

Khūnsārī, LI). After his death the journal was continued but the level of artistry in its drawings did not approach earlier high standards. Ṣānīʿ al-Mulk also painted in oil and made miniatures as well as lithographs. According to Muʿayyir al-Mamālik, Ṣānīʿ al-Mulk's strength was in oil painting, portraiture, and copying; al-Mamālik saw 14 oil paintings done by the painter and he provides descriptions of them (Dūst 'Alī Khān Muʿayyir al-Mamālik, 168–9; Khūnsārī, 51). Ṣānīʿ al-Mulk sometimes signed his paintings "Abū l-Ḥasan Thānī (the second)," because his paternal uncle signed his paintings "Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ghaffārī al-Mustawfī." When Abū l-Ḥasan became *naqqāsh-bāshī*, he dropped the suffix "Thānī" and signed himself as "Abū l-Ḥasan *naqqāsh-bāshī* Ghaffārī Kāshānī" (Shabāhang and Dihbāshī, 22). Various pictures by Ṣānīʿ al-Mulk have appeared in print. Ṣānīʿ al-Mulk had three sons, Yaḥyā Khān, Asadallāh Khān, and Sayfallāh Khān, who were all painters.

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WILLEM FLOOR

Abū l-Qāsim Khān Kirmānī Ibrāhīmī

Abū l-Qāsim b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn **Khān Kirmānī Ibrāhīmī** (1897–1969) was the fifth leader of the Iranian Shīʿī esoteric movement founded by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʿī (1166–1241/1753–1826) known eponymously as the Shaykhiyya. He bore the honorifics Ḥājī and Sarkār Aqā ("lord and chief"), was known mainly by the latter. He was born in Kirmān on 23 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1314/25 May 1897. In 1360/1942 he acceded without conflict or complaint to the leadership of this quietist, inward-looking Shīʿī religious *madhhab* (religious school), upon the death of his father, the fourth leader in this line. Sarkār Aqā himself died on 26 Ramaḍān 1389/6 December 1969, while on pilgrimage to the holy places of Mashhad, and the leadership then passed to his son, 'Abd al-Riḍā Khān (1922–1979).

Under Sarkār Aqā's wise and discreet leadership, the Shaykhiyya movement flourished in at least two related ways. First, a vast and highly variegated literary legacy was rescued from possible destruction through cataloguing and publishing. This included works written by the two founders of the movement, al-Aḥsāʿī and his disciple and first successor, the Iranian Sayyid Kāzīm Rashṭī (d. 1844). The latter's career was fraught with many tumultuous events, and upon his death the Kashfiyya, as the group itself preferred to be known, split into two permanently irreconcilable groups, one of which, the Bābī messianic movement, flourished in Iran from 1844 until 1852. After its suppression, the Bābī movement survived in exile in the Ottoman Empire (especially in Cyprus), as well as underground, and finally led to

the founding of the Bahā'ī faith. Second, through Sarkār Aqā's regular correspondence and meetings with important European scholars, specifically the French Henry Corbin (1903–78), the teachings and history of the Shāykhī movement attracted a wider international audience than might otherwise have occurred, particularly but not exclusively amongst practitioners and students of analytical psychology, and in some instances, scholars of comparative religion, or Religionswissenschaft.

Sarkār Aqā's scholarship, though not on a par with that of some of his predecessors, was timely and lucid. It represents an important and valuable window on the multifarious nature of Iranian Shī'ī discourse ten years before the Iranian Revolution of 1979, not least because one of his books, the *Risāla-yi falsafīyya* ("Treatise of philosophy" (Chāpkhāna-yi Sa'ādat 1369/1950)), is a record of a discussion on doctrine between the author and the renowned and powerful pre-revolutionary religious authority and fiery anti-Bahā'ī preacher, Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Falsafī (dates unknown). In it, Sarkār Aqā left Falsafī with the impression that there were in reality no substantive differences between "orthodox" Twelver/Imāmī Shī'ism and the Shaykhiyya. This impression was so strong that it led Falsafī to ask rhetorically whether it made any sense at all to distinguish by means of a separate name the Shaykhiyya from the Imāmīs. The first book of the venerable leader Sarkār Aqā was perhaps more true to the spirit of the movement begun by Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī. *Ijtihād wa-taqlīd* ("Effort of personal reflection and imitation," [two technical terms in jurisprudence], Chāpkhāna-yi Sa'ādat 1362/1943), grasps the nettle directly in arguing forcefully for the reinterpretation

of these two poles of Shī'ī religiosity and against the necessity for a *mujtahid* (Twelver Shī'ī jurist who forms his own legal opinion based on personal effort). He also demonstrated that the implications of this traditionally juridical problematic go far beyond mere *uṣūl al-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence). His next book, *Risāla-yi tanzīh al-awliyā'* ("Treatise on the holiness of the Friends [of God]", Chāpkhāna-yi Sa'ādat 1365/1946), is a lengthy discussion of topics associated with Twelver/Imāmī Shī'ism cast in the form of a commentary on the famous *Irshād al-awwām* ("Directing the people"), by Ḥājī Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī (d. 1870), the third leader of the Kirmānī Shaykhīs. A small excerpt from this work was translated into French by Corbin, published in *Terre céleste* (see bibliography below). Sarkār Aqā's most important contribution to scholarship is a meticulously organised and informative biobibliography of the Shaykhī movement entitled *Fihrist-i kutub-i ajall awḥād marḥūm-i Shaykh Aḥmad va sū'ir mashā'ikh-i 'izām va khulāsa-yi sharḥ-i aḥwāl-i ishān* ("A catalogue of the works of Shaykh Aḥmad and the other leaders of the Shaykhī school with accompanying biographical sketches"; 2 vols. in 1, first ed. Kirmān 1957. There have been two subsequent revised editions). It describes in detail the lives of the major figures of the movement together with their respective works.

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