

Research Article

The Comparative Study of the Political Interpretation of the Quran in Yūsuf Qarḍāwī and ‘Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā’ī’s Thought¹

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Abstract

The present study aims at a comparative investigation of the political interpretation of the Quran in Yūsuf Qarḍāwī’s thought and that of ‘Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā’ī. Accordingly, we have dealt with an investigation of the Quran’s influential intellectual features and political interpretation in the opinions of those two thinkers. The research method is based on the author-centered intentionalist reading model. In this model, the dominant political discourse of the time, the thinker’s intention in writing, a thinker’s mental world and his intellectual features influence the way of his political interpretation of the Quran. The results showed that in Qarḍāwī’s view, Islam is both a religion and a political system. The Islamic state is a civil state and governs according to the Islamic laws and decrees. In ‘Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā’ī’s thought, religion has a social tint, and the politics and government have a secondary status and are

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among necessities of the society. 'Allāmah's approach originates from the Shiite thought and Qarḍāwī's approach originates from the Sunnite one. The philosophical discussions in 'Allāmah's social and political thought are highlighted, and the jurisprudential, the number of legal and independent discussions pertaining to political system and government is much more in Qarḍāwī's thought compared to 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī. In both thinkers' thought, government is necessary for society and orientation of the political system is a divine orientation in the Quran's view. The Islamic state and the related discussions are found in the Quran, and 'the Quran' is the criterion for action in the Islamic society and government. The efforts of the two thinkers focus on offering a pure, genuine, constructive, motivating and system-making image of the Quran.

Keywords

political interpretation, the Quran, Yūsuf Qarḍāwī, Muhammad Hussein Ṭabāṭabā'ī.

Introduction

Dealing with the new political-social discussions by relying on some interpretations of the Quran is known as one of the important characteristics of Islam's political thought in the contemporary era. In responding to the society's needs and the political-social issues emerged in relationship with the west, the Muslim thinkers who study the Quran have offered their Quranic solutions for getting out of the political-social issues by returning to the Quran and presenting related analyses. The reason was that the Muslim thinkers had a concern for the doubts cast and the widespread and continuous discussions originated from the modern civilization, which influenced the Islamic culture and the related political and social discussions. Meanwhile, a return to the Quran and Quranic analyses, attitudes and mechanisms for getting out of political-social issues were proposed. The political attitude to the Quranic verses with an approach to solving the contemporary issues was an emergent matter not previously manifested with that much severity and breadth. Public issues such as 'freedom', 'social justice', 'struggling with despotism', 'struggling with poverty and social penury in both material and

spiritual dimensions', 'struggling with superstition', 'revolution', 'Islamic unity', and concept like these were explored in the political-social thought of the Muslim thinkers using religious sources such as the Quran. As to referring to the Quran, the Quran's political verses and the political interpretations of them were paid attention to by some Muslim thinkers. Amid the views that minimize or ignore the political aspect of Islam, some thinkers made efforts to highlight the political aspects of Islam in relation to Islam's essence. The contemporary evolutions accelerated the return to the Quran and its political-social interpretation. Among the important matters of rethinking and emergence of political-social approach to Islam, we may refer to the views of two prominent thinkers in the Islamic world – Yūsuf Qarḏāwī and Muhammad Hussein Ṭabāṭabā'ī. 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī's approach is influenced by the Shiite doctrines and Qarḏāwī's approach is affected by the Sunnite doctrines. This study comparatively investigates the views of these two thinkers regarding the political interpretation of the Quran. The main question of the study is as follows: "According to what criteria can we comparatively study the Quran's political interpretation from the viewpoints of Yūsuf Qarḏāwī and Sayyid Muhammad Hussein Ṭabāṭabā'ī?" The research hypothesis has been organized by considering the main question and the author-centered intentionalist model in a way that the dominant political discourse of the time, the author's purpose of intellectual interaction, his mental world, and his intellectual characteristics have influenced the way he conducts a political interpretation of the Quran. Qarḏāwī's approach in interpretation of verses is such that he considers the Islamic state as a civil state that has religion and political system together, a political system wherein the Islamic state is determined through allegiance and council, and the laws and ordinances of the Islamic state are specified using religion and the Quran. In Ṭabāṭabā'ī's thought, the social nature of religion is more important than anything else, and the policy and government become meaningful in accordance with the social status of religion, and are among the essentials of community. Besides, Islam – and in general, religion

– has recognized many conventions, contracts, states and common policies, but it has specified certain orientations for them. Both thinkers have viewed the Quran as the definite and interpretable document from which one can extract the plans for living and the political-social life (the common point). However, from the viewpoint of doctrinal, cultural and social origin as well as some of the intellectual features and methods, there are differences between the two thinkers (the differentiating point). The scope of the study is in the sphere of a comparative investigation of the political interpretation of the Quran with an emphasis on the ideas presented by Yūsuf Qarḍāwī and ‘Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā’ī. Each of these personages has his specific characteristics and features in political explanation and view of the Quran. In this study, we attempt to investigate the political approach to the Quran from the viewpoints of these two thinkers of the Islamic world.

1. Concepts and analysis model

1-1. The political interpretation of the Quran

The two concepts of 'interpretation' and 'politics' are important in definition of 'political interpretation'. In a general sense, 'interpretation' means comprehending the meaning through effort to describe, explain, and analyze a text in order to find out its purpose.¹ Various definitions have been offered for the term 'interpretation'. For example, the followings have been mentioned as the meanings of interpretation: removing ambiguity from the words (Ma‘rifat, 1379 SH, vol.1, p.17), stating the applicable contents of the verses and discovering God's purpose (Rajabī, 1383 SH, p.12), discovering the verses' purpose and denotation (‘Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā’ī, vol.1, 1371 SH, p.2), analyzing the origins and arriving at the speaker's purpose and the simple and synthesized denotations of the text (Jawādī Āmulī, 1384 SH, vol.1, p.52). The Quran's exegesis is

1. Quentin Skinner, "Motives, intentions and the interpretation of text", *Meaning and Context*, New Literary History, vol. 3, no. 2, On Interpretation: I (Winter, 1972), pp. 393-408 (16 pages), pp. 393-394.

a systematic scientific attempt to know the meanings of the Quran and obtain God's purpose. Interpretation of any text is possible on the basis of three main elements and in the light of a right strategy and a logical framework: 'the speaker' (his/ her purpose), 'the text', and 'the addressee' (As'adī et al., 1392 SH, vol.2, p.10). Similarly, various definitions have been offered regarding the politics. Among them are the followings: "shapes, orientations and the way the power is exerted" (Abul-Ḥamd, n.d., vol.1, p.29); the state's knowledge, theories, organizations, and actions (ibid, p.23), the way one obtains power and shares in it (Dāl, 1364 SH, p.7-8), authoritative distribution of values in the society (Ālim, 1373 SH, p.29), etc. It seems that the definition of the concept of politics is quite dependent on worldview, ideology, or the public, moral and doctrinal attitude of individuals (Aḏḏānlū, 1389 SH, p.222-23). Considering the definition of 'interpretation' and 'politics', the political interpretation of the Quran is "finding out the Quranic purposes and referring to the Quranic verses for explaining the basic concepts, the structure and the functions of the political system as well as resolving the political-social issues as separated from other aspects such as the educational, economic, legal, and mystical aspects" (Ḥasanī, 1392 SH, p.39). The goal of the political interpretation of the Quran is discovering the Quran's genuine policy from the verses and authentic traditions, which has been explicitly stated in the Quran and traditions for achieving purified life, encompassing all aspects of human's life including the individual, social, economic and cultural aspects. The implications of the political interpretation of the Quran for the Quran's commentator with any approach are as follows:

- 1) Enjoying the exegetical method (Mu'addab, 1385 SH, p.167; Pārsāniyā, 1383 SH; Shākīr, 1382 SH, p.45-46)
- 2) Enjoying the exegetical attitude (the social desires and intellectual condition of the society and the surrounding environment, the role of expertized knowledge) which influences the political interpretation of

the Quran (Shākir, 1382 SH, p.48-49)

3) The effect of the element of time and the discourses of the time as well as the role of political-social evolutions in the way one understands and interprets the Quran (ibid, p.68)

4) Interpretation requires enough recognition of some branches of science (Shākir, 1382 SH, p.215-217)

By the political interpretation of the Quran, we mean independent discovery and inference from the Quran's verses and concepts to which other sciences contribute, with nothing imposed on the Quran.

1-2. The model for analysis of the political interpretation in the thoughts of the two thinkers (Qarḍāwī and Ṭabāṭabā'ī)

The methodic model of this study is based on the authorial intentionalism. It means that the author or the speaker communicates something by writing or speaking, and what is important from the viewpoint of interpretation and comprehension is discovering the author's or the speaker's intention (Skinner, 1972, pp.406-407). To understand the political perception or interpretation, one must recognize the dominant political discourse in the society and of the time as well as the thinker's purpose in establishing the relationship in the dominant discourse of the time. Thus, perceiving a thought requires three determining factors:

Recognizing the difficulties and issues of the time when an idea has been presented and the thinker's works have been an answer to them.

Recognizing the language, concepts, terminology, and the common propositions in the time when a thinker has written something and involved in those terminologies. These concepts and terminologies could have been imposed, outside of the common convention in a society, on another society.

1) Recognizing the convention, tradition, principles, and common rule dominant in a society or – in other words – to know how a thinker has sought to establish a relationship between the convention and tradition

on the one hand and the rules as well as the issues and difficulties of his society on the other hand returns to the response to the thinker's recognition and how he has perceived the matters (skinner, 1974, p.303).

By putting an author in the relational milieu and the discourse of his time, one can find out what the author's purpose of writing a text was. Has he criticized a certain political position or moral attitude or he wanted to defend it and help in developing it? Finally, according to this method, there are two general rules for discovering the author's purpose: (a) comprehending and interpreting a text is not attained merely by focusing on the political-social background; rather, it requires focusing on the conventions and rules dominant in the society and politics, and is shaped by the way issues related to the texts are perceived. That is, the author's intention in writing has been the conventional intention. (b) to discover the author's intention, one must reveal his mental and doctrinal world wherein his beliefs are formed in a certain lived experience (Skinner, 1979, p.16).

2. The role of social-political conditions in generating political attitude towards the Quran (discourse of the time)

2-1. The role and effect of the social-political conditions in generating Qarḍāwī's political thought and interpretation of the Quran.

The generation and formation of Qarḍāwī's political interpretation and his Quranic attitudes occurred in the special conditions of Egypt under the influence of the invitation by Egyptian *Akhawān al-Muslimīn* (figures such as Hassan al-Banā and Sayyid Quṭb) shaped in the atmosphere of the foreign dominance, domestic despotism, poverty and national alienation as well as nationalist slogans affected by modernism and Marxist mottos which started by an approach to the Quran. In general, the thinkers of that period, especially Qarḍāwī, had no way – under the influence of Akhawān al-Muslimīn – except a return to Islam, the Quran and the Islamic state and reviving it in people's conscience (Mitchel, 1389 SH, vol.2, p.39). They turned to the Quran for getting out of the aforementioned crises.

2-2. The role and effect of the social-political conditions in generating ‘Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā’ī’s thought and interpretation of the Quran.

‘Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā’ī’s social-political attitude in the contemporary Iran was formed under the influence of the discourse of the time and in conditions similar to other regions of Islamic world, especially Egypt. The political despotic structure of the government in Pahlavi period (Muḏaffarī, 1387 SH, p.223), aggravation of fanatic and organized modernism as well as separation of religion from politics (Biḡdīlū, 1396 SH, p.83), propagation of ancient-centered nationalism to de-religionization (Biḡdīlū, 1396 SH, p.87-88), promotion of the atheist foundations and materialist thoughts opposing religious doctrines (ibid., p.94-95), the defective cultural structure and ignoring religious values as well as promotion of corruption (Gasirowski, 1373 SH, p.404; Fowzi, 1384 SH, vol.1, p.45) all caused each of the scholars and thinkers to make efforts to find Quranic solutions for dead ends and difficulties.

Three basic subjects were influencing the process of political attitude towards the Quran and political interpretation of it: (1) the objective issues of the society; (2) the situation of the existing states in the Islamic world; and (3) the global situation of the discourses of time considering the aforementioned elements caused the Muslims thinkers – with new approaches obtained from the Quran’s text – to offer solutions and culminated in the political attitude towards the Quran and its interpretation. The political interpretation of the Quran in Qarḏāwī and Ṭabāṭabā’ī’s view contains two basic points:

An attempt to inform the society, because in addition to ample issues and problems in the political and social structure arisen from the economic and spiritual poverty, the inefficiency, lack of political thought as the model in the contemporary world, and the strong presence of rival opinions as alternatives to socialism and liberalism formed the most important intellectual concerns of Muslim thinkers – especially Qarḏāwī and Ṭabāṭabā’ī.

An attempt to show the practical structured (political-social) model of religion by getting help from religious texts, especially the Quran, and overcoming the claim that non-dynamism of religious concepts were among other items considered by those two thinkers.

3. The intellectual characteristics and the mental world effective in the political interpretation of the Quran in Qarḍāwī and Ṭabāṭabā'ī's thought

3-1. The intellectual characteristics and the metal world effective in Yūsuf Qarḍāwī's political interpretation.

Yūsuf Qarḍāwī (1345 AH/ 1926 AD) was born in Şifat Turāb village in the center of al-Kubrā district in the western province of Egypt. He finished the high school with a top rank. In 1953, he was graduated from the faculty of Principle of Religion in Cairo University with a B.A degree, and in 1960 received an M.A in the branch of sciences of the Quran and Sunnah in the faculty of Principles of Religion. In 1973, he received a PhD from al-Zahra University. After a while, he felt that Egypt is not a suitable place for scientific activities and went to Qatar with an invitation from Sheikh Abdullah bin Turkī, the director of the section of religious sciences in Ministry of Endowments in Qatar, to take over the responsibility of faculty of *Sharī'a* and Islamic sciences in Qatar University.¹ For Qarḍāwī, religious thought and reviving it was a necessity for the Islamic world both now and in the future (Baḥrānī, 1390 SH, vol.16, p.219). Qarḍāwī called his scientific method '*al-Wasaṭiyya al-Islāmiyya*' which he classifies between the secular method void of Islam (denying religion or denying the political view of religion) and those with religious dogmatism, neglecting the political-social conditions of the present age (Qarḍāwī, 2001, p.9). In explaining *al-Wasaṭiyya al-Islāmiyya* (i.e. 'Islamic moderation'), he says: "(a) Islam is obtained from the pure sources; (b) Islam is the perfect method for human life (individual, family and society), and (c) in this method, the reality and objectivity of Islam as it is and the objectivity of the present era are considered, and the old useful traditions (*salaf*) and new expediencies are reconciled, which Qarḍāwī calls '*al-Salafiyya al-Mujaddida*'; (d) in this method, an equilibrium

1. For further studies, see www.al-qaradawi.net and Murtiḍā Baḥrānī, "Qarḍāwī" in *Andīshayi Siyāsī Mutafakkirān-i Musalmān*, vol.16. Tehran: Research Center of Cultural and Social Studies, 1390 SH, p.219.

is created between the fixed religious items (immutable religious laws and decrees) and religious variables (alterable laws and regulations); (e) in this method, having respect for reason, intellectual renewal and legal reasoning (*ijtihād*) are promoted; and (f) moderation in method means inference from positive points in systems of the new age and removing its deficiencies (*shawāʾib*) according to Islam's strong laws" (ibid).

Among the intellectual personages influencing Yūsuf Qarḍāwī's thought are Sayyid al-Banā and Sayyid Quṭb. Qarḍāwī's being influenced is obvious in his book entitled *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿĀmma lil-Islām*. In that book, Qarḍāwī deals with a broader exposition and completion of the issues offered in Sayyid Quṭb's *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Taṣawwur al-Islāmī wa Muqawwimātihī*, and even borrows some of the main headings in that book including the following ones: being divine, being humane, comprehensiveness (being everlasting, universal and holistic), moderation or equilibrium, realism, creating harmony between tradition and modernism, and clarity and obviousness (Qarḍāwī, 1983, p.7-8). Like Sayyid Quṭb, he asserts that the aforementioned seven items must all – or most of them – be features of Islam, because some items may be added to them (Qarḍāwī, 1386 SH, pp. 21-22). Qarḍāwī maintains the following features are the general features of Islamic doctrine:

- 1) Being divine. This aims at the following two points: (a) the divine nature of the goal; and (b) the divine nature of the source and plan (Qarḍāwī, 1983, p.9). The former means that the ultimate goal and ideal is establishing a good relationship with God and achieving His consent (ibid). The means to achieve 'being divine' in social life for a Muslim are through worship (ibid, p.27), and observing individual, social, and Islamic manners of conduct or Islamic education. The Islamic method in doctrines, worship, manners of conduct and morality as well as religious laws is a purely divine method and its source is taken from the divine definite verses and the Prophet's Sunnah or way of life (ibid, p. 39).

- 2) Being humane means the clear, genuine and fundamental attitude of Islam in worship, laws, and instructions, and the goals of this system show that Islam is a humane religion and way of living (Qarḏāwī, 1386 SH, p.103; idem, 1983, p.57). In this regard, some verses have been adduced, such as the verse 29 of Sūra *Hijr* in the Quran: "... and I breathed into him of My spirit". Thus, Islam's doctrines, guidelines and laws are specified to the man. For Qarḏāwī, the signs of dignifying man are stated in the Quran, which are as follows: making him God's vicegerent on the Earth (Baqara, 30-33), creating man in the most purified and beautified form (Tīn, 4; Taghābun, 3), making the man superior with revelation (Sajda, 8-9), putting the existence at the man's disposal (Ibrāhīm, 32-34), recognizing all aspects of the man's existence (Qarḏāwī, 1386 SH, pp.130-142). Qarḏāwī enumerates the results of humanism in Islam as follows: brotherhood, equality, and freedom (ibid, pp.155-156).
- 3) Being comprehensive and inclusive is among the features that distinguishes Islam from other religions, philosophies and thoughts. This comprehensiveness and inclusiveness has encompassed all existential dimensions of the man and all aspects of his life in all times (Qarḏāwī, 1983, p.105). In this regard, Qarḏāwī has adduced the following verses of the Quran: verses 128 and 132 of Baqara, verse 25 of Anbiyā, verse 101 of Yūsuf, verse 84 of Yūnis, verse 126 of A'rāf, verse 31 of Naml, verse 52 of Āl 'Imrān, etc. (Qarḏāwī, 1386 SH, p.179). The aspects of inclusiveness of Islamic doctrines, for Qarḏāwī, are as follows: (a) comprehensiveness of the Islamic creed (Qarḏāwī, 1983, p.113), (b) inclusiveness of worship in Islam (ibid, p.115), (c) inclusiveness of morality in Islam (ibid, p.117), (d) inclusiveness of law in Islam is such that it influences the whole life of the human beings. The doctrines and laws of Islam is a continuous and inseparable collection (ibid, pp.121-123).
- 4) Moderation (*al-wasatīyya*). Islam is moderate in doctrine, insight, worship and piety, morality, and social conduct as well as legislation and religious system (Qarḏāwī, 1386 SH, p.230-231), as the Quran also refers – in some *sūras* – to moderation and equilibrium in existence. Some

examples are the verse 143 of Baqara, the verses 7-9 of ar-Raḥmān, the verse 49 of Qamar, the verse 3 of Mulk, and the verse 40 of Yāsīn (Qarḍāwī, 1983, p.113, 128). Moderation is found in the following four sections: doctrine and conception (ibid, p.135), worship and rites (ibid, 137), morality and manners of conduct (ibid, 138), and legislation and system (*al-tashrīf wal-niẓām*) (ibid, p.147).

- 5) Realism. Realism means a precise look at existence as it is an objective and palpable truth which can be experienced and suggests a higher truth and an older and everlasting existence, i.e. the Necessary Being who has created everything and precisely measured them. Realism has been offered in sections pertaining to Islamic creed (ibid, p.161-162), Islamic worship (ibid, 163-164), Islamic morality (Qarḍāwī, 1983, p.165), and in Islamic *Sharīʿa*. That is, it does not ignore the existing realities and conditions in specifying the creed, worship, morality and religious laws pertaining to licit and illicit things, and considers realism in all systems and rules set for individual, family, society, government, state, and humanity in general (ibid, p.170). Some background conditions that lead to realism in Islamic *Sharīʿa* are as follows: removing distress and constriction and substituting it with laxity (*al-taysīr*), wherein some verses have been adduced such as the verses 185, 233, and 286 of Baqara, and the verse 7 of Ṭalāq (ibid, 177).
- 6) Clarity (*al-wuḍūḥ*). For Qarḍāwī, Islam enjoys clarity and obviousness. Islam's clarity shows itself in sections on fundamental doctrinal principles, sources, ideals and goals, and mechanism and tools. Clarity is seen in Islam's doctrinal principles such as having faith in God, having faith in divine missions, and having faith in the hereafter, which have been referred to in various verses (ibid, p.187-188). Another manifestation of clarity in Islamic system is that it has definite sources (*maṣādir*), i.e. the Quran and the Sunnah, from which the theoretical philosophy and the practical laws are extracted (ibid, p.195).
- 7) Creating harmony between flexibility (modernity) and fixity (tradition) (*al-Jamʿ bayn al-Taṭawwur wal-thubāt*). Islam as the last religion

enjoys two elements of fixity (*durability*) and modernity (flexibility) which is granted to it by God, and is among the masterpieces of miracle in religion. This is the trans-temporal and trans-spatial feature of religion (ibid, p.216). In Qarḏāwī's view, the boundaries of fixity and flexibility are as follows: (a) fixity in goals and ideals, and flexibility in tools and methods; (b) strictness and traditionalism in principles and generalities, and leniency and renewability in subdivisions and details; (c) insistence and traditionalism in regard with religious and moral values, and flexibility in forms and frames as well as worldly and scientific tasks (ibid, p.216-217). For Qarḏāwī, the collection of Islamic jurisprudence, with all its various denominations, follows the Quran and the Prophet's Sunnah in moving towards fixity and flexibility; that is, it is fixed and stable in generalities, and flexible and renewable in subdivisions and details (Qarḏāwī, 1983, p.240-241). The Muslim jurist has been – truly – restricted by the strong and stable texts fixed by the Quran and Sunnah. These texts are definitely proved with definite denotations and the Muslim jurist has no right to add or delete even a word; however, there are two broad spheres of the legal reasoning (*ijtihād*) and exerting one's opinion which the Muslim jurist can infer with freedom (ibid, p.241). These two spheres are as follows:

- A. The free sphere of legislation: the first sphere is called the free sphere of legislation, an area where the Legislator has left the text free and blank for the *Ulu-l-ʿAmr* (those in authority) and the expert to make legal reasoning, so that the opportunity is given to them to present systematic legal opinions and methods wherein the public goods and religious goals are considered (ibid).
- B. The sphere of non-definite (*mutashābih*) texts wherein God's will is to leave them in probable mode so that they may be subject to various readings including narrow-thinking or broad-thinking, scale-centered, appearance-oriented, strict or lenient, and realistic or presumptive readings. In the light of this variety, a broad field and a proper opportunity is prepared to be able to assess and

evaluate different opinions and choose the closest one to rightness and the most consistent one with religious values and various social and political conditions and use them (ibid, p.242-243).

Qarḍāwī maintains that the feature of reconciliation between fixity (tradition) and modernity (*al-marūna*) is true in the Islamic society (ibid, p.250-252). The Islamic society is both static and dynamic. This society is similar to a flowing river which is always in motion and renewal state but is always running in a specified orientation and towards a known destination. To avoid intellectual stiffness and petrification as well as a valueless and frail society, it is necessary to have both elements of fixity and renewal (ibid, p.255).

3-2. The intellectual features and the mental world influencing ‘Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā’ī’s political interpretation

‘Allāmah Sayyid Muhammad Hussein Ṭabāṭabā’ī is known as one of the thinkers in the Shiite world, and even in the Islamic world in general. The intellectual depth and new approaches in interpretation of the Quran as well as new attitudes in political-social issues are among his intellectual and exegetical features.

3-2-1. the general features of ‘Allāmah’s view on Islamic creeds and doctrines

The Islamic creeds and doctrines encompass a widespread collection of subjects, including the following ones:

- A) A network of laws and rules that form the Islamic jurisprudence. Jurisprudence regulates the individual and social stillness and movement as well as any one's activity and situation in any time and place under any public or private conditions related to his life (Ṭabāṭabā’ī, 1389 SH, p.47). The Islamic jurisprudence is the most widespread Islamic science in variety of discussions and multiplicity of issues (ibid, 1387 SH, p.57).

A broad scope of the spiritual and moral statements of Islam, which assesses any moral activity and offers an example for human society

deserving the human's perfection.

B) In the level of Islam's general view of the existence, an Islamic general philosophy as well as the related sciences including cosmology and spiritual anthropology and – finally – God's knowledge has been presented in the most vivid form and the most direct method. And all these elements lead – in the last analysis – to one single truth, i.e. monotheism and acknowledging God's oneness which is the basic principle in all Islamic sciences (ibid, 1389 SH, p.47-48). The sacred religion of Islam has founded its invitation on the following three basic and simple clear principles:

One) Principle of obtaining felicity and salvation as a necessary humane principle, and Islam's invitation to obtaining felicity and salvation starts with acknowledging God's oneness: "Say 'There is no God but Allah' to achieve salvation" (ibid, 1388 SH, p.89-90).

Two) Human's felicity is attainable in the light of realism. The felicity of human beings cannot be attained through fancy and depravity. The true documents of the sacred religion of Islam are based on human's realism (ibid, p.90-91).

Three) Using the method of intellection and thinking in one's tasks is a characteristic through which one decides about any task. 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī uses the three aforementioned principles to conclude that the man must attain his true felicity through intellection (ibid, p.91-92).

3-2-2. Ṭabāṭabā'ī enjoys influential Quranic and exegetical features

The most important of such features are as follows: (a) Ṭabāṭabā'ī considers the Quran as '*tibyānan li-kull-i shay*'¹ (i.e. 'as a clarification of all things'), and his method is 'interpreting the Quran by the Quran' with the

1. The Quran, Naḥl, 89.

help from reason and *ijtihād*. That is, he has used the Quran itself to discern the Quran's purposes and truths (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1374 SH, vol.1, p.17-18). For Ṭabāṭabā'ī, the value of reason is rooted in the heart of the Quran's teachings (Kabīriyān, 1387 SH, p.32); (b) the Quran has considered different levels of understanding in perceiving the spiritual points, stating its teachings in proportion to the simplest level in a simple language (that of ordinary people) (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1353 SH, p.40-42).

3-2-3. the role of neo-Ṣadrā'ī school in political-social thought

By putting forward the epistemological discussions and explaining conventional or mentally-positing things (*i ḥibāriyāt*) as well as the philosophy of society and the philosophy of human being independently, Ṭabāṭabā'ī has had a new look at neo-Ṣadrā'ī philosophy (Khosrow-Panāh, 1390 SH, col.1, p.27). The features of Ṭabāṭabā'ī's neo-Ṣadrā'ī philosophical school are as follows: (a) realism in cognition, meaning that we have a reality outside us and prove it innately (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1387 SH (A), p.38-39); (b) the effect of separating truths from *i ḥibāriyāt* on Ṭabāṭabā'ī's political-social thought is important (ibid, p.57); (c) 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī's philosophical school has reason, religious law and mysticism simultaneously. We may say that it is Ṣadrā'ī (of Mullā Ṣadrā) in its basis and Ṣīnā'ī (of Avicenna) in its method (Ardistānī Kūchinānī, 1388 SH, p.45-46).

3-2-4. Human's social entity has been confirmed in Ṭabāṭabā'ī's political-social thought and interpretation through the theory of conventional (*i ḥibāriyāt*) perceptions,¹ and has found depth and strength from the philosophical aspect (Yazdānī Muqaddam, 1390 SH, vol.2, p.252-253). Ṭabāṭabā'ī divided the '*i ḥibāriyāt*' into two groups: "*i ḥibāriyāt* before community"

1. For further information, see Ṭabāṭabā'ī (1385 SH). *Uṣūl Falsafa wa Rawish-i Ri'āṣism*, vol.2, Martyr Muṭahharī's intro and footnote (14th ed.), p.145. Tehran: Ṣadrā Publications.

(Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Uṣūl-i Falsafa wa Rawish-i Ri'ālism, 1387 SH, pp.127-128, 130-136) and *i ḥibāriyāt* after community (ibid, p.126). In explaining the second group and the most important part of the theory of conventional perception – i.e. '*i ḥibāriyāt ba'd al-Ijtimā'*, or the *i ḥibāriyāt* after community', Ṭabāṭabā'ī refers to four convention and contract after formation of human community, which human beings use in the political-social system (ibid, p.145). One of them is the 'principle of ownership', which is the permission of any appropriation after the community (ibid, pp.130-133). According to this principle, new laws and effects were contracted for humans' appropriations, then called 'rights' (ibid, p.146). Creation of words (speech) and need for coining words (ibid, pp.147-149), the habit and talent of 'employing', which then became the origin of presidency and subordination and their implications, were among them. 'Command and interdiction' are among the *i ḥibāriyāt* after community, which emerged after presidency and subordination (ibid, p.152) as well as a series of contracts considering the equality of the two parties, contracted between individuals on the basis of needs of the community, among which one can refer to various types of transactions, relations, and balanced social rights (ibid, pp.153-154). For Ṭabāṭabā'ī, the conventional conceptions encompass and influence all human perceptions (ibid, p.152). Accordingly, a new definition of the man as the originator of 'convention' in the society and an explanation of the origin and the source of formation of community and transition from natural situation to civilization is acquired (Hūshangī, 1394 SH, vol.2, p.439-440). This theory has influenced Ṭabāṭabā'ī's political-social interpretation.

4. The political interpretation of the Quran in Qarḍāwī and Ṭabāṭabā'ī's thought

4-1. Yūsuf Qarḍāwī's political interpretation of the holy Quran

Qarḍāwī has investigated the status of government in Islam. He has severely criticized the idea that Islam is a religion without any government (Qarḍāwī,

2001, p.13). For him, using political Islam as opposed to non-political Islam is a wrong usage. This is while politics is in the heart of doctrines of Islam (Bahrānī, 1390 SH, vo.16, p.231) and the nature of the state established by Islam is a civil, legal and consultative state whose source and foundation is Islam; indeed, it is not the state in the sense common in the west wherein power is sacred (ibid, p.58-59). Qarḍāwī offers certain reasons for the state's position in Islam and the Quran as follows:

Islamic texts, especially the verses 58-59 of Sūra al-Nisā, explicitly refer to the government and state:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُكُمْ أَنْ تُؤَدُّوا الْأَمَانَاتِ إِلَىٰ أَهْلِهَا وَإِذَا حَكَمْتُمْ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَنْ تَحْكُمُوا بِالْعَدْلِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ نِعِمَّا يَعِظُكُمْ بِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ سَمِيعًا بَصِيرًا * يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًا

"Indeed Allah commands you to deliver the trusts to their [rightful] owners, and to judge with fairness when you judge between people. Excellent indeed is what Allah advises you. Indeed Allah is all-hearing, all-seeing. O you who have faith! Obey Allah and obey the Apostle and those vested with authority among you. And if you dispute concerning anything, refer it to Allah and the Apostle, if you have faith in Allah and the Last Day. That is better and more favorable in outcome."

In interpreting this verse, he asserts that the first verse addresses the rulers and governors who must observe the trusteeship and behave justly. For Qarḍāwī, these two verses, altogether, refer to the necessity of establishing a state as an obligation for both ordinary people and the elites (Qarḍāwī, 2001, p.15).

A) Using the history of Islam in establishing Islamic state, he refers to the Prophet's practical way of life in establishing the Islamic state as the most important confirmation for the Quran. For Qarḍāwī, there is no separation between the state and religion in the Muslims' history (ibid, pp.16-17).

B) Islam's nature and essence and its mission as a complete religion has

never ignored the aspects of human life, and one cannot presume that the position of the state has been ignored in Islam and the Quran. In Islamic doctrines, the order, responsibility and imamate for leadership of the society to direct people towards felicity have been given special importance (ibid, p.18). In Qarḏāwī's view, creating 'Islamic state' on the basis of the creed, ritual issues and moral matters is essential or even a necessity in human life (ibid, p.21).

For Qarḏāwī, the features and signs of the Islamic state in its goals, elements and other characteristics are different from other existing states (ibid, p.30); these are as follows:

- (a) The Islamic state is a civil state established on the basis of two principles of allegiance and council. This state chooses its agents from those who are strong, trusted, knowledgeable, and protector. For Qarḏāwī, this state is not merely a religious state in the sense of western theocracy whose goals is governing people in the name of a divine right (ibid).
- (b) The Islamic state is a global state (*dowlat 'ālamīyya*); that is, it is not an ethnic state specified to one special region, and its doors are open to any believer who believes in its principles and tenets (*dowlat maftūḥa*). The unity of this state is originated from having faith in One God, His messenger, one Book and Qibla, forming the 'one nation'. The bases of Islamic caliphate and state is consisted of the pillars: unity of *dār al-Islām* (one Islamic nation), unity in the source of legislation (the Quran and the Sunnah), and unity in the central leadership manifested in the great imam or caliph (ibid, p.32).
- (c) The Islamic state is a legal one with a charter and constitutional law taken from the holy Quran and stated by the Prophet's Sunnah in creeds, worships, morality, transactions, and relations including personal, social, penal, administrative, legal and governmental ones. Here, Qarḏāwī adduces the verses 44-50 of Mā'ida (Qarḏāwī, 2001, p.32).
- (d) The Islamic state is consultative. Islam accepts the people's status in the state, but the Islamic democracy is not a version of the western

democracy. Besides, any member of the nation – whether man or woman – can advise the Islamic ruler or order him to do good and forbid him from doing evil, according to the verse 71 of sūra Towba. Here, Qarḍāwī adduces the verses 282-283 from sūra Baqara (ibid, p.37).

- (e) It is the duty of the Islamic state to prepare the ground for the guidance of people. The Islamic state is a doctrinal state founded on the basis of *sharīʿa* (i.e. religious law). The state has broad and deep functions including the following ones: educating the members of the Islamic nation on the basis of the Islamic teachings and doctrines, and preparing them for diffusion and promotion of Islamic values in the society, in a way that all people receive complete arguments (ibid, p.40-41).
- (f) The Islamic state must be founded on the basis of protecting the rights of the poor, not considering just the rights of the rich. To do so, Islam has set financial laws such as *zakāʿt*, so that the state is not specified to the higher classes of the society. Here, Qarḍāwī adduces the verse 7 of sūra Ḥashr (ibid, p.41).
- (g) The Islamic state – from the viewpoint of faith and commitment, not a formal claim – is a state that observes the rights and freedoms of the individuals. The right to living, the right to ownership, the right to security of life, property, prestige, generation, and the like has been regarded essential in Islamic law. Here, Qarḍāwī has adduced verse 4 of sūra Quraysh (Qarḍāwī, 2001, p.48-49).
- (h) The Islamic state is a moral state with humane principles and values, not infringing its principles and values, whether inside the territorial limits or outside them, in the time of peace or war, the principles of Islamic state do not alter; and achieving truth through falsehood is not acceptable according to the moral principles of Islam. Here, Qarḍāwī adduces the verse 135 of sūra Nisā and verse 8 of sūra Māʿida (ibid, p.50-51).
- (i) For Qarḍāwī, the right and qualified system is the one with both individualism and socialism, not giving any privilege to one of them

(ibid, p.150). Accordingly, Islam has considered the values of individual and society together. Islam and the Quran have considered the following rights as the human rights: right to life, right to be prestigious (Qarḏāwī, 1983, p.150-151), right to ownership, personal independence, freedom of belief, freedom of criticism (ibid, p.151), freedom of expression and thought (ibid, p.152), and individual responsibility of all Muslims for enforcing divine laws (ibid, p.154-155). Even beyond right, it considers any human's duty to think and contemplate (ibid, p.152). Regarding the manners and method of treatment, Islam has considered and encouraged the chain of social rites, denouncing loneliness and reclusion (ibid, pp.155-156).

2-4. 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī's political-social interpretation of the holy Quran

The political-social interpretation of the Quran by 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī is under the influence of aforementioned intellectual features. One of them is the theory of conventional perceptions (Yazdānī Muqaddam, 1390 SH, vol.2, p.273). In the discussion on conventional (*i ʿibārī*) perceptions, 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī offers an interpretation of social thought according to which any society attempts to infuse its thoughts, policy and interests – as a part of collective benefits - in the minds of the individual. This is an analysis of human's social nature (ibid, p.264). Accordingly, community has an independent truth and existence. Community plays role in all states of an individual and is of great importance, and one's education is realized in the context of the community (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1374 SH, vol.4, p.149). The Quranic desirable state and its political-social interpretation from Ṭabāṭabā'ī's viewpoint are found in the verse 200 of sūra Āl-i 'Imrān:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اصْبِرُوا وَصَابِرُوا وَرَابِطُوا وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ؛

"O, you who have faith! Be patient, stand firm, and close [your] ranks, and be wary of Allah so that you may be felicitous."

Regarding the abovementioned verse, and especially the term *rābiṭū*

("close your ranks"), Ṭabāṭabā'ī has put forward a detailed discussion on the social-political issues in his book, *al-Mīzān* (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 SH, vol.4, p.91). The term *iṣbirū* ("be patient") in this verse refers to individual patience. The term *ṣābirū* ("stand firm") refers to the collective patience, and the term *rābiṭū* is related to the creation of a society and relationship among forces and their function in all affairs of the religious life in society, including this world and the hereafter (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 SH, vol.4, p.92). Here, we refer to some of them:

1. In Ṭabāṭabā'ī's view, the man is a social creature, and human's history and effects confirm this. And the Quran affirms it in various verses, such as verse 13 of sūra *ḥujurāt* (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 SH, vol.4, p.92).
2. Human's growth is realized in the society (ibid).
3. For Ṭabāṭabā'ī, there is a true relationship between the community and the individual (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 SH, vol.4, p.95). In addition to stressing on the existence of the individual, Islam and the Quran confirm the independent identity and existence of community (nation). Verses such as verse 34 of sūra *A'rāf* ("and every nation has its term. When its term comes, they cannot put it off an hour nor yet advance it"), and other verses such as verse 28 of sūra *Jāthiya*, 108 of sūra *An'ām*, 66 of *Mā'ida*, 113 of *Āl-i 'Imrān*, 5 of *Ghāfir*, 47 of *Yūnis* speak of the independent existence of community (nation) (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 SH, vol.4, p.96). For Ṭabāṭabā'ī, establishing Islamic laws and *sharī'a* and, more importantly, establishing Islamic state is conducted on the basis of social purposes (true felicity and divine proximity).
4. Islam has given importance to community and the foundation of Islam is explicitly on community (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 SH, vol.4, p.94). No religion has emphasized sociality like Islam (ibid, p.97). In Ṭabāṭabā'ī's view, Islam is social in all its states (ibid, p.126).
5. For Ṭabāṭabā'ī, religion has a social tint (ibid, p.122) and thus Islam has founded community on the basis of belief, not on the basis of sex, ethnicity or homeland, etc. (ibid, p.125). In the ideal situation, the borders

of Islamic nation are not natural or geographical borders; rather, they are doctrinal (ibid).

6. From this viewpoint, the man – after entering the community and the realization of community – reaches the stage of state and the 'community' is mediator between him (the individual) and the state (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Uṣūl Falsafayī Ri'ālism, 1378 SH, p.145). According to the principle of 'conventional things after the community' (*i'ibāriyāt ba'd al-Ijtimā'*), the state is generated after the formation of community, but religion has existed before the community innately (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1374 SH, vol.4, p.96). And the community has been a mediator between the man and his perception of religion. Indeed, the community has assisted the man in understanding religion, and religion has been the factor for unity of the community (ibid, p.95).
7. Rationalism has a special position in the state. In Ṭabāṭabā'ī's view, perceiving and receiving the divine and religious knowledge is done by reason (Yazdānī Muqaddam, 1390 SH, vol.2, p.274), and giving up the rational method leads to the fall of humanity and social inequality (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 SH, vol.10, p.292-293).

Understanding the Quran, religious knowledge and reasoning in religion is done by using the reason and contemplation of all members of community, and leads to the realization of an intellectual community. The intellectual and rational community has some features such as the followings: (a) it is accompanied by freedom of belief; (b) it encompasses the social and political decision-making (ibid, 1374 SH, vol.4, pp.121-125, 129-131); (c) the 'principle of unity' (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1374 SH, vol.4, ppp.149-150) is strengthened in community. By adducing some Quranic verses such as verse 103 of sūra Āl-i 'Imrān ("Hold fast, all together, to Allah's cord, and do not be divided"), Ṭabāṭabā'ī asserts that unity means all the members of community want to participate in thinking, contemplating, understanding, perceiving, inferring and deciding, and the social action is the result of discussion and dialogue (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Shī'a,

1378 SH (B), p.71-73; idem, 1374 SH, vol.4, pp.169-170).

8. The role of social justice in the society and the state leads, in Ṭabāṭabā'ī's view, to establishment of human community. Human's felicity and salvation is related to his social good (Yazdānī Muqaddam, 1390 SH, vol.2, p.266). On the basis of the conventional perceptions after the community, Ṭabāṭabā'ī maintains that the man, after formation of the community, found the importance of establishing the community and tried to create equilibrium in the social arrangements and relationships, which is called 'social justice' (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1374 SH, vol.2, p.176). Humans' mutual need of each other in their social life forced them to limit their latitude and freedom and accept the justice, because in any area of the world where a person gains power and becomes more powerful than others, the social justice and cooperation is weakened (ibid).

Considering the aforementioned issues, the political interpretation of the state in the Quran from Ṭabāṭabā'ī's viewpoint is done using the Quranic verses. Ṭabāṭabā'ī considers the verse 26 of sūra Āl-i 'Imrān ("Say, 'O Allah, Master of all sovereignty! You give sovereignty to whomever You wish, and strip of sovereignty whomever You wish; You make mighty whomever You wish, and You degrade whomever You wish; all choice is in Your hand. Indeed You have power over all things.'") to deal with a political-social interpretation of the term '*mulk*' in the Quran (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 SH, vol.3, p.144).¹ For Ṭabāṭabā'ī, lordship and sovereignty are not of positive (*ta'ṣībī*) prescripts; rather they are of ratified (*imḍā'ī*) prescripts. Indeed, Islam has not rejected the common state among people and the historical evolutions; rather, it has made modifications in the state (Yazdānī Muqaddam, 1390 SH, vol.2, p.267). Ṭabāṭabā'ī asserts that the validity of sovereignty and lordship is like

1. In this regard, one may refer to the following sources: Ṭabāṭabā'ī M. Ḥ, *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol.3, p.145-147; Sayyid Hādī Khurramshāhī (1388 SH). *Barrasīhāyi Islāmī*. pp. 156-157, 172-174. Qom: Būstān-i Kitāb; Ṭabāṭabā'ī, M. Ḥ. (1386 SH). *Shī'ā dar Islām* (Sayyid Hādī Khurramshāhī, ed.). p. 151. Qom: Būstān-i Kitāb.

other conventional issues which the human community has always sought to complete, modify and remove the inconsistent effects of it. Here, the divine prophets have played a more complete role, because they have invited people to God's servitude, promote justice, and fight the oppression in centuries (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 SH, vol.3, pp.147-148). According to the analysis of the conventional things after the community, the humans' motivation in forming the presidency system and other aspects of government is escaping the oppressions of previous regimes; and there may be other regimes with various forms and contents in the future centuries (ibid, vol.3, p.145-146). For Ṭabāṭabā'ī, the state in the society has functions and benefits that are as follows: (a) establishing social justice is the main function of the state in line with the social life, i.e. establishing social justice, and the individuals' felicity is dependent on it (Yazdānī Muqaddam, 1390 SH, vol.2, p.267); (b) the state prevents the eruption of talent of employing individuals in the society. The state is among the factors of founding the community and human civilization (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1387 SH (A), p.149; Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1374 SH, vol.2, p.187).

In Ṭabāṭabā'ī's view, religion is the influential factor in modifying the state and its form (Yazdānī Muqaddam, 1390 SH, vol.2, p.268). By inviting people to monotheism and negating social discriminations, religion casts doubt on and denies the state's unique and special right in ruling and sovereignty (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 SH, vol.4, p.123). What Islam and the Quran have invited people to is forming community and uniting around religion, and the state is one of the necessities for this unity which emerges – like other social necessities – in the community (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1374 SH, vol.3, p.233). Accordingly, the form of the state will not be fixed and can appear in different forms (ibid, pp.227-228). Thus, the favorite state in Ṭabāṭabā'ī's view is the religious social state (*ḥukūma ijtimā'īya dīniyya*) (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 AH, vol.9, p.264; ibid, 1388 SH (A), pp.96-97). The religious and Islamic state in Ṭabāṭabā'ī's view has the following features: (a) Muslims determine the ruler in the Islamic society; (b) determining the ruler is based on the tradition of imamate; indeed, it is not a royal or despotic state; (c) the ruler must protect the prescripts of religion;

(d) the state needs to consult Muslims and the Islamic community (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1387 SH (D), p.122). The desirable state for the Islamic society, in Ṭabāṭabā'ī's view, is called "humane state" (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1390 AH, vol.9, p.115).

Conclusion

The main issue in this study is a comparative investigation of the Quran's political interpretation in Yūsuf Qarḍāwī's thought and that of 'Allāma Muhammad Hussein Ṭabāṭabā'ī. The theoretical framework of this study has been organized on the basis of the "author's intentionalism" reading. On that basis, three dominant political discourses of the time, the two author's intention in writing, their mental world and intellectual characteristics in their political interpretation of the Quran have been investigated. The comparative aspects of the political interpretation of the Quran for Qarḍāwī and Ṭabāṭabā'ī in two main dimensions are as follows:

A) The comparative features and the mental world of Qarḍāwī and Ṭabāṭabā'ī in respect with the common points of the effective intellectual features and the mental world are as follows: (a) in the general features of Islam and Islamic attitude, both of them have a common view in regard with divinity of Islam's purpose and goal, its being humane, its being widespread (maximal aspect), its realism and clarity; (b) they have common exegetical features such as paying attention to the Quran's language, paying attention to the Quran's features in issuing precepts and their denotation, the role of right and authentic tradition in interpreting the Quran, etc.); (c) they stress on no separation between religion and politics (the state) and the necessity of the Islamic state; (d) they emphasize the effect of jurisprudence and *Sharī'a* in political attitude; (e) paying attention to the Quran's social discussion; and (f) emphasizing the role of moral and mystical discussions are among the common points between the views of Qarḍāwī and Ṭabāṭabā'ī.

But their points of difference are as follows: (a) while both thinkers are influenced by the revival of Islamic thought, they are from two

different thinking backgrounds and contexts, one from the Sunnite-Arabic thinking context and the other from the Iranian-Shiite thinking context. In other words, one can study Qarḍāwī in relation to al-Azhar's thought and Ṭabāṭabā'ī in relation to Najaf-Qom's thought, and evaluate the intellectual genesis of them in two different contexts. In this regard, the type of education, the type of looking at the man, the cosmological foundation, the epistemological foundations of the political thought, and the moral foundations of both thinkers are different and effective. Each of them have attempted – on the basis of the theoretical features and the practical solutions in accordance with the political jurisprudence of their denominations – to organize their political and social behaviors according to the Book (the Quran), the Sunnah (the Prophet's way of life) and reason to generate a powerful motive for creating political-social movement and changes in accordance with the Quran; (b) the other type of distinction returns to the thinking method, in a way that the philosophical discussions in 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī's view have been strong and extraordinarily influential. In 'Allāmah Ṭabāṭabā'ī's philosophical approach, the innovative views in philosophy, Islamic philosophy including Islamic mysticism, and the rational and social features influenced by the social theory of conventional perceptions have found a special status and new interpretations. On the other hand, the dominance of jurisprudential, legal discussions as well as the independent discussions on political system and the government in Qarḍāwī's thought has been considered and investigated more than Ṭabāṭabā'ī's thought, in a way that the discussions of Islamic jurisprudence have been studied in Qarḍāwī's thought in a systematic way. In other words, Ṭabāṭabā'ī considered the subject (the man) as constructed by the philosophical thinking, and both the construction of the subject and the subject itself are important for him. In this regard, the subject is active and generates validity. This view of the subject (the man) is a deep one. In Qarḍāwī's maximal reading of *Sharī'a*, a type of duty-centered man emerges, who is

obligation-oriented more than being a constructive subject. This type of human being is obliged to do his obligations more than being active and validity-making in the political system. Thus, Qarḍāwī's definition is different from that of Ṭabāṭabā'ī. The definitional concept of the monotheist man in Ṭabāṭabā'ī's concept is his being validating and socially active in view of various levels of the existence and the man. The monotheist man in Qarḍāwī's view is a legally competent and worshipping one who has a rather superficial and outward reading of religion.

B) The comparative analysis and investigation of the political and social interpretations of the Quran offered by Qarḍāwī and Ṭabāṭabā'ī are as follows: for Qarḍāwī, Islam is both a religion and a political system. The Islamic state is a civil state and governs according to the Islamic laws and precepts found in the Quran. This means that the state exists in the essence of Islam. From the advent of Islam, the state has been its twin and companion, and as its inseparable section. Qarḍāwī maintains that the essence and the nature of the state established by Islam is a civil, legal and consultative state whose foundation and referent is Islam. The status of *dowlat* (the government and the state) in Islam is of great importance in Qarḍāwī's view. The most important evidences for this position can be found in the Prophet's practical way of life in establishing the Islamic state. The Muslim's history and Islam's nature show that there is no separation between the religion and the state. In Ṭabāṭabā'ī's thought, religion has a social tint, and the politics and the state are of secondary status and among the necessities of the society. Besides, accepting the conventions is common among human beings; and Islam has recognized many of [human] conventions, contracts, states and policies through confirmation and verification. The only difference is in the type of orientation, i.e. divine orientation and non-divine orientation. Accordingly, Ṭabāṭabā'ī introduces the Islamic state as a human and social state. The Islamic state (the social religious state), since it is religious, has the duty to exert the Islamic precepts

and establish religious laws. In confronting with the rival opinions, both Qarḏāwī and Ṭabāṭabāʾī maintain that the religious doctrines have independent entity in facing with the rival thoughts. For both thinkers, the state is a necessity for the society. In the findings of the study, we may say that both thinkers have attempted to present a pure, genuine, formative, motivating, and system-making image of the Quran. The discussions related to the political-social interpretation of the Quran have been put forward regardless of their divisive aspects in the Muslim nations, and are aimed at returning to the Quranic purified life.

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