PREFACE

The issue of the Caliphate has been a central theme in any discussion on the politico-administrative structure of Islam. There are a number of verses in the Holy Qurān (nas) which make a many concepts crystal clear like the Sovereignty of Allah, the position of Khalīfa and those who enjoy authority in the Ummah (Ulil 'amr), the role of the competent authority in matters of awāmir and nawāhi, and the importance of the shūra for running the affairs of the government. The necessary details as to how these concepts were to be implemented were spelled out by the Prophet during his life time, especially while he was in Madinah (622-32). These acts and pronouncements of Prophet are preserved as sunnah/āthār, and hadith. This way, nas and āthār became the guiding principles for the subsequent generations — but the very fact that there were so many question having no mention in either of the two sources as there was no need as such to lay down the principle for hypothetical situations. Moreover this would have resulted in circumventing the subsequent growth of the political processes and would have had left no options for the jurists and political thinkers to evolve a theory on their own and to meet out the challenges in certain situations or exigencies.

At the same time it should be emphasized that the subsequent events during the Ummayad and Abbasid periods had convinced
the Ummah that the period of Rashidun Caliphs (632-662) was the one of Khilafat 'alā minhāj al-nubuwwah' hence all the measures and the events of this period acquired the status of the precedent for the political theorists. But here they were facing a real dilemma - as how to justify and interpret the events leading to the first fitnah during the last six years of the third Caliph and the reign of fourth caliph. For, there were a number of tradition emphasising that "My community will never agree upon and error", and

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Whether these traditions were applicable only in matters of religion or can equally be trusted in matters of the political wisdom of the early companions of the Prophet?

It is the interpretation of these events that led to the major ideological segmentation of the Ummah. The political theorists were in a quandary, they could not evolve a system incorporating every single point of view. At the same time a deviation from nasr and athar was neither possible for the theorists nor was acceptable to the Ummah. The broad frame-work remained unchanged and un-challenged. Every political development has to be in tune with the super-structure; even the political adventurists could not do away with this umbrella even theoretically.

Ali bin Muhammad bin Habib Abul Hasan al-Mawardi (974-1058 A.D.) and Khwaja Abu Ali Hasan bin Ali Ishaq better known
as Nizam-ul-Mulk Tusi were undoubtedly the greatest political thinkers of the East during the classical period of Muslim civilization. They had expounded their theories of state and kingship at a time of political turmoil and confusion. Since they were practical statesmen endowed with varied administrative experience, they had attempted to solve the specific problems faced by their respective royal patrons. They claim to have laid the foundations of their theories on the principles set out in Qur'an, Hadith, and they seem to have drawn upon the best of the then accessible human wisdom.

The main thrust of Al-Mawardi's concern was to deliver the person of the Abbasid Caliph from the clutches of his all powerful Buwahid ministers and to restore the authority of the Caliph, spiritual as well as secular, which had been usurped by these warlords in course of time. On the other hand, Tusi wrote his treatise to guide Sultan Malik Shah Saljuq, his patron, in solving the specific problems of the Saljuqid administration. Although these compilations were aimed at a particular goal still they continued to be fascinating for the later generations. It is necessary to look into the entire history of Muslim world during the Ummayad and Abbasid period to have a clear picture of the stresses and strains under which these thinkers worked. It will also help to assess the distinguished place occupied by these scholars.
The thesis aims at examining these aspects. The emphasis to study the evolution and developments of the political theories in the Abbāsid and Saljuqd Empires. It has been pointed out that these developments are closely linked with the historical developments of the previous centuries. Therefore, it has been thought necessary to recapitulate the events having a bearing on the Muslim society in general and politico-juridical developments in particular.