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The Development of State Forms and Their Function
in the Political Islamic Mind

Abstract

This paper discusses an important issue in political philosophy. Despite its historicity, it has current extensions, which gives it importance and value that does not become obsolete, whether in terms of scientific research, or even in terms of its impact on the lives of Muslims, whether in the past, present, and even in the future. By this, we mean the forms or manifestations that the state has taken in terms of theorizing and representation of the Islamic political mind, starting with the Prophetic state, passing through the various manifestations of the traditional state, Its components: Sunni and Shiite.

There is no doubt that its dangerous effects on the lives of Muslims require reunderstanding it, as it is compatible with the spirit of the times on the one hand, and the realities of Islam and its political experiences on the other hand, which leads to questions about the nature of this state and its function, far from ideal perceptions, which do not exist. Except in the minds of its owners, and not in the perspective of the Islamic political mind, which was formed through important historical stations, drawing on internal and external experiences.

Therefore, this paper seeks to raise a major question related to the way in which the state manifested itself in the Islamic political mind, and its relationship to its basic reference represented by Islam, and the extent of its compatibility with human experiences, whether those that preceded it or contemporaneous it.

Keywords: *forms state, Islam, traditional, functional*

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Dövlət formalarının inkişafı və onların siyasi islam təfəkküründə funksiyası

Xülasə

Bu məqalədə siyasi fəlsəfədə mühüm bir məsələ müzakirə olunur. Tarixi olmasına baxmayaraq, istər elmi araşdırmalar baxımından, istərsə də müsəlmanların həyatına, istər keçmişdə, istərsə də indiki dövrdə və hətta müsəlmanların həyatına təsiri baxımından ona köhnəlməyən əhəmiyyət və dəyər verən müasir uzantılara malikdir. Bununla biz Peyğəmbər dövlətindən başlayaraq, ənənəvi dövlətin müxtəlif təzahürlərindən, onun tərkib hissələri olan sünni və şiəlikdən keçərək İslam siyasi əqlinin nəzəriləşdirilməsi və təmsili baxımından dövlətin qəbul etdiyi forma və ya təzahürləri nəzərdə tuturuq.

Şübhəsiz ki, onun müsəlmanların həyatına təhlükəli təsiri bir tərəfdən dövrün ruhu ilə, digər tərəfdən isə İslam həqiqətləri və siyasi təcrübələri ilə uyğunlaşdığı üçün onun yenidən dərk edilməsini tələb edir ki, bu da suallara yol açır. Mövcud olmayan ideal qavrayışlardan uzaq bu dövlətin mahiyyəti və funksiyası haqqında. İstisna sahiblərinin təfəkküründən başqa, nə də daxili və xarici təcrübələrə əsaslanaraq mühüm tarixi stansiyalar vasitəsilə formalaşmış İslam siyasi zehni perspektivi baxımından.

Buna görə də bu məqalə dövlətin İslam siyasi təfəkküründə özünü necə təzahür etdirdiyi, onun İslamın təmsil etdiyi əsas istinadla əlaqəsi və onun insan təcrübələri ilə uyğunluq dərəcəsi ilə bağlı əsas sualı qaldırmağa çalışır.

Açar sözlər: *dövlət formaları, islam, ənənəvi, funksional*

Introduction

Discussing Islamic political thought and its manifestations cannot be complete without addressing the various forms it has taken throughout history, particularly as reflected in the state, which has been its primary concern since its early formation during the time of its inception and development, through the era of conflicts, and up to the age of renaissance, liberation, and the rebuilding of the state according to contemporary principles. These manifestations reveal the true evolution of this political system and its adaptation to various internal and external changes, and this is what we aim to discuss in this study.

On the other hand, it is essential to emphasize to researchers, and even to ordinary readers, that dealing with political systems that prevailed in previous historical periods but no longer exist today – whether or not there are remaining indicators of their existence – requires caution in our study of them. Perhaps the simplest consideration we must keep in mind is to study these systems through the lens of their own era's thinking, not through the perspective of our current time. It is unreasonable to impose predefined contemporary frameworks on entirely different historical periods.

What we are discussing was the result of specific circumstances that cannot be artificially recreated in our time in the same way they occurred. Therefore, their evaluation must take into account the conditions under which these states were formed and the level of thinking of the theorists of their era. However, this does not mean that we should overlook or justify the wrongful political practices or associate them with Islam as a doctrine, blaming it for the mistakes made – especially when those who committed them were rejected by Islamic scholars of their own time, not just in ours. There are many examples of this, some of which can be described without hesitation as barbaric behavior, despite attempts by some to justify them (Brockelmann, 1949, p. 72). Beyond the Umayyads, the actions of the Abbasids against the Umayyads also exceeded the bounds of reason, but they happened. Similar examples can be found in various political systems, which suggests that these actions are tied to the nature of human reason as a whole when it finds itself unrestrained in particular historical moments, rather than being inherently connected to any specific religion or philosophy – unless that religion or philosophy justifies or rationalizes them.

Research Questions: Hence, the importance of examining Islamic political history and posing several questions in this context arises. Perhaps the most significant question concerns the extent to which Muslims were aware of the concept of political organization known as the state. Additionally, how did this concept manifest itself? Finally, if they did understand the idea of the state, did it appear to them in a specific, fixed form that was immutable, or did their understanding of it allow for the recognition of diverse forms and different models, especially considering the diversity and contradiction in their political and sectarian orientations? What was the relationship between these forms and Islam? Lastly, what functions were these states aiming to fulfill – were they religious or civil in nature?

Research Hypotheses: Many contemporary Muslims believe that the distant past represents the ideal model for Islam and Muslims, viewing it as free from all sins, and that the ummah (Muslim community) can only be reformed by what originally reformed it. This belief prompts us to ask whether Muslims established a specific political system or several systems. Answering these questions requires us to return to historical texts, books of jurisprudence, theological sects' writings, and other sources to trace the emerging political systems that governed Muslims.

Research Methodology: This is what we aim to understand, based on an approach that utilizes multiple methodologies. It is essential to survey Islamic political history to find precise answers. What is the best type of survey that suits this field? The reality is that tracing all the political systems known in the history of Muslims is impossible, or even feasible, in a study like this due to the long time span and geographical diversity. This compels us to resort to partial induction, through which the objective can be achieved. It is capable of providing real examples that more clearly express what we are searching for. This aligns with the scientific method, which

fundamentally relies on partial induction, without neglecting the analytical-critical method aimed at reconstructing and critiquing political thought.

Undoubtedly, Islamic history spans nearly fifteen centuries, a lengthy period, and Islam spread across vast regions of the ancient world: Asia, Africa, and Europe. Additionally, Muslims comprise various nations and tribes: *O manikind; we have created you male and female and made you nations and tribes so that might cpme to khow one another. Surerly the noblest of you in Allah 's Sight is the most pious. Allah is indeed is All-knowing, All-informed*' (Quran, 2002, p. 524) Without overlooking the emerging political parties, jurisprudential and theological schools, as well as Sufi orders, discussing a single, specific form of the state in Islam becomes nearly unacceptable and unreasonable. From a historical perspective, it would be a distortion and denial of established facts. Therefore, understanding the forms of states that ruled Muslims and their views on their relationship with Islam allows us to address the most important answers to the questions we raise. At the same time, it helps us understand the present and build the future.

It also provides us with an accurate and genuine understanding of Islamic political theory, which has been the subject of much debate and varying opinions, often with the intent of confining it to a predefined framework. However, life presents ever-evolving challenges that require solutions tailored to these daily realities.

2. The Philosophy of Governance in the Traditional Historical State

In his book Politics, while discussing the formation of the state, Aristotle stated: *"The state is the highest form of community and aims at the highest good… but the ultimate object of the state is the good life. The naturalness of the state is proved by the faculty of speech in man. In the order of Nature the state precedes the household and The individual. It is founded on a natural impulse, that towards political association"* (Aristotle, 1916, pp. 8-9). Undoubtedly, throughout human history, there have been persistent efforts, often driven by ambition and competition, and at other times by the instinct for survival and the need to confront various challenges, all aimed at achieving the goal Aristotle mentioned: the establishment of the state and the realization of political organization.

This makes these efforts sometimes similar due to the common nature of humanity, while in other cases, they differ based on the human components of this political organization, as well as factors like culture, geography, and the diverse experiences of people. Therefore, anyone studying the history of the human race will encounter various models of political organization that we might refer to as states, including the Greek model, the Roman model, the Persian model, the Chinese model, and others. This diversity reveals a significant range among these models, and we can say without hesitation that each of these models had different forms and manifestations. For instance, the Greek model took on various forms of governance, something that Aristotle himself pointed out when discussing different systems of government in Greece. Plato also addressed this earlier in his book The Republic (Plato, 1918). This observation can be extended to the other historical models we mentioned earlier, or even to those we have not yet mentioned.

Muslims across different regions and eras agree that the first political system established in Islam was the one formed personally by the Prophet Muhammad, known as the system of prophethood, which was followed by the system of the Rightly Guided Caliphs. Despite the perfection attributed to this system and its status as a true reference for Islamic governance, this period witnessed political disagreements among Muslims, as well as competition among prominent companions. The Quran sought to address this by channeling it towards the service of Islam and Muslims, expressing and encouraging it with: Whose seal is musk. over that, let the cometitors compete' (Quran, 2002, p. 614). What distinguishes this period? And how can it be viewed realistically, without the spirit of sanctity?

The prophetic system, led by the Prophet Muhammad, represents the ideal model of the Islamic golden age in both its religious and worldly aspects. Regardless of the doctrinal side, the philosophy of this period marked the beginning of the formation of the state in Islam. Despite what has been said about this era, it is certain that it achieved great success in uniting the Arabian Peninsula under a single religion and a single political system, with the leader being the religious figure himself. Despite the major challenges faced by the Prophet, he managed to establish both a state and a

religion simultaneously, relying on a political strategy and wise leadership that allowed him to win the minds and hearts of all people. This is highlighted in the Quranic verse: It was by a mercy from Allah that you dealt leniently with them; for had you been cruel and hard-hearted; they would have dispersed around you ' (Quran, 2002, p. 74). Perhaps the most notable achievements of this period include: the establishment of the Prophet's Mosque, the Constitution of Medina, correspondence with world kings and prominent Arabs, and the unification of the Arab tribes. Additionally, he engaged in major battles that had a significant impact on humanity across different eras, after consolidating his authority and creating favorable conditions for the spread and dominance of Islam. In this context, we can refer to the following battles (Tabari, 1980, pp. 130-250):

–The Battle of Badr was fought against the Quraysh, where the Muslim army, led by the Prophet, achieved a decisive victory over the Quraysh and dealt them a significant lesson in military strategy. This battle paved the way for Muslims to appear publicly before the Arab tribes, which began to view the rising power with caution and considered various factors in their calculations.

–The Battle of Uhud was also fought against the Quraysh. However, this time the defeat was suffered by the Muslims, despite initially being victorious. This battle taught the Muslims a lesson, as their strength had led them to overconfidence.

–The Battle of the Trench was fought by the Muslims against a coalition of Arab tribes led by the Quraysh. It involved a siege of the city, which the Muslims were able to lift and overcome the attackers after they were dispersed due to political and natural factors. This battle enhanced the Muslims' status among the tribes, making them a formidable force under the Prophet's leadership. Subsequently, the Prophet was able to cleanse the city of the Jews, who had breached their treaties, in an effort to secure the internal front.

–The Conquest of Mecca was when the Muslims were able to enter Mecca, the capital of the Quraysh, and liberate it from idols. During this event, the Prophet's city was also brought under his authority, and its inhabitants embraced his religion. This conquest was a major legendary epic that revealed the Prophet's military genius, excellent leadership, and management skills. It also demonstrated his forbearance in pardoning the leaders of Quraysh who had previously fought him and oppressed his followers.

–The Battle of Hunayn was fought against a coalition of Arab tribes, and the Islamic army emerged victorious. This was followed by the siege and conquest of Ta'if. Subsequent to this conquest were other significant battles, including those of Mu'ta and Tabuk. In addition to the battles fought by the Prophet's state, it managed to establish treaties with its neighbors, the most notable being the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah with the Quraysh, to which allies of both sides joined. We can also discuss an important political act from the early days of the migration, which was the construction of the mosque as a base for leadership and a gathering place for Muslims. This was followed by the issuance of the Constitution of Medina, aimed at organizing the lives of his followers, their relations with one another, and their interactions with the Jews and the inhabitants of the city as a whole. Furthermore, after the Prophet achieved victory over the Arab tribes, he corresponded with the world's rulers and leaders of the time, inviting them to Islam, specifically addressing: the Byzantine Emperor, the Sassanian King Khosrow, and the Egyptian governor, the Muqawqas.

It is also important to note the Prophet's appointment of governors to the regions under his authority, enabling him to manage people's affairs more effectively and bring them closer to an administration that listened to their concerns. Undoubtedly, these political and religious practices carried out by the Prophet reveal the nature of the system of prophethood, which is based on divine selection in the doctrinal aspect and allegiance in the political aspect. Thus, we can say that this system was the most cohesive and acceptable among the Muslim systems.

Muslims agree that the political system that followed the Prophet's death was the Rashidun (Rightly Guided Caliphate) system. This system emerged during a challenging historical period and served as a transitional phase between the prophetic system and the monarchy, or what can be defined as a hereditary system. According to historical sources, the Prophet's death was a severe

shock to the Muslims. However, they quickly overcame it and promptly worked to appoint a successor to ensure the continuity of the state he established and to defend the religion he left behind.

This system faced both internal and external challenges, the effects of which are still felt today. Although it performed its role effectively, the differing views among Muslims about it have made it a subject of debate. Nevertheless, we can say that the most significant achievements of this system were represented in three key points: Eliminating the rebellion of the Arab tribes and protecting Islam from the major dangers that surrounded it following the Prophet's sudden death.

Continuing the process of expansion, spreading Islam beyond the Arabian Peninsula, defeating the Persian Empire, and expelling the Byzantine Empire from the Levant. Establishing allegiance as the sole means to attain power and consultation (shura) as the only method for governance. This political system represented Muslims in its time, and their hearts have longed for it even after many centuries since its fall. Their views on it have varied between those who revere it (the Sunnis) and those who denounce it (the Shiites). However, it has become the ideal model aspired to by most of them. At the head of this system were four important figures, which are worth listing as follows:

−Abu Bakr al-Siddiq was the first to lead the Muslims after the Prophet's death. In a short period, he succeeded in overcoming the large rebellions historically known as the Ridda (apostasy), reuniting the Arab tribes, and directing the victorious armies towards further expansion. Despite the objections and debates about his appointment and allegiance at the Saqifah of Banu Sa'ida, this method became the model for appointing leaders for a long time. Allegiance became an essential part of political practice in Islam. During his relatively brief rule, he continued the prophetic legacy by introducing mechanisms that allowed Muslims to engage in ijtihad (independent legal reasoning) and seek solutions to new problems not addressed in the previous era. This was a significant development, especially given the close proximity of the Muslim community to the prophetic era. Preserving the Prophet's Sunnah while addressing new issues, such as dealing with those who withheld zakat, was a notable achievement (Tabari, Les quatere permiers califes., 1981, pp. 11-28).

The second caliph was Umar ibn al-Khattab, who ruled for a full ten years. During his reign, he succeeded in redirecting the Muslim armies towards further conquests. Under his leadership, the Persian Empire was defeated, the Romans were expelled from the Levant after their defeat at Yarmouk and elsewhere, and Jerusalem was annexed to the state. This period was marked by stability and satisfaction with the ruler, as justice and solidarity prevailed among the people. However, it ended with the assassination of the caliph in a conspiracy orchestrated in Persia by a Magian named Abu Lu'lu'ah Firuz al-Nahawandi, who had pretended to be a Muslim. The governance approach of Abu Bakr continued, and new issues were addressed accordingly. We can say that this era was distinguished by the adoption of consultation (shura) as an effective and notable method for managing the affairs of the people (Tabari, Les quatere permiers califes., 1981, p. 255).

Afterwards, Uthman ibn Affan took over the authority for a long period compared to the other caliphs who ruled before or after him. Politically, we can say that his reign was characterized by two phases: the first was a period of satisfaction and harmony with his subjects, while the second was marked by unrest and conspiracies, ending with his martyrdom at the hands of a group of rebels against his rule.

From a military perspective, the process of expansion continued, reaching distant areas in the east and west. However, his manner of death opened doors to sedition that remain unresolved to this day (Tabari, Les quatere permiers califes., 1981, p. 319).

Religiously, this period saw a significant step in Islamic history with the compilation of the Quran into a single manuscript, known as the "Uthmanic Codex", which is still used by Muslims today. This monumental task was undertaken by a group of well-known, trustworthy companions after it was reported that people in various regions were making errors in some verses, especially as many of the memorizers had passed away.

The final phase of his rule was marked by tension and dissatisfaction, particularly due to his appointment of certain Umayyad advisers. This led to widespread discontent with some of his decisions, culminating in rebellion and ultimately his murder.

Ali ibn Abi Talib, the fourth of the rightly guided caliphs, had a brief reign characterized by the halt of further expansion due to the focus on internal affairs and attempts to resolve the discord caused by the assassination of his predecessor. However, the rebellion led by his opponents from various Quraysh clans, especially the Umayyads, prevented him from reuniting the Muslims. Instead, the rift between them widened, and his rule, along with the Rashidun caliphate, ended with his own assassination.

Undoubtedly, the Islamic Ummah during this historical period brought together believers of Islam from various ethnic backgrounds. The state in this phase unified the Arab tribes, addressed different forms of rebellion and discord, and laid the foundation for the Islamic political system. However, it faced tremors that ultimately led to its collapse.

This state encountered real challenges since its establishment during the Prophet's time and continued through his successors. Notably, some of these challenges include:

Military challenges manifested in attempts by neighboring entities to eliminate it and the battles fought to defend its existence: Badr, Uhud, the Conquest of Mecca, Mu'tah, the Wars of Apostasy, Qadisiyyah, and Yarmouk.

Social challenges arose from tribal diversity and deeply ingrained pre-Islamic values, as well as individual and tribal ambitions seeking glory and leadership, often at the expense of the community and doctrine. Despite the conflicts, betrayals, and assassinations during this crucial period, Muslims still view this era as the ideal model in Islamic political history, due to its proximity to the prophetic era, the connection of its leaders to the emergence of Islam, and the sacrifices they made for it.

We can summarize the main political features of this period in a number of key points:

− Adoption of the Pledge (Bay'ah) as the sole method for gaining power, while acknowledging its various forms and processes.

− Use of Shura (consultation) as a fundamental method for managing state affairs, avoiding unilateral decision-making.

− Expansion of the state's territory, appointment of additional governors for regions, and their removal when necessary.

− Implementation of financial and economic reforms, including the establishment and development of the Bayt al-Mal (Treasury) to meet contemporary needs.

− Organizing the military institution, setting up systems to manage it, and addressing the needs and duties of its members and their families.

− Building relationships based on mutual interests with others, and signing treaties and agreements.

− Engaging with others through both peaceful and military means.

− Promoting Islam, and liberating peoples from oppression and servitude.

− Maintaining the rulers' simplicity, despite the power and increased revenues they possessed.

3. Philosophy of Governance in Major Sunni States

Sunni Islam, as a religious and political faction, has played a significant role in the governance of Muslims and in shaping the nature of the political systems it has embodied. However, from the outset, it is crucial to note that this group was formed by the vast majority of Muslims. This raises the question of whether it represented a unified model of governance or offered multiple diverse models. Addressing this question requires examining the systems it established and the forms of states it adopted.

Upon examining the political history of Sunni Islam specifically, it becomes clear that there was no complete consensus regarding the nature of the political systems that governed Muslims in its name. Among these systems were those led by Arab rulers in general, and specifically from the Quraysh tribe. This is evident from the Umayyad Caliphate, where the rulers were from the Quraysh tribe in general and the Umayyad clan specifically.

The Abbasid Caliphate, which succeeded the Umayyads, combined the Arab Quraysh element represented by the Abbasid caliphs with non-Arab ministers or rulers: Persians, Buyids, Turks, and Seljuks. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire, another Sunni state, governed the Arab lands and other Muslim territories with a purely Turkish, non-Arab element.

Thus, we can say that the ethnic composition of those who ruled the Muslims in general varied as follows:

− Stage of Pure Arab Rule.
− Stage of Dual Rule, between Arabs and Other Ethnicities.
− Stage of Non-Arab Rule, i.e., Foreigners. We will now provide some information about these states and the stages mentioned as follows:

3.1. Philosophy of Arab Rule (The Umayyad State)

Following the fall of the Rashidun Caliphate, the Umayyad State emerged under the leadership of Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan. This state managed to reunite the Muslims in one way or another and continued the spread of Islam both to the East and the West. They successfully conquered North Africa and Andalusia, and their armies reached as far as China, India, and the Caucasus.

Researchers often divide the rulers of this state according to the Umayyad families that ruled it, referring to the Sufyanid period and the Marwanid period, which are branches of the Umayyad family. The state was founded by Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan after the assassination of the Rashidun Caliph Ali ibn Abi Talib and his agreement with Hasan ibn Ali. However, the state developed and took its full form later under Abdul Malik ibn Marwan and those who followed him. After ruling the Muslims for nearly a century and making many sacrifices, the Umayyad state − like the Rashidun Caliphate before it − eventually fell. This time, it was overthrown by the Abbasids during the reign of Marwan ibn Muhammad in the year 132 AH / 750 AD (Sharabi & Hadeel, 2010, p. 278).

The cunning of Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan and his companion Amr ibn al-As played a significant role in the formation of the Umayyad State, aided by ambitious and adventurous figures such as Al-Mughira ibn Shu'ba and Ziyad ibn Abih. Wellhausen mentions in this context: "Among the governors of Iraq during Muawiya's time, alongside those previously mentioned, according to the narrations of Abu Ma'shar and al-Waqidi, Abdullah ibn Khalid ibn Asid governed Kufa in the year 53 AH, al-Dahhak ibn Qays al-Fihri in the year 55 AH, Abdul Rahman ibn Umm al-Hakam al-Thaqafi in the year 58 AH, Abdullah ibn Umar ibn Ilan in the year 54 AH, and Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad in the year 55 AH. Ubayd Allah was harsher than his father on the Kharijites of Basra, to the point that even the moderate ones among them held a grudge against him" (Wellhausen, 1968, p. 127).

As for the Levant, it was under Muawiya's personal rule: "Muawiya was wise enough to maintain their enthusiasm and zeal, although by lineage he was closer to Qays than to others, and the tribal conflicts of that era had not yet taken the form of the malicious disputes between political parties" (Wellhausen, 1968, p. 127).

Muawiya's caliphate lasted for a full nineteen years, from 41 AH until his death in 60 AH. Mahmoud Shaker considers that Muawiya's rise to power restructured the Islamic state, ending chaos and conflict, and thwarting the enemies' hopes of regaining their lost positions. At the same time, "he directed the Muslim forces outward, where jihad resumed and conquests took place, particularly dashing the Romans' hopes of reclaiming the territories they had lost" (Shaker, 1991, p. 84). It can be affirmed that the regions the Umayyad armies targeted for conquest during Muawiya's rule were vast, both east and west.

After a series of alliances, battles, and much bloodshed, Muawiya passed power to his son Yazid, thereby shifting the method of succession from a consultative to a hereditary system. Despite the Umayyad state's achievements in expansion, political conflicts ultimately led to its downfall, following a series of revolts by their opponents.

According to some perspectives: "If Muawiya was the founder of the Umayyad rule and the one who set its policies, then Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan was the one who organized and structured it with its details, branches, and hierarchy. He was the statesman who established the Umayyad rule

on detailed, organized foundations" (Al-Ish, 1985, p. 227). Yusuf Al-Ish summarizes Abd al-Malik's theory of governance by stating: "Adherence to power and sovereignty, exclusivity, and autocracy. The caliph is the authority whose commands cannot be challenged or disputed, and if anyone opposes, the sword is at their neck" (Al-Ish, 1985, p. 288).

Most studies we referred to indicate that during this period, government records were translated into Arabic, and Iraq and the Levant were unified: "The people of the Levant decisively overcame the Hijaz during the era of Abd al-Malik, and it seemed that the Levant also dominated Iraq, as Iraq pledged allegiance to the Umayyad caliph. However, in reality, the Umayyad state did not fully control Iraq, as resentment against the Umayyads simmered beneath the surface. The tendencies and inclinations of Iraq only revealed themselves suddenly, with rebellion brewing in the hearts of the people, then bursting into flames when least expected" (Al-Ish, 1985, p. 210).

The Umayyad state was ruled by great men, such as Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz, who was nicknamed the "Fifth of the Rightly Guided Caliphs." Despite his reign being brief, lasting only two years, his impact on the people was significant. He was known for his justice, piety, and wise policies. He reorganized the treasury, stopped the practice of cursing Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib, halted the distribution of gifts to the Umayyads, and restored rights to the Alawites, Christians, and others. In short, he initiated a major reform movement (Al-Ish, 1985, p. 264). However, the conflicts between the Arab tribes, particularly the Qays and Yaman factions, weakened the state. The uprisings of non-Arabs, along with the Abbasid movement, ultimately led to the downfall of the Umayyad state. Although Abd al-Rahman al-Dakhil managed to establish an Umayyad state in al-Andalus, the Umayyad rule in the east ended dramatically and permanently during the reign of Marwan, known as "the Donkey," in the year 132 AH/750 CE.

Although the period during which they ruled the Muslims was extremely challenging—marked by internal and external difficulties, including sectarian, political, and ethnic conflicts, as well as the dangerous expansion efforts undertaken by the state on various fronts, both East and West—this ultimately worked in favor of the Umayyads despite the many political errors of their rule. They sought to present a model of governance that differed from the Rashidun model, or rather, a new model that responded to the new stage Muslims had reached due to their interaction with the peoples they conquered and the states they encountered. Therefore, we find them establishing new forms of governance, the most significant of which are:

The ruler assumes power through succession, followed by a formal pledge of allegiance, which can be done through legitimate or illegitimate means. Although the Umayyads recognized the pledge as a means of confirming and legitimizing their rule, it was largely a formal process.

−The Umayyads borrowed administrative structures from the Persians and even the Romans, establishing offices and appointing chamberlains.

−The ruler had absolute authority, appointing and dismissing governors and military leaders at will.

−The Umayyads organized the treasury, postal system, Arabized the administrative offices, and minted coins.

−They made the leadership exclusively Arab.

−The Umayyads held the position of caliph exclusively within their family, excluding other Muslims from this role.

−They divided the state into many provinces due to its vastness and appointed governors over them.

− Most of the territories conquered by Muslims, especially in Asia and Africa, were during the Umayyad period.

Thus, we can say that the Umayyads established a system of governance that was fundamentally different in form from the Rashidun model. They introduced new methods for selecting rulers and exercising authority, and they adopted the administrative systems of the Persians and Romans. This allowed them to make comprehensive changes to the state's systems, enabling a transition from the

simple Rashidun state, which governed the Arabs and part of the non-Arabs, to a modern, integrated state encompassing diverse nations and peoples.

3.2. Philosophy of Mixed Rule (The Abbasid State)

The Umayyad state lasted until the arrival of the Abbasids, who governed the Muslims for many centuries as the heirs of the Hashimites. According to Muhammad al-Khidr Bek, the idea that authority rightfully belonged to the descendants of Abbas ibn Abd al-Muttalib, rather than the descendants of Ali ibn Abi Talib, began to emerge after the death of Ali ibn al-Husayn. He explains this as follows: "The eldest son of Abbas was Ali ibn Abdullah ibn Abbas, from whom the Abbasids descended. He had left the Hijaz and settled in al-Humayma, which had been established by the Umayyads and where he was placed by Al-Walid ibn Abd al-Malik. The idea of transferring the caliphate to the descendants of Abbas began with this Ali. It is said that when Abu Hashim ibn Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib was nearing death, he was residing in al-Humayma with his cousins and bequeathed his share of the caliphate to Ali and his children, and entrusted his guardianship to them. Thus, the Kaysanite Shiites sided with Ali ibn Abdullah ibn Abbas" (Bek, 2003, p. 15).

Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Abdullah ibn Abbas described the political divisions and the political allegiance map of the Muslim lands in his time with great precision. He said: "As for Kufa and its surrounding region, they are Shiites loyal to Ali and his children. As for Basra, it is Othmanic, adhering to the principle of restraint, saying: 'Be like Abdullah the murdered, not like Abdullah the murderer.' As for the Jazira, it is composed of Harurians, renegades, Bedouins like rough men, and Muslims with the morals of Christians. As for the people of Syria, they recognize only the family of Abu Sufyan and the obedience to the Banu Marwan, with entrenched enmity and accumulated ignorance. As for Mecca and Medina, they are dominated by Abu Bakr and Umar.

"But you should go to Khorasan, for there are many people there with visible strength and resilience. There are sound minds and empty hearts that have not been swayed by passions or divided by deceit. They are soldiers with bodies, frames, shoulders, and heads; with beards and mustaches, with powerful voices and grand languages emerging from repulsive throats. After this, I am optimistic about the east and the rising place of the world's lantern and the lamp of creation

The Umayyad rule lasted for a long period, but conflict once again escalated and took on new dimensions. The unrest did not subside, and acceptance of the Umayyads' legitimacy was never final but rather temporary, as indeed occurred. The conflict between Arab factions (Qaysi and Yemeni) intensified, as did the struggle between Arabs and Persians. The undeniable truth is that the revolution against the Umayyads never ceased.

The call for the Ahl al-Bayt returned with even greater strength and vigor, and these advocates, with the support of the Persians, succeeded in overthrowing the Umayyad state and establishing the Abbasid state. What distinguished this state, and what roles did it play in Islamic history?

The hereditary system established by Muawiya continued as the sole method of transferring power under the Abbasids, with authority passing from father to son or to the closest heir through the position of crown prince. However, this system was not free from conflicts and struggles; for example, a war erupted between the two sons of Harun al-Rashid: al-Amin and al-Ma'mun (Brockelmann, 1949, p. 110).

Although the caliph was an Arab, Qurashi, Hashimi from the Banu Abbas, four groups controlled the power, listed in order: the Persians, the Turks, the Buyids, and the Seljuks. It is worth noting that the establishment of the Abbasid state led to major massacres against the Umayyads; for example, the Umayyad caliph Marwan was killed, as was Sulayman ibn Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik (Kalisky, 1986, pp. 145-161).

We can say that the Abbasid era was when Islamic civilization was fully realized, due to its advancements in various fields of life.

−The translation movement developed in various fields of arts, literature, science, and philosophy.

−The development of Islamic theological and political sects (Mu'tazilites, Ash'arites, Murji'ites, Shi'ites, Khawarij).

−The emergence of major jurisprudential schools.

Despite all that has been said about this era, the tragic end of the Abbasid state at the hands of the Mongols, and the betrayals and massacres that accompanied it, was merely a logical outcome of the division among Muslims, the proliferation of sects and doctrines, and the inability of the Abbasid caliphs to manage the caliphate and the state effectively. Based on the above, we can summarize the nature of the philosophy of governance during this period, or rather under the Abbasids, as follows:

− At the top of the hierarchy of power is the ruler or caliph; He who held the powers and performed his duties to the fullest, and was sworn in through a formal oath (Iben, 2013, p. 416).

− The caliph is assisted in governing the state by ministers.

In addition to the above, there are judges and governors, as well as military leaders; each of these played a role in fulfilling their duties.

− Power continued to be hereditary under the Abbasids, confined to the House of Abbas and not extended beyond it. The oath of allegiance was similar in form to that of the Umayyads, unlike the practice during the Rashidun era.

− Shura (consultation) as a means of political practice was not binding on the ruler, even if he sought it.

− Abbasid caliphs shared power at various stages with military leaders, many of whom established their own emirates and were given the title of sultans. At times, the caliph in Baghdad had only nominal control over the capital, while the provinces were merely nominally under his authority.

− Sultans intervened in the appointment of caliphs, and even went so far as to kill or depose them as they wished.

With all that has been mentioned, iit can be said that there were similarities between the governance systems of the Abbasids and the Umayyads. However, there were significant changes in political organization due to new social dynamics and the evolving role of the state, transitioning into a global power that brought together the major ethnic groups of the time.

3.3. Philosophy of Foreign Rule (Ottoman Empire)

The last major Sunni state that unified the Muslims was the Ottoman Empire. It managed to extend Islam as far as the gates of Vienna, the capital of Austria, and defended the lands of Muslims in both the West and the East for many centuries. However, the empire also experienced decline after its balance of power shifted with both external and internal enemies. This shift allowed European countries to exploit the situation and begin dividing its territories. Consequently, the crown jewel of these territories, Algeria, fell into French hands in 1830.

The fall of its territories continued sequentially until the empire itself fell in 1923, at the hands of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, after losing World War I. Concerning the origins of this state, Zain al-Abidin Shams al-Din Najm says: "The adoption of Islam by the Ottoman Turks had a clear impact on their lives. Islam became the official religious doctrine since Prince Osman, who was passionate about his religious belief and ruled with profound faith and simplicity in religion, adhering his rule to the counsel of Muslim jurists. He sought justice among his subjects. Additionally, Islam instilled in the Ottomans a sense of doctrinal unity and a fervent religious feeling, which ignited their hearts with a passionate desire to spread and defend Islam" (Najm, p. 26). Regarding the extent of this state, it included vast areas across the three major continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe: "Its conquests extended to the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, and the state and the nation were named after Osman" (Najm, p. 30). In this context, some historians believe that this state went through three major historical phases during its formation and development (Najm, pp. 34-35).

− Phase of Formation: This extends from the establishment of the emirate in Anatolia until the death of Sultan Bayezid II.

− Phase of Expansion in the Arab-Islamic World: This begins with the start of expansion into Europe during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent and continues until the halt of the conquests.

The Ottoman Empire fell after its defeat in World War I, at the hands of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who announced the establishment of the Turkish Republic as a replacement for the Ottoman state. Regarding the nature of the ruling system, it can be summarized as follows (Brockelmann, 1949, pp. 218-289):

‒ At the Head of Power: The Sultan or Caliph holds all powers and appoints individuals to high positions within the state.

‒ Hereditary Authority: Power is hereditary, passing among the members of the Osman family, and there is usually both a Sultan and a Crown Prince.

‒ The Oath of Allegiance (Bay'ah): While present, it does not differ in value and status from that during the Abbasid and Umayyad periods, and it is not free.

‒ Directly after the Sultan came the Prime Minister, known as the Grand Vizier (Sadrazam), who held a prominent position.

‒ Sheikh al-Islam: He was responsible for matters related to religion and doctrine, among other things.

‒ Military Leaders: They played a significant role in establishing and expanding the state.

‒ Provinces: The state was divided into provinces with self-governance, including Algeria, which controlled the Mediterranean Sea and enjoyed autonomy in all matters, to the extent of forming a parallel state.

‒ Ottoman Administration: The Ottoman Empire focused its administration and power on the non-Arab element, specifically the Turks.

Thus, we can say that the great Sunni state that ruled the Islamic world, or at least large parts of it, was closely linked to Islam, defending it, striving to spread and protect it. How could it not be, as it was primarily a Muslim state, even though it encompassed various races and religions known at the time. This can be noted through examining the major Sunni states previously mentioned.

The term "Arab State" can be applied to the Rashidun and Umayyad periods, based on the composition of power; it was Arab in ethnicity, even though its citizens were Muslims of various nationalities.

‒ The Abbasid State: Represented the ethnic diversity of society, being Arab in its leadership but with non-Arab elements in its administration. Despite the caliph being an Arab Quraishite, those in control were from non-Arab nationalities.

‒ The Ottoman State: Was entirely non-Arab, with the Arab element under Ottoman control.

In addition to the above, other Sunni states emerged, but they were not as significant as the major states previously mentioned.

4. Philosophy of Rule in Major Shia States

When examining the political history of the Shia, we find that this group, throughout its long history, did not remain on the sidelines but was always active. They did not resign themselves to the loss of power by the Hashimites following Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan's political victory after Hasan ibn Ali relinquished power. Instead, they continued their struggle to establish a state that reflected their political beliefs.

Thus, early on, they sought to revolutionize against the Umayyads, adopting various forms, some of which were overtly revolutionary, while others were secretive, based on the principle of taqiyya. Despite the major sacrifices they made and the severe blows they suffered, their strong will and their insistence on what they saw as their rightful claims led them to return stronger and more resolute after every setback.

The Iraqi thinker Jawad Ali, in his book The Expected Mahdi According to the Twelver Shia, discusses the political principles of the Shia, stating: "The fundamental principle that distinguishes Shia from other Muslims is the idea of Imamate, i.e., religious-political leadership. The Imamate and its holder are appointed solely by God through His Prophet. The authority of the Imam encompasses the entire earth, as he rules it without limits, because God has entrusted him with its affairs. Everything on it and above it, whether it is a mineral, a forest, or an animal, whether on land

or at sea, belongs to the Imam, and he is entitled to one-fifth of what people earn from their work" (Ali, 2007, p. 13).

According to Shia belief, Imamate is a fundamental principle of religion, akin to Prophethood. It is stated in the book Al-Kafi: "Imamate is the station of the Prophets and the inheritance of the Successors. Imamate is the vicegerency of God and the vicegerency of the Prophet. Imamate is the guide of religion, the system of Muslims, the welfare of the world, and the honor of the believers. Imamate is the foundation of growing Islam and its exalted branch. Through Imamate, the completeness of prayer, almsgiving, fasting, pilgrimage, and the distribution of booty and charity, the enforcement of legal penalties, and the protection of borders are achieved. The Imam makes lawful what God has made lawful and forbids what God has made forbidden, establishes the limits set by God, and defends the religion of God" (Subhi, 1991, p. 25).

According to historical records, Shia political influence was not confined to a specific area of the Islamic world. Instead, it extended both east and west, thus appearing in the Maghreb and the Mashriq, either simultaneously or at different times.

4.1. Philosophy of Governance in the Fatimid State

The Fatimid state represents an important chapter in Islamic political history in general and Shia history in particular. Regardless of the criticisms and discussions about it, it clearly embodied Shia political thought. Regarding its origins, it emerged in the Maghreb, where "the allegiance to 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi was taken in Sijilmasa... Then he left Sijilmasa – after residing there for forty days – heading towards Ifriqiya with a grand procession of soldiers... When he approached Raqada, its people, and those of Kairouan, welcomed him. He then settled in one of the palaces of Raqada... and made it his capital... Thus, the Fatimid Caliphate was established in North Africa" (Mira sif Elkendi, pp. 372-402).

In the second phase, the leadership of this state moved to Egypt during the reign of al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah al-Fatimi, who sent his military commander, Jawhar al-Siqilli, to build the city of Cairo, including the Al-Azhar Mosque. Jawhar was able to integrate Egypt into the Fatimid realm: "Jawhar laid the foundation of the city he intended to build north of Fustat on the night of 17 Ramadan 358 AH, and on the following night, he laid the foundation of the palace he built for his master al-Mu'izz" (Sourour, p. 68).

The Fatimid state had political relations with the Abbasid state in Baghdad and was involved in a struggle for influence, particularly due to the differing sects: Sunni in Baghdad and Shia in Cairo, as well as the Abbasid and Fatimid claims to lineage.

4.2. Philosophy of Governance in the Safavid State:

The Safavid state is considered one of the largest Shia states in history. In terms of its lineage, studies have indicated that: "The Safavid family is one of the influential Sufi families, with followers spread across Iran and the Ottoman territories... This family can be considered the heir to the Shia Sabzavari movement. Despite its Sufism, it was known for its Shia inclinations and its tendency to intervene in politics.

All of this crystallized in the personality of Safi ad-Din, the leader of the family. Its brilliance and subsequent success in forming a strong political entity were indebted to the cultural and social conditions, where Sufism enjoyed sacredness in Iranian society, particularly in the period following the Mongol invasion of Iran. This situation allowed Sufism to become a political force capable of building a powerful entity and a great state" (Al-Sayyid, 2005, p. 22).

It is worth noting that with the emergence of this state and its adoption of the Shia political doctrine, a significant transformation occurred: "In the relationship between the jurist and the authority. The Safavids, who sought to distinguish themselves and assert their spiritual authority over the Sunni Ottoman state, established their model state on a religious basis that supported the political concepts of Shia doctrine and worked towards its objectives, most notably the establishment of a Shia state. This could only be achieved with the participation of the Imam's representative (the jurist), which brought the issue of the relationship between the jurist and the authority back with different dimensions" (Al-Nuaimi, 2010, pp. 22-23).

This state besieged the Ottomans and engaged in conflicts and wars with them at times, one of the most famous being the Battle of Chaldiran, which, according to historians, took place in 920 AH and ended with an Ottoman victory. However, the wars did not stop; on the contrary, the conflict continued for decades, although some periods included peace agreements (Al-Sayyid, 2005, p. 43).

However, this state faced internal divisions and conflicts between the various nationalities that comprised it. Additionally, "the war waged by scholars and jurists against Sufi thought destabilized this entity, which carried a contradiction against Islamic law" (Al-Sayyid, 2005, p. 287). The state fell after a rule lasting two hundred and thirty years.

From the above, we can say that the Shia, as a political faction, established several states throughout its political history, whether these states were Zaydi, Twelver, or Ismaili. These states sought to implement their vision of the political and religious system. Some succeeded in lasting for decades, even centuries, but eventually fell due to various factors, the most prominent of which is the Shia-Sunni conflict. This conflict continues to cause divisions, benefiting the real enemies of Muslims. Instead of agreeing that this dual conflict will not lead to the elimination of one side and the sweeping and final victory of the other, and even if such a victory were to occur, it would only be temporary, further widening the wound rather than healing it.

Conclusion

From the above, we can say that most Islamic political parties have established states, each reflecting the vision of their religious and political doctrine, attempting to bridge intellectual vision and political application. However, it is noticeable that despite the varying systems of government – Sunni, Shia, – these were all governed by political dynasties that inherited power, with a singular method of succession, and they failed to recreate the original experience known during the era of the Rashidun Caliphs.

This leads us to note that most of the conflicts that emerged among them were fueled by power struggles and a desire for leadership, relying on verbal and jurisprudential arguments to justify their political visions. Here, we are faced with political systems that are similar in form but different in essence.

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ملخص البحث:

تناقش هذه الورقة مسألة مهمة في الفلسفة السياسية،فرغم تاريخانيتها فإن لها امتدادات راهنية، مما يعطيها أهمية وقيمة، لا تسقط بالتقادم، سواء من جهة البحث العلمي، أو حتى من ناحية تأثيرها على حياة المسلمين، سواء في الماضي والحاضر وحتى في المستقبل. ونقصد بها الأشكال أو التجليات التي اتخذتها الدولة في منظار العقل السياسي تنظيرا وتمثلا، بدأ من الدولة النبوية، مرورا بمختلف تجليات الدولة التقليدية في عنصريها : السني والشيعي.

ذلك أن تأثيراتها الخطيرة ، في حياة المسلمين، تتطلب إعادة فهمها، فهما يتوافق مع روح العصر من جهة، وحقائق الإسلام وتجاربه السياسية من جهة أخرى،وهو ما يقود للتساؤل حول طبيعة هذه الدولة ووظيفتها، بعيدا عن التصورات المثالية، التي لا توجد إلا في عقول أصحابها، وليس في منظور العقل السياسي الإسلامي، الذي تكون عبر محطات تاريخية مهمة، مستعينا بتجارب ذاتية، وأخرى خارجية.

لذا فإن هذه الدراسة تسعى لطرح تساؤل رئيس يتعلق بالكيفية التي تجلت بها هذه الدولة في العقل السياسي ، وعلاقة ذلك بمرجعيتها الأساسية المتمثلة في الإسلام، ومدى توافقها مع التجارب البشرية سواء تلك التي سبقتها أو عاصرتها.

الكلمات الدالة : التجليات، الدولة في الإسلام .التقليدي، الوظيفية.