



The Position of Qur'an and Hadith in Islamic Political Thought: The Case Study of Siraj al-Muluk by Abubakr al-Turtushi (D. 520 AH)

Fatemeh Ahmadvand¹; Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi²; Ahmad Rabanikhah³

¹ Assistant Professor, Department of History and Civilization of Islamic Nations, Imam Khomeini International University, Qazvin, Iran

² Assistant Professor, Department of Philosophy and Islamic Theology, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran

³ Assistant Professor, Department of Qur'anic and Hadith Sciences, Payame Noor University, Tehran, Iran

Email (Corresponding Author): ahmadvand@ISR.ikiu.ac.ir; ashtari.tafreshi@atu.ac.ir; rabbani_kh@pnu.ac.ir

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Abstract

Siraj al-Muluk by Abubakr al-Turtushi, the Faqih of 5th century AH, is one of the most outstanding Islamic works of political thought describing his political theory. A great part of the language of theory in the work is based on the most trustful Islamic text or Qur'an; also Islamic narrations (hadith) have a good position in this language. The authenticity of Qur'an and Hadith, has helped the theory in presenting its ethical – political epistemology, virtual thought, the framework of theoretical and practical ethics, and political strategies to control the society and shaping the frames of government. The methodology of this research is using the approach of Thomas Spragens in understanding Turtushi's political thought and the position of the concept of language through it. About the versis of Qur'an and the narrations, turtushi's analytical view has been studied here. This research shows that the structured and selected use of verses and prophetic narrations, is the bases of Turtushi's work; he has shaped the most part of his theory by the authenticity of verses and narrations. By this war, the practical part of his theory is the political repeat of Qur'an and Hadith which has made the theory an ethical one.

Keywords: *Qur'an; Siraj al-Muluk; Turtushi; Hadith*

1. Introduction

The Socio-political thought or theory is a realistic understanding of power relations in different human social eras (Spragens 2018: 16), which has been presented by political thinkers in different eras. One of the basic elements of any socio-political theory is the language of theory, that is, the linguistic approach that the author takes to express his/her analysis and understanding. In Islamic civilization, from the first centuries, due to enjoying two areas of empirical-historical heritage (having a history of ancient sovereignty in the realm of Islamic sovereignty and then, the experience of the history of Muslim sovereignty) and the intellectual and theoretical topics of thinkers in various fields of Islamic sciences such as *Fiqh*, a valuable heritage has been formed and developed.

Due to the richness of the linguistic heritage of Islam, knowledge of the language of theory, that is, the structures and formats in which the theorist has presented his thought, is very important in understanding the texts of Islamic socio-political thought. In this linguistic heritage, in terms of historical background as well as the scope of conceptual influence, two categories of linguistic-thematic domains have been important: the first is the heritage of the ancient Iranians, which was passed on to the Islamic heritage in the form of lasting translations by people such as *Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa* ' and the second is the two sources of the *Qur'an* and *Hadith*, which have a more transcendental guarantee due to their direct relationship with the Holy Center of Islam, while the first category have had a more confirmatory and sagacious guarantee. However, both categories have shaped the centrality of the language of theory in Islamic socio-political thought.

Siraj al-Muluk by *Abubakr al-Turtushi* (451-520 AH), the famous *faqīh* of *Maliki madhhab*, is one of the well-known works of socio-political thoughts in the Islamic world, where he has presented his socio-political views in more than sixty chapters. Compared to some other texts of Islamic thinkers, such as *Siyāsatnāme* by *Nizām al-Mulk Tusi*, which mostly reflects the heritage of ancient Iran, it seems that *Turtushi*, with a structured reliance on the two original sources of narration in Islamic civilization, namely the *Qur'an* and *Hadith*, tries to form the main basis of his theory; to better understand this issue, by analyzing various *Verses* and *hadiths*, we should try to understand the applied order, conceptual selection and the position of applying verses and narrations in the text of the theory, or in other words, this question must be answered: what is the relationship between *Verses* and *ahādīth* and *Turtushi's* socio-political theory?

1.1. Research Methodology

The subject of the present study is an interdisciplinary field of *Qur'anic* and *Hadith* sciences, social sciences, political sciences and a context of historical knowledge. Due to the importance of the language of theory in this study and its focus on recognizing the position of *Qur'anic* and narrative documents, its main theme is close to the research of *Qur'anic* and *hadith* sciences; however, in order to advance the research, it is necessary to first explain its theoretical concepts.

To understand *Turtushi's* socio-political theory, this study is based on the use of Thomas Spragens' analytical approach in the book "Understanding Political Theory". Based on this approach, all four main components of socio-political theory, namely recognizing the crisis, the cause of the crisis, the way of getting out of the crisis and the utopian society (a society without crisis), are identified, expressed and designed in a linguistic context. Not only is this linguistic context the words, verbs, letters and rules of a language, but also all the meanings, ontologies, cognition, experiences and understandable and existing ethical plans in a language and its culture. Even under the conditions that the theme of the theory has been known as the recognition of crisis or anti-crisis, the nature of the crisis establishes a direct relationship with irregularity, and here, the language of theory, by presenting a believable pattern, is a factor in laying the groundwork for a new order to overcome crisis. According to Spragens, linguistic macro or meta patterns which may be in forms such as simple sentences including allegories, metaphors, axioms, fictions, mythologies, exclamatory and even imperative sentences (Spragens, 1397: 32) outwardly shaping the linguistic structures of theory and inwardly, they carry meanings and concepts that institutionalize an acceptable order.

To understand *Turtushi's* theory and the position of *Qur'anic* and narrative documentary evidences in it, it is necessary to recognize the exact use of verses and narrations in it and the goal of the theorist is to enjoy this benefit to achieve the ideal order; in other words, it seems that the use of a significant number of *Verses* and *ahādīth* in *Siraj al-Muluk* is the main strategy of the theorist to form macro patterns of the theory based on these concepts. To study the verses and narrations of *Siraj al-Muluk*, it is necessary to discuss the degree of content dependence of each on the topics used by *Turtushi* while compiling all the *Verses* of the *Holy Qur'an* and the narrations cited in the text of the book so that not only the frequency of applying *Qur'anic* and *hadith* teachings can be shown in this way, but also the

percentage of the compatibility of topics of the book with the content of Islamic teachings and the persuasive nature of such evidences and arguments can be measured.

In the present study, an attempt has been made to extract and analyze all *Verses* of the *Holy Qur'an* from the text of the book; however, the abundance of Islamic narrations cited in this book and its lack of accurate counting in this article has led to only a precise assessment of the prophetic narrations and suffice to brief references to other narrations cited in the book. Thus, one of the innovative features of this study is its interdisciplinary nature, which seeks to investigate the effective relationship between *Qur'anic* and narrative concepts and the formation of socio-political thought in the Islamic world in a case study.

1.2. Literature Review

Regarding the thematic aspect of this study, that is, talking about *Siraj al-Muluk* and *Abu Bakr Turtushi*, there are not many research studies in Persian literature. In the *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, however, there is a brief biography of *Turtushi* under the entry of *Ibn Abi Randaqah*, which is also his other name. *Siraj al-Muluk* has also been less directly researched in Iran and only an excerpt from it was published by *Zahra Khosravi* in 2007 under the title "Translation of an Excerpt from the Book *Siraj al-Muluk*". *Siraj al-Muluk* in its original language, Arabic, has also had one or two relatively applicable new editions, of which the first edition published in Beirut has been used in this study (1995).

Theoretically, the book *Understanding Political Theory* by Thomas Spragens, which expresses the author's analytical view of understanding socio-political theory, has been the basis of the work; the explanatory power of this work in recognizing the theory has reduced the need to use other approaches and perspectives for this research.

Regarding the theme of this research, which is to try to analyze and explain the relationship between socio-political thought and the *Qur'an* and narrations, we have already seen some research; in some of these studies, an attempt has been made to introduce the *Qur'an* and *Hadith* as indicators of the cohesion of socio-political thought in Islam (Karbalaei Asl, 2015, *Characteristics of Cohesion in Islamic Political Thought*, Farhang-e-Pazhuhesh, No. 24, p. 6 onwards). Azarpour's work also tries to examine the *Qur'an* as "the first source of Islamic political thought", which, with a prosperity-oriented and virtuous-minded approach, deals with a new and monotheistic definition of legitimacy (Azarpour, 2017, *Political power from the perspective of the Holy Qur'an*, *Qur'an and Hadith* book review, No. 11, p. 89). It should be noted that this view has been scrutinized by Arab thinkers such as *Tijani* since the late twentieth century (for more information, see *Tijani*, 2000, *Fundamentals of political thought in the Makki Verses of the Qur'an*, translated by Mehran Ismaili, Political Science, No. 10, pp. 17-49) and later, the extended scope of these analyses in Farsi literature also developed (as an instance see *Sabzian Moussa Abadi*, 1998, *An Introduction to the Basics of Political Thought in the Qur'an*, Farhang, Nos. 27 and 28, pp. 224-249; *Fahimi*, 2010, *The Political System of Islam from the Perspective of the Qur'an*, *Nameh Jame'eh*, No. 77, p. 10-15) and sometimes, in an effort to jointly understand political theory in the *Qur'an* and Shiite narrative and *hadith* sources, it found its way to the study of the fields of *Qur'anic* and *hadith* sciences (*Sajjadi*, 2000, *Political theory of the Qur'an and Nahj al-Balagha in a comparative perspective*, *Qur'an studies*, Nos. 23 and 24, p. 56 onwards) and some studies in this field have also studied the influence of *Qur'an* and narration on Muslim thinkers (*Rostami*, 2015, *A Critique of the theory of the alienation of the Qur'an from politics* (inspired by the political thought of Imam Khomeini), *Qur'anic teachings*, No. 21, pp. 99-118). Thus, it can be said that the subject of the present study, along with enjoying the necessary thematic approach and background in the scientific community, is quite novel in terms of case.

¹. In the present study, Translation of an Excerpt from the Book *Siraj al-Muluk* has not been used and the complete Arabic original of the book, published in Beirut in 1995, has been used.

1.3. Generalities and Thematic Context of Research

Muhammad Ibn Walid Fehri al-Turtushi, known as *Ibn Abi Randaqah / Rundaqah*, was born in 451 AH in the city of *Tortosa* in the *Andalusia*, modern-day Spain, (*Ibn Khallikan*, 1985: vol. 4, pp. 263-265). He was a jurist in the Maliki School. He learned the most important Islamic sciences including *Fiqh*, *hadith* and literature in different cities of Andalusia and later on a trip to the East, in Iran and Iraq from famous scholars of those areas (*Qadi Ayyad*, 1983: vol. 8, p. 118; *Ibn Farhun*, 1996: pp. 371-372; *Sam'ani*, 1978: vol. 9, p. 69; *Ibn Bashkuwāl*, 1966: vol. 2, p. 575; *Yaqut al-Hamawi*, 1965: vol. 3, p. 530; *Ibn Khallikan*, 1985: vol. 4, p. 262-265). He later traveled to Egypt and lived in Alexandria for the rest of his life (*Dhabi*, 1989: vol. 1, pp. 176-177; *Yaqut al-Hamawi*, 1965: vol. 3, p. 530; *Ibn Farhun*, 1996: p. 372). During all this time, he was one of the most famous and influential scholars in Egypt and even throughout the Islamic world (*Dhabi*, 1989: vol. 1, p. 177; *Ibn Farhun*, 1996: p. 372). He finally died in the year 520 AH (*Sam'ani*, 1978: vol. 9, p. 69; *Ibn Khallikan*, 1985: vol. 4, p. 264; *Dhabi*, 1989: p. 179).

Turtushi has written numerous books with different themes, the most famous of which is his *Siraj al-Muluk*. *Siraj al-Muluk* is written in the style of the advice letters and various types of *Nasihah al-Molook* in the Islamic world. This work has brought the idea of *Turtushi's* Socio-political thought to the fore and has the characteristics of a socio-political theory in which the author, by providing a critical understanding of the existing conditions, has dedicated most of his work to strategies to achieve an utopian society. This work includes 64 chapters written in several themes to present religious-oriented epistemology based on Islamic teachings, ethical teachings and some teachings for recognizing and explaining the structures of government.

2. Qur'anic and Hadith Citations in Siraj al-Muluk

It seems that in examining the citation of *Siraj al-Muluk* to the Verses of the *Qur'an* and the narrations of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), this issue is considered not as a stylistic device, but as a part of the linguistic-intellectual structure of *Turtushi's* thought. Some of the narrated citations of this work are *Qur'an* verses and the others are narrations. In *Turtushi's Qur'anic* citations, there is almost no repetition of the text of the *Qur'an* verses and if somewhere, due to the repetition of a subject or the conceptual inclusion of a theory, he has stated different verses in a single subject, he has not repeated a verse in different positions. By bringing verses as witness or reason, he has tried to include the cited part of the verse in the text of his book and has not been so loyal to the complete mentioning of the verse unless the shortness of the verses has provided the ground for him. In the case of narrations, repetition of the same narrations is not seen, but the brevity and excerpts in the text of the narration or the fragmentation of the narrations can be seen in different parts of the work.

Regarding the Islamic narrations, the narrations of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) form an important part of *Turtushi's* citations; in this regard, of *Turtushi's* main enjoyment is the use of important sources of *Sunni* narration such as *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim* and authentic *sunan* which are mostly among the *Sunni Kutub al-Sittah*; hence, it seems that the validation and then the accreditation of a *hadith* was very important to him.

Regarding the topics, in addition to the *hadiths* of the first three caliphs and some of the companions of the Prophet such as *Ibn Mas'ud*, *Abu Dharr*, *Abu Hurairah* and *Anas ibn Malik*, he uses the narrations of *Ali ibn Abi Talib* (AS) (*Turtushi*, 1995: pp. 60-61, 63, 469, 470, etc.) and even the poems by that *Imam* (*Ibid*, 33) many times and even refers to the sayings of *Imam Sadegh* (AS) (*Ibid*, 194, 196, 199, 432, 459, 460). Perhaps the reason for *Turtushi's* relatively numerous reference to the sayings of *Imam Ali* (AS) may have been his staying in *Baghdad*, where, in the fifth century AH, was the center of *Shiite* scientific and cultural activities in the second period of the *Abbasid Caliphate* and the time of *Buyid* Dynasty. In other words, it is clear that *Turtushi* was acquainted with important *Shiite* sources and famous collections of that time such as *Nahj al-Balaghah* compiled by *Seyyed Razi* and most of the sayings he quotes from *Imam Ali* (AS) exist in *Nahj al-Balaghah*.

Also, his benefiting from the *Mauquf*² (stopped) and *Maqtu*³ (severed) narrations (which are among the weak narrations in Shiite exegesis) goes back to the general *Sunni hadith* understanding of the validity of the arguments of *ṣaḥābah* (companions) and *tabi'un* (followers), which in many cases their sayings are considered as effective as prophetic quotes and are included in the category of common *Aḥādīth* that may be *ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic), *ḥasan* (good) or *ḍa'īf* (weak).

To better understand the subject, the main topics of *Siraj al-Muluk's* use of the two sources of the *Qur'an* and narrations (with more emphasis on the prophetic narrations) can be thematically analyzed as follows to gain a better understanding of how verses and narrations affect the themes of *Turtushi's* socio-political theory:

2.1. Ethicism

It seems that the ethics-oriented and virtue-oriented quality of socio-political thought in the era of Islamic culture has been widely reflected in *Siraj*. In such an atmosphere, the supreme testimony to the importance of virtue and the most important document of the call to ethicism for Muslims has been the *Qur'an* and narrations. A significant part of *Qur'anic* and narrative testimonies of *Siraj Al-Muluk* is dedicated to ethicism and virtuousness, whose subjects can be classified as follows:

2.1.1. Epistemology, Worldview and Theoretical Ethics

The introduction of *Siraj al-Muluk* expresses the worldview of this work. In this worldview, the testimony to the verses and narrations that express the fundamental perspective of meaning and resurrection-oriented perspective of religion as the basis of ethical action in material life can be clearly seen. In other words, despite the socio-political nature of the text content, which ostensibly should follow a materialistic structure, the religious-ethical worldview derived from verses and narrations plays well here. The list of verses that make the theme of this section is as follows:

Verse	The text or keywords emphasized and used by <i>Siraj al-Muluk</i> extracted from the verses	The translation of the text or keywords emphasized and used by <i>Siraj al-Muluk</i> extracted from the verses	The subject of discussion in <i>Siraj al-Muluk</i> documented with a verse	Page in <i>Siraj-al-Muluk</i>
Al-nisāa [4:77]	الدُّنْيَا قَلِيلٌ	This world is little	The low quality of the achievements of worldly life	17
Al-Ĥadīd [57:20]	الدُّنْيَا لَعِبٌ وَلَهْوٌ وَزِينَةٌ	The present life is but a sport and a diversion, an adornment	The unreliability of worldly life	17
Al-'ankabūt [29: 46]	الدَّارَ الْآخِرَةَ لَهِيَ الْحَيَوَانُ	Last Abode is Life	reality of the resurrection and life in the Hereafter	17
Al-Ĥadīd [57:16]	طَالَ عَلَيْهِمُ الْأَمَدُ فَقَسَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ	And the term seemed over long to them, so that their hearts have become hard	Atrociousness due to the prolongation of worldly life	19
Al-zalzalah	يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ ... يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ يَرَهُ	And whoso has done an atom's weight of good	Auditing to every single action	23

² Mauquf hadith refers to a narration that attributes a statement or an action to an infallible companion and doesn't trace its roots back to an infallible: «ما اضيف الى مصاحب المعصوم من قول أو فعل» (Shahid Thani, 1413: p. 132; Mir Damad, 1405: p. 180)

³ Maqtū hadith is one that expresses the words or actions of Tabi'un or someone who is in their position: «ما اضيف الى التابعي أو من ... في حكمه من قول أو فعل» (Shahid Thani, 1413: p. 135; Mamqani, 1411: p. 1 / 331-330)

[99:7,8]	دَرَّةٌ شَرًّا بَرَّةٌ	shall see it, and whoso has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it.		
Al-shu'arā [26:205-207]	... مَتَّعْنَاهُمْ سِنِينَ جَاءَهُمْ مَا كَانُوا يُوعِدُونَ... مَا أَغْنَى عَنْهُمْ مَا كَانُوا يَمْتَنِعُونَ	If We give them enjoyment of days for many years...there comes on them that they were promised...what will it then avail them, the enjoyment of days they were given?	The worthlessness of the worldly assets after death	59
Al-isrā [17:7]	إِنْ أَحْسَنْتُمْ أَحْسَنْتُمْ وَ إِنْ أَسَأْتُمْ لِأَنْفُسِكُمْ فَلَهَا	If you do good, it is your own souls you do good to, and if you do evil it is to them likewise.	Demonstrating the advantages of thanking God for man himself and not for God and the disadvantages of the lack of it for man himself	256
Luq'mān [31:12]	مَنْ يَشْكُرْ فَإِنَّمَا يَشْكُرُ لِنَفْسِهِ	Whosoever gives thanks gives thanks only for his own soul's good	Demonstrating the advantages of thanking God for man himself and not for God and the disadvantages of the lack of it for man himself	256
Al-an'ām [6:38]	وَمَا مِنْ دَابَّةٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَ لَا طَائِرٍ يَطِيرُ بِجَنَاحَيْهِ إِلَّا أُمَّمٌ	No creature is there crawling on the earth, no bird flying with its wings, but they are nations	Attempts to use Qur'anic knowledge to show similarities between human and animal (societies) so that this cognition can be used to better understand the relationship between ruler and serf in society and the organizational hierarchy of government.	258
Al-an'ām [6:129]	كُنُوزِي الظَّالِمِينَ بَعْضًا	We make the evildoers friends of each other	Based on the nature of oppression in its broad sense, that is, the general form of debauchery, some oppressors rule over other oppressors in society	272
Ib'rāhīm [14:42]	وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ اللَّهَ غَافِلًا عَمَّا يَعْمَلُ الظَّالِمُونَ	Deem not that God is heedless of what the evildoers work	No negligence of God of the oppressors	353
Al-naml [27:52]	فَتِلْكَ بُيُوتُهُمْ خَاوِيَةٌ بِمَا ظَلَمُوا	Those are their houses, all fallen down because of the evil they committed	Annihilation as the fate of oppressors because of their oppression	353
Hūd [11:102]	أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ إِذَا أَخَذَ الْقَرْيَ وَ هِيَ ظَالِمَةٌ	Such is the seizing of thy Lord, when He seizes the cities that are evildoing	Using the testimony of the verse to say that God gives the oppressor enough time so that when he catches him, there is no escape.	355
Al-a'rāf [7:151]	رَبِّ اغْفِرْ لِي وَ لِأَخِي	He said, 'O my Lord, forgive me and my brother	The necessity of asking forgiveness after oppressing by quoting the verse and citing the relevant interpretations of the verse	360

Al-an'ām [6:38]	إِلَىٰ رَبِّهِمْ يُحْشَرُونَ	To their Lord they shall be mustered.	Animals and birds will be resurrected on the Day of Judgment and will come to their Lord, and justice will be established among them through retribution	376
Al-takwīr [81:5]	الْوَحُوشُ حُشِرَتْ	When the savage beasts shall be mustered	The beasts (on the Day of Judgment) will all gather	376
Al-shūrā [42:28]	يُنزِلُ الْغَيْثَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا قَتَلُوا	He sends down the rain after they have despaired	Divine will in blessing after hardship	379
Al-naml [27:62]	يَكْثِفُ السُّوءَ	And removes the evil	Divine will in blessing after hardship	379
Al-sharḥ [94:6]	إِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا	Truly with hardship comes ease.	Divine will in blessing after hardship	379
Al-an'ām [6:112]	جَعَلْنَا لِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ عَدُوًّا شَيَاطِينَ الْإِنْسِ وَالْجِنِّ	We have appointed to every Prophet an enemy -- Satans of men and jinn	Divine will to test his true believers by their enemies	458
Al-fur'qān [25:31]	كَذَٰلِكَ جَعَلْنَا لِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ عَدُوًّا مِّنَ الْمُجْرِمِينَ	Even so We have appointed to every Prophet an enemy among the sinners	Divine will to test his true believers by their enemies	458

References to verses have been usually used in the early sections of *Siraj*. The content of the topics related to these sections is such that it seeks to determine its epistemological position in the introduction of the work and based on that, to continue to the present executive views; in other words, it is as if, like the patterns of the classical classifications of Muslims, which sciences prioritized according to their virtues, here, too, some knowledge is first introduced, which has a more primary character. In this section, the epistemology and worldview of the work, relying on verses from the *Qur'an* and sometimes with an ascetic character, which has also been a personality trait of *Turtushi*, deals with belittling of worldly reserves as opposed to the main and meaningful position of life by relying on the life of the hereafter. Resurrection thinking is another important element which is documented in the divine verses, and of course, auditing the actions of men on the Day of Judgment is another issue that shows the ethical foundations of the work.

In the meaning-oriented system, which is formed by the work based on Islamic teachings and *Qur'anic* verses, offering thanks to God, in a comprehensive sense, is considered as being in harmony with the divine will and failing to comply with it is a conceptual oppression that can lead to the destruction of human life in both worlds. This oppression, of course, is seen in a more worldly sense contrary to justice and in the sense of oppression to people.

The dichotomy between comfort and hardship, which in their social form are in the forms of enemies which may make a person suffer, and the undoubted necessity of achieving comfort after any hardship as a part of the divine will, is from among the other topics that have been presented in *Siraj al-Muluk* with the context of *Qur'anic* citations.

On this subject, the prophetic narrations in *Siraj al-Muluk* are sometimes seen as evidence, sometimes for the witness, and in some cases to complete the discussions in *Turtushi's* writing. According to *Turtushi*, rulers need advice and preaching more than others due to their involvement in governance affairs (*Turtushi*, 1995: p. 17); such sermons must, in the first step, lead to a correction of worldview and epistemology. Numerous *hadiths* with the theme of belittling the world, thinking about

death and condemning secularism are the advices that he considers useful for the ruler (Ibid, pp. 18-19). His harsh tone against Luxurism, accumulating wealth and focusing on a God-centered worldview shows that *Turtushi* pays close attention to the contexts and areas of the deviation of the government; because the mundane positions prepare the ground for the troubles of the Hereafter (Ibid, p. 69) and ruling over the people results in remorse and regret in the other world (Ibid, p. 89) unless the rights of the people are respected.

With the help of prophetic narrations on the subject of judgment, he draws the government and its requirements (Ibid, p. 90); He considers the most severe divine punishment for a misguided leader (Ibid, p. 92) and considers the fair ruler to be bestowed the divine favor (Ibid, p. 99). It also refers to the quality of human behavior and action and its permanence for human beings and the necessity of no conflict between social behaviors and divine commands (Ibid, pp. 59-60).

Turtushi believes that since greed has been the cause of the destruction of the former people, by praying and taking refuge in God, one can get rid of this pest (Ibid, p. 223). Also, patience in times of misfortune is a sign of faith (Ibid, p. 228) and waiting for facilitation in affairs along with patience is worship (Ibid, p. 232) and doing things with patience (Ibid, p. 234) along with paying attention to thanking the people even for small and seemingly insignificant matters (Ibid, p. 247) and the need for secrecy in talking to others and keeping secrets (Ibid, p. 242), give the view and practice of government a color and smell of faith and morality.

Moreover, *Ṣilat al-raḥim* (associating and meeting with relative and helping them), companionship with others (Ibid, p. 346), good temper and attention to ethical virtues (Ibid, pp. 342-343), the ominous nature of bad temper and the need to avoid it (Ibid, p. 349), unpleasant nature of violation of people's rights (Ibid, p. 356), the intensification of divine wrath as a result of oppression to the helpless people (Ibid, p. 357), the hereafter torment of those who torment people in this world (Ibid, p. 358), the necessity of facilitation for people (Ibid, P. 379), benevolence for others, which is necessary to strengthen the epistemology and worldview of faith (Ibid, p. 191), not to damage others' reputation in the eyes of the ruler (Ibid, p. 368), unpleasant nature of gossip about people before Sultan (Ibid, p. 367) and finally complete and comprehensive trust in God (Ibid, p. 427) are among the most important principles of virtue-based epistemology and theoretical ethics in politics and government, which are analyzed and emphasized by *Turtushi* using prophetic narrations.

2.1.2. Practical Ethics

Another important element of *Turtushi*'s thought is the ethics-oriented but more practical view of him. This view includes topics that can be applied to both individual and social actions; therefore, they can not only be seen in the individual life of people, but in social structures they can be the model for rulers or appointed individuals in governmental structures.

This field constitutes a considerable part of *Siraj* and therefore, numerous verses have been cited for testimony in this field:

Verse	The text or key words emphasized and used by <i>Siraj al-Muluk</i> extracted from the verses	The translation of the text or keywords emphasized and used by <i>Siraj al-Muluk</i> extracted from the verses	The subject of discussion in <i>Siraj al-Muluk</i> documented with a verse	Page in <i>Siraj-al-Muluk</i>
Al-ṣād [38:26]	لَا تَتَّبِعِ الْهَوَىٰ	And follow not caprice	One should not follow the caprice.	82 & 87
Āl-'im'rān [3:159]	إِنِّتَ لَهُمْ ... فَاعْفُ عَنْهُمْ	Thou wast gentle to them ... So pardon them	Advise to be gentle to people, pardon them	116
Al-naḥl	بِالْعَدْلِ وَ الْإِحْسَانِ	to justice and good-doing	The necessity of charity	119

[16:90]			and forgiveness towards people	
Al-mujādilah [58:11]	يَرْفَعُ اللَّهُ... الَّذِينَ أَوْثُوا الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ	God will raise up in rank... those of you who have been given knowledge	The necessity of paying attention to science and the position of scholars	121
Al-qaṣaṣ [28:83]	لَا يُرِيدُونَ عُلُوًّا فِي الْأَرْضِ	Those who desire not exorbitance in the earth	The condemnation of arrogance	130
Al-a'rāf [7:146]	سَأَصْرِفُ عَنْ آيَاتِيَ الَّذِينَ يَتَكَبَّرُونَ	I shall turn from My signs those who wax proud	The condemnation of arrogance	130
Al-kahf [18:66]	تُعَلِّمُنِي مِمَّا عَلَّمْتَ رَسُولًا	So that thou teachest me, of what thou hast been taught, right judgment.'	The necessity of learning science to achieve growth and excellence	152
Al-baqarah [2:31]	وَعَلَّمَ آدَمَ	And He taught Adam	Man's pride in knowledge against angels	152
Al-hūd [11:75]	إِنَّ إِبْرَاهِيمَ لَحَلِيمٌ	Abraham was clement	The need for patience and forbearance	193
Al-ṣāfāt [37:101]	فَبَشِّرْهُنَّ بِبُحَيْرٍ حَلِيمٍ	Then We gave him the good tidings of a prudent boy	Emphasis on the importance of patience and forbearance	194
Al-ḥij'r [15:85]	الصَّخِّحَ الْجَمِيلَ	With a gracious pardoning	Satisfaction against the divine will	193
Al-ḥashr [59:9]	...لَا حَاجَةَ مِمَّا أَوْثُوا... خَصَاصَةً	Any need for what they have been given... portion	Inviting to be generous to others and not being stingy by emphasizing the historical report of <i>Ansar's</i> generosity to the <i>Muhajirun</i>	209
Al-a'rāf [7:137]	وَتَمَّتْ كَلِمَتُ رَبِّكَ الْحُسْنَى عَلَى بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ بِمَا صَبَرُوا	And perfectly was fulfilled the most fair word of thy Lord upon the Children of Israel, for that they endured patiently	The centrality of patience in all virtues and its role in every victory	226,234
Al-zumar [39:10]	وَوَفَى الصَّابِرُونَ	The patient will be paid	The centrality of patience in all virtues and its role in every victory	226,234
Al-sajdah [32:24]	أَيُّمَةً يَهْدُونَ بِأَمْرِنَا لَمَّا صَبَرُوا	Leaders guiding by Our command, when they endured patiently	The importance and virtue of patience	226
Āl-'im'rān [3:186]	إِنْ تَصْبِرُوا وَتَتَّقُوا فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ مِنْ عَزْمِ الْأُمُورِ	But if you are patient and godfearing -- surely that is true constancy.	The position of patience and <i>Taqwā</i> (piety) in achieving goals	226
Āl-'im'rān [3:200]	اصْبِرُوا وَصَابِرُوا	Be patient, and vie you in patience	The importance of patience in achieving goals	227
Al-nahl [16:127]	وَاصْبِرْ	And be patient	The importance of patience and invitation to it	234
luq'mān [31:17]	وَاصْبِرْ	And bear patiently	The importance of patience and invitation to it	234
Al-ḍuhā [93:11]	وَأَمَّا بِنِعْمَةِ رَبِّكَ فَحَدِّثْ	And as for thy Lord's blessing, declare it.	verbal thankfulness by recounting the blessings of God	247

Al-zumar [39:74]	وَقَالُوا الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي صَدَقْنَا	And they shall say, 'Praise belongs to God, who has been true in His promise to us	thankfulness of the people of Paradise to God for the sincerity of His promises	247
Al-fur'qān [25:62]	وَهُوَ الَّذِي جَعَلَ اللَّيْلَ وَالنَّهَارَ خَلْفَةً لَّمَنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَذَّكَّرَ أَوْ أَرَادَ شُكُورًا	And it is He who made the night and day a succession for whom He desires to remember or He desires to be thankful.	Establishing a connection between practical thanksgiving and day and night, such that if we did not offer practical thanks in one of them, we would offer it in another (according to a prophetic commentary)	
Al-mā'idah [5:66]	أَقَامُوا التَّوْرَةَ وَ الْإِنْجِيلَ وَ مَا أَنْزَلَ إِلَيْهِمْ مِنْهُمْ أُمَّةٌ مِّنْ رَبِّهِمْ ... مُتَّصِدَةً	Had they performed the Torah and the Gospel, and what was sent down to them from their Lord... Some of them are a just nation;	Trying to show the relationship between thanksgiving and the practical form of that worship and its result, that is, the increase of divine blessings	251
Al-nūh [71:10,11,12]	أَمْوَالٍ وَ بَنِينَ وَ ... جَنَّاتٍ وَ ... أَنْهَارًا	Wealth and sons ... gardens and ... rivers	Demonstrating the relationship between seeking Forgiveness from the Lord and returning to God and the abundance of divine blessings in life	251
Al-qalam [68:10,11,12]	هَمَّازٍ مَّشَاءٍ بِنَمِيمٍ	Backbiter, going about with slander,	condemnation of gossip	365
maryam [19:25]	وَهَزِيءٍ إِلَيْكَ بِجِدْعِ النَّخْلَةِ	Shake also to thee the palm-trunk	The necessity of work and effort together with believing in divine destiny	427
Al-fur'qān [25:58]	تَوَكَّلْ عَلَى الْحَيِّ الَّذِي لَا يَمُوتُ	Put thy trust in the Living God, the Undying	The importance of trusting in God	429
Al- 'ankabūt [29:69]	وَالَّذِينَ جَاهَدُوا فِيْنَا لَنَهْدِيَهُمْ سُبُلَنَا	But those who struggle in Our cause, surely We shall guide them in Our ways	The necessity of striving for success	433

In this section, a tangible list of do's and don'ts, which are usually the subjects of ethics, can be seen in *Turtush's viewpoint*, which further characterizes the strategic nature or in other words, the functional nature of the work. Encouragement of piety, kindness, learning science, charity, enjoying patience to achieve exaltation and victory, all kinds of offering thanks to God, the importance of asking God for forgiveness, the importance of effort and its relationship with divine destiny and trusting in God are among the do's and condemnation of arrogance and gossip are among the don'ts that are presented as practical ethics in the socio-political theory of *Turtushi* and he strengthens them by citing *Qur'anic* evidences or what *Turtushi* expresses with an interpretive approach as *Qur'anic* evidences on these matters. Of course, in many parts of the book, these *Qur'anic* evidences are guaranteed by various *hadiths*, narrations and interpretive anecdotes and the author has usually paid attention to strengthen his interpretive thinking in these guarantees and citations.

Considering these contents, it can be inferred that in *Turtushi's* theory, man has been basically considered to be an instinctively guided being, which, of course, is in full accordance with the general

lines of Islamic teachings. In this section, in addition to narrated prayers by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) on seeking refuge in God from useless worship and fruitless thoughts and inelegant minds and consciences (Turtushi, 1995: p. 54) the inappropriateness of some behaviors for believers, such as the humiliation of the soul (Ibid, p. 67) has been discussed. Raising the issue of responsibility from the government to the family and respecting the rights of all members of all social strata with the narration of “**every one of you is a guardian and responsible for his charges**” (Ibid, p. 88) and his reminder of the Day of Judgment and the necessity of piety (Ibid, p. 89) and patience in the moment of anger (Ibid, p. 193) along with generosity (Ibid, pp. 218, 220) which is a sign of avoiding greed (Ibid, p. 224) is honorable (Ibid, p. 206) and the cause of closeness to God and entering Paradise (Ibid, p. 210); tolerance towards people, which is as important as doing religious duties (Ibid, p. 352), the need to help the brethren (Ibid, p. 355) and seeking forgiveness from the one who has been oppressed (Ibid, p. 373) is to cultivate ethical virtues so that the rulers strive for it by avoiding polytheism and arrogance (Ibid, p. 129) and do not betray the divine trusteeship of power or governance by observing them (Ibid, p. 118).

According to the narrations cited by *Turtushi*, the fair ruler’s prayer are met (Ibid, p. 99) and therefore, people who have the strength and capability to be so must take on this responsibility, although they may be so young that they can be doubted, this doubt is not permissible, such that the Prophet (PBUH) sent *Amir al-Mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful) *Hazrat Ali* (AS) to Yemen in his youth (Ibid, p. 93). In this thematic area, other narrations that are the sayings of the companions and followers have also been used.

2.2. Governance Strategies

Another important part of *Siraj al-Muluk* is the approaches focused on implementation, instructions, or executive strategies of this work that address the rulers so that they can recognize the direction of executive policies for governing society and acting on them. In this section, testimony to *Qur’anic* verses can be seen significantly. The main verses in this field are as follows:

Verse	The text or keywords emphasized and used by <i>Siraj al-Muluk</i> extracted from the verses	The translation of the text or key words emphasized and used by <i>Siraj al-Muluk</i> extracted from the verses	The subject of discussion in <i>Siraj al-Muluk</i> documented with a verse	Page in <i>Siraj-al-Muluk</i>
TāHā [20:31,32]	أَشَدُّ بِهِ وَأَشْرِكُهُ فِي ... أَمْرِي أَمْرِي	By him confirm my strength, and associate him with me in my task.	The philosophy of the presence of the minister: strengthening the foundations of government and participation in the kingdom affairs	166
TāHā [20:33,34]	... كَيْ نُسَبِّحَكَ كَثِيرًا وَنَذْكُرَكَ كَثِيرًا	So shall we glorify Thee ... and remember Thee abundantly.	Arranging and reforming worldly and otherworldly affairs by associating with scholars, righteous people and experienced and knowledgeable people	166
Al-zukh'ruf [43:67]	بَعْضُهُمْ لِبَعْضٍ عَدُوٌّ إِلَّا الْمُتَّقِينَ	Foes to one another, but the god-fearing.	The need for rulers to associate with pious people	172
Al-fur'qān [25:28,29]	لَمْ لَقَدْ آتَخَذَ فُلَانًا خَلِيلًا ... أَصْلَنِي	I had not taken So-and-so for a friend! ... He indeed led me astray	The necessity of the rulers' accuracy in choosing their companions	172

4. «كلكم راع و كلكم مسئول عن رعيته».

Al-a' rāf [7:199]	خَذِ الْعَفْوَ	Take the abundance	Exercising pardoning by the rulers	177
Al-an'ām [6:164]	لَا تَزِرُ وَازِرَةٌ وِزْرَ أُخْرَى	No soul laden bears the load of another	the necessity of being careful in punishing the main culprit and not mistakenly another person in his place	184
Al-ṣāfāt [37:102]	فَانظُرْ مَاذَا تَرَى	Consider, what thinkest thou?	The importance and necessity of consulting by rulers	185
hūd [11:34]	نُصْحِي	My sincere counsel	The need to apply advice in the system of government	189
yūsuf [12:5]	لَا تَقْصُصْ	Do not relate	The necessity to cognize and keep secrets	240
Al-naml [27:40]	فَضْلٍ رَبِّيَ لِيَبْلُوَنِي أَشْكُرُ أَمْ أَكْفُرُ	My Lord's bounty that He may try me, whether I am thankful or ungrateful	Power in the world (for the rulers) is a means of testing them by God	245
Al-qāṣaṣ [28:81]	فَخَسَفْنَا بِهِ وَبِدَارِهِ الْأَرْضَ	So We made the earth to swallow him	The reference to the Qur'anic story of the destruction of Korah (Qārūn) with the theme that as a ruler, she was ungrateful for divine blessings	245
Āl-'im'rān [3:123]	وَلَقَدْ نَصَرَكُمُ اللَّهُ بِبَدْرٍ ... لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ	And God most surely helped you at Badr ... and haply you Will be thankful.	Referring to the victory at the battle of Badr and the necessity of offering thanks for this success and other divine successes	246
saba [34:13]	اعْمَلُوا آلَ دَاوُدَ شُكْرًا	Labour, O House of David, in thankfulness	The righteous deeds of the rulers can be an evidence of their gratitude	248
Al-mā'idah [5:51]	لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَى أَوْلِيَاءَ	Take not Jews and Christians as friends	Using the interpretation of the verse through a hadith of Umar ibn al-Khattab to ban the employment of Jews and Christians in public affairs	321
Al-mā'idah [5:44]	وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكَمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ؛ ... هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ؛ ... هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ	Whoso judges not according to what God has sent down - they are the unbelievers ... they are the evildoers ... they are the ungodly	Failure to execute divine decrees (judgment) (by the sovereignty) will be considered as infidelity, oppression and disobedience to God.	353
Al-ḥujurāt [49:6]	إِنْ جَاءَكُمْ فَاسِقٌ بِنَبَأٍ فَتَبَيَّنُوا	If an ungodly man comes to you with a tiding	The need to investigate on the reported news lest the source of the news be wrong and wicked	366
Al-baqarah [2:179]	لَكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَاةٌ	In retaliation there is life for you	Emphasis on the benefits and necessity of Qiṣāṣ (retaliation in kind) in society	373
Al-an'ām [6:164]	لَا تَزِرُ وَازِرَةٌ وِزْرَ أُخْرَى	No soul laden bears the load of another	Emphasis on the benefits and necessity of Qiṣāṣ (retaliation in kind) in society	373
Al-'ankabūt [29:13]	لِيَحْمِلْنَ أَثْقَالَهُمْ	They shall certainly carry their loads	Emphasis on the benefits and necessity of Qiṣāṣ (retaliation	373

			in kind) in society	
Al-anfāl [8:60]	أَعِدُوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِّنْ قُوَّةٍ	Make ready for them whatever force	The need to provide military force to deal with enemies or inspires fear in them	408
Al-anfāl [8:45,46]	إِذَا لَقِيتُمْ فِئَةً فَاثْبُتُوا وَ أُذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ... أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَ لَا تَنَازَعُوا... وَ اصْبِرُوا	Whenever you encounter a host, then stand firm, and remember God frequently ... And obey God, and His Messenger, and do not quarrel together ... and be patient	Military advice during the war based on Qur'anic commands including being steadfast, repeating many times the name of God as prayer, following God's and His Messenger's (and commanders') commands, not quarrelling with each other and being patient (until victory)	416
Muḥammad [47:7]	إِن تَنْصُرُوا اللَّهَ يَنْصُرْكُمْ	If you help God, He will help you	Qur'anic approach to military victory: helping God's religion with steadfast	416
Āl-'im'rān [3:155]	إِنَّمَا اسْتَزَلَّهُمُ الشَّيْطَانُ بِبَعْضِ مَا كَسَبُوا	Satan made them slip for somewhat they had earned	To be seduced by the devil (Being infected with sin) is one of the weakness areas in military confrontation with the enemy and defeat and escape the battlefield.	416
Āl-tawbah [9:25]	أَعْجَبْتُمْ كَثْرَتَكُمْ فَلَمْ تُغْنِ عَنكُمْ شَيْئًا	When your multitude was pleasing to you, but it availed you naught	The multitude of the corps should not cause seduction, but they should know that God is the main helper (therefore, it is faith that matters, although the necessary equipment and sufficient army must be provided)	420

This is one of the most important parts of *Turtushi's* theory. In this section, the rulers are his audience and his recommendations are presented in a practical and applied way and, yet with an epistemological support. Most of the verses in this section are categorized to support these themes: explaining the necessities and benefits of rulers' companionship with scholars which of course is part of the internal structure arrangement of power from *Turtushi's* point of view in which the class of scholars, i.e. jurists, has received much attention and while the rulers (*sultan*) are at the top, the subject of companionship has become an excuse for the scholars to be present in a rank close to the *Sultan*.

The next topic is to prevent non-Muslims from entering the power structure, which is still seen as a part of *Turtushi's* effort to arrange the power structure and where, in addition to using *Qur'anic* evidence, the approach of the second caliph, to whom apparently the sharpest views on dealing with non-Muslims are attributed, is used. This issue has a direct relationship with *Turtushi's* concurrence with the influence of Christians and Jews in the Fatimid Caliphate and shows the reaction of this thinker to this issue. More trivial issues such as the importance of the presence of a minister in the power structure can also be seen in this section, which is still a continuation of the issue of structure.

Addressing the developments of the judiciary with an emphasis on returning to the original judiciary in Islam, i.e. a *Qur'an*-based system can be seen in another section, in which, while emphasizing issues such as forgiveness in the nature of rulers, accuracy in punishments and social validity of *Qisās* (retaliation in kind) have been considered. In the rest of this section, the accuracy of the news received by the government to prevent the oppression to the innocent people is also discussed.

Addressing issues of a security nature, such as the need to keep the news secret and, more importantly, the need to have the necessary military forces to confront the enemies and military advice, sometimes with a focus on spirituality and strengthening faith in battles, can also be seen in this theory, which could be influenced by issues such as the Crusaders' attacks on Islamic lands at that time.

Moreover, in this section, there is a connection between the divine worldview of the work and the socio-political system on the subject of the relationship between the rulers' divine test and the entrustment of power to them by God and the ways to succeed in this test through performing righteous deeds or competent socio-political and executive strategies, all of which have been guaranteed by divine verses or direct or mediated interpretations by the author.

The narrative view of *Turtushi* in this section is based on the fact that in the optimal religious governance based on the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith, there are hardships and problems for the ruler and comfort and benefit for the people (Ibid, p. 106), hence, avoiding dishonesty with the people (Ibid, p. 69), government orders being away from oppression and tyranny over the commoners (Ibid, pp. 83 and 90) and condemning the prosecution of the people in government (Ibid, p. 90), are among the warnings that *Turtushi* expresses as governance strategies based on narrations and introduces the government as the wealth of God and the wealth of Prophet (Ibid, p. 90). Therefore, the oppressor ruler will be deprived of the intercession of the Prophet on the Day of Judgment and will be punished (Ibid, p. 90). Perhaps from this perspective, one of the criteria for selecting a worthy manager should be considered as his reluctance to govern (Ibid, p. 332).

Furthermore, some warnings, recommendations and suggestions have also been provided as governance strategies in the form of prophetic narrations. For example, *Şilat al-raḥim* (associating and meeting with relative and helping them) in the personal and family circles and ignoring the wrongdoings of others (Ibid, p. 179), pardoning and forgiveness among the people (Ibid, p. 180), rationalism in governance (Ibid, p. 161), performing religious duties and abandoning *ḥarām* (forbidden acts) (Ibid, p. 162), moderation in governance (Ibid, p. 164), patience and tolerance to reconcile public perversions and beautification of peoples conduct (Ibid, p. 193), the necessity of listening to the words of the advisors (Ibid, p. 121), paying attention to public advice and people's benevolence for the Sultan (Ibid, p. 189) which prevents the misguidance of his heart and his distance from the truth (Ibid, p. 190), and making the rulers to avoid hearing the praise of others (Ibid, p. 328), are among the warnings that *Turtushi* considers as governance strategies and expresses them in the form of narrations.

In this section, in addition to the prophetic narrations, other narrations conveyed from the *ṣahābah* (companions) and *tabi'un* (followers), as well as the speeches of sages, philosophers and thinkers of the Islamic world can be seen in abundance, each of which has been used in accordance with the topics. Generally, *Turtushi* has used and cited other non-prophetic narrations and the sayings of outstanding personalities to elaborate and explain the issues wherever has quoted a verse from the *Qur'an* or a narration from the Holy Prophet (PBUH).

Conclusion

This study shows that *Siraj al-Muluk* by *Abu Bakr Turtushi*, as one of the reliable sources of socio-political thought in the Islamic world, in its own language, i.e. in the most obvious form of conceptual impact on the audience, relies widely on *Qur'anic* verses and prophetic and Islamic narrations; in other words, an important part of the language of this work is formed by the *Qur'an* and hadiths. *Qur'anic* verses and narrations in *Siraj al-Muluk* have been used with careful selection to form the intellectual system of the theory in several themes; first, they have formed the intellectual structure of the theory by virtuousism and drawing a monotheistic worldview, and then, by emphasizing virtuousism, they deal with the considered socio-political ethics and subsequently, refer to governance strategies for controlling society and government. Verses and narrations in all these areas have played a key role in developing the theory. In order to achieve a conceptual arrangement in the language of his theory, *Turtushi* has made a

precise selection of verses or even some parts of some verses and has similarly enjoyed from the prophetic and Islamic narrations. In this regard, the validity of the narrations has been very important to him and despite the fact that he is a jurist in the Maliki school, in some cases, he has enjoyed the narrative heritage of Shiites such as the narrations of *Ali ibn Abi Talib* and *Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq* (AS) due to the validity of the narrations and also their conceptual position. Furthermore, wherever it has been appropriate by him, he has referred to the governmental views and socio-political and sagacious advice of great thinkers and famous philosophers.

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