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Boston University  
IR 757

## TRANSNATIONAL SHIISM

Recent events in Iraq have brought Twelver Shiites to power in that country, and thus Iran is no longer the only state in the world that is ruled by Shiites. Relations among the world's Shiites have thus become more complicated, as the shrine cities of Najaf and Karbala have once again emerged as a rival to Iran's "holy" cities of Qom and Mashhad. Twelver Shiites constitute a majority of the population in Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Iran, and Iraq, and they are a plurality in Lebanon. Important Shiite minorities live in Afghanistan, India, Kuwait, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia. Although the Shiite ulema are much more hierarchically organized than their Sunni counterparts, their hierarchy is not as centralized as that of the Roman Catholic church, giving them some but not all characteristics ascribed to a clergy.

This seminar explores the development of Twelver Shiism and the effects on Shiites around the world of the politicization of the religion in the wake of Iran's Islamic revolution of 1979. The central question is whether we can speak of a Shiite international.

The seminar's format is reading and discussion. Requirements for the course are class participation (30%) and a research paper (70%). The paper is due on December 12<sup>th</sup> and no extension will be given. Office hours are Wednesdays 4:00-6:00 and Friday 12:00-1:00 and take place at 154 Bay State Road. The instructor can be reached at chehabi@bu.edu or by phone at 617 358 0193.

Students are expected to know and understand the provisions of the CAS academic code. Cases of suspected academic misconduct will be referred to the Dean's Office.

### Schedule of Meetings

#### September 5: The Shiite School in Islam

Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 1-22

Faleh A. Jabar, *The Shi'ite Movement in Iraq* (London: Saqi, 2003), pp. 185-198.

Wilferd Madelung, "Shi'i Attitudes toward Women as Reflected in Fiqh," in Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid-Marsot, ed., *Society and the Sexes in Medieval Islam* (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1979), pp. 69-71.

#### September 12: The 3rd and 12<sup>th</sup> Imams

Mulla Va'ez Kashefi, "The passion of Husayn" (translation).

Werner Ende, "The Flagellations of Muharram and the Shi'ite 'Ulama," *Der Islam* 55 (1978): 19-36.

Kamran Aghaie, "The Origins of the Sunni-Shi'i Divide and the Emergence of the Ta'zieh Tradition," *Drama Review* (2004).

Michael Fischer, *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press), pp. 136-180.

### **September 19: The Shiite Madrasa and Clergy**

Fischer, *Iran*, pp. 12-135

Roy Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), pp. 78-109.

Jaber, *The Shi'ite Movement*, pp. 152-158.

Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1978), pp. 424-427 and 1160-1164.

Jabar, *The Shi'ite Movement*, pp. 159-184.

Talib Aziz, "Fadlallah and the Remaking of the Marja'iyah," in Linda S. Walbridge, ed., *The Most Learned of the Shi'a: The Institution of the Marja' Taqlid* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

### **September 26: Revolutionary Shiism in Iran and The Reinterpretation of the Passion of Husayn**

Ali Shariati, various pamphlets.

Mottahedeh, *Mantle*, pp. 198-247.

H. E. Chehabi, *Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism* (London: I.B.Tauris, 1990), pp.26-32, 42-84.

Hamid Dabashi, "Early Propagation of *Wilayat-i Faqih* and Mulla Ahmad Naraqī," in Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Hamid Dabashi, and Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, eds., *Expectation of the Millennium: Shi'ism in History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 288-300.

Mary Elaine Hegland, "Two Images of Husain: Accommodation and Revolution in an Iranian Village," in Nikki R. Keddie, ed., *Religion and Politics in Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 237-244.

### **October 3: Velayat-e Faqih/Wilayat al-Faqih and the Islamic Revolution in Iran**

Ruhollah Khomeini, *Islamic Government*.

Mohsen Milani, *The Making of Iran's Revolution: From Monarchy to Islamic Republic* (Boulder, Col.: Westview, 1988), pp.

Recommended: Said Amir Arjomand, "Iran's Revolution in Comparative Perspective," *World Politics* 38 (April 1986).

### **October 10: The Islamic Republic**

H.E. Chehabi and Arang Keshavarzian, "Politics in Iran," in Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Kaare Strøm, and Russell J. Dalton, eds., *Comparative Politics Today: A World View* (New York: Pearson, 2006).

Mehrangis Kar, "Shari'a Law in Iran," in Paul Marshall, ed., *Radical Islam's Rules: The*

*Worldwide Spread of Extreme Sharia Law* (New York: Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom, 2005), pp. 41-64.

Abdolmohammad Kazemipur and Ali Rezaei, "Religious Life Under Theocracy: The Case of Iran," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42:3 (2003).

Recommended: Asghar Schirazi, *The Constitution of Iran: Politics and the State in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), pp. 8-253.

### **October 17: Revolutionary Iran's Foreign Policy**

Wilfried Buchta, "The Failed Pan-Islamic Program of the Islamic Republic: Views of the Liberal Reformers of the Religious Semi-Opposition," in Nikki Keddie and Rudi Matthee, eds., *Iran and the Surrounding World 1501-2001: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

Farhad Kazemi and Jo-Anne Hart, "The Shi'i Praxis: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy in Iran," in David Menashri, ed., *The Iranian Revolution and the Muslim World* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1990), pp. 58-72.

Farid Mirbagheri, "Shi'ism and Iran's Foreign Policy," *The Muslim World* 94:4 (October 2004): 555-564.

Mehdi Mozaffari, "Revolutionary, Thermidorian and Enigmatic Foreign Policy: President Khatami and the 'Fear of the Wave'," *International Relations* 14:5 (August 1999): 9-28.

Haggay Ram, "Exporting Iran's Islamic Revolution: Steering a Path between Pan-Islam and Nationalism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 8:2 (Summer 1996): 7-24

### **October 24: Relations with Sunnism and non-Twelve Shiites**

Graham E. Fuller and Rend Rahim Francke, *The Arab Shi'a: The Forgotten Muslims* (New York: Palgrave, 1999), pp. 9-69.

F.R.C. Bagley, "The Azhar and Shi'ism," in *The Muslim World* 50 (April 1960): 122-129.

Werner Ende, "Sunni Polemical Writings on the Shi'a and the Iranian Revolution," in David Menashri, ed., *The Iranian Revolution and the Muslim World* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1990), pp. 219-232.

Wilfried Buchta, "Tehran's Ecumenical Society (*majma' al-taqrib*): A Veritable Ecumenical Revival or a Trojan Horse in Iran?" in Rainer Brunner and Werner Ende, eds., *The Twelver Shia in Modern Times: Religious Culture & Political History* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 333-353.

Stephan Rosiny, "'The Tragedy of Fatima az-Zahra' in the Debate of two Shiite Theologians in Lebanon," in Rainer Brunner and Werner Ende, eds., *The Twelver Shia in Modern Times: Religious Culture and Political History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001).

### **October 31: Shiites in Iraq**

Yitzhak Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 19xx), pp. 13-72.

Yitzhak Nakash, "Iraqi and Iranian Shi'ism: How Similar Are They?," in Rainer Brunner, Monika Gronke, Jens Peter Laut, and Ulrich Rebstock, eds., *Islamstudien ohne Ende: Festschrift*

für Werner Ende zum 65. Geburtstag (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2002), pp. 315-322.

Jabar, *The Shi'ite Movement*, pp. 199-273.

T.M. Aziz, "The role of Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr in Shi'i political activism in Iraq from 1958-1980," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25 (1993): 207-222.

P. Sluglett and M. Farouk-Sluglett, "Sunnis and Shi'is revisited: sectarianism and ethnicity in authoritarian Iraq," in Derek Hopwood, ed., *Iraq: Power and Society* (Oxford: Ithaca, 1993): 75-90.

Recommended:

Elizabeth Warnock Fernea, *Guests of the Sheikh: An Ethnography of an Iraqi Village* (New York: Anchor Books, 1989).

Recommended: Juan R.I. Cole, "'Indian Money' and the Shi'i Shrine Cities of Iraq, 1786-1850," *Middle Eastern Studies* 22 (October 1986): 461-480.

### **November 7: Shiism in Lebanon**

Fouad Ajami, *The Vanished Imam* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 21-84.

Fuller and Francke, *The Arab Shi'a*, pp. 203-238.

H.E. Chehabi et al., *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the last 500 years* (Oxford: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 2006), pp. 6-13; 23-26, 29-47; 180-185, 190-308.

Recommended: Tamara Chalabi, *The Shi'is of Jabal Amil and the New Lebanon: Community and Nation-State, 1918-1943* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006). 248 pp.

Recommended: Augustus Richard Norton, *Amal and the Shia: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987).

Amal Saad-Ghorayeb, *Hizbullah: Politics and Religion* (London: Pluto Press, 2002).

### **November 14: Afghanistan and South Asia**

Olivier Roy, "The Mujahidin and the Future of Afghanistan," in John L. Esposito, ed., *The Iranian Revolution: Its Global Impact* (Florida International University Press, 1991), pp. 179-202.

Robert L. Canfield, "New Trends among the Hazaras: From 'The Amity of Wolves' to 'The Practice of Brotherhood,'" *Iranian Studies* 37:2 (June 2004): 241-262.

David Pinault, *The Shi'ites: Ritual and Popular Piety in a Muslim Community* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1992), pp. 59-62.

Vali Nasr, "Sectarianism and Shia Politics in Pakistan, 1979-Present," *Cahiers d'études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien*, No. 28 (1999): 311-323.

Vali Nasr, "The Iranian Revolution and Changes in Islamism in Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan," in Nikki Keddie and Rudi Matthee, eds., *Iran and the Surrounding World 1501-2001: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), pp. 327-354.

### **November 21: No class**

**November 28: The Persian Gulf**

Fuller and Francke, *The Arab Shi'a*, pp. 119-201.

Michael Herb, "Subordinate Communities and the Utility of Ethnic Ties to a Neighboring Regime," in Leonard Binder, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and International Politics in the Middle East* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1999), pp. 155-180.

Kuwait:

Fuller and Francke, *The Arab Shi'a*, pp. 119-201.

Bahrain:

Fuller and Francke, *The Arab Shi'a*, pp. 119-201.

Uzi Rabi and Joseph Kostiner, "The Shi'is in Bahrain: Class and Religious Protest," in Ofra Bengio and Gabriel Ben-Dor, eds., *Minorities and the State in the Arab World* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1999), pp. 171-188.

Munira A. Fakhro, "The Uprising in Bahrain: An Assessment," in Gary G. Sick and Lawrence G. Potter, eds., *The Persian Gulf at the Millennium* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

Saudi Arabia:

Youssef al-Khoei, "The Marja' and the Survival of the Community: The Shi'a of Medina," in Linda S. Walbridge, ed., *The Most Learned of the Shi'a: The Institution of the Marja' Taqlid* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 247-250.

Toby Craig Jones, "Rebellion on the Saudi Periphery: Modernity, Marginalization, and the Shi'a Uprising of 1979," *International Journal of Middle East History* 38:2 (May 2006): 213-233.

Recommended:

Jacob Goldberg, "Saudi Arabia and the Iranian Revolution: The Religious Dimension," in David Menashri, ed., *The Iranian Revolution and the Muslim World* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1990).

**December 5: Recent Ideological Trends and Reformulations of the Gender Issue**

Asghar Schirazi, *The Constitution of Iran: Politics and the State in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), pp. 257-290.

Mehran Kamrava, "Iranian Shiism under Debate," *Middle East Policy* 10:2 (Summer 2003): 102-112.

Mahmoud Sadri, "Sacral Defense of Secularism: Dissident Political Theology in Iran," in Negin Nabavi, ed., *Intellectual Trends in Twentieth-Century Iran* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), pp. 180-192.

Hamid Dabashi, "The End of Islamic Ideology," *Social Research* 67:2 (Summer 2000): 475-518.

Ziba Mir-Hosseini and Richard Tapper, *Islam and Democracy in Iran: Eshkevari and the Quest for Reform* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006).

Madelung, "Shi'i Attitudes," pp.71-75.

Kamran Aghaie, ed., *The Women of Karbala: The Gender Dynamics of Ritual Performances and Symbolic Discourses of Modern Shi'i Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), Lara Deeb's chapter on Lebanon.

Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Stretching the Limits: A Feminist Reading of the Shari'a in Post-Khomeini Iran," in Mai Yamani, ed., *Feminism and Islam* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), pp. 285-320.

### **December 12: Post-Saddam Iraqi Shiism**

Mehdi Khalaji, *The Last Marja: Sistani and the End of Traditional Religious Authority in Shiism* (Washington: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2006).

Laith Kubba, "Iraqi Shi'i Politics," in Lawrence C. Potter and Gary G. Sick, eds., *Iran, Iraq and the Legacies of War* (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2004), pp. 141-150.

Jabar, *The Shi'ite Movement*, pp. 13-28.

Vali Nasr, "Regional Implications of Shi'a Revival in Iraq," *The Washington Quarterly* 27 (Summer 2004).

More to be announced.