

HISTORY 379**ISLAM IN IRAN****SPRING 2007**

Lectures: Tuesday and Thursday, 9.30-10.45, Humanities 1641
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 Office hours: Tuesday and Thursday, 11-12

SCOPE OF THE COURSE

The aim of the course is to examine the history of Islam in Iran, against the pre-Islamic religious background of Iran, from the Arab conquest and the coming of Islam in the 7th century AD to the aftermath of the Islamic Revolution of 1978/9. It will attempt to situate Iran in the wider context of the Islamic world as well as paying attention to the distinctive features of Islam which have evolved in Iran, particularly since the 16th century.

REQUIREMENTS

Students will be expected to write two book reviews, of about 2-3 pages each, to be submitted on 20 February and 27 March, and a paper of about 10 pages, to be submitted on 1 May. Books chosen for review should be directly relevant to the course. Students are at liberty to choose their own topics for their paper, subject to approval by me: I can offer suggestions for suitable topics and appropriate reading. There will also be a mid-term quiz and a quiz near the end of the semester, to be taken in class. Students are expected to attend the lectures, do the reading and be prepared to talk: I prefer, normally, not to lecture non-stop for 75 minutes.

REQUIRED READING

A.M. Ansari, *Modern Iran since 1921. The Pahlavis and After* (London, 2003)
 R.C. Foltz, *Spirituality in the Land of the Noble. How Iran shaped the World's Religions* (Oxford, 2004)
 G.R. Garthwaite, *The Persians* (Oxford, 2005)
 M. Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam. The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism* (New Haven, 1985)
 R.P. Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet: Learning and Power in Modern Iran* (London, 1985, and reprints)

RECOMMENDED READING

A. Bausani, *Religion in Iran* (New York, 2000)
 N.R. Keddie, *Modern Iran. Roots and Results of Revolution* (New Haven, 2006)
 B. Lewis, *The Assassins: a Radical Sect in Islam* (London, 1967 and reprints)

LECTURE AND READING LIST

Topics are listed broadly by week during the semester, though we may not stick rigidly to this. Required and recommended reading is mentioned first; additional reading for those who may wish to explore a particular topic further then follows.

1. Introduction. Bibliography. The country of Iran. Iran before Islam: Achaemenids, Parthians and Sasanids.

Required: Garthwaite, ch. 1-4

Suggested: Look at any general book on the history of Iran, e.g. E.L. Daniel, *The History of Iran* (2001), ch 1; A. Bausani, *The Persians* (1971), ch 1-3; D.O. Morgan, *Medieval Persia 1040-1797* (1988), pp. 1-13; J.W. Limbert, *Iran. At War with History* (1987), ch 1-3. On pre-Islamic Iran see e.g. J. Curtis, *Ancient Persia* (2000); R.N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (1962); J. Wieshofer, *Ancient Persia* (1996).

2. Religions in pre-Islamic Iran: Zoroaster, Mani, Mazdak.

Required: Foltz, ch 1, 2, 6; Garthwaite, ch. 2, 4

Recommended: Bausani, part 1

Suggested: on Zoroastrianism, M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians. Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (1979); R.C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (1961); he also contributed a useful summary in R.C. Zaehner (ed), *The Hutchinson Encyclopedia of Living Faiths* (1988), pp. 200-14 (note that Zoroaster is now argued by Boyce to have been born many centuries earlier than was believed in the time of Zaehner); on Mani, G. Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeism* (1965), and in *Cambridge History of Iran, III/2* (1983), which also has a chapter on Mazdakism by E. Yarshater. On the later fate of Manichaean ideas, see Y. Stoyanov, *The Other God* (2000). P. Kriwaczek, *In Search of Zarathustra. Across Iran and Central Asia to find the World's first Prophet* (2002) is a rather engaging travel-cum-amateur history book. G. Nashat, "Women in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Iran", in G. Nashat and L. Beck (eds), *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800* (2003) is an interesting study.

3. Muhammad and the early development of Islam. The Arab conquest of Iran.

Required: Garthwaite, ch. 5; Momen, ch 1

Suggested: there are numerous books which deal accessibly with the rise of Islam, e.g. J. Berkey, *The Formation of Islam* (Cambridge, 2003); P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (1971); B. Lewis, *The Arabs in History* (1993) and *The Middle East* (1995); A. Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (1991); I.M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (1988); H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, 2nd ed. (2004). J. Bloom and S. Blair, *Islam. A Thousand Years of Faith and Power* (2000) accompanies a PBS television series first shown in May 2001. On Muhammad, two very different short books are W.M. Watt, *Muhammad. Prophet and Statesman* (1961) and M. Cook, *Muhammad* (1983): there are a great many others to choose from. On Islam as a religion, see e.g. G. Endress, *An Introduction to Islam* (1988, and a recent revised ed.); J.L. Esposito, *Islam. The Straight Path* rev. 3rd ed. (2005); D. Waines, *An Introduction to Islam*, 2nd ed. (2003); S. Murata and W.C. Chittick, *The Vision of Islam* (1994); C. Ernst, *Following Muhammad* (2003); I.P. Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran* (1985) is more about Islam in general than the title suggests. Two very brief but useful books may be mentioned: M. Ruthven, *Islam. A Very Short Introduction* (1997) and C. Turner, *The Muslim World* (2000 - "Sutton Pocket Histories"). On the Qur'an, see M. Cook, *The Koran. A Very Short Introduction* (2000).

4. The Succession to Muhammad and the origins of the Sunni-Shi'i divide. The Shi'i Imams.

Required: Momen, ch 2-3, 7-8

Suggested: Y. Richard, *Shi'ite Islam* (1995), ch. 2. The most recent and formidable treatment of what may have happened after Muhammad's death is W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad* (1997). A good short account of the origins of Shi'ism is F. Daftary, *The Isma'ilis: their History and Doctrines* (1990), ch.2; S.H.M. Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam* (1979) is an "insider's" view; H. Halm, *Shiism*, 2nd ed. (2004), pp. 1-27; Halm, *Shi'a Islam. From Religion to Revolution* (1997), part I; W.M. Watt, "The significance of the early stages of Imami Shi'ism", in N. Keddie (ed), *Religion and Politics in Iran* (1983). Berkey, *The Formation of Islam*.

5. Islam in Iran in the early Islamic centuries. The Isma'ilis (Assassins) in Iran.

Required: Foltz, ch. 7; Garthwaite, ch. 5; Momen, ch. 4

Recommended: Bausani, pp. 146-77; Lewis, *The Assassins*

Suggested: Bausani, *The Persians*, ch 4-5; Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, ch 2-5; *Cambridge History of Iran, IV & V* (1975, 1968); J.K. Choksy, *Conflict and Cooperation. Zoroastrian Subalterns and Muslim Elites in Medieval Iranian Society* (1997); R.W. Bulliet, *Islam. The View from the Edge* (1994) is centred on Iran; W. Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (1988), ch 6-7; Halm, *Shiism*, pp. 28-60; The current standard works on the Isma'ilis are mostly by Daftary: F. Daftary, *The Isma'ilis: their History and Doctrines*, ch. 6; idem, *A Short History of the Ismailis* (1998), ch 4; idem, *The Assassin Legends* (1994); idem (ed), *Medieval Isma'ili History and Thought* (1996). See also Halm, *Shiism*, ch. 4, and N.E. Jamal, *Surviving the Mongols* (2002). Three chapters in Nashat and Beck, *Women in Iran*, are relevant: Nashat (cited under week 2), J.K. Choksy, "Women during the transition from Sasanian to early Islamic times", and R.W. Bulliet, "Women and the urban religious elite in the pre-Mongol period." O. Safi, *The Politics of Knowledge in*

Premodern Iran. Negotiating Ideology and Religious Enquiry (2006) conceals beneath its baffling title the first serious book-length discussion of the Seljuk period in Iran.

6. Sufism in Iran. Shi'ism before 1500: Mongols, Timurids, Turkmen.

Required: Foltz, ch. 7; Garthwaite, ch. 5; Momen, ch 5, 11

Recommended: Bausani, pp. 209-37

Suggested: Halm, *Shiism*, pp. 60-79; Richard, *Shi'ite Islam*, pp. 49-60. Studies of Sufism are very numerous and extremely variable in quality. Two well-known introductions are A. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (1975) and J. Baldick, *Mystical Islam* (1989). The best introduction is perhaps C. Ernst, *The Shambhala Guide to Sufism* (1997). On this period, see A.T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends. Dervish Groups in the Later Islamic Middle Period 1200-1550* (1994). There are many relevant articles in the three volumes of *The Heritage of Sufism* (1999): vol 1, *Classical Persian Sufism from its Origins to Rumi (700-1300)*, ed. L. Lewisohn; vol 2, *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)*, ed. L. Lewisohn; vol 3, *Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501-1750)*, ed. L. Lewisohn and D.O. Morgan. A.K.S. Lambton, "Sufis and the state in medieval Persia", in C. van Dijk and A.H. de Groot (eds), *State and Islam* (1995); L.G. Potter, "Sufis and sultans in post-Mongol Iran", *Iranian Studies*, 27 (1994); Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, ch 12; On the history of the period, Bausani, *The Persians*, ch 6-7; Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, ch 6-11, and *The Mongols* (1986; 2nd. ed. 2007); *Cambridge History of Iran*, V; Halm, *Shiism*, pp. 63-77

7. Rise of the Safavids (1300-1500) and the imposition of Shi'ism in the 16th century.

Required: Momen, pp. 105-12; Foltz, ch. 7; Garthwaite, ch. 6

Recommended: Bausani, pp. 299-325

Suggested: Bausani, *The Persians*, ch. 8; Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, pp. 107-11 and ch. 12-14; Halm, *Shiism*, pp. 79-86; Halm, *Shi'a Islam*, pp. 106-9; Morgan, "Rethinking Safavid Shi'ism", in *The Heritage of Sufism*, vol 3; K. Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs and Messiahs. Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (2002), and "The Safavid synthesis: from Qizilbash Islam to Imamite Shi'ism", *Iranian Studies*, 27 (1994), are not easy but worth the effort; *Cambridge History of Iran*, VI (1986), esp. ch 5 (H.R. Roemer); Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, ch. 13; S.A. Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam. Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (1984), part 2, is an often unnecessarily difficult but sometimes rewarding book; see also his "Religious extremism (*ghuluww*), Sufism and Sunnism in Safavid Iran: 1501-1722", *Journal of Asian History*, 15/1 (1981), pp. 1-35; there is much relevant to the rise of the Safavids in J.E. Woods, *The Aqqyunlu. Clan, Confederation, Empire* (1999). Morgan, "Rethinking Safavid Shi'ism", in *Late Classical Persianate Sufism*, pp. 19-27, is heretical but at least short.

8. Development of Iranian Shi'ism in the 17th and 18th centuries. Popular Shi'ism.

Required: Momen, pp. 112-30, and ch 13; Foltz, ch. 7

Recommended: Bausani, ch. 7

Suggested: Richard, *Shi'ite Islam*, ch. 4; S.A. Arjomand, *The Turban for the Crown* (1988), pp. 11-20; Bausani, *The Persians*, ch 9; Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, ch 15-16; Halm, *Shiism*, pp. 86-98, 136-42; Halm, *Shi'a Islam*, pp. 112-16; J. Cole, *Sacred Space and Holy War. The Politics, Culture and History of Shi'ite Islam* (2002), ch. 4; H. Algar, "Shi'ism and Iran in the eighteenth century", in T. Naff and R. Owen (eds) *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* (1977); P.J. Chelkowski (ed), *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran* (1979). J.R. Perry, *Karim Khan Zand. A History of Iran, 1747-1779* (1979) is the best book in English on the 18th century. Since him, M. Axworthy's biography of Nadir Shah, *The Sword of Persia* (2006) is notable among books on the period to appear in recent years.

9. "Church-state" conflict and accommodation during the Qajar period (19th and early 20th centuries).

Emergence of the Babi and Baha'i faiths.

Required: Foltz, ch. 8; Garthwaite, ch. 7; Momen, pp. 130-46, 231-2

Recommended: Bausani, ch. 8; Keddie, ch. 1-4

Suggested: Richard, *Shi'ite Islam*, pp. 72-6; Arjomand, *The Turban for the Crown* (1988), pp. 20-58; Halm, *Shi'a Islam*, pp. 115-27; Bausani, *The Persians*, ch 10; Halm, *Shiism*, pp. 98-110; A.K.S. Lambton, *Qajar*

Persia: eleven studies (1987); N. Keddie, "The roots of the ulama's power in modern Iran", in Keddie (ed), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis* (1972); H. Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906* (1969); A. Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal. The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran, 1844-1850* (1989); M Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent. Socioreligious Thought in Qajar Iran* (1982), ch 4; E.G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians* (1893 and reprints); V. Martin, *Islam and Modernism. The Iranian Revolution of 1906* (1989); J. Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906-1911* (1996); E. Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions* (1982), ch 1-2; Arjomand, *The Shadow of God*, part 3; M.E. Yapp, *The Making of the Modern Near East 1792-1923* (1987)

10. Islam and the state during the Pahlavi period (1921-79).

Required: Ansari, ch 2-6; Garthwaite, ch. 8; Momen, pp. 246-61

Recommended: Keddie, ch. 6-7

Suggested: Arjomand, *Turban*, pp. 59-87; Halm, *Shiism*, pp. 110-17; Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, ch 3-5, 9-10; S. Akhavi, *Religion and Politics in Contemporary Iran. Clergy-State Relations in the Pahlavi Period* (1980); H. Algar, "The oppositional role of the ulama in twentieth-century Iran", in Keddie (ed), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis*; H.E. Chehabi, *Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism. The Liberation Movement under the Shah and Khomeini* (1990), parts 1 and 2; H. Amirsadeghi and R.W. Ferrier (eds), *Twentieth Century Iran* (1977); C. Ghani, *Iran and the Rise of Reza Shah* (1998); H. Katouzian, *Musaddiq and the Struggle for Power in Iran* (1990) - on Musaddiq's overthrow see K. Roosevelt, *Countercoup. The Struggle for the Control of Iran* (1979); S. Kinzer, *All the Shah's Men* (2003); W. R. Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East 1945-1951* (1984), ch 5, part 3; and B. Lapping, *End of Empire* (1985), ch 4; H. Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran. Despotism and Pseudo-Modernism 1926-1979* (1981); M.E. Yapp, *The Near East since the First World War. A History to 1995* (1996). The most distinguished British historian of Iran of the 20th century is Ann K.S. Lambton, who will be 95 in February 2007. It is worth reading an essay she wrote more than 60 years ago: "The spiritual influence of Islam in Persia," in A.J. Arberry & R. Landau (eds), *Islam Today* (1943), pp. 163-77

11. The education, training and career of a mulla in 20th century Iran.

Required: Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet*

Recommended: Keddie, ch. 8

Suggested: B. Moin, *Khomeini. Life of the Ayatollah* (2000), ch 1-3; M.M.J. Fischer, *Iran. From Religious Dispute to Revolution* (1980: the 2003 UW Press edition has a valuable new introduction) - much first-hand information, especially on Qum

12. Origins of the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

Required: Ansari, ch 7; Garthwaite, ch. 8; Momen, pp. 282-9

Recommended: Keddie, ch. 9

Suggested: The literature on the Islamic Revolution is immense. What follows can only be a selection. See esp. Arjomand, *Turban*, pp. 75-133; Richard, *Shi'ite Islam*, ch. 7; Moin, *Khomeini*, ch 4-10; Richard, *Shi'ite Islam*, ch. 7. A good general account in Abrahamian, *Iran between Two Revolutions*, ch 11. M. Parsa, *Social Origins of the Iranian Revolution* (1989) - an acute analysis which is less mulla-centred than most: see also his very interesting comparative study, *States, Ideologies and Social Revolutions. A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua and the Philippines* (2000). C. Kurzman, *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran* (2004) is an interesting new interpretation (or anti-interpretation). How it looked at the time: Fischer, *Iran. From Religious Dispute to Revolution*; D. Harney, *The Priest and the King* (1998) - a fascinating eyewitness diary by a British businessman who, earlier in the 1970s, was the MI6 man in the Tehran British embassy; F. Halliday, *Iran: Dictatorship and Development* (1979) and R. Graham, *Iran. The Illusion of Power* (1978) illustrate how the build-up to revolution was perceived as it happened - e.g. note how Halliday failed to notice the mullas; A. Parsons, *The Pride and the Fall. Iran 1974-1979* (1984) - the engagingly frank memoirs of the British ambassador in Tehran; much may be entertainingly learnt from A. Alam, *The Shah and I* (1991) - the diary of the Shah's Court Minister and closest confidant; the Shah's own self-justification is in M. Reza Pahlavi, *The Shah's Story* (1980): for a more objective assessment see M. Zonis, *Majestic Failure: the Fall of the Shah* (1991). The mullas: the most insight is to be found in Fischer, *Iran*, and Mottahedeh, *The Mantle* (but bear in mind that Mottahedeh's Ali Hashemi is anything but a typical mulla); Keddie (ed), *Religion and Politics in Iran*

(1983); Akhavi, *Religion and Politics*, ch 6; Chehabi, *Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism*, part 3; J.R.I. Cole and N. Keddie (eds), *Shi'ism and Social Protest* (1986); Khomeini's works: the best selection is translated by H. Algar: Imam Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution* (1985). There is also what is alleged to be "the official United States Government translation" of his most important work, *Islamic Government* (1979) - this is announced on the cover as *Ayatollah Khomeinis' [sic] Mein Kampf*; as well as Moin, there is an earlier and less good biography of Khomeini, A. Taheri, *The Spirit of Allah* (1985); on his thought, N. Calder, "Accommodation and revolution in Imami Shi'i jurisprudence: Khumayni and the classical tradition", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 18/1 (1982), pp. 3-20; E. Abrahamian, *Khomeinism. Essays on the Islamic Republic* (1993). The USA and Iran: B. Rubin, *Paved with Good Intentions. The American Experience and Iran* (1980); R.K. Ramazani, *The United States and Iran. The Patterns of Influence* (1982); G. Sick, *All Fall Down. America's Fateful Encounter with Iran* (1985) - an account by a policy-maker; J. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion. The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations* (1988): see a brief summary, *The Shah, the Ayatollah and the U.S.* (1988). R.W. Bulliet, *The Tomb of the Twelfth Imam* (1979), is a novel written before the Revolution, by someone who knows Iran very well, about an attempt by the mullas to overthrow the Shah - an attempt which fails.

13. The course of the Revolution and the establishment of the Khomeini regime (1978-89).

Required: Ansari, ch 8; Foltz, ch. 9; Garthwaite, ch. 8; Momen, pp. 282-99

Recommended: Keddie, ch. 9-10

Suggested: A. Ansari, *Iran, Islam and Democracy. The Politics of Managing Change* (2000); Arjomand, *Turban*, ch 7-10; Halm, *Shi'a Islam*, pp. 138-61; Moin, ch 11-15. See also the other works listed for week 12. Additionally: D. Brumberg, *Reinventing Khomeini. The Struggle for Reform in Iran* (2001); S. Bakhsh, *The Reign of the Ayatollahs. Iran and the Islamic Revolution* (1984, 1990); D. Hiro, *Iran under the Ayatollahs* (1985); C. Bernard and Z. Khalilzad, *"The Government of God" - Iran's Islamic Republic* (1984); R. Wright, *In the Name of God. The Khomeini Decade* (1990); V. Martin, *Creating an Islamic State* (2000); S. Chubin and C. Tripp, *Iran and Iraq at War* (1988); Cole, *Sacred Space and Holy War*, ch. 11; E. Hooglund (ed.), *Twenty Years of Islamic Revolution* (2002). Three very different but illuminating autobiographical works are R. Cooper, *Death plus Ten Years* (1993), S. Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia* (1992), and, from the same distinguished family, M. and R. Farmanfarmanian, *Blood and Oil. Memoirs of a Persian Prince* (1997). J. Afary & K.B. Anderson, *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution. Gender and the Seductions of Islamism* (2005) is a fascinating examination of a curious phenomenon.

14. Islam and the "clerical" state in Iran since the death of Khomeini.

Required: Ansari, ch. 8-9; Foltz, ch. 9; Garthwaite, ch. 8;

Recommended: Keddie, ch. 11-12, and Epilogue in the 2006 edition

Suggested: Ansari, *Iran, Islam and Democracy.*; Brumberg, *Reinventing Khomeini*; A. Ehteshami, *After Khomeini. The Iranian Second Republic* (1995); Hooglund, *Twenty Years of Islamic Revolution*. Otherwise, for this period we are dependent to a considerable extent on works by journalists. Four very good books of this type are: J. Simpson and T. Shubart, *Lifting the Veil. Life in Revolutionary Iran* (1995); R. Wright, *The Last Great Revolution. Turmoil and Transformation in Iran* (2000, 2001); A. Molavi, *Persian Pilgrimages. Journeys across Iran* (2002); and E. Sciolino, *Persian Mirrors. The Elusive Face of Iran* (2000). See also V.S. Naipaul, *Beyond Belief. Islamic Excursions among the Converted Peoples* (1998), ch 2, and G. Abdo and J. Lyons, *Answering only to God. Faith and Freedom in Twenty-first-Century Iran* (2003). For some contemporary problems and their background, see K.M. Pollack, *The Persian Puzzle. The Conflict between Iran and America* (2004). Two excellent very recent books on the contemporary situation in its historical context are A. Ansari, *Confronting Iran* (2006) and R. Takeyh, *Hidden Iran. Paradox and Power in the Islamic Republic* (2006)