



The Influence of Ancient Persian Philosophy on Suhrawardi

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Abstract: This essay investigates the influence of Ancient Persian Illumination philosophy on the philosophy of Suhrawardi. Shaikh Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi, known as Shaikh al-Ishraq (Master of Illumination) was a 12th century philosopher and mystic. He is considered to be the founder of Illumination philosophy and also the reviver of ancient Persian philosophy of light and Illumination. To put it differently, the ancient Illumination philosophy is reflected in his works. Shaikh al-Ishraq was able to write something which no one before him had ventured to write. Given his philosophical achievements, he considered himself a torchlight in the history of philosophy. Having studied the influence of ancient Persian philosophy, it can be concluded that all such influence can be summarized in terms of the principle of light which was borrowed from ancient philosophy. According to this idea, Suhrawardi called his philosophy the philosophy of Ishraq, meaning light and illumination. His basic notions are explained in relation to this principle of light. In his philosophical system, Suhrawardi divides the world into light and darkness and also uses many notions from ancient philosophy, including, *shahriwar* (one of the gods in Zoroastrianism, heavenly kingdom) and *huraxš* (burning light, the sun). This study uses the existing literature on Suhrawardi and an analytical-descriptive method to discuss the topic.

Key words: Suhrawardi, ancient Persia, light, illumination, *khowarneh*

Introduction

“Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi is one of the philosophers who paid great attention to ancient philosophy and considered it as highly significant for theorizing about the perception of truth. For him, ancient philosophy is the eternal essence of wisdom and the knowledge of truth” (Ebrahimi Dinani, 1987: 14).

Suhrawardi is one of the most prominent figures in the history of Persian philosophy and culture. His works are immensely important for the advancement of philosophy and spirituality in Islamic Persia. In certain ways, Suhrawardi can be compared to that great epic poet, Ferdowsi. What Ferdowsi did for the Persian language, namely, protecting and revitalizing the Persian language and identity, Suhrawardi did for philosophy, i.e. reviving the philosophy of pre-Islamic Persia.

In the Islamic period, it was Suhrawardi who for the first time directs attention to the Persian roots of Islamic mysticism. He notes that he has inherited that “*Khosrawan*: kingly/heavenly nature” from Bayazid Bastami, Abu al-Hassan al-Kharaqani, Mansur Al-Hallaj and Ghasab Amoli. As noted the term “*khosrawan*” refers to heavenly and kingly state. According to Suhrawardi, *Khosrawanians* were a group of mystics who having come to an understanding of truth through intuition and revelation expressed it in mysterious codes of light and darkness. For Suhrawardi, the knowledge that this group gained can be referred to as *Ishraq/Khosrawani* wisdom, while they themselves can be called “wise theologian”, that is, recognizing truth by means of reason and spiritual intuition. In his book, *al-Moshara’ va Motaherat*, Suhrawardi writes: “A person is called a wise

theologian when the body becomes like a piece of clothes for him, taking it off when he wills, throwing it anywhere he likes, and putting it on when he decides” (Suhrawardi, 2001: 321).

According to Suhrawardi, the *Ishraq/Khosrawani*, or more generally, the Illumination philosophy is the eternal and unchanging essence of things. For him, wisdom or true philosophy belongs to eastern people, and more specifically, to the Iranians whose representatives are Persian kings and men of knowledge.

In contrast to Aristotle who thought of the Greeks as the founder of philosophy, Suhrawardi considers the East (Persia) as the origin of philosophy. Surprisingly, for Aristotle, those who did not know of his esteemed form of philosophy, were simply “wild savages”.

Given the above discussion, we can now turn to the main questions of the present study namely, what were the reasons for Suhrawardi’s turn toward ancient Persian theosophy or philosophy? And what elements of ancient Persian philosophy is reflected in Suhrawardi’s writings?

It seems that one of the reasons why Suhrawardi paid a lot of attention to ancient Persian philosophy is the importance of the principle of light and darkness in discussing angels and gods of species for the Persian philosophers. It can be rightly claimed that in creating his philosophical system, Suhrawardi was greatly influenced by the principle of light/illumination in the ancient Persia.

With regard to the existing literature on this topic, it should be noted that there have been several books and articles in the last couple of years, some of which are mentioned in the following.

Henry Corbin, a French orientalist has written some books about this topic, including *En Islam Iranien: Aspects spirituels et philosophiques* (1971-3), *Spiritual Body & Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi’ite Iran* (1977) and *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism* (1994). Moreover, there is a book by Samad Movahed, called *The Origins of Illumination Philosophy* (2005) on this topic. The Iranian philosopher, Gholamhossein Ebrahimi Dinani has discussed the issue in details in his *The Circle of Reason and Intuition in Suhrawardi’s Thought* (1987) and has delineated the influence of ancient Persian philosophy on Suhrawardi.

Some of the articles which discuss this topic are as follows:

Abolfazl Shakuri, “*Khosrawani* Philosophy in Suhrawardi’s View”; Nasrollah Hekmat and Mahbubeh Hajizadeh, “The Principle of Light in Suhrawardi’s Philosophy”.

Given the above brief review and the title of the present essay, the aims of this study can be stipulated as follows:

1. Discussing the influence of ancient Persian philosophy on the thought and Illumination philosophy of Suhrawardi
2. Discussing the role and origin of the principle of light in Suhrawardi’s Illumination philosophy

A history of Illumination philosophers:

On the concluding pages of *al-Moshara’ va Motaherat*, Suhrawardi refers to the history of Illumination philosophy which can be reiterated as in the following:

“He divides this history into Eastern (Persian) and Western (Greek). He draws attention to the “invisible light” which is bestowed from Hermes to Plato. This history goes back to Hermes, the father of philosophy. Its origin forks off into the Persian and the Greek (Pythagoreans) who through some generations have handed this knowledge of truth to the Islamic mystics and philosophers” (Suhrawardi, 2001: 502, 503).

Suhrawardi excludes the *Majusan*ⁱ (Magians) and *Man*ⁱ from his philosophical system and considers them as infidels and non-believers.

In Suhrawardi’s view, both the eastern and western philosophers of Illumination are the seekers and interpreters of one truth. For him, there is only one true form of knowledge. “Suhrawardi considered himself the focal point upon which two philosophical traditions converge – both originating in the primary branch, namely, Hermes” (Hekmat & Hajizadeh, 2012: 7).

Having illustrated the history of Illumination philosophy, Suhrawardi explains how one single philosophical insight has been shared by both the eastern and western philosophers. He notes that, “The essence of this eternal philosophy whose foundation was based by Hermes through revelation and intuition was continued by two groups of philosophers: the wise sagas of Greece and Persia [...] This *khosrawani* wisdom is combined with Pythagorean and Greek philosophy and is handed over to those philosophers who have reached a state of eternal tranquility and spiritual peace” (Movahed, 2005: 18).

According to Corbin, in the end there two groups will be joined together under the rubric of those whose words are *sakineh* (a haven of peace) and will grow like the boughs of cypress tree, interwoven into one another” (Corbin, 2014: 110).

“The above word, *sakineh*, is originally an Arabic term, referring to the school of *ghabaleh* and the relation of mind and essence among the Jews; in general, it can be defined as the incarnation of the presence of God. More specifically, it means peace and spiritual tranquility. Etymologically, the word means to reside in a place which is safe from any danger and threat” (ibid: 111).

There are numerous references to this word in *Holy Quran* and many interpretations some of which are cited in the following.

“Who have believed and whose hearts have rest in the remembrance of Allah. Verily in the remembrance of Allah do hearts find rest!” (al-Rad [The Thunder]: 28).

Another similar reference is in the following:

“O satisfied [peaceful] soul, return to your Lord well-pleased, well-pleasing” (al-Fajr [The Dawn]: 27-28).

Accordingly, the basic notion in the Illumination philosophy is “presence” which is revealed in the spiritually enlightened self. In Suhrawardi’s view, this presence is reflected through the burning light and the myriad radiation of light. When these threads of lights reach their utmost sublimity, they become concentrated and thus last for a time which brings about the state of *sakineh*.

Illumination or *khosrawani* philosophers:

According to Suhrawardi, the philosophy of Illumination or Ishraq is a revival of the principle of light from the ancient Persia. Suhrawardi tries to bridge the gap between his contemporary philosophy and the spiritual wisdom of ancient Persia. The reason for this is the fact that in the ancient Persia there used to live people who had reached true and perfect knowledge and enlightenment through direct discovery and had achieved what Suhrawardi calls *taleh* [theosophical revelation, illumination]. For Suhrawardi, “the main prerequisite for true philosophy or knowledge is *taleh*. In his writings, he insists on the way the theosophists achieved knowledge through mystic reflection; in short, the word *taleh*, is one of the key words in his philosophy. This term refers to the connection to the world of light and illumination and becoming like God” (Movahed, 2005: 12, 13).

The prominent example of a person who has reached such a state of knowledge in ancient Persia, according to Suhrawardi, is Kai Khosrow.ⁱⁱⁱ This historical figure was a king and mystic who directed the course of Persian culture from epic heroism to mysticism, and perfecting the latter in the meantime. Suhrawardi notes that there were other people like Kai Khosrow, including the Illumination philosophers who through arduous purification of the soul and asceticism were able to move beyond darkness and reach the domain of light and finally achieve a revelation of light and illumination which is the destination of illumination philosophy. According to this view, Kai Khosrow is an Illumination philosopher who was also once a king. In further explaining the characteristics of Illumination philosophers, Suhrawardi notes, “There used to be a nation in the ancient Persia who guided people toward the path of the righteous [...] And I was the one who revived this sublime philosophy and wisdom [...] And no one precedes me in this regard” (Suhrawardi, 2001, vol. 4: 118).

Corbin notes that all the philosophers in ancient Persia who followed the wisdom of Kai Khosrow were subsequently called *khosrawanian*. This term is the same with Ishraqi/Illumination in Suhrawardi’s philosophy. The name and the role of Kai Khosrow is highly important for Suhrawardi. The fact that Kai Khosrow is taken paragon of wisdom shows that Suhrawardi was strongly intent on reviving the philosophy of ancient Persia. Since these philosophers were *khosrawani* they were eastern. This explains the idea of Persianism in Suhrawardi’s thinking. The spiritual and theosophical nature of such Persianism is obvious (Corbin, 2014: 506, 507).

Kai Khosrow can be revealed in any person at any time. Suhrawardi has tried to understand the history of Persia not as epic heroism but as epic mysticism (Shaygan, 1994: 309).

The reason why Suhrawardi tried to move from epic heroism to epic mysticism was that he wanted to teach the Illumination philosophy more conveniently.

“Suhrawardi considers the Persian philosophers as belonging to the Illumination school not just because they were eastern or from Persia but rather because for these philosophers intuition, self-discovery and enlightenment were very important. In Suhrawardi’s view, the east is a symbol of the spiritual world, a sign of the world of light. In the same way, the west does not have a merely geographical meaning; rather, it is an allegory of the sunset of the soul, exile of the soul and imprisonment in the abyss of darkness, which is no other thing but the physical and material world” (Movahed, 2005: 18).

This group of ancient Persian philosophers have two main characteristics. As to the first characteristics, Suhrawardi offers an interpretation. According to *Holy Quran*, “And of Moses' folk there is a community who

lead with truth and establish justice therewith” (al-Araf [The Heights]: 159). Suhrawardi uses this line from Holy Quran to suggest that similar to the selected people of Moses, ancient Persian philosophers have found the path of truth and justice.

The second characteristics complements the first. Since these chosen ancient Persian philosophers have achieved the divine enlightenment, Suhrawardi tries to draw a distinct line between them and those who were called *Majus* (see above). The word *majus* is a commonly used both in Arabic and Persian and refers to the followers of ancient Persian religion. While Suhrawardi aligns himself with the spiritualism of ancient Persian philosophy, he denies any alliance to the *majus* sect (Corbin, 2014: 102, 103). What Suhrawardi rejects in the *majus* sect is the idea of holistic dualism, i.e. the principle of light as opposed to darkness. In fact, Suhrawardi tries to deconstruct such dualism. In the introduction to his book, *Hekmat al-Ishraq (Philosophy of Illumination)*, Suhrawardi refers to the ancient principle of light and darkness but reminds us that this should not be mistaken with the agnostic notions of *majus* and *mani* sects which have led them to infidelity. “And the principle of light and darkness is based on the ancient Persian philosophers which should not be taken the same with the agnostic notions of the *majus* and *mani* sects (Philosophy of Illumination, 1998: 11).

A review of the Illumination philosophy in ancient Persia:

“Suhrawardi notes that, in my *Philosophy of Illumination*, I have revived the main principle of ancient Persian philosophy, namely, the centrality of light. No one preceded me in this. Truth is both singular and infinite” (Ebrahimi Dinani, 1987: 458).

By using the principle of the centrality of light and illumination, Suhrawardi argues that being is essentially a matter of light. A large portion of his *Philosophy of Illumination* is devoted to explaining the significance and kinds of light in a hierarchical manner. Accordingly, there is the light of lights at the center and there is darkness in the base levels. In this view, all the things in the world are variations of light and darkness.

In Persian philosophy, one can notice that the ideas of good vs. evil, Ahura Mazda (God of light) vs. Ahriman (Satan) and light vs. darkness are recurring themes. Before Zoroastrianism, the issue of good/evil and light/darkness existed as separate entities with no connection; therefore, it was a form of dualism. However, when Zoroaster who considered himself as the messenger of God rose, he modified these ideas and related good to evil and light to darkness and thus replaced dualism with unity.

Based on Suhrawardi’s writings and his commentators as well as other Illumination philosophers, we can now outline the general features of ancient Persian Illumination or *khosrawani* philosophy as in the following:

1. Allegoric and mystic thinking and writing
2. Interpreting the world according to the principle of light and darkness
3. The belief in the divine nature of the world of light and interpreting it as the world of angels who are manifestations of the qualities of God
4. The administration of the underworld by the heavenly angels, or as Suhrawardi says, the angels of the species who are the guardians of the material world. For example, *ordibehesht* is the angel/goddess of fire while *khordad* is the angel/goddess of water and *mordad* angel/goddess of plants” (Movahed, 2005: 153, 154, 155).

Moreover, the issue of **hierarchy** about light was first raised by the ancient Persian philosophers and was later repeated by Suhrawardi. “In Suhrawardi’s view, the ancient Persian philosophers were not only **only hierarchy** about the truth of light but were in general **hierarchy** about the essence and nature of things” (ibid, 2005: 161).

Suhrawardi contends that the lights are not essentially different and the difference between them is only because of the variations in terms of the reflection of light in external objects.

The concept of Illumination and its relation to *khawarneh*:

The literal meaning of *Ishraq* refers to sunrise, dawn, illumination and aurora consurgens. An Illuminationist description of something relates it to the dawn and sunrise or the rising star at dawn which is something magnificent to see. The Illumination philosophy can also be called Theosophia Matutina. Thus, Illumination philosophers and thinkers are those who believe in the principle of illumination (Corbin, 2014: 79).

According to Samad Movahed, *Ishraq* means, “sunrise, sunshine, enlightenment, radiation and brightness. In the real world, sunshine and brightness enables us to perceive the objects around us. Similarly, in the spiritual world, the light of lights, the spirit of all and self-enlightenment can enable a person to perceive the

truth of life through intuition and direct discovery. Also, creation itself is a reflection of light and is thus related to the light of lights; its origin is that source of eternal light” (Movahed, 2005: 14).

According to *Holy Quran*, “Allah is the Lighter of the heavens and the earth. The example of His Light is like a tube, in which there is a wick. The wick is in a lamp and the lamp is as a glittering planet kindled from a Blessed Tree, an olive that is neither of the East nor of the West. Its oil would almost shine forth though no fire touched it. Light upon light; Allah guides to His Light whom He will. Allah strikes parables for people. Allah has knowledge of all things” (al-Noor [The Light]: 35).

Given the above interpretations of the notion of illumination (sunshine, sunrise, aurora consurgens), we can summarize the different meanings of illumination as follows:

a. Means wisdom or illuminated/enlightened knowledge, as the emergence of conscious existence that is discovered, which will consequently lead to the emergence of its origin. Thus, as in the real world where the word Ishraq/illumination refers to lighting and represents the first glow of morning stars in the sky, Illumination philosophy represents the moment when knowledge emerges in the soul.

b. Accordingly, Illumination philosophy or wisdom refers to a theory that is based on the presence of the philosopher in overflow of the morning rays of light to souls in a state of immateriality of the soul. Therefore, there will be a philosophy based on intuition and mystical experience that uses the immaterial reason as its source of knowledge.

c. The terms Illumination philosophy or knowledge can also refer to the fact that the ancient Persian sagas and philosophers were Illuminationist/Ishraqi philosophers not because of the geographical location but rather because of the type of knowledge they acquired, i.e. knowledge based on intuition and discovery.

In Suhrawardi’s philosophy, the image of *khowarneh* [the sun, light] is a significant image which proves the direct ties between his Illumination philosophy and the wisdom of ancient Persian philosophers. Since this image recurs in Suhrawardi’s works, we can assume that the genealogy of his philosophy goes back to the ancient Persia. He can certainly claim that he was the first person who was able to revive the philosophy of ancient Persia (Corbin, 2014: 167).

Khowarneh means the glory of light and great magnificence. It is a force which connects any existing essence with its supernatural light. In his intuitions, Suhrawardi considers *khowarneh* as the source of light and the same with being; the east of all light and the light of all east. This light of *khowarneh* is the light of lights and the direct relation between the heavenly and earthly lights (ibid: 197).

“The light of *khowarneh* comes from the depth of heavenly being – the light of all lights. It is infinite and has existed since the beginning of creation. It organizes the cosmos and the world and defines the essence of all creatures” (Modaresi, 2003: 20).

“Suhrawardi discovers this divine light in human psyche. For him, *khowarneh*, is the glory, light and magnificence of the eternal form of human psyche and spiritual self-realization” (ibid: 21). The concept of Ishraq/Illumination is based on the concept of *khowarneh*. Suhrawardi emphasizes the fact that the source of illumination is nothing but *khowarneh*. Illumination, Ishraq, enlightenment and glory are all variations of one single origin (Corbin, 2014: 169).

The truth of light and its relation to the celebration of the sun and fire in ancient Persia:

The issue of light or illumination is one of the key topics in Suhrawardi’s philosophy. In his view, existence and knowledge are variations of the emergence of light. He believes that light is nothing but emergence and emergence defines the truth of light. In the same vein, life itself is the emergence of light.

Light has always been respected by different religions. In Zoroastrianism which was the religion of ancient Persians, the meaning of life and the worship of fire was based on the principle of light.

“The truthfulness of light was so important for ancient Persian philosophers that the material manifestations of light such as the sun and fire – huraxš and azar in the language of ancient Persians – was also respected and sometimes worshipped” (Yazdanpanah, 2012: 116).

“In the view of ancient Persian philosophers, the administration of lower world was conducted by the angels of the above world. As Suhrawardi says, this is done by the angels of each species which are the managers and guardians of the material world. For example, the angel of ordibehesht is the angel or goddess of fire” (Movahed, 2005: 155).

“Suhrawardi has strongly been influenced by the wisdom and philosophy of ancient Persia so much so that there are specific cases that this influence is much clear. One of these examples, is the special attention that Suhrawardi pays to fire and highly regards fire [...] Another topic which reflects the direct influence of

ancient Persian philosophy on Suhrawardi is the sun or huraxš. Suhrawardi considers the sun as the most important thing and calls it the lord of all things. In fact, Suhrawardi's understanding of fire and sun is based on his metaphysics of illumination. In other words, Suhrawardi's philosophy is founded on the system of light and darkness. Such a system enables him to suggest a special understanding of sun and fire which are contingent examples of light" (Yazdanpanah, 2012: 120). "The reverence shown toward light and the sun as the most sublime manifestations of enlightenment in the material world is reflected in the writings of Suhrawardi. The glorification of the sun is a recurring theme in Illumination philosophy. Similar to the ancient Persian sagas, Suhrawardi refers to the sun as huraxš and considers the manifestation of the shahriwar angel and the intermediary of heavenly glory" (Movahed, 2005: 161).

However, it must be noted that Suhrawardi is not just limited to a mere repetition of ancient sun-worshipping theology. Rather, he is intent on singing a unifying lyric of the whole Illumination philosophy (Corbin, 2014: 232).

The term huraxš does not just refer to the materiality of the sun but also to the spirituality of it. Huraxš is the king of the heaven, creator of the day and has given life to the world as well as creating the seasons. Also, he has given light to all planets and is testimony to the uniqueness of the almighty God and thus should be worshipped. This is the reason that Suhrawardi's philosophy is associated with the idea of worshipping and praying for the huraxš which reminds one of the ritual of worshipping the sun in ancient Mazda religion.

Similarly, fire is considered the king of all lights in the material world. As a result, the people in ancient Persia were supposed to pay homage to fire and considered it as worthy of reverence because of its relation to the light of lights. Since Suhrawardi believes that each creature has a guardian angel he assigns the fire a special angel and similar to the ancient philosophers calls it *ordibehešt*. In Zoroastrianism and Persian mythology, *ordibehešt* is the angel of fire and its light is a manifestation of the divine light (Movahed, 2005: 162, 163).

The place of fire in our material world is similar to its place in the divine world. As the fire is a radiation and embodiment of the light of lights so it reflects the divinity and illumination of the above world in our material world (Corbin, 2015: 231).

Conclusion

Suhrawardi was successful in reviving the Illumination philosophy of ancient Persia. He based his Ishraqi philosophy on the principle of light in the ancient Persian philosophy. Given the importance of Kai Khosrow for Suhrawardi, his Illumination philosophy is sometimes called *khosrawani* since both of these figures have been able to reach the domain of enlightenment. We can argue that Suhrawardi is truly the reviver of *khosrawani* wisdom whereby he could move beyond the epic heroism and highlight epic mysticism to teach his Ishraqi principles. Perhaps one of the reasons why among Muslim philosophers, Suhrawardi turned to the wisdom of ancient Persia and decided to revive it is the issue of light and its relation to truth in ancient Persian philosophy. For the ancient Persian philosophers, the principle of light was so important that they showed great reverence to the material manifestations of light such as the sun and fire and sometimes worshipped them. Suhrawardi's philosophy is directly founded upon these principles and that is why his philosophy is called Ishraqi or Illumination and he himself remains the master of Illumination among the philosophers.

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Notes:

ⁱ Majusan were a fire-worshipping race who were the followers of Zoroastrianism (Aliakbar Dehkhoda, *Persian Dictionary*, Tehran UP, 1998). The word "majus" is used in Holy Quran in Haj: 17. "Lo! those who believe (this revelation), and those who are Jews, and the Sabaeans and the Christians and the Magians and the idolaters - Lo! Allah will decide between them on the Day of Resurrection. Lo! Allah is Witness over all things".

ⁱⁱ Mani or Manian was the name of famous painter either in the time of Artaxerxes or Bahram Shah who after Jesus Christ claimed to be a prophet. In the end, he was killed by Bahram Shah ibn Hormoz. Mani's mother was one of the royal members of Parthian kings and his father, Fatek, was from Hamedan. His father immigrated to Babel and lived in the village of Masan and communicated with a gnostic sect. Mani was born in 216 (or 217). He received some revelations whereby an angel told him the secrets of the world. Thereof, he claimed to be a prophet sent by Jesus Christ. With regard to the origin of creation, he says, "In the beginning there were two real principles: good and evil. The first was the father of glory, the light-king or Zarwan; he is revealed in five creatures which are chain of being between the creator and the created, and those are: perception, reason, thought, reflection and will. The god of darkness has five associations too which are piled on one another, and they are: fog, burning fire, destructive wind, muddy water and darkness". Following the Zoroastrians, Mani says: The dome of these creators are connected one side and infinite on the other (Aliakbar Dehkhoda, *Persian Dictionary*, Tehran UP, 1998).

ⁱⁱⁱ Kai Khosrow: Kai Khosrow or Kay Khosrow is a legendary king of the Kayanian dynasty and a character in the Persian epic book, *Shahnameh*. He was the son of the Iranian prince Siavash who married princess Farangis of Turan while in exile. Before Kai Khosrow was born, his father was murdered in Turan by his maternal grandfather Afrasiab. Kai Khosrow was trained as a child in the desert by Piran, the wise vizier of Afrasiab. His paternal grandfather was Kay Kāvus, the legendary Shah of Greater Iran who chose him as his heir when he returned to Iran with his mother. The name Kai Khosrow derives from Avestan Kavi Husravah, meaning "famous" (Mohammad Moein, *Persian Dictionary*, 15th edition, Tehran: Amirkabir, 2000). In Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh (Book of Kings)*, it is mentioned that Kai Khosrow has a dream after which he leaves his throne and journeys toward a mountain alone (Abolqasem Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh*, 9th edition, Tehran: Amirkabir: 1998).