

Political Philosophy of Zia-ud-Din Barani

Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmad*

Zia-ud-Din Barani (1285-1360) a scholar, of South Asia is renowned for writing on the history and politics of the Sultans of Delhi. His *Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi*¹ is a dependable source of history from the later times of Ghiasuddin Balban to the early years of Feroze Shah Tughluq to whom the book is dedicated. Along with the historical accounts of the period, Barani discusses the Muslim political problems including implementation of Islamic laws in the newly established Muslim State in India. But this is mainly a book on history and not a political treatise like his work — the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*² in which he advised the Sultans and the Kings, through the mouth of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, his ideal ruler, as to how an effective system of government could be established by implementing the Islamic Shari'ah.

Like all the other medieval writers Barani's political philosophy revolves around the personality of the king who is advised in various ways to implant his philosophy. For him the king is very important. King's dominance over all the affairs of the state is ensured by suggesting various methods. According to Barani, the king should implement Islamic Shari'ah in all walks of life objectively. Barani's detailed twenty-four advices distinct him

* Director, NIHCR, (Centre of Excellence) Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

1 Zia-ud-Din Barani, *Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi* (Persian), compiled in 1359 during the reign of Sultan Feroze Shah Tughluq.

2 Zia-ud-Din Barani, *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* (Persian), its English translation by Afsari Begum. This English translation, being the only so far done, is, however, not all factual. Its original in Persian, edited by Dr. Mrs.A. Saleem Khan, has also been published by the Research Society of Pakistan in 1972. Therefore, an attempt has been made in this paper to present Barani's political theory based on the original Persian text.

as a prominent philosopher of South Asia. His political work is a valuable treatise as compared to Nizamul Mulk *Tusi's Siyasat Nama*, Kaiquas's *Qabus Nama*, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's *Adabul-Harb*, Syed Ali Hamdani's *Zakhiratul-Mulu*, Nuru-ud-din Khaqani's *Akhlaq-i-Jahangiri*, and Muhammad Baqir Najm-us-Sani's *Muizza-ti-Jahangiri*.³ In many respects Barani's work provides "additional information" in comparison to the aforesaid works.⁴

The basic objective before Barani is implementation of Islamic Shari'ah. He has raised a number of issues in this respect, of which some can be criticized and some praised. For him Islamic Shari'ah has no dogmatic value. It has to achieve an ideal which, according to him, is the dominance of good values over those of evil forces. In his interpretation of Islamic political philosophy, evil forces cannot completely be destroyed from any society. God has purposely created bad characters for a tussle between with the good. He desires that the king should evolve such a system of administration, army, intelligence and judicially that persons of high integrity and character should act as vehicles of good forces against the evil forces. For him the tussle between right and wrong is a continuing phenomenon upto the Day of Judgement.

Shari'ah is to be adjusted with the local situation of every society without compromising on the fundamentals of Islam. For instance, in the world in which Sultan Mahmud, his ideal king, or his successors lived they could not afford to lead a simple life. They could not afford to live in a simple house like ordinary people. If they do so the people will not respect them and consequently none will accept their authority. So, Barani advised the king to live pompous life and they should behave as a unique personality. This is necessary because with the honour of this personality, the honour and integrity of Islam is deeply related.⁵

Despite this relaxation, the king is not allowed by Barani to adopt evils and vices. His character should generally be moulded according to the ideals of Islam. He is required to be honest, straightforward and farsighted. A person with of bad character is

3 Afsar Saleem Khan, *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* (Ruling on Temporal Government) by Zia-ud-Din Barani, 'Introduction', (Lahore: 1972), p.34.

4 *Ibid.*, p.34.

5 *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* (Persian), pp.95-108.

not acceptable to Barani as a good ruler.⁶ If the king is of bad character, he will be considered a representative of Satan.

In addition to having a good character, a king is suggested to act in conduct of his responsibilities with certain methods and policies suggested by Barani.⁷ The king is requested to accept Islamic Shari'ah from the core of his heart and also to try to evolve his policies for peace and war in consultation with his administrators, advisers and commanders.⁸ Even the rules and regulations regarding his officers and ministers should be evolved after consulting the relevant men of knowledge and experience.⁹

Accepting Barani kingship should be oriented to act within the bounds of Islamic Shari'ah, for the economic prosperity of the people. A particular care is required to be taken to provide basic essentials of life at the lowest possible rates.¹⁰

Like a practical philosopher, Barani lay down guidelines which would serve as a basis on which a king could evolve various institutions, such as the judiciary and army. How a welfare state can be established? These are the questions which Barani has extensively dilated on these points in *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*.

Administration

The king is suggested to appoint good persons as commanders, administrators and other officers of state. What care the king should exercise, Barani says in Advice 19.¹¹

Advice 19: About the Integrity and good character of Administrators and Helpers of the Government

King should fully understand the meaning of the Quranic verse: "Obey Allah and His Prophet and those amongst you who are in a position of command and rule". Along with this, Holy Prophet's sayings should also be well remembered. Every one of you is responsible person and he/she is accountable to God about his/her responsibility". This account will have to be rendered by

6 *Ibid.*, pp.10-20.

7 *Ibid.*, pp.5-9.

8 *Ibid.*, pp.26-48, 217.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.* pp.131-144.

11 *Ibid.*, pp.280-286.

everyone on the Day of Judgement. The king's responsibility is the highest one. He will be accountable before God for all the events and actions taking place in his empire. As it is impossible for the king to know about all the events and happenings in the empire, it is necessary that he should have his administrators, helpers and supporters for running different sections of the government. Without their help, king cannot administer well and cannot conduct state matters successfully.

Due to this importance of their functions, the king should be very careful in selecting and appointing his officers of the state. Sincere, God-fearing and devoted persons should be appointed. Persons of low birth, bad habits, irreligion and short-sightedness should not be appointed. If a ruler or king bestows his government in the hand of nobles of bad character, his early downfall and destruction will become definite. Moreover when the king will face God on the Day of Judgement, he will be disappointed. But in the company of God-fearing and good nobles appointed to perform state functions, the king's rule would become secure and lasting. In this way he also not be ashamed of meeting God. The king should, therefore, remember that every chaos, disorder and evil come from the bad nobility and corrupt state officers. Therefore, he should be very careful in appointing good nobles, officers *qazis*, *kotwals*, governors and commanders whose characters and intelligence should be shaped in accordance with dictates of Shari'ah.¹²

While selecting the nobles, officers and advisors, the king is advised by Barani to keep the following qualities in his mind: 1) Those persons should be selected whose love for Islamic ideals is more than their love for worldly matters. A person, whose love for worldly matters, leisures and pleasures is more than his care for Islamic Shari'ah, is a person whose loyalty cannot be trusted because it is for greediness and winning worldly favours that he has come to the king. Such a person cannot be trusted because he always prefers personal desires over those of public affairs; 2) A person of integrity, sincerity and of noble birth be selected; 3) Once such a person is selected and appointed to a responsible position he should be taken into confidence in most of the matters;

12 *Ibid.*

4) king should keep alive the hope of promotion among his administrators, *qazis*, commanders, helpers, and other officers of state. While giving promotions, however, he should see that a non-deserving person or noble should not be promoted because if this happens, it will cause disappointment amongst able and good officers. Kingly grandeur is safeguarded only if a due balance in this respect is maintained. Therefore, promotions should be given only in deserving cases. King should not also frequently doubt the integrity of any officer or noble unless he has properly enquired about it. Along with it he should also take care that all the nobles should not come very close to him.

In addition to this, referring to Bahram Gor (Iranian King), Barani has enumerated the following qualities of advisers, ministers, administrators, nobles and commanders which a king should keep in mind: 1) They should be very sincere; 2) highly talented; 3) expert mathematician; 4) best observer of situation; 5) widely experienced; 6) should possess ripe judgement; 7) very sober and mild in behaviour; 8) of good temperament and wit; 9) of quick and good intelligence; 10) farsighted; 11) cooperative; 12) a person of careful spending; 13) forbearing; 14) broad-minded; 15) well-wisher of the state and Islam; 16) God-fearing; 17) highly responsible; 18) exemplary in performance; 19) well-behaved; 20) of simple nature; 21) high birth; 22) a man of determination and high ideals; 23) balanced in conversation; 24) trustworthy; 25) courageous; 26) honest and honourable; 27) kind-hearted; 28) peace-loving; 29) forgiver of minor faults; 30) should act like aged person; 31) possess high scholarship and position; 32) statesman; 33) friendly with the people; 34) truthful; 35) fully dedicated; 36) handsome; 37) polite; 38) most suitable amongst the people; 39) most careful amongst the people; 40) highly pious; 41) very strict in implementing state regulations; 42) highly judicious in temperament; 43) highly knowledgeable; 44) should dislike worldly pleasures; 45) good conversationist and speaker; 46) sophisticated; 47) best observer of people's psychology; 48) should be interested to get maximum information on any matter; 49) loyal to the king; 50) maintain his individuality; 51) good handwriting;

52) should not freely mix-up with the people; 53) should fully understand his own personality; and 54) frank.¹³

For appointing such officers to establish a desired administration Barani feels that the king should also possess character best suited to the Islamic ideals. The importance of this aspect has been explained in Barani's 14 advice No.12.¹⁴

Advice 12: Adoption of Certain Principles necessary for successful administration and expeditions

The king should not only establish effective administration in the state, rather he should also endeavour to cultivate in himself all the features of Godhood. His real purpose in establishing order and discipline in the state should be to establish truth in every walk of life. His state should give Islamic Shari'ah and the Islamic Millat a high position of honour and respect. In doing so it should also not be understood that falsehood and evils can completely be removed from society. Evil forces remain in the state and society. This is because every creature has its opposite form. Against truth He has created falsehood. Against order He has created disorder. Against right He has created wrong. Against goodness He has created evil. On the same lines He has created day and night, light and darkness, earth and skies, faith and negation, monoism and pluralism.¹⁵

In this background the purpose of promoting the cause of truthfulness is not to completely destroy the evil forces because this is impossible if all the Prophets of God are gathered together they will not be able to destroy them from the world in the hope of completely establishing truth.

The wisdom of God and laws of values observe so. The work of every good is known and distinguished because of existence of opposing forces/objects. The king or Sultan should rule in such a way that good force are made for dominate over the evil forces. Thus Islamic forces are to be honoured against those of unislamic one.¹⁶

13 *Ibid.*

14 *Ibid.*, pp.164-174.

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*

The Muslim kings in India should struggle and to give a position of honour to Islamic Shari'ah and the Muslims against the Hindus and the Brahmans. The Muslim kings should not only work to establish their administration, keep treasures by collecting *Kharaj*, taxes and revenues to fulfil their worldly pleasures. This is because it is also done by the Hindu Rajas who too have accumulated great treasures by collecting taxes, *Kharaj* and other forms of revenues. The Muslim kings and Sultans should struggle hard to propagate the cause of Islam and to remove the unislamic practices from their domain. Thus the integrity of Islamic laws and the Muslims will be secured. The Muslims will come to dominate the evil forces. If evil practices are still allowed to continue by the Muslim kings and they are contented only with the collection of revenues, taxes, etc., they will not be fulfilling the Islamic purposes. In this way Islamic laws and the Muslims honour will be hampered and they will not be able to establish their superiority over Hindus and other non-Muslims and consequently, the cause of goodness will suffer.¹⁷

Therefore, it is necessary for the Muslim king to help and encourage the Muslim scholars and intellectuals at all costs, so that they can propagate the cause of righteousness. His administrators and commanders should also act on this principle. This will help them to dominate over evil or unislamic forces and establish justice and order in the society. When knowledge of Islam spreads, the people will even forget to think of bad habits or faithlessness. Those who still maintain bad habits will be dishonoured. In this way righteousness will dominate over evil forces. The cause of truth will be promoted. Truth loving people will be honoured and respected in the society. People who do not offer prayers will be feeling humiliated. Truth-loving people will be encouraged to struggle hard against evil forces and to wage *jihad* against them. Falsehood and treachery will be removed. Simple minded people and the lower and the middle classes will feel attracted to adopt good habits. The rich people will be happy to spend more and more on the poor and to give alms and charity. Poverty will thus be removed. False and treacherous people will be discouraged. Forgery, adulteration and cheating in the markets will also vanish

17 *Ibid.*

away. Robbery and thefts will be lessened. An atmosphere of justice and fair play in the society will be established. If these ideals are achieved the rebellious people will also not be able to revolt against the king. They will always be fearful from the king. Thus peace and order will also be ensured. The powerful persons will not dare to commit any injustice on the weak people. Nobody will dare to be cruel on any person. People will come to adopt the habits of soberness and sophistication. Mosques, schools, colleges and universities will be filled with students to get more and more knowledge. The children would be obedient to their parents. The servants will also be found loyal to their masters and officers. The needs of the orphans and widows will be fulfilled. People will honour their commitments. They will willingly act according to Shari'ah laws.¹⁸

In order to explain how for the attainment of these ideals are deeply linked with the king's personal character, Barani has narrated the example of Mamun-ar-Rashid and Amin-ar-Rashid, sons of Harun-ar-Rashid, the great Abbasid Caliph. After father's death there developed tussle between Amin and Mamun. Amin was in the capital (Baghdad) and Mamun was in remote area. Because Amin himself had no love for attainment of Islamic ideals outlined above he indulged himself in luxuries, drinking, womanizing etc. This spread of all sorts of vices and evils. The scholars and Sufis of Islam were discouraged in this situation. It was only after Mamun's becoming the Caliph in Baghdad that they were able to restore their position as well as goodness and righteousness in Baghdad. This was because Mamun possessed good character and had great love for the cause of Islam. Barani has cited this example to prove his theory from the book entitled *Ma'thir-ul-Khulafa*.¹⁹

In order to attain these ideals the king is required to be very vigilant. But that is not possible unless he has got a separate and independent system of information. This enables him to keep a

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Ibid.*

well-knit espionage system. For this purpose he extensively, advised the king in Advice 9 which is reproduced in brief.²⁰

Advice 9: Appointment of Intelligence and Information Officers and Ambassadors

If an Islamic king comes to know about the signs of a revolt, or disturbance in any part of his empire through his intelligence and information officers, he evolves a plan in advance to tackle the situation. This plan is prepared by him in consultation with his advisors, commanders and administrators. Thus the situation is tackled before its ripeness. If the people come to know that king's espionage system is so large that all their schemes and discussions come to the notice of the king, they will fear to secretly meet with each other or plan so. In this way king's rule will become more secure.²¹

Seeing this importance of the intelligence and information officers and sending ambassadors to different areas of the world, the king should be very careful because a lot depends on their reports. Therefore, the king should be very careful to appoint those officers. In appointing these officers the ruler should keep in mind that the God has created different kinds of people possessing different qualities. Some are bad and some are good people. Some have evil qualities and some are very good. Some are peaceful and some are trouble creators. The king should particularly watch over their activities of the trouble creators and try to check their activities by adopting various methods of warning and punishment. Such people should not be given a place of honour in the state... Only persons of good habits, sincerity and good cause should be encouraged, patronized and honoured so that the goodness and prosperity develops in their name.²²

To substantiate his viewpoint Barani has cited the example of Hazrat Umar. How Hazrat Umar appointed his intelligence and information officers and kept his ambassadors at different areas of his empire after the conquest of Iran? A systematic espionage was

20 *Ibid.*, pp.118-130

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid.*

established which regularly kept Umar informed about happenings in all the areas of the empire.²³

In appointing these officers the king should have the high ideals. As a matter of primary importance the king or the caliph should himself be a right-minded, sincere and dedicated ruler. By maintaining espionage system, the ruler and the state will benefit in these ways: the first will be that the governors, *walis*, *qazis* (judges) and administrators will know that as all of their actions are being reported to the centre, they should be careful and efficient in the performance of their duties. They will try to remain fair in discharging their official duties. They will not become cruel on the public. They will not indulge in favouritism, adultery and nepotism. They will also not indulge into personal leisures and pleasures. They will become fearful and careful in discharging of their official duties. Another benefit will be that when the people will realize that the conduct of judges, governors and administrators is brought to the notice of the king, they will also become careful in their own social behaviour and would not do anything to disturb peace and order in the state. Different groups of people will also not try to dominate over others. The strong one will refrain from committing cruelties on the weak sections of population. The third benefit will be that the thieves and dacoits will be discouraged. The fourth will be that the administrators will not do any fraud in maintaining account of their respective department. The fifth benefit will be that the nobles, administrators, commanders, judges and other high officials of the State will themselves not become cruel on their own servants and slaves. They will be judicious and kind towards their servants.²⁴

Barani has cited the example of Alexander to prove his contention. Alexander used to get weekly, fortnightly and monthly reports about different areas of his vast empire by establishing an efficient espionage system under the control of able intelligent and information officers. This information is necessary for devising an intelligent state policy. If a king devises a policy without getting full information about the concerned area, it is like striking in the

23 *Ibid.*

24 *Ibid.*

darkness. Kingship is knowledgehood. There can be no concept of kingship without knowledge.²⁵

Sultan Mahmud was himself very careful in appointing his intelligence and information officers in provinces of Ghazni, Khwarizm, Mawara-un-Nahr, Khurasan, and Sestan. He used to give them high salary, great privileges, and a position of honour in the state affairs. Always the persons who were very near to the Sultan were appointed to such positions. They functioned as agents or *Qasid* of the king. Persons possessing the qualities of truthfulness, accurate reporting, Integrity, noble birth, confidence, inquisitive nature, and of trust were appointed. They kept the king informed in such a way as the interests of both the king and the people were adequately served.²⁶

If the king's agents possess bad qualities of inaccurate reporting, deceptiveness, faithlessness, are of low origin, selfishness, greediness, meanness, short temperance, the cause of rulership, and welfare of the people will be damaged because such persons cannot fairly and correctively report to the king. Any judgement of the king in the light of inaccurate information will be against the interests of the State. The persons deserving punishment will be rewarded or vice-versa. This policy will ultimately resulted in making the people enemies of the king and vice-versa. In this way the whole society will be disturbed and disorganized.²⁷

With the advice of Ahmad Hasan Maimandi, Sultan Mahmud had established such an espionage system that whenever an intelligence and information officer or agent was appointed, he was appointed on the condition that if he was found reporting inaccurately, or indulging in unfair means in order to please the local administrators he was to be given death punishment in public and his whole property and belongings were to be confiscated. His family and his servants were to be sent out to far-flung areas. Such an undertaking was taken before appointment. Ahmad Hasan took

25 *Ibid.*

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*

a particular care in giving high salary, great privileges and position to these intelligence and information officers.

Once Ahmad Hasan prepared a list of 200 intelligence and information officers and obtained undertaking from all of them. Mahmud called them to his *Darbar*. On appearance in the *Darbar* it was discovered that only 130 officers stuck to their undertakings. Seventy persons refused to hold the responsibility due to fearful consequences and they withdrew their undertakings. On this Mahmud ordered that those who accepted the responsibility, their undertakings should be torn into pieces. And added that they should be sent back to their previous responsibilities. He called upon other 70 administrators to assume the responsibilities of intelligence and information officers as proposed by Ahmad Hasan. This was done by Mahmud because those who gave undertaking had done so under attraction of high salary privileges and facilities attached to the new posts. With such a care, Mahmud was able to establish a good system of intelligence in his empire by which all the matters of his state were rightly and objectively reported to him.²⁸

Army

Another essential requirement of a good government or king is the maintenance of an efficient and disciplined army.²⁹ This is impossible unless the king enjoys support of a dedicated group. For the selection and maintenance of such a group Barani puts advice No.7: 1) The king should constantly watch the interests and welfare of his dedicated workers. He should never show negligence in this respect because his whole rulership depends on the welfare of this group; 2) He should spend largely to recruit and maintain such a group. For instance he should not hesitate in spending large amount on recruiting his dedicated soldiers. All the requirements and provisions of the army should be adequately met so that the soldiers and other dedicated workers become self-sufficient in their worldly needs. This will enable them to fully devote their energies in the cause of state and kingship; 3) The commanders of such an army and leaders of such a dedicated

28 *Ibid.*

29 *Ibid.*, pp.95-113.

workers should be very kind hearted persons. They should be intelligent. If they are not wise and intelligent the cause of kingship will not be promoted. This is because the commanders regularly meet the king, whereas the soldiers and other servants do not. If such a group of commanders do not possess intelligence, the group as a whole will remain ineffective in implementing the state policies; 4) he should select commanders, dedicated nobles on the basis of their abilities. The abilities of leadership, perseverance, determination, sincerity and dedication are to be preferred over other qualities. Such commanders and nobles can best maintain the army and other dedicated workers of the state.³⁰

Through the mouth of Aristotle Barani also advised that a commander should have ten qualities; 1) He should be a God-fearing person; 2) He should be sincerely loyal to the kingship and the state; 3) He should be a man of balanced temperament (*saleem-ut-taba'*) and a man of independent judgement; 4) He should be a person of simple habits who has developed a habit of natural righteousness. If this is not so, the commander possessing other qualities will create trouble for his army and the state; 5) He should always be loyal to the state laws; 6) He should be well-experienced in the art of war; 7) He should himself keep his own dedicated workers and soldiers who should be loyal to him. He should enjoy their confidence; 8) He should be courageous and brave in the art of war; 9) He should be kind hearted on his soldiers and workers. He should take care of the need of his soldiers. He should also be very careful of the welfare of his subordinates; 10) He should speak truth with a sense of righteousness. He should also be clear-headed and a man of principle. This is necessary so that his subordinates should trust him and become ready to sacrifice their all on his orders. A commander who possesses these ten qualities can best maintain a disciplined and an organized army.³¹

A Commander-in-Chief of the army should also possess these qualities to the maximum level. If a commander without these qualities is appointed, the cause of rulership and the state will suffer. And the king will be inviting troubles by keeping a man of

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid.*

bad qualities as C-in-C. Therefore, it is necessary for the king that he should properly enquire about these qualities before appointing him as Commander or Commander-in-Chief. This is proved by *Kitab Mathir-ul-Wuzara*.³²

Barani has cited various examples from this book to prove his contention. He has praised the system of Sultan Mahmud to maintain a highly organised army and best system of administration. This was possible because he acts on the principles outlined above. Abul Qasim was one of the best commanders of Sultan Mahmud. On the welfare of Abul Qasim, Sultan Mahmud spent lakhs of rupees. It was all because of Abul Qasim's chivalrous qualities that Mahmud invaded India on a number of occasions and subdued various rulers and rajas of Sind and Hind.³³

In order to keep the army's discipline upto the mark, the king should also know: 1) about the state of army and expenditure on defence; 2) about the sources of revenues for the army; 3) Twice a year the army transportation and the armaments should be checked so that in the event of war no flaw and mishap in the army discipline may creep; 4) The leading soldiers and efficient commanders should be regularly tested by holding army exercises at regular intervals so that the inefficient one be removed; 5) The commanders should be well-experienced, men of character and integrity, kind-hearted, brave, courageous and well-versed in Islamic spirit.³⁴

Barani has further advised; 1) If a commander is fit to command a group of 100 *swars*, he should not be appointed to command 1000 or 2000 *swars* and if a commander is fit to command 1000 or 2000 *swars* he should not be appointed commander of 100 *swars*. In both cases the ruler will be inviting troubles. He should appoint commanders according to their abilities; 2) To conquer a territory or for waging a war if the king requires to maintain an army of 50,000 soldiers, he should additionally maintain another 25,000 soldiers in reserve so that in the event of any unexpected calamity the situation could be

32 *Ibid.*

33 *Ibid.*

34 *Ibid.*

successfully tackled. Otherwise, if the king does not keep such an additional reserve, he is likely to invite troubles and worries for himself. This is because at such a critical moment a new well-organized army cannot be created; 3) The maintenance of such an additional army will make him to keep a large reserve at the capital and send the required army for the expedition; 4) If there is no war or expedition, the army should not be kept in a state of inactiveness. It should be kept busy in clearing the jungles, safeguarding the frontiers, in collecting revenues, in building forts, in hunting expeditions and other matters of national defence. If the commanders are not kept busy in such matters, they will think of rebellion especially those who are very ambitious; 5) If the defence requirements are fully met and there prevails complete peace and order in the state, the army must be put on certain expedition or *jihad* so that it may be kept fully engaged. To prove both the positive and negative sides of this aspect, Barani has cited the examples of Kaikubad the son of Nausherwan, whose army created troubles when they were not engaged.³⁵

He also mentioned in Advice 10 that the king should take maximum care to keep the army fully equipped with the armaments and other facilities and to keep it as an ever ready force for defensive and aggressive purposes.³⁶

Welfare & Economic Prosperity

The maintenance of a large army and efficient administration is not possible for the king, unless he takes special care for meeting economic needs of the people at cheap rates. This will also make him to provide equipment, transportation, food, clothes to the army easily. Therefore, he should struggle hard to improve the economic standard and well-being of the high and low classes of people, as discussed in Advice 10.³⁷ He should do so by keeping in mind that with the welfare of the army and the people the future of kingship/government is deeply linked. His main concern should be to keep the goods of daily use at cheap prices. In times of crisis and natural calamity caused by shortage of rains or other factors,

35 *Ibid.*

36 *Ibid.*, pp.131-146.

37 *Ibid.*

the king should more particular to arrange for provision of daily goods from the governmental stores and reserves. Along with it he should condone the taxes due to the farmers at the time of crop failures.³⁸

On the other hand when there is a rainy season and the crops are reaped in abundance, fruits and other agricultural products are found at large scale, the traders and *Sahucars* who are interested in more profit keep stores of such articles and to sell these goods at high rates whenever there occurs their shortage. Therefore, it is the duty of every king that he should take particular care and vigilance to keep the things to be sold at cheap rates. He should not give free-hand to the hoarders. The king should fix the prices of essential commodities which should be in the capital of the empire, with strictness by his administrators. The purpose should be to keep the supply of necessities of life at the minimum possible rates. The king should not take it for an easy job. This requires a lot of labour and care on the part of the king. He should consider as an essential part of his policies regarding justice and administration. The administrators, *kotwals* of cities should be instructed to restrict any hoarding in their cities. If they find any such case, they should burn them because the Holy Prophet (PBUH) had himself burnt such stores whenever they were found. This is because a trader who develops the habit of hoarding wheat or other goods he develops bad habits and create a hindrance in the way of supply of food to human beings. He dislikes people's prosperity and well-being. If such a trader does not obey the orders of administrator or *kotwal* his whole property and money may be confiscated and he should be treated harshly by expelling him from the city so that others may get lesson.³⁹

Therefore, the king should instruct his administrators to keep a close watch over the activities of traders and businessmen. The issue of fixation of prices should not be left on them. Prices fixing should not be considered an ordinary matter. It should be given priority over all other things. Small and poor traders should be helped and the big one be checked. Justice in selling and

38 *Ibid.*

39 *Ibid.*

purchasing be established over all the bazaars and markets. Those traders and business indulge in price hiking and food adulteration or any other vices be given different kinds of punishments with a view to humiliate such culprits. An atmosphere of fair dealing should be established through strict regulations. A king cannot be considered judicious if he does not take maximum care to keep the prices of goods at reasonable and cheap rates and ensures their regular supply. If he likes bad habits and becomes cruel on poor, weak, old and uneducated people, he cannot be considered as judicious and truthful ruler. Such a king cannot be considered God's shadow on earth.⁴⁰

It is also necessary for a truthful and judicious king to prepare a rate list for commodities in the capital. Such a list should be followed and maintained by his provincial governors, and administrators.⁴¹

There are many benefits in maintaining a well-disciplined army and providing for regular supply of goods of livelihood at cheap rates by which the king and the public can be equally benefited: 1) Low prices and regular supply of goods of daily use greatly help the king and the state to maintain and strengthen their army on firm and sure foundations; 2) The people in general also equally get benefit from this because scholars, skilled workers, and artisans will come to the capital at large scale; 3) The opponents of the king will be silenced and they will not be in a position to exploit the situation; 4) It will help promote economic prosperity of the people and establishment of a balanced society in which an atmosphere of cooperation among different classes of the society will be ensured; 5) Selling goods of livelihood at cheap rates will involve less expenditure by the king or the state on the army and departments of expenditure; 6) It will help the king and the state in promoting the cause of justice, truthfulness and fair play; 7) The king should act on Holy Prophet's saying: "Get from the rich and distribute it amongst the poor". By this better relationship is developed between the poor and rich classes; 8) Hoarding and price hiking is like a cancer which affects both the ruler and the

40 *Ibid.*

41 *Ibid.*

ruled. By its removal a lot of evils from the society are removed and justice and order in the society is established. In this way the king also becomes very kind to the people; 9) Hoarding and price-hiking are habits of Hindus and other non-Muslims. If the Muslim traders adopt the same evil they will also be treated by God in the same way and they cannot be considered as Muslims because the Muslims can not like such a practice. They act on the principles of God and His Prophet (PBUH). They are very careful in this connection because with their honour and dishonour, the honour and dishonour of God is attached. If they are honoured, it means God and His Prophet is also honoured. If by any evil habit they are dishonoured, it will mean the humiliation of God and His Prophet. Thus they should not do anything against the principles of Islam. Moreover, the Muslims having good qualities are honoured and respected by God.⁴²

Otherwise, they are humiliated by the law of nature; 10) As a consequence of cheap rates and regular supply of goods different artisans and able men will be interested in different kinds of business and trades. The government will also get benefit of this because it will establish an atmosphere of cooperation, balance and discipline in the society. Thus both the king and the people would be able to lead a peaceful and contented life.⁴³

To keep the prices of goods at cheap rates the king and his government should struggle hard in two ways: 1) In dispensation of justice and hearing the complaints, the king and his administrators should be very quick and spontaneous. While doing so they should not discriminate between the general public and their near and dear ones. All must be treated equally so that an aspiration may take birth among the people in general that they should adopt judicious and right way. The traders will dislike hoarding, price-hiking and adulteration. They should not dare to cheat anybody. Equity and justice is established amongst the classes of society. As the people, especially the lower classes, generally try to adopt king's habits, it is necessary that the king should have good habits. 2) The other way to ensure supply of

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid.*

goods at cheap rates is that the king should fix the prices in consultation with the traders and businessmen. To ensure selling and purchase of goods at the controlled rates, the king should appoint such administrators who should be very strict in implementing these rates and in punishing the culprits who do not follow these regulations or still indulge in hoarding, price-hiking, adultery, falsehood and cheating. The *kotwals* and administrators should establish strict control over bazaars and markets. The establishment of such a system in the capital will be followed in other areas.⁴⁴

The king should be vigilant, careful, inquisitive and he should struggle hard to achieve these objectives. As long as the economic prosperity prevails in this way and the administrators and the army function orderly, there will be complete peace and prosperity in the society and state. Moreover, the king should, however, be careful enough to see that he should not do anything which is against the principles of Islam. In order to prove this Barani cites the example of Sultan Mahmud, who did so on the pattern of Hazrat Umar.⁴⁵

After the conquest of Iran and other areas when the Islamic state was enlarged to a considerable extent, Hazrat Umar maintained a regular army of 50,000 *sawars* along with their families which was maintained in the suburbs of Madina, the capital of Islamic empire. Houses were constructed for them. The maintenance of this regular garrison was considered necessary for protecting the capital city from foreign invasion or revolts. Moreover, in the event of revolt in any corner of the empire a contingent from this army was immediately despatched. The establishment of this army outside Madina between the distance of 5 to 24 *kos* necessitated regular supply to the capital city at cheap rates. Hazrat Umar ordered the traders and businessmen to do accordingly. Strict regulations were framed and enforced to ensure regular supply of commodities at cheap rates. In this way great prosperity prevailed amongst the people living within 24 *kos* in the city of Madina. Harmonious relations developed amongst the different sections of people. All kinds of commodities and goods

44 *Ibid.*

45 *Ibid.*

were available in the markets. There was no hoarding of any commodities. The traders and shopkeepers were not allowed by the Caliph and his administration to do any injustice, cheating, adultery, hoarding, price-hiking. The honour and prestige of Madina and its army remained dominant throughout the Islamic empire. Even the foreign countries praised the prosperity of Madina and discipline, honour and dignity of Umar's army. The traders also became so prosperous that they could not even think of charging high rates or adopting any other evil ways in their dealings. It was also ensured that the army gets commodities' supply at the cheapest possible rates.⁴⁶

In order to ensure regular supply of wheat and other essential commodities, it is must for the king to construct big stores which must be maintained till the next crop harvesting season. If the next crop is good, they should sell the old stocks at cheap rates so that new wheat and other food grains can be stored for future. In this way a pressure can be maintained on the traders to maintain regular supply. Thus better future for the king and the state can be ensured.⁴⁷

Consultation

To achieve these ideals, the king needs constant advice from scholars, experts and intellectuals. As Barani says in *Advice* 3⁴⁸ even the Prophet of Islam despite being the Messenger of God, used to consult his companions regularly. The king should follow the same way. But still there is a great problem for the king to ascertain whether an advice given by his advisers is good or bad? In order to reach a right conclusion, the king should consider the following matters before accepting advice: 1) The advice should be in the equal interest of both the king and the people; 2) Negative and positive sides of every step to be taken by the king must be taken into account; 3) The religion of the king and the people should not be endangered by acting on the advice; 4) It should not only bring immediate gains but also produce long term good effects; 5) It should be resulted in goodness not badness; 6) It

46 *Ibid.*

47 *Ibid.*

48 *Ibid.*, pp.26-49.

should convert the enemies into friends; 7) People should readily prepare themselves to participate in such a move; 8) The fools, idiots and unintelligent persons should oppose any such action; 9) It should be very easy to act upon such an advice; 10) Intelligent persons with independent mind should find such an advice clear and straightforward. There should be no conflict between the theory and practice and; 11) It should also promote thought-provoking measures in the country.⁴⁹

To substantiate this viewpoint Barani cites the examples of Asif Barkhiya, nephew and Minister of Hazrat Soloman, the Messenger of God. Barani considers the practices of Soloman and Alexander the great, as the best examples. He also praises the advices given to Alexander by his minister, Aristotle the great philosopher. Although Ardshir and Nausherwan, the great Persian kings were not Muslims, yet he consider their rulership amongst the best ones. The last example is that of Hazrat Umar. Thus Barani has cited the examples of great rulers without any religious prejudices. The only criterion before him is the principle of consultation, being the ideal of Islam.⁵⁰

Then Barani goes on to the list of categories of persons who can be considered fit for giving sincere advice to the ruler. The king is required to be very careful in this respect. They should possess these qualities: 1) All the members of Consultative Assembly (*Majlis-i-Mushawarat*) should express themselves very clearly without any ambiguity. They should debate the matter with logic and sound arguments. They should try to decide any issue by consensus. Once a consensus is reached, they should jointly endeavour to implement the decision. An issue on which consensus is not developed, should be set aside; 2) The persons whose advice is sought should be men of sincerity, devotion, experience and intelligence. All of them should have equal status; 3) They should be fully aware the commands of administration and secrets of rulership because like a doctor they must fully know about the condition of their patients; 4) They should be given full protection and security so that they can independently, and without fear from

49 *Ibid.*

50 *Ibid.*

the ruler, give their advice in the Consultative Assembly. They should freely express without fear from the king; 5) The king/ruler should not express his opinion or wish on any matter on which the advice is sought. He should keep his views confidential and allow free debate on the issue so that a free discussion in the Consultative Assembly can be held. If the king or the ruler expresses his opinion, free discussion cannot take place because the members of the Consultative Assembly will usually advance their arguments sensing the king's opinion. Thus a free discussion cannot be held the cause of righteousness will suffer and consequently the king will also not be able to reach a right conclusion; 6) The king and his advisory group should not take meal before the start of the discussion on very important state matters. If possible the king and his advisers should observe fast on the day. A consultation in this way will be according to God's will and in the best interest of the people and the country; 7) The king should not try to impose his wishes, desires and pleasures on the Consultative Assembly and the people. He should allow the issues to be decided on the basis of merit after consulting the relevant experienced persons.⁵¹

Sultan Mahmood usually consulted his advisers before adopting any measure in the State. He preferred debating the issues in his Consultative Assembly. After consensus he used to act and proceed on his expeditions. This was the key of his success. He benefited so much that in all of his actions and expeditions he never failed. He also disliked the attainment of cheap popularity amongst the masses. Ahmad Hasan, Altu Tanash, Arsalan Jazib, Atezi Nasr Mashkan, Alam Hazeri and Hasan Aqeeli were his exemplary advisers. Mahmud always respected their opinions even if they were against his personal views. Ahmad Hasan who was his schoolmate was especially very close to Mahmud and he possessed an extraordinary intelligence. He was always bold on his views which were based on the basis of sound arguments. He was so confident on his views that he even sometimes, offered reparations for the losses if an expedition fails by acting on his advice. Mahmud used to accept his advice even if it was against the opinions of the Consultative Assembly. To prove his content further Barani cites the examples of Hazrat Umar especially the

51 *Ibid.*

way he consulted his companions on the issue of conquest of Iran. It was on the basis of planning and strategy evolved in the Consultative Assembly that Umar succeeded in conquering Iran. Hazrat Abbas, the uncle of Holy Prophet, usually dominated the consultation in the times of Hazrat Umar. Abbas's views were usually accepted because of his valid arguments.⁵²

Justice

As he explains in Advice 5, the king should remember that justice is important ingredient of *Din-i-Islam*. Without justice there can be no concept of *Din*. It is through justice that a balance in the human society can be established. *Din* and justice are linked together, like twin children. It is through justice that all the criminals are checked and order and peace in the society is established.⁵³ If this ideal of justice is not attained, the principles of Islam will not gain ground in the society. For the king, sometime, it becomes more important to establish justice because unless the criminals are not severely punished, peaceful citizens will not be able to devote themselves to the service of Almighty Allah.

That is why the Holy Prophet (PBUH) has said that one moment of justice is better than seventy years of a saint's prayers to God. This is because the king's justice creates a congenial atmosphere in the society. All the prayers to God performed by different persons in the domain of the king are also counted in the name of the ruler.⁵⁴

Aristotle is quoted to have said that it is must for a judicious ruler that he should discriminate between right and wrong. If he is unable to do this, then there is strong probability that he may seek only worldly pleasures and become slave of his personal wishes and desires. For establishing justice this understanding is necessary for without justice there can be no order and discipline in the society. All other policies of a good ruler will fail if he is unable to do justice in his domain. Therefore, the king should take special

52 *Ibid.*

53 *Ibid.*, pp.66-81.

54 *Ibid.*

care to appoint capable judges, *qazis* and governors in the state. He should also himself remain very kind to these state officers.⁵⁵

He cited the examples of Hazrat Umar and Caliph Mamun-ur-Rashid, the way they became very kind on good officers who helped them in the establishment of justice in the empire. Those rulers showed their favours on them by determining their position and status according to their ability and efficiency.⁵⁶

As Barani says in Advice 13⁵⁷ if a king is not able to cultivate natural love in himself for justice, he will not be able to discriminate between justice and cruelty. His love for justice should be developed on the pattern of the Prophets and the Angels who have this habit by birth. The Prophet's habit for justice and righteousness is so strong that even after death, they continue to offer prayer in their graves.

Barani gives a number of signs of natural habit for justice: 1) By habit he dislikes cruelty and loves to help the suppressed and the weak people against the cruel persons; 2) When he takes such steps, he should not act against the criminals with the intention of taking revenge; 3) In implementation of justice (*Adl*) he should never become careless revengeful, or compromising; 4) He should always be careful and fearful as not to commit any excess on the suppressed persons; 5) While acting so his sense of justice should dominate over his qualities of kindness; 6) While doing so he should also not pay any heed to any criticism, derogatory remarks or praises of his well-wishers; 7) While dispensing justice he should also not care for personal or national loss; 8) He should be very strict and determined in dispensation of justice. All the time he should be devoted to implantation of justice in his empire in every walk of life. In this respect he should not hear any reason or pretext from any of his officials for having failed in dispensing justice; 9) He should fully enquire into the cases. In doing so if his personality is involved, he should prefer the interests of others. In this way his spirit of justice will come out like the sun-shine; 10) He should get the rights of the weaker ones from the strong-ones.

55 *Ibid.*

56 *Ibid.*

57 *Ibid.*, pp.182-192.

He should not become contented unless the strong-one are made to submit before his orders; 11) This should not happen that the king feels attachment of all for justice but he is unable to implement it; 12) While dispensing justice he appear to be vary strict and harsh, but in his heart he should be very kind to the people. Of all the qualities this is very rare; 13) All his wrath and strictness should in be in the service of God. He should not do that for his personal interest; 14) He should give a place of honour to the justice minded people and his administrators and judges; 15) He should hate treachery and falsehood in dispensing justice, and should see that a clear distinction is established between right and wrong; 16) Every person who is involved in litigation should develop a desire to see that all the proceedings of the case including the judgement are conducted in his presence; 17) People should automatically come to respect king's sense of justice. Although some are harshly treated, yet majority should have great regard and respect for the king, and people in general should not hate him; 18) All the time he should think to remove cruelty from his state; 19) 20) He should not act in a state of doubt. But at the same time the cruel minded persons, evil doers and treacherous people should not be given benefit of doubt.⁵⁸

Barani continues that the meaning of justice (*Adl*) is to establish equality between both the parties. In Islam this equality is to be established in two ways: 1) Every caliph, king, qazi, governor, ruler, administrator or any other person holding responsible positions should know that complete balance must be maintained between the Appellants and the Respondents. All their statements and sayings should be adjudged with complete impartiality. While pronouncing judgements they should not care or fear from any ruler; administrator, rich or powerful persons. He should also not look for any favour or promotion in office. The considerations of his near and dear ones should also not creep into his mind. He should also not accept any bribery, gift, service or remuneration for pronouncing judgement. Love and position of parents, brothers, sons, or his office dignity also should not prevent him in giving right judgement. He should also not fear from people's opposition or enmity. He should not do any favour to anybody. A Judgement

58 *Ibid.*

which is pronounced fairly and in accordance with these conditions is a precious judgement which is loved by the people and God. Such a moment of dispensation of justice is even better than seventy years of prayers.⁵⁹

Other kind of equality is general equality with the people, a practice done by Hazrat Abu Bakr, Umar, and Ali. The same sense of equality was reflected later by Umar bin Abdul Aziz. This to be established by maintaining standard of living like ordinary people in the society. They should live like the people in simplicity without pomp and show. In eating and dressing they should live like their servants. Although it is very difficult to combine two opposite qualities of simplicity and kingship, yet it is the way of the Holy Prophet and the Pious Caliphs.⁶⁰

Therefore, the king should struggle hard to establish justice by two manners outlined above. If he is unable to lead a simple life like those of the Holy Prophet and the Pious Caliphs, he should be repentant to God Almighty but never hesitate in the maintenance of first equality which is a matter of highest importance for his spirit of justice.⁶¹

To prove his viewpoint Barani has quoted the examples of justice done by Hazrat Umar and Nausherwan. Umar established justice in both ways as propounded by Barani. He led simple life like the Prophet of Islam and always acted with a sense of equality for both the Appellants and Respondents. The simple manner in which Umar entered Jerusalem and Bait-ul-Maqdas are highly praised by Barani. Nausherwan, the great Iranian king was able to establish justice and equality for both the appellants and respondents. In the second case, he could not live like Umar. Rather he lived with pomp and show in his great palace.⁶²

State Policies Rules and Regulations

Barani explains in Advice 15 that king should know that it is by framing good policies and rules and regulations that the state administration can be established on secure foundations. These

59 *Ibid.*

60 *Ibid.*

61 *Ibid.*

62 *Ibid.*

should be framed for the promotion of aforementioned ideals and to distinguish between right and wrong on permanent basis in the light of Islamic Shari'ah. The purpose of framing these rulers and policies should be to benefit for the present as well as for the future. If this ideal is not achieved and the people and king do not benefit that law and policy cannot be termed good. After framing law befitting such conditions discussed above, they should be strictly enforced by the king and his administrators. All these laws and regulations should be framed in consultation with Ulama, scholars and intellectuals of Islam. These laws should be framed keeping in view the local situation as well. In India it is necessary for the Kings and Sultans to follow the policies, rules and regulations framed by Sultan Mahmud. If you adopt these regulations the future of your state will be ensured. This is because Mahmud spent about two years in framing such regulations in consultation with Ahmad Hasan, Ali Abu Sehl, Asfar Aini and other intellectuals of his *Darbar*. Throughout his 36 years of rule Mahmud maintained these regulations and policies. His system of administration was running on secure foundations due to strict enforcement of these regulations.⁶³

If you desire to frame your regulations and policies, you should do so keeping in view these four conditions: 1) No law should contradict with the principles of Shari'ah or they may not cause the humiliation of Shari'ah laws; 2) It should encourage good people and the helpers of the Government, promote righteousness and discourage evil forces. It should not promote hatred amongst different sections of the population; 3) These should be framed in the light of examples of good kings and caliphs; 4) None of the practices and regulations should be against the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet. If anything like performance of Sijda happens in the *Darbar* which is against Islam, the Sultan should repent to God and try to discourage such practices in his *Darbar*.⁶⁴

As per advice 17⁶⁵, while implementing his orders and regulations the king should see that the people can easily adopt his

63 *Ibid.*

64 *Ibid.*

65 *Ibid.*, pp.258-266.

regulations and act upon his orders. The adoption of regulations should not cause any difficulty and unnecessary burden on the people. They should fit into their psychology and temperament.

This principle is even followed by God Almighty while giving His Orders to Humanity. He claims not to put any unnecessary burden on human beings. Before giving orders he keeps in mind whether a person has the capacity to act accordingly. No one is asked by God to do anything which is outside the scope of his power or reach. All the laws of Shari'ah are based on this principle.⁶⁶

There are four kinds of Shari'ah laws; 1) *Farz*; 2) *Wajib*; 3) *Sunnah*; 4) *Mustahsin* or *Nawafil*. The first two have priority over others. Amongst all, the first is of highest importance coming as compulsion from God. The laxity is allowed only for a person who is patient, or on journey. This is allowed even in case of regular prayer and the fasts of Ramzan. While the number of prayers is reduced in this case, the fasts of Ramzan also do not become compulsion. This laxity is provided only to cause easiness and smoothness of human beings because God is also not harsh on the people. He is very kind and considerate of the difficulties of the people. He ignores minor faults.⁶⁷

The king is required by Barani to adopt the same attitude towards human beings as that of God for implementation of his policies, rules and regulations. He should be very soft in his attitude to implement the Shari'ah laws. If the people of good nature commit any error, they should not be reprimanded. Their minor errors should not be taken into account. This is necessary only in case of habitual evil doers. The simple minded people should be dealt with softness and soberness. A due balance is necessary in his temperament. He should also not be too soft and kind like sugar that all the flies may eat him, He should also not be harsh like poison that every one who tastes is killed.⁶⁸

From *Sharah-al-Sunnah*, Barani has narrated the example of Holy Prophet to prove his mildness. Once an A'rabi committed the

66 *Ibid.*

67 *Ibid.*

68 *Ibid.*

sin of an intercourse with his wife during the fast of Ramzan. He became very worried because this is not allowed in Shari'ah laws. He went to Holy Prophet who, according to the Shari'ah, asked him to observe fasting for 60 days continuously. But the A'rabi refused to do so for his hygienic reasons. Then the Holy Prophet ordered him to purchase a slave and free him. This was also out of his reach. Then the Prophet asked him to give meal to 60 poor people. This was also refused by him by saying that he himself was very poor. Meanwhile, a person presented some bunches of dates to the Prophet. Upon seeing this, the Holy Prophet gave these dates to the A'rab and asked him to distribute them as charity to the people of his family and clan. When he went back, the clan of his tribe were so impressed with this mildness of Holy Prophet that they [along with their tribesmen] accepted Islam.⁶⁹

To give example of harshness, Barani has narrated the story of the Iranian King, Yazgard, who after spending his treasures lavishly for about 20 years when faced a crisis became very cruel on his people. Thus he became an enemy of the people. The people also hated him because of his harshness. This tussle eventually led to his downfall.⁷⁰

Determination and Sovereignty of the King:

For a king, explains Barani in Advice 4⁷¹, it is of the importance that his determination should be firm and there should be a consistency in his different policies. This is necessary for the honour and integrity of the ruler amongst the people and the government officials. Once a king decides to do a job he should never waver under any circumstances.

By citing the example of Alexander, Barani explains that determination is right which results in the benefit of the Government and the people. The causes of the state are promoted. If these ideals are hampered the determination of a king cannot be considered right. It is, therefore, necessary that before giving orders or reaching a conclusion to adopt a policy or resorting an expedition the king should discuss the matter with his Advisers and

69 *Ibid.*

70 *Ibid.*

71 *Ibid.*, pp.50-60.

consult them. All pros and cons of the matter should be reasonably considered and discussed. When the matter has been thoroughly debated and there is strong probability of success in the event of its adoption, then the king should make his determination known. After this it is necessary that the action should be taken at the earliest possible time. Delay in its implementation is not advisable. He should put all the necessary resources of his state for implementation of his right determination which Barani terms as *Azamul Mulk*. This is what the Holy Prophet and the Pious Caliph of Islam had been doing.⁷²

If a king persists on a matter which is neither in the interest of the people nor the state, his insistence and determination would not be considered a right one.⁷³

To prove his contention, Barani has cited two examples. One is of Hazrat Abu Bakr, the way he tackled the issue of heresy in Islam and his right determination with which he was able to solve all the problems of the nascent Islamic state. It was due to his right determination that complete order was restored in the state and Caliph's authority was established in Jazirat-ul Arab.

This was possible because of Hazrat Abu Bakr's right determination. Barani also cites the example of Abbasid Caliph Mu'tasim Billah, the way he met the Romans with courage and determination, despite certain handicaps and bad rumours in his army. He also cites the example of Sultan Mahmud, the way he conquered Somnat because while proceeding towards Somnat in the deserts of Sind he faced certain difficulties. But they were all tackled by Mahmud through his right determination and complete faith in God. By his determination all hurdles were tackled and Mahmud successfully moved to Somnat to accomplish his expedition.⁷⁴

Barani has given examples of kings whose determination was wrong. They had to suffer because of their wrong determination. In this case he cited the example of Khusro Parvez, the Iranian king who did not reasonably heard the message of Holy Prophet rather

72 *Ibid*

73 *Ibid.*

74 *Ibid.*

be became infuriated with extreme anger, on its reading and tore up Prophet's letter into pieces. This unreasonable attitude became the cause of his ruin and the destruction of Iranian kingdom at the hands of Islamic forces. Same thing happened with Yazid whose wrong determination resulted into destruction of his empire.⁷⁵

As explained in Advice 16, in implementation of his determination the king should have high ideals before him. He should know that his favour and kindness on people is also the king of all favours and kindness. This is because the king occupies a unique position in the state. His position must be highly respected by the people. This requires that the king should possess high ideals and determination in the empire. This will make him to keep his honour and integrity. If the king possess good qualities he will considered a shadow of God in the state, the obedience of whose orders will become binding on the people.⁷⁶

It is because of this that God has bestowed prophets with highest knowledge, position, intelligence, character and other good habits by nature. This does not make them to commit any fault. They possess highest ideals. The Muslim kings should also act accordingly. And in implementation of Shari'ah they should not come to adopt mean and low habits. It is the maintenance of their high ideals that enable them to restore the highest honour and supremacy of Shari'ah over all the walks of life.⁷⁷

There are many signs of king's high ideals and determination:

- 1) Despite being a king he should not develop love and permanent belonging to worldly matters. Knowing that he is also to die and pass to the life after death, he should endeavour to love for the life after death because of its permanent nature. If this is not possible, he should try his best to collect best means of life and best qualities in his character;
- 2) He should be thankful to God and regularly bestow favour on the people;
- 3) He should always have a burning passion for promotion of goodness and righteousness in the empire. He should not expect any reward from people for these acts;
- 4) He should not accept anything from the people as gift or other ways.

75 *Ibid.*

76 *Ibid.*, pp.232-257.

77 *Ibid.*

He should himself give to the deserving ones; 5) He should hate laziness and carelessness in state matter. He should be dedicated in the promotion of state and national ideals; 6) All the needy and poor people and even the animals and birds should get meal from him; 7) The basis of all laws in the state should germinate from his good actions; 8) Even if he reaches the zenith of his power, he should not become contented. He should still continue to work hard; 9) Economic needs of the people should be fulfilled. No one should be disappointed; 10) All the prisoners, sufferers, poor and the weak people should feel that the solution of their grievances is attached with the king; 11) After attaining the ideals the king should try to adopt such policies which under normal condition are considered impossible to attain and never become contented with the attainment of any ideal.⁷⁸

Sultan Mahmud acted on the aforementioned principle. At one time even 20,000 people used to take their meals with him. In winter and summer seasons more than twenty-thousand people were provided cloths for their dresses. When Mahmud returned from the conquest of Somnat, he gave one lakh twenty thousand horses and mules to his troops stationed in Khawarism and Mawara-un-Nahr. At the time of shortage, the troops and the animals of the army posted at far-flung areas used to be provided with meals, fodder, dress and other needs. The arms wasted in the battles were replaced by supply of arms from Mahmud's arms factory. Similarly horses, camels and other things were also provided from the state stores. All these things helped the king in keeping his ideal high. Alexander had also acted on the same principles.⁷⁹

As explained in Advice 20, king's sovereignty should also not be affected by anyone. He should not act under pressure from his relatives or any other group of persons. He should be independent in exercising his powers. He should take decisions independently. King's wives and slaves should also not dominate over him in state matters.⁸⁰

78 *Ibid.*

79 *Ibid.*

80 *Ibid.*, pp.292-304.

This is necessary because sometimes some persons of evil intentions come to encircle the king and dominate over him in framing his policies. This is what happened with Qabad, the father of Nausherwan because he entrusted the job of state affairs to Mazdik, the great evil doer and faithless person which led to chaos and confusion in the empire.⁸¹

Five brothers of Usman and his other relatives were appointed governors of different provinces by removing the highly respected companions of the Holy Prophet. In the capital of Madina also they dominated over him. Marwan bin Hakam was particularly dominant over Usman. This dominance of relatives over Usman was disliked by experienced companions because this dominance of Bani Ummayads led to start a tussle between Banu Ummayad and Banu Hashim. As the Banu Ummayads were mostly later converts to Islam, they started taking revenge from members of Banu Hashim. All the high posts were captured over by Banu Ummayads. The Caliph Usman's sovereignty was so much influenced by his kinsmen that all what was being done in the Caliphate especially in the middle and towards the end of his rule was done under pressure from them. As some of the Banu Ummayads were not good Muslims as other companions were, they indulged into worldly mat and committed acts against the Shari'ah. This necessitated two or three uprisings against Usman which were successfully dealt with. Usman wanted to remove such governors but his kinsmen were so much dominant over him that he could not do so. Finally Malik Ashtar led a great army into Madina and there was no adequate army to save Usman from death and Shahadat. In this grave hour neither his kinsmen as governor sent any army to protect him nor people of Madina struggled to save Usman. All proved to be mere spectators.⁸²

As explained in Advice 11, the king should be very particular in preparing a time-schedule for his duties. Once he prepares such a time schedule the same must be strictly observed by himself and his state officers. While preparing his time schedule the king should remember that most of his time should go in the service of

81 *Ibid.*

82 *Ibid.*

the people and conducting state matters. Very little should be left for his personal or private affairs. This was what was done by Hazrat Umar who was very strict in the observance of his time-schedule prepared on the model of Holy Prophet. He left very little for his personal and family matters. This made him to be ever vigilant and determined in the performance of his state duties.⁸³

Other Qualities

In order to rule successfully it is very necessary for the king to keep up good intentions in the way of God and Shari'ah, as explained in Advice 1 and 2.⁸⁴ In order to keep himself safe from the supernatural evil forces, it is necessary for the ruler or the king to recite Sura Al-Mujadila, if not daily on special occasion when the ruler is facing grave and critical situation. This constant reading with full understanding will enable him to adopt good policies.

As explained in Advice 8, the king should keep himself fully informed about the happenings in the state and about the people's economic position specially those of the rich and the noble.⁸⁵ This will help him to watch the activities of the rebellious minded people and the trouble creators. This is made possible by his intelligence and information officers as advised in Advice 9⁸⁶, discussed above.

A due balance is necessary in the king's policies of punishment and forgiveness in different matters of the state. He should take maximum care for this while adopting different policies. If this balance is disturbed, the king's rule will weaken and his state will perish. This is what has been explained by Barani in Advice 14.⁸⁷

As explained in Advice 18,⁸⁸ the king should possess opposite qualities in himself. This is because God has created man with different qualities which are opposite to each other. Thus every

83 *Ibid.*

84 *Ibid.*

85 *Ibid.*

86 *Ibid.*

87 *Ibid.*

88 *Ibid.*

man is mixture of opposite qualities. He/she is bestowed with the qualities of wrath, harshness, kindness, proudness, forgiveness, etc. When these qualities are bestowed in man to the highest degree that person becomes a king. The king with these qualities should have the right to act as Caliph and viceroy of God on earth. He should possess both the good and negative qualities. As he has to deal with a persons of different qualities, he should manifest his qualities according to the nature of particular person(s) or the occasion. Sometimes king will have to act with kindness and sometimes with harshness. Sometimes he has to ignore and forgive, but at the other hand he cannot spare any evil doer. Manifestation of his qualities depends on the nature of different occasions. This is necessary for the continuity of his rule. Otherwise, if he is kind all the time, he cannot be respected and obeyed. If he is harsh in all the matters the people and his supporters will come to him. Therefore, it is necessary that he should exhibit different qualities at different occasions. If he cannot exercise his qualities in a good and balanced manner according to the Islamic Shari'ah, he cannot become shadow Caliph or viceroy of God on earth. He should be judicious in his different actions and policies. Such a king is to be duly rewarded by God in the life hereafter.⁸⁹

King should also remember that his kingship is temporary. One day he is to die and pass to another life. He will be accountable to God in the life hereafter. If he has acted with due regard to the laws of Shari'ah, he will be duly rewarded. Otherwise he will be caused to suffer everlasting punishment. Therefore in exercise of his power he should act with high spirit of Islam so that truth may prevail in his empire.⁹⁰

Barani has cited the example of Hazrat Umar who was very kind on those who implemented or practiced the laws of Shari'ah and very harsh on those who showed slackness in the practice of Shari'ah. He was very careful about the welfare of those orphans who had lost the parents in the cause of a *Jihad*. He was also very kind on widows whose husbands sacrificed their lives for the cause of Islam. But he was very harsh on evil doers and cruel-minded

89 *Ibid.*

90 *Ibid.*

persons. Thus Umar exhibited different qualities according to the need and compulsions of the hour and the people.⁹¹

As in Advice 21⁹², Barani advised the king not to appoint persons of low birth and bad habits to high positions in the state administration or army. Being in this twenty-first century one can negate or criticise his views. As far as low birth is concerned, it can also be termed against the principles of Islam. But as far as the circumstances of that age which Barani lived the Muslim state was being founded in Hindu lands of India, it might have been considered as a matter of necessity. Otherwise the institution of slavery was also there by which the persons of low origin were given position of responsibilities.

As given in Advice 22⁹³ Barani advised the king to protect old, noble and ruling families and treat them carefully after the conquest of any new territory.

In his last advice (Advice 24), Barani advised the king to remain loyal and obedient to God especially in later years of his rule, because of his approaching to death. He should pray for His forgiveness and blessings.

In the end of his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, Barani claims that it was with hard work and reading a lot of previous works on the system of government and administration. He also claims that the scholars, intellectuals, ministers, kings, administrators and warriors will find his work more useful than the others.⁹⁴

Here a comparison between the ideas of Barani and Nizamul Mulk Tusi (1017-1091) seems to be appropriate. Theoretically though there is a similarity in the ideas of the scholars but the explanation of the both are quite different. Both of them emphasized on good character of the king, his administrators, commanders and qazis but they differ in the details. Barani's approach is more illustrative and detailed. Both the scholars have cited examples from the history of

91 *Ibid.*

92 *Ibid.*, pp.295-304.

93 *Ibid.*, pp.305-317.

94 *Ibid.*, pp.340-342.

Islam, Persia and Greece. Unlike Barani, Tusi has derived some examples from the history of the Chinese kings.⁹⁵ This difference is perhaps because Nizamul Mulk Tusi was the Chief Minister of Sultan Malik Shah who ruled Turkistan from 1074 to 1092⁹⁶, but Barani never exercised any administrative responsibility.⁹⁷ When the former was a practical politician, the latter was an academic, political, scientist and historian whose close relatives were very much involved in the administration of Delhi Sultans. Both were, however, devoted to suggesting better ways and means to improve the system of their governments.

Similarly, there exist differences in the approaches of Barani and al-Ghazali (1058-1111). It was, perhaps, because Ghazali was more of a philosopher than a political scientist, whereas Barani's concern is to suggest ways and means to the king to improve his system of government and administration. Ghazali's concern seems to justify the existence of state and kingship as a matter of human necessity. To him state and kingship is a "constant need" of human beings. His philosophical explanations of state organs are different from that of Barani who considers the state mechanism as an independent system of government.⁹⁸ It is, however, very interesting to note that Ghazali, Barani and Tusi all of them consider *khilafat-i-Rashida* as the best examples for the kings and governments.

The greatest difference between Barani and Tusi as well as Ghazali the land and the people in which they lived. It was the issue of establishing an effective system of Muslim

95 For Tusi's ideas see, Haroon Khan Sherwani, *Studies in the History of Early Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, Lahore, 1942, pp.170-188, Tusi's ideas are explained in his *Siyasat Namah* and *Dasturul Wuzara*.

96 *Ibid.*, p.171.

97 P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, (London: 1960), pp.20-39; and S.M. Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan*, (Lahore: n.d.), pp.123-124.

98 For the views of Ghazali, see Sherwani, pp.189-231; and M.M. Sharif, a *History of Muslim Philosophy*, (Wiesbaden: 1963), pp.581-642.

government in a Hindu land, whereas the other two thinkers put forward as to how the system of government can be improved in a Muslim land. The difference lies in the nature of the two religiously different population groups. Central Asia was a Muslim majority area ruled by themselves, while, India was a Hindu majority are ruled by the Muslim minority. Thus the nature of their political problems was different from each other.