FROM THEOCRACY TO TRANSCENDENCE: THE EVOLUTION OF CIVILIZATIONS AND DIVINE AUTHORITY IN GOVERNANCE

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the evolution of human civilizations, contrasting theocratic systems with the Islamic worldview, which emphasizes the transcendence of God and the autonomy of human beings. In ancient civilizations like Sumer, Egypt, and Assyria, rulers were often deified, demanding total submission from their subjects. Islam, introduced as a revolutionary force, challenged these systems, offering a framework based on the unity of God (Tawhid) and equality among all people. The paper traces the roots of Islamic history to the prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) and highlights the Islamic rejection of polytheism and divine claims of authority by rulers. The study further critiques modern neo-Islamist ideologies that adopt Western political concepts mistakenly sovereignty and apply them to Islamic theology. It argues that sovereignty as understood in political terms is misapplied when attributed to God, as God's dominion is existential, not political. The paper emphasizes that Islam calls for human responsibility and the rejection of totalitarianism, advocating for a political system grounded in mutual respect, social justice, and the divine order of grace.

The ancient world hummed with many a civilization in which humanity was dociled to bow spellbound before the established authority with awe and reverence.

In the prodigal show of the state functionaries, the common man overwhelmingly found himself in the gripping environ of the attendant to gods, who used to grace the mighty thrones as kiths and kins of the Supreme One.

The Sumerian, Egyptian and Assyrian empires were in this way thoroughbred theocracies. All the people had to lie in prostration before the 'living god' or 'ruling demigod' as on his pleasure depended the fortunes of their life, fertility of their soil, prosperity of their offsprings and pleasure of the higher gods in heaven.

Islam, the religion of the Unity and Transcendence of God exploded in the very heart of those civilizations, and it meant a full-scale revolution in moral fibre, social structures, economic relations and political constitution of the people. It was a message of deliverance from the dead weight of theocracy by recasting man as a responsible person to live in the community of his own fellow beings exercising own direction and chalking out own destiny for own self.

Islam is submission to God, Who is one, Who is above all support, Who begets not and Who is not begotten, and none is of His class. It is not only a spiritual enlightenment but also a social theory and a political principle which shuns all inequalities between man and man.

In the history of mankind, it is therefore, traceable to the untiring resistance to all the superhuman pretensions of a chosen blood, heroic stand against divinization of the wielders of power and uncompromising struggle for abolishing the so-called pantheons of gods, demigods, assistant gods. vicegerents of gods with rights to have control over all the affairs and institutions of mankind on the pretension that the God (or gods) was sovereign unto them.

That Islam is as old as mankind itself is at the nucleus of the Muslim creed. It means that Islam cannot be guessed as to have been an outcome of the long mental and moral evolution of the human race. On the other hand, it formed the very starting point of

human evolution as the first man, born along with his espouse, had a revealed knowledge from God and was a divine messenger. He and his espouse (known as Adam and Eve) lived and passed their life happily as Muslims. It was later on that their progeny (perhaps most of them) had a fall and fell in the ditch of polytheism. The story of the fall of Adam pertains to those later generations and not to this prophet and messenger of God who was forefather of all mankind.

Thus Islam is much older than the Iron Age (1800 B.C.), and the Bronze Age (4000 B.C.). It is also older than the polished Stone Age (20,000 BC.). Accordingly, all else beyond Islam, particularly polytheism and its products, theocratic regimes and their gods of various orders, castes and classes, were of later origin depicting the decline of man from a blissful state.

But our historical reconstruction of the past does not go properly beyond 1500 to 2000 B.C. Beyond that limit only vague indications are available up to 3000 to 4000 B.C. What the data at hand suggests is that humanity and Islam as great prehistory, might be stretched over to 70,000 B.C. forming back-ground of some what an exact history of the last three to four thousands years up to our age. Great societies and great messengers must have existed in the prehistory. For instance, Noha, Salih, and before them Idris were part of prehistoric societies. Rama and Krishna of India also belonged to prehistory. No chroniclers, continuous narratives from all of those illustrious figures can be built up to a future age. We have their stories but cannot locate them on a time scale.

The historical Islam, which we do witness, by now has a time span of nearly 4,000 years. And it has its concrete origin in Ibrahim's (Abraham) act of faith immortalized as it were in his encounter with the potentate of Ur. It was in fact the first moment of Islam in history. The encounter has been a living force in the entire history of Islam deeply affecting the attitude of the Muslim people towards the human problems.

Ibrahim's teachings meant to have pulled down all the pillars of theocracy, freeing the neck of men from the priestly order, and removing from them the yoke of aristocracy who stood as the knights of the false gods. The call that there was no god but the God alMighty and Glorious, that He was the sustainer of all creation and all men, and that He admitted none as His partner was too good a message to be believed. Even the commoners could not

believe Ibrahim, and he was forced to migrate to other remote lands. He was successful in spreading the message in part of the present Syria, Hijaz and nearby lands.

Messengers and Prophets of God came to revive his religion and expand its followers. Nearly 600 years after Ibrahim, Mosa (Moses) was raised to call the people of Egypt to renounce false gods and free the followers of Ibrahim. In the end, he was successful in establishing the first independent Muslim community in Palestine where all the people were servants of God and were equal to one another. After a time, the state fell apart; its territories were overpowered by neighbours. Then about 1025 B.C. the second state of Islam was established with Talut (Saul) as its head. He was succeeded by Dawud (David 10IO - 974 B.C.) and Sulayman (Solomon 974- 937 B.C.). After Sulayman, the State split into Ephraim and Judah and corruption followed. Ephraim was sacked in the Seventh Century B.C., and Judah was wiped out in 586 B.C.

Islam had to wait for its reemergence on the map of the nations for a full 10 centuries. And now it appeared in a different land in a different people. Mohammad (peace be upon Him) was raised as the last Messenger of God, and he established the third but ever-expanding Community and State of Islam.

Splendour

It was for the first time in its history since Ibrahim that by having its independent state now this time (622 A.D.) under the leadership of Mohammad, that Islam was destined to become a leading world power. Peace be on him. Zion was not a world power even under Sulayman. It was for the first time that theocracies of the world and their polytheistic socio-political orders had to look materially diminished before the worldly splendour of Islam in not a far off future.

The entire Persian empire was engulfed in its surge within 30 years of its foundation. Lands from Spain to India came under its sway in a century.

Thus, it was after the arrival of Mohammad as the last messenger and Prophet 'of God to mankind that the principle of Transcendentalism and Unitarianism of God transformed into the most venerated heritage of mankind, influencing even the polytheistic civilizations resulting in the rise of modem, enlightened, and egalitarian humanism and benevolent public order as the universal goal of all mankind.

The Truths of God and Humanity

Delivering from obscurities and mythical shroudings, the revelations of Al-Quran organize human morality, religion, and society on the broad daylight of historicism and scientific outlook. In very plain terms, they do communicate the inviolable law of human history as follows:

Witness is the Time. Verily man is in loss. Except those who did believe and did good works. And pledged (each other) to live by truth and pledged (each other) to stay on with perseverance (Q, 103 Al-Asr).

Time is history and history is the rise and fall of nations, blossoming and withering away of communities. It is concrete time and bears witness to the most universal law operating in human destiny. Every one is doomed and none is spared with the exception of only those children of Adam who are armed with trust in their Lord, Most High. And this trust is untiringly demonstrated by them in their good deeds.

But even those ones are also doomed who have faith in their Lord but are content to be good in themselves. Redeemed are only those who go beyond their own narrow existence, enter into the social space, and join to exhort, pledge and reinforce one another to abide by the truths. The truths of God and that of humanity. Those truths are as clear to everybody as sunshine. They are so evident to every common sense that they are appelated by the Glorious Quran as "the well known (Al-Maruf)." In our every day language, they are called the values and virtues.

When everyone exhorts and pledges every one else, and the mutual pledges and testaments to abide by truth are enshrined in their heart, in their mutual dealings, in their individual acts, social relations and public institutions, and their every day life thus begins to reflect the order of values and virtues, they overcome all disaster. They are saved. They are however saved for ever, if they are very particular about exhorting and pressing each other to stay on with constancy for the truths in all circumstances, in all trials and tribulations.

When they are careless and do not support one another for constancy and perseverance, the whole edifice of faith in God, and adherence to truth begins to crumble. The Universal law of human history is the same in all ages and for all people. Witness is the Teen, witness is the Zytun, Witness is the Tur Sineeen, (and) witness is this City of Security. "We created man in the best mould, then We threw him to the lowest of the low. Except those who did believe and did good works. For them is reward unending. "Then who belies thee about the Law and it effects. Is not Allah the best of disposers (Law Giver and Judge) (Q.: 95 Wal-Teen).

Civilizations

Mt. Teen, Mt. Zytun. Mt. Tur Sinai and 'This City of Security (Mecca)' are places of significance. As they move in time they signify different human civilizations. Mt. Zytun is associated with Isa Massih Ibn Maryam (Jesus Christ). Its dynamic view in the flow of time develops into the march of the Christian Civilization with all of its greatness and decadence, achievements and failures.

Mt. Tur's voyage in time forms the career of the Jewish Civilization. It commenced from the august day when in one of the vales of Mt. Sinai, Musa was invested with the mission of God as His Messenger unto the people of Egypt and the Children of Israel.

Mecca, the City of Security, commenced moving in time with the first sermon of the Messenger Prophet of God and the Muslim Civilization unfolded itself in its thrust into the future.

Al-Teen is a hillock near Damascus, the heart of Syria, which was the crossing bridge and melting pot of all great civilizations; the Sumerian, Phoenician, Egyptian and Assyrian. AlTeen signifies all of them. It is also known as the habitat of Adam after descent. Thus what Mt. Teen signifies as floating in time, is the rise and fall of the ancient civilizations and early history of man.

The Jewish, Christian, Muslim and all ancient civilizations are testimony to the Divine Law of human destiny; (1) man was created in the best mould, (2) then he was thrown to the lowest of the low, (3) save those who believed and performed good deeds. The society created around Musa was in the best of the moulds. The Tur bears witness to its excellent form. But as time moved on, the civilization fell to the lowest of the low and met disasters after disasters. Yet those of its folks or periods were saved which embodied trust in God with record of good deeds.

The same is with the Christian Civilization. It was in the best mould in its beginning when it was created with Isa as its light. Time rolled on and the Christian Civilization flowered and expanded. The inescapable Divine Law operated in its history and dealt with its periods and people according to its inward necessity.

Superb Mould

The Muslim community, having its origin in Mecca, was created in the superb mould as the end of all human communities. It filled history as the Muslim Civilization. Every page of it attests to the inviolable sway of the Divine Law. After being created in the best of mould, man was thrown to the lowest of the low, with the exception of those who were loyal to God and steadfast in their good deeds, established the Kingdom of values and vigorously guarded it.

The law does vividly apply not only to groups, civilizations, states and nations, but also to individuals as personal careers in time and bearers of the burden of civilization. Every single man is doomed forever, if he does not take his Lord seriously and does not save himself from evil.

Had God so willed, he would have set for every soul a noble course. And none would have faltered away from the right path as set. But then it would not have been the law fit for human history. This kind of law was the most perfect law for stars, sun and moon. And indeed those objects have such a law.

For man, the Lord decreed a law of quite different kind according to which after creating in the best mould as His creation should be, He has allowed every man either to slip into the throes of the lowest of all lowly ditches or to save himself and adopt a course of reward that never ends.

It may be repeated once again that:

In the beginning, mankind lived in a blissful state. Men lived in a garden and they enjoyed all of its fruits and were in perfect mutual harmony. But they were forbidden to touch a particular tree. This was the price of their perfect community and of its constitutional order which they had to pay and keep in mind.

Ugly Turn

But it so happened that the tree of forbidden things was touched. All the values were disturbed and everything took an ugly turn. Men tried their own short-sighted measures, and failed. Then they repented and turned to their Lord. In His infinite Mercy, their Lord turned to them, taught them words (formulae) for a new good start and said:

Get you down all from here. And if, as is sure, there, comes to you guidance from Me, whosoever follows My guidance, on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve. But who reject (it) and belie Our Signs, they shall be those of fire. They shall abide therein (Q. 2:38-39).

The Quran narrates the story of the first great crisis in human history at several places. But in each narration highlights a new critical aspect of it. Here we have referred to it very briefly just to bring home the central problem of all blissful life which is implicit in the inviolable law of human destiny as expounded above.

Every state of bliss, every human order of beautiful patterns and forms and every constitutional setup has its own tree of forbidden fruits. One can enjoy all fruits, may enjoy the shadow of all trees, but one cannot approach the tree of forbidden things, nor can take refuge under the shadow of any of its branches.

When people touch the forbidden tree of their constitutional arrangement and taste it's fruits, the entire blissful state it envisages and all of its order vanish. Thus they are banished from it. This fundamental truth is cogently expressed in the Holy Quran as: "Get you down all from here."

No Room for Usurpers of Power

God revealed to His Prophet.

Thou are not a compeller (Jabbar) over them (Q,50:45).

Therefore, there is no place for a compeller or dictator in Islam. The Most High said to him:

We have not set thee as a keeper over them nor art thou responsible for them. (Q,6:108).

Those who put themselves as the conscience-keeper of the people and self-appointed custodian of their interest are violators of the public order envisaged for the believers. The Lord reminded His Prophet:

Thou art not a warder (musaiter) over them (Q,88:22).

Therefore, those who impose a regime of watch and ward over the people and set spying in every nook and cranny are enemies of God and mankind.

The usurpers of power who exalt themselves above the people and seize public authority by conspiracy or by sword cannot establish an Islamic order, nor can they give leadership to the Ummah of Islam. They are those who are denied guidance from God:

I shall turn away from My signs (revelations) those who exalt themselves without right in the land; and if they see a sign believe it not; and if they see the way of uprightness, adopt it not; and if they see the way of evil, they adopt it as (their) way. It is because they deny Our signs and are used to ignore them. Those who deny Our signs and the meeting of the hereafter (with Us), wasted are their works. Are they requited aught what they used to do (Q,7:146-7).

It was not surprising therefore that the Muslim dominions lost their living contact with the revelations of God as soon as the ways of the Righteous Succession (Khilāfat-i-Rāshida) faded away in the rise of tyranny and despotic rule. The system of mutual support and protection offered by Islam was badly in tatters even before the turn of the first century. The spirit of taking care of every member of the community receded into background as a pious hope. A truncated individualism was sweeping the Muslim multitude changing their heart and soul and they began to live for themselves. Public speakers appeared to reconcile the people with the emerging evil order and elicit their loyalty for the usurpers of power. They recited the following verses of the Quran:

Say, O God, Owner of the dominion! Thou givest the dominion unto whom Thou wilt and Thou withdrawest the dominion from whom Thou wilt. Thou givest exaltation whom Thou wilt and Thou abasest whom Thou wilt. In Thy hand is the good. Lo! Thou art able to do all things (Q.3:26).

So far as the successful usurpation of power is justified by reciting the above revelations, it exposes the depravity of the wicked souls. No doubt the evil doers are deprived of proper guidance from the words of God. The revelations recited as such further mislead them. Only God-fearing men who are desirous of decent and good life can follow properly the light of the revelations and their intents.

Moreover, the Holy Quran makes it obligatory on the believers to approach the signs of God (ayat and revelations) for getting at a seemly interpretation. This principle is key to the Sharia of Islam. No Divine words can justify conspiracy and overthrow of public order, seizure of authority by force and the evils which follow. Those transgressors are condemned in unmistakable terms who seek crookedness through the Book of God.

Praise be to God who hath revealed the scripture unto His servant and hath not placed therein any crookedness. (But hath made it) straight to give warning of stern punishment from Him; and unto the believers who do good works the news that theirs will be a fair reward (Q, 18:1-2).

Two Kinds of Revelations

The same sura of the Quran (chapter 3) which contains: "Thou givest the dominion whom Thou wilt and withdrawest from whom Thou wilt" also contains those verses which give insight into the nature of revelations as follows:

He is who revealed unto thee the book wherein are clear signs (Ayat Muhakamãt). They are substance of the Book (Ummul Kitãb)and others (which are) allegorical (Mutashabihat). But those in whose hearts is perversity pursue that which is allegorical seeking dissension (to cause) by seeking to explain it. And those who are of sound instruction say: We believe therein, the whole but only men of understanding really heed (Q,3:7).

All the revelations of the glorious Quran conform to one another, but they do not belong to one plane or the same level of reality in their intention. Therefore they are not equally clear to man. The signs (revelations) of God which are essential to human station and order of existence are comprehensible by him with all certitude. They are the firm signs and form the hard core, the basic intention of the Book. They consist of the knowledge of right and wrong, definition of the permissible and the impermissible, distinction between the straight path and the evil ways, warnings to the rejecters of truths and glad tidings to the men of virtue. All other revelations are auxiliary or support to the body of these main revelations. Men of sound character with a burning desire to reform their life and alleviate the sufferings of humanity base their conduct on the clear revelations.

But those who are of wicked stuff and love to shun their duties run after those other revelations of higher order that belie clear and perfect comprehension. It is because the revelations allude to very high orders of truths beyond the terms of finite human experience, they are called by the Quran the *mutashabihat*, which the translators put as the allegorical (The translation does not however correspond satisfactorily to the original term). They are fraught with various similitudes and are susceptible to various ends and meanings carved out by the limited human experience. Thus from the ordinary station of man, their comprehension ends at a doubtable interpretation or a conclusion which is enigmatic.

Men of weak character and of perverse spirit are duped to peck on those allegorical revelations. Therefore, they are misled and in turn mislead the people to ambiguities. The verse 3:26 (revealing that God givest the dominion whom He wilt, etc.) belong to the groups of *mutashabihat*. Man must falter in its grasp. It describes a Divine truth in terms of human experience of giving and withdrawing. The consequence is that the determinists (*jabbariya*) who take it as guidance for their conduct are impelled to set aside the firm and clear verses of God which are the mother-book or the substance of all revelation. Thus they undermine human spirit to fight against the unjust order and to fulfill those indubitable obligations which are assigned to the believers as followers of the wright path.

After the first century, Muslim culture fastly moved from the firm and clear revelations to the allegorical revelations. Consequently, different creeds and ideologies weakening the moral and religious spirit emerged and flourished all testifying to their ambiguous comprehensions of the Divine revelations as part of their culture.

It required no greater insight in arriving at a definite conclusion about the verse 3:26. As it describes the Divine activity, men cannot comprehend the truth contained in it; for the latter presupposes full knowledge of God and it is impossible for man to have it. Therefore it is not one of those revelations which may be made elements of human order and part of the clear verses which are the purpose and roots of the Glorious Quran.

Neo -Islamists

In their zeal to Islamize everything, the neo-Islamists take the modern (omnipotent) state as their model and declare God as its sovereign. Apparently they substantiates their claim by pointing out that God is the Creator of the world, He is the Sustainer of everything and He is the Nourisher of all existents.

From those truths, they infer the idea of the Sovereignty of God over the Universe. But this inference may be meaningful if only the meanings of sovereignty are radically changed. It must mean Creation, Substance and Nourishment. But it is not what we mean by sovereignty, political sovereignty.

Those Islamists have exceeded the rules of logical consistency and confused a political notion with the categories of the Divine Order. The main line of argument propounded by those Islamists is like this: 'All the attributes of authority belong to Allah. No one is possessor of those attributes and authority in the Universe beside Him, He is the Over-powering. He is the Knower of all. He is the Spotless, Errorless, Protector of all; all the authority is in His hands. No one can do any harm without His will... No one has the power to defy His decree'. The argument is said to have been built on the following verses of the Holy Quran:

It is He (who is) irresistible to His servants, and it is He the Wise, the Aware (6: 18).

The Knower of the Unseen and the Seen, the Great, the Most High (13:9).

He is Allah beside whom there is no God; the Dominus, the Holy; the Errorless, the Granter of Security; the Guardian; the Mighty, the Superdeterminate, the Possessor of Greatness (59:22-23).

Blessed is He in whose hand is the Dominion and who is Overpowering and who is Overwhelming to all things (67: 1).

All the arguments, based on the above and many other alike verses, it may be noted, return to a single order of truths: the order which unfolds the relation of God to things-in-creation. It is He who brings the things into existence, sustains them and causes them out of existence.

In this order of reality, nothing defies God's Command. Since by its very nature, this order manifests the Divine Domination, it constitutes the realm of God's Dominion; Himself being the Dominus unto it. The distinctive mark of the Divine Dominion is that it is existentially impossible in it to deviate to the slightest degree from the dictates of the Overwhelming Power, Holiness, Majesty and Glory of its Dominus.

But God's Glory and Bounty is not exhausted in His Dominion which is only one of the orders of reality. There is no doubt that all of his creations belong to it yet there are some things which inspite of their place in it go beyond and participate in other orders of reality, which are willed, brought into existence and sustained by the Same God, the Most High, Most Wise. In those realms, the rule of Dominion does not permeates the way of existence, and therefore God is not the Dominus in their boundaries. Consequently, no light is shed on their nature from the truths obtaining in the kind of realities which are subsumed under the category of the Dominion of God. These other orders are generally

comprehensible under the category of the Âlam-i-Amr (the World of Command).

Logical Error

All the thinkers of the modern renaissance of Islam who have invented the fiction of (political) sovereignty about God are victims of logical error; confounding two different levels and contexts of reality: The Âlam-i-Amr and Âlam-i-Khalq (Creation *I* Dominion). From the verses that unfold the truths about God's Dominion, they draw laws of those other spheres of reality which are differently constituted by the Wisdom, and Power and Glory of the same God, the World of Command.

The ideas of corruption and improvement, virtue and vice, compassion and indifference, pleasure and anger are inapplicable to the structure of events in the Dominion of God; the Dominion which has no problem of what ought to be for everything in it is only with its Isness as such and behaves as fixed in its course.

Consequently, none of its contents, and accidents/events are amenable to value judgments. Such are the implications of the Dominion and the Dominus.

Sovereignty

The doctrine of God's sovereignty in human societies or states projects the idea of Dominus beyond the sphere of the Dominion into the sphere of those entities which are endowed by God with the power to follow or violate the Divine Ordinances, and to whom gain and loss, co-operation and competition, piety and mischief, progress and regress are the forms of mutual interaction.

In other words, God's Dominion, as an existential category, does not absolutely determine the structure of events in this sphere. To be true to our experience, this sphere at least contains the human world. Though it is grounded in the Dominion of God, yet it is God's Will that it exhibits a new order which has laws and events different from those that of the former. The problem of sovereignty arises in this sphere of reality in which man rises above the 'Dominion' as a level of reality.

Consequently, the verses of the Glorious Quran which unfold the order of Divine Dominion cannot yield those inferences which are valid for this human world. Thus from the axiom that God is the Dominus, it does not follow that 'God is the Sovereign.' The neo-Islamists' arguments are precisely reduced to this sort of inference, which disengages the concept of sovereignty in the concept of 'domination', relentless and absolute.

This disengagement makes the' concept of sovereignty empty of all value-connotations. When the human world is completely packed into the concept of Dominion, it becomes emaciated of all value components and everything of it looks as if swaying in an irresistible dominating push from beyond. This kind of vision is a conceit of the Devil, and fosters that kind of heresies about the constitution of human events, which are impermissible according to the imperatives of the religious and moral sense even of the ordinary people.

The concept of sovereignty, its reduction to pure 'domination' as such makes it a heretical notion which teaches us the doctrine of submission to naked force and despiritualises the human race.

It is true that all the concepts of domination are true of God, but their field is the order of Divine Dominion in which the moral and religious issues have no meaning; every thing of it, submits to His Domination. The Quran also teaches us that man and his affairs are not exempted from the Divine Dominion and God is 'dominus of the people' also He is Overpowering to His servants and He is the Wise, the Aware (6:18).

Order of Grace

The above verses confirm that man has his station within His Dominion. But this is not the whole truth. Man grows up beyond His Dominion and lives in the realm of His Grace which is subsumed under the concept of His Majestic Throne from where He showers mercy on His servants, accepts their repentance, gives them help and allows them chance to reshape themselves in seemly ways. His Majestic Throne surrounds the unique order in which the laws of His Dominion are overwhelmed by the laws of His Grace. This forms the logical structure of the Âlam-i-Amr for His living creatures.

Indeed, He is the Originator and is the Repeator, the Forgiver and the Lover, (Holder) of the Majestic Throne, Doer of what He will (Q,85: 13-16).

The idea of Divine sovereignty or domination does not signify anything in this world of Grace which is revealed in the above verses: but rather serves to distort its nature and twist its implication, the implication of the Âlam-i-Amr. It is here, in Âlam-i-Amr that His words - God leads man from darkness into light, and the Devil (Taghut) leads man from light into darkness become true and significant. The Glorious Quran vividly describes the Role of God in relation to human world, its institutions and arrangements (including the state' organization) by "Al-Rahman" (the Beneficent One) is established on the Throne (al-Rahman 'Al al Arshistawa). He is never a political sovereign over them.