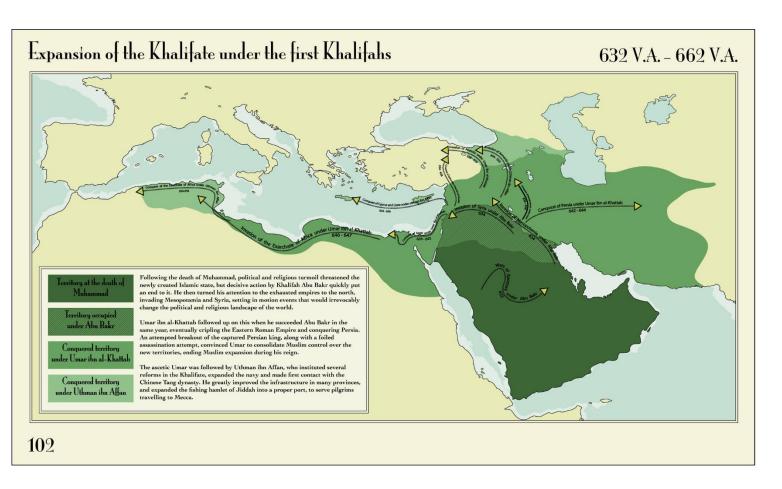


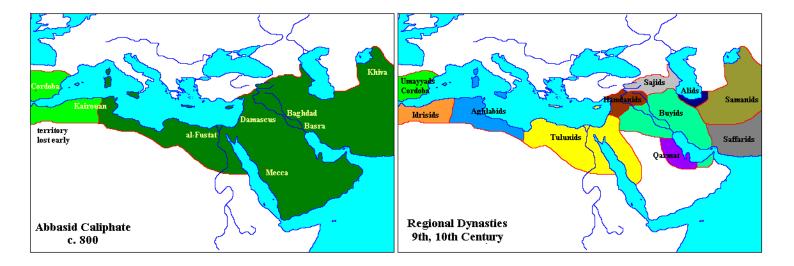
## **Sunni sources**

Source 1: Expansion of the Rashidun Caliphate





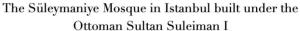
Source 2: Map of the break-up of the Abbasid Empire





#### Source 3: Comparison of Ottoman and Safavid architecture







The Shah Mosque in Isfahan built under the Safavid Shah Abbas I

'It was under Rüstem Pasha's aegis that "classical" Ottoman art and architecture reached its fullest expression...Where once the subtle abstract designs of the Iranian canon had predominated, under the influence of a more consciously orthodox Islam, the bold stylized depiction of most plant designs, endlessly and repeatedly blended, now held sway. Situated prominently on the spine of the hill overlooking the Golden Horn, the Süleymaniye mosque complex...was a fittingly imposing monument to the sultan of an orthodox Islamic empire...a sober image of the Ottoman dynasty one considered appropriate to an Islamic world power within more or less fixed frontiers.'

C.Finkel, Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923

**Sunni Sources** 



## **Source 4: Safavid persecution of Sunni Muslims**

'He (i.e. Shah Isma'il) reforms our churches, destroys the houses of all Moors who follow (the Sunnah of) Muhammad and never spares the life of any Jew.'

The report of Tomé Pires, the Portuguese ambassador to China during his visit to Iran in 1511-12.



#### Source 5: Ottoman Fatwa, at the start of World War 1

'Russia, England, and France never for a moment ceased harbouring ill-will against our Caliphate, to which millions of Moslems, suffering under the tyranny of foreign dominations, are religiously and whole-heartedly devoted. . . . Throw yourselves against the enemy as lions, bearing in mind that the very existence of our empire, and of 300 million Moslems whom I have summoned by sacred Fetva to a supreme struggle, depend on your victory.'

Ottoman Sultan Mehmed V calls on all Muslims, regardless of the government under which they live, to wage holy war against Russia, England and France, on 14 November 1914

Quoted in E.Rogan, 'Rival jihads: Islam and the Great War in the Middle East, 1914-1918', p.5

**Sunni Sources** 



Source 6: Crowds cheer Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser after his announcement of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal in 1956, a sign of Egyptian nationalism





#### Source 7: Shi'a rejection of Khomeini

'The vilayat-i faqih thesis was rejected by almost the entire dozen grand ayatollahs living in 1981: they either openly opposed Khomeini, as did Abu al-Qasim al-Khu'i and Shariat Madari (who died in 1986), or they maintained a discreet distance, refusing official posts... In fact, the high clergy kept its distance from the revolution. Only one grand ayatollah, Muntazari, a former student and designated successor of Khomeini before being rejected in 1989, approved the concept.'

The French political scientist, Olivier Roy, in his book *The Failure of Political Islam* (1994).



## Source 8: Iranian stamp commemorating the death of Imad Mughniyeh, Hezbollah Chief of Staff



A stamp issued by the Iranian government to commemorate the death of Imad Mughniyeh on 12th February 2008. Imad Mughniyeh was Chief of Staff of Hezbollah, the Shia political party and militia group based in Lebanon.



#### Source 9: Quotes about sectarianism in Iraq, post-2003

#### Sectarianism in Iraq after 2003

'Our Kurdish and Shiite brothers are trying to impose their notion of federalism without consulting us. They have already made their own decision. We Sunnis joined the committee very late. They thought they had chosen the Sunnis who would not discuss matters with them. They thought that we would come and sign the papers. They were not expecting us to respond to them and make comments. They were surprised when they read all our comments on their drafts.'

19 July 2005 Mijbel Sheikh Issa, one of the new Sunni Arab members of the Iraqi Constitutional Committee, half an hour before he was assassinated in an interview with the International Crisis Group.

Quoted in 'Unmaking Iraq: A Constitutional Process Gone Awry' p.3- https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/unmaking-iraq-constitutional-process-gone-awry

'The problem of sectarianism increased after the religious Shiites took power [in January 2005]. The problem is that religious groups base their popularity on sectarian differences. Take the example of Ahmed Chalabi: [In the run-up to the January 2005 elections] he changed overnight from a liberal politician to a religious man to obtain the support of the clerics. This is a dangerous political game.'

Munqeth Dagher, a secular Iraqi in an interview with the International Crisis Group on 30 August 2005 Quoted in 'The Next Iraqi War? Sectarianism and Civil Conflict' p.22- <a href="https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/next-iraqi-war-sectarianism-and-civil-conflict">https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/iraq/next-iraqi-war-sectarianism-and-civil-conflict</a>

The Americans brought with them the exiles. Most of these were Shiite Arabs and Sunni Kurds. Because of this, and because of the regime's rapid collapse, most of the Sunni Arabs felt threatened. The Kurds said: "We were persecuted by the former regime". The Shiites say the same. And when the Interim Governing Council was established on a sectarian basis, the others – the Sunni Arabs – said: "Where are we"?

24 November 2005 interview Sheikh Fateh Kashaf al-Ghitta, a politician close to Muqtada al-Sadr, the prominent Iraqi Shi'a cleric and politician- Quoted in 'The Next Iraqi War? Sectarianism and Civil Conflict' p.11



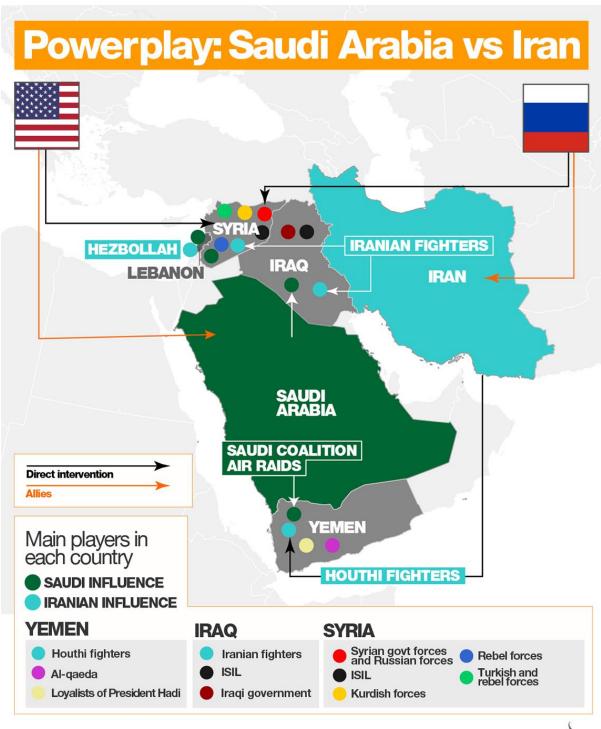
Source 10: Statue of Al-Mansour, destroyed by Shi'a militia in 2005



The statue of Al-Mansour, the second Abbasid caliph and founder of Baghdad, destroyed by Shi'a militia on 19th October 2005 in Baghdad



Source 11: Saudi Arabia vs Iran









#### Links for further reading

Source 1

https://www.britannica.com/topic/Rashidun

Source 2

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buyid\_dynasty

Source 4

https://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/history/ottomanempire 1.shtml

Source 6

https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2008/2/19/nationalism-vs-islam

Source 7

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian Revolution

Source 8

http://www.mafhoum.com/press9/282S26.htm

Source 10

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Mansur

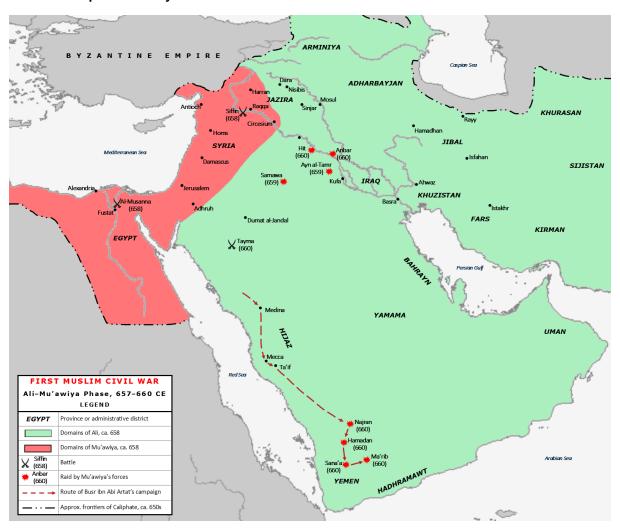
Source 11

https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-middle-easts-great-divide-is-not-sectarianism



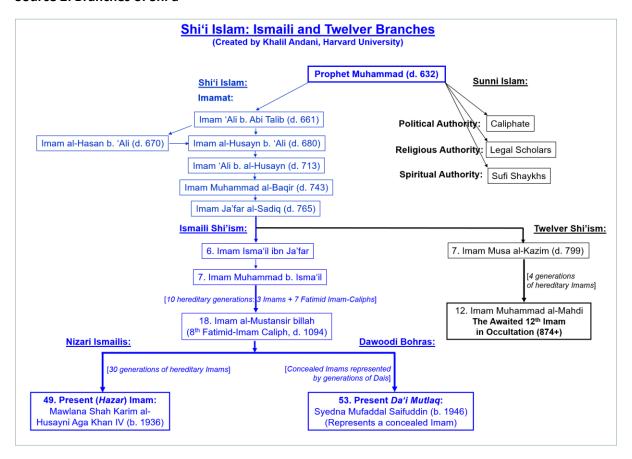
## Shi'a Sources

Source 1: Map of the first fitna



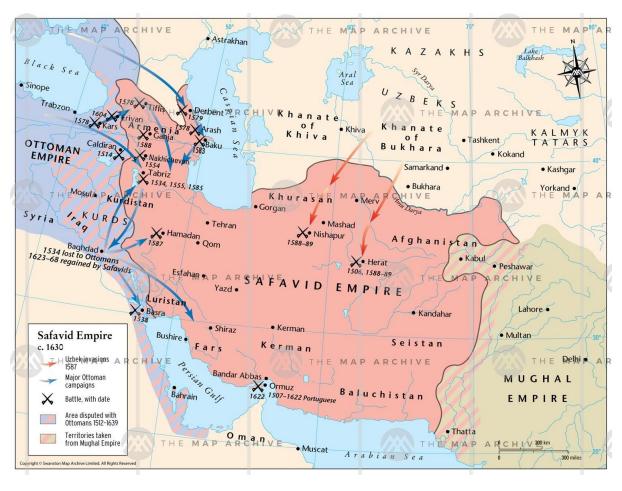


Source 2: Branches of Shi'a





Source 3: Ottoman attacks on the Safavid Empire





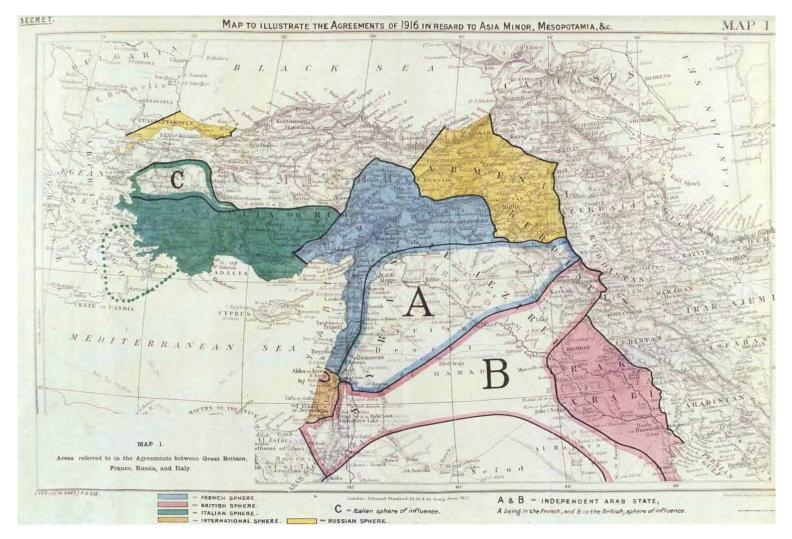
#### Source 4: Ottoman fatwa against the Safavids

"Muslim people! Note that this group of Kizilbas whose leader is Isma'il, the son of Ardabil, disregards the Shari'a and Sunna of our Prophet (prayer and peace be upon him) the religion of Islam, the knowledge of religion and the incontestable Qur'an. They claim that the things forbidden by Allah are legal...insult his majesty Abu Bakr (may God be pleased with him) and his majesty 'Umar (may God be pleased with him) and deny their caliphate...the Sultan of Islam is authorized to kill their men and to distribute their property, women, and children among the defenders of religion."

Extract from the fatwa of 1512 issued by Nureddin Hamza Sarigürz, Qadi of Istanbul, quoted in O.Bengio and M.Litvak, *The Sunna and Shi'a in History: Division and Ecumenism in the Muslim Middle East*, pp.54-5



Source 5: Map of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, 1916





Source 6: The Shah of Iran and America



US President, Jimmy Carter, at the Shah's New Year's Eve party 1977. President Carter declared that: 'Iran is an island of stability in one of the most troubled areas of the world.'

'They have reduced the Iranian people to a level lower than that of an American dog. If someone runs over a dog belonging to an American, he will be prosecuted. Even if the Shah himself were to run over a dog belonging to an American, he would be prosecuted. But if an American cook runs over the Shah, the head of state, no one will have the right to interfere with him.'

Speech made by Ayatollah Khomeini in 1964, after which he was deported from Iran.

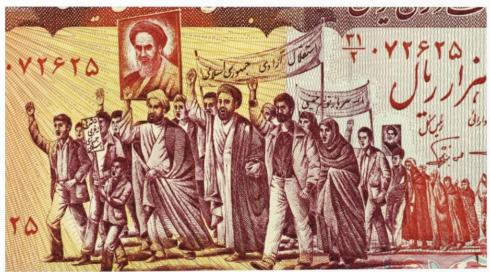
Quoted in B.Moin, Khomeini: Life of the Ayatollah, (London, 1999), p.123



## Source 7: Khomeini addresses crowds in Tehran, 1979



Ayatollah Khomeini addresses the crowds in Tehran 4/2/1979



Banknote showing mullahs leading marchers carrying posters of Khomeini



Source 8: The al-Askari Mosque in Iraq before and after a bomb attack in 2006





The al-Askari Mosque before and after a bomb attack on 22nd February 2006. The Mosque is situated in Samarra, Iraq and is one of the four Shi'i shrine cities in Iraq. The 10th and 11th Shi'ite Imams are buried in the Mosque.



#### **Source 9: Saudi funding of Sunni groups**

facilitators of concern. Still, donors in Saudi Arabia constitute the most significant source of funding to Sunni terrorist groups worldwide. Continued senior-level USG engagement is needed to build on initial efforts and encourage the Saudi government to take more steps to stem the flow of funds from Saudi Arabia-based sources to terrorists and extremists worldwide.

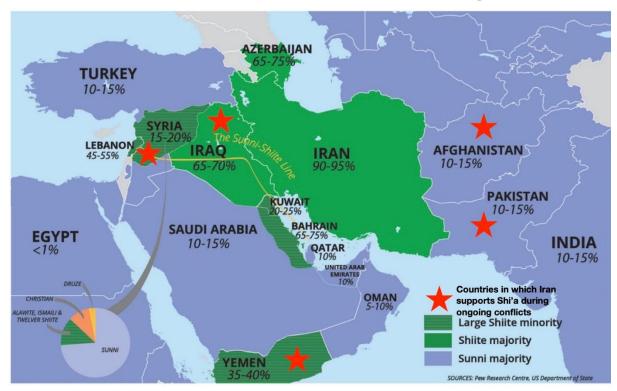
Secret US government cable, signed by Hilary Clinton, Secretary of State, 30/12/2009

https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/09STATE131801 a.html



Source 10: Map of the population of Shi'a Muslims

# Lines in the Sand: Shiites as % of Muslim Population





Source 11: Leaders of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the USA, May 2017



President Sisi of Egypt, King Salman of Saudi Arabia and President Trump of USA, 21/5/2017



#### Links for further reading

Source 1

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia\_view\_of\_Ali

Source 5

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic revival

Source 6

https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1978/11/19/corruption-in-iran/2d168c93-2453-4bf2-8878-ed0d255a8496/

Source 7

https://www.britannica.com/place/Iran/Government-and-society (sub-section Velāyat-e faqīh)

Source 8

 $\frac{https://carnegieendowment.org/2016/01/07/shia-centric-state-building-and-sunni-rejection-in-post-2003-iraq-pub-62408}{post-2003-iraq-pub-62408}$ 

Source 9

https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2012/11/26/pakistans-shia-genocide/