From Farabi to Ibn Khaldun: The Perception of State in the Early Muslim Intellectual's Writings[*]

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze the perception of the state in the writings of early Muslim intellectuals, particularly al-Farabi, al-Mawardi, Nizam al-Mulk, al-Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyyah, and Ibn Khaldun. All of these six intellectuals have an extensive contribution to the development of Muslim or Islamic political thought. This paper intended to find the answer to the following questions regarding the concept of state from their writings: firstly, the debate around the birth of state; religious or social need? Secondly, if it is a religious need, then what is the social aspect of the state, or if it is a social need, then what about the aspect of religion in the state? Finally, what about the influence of existing politics on their thought? This research is a qualitative form of research based on both primary and secondary data. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to academia by analyzing the perception of the state of Early Muslim intellectuals within the present context.

Keywords: Islamic Political Thought, Farabi, Mawardi, Nizam al-Mulk, Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Khaldun.

Farabi'den İbn Haldun'a: Erken Dönem Müslüman Entelektüellerin Yazılarında Devlet Algısı

Öz

Bu makale, ilk Müslüman aydınların, özellikle de el-Farabi, el-Maverdi, Nizâmülmülk, el-Gazali, İbn Teymiyye ve İbn Haldun'un yazılarındaki devlet algısını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu altı entelektüelin hepsinin Müslüman siyasi düşüncesini veya İslami siyasi düşünceyi geliştirmede büyük katkısı vardır. Bu makale entelektüellerin yazılarından devlet kavramına ilişkin aşağıdaki soruların cevabını bulmayı amaçla-mıştır. Birincisi, devletin doğuşu hakkındaki tartışmalar; yani, devlet dinî bir ihti-yaç mı yoksa sosyal ihtiyaç mıdır? İkincisi, eğer dinî bir ihtiyaç ise, devletin sosyal yönü nedir ya da eğer sosyal bir ihtiyaçsa, devletteki dinin yönü ne olmalıdır? Son olarak, mevcut politikanın onların düşünceleri üzerindeki etkisi nedir? Bu araştırma, hem birincil hem de ikincil verilere dayanan nitel bir araştırmadır. Bu yazının güncel bağlamda ilk Müslüman aydınların devlet algısını analiz ederek akademik dünyaya katkıda bulunacağı umulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İslami Siyasi Düşüncesi, Farabi, Maverdi, Nizam-ül Mülk, Gaz-zali, İbn Taymiyye, İbn Haldun.

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Introduction

As Leamen (1987) argued, there is an essential continuity of Islamic political philosophy between the middle ages and Modern time. However, he intended to discuss the mythical issue in the political thought of early Muslim philosophers, but it is the reality from many perspectives. Kara (2019) clarified it from a very contemporary aspect that contemporary Islamic political thought is trying to adopt the modern terms of state like legitimacy, republic, Islamic state, democracy etc. from caliphate and sultanate within the framework of reinventing classical Islamic political thought. However, he intended to argue that there is a vast cultural difference between Islamic and western points of view (Kara, 2019). So, it is essential to understand the aspect of early Muslim political philosophy properly to approach the aspects of modern state, i.e. democracy, nation-state, pluralism, liberalism, secularism and so on. Anthony Black's (2001) *The History of Islamic Political Thought: from the Prophet to the present* is one of the vital pieces in this context who intended to discover the relation between classical Islamic state more correctly politics to contemporary Islamists' perception. He claimed that a large number of intellectuals neglects Islamic political thought though Islam exists as one of the most powerful means of explaining human life in past and present (Black, 2001: xvi). However, Er (2009) argued that using terms like Islamic history (Islamic state, Islamic political thought) is not correct, because all of these belong to the people of religion, i.e. Muslim. As a result, he intended to advice using the terms Muslim history, Muslim political thought (Er, 2009: 23).

In modern times, the debate around the relationship between religion and state (*Din-Devlet*) is one of the fundamental debates in political thought all over the Muslim world. Uyanık (2016) and Başdemir (2014) significantly put the point that the fundamental problem of today's Muslim is fixing the place of religion (el-Din) in the politics. Accordıng to Başdemir (2014), classical Islamic thought had solved this problem. He intended to come out in a point that historically politics emerged independently from religion and even gained functionality time to time in the history but could not provide continuity (Başdemir, 2014). However, several political scientists both in the West and Muslim world intended to argue from this perspective, but it differs the arguments of Islamist which have been the central approach of Islamic (or Muslim) political thought in contemporary time. In addition to this, Çiftçi and Erdem (2013), and Bülbül (2020) argued that Islam didn't fix any specific system (model) of state instead it suggests some fundamental values and principles for state function, i.e. administration. Following the Arab Spring,

this type of debates is increasing day by day. Along with many researchers in contemporary time, this paper also argued that to response controversial issues of political thought, it is necessary to study more the early Muslim political thought. Following this viewpoint, this paper analyzes the perception of state in the writing of early Muslim intellectuals.

As a term, state was absent in the writing of early Muslim intellectuals (Crone, 2014: 3). It is not expected also because the state itself a Modern terminology broadly used from the 16th century. Early Muslim intellectuals used Caliphate (caliph or *Khalifa* in Arabic), Imamate (Imam), and Sultanate (Sultan) to understand the state, particularly government or political power. Here Rosenthal (1958), Taş (2006), Okandan (2011), and Crone (2014) along with many other academicians broadly discussed the relation between Greek and Early Muslim intellectuals' perception of state and mostly differentiated Caliphate from Greek city-states though many early intellectuals like al-Farabi often evaluated as the follower of Platonic legacy (Rosenthal, 1958: 3-5; Crone, 2014: 260-61). Rosenthal (1958) considered Ibn Khaldun as an exception from others and marked as only political philosopher *in the strict sense of the term in Islam* (Rosenthal, 1958: 3), what he intended to say that Ibn Khaldun perfectly observed the past and present Muslim states and convinced on the superiority of caliph within the framework of Sharia. Along with these major works, several intellectuals contributed to this field. Al-Mawardi significantly contributed in the early ages to form a unique approach within the terms Imamate. Güner (2003) pointed out that al-Mawardi observed the existing politics and his works reflected the existing crisis. Nizam al-Mulk considered as the significant scholar in Seljuk period who till now more relevant in Turkish-Islamic thought. Menekşe (2005)'s work is mentionable here, where he significantly discussed al-Mawardi and Nizam al-Mulk work's from the perspective of scholarly contribution of Seljuk's time. Al-Ghazali and Ibn Taymiyyah had written in a time when political disorder started in particular for Ibn Taymiyyah, who was living in a situation when the central power of Muslim Ummah was collapsed. These two intellectuals have been paid more attention by Islamist scholars in the last hundred years where they, i.e. Islamists consider one of the basic problems is the absence of a central power in Muslim community within the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

This paper intended to answer three crucial questions to understand the aspects of the state in the writing of mentioned six intellectuals in the early Muslim period: Firstly, the debate around the birth of state: religious or social need? Secondly, if it is religious need, then what is the social aspect in the state or if it is a social need, then what about the aspect of religion in the state?

These two questions are essential because of many debates around this topic. Several Muslim intellectuals in Modern time argued that state (more particularly Islamic state) or political power is necessary to revive Islam newly or Islamic revivalism particularly the Pan-Islamist or Islamist intellectuals i.e. Jamal Uddin Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Rashid Rida, Abul A'la Maududi, Hasan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb (El Ghazali, 2011; Rahman, 2020a). But more contemporary intellectuals like Malek Bennabi put significance on civilizational aspect where Hassan Turabi argued that society is more important than state (Tamimi, 1998: 28; Rahman, 2020a). In contemporary time, Muslim scholars approached more positively toward the terms of modern state, democracy in particular within the framework of Islamic values and norms like Yusuf al-Qaradawi and Rachid al-Ghannouchi (Rahman, 2020b; Rahman, 2020c). So what is the aspect of these two different opinions and its relation with early Muslim intellectuals' writings? Is there any theoretical linking with these two aspects of thought? Along with this, another topic is also important to discuss, that is the influence of existing politics on intellectual's thought. Is there any impact of existing politics had a vital impact on the philosopher's thinking? And this is the third vital question to conduct this research.

Within these three crucial questions, this paper analyzes the perception of state in the writings of al-Farabi, al-Mawardi, Nizam al-Mulk, al-Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Khaldun whose were the most influential intellectuals in Early Muslim Period. Importantly, their works have massive influence in modern time, especially in the writings of Muslim intellectuals. This paper plans to find the answers of mentioned questions with an analytical way and avoiding the details of other topics in their thought. It is hoped that this research may contribute to academia by analyzing their intellectual contribution with specific intended topics which is vital from the modern aspect of state.

Methodology

This research is a qualitative research based on both primary and secondary data. Primary data have been collected from primary literature of these intellectuals like al-Farabi's On the Perfect State (*al-Madina al-Fadila*), al-Mawardi's *al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyyah (Ordinances of government)*, Nizam al-Mulk's Siyasetname, al-Gazzali's Fadaih al-Batiniyah wa-Fadail al-Mustazhiriyyah (Kitab Al Mustazhiri), Al Iqtisad fi al'itikad, Ihya Ulum Al Din and Nasihat al-Muluk (Book of Counsel for Kings), Ibn Taymiyah's Siyasah As-Shariyah (The Political Shariyah on Reforming the Ruler), Ibn Khaldun's Muqaddimah. Secondary data have been collected from secondary literature which was written on their thoughts.

For data analysis, it will broadly use two important qualitative data analysis methods as historical analysis and textual analysis. Historical analysis is the examination of the past event often from documents and texts to settle present issues or make future guidelines. It is not only the discussion of some date and time or description of happenings but an analysis of past event or interpretation that generate an important idea. A historical analysis of mentioned intellectual's time that shapes this paper to identify the impact of existing politics in the writing of intellectuals in the early Muslim period.

On the other hand, textual analysis is the interpreting of text to gather the most near meaning of author's interpretation in a specific topic or purposes. McKee simply defined as, *"when we perform textual analysis on a text, we make an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of that text"* (Mckee, 2001: 1). Textual analysis is often including the content analysis, semantic analysis, narrative analysis and discourse analysis though this paper will only use the content analysis. In definition, content analysis is analyzing the text, verbal and visual communication massage for understanding the real massage of writer and sender. It is aiming to build a model to describe the phenomenon in a conceptual form (Elo and Kynga, 2008: 107). Julien defines as, *"Content analysis is the intellectual process of categorizing qualitative textual data into clusters of similar entities, or conceptual categories, to identify consistent patterns and relationships between variables or themes"* (Julien, 2008; 120). Krippendorff defined as *"a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use"* (Krippendorff, 2004; 18). The content analysis of mentioned six intellectuals' texts and other secondary data on their thought would forward this paper to answer its research question to analyze the concept of state of early Muslim intellectual writings.

State in the Early Muslim Philosophers' writings

This part belongs to analyze the perception of state in the writings of al-Farabi, al-Mawardi, Nizam al-Mulk, al-Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyah and Ibn Khaldun.

Farabi's perception of state

Abu Nasr Muhammad al-Farabi was probably born in 870 CE in a place Farab which is located in Turkistan. Very little is known of Farabi's life; in his youth, he moved to Baghdad and other cities of Iraq. In 943 he moved to Syria and died in 950 in Damascus. Scholars have disputed his ethnic origin. Some researchers claimed that he was a Turkish origin and some addressed him as a Persian (Rudolph, 2012: 363–74).

Farabi's time is necessary to discuss here. After the period of Rashidun caliphate and Umayyad, the Abbasid established empire based on Baghdad. In that time, Muslim initiated formal education and later developed with well mannered. Within a concise time, they touched the top/apex of knowledge which named as "Islamic Golden Age". In political thought an academic and philosophical discussion of the concept of state begun in the Muslim world especially in the 8th and 9th centuries. A strong translation movement started in Baghdad, capital of empire where Arabic translation of Persian treaties on Iranian political thought and especially Greek thought rapidly spread among Muslim scholars as a bridge between Islamic and other political thoughts. Several Muslim intellectuals contributed in making political thought over this period. Farabi was the pioneer among Muslim philosophers who have developed philosophical trends of politics. Farabi is referred to the founder of Islamic Political Thought. The medieval Muslim community, especially the scholars at that time consider him as the 'second master' after Aristotle as the 'first master'. He was among the earliest Islamic philosophers to introduce Greek thought to the Muslim World. Farabi sought to connect classical political philosophy with Islam or Islamic Political Thought. He was also among the Muslim philosophers who preserved and transmitted the legacy of ancient Greek thought to Europe. He adopted some aspects of Greek philosophy and revised others to apply to the Muslim world. Farabi identified that philosophy should ally with politics. He wrote: "Philosophy is a theoretical art giving true knowledge of existence. Politics is an art "correcting actions and guiding souls to happiness". They must exist in unity, as a philosopher-politician is the same. Philosophy and politics in their unity give both the required knowledge and the desired behavior" (Suleimenov and all, 2017).

Farabi wrote several important pieces in many issues as philosophy, politics and music. In political thought, the virtues city/ on the Perfect State (*al-Madina al-Fadila*) and the Civil Polity (al-Siyāsah al- Madaniyah) are the notable pieces among his writings. The virtues city/ on the Perfect State (*al-Madina al-Fadila*) created special attention in academia as the first philosophical work on Muslim political thought. In this book, Farabi stated the importance of society, the condition of being a ruler and his qualities, condition of a perfect state as well as the weak state and so on. At first, Farabi discuss the importance of society. According to him, society is needed for existing in the world with the highest perfection because men cannot provide all things alone; one needs others to supply many things. This gives and takes formula or the same relation is related to everybody. So, a co-operation is needed for existence. This inevitable co-operation ensures people to come together for attaining the highest perfection in life which brings people into society.

Farabi divided society primarily into two categories; Perfect and imperfect. In terms of size, perfect society divided into three categories again as great, medium and small by its size and area. Farabi defines great society as a union of all societies of the inhabitable world, medium society as the union of one nation in one part of the inhabitable World and small as union of the people of a city. According to Farabi, imperfect society is the union of the people of village, quarter, street and house where the house is the smallest union of all. So, attaining the highest perfection is possible in the city, i.e. the state not in society which is generally less completed than it.

Perfect and Imperfect State

Farabi designed his concept of perfect and imperfect state based upon its goal toward happiness, its cooperation among citizens and leadership attitude. "Perfect State" is a state which ultimate goal is to ensure happiness. According to Farabi, happiness is the absolute good and purpose of life, i.e. achieving happiness. He identified happiness as the reason for human existence. He states that God created us to achieve happiness; the ultimate perfection (al-Farabi and Tarkhan, 1995: 25-46).

According to Farabi, for ensuring happiness in the state; citizens have to co-operate with each other for their activities. When cooperation attained in the state, the state has become the perfect state. Farabi compared perfect state with a perfect human body. A perfect human body consists of several organs and limbs that have very specific roles and duties to run the body perfectly. Every organ and limbs are coordinating with each other to accomplish their task. The heart is the ruling organ which is by nature the most perfect and most complete organ of the body. The heart is assisted by its immediate subordinates and this processing of assistance is following by each step of bodies for achieving their goal. So, it is hierarchical functions performed by the different organ of bodies. The role of a leader in the perfect state is the same as "heart" as the ruling organ of the body. So, a perfect state preserves a perfect ruler and these types of co-ordination and assistance of citizens to run its functions. Farabi identified some attitude, habits and qualities of ruler. At-first he identified two pre-condition for being a ruler of an excellent or perfect city: (1) should be predisposed for it by his inborn nature: (2) should have acquired the attitude and habit of will for being a ruler (Farabi and Walzer, 1985: 239). He identified several qualities of the ruler. Farabi mentioned two pre-conditions for being a ruler of an excellent or perfect city: (1) he should be predisposed for it by his inborn nature: (2) he should have acquired the attitude and habit of will for being a ruler (Farabi and Walzer, 1985: 239). Farabi identified some twelve important habits and attitudes of the ruler of

a perfect city (Farabi and Walzer, 1985: 247-249). However, he himself found difficulties to get all these qualities in one man, so he suggested six afford-able conditions to become a perfect leader as following:

> "(1) he will be a philosopher (2) he will know and remember the laws and customs (3) he will excel in deducting a new law by an analogy (4) he will be good at delib-erating and be powerful in his deduction to meet new situation (5) he will be good at guiding the people by his speech to fulfill the laws (6) he should be of tough physique to shoulder the task of war, mastering the serving as well as the ruling military art" (Farabi and Walzer, 1985: 251-253).

Farabi included that, if one single man fulfilling the six conditions cannot be found but there are two, one of them is a philosopher and others fulfill re-maining conditions; the two of them would be the ruler. If these six qualities exist separately in different men, they would be the ruler together. According to Farabi, philosophy is the most important part of a state. If all of the quali-ties remain without philosophy i.e. philosopher, the state will continue with-out a king, though it has a ruler(s). If no philosopher could be found to attach to the actual ruler of the state, the state will collapse.

In contrast to the perfect city, Farabi identified several types of imperfect cities in his political thought. (1) ignorant city where people don't know true happiness and think that it would never occur to them; secondly, wicked city, where people know the views of the excellent city, they know the happiness but their action is not like the action of people of excellent city (2) trans-formed city where people's views also were like excellent city in the past but they changed their views (3) erring city which aims at happiness after this life.

Al Mawardi and The Theory of Imamate

Abu al-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Habib al-Mawardi, known as al-Mawardi (974-1058) was a prominent lawyer of the Shafi'i School in the time of Ab-basid. He lived and wrote during the period of political transition from Shi'i Buwayhids to Sunni Seljuks, which brought into question the type of leader-ship appropriate for Ummah (Muslim communities). In his masterpiece *'Al-ah-kam al-sultaniyyah (Ordinances of government)'*, al Mawardi emphasized the au-thority of the state (Imamate). Rosenthal added that, *"al-Mawardl's treatise was intended as the theoretical basis for the delimitation of the spheres of authority be-tween the caliph, in charge of religious affairs, and the emir, in effective control of civil administration on the basis of a negotiated agreement"* (Rosenthal, 1958: 29).

Al-ahkam al-sultaniyyah is the most significant classical theoretical expla-nation of both political theory and public administration. Though only a small portion of his work is devoted to political thought, the rest of its discussion

belong to the detail of public administration and the rules of the government. But this small portion is very important because it was the first research in Islamic history to explore the comprehensive theory of the state i.e. political power. At first he broadly discussed about the contract of Imamate.

The Contract Of Imamate

According to Mawardi, Imamate is a contract between two groups or institutions, Imam and people. He explained details about imamate; the importance of Imam and its significances in Islam, the system of election, conditions for becoming an imam, succession, duties, and impeachment. He started with the necessities of Imamate. According to Mawardi, 'Imamate' is a necessary element that will act as the representative of the Prophet to protect the religion (deen) and managing world affairs. It's an obligatory requirement both in Shari'ah and rational reason. It's a matter of Shari'ah because of carrying out the affairs of Shari'ah and a matter of rational reason because of the natural necessity of government that men have to submit to the authority of a leader who prevents mutual injustice and so on, without a government, disorder and barbaric behavior would arise.

Later Mawardi paid his attention on the process of election of Imamate. He argued that Imamate is consisting of the means of election. Incumbent of Imam will be socially and collectively. It is a collective responsibility for all Muslims to elect among them. If no one takes it up, two groups may responsible for making choice among the people, (1) those who are worthy of choosing an Imam for the Ummah (2) those who themselves are worthy of the office of Imamate (al-Mawardi, 1996: 11). The election of imam should be a free and fair task, no pressure is to be applied and no sense of negligence is to be ascribed. This two groups have to ensure three conditions, (1) they have to fulfill all the conditions of seven qualities (will be mentioned later) (2) they have to have knowledge by which they may comprehend who has a right to the imamate (3) they possess the insight and wisdom which will lead them to choose the person who is most fitting for the imamate and who is the most upright and knowledgeable concerning the management of the office of administration (al-Mawardi, 1996: 11).

The imam would be elected in two ways: (1) by an electoral group those who have power and influences (2) by the delegation of the previous Imam. In the first way, Mawardi mentioned the different opinions of scholars (Ulama). He mentioned different opinions of scholars on this issue. First group argued that, it is necessary to elect by majority of Electoral College. It is

opposed by another group because of the election of first caliph Abu Bakar was by the present people there. According to another group, minimum of five members should gather to elect the imam or should be formed by one but subject to approval by four others.

Mawardi put seven conditions regarding to imamate: (1) Justice together with all its conditions: (2) Knowledge which equips them for ijtihad is unforeseen matters and for arriving at relevant judgments: (3) Good health (4) Sound in Limb (5) A judgement capable of organizing the people and managing the offices of administration (6) Courage and bravery (7) being from the family of Quraysh because of the test e.g. prophetic hadith (al-Mawardi, 1996: 12). With fulfilling the above qualities, the best candidate would elect as Imam but here Marawardi mentioned another important matter, "Imam should be accepted by people" in his text. As mentioned in Al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyyah, *"One who best fulfill the conditions from amongst these persons and one whom the people would most readily accept obedience and to whom they would not hesitate in making the oath of allegiance"* (al-Mawardi, 1996: 14). He added that, if two people fulfill equally the condition of Imamate, priorities will go to senior one but it is not a condition in general situation and also elect the youngest imam is permissible. If one who is more knowledgeable and another one is more courageous, imamate will depend on the situation, if there is a greater need for the quality of courage because of expansion of border fortress or the spread of injustice and tyranny, then the courageous men would be the right person for imamate. In the same if there is a greater need for excellence in knowledge for several reasons; priorities will give to knowledge. Mawardi argued that people should make the oath of allegiance to Imam and obey him.

Later he paid attention on existence of two imam same time. According to him, the existence of two Imams at the same time is not valid. Describing some different opinions about more than one imam issue Mawardi finalized his opinion with example, *"The imamate belongs to the one who first received the oath of allegiance and the contractual agreement; this resembles the case in which there are two guardians marring off a woman for if two of them marry her off the marriage is only actually contracted by the first of the two"* (al-Mawardi, 1996: 17). Mawardi's arguement on the first contract is permitted and agreement as to its validity is for two reasons, (1) Hazrat Abu Bakar entrusted Hazrat Umar with it and this was confirmed by all Muslims: (2) Hazrat Umar entrusted the matter of Imamate to a council and this was accepted by Muslims.

The current Imam can nominate his successor. It may be two or more persons by saying, "The Kalifah after me is such and such person, and if he dies

then the Kalifah after his death will be such and such person and if he dies then the Khalifah after his death will be such and such...." (Al Mawardi, 2019: 23). Here Al Mawardi has taken his arguments from the battle of Mu'tah that a Khalifah may nominate three people after him. In Mu'tah Hazrat Muhammad nominate three people as a commander of the battle such way.

Imam has a lot of duties, al-Mawardi put ten obligatory duties for an Imam, (1) he must guard the Deen as its original form and from all errors (2) he must execute the legal judgment (3) he must protect the territory of Islam and defend the sanctuaries: (4) he must establish the *Hadd*-punishment (5) he must fortify the border posts against attack and defend them with force (6) he must wage jihad against those who resist Islam after having been called to it until they submit or accept to live as a protected dhimmi community (7) he must collect fay and zakah taxes from those on whom the shari'ah and legal judgment has made it an obligation to pay (8) he must apportion the stipends and whatever is due from the bait al mal (9) he must ensure the employment of trustworthy persons and the appointment of worthy councilor (10) he must personally take over the surveillance of affairs and the scrutiny of circumstances (al-Mawardi, 1996: 27-29).

Later he discussed the process of impeachment. He argued that impeachment of Imam may implement for two causes; lack of decency and lack of physical deficiency. By lack of decency, Mawardi defined as moral deviation which may occur in two ways; (1) resulting from lust which is connected to physical action such as committing forbidden acts, pursueing evil; (2) holding dubious opinions which are connected to creed and dubious manner of interpreting contrary to the truth (al-Mawardi, 1996: 30). Mawardi mentioned three kinds of physical deficiency; (1) deficiency in the sense (2) deficiency in members (3) deficiency in the mobility (al-Mawardi, 1996: 30).

The appointment of Wazir (Minister)

According to Mawardi, Wazirate (ministry) is two types; the ministry of delegation and the ministry of execution. Ministry of delegation is the appointment of a minister by the Imam whom he delegates authority for the organization of affairs following his judgment such as he affects them properly by his own efforts. In this matter, the minister is the representative of Imam, in his jurisdiction. Mawardi minds that, for Imam it is not possible to maintain all tasks of Ummah lonely, so he has to appoint some minister who will cooperate with him for implementing more efficiently. The duties of minister are to protect himself and Imam from making mistakes and preventing errors. Mawardi

mainly put two conditions for being a minister; (1) capable of doing ijtihad for sanctioning judgment and execute the decision, (2) capable of dealing with war (Jihad) and the land tax (kharaj) (al-Mawardi, 1996: 37).

On the other hand, the rule of Ministry of execution is weaker and its conditions are fewer than Ministry of delegation. It will act as a mediator between caliphs and his task; Minister/ Wazir will execute the direction and instruction of imam. This post belongs to the execution of affairs not organize them; indeed this post does not belong to this purpose e.g. decision making or organizing. In summary, Mawardi tried to restrict two specific authority of this post; (1) to transmit things to the caliph; (2) to transmit things from the caliph to others. There is no specific condition for this post only permission is needed (al-Mawardi, 1996: 43).

Nizam al-Mulk (1018-92) and the concept of Politics (*Siyaset*):

Nizam al-Mulk was a prominent Seljuk vizier under Sultan Alp Arslan and Malik Shah. He entered in the Seljuk administration in 1063 and served for 30 years as an important decision-maker. So, he has a great influence in the politics of Seljuk Empire especially, in the time of Sultan Malik Shah when (1086 AD) he requested (along with other viziers such as Sharaf Al-Mulk Taj Al-Mulk, Majd al Mulk) to write down a treaty on politics, state and government which would be a guideline for the empire, if it wouldn't perform any task which has performed by others as an empire, they would perform it. Nizam al-Mulk wrote a book named 'Siyasetname' (The book of Politics/ Government) which has been an important document in the political thought. As argued by Menekşe (2005) along with many other researchers, Nizam al-Mulk looked at the treaties of several empires before Islamic period and the Persian treaties in particular to draft his historical book. Following this issue, Siyasetname make a nexus between Islamic and Persian political thought.

As a practical politician and decision-maker in high level in the state, Nizam al-Mulk had an outstanding experience in statecraft. Along with his intellectual wisdom, his concept of politics gives us the experimental thought about state and especially its stability with religious significance. Obviously 'religion' was the center topic of his thought with pragmatic leadership quality. Nizam al-Mulk divided 'Siyasetname' into 50 chapters to describe the politics. In the first chapters he describes about kingship, others are on public administration. He describes sultanate as the matter of both deen (religious affairs) and dunya (personal or social affairs). In every age, God selects a *king* who has eminent qualities for dealing with his work in the world. *King* is responsible for

combating corruption and disorder/ chaos. God give him some numerous qualities for ensuring peace in the World that people live with honor and dignity under his role. He gives punishment for disobeying the rules and regulations of the state. He appoints viziers and other officials to run the administration properly from the qualified person. He does good deeds and wellbeing for people. His state should not become a tyrant state. Nizam al-Mulk significantly discussed the aspect of justice in his book. He paid more attention to appoint Vizier and making strong public administration. As mentioned in Siyasetname;

> "When the vazir is of good character and sound judgment, the kingdom is prosperous, the army and peasantry are contented, peaceful and well supplied, and the king is free from anxiety. But when the vazir is bad, irreparable harm is done to the kingdom; the king is constantly perplexed and distressed and the provinces are in state of disorder" (al-Mulk, 1960; 23-34).

Al-Ghazali (1058-1111):

Al-Ghazali was an intellectual, theologian in the time of Abbasid who was born in 1058 in Iran. He taught under Al-Juwayni, who was a famous imam of two great Mosques (Imam Al Haramayn). After the death of Al Juwayni, he moved to Baghdad for joining with Nizam al-Mulk, the powerful Seljuk vizier, who eventually appointed him as the head of Nizamiyyah College in 1091. In Nizamiyyah, he busied himself lecturing on Islamic jurisprudence and others and responding to questions from all segments of the community. In the political uncertainty following the assassination of Nizam al-Mulk, al-Ghazali left Baghdad, renouncing his career and the world. He wandered as a Sufi in Syria and Palestine before returning to Tus, where he was engaged in writing, Sufi practices and teaching his disciples until his death in IIII AD. Al Ghazali wrote many contents on politics, especially several chapters of the book of Fadaih al-Batiniyah wa-Fadail al-Mustazhiriyyah (Kitab Al Mustazhiri), Al Iqtisad fi al'itikad, Ihya Ulum Al Din, Nasihat Al-Muluk (Book of Counsel for Kings) give us a constant idea about his political thought. In those treaties, he mainly focused on imamate and sultanate.

Fadaih al-Batiniyah wa-Fadail al-Mustazhiriyyah:

It was his first work ever discussed on politics which has been composed in 1094. It is better known as 'Kitab Al Mustazhiri'. Al Ghazali mainly discussed his political view in chapter nine and ten. In chapter nine Ghazali intended to prove Caliph Al Mustazhir Billah's validity, to acknowledge the validity of his appointment of governors and investiture of Qadis (Judges) and to announce him as God vicegerent on Earth, establishing obedience to him as an incumbent duty of Muslim.

According to Ghazali, there must be an Imam in every age and all of the Muslim should agree on the necessity of imamate. So, those who don't believe the necessity of imamate are not valid. Because only Imam can appoint a judge (*Qadi*) who is judging between people for ensuring their rights according to God's act, giving punishment for wrong activities, pronouncing the invalidity of marriage and so on. All such things would be legal if their fulfillment issued from Qadi's duty appointed by an imam and it will be impossible if there were no imamate. In Ghazali's words, *"It is a serious attack on law-based judgments...."* (al-Ghazali, 1980: 275).

Ghazali pointed out for two specific things to describe the necessity of Imamate; *"(1) the haste of early companions after Mohammad death to set about appointing an Imam (2) the defense and championing of religion undoubtedly necessary and obligatory. To preserve order there must be someone to keep a watchful eye on men and to nip danger in the bud; otherwise anarchy, etc"* (al-Ghazali, 1980: 275). After establishing the necessity of Imamate, Ghazali tried to justify Al Mustazhir's claim's to the imamate with arguing, *"There must be an imam in every age. But only he (al-Mustazhir) is qualified for the office. Therefore, he is the rightful imam"* (al-Ghazali, 1980: 275).

Proclaiming al-Mustazhir as an only qualified imam, al-Ghazzali points two facts which discredit the Batinites, thereby disqualifying them from eligibility of the imamate. First, the primary conditions of imamate are correctness of belief and soundness of religion. Here, the Batinites doctrine and their imam are guilty of innovation and deviation at the very least and unbelief at the most. Second; their rejection by false interpretation many of the eschatological details revealed in the Quran. How then can a person whose falsehood in religion is clear, asked by al-Ghazali that is he/they fit for the imamate? Given these falsifications, the only eligible Candidate is al-Mustazhir, because his views on religion are sound.

In other treaties especially several chapters in the books 'Al Iqtisad fi al'i-tikad', 'Ihya Ulum Al Din', 'Nasihat Al-Muluk (Book of Counsel for Kings)' Ghazali repeated the qualities of ruler which he mentioned in Kitab Al Mustazhiri and added some important topics on state. In the book 'Al Iqtisad fi al'itikad', Gazzali's main argument was 'state is necessary not by reason but for revelation' (Kamaruddin, 2004: 121). In detail argument, Ghazali discussed both for *Deen* (religion) and *Dunya* (world). As Ghazali's words;

"Good ordering of religion was an aim of the Prophet. Good ordering of religion is brought about only by an imam who is obeyed. Therefore, he setting up of an imam, who is obeyed, is necessary (obligatory). Good ordering of religion (ai-din) is brought about only by good ordering of this world (al-dunya). Good ordering of this

world is brought about only by an imam who is obeyed. Therefore, good ordering of religion is brought about only by an imam who is obeyed" (Kamaruddin, 2004: 121).

Kamaruddin marked Gazzali's opinion as 'syllogism' because of this two opinion and he argues that after realizing the fact of disputing imam which is not possible in term of religion, Gazzali made his second command. By 'Dunya' he means basic needs, such as food, clothing, shelter and health which are the preconditions of life (Kamaruddin, 2004: 121). Gazzali's further argument is "Religion (aI-Din) and authority (Sultanah) are twins" and "Religion is a foundation and the sultan its guardian (haris), a thing which has no foundation will fall and that which has no guardian will be lost" (Kamaruddin, 2004: 122). The same argument discussed in his most important treaty 'Ihya Ulum Al Din', where he mentioned, 'the attributes and conditions of sultans are meant to safeguard the public welfare. Consequently, if the rulers are decreed as null and void, the interests of public welfare would also be null and void (Kamaruddin, 2004: 125). In Nasihat Al-Muluk (Book of Counsel for Kings), Ghazali basically advised the sultans about their duties and responsibilities.

State based on Shariah: Ibn Taymiyyah's political thought

Ibn Taymiyyah was born in 1263 in the Harran, a city of northern Syria just after five years of Mongol's destruction of Baghdad. Taymiyyah's working years were about two centuries later of Ghazali. He was a theologian, Hanbali jurist and also a political figure when Muslims of this area faces a critical situation. He wrote several treaties on different issues of religion included politics and state. His masterpiece on politics "Siyasah As-Shariyah (The Political Shariyah on Reforming the Ruler)" is a valuable treaty in Islamic political thought till now.

In the Siyasah As-Shariyah, Ibn Taymiyyah discussed the obligations of the ruler and the citizens (ummah's) responsibilities towards the authority. He explains the principles by which to select the best ruler according to Shari'ah. Beside this, he also broadly discussed the duties and responsibilities of the ruler, treasury, Shariyyah law, counseling body, and religion-politics nexus. The book is based on an extensive commentary of the verses 58-59 of Surah Nisha;

"Indeed, Allah commands you to render trusts to whom they are due and when you judge between people to judge with justice. Excellent is that which Allah instructs you. Indeed, Allah is ever Hearing and Seeing. O, you who have believed to obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you should believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is the best [way] and best in result" (Quran, 4: 58-59 as translated by The Noble Quran, 2016: Ibn Taymiyyah, 2000).

Within these verses, Ibn Taymiyyah intended to identify two main aims of the state; Trustworthy (Amanah) and Justice (Adalah). According to Ibn Taymiyyah, politics and religion are interrelated. He added, political power and state authority is a pillar of religion and it is a religious duty for all. The existence and stability of religion is related to political power. National and collective welfare are not possible without unity and societal approach. So, collectiveness (society) is an important factor. He put the hadith, *"If three people set out on a journey, they should appoint one of them as the leader"* (Ibn Taymiyyah, 2000) to identify the religious importance of leadership for society and state.

Ruler of the state

In the first chapters of this book, Ibn Taymiyyah discussed the duties, responsibilities, qualities and other aspects of a ruler. According to Ibn Tamiyyah, power and authority is an *Amanah* (trustworthy) from God. He also added, *Imam is the shadow of Allah in the world.* So, the ruler will be responsible for his duties in the afterlife. He mentioned many verses of the Quran and many hadith on it. By mentioning 44 no verse of the Sura Al Ma'idah, Taymiyyah intended to identify three specific qualities of a ruler, (1) trustworthy (2) don't avoid Allah's right bartering the self or temporary (Dunya) interest (3) renounce the fear of the people (Ibn Taymiyyah, 2000).

Ibn Taymiyyah paid attention on appointing qualified ruler. By 'qualified' he means efficiency and honesty though his priority was on honesty. If it is not available then efficiency in terms of political quality will be priorities. For fixing qualified ruler, Ibn Taymiyyah has remembered fixing qualities for imam of prayers. So, who is more qualified he will elect as ruler.

He also paid attention to appoint the qualified manpower in every level of the state. It is an important duty of ruler to appoint perfect people in the perfect position. He put several verses of the Quran and hadith on it. He mentioned several examples from the Prophet, Rashidun caliph and Abbasid's time appointing qualified people. It is also the same for the people or who has the voter right to elect ruler and leader that everyman will be responsible for appointing a perfect person. Taymiyyah discouraged to demand the position by oneself.

Counseling body (Shura):

Ibn Taymiyyah discussed counseling body (Shura) for the state as an obligatory function. He mentioned verses of Quran from Sura al Imran where Allah ordered for counseling in decision making. Though the Prophet was guided by God within divine order in maximum cases, he also counsels with his

followers to run the administration. So, for ruler counseling with his shura (Counseling body) is obligatory which will be composed with an expert from the different sectors with the religious experts (*Alim*).

Ibn Taymiyyah also discussed implementing Shariyah law as an obligatory function, treasury and public administration.

Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406)

Ibn Khaldun was born in Tunisia on 27th May 1332. He was a prominent Muslim philosopher who has developed history as several fields of knowledge. Besides this, he was an expert in sociology, political science and social science. His masterpiece '*Mukaddimah*' is an important theoretical book of political science, sociology, and history which he wrote as an introduction of his prominent book of history 'Kitab Al Ibar'.

Ibn Khaldun's political thought mainly discussed in chapters two and three of *Mukaddimah*. In these two chapters, he discussed three important topics; firstly, why and how society is created; secondly, the rise and fall of a state and finally; the influence of religion in a state with caliphate and imamate. To understand the state theory, Ibn Khaldun discussed 'Asabiyah'.

The rise and the fall of a state: Asabiyyah:

Ibn Khaldun identified the 'Asabiyyah' the main element to rise a state and a natural process of a human being to build a state for himself. By 'Asabiyyah', the foundation of a society is made in which the final stage or goal is to make state or royal authority. In Ibn Khaldun's words,

> "Royal authority is the goal of group feeling. When (group felling) attain that goal, the tribe (representing that particular group felling) obtain royal authority, either by seizing actual control or by giving assistance (to the ruling destiny). It depends on the circumstance prevailing at a given time (which of the two alternatives applies)" (Ibn Khaldun, 1958: 186).

Ibn Khaldun added royal authority or state power as a noble and enjoyable position. It makes men happy. It gives the chance to do good thing for the world. So, it is normal to become more competitive to acquire it, rarely handed over without war of fight. So, only 'Asabiyyah' inspire men to fight or acquiring this state power anyway for his nation or tribe. As mentioned in Muqaddimah, *"Aggressive and defensive strength is obtained only through group feeling which means (mutual) affection and willingness to fight and die for each other"* (Ibn Khaldun, 1958: 186).

According to Ibn Khaldun, people often forget this universal truth. They don't try to understand how their first-generation made society. How they struggled for its establishment. Especially when the area of the country becomes grater, people don't try to understand its primary situation that it becomes started with a small tribe because of 'Asabiyyah'. Ibn Khaldun put several exmaples here from Andalos and Abbasid period.

Ibn Khaldun added the importance of the provincial government (system) according to its area and population. It is necessary to divide by some provinces according to the ability by manpower to protect it from enimies, collect the taxes, maintain law and order. State has to ensure an active administration first with a strong ties between central and local authority before expanding its area. A state can only expand its area when the 'Asabiyyah' will rises among its all population, otherwise, it will be declined because it will be very difficult to maintain its own area. According to Ibn Khaldun, a huge population is a positive sign for a state, when the population will be large in number they can run a large number of land... So, for expanding the area of a state population and Asabiyyah are the most important factors.

Ibn Khaldun minds that, surplus (large) number of tribe or group, and ' very strong Asabiyyah within tribe and group' is not good for a state and its continuty because of their different opinion and desires. When a tribe or group ensure very strong Asabiyah, they become more confident for their own strength and power. So, loyalty for state decrease in that circumstances.

The Decline of State: Umran theory

Like human beings, the state and society or tribe have a lifetime. Ibn Khaldun mind that, It can continue till its fourth generation. As mentioned in Muqaddimah,

> "The builder of the glory knows what it cost him to do the work and he keeps the qualities that created his glory and made it last. The son who comes after him had personal contact with his father and thus learned those things from him. However, he is inferior in this respect to (his father), in as much as a person who learn things through study is inferior to a person who knows them from practical application. The third generation must be content with imitation and in particular with reliance upon tradition. This member is inferior to him of the second generation, in as much a person who relies (blindly) upon tradition is inferior to a person who exercises independent judgment" (Ibn Khaldun, 1958: 182)

Ibn Khaldun argued this fixing (four-generation) almost occur in maximum cases. Ibn Khaldun mind that a state may decline because of declining Asabiya, going over luxury and prefering tranquility and quiet. According to Ibn Khaldun Asabiyyah may decline for several causes: (1) when dynasty or state is firmly established as a strong position, the authority may lose their

Asbiyyah because of feeling less important to it; (2) by nature royal authority always claim all of the glory for itself, it also loses Asabiyyah (Ibn Khaldun, 1958: 220-25).

The influence of religion in a state

According to Ibn Khaldun, expanding a state on a large scale, it is necessary to become the origin of religion or prophecy. Within Asabiyyah a state may formated but for expanding its area, religion is important. As Khaldun's words, *"This is because royal authority results from superiority. Superiority results from group feeling. Only by God's help in establishing his religion do individual desires come"* (Ibn Khaldun, 1958: 210)

So, religion is an important element to make the strong bonding (Asabiyyah). Ibn Khaldun also mentioned,

> "Religious coloring does away with mutual jealousy and envy among people who share in a group feeling and cause concentration upon the truth. When people (who have a religious coloring) come to have die (right) insight into their affairs, nothing can withstand then, because their outlook is one and their object one of common accord. They are waiting to die for (their objective). (on the other hand) the members of the dynasty they attack may be many times as numerous as they. But their purpose differ, in as much they are false purposes and (the people of the worldly dynasty) come to abandon each other since they are afraid of death..." (Ibn Khaldun, 1958: 211).

As an example, Ibn Khaldun mentioned here the impact of the religion of the conquest of Arabs in the begaining of Islam, especially he mentioned the battle of al-Qadisiyah and the Yarmuk where the number of Muslim was not so high, it was about thirty thousand but in the armies of the opposite group was so high. Expanding of religion also depends on Asabiyyah. As Ibn Khaldun mentioned, *'Every mass (political) undertaking by necessity requires group feeling'* (Ibn Khaldun, 1958).

Findings and Conclusion

From Farabi to Ibn Khaldun, Muslim intellectuals paid their attention to the political thought within their context. All of these six intellectuals agreed on leadership (Imamate, Sultanate) and discussed from different points of view. Some intellectuals intended to argue religious state as well as some intellectuals argued from the social point of view. In addition to this, some intellectuals put importance on both religious and social aspects together. Al-Mawardi, al-Ghazali and Ibn Taymiyyah intended to argue leadership (political power, i.e. Imamate) is necessary for protecting the religion; they paid more attention on religious perspective of Imamate though al-Mawardi and al-Ghazali both included the importance of world affairs of Imamate which

refers social perspective of the state. Ibn Taymiyyah intended to argue the ruler is the representation of Allah in the world for maintaining the world affairs, as he stated, "*Imam is the shadow of Allah in the world*".

Farabi, Nizam al-Mulk and Ibn Khaldun paid attention to the social perspective of state. According to them, society or royal authority (in Modern meaning state) is a human necessity, with or without religion it can run. Man is bound to make society for their daily purpose because man cannot live alone; there is an inevitable social factor to lead the regular life. However, none of these intellectuals ignored the importance of religion. According to them, religion may help to build a strong state as argued by Ibn Khaldun; religion is necessary for making strong Assabiyah. Along with this major point, all of them agreed in one point that a leader is necessary from all perspectives and they were more concerned for a strong leader, i.e. ruler for the state, i.e. caliphate, Imamate or sultanate. They often discussed the quality, function and responsibility of a ruler.

Another point is the most important here; there is a significant influence of the existing politics on the writings of these intellectuals. For first four intellectuals respectively al-Farabi, al-Mawardi, Nizam al-Mulk and al-Ghazali, it was a strong state (sultanate) and they were more conscious about strong and weak state (as Farabi's perfect state), quality of ruler and administration, function and responsibility of the ruler, implementing Shariyah law and so on. Among them, Al Farabi was inspired by Greek thought of politics. So in his writing, there is a combination of two thought (western/ Greek and Islamic), also claims for Islamization of Greek thought. Al-Mawardi and Nizam al-Mulk were statesmen; they wrote from their perspective. Nizam al-Mulk contributed to make nexus between Islamic and Persian political thought. Al-Ghazali was also closed to statesmen, i.e. viziers of Abbasid and Seljuk, Nizam al-Mulk in particular. These three intellectuals strongly opposed to the Shia's claims of the caliphate and wrote several treatises.

On the other hand, Ibn Taymiyyah's period was full of disorder and Muslims were divided; he identified that the cause of that disorder was staying far from religion, e.g. Quran and Sunnah. So, he was more conscious about following the Quran and the Sunnah for building religious spirituality. For Ibn Khaldun, it was a different situation. He observed the rise and fall of many states and nations. So, he was more conscious of this issue. Finally, a summary of this discussion is the following:

- Society, state and leadership are a human necessity and have a natural process. State and religion were worked together. State power is necessary for the existence and stability of religion.

- Strong central administration was the administrative system along with regional administrations. Intellectuals were more concerned about appointing qualified ruler and viziers.

- Spiritual state. Ruler and ruled will be responsible to God for their duties in the afterlife.

- Implementing justice and Shariyyah law was an important topic.

- They opposed the Shia's claims of the caliphate.

- They tried to build up a nexus to Greek and Persian political thought (al-Farabi and Nizam al-Mulk in particular).

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