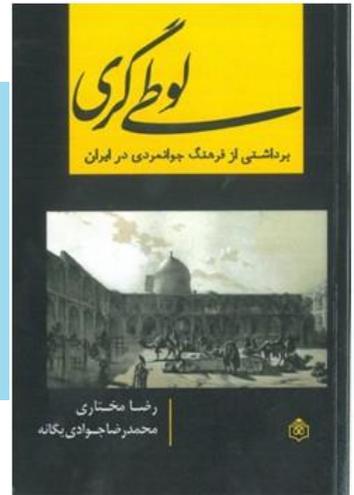


Lumpiness in Iran



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About the book:

The book "Lumpenism" is a picture of Iranian society relying on this culture. The culture, which, despite the efforts of the intellectuals to remove them, not only did not disappear, but today has hegemony. The book "Lumpenism" is a research in the field of the social history of Iran, which is viewed by the socialists as a historical and cultural trait. Considering the details of this culture according to the historical facts are the book's points, which is not just limited to the presence of Lumpens in important events such as the Constitutional Revolution.

The book deals with one of the most important socio-cultural traits in Iran as a historical tradition. This tradition, which is rooted in the chivalrous principles, and is the common theme of the Iranian soul in various intellectual and social ways such as the structure of generosity, Sufism, heroic, chivalry, Gnosticism, and Shi'i, has undergone a change throughout history. Although these developments caused the generosity and the chivalrous principles to be continued, the course of this historical tradition was more towards degeneration and transformation into Lumpenism. So that many historic sociologists have confused this cultural-historical tradition with Lumpenism, raised by Karl Marx. In spite of the similarities with the Lumpenproletariat of Marx, in terms of historical and cultural backgrounds, the attitude of lumpens and their presence in Iranian society is different from Marxist Lumpenproletariat. Pondering this difference, the book tries to elucidate the historical and cultural background of Lumpenism in Iran and to examine this group since it was active as a social marginal power but important in political and social changes. Therefore, from the Qajar period to the present time (the Islamic Republic of) is a

time of research.

The book also shows the influential presence of lumpens in Iranian religious practices and customs that are still ongoing and their role in the events such as the chaos era of power transitions (after the death of the previous King), Constitutional Movement, Pahlavi regime period, the events after August 1941 and the religious movement on June 5, 1963. Since of Qajar period, Iranian culture has affected by the lumpens and Lumpenism attitude so that has also influenced Iranian literature and art. Although the lumpens did not have much aimed in Persian poetry literature, this marginal group has been the main subject of many books and films in prose literature, especially cinema. However, during the reign of Reza Shah, Lumpenism was obsoleted and the lumpens were suppressed and limited for pursuit the intellectuals' request and consolidation of the central government, but with his fall, they again returned to the realm of politics and society. After a period of activity that was most related to the monarchy system, they were eliminated in the religious movement on June 5, 1963. Mohammad Reza Shah, in the period of development of his power, which was accompanied by a kind of imperial modernization, considered the lumpens to be opposing to his political and social goals. This elimination made the monarchy system deprived of the support of its traditional loyalists in the crisis times, and the lumpens, who had previously been allies of the jurists, would fully join the camp of dissidents. However, they did not have much role in the political culture in the first decade of the establishment of the Islamic Republic, but in the second decade, when the panegyrist and paramilitary groups especially Basij, got stronger, the lumpens' role was highlighted in the political and social culture. So that their discourse and literature penetrated to the official communities.

Expert of the Book:

The Organization of Fotovvat (Young-manliness)

Young-manliness or Fotovvat¹ is attributed to ethical norms of groups of various classes of the Iranian society such as Ayyaran² (dexterous figures), Pahlavanan and Sufis (mystics), whereas original Fotovvat was interpreted differently in such fraternity groups. The groups were similar in their ethical training and ideas. Nevertheless, in ancient texts or sources, they are not considered the same. Also, many guilds and craftsmen which joined the Fotovvat fraternity before the invasion of Mongols were not attributed to Fotovvat.

A study of sources related to accounts of Fotovvat indicates that it was integrated and consisted a unique Iranian hierarchy. During the chaos and anarchy after the occupation of Iran by Arabs that organization tried to integrate and unite the Iranian community by ethical exhortations against the Arab invaders. At that time the conditions for joining the organization was difficult and the terms used in the organization indicated that the chivalrous figures operated like social networks. Among such terms, one can refer to ‘Beyt (house) and Hezb (party). Hezbs referred

1. ¹. *Futuwwa* or futuwah: (Arabic: فتوة "young-manliness" or "chivalry") is a Sufi term that has some similarities to chivalry and virtue. It was also a name of ethical urban organizations or "guilds" in medieval Muslim realms that emphasized honesty, peacefulness, gentleness, generosity, avoidance of complaint and hospitality in life. According to Ibn Battuta, a member was called fata (youth, pl. fityan) and group leaders were called akhi. *Traité de chevalerie soufie*.

2. Refers to a person associated with a class of warriors in Iraq and Iran from the 9th to the 12th centuries. Ayyars were associated with futuwwa, or medieval Islamic organizations located in cities.

to the fraternity groups or the tribes which were identified by a single personality. Beyt was referred to a tribe which was connected to a given guild that distinguished them from others. Hezb was considered a subsidiary of Beyt. On the other hand, Hezbs (parties) were united with Beyts. But Beyts were separated from one another.

The hierarchy included ranks of Kabir (Great), Za'eim (Leader), and Jadd (Ancestor): Kabir was referred to the father, Sheikh, guru or boss and head of the Hezb. In Fotovvat is equivalent to Sheikh in mysticism.

Sheikh was referred to a perfect person capable of leading others to perfection. To qualify as a Sheikh one must have the following qualities: pure religious belief, acquaintance with Shari'a, the wisdom of life, the wisdom of resurrection day, generosity, Fotovvat, bravery, forgiveness, and courtesy.

The primary Fotovvat talked about three Pirs (mentors): Pir-e Ghowli (Aural mentor), linking the member with a Pir based on promises and commitments, Pire-Shorbi (Drinking mentor) linking the member with a mentor by drinking salt water and finally Pir-e Seifi (Sword mentor) linking the member to his sword. According to Najm al-Din Zarkoob Tabrizi this three Pirs complement one another. Thus if a person takes part in water-salt rituals even a thousand times without actually pronouncing the promises, he cannot be accepted as a Fotovvat fraternity member.

Za'eim was referred to a Pir who is responsible for spirituality. The Fotovvat knights were referred to as his students. He preached to them, advising them to observe chivalrous conduct. Jadd (ancestor) was so similar to Za'eim.

Members who belonged to the same Beyt called each other Rafigh (comrade). It seems Rafigh was a knight who chose to follow the same Kabir or Jadd. In other words, Rafighs were Kabir's spiritual sons.

Contrary to mysticism, Fotovvat organization attached great significance to social aspects. Therefore, there were individuals with ranks who supervised a member's behavior. Meditation was practiced in private in mysticism, whereas in Fotovvat religious Naghib was customary. Naghib was assigned by Kabir to keep a close eye

on members and to meet their requirements. Mullah Hussein Va'ez Kashefi Sabzvvari refers to Naghib as guarantor of a nation. Naghib was a person who monitored a member's nature. According to Kashefi, 'Naghib' was an acronym of four words: N stands for niaz (need), G for ghabool (acceptance), Y for yari (advocacy of Fotovvat tribe and assistance) and B for Behbood (improve or optimize the rank of Fotovvat).

The prerequisite for joining Fotovvat fraternity and staying in it was not so easy. It was possible for a chivalrous figure to change his manner and withdraw his membership. Such a person was referred to as 'Dakesh'. Furthermore, the designated individual not only had to have chivalrous behavior but also had to practice some rituals as prerequisites for being accepted as a member of Fotovvat fraternity. The most important ritual was 'Shadd-bastan'. Literally speaking Shadd means make stable, to fix, to attack and the rising of the sun. But in terminology, it means to abide by one's commitment and to yield or comply with his Pir's instructions and commands. In etymology, Shadd is derived from austerity, intensity, and hardship or fatigue. In Fotovvat he who accepts Shadd-bastan must strenuously fight his ego. He must also patiently endure any maltreatment imposed upon him by others. His endurance must be high. Shadd-bastan also means to become obligated and make a commitment. This is a prerequisite to enter the membership of Fotovvat cult. It seems that 'Shadd-bastan' was inherited from the pre-Islamic era and was attributed to Zoroastrians. It was a variation of their hanging a Zonnar around their necks. But it is also claimed that it was an Islamic tradition. Gabriel tied a vineyard string to Adam. Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h) tied a string to Gabriel. The most significant Shadd was Ali's Shadd-bastan. According to Shi'a after the Ghadir-e Khom in which Ali (a.s) was assigned by Mohammed (p.b.u.h) to be his successor, Mohammed (p.b.u.h) entered his daughter's tent and tied a string to Ali (a.s) and tied three knots. These three knots in Fotovvat are known as alef, lam, mim, which is the implication of Allah, Gabriel, and Muhammad (p.b.u.h). These three knots which were tied to Ali (a.s) are

comprehensive of all Shadds and other than Ali's children 17 of Fotovvat leaders including Salman Farsi, Abuzar Ghafarri, Meghdad, Malik Ashtar, Ghanbar (referred to as Ali's slave) and Javanmard-e Ghassab have been honored, too.

Another piece of clothing in Fotovvat is 'Saravil' which is the same as a pair of Iranian pants. Saeed Nafisi, an Iranian writer of the 20th Century refers to it as Zoroastrian 'Kasti Bastan', a heritage now common among Iranian wrestlers known as 'Tonekeh'. A wrestler is allowed to wear it only after reaching higher ranks in wrestling. As a dervish wears a Khergheh to unveil his manners, Saravil (Fotovvat pants) was a sign showing one belongs to Fotovvat customs and traditions.

According to a Fotovvatnameh, belonging to the first era of Fotovvat, Islam Prophet (a.s.) put his underwear on Ali (a. s) after he announced that he was chivalrous of his Uma (nation). Actually wearing pants implies 'fazilat-e effat'.

Other than the clothing, a chivalrous figure was approved by drinking salty water given to him by a 'Kabir'. This drinking is from up to down carried out in the Fotovvat fraternity organization. In Fotovvatnameh drinking is a reminiscence of the Prophet (a.s.) and later it became common by his descendent Ali (a.s.).

There is a story told about this: Once Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h) was informed that a man was unlawfully engaged in intercourse with a woman in a house. He ordered the matter to be scrutinized. Every one of his apostles volunteered to be assigned as the investigator of this matter. He declined. Then as soon as Ali (a.s) entered, he was assigned to the mission. Ali went to that house. When he arrived he closed his eyes and while touching the walls blindfolded walked around the house and returned to the Prophet and said, "I did not see anyone there". The prophet approved his deed and addressing Ali (a.s) said,

" الأُمَّة هَذِهِ فَتَى عَلِي، أَنْتَ يَا "

then he ordered a bowl of water to be brought to him. Salman Farsi brought the water. The Prophet put a little salt in it and helped Ali to drink it and addressing Ali said,

"تعالى الله رفيق جبرئيل رفيق أنا و رفيق أنت"

According to Kamal al-Din Abdul Razzagh Kashani, the writer of one of the first inscriptions (Fotovvatnameh) Shadd-bastan of Ali (a.s) is relevant to the aforementioned story. To interpret the implications of water and salt he says that water resembles sagacity and wisdom while salt is the symbol of justice. Therefore, a chivalrous man must be a man of knowledge, fairness, and justice. Having both qualities means you can control your ego. Although there were prerequisites for joining a Fotovvat cult, it is possible that a member's behavior might adversely change after joining, for which the words Naghleh, Akhze, Rami, and Eybe were used: Naghleh refers to transfer or conversion from one spiritual status to another. When Kabir takes back the title of chivalrous which he had granted to a member, we call it Rami or Akhze. Rami and Akhze mean a member broke the law, misbehaved, which invalidates Fotovvat. It was called faulty act 'Eyb' which literally means fault. If it was a big fault he was rejected and would lose his membership and if it was a minor fault his rank would be degraded. Losing membership was done through a formal trial in a commission. They would go to a Za'eim for such a trial. If the Fotovvat member protested against the decision, he could file a complaint against his Kabir to claim his right. The Fotovvat organization was integrated and was based on a motto of humanity in which the criteria of men's relationships with one another was loftier than those of Freemason centers. This organization was different from mysticism as it was based on social behavior and organizational hierarchy, whereas mysticism is based on a mentor (and his disciple) which regards Fotovvat only as an ethical matter.

Consistency and evolution in Fotovvat

What Arjjani implies by quoting Samak Ayyar in the tale about rejecting the reign of a territory, does not apply to the real life, as the reign of Sistan by Yaghoub Leith Saffari was established while reaching the Iraqi frontiers, threatening to conquer Baghdad, the Iraqi Caliphate's center of their government. Although the Ayyaran posed the biggest danger to the Caliphate's entity, they were not the only threat. Ayyaran gradually proliferated in Koofeh and Baghdad. Ayyaran of Baghdad were

paid by Amin, the Baghdad Caliph, to assist him in his conflict against his brother Ma'moon. Nevertheless, later on, when the Eastern Roman Empire's attack toward the Islamic frontiers caused the Arab government to weaken, Ayyaran led a rebellion against the caliph's government and took control of the city. This is the end of Moti's government in Baghdad. A similar incident took place four times during caliph Ghader's reign (991- 1031 AH), first in the year 1003 AH Ayyaran took advantage of the dwindling Baghdad military forces and led a rebellion in that city. The second time was in Rajab month in 415ad, when the rebellion was so intense that the citizens' belongings were plundered and not only the house of Sharif Morteza, the Shi'a religious leader, was plundered but also was burnt down following an inferno. The next year Ayyaran led another rebellion when Shi'a district of Karkh was set on fire. As a result of the rebellion grocery prices soared drastically due to inflation.

When the Turks' influence in the city increased during caliph's weakness in 1026 A.H the Baghdadi Ayyaran also entered the arena. A big war started between Ayyaran and Turks. The magnitude of the war was to such an extent that among the citizen's nobody's possession was safe.

Abu Ali Barjami, the Ayyari leader in Baghdad was a famous chivalrous Ayyar as he had ordered the women to be protected and kept safe from rape (or any misconduct) during the rebellion. Hence he was called Gha'ed by everybody. In fact, the first AH century was the era of Ayyaran's glorious reign in the Islamic territories. During that period not only they levied and collected taxes from the Baghdad citizens, but also encountered the government forces in Sistan and Fars in a war. Furthermore, a Fotovvat group called Ahdass used to live in Damascus (the present Syria).

Amid the riot of Ayyaran, Abu Nasre Muhammad Ibn Abdulbaghi, the baker (Khabbaz) nicknamed Ibn-Rassouli along with Abdulghader Hashemi the garment-

salesman, were busy spreading the tradition of Fotovvat without hullabaloo³. Ibn-Rassouli was a poet, calligrapher and literary scholar. The suffix of their names hinted that they were affiliated to guilds' Fotovvat. Abu Nasr had many students whom he had assigned to try to spread the tradition of Fotovvat. He had named them 'Kateb al-Fatyan⁴'. An inscription was left written by Abunassre, in which he refers to Fotovvat as a heritage from the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) and the Shi'a Imams⁵.

As Abu Nasr's activities flourished, Shafeis started to oppose him. They accused him of urging people to follow the Egyptian Fatima caliph. Finally, due to the Shafeie's instigation both of them were imprisoned. Then the Sheikhs provided caliphate soldiers an excuse to plunder their properties, by calling the Fotovvat members infidels. However, accusing Fotovvat members of being infidels and putting pressure on them could not hinder Fotovvat's expansion and growth in the Islamic society. Ansar-e din Allah, the Abbasid caliph, put on Fotovvat uniform and continued propagating Fotovvat, a century after the two aforementioned scholars had been arrested. When he resumed the tenure of caliphate the government was encountering the climax of a crisis; having to cope with numerous rivals. The Turk troops were strong posing a great danger against Abbasid. Shi'a and Sufis had the advantage of having a lofty ideology. When Khwarizmies who had a tendency towards Shi'a gained power, in the absence of Al-e-Booyah, they gained fresh political strength. Accepting Shi'a ideology by the caliph was a political suicide. It was similar to Mamoon's experience. Mamoon had tried to do the same thing during Imam Reza's (a.s) era. When Ali-Ibn-Mussa Reza (a.s), the 8th Imam of Shi'a was the heir to the throne Mamoon accepted Shi'ism but later he converted his ideology back to the adverse one.

Sufism could not be effective due to its individualism aspects. That is when Fotovvat became outstanding as an effective ideology. Not only it was linked to

³. *Hubbub or commotion.*

⁴. *The writers of chivalrous men.*

⁵. *The twelve disciples of Prophet of Islam.*

both the Sufism and Shi'ism but also it was an independent ideology. Ali Ibn Abi Taleb (a.s) who was free from political Shi'ism claims was known as the center of Fotovvat. Also, some of the Sunni scholars such as Hassan Basri were known as Fotovvat Sheikhs. Thus the Fotovvat ideology was divided into two groups, Sunni and Shi'a. Also, some Fotovvat scholars were mystic and Sufi Sheikhs. Invitation to Fotovvat membership was attached a great significance in mysticism and Sufism. That is why when the caliphate entity linked with Fotovvat organizations, none of the Shi'a political claims were mentioned, so the caliph could gain the backing of many important groups in the society who used to oppose the caliph. In the past, Ayyaran had two choices: either to accept caliphate as a cleric scholar or be suppressed as bandits, the bandits who had turned their backs to the caliphate. Therefore, it was a wise and logical decision by Nasser din Allah to accept Fotovvat ideology. In the year 1182, A.H. Abdul-Jabber Ibn Yousef Ibn Saleh put the Fotovvat uniform on him and fed him the salt and water to formally become a Fotovvat member.

The Abbasid Caliph then made a charter in which he proclaimed Ali (a.s) the source of Nasserite Fotovvat. This charter meant the Fotovvat organization was supervised by him. In his written article (Ressalleh) he writes, "Bloodshed is God's punishment which equals perpetual punishment in hell". He also says such a person (he who sheds blood) is out of the Fotovvat circle and deserves to be rejected by comrades". Nasser din Allah's charter said that not only the Fotovvat groups had to accept his presidency over them but also it somehow illegalized existence of any rebellious Fotovvat groups⁶. Thus the Fotovvat members had to accept that the caliph had to lead the ceremony afresh to put the new pants (Saravil uniforms) on them⁷. Furthermore, due to the existence of unity between Sunni and Shi'a, head of the Fotovvat group, Fakher Alavi, who had a tendency toward Shi'ism, was ousted and

⁶. *Ibn-e Me'maar, Introduction by Javad, p. 68, 1958.*

⁷. *Abul-Fada, vol 3, p. 119, 1286AH.*

ejected from the group⁸.

The act of wearing the Fotovvat uniform by the Abbasid caliph caused Fotovvat to formally spread. The caliph called upon all the world leaders to accept the Fotovvat membership which was under his leadership. Some of the leaders complied as they regarded the membership beneficial and helpful for the advancement of their affairs. The Anatoli Emir, Ezz al-Din Keykavousi Seljuk, was one of them. Another one was one of the Khavarej leaders, Baba Ishaq Khaareji. Minor Asia was a key center for Fotovvat. Baba referred to senior. Mashayekh was the name of a region in Asia Minor. Fotovvat members were referred to as 'Akhiyan'. Asia Minor Fotovvat members were somehow similar to Ayyaran. They put on a white wool robe call 'GhatalansooH' as well as a long scarf hanging down from their shoulders and carried a knife which they wore under their belt. They also put on a special crown on their heads. After conquering Sinope, Ezz al-Din Keykavousi sent an envoy along with many gifts to Baghdad to report the good news of his victory, in a bid to gain the supervision over the Akhiyan, while requesting that the caliph send him the special Fotovvat uniform to wear. Sheikh Mujj al-Din Ishaq Ibn Youssef was the Anatoli Amir's envoy. The caliph not only gave the envoy uniform as well as numerous gifts in addition to a letter of advice on Fotovvat but also he assigned Mohy al-Din Ibn-e Jowzi to go there to propagate Fotovvat. Asia Minor was also blessed with Nasseri Fotovvat. The caliph dispatched Shahab-e din Sohrevardi, the author of 'Avaref al-Mma'aref ', to Asia Minor where Aladdin Kayghobad was the ruler, to propagate Fotovvat, while at the same time granting the rule of the Eastern Rome, Armenia, and Diyar Bakre to him. Shahab-al-Din met Aladdin in Konya reminding him of Fotovvat teachings and instructions. He also conducted the uniform-wearing ceremony with him and several sage individuals in that territory. As we will see, later on during the Safavid Dynasty's reign, the Nasseri Fotovvat's heritage assisted the Safavids Sufis. As the Asia Minor's Fotovvat members

⁸. *Sabahi Nekhjivani, p. 230, 1983.*

uninformed as Ghezel'Bashan, came to the assistance of Sheikh Safi al-Din Ardabili's children.

Mongol's invasion was the most significant drastic change in the history of Fotovvat. The nomad desert-dwellers from East Asia who had brought the ancient Chinese civilization to their knees managed to demolish the caliphate that had ruled the territory for several centuries (ending in the year 1258 A.H). Although the caliphate was later revived by Ottomans in Anatoli and Damascus, it never regained the Abbasside era's glory. With the downfall of the caliphate in Baghdad, many of scholastic and religious centers were either destroyed or faded color. Sunnis school of thought, which had an attachment to caliphate's court, was also weakened because it had lost its source of revenue. Instead, other religious denominations grew up.

Political power in religious conflicts did not back any religious group. That is why they could grow. The lack of knowledge of the new ruling class with religion caused Pahlavans to separate from the government. In the Iranian culture, a Gundi was considered the protector of the country and the religion. Shah represented both. Therefore, Gundis were in the shah's service. Rostam, a role model for the Iranian Pahlavans, had such characteristics. Some Pahlavans such as Siavash and Kaykhosrow who are in the Iranian mythology culture are a part of royal families. Such a condition persisted as the Iranian religion changed. During caliphate's era, sultan whose reign had to be confirmed by caliph's command was to boost the formal religion. The Pahlavans served him and assisted him to this end. But when the Mongols started to rule the caliphate entity as the foundation of sultan's legal status was demolished and contrary to the previous governments, the new rulers were not trying to impose their own primitive religion, Shamanism, on the society. That is why when the fever of Mongol's attack subsided some Pahlavans took control of their cities independent of the government.

According to Ibn-e-Battooteh, the major part of such chivalrous groups belonged to

craftsmen who had competition with Gundis of other districts just to boast⁹. After the domination of Mongols, once again conflicts between urban businessmen and governing authorities erupted and the riots became problematic for the governing body. That is why the owners and heads of businesses who were called 'Clue'¹⁰ played a vital role in politics and in social affairs. It seems that Clue was a rank in Khaneghah among chivalrous individuals (Fatiyan) and 'Akhiyan' in the Tekyeh. These words later became common among guilds and craftsmen.

To the historians, the Clues were active in this era. Clue Esfandiar became the governor of Sabzevar and Clue Naserdin Omar was a relative of Mobarez al-Din Muhammad Mozzafari, Shiraz Mozzafari governor.

Thus during the time when Sunnis color faded and the absence of Pahlavans, Fotovvat fraternity with its background, thanks to its attachments with Sufism, Shi'ism, and Ayyaran, and having experienced many adventures during the Mongol's era, succeeded to introduce itself as a savior entity in the society. This expansion of guilds affiliated to Fotovvat fraternity, approaching the Ethna'ashari Shiism and connecting dervish and Gundis are among the vital changes. The reason some of the guilds became affiliated to Fotovvat fraternity in this era was due to their companionship with dervishes. Such guilds included Quran reciters, preachers, Mo'azzen, Chavoshan, Tekyeh-daran and Ma'rekeh-giran¹¹. There were also some guilds who became affiliated to the Fotovvat fraternity due to their link with Pahlavans, such as strong men, those of physical strength, stone-takers, Seleh-keshan and Naveh-keshan. Even those whose occupation was considered low were acknowledged to be members of the transformed Fotovvat. Barbers, Kannasan, water-bearers, masseurs (Hamam attendants), blood-letters and butchers during Fotovvat of Mongol's era were considered to have Ressaleh¹² and the origin of their

⁹ . *Ibn-e-Battooteh*, vol. 1, p. 191, 1991.

¹⁰ . *Look up the word Clue in Dehkhoda Lexicon*, vol. 11, 1995.

¹¹ . *Mahjoob* p. 631, 1970.

¹² . *Inscription*.

occupation was attributed to one of the prophets or sheiks. For example, according to barbers' Ressaleh stone and blade were the heritage of Gabriel which had been passed on to Adam¹³ and subsequently passed on to Adam's children such as Salman Farsi. Salman was a barber who shaved the Prophet's¹⁴ hair. Thus the word 'Salmani'¹⁵ was originated¹⁶.

In this way, Fotovvat linked the members of diverse businesses to one another and identified them business-wise. Hence such members now according to their Fotovvatnameh enjoyed a guild's etiquette. Fotovvatnameh Sultani, written by Mullah Hussain Vaez Kashefi Sabzevari is an evidence of such a transformation. In his book, written in the early ninth century, the writer attempts to express the reasons for diverse social and business groups being included in Fotovvat fraternity. The most significant evidence of such a transformation is seen in Sarbedaran's uprising in Khorasan, which impressed movements in Mazandaran, Gillan, Kerman, and Samarkand¹⁷. While Sunni religion could not compete with Shi'ism and mysticism with the downfall of caliphate, when Mongol Ilkhanan were converted to Islam Sunni religion attempted to be incongruity with the institution of the government. Such a congruity stimulated the birth of socio-political movements overshadowed by the unity between Fotovvat and other social cults against Sunni governments and their scholars¹⁸.

Sarbedaran's socio-political movement against Mongols was led by Sheik Kalifa, a Sufi and dervish who was a student of Alla'edowleh Semnani, who was a renowned Sufi during the seventh and eighth centuries. Urban guilds and craftsmen together

¹³. *Adam and Eve who were expelled from Eden.*

¹⁴. *Prophet (p.b.u.h)*

¹⁵. *Salmani in Farsi means barbershop or barber.*

¹⁶. *Fotovvatnameh and ressaleh Khaksarieh, p. 77, 78, 2003.*

¹⁷. *Samarcand, is a city in modern-day Uzbekistan and is one of the oldest inhabited cities in Central Asia.*

¹⁸. *Iqbal Ashtiyani, p. 467, 1985.*

with Abdul-Razzagh Bashtini, a physically strong Gundi, joined him in this uprising.

The advent of the movement is reminiscent of Ayyaran' behavior during the first centuries of the Islamic calendar. Abdul Razzaq's comrades were known as "Bornapisheh and Ayyar. According to Ibn- Battooteh they guarded the streets during the night but were engaged in highway robbery. However, after these bandits took over the cities such a justice system was established that even if silver and gold coins were dropped on the street nobody would touch them till the owner was found. Fotovvat members came to the help of caliphate during Caliph Naser al-Dinollah's era and expanded, thanks to government's facilities. However, they gained political power by leading political and social movements during the Mongol's era. They also experienced the same luck during the Safavid era. But there were other revolutions awaiting them in the future.

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