

Index

- Abadan, 5, 91
 Abbasid Caliphate, 194, 332
 'Abdi, 'Abbas, 30, 46, 168, 177, 179, 306, 342, 367
 Abraham (prophet), 120
 Abrahamian, Ervand, 223
 Abu Zarr, 129
 Ahmadi-Nezhad, Mahmud, 373, 374
 Ahmadi-Rowhani, Hosayn, 118
 'Ala', Hosayn, 82
a'lamiiyat, 102, 103, 111
 'Alavi-Tabar, 'Ali-Reza, 31, 176, 177, 181, 290, 291, 367
 Al-e Ahmad, Jalal, 166, 220, 284, 296, 383
 Al-e Ahmad, Shams al-Din, 208
 al-Farabi, Abu Nasr Mohammad, 100, 267
 Algar, Hamid, 190
 Algerian War of Independence, 127
 al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid Mohammad, 99
 al-Hakim, Mohsen, 105
 'Ali's Shi'ism, 120, 121
 al-Najafi Kashef al-Ghita', Shaykh Ja'far, 93
 al-Sadr, Mohammad-Baqer, 115
 al-Tusi, Nasir al-Din, 88
 Alviri, Morteza, 105, 119, 148
 Amanat, Abbas, 107
 Amanollah Khan, 68
 Amini, 'Ali, 126
 Aminzadeh, Mohsen, 46, 168, 177
 Amoli, Mirza Hashem, 263
 Anderson, Perry, 347, 351
Andisheb-ye puya (publication), 60
 Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 91
 Ansar-e Hezbollah, 237, 334, 336
 Ansari, Mohammad-'Ali, 171
 Ansari, Morteza, 103, 194
 apparatus, 13, 21, 39, 377
 approbatory supervision, 144, 146, 236, 243, 363
 Aqajari, Hashem, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 31, 126, 149, 159, 238, 371
 Aqa-Tehrani, Morteza, 223
 'Arabsorkhi, Fayzollah, 148, 149, 150, 175, 177, 238, 294
 Arak, 81
 'Araqi, Mehdi, 74, 78, 91, 149
 Arjomand, Sa'id-Amir, 89, 165
 Armin, Mohsen, 30, 148, 149, 150, 168, 176, 181, 182, 232, 238, 290
 Aron, Raymond, 15, 40, 196, 200
 Arya Mehr University of Technology, 114
 Asad, Talal, 270
 Asad-Abadi, Seyyed Jamal al-Din, 46
 'Asgarowladi, Habibollah, 139
 Asghari, Mohammad, 167
 Asgharzadeh, Ebrahim, 147, 168, 179
 Ashuri, Dariyush, 165, 180
 'Asr-e ayandegan (publication), 338
 'Asr-e ma (publication), 42, 44, 48, 150, 165, 168, 181, 233, 388
 Assembly of Experts, 144, 151, 161, 280, 281, 348, 359
 Association of Combatant Clerics, 138, 179, 191, 234, 286, 297, 305
 Association of Wisdom and Philosophy, 198
 Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 67, 77, 268
 'Atriyantar, Mohammad, 232, 236
 Austin, J.L., 23, 24
 Avicenna, 246
 Ayin circle, 46, 47, 182, 183, 185, 294, 341, 367
 Azari-Qomi, Ahmad, 250

- Bahjat-Fumani, Mohammad-Taqi, 333
 Bahonar, Mohammad-Javad, 208, 209
 Bani-Sadr, Abolhasan, 136, 142, 143, 151, 158, 242
 Banki, Mohammad-Taqi, 180, 238
 Baqi, 'Emad al-Din, 31, 159, 177, 238, 290, 291, 344, 379
 Barrow, Clyde W., 264
 Barth, Karl, 271
 Bashiriyeh, Hosayn, 165, 342, 364, 366
Bayan (publication), 145, 163, 179
 Bayat, Asadollah, 145
 Bayat, Asef, 304, 316
 bazaar, 74, 76, 141, 159, 224, 235
 Bazargan, Mehdi, 27, 115, 158, 189, 192, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 241, 243, 248, 269
 Behbahani, 'Abdollah, 310
 Behbahani, Mohammad, 78
 Behbahani, Vahid, 102
 Behdad, Sohrab, 76
 Behnud, Mas'ud, 291
 Bell, Daniel, 196, 199
 Berlin, Isaiah, 15, 40, 268, 383
Be'sat (publication), 94
Bildung, 328
 Bodin, Jean, 350
 Borqani, Ahmad, 177
 Bottomore, Tom, 9
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 13, 21, 24, 35, 36, 37, 38
 Brumberg, Daniel, 102
 Bruno, Giordano, 239
 Buck-Morss, Susan, 378
 Burke, Edmund, 213
 Butler, Judith, 274

 Cairo, 72
 Calder, Norman, 81
 Camus, Albert, 120, 200
 Carlyle, Thomas, 130
 Césaire, Aimé, 113
 chain murders, 337, 341
 Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 380
 Chatterjee, Partha, 384
 China, 220
 Civil Code (1928), 66
 civil society, 38, 249, 264, 289, 305, 306, 321, 324, 325, 338, 373
 Cold War, 15, 127, 195, 198, 199, 200, 213, 285, 382
 Commercial Code (1925), 66
 common sense, 288, 378
 Conscription Law (1925), 67
 constituent power, 282
 Constitutional Revolution of Iran, 2, 75, 80, 96, 306, 326, 358, 372
 constitutionalism, 17, 18, 57, 258, 309, 313, 380
 Cornell, Vincent J., 100
 Council for Cultural Revolution, 30, 168, 208, 210, 212, 237
 Council for the Discernment of Regime Expediency, 352, 355, 360
 Council of the Islamic Revolution, 72
 Criminal Code (1926), 66
 Cuban Revolution, 127
 cultural capital, 33, 36, 37, cultural onslaught, 231, 263, 283, 284

 Dabashi, Hamid, 118
 Damavand, 105
Daneshgah-e enqelab (publication), 208
 Davari-Ardakani, Reza, 388
 democracy, 248, 256, 261, 324, 342, 354
 committed, 130
 guided, 130, 132
 liberal, 133
 procedural, 280
 religious, 169, 255, 262, 307, 327, 368
 disenchantment, 351, 383
 dissonant institutionalisation, 102
 Djilas, Milovan, 219, 220, 221,
 Do'a'i, Mahmud, 118, 119, 140
 Dorri-Najafabadi, Qorban-'Ali, 180
 Dubček, Alexander, 296
 Duhem, Pierre, 226
 Durkheim, Émile, 273

 Eftekhari, Roza, 273
 Ehrenberg, John, 323, 324
ejtehad, 4, 103, 171, 241, 269, 352
 Emami, Sa'id, 179
 Endurance Front of the Islamic Revolution, 48
 Engels, Friedrich, 213

- enjoining the good and forbidding the evil, 66
 Enlightenment, 252, 258, 351, 380
Enteqam (publication)
 Esfahani, Jamal al-Din, 308
 Eskandari, Parvaneh, 338
 Executives of Reconstruction Party, 234, 236, 305
 expediency, 108, 111, 134, 161, 170, 172, 194, 348
 Fada'iyān-e Islam, 60, 70, 72, 73, 75, 77, 78, 80, 90, 92, 238
 faith, 34, 62, 84, 114, 126, 194, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273
 Fallah (political organisation), 105, 148
 Fallaq (political organisation), 148
 falsifiability, 213
 Fana'i, Abolqasem, 180
 Fanon, Frantz, 127
 Fardid, Ahmad, 284
 Farhadpur, Morad, 180
 Farsi, Jalal al-Din, 115, 149, 208
 fascism, 222, 223, 224, 225, 296, 383
 fatwa, 146, 171, 246, 347
 Fayziyyeh seminary, 73, 74, 75
 Fazel-Harandi, Mohi al-Din, 388
feqb-e puya, 171, 317
 Feuerbach, Ludwig, 123
 First Gulf War, 382
 Forqan Group, 302
 Foruhar, Dariyush, 338
 Foucault, Michel, 13, 21, 39, 40
 Frank, Andre Gunder, 383
 Fraser, Nancy, 177
 Freeden, Michael, 195, 200, 201, 202
 Freedom Movement of Iran, 27, 42, 50, 118, 127, 142, 189, 193, 231
 Fuladvand, 'Ezatollah, 165
 Gadamer, Hans-Georg, 253, 271
 Galileo, 239
 Ganji, Akbar, 31, 153, 154, 174, 176, 177, 180, 219, 220, 221, 223, 238, 255, 285, 290, 295, 296, 327, 338, 345, 355, 356, 363, 379
 Geertz, Clifford, 197, 198
 gestalt switch, 12
 Ghaffari, Hadi, 140, 161
 Gide, André, 296
glasnost, 297
 Golpayegani, Mohammad-Reza, 359
 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 295, 296, 303
 governmentality, 18, 254
 Gramsci, Antonio, 9, 13, 42, 43, 57, 166, 288, 340
 Grotius, Hugo, 258
 Guardian Council, 108, 144, 145, 146, 191, 209, 230, 232, 243, 304, 314, 315, 316, 317, 325, 327, 335, 352, 354, 360, 361, 362, 363, 365, 374
 Guardianship of the Jurist, 88, 151, 160, 161, 162, 193, 194, 251, 304, 353, 354, 382
 Guevara, Ernesto 'Che', 127
 Gulf Cooperation Council, 219
 Habibi, Hassan, 208
 habitus, 21, 35, 36, 51, 101, 137
 Haddad-'Adel, Gholam-'Ali, 388
 hadith, 102, 192, 243, 252, 253, 313, 318
 Hadiyan, Naser, 176
 Ha'eri-Yazdi, 'Abdolkarim, 79
 hajj, 109, 110, 111
 Hajjariyan, Sa'id, 19, 30, 46, 56, 164, 168, 175, 176, 181, 183, 228, 238, 255, 290, 292, 303, 338, 340–74, 379, 381
 Hakamizadeh, 'Ali-Akbar, 76
 Halabi, Mahmud, 5
 Hall, Stuart, 55, 265, 288
 Hamburg, 165
 Haqqani School, 167
 Haqshenas, Torab, 118
 Haraway, Donna, 33
 Hashemi, Mehdi, 152, 156, 158
 Hashemi-Bahramani, Fa'ezeh, 236
 Hassanzadeh-Amoli, Hassan, 333
 Hayek, Friedrich, 15, 40, 143, 224, 296, 383
 Hedayat Mosque, 114,
 Hegel, G.W.F., 252
 hegemony, 10, 13, 21, 40, 42, 43, 53, 55, 57, 293, 321, 369, 382
 Hejazi, Fakhr al-Din, 140
 Hezbollah (Lebanon), 145
 Hezarkhani, Manuchehr, 167
 Hick, John, 226, 336

- Hilli, 'Allameh, 88
hisbah, 312, 318
 Hitler, Adolf, 190
 Hobbes, Thomas, 314, 342, 348, 350,
 Hojjatiyyeh Society, 5
Homayun (publication), 76
 Hosayn (Imam), 83, 216, 333
 Hosayni-Beheshti, Mohammad, 139,
 151, 205, 209
 Hosayni-Rowhani, Mohammad, 105
 Hosayniyyeh Ershad, 114, 240, 341
 human rights, 15, 187, 244, 256, 258,
 259, 260, 263, 266, 383
 humanism, 330, 346
- Ibn 'Arabi, 100, 267, 330
 ideology, 115, 120, 121, 123, 124, 133,
 134, 188, 204, 206, 212, 227, 228,
 242, 255, 260, 269, 270, 284, 368,
 end of, 285, 380, 382
 Islamic, 135, 149, 193, 205, 207, 212
 ideology, critique of, 213–26
 Imam Khomeini Educational Research
 Institute, 245
 Imamate, 99, 129, 130
 imperialism, 64, 91, 115, 166, 189,
 243, 264
 Iran–Contra Affair, 154
 Iran–Iraq War, 1, 7, 29, 41, 48, 136,
 150, 153, 157, 167, 195, 223, 291,
 298
Islam-e feqabati, 202–7
 Islamic Azad University, 45
 Islamic Coalition Society, 224, 235, 237
 Islamic humanism, 3, 4, 262
 Islamic left, 9, 10, 13, 14, 21, 25, 30, 35,
 38, 40, 43, 46, 48, 49, 50, 53, 55,
 57, 60, 110, 113, 193, 195, 196,
 197, 207, 225, 230, 232, 233,
 234, 238, 243, 247, 286, 288,
 290, 291, 295, 297, 298, 298,
 305, 316, 338, 341, 343, 363,
 367, 373
 Islamic Protestantism, 3, 302
 Islamic Republic Party, 138, 139, 148,
 151, 205, 208, 222
 Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, 1,
 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 177,
 290, 332, 355
 Israel, 92, 146, 154, 220
- Ja'far Sadeq (Imam), 77
 Jahangiri, Eshaq, 236
 Jala'ipur, Hamid-Reza, 31, 177, 288,
 291
Jame'eh (publication), 288, 289, 305
 Jameson, Fredric, 197
 Jannati, Ahmad, 139, 335
 Javadi-Amoli, 'Abdollah, 210
 jihad, 81, 123, 170
 jurisprudential Islam, 192, 200, 202,
 241, 273, 286
- Kadivar, Jamileh, 50
 Kadivar, Mohsen, 46, 164, 174, 177,
 181, 293, 316
kalam-e jadid, 300
 Kalyvas, Andreas, 282
 Kamaly, Hossein, 198
 Kant, Immanuel, 187, 226, 269, 314,
 330
 Karbala, 216
 Karbaschi, Gholam-Hosayn, 232, 234,
 344
 Karrubi, Mehdi, 110, 138, 140, 145,
 146, 158, 159, 230
 Kashani, Abolqasem, 73, 75, 78, 79,
 105
Kashf al-asrar (book), 68, 81
 Kashi, Mohammad-Javad Gholam-
 Reza, 176
 Kasravi, Ahmad, 70, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80,
 238
 Katouzian, Mohammad-'Ali
 Homayun, 64, 165
 Katouzian, Naser, 210
Kayhan-e farhangi (publication), 46,
 51, 166, 167, 175, 176, 185
 Khalkhali, Sadeq, 75, 145
 Khameneh'i, 'Ali, 75, 108, 138, 139,
 146, 152, 154, 156, 163, 167, 204,
 246, 263, 283, 284, 304, 348, 359,
 Khameneh'i, Hadi, 145, 230
 Khan, Mirza Malkam, 306, 312, 314
 Khaniki, Hadi, 46, 168, 183, 238, 367
 Khatami, Mohammad, 167, 173, 177,
 182, 195, 210, 230, 251, 255,
 287–339, 351, 352, 358, 360, 361,
 362, 363, 364, 367
 Minister of Culture and Islamic
 Guidance, 168

- on *feqh-e puya*, 171
 resignation, 165–74
 Khatami, Mohammad-Reza, 46, 182, 183, 298, 305, 367
 Khatami, Ruhollah, 167
 Khatam-Yazdi, ‘Abbas, 105
 Khomeini, Ahmad, 141, 155, 156
 Khomeini, Ruhollah, 5, 6, 19, 48, 59, 137, 138, 139, 140, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 155, 156, 161, 163, 166, 169, 171, 172, 190, 193, 194, 204, 206, 207, 212, 243, 269, 300, 303
 and Hosayn-‘Ali Montazeri, 156–9
 as *faqih* of transition, 349
 Cultural Revolution, 209
 early political writings, 86–90
 last will and testament, 335
Manshur-e baradari, 171
 on *maslahat-e nezam*, 108–13
 on *velayat-e faqih*, 93–108
 on being *maktabi*, 205
 on Freedom Movement of Iran, 191
 on Reza Shah’s sartorial reforms, 68
 on Salman Rushdie, 173
 Khomeinism, 223
khoms, 81
 Khonsari, Mohammad-Taqi, 79
 Khorasani, Akhund Mohammad-Kazem, 194, 309, 312, 313
Khordad (publication), 44, 290
 Khu’i, Abolqasem, 79
Kiyan (publication), 16, 38, 42, 44, 46, 50, 51, 160, 167, 171, 175, 178, 181, 192, 196, 198, 212, 228, 233, 255, 262, 289, 345, 346
 Kiyān circle, 46, 47, 167, 176, 177, 178, 181, 182, 185, 192, 212, 255, 289, 290, 330
 Koestler, Arthur, 15, 220, 296
 Kolakowski, Leszek, 196
 Kurdistan, 177
 Kuwait, 5, 219

 Laclau, Ernesto, 42
 Lajevardi, Asadollah, 74
 Larijani, ‘Ali, 171, 263
 Larijani, Mohammad-Javad, 235
 Larijani, Sadeq, 227
Lebenswelt, 12
 legitimacy, 162, 164, 248, 314, 347
 democratic, 359, 365, 372
 political, 16, 43, 244, 250, 308
 religious, 162, 353
 Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, 121, 132, 217
 liberalism, 12, 42, 115, 129, 130, 188, 244, 256, 261, 382, 383
 classical, 264
 Cold War, 53
 embedded, 260
 in colonial India, 188
 of fear, 187
 Locke, John, 259, 261, 270, 314
 Luther, Martin, 1, 3, 330

 Mahallati, Fazlollah, 77, 78
 Mahdavi-Kani, Mohammad-Reza, 72, 73, 75, 139, 235
 Mahmood, Saba, 254, 270
 Majles
 Fifth, 232, 234, 316
 First, 145, 242, 341
 Fourth, 144, 145, 146, 147, 169, 170, 179, 230, 233, 234, 297
 Second, 167
 Seventh, 373
 Sixth, 177, 290, 343, 344, 373
 Third, 138, 140, 141, 145, 147, 185, 191, 366
 Majlesi, Mohammad-Baqer, 2, 88
 Makarem-Shirazi, Naser, 238
 Maleki, Khalil, 221
 Malekiyan, Mostafa, 316
 Mannheim, Karl, 199
Manshur-e baradari (publication), 73
 Mansurun (political organisation), 147, 148
 Mar’ashi, Hosayn, 236
 Mardiha, Morteza, 176, 290,
marja’ al-taqlid, 309, 334, 349
marja’ iyyat, 111, 112, 162, 216, 246, 251, 283, 348, 349, 359
 martyr, 81, 129,
 Marx, Karl, 123, 197, 213, 228, 241
 Marxism, 14, 115, 196, 198, 200, 208, 228, 229, 300, 302
 Marxism-Leninism, 217
 Mashhad, 5, 68, 75
maslahat, 108, 111, 113, 134, 172, 194, 348, 352
 Matin, Kamran, 28

- Mawdudi, Abul A'la, 90
 Maysami, Lotfollah, 115
 Mazru'i, Rajab-'Ali, 168, 238, 367
 McFarlane, Robert, 154
 Medina, 62, 98, 124
Mehrnameh (publication), 60
 Meiksins Wood, Ellen, 25
 Mesbah-Yazdi, Mohammad-Taqi, 48,
 223, 245, 246, 247, 264, 281, 333,
 353
 Meshkini, 'Ali, 209
 Mill, J.S., 264
 Ministry of Culture and Islamic
 Guidance, 7, 30, 168, 175, 177,
 181, 185, 231, 289
 Ministry of Intelligence, 30, 56, 153,
 180, 337, 338
 Mirdamadi, Mohsen, 165, 179, 367
 Mir-Salim, Mostafa, 237
mofsed fil arz, 76
 Mohajerani, 'Ataollah, 30, 164, 236
 Mohammad (Prophet), 62, 93, 96, 97,
 98, 102, 104, 107, 109, 124, 126,
 128, 133, 146, 163, 227, 258, 330,
 346
 Mohtashampur, 'Ali-Akbar, 139, 140,
 145, 163, 190, 191, 194, 230, 235
mojahed, 62, 126
 Mojahedin Organisation of the Islamic
 Revolution of Iran, 1, 35, 48, 49,
 142, 147–50, 159, 167, 175, 181,
 185, 193, 232, 234, 289, 294, 371,
 374
mojtahed, 26, 68, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 88,
 99, 103, 104, 112, 131, 161, 216,
 244, 251, 311, 315, 327, 328
 Mojtahed-Shabestari, Mohammad, 15,
 30, 50, 166, 180, 195, 202, 225,
 241–55, 267, 268, 285, 293, 320
 Mokhtari, Mohammad, 338
 Montazeri, Hossein-'Ali, 78, 118,
 150–60, 162, 209
 Montazer-Qa'em, Hassan, 167
 Moore, Barrington, 342
moqalled, 216, 283
 Mosaddeq, Mohammad, 5, 117, 149,
 185, 299
Mosharekat (publication), 345
 Moslem, Mehdi, 160
 Mostashar al-Dowleh, Mirza Yusef
 Khan, 2, 306, 314
 Motahhari, 'Ali, 353
 Motahhari, Morteza, 52, 115, 118,
 138, 149, 207, 222, 242, 246, 300,
 301, 303, 353
 Mouffe, Chantal, 42
 Movaheddin (political organisation),
 147
 Moyn, Samuel, 259, 260, 383
 Mu'awiya ibn 'Abi Sufyan, 77
 Mulla Sadra, 246, 333
 Musavi, Mir-Hosayn, 108, 139, 140,
 155, 161, 180, 210, 225, 373
 Musavi-Ardebili, 'Abdolkarim, 209
 Musavi-Kho'iniha, Mohammad, 30,
 110, 140, 145, 163, 179, 180, 189,
 287, 341
 Muslim Brotherhood, 72
 Muslim Student Followers of the
 Imam's Line, 47, 189, 302, 341,
 388
 mysticism, 93, 101, 102, 203, 227, 247,
 269
Nabard-e mellat (publication), 73, 91,
 92
 Nabavi, Behzad, 30, 147, 148, 149,
 150, 168, 232, 342, 376
 Nabavi, Ebrahim, 287
 Naguib, Mohammad, 72
 Na'imipur, Mohammad, 366
 Na'ini, Mohammad-Hosayn, 194, 309,
 326, 327
 Najaf, 112
 Najafi, Mohammad-'Ali, 236
 Najmabadi, Afsaneh, 274
namus, 69, 84
 Naraqi, Arash, 176, 180
 Naraqi, Molla Ahmad, 93, 194
 Naser, Gamal 'Abdel, 72
 Nateq-Nuri, 'Ali-Akbar, 139, 293, 295
 National Front of Iran, 127, 142, 299
 National Organization for
 Management and Planning, 322,
 324
 National Trust Party, 35, 374
 Nazism, 199, 221, 222
 Negahdar, Farrokh, 246

- new right, 48
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 130
nomocracy, 86, 379
 non-governmental organisations, 260, 292, 323
 Nuri, 'Abdollah, 290, 291, 316
 Nuri, Fazlollah, 80, 89, 311, 327
 Nye, Joseph S., 297
- Occultation of Twelfth Imam, 62, 81, 87, 106, 172
 Greater, 102
 Lesser, 95
 Office for Strengthening Unity, 49, 234, 297
 'olama', 73, 79, 88, 89, 93, 95, 97, 100, 103, 105, 107, 108, 110, 112, 117, 131, 161, 194, 310, 313, 315, 319, 328, 333, 346, 348, 351
 social power of, 72
ommat, 62, 100, 122, 129, 130, 133, 134, 205
 Ommat-e vahedeh (political organisation), 148
 One Million Signatures Campaign, 52
 organic intellectuals, 54, 166
 Organisation of the Iranian People's Fada'i Guerrillas, 246
 Osuli jurisprudence, 102, 103, 131, 269, 318
- Pahlavan, Changiz, 369
 Pahlavi hat, 67, 68
 Pahlavi, Mohammad-Reza, 77, 88, 383
 Papacy, 349
 Parham, Baqer, 165
 Participation Front for Islamic Iran, 19, 35, 345, 366, 367, 368, 371, 373, 374
 charter, 366
 establishment, 364
 patrimonialism, 355, 358, 359
 Payam Nur University, 45
 People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran, 6, 14, 15, 114, 126, 127, 139, 142, 151, 157, 197, 302
 Perennialism, 336
perestroika, 296, 297
 permanent revolution, 217
 Plato, 95, 100, 267, 280
- pluralism, 320, 332
 negative, 336
 political, 366
 positive, 336
 religious, 368, 373
 political class, 9
 political development, 13, 19, 30, 52, 163–5, 169, 181, 185, 292, 293, 294, 305, 340, 342, 343, 345, 356, 364, 367, 368, 371, 372, 374
 political theology, 17, 214, 254, 340, 381, 382
 Popper, Karl R., 15, 40, 143, 165, 187, 196, 197, 198, 200, 213, 214, 224, 261, 280, 281, 282, 283, 285, 383
 post-Islamism, 316
 Poulantzas, Nicos, 31
 Presidential Strategic Research Centre, 7, 47, 50, 164, 177, 185, 233, 290, 341, 374
 Principalists, 341, 354
 Protestant Reformation, 3
 Puritan revolution, 3
 Puyandeh, Mohammad-Ja'far, 338
- Qajar dynasty, 65, 66, 310
 Qajar, Mohammad-'Ali, 311
Qanun (publication), 306, 312
 Qaziyan, Hosayn, 176
qiyas, 352
 Qom, 54, 68, 72, 73, 74, 76, 112, 150, 166, 210, 245, 247, 334, 359
 Quchani, Mohammad, 233, 236
 Quine, Willard van Orman, 226
 Qur'an, 62, 83, 93, 102, 172, 192, 194, 203, 204, 243, 252, 253, 283, 313, 317, 333, 334, 351, 352
 Qur'anic human, 328
 Qutb, Sayyid, 90
- Rabbani-Amlashi, Mohammad-Mehdi, 208, 209
 Rafiqdust, Mohsen, 152, 179
 Rafsanjani, Akbar Hashemi, 185, 195, 219, 224, 229, 241, 242, 243, 284, 293, 300, 331, 338, 339, 341, 343, 344, 359, 360
 technocracy, 229–40
Rah-e now (publication), 56, 180, 290
 Rahnavard, Zahra, 50

- Rahnema, Ali, 61
 Raja'i, Mohammad-'Ali, 147, 205, 341
 Rasti-Kashani, Hosayn, 150
 Rayshahri, Mohammad, 153, 155, 156, 157
 Reagan Revolution, 382
 religious intellectuals, 40
 republicanism, 57, 308, 349
 Revolutionary Foundations, 355
 Reza (Imam), 68
 Reza Shah, 65, 67, 68, 70, 75, 77, 268
 Reza, 'Enayatollah, 220
 Reza'i, Mohsen, 148, 152, 153, 154
 Rizvi, Sajjad H., 104
 Rodinson, Maxime, 133
 Rokhsefat, Mostafa, 51, 167, 175
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 328
 Rowhani, Hassan, 56, 164, 374
 Rowhani-Ziyarati, Hamid, 158
 rule of law, 54, 55, 170, 187, 306
 Rushdie, Salman, 146, 173
- Sadeqi, Zohreh, 50
 Sadr, Mohsen, 78
 Safavi, Navvab, 14, 60, 86, 89, 91, 92, 124
 Safavid dynasty, 2, 347
 Safavid Shi'ism, 120, 121
 Sahabi, 'Ezatollah, 192
 Sahabi, Yadollah, 192
 Saharkhiz, 'Isa, 177
 Said, Edward W., 32
 Sa'idi-Sirjani, 'Ali-Akbar, 338
Salam (publication), 44, 141, 163, 165, 179, 185, 233, 234, 287, 292, 305, 367, 370
 closure of, 180
 Salamati, Mohammad, 30, 148, 149, 150, 193, 371
 Saudi Arabia, 110, 219,
 Sazgara, Mohsen, 30, 176, 180, 288, 289, 291
 Schmitt, Carl, 1, 16, 17, 20, 215
 secularisation, 19, 350, 351
 separation of powers, 360
 Serat Institute, 180, 185
 Shahcheraghi, Hassan, 167
 Shahid II, 81
 Shamkhani, 'Ali, 148
- Shams ol-va'ezin, Masha Allah, 42, 51, 160, 175, 176, 181, 288, 289, 290, 338
shari'ah, 66, 80, 81, 86, 88, 89, 90, 93, 95, 97, 98, 106, 108, 112, 122, 172, 194, 226, 249, 258, 267, 268, 273, 281, 313, 316, 317, 318, 327, 351, 352, 361
 Shari'ati, 'Ali, 1, 2, 6, 14, 28, 52, 60, 113–34, 135, 195, 214, 216, 217, 218, 240, 300, 301, 302, 303, 341
 Sharif, Majid, 338
 Shayegan, Dariyush, 165
 Sherkat, Shahla, 50, 51, 273
 Shi'i Islam, 13, 14, 62, 72, 80, 88, 102, 110, 114, 116, 120, 135, 238
 Shils, Edward, 196
 Shklar, Judith N., 187
 Shobayri, Mojtaba, 180
 Shobayri-Zanjani, Musa, 180
 Skinner, Quentin, 13, 22, 23, 25
 Sobhani, Ja'far, 333
 Society of Combatant Clergy, 138–44, 166, 224, 234, 235
 Society of Qom Seminary Teachers, 224
 Soltani, Ebrahim, 176, 289
 Soroush, 'Abdolkarim, 15, 27, 30, 46, 245, 289, 294, 303, 313, 316, 325
 Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, 240
 cultural revolution, 207–13
 end of ideology, 382
Expansion and Contraction of the Theory of the Shari'ah, The, 167
 faith, 266–73
 human rights, 257–62
 ideology, 213–26
 Islamic left, 176
 Kiyan circle, 176, 178
 on *velayat-e faqih*, 250
 on Protestant Reformation, 27
 procedural democracy, 284
 religious democracy, 257
 Serat Institute, 180
 South Africa, 74
 sovereignty, 16, 18, 90, 95, 215, 292, 340
 disenchanted, 345–53
 dual, 308, 359
 popular, 33, 248, 381

- Soviet Union, 10, 12, 29, 172, 212, 218,
 220, 221, 222, 228, 260, 285, 296,
 297, 323, 382
- Special Court for the Clergy, 155
- Stalinism, 199, 220
- Sukarno, 130
- superstition, 3, 76, 169, 215
- symbolic power, 10, 13, 58
- symbolic violence, 38
- Syria, 145, 153
- Tabari, Ehsan, 246
- Tabataba'i, 'Allameh Mohammad-
 Hosayn, 101, 246, 333, 334
- Tabataba'i, Mohammad, 310
- Tabataba'i, Seyyed Javad, 165
- Tabataba'i-Boroujerdi, Hosayn, 74, 78,
 88, 103, 334
- Tabataba'i-Qomi, Hosayn, 79
- Tabataba'i-Yazdi, Mohammad-Kazem,
 103
- tajdid*, 62
- Tajzadeh, Mostafa, 30, 46, 148, 149,
 150, 168, 176, 238, 316, 365, 366,
 367, 379
- Taleqani, Mahmud, 114, 115, 118,
 207, 242
- Taqizadeh, Hassan, 311, 312
- taqlid*, 4, 68, 205, 216, 249, 250, 251,
 283
- political, 250, 251
- Tavassoli, Gholam-'Abbas, 192
- technocracy, 229
- Tehrani, Reza, 42, 51, 175, 176, 177,
 178, 196, 197, 289
- Third World, 116, 128, 130,
 217, 259
- Thompson, E.P., 20
- Tillich, Paul, 271
- Tilly, Charles, 65
- Tito, 132, 219
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 323
- Towhidi-ye badr (political
 organisation), 148
- Towhidi-ye saf (political organisation),
 148,
- tradition, 271
- traditional right, 48, 139, 144, 146,
 161, 186, 207, 221, 225, 229, 235,
 236, 237, 243, 244, 291, 297, 303
- Traverso, Enzo, 375
- Trotsky, Leon, 217, 218,
- Tudeh Party of Iran, 42, 127, 145, 220,
 246, 296
- Twin Bills, 364
- Umayyad Caliphate, 77, 163, 194, 325,
 332, 333
- Uniform Dress Law (1928), 67
- United States of America, 146, 165,
 179, 259
- Vahdat, Farzin, 134
- vajeb-e 'ayni*, 106
- vajeb-e kefa'i*, 106
- vaqf* (religious endowment), 67
- vekalat*, 326,
- velayat-e faqih*, 87, 90, 93–108, 125,
 193, 194, 244, 245, 247, 249, 319,
 327, 381
- velayat-e motlaqeh-ye faqih*, 109
- velayat-e takvini*, 104
- velayat-e tashri'i*, 104
- Velayati, 'Ali-Akbar, 295
- Velvet Revolution, 297, 323
- Vietnam, 127
- Wallach Scott, Joan, 276
- Weber, Max, 93, 340, 351, 355, 359
- White Revolution, 77, 117, 127
- Williams, Raymond, 342
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 20, 34
- World War II, 91, 198, 199
- Yazdi, Ebrahim, 192
- Yazdi, Mohammad, 139
- Yazid (caliph), 77, 333
- Yugoslavia, 132
- Yusefi-Eshkevari, Hassan, 30, 215
- zakat*, 81
- Zanan* (publication), 50, 51
- Zan-e ruz* (periodical), 50
- Zowlqadr, Mohammad-Baqer, 148