

# Twelver Shi'ism in post-revolutionary Iran

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Entry tags: Islamic Traditions, Shi'a Islam, Abrahamic, Religious Group

Twelver Shi'ism, also known as Ithna 'Ashari, Twelvers or Imami Shi'a, is the main branch of Shi'a Islam and maintains the largest population of Shi'a Muslims worldwide. It has a population of around 200 million and constitutes the majority in Iran, Iraq, Bahrain, and Azerbaijan. What characterizes Twelver Shi'ism in terms of their fundamental beliefs is their view on the successorship of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam. For them, Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law and cousin, and eleven of Ali's direct descendants, known as Imams, are the sole religious and political authorities after the Prophet. This belief further defines the way in which the religiopolitical identity of Twelver Shi'ism has been developed through the course of history. Iran has the largest Twelver Shi'a population, estimated at approximately 76-80 million, i.e. 90-95% of today's Iranian population. Twelver Shi'ism is the state religion of Iran since the 16th century, and its legal and theological doctrines are integrated into the country's legal code and constitution. After the Iranian revolution of 1979, Iran's constitution was significantly revised to better reflect the Twelvers' ideology and legal thought. Specifically, the theory of Vilayat-e Mutlaq-e Faqih [the guardian jurist's absolute authority] was incorporated into the Iranian legal system. According to this theory, strongly advocated by Ayatollah Khomeini, the founder and former leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the state's major decisions must be supervised and confirmed by a Twelver Shi'a Mujtahid, a scholar of the highest-ranking in Shi'a legal thought. Therefore, by the constitution, the head of the Iranian state today, i.e. its supreme leader, has to be a Twelver Shi'a Mujtahid, elected by the Council of Experts, a deliberative assembly of more than eighty other Twelver Shi'a Mujtahids. This suffices to show how religion and state are interconnected in Iran. Also, Twelver Shi'a ideology is deeply intertwined with various areas of Iranian culture, economy, education, etc. and its footprints can be observed all over the post-revolutionary Iranian public life. It also plays a significant role in defining Iran's international diplomacy. For example, the Iran-Israel ongoing conflict is deeply rooted in the Twelvers' religious ideology and the role of Iranian religious leadership in defining the state's international relations. In sum, contemporary Iranian cultural, political, and social values are heavily influenced by Twelver Shi'ism ideology, legal thought, and worldview. For the purpose of this entry, our focus centers around documenting ideological, cultural, social, and political tenets that characterize Twelver Shi'ism in post-revolutionary Iran (1979-current).



Date Range: 1979 CE - 2022 CE

Region: Iran

Region tags: Iran

Modern-day Iran. This map represents the final stage of Iranian territory since 1925.

## Status of Participants:

✓ Elite    ✓ Religious Specialists    ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

## Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Amanat, Abbas. *Iran: A Modern History*. Yale University Press, 2017.
- Source 2: Thurfjell, David. *Living Shi'ism: Instances of Ritualisation among Islamist Men in Contemporary Iran*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Source 3: Nasr, Vali Reza. "Rise of Iran." In *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future*, 211-26. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2016.
- Source 1: Brunner, Rainer, and Werner Ende. *The Twelver Shia in Modern Times: Religious Culture & Political History*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Source 2: Mottahedeh, Roy. *The Mantle of the Prophet: Learning and Power in Modern Iran*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986.
- Source 3: Eslami, Mohsen. *Shi'a Tradition and Iran: Contemporary Global Perspectives*. New York, NY: Global Scholarly Publications, 2013.
- Source 1: Fischer, Michael M J, Clinton Bailey, Martin Kramer, and Shaul Bakhash. *Shi'ism, Resistance, and Revolution*. Routledge, 2019.

#### Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Mo8QM2GgDw>
- Source 1 Description: A short video by Jay Palfrey of his visit to Qum, Iran which captures beautifully intertwinement of religion and public in day-to-day life of Iranian Twelvers.
- Source 2 URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kXWADQ7HivM>
- Source 2 Description: If you have no clue about Twelver Shi'ism to begin with, this episode of Let's Talk Religion can be a useful introduction. It offers an intensive overview of the Twelver Shi'ism since its earliest stage and also touches on how today's Iranian politics and culture are informed by Twelvers' ideology.
- Source 1 URL: <https://www.al-islam.org/imam-khomeini-short-biography-hamid-algar>
- Source 1 Description: Post-revolutionary Twelver Shi'ism in Iran is heavily influenced by thoughts, charismatic personality, and decisions made by Rouhullah Khomeini, the founder of Islamic Republic of Iran. This online link provides a short biography of Khomeini, penned by Hamid Algar, professor of Persian and Islamic Studies at University of California, Berkeley.
- Source 2 URL: <https://institute.global/insight/co-existence/collections/shia-islamism-focus-irans-revolution-today>
- Source 2 Description: Several publications by Tony Blair Institute for Global Change that aim to explain the ideology of post-revolutionary Iran. In other words, these articles attempt to explain how Twelver Shi'ism ideology is manifested in Iranian state's policies and perspectives in aftermath of 1979 Islamic revolution.
- Source 3 URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2014/2/11/iran-1979-the-islamic-revolution-that-shook-the-world>
- Source 3 Description: Aljazeera's documentary about Islamic revolution of Iran and the role of Rouhullah Khomeini, a prominent Twelver Shi'a cleric, in leading the movement and creating the fundamental structure of the post revolutionary Iranian state.

#### Relevant online primary textual corpora (original languages and/or translations):

- Source 1 URL: <https://rc.majlis.ir/fa/law/show/133730>
- Source 1 Description: Iranian Constitution (English translation)
- Source 2 URL: <https://www.al-islam.org/islamic-government-governance-jurist-sayyid-ruhullah-musawi-khomeini>
- Source 2 Description: Islamic Government (English translation) is one of the early Ayatollah Khumayni's works, published in 1970, in which he presents his idea for establishing a Twelver Shi'a state. This book is considered one of the most influential pieces of modern literature supporting the concept of religious supervision over a state.

## General Variables

### Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: There is an ongoing cultural contact between Iranian Twelvers and the Sunni, Jewish, and Christian minorities in Iran. However, since over 90-95% of Iranians are Twelvers, this cultural contact remains minimum within Iranian territory, but it becomes intensified across the border with neighbouring countries and also in contact with the Western culture.

↳ Is the cultural contact competitive:

– Yes

Notes: Twelver Shi'ism is the dominant faith in Post-revolutionary Iran, followed by 90-95% of the people. Thus, the cultural contact of other religious groups cannot be on par with Twelver Shi'ism within the Iranian territory. However, the nature of contact between Iran's Shi'i culture and the religious culture of other middle-eastern countries, especially Sunni culture, can be very competitive.

↳ Is the cultural contact accommodating/pluralistic:

– No

Notes: Post-revolutionary Iranian society is considered monocultural, with a less than 2% immigrant population. On the state level, policies are usually geared toward the preservation of the Iranian Twelver Shi'a culture and not opening up to non-domestic cultural values.

↳ Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– No

Notes: There are political, cultural, or ideological controversies between different social groups of Iranian Twelvers. However, these disputes do not usually lead to violent conflict.

↳ Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

– Yes

Notes: In the past decades, there have been instances of violent clashes between Iranian Twelvers and Sunni fundamentalists of some neighbouring countries. The prime example was the recent Syrian war in which Iran stood with the Syrian government against ISIS.

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

– Yes

↳ Assigned at birth (membership is default for this society):

– Yes

Notes: From the perspective of Twelvers' religious law, a child born to a Twelver Shi'a family is treated legally as a Twelver. However, the official membership comes at the age of religious maturity (around 15 for men and about 9 for women) when remaining a Twelver is considered one's choice to become one officially.

↳ Assigned by personal choice:

– Yes

Notes: From Twelvers' legal perspective, for one to become a Twelver officially, he/she must decide freely to do so when one reaches the age of religious maturity. However, practically speaking, people do not usually consider joining a faith other than Islam an option. This is because the decision to do so is taboo for a child born to Muslim parents and is seen as going astray.

↳ Assigned by class:

– No

↳ Assigned at a specific age:

– No

Notes: The official membership to Twelvers' religious community comes at the age of religious maturity (around 15 for men and about 9 for women.) However, the membership is not automatically assigned by age; reaching a certain age is one of the requirements for one to become a Twelver by their choice.

↳ Assigned by gender:

– No

↳ Assigned by participation in a particular ritual:

– No

Notes: There is no particular ritual necessary for becoming a Twelver. However, unless born to Muslim parents, one is required to profess the Islamic testimony of faith, I give testimony that no god is but God and Muhammad is His messenger, and also one has to declare their

adherence to the fundamental Twelvers' doctrines.

↳ Assigned by some other factor:

– Yes [specify]: Recitation of testimony of faith

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– Yes

↳ Is proselytizing mandated for religious professionals:

– No

Notes: For Twelvers, encouraging others to join their faith is considered noble, but there is no religious obligation to wander around and proselytize others. Rather, it is seen as a moral responsibility, especially towards the people who are open to conversion and show a willingness to do so.

↳ Is proselytizing mandated for all adherents:

– No

Notes: Proselytizing and converting someone to Twelver Shi'ism is considered a noble and highly praised deed; it is very encouraged but is not considered mandatory.

↳ Is missionary work mandated for religious professionals:

– Yes

Notes: Twelver Shi'a clergy are expected to be active in promoting religious values in their society. Traditionally, during Ramadan, the ninth month of the Hijri calendar, and Muharram, the first month of the Hijri calendar, Twelver religious scholars travel to different Iranian cities and villages to deliver religious lectures and supervise religious programs and rituals.

↳ Is missionary work mandated for all adherents:

– No

↳ Is proselytization coercive:

– No

Notes: Twelvers understand Quran 2:256 to forbid coercive proselytization. The verse states, "There shall be no compulsion in [acceptance of] the religion. The right course has become clear from the wrong..."

Does the religion have official political support

– Yes

Notes: The Iranian state is considered responsible for protecting and supporting Twelver Shi'ism in Iran.

↳ Are the priests paid by polity:

– No

Notes: Twelvers are expected to pay annual religious taxes, Khums and Zakat, to one of the few prominent highest-ranking Twelver Shi'a scholars who are known as Maraji' Taqlid. These taxes are meant to be used primarily for helping the poor, providing necessary community services, and also for propagating and promoting the Twelver Shi'a ideology and doctrines. Providing for the basic financial needs of Twelvers' clergy is among the main usages of these taxes. Therefore, Twelvers' religious scholars usually receive a minimum monthly stipend from Maraji' Taqlid, not from the state. In fact, Twelver religious leaders see it necessary to ensure the clergy's financial independence from the state so that they can object freely to the state's policies when necessary.

↳ Is religious infrastructure paid for by the polity:

– No

Notes: The Iranian state supports some religious institutions. However, most Twelvers' religious institutions rely primarily on public donations or religious tax to meet their financial means.

↳ Are the head of the polity and the head of the religion the same figure:

– Yes

Notes: Twelver Shi'a believes that the Mahdi, the twelfth Shi'a Imam who is believed to have a prolonged life and remain hidden until his return as the messiah, is the true head of both religion and polity. In his absence, however, leading the Twelver Shi'a community is believed to be the responsibility of prominent Shi'a Mujtahids, i.e. most knowledgeable religious experts. The role of a supreme leader in the post-revolution Iranian constitution has been defined to reflect this understanding by giving the supreme leader the authority to act as the general representative of the Mahdi. So, although the Mahdi is the true head of religion and polity, the Mujtahid who becomes the supreme leader would have the authority to represent the Mahdi temporarily as the head of polity and religion.

↳ Are political officials equivalent to religious officials:

– No

↳ Is religious observance enforced by the polity:

– Yes

Notes: In Iran, the government is responsible for supervising the implementation of Islamic law, according to Twelver Shi'a jurisprudence, in the public sphere.

↳ Polity legal code is roughly coterminous with religious code:

– Yes

↳ Polity provides preferential economic treatment (e.g. tax, exemption)

– Yes

Notes: Mosques and some religious institutions are exempt from paying hydro and water bills. Also, their incomes from religious endowments would not be subjected to tax.

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: In Iranian criminal law, which reflects Twelvers' legal perspective, any Muslim who denies God or the prophethood of the Prophet of Islam or a Muslim who rejects by words or actions the fundamental Islamic practices, like Prayers and Hajj, would be considered an apostate. It is noteworthy that apostasy is only confirmed when one rejects or denies those fundamental beliefs or practices with certainty. Thus, to question or simply express doubt about them does not suffice to declare one an apostate.

↳ Are apostates prosecuted or punished:

– Yes

↳ Apostates are socially shunned and/or publicly vilified:

– Yes

↳ Wealth, civil rights, and/or social capital are taken by authorities:

– No

↳ Do apostates receive corporal punishment:

– Yes

- ↳ Apostates are physically marked as such (e.g. branding, mutilation):
  - No
  
- ↳ Apostates are executed:
  - Yes
  - Notes: According to Twelver Shi'a law, male apostates who are born to Muslim parents are punishable by death. However, female apostates are imprisoned but not executed. Also, Twelvers religious law distinguishes between two types of apostates: natural apostate (born to a Muslim family) and national apostate (born to a non-Muslim family, converted to Islam and then left it.) With the exception of male natural apostates, other apostates will be forgiven if they repent. Some Shi'a religious scholars argue that all types of apostates can be forgiven if they repent.
  
- ↳ Apostates are publicly executed:
  - No
  - Notes: Article 499 of the Iranian Code of Criminal Procedure forbids public executions unless necessary or required by Islamic law.
  
- ↳ Other corporal punishment:
  - No
  
- ↳ Do apostates receive divine punishment:
  - Yes
  - Notes: Twelvers understand some verses of the Quran to be explicit on divine punishment of apostates. For example, Quran 2:217 states, "... And whoever of you reverts from his religion [to disbelief] and dies while he is a disbeliever - for those, their deeds have become worthless in this world and the Hereafter, and those are the companions of the Fire, they will abide therein eternally."
  
- ↳ Punished in the afterlife:
  - Yes
  
- ↳ Cursed by "high god":
  - Yes
  - Notes: This understanding derives from the Quran 2: 86-88: "How shall Allah guide a people who disbelieved after their belief and had witnessed that the Messenger is true and clear signs had come to them? And Allah does not guide the wrongdoing people(86) Those - their recompense will be that upon them is the curse of Allah and the angels and the people, all together (87) Abiding eternally therein. The punishment will not be lightened for them, nor will they be reprieved (88)." (English Translation)
  
- ↳ Cursed by other supernatural being(s):
  - Yes
  - Notes: Twelvers understand from Quran 2: 86-87 that apostates will be cursed by angels as they will be subject to divine curse too: Quran 2: 86-87: "How shall Allah guide a people who disbelieved after their belief and had witnessed that the Messenger is true and clear signs had come to them? And Allah does not guide the wrongdoing people(86) Those - their recompense will be that upon them is the curse of Allah and the angels and the people, all together (87)"
  
- ↳ Other divine punishment:
  - Yes [specify]: Twelvers believe that an apostate's good deeds will be purged, becoming worthless in hereafter. Also, apostates will be also tortured by divine

fire for eternity.

Notes: This view stems from Quran 2:217: "... And whoever of you reverts from his religion [to disbelief] and dies while he is a disbeliever - for those, their deeds have become worthless in this world and the Hereafter, and those are the companions of the Fire, they will abide therein eternally." (English translation)

## Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

– Estimated population, numeric: 80000000

Notes: <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/iran/#:~:text=According%20to%20Iranian%20government%20estimates,%2C%20and%20northwest%20provinces%20>

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

– Estimated population, percentage of sample region: 92.5

Notes: %90-95

Nature of religious group [please select one]:

– Large official religious group with smaller religious groups also openly allowed

Notes: Twelvers are the largest Iranian religious group. From a legal perspective, they acknowledge the rights of minorities and small religious groups, as long as they are considered monotheists. However, it must be noted that the Iranian community is homogeneous, constituted of 90-95% Twelvers. Thus, the opportunities for Twelvers' interaction with other Iranian religious communities are rather limited.

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

– Yes

↳ Is there a hierarchy among these leaders:

– Yes

↳ A single leader of a local community:

– Yes

Notes: The supreme leader of Iran is considered the highest rank of religious authority for Iranian Twelvers.

↳ Are religious leaders chosen:

– Yes

↳ A leader chooses his/her own replacement:

– No

↳ A leader's retinue or ministers chooses the new leader:

– No

↳ Other leaders in the religious group choose that leader:

– No

↳ A political leader chooses the leader:

– No

↳ Other members of the leader's congregation choose the leader:

– Yes

Notes: The supreme leader is chosen by the Council of Experts which is an assembly constituted of more than 80 high-ranking Twelver Shi'a religious experts, i.e. Mujtahids.

↳ Are close followers or disciples of a religious leader required to obediently and unquestionably accept the leader's pronouncements on all matters:

– No

Notes: Theoretically speaking, blind obedience to anyone other than the Prophet and Imams is rejected in Twelvers' ideology. However, it is believed that the supreme leader has the final word on all major decisions of the state, and one ought to not openly criticize or question his authority on such matters. Therefore, one who publicly goes against supreme leaders' decisions on the state's matters is considered non-committed to his leadership authority and will be politically banned from taking important political seats in the Iranian government.

## Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– Yes

↳ Are they written:

– Yes

Notes: Quran is the main scripture for all Islamic denominations. Unlike other religions' scriptures, it is believed that Quran is word by word a divine revelation and miracle that remained unaltered since it was delivered by the Prophet. For Muslims, the status of the Quran is similar to the status of Jesus for Christians as both of them are seen as the Word of God.

↳ Are they oral:

– No

↳ Is there a story (or a set of stories) associated with the origin of scripture:

– Yes

Notes: There is a historical account detailing that Muhammad was frequenting a cave on Jabal an-Nour, a mountain near Mecca in Saudi Arabia, for worshipping God. During one of these spiritual visits, the angel Gabriel, i.e. Jibraeil in Arabic, appeared to Muhammad, informed him of his mission as a prophet, and revealed to him the Quran as the divine revelation.

↳ Revealed by a high god:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers, like other Muslims, believe that there is only one God, who is also worshipped in Christianity and Judaism. He revealed Quran to Muhammad through the angel Gabriel.

↳ Revealed by other supernatural being:

– No

Notes: According to Islamic belief, the angel Gabriel was also involved in the revelation of the Quran to Muhammad. However, he was simply a divine messenger, delivering God's words to Muhammad.



↳ Inspired by high god:

– No

Notes: Unlike Christians' belief that New Testament was authored by humans who were inspired by Holy Spirit, Muslims see Quran as the exact words of God revealed to Muhammad. In other words, for Muslims, Quran was not Divinely inspired but was divinely spoken.

↳ Inspired by other supernatural being:

– No

↳ Originated from divine or semi-divine human beings:

– Yes

↳ Originated from non-divine human being:

– No

↳ Is there a codified canon of scriptures:

– No

## Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

– Yes

Notes: Mosques and shrines are usually built based on a certain monumental religious architecture.

↳ In the average settlement, what percentage of area is taken up by all religious monuments:

– Percentage: 0.00008

Notes: For example, the province of Alborz in Iran is considered an area with an average settlement. It has around 1000 Twelver Shi'a mosques with an average size of 550 m<sup>2</sup>. In comparison with the province's size of 5800km<sup>2</sup>, the area dedicated to these mosques will be around %0.00008.

↳ Size of largest single religious monument, square meters:

– Square meters: 1000000

Notes: The Shrine of Imam Reza at Mashhad, Iran, is considered one of the largest religious buildings in the world. While its initial size was no more than 12000 square meters, it has increased significantly in the past few centuries. Besides the main building in which the 8th Imam of Shi'a is buried, the shrine contains other buildings and several courtyards. IRNA, an Iranian news agency, quotes the shrine's deputy of lands and properties that the current size of the shrine has increased to about one million square meters.

Reference: *مساحت حرم مطهر رضوی به یک میلیون متر مربع افزایش یافته است* (unidentified)

↳ Height of largest single religious monument, meters:

– Height, meters: 135

Notes: Minaret of the Grand Mosalla mosque of Tehran

↳ Size of average monument, square meters:

– Height, square meters: 550

Notes: 550 square meters is the average size of a land in which a mosque is built in Iran.

↳ Height of average monument, meters:

– Height, meters: 8.5

Notes: Medium-sized mosques in Iran have a height of 5-12 meters.

↳ In the largest settlement, what percentage of area is taken up by all religious monuments:

– Percentage of area: 0.0001

Notes: The province of Tehran is considered an area with the largest settlement in Iran. It has around 3500 Twelver Shi'a mosques with an average size of 550 m<sup>2</sup> for each mosque. In comparison with the province's size of 18900km<sup>2</sup>, the area dedicated to these mosques will be around %0.0001.

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

– Yes

↳ Tombs:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers use a specific religious architecture to build shrines over the tomb of their Imams and their close direct descendants. Also, such shrines are built over the tombs of the most prominent Shi'a scholars who are known for their piety and devotion.

↳ Cemeteries:

– Yes

Notes: In Twelvers' religious culture, cemeteries do not have but a very simple structure. Deads are buried next to one another, identified by tombstones on which one's name, date of birth and death are engraved. Some people also install a frame that contains their deceased's photo above his/her grave or engrave his/her portrait on their tombstones.

↳ Temples:

– Yes

↳ Altars:

– No

↳ Devotional markers:

– Yes

Notes: In the Islamic faith, statues and portraits are not usually used as devotional markers. However, certain types of architecture are employed to highlight buildings of religious significance. For example, building a dome or using excerpts from the Islamic sacred texts, with a specific type of calligraphy, in the decoration of a building is usually considered a devotional marker highlighting that place's religious significance. Twelvers specifically use certain symbols and religious calligraphy styles as devotional markers in designing places called Husayniyyah, which are primarily dedicated to religious ceremonies like the commemoration of Husayn's, the Prophet's grandson, martyrdom.

↳ Mass gathering point [plazas, courtyard, square. Places permanently demarcated using visible objects or structures]:

– Yes

Notes: Some cities in Iran have specific places called Mosalla dedicated to religious mass gatherings like Friday prayers. These places also usually follow a religious monumental architecture.

↳ Other type of religious monumental architecture:

– No

Is iconography present:

– No

Notes: Islam prohibits the usage of figurative images in places of worship and is considered an iconoclastic religion.

Are there specific sites dedicated to sacred practice or considered sacred:

– Yes



Are sacred site oriented to environmental features:

"Environmental features" refers to features in the landscape, mountains, rivers, cardinal directions etc...

– No

Are pilgrimages present:

– Yes



How strict is pilgrimage:

– Obligatory for all

Notes: There are two types of pilgrimages for Twelver Shi'a: Hajj's pilgrimage to visit Kaba in Saudia Arabia. This is considered obligatory once in a Muslim's lifetime to do Hajj during a specific month, Ddhul Hijjah. However, doing Hajj more than once or in other months is optional. Also, Twelvers do another type of pilgrimage to visit shrines of the Prophet, their Imams, the Imams' close descendants, and also some prominent religious figures. This type of pilgrimage to these figures' shrines, where their bodies are buried, is optional and considered an act of devotion and expresses one's love and respect for those religious' figures.

## Beliefs

### Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body. Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

– Yes

Notes: From the Islamic perspective, the soul or spirit is what truly constitutes human identity and the body is merely a temporary form that acts like a carrier to which the soul is attached.



Spirit-mind is conceived of as having qualitatively different powers or properties than other body parts:

– Yes

Notes: In Twelvers' religious thought, all non-material abilities of humans like having feelings, showing emotions, thinking, etc. are ascribed to the soul while physical attributes are understood to be qualities of the body.



Other spirit-body relationship:

– Yes [specify]: Although it is believed that soul is the essence of human, Muslims view a kind of connection between body and soul which continues after death. It is for the same reason that Muslims follow a specific ritual for burial of the dead. In other words, they believe that soul is attached to the body and will be troubled if one's body would not properly buried after death.

Belief in afterlife:

– Yes

↳ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: Muslims believe in the existence of Heaven and Hell as specified in Quran. However, the majority of Twelver Shi'a scholars see their locations out of the material universe. Quran 3:133 states, "And hasten to forgiveness from your Lord and a Heaven as wide as the skies and earth, prepared for the righteous "

↳ Afterlife in specified realm of space beyond this world:

– Yes

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "above" space:

– No

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "below" space:

– No

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined horizontal space:

– No

↳ Afterlife located in "other" space:

– No

Reincarnation in this world:

– No

Notes: Reincarnation is rejected in Islamic doctrines.

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– Yes

↳ Cremation:

– No

Notes: Cremation of the body is prohibited in Islam.

↳ Mummification:

– No

Notes: The majority of Twelver Shi'a high-ranking religious scholars consider mummification forbidden unless when necessary (like moving corps with planes, due to airlines' restrictions). However, there are a few who allow Mummification after one's body is washed as instructed in Islamic law.

↳ Interment:

– Yes

↳ Corpse is flexed (legs are bent or body is crouched):

– No

↳ Corpse is extended (lying flat on front or back):

– Yes

↳ Corpse is upright (where body is interred in standing position):

– No

↳ Corpse is interred some other way:

– No

↳ Cannibalism:

– No

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

– Yes

Notes: In Islam, corps must be first washed by water and then buried underground, without a coffin.

↳ Feeding to animals:

– No

↳ Secondary burial:

– No

↳ Re-treatment of corpse:

– No

↳ Other intensive (in terms of time or resources expended) treatment of corpse :

– Yes [specify]: Corpses are washed with water and usually buried in three days after one's death.

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– No

Are grave goods present:

– No

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

↳ As cenotaphs:

– No

↳ In cemetery:

– Yes

↳ Family tomb-crypt:

– No

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

– No

↳ Other formal burial type:

– Yes [specify]: Some prominent religious or political figures are buried in places other than cemeteries, like their houses or where they passed away.

## Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

↳ A supreme high god is present:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god is anthropomorphic:

– No

Notes: Twelvers reject ascribing any anthropomorphic attributes to divine and believe that such attributes put a limit on God and make Him dependent on certain shapes, boundaries, etc. which contradict His unlimited essence. Thus, they interpret Quranic verses like Quran 48:10 "... the Hand of Allah is above their hands..." to be analogical, referring to God's power, etc.

↳ The supreme high god is a sky deity:

– No

↳ The supreme high god is chthonic (of the underworld):

– No

↳ The supreme high god is fused with the monarch (king=high god):

– No

↳ The monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god:

– No

↳ The supreme high god is a kin relation to elites:

– No

↳ The supreme high god has another type of loyalty-connection to elites:

– No

↳ The supreme high god is unquestionably good:

– Yes

Notes: God in Islamic theology is understood to be free from any sort of imperfection, and absolutely good.

↳ Other feature(s) of supreme high god:

– Yes [specify]: One and only god, just, flawless, merciful, omnipotent, omniscient, unlimited and self-sufficient, source of everything, sustainer and owner of the universe.

↳ The supreme high god has knowledge of this world:

– Yes

↳ The supreme god's knowledge is restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

– No

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

– No

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted within the sample region:

– Yes

Notes: Islamic theology sees God as omniscient, having unlimited knowledge about everything, everywhere, and in all times: past, present, and future.

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted outside of sample region:

– Yes

Notes: Islamic theology sees God as omniscient, having unlimited knowledge about everything, everywhere, and in all times: past, present, and future.

↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god knows your basic character (personal essence):

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god knows what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god has other knowledge of this world:

– Yes [specify]: Twelvers, like other Muslims, believe God to be Omniscient, having an all inclusive knowledge of everything, in the past, present, and future.

↳ The supreme high god has deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Notes: Muslims understand God to be the supreme cause of all causes, and able to create or do anything, either directly or indirectly.

↳ The supreme high god can reward:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god can punish:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god has indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god exhibits positive emotion:

– No

Notes: Twelvers believe that "change" implies need and imperfection (this is a philosophical discussion). Thus, since human sentiments reflect the change in one's moods and feelings, Twelvers view that God does not have emotions in the sense that humans have. So, when discussing His anger, for example, it is understood as His decision to punish someone, not as an emotional state.

↳ The supreme high god exhibits negative emotion:

– No

↳ The supreme high god possesses hunger:

– No

↳ Is it permissible to worship supernatural beings other than the high god:

– No

↳ The supreme high god possesses/exhibits some other feature:

– Yes [specify]: Generosity, benevolence, compassion, forgiveness, anger, etc.

Notes: God in Twelver Shi'a theology is understood to be a perfect, pure existence and supreme cause. So, he owns all perfect attributes and is free from any sort of imperfection. In one of the Twelvers' religious supplications called Du'a al-Jawshan al-Kabir, one thousand attributes have been listed for God. Twelver Shi'a believes that no change can happen to Him, as a change implies a certain type of imperfection, need, and requires a cause. Therefore, since human sentiments reflect the change in one's moods and feelings, Twelvers view that such Divine attributes that are similar to human emotions must be interpreted in a different way. So, His anger, for example, is understood as His decision to punish someone, not as an emotional state.

↳ The supreme high god communicates with the living:

– Yes

↳ In waking, everyday life:

– No

↳ In dreams:

– No

Notes: There is no communication via dreams for ordinary people. However, it is believed that prophets' dreams are a type of revelation and divine communication with them. For instance, Quran speaks about Abraham's (Ibrahim in Arabic) dream in which he was ordered to sacrifice his son as a divine trial.

↳ In trance possession:



– No

↳ Through divination practices:

– No

↳ Only through religious specialists:

– No

↳ Only through monarch

– No

↳ Other form of communication with living:

– Yes [specify]: Twelvers believe that the explicit form of God's communication with human will only happens through revelation to Divine messengers (i.e. prophets). However, God is with humans in every moment of their lives and responds to their requests in a way or another through different mediums, like providing certain causes and means to help or punish someone. For example, if one suffers from a serious illness and asks God for help He can respond, as the supreme cause of all causes in the world, by helping one to meet the right doctor and the most appropriate treatment.

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

– Yes

Notes: In Twelvers theological perspective, the human spirit or soul is understood to be eternal. Therefore, all humans that lived on the earth in the past are considered to be still alive in a different form of life.

↳ Human spirits can be seen:

– No

Notes: Human spirits are seen as having an immaterial nature and therefore cannot be seen or physically felt.

↳ Human spirits can be physically felt:

– No

↳ Previously human spirits have knowledge of this world:

– No

↳ Human spirits have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– No

Notes: In Twelvers theology, it is believed that once humans die, their soul usually loses the ability to make an impact on the material world.

↳ Human spirits have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– No

↳ Human spirits have memory of life:

– Yes

Notes: For Twelvers, the soul is the true essence of humans and knowledge is one of the soul's attributes. Thus, after one dies, it is only the body that ceases to work, but the soul remains intact and maintains its attributes, including the knowledge that it gained so far.

↳ Human spirits exhibit positive emotion:

– Yes

Notes: For Shi'a, it is the soul, not the body, which is considered the true essence of humans. So, even after death, human spirits maintain those nonphysical human characteristics, like emotions and can exhibit them. However, since deceased humans lose their connection to the material world, their exhibition of emotions usually cannot be felt by others who still live in this world.

↳ Human spirits exhibit negative emotion:

– Yes

↳ Human spirits possess/exhibit some other feature:

– Yes [specify]: Human spirits possess all human attributes that are not considered physical, like understanding, thinking, having emotions and feelings, etc.

↳ Human spirits communicate with the living:

– Yes

↳ In waking, everyday life:

– No

↳ In dreams:

– Yes

Notes: It is believed that the souls of deceased humans can sometimes communicate with the living, like their family members or close friends, through dreams to deliver a message, have a request, give a warning or good news, etc. However, this type of communication with living is very limited and happens only with Divine permission. So, it is more likely for good people to get this chance to communicate with their dear ones, etc. through dreams.

↳ In trance possession:

– No

↳ Through divination processes:

– No

↳ Only through specialists:

– No

↳ Only through monarch:

– No

↳ Communicate with living through other means:

– Yes [specify]: Twelvers believe that some people who achieved the highest level of spirituality-like prophets, imams, etc.- can communicate with souls who departed this world.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

– Yes

Notes: Muslims believe in angels as a type of supernatural beings who are considered agents of God. Quran 35:1 states, "[All] praise is [due] to God, Creator of the heavens and the earth, [who] made the angels messengers having wings, two or three or four. He increases in creation

what He wills. Indeed, God is over all things competent." It is noteworthy that some Muslims consider jinn "supernatural." However, Twelvers' religious scholars deny this understanding and insist that jinn is a creature similar to humans, bounded by laws of nature. For them, Quran emphasizes this point by putting humans and jinn in the same category: intelligent creatures with free will who are put to a divine trial on the earth, and their actions will be judged on the Day of Judgement. Below are a few examples of the verses used to justify this perspective: · Quran 6:130: "O company of jinn and mankind, did there not come to you messengers from among you, relating to you My verses and warning you of the meeting of this Day of yours?" They will say, "We bear witness against ourselves"; and the worldly life had deluded them, and they will bear witness against themselves that they were disbelievers." · Quran 17:88: "Say, "If mankind and the Jinn gathered in order to produce the like of this Qur'an, they could not produce the like of it, even if they were to each other assistants." · Quran 7:179: "And We have certainly created for Hell many of the jinn and mankind. They have hearts with which they do not understand, they have eyes with which they do not see, and they have ears with which they do not hear. Those are like livestock; rather, they are more astray. It is they who are the heedless."

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

– No

↳ These supernatural beings can be physically felt:

– No

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge of this world:

– Yes

*Notes:* Angels are believed to have knowledge of humans and their actions. However, the extent of their knowledge is limited to how much God wants them to know. Thus, God can block/provide their access to some type of knowledge of this world.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

– Yes

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

– No

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:

– Yes

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:

– Yes

↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

– Yes

*Notes:* Angels are understood to be immaterial and not restricted by physical limits. Thus, their knowledge of this world will not be obscured by day/night, dark/light, or public/private distinctions.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

– Yes

- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):
  - No
  - Notes: In the Islamic perspective, it is only God who has the knowledge of the unseen, al-ghayb, like one's mind or future. However, He can let His angels or His messengers know if needed.
  
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings knows your basic character (personal essence):
  - Yes
  - Notes: Angels can be aware of one's basic character if God provides them with the knowledge. Also, they can figure out one's characteristics from their actions. Quran tells the story of the conversation between God and angels over the creation of human beings, in which angels complained that humans will spill blood and cause corruption (based on their characteristics) Quran 2:30: 'And [mention, O Muhammad], when your Lord said to the angels, "Indeed, I will make upon the earth a successive authority." They said, "Will You place upon it one who causes corruption therein and sheds blood, while we declare Your praise and sanctify You?" God said, "Indeed, I know that which you do not know."'
  
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):
  - No
  
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have other knowledge of this world:
  - Yes [specify]: The knowledge of non-human supernatural beings, i.e. angels, can cover different realms of this world and goes beyond human limits, but it is restricted to what God decides for them to know.
  
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:
  - Yes
  
- ↳ These supernatural beings can reward:
  - Yes
  - Notes: They can reward only as God's agents and by His command.
  
- ↳ These supernatural beings can punish:
  - Yes
  - Notes: They can punish only as God's agents and by His command.
  
- ↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:
  - Yes
  - Notes: According to Twelvers' theology, if ordered by God, supernatural beings, i.e. angels, can be involved in the chain of causality for certain incidents or natural phenomenon.
  
- ↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion:
  - No
  - Notes: It is usually understood that angels do not have positive/negative emotions like humans. However, there are certain accounts in some of the Twelvers' authoritative texts that talk about angels crying for certain incidents that happened on the earth, like the martyrdom of Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet. It is open to debate whether these kinds of reports are considered reliable for Twelvers and if so, does one have to understand them as an analogy or take them as proof that angels have

emotions too.

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit negative emotion:  
– No

↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:  
– No

Notes: Angels are seen as immaterial beings and, thus, have no need for food, drink, etc.

↳ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature:  
– Yes [specify]: Twelvers understand angels as the agents of God who carry His orders. They possess knowledge, power, etc. but they are not endowed with free will. It means they obey God's order without any complain or hesitation.

↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:  
– No

↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:  
– No

Notes: Apart from God, Twelvers believe only in angels as supernatural beings. Some also see jinn as a type of supernatural being. However, Twelvers religious scholars see Jinns as a type of being similar to humans. Although not supernatural, Jinns are understood to have natural characteristics other than humans, making Jinns invisible to the human race. In other words, the form of Jinns' bodies is believed to be created from fire and, therefore, less restricted than the human body, which is made from dust. It is worth noting that unlike some other religious traditions, Islam does not consider Satan a fallen angel, but he is understood as a Jinn.

### Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– Yes

Notes: Muslims believe that God and angels, as His agents, monitor and observe human actions and humans will be taken accountable after death for everything they have done in this world.

↳ There is supernatural monitoring of prosocial norm adherence in particular:  
Prosocial norms are norms that enhance cooperation among members of the group, including obviously "moral" or "ethical" norms, but also extending to norms concerning honouring contracts and oaths, providing hospitality, coming to mutual aid in emergencies, etc.  
– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about taboos:  
– Yes

Notes: For those taboos that emerged from religious teachings, like eating pork, Twelvers see violating them as an act of disobedience against God, which will be subject to divine punishment. However, those cultural taboos with no religious ground are not treated in the same way. Some Twelver Shi'a scholars see them as superstition, while others may see them as binding if approved by the common sense of religious people, known as 'Urf.

↳ Food:  
– Yes

Notes: Eating certain types of food, like pork, or drinking alcohol is against Islamic law and is considered a taboo in Iran.

↳ Sacred space(s):

– Yes

Notes: There are places like Masjid al-Haram, also known as the Great Mosque of Mecca, which are considered sacred in the Islamic faith.

↳ Sacred object(s):

– Yes

Notes: There is no specific sacred object in Islam, apart from the Islamic scripture, Quran. However, Twelvers also cherish those objects associated with the Kaba, the most sacred Islamic building which is located in Saudi Arabia, or the shrines of the Prophet or their Imams. For example, some keep pieces of Kaba's replaced covers in their houses.

↳ Supernatural beings care about other:

– Yes [specify]: It is understood that God cares about violating taboos associated with clothing, sexual relationship, etc. For instance, walking around naked in public or having same gender sexual relationship are seen by Twelvers as taboos, violating divine commands.

↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of coreligionists:

– Yes

Notes: Quran 4:93: "whoever kills a believer intentionally - his recompense is Hell, wherein he will abide eternally, and Allāh has become angry with him and has cursed him and has prepared for him a great punishment."

↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other religions:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other polities:

– Yes

Notes: Unless within a justified war, Twelvers understand the murder of any innocent person as a grave sin, based on Quranic teachings: Quran 5:32, "Because of that, We decreed upon the Children of Israel that whoever kills a soul unless for a soul or for corruption [done] in the land - it is as if he had slain mankind entirely. And whoever saves one - it is as if he had saved mankind entirely."

↳ Supernatural beings care about sex:

– Yes

Notes: It is believed that God has set boundaries for human sexual relationships. For example, there are many verses in the Quran that contains regulation about what types of sexual relationship are permitted or prohibited.

↳ Adultery:

– Yes

Notes: For example, Quran 4:15 says: "Those who commit unlawful sexual intercourse of your women - bring against them four [witnesses] from among you. And if they testify, confine the guilty women to houses until death takes them or Allah ordains for them [another] way."

↳ Incest:

– Yes

Notes: For instance, Qur'an talks about the prohibition of marrying one's stepmother after she is divorced or is widowed. Quran 4:20, "And do not marry those [women] whom your fathers married, except what has already occurred. Indeed, it was an immorality and hateful [to God] and was evil as a way."

#### ↳ Other sexual practices:

– Yes [specify]: same-sex marriage

Notes: Twelvers understand same-sex marriage as a transgression against the divine. Some verses of the Quran also are understood to address this matter. For example, Quran 7:80-84 says: "And [We had sent] Lot when he said to his people, "Do you commit such immorality as no one has preceded you with from among the worlds? (80) Indeed, you approach men with desire, instead of women. Rather, you are a transgressing people." (81) But the answer of his people was only that they said, "Evict them from your city! Indeed, they are men who keep themselves pure." (82) So We saved him and his family, except for his wife; she was of those who remained [with the evildoers]. (83) And We rained upon them a rain [of stones]. Then see how was the end of the criminals. (84)"

#### ↳ Supernatural beings care about lying:

– Yes

Notes: Lying is considered a grave sin, condemned by God. For example, Quran 16:104 says: "They only invent falsehood who do not believe in the signs of God, and it is those who are the liars"

#### ↳ Supernatural beings care about honouring oaths:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers understand it as a divine obligation to honour one's oath even towards one's enemy. Such a belief is rooted in Quran and other Twelvers religious authoritative sources, like Hadiths. Quran 61:2-3 states, "O you who have believed, why do you say what you do not do? (2) Great is hatred in the sight of God that you say what you do not do. (3)"

#### ↳ Supernatural beings care about laziness:

– Yes

Notes: Laziness is seen as a major obstacle to attending to one's responsibilities. Twelver scholars narrate from their sixth Imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq, that "God dislikes sleeping too much and being idle for a long time"

#### ↳ Supernatural beings care about sorcery:

– Yes

Notes: It is narrated from the first Shi'a Imam, Ali that "whoever learns sorcery, no matter how little or much they learn, it would be as if they rejected God, and their connection with Him would be severed forever" See. Wasaeil al-Shi'a v.1, page 380.

#### ↳ Supernatural beings care about non-lethal fighting:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers believe that one's body is a trust of God. Thus, it is obligatory for one to take care of his body and avoid inflicting any harm on someone's body, including himself, unless for a justified reason approved in Islamic law.

#### ↳ Supernatural beings care about shirking risk:

– Yes

#### ↳ Supernatural beings care about disrespecting elders:

– Yes

Notes: Respecting elders is seen as an important religious obligation for Twelvers. It is reported

that Ja'far Ibn Muhammad, Twelvers' sixth Imam, said: "It is not from us whoever does not respect our elders or does not have mercy on our little ones" See al-Kafi v.2 pg 165.

↳ Supernatural beings care about gossiping:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about property crimes:

– Yes

Notes: Violating one's property against his will is considered an act of disobedience against God, based on Quranic commands: Quran 24:27, "O believers! Do not enter any house other than your own until you have asked for permission and greeted its occupants. This is best for you, so perhaps you will be mindful."

↳ Supernatural beings care about proper ritual observance:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about performance of rituals:

– Yes

Notes: In the Islamic perspective, some rituals like daily prayers are considered fundamentals of faith and God will punish the ones who neglect them. For example, Qur'an 74:38-45 mentions the failure to perform prayers as one of the reasons for which one will be condemned to eternal punishment in hell: "Every soul, for what it has earned, will be retained (38) Except the companions of the right, (39) [Who will be] in gardens, questioning each other (40) About the criminals, (41) [And asking them], "What made you residents of Hell?" (42) They will say, "We were not of those who prayed, (43) Nor did we used to feed the poor. (44) And we used to enter into vain discourse with those who engaged [in it], (45)"

↳ Supernatural beings care about conversion of non-religionists:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about economic fairness:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers believe that economic unfairness will be punished by God, as Quran warns against it. One of the chapters of the Qur'an is called Mutaffifun, the ones who give less than due. It starts by warning such people: "Voe to those who give less [than due], (1) Who, when they take a measure from people, take in full. (2) But if they give by measure or by weight to them, they cause loss. (3) Do they not think that they will be resurrected (4) For a tremendous Day - (5) The Day when mankind will stand before the Lord of the worlds? (6)"

↳ Supernatural beings care about personal hygiene:

– Yes

Notes: When talking about the importance of maintaining hygiene, Twelvers narrate a popular report from the Prophet of Islam which says, "Hygiene is a component of faith"

↳ Supernatural beings care about other:

– Yes [specify]: caring for others the way one likes to be cared for by them.

Notes: Twelver scholars narrate many reports from their authoritative sources to highlight the necessity of caring for others from the Islamic perspective. For instance, it is narrated in Twelvers sources that 'Ali, the first Shi'a Imam, wrote to his son, Hasan, "O my son! Make yourself the measure (for dealing) between you and others. Thus, you should desire for others what you desire for yourself."

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– Yes



Notes: Twelvers understand that punishment is decided by God and carried out by angels. However, some Shi'a theologians and Quran interpreters, including the prominent Shi'a scholar, Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i (d. 1981), argue that the divine punishment is not but the true essence of humans' wrong actions in this world. In other words, they believe that human actions are not simply deeds confined to a specific space and time. Instead, when one commits a wrong deed, their actions will have eternal manifestation that will accompany their souls for eternity as punishment unless forgiven by God. Thus, the afterlife punishment is for one to live with the true nature of their actions, like fire and severe physical displeasure, and there is no divine punishment beyond that. This understanding is based on these scholars' understanding of some verses of the Quran like Quran 3:30, "The Day every soul will find what it has done of good present [before it] and what it has done of evil, it will wish that between itself and that [evil manifestations of their bad deeds] was a great distance. And Allah warns you of Himself, and Allah is Kind to [His] servants."

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

↳ Done only by high god:

– No

Notes: The answer to this question can be tricky as both Yes/No are correct in a sense. Twelvers believe that punishment can only be decided by God, but it is usually carried out by angels as the agents of God.

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers believe that punishment can only be decided by God but carried out by angels as His agents. Thus, there can be many supernatural beings, i.e. many angels, who will be tasked by God to punish transgressors in hell. For example, Quran 69:30-34 tells about God commanding angels to punish the wrongdoers: "[God will say], "Seize him and shackle him. (30) Then into Hellfire drive him. (31) Then into a chain whose length is seventy cubits insert him." (32) Indeed, he was not used to believe in God, the Most Great, (33) Nor did he encourage the feeding of the poor. (34)"

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

– Yes

Notes: In addition to divine punishment after one's death, a sinner can be punished in this world as well. This can be done through divine intervention in the chain of causalities in a way that certain calamities would befall the transgressors throughout their lives.

↳ Done by other entities or through other means [specify]

– Yes

Notes: As explained before, in Twelvers' perspective, God is the supreme cause who supervises and runs the universe. He can arrange for worldly events to happen in a certain way or let some humans act as His mediums in carrying out someone's punishment or trial.

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

Notes: It is understood that the punishment one gets afterlife will be for violating divine commands specified in the Quran or other sources of Islamic law. Twelvers believe that one's type and extent of punishment will be decided in a divine tribunal in the afterlife, on the day of judgement, and one will be informed in detail of why they receive punishments. For Twelvers, God is just, and will only punish humans for sins they were warned before against committing. Twelvers see verses of the Quran, like 17:15, "And never would We punish until We sent a messenger," as evidence.

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

– Yes

Notes: Some religious rituals, like daily prayers, are considered fundamental to faith and it is understood that one will be punished for neglecting them. For instance, Quran 74:42-4 gives an account of a conversation that will occur between inhabitants of Heaven and Hell: "What has landed you in Hell? They will reply, "We were not of those who prayed, nor did we feed the poor."

↳ Done to enforce group norms:

– Yes

↳ Done to inhibit selfishness:

– Yes

Notes: Quran 39:72 gives an account that angels who are tasked with punishing sinners will order them to enter Hell, due to their selfishness and arrogance: "It will be said to them, "Enter the gates of Hell, to stay there forever." What an evil home for the arrogant!"

↳ Done randomly:

– No

Notes: Twelvers believe that God is just and will only punish evildoers after a fair judgment in the hereafter.

↳ Other [specify]

– Yes

Notes: The divine punishment is usually ascribed to ignoring God, violating divine obligations and committing sins and wrong deeds. Again, Qur'an is the Twelvers' primary source for such understanding: Quran 32:14, "So taste [the punishment] for your having forgotten the encounter of this day of yours. We [too] have forgotten you. Taste the everlasting punishment because of what you used to do." Quran 29:55, "On the Day the punishment will cover them from above them and from below their feet and it is said, "Taste [the result of] what you used to do." Also, for Twelvers, God cares about social justice and one of the main justifications for divine punishment is practicing injustice and violating other people's rights. For example, they report from Muhammad, "Be afraid of the innocent's cry out, even if a non-believer because nothing can differ divine's punishment afterward."

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural punishments in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: One of the Twelvers' five pillars of faith is the belief in the day of judgement and Divine punishment or reward.

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of mild sensory displeasure:

– No

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory displeasure:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers believe that the sensory pain of punishment in the afterlife is so severe that is beyond one's imagination. For example, Quran 44:43-49 illustrates a dreadful image of God punishing the sinful in hell: "Indeed, the tree of Zaqqum (43) Is food for the sinful. (44) Like murky oil, it boils within bellies (45) Like the boiling of scalding water. (46) [It will be commanded], "Seize him and drag him into the midst of the

Hellfire, (47) Then pour over his head from the torment of scalding water." (48) [It will be said], "Taste! Indeed, you are the honoured, the noble! (49)"

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as an inferior life form:

– No

Notes: The concept of reincarnation is rejected in Islamic beliefs.

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in an inferior realm:

– No

Notes: The concept of reincarnation is rejected in Islamic beliefs.

↳ Other [specify]

– Yes

Notes: For Twelvers, The punishment in hereafter is not just corporal, but also the transgressor will suffer spiritually due to realizing what they truly lost by their disobedience and violating divine commands.

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime:

– Yes

Notes: Although one's punishments and rewards are expected to be fully delivered in the afterlife, Twelvers believe that there are also divine punishments that apply to this life, especially for one's who are immersed in doing evil deeds.

↳ Supernatural punishments in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers' understanding of the Quran and their authoritative sources is that divine punishment and reward are not restricted to the life after death but include this life as well. Quran 3:56 says, "And as for those who disbelieved, I will punish them with a severe punishment in this world and the Hereafter, and they will have no helpers." "

↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck:

– Yes

Notes: The concept of luck as an arbitrary cause for incidents is rejected in Twelvers' theology. However, it is confirmed in the sense that one's obedience/disobedience toward God can cause the occurrence of pleasing/displeasing incidents in their life.

↳ Punishment in this life consists of political failure:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers believe that God is the ultimate sovereign of the world, and while He primarily grants humans freedom of action as means for His divine trial, God intervenes when necessary by meting out rewards or punishments. Divine punishments in this world include taking away the rule and power of unjust rulers, oppressing nations, and subjecting them to other political rules. This understanding stems from some verses of the Quran, like Quran 3:26, which states, "Say, [O Prophet,] "O God! Lord over all authorities! You give authority to whoever You please and remove it from who You please; You honour whoever You please and disgrace who You please— all good is in Your Hands. Surely You [alone] are Most Capable of everything."

↳ Punishment in this life consists of defeat in battle:

– Yes

Notes: In different verses, Quran indicates that God helps believers and leads their enemies to failure in battles. For instance, Quran 2:251 says, "So they [believers] defeated their enemies by God's Will, and David killed Goliath. And God blessed David with kingship and wisdom and taught him what He willed. Had God not repelled a

group of people by the might of another, corruption would have dominated the earth, but God is Gracious to all."

↳ Punishment in this life consists of crop failure or bad weather:

– Yes

Notes: Quran tells the story of Pharaoh and the punishments his people were exposed to, like flood and locusts and lice and frogs which lead to crop failure. Quran 7:133-4, "So We sent upon them the flood and locusts and lice and frogs and blood as distinct signs, but they were arrogant and were a criminal people. (133) And when the punishment descended upon them, they said, "O Moses, invoke for us your Lord by what He has promised you. If you [can] remove the punishment from us, we will surely believe you, and we will send with you the Children of Israel."

↳ Punishment in this life consists of disaster on journeys.

– Yes

↳ Punishment in this life consists of mild sensory displeasure:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers understand that sometimes mild sensory displeasure can be the result of one's action or a reminder for one to be more careful with his actions. Such a belief is rooted in some pieces of evidence from their authoritative sources, including Quran. For instance, Quran 42:30 states, " And whatever strikes you of disaster - it is for what your hands have earned, but He pardons much."

↳ Punishment in this life consists of extreme sensory displeasure:

– Yes

↳ Punishment in this life consists of sickness or illness:

– Yes

Notes: For instance, Quran tells the story of someone called Sameri, who led the Children of Israel astray in the absence of Moses. Moses then tells him that for his punishment, he will live the rest of his life in a state of asking, "Do not touch me." Some Twelver scholars understand the phrase to point to a contagious and severe disease that Sameri was decreed to bear it the rest of his life as a punishment in this world. Quran 20:97, '[Moses] said [to Sameri], "Then go. And indeed, it is [decreed] for you in [this] life to say, 'No touch.' And indeed, you have an appointment [in the Hereafter] you will not fail to keep. And look at your 'god' to which you remained devoted. We will surely burn it and blow it into the sea with a blast. '

↳ Punishment in this life consists of impaired reproduction:

– Yes

Notes: Quran 108:3 tells Muhammad, "Indeed, your enemy is the one cut off." Some Muslim scholars argue that the verse talks about 'Aas Ibn Wa'il, who claimed that Muhammad's lineage is cut off due to not having a son. However, God informs Muhammad that his lineage will be continued, but it is his enemy, 'Aas Ibn Wa'il, who is decreed by God not to have any offspring.

↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck visited on descendants:

– Yes

Notes: Usually, it is believed that one's punishment only falls upon the wrongdoer and will not include others, but some Twelver scholars suggest that it is possible for one to get punished by losing a dear one, for example. However, in such cases, the innocent person will not get punished or suffer for the sins of others, like their parents or forefathers. For instance, it may be the case that one's child's death may serve as their divine punishment. However, for the child, it can be an instance of reward: God knows that leaving this world at this stage will be better for the child than continuing to live under the care of such parents who may lead him astray or cause him severe

difficulties.

↳ Other [specify]

– Yes

Notes: The divine punishment, Twelver Shi'a believe, is not only in the form of a certain type of displeasure. Instead, one of the most severe divine punishments is when God decides to let one enjoys all type of material pleasures, at the cost of forsaking their eternal life and neglecting their divine obligations. In other words, by allowing them to immerse themselves in material pleasures and neglecting their duties before Him, God will leave them to be subjected to the most painful divine punishments in the hereafter. Quran 6:44 says, "So when they forgot that by which they had been reminded, We opened to them the doors of every [good] thing until, when they rejoiced in that which they were given, We seized them suddenly, and they were [then] in despair."

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– Yes

↳ Is the cause/purpose of supernatural rewards known:

– Yes

↳ Done only by high god:

– No

Notes: Twelvers believe that reward can only be decided by God, but it is usually carried out by angels as His agents.

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers believe that reward can only be decided by God, but it is usually carried out by angels or heavenly servants as His agents. Thus, there can be many supernatural beings who will be tasked by God in the hereafter to serve and reward believers in heaven. For example, Quran 39:73 narrates the future conversation between the angels who are gatekeepers of Heaven with believers who passed divine trial: 'But those who feared their Lord will be driven to Paradise in groups until, when they reach it while its gates have been opened and its keepers say, "Peace be upon you; you have become pure; so enter it to abide eternally therein," [they will enter].'

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

– Yes

Notes: According to Twelvers, in addition to divine rewards after one's death, a believer will be rewarded in this world as well. This can be done through divine intervention in the chain of causalities in a way that will help believers safely overcome different challenges in their lives. Quran 65:2-3 states, "And whoever fears God - He will make for him a way out [of his difficulties] (2) And will provide for him from where he does not expect. And whoever relies upon God - then He is sufficient for him. Indeed, God will accomplish His purpose. God has already set for everything a [decreed] extent."

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

– Yes

↳ Done to enforce group norms:

– Yes

↳ Done to inhibit selfishness[]:

– Yes

↳ Done randomly:

– No

Notes: Twelvers understand the act of rewarding people arbitrarily and randomly against divine wisdom and justice.

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in the afterlife:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural rewards in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: Many verses of the Quran and a large number of Hadiths in Islamic authoritative sources are dedicated to describing different types of divine rewards bestowed upon good believers in Heaven. For example, Quran 56:17-26 describes the heavenly lifestyle of the most devoted servants of God: "And the forerunners, the forerunners - (10) Those are the ones brought near [to Allah] (11) In the Gardens of Pleasure, (12) A [large] company of the former peoples (13) And a few of the later peoples, (14) On thrones woven [with ornament], (15) Reclining on them, facing each other. (16) There will circulate among them young boys made eternal (17) With vessels, pitchers and a cup [of wine] from a flowing spring - (18) No headache will they have therefrom, nor will they be intoxicated - (19) And fruit of what they select (20) And the meat of fowl, from whatever they desire. (21) And [for them are] fair women with large, [beautiful] eyes, (22) The likenesses of pearls well-protected, (23) As a reward for what they used to do. (24) They will not hear therein ill speech or commission of sin - (25) Only a saying: "Peace, peace." (26)"

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of mild sensory pleasure:

– No

Notes: Twelvers believe that the sensory pleasure resulting from divine rewards in afterlife is beyond human imagination. Thus, the afterlife reward does not consist of "mild" sensory pleasure.

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory pleasure:

– Yes

Notes: Quran 32:17 describes the heavenly rewards, prepared for the observing believers who wake up at night to worship their Lord, beyond humans' expectations: "And no soul knows what has been hidden for them of comfort for eyes as reward for what they used to do."

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of eternal happiness:

– Yes

Notes: It is believed that the human soul is eternal and, therefore, an observing believer will be rewarded with eternal happiness and pleasure. Quran 5:119 states: 'Allah will say, "This is the Day when the truthful will benefit from their truthfulness." For them are gardens [in Paradise] beneath which rivers flow, wherein they will abide forever, Allah being pleased with them, and they with Him. That is the great attainment.'

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as a superior life form:

– No

Notes: The concept of reincarnation is rejected in Islamic thought.

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in a superior realm:

– No

Notes: The concept of reincarnation is rejected in Islamic thought.

↳ Other [specify]

– Yes

Notes: For Twelvers, The reward in the hereafter is not just corporal, but also the good-doer will be rewarded spiritually by getting the chance to get in direct spiritual connection to the divine, something that is described to be the highest form of pleasure in the hereafter.

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in this lifetime:

– Yes

Notes: Although one's punishments and rewards are expected to be fully delivered in the afterlife, Twelvers believe that there are also divine rewards that will be given to believers in this life. Quran 16:30 states, 'And it will be said to those who feared Allah, "What did your Lord send down?" They will say, "[That which is] good." Those who do good in this world will be rewarded with good [in this world], and the home of the Hereafter is better. And how excellent is the home of the righteous'

↳ Supernatural rewards in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers believe that one needs continuous divine support and blessings in this life as well as the afterlife. Quran 2:199-200 praises the believers who ask for divine help and rewards in both this life and afterlife: 'And when you have completed your rites, remember Allah like your [previous] remembrance of your fathers or with [much] greater remembrance. And among the people is he who says, "Our Lord, give us in this world," and he will have in the Hereafter no share. (200) But among them is he who says, "Our Lord, give us in this world [that which is] good and in the Hereafter [that which is] good and protect us from the punishment of the Fire." (201)'

↳ Reward in this life consists of good luck:

– Yes

Notes: The concept of luck as an arbitrary cause for incidents is rejected in Twelvers' theology. However, it is confirmed in the sense that one's obedience/disobedience toward God can cause the occurrence of pleasing/displeasing incidents in their life.

↳ Reward in this life consists of political success or power:

– Yes

Notes: Many verses of the Quran talk about God giving political rule and authority to certain chosen people. For example, Quran 2:247 talks about God giving kingship to Saul: "And their prophet said to them, "Indeed, Allah has sent to you Saul as a king." They said, "How can he have kingship over us while we are more worthy of kingship than him and he has not been given any measure of wealth?" He said, "Indeed, Allah has chosen him over you and has increased him abundantly in knowledge and stature. And Allah gives His sovereignty to whom He wills. And Allah is all-Encompassing [in favour] and Knowing."

↳ Reward in this life consists of success in battle:

– Yes

Notes: Quran 3:123, "And already had Allah given you victory at [the battle of] Badr while you were few in number. Then fear Allah; perhaps you will be grateful."

↳ Reward in this life consists of peace or social stability:

– Yes

Notes: Quran 5:20 tells the story of Moses who reminds his people that their success and prosperity as a community was granted by God: "And [mention, O Muhammad], when Moses said to his people, "O my people, remember the favour of Allah upon you when He appointed among you prophets and made you possessors and gave you that which He had not given anyone among the worlds."

↳ Reward in this life consists of healthy crops or good weather:

– Yes

↳ Reward in this life consists of success on journeys:

– Yes

↳ Reward in this life consists of mild sensory pleasure:

– Yes

↳ Reward in this life consists of extreme sensory pleasure:

– Yes

↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced health:

– Yes

↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced reproductive success:

– Yes

Notes: Quran 37:77 states that God is the one who made Noah's offspring populated over the earth: "And We made his [Noah's] descendants those remaining [on the earth]." Also, Quran tells the story of some other prophets, like Abraham, who asked God for offspring and He granted them their wish.

↳ Reward in this life consists of fortune visited on descendants:

– Yes

Notes: According to Quran, God blessed the offspring of Abraham by letting the lineage of prophethood continue through them. Quran 29:27, "And We gave to him [Abraham] Isaac and Jacob and placed in his descendants prophethood and scripture. And We gave him his reward in this world, and indeed, he is in the Hereafter among the righteous. (27)"

↳ Other [specify]

– Yes

Notes: According to Twelvers' theology, sometimes divine reward in this world can be in the form of day-to-day life difficulties and struggles that by tolerating and approaching them properly, one will reach higher levels of spirituality and self-building.

## Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

– Yes

Notes: The belief in the Mahdi, the Islamic Messiah, and expecting his return is among the most important characteristics of Twelver Shi'ism.

↳ Is the messiah's whereabouts or time of coming known?

– No

Notes: Unlike Sunni Muslims for whom the birth of the Mahdi has yet to occur, Twelvers believe that the Mahdi is the son of Hasan al-Askari (d. 874 AD) and went to occultation since then. He is believed to be alive, like Jesus, and to return, together with Jesus, at the end of time. However, their whereabouts and time of return are unknown to Twelvers.

↳ Is the messiah's purpose known:

– Yes



Notes: Twelvers highly emphasize their hope for the return of the Mahdi to establish a universal government of peace and justice. They interpret some verses of the Quran to refer to the Messiah's return. For example, Quran 21:105 says, "And We have already written in the book [of Psalms] after the [previous] mention that the earth will be inherited by My righteous servants. (105)"

↳ Messiah is a political figure who restores political rule:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers understand Quran 28:5 as referring to the political rule of the Mahdi at the end of time. Quran 28:5, "And We want to confer favour upon those who were oppressed on the earth and make them leaders and make them inheritors."

↳ Messiah is a priestly figure who restores religious traditions:

– Yes

Notes: For Twelvers, the Mahdi, like Muhammad, is both a political and a religious leader. It is believed that under the rule of the Mahdi, the world will unite in peace, justice, and worship of God. Also, since Jesus and the Mahdi will rise together, it is understood that religious sectarianism will be ended, and all believers will unite under one universal faith.

↳ Other purpose:

–Yes [specify]: Besides establishing a government of justice and uniting people under the belief in one God, Twelvers see Messiah's return as a turning point in human civilization. Some reports from Shi'a Imams promise a golden age of knowledge and development under the rule of the Mahdi.

Is an eschatology present:

– Yes

↳ Eschaton in this lifetime:

– No

Notes: The promised eschaton or new age in Twelvers' ideology has no specific time. Twelvers believe that it is only God who knows when the end of time will come about. Thus, it can be in this lifetime, near future, or distant future and there is no way for Twelvers to determine it.

↳ Eschaton at specified time in future:

– No

Notes: The time of eschaton is unknown and Twelvers believe that whoever claims to know the specific time of eschaton is a liar.

↳ Eschaton at unspecified time in near future:

– No

Notes: Twelvers neither deny nor approve that eschaton will happen in the near future and, for them, there is no way to determine the timing.

↳ Eschaton at unspecified time in distant future:

– No

Notes: Twelvers neither deny nor confirm that Eschaton will happen in the distant future and, for them, there is no way to determine the timing.

↳ Eschaton at some other time:

– No

Notes: The timing of eschaton is unknown to Twelvers. It can be the near future or the distant future.

↳ Adherents need to perform specific tasks to bring about World's end:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers believe that the Messiah's return, followed by the end of world incidents after the Messiah's golden age comes to an end, will only take place when the people around the globe realize their desperate need for a just ruler like the Mahdi. However, for the Mahdi to return, he also needs faithful followers to support his cause and prepare the circumstances for his return. Thus, Twelvers advocate for the necessity of taking the preliminary steps required for the return of the Mahdi. For example, Many Iranian Twelvers believed that the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1978 would prepare the ground for the Mahdi's return and will accelerate it.

↳ Divine judgment event:

– No

Notes: For Twelvers, divine judgement will only take place in the afterlife.

↳ Restoration of the world:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers believe that the Mahdi, the Messiah, will restore the world in the sense that the world will enter a golden age like no other time in history. There will be no injustice, poverty, or violation of divine commands. However, after the Messiah's government of justice comes to an end, the world will no longer last and will be destructed, followed by another stage of human life, the eternal life after death. Quran 101:1-4 describes the destruction of the earth at the end of time: "The Striking Calamity - (1) What is the Striking Calamity? (2) And what can make you know what is the Striking Calamity? (3) It is the Day when people will be like moths, dispersed, (4) And the mountains will be like wool, fluffed up. (5)"

↳ Start of a new temporal cycle:

– No

↳ Establishment of a new political system:

– Yes

Notes: The return of the Mahdi is understood to be the start to an ideal political system that would replace the current dominant political forms that govern human societies.

↳ Establishment of a new religious system:

– No

Notes: The Mahdi is believed to revive the Islamic faith in its true form and purify it from all the superstitions and misconceptions added to it in the course of history, but he will not establish a new religious system.

↳ Will anyone survive the eschaton:

– No

Notes: The arrival of the saviour, the Mahdi, is seen as the golden age of humanity that everyone wishes to witness. However, the earth will be destructed when this golden age comes to the end, and no one will survive it. It is noteworthy that the destruction of the earth is seen as the beginning of a new stage in human life which would be the eternal life in either Heaven or Hell.

### Norms and Moral Realism

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Yes

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

– Yes

↳ What is the nature of this distinction:

– Present (but not emphasized)

Notes: Twelver scholars argue that norms rooted only in culture or local customs can be subject to change, unlike moral principles derived from religious authoritative sources. However, for the mass, the distinction between conventional and moral norms is not much clear.

↳ Are specifically moral norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Yes

↳ Specifically moral norms are implicitly linked to vague metaphysical concepts:

– No

↳ Specifically moral norms are explicitly linked to vague metaphysical entities:

– No

Notes: Twelvers see God as the ultimate source of moral values. Thus, moral norms are explicitly linked to God, not vague metaphysical entities.

↳ Specifically moral norms are linked to impersonal cosmic order (e.g. karma):

– No

Notes: There is no concept like Karma in Twelvers' beliefs.

↳ Specifically moral norms are linked in some way to an anthropomorphic being:

– No

Notes: Anthropomorphism is rejected in Shi'a theology.

↳ Specifically moral norms are linked explicitly to commands of anthropomorphic being:

– No

Notes: Anthropomorphism is rejected in Shi'a theology.

↳ Specifically moral norms are have no special connection to metaphysical:

– No

↳ Moral norms apply to:

– All individuals within society

– All individuals (any time period)

Notes: In Twelvers' understanding, moral norms are usually perceived as universal and applicable to all human beings.

Are there centrally important virtues advocated by the religious group:

– Yes

↳ Honesty / trustworthiness / integrity:

– Yes

↳ Courage (in battle):

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers understand having courage in battle as a moral obligation commanded by the Quran. For example, Quran 8:15-6 warns Muslims not to flee from a battle out of fear: "O you who have believed, when you meet those who disbelieve advancing [for battle], do not turn to them your backs [in flight]. (15) And whoever turns his back to them on such a day, unless swerving [as a strategy] for war or joining [another] company, has certainly returned with anger [upon him] from Allah, and his refuge is Hell - and wretched is the destination. (16)"

↳ Courage (generic):

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers narrate from their first Imam, Ali Ibn Abi-Talib, that, "Generosity and courage are noble characteristics that God bestow upon the ones who He loves and has tried."

↳ Compassion / empathy / kindness / benevolence:

– Yes

Notes: There are many instances in Shi'a authoritative sources where attributes like compassion and kindness are highlighted. For example, In his letter to Malik al-Ashtar, 'Ali, the first Imam of Shi'a, writes: "Develop in your heart the feeling of love for your people and let it be the source of kindness and blessing to them. Do not behave with them like a barbarian, and do not appropriate to yourself that which belongs to them."

↳ Mercy / forgiveness / tolerance:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers understand forgiveness as a noble moral characteristic, encouraged by divine guidance. For example, Quran 3:104 states, "And hasten to forgiveness from your Lord and a garden as wide as the heavens and earth, prepared for the righteous (133) Who spend [in the cause of Allah] during ease and hardship and who restrain anger and who pardon the people - and Allah loves the doers of good (134)"

↳ Generosity / charity:

– Yes

Notes: Giving charity and providing for the poor is considered both an obligation and a noble moral characteristic, commanded by the Quran and other Twelvers' authoritative sources. For example, Quran encourages believers to do charity both publicly and discreetly: Quran 2:269-74: "And whatever you spend of expenditures or make of vows - indeed, Allah knows of it. And for the wrongdoers, there are no helpers. (270) If you disclose your charitable expenditures, they are good; but if you conceal them and give them to the poor, it is better for you, and He will remove from you some of your misdeeds [thereby]. And Allah, with what you do, is [fully] Acquainted. (271) Not upon you, [O Muhammad], is [responsibility for] their guidance, but Allah guides whom He wills. And whatever good you [believers] spend is for yourselves, and you do not spend except seeking the countenance of Allah. And whatever you spend of good - it will be fully repaid to you, and you will not be wronged. (272) [Charity is] for the poor who have been restricted for the cause of Allah, unable to move about in the land. An ignorant [person] would think them self-sufficient because of their restraint, but you will know them by their [characteristic] sign. They do not ask people persistently [or at all]. And whatever you spend of good - indeed, Allah is Knowing of it. (273) Those who spend their wealth [for the sake of Allah] by night and by day, secretly and publicly - they will have their reward with their Lord. And no fear will there be concerning them, nor will they grieve. (274)"

↳ Selflessness / selfless giving:

– Yes

↳ Righteousness / moral rectitude:

– Yes

↳ Ritual purity / ritual adherence / abstention from sources of impurity:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers understand some verses of the Quran, including Quran 5:6, to provide instructions for ritual purity as means for purifying one's soul. Quran 5:6, "O you who have believed, when you rise to [perform] prayer, wash your faces and your forearms to the elbows and wipe over your heads and wash your feet to the ankles. And if you are in a state of Janabah [i.e. one's state after having sexual intercourse or discharging semen.] then purify yourselves. But if you are ill or on a journey or one of you comes from the place of relieving himself or you have contacted women and do not find water, then seek clean earth and wipe over your faces and hands with it. Allah does not intend to make difficulty for you, but He intends to purify you and complete His favour upon you that you may be grateful. (6)"

↳ Respectfulness / courtesy:

– Yes

↳ Familial obedience / filial piety:

– Yes

Notes: In Twelvers' understanding, treating one's parents well and respecting them is considered a strict moral obligation and a very important social responsibility. Twelver scholars use some verses of the Quran and many narrations from the Prophet and their Imam to highlight the significance of familial obligations and respecting one's parents. For example, Quran 17:23 states "And your Lord has decreed that you do not worship except Him, and to parents, good treatment. Whether one or both of them reach old age [while] with you, say not to them [so much as], "Uff," [An Arabic word that expresses one's annoyance, like "argh" or "ugh"] and do not repel them but speak to them a noble word. (23)"

↳ Fidelity / loyalty:

– Yes

↳ Cooperation:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers quote their first Imam, 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, that "The hand of God [i.e. His support] is with the people [who work] as a group." They understand this quote and many similar Hadiths to highlight the importance of cooperation and working collectively.

↳ Independence / creativity / freedom:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers rely on different reports from the Prophet and their Imams to emphasize the significance of having freedom and autonomy. For example, they report Ali, their first Imam, "Do not be a servant to others when God created you to be free"

↳ Moderation / frugality:

– Yes

↳ Forbearance / fortitude / patience:

– Yes

Notes: For Twelvers, patience is considered a vital moral characteristic. They quote 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, their first Imam, that "the status of patience in one's faith is similar to the status of the head in one's body"

↳ Diligence / self-discipline / excellence:

– Yes

↳ Assertiveness / decisiveness / confidence / initiative:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers frequently draw on the concept of Tawakkul [reliance on God] to find

confidence in making final decisions in various stages of their lives. This understanding stems from different Quranic verses and other Twelvers' authoritative sources. For example, Quran 5:23 tells the story of two believers in the time of Moses who tried to encourage the children of Israel to follow Moses' commands and conquer the promised city by putting their trust in God: "Said two men from those who feared [to disobey] upon whom Allah had bestowed favour, 'Enter upon them through the gate, for when you have entered it, you will be predominant. And upon Allah rely on, if you should be believers.'"

↳ Strength (physical):

– No

Notes: Twelvers' religious sources do not usually portray physical strength as a central important virtue in itself. However, it is encouraged as a mean for making a living, defend oneself, protect others, etc.

↳ Power / status / nobility:

– No

Notes: From the Twelvers' moral standpoint, having power or social status is not considered a virtue in itself. Rather, they are praised only if put in the service of the community. In other words, power and social status can be either positive or negative, depending on the end that the one who possesses them seeks.

↳ Humility / modesty:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers see modesty and humility as two vital moral virtues. They understand verses like Quran 31:18 to command humility and humbleness, warning against pridefulness. Similarly, for them, verses like Quran 24:30-1 emphasize modesty, especially in the interaction between opposite genders.

↳ Contentment / serenity / equanimity:

– Yes

↳ Joyfulness / enthusiasm / cheerfulness:

– Yes

↳ Optimism / hope:

– Yes

Notes: For Twelvers, losing hope and giving up in the face of life challenges is a sign of distrust in God and going astray. Quran 15:55-6 is understood to confirm this view. It states, "They said, 'We have given you good tidings in truth, so do not be of the despairing.' (55) He said, 'And who despairs of the mercy of his Lord except for those astray?' (56)"

↳ Gratitude / thankfulness:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers widely reference a saying from their eighth Imam, Ali Ibn Musa, that whoever fails to be grateful towards God's creation, i.e. people, would be ungrateful to Him as the creator.

↳ Reverence / awe / wonder:

– Yes

↳ Faith / belief / trust / devotion:

– Yes

Notes: The word 'Islam' means 'submission' [to God.] Thus, for Twelvers, having faith in God and trusting Him are the essence of religion and the true signs of submission to God and believing

in Him.

↳ Wisdom / understanding:  
– Yes

↳ Discernment / intelligence:  
– Yes

↳ Beauty / attractiveness:  
– Yes

Notes: Twelvers report from their Prophet that, "God is beautiful and loves beauty." However, physical beauty is not considered a religious value and Twelvers understand this prophetic report and the the similar reports to refer to concepts like hygiene, proper clothing, art, etc.

↳ Cleanliness (physical) / orderliness:  
– Yes

Notes: It is narrated in Twelvers' sources that 'Ali, the first Shi'a Imam, started his last will by saying, "I advise you, my two sons, and my family, and everyone to whom my writing will reach, to be pious and to maintain orderliness in whatever you do"

↳ Other important virtues advocated by the religious group:

– Yes [specify]: Any virtue that is seen to contribute to one's spiritual perfection or leave positive social impacts.

Notes: Unlike some Sunni theological schools, Twelvers acknowledge reason as a sufficient criterion in determining goodness and badness. Therefore, Twelvers confirm other virtues and vices that can be defined through reason.

## Practices

### Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

– No

Does membership in this religious group require constraints on sexual activity (partial sexual abstinence):

– Yes

Notes: For Twelvers, permissible sexual activities are confined to a male-female married couple relationship. Also, a married couple need to refrain from sex if one is fasting or when the wife has her menstruation.

↳ Monogamy (males):  
– No

Notes: Twelvers allow for men to marry up to four wives and also temporary marriage, for a certain period of time, is seen as permissible by most Twelver religious authorities. However, there are certain conditions. For example, Twelvers understand Quran 4:3 to set some conditions and limits for marrying more than a wife. Quran 4:3 says, "And if you fear that you will not deal justly with the orphan girls, then marry those that please you of [other] women, two or three or four. But if you fear that you will not be just, then [marry only] one or those your right hand possesses. That is more suitable that you may not incline [to injustice]." Some scholars like Yousuf Sani'i (d. 2020) argued that polygamy without the first wife's permission is considered an injustice and will be forbidden.

↳ Monogamy (females):

– Yes

Notes: For Twelvers, women are only allowed to be in a sexual relationship with one person at a time within a permanent or temporary marriage contract. Thus, unless divorced or widowed, a woman should not start a relationship with another man (homosexuality is not permissible in Twelvers' religious law.)

↳ Other sexual constraints (males):

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers only consider straight sexual relationships between male-female as permissible. Thus, same-sex marriage is forbidden and considered a major sin. They understand the verses of the Quran, like Quran 7:80-1, to strictly prohibit homosexuality. Quran 7:80-1 says, 'And [We had sent] Lot when he said to his people, "Do you commit such immorality as no one has preceded you with from among the worlds? (80) Indeed, you approach men with desire, instead of women. Rather, you are a transgressing people." (81).'

↳ Other sexual constraints (females):

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers only consider the straight sexual relationships between male-female as permissible. Thus, female-female sexual relations are forbidden and considered a major sin.

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

– Yes

Notes: Unless exempted for medical reasons or other justified grounds, Twelvers, like other Muslims, fast during the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic calendar. Quran 2:185 is understood to enact this fasting obligation: "The month of Ramadhan [is that] in which was revealed the Qur'an, a guidance for the people and clear proofs of guidance and criterion. So whoever sights [the new moon of] the month, let him fast it; and whoever is ill or on a journey - then an equal number of other days. Allah intends for you ease and does not intend for you hardship and [wants] for you to complete the period and to glorify Allah for that [to] which He has guided you; and perhaps you will be grateful."

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers are expected to follow certain diet. For example, eating pork or consuming alcoholic drinks is forbidden in Islam. Only certain types of livestock, land and aquatic animals, and specific types of birds, like chicken and turkey, are permitted to be consumed as food, provided that they are slaughtered or hunted by following a specific set of instructions. These restrictions are derived from Twelvers' authoritative religious sources. For example, Quran 5:1 states, "O you who have believed, fulfill [all] contracts. Lawful for you are the animals of grazing livestock except for that which is recited to you [in this Qur'an] - hunting not being permitted while you are in the state of ihram. Indeed, Allah ordains what He intends."

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers see circumcision as obligatory for men after they reach the age of religious maturity.

Does membership in this religious group require painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:



"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

– No

Notes: Suicide is considered a grave sin, punishable by eternal fire.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of property/valuable items:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers are expected to pay annual obligatory religious taxes, known as Khums and Zakat.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of time (e.g., attendance at meetings or services, regular prayer, etc.):

– Yes

Notes: For example, one is ought to perform daily prayers five times a day.

Does membership in this religious group require physical risk taking:

– No

Notes: Unless for protecting one's own family, faith, or society.

Does membership in this religious group require accepting ethical precepts:

– Yes

Notes: It is reported that Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, explained the purpose of his mission as completing noble moral characteristics. Many fundamental duties indicated in Twelvers' religious authoritative sources pertain to how one is ought to treat others and perform his collective moral responsibilities. For example, Quran 4:58 calls Muslim to be trustful and just: "Indeed, Allah commands you to render trusts to whom they are due and when you judge between people to judge with justice. Excellent is that which Allah instructs you. Indeed, Allah is ever Hearing and Seeing"

Does membership in this religious group require marginalization by out-group members:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

– No

Notes: Performing in-group rituals at home, like performing daily prayers as a group with one's family, is recommended but not obligatory. Twelvers usually attend in-group rituals in larger scale congregations at mosque, shrines, etc.

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

I.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale "ceremonies" and "festivals."

– No

Notes: Friday prayers are in-group rituals that cannot be done individually and are usually hold in large congregations. However, unlike Sunni Muslims, Twelvers do not see Friday prayers mandatory at a time that their twelfth Imam, the Mahdi, is in occultation. (For more information, see the part on

Messianism in this entry)

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

– Yes

↳ Tattoos/scarification:

– No

↳ Circumcision:

– Yes

Notes: Circumcision for males is obligatory.

↳ Food taboos:

– Yes

Notes: Eating pork is taboo and only consuming meat of certain types of birds, aquatic and land animals, if slaughtered or hunted as instructed, are permitted.

↳ Hair:

– Yes

Notes: Women are expected to cover their hair in front of men, with the exception of their spouses or their direct relatives.

↳ Dress:

– Yes

Notes: Participants are expected to wear modest clothes. Women, in particular, are required to cover their bodies before the opposite gender, with the exception of their spouses or immediate relatives. Also, wearing certain types of fabric, like silk, is forbidden for men.

↳ Ornaments:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers' religious law does not consider ornaments as religious markers. However, wearing some ornaments is believed to be recommended. For example, some Twelvers wear rings with specific stones, like Aqiq, and others wear necklaces on which some Quranic verses or religious supplications are engraved.

↳ Archaic ritual language:

– No

↳ Other:

– Yes [specify]: Twelvers' religious strongly encourages keeping beard, even if very short, as a religious-marker for men. Thus, observing male Twelvers do not usually shave their faces.

Does the group employ fictive kinship terminology:

– Yes

↳ Fictive kinship terminology universal:

– No

↳ Fictive kinship terminology widespread:

– No



Fictive kinship terminology employed but uncommon:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers' law acknowledges a specific category of kinship called "milk kinship" according to which two people are considered "siblings by milk" if both were breastfed by the same woman for a certain period of time. Also, among devoted and observing Twelvers, it is customary to call each other brothers or sisters [in faith].

## Society and Institutions

### Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

– A state

Notes: Twelver Shi'ism does not belong to a specific society or nation. However, for the purpose of this entry which is focused on post-revolutionary Twelver Shi'a in Iran, we can consider its participants to belong to the Iranian society.

### Welfare

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized famine relief:

– No

Is famine relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: The Iranian state, which is supervised by a Twelver jurist, is responsible to deal with famine and provide for people struck by it.

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized poverty relief:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers are expected to pay an obligatory religious tax, Zakat, to religious authorities. One of the primary usages defined for this type of tax is to be spent on the poor or needy people. However, there is no specific institution dedicated to this purpose. Instead, religious authorities usually trust their representative with identifying people in need and spending a portion of Zakat to help them.

Is poverty relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: The Iranian state, which is supervised by a Twelver jurist, is responsible to fight poverty and help those in need.

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm:

– No

Is institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: The Iranian state runs a specific institution called "Behzisti," which is responsible for providing care for infirms that do not have parents or guardians. It also offers some care and social services for the elderly.

## Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

– Yes

↳ Is formal education restricted to religious professionals:

– No

Notes: Twelvers religious professionals, i.e. Shi'a clergy, have their own institution, Hawza Seminary, which is dedicated to providing in-depth religious education to the ones who want to join the rank of Shi'a clergy in future. However, the curriculum of Iranian schools and universities also includes courses dedicated to providing basic Twelvers' religious education to the public.

↳ Is such education open to both males and females:

– Yes

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers religious professionals are usually committed to promoting Twelvers' beliefs and ideology by delivering lectures, producing written scholarship, and supervising religious educational institutions. However, it is the Iranian state which is officially responsible for public education and ensuring that basic Twelvers religious teachings are delivered to the mass.

↳ Is extra-religious education open to both males and females:

– Yes

Notes: Both males and females can pursue professional degrees in Twelvers' theology, jurisprudence, etc. either through seminaries or universities.

## Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

– No

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers in modern-day Iran employ the formal state bureaucracy system and interact within it.

## Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

– No

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: It is the Iranian state's responsibility to maintain public food storage.

Does the religious group in question provide water management (irrigation, flood control):

– No

Is water management provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Water management is the responsibility of the Iranian state.

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

– No

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: It is the state's responsibility.

## Taxation

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers are expected to pay two types of annual religious taxes, Khums and Zakat. However, the latter only applies to certain merchandise like gold, silver, wheat, oat, etc.

Are taxes levied on the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Apart from religious taxes, Iranian Twelvers also pay state taxes. However, it must be noted that the total amount of taxes Twelvers pay to religious authorities or the Iranian government is much less than the amount usually paid for taxes in western countries. Historically, the Iranian state's expenses were mainly covered by oil revenue rather than tax incomes.

## Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

– No

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized police force provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: The state police in Iran is responsible for enforcing Twelver Shi'a public rules and legal norms.

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

– No

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized judicial system provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: The modern-day Iranian judicial system is specifically developed to incorporate Twelvers' legal perspectives. The head of the Iranian judiciary system should be a Twelver Shi'a Mujtahid, i.e. a high ranking Twelver religious expert. Also, many Iranian judges are religious professionals educated in the Twelvers' specific educational institution, Hawza seminary,

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

– No

Are the group's adherents subject to institutionalized punishment enforced by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Modern-day Iranian state's criminal law reflects Twelver Shi'a's legal perspectives and the Iranian state is responsible for supervising the enforcement of those punishments.

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include execution:

– Yes

Notes: Iranian legal system includes capital punishments defined for certain crimes, like murder and adultery. For example, according to Article 224 of the Iranain Penal Code: "A death sentence shall be imposed on the male party in cases of incest, fornication with their stepmother, fornication of a non-Muslim man with a Muslim woman and fornication by force or reluctance. The punishment for the female party shall be decided by other provisions concerning fornication."

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include exile:

– Yes

Notes: For example, under article 279 of the Iranain Penal Code, someone who is charged with armed rebellion can be sentenced to exile.

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include corporal punishments:

– Yes

Notes: For example, according to Twelvers' law, an unmarried man who commits fornication can be whipped 100 times for his punishment, provided that his act is proven by four witnesses' testimonies.

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include ostracism:

– No

Notes: Committing certain crimes that are considered taboo may lead to social ostracism in Iranian society. However, there is no explicit mention of social ostracism as a form of punishment in the Iranian Penal code.

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include seizure of property:

– Yes

Notes: Under article 49 of the Iranian constitution, any property that is acquired illegally must be returned to its rightful owner. Thus, the Iranian penal code discusses regulations according to which the court can order one's property to be seized.

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

– Yes

Notes: Twelvers follow the religious legal code which is derived from Twelvers' authoritative religious sources, like Qur'an. However, this legal code is for the most part incorporated in the Iranian state's legal code and is not usually practices independently.

Are the group's adherents subject to a formal legal code provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: The Iranian state is responsible for making sure that the Twelver Shi'a religious legal code is incorporated into the state legal system and practiced properly. Also, many Twelvers' religious authorities view it obligatory to follow and respect one's country's legal code. Therefore, many Iranian Twelvers, but not all, understand following the state's legal code as a religious commitment.

## Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:

– No

Do the group's adherents participate in an institutionalized military provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Iranian Twelvers constitute the largest portion of the Iranian military forces.

Are the group's adherents protected by or subject to an institutionalized military provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Since the Twelver Shi'a account for %90-95 of the Iranian population, the Iranian military institutions are usually maintained by commanders who adhere to Twelvers' ideology and pledged an oath to protect Twelvers and other Iranians.

### Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

– No

Is a non-religion-specific written language available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Farsi is the official language of Iran, spoken by Twelvers and other Iranians.

Is a non-religion-specific written language used by the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Farsi is the official language that is used in Iran. Most Iranians do speak any other language.

### Calendar

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

– No

Notes: Some religious professionals use the lunar Hijri calendar, which is widely used in Arab Muslim countries, in their written scholarship. However, Iranians mostly use the state's official calendar which is a solar Hijri calendar.

Is a formal calendar provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: This official Iranian state calendar is a Hijri solar calendar, called Hijri Shamsi. The state calendar includes many of the important Twelvers' religious occasions according to which most state holidays in Iran are defined.

### Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– No

Is food provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: The Iranian state is responsible for ensuring the availability of food to all Iranians, including Twelvers.



Please characterize the forms/levels of food production [choose all that apply]:

- Gathering
- Fishing
- Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)
- Other [specify in comments]

Notes: The Iranian state is required to ensure that all types of food produced in the country or imported to it is Halal and adhere to regulations defined in the Twelver Shi'a religious law. Therefore, importing or producing any type of non-Halal-certified food is illegal.

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