



Political Ethics and Its Role in the Inclination toward the School of Shi'ism From the Major Occultation to the Safavid Era

Shirin Aramesh

Department of Islamic Studies, School of Medicine, Guilan University of Medical Sciences, Rasht, Iran
School of Medicine, Guilan University of Medical Sciences, Rasht, Iran

Article info

Received: 19.06.2026

Accepted: 25.09.2026

Available Online: 25.09.2026

Checked for Plagiarism: Yes

Keywords:

political ethics, inclination toward Shi'ism, justice-seeking, rationalism, Shia rulers

ABSTRACT

Ethics and its components hold particular importance in the political arena. These components, in the political arena, possess great potential as a foundational factor for the expansion of religion and the dissemination of the school. Most Shia politicians and statesmen, by applying ethical principles in politics, were able to take the correct path in politics and be influential in society's inclination toward the Shia religion. The present study, with an "analytical-descriptive" approach and based on the "documentary studies" method, seeks to answer the question: What capacities do ethical components in the political arena possess for the dissemination of and inclination toward the teachings of the Ahl al-Bayt (peace be upon them)? Studies show that the observance of ethics in politics, such as affection and populism, tolerance, justice-seeking, simple living, not distancing oneself from the people, rationalism, and legalism, was influential in people's inclination toward Shi'ism. This study aims to express the ethics of Shia statesmen and, by examining them, show what ethical principles these politicians and rulers were able to adopt in politics in such complex conditions to advance the expansion of Shi'ism. Obviously, examining those ethical principles whose adherence by Shia politicians and statesmen in the political arena caused people's inclination and positive attitude toward this Shia religion and the export of this nascent culture in this period of time can familiarize us more with the role of ethics in the dissemination of religion and the school of society.

Introduction

The period from the beginning of the Major Occultation (329 AH) to the beginning of the Safavid era (907 AH) was accompanied by numerous ups and downs and, at the same time, important in the expansion of Shi'ism. This period, due to the emergence of Shia states in various parts of the Islamic world and then the decline of Shia political power, is considered one of the sensitive junctures in the history of Islam. During this period, the Shi'as were a minority of the Islamic society. In such conditions, the preservation, survival, and expansion of the Shi'a amidst these ups and downs found a complex situation, and fundamentally, understanding its success or failure requires attention to these complex conditions. Fortunately, the Shi'a was able to continue its existence with all the ups and downs. One of the factors of the Shi'a's survival must be sought in ethics and its observance in politics by Shia rulers and statesmen. This study aims to express the ethics of Shia statesmen and, by

examining them, show what ethical principles these politicians and rulers were able to adopt in politics in such complex conditions to advance the expansion of Shi'ism. Obviously, examining those ethical principles whose adherence by Shia politicians and statesmen in the political arena caused people's inclination and positive attitude toward this Shia religion and the export of this nascent culture in this period of time can familiarize us more with the role of ethics in the dissemination of religion and the school of society.

Conceptual Analysis

Ethics:

"Ethics" (akhlaq) is the plural of "khuluq" and means the force, nature, and inner disposition of man, which is perceivable with the eye of insight (Ibn Faris, 1404 AH, vol. 2:214; Tarihi, 1430 AH: 397; Raghhib Isfahani, 1427:297). In the terminology of thinkers, "khuluq" is that state which calls the soul to perform actions, without relying on thought, and

this state is either natural or acquired through habituation and learning. Sometimes it is also obtained through thought and reflection and, due to much reflection, becomes a faculty of the soul (Ibn Miskawayh, 1412: 51; Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi, 1413 AH: 64-65; Naragi, ١٩٨٩, vol. 1:56).

Given what has said, it can be said that this firm state may exist in an individual naturally, inherently, and innately, and in another individual, it may come into being through habit, learning, and practice. Therefore, it is incumbent upon rulers, to the extent of their capacity, both in the realm of psychic

**Corresponding Author: Shirin Aramesh (aramsh@gums.ac.ir)*

qualities and in the realm of behavior, to be characterized by divine ethics so that they may realize Islamic ordinances in society and a human society with transcendent purposes may emerge.

Politics

Politics (siyasah) is an Arabic word from the root "al-sus," meaning leadership, or meaning character and disposition (Ibn Manzur, ٢٠٢٥, vol. 6:108). According to the definition of lexicographers: "Al-siyasah al-qiyam ala al-shay' bima yuslihuhu" politics is undertaking something based on expediency (Tarihi, 1430 AH:660). If a ruler and governor is called a politician, it is because in social affairs he engages in expediency, deliberation, and action regarding the masses of the people (Jawhari, 1433 AH:551).

Mulla Sadra considers politics to be deliberation and a selective and rational effort undertaken for the reform of collective life to attain happiness and divine ends. He says in "Al-Shawahid al-Rububiyya": "Al-siyasah harakah mabda'uha min al-nafs al-juz'iyah tabi'ah li-husn ikhtiyar al-ashkhas al-bashariyyah li-yajma'ahum ala nizam muslih li-jama'atihim" Politics is a movement originating from the particular soul that is based on the good choice and selection of the human individual in order to gather them on the axis of order and reform their community (Mulla Sadra, ٢٠٠٣:365).

The concept of politics can be derived from the definition that Allama Na'ini has provided for government and power. He writes: The principle of establishing government and organizing forces and imposing taxes and the like is for the preservation of order and observance of the affairs of the subjects and the education of the people, and there is no doubt that the desired government in any Shari'a, and indeed according to all rational people, whether it is assumed by right or by usurpation, consists of the general trusteeship of the people and supervision of the preservation of order and the establishment of other duties that are worthy and appropriate for guardianship. And in reality, power is of the nature of the trusteeship of the order of a common endowment and its preservation and equality

between the owners of rights and delivering each rightful person to his right, not of the nature of the oppressive seizure of the person in charge. And it is for this reason that the Imams (peace be upon them) and the scholars of Islam have called the ruler "wali" (guardian), "wali" (governor), and "ra'i" (shepherd), and the nation "ra'iyyah" (flock) (Na'ini, 2014:103). Therefore, given the totality of what has been said, from the Imami perspective, politics is guardianship over the management of the affairs of the community for the service of the people. Politics is affection, guidance, participation, the establishment

of justice, and education, not domination and autocracy. The ruler and official have no right to seize as they wish and to chain the nation for the satisfaction of carnal desires and the gratification of selfish demands; rather, government is a trust that rulers must guard properly.

Shi'ism

The root of "Shi'a" is from "mushaya'ah," meaning following and obedience (Zabidi, 1414, vol. 11: 256; Ibn Manzur, 1405, vol. 8:189). It also means a "group" and a faction that gathers around a single matter (Farahidi, 1426 AH:504). And "Shi'a" in predominant usage refers to one who loves Ali (peace be upon him) and his family may God be pleased with them all to the extent that it has become their exclusive name (Firuzabadi, 1433 AH:700; Ibn Manzur, ٢٠٢٥, vol. 8:189).

It has been stated somewhere: "Shi'a" means accompaniment and following of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) and considering that Imam superior to other companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him) (Abu al-Hasan Ash'ari, ٢٠٢٥:65).

Shaykh Tusi writes about the Shi'a: The Shi'a are those who believe in the imamate of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) based on divine will and the testament of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his family). Emphasizing this characteristic, he considers the view of the "Sulaymaniyah" of the "Zaydiyya" sect, who, despite accepting the superiority of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) over other companions, did not believe in the textual appointment of his imamate (Abu al-Hasan Ash'ari, ٢٠٢٥, vol. 1:143), as departing from Shi'ism and considers them non-Shia (Shaykh Tusi, ٢٠١٥, vol. 2:56).

Shaykh Mufid also writes: The Shi'a are exclusively the followers of Ali (peace be upon him) based on loyalty and belief in his immediate imamate after the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) (Mufid, ٢٠٠٩:34).

Although he did not explicitly mention textual appointment and testament, the inclusion of the "Jarudiyya" sect of the "Zaydiyya," who believed in textual appointment of his imamate (Shahristani,

٢٠٠٢, vol. 1:157), and the exclusion of the other two important Zaydi sects who did not believe in textual appointment and testament (Shahristani, ٢٠٠٢:159) in this definition, indicates his belief in this matter (Shaykh Mufid, ٢٠٠٩:36).

Nawbakhti writes: In the time of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him and his family) and after him, a group was called Shi'a. They made following Ali (peace be upon him) their way and believed in the imamate and succession of that Imam (peace be upon him) after the Prophet (peace be upon him and his family). They were the first to adopt the name of Shi'ism for themselves (Nawbakhti, 1404 AH:17). Accordingly, from the perspective of Shia scholars, the word Shi'a is applied only to the followers of Ali (peace be upon him) and his descendants and those who believe in his imamate. The term Shi'a over time came to be applied to various sects, the most important of which were Twelver Shi'a, Zaydi Shi'a, and Ismaili Shi'a. In this article, as is evident from the application of its name, the intended meaning is Imami Shi'a, and they are those who believe in the imamate of Imam Ali (peace be upon him) and his eleven descendants from Lady Fatima Zahra (peace be upon her) and follow the Ahl al-Bayt (peace be upon them). Therefore, following the school of the Ahl al-Bayt can be called the unifying axis in founding an independent epistemic and social identity under the name of Shi'ism. The same axis upon which the Shi'a has gathered in all material and spiritual arenas. Therefore, Shi'ism in the broadest sense of the word is applied to all the spiritual and material achievements of the true followers of the Ahl al-Bayt (peace be upon them) and their infallible Imams in all historical periods of Islam, which together have formed the school of Shi'ism and express a particular culture called "Shia culture."

Political Ethics and Its Role in the Inclination toward Shi'ism

The beginning of the Major Occultation (329 AH) was a new period for Shi'ism. Now the Shi'as had to continue the path of growth and expansion while the Imam (peace be upon him) is hidden from view. He is present but not manifest. The period from the beginning of the Major Occultation to the establishment of the Safavid state was a period accompanied by numerous ups and downs. The numerous obstacles along the way could not stop Shi'ism from moving; rather, with all the ups and downs, it continued its existence. This success of Shi'ism after the Major Occultation was the result of several factors, among which the contribution of ethical components in the survival and growth of Shi'ism is prominent. Here, some of the most important ethical components whose observance and adherence by rulers and politicians were influential in the inclination toward the Shia religion and its promotion in this period of time are mentioned:

Tolerance:

Undoubtedly, gentleness and tolerance are one of the most important ethical principles in politics. The Buyids, by adopting a policy of tolerance, which indicated their prudence, penetrated the hearts and souls of the people and provided the ground for the expansion of the Shia religion. In the behavior of the Buyid rulers, one can see the avoidance of tyranny, generosity, and tolerance toward the people. This, along with the distribution of public provisions in people's homes and saving them from destitution, going to mosques, and allocating stipends to them, must be considered an effort for the social security of individuals (Mughniyya, n.d., vol. 1:61).

Although the Buyid emirs were themselves Shia, they by no means prevented the religious practices of the Sunnis and did not create any disturbance for them in this regard. Rather, in some cases, they even assisted the Sunnis in performing them (see: Ibn al-Jawzi, 1412 AH, vol. 15:44).

Adud al-Dawla in Fars pursued a policy of neutrality and religious tolerance. When a domestic strife broke out between Muslims and Zoroastrians and the houses of the Zoroastrians were destroyed by Muslims, he ordered severe punishment for those involved in this incident (Frye, ٢٠١١: 248-249).

In the Buyid government, religious minorities were also free to perform their religious ceremonies, as Muqaddasi writes: "The Magians walk in Shiraz without distinguishing marks... In the festivals of the infidels, the markets are decorated" (Muqaddasi, 1411 AH:429).

Joel Kraemer mentions numerous assemblies and gatherings held in the third and fourth centuries AH in the Islamic realm and considers them a sign of the free thought and rationalism of Muslims, which they conducted beyond their religious and sectarian differences. He also reports that many of these assemblies and gatherings were in the Buyid realm (Kraemer, ١٩٩٦: pp. 100-102 and pp. 155-288). As history testifies, in the intellectual life of Baghdad in the fourth and fifth centuries, Muslims used non-Muslim scholars.

Adud al-Dawla Daylami treated all Islamic scholars generously (Ibn Miskawayh, ٢٠٠٧, vol. 6:481). Also, Sahib ibn Abbad, the scholar and Shia vizier of the Daylami Fakhral-Dawla government, used the knowledge of scholars of all Islamic sects and respected them (Kraemer, ٢٠٠٦:131). Jews and Christians also benefited from the presence of Muslim teachers (ibid., 123 and 132). In reality, these generous behaviors caused the attraction of people and the creation of affection, and this very affection played a significant role in the emergence of new ideas, such that it can be said that this factor had the greatest impact on the preservation of Islam and the promotion of the Shia school, as in the Buyid period, 24,000 Zoroastrians in Shiraz converted to Islam (Ibn Maymun-Qalanisi, ١٩٩٩, vol. 5:172).

Undoubtedly, the secret of the progress, survival, and expansion of Shi'ism must be sought in tolerance and forbearance toward different religions and sects. Shia rulers have behaved with tolerance and forbearance toward all religions and sects, and this has been the very secret of the survival and expansion of their school of thought.

Sayf al-Dawla, the founder of the Shia Hamdani state, also by adopting a policy of tolerance and forbearance, which indicated his prudence, provided the ground for the expansion of the Shia religion. The rationality governing his behavior caused him not to force opponents in religious matters to accept his religious beliefs. Historians have acknowledged that the Hamdanids did not force anyone to follow the Shia religion, nor did they lure them with wealth and position; rather, they left people to their own choice to choose whatever they wished for themselves. Only sincere missionaries recounted the truths to the people, in contrast to the Umayyads and Abbasids and Saladin Ayyubi, who called people to the Sunni religion through intimidation and violence (Mughniyeh, 1979: 172; Husayni Shirazi, 1422 AH: 177-188).

Some historians have written that painters and sculptors fled from Caesar and came to Sayf al-Dawla. Sayf al-Dawla welcomed them and respected them and helped them and used their great intelligence. As a result, in the era of Sayf al-Dawla, the great men of that age from different lands and different cultures gathered together, such as Farabi and Sharif Abi Ibrahim, the ancestor of the Banu Zuhra, and Ibn Nabata and Mutanabbi and Sanawbari and Ibn Khalawayh and others, many judges, grammarians, literati, poets, and skilled people, Arab and non-Arab (Mughniyeh, 1979: 163-164). Therefore, it can be said that if the Hamdanids had adopted a policy other than this, they could never have succeeded in realizing their goals, and the secret of the expansion of the Shi'a must be sought in this very behavior of the Shia rulers. So much so that it has been written that in the time of Sayf al-Dawla, Shi'ism attained a lofty and honored position in Syria, and the people of Syria inhaled the free air that successive governments had deprived them of, after having lived for a long time under the cover of taqiyya. As a result, the land of Syria during the Hamdanid era was full and replete with Shi'as, such as Aleppo and its surroundings, and Baalbek and its settlements, and Jabal Amil and its coasts. Rather, a group of Shi'as were hidden in the environment of Damascus and among the houses and families; as these lands have remained steadfast in Shi'ism until now, as in all these lands except Aleppo they have been faithful to their steadfastness and perseverance in Shi'ism (Muzaffar, ۱۹۹۰:226). Sayf al-Dawla, one of the Shia emirs of Banu Mazyad, always supported people of knowledge and literature. Alongside Shia poets, poets of other sects, including Ibn Tulmaydh the Christian, Hays Bays

the Shafi'i, and Abi al-Ma'ali Hayti, were present in Sayf al-Dawla's court (Ibn Khallikan, vol. 3, p. 306, with slight modification).

In the Mongol period, the influential role of Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi in the expansion of Shi'ism through tolerance and interaction with different sects and religions should not be overlooked. The presence of Shafi'i, Hanbali, and Hanafi students very close to him and the Khwaja's conduct in employing scholars of other sects and religions, the humility that the Khwaja showed when meeting Qadi Baydawi, the Quranic commentator and one of the great figures of the Shafi'i school (Mudarris Radawi, ۲۰۰۷:274), are examples of his tolerant behavior in attracting and inclining members of society toward Islam and Shi'ism. The advices and orders that the Khwaja gives to Abaqa Khan in the treatise "Nasihah-nama" at the time of coronation, for the establishment of government, invite him to avoid quick anger and to tolerate what is contrary to his nature and opinion (Mudarrisi Zanjani, ۱۹۸۴:63 and 64). Accordingly, people, by observing the Khwaja's generous behavior in relation to other religions, who despite power tolerated opponents, became inclined toward the Shia religion, and the Khwaja's ethics provided a platform for the further growth of Shi'ism, as Safadi writes about the role of Khwaja Nasir in promoting Shi'ism and interacting with other religions: "...and Hulagu appointed Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi as the trustee and supervisor of all endowments in various regions, and through Khwaja Nasir, great benefits accrued to Muslims, especially the Shi'as and Alawis and sages. He treated them well and fulfilled their needs and guarded their endowments, and in addition to all this, Khwaja Nasir was humble and good-natured" (Safadi, 1420 AH, vol. 1: pp. 149-150).

Therefore, given what has been said, ethical components in the political arena such as forbearance and tolerance toward different ideas can play an effective role in the expansion of the Shia school. A brief review of the ethical-political record of the Shi'a over the past centuries is a seal of approval on the effect of gentleness and tolerance toward the people in the expansion of Shia culture.

Deliberation and Rationalism:

Another one of the most important components of Shia political ethics that has held a special place in the preservation and revival of Shia thought and has possessed fundamental capabilities in the expansion of Shi'ism is deliberation and rationalism. In reality, deliberation and prudence has been another aspect of Shia rationality in the direction of expanding Shi'ism in the fourth and fifth centuries and after.

The Buyids, during their rule throughout the country accompanied by political deliberation and efficiency had influence, and the Abbasid caliph was considered merely a ceremonial symbol (Muzaffar, 1995:293).

Adopting rational methods in Shia movements was one of the factors of the preservation and survival of Shi'ism and gradually provided the ground for the expansion of this religion. If it were not for the rationality and deliberation of Shia statesmen, and in the words of Allama Muzaffar, if it were not for the prudent and wise policy that the Shi'a followed through the guidance of their Imams (peace be upon them), today not one of the children of Shi'ism would remain to fan its flames (Muzaffar, 1995:221). As the influence of Mu'ayyid al-Din ibn Alqami and Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi in the Mongol organization confirms this matter.

And if "Hulagu Khan," after the massacre of 900,000 innocent people from the inhabitants of Baghdad, before returning from Baghdad, orders the rebuilding of the caliph's mosque and the shrine and tomb of Imam Kazim (peace be upon him), it was because of the prudence of Mu'ayyid al-Din ibn Alqami and Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi two distinguished Shia personalities who were able to save the lives of many Muslims, especially the Shia community, from danger through their influence in the Mongol organization and also saved several cities from destruction. Interestingly, Ibn Alqami, the Shia Abbasid vizier, at a time when all those affiliated with the Abbasid caliphate were massacred by the Mongols, was retained in his position and became the source of countless works (al-Wurayri, 2009:400). Ibn Alqami, the vizier of al-Mustansir the Abbasid, during the Mongol invasion of Baghdad, to prevent the bloodshed of Muslims, invited the caliph to tolerance with the Tatars an example of the deliberation and prudence of Shia officials in the preservation and survival of Shi'ism. Ibn Alqami's measures were effective in saving the lives of many religious leaders (Musavi Bujnardi, 1998, vol. 4:328).

Safadi writes about Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi and his prudence in the vizierate of Hulagu and the promotion of Shi'ism:

"And he acted as vizier for Hulagu without interfering in financial matters, and he captured his mind to such an extent that he would not ride or travel except at a time when he ordered him... And Hulagu appointed him over all endowments in all his lands... and Muslims benefited through him, especially the Shi'as and alawis and sages and others, and he treated them well and fulfilled their needs and protected their endowments, and with all this, he possessed humility and good meeting."

And Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi was Hulagu's vizier, without interfering in financial and monetary affairs. He had dominance over Hulagu's mind and thought to such an extent that Hulagu would not ride or travel except when Khwaja Nasir gave him orders (consultation)... and Hulagu appointed Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi as the trustee and supervisor of all endowments in various regions...

The Khwaja, with the prudence he possessed, had well understood that in those conditions, if he were removed from the pyramid of power, the Mongols would destroy the foundations of Islam and Shi'ism. Therefore, he tried to cleverly employ the power that threatened the foundation of religion in the service of Islam and in the direction of strengthening Shi'ism, and he did so.

Adopting logical and peaceful methods is one of the aspects of rationality in the character and behavior of Shia rulers and statesmen, as history testifies that the prudent Saradar rulers, in a period when the people were fed up with the oppression, tyranny, and disorder of affairs in the Mongol Ilkhanid government, were able to gain popularity among the people through their deliberation and prudence and thereby greatly assist in the dissemination and promotion of Shi'ism.

Given the totality of what has been said, another one of the elements and components that has played an important role in the expansion of Shi'ism is the element of rationality and rationalism. This component has been very effective in preserving and consolidating Shia culture and the durability and survival of this religion and has shown remarkable effects and results throughout history, as this element has been one of the main factors in the preservation and expansion of Shi'ism, and historians have mentioned it as the factor of the flourishing of Shia states.

The Standard of Living of Shia Rulers Being on Par with the Lives of Ordinary People

Another one of the ethical components in the political arena that has played a fundamental role in the expansion of Shi'ism has been the avoidance of aristocracy in the behavior of Shia rulers throughout history until today. The Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him), who was considered the supreme example of simple living among all the prophets, as history testifies, this matter was one of the most important reasons for the acceptance of Islam by many of the poor and weak. Undoubtedly, the standard of living of Shia rulers being on par with the lives of ordinary people in this period of history has played a fundamental role in the preservation and expansion of Shia culture. The Saradar emirs, who had placed the preservation and promotion of Shia rituals at the top of their affairs, were, as history testifies, simple in their living.

According to sources, simple living in the Saradar government was such that sometimes dervishes of the Shaykhi order or low-ranking soldiers would freely enter the emir's assembly and openly criticize his conduct and behavior (Rawandi, 2003, vol. 2:340).

Researchers have described Khwaja Shams al-Din Ali as condemning luxury and ceremony (Rawandi, 2003, vol. 2:38).

Yahya Karravi, one of the Saradar emirs, was far from aristocracy. According to Mirkhwand, Yahya Karravi, outwardly and inwardly, was a man of chivalrous character and a person of nobility, courage, and righteousness and piety (Mirkhwand, vol. 5:4518). As Khwandmir writes: "In the time of his government, he made abundant efforts regarding the comfort and welfare of scholars and the virtuous, and through his generosity and beneficence, rich and poor alike benefited and were blessed" (Khwandmir, 1954, vol. 3:364). Due to the praiseworthy characteristics they possessed, they caused the attention of the people of these regions to Islam, and specifically its Shia form, and were able to pave the way for the acceptance and export of this nascent culture in this region and the surrounding areas.

The last Sarbadar emir, Khwaja Ali Mu'ayyad, who had made the Imami religion the slogan of his government with all his power (Khwandmir, 1333, vol. 3:366), lived a simple life and donated his property every year (Dawlatshah Samarqandi, 1382: 287). According to sources, his kindness and generosity had no limit (Khwandmir, 1333, vol. 3:366; Mirkhwand, 2001, vol. 5:4524).

The Mar'ashis also strove to promote and propagate the Shia religion. Sayyid Qawam, the founder of the Mar'ashis, was a religious and world-renouncing man and considered only the satisfaction of the Creator (Mar'ashi, 1966: 181-182). Sayyid Zahir al-Din Mar'ashi has mentioned Sayyid Qawam as a pious, ascetic, religious, God-fearing, and learned sayyid (ibid.:166). Based on sources, the good behavior of Sayyid Qawam and his children with the people and even with his enemies caused people to be attracted to them. When Kia Vakhtasaf, after the killing of Sayyid Abdullah, the son of Sayyid Qawam, was killed, Kia Vakhtasaf's wife said: "You and the Sayyid are from the family of generosity. It is expected that you bury these slain with these canvas shrouds so that we are not disrespected" (Mar'ashi, 1966:193). and the Sayyid did so. Therefore, the standard of living of Shia rulers being on par with the standard of living of ordinary people in society was not only effective in the continuity of their government but also very influential in attracting people and promoting the Shia religion.

Imam Khomeini (may his soul be sanctified) considered the preservation of human and Islamic values to be in the simple living of officials and believed: "With an aristocratic and consumerist life, human-Islamic values cannot be preserved" (Imam Khomeini, vol. 18:471).

Religious Education:

In Shia teachings, the main goal of government is to provide the ground for the growth and excellence of the individual and society. The Commander of the Faithful, Ali (peace be upon him), to realize this goal in his blessed decree to Malik al-Ashtar, introduced attention to the education and training of all as one

of the main duties of the government and says: "Fa-amma haqqukum alayya... wa ta'limukum kayla tajhal..." You have a right upon me... {including;} that I teach you so that you do not remain ignorant... (Nahj al-Balagha, 1999, Sermon 34:86).

By studying the history of Shia movements and states, it becomes clear that Shia rulers tried to take effective steps through education and training and cultural growth in society in the direction of consolidating and defending religion and promoting the Shia religion, and they were successful in this regard, as history testifies to this claim.

With the beginning of the Buyid government in Iran and Iraq, Shia schools were quickly established and expanded in most Islamic cities, especially Shia-populated areas. Rukn al-Dawla in Qom arranged assemblies and invited scholars of the place and from different sects so that they might raise doubts and the Shaykh might rise to answer them. In one of the assemblies, the discussion of imamate was raised. After the explanation and argumentation of Shaykh Saduq, Rukn al-Dawla shouted: "My religious belief is exactly what this trustworthy Shaykh says. The truth is that the Imami sect follows that religion, not others" (Khawansari, 2011, vol. 6:141-144).

Shaykh Mufid (d. 413 AH), the famous Imami theologian of this time, was greatly respected, and the "Baratha" mosque in the Karkh area of Baghdad was dedicated to him, where in addition to performing prayers and preaching, he engaged in teaching and instruction. He, in the light of the special position he had from scientific and social aspects, was able to harmonize the various Shia sects and consolidate and promote Shia views and beliefs (Shaykh Mufid, 1414:21). And all this was in the light of the support of the Buyids.

The Buyids and the Hamdanids in northern Syria invited scholars of various sects. They strove to honor and strengthen scholars and sayyids, and they referred religious and legal matters to the religious scholars (Mirkhwand, vol. 5:619; Khwandmir, vol. 3:364).

The growth of the Shi'a in the Buyid period was to such an extent that even in Baghdad, which was at that time the center of the Abbasid caliphate and whose inhabitants were mostly Sunni, the Shia religion grew and developed (Muzaffar, 1374: 153; Husayni Shirazi, 1422 AH: 148-159; Allama Tabatabai, 2010:25).

What has been said also applies well to other Shia governments. As history testifies, the Mazyadids made Hilla a safe haven and refuge for scholars and scientists and opened the doors of Hilla to them. After Hulagu's conquest of Baghdad (656 AH), as a result of the deliberation of the scholars of Hilla and the peace and security that followed, this city became the refuge and gathering place of scholars, especially Imami scholars; so much so that, according to Afandi Isfahani (Afandi Isfahani, 1401,

vol. 1:361), in the time of Allama Hilli, 440 mujtahids and jurists lived in Hilla (Bahrani, n.d.: 230-231).

Thus, as a result of the prudence of the scholars, the city of Hilla remained a base of Shi'ism in Iraq for many years. The Hilla seminary, which had been founded years before the Mongol invasion, became the main Shia seminary after the conquest of Baghdad and the obtaining of a letter of safety by the people of the city from the Mongol Ilkhan (ibid.). and its scholars were a factor in the spread of Shi'ism in Baghdad and other cities. Some of them went to Syria and settled in Damascus. Some, like Allama Hilli, came to Iran, and many scholars also came from other cities to Hilla and studied (Tabatabai, 1417:146, 171, and 211). This seminary flourished for centuries for teaching the sciences of the Ahl al-Bayt (peace be upon them), and many scholarly families such as Al Bitriq, Al Nama, Al Tawus, and Al Mutahhar emerged in this city, who caused the promotion and expansion of Shia thought (ibid.: 235-237).

In this regard, the role of Shia viziers and officials in the matter of religious education is also noteworthy. Muhammad ibn al-Alqami, the grand vizier of al-Musta'sim, was a prudent and Shia individual. He was in the position of vizier for fourteen years, and during this time he promoted Shi'ism, and the Sunnis protested and fought against him. Dhahabi, among the accusations he attributes to Ibn Alqami, explicitly mentions his effort to build a school on the Shia religion.

"And Ibn al-Alqami worked toward the abandonment of Friday prayers and the building of a school on the religion of the Rafida."

And Ibn al-Alqami strove for the abandonment of Friday prayers and also strove to build schools based on the religion of the Shi'as (Dhahabi, 1413 AH, vol. 23:183).

Certainly, the fourteen-year vizierate of a Shia personality of knowledge and literature, in the last years of the Abbasid era, in their capital of caliphate, namely Baghdad, had important effects in defending the entity of Shi'ism and promoting it in all Islamic lands, including Iran, and as was said, this Shia Abbasid vizier, after the Mongol conquest, was retained in his position, and since he was Shia, he played an important role in promoting Shia culture in this period as well and became the source of many works.

In the Mongol period, many schools were established alongside important shrines such as Najaf, Karbala, Qom, Tus, and Shiraz and other places. In this period, education became the driving engine of the Shi'a among the important components of the Shi'a, and many books were written. Some Mongol rulers also paid special attention to Shia culture, for example, Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda, who had himself become Shia, took effective steps in this direction.

Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda's interest in Shi'ism and also in obtaining more information about this faith caused him to summon Shia scholars from Iraq to Iran. In the history of Uljaytu, it is stated in this regard:

"The decree was issued; from the regions of the provinces of Iran, the Imams of the Shi'a attended from the city (meaning Hilla): Jamal al-Din Mutahhar, who is a jurist and scholar, the aforementioned distinguished and learned in faith and Greek, and his son Fakhr al-Din and Jamal al-Din Waramini and Sanjar and others. The king chose Jamal al-Din Mutahhar from among them and selected him for his service and gave the rest permission to return to their familiar homeland. And at all times Jamal al-Din ibn Mutahhar was engaged in disputation and discussion of matters of principles and jurisprudence, such that it became firmly established in the king's mind that none other than Ali and his household were the bone and flesh of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and the rest of the companions were strangers" (Qashani, 1969:101). Sultan Muhammad Kharbanda established a traveling school in which Allama and many scholars of that era were present and traveled with it from place to place (Majma al-Tawarikh, Malik manuscript, vol. 3, folio 237, cited in Mortazavi, 1991:250). Khwaja Rashid al-Din and Taj al-Din Alishah, who jointly held the vizierate of Uljaytu, were the main innovators of the traveling school. The traveling school was a large, equipped tent made of canvas that had an iwan and chambers. Mawlana Badr al-Din Ashtari, Adud al-Din Iji, Nizam al-Din Abd al-Malik, Mawlana Nur al-Din Abd al-Rahman Hakim Tustari, Sayyid Burhan al-Din Ibri, Jamal al-Din Mutahhar Hilli and his son Fakhr al-Din have been mentioned as teachers of the traveling school (Qashani, 1969:108).

The Sultaniyya school is another scientific center of this period. Sultan Kharbanda established special schools for the expansion of Shia beliefs in Sultaniyya (Rudgar, 1997:46). In this school, sixteen teachers and assistants were present, and two hundred students were engaged in learning Shia beliefs. The most famous teacher of this school was Jamal al-Din Hasan ibn Mutahhar Hilli, who was proficient in rational and traditional sciences and has many writings on the Shia religion. This scholar was favored by Uljaytu and familiarized him with the principles of the Shia religion, such that Uljaytu had accepted Shi'ism (Khwandmir, 1954, vol. 3:197).

The Sarbadars, to compensate for the shortage of religious scholars and thinkers, summoned some great Shia scholars who lived outside Iran to Sabz Evar and opened the door of correspondence and dialogue with important Shia centers including Aleppo and Jabal Amil in Lebanon. The Sarbadars' interest in the teachings of the Ahl al-Bayt (peace be upon them) was to such an extent that the last Saradar ruler, Khwaja Ali Mu'ayyad, sent a letter full

of admiration and respect to the First Martyr in Damascus and invited him to propagate and promote Shi'ism in Iran. The First Martyr apologized for coming to Iran but instead wrote the famous book "Al-Lum'a al-Dimashqiyya" for the people of Khorasan in explanation of Shia jurisprudence. As he himself says in the introduction to this book:

"Fa-hadhihi al-Lum'a al-Dimashqiyya fi fiqh al-Imamiyya ijaba li-iltimas ba'd al-diyanin" This book, Lum'a Dimashqiyya in Imami jurisprudence, was written at the request of some religious people (Shahid Awwal, 1411:13). In reality, the composition of such an important book in the eighth century AH at the request of the Shi'as of Iran and also the invitation of the First Martyr to attend Iran indicates the multitude and strengthening of the Shi'as in areas of Iran in the eighth century.

Given what has been said, another one of the main civilizational elements in the expansion of Shi'ism has been the concern of Shia political leaders for the matter of religious education and training, which has always played a significant role in the expansion of the Shia religion in past centuries.

Conclusion

Shia politicians and statesmen who had made the dissemination of religion and the promotion of Shi'ism their goal tried to consider ethical principles in politics and the administration of society to realize this goal. Most of them, by adopting a policy of tolerance and forbearance, provided the ground for the expansion of the Shia religion. They tried as much as possible in social management to behave with tolerance and forbearance toward all religions and sects, and this was the very secret of the survival and expansion of their school of thought. "Deliberation and rationalism" are another component that has been very influential in various civilizations for religious purposes. In reality, it must be said that this component is one of the most important components found in all cultures, but the rationalism that Shi'ism offers is multidimensional, complete, and perfect. This component has had the greatest impact on the preservation, survival, and durability of Shi'ism. This rationalism is what draws a personality like Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi to cooperate with the Mongols. The Khwaja, in a situation where it was expected that all the works of Islamic civilization would be destroyed and no name of Islam and Shi'ism would remain in Iran and Iraq, following the infallible Shia leaders (peace be upon them), with his knowledge and prudence, realized that if he were removed from the pyramid of power and politics in those conditions, the Mongols would destroy the foundations of the religion of Islam and Shi'ism. Therefore, he tried to cleverly employ the power that threatened the foundation of religion in the service of Islam and in the direction of strengthening Shi'ism, and he did so, which indicates the peak of intellectual maturity and wonderful

wisdom of the Khwaja. It was this very deliberation and prudence of Shia scholars and politicians that provided the ground for the officialization of the Shia religion in the Safavid period. This is while some, out of spite and prejudice, have attributed baseless accusations to the Khwaja for which there is no document or evidence. The standard of living of Shia rulers being on par with the lives of ordinary people was also influential in attracting people to this religion. And the last point is that the attention and interest of Shia rulers through the construction of schools and Shia scientific centers and education and training and increasing education in society in the period under discussion greatly assisted in the expansion of Shia teachings.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest reported by the authors.

Funding

This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Authors' Contributions

All authors contributed to data analysis, drafting, and revising of the paper and agreed to be responsible for all the aspects of this work.

References

- [1] The Holy Quran
- [2] Nahj al-Balagha
- [3] Ibn Khallikan, Wafayat al-A'yan wa Anba' Abna' al-Zaman, vol. 3, Lebanon, Dar al-Thaqafa, research by Ihsan Abbas, n.d.
- [4] Ibn Faris ibn Zakariyya, Abu al-Husayn Ahmad ibn Faris, Mu'jam Maqayis al-Lugha, research by Abd al-Salam Muhammad Harun, Maktab al-A'lam al-Islami, 2025.
- [5] Ibn Miskawayh al-Razi (d.421), Abu Ali, Tajarib al-Umam, vol. 1: translated by Abu al-Qasim Imami, Tehran, Surush, 1990; vols. 5 and 6: Ali Naqi Munzavi, Tehran, Tus, 1376.
- [6] Ibn Miskawayh, Abu Ali Ahmad, Tahdhib al-Akhlaq, Qom: Bidar, 1412 AH.
- [7] Ibn Manzur, Muhammad, Lisan al-Arab, Beirut: Dar al-Sadir, Tehran: Mizan, 1414.
- [8] Ibn Maymun-Abu al-Izz Qalanisi, under the supervision of Kazim Musavi Bujnardi, Da'irat al-Ma'arif-i Buzurg-i Islami, vol. 5, publisher: Markaz-i Da'irat al-Ma'arif-i Buzurg-i Islami, 2nd ed., Tehran, 1999.
- [9] Abu al-Faraj Abd al-Rahman ibn Ali ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Jawzi (d.597), Al-Muntazam fi Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk, research by Muhammad Abd al-Qadir Ata and Mustafa Abd al-Qadir Ata, Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1st ed., 1412/1992.

- [10] Al-Raghib al-Isfahani, Al-Husayn ibn Muhammad, Mufradat Alfaz al-Quran, research by Safwan Adnan Dawudi, publisher: Taliat al-Nur, 2nd ed., **1427**.
- [11] Al-Jawhari, Isma'il ibn Hammad, Mu'jam al-Sihah, publications of Sharikat al-A'lami lil-Matbu'at, 1st ed., Beirut, Lebanon, **1433 AH-2012 CE**.
- [12] Al-Dhahabi, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Uthman, d. 748 AH, Siyar A'lam al-Nubala, vol. 23, p. 183, research: Shu'ayb al-Arna'ut, Muhammad Nu'aym al-Arqasusi, publisher: Mu'assisa al-Risala - Beirut, 9th ed., **1413 AH**.
- [13] Al-Shaykh al-Mufid, Tashih I'tiqadat al-Imamiyya, Dar al-Mufid lil-Tiba'a wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzi - Beirut, Lebanon, 1414, **1993 CE**.
- [14] Al-Safadi, Salah al-Din Khalil ibn Aybak (d. 764 AH), Al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat, vol. 1, pp. 149, 150, research by Ahmad al-Arna'ut and Turki Mustafa, publisher: Dar Ihya al-Turath - Beirut - 1420 AH-**2000 CE**.
- [15] Al-Tarihi, Fakhr al-Din, Mu'jam Majma al-Bahrayn, publications of Mu'assisa al-A'lami lil-Matbu'at, Beirut, Lebanon, 1st ed., **1430 AH-2009 CE**.
- [16] Al-Farahidi, Abi Abd al-Rahman al-Khalil ibn Ahmad, Kitab al-Ayn, Dar Ihya al-Turath al-Arabi lil-Tiba'a wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzi, 2nd ed., 1426 AH-**2005 CE**.
- [17] Al-Firuzabadi, Majd al-Din Muhammad ibn Ya'qub, Mu'jam al-Qamus al-Muhit, publications of Sharikat al-A'lami lil-Matbu'at, 1st ed., Beirut, Lebanon, 1433 AH-**2012 CE**.
- [18] Al-Na'ini, Al-Shaykh Muhammad Husayn, Tanbih al-Umma wa Tanzih al-Milla, translated by Mushtaq al-Hilu, reviewed and presented by Abd al-Jabbar al-Rifa'i, publisher: Markaz Dirasat Falsafat al-Din, Baghdad, 1st ed.: **2014**.
- [19] Al-Naragi, Muhammad Mahdi, Jami al-Sa'adat, presented by Muhammad Rida al-Muzaffar, annotated by Muhammad Kalantar, publisher: Mu'assisa al-A'lami lil-Matbu'at, 4th ed., Beirut, **1989**.
- [20] Ash'ari, Abu al-Hasan, Maqalat al-Islamiyyin, research by Muhammad Muhyi al-Din Abd al-Majid, **2026**.
- [21] Afandi Isfahani, Abd Allah ibn Isa, Riyad al-Ulama wa Hiyad al-Fudala, edited by Ahmad Husayni, Qom, **1401 AH**.
- [22] Al-Wurayri, Muhsin, Shi'ayan az Suqut-i Baghdad ta Zuhur-i Safaviyya, Tehran, Imam Sadiq (peace be upon him), **2009**.
- [23] Imam Khomeini (may his soul be sanctified), Sahifa-i Imam, Tehran, Mu'assisa-i Tanzim wa Nashr-i Athar-i Imam Khomeini (may his soul be sanctified), **1999**.
- [24] Bahrani, Yusuf ibn Ahmad, Lu'lu'at al-Bahrayn, edited by Muhammad Sadiq Bahr al-Ulum, Qom (n.d.).
- [25] Husayni Shirazi, Muhammad, Al-Shi'a wa al-Tashayyu', publisher: Dar Sadiq, Beirut, Lebanon, 1st ed., **1422 AH**.
- [26] Khwandmir, Ghiyath al-Din ibn Humam al-Din al-Husayni, Habib al-Siyar fi Akhbar-i Afrad-i Bashari, introduction by Jalal al-Din Humai; under the supervision of Muhammad Dabirsiyaqi, publication details: Tehran: Kitabkhana-i Khayam, **1954**.
- [27] Khawansari, Muhammad Baqir Musavi, Rawdat al-Jannat fi Ahwal al-Ulama wa al-Sadat, publisher: Isma'iliyan, 1st ed., **2011**.
- [28] Dawlatshah Samarqandi (d. 900 AH), Tadhkirat al-Shu'ara, edited by Edward Granville Browne, Tehran, Asatir, **2003**.
- [29] Rawandi, Murtada (1378), Tarikh-i Ijtimai-yi Iran, 12 vols., Tehran, Intisharat-i Nigah, **2003**.
- [30] Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah Hamadani, Jami al-Tawarikh, edited and annotated by Muhammad Rawshan - Mustafa Musavi, vol. 2, 1st ed., Nashr-i Alburz, Tehran, **1994**.
- [31] Rudgar, Qanbar Ali, az Bayn al-Nahrayn ta Wara' al-Nahr: Pizhuhishi dar Safarnama-i Ibn Battuta, 1st ed.: Tehran, Bunyad-i Da'irat al-Ma'arif-i Islami, **1997**.
- [32] Shahrastani, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim, 1381 AH, Al-Milal wa al-Nihal, research by Muhammad Sayyid Kilani, Beirut, Dar al-Ma'rifa.
- [33] Shahid Awwal, Makki, Muhammad ibn Jamal al-Din, d. 786 AH, Al-Lum'a al-Dimashqiyya, Qom, Manshurat-i Dar al-Fikr, 1st ed., **1411 AH**.
- [34] Sadr al-Din Shirazi, Muhammad ibn Ibrahim, Mulla Sadra, Shawahid al-Rububiyya fi al-Manahij al-Sulukiyya, edited by Sayyid Jalal al-Din Ashtiyani, Qom, Bustan-i Kitab, 3rd ed., **2003**.
- [35] Tabatabai, Muhammad Husayn, Shi'a dar Islam, with an introduction by Husayn Nasr, publication details: Tehran: Al-Ghadir, **2010**. 56
- [36] Tarihi, Fakhr al-Din (**1414 AH**). Majma al-Bahrayn, Qom: research and publication of Mu'assisa al-Ba'tha.
- [37] Frye, R. N., Tarikh-i Iran Cambridge: az Zuhur-i Islam ta Amadan-i Dawlat-i Saljuqiyan "az Furupashi-i Dawlat-i Sasanian ta Amadan-i Saljuqiyan," translated by Hasan Anusheh, Mu'assisa-i Intisharat-i Amir Kabir, vol. 4, 9th ed., **2011**.
- [38] Qashani, Abu al-Qasim Abd Allah ibn Muhammad, Tarikh-i Uljaytu, by the effort of Mahin Hambli, Tehran, Bungah-i Tarjuma wa Nashr-i Kitab, **1969**.
- [39] Kraemer, Joel L., Ihya-yi Farhangi dar Ahd-i Al-i Buyah: Insan-gara'i dar Asr-i Renaissance-i Islami, translated by Muhammad Sa'id Hanai Kashani, Tehran, Markaz-i Nashr-i Danishgahi, **1996**.

- [40] Mudarris Radawi, Muhammad Taqi, Ahwal wa Athar-i Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi, Tehran, Intisharat-i Asatir, 3rd ed., **2007**.
- [41] Murtazavi, Manuchihr, Masa'il-i Asr-i Ilkhanan, Tehran, Agah, **1991**.
- [42] Mar'ashi, Zahir al-Din ibn Sayyid Nasir al-Din, 1996, Tarikh-i Tabaristan wa Ruyan wa Mazandaran, Tehran, Mu'assisa-i Matbu'at-i Sharq.
- [43] Muzaffar, Allama Muhammad Husayn, Tarikh-i Shi'a, translated and written by Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Hujjati, 2nd ed., **1995**, Daftar-i Nashr-i Farhang-i Islami.
- [44] Mughniyya, Muhammad Jawad, Al-Shi'a fi al-Mizan, Dar al-Ta'aruf, Beirut, Lebanon, **2020** CE/1979 CE.
- [45] Mughniyya, Muhammad Jawad, Dawlat-ha-yi Shi'i dar Tul-i Tarikh, translated by Muhammad Bahraini Kashmiri, vol. 1, Qom, Shafaq, (n.d.).
- [46] Mufid, Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Nu'man, Awa'il al-Maqalat fi al-Madhahib wa al-Mukhtarat, translated and researched by Sajjad Va'iz, 1st ed., Tehran, **2009**.
- [47] Muqaddasi, Abu Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ahmad, Ahsan al-Ta'asim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim, Cairo, Maktabat Madbuli, 3rd ed., 1411 AH/**1991** CE.
- [48] Musavi Bujnardi, Kazim, Da'irat al-Ma'arif-i Buzurg-i Islami, publisher: Markaz-i Da'irat al-Ma'arif-i Buzurg-i Islami, Tehran, **1998**.
- [49] Mirkhwand, Muhammad ibn Khwandshah ibn Mahmud (d. 903 AH), Tarikh-i Rawdat al-Safa fi Sira al-Anbiya wa al-Muluk wa al-Khulafa, edited by Jamshid Kianfar, Tehran, Intisharat-i Asatir, 1st ed., **2001**.
- [50] Nasir al-Din Tusi, Muhammad ibn Muhammad, Akhlaq-i Nasiri, publisher: Intisharat-i Ilmiyya-i Islamiyya, 1st ed., Tehran, **1413** AH.
- [51] Nawbakhti, Hasan ibn Musa, Firaq al-Shi'a, Dar al-Adwa - Beirut, 2nd ed., 2025 AH/**1984** CE.