

THE Ordinances of Government  
**On the Perfect State**  
al-Fārābī

ANDREW F. MARCH  
**THE CALIPHATE OF MAN**  
PATRICIA CRONE  
Edinburgh

CRONE & HINDS  
**PIPER**  
Bassam Tibi  
Der wahre Imam

THE POLITICAL DOCTRINE OF AL-BĀQILLĀNĪ  
A. U. B.

ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT  
W. M. WATT  
EDINBURGH

THE Crisis of Muslim History  
Mahnoud M. Ayoub  
Viva

AUTHORITY IN ISLAM  
DABASHI

N. Rózsa fordította: AZ ALLAMISÁG MODELJEI A KÖZEL-KELETEN

THE CALIPHATE AND ISLAMIC STATEHOOD VOL. 2  
Edited by Carol Kersten

THE CALIPHATE AND ISLAMIC STATEHOOD VOL. 3  
Edited by Carol Kersten

THE CALIPHATE AND ISLAMIC STATEHOOD VOL. 1  
Edited by Carol Kersten

THE SHADOW OF GOD AND THE HIDDEN IMAM  
Said Amir Aghajani  
Chicago

THE HEIRS OF THE PROPHET  
SUNY

THE FATIMID CALIPHATE  
DIVERSITY OF TRADITIONS  
EDITED BY FARHAD DASTGIRI AND SHAHMOUL JINA  
T

THE JUST RULER  
IN SHI'ITE ISLAM  
SACHEDINA  
OXFORD

THE Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam

AN ISLAMIC UTOPIAN  
A Political Biography of Ali Shari'ati  
RAHNEMA  
Routledge

RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY AND POLITICAL THOUGHT IN TWELFVER SHI'ISM

FADLALLAH

ISLAM AND REVOLUTION  
KHOMEINI  
KPI

Madelung The succession to Muhammad  
CAMBRIDGE

Parable and Politics in Early Islamic History

PANKHUIST  
**HIZB UT-TAHRIR**  
HURST

**The Theories of State  
and Government in Islam  
and Islamism from the Prophet  
Muhammad to ISIL / Da'ish:  
A Selected Bibliography**  
compiled and selected by **Attila Kovács**

Regionalizing  
Pan-Islamism  
Edited by  
MUSHIRUL HASAN  
MARGRIT PERNAU  
MANOHAR

THE TIMES  
source Reader  
OXFORD

Pavlina Cermanová  
Jakub Hrubý  
(eds.)

Alexander

MAS

Fawaz A

TYMOTZSI ZV

**The Theories of State and  
Government in Islam  
and Islamism from the Prophet  
Muhammad to ISIL / Da'ish:  
A Selected Bibliography**

compiled and selected by

**Attila Kovács**



*Chronos*

Bratislava 2023

# Electronic edition PTM Excellent

## Series I: Bibliography vol. 5

Cover photography:

Detail of author's library with books about Islamic political theory © Attila Kovács

© Text and edition: Attila Kovács, 2023

© Cover design: Attila Kovács

© Chronos, 2023

Affiliation: Department of Comparative Religions  
Faculty of Arts  
Comenius University in Bratislava  
Slovakia

First edition, Bratislava 2023

extent: 48 pages, 3,15 AH

ISBN 978-80-89027-71-2

EAN 9788089027712



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/)

## Content

Introductory note	3
<b>I. General Works</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>II. Theories of the State and Government in Islamic History</b>	<b>11</b>
II. 1 The Rule of the Prophet: The Political Model of the Early Muslim Umma	11
II. 2 „Deputy of the Messenger of God“: The Birth of the Caliphate	12
II. 3 „The Shadow of God on Earth“: Abu 'l-Hasan al-Mawardi and other Theories of the Governance in the Muslim "Golden Age"	14
II. 4 „On the Perfect State“: Abu Nasr al-Farabi and the Political Utopias of Islamic Philosophy	18
II. 5 Da'wa wa Dawla: The Fatima Caliphate and the Theory of State in the Shi'a of Seven Imams (Isma'iliyya)	20
II. 6 The Rule of the "Most Religious Muslim": Kharijite / Ibadite Theories of the State	22
II. 7 Sultan, Caliph, Emperor: Islam and Government in the Ottoman Empire	22
<b>III. Theories of the State and Government in Modern Islam</b>	<b>24</b>
III. 1 Caliphate after the Caliphate: Muhammad Rashid Rida and the Political Concepts of Islamic Reformists and their Criticism	24
III. 2 Islamic State on the Indian Subcontinent: From the Caliphate Movement to Abu l-'Ala Maududi	27
III. 3 From the Rule of the Imams to the Rule of the Clergy: Ruhollah Khomeini and the Theory of the State in the Shi'a of Twelve Imams (Ithna'ashariyya)	29
III. 4 „Return and Restoration“: The Muslim Brotherhood and Islamist Concepts of Government and State in Modern Egypt	35
<b>IV. Theories of the State and Government in Contemporary Islam and Islamism</b>	<b>38</b>
IV. 1 Visions of an Islamic Palestine: The Palestinian Islamist Movements and the State	38
IV. 2 Hasan al-Turabi and the Sudanese Experience	40
IV. 3 Rashid al-Ghannushi and the Nahda Party of Tunisia	42

IV. 4	The “Brotherly Leader” and the “Third World Theory”: Mu’ammār al-Qaddāfi and the State	42
IV. 5	Alia Izetbegović and the Bosnian Vision of a Muslim State	43
IV. 6	The Caliphate in the Library: Islamic Liberation Party and the Theory of an Islamic State	44
IV. 7	„The Islamic State“: Jihadists and the Caliphate from al-Qai’da to ISIL / Da’ish	45

## Introductory note

Islamic political theory includes works that are taken from multiple genres and discourses, since, historically speaking, political science and political theory did not exist as independent disciplines in Islam. Thus the works that discuss political theory listed here come from juristic works, administrative handbooks, works in the “mirrors for princes” genre, and philosophical works, in addition to Qur’anic exegesis, historiography, theology, and ethics. Works on political theory include works that are descriptive, works that are normative, and works that are a combination of the two. One might pose the question of how one defines political theory as “Islamic.” This entry takes a broad perspective and defines political theory as Islamic if the thinker concerned engages with the Islamic discursive tradition. Thus, for example, while this entry includes contemporary thinkers who argue for an Islamic state, it also includes thinkers who argue for the separation of religion and state while using Islamic sources and history as a basis for their political theory.

The term “caliph” (Khalifa in Arabic) is generally regarded to mean “successor of the prophet Muhammad,” while “caliphate” (Khilafa in Arabic) denotes the office of the political leader of the Muslim community (Umma) or state, particularly during the period from 632 to 1258. Although the caliph was not considered to possess spiritual authority as Muhammad had, the caliph presided over a state governed under Islamic law (Sharia) whose territories constituted the “abode of Islam” (Dar al-Islam). Thus, the caliph served as the symbol of the supremacy of the Sharia, as commander of the faithful (amir al-mu’minin) in his capacity to both defend and expand these lands and as leader of prayers (Imam), thereby clothing the caliphate with religious meaning. Sunni Islam holds that Muhammad left no instructions regarding his successor, who was to be elected, with the decision of the community regarded as infallible. Accordingly, following Muhammad’s death, Abu Bakir was elected based on his close association with the Prophet, his piety, and his leadership ability. The Shi’a Islamic tradition, on the other hand, asserts that the community made a grievous error in electing Abu Bakr rather than Muhammad’s cousin and son-in-law, ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, whom they believe was chosen by the Prophet. These partisans of ‘Ali consider Abu Bakr’s succession to be illegitimate, claiming that infallibility was limited to the Prophet’s family through ‘Ali, ‘Ali’s sons through his marriage with the Prophet’s daughter, Fatima, and their descendants. Thus, Shi’ite Islam rejected the Sunni notion of rightly guided (Rashidun) caliphs, a term used for the first four caliphs, acknowledging instead the rightful succession of ‘Ali and his descendants. The Rashidun Caliphate (632–661) was followed by the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750) established by Mu‘awiya in Damascus, Syria. The dynastic succession established by Mu‘awiya lasted until a

rival clan of the Qurash tribe, the Abbasids, successfully revolted. The Abbasid Caliphate (750–1258) established a dynasty with its capital in Baghdad, though its control over the state was severely reduced during its last three centuries by rival secular rulers, including the Buyids and Seljuks along with the Fatamid Caliphate (909–1171) in Egypt and the Umayyad Caliphate (929–1031) of Spain. The Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk state led to the establishment of the Ottoman Caliphate (1517–1924).

Indeed, this bibliography is far from being fully comprehensive with regard to this extensively elaborated topic on about this extensively elaborated topic but it has aimed to keep up with within the realms of possibility, a representative one. The main goal is to offer a balanced, representative and a relatively comprehensive selection of primary sources (in original languages or translations) and secondary scientific texts (especially monographs, books, edited volumes, journal articles, bibliographies, atlases, encyclopaedias, edited documents and academic theses) that were written about the topic.

The bibliography is divided into four main sections: The first one contents a general works written about the topic. The second is organized more-less historically on the basis of the following periods and topics: (1) the are of prophet Muhammad and the birth of Islam, (2) the creation of the Islamic Caliphate and their developenet in the classical period, (3) Theories of the Islamic state and government in the medieval Muslim tradition, (4) Political Utopias of the classical Islamic Philosophy ,(5) theory of the state in the Shi'a of seven Imams (Isma'iliyya) (6) Kharijite / Ibadite Theories of the State and (7) Islam and Government in the Ottoman Empire. The third section is focused on the Islam in the modern era: (1) the Political Concepts of Islamic Reformists and their Criticism, (2) the Caliphate Movement in India (3) the theory of the state in the Shi'a of twelve Imams (Ithna'ashariyya) (4) the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamist concepts of government in modern Egypt. The final section deals with contemporary Islam ans Islamism: (1) The Palestinian Islamist Movements and the State, (2) Hasan al-Turabi and the Sudanese experience (3) Rashid al-Ghannushi and the Nahda Party of Tunisia (4) Mu'ammār al-Qaddāfi and the state (5) Alia Izetbegović and the Bosnian vision of a Muslim state, (6) Islamic Liberation Party and the theory of an Islamic state (7) the Jihadists and the Caliphate from al-Qai'da to ISIL / Da'ish.

According to the time horizon of the selected textual sources, we are at disposal of the publications written in about the last one hundred years, to be more accurate in the period of 1892-2023. With regard to the choice of languages, it contains especially texts published in English, but there are several representative titles written in other western languages (German, French, etc.), as well as some key primary and secondary sources published in Arabic. For these items, the data is



listed in the Latin transcription. In order to highlight the local central European academic production, the bibliography does not miss the original work written in Slovak, Czech, and Hungarian.

Regarding the order of individual items, they are ranked by the English alphabet. In the case of the authors with "surnames" starting with the Arabic determiner "Al-" (or its variants), these are alphabetically ranked regardless of this determiner. Others, especially "classic" Arabic authors, are shed under their *nasab* "Ibn ...". For the transcription of Arabic, I used a simplified transcription, common in the English context. The websites listed in the have been lastly active on November 30st 2023 (unless indicated otherwise).

This selected bibliography can be used not only by students but also by junior and senior researchers not only from the field of Comparative religion, but also by historians, anthropologists, political scientists, orientalist, etc. / or by experts from practice, e.g. diplomats, members of humanitarian and peace organizations, the security and armed forces or intelligence.

Attila Kovács



## I. General Works

- ABDUL RAUF, Imam Feisal, *Defining Islamic Statehood: Measuring and Indexing Contemporary Muslim States*, London - New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- ABDUR RAHMAN, Syed Sabahuddin, "Islamic State in Theory and Practice", *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), vol. 23 no. 4 (1984), pp. 389-417.
- ABU-RABI', Ibrahim M., *Contemporary Arab Thought: Studies in Post-1967 Arab Intellectual History*, London, Pluto Press, 2004. – part I
- ABU-RABI', Ibrahim M. (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- AFSARUDDIN, Asma, „The 'Islamic State': Genealogy, Facts, and Myths", *Journal of Church and State*, vol. 48 no. 1 (Winter 2006), pp. 153-173.
- AFSARUDDIN, Asma, "Caliphate and Imamate", In: MERI, Josef W. (ed.), *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, London – New York, Routledge, 2006, vol. 1, pp. 130-132.
- AKBARZADEH, Shahram (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Political Islam*, London - New York, Routledge, 2012.
- AKBARZADEH, Shahram & SAEED, Abdullah (eds.), *Islam and Political Legitimacy*, London - New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- ARJOMAND, Saïd Amir, "Legitimacy and Political Organization: Caliphs, Kings and Regimes", In: IRWIN, Robert (ed.), *The New Cambridge History of Islam vol. 4: Islamic Cultures and Societies to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, 225-305.
- ARNOLD, Sir Thomas W., *The Caliphate*, London, Oxford University Press, 1924.
- AYOOB, Muhammed, *The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2008.
- BEHZADI, Hamid, „The Principles of Legitimacy and Its Influence Upon the Muslim Political Theory“, *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), vol. 10 (December 1971), pp. 277-290.
- BLACK, Antony, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2011.
- BLUNT, Wilfrid Scawen, *The Future of Islam*, London, Paul Kegan, 1882. – chap. II (Caliphate)
- BROWN, L. Carl, *Religion and State: The Muslim Approach to Politics*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2000.
- BULLIET, Richard W., *Religion and the State in Islam: From Medieval Caliphate to the Muslim Brotherhood*, University of Denver - Center for Middle East Studies, Occasional Paper Series No. 2, 2013.
- CALDER, Norman & MOJADDEDI, Jawid & RIPPIN, Andrew (eds.), *Classical Islam: A Sourcebook of Religious Literature*, London - New York, Routledge, 2005.
- CAMPANINI, Massimo & DI DONAT, Marco (eds.), *Islamic Political Theology*, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2021.

- ČEJKA, Marek, *Korán, meč a volební urna: Zdroje a podoby islamismu*, Praha, Academia, 2020.
- ELGINDY, Khaled, "Sovereignty and Natural Law in Islamic Constitutional Theory: A Contemporary Analysis", *The Arab Studies Journal*, vol. 1 no. 2 (Fall 1993), pp. 22-25.
- ELLIESIE, Hatem, "Rule of Law in Islamic Modeled States", In: KOETTER, Matthias & SCHUPPERT, Gunnar Folke (eds.), *Understandings of the Rule of Law in various Legal Orders of the World*, Berlin, Rule of Law Working Paper Series Nr. 13, 2010.
- BUREŠ, Jaroslav, „Státoprávní koncepce v programech islamistických hnutí na Blízkém východě“, *Mezinárodní vztahy*, vol. 37 no. 3 (2002), pp. 5-26.
- ENAYAT, Hamid, *Modern Islamic Political Thought: The Response of the Shi'ī and Sunnī Muslims to the Twentieth Century*, London – New York, I.B. Tauris, 2005.
- ENGINEER, Asghar Ali, *The State in Islam: Nature and Scope*, Gurgaon, Hope India Publications, 2006.
- ESPOSITO, John L. & SHAHIN, Emad El-Din (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*, New York – Oxford, Oxford University Press 2013.
- ESPOSITO, John L. & SHAHIN, Emad El-Din (eds.), *Key Islamic Political Thinkers*, New York – Oxford, Oxford University Press 2018.
- EUBEN, Roxanne L. & ZAMAN, Muhammad Qasim (eds.), *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2009.
- FARSAKH, Andrea M., "A Comparison of the Sunnī Caliphate and the Shi'ī Imamate", *The Muslim World*, vol. 59 issue 2 (April 1969), pp. 50-63, 127-141.
- GOMBÁR, Eduard, *Moderní dějiny islámských zemí*, Praha, Karolinum, 1999.
- GOULD, Mark, "Islam, the Law, and The Sovereignty of God", *Policy Review*, vol. 149 (June/July 2008), pp. 3-17.
- HAFEZ, Farid, *Islamisch-politische Denker: Eine Einführung in die islamisch-politische Ideengeschichte*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2014.
- HALLAQ, Wael B., *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2013.
- HASHEMI, Nader, "Sovereignty", In: BOWERING, Gerhard (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 522-523.
- HASSAN, Mona, *Longing for the Lost Caliphate: A Transregional History*, Princeton - Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2016.
- HOFMANN, Murad Wilfried, "Governing under Islam and the Islamic Political System", *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 18 no. 3 (Summer 2001), pp. 1-16.
- CHEEMA, Sujata Ashwarya, „The Centrality of State in Islam and its Religious Roles: Discourse on the Caliphate/State from Early to Modern Islamic History“, *Islam and the Modern Age*, vol. 37 no. 2 (May 2006), pp. 112-139.

- JACKSON, Roy, "Authority", In: BOWERING, Gerhard (ed.), *Islamic Political Thought: An Introduction*, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2015, pp. 25-36;
- BOWERING, Gerhard (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 50-56.
- Jāmi' at-Tirmidhi*, 6 vols., (eng. trans. Abu Khaliyl), Riyad, Maktaba Darussalam, 2007.
- KADI, Wadad, "Caliph" In: *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 276-278.
- KADI, Wadad & SHAHIN, Aram A. "Caliphate", In: BOWERING, Gerhard (ed.), *Islamic Political Thought: An Introduction*, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2015, pp. 37-47; BOWERING, Gerhard (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 81-86.
- KAMALI, Mohammad Hashim, "Characteristics of the Islamic State", *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), vol. 32 no. 1 (1993), pp. 17-40.
- KAMALI, Mohammad Hashim, "Caliphate and Political Jurisprudence in Islam: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives", *The Muslim World*, vol. 106 (April 2016), pp. 384-403.
- KASI, Mirza Djevad Khan, „Das Kalifat nach islamischem Staatsrecht. Eine Historisch-Dogmatische Studie“, *Die Welt des Islams*, Bd. 5, H. 4 (March 1918), pp. 189-263.
- KENNEDY, Hugh, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*, Harlow, Pearson Longman, 2004.
- KENNEDY, Hugh, *Caliphate: The History of an Idea*, New York, Basic Books, 2016.
- KERSTEN, Carool (ed.), *The Caliphate and Islamic Statehood: Formation, Fragmentation and Modern Interpretations*, Berlin, Gerlach Press, 2015.
- KRÄMER, Gudrun, *Demokratie im Islam. Der Kampf für Toleranz und Freiheit in der arabischen Welt*, München, C.H.Beck, 2011.
- KRÄMER, Gudrun & SCHMIDTKE, Sabine (eds.), *Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies*, Leiden – Boston, E.J. Brill, 2006.
- LAHOUD, Nelly, *Political Thought in Islam: A Study in Intellectual Boundaries*, New York – London, RoutledgeCurzon, 2005.
- LAMBTON, A.K.S., "Khalifa in Political Theory", In: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1986, vol. 4, pp. 947-950.
- LAPIDUS, Ira M., "The Golden Age: The Political Concepts of Islam", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 524 (November 1992), pp. 13-25.
- LEWIS, Bernard, *The Political Language of Islam*, Chicago - London, University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- LEWIS, Bernard, *Political Words and Ideas in Islam*, Princeton, Markus Wiener Publishers, 2008.
- MADELUNG, Wilferd, "Imāma", In: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1986, vol. 3, pp. 1163-1169.
- MARCH, Andrew F., "Genealogies of Sovereignty in Islamic Political Theology", *Social Research*, vol. 80 no. 1 (Spring 2013), pp. 293-320.

- MARCH, Andrew F., *The Caliphate of Man: Popular Sovereignty in Modern Islamic Thought*, Cambridge, The Belknap Press – Harvard University Press, 2019.
- MARLOW, Louise, “Kings and Rulers” In: *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 2003, vol. 3, pp. 90-95.
- MASUD, Muhammad Khalid, „The Doctrine of Siyasa in Islamic Law”, *Recht van de Islam*, vol. 18 (2001), pp. 1-29.
- MASUD, Muhammad Khalid, “The Changing Concepts of Caliphate – Social Construction of Shari’a and the Question of Ethics” In: VOGT, Kari & LARSEN, Lena & MOE, Christian (eds.), *New Directions in Islamic Thought: Exploring Reform and Muslim Tradition*, London – New York, I.B. Tauris, 2009, pp. 187-205.
- MOTEN, Abdul Rashid, *Political Science: An Islamic Perspective*, London – New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 1996.
- MOTEN, Adul Rashid, „Al-Siyasah al-Shar’iyah: God Governance in Islam”, In: AL-AHSAN, Abdullah & YOUNG, Stephen B. (eds.), *Qur’anic Guidance for Good Governance: A Contemporary Perspective*, London - New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 55-82.
- MUIR, Sir William, *The Caliphate. Its Rise, Decline and Fall*, London, The Religious Tract Society, 1892.
- MUTALIB, Hussin & HASHMI, Taj ul-Islam (eds.), *Islam, Muslims and the Modern State: Case-Studies of Muslims in Thirteen Countries*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 1996.
- MUZIKÁŘ, Josef a kol., *Zápas o novodobý stát v islámském světě. Od mešity ke parlamentu*, Praha, Academia, 1989.
- NEUSNER, Jacob (ed.), *God's Rule: The Politics of World Religions*, Washington, Georgetown University Press, 2003.
- PARRAY, Tauseef Ahmad, “ ‘Islamic Democracy’ or Democracy in Islam: Some Key Operational Democratic Concepts and Notions”, *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization*, vol. 2 no. 2 (2012), pp. 66-86.
- PENNELL, Richard, "What is the Significance of the Title 'Amīr al-mu'minīn?'" , *The Journal of North African Studies*, vol. 21 no. 4 (2016), pp. 623-644.
- PIRICKÝ, Gabriel, „Alláh, kalif imám a sultán. Spoločenské myslenie a politická moc v kalsickom isláme”, In: ŽELIVKA, Jozef a kol., *Středomoří v dějinách. Pocta prof. Euradu Gombárovi k 60. narozeninám*, Praha, Karolinum, 2012, pp. 181-202.
- al-Qur’an al-Karim*, al-Qahira, Dar al-kitab al-misri, 1980.
- RABB, Intisar A., „Governance”, In: BOWERING, Gerhard (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 197-198.
- AL-RASHEED, Madawi & KERSTEN, Carool & SHTERIN, Marat (eds.), *Demystifying the Caliphate: Historical Memory and Contemporary Contexts*, Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press, 2015.

- REFUDEEN, Mohammed Awais, “Phenomenology versus Historicism: The Case of Imamate”, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 15 no. 2 (Summer 1998), pp. 63-73.
- ROY, Olivier, *The Failure of Political Islam*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1994.
- RÓZSA, Erzsébet N., *Az államiság modelljei a Közel-Keleten: A vabhábita királyságtól az iszlám köztársaságig*, Budapest, Dialóg Campus, 2019.
- SAEED, Abdullah (ed.), *Islamic Political Thought and Governance*, New York, Routledge, 2010.
- SAFI, Louay M. „The Islamic State: A Conceptual Framework”, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 8 no. 2 (September 1991), pp. 221-234.
- Sabih al-Bukhari*, 9 vols., English-Arabic, (eng. trans. by Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan), Riyad, Maktaba Darussalam, 1997.
- Sabih Muslim*, 7 vols., (comp. by Imam Abul Hussain Muslim bin al-Hajjaj, eng. trans. by Nasiruddin al-Khattab), Riyad, Maktaba Darussalam, 2007.
- SCHMIDTKE, Sabine (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, New York – Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016.
- SHAHIN, Emad El-Din, “Government”, In: BOWERING, Gerhard (ed.), *Islamic Political Thought: An Introduction*, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2015, pp. 68-85; BOWERING, Gerhard (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 198-207.
- SIEGMAN, Henry, “The State and The Individual n Sunni Islam”, *The Muslim World*, vol. 54 issue 1 (January 1964), pp. 14-26.
- SORDEL, D., “Khalīfa”, In: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1986, vol. 4, pp. 937-947.
- Sunan Abu Dawud*, 5 vols., (comp. by Imâm Hâfiz Abu Dawud Sulaiman bin Ash'ath, eng. trans. by Yaser Qadhi), Riyad, Darussalam, 2008.
- Sunan Ibn Majah*, 5 vols., (comp. by Imam Muhammad Bin Yazeed Ibn Majah Al-Qazwini, eng. trans. by Nasiruddin al-Khattab), Riyad, Darussalam, 2007.
- Sunan an-Nasa'i*, 6 vols., (comp. by Imam Hafiz Abu Abdur Rahman Ahmad bin Shu'aib bin 'Ali An-Nasa'i, eng. trans. by Nasiruddin al-Khattab), Riyad, Darussalam, 2007.
- AT-TABARI, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jabir, *The History of al-Tabari*, 38 vols., Albany, State University of New York Press, 1985-1997.
- TAMADONFAR, Mehran, *The Islamic Polity and Political Leadership: Fundamentalism, Sectarianism, and Pragmatism*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1989.
- TIBI, Bassam, *Der wahre Imam. Der Islam von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart*, München, Piper, 2001.
- YUSUF, Imtiyaz, “Imām” In: *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 2002, vol. 2, pp. 502-504.
- YÜCESOY, Hayrettin, „Imamate”, In: BOWERING, Gerhard (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 247-250.

## II. Theories of the State and Government in Islamic History

### II. 1 The Rule of the Prophet:

#### The Political Model of the Early Muslim Ummah

- AFSARUDDIN, Asma, *The First Muslims: History and Memory*, Oxford, Oneworld, 2007.
- AFSARUDDIN, Asma, "Where Earth and Heaven Meet: Remembering Muhammad as Head of State", In: BROCKOPP, Jonathan E. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 180-198.
- BERG, Herbert (ed.), *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 2003.
- BERWEEN, Mohamed, „Al-Wathiqā: The First Islamic State Constitution“, *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 23 issue 1 (2003), pp. 103-120.
- BOBZIN, Hartmut, „The “Seal of the Prophets”: Towards an Understanding of Muhammad’s Prophethood“, In: NEUWIRTH, Angelika & SINAI, Nicolai & MARX, Michael (eds.), *The Qur’an in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur’anic Milieu*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2010, pp. 565-584.
- HUMODI, Salah El-Tigani, *Das islamische Staatswesen: Studien zur politischen Struktur zur Zeit Muhammads*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1983.
- IBN ISHĀQ, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Ishāq’s Sirat Rasūl Allāh* (trans. & intro. by A. Guillaume), New York – Oxford, Oxford University Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> 2001.
- IBN KATHIR, *The Life of Prophet Muhammad: Al-Sira al-Nabawiyya, 4 vols.*, Reading, Garnet Publishing, 2006.
- KAKA KHEL, Muhammad Nazeer, “Foundation of the Islamic State at Medina and Its Constitution”, *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), vol. 21 no. 3 (1982), pp. 61-88.
- LECKER, Michael, *The Constitution of Medina: Muḥammad’s First Legal Document*, Princeton, The Darwin Press, 2004.
- AL-MALLAH, Hashim Y., *The Governmental System of the Prophet Muhammad: A Comparative Study in Constitutional Law*, PhD. Thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1971.
- RUBIN, Uri, "Prophetic Charisma in the Quran", In: FILORAMO, Giovanni (ed.), *Carisma Proietico: Fattore di Innovazione Religiosa*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2003, pp. 175-190.
- PETRÁČEK, Karel, HRBEK, Ivan, *Muhammad*, Praha, Orbis, 1967.
- SAFI, Louay M., „Qur’anic Leadership Bases: Prophets as Visionary Leaders in Challenging Times“, In: HENDERSON CALLAHAN, Sharon (ed.), *Religious Leadership: A Reference Handbook*, London, Sage Publications, 2013, vol. 1, pp. 169-178.
- SHARON, Moshe, „The Development of the Debate Around the Legitimacy of Authority in Early Islam“, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, vol. 5 (1984), pp. 121-141.
- SHUAYB, Fiazuddin, *‘Who’s Better than God to Rule?’ - An Inquiry into the Formation of the First Islamic State (622-32 CE)*, PhD. Thesis, University of California, 2012.

THA'LABI, Ahmad ibn Muhammad, *'Ara'is al-majālis fī qisas al-anbiyā'*, or *Lives of the Prophets as Recounted by Abū Ishāq Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Tha'labī*, (trans. & annotated by William M. Brinner), Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2002.

WATT, Montgomery W., *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956.

WATT, Montgomery W., *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1961.

## II. 2 „Deputy of the Messenger of God“: The Birth of the Caliphate

ADAM, Fadzli Bin, *The Concept of Khilafah according to Selected Sunni and Shī'i Qur'anic Commentaries*, PhD. Thesis, The University of Leeds, 2001. – chap. 2.2, 3, 4

'ATHAMINA, Khalil, “The Pre-Islamic Roots of the Early Muslim Caliphate: The Emergence of Abu Bakr”, *Der Islam*, vol. 76 (1999), pp. 1-32.

AYOUB, Mahmoud M., *The Crisis of Muslim History: Religion and Politics in Early Islam*, Oxford, Oneworld, 2005.

DABASHI, Hamid, *Authority in Islam: From the Rise of Muhammad to the Establishment of the Umayyads*, New Brunswick – London, Transaction Publishers, 1989.

DARLING, Linda T., „The Vicegerent of God, from Him We Expect Rain’: The Incorporation of the Pre-Islamic State in Early Islamic Political Culture”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 134 no. 3 (2014), pp. 407-429.

DONNER, Fred M., “The Formation of the Islamic State”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 106 no. 2 (1986), pp. 283-296.

DONNER, Fred M., *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, Princeton, The Darwin Press, 1998. – chap. I/3, II/7-8

DONNER, Fred M. (ed.), *The Articulation of Early Islamic State Structures*, New York – London, Routledge, 2012.

DONNER, Fred M., “Muhammad und die frühe islamische Gemeinschaft aus historischer Sicht”, *ASIA*, vol. 68 no. 2 (2014), pp. 439-451.

GIBB, Hamilton A. R., "The Evolution of Government in Early Islam", *Studia Islamica*, vol. 4 (1955), pp. 1-17, also In: GIBB, Hamilton A. R., *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, (ed. by Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 32-46.

EL-HIBRI, Tayeb, *Parable and Politics in Early Islamic History: The Rashidun Caliphs*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2010.

HAKIM, Avraham, “Umar ibn al-Khattab and the Title *Khalifat Allah*: A Textual Analysis”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, vol. 30 (2005), pp. 207-230.

HAKIM, Avraham, “Muḥammad’s Authority and Leadership Reestablished: The Prophet and ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb””, *Revue de l’histoire des religions*, vol. 226 no. 2 (2009), pp. 181-200.



- JOHNSTON, David L., *Earth, Empire and Sacred Text: Muslims and Christians as Trustees of Creation*, London, Equinox Publishing, 2013.
- KAKA KHEL, Muhammad Nazeer, "Bay'a and its Political Role in the Early Islamic State", *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), vol. 20 no. 3 (1981), pp. 227-238.
- AL-KATHIRI, Faisal H., *Succession to the Caliphate in Early Islam*, M.A. Thesis, Portland State University, 1980.
- AL-KHUDARI BAK, Shaykh Muhammad al-Bajuri, *The History of the Four Caliphs (Itmam al-Wafa' fi Sirat al-Khulafa)*, London, Turath Publishing, 2012.
- LAPIDUS, Ira M., „The Separation of State and Religion in the Development of Early Islamic Society”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 6, no. 4 (October 1975), pp. 363-385.
- LIEW, Han Hsien, „The Caliphate of Adam: Theological Politics of the Qur'anic Term Ḥalīfa”, *Arabica*, vol. 63 (2016), pp. 1-29.
- MADDELUNG, Wilferd, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- MARGOLIOUTH, D. S., „The Sense of Title Khalīfa“, In: ARNOLD, T.W. & NICHOLSON, Reynold A. (eds.), *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1922, pp. 322-328.
- MORENO, Eduardo Manzano (ed.), *The Court of the Caliphate of al-Andalus: Four Years in Umayyad Córdoba*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2023.
- NUMANI, Shibli, *Umar*, London – New York, I.B. Tauris, 2004.
- PARET, Rudi, „Halīfat Allāh - Vicarius Dei. Ein differenzierenden Vergleich”, In: SALMON, Pierre (ed.), *Mélanges d'Islamologie. Volume dédié à la mémoire de Armand Abel par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis.*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1974, pp. 224-232.
- AL-QĀDĪ, Wadād, „The Term 'Khalīfa' in Early Exegetical Literature“, *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. 28 (1988), pp. 392-411.
- SAFRAN, Janina, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate: The Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy in Al-Andalus*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2001.
- SHAFIQ, Muhammad, „The Role and Place of Shura in the Islamic Polity“, *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), vol. 23 no. 4 (1984), pp. 419-441.
- TAYOB, Abdulkader I., "Political Theory in al-Tabarī and his Contemporaries: Deliberations on the first Caliph in Islam", *Journal for Islamic Studies*, vol. 18-19 (1998-1999), pp. 24-50.
- VAN ESS, Josef, „Political Ideas in Early Islamic Religious Thought“, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 28 no. 2 (2001), pp. 151-164.
- WATI, W. Montgomery, "God's Caliph. Qur'anic Interpretations and Umayyad Claims", In: BOSWORTH, C. E. (ed.), *Iran and Islam. In Memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1971, pp. 565-574.

## II. 3 „The Shadow of God on Earth“:

### Abu 'l-Hasan al-Mawardi and other Theories of the Governance in the Muslim "Golden Age"

- ABU 'L-YA'LA, Muhammad ibn Husain al-Farra'i al-Hambalí, *al-Abkam as-sultaniyya*, Bajrut, Dar al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, 2000.
- AGHA, Salih Sa'íd, *The Revolution Which Toppled the Umayyads: Neither Arab nor 'Abbasid*, Leiden - Boston, E.J. Brill, 2003.
- AHMED, Manzooruddin, "The Classical Muslim State", *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), vol. 1 no. 3 (1962), pp. 83-104.
- ALAJMI, Abdulhadi, „'Ulama and Caliphs New Understanding of the 'God's Caliph' Term", *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture*, vol. 13 no. 1 (2011), pp. 102-112.
- AFSARUDDIN, Asma, *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership*, Leiden - Boston, Brill, 2002.
- AFSARUDDIN, Asma, "Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership and Its Modern Implications", *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 20 no. 2 (Spring 2003), pp. 80-94.
- ANJUM, Ovamir, *Politics, Law, and Community in Islamic Thought: The Taymiyyan Moment*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- EL-<sup>ˆ</sup>ATTĀR, Jamāl F., *The Political Thought of Al-Jāhiz with Special Reference to the Question of Khilafa (Imamate): A Chronological Approach*, 2 vols., PhD. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1996.
- BAALI, Fuad, *Society, State, and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1988.
- BACHARACH, Jere L., "Signs of Sovereignty: The Shahāda, Qur'anic Verses, and the Coinage of 'Abd al-Malik", *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, vol. 27 (2010), pp. 1-30.
- AL-BAGHDADI, Ahmad Mubarak, *The Political Thought of Abu al-Hasan al-Mawardi*, PhD. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1981.
- BANISTER, Mustafa, *The Abbasid Caliphate of Cairo, 1261-1517: Out of the Shadows*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2022.
- AL-BAQILLANI, Abú Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Tayyib ibn, *Kitab at-tamhid*, Bajrut, al-Maktaba ash-sharqiyya, 1957.
- AL-BĀQILLĀNĪ, Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib, "Bāqillānī on Rightly Guided Caliphs and the Imamate" In: RENARD, John (ed.), *Islamic Theological Themes: A Primary Source Reader*, Oakland, University of California Press, 2014, pp. 375-380.
- BENNISON, Amira K., *The Great Caliphs: The Golden Age of the 'Abbasid Empire*, New Haven – London, Yale University Press, 2009.
- BINDER, Leonard, "Al-Ghazzali's Theory of Islamic Government", *The Muslim World*, vol. 45 (1955), pp. 229-241.

- BLANKINSHIP, Khalid Yahya, *The End of the Jibād State: The Reign of Hisham Ibn Abd Al-Malik and the Collapse of the Umayyads*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1994.
- CALDER, Norman, "Friday Prayer and the Juristic Theory of Government: Sarakhsī, Shīrāzī, Māwardī", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 49 No. 1 (1986), pp. 35-47.
- CEPOI, Ecaterina, "The Problem of Supreme Leadership (Imāmah) in Sunni Political Thought", *International Journal on Humanistic Ideology*, vol. 6 issue 1 (2013), pp. 129-152.
- COOPERSON, Michael, *Al-Ma'mun*, "Makers of the Muslim World", Oxford, Oneworld, 2005.
- CRONE, Patricia, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2004.
- CRONE, Patricia & HINDS, Martin, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- AL-DJUWAYNI, Imam al-haramayn ibn al-Ma'ali, *Ghiyath al-umam fi iltidjath az-zulam*, al-Qahira, Dar ad-da'wa, al-Iskandariyya, 1400 / 1979.
- ENAN, Mohammad Abdullah, *Ibn Khaldun. His Life and Work*, New Delhi, Kitab Bhavan, 1997.
- ESTEBAN, Damian, *Religion and the State in Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddimah*, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 2004.
- AL-GHAZĀLĪ, Abū Hāmid, *Al-Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings (Nasihat Al-Mulūk)*, (eng. trans. by F. R. C. Bagley), London, Oxford University Press, 1964.
- AL-GHAZALI, *Al-Ghazali's Moderation in Belief: al-Iqtisād fī al-ʿitiqād*, (eng. trans. by Aladdin M. Yaqub), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- GIBB, Hamilton A. R., "The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldun's Political Theory", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. 7 pt. 1 (1933), pp. 23-31. also in: GIBB, Hamilton A. R., *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, (ed by Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 166-175.
- GIBB, Hamilton A. R., "Al-Mawardi's Theory of the Khilafah." *Islamic Culture*, vol. 11 no. 3 (1937), pp. 291-302, also in: GIBB, Hamilton A. R., *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, (ed. by Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 151-165.
- GIBB, Hamilton A. R., "Some Considerations on the Sunni Theory of the Caliphate", *Archives d'Histoire du Droit oriental*, tome 3 (1939), pp. 401-410, also in: GIBB, Hamilton A. R., *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, (ed by Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 141-150.
- HALLAQ, Wael B., "Caliphs, Jurists and the Saljuqs in the Political Thought of Juwayni", *The Muslim World*, vol. 74 no. 1 (1984), pp. 26-41.
- HAMID, Eltigani Abdulqadir, "Al-Mawardi's Theory of State - Some Ignored Dimensions", *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 18 no. 4 (Fall 2001), pp. 1-18.
- HAMMARNEH, Saleh K., "Marwān b. al-Hakam and the Caliphate", *Der Islam*, vol. 65 no. 2 (1988), pp. 200-225.

- HANNE, Eric J., *Putting the Caliph in His Place: Power, Authority, and the Late Abbasid Caliphate*, Madison, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007.
- HASSAN, Mona, „Modern Interpretations and Misinterpretations of a Medieval Scholar: Apprehending the Political Thought of Ibn Taymiyyah”, In: AHMED, Shahab & RAPOPORT, Yossef (eds.), *Ibn Taymiyyah and His Times*, New York – Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 338-366.
- HAWTING, G.R., *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661-750*, New York – London, Routledge, 2000.
- EL-HIBRI, Tayeb, “Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and the Abbasids”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 136 no. 4 (2016), pp. 763-783.
- EL-HIBRI, Tayeb, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography: Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Narrative of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- HILLENBRAND, Carole, "Islamic Orthodoxy or Realpolitik? Al-Ghazali's Views on Government", *Journal of Persian Studies*, vol. 26 (1988) pp. 81-94.
- HURVITZ, Nimrod, *Competing Texts: The Relationship Between al-Mawardi's and Abu Ya'la's al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya*, “Occasional Publications 8”, Cambridge, Islamic Legal Studies Program - Harvard Law School, 2007.
- CHAPRA, M. Umer, “Socioeconomic and Political Dynamics in Ibn Khaldun's Thought”, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 16 no. 4 (Winter 1999), pp. 17-38.
- IBISH, Yusuf, *The Political Doctrine of Al-Baqillani*, Beirut, American University of Beirut, 1966.
- IBN KHALDUN, ‘Abd ar-Rakhman, *Tarikh Ibn Khaldūn*, Beirut, Dar al-fikr, 1431 / 2001.
- IBN KHALDŪN, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, 3 vols., (eng. trans. by Franz Rosenthal), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980.
- IBN QUTAYBA, ‘Abd Allah ibn Muslim al-Dinawari [pseudo], *al-Imama wa s-siyasa al-mā ruf bi-tarikihi al-khulafa’*, 2 vols., Beirut, Dar al-adwa’, 1990.
- IBN QUTAYBA, ‘Abd Allah ibn Muslim, *as-Sultan*, al-Qahira, al-Maktaba al-azhariyya li ‘t-turath, 2002.
- IBN TAJMIYYA, shajkh al-islam, *al-Khilafa wa ‘l-mulke*, az-Zarqa’, Maktaba al-manar, 1994.
- IBN TAJMIYYA, Taqi ad-Din ibn Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-Halim, *as-Siyasa ash-shar‘ia*, ar-Riyad, Wizara ash-shu‘un al-islamiyya, 1418 H. [1997].
- IBN TAYMIYYAH, Imam, *The Political Shariyah on Reforming the Ruler*, (eng. trans. by Dr Umar Farrukh), Leicester, Dar ul Fiqh, 2006.
- ISHAQUE, Khalid M., „Al-Ahkam Al-Sultaniyah: Laws of Government in Islam”, *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), vol. 4 no. 3 (1965), pp. 275-314.
- JOHANSEN, Baber, „A Perfect Law in an Imperfect Society: Ibn Taymiyya's Concept of Governance in the Name of the Sacred Law”, In: BEARMAN, Peri & HEINRICHS, Wolfhart & WEISS, Bernard G. (eds.), *The Law Applied: Contextualizing the Islamic Shari‘a. A Volume in Honor of Frank E. Vogel*, London – New York, I.B.Tauris, 2008, pp. 259-294.

- JUDD, Steven, „Reinterpreting al-Walid b. Yazid”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 128 no. 3 (2008), pp. 439-458.
- KAMALI, Mohammad Hashim, “*Siyāsah Shar‘iyah* or the Policies of Islamic Government”, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 6 no. 1 (September 1989), pp. 59-80.
- KAMARUDIN, Russli, *Political Philosophy of al-Ghazzālī: An Analysis*, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1997.
- KHAN, Mohammad Yaqub, *A Political Study of al-Mawardi with Special Reference to the Concept of Legitimacy*, PhD. Thesis, University of Leeds, 2001.
- KHAN, Qamaruddin, *Al-Mawardi's Theory of the State*, Lahore, Islamic Book Foundation, 1983.
- LAMBTON, A. K. S., „The Dilemma of Government in Islamic Persia: The "Siyāsāt-nāma" of Nizām al-Mulk”, *Iran*, vol. 22 (1984), pp. 55-66.
- LAMBTON, Ann K.S., *State and Government in Medieval Islam: An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists*, New York, RoutledgeCurzon, <sup>3</sup>2006.
- LIEW, Han Hsien, *Writing Away the Caliph: Political and Religious Legitimacy in Late Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, B.C. Thesis, Wesleyan University, 2012.
- MARSHAM, Andrew, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2009.
- AL-MAWARDI, Abu'l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Habib al-Basri al-Baghbadi, *al-Abkam as-Sultaniyyah: The Laws of Islamic Governance*, (trans. by Asadullah Yate), London, Ta-Ha Publishers, 1996.
- AL-MAWARDI, Abu al-Hasan, *The Ordinances of Government. Al-Abkām as-Sultāniyya wa 'l-Wilāyāt ad-Dīniyya*, (trans. by Wafaa H. Wahba) Reading, Garnet Publishing, 2000.
- AL-MAWARDI, Abu 'l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Habib, *Kitab al-ahkam as-sultaniyya wa 'l-wilayat ad-diniya*, al-Kuwajt, Maktaba dar ibn qatiba, 1989.
- EL-MERHEB, Mohamad, *Political Thought in the Mamluk Period: The Unnecessary Caliphate*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2022.
- MIKHAIL, Hanna, *Politics and Revelation: Mawardi and After*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1995.
- MOHAMAD, Zaid Bin, *al-Juwayni's Doctrine of the Imamate*, PhD. Thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 1995.
- NAFIS, Muhammad, *The Concept of the Imamate in the Works of Al-Mawardi*, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1993.
- NAWAS, John Abdallah, *Al-Ma'mun, the Inquisition and the Quest for Caliphal Authority*, Atlanta, Lockwood Press, 2015.
- NEZÁMOLMOLK, *Pojednání o politice*, (přeložil a studii napsal Zdeněk Cvrkal), Praha, Academia, 2011.

- OHLANDER, Erik, „Enacting Justice, Ensuring Salvation: The Trope of the ‘Just Ruler’ in Some Medieval Islamic Mirrors for Princes”, *The Muslim World*, vol. 99 (April 2009), pp. 237-252.
- PELLAT, Charles (ed.), *The Life and Works of Jabiz: Translations of Selected Texts*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969.
- ROBINSON, Chase F., *'Abd Al-Malik*, Oxford, Oneworld, 2007.
- ROSENTHAL, Erwin, “Ibn Khaldûns Gedanken über den Staat. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Staatslehre”, *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 25 (1932), pp. I-III, V-VIII, 1-118.
- ROSENTHAL, Erwin I. J., *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962.
- ROSENTHAL, Erwin I. J., “The Role of the State in Islam: Theory and the Medieval Practice”, *Der Islam*, vol. 50 no. 1 (1973), pp. 1-28.
- SAID, Yazeed, *Ghazālī 's Politics in Context*, New York – London, Routledge, 2013.
- SAKHNINI, Issam, “The Caliph in a Sacred Guise Origins as Initiated by Abû Ja‘far al-Mansûr”, *Jordan Journal for History and Archaeology*, vol. 1 no. 1 (2007), pp. 175-199.
- SHERWANI, H. K., “El-Ghazali on the Theory and Practice of Politics”, *Islamic Culture*, vol. 9 (1935), pp. 450-474.
- SIMON, Róbert, *Politika az iszlámban, A muszlim társadalom anatómiája*, Budapest, Corvina, 2016. –  
sijása sarija fordítás
- SONN, Tamara, “Political Authority in Classical Islamic Thought”, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 13 no. 3 (Fall 1996), pp. 309-324.
- STOWASSER, Barbara Freyer, *Religion and Political Development Comparative Ideas on Ibn Khaldun and Machiavelli*, Washington, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies - Georgetown University, 1983.
- YÜCESOY, Hayrettin, *Disenchanted the Caliphate: The Secular Discipline of Power in Abbasid Political Thought*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2023.
- WEGNER, Mark, *Islamic Government: The Medieval Sunni Islamic Theory of the Caliphate and the Debate Over the Revival of the Caliphate in Egypt, 1924-1926*, PhD. Thesis, University of Chicago, 2001.
- ZAMAN, Muhammad Qasim, “The Caliphs, the ‘Ulamā‘, and the Law: Defining the Role and Function of the Caliph in the Early ‘Abbāsīd Period”, *Islamic Law and Society*, vol. 4 no. 1 (1997), pp. 1-36.
- ZAMAN, Muhammad Qasim, *Religion and Politics under the Early 'Abbasids: The Emergence of the Proto-Sunni Elite*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 1997.

## II. 4 „On the Perfect State“:

### Abu Nasr al-Farabi and the Political Utopias of Islamic Philosophy

- ABOUZEID, Ola Abdelaziz, *A Comparative Study Between the Political Theories of Al-Farabi and the Brethren of Purity*, PhD. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1987.

- AVERROES, *Averroes on Plato's Republic*, (trans & com. by Ralph Lerner), Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1974.
- CRONE, Patricia, *The Iranian Reception of Islam: The Non-Traditionalist Strands*, vol. 2, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2016.
- DAIBER, Hans, „Political Philosophy”, In: NASR, Seyyed Hossein & LEAMAN, Oliver (eds.), *History of Islamic Philosophy*, London – London - New York, Routledge, 1996, pp. 841-885.
- DANECKI, Janusz, “Al-Ġāhiz and ‘Abd al-Ġabbār on the Necessity of Imamate. A Note on the Fate of Mu‘tazilite Political Ideas”, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, vol. 64 no. 1 (2011), pp. 153-164.
- FAKHRY Majid, *Al-Fārābī, Founder of Islamic Neoplatonism: His Life, Works and Influence*, Oxford, Oneworld, 2002.
- AL-FĀRĀBĪ, Abū Naṣr, *On the Perfect State (Mabādī’ Arā’ Abl Al-Madīna Al-Faḍīla) A Revised Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Richard Walzer*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1985.
- AL-FARABI, Abu Nasr, *Kitab as-siyasa ‘l-madaniya*, Bajrut, Dar wa maktaba al-hilal, 2<sup>1994</sup>.
- AL-FARABI, Abu Nasr, *Ara’ abl al-madina ‘l-fadila wa ‘l-mudaddātuba*, Bajrut, Dar wa maktaba al-hilal, 1995.
- AL-FĀRĀBĪ, Abū Nasr Muhammad ibn Muhammad, *Texts and Studies Collected and Reprinted*, 4. vols., Frankfurt am Main, Institute for the History of Arabo-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1999.
- ALFARABI, *The Political Writings: Selected Aphorisms and Other Texts*, (Translated and Annotated by Charles E. Butterworth), Ithaca – London, Cornell University Press, 2001.
- BUTTERWORTH, C.E. (ed.), *The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Muhsin S. Mahdi*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1992.
- GALSTON, Miriam, *Politics and Excellence: The Political Philosophy of Alfarabi*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1990.
- IBN TUFAJL, Abú Bakr, *Živý, syn Dbíciho*, Praha, SNKLHU, 1957. (Academia, 2011)
- KOPECKÁ, Pavlína, „The Perfect City by al-Farabi and Ibn Bajja”, *Paideia: Philosophical E-Journal of Charles University*, vol. 2-3 no. 12 (2015), pp. 1-10.
- LEAMAN, Oliver „Ibn Bajja on Society and Philosophy”, *Der Islam*, vol. 57 no. 1 (1980), pp. 109-119.
- MAHDI, Muhsin, “Al-Fārābī's Imperfect State”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 110 no. 4 (October-December 1990), pp. 691-726.
- MARÓTH, Miklós, *Iszlám és politikaelmélet*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2013.
- MORRIS, James W., „The Philosopher-Prophet in Avicenna's Political Philosophy”, In: BUTTERWORTH, C.E. (ed.), *The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Muhsin S. Mahdi*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1992, pp. 152-198.



- RAFIQUL ISLAM, Muhammad, „The Ideal State/Society of Plato and al-Farabi: A Comparative Analysis”, *International Journal of Islamic Thoughts*, vol. 2 (2013), pp. 61-80.
- ROSENTHAL, Erwin I. J., “The Place of Politics in the Philosophy of Ibn Rushd”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 15 no. 2 (1953), pp. 246-278.
- ROSENTHAL, Erwin I. J., “The Place of Politics in the Philosophy of Ibn Bajja”, *Islamic Culture*, vol. 25 (1951), pp. 187-211. In: SEZGIN, Fuat (ed.), *Ibn Bajja Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn aṣ-Ṣa’igh: Texts and Studies*, vol. II, Frankfurt am Main, Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1999, pp. 265-289.
- ROSENTHAL, Erwin I. J., “The Place of Politics in the Philosophy of al-Farabi”, *Islamic Culture*, vol. 29 (1955), pp. 157-178. In: SEZGIN, Fuat (ed.), *Al-Fārābī Abū Nasr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad: Texts and Studies*, Frankfurt am Main, Institute for the History of Arabo-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1999, vol. 4, pp. 399-420.
- WALKER, Paul E., „The Political Implications of al-Razi's Philosophy”, In: BUTTERWORTH, C.E. (ed.), *The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy: Essays in Honor of Muhsin S. Mahdi*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1992, pp. 61-94.

## II. 5 Da’wa wa Dawla:

### The Fatima Caliphate and the Theory of State in the Shi'a of Seven Imams (Isma‘iliyya)

- ADAM, Fadzli Bin, *The Concept of Khilafah according to Selected Sunni and Shī'i Qur'anic Commentaries*, PhD. Thesis, The University of Leeds, 2001.
- ABRAHAMOV, Binyamin, “Al-Kasim ibn Ibrahim's Theory of the Imamate”, *Arabica*, vol. 34 (1987), pp. 80-105.
- DAFTARY, Farhad, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- DAFTARY, Farhad & JIWA, Shainool (eds), *The Fatimid Caliphate: Diversity of Traditions*, London, I.B. Tauris - Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2017.
- DAKAKE, Maria Massi, *The Charismatic Community: Shī'ite Identity in Early Islam*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2007.
- HAJJAR, Sami G. & BRZEZINSKI, Steven J., “The Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Imām and Plato's Philosopher King”, *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), vol. 16 no. 1 (1977), pp. 303-316.
- JIWA, Shainool, “Inclusive Governance: A Fatimid Illustration” In: SAJOO, Aryn B. (ed.), *A Companion to Muslim Cultures*, London, I.B. Tauris - The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2012, 157-175.
- AL-KIRMĀNĪ, ‘Abd Allāh, *Master of the Age: An Islamic Treatise on the Necessity of the Imamate. A critical edition of the Arabic text and English translation of Hamīd al-Dīn Abmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kirmānī's al-Masābih fī ithbāt al-imāma by Paul E. Walker*, New York – London, I.B. Tauris - The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2007.

- KOHLBERG, Etan, „Imam and Community in the Pre-Ghayba Period”, In: ARJOMAND, Said Amir (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*, New York, State University of New York Press, 1988, pp. 25-53.
- LALANI, Arzina, *The Role of Imam Muhammad al-Baqir in Early Islam*, PhD. Thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 1988.
- LALANI, Arzina R., *Early Shi'i Thought: The teachings of Imam Muhammad al-Bāqir*, London - New York, I.B. Tauris - The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2003.
- LALANI, Arzina R. (ed.), *Degrees of Excellence: A Fatimid Treatise on Leadership in Islam: A new Arabic edition and English translation of Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Naysābūrī's Kitāb ihbāt al-imāma*, London - New York, I.B. Tauris - The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2010.
- LANDOLT, Hermann & SHEIKH, Samira & KASSAM, Kutub (eds.), *An Anthology of Ismaili Literature: A Shi'i Vision of Islam*, London – New York, I.B. Tauris - The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2008.
- MADELUNG, Wilferd, “Das Imamāt in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre”, *Der Islam*, vol. 37 nos. 1-3 (1961), 43-135.
- MAKAREM, Sami (ed.) *The Shi'i Imamate: A Fatimid Interpretation. An Arabic Edition and English translation of the Tathbit al-imama, attributed to the Fatimid Caliph-Imam al-Mansur*, London, Institute of Ismaili Studies – I.B. Tauris, 2013.
- AN-NAWBAKHTĪ, Abū Muhammad al-Hasan ibn Mūsā, “Nawbakhtī on Divergent Views of the Imamate” In: RENARD, John (ed.), *Islamic Theological Themes: A Primary Source Reader*, Oakland, University of California Press, 2014, pp. 371-375.
- NAZARAHARI, Reza, *Early Islamic Politics and Government in Nahj al-balāghah*, PhD. Thesis, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1995.
- PIERCE, Matthew, *Twelve Infallible Men: The Imams and the Making of Shi'ism*, Cambridge – London, Harvard University Press, 2016.
- STERN, S. M., „The Succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir, the Claims of the Later Fatimids to the Imamate, and the Rise of Ṭayyibī Ismailism”, *Oriens*, vol. 4 no. 2 (December 1951), pp. 193-255.
- TAKIM, Liyakat N., *The Heirs of the Prophet: Charisma and Religious Authority in Shi'ite Islam*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2006.
- WALKER, Paul E., *The Caliph of Cairo: Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah, 996-1021*, Cairo, American University in Cairo Press, 2010.
- WALKER, Paul E., “The Role of the Imam-Caliph as Depicted in Official Treatises and Documents Issued by the Fatimids” In: DAFTARY, Farhad & MISKINZODA, Gurdofarid (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam: History, Theology and Law*, New York – London, I.B. Tauris - The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2014, pp. 411-432.
- WALKER, Paul E. & WALKER, Paul, „Succession to Rule in the Shiite Caliphate”, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vol. 32 (1995), pp. 239-264.

## **II. 6 The Rule of the “Most Religious Muslim”: Kharijite / Ibadite Theories of the State**

- CRONE, Patricia, “A Statement by the Najdiyya Khārijites on the Dispensability of the Imamate”, *Studia Islamica*, no. 88 (1998), pp. 55-76.
- GAISER, Adam, „The Ibādī “Stages of Religion” Re-Examined: Tracing the History of the Masālik al-Dīn”, *Bulletin of SOAS*, vol. 73 no. 2 (2010), pp. 207–222.
- GAISER, Adam R., *Muslims, Scholars, Soldiers: The Origin and Elaboration of the Ibādī Imāmate Traditions*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2010.
- AL-HASHIMY, Sa'id b. Multammad b. Sa'id, *Imam Salim b. Rashid and the Imamate Revival in Oman 1331/1913 - 1338/1920*, PhD. Thesis, The University of Leeds, 1994.
- HOFFMAN, Valerie J., *The Essentials of Ibādī Islam*, New York, Syracuse University Press, 2012.
- AL-RAWAS, Isam Ali Ahmed, *Early Islamic Oman (ca - 622/280-893): A Political History*, PhD. Thesis, Durham University, 1990.
- REBSTOCK, Ulrich *Die Ibāditen im Magrib ( 2 - / 8 . - 4 . / 10 . Jh . ) : Die Geschichte einer Berberbewegung im Gewand des Islam*, Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983.
- SALEM, Elie Adib, *The Political Theory and Institutions of Khawārij*, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1956.
- SIMON, Róbert, *Politika az iszlámban, A muszlim társadalom anatómiája*, Budapest, Corvina, 2016.
- WILKINSON, J. C., “Ibādī ‘Imāma”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 39 no. 3 (1976), pp. 535-551.
- WILKINSON, John C., *The Imamate Tradition of Oman*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

## **II. 7 Sultan, Caliph, Emperor: Islam and Government in the Ottoman Empire**

- ARDIÇ, Nurullah, „Genealogy or Asabiyya? Ibn Khaldun between Arab Nationalism and the Ottoman Caliphate”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 71 no. 2 (2012), pp. 315-324.
- ARDIÇ, Nurullah, *Islam and the Politics of Secularism: The Caliphate and Middle Eastern Modernization in the Early 20th Century*, London – New York, Routledge, 2012.
- AYDIN, Cemil, „The Muslim World’ Question during the Interwar Era Global Imaginary, 1924-1945”, *New Global Studies*, vol. 10 Issue 3 (2017), pp. 345-372.
- BUZPINAR, Ş. Tufan, „Opposition to the Ottoman Caliphate in the Early Years of Abdülhamid II: 1877-1882”, *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. 36 issue 1 (March 1996), pp. 59-89.
- BUZPINAR, Ş. Tufan, „The Question of Caliphate under the Last Ottoman Sultans”, In: WEISMANN, Itzchak & ZACHS, Fruma (eds.), *Ottoman Reform and Muslim Regeneration: Studies in Honour of Butrus Abu-Manneh*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2005, pp. 17-36.

- ÇİPA, H. Erdem, *The Making of Selim: Succession, Legitimacy, and Memory in the Early Modern Ottoman World*, Bloomington – Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2017.
- DERINGIL, Selim, "Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909)", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 23 no. 3 (August, 1991), pp. 345-359.
- DERINGIL, Selim, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, London – New York, I.B. Tauris, 1999.
- "The Destruction of the Ottoman Caliphate", *Advocate of Peace through Justice*, vol. 86 no. 4 (1924), pp. 215-216.
- GUIDA, Michelangelo, "Seyyid Bey and the Abolition of the Caliphate", *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 44 no. 2 (2008), 275-289.
- KARATEKE, Hakan, „Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis”, In: KARATEKE, Hakan T. & REINKOWSKI, Maurus (eds.), *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2005, pp. 13-52.
- KARPAT, Kemal H., *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001.
- KEDDIE, Nikki R. „The Pan-Islamic Appeal: Afghani and Abdülhamid II”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 3 no. 1 (1966), pp. 46-67.
- KORKUT, Huseyin, „Critical Analysis of the Ottoman Constitution (1876)”, *Epiphany: Journal of Transdisciplinary Studies*, vol. 9 no. 1, (2016), pp. 114-123.
- LANDAU, Jacob M., *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organisation*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1992.
- LANDEN, Robert G., „Kemal Atatürk on the Abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate, 3 March 1924”, In: AMIN, Camron Michael & FORTNA, Benjamin C. & FRIERSON, Elizabeth (eds.), *The Modern Middle East: A Sourcebook for History*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 233-238.
- MELEADY, Conor, „Negotiating the Caliphate: British Responses to Pan-Islamic Appeals, 1914–1924”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 52 issue 2 (2016), pp. 182-197.
- EL MOUDDEN, Abderrahmane, „The Idea of the Caliphate between Moroccans and Ottomans: Political and Symbolic Stakes in the 16th and 17th Century-Maghrib”, *Studia Islamica*, no. 82 (1995), pp. 103-112.
- The Ottoman Constitution 1876 = The Basic Law [Kanūn-ı Esāsī] of the Ottoman Empire (7 Zi'lbiyyeh 1293 / December 23, 1876)*, In: RÖDER, Tilmann J., „The Separation of Powers: Historical and Comparative Perspectives”, In: GROTE, Rainer & RÖDER, Tilmann J. (eds.), *Constitutionalism in Islamic Countries: Between Upheaval and Continuity*, Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 341-352.
- PISCATORI, James, “Imagining Pan-Islam: Religious Activism and Political Utopias”, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 131 (2005), pp. 421-442.

- RÖDER, Tilmann J., „The Separation of Powers: Historical and Comparative Perspectives“, In: GROTE, Rainer & RÖDER, Tilmann J. (eds.), *Constitutionalism in Islamic Countries: Between Upheaval and Continuity*, Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 321-372.
- SANDERS, Lloyd, „The Sultan and the Caliphate: A Side-Light on Turkish Policy“, *The North American Review*, vol. 176 no. 557 (April 1903), pp. 546-553.
- SARIYANNIS, Marinos, *A History of Ottoman Political Thought up to the Early Nineteenth Century*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2019.
- YILMAZ, Hüseyin „Containing Sultanic Authority: Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire before Modernity“, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, vol. 45 (2015), pp. 231-264.
- YILMAZ, Hüseyin, *Caliphate Redefined: The Mystical Turn in Ottoman Political Thought*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2018.

### III. Theories of the State and Government in Modern Islam

#### III. 1 Caliphate after the Caliphate:

##### Muhammad Rashid Rida and the Political Concepts of Islamic Reformists and their Criticism

- ‘ABD AR-RAZIQ, ‘Ali, *Nusus kbawal al-islam wa usul al-bukum wa ‘l-khilafa wa ‘l-bukuma fi ‘l-islam*, In: KAWTHARANI, Wadjih (ed.), *ad-Dawla wa ‘l-khilafa fi ‘l-kbitab al-‘arabi abbana ‘th-thawra al-kamaliyya fi Turkiyya: Rashid Ridá, ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Raziq, ‘Abd ar-Rakmán ash-Shabbandar: dirasa wa-nusus*, Bajrut, Dar at-tali‘a li ‘t-tiba‘a wa ‘n-nashr, 1996, pp. 151-185.
- ‘ABD AR-RAZIQ, ‘Ali, *al-Islam wa ‘l-usul al-bukum*, al-Qahira, Dar al-kutub al-misri, 2012.
- ABDEL RAZEK, Ali, *Islam and the Foundations of Political Power*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2012.
- ALI, Souad T., *A Religion, Not a State: Ali ‘Abd al-Raziq’s Islamic Justification of Political Secularism*, Salt Lake City, The University of Utah Press, 2009.
- BROUCEK, James, *The Controversy of Shaykh ‘Ali ‘Abd Al-Raziq*, PhD. Thesis, The Florida State University, 2012.
- BUSOOL, Assad N., “Rashid Rida’s Struggle to Establish a Modern Islamic State”, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 1 no. 1 (Spring 1984), pp. 83-100.
- COX, Stephen Thomas, *The Idea of an Arab Caliphate in British Middle Eastern Policy in the Era of the Great War*, PhD. thesis, Durham University, 2003.
- DAHLAN, Malik, *The Hijaz: The First Islamic State*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2018.
- FAKHRY, Majid. “The Theocratic Idea of the Islamic State in Recent Controversies”, *International Affairs*, Vol. 30, No. 4, (1954), pp. 450-462.
- FUNATSU, Ryuichi, “Al-Kawākibī’s Thesis and its Echoes in the Arab World Today”, *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, vol. 7 (2006), pp. 1-40.

- HADDAD, Mahmoud, „Arab Religious Nationalism in the Colonial Era: Rereading Rashīd Ridā’s Ideas on the Caliphate“, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 117 no. 2 (1997), pp. 253-277.
- HANSEN, Jens & WEISS, Max (eds.), *Arabic Thought Beyond the Liberal Age: Towards an Intellectual History of the Nahda*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2016.
- HOSEIN, Imran N., *The Caliphate the Hejaz and the Saudi-Wahhabi Nation-State*, New York, Masjid Darul Qur’an, 1996.
- HOURANI, Albert, *Arabic Thought in The Liberal Age 1798- 1939*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- AL-KAWAKIBI, ‘Abd al-Rahman (as-Sayyid al-Furati), *Umm al-Qura*, al-Qahira, al-Matba‘a al-misriyya bi ‘l-Azhar, 1931.
- AL-KAWAKIBI, ‘Abd al-Rahman, “Summary of the Causes of Stagnation” In: KURZMAN, Charles (ed.), *Modernist Islam, 1840-1940: A Sourcebook*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 152-157.
- KEDOURIE, Sylvia, *The Ideas of a Precursor: Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi (1849-1902) in Relation to the Trend of Muslim-Arab Political Thought*, PhD. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1953.
- KERR, Malcolm H., *Islamic Reform: The Political Legal Theories of Muhammad ‘Abd al-Rahman and Rashid Ridā*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1966.
- KRAMER, Martin, *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1986.
- OLIVER-DEE, Sean, *The Caliphate Question: The British Government and Islamic Governance*, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2009.
- PANKHURST, Reza, *The Inevitable Caliphate? A History of the Struggle for Global Islamic Union, 1924 to the Present*, Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press, 2013.
- PAPPE, Ilan, *The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty: The Husaynis 1700–1948*, London, Saqi Books, 2010.
- PYNE-JONES, Louise, “A Thoroughly Modern Caliphate: Could Legitimate Governance for the Middle East in the Aftermath of the First World War have Been Found by Looking Within?” In: FRASER, T. G. (ed.), *The First World War and Its Aftermath The Shaping of the Middle East*, London, Ginkgo Library, 2015, pp. 147-158.
- RADHAN, Luay, *Muslims Against the Islamic State: Arab Critics and Supporters of Ali Abdurraziq’s Islamic Laicism*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2014.
- RAHNEMA, Ali (ed.), *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*, London, Zed Books, 2006.
- RIDA, Muhammad Rashid, *al-Khilafa aw al-imama al-‘uzma*, In: In: KAWTHARANI, Wadjih (ed.), *ad-Dawla wa ‘l-kehilafa fi ‘l-kehitab al-‘arabi abbana ‘th-thawra al-kamaliyya fi Turkiyya: Rashid Ridā, ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Raziq, ‘Abd ar-Rakhamān ash-Shabbandar: dirasa wa-nusus*, Bajrut, Dar at-tali‘a li t-tiba‘a wa ‘n-nashr, 1996, pp. 47-149.
- RIDA, Muhammad Rashid, *al-Khilafa*, al-Qahira, Hindawi, 2015.

- SALEM, Ahmed Ali, “Challenging Authoritarianism, Colonialism, and Disunity: The Islamic Political Reform Movements of al-Afghani and Rida”, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 21 no. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 25-54.
- SEFERTAS, Yusuf H.R., “The Doctrine of Prophethood in the Writings of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā”, *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), vol. 24 no. 2 (Summer 1985), pp. 139-165.
- SIMON, Róbert, *Politika az iszlámban, A muszlim társadalom anatómiája*, Budapest, Corvina, 2016.
- SOAGE, Ana Belén, “Rashīd Riḍā's Legacy”, *The Muslim World*, vol. 98 no. 1 (January 2008), pp. 1-23.
- SOLEIMANI, Kamal, *Islam and Competing Nationalisms in the Middle East, 1876-1926*, London – New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- SROUR, Hani, *Die Staats- und Gesellschaftstheorie bei Sayyid Gamāladdīn "Al Afghāni" als Beitrag zur Reform der islamischen Gesellschaften in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1977.
- TAUBER, Eliezer, “Three Approaches, One Idea: Religion and State in the Thought of 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi, Najib 'Azuri and Rashid Rida”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 21 no. 2 (1994), pp. 190-198.
- TEITELBAUM, Joshua, “Sharif Husayn ibn Ali and the Hashemite Vision of the Post-Ottoman Order: From Chieftancy to Suzerainty”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 34 no. 1 (January 1998), pp. 103-122.
- TEITELBAUM, Joshua, "Taking Back" the Caliphate: Sharīf Husayn Ibn 'Alī, Mustafa Kemal and the Ottoman Caliphate“, *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. 40 no. 3 (November 2000), pp. 412-424.
- TEITELBAUM, Joshua, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashimite Kingdom of Arabia*, London, Hurst and Co., 2001.
- TIBI, Bassam, *Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and the Nation-State*, London, Mecomillan, Press, 1997.
- WEGNER, Mark, *Islamic Government: The Medieval Sunni Islamic Theory of the Caliphate and the Debate Over the Revival of the Caliphate in Egypt, 1924-1926*, PhD. Thesis, University of Chicago, 2001.
- WEISMANN, Itzchak, *Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi: Islamic Reform and Arab Revival*, Oxford, Oneworld, 2015.
- WIGHTMAN, Melinda Cathrin, *Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibis vision for an Islamic Renaissance:Umm al-Qura*, M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 2004.
- WILLIS, John, “Debating the Caliphate: Islam and Nation in the Work of Rashid Rida and Abul Kalam Azad”, *The International History Review*, vol. 32 no. 4 (December 2010), pp. 711–732.
- WOOD, Simon A., *Christian Criticisms, Islamic Proofs: Rashīd Riḍā's Modernist Defense of Islam*, Oxford, Oneworld, 2007.



### III. 2 Islamic State on the Indian Subcontinent: From the Caliphate Movement to Abu l-'Ala Maududi

- AFREEN, Amna, „Iqbal's Islamic Political Ideas”, *Al-Adwa*, vol. 41 no. 29 (2014), pp. 37-60.
- AHMED, Aziz, “Iqbal's Political Theory”, In: *Iqbal as a Thinker*, Lahore, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1952, pp. 227-264.
- AHMAD, Aziz, „An Eighteenth-Century Theory of the Caliphate”, *Studia Islamica*, no. 28. (1968), pp. 135-144.
- AHMAD, Riaz, *The Concept of the Islamic State as Found in the Writings of Abul A'la Maududi*, PhD. Thesis, Durham University, 1969.
- AHMAD, Irfan, „Genealogy of the Islamic State: Reflections on Maududi's Political Thought and Islamism”, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 15 (2009), pp. 145-162.
- AHMED, Ishtiaq, *The Concept of an Islamic State in Pakistan: An Analysis of Ideological Controversies*, Lahore, Vanguard Books, 1991.
- ASAD, Muhammad, *The Principles of State and Government in Islam*, Kuala Lumpur, Islamic Book Trust, 1980.
- Caliphate and Shah Waliullah*, Karachi, Peermahomed Ebrahim Trust, 1979.
- DAR, Showkat Ahmad, *The Concept of Islamic State A Comparative Study of Muhammad Asad and Taqi ud Din Al Nabhani*, PhD. Thesis, Aligarh Muslim University, 2016.
- DHULIPALA, Venkat, *Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in Late Colonial North India*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- FAIYAZ, Fateh, *The Impact of the Abolition of Caliphate on Pan-Islamism in India*, PhD. Thesis, Javvaharlal Nehru University, 1994.
- FATHI, Osman, „Mawdudi's Contribution to the Development of Modern Islamic Thinking in the Arabic-Speaking World“, *Muslim World*, vol. 93, no. 3-4 (July-October 2003), pp. 465-486.
- GHAZALI, Muhammad, *The Socio-Political Thought of Shāh Wali Allāh*, Islamabad, International Institute of Islamic Thought - Islamic Research Institute, 2001.
- HASAN, Mushirul & PERNAU, Margrit, *Regionalizing Pan-Islamism: Documents on the Khilafat Movement*, New Delhi, Manohar, 2005.
- HASAN, Pipip Ahmad Etifai, *The Political Thought of Muhammad Asad*, M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1998.
- CHEEMA, Shahbaz Ahmad, „Problematizing the Religious Basis of Maududi's Political Theory”, *Studies on Asia*, Series IV vol. 3 no. 2 (October 2013), pp. 52-82.
- IQBAL, Javed, “The Concept of State in Islam”, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 1 no. 1 (Spring 1984), pp. 11-26.
- IQBAL, Javaid, “Modern Indian Muslims and Iqbal”, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 14 no. 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 27-43.

- IQBAL, Muhammad, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2013.
- ISLAHI, Amin Ahsan, *The Islamic State*, Lahore, Al-Mawrid, 1976.
- JACKSON, Roy, *Mawlana Mawdudi and Political Islam: Authority and the Islamic State*, London – New York, Routledge, 2011.
- KHAN, Sayyid Ahmad, *The Truth About the Khilafat*, Lahore, Ripon Press, 1916.
- NIEMEIJER, A. C., *The Khilafat Movement in India 1919-1924*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1972.
- MAUDUDI, Sayyid Abul A'la, *The Islamic Law and Constitution*, Lahore, Islamic Publications Limited, 1960.
- MAUDUDI, Syed Abul A'la, *System of Government under the Holy Prophet*, Lahore, Islamic Publications Limited, n.d.
- MINAULT, Gail, *The Khilafat Movement Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1982.
- MOHOMED, Carimo, *Islamic reformism in India between 1857 and 1947: The Conception of State in Chiragh 'Ali, Muhammad Iqbal and Sayyid Abu'l 'Ala Mawdudi*, PhD. Thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012.
- MOTEN, Abdul Rashid, „Islamic Thought in Contemporary Pakistan: The Legacy of ‘Allāma Mawdūdī’”, In: ABU-RABI‘, Ibrahim M., *Contemporary Arab Thought: Studies in Post-1967 Arab Intellectual History*, London, Pluto Press, 2004, pp. 175-194.
- MOHAMMAD, Shan (ed.), *Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, Bombay, Nachiketa Publications, 1972. pp. 255-260.
- AL MUJAHID, Sharif, “Muslim Nationalism: Iqbal's Synthesis of Pan-Islam and Nationalism”, *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 2 no. 1 (July 1985), pp. 29-40.
- NASR, Seyyed Vali Reza, *Mawdudi and the Making of Islamic Revivalism*, New York – Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996.
- PAY, Salih, „The Support for the Caliphate from Indian Subcontinent to Anatolia and Muhammad Iqbal”, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, vol. 5 no. 3 (March 2015), pp. 149-155.
- QURESHI, M. Naeem, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics: A Study of the Khilafat Movement, 1918-1924*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 1999.
- RAHMAN, Fazlur, “Muhammad Iqbal and Ataturk's Reforms”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 43 no. 2 (April 1984), pp. 157-162.
- RAHNEMA, Ali (ed.), *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*, London, Zed Books, 2006.
- RIZVI, Saiyid Athar Abbas, *Shah Wali-Allah and His Times: A Study of Eighteenth Century Islām, Politics, and Society in India*, Canberra, Ma'rifat Publishing House, 1980.
- SALEEM, Raja M. Ali, *State, Nationalism, and Islamization: Historical Analysis of Turkey and Pakistan*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

- SEVEA, Iqbal Singh, *The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal: Islam and Nationalism in Late Colonial India*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- SHAHED, Abul Kalam Mohammad, „Shah Waliullah’s Influence on the Thought of Sayyid Abul A’la Mawdudi”, *Islamiyyāt*, vol. 32 (2010), pp. 5-23.
- SULTANA, Kishwar, „Iqbal’s Political Philosophy and Concept of State”, *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, vol13 no. 2 (2002), pp. 43-56.
- ZAHEER, Ali, *Khilafat in History and Indian Politics*, New Delhi, Aakar Books, 2017.

### **III. 3 From the Rule of the Imams to the Rule of the Clergy: Ruhollah Khomeini and the Theory of the State in the Shi'a of Twelve Imams (Ithna<sup>ʿ</sup>ashariyya)**

- ABBOTT, Kenrick, *Contemporary Shi'ism as Political Ideology: The Views of Sharʿatmadārī, Tāliqānī, and Khumaynī*, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1990.
- ABDO, Geneive, „Re-Thinking the Islamic Republic: A 'Conversation' with Ayatollah Hossein 'Ali Montazeri'”, *The Middle East Journal*, vol. 55 no. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 10-24.
- ABEDI, Mehdi & ABEDI, Mehdi, “Ali Shariati: The Architect of the 1979 Islamic Revolution of Iran”, *Iranian Studies*, vol. 19 nos. 3/4 (Summer - Autumn, 1986), pp. 229-234.
- ADIB-MOGHADDAM, Arshin, *A Critical Introduction to Khomeini*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- AKHAVI, Shahrough, “Islam, Politics and Society in the Thought of Ayatullah Khomeini, Ayatullah Taliqani and Ali Shariati”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 24 no. 4 (1988), pp. 404-431.
- AKHAVI, Shahrough, „The Clergy’s Concepts of Rule in Egypt and Iran“, *Annales of the American Academy of Political & Social Science*, vol. 92 vol. 524 (November 1992), pp. 92-103.
- AKHAVI, Shahrough, „The Thought and Role of Ayatollah Hossein’ali Montazeri in the Politics of Post-1979 Iran”, *Iranian Studies*, vol. 41 no. 5 (December 2008), pp. 645-666.
- ALAGHA, Joseph Elie, *The Shifts in Hizbullah’s Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology, and Political Program*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2006.
- ALAGHA, Joseph, *Hizbullah’s Documents: From the 1985 Open Letter to the 2009 Manifesto*, Amsterdam, Pallas Publications, 2011.
- ALAGHA, Joseph, *Hizbullah’s Identity Construction*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2011.
- ALSAIF, Tawfiq M., *Religion and the Legitimation of the State: The Development of Political Thought in Contemporary Shi'ism (Case Study Iran 1979-2004)*, PhD. thesis, University of Westminster, 2005.
- AMIN, Muhammad & BANO, Neelam, “Implications of Ali Shariati’s Political Thought for Iranian Revolution”, *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, vol. 5 issue (Fall 2015). pp. 56-67.

- ANDERSSON, Jonas, *Is Iran an Islamic State? A comparison between the Islamic Shia Islamic Theory of State and Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic Republic of Iran*, M.A, Thesis, Jönköping Internationella Handelshögskola, 2009.
- ANGELES, Vivienne S.M., “The Development of the Shi’a Concept of the Imamate”, *Asian Studies*, vol. 21 (1983), pp. 145-160.
- ARJOMAND, Said Amir, “The State and Khomeini's Islamic Order”, *Iranian Studies*, vol. 13 nos. 1-4 (1980), pp. 147-164.
- ARJOMAND, Said Amir, „The Crisis of the Imamate and the Institution of the Occultation in Twelver Shi’ism: A Sociohistorical Perspective“, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 28 no. 4 (November 1996), pp. 491-515.
- ARJOMAND, Said Amir, „Civil Society and the Rule of Law in the Constitutional Politics of Iran Under Khatami”, *Social Research*, vol. 67 no. 2 (Summer 2000), pp. 283-301.
- ARJOMAND, Said Amir *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shi’ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- AZIZ, Talib M., *The Islamic Political Theory of Muhammad Baqir Al-Sadr of Iraq*, PhD. Thesis, The University of Utah, 1991.
- AZIZ, T. M., „The Role of Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr in Shii Political Activism in Iraq from 1958 to 1980”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 25, no. 2 (May 1993), pp. 207-222.
- BADAMCHI, Meysam, *Post-Islamist Political Theory: Iranian Intellectuals and Political Liberalism in Dialogue*, Cham, Springer, 2017.
- BERNHARDT, Florian “The Legitimacy of Party Politics and the Authority of the ‘Ulama’ in Iraq’s Shi’a Islamist Movement: The Example of the Islamic Da‘wah Party (1957-1988)”, *Journal of Shi’a Islamic Studies*, vol. 4 no. 2 (Spring 2011), pp. 163-182.
- BOOZARI, Amirhassan, *Shi’i Jurisprudence and Constitution: Revolution in Iran*, London – New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- COLE, Juan R.I., *The Ayatollahs and Democracy in Iraq*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press - ISIM, 2006.
- CORBOZ, Elvire, „Khomeini in Najaf: The Religious and Political Leadership of an Exiled Ayatollah”, *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. 55 (2015), pp. 221-248.
- CORBOZ, Elvire, *Guardians of Shi’ism: Sacred Authority and Transnational Family Networks*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2016.
- DAI, Yamao, “Transformation of the Islamic Da‘wa Party in Iraq: From the Revolutionary Period to the Diaspora Era”, *Asian and African Area Studies*, vol. 7 no. 2 (2008), pp. 238-267.
- DAVARI, Mahmood T., *The Political Thought of Ayatullah Murtaḏa Mutabbari: An Iranian Theoretician of the Islamic State*, New York – London, Routledge, 2005.
- FISCHER, Michael M. J., *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*, London, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003.

- FOZI, Yahya, "A Comparative Study of Contemporary Political Islamic Discourses with Imam Khomeini's Discourse", *Journal of Political Thought in Islam*, vol. 2 no. 8 (Summer 2016), pp. 35-52.
- GABRANI, Majida, *The Concept of "Imamah" in the Works of 'Ali Shari'ati (1933-77 A.D.)*, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1987.
- GHOBADZADEH, Naser, *Religious Secularity: A Theological Challenge to the Islamic State*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2015.
- GOUDARZI, Masoumeh Rad & LASHAKI, Abdollah Baei, "What Is an Ideal Islamic Government? Transformation of Ayatollah Khomeini's Governmental Theory", *Asian Social Science*, Vol. 9 No. 17 (2013), pp. 153-162.
- HABIBI, Aminullah, *Islam and Democracy. Prospects and Possibilities. A Critical Analysis of the Theory of the Religious Democracy of Dr. Abdolkarim Soroush*, PhD. Thesis, University of Westminster, 2011.
- HAJATPOUR, Reza, *Iranische Geistlichkeit zwischen Utopie und Realismus: Zum Diskurs über Herrschafts- und Staatsdenken im 20. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag, 2002.
- HASHAS, Mohammed, "Abdolkarim Soroush: The Neo-Mu'tazilite that Buries Classical Islamic Political Theology in Defence of Religious Democracy and Pluralism", *Studia Islamica*, vol. 109 (2014), pp. 147-173.
- HASHEMI-NAJAFABADI, Adel, "The Shi'i Concept of Imamate and Leadership in Contemporary Iran: The Case of Religious Modernists", *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses*, vol. 40 issue 4 (2011), pp. 1-18.
- AL HAWAZI, Mo'ayed H., *Shiite School of Iraq and Support for Democracy: Textual Analysis for Statements of Ayatollah Ali Al Sistani*, M.A. Thesis, College of Arts and Sciences of Ohio University, 2008.
- HENDERSON, Jonathon Case, *Imam, Shah, and Ayatollah: Charismatic Leadership in the Shi'i Tradition, and its Role in Iran's Shi'ite Revolutions*, M.A. Thesis, Wright State University, 2010.
- HERBERT, Lise Jean, *From the Supreme Islamic Shi'i Council to Amal: Shi'i Politics in Lebanon from 1969-1984*, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1999.
- HOLTAN, Cecile, *Iran – From an Islamic State to an Islamic Democracy? A Study of the Thoughts of Abdolkarim Soroush on Religion and State*, M.A. Thesis, University of Oslo, 2005.
- HOSSAINZADEH, Nura Alia, *The Constitutionalism of Ruhollah Khomeini's Theory of Guardianship*, PhD. Thesis, University of California - Berkeley, 2016.
- Iran (Islamic Republic of)'s Constitution of 1979 with Amendments through 1989*, online: <http://constituteproject.org>
- JADALLAH, Dina, "State Sovereignty and Citizen Agency: The Nationalist-Islamic Discourse of Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din", *Mathal*, Vol. 3 Iss. 1 (2014) Art. 4, online: <http://ir.uiowa.edu/mathal/vol3/iss1/4>
- KAWTHARANI, Farah, *The State in Modern Islamic Shi'i Thought: Imam Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din*, PhD. Thesis, McGill University, 2012.

- KAZEMI-MOUSSAVI, Ahmad, *The Development of the Doctrine of Vilāyat-i Faqih: The Role of: Mullā Ahmad Narāqi (1185/1770-1245/1830)*, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1983.
- KAZEMI MOUSSAVI, Ahmad, *The Struggle for Authority in the Nineteenth Century Shi'ite Community: The Emergence of the Institution of Marjā'-i Taqīd*, PhD. Thesis, McGill University, 1991.
- KHALAJI, Mehdi, *The Last Marja: Sistani and the End of Traditional Religious Authority in Shiism*, Washington DC, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2006.
- KHALAJI, Mehdi, *The Future of Leadership in the Shi'ite Community*, Washington DC, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2017.
- KHOMEINI, Imam, *Islam and Revolution: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini*, (trans. and annotated by Hamid Algar), London, KPI, 1985.
- KOHLBERG, Etan, „From Imāmiyya to Ithnā-'ashariyya”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 39 no. 3 (1976), pp. 521-534.
- AL-KULAYNĪ, Muhammad ibn Ya'qūb, *Al-Kāfi (al-Uṣūl)*, *Arabic Text and English Translation*, 2 vols. (trans. by Muhammad Sarwar), Tehran, ABWA, 2010.
- KVERME, Kai E., *Beyond the Islamic State: A New Perspective on Hizballah's Policies*, M.A. Thesis, University of Oslo, 2010.
- LARI, Sayyid Mujtaba Musavi, *Imamate and Leadership. Lessons on Islamic Doctrine*, (eng. trans. by Hamid Algar), Potomac, Islamic Education Center, n.d.
- MALLAT, Chibli, *The Renewal of Islamic Law: Muhammad Baqer as-Sadr, Najaf, and the Shi'i International*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- MARTIN, Vanessa, *Crating an Islamic State: Khomeini and the Making of a New Iran*, London – New York, I.B. Tauris, 2007.
- MAVANI, Hamid, *The Basis of Leadership: Khomeini's Claims and the Classical Tradition*, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1992.
- MAVANI, Hamid, *Doctrine of Imamate in Twelver Shi'ism: Traditional, Theological, Philosophical and Mystical Perspectives*, PhD. Thesis, McGill University, 2005.
- MAVANI, Hamid, „Khomeini's Concept of Governance of the Jurisconsult (Wilayat al-Faqih) Revisited: The Aftermath of Iran's 2009 Presidential Election”, *Middle East Journal*, vol. 67 no. 2 (Spring 2013), pp. 207-228.
- MAVANI, Hamid, *Religious Authority and Political Thought in Twelver Shi'ism: From Ali to Post-Khomeini*, London – New York, Routledge, 2015.
- MCDERMOTT, Martin J., *The Theology of Al-Shaikh Al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022)*, Beirut, Dar al-Mashreq, 1978.
- MENASHRI, David, “Shi'ite Leadership: In the Shadow of Conflicting Ideologies”, *Iranian Studies*, vol. 13 nos. 1-4 (1980), pp. 119-146.
- MIRAHMADI, Mansour, „The Theory of Islamic Governance in Ayatollah Khomeini's Political Thought”, *Journal of Shi'a Islamic Studies*, vol. 2 no. 3 (Summer 2009), pp. 273-284.

- MISBĀH YAZDĪ, Professor Muḥammad Taqī, *Islamic Political Theory*, 2 vols., Tehran, ABWA, 2011.
- MIRSEPASSI, Ali, *Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization: Negotiating Modernity in Iran*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- MIRSEPASSI, Ali, *Democracy in Modern Iran: Islam, Culture, and Political Change*, New York – London, New York University Press, 2010.
- MIRSEPASSI, Ali, *Political Islam, Iran, and the Enlightenment: Philosophies of Hope and Despair*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- MNEIMNEH, Hassan., “The Arab Reception of Vilayat-e-Faqih: The Counter-Model of Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din”, *Current Trends Islamist Ideology*, vol. 8 (2009), pp. 39-51.
- MOSLEM, Mehdi, „Ayatollah Khomeini's Role in the Rationalization of the Islamic Government”, *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 8 no. 14 (1999), pp. 75-92.
- MUTAHHARI, Murtada, *Wilayah: The Station of the Master*, Tehran, WOFIS, 1982.
- Nahj al-Balaghah*, Selection from Sermons, Letters and Sayings of Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib, Selected and Compiled by as-Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī ibn al-Husayn ar-Radī al-Mūsawī, 3 vols. (trans. by Syed Ali Raza), Tehran, WOFIS, 1987.
- NASR, Seyyed Hossein & DABASHI, Hamid & NASR, Seyyed Vali Reza (eds.), *Shi'ism: Doctrines, Thought, and Spirituality*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1988.
- NIR, Omri, *Lebanese Shi'ite Leadership, 1920–1970s: Personalities, Alliances, and Feuds*, London – New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- NORTON, Augustus Richard, *Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1988.
- PARRAY, Tauseef Ahmad, “Iranian Intellectuals on 'Islam and Democracy' Compatibility: Views of Abdulkarim Soroush and Hasan Yousuf Eshkevari”, *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, vol. 7 no. 3 (2013), pp. 43-64.
- PICK, Danial D., *The Islamic Republic of Iran and the Importance of Khomeini's 'Mandate of the Jurist'*, M.A. Thesis, Princeton University, 2000.
- PIERCE, Matthew Odes, *Remembering the Infallible Imams: Narrative and Memory in Medieval Twelver Shi'ism*, PhD. Thesis, Boston University, 2013.
- RAD, Darius, *State and Religion in Contemporary Iran Modernity, Tradition, and Political Islam (1979-2005)*, PhD. Thesis, Universiteit Leiden, 2010.
- RAJAEI, Farhang, *Islamism and Modernism: The Changing Discourse in Iran*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 2007.
- RAHIMI, Barak, *The Discourse of Democracy in Shi'i Islamic Jurisprudence: The Two cases of Montazeri and Sistani*, Florence, EUI Working Papers RSCAS, 2008/09.
- RAHNEMA, Ali (ed.), *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*, London, Zed Books, 2006.
- RAHNEMA, Ali, *An Islamic Utopian: A Political Biography of Ali Shari'ati*, London – New York, I.B. Tauris, 1998.

- RASTEGARFAR, Akbar, *Die Kalifatidee bei den sunnitischen und schiitischen Gelehrten des 20. Jahrhunderts*, PhD. Thesis, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2014.
- REZAI, Ali Siyar, *Velayat-e Faqih: Innovation or Within Tradition*, M.A. Thesis, Arizona State University, 2016.
- AL-RIKABI, Jaffar, „Baqir al-Sadr and the Islamic State: A Theory for ‘Islamic Democracy’”, *Journal of Shi‘a Islamic Studies*, vol. 5 no. 3 (Summer 2012), pp. 249-265.
- RIZVI, Sayyid Saeed Akhtar, *Imamate (The Vicegerency of the Prophet)*, Tehran, WOFIS, 1985.
- SAAD-GHORAYEB, Amal, *Hizbu’llah: Politics and Religion*, London, Pluto Press, 2002.
- SABET, Amr G. E., *Islam and the Political: Theory, Governance and International Relations*, London, Pluto Press, 2008.
- SADEGHI-BOROJERDI, Eskandar, “From Etelā‘āti to Eslāhtalabi: Sa‘id Hajjarian, Political Theology and the Politics of Reform in Post-Revolutionary Iran”, *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 47 No. 6 (2014), pp. 987-1009.
- AS-SADR, Muhammad Bāqir, *Lessons in Islamic Jurisprudence*, Oxford, Oneworld, 2005.
- SADRI, Mahmoud, “Sacral Defense of Secularism: The Political Theologies of Soroush, Shabestari, and Kadivar”, *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, vol. 15 no. 2 (Winter 2001), pp. 257-270.
- SAFFARI, Said, “The Legitimation of the Clergy's Right to Rule in the Iranian Constitution of 1979”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 20 no. 1 (1993), pp. 64-82.
- SAFFARI, Siavash, *Reclaiming Islam and Modernity: A Neo-Shariati Revisiting of Ali Shariati's Intellectual Discourse in Post-revolutionary Iran*, PhD. Thesis, University of Alberta, 2013.
- SACHEDINA, Abdulaziz, *The Just Ruler in Shi‘ite Islam: The Comprehensive Authority of the Jurist in Imamite Jurisprudence*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1988.
- SANKARI, Jamal, *Fadlallah: The Making of a Radical Shi‘ite Leader*, London, Saqi Books, 2005.
- SAOULI, Adham, „Intellectuals and Political Power in Social Movements: The Parallel Paths of Fadlallah and Hizbullah”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 41 no.1 (2014), pp. 97-116.
- SHANAHAN, Rodger, “Shi‘a Political Development in Iraq: The Case of the Islamic Da‘wa Party”, *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 25 no. 5 (2004), pp. 943-954.
- SHANAHAN, Rodger, *The Shi‘a of Lebanon: Clans, Parties and Clerics*, London - New York, I.B. Tauris, 2005.
- SHARFATI, Ali, *On the Sociology of Islam*, Berkeley, Mizan Press, 1979.
- SIAVOSHI, Sussan, “Ayatullah Misbah Yazdi: Politics, Knowledge, and the Good Life”, *The Muslim World*, vol. 100 (January 2010), pp. 124-144.
- SIAVOSHI, Sussan, *Montazeri: The Life and Thought of Iran's Revolutionary Ayatollah*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017.



- SOBHANI, Ayatollah Ja'far, *Doctrines of Shī'i Islam: A Compendium of Imami Beliefs and Practices*, New York – London, I.B. Tauris - The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2001.
- SOROUSH, 'Abdolkarim, *Reason, Freedom, & Democracy in Islam: Essential Writings of 'Abdolkarim Soroush* (trans. & ed. & intr. by Mahmoud Sadri & Ahmad Sadri), New York, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- SPEIDL, Bianka Ágnes, *Conceptualisation of Power in the Thought of Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah*, PhD. Thesis, University of Exeter, 2015.
- SYAMSIYATUN, Siti, *Al-Shabrastāni and the Shī'i Doctrin of Imāma: An Analysis of the Views Expressed in His al-Milal wa al-Nihāyat and Nihāyat al-Iqdām fī 'Ilm al-Kalām*, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1998.
- SHAMS AD-DIN, Muhammad Mahdi, *Niẓam al-bukm wa 'l-idara fi 'l-islam*, Bajrut, al-Mu'assasat al-djamiyya li 'd-dirasat wa 'n-nashr wa 't-tawzi' - al-Mu'assasat ad-duwaliyya li 'd-dirásat wa 'n-nashr, 1991.
- TABATABAI, Allamah Sayyed Muhammad Husayn, *Shi'ite Islam*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1975.
- AT-TABĀTABĀ'Ī, al-'Allāmah as-Sayyid Muhammad Husayn, *al-Miẓān: An Exegesis of the Qur'an*, 13 vols., Tehran, WOFIS, 1983-2015.
- TAZMINI, Ghoncheh, *Khatami's Iran: The Islamic Republic and the Turbulent Path to Reform*, London – New York, I.B. Tauris, 2009.
- YADEGARI, Muhammad, *Ideological Revolution in the Muslim World*, Brentwood, IGPS, 1983.
- VAHDAT, Farzin, "Religious Modernity in Iran: Dilemmas of Islamic Democracy in the Discourse of Mohammad Khatami", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 25 Issue 3 (2005), pp. 650-664.
- WALBRIDGE, Linda S. (ed.), *The Most Learned of the Shī'a: The Institution of the Marja' Taqlid*, New York – Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001.

### III. 4 „Return and Restoration“:

#### **The Muslim Brotherhood and Islamist Concepts of Government and State in Modern Egypt**

- AL-ABDIN, A. Z., „The Political Thought of Hasan al-Banna“, *Islamic Studies* (Islamabad), vol. 28 no. 3 (1989), pp. 219-234.
- ABU-RABI', Ibrahim M., *The Contemporary Arab Reader on Political Islam*, London - Edmonton, Pluto Press - The University of Alberta Press, 2010.
- ABU ZAYD, Nasr, *Reformation of Islamic Thought: A Critical Historical Analysis*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2006.
- ABU ZAYD, Nasr Hamid & NELSON, Esther R., *Voice of an Exile: Reflections on Islam*, Westport - London, Praeger, 2004.
- EL-AFFENDI, Abdelwahab, *Who Needs an Islamic State?*, London, Grey Seal, 1991.

- AKHAVI, Shahrough, „The Clergy’s Concepts of Rule in Egypt and Iran“, *Annales of the American Academy of Political & Social Science*, vol. 92 vol. 524 (November 1992), pp. 92-103.
- ALAM, Arooj, *Death of the Caliphate: Reconfiguring Ali Abd al-Raziq’s ideas and legacy*, M.A. Thesis, The City University of New York, 2019.
- AL-ASHMAWY, Muhammad Sa’id, *Against Islamic extremism: the writings of Muhammad Sa’id al-‘Ashmany*, (ed. by Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban), Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1998.
- ASYRAF, Hj. A.B. Rahman & NOORAIHAN, Ali, „The Influence of Al-Mawdudi and The Jama’at Al Islami Movement on Sayyid Qutb Writings“, *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization*, vol. 2 no. 4 (2012), pp. 232-236.
- AL-‘ASHMAWI, Muhammad Sa’id, *al-Islam as-siyasi*, al-Qahira, Maktaba madbuli al-saghir, 1996.
- AL-‘ASHMAWI, Muhammad Sa’id, *al-Khilafa al-islamiyya*, al-Qahira, Maktaba madbali al-saghir, 1996.
- AWDAH, Abdul Qadir, *Islam between Ignorant Followers and Incapable Scholars*, Riyadh, IIFSO, 1991.
- AWDAH, Abdul Qadir, “Islam between Ignorant Followers and Incapable Scholars”, ABU-RABI’, Ibrahim M. (ed.), *The Contemporary Arab Reader on Political Islam*, London - Edmonton, Pluto Press - The University of Alberta Press, 2010, pp. 111-118.
- AL-BANNĀ’, Hasan, *Five Tracts of Hasan Al-Banna’ (1906-1949). A Selection from the Majmū‘at Rasa’il al-Imām al-Shahīd Hasan al-Bannā’*, (eng. trans. & ed. Charles Wendell), „Near Eastern Studies vol. 20“, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, University of California Press, 1978.
- BOUZARINEJAD, Yahya & ZARPEYMA, Shahin & MARANDI, Elahe, “Sayyid Qutb and Political Islam: Islamic Government from the Perspective of Sayyid Qutb”, *Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, vol. 5 no. 4 (December 2016), pp. 92-112.
- BUREŠ, Jaroslav & ČEJKA, Marek & DANIEL, Jan, *Muslimské bratrstvo v současnosti*, Praha, Academia, 2017.
- FARAJ, Muhammad Abdus Salam, *The Absent Obligation*, Birmingham, Maktabah Al Ansaar, 2000.
- HEFNY, Assem, *Herrschaft und Islam: Religiös-politische Termini im Verständnis ägyptischer Autoren*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2013.
- ISMAIL, Daud & RAHMAN, Asyraf Hj Ab & AHMAD, Wan Ibrahim Wan, “Sayyid Qutb's View on Caliphate Government and its Relevance in Muslim Society”, *The Social Sciences*, vol. 11 no. 22 (2016), pp. 5403-5407.
- JOHNSTON, David L., “Hassan al-Hudaybi and the Muslim Brotherhood: Can Islamic Fundamentalism Eschew the Islamic State?”, *Comparative Islamic Studies*, vol. 3 no.1 (2007), pp. 39-56.
- KHATAB, Sayed, “Hakimiyyah and Jahiliyyah in the Thought of Sayyid Qutb”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 38 no. 3 (2002), pp. 145-170.
- KHATAB, Sayed, *The Political Thought of Sayyid Qutb: The Theory of Jahiliyyah*, London - New York, Routledge, 2006.

- KHATAB, Sayed, *The Power of Sovereignty: The Political and Ideological Philosophy of Sayyid Qutb*, London - New York, Routledge, 2006.
- KRÄMER, Gudrun, *Gottes Staat als Republik. Reflexionen zeitgenössischer Muslime zu Islam, Menschenrechten und Demokratie*, Baden-Baden, Nomos, 1999.
- KROPÁČEK, Luboš, *Blízký východ na přelomu tisíciletí. Dynamika přeměn v muslimském sousedství Evropy*, Praha, Vyšehrad, 1999.
- LAVIE, Limor, „The Egyptian Muslim Brothers’ Ideal State Model: A Religious State – Out; A Civil State – In“, *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 53 no. 6 (2017), pp. 996-1012.
- LIU, Zhongmin, “Commentary on ‘Islamic State’ Thoughts of Islamism”, *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, vol. 7 no. 3 (2013), pp. 22-42.
- MANZOOR, S. Parvez, „The Future of Muslim Politics: Critique of the 'Fundamentalist' Theory of the Islamic State”, *Futures*, vol. 23 issue 3 (April 1991), pp. 289-301.
- MAQBOOL, Shahzada Ashraf, *Islamization of Thought and Society - A Critique of Sayyid Qutub*, PhD. Thesis, Aligarh Muslim University, 2007.
- MARCH, Andrew F., “Taking People as They Are: Islam as a "Realistic Utopia" in the Political Theory of Sayyid Qutb”, *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 104 no. 1 (February 2010), pp. 189-207.
- MENDEL, Miloš, *Islámská výzva. Z dějin a současnosti politického islámu*, Brno, Atlantis, 1994.
- MENDEL, Miloš, „Sémantika islámských pojmů jako nástroj sociální komunikace (Některé závěry obsahové analýzy textů)”, *Religio*, vol. 5 no. 2 (1997), pp. 117-129.
- MENDEL, Miloš, *S puškou a Koránem: Pojmy a argumenty soudobého islámského fundamentalismu*, Praha, Orientální ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 2008.
- MENDEL, Miloš, *Džihád. Islámské koncepty šíření víry*, Brno, Atlantis, 2010.
- MOUSSA, Mohammed, *Politics of the Islamic Tradition: The Thought of Muhammad al-Ghazali*, London – New York, Routledge, 2016.
- MOUSSALLI, Ahmad S., “Hasan Al-Banna's Islamist Discourse on Constitutional Rule and Islamic State”, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 4 no. 2 (1993), pp.161-174.
- MOUSSALLI, Ahmad S., *Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: The Quest for Modernity, Legitimacy and the Islamic State*, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1999.
- AN-NA’IM, Abdullahi A., “A Theory of Islam, State and Society” In: VOGT, Kari & LARSEN, Lena & MOE, Christian (eds.), *New Directions in Islamic Thought: Exploring Reform and Muslim Tradition*, London – New York, I.B. Tauris, 2009, pp. 145-161.
- ORBACH, Danny, „Tyrannicide in Radical Islam: The Case of Sayyid Qutb and Abd al-Salam Faraj”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 48 no. 6 (2012), pp. 961-972.
- PANKHURST, Reza, *The Inevitable Caliphate? A History of the Struggle for Global Islamic Union, 1924 to the Present*, Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press, 2013.
- AL-QARADAWI, Sheikh Yusuf, *State in Islam*, Cairo, Al-Falah Foundation, 2004.

- RAHNEMA, Ali (ed.), *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*, London, Zed Books, 2006.
- RASTEGARFAR, Akbar, *Die Kalifatidee bei den sunnitischen und schiitischen Gelehrten des 20. Jahrhunderts*, PhD. Thesis, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2014.
- SALEM, Assil, *The Persistence of the Caliphate Debate in Egyptian Legal Thought: Historical Analysis from 1925 to 2014*, LL.M. Thesis, The American University in Cairo, 2015.
- SHEPARD, William E., "Islam as a 'System' in the Later Writings of Sayyid Qutb", *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 25 no. 1 (January 1989), pp. 31-50.
- SHEPARD, William E., „Muhammad Said al-Ashmawi and the Application of the Sharia in Egypt", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 28 no. 1 (1996), pp. 39-58.
- SHEPARD, William E., „Sayyid Qutb's Doctrine of Jāhiliyya“, *International Journal Of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 35 (2003), pp. 521-545.
- SIDDIQE, Fazzur Rahman, *Construction of Concept of Islamic State in the Writing of Sayyed Qutb*, PhD. Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2007.
- SIMON, Róbert, *Az iszlám fundamentalizmus. Gyökerek és elágazások Mohamedtől az al-Qá'idáig*, Budapest, Corvina, 2014. – Qutb és Faradz fordítások
- SOFFAR, Mohamed, *The Political Theory of Sayyid Qutb: A Genealogy of Discourse*, Berlin, Verlag Dr. Köster, 2004.
- SOUTHWORTH, Bryan, *The Muslim Brotherhood & The Quest for an Islamic State: A Case for Egypt*, M.A. Thesis, Central Connecticut State University, 2014.
- STOICA, Dragos C., *In The Shade of God's Sovereignty: The Anti-Modern Political Theology of Sayyid Qutb in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, PhD. Thesis, Concordia University, 2017.
- ZAMAN, Muhammad Qasim, „The Sovereignty of God in Modern Islamic Thought“, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 25 no. 3 (2015), pp. 389-418.

#### **IV. Theories of the State and Government in Contemporary Islam and Islamism**

##### **IV. 1 Visions of an Islamic Palestine:**

###### **The Palestinian Islamist Movements and the State**

- ABDELAL, Wael, *Hamas and the Media: Politics and Strategy*, New York – London, Routledge, 2016. –chap. 6
- ABUIRSHAD, Osama, *The Dialectic of Religion and Politics in Hamas' Thought and Practice*, PhD. Thesis, Loughborough University, 2013.
- ALEXANDER, Yonah, *Palestinian Religious Terrorism: Hamas and Islamic Jihad*, Ardsley – New York, Transnational Publishers, 2002.
- BACONI, Tareq, *Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2018.
- BARTAL, Shaul, *Jihad in Palestine: Political Islam and the Israeli–Palestinian conflict*, New York – London, Routledge, 2016.

- BRENNER, Björn. *Gaza under Hamas: From Islamic Democracy to Islamist Governance*, London - New York, I.B. Tauris, 2017.
- CARIDI, Paola, *Hamas: From Resistance to Regime*, New York, Seven Stories Press, 2023.
- „Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine“, (trans. by Muhammad Maqdsi), *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 22 no. 4 (Summer, 1993), pp. 122-134.
- “Charters of Hamas”, *Contemporary Review of the Middle East*, vol. 4, no. 4 (2017), pp. 393-418.
- DUNNING, Tristan, „Islam and Resistance: Hamas, Ideology and Islamic Values in Palestine“, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, vol. 8 no. 2 (2015), pp. 284-305.
- EWAIDA, Bassam, *Die islamische Bewegung der Hamas in Palästina: Entstehung, Entwicklung und politische Haltungen zwischen 1989-2007*, PhD. Thesis, Freien Universität Berlin, 2009.
- GAESS, Roger, “Interviews from Gaza: What Hamas Wants. Abd al-Aziz Rantisi, Skeikh Ahmed Yassin, Ismail Abu Shanab, Mahmoud al-Zahar”, *Middle East Policy*, vol. 9 no. 4 (December 2002), pp. 102-121.
- GUNNING, Jeroen, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*, London, Hurst, 2007.
- HAAS, Amira, “Interview with Hamas's 'Abd al-'Aziz Rantisi and Ismail Abu Shanab, Gaza City, 17 June 2003”, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 33 no. 1 (Fall 2003), p. 164-168.
- Hamas - A Document of General Principles and Policies*, The Islamic Resistance Movement - Hamas, May 2017.
- Hamas - Wathiqat al-mubadi' wa 's-siyas al-amma*, Haraka al-muqawwama al-islamiyya – Hamas, ayar 2017.
- HROUB, Khaled, *Hamas - Political Thought and Practice*, Washington, Institute for Palestine, Studies, 2000.
- JEFFERIS, Jennifer, *Hamas: Terrorism, Governance, and its Future in Middle East Politics*, Santa Barbara, Praeger, 2016.
- JENSEN, Michael Irving, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, London - New York, I.B.Tauris, 2009.
- KEAR, Martin, *Hamas and Palestine: The Contested Road to Statehood*, London – New York, Routledge, 2019.
- KOSS, Maren, *Resistance, Power, and Conceptions of Political Order in Islamist Organizations: Comparing Hezbollah and Hamas*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2018.
- KOVÁCS, Attila, „Hamás a súčasné alternatívy "islámskej politiky" v Palestíne“, In: *Náboženství a politika. 2.* Pardubice, Univerzita Pardubice, 2008, pp. 139-154.
- KOVÁCS, Attila, „Hamas in transition religious and/or political change(s) of the Palestinian Islamic movement.“ In: *Religious change*, Bratislava, Chronos, 2010, pp. 259-270.
- LEVITT, Matthew, „Hamas’s Ideological Crisis“, *Current Trends Islamist Ideology*, vol. 9 (2009), pp. 80-

- LITVAK, Meir, *The Islamization of Palestinian Identity: The Case of Hamas*, Tel Aviv, Moshe Dayan Center Middle Eastern and African Studies - Data and Analysis Series, 1997.
- MENDEL, Miloš, *Náboženství v boji o Palestinu. Judaismus, islám a křesťanství jako ideologie etnického konfliktu*, Brno, Atlantis, 2000.
- MILTON-EDWARDS, Beverley, *Islamic Politics in Palestine*, London, I.B. Tauris, 1999.
- MNEIMNEH, Hassan, „Convergence? The Homogenization of Islamist Doctrines in Gaza”, *Current Trends Islamist Ideology*, vol. 9 (2009), pp. 5-17.
- MOLD, Francesca Annemarie, *New Imaginaries of War: How Hamas and the Islamic State Advance Their Political Objectives On a Virtual Battlefield*, M.A. Thesis, Massey University, 2017.
- NÜSSE, Andrea, *Muslim Palestine: The Ideology of Hamās*, London – New York, Routledge, 2003.
- PETTERSEN, Vegard, *Hamas and a Future Palestinian State: A Pragmatic Approach?*, M.A. Thesis, University of Oslo, 2009.
- RABBANI, Mouin, “The Making of a Palestinian Islamist Leader: An Interview with Khalid Mishal: Part I”, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 37 no. 3 (Spring 2008), pp. 59–73.
- RABBANI, Mouin, “The Making of a Palestinian Islamist Leader: An Interview with Khalid Mishal: Part II”, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 37 no. 4 (Summer 2008), pp. 59–81.
- SALEH, Dr. Mohsen Mohammad (ed.), *Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas): Studies in Thought & Experience*, Beirut, Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations, 2017.
- SEN, Somdeep, *Decolonizing Palestine: Hamas between the Anticolonial and the Postcolonial*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2020.
- SKARE, Erik, *Palestinian Islamic Jihad: Islamist Writings on Resistance and Religion*, London – New York, I.B. Tauris, 2021.
- SKARE, Erik, *A History of Palestinian Islamic Jihad: Faith, Awareness, and Revolution in the Middle East*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- SCHANZER, Jonathan, „The Talibanization of Gaza”, *Current Trends Islamist Ideology*, vol. 9 (2009), pp. 111-119.
- TAMIMI, Azzam, *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters*, London, Hurst & Comp., 2007.

## IV. 2 Hasan al-Turabi and the Sudanese Experience

- EL-AFFENDI, Abdelwahab, *Turabi's Revolution: Islam and Power in Sudan*, Grey Seal Books, 1991.
- EL-AFFENDI, Abdelwahab, „Hassan Turabi and the Limits of Modern Islamic Reformism”, In: ABU-RABI', Ibrahim M., *Contemporary Arab Thought: Studies in Post-1967 Arab Intellectual History*, London, Pluto Press, 2004, pp. 145-160.
- BAHLUL, Raja, „People vs God: The Logic of 'Divine Sovereignty' in Islamic Democratic Discourse”, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 11 no. 3 (October 2000), pp. 287-297.
- BERRIDGE, W. J., *Hasan al-Turabi: Islamist Politics and Democracy in Sudan*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017.

- BURR, J. Millard & COLLINS, Robert O., *Revolutionary Sudan: Hasan al-Turabi and the Islamist State, 1989-2000*, Leiden - Boston, E.J. Brill, 2003.
- DONOHUE, John J. & ESPOSITO, John L. (eds.) *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- ESPOSITO, John L. (ed.), *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1987.
- GALLAB, Abdullahi A. "The Insecure Rendezvous Between Islam and Totalitarianism: The Failure of the Islamist State in Sudan", *Arab Studies Quarterly*, vol. 23 Issue 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 87-109.
- GALLAB, Abdullahi A., *The First Islamist Republic: Development and Disintegration of Islamism in the Sudan*, Aldershot - Burlington, Ashgate Publishing, 2008.
- GALLAB, Abdullahi A., *Hasan al-Turabi, the Last of the Islamists: The Man and His Times 1932-2016*, Lanham - Boulder, Lexington Books, 2018.
- IBRAHIM, Esam Eltigani Mohamed & ZEIN, Ibrahim M., "Tawḥīd and the Relevantisation of Qur'ānic Exegesis to Muslim Political Life: An Exegetical Interpretation of *Al-Turabi's Tafsīr*", *Revelation and Science*, vol. 04 no. 02 (1436H/2014), 23-28.
- KOBAYASHI, Masaki, *The Islamist Movement in Sudan: The Impact of Dr Hassal al-Turabi's Personality on the Movement*, PhD. Thesis, Durham University, 1996.
- LO, Mbaye, *Political Islam, Justice and Governance*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
- MOHAMMED, Suhair Ahmed Salah, *Islamists and Democracy in Sudan: the Role of Hasan Turabi, 1989-2001*, PhD thesis, University of Westminster, 2012.
- MORRISON, Scott, "The Political Thought of Hasan al-Turabi of Sudan", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 12 no. 2 (April 2001), pp. 153-160.
- ÖZCAN, Sevinç Alkan, "The Role of Political Islam in Tunisia's Democratization Process: Towards a New Pattern of Secularization?", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 20 no. 1 (2018), pp. 209-225.
- SALOMON, Noah, *For Love of the Prophet: An Ethnography of Sudan's Islamic State*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2016.
- SEARCY, Kim, "The Khalifa and the Routinization of Charismatic Authority", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 43 no. 3 (2010), pp. 429-442.
- SOFI, Mohammad Dawood, *Rāshid al-Ghannūshī: A Key Muslim Thinker of the 21st Century*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- EL-SOLH, Raghid, "Islamist attitudes towards democracy: a review of the ideas of Al-Ghazali, Al-Turabi and 'Amara", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 20 no. 1 (1993), 57-63.
- TURĀBĪ, Hasan, "Principles of Governance, Freedom, and Responsibility in Islam", *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 4 no. 1 (September 1987), pp. 1-11.
- TURABI, Hassan A. "Islam as a Pan-national Movement", *RSA Journal*, vol. 140 no. 5432 (August/September 1992), pp. 608-619.

AT-TURABI, Hasan, *as-Siyasa wa l-hukm: al-nuzum al-sultaniyya bayna al-usul wa-sunan al-waqi'*, Bajrut, Dar al-saqi, 2003.

#### **IV. 3 Rashid al-Ghannushi and the Nahda Party of Tunisia**

ABU-RABI', Ibrahim M., *Contemporary Arab Thought: Studies in Post-1967 Arab Intellectual History*, London, Pluto Press, 2004.

ELGINDY, Khaled, „The Rhetoric of Rashid Ghannushi”, *The Arab Studies Journal*, vol. 3 no. 1 (Spring 1995), pp. 101-119.

FADEL, Mohammad, „Modernist Islamic Political Thought and the Egyptian and Tunisian Revolutions of 2011”, *Middle East Law and Governance*, vol. 3 (2011), pp. 94-104.

CHAMKHI, Tarek, *Neo-Islamism after the Arab Spring: Case Study of the Tunisian Ennahda Party*, MPhil Thesis, Murdoch University, 2015.

GHANNOUSHI, Rashid, “Islamic Movements: Self-Criticism and Reconsideration”, ABU-RABI', Ibrahim M. (ed.), *The Contemporary Arab Reader on Political Islam*, London - Edmonton, Pluto Press - The University of Alberta Press, 2010, pp. 130-134.

GHANNOUCHI, Rached, *Public Freedoms in the Islamic State*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2022.

GHANNUSHI, shaykh Rashid, *al-Hurriyat al-amma fi ad-dawla al-islamiyya*, Bajrut, Markaz dirasat al-wahda al-arabiyya, 1993.

HAMDI, Mohamed E., *The Politicisation of Islam: A Case Study of Tunisia*, Boulder - Oxford, Westview Press, 1998.

JEBNOUN, Noureddine, *Tunisia at the Crossroads: An Interview with Sheikh Rached al-Ghannouchi*, ACMCU Occasional Papers, April 2014.

MALIK, Maszlee, „From Political Islam to Democrat Muslim: A Case Study of Rashid Ghannouchi's Influence on ABIM, IKRAM, AMANAH and DAP”, *Intellectual Discourse*, vol. 25 no. 1 (2017), pp. 21-53.

MÜLLER, Tobias, *Contemporary Islamic Thinkers' Understandings of Secularism*, MPhil Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2014.

SAEED, Ahdullah, “Rethinking Citizenship Rights of Non-Muslims in an Islamic State: Rashid al-Ghannūshī's Contribution to the Evolving Debate”, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 10 no. 3 (1999), pp. 307-323.

TAMIMI, Azzam S., *Rached Ghannouchi: A Democrat Within Islamism*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001.

#### **IV. 4 The “Brotherly Leader” and the “Third World Theory”: Mu'ammār al-Qaddafi and the State**

BERWEEN, Mohamed, “The Political Belief System of Qaddafi: Power Politics and Self-Fulfilling Prophecy”, *The Journal of Libyan Studies*, vol. 4 no. 1 (Summer 2003), pp. 49-62.



- DAVIS, J., "Qaddafi's Theory and Practice of Non-Representative Government", *Government and Opposition*, vol. 17 no. 1 (1982), pp. 61-79.
- HAGER, Eva, *Volksmacht und Islam. Eine terminologie- und ideologischesche-analytische Untersuchung zum Politik- und Religionsverständnis bei Mu' ammar al-Qaddāfi*, Berlin, Klaus Schwarz, 1986.
- HAJJAR, Sami G., "The Jamahiriya Experiment in Libya: Qadhafi and Rousseau", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 18 no. 2 (June 1980), pp. 181-200.
- HAJJAR, Sami G., "Qadhafi's Social Theory as the Basis of the Tirth Universal Theory", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol. 17 nos. 3-4 (1982), pp. 177-188.
- HARRIS, Lillian Craig, *Libya: Qadhafi's Revolution and the Modern State*, London – New York, Routledge, 1986.
- EL-KHAWAS, Mohamed A., "Qaddafi and Islam in Libya", *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 1 no. 1 (Spring 1984), pp. 61-82.
- EL-KHAWAS, Mohamed A., *Qaddafi: His Ideology in Theory and Practice*, London, Amana Books, 1986.
- AL-QADHDHĀFĪ, Mu' ammar, *al-Kitab al-akhdar*, Tarabulus, al-Markaz al-<sup>ḥ</sup>alami li-dirasat wa abhath al-kitab al-akhdar, n.d.
- SICKER, Martin, *The Making of a Pariah State: The Adventurist Politics of Muammar Qaddafi*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1987.
- ST JOHN, Ronald Bruce, "The Ideology of Muammar al-Qadhafi: Theory and Practice", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 15 no. 4 (November 1983), pp. 471-490.
- ST JOHN, Ronald Bruce, "Redefining the Libyan Revolution: The Changing Ideology of Muammar al-Qaddafi", *The Journal of North African Studies*, vol. 13 no. 1 (2008), pp. 91-106.
- TAKEYH, Ray, "Qadhafi's Libya and the Prospect of Islamic Succession", *Middle East Policy*, vol. 7 no. 2 (February 2000), pp. 154-164.
- VANDEWALLE, Dirk (ed.), *Libya since 1969: Qadhafi's Revolution Revisited*, London – New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- VANDEWALLE, Dirk J., *A History of Modern Libya*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

#### **IV. 5 Alia Izetbegović and the Bosnian Vision of an Muslim State**

- BABUNA, Aydin, "National Identity, Islam and Politics in Post-Communist Bosnia-Herzegovina", *East European Quarterly*, vol. 39 no. 4 (January 2006), pp. 405-447.
- IZETBEGOVIĆ, Alija, *The Islamic Declaration: A Programme for the Islamization of Muslims and the Muslim Peoples*, n.p., Sarajevo, 1990.
- IZETBEGOVIĆ, 'Alija 'Ali, *Islam Between East and West*, Oak Brook, American Trust Publications, 1993.

IZETBEGOVIĆ, Alija, *Izetbegović of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Notes from Prison, 1983–1988*, Westport – London, Praeger, 2002.

MERDJANOVA, Ina, *Rediscovering the Umma: Muslims in the Balkans between Nationalism and Transnationalism*, Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press, 2013.

#### **IV. 6 The Caliphate in the Library: Islamic Liberation Party and the Theory of an Islamic State**

ABU ABDULLAH, Jafar Muhammad, *Emerging World Order: The Islamic Khilafah State*, Bangladesh, Al-Khilafah, Ramadan, 1431 AH. [2010].

AZAD, Hasan, *(Im)Possible Muslims: Hizb ut-Tahrir, The Islamic State, & Modern Muslimness*, PhD. Thesis, Columbia University, 2017.

COMMINS, David, “Taqi al-Din al-Nabhani and the Islamic Liberation Party”, *The Muslim World*, vol. 81 nos. 3-4 (1991), pp. 194-211.

DAR, Showkat Ahmad, *The Concept of Islamic State A Comparative Study of Muhammad Asad and Taqi ud Din Al Nabhani*, PhD. Thesis, Aligarh Muslim University, 2016.

HANIF, Noman, „Hizb ut Tahrir: Islam's Ideological Vanguard”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 39 no. 2 (2012), pp. 201-225.

HERBERT, Matthew, *Hizb ut-Tahrir: Rise of the Virtual Caliphate*, Saarbrücken, VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2011.

Hizb at-tahrir, *Mithaq al-umma*, n.p., Hizb at-tahrir, 15 rabīʿ al-áhir 1410 H. / 14 tašrín ath-thání 1989 m.

Hizb ut-tahrir, *Concepts of Hizb ut-Tahrir*, n.p., Hizb ut-tahrir, n.d.

Hizb ut-tahrir, *Al-Khilafah*, n.p., Hizb ut-tahrir, n.d.

Hizb ut-tahrir, *The Khilafah is not a Totalitarian State*, n.p., Khilafah.com, n.d.

Hizb ut-tahrir, *The Method to Appoint a Kbaleefah*, n.p., Khilafah.com, n.d.

Hizb ut-tahrir, *Return of the Khilafah: A Vision of Pakistan under the Khilafah and how an Islamic Constitution will Give Rise to Policies of Revival*, n.p., Hizb ut Tahrir Wilayah Pakistan, n.d.

Hizb ut-tahrir, *The Role of Muslim Women in Re-Establishing the Islamic Khilafah State*, n.p., Hizb ut Tahrir Wilaya Pakistan, n.d.

Hizb ut-Tahrir, *The Ummah's Charter*, London, Al-Khilafah Publications, 15 Rabee' al-Aakhar 1410 AH / 14 November 1989 CE.

Hizb ut-tahrir, *The Ruling System in Islam*, London, Al-Khilafah Publications, 1417 AH / 1996 CE.

Hizb ut-tahrir, *The Method to Re-Establish the Khilafah*, London, Al-Khilafah Publications, 1421 A.H. / 2000 C.E.

Hizb ut-tahrir, *Khilafah is the Answer*, London, Al-Khilafah Publications, Jumada al u'la 1423 / July 2002.

- Hizb ut-tahrir, *The Institutions of State in the Khilafah (In Ruling and Administration)*, Beirut, Dar ul-Ummah, 1426 Hijri / 2004 CE.
- Hizb ut-Tahrir, *The Draft Constitution or the Necessary Evidences for it, Part 1 (General Rules, The System of Ruling, The Social System)*, Beirut, Dar ul-Ummah, 1431 Hijri / 2010 CE.
- MUHAMMAD, Sheikh Omar Bakri, *Jihad: The Method for Khilafah?*, n.p., mna publications, n.d.
- MUHAMMAD, Sheikh Omar Bakri, *The First 24 Hours after the Establishment of the Islamic State: How can we transform the present ruling systems and government departments into an Islamic system and Islamic departments?*, n.p., Al-Muhajiroun publications, n.d.
- AN-NABHANI, Taqiudine, *The Political Concepts of Hizb ut-Tabrir*, n.p., Hizb-ut-Tahrir, 1969.
- AN-NABHANI, Taqiuddin, *The Islamic State*, London, Al-Khilafah Publications, 1419 AH / 1998 CE.
- AN-NABHANI, Taqiuddin, *Political Thoughts*, London, Al-Khilafah Publications, 1420 A.H. / 1999 A.D.
- AN-NABHANI, Taqi ad-Din, *Nizām al-islam*, n.p., Hizb at-tahrir, 1422 H. / 2001 M.
- AN-NABHANI, Taqiuddin, *The System of Islam (Nidham ul Islam)*, London, Al-Khilafah Publications, 1423 A.H / 2002 A.D.
- AN-NABHANI, Taqi ad-Din, *Nizām al-bukm fi 'l-islam*, Bajrut, Dar al-umma, 1422 H. / 2002 M.
- AN-NABHANI, Taqi ad-Din, *ad-Dawla 'l-islamiyya*, Bajrut, Dar al-umma, 1423 H. / 2002 M.
- OROFINO, Elisa, *Hizb ut-Tabrir and the Caliphate: Why the Group is Still Appealing to Muslims in the West*, London – New York, Routledge, 2019.
- PANKHURST, Reza, *Hizb-ut-Tabrir: The Untold History of the Liberation Party*, London, Hurst & Co, 2016.
- SALAM, Zahid-Ivan, *Jihad and the Foreign Policy of the Khilafah State*, London, Khilafah Publications, 11 Rabi al Thaan 1422 Hijri / 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2001.
- TAJI-FAROUKI, Suha, *A Fundamentalist Quest. Hizb at-Tabrir and the Search for An Islamic Caliphate*, London, Grey Seal, 1996.
- ZALLOOM, Abdul Qadeem, *Democracy is a System of Kufr*, London, Al-Khilafah Publications, Rabi' al-Awwal 1416 AH / August 1995.
- ZALLUM, Abdul Qadeem, *How the Khilafah was Destroyed*, London, Al-Khilafah Publications, 1421 AH / 2000 CE.

#### IV. 7 „The Islamic State“:

##### Jihadists and the Caliphate from al-Qai'da to ISIL / Da'ish

- ABBAS, Yasir, “Another 'State' of Hate: Al-Nusra's Quest to Establish an Islamic Emirate in the Levant”, *Current Trends Islamist Ideology*, vol. 20 (2017), pp. 45-64.
- ABDUL RAUF, Imam Feisal, *Defining Islamic Statehood: Measuring and Indexing Contemporary Muslim States*, New York – London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

- AFRAKHTEH, Abdolhamid, "Political Thought of Salafism and Its Historical Roots", *Jurnal UMP Social Sciences and Technology Management*, vol. 3 issue. 3 (2015), pp. 429-436.
- ANZALONE, Christopher, „In the Shadow of the Islamic State: Shi‘i Responses to Sunni Jihadist Narratives in a Turbulent Middle East”, In: STAFFELL, Simon & AWAN, Akil (eds.), *Jihadism Transformed: Al-Qaeda and Islamic State's Global Battle of Ideas*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 157-182.
- ARANY, Anett & RÓZSA, Erzsébet N. & SZALAI, Máté, *Az Iszlám Állam Kalifátusa. Az átalakuló Közél-Kelet*, Budapest, Osiris Kiadó, 2016.
- ATWAN, Abdel Bari, *Islamic State: The Digital Caliphate*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2015.
- BELKEZIZ, Abdelilah, *The State in Contemporary Islamic Thought: A Historical Survey of the Major Muslim Political Thinkers of the Modern Era*, London - New York, I.B.Tauris - Centre for Arab Unity Studies, 2009.
- BERÁNEK, Ondřej & OSTRÁNSKÝ, Bronislav (eds.), *Islámský stát: Blížký východ na konci časů*, Praha, Academia, 2016.
- BUNZEL, Cole, *From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State*, Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings Institution, Analysis Paper, No. 19 (March 2015).
- BUREŠ, Jaroslav, „Koncepce státu v islámu a kritika islamistických postojů”, In: SOULEIMANOV, Emil, a kol., *Politický islám*, Praha, Eurolex Bohemia, 2007, pp. 39-61.
- BYMAN, Daniel, *Al Qaeda, the Islamic State, and the Global Jihadist Movement: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press, 2015.
- FATAH, Tarek, *Chasing a Mirage: The Tragic Illusion of an Islamic State*, Mississauga, John Wiley & Sons, 2008.
- FARAJ, Muhammad Abdus Salam, *The Absent Obligation*, Birmingham, Maktabah Al Ansaar, 2000.
- FELDMAN, Noah, *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State*, Princeton – Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2008.
- FERGUSON, R. James, "Contemporary Political Mobilisation of the 'Caliphate': The Clash of Propaganda and Discontent", *Culture Mandala*, vol. 8, no. 1 (October 2008), pp. 1-27.
- AL-FILISTĪNĪ, Abū Qatāda Shaykh, *Characteristics of The Victorious Party in the Foundation of the State of the Believers (The Land of Ash-Shām)*, n.p., At-Tibyān Publications, n.d.
- FURLOW, R. Bennett & FLEISCHER, Kristin & CORMAN, Steven R., *De-Romanticizing the Islamic State's Vision of the Caliphate*, Center for Strategic Communication – Arizona State University, Report No. 1402 / October 27, 2014.
- GEMEAH, Ibrahim M., *Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State: A Comparative Study of the Jibadi Narratives*, M.A. Thesis, University of Washington, 2016.
- GERGES, A. Fawaz, *Islámský stát: cesta k moci*, Praha, Vyšehrad, 2017.

- GHOBADZADEH, Naser, “Democratisation of Islamic Political Theology” In: ESPOSITO, John L. & ZUBAIDAH RAHIM, Lily & GHOBADZADEH, Naser (eds.), *The Politics of Islamism: Diverging Visions and Trajectories*, New York – London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 47-85.
- GRIFFIN, Michael, *Islamic State: Rewriting History*, London, Pluto Press, 2016.
- GÜNTHER, Christoph & KADEN, Tom, *The Authority of the Islamic State*, Working Paper No. 169, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle - Saale, 2016.
- HEGGHAMMER, Thomas & WAGEMAKERS, Joas, “The Palestine Effect: The Role of Palestinians in the Transnational Jihad Movement”, *Welt des Islams*, vol. 53 nos. 3-4 (2013), pp. 281-314.
- HELLMICH, Christina, *Al-Qaeda: From Global Network to Local Franchise*, London – New York, Zed Books, 2011.
- JAQUIER, Romain, *A Reflection on the Theological and Political Legitimacy of the Jihadist Group*, B.C. Thesis, University College Dublin, 2015.
- KAMINSKI, Joseph J., *The Contemporary Islamic Governed State: A Reconceptualization*, New York – London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- KAZIMI, Nibras, ”The Caliphate Attempted”, *Current Trends Islamist Ideology*, vol. 7 (2008), pp. 5-49.
- KHADDURI, Majid, „The Juridical Theory of the Islamic State”, *The Muslim World*, vol. 41 issue 3 (July 1951), pp. 181-185.
- KHOSROKHAVAR, Farhad, *Jihadism in Europe: European Youth and the New Caliphate*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2021.
- LAWRENCE, Bruce B. (ed.), *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden*, London – New York, Verso, 2005.
- LO, Mbaye, *Political Islam, Justice and Governance*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
- MANNE, Robert, *The Mind of the Islamic State: ISIS and the Ideology of the Caliphate*, New York, Prometheus Books, 2017.
- MEILOUD, Ahmed, *The Islamic Rational State: The Arab Islamists' New Politico-Legal Discourses of a Post-Caliphate Order*, PhD. Thesis, The University of Arizona, 2017.
- MILLER, Flagg, *The Audacious Ascetic: What the Bin Laden Tapes Reveal about al-Qa‘ida*, Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press, 2015.
- MUFTI, Malik, *The Art of Jihad: Realism in Islamic Political Thought*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2019.
- MURA, Andrea, *The Symbolic Scenarios of Islamism: A Study in Islamic Political Thought*, Farnham - Burlington, Ashgate Publishing, 2015.
- ORWIN, Alexander, “In Search of the Vanished Caliphate”, *Current Trends Islamist Ideology*, vol. 21 (2017), pp. 5-23.

- POIRSON, Timothy & OPRISKO, Robert (eds.), *Caliphates and Islamic Global Politics*, Bristol, E-International Relations, 2014.
- PORRO, Brittany R., *The World from Al-Qaeda's Perspective: Deciphering Its Geostrategy, Deterrence Strategy, and Efforts to Build the Caliphate*, M.A. Thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 2017.
- The Project of a Viable and Sustainable Modern Islamic State*, Amman, The Royal Aal Al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought, 2013.
- SAYYID, S., *Recalling the Caliphate: Decolonisation and World Order*, London, Hurst & Co., 2014.
- SYKIAINEN, Leonid R., „The Islamic Concept of Caliphate: Basic Principles and a Contemporary Interpretation”, *Islamology*, vol. 7 no. 1 (2017), pp. 62-70.
- WATI, Montgomery W., *Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1987.
- WAGEMAKERS, Joas, *A Quietist Jihadi: The Ideology and Influence of Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- ZELIN, Aaron Y., *The Intellectual Origins of al-Qaeda's Ideology: The Abolishment of the Caliphate through the Afghan Jihad, 1924-1989*, M.A. Thesis, Brandeis University, 2010.
- ZELIN, Aaron Y., „From the Archduke to the Caliph: the Islamist Evolution that led to 'The Islamic State', In: STAFFELL, Simon & AWAN, Akil (eds.), *Jihadism Transformed: Al-Qaeda and Islamic State's Global Battle of Ideas*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 159-173.

Attila Kovács  
(compiled and selected by)  
The Theories of State and Government in Islam and Islamism  
from the Prophet Muhammad to ISIL / Da'ish: A Selected Bibliography

ISBN 978-80-89027-71-2

EAN 9788089027712

Published in 2023 by Chronos, Bratislava (Slovakia)



This work is licensed under CC BY-NC 4.0: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>.

This license permits editing, copying, and distribution of the material in any format or medium, but only for noncommercial purposes, provided the author is credited. The terms of the Creative

Commons license apply only to original material. The reuse of material from other sources (marked with source reference) such as charts, illustrations, photos and text excerpts may require further permission for use from the respective rights holder.

Electronic edition



## **Attila Kovács**

He graduated from the academic Study of religion, History and Hungarian language and literature at the Faculty of Arts of the Masaryk University in Brno. During his studies he spend annual stays at the ELTE in Budapest and at the University of Jordan in Amman. Currently, he is working at the Department of Comparative Religion of the Comenius University in Bratislava and also lectures at the Masaryk University in Brno. His main fields of academic research are the study of Muslims and Islamism within the contemporary Middle East. He is particularly interested in the studies of visual representation in the context of Islamic tradition and Islamist movements, the relationship between Islamism and media, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and especially so the multidisciplinary field of Jerusalem. He is the author of many studies and articles on these topics written in different Central European languages and English, including the monography *Allah's Warriors: Visual culture of Islamic Radicalism*. He realized several field trips across the Middle East and North Africa.



*Chronos*