

5 April 1975 (Tues)-Bahram's master stroke of how to get me to Kuwait and back in a day without any visas. You don't need a visa if you are going to a third country; Bahrain doesn't require a visa, so he wrote me a ticket Teheran-Kuwait-Bahrain-Kuwait-Teheran; and I was supposed not to use the Bahrain section of the ticket. It all worked like a charm except the last step because he wrote the wrong time on the ticket and I missed the flight back to Teheran. I couldn't find Iran Air representatives and convinced Kuwait Air to fly me to Abadan. This involved a brief hassle because the duty officer claimed that you needed a special visa depending whether you were entering at Abadan or Teheran. A Pakistani came to my rescue, saying it was only subcontinent people who had such visa distinctions, so the duty officer agreed to have my ticket rewritten. A black guy then couldn't figure out how to rewrite it, because the original ticket was a simple Abadan-Teheran flight (despite stopping in Abadan) whereas he would have to write two vouchers--eventually he was convinced that this was OK (he had wanted to sell me a new ticket & I could cash in the old one in Teheran). Anyhow, I left Teheran at 9am without hitch and was back in Iran (Abadan) by midnight.

In Kuwait I wanted to find a relatively cheap but good typewriter--I had been willing to spend a couple hundred dollars on a SCM electric portable for instance. Kuwait is not a good market to buy typewriters & I spent all day looking without much success and so did not get to root around among Iranis much tho I did run into two guys from Lar--had been coming on and off for twenty-years (one year here, six months in Lar), ran a grocery; Yazdis are still the nunvais. In typewriters, mainly what was available was lousy quality Toshiba machines (under the name Brother)--the electric portable, a very heavy machine, pica only was selling for #1065 (\$225); Olivetti had a repres. but basically only office standard machines or little non-electric portables; one man claimed there was an SCM repres. but it was not where he said it should be, nor had any one else heard of it; the only really good machines I saw were Facit--a beautiful portable electric but expensive #130 and he was willing to come down only 5% (\$433), which I decided was too much since the machine would not survive the dusty plateau too well; there was also a nice non-electric portable, but for #60* (\$210). In tiny portables then basically there was the very cheap "Citizen" (#14 = \$49) or the Olivetti letter 32 (this machine) for KD28=\$98. I think the Citizen sells in the States for \$39.

16 April 1975 (Wed). At 7:30 I was back out at Abadan airport to talk to the Iran Air duty officer and he assured me I would be put on the 12:30 flight to Teheran. Yesterday evening and this morning were exhibits in the case that people in this part of the world are full of information most of which is wrong. Viz. the insistence by Kuwaiti air officials that I would need a special Abadan visa; the insistence by the black Kuwaiti ticket writer that a single voucher cannot be rewritten as two vouchers; my Isfahani seatmate on the flight into Abadan insisted that there were no Iran Air flights from Abadan to Teheran on Wednesdays; and finally the Iran Air ticket counter man refused to OK my check-in until the plane landed from Kuwait to see how many seats there were: this technically seems reasonable except that (a) I was supposedly a special case and could take up their emergency reserve seats (b) there were only 14 of us on the flight to Ahwaz, and so it really depended on how many Ahwazi passengers there were, there seemed to be no people on the plane when we got on.

In any case got back to Teheran around 2:00 after a smooth flight and a beautiful view of the Teheran Refinery-Rey and southern Teheran. I headed then straight to Qum in order to try to catch Ayatullah Makarem's Wednesday evening class, this time on sabr (patience, tolerance, endurance, self-restraint). Again I taped it--but apparently only got half of the talk--when I changed cassettes for some reason the recorder did not take. While waiting I was accosted by a young man not in full religious dress (jacket but religious shirt) and invited up to his room-- Afterwards he again came and I accepted and we went up and talked: I and ~~about~~ seven of them: the guy who invited me and who dominated the first part of the conversation is Mehdi Kamali (a poet who contributes to the Dar-ul-Tabliq); he had wanted to go to school in Lebanon but was not given permission till he had done his military service--he denies that religious students are given deferrals at all. In any case he is in Qum part of the week and in Teheran part of the week; he is also an instructor in glider flying. At first there were two others: Hossein and Mohsen; but then we were joined by others and the only one in full regalia (whose name I did not learn) dominated the discussion. *Rastguz* Musavi Afghani is apparently a member of this group of friends-- they all seem to have similar ideas (presumably dominated by the 3: Mehdi, the turbaned guy and maybe Afghani). They wanted to make sure that I was introduced to the proper Islam and not the dry Islam of Gofar-e Vaaz or what is taught in the madressehs; Makarem they also dismissed. They gave me a list of names they consider to be on the right path: most important is Shariati, then Felsefi (for his psychology), Motaheri (for his ruze Islami), Gholam Reza Saidi (this is I think the old anti-Semite know-it-all from Birjan), Taleghani, Ali Khameri (Khameni?) and his brother Mhd, Mohandess Bazargan, Jalaluddin Farsi. A collection of these guys books is held by them, and they say it is OK as long as they say it is in order to write attacks on them. The Publishing House Entezar used to publish good books on Islam, but is now closed down.

The discussion (babs) ranged a bit and was somewhat inconclusive, but friendly and enjoyable on all sides. Tawhid (unity) does not merely mean that God is one--merely to say that is just a word, word-worship and thereby kaffir. Tawhid involves the unity of self-society-nature, thus the living of a just existence; land, f.i. does not belong to individuals or countries per se, but should be for the use of society, and individuals should be free to develop their abilities. I suggested that this was essentially the same as socialism, the only difference being that they insisted on referring to God, whereas socialists could care less. They got rather animated at this; socialism was essentially good, but there is a significant difference. We never really resolved what that difference was, and got hung up on the existence of the 'soul' (ruh). The example was given of two individuals, one of whom is alive, the other died half an hour ago--what is the difference between the two--their obvious answer being the absence of ruh. I took the position that there is no distinction between body and spirit (jesm and ruh), that the dead one is merely a machine which has stopped working, that the cells are natural and decay and contribute to further life (conservation of matter and energy--they recognized the word entropy, we had a bit of trouble with cell but I think we agreed, but RNA and DNA they did not know--I was trying to include the current attempts to synthesize the latter)

--we got to the point where I had him agreeing that ~~it~~ ruh was merely a word for something metaphysical. Where did the ruh go at death--he did not know. So then what was really different between his saying there is a ruh and we don't know what happens to it, and my saying whether there is or is not a ruh is unknowable. OK he said, forget the word ruh--that's a matter perhaps of philosophy; merely of language I countered; OK conceded he, of language, well forget the word ruh ~~was~~ what is the referent of "I" (my hand, my finger), what is the ensaniyat (being, personality, character) of an ensan (person, Mensch)? To this I began to then take a social position--the moulded and learned perceptions, behavior, etc. but it was time then to break up . . . To the question of where the ruh goes after death Hossein tried to expand the electricity analogy which the beturbaned one had started, a simple trap which I ~~threw~~ out just to get through it, but the little beturbaned guy immediately saw the fallacy and interjected that no in that sense the source of electricity is in the generator (water propulsion, etc) and is not a parallel to the cessation of sentient being.

They insisted on a sharp man/animal distinction: animals cannot talk, think etc. (argument for something special about ruh), to which I countered with the Yerkes monkey, Sarah, who can communicate and apparently do some simple grammatical thinking--but they said it took 4000 years to do that; so I said, if man's thinking capacity was so great, how come he could not design a just society--he could or rather the design exists in the Quran, it is the power which proper Muslims do not have (If I grab a piece of candy from you, it does not mean you would not know what to do with it had you the power to keep it). There are people who know how to live and operate a just society. Has such ever existed (societies designed by men alone he had already suggested always had something wrong with them--I was suggesting that this was not a mere fault in being able to cope in thought, but that social forces have their own imperatives)?--yes at the time of the Prophet--Oh for a couple of years I retorted--(he took the position that before the Prophet, the Arabs were savages; that the Prophet and Quran transformed them overnight into a just society)--no, no, down to the present day, where people understand the Quran. OK just one example, I said: the Quran says reba (usury) is harram--now what about interest in the bank. ~~What~~ I intended was to suggest that in order to build large scale industry one might have to impose savings on people and that this could be done through some sort of ideological mobilization either relatively voluntary as say in Israel, or relatively involuntary as in the Soviet Union, or through capitalism. But we never got that far. They brought up a distinction between rebeh and eterbarat (credit), denied that this was a distinction in amount (just an unjust return on money), and the notion of an Islamic bank. But they rapidly capitulated pleading they knew no economics when I pointed out that the Islamic bank was funded as a kind of charity by ~~the~~ capitalists (this they denied in principle but admitted as being the case), and that under today's conditions to return the same face value of money to the lender (which was what they meant by eterbar) would cause the money to dissipate and the lender to go broke--they admitted this and pleaded ignorance when I pointed out an egg which cost 2 rials 5 years ago costs 5 rials today.

I left finally around 10:30 with a tall fellow from Mashad, also in full religious garb, with Mongolian features. He had studied Arabic adibiyat in Mashad, and came here to do fig. His name is Mhd Reza Jakubi; his father and grandfather were rohani. His father studied in Meshad and Najaf--now of course Najaf is totally disrupted, and Qum has become the center. People are more educated here than in Meshad, tho there are more university degree holders in Meshad. His brother is a textile weaver (of jackets). He says (in contradiction to Mehdi Kamale) that there is an exam which religious students take once, and this exempts them from military service forever--he's done this. He says he is interested in going abroad to England or America to study language etc.

It had rained (lightning and showers) and the air was marvelous--I walked to the P.O. hoping to call Mehdi Abedi to see if he would come to Qum, but it was closed. So the telephone is not a 24 hour service here.

books: Hashem-Nejad - Monazer-e Dr. Pir
 Shariati - Amad va Imanat
 Ali Khameni - Sol-e Imam Hassan
 Ayande Dar Qalam Ruh-e Islam
 Nakshe Muselmanan dar Azadiye Hindustan
 Edeanameh Alehe Tamadon-e Qarb
 Mhd Khameni - Vishigihaye Ideologie Islami
 Jalaluddin Farsi - Engelabe Tagemili Islam

17 April 1975 (Thurs) - slept a bit late (8:30), then went to the PO to call Mehdi Abedi--no answer; so I called David Peterson & left a message for him and Bahram; Elaine is OK--the 2nd lump was her and Shahrokh's overworked imagination. Spent the morning playing with my new typewriter.

Prices: onions (4T/kilo?), bananas (45rls/kilo), portugal (42 rls/kilo), can of tuna fish 200 gr (55 rls), box of kleenex, 300 sheets (38 rls), macaroni box 450gr, Roman brand (24 rls), green beans (lubia, 11 T/kilo).

I tried to do a little translation; later in the afternoon Musavi came by with Hakimi--the latter brought his story "A Journey to the Planet of Freedom" which Al-Usfoor had translated into English and had published in Bahrain. As Hakimi later discovered, the English is not terribly lucid, though I rather suspect that much of the problem lies in the original Persian (tense changes in mid-sentence, sher-Kos repetitiveness, and simple absurdities stemming from the fact that he is trying to write science fiction without much idea about science--one of his scientists wants to study the ~~eff~~ effects of the diffusion of hydrogen atoms, he has a robot translate messages from other planets rather than a computer (altho his narrator is a computer expert). The plot moreover is a thinly veiled religious tract: on the narrator's space ship filled with a team of scientists (and a crew which includes animals) they get a request for help from a planet called Padding (Ibn Khaldun's decadent Luxury) which is 2000 yrs ahead of the narrator's civilization in scientific achievement (how this is possible when all information is instantly available all over the universe as the author says, or even since they can and do communicate with one another remains unclear), but which is socially anarchic (he takes the nice idea of telepathic sets, but says they give the wrong information because people are self-interested--this in the set of lying, bribery and sin) and immoral.

repeated stress on Muslims demonstrating to the world their technical capabilities, innovativeness & education
32- I knew that Japanese are always prejudiced
basically there is one good thot in the story: that the flag of monotheism which is to be erected on the Planet of Freedom is to symbolize vs false idols such as rationalism

slavery
separation among people
and is a salutation to martyrs: Abu The'r Alghafari
Ammar ibn Ya'ser, Bilal Alhabashy, Hussein ibn Ali

it degenerates into a simple dream that Padding Planet is given a choice between a Declaration of Human Rights, the Christian Bible and the Quran, and they obviously will choose the Quran as the only coherent one
there is then unrelieved assertions of the infallibility of Q

18 April 1975 (Fri) - Musavi did not come by as promised, and I left for Teheran. Mehdi Abedi came by and we translated a bit of Imat and Imamat by Shariati tho we didn't get very far; and the handout of Makarem for last ~~night's~~ Wed's bahs. Re. Saidi, he said he had never met him, but had when he was younger read his books and liked them, but his own ppinions now were changing rapidly and couldnt even remember what they had been about. As to Shariati, one knows a man where to put him, by his enemies: two of the great opponents of Shariati in Teheran were Kafi, and Sheikh Abass Ali Islami. The former is totally bisavad, steals from others--their material, has a phenomenal memory and thus is good good if not original speaker.

5 kinds of prophet: ul-ul-asm (the 5 great ones for world)
rasul (messenger - for own people)
nabi ("heard news" - for local group)

19 April 1975 (Sat) - ~~tried~~ to deliver my letter re my visa situation to Sami'i (Min. S & HE), but he was not in and his secretary refused to pass on a carbon copy to a Minister (it is not done)--she sent me to see Parvin's boss, a Mr. Haidari, who spent a term at Harvard in 1945 but got his degree from a school in N.Y. and then worked for USIS. He was sympathetic, but pleaded ignorance, Parvin knows the rules, he's only been on the job 4 months (4 mo!) but he agreed it sounded stupid to have a residence permit for 3 months at a time. Saw Reza Vaghafi and told him my story too--that effectively wasted the morning.

Ann Betteridge came in from Shiraz, and she and I and Tom R&kord went out for a beer--khe's on her way to a meeting in Europe, will be back in a week or so--she's really into rozehs in Shiraz.

Cocktail party for Moroe Berger back at the Institute in the Afternoon.

20 April 1975 (Sun) - Decided to make another move in the direction of the Sepah-e Din, and so took a letter requesting help to Dr. Abul Qassem Moshiri who seemed really delighted to see me again. He was having an argument with the brother of a guy who had sold him some defective taxts at vastly inflated prices to be sent to Seistan; much talk about harram money and halal money (Gd only knows), not being able to separate relig and business, etc.

Moshiri read the letter & then said that actually the man in whose hands this would be was Mr. Mohammad Ghafari, the director general of Public Information, over in the main building. He wrote a note under my letter and sealed it and I took it over to Ghafari. Ghafari turned out to be the SAVAK man, a dynamic ex-officer who spoke very frankly: the Sepah-e Din has no value and personally he hoped it failed; he would not have any such people around him (tho I ran into an ex-Sepahi in his assistant Maliki's office); what this society needed was discipline and these sepahis in part are not disciplined, are shams, are not social creatures; all graduates of the Fac. of Theol. must serve; religious leaders are backwards, mix into politics, and the gov of course aids keeping them backwards and even gives them a kick or two backwards when it can. He supported Nixon's attempt to make America the strongest power in the world and finds the student protestors incomprehensible. Edare Owghaf does not support madressehs; he showed me a picture of a new office bldg which was erected on the site of a broken down mosque; the place which previously was a filthy hole only for people to piss in, now brings in a lot of rent. He was quite frank in his discussion of discipline that the state was a dictatorship, that perhaps whatever I wrote would be banned. A mullah came in and started wispering to him coming behind his desk; he dismissed the tea boy and then told the mullah he could speak freely since I did not understand Persian. The mullah did--it was about mullahs talking about Khomeini's opposition to the Hesb-e Ristaxiz; they pulled out files on the mullahs, he barked off orders into his intercom; dismissed the mullah and turned to me and smiled and said 'in towre' (that's how it is). He excused himself but invited me to come back and become friends, sending me now back to Moshiri in whose hands the Sepah-e Din is.

go ahead & interview the Sepahis but you won't find anything of value & they are not real people

Moshiri appologized when I returned, but said he wanted to clear everything with Ghafari so that later he would not be asked, why did you do this. Moshiri then introduced me to a black turbaned mullah named Tozatabi who helps him run the Sepah-e Din, and called down two exemplary Sepahis to interview. This (tho not the kind of sample I asked for) proved to be a good opening. Both were (as is apparently the norm in green soldiers uniform), neither came from the Theol. Faculty: the one had a BA in sociology, the other in polit sci.; neither had chosen the Sepah-e Din and the sociologist when I asked directly that he could have been of more use in the Sepah-e Danesh.

	Age	Ed	F.Occup	FFOccup	Origin
1) Karim Amir Fati	23	BA:polit	Sarhang--	Amir-ul-Mulk	Rezayieh
taifeh Naderi		Sci, Teh.	gendarmerie	(army)	
2) Ali Samin	26	BA:sociol	clerk	clerk	Teheran

	wife?	relig ed.	MoFa	Occup	Bro	Goals	Rohani in family?
1)	no	none		merchant	1-Mhdess	prof.	none
2)	no	none		writer	1-in school	clerk	none tho a merchant rel active in charity

	do you recog a maja taqlid?	Sepahi dowre	FM
1)	no	III	no
2)	no	II	no

Fati pointed out that while he was never enrolled in a religious school per se, part of the law curriculum included works on Islam like Hamid Enayat's Felsefi dar Islam. Both said that in my sense then did not recognize any majjataqlid, but of course there were several ayatollahs; neither had any opinion about ~~whom~~ who the most learned in fiq and usul would be.

Moshiri after they left tried to clarify a number of things. He still tried to say that choice of the Sepahi Din was voluntary, but gradually came to admit that more or less all graduates of the Faculty of Technology went into the Sepahi Din. They required more people than the Faculty produces so others, esp. from polit science or law would be chosen since they studied Islamic law (shariat). How many graduates of the Theol Fac were there last year, and how many actually came into the Sepahi Din? He did not know. Role of the Sepahis was either to work in the offices here like these two, or in the rural areas to be a ~~the~~ liason between the moravej mazhabi (the mullahs dressed in turban and abba) and the offices of the Sepahis Din so if need was required in building a mosque etc. such could be given. These rural Sepahis are dressed in uniform. The budget of the Edare Owraf is dual: there is one under the Prime Minister's office, and then there is one from rents etc. The money is used for various charity works including the following hospitals: Nemazee in Shiraz, Bimaristan Mofagha in Teheran, and Firuzabad in Mey. The Imam Reza Shrine lands and the Edare Owghaf are two separate institutions.

Tabatabai, the mullah, had studied in both Qum and at the Univ of Teheran. He says that the books used in the latter place are basically compilations of the professors there, summaries in Farsi of what takes years to learn in Qum. One takes Arabic, philos, usul-and-fiq all at the same time here. The professors such as Rashid, Meshqat, Motaheri, Maneqebi, Shakhabi have also studied in Qum.

Got a telegram from Harvard of imminent arr of RSKU team. So I went to check with Reza Waghafi--will arr Fri for about 5 days. He promised to send a telex reply for me.

Return to Qum.

21 April 1975 (Mon). S. Hashem Batai showed up just as I was trying to leave to go see Golpayegani & while I was trying to pay the rent. Reji, the landlady, went on and on--her daughter, 24, teaches retarded children in the Jewish school on Bozujeneri near the school, needs a husband, would I look for one among my friends (#)--she goes ~~with her~~ bihejab, but the area there is working class. It's not a good area, she cant find a husband there, normally a Muslim wouldnt go into a Jewish school but other teachers are also Muslim, so are many of the children.

I'm afraid I was a bit impatient with S. Hashem Batai's arguments--did I pray daily, no; the person is divided into body and soul and one must pray for the good of the soul; my answer that I tried to live my life as a pryer was not good enough. Could soul and body be two things and in the same place at the same time? yes--then why not God be three and one at the same? no. (One interesting thing: he denies any difference in meaning between nafs, qul and ruh - just diff words for exactly the same thing) I tried out my line about relig lg being

symbolic (yes he agreed) Christian as much as Islamic, thus the trinity as a symbol of God's being everywhere, being in revelation and being one. No. Somehow this led him into querying me about statues (harram)--well I countered how about pictures which most muslims consider harram but not Shiites. No because pictures (and he deftly slipped in his usage of ax from picture to photo) is exact. ~~Explanatory~~ As we were leaving he brought up somehow Haviil and Gavil--I countered that that was specifically Islamic, not in the Bible as far as I knew. ~~Exhibit~~ No said he it had to be there for it was part of universal history--I laughed: what history, what sources, what proofs etc. I was firm. He promised to take me to Feisiyeh Wed.

I finally made it to Makarem--met there a young guy who is from Khonsar, his wife is related to Khonsari, he writes for Maktab-e Islam. He's been reading Dale Carnegie--has nothing to do with ensaniyat--rather take nicely so that others will like what you say--like bait for a fish--not honest, not ethical. Makarem will see me at 11:00 sharp tomorrow.

On the way home for lunch ran into Hekmati and returned his story to him.

To cremate a body is to show no respect for it; to bury it is natural. Isn't fire as natural?--no for you do something to the body; well don't you actively bury a body--this had something to do with Haviil and Gavil maybe...

Afternoon I stopped by Gompayagani's house: he went to Teheran today. Went to the Dar-ul-Tabliq: Risvi is back. Met a Tanzanian and a Nigerian there. Read a few more pages of Eizvi's translation.

Arr home just in time to welcome the Judy Maruchek expedition (John and Judy and Mhd--going to Baluchistan to track nomads of the past).

22 April 1975 (Tues). The expedition got off around nine-fifteen. So I did an hour of mapping starting from the Meidan-e Ostanu, and going behind to the as yet unfinished new Farah children's Library and Kh. Hazrati -- shops all along seem to belong to the Ostanu--a butcher on Hazrati pays 110 tomans ea three months rent. Says sargolfi would be about 100,000. Found the Feisiyeh.

At 11 I went to see Makarem: my first question had to do with his lecture on robaniyat and tarek-dunya (monasticism & world rejection)--I expressed surprise at the bad name of Sufis since they have been so important in Islamic history and were not necessarily world-rejection, nor was the comparison with Christian monks quite apt since they do not go out of the world (tho they don't marry) but teach serve in hospitals etc., and finally if he wanted to talk about world rejection, doesn't the idea come more from Hinduism and even there first you become a householder and raise a family and then... He replied that in early Christianity monasticism was individual sitting in a corner as a hermit and that the dominicans, jesuits etc. are a recent thing; secondly yes tariqats have been important in Islamic history as a kind of political party, but that doesn't make them correct; Sufism is an accretion from Hinduism and has nothing to do with real Islam. Well I said that leaves a philosophical issue: what about differences in interpretation (as one becomes more knowledgeable) and the batini-zahiri distinction. Yes, said he Mulavi (Rumi) spoke of the margha and

Pust (seed and skin), the pust for the animals the seed or brain for us, but that is nonsense; there is no batini/zahiri (esoteric/exoteric) distinction in Islam. Well then, I pushed, let me try it one other way: in the West there is much interest in the analysis of symbolic language--religion is symbolic, requires tafsir (exegesis) whether it be Anjil or Quran. Sure he said, but there is a danger in treating things as symbolic--that is precisely what the Sufis say--do you mean every man can build meanings for himself (I tried the analogy of the mujtahed--built thru a consensus acceptance procedure, or thru learning, but he did not acknowledge this). We have a hadis which begins you should eat meat and wheat both red (red meat, golden-red wheat) for they are healthy; Sufis interpret the two red things as the two lips to mean that you should observe silence. My last thrust was to query that in the Al-Azhar curriculum they teach tassawuf; but we debate it too--in classes on beliefs (doctrines) we have a section on Bahais, on tassawuf, on Christianity, etc.--we debate it, it is in the curriculum, but that does not mean we accept it.

I then went to my questions on the educational organization: I had him check the list of books read given me by Musavi: it was essentially correct with one thing out of place (Makaseb Is figh, not ~~usul~~ usul-o-figh) and the note that Motawal is now not much read. The assigned books cover the first two dowre:

Adabiyat-e Arabi: Sarf (صرف) -4 bks:

Amsala (امثلة), Sarf Mir (صرف مير)

Tasrif (تصرف), Shar Tasrif (شرح تصرف)

Nawh (نحو) --4 bks:

Awamel Mullah Mohsen

Hedaya

Siuti (Jalaluddin Siuti)

Moghuni Labib (ibn Hashem)

Bayan, Ma'ani, Badiyr

Jawahel al-Walagha

Moxtasar al-Man'ani

Motawal Taftazani

Mantiq: Hashiyeh Mullah Abdullah

al-Mantiq S. Mozafar

Sabzevari

Usul: Mo'alem

Res'el

Figh: Sharayer al-Islam

Makaseb

Shar Lume

Kefaya

Usul-e Figh Mozafar

(old Faraidul-Usul)

Dowre III is called Dars-e Harej and has no assigned texts, but rather a variety of texts are brought ad hoc to the varied subjects of debate.

As to exams, yes there is a polycopy exam--I should be able maybe to find one from last year. I now am unclear as to whether this is a single exam for the whole of Qum or each Madresseh does its own--he seemed to switch from saying the former to the latter.

As to student payment--this is done for all of Qum together: there are three sets of books in the hands of each of the Ayitullahs. Rates vary but people doing the Dars-eKHarej get about 500 T/mo; then some get 250, and some less.

I asked about hadis saying that marriage ba xish is makruh:

he remembers two in the Kitab Nikah Vasael Shieh.

Re. Bank-e Islami, these have recently been springing up all over--there are a number in Teheran, one with 7 million tomans; Qum - 3 million tomans. I asked about economics and the dissipation of capital with inflation--yes, but these banks are not economic, they are to help others. One here in Qum is the Sanduq Zakkaria Alavi. I then asked about the sign of a Moassesseh Taavuni Islami I saw this morning, and he said yes that was a second, and maybe there was yet a 3rd.

(Mhd the representative for Judy's exp: ed at Univ in Ankara, is himself an Azari, totally unreligious; believes that Alavi have orgies with the lights out, and believes Bahais marry their sisters--when I pook-pooked it, he returned but there must be something to it if people say it.)

23 April 1975 (Wed) - one of these frustrating days when I wonder why I'm wasting my life playing with these mullahs.

S. Hashem Batai showed up & read a bit more of his English article (a couple of sentences takes an hour with him) to me (fr the E.I.). Then he took me thru the Harram (genuflecting in the center and as we left (ie an actual facting of the shrine and bowing) to the Feisieh. He too says that none of the money for these schools comes from the Edare Owghaf, but all from xom. The Feisiyeh is essentially for living, but some same classes; there was one going on in one of the hojreh as we passed. Then to Gopayegani house--Mehdi was not there, but at the hospital--we called and said I could meet him between 3-3:00.

The only useful thing accomplished in the first part of the day was finishing William Manchester's The Arms of Krupp for lunch.

At 3 I went to Golpayegani's house: the door was closed, the nokar said he wouldnt be there till four; at four I returned, he still hadnt arrived. Finally around 4:30 he showed up & we retired to a small room in private. He corrected my list of books but insisted that we talk about Islam. (ie he added one bk to Sarf

the latter as yet unprinted but being taught from at the Golpayegani schools

one to Nawh:
 one to Mantiq:
 one to Usul: qawain
 and one to Fiq:

So we talked about what religion is, why it is necessary to have a belief in God (argument by design, analogy with carpenter), if Hindus belief that everything is a symbol of Gd then they would be Muslim but to believe that only some things are either gds or symbols of Gd is different; I tried the notion of metaphysics (wh cannot be known) against the carpenter analogy--but it was all a bit inconclusive: most of what I said he agreed with, most of what he said I agreed with. Except that I could not quite get him to see that it made no sense to ask me which religion is best, since you cant separate philos and social reality (I used the ex. of najasat as preparation for prayer vs social exclusion; he just accepted; or Borujerdi's pepsi is harram (his wd), or makru.)

A guy who is working as a doctor's asst for the gendarmerie came to see if he would work a couple of hours at the Golpayegani clinic. Mehdi said he would talk to the doctor in charge.

S. Hashem said that Golpayegani these morns istalking in Masjid Azam about what in the course of Haj makes it invalid; Rizvi says

24 April 1975 (Thu) - Islam Is Dead would be a good title; one could begin with the fateh, not because it is the first verse of the Quran but because it is read at funerals.

I just came from a debate with Hikimi and Hassan Agha. The former had been talking to me about how much people would fear talking to me, about the release of Shariati--what he was imprisoned for was talking about freedom wh the students took to heart, Sartre and others wrote to the Govt on his behalf--about Shariati's pt that the Shiism of today is Shi'ism a massue created by the Safavids in their fight with the Ottomans and is not true Shiism. He started to read to me from one of Shariati's bks--there are several in the office--the better class of khunds read them, the rest call Shariati a Sunni. (the shelug last two wks was Khomeini and that is really heavy stuff, much worse than Shariati--calling this a dictatorship and urging resistance).

A friend of Hassan Agha came in from Madresseh Ali and so we talked more generally; Hassan came in. It was Hikimi who began the thing: that I was complaining that everyone was telling me that Islam did not exist, and not to judge Islam by them. We ran thru a bunch of comparisons: democracy in America, communism as practised by the French party or USSR, justice of those who teach christi nity. The long and short of it was two things:

- (a) pique at Western scholars including the best and most sympathetic like Corbin for saying Islam is what exists rather than treating it by its ideals
- (b) Islam can have no existence without being the Govt (Hassan Agha after all is studying law); Islam does not therefore exist any more than real communism; what is being done in the Hoseye Elmiye Qum is partly teaching individual ethics, but essentially is just maintaining the older learning of Islam (hefs kardan) until such time as it can come again into use.

One wonders a fortiori how much of this his father would subscribe to. It would be refreshing if he were to say yes, and this is why his deep lectures are on such ritualistic matters as how to do the Haj properly. Indeed this is perhaps indeed a reason for getting a tape or two of these lectures--Qum is becoming the center of ritualistic conservation (echoes of the Zoroastrian priests!). If so, however, what is the hogebari of the dumber khunds who really believe in the aqaid (like S. Hashem Batai or worse)?

Morning I worked a bit on the women paper, then went and mapped the Sheikhan Bazar (facing Meidan-e Astana) and talked to a shopkeeper who claimed to have been in charge of the group of shopkeepers who built it some 8-13 yrs ago--they wouldn't remember quite when. It had been a graveyard-park continuing the park now in front of the Shahrdari. The ground belongs to the Edare Owghaf and they pay 14T/mo rent per $2\frac{1}{2}$ m frontage. There should be 137 shop units (tho some have now been combined into larger shops: on the outside 19 x 25 x 20 x 25; inside 24 and 24. Sargolfi would run on the order of 10-20-30 thousand tomans (again they were of the opinion that sargolfi is something of English intro).

Across the street (which I mapped the other day) belongs to the Astaneh, and that is a separate operation entirely from the Edare Owghaf--the store fronts over there are larger and the sargolfi would run on the order of 100-200-300 thousand T. The bazaar proper also has high sargolfi. Senfs are organized by occupation: there are maybe 70 lebas-forush, 300 xarazi; some of the lebas forush buy in Teheran, but most buy cloth and have local tailors produce. Qumis they admitted are known as bad gens--told stories of the WWII English c mp outside town, and how Qumis stole them blind.

Afternoon I went to keep my appointment with Mehdi Golpayegani--he once again was in Teheran! So I went to see Rizvi if he could help me find the hadith on close m being m kru--he felt busy but had someone else go to the library with me; the latter, intro me to a black turbed rais but looking at the bks could not find it. But talked about how I should go meet Felsefi (so apparently he is free too--mornings at 11 nr Baharistan).

TRIP TO MAZANDARAN: RSKU Site Selection

26 April (Sat)— First thing in the morning I went to get a copy of Rabino's book on coins and seals of Persia for Mike Burrell. The Bank Markazi was out of them but I was directed to a Mr. Mhd Moshiri who had the printing done. He turned out to be an older man, a member of the Farhangistan, a historian who has written a book on the Safavids. He asked me if I were a Jew, then opined that educated Jews have done much service for the world: when their character is good (akhlaq) they become Einsteins. But he agreed that all peoples have good and bad members. He sold me two copies of Rabino--not cheap. Moshiri family is from Arak (Farahan-e Arak), descended from Qaimmagam; the Qaimmagami family is the other branch (i.e. pesar amu).

I then located the Harvard team in Reza Vaghefi's office and agreed to meet them there in the afternoon when they had set up a program. Spent the rest of the morning across the street in the Residence Police offices getting my six month extension. (David Peterson, and then Hassan Sepehri, described with some delight how Hassan had taken my letter to Parvin Hejazi and Mr. Haideri; Haideri read the letter in Hassan's presence and immediately went stopping up and down the hall in search of Parvin--she actually hid, but was finally located. Her letter to the police was ready that afternoon (last Wednesday), and she for the first time in AIIS history called up the Institute to say that she was sending it out. It however only arrived this morning at the police, so it is just as well I had returned to Qum.)

I dropped by Haideri's office to thank him--this turned out to take some time as he is inordinately garrulous. He too is from Arak and we meditated on the number of Arakis who have become highly educated public servants. He thinks it is related to the prevalence of xordeh malek malek --small holding trains people to work hard. The Arak area is divided into more xordeh malek in the North and more larger holders in the South (tho not the scale of Khorassan or Azarbaijan), there being more water in the south.

Since Vaghefi's office is on the same floor, I dropped by over there, and was told by Goodarzi that they had gone to lunch at Ray's Pizza across the street; so I joined them there. They had a 20 min. interview with Samii, the Min. of H.E., to which I was not invited.

So I went down to Amir Kabir to locate the Faculty of Theology. Ferdowsi and Shah Reza were lined with people waving Iranian and Afghan flags--Davud was arriving to meet with the Shah and was being taken to see the crown jewels.

27 April (Sun)--met the Harvard team for breakfast at the Hotel Palma. Hal Goyette, Russ Feldman & I then went to the Plan Org. to meet Ted Smith: he was tied up, so we chatted with Brendan Walsh (from the ISER in Dublin). He's been here only 3 weeks--is working on the question of whether one can institute a meaningful program to stop in-migration to Teheran: impossible in the short term short of internal passports and even then there would be a black market in passports. Quality of life declining in Tehran.

We then met up with Dick Leahy, Ned Kennen and Reza Ahmadi Vaghefi for a meeting with the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellors of the Free University (Dr. Ahmadi). The Free University is an attempt modeled on Brittin's to use TV and Radio for lessons, via satellite. The main logistical problem is weekly or monthly distribution of educational materials; there is also to be a network of computer terminal centers. Apparently they have just been ordered to move

to Mazandaran. There now appear to be 3 facilities to be associated in Mazandaran: RSKU, the Free University, and the Educational TV.

Free Univ - a council establ. in March 1972, initial studies completed June 1973, Free U. established by imperial decree Dec 73-- is higher ed vs ETV wh is secondary. The first yr of instruction is to be 1977--est 6000 students; by 4th yr 30,000 students. Staff now is almost 400, by 1990 will be 3000 (teachers, technicians etc.). They were worried about ensuring their independence of RSKU--separate library etc.--don't want disruptions of RSKU students. To which one of our guys said, but all RSKU students will be happy; to which one of them responded, of course, all students in Iran are happy. One of the Free Univ. courses will be community health: 2-4 yr nursing.

ETV is est. to be about the same size: founded 1973. A communic. satellite can handle 12 phanells, each transmitting 4 million bits per second of digital data. Est. if 500 professionals, the service can be provided for \$35 per student per yr (viz. M. Amir Rahimi--"Overview of an Educational Delivery System for A National Computer-Managed Educational Television System" (prepared for the Natl Iranian Radio & Television.)

The most interesting part of the meeting was watching the status and political jockeying. The Free Univ. people were very ambivalent about cooperation: yes an integrated community, but separate facilities; we don't want to be disrupted by students, we want own library, own buildings and campus. Also hints of multiple overlapping authorities: bring in Min of Housing for residences, 3 diff governing boards for the 3 institutions. Harvard wanted information, did not want to give much (tho didnt have much to give). Seemed to be some scoring and counter scoring by Ahmadi and Vaghefi invoking the Minister's ~~name~~ name, and then trumping with the PM's name.

Next we went to meet the head of Iran Documentation Center. 4000 periodicals being received and attempts to get back issues but coverage is spotty. Provide bibliographies on request, but 1st must be assured of the need for it--red tape so as to make it useless. Operation is very much curtailed now. He seemed disheartened. E.g. in anthro--they have Hum Org, but not AA, Man, CA, L&Homme

Chelo Kebab Nayib for lunch--Vaghefi embraced old friend Khodadad Farmanfarmaian.

Return to Vaghefi's office where Ned Keenan and Vaghefi debated whether the goal was to train useful folks for Iranian development (Vaghefi) or simply to provide a top flight research facility (Keenan). Meanwhile Hal, Russ & I were introduced to Engineer Saïdi who selected the tentative site for RSKU and who will come with us.

Took Russ to Jay Reed's.

28 April (Mon) - made up memo for Ned Keenan on Anthro at RSKU: fields, support & interest within Iran, possible sources of students. Keenan & Leahy say good bye. Prof. Chuck Harris joins up with us (landscape architect--dept hd in School of Design).

Site Selection party moves out in two rented Mercedes Benz: Dr. Goodarzi - ex Gov of Isfahan, ex-Deputy Mayor of Teheran, Prof. of Hist of Sci at Natl Univ., studied at Sorbonne, Cambridge, Cal Tech; children are in high school in Logan, Utah; slated to be one of the vice-chancellors of RSKU. First degree was agri engineering. Family is from Borujerd. Is related to Lajevardi. Deputy Mayor of Teheran under Shahrestani. Is related to the head of Arya Corp. (Manuchehr Goodarzi, also on Board of Directors of RSKU). New Mayor of Sari & Hd of

- Forestry Dept of Mazandaran are ex-students of his.
- Mr. Kazemini - an agricultural engineer with M.S. from Rehovoth as well as Teheran; worked for the Israelis in Qazvin. Orig. from Ahwaz; worked in Abadan for Min of Housing, then QAzvin, now both Plan Org and Min Sci & Higher Ed. He came with us only for a day, then flew off to Hamdam and Seistan.
- Hal Goyette - Director of Planning Office at Harvard, orig farm boy from Alabama, Navy ROTC during WWII to finish architecture school & then shipped to Korea. 18 yrs with Harvard.
- Russ Feldman - Syracuse architecture, orig fr NYC.
- Chuck Harris, 49, Chairman, Dept Landscape Architecture, School of Design; married 4 yrs ago--has two little boys & two teen-aged daughters (his wife's). Came thru here on a scooter 14 yrs ago.
- Eng. Saidi - descended fr Sultan Qabus Bahadur- worked for Khuzistan Water & power Authority, etc.

We got to Babolsar for lunch. Our cars: Peyma Taxi - 20T/hr in Teheran, 1 T/kilometer outside.

Afternoon we prepared to go off on an initial reconnaissance of the site, when Kazemini asked which of us wanted to go see the Gov-Gen with Goodarzi. Unclear why, what: Hal decided if it was a courtesy call obviously he had to represent the group; Kazemini thought maybe me since I spoke some Persian. So both of us decided to go. Then Kazemini came back for me and said I had to come to the site; Saidi said I could go where I liked. So I rejoined Hal & Goodarzi.

We went first to the forestry dept, but the senior man was not in. His assistant showed us around and we made arrangements to get copies of reports on the sites and a landrover for tomorrow. The Gov-Gen et al. have already left for Teheran to attend the national Ristaxiz Party meeting (Goodarzi is leaving tomorrow morning). The mayor of Sari was still here so we went to pay our respects. The mayor is from Shiraz, has been here 6 mo., paved 20 kuches, several rds, etc.

On the way back Hal tried to draw Goodarzi out on his ambitions for the physical design of the campus. Goodarzi said he had never really thought about this, but no walls, pre-Islamic, not Islamic. A fitting monument to Reza Shah; modern. Passing Mt Demavand in the distance, I joked that the motto of the university should be binding of Zohak securely, that he not be free; Goodarzi thought this a marvelous idea.

29 April (Tues) - morning, we went first to the forestry sub-station on the coastal road between Nur and Amirabad, to look at maps; then to a park being finished with a restaurant, picnic area, modeled on US natl park (Park Jangeli Nur). Return to substation for tea; then got in the landrover to go to Amol to get rubber boots for tomorrow. Goodarzi left us to return to Teheran & the Party meeting.

afternoon, we drove the coastal road to Chalus to let Saidi check on his garden--he has a little house along the sea with a marvelous little garden. Passed the Shah's new palace in Noshahr--Laleh Ardalan was to tell us later a heavy ~~xxx~~ pyramid which has had the foundations redone a dozen times, because you can't build a heavy building like that on sand.

30 April (Wed) - picked up a red-headed forester and headed into the Ahlam forest from the east via Tashkenar and Bunehdeh--huge oaks, iron trees. Magnificent woods requiring some care; villagers are allowed to harvest fallen trees. We saw some contractors with ~~electric~~ ^{power} saws cutting up a tree into boards. We then went out and around thru Amol to the southern part of the forest, called Shir Kola. The Ahlam and Shir Kola tracts are the areas in which the RSKU complex is to be sited. The team was impressed by the woods, disappointed that they were only a site evaluation, not site selection team, that the soft soil would allow only low buildings so that neither mountains nor sea would be really visible.

Kidding around with Saidi about Qum, I asked but don't you come for ziarat-- to which the quick reply was I am not a heathen, worshipping objects. Pointed out that the Gut graveyard on the Qum road oppos Shah Abdul Qazim is all graves of same cost and size. Woman mayor of Babolsar & his town near Chalus.

3

1 May (Thurs) - Drove along coastal section & penetrated to Ahlam & Khesksar. There are gavdar (cattle headers) in the woods who seasonally migrate to the hills, are not part of village life, called Gilesh. "Afshars" here are equivalent to kolis (gypsies).

Afternoon, Hal & I went to bldg site of new Honarestan (vocational school) along the Amol road: bricks cost 300T/1000; 80T/day for ostad, 26T/day for workers. The workers are from Ardebil--had a worker who said he could bring more. Being built by Mohandess Hamid from Sari. You build, by digging, filling with gravel from river beds, laying down a lot of concrete and building the walls on this anchor.

Dr. Goodarzi returned for dinner from Teheran together with A Mr Saidi from Nishapur--a sayyid who traces his family to Jordan. He wants to start a 10 thous hectare cattle farm in Nishapur; is currently importing agricultural machinery; also is interested in plastics.

Sayyids settled btw tribal fadtions in Mamesari county near Shiraz.

Goodarzi talked a bit about politics while the TV was carrying reports on the meetings: the new party is like Mexico, Zambia, and esp'l S. Korea.

2 May (Fri) - Return to Teheran via the Chalus road, stopping at the ski resort of .

3 May (Sat) - Since I was not put up in the hotel with the others, when plans suddenly changed, I was not informed. We had agreed to meet at Vaghefi's office at 9--Vaghefi was there, but Goodarzi was not due til noon. No one showed up and around 10 we called the hotel--Hal was sick, the other two had left for somewhere. So I took some medicine to Hal. Finally at noon the other two returned to the hotel--without warning they had been taken to a meeting. Hal was not getting better; Goodarzi got him a doctor--turned out to be a serious case of food poisoning. Russ & Chuck and I had a chelo kebab, then went to visit with Eng. Shahnavaz, a director-general in the Min. of Roads: he knew little except general plans--actual road alignments of either the new motorway along the mts or the coastal road improvements he did not know; they remained to be determined and if we had requirements we could suggest them at

this stage. We then went to the Bazaar and had dinner at the Abambar.

4 May (Sun)- Again a mixup in the morning; I had arranged with the driver to pick up Russ and Chuck and then pick me up on the way to the National Cartographic Center for a 10 am meeting. at 10:05 I finally went there by taxi, they had not arrived. I chatted with Eng. Shafii, the comandant; called Goodarzi; got clearance from Shafii to get the maps and areal photos from a Mr. Behshad. Had then to call Seidi to find out exactly what we needed. Finally just as I was getting the maps, Chuck and Russ showed up. The photos on special rush will be ready tomorrow, and we're to get the maps at the same time--this will simplify payment and the rule that these things are to be given to an Iranian, not to foreigners.

Hal has been taken to a clinic and is being fed intravenously.

Return to Vaghefi's office and rearrange appointment with Minister Samii from this afternoon til tomorrow when hopefully Hal can attend. Went to Jay Reeds with them and explored a bit of Ferdowsi. Hal was sitting up and acting like himself when we returned, so we debriefed with him in preparation for the Samii meeting

5 May (Mon) - This morning, finally the arrangements worked on schedule: we dropped Russ and Chuck off to meet with the Tourist people--an appointment I made for them on my own yesterday. Goodarzi made an appointment with architect Nader Ardalan's partner for Hal and I--Ardalan is in the stqtes. We couldn't find the address, so Hal said there was an architects office near the Xanadu restaurant which looked like it was out of Harvard Squ. and let's look for it--we walked around a bit--he thot it not in the same kuche as the restaurant, but it was & it turned out to be Ardalan's office (Mandala). Laleh Ardalan joined us. They are building (1) Abu Sinth Univ. in Hamadan--no walls; (2) a zoo in which the people will move thru in busses and trains, while the animalls are relatively free--to represent all the bioclimatic areas of the world: Iran is the geog center of the world accord. to Buckminster Fuller w Asia to the E and Eur to the W., so Iran from Gulf to Caspien will form the spine; (3) a new city in the south near Bandar Shapur.

After lunch with Laleh at the Xanadu, we went to see Ted Smith at the Plan Org--he's getting a bit fed up. Hal went home to rest. We met up at the Ministry for the meeting with Samii--I again was not invited. Dinner at the Khansalar.

6 May (Tues) - Saw Shahrokh & Elaine-- Shahrokh reports from an article that Egbal when PM (1955?) upped the budget of the Tkhool. Faculty from 400,000 rls to 5 million. The faculty was founded in 1313, moved in 1321 and again to its current site in 1955. Gave Khalili the money from Russ for his carpet.

7 May (Wed) - Checked in with Rizvi at Dar-ul-Tabliq; took my Residence Permit to Mahmudi. Went to Shariatmadar's lecture at 11:30 am in the Dar-ul-Tabliq. Attended by about 75 guys sitting in semi-circle around his 3 step membar. On the wall overhead a poster in Kufic, arabic and Persain and English proclaimed In the name of the most compassionate, most beneficent, say he is God the one Gd, the Eternal, the Absolute, he begeteth not nor is he begotten, there is none like unto Him

Evening: Makarem - sat next to a man who was fr Mamadan & spoke a bit of English. Says Najaf is the place for fiq-o-usul, here more

8 May (Thurs) - Musavi Afghani came by with a Persian friend (from Teheran, who does not want to become an akhund, is doing dahiristan degree here simultaneously with Dar-ul-Tablig) doesn't really know how it happened he ended up here, but does want to know what there is to be known about Islam and this is the place to do that; not interested in university in Iran, but yes abroad). Afghani got me to agree to spend some time with him on English-- in return he will help me do my survey in his house. They left & he returned shortly with the Frenchman. The latter became Muslim in Samsun, Turkey 7 yrs ago, was Hanafi, but then decided Shiism was better. The imams are like the prophets Daniel etc. He spent two years studying with Corbin at the Sorbonne. But he has never gotten any degrees, not even apparently a high school certificate. Corbin simply agreed to allow him to sit in. He had been studying Sanskrit and was heading to India when he stopped short in Samsun. Apparently he had several visions-dreams. He did not want to talk in front of Musavi--but mentioned the Zohar & Hassidism as interests. We spoke in English which Musavi doesn't understand. He says he couldn't remain Christian or become Jewish because there are no really inspired religious figures since ~~Alfred the~~ Albert the Great or Meister Eckhart. So I asked if there were any here-- no he was disappointed in Qum that way, but wanted to learn Persian and Arabic. He studies here in Turkish--Azari is close enough to be no problem. He spoke of having repeatedly asked to meet me for a month, but people here are neither sure he is really a Muslim, ~~xxx~~ and they consider me dangerous. Only Musavi has the guts to finally introduce us. Next I learned that all the foreign students must sign an oath to the Dar-ul-Tablig that they will speak to no one without the Dar-ul-Tablig's permission! If they do their support can be taken away and they sent home. Should I be asked Musavi says, I should not say He comes to visit me in my house. Patrick says he knows ~~why~~ he is a Muslim--it is not the same reason that the people here are Muslim and they probably sense this. There is now this German Muslim convert living in the same room-- (5 in the room: Afghani, the Frenchman, the German, an Indonesian, and a Persian), and he can't figure out why that guy became Muslim. The Indonesian speaks broken Arabic and otherwise does not seem very intelligent. Patrick was married at 18 and has 3 kids--his wife is in Venice teaching school--this is not the place to bring infant sons. He gets 300T/mo from the Dar-ul-Tablig; generally eats out. He'll rejoin his wife for the summer, and return here for another year in October. He is 26. He was delighted to be offered coffee, and promised to return and talk.

7 May cont.

For membari (preaching) and writing; Mashad exclusively for preaching. Who are the most renowned fiq-o-usul ay tullah's, I asked--oh there are many way above Shariatmadar, Marashi-Nejaf etc, e.g. S. Abul Qassem Khoi, S. Mhd Bagher Sard, Awjnudi, S. Mhd Rohani, add the greatest of course whom we can't mention, you understand [Khomeini] He's been here 6 yrs, plans to be here a total of 8. Islamic society does not exist but we must learn to build it from small nuclei like Bank-e Islam. There is nothing in the Bible about social organization; in the west learned men could make mistakes and correct themselves on the order of the sun going around the earth, but in the Quran everything exists perfectly: says that the earth goes around the sun.

The Frenchman returned in the late afternoon to demonstrate that Europeans who are attracted here are crazy. He is actually an interesting character, absolutely delighted to find someone to talk to, but after an afternoon and evening of talk we found remarkably few points of contact. He began with the observation that he had lived in many places, but never before had he been unable to understand the people among whom he lived. My situation he thought must be even worse, since at least he was Muslim, whereas I was najes like a dog--nowhere but in this country would people treat a man as najes. The word is around the Dar-ul-Tabliq that I defended Israel (sic!) in the debate with Saidi. He himself is interested in tassawuf, which of course no one here will admit as reasonable. But he is not a mystic; the distinction he drew is that mysticism is simply allowing the mind to spin, say thru hashish or opium or LSD or fasting--that is just the animal nafs. Tassawuf is disciplined--you get baraka from an ostad who guides you along a known path towards understanding. Ruh in distinction to nafs is what animals do not have, is gnos. His education it turns out is multiply defective: not only does he know no science, ~~but~~ no critical philosophy (he had heard of the name of Kant but only that he was a great philosopher) but he claimed not to know where Boston was, that the Statue of Liberty was a French gift. . . . To the argument that about things metaphysical one cannot know, that symbolic idioms are merely that, he responded that one cannot prove that metaphysical things do not exist (of course) and therefore Pascal's bet. (But surely ~~that~~ while Pascal's bet holds for Baptists, Shiites, Catholics, etc. equally well, one cannot make the bet on all at the same time since they are mutually exclusive, each condemning the others to Hell.) He has a dream of having four wives: one Christian, one Jewish, one Zoroastrian, one Muslim--but his first wife won't agree. Marriage and children lock one together much better than a commune: for despite difficulties one will try much harder to stay together. It remained unclear exactly why the four wives: each gives access to religious traditions and thus speeds up the learning process. On the other hand altho the batini (esoteric) truth of the 4 religions is the same, one must pass thru each as a real believer to understand. That each was merely a symbolic system which could be learned like a language he denied. He likes Ghengis Khan because he converted to several religions and had wives from each (sic!). He says in Turkey foreigners are a source of delight and always invited out to dinner; here not at all. He does not talk to Shariatmadar about his speculations for fear the old man would call him a Jew--the term of abuse for those who disagree with you. Re. the notion of Islam merely being preserved here, yes--and that is a good thing: Israel is the result of the same thing, tho Israel could not survive if there were not communities outside like the theological center in Strassbourg. Antisemitism and interreligious hatred will never go away. That the state of Israel exists is good. Without the Jewish preservation of the bible, and the Christian Gospels there would be no meaning to the Quran. Among his proofs of the metaphysical was the Hegelian dialectic: in order to know what is manifested there must be non-manifest which includes the manifested. All that is manifest (material) is limited; the non-manifest is unlimited. Thought is an obvious example of ruh and unlimitedness and non-manifested being--but the counter example of electricity was beyond our ability to agree. And so it went.

He dropped out of school when he was 11--not legal in France but his parents divorced then and no one asked questions of seemed to care. He studied on his own, but thereby got a curious education. He has two sisters--the elder had an education similarly interrupted. The younger who was 4 at the time of the divorce was sent to school after the mother straightened herself out. Linguistically he is a virtuoso: French, Italian, English, Turkish, now Arabic and Persian. (the first two and fourth and now sixth from living in the resp. countries; English just from travelling). After he finishes here, he wants to go to Cairo to learn Arabic better. He gets 300F/mo from Shariatmadar, and his residence permit is by virtue of belonging to the Dar-ul-Tabliq; but he also gets money from Golpayegani for buying books. Golpayegani he told the money from Shariatmadar was insufficient; Shariatmadar does not know he gets money from Golpayegani. I tried to get him to talk about his conversion in Turkey but did not get anywhere. On the way to eat at the Nico chelo kebab, we ran into three of his prof.s-- he is sure they will tell him when they next see him he should not associate with me. One shook hands with me--said he was his fiq prof but didn't know his name!

9 May (Fri). Musavi Afghani was supposed to show up to have me help him with some English & then was going to take me to his hostel so I could run a quick survey. He did not show. Around 9 I finally went to find him at the hostel & ran into Mhd-Patrick the Frenchman on the street, who said he had left this morning. The Teherani friend he had come by with yesterday also came by the house later, saying Afghani had left to come to my house at 7:30 but couldn't be found and there was a visiting Afghan who wanted to see him. I thought of going back to the hostel in the evening, but had a headache, chills and maybe a slight fever, so I spent most of the day sleeping.

10 May (Sat). Woke up feeling better but with a rash all over (measles? heat rash?). Musavi stopped by to say that he had first talked to Abbasi who told him it was not allowed for me to talk to his hostel mates, and he was going to Teheran this afternoon. I had planned to start mapping the bazaar, but thought maybe I should go see Abbasi. I got to the Dar-ul-Tabliq and though I saw Abbasi in the hall, did not get a chance to see him--I was taken in tow by S. Hadi Khosrowshahi who offered to help me, was worried that I spent so much time with Razvi & Jafari who knew nothing. He hit all the right notes in offering to help: he would introduce me to the various madressehs, help me with history of the papee etc. We briefly went over the history from Yazdi-Haeri (his eldest son is here; younger son in America) to the troika to Borujerdi to the current troika (and he talked about Khomeini who was sent to Turkey--then when a follower assassinated Mansur he was sent to Iraq); the program of study: adibiyat (sarf, nahv, mantiq, bā'ghh, .b.), usul-fiq, fiq (pak, salat or prayer, zakat, jahat or how to deal with enemies), taxes, marriage and divorce, punishment and blood payment or diat)--shah lom; Makaseb (reasons for above), Kefayeh-Usul of Khorassani (of the Const. Rev. period); then Dars Harej. New Madressehs: Dar-ul-Tabliq, Golpayegani, Haqani, Najafi, Razaviyeh. The basic program is the same here--he will help me get the actual programs--but exams, classes, etc.

Still not feeling quite well, I got some aspirin & returned home; shortly Mhd-Patrick & S. Hossein Tawfiqi showed up. S. Hossein, a Kashi, who has been here 12 yrs, speaks remarkably good English for never having been out of the country & some German apparently. Mhd-Pat intro him as one of the free thinking souls here, to whom he could commiserate when irritated at Persians. ~~They~~ S. Hossein has greeted me very friendly a number of times, obviously wanted to talk more--works at Dar Rah-e Haq. We discussed a variety of things-- he feels that there is no value in the Dar-ul-Tabliq: simply give out pieces of paper which say so and so has passed such and such a subject when in fact he doesn't know anything. Khomeini was opposed to the Dar-ul-Tabliq, an irrelevance. The young talebs are turned on to politics but it is all idealism: const. says that the ulema are supposed to be in the Majlis; should go further, but should be in the hands of the ulema. They have little time for Shahriatmadar or esp. opposed to Makarem and his journal. People here are very narrow minded, worst is Abbassi who knows nothing, but because he is Shahriatmadar's son-in-law, the old man trusts him. When Mhd-Patrick came here, Shhriatmadar invited him, but Abbassi wanted to send him away, first told him that he had come to Qum for nothing, would not be helped. Hassan Agha is OK, the other younger son is not--does kabutar-bazi. The sons of the big guys are often devils taking advantage of their father's infirmities: e.g. Golpayegani's son and Khonsari's son went to Europe: the talebs wrote a pamphlet against their using the sahm-e Imam this way, while the talebha have nothing. Esp. Khonsari's son plays havoc with people. Shahriatmadar has lots of support esp. fr Azarbaijan because they want a Turk leader. Marashi-Nejafi is popular in Qum; Golpayegani from his home town & around. Most-learned of all today in fiq is Khoi (in Najaf). They wanted to send him to the Vatican to study so as to be able to attack Christianity; he doesn't want to do this because he can't dismiss the gospels as they do--not right to go study just to attack. Invited me to his room in Madresseh Khan (21)--better than at Rah-e Haq where maybe they likely to be angry if I dome. People can't figure out whether I am a spy for the Vatican or for the Jews, but I am dangerous--whereas he says to them had I just agreed with Saidi that would have been more suspicious. He had previously said that he could not really talk in Dar-ul-Haq. It is unclear what he thinks of S. Hadi Khosrowshahi but I did not get positive vibes on that either. S. Hossein hopes to travel abroad this summer; he has to get out of the army first but his eyes and body are weak so he hopes for medical reasons not to have to serve.

11 Sun - Khosrowshahi was not in this morning. Talked to Rizvi who said he does not like Khosrowshahi--he is just a writer for Nasle Now and is jealous of my relation with Rizvi. Pak. Ambassador is coming to visit Shahriatmadar today. Re. Tajvid--this is not really preaching, but reading the Quran. Re. books of the Dar-ul-Tabliq, we should just ask Hassan Agha. As to foreign students not being allowed to talk--the statement, that had to do with politics, not religion.

Eve: Teheran for the etnomusicologists

12 May (Mon) - took the train to Qum: one of my seat mates was from Ahwaz, had worked in Khoramshahr for an American shipping company as a translator for 7 years and regrets leaving--now after 16 yrs for the Iranian government he is still only making 12,000 rials (\$180/mo) while his mates who stayed on are making 40,000 (\$600); the engineers above him in the office make 30,000 (\$450) but don't know anything. He's complaining that he wants to make more, will work overtime if they will pay him overtime, but they won't, and they accuse him of Communist ideas.

Afternoon went to the Auguq-e Asnaf offices--real ones here--the head of which was a very nice & open young man, just the medicine I need at the moment.

Bought some sheeting material in the bazaar from a friendly bazaz who after complimenting my broken Persian ~~want~~ wanted to know my religion. (width 120cm - 6.5 T/meter)

13 May (Tues). - early morn I caught a taxi (3T) out to the slaughterhouse (kosteggh). The guard at the gate is a nearby villager; but the slaughterhouse fâdor staff, says Mohandess Borije, are men straight from the previous primitive slaughterhouse. He would have preferred to train new guys from scratch; but this way is OK but will take time. The guy watching the boilers turned out to be from Qum but had worked in Shiraz--the ~~next~~ system for the university plant--said he made 30T/day. The plant seems to be Yugoslav machinery as is the van I rode back in; the driver of the latter makes 40T/day or roughly ~~12000~~ 12000rls/mo which he says is insufficient for a family with five kids; so he drives a taxi in the afternoon, and taxidrivers get 30% of what they take as fares: 3 rials on every toman. The slaughterhouse will be the facility for the surrounding towns (Saveh, Arak, etc.). Meat comes locally (the beef), but largely also from Western Iran: Kurdistan, etc. He was having difficulty just coping so we agreed to meet again tonite, and cont. the discussion. He was trained in Teheran. I did ask if religious leaders had given any trouble--he seemed to indicate that there had been some concern. Killing is done by hand, but the animals are stunned first: the cows in the forehead, the gusfand at the temples. They managed to convince the religious leaders that there was nothing anti-Islamic about this method: the animals are faced toward Mecfa; the stunning has nothing to do with the killing itself, but avoids fear on the part of the animal and thereby something in the blood. There is a plant for dealing with the inedible offal, blood etc--it is made into a manure for farmers. A lot of things in the 8-mo old plant are as yet unfinished, like storage for this manure which now is just piled up outside. Re. the stunning procedure, the workers are the ones he has the most trouble with--they don't see any need for it.

I then made the rounds of several offices to see if I could locate some maps of who owns what. First was the Edare NoSazi (Office of New Construction): Mohandess Rafezi was not in, so I talked to the 2nd in command, a 40yish man with shoulder length hair almost. He told me what he knew but referred me to Mr. Rohani in the Shohrdari. Basically all the stuff around the Meidan belongs to the Astaneh plus on the 25th Shahrivar Street (fr. Meidan-e Safayeh) on the right side to the end, plus across the bridge on the Road to Ispahan on the left side all the way to the Risbaf factory. I went to find Rohani but he was not in yet; so I went to the police to find this Modaressi Tabatabai of Sherkat-e

Abad (gatch apparently) across the river--there the old servant says there are two brothers (one comes here for 20 min at noon), but the one I probably want is the mullah who teaches at the Feisiyeh and whose house is the old house of Asheikh Mehdi on the Kuche by that name, near the Bazaar Kohne. So I returned to the Shahr-dari and found Rohani who gave me the INTO map of Qum--actually the map drawn by the Geogr & Drafting Inst; but otherwise claimed to have nothing. Did admit that the Shahr-dari had paid to produce a book but they do not have a copy. Next to the head of the Astaneh (Shrine), Mr. Fatimeh.

Fatimeh, a portly, 55yish, obviously well-to-do guy, has a brother in Iowa studying for an engineering Ph.D.; his son has just been refused a visa by the Consul in Teheran even tho he has an acceptance from Arizona or somewhere on the grounds that the father does not make a monthly salary large enough to support a son in college, which is absurd he points out since his job is not his source of wealth--he brought the consul deeds of houses, but the consul claimed not to be a merchant and this was not liquid wealth. Fatimeh appealed via one of the Egbal brothers to no avail. The boy is currently studying English in England.

I did not learn terribly much about the Astaneh or its operations: it does repairs, is rebuilding the shops out front, supports some needy families, gives some scholarships. There is no council such as Anne has found for Shehel Cheragh, but is run by crown appointment like Meshed. The shrine used to have lands in Arak, Ali Goodarzi, Khomein, Zanjan, but at the time of Land Reform these were sold off. Now there are only the commercial lands here. If there are any maps of these moldings the Shahr-dari would have them (but obviously if he wanted he could tell me unit by unit what he controls!).

I found Haji Hossein Modarressi Tabatabai's house but a woman who answered thru the talk box said he was in Teheran and wouldnt be back til late tonite; by the time I made it back to Sherkat Abad, his brother Ashd8 Ali had come and gone.

Rohani said all master plans for towns in the central ostun were to be obtained in Teheran (Kh. Takhte Tavuus, Mir Emat).

Musavi Afghani wanted an English lesson, promised to come around 2 or 2:30 but didn't: I found him asleep in his room. We returned here and I drilled him on English. Finally around four I made it to the bazaar to start mapping. This went fairly well altho I only had 2:30 hrs since I agreed to meet Mhdess Borije at 7.

First place I stopped was a young Turk (his father come some 30 years ago from Ardebil) ~~gaxt~~ who is one of those simple minded people one is tempted to treat in the roles provided by superior Teheranis, i.e. laugh and tell them they are wrong and show them why. He wanted to know my religion and when he was told I wasnt Muslim immediately sent his shogerd to inform the tea man to have the tea glasses washed specially. We discussed this and my beard which is too long (ie the tails of the mustache). He come out and said he would of course like me more if I were a Muslim. His shogherd was an Isfahani, son of a mujtahed: Agha Sheikh Mhd Taghi Sadighin Isfahani. The latter was less outspokenly "fanatic"--while they

did things like worry about their tea glasses, admit to my being najes, say my beard would be "prettier" (gesangtar) if it were shorter, yet they did not seem any less friendly--after a while I even got my survey questions answered. Isfahani gave me the name of Banu Isfahani (Amin) and said she has 100 students; his dai teaches English at the U. of Isfahan and is supposed to have converted thru argument an American professor. Next was a most friendly atari who made no bones that the marja taqlid he supported was Kh. Then an old xame forush.

Evening back out to visit with Engineer Borije. Re. the question of ensuring enough meat for Qum. Meat comes in every nite by truck from Kermanshah; there were already a no. of animals in the pen--these belong to gasabs who have bought them from chupans; the gasabs are divided into 6 baksh each with a rais--if for instance a seller locally has alot of sheep he can sell via these 6. In any case, at the end of the year: the last three months; meat becomes short everywhere in Iran--has to do with the old style livestock raising (mainly in western Iran from Kermanshah to Astara) blocked by snow etc. Prices rise and meat goes wherever the ~~prices~~ prices are high. Last summer a decision was made in Qum by the farmandar, the head of the outaq-e asnaf, himself, et al. on how to stop meat from bypassing Qum for desert towns which have wealthier populations: Yazd, and to lesser extent Koshan. The solution was to stop all vehciles passing thru and take off meat needed, since Qum is the major crossroad to points south wnd east (tho one can get around the town via Saveh)--in any case it worked. At the worst point the slaughterhouse had only 60 sheep/goats, and 40 cows per day--a sixth and a half the normal food. Re. gut policy on goats: they crop the grass too close and ruin pasture--are otherwise good meat with little fat, economical; each had of boz (goat) slaughtered is taxed 100rls, each sheep only 12rls. Simple workers get 25T/day.

14 May (Wed). Went to search out the Edare Oughaf--rais is a Shafii, but wasn't in. Mhd-Patrick showed up around 11, Shahrokh a bit later and then Sheikh Hossein Tawfiqi and Mahmud Hakimi--so a full house for lunch. Towards the end talk turned to the little English pamphlet Khosrowshahi had given me to correct --I tried to tell Hakimi since he asked, that it was good and the English was quite good, but that it contained no useful information--this set off somewhat of a discussion: Hakimi vs all. MhdPat made the pt that it was not the way to distribute Islam among Europeans and that someone like Nasr knew European mentality much better; he took his leave for a class. Hakimi took the position that Nasr's book were no help to getting Islam known--he asserts that Sufism is Islam. Hakimi dislikes intensely the author of the Ganjineh Daneshmandan, says it is a bad book & I shouldnt use it, but admitted it is the best that exists; he wouldnt help me translate it. He would help me with Shariati--Tawfiq points out that if Hakimi doesnt like Nasr by the same kind of calculation should not like Shariati since Shariati ~~doe~~ likes Massignon who was anti Islamic. (Mhd-Pat had made this point about Massignon, saying that Corbin who was not Muslim and Massignon who was anti-Muslim both had done more to spread Islam than all the work of the Dar-ul-Tabliq.) In any case Hakimi maintains his support of Shariati, likes his portrayal that the Safavids put a masque on Shiism--is not Alavi Shiism but Safavid Shiism we have today. I asked about Saidi--he says he is a supporter

14 May cont.
 of Shariati. A year ago everyone was taking sides pro or con Shariati. A few years back Makarem challenged Shariati to debate, but Shariati only sent insults back. Makarem prepared a series of articles against Shariati for the Maktab-e Islam; the first appeared, circulation at the Teachers Training College (Daneshserai) dropped from 300 to five; a delegation of students caused Shariatmadari to stop the articles. Hakimi is ready to help translate but I must tell people we are translating a history of Qum--that the older mullahs not know. (Mhd-Pat had been afraid of being seen here by Hakimi---he says he was forbidden to talk to me.) Fight today in Beisiyeh: SAVAK took away 2 students. Today is pay day for the Talebha--representatives (nemayandeh) of the 3 big guys here and Khomeini, Khoi, and Khonsari sit with books to which students come and have their names checked; many get money from several people. 30 guys followers of Khomeini exiled to different cities and are left alone as long as only talk about how to take vomu, etc. Hakimi left; Sheikh Hossein remained to urge Shahrokh to be around more, since he is Iranian, looks more Iranian can smooth the way.

We then went to try to locate Modarresi Tabatabai - he went out, decided best time was tomorrow at 3. Then to see if Hassan Agha ~~xxx~~ was in: no. Talked some to Ravi. The girls section is now in a rented house, but they are building a building; lecturing is by men but a curtain is between teacher and students; teacher is provided with seating chart so as to be able to call on people. Also building a hospital which will be open to all, free to religious folk; and a dorm for foreign students. His own career: Lahore Univ, 5 yrs Najaf, return to Pak. to marry, on return to Nejjaf the border was closed by the Qassem revolution, so to Qum; after d of Borujerdi he went for 7 yrs to E. Africa til recalled by Shariatmadari. Pak ambassador came to call yesterday; some Christians the other day.

Eve Makarem's bahs. Upon coming out two guys came up to me and invited me on Thurs-Fri to visit them in their hojreh in the Hojatiyeh no. 7: Hushtrud & Sheikh-ul-Islami. Mhd Reza Jakubi also came along and came to the house and stayed and stayed until 10:15. He lives in Madresseh Momenin at the end of town away from the center--it was built by Marashi-Nejafi; he happened to be there because he got here late and it had room. You go to the motasabti, the monitor and get a room assignment if he has any--there is no other choice; he shares the room with an Afghan. One does one's own laundry, cooking, etc. No fees. Talk somehow turned a bit political: what positive does Khomeini say. He is concerned only with things which contradict the Quran or religion; e.g. the equality of women and men is against the Quran (he cited an Arabic aye, but I asked him where it was, he did not know, would have to check it), i.e. not so much the issue of hejab as equal pay; 2) inheritance law is being pushed by the gov that one does not inherit from one's father (?), this is against the Quranic laws; 3) the selling of good Khorassan wheat abroad and the importing of bad wheat; etc. I ventured to ask about the 2 guys arrested yesterday, why?--they had put up signs about the party fr Khomeini. Two months back a no. of taleb were arrested for a fateh-memorial for Ghaffari who was tortured to death by putting his leg in boiling oil and puncturing his forehead; during which they cursed the Shah; Ghaffari was a good vaaz--all the good vaaz are now shut up for one reason or another--mainly their members are silent: Felsefi for rhetorically asking why the gov had killed a no. of talebha

14 May cont.

at the time of sending Khomeini into exile: they entered the Feysieh and threw a no. off the rooves etc. Why did he say such a thing when he knew it politically silly: it was the last nite of a 10 nite stretch when you say whatever is in your heart. Hashem-Nejad's member is also silent--he had talked about how the gut dividing land by force was against not the Quran but religion. MRJ defended th@s: once Khorassan produced enough wheat to satisfy all Iran; now import wheat. Shouldnt have divided: should have sown wheat & given it to the hungry for bread (but I protested in the past the arbabs wold it just to make money and many also starved--no no the gut would ensure this did not happen). Xomnai was shut up for having talked to univ students in Mashad about Ali's bk with invidious comparisons to the Shah.

15 May (Thurs) -- Shahrokh and I got up to try to catch the lessons of Shahriatmadar and Golpayegani at the Masjid-e Azam but it turned out there are non on Thurs-Fri. So we walked thru the Feisiyeh-- a taleb said there were about 5 people per room in the madresseh behind--said they were going to institute a barnomeh sys next yr. On the walls were posters about Ghaffari, the martyr. Walked around to take pictures of Hojatiyeh and back towards Madresseh Khan where we found Sheikh Hossein Towfiqi & sat and talked till 11. The clinic across the street from the Hojatiyeh was built by Faghighi for the talebs. There is a street down Kh. Azar called Kui Tulab built by Najafi for married people. (talebs).

At 11 we went to the Dar-ul-Tabliq to meet with Majtuba Eraqi who discoursed on and on about the Dar--mainly stuff we knew, and they wanted us intro. to Abbassi. He refused to give us the lectures in polycopy form, but then Razvi interceded and the answer was we'll think about it. Lunch then with Towfiqi and Mhd-Pat. Towfiqi's F had a zelu factory in Koshan, destroyed by a new street. His brother is now in the army, finished H.S.; the youngest of the 3 brothers is a HS dropout and works in the bazaar; his pesar dai (?) is in California. Abul Fazl Borghai - charlatan muffed in Teheran. Vahidi here also knows nothing. Gharati--aide to Makarem, one the ten working on the Tafsir (vol 1 and 2 have appeared; was a fight over what to do with the profits, they had been going to Makarem, and the others objected; now compromise: the profits go to libraries), known for teaching with a blackboard. Fr-trained sociologist Ayati is here on Wed afternoons and Thursday mornings. Makarem started Maktab Islam, but it became a Shahriatmadar thing, they fought twice, and Makarem withdrew but is again back. Alem Tabatabai is intellectually descended from Mullah Sadr. The name Tabatabai indicates descent from Imam Haswan: Borujerdi and Hakim were Tabatabai. Hd of the Astana is Abdul Vahabe Eqbal.

find: Tankabani - Geyseh ul Ulama

Afternoon hr with Ahmadi who was still very uptight, tho Towfiqi sat in to ease the affair; he had brought a book on Kant with him, so I asked about knowlege about Kant and post-Kantians to Wittgenstein, symbolism, word play etc. Whether or not to call language symbolic or not is academic, he takes a pragmatic position of what contextually makes sense; but within Islam it does not go so far as ever to deny another next life and interpret all as metaphoric of this life. Philos. Texts used in Qum:

- 1st Shar' Tajrid
- then Shar' Mansumeh (mullah Sadr)
- xfx Asfar
- Shefa' (Peripatetics)

now: Tabatabai - Bela'u Hekmah (Begining of Philosophy)
Nayatul Hekmah (End of Wisdom)

to repla~~ce~~ the Shar' Mansumeh - bit bimpler

What Makarem teaches is qalam (aqaed). Khomeini is an ex. of both a philosopher and a pra~~ctitioner~~ of fiq (marja taqlid), i.e. S. Hussein Nasr's distinction of two groups of religious leaders does not really hold.

Towfiqi: embarrassed to be seen coming out into the street when Makarem's sessions end: ~~like~~ dont want to be identified with that tripe. We are usuli (vs Akbari)

Afternoon: Hoj Hossein Modaressi Tabatabai - author of several works on Qum; young man, considers himself student of Haeri; studied with Alem Tabatabai until he stopped teaching 8 yrs ago--the latter is a bit of a Sufi and isnt given to talking much. Shariatmadar is the best of the three, the most with it, knowning the world; Golpayegani is the most traditional; Mareshi-Najafi is the least well versed in fiq but is good on history. He says he has seen the proper figures of students in Qum and it is no more than 6000, i.e. Khomeini's daftar of mon~~ey~~ given to students was 5100 and there are maybe 900 others who dont get money; a few days ago he happened to ask Haeri and he said there were ~~500~~⁵⁰⁰⁰ or 4 in the bk. (This was not quite clear: what does Haeri have to do with Khomeini's bk; does Khomeini's bks incl all taleb; he also ~~said~~ said something about Khoi having a book of 4000) He thinks 75-80% of the talebs are from rural areas, a good many from Azarbaijan--was a bit suprised that Abbasi at the Dar-ul-Tabliq was opposed to our surveying to determin~~e~~ such figures; and he promised to talk to Golpayegani. Of the 6000 taleb, some 2000 are Azari (and ~~perhp~~ they are largely rustai); another 2000 are from the north (Gilan-Mazandaran). A few of the madressehs are regional: Dar-ul-Tabliq, Hojatiyeh, and Vahidi are largely Azari; the small madressehs Saadat and Amali are Gilan-Mazandaran; and there are Kirmanis in a madresseh in the bazaar.

PHONE: 2998 (8-8:30am; 12-4 pm)

on Qum get Aiyane Daneshmandan by S. Ali Reza Reyhan 1313/4 ie the first printing

also see the jnl Homayun 1312-13.

16 May (Fri) - Teheran: R & R - went to the Negarestan Museum; Dan & Ann are back in town for permit renewals.

17 May 1975 (Sat). I called Dr. Mohammadi's office at the Daneshkadeh Ilahiyat --he wasn't in, but his asst Dr. Azarnoush was & said we could come see him; so we did; he gave us a brief history of the Daneshkadeh in an old journal, a= dowre of a new journal, the course listings for the BA and MA programs. There are five dept.s (reshte):

- 1) Farhang-e Arabi - i.e. Arabic, and things having to do with the Koran: history of tafsir, koran . . .
- 2) Farhang-e Islami - similar to the above but without Arabic, and with more history of Islamic countries from India to N. Africa
- 3) Adian ('Comparative Religion') - this is uni ue in Iran and there are not enough professors -- last year Badavi came from Cairo to talk about erfon
- 4) Fiq Mabanune Hoquq Islami
- 5) Felsefe (Islami -- other philos is done at the Faculty of Letters)

The Daneshkadeh is not really a Faculty of Theology, and does not view itself as in any sense similar to the old schools in Qum, Mashad or Najaf--it is rather an Inst. of Islamic Studies. There are three levels of teaching: license (BA) voghe license (MA) and doctorat (PhD). There had been an attempt to only have MA and PhD students but they found that since this is a uni ue thing for Iran they could get no ualified students, the level of research and teaching of necessity declined; so they introudced athe BA program. The maximum number of students is 50 MA, 20 PhD, 50 BA tho these numbers are not usually reached. The first two years of the BA program are common to all students with much stress on Arabic (10-12 hrs/wk) and English (8-9 hrs/wk), philosophy, history of Islam, and koranic sciences. After the initial 2 yrs, students split up into the different departments. The basic texts are written by the professors here, initially in weekly polycopy form; e.g. Azarnoush and a couple others wrote the Arabic text which is Arabic as a living language. Last year for the first time, women were admitted to the BA program--previously they had only been in the MA & PhD programs; there were only 3 women, but this year there are more women than men. Interestingly only one in 20 come without chador; a number of them are from religious families which would not allow them to go into another kind of school and who are somewhat unhappy and desirous of escaping. The conflict is manifest in one point of the curriculum: there is sports and after school sports too--something which cant be done in chador. There was also the problem that the Faculty of Theology ranked tenth in prestige of the 10 facultyes of the University of Teheran; one tended to get students who really ~~which~~ wanted to be elsewhere but didnt score high enough; Now there is a separate konkur from that of the Univ. of Teheran done two months later. The result is that few people sit for it; e.g. last year 50 students were wanted, but only 120 people sat the konkur. For some reason however the procedure did work well in that they got people remarkably well trained and prepared in Arabic etc. Most of the professors are graduates of the Daneshkade, although a number of them also have foreign education. The current budget for staff, books etc. (operating budget) is about 5-6 million tomans; this does not include the new building being put up at Roosevelt and Takhte Tavoos-- 30 million tomans for the ground, 20 million for the building. The current building on Amir Kabir is owned by the Edare Oughaf; it originally was built by the French as a primary-secondary school under Reza Shah (Dabestan & Dabirestan Saadi).

Prof.s:	Mohammadi (PhD - UB -Beirut)	Mr. Mojtabi (Harvard, not finished)
-	Azarnoush (PhD - Paris: Sorbonne)	Mohebi (Geneva)
-	Ejtehadi (PhD - Ankara; 1 yr Eng)	*Mosle (old style education)
-	*Mr. Aghati (old style studies)	*Motaheri (old style education)
-	Tafazadi (PhD - Paris: Sorbonne)	Ezati (Ph.D. - Eng)
-	*Hojati (PhD - Teheran, Ilahiyat)	Malekshahi (PhD -Teheran, Ilahiyat)
-	Sheikh-ul-Islami (1 yr America)	*Movate (" " ")
-	Shirazi (studied Cairo PhD ^{PhD Tehe} _{Ilahiyat})	Monaqebi (" " ")
-	Ghofrani (studied Cairo but Phd ^{Tehe Ilahiyat})	Mohazab (" " ")

- Feis (bro of Ayat. Feis who just d) - PhD Teheran: Ilahiyat
- Gorgi - PhD: Teheran, Ilahiyat
- * Nasiri - PhD: " "
- Nazerzadeh - PhD: Teheran, Adibiyat
- Yazdigirdi - PhD: " "
- Heravi - PhD: " Ilahiyat
- Yadegari - PhD: " " but studied mainly in Baghdad

* = wears relig garb

Lunch at the Latin Quarter; afternoon Shahrokh took me along to an appointment with Sangelagi which his father set up. We were picked up by Sayyid Ahmad in the Chevrolet, and first picked up Shahrokh's father--he lives in the Ervin Hotel--he greeted Shahrokh stiffly, was unhappy that I had come along. We then picked up a Mr. Daneshvari (?), Hussein Nasr's Fein-law, a peppery little old man. Sangelagi's house was off ~~Ekbatan~~ Pahlavi just above where Hojayan, Shahrokh's brother lives. When we walked in we were greeted very warmly by Sangelagi who kissed each of us on both cheeks and commented delightedly when he got to me, gorbān-e rish-e shoma (Gd bless your beard). When we entered a red-faced white-haired little old man was singing some poetry--he was very very good. That in itself made the afternoon. The "appointment" turned out to be nothing of the sort: it was Sangelagi's weekly or daily "at home". After the singer finished, there was a slow period of old men sitting around on chairs asking each other and discussing their various infirmities--most of the discussion was about eyes: a distinction was made between ab-e sefid and ab-e sabz; when something small the size of adas (a small pea) is removed it is ab-e sefid. They were an interesting set of old coots who among them must have a fantastic store of experiences and stories. Talk eventually turned to sufism. Erfon (gnosticism) seems to be a term of approval to Sangelagi, but tassawuf is Indian nonsense. A tall grey-crew-cut doctor with cone and pants pulled up midway between waist and chest recounted tales of visiting Bombay and of seeing a man who claimed to be able to help you conceive a boy or girl by tying a loincloth (lenge) around a tree and himself and sprinkling on it offerings of raisins, naxod and almonds; and of another woman who picked horses to buy with gestures and not talking--a kind of oracle. ~~afshar~~ These were dismissed by another doctor and Sangelagi as poppycock. The conversation at times broke up into little groups esp. as new people came in; but basically it revolved around Sangelagi (the only other bearded person--a nice long grey beard) and the only imame-~~ab~~ clad person. His position is basically a pragmatic one: if one always prayed the work of the world would not get done and this is against the sense of Islam; again to expect medical miracles from going to the Shrine of Imam Reza is against Islam; praying and going in for surgery is OK, good, no problem; did Rumi say namaz or zikr--namaz; Islam is for struggling in this world, is opposed to giving up like Christians (turning the other cheek)--no to be pahlavan; Jews too are like this--thus we have Jews in Iran, but not Christians (sic - ?). When we left Shahrokh's father told Sangelagi why we had come, and Sangelagi told us to come again and he would give us books etc. (maybe Sat morn.) In the car Shahrokh's father said we would get everything we needed from Sangelagi and wouldn't have to go to Qum (!).

Evening dinner with Ann & Dan at the Maharajah--Shahrokh & Elaine begged off.

18 May (Sun) - Returned to Daneshkadeh Ilahiyat to keep an apptmt with Dr. Aryampour--studied at AUB, Columbia, Princeton; does sociology and philosophy. Until 20 yrs ago the Faculty of Theol. used the old style teaching: bahs (discussion) and hefs kardan (memorization). There were essentially two kinds of classes: jalseyeh dars (the ostad speaks from the membar giving explanations of texts being read--a kind of lecture), jalseyeh nazar (bahs--give and take btw student and teacher--a kind of seminar). Then it was decided to try to modernize: this has not been totally successful, and we are at the moment sort of between stools: this was partly due to taking as a first model 20 yrs ago the schools of the Vatican themselves somewhat antiquated and medieval--I helped translate into Persian an article on the Vatican schools at that time. We are lucky here that our classes are much smaller than at other parts of the Univ.: our lecture classes run about 20-30 students; upper level seminars 3-4. There are problems in developing critical attitudes among the students: it is hard to get them to do outside reading, to discuss things in class--they then to be passive--to learn how to give proper bibliographic references etc. We've been writing a no. of books on how to debate, how to write, punctuate etc. You know there was a section of tajvid traditionally which dealt with punctuation but this has been forgotten in recent centuries. I helped translate Dewey in an attempt to introduce democratic teaching. Other problems are that the students are weak in foreign languages, both western and Arabic; the library is not too strong. The entrance exams however all over the Univ. are placing increasing stress on language. The greatest problem is the introduction of a tolerant attitude, and over the years the daneshkadeh has been making good progress in reducing geshr (dogmatism), but still even among the professors we have no creative philosophers; the asheikh so-and-so said is the way most are contented to think. Haeri of this Daneshkadeh went to America (son of the famed Ayatollah) and found that he had to start all over, and is now studying there--brings back new ideas each time he comes and hopefully will be a positive force when he really returns. Another important impetus is the insistence by Dr. Mohammadi (the head of the inst.) that when a student writes about a Muslim philosopher he must make comparison with either a Western philosopher or the western ideas (eg on motion) on the same subject. ~~agr~~ He then took us to see Mohammadi.

Mohammadi again stressed that this was not a Faculty of Theol. but an Inst. of Islamic Studies--that there were really now no connections btw what went on here and in places like Qum and Mashad. The attempt is now to encourage all BA students to go into research. This is not the kind of place to get a degree and then go into business etc. The BA program was closed down for 3 yrs in order to clear out the old program; and the new BA program began two years ago. 5 programs: fiq (which corresponds to the traditional program), comparative religion, philos, and Islamic Culture (none of which exist elsewhere), and Arabic Lit. Persian culture comes in 2 languages: the traditional elmi is Arabic and is done here; Pers. Lit is done in the Faculty of Letters. Comparative Religion and the sociology and psychology of religion (the latter two are now only barely touched but will be intro in the future) is somewhat difficult: one can intro the sociol. of religion of Islam, of Islam and non-Islamic relig is more difficult. Philos: 3 sections are done here (non-Islamic philos again is Fac. of Letters): Aristotelian

Eshraq (illuminationist: Surawardi etc); Isfahan School (Mullah Sadr).

Tabatabai (Modaressi) described the old bahs system as sitting aslo in twos and one reading the text one day, the other objecting; then next day reversal of role. Also expressed the ideology that students always like their teachers because if they dont like them, they dont go. Ahmadi also expressed this ideology: vs the Univ. teachers or HS teachers who dont like the students and vice versa. The ideology also has it that the old system is better for those who are energetic on their own, but less good for the lazy.

19 May (Mon) - Qum

20 May (Tues) - Shahrokh arrives around noon. He is interested in meeting Ahmad Rahimi, who published Peukam-e Mardom, a newspaper up until 1338--we determine that he now runs a school (dabestan) off Kh. Khak-e Faraj. We also make an appointment to see Morteza Haeri (the elder son of Abdul Karim-e Yazdi).

At the Dar-ul-Tabliq, Rizvi says that yesterday Mr King (ex-pres. of Makarere College, and co-author with the other Rizvi on Ismaili & Shia History in E. Afr.) came with Paul Seto and were shown around; they wanted to visit the Haram but because of the political situation it was decided just to take them as far as the portals. I asked if anything has happeded since the arrest of the two talebs in Madresseh Feisiyeh--and he said no; but really that has little to do with it since he has always maintained that for the time being at least I could not go to the Dars of Shahriatmadari in the Masjid-e Azam. Because I had been reading Pooya's Genunine-ness of the Quran and had found he was a Yazdi who had studied with Naini in Najaf, I asked about him--a well known scholar but not a marja taqlid. Other names if I go to Pskistan: Maulana Mahalati son of Pooya (business- men); Taleb Johari (Prof at the Theol Fac) and his father who is very learned; Ejhtehadi, publisher of a magazin; -- there is a center: Jamea Imami, Karachi.

Morteza Yazdi - says his father left Iraq during the troubles of WW I when the English were taking over (?) and came to Araq-e Sultanabad; then on ziarat here was asked to stay. Says he still has family in Yazd but has never visited them. He himself teaches in a mosque, not a madresseh. His brother, Mehdi, went to the States--D.C., Harvard, Michigan, McGill--first had to study English all over again; will be in Teheran for the summer vacation: Kh. Aine Dowleh, Kuche Sokabashi. Grey-bearded very friendly man, no front teeth.

21 May (Wed). Morning Shahrokh took the tape recorder to the dars in the Masjid-e Azam of Shariatmadari and Golpayegani. These are held not under the dome, but off to the sides in large halls-- were a great many people at both, maybe more at Golpayegani's, on the order of the number who come to Makarem. Seemed to be more question- ing at Golpayegani. Rizvi says they put in new sound system about 6 months ago.

Meanwhile I did a bit more mapping in the bazaar and sat for a hour of so with the asst-rais of the cloth sellers guild. Shahrokh & I then met up to go to Rahimi's dabestan--he said he would show us his copies of the newspaper this afternoon: it was first a daily, then weekly, then a mag

first a daily, then weekly, then a magazine; was closed in 1338 and four months later he started the dabestan.

We went to Madresseh Haqani in the process of being expanded. Qodusi, the damad of Alem-e Tabatabai, was in class. We saw two classes in session: chairs and blackboards--one English, one arithmetic.

Then went to Makarem--he will administer a survey to his class when they register next year; his recommendation is to have the head of a madresseh administer such a survey--we cant do it ourselves for all the trouble of people wondering what it is for etc.; whereas otherwise it can be done quite easily.

Went to Dar Rah-e Haq and ran into Hakimi, Mhd-Pat, Towfiqi. Towfiqi now wants English help: Shakespeare & Shahrokh agreed. They had various other engagements for lunch; but Towfiqi came by around 2 for an hour of Shakespeare: what he wanted was us to read & translate to him--this is a bit difficult given our Persian tho Shahrokh did quite well, I somewhat less so.

Afternoon at 3 we went to see Rahimi and saw his newspapers, agreed to return to use them there when we could--he's always there in the mornings.

Went to the bazaar to see if there was some silk thread to be found for Elaine--yes. Then Mohsen the Turk who sells abbas invited us to sit--I wanted to go to the rosaxani at 5 in Serai Amalha which I had seen decorations for in the morning--the series of 10 nites started last evening and will end on the vafat-e Fatimeh--Bahul is the speaker (from Khorassan). We sat and talk dwindled; Mohsen excused himself to talk to his father--saw him talking to a guy in a tie who then came over ind with a very impolite hand shake with elbow held to his side giving just from the wrist out, asked who I was and then announced that I was to come; who are you?--police; let me see identification, OK, but what is it all about--I dont know you. So off we went to the police station where I asked for Mahmudi and Shhkrestani who of course were not in in the afternoon; I was taken to his (Sherafati's) boss? Kamkar, a puffy-faced greying man who said are you the one who introduced yourself to the Governor and came to do research? Yes. Why did you not come to introduce yourself to me? I did not know I was supposed to. I come of my own free will to the chief of police and was not told to see you. We sat around for an hour, during the course of which we met a young uniformed policeman (name?) who had hosted Philip Salzman in Baluchistan a number of times--says Philip burned his notes because they were too bulky: photo negatives instead. Kamkar gave Shahrokh a lecture on how well Iran had developed. Since Mahmudi wasnt around and they would not find any letter about me they finally let us go, upon my promise to return in the morning at 9. We went back to the bazaar around six--the speech had not yet started, just warm up ~~noeh~~ noeh. Shahrokh decided to return to Teheran and I walked with him, and ~~shkn~~ returned to tape the rosa, missing the beginning--it was a series of accounts of Kerbala with no soxhanrani really. In the evening I went to the Dar-ul-Tabliq library tho it turned out to be too hot to do much, and I would have been as well off going to Makarem's lecture. I did see Jakubi & reestablished relations--he had gotten my note last Fri.

22 May (Thu)--Went to the police station: Kamkar was not there; his side kick said they had seen Mahmudi's file and all was OK but I should see Mahmudi which I did; he knew nothing about it all, said he would check and let me know if there was anything more.

Qum's only cinema burned last nite--the general opinion is that it was arson, but nobody knows who. Later I heard that two American officers were killed in Teheran--possibly by Mojihaddin Halq-e Islam, described by T. as a communist group which put the title Islam³ on themselves as cover.

Spent the morning in the bazaar finishing the initial mapping of Bazaar Bozorg--talked to Mehdi Borujerdi, son of a fairly well known Ayatullah Mehdi Borujerdi--this one, now 65, a tailor studied as a taleb but when Reza Shah insisted you get a permission card to wear the turban, he didn't--one of his two brothers is a mullah here. Towfiqi says his father was known as ahl-e zohd (اهل زهد) --ascetic but also given much to prayer; he had been going blind, and went to Iraq on ziarat and says that some mud caught between his toes in Arabistan applied to his eyes cured him; he returned and preached on the virtues of prayer etc. I then ran into a young engineering BA minding his father's carpet hojreh--he is trying to get out of the army on the grounds that he just married--it is possible. In Serai Zad, talked to Doxanchi, a tajer and the whole gang of the downstairs of the serai; they have a weekly majlis where they discuss tafsir ~~with~~ with Haji ^{Hossein} ~~Hossein~~ Amini, whom Towfiqi accredits as a learned man. Re. the question of whom he gives the sahm-e Imam of roms, he first said no not Golpayegani or Shariatmadari but someone whom maybe we shouldn't say (I thought this was a ref. to Khomeini) but then he said he gives it to Haji Hossein Bodala (in the Gonjineh Daneshmandan p. 84). Towfiqi does not think this is a stand-in nemayandeh for Khomeini: Passandide, Khomeini's brother is the nemayandeh.

Early afternoon Towfiqi came by and we read a little Shakespeare; I asked him about the few names that had come up this morning (vide above). Sheikh Bahlul (بهارل) is not his real name; he earned early notoreity in the 30s in Mashad by opposing the unveiling of women; he then went to Iraq, also spent some time in jail. He is known for a superb memory, but is not particularly learned. Bahlul was the name of an Abbasid who wanted to kill Imam Jafar, but his plan was exposed and so he played crazy to escape punishment, rode around on a horse calling it my donkey, etc. The current Sheikh Bahlul is said to have sat on his turban when preaching (bare headed then) from the membar; for this and other eccentricities he was called Bahlul and the tag stuck; he has a ditty in which he says of himself the name is not the original one but since it stuck he is Bahlul. He is from Gonadadi nr Mashad. He is known for some satire on religious items, esp. he has a version of Ziarat-e Asura (begins as-salam. . . blessed be the) which begins as sahm (dead be Omar...); also a parody of the Hadis Kesa (about the 5 pure souls under one abba, and the prophet saying some formula over them--much debate about this hadis, that it is nonsense, ramz etc. has no place in Islam, vs those who say it is symbolic.) called Hadis Lahaf (about Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman & Moavieh). Talk turned to the state of the hose elmi--he used the phrase that the dars-e fig where mohem (we were talking about Shariatmadari's and Golpayegani's dars in Masjid-e Azam) and I asked why mohem: recapped first Hassan Agha's opinion that since Islam is not in control of society, it is important to keep these understandings up that they not disappear (hefs kardon); but is there more to it than that. Towfiqi's opinion is that this is like the old time debates in Christianity of how many angels (fereshte) can dance on the head of a pin; that people here haven't learned

that the world moves on. Khomeini wrote a book called Asrar-ul-Salat on prayer which is supposed to express a similar point of view that all this talk of exactly what stroke does or does not void wozu, or whether rain during wozu ~~watdx~~ is counted as a wetting (I immediately said no, there is no niyat or intention --that's one opinion says he; the other is that you need not have niyat at every instant of wozu, it is sufficient to have it at the start),--ie only two wettings, a third voids the wozu--is unnessecary. How many angles dance on the head of a pin is a game for those who want, but you dont build a school around it, I said; he agreed but pointed out that only 3-4 marja in ea generation concern themselves with this, others just come and listen understand or not. There is never much concern with why the form in the first place--the usul or principles--and he thinks there may be more in Khomeini's book. Asrar ul-salat is a common title; Khomeini has not published it and wants it only published after his death, because he thinks the fanatics would cause him too much trouble about it. Already when he was in Qum years back, the fanatics wrote on the walls of the Feisiyeh gad tazandag Khomeini (قد تزلق الخبيثي), Khomeini is an atheist. What is Khomeini's opinion on what society should be like--the marja taqlids as stand-ins for the Imam Zaman should lead society. But I objected he doesnt know any economics or politics etc. needed or the other marja, do they? Well but that has never been the question--they have always looked in the old books and never around at society; they say all is there in fiq, but clearly it is likely that society today is different from a thousand years ago--it is like the Jews who until Herzl and the formation of the Zionist Party also just looked in the bks and did not do much in the real world, and the Karaites still are opposed to the state of Israel: must wait for the Messiah, the state of Israel puts it off. So too the waiting for Imam Zaman. But what about the Ismailis--they are more this worldly--but not in taking over the gut after Hassan Sabeh or the Fatimids. When Khomeini was arrested the first time and detained in Teheran, many of the ulema signed a statement saying he was a mujtahed and if Iran was Islamic as the Const. said, he had right on his side--Golpayegani did not sign. Milani worked hard for his release. When he was released, there was a big celebration in the Feisiyeh--none of his rivals (Shahriatmadari, Golpayegani) came to it. Re. working in this world and not being so bookish (why only Iran so little effort in the line of Jamuddin Afghani), Naini wrote a book to this effect, recently republished but somewhat banned--along the lines of Shariati's ideas today: تدبير الامم ...

On the way back to the bazaar, Mohsen's shogherd Isfahani caught up with me and sort of apologized for yesterday, saying that the old man who was Mohsen's partner did not want us sitting there for fear the customers would be chased away. So I said OK but what about Mohsen's calling the SAVAK man--well he's a bit w/o savad--yesh I know. Anyhow I think we parted amiably agreed on Mohsen's fear and dumbness. The partner is in Teheran so it is OK to visit again. Bahbul was talking again (Isfahani was heading for school). The entrance of Serai Bannaha towards Chahr Suq and the Serai itself was filled with men; the entrance onto Bazaar Bozorg was sprinkled with women. I talked first to Hossein Xoshvarti, who lost his left hand to a machine working for Taj Textile mill, and then to Ahmad Qorbani who had sold me my sheeting cloth. While I

was with him, a young guy, Mahmud came & sat with us and asked Ahmad, has he asked you yet which marja taqlid--so we discussed the question and he with the two bazaaz pointed out that since most people support Khomeini, saying Golpayegani or Shariatmadari is just for cover. I went up then to see Mehdi Borujerdi who had said if I would return he would bring a book about his father. It turned out to be vol. 2 of Ganjineh Daneshmandan p. 86. Then he showed me two of his father's books: Kitab Bayan Haqiqat dar Kitab Senjash Haqiqat (an answer to a whole series of Christian authors), and a thicker book: Kitab Islam va Mostmandan (Islam and the poor). The write up and his commentary orally claim his father to have been the right hand man of Abdul Karim Haeri. His father studied first ~~with~~ in Borujerd, then did trade in Arak and joined up with Haeri when the latter came to Arak. He died 7 years ago, was 5 years younger than the famous Borujerdi, a relative but he wouldn't tell me how, died age 97. When I asked the relation between him and Borujerdi the marja taqlid, he replied with this verse from Saadi:

Shishe nazdiktar sang nadarad xishi
Har shekasti ke be har kas beresad az rish ast

Glass has no closer relation than stone (since it is made from stone)/ All breakage accruing to whomever is related

What exactly he thinks of Borujerdi or why he quoted this remained vague. He did let drop however that Mehdi Golpayegani has an elder brother Javad who is the son in law of Ayatullah Khoi; Ayatullah Golpayegani married his (the tailor Mehdi's) sister so Mehdi and Javad Golpayegani are his xohar-zadeh (sister's children). In fact he said he is related to 5 Ayatullahs, but he clammed up again when I asked him who they were (does he include his father, and the big Borujerdi; or do we have what would be an intermarrying rohani elite). His estimate of the current number of talebs is 7000. When Yazdi came to Qum there were less than 100. He himself was together in studies with Golpayegani (promised to take me in to see his bro-in-law whenever I wanted) and Shariatmadari. At one pt when we were discussing his move into tailoring he put it this way: he did not want to live off the sahm-e Imam Hussein--the word he used was masul, to be accountable or responsible--but he wanted to earn his own living; he had said something similar this morning. Then he hastened to point out that when his father died he had nothing; which explains also he said that tho he has worked 50 yrs he has no house but lives in the house of his wife (ayal). Re. moving from being with Golpayegani & Shariatmadari: from Hafez he cited:

Man malek budam-o Ferdows bar in ja-yam bud
Adam ovord dar in deh-ye xarab abadam

I was an angel and had a place in heaven.

Adam was brought and in this broken village became my abode
His father also wrote a book on the Genuineness of the Koran:
Bayan Roshan dar Adami ~~Taxir~~ Tahriq Quran (بayan روشن در عدم كرتب قران)

I returned down the Bazaar & again talked to Mahmud, Ahmad the bazaaz, Ali another bazaaz. (Mahmud previously when I had asked Ahmad about the work of the SBF, said they just sign you up for Ristaxiz Party). Mahmud turns out to run the Qaim Serai (new carpet serai). Ali was worried that I study Islam but that the questions I ask people would not answer. But if I would come and talk to them some more . . . Ahmad suggested I visit Kafi, the vazir in Teheran: Kh. Amiriye, Madiye, Ahmad-e Kafi - he speaks there Fridays 5-7pm. I should also go visit Felsefeh. Mahmud was on his way to a jeleseh-e mazhabi

23 May (Fri). 7-9330 am Mhd Reza Jakubi came to rap--he agreed in principle to helping run the survey, but next week . . .

Re. Bahbul--again the account of his activities in stirring up the riots in '35 against the unveiling of women & how for years he fled to Afghanistan; he now is back only a year or two. The original Bahbul played crazy when Imam Jafar Sadeq was imprisoned, as a way of spreading the imam's message; only later when people thot about it did they understand that he was not really crazy. E.g. one day Abu Hanifa was preaching from the membar and was discussing the issue if one cannot see God how can we know to worship him, and that like objects do not irritate one another (ham gens). Bahbul got upset and tossed a clod of dirt at Abu Hanifa hitting him in the forehead. Abu Hanifa hauled him to court, said his head hurt. Bahbul answered, did you not say that there is a question why we should worship Gd if we cannot see him--yes, --well then show me your pain, where is it. And you said tht like things cannot hurt one another, you are from dirt and I tossed dirt at you, so where is my fault--the pain could not be from the dirt. Another Bahbul story is tht one day he went and sat on the bench of theking, and he was beaten for his pain; so he said to the king--look at all the pain I get for one hour sitting on the throne of judgment, and think of all the accounts which will accrue to you when you meet the Maker. Jakubi is encouraging me to come to Mashad --summertime that is where all the action is: every Thurs-Fri Milani has a soxanrani; and there is a large Husseineyi outside for the Tkranis where a number of the big guys come to speak for 10 day series--Maneqebi etc. In Qum rosas are now springing up for the death of Fatimeh, but this is celebrated 20 days later in Meshed--the revayats differ whether she died 73 or 93 days after Mhd; so in Meshed the rosas run around the 1 Tir and people come from all over Iran. Then on the 29 of Tir is Imam Javad; the birth of Ali will be on the 1 Mordad; 20th Mordad will be the birth of Hussein; and the 1 Shahrivar will be the birth of Imam Zaman. I.e. there are a sprinkling of dates to keep ths rosas hopping. He can show us ground since he used to do all the lighting and sound equipment for Milani and is known thus to many incl. Milon's son and grandson. A man named Haj Abed-Zadeh began 14 schools (dabestan-e melli) each named after one of the 14 pure souls; they had religious as well as secular programs; the gvt has now taken over, i.e. has closed them and not yet started them up again. Id-Omar or more correcty Id-e Zarah (since she was happy at his death) or Shab-e Omariye is on 9 Rabiasani which this year fell on 1 Ordibeheht. about 4 days later is the death of Yeaid--both occasions of happiness. Payment to the talebs here is on the first 3 days of the Arabic month--it occurs centrally in the Dar-ul-Shafa (behind the Feisiyeh), people get money from all the marja: the repres of Khomeini is Astiani, but Khoi, Khomeini, Golpayegani, Shariatmadari, and Khonsari each have three people there and Golpayegani has a fourth just for Khorassanis since there are more Khorassanis than anyone else. Marashi instead of giving money gives chits for bread--if you are unmarried 30 chits worth three bre ds ea, if married more; these are good at any nunvâi in Qum. In Meshed they used to do the same, but there were only selected nunvais you could go to. The going behind a coffin is called takhih jenaseh (تکيه جنازه); they circumambulate the body once around the grave of H. Masumeh. A young Hamadan taleb (coat o shalvari -- not yet turban wearing) died yesterday swimming in the river: he dived & hit his head. Pirena had 4 bombs -- one in ea. corner.

24 May 75 (Sat) - morn: Shahrokh & I first went to Sangelagi's house-- he was ailing and not as in as good spirits as he had been the first time we met but he made these points:

- the quality of education in the Hoseye Elmiye Qum has declined ~~in~~ since the time of Borujerdi
- Iranians would go to Najaf for a year or two of Dars-e Harej
- since the falling apart of Najaf², people have gone elsewhere e.g., Beirut (those who had been in Najaf)
- it is silly to say that Iranian Shiism is a Safavid innovation: he cited esp. Tusi
- Qum's libraries are not superb--the really good libraries are in Egypt.
- he himself studied a couple of years in Najaf with Naini; then ~~taught~~ taught at the Univ of Teh for thirty-forty yrs.

We then went to keep an appointment with Dr. Aryanpour, though not much came of that: he kept referring all uestions about sociology of Islam and the work that has been done to Dr. Mohebi (phone 634579). He is working on a philosophical-social science dictionary so ~~six~~ incidentally I got the following words on class: tabaghe comes from the use of class in logic and is new; so what was used for the 4 categories of sooiety (pen, sword, merchant, farmer)--Pahl. pishe. What about senf--it is also recent. Old word is raste. For stratum (subset of above class) gheshe (قشر) or layeh (لایه).

Afternoon, I tried somewhat unsuccessfully to find the RSKU people. RSKU has moved to its new offic~~es~~ in an unfinished building on Karim Khan Zand. Kazemian knew nothing. Said he had left us in Mazandaran and then went to Tabriz where a modir-koll (director general) in the Rural Cooperative Societ~~ie~~ was cutting up, mismanaging: SAVAK had written to Teheran about him, so Kazemian was sent to check up on it.

The newspaper reports 2 officials in Bandar Abbas removed for similar indiscretions--Fiance Ministry people: Abdul Aziz Mouradi & Ismail Sayeedi.

25 May (Sun). Dick Frye called in the morning. Harvard has seen the ueen, and that upset Minister Sami'i; they are presenting their recommend- ations and then will withdraw.

Morning then I went to the Faculty of Thology. Azarnoush said he had had my uestionarire made up and given out, but thot that most students had not been interested in answering but would try to find those wh~~ich~~ had been filled out.

More usefully, I met Dr. Mohebi and he gave me a thumbnail sketch of the hosehs in Shiite history: first the Companions of the Prophet (Sabaha) then their students (tabein) Shiites then the Imams

- then the following centers were established
- Baghdad by Kolaini
- Najaf by Tusi (after a fight in Baghdad, he left)
- Jabal Amel (Lebanon) by ibn Sharashn
- Isfahan by Sheikh Karaki who was brought by the Safavids in the 9th cent from Jabal Amel
- Kerabal by Agha Bagher Behbahani (btw Safavid and Qajar period)
- Qum - as a major center only with Abdul Karim Yazdi Haeri, it was a small center however since 21

there are of course numerous secondary senters --Theran has 14 hosehs He had written about some of this in Vahid

The curriculum is organized in three dowre: moghademat
sat
dars-e Harej

He thinks most of the taleb are rustai (rural background)--statistics

will be hard to establish--you cant run open questionnaires.

Went to ISSR -- they cannot find still their copy of their report on the Hoseh-ye Elmiye Qum. I saw both Mr & Mrs Keshavarzi. They have not heard of Ayati.

Sayyid Reza gave me some more cosmology etc. ~~bx~~ I asked first about ab-e sefid and ab-e sabz in eye ailments: he knows the latter as ab-e siah, and is incurable whereas ab-e sefid is correctable with surgery. There are 21 totiye in namaz (sentences incl. repetition). If you do good in life your body does not decay into earth; but if you are an ~~evil~~ doer it does and is used in pottery. The soul and body are separated until Axerat (Ressurrection). The soul in the meantime goes (if good) to Vadi Salam, a place of gardens; or (if bad) to Saraye Bar-e Hoot where the sun blazes and the ground is nail points (this is not jehanam). Sayyids go instead to Zaxri Hari, a place of cold. At the end of time body and soul are rejoined. The snake of Hell with fire in its mouth has one white mustache hair stretching across to Heaven-- if the soul is evil it is thinner than the edge of a knife, if soul is good it is wide. The first to ~~cross~~ the chasm is Fatimeh riding on the camel Saleh (Bridge Salat); sinners hang on to the saddle blanket tassels and each dother, and thus she carries 100,million sinners (gonah kar) across. Then Mhd comes and pleads before God for more of the sinners to be rescued from Hell; Issa comes to him (Mhd) and asks him to intervene for Christians, Abraham comes and asks him to intervene for Zoroastrians, the Bahais look around for their prophet to perform a similar service but of course they have no prophet so they just burn. The rescued sinners come to Heaven but they have the mark of Hell on their foreheads and are made fun of, so they return to Hell. Ali then comesd with ab-kosar and wipes off this mark from their foreheads so they can go to Heaven. Those who go to Hell are dunked in and rescued and redunked 7 times. Who was Issa?--the brother of Joseph prayed to Gd for a son to help him as janitor for the masjid. Gd gave him a daughter instead (Maryam) and she was put to work so. One day he had guests and forgot to feed her, she prayed to Gd and food came down from heaven; a good aroma remained and he smelled it and inquired. Then one day she went to get water and went bathing too. When she came out Gabriel stood beforeher and breathed into her the breath caught from the first exhalation of Adam; she became pregnant and almost immediately gave birth. Her father became upset, but Issa allayed his anger by saying ~~Mak~~ Mashalo Keshalo Adam.

Sat. 24 May Teheran Journal gives the following list of recent assassinations:

- 1971 - bomb exploded in Sepah Square killing a civilian (28 Feb)
- 1972, 6 May - Police Lt Alaeddin Javidmand was killed as he attempted to arreat two terrorists on Khorshi Ave, S. Teheran
- 1972, 24 May--Policeman Jalil Eilka was killed in explosion Shah Square
- 1972, 1 June - US Gen. Harold Price & two passerbyes were killed
- 1972, 29 July - 2 civilians died in a clase btw security forces & terrorists on Ferdowsi
- 1972 16 Aug - Reza Shahbani caught in cross fire
- 1973 2 June - Col Hawkins '(BS)
- 1973 6 Sept - Abadan: taxi driver killed & 30 injured & terrorist killed
- 1974 13 Aug - Brig General Taheri
- 1974 17 Mar - Brig Gen Reza Zandipour
- 1975 2 Mar - Capt Nowruzi, Chief of security Aryamehr U.

(Major - pathomously)

Late afternoon I caught up with Hal Goyette, Fred Abernathy & Dick Frye in the Semiramis Hotel. Abernathy seems quite positive. The proposal is to set up a foundation & small staff to give out contracts for recruiting depts to various places-- Harvard has no more direct part. E.g. you might give the physics dept contract to Cal Tech because any first rate dept knows the universe of people, but not to Harvard because the dept is split into factions; similarly you wouldn't give Harvard or MIT the econ dept because both places would put up a radical just to test your mettle. The set-up creates anonymity so radical Iranian students have no one place to protest against. Ad hoc committee like at Harvard would accept or reject proposed tenure or long term apptmts. Harvard people attempted to sandbag Samii by going directly to the Queen before seeing Samii.

26 May (Mon). Bernard Lewis speaking on Technical Vocab of Politics at the U. of Teheran -- sponsor being the new Imperial Inst. of Philos. of S. Hussein Nasr:

3 strands of pblit thot & vocab:

(1) Hellenistic: arabic transl of Aristotle/Plato
viz. Farabi, Avicenna

while this is the best known trad in the West, it is marginal to Islamic thot; it neither comes from nor influences Islam until the Islamic world is reinterested by western scholars

thus the remarkably few copies of texts
much of the vocab of this trad is dead

e.g. for democracy the modern Arabic is demokratiā
but the medieval terms were medina jama'aina

no mention of citizen

rais = hd of state

(2) Juridical: writings of theol. & jurists

not theory but the workings of the law

vocab is from Qur'an and Hadis w a few loan wds

hd of state = Imam

(3) Practical: by ministers, civil servants (adab)

hd of state is neither imam (except for Yemen)
nor rais

but khalifa, sultan, padishah

vocab undergoes more change in meaning than above
eg theasat/siasat (fr Gr theusa) - management of
horses, management of men, statecraft,
politics, discretionary power, punishment,
capital or physical punishment, non-sharia
punishment, politics (in that order)

in ibn Tetakha what is usually transl politics,
really means punishmt by discretionary
authority, something quite diff

sources: treaties, eg the Ottomans had to come up
w a transl of the It. libre et

independenta: servest for libre --

servest was Ottoman admin term for
the kind of timar in wh revenue
was not reserved to the state

transl of bks: eg revolution transl as
engelah for 1st time in 1860 by Turk
emmissary in Paris--continued w a

positive connotation in Turkish, but a neg. one in Arabic (coup, putsch), and Arabic uses thaura (rising) (the rising of a camel, dissidence) instead westernization of politics

loan wds - more in Pers & Turk than Arb
partii (Turk), parlamento (Turk), parlement (Arb)
diktatoria (20s, 30s--now since neg, not used)
loan transl - re ul arm = public opinion (re = opinion)
resemantization - ~~distu~~ dastur (for Const. in Arab)
fr Pers, rulle bk
melli for natl in Pers, Turk
but omma in Arabic

new coinage, eg for republic
even in discuss Venice would talk not of repub but the Venedikt dogerie

Fr Rev finally made term necessary:

jumhur - the mass, the mob
jumhurriya - republicanism, later jumhuriyet ^{republic}

Egypt: mashira'-- Napoleon issued proclamations in the name El Mashikha Francavia
replaced by juhuriyya

feudalism - ektaiyya fr iqta --ie 2 degrees of analogy & distortion

rasm aliya -capitalism; ishtiraq - socialism in ottoman, but now Turkish uses socialist
Arabs use ishtiraqi w wide range of meanings

khalifa as sovereign
orig merely viceroy
only 2 caliphs used it to mean sovereign:
Mamun & Nasr both who tried to establ state church

sultan orig used for ministers
not used for sovereign til Seljuks

za'im - charismatic polit leader (il duce, der fuhrer)
not a compliment in trad lit, connotes pretense
eg Za'im Ismailiyya or Za'im el Jahud
or Eg called Imam of Yemen Zaime Momenin
whereas he called self Amir ul M.

used by holder of fief in Ottoman
Attaturk used Zaim el Amin
Qassim in Iraq then adopted it

Back to Qum on the bus--seat mate a garrolous photographer who works the quick photo on the Meidan-e Astana, born in village of Qum.

29 May 1975 (Thu)

MADRESSEH MONTEZARIYA = MADRESSEH HAQANI

interview with the director, Qodsi (son in law of Alem Tabatabai)

(Some of this is an update on what is in Ganijineh Daneshmandan)

This is the 11th year of operation; when fully complete it should provide a 16 year course of study. Up until this year there were only the first 20 years which were elementary (ebteda'i). This year is the first with an eleventh year of research--one is given a project to work on in a given amount of time, no class per se. The difference with the old Hose-ye Elmi is that some of the books are new, but otherwise the same subjects are covered with some additions: e.g. there is here a Sarf-e Sadeh, printed specially for use here, now in its fourth printing; also a Nahv-e Sadeh. Then for philosophy it was at my urging that Alem Tabatabai wrote the Bedayahul Hekmah (taught by Amini-Nejafabadi here) and the Netayahul Hekmah (taught by Javadi here). And finally language is an innovation, i.e. Arabic and English--Arabic, i.e. spoken Arabic: previously talebha only learned to decipher (ma'ani kardan). In another 5-6 years it is hoped that this will be on the level of a university: 2/3 of the students we admit now have diplomas from high school and we hope to continue this trend, at which point some of the lower level studies in math, say, may become unnecessary. The full program will have the following 12 sections (guru):

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 - Fiq-o-usul | 7 - Mantiq-o-Falsefi |
| 2 - Akhlag-o-enzebat | 8 - Olum-e Quran-e Karim: |
| 3 - Adibiyat-e Farsi: emlah, enshah,
xxx xondan-e Farsi, loghat (vocab),
dastur (grammar) | xxx Ma'aref Quran, hefs-e
Quran, Tarikh-e Quran,
Tafsir, Tajvid,
Mofradat-e Quran |
| 4 - Adibiyat-e Arabi: sarv, nahv,
ma'ani bayan, badi, tarzio tarki
loghat | 9 - Tabi'i: phys, chem, tabii |
| 5 - Zaban: Arabic & English | 10- Hadis: tarikh-e hadis
deraye
rejal |
| 6 - Riaziat: hesab, hindeseh, jabr,
heyat | 11- Olum-e Ensan: xodshenasi
& xodsazi; ravanshenasi
jomesshenasi; extesadi
islam; tarikh-o-geogr |
| 12 - Din Shenasi: aqaed, tarikh-e adian, meilat va nehal | |

Some of these have not yet be introduced: jomesshenasi, ravanshenasi, extesadi islam. The problem is that there is not yet enough to construct a curriculum. Dr. Shariati has written what is supposed to be an islamic sociology, but his information about islam is incomplete and thus there are many problems with what he has written. We don't want to teach with such flawed instruments; rather it will emerge out of the studies of the 11th year and above and be gradually introduced. There is no connection with the Daneshkadeh Ilahiyat, and when I brought up the name of Mohebi and asked if he could make use of Mohebi's work ~~or~~ or if it was simply a matter of it not yet being a large enough corpus, he chose the latter answer. These subjects are as yet napoxte (uncooked).

This last year 340 people took the entrance exam, of whom 30 were selected. Thirty is the target size of each entering class; but in the past because of lack of space, not every year had a class. In the eleven classes there are now a total of 186 students.

Madresseh Haqani - 2

As to whether he knew the social background of his students--yes & he sent home for the folders on the most recent class. Even before the exam he interviews candidates: the questionnaire contains such questions as why did you want to become a taleb - but the answers unfortunately he just scores on a scale of 1-20 according to how they fit his concept of what a proper student should say. In the past it was the case that most students came from a rural background; now it is the reverse: one out of 30 is a villager, and 24 out of the remaining 29 are not from rohani families. Two thirds of the students live in the madresseh; those in the higher grades (11 and up) and those with wives of course do not live in. Room and electricity is provided free of charge; students are given supplemental aid: 30-40 Tomans to elementary students (ebtedai) and up to 500-600 Tomans for the highest level. Students sign in how many hours they have put in, and the honor system does work. Mr. Azadi, the English teacher (who also teaches at the Dar-ul-Tabliq) told that he has given exams here and left the class fully confident that there would be no cheating. (I met Azadi a bit later: he is originally from Arak, studied at the Teacher Training College in Teheran and was sent to Qum he thought originally for 4 years, but he has now been here 14 years and is content.)

There are 24 teachers, of whom two are paid hourly wages: Azadi, the English teacher gets 25T/hr; Nazemi, the ~~uxth~~ literature teacher gets 15T/hr. The other 22 are from the Hose and get token amounts--the most is 300T/mo. The administrative staff is only 3 people including the director.

He took me into the class of Xodskknasi taught by Mr. Nesbah-- the 9th year class & I took a rough count: of 30 students, 6 came from rohani families, 11 from dehati (rural) background, 5 bazaari (which I defined as both tajer and dokandar). In education, there was one man who had a B.A. from the Daneshkadeh Ilahiyat; 2 had high school diplomas, and six had completed the 1st cycle of high school.

By this time, his files on the last class had come, and he read the following to me:

Name	Birth	Father's Occupation	Education
1. Nadir Ali Hossein Khani	1338	farmer	H.S. dipl (Science) Kerman: Iranshahr (Melli)
2. Ahmad Hedayat	1335	ahl-e elm imam of Masjid Zarah	did not take the konkur because wanted to be taleb H.S. deipl (Lit) Isfahan: Harati HS
3. Ahmad Amiri	1334	ahle elm	took & passed the konkur in polit science HS dipl (science) Qum: Hekmat HS
4. Mhd Mehdi Ansari	1333	PTT ret. clerk	did not take konkur HS dipl (math) was accepted in the teacher training at Madresseh Rahmemai Tasili Khonsar: Korush Kabir HS
5. S. Asghar Hejazi	1336	clerk PTT	did not pass the konkur accepted in Teacher Training: Madresseh Rahmemai Tasili HS dipl (math) Hamadan: Ibn Sina HS
6. Hossein Mehranfah	1330	clerk NIOC	did not take konkur HS dipl (math) Abadan

Madresseh Haqani--3

7. Mhd Mehdi Adib Rahnemah 1323 Rang-forush B.A. Modresseh Modiri
Isfahan Bazargani
8. Ali Asghar Pak 1331 Sandiq saz HS dipl (math) Hamadan:
failed konkur occas: carpet-seller Ibn Sina HS
9. Hojaste 1333 farmer HS dipl (lit)
Langrud
- he has leftE we normally do not take people from Rasht and
Mazonderan because they do not stick to their studies
10. Jala Ashoja 1330 weaver (kargar) HS dipl (math)
failed konkur in '49 Isfahan
11. Mhd Hassan Akhavam-e Atar 1333 accountant for Dipl. Bazargani
accepted in Madresseh Ali Minoo Company Tabriz
12. Mhd Hassan Tohidi Gol 1329 dabir ret. HS dipl (math)
failed konkur Birjan

~~xxx~~

End of those who have H.S. diplomas

13. Mhd Nasser 1337 mechanic for HS ^{5th yr} ~~dipl~~ (math): Babak
Teheran gendarmes HS, Teheran
14. Hossein Jamshidi 1335 atar HS 5th yr (math)
Shafaq Hamadan
15. Hossein Hosseinpur 1335 weaver (carpet) HS 4th yr (math)
Tavana Tabriz: Seqat-ul-Islam
16. Abbas Islami 1335 lebas-forush HS-4th yr science
Kashan Qum: 6th Bahman
17. Sobatullah sabeh 1336 lehafdoz HS-4th science
Nahavand
18. Morteza Aqa Teherani 1335 sangtarash HS 4th science
Isfahan: Neshat
19. S. Morteza Etama 1331 ahl-e elm HS 4th sci
Islam Bakhtiari Mashad: Jahan-e Danesh
- End of those who have more than 1st cycle
20. Homid Reza Etminan Sirjani 1337 xarbar forush cycle: 6 Bahman, Sirjan
21. Gholam Reza Hojati 1338 chupan cycle: 6 Bahman, Sirjan
Nejad Sirjan
22. Mhd Abbassi 1337 former cycle: Ferdowsi HS
Shahrud
23. Abdul Hassan Haqani 1338 ahl-e elm 3rd yr, Teheran: Jafari
24. S. Homid Qazemi 1337 judge cycle: Teheran: Babak
rais dadgeh sharestani
25. S. Abdullah Sharestani 1339 ahle elm cycle: Teh: Musavi HS
Teheran
26. S. Ahmad Faghihi 1337 ahle elm cycle: Ahmadi (a relig
Isfahan school in Isfahan)
27. Hossein Taghizadeh 1336 weaver (kargar) cycle: Sharaf HS in
Ardekan-e Yazd
28. S. Morteza ahl Sabe 1336 parche forush 3rd yr Saremiye, Isfahan
Fazul Isfahan
(Fazul - import bk of usul)
29. Ali Alizadeh 1337 farmer Amul cycle
Ghiaskole (Nr Amul)
30. Mohsen Sabzevari 1338 farhang: mostaxham Mokaram HS,
Kermanshah

Madresseh Haqani --4

Summary: total is 30

ages range from 15 to 31; half are aged 17-19

father's occup:	farmer - 4	bazaari (rangforush, lebas-
	shepherd - 1	forush, xarbarforush, atar,
	ahl-e elm - 6	parcheforush)--5
	teacher, clerk,	craftsmen (sandugsaz, weaver,
	accountant,	lehafdoz, sanftarash,
	judge - 7	mechanic)--7

geographic origin:	Teheran --4	Qum, Mashad, Nahavand,
	Isfahan --6	Yazd, Shahrud, Kirman
	Hamadan --2 (3)	Kirmanshah, Birjan
	Tabriz --2	(1 ea)
	Sirjan --2	Abadan, Khonsar
	Mazandaran--2	
	Qum --2	

previous ed: one has BA

12 have H.S. diplomas

19 have more than 1st HS cycle

The school's real name is Montezariyeh, tho it is known as Haqani after the banns (builder) who put it up. The idea for it started back when Qodsi came to Qum 30 yrs ago as a taleb with only cycle, since that was all the education offered in Nahavand where he is from. His father was ahl-e elm, a mujtahed. He and a number of friends thought the Hose should be reorganized, the money collected in one place, organization introduced and not be so lax. To this day it is impossible to know exactly how many students there are in the Hose. He and his friends wrote out a manifesto some 14 yrs ago for which they were jailed, some are still in jail, others dead. Azari, the book seller, was one, was closed up. Dr. Mhd Behesti, for years in Hamburg, now in Teheran. When he was released he started in his own small way to put his ideas into effect.

As of two years, there is now a girls school. Haji Abdul-e Tavasoli contributed a building, and a house now has 30 students. There are 5 female teachers, headed by Xanome Amini, aged about 40, has a diploma; some of the other teachers are as young as 17. The program should eventually be the same as here for men. As far as he knows these are the only two programs for women--they are then to go out as lecturers etc. Banu Isfahani is much older and is alone in her house, does not hold classes. These women teachers he said (agreeing with my suggestion) learned from their fathers.

Religious schools: Teheran - Madresseh Alavi
Isfahan - Madresseh Ahmadi

The building is currently undergoing expansion. There used to be an abambar in what is now the center of the courtyard.

When I returned home I stopped by Ismail's shop to buy a few things and ran into a young taleb who says he is studying psychology (there is no difference between Islamic and secular writers on the subject); his family is Tabatabai Borujerdi, he wears a black turban, is a relation of the great Borujerdi--his parents married in a FbD-FBs marriage. He urged me to read the works of Shariati, also Taleghani, Bazargani, Motaheri, but esp. Shariati.

Afternoon. Mahmud and friends in Qaim carpet bazaar did not invite me to their shab-e jome' jelsa if there is one. Bahlul is still speaking in the Serai Banaha. Ali came and again wanted to know if I was only interested in mardomshenasi or also siyasat, complained that people of the East were envious of the West, asked my opinion on why aklaq (morals) were further advanced in the West, meaning truthfulness etc. I suggested several reasons: greater freedom to pick and depose governments, to speak one's mind; greater wealth and less fear of things being taken away. He of course particularly liked the first answer, and talked of the glory of Islam when Islam ruled Spain and christians marked their goods "Allah" as now they mark textiles made here, "made in England". He suggested the West had stolen from the East and was delighted when I agreed. Tho I pointed out that Iran was pretty weak--even in Safavid times silk was cheaper and better in China than Persia for the Amsterdam market; and the English finding little to trade in here, planted opium. Ali was delighted with those parts of my account which suggested Iran had been taken, less so with those parts which suggested indigenous weaknesses; but he suggested that there were historical cycles: when a country got to the top, it became lazy and fell apart and others took over, viz. the youth in the West who become hippies saying, we have everything, why work. (Good old Ibn Khaldun here).

I finally left to call Nur and Shahrokh--Nur hadnt called Shahrokh by 7:30 as promised; when I tried Nur at 11 I couldnt get thru.

Friday 30 May-- got up to get to the PTT by 6 am to call Nur & was told it didnt open til 7 (the man at the desk last nite said 6); I returned at 7 was told 8; returned at 8--they had opened at 7:30. The man at the desk who knows me by now apologized, he had forgotten it was jome'. Anyhow Nur decided to leave for Istambul immediately. So the morning was pretty much shot for me; went back took a shower, cleaned up & caught a bus for Teheran to pick up the ET of Tabatabai, and returned the same afternoon.

Saturday 31 May--Got up hoping to have the same luck with Sharii at the Madresseh Razavieh as I had with Qodusi at the Madresseh Haqani, but it was back to normal: Sharii is in Teheran don't know when he will be back; the school is part of the general Hose--should apply for information to the several marja taqlid; there as yet is no accurate count of students. The kids standing around in the courtyard were young--pre religious dress; is this on the same level as the Golpayegani schools? Next just for the hell of it I went to see what the Madresseh Vahidi is like--a small courtyard, exclusively residential with approx. 20 hojreh, ie. 40 or more people. Next again just for the hell of it I went to look up Hashtrudi and Sheikh-ul-Islami in Madresseh Hojatiyeh; they were in and a third young black turbaned guy came in. They confirmed that most, but not all of the residents are Azari. Last year for the summer, many of the kids went to Mashad. They are going home to Tabriz. Hashtrudi let me ask my survey questions. Sheikh-ul-Islami did not, saying he was opting out of Qum and going back to Tabriz, & I could ask him there. It turned out that he had joined the army on his own and surveyed in the Sepah-e Din--there apparently was no training in Teheran first. He wore both religious and military garb, went on the membar to propagate islam. He's been here 2 years but does not like it and will thus leave. ~~Rxxk~~ His family as his name suggests

is rohani--his father (back when? immediate?) is a mujtahed in Mian-e Tabriz. If I come to Tabriz I should look him up in the Madresseh Talebha which is the big one like Feisiyeh here. The black turbaned guy did not allow me to ask him any questions, said he was afraid of me. Rashtrudi gave me a list of the normal course of studies and how long each section takes--the total came out to 17: sarv: Jame Elm Moghadamat - 2 yrs if you are zerang

Towfiqi says such accounts is nonsense but the pattern is for an osted to discuss 1 page per day whatever the bk!

- nahv: Moghne, Siute, Jame' - 2-3yrs " " "
- Mantiq Hashia by Taftazane - 2 1/2 yrs
- Maani Bayan Motavaal - 2yrs
- Maalem fiq - 1 yr
- Chel Lomatin (fiq) - 1 yr
- Rasael & Makaseb - 4 yrs

at the same time: Mansuma, Afsar, Shor'Tajrid (Aqaed) then 8 yrs harej

two important teachers--S. Abdul Fazl Musavi for Makaseb Sobahani for Afsar used the phrase shari'eh m'ade for giving out money. Shahrudi (now dead) was one of the ones who did this here in add. to Khoi, Shahriatmadar, Khonsari, etc. Every time I let the conversation lag, Rashtrudi would go into a discourse on the Quran--his fervent hope is that all people in the world be united in one religion, Islam of course. If you marry and the marriage is not consummated, ie the woman remains a virgin, you only have to ~~give half the mehr, vs normal divorce.~~ Buhs about when you go on a trip you may do a ~~px~~ namaz shekaste (fewer rakat), until you stay in a place at least 10 days (after going 8 farsaxs).

In the afternoon with Towfiqi, I again went over the list of books read in the normal course of study here:

- Elm-e Sarf (Congugations): صرف
- 1-Amsaleh اعشله
 - 2-Sarf Mir صرف مير
 - 3-Tasrif تصريف
 - 4-Sharh Tasrif شرح تصريف
- plus newly: Sarf-e Sadeh عربي آسان
- Arabi Asan عربي آسان the 7 numbered bks plus Kobra are contained in the volume Jame' ul-Moghadamat (Collected Elementary Studies)
- Elm-e Nahv (Syntax): نحو
- 5-Awamel Mullah Mohsen حوامل
 - 6-Hedayeh هدايه
 - 7-Samadiyeh صمديه

Siuti or Alfiye ibn Malek or properly Anajatul Marziyeh. this is a collection of 1000verses (alfiyeh) by ibn Malek with commentary by Siuti - the verses are about grammar (Jamal-ud-Din Siuti)-Spannish. سيرطي

Moghuni xxxxxxxxx-Labib (عقود اللبيب) by ibn Hashem (Eg) This contains 8 chapters of which the first & fourth are read.

Bayan Ma'ani Badi' (Rhetoric) preferred text is Jawaher al Balagheh or one reads either Moxtasar al Maani or Motavaal جواهر البلاغه مختصر الماني مطول

these are both commentaries on Qazvini by the Sunni Taftazani (تفتازاني), the former is the shorter and more commonly used one, the latter the longer; neither commentary is as elegant as that of Siuti on Alfiyeh

all the above = Adibiyat-e Arabi 7- Mir Sayyid Sharif - Kobra كبرا

MANTIQ (Logic)

منطق

حاله

"Hashiyeh" (=notes) Mullah Abdullah
 (notes on Taftehani)
 or al-Mantiq by Sheikh Mozafar (died some 20 yrs ago)
 also but little used: Hadi Sabzevari wrote Sharh Manzumeh
 which is his verses with his own commentary--as is joked
 by the talebha, the fact that he had to write his own
 commentary indicates how bad it is; he wrote two books
 by this name, one on logic, the other on philosophy

USUL-e-FIQ

Usul-e Fiq (principles of jurisprudence)

Ma'alem

Qavanin (قوانین) --this is often not read

Usul-e Fiq Mozafar --this is recent

Makaseb

Resa'el

or Faraed ul Usul

} these are both by Sheikh Ansari
 (c. 100 yrs ago), new editions
 with commentary have been

made by Agha Ali Meshkini (one of the 30 exiled 2 yrs ago
 from Qum), the one al-Rasa'al Jadid appeared 4 yrs ago
 the other on Makaseb still awaits printing

Kefayah of Akhund-e Khorassani (student of Sheikh Ansari)

Fiq (Jurisprudence)

Sharh Lomah (شرح لومه) this is the best

Sharaye' al-Islam of Alem-e Hilli -- not read much

Javaher is the commentary on the above

(done in the time of students of Sheikh Ansari, tho
 the author was not himself a student of Ansari)

Makaseb -Sheikh al-Ansari

(read by Shahid Aqal (Mhd ibn Mekki
 d. in prison) the commentary by Shahid Sarri *
 شرایع)

DARS-e HAREJ

is composed of two

again: fiq

usul

The Taharat

& Salat

} of Haj Agha Reza Hamadani
 they are not dars (not
 subjects of teaching per se) but
bahs (discussion)

subjects of usul: mabahes alfaz

ie discussions about the meaning of words,
 e.g. the rule that a thief should not be
 allowed to preach from a membar--what does
 the word thief mean: once a thief always
 a thief, or is there such a thing as
 recognizing rehabilitation

moghayeh vajeh

the necessary elements, e.g. what makes
 vozu void etc.--the ex. he gave the other
 day about whether rain makes a 3rd washing
 & thus voids the vozu

subjects of fiq: begin with taharat, then salat, sawm

(fasting), haj, and should go then to itq (عتق) or
 release from slavery tho this is almost never discussed
 often the maraja taqlid will begin with taharat, and
 when they are thru just begin again, others will go on

then there is the thesis or taghrirat (تقریرات) which is
 always on usul, and this makes you a mujtahed altho there
 are some who write the taghrirat and are not recognized
 as mujtahed

* Shahid Sarri, Zeinuddin, descendant of 2 members, made of light, on one of which
 was Shahid Aqal -- he interpreted it as he would die & he was drowned in early Ottoman
 era the other was empty & then he himself sat on it

e.g. Jafar Sobhani did his under Khomeini
Agha Montazeri did his under Borujerdi

when you become a mujtahed you are given an ejaze ejkhehad
(إجازة اجتهاد) which says that it is harram for you taqlid
kone (be a follower)

there are then two final kinds of setting
what is half jokingly called with the word borrowed from English
Kompany--here say 10 people get together after reading
and engaging in the formal dars and engage in bahs
or further discussion

this in distinction to the two person bahs which
is supposed to characterize studies below the
Dars-e Kharej level, wherein one day one person
reads, and the other plays devil's advocate,
the next day the roles are reversed

Majlis-e Estefta (استفتا)

when a marja taqlid wants to give an opinion (fatwa) he
engages in a discussion with a number of colleagues, in
order to form his opinion

thus there are also 6 varieties of teaching:

dars: a teacher discusses (bahs) a text with x number of
students

bahs: two person debate on the above text

kompany: a bahs with a number of people

majlis estefta

kelas: modern class with blackboard & chairs

presumably one could add the soxanrani when arunds go
out to tabliq (propagandize)

Akbaris were those who argued that one only needed to read the
traditions, there was no need to interpret--thus for Akhbaris
there is no need for Dars-e Kharej

Usulis on the other hand stress the need for use of aql, interpret,
do not just depend on the zahir aspect of tradition

under fiq one might add: Al Urvat-ul Usqa

by Sayyid Kazem Yazdi who lived in Kufa and was anti
the Const. Rev., and thus an enemy of Axund Sheikh.
Mullah Mhd Kazem Khorassani (author of Kefayeh)
who was pro-Rev.; when the latter died, Sheikh Fazlullah
Nuri (also anti-Const Rev) came to him & they sat and
talked, finally Nuri saying did you hear Khorassani
died--Oh that dom-e Khazal (fox's ass) and refused
to consider traveling to perform the namaz mayed ()
--this is a special form of the namaz, said standing,
with no bowing or prostration, before the final burial
vs Const Rev because islam is not pro republic (jamuriat)

Philos is currently weak in Najaf, here is not so bad:

Tabatabai has trained a number of well-known people incl.:
Makarem, Moteheri (of the Univ. of Teheran), Ahmadi
(my "friend" who was supposed to help me), Mesba, Ansari
Shirazi

Bajat - about the same age as Tabatabai

(previously, Khomeini who is also the same age, same year of
birth as Tabatabai --ie 73 yrs now -- for every 30 odd
years Islamic subtract a yr)

Dars-e Akhlag - has now fallen off

used to be: Haji Mirza Ali Agha Maleki Tabrizi (d 20-30 yrs)
wrote Al-Moragebat (Meditations)

Khomeini --did this so well students would cry at
the telling of parables

Khomeini when he was here was not known for
fiq and usul, but rather philos & akhlag
he has now dropped these and gone to fiq-o-
usul for Ayatullahs are supposed to deal
with that rather than philos & morals

Meshkini (now banished from Qum)

Ansari Shirazi is thus the only one left

NB these people are all 'aref (concerned with ef'fon)
eg deny that there is good and evil in the world
evil = absense of good

when Tabatabaica came to Qum there was much hostility to philos
as anti-relig - is still a good deal of hostility

Tafsir--this is something generally discussed on one's own among
friends

Khazali (now banished - one of the 30) used to teach tafsir
in Masjid Fatemiyeh.

Mesba - teaches it now in Madresseh Montazeriyyeh.

Hossein Nuri last year taught the Nahjul Balagha

he is the only one of the 30 who escaped banishment

he also does a bahs kharej on Amr be ma'aruf nahye az monkar
ie urging people to do good and dissuading them from
evil--activist, borders on polit

3 ejazes: ejaze ejtehad - that of mujtahed

" naqle revayat - this is antiquated and has no real
purpose today--was back in the days when
the hadith were mainly oral or being collected
viz Haj Mirza Hussein Nuri's Mostadrak ul Vasael

for names of those who give permits--vol no.3

ejaze sahm-e Imam - a mujtahed does not really need one
of these in add. to his ejaze ejtehad

not the same as a wakil-e sanduq, someone who collects
for someone w/ this ejaze

eg Lavasani is wakil for Khomeini in Teheran

Asheikh Mhd Sadeqi Teherani used to be his
waki~~h~~ here until banished

when Yazdi came fr Arak to Qum, Khomeini did a estexar (fortune
telling) and it said to come, but also he would die in Qum--so
people are waiting, if he returns. Qum there are revayats
malcham (ملاحم) that just before Resurrection Qum would be
a centre of learning, women would ride saddle¹ and be undressed²
(women who drive, w/o hejab of course = ride saddle ~~xxxx~~ ie
improprerly on horse instead of on camel where can hejab, azunds
are evil and causes of much ill-doing

--viz the Rozat ul-Kafi

for the revayat on Qum becoming the center of ed at the end of
the world: viz Bahar ul Anvar Mhd Bagher Majlisi

Evening I went to Golpayegani house--Mehdi not there, but Safi
wqs & the hd of the schools, & I said I would try to meet him in
the morning.

1 كبت ذات الفروج السروج ركبته زات الفروج السروج
persons w/ pudenda who ride astride suruj
2 كاسيات "بماریات" كاسيات "بماریات"
dressed undressed Kasyaton Arqat

last one followed w 'same' allahu leman hamedah; sajda then 2nd rakat like first, concl w normal tashhud & salam

fasting: pregnant women excused if food a poor person or give 80 tolas of wheat or barley charity

pt in throat of vocalizing the proper ghain
=the pt in fast of whether food or drink has proceeded too far and voided the fast

#199-226 zakat: levied on wheat, barley, dates, raisins, livestock, camels, cows, sheep, gold, silver

given & used 8 ways: to the poor (who cant support everyday needs of their families), to the masakin (worse off than poor), to tax collector apptd by Imam or mujtahed, to non-Muslims who serve Islam as shown by fighting for Islam in war, to ~~free~~ Muslim slaves or buy them, to relieve deptors, for public works like hospitals, schools, relief of travelers

levied when wheat ripens but pd after harvest .'. if sold before harvest, zakat falls on buyer
diff levy if watered naturally or using labor (1/10 if former, 1/20 if latter)

gold: nisbah - if 20 mescal shahri (=15 mescal today) 1/40

if 4 mescal shahri (=3 mescal today)
on full units: e.g. if 16 or 17 mescals, pay the amt for 15; if 18 then on the 15+3

silver: nisbah: 200 dirhams (=105 modern mescals or 525 grams) 1/40

40 dirhams (=21 mescals)
must own at least 105 mescal before pay on it
must own gold/silver at least 11 full months

livestock: for 5 camels pay zakat of 1 sheep
15 " 3
20 " 4
25 " 5
26 1 yearling camel
36 1 two year old
46 1 three yr old
66 1 four yr old
76 2 three yr olds
91 3 three yr olds
121 " either 1 2yr old for ea odd 40
or 1 3yr old for ea odd 50

for ea 30 cows pay 1 yearling
or for ea 40 cows pay one two year old
sheep: for 40+ pay 1 sheep 301+ pay 4 sheep
121+ 2 400+ pay one sheep
201+ 3 for ea odd 100

can be pd in cash equivalent

#181-9 Khums: 1/5 on net profit after expenses of wages/salaries/
business profit, buried wealth, under sea like pearls, land taken fr kaffir zimmi, booty fr holy war, gifts or windfalls (but not inherit.)

marriage: permanent (nikah daim)
temporary (mowwaqat, mungata, muta, sigha)

#242-3 forbidden: M,Z,FZ,MZ, grandmo, niece, Mo-in-law whether or not sexual relations with her daughter, step-da or step granddaughter, step mo or grandmo, Wi of So, grandso Wi, gr grandson Wi, Z or step Z of one's Wi, thrice divorced wife until she remarriesw someone else & the iddah per of waiting is over, 9x divorced wi, WiZDa or WiBroDa unless wife gives permission, Da or Mo of woman w/whom one has illegal sex, Z or Mo of boy w/who one has illegal sex, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ woman w/whom one has committed adultery even if she gets a divorce

#250--husband responsible for all expenses of Wi befitting her status

251--woman may not refuse intercourse or leave house w/o Hu permission, otherwise she is masheza (disobedient) & Hu is not liable to support her or respond to her sexual desires

258 -age of yaisa - 50 or if sayyid 60; after this age, or if still virgin or not past puberty need not wait the iddah per after divorce or d of Hu for remarry

256--woman can initiate divorce by giving up mehr + talaq-e khul

Bargaining is illegal for items who have no value

najes items

impure items not revealed to customer (eg watered down milk)

items to be used in haram manner (musical instruments, playing cards)

transactions on wh interest is taken intoxicants

227

239 Permitted to sell an item more cheaply on a cash basis and more dearly on credit

Q14: is interest in bank permitted? Only if deposit made with sole intent of security and interest is added by the banker; if deposit is made with intent of getting interest, not permitted

Q15: is it permitted to graft skin fr one part of body to another? yes if fr same body

(was decree that OK to have serum injections while fasting as long as injection not directly into stomache

2 June 75 (mon). From 6:30 to 10 am the son of S. Hosseini, the director of the Golpayegani school helped me go thru the records of the students. He, the son, studies part time here, helps around, but is a first year student in the Madresseh Ali. He has a younger brother in dabirestan; the youngest, 13, is a student here in the Madresseh. His father has license from Daneshkadeh Ilahiyat and took courses from Aranpour, who translated the Sociology text of Nimkoff which the son used this year at the Madresseh Ali.

He (the son) says it is only two years since the Madresseh Rezaviyeh has become a teaching madresseh with classes like this, so as yet only has the elementary years. It is run by a man named Haeri and a couple others with help from Shariatm dari.

I used the hour before lunch to take some photos. In Madresseh Feisiyeh a young taleb came up to me--he had thot I was a tourist and came to intercept me, then thot I was Persian because I spoke it and appoligized, saying the talebha object@d to being treated as curiosity objects. He first told me his name was Abdullah

Torabi (which he translated as bande Xoda = Abdullah, xak = Torabi i.e. slave of God, of dirt-made). This incidentally after he had persued a variety of questions about me whom I knew, what I had read, etc.--his reaction to Mehdi Golpayegani was he is bi-savad (uneducated), only an aghazadeh. His story was that he completed cycle in high school in Teheran, then came here because he wanted to study freely. He goes to Teheran to participate in Thurs-Fri majlis at which 30-40 people regularly attend rotating in different people's houses. He does not wear turban because he can thus work better among today's youth. He himself is currently studying Qavanin. Then as the noon prayer was called and we made to part he noticed my research permit which I carry in my pocket and asked to see it, a young friend joined us and told how this morning I had taken statistics in Madresseh Golpayegani--he then gave me adress in Teheran and a new name: Ibrahim Golami. Previous to this he had praised Shariati, said the last time in the majlis they discussed the line in the Quran where Mhd says that since kaffirs dont want anything to do with him he will have nothing to do with them; so too today.

I ran into Mhd-Pat on the street: he just returned from a couple of days in Hamadan with one of the Dar-ul-Tabliq teachers to find that Abbassi had thrown his things out of his room and locked them in a storage vault; it is only one of a series of things Abbassi has done to encourage him to go away. It turns out that tho he was invited to come here by Shariatmadari, Abbassi replied to his acceptance letter not to come, and since has dbnstantly been discouraging him. Mhd-Pat has talked to Mahmudi in the police station about being allowed out of the grasp of the Dar-ul-Tabliq without having to leave Iran (his residence permit is thru the Dar); Mahmudi has been vaguely encouraging; he went this morning to push it and Mahmudi made a call, the only evident thing was Mahmudi saying "nemidunestam" and then turning colour completely: you must do whatever the Dar says, you may not leave town to go to Teheran even for two days without Abbassi's permission, if you dont obey you could get into polit trouble and you have 3 kids and a wife, you should take care. This is a bit frightening and Mhd-Pat was in the process of deciding to leave. I took him to lunch and back to the house for coffee, nap and shower. Abbassi has apparently told the foreign students (it turns out from Towfiqi) not just Mhd) they must be in the hostel by 9 in the evening; the sign has been repeatedly torn down & Abbassi has given them 48 hrs (up tonite) to turn in who did it. Mhd is afraid they could if they wanted also use his opinion smoking with the narcotics police here as an excuse.

Towfiqi in the afternoon: a bit of Shakespeare and Ganjineh Daneshmandan.

MADRESSEH GOLPAYEGANI

initial tally of 202 student files

previous education: 105 had at least 1 yr of religious training outside of Qum
 16 had at least 1 mo but not a full of religious training

2 have high school diplomas
 197 have at least 6yrs (dabestan) training in secular schools
 36 more have five years dabestan
 10 have 1-4 yrs dabestan

father's occupation (total N = 236)

128 - farmer or animal/poultry
 =125 farmer
 2 morgh-dar
 1 shepherd

56 - rohani

47 - bazaari = 18 craftsmen
 24 shopkeepers
 1 tajer
 2 barbets
 2 brokers

5 - non-bazaari: 4 clerks, 1 janitor

(18 craftsmen: 1 weaver 2 carpenters
 1 coppersmith 1 tailor
 7 masons 2 shoemakers
 1 blacksmith 1 quiltsewer
 1 sweetmaker 1 well digger)
 24 shopkeepers: 14 kaseb 1 zarbarforush
 7 baqal 2 bazaz

Place of Origin: the 5 towns of Qum, Yazd, Isfahan, Golpayegan, and Hamadan give more than one third of the students (113 or 122 if you incl. the 4 little towns nr Isfahan of Nejafabad, Homayunshahr, Feradan, Borujan

38 - Qum

23 - Yazd

19 - Isfahan (28 if you incl the 4 above towns)

17 - Golpayegan

16 - Hamadan

the next closest places are Arak (9) and Amul (9) or (10 if you incl Neka-Amul)

the biggest regions are the arc of Qum-Kashan-Nain-Isfahan-Yazd-Kirman-Sanjan (120)

& the Saveh-Arak-Mahallat

Ali Goodarz-Khonsar-Khomein-Borujerd-Khoremaab
 Kermanshahr-Golpayegan-Hamadan circle (65)

4 June 75 (Wed). One of those beautiful days when things happen to you without your pushing. I half-heartedly planned to go to the bazaar this morning, but never made it after the late night getting back from Teheran. Instead I wrote a preface for Rizvi's translation of Shariatmadar's Risaleh, and for it translated the biography of Shariatmadar in Rūz̄. Around 3, Towfiqi came to apologize for not being able to come this afternoon; at the door at the same time was Dr. Iqtidar Husain Zaidi, a Syracuse trained geographer (Cressy, James, etc.) who now teaches at Karachi (which place is so tight for funds that they cannot renew journal subscriptions for next year. He came with this Pakistani or rather Indian Muslim who is studying in Najaf whom I had met at Golpayegani's. Then I took him via the Hojatiye to the Dar ul Tabliq and Rizvi whom he knew from Lahore. While he was engaged there, an akhund said that Mujtahedi had come from Tabriz and asked to see me, and so we went. A delightful old man, about the same class as Shariatmadari (hamradif) who can read and speak French and also some English tho we spoke in Persian quite freely about all subjects. He studied only here; comes back for one month once a year; Shariatmadar went briefly to Najaf but Golpayegani not at all; Khoi did all his studies in Najaf; Khomeini is there only because exiled from here. Here is much better than Najaf. Tabriz is fallen behind: there are even empty hojreh; they get some help from Shariatmadar and Khoi but students must make do with lesser allowances than here, because here is the center.

As to the change from rohani to dehati, several factors are important: 1--in the old days when travel was difficult every town had its own little Hose, maybe not of a very high level but sufficient to train those axunds for village purposes; today people go directly to Qum

2--Land Reform killed some of the ulema base: many were landholders and did not expect to make money from their rohani duties; with that base taken away, they are not going to reduce their standard of living to subsist on 100 or 200 T/mo allowance (pu'ls preaching fees); village kids on the other hand see that is worthwhile

As to vaqfs and financing. Whereas the two younger axunds, the one who had brought me and the grandson of Marhum Zanjani tho that the Quranic prohibition against rebeh would prohibit the marjo taqlid from playing investment games with the shhme Imam, Mujtahedi did not, but rather while in theory it is possible given the current gut climate it is not practical.

Vaqf in the past was never much of a source of aggrandizement: land values were not what they are today, and one did not get much out of farm land, nor would one sell it if made vaqf.

For selling it would not be halal. Today with inflation and urban land speculation the Edare Oughaf can make a killing.

Haeri Yazdi came here three years before Reza Shah crowned himself.

His attraction of students to Arak made things difficult in finding space; the few ulema here asked him to come here, and it helped them, for suddenly they too had students.

Feisiyeh is mainly under Golpayegani direction; this end of town is dominated by Shariatmadari and the Turks: the Maktab-e Islam house etc. There is talk now of ripping down the Hojatiye and all along the river back to the shrine for a park. Zanjani said Khoi's granda (DaDa) is married to Golpayegani's son.

Mujtahedi's own family illustrates the change: for five generations back his family was rohani; in his generation he was the only one: his bro went to France; & became a doctor; his sons there are non. Only recently has edarebazi become such a big thing--in the past there was nothing like this.

I returned to the Dar-ul-Tabliq and rejoined Zaidi who had gone to look up S. Hossein Morteza--on a ten month research expedition (2 mo. Here, mainly working in Marashi library with Eshkevari) on al-Hilli. In standing around there I ran into Musavi Afghani who has been ill, Mhd Reza Jakubi who just took exams in Makarem's course, Khosrowshahi who was pissed because I hadn't been back to see him, the librarian at the Dar, and several others. Then Paul Seto showed up with 3 Germans (a Dr. Bouman of Marburg who wants to get Christian-Muslim dialogue going).

I looked up Towfiqi. Re. the various risalleh: the current things being written and Sheikh Ansari's work are quite different: the latter was usul as well as fiq; the former was started in the time of Borujerdi by Ali Asghar Karbachian who (a) thru out the usul and reasoning behind the rules (b) numbered the items--and wrote the first Rosaleh Tozih al Masael. Since then people have copied his idea and style; usually an aide will take the notes of a mujtahed on S. Kazim Yazdi's Urvat ul usqa, and the mujtahed will then write a preface and sign it. Borujerdi also had competition as marja from Yuqusbi (?) who died around the same time. Then the Shah sent a tele. to Hakim and then Shariatmadar but he blows hot and cold on the latter; would really like Milani and Mashad to be the center, but Milani is not amenable.

~~Etzaz~~ Mhd-Pat is OK with Abbasi; Abbasi now has made the hour curfew 10 pm. There is a group (non-ulema) of 25 Sufis here: Nemayatullahi but they do not really have 'it'. Tahatabai is not Sufi in the same sense: too orthodox.

A final discussion with Ziadi, Mhd-Pat, S. Hossein Morteza: Hanafi could group prayers in 3 like Shiite, could practice qasem (?) the half prayer when travelling but don't--ie make life difficult for themselves, refuse Gd's offers. For them taharat is only sunnat whereas for Shiah it is sharia: life is bounded with difficulty if you are splashed with water you must determine if from a clean or non dirty place and have directions for washing, whereas Sunnis don't care; can only take dry food, not wet from masheik (those who don't think Gd is one--does this include Christians who have 3 and Jews 2 (since Hosea is the son of Gd for them). Sunni-Shia tensions have gotten worse in Pak. with increased relig education, the secular ed is a counterforce; Buttou family fr Sind is area trad of much mixing in marriage btw Sunni-Shia

At noon my neighbors sent over their da-Hu Farhad: an Eng teacher, 1st in his konkur--he is obliged to go to nite school (Shah's order); teaches 70 hrs/wk (sic!). His wi F & FB and family live next door. The Wi FB is ret from PTT.

Ziadi raised a good question, an obvious one from the subcontinent pt of view: in the conflict btw accepting and rejecting modernization, do marriage circles devel using orthodoxy as a line? His family were landlords in Allahabad whence the Harudi Nehru family were next-door neighbors. landlords. Ghandi oppos the m of his da to a Muslim.

5 June 1975 (Thu). Morning I went to the Feisiyeh to see S. Asghar Musavi Zanjani who last nite had offered to help me find the hadis saying that marriage btw close kin is makru. He shares hojreh 34 with two others. A Zanjani friend--married and living in a house--was also there, and around 11 left for a bahs on the Makaseb he is reading with Musavi Tabrizi (1 pg a day). The latter is the son of a motabliq (goes on the membar) of Zanzan; has no brothers, only sisters one of which is married to another guy sitting in the hojreh, and in exchange he got the latter's sister in marriage. The sisters have little education: can read the Quran and Turkish in Arabic script. S. Asghar, 18, is the son of a Zanzan farmer, who followed his pesar amu into the religious path; the next son, he being the eldest is 4; he began studying in Zanzan at age 15; he is this year completing the cycle and will finish high school at the same time as working on his religious studies; as to university, he will see, the problem being very few people who can be accepted. They both studied elementary Arabic etc. in Zanzan and then came here instead of Tabriz because there are better teachers here, this is a more important center. There are 3 levels of getting money; there will be an exam in Masjid Asan after Ramazan; the third is 500T up. Everyone who gets money is in everyone's daftar; but the different amounts each has to disburse vary; Passandide gives the most.

They found a reference in Felsefeh's Bozorg Sol (Vol II p. 279) where he gives in Arabic and Persian a line attributed to the Prophet Mhd: Ba bastaganb va nazdikan ezdevaj nakonid ke farzand-e zaif va laga be vojud miayad (Don't marry close so that you will not produce weak children)

This he took from Mohajatul Beza III p. 94, tho when I went to the Dar-ul-Tabliq library we could not find this there. Felsefeh then cites the opinions of Westermarck and Bentham that this hadith does not refer to the weakness of breeding blood together, but growing up together breeds disinterest.

Felsefeh's work is five volumes: 2 on childhood, 1 on youth, 2 on old age.

These guys are leaving in a week after they collect their shariyeh next week; the shariyeh payments continue during the summer and they must come back here to get them.

Neither Towfiqi nor Afghani showed up today. Ran into S. Imami (from Abuzeidabad) on the street and we went to his base of operations in the Feisiyeh to talk. He rents a room with a relative, but this hojreh is also at his disposal. He's finishing HS this year and plans to pass the konkur and get into college (wants either polit sci or medicine). So he is not taking shariyeh. He has been attending both the classes of Makarem and Ayati. Ayati's course on jome' shenasi--he showed me the polycopy--goes from the greeks to Montesquieu, Hobbes--a history of ideas. He thinks 80-90% of the talebs are from the lower classes because their fathers send them, very few from rohani families. Re. philos vs relig (xodashenasi) tho some people still say the two conflict, that philos really destroys belief in Gd by its constant questioning, this was really only a problem until Mir Damad and esp his student Mullah Sadr--Mullah Sadr disentangled the muddle of Islam and Greek philos and showed how they properly go together. Thus there is proper and improper tassawuf: the proper understanding of it is as Tabatabai does it. making interpretation fuller. E.g. there is an ayah in the Quran that God sits upon a throne (arsh عرش) which literally cannot be accepted, but one rights it of belief in Gd's unity thru exp (karil كرسى) + there is an ayah wh abrogates it: Enic mansux = the abrogated; marux the abrogating.

6 June 1975. Last nite apparently was spring riot time: instead of the eve, the night of 15 Khordad, perhaps because it was shab-e jome', the students gathered in the Feisiyeh and began to chant death to the gut, death to colonialism, hurrah for Khomeini. Apparently a second group was gathering outside the harram; the police quickly moved in with a water cannon (the one which usually sits by the Shahrdari) and blocked the students from coming out of the Feisiyeh, and then used tear gas to disperse the others. A few students were seized & packed off to Teheran for questioning.

Morning Jakubi & I read a few more biographies in Ganjineh Daneshmandan. I then went to the Dar-ul-Tabliq to meet Dr. Hossein Ayati; turned out to be the guy I had met when I talked to Gholam Reza Saidi; he gave the same course he had given at Daneshgah-e Melli last year: nothing espl about Islam other than mentioning Ibn Khaldun and Al-Farabi. He has only been back in ~~Iran~~ Iran for 2 yrs, has a French wife and son still in Paris--and will probably return to France next year. So he did not know what if any research has been done here. He will ask the publication man Sadegi to give me a polycopy of his course, & if I have questions I can contact him again next Wed. when he comes.

Five of the guys rounded up two years ago & banished from Qum (J. thinks also of the occasion of 15 Khordad): Meshkini, Ghafgazi, Shirazi, Rabbani.

Got a copy of Sh. Ansari's Makaseb from the bookstore in the new bldg by the meidan; he of course knew of Mhd-Pat and the German. In so doing saw the water cannon, a few police cars and about ten police in the Meidan watching the Feisiyeh entrance.

Imami came by in the afternoon & described the Feisiyeh incidents too: he was inside and so could not study all night--they turned off the light and locked the door so that people would think no one was there. The students would chant and pray in the courtyard; the police then would throw a canister of tear gas & the kids would dive for hojreh's like mice for their holes. Then when the gas cleared the students would come out again & sing more; this went on until 7 in the morning. Only a few people inside were apprehended, but last night everyone who came out of the Feisiyeh was apprehended. The occasion was 15 Khordad, but this sort of thing happens more often--maybe even as much as once a month.

Re. Makaseb, Sharh Lomeh--Lomeh was written by Shahid Aqaal in Abbassid times by a Shiite scholar who was thrown into prison: he wrote it in 7 days in prison; was subsequently executed. The commentary was similarly written by Shahid-e Sani (2nd). About twenty years ago a Persian translation was made, with the Arabic at the top of the page & translation below; it was recently printed about 2 years ago. People use it as a pony or for reference, but the Arabic is read because ~~there~~ one can say things more concisely and precisely in Arabic than Persian. These are read pre Makaseb--they cover the whole law; Makaseb covers trade in more detail.

~~There~~ Fri afternoons the Pakistans get together for rosehs.

7 June 1975 (Sat). Morning I went towards the bazaar & to see if H. would come this afternoon. Things were happening in the Meidan-e Astana: the water canon was drawn up facing the door of the Feisiyeh & a semi-circular crowd had gathered at a respectful distance in front of the door to the Shrine by Kh. Eram. Even so the police dispersed the crowd. H. said when he came back from the Inst last nite the lights in Madresseh Khan were off, police were on the roof. Loud but relatively indistinguishable sounds came from the Feisiyeh of the kids shouting. One police was apparently hit with a stone & taken to the hospital. As there was no point in staying to watch since the police kept moving people along, I headed to the bazaar to map the Bazaar Kohne section.

When I went across the street from Meidan-e Kohne to check out Imamzadeh Hamzeh & the bazaar there, I was invited in for tea by the 3 men registering people to vote on 30 Xordad (for one of 3 candidates from Qum). The registrar, a Teherani, working for the Shahr-dari here, Haj Hossein Kazoki knew of me, knew a few words of English and was most genial explaining me to the others in a most helpful way; I did not contradict him when he authoritatively said I was Muslim--it did not require any further discussion. His asst was a young clerk. The third man was the karkhoda of the mahalleh: Darbani (whose brother I then also met). The mosque just behind the Shrine is being redone in a very nice way--with contributions, not Oughaf money. The procedure was to check ID cards and issue registration cards; one man had trouble because his ID card was not in order; they did eventually let him get away with it. Around 10:30 I headed back to keep an appointment with I. I couldn't find a taxi & so was late. In front of Madresseh Khan, again there was a crowd gathered: I ran into G. who had just come back from Teheran & had not been allowed to enter the Feisiyeh. Again they dispersed the crowd. Kamkar & a braided police guy were gathered around a mullah angrily debating something about mamur (direction) & the latter led the mullah away. I went home, I was not there & so shortly I went back to the bazaar. This time people were looking up at police who had stationed themselves on the roof of Madresseh Khan. People were going in and out of the Madresseh, but there was a man at the gate giving an informal check. Again they were dispersing people from the sidewalk. I went back and did some more mapping till shortly after noon. Then I came back in by Madresseh Khan--a mullah was in the process of being chased out of the little bazaar there by a police with billy stick and shield. The police are wearing helmets but otherwise normal. Again they were dispersing people, one man (police) saying go home to lunch, it's getting cold. There were still police up on the roof. I went to a chelokebabi thinking after lunch I would get in cruise by. I went first by way of the river: it now appeared that there were 10 youths on the roof of the Feisiyeh with a red flag perched on the ivan between Dar-ul-Shafah and the Feisiyeh. They had rags on their heads, one an abba, but otherwise were not in religious garb; they appeared to be wearing gas-masks.

check in identification

When I went out to check the scene again a little after 5, I found I had missed the climax, and only curtain calls were left. Fairly good sized crowds attended now as had not earlier. The red flag which had been raised on a pole around 3:30, and the white banner with red writing which had replaced the earlier red banner, as well as the 20 or so lads had disappeared. Instead one caught glimpses on the roof of green-clad riot gendarmes, uniformed and ~~unif~~ ununiformed police checking thru the building. A number of windows had holes in them, presumably shot out by tear gas. The police directing traffic which had jammed up on the far side of the river were smiling and joking; one was carrying a rifle. I went around to the Meidan and as I came from the bazaar side (most of the shops in the little bazaar were closed up as they had not been at 3:30-45) I encountered two small columns of riot-gendarmes being marched out of town, their bus following. The men were grinning, only vaguely in step; a little boy threw some stones and was chased by one of them. There was a column, 4 abreast, of 15, plus two sergeants (= 62), plus another ten in the bus; then a smaller column, 3 abreast of 4 rows plus a sergeant (=85 altogether). Then in the meidan there were two truckloads of regular gendarmes with rifles (c. 30 men). The riot-gendarmes had carried tear-gun pistols and billy sticks rather than rifles. Finally there was an odd assortment of police with rifles, with pistols at the side, or mostly only with billy sticks. The crowd milled around a good deal, were good naturely moved on by a couple of police, but not seriously as earlier in the day, so that the crowd did not disperse but only milled rather than forming a stable stagnant mass. Police with rifles blocked off the entry to the Feisiyeh. I'm not sure, but it looked as if a couple of holes had been knocked in the wall; I'm not sure that is if the holes had or had not been there before.

The whole thing was conducted in a fairly picnicky spring riot fashion, tho I suppose this will not be the case for long for the poor bastards who have been apprehended. Hopefully I have a shot of the red banner. ~~The~~ It was apparently moved around to the front so as to be visible from Kh. Eram around 3; and was replaced with the white one, which a fellow claimed to read (most people found it too far away): Ay baradaran musulmanin, Ago boshid, seh ruz ast ke Feisiyeh bar shekast xord. (Muslim brothers, be men, it is 3 days since the Feisiyeh has been attacked). The significance of the red flag remains unclear (marxist?--seems unlikely)(ommayyid sounds even less likely); but it made a nice contrast with the green flag flying above the shrine.

Actually in a popular drama of this sort the curtain does not come down so quickly: the children of Muslim (Hussein's cousin --but he and his children were killed pre the event?). At 6, kids were forming crowds at the edges of the Meidan, and were periodically dispersed by billystick swinging cops; but otherwise people were strolling about in a balmy evening.

Farhad Aflaqi, my neighbors' son-in-law came over and invited me over there. The word there is that 4 talebs have been killed and some 120 apprehended; two of the former were apparently thrown off the roof and into the river. We watched the news on TV and the Shah made a speech re. the 15 Xordad & the coming elections, remarking on disturbances at the U of Teheran.

My neighbors' names are Gholgm Hossein & Gholam Ali Qazizadeh, both ret. from the Post Office, the latter just ret., the former helps run the union of bus companies--17 companies joined together, make 300-400 thousand tomans/mo, 20% goes to salaries of staff (of whom there are 4), 10% to other overhead; rest is split among the companies according to the no. of shares they own. They are building a bus terminal across from Bigdeli's university. One of their daughters just grad. from there. She wants to find a job in Teheran or B.A.--there are advantages in the latter: free housing, etc. and good salary. They are for Bigdeli rather than Risvani in the election because Risvani (who started the textile mill wh has 3 shifts & 3000 workers) is a Kashi, whereas Bigdeli is one of our own & a classmate. When they were kids, all from this kuche on was gardens; to the river side was vaqf for the shrine; to the otherside belonged to Abul Fasl Mesba in whose hands the motavalli job had been for 400 yrs. Some 40 yrs ago Mesba asked Borujerdi to sell some of the vaqf land to make houses. The river used to run right behind our houses, was moved. Hotel Eram was built shortly before WWII. The house of Hazrate Masumeh was near Meidan-e Mir: still supposed to have her tanur, & grave of . . . After dinner Gholam Ali went into his basic religious lesson for foreign Christians; I managed to change the subject once to get the above bits of history, but he came back. Eisenhower according to him said that Islam was the best religion in the world. Issa and Musa were prophets and have bks but Mhd came after and is more perfect. 24 hr fasts like the Jews have is bad for the body; thus the Quran has 12 hr fasts. Namsz is what a German dr ordered for a Qumi with back trouble (which tells us more about the intelligence of the doctor than Islam). Story about a king who refused to believe the ayeh ezzat & ? (rises and falls in life are in Gd's hand)--he insisted they were in his hand. One day he went hunting & was separated during the chase from his retainers & found himself in strange country, exhausted and hungry. He finally saw a small town & a shepherd & asked the shepherd for bread; the latter had none, it being just after lunch. He learned that he had strayed into enemy territory. So he stripped off his kingly garments & left them with his horse, while he went into the town for bread, that he not be discovered & killed. The baker would not give him bread saying he should work. To do that he signed on as the baker's shperd, slept in the stable; lost 5 sheep & was hit. Repealed himself & left after confessing his error re. the ayeh.

8 June (Sun). Mapped Kh. Museh, Eram from Chahrmadan to Safayeh, And Azar. Mhd Jaqubi accompanied me part way & so I got invited into the Madresseh Momeniyeh on Kuche Ab-e Sefid: I counted about 70 hojreh; he claimed 80--3 persons to a room would be on the order of 210-240 talebs. I met a Pakistani older guy who had spent 8 years in Najaf & then came here because there are better doctors here for a blood disease he has. MR was in Madresseh Khan yesterday afternoon: they sent over a reconnaissance helicopter (which I saw from the house), closed off Eram, brought in special commandos who paraded around the top of the Feisiyeh first shouting Javid Shah before descending into the madresseh. Nothing of this proportion has happened since the original event in 1342--exactly how many were killed is unknown. MR claims to have seen one sayyid being beaten later at nite and crying out that Gd should revenge & dying in the police car.

One of the talebs expressed anger on behalf of self & others that the maraja taqlid did nothing: had they come to the Astaneh they could have gotten the talebs out one by one by recognizing them as legitimate students. There is a story that last week a number of university profs (Mhd Taqi Jafari of Tabriz Univ, Mhd Motaheri at U. Teheran--but he is currently in India) refused to sign up for Ristaxiz and to participate further in the Univ. The town is rife with rumor & talebs are asking each other whether what they are saying was seen with own eyes or is hearsay. There was a black banner yesterday as well as red: the one said marg behdar; the other jang kar-e ma-ast. A taleb from Torbat muttering about the anti-Islamic nature of the gov, used the TV broadcasts last nite about candidates for Ristaxiz elections with women candidates as a prime example: the business of hejab according to him was the main item in Khomeini's protest when he was kicked out.

9 June (Mon). Talebs are still camped in Madresseh Khan. It is said that all the hojrehs in Feisiyeh were destroyed by the commandos ripping thru. The informal count is 8 dead, 5 in critical condition (from beatings and being tossed into the courtyard from the second story), and 250 carried off to Teheran. Another version of the commandos shouting Javid Shah--the talebs were asked to shout this, or rather the commandos first would shout Javid, the talebs were to answer with Shah. It did not work four times--they were hit inbetween--till the 5th. Some anger that the police handled it in such a dramatic way: there had after all been a disturbance at Aryamehr, attributed by the papers to followers of Khomeini, but they were dealt with quickly & it was over; here innocent were picked up with the guilty: if some were shouting things about Khomeini, others were merely praying. But they attempted to give 20,000 salavat for Khomeini keeping count on tasbi. It will not be possible for talebes to claim post facto they were not in the Feisiyeh but just picked up: pictures were taken from the minaret of Masjid Asam. M. say indiscriminate beatings incl. women around 10 am of day 3.

I went to look for Morteza at Marashi library--did not come this morn. Went to see Khosrowshahi--was just leaving. So did a bit more mapping.

Afternoon: finally read Akos' paper all the way thru on Bishnapur Bazaar--not really much there: so the bazaar contains social relationships which are symbolically conceptualized; what else is new? There are a couple of good hints--minimal bargaining except to set price in morning; revolving credit (altho he doesn't call it that); festivals in which the bazaar acts as a unit; use of kinlike terms for fellow bazaaris; gov intervention as another big trader binding people to it and supplying them with loans etc. to which black market solidifies in competition--but none of these are carried very far.

Around 5:30 I went to see Khosrowshahi & exchanged a few friendly words with Abbassi as well. Mullah Nasraddin story re. the talebs who were innocent but ran away: a rabbit was running away from a man chasing camels, so Mullah Nasraddin asks it why it is running, it is not a camel; yes but by the time I make that clear to them, I will be roasting in a pot, so better I run.

I then finished off all but a little piece of the mapping on this side of the river.

10 June (Tue)--The Keyhan today carried a front page story on the Qum affair, very brief, non-informative, and misleading--it sold like hot cakes; while the Ristaxis paper which apparently had nothing did not sell at all. The headlines: "Red & Black Reactionary Agents in Qum; They raised a Red flag and Shouted Communist Verses; Masked Individuals in Qum Riot in the Streets; Masked ones with Sticks and Clubs Broke Madresseh Widows and Attacked [gvt] officers; Communist Books and Documents in Two Madressehs fell into Government Hands; ~~Books and Documents~~ ~~Books and Documents~~ Bombs and Explosives were discovered in two religious madressehs (this in red); Losses caused to the religious madressehs by the damage-causers."

Today--this evening's prayers were the first day Shahriatmadar went to lead prayers in the harram. He, Golpayegani, and Marashi lead them in different spots: he under the dome near the shrine itself; Marashi in the courtyard behind.

MRJ was on the roof of Madresseh Khan when things started the first nite: the police came from Mosafarxane Main next door to stop the talebs from bombarding them with stones; they fled into their rooms & turned off the lights. The police contented themselves with breaking a few windows by throwing stones & securing the roof. There is muttering that the commandos were Israelis or Iranian Jews--Muslims would not behave so ruthlessly. What about the Qum police, then?--but they did not behave that way: only one of them really beat people (sic!). What do the talebs say when they are called reactionaries wanting to turn the clock back 2000 yrs?--Khomeini answered that question in 42 (the march on Teheran): then the Prophet was a reactionary, then God is a reactionary. Re. the Javid Shah bit: there was that on the roof of the Feisiyeh--then when the kids were captured they were beaten till they also said it; the commandos came in with shields flying to cut mouths & noses so as to make blood & unconsciousness. Three professors reputedly resigned because they were asked to sign up for Ristaxis: Morteza Motaheri, Yahya Nuri, Mhd Tagi Jafari.

Rosas beinning again for the 2nd round of celebrating the vafat of Fatimeh--this time heyats from all over are preparing to go to Meshed. People have gone ahead to secure hotels & get times to enter the harram--will be sine-zadan etc.--visits to Milani (tho he is currently in Tkherran--still sick). Major occasions for heyats going to Mashad: Moharram: 10 days to Ashura
Safar: death of Hassan
same day 48th of Hussein
death of Prophet
a few days later: death Imam Reza
Jamadi al-Sani--d of Fatimeh

Made contact with Dr. Risvani, owner of Pashm-Bafi factory via his election HQ near my house.

On p. 2 Kayhan, the story begins: Today the news was given out that: On the 15 and 17 of Xordad a group of talebs in Madresseh Feisiyeh and Dar-ul-Shafah, Qum, in manifest religious dress appeared to create an excitement through verses against the people and homeland, and in this way to commemorate one of the most disgraceful events--that of the year 42 when together with an anarchistic and destructive quake the most reactionary block movement of our country came into being--they tried from the afore-said madressehs to draw the rest of the Hose Elmi Qum.

"The aforesaid individuals in the manner of red & black reactionary agents & Iranians abroad were masked, begun events by breaking the doors and windows of the madresseh and causing loss to the equipment used by the religious students, and then outside the madresseh starting a commotion against which the army was dispersed with the intent to keep order and forestall the rioters, with sticks and clubs and stones they attacked the officers and several shouted communist verses and even raised a red banner.

"This rogues work and instigation which is always against anyone respecting Iran is deeply regretted in the rohaniyat community and among the maraja taqlid.

"In accordance with the official disciplinary proclamation all the instigators and rioters in this event have been identified, detained, and quickly accused before the law.

"In the hojreh and places of living of the apprehended ones were in the Feisiyeh and ~~Shax~~ Dar-ul-Shafah were found several home-made bombs and explosives, communist books and documents."

To an Iranian reader, the story is not as misleading as it might otherwise appear: despite the attempt to paint the story communist red, the reference to 1342 clearly indicates the nature of the protest--from the right, not the left. While a red banner was raised, so were white and black ones, tho it is true the flag was red. It is unlikely that the students would have destroyed their own hojreh; they accuse the commandos of this. As to whether there might have been communist books, that is possible. As to the finding of bombs, etc., this is the first anyone has heard of that.

There is a rumor that last night the students in Tberan had planned something, and so the gut cut off the electricity in part of the town incl. the area around Shah Reza.

There was a house-roseh in the kuche, but no one came (about 5-6 people set on the elaborately carpeted hayat and some women inside--it eventually broke up. The monajot at 3am are recordings played from the harram.

Ma'alim is what Mehdi Yazdi told people here he taught in America (according to Jafari, the young Arabic teacher in the Dar-ul-Tabliq).

Re. what kinds of questions people bring to the maraje taqlid these days, Khosrowshahi: lower level people ask permission to work for the gut, since technically the gut is usurping the place of the Imam whose répres. the marja taqlid is.

11 June (Wed). Morning I went to keep a tentative appointment with Dr. Risvani at Karxaneh Pashmbafi--he did not show. Hitched back into town and went to the Kitabxameh Marashi to find S. Hossein Morteza, and thereby met Eshkevari (4 yrs since he came from Najaf)--a copier of ms & bibliographer; first impression is a first rate mind, extremely friendly and helpful. Modaressi Tabatabai had mentioned us to him & indeed called while I was there. He gave me some names of books & we arranged to meet at his house on Fri morn at 9 am. When Mohsen Mahdi was here they met and talked for 5 hours. He unfortunately is off for Yemen in a weeks time.

Shariyeh dispersal is being done in Hojatiyeh: I walked thru a couple of times but did not see anyone I knew (Hashrudi was not there): there were indeed six little men with talebs gathered around, sitting at little tables on which were daftars. Three of these were more crowded than the others. I ran into G. & his response to good thing you were not inside the Feisiyeh was: "badbaktam" (woe is me, I am deprived [of martyrdom /]), that is the result of the talebs study--you should write about that--that is the story of Hussein. Later I ran into one of the Abuzeidabadis who confirmed that Imami was inside & was seized: ruinous given all his hopes, the college entrance exams etc. His is a case of a moth to flame: he knew better than to go back to the Feisiyeh after the first nite, yet he was accustomed to be there; the first nite had passed without danger by turning off the light, locking the door & playing possum; it did not work a second time. It turns out the Keyhan kiosk on the Meidan does have English papers--it had a small front page story on Qum--a re-report from yesterday's Persian story which had much more prominent headlines; the information & implications were the same.

Went to the bazaar and sat with some carpet merchants in Seria Haji Abbas Goli basically just shooting the bull. S.Reza Qureshi & his two sons (and his bro) run one of the shops--conservative and we got into some quite warm argumentation but worked well--we're better friends now; the mo. of the family has little literacy, the first daughter likewise, the youngest daughter has been going to dabestan but apparently will not be sent to dabirestan; they argued the value of keeping women at home, the older man taking out a Maktab-e Islam to quote figures of unwed mothers in the US, Germany, England. They tried the game on me of Islam says Christians are better than Jews, we're allowed closer dealings--but I quickly put them on the defensive: demonstrating that on this issue I knew my Islam better than they. Again non-bk people are najes--but so am I, I did not let them get away with the little white lies, they were impressed. Today at least proved the best defense is counterattack. When they raised the black-white issue, (why do you americans--this got the argument off to a roaring start) I countered with the prejudice among many Iranians which never cuts ide (is not a useful argument because Islam says . . .), but pointing out that till very recently in Iran (Turkomen in Qajar period in NE) and Persian Gulf area (more recently S.Arabia, Yemen, Oman) one could buy and sell slaves--that after a brief half-hearted flurry of denials hit home. My parallel with religion here also had no defense except that after all as far as Jews go they are enemies of Islam--but did not history tell of as many wars with Christians; and you must distinguish the political issue between Zionists and Arabs vs Jews and Muslims, but no they thought they meant the latter, but couldn't press the argument.

12 June 75 (Thu). *Shahriyeh* distribution continues in *Hojatiyeh*: *Khoi* and *Shariatmadar* were first in place along Park 1. The rates according to one taleb (which do not agree with the rough figures given by *Mhd Reza Jakubi* who cited 40T *Shariatmadar* and 45 for someone else) run (presuming now these are for non-married:)

largest amts are given by <i>Khoi</i> & <i>Khomeini</i> :	100 T. - 3rd level
	60 T. - 2nd level
	40 T. - 1st level
smalles amts are <i>Amuli</i> :	30
	20
	10
	80T. are given by <i>Khonsari</i>
	40 <i>Shariatmadari</i>
	20 <i>Golpayegani</i>

Marashi-Nejafi gives mor-e nan: 10 mann if married
5 mann if single

(This would work out to 670 T. plus bread which is approximately
260 T. right since the common figures
150 T. cited are 5-600, 300, 100)

Turns out my neighbor's son *Mahmud*, is *Siamak* in the film industry in *Teheran*--had a small fole in *Zir-e Pusht-e Shab*. Says the cinema here burned of its own accord--a short which because it wasn't discovered till the inside had burned out was so destructive. Was good to get the youths from playing *eshkbasi* in the harram. *Marashi* has several sons: one in *Sherkat-e Naft*, one runs the library, one is student, so is another. Line that they go to Europe, *eshkbasi* and so use up the money of the people. There are about 4 houses in *Qum* where you can buy liquor.

Among the 30 dispersed from *Qum* 2 1/2 yrs ago: *Abul Rahim Shirazi*, *Ali Meshkini*, *Mhd Fazel*, *Sh. Ahmad Azari*, *Sh. Sadeq Khalkhani*, *Hussein Ali Montezari Nejafabadi*, *Rhazali*.

13 June 75 (Fri). Morning S. *Hossein Morteza* came to take me to the Fri morning majles of *Eshkevari*--he said to come first thing so we could talk before others arrived. Such Majlis were going on in various houses as we passed. *Eshkevari* spoke first a little about the independence of the Shiite ulema and the use of the *xoms* (*sahm-e Imam*; *sahm-e sadaat* are the two practical parts now altho originally 6 parts) as a base independent of the gov't (an institution the Sunnis have given up. He spoke of the gradual take over of institutions of learning, citing *al-Azhar* as the prime case of the ulema becoming nothing but government clerks, and in contrast cited the fatwa of *Hakim* against the communists when they came out into the open in *Iraq* (others then supported him with fatwa), a tradition including *Shirazi* against tobacco etc. I asked if it were not the case that *Najaf* now had new *madressehs* with degrees recognized by the gov't--yes. *Morteza* and I then looked thru his library picking out books of use to either one of us--of particular interest are the items on *Majaf*, the majlis *estefta*, the fatwa of *Hakim* written up in an arabic journal by *Eshkevari*--the only copy he has and not to be found in *Iran* and so to be returned to him, but he lent them out. He is off for a few months' tour of 10 Arab countries this coming week. On the way back S. *Hossein Morteza* introduced me to *Marashi-Nejafi's* son whom we ran into coming out of the *Madresseh Nejafi*, and set an appointment with his father for 5 this afternoon.

I then took a few pictures of the *Masjid-e Jome'* & *Shahzadeh Hamzeh* before going to lunch at the *Qazizadehs*.

At the Qazizadehs I met a young doctor from Nico hosp-- cant remember the exact relation: says it is the largest hospital, has 10-12 doctors earning 14-24 thous tomans. Then invited with Mhd to Haji . . . up the kuche (used to own land near the harram, now moved out here)--he and 6 young men, one his son; Amir who has an orchard (bagh) in Langarud near here who gave me a life the other day back from Karzaneh Pashmbafi; Houshang, a BA econ; a 24-yr old dabestan amuzegar; a roly-poly guy whose bro was in Germany and recently arrested for ?; Haji's brother is a banker in Germany, he, Haji owns the house next door rented out to Maghazezai, hd of Bank-e Melli, orig from Arqk; Haji also is in charge of 2 serais and kuches of shops nr Husseinabad with some 50-60 shops which are vaqf (some rozehs but mixorand) which belong to his wife's xale. Qazizadeh himself came around after a bit and talked about remedies & produce. Qum produces mainly gowje, angil and anar. Jafar Javaher, an executive, 26, in the Behshahr Container Co. came in--his father owns mazreh Bishnaveh which produces fenduq, gerdu, badam.

Qazizadeh:& Haji: katuleh (کاتوله) a green leaf you squeeze the juice of good vs snake and scorpion bite. Gall stones (sang-e masaneh مسانه) produced by the gach-filled water of Qum, the antidote to which is gonabid or kalam gomri (گومری), also xarbuzeh. Onions are a cure-all, esp. against bad breath, prophylaxis vs prostrate, and any microbes entering the mouth, typhoid, teeth problems. In old days when entered new town would bite into an onion and throw it away, would form a prophylactic shield on the teeth past which no microbes could go. Put a peeled onion in a room in which has been disease to collect the microbes and cleanse the room. Sir (garlic) has similar but less strong powers. Kamkar hospital was built by brother of the Kamkar in intelligence; the latter was classmate of Qazizadeh.

At 5 S. Hossein Morteza came to take me to meet Ayat. Marashi-Nejafi: he was feeling ill and said so, so there was little point in saying more than who I was. He suggested we talk to Eshkevari. I tried to plant the seed of a survey in his madressahs but am not sure whether he understood: answer was alhamdulillah. Got a copy of his Tozi Masael. Talked a bit with S. Hossein Morteza thereafter: he wants to translate properly as a pamphlet parts of Eshkevari's writings on Najaf, the majlis estefta--which I will help on the English and thus get it translated as well. Re. rebeh, Islamic banks etc., --dont take interest from poor etc., but can form partnerships and thus invest even sahm-e Imam; sure they dont do it now, but agrees with Mujtahedi that in theory it is legal and in practice it should be done. Further he wants to pursue with the ulema why no thotis given to Shia in foreign countries--help Afghanistan etc. either by allocating a share of the sahm-e Imam as is, or investing first and then helping with the increased funds.

Returned then to Haji's & Mahmud. Old Qazizadeh was still there: has an amazing mixture of old ideqs and modern attitudes: does not believe we went to the moon, has a variety of nature miracles which I'm sure would lead to proof of Gd except that fortunately no one but he believed in his miracles like a waterfall coming from a cliff wall and going to another wall hole, the former stopping if the latter hole is covered.

It turns out that Haji's family were hatem (caretaker) in the harram for 700 yrs; he himself filled this job beginning 22 years ago at a salary of 7 tomans a month, and was thrown out 4 years ago when his salary was 250 tomans a month. There are 3 shifts of these caretakers (each shift works 24 hours), the changing of the guard occurs at dusk (ghorub) when they say a special khotbeh around the large candles at the shrine. (Inside is also a museum) There used to be 150 people composing these 3 shifts; with the changes since the White Revolution this has been cut down to about 30 people; some were retired with pension like the guy across the alley from Haji; others were simply kicked out like Haji. I.e. first of all Mesba's family held the motavalliship for 400 yrs until the White Revolution; before that the motavalliship had been in the family Rashid-ullah. After Mesba first the motavalli went to Mehrjan with whom Haji had a fight, then the present motavalli came into the job: Abdul V , brother of Dr. Manuchehk Egbal--the latter's daughter is the wife of Gholam Reza (?) brother of the Shah--and he joined forced with the moaven motavalli and forced Haji out (may he die soon etc.) Shariatmadar paid the guy who was previously pish-namaz in his site 30,000 tomans sargolfi & found him a mosque in Fouziyeh (Teheran) plus 4000 tomans/mo (again how the marajeh are making Islam harram); Marashi has the site in which previously Haji's relative (his dai?) held--the latter's son is a teacher and doesn't have anything to do with ahl-e elm, but the "sargolfi" here paid by Marashi is once a year to read in his name(?). The guy Shariatmadar replaced is the brother of Sheikh in Beirut. 4 people lead prayers in the Harram: Marashi, Shariatmadari, Haji Dadash (who is the brother of Marashi's wife), and an Arab sheikh. Golpayegani leads prayers elsewhere. Two million tomans worth of contributions are left in the harram by pilgrims; plus they own the shops around the Meidan, the new passage and most of the land from Shariatmadari's kuche towards Safayeh. Edare Oughaf has minimal influence or holdings. Egbal is a dervish--father ~~far~~ of Jafar Javaher is also a dervish: the gotb here is Sheriati whose house is near Shariatmadari's. Haji credits Marashi not only with the great knowledge of rejal and nesab (esp. of sayyids) such that Haji who knows his line 7 generations could go to him and recite those 7 names and Marashi could take it back to the Imams, but also to tell by looking at you whether or not you were najes (a hatem in the haram must be pak--have performed ghusl) from sexual intercourse or wet dream or not full cleaning when you urinate; and he suggested that maybe that was why he didn't answer my questions or played ill, tho I said I had in fact been pak having had a shower before hand. The bacce baz of the story above is not Marashi's Ni Bro, but his damad's sister's husband.

Interestingly people were upset by my report that Marashi-Nejafi had said he was ill: universal opinion was that had I come bearing gifts of money he would have been well; when Qazizadeh left opinions became even stronger & stories began to flow. Haji rented the house now in the hands of Moghazehzai once to an old sayyid. He went to Marashi-Nejafi and asked for help, he had no money, hungry children etc. Marashi said he (M@N) had no money, but in taking something out of his pocket dropped a pile of money in the kuche; even so he gave nothing. The sayyid came home swearing he would never pray behind Marashi-Nejafi again (which is how the story came out). M-N's son goes to London and whores around with the sahm-e Imam; he even brought Parvin Ghafari, one the well known Iranian actresses to his house here in the next kuche--she herself told Mhd. Shariatmodar was seen in adultery & photos were taken, he was blackmailed a number of times till he sold the Sazeman Amniat and they retrieved the negative; he drives a Benz, his son Hassan Agha drives a chevy. These guys build buildings in their own name rather than helping the needy. Marashi-Nejafi's library is also his future grave (the architecture does resemble a mausoleum. Marashi-Nejafi's wife's bro, Mehdi Agha, is a bacce baz. They give money to their followers for better cars or building fine houses, e.g. like the guy who is building his house on our kuche--a sheikh and retainer of Marashi-N. Haji says for these reasons he refuses now to say his prayers behind any of these guys, tho he admits some are better than others: Iraqi and a couple other minor people who are not widely known. Maghazehzai was the least happy with all this carping--he is a follower of Khonsari in Teheran, points out that Khonsari rents his house still and brooks no change. Haji says Yazdi and Borujerdi were good; the current crop makes the Beit-ul-Mal harram. When I asked the two younger guys--Mhd and Jafar--if they were not a bit hypocritical, themselves planning various outings with whores etc., yet disallowing it in Marashi-Nejafi's son. They replied that he was a young man and they did not grude him sowing his oats, but not when he is in the business of preaching morality and not with the community's money. I raised Imami--Hassan Agha's friend--'s simili that when you get a letter you dont inquire into the morals of the postman; Jafar got ~~wkix~~ quite excited and angry at this, disagreeing: when you try to convert someone to a belief you must be sincere or it wont come across. When Maghazehzai objected that what the sons of these guys did shouldnt be held against them themselves, this was agreed, but Haji quoted Saadi's couplet that a star-seer was being cuckolded, and the line was you know what is going on light yrs away but not what is going on in your own home; so too these marajeh should know what goes onlat home. Earlier in the afternoon Haji had cited the lines:

Islam be zat-e xod nadurad ebi, har eb ke hast dar
musulmaniye mast. (There is no fault in the goals of
Islam; whatever fault exist is in we muslims)

We walked back to the bridge to let Jafar catch a bus to Teheran so he could be at work tomorrow at 8; it was 12:30 & Haji also took out his goat and sheep (2) for exercise and to collect some skins for them. We reconvened at his house around 1 am and talked till the monajot started at 2:30 eating watermelon, at which time Haji suggested we go for kalléh pachi or at 5:30--because it is good when fresh and not later, but Ipleaded for some sleep.

Afternoon w/ John & Steve arguing & Rank & Seivith: can you generate a selection of equalitarian (Rank & Seivith) by welfare + freedom procedures

15 June (Sun) to Teheran with neighbor Mhd--he turns out to be a provincial who really doesn't know his way around Teheran. We met up with Jafar and went to see the singer Susan at the Moulan Rouge.

16 June (Mon). Shaha is 3 today, a party. Met Shahrokh's Mo.-- she came for a few minutes before the party.

17 June (Tues). ~~Rank & Seivith~~ Flew to Shiraz in the afternoon. There was a conversion of 3 people to Zoroastrianism the other day which Caroline attended. Staying at her house is the Victor von Hagen "Persian Royal Road Expedition". They are all balled up in permit troubles. Caroline is having fun at IAS meeting people, but also various intrigues. When she first came Zaymani, the man from Evaz-e Lar (ie sunni--owners of Park Hotel are the same background), did not want to give her an office, so she sat in his secretary's place saying she wanted to be close to the center of the action and observe all that went on: that did it. They are building a new building and it is vastly underfinanced: forgot to include wiring, plumbing, architect's costs, etc. The board of directors says, never mind, we run the Red Lion and Sun and will lend you money from our vast resources and you can pay it back some time. Meanwhile the building in which they are now is scheduled to be torn down in the fall and a new Keyhan bldg put up. They are currently paying no rent, only taxes on the bldg; if they are not out by Mehr however they will start paying rent at punitive rates. To help them get out, the owner has gotten them a 6 million toman low-interest loan from the Irano-Japanese bank.

18 June (Wed). Went over to the Zoroastrian Anjoman and met old Dastur Kodadad (Mary Boyce's informant) who confirmed that the conversions had taken place--said that the community was getting small and now that the Shah is strong and SAVAK is strong, it can be attempted. ~~the son studied w/ Kholod in Bombay~~

Met Grant Farr (sociol) and Skendar Amanullahi (PHD Rice-- from Khorammabad). Had lunch with the former and several others, dinner with the latter. Skendar went to school at the U of Md, then Rice--originally was picked up by the archeologists who work in Khuzistan (Frank Hole et al--Greg Johnson taught at Rice for a bit too). He is working on a paper on women among the Qashqai, another on outcaste groups among the Burs and Qashqai (ie gypsies, who are unclean because they hunt and eat pork, do leather work, etc.

* 19 June (Thurs). Waited for the Akhavis to arrive and get them settled in the Park Hotel. Then took off in the afternoon for Lar. Took a bus to Jarom (where the pavement ends) and found that buses to Lar only come by in the morning and from Shiraz. Linked up with a man returning to his ancestral village near Lar for a village from Dubai where his father had moved 18 years ago--they run a shop (is Sunni). At dinner we talked to an antique dealer from Teheran (Mohsen) with a Qumi wife who is on a trip around in the boondocks looking for what ever of value there might be. He showed us what he had with him: basically coins, amulets, rings and a few knickknacks.

* Also met Thom Phillips (hist) - he & wife Goli Bayat will be at Harvard. Increase in anti-Western feeling: no increase in salary (cost of living) for foreigners because they are on simple contract vs Iranians who get this. Last summer - 200 kids picked up - most released w/in a couple weeks.

19 June (Thurs)

20 June (Fri) = Election Day

21 June (Sat)

III-72

LAR

Arrived in Lar, had a pepsi, began to ask for the Post Office, Ed Office or the MacIntires & was given a ride on a bike by a young kid to the latter's house. We had not gone more than a few hundred meters when a plainclothesman on another bike stopped us: police, did I have my identification etc., he would come by the MacIntyre's in a bit to check them. He came to take my passport and we determined that I was here to stay for a few days, since tomorrow was election day and they were worried about bloodshed and so bus lines were to be cut for a bit. The election is between 3 candidates, the popular ex-mayor named Eftexari whom all the young teachers support; a former asst minister of court named Farshid; and a Teheran-resident doctor. Emily and Ron think it is a contest mainly between the former two, and that it will show whether it is a machine run election or not; there could be bloodshed if Farshid wins, and he is rumored to have handed out a lot of money to several merchants in town. There was bloodshed here before over an election for the magistracy when a Sunni from Evaz won.

Position of women is changing visibly. Four years ago there were not enough women teachers, now there are more than enough. Girls now prefer high school and trying for college as opposed to going to the daneshserai (teacher training) which is run as a prison-like boarding school. One of the confrontations came with the daughter of the leading religious leader, Agha Bozorg. He took his daughter out of school when she was finished with dabestan. Her husband later however allowed her to go back. This was helped in the nite school by a woman head who formed a section for boys and one for girls. She however was succeeded by a man who gave no quarter: one mixed section. So Agha Bozorg's daughter was taken out, and studied for the exams at home. There is an exam for getting into the daneshserai, smart girls are flunking this on purpose so as not to have to go--their parents would prefer to have them go there (teaching being respectable for a girl, control, likely to marry in Lar; vs the liberating aspects of HS and college away from Lar with likely marriage out).

The town was hard hit by an earthquake in 1960 destroying much of the town esp. the old Jewish Quarter under the fortifications. The Safavid bazaar which is a miniature version of Shiraz's Vakil bazaar, was untouched. A new town is built some 3 km away and houses given away almost free. Some conflict btw those who went and those who stayed in the old town: you took charity vs you live old-fashioned. 51% of the bazaar is owned by one person; a woman owns another piece of it. People drink abambar water because the ground water is so salty; nothing is done to coat the abambar water with a film as in Yazd.

Id-e Omar is still big here. This year less so since it fell the night after NORUZ. Hossein from Bandar-Lenge says that altho the majority there is Sunni, Id-e Omar is celebrated because the Shiah have intimidated the Sunnis: 8 yrs ago the Shiah beat up Sunni shopkeepers who did not close on Moharram.

Women can store up money since Hu is obligated to support them. Education is good excuse for putting off suitors--saying no. Lala--teach marrying pair, check sheets, depilate and does eyebrows--lucrative. Used to be 100F a go now much more--the laleh near where Emily & Ron live.

Social control--if a boy gets too wise on the streets, complaint is made to the schools and they to the police, who take him and shave his head. Repartee for women: ~~gaga~~ ^{gaga} girls give come-ons (matlkk): miyayid, xar mishi
~~haddaxirax~~ Good girls give put downs: kir tu kose madaret
 siah bepush (ie may someone d)

Asab (?) btw men.

On Friday all shops were closed for voting. Eftexar did win.

Big garden now destroyed, Bagh-e Neshot, belonged to Khan murdered in uprising. Moharram processions end up at Imamzadeh.

Hossain fr Bandar Lengeh distributes sweets to shops in the area around Bandar Lengeh--says the companies like Minoo are now trying to pass on the costs of transport which they previously paid. He did 70,000 T. worth of business with Minoo alone last year.

Beggar woman at the bus stop keeps tabs on people for the police--she is well known to all.

"San Francisco", a retired gendarmerie officer, is the informant household for Emily--his daughter, Simin, esp.--her husband is in Kuwait; woman head of danshserai also lives with them. High class prostitute lives up the kuche: closed circle of clientele.

22 June (Sun) - morning returned to Shiraz: spent the afternoon waddering through the bazaar with the Akhavis; to Caroline's for slides and a film of Carosell after.

23 June (Mon) Morning at Adabiyat (Faculty of Letters)--meeting Shahrokh and Elaine in Grant Fqrr's office and intro them to Skendar and then the Phillips; we had dinner with the latter. When Goli came back, routine interview with SAVAK was somewhat funny since they asked where her husband had been born (what was Königsberg)--she told them if they just wrote Germany it would be easier. She confirmed that Anjoman kids had stirred up trouble against her accusing her as a Bahai. Sheriati--she gave a paper paprly on him at MESA in Minn.--was the paper Cyler Young Sr tried to allow to be finished. He is now finished, but there is in fact a tactical alliance between leftists and the religious.

24 Junē (Tues) Morning typed end of my women paper at Adabiyat so as to give copies to Goli & Skendar. Lunch with Skendar--he is going to make two gardens in Khoramabad, one worth 70,000 T. At lunch met Afshar Shirazi, aughōr of a book on Mani, who is selling a library of 15,000 volumes to Pahl. U. Knew the literature on Bahais, but thinks only E.G. Browne is decent; their own writings are lies. Qashqai caps are modeled after US army.

Afternoon, met Goli Bayat & Thos Phillips at the Korush pool. A woman teacher described how her school had withheld taxes and not paid them, but she turned them in because she needed tax clearance to leave the country, and did not allow cover up. IAS has been fiddling its pension & insurance plans--they work but are not accordring to the law tied into the natl schemes--have pd nothing. Goli & David Marsden used interviews on women at Pahlavi--used 3 intervwers, one a known SAVAK agent. Interestingly even the most pious women said the line in the Koran giving women an inferior position is wrongly interpreted. Chadori women driving: have a special headpiece pinner under chin w flap over chest, dark glasses.

25 June (Wed) Went to Madresseh Khan to look up mujtahed Malek-Hosseini. He gave me a rough sketch of the history of the Madresseh--built by Imam Guli Khan (see his letter in Esharat-i va Hekayati to Shah Abbass Kabir), son of Khan Luri, a right hand man of Shah Abbas Kabir who made 12 villages vaqf for the madresseh. Mullah Sadr came here to teach. But Shah Abbass Sani (II) took these away, brought the rohani to Isfahan with the intention of killing them. Thus it has no vaqf, etc. any more, but subsists on the Sahn-e Imam. When I asked if he gets help from Qum or Meshed, he puffed himself up: no I'm a mujtahed and am entitled to collect the Sahn-e Imam and disburse it. To the question of social background--most are villagers. The reason is simple: in the past all things legal, judicial, etc., were in rohani hands. People of all sorts became rohani both for religion and for money/power. Now that's gone--only to villagers is the rohani life a good one, & he pointed out one of his students: has a house, a car, isn't such a bad life. When I countered with the statistics from Madresseh Golpayegani, he said yes maybe but those who were counted as rohani were village rohani. So I asked him about his kids--he has 10 and hopes some of them will follow in his footsteps. There are ~~100~~ 100 talebs in Madresseh Khan and only 60-80 talebs in the other several madressehs. But everything is taught from moghademat to dars-e kharej. People if they go elsewhere go to Qum not to ~~the~~ Najaf. A man in ordinary clothes sitting in said one basically went to Najaf for language as now one goes to England or America. Malek-Hosseini indicated that since Borujerdi Qum is the center. A taleb then came in who recognized me from Qum. Malek-Hosseini indicated I should talk to Mahallati at Masjid Valid (Kh. Dariush) who has a BA from Teheran. Malek-Hosseini was very enthusiastic about having converted and circumcised a former IAS director, 2 yrs ago, now in Calif. = a sign that slowly Islam will make inroads in America. Islam has 3 parts: ? morality & rules for social life, ~~now~~ wh neither Cath, Prot or Jews or Orthox have. America is enshaallah on the decline--diff people have their turn; Persians in the time of Darius, then the English, now Americans have had it; decline comes with the bad works eg Vietnam. Kiddled about making me a Muslim & an akhund--told me to clip my mustache: it is darvishi, it gets in food, it is zesht--the beard however he liked.

An old man asked him and got 90T for illness. Two young kids came in to be assigned to an ostad for training.

Went to Masjid Valid and made an appointment for tomorrow 7 am. Talked to two young guys: one from Khoramabad who says Amanullahi is one of the 4 big taifeh of the town--he himself came from a small one and an unhappy childhood: his Mo d, his F beat him, he didnt do well in school, he joined the army, is now in mapping school: pays 600T/mo tuition to Bezaad the proprietor and sole teacher of about 80 people in two classes--once you get out you can earn 5-7000 T/mo for Oil Co, Iron mines etc. But to pay for the education he has 2 jobs--one in a company making 1500 T/mo working in the mornings, evenings parks cars nr ~~the~~ Shah Cheragh.; a mo ago he worked for a chelo kebabi at Dariush & Zand & made only 10T day working all day--was the only thing he could get.

Afternoon & Evening w/ Guli Bayat & Thos Phillips. Modern chadored women drive: dark glasses & pinned headcloth with piece over chest. Sheriati reinterpr key words in personal terms. See Nasr in Yaghmal Xodnd-Shahrivar 1345 "Barxordeh Tamadon va Forhange Iran ba Gharb". Working alliance btw fundamentalists and marxists. Roshan-fekr implies motahed: "commitment" to what ever--each of these guys has a nationalistic vision (whatever polit tactics is second).

26 June (Thurs). 7 am met Ali Rahimzadeh and Rahim Qalipur & proceeded to the house of Aqa Mahallati--a plush no-sazi house with garden and chairs and a separate section biruni w/ carpets. We were brought into the inner section--he had a white Mercedes Very open & enthusiastic. There are 4 madressehs: Khan is the largest with 100 talebs; Aqa Baba Khan (near B. Vakil), Mansuriyeh (vaqf Aqq Mansuri) and the newly repaired Hakim have maybe 200 altogether, so that the Shiraz total should be around 300 taleb. They are supported with the sahme Imam--about 100,000 T/mo. is available. His father and several generations back have been the leaders of Shiraz. The money is all directly funneled--no help from Qum and in fact have excess so that occasionally divide the Sahme Imam half ~~from~~ for local use and half for Najaf. He is building a new Madresseh patterned after Madresseh Golpayegani (they sent their program).

Rahim Qalipur interrupted to ask about a debate he had with a Bahai: is it true they have a prophet? Mahallati said that that was another long debate and should be left to another time--let us deal with Fischer's questions first--but mentioned the "Anjoman"--that they have done research, penetrated Bahai organization and can give guidance. So I pursued it a bit--the organizer is Sheikh Mahmud Halabi in Teheran--the organization is everywhere. Ali Rahimzadeh mentioned that his F., an army officer had on order joined the Bahais to find out who they were--this information was then used against those who made any trouble kicking them out of the army. Mahallati said lots of Muslims have thus penetrated Bahaism but few became true Bahais. It is a political tool of the Iranian Govt with Israeli and American help--about two years ago 34 Bahais tried to enter Algeria and were caught and thrown out.

His Madresseh Valiasr hopefully will be opened in 6 months. Basically the curriculum here will be (and is in Hakim) the old one but with a few new books, e.g. Adurus va Naviye Usul-e Mozafar (in place of Qavanin Mirza Qumi).

Noted the freedom of study in the old system versus the formalism of modern universities: now simply to get diplomas for entrance to work; before a boy 16 and an old man 90 might be in the same class. Less likely to admit a 40 year old man in a modern university. He himself graduated from the Univ. of Teheran (law) in 1336, studied with Sangeladi et al.

I asked about sociology of Islam and Sheriati--he was exiled for engaging in that debate here--exiled to Iranshahr ~~for~~ a couple of yrs ago. He began setting up something similar to the Husseinieye Ershad but when Sheriati was imprisoned he thought better of it. Last yr he was in London for a month--his father was in the hospital and he had a house in Kensington. His

son got his first degree from Natl Univ, then went to Texas and now is in Kansas doing a PhD, but also has set up a majlis. He hopes to visit him in American this summer. Are one million muslims in London--building big mosque--Islam is making headway.

Re. social background of talebs--not a real issue--
Shahriatmadar is from a village, Golpayegani from Golpayegan, Borujerd from Borujerd.

Diff btw Univ and odd hoseyeh elmi (he had said something about there being an informal exam system in the latter thru ejazehs and some becoming mujtahed young while others getting nowhere despite age--versus Univ where all herded thru formalistic hurdles to which I countered that there was a lower floor & one is flunked out of Univ to which he countered yes but in Islam those who aren't bright are useful yet as village akhunds. You dont send a mujtahed to a village; if a rosaxond is a bit bisavad that doesnt matter; but it is impossible to become a marja taqlid if you are bisavad. For each Islam has a place.)

Edare Sabt still comes to him or f ther to check an old sanad--previously this all in rohani hands: bk called bayaz in which sales registered ppening fr the top.

No. of major projects: (1) Daftar-e Xeirat-e Islami: giving of charity thru xeirat contributions--started in ~~1341~~ 1341 with now about 60,000 T/mo to disburse. (2) Tavuni Islami (now 3 million tomans capital)--the bank for borrowing without interest for 10 months. Re. my question of capital declining--no because so many people are constantly replenishing it: contributions per se or for time period. (3) Darmangah Valiasr (clinic started 10 yrs ago)--pay doctors little--500T/mo. Pharmacies give discount way beyond bulk rates. Just bought an xx X-ray machine from Siemens at gr discount. I.e. just because a charitable affair, everyone tries to help. (4) Kuh-e Imam Ali--25 houses for poor, 5 more being built.

Imam Jomeh's job sort of out of service: it is an inherited job. Sheikh ul-Islam completely gone. Imam Jome' is technically Sadrudin Shirazi; but people do the jome prayer in Masjid Agha Mhd with

He suggested we go look at the Darmangah and at noon he would show me the office for the Daftar Xeirati.

Mr. Ben-Abbas showed us around the Darmangah room by room--no beds, only a clinic. 8 doctors (3 specialists, 5 GPs) of whom 1 is female. 9 female clerks. A 300,000T. Siemens x-ray machine. Open from 1 pm til the last patient goes. Family planning section just closed by the gov--claimed not to know why. Keep record of what administered to each patient--files go back to the establishmt of the clinic, but the medical histories are hardly full records. Have about 150 patients/day of whom maybe 20 are poor and pay nothing, rest get 30% discount. 30 people are given milk (tinned) Have own pharmacy, little room for prayer. درمانگاه خیرات واری عم

Then we went to Shah Cheragh--they have been doing a lot of repair work--colored glass windows reflecting in the mirror work makes a very nice effect. Nearby is the newly reopened Madresseh Hakim with about 75 students (c. 25 hojreh), a small library. It was opened about two years ago & is run by Haj. S. Abdul

Dastgheb---comes around noon, has some connection with Mahallati.

Ali Rahimzadeh--a high school student; b. Isfahan, raised Kurdistan, Teheran, moved around because his father is in the army. What kind of work is it to point out Bahais as his father was doing? Well you know about Bahais--they can marry anyone but FWi; if they cant impregnate Wi, they let someone else do it; they say all najesat are hallal. At time of Land Reform, Mahallati was jailed and they wanted to kill him; Haj Agha Arbab went to the Kakh-e Sadrabad and demanded to see. Mhd Reza--the shah came running bare-foot, ~~released~~ released Mahallati. Mahallati was exiled to Yazd but did so well on membar that built mosque. (He had been with us this morning when Mahallati said Iranshahr but still insisted on Yazd--so I later asked M.: Iranshahr but the bit about building a mosque partially true--have bought land for it.)

Rahimpour gave me names of ~~six~~ singers and songs suppressed by Govt: Shamaizadeh --Fariyal Rang

Dariush --Buyi Gandom

Farhad --Delam az Terikha Haste Shod

Fereydun Forughi --Khorshid dar Modab; Deparis in morde Dariush tee-shirts are being sold on the streets. You take the 5th wd of each line of Mahiche Kuchilu to get the political message.

Big day for Shah Cheragh is Fri--for "Astaneh" (S. Alauddin Hossein) is eve of Monday.

At noon returned to Masjed Valiasr to meet Agha Mahallati and he showed us his charity system (Daftar Xeirat-e Islami) started some 9 years ago. It operates on pledges which are kept on file (a cabinet full--2 rows in each drawer). This file is for his workers to go around and collect. One can return one's pledge card if one wishes to stop. One can get both one time and regular help. For the latter a file is kept--300 families get regular help month by month for rent, illness etc.

The 9 women clerks in the Darmangah are recruited from the 25 families in Kuh Ali settlement. These families pay nothing; other houses have been bought and given to people. Help is given to Imam Kuh Ali girls to get married, jehezziyeh etc. They are intended to stay there till their children grow up and put on their own feet.

Two girls schools have been opened: Qesmatiye & Maktab-e Zareh. But he indicated they were not quite the same as the girls schools of the Dar-ul-Tabliq & Haqq in Qum.

He has plans for building a big hospital. Reason the Govt closed the family planning section of the Darmangah is that a family planning clinic was set up nearby.

Govt tries to put down any of his works.

The two guys after, responded to my leading question of why the gov should oppose such good works. i) Mahallati and Islam speak in the name of equality for all versus the gov which is for hierarchy--that there be engineers on top and people as underlings (as we had parted from Mahallati, he too said to the guys we are all brothers, there is no talk of servants--nokar--in Islam) ii) result of colonialism (I had said to the above, OK, but that people should have houses, health care--colonialism wants healthy workers), to wh iii) dictatorship must keep all in its own hands.

Afternoon got to talk a bit to Gary Kukuk and his fiancée Nuri--the couple who just converted to Zoroastrianism. He is an electrical engineer; rejected confirmation as a Lutheran at age 12. Grew up with Indian friends in Minn. & absorbed much of Indian cosmology. Four peoples: red, black, white, yellow, each with its own peaceful path on a North-South axis; going E-W leads to conflict and destruction which is what White Man has done. Gary has spent time as a Zen Buddhist in Japan, in Tibetan monastery in Switzerland. He sees Zoroastrianism as the original White man's path--combines ecology and cosmology and rules for a way of life. He is less interested in ritual and theology than in metaphysics. He was brought in by Rashid Shahmardan and Rashid performed the ceremony. The evening before the ceremony another guy came to approve it (Fanuni?). In practical terms it all started as pressure for Gary and Nuri to marry--she is of Bahai parentage; he rejected Christianity, was Buddhist (also not recognized), found Bahai solution of his becoming Muslim & marrying then in a Muslim ceremony hypocritical and unacceptable. So Nuri walked into the Zoroastrian anjoman for information, and Rashid just happened to be there and to listen and take an interest. Gary has an understanding with him that there are two schools: esoteric and exoteric.

Evening cancelled my Iran Air ticket and lost half its price. Then went to the Daftar Xeirat-e Islami where I watched the handout of money. It was started 13-14 yrs ago with one man doing all the checking and research (1344--tho which would be 9-10 yrs). Now the city is divided into 9 parts with a guy for each. Masjid Valiasr, Kuh-e Imam Ali, the Darmangah and this Daftar Xeirat are all in one hand. The Tavuni Islami is run by 2-3 guys. The guy was fairly brusque and firm with the obviously very poor. One old couple was given money for his eyeglasses but not for some medicine. Another old woman was given something for an eye doctor, apparently was expected to contribute some money (he figured it could run 300-400 tomans) she said she had none, but was sent on with the instruction that she should return and tell the result. An amputee was turned away: his case had not been researched--he sat; finally was offered 5 tomans: it was put in his hand; he sat some more & then got up on his crutches and walked across the room to return it; then sat outside to await Mahallati. The clerk explained that there were 2 kinds of people--those who were helped first were really needy, often did not even press their claims, were good people; the 2nd group like this one really ran their troubles as a business and even would use children as a way to extract money. Thus the need to check into every case. This fuller explanation with its judgment on this man was offered to me after he had left, but similar things were honestly said to the man: we don't know if you are telling the truth, we must check; we've lost money before this way. He estimated about 2000 donors giving monthly from 5 rials to one person who gives 100T. There was a very obvious by-play with tea: I arrived while the clerk was out & tho the office was ~~closed~~ open, those seeking money were sitting on the stairs outside; I entered & greeted the tea boy whom I had met earlier before the office opened. The others followed me in to sit on the chairs. I was given tea; they were not. Two young girls in black (mourning?) skirts and blouses but no chador came in, and were given tea; they

too were given tea. Then a young man well dressed came in & also was given tea. Later the clerk & his assistant were given tea. Much ~~later~~ later after all the other suppliants had gone, but before the debate with the amputee began, he was given tea; he said in the course of the discussion that he had come several times since filling out the request form. The subtleties of giving and receiving ~~and~~ are well-noted: last night Mahallati gave a suppliant some money, wadding it up first and slipping it more-or less unobtrusively in his hand--this was noted by Rahim later as an indication of Mahallati's goodness. A similar gesture was made by the clerk in the Daftar to a better dressed man among the suppliants who came and sat by the desk while less well off people were dealt with, and then some money was slipped him in a good bye handshake. The clerk gave me the address of Maktab-e Islam and the name of Dr. (Xanom) Moayyedi as the director.

I returned to Caroline's for what was supposed to be a celebration of the von Hagen's expedition getting a last permit--Victor did return from Teheran with the permissions, but a telephone call indicated that all was not yet done. A beautiful chess move by the Persian bureaucracy. Victor's letter says he has the right to film (anything, anywhere) as long as he has an expert along from the Min. of Culture to verify that he is filming proper historical sites; now by phone he is informed that he must come to the office on Sat. to straighten some technicality out, and in the course of the conversation is told that what he will be told on Sat. is that he should attend a meeting in Teheran (whence he just returned) which will determine whether the route he has picked is the historical route. While it is clear that given the 6 weeks procrastination for this last permit (after nine months of filming), he should just go ahead and film tomorrow & let the chips fall where they may, the dilemma is excruciatingly finely set up: the remaining segment to be filmed in the crowning piece of the film to which constant reference has been made in other segments. David Stronach & Bob Gordon have allowed themselves to be used in the film, on the condition that all is ok with the Persian Govt. Clearly for some reason the Persian Govt is having second thoughts about the film despite already having been shown early rushes, the segment filmed in Turkey, and having a letter promising a viewing in London of the whole film before it is released. Thus should the filming tomorrow be seen as a violation of Iranian law, the whole film could conceivably be rendered useless; if they wait and go to the meeting on Sat. and then the one in Teheran, they at the very least lose another week, and by all indications this is just one more of the whole series of stalling moves. I argued that given their connections all the way up to the Shah and Queen--they know of the film & are following the progress: e.g. Bagherzadeh, hd of the Museum, just got into embarrassment because the Shah called him to find out about some heads in Turkey which van Hagen described in an article as Persian style, and Bagherzadeh knew nothing about them--chances of their finessing the procrastination game, by illegally filming tomorrow and getting away with it, are good.

2-3443

III-80

27 June (Fri). I tried going to the Maktab-e Zarah and asking for Dr. Moayyedi. First a young girl, very well covered up came to the door and she called an older woman who gave me a phone number; when I tried the latter I got a woman who could not tell me if Moayyedi was in town, whether the number I was calling was Moayyedi's house or the school--while she did not do the usual Persian trick of hanging up on you, she did the one of refusing to give any information whatsoever so that the call was useless. (Viz. Is Dr. Moayyedi there?--No. Do you know when she will be back? No, it is vacation time. Is this then the school or her house? She has gone out. OK but when might a good time be to call back? I don't know. Look is this the Maktab-e ~~Estan~~ Zarah, or is this Dr. Moayyedi's house? She is out.) So next I tried Mahallati's house, but he was out--a woman let me in, unveiled in the yard hanging up clothes, but did not look like a servant, more like a liberated wife. So then tried Madresseh Khan--Malek-Hosseini was not there, but his young protege said Maktab-e Zarah was under the Education Office, so that girls could go to school with hejab, and also having some classes on Quran, Tqfsir, akhlaq, sokhanrani by both men and women; but no Arabic texts. The name Qesmatiye they did not recognize: maybe Zeinabiye in which case it is the same place--they only knew one such school.

Next I went to check out the Mansuriyeh. I asked the way from a young taleb coming out of Madresseh Hakim--Ali Hashemzadeh (3 yrs here, from around Bushire). He must have seen and overheard me yesterday because out of the blue he offered the information that Dastgheb gives shariyeh of 25,000 T/mo (which includes the provision of lunch), while Ayat. Mahallati gives 2,000 T/mo. There are 75 talebs, but they are expanding. He expressed interest in learning zaban-e xareji (i.e. English)--when I suggested the Iznan-America Society he said that talebs could not go because there were girls in the class.

Checked out the Mansuriyeh--a real small madresseh undergoing some repair--almost all the rooms were locked up but two guys were eating a melon--one, a modares (teacher), was very suspicious, the other not at all, but thus I got the name only of ibn Jusef Hadaeb as the guy who runs it --he'll be around tomorrow at 10, I can ask anything then. So I went to check out Madresseh Agha Baba Khan, a fine old madresseh being repaired--some 20 odd hojreh--laconic taleb said the admin was in the hand of ~~Sh~~ Sabejan and admitted some help from Mahallati.

In physical size the madresseh's rank: Khan, Agha Baba Khan, Hakim, Mansuriyeh.

Noted a beggar woman going systematically from door to door--she had a saddle bag in which she secreted objects. Saw her first in Mahallati's kuche: she got a couple rials from me; a pair of trousers from one door; then later in the morning she was working Caroline's street.

Evening Caroline finally answered her door (she it turned out had been there all along, but was enjoying being alone as her kids had been taken out on a picnic, didnt realize I didnt have a key). We went over to visit Gary and Nuri--he plays a good guitar.

28 June (Sat)--got my ticket to Isfahan and then took a series of photos of the Madressehs. In Madresseh Hakim I met Ali Hashemzadeh again and a mate also from near Bushire. Both are sons of rohani, and say that most of the talebs here are same. Ali has two brothers--one is a draughtsman and the other only 10; he is the eldest; he had 6 yrs of public schooling, his father suggested this path; he is now reading Ma'alem. The ostads come here--classes go on thru the summer, since the weather does not get unbearably hot like Qum. His friend also son of a rohani has a brother who is a rohani. They gave me names of two more madressehs.

Talked to Xaksar, the guy who runs the office of Mansuriye. The Madresseh Mansuriyeh is supported by an 800 year old vaqf in the hands of the Edare Oughaf which latter institution takes 5% for administrative overhead. The vaqf was established 800 yrs ago by Mir Qiassedineh Mansur Mansuriye whose father was from Saudi Arabia. There are now 24,000 descendants; 1/3 of the vaqf goes to help them; 2/3 is for the madresseh. 500 yrs ago (c.806 AH) there was an earthquake which destroyed the 2nd story of the madresseh--a stone records the event in one side the building. The motavalli is Mansuriye, a prof and his wife is a school teacher. they want to retire and join their offspring in America. There apparently was a court battle to establish the correct motavalli. If one ~~one~~ wants to sell part of the vaqf land or rent it etc one needs ulema permission. Done here with some land now rented to Siemens--asked maraja of Qum. Similarly where now the Park-e Shahr stands was another vaqf--permission was given to rent to the Shahr-dari. The Madresseh Mansuriyeh theoretically still owns land in Saudi Arabia but the Oughaf establishment there will not send money to Iran. There are 20 students here all from rural backgrounds--get 150T/mo for moghadamat and 500-600T/mo for sate-ali. Can earn 100,000T in two mo. in the Gulf for speaking from the membar. There are two teachers here: Ziaddin ibn Jussaf Hadaek and his FBs Mhd Reza Hadaek. Their fathers have taught here for 300 yrs. Of the 20 talebs, most are from Fars, but 2 are from Khorassan, 2 from Iraq (kicked out). A young blind man asked for a room--Xaksar was reluctant but told him to ask permission from (?), then explained to me that the guy was a university student, and the vaqf-name says this madresseh should be for talebs. One of the 24,000 offspring came to asked for money--his wife just fell off a roof and he needs to pay her expenses; she is in Isfahan; he and his seven kids are in Abadan. There seemed to be no immediate way to give this man money from the vaqf. The 24,000 descendants obviously range from the very well off to the not well off at all (of whom this guy is not the worst off). The Edare Oughaf, according to Xaksar, leaves alone the vaqfs which are properly being administered, only confiscating those which are not.

Went then to Madresseh Imamzadeh Ibrahim--15 years ago "Haji Alem" (Mhd Bagher Ayatullahi), who leads prayer at Masjid Agha Ahmad on Lutfali Khan Zand opened the rooms of the graveyard to talebs of whom there are about 40--many of rohani families, mostly from around Fars. They come with a few years education and read Quran and then begin with Arabic. Are 5 ostads. No food is supplied. No connection with Oughaf. Get 150T/mo, maybe 300 if married. The talebs I saw were mainly very young. An older one expressed interest in English--showed me the grammar he is trying

Sheh Qeis - a madrasah, on the Jode Qaseh Part
w/ a few talebs - didn't have chance to check

III-82

to teach himself with and again at my suggestion of going to the IIS courses said talebs cannot go where girls are in the class.

Then went to Madresseh Mogheimiyeh, the smallest yet: 10-12 talebs. It is under the Edare Oughaf but the talebs get no shariyeh from them but rather only from the Aga-yun. Most of the 10 are from the garmsir of Fars (to the south). Mansuriyeh and Aqa Baba Khan talebs get some shariyeh from the Oughaf: this is what comes from the sale of their lands--because there was so much it will last a few years and then be finished. Qum by contrast had little land and therefore there is little money to dispense. Re. the Siemens deal of Mansuriyeh--one can rent vaqf, what is against Islamic law is selling it. Mansuriyeh used to have several villages. Mogheimiyeh was built in Safavid period, then fell into ruin and later was rebuilt. Only one person gives dars rarej in Shriaz: Mahallati.

Caroline drove me to the airport. Says in Mashad Abul Qassem Taheri (also "George"--from his stay in America; has American wife) is (a) Dennis' chief informant, (b) the WIZSo of Milani, (c) is prickly but a good line to Milani eg for genealogy. At the airport there were lots of police: arrival of Suharto. My plane was delayed $2\frac{1}{2}$ hrs; Gary and Nuri were there and so spent a couple of pleasant hours being regaled by Gary with stories of his Navy career which matches anything in Catch-22 or Mash. He joined the navy to learn electronics and get to Japan, scoring high enough to get that. Trained in San Diego where he had himself declared a Buddhist so as to take advantage of religious holidays. He was assigned to a security clearance job analyzing Russian plan signals but since he did not want to do that job, he kept refusing to sign the clearance papers. He was concurrently the only Caucasian taking instruction in the local Buddhist temple; a newspaper story was done on him and thus the fact that he was doing classified work without clearance became known & caused his superiors great embarrassment--he was transferred to the job he wanted, but thus began the hostility between him and the navy which he did little to alleviate. A dossier was opened on him first when he declared himself a Buddhist, and became thicker and thicker. He later forced his aircraft carrier to assign a time period in the chapel for Buddhists (ie him). In Japan he always had plenty of money: he used the crane of the ship to haul up crates marked "electronic parts" containing liquor which he then sold to all and sundry for as much as \$20/bottle for what he could buy in the PD for as little as \$3. Others could buy in the PX too but you were only allowed to bring on board 2-3 bottles and when they put out to sea that was soon gone. He also traded in two gems: opel from S. America to Japan (Japan was artificially holding up the price by only allowing imports above a certain size; so he smuggled in gems of smaller size) and starlite (?) to the States. A third small operation was lending money--he had a crazy man as an enforcer--when the latter got drunk he would just beat up people, very violent, psychologically a cripple and knew it, would sleep with a helmet as a pillow--made a deal with Gary: you keep me out of trouble with the authorities by telling me what to do, and I'll enforce for you. Rate normally was 5 for 7, 10 for 14--ie borrow \$5 and pay back \$7 two weeks later on payday. Gary did it for 5 for 6, 10 for 12. The liquor operation gave him a lever with the officer corps for small offenses. One time he went AWOL for

a few days--his cover failed because the ship was put on alert for sailing and a true muster had to be taken. He however had been playing cards (? another story he did not tell) with his officer and got the offense reduced to one day AWOL for which he was restricted to ship for Christmas. On Christmas you can invite guests aboard for free meals--this was in Hong Kong--he had his Chinese girl friend (a prostitute who had worked her way thru nursing school so knew the whole range of society) invite 23 other girls--he sold the right to escort a Chinese girl for \$5; then cleaned up selling liquor. The officers of course all had shore leave and did not find out for a couple of days. When they got back he was called in: is it true you brought a whole brothel on board?--no of course not.--the fine line between breaking protocol and breaking regulations--just invited some friends and the party got a little out of hand. In the Philippines he had a friend who collected animals, esp. lizards; they caught a large one, crated it, and wanted to mail it from Manila but couldn't leave till the next day, so requested to store the crate on ship over night: that was refused--you couldn't bring it on board like the crates of liquor because there would be no way to get it off again: they check what goes off ship very carefully. Eventually he got courtmartialled for grass and confined to ship while the ship was in dry dock being repaired: ie constant din of air hammers around a metal room for 3 months-- had he not had zen training he would have gone nuts. He did not know Harvard was in Massachusetts. Has not been back to the states for about a decade.

The plane finally took off. In Isfahan it proved impossible to get out of town to Qum either by standing at Darvozeh Teheran or thru bus offices. Got a ticket for the next afternoon & went to the Saadi where got a room for 35T.

29 June (Sun). Sat down in Madresseh Jade Bozorg; a couple of mullahs immediately came to ask who I was & to sit and debate. A guy named Aqa Haj Mhd Beheshti took over and a crowd gathered. he was then helped by a younger man, Mullah Abdullah Said Sharifi. Afterwards we shared a melon and agreed to meet under more quiet circumstances and discuss more fully. They went to town on such things as 3 is one and one is 3--why not a symbol for not being able to describe God, for his mystery; because if 2, that implies three (the two distinct items and the dividing space or other divisor); and if three then 5; if 5 then 9; if 9 then 17 . . . an infinite progression to polytheism. I countered by simply refusing to allow implication of this sort: it is a simply formula standing for Gd's mystery, and scored my only minor triumph by interrupting him at one point to say look it is you who keep insisting on the phrase Gd is three, I say he is one--everyone laughed. Basically the Quran is correct, Islam is the only path; that other religions say the same just shows them to be wrong.

As I left some younger talebs said for further debate I should really go to Madresseh Zofagha and talk to the brothers Haj Aqa Hassan Imami and Ahmad Imami.

Very hot bus to Qum--4 hrs. Met Mhd from next door in the kuche as well as my next door neighbor (smaller hayat). @

Tante is eve of Haz Zareh's birth - my grocer had sweets set out for celebration to eat.

30 June (Mon). S. Hossein Towfiqi stopped by in the morning by fortuitous circumstance: he's been mainly in Kashan since the shelukh here. Is going to Mashad this afternoon for a few days only. Imami has been released, as have some 200 of the talebs. People are now unsure as to whether anyone was killed at all, the authorities are saying none were. There are always two Sazmani people outside Milani's house in Mashad. the Anjoman of Halabi still has meetings etc. but has declined recently in activity because the roshan-fekr of Iranian political activity say that that is not the proper way to fight--Bahaism must be rooted out, not one by one conversion back to Islam.

S. Hossein Morteza was not in Marashi Library--is off in Mashad. Rizvi was around: is planning to give up on Iran, return after all these years to Lahore and set up a little institute to teach and publish; included in his calculations are that his sons will soon be able to help him, and he has some daughters he can marry off to scholars who can help him.

Stopped by Qazizadeh to say hi and inquire about what had been happening-- Rizvani won the election with 4000 votes, ie no one voted. He insists that Qum has 300,000 pop. One can divert the Karun river water to this side of the divide if only one drilled an expensive 14 km tunnel--has been talk of this for years. Qum has plenty of water not too far down: sits in a bowl so that around Khak-e Faraj water can be hit 20 meters down; right here 3-4 meters; on Arak road 15 meters; lower town maybe 30 meters -- there are some 80 wells drilled to 80 meter depth. The water table has fallen in recent years due to less rain--in the past there were some abambers filled from below: you just dug down; indeed around here there was often danger of water coming up into people's zirzamin.

Stopped by Haji Naqi with Mhd--nashe is used or sorte shod for the effect of opium. Haji did not vote: he smoked instead & gathered such a group around him in a garden, a wiseguy cracked that he obviously had collected more votes than anyone. After death one's descendants can pay talebs or others to make up the deceased prayers, fasts etc. which he did not do. If then these are improperly done, the sin falls on he who accepted the contract. To say one's prayers improperly is particularly sinful (not just voids the efficacy of the prayer, but is negatively counted) in Mecqa--to lesser extent elsewhere. An interesting thot as to why it is allowed foreigners to visit the Imam Reza ~~shahr~~ shrine but not here ~~Imam~~ Haz. Masumeh, his sister: Islam protects and gives more respect to women, esp. young virgin who dies. Re. name Qum--as Mhd was ascending in the Mirage he saw a light here and also saw in its illumination Shaitan, so he shouted gom sho (Satan get lost). Haji had an Isfahani couple visiting-- Banu Iran (Amini) now an old woman discusses with men from behind a curtain.

31 June (Tues). Mhd Ali beats Joe Bugner in 15 rounds--Haji & Mhd watched the direct satellite transmission this morning; last night Qazizadeh et al heard me being sick and Haji stopped by to see how I was (this is all reassuring) and to chide me for not having taken his advice when I had a stomache ache after eating watermelon last nite (tho I think it was from the shireh) and having nabot to counter the coldness of the melon.

III-85

Kayhan Internatl, June 25, 1975. Two communist terrorists executed (Hossein Salahi; Khosrow Targol) and two sentenced to 5 yrs (Reza Salahi, Asghar Kuhvand). Robbed a bank, killing the manager in Hamadan. Sentenced by Military Tribunal.

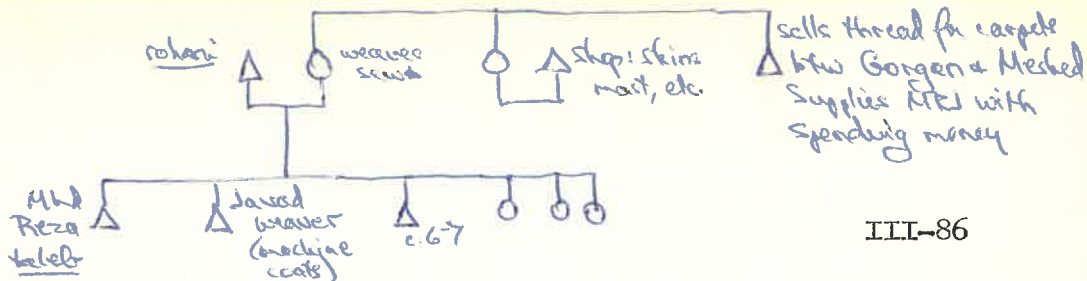
1 July 1975 (Tues)--morning typed jnl on Shiraz--caught a noon bus for Teheran--
got a ticket for Mashad

Met Mike Hillman and we chatted: turns out the best man at his wedding was Ali Sheriati. He is the son of Ayat. Sheriati--could not have set up the Hosseiniyeh Ershad without some sort of background from the ulema. He has two PhDs, one in history, and one ? He was the head of the Confederation of Iranian Students and his penance when he returned was to teach HS Arabic & Persian and his wife also a PhD had to do the same. From ~~196x~~ 1958-66 he taught history at the U. of Meshed. For some reason he was forced out to Teheran and set up the Hosseiniyeh Ershad. He was forced to resign from the U. of Meshed which means he lost pension rights (had not been there long enough to earn any; and once you voluntarily resign, "voluntarily" in this case, you cannot be rehired). Sept 73 for some inexplicable reason he was picked up; now is out and in Teheran, but would not receive Mike. Was for a while a friend of Ahl-e Ahmad tho the latter and Saidi are anti-Islamic. See also Golestani's Safar Esmat (esmat = chastity): she is a whore but basically innocent; she goes on pilgrimage to Meshad and there meets a mullah who instructs her how to do the ziarat, in the course of which asking if she is alone; when she says yes, he says well why dont you join the sisterhood-- what do they do: ~~who~~ well you know pilgrims have needs, sewing for instance. So she joins (ie she has now acquired a new pimp in religious form).

2 July 1975 (Wed)--Morning: picked up some slides, fixed my watch band, tried Dr. Moshiri (wasnt there), went to the Handicrafts Center to check on Nikki Keddi's letters and see what reports they have. Noon flew to Meshed--flew over a large stretch of white salt. Had myself dropped off near the shrine--hotels were full--a scuffy little man offered me a room for 10T/nite if I would take it for at least 5 nites--a mosfarxane right by the shrine; not bad but figured I could at least find something with a bed in it: did eventually find a rather nice new hotel (H. Mashad) for 50T/nite.

Then went to find the Aqazadeh, presumably Mhd Ali, the youngest of the 3 brothers--the other two have also come back to attend to the sick old man from Najaf and Shah Abdul Azaim, resp. He held court in a room next to the sick room on the third floor of the Shahinfar Hospital. The Agazadeh (who later I found out was the oldest son, Nurreddin, from Rey) had a white beard and eyeglasses, suggested I talk to his brother's son Sayyid Fazel who is secretary to the Ayatullah and also speaks English. A asked about Abdul Qassem Taheri and he seemed pleased by that idea too. We arranged to meet S. Fazel tomorrow at 10 am at the Ayatullah's new house (the old one was just torn down in the clearance and creation of a green belt around the shrine); of Kh. Saadi.

Stopped by the tomb of Nader Shah which is a little museum and nice small park, and then went to find Mhd Reza Jakubi--Kuye Tulab turns out to be a suburb parcelled out some time back in 300 meter lots to talebs by Sabzevari; one is free to sell, but it is silly since land prices are going up, so most people in the area are still rohani. Mhd Reza's father came in--a young man; he and Mhd Reza share a special room with bookshelf. The carpets on the floor (crude tribals) are home-made by both boys and girls; they have 2 sheep some chickens, so make own yogurt and eggs.



III-86

There are 14 madressehs in Meshed--have oughaf--now all in the hands of the Edare Oughaf. Shariyeh is given by Milani and Mesba (the wakil for Khoi, Khomeiniy and formerly for Hakim). Not only are they cleaning out the green belt area around the shrine, but inside the circle. They are building a new bazaar with low rents by the new hotel Atlas off Daqiqi Circle (Kh. Teheran) to replace some of the displaced shops. There is a xeirat operation called ibn us sebil which is in Milani's hands but separate from Sahm-e Imam. People make nazr and give money for charity to Edare Astanceh and this does come back as charity tho much is also eaten. I.e. competing charity systems--there are many other small charity organizations by rich Muslims e.g. merchants. And there is one Bank Islami. Sheriati, the father, does not dress in religious garb, and is not really an ayatullah, tho he does occasionally speak from the membar. Hotel Rose, newly opened is a good Muslim hotel: no TV, a mosque. Re. the Feisiyeh students: 200 were released and another 100 put into the army. As for Karubi, he is an old man, his son is in prison--hardly a young marxist rabble rouser, tho he may well have spoken to the kids.

Looking at the map there are anumber of enclaves like Kuye Tulab--an area marked for city employees, one for astane qods people.

Kayhan Internatl 1 July 75--4 terrorists killed in Dowlatabad-e Karaj: Nozhatusadat Ruhi Ahanguran (a woman), Martik Qazarian, Mahmud Azimi Balurian. They had killed an NIOC engineer a month ago.

3 July 75 (Thurs)--Walked about a bit in the morning and met Juakubi on the way ~~not~~ to Milani's house. S. Fazel did not show: the old man was a bit better & they took him to a garden outside town. The saving grace was that Jakubi showed me many of the madressehs in town. The most important in the innovative sense are the 3 directly under Milani--there is the main one near his old house where maybe 700 people study--there is an 11 year program--organized in regular classes. There is place on the third floor for maybe 30 people to live. His old house has been torn down and this madresseh will be. Then there are two higher level madressehs for those who want to study to become mujtaheds (Madresseh Imam Sadeq--specialized in fiq), and for those who want to become motabliq and preach abroad (Madresseh Ali Hosseini). Both of the latter are directed by S. Ali Fazel. The latter--M. Ali Hosseini--is about 4 years old; the idea is similar to the Dar-ul-Tabliq tho the Dar is older and further along in development, includes instruction in English. Madresseh Imam Sadeq is only about a year old. S. Ali Fazel also coordinates the sending of some 400 axunds out to villages each weekend. These madressehs have entrance exams. At Imam Sadeq one gets 200T/mo the first year and 300T/mo the second. Shahriyeh amounts start from 60T/mo at the lowest level. Aqa Jakubi (no relation to Mhd Reza), head of the Bank Sepah, comes to M. Imam Sadeq on Thursdays to preach. At Madresseh Ali Hosseini they want to send people to Africa and Pakistan for language training and then abraod to preach (tabliq). Mhd. Reza Jakubi wants to join this endeavor when he gets that far in his studies, either Ali Hosseini or Dar-ul-Tabliq--has idea of doing tabliq among young Iranians abroad (US, Eng) and perhaps others. Four year plans for classes are posted at M. Imam Sadeq:

YR I: Sat	-	fiq xarej	tafsir	fiq-e quran
Sun	-	"	usul mogharen	"
Mon	-	"	elm-e Hadis	"
Tues	-	"	"	usul mogharen
Wed	-	"	tafsir	"
thurs	-	"	hadis	----

YR II: similar but no tafsir or hadis; instead add. fiq-e mogharen

نقد مقارن

Year IV: kefayeh, tafsir, xiarat-Makaseb, ayun hokam (آیان الحکام), mansareh
(عناطره)

- Madressehs: 1. Madresseh Milani - 700 students in 3 sections (physical parts of the building, or really were separate houses once): 11 year program
Modir: Sh. Mhd Hossein Imani
2. Madresseh Imam Sadeq - study of fiq to become mujtahed
approx one yr old
modir: S. Ali Fazel
3. Madresseh Ali Hosseini--approx 4 yrs old
study to be motabliq
modir: S. Ali Fazel (off Kh. Khosravi)

Off Bazaar Bozorg:

4. Madresseh Jafariyeh -- under Sh. Golem Hossein Tabrizi
5. Madresseh Suleiman Khan--old, small, needs repair

Off Bazaar Zangir:

6. Madresseh Do Darb - c. 35 hojreh .*. 100 taleb
7. Madresseh Parizad - c. 16 hojreh **. 60 taleb
8. Madresseh Bala Sar- about same as Parizad

Off Bala Khiaban:

9. Madresseh Bagheriyeh - currently being repaired by Edare Oughaf
now maybe 25 hojreh in use, will be 40
10. Madresseh Haji Hassan--c. 60 taleb
11. Madresseh Navab -- c. 200 taleb

Opposite Bazaar Saat:

12. Madresseh Baghe Rezaan -- where Sabzevari is burried
he started rehabilitating the graveyard
cum madresseh --repairs continuing
maybe 250 taleb

Off Khiaban Pain

13. Madresseh Ibdul Khan - maybe 100 taleb
14. Madresseh Abbas Quli Khan-- maybe 500 taleb

Inside the Sahne--

15. Xeirat Khan - 250 taleb
16. Mirza Jafar - 600 taleb

three people of repute give dars xarej - Milani, brother of Felsefi, brother of Shariatmadari (came about a year ago--everyone agrees he is the more learned)

Bro of Felsefi talks in Masjid Mirza Jafar & Masjid Goharshah
leads prayers in Masjed (Aqa Hassan) Bannaha

namaz

ruze estijar (استیجار) = make up after death, usually done by old men
haj

says religious classes for women taught by women is not a new thing here

daxtar-xale as mild term of abuse btw males for idiocy: used by a taleb to a servant in Madresseh Milani when we asked him for the telephone number of S. Fazel and he first read a six digit number when it had to be five, then corrected it, but it turned out to be the hospital Shahin far and not the house.

We called S. Fazel and he promised to be at the house tomorrow at 9 am. We went to the Astaneh Museum--has some fabulous carpets, old gratings of the grave of Imam Reza (which people kissed and tied things to), old grave covers, and the original stone inscribed in Kufic. A German company from Frankfurt is doing some of the repair work on the buildings.

Milani establishment has at least two separate people for handing out aid, and for solving problems (answer to a sheikh who walked with us this morning).

Evening I went out for a stroll to the Iran-America Society just to locate it, tho it turned out they were having a small July 4 party. Along the way I picked up a little kid, Mohsen, who thought I was a businessman and wanted to be my dallal (broker). At the AIS I met the head of the Astane Qads (ie the actual head of the operations of the shrine under the Governor of Khorassan, and he said I could come see him any time after Sunday--turned out that Sunday the crown prince was coming to visit); his public relations man--Kosar--was there too tho I did not meet him. Among the Americans, there was a guy named Mark, ex PCV Jalalabad, Afghanistan, who has been in Mashad 5 years teaching English, is going home for a visit and has nightmares about it because the previous times he went he had nothing to talk to his old friends and family about; Steve Siegel, the director of IAS is a boy from Okla.; then there was an English grad student from the University of Texas escaping his dissertation (you can write it here as well, but in fact trying to figure out why write it at all). Mark was converted to Islam by a guy named Mesba who has a shop on Meidan-e Shah--not the well-known Muslim scholar Mesba in town--Mark still drinks scotch on the rocks.

4 July 75 (Friday). Morning, Jakubi & I went to a weekly rosah in Madresseh Milani. We got there shortly after 7 am--a couple of guys sang monajot. Then Aqazadeh Mhd Ali Milani (the youngest of the brothers who has been running things for his father in Meshed the last few years) came to lead the da'a nodbeh (نوبه) --the prayer for the return of the 12th Imam. He began with an arabic xotbeh, then a hadis of the Prophet about Fatimeh (Whoever loves Fatimeh loves me, whoever makes her happy makes me happy, whoever makes her unhappy makes me unhappy, whoever is her enemy is my enemy), then 3 salavats approx. that on the day of Qiamat we not be separated from Fatimeh. And then he began:

Whoever wants to attain knowledge of the Imams, whoever wants to know the road from Amir ul Momenin to the 12th Imam, whoever wants to know the 12 imams must enter the school (maktab) of Fatimeh Zarah salamula ahleha and learn the lessons of knowing the Imams, knowing the schooling and the way of God from Fatimeh Zarah salamula ahleha. Fatimeh Zarah salamula ahleha taught valayat to her friends and those who enter her school. Imam in this school must be just. Story of Ali who treated all the same whether in Mecca or Medina or Yemen or elsewhere; who ate the simplest food--unhusked barley bread so that others not be jealous, and wore the simplest clothing. Imam is one who is more learned, knowledgable and able to do things, who does not say I dont know, I cant, I havent learned how; he must know more and be more learned than all men. (Two problems of problem solving now come to demonstrate Ali's eminence over Abu Bakr, Omar & Usman. These come from the book Ghesavathaye Hazrat-e Ali

نضا و نهاي حضرت علي (ع)
 (i) Amir ul Momenin comes out of his house to go to the bazaar and sees a young man being taken away. here are you taking this man, he asks. The Caliph gave the order that this youth must be bastinadoed (taziyane bexorad). Why? Because he called this woman his mother. Odd isn't it that someone who calls a woman mother must be bastinadoed. Who ordered this? Omar ibn Khatab the 2nd Caliph. Till where I know through both Shiite documents and some sunni ones, the Book Al Qidr of Alem Amini--but we should return to the judgment. Ali tells them to bring the youth back and the crowd returns. Omar saw that at the entrance to the mosque there was a commotion: did I not order this youth to be taken and bastinadoed? Yes but Ali ordered him returned. Ali asks why the youth must be bastinadoed. Omar says because the youth claims this woman to be his mother, whereas she says that she has never slept with a man and thus never bore children. The lad lies and for this reason I ordered him bastinadoed ~~xx~~ 80 times. In Islam if one gives a bad relation to a woman he must be bastinadoed 80 times. That is, if a

that no witness

a man in the bazaar or on the street, in a kuche, if among muslims one says ay mother of so and so, ay daughter of so and so and gives a maligning insinuation, he must be punished with 90 stripes. One must take care with one's tongue, zaban-e larghve (لغو) naboshe; one must not say whatever comes to one's tongue. Send a salavat (salavat). Because he gave a maligning relation of ghazifeh to this woman I ordered them to bastinado (taziyan bezanan). They brought the woman to the masjid and her brothers; her relations also came. They said, oh Amir ul Momenin this youth says this woman is his mother. We are poor (az nazar-e madi dast-e man tohist) and of tribal stock and so could not marry her off. ~~xak~~ Ali says he can solve that problem: he will marry the woman to the youth. He tells Ghambar to go to his house, get some money, the jeheziyeh (dowry) will be on his own (Ali's) neck; Ghambar does this. He then tells the youth to come tomorrow after going to the hammam. At this point the woman speaks up: oh Amir-ul-Momenin, I fear the fires of hell (jehanam). Look I'll tell the truth: my brothers married me to a man of our own tribe by whom I became pregnant. That husband died. When the baby arrived, my brothers said they could not support it, so they wrapped it in a white cloth to throw it in a pit. I was obliged to do as they wished but I kept watch over the baby, and at midnight I saw a tribe come and take the child and watched him from time to time without revealing I was his mother. Eventually he grew up and searched out his origin and learned I was his mother and he came to me, but I still feared my brothers. Lo La Ali in halake omar (Agar Ali nabud, Omar holak mishod). Send a salavat (salavat). I hope that you and I as long as we live till our last hour and dying day and til Qiamat will cry ya Ali.

(ii) The second story is of two friends one of whom is dying and worries about his daughter; the other agrees to look after her. The latter is a merchant and once is gone longer than usual. When he returns his wife greets his queries by cursing the girl saying she has ruined their reputation (abruh) by going bad (daman alude shodan). Omar botches this problem. Ali comes with a sword, and has the wife and neighbor women brought. They are intimidated to tell the truth. One admits to grabbing the girl's hands, the next a leg, the third the other leg, and the wife admits puncturing the girl's hymen with her thumb out of jealousy and fear that her husband would take the girl as a second wife.

They then turned to the nodbe prayer--written out in a booklet, passed out to all. But we had to leave at this point to keep the appointment with S. Fazel Milani. As we walked--Mhd Reza ptd out hosseineyehs kept ready of heyats from various cities--ie we passed one from Isfahan. Say, a few rich men buy a house and keep it ready for heyats from their home towns, so the people can stay here instead of a hotel.

Xotbe; Hadis; 3 salavats. صلوة Maktab sedighe tahereh salamula aleha maktab-e velayate. Har kas bexaxad Imanshenas bashad, bexahad hojat Xodara beshanasad, ~~k~~ behahad az amir ul momenin ta imam davozdahom rah beshanasad in davazda imam ra aga mihahad beshanasad boyad be maktab Fatimeh Zarah salamula ahleha vored boshe, va dars-e Imam shenasi va maktab shenasi ra hajat-e Xoda shenasira az Fatimeh salamula ahleha yad begirad. Fatimeh Zarah salamula ahleha be dustanesh va kasonike be maktabesh vored shodand darse velayat dade. Shenaxtan kesanike dar-un maktab budan boyad Imam adel boshad. Imam-ike adelatike nadoshte boashad Imamike be ماموم minesh zor mikonad be kesanike perove u hastand zor mikonad un Imam be dard nemixorad. Imam un kasi ast ke nazdik o dur baroyeh u yek san bashad minevisad amir ul momenin be nemayandash be duste xodesh be Basre do ta savar nakon ke baroye man emkan in nist ke nam-e jo bexoram behtar in qaza bexoram. Na, hamejar emkan hast ke ba moxtarsarin qazai unha name jo-ike pustishe nakandan va az nexar-e lebas be sadatarin lebas ektefar va ghemmat mikonad ehun nakonad dar qalam ro ve hokomate man dar qalamro khelafat-e man kasi boshad ke shabro be sob berasanad shekam gorosne boshad o qaza-i naxorad.

Baroye Amir ul Momenin un kasonike dar Kufa hastand ya un kasanike dar Yamame va Yeman va Sana hastand va amsal hastand farx nadarad. Xodashtra zaman vase ~~zandi~~ zendige unha midanad X Az nazare elum Zarah salamula ahleha be ma yad dadand Imam unkasist ke az hame alam boshad va savadesh bishtar ezhar-e jal va ezhar-e ajz nakonad. Nagad man nemidunam, nemitavanam, balad nistam, hoquq shar in a U boyad ~~aleh~~ ^{aleh} hame mardom boshad basavadtarin hame mardom boshad. Az peghambar-e akram amuxtan kasonike pevro hazrat Mhd (salavat). Havar dadand be amir ul momenin ya Ali che qazavat haye Abu Bakr mikonad ezrar mikonad ke ba bisavadi in hokmora kardand; usman hamchinin; amir ul momenin amad az xane birun ke berand bazaar. Mibinad ke janaira mikesharid;koja mibarid? Khalifa dastur dadast ke boyad in javan taziyanе boxarad. Chera boyad taziyanе boxorad? Baroye inke nesbat be zan-e goftast in madar-e man ast. Ajaba kasike beguyeh madar man-e boyad taziyanе bexorad. Ki hokm karde. Omar ibn Khatab Khalifeh dovom. Ta inja ke man midunad modarake Shiah va basi modareka Sunni neveshte albate alame ~~na~~ amini Saheb kitab Al Qidr dar jelde ~~sa~~ hafton nar mikonad in qaziye va hamsol-e in qaziye bargardim javanra Javan bargasht, Jmiyat ham bargasht. Omar did ke dar-e masjid haz sheluk shod. Magar man kokm nakardam ke in javanra boyad bebarid taziyanе bexore. Chera. Bargardi. Ali amr kar bargardan. Goftan bebinim Abul Hassan chi mige Amir ul Momenin vored masjid shod Chera kard in javani ke mixahid taziyanе bezanid? Cher, baroye inke da'a kard ast ke in zan madar-e man ast. In azn miguayad ke aslan mardi ba man nazdik nashodeh ta man bacce peda konand ke in bacce man boshad. Aslan dorugh miguyad. Man chun didam in ~~javan~~ shahed o bayen nadaran dastur dadam taziyanesh bezanan, chegagt--80 ta. baroyeh ghaziffeh. Yek maase baroyet begam inja. Az akham Islam ast Agar kasi nesbat be zani nesbat-e badi va vasha bedeh boyad 80 taziyanе bezanan. Ya'ani mardi vaxtike tu bazaar, tyeh Khiaban, tuye kuche, mardom-e muslanman be yek digar madar felon harf mikonad. Mige ay madaret felon ay doxtaret felon, nesbat be eteham-e dorguh mideh boyad 80 taziyanе bexore. Moavesh be zabanesh boyad boshe, zaban-e larghve naboshe. Har chi be zaban amad nage, razi be hesabesh miresad, keraye faral nadarad. Salavat beferestid (salavat Chun nesbat-e qazf be in zan dade man ham dastur dadam in javanra taziyanе bezanam. Zanra avordand masjid, barodarhash avordand, qom-o-xishun amadand. Goftand ya amir-ul-momenin, in javan miguad in zan madare mane. Ma emkan darim chun ma az nazar-e madi dast-e mun tohist, va az qabile hastand ta in qabile dar bene mardom unvani nadarad. Chun az xanevadehaye servatmand man o bexod qabul nemikonad Amir ul Momenin Farvardand be barodarhaye in zan che didid. Goftand ya Ali. Ma nemitavanim dorugh/ beguyim alsan in hohare ma shohar nakardeh. Goftand ~~kesay~~ besyar xub. Man vakilam extiyar daram un kara anjom/ bedahan. Arz kardam albate shoma extiar darid. Be javan goftan man har che anjom bedam extiyar daram. Goftand albate extiyar darid. Ay mardom masjid shahed boshi man in zanra ba ~~na~~ aqd-e in javan dar avordam. Ghambar boru az manzel, ~~maxx~~ mexdari pul biyar, mehriyeh zan ham begardan-e man boshe. Ghambar raft o nextari pul avord va rixt dar damanve zan Javan boru farda ke niyayi, hamam rafte iyad. Zan sedah zad, ya Amir ul Momenin, Alah bin nar ya Amir ul Momenin az atesh jehanam mitarsam. Atesh ~~jehaan~~ ehiye, zan goft ejzaeh bedid man vaghe ra ashra azz konam. Begu bebinam. Baradaraha man vaghe be shohar dadand be javan ike hamin qabile bud. Man az un abestan shodam. Javan be semm javan javanmarg shode. Bacce ke be dunya amad goftand ma hoseleyeh inke in bacce yetinra jam konim nadarim. Az pedar ke baroye in bacce erse baghe monde sargolfi az in monde sarmai vaghe monde Hosile jam kardan nadarim che konim, In baccera dar parche sefid pichidand ~~va~~ be gowdali andaxtand. Man ham chun majbur budam etaat konam az baradaram nesfe shab bud man bacce avordam va mian-e gowd goshtam. Ama negah mikardam ke beinam in javan che mishe. Didam ke qabile amadan in javanra ~~karde~~ bardashtand o bordand. Man gah vi gah be invan haye moxtalef sare be un qabile miamadam az avaal e bacce miporsidam bedune man anra moareffi konam madare in bacce hastam. In bacce hafte o mah solbar un gozast o bozorg shod. Taghhi karde va motavajeh shode ke man madare u hastam. Javan amad goft, man meyl daram dur zir bal marhabat ha madar gegiram. Xz tars in baradam chizi nagoftam va inkar kardam va ela man xieli mahabat dashtam. Bad az in Hazrate Ali ruh be tarafeh hozar ~~va~~ tarafe Omar dar inja ana seda zad lola Ali la halake Omar