



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## Of love and longing : a study of Ayatollah Khomeini's mystical poetry and its reception in Iran and abroad

Farhosh-van Loon, D.

### Citation

Farhosh-van Loon, D. (2016, October 18). *Of love and longing : a study of Ayatollah Khomeini's mystical poetry and its reception in Iran and abroad*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/43674>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/43674>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/43674> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Farhosh-van Loon, D.

**Title:** Of love and longing : a study of Ayatollah Khomeini's mystical poetry and its reception in Iran and abroad

**Issue Date:** 2016-10-18

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- Abrahamian, E., *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Abrahamian, E., *Khomeinism: Essays on the Islamic Republic*, London / New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993.
- Abrahamian, E., *The Iranian Mojahedin*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Abrams, M.H., *Glossary of Literary Terms*, Heinle & Heinle, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, 1999.
- Abu Nuwas, *Abu Nuwas: A Genius of Poetry*, ed. Ph. F. Kennedy, Oxford: Oneworld, 2005.
- Afshār, I., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under *Fāl-nāma*.
- Akbari, M., *Naqd va tahlil-e adabiyyāt-e enqelāb-e eslāmi*, part I, Poetry, vol. I, Tehran: Sâzmân-e Madârek-e Farhangi-ye Enqelâb-e Eslâmi, 1371/1992.
- Akhavi, S., “Contending Discourses in Shi'i Law on the Doctrine of Wilāyat al-Faqīh,” in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3/4, 1996, pp. 229-268.
- Akhavi, S., *Religion and Politics in Contemporary Iran*, New York: State University of New York Press, 1980.
- Algar, H. in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Āštiāni, Hasan.
- Algar, H., “Imam Khomeini, 1902-1906: The Pre-Revolutionary Years,” in *Islam, Politics and Social Movements*, eds. E. Burke and & I.M. Lapidus, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, pp. 263-288.
- Algar, H., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Awliā’.
- Algar, H., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Borūjerdī, Ḥosayn Tabāṭabā’ī.
- Algar, H., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Ḥā’eri, ‘Abd al-Karim Yazdi.
- Amanat, A. in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Great Britain iii. British Influence in Persia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century,
- Amanat, A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Constitutional Revolution i. Intellectual Background.
- Aminpur, Q., “Golha hameh Aftābgardanand” ('All Flowers are Sunflowers'), in *Majmu’e-ye kâmel-e ash’âr*, Tehran: Golshan, 9<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1391/2012, pp. 97-231.
- Amirahmadi, H., *Political Economy of Iran under the Qajars: Society, Politics, Economics and Foreign Relations 1796-1926*, London / New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Cosmogony & Cosmology: In Twelver Shi’ism.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Eschatology iii. Imami Shi’ism.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Islam in Iran vii. The Concept of Mahdi in Twelver Shi’ism.
- Amir-Moezzi, M.A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Islam in Iran x. The Roots of Political Shi’ism.
- Arberry, A.J., *Classical Persian Literature*, Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994.
- Arjomand, S.A., *The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

- Aruzi, N., *Chahâr maqâle*, ed. M. Qazvini, London and Leiden, 1910.
- Asgharzadeh, A., *Iran and the Challenge of Diversity: Islamic Fundamentalism, Aryanist Racism and Democratic Struggles*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Ashraf, A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Conspiracy Theories.
- Ashraf, A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Iranian Identity i. Perspectives on Iranian Identity.
- Ashraf, A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Iranian Identity iii. Medieval Islamic Period.
- Ashraf, A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Iranian Identity iv. 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries.
- ‘Attâr, Farid al-Din, *Tadhkerat al-owliyâ*, ed. H. Khalili, Tehran: Manuchehr, 1370/1991.
- ‘Attâr, Farid ud-Din, *The Conference of the Birds*, trans. D. Davis and A. Darbandi, London: Penguin, 1984.
- Avery, P., *The Collected Lyrics of Hafiz of Shiraz*, Cambridge: Archetype, 2007.
- Awn, P.J., *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblis in Sufi Psychology*, Leiden: Brill, 1983.
- Azimi, R.F., “On Shaky Ground: Concerning the Absence or Weakness of Political Parties,” in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1-2, 1997, pp. 65-71.
- Badry, R., “Zum Profil weiblicher ‘Ulamâ in Iran: Neue Rollenmodelle fur "islamische Feministinnen," in *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 40, Issue I, 2000, p. 7-40.
- Bahari, E., *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting*, London / New York: I.B. Tauris, 1996.
- Barry, M., “The Allegory of Drunkenness and the Theophany of the Beloved in Sixteenth-Century Illustrations of Hâfiż,” in *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2010, pp. 213-226.
- Barry, M., *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam and the Riddle of Bihzâd of Herât (1465-1535)*, Paris: Flammarion, 2004.
- Bartlett Giamatti, A., *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Bayat, A., “Revolution without Movement, Movement without Revolution: Comparing Islamic Activism in Iran and Egypt,” in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 1998, pp. 136-169.
- Behbahâni, S., *Khatti ze sor‘at-o az ātash*, Tehran: Zawwâr, 1370 (1991).
- Behbahâni, S., *A Cup of Sin: Selected Poems*, eds. & trs. F. Milani and K. Safa, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999.
- Beygi Habibâbâdi, P. in *Gozide-ye ash’âr: she’r-e jang va defâ’-e moqaddas*, ed. H. Hoseyni, Tehran: Sura, 1381/2002.
- Bonaud, Y.C., *L’Imam Khomeiny: un Gnostique Méconnu du XXe Siècle*, Beyrouth: al-Bouraq, 1995.
- Bosworth, C.E., *The History of al-Tabari*, Vol. V (1999), Vol. XXXIII (1991), Vol. XXX, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Böwering, G., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under ‘Erfân (1).

- Boyce, M., "The Parthian Gōsān and Iranian Minstrel Tradition," in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. ½, 1957, pp. 10-45.
- Brecher, M. and J. Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Iran.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Maḥmūd B. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Yahyā Shabistarī.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, "De politieke betekenis van Perzische poëzie," in *De pen en het zwaard: literatuur en politiek in het Midden-Oosten*, eds. G.J van Gelder & E. de Moor, Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1988, pp. 89-100.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, "Het Lot van de Perzische Hofdichter," in *Dichter en Hof: Verkenningen in Veertien Culturen*, Utrecht: Hes Uitgevers, 1986, pp. 149-166.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, "The Qalandariyyāt in Mystical Poetry, From Sanā'ī Onwards," in *The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian Sufism*, ed. L. Lewisohn, London: Khanaqahi Publ., 1992, pp. 75-86.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, "The Religious Use of Persian Poetry," in *Studies on Islam, Symposium of Islamic Studies*, Amsterdam/London: North Holland Publishing Company, 1974, pp. 63-74.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Courts and Courtiers; Court Poetry.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Ghazal i. History.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Hafez iii. Hafez's Poetic Art.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Hajw.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Humor.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Shā‘ir ii. In Persia.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Shi‘r ii. In Persian.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Takhallus ii. In the Sense of Pen-Name.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, (ed.), *General Introduction to Persian Literature*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2009.
- Bruijn, J.T.P. de, *Persian Sufi Poetry; An Introduction to the Mystical Use of Classical Poems*, Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997.
- Brunner, R., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Shiite Doctrine ii. Hierarchy in the Imamiyya.
- Calmard, J., in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Mardja’-i Taklid.
- Calmard, J., in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Mudjtahid.
- Calmard, J., in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Ḳum.
- Chehabi, H.E. & Christia, F., "The Art of State Persuasion: Iran's Post-Revolutionary Murals," in *Persica*, Vol. 22, 2008, pp. 1-13.
- Chelkowski, P., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Ta‘zia.
- Chittick, W.C., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Ebn al-‘Arabī, Mohyī-al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd-Allāh Muhammad Ṭā’ī Hātemī.
- Chittick, W.C., *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-‘Arabi’s Metaphysics of Imagination*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989.

- Cleveland, W.L., *A History of the Modern Middle East*, Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.
- Clinton, J.W., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Bāda.
- Cohen, R.A., *The Hojjatiyeh Society in Iran; Ideology and Practice from the 1950's to the Present*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Corbin, H., “La Place de Mollā ṣadrā Shīrāzī dans la Philosophie Iranienne,” in *Studia Islamica*, No. 18, 1963, pp. 81-113.
- Daniel, E.L., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Golestān Treaty.
- Ekhtiari Amiri, R., K. Hasnita Binti Ku Samsu and H. Gholipour Fereidouni, H., “The Hajj and Iran's Foreign Policy towards Saudi Arabia,” in the *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 6, London: Sage Publications, 2011, pp. 678-690.
- Elwell-Sutton, L.P., “The “Rubā’ī” in Early Persian Literature,” *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. R.N. Frye, Vol. 4 (The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp. 633-657.
- Enayat, H., *Law, State, and Society in Modern Iran: Constitutionalism, Autocracy and Legal Reform, 1906-1941*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Enayat, H., *Modern Islamic Political Thought*, London / New York: I.B. Tauris, 1982.
- Ernst, C.W., “Vertical Pilgrimage and Interior Landscape in the Visionary Diary of Rūzbihān Baqlī (d. 1209),” in *The Muslim World*, Vol. 88(2), 1998, pp. 129-140.
- Eshots, Y., in *The Qur'an: an Encyclopedia*, under ‘Ishq, ed. O. Leaman, Oxon: Routledge, 2006, pp. 310-314.
- Faghfoory, M.H. “The Impact of Modernization on the Ulama in Iran, 1925-1941,” in *Iranian Studies*, vol. 26, 1993, pp. 277-311.
- Faghfoory, M.H. “The Ulama-State Relations in Iran: 1921-1941,” in *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 413-432.
- Falk, R.P. and F. Teague, in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, under Parody, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, pp. 881-883.
- Farhang-e divân-e ash'âr-e emâm Khomeini*, ed. V. Adabiyyat, Tehran: Institute for the Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, 1372/1993.
- Farzad, N., “Qeysar Aminpur and the Persian Poetry of Sacred Defence,” in the *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 2007, 34:3, pp. 351-374.
- Ferrier, R.W., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Anglo-Iranian Relations.
- Final Report of the Special Representative on the Situation of Human Rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, E/CN. 4/1993/41 E/CN. 4/2002/42.
- Fischer, M.M.J. and M. Abedi, *Debating Muslims: Cultural dialogues in postmodernity and tradition*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.
- Fischer, M.M.J., *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1980.

- Floor, W. and M. Ettehadieh, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Concessions.
- Floor, W., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Judicial and Legal Systems v. Judicial System in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.
- Fouchécour, C.H. de, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Қаṣīda 2. In Persian.
- Fouchécour, C.H. de, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Rubā’ī.
- Gabbay, A., “In Praise of One of the Deeply Learned ‘Ulamā’: A Mysterious Poem by Qājār Court Poet Mirzā Habiballāh Shirāzi “Qā’āni”,” in *The Necklace of the Pleiades: studies in Persian literature presented to Heshmat Moayyad on his 80th birthday*, eds. F.D. Lewis and S. Sharma, Leiden: Leiden University Press, pp. 131-148.
- Gasiorowski, M.J. in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Coup d’Etat of 1332 ſ./1953.
- Ghamari-Tabrizi, B., “The Divine, the People and the Faqih,” in *A Critical Introduction to Khomeini*, ed. B.A. Adib-Moghaddam, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 211-238.
- Gheissari, A., “Despots of the World Unite! Satire in the Iranian Constitutional Press: The *Majalleh-ye Estebdad*, 1907–1908,” in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Volume 25, Number 2, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005, pp. 360-376.
- Gheissari, A., “The Poetry and Politics of Farrokhi Yazdi,” in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1-2, 1993, pp. 33-50.
- Gibb, E.J.W., *History of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. I – VI, ed. E.G. Browne, London: Luzac, 1900-1909.
- Gieling, S.M., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Iraq ii. Iran-Iraq War.
- Glünz, M., “Poetic Tradition and Social Change: The Persian Qasida in Post-Mongol Iran,” in *Studies in Arabic Literature: Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa; Classical Traditions and Modern Meanings*, Vol. I., Leiden: Brill, 1996, pp. 189-203.
- Goldschmidt Jr., A. “The Historical Context,” in *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*, eds. D.J. Gerner and J. Schwedler, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004, pp. 37-84.
- Goud, M., “Honger naar Kwatrijnen: P.C. Boutens en de Perzische Literatuur,” in *De Perzische Muze in de Polder: De Receptie van Perzische poëzie in de Nederlandse Literatuur*, eds. M. Goud and A.A. Seyed-Gohrab, Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers, 2006, pp. 93-114.
- Goud, M., “Umar Khayyām’s Impact on Dutch Literature,” in *The Great ‘Umar Khayyām; A Global Reception of the Rubāiyāt*, ed. A.A. Seyed-Gohrab, Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012, pp. 115-127.
- Gruber, C.J., “The Message is on the Wall: Mural Arts in Post-Revolutionary Iran”, in Persica, Vol. 22, 2008, pp. 15-46.
- Groot, R. de, “The Legacy of ‘Umar Khayyām in Music of the Netherlands,” in *The Great Omar Khayyām; A Global Reception of the Rubāiyāt*, ed. A.A. Seyed-Gohrab, Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012, pp. 143-160.
- Gurney, J. and N. Nabavi, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Dār al-Fonun.

- Haar, J.G.J. ter, "Heilige en Politiek Gezag; Het Begrip Wilāyat in de optiek van Khumayni," in *Mystiek: het andere gezicht van de islam*, eds. M. Buitelaar en J.G.J. ter Haar, Bussum: Coutinho, 1999, pp. 90-102.
- Hâfez, Mohammad Shams al-Din, *Divân*, ed. P. Nâtel Khânları, Tehran: Khârazmi, 1362/1983.
- Hairi, A., in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Ha'erī, Abd al-Karīm Yazdī.
- Halm, H., *Shiism*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.
- Hambly, G.R.G. "Iran during the Reign of Fath 'Ali Shâh and Mohammad Shâh," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 7, ed. W.B. Fisher, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 145-146.
- Hanaway, W.L., "Five Mystical Ghazals," in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 30, No ¾, 1997, pp. 273-276.
- Hanaway, W.L., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Bāzgašt-e Adabī.
- Haqšenâs, T., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Communism iii. In Persia after 1953.
- Hoseini, S.H., *Ham-sedâ bâ halq-e Esmâ 'il*, Tehran: Surih-ye Mihr, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 1387/2008.
- Hunsberger, A.C., *Nasir Khusraw: The Ruby of Badakhsan*, London / New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000.
- Hurewitz, J. C., *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. A Documentary Record 1535-1914*, Vol. I, New York: Octagon Books, 1972.
- Husaynī Tîhrānī, S.M.H., *Kernel of the Kernel; Concerning the Wayfaring and Spiritual Journey of the People of Intellect, A Shī'ī Approach to Sufism [Risâla-yi Lubb al-Lubâb dar Sayr wa Sulûk-I Ulu'l Albâb]*, comp. and ed. and exp. S.M.H. Husaynī Tîhrānī, tr. M.H. Faghfoory, ed. S.H. Nasr, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.
- Ismael, J.S. and T.Y., *The Gulf War and the New World Order*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994.
- Izzi Dien, M.Y. and P.E. Walker, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Wilāya.
- Jacobi, R., "Udhra: Love and Death in the Umayyad Period," in *Martyrdom in Literature: Visions of Death and Meaningful Suffering in Europe and the Middle East from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. F. Pannewick, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004, pp. 137–148.
- Jamali-yi Dihlawi, *The Mirror of Meaning*, trans. A.A. Seyed-Gohrab, Persian edition by N. Pourjavady, Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2002.
- Jauss, H.R., *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973.
- Jazayery, M.A., "Western Influence In Contemporary Persian: A General View," in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 29, 1966, pp. 79-96.
- Jones, W.R., in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, under Satire, eds. A. Preminger and T.V.F. Brogan, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, pp. 1114-1117.
- Kamshad, H., and Mozaffari, N., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Jamalzadeh, Mohammad-Ali: ii. Work.
- Karamustafa, A.T., *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200-1550*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994.

- Karimi, P., "Imagining Warfare, Imagining Welfare: Tehran's Post Iran-Iraq War Murals and their Legacy", in *Persica*, Vol. 22, 2008, pp. 47-63.
- Karimi-Hakkak, A., "Iran's Literature 1977-1997; Selections from the Literature of Iran," in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3-4, 1997, pp. 193-213.
- Karimi-Hakkak, A., "Preservation and Presentation: Continuity and Creativity in the Contemporary Persian Qasida," in *Studies in Arabic Literature: Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa; Classical Traditions and Modern Meanings*, Vol. I, Leiden: Brill, 1996, pp. 253-280.
- Karimi-Hakkak, A., *Recasting Persian Poetry: Scenarios of Poetic Modernity in Iran*, London: Oneworld Publications, 2012.
- Katouzian, H., "Iraj, the Poet of Love and Humour," in *Iran: Politics, History and Literature*, London: Taylor & Francis, 2012, pp. 220-232.
- Katouzian, H., "Jamalzadeh's Fiction," in *Iran: Politics, History and Literature*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, pp. 246-256.
- Katouzian, H., "Private Parts and Public Discourses in Modern Iran," in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Volume 28, Number 2, 2008, pp. 283-290.
- Katouzian, H., *Iran in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Politics, Economics and Conflicts*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2008.
- Kazemi Moussavi, A., "A New Interpretation of the Theory of Velayat-e Faqih," in *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Ltd, 1992, pp. 101-107.
- Keddie, N.R. "Iranian Revolutions in Comparative Perspective," in *American Historical Review* 88, Issue 3, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983, pp. 579-598.
- Keddie, N.R., "Religion and Irreligion in Early Iranian Nationalism," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 4/3, 1962, pp. 268-295.
- Keddie, N.R., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Afḡānī, Jamāl-al-Dīn.
- Keddie, N.R., *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Iranian Tobacco Protest of 1891-1982*, Abington: Francis & Taylor Ltd., 1966.
- Keddie, N.R., with a section by Yann Richard, *Modern Iran - Roots and Results of Revolution*, updated edition, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Keeler, A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Joseph ii. In Qur'ānic Exegesis.
- Keshavarzian, A., "Turban or Hat, Seminarian or Soldier: State Building and Clergy Building in Reza Shah's Iran," in *Journal of Church and State*, Vol.45 (1), 2003, pp. 81-112.
- Khalegi-Motlagh, Dj., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Ferdowsī, Abu'L Qāsem ii Hajw-nāma.
- Khalegi-Motlagh, Dj., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Ferdowsī, Abu'l Qāsem: i. Life.
- Khayyām, O., *The Quatrains of Omar Khayyám*, tr. E.H. Whinfield, London: Trübner & Co, 1883.
- Khomeini, R., *Divân-e Emâm: sorudehâ-ye hazrat-e emâm Khomeini*, Tehran: mo'asseseh tanzim o nashar-e âsâr-e emâm Khomeini, 1372 (1993).

- Khomeini, A., in *Sargodhashthâ-ye vizhe az zendegi-ye hazrat-e Emam Khomeini be Ravâyat-e jâm ‘i az fozalâ*, ed. R. She‘rbaf, Tehran, Vol. I, 1364/1985.
- Khomeini, R., *Islam and Revolution; Writings and Declarations*, ed. by H. Algar, Berkeley: Mizan Press, 1981.
- Khomeini, R., *Islamic Government: Governance of Jurisprudent*, Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2005.
- Khomeini, R., *Kauthar: An Anthology of the Speeches of Imam Khomeini (s.a.) including an Account of the Events of the Islamic Revolution 1962-1978*, Volume 2, Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works (International Affairs Department), 1995.
- Khomeini, R., *Pithy Aphorisms: Wise Sayings and Counsels*, ed. M. Limba, Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, International Affairs Department, 2006.
- Khomeini, R., *Râh-e ‘eshq*, Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works (International Affairs Department), 1989.
- Khomeini, R. *Reunion with the Beloved: Imam Khomeini’s Letters to Huffat al-Islâm wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini*, Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works (International Affairs Department), 1995.
- Khomeini, R., *The Ashura Uprising in the Words & Messages of Imam Khomeini*, Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works (International Affairs Department), 1995.
- Khomeini, R., *The Greatest Jihad: Combat with the Self*, tr. by M. Legenhausen and A. Sardalir, Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works (International Affairs Department), 1989.
- Khomeini, R., *The Position of Women from the Viewpoint of Imam Khomeini*, trs. J. Shaw and B. Arezoo, Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works (International Affairs Department), 2001.
- Khomeini, R., *The Wine of Love: Mystical Poetry of Imām Khomeini*, eds. M.R. ‘Azimi and M.L. Limba and trs. G-R. A‘wāni and M. Legenhausen, Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works (International Affairs Department), 2003.
- Khorsandi, H., *Āyehā-ye Irāni*, Los Angeles: Zax, 1993.
- Khorsandi, H., *The Ayatollah and I*, tr. Ehssan Javan, London: Readers International, 1987.
- Khosronejad, P. “Introduction: Unburied Memories,” in *Unburied Memories, Visual Anthropology*, 25, 1-2, 2012, pp. 1-21.
- Kia, M., “Persian Nationalism and the Campaign for Language Purification,” in *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1998, pp. 9-36.
- Kian, A., “Gendered Khomeini”, in *A Critical Introduction to Khomeini*, ed. A. Adib-Moghaddam,

- Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 170-192.
- Knysh, A., "Irfan Revisited: Khomeini and the Legacy of Islamic Mystical Philosophy," in *Middle East Journal*, 46:4, 1992, pp. 631-653.
- Kohlberg, E., in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Shahīd.
- Kramer, M., "Khomeini's Messengers in Mecca," in *Arab Awakening and Islamic Revival*, New Brunswick: Transaction, 1996, pp. 161-87.
- Lammens, H., *Fātimā et les Filles de Mahomet; Notes Critique pour l'Étude de la Sīra*, Romae: Sumptibus Pontificis Institutum Biblici, 1912.
- Lazard, G., "The Rise of the New Persian Language," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp. 595-632.
- Lewis, F., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Hāfez viii. Hāfez and Rendi.
- Lewisohn, L. (ed.), *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2010.
- Lewisohn, L., "Hāfiẓ in the Socio-historical, Literary and Mystical Milieu of Medieval Persia", in *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*, ed. L. Lewisohn, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010, pp. 3-73.
- Lewisohn, L., "Overview: Iranian Islam and Persianate Sufism," in *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*, London: KNP, 1992, pp. 11-43.
- Lewisohn, L., "The Religion of Love and the Puritans of Islam: Sufi Sources of Hāfiẓ's Anti-clericalism," in *Hafiz and The Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2010, pp. 59-196.
- Lewisohn, L., "The Sacred Music of Islam: Sama' in the Persian Sufi Tradition," in *The British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 6, 1997, pp. 1-22.
- Lewisohn, L., in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Sulūk.
- Lewisohn, L., in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Takwā.
- Losensky, P., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Sāqī-nāma.
- Losensky, P., *Welcoming Fighani: Imitation & Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal*, Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1998.
- Mahdavi, A., "Significance of Private Archives for the Study of the Economic and Social History of Iran in the late Qajar Period," in *Iranian Studies*, 16, 1983, pp. 243-278.
- Mahdavi, M., "The Rise of Khomeinism: Problematizing the Politics of Resistance in Pre-Revolutionary Iran," in *A Critical Introduction to Khomeini*, ed. A. Adib-Moghaddam, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 43-68.
- Marmura, M.E. in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Avicenna iv. Metaphysics.
- Martin, V., *Creating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the making of a new Iran*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2000 and 2003.
- Martin, V., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Constitutional Revolution ii. Events.

- Martin, V., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Nuri, Fażl-Allāh.
- Massignon, L., *La Passion de Hoseyn Ibn Mansūr Hallāj; part I: La Vie de Hallāj*, Paris: Gallimard, 1975.
- Matini, J., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Mohammad Taqi Bahār ii. Bahār as a Poet.
- Matthee, R., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Safavid Dynasty.
- Mehran, G., “Socialization of Schoolchildren in the Islamic Republic of Iran,” in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 22, part I, 1989, pp. 35-50.
- Milani, A., *The Shah*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012.
- Mohaddessin, M., *Islamic Fundamentalism*, New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2003.
- Mohammadi, M., *Judicial Reform and Reorganization in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Iran: State-Building, Modernization and Islamicization*, New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Moin, B., “Questions of Guardianship in Iran,” in the *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Ltd, 1988, pp. 191-200.
- Moin, B., *Khomeini: Life of the Ayatollah*, London: I.B. Tauris, 1999, second print 2009.
- Momen, M., *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Mottahedeh, R.P., *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*, Oxford: Oneworld, 2000 and 2009.
- Najmabadi, A., “The Erotic Vatan [Homeland] as Beloved and Mother: To Love, to Possess, and To Protect,” in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 39, No. 3, 1997, pp. 442-467.
- Nanji, A., in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Nāṣir-Khusraw.
- Nashat, G., “Women in the Islamic Republic of Iran,” in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1/4, 1990, pp. 165-194.
- Nasr, S.H., *Knowledge and the Sacred*, New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1981.
- Nematollahi-Mahani, M.A., *Do Not Say They Are Dead: The Political Use of Mystical and Religious Concepts in the Persian Poetry of the Iran-Iraq War (1980-88)*, Leiden: PhD dissertation, 2014.
- Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921.
- Noruzi, M.J., “Role of Islam in the Occurrence and Victory of the Iranian Revolution,” in *Imām Khomeini and The Islamic Revolution; A Collection of Articles*, ed. J.R. Khan, Tehran: International Affairs Department, The Institution for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini’s Works, 2008, pp. 1-12.
- Nūrā’ī, F.M., “The Constitutional Ideas of a Shi‘ite Mujtahid Mohammad Husayn Na’ini,” in *Iranian Studies*, 8/4, 1975, pp. 234-45.
- O’Connor, W.V. and E.H. Behler, in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, under Irony, pp. 633-635.
- Omidsalar, M., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Divination.

- Oурги, М., “Ein Licht umgab mich ...” – Die eschatologischen Visionen des iranischen Präsidenten Mahmūd Ahmādīnēžād,” in *Die Welt des Islams*, Vol. 49, Leiden: Brill, 2009, pp. 163-180.
- Preminger, A. and T.V.F. Brogan (eds.), *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Qâ’âni Shirâzi, *Divân*, ed. M.J. Mahjub, Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1336/1957.
- Qamar, A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Christianity vi. In Persian Literature.
- Radtke, B., “The Concept of Wilāya in Early Sufism,” in *Classical Persian Sufism: from its Origins to Rumi*, ed. L. Lewisohn, London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1993, pp. 483-496.
- Radtke, B., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Bāten.
- Radtke, B., in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Walī 1. General Survey.
- Râzi, Najm al-Din, *The Path of God’s Bondsmen from Origin to Return*, tr. H. Algar, Delmar: Caravan Books, 1982.
- Reda, L.A. “Khatt-e Imam: The Followers of Khomeini’s Line,” in *A Critical Introduction to Khomeini*, ed. A. Adib-Moghaddam, pp. 115-148.
- Reinert, B. “Humainī im Spiegel seiner Gedichte,” in *Islamische Grenzen und Grenzübergänge*, Vol. 4, Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2007, pp. 191-293.
- Renard, J., *Historical Dictionary of Sufism*, Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2005.
- Richard, Y., *Shi’ite Islam*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.
- Ridgeon, L. “Hidden Khomeini: Mysticism and Poetry,” in *A Critical Introduction to Khomeini*, ed. A. Adib-Moghaddam, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 193-210.
- Rizvi, S.H., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Mollâ Sadrâ Širâzi;
- Rizvi, S.H., in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, under Mulla Sadra.
- Rizvi, S.H., *Mullâ Sadrâ and Metaphysics; Modulation of Being*, London: Routledge, 2009.
- Rosiny, S., “The Tragedy of Fâṭima al-Zahrâ’ in the Debate of two Shiite Theologians in Lebanon,” in *The Twelver Shia in Modern Times; Religious Culture & Political History*, eds. R. Brunner and W. Ende, Leiden: Brill, 2001, pp. 206-219.
- Rubin, U., in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Nûr Muḥammadī.
- Rumi, Jalâl al-Din, *Mathnawi*, vol. 3, ed. M. Este'lâmi, Tehran: Zawwar, 1372/1993.
- Rypka, J., *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1968.
- Sargodhashtha-ye vizhe az zendegi-ye hazrat-e Emam Khomeini be Ravâyat-e jam'i az fozalâ*, ed. R. Sha'rbaf, Tehran, Vol. I, 1364/1985.
- Schimmel, A., “Das Hallaj-Motiv in der Moderne Islamitische Literatur,” in *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, 23/24, Leiden: Brill, pp. 165-181.
- Schimmel, A., “Rose und Nachtigall,” in *Numen*, Vol. 5, Fasc. 2, Leiden: Brill, 1958, pp. 88-102.
- Schimmel, A., in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Christianity vii. Christian Influences in Persian Poetry.
- Schimmel, A., *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.

- Schimmel, A., *The Triumphal Sun: A Study of the Works of Jallâloddin Rumi*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993.
- Schmidt, J., “Hafiz and Other Persian Authors in Ottoman Bibliomancy; The Extraordinary Case of Kevefi Hüseyin Efendi's Râznâme (Late Sixteenth Century),” in *Persica*, No. XXI 21, Leuven: Peeters, 2006-2007, pp. 63-74.
- Schmitt, R., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Achaemenid Dynasty.
- Schrieke, B. and Horovitz, J., in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Mi'râdj.
- Scott Meisami, J., “Allegorical Gardens in the Persian Poetic Tradition: Nezami, Rumi, Hafez,” in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 1985, pp. 229-260.
- Scott Meisami, J., “Poetic Microcosms: The Persian Qasida to the End of the Twelfth Century,” in *Studies in Arabic Literature: Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa; Classical Traditions and Modern Meanings*, Vol. I, Leiden: Brill, 1996, pp. 137-182.
- Scott Meisami, J., “The Ghazal as Fiction: Implied Speakers and Implied Audience in Hafiz's Ghazals,” in *Intoxication, Earthly and Heavenly; Seven Studies on the Poet Hafiz of Shiraz*, eds. M. Glunz and J.C. Burgel, Bern: Lang, 1991, pp. 89-103.
- Scott Meisami, J., “The Uses of the “Qâṣīda”: Thematic and Structural Patterns in a Poem of Bashshâr,” in *Journal of Arabic Literature*, Vol. 16, Leiden: Brill, 1985, pp. 56-59.
- Scott Meisami, J., *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Sered, S., “Rachel, Mary, and Fatima,” in *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Blackwell Publishing, 1991, pp. 131-146.
- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A., “Ayatollah Khomeini en de Wijnschenker,” in *Een Vis in een Fles Raki: Literatuur en Drank in verschillende Culturen*, eds. R. Kruk & S. Houppermans, Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers, 2005, pp. 115-130.
- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A., “Khomeini the Poet Mystic,” in *Die Welt des Islams*, Vol. 51, Issue 3/4, 2011, pp. 438-458.
- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A., “Magic in Classical Persian Amatory Literature,” in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. I, 1999, pp. 71-97.
- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A., “Martelaren: van Mystieke Weg tot Oorlogspad,” in *Mededelingen*, deel 72, No. 4, Amsterdam: KNAW Press, 2009.
- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A., “Martyrdom as Piety, Mysticism and National Icon in Iran,” in *Der Islam: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients*, issue 1-2, 87, 2012, pp. 248-73.
- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A., “Poetry as Awakening: Singing Modernity,” in *Literature of the Early Twentieth Century From the Constitutional Period to Reza Shah*, Vol. XI, London / New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015, pp. 30-142.
- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A., “Rumi en de School van de Liefde: Antinomistische Motieven in Rumi's Werk,” in *Tree voor tree naar Gods troon*, Leiden: Uitgeverij Quist, 2010, pp. 63-81.

- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A., "The Erotic Spirit: Love, Man and Satan in Hafez's Poetry," in *Hafiz and The School of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*, eds. L. Lewisohn & J. Morris, London: I.B. Tauris, 2010, pp. 107-121.
- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A., "The Rose and the Wine: Dispute as a Literary Device in Classical Persian Literature," in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 47, Issue I, 2014, pp. 69-85.
- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A., *Layli and Majnun: Love, Madness and Mystic Longing in Nizami's Epic Romance*, Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2003.
- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A., *Soefisme: een levende traditie*, Amsterdam: Prometheus / Bert Bakker, 2015.
- Seyed-Gohrab, A.A. and S. McGlinn, *One Word - Yek Kaleme: 19th-Century Iranian Treatise Introducing Western Codified Law*, Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2010.
- Shahbazi, A.S., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Nowruz ii. In the Islamic Period.
- Shahidi, H., *Journalism in Iran: from Mission to Profession*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2007.
- Siegel, E., "The Politics of Shahid-e Javid," in *The Twelver Shia in Modern Times: Religious Culture & Political History*, eds. R. Brunner and W. Ende, Leiden: Brill, 2001, pp. 150-77.
- Silay, K., *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1994.
- Soroudi, S., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Constitutional Revolution vii. The Constitutional Movement in Literature.
- Soroudi, S., "On Jesus' Image in Modern Persian Poetry," in *The Muslim World*, Vol. 69, No. 4, 1979, pp. 221-228.
- Soroudi, S., "Sur-e Esrafil," in *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1988, p. 230-248.
- Soucek, P., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Hafez: xii. Hafez and the Visual Arts.
- Swenson, J.D., "Martyrdom: Mytho-Cathexis and the Mobilization of the Masses in the Iranian Revolution," in *Ethos*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1985, pp. 121-149.
- Taheri, A., *The Spirit of Allah: Khomeini and the Islamic Revolution*, New York: Alder and Alder Publishers, 1986.
- Takeshita, M., *Ibn 'Arabi's Theory of the Perfect Man and its Place in the History of Islamic Thought*, Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1987.
- Tavakoli-Targhi, M., "Anti-Baha'ism and Islamism in Iran," in *The Baha'is of Iran: Socio-Historical Studies*, eds. D.P. Brookshaw and S.B. Fazel, London: Routledge, 2008, pp. 200-231.
- Tavakoli-Targhi, M., "Contested Memories: Narrative Structures and Allegorical Meanings of Iran's Pre-Islamic History," in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1-2, 1996, pp. 149-175.
- Tavakoli-Targhi, M., "Refashioning Iran: Language and Culture during the Constitutional Revolution," in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 3, Issue 3-4, 1990, pp. 77-101.
- Thiesen, F., "A Draught of Love: A translation of Rūḥollāh Xomeini's sabū ye 'eṣq," in *Corolla Iranica*, eds. R.E. Emmerick and D. Weber, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991, pp. 211-227.

- Vaziri, M., *Iran as Imagined Nation: The Construction of National Identity*, New York: Paragon House, 1993.
- Veccia Vaglieri, L., in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Fāṭima.
- Venzlaff, H., “Gebetssiegel und Gebetstuch aus Qum,” in *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 39, Issue 2, Leiden: Brill, 1999, pp. 218-230.
- Wellhausen, J., *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1975.
- Wensinck, A.J., & L. Gardet, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), under Iblīs.
- Wright, R., *In the Name of God; The Khomeini Decade*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989.
- Yarshater, E., “Some Characteristics of Persian Poetry and Art,” in *Studia Islamica*, No. 16, 1962, pp. 61-71.
- Yarshater, E., “The Theme of Wine and Wine-drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry,” in *Studia Islamica*, No. 13, 1960, pp. 43-53.
- Yarshater, E., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Ghazal i. Characteristics and Conventions.
- Yusofi, Gh.H., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Čarand Parand.
- Zabih, S., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Communism ii: In Persia from 1941 to 1953.
- Zargar, C.A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Kašf o Šohud.
- Zarrīnkūb, A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Evolution.
- Zia-Ebrahimi, R., “Self-Orientalization and Dislocation: The Uses and Abuses of the Aryan Discourse in Iran,” in *Iranian Studies*, 44:4, pp. 445-472.
- Zysow, A., in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, under Ejtehād.