

A Comparison of the Four Schools of Islamic Political Philosophy

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Research Article



Abstract

The present study aims at a systematic comparison of the four schools of the Islamic political philosophy. To explain and recognize the epistemic identity of each of the philosophical schools, we first investigated its methodical and epistemic approach, then its religious nature and its link with monotheistic worldview and Islamic doctrines, which are important in understanding and recognizing the truth and identity of a school of political philosophy, were the focus of attention. The results showed that the methodological issue is the first point of distinction between those four philosophical schools. While the peripatetic school stresses on argumentative method, Suhrawardi's school accepts argumentation along with the method of illuminative (ishrāqī) intuition. The transcendental philosophy goes further and makes the rational, mystical, illuminative and theological approaches its foundations. And the philosophy of Islamic revolution deepens all abovementioned methodic approaches to employ new concrete and innovative methods. Comparing the four abovementioned schools in their political lines showed their fundamental distinctions in

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three important issues, i.e. necessity of social life, necessity of politics and policy-making, and necessity of state and government, in a way that persuaded the author to accept the theory of independent political philosophy of Islamic Revolution.

Keywords

peripatetic political philosophy, illuminative political philosophy, transcendental political philosophy, political philosophy of the Islamic Revolution, Islamic political philosophy.

Introduction

In the revelational and Quranic literature, all genetic and legislative pillars of religion are attributed to ḥikmat (meaning wisdom), understanding rightly, and right perception of truths in accordance with definite argumentation. One of the epistemic disciplines that, in the Islamic framework, entered the arenas of thinking, discovering the truths of existence and human being as well as the ultimate end of the system of creation was philosophy and wisdom. In that discipline, there were two theoretical approach (existences outside the human's will) and practical approach (intelligible things inside the limits of human's will). And in its practical section, the social and political spheres of religion served as the third pillar of Islamic philosophy so that the 'political wisdom of Islam' and 'political philosophy of Islam' emerged in the spheres of knowledge and politics. Approximate reading of peripatetic political philosophy, represented by Farabi, illuminative political philosophy, represented by Suhrawardi, transcendental political philosophy, represented by Mulla Sadra, and political philosophy of Islamic Revolution, represented by Imam Khomeini is the mission of this study in understanding their capacities and achievements as well as their common points and differences in their general policies.

By political philosophy in this article, we mean the rational and philosophical approach to basic issues of politics, power, state and social life. The feature of such an explanation is that it does not alter in the light of social evolutions, because the [main] concern of the political philosophy is explanation of innate, essential and perpetual needs of human beings and human societies with the best political life and transcendental ends. Explanations and prescriptions of political philosophy with rational and argumentative method lead us to truths, in the form of true propositions free from features of external time and place.

The perfect philosophy in the framework of Islam is the title for the

collection of strong and definite theoretical and practical doctrines acquired through the assistance from the three sources of reason, revelation and refinement, with no doubt and deviation in them. These doctrines are based on demonstrative, illuminative and mystical arguments, and create some knowledgeability and sagacity for the wise people. The Quran's philosophical approach has been running throughout the religious doctrines, and there is no law, plan or thought opposing wisdom in the epistemic, doctrinal and practical foundations of religion. In many of its verses, the Quran advises the people of knowledge and reason, in various fields of life, to contemplate on the wise verses and make them the foundations of their thought and practice. Based on the same logic, the Muslim sages and philosophers have done their best to explain religion through rational and demonstrative methods. The presupposition of this article is that all four schools of political philosophy have been formed, more or less, under the idea of Quranic philosophy. But they have some distinctions in the four following cases, which makes their comparison important.

1. Methods of explaining political philosophy;
2. Their relationships with religion and divine worldview as well as the epistemic foundations of Islam;
3. The way reality and mentality are linked;
4. Their political scope and extension.

The requisite for comparison based on the comparative method of the four abovementioned schools organized the structure of this study in two sections: "The epistemic identity of the Islamic schools of political philosophy" and "The reading of political extension of the Islamic philosophical schools".

1. The epistemic identity of the Islamic schools of political philosophy

1-1. The epistemic identity of the peripatetic political philosophy.

The peripatetic philosophy, in an a posteriori definition, is a philosophy

inspired by Greek doctrines and rebuilt in the Islamic world by Farabi. Avicenna completed it and Khaja Nasir revived it. It is sometimes called 'argumentative philosophy' and 'controversial wisdom' as opposed to intuitive, illuminative and transcendental philosophies. It is based on demonstrative thought and rational argumentation (Berenjkar, 2018, p. 82). The difference between the Islamic peripatetic philosophy and its Greek ancestor is that it has been organized in interaction with Islamic principles and divine teachings. Farabi could – by making Islamic issues the foundations, the ultimate end and multiplying them (Mohajernia, 2023, p. 52) – conform Aristotle's active intellect to the angel of revelation, the ruling philosopher to the prophet and imam, the agentive cause to God, the utopia to the Prophet's Medina, the utopian nation to Islam, the ultimate end to the Paradise, the punishment to the Sharia law, the citizens' behavior to virtue, and turn the eternal and originated beings to Necessary Being and possible being to conform them to the sacred divine essence and all beings other than God (Mohajernia, 2001, p. 14). The Greek political philosophy could readily harmonize itself with the Islamic thought and link itself with the Islamic theoretical philosophy, establishing its relationship with the Greek philosophy at the level of rational rules and demonstrative principles. Farabi explicitly proclaims that: "Our following Aristotle in expositing his writings at the level of general rules and laws does not mean that we even imitate his statements and examples and be apparently his followers. This is what stupid persons do." (Farabi, 1986c, p. 68). Farabi's civil wisdom and philosophy is sometimes divided into three sections of self-management, management of the house, and management of cities (Farabi, 1325b, pp. 66-67). Sometimes, they are divided into two types:

"Civil philosophy is of two types: the first type is the one with which the person acquires knowledge of nice actions, the morality from which nice actions are issued, and the power to acquire causes for them, and through which we possess nice

things. This type is called ‘character technique’ (ṣinā‘at al-khulqīyya). And the second type includes knowing things for people of cities and power to acquire and preserve them for those people, which is called ‘political philosophy’”. (Farabi, 1992, p. 66).

1-2. The epistemic identity of the political philosophy of illumination

Suhrawardi’s Illuminative philosophy is a new reading of the Islamic peripatetic philosophy, which does not regard just argumentation and rational thinking sufficient for inquiry in philosophical issues and achieving truth of the universe and knowledge in accordance with reality. Rather, it considers wayfaring by heart and struggling and refinement of the soul as essential tools in discovering the truths. Suhrawardi claimed that only through a compound method of demonstration, intuition and mysticism, one can achieve the truth of Islam. He mentions the philosophers of that school as ‘divine philosophers skillful in theology and discussion’ (Suhrawardi, 2009, pp. 23-24) who make use of both methods of theology, that is mystical intuition and argumentation. The most important distinction between the Illuminative philosophy and Peripatetic philosophy is in the fact that in the Illumination school, the mystical and intuitive methods are used, in addition to rational demonstration, for accessing the truth of the Quranic knowledge. Thus, the philosopher arrives at truths higher than what the logical thought arrives at. In the beginning of *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq*, Suhrawardi writes, “Before writing this book, I had composed works based on the peripatetic school and had stated its philosophical rules (Suhrawardi, 1993, vol. 1, p. 2), but this book (*Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq*) has another style. In this method, the facts are not initially acquired through thinking; rather, they are achieved through inner austerities and mortifications. They then become argumentative and the intuitive knowledge turns into acquired knowledge to be transferrable to others” (Suhrawardi, 2018, p. 18). Among the features of the Illumination philosophy is making use of

religious concepts and Quranic knowledge in explaining the rational and philosophical knowledge. He asserts in *al-Alwāḥ al 'Imādiya*, “In this book, I have brought some of the delicate and strange points of knowledge, and based on rational foundations, I have presented arguments for them. Then, I have adduces the Quranic verses as evidence for them” (Suhrawardi, 2018, p. 20). And in the discussions related to the soul and origin and resurrection, he has adduced many Quranic verses in that book. The method of discussion in the philosophy of Illumination is based on three pillars:

1. Refinement of the soul and inner purification, and acquisition of intuitive knowledge;
2. Rational thinking and argumentation, and acquisition of demonstrative knowledge;
3. Adducing the Quranic verses and traditions, and strengthening convictional knowledge.

He divides wisdom into two sections: theoretical and practical. In defining the practical wisdom, he says, “What belongs to our actions”, or the knowledge that is related to the humans’ willful actions and is divided into three sections: dispositional (*khulqī*), domestic (*manzilī*) and civil (*madanī*) (Suhrawardi, 1993, vol. 1, p. 3). Then, in defining civil (political) wisdom, he says, “The civil wisdom is the knowledge wherein the collective participation and interaction with other humans on the earth is discussed with the aim of continuing the life of the human species.”

1-3. The epistemic identity of the transcendental political philosophy

‘*The Transcendental Philosophy in the Four Rational Journeys*’¹ is the title of the most comprehensive philosophical work written by Mulla Sadra. Before him, this title was used by Avicenna (370-428 AH).

1. Al-Ḥikmat al-Muta‘āliya fil-Asfār al-‘Aqliya al-Arba‘a.

Mulla Sadra's prominent characteristic, apart from generating many philosophical opinions, was innovations in the peripatetic method of argumentation and intuitive method of illumination, both of which he employed in his own philosophical method, used for expositing the Quran and the traditions. The opinions of transcendental philosophy – due to completing, accumulation and deepening of the two previous schools – have depth and, sometimes, superiorities, which will be dealt with in their specified place (Mohajernia, 2008, p. 128).

His efforts in harmonizing and conforming the intellect, the religious law and the mysticism are among the privileges of his school, and his philosophy gained more distinction through this. His innovations in discussions such as principality of existence, gradation in the truth of existence, substantial motion, and unity of the intelligent and the intelligible cause many innovations in resolving philosophical issues. According to his definition of philosophy, the transcendental philosophy is in the level of primary philosophy, and this feature has deprived it from a direct presentation of a widespread political philosophy, and needs theorization and reconstruction. Nevertheless, some who believe in the political philosophy based on transcendental philosophy maintain that Mulla Sadra's transcendental philosophy is one of the important foundations of Islamic Revolution (see: Afrough, 2012)

1-4. The epistemic identity of the political philosophy of Islamic Revolution

In line with the theoretical philosophy inspired by the source of Sharia and the three previous Islamic philosophical schools, a new school emerged that the author insists on introducing it with the independent title of “political philosophy of Islamic Revolution” (Mohajernia, 2022, pp. 25-48). This philosophy, proposed by the revolutionary philosopher Imam Khomeini in the contemporary world, was faithful to the monotheistic worldview and theoretical convergence with Muslims' previous philosophical schools, and has some basic parameters and

distinctions in the sphere of practical philosophy, just as it has fundamental distinctions from the modern political philosophies. This political philosophy entered the human's lifeworld with some concerns and began to judge, with a rational attitude, the desirable and undesirable elements of the political life. While using the previous philosophical traditions, it could – for the first time in today's world – reconcile the metaphysics with the nature not to enchain the political life in the predicaments of the inflexible philosophical demonstrations of peripatetic school, the personal illuminative and mystical intuitions, and the transcendental theoretical truths. It opened a new way in managing the human's political life so that it may be neither entangled in modern secularism and atheist rationality based on the *a posteriori* social convention and contract, nor may it be imprisoned in the spiral of general truths. This political philosophy prepared the ground for uprising and revolutionary evolutionist movement based on the divine traditions in the universe and a belief in human's divine nature, using the rational method of previous philosophers and by establishing a link between the monotheistic worldview and Islamic anthropology on the one hand, and the external realities on the other hand. Such an approach in the tyrant-stricken society under the governance of kings and subject to the storm of atheistic thoughts as well as the modern technologies could prepare the ground for belief in religion and lead a nation to the sphere of evolutionism and struggle with oppression by instilling practical sciences such as political theology and political jurisprudence. The features of seeking truth, foundationalism, idealism along with realism, and political extension as well as normative approach and rationalism are among the important parameters of political philosophy of Islamic Revolution. In comparing it to the three Islamic schools of political philosophy, we will deal with some of those parameters. What makes this political philosophy prominent, in addition to using rational methods, is founding philosophy and wisdom on the two bases of

epistemic foundations and Islamic worldview as well as linking it with the realities of life and the lifeworld of the pious people in the modern world.

2. The reading of the political extension of the Islamic philosophical schools

Comparing the four abovementioned schools, with the aim to identify their similar and different points and, naturally, showing the scientific capacities and epistemic evolutions of the four schools, are among the fundamental issues of the Islamic political philosophy. Comparison in various levels of origins, tenets, sources, issues in the micro and macro forms, and in various conceptual forms in one article is not possible. Thus, to observe brevity, we used the comparative method to investigate the political extension of the four abovementioned schools regarding the most fundamental concern of the political philosophy, i.e. the whatness of society, politics and government.

2-1. The necessity of human's social life

Knowing the individual and society and the relationship between them is among the fundamental concerns of the philosophy of politics. Principality of individual or society, necessity of preserving and survival of species, human's dispositional civility or innate civil nature, human's existential deficiency in individuality, humans' need for employing others, and internal attraction and natural association with groups have been considered by political philosophers throughout history. Aristotle, the pioneer of peripatetic philosophers, believed that the man – due to his nature – is leaning towards community and politics. Individuals, even when they do not need one another, are willing to live together. Nevertheless, a common interest gather human beings together in proportion to their efforts (Aristotle, 2011, p. 116). The Muslim peripatetic philosophers have paid attention to this idea and have

proposed various theories on humans' dispositional civility. Some consider its dispositional nature as innate and inherent without will and awareness, while others consider it as willful. Some view humans as civil by emergency and some consider it as a rational choice. Some consider its origin to be employment and some negate such a nature in human beings, insisting on the individual nature (Mohajernia, 2001, pp. 191-201). Farabi maintained that material and spiritual perfections are possible only in the light of community. He maintained that three elements of 'innate nature', 'perfectionism', and 'material instinct' are basic causes for collective life and referred to the appellation of human as 'associative and civil animal' (*ḥaywān al-insī* and *ḥaywān al-Madanī*) because of this fact (Farabi, 1982, pp. 61-62). Suhrawardi considers the humans' natural poverty and writes: "The Exalted God made anyone in need of others... and the life in loneliness is not possible except with assistance from others of human species... so that with their community, assistance and participation, the collective works are organized. Thus, they became needy because of community, in order of town and cities and rising to interests and conditions of what is needed in land and cities" (Suhrawardi, 1993, vol. 3, pp. 75, 453). By stressing on the fact that 'the man is naturally civil' (Mulla Sadra, 1975, p. 488; 1981a, pp. 359-360), like two other philosophers before him, argues for the necessities of sociability. He says, "No doubt, it is not possible for the man to achieve the perfection for which he has been created unless in great communities wherein he assists others in what they need, and all what are necessary in human's achieving to perfection and maturity are gathered" (Mulla Sadra, 1975, p. 560). Thus, while considering the dispositional nature of 'social life' for human beings, he regards it essential for his perfection. He says:

"God has managed items for both individual survival and the survival of the human species in agreement with humans' social nature. For human's personal survival, He has created food, housing, clothes, etc. and deposited desire and proclivity towards

them innately in him, while preparing the tools for achieving them. And for survival of human species, He has created things such as marriage, transactions and orders of presidency and servitude, creating proclivity to them in all human beings so that they preserve their species thereby. Thus, the man is not self-sufficient neither in his own existence nor in his survival, because ‘the man is naturally civil; his life is not organized except through community, civilization and cooperation’ (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, pp. 359-360).

Thus, the man is naturally civil and his subsistence is not ordered save through civilization and cooperation; and if there was just one man in the world, he would die because he could not fulfill all his needs (Mulla Sadra, 2004, vol. 9, p. 78). In his exposition of *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, Mulla Sadra writes, “It is known that if there was just one person like animals who do their works without others’ cooperation and assistance in proportion to their needs, he could not manage his affairs by himself. This is because he has to get help from others of his own species, who also get help from others of their own species. Thus, one plants for others and another one grinds for others, or bakes bread. One sews, another builds building, another forges and another transacts. This goes until all humans’ needs are fulfilled. And this is why they need to build cities and communities, do transactions and marry, and other forms of cooperation. In short, in his existence and survival, the man has to cooperate, and cooperation is not performed except with transactions and interactions; and they are not completed except with tradition and just laws (and just politics)” (Mulla Sadra, 1988, vol. 2, p. 377). In line with previous philosophers, the philosopher of Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, while presupposes the genetic nature of human civility, says, “Since the man is naturally civil, he needs – after transferring from individuality to community – laws according to which he adjusts the affairs pertaining to subsistence, selling, marriage, leasing and the like” (Imam Khomeini, 1979, vol. 1, p. 57).

The four philosophical schools stress on human's civil nature with an analytical-descriptive approach, and emphasize the necessity of social life using a normative method. Mulla Sadra introduces this world as the world of veil, ignorance, darkness, and in contrast to the hereafter. Nevertheless, he says, "And it is, however, inevitable, because it is the farm for the hereafter" (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, p. 372; 1981b, p. 115). The world is necessary and essential because of being an introduction of the hereafter. Thus, one of the important goals of dispatching so many prophets and revelation of the divine books is reforming the affairs pertaining to the subsistence of human beings and their worldly life, because the divine knowledge and the origin of the spiritual journey is prepared in this world. "And this is why preserving this world – which is the sensible world for the man – is also a necessary destination" (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, p. 372). Thus, the man must pass – to complete his journey towards God – through this station to be able to keep on his spiritual journey up to "the journey from God in God" and "from God to people" and reform the affairs of resurrection (Mulla Sadra, 1983a, p. 92).

The result of speaking in the sphere of the civil community is that all the four philosophical schools consider the man as naturally civil, and stress on social life for achieving the material and spiritual perfections.

Imam Khomeini says, "This world, which is the house of education and training and is the place for acquiring states and perfections and preparing the felicitous everlasting life, which is not possible without entering here, is the material world, the emblem of beauty and grandeur and the presence of absolute witness" (Imam Khomeini, 1997b, p. 121). Elsewhere, he says, "Since this low material world, though essentially imperfect and the last stage among the stages of existence, is the cradle of sacred souls and the house of exalted states and is the farm for the hereafter, it is among the best sanctuaries of existence and the dearest states of existence and the most invaluable world for the saints and the people of wayfaring. And if there were no material

matters and substantial natural changes and motions, and if the Exalted God did not dominate alterations over this world, none of the imperfect souls would achieve their promised perfection and their state of establishment and stability, and there would be a general imperfection in the material and immaterial worlds.” (Imam Khomeini, 1997b, pp. 120-121).

2-2. The necessity of politics and policy

Farabi has defined politics as management and applying the skill of ruling: “Politics is the practice of this profession” (Farabi, 1967, p. 54). He divides the public affairs of society into three sections: actions, habits and virtues. He considers the task of politics to be creation, preservation and management of those three willful sensible affairs of the city (Farabi, 1990, p. 6). This politics is acquired through ‘knowledge’ and ‘experience’. He calls the former way ‘the science of politics’ (Farabi, 1986b, p. 8) and ‘political philosophy’ (Farabi, 1992, p. 66). He considers it “studying the actions and behaviors as well as the outer and inner states of the society” (Farabi, 1986b, p. 8) so that through them “knowledge is acquired of things through which beauties are obtained for the people of the city and power of acquiring and preserving those beauties becomes possible for them” (Farabi, 1992, p. 66). This knowledge is at the disposal of three groups: (1) ‘the rulers’ who manage the cities with it; (2) ‘the agents’ who obey the rulers and rule as well; and (3) ‘the subordinates’ and citizens who just obey. The three groups enjoy that knowledge to manage their political tasks rightly (Mohajemia, 1998, pp. 243-260). Farabi calls the politics of the first group ‘*mihna mulkiya*’, ‘*ṣinā‘at mulkī*’, and ‘*ṣinā‘at madanī*’ (Farabi, 1931, p. 65); and he calls all of them ‘*siyāsāt madanī*’ (Farabi, 1971, p. 39) i.e. civil politics (Farabi, 1967, p. 54; 1971, p. 47). Due to being aware of that artifact, the rulers both deserve leadership and are able to enforce it: “The kingdom is kingdom through the royal profession, the artifact of city management, and the ability to use the royal artifact” (Farabi, 1967, p. 54; 1971, p. 47). Farabi considers the important application of politics and civil

knowledge in two important subjects of 'knowing power' (Farabi, 1967, p. 59) and 'knowing felicity' (Farabi, 1986a, p. 69; and Farabi, 1985, p. 59).

Farabi says that the civil science is a science that discusses various types of volitional acts and behaviors as well as moral habits and characters from which the actions and behaviors originate. It deals with goals for which those actions and behaviors are done, and states what habits are meritorious for human beings, how one can prepare the ground for accepting those habits by humans, and what ways should be pursued to fix those habits in humans. He also discusses the classification of the results for creating of which humans perform those actions and behaviors. He also states that some of those results are true felicity and some are thought to be felicity. (Farabi, 1971, p. 64).

Suhrawardi states the necessity of politics for social challenges and says, "The society is the place for conflict of benefits and struggles. Thus, it needs policy and management, i.e. enacting laws and enforcing them to be able to organize the collective life well" (Suhrawardi, 1993, vol. 3, p. 75; vol. 4, p. 248). In the society, because the benefits and blessings are limited and anyone wants them for himself – which leads to conflicts, corruption and anarchy – there must be laws in the civil society and must be implemented to hinder individuals' transgression and offenses and prepare the ground for material and spiritual welfare and comfort and perfection. In this way, any person will be committed to the demands of civil wisdom (Shahrouzi, 2006, vol. 1, pp. 509-510). Of course, this politics is divided into divine politics, the politics of virtuous and prominent people, and the politics of domineering persons (Shahrouzi, 2006, vol. 1, p. 511).

Mulla Sadra, the philosopher of Shiraz, establishes the artifact of politics both on volitional intelligible things and in the path of management of social expediencies. In *Shawāhid al-Rubūbiyya*, he says, "Politics is a motion starting from the particular soul based on good choice and individuals' selection to gather them around a

systematic axis and reform their community” (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, p. 365). He divides politics into human politics and divine politics, and considers divine politics as the collection of policies designed by the Holy Legislator for reforming the human’s social life: “Inevitably, the Legislator specifies a path for them to cover for organizing their worldly life” (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, p. 365). He considers the Shiite Imams as the true guardians of this politics. He says, “Inevitably, the prophet must be perfect in those affairs that pertain to the religious laws and politics” (Mulla Sadra, 1983b, p. 23). He calls this kind of politics *siyāsāt ‘ādila* or ‘just politics’ (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, p. 363), *siyāsāt qāhir* or ‘authoritative politics’ (Mulla Sadra, 1981b, p. 136), *siyāsāt ‘adl* or ‘politics of justice’ (Mulla Sadra, 1988, vol. 2, p. 377) and *qānūn ‘idalat* or ‘law of justice’ (Mulla Sadra, 1988, vol. 2, p. 377). The concept of human politics is the very selective policies of human beings for reformation of the society, which we previously defined. He emphasizes that the human politics must not be separated from the divine politics or the politics of Sharia. In *Sharḥ Uṣūl Kāfī*, under the philosophy of imamate, he says, “The man has to have participation in his existence and survival; and participation is not completed except through transaction. Transaction necessarily requires tradition and just law; and the tradition and justice necessarily needs just legislator. And they are not permitted to leave people with their opinions and passions to be led to disagreement so that anyone considers whatever is beneficial for him as justice and whatever is detriment to him as oppression” (Mulla Sadra, 1975, p. 501). He then says, “Organizing public affairs in a way that it leads to the reformation of their religious and worldly affairs needs presidency (politics) of all people in that affair” (Mulla Sadra, 1988, vol. 2, p. 463). Thus, this desirable politics means, for Mulla Sadra, management and reformation of the human society so that it may not be afflicted with anarchy and chaos in its path to perfection.

Unlike the conditions of time for the three previous philosophers, when the rulers and politicians pretended to have religion and politics

as accompaniments, in the time of the philosopher of Islamic Revolution (i.e. Imam Khomeini), the rulers were famous for their opposition to religion. Thus, he made the necessity of politics accompanied with its necessity from the religion's viewpoint and said, "I swear God that Islam is wholly politics. Islam has been introduced wrongly. The civil politics is originated from Islam" (Imam Khomeini, 2008a, vol. 1, pp. 104, 207). Elsewhere he says, "Islam is the religion of politics (with all the states that politics has). This point is revealed for anyone who has the least contemplation on the governmental, political, social and economic laws of Islam. Thus, anyone who thinks that religion is separated from politics has neither known religion nor politics" (Imam Khomeini, 2008a, vol. 1, p. 234).

For him, the nature of politics is leading the society towards righteousness and felicity. He says, "Politics is what leads the society and guides it, considering all expediencies of the society and all dimensions of the man and society, leading them towards what is to their benefit, the benefit of the nation and the benefit of individuals" (Imam Khomeini, 2008a, vol. 13, p. 43). In view of the reality of politics, he defines it as "the relationship between the ruler and the nation as well as the relationship between the ruler and other governments" (Imam Khomeini, 1999a, vol. 3, p. 227). He divides politics into three types as follows: 'evil corrupted politics', 'worldly animal politics', and 'divine Islamic politics' (Imam Khomeini, 1999, vol. 13, p. 432). He describes the evil politics with features including 'lying to people and pretending rightness', 'looting people's properties', 'dominating people's lives with tricks and cunning', 'trickery, artifice and deception', 'guile, insincerity and pretense', and 'despotism and dictatorship'. In Imam Khomeini's view, the worldly or animal politics, while it may appear positive in its goals and criteria, is just a physical and animal politics due to its concentration on human's physical and material dimensions. But his favorite politics is concentrated on fulfilling both material and spiritual needs of the

society and the worldly and otherworldly expediencies of human being, being free from any lies, deception, tricks, guiles, and other evil manifestations. “Implementing laws with the criterion of justice and fairness and preventing oppression and oppressive ruling, expanding individual and social justice, prohibiting corruption and vices and various types of deviation, and providing freedom must be on the basis of reason, justice, independence and self-sufficiency... [It must be] on the scale of justice for preventing corruption and decline of a society and policymaking and management of the society based on criteria of reason, justice, fairness etc.” (Imam Khomeini, 1999a, vol. 21, p. 405).

2-3. The state and the government

Farabi asserts that the subject matter of the civil science is the volitional intelligibles and the essentials that knowing them is necessary, and creating and continuing them in human societies are necessary. He considers the functions of this science in three basic axes of ‘knowing the origins’, ‘knowing the ends’, and ‘knowing the state’. By delineating the process of the system of the universe and the human life from the origins to the ends, Farabi reaches the necessity of ‘the state’ in the mid-way. “In the mid-way from the origin (*mabda*) to the resurrection (*ma’ād*), there are those affairs that causes our achievement of felicity” (Farabi, 1971, p. 71). Farabi maintains that the duty of political philosophy and civil science is explaining those ‘actions focused on felicity’ in three levels of ‘howness, realization, and agency’. By ‘actions’, he means the collection of opinions, values, moral norms, characteristics, volitional habits, behavioral patterns, types of responsibilities, professions, guilds, occupations and social goods (Farabi, 1967, p. 53; 1931, p. 64) that the society’s strength, development, and prosperity as well as the happiness of its people depend on creating and implementing them.

The political philosophy and civil science, after explaining the nature

of those affairs and actions, says that their realization and actual manifestation occur when they are distributed in the human society so that all individual members of society rise to do their duties. "It is necessary to entrust to any member of the utopia a certain artifact, whether in the level of service or presidency so that he may act accordingly, and no one must have more than one artifact or occupation. This is because firstly any human being is not qualified for doing any skill or artifact. Secondly, if anyone is busy doing just one occupation or artifact, he will be skillful in that occupation, doing it with more strength and certainty. Thirdly, many tasks have a certain time to be done and if the person is busy doing one of them, the others will be left undone. Thus, it is advisable to entrust anyone with just one occupation and one task not to be left undone" (Farabi, 1971, p. 75). After stating the nature of actions and how they are realized, he concludes the necessity of the state and the government, asserting that the duty of the civil science is to state the actions and habits that must be distributed in the society and realized through the cooperation possible just through the state and government and the ruling profession. (Farabi, 1931, p. 64). He describes this type of 'presidency' and 'government' as follows: "The presidency that creates the actions and habits is the presidency of the utopia, and the resulting politics is also virtuous. The city and the nation following that politics will also be 'ideal city' and 'ideal nation'. And the man that lives under this type of government is an ideal and virtuous man" (Mohajernia, 2001, p. 216).

The peripatetic philosopher maintains that the responsibility of the ideal (utopian) state is providing the worldly and otherworldly felicity for all members of the utopia. In another work, he refers to the 15 tasks of the state as follows: "education, providing moral values, promoting public leaning to felicity, guidance and directing, promoting justice, legislation, granting stability, preserving and controlling the society's hierarchy, preserving the benefits of the regime and national interests,

distribution of power, division of works, preserving the intellectual and doctrinal diversity and distributing the social goods, providing security, repulsing evils and plights, punishing wrongdoers and securing national defense” (Mohajermia, 1998, pp. 243-260).

Suhrawardi, like peripatetic philosophers, considers government as a tool for guidance and achieving felicity and believes that the desired government is the one with divine color and the one whose president is linked with the worlds of light. Such presidents, who are called ‘*nufūs al-kāmila*’ (perfect souls), ‘*rowshan pākān*’ (illuminated pure ones), and ‘*aṣḥāb al-amr*’ (authorities) (Suhrawardi, 1993, vol. 1, pp. 105, 501; vol. 2, p. 242; vol. 3, p. 444) deserve the administration, management and ruling the society (Shahrrouzi, 2006, vol. 1, p. 512). In the Illumination Philosophy, we see explanations of four levels of the desired state and government:

1. Just divine tradition based on which authority belongs to God and transfers from Him to the owners of the position of prophethood and guardianship (*wilāyat*). This is “because the system of the universe is created for this purpose... the transaction is not finished except with a tradition and justice. And the justice is not completed except with the one who establishes it and promotes justice; and of course, this justice and tradition must be established among people. Thus, a person in the position of a prophet or a guardian (*walī*), of human species, was necessary to promote that tradition among people and eliminate the oppression and wrongdoing... existence of such a person who promotes these public benefits among people in this world has priority. And since he is linked with distinct intellects and sublime origins, he dominates the knowledge of all visible and invisible things and is able to do extraordinary actions. To him belongs the kingdom and ruling power (i.e. government and politics), and presidency and power are in his powerful hands (Suhrawardi, 1993, vol. 1, pp. 75, 454).

2. The circle of *wilāyat* (= guardianship/ authority) is in line with the prophethood, and the Prophet's illuminous authority has been transferred to the divine guardians (i.e. Imams) after him. Thus "Do not think that wisdom has been there in this short period of time; rather, the world has not been void of wisdom and a person who establishes it with proofs and evidence, and he is God's successor on the earth" (Suhrawardi, 1993, vol. 2, p. 11).
3. After the prophets and divine guardians (i.e. Imams), the natural presidency belongs to the theologian-philosopher who is given kingdom and illuminous power with grandeur through divine light. And he will be the natural president of the universe, and he will be assisted from the above world, and his words will be heard in the celestial world (Suhraward, 1993, vol. 3, p. 81).

In Suhrawardi's view, the ruler in the utopia must have the following qualifications (Beheshti, 1970, pp. 139-156).

1. Judging with divine commands (*al-ḥākīm bi-amr Allāh*) (Suhraward, 1993, vol. 3, p. 81).
2. Having the status of revelation and intuition (Suhraward, 1993, vol. 3, p. 108).
3. Enjoying ennoblement and purity (Shahrouzi, vol. 1, p. 582).
4. Having strong opinion and established words (Shahrouzi, 2006, vol. 1, p. 582)
5. Having spiritual power and strong will (Shahrouzi, 2006, vol. 1, p. 583).
6. Using righteous colleagues and noble consultants (Shahrouzi, 2006, vol. 1, p. 583).
7. Being patient and firm in ruling (Shahrouzi, 2006, vol. 1, p. 583).
8. Enjoying nobility and good lineage (Shahrouzi, 2006, vol. 1, p. 582).
9. Enjoying facilities and equipment in ruling (Shahrouzi, 2006, vol. 1, p. 582).

Based on the necessity of the worldly life ('it is inevitable because it is the farm for the hereafter' (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, p. 372; 1981b, p. 115)), Mulla Sadra

argues for the necessity of the government: “The life is not organized except through civilization, community and cooperation” (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, pp. 359-360). In the process of ‘journey from people to God’, he says, “The body of a human being is the roadster for his wayfaring and journey; and everyone who is negligent from his roadster and managing his house, his journey will be unfinished. As long as the subsistence in the world – which is the state of the soul’s belonging to sense and sensible – is not completed, transference towards God will not occur. And the subsistence in the world is not completed except when the human’s body is healthy and his generation continues protected” (Mulla Sadra, 1975, p. 501). “Preserving and reforming the worldly affairs will also be a necessary goal for human beings” (Mulla Sadra, 1975, p. 498). And he must pass through that state for completing his journey towards God so that he can continue his spiritual journey ‘with God in God’ and ‘from God towards God’. In the journey towards God in the first journey, Mulla Sadra reaches from the necessity of the worldly affairs to necessity of politics and government. By stressing on the characteristics of the human’s divine vicegerency, he refers to innovation, generation, management, conquering, and creating in manipulating and modifying the universe and social life and, through the necessity of the collective life, argues through several ways for the necessity of government:

1. Accessing the ultimate perfection, the superior goodness, and the sublime felicity is not possible except in the light of government in one of the three forms of ‘city’, ‘nation’ and ‘settlement’ (Mulla Sadra, 1975, p. 560).
2. Worldly subsistence is the means for the felicity in the hereafter, and felicity is not fulfilled except when “human’s body is healthy, his generation is perpetual and his species is protected; and this is possible in the light of government and politics” (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, p. 362; 1988, vol. 2, p. 477).

3. To avoid anarchy and disorder in the system, a powerful government and authoritative politics is needed, because if human beings are left without it, and “if individuals’ fate is left without a just politics and authoritative government, it will certainly be afflicted with anarchy and chaos” (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, p. 363; 1988, vol. 2, p. 463).
4. According to the rational necessity, God does not leave his creatures without completion of sensual stages, and for fulfilling the needs of human beings in the affairs related to their subsistence and hereafter, He has appointed “an obeyed president and an authoritative emir to be followed” (Mulla Sadra, 1979, pp. 111-113; 1354, p. 489) to guide people.
5. To prevent domineering individualism in human beings, they need a government that hinder their extreme leaning towards individualism and “The man is under the dominance of a love for individualism even if this leads to the destruction of all others” (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, p. 363). Although community is in line with human’s nature, leaning towards individualism for subsistence and survival of his soul also exists in his soul. Thus, it must be controlled by the government and politics.
6. One of the purposes of all religious laws is protecting individuals’ lives and what leads to protection of human’s social life for achieving perfection. No doubt, government and politics are the best tools for protecting and securing it (Mulla Sadra, 1981a, pp. 372-374).

Based on this logical reasoning, Sadra concludes the necessity of government and, following Farabi, divided communities into ‘perfect’ and ‘imperfect’ types in three levels of ‘government of the city’, ‘government of the nation’, and ‘global government of the settlement of the earth’. “The highest goodness and the ultimate perfection reach the ideal city and the ideal nation whose cities cooperate in what will achieve the true goal and the true good without the deficient and

ignorant nation” (Mulla Sadra, 1975, pp. 490-491). He considers the access to perfection and complete felicity as possible just in the light of the government.

However, in Imam Khomeini’s philosophy, the necessity of government and state has been argued for from several perspective as follows:

Firstly, governance is essentially and exclusively specified to God, and it originates from the position of divinity, creatorship, ownership and with acknowledgement to and belief in monotheism and unity in His divinity, creatorship, ownership as well as genetic and legislative Lordship. And the divine command and decree is that His law and religion valid for His servants. He has the essential desert for ruling and dominance over all beings, and the dominance and validity of others’ command and rule requires His enforcement and validation (Imam Khomeini, 1999a, vol. 2, p. 100). Without divine permission, any government is manipulation in other’s dominance and usurpation and operation (Imam Khomeini, 2013a, p. 160).

Secondly, continuation of social life without government and state is impossible. In his view, it is not wise to “say that the All-Wise God is pleased with negligence in the Islamic nation, not specifying the people’s obligations and anarchy among them as well as distress in their affairs and disruption in the system” (Imam Khomeini, 1999a, vol. 2, p. 100). Similarly, the necessity of ‘expansion of justice and education and protection of order in society as well as removal of oppression and protection of the frontiers and prevention of transgression from strangers’ are among affairs that negate restricting the necessity of government to the time of the presence of the Infallibles or necessity of government in a certain country (Imam Khomeini, 2000, vol. 2, p. 619).

Thirdly, the essential existence of law in the society depends on the existence of a government. “Among the vivid laws of reason that no one can deny is the one saying it is necessary to have law and

government among human beings and they need organizations, regulations, authority and basic governments” (Imam Khomeini, 1999b, p. 181). And achieving felicity and perfection alone depends on obeying divine laws communicated to human beings by the prophets (Imam Khomeini, 1999a, vol. 5, p. 387). In Imam Khomeini’s view, the jurist’s authority (*wilāyat faqīh*) in the Occultation Period is indeed the ruling of the jurisprudence and Islamic laws inspired by the teachings of the ‘Quran in all affairs’ (Imam Khomeini, 1999a, vol. 16, p. 38).

Fourthly, the Islamic government and *wilāyat faqīh* in the Occultation Period are among issues whose idea leads to judgment, and it needs no proof. That is, anyone who has received the Islamic laws, even synoptically, when he comes to *wilāyat faqīh* and forms an idea of it, he will immediately make a judgment of it and consider it essential and axiomatic (Imam Khomeini, 1997a, p. 9). This is because the government in the Occultation Period is necessary just like government in early Islam and “*wilāyat faqīh* is something that the Exalted God has made. It is the same as the Prophet’s authority” (Imam Khomeini, 1999a, vol. 10, p. 308).

Unlike previous philosophers, in Imam Khomeini’s political philosophy, in addition to necessity and importance of government, the nature and content of the government have also been considered. Before the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini said, “we want the establishment of an Islamic Republic, and it is a government dependent on public opinions. The ultimate form of the government will be specified according to the current conditions and demands of our society and by people” (Imam Khomeini, 2000, vol. 2, p. 619). He introduces the nature of his favorite government with features such as “being divine, being public, being non-despotic, being constitutional, observing justice and fairness, directing people towards felicity, relying on public opinions, legalism and governance of the Islamic laws, being inspired by the practice of the Prophet and the Infallible Imams” (Imam Khomeini, 1999a, vol. 4, p. 245). It is clear that the origin of all the abovementioned items

is the divine order and enactment (Mohajernia, ready to publish, p. 115).

Conclusion

Since the comparative studies serve as the theoretical framework and the research method for revealing and representing the similarities and differences among the four philosophical schools for finding common points and points of distinctions in the basic issues of politics, the present study focused implicitly and explicitly on the four basic lines of discussion. Based on those axes, we first noted the ‘epistemic identity’ of each of the four schools.

Accordingly, we referred to their arguing method to achieve the truth that all the four schools agree in their method of discussion and demonstration, but the peripatetic philosophers’ concentration on their demonstrative method distinguished them from others and the Illuminative philosophers’ priority in employing the method of theology and intuition has revealed their difference from their previous school. The logical reconciliation of the transcendental philosophy between the methods of peripatetic and illumination philosophies as well as deepening them in the system of revelational knowledge and making use of interpretive method and exploring the meanings in promoting the rational demonstrations created a great evolution in philosophy and political philosophy. The inheritance of the political philosophy of the Islamic Revolution from the three previous schools for explaining, describing and prescribing philosophical propositions in the realm of politics is at the disposal of that school.

The second line of comparison pertains to the relationship of each of the philosophical schools with religion, which differs in view of the intellectual atmosphere and the theoretical and practical depth of the schools. While the peripatetic philosophy was at the onset of Islamization of that epistemic sphere and peripatetic prime philosopher dedicated five section out of nine in his book *Ārāʾ Ahl al-Madīna al-*

Fāḍila to explanation of monotheistic worldview, the claim posed by Sheikh of Illumination in *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* is that all its effect is stating monotheism. After him, Mulla Sadra founded the transcendence of Transcendental Philosophy on the basis of wayfaring and the human's four journeys for achieving the sublime truths of religion and spirituality. The heir of philosophers, Imam Khomeini, made the reality of politics the most important origin of the abstraction of his political philosophy, and based on religious doctrines, he created – with his philosophical theories – the greatest historical evolution of Shiism and the greatest spiritual revolution of the contemporary world.

The fourth line of comparing the four schools of political philosophy is recognizing the relationship between reality and mentality. The efforts of peripatetic philosophy in delineating the cities based on ignorance, depravity and perversion as opposed to the ideal city relied on revelation, prophetic mission, and imamate achieved its realistic theories. The efforts of Illumination Philosophy was dedicated to explaining mystical truths and Illuminative intuition, reconstructing the desired political system to the extent of explaining the theory of mission and imamate. However, the philosophical mentalities found less opportunity to link with political realities. In Transcendental Philosophy, Mulla Sadra attempted to follow the peripatetic model of paying attention to reality, but scrutiny in theoretical discussions, theology and absolute philosophy made him less successful in this line. The philosopher of Revolution (i.e. Imam Khomeini) completed the historical gap between theoretical mentalities and objective realities through the Islamic Revolution and in the form of an all-out government in the political atmosphere of the modern world.

In the fourth line, i.e. the scope and extension of 'politics' in the four schools, we compared the three basic issues of the political philosophy, i.e. governance, politics and government, and found that despite the theoretical approach of the four schools to these basic issues, the major

deficiency of the Muslims' political philosophy is in their lack or shallowness of their social extension. In spite of the past efforts, just the political philosophy of the Islamic Revolution could extend the philosophical approaches in the arena of the political life, Islamic society and the modern lifeworld.

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