Islamic Political Thought In Pre Modern Age

Zaimul Am

Faculty of Islamic Studies, University of Muhammadiyah in Tangerang
Corresponding Author: Zaimul Am

ABSTRACT: *This article attempts to explain some of the literary typologies that reflect the trends of Islamic political thought in pre-modern times. The historic proximity of this era to the time of the Prophet has raised some kind of the mainstream associated with the ideal to make power and political leadership as a copy of the reality of power and political leadership as it took place during the time of the Prophet. This ideal is always echoed by traditional ulemas though, in other parts of the pre-modern political realities, political leaders and people confront other non-Islamic cultures and even absorb some of them into Islamic pre-modern political systems of thought and ethics*

I.   INTRODUCTION

In general, pre-modern Islamic political thought is a product of the acculturation of Muslims with the great cultural heritage of the world. The thought of Persia and Greece has an important position in the palace because they introduce the ideals of human aristocratic independence that determine the moral and social qualities of the royal elite in a sense that is in harmony with Islam but also comes from the ancient non-Islamic world heritage.

These aristocratic ideals call upon state officials, government and caliph servants to believe in God and the coming of the hereafter. All the palace literature seems to evoke the concept of political leadership and pre-Islamic empires. Attention to the secular aspects of Arabic literature, Persian literature, and Greek philosophy marks the contribution of cultural heritage that might have been used to legitimize the power of the caliph. All the literature, in the Arab case, provides an ethnic concept of political leadership. In the case of Persia, the sustainability of the legacy of ancient Middle Eastern kings. In the case of helenism, the concept of the natural structure itself which in philosophical and scientific form becomes the universal justification of the royal power. The protection of some of these literatures eventually resulted in the Caliphs, though domiciled as Muslim rulers, legitimized by non-Islamic cultural terms referring back to the ancient heritage of the Middle East.[1]

The ongoing threat of civil war has fueled a political outlook oriented to absolutism of power. At the time of the Umayyads, Arab-Islamic political thought was mixed with monarchist thought and practice drawn from the conquered territory of Iran. The Umayyads then expressed the monarchical view of political leadership in the language of religion. They used the Middle East rhetoric about the monarchy and most of the authors were non-Muslims. The Caliph is a shepherd and the people are livestock (*ra'iyyah*). Caliphs lavish the earth with light, affection, justice and rain. Therefore, obedience to the caliph is absolute.[2]

One of the impacts of the socio-cultural conditions above is the formation of urban society and the elite of Islam. There are two versions for this establishment. First, an early version of Islamic civilization developed by the court of the Caliphate. Second, the version which is the creation of a cluster of big cities and small towns inhabited by Arabs.

From the beginning, the caliphs were seen as the heirs of the religious authority and the political leadership of the Prophet. However, the politicization of the caliphate regime has fueled tensions between religious obligations and political needs. The Shias, the Kharijites and the Yemeni Arabs who escorted the Bani Abbas rose to power against the Amawiyah Dynasty in the name of religious principles. However, the Bani Abbas also built a strong state apparatus, and gave the political leaders a ceremonial glory adjacent to the divine, leading to Shiite rebellion and suspicion even among their own followers.

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[1]Ira M. Lapidus, *The History of Islamic Society*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 96-97
[2]Anthony Black, *The History of Isismic Political Thought*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 18

In addition, despite being the leader of the state, the caliphs did not inherit prophethood or become a source of religious teachings and laws. At the core of executive and symbolic excellence, there is a vacuum because neither the position nor the caliph itself has any authority that can be a source of Muslim conceptions and religious behavior.

Formally, the Muslim community is led by the caliph and its governors. But ultimately the ulama-who do not hold official posts but have a reputation for their knowledge and piety-are accepted by ordinary Muslims as the true authority of Islam. These scholars form a disciplined society devoted to studying the Koran, hadith, law, theology or tasawwuf. Muslims are more inclined toward them than to the caliphs. Therefore, the growth of various independent religious authorities against the Caliphate was accompanied by the emergence of sectarian institutions within Muslims. From a religious and communal point of view, the Caliphate and Islam as a whole are no longer integrated.[3]

The scholars and their followers reflect different points of view. Some support the Caliphate. Some opposed. Others concentrate on studying the Qur'an, codifying the hadith of the Prophet and deepening the study of law. Others are concerned about theology or mysticism. The Islamic culture of the city is finally a mixed product of all these orientations.[4]

Nevertheless, it remains to be understood that there are distinctive differences in Islamic culture. For example, imamate institutions (political and religious leadership) are a theocratic product that goes against the secular conception of power. According to the Shiite theory, the priest is the only legitimate leader of the Muslims appointed by God to occupy the highest office. The Imam is the descendant of the Prophet Muhammad from the line of Fatima and Ali. The Imam is a spiritual and religious leader as well as a secular leader equipped with the mysterious powers of his predecessors.[5]

There are at least three main factors affecting the performance of Islamic political thought. First, the ancient ancient revive culture as a result of the study of the old cultural heritage. Second, the internal development of Islam is characterized by a desire to emulate the political life of the time of the Prophet and Khulafa'ur Rashidin.[6] Third, Greek philosophy. The combination of these three factors ultimately led to the emergence of certain trends in pre-modern Islamic political thought.[7]

B. Understanding the Trends of Islamic Political Thought in Pre-Modern Age.

The various realities of state, communal and religious institutions, are only reflected in a large number of political theory literature. This theory has three big branches. First, the theory of the Sunni-Shiite caliphate. Second, the Persian genre inspired by the Mirror of the Prince. Third, the philosophical theory of the ideal state composed by the reviewers of Plato and Aristotle.[8]

The theory of the Sunni-Shia caliphate is formulated in theological and juridical treatises. Sunni writers try to explain why there should be a caliph, what is the purpose of the post, what is the condition and how a

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[3]Ira M. Lapidus, *The History of Islamic Society*, 99

[4]Hodgson states that in every age, scholars and pious people have reaffirmed their religion in a new environment that arose as a result of past failures and successes. See Marshal G, Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 71

[5]Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, (Macmillan: Palgrave, 2002), 248

[6]The Muslims of the time of the Prophet and Khulafa'ur Rashidin stand upright as the only significant pattern for Muslims who really want to improve political philosophy. Thus, the early-era community model remains a flawless norm. See, L. Carl Brown, *Wajah Islam Politik*, trans.: Abdullah Ali, *edited*: Zaimul Am, (Jakarta: Serambi, 2003), 68

[7]Lukman Thaib divides the trends of pre-modern Islamic political thought into two: the shari'atic trend and the philosophic trend. People who pioneered the trend of *syar'iyyah* are al-Mawardi, al-Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn al-Jama'ah. While the characters who enter into the philosophical trend are al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd. Philosophers seek to integrate Islamic political science with philosophy. For further explanations, see Lukman Talib, Concept of Political Authority in the Islamic Political Thought in *International Journal of Humanities*, vol. 1, Issue 1, 2012, 14-15

[8]Hodgson mentions several factors that influence the formation of Islamic civilization. First, the Irano-Semitic tradition of conquered territory which completely changes the pattern of hope and life in the face of pre-Islamic Arab background that has always had an impact on Muslims in general. Second, from a wider historical perspective, the Arabs are actually newcomers who are assimilating to the existing cultural pattern, which they want to change. In this effort, they use two similar conceptual frameworks, namely their catalytic position as the new ruler and the religion of Islam itself. See, Marshal G, Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, 196

caliph is chosen. The fundamental assumption of Sunni literature is that the political leaders holding the office must practice sharia and protect the existence of the Muslim community.

Before the half of the 10th century, Muslim political debates turned to the question of who was entitled to this position and what assured the ability of the caliphs to carry out their obligations. The Sunnis propose some personal qualifications combined with the electoral process to ensure the legitimacy of a political leader.[9]

1) Philosophical Trends

From the Greek heritage appears the third literature: the reviewers of Plato and Aristotle. Al-Farabi (930), Ibn Sina (980-1037), and Ibn Rushd (1126-1198) examine ideal states and ideal political leaders.[10] The ultimate goal of philosophical political theory is the perfection of human speculative intelligence and the achievement of happiness through contemplation of the nature of divinity. To realize this prosperous country, cooperation between people becomes very important.[11]

Al-Farabi is a political theorist in the tradition of philosophy. In his work, *Madînah al-Fâdhilah* (Main City), al-Farabi began with a resume of principles that embodied the existence of God, the emanation of the heavenly intellect, and the relation of human intelligence and imagination to the spiritual realm. The real purpose is to understand beings and reason, and achieve a spiritual vision of the essence. The focus of attention is the philosopher who must know the truth and be obliged to actualize human society. Philosophers who have attained the theoretical vision of truth are the ones who are most qualified to lead and rule their people, and shape their character to be in harmony with moral principles. Teach them practical skills and encourage them to do good deeds so that they can achieve the highest possible perfection.[12]

In *Madînah al-Fâdhilah* (Main City), al-Farabi expressly states the existence of human need to cooperate in achieving perfection. According to al-Farabi, every human is destined to require many things in achieving his perfection and he can not possibly fulfill all of them alone. Therefore, it is impossible for man to achieve perfection that is his nature except through cooperation in society, each of its members try to meet the needs of each other. So if goodness canactually be achieved by will and effort, so the evil is. The main city is a city where the inhabitants work together to achieve ultimate happiness.[13]

Al-Farabi also describes the properties of the main city leader. According to him, the leader of the main city is the leader of the main people. Positions of this kind can only be held by people who meet twelve kinds of criteria. These twelve criteria constitute a sort of absolute qualification for the main city leaders:
1. Having no physical disability.
2. Having a good capture power.
3. Having a strong memory.
4. Smart.
5. Be able to communicate ideas and thoughts well.
6. Fond of learning and love science.
7. Not greedy in terms of food and drink and not suffering from hippersex.
8. Having a great soul and love of glory.
9. Having strong economic ability.
10. Loving justice and those who uphold it and hate injustice.
11. Being fair and responsive to calls to uphold justice
12. Having a strong determination in doing good.[14]

Al-Farabi acknowledges that it is rare for people to have all of the above criteria. Six or even five of the above criteria are sufficient to get someone to be a leader. Al-Farabi also states that if there is no such leader at a time, the leader should set six conditions for his successor, namely:
1. Wise
2. Knowledgeable, keeping the religious law, and implementing the policies of previous leaders.
3. Having the ability to think independently (*ijtihâd*) about things that have not been established by the previous leaders.

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[9]Ira M. Lapidus, *The History of Islamic Society*, 181

[10]Al-Farabi emphasizes the importance of the theoretical study of society and its needs. He analogizes society with physical organisms that if one part of it is sick, then the other part will react and try to heal it. But al-Farabi's concept of the philosopher-king reminds people to the *Republi*c of Plato's work. See, M.M. Sharif, *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, vol. 1, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), 463

[11]Ira M. Lapidus, *The History of Islamic Society*, 187

[12]Ira M. Lapidus, *The History of Islamic Society*, 188

[13]Al- Farabi, *Ârâ' Ahl al-Madînah al-Fâdhilah*, (Kairo: Mathba'ah al-Sa'âdah, 2006), 77-78

[14]Al- Farabi, *Ârâ' Ahl al-Madînah al-Fâdhilah*, 87-88

4. Having good responsiveness to new events and problems.
5. Having a good rhetorical ability to explain the policies of previous leaders.
6. Having a good physical condition to carry out the tasks in the battlefield.[15]
In politics, al-Farabi is judged to be further away from real life. In his eastern way of looking at things, Plato's ideal Republic was lost in the philosopher who became a political leader.[16] In other words, al-Farabi's thought of this political leader is considered utopian.

Al-Farabi explained that there are two levels of ideal state. First, the state led by the philosopher-king, whose existence of personal guidance becomes the inspiration for all good society. Second, the state led in accordance with the law prescribed by the prophet-philosopher. In this country, political leaders must have knowledge of the ancient law and the ability to carry it out. Presumably this second form of state relates to an Islamic society organized by law revealed under the rule of a political leader who exercises the law. He is closely connected with the ideal caliphate in Sunni legal theory.

In his work, *al-Shifa*, Ibn Sina emphasizes the principle of human interdependence and proposes the concept of the ideal leader that includes both prophet and philosopher. While fulfilling the need for government in a religious system and always instructing the Muslims about faith and doomsday, a political leader is obliged to ensure the enforcement of state law and religious law.[17]

Ibn Rushd offers a comprehensive vision of the spiritual realm and the position of human society in it. The perfection of speculative reason is the ultimate goal of human existence. Human society exists for the sake of perfection. Ideal societies need a philosopher king who will create an order in which everyone fulfills an obligation that suits his abilities. When the goodness of the soul-intellect, temperament and reason are formed, there is justice in society or within everyone. The political leader established this perfect order by teaching philosophy to the elite and theology and literature to others. He educates the people by enacting laws that guide them to appropriate behavior.[18]

II.   JURISTIC TRENDS
From the 10th and 11th centuries, the caliph no longer exercised his political and religious role. The sultans had deprived the Caliph's actual power. While sectarian disputes have deprived its religious authority.

Indeed, in this pre-modern era of Islam, it is clearly recognized that the roots and the source of all political institutions, including state and government, come from religion. There is also an opinion that Islamic theology cannot accept the idea of tension between religion and politics. Islam is a unity between religion and nation. Al-Ghazali states that religion (*syarî'ah*) is the basis whereas government is the keeper. If the government does not have a basis, it will certainly be destroyed. If religion does not have a guard, it will be extinct.[19]

Therefore, in the context of Islamic political history, the terms politics (*al-siyâsah*) and religion (*al-syarî'ah*) are often attributed to each other to form a religious synthetic political concept (*al-siyâsah al-syar'iyyah*). In this connection, it is mentioned a hadith of the Holy Prophet which became the basic reference for the political concept in Islam. Al-Qistilani and al-Nawawi then interpreted the verb *tasûsuhum al-anbiyâ* in the hadith as providing an understanding that the prophets dealt with the government of the Children of Israel as well as other peoples' leaders dealing with the affairs of citizens.[20]

The earliest works on Islamic politics that emerged in pre-modern times include the work of Abu Abd Allah ibn'Ali al-Qala'i (630H), Tahdzîb al-Riyâsah wa Tartîb al-al-Siyâsah. This work discusses the principles of religion in government and the political obligation to refer to the Qur'an and Sunnah in running its government. This work also cites the various hadiths of the Holy Prophet that require political leaders to be fair and avoid tyranny. There is even a chapter in this work that says that a just political leader will get a reward while a despotic political leader sins.[21]

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[15]Al- Farabi, *Ârâ' Ahl al-Madînah al-Fâdhilah*, 89-90

[16]TJ. De Boer, The History of Philosophy in Islam, (New York: Dover Publications, 1867), 123

[17]Gerhard Bowering, *Islamic Political Thought: An Introduction*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 8

[18]Ira M. Lapidus, *The History of Islamic Society*, 188

[19]See, Lukman Thaib, Concept of Political Authority in the Islamic Political Thought in *International Journal of Humanities*, 13

[20]For further explanation, see al-Nawawi, *Syarh al-Nawai 'alâ Muslim*, (Riyadh: Bayt al-Afkar al-Dawliyyah, 2000), 1193

[21]Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Qala'i, *Tahdzîb al-Riyâsah wa Tartîb al-al-Siyâsah*, (Ardan: Maktabah al-Manar, 1985), 98

Al-Kindi wrote two works on politics. First, Risâlah al-Birr fî al-Siyâsah. Second, al-Siyâsah al-'ahah. Both of these works were written by al-Kindi in 866 AH. After al-Kindi's death, his disciple wrote a work entitled Kitâb Siyâsah al-Kabîr and Kitâb Siyâsah al-Shaghîr. These four works are seen as references in Islamic political disciplines (al-siyâsah al-syar'iyyah).

Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) states that religion and state need each other for the perfect worldly prosperity and endurance can only be achieved if religious law is exercised by political leaders who accept the obligations of *amr ma'rûf and nahy munkar*. Ibn Taymiyya also stated that power must be firmly enforced through religious law (*syarî'ah*) carried out by political leaders. This then became the ideals of the Wahhabi movement in the 18th century.[22]

In his work, *al-Siyâsah al-Syar'iyyah*, Ibn Taymiyya declared that political leaders should be able to create the welfare of the country and to be fair. In Ibn Taymiyya's political thought, political power must conform with, and always observe, the provisions of the Qur'an and Sunnah. According to Ibn Taymiyya, political leaders must be strong and honest people. Strong criteria in political leaders has two meanings. First, it has the capability to lead warfare that includes war skills and adequate knowledge of tactics and strategies in battle. Second, it has the ability to enforce the law among citizens who refer to justice based on the Qur'an and Sunnah. While the honest nature of political leaders must be based on fear of God, not to humans and not to sell the verses of the Qur'an.[23]

Al-Mawardi (d. 1058) wrote *al-Ahkâm al-Sulthâniyyah* (Principles of Government) to show that the main task of the caliph was to defend the religion according to the former pattern, to enforce the rule of law, and to protect the Muslims. However, his traditional and legalistic view of the caliph is not just a hint of historical memories. As long as the Caliphate continues to fight to gain its actual power, its affirmation of authority has a practical meaning. Therefore, al-Mawardi completes his theoretical statements by discussing the distribution of power, the conditions of appointment of state officials, and the personal and moral nature necessary for each holder of office. He explained the rule of law, taxation, and government policy to improve agricultural products, and law enforcement against the perpetrators of crime. As a result, he devised a comprehensive draft to run an Islamic government.[24]

In *al-Ahkâm al-Sulthāniyah*, al-Mawardi divides the devolution of power into two parts. First, *wizârah tafwîdh* and second, *wizârah tanfîdz*. *Wizârah tafwîdh* is the division of powers to people who are able to perform creative thinking (*ijtihâd*) and to deal with issues of a general nature. Al-Mawardi based his opinion on QS Thaha[20]: 29, which mentions the Prophet Moses' request to God that Aaron may be his representative in dealing with the problems he is facing.[25]

Meanwhile, *wizârah tanfîdz* has a lighter legal rules and fewer requirements. Because attention is limited only to the opinion of political leaders and the effort to carry out that opinion. These representatives mediate between political leaders and their people.[26] According to al-Mawardi, the agency authorized to elect a political leader should consider who among the political candidates is the most complete and supported by the majority of the people.[27]

Al-Mawardi placed the Caliph (the political leader) in lieu of the Prophet Muhammad (*khalîfatu rasûlillâh*) and not as the direct representative of God (*khalîfatullâh*). This is very different from the general rule of the rulers of the time, when most of them were inclined to absolute monarchy or a certain form of authoritarianism that was clearly influenced by the practice of Roman, Persian, Byzantine and Arabic Jahiliyah. Al-Mawardi began his study in the chapter on the theory of political leadership (*imâmah*) in *al-Ahkâm al-Sulthâniyyah* by comparing two opposing schools in the concept of political leadership namely the school of rationality and the school of Shari'ah. Al-Mawardi supports the second school considering the religious mission that a caliph must perform and that the Shari'ah school has a strong basis in the Qur'an (eg QS al-Nisa '[4]: 59) and the Prophetic traditions which obliges Muslims to obey political leaders.[28]

III. ETHICAL TRENDS

The moral principle in Islamic politics refers to the Qur'an and Sunnah of the Prophet. The ethical mainstream in Islamic political thought is the necessity of obeying political leaders. This requirement is based

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[22]Gerhard Bowering, *Islamic Political Thought: An Introduction*, 11

[23]Ibn Taymiyyah, *al-Siyâsah al-Syar'iyyah*, (Riyadh: Wazarah al-Syu'un al-Islamiyyah, 1418 H), 12-13

[24]Ira M. Lapidus, *The History of Islamic Society*, 182

[25]Al-Mawardi, *al-Ahkâm al-Sulthâniyyah*, (Beirut: Dar al-Hadits al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, t.t.), 25

[26]Al-Mawardi, *al-Ahkâm al-Sulthâniyyah*, 29

[27]Al-Mawardi, *al-Ahkâm al-Sulthâniyyah*, 7-8

[28]M.M. Sharif, *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, vol. 1, 720

on the verses of the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet which emphasizes the obligation of obedience to the state. The Hanbali School theologian, Ibn Battuta (w 997 H) denounced an armed rebellion against a legitimate government. Similarly, al-Ghazali argues that political leaders must be obeyed without opposition. Because opposition to political leaders, even to unjust political leaders, is a bad alternative. In order to prevent civil war, every government must be accepted.[29]

At the beginning of the ninth century of Hijrah, the Hanbali emphasized the importance of the Qur'anic provision to enjoin goodness and prevent wrongdoings (*amr bi al-ma'rûf wa nahy 'an al-munkar*) in order to be the basis of the obligation of every ulemas and every Muslim in order to uphold God's law in the affairs of society. With the rise of slaves and nomadic chiefs to power, the Hanbali and other theologians also emphasized the importance of *nashîhah* or counsel to the ruling elite to encourage them to practice Islamic teachings.[30]

In theory and practice, Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) presents a pattern of inclinations to make ulemas to be the focus of religious-communal Muslim attention. He opposed Ash'ari and speculative theology in all its forms. He also opposed the metaphysical sufism. In accordance with its own political role, Ibn Taymiyya argued that the ulemas are obliged to uphold the law by providing religious advice to political leaders, teaching the right principles to Muslims and ordering the good and preventing wrongdoings. Ibn Taymiyya put aside the traditional question of the Caliphate. According to him, true caliphs have never reigned since the beginning of Islam. Ibn Taymiyya then defined the Muslim government according to the authority of the actual power and importance of the counsel of the scholars.[31]

The most important work in ethical trends is *Kitâb al-Imâm*, written by Nizham al-Mulk (w 1092). This work emphasizes that the sultan should uphold justice and give him advice on the techniques of running the government. This work specifically addresses the important role of soldiers, police, secret agents, and financial officers. He told various anecdotes about ancient rulers to explain the subject of his discussion.

Another important work is Qabus-name Kai Ka'us (d.1022) which is a compilation of a wise old king's letter to his son, containing advice on the good attitude of a household, a farm, a profession and a government. Qabus-name seeks to teach a young man how to be a statesman and a Muslim.

Kitāb Nashîhah al-Mulk by al-Ghazali is a different form of mirror. While Nizham al-Mulk attempted to focus on pragmatic political issues, and Kai Ka'us discussed the subject of the education of an aristocrat, *Nashîhah al-Mulk* by al-Ghazali refers to Islamic beliefs, moral traits and behaviors that can be expected from a political leader and his duty to defend true religion.

Kitāb Nashîhah al-Mulk by al-Ghazali also emphasizes the importance of justice. The political leader must seek to understand that God loves the just sultan and that God will judge him on the Day of Resurrection. His most important duty is to prevent unbelief and wrongdoing, preserve the Prophet's tradition, reward good people and condemn the wicked ones. For al-Ghazali and secular writers, the main duty of government is to protect the law in society and the teachings of true beliefs.[32]

Al-Ghazali also wrote a work entitled *Ihyâ'' Ulûm al-Dîn* (Revival of the Religious Sciences). This great achievement of al-Ghazali's work is his success in establishing a theological and ethical platform for various Islamic political institutions. This Platform then promotes the moral and religious reformation of Muslims. The work of al-Ghazali is also seen as a work that refers to the fiqh tradition of al-Shafi'i and theological traditions of al-Baqillani (w.1013) and al-Juwayni (1028-1085).[33]

In his work, *Kitâb Adâb al-Dunyâ wa al-Dîn*, al-Mawardi states that there are six rules that can create worldly benefit so that worldly affairs can be handled and managed properly. First, the observed religion (*dîn muttaba'*) because only religions are able to turn the soul away from various lusts and protect the soul from various bad traits. According to al-Mawardi, religion is the most powerful rule in creating benefit in the world, bringing the benefit in managing worldly affairs and guiding the mind to consistently reinforce the religious teachings.[34]

Second, strong political leaders. The strong political leaders will be able to collect various aspirations, create justice, and protect the people.[35]

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[29]Ira M. Lapidus, *The History of Islamic Society*, 182

[30]In terms of achieving spiritual truth and perfection, there is a parallel between political leaders and people. Illustrations about this can be expressed through the practice of prayer. Imam and people prayed and they carry out the same practice of worship except that imam has a standing position rather forward. See, Marshal G, Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, 319-320

[31]Ira M. Lapidus, *The History of Islamic Society*, 184

[32]Ira M. Lapidus, *The History of Islamic Society*, 186

[33]Gerhard Bowering, *Islamic Political Thought: An Introduction*, 9

[34]Al-Mawardi, *Adâb al-Dunyâ wa al-Dîn*, (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Mishriyyah, 1987), 111

[35]Al-Mawardi, *Adâb al-Dunyâ wa al-Dîn*, 112

Third, the establishment of law and justice. Al-Mawardi states that there is no most destructive factor on the face of the earth and greatly damaging human morality other than *zhulm* or injustice. Injustice has no restrictions or goals. Any part of injustice will lead to destruction. Al-Mawardi quotes the Prophet's hadith that there are three things that can save and three things that can destroy. The ones which can save are doing justice in angry or happy, fearing God both inwardly or outwardly, and being patient in the face of riches or poverty. The ones which can destroy are the inability to prevent evil, indulging in lust and the nature of *'ujub* (great opinion of oneself).[36]

Fourth, ensuring security. Al-Mawardi stated that ensuring of security is very important for all components of society. Because, fear will hinder the community from the activity and unable them to meet their own needs. Al-Mawardi believes that security is the fruit of justice and that justice is the basis for public order and for the creation of security.[37]

Fifth, prosperity that became the basis for the participation of all segments of society in the development of the country both from among the rich and the poor. Al-Mawardi believes that just and equitable prosperity can prevent social disintegration caused by the gap between the rich and the poor. According to al-Mawardi, prosperity is one of the important factors in creating worldly benefit and social order. Al-Mawardi then quotes the letter that 'Umar ibn Khattab r.a. sent to Abu Musa al-'Asy'ari which instruct him that he does not submit a mandate except to an intelligent person or a rich one. For an intelligent person always thinks of the consequences of all things while the rich person does not pay attention to the property others which is not his.[38]

Sixth, noble ideals that can give spirit to the people to do creative, productive and useful deeds. To reinforce his argument about this noble ideal, al-Mawardi quotes the Prophet's hadith, "The ideal is God's mercy to my people. Without it, a farmer will not grow crops and a mother will not breastfeed her child." Al-Mawardi also distinguishes between ideals and wishful thinking. According to him, ideals are always related to the causes whereas wishful thinking has nothing to do with causes.[39]

Al-Mawardi strongly believes that the six rules above will enable Muslim political leaders to manage government affairs well

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The mainstream of pre-modern Islamic political thought exerts strong emphasis on the practice of Islamic law in the life of society and state.

Underlying this is the principle that man, both in his position as an entity derived from the pitch of divine light or as a servant created to serve God, has an ultimate goal of achieving happiness in the world and in the hereafter.

Therefore, the desire to defend and even apply the pattern of government during the time of the Prophet and Khulafa'ur Rashidin was not at all a desire for nostalgia. But it must be seen from the perspective of the perfection and the proximity of that pattern in achieving ultimate happiness.

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