Chapter 1

Stages of the Development of Political System in Islam
CHAPTER I

STAGES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL SYSTEM IN ISLAM

1.1 The prophets period
1.1.1 The Evolution of the Islamic State:
   
   (a) The System of the Mu’akhat
   (b) The Kitab (document)system
   (c) The ‘ummah’

1.2 The caliphs’ period:

   (a) Theology and the caliphate
   (b) Khalifa

1.2.1 The Caliphate
1.2.2 Ideal Caliphs

1.3 Arab Dynasties (Umayyads and Abbasids)
1.3.1 Umayyads (Banu Umayyah)
1.3.2 Muawiyah the Founder of Umavids
1.3.3 Ali’s Surrender of Power to Muawiyah
1.3.4 The fall of Umayyads
1.3.5 Abbasids (Banu‘l – Abbas)
1.3.6 The ‘Abbasids caliphs, of Egypt
1.3.7 The Foundation of Baghdad
1.3.8 Abbasid Administration

   (a) The central Government
   (b) Provincial Government
   (c) Local Government

References
CHAPTER I

1.1 THE PROPHETS’ PERIOD:

With the revelation of the Quran, Islam came to the World and Mohammad became the prophet. The prophet had initially to convert the people of Makkah. Makkah was a busy and wealthy commercial town almost monopolizing the enterpot trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean trading centers. This was mainly due to its location on the international trade route from the South to the North, which included the route from Africa. The prophet Muhammad’s great-grandfather, Hashim, who gave his name to the clan, died in Syria while on a trade expedition.

Makkah, where Muhammad was born in 571, was the proud heart of a fiercely interned Arab tribal society. Arab prided on their ancestry (nasab). For them the Arab was the noblest of nations (afkhar al-umam). Among the Arabs the Quraysh considered themselves the aristocrats. The Quraysh, was divided into numerous competing clans, dominated Makkah. Exclusive tribal codes, animistic practices, female infanticide, worship of some 360 competing idols, were the characteristics of society. This was the society The Prophet was set to change¹.
In the summer of 622 The Prophet left Makkah and arrived in Madinah, a journey that was to change the history of the World. It was called the hijrah or migration, and Marks the beginning of the Muslim calendar. His party of migrants was called muhajirs (refugees), the natives of Madinah ansars (helpers). It was an act that has been suggestive to Muslims throughout history, the transition from dar-al-harb, the land of war, to dar-al-Islam, land of Islam, or peace.

In Makkah the Prophet had propagated a new message, triumphant over a conversion one moment, concerned over a failure another, always under pressure. In Madinah he arrived as ruler, laying the foundations of a nascent state and religion. He now began to establish his community. One of the first tasks was to provide the charter of Madinah- a sort of Magna Carta – which announced the rights and obligations of all citizens, Jews and Muslims.

1.1.1 THE EVOLUTION OF THE ISLAMIC STATE:

(a) The system of the mu’akhat:

Mu’akhat was the first clear manifestation of the organization of Islam’ ummah (community) on the basis of a definite ideology and a distinct political philosophy. Till then, the Arabs recognised blood as the only bond that determined their social or community relationship. Sociologically, a people grown and brought up in a tribal system could not behave otherwise. But The Prophet brought about such a tremendous change in their outlook that affinity of faith replaced all other ties of blood, halif (confederation, association), Jiwar (protection) and wila (clientship) which had their roots in tribal traditions of the Arabs. The
Islamic ummah was organized on the basis of ideology throwing into shade all considerations of blood-relationship. This was absolutely new experiment having a revolutionary impact on the Arab Sociology and its success, thought in a rudimentary form, as demonstrated at mecca. According to Ibn-Ishaq and other early historians, when a substantial number of the Meccans accepted Islam, The Prophet established The System of the Mu‘akhat, two Muslims were paired together and declared as brothers. Thus Talhah b. ‘Ubaydullah and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwam were declared as brothers while the prophet bracketed himself with ‘Ali b. Abi Talib as his religious brother. This system replaced the family ties to such an extent that the two Islamic or religious brothers could inherit each other’s property, regardless of any blood relationship. The mu‘akhat was aimed at bringing about a change in the sociological consciousness of the early converts. It forged divergent social groups and warring individuals into a new community.

After the migration of the Prophet to Medina the Mu‘akhat assumed a new dimension. It was then effected between the muhajirs and The ansar in the early days of Safar 1 A.H./ Aug. 623 A.D. As is well-known, the muhajirs had come empty handed from Mecca. The ansar provided their immigrant brothers with board and loading.

(b) **The Kitab (document) system:**

The mu‘akhat was followed by the Kitab (document) of the Prophet which bound the whole populace of Medina, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, into a political and social organisation.
The Kitab or 'The constitution of Medina', was promulgated just after the migration of the Prophet to Medina. The constitution asserts that "This is a writing (Kitab) of Muhammad, The prophet, between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yasrib and these who follow them and are thus attached to them and who wage holy war with them". The people referred to in this document i.e. The Muhajir and the ansar, were declared a united 'ummah, distinct from the rest of the mankind. It was a community of Allah ('ummat Allah) in which the right to rule belonged to Allah and, in His name, to Muhammad, His Prophet.

(c) The 'ummah':

The 'ummah is basically a Quranic term and it occurs fifty one times in the Quran and its plural 'umam thirteen times. It is "The community formed by those who accept the messenger and his message". In the same connotation the term 'ummah has been used at least in 303 traditions of the prophet. The view that the non-Muslims, The jews and the Pagans of Medinah were not excluded from the 'ummah is not only against the spirit of the document but quite contrary to the very concept of the 'ummah based on religion. Declares the immigrant and the ansar Muslims alone as the 'ummah wahidah (one community), distinct from the rest of the mankind. All facts taken together, it becomes abundantly clear that the Muslims of the city-State of Medina alone were included in the 'ummah. All the non-Muslims, pagans, Jews, or for that matter, Christians of Medina were given the status of the Zimmis(protected people), or at the most that of halifs.
though the idea is not given a theoretical expression, but it is implied in their relationship with the Muslims and Islamic state.\textsuperscript{15}

In 6 A.H./628 A.D. The famous treaty of al-Hudaybyiah, was negotiated. On the face of it, the treaty was a military and a political triumph for the Meccans but Soon it was apparent that they were struggling to hold their feet to the ground which was slipping under them. The treaty showed that the leadership was confused, and their rank and file were broken and frustrated. It was, in fact a diplomatic defeat for the Meccans who had unwittingly accorded an equal status to Medina. After al-Hudaybiah, all factors seem to have combined to contribute to the downfall of Mecca, which eventually took place early in 630 A.D. when the Prophet entered the city as its conqueror. Even a synoptic view of the political developments, particularly the armed encounters between Mecca and Medina, would show that while Mecca was losing ground day by day, Medina was gradually emerging as a centralized political authority.\textsuperscript{16}

The Islamic state was expanding, though slowly but steadily, in all directions of the city-state.\textsuperscript{17} The 9\textsuperscript{th} year after the hijrah (April-May 630 to April-May 631 A.D.) is generally called by the historians as the year of deputations from every nook and corner of the Arabian Peninsula visited the prophet. On the other hand that year was in fact the highest watermark in the formation of the Islamic 'ummah as well as the establishment of the Islamic state. Almost all tribes of Arabia, big or small, urban or Bedouin, hastened to join it.\textsuperscript{18} The whole of the Arabian Peninsula, from the Syrian borders in the north to the last corner of al-Yaman in the South and from the Shores of the Red Sea in the west to
the Persian Gulf and the Iranian confines in the east, not only had recognized the political sovereignty of the Islamic state, but also had been integrated with the Islamic ‘ummah' based on Islam. The faith of the Prophet Muhammad'.

Our prophet Mohammad tolerated and stood against all opposed groups. He immigrated (Hijrah) to Medina and he founded the state due to the condition of that time. So he tried to lead the state wisely. The religion and the state were united and there was separation between them and it was an appropriate deed for prophet Mohammad to establish the state. He was realistic in his outlook about human beings that man has both spiritual as well as physical entity and man is considered as an individual and a social being.

1.2 THE CALIPHS' PERIOD:

(a) Theology and the Caliphate:

Islamic theologians had to reconcile their irreligious views to the change circumstances of the time and the accept accomplished facts. The Hanafi School of Theology was evolved to recognize a khalifa on one of the following bases:

1. Khalifa by general consent and election
2. Khalifa by nomination
3. Khalifa by being in power

This school argued that without a leader, it would be impossible to defend Islam from external invasion or save it from internal anarchy.
The Shia rejected this theory, and asserted that since the Khalifa (or Imam) is appointed by Divine will and has nothing to do with the will of humanity, and as the last Imam has disappeared and is out of sight, in his absence any man can govern the country, though he would not be considered as the spiritual leader. The Mujtahids, or chief theologians, would act on behalf of the man as authorities on religion.

Actually it is an internal religion and not so important for our discussion that we concentrate on it.

(b) Khalifa:

Khalifa means “representative”. Man according to Islam, is the representative of Allah on earth. His vice-gerent; that is to say, by virtue of the powers delegated to him by Allah, and within the limits prescribed, he is required to exercise Divine authority.

To illustrate what this means, let us take the case of an estate of yours which someone else has been appointed to administer on your behalf. Four conditions invariably obtain: First, the real ownership of the estate remains vested in you and not in the administrator; secondly, he administers your property directly in accordance with your instructions; Thirdly, he exercises his authority within the limits prescribed by you; and fourthly, in the administration of the trust he executes your will and fulfils your intentions and not his own. Any representative who does not fulfil these four conditions will be abusing his authority and breaking the covenant which was implied in the concept of “representation”.

This is exactly what Islam means when it affirms that man is the representative (Khalifa) of Allah on earth. Hence, these four conditions
are also involved in the concept of Khalifa. The state that is established in accordance with this political theory will in fact be a Caliphate under the Sovereignty of Allah\textsuperscript{21}.

1.2.1 **The Caliphate:**

The early Caliphs could be described by either one of these three titles – Khalifah, Amir ul-Mu‘minin, and Imam. Each was a title one of and the same personage, but Khalifah emphasized his relation to the Messenger of the faith, ‘The Apostle of God’ and put forward this apostolic succession as a claim for the obedience of the faithful the second title, “Amir ul-Mu‘minin’, asserted more distinctively the authority of the ruler as supreme war lord and head of the civil administration; the third, ‘Imam’, emphasized rather the religious activity of the head of the state as performing a certain definite religious function. This last title Imam – is the favourite designation for the head of the church among the Shias’. They lay special emphasize on the sacrosanct character of the successors of the prophet, to whom they gradually attribute mysterious and almost supernatural powers, until, as at present, they came to believe in a hidden Imam who, unseen by men, guides and directs the faithful upon earth. Though the doctrine of the Imam was of no less importance in Sunni theology, and though Imam was an official description of the Sunni khalifa, it was not so favourite a designation with the Sunnis as with the shias, and it was probably under the influence of Shiah opinion that the Abbasid Caliph, al Ma‘mun (813-833), was the first to put the title ‘Imam’ on his coins and inscriptions. The coins of his predecessors had generally borne the title ‘Amir ul-Mu‘minin’. It was also no doubt owing to the hieratic character that the
institution of the caliphate assumed under the Abbasids, that this ecclesiastical title ‘Imam’ came to be inserted of the coins of al-Ma’mun, and in this practice he was followed by succeeding Abbasids.

Some differentiation between these various appellations may be recognized in cases where pretenders have arrogated to themselves one or other of the three, e.g. it was not until Abu’l-‘Abbas as-Saffah (afterwards the first caliph of the Abbasid dynasty) had broken out into open revolt that he assumed the title of Amir ul-Mu’minin; his brother, Ibrahim, who had been regarded as leader of the Abbasid Party before him, was known only as the Imam. Similarly, at a later period, in western Africa, when the Shia movement had won a large number of adherents from among the Berbers, their leaders were styled Imam, and it was not until ‘Ubaydullah, the ancestor of the Fatimid Caliphs, was proclaimed Khalifah in Qayrawan in the year 909, that he assumed the title of Amir ul- Muminin. The later title emphasized the aspect of secular authority, whereas that of Imam indicates rather the status of the ruler in the religious order.22

1.2.2 Ideal Caliphs (11/632-41/661):

We have here an exemplification of the ancient Arab custom, in accordance with which when the chief of a tribe died, his office passed to that member of the tribe who enjoyed the greatest influence, the leading members of the tribe selecting to fill the vacant place someone among themselves who was respected on account of age, or influence, or for his good services to the common wheals there was no complicated or formal method of election, nor within such small social groups would any elaborate procedure be necessary, and when the
choice of a successor had been made, those present swore allegiance to him, one after another, clasping him by the hand\textsuperscript{23}.

AbuBakr was sixty years of age when he was elected to succeed the prophet, and he enjoyed the dignity for two years only (11/632-13/634). According to the tradition recorded by Muslim historians, AbuBakr nominated' Umar as his successor. But actually during the caliphate of AbuBakr, 'Umar had been the virtual ruler, and he assumed the functions of head of the state immediately after Abu Bakr's death without any formality\textsuperscript{24}. This again was quite in accordance with primitive Arab custom, when the prominent position of any particular individual clearly marked him out as the ultimate successor of the head of the tribes but though no formalities might be necessary, it was virtually by election that such a man would take a place of the dead chief, and the rest of the tribe would express their assent by swearing allegiance to him\textsuperscript{25}.

In Umar’s time (13/634-23/644) Iraq, Persia and Egypt were added to the Muslim domain. The battle of Qadsiya, fought in 635 against the Persians was of the most critical battles in history because it would reverberate up to the present\textsuperscript{26}. Khalid wrote to the chiefs of Persia:

"In the name of God, the Merciful and the compassionate from Khalid ibn al-walid to the border – chiefs (marzuban) of Persia.

Become Muslim and be saved, if not accept protection from us and pay the jizya. If not, I shall come against you with men who love death as you love to drink wine\textsuperscript{27}. 

18
Uqbah ibn Nafi, sweeping victoriously westwards along the North African coast- the area Arabs would call the Maghreb, the west- stopped where the land ended. Galloping into the Atlantic brandished his sword.

But the Islamic World was changing rapidly. Wealth and numbers that were difficult to conceive in the early days now multiplied to boggle the imagination. At Ajnadayn Muslims faced an enemy of 100,000 and at Qadsiya 120,000. At Yarmuk the deed enemy alone numbered 140,000 and with conquest came vast booty. At Qadsiya, the Persian capital, the total booty was estimated at 9 billion dinars. Each soldier received 12000 dinars. Soon even privates owned one to ten servants each. After Qadsiya, within three years of the prophet’ death. The problems and scope of Islam had changed.

Al Tabari records: ‘Umar said to Salman: ‘Am I a king or a Caliph?’ and Salman answered” ‘If you have levied from the lands of the Muslims one dirham, or more, or less, and applied it unlawfully, you are a king, not a Caliph’. And’ Umar Wepst. In 23/644 a Christian Persian slave assassinated him in the Mosque.

Uthman, who succeeded Umar (23/644-35/656), was in a sense a victim of these. He was finding it difficult to cope with the changing world and its scale. In the summer of (35/656) he was killed by rebels from the garrison town of Fustat in Egypt and Kufa in Iraq. Caught between an unresponsive government and eager newcomers, veterans who had settled in Iraq and Egypt went to Medinah to complain to the third Caliph, and, finding him unresponsive, murdered him, unleashing the first civil war.
The death of Uthman showed that Medinah could not remain the capital of the Muslim lands. It was in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq that Arab manpower and fiscal revenues were now concentrated and the three contending parties in the civil war all represented centers outside Arabia. Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet was based in Kufa, one of the two garrison cities of Iraq\textsuperscript{31}. (35/656 - 40/661).

Ali, says about his acceptance of the Caliphate: “Behold, by him who split the grain (to grow) and created living beings, if people had not come to me and supporters had not exhausted the argument and if there had been no pledge of Allah with the learned to the effect that they should not acquiesce in the gluttony of the oppressor and the hunger of the oppressed I would have cast the rope of caliphate on its own shoulders\textsuperscript{32}.

The moral authority of Ali, as the rightful caliph, challenged and confronted the material power and wealth of his rival Muawiyah. The governor of Syria. Ali’s governor was turned back by Muawiah, at the borders of Syria and battle declared. At the battle of the Camel for the first time Muslims fought Muslims. Talha and al-Zubayr, two early converts supported by the prophet’s youngest Aisha, were based in Basra, the second garrison city of Iraq\textsuperscript{33}. At the battle or the camel, it was over 10,000 Muslims lay dead on the battlefield. A year later, in (36/657), Ali’s army of 70,000 faced Muawiah’s of 90,000. The numbers were swollen by non-combatants\textsuperscript{34}.

Those who remembered the times of the Prophet were horrified. New wealth, new sects and old tribal rivalries were tearing society apart. Abdullah bin Sabah had declared that Ali was God, much to Ali’s embarrassment, while he himself was the prophet. A group calling
themselves the Kharijis decided to wipe the slate clean and make a fresh start. Not for the first time in Islamic history would an attempt be made to revive the time of the prophet, already seen as the Golden age.

The Kharijis planned to kill simultaneously the three most important men in Islam, Ali in Kufa, Muawiah in Jerusalem and Amar in Fustat, of these only Ali was killed, while praying in the mosque. Muawiah, now adopting the precaution of living in heavily guarded enclosures, became the caliph of Islam and first ruler of the Umayyad dynasty\(^35\).

After the assassination of Ali, His son Hassan was elected to the office of the Khilafa by the people of Kufa (41/661 \(^3\)). As the historical report suggests that when Ali was about to die, people came to him and asked shall we offer oath of allegiance (bay'ah) to Hassan? He replied I do not ask or forbid you to do so. You can see for yourself\(^36\). By this historical report it is evident that Ali did not forbid the people the election of his son. So the appointment of a son or the succession of a son to the office of the Khilafa was not against the practice of Sahabah. Had the nomination or the election of a son been prohibited for the succession to the office of the Khilafa, Ali would not have allowed his followers to follow their choice, in choosing his son as the Khalifa\(^37\).

1.2.3 Political Freedom in Khalifate Rashidah period:

There was political freedom in Khalifate Rashidah period. But it was not used in its real meaning; it was the people and their critical ideas about the ruler. It depended on the ruler's justice and interest to pay heed to the critical ideas of people.
1.3 ARAB DYNASTIES

Umayyads and Abbasids:

The Arabs before Islam constituted a traditional, tribal community led by respected patriarchs and elders. People knew each other, their parentage and their social ways—it was what is called a face-to-face society. Both in Makkah and in the deserts beyond customs were tribal. Like tribal societies elsewhere they were a frank, warm, earthy people. They had a sense of humour, the hallmark of confidence whether in an individual or in a society. It was society with a defined social—and on the peninsula, geographical-arena. Islam’s success and emergence from the peninsula changed all that.

Arab society now converted into the established imperial patterns of the defeated Byzantines and sasanids. These two empires, the most powerful of the age, were characterized by an arrogant bureaucracy, powerful armies and the total power of the rulers. Within a century Arab rule would be identified by these very characteristics. The Islamic ideal and the actual position of the Muslims, inheritors of these complex systems, now fluctuated. Henceforth each generation would need to redefine itself anew in relations to the ideal.

1.3.1 UMAYYADS (Banu Umayyah) (41/661-132/750):

The dynasty of caliphs which, from its center in Syria, ruled the whole of the Arab Islamic territories from 41/661 to 132/750. All of the caliphs during this period are descendants of Umayya b. ‘Abd shams a pre-Islamic notable of the tribe of Kuraysh of Mecca, but they represent two distinct lines within the clan of Umayya: The first three caliphs,
descended from Abu Sufyan b. Harb, are referred to as sufyanids: The remaining eleven, descendents of Marwan b. al-Hakam b. Abil-‘As, as Marwanids. For convenience, a list of the Umayyad caliphs and the dates generally given for their caliphate is provided below;

1. 41-60/661-80 Mu‘awiya I b. Abi Sufyan
2. 60-64/680-3 Yazid I b. Muawiya I
3. 64-683 Mu‘awiya II b. yazid I
4. 64-5/684-5 Marwan I b. al-Hakam
5. 65-86/685-705 ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan I
7. 96-99/715-17 Sulayman b’Abd al-Malik
10. 105-125/724-43 Hisham b. ‘Abd al-Malik
11. 125-126/743 – 4 al-walid II b. yazid II
12. 126/744 yazid III b. al-walid I
13. 126/744 Ibrahim b. al-wallid I

23
1.3.1 **Muawiyah (41/661-60/689) The Founder of Umavids:**

Muawiyah became the first Khalifah of the Umavi family, after the assassination of Ali, in Kufah in Ramadan 40/660. In the preceding years the Muslim ummah was politically divided into two groups: Supporters of Muawiyah elected him as their Khalifah in Balka in Palestine on 36/656, and the shi’ah supporters elected Hasan to the office his father. The Islamic state was practically divided into two Khalifa’s for the first time in the history of Islam. The Western part that included Syria, Palestine and Egypt owed allegiance to Muawiyah, while the eastern world remained faithful to Hassan under two independent rulers of Islam. In order to solve this statement Hassan after period of six month made a compromise with muawiyah and abdicated Khalifah in his favour in Rabi I 41/661. With this Muawiyah became the Khalifah of the whole Islamic world. It seems that there were two important events that happened during the umayyads period were: 1. Peace with Al-Hassan and 2. War with Husain.
Among the events of the year 41 was al-Hassan b. ‘Ali’s surrender of Power to Muawiyah, the letters entry into al-Kufa, and the rendering of allegiance to Muawiyah as Caliph by the people of al-Kufah, when the people of Iraq acknowledged al-Hasan b. Ali as Caliph, he began to impose conditions on them, (saying), “you must be totally obedient, make peace with whom I make peace, and fight whom I fight.” The people of Iraq had misgivings about their situation when he imposed these conditions upon them, and they said, “This is no master for us since he does not want to fight”. So shortly after they acknowledged him, al-Hassan was stabbed (and wounded, but) not fatally. His dislike for them increased, and he grew more afraid of them. He corresponded with Muawiyah and sent conditions to him saying, “Grant me this and I shall be totally obedient, provided that you fulfill (this conditions) for me”. Al-Hassan’s scroll came into Muawiyah’s hand. Muawiyah, however, had previously sent al-Hassan a blank scroll sealed at the bottom and had written to him, “put whatever condition you wish (to make) on this scroll which I have sealed at the bottom and it will be yours. “When the scroll reached al-Hassan, he doubled the conditions which he had asked of Muawiyah previously and kept it with him. Muawiyah meanwhile kept the scroll of al-Hassan which contained the requests the latter had sent him.

When Mu’awiyah and al-Hassan met, al-Hassan asked him to grant him the conditions made by him in the document which Mu’awiyah had sealed at the bottom. But Mu’dwiyah refused and said. I
grant you the requests you made originally in your letter to me, for I had
done so already when I received your letter. "Al-Hassan replied, "(But)
I had conditions when I received your letter, and you agreed to fulfill
them". Since they argued over them, none of al-Hassan's conditions were
met.

Peace was concluded between al-Hassan and Muawiyah in
Rabi'II 41 (August 4-September 1, 661) and Muawiyah entered al-Kufa
at the beginning of Jumada I (September 2, 661). Yet another account
claims that he entered it in the month of Rabi II. This is what al-waqidi
says:

In this year 'Ali's sons, al-Hassan and al-Husayn, left al-Kufa for
al-Madinah.

At Muawifa's death, his son and successor, Yazid (60/680-
64/683), fought against Meccan rivals led by 'Abdullah b. al-zubayr.
'Ali's son Husayn attempted to move from Medinah to Kufa to take up
the leadership of his followers, (according to Kufa's invitations), but his
small party was intercepted at Karbala (in Iraq) and destroyed. At the
time the episode had few repercussions, but Husayn's death gradually
assumed. The significance of Martyrdom. Today Husayn's Shrine
Karbala is one of the great pilgrimage sites of the Muslim worlds. Along
with the defeat of his father, Husayn's death of the hands of the
Umayyad divides Muslims more than any dispute over law or theology
or any antipathy between tribes, races, and linguistic groups. Ali is the
ancestor of Shi'ism Husayn is its martyr.
In the meantime, the Kharijits who had repudiated ‘Ali after the battle of Siffin also rebelled. The Kharijits formed small bands, usually of between thirty and a hundred men. Each group was at once a terrorist band and a fanatical religious sect. They were held together by the conviction that they were the only true Muslims, and that their rebellions had profound religious justification. A group of Kharijits, called al Najdar, controlled a good part of Arabia including Bahrain, Oman, Hadhramaut, and Yemen before they were finally crushed. There Kharijits bands were most likely formed by uprooted individuals looking for communal affiliation through sectarian movements.

The administrative and military dimensions of later Umayyad statism were backed by a new ideological policy, whereas the early caliphate had been a series of individual reigns deeply dependent upon the Personal religious or patriarchal qualities of the Caliphs, now the state as an institution was made the focus of ideological loyalty. In the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik, for the first time the caliphate began to mint its own coins in place of Byzantine and Sasanian money. The new system did away with Christian and Zoroastrian Symbolism, and introduced gold and silver coins with Arabic script to symbolize the sovereignty of the state-and its independence form, and superiority to-the previous empires. The state also symbolized its sovereignty by undertaking monumental constructions.

The umayyads borrowed Greek motifs and even Greek builders and artists to decorate their mosques, and took Sasanian designs and decorations for their places. Yet in borrowing the ideas of the previous empires, the umayyads transformed the traditional motifs and provided
old forms with a new content. The state’s ideology derived from the previous empires, but its expression was characteristically Islamic.

1.3.4 **The fall of Umayyads (127-32/744-50):**

In 127/744, a group of Syrian Soldiers killed the Caliph al-walid II and enthroned their own candidate, Yazid III, thereby unleashing the third civil war. Refusing to acknowledge the new regime, Marwan, the Umayyad governor of Jazira-Armenia-Azarbayjan, marched on Syria with his own troops, defeated his rivals, and had himself proclaimed Caliph. He now had to conquer Iraq and to subdue the Kharijites, who were rebelling everywhere and whose Arabian adherents were about to spill into the Fertile Crescent when he crushed them in 130/748. An Abbasid-Shiite uprising in Khurasan was also launched in 131/747, led by one Abu Muslim. This revolt had long been planned and unlike the Kharijites, it could not be stopped: in 132/750 the Khurasanis inflicted adhesive defeat of a Marwan II in Iraq. They proceeded to enthrone a Hashemite, a member of the prophet’s family; but contrary to what many had expected, they did not choose a member of its Alid branch, but himself with the local rulers and aristocrats: These were to be a new elite.

1.3.5 **ABBASIDS (Banulabbas) (132/750 – 656/1258):**

The dynasty of the caliphs ruled from 132/750 to 656/1258. The dynasty takes its name from its ancestor, al-‘Abbas b. ‘Abd al- Muttalib b. Hashim, the uncle of the Prophet.
The story of the origin and nature of the movement that overthrew the Umayyad caliphate and established the ‘Abbasid dynasty in its place was for long known only in the much-revised version put about when the dynasty had already attained power, and with it, respectability⁵⁰.
\[\text{GEHLEOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE 'ABBASID CALIPHS OF BAGHDAD}\\ \text{'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Mu'talib}\\ \text{'Abd Allāh}\\ \text{'Ali}\\
\]

\[
\text{Muhammad} \quad \text{Abd Allah} \quad \text{Isa} \quad \text{Sulayman}\\
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
1. & \text{al-Hādī} & 2. & \text{al-Mansūr}\\
3. & \text{al-Mahdi}\\
4. & \text{al-Mansūr} & 5. & \text{al-Raşīd}\\
6. & \text{al-Mansūn} & 8. & \text{al-Mu'taṣiim}\\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{Muhammad} \quad 9. \quad \text{al-Wāhīd}\\
10. \quad \text{al-Mutawakkīl}\\
12. \quad \text{al-Mustāfīn} \quad 14. \quad \text{al-Mustādīf}\\
11. \quad \text{al-Muntaṣir} \quad 13. \quad \text{al-Muṭāzim} \quad 15. \quad \text{al-Muṣṭādīd}\\
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
17. & \text{al-Mukthāsib} & 18. & \text{al-Muqtadīr} & 19. & \text{al-Kāhir}\\
22. & \text{al-Mustakfī} &&&&\\
\text{al-Raḍī} & 21. & \text{al-Mustakhfī} & 23. & \text{al-Muṭaṣim} & 24. & \text{al-Tābī}\\
25. & \text{al-Kāhim} & 26. & \text{al-Kāhirat al-Dīn} & 27. & \text{al-Muqtadīf} & 28. & \text{al-Mustathīr}\\
29. & \text{al-Mustarghīd} & 30. & \text{al-Raḍī} & 32. & \text{al-Mustandjīd} & 33. & \text{al-Muṣṭādīd}\\
31. & \text{al-Mustanṣīr} & 34. & \text{al-Nāṣir} & 35. & \text{al-Zāhir}\\
36. & \text{al-Mustanṣūr} & 37. & \text{al-Mustanṣīm} & & & & \end{array}
\]

\[\text{GEHLEOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE 'ABBASID CALIPHS IN EGYPT}\\ \text{(after Khallī Edhem,} \text{D"uvel-i islamiye, p. 21)}\\ \text{al-Mustaghīr}\\
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{al-Mustarghīd} & \text{al-Mukthāsib} & \text{al-Mustanṣīr} & \text{al-Mustanṣīr}\\
\text{al-Raḍī} & \text{Abd Bākī} & \text{al-Mustanṣīr} & \text{(caliph in Bāghdād)}\\
3. & \text{al-Mustakfī I} & \text{al-Mustanṣīr} & \text{(caliph in Bāghdād)}\\
\text{al-Ḥākim I} & \text{al-Muṣṭādīd} & \text{al-Mustanṣīr} & \text{(caliph in Bāghdād)}\\
4. & \text{al-Wāhīd} & 5. & \text{al-Ḥākim II} & 6. & \text{al-Muṣṭādīd} & 7. & \text{al-Mutawakkīl I}\\
8. & \text{al-Muṭaṣīm} & 9. & \text{al-Wāhīd} & 10. & \text{al-Muṣṭādīd II} & 11. & \text{al-Muṣṭādīd II}\\
12. & \text{al-Mustaghrīd} & 13. & \text{al-Kāhim} & 14. & \text{al-Mustanṣīr} & 15. & \text{al-Mustawakkīl II}\\
16. & \text{al-Mustanṣīr} & 17. & \text{al-Mustawakkīl III} & 18. & \text{al-Mustanṣīr} & 19. & \text{al-Mustanṣīr}\\
\end{array}
\]

According to others, the second Caliph, al-Ḥākim I, was descended directly from al-Raḍī in the following manner: al-Ḥākim b. 'All b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Raḍī.
1.3.6 THE ‘ABBASID CALIPHS, OF EGYPT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>al-Rāḍḥi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>al-Maḥdī</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>al-Muṣṭaḳfī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>al-Ḥāḍī</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>al-Muṭṭalī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Ḥarūn al-Raschīd</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>al-Ṭāḥi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>al-Amin</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>al-Ḳādir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>al-Muṭṭaṣīm</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>al-Ḳā'im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>al-Wāḥīq</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>al-Muṣṭaḥfīr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>al-Muṭṭawakkīl</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>al-Muṭṭaṣīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>al-Muṭṭaṣīm</td>
<td>862</td>
<td>al-Muktafī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>al-Muṭṭaṣīm</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>al-Muṭṭaṣīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>al-Muḥtaḍī</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>al-Muṭṭaṣīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>al-Muḥtaṣīm</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>al-Muḥtaṣīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279</td>
<td>al-Muṭṭaṣīm</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>al-Muḥtaṣīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289</td>
<td>al-Muḥtaṣīm</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>al-Muḥtaṣīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>al-Muḥtaṣīm</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>al-Muḥtaṣīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320</td>
<td>al-Ḳaḥīr</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>al-Muḥtaṣīm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922-923</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The foundation of the Abbasid dynasty - Abul Abbas al-Saffah (132/750-136/754) was proclaimed Caliph of the new dynasty at Kufa. There he ascended the pulpit and ended his attack on the Umayyad dynasty, exclaiming: “I am the Great Avenger and my name is Saffah”:

The first care of the new Caliph was to exterminate, under circumstances of almost incredible cruelty, the numerous members of the Umayyad dynasty. One prince of the family, born under a lucky star, escaped and, after wandering in North Africa, was invited to reign in Spain, where he founded a dynasty of considerable importance.

Rising in central Asia. The Slaughter of the Umayyad party in Khurasan led to serious troubles at Bukhara, where, in (132/750), the Arab garrison mutinied and was joined by the people of Sughdiana and Samarkand. Ziad bin Salih, the governor, however, aided by the local chief, and termed the Bukhara-Khudah, put down this rebellion, inflicting heavy losses on the rebels.

The Persian ousted the Arabs. – Under the new dynasty the more civilized Persians seized the power and ousted the Arabs. Apart from the marked mistrust felt for them by the Abbasids Caliphs. The Arabs looked down on education as being unworthy of men who could boast a noble ancestry.

1.3.7 The Foundation of Baghdad (146/762):

The foundation of Baghdad, (146/762): Mansur who fully realized the wisdom of removing his army from kufa and Basra, which were centers of Arab intrigue and disloyalty, chose a site some twenty miles up-stream from the Sasanian capital of Madain and founded Baghdad on
the right bank of Tigris. On the opposite side of the river he built separate cantonments for the Khurasan troops and for the Yemen and Modhar Arabs.

The umayyads are celebrated only by their monuments; they did not survive long enough to leave their stamp upon either the historiographical or the literary traditions of Islam. The Abbasids, however, had the opportunity to design their own history. Their capital lies irretrievably buried beneath modern Baghdad and their Chief physical monument is the empty ruins of the grandiose and sour city of Samarra, to which they were forced to retreat in the ninth century with their Turkish guardsmen. We see all of early Islam as far back as the prophet himself through their eyes. Whatever the monuments say, it is to the Abbasids that the glory of the Islamic tradition belongs and nowhere more engagingly than in the celebrated thousand and One nights, in which the early Abbasids move through an Arthurian haze of benevolent wealth and easy but enlightened learning.

There is romance in the portrait, surely, and a great deal of accumulated nostalgia for a remote and vanished past, but there is truth there as well. Islam was at the height of its political power, and the reach of the Caliph would never extend further, there was wealth and luxury in the early Abbasid Baghdad of Harun al-Rashid and his immediate successors, but there was something more, and none of Islam’s provincial pretenders to the glory of Baghdad ever quite achieved it: The coming together of Muslim, Christian and Jew in a brief but glorious exploration of what they saw, then and there and never perhaps again, as their common intellectual heritage.
Early medieval Baghdad was not an utopian republic of letters, Surely, but despite the occasional charges of heresy or the frequent one of temerarious innovation, a number of Muslim Scholars joined with equally daring Jewish and Christian contemporaries in the catholic atmosphere of tenth and eleventh century Baghdad and followed where the Greeks had led and not merely as slavish imitators. In mathematics, astronomy, optics, medicine, and metaphysics, Muslim scholars were Masters and not merely disciples. Without benefit of endowment or even a great deal of encouragement, they constructed intellectual edifices as elegant and impressive as the scrolled domes and glittering tiled minarets that rise above the rooftops of Cairo or Isfahan. They are most impressive; perhaps, if we look upon them as important stops in a continuing intellectual guest and not, like their architectural counter parts, as mere monuments and mausoleums.

Notable a new capital, Baghdad, was started by Al-Mansur; it cost about 5 million dirhams, took four years to build and involved 100,000 architects, craftsmen and labourers. The Caliph became a mystical, semi-divine figure shrouded in court etiquette and lost in bureaucratic procedure.

The rule of Haroon-ur-Rashid (170/786 - 193/809). Caliph of the thousand and one nights is famous for its wealth and color:

A goodly place, a goodly time,
For it was in the golden prime
Of good Haroun Alrashid

Sang Tennyson in the Recollections of the Arabian nights. (It is Haroon’s rule which provides material to Karl Wittaogel).
1.3.8 **ABBASID ADMINISTRATION:**

(a) **The Central Government**

(b) **Provincial Government**

(c) **Local Government**

(a) **The Central Government:**

The creation of Baghdad was part of the ‘Abbasid strategy to cope with the problems that had destroyed the Umayyad dynasty by building effective governing institutions, and mobilizing adequate political support from Arab Muslims, converts, and from the non-Muslim communities that paid the empire’s taxes. The new dynasty had to secure the loyalty and obedience of its subjects for a rebel regime and justify itself in Muslim terms.

To deal with these problems the new dynasty returned to the principles of ‘Umar II. The Abbasids swept away Arab caste supremacy and accepted the universal equality of Muslims. They did away with the anachronism of the Arab “nation in arms”, and hackly embraced all Muslims as their supporters. Arab caste supremacy had lost its political meaning, and only a coalition regime, uniting Arab and non-Arab elements, could govern a Middle Eastern empire. The propagation of Arabic as a lingua Franca, the spread of Islam and the conversion of at least some proportion of the population, the tremendous expansion of commercial activities, and the economic and demographic upheavals that set people free from their old lives and launched them so new careers in new cities such as Baghdad made possible an empire-wide recruitment of Personal and of political support for the new regime.
Under the ‘Abbasids the empire no longer belonged to the Arabs, though they had conquered its territories, but to all these peoples who would share in Islam and in the emerging networks of political and cultural loyalties that defined a new cosmopolitan middle eastern society. The new regime organized new armies and fresh administrative cadres. The openness of the ‘Abbasid regime was particularly evident in administration. Many of the Scribes in the expanding ‘Abbasid bureaucracy were Persian from Khurasan. Nestorian Christians were powerfully represented, probably because they made up a large proportion of the population of Iraq. Jews were active in tax and banking activities. Shi‘i families were also prominent, and Arabs did not altogether lose their important place. The ‘Abbasid dynasty was Arab; The ‘Abbasid armies were composed of Arabs, and the judicial and legal life of Baghdad and other important cities was in Arab hands. The prominence of Arabs, however, was no longer a prescriptive right, but was dependant upon loyalty to the dynasty. The office of the Wazir was developed to coordinate, supervise and check on the operations of the bureaucracy. Wazir was the title originally applied to the secretaries or administrators who were close assistant of the Caliphs and whose powers varied according to the wishes of their patrons. Not until the middle of the ninth century did the Wazir become the Chief of administration, with the combined duties of controlling the bureaucracy, nominating provincial officials, and sitting on the Mazalim court.

The elaborate central government was the nerve centre of the empire, and from Baghdad the Caliphs maintained communications with the provinces. But despite the propensities of the Central administration,
the provinces were not all governed in a bureaucratic manner. The degree of control ran from highly centralized administrations to loosely held suzerainty. The empire was tolerant and inclusive rather than monolithic.60.

(b) Provincial Government:

The directly controlled provinces were Iraq, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria, Western Iran and Khuzistan- the provinces physically closest to the capital. Khurasan was sometimes, but not always, included in this group. These provinces were organized to maximize the obedience of officials to the will of the central government and to assure the remittance of tax revenues from the provinces to the center. Governors’ appointments were limited to a very short term so that their careers would be entirely at the mercy of the caliphs. They were rapidly rotated to prevent them from developing local support they might use against the central government. In addition, the powers of provincial government were often divided among several officials. The governor was usually the military commander, and a different man was appointed by the central treasury to be in charge of taxation and financial affairs; yet another official headed the judiciary. Those officials checked each other’s powers and all officials were subject to the supervision of the barid. In later period governorships were often awarded in payment of political debts to warlords, generals, and members of the royal family who had acquiesced in the accession of Caliph or in his succession plans, and Calips had to give these appointees wide latitude in the administration of their provinces. In such cases, frequent rotation and the separation of civil and military functions might be waived.
example, until the middle of the ninth century, Armenia and Tabaristan had Arab governors who overawed the local rulers and collected tribute. These governors had no direct administrative contact with the subject people; the actual collection of taxes was in local hands. In other cases, the caliphate merely confirmed local dynasties as "governors of the caliphs". Kurasan, was directly ruled by Caliphal appointees, came under the control of the Tahirid family.

(c) Local Government:

Local government was similarly varied. Iraq was divided into a hierarchy of districts, called Kura, tassuj, and rustaq. The rustaq was the bottom unit in the hierarchy and consisted of a market and administrative town surrounded by number villages. The same hierarchy and even the same names were used in parts of Khurasan and Western Iran. In Egypt the structure of administration was similar.

Local government was organized for taxation. Surveys were taken in the villages to determine the amount of land under cultivation. The crops grown and their expected yield and the information was passed up to the central administration. The taxes for whole regions would be estimated, the sums divided up for each district, and the demand notices sent out describing the responsibilities of each subdivision.

Any way for 500 years following the disintegration of the Abbasid empire, Islam as a religious and cultural system came to dominate a far larger share of the eastern hemisphere than any rival civilization.

1.3.9 Abbasid's Dictatorship:
Throughout the Islamic political history, it had been political dictatorship of Khalifat's systems and particularly Abbasid's Khalifate which was block for the long time in the formation of republication theories in the Islamic political history. In the Khalifate period and also after that, the domination of dictatorship in the Islamic world caused the existence of religion to be influenced by the political ideas.

Asharis insight which under the influence of political powers betrayed the Islamic ideas.  

Socio-political activities in Khalifate and Umavids and Abbasids there has not been any special and main changes form the Khilafate Rashidah up to Umavids and Abbasids and also to other kingdoms and half-kingdoms. Human rights in that period was not the same as it is now. Nowadays human rights is considered as freedom, equality and cooperation. Forexample the Bei'ah in Khalifate Rashidah, Abbasids and Umavids was used concerning in that period's meaning. It had never been used in the meaning, which it is used nowadays.
REFERENCES


2. Ibid, P. 20

3. Prof. Dr. Muhammad Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, Organization of Government under the Prophet, India, 1987, P. 4


5. Ibid, 234-35

6. Prof. Dr. Muhammad M. Seddiqui, PP. 5-6.

7. Ibid, P.6

8. Ibid, P.7

9. Ibn Ishaq, 231, Says that the Prophet wrote a writing (Kitab) between the muhajirs and the ansar, in which he made a treaty and covenant of Peace with jews, confirmed them in their religion and property and stated the reciprocal obligations. Hence it is referred to in the text as the sahifah (The book, the writing the document).


11. Ibid.

13. Prof. Dr. Muhammad Mazhar Siddiqui, P. 10


15. Prof. Dr. Muhammad M. Siddiqui, PP. 10-11.

16. Ibid, P. 25

17. Ibid

18. Ibid, P. 41

19. Ibid, P. 49


23. Ibid, P.20

24. Ibid, P.21

25. Ibid

26. Akbar S. Ahmed, P.34
27. Ibid

28. Ibid

29. Ibid, P.35


31. Ibid


33. Francis Robinson, P.13

34. Akbar S. Ahmed, P.35

35. Ibid, P.36


38. A.S. Ahmed, P. 38


41. Ibid, PP. 164-165.
42. Al-Tabari, The History of al-Tabari (Tarikh at rasul Wa’l-muluk), V. XVIII, Translated by Michael G. Morony, State University of New York, USA 1987, PP. 7-8.

43. Ibid, P. 11


45. Ibid.

46. Ibid

47. Ibid, P. 51

48. Ibid

49. Francis Robinson, PP. 24-25.


51. Ibid, PP. 22, 23


53. Ibid

54. Ibid, P. 46.

56. Ibid


58. Ira M. Lapidus, P. 58.

59. Ibid, P. 59

60. Ibid, PP. 59-60.

61. Ibid, P. 61.

62. Ibid

63. Rose E. Dunn, Edited by Majorie Kelly, P. 95.
