīʿa*, p. 8.

ṭarīqa and *ḥaqīqa* as synonyms for one truth, but in different terms.³⁷⁸ We can say that they are in fact three levels or stations; thus, the people of *ḥaqīqa* are at a higher position than the people of *ṭarīqa*, just as the people of *ṭarīqa* are at a higher level than the people of *sharīʿa*.³⁷⁹ Figure 3 may help to illustrate Āmulī's idea:

³⁷⁸ S. Ḥ. Āmulī, *Asrar al-Sharīʿa*, p. 5; see also his *Inner Secrets of the Path*, trans. A. ad-Dhaakir Yate, p. 6.

³⁷⁹ Ḥ. Āmulī, *Inner Secrets of the Path*, trans. A. ad-Dhaakir Yate, p. 9; see also idem, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrar*, p. 354, no. 704.

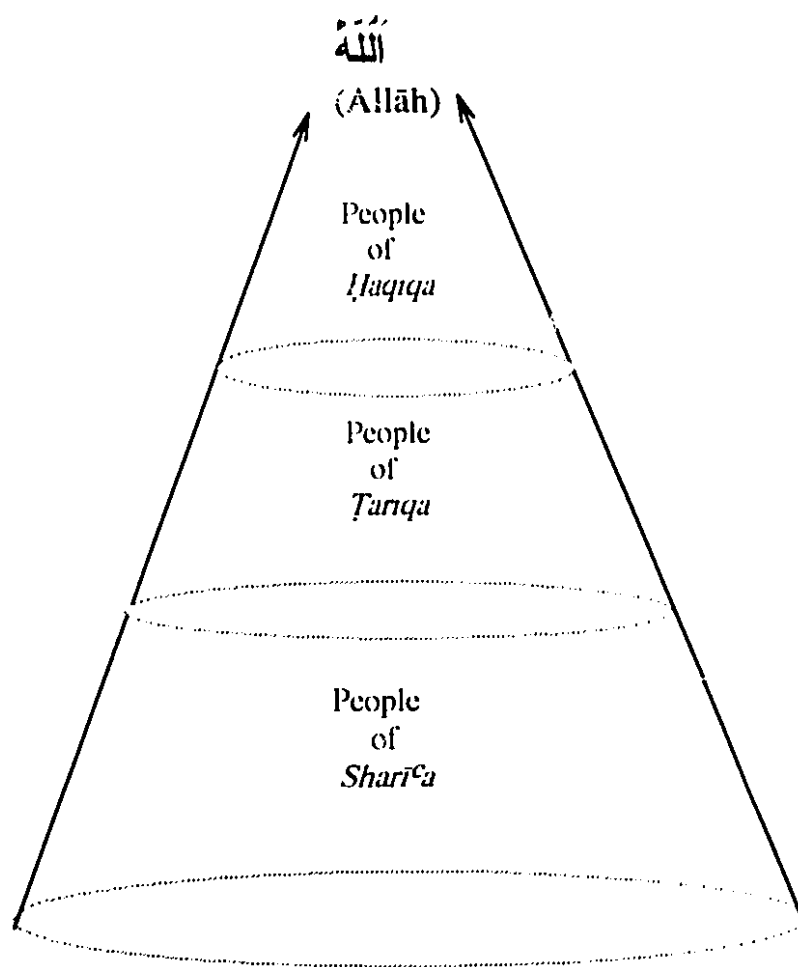


Figure: 3. This figure shows the relation between three groups of Muslims:

the peoples of *shari'ca*, *tariqa* and *haqiqa*.

Therefore the *shari'ca* is the initial level, *tariqa* the intermediate stage and *haqiqa* the final level. And whereas the perfection of beginning lies in the mean or the intermediate, so does the perfection of the intermediate lie in the end; and just as the

intermediate is not attained without the beginning, so the end is not attained without the intermediate. By this, Āmulī means that just as the existence of that which is above is not possible without that which is below, so too existence at the intermediate level is not possible without the beginning stage, nor existence at the final stage without the intermediate.³⁸⁰

Thus, *sharīʿah* is possible without *ṭarīqah*, although *ṭarīqah* is not possible without *sharīʿah*; likewise, *ṭarīqah* is possible without *ḥaqīqah*, but *ḥaqīqah* without *ṭarīqah* is not. This is because each is the perfection of the other. Therefore, although there is no contradiction between the three levels, the perfection of *sharīʿah* is only possible through *ṭarīqah* and that of *ṭarīqah* only possible through *ḥaqīqah*. Accordingly, the [*kāmil al-mukammil* (the perfect who perfects others)] is the one who joins together all three levels, for the sum of two things, or two states when joined together, must be better and more perfect than the two when separate: the people of *ḥaqīqah* are therefore superior in relation to the people of *sharīʿah* and *ṭarīqah*.³⁸¹

Although most adherents of sufism are to be found among the Sunnī majority, it is regarded in Shīʿī Islam as the thought and the spirituality which originated in the teaching of the holy Imāms. Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī took it upon himself to remind us of this very fact.³⁸² Based on this, Āmulī gives his opinion on the relation of *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa* with the *sharīʿa* of the Ahl al-Bayt.³⁸³

³⁸⁰ S. H. Amuli, *Asrar al-Sharīʿa*, p. 31; see also his *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, p. 354, no. 704.

³⁸¹ H. Amuli, *Inner Secrets of the Path*, trans. A. ad-Dhaakir Yate, p. 36; see also his *Asrar al-Sharīʿa*, p. 31.

³⁸² Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 261.

³⁸³ The *Ahl al-Bayt* includes the Prophet and his progeny, such as Imām ʿAlī, Faṭīma-yi Zahraʾ, Imām Ḥasan, and Imām Ḥusayn. The *Ahl al-Bayt* in the view of Shīʿa must be *maʿṣūm* (infallible); the Shīʿa believe that the Prophet, Faṭīma-yi Zahraʾ and all of the twelve Imāms are *maʿṣūm* and that they belong to the *Ahl al-Bayt*.

To have a better understanding of the relation between these three notions, let us consider each of them from Āmulī's standpoint.

3. 1. 4. *The Domain of Sharīʿa, Ṭarīqa and Ḥaqīqa*

Sayyid Ḥaydar demonstrates his understanding of these three approaches to the truth by drawing various examples from Islamic teachings.

One such example involves the different ways in which Muslim scholars seek understanding, an example which is reinforced by a *ḥadīth* from Imām ʿAlī: *sharīʿa* is a river and *ḥaqīqa* a sea. The *fuqahāʾ* keep to the banks of the river; the *ḥukamāʾ* (sages) for their part dive for *durar* (pearls) in the sea; and as for the *ʿurafāʾ* (gnostics), they travel on the surface of the water in "boats of salvation".³⁸⁴

Another example involves the relation of the prophets to their peoples. Sayyid Ḥaydar states that relation of Moses to his people is like *sharīʿa*, that of Jesus to his people like *ṭarīqa* and that of Muḥammad to his people like *ḥaqīqa*.³⁸⁵

Sayyid Ḥaydar also speaks extensively of the relations between *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa*, *ḥaqīqa* and *tawḥīd* in works such as *Asrār al-Sharīʿa* and *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*.³⁸⁶ He points out that only the *ahl al-ḥaqīqa/ulū al-albāb* are those able to be *mushāhidat al-kull ʿan al-rabb al-ḥaqīqī* (witnesses of the total "existence as from the true Lord)" without imperfection this witnessing is based on absolute unity and

³⁸⁴ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, 34; see also his *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, pp. 358, 359, no. 712, and *al-Muqaddamat min kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 486, no. 1024. As far as I know this *ḥadīth* is not mention in *Bihar al-Anwār*, *al-Jāmiʿa li Durar Akhbār al-Aʿimmat al-Aṭhar* by ʿAllama M. Aaqir Majlisī (d. 1111/1697).

³⁸⁵ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, pp. 34, 35.

³⁸⁶ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, under *al-Baḥth al-Thalith* from p. 359.

perfect understanding of *tawhīd-i fī'li* (unity of divine action), *waṣfī* (attribute) and *dhātī* (essence).³⁸⁷

3. 1. 4. 1. *Sharī'ah* in the View of Āmulī

Unquestionably, when Sayyid Ḥaydar comes to the representatives of *kalām* (theology) in Islam, he is more severe. But when Āmulī condemns the weaknesses of the official sciences, he has in mind principally all those for whom Islamic thought consists merely of questions of law, or knowledge of *fīqh*, be they Shī'ī or Sunnī.³⁸⁸

Āmulī believed that all knowledge is of two kinds: *irthiyya* (inherited) and *kasbiyya* (acquired).³⁸⁹ The first kind which means basically inspired knowledge, does not need to be acquired from the external world by means of effort and human teaching.³⁹⁰ When Āmulī speaks of *irthiyya* knowledge, it is important to know to whom he believes these *ḥadīth* of Prophet applied: *al-ʿUlamā' warathat al-Anbiyā'* (Those who have 'knowledge' are the heirs of the prophets);³⁹¹ *Midād al-ʿUlamā' ashraf (afḍal) min dimā' al-Shuhadā'* (The ink of the sages is more delicate and precious than the blood of martyrs); *ʿUlamā' ummatī ka anbiyā' banī Isrā'īl* (The sages of my community are equivalent with the prophets of Israel).³⁹²

³⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 35, see also *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, pp. 354, 355, no. 705.

³⁸⁸ Corbin, *Tārkh-i Falsafa-yi Islāmī*, vol. 1, p. 84.

³⁸⁹ On the other hand sometimes the *ʿulamā'* of the *ḥaqīqa* called it *rasmiyya* or *ḥaqīqiyya*. Sayyid Ḥaydar himself refer to it as *rasmiyya* and *ḥaqīqiyya* in his *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 228, no. 440, see also the whole chapter on this, starting on p. 472.

³⁹⁰ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 426.

³⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 421-422.

³⁹² Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 60.

Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī excludes *a priori* any interpretation which is derived from the four great Sunnī Imāms,³⁹³ in that this would make them the heirs of the prophets. They themselves never made such a claim, and their knowledge is all of the type "acquired from the external world."³⁹⁴ *Irthiyya* (inherited) knowledge presupposes *nisbat al-Maʿnawiyya* (a spiritual affiliation), the model of which is the case of *al-Aʿimmat al-maʿṣūmīn* (infallible imāms), who received their knowledge from the sons of Imām ʿAlī (p.) and no others.³⁹⁵

However, more than one person followed them and became *ṣāhib al-Sirr*, such as Salmān-i Fārsī (the Persian),³⁹⁶ because it was said of him that *anta minnā ahl al-Bayt*³⁹⁷ (you are a part of us, a member of the House of the Prophet).³⁹⁸ Our author states that the "family" of the *Ahl al-Bayt* is not the external family, but rather is the *Bayt al-ʿilm wa al-Maʿrifat wa al-Ḥikma* (the family of knowledge, gnosis and

³⁹³ Here the four Imāms mean the four founders of the legal school of Sunnī Islam: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and Shāfiʿi.

³⁹⁴ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, pp. 425-426, no. 634.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 426, no. 855.

³⁹⁶ Salmān-i Fārsī is said to have been born in or around the year A.D. 568, in Fars, perhaps in Rāmhurmuz or Jiyy near Iṣfahan. His Persian name was Ruzbih. Many years later when he became Muslim the Prophet changed his name to Salman. While he was a boy he left his father's house to follow a Christian monk but after meeting the Prophet he left everything and forgot every connection for the sake of Islam. Thus he was the best companion of Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ). He was named 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh, but when he was asked about his father, he replied that his name was Salman the son of Islam. He plays an important role in the *futuwwa*, the workman's corporations of tradition, one of the principal links in the mystic *silsila* (chain) and is one of the member of *Ahl al-Bayt*. His death is placed in 35 or 36 A.H. Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd al-Muʿtazilī, *Sharḥ Nahaj al-Balāgha*, vol. 18, p. 34. For more information see Sayed A. Razwy, *Salman El-Farsi, Salman the Persian friend of Prophet Muḥammed* (Qum: Anṣariyān Publications, 1372s); see also G. Levi Della Vida, "Salman al-Farsi," *First Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913-1936*, vol. 7, pp. 116, 117.

³⁹⁷ Muḥammad ibn al-Nuʿmān al-Mufid al-Baghdādi, *al-Ikhtisāṣ* (Tehran: Maktabat al-Ṣaduq, 1959), p. 341, and Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 500, no. 1023.

³⁹⁸ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 25, no. 46.

wisdom).³⁹⁹ This prophetic House is constituted by the Twelve Imāms, who, originally and even before they appeared on earth, had this basis of relationship and affiliation.

Āmulī, analyzing the first of the above phrases dealing with the prophetic heritage, warns us against the ambiguity of the Arabic form *ʿulamāʾ*. He translates it as follows: those who have external knowledge are not heirs to the prophets. Furthermore, those who are not heirs are not sages. The quality of being an heir means that good and truth comes to one automatically and is not acquired from outside.⁴⁰⁰

3. 1. 4. 2. *ṭarīqa* in the View of Āmulī

According to Corbin

The *bāṭin* isolated from the *ẓāhir*, rejected even, produces a situation in which philosophers and mystics are out of true, engaged upon a path which becomes increasingly 'compromising'. We gain a clear idea of this phenomenon, which up to now has not been analysed, from the protests of all those Shiites (with Ḥaydar Āmulī at the head) who understand full well the chief reason for Islam's descent into a purely legalistic religion. They deny that 'four imāms' can be the heirs of the Prophet, firstly because their knowledge is wholly exoteric, and so is in no way a knowledge which is a spiritual heritage (*ʿilm-i irthī*); and secondly, because the function of the *walāyah* is precisely to make the Imāms the heirs of the *bāṭin*...⁴⁰¹

As mentioned before, Āmulī is among those who have dwelt at length on the differences between the *ʿulūm al-kasbiyya* (official sciences), and knowledge in the

³⁹⁹ Āmulī, *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, pp. 500, 501, no. 1023. Thus one of the proofs of this meaning for Āmulī is a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet where he states "*law ʿalīma Abū Dharr mā fi baṭni Salman min al-ḥikma la kaffarahū*." (If Abū Dharr knew what is the wisdom the Salman's heart surely Abū Dharr would believe that Salman is an unbeliever). For more information see *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, p. 501, nos. 1024, 1025.

⁴⁰⁰ See Āmulī, *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, pp. 499, 450, no. 1022, and also Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, pp. 60, 61, and Corbin, *Tārkh-i Falsafa-yi Islāmī*, vol. 1, pp. 86, 87.

⁴⁰¹ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 51.

true sense, received by way of a spiritual heritage (*ʿulūm al-irṭhiyya* or *ḥaqīqīyya*), all at once or gradually through divine training.⁴⁰²

Sayyid Ḥaydar tries to show how the knowledge of the second category can grow separately of the first, but not the other way around. It is not so much the philosophers who are being envisaged, for in a sense his own work is a masterly summing-up of the philosophical situation in Islam.⁴⁰³

Āmulī brings together the conclusions of many scholars on this point: Aḫḍal al-Dīn Kāshī,⁴⁰⁴ Naṣīr al-Dīn Kāshī and Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshānī,⁴⁰⁵ the two Baḥrānīs,⁴⁰⁶ Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī,⁴⁰⁷ Ṣadr al-Dīn Iṣfahānī known as Turka,⁴⁰⁸ Aḫḍal al-Dīn Khūnajī,⁴⁰⁹ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ghazzālī,⁴¹⁰ Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī and even Shaykh al-Raʾīs Abū ʿAlī ibn Sīnā.⁴¹¹ In short, all the philosophers referred to are as one in agreeing that speculation does not lead to knowledge of oneself; to

⁴⁰² Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwar*, p. 426.

⁴⁰³ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 58, and Corbin, *Tārīkh Falsafa-yi Islāmī*, vol. 1, p. 83.

⁴⁰⁴ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwar*, p. 496, no. 1015.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 496, no. 1014.

⁴⁰⁶ One of them was Kamāl al-Dīn Maytham ibn ʿAlī ibn Maytham Baḥrānī, who died in 679/1280. He was a famous philosopher and mystical thinker of the Shīʿa, who wrote many books on several subjects. See Iʿjāz Ḥusayn Kanturī, *Kashf al-Iḥjūb*, p. 43, n. 198. The other is the master of Kamāl al-Dīn known as ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān Baḥrānī. See Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwar*, p. 498, nos. 1017, 1018; for more information about ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī and Maytham al-Baḥrānī see ʿAlī al-Oraibi, "Shīʿi Renaissance," 1992.

⁴⁰⁷ See Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwar*, p. 492, no. 1007.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 496, no. 1016.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 495, no. 1013.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., p. 493, no. 1010.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., p. 495, no. 1012, and Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 58.

knowledge, that is, of the soul and of its essential quality.⁴¹² In other words they were among those thinkers who more or less combined the *ʿirfān* (mysticism) of the Shīʿa with *kalām* or philosophy. Sayyid Ḥaydar numbered all of them among the true philosophers who are heirs to the prophets and who are not content with *ẓāhirī* (exoteric) knowledge.⁴¹³

Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī's teaching about *walāya* (sainthood) resembles *irthiyya* knowledge, for according to him it is narrated of Imām Jaʿfar al-Šādiq (d. 148/765) that he stated repeatedly: "*Wilāyatī li Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿalayhi al-Salām Khayrun min Wilādatī minh* (My spiritual relation to the commander of believers [the first Imām] Imām ʿAlī is better than my physical descent from him)".⁴¹⁴

Once the *walāyah* is thus uprooted from Imāmology [*Imāma*], a serious consequence ensues. The 'four Imāms', founders of the four juridical rituals of Sunnī Islam (Ḥanbalite, Ḥanafite, Mālikite, Shāfiʿite), are credited with being the heirs of the prophets and of the Prophet. The organic link, the bi-polarity of *sharīʿah* and *ḥaqīqah*, was broken and, by the same token, legalistic religion -the purely juridical interpretation of Islam- was consolidated.⁴¹⁵ We find ourselves here at the source of an altogether typical phenomenon of popularization and socialization.⁴¹⁶

3. 1. 4. 3. *Ḥaqīqa* in the View of Āmulī

In *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār* Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī demonstrates, against Ibn ʿArabī, that it is impossible historically and structurally to accept along

⁴¹² Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, pp. 58-59.

⁴¹³ Ibid., p. 321; see also, Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, pp. 490-500.

⁴¹⁴ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 500, no. 1023.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., p. 425.

⁴¹⁶ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, pp. 50-51.

with some of his disciples that Ibn ʿArabī was himself the Seal of the particular, or Muḥammadan, *walāya* (sainthood), or to accept that Jesus, Son of Maryam, was the "Seal" of the absolute *walāya*.⁴¹⁷

Sayyid Ḥaydar is strongly critical of this view, and states that the Seal of the Muḥammadan *walāya* can be none other than the twelfth Imām, the Imām *al-Ghāʾib* (the Hidden Imām), *Mahdī al-Muntaẓar* (the awaited Mahdī), son of the Imām Ḥasan ʿAskarī (i.e. the eleventh Imām of Shīʿa Islam); similarly, the seal of the absolute *walāya* can only be the first Imām ʿAlī ibn Abīṭālib.⁴¹⁸

Some thirty years later, the discussion is taken up again, by Āmulī, in even greater detail, in the *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*. Because the work of Sayyid Ḥaydar draws all its conclusions from the fact that the *walāya* is the esoteric aspect of prophecy, it is a great moment in the "prophetic philosophy" of Shīʿī Islam.⁴¹⁹

To conclude this section, it might be worth while to explore whether Sayyid Ḥaydar borrows the three terms *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa* from Shīʿī tradition or from the Ṣūfīs? One might say that Sayyid Ḥaydar borrows these terms from the Ṣūfīs, because he himself states in his *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār* that they (the *arbāb al-Taḥqīq* here Āmulī means Ṣūfīs) are his witnesses that the shaykh is one who is a perfect man in three areas of knowledge; *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*.⁴²⁰ Nevertheless, one does

⁴¹⁷ See Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 395, no. 791.

⁴¹⁸ Henry Corbin, *Shīʿism, Doctrines, Thought, and Spirituality*, ed. Hamid Dabashi, Seyyid Ḥuseyn Naṣr, and Seyyid Vali Reza Naṣr (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), p. 190.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., p. 190.

⁴²⁰ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 353, no. 702. See Nasafi, *Kitāb al-Insan al-Kāmil*, ed. Molé (Tehran: Anjuman-i Iranshināsi-yi Farānsa), 1980, p. 4.

encounter the terms *shari'ca* and *ṭarīqa* in Shi'ci traditions. Both words can be found in Imām 'Alī's *Nahj al-Balāgha*,⁴²¹ and *shari'ca* appears in Imām Ṣādiq's tradition in *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*.⁴²² Thus, while Sayyid Ḥaydar may have found some inspiration for the use of these words for Ṣūfī tradition, he invests them nonetheless with new significance derived from their use in the Qur'ān, *sunna*, *ʿaql* and *kashf*.

⁴²¹ See his use of the word *shari'ca* in *kalam* 224, p. 346; his use of the word *ṭarīq* in *kalam* 201, p. 319, *kalam* 220, p. 337, *khutba* 224, p. 346, and also *khutba*, 95, p. 140. About *ṭarīqa* see *kalam* 224, p. 346 and also *ṭuruq*, *kalam* 198, p. 314, Sayyid Raḍī Sharīf, *Nahj al-Balāgha*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣalīḥ (Qum: Dār al-Hijra, 1980z.).

⁴²² Kulayni, *Kāfi*, comment. and trans. Sayyid Jawād Muṣṭafawī (Tehran: Daftar-i Nashr-i Farhangī-i Ahl al-Bayt 'Alayhimu al-Salam, 1966), *Kitab al-'Iman wa al-Kufr*, Bab al-Sharayī', vol. 3, p. 28, 2nd ḥadīth.

Chapter 4.

The Analysis of *Imāma* by Ḥaydar Āmulī

4. 1. *'Uṣul al-Dīn* and *Imāma* in the View of Āmulī

4. 1. 1. Relation Between *Tawḥīd* and *Imāma*

4. 1. 2. *Nubuwwa*, *Imāma* and *Walāya* in the View of Shīʿa

4. 1. 2. 1. Kulayni's Idea on *Nubuwwa* and *Imāma*

4. 1. 2. 2. *Walāya* in the View of Ibn ʿArabī

4. 1. 2. 3. *Walāya* in the View of Āmulī

4. 2. *Imāma* According to the Three Different Perspectives

4. 2. 1. *Imāma* According to the View of the People of *Shariʿa*

4. 2. 2. *Imāma* According to the View of the People of *Ṭarīqa*

4. 2. 3. *Imāma* According to the View of the People of *Ḥaqīqa*

CHAPTER 4. THE LIGHT OF IMĀMA

Āmulī's views are to a great extent representative of the position taken by the Shī'ā; for instance, he explains that the five principal forms of *uṣūl al-Dīn* (the roots of religion)⁴²³ may be explained in three ways:

- 1) according to the people of *Sharī'ā*;
- 2) according to the people of *Ṭarīqa*;
- 3) according to the people of *Ḥaqīqa*.

As a result of these different understandings, it is no wonder that conflicts arose between the proponents of each of them.

In view of the great number of Āmulī's writings, and because of the limited scope of this thesis, I will try to concentrate on one aspect of his thought, that is, his uniquely mystical approach to the problem of *imāma*.

4. 1. UṢŪL AL-DĪN AND IMĀMA IN THE VIEW OF ĀMULĪ

Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī's interpretation of the concept of *imāma* is a highly significant one.⁴²⁴ *Imāma*, as the third *aṣl* (principle) of the *uṣūl al-Dīn* in the view of the Shī'ā is an essential doctrine. Sayyid Ḥaydar's contribution in this area was made in connection with his criticism of Ibn 'Arabī's understanding of *imāma*.

⁴²³ According to Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, the roots of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*) are limited to five principles: Divine Unity (*Tawḥīd*), Divine Justice (*'Adl*), Prophethood (*Nubuwwa*), Succession to the Prophet (*Imāma*), the Hereafter (*Ma'ād*). H. Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharī'ā*, p. 68.

⁴²⁴ The first was discussed at the very beginning of chapter 3, above.

In commenting on Ibn ʿArabī's explanation of this principle, Sayyid Ḥaydar tries to offer further clarification of it according to the Shīʿī approach. In the following, I will deal with the issue of *imāma* and its relation to some of the main principles of the *uṣūl al-Dīn*.

4. 1. 1. Relation Between Tawḥīd and Imāma

Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī was an early example of a long line of *Imāmī* thinkers who incorporated the thought of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) and his followers into their writings. In particular, Āmulī perfects and elaborates upon the difference between exoteric *tawḥīd al-ulūhī* (divine unity), which is illustrated by the phrase *lā ilāha illā Allāh* (there is no god but Allāh), and the *bāṭin* (esoteric), known as *tawḥīd al-wujūdī* or *tawḥīd al-ḥaqīqī*, according to the formula *laysa fī al-wujūd siwā Allāh* (nothing exists except God). The first (the exoteric) was taught by the prophets, whereas the secrets of the latter (the esoteric) were mentioned by the *awliyāʾ* (saints) and *aʾimma* (Imāms) from Shīth (seth) to Mahdī (p.).⁴²⁵

Āmulī explains the meaning of *tawḥīd al-wujūdī* by the illustration of ink and its relationship to writing, which is merely the *locus* of the *mazāhir* (manifestations) for the ink. Similarly, the material world is merely a *locus* of manifestation for the attributes, divine names, and acts.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁵ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 65, no. 65 and pp. 86-88, nos. 175-178; see his *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, 70; see also E. Kolberg, "Āmulī," p. 985.

⁴²⁶ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 97, no. 194, and pp. 107-08, nos. 212, 213, and p. 312, no. 609; see also Kolberg, "Āmulī," p. 985.

Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī juxtaposes the two forms of *tawḥīd* with two kinds of *shirk* (polytheism or associating others with God): one *shirk* is *jaliyy* (explicit) involving the companionship of others with God, while another *shirk* is *khalīyy* (hidden),⁴²⁷ resulting from the failure to see that "everything is God, is through Him, from Him, and to Him."⁴²⁸

Sayyid Ḥaydar explains that beside these two kinds of *tawḥīd* there are no other kinds because *shirk* which stands in opposition to it, is also confined to two kinds: that is *jaliyy* (explicit) and *khalīyy* (hidden).⁴²⁹

The *tawḥīd al-wujūdī* will finally be vindicated with the coming of the Imām Mahdī (peace be upon him).⁴³⁰ According to the system of Āmulī, the Imām Mahdī (p.) must be a *walī*, not a prophet, for Muḥammadan *imāma* is the manifestation of the esoteric aspect of the eternal prophetic Reality.⁴³¹

Finally Āmulī in his *Asrār al-Sharīʿa* begins to expound each of the different kinds of *tawḥīd* (*jalyy* and *khalīyy*) particular to each of the three groups; people of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*.⁴³²

⁴²⁷ One of the proofs of Āmulī for this kind of *shirk* is the 39th and 40th verses of *Surat Yusuf*. See Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 85, no. 172.

⁴²⁸ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, pp. 65-66. Āmulī's concept of *tawḥīd* and its several varieties may be found in the section devoted to the *qāʿidat al-thālitha* (the third principle) in this book, pp. 77 to 105.

⁴²⁹ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 70.

⁴³⁰ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār wa Manbaʿ al-Anwār*, p. 102, no. 202.

⁴³¹ Ibid., p. 104, no. 206.

⁴³² Ibid., see under the *qāʿidat al-ʿUlā*; *Tawḥīd ahl al-Sharīʿa*, *Tawḥīd ahl al-Ṭarīqa*, *Tawḥīd ahl al-Ḥaqīqa*, pp. 73-81.

4. 1. 2. *Nubuwwa, Imāma and Walāya in the View of the Shīʿa*

An issue that arises in Āmulī's discussion of *imāma* is the relationship between *rasūl* (messenger) or *nabī* (prophet) on the one hand, and *walī* on the other. Discussions concerning the difference between "*nubuwwa*" and "*risāla*" i.e. the office of a messenger or prophet and "*imāma*," i.e. the office of a *muḥaddith* or *walī*, date from the first two centuries of Islam. Following is an attempt to grasp the ideas of Kulaynī and of Ibn ʿArabī, as well as those of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī in relation to this issue.

4. 1. 2. 1. Kulaynī's Idea on Nubuwwa and Imama

One may find several explanations by the Shīʿī Imāms in answer to the above-mentioned questions cited in the work of Kulaynī (d. 329/940-41), the great Shīʿī *muḥaddith* (traditionist). Kulaynī narrates four *ḥadīth* on this issue in his *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, the contents of which may be summarized as follows:

1. A *nabī* is one who sees and hears the angel while asleep, but does not see the angel while awake.⁴³³

2. A *rasūl* is one who not only sees the angel while asleep, but also sees and hears him while awake.⁴³⁴ According to Imām Muḥammad Bāqir (d. 115/733) and also

⁴³³ Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqub Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi, al-Uṣūl wa al-Rawḍa*, the first *ḥadīth*, vol. 5, pp. 140-141.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., pp. 141-143.

Imām Ṣādiq (p.) both *nubuwwa* (prophethood) and *risāla* (messengership) can be combined together in a single person.⁴³⁵

3. An imām is one who hears the angel's voice but never sees the angel, whether he is asleep or awake.⁴³⁶

Nevertheless Kulaynī, while explaining in another passage the term Imām, narrates various *ḥadīth* from the Shī'ī Imāms according to which the Imām, like the *nabī* and *rasūl*, has several stations. He narrates from the Sixth Imām, who states that the prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham p.) at first was taken as an *ʿabd* (slave). Then Allāh took him as His prophet before He took him as *rasūl* (messenger), and as His messenger before making him as His *khalīl*. Finally Allāh, after taking him as His *khalīl*, next appointed him as an Imām. When all of these stations had been combined, Allāh said "behold, I make you an Imām for the people."⁴³⁷ Thus, we may conclude that although the Imām (according to some *ḥadīth*) is not the one who hears or sees the angels, his divine stations are in no way inferior to those of a prophet or messenger. One may even understand from this that an imām occupies a higher rank than does a prophet.

4. A *muḥaddath* is one who is spoken to and who hears but who does not see the angel either when awake or dreaming.

⁴³⁵ Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, *al-Uṣul wa al-Rawḍa*, vol. 5, the 4th *ḥadīth*, p. 145. For more information about the attributes of the Imāms one should consult the text from *bab Maʿrifat al-Imām* to the end of *bab al-Hujja*, vol. 5-6, pp. 159-403.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., pp. 141-143.

⁴³⁷ *The Holy Qurʾān*, *Sūrat al-Baqara*, verse 124; see also Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi al-Uṣul wa al-Rawḍa*, vol. 5, pp. 136-137, no. 2.

In addition to these four definitions, there is another *ḥadīth* in *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* concerning a *walī*. One may define *walī* as one who is given divine mastership (in Persian: *sarparastī*). This may be understood from the *ḥadīth* which is narrated by Kulaynī from the Sixth Imām (d. 148/765). In this *ḥadīth*, Imām Ṣādiq reports Imām ʿAlī as having stated: "*al-Ḥasana maʿrifat al-wilāya wa ḥubbunā Ahl al-Bayt, wa al-sayyiʿa inkār al-wilāya wa bughḍunā Ahl al-Bayt*"⁴³⁸ (A good deed is knowing our *wilāya* (mastership) and loving us, the *Ahl al-Bayt*, and an evil deed is the denial of our mastership and hatred for us, the *Ahl al-Bayt*)."⁴³⁹ Although Kulaynī does not offer any explanation for this *ḥadīth*, one may confirm the same meaning of "mastership" for *walāya*, when it is applied alone. However, some different *qarāʾin* (specifications) may change its meaning to *ḥubb* (love), *naṣr* (friendship), etc.⁴⁴⁰

Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (5th/11th century) says that the term *walāya* on some occasions is an *istiʿāra* (metaphor) of two things that are close to each other, e.g. physically, spiritually, etc. He differentiates between *wilāya* and *walāya*, saying that the former contains the concept of help while the latter implies the meaning of mastership, but at the end he says that both of the words have the same meaning.⁴⁴¹

438

الحسنة معرفة الولاية وحبنا أهل البيت

والسيئة انكار الولاية وبغضنا أهل البيت

439 M. Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī, al-Uṣūl wa al-Rawḍa*, "Bab Maʿrifat al-Imām wa al-Radd ilayh", vol. 5, the 14th *ḥadīth*, pp. 179-180.440 For more information about the meaning of *walāya* see Hermann Landolt, "Walāyah," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), vol. 15, pp. 316-323.441 Abu al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fi Ḥarib al-Qurʾān* (Cairo: Muṣṭafa al-Babī al-Ḥalabī wa Akhawayh, 1906), p. 555.

4. 1. 2. 2. Ibn 'Arabī's Ideas on *Walāya*

Another explanation of the issue is offered by Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240) in his *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*, where he states the meaning of *walī*, *nabī* and *rasūl* as follows:

When you see a prophet expressing himself in words which do not arise from his legislative authority, it is because he is a *walī* and an *'arīf* (a gnostic or knower); and the station which he occupies by virtue of being *'alīm* (wise) is more complete and more perfect than the station he occupies by virtue of being a messenger or a legislative prophet. Likewise, when you hear a man of God saying -or when someone tells you that they have heard him say- that *walāya* is superior to *nubuwwa*, you must know that he means by this exactly what we have just said. Similarly, if he says that the *walī* is superior to the *nabī* or the *rasūl*, he implies that this is so in the person of one and the same being. In other words, the *rasūl* is more perfect in his capacity as a *walī* than in his capacity as a *nabī*. So this does not mean that the *walī* who follows a prophet is superior to the latter, for he who follows can never catch up with him whom he follows, inasmuch as he is his follower. If it were otherwise, he would not be a follower. Therefore understand! The source of the *rasūl* and *nabī* lies in *walāya* in Knowledge.⁴⁴²

The meaning of *walāya* according to the view of Ibn 'Arabī is clear: he explains that *walāya* is superior to *nubuwwa*, and that the source of the *rasūl* and *nabī* lies in *walāya* in Knowledge. As Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Āshtiyānī states, *walāya* itself is a *maqūl bi al-tashkīk* (ambiguous category),⁴⁴³ thus whoever attains a high level in it, is referred to as *khalīfat al-A'zam*, *quṭb al-Aqtāb*, *insān al-ḥaqīqī*, *Ādam al-Awwal*, *qalam al-A'ālā*, *Rūḥ al-A'zam* and *quṭb al-awwal* or *quṭb al-wāḥid*.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993), pp. 51-52.

⁴⁴³ Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Āshtiyānī, *Sharḥ-i Muqaddama-yi Qayṣarī* (Mashhad: Kitabfrushi-i Bastan, 1385/1965), p. 593.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibn 'Arabī, *Futūḥat al-Makkiyya* (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-'Arabiyya, 1392/1972), vol. 2 pp. 363, 365, nos. 568, 571; for more information about *walāya* in the view of Ibn 'Arabī see Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Āshtiyānī, *Sharḥ-i Muqaddama-yi Qayṣarī*, 1385/1965, pp. 610 - 651.

Ibn ʿArabī's idea seems so close to the beliefs that some Shīʿī scholars like Kulaynī hold, that one may claim a Shīʿī origin for his understanding of this doctrine.

Nevertheless Ibn ʿArabī believes that *walāya* is of two kinds: *al-muṭlaqa* (universal) and *al-muqayyada* (particular), but his explanations about the application of *walī* in his several works are so ambiguous that it caused interpreters of his *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* both in the Sunnī and Shīʿī schools to search for different justifications.

One may see these different commentaries from both Shīʿī and Sunnī authors in the works of Āmulī and Qaysarī. What follows is Āmulī's idea in this regard.

4. 1. 2. 3. Walaya in the View of Amuli

A third explanation (besides those of Kulaynī and Ibn ʿArabī) is given by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. Even though the mystical theosophy of Ibn ʿArabī was immediately adopted by the Shīʿa theosophers, who found that their own ideas aroused conflict, such as happened with Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, Kamāl al-Dīn Kāshānī, Ṣadr al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī,⁴⁴⁵ etc., Sayyid Ḥaydar found much to criticize in Ibn ʿArabī's stance on this issue.⁴⁴⁶

Muslims generally agree that the Prophet Muḥammad is the *khātam al-Anbiyā'* (Seal of prophets); this means there will be no other prophet after him. Sayyid Ḥaydar illustrates the relation between *nubuwwa* and *walāya* in an elaborate diagram,⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁵ Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn Turka Iṣfahānī was one of the famous mystical philosophers who lived in the same century as Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. He wrote *Risālat fī al-Wujūd al-Muṭlaq*. See Corbin, introduction to *Jamīʿ al-Asrar*, p. 13.

⁴⁴⁶ H. Corbin, *Tārīkh Falsafā-yi Islāmī*, vol. 1, pp. 95, 96.

⁴⁴⁷ Shams al-Dīn Lahijī (d. 918/1506) develops this theme at length. See Corbin, *Tārīkh Falsafā-yi Islāmī*, vol. 1, pp. 92-93.

showing the circle of *walāya* as being inside the circle that represents the prophetic circle (see figure 4).

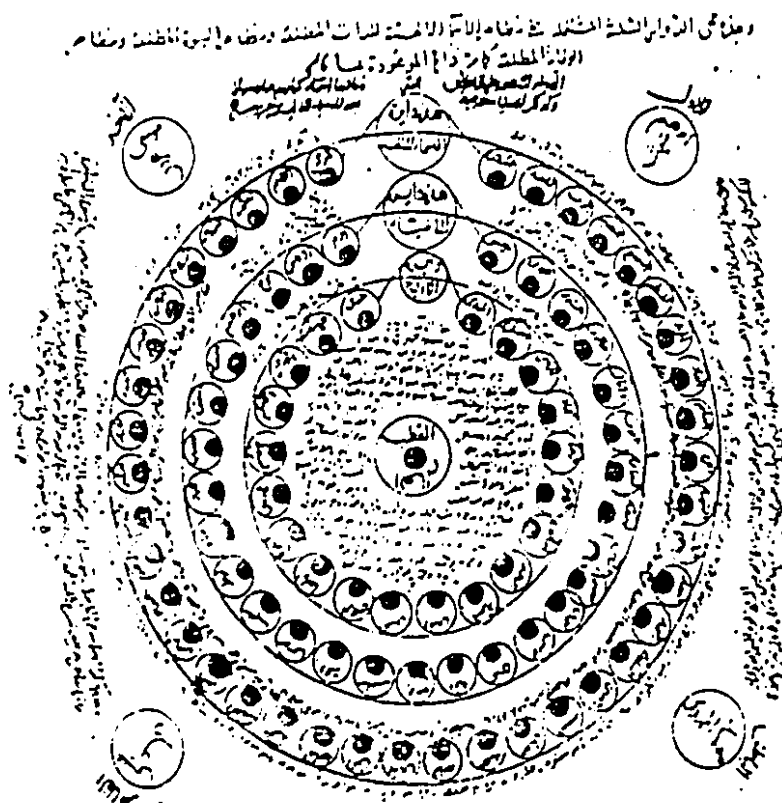


Figure: 4. This diagram is drawn by Sayyid Haydar Āmulī showing the relation between *al-asmā' al-ilāhiyya*, *al-anbiyā'* and *al-awliyā'*, by three circles.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁸ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, circle no. 6, see also an explanation of Sayyid Haydar Āmulī about this diagram in, p. 181 of this work.

Corbin, in discussing the "superiority of the *walāya*" according to the doctrine of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, states as follows:

Nevertheless, in thus affirming the superiority of the *walāyah*, the Twelver Shiites do not mean to imply that the person of the *walī* pure and simple is superior to the persons of the *nabī* and the Messenger. What is meant is that of the three qualities, viewed in the single person of the Prophet of Islam, the *walāyah* is pre-eminent, because it is the source, foundation and support of the two others. Hence the apparent paradox: that even though the *walāyah* is pre-eminent, in concrete terms it is the prophet-Messenger who takes precedence, because he contains all three qualities: he is *walī-nabī-rasūl*. We may observe with Ḥaydar Āmulī that on this point Twelver Shiism differs from Ismailism.⁴⁴⁹

Imāma is the esoteric aspect of all earlier prophetic religions. This is why the circle of *walāya* prepares the way not for the appearance of a new *sharīʿa* but for the *ẓuhūr* (appearance) of the Imām *al-Ghāʾib* (hidden Imām).⁴⁵⁰ Sayyid Ḥaydar says that Imām Mahdī is the heir of the Prophet in both blood and spirit.⁴⁵¹

Even as early as the first years of his Iraqi period, Āmulī disagreed with Ibn ʿArabī and his follower Sharaf al-Dīn Qaysarī (d. 751/1350), who identified the *Khātām al-walāyat al-muṭlaqa* (seal of the universal *walāya*) with Jesus (peace be upon him) and who considered Ibn ʿArabī as the *Khātām al-walāyat al-muqayyada* (seal of the particular *walāya*).⁴⁵²

The discussion was taken up again by Sayyid Ḥaydar some thirty years later (towards the end of his life) in even greater detail, as can be seen in his *al-*

⁴⁴⁹ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, pp. 44-45. See also Sayyid Ḥaydar's observation in his *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, pp. 237, 238, no. 466.

⁴⁵⁰ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 67.

⁴⁵¹ See Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, pp. 241, 242, nos. 543, 544.

⁴⁵² Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 385, no. 791 and pp. 395 to 448.

Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ. The work of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, which obtains all its conclusions from the fact that the *walāya* is the esoteric aspect of prophecy, can be considered as a great moment in the history of "prophetic philosophy" in Shīʿī Islām.⁴⁵³ Āmulī must have been taken aback by Ibn ʿArabī's assignment of the characteristic of the Seal of the *walāya* in its general and absolute sense to Jesus, and his probable attribution of the quality of being the Seal of the Muḥammadan *walāya* to himself.⁴⁵⁴

Āmulī states that he bases his arguments on *ʿaql* (reason), *naql* (tradition) and *kashf* (intuitive unveiling).⁴⁵⁵ He also follows Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥammūʾī (d. 650/1252)⁴⁵⁶ in his *al-Maḥbūb*, in accepting that the *Khātām al-Awliyāʾ al-muṭlaqa* (seal of the universal *walāya*) is ʿAlī ibn Abīṭālib (d. 40/661). Āmulī declares that his conclusions are the same ones arrived at before him by the first interpreter of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, Muʿayyad al-Dīn Jandī (d. 700/1300), who stated that the Seal of the universality of *walāya* (sainthood) is Imām ʿAlī; and also by the second interpreter of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kāshānī (d. 730/1330), who stated that the seal

⁴⁵³ For more examples see Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, under *al-Qāʿidat al-Thāniya wa al-Thalitha* (the second and the third principles), pp. 182-261; see also Henry Corbin, *Shīʿism, Doctrines, Thought, and Spirituality*, p. 190.

⁴⁵⁴ See Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 238, no. 536.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 182, no. 411.

⁴⁵⁶ Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūʾī al-Juwaynī was one of the famous Ṣūfī *shaykhs* of the first half of the 7th/13th century; he died in Khurāsān during the year 649. Saʿd al-Dīn is primarily known in Ṣūfī history as a disciple of Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221 in Kh̲wārazm). Kubrā wrote an *ijāza* for him, and is said to have "brothered" him with Sayf al-Dīn al-Bākhārī (d. 659/1261 or earlier in Bukhara). Finally, he spent the last eight years of his life mainly in Āmul and various places in Khurāsān including Bahrābād, where he died during one of his visits. For more information see H. Landolt, "Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūʾī" *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 8, p. 703.

of the particular *walāya* is Imām Mahdī,⁴⁵⁷ who, for Āmulī, as a Shīʿī believer, is identical with the Twelfth Imām; the Imām *al-Chāʾib* (Hidden Imām), the Imām *al-Muntaẓar* (awaited Imām), and the son of the Imām Ḥasan al-ʿAskari.⁴⁵⁸

4. 2. THE MEANING OF THE TERM *IMĀMA* IN THE VIEW OF ĀMULI

Āmulī refers to *Imāma* using not only Shīʿī terms but also such *Ṣūfī* terms as *Insān al-Kāmil*,⁴⁵⁹ *Khalīfā*,⁴⁶⁰ *Khātām al-Awliyāʾ*,⁴⁶¹ *Kibār al-Awliyāʾ*,⁴⁶² *Murshid*,⁴⁶³ *Quṭb*,⁴⁶⁴ *Quṭb al-Aqṭāb*,⁴⁶⁵ *Shaykh*,⁴⁶⁶ and *Walī al-Awliyāʾ*,⁴⁶⁷ all of which seem to feature more or less the same characteristics that the word *Imāma* does from the Shīʿī point of view. This fact raises a number of questions, among them: What is Āmulī's view on the relation between these terms and the Shīʿī notion of *Imāma*? And do they really have the same meaning albeit through different

⁴⁵⁷ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, pp. 230-231, no. 520. It is true that Kashamī in the passage of his commentary on the Qurʾān in *Taʾwīlāt*, vol. 2, p. 728, (in connection with verse 17:79) makes an ambiguous statement which could justify this interpretation.

⁴⁵⁸ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 395, no. 791.

⁴⁵⁹ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 271, no. 608; see also Āmulī, *Asrār al-Shariʿa*, p. 37.

⁴⁶⁰ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Shariʿa*, p. 94; see also Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 271, no. 608.

⁴⁶¹ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Shariʿa wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwar al-Ilāqīqa*, p. 94.

⁴⁶² Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, pp. 34, 35, no. 79.

⁴⁶³ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Shariʿa wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwar al-Ilāqīqa*, p. 37.

⁴⁶⁴ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 9, no. 14.

⁴⁶⁵ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Shariʿa*, p. 99; see also Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 273, no. 612.

⁴⁶⁶ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Shariʿa wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwar al-Ilāqīqa*, p. 37.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

approaches? These are the basic questions that this section of the thesis deals with and will seek to answer.

The simplest explanation may be that the term Imām is just one of many different words having the same signification and application. Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī claims that the words *khalīfā*, *nabī*, *rasūl* and Imām all mean "*al-insān al-Kāmil* (the Perfect Man), i.e. the one in whom God, the more power True Light, appears."⁴⁶⁸ Some of the individual meanings are as follows.

A'imma and *Kibār al-Awliyā'*; Āmulī states that the *A'imma* (Imāms of the Shī'ca) are themselves the *kibār al-Awliyā'* (greatest saints), and any attribute applied to one of the *A'imma* would also be true of all the others, since they are collectively several manifestations of one soul.⁴⁶⁹ Moreover, the Prophet and the *A'imma* (p.) are as one soul and one reality,⁴⁷⁰ because *walāya* in his view is rooted in *nubuwwa* and *risāla*.⁴⁷¹

Ḥaḍrat al-Aḥadiyya (presence of Oneness); Sayyid Ḥaydar reminds us more than once that *ḥaḍrat al-Aḥadiyya* (presence of Oneness), *al-ulūhiyya* (the unity of the multiple), *dhāt* (essence), *wujūd* (existence), *al-ḥaḍrat al-Jam'īyya* (presence of all-one), and so on are different words and terms for one reality. More than this, Sayyid says that none of them are different from *nūr al-ṣādir al-awwal* (the light of the first divine emanation), *al-ʿaql al-fāccāl* (active intellect), *al-rūḥ al-kullī* (universal spirit), *al-nafs al-kullīya* (universal soul), *abū al-anwār* (the master of lights), *āyat al-Jabbār*

⁴⁶⁸ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣṣ*, p. 74, no. 184.

⁴⁶⁹ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, pp. 35, 36, no. 79.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 10, no. 14.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., p. 238, no. 466.

(the sign of the Almighty), *asad Allāh al-ghālib* (the victorious lion of God), *maṭlūb kullī ṭālib* (the object of all search); because all of them are the several attributes of Imām Abū al-Ḥusayn ʿAlī ibn Abīṭālib (p.).⁴⁷²

Hujja: according to Sayyid Ḥadar Āmulī, *ḥujja* (authority) is, in the Muslim community, possessed by the Prophet, the Imām and *kitāb* (Qurʾān). One may claim that Āmulī borrows this term from the Shīʿī tradition.⁴⁷³

al-Insān al-Kāmil (the perfect man); Sayyid Ḥaydar employs this Ṣūfī term more than 14 times in stating who is an *insān al-kāmil*, or who is an example of this quality, etc. Āmulī, in his *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, defines *insān al-kāmil* as one who has reached the highest point of perfection. He is also perfect in knowledge of *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*; moreover, he is a *murshid* (spiritual director) in both the esoteric and exoteric senses, because the *insān al-kāmil* is one who knows the cure for diseases and sicknesses of souls, and has the power to heal souls and to guide them to better health.⁴⁷⁴

This definition of *insān al-kāmil* is common to other Ṣūfī writers. For example, ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī defines the perfect man as one who becomes *ṭamām* (complete) in *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*.⁴⁷⁵ He continues that when a man becomes perfect, he may be referred to by one or another of many names, such as: *Shaykh*, *Pīshwā*, *Hādī*,

⁴⁷² Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 296, no. 4f.

⁴⁷³ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 383, no. 7658; see also p. 31, no. 57 and p. 223, no. 431, and Kulaynī, *Uṣul al-Kāfi*, *Kitāb al-ḥujja* (Tehran: Daftar-i Nashr wa Farhang-i Ahl al-Bayt ʿAlayhimu al-Salam), vols. 1 and 2, *passim*.

⁴⁷⁴ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 274, no. 614.

⁴⁷⁵ Nasafī *Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil*, 1980, p. 4.

Mahdī, Bāligh, Kāmil, Imām, Khalifa, Quṭb, Ṣāḥib zamān, Jām-i Jahān Namā, Ā'ina-yi gitī namāy, Taryāq-i Buzurg, Iksīr-i A'zam, 'Isā, Khidr and Sulaymān; he also states that this perfect man lives forever, and is one person no more.⁴⁷⁶

Thus Sayyid Ḥaydar clearly states that the perfect man is an Imām and no one else.⁴⁷⁷ He also says that the *insān al-kāmil*, called *insān al-kabīr* (the great man),⁴⁷⁸ is the essence and reality of the *'aql al-awwal* (First intellect), or the *ẓill al-awwal* (given shadow).⁴⁷⁹

Āmulī mentions in his *Jāmi' al-Asrār* that a Shaykh is one who is *insān al-kāmil* (the perfect man) in the science of *sharī'a*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*;⁴⁸⁰ he also believes that the *'ayn Allāh* (eye of God) is the same as *insān al-kāmil*.⁴⁸¹

Khalifa (caliph); Sayyid Ḥaydar, like other Muslims, thinks that humanity requires a caliph, but sets some conditions on it in relation to the Shī'a view. He mentions, in several of his works, that the caliph should be subject to certain conditions, such as knowledge of truth, heritage, *'iṣma* (infallibility), and so on; this idea is based on the Qur'ān, *sunna*, *'aql* and *kashf*. He also states that the caliph of the Islamic world is Imām Mahdī, who is himself *ḥujja*, imām, *walī al-Muqayyad* and so on.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁷⁷ Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, p. 535, nos. 700 to 705.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 179, no. 342.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 179, no. 342.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 402, no. 806.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., p. 380, no. 758.

⁴⁸² Ibid., pp. 440, 441, nos. 886, 887, 888.

Quṭb; according to Āmulī the *quṭb* is a unique person upon whom Allāh looks at all times. In fact he is "accounted to the heart of the *Isrā'īl* (Seraphiel);"⁴⁸³ this means that the *quṭb* is the cause of *ḥayāt al-ma'navī* (spiritual life), as this angel is the cause of *ḥayāt al-ṣūrī* (material life).⁴⁸⁴ As a matter of fact this definition by Sayyid Ḥaydar resembles that of 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī, who makes a similar statement in his *Istilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya*.⁴⁸⁵

When Āmulī defines the meaning of *Imāma* according to the view of *ṭarīqa*⁴⁸⁶ and *ḥaqīqa*,⁴⁸⁷ he explains that the imāms are the same as *quṭbs*. Elsewhere, he says that the *A'imma* (Imāms) are the *aqtāb* (p. *quṭb*) or pillars of *ḥaqīqa*, and they are the lords and masters of *sharī'a*.⁴⁸⁸

Furthermore, he states that the *quṭbiyya al-kubrā* (being the greatest pole) is the rank of the *quṭb al-aqtāb* (arch-pole), and that it is the *bāṭin* of the Muḥammadan *Nubuwwa* (prophecy). The *quṭb* was handed down by Muḥammad to those who followed because this perfection was reserved for the Prophet alone. Thus the *Khātam al-Awliyā'* (Seal of the Saints) and *quṭb al-Aqtāb* are the esoteric aspect of the seal of

⁴⁸³ This is an old Ibn 'Arabi tradition. See Landolt, "walayah," *The encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 15, p. 321.

⁴⁸⁴ Sayyid Ḥ. Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 273, no. 611.

⁴⁸⁵ 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms of the Sufis*, p. 141, no. 442.

⁴⁸⁶ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharī'a*, pp. 99-102.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 102-104.

⁴⁸⁸ Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-Asrār*, p. 9, no. 14.

nubuwwa.⁴⁸⁹ We might mention here that ʿAbd al-Razzāq refers to these terms in exactly the same way as does Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī.⁴⁹⁰

Sayyid Ḥaydar explains that the attributes of *Khātām al-Awliyāʾ* (seal of the saints) and *quṭb al-Aqṭāb* (Arch-pole) may be applied to the Mahdī *al-Mawʿūd* (awaited Mahdī) at the *ākhir al-zamān* (the end of time).⁴⁹¹ Furthermore, Sayyid Ḥaydar claims that Imām Mahdī (p.) is in fact the *quṭb al-wujūd* (pole of existence) and Imām *al-waqt* (the Imām of the time), that this world is supported by his existence and that the passage of time is due to him. Shīʿīs and true Ṣūfīs believe that there cannot be any time without the *al-maʿṣūm al-quṭb* (infallible pole), as he is imām or *nabī*.⁴⁹²

Clearly, Āmulī believes that *quṭb* and *maʿṣūm* or *quṭb* and imām are synonymous; that in fact they are the different attributes for one person who is the *khalīfa* (caliph) of Allāh on His earth.⁴⁹³ Sayyid Ḥaydar cites Ibn ʿArabī's *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, wherein it is explained that the station of *al-Quṭbī* is certainly that of the perfect man whom Allāh (The Almighty) wanted to become *quṭb* and His caliph of the world. It is worth mentioning that this *quṭb* will look after all human beings in this time and in the

⁴⁸⁹ Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamāt min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, p. 273, no. 612.

⁴⁹⁰ ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshani, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms of the Ṣūfīs*, p. 141, no. 443.

⁴⁹¹ Āmulī, *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, p. 384, no. 766, and also p. 446, no. 899.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 222, 223, no. 430.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 223, no. 431.

hereafter. Sayyid Ḥaydar continues by stating that this station is reserved for Imām ʿAlī and his progeny (p.).⁴⁹⁴

Thus Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī believes that *quṭb* and Imām are two expressions possessing the same meaning and referring to the same person. Āmulī borrows the name and term of *quṭb* from the Ṣūfīs,⁴⁹⁵ but tries to combine the Shīʿī idea with the Ṣūfī, both of which he knows at the highest level. We might recall his famous statement: "every true Ṣūfī is a Shīʿī and every true Shīʿī a Ṣūfī."⁴⁹⁶

One may conclude from all this that Sayyid Ḥaydar's approach is the same as that of Ibn ʿArabī, who believed the Prophet Muḥammad to be the *ʿAql Awwal* (the first intellect),⁴⁹⁷ the ultimate of *al-Jins al-ʿālī*, *Rūḥ al-ilāhī* (soul of the Lord), *Anwār al-Ṣamadiyya*,⁴⁹⁸ *Anwār Aḥadiyya*,⁴⁹⁹ *Ḥaqīqat al-Muḥammadiyya*,⁵⁰⁰ *Insān al-Kāmil*,⁵⁰¹ *Quṭb*,⁵⁰² *Walī*⁵⁰³ and so on. The main difference here between Āmulī and Ibn ʿArabī is that Āmulī believes that the Imāms are at the same level as the Prophet, and that they have the same attributes.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 402, no. 806.

⁴⁹⁵ Āmulī mentions that his definition of *quṭbiyyat al-Kubra* is the same as that of Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kashānī. See his *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 446, no. 899.

⁴⁹⁶ Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-Asrār*, p. 41, no. 80.

⁴⁹⁷ See Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, p. 69.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 69.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 69.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 69.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., p. 70.

⁵⁰² Ibid., p. 71.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., pp. 71, 72.

4. 3. *Imāma* IN THE VIEW OF THE THREE PEOPLES

The Imāms, who are endowed with mystical knowledge, are the leaders not only of the Shi'is, but also of all those who follow the mystical path. Āmulī is as critical of those Shi'is who reduce their religion to the system of *shar'c* (legalism) as he is of Sūfīs who dispute that their origins and beliefs go back to the Imāms.⁵⁰⁴ Thus in this part attention will be paid to his explanation of *Imāma* according to the views of three different groups within the Muslim community.

4. 3. 1. *Imāma in the View of the People of Sharī'ca*

Sayyid Ḥaydar defines *imāma* from the standpoint of *sharī'ca* as follows: in absolute terms, *imāma* refers to religious governance, which includes the persuasion of the common people to safeguard what is of benefit to them, gives advice as to what is best for them in both the present and the next world, and aims to protect the common people from that which might harm them.⁵⁰⁵

Āmulī explains *imāma* to the people of *Sharī'ca* by employing *ʿaql* (intellect) and *naql* (tradition); thus he appeals to various interpretations of the Qur'ān, especially of such Qur'ānic terms as *fītra*.⁵⁰⁶ *Imāma*, according to *shar'c*, is a position of great

⁵⁰⁴ E. Kohlberg, "Āmulī," p. 985.

⁵⁰⁵ Āmulī, *Asrar al-Sharī'ca wa Aṭwar al-Tariqa wa Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa*, p. 95.

⁵⁰⁶ *Fītra* in short means the natural harmonious condition of men. It may be said to mean innate disposition, natural position and primordial nature. For more information about *fītra* see Ruḥullāh-i Khumaynī, *Chihil Ḥadith* (Qum: Daftar-i Tablighāt-i Islāmī), pp. 179-187, under the 11th *ḥadith*.

responsibility, in the same way that prophethood is for a person in a state of *fītra* and in the state of Islam, both from the point of view of *naql* and *ʿaql*.⁵⁰⁷

In order to clarify this issue, one may summarize Āmulī's explanation as follows: in the beginning men were in need of the establishment of the *sharīʿa*, and thus were also in need of its continued maintenance and protection. Likewise, if the sending of a prophet is an example of the *luḡl*' (grace) of God to His people, then the same case would be true for the establishing of an Imām.⁵⁰⁸

The Imām must be a *maʿṣūm* (infallible) leader of the nation of Islam, for like one who is a Prophet (as one of those in authority) it is not legitimate for him to make mistakes.⁵⁰⁹

Thus the twelver Shīʿa position affirming the superlative nature of the Imām was aimed at establishing an equilibrium: any *zāhir* (exoteric) aspect which is not protected by a *bāṭin* (esoteric) is in fact a *kufr* (infidelity), but, equally, any exoteric aspect that does not at the same time maintain the existence of an esoteric aspect is *fīsq* (libertinism).⁵¹⁰ On the other hand, one may be considered to be a *mu'min* (believer)

⁵⁰⁷ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa wa Aṭwar al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwar al-Ḥaqīqa*, p. 96.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 96.

⁵⁰⁹ See *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 240, no. 540. Āmulī gives some attention to this issue and he states that in fact the majority of Muslims are opposed to the notion of *ʿiṣma* (infallibility) because of their poor understanding of the religion and Islam, and therefore do not count *Imāma* as one of the pillars of Islam; they claim that the *ulu al-Amr* (those who are in authority) can include *sultāns* or kings of this world even if they are known to be unjust, sinful and iniquitous. Moreover they do not accept that this infallible Imām should come from the *ahl al-Bayt* (the family of the Prophet), despite the validity of the Imām's claim, supported as it is by textual evidence from the Qurʾān and the Prophet's *Sunna*. Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa wa Aṭwar al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwar al-Ḥaqīqa*, p. 97.

⁵¹⁰ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 45.

only when one combines both the esoteric and exoteric together. The Imām as a perfect *mu'min* should meet this combination, whose manifestation is *ʿiṣma*.

Moreover, Āmulī reports that the Imām must be designated and appointed through the authority of the Prophet and during the latter's lifetime; otherwise the term of *imāma* is not applied. This is because if the Imām were not chosen, would it mean that Allāh was inadequate in what was incumbent upon Him, as in the case of Prophethood.⁵¹¹

Correspondingly, no one may become Imām unless he is of the Prophet's infallible progeny: *ʿiṣma* is a condition of *imāma* and *walāya*. There are no others but these described as possessing infallibility, even according to their opponents. This is also suggested in the Qur'ān.⁵¹²

4. 3. 2. *Imāma in the View of the People of Ṭarīqa*

According to Āmulī, *imāma* for the people of *ṭarīqa* refers to the caliph who is sent on the authority of Allāh by the *quṭb* (pole) of the time, and who is called *walī*. There are two types of *walī*; the *walī* whose *walāya* (governance) is essential, *azaliyya* (endless) and real; he is called *walī al-Muṭlaq*; he is also the *Quṭb al-Aʿẓam* (Greater Pole). The other kind of *walāya* draws its power from the *walī al-Muṭlaq* and is called

⁵¹¹ See Āmulī, *al-Muqaddamat min Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣuṣ*, p. 272, no. 610; see also his *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 98.

⁵¹² Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa*, p. 98; *The Holy Qur'ān, Sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, verse of 33; see also those verses about *Imāma* mentioned by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, as follows: *al-Mā'ida*, 54, *al-Qaṣaṣ*, 5, *al-Aʿrāf*, 57.

al-Walī al-Muqayyad. Āmulī adds that this kind of *walāya* is received by inheritance.⁵¹³

Sayyid Ḥaydar has already drawn attention to the importance of correcting the application of both types of *walāya*, inasmuch as he states that both *walāyas* are dependent upon the Prophet Muḥammad and upon *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* and upon whomsoever of his progeny (the *Ahl al-Bayt*) inherits from him.⁵¹⁴

It is important that this station be distinguished by three actions: the first, the indication of *walāya*, the second, the designation of the *walī al-Muṭlaq* and the third, the appointment of the *walī al-Muqayyad*. According to Āmulī:

As for the first, *wilāyah* [according to the people of *ṭarīqa*] is the [*taṣarruf* (control)] among created beings after annihilation in the [*ḥaqq*] Real and subsistence in Him: in reality, it is nothing but the inward dimension of prophethood whose outward manifestation is the bringing of news and whose inward is [control of souls by] imposition of the laws. Prophethood is sealed, since there are no new tidings from Allāh and no prophet after Muḥammad. Only *wilāyah* continues among men until eternity; the souls of the *awliyā'* (plural of *walī*) from the prophet of Muḥammad are the bearers of responsibility for the execution of *wilāyah*, thus *wilāyah* is executed by them in creation until the Final Day or rather, forever without end.⁵¹⁵

Āmulī briefly refers to the second and the third of the above actions, but these are the same as we explained earlier in our discussion on "Relation between *Nuhūwwa* and *Imāma*".⁵¹⁶

⁵¹³ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharī'a wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa*, p. 99.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., p. 99.

⁵¹⁵ Āmulī, *Inner Secrets of the Path*, pp. 120, 121, and see also his *Asrār al-Sharī'a wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa*, pp. 99, 100.

⁵¹⁶ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharī'a wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwār al-Ḥaqīqa*, p. 99.

4. 3. 3. *Imāma in the View of the People of Ḥaqīqa*

According to Āmulī, in the view of the people of *ḥaqīqa*, the Imām and *walī* are the same as the Imām *al-Aʿẓam* (Greatest Imām) and the *walī al-Muṭlaq* (the universal *walī*). He is also seen as the *Qaṭb* (Pole) and the Imām *al-Aʿimma* (Imām of the Imāms), around whom revolves the circle of existence and the *qiyām* (establishment) of the *sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*. The stations of all, the *nabī*, *rasūl* and *walī* refer to this Imām.⁵¹⁷

Sayyid Ḥaydar refers to Ibn ʿArabī's explanation of the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet wherein the latter, when someone asked "When were you a prophet?" replied, "I was a prophet when Ādam was between water and clay." Ibn ʿArabī also states that "the Seal of the Saints was a *walī* while Ādam was between water and clay."⁵¹⁸ Sayyid Ḥaydar also explains regarding the *walāya* of Imām ʿAlī, that the latter is credited with a *ḥadīth* that is exactly the same as the one attributed to the prophet Muḥammad; Imām ʿAlī states that: "I was a *walī* while Ādam was between water and clay".⁵¹⁹ This *ḥadīth* means that the Seal of the *walāya* (sainthood) is Imām ʿAlī and that he was a *walī* when Ādam still was in a state between water and clay, whereas all the other prophets were only prophets at the time of their mission.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 102.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., p. 103, see also Ibn ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, trans. Rauf, chap. 2, vol. 1, p. 230.

⁵¹⁹ See Āmulī, *Jamīʿ al-Asrār*, p. 382, no. 763, p. 401, no. 804, p. 460, no. 927.

⁵²⁰ Āmulī, *Asrār al-Sharīʿa wa Aṭwār al-Ṭarīqa wa Anwar al-Ḥaqīqa*, p. 103.

Thus, according to Sayyid Ḥaydar the relationship between the *Khātam al-rusul* (Seal of the prophets) and *Khātam al-walāya* (Seal of the Saint) is comparable to that between the *awliyā'* and the messengers with respect to the Prophet. Thus, he (Muḥammad p.) is everything: the *walī*, the *rasūl* (messenger) and the *nabī* (prophet). And so the Seal of the *awliyā'* who is the *walī*, the heir, the one who imbibes his strength from the source, is one of the *ḥasanāt* (good deeds) of the Prophet.⁵²¹

Finally Āmulī concludes that the Seal of the *awliyā' al-Muṭlaq* is *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* Imām 'Alī, who is described as having the same good qualities ascribed to the Lord of the Messenger.⁵²²

As Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī says, "All the Imāms are one and the same *nūr* (light), one and the same *ḥaqīqa* (essence), exemplified in twelve persons. Everything that applies to one of them applies equally to the other"⁵²³

CONCLUSION

The majority of the details regarding the biography of Āmulī, his search for knowledge, his teachers, his writings, and the date of his death are recorded inaccurately. This conclusion attempts to draw together some of the points made above in this regard.

⁵²¹ Ibid., p. 103.

⁵²² Ibid., p. 103.

⁵²³ Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, p. 48.

First, we have seen how some of the confusion relating to Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī stems from the many names by which he was known in the sources, leading some scholars to attribute some of his works to non-existent persons.

Second, as we have shown, the date of Sayyid Ḥaydar's death, while still a mystery, was placed much too early by these some sources, partly out of ignorance as to which writings were by his hand.

Third, none of Sayyid Ḥaydar's biographers has really placed him in the context of his era, nor offered an explanation of his relationship to Sarbidārīd and especially Shaykh Ḥasan Jūrī. In this thesis however we have tried to cast some light on this question.

Forth, the confusion over which works were truly written by him had to be resolved. We have listed about 35 treatises written by Sayyid Ḥaydar, which may be separated into three main categories: 1) works which he himself states that he wrote; 2) works which have been attributed to him by others; and 3) works by other authors which Sayyid Ḥaydar transcribed.

Fifth, we have tried to show the level of knowledge that Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī possessed, and this by citing no less than six *ijāzaāt* (licenses) given to him by his masters in different subjects.

Six, in his mystical works Ḥaydar Āmulī has tried to explain the ideas of *Ithnā ʿasharī* shīʿa with the aim of correcting the views on *Imāma* and *walāya* shared by Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿArabī and Qayṣarī, as well as the views of those Shīʿīs who reject *ʿirfān*!

Seventh, he made a significant attempt at reconciling the belief of three groups of Shi'a: the people of the *sharī'a*, the people of the *ṭarīqa* and the people of *ḥaqīqa*.

APPENDIX:

Āmulī's Handwritings:

Figure:

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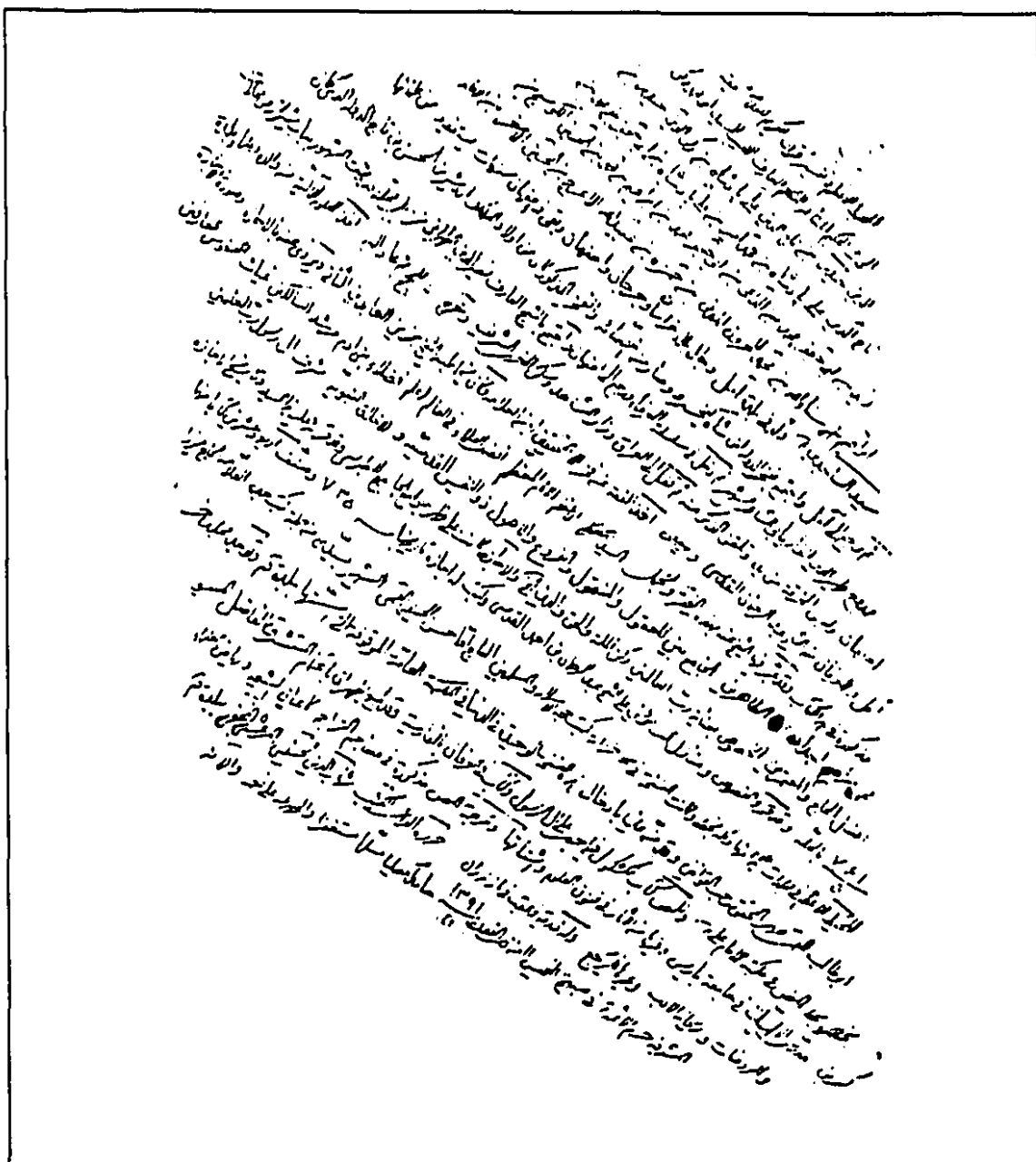


Figure: 1. A specimen of the handwriting of Āyatullah al-Marʿashī al-Najafī found on the back cover of a manuscript of *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam* by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, consisting of a biographical note on the latter.⁵²⁴ What should be remarked upon in this note is the name of the teacher of Āmulī when he was in Āmul and Iṣfahan.

⁵²⁴ Āyatullah al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaṣṣam fī Taʾwīl Kitāb Allāh al-ʿAzīz al-Muḥkam*, 2nd shelf, no. 1, serial no. 301, Kitābkhāna-yi Āyatullah al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, Qum.

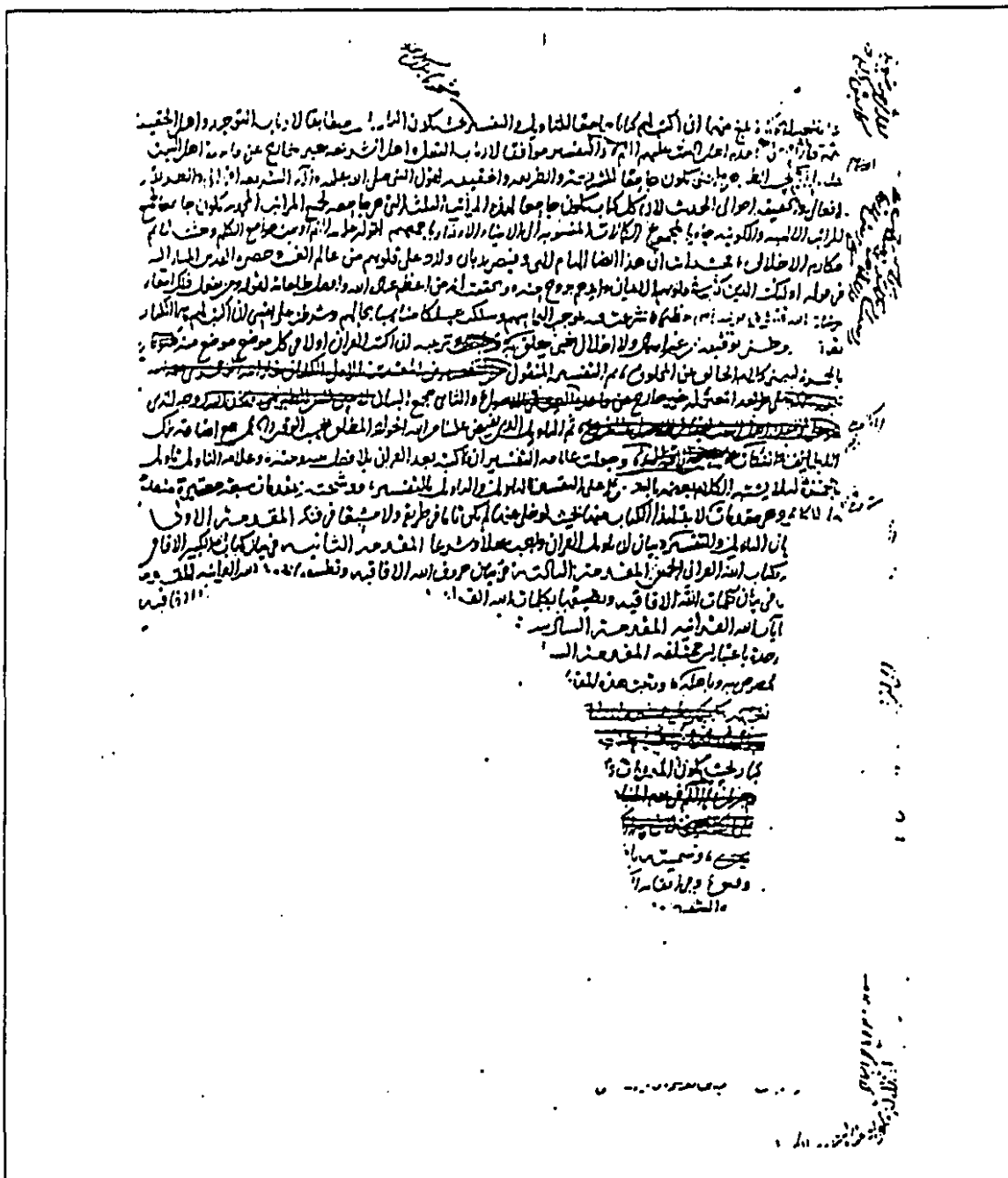


Figure: 2. This is the first page of autograph manuscript of *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm fī Taʾwīl Kitāb Allāh al-ʿAzīz al-Muḥkam* by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. Unfortunately, the lower portion of the page has been eaten by termites.⁵²⁵

⁵²⁵ Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, *al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam wa al-Baḥr al-Khaḍamm fī Taʾwīl Kitāb Allāh al-ʿAzīz al-Muḥkam*, manuscript, 2nd category, no. 1, serial no. 301, Kitābkhāna-yi Āyatullāh al-Marʿaṣhī al-Najafī, Qum.

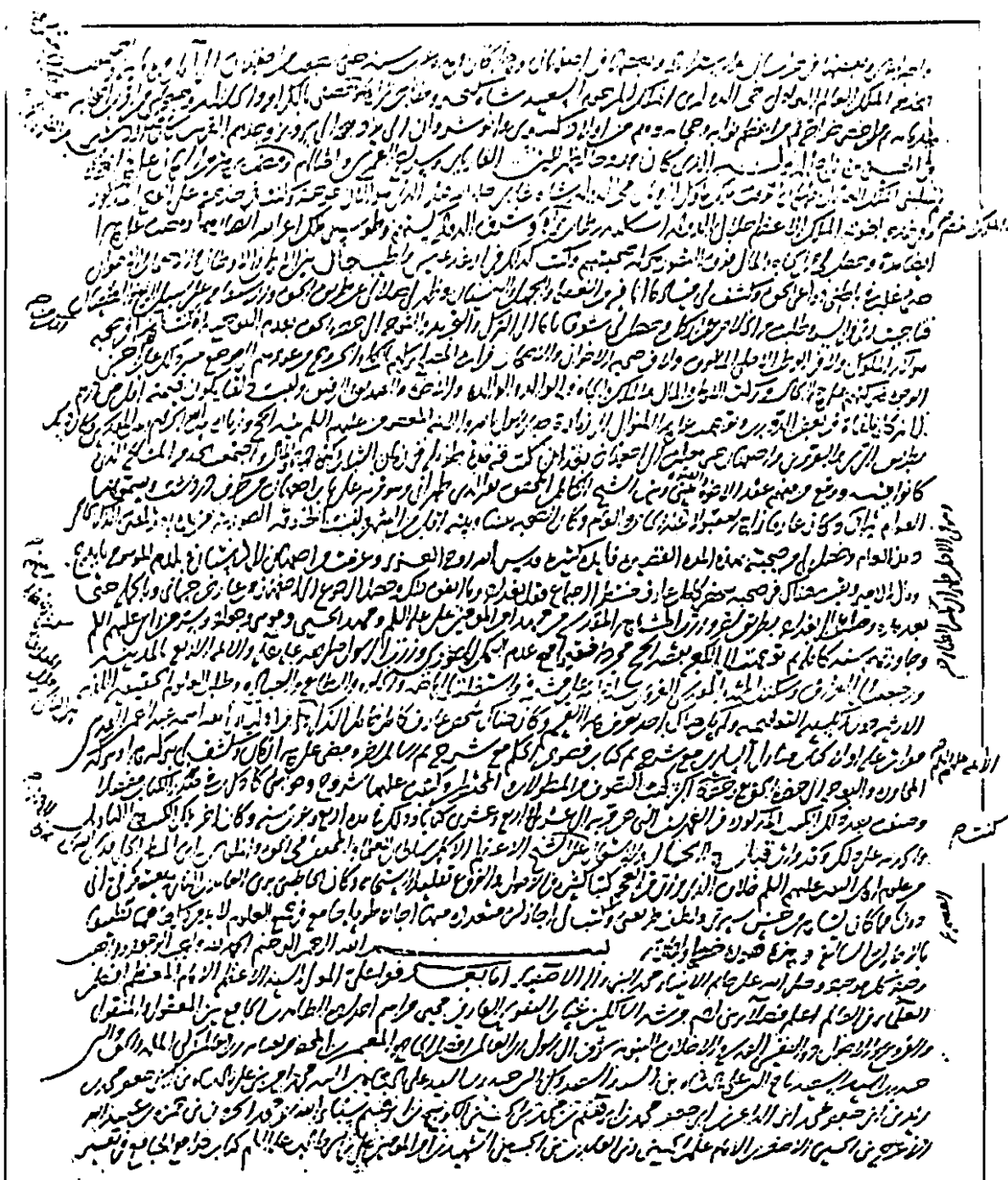


Figure: 4. The first page of the autograph manuscript of *Ta'wil al-Muḥkam* containing the autobiography of Sayyid Ḥaydar Ḥmulī.⁵²⁷ This page of his work is so important because it is included some Ḥmulī's *ijāzat* (licenses), teachers name, trips and so on.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., 2nd shelf. no. 1, serial no. 301.



Figure: 7. The first page of *Tafsir al-Fātiḥa wa Ta'wīlatihi* (the opening verse of the Qur'an and its interpretation) in the handwriting of Sayyid Haydar Āmulī.⁵³⁰

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 2nd shelf, no. 1, serial no. 301.

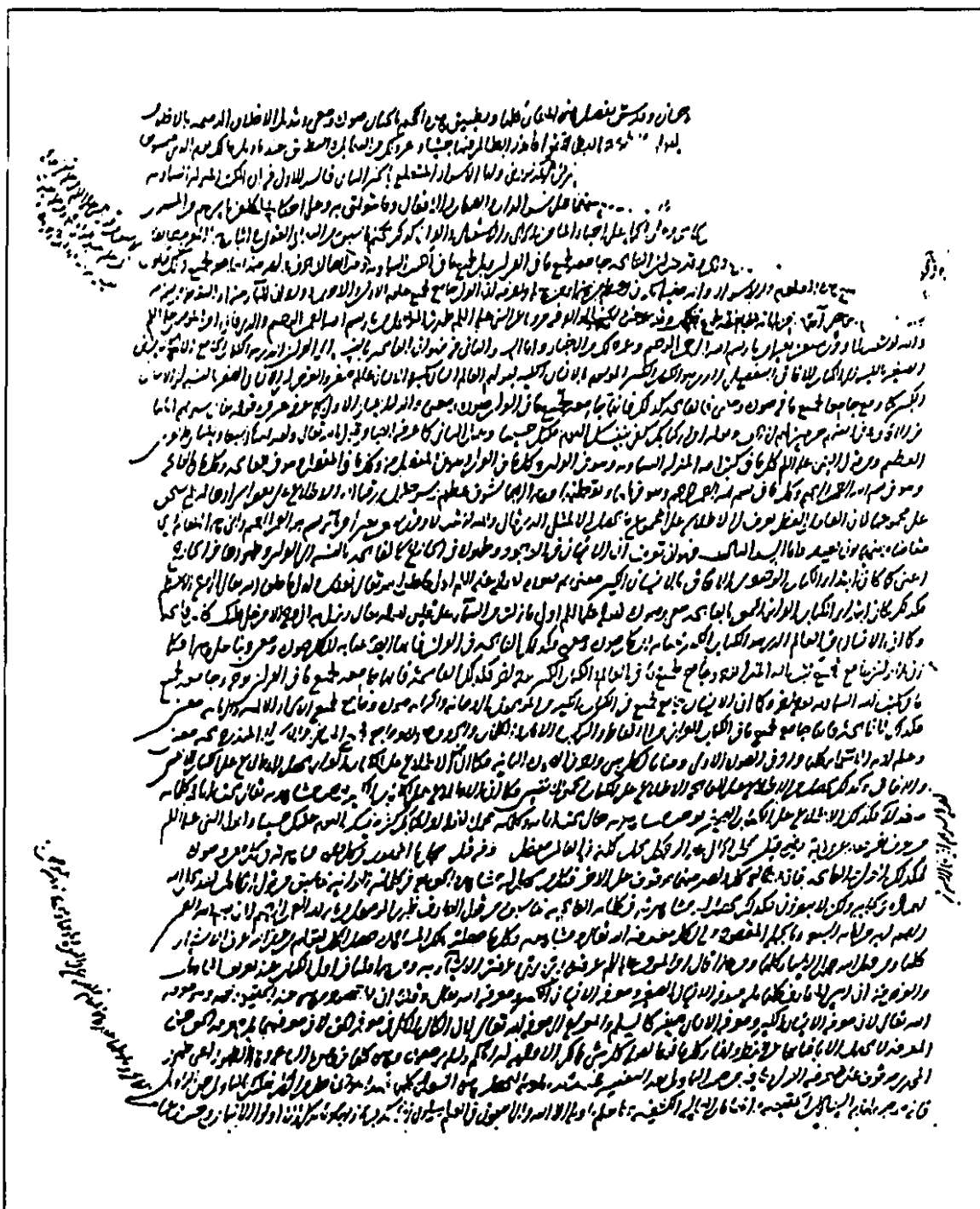


Figure: 8. The last page of *Tafsir al-Fātiḥa wa Ta'wīlātihi* (the opening chapter of the Qur'an and its interpretation) in the handwriting of Sayyid Haydar Āmulī.⁵³¹

⁵³¹ Ibid., 2nd shelf, no. 1, serial no. 301.



Figure: 10. This is the last page (303) of *Tafsi al-Muḥīṭ al-Aʿẓam* in the handwriting of Sayyid Haydar Āmulī.⁵³³

⁵³³ Ibid., 2nd shelf, no. 1, serial no. 301.

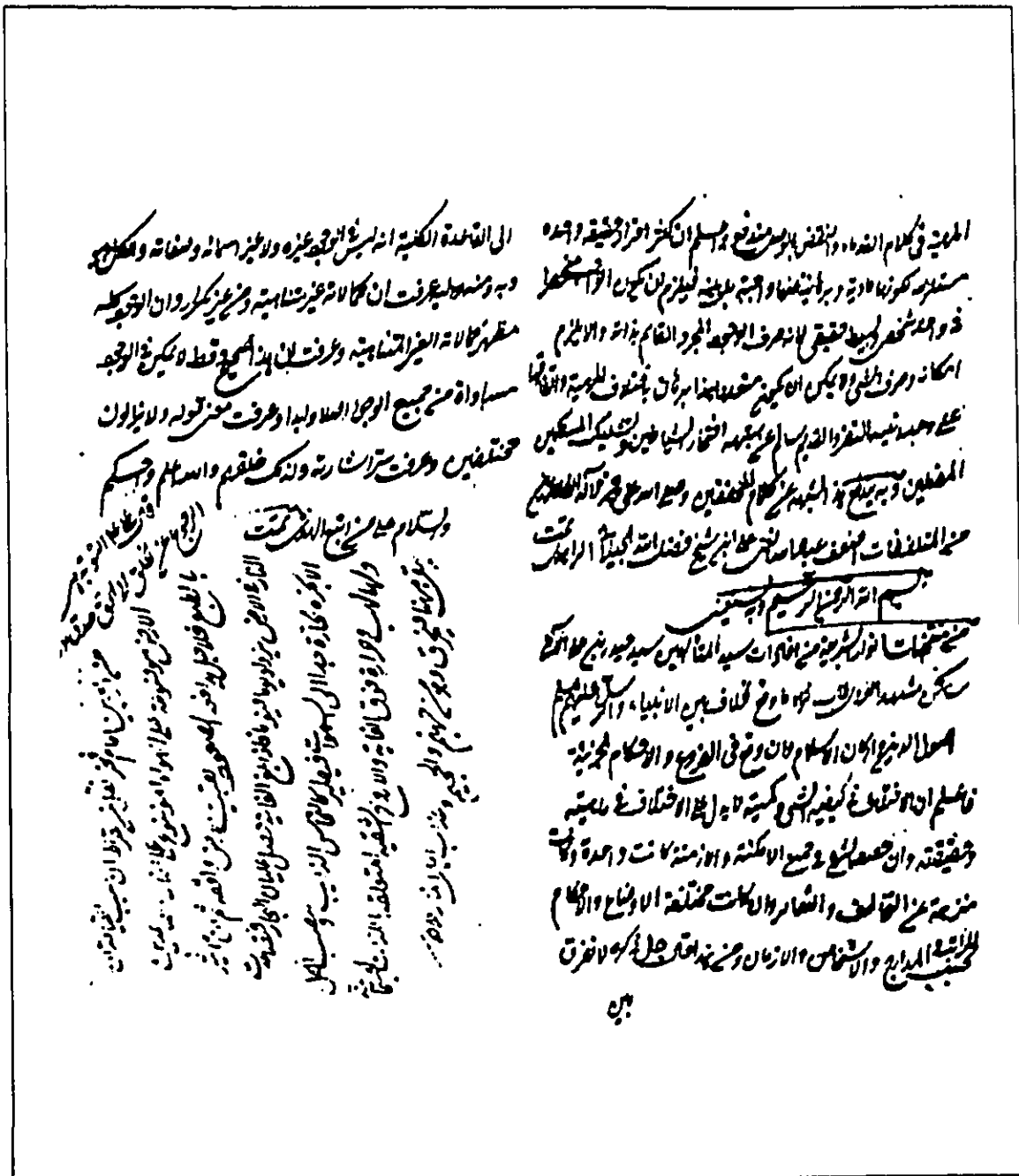


Figure: 11. The first and last pages of *Muntakhabāt Anwār al-Sharīʿa* by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī in the transcription by ʿAlī ibn Shaykh Faḍl Allāh al-Jilānī al-Rāhidī.⁵³⁴

⁵³⁴ Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. *Muntakhabāt Anwār al-Sharīʿa*, manuscript, serial no. 1088, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tehran, Tehran.



Figure: 12. These are the first and second pages of questions by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn al-Hillī in *al-Masā'il al-Āmulīyya*. On the margin of the first page can be seen Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's handwritten *ijāza* (license) given to Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. On the second page there is also a handwritten defiance of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī written by Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁵ Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. *al-Masā'il al-Āmulīyyāt*, manuscript, serial no. 1022, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tehran, Tehran.

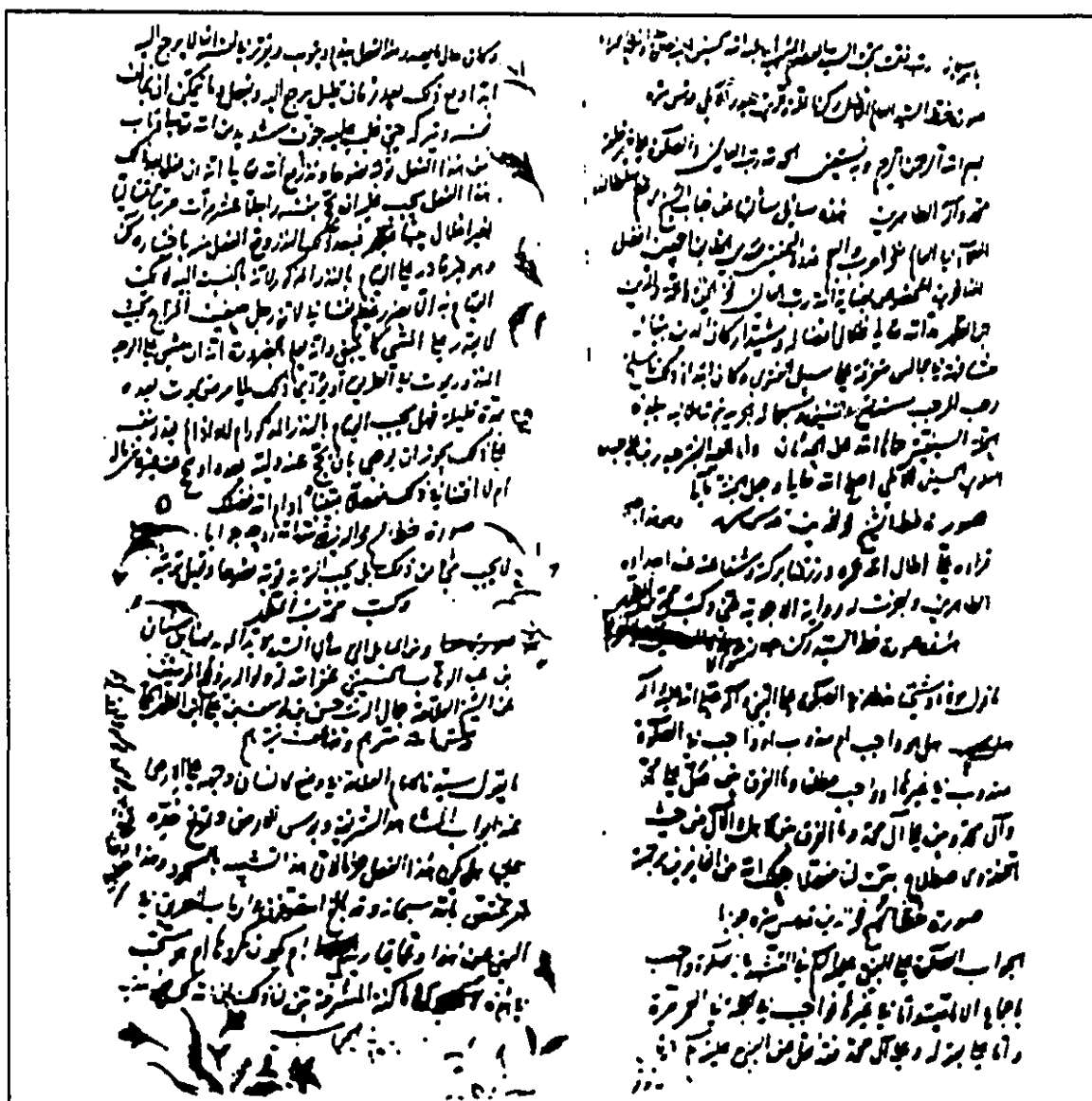


Figure: 13. The first and last pages of *al-Masā'il al-Āmuliyya* (*Masā'il-i Āmuliyyāt*) by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmuli, as transcribed by 'Ināyat Allāh. The latter may be the same as Abū Muḥammad 'Alī Ibn 'Ināyat Allāh Baštāmī who wrote a *Tafsīr al-Tablīgh al-Walāya*. In which he collected all the verses about *walāya* in 'Arabic. He was named Mawlā Ḥusayn Šā'id and wrote this interpretation in Tabriz on the twelfth of *Jumādī al-Ākhar*, 989/1581.

Masā'il-i Āmuliyyāt is a short part of *kitāb-i Dastūr* that is included 45 treatises; about three pages of this book are *al-Masā'il al-Āmuliyya*.⁵³⁶

⁵³⁶ Ibid., ad. 'Ināyat Allāh, serial no. 2144.



Figure: 14. A specimen of the handwriting of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmullī written by him on the back of a manuscript of his work *Naqd al-Nuqūd fī Maʿrifat al-Wujūd*.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁷ Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmullī, *Naqd al-Nuqūd fī Maʿrifat al-Wujūd*, manuscript, no. 1764, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tehran, Tehran.

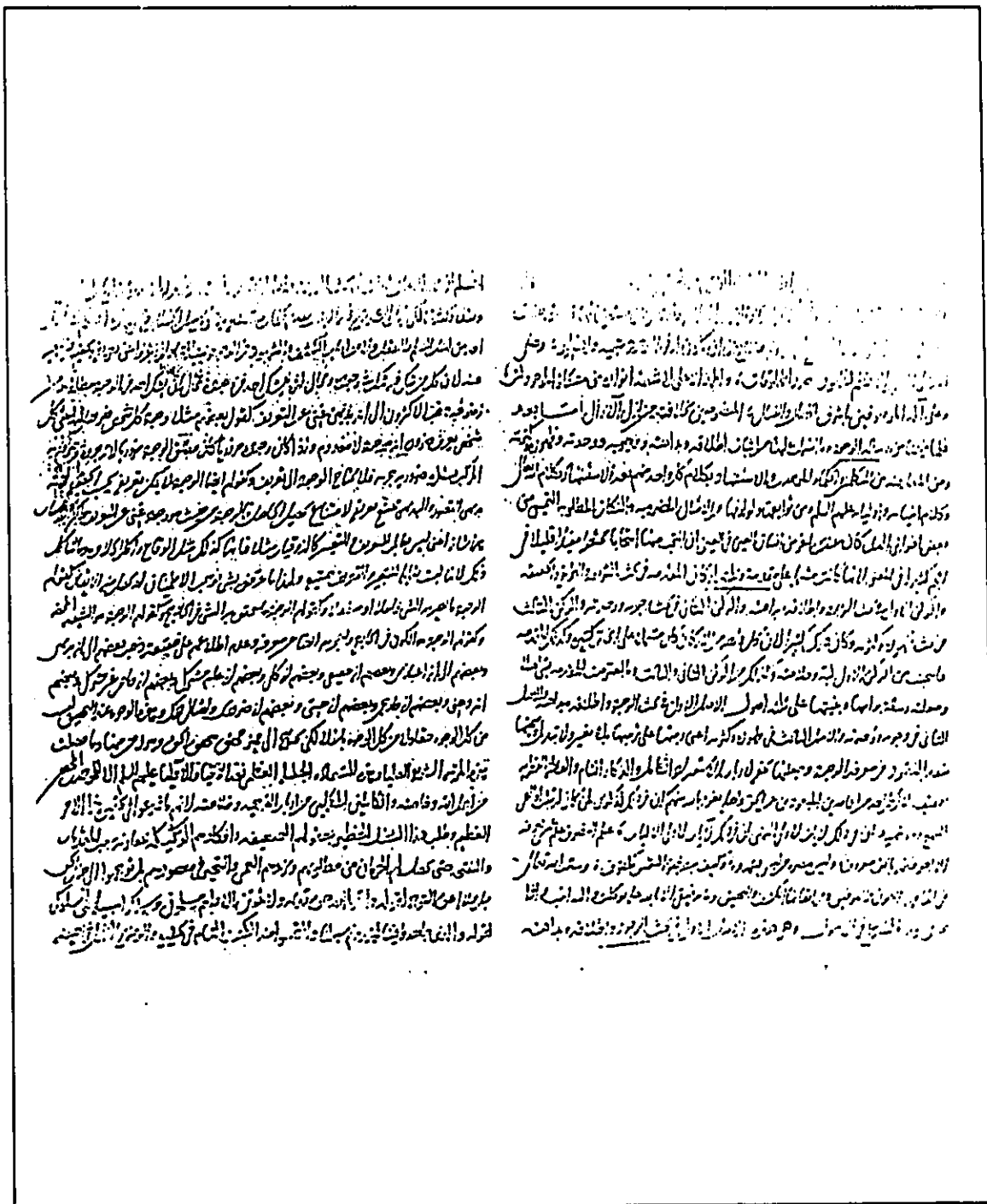


Figure: 15. The first and second page of Sayyid Haydar Āmuli's autograph manuscript of *Risālat Naqd al-Nuqūd fī Maʿrifat al-Wujūd*. 538

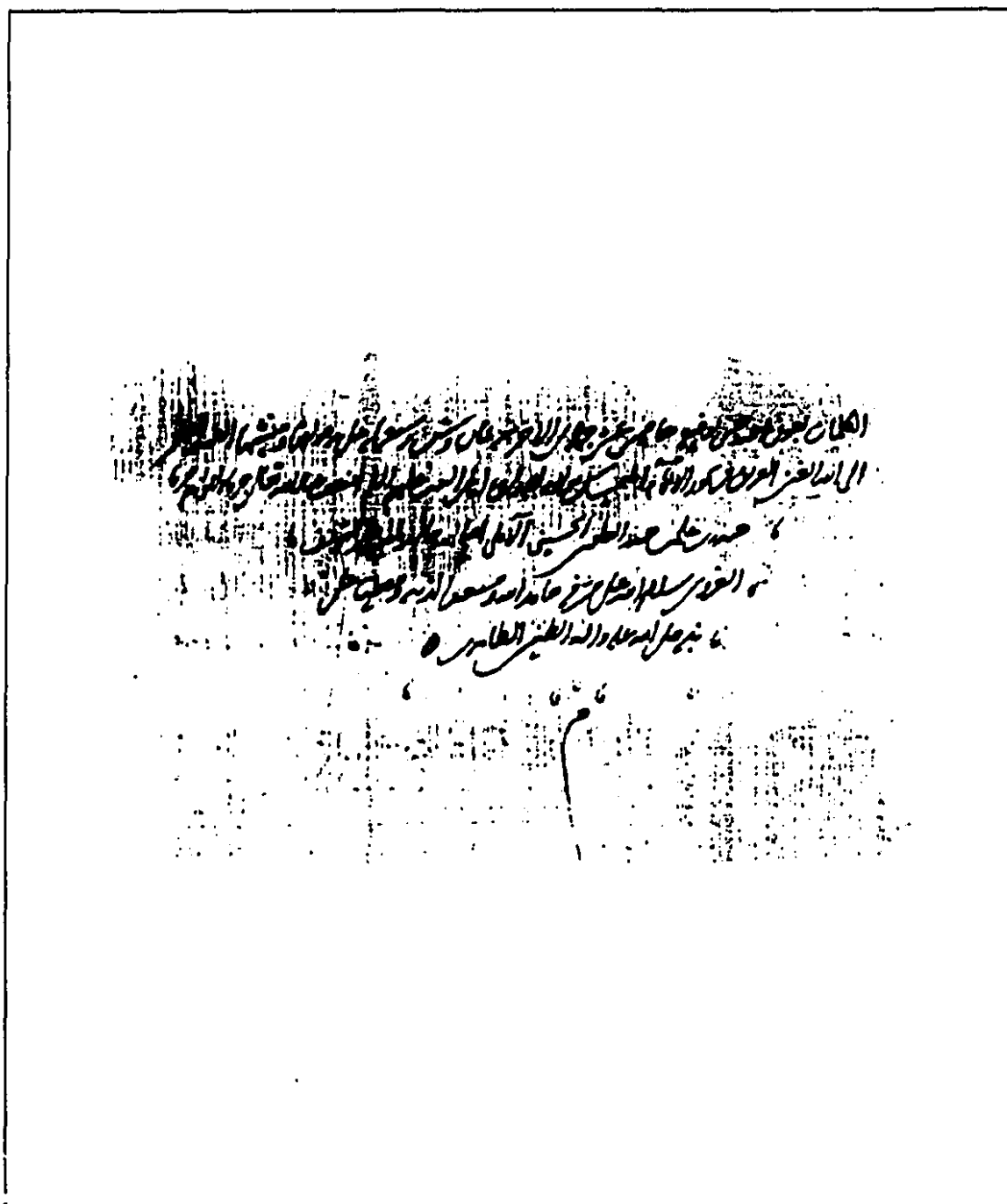


Figure: 16. The last page of *Naqd al-Nuqūd fī Maʿrifat al-Wujūd* in the handwriting of Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmullī.⁵³⁹ Āmullī mentions that this work completed by Ḥaydar ibn ʿAlī Ḥaydar al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Āmullī on the 15th of *Jumādā al-Ākhar* in 768 A.H. at *Mashhad al-Sharīf al-Gharawī* (Najaf).

⁵³⁹ Ibid., no. 1764.

والحقيقة كانت الصوفية بالحقيقة ايقنة في الشريعة كما عرفت عند
 المؤمن الحق وبغير الحيف وهذا بالحقيقة من زينة الجود وال
 الشريعة كمالها في انشاء المراتب المذكورة وذلك بقدر
 العلم ان في ذلك لذكر لمن كان له طلب او الى السمع
 شهيد وتذكر من بعض هذا البحث اجماع عند ائمة الشريعة
 والطريقة والحقيقة فراجع اليه ومنها انه لا حكم لمقلدا
 الا على الوجه الذي نعرف في هذا الكتاب من اقل الخرافات
 بعد تامله والحقيقة على ما ينبغي ان يعرفها الاجلعيان بالبر
 الا في الآداب والآراء بحسب الظاهر والباطن للقيم
 والطريقة والحقيقة والجمع فيها بالحقيقة الذي هو
 واعظم المذهب المشاهير لا يجب كايدي من الشريعة
 كالصوفية الخاصة بل من جملة الغمام الحقيقية الذي هو المخرج
 اليها من الحق في ما بين الشرف والغريب المعبر عن ذلك
 اليهم قوله تعالى فان الدين اليهم ولكن اكثر الناس لا يعلمون
 لان من ذلك يمكن ان يفسد من بعض الشرائع التي
 لا يفتق من الحق في شاكله فلهذا ما نذكره من الحق والاعظم

واعظم وهو قوله وان هذا اجل على من يفتق من جملة الحق
 تعرفكم من جملة ذلكم بقبولكم بلكم تتقون والموت في ذلك
 لهذا وما كان اللهد وكن ان هذا ما الله ذلك فضل الله يؤتيه
 من يشاء والله ذو الفضل العظيم وانزل اليكم في الكتاب ما نزلت
 في الامكان بالكتاب في الرجوع الى الكتابات وانطق الكتاب عليه
 لتلكت جل اليوم انكم حاجي : انكم يكن على الى دينه ان
 لهذا على ما لا كل صفة : فري فري كان ودر الزمان
 وبدا لاثان وكيفية طاعت : والواجب فريه من حق وان
 ادين بدين الحق في وجه : كتاب ارسلت مني واما ان
 من جملة الله تعالى
 وكلمة

كان الفري يوم الجمعة السلي من شري من جملة من
 شهر سنة احد عشرين وعشرين بعد اثنى عشر من الشهر
 النبوية طالع السلام وانما ان يفتق من الحق بل في العبر
 طالع العبد الذي لا ثم الجان جلد من جملة من جملة
 الثاني فري الله

Figure: 17. *Jāmi' al-Asrār wa Manba' al-Anwār*. These are the first and last pages of this treatise written by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. This transcription was made by Jawād ibn Mullā Abū al-Qāsim al-Nā'īnī, and was completed on Friday, 16th of *Rajab al-Murajjab*, 1281/1864.⁵⁴⁰

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., serial no. 1515, p. 1.

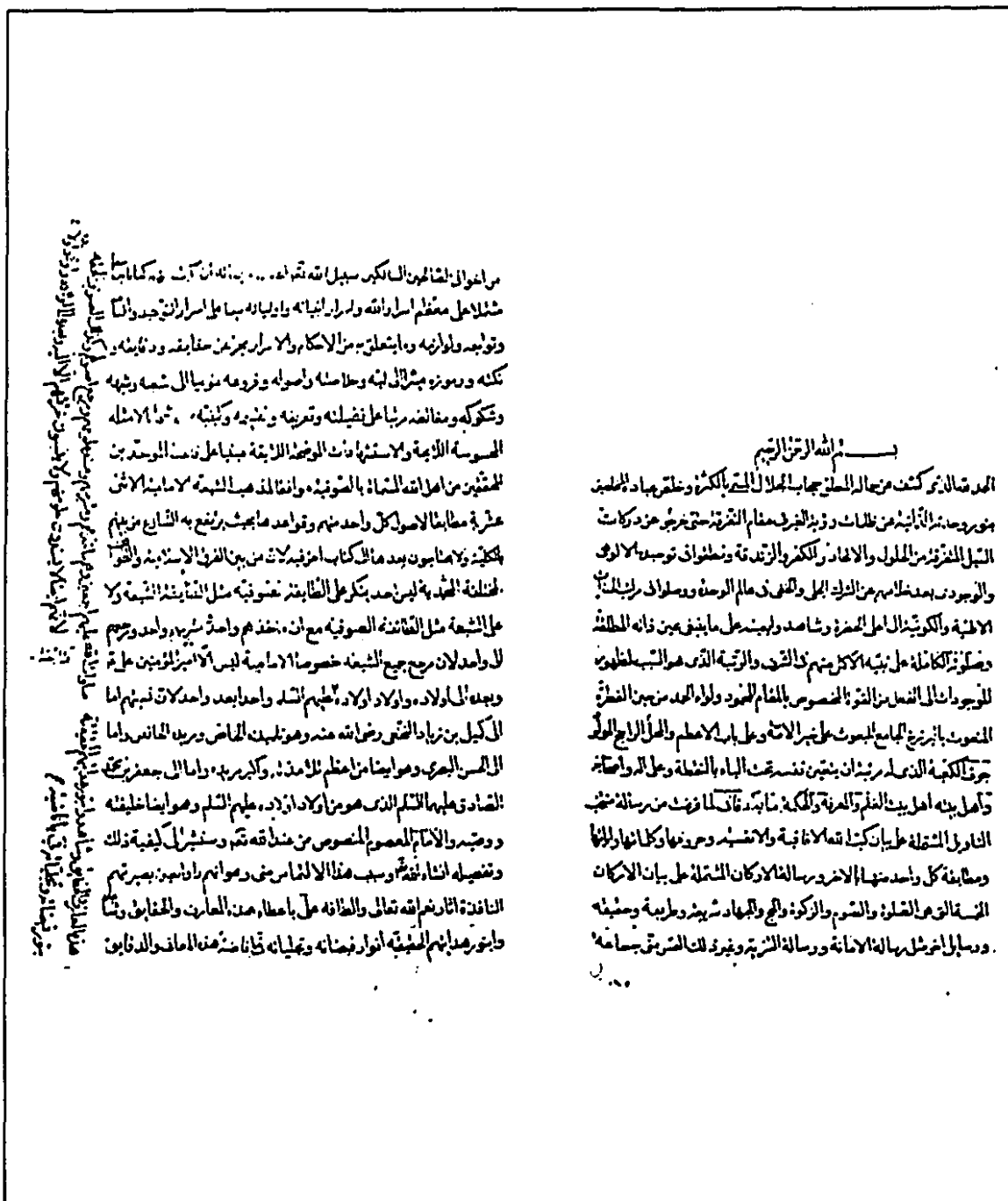


Figure 18. The first and last pages of *Jāmi' al-Asrār wa Manba' al-Anwār* by Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī. This manuscript was completed *Rajab* of 1285/1868, by Sayyid Maḥdī Ṣadr 'Ālimī Mūsawī Iṣfahānī.⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴¹ S. H. Āmulī, *Jāmi' al-Asrār wa Manba' al-Anwār*, manuscript, serial no. In index 5172, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tehran.

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Wa mā tawfiqī illā billah