

# CONTENTS



Introduction	1
--------------	---

## **PART ONE. BETWEEN POLITICS AND RELIGION**

1. Caliphate and Imamate	7
2. Rivalry and Convergence	21
3. Islam as Ideology: Sunni and Shi'a Islamism	45
4. An Islamist International?	63
5. From Pan-Islamism to Sectarianism	81

## **PART TWO. MANAGING SECTARIAN DIFFERENCE**

6. Iraq: On the Frontier of Sunnism and Shi'ism	109
7. Bahrain: The Legacy of a Conquest	122
8. Pakistan: From Muslim State to Islamic State	135
9. Pragmatic Sectarianism? Sunnis and Shi'a in Saudi Arabia and Iran	150
10. Yemen: Zaydism between Sunnism and Shi'ism	165
11. Lebanon: The Search for a New Sectarian Pact	176
Conclusion	194
<i>Chronology</i>	199
<i>Notes</i>	203
<i>Bibliography</i>	213
<i>Index</i>	219

## INTRODUCTION



Relations between Sunni and Shi'i Muslims are often said to be characterized by over a thousand years of uninterrupted war, the result of ancestral hatreds stemming from disagreements over the Prophet Muhammad's rightful successor. According to Sunnis, who today probably constitute as much as 90 percent of the world's Muslim population, Muhammad left no instructions as to who should succeed him when he died without a male heir in 632, leaving it up to his companions to determine who would best govern. By contrast, the Shi'a believe that Muhammad, directly inspired by God, designated his cousin and son-in-law Ali ibn Abi Talib as his successor. The latter would become the fourth caliph, and Shi'a hold that a lineage of Imams was born of his marriage with the Prophet's daughter, Fatima.

Yet the conflict between Sunnis and Shi'a was never just a mere quarrel over the prophet of Islam's succession. For it immediately raised essential questions as to the nature of legitimate political authority. What sort of qualities should be possessed by the Muslim head of state? Could he be an ordinary human being or should there be something of the divine about him? How was he to be chosen and, by extension, what was the most legitimate type of political regime?

Such were the questions raised by the protagonists of the time. They were ever on the mind of future generations, giving rise to political and religious doctrines as well as myths that continue to structure Sunni and Shi'i political imaginaries to this day. For Sunnis and especially Islamists, the "rightly guided caliphate" of Muhammad's first four successors represents a golden age of just government to which one must return. For the Shi'a, by contrast, the first three caliphs were no more than usurpers. In fighting unjust authority, the heroes of our time must in their eyes strive to emulate Hussein, the son of Imam Ali, who was killed by the army of Caliph Yazid in 680.

Over the centuries, these controversies were activated or deactivated depending on the political context. This is the central argument of the present book. Religious doctrines thus generally evolved in response to the political needs of dominant and dominated groups. They served as legitimating ideologies for political elites; rebels used them to oppose the powers that be; clerics wielded them to assert themselves vis-à-vis state power. In the course of these interactions, Sunnis and Shi'a were not always in open conflict. While Shi'ism in its various manifestations has long been the principal ideology of opposition to the established powers of the Middle East, the Twelver movement that today predominates gradually took shape around a project of doctrinal and political deradicalization that resulted in marginalizing the esoteric and revolutionary currents that were so central during the first centuries of Islam. Orchestrated by Shi'i religious scholars, this process made it possible to conceive of peaceful coexistence with the established powers and also established Shi'ism as a school of religious law that, in point of its conclusions, ultimately differed little from the canonical Sunni schools.

When the Safavids in 1501 moved to establish Shi'ism as the state religion over a territory roughly corresponding to that of contemporary Iran, however, the conflict was reactivated. By making what had been a communal religion into an official religion and using it as a tool for wielding influence beyond their frontiers, the Safavids created a lasting fault line in the Middle East, with the Sunni-Shi'a divide being superimposed in the collective imagination on a conflict between Iran and the rest of the Muslim world. This fault line still exists today: for many Sunnis, every Shi'a is necessarily Iranian or at least an agent in the service of Iran's expansionist intrigues. Many of the conflicts that are today tearing the region apart center on the conflictual relationship between Saudi Arabia and Iran, the two states claiming to embody and champion Sunni and Shi'a Islamism, respectively. Their rivalry intersects with and internationalizes what are at the outset independent local conflicts, introduces religious issues into political struggles, and hardens fluid denominational identities.

To understand the dynamics by which the conflicts between Sunnis and Shi'a are activated and deactivated, the present work takes a twofold

approach. In the first part I offer a global political history of Sunnis and Shi'a from the beginning of the quarrel over succession until today. In doing so, I seek to explain the historical roots of contemporary conflicts, underscore historical continuities and ruptures, and cast light on dynamics of antagonism and points of convergence.

The second part offers an at once historical and sociological study of several national configurations in which the Sunni-Shi'a divide structures the political field. This brings to the fore the manner in which Sunni and Shi'a identities are articulated with other social, ethnic, linguistic, regional, economic, and status identities. It is this articulation, specific to each society, that explains why, though present in many Middle Eastern countries, the Sunni-Shi'a divide does or does not develop into more or less violent conflicts depending on the domestic and regional political contexts.

## INDEX



- Abbasids, 12, 14, 18, 21, 23–29, 36, 109, 151, 165  
Abd al-Hamid, Mawlana, 161  
Abdallah of Jordan, 98  
Abd al-Wahhab (ibn), Muhammad, 69–70,  
91, 136, 169  
Abdu, Muhammad, 41, 42  
Abu Bakr (al-Siddiq), 7, 8, 9  
Abu Hanifa, 15  
Aden, 169  
al-Afghani, Jamal al-Din, 41–43, 139  
Afghanistan, Afghans, 37, 42, 95, 96, 97, 99,  
100, 142, 145, 146, 148, 151, 161  
Afsharids, 37  
Aga Khan, 19  
Ahl-i Hadith, 92, 136, 143, 144, 145, 146  
Ahmad, Mirza Ghulam, 141  
Ahmadis, 141, 142, 147, 148  
Aisha (wife of Muhammad), 7, 11, 151  
Akbar, Jalaluddin Muhammad, 39  
*Akhbari*, akhbarisme, 35, 130  
Alamut, 19  
Alawites, 20, 27, 82, 84, 85, 88, 102, 184  
al-Albani, Nasir al-Din, 92–93  
Algeria, 11, 40, 49, 69  
Alids, 9, 12–17, 23, 27, 28, 30, 49, 84, 88, 122,  
166, 194  
Ali ibn Abi Talib, 1, 9, 30  
Aligarh, 138  
Amal, 182, 184–89, 192  
al-Amer, Tawfiq, 164  
Amilites, 33, 34  
Anatolia, 33, 36  
al-Aqsa (mosque), 43  
Arab Revolt, 63–64  
Arab Spring, 95, 101, 102, 104, 131, 164, 165, 175  
Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco),  
158  
Arabian Peninsula, 8, 18, 36, 74, 110, 111–12,  
161, 162–63  
Arab-Israeli War, 64, 183  
al-Ardabili, Safi al-din, 33  
al-Asefi, Muhammed Mahdi, 72  
Ashura, 13, 40, 87, 89, 127, 135, 156  
al-Askari, Hassan, 20, 26  
al-Assad, Bashar, 193,  
al-Assad, Hafez, 84, 85, 184  
assassins, 19  
Assembly of Experts, 68  
Association for Rapprochement between  
Islamic Legal Schools, 43, 82, 87  
Awadh, 37, 39, 136  
Awakening Councils, 119, 120  
Ayad Allawi, 118–19  
Azerbaijan, 152  
al-Azhar, 19, 41–46, 55, 62, 65–67, 70, 72, 82,  
95, 120, 132, 133, 160  
Azzam, Abdullah, 70  
Ba'ath, Ba'athist, 52, 66, 67, 74, 84–86, 102,  
113–16, 118, 119, 120, 121  
Babur, 38, 39  
Baghdad, 12, 23, 25, 27, 36, 109, 110, 113, 116  
Baghdadi (al-), Abu Bakr, 195, 121  
Baha'ism, Baha'is, 150 (no diacritic in  
Baha'ism in text, but it appears in Baha'i)  
Bahrain, 18, 33, 68, 73–75, 77, 94, 99, 101, 104,  
122–26, 128, 129, 131, 132, 152, 154–56, 181,  
194  
Bahraini, Baharna, 68, 73, 77, 104, 122,  
124–29, 131, 152  
Balochistan, Baloch, 151, 152, 158–61  
Bangladesh, 46, 140, 142  
al-Banna, Hassan, 45–48, 55  
Baqi' (cemetery), 87

- al-Baqir, Muhammad, 14, 17, 87  
Barelvi, Syed Ahmad, 136, 137, 141  
al-Bashir, Omar, 66  
Basra, 18, 109, 122  
Baz (ibn), Abd al-Aziz, 49, 89, 91  
Bazargan, Mehdi, 49  
Becca Valley, 177  
Beirut, 177, 180, 181, 183, 185, 190–92  
Ben Ali, Zine El Abidine, 193  
Bengal, 140, 142  
Berri, Nabih, 186  
Bhutto, Benazir, 147  
Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 142, 143, 147  
Bin Laden, Osama, 96, 99  
Bohra, 20  
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 40  
brotherhoods, 31–33, 39, 46, 48, 66, 111, 135, 136, 151, 152, 159  
Bush, George W., 97, 99  
Buyids, 23, 25, 27–29, 34  
Byzantine, Byzantium, 22, 36, 176  
  
Cairo, 18, 44, 46, 63, 65–67, 130, 131  
caliph, caliphate, 1, 7–19, 21–27, 36, 40, 41, 48, 55, 56, 82, 88, 112, 120, 121, 136, 137, 143, 146, 151, 165, 166, 167, 195. *See also* rightly guided caliphs/caliphates  
Camel (battle of the), 11  
Caspian (sea), 19  
Cedar Revolution, 191  
Central *Zakat* Fund, 144  
Chamoun, Camille, 184  
Chishtiyya, 47  
clergy, 21, 29, 30, 35, 37, 42, 49, 50, 52–54, 68, 113, 130, 132, 117, 128, 177, 180, 194  
colonization, 20, 47, 135, 136  
Committee of Grand Ulama, 89, 93  
Communism, communists, 50–53, 55, 96, 113–15, 128, 130, 133, 170, 181  
Communist Action Organization in Lebanon, 181  
community, communitarianism, 7, 10, 11, 13–15, 17, 20, 22, 27, 31, 40, 48, 56, 72, 73, 76, 78, 83, 84, 99, 102, 103, 105, 119, 120, 125, 132, 134, 137, 138, 143–46, 152–54, 155, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 167, 172, 176–82, 184–92, 194–97  
companions (of Muhammad), 22, 89, 120, 137, 148, 151  
Constantinople, 36  
Council of Islamic Ideology, 144  
  
al-Da‘wa (al-islamiyya), 51, 54, 55, 59, 67, 68, 72, 75, 78, 100, 115, 116, 118, 128, 146  
Daesh (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant), 95, 100, 120, 121, 195  
Damascus, 12, 85, 103, 184  
Dar al-Hadith, 172  
Dar al-ifta, 178, 191  
Dar al-Ulum (Egypt), 65,  
Dar al-Ulum (Iran), 160, 161  
al-Darazi, Muhammad, 19  
Delhi, 47, 136, 138  
democracy, 56, 57, 65, 95, 97–98, 103, 104, 118, 129, 131, 147, 171, 179  
Deoband, Deobandis, 136, 141, 144, 146, 147, 159, 160, 161  
Devotees of Islam, 53, 54  
doctrine, 1–2, 7, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19–20, 26–29, 32, 34, 35, 55, 57, 58, 69, 83, 84, 88, 94, 100, 142, 151, 156, 159, 167, 168, 169, 172, 174, 176  
dogma, 12, 15, 22, 25, 30, 33, 82, 87, 139  
Druze, 19, 20, 27, 82, 84, 177–178, 184  
  
ecumenism, 37, 44, 55, 85, 87, 137, 139, 141  
Egypt, 8, 10, 18–19, 23, 25, 36, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45–46, 48, 50, 59, 64, 66, 69, 71, 76, 82, 86, 94–96, 101, 104, 126–27, 170, 190, 193  
Enlightenment, 41  
esoterism, 2, 12, 16, 20, 27–32, 151, 194  
Euphrates 11, 37, 110  
Europe, 31, 36, 40–43, 45, 53, 56, 76, 83, 91, 111, 112, 136, 169, 176, 181  
exegesis (*ijtihad*), 14–15, 18, 21, 22, 25, 28, 29–30, 35, 38, 41, 49, 89, 93, 166, 167, 168–69, 174, 194

- Fadlallah, Mohammad Hussein, 59, 67–68  
Fatah, 181, 185  
al-Fatih (mosque), 132  
Fatima (daughter of Muhammad), 1, 9–10,  
12, 13, 16–18, 32, 87, 167, 172  
Fatimids, 18–20  
Faysal (king of Iraq), 112, 178  
Feylis, 109, 114,  
*figh*. See religious law (*figh*)  
Firangi Mahal, 40  
First Intifada. See Intifada  
First World War, 40, 48, 53, 91, 111  
*Fitna*, 11, 22, 40  
France, 48, 54, 103, 176, 177–78  
Free Officers, 60  
Free Yemenis, 65, 169, 170  
Freedom Movement of Iran, 49  
Future Current, 191–92
- Gaddafi, Muammar, 181, 185  
Gandhi, 143  
Gaza, 64  
General People's Congress, 173  
Genghis Khan, 31, 39  
Ghadir Khumm, 9, 171  
*ghulat*, 27, 34, 84  
Great Britain, 118, 138, 162  
Guide of the Revolution, 81, 82  
Gujarat, 20  
Gulf Cooperation Council, 104  
Gulf War, 96–97, 115
- Hadawi, 167, 169  
al-Hadi, Ali, 20, 168, 171, 172  
Hafsa (wife of Muhammad), 151  
al-Hakim, bi Amr Allah, 19  
al-Hakim, Muhsin, 51  
*Hakimiyya*, 61  
Hamas, 64, 83  
Hamid al-Din, Yahya, 65, 169  
Hamza ibn Ali, 19  
Hanafism, 15  
al-Hanafiyya (ibn), Muhammad, 17  
Hanbal (ibn), Ahmed, 15, 46, 90  
Hanbalism, 15, 69, 88, 89, 90–94, 153, 170  
al-Haqq (Bahrain), 131  
al-Haqq (Yemen), 167, 171–73  
al-Hariri, Rafiq, 103, 190–92  
al-Hariri, Saad, 191  
Hasa, 155–56  
al-Hashimi, Tariq, 119  
Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Ali-Akbar, 78  
Hashemites, 14, 91, 168  
Hawwa, Sa'id, 70, 85  
Hejaz, 91  
Hezbollah, 59, 75, 76, 77, 78–79, 85, 103, 174,  
186–89, 191–93  
Hezbollah (al-Hejaz), 78  
Hidden Imam, 34, 83  
Houthi, 101–2, 104, 173–75  
al-Houthi, Abd al-Malik, 175  
al-Houthi, Badr al-Din, 174  
al-Houthi, Hussein, 173–74  
al-Hudaybi, Hassan, 61  
Hufuf, 155, 164  
Huli, huwala, 125  
Hussein Sayyid al-Shuhada (Imam  
Hussein), 13, 18, 36, 40, 52, 87, 127, 146,  
156, 166  
Hussein, Mufti Jafar, 144–45  
Hussein, Saddam, 67, 71, 74, 97, 100, 114,  
115–17, 118, 121, 163, 175  
al-Husseini, Arif Hussein, 145  
al-Husseini, Muhammad Amin, 43, 63  
*Husseiniyya*, 40, 72  
Hyderabad, 47
- Ibadism, Ibadī, 11, 82  
ideology, ideologization, 2, 27, 35, 36, 45,  
49–55, 58, 60, 69, 70, 76, 78–80, 81, 82, 84,  
85, 88, 89, 91, 92, 95, 96, 98–100, 103, 109,  
112, 113, 117, 118, 121, 127, 128, 132, 133, 144,  
150, 151, 157, 158, 160, 170, 181, 190, 197  
'ijmi, 'ajam, 126, 127  
Ikhwan, 157  
Ilkhanate (dynasty), 31

- Imam, imamate, 1, 7, 8, 12–20, 22, 25–32, 34–37, 40, 49, 52, 57, 65, 68, 77, 83, 86–89, 101, 102, 116, 123, 127, 135, 146, 148, 151, 156, 165–172, 175, 194, 196
- Imambara*, 40
- India, 19, 20, 37, 38–40, 46–48, 56, 92, 135–38, 140, 142, 143, 159
- International Organization (of the Muslim Brotherhood), 70, 76–77
- Intifada (First), 64, 83
- Iran, 2, 19, 23, 24, 29, 31, 33, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 48–49, 52–54, 55, 57–58, 59, 72, 73–76, 77–78, 81–87, 89, 92, 96–99, 101–5, 109–10, 111, 112–17, 122–29, 132, 136, 138, 145–46, 148, 149, 150–55, 157, 158, 160–62, 164, 166, 173–75, 181, 186–87, 188, 189, 192–93, 194, 197; Iranian revolution, 44, 49, 53, 72, 96–73, 81, 83, 86–89, 92, 97, 128, 145, 172, 186. *See also* revolution, exporting
- Iraq, 8, 11, 13, 18, 23, 31, 33, 36, 37, 40, 43, 44, 49–54, 57, 59, 63, 67, 69, 71–79, 85, 86, 92, 95, 96–101, 105, 109–121, 122, 126, 128, 129, 136, 146, 148, 152, 155, 157, 160, 162, 163, 175, 178, 181, 190, 197
- Iraqi Communist Party, 113, 115
- Iraqi National Accord, 118
- al-Islah, 65
- Islamabad, 145
- Islamic Charter Front, 66
- Islamic Constitutional Movement, 71
- Islamic Jihad (Egypt), 96
- Islamic Jihad (Palestine), 83
- Islamic League, 70
- Islamic Liberation Front of Bahrain, 74
- Islamic University of Medina, 70, 173
- Islamism, Islamists, 1, 2, 13, 27, 30, 45–62, 63, 65, 67–68, 70, 72–79, 81–87, 90, 92, 94–98, 100, 102, 104, 114–19, 125, 127–33, 141, 146, 148, 160, 162, 163, 170, 184, 189, 191, 194–96
- Isma'il (ibn Ja'far), 18
- Ismailia, 46
- Isma'ili, Ismailism, 18–20, 27, 34, 82, 84, 122, 138, 154, 165, 177
- Israel, 19, 44, 54, 62, 64, 75, 76, 83, 85, 138, 174, 183–86, 188, 189
- Ja'fari (*madhhab*), 14, 15, 91, 144, 145, 147, 148, 182
- Ja'fari Movement of Pakistan, 145, 147, 148
- Jabal Amil, 33
- Jahiliyya, 61–62
- Jaish al-Adl, 160
- Jamaat-e Ulema-e-Islam, 147
- Jamaat-e-Islami, 45, 48, 56, 57, 92
- al-Jazeera, 72
- Jerusalem, 11, 43, 63
- Jesus, 142
- Jews, 43, 62, 63, 83, 85, 88, 112, 139, 150, 153, 174, 185
- Jhang, 147–48
- Jhangvi, Haz Nawaz, 147–48
- jihad, jihadism, jihadists, 61–62, 83, 95–96, 99–100, 121, 142, 145, 146, 148, 161
- Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 138, 139, 143, 196
- Jordan, 64, 80, 98, 99, 100
- Jumblatt, Kamal, 184
- Jundallah, 160
- Karachi, 147
- al-Karaki, Ali, 34
- Karbala, 13, 36, 40, 52, 110
- al-Kashif al-Ghita, Muhammad Hussein, 43
- al-Kazim, Musa, 18
- Kemal Atatürk, Mustafa, 40
- Al Khalifa, 68, 123–25, 126, 127, 129, 130, 132, 133
- al-Khalissi, Mahdi, 111
- Khamenei, Ali, 58–59, 78, 79, 82
- Khan, Syed Ahmad, 138
- Kharidjism, Kharijites, 11
- Khatimiyya*, 12, 82
- Khoja*, 138
- Khomeini, Ruhollah, 54–55, 57–59, 74, 77, 82–85, 145, 146, 174
- Khu'i, Abul Qasim, 110, 116



- Khuzestan, 54  
Kitman, 14  
Koran, 8, 10, 14, 21, 22, 28, 34, 68, 89, 90, 141, 153, 160, 168, 174  
Krishna, 142  
Kufa, 13  
al-Korani, Ali, 68  
Kurdistan, Kurds, 33, 100, 109, 110–11, 113, 114, 117–19, 152, 158–61, 197  
Kuwait, 68, 71, 72–73, 74, 75, 80, 94, 96, 99, 104, 155  
  
La Madhhabiyya, 91  
Lashkar-e Jhanjvi, 148  
League of Nations, 204 n 25  
Lebanese National Front, 184  
Lebanon, 19, 20, 33, 59, 67–68, 75, 78, 98, 103, 127, 176–81, 183–84, 186–93  
legitimacy, legitimization, 8, 11, 17, 20, 23, 30, 55, 58, 78, 80, 88, 94, 142, 168, 169, 170  
Libya, 181, 185, 190  
London, 42, 116  
Lucknow, 136  
  
al-Ma'mun, 22, 23  
Maghreb, 18  
al-Mahdi, Muhammad, 16  
al-Mahmud, Abd al-Latif, 132, 133  
Makki, Mawlana Abd al-Aziz, 159  
Maktab-e-Quran, 160  
Malekism, 15  
Malik ibn Anas, 15  
al-Maliki, Nouri, 100, 118–19, 121  
Mamluks, 25  
Manama, 131  
Mandate (of the League of Nations), 49, 142, 177, 181  
Maqasid (Philanthropic Islamic Association of Beirut), 180, 190  
March 14 Alliance, 191–92  
March 8 Alliance, 191  
*marja' (al-taqid)*, 38, 49, 51, 57–59, 77, 110, 111, 116  
*marja'iyya (al-taqid)*, 37–38, 49, 51, 52, 54, 59, 68, 75, 77, 78, 115–18, 120  
Maronites, 176–80, 182, 183, 187, 188  
Marwan (ibn), Abd al-Malik, 9  
Maududi, Abul Ala, 45, 47–48, 55, 56, 60–62, 70, 82, 92, 141, 142  
al-Mawardi, Abu al-Hassan, 23, 24  
Mecca, 9, 10, 12, 18, 36, 61, 81, 87, 92, 97, 111.  
*See also* pilgrimage, to Mecca  
Medina, 9, 10, 12, 13, 36, 61, 70, 87, 154, 173  
Mesopotamia, 33, 40  
Message Movement, 52, 72–74, 85, 87, 115, 164  
Militias, militiamen, 103, 118, 119, 120, 147, 148, 180, 183, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192  
al-Minbar, 130  
al-Modarresi (al-), Hadi, 72, 73, 74, 128  
al-Modarresi, Mohammed Taqi, 52, 72  
Moftizadeh, Ahmad, 160  
*mohajir*, 140, 148  
Mongols, 25, 29, 31, 33, 39, 100  
Montazeri, Hussein, 59  
Morsi, Mohamed, 95  
Mosaddegh, Mohammed, 53  
Mosul, 67, 109  
Movement for the Implementation of Ja'fari Law, 144, 145  
al-Mu'tasim, 23  
Muawiyah (ibn Abi Sufyan), 11, 13  
Mubarak, Hosni, 95, 193  
Mubarraz, 155  
al-Mufid, Shaykh, 29  
*Mufti*, 42, 43, 63, 144, 145, 178  
Mughal, 38–39, 47, 151, 153  
Muhammad, 1, 7–10, 12, 14, 22, 24, 27, 29, 32, 34, 61, 82, 90, 93, 124, 137, 142, 153, 167, 171  
*See also* companions (of Muhammad); Prophet  
Muharram, 13  
al-Mujtaba, Hassan (Imam Hassan), 12, 87  
al-Murabitun, 181, 185–86  
Muslim Brotherhood, 45–48, 51, 55, 59–61, 63–67, 69, 70–71, 76–77, 79–80, 82–85, 88,

- Muslim Brotherhood (continued)  
90, 92, 94–96, 102, 119, 130, 133, 159, 160,  
162, 170, 186
- al-Musta'li, 19–20
- al-Musta'sim, 25
- Mustafa, Shukri, 40, 62, 66
- al-Mustansir, 19, 25,
- al-Mutawakkil, 23
- Mutazilism, Mutazilites, 22, 27, 90, 166,  
167, 172
- mysticism, 30–32, 39, 46, 136
- Nader Shah, 37
- Nadwatul Ulama, 137
- Nahda*, 41
- Nahrawan, 11
- Najaf, 36–37, 42, 49–55, 63, 67–68, 75, 77, 85,  
110, 111, 115, 116, 144, 145, 156, 181
- Najran, 154
- Naqshbandi, 136
- Naqvi, Allama Sayyid Ghulam, 148
- Nasrallah, Hassan, 174
- nass*, 15
- Nasser (Abd al-), Gamal, Nasserism,  
Nasserian, 44, 60, 62, 66, 69, 80, 86, 133,  
170, 181
- nation, 73, 76, 114, 117, 119, 122, 124, 138, 139,  
140, 141, 142, 144, 152, 186, 188, 196, 197
- National Dialogue Conferences, 163
- National Liberation Front, 128
- National Movement (Lebanon), 184
- National Pact (Lebanon), 179, 190
- National Union Committee, 127
- National Unity Gathering (Bahrain), 132–34
- Nationalism, nationalists, 41, 52, 53, 55, 56, 60,  
66, 73, 84, 85, 86, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117, 119, 124,  
127, 128, 130, 139, 152, 169, 170, 178–179, 184
- al-Nawbakhti, Abu Sahl, 27
- New York, 97
- al-Nimr, Nimr, 105, 164
- Nizaris, 19
- al-Nokrashy, Mahmoud, 60
- al-Nour, 95
- Nusayr (ibn), Muhammad, 20
- Nusayri, 20
- occultation, 16–17, 26–30, 57
- official Islam, 21, 34
- Oman, 11, 104
- Organization for the Defense of Shi'i  
Rights, 144
- Organization for the Islamic Revolution in  
the Arabian Peninsula, 74, 162
- orthodoxy, 16, 21, 25, 157, 170
- Ottomans, Ottoman Empire, 24, 33, 35–43,  
109–113, 123, 154–56, 168–69, 177–79, 194
- Pahlavi regime, 53–54, 85, 114
- Pahlavi, Mohammed Reza, 53
- Pahlavi, Reza Shah, 53, 129
- Pakistan, 46, 56, 130, 135–49, 151, 159, 161, 196
- Pakistan People's Party, 142, 147
- Palestine, Palestinians, 23, 43, 63, 67, 71, 76,  
82, 181, 183–86
- Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO),  
71, 83, 95, 185
- Pan-Arabism, 86–87
- Pan-Islamism, 63, 76, 80, 82–87, 111, 187
- Parsi, 138, 141
- Pasdaran, 76, 161, 189
- Peninsula Shield, 104
- Persia, 22, 436, 39; Persian language, 39, 53,  
55, 140, 161
- Persian Gulf, 18, 40, 69, 74, 98, 104, 122–26,  
152, 161, 163
- Phalange for Palestine, 64
- Phalanges, 180, 183
- pilgrimage, 9, 13, 32, 52, 89, 136; to Mecca,  
81, 97
- Prophet. *See* Muhammad
- Punjab, 140–43
- Purification movement, 183
- Qaddafi, Muammar. *See* Gaddafi,  
Muammar
- al-Qaida, 95, 96–100, 119–21

- Qajar, 20, 37, 151  
al-Qaradawi, Yusuf, 72, 195  
Qarmatian, 18, 122  
Qasim, Abd al-Karim, 50, 113  
Qasim, Isa, 68  
Qasr-e Shirin, 36  
Qatar, Qatari, 18, 71–72, 99, 104, 122–23, 162, 195  
Qatif, 77, 104, 155–57, 158, 164  
Qizilbash, 36  
Qom, 54, 58–59, 145, 181  
quietism, 17, 94  
Qummi, Muhammad Taqi, 44  
Quraysh, 24  
Qutb, Muhammad, 59–62, 70  
Qutb, Sayyid, 82
- radicalism, radicalization, 16, 165, 187  
*Rafidha*, 88  
al-Rassi, Yahya ibn Husayn (al-Hadi ila al-Haqq), 167  
rationalism, 28–30, 40–42, 90–91  
*Rawafidh*, 88  
Reform Movement, 54, 162–64  
reformism, 41–43, 45, 56, 91–92, 35, 196  
Religious law (*fiqh*), 14–15  
Renan, Ernest, 42  
revolution, revolutionaries, 2, 14, 16, 27–29, 54, 145, 160, 162; exporting of, 74, 77–78; Cedar Revolution (*see* Cedar Revolution); Guide of Revolution, 81–82; Iranian (*see* Iran, revolution in); White Revolution (*see* White Revolution)  
Rida, Rashid, 41–42, 55, 91  
rightly guided caliphs/caliphates, 1, 22, 24, 91  
Russia, 193
- Saba (ibn), Abdallah, 88  
*sada* (sing. *sayyid*), 168  
al-Sadat, Anwar, 62, 92  
al-Sadiq, Ja'far, 144–45  
*sadr/sadrists*, 116, 175–76  
al-Sadr, Muhammad Baqir, 51–52, 54–55, 68, 75, 116, 146  
al-Sadr, Muhammad Sadiq, 116  
al-Sadr, Muqtada, 116  
al-Sadr, Musa, 181–82, 184–85  
*sadrists*. *See* *sadr/sadrists*  
Safavids, 2, 31–40, 49, 122–24, 150–52, 158, 188, 194  
al-Saffar, Hassan, 73  
*sahaba*, 7  
Salafism, Salafists, 89–95, 99, 101, 169, 171–73; Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat, 92  
Saleh, Ali Abdallah, 102–2, 175  
Salim, Izz al-Din, 72  
Sana'a, 102, 174  
Saqr, Abd al-Badi, 71–72  
Sasanians, 22  
Al Saud, 74, 78, 88–90, 155–58, 159  
Al Saud, Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz, 86, 91  
Saudi Arabia, 2, 33, 69–70, 73, 85–88, 101–5, 122, 123, 142–47, 150, 154–56, 158, 161–64, 173, 187, 190, 192–93  
al-Sawwaf, Muhammad Mahmud, 67  
Schools of Religious Jurisprudence (*madhhab*), 15  
scriptures (sources), 28, 35, 89–91, 168  
Second World War, 46, 53, 59, 66, 69  
sects/sectarianism, 99–105  
Seljuks, 24  
Shaféism, 15  
al-Shafi'i, Muqtada, 15, 153, 165, 167, 196  
Shah Abdul Aziz, 135  
Shah Tahmasp, 34  
Shah Waliullah, 135–36, 139  
Shaltut, Mahmud, 44, 82  
Sharaf al-Din, Abd al-Hussein, 181  
Shariati, Ali, 48–49, 160  
al-Sharif al-Murtadha, 29  
Sharif of Mecca, 111–12  
Sharjah, 73  
al-Shawkani, Muhammad, 91, 169–70  
*sheikh al-islam*, 35

- Shi'a Conference(s), 43–99, 143–44, 163  
Shi'a Higher Council, 182  
Shiqaqi, Fathi, 83  
al-Shirazi, Muhammad, 52, 55, 72–75, 128  
Shirazi, Muhammad Taqi, 111  
Shirazists, 128  
Siba'i, Mustafa, 66  
Siffin, 11  
Sind, 142  
Sipah-e sahaba Pakistan, 147  
Sipah-e-Muhammad, 148  
al-Sissi, Abdel Fattah, 95  
Sistan, 159  
al-Sistani, Ali, 77  
Six Day War, 64  
South Asia, 32, 39–45, 135–36, 138  
Soviet Union, 69, 45, 145–46  
Sri Lanka, 46  
state religion, 2, 33–34, 37, 39, 47, 81, 123, 141, 194  
Suez Canal, 46  
Sufism, Sufis, 30–33, 39–40, 44–48, 66, 70, 87, 90, 93, 222, 233, 135–36, 142, 151–52, 159–60  
Supreme Assembly for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, 75  
Supreme Muslim Council, 63  
Surur Zayn, al-Abidin Muhammad, 88  
Syria, 8, 11, 19, 23, 36, 44, 66–67, 69–70, 84–86, 92, 95, 101–4, 121, 152, 162, 177–78, 184–85, 190–93  
  
Taif Agreement, 187–89  
Tajikistan, 161  
*takfir*, *takfirist*, 61  
*Takfir (al-) wa al-hijra* (Society of Muslims), 62  
Taliban, 97, 100  
Tamerlan (not in text)  
*Taqiyya*, 14, 89  
Taymiyya, Taqi al-Din, 88, 90, 100  
Tehran, 75, 78, 82–85, 98, 154, 161, 187; University of Tehran, 181  
temporary marriage, 89  
theocracy, 58  
Tikrit, 114  
al-Tourabi, Hassan, 66  
transnational, transnationals (currents, movements), 50, 54, 63–66, 71, 73–79, 115, 128, 141, 158; grand transnational *marja'*, 59  
tribes, 7, 18, 39, 100, 110–11, 123–24, 156, 167  
Tripoli, 177, 192  
Tughril Beg, 25  
Tulunids, 23  
Tunisia, 18, 94, 101, 193  
Turkey, 53–54, 152  
Twelver (Shi'ism), 2, 16–18, 25, 27–30, 33–37, 44, 81, 84, 90, 122, 138–39, 165–70, 172, 174, 177, 196  
Tyr, 181  
  
*ubudiyya*, 61  
ulama, 14–15, 20–30, 33, 37, 39–41, 52, 57–59, 66–70, 73, 87–98, 101–2, 209–111, 123, 124, 127, 139–44, 151, 155–60, 166–69, 173–74, 187, 194–95  
Umar ibn al-Khattab, 7  
Umayyads, 1–12, 23  
Union of Muslim Ulama in Lebanon, 187  
United Arab Emirates, 73, 104  
United Arab Republic, 44  
United Iraqi List, 116  
United States, 53–54, 67, 950191, 103, 117–19, 142, 162, 182  
Urdu, 140, 161  
*usuli*, Usulism, 35  
Uthaymeen (ibn al-), Muhammad, 91  
Uthman ibn Affan, 8, 10–11, 28  
Utopia (of the Islamic state), 58, 61, 78  
  
al-Wadi'i, Muqbil, 172–73  
Wahhabism, Wahhabis, 69–70, 87, 89–91, 93–94, 101, 154–57, 169–72,  
War of the Camps, 185  
West Bank, 604, 205n1  
White Revolution, 19, 63, 54–55  
al-Wifaq, 103, 131–33  
*wilaya*, 12, 32

- Wilayat al-faqih* (Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist), 57–58, 159
- World Islamic League, 70
- World Trade Center, 97
- Yazid (ibn Muawiyah), 1, 13, 146
- Yemen, 17, 20, 65, 86, 88–91, 101–4, 154, 165–75, 196
- Yemeni Socialist Party, 173
- Young Believers, 101, 173–74
- Zahedan, 159–61
- zakat*, 144–46, 167
- al-Zarqawi, Abu Musab, 99–100, 120
- al-Zawahiri, Ayman, 96
- Zayd ibn Ali, 165
- Zaydism, Zaydis, 17, 27, 44, 65, 82, 101, 165–196
- Zayn al-Abidin, Ali, 17, 87
- Zia ul-Haq, Muhammad, 57, 142–45, 147
- Zoroastrianism, Zoroastrians, 138, 150, 153
- al-Zubairi, Mohammed Mahmud, 65