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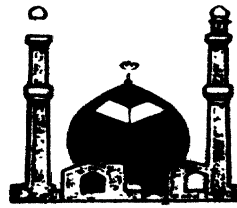

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TO THE MEMORY OF

My Dear Father

Sayyid ʻAli Murtaḍa Ṣaḥib

AND

My Fond Mother

Zubaydah Bi Bi Ṣāḥibah

PREFACE

For the last twenty years I have been studying Islamic History and allied subjects. When I joined the Muslim University, Aligarh, in 1944 for a degree in Islamic History, Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb suggested to me that I should write a treatise on *Arab Administration*.

Although there is plenty of material for a study of this topic, scattered in large volumes of Arabic works, there is not any book in any language which deals with this subject in a comprehensive manner. A few chapters of Amīr 'Ali, Mez, Von Kremer, Levy and Hitti give much valuable information. Since all these works are written to cover several other topics also, the information they give about administration is scanty. This work is a humble attempt to fill the void.

My desire to keep the work within the present limit has forced me to assume some knowledge of Islamic History and some acquaintance with a few very common Arabic terms on the part of the reader.

But for Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb's great help, constant guidance and persistent encouragement, I could not have undertaken this work. Mr. Shaykh 'Abdu 'r-Rashīd directed the execution of this work and gave me very valuable suggestions and help. Professor 'Abdu 'l 'Azīz Memoni helped me with many of his rare and valuable Arabic books and often spent several hours with me searching for relevant material. I express my sincere thanks to the above-mentioned professors of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

All scholars who have worked on such topics in India have realised the lack of facilities for research work in this country, and I am no exception to the general rule although the Muslim University library is one of the richest in India as far as works on Islamic topics are concerned.

I am highly grateful to my friend and colleague Mawlawi Raḥīm Aḥmad Ṣāḥib Fārūqi, M.A., and to my former pupil and friend M. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān Ṣāḥib, B.A., for their kindness in going through the typescript and suggesting several improvements However, I am solely responsible for the opinions expressed herein. My thanks are due to my pupil Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-Ghaffār Ḥusayni for helping me in preparing the index.

Madras:
16th February, 1948

S. A. Q. HUSAINI

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INTRODUCTION

FOURTEEN hundred years ago a small nation of a few hundred thousand people inhabited Arabia, a sub-continent of 1,000,000 square miles and contained within it all grades of social structure. It was surrounded by highly civilised peoples like the Persians and the Romans. The Arabs were a predominantly nomadic people details of whose ample and crude thoughts, fears and hopes, longings and aspirations, feelings and passions, virtues and vices, customs and manners, beliefs and superstition carouses and revelries, pangs and anxieties, love an hatred, in short, all the baser and finer elements of life are available to us expressed in verses seriously composed or uttered at the spur of the moment by mostly the unlettered men and women of that people.

This remarkable people, driven by economic and historic forces and led and united by a great ideology, rose up as one man, before the very eyes of the civilised nations, dominated the surrounding countries and evolved a system of administration which may be considered the best and most advanced in the Middle Ages.

In the Bedouin settlement of Yathrib (al-Madinah) a small band of fugitives from Makkah under the leadership of Prophet Muḥammad laid the foundation of a State in A.D. 622. One year after the foundation, its army numbered only 313 men, and after one more year the young State could put in the field only two horses in addition to a small infantry. Within ten years of the foundation of this seedling State, the major part of Arabia was consolidated under the Prophet, and within twenty, the Arabs conquered the major part of the Persian Empire and the whole of Syria and Egypt. Within one hundred years, the great and saintly successor of the Prophet, 'Umar II (99-101 A.H.), ruled over an Empire

extending from the Chinese frontier in the east to the Atlantic in the west, and from the Indian Ocean in the south to the Caspian and the Black Seas in the north.

It is not this extremely swift expansion of the Empire which forms the most interesting and remarkable feature of the history of the world during this century, but the march of historic and economic forces which consolidated the tribal people of Arabia into one vigorous and conquering nation, the various devices which this simple but remarkably versatile people had to adopt to maintain and further extend a fast expanding Empire spread over parts of all the three continents of the then known world and the development of the simple organism of the State inaugurated at al-Madīnah into a highly organised and complicated machinery of government, that mark out the period as unique for the study of the evolution of a nation and its political institutions.

To follow step by step the formation of a simple State by a nation, which had in it the most primitive combination—the family—as the sole basis of social life, to follow the growth of that simple State year by year and observe new governmental offices and officials spring up as and when exigencies demanded them, in short, to trace the growth of a seedling-State of a primitive people through all the stages of its development till it grows into a full-grown tree with its various branches, leaves, flowers and fruits, is an intellectual delight which more than compensates the immense pain involved in picking up bits of administrative details from large and voluminous works (dealing mainly with political events) and constructing out of them a work of this nature.

I have avoided long discussions and also avoided defending or strongly criticising any system or item of administration. Here and there I have used a word or two in praise of certain items or in disapproval of certain others. Topics like *al-jizyah*, over which much valuable ink has been spilt, I have dealt with in a detached and

cool manner, confining myself to the details and not trying to justify or condemn a tax which had been in existence under the Romans and the Persians and was borrowed from them by the Muslim State. Had I indulged in discussions, the size of this work would have multiplied several times and the object of putting a concise and reliable work on the subject in the hands of students of Islamic history would have been defeated.

The work ends with the first century of the 'Abbāsid rule, for by that time not only the character of the administration ceased to be Arab, but also real power passed into the hands of non-Arab chieftains.

CHAPTER I

PRE-ISLAMIC POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

THE Arabs were divided into two categories: the townspeople (*Ahlu 'l-Ḥaḍarah*) and the desert-dwellers (*Ahlu 'l-Bādiyah*). The natural facilities available to these two categories and their economic activities being different, there was much difference in their governmental organisation.

In an Assyrian inscription of the eighth century, Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) says that he subdued the tribes of Thamūd and Ibādid "who inhabit the desert, who know neither high nor low officials."[1] This statement relates to the nomadic Bedouins. But another Assyrian inscription dated about 2350 B.C. mentions that the kingdom of Magan (Ma'an)[2] in Arabia sent timber, stone and metals to the Sumerian King Gudea of Sirgulla.

Thus we see that, on the one hand, the ancient Bedouins had no political institution whatsoever, and that, on the other, since the very dawn of history, nay even before that, the town-dwellers of Arabia had some form of organised government. In tracing the development of the Arab administrative system, we have to bear in mind the nomadic character of the Northern people (Banū 'Adnān) on the one hand and the civilised nature and rich political experience of the Southerners (Banu Qaḥṭān) on the other. This difference in the characteristics of the two peoples and the migration of the Southerners to the North after the collapse of the great dyke at Ma'rib, resulting in bloody wars for the possession of the oases and other fertile areas, embittered their

1. P.K. Hitti: *History of the Arabs*, p. 37.
2. Glaser and Hommel identify the word Magan with Ma'an or Ma'īn; but others who are not prepared to do so are of the opinion that the kingdom of Ma'īn flourished ca. 1200 to 650 B.C. See the article in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* under "Arabia"; and Hitti, pp. 52-54.

relations so much that even Islam could not make them forget the past.

The Ancient Arab Kingdoms

The most ancient Arab kingdom known to history is the kingdom of Ma'īn between Najrān, Ḥaḍramawt and Qarnāw which was the capital of the kingdom. It was a flourishing State in the second millennium before Christ. It must have been a prosperous and organised State having commercial relations with foreign countries. We know, however, very little about the nature of the government which the kingdom had.

During the period of the decadence of the Minaean (Ma'īnian) kingdom, there arose another kingdom in al-Yaman with Sirwāh, west of Ma'rib as the capital. The first period of this kingdom extended from about 950 to 650 B.C. During this period the king was also the religious head of the people.[1] It was during this period that the great dam of Ma'rib was built 3,900 ft. above sea level. This dam stored a very large quantity of water and was the principal source of irrigation for the entire kingdom. But in the second period of this kingdom (650-115 B.C.), however, the priestly character of the king disappeared and Ma'rib became the capital.

About 115 B.C. a new dynasty, the Ḥimyar, became master of the South. The first period of this kingdom lasted from 115 B.C. to 300 A.D. During this period, the Romans, coveting the wealth of the Ḥimyarite kingdom, which was known as the Kingdom of Sabā' and Dhū Raydān,[2] invaded it in the year 24 B.C. under Ælius Gallus. The campaign ended in utter failure.

Roman sources describe the Sabæans as brave soldiers, industrious tillers of the soil, good traders and skilful sailors and as the most wealthy of all the Arab peoples.

1. R.A. Nicholson: *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p 10.
2. Ibid.

It was during this period that the famous twenty-storeyed castle of Ghumdān was built. The agriculture of the country depended chiefly on dams, wells and cisterns. Agriculture and trade were the chief occupation of the people who had the monopoly of the trade between the East and the West.

"The Himyarite kings used to get a large number of artisans and craftsmen from Egypt and goods in exchange for their own goods."[1] Specialists in all kinds of arts and crafts and accomplished people in all walks of life came to al-Yaman from all parts of the world in the hope of patronage and royal munificence. The kings gave them all facilities to demonstrate their genius, treated them with great honour and bestowed on them very large rewards. If they wanted to return to their countries, they were allowed to do so; and they were sent laden with riches and presents.[2]

The second period of the Himyarite kingdom lasted from 300 to 525 A.D. with an interval between 340-378 during which the Abyssinians seem to have conquered and ruled the country. During this period Judaism and Christianity were introduced in al-Yaman. A fratricidal war between the Jews and the Christians of the kingdom made the Negus interfere in favour of the Christian subjects of the Jewish king Dhū Nuwās.[3] This led to the conquest of al-Yaman by Abrahah, the Abyssinian general, in the year 525 A.D.

The great dam of Ma'rib seems to have been broken several times and restord again and again. With each break of the dam some tribes moved North; and the prosperous country of al-Yaman declined due to foreign rule, ruin of agriculture and Roman competition in the field of trade. The final collapse of the dam seems to have taken place between 542 and 570 A.D.

1. *Subḥu 'l-A'sha*, V, p. 32.
2. Ibid., p. 36.
3. Ibid., p. 24.

The national movement to free the ancient kingdom from the Abyssinians found its hero in Sayf bin Dhi Yazan[1] who succeeded in overthrowing the hated foreign rule with the aid of a Persian force sent by Kisra Anushirwan in 575. At first, a joint administration was set up with Sayf as the king who took up his residence in the ancient castle of Ghumdan ; but within a few years al-Yaman became a Persian satrapy. In A H. 6, Badhan,[2] the fifth Persian Satrap, embraced Islam, and al-Yaman became a Muslim province.

At Ma'rib there are extensive ruins and amongst them are scattered marble columns without capitals. West of Ma'rib lies the great dam in ruins. South-west of the spot are found the remains of a building constructed with large blocks of hewn stone. At 'Adan there are rock-hewn reservoirs which were cleared in 1856. There are rock-hewn temples also. Some coins on the Greek and Roman models have been found which bear Himyaritic letters as well as Arab imitations of Greek and Roman figures, especially that of the Attic owl.

In the North, the Nabatæan kingdom flourished from the second century B.C. to 105 A.D. in which years Trajan, the Roman Emperor, conquered and annexed it. The capital of the kingdom was Petra, one of the key cities on the caravan route between the East and the West. It was an impregnable city carved out of solid rock. It had plenty of pure water and there was no water anywhere nearby. So all caravans had to go through it. The people were idolators worshipping Dushara (*Dhu 'sh-Shara*) represented by a black rectangular stone.

Another kingdom in the North which flourished from the first century B.C. to 272 A.D. was the oasis kingdom of Tadmur (Palmyra). Situated between the rival Empires of Rome and Persia, it took advantage of its

1. *Subhu 'l-A'sha*, V, p. 26.
2. Ibid., p. 26.
3. Hitti., p. 217.

neutrality and prospered. Moreover, it was a centre through which the trade between the South and the North had to pass. Its magnificent ruins have not yet been sufficiently excavated and studied. But the fact that the armies of this kingdom chased Shāpūr I of the Sāsānian dynasty (A.D. 265) to the very walls of his capital Ctesiphon (al-Madā'in)[1] and repeatedly defeated the Roman legions (266-272) gave the Arabs a consciousness of their martial prowess.

The South Arabian tribes who migrated to the North established two powerful kingdoms. One of them was the kingdom of al-Ḥīrah established by Banū Tanūkh in the region west of the Euphrates in the beginning of the second century A.D. and ruled over by the Lakhmid dynasty. This kingdom, which was a vassal of the Persian Empire, did not attain a very high degree of civilisation; but it was a nursery of learning and writing. The kings were great patrons of poetry and the famous poet, Ṭarafah, was one of those who were patronised by a king of al-Ḥīrah.

The other kingdom established by the Southern Arabs in the North was the kingdom of Ghassān which encompassed the districts of Hawrān, Balqā, Phœnicia, ad Libanum and Palestine Prema and Secunda. The Ghassānids were Monophysite Christians[2] and were under the suzerainty of the Byzantine Emperors whose frontiers they defended against the Persians and their powerful vassals, the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīrah. Al-Jābiyah and Jilliq[3] are mentioned as their capital. Emperor Justinian bestowed on one of the rulers of Ghassān the title of Phylarch and Patricius,[4] the highest rank next to that of the Emperor.

The Ghassānids were superior in culture to the Lakhmids. They built beautiful palaces and erected

1. R.A. Nicholson, p. 33.
2. Ibid., p. 51.
3. Leone Caetani, III, p. 928. Now called Jillin.
4. R.A. Nicholson, p. 50.

magnificent triumphal arches as monuments of their many victories. Their kingdom abounded in public baths, aqueducts, theatres and churches. They were munificent patrons of poets; and the famous poets, Labīd and Nābighah, were patronised by them. Ḥassān, the great poet who was 'retained' by the Prophet, has sung the praise of the Ghassānids in several of his pieces.[1]

When the Arabs conquered Syria, Jabalah, the last ruler of the kingdom, became a Muslim; but, unable to brook the determination of 'Umar I to do equal justice between him and an ordinary Bedouin whom he had slapped, he fled to Constantinople and became an apostate.

Social Organisation of the Bedouins

In extent, Arabia is larger than the Indian peninsula. Whereas most parts of it in pre-Islamic days were inhabited by the Bedouins the basis of whose social and governmental organisation was tribal, certain other parts had known a more advanced stage of society, and had possessed a more developed form of government.

Among the Bedouins each tent represented a family, each group of tents a clan (*al-ḥayy*) and a group of clans a tribe (*al-qabīlah*). The Bedouins had only a few personal belongings. Sources of water supply, pastures (sing. *al-ḥima*) and cultivable lands were held in common by the tribe.[2] Although the clan was the basis of the social organisation of the Bedouins, much before the birth of Islam, clans had coalesced into tribes and tribes had formed into confederacies (*al-aḥlāf*).

The numerical strength of the tribe and the strategic position occupied by it determined its power and prestige. To augment their numbers, Arabian families took strangers as clients (sing. *mawla*). There were two types of *al-mawāli* (plural of *al-mawla*). Firstly, a free man, who wanted to live under the protection of a family, could

1. Al-Aghāni, XVI, p. 15.
2. Hitti, p. 26.

become the *mawla* of that family. Secondly, a freed slave usually chose to be attached to the family of his former master as a *mawla*.[1] The *mawla* of a family automatically became the *mawla* of the clan and the tribe to which the family belonged. The *mawāli* were an asset to the family to which they were attached and became a source of help and strength to it.

In addition to the *mawāli*, who were free men, there were slaves also, Arabs and non-Arabs. The Arab slaves, men, women and children, were mostly prisoners of war. The non-Arab slaves were generally secured by purchase. Male slaves were made to work as artisans for their sustenance and for the profit of their masters. Female slaves had to work as domestic servants, spinners, weavers, embroiderers, etc., and were used as concubines. Often women of noble birth from amongst the prisoners of war were set free and retaken as wives. Child slaves were used as domestic servants and made to learn arts and crafts. As long as they were minors, they were treated as members of the family. When they became majors, they were usually allowed to marry; but the masters had a right to a part of their earnings.[2]

Political Organisation of the Bedouins

Each clan or tribe had its own Elder (*ash-Shaykh*) as its ruler. Nobility of birth, seniority in age and other personal distinctions or accomplishments were the qualifications for rulership in a clan. The Arabs in general, and the Bedouins in particular, were thoroughly democratic in spirit. They would not submit to the arbitrary rule of the *Shaykh*. Hence he had to make his decision in a council of the elders of the clan or tribe. There was no elaborate machinery of government, no officials, no offices.

There were very few civil litigations. Civil disputes were usually referred to a Qāḍi approved by both the

1. Hitti, p. 27.
2. Al-Mas'ūdi, IV, p. 344.

parties. There were no permanent Qāḍis. In criminal matters, life for life and limb for limb was the recognised principle among the Arabs. A murderer within the tribe was handed over to the heirs of the murdered who could put him to death, or set him free on receipt of blood money (*ad-diyah*), or give him liberty by granting a free pardon. If a murderer, who committed a murder within the clan itself, escaped, he was declared an outlaw (*aṭ-ṭarīd*). The structure of society being tribal, a tribeless man had no *locus standi*, no protection, no safety. Losing affiliation to the tribe, he became an outcast and went outside the pale of law. As between clans or tribes, every clan or tribe (as a whole) was responsible for the conduct of its members.

Raiding the enemies' camps or stealing their property was hailed as an act of heroism. In the tribe itself there were not many thefts; for the tribal affinity or clan spirit (*al-'aṣabīyah*) was so strong that improper behaviour, in the face of possible social ostracism, was rare. Cases of theft, if any, were dealt with by the chieftain and elders of the clan who forced the culprit to return the stolen property or to pay the price thereof. When, as in Makkah, a society with large private properties came into being, severe punishment for theft was inflicted. Cutting the hand of a thief, which was prevalent among the Persians,[1] was introduced in Makkah by al-Walīd bin Mughīrah.

Some writers are inclined to think[2] that the Arabs did not take a serious view of adultery. But the following couplet of Imra'u 'l-Qays, the great pre-Islamic poet, shows that they did take a serious view of it:

> Crossing angry guards and tribesmen, to her I held,
> Longing to kill me, if e'er my death they could hide.[3]

1. Noldeke-Schwally: *Gesch. des Qorans*, 1, 230, quoted in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* under "Sāriq."
2. See *Encyclopædia of Islam* under 'zinā.'
3. تجاوزت احراسا اليها ومعشرا على حراصا لو يسرون مقتلى
See the Mu'allaqah of Imra'u 'l-Qays.

But no known and definite punishment was prescribed for adultery. Stoning to death of those who committed this crime was in practice among the Jews.

Religious Organisation of the Bedouins

The religious organisation could not but be a reflex of the social organisation. Each clan had a clan deity, a counterpart of its clan chieftain in the belief world. The Arabs, in spite of their being of different tribes and clans and in spite of their hailing from diverse regions with varying economic conditions, had much in common—unity of language and thought, of dress and food, a common culture, and, above all, a strong conviction that they were all descended from a common ancestor.[1] This feeling of national unity, which was in the background, and a belief in common ancestry were naturally reflected in the conception of the existence of one Supreme Being looking after the affairs of all. Just as each of their clans was considered to be an offspring of the common ancestor, so also the Arabs thought that each of their clan deities was a daughter of the Supreme God, Allāh. Each clan or sometimes a group of clans had its own oracle or soothsayer.

The City State of Makkah

Apart from the organised kingdoms and quite distinct from the Bedouin form of government, there was the republic of the City State of Makkah which stood forth as the centre of trade and culture. While commerce gave it material prosperity, the Ka'bah gave it influence and power over the whole of Arabia. The city was ruled or rather guided by a body of elders. The Senate or Council of Elders was called *al-Mala'*. Lacking coercive powers, the *Mala'* had to depend on persuasion and moral pres-

1. Arab geneologists claim that all Arabs are descended from Abraham but some accounts show that some Arab tribes like the Jurhum were already living near Makkah at the time of that Prophet. The historicity of Abraham is itself doubted See the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* under "Abraham."

sure. According to al-Fāsi, "None exercised authority unless delegated or kindly permitted to do so."[1]

There was a hall, Dāru 'n-Nadwah,[2] where the leading citizens met and transacted business. The general meeting of the citizens (*nādiu qawn*) used to be held in the court of the Ka'bah in which affairs of general interest were discussed. The various functions appertaining to the Ka'bah and the city in general were assigned to different leading families.

At an early date the Meccans negotiated with the adjoining states and obtained from them safe conducts and capitulations, permitting the free passage of their caravans through specified routes to specified places known as the "guarantee of the Cæsar and the Khusraw."[3] They also concluded agreements with the Negus of Abyssinia, with the powerful Shaykhs of an-Najd, with the Qayls of al-Yaman, with the Phylarch of Ghassān and the ruler of al-Ḥīrah.

Makkah levied a tithe on the merchandise that passed through it. There must have been a rudimentary system of archives in which the treaties of alliances and commerce could be preserved and an equivalent of an office to take charge of the collection of taxes from foreign traders. Caravans used to start from Dāru 'n-Nadwah and to report back to it.

The commercial organisation of the city was elaborate. The Meccan did not believe in hoarding idle money. As his income swelled, he employed it in further enterprises. The sleeping partner had half of the profit. So anybody could invest any small amount in trade. The organisation of the caravan and the arrival and departure of foreign caravans were matters of public interest. The whole population was associated with them. *En route,* the Meccan caravans remained in continual

1. See *Encyclopædia of Islam* under "Mecca."
2. Al-Balādhuri, p. 52.
3. See *Encyclopædia of Islam* under "Mecca."

communication with the metropolis through Bedouins met on the journey or special couriers. The caravans of Makkah were of enormous size, sometimes the number of camels rising to 2,500 and that of men to 300.[1]

Municipal Amenities in Pre-Islamic Arabia

Makkah being a centre of pilgrimage, every year the chief citizens of the town made elaborate municipal arrangements. Volunteers supplied water to the pilgrims. Temporary latrines, holes dug out in the hard soil of Makkah, with narrow mouths, were constructed and the roads and alleys of the towns repaired and swept. Most of the roads of pre-Islamic towns were, and those of towns in certain parts of Arabia still are, mere tracks formed by the constant walking of men and beasts. They required no upkeep. Where some public paths got corroded by heavy and torrential cloud-bursts once in a blue moon, the citizens combined for the moment to repair them. Drinking water was supplied by slaves, or by freed slaves for remuneration.

Every clan inhabiting a town had its own rubbish depot (*al-mazbalah*) where all the rubbish of the clan was heaped up. Men went out of the town to ease themselves. Women in towns used deep holes dug out in the courtyards of houses for the purpose. House terraces were also used as latrines. The refuse on the roofs (*al-makrūh 'ala s-suṭūh*) soon got dried up in the scorching sun of Arabia. Every now and then the dried-up refuse was collected and thrown away.

Lighting was very rare among the pre-Islamic Arabs. They took their evening meal just before nightfall. An Arabic proverb says that the best evening meal is that which is taken when yet there is daylight.[2] Oil was very scarce in Arabia. Olive oil had to be imported from outside. Generally, the pre-Islamic Arabs did not use

1. See *Encyclopædia of Islam* under "Mecca."
2. خير العشاء سوافره.

lamps, but only on festive occasions they lit them. When the Prophet settled in al-Madīnah, lights were so uncommon in that town that a year or two after his arrival he observed a light in the direction of the house of Asmā' bint Abū Bakr and remarked that she should have given birth to a son. In fact she had given birth to a male issue, 'Abdullāh bin az-Zubayr. Chiefs, who could afford it, lit up huge fires on hill-tops and other elevated places to serve as beacons to straying night travellers. Besides, here and there a monk (*ar-rāhib*) kept lights burning at the top of the spire (*al-manārāh*) of his monastery. Imra'u 'l-Qays sang in praise of his beloved :

She lights up the darkness of the night
Like the spire of the monk with its light.[1]

The monks belonged to an organised church with its headquarters in Syria whence the monasteries received enough supply of olive oil.

Pre-Islamic Military Organisation

Every Arab was trained to be a soldier. In a tribal society with constant inter-tribal wars there was no place for the unwarlike man. More male children meant more power and influence to the father and the more numerous a tribe the more powerful it was. Elaborate instructions were given to the Arab youth in swordsmanship, archery and the use of a lance. Well-to-do Arabs essentially taught riding to their children. Before the advent of Islam there was only a small number of horses in Arabia. Only the very rich could afford to own horses.

The Arabs regarded war as a noble profession and a successful war paid them amply by way of booty in wealth, women and children. The Bedouins lived in tents and

1. تضئی الظلام بالعشاء کانها منارة ممسی راهب متبتل
See the Mu'allaqah of Imra'u 'l-Qays.

most of their wealth was moveable. When they went out on an expedition, they carried their entire belongings and family with them. If they lost the battle, they had to lose their all.

Women captured in war were freely used as concubines. Man was responsible for the protection of his women. If he could not protect his women and if they fell into the hands of the enemy and were ravished by him, no stigma was attached to the helpless women. Whenever possible, such violated women were taken back either by force or on payment of ransom and owned by the former husbands.

Booty was divided equally among all the soldiers after giving the Shaykh his dues. A man who slew an enemy in battle was entitled to all his accoutrement (*as-salab*)[1] in addition to his own share of the common booty. The Shaykh of a tribe was entitled to four items of the booty: *al mirbā'* (one-fourth of the whole booty), *aṣ-ṣafāyā'* (items which the chief could choose for himself before distributing the booty among the tribesmen), *an-nashīṭah* (any valuable obtained while on the march), and *al-fuḍul* (that which was left over after the distribution and could not be equally distributed among all the soldiers, such as a few horses, etc.). Bisṭam bin Qays, addressing the chief of Banū Shaybān, mentions all these items in a single couplet as forming his legitimate dues:

Laka 'l-mirbā'u minhā wa 'ṣ-ṣafāyā'
Wa ḥukmuka wa 'n-nashīṭatu wa 'l-fuḍūlu.[2]

All over Arabia there were strong fortresses. Ghumdān in al-Yaman was a twenty-storeyed castle. There were strong castles all over al-Yaman, Ḥaḍramawt, Mahra and 'Umān. The entire city of Petra was hewn out of solid

1. Literally, "that which is stripped off."

2. لك المر باع منها و الصفايا وحكمك و النشيطة و الفضول
Quoted by al-Khuḍarī, I, p. 53.

rock and as such was unassailable. The famous castle of al-Khawarnaq near al-Ḥīrah is the subject of several legends; and the poet 'Adi bin Zayd, the 'Ibādite, has sung in praise of it and in that of as-Sadīr,[1] another famous castle in the vicinity of al-Ḥīrah. The strong castle called al-Ablaq at Ṭaymā' defied the army of the king of al-Ḥīrah and enabled its Jewish master as-Samaw'al to earn eternal fame for loyalty and trustworthiness.[2] At-Ṭā'if had a strong fort. The science of breaching and storming strong fortifications having not yet developed in Arabia, these castles afforded protection against stronger enemies.

The weapons used by the pre-Islamic Arabs were swords, bows and arrows, and lances. Shields were used for protection and the rich wore coats of mail.

The main army consisted of the infantry, and such tribes as possessed horses put cavalry also in the field. The cavalry was mainly used for sudden attack and flight (*al-karr wa al-farr*).

Physicians and surgeons accompanied the army in its expeditions. The Bedouin surgeon (*al-jarrāḥ*) had a few very effective balms and was an expert in his art. He cut parts of the body with red-hot weapons and was thus able to perform difficult operations without much loss of blood.

Martial songs (sing. *ar-rajz*) and songs in self-glorification accompanied by drums and other primitive musical instruments provided the martial music. On the march the Arabs used to be very careful; for surprise attacks and ambushes were very common.

On the battlefield usually the chief of a tribe or confederacy was the commander and he took the centre.

1. See at-Ṭabari, I, p. 853; Ibn Faqīh, p. 178.
2. As-Samaw'al refused to hand over a set of armour entrusted to him by Imra'u 'l-Qays even to save his own son who was brutally slaughtered before the father's own eyes.

In addition to the centre (*al-qalb*), there used to be a right wing (*al-maymanah*), a left wing (*al-maysarah*), a van-guard (*al-muqaddamah*) and a rear-guard (*as-sāqah*). This method of disposition the Arabs might have learnt in the interminable wars between the Romans and the Persians in which many of the Arab tribes took sides. This five-winged formation of the army was so common that the word five-winged (*al-khamīs*) became the common word for the army.

There is a good deal of misconception about the pre-Islamic method of warfare. Al-Khuḍari[1] and ash-Shibli[2] write that the Arabian forces were not arranged in any order before the advent of Islam and that they were hurled at each other pell-mell. Further, many writers think that the pre-Islamic method of warfare was "strike-and-run" method only. The fact that the army was arranged in the five-winged formation is clearly proved by the word *al-khamīs* used by the famous pre-Islamic poet al-Muraqqish in the well-known couplet of his :

To loot and capture God says not, "Nay,"
When the mighty five-wing'd army says, "Yea."[3]

The method of "strike-and-run" was certainly adopted by the pre-Islamic Arabs in raids. But that there were many pitched battles also is beyond doubt. The following passage taken from at-Tibrizi's commentary on the Ḥamasah relates to a pitched battle :

"The Banū Bakr now prepared for a decisive battle. As their enemy had the advantage in numbers, they adopted a stratagem devised by Ḥārith. 'Fight them,' said he, 'with your women. Equip every woman with a small water-skin and give her a club. Place the whole body of

1. Tārikhu 'l-Umami 'l-Islāmīyah, II, p. 177.
2. Al-Fārūq, II, p. 114.
3. لا يبعد الله الاذيب وال مغارات اذا قال الخميس نعم
See Al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt.

them behind you—this will make you more resolved in battle—and wear some distinguishing mark which they will recognise, so that when a woman passes by one of your wounded she may know him by his mark and give him water to drink, and raise him from the ground; but when she passes by one of your foes she will smite him with her club and slay him.' So the Bakrites shaved their heads, devoting themselves to death, and made this a mark of recognition between themselves and their women, and this day was called the Day[1] of Shearing....

"The presence of women on the field and the active share they took in the combat naturally provoked the bitterest feelings. If they were not engaged in finishing the bloody work of the men, their tongues were busy inciting them....

"On this day the Banū Bakr gained a great victory, and broke the power of Taghlib. It was the last battle of note in the Forty Years' War, which was carried on, by raiding and plundering, until the exhaustion of both tribes and the influence of King Mundhir III of Hīra[2] brought it to an end."[3]

1. Many such days of pre-Islamic battles (ayyām 'l-'Arab) have been described in the first volume of Ibnu 'l-Athīr, pp. 226 seqq.

2. Hārith bin 'Awf and Ibn Sinān paid the blood money to the side that suffered more. This generous act of theirs has been celebrated in immortal verse by the great poet Zuhayr.

3. Nicholson, pp. 59-60

CHAPTER II

ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE PROPHET

"AS PROPHET and reformer of his people Muhammad could not be otherwise than a revolutionary in the fullest sense of the word; for his religious propaganda introduced not only a complete change in the political situation but also had an equally important bearing on the social conditions."[1]

"During the ten years Mohammad presided over the commonwealth of Islam, a great change had come over the character of the Arab people;[2] . . . a congeries of warring tribes and clans were rapidly consolidated into a nation under the influence of one great Idea. The work done within that short period will always remain as one of the most wonderful achievements recorded in history."[3]

Social and Economic Organisation

On the emergence of Islam the tribal organisation of the Arabs, the decentralised rule of the Shaykhs in the desert regions and that of small princes and chieftains in the more fertile areas gave place to a powerful central government with a single legal, moral and religious code for all. The primitive isolated and almost static society of the Bedouins was violently rocked to its very foundations and made dynamic and aggressive. The clan basis of society, though still persisting in practice, yielded place, in theory at least, to a society based on religious brotherhood[4] which transcended geographical boundaries and racial or linguistic differences.

The primitive economic organisation of the Bedouins

1. *Orient Under the Caliphs*, p. 54.
2. Amir 'Ali, p. 19.
3. Ibid., p. 55.
4. The Qur'ān, Chapter XLIX, verse 9.

was communistic. In towns there were three categories of property: communal,[1] private,[2] and feudal.[3]

The Islamic revolution pulled out the bulk of the Arab population from their tribal stage and set them on the road to the next stage of social, economic and political organisation. The nomadic Arab with very uncertain means of livelihood became a regular soldier in the way of Allāh and, as we shall see later, was destined to own large estates and great riches. The institution of slavery received a rude shock and disappeared as far as the Arab nationals were concerned in a few years.[4] The right of woman to inherit property was recognised for the first time. In short, Islam transformed the primitive communistic society of the Bedouins into a society of citizens owning individual holdings.

The Sovereign

The Qur'ān, as the revealed word of God, was binding on all Muslims including the Prophet. In the matter of executing the injunctions of the Qur'ān, and in matters on which the Qur'ān was silent, the authority of the Prophet was supreme. If obedience to the laws of God is no impediment to full sovereignty as contended by Bodin,[5] Hobbes,[6] Austin[7] and others, the Prophet was a full sovereign.

1. Like al-Ghābah at al-Madīnah; Balādhuri, p. 9.
2. The Meccans had possessions in at-Ṭā'if; ibid., p. 56.
3. Like the estates of the princes and chieftains.
4. Under 'Umar I.
5. Bodin's sovereign was bound by the law of God, that of nature, moral law and the common law of nations. He writes: "If we should define sovereignty as a power *legibus omnibus soluta*, no prince could be found to have sovereign rights, for all are bound by divine law and the law of nature, and also by that common law of nations which embodies principles distinct from these," *De Republica*, p. 132, quoted by Dunning, II, p. 98; also see Dunning, II, pp. 100-101.
6. Hobbes' sovereign was bound by the laws of God and those of nature. "The ruler was above his own laws but under God's or under the law of nature." See *The Leviathan*, Everyman's series, p. xii.
7. Austin's famous definition allows a sovereign to be bound by the laws of God. See *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, I, p. 88.

Although the Prophet's authority was supreme, he usually consulted his chief Companions on all matters of importance. He was the prophet, the lawgiver, the ruler, the commander, the chief justice and the head of the entire administrative machinery. He regulated social relations; he formulated laws in the light of the Qur'an and enforced them; he raised armies and commanded them; he acquired territories and administered them.

The Mosque of the Prophet (*al-Masjidu 'n-Nabawi*) was his office. He transacted most of the business there. He had to carry on a great deal of correspondence. Letters had to be sent to the various tribes, treaties executed, and orders issued to the Governors and tax-collectors. All this was done in the mosque. No office was built during the lifetime of the Prophet.

The Prophet's Secretariat

'Ali and 'Uthman and in their absence Ubayy bin Ka'ab and Zayd bin Thabit recorded the revelations.[1] Az-Zubayr bin al-'Awwam and al-Juhaym bin aṣ-Ṣalt kept record of properties collected by way of *az-zakāt* and *aṣ-ṣadaqah* (*amwālu 'ṣ-ṣadaqāt*).[2] Ḥudhayfah bin al-Yaman prepared estimates of revenue from the date-palms.[3] Al-Mughīrah bin Shu'bah and al-Ḥasan bin Namir recorded transactions between the people. Their position was that of a registrar of transactions. 'Abdullah bin al-Arqam and al-'Alā bin 'Uqbah maintained records of the tribes and their waters and also kept a record of the Anṣār, males and females.[4] Zayd bin Thābit[5] used to draft letters addressed to kings and chieftains. Sometimes, 'Abdullah bin al-Arqam was employed to do this work. Mu'ayqib bin Abī Fāṭimah

1. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 11 (photo print).
2. Ṣubḥu 'l-A'sha, I, p. 91; also see al-Jahshiyāri, p. 11.
3. Ṣubḥu 'l-A'sha, I, p. 91.
4. Al-Jahshiyāri, pp. 11-12 (photo copy).
5. Ibid., p. 12.

kept a record of the income (*al-maghānim*) of the State. Hanẓalah bin ar-Rabī' was called the Secretary of the Prophet[1] and the Prophet's seal used to be in his custody.

Thus we see that even in the Prophet's lifetime a secretariat in its rudimentary form had come into being.

The Wāli. Al-Madīnah was the capital of the whole realm and the administration of the city and its adjoining areas was under the direct control of the Prophet. Arabia was divided into the provinces of al-Madīnah, Tayma', al-Janad, the region of Banū Kindah, Makkah, Najrān, al-Yaman, Ḥaḍramawt, 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn. Over each one of these provinces the Prophet appointed a Governor (*al-Wāli*) who was enjoined to establish law and order and make arrangements for the administration of justice.

The 'Āmil. Besides the Governors, the Prophet appointed Collectors (sing. *al-'Āmil*) over each tribal area to collect the poor-rate (*az-zakāt*) and voluntary alms (aṣ-ṣadaqah).[2] The Collectors were experts trained by the Prophet in the rules relating to the levy of *az-zakāt.* All the officers appointed by the Prophet were men of sterling character and integrity and there was no complaint against any of them from any source.

The Qāḍi. The Prophet himself acted as the chief justice of the State with his seat at al-Madīnah. The Judges (sing. *al-Qāḍi*) of the provinces were either directly appointed by him, or the Governors were directed to appoint persons named by him. He appointed very eminent scholars, who were also men noted for their uprightness, to the posts of Judges. 'Ali and Mu'ādh bin Jabal were among them.

Sources of Revenue

During the days of the Prophet the Muslim State had five sources of revenue.

1. Spoils of war (*al-ghanīmah*).

1. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 12.
2. Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, 1850.

2. (*a*) Poor-rate (*az-zakāt*); (*b*) voluntary alms (*aṣ-ṣadaqah*).

3. Capitation-tax (*al-jizyah*).

4. Land-tax (*al-Kharāj*).

5. State lands (*al-fay'*).

1. *Al-Ghanīmah.* Al ghanīmah comprised weapons, horses and all other moveable property taken in battle from unbelievers. Four-fifths of the booty were divided among the soldiers who were present in the action. A horseman took double the share of the infantryman.[1] A soldier who had slain an enemy in battle received his *salab* in addition to his general share as in the pre-Islamic days. The remaining one-fifth went to God and His Prophet, that is, to the State, and was used according to the instructions of the Qur'ān[2] in supporting the Prophet's relatives, the orphans, the needy and the wayfarers and for the general good of the Muslim community. Warring unbelievers (men, women and children), who were taken prisoners of war, were also included in *al-ghanīmah* and divided as slaves among the soldiers.[3]

2. (*a*) *Az-Zakāt.* Az-zakāt was a tax levied on definite forms of property. It was collected only from Muslims who had attained the age of majority and were in full possession of their faculties. It was levied on (*a*) grains, fruits, dates, grapes, etc., (*b*) animals, i.e. camels, cattle and other domestic quadrupeds, (*c*) gold and silver, and (*d*) merchandise.

The *zakāt* on land produce was to be paid immediately after the harvest, and on the other three categories after one year's uninterrupted possession. A certain minimum of property (*an-niṣāb*) was laid down

1. According to the report preferred by Abū Ḥanīfah. But Abū Yūsuf holds that the Prophet gave two shares for the horse and one to the rider. Thus according to him a horseman got three shares and an infantryman only one. See *Kitābu 'l-Kharāj* by Abū Yūsuf, p. 11.
2. Chapter VIII, verse 41.
3. Al-Māwardi, Ch. XII.

which would make one liable to this tax. For instance, silver or gold below the value of 200 *dirhams* was exempt from *az-zakāt*. The *zakāt* on land produce was collected at 10% if the land was watered by a stream or rain. This tax was known as the *'ushr*. From lands which were "watered by means of the bucket"[1] only a 5% tax was levied. Only when the yield from the land of a person exceeded five ass-loads (sing. *wasq*),[2] he or she had to pay *az-zakāt* on it.

As for animals, the minimum varied with different animals. Animals were classified under three categories for the purpose of *az-zakāt*. Camels formed the first category, cattle the second, and smaller quadrupeds the third.

The minimum number of camels required for a levy of *az-zakāt* thereon was five. From 5 to 9 the *zakāt* was one *jadh'*[3] (six months old lamb) or a *thinni* (one year old goat); from 10 to 14 two goats; from 15 to 19 three goats and from 20 to 24 four goats. When the number of camels reached 25, the *zakāt* was collected in camels and not in goats; from 25 to 35 one *bint makhāḍ* (one year old she-camel) or *ibn labūn* (two years old male camel); from 36 to 45 one *bint labūn* (two years old she-camel); from 46 to 60 one *ḥiqqah* (three years old she-camel capable of responding to the male); from 61 to 75 one *jadh'* (four years old she-camel); from 76 to 90 two *bint labūns*; from 91 to 120 two *ḥiqqahs*. So far there is a definite *naṣṣ* (text) and there is no difference of opinion among the jurists. Abū Ḥanīfah was of the opinion that after 120 the circle began again. Ash-Shāfi'i held that after 120, for every 40 one *bint labūn* and for every 50 one *ḥiqqah* was being collected.

The minimum number of cattle[4] on which *az-zakāt* was levied was thirty. For 30 cattle one *tabī'* or *tabī'ah*

1. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 70 and 71 and aṭ-Ṭabarī, I, pp. 718 & 1772.
2. The *wasq* was a measure equal to about 323 lbs. of wheat in volume.
3. The term jadh' is used to mean a young sheep and also a young camel.
4. Buffaloes were subsequently treated as cattle. Abū Yūsuf, p. 44.

(six months old male or female calf) was the *zakāt*. For 40 one *musinnah* (one year old cow) in the absence of which one year old bull[1]; for 60 two *tabī'*s and after 60 one *tabī'* for every thirty and one *musinnah* for every forty.

The minimum number required for sheep and goats was 40; from 40 to 120 one *jadh'* or *thinni*; from 121 to 200 two sheep; from 200 to 399 three; and after 400 one sheep for every 100.[2]

In the case of gold and silver and also merchandise a *zakāt* of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ was levied. Of the treasure-trove the State took one-fifth.

The yield of the *zakāt* was spent on the poor, the needy, the poor-tax and alms collectors, those whose hearts had to be reconciled, the emancipation of slaves, debtors, Allāh's purposes, and travellers.[3] Allāh's purposes meant military enterprises and other political undertakings. Among the poor and needy, parents, relatives orphans, beggars and those driven to evil for want of means of livelihood, such as thieves and women of doubtful character, were also included.

(*b*) *Aṣ-ṣadaqah*. Sometimes the terms *az-zakāt* and *aṣ-ṣadaqah* are used in the same sense. But the proper use of the term *aṣ-ṣadaqah* is in the sense of voluntary almsgiving.

3. *Al-Jizyah*. Al-jizyah was a tax levied on non-Muslims expressly as the price of protection afforded by the State to their lives and properties. In the days of the Prophet it was one *dīnār* per year from every male member capable of paying it. Women, children, beggars, monks, the aged, the insane and the incurably sick were exempted from this tax if they did not have sufficient independent income. It was not a new tax levied by the

1. Aṭ-Ṭabarī, I, 1729.
2. Details taken from al-Māwardī, Chap. XI.
3. Al-Qur'ān, IX, 60.

Prophet. It was already prevalent among the Persians under the name of *gezit* and among the Romans under the name *tributum capitis*. The income from *al-jizyah* was exclusively spent on the salary of the soldiers, their food, dress and other requirements.

4. *Al-Kharāj*. Al-kharāj was the land-tax collected from non-Muslims. There was no system of *al-kharāj* among the pre-Islamic Arabs, for there was no organised tex-gathering government. It was prevalent among the Persians and was known as *kharāg* and among the Romans it was known as *tributum soli*. When Khaybar was conquered by the Prophet the Muslims had neither enough slaves to cultivate the newly conquered lands nor did they have time to do it themselves. Moreover, the Jews, recognising the conquerors as the owners of the entire land (after the custom of the day), offered[1] to cultivate the lands as the tenants of the State and pay it a part of the produce. The Prophet granted them their request and fixed the *kharāj* at half of the produce.[2] Thus, the institution of *al-kharāj* came into being among the Arabs. Every year 'Abdullāh bin Rawāḥah was sent to estimate the produce and take one-half of it. [3]

The amount realised through *al-kharāj*, like that collected through *al-jizyah*, was spent on the salaries of the soldiers and for other military purposes. In the days of the Prophet there was no fixed salary for the soldiers. As the taxes came, they were distributed among the soldiers – one share to the bachelor and two to the married man.

5. *Al-Fay'*. The word *al-fay'*, in a restricted sense, is applied to the lands in the conquered territories which come under the direct ownership of the State. Under the Prophet there were certain crown or State lands, such as the estate of Fadak,[4] etc., the income from which was

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 24; Abū Yūsuf, p. 29.
2. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 24, 27, 29.
3. Ibid. pp. 24 and 27.
4. Ibid., p. 29.

distributed among the Prophet's relatives, the orphans, the poor, the travellers and for the general good of the Muslim community.

Religious organisation under the Prophet

The Prophet sent a number of missionaries (sing. *ad-dā'i*) to the various tribes of Arabia inviting them to embrace Islam. Besides, to serve the growing religious needs of a rapidly expanding body of Muslims, the Prophet undertook the task of training religious teachers. This responsible task was performed by him in person and also through eminent Companions whom he deputed for this work. A large number of Qur'ān readers (sing. *al-qāri'*) were trained by the Prophet and his chief Companions and sent to different parts of the country.

Al-Madīnah alone had ten mosques in all of which prayers were offered five times a day. Throughout Arabia every tribe had its own mosque or mosques. Usually, the chief government officials of the towns or the most important men of the tribes led the prayers in the mosques. As yet no permanent *mu'adhdhins* (those who call the faithful to assemble for prayer) were appointed.

The Army

The Prophet was the Commander-in-Chief of the army. He himself led and marshalled the forces in all important engagements and campaigns like the battles of Badr, Uḥud and Ḥunayn and the conquest of Makkah.[1] The smaller expeditions were sent under a military commander (*Amīru 'l-'Askar*).[2] No army department had yet sprung up. Recruiting, arming, provisioning, care and command of the entire army were vested in the sacred hands of the Prophet.

The early Muslim army had a very humble beginning.

1. In all the Prophet took part in 26 or 27 battles and expeditions. See at-Ṭabari, I, pp. 1756-7.

2. He sent out more than thirty-five such expeditions. See at-Ṭabari, I, pp. 1753 seqq.

A small band of devoted seekers after God, driven away from their hearth and home, lived in constant dread of the enemy they had fled from; and, not knowing what more evil the wicked persecutors intended to do them, they started observing the activities of their foes. Making sure that the enemy was preparing for an invasion of al-Madīnah, the holy band, after the prevailing Arab fashion, raided some of the caravans and looted them. The tactics employed was that of 'stike-and-run' (*karr wa farr*).

In the first battle between the two opposing camps, the battle of Badr, the Muslim army consisted of only 313 sodiers and the enemy had an army of about 1,000. The battle began after the custom of the day with single combats. The Prophet arranged his men "in straight regular ranks, which he put in order himself walking along the ranks with an arrow to push back any man who was out of line with the rest."[1] The formation adopted was the *ta'biyah* or the five-winged formation. The rear-guard (*as-sāqah*) not only guarded the rear but also had the charge of baggage, supplies and transport animals.[2]

The lancers were placed in the first line who, leaning forward with their lances ready, waited for the enemy to charge. They had long shields to protect them. Men with mail shirts were put at the most exposed spots. The archers who formed the second line were ready with their bows and arrows to strike down the approaching enemy and to prevent his cavalry from outflanking the Muslim army.

The Meccans launched the attack first. The Muslims waited till they approached very close to their ranks and bore them down with such terrific force and determination in one solid mass like "a compact structure," *bunyānun marṣūṣ*, (the archers having slung back the bows and drawn the swords) that the Meccans gave way and suffered a serious defeat.

1. Ibn Hishām, ed. Wuestenfeld, I, p. 444 ; Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, p. 319.
2. Ibn Hishām, I. p. 433.

A verse of the Qur'ān says : " Verily God loves those who fight in His way in a line as if they are one compact structure."[1] The chapter containing this verse is named "The Line" (*aṣ-Ṣaff*). Later, some held that fighting in a line was incumbent on the Muslims. When al-Manṣūr sent an army to suppress the rising of Ibrāhim bin 'Abdillāhi 'l-Ḥasani (A.H. 145), the latter's advisers asked him to adopt the method of cohorts (sing. *kurdus*). He rejected the suggestion citing the above verse. 'Ali arranged his infantry according to the *ṣaff* method in the battle of Ṣiffīn. (A.H. 37).

The *ṣaff* method was later developed by the Muslims and is recommended with great admiration by the great writer on military tactics, Abū Bakr of Tortosa. According to him, the infantry formed the first line with good shields, long lances and sharply pointed javelins. " Each man knelt on his left knee with his shield upright before him, while his lance was fixed by the butt in the ground behind and inclined forward towards the enemy." Behind the infantry were archers and behind them again the cavalry. When the Christians advanced, no Muslim stirred until they came within range. The archers shot arrows and the lancers threw javelins ; and when the foes came too close, the lancers transfixed them with their lances and cut them with their swords. When the enemy gave way and fled, the cavalry came forward " and obtained from them what God willed."[2]

In the year 5 A.H. the Meccans invaded al-Madīnah with a host of 10,000 men. Against this formidable foe, the Prophet thought it unwise to offer battle in the open field : so he retired into the town and protected the undefended side with a ditch (*khandaq*).[3] It was a new thing to the Meccans, for it was a Persian device which the Muslims learnt from the great Companion, Salman of Fārs. By his defensive tactics the Prophet wore out

1. Chapter LXI, verse 4.
2. Aṭ-Ṭarṭūshi (Cairo) pp 298 seqq.
3. Arabicised form of the Persian word " *kandah*."

the invaders and forced them to retire without accomplishing anything.

In the hotly contested battle of Ḥunayn,[1] when the Muslims were being pressed hard, the Prophet observed the wind blowing towards the enemy and threw a handful of sand at the most advanced detachment of the adversary which got blinded for a moment and gave in in the face of a ferocious attack launched immediately. This simple stratagem of the Prophet decided the fate of the battle.

In the siege of aṭ-Ṭā'if the Prophet employed a ballista (*manjaniq*) and a mantelet (*dabbabah*) made of cow hides and wool. It moved on wheels. Sappers and miners entered it and was propelled to the lower part of the fortress, where the men protected from the missiles tried to make a breach with picks and drills. The defenders of the fortress hurled red-hot iron bars which burnt the *dabbabah* and killed its occupants.[2]

The warfare in lines and the method of waiting for the enemy's approach with the lances ready and bearing him down with one tremendous force, which the Prophet so perfectly evolved, gave the Muslims a decided tactical superiority over their enemies who employed the old worn-out methods.

1. A.H. 8.
2. Al-Balādhuri, p. 53.

CHAPTER III

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE PIOUS KHALĪFAHS

The Khilāfat

IT WAS with the election of Abū Bakr that the institution of *al-Khilāfat* come into existence. The *Khalīfah* was the supreme head of the State. His chief functions were temporal. He had no religious authority. He could not change or modify any essential Islamic law or tenet.[1] The *Khilāfat* was, in the words of al-Khuḍari, "a temporal headship based on religion."[2] The *Khalīfah's* orders were binding only to the extent that they did not contravene the Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet. In matters on which there was not a clear direction in the Qur'ān and the traditions, the position of the *Khalīfah* was only that of any other *mujtahid* (interpreter of the law). He could not do anything without the consensus of opinion of the scholars of religion.

Soon after the demise of the Prophet the majority of the Muslims accepted the principle that his successors should be from the tribe of the Quraysh. But some like Sa'd bin 'Ubādah did not accept the principle although they acquiesced, however unwillingly, in the election of Abū Bakr.

Abū Bakr's election was based on the following saying of the Prophet which is reported in two different texts having almost the same purport.

1. "Men are like minerals; the best among them in

1. Of all the Khalīfas only 'Umar could act, in view of the changed circumstances, in contravention to the practices set up by the Prophet in certain matters, such as making three divorces at one sitting equal to three at intervals, levying az-zakāt on horses, discontinuing the share of Banū Hāshim in the ghanīmah, etc.
2. *Tārikhu Umami 'l-Islāmiyah*, II, p. 171.

the Period of Ignorance are the best in the Islamic period also provided that they understand."[1]

2. "The Quraysh are the masters of this affair. The good among mankind follow the good among them and the transgressors follow the transgressors among them."[2]

This saying of the Prophet was interpreted to mean that the *Khalīfah* should be a Qurayshi by birth and this interpretation was followed in practice, in spite of the violent protests of the Khārijites, throughout the early centuries of Islam.

Later, some scholars, chiefly Ibn Khaldūn among them, held that at the time of the Prophet the Quraysh were the most advanced section of the Arabs ; that it was due to their quality that they were recommended to succeed and not by virtue of thier birth ; and since the Quraysh have subsequently lost those virtues, and since there have sprung up other sections of the Muslim community which are equally, if not more, advanced than the Quraysh, succession to the *Khilāfat* must be by virtue of merit and not by virtue of birth.

Although it was thought necessary that the *Khalīfah* should be from among the Quraysh (bearing in mind the influence of that tribe over the whole of Arabia at that time), no particular clan of that tribe was specified. The first three *Khalīfahs* were from three different clans. Al-Khuḍari, following Ibn Khaldūn, holds that the saying of the Prophet was with reference to the conditions then prevalent and was not meant for ever. For he himself has said, "If a Negro with a head resembling a raisin is made your ruler, listen to and obey him."[3]

1. الناس معادن خيارهم فى الجاهلية خيارهم فى الاسلام اذا فقهوا
See Ibn Khaldūn : *al-Muqaddamah*, I, p. 243.

2. قريش ولاة هذا الامر خير الناس تبع لبرهم و فاجرهم تبع لفاجرهم
Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, 181.

3. اسمعوا واطيعوا وان تامر عليكم عبد حبشى كان راسه زبيبة
Tārikhu Umami 'l-Islāmiyah, II, p. 171.

Al-Māwardi and many others hold that the Prophet's saying was meant for all times and that only a Qurayshi by birth could become a *Khalīfah*.[1]

According to Arnold, in the election of the Pious *Khalīfahs* the ancient principle of electing the tribal chief was recognised and the method was almost the same. According to the old custom, "when the chief of a tribe died, his office passed to that member of the tribe who enjoyed the greatest influence, the leading members of the tribe selecting to fill the vacant place someone among themselves who was respected on account of age, or influence, or for his good services to the common weal; there was no complicated or formal method of election, nor within such small social groups would any elaborate procedure be necessary, and when the choice of a successor had been made, those present swore allegiance to him, one after another, clasping him by the hand."[2]

Abū Bakr bound himself to follow the Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet.[3] In the case of 'Uthman, the Muslims bound him further that he should follow in the footsteps of the first two *Khalīfahs*. Abū Bakr accepted the principle that the office was to continue for the period of his good behaviour and not for life. 'Ali refused to be bound by the precedents of his predecessors in office.

On the whole there were defects in the system of electing a *Khalīfah*. No definite rules of election were laid down and no definite qualifications prescribed either for the candidate or for the electors.

The Shūra

The *Khalīfah* was assisted by a Council of Elders (*ash Shūra*) composed of the principal Companions. It held its sittings in the Mosque of the Prophet and was often assisted by the notables of al-Madīnah and Bedouin

1. Al-Māwardi: *al-Aḥkāmu 's-Sulṭāniyah*, Chapter I.
2. *The Caliphate*, p. 20.
3. Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, pp. 1845-6.

chiefs present in the city. Besides, anybody assembled in the mosque could give his opinion. The Elders of the Council were drawn from the *Muhājirīn* and the *Anṣār*.[1]

To convene a meeting of the Council a herald used to go round proclaiming "*aṣ-ṣalātu Jāmi'ah*" which, rendered roughly means, "assemble for prayer."[2] Then the people would assemble in the principal mosque. 'Umar I and, later, his successors would go to the mosque, offer an extra prayer (*two rak'ats*) and address the assembled on the special topic on hand. Then discussions would ensue. For transacting ordinary business this was enough.

When very serious and important questions had to be decided, all the important Companions were assembled and the session continued for several days. For instance, when the question as to whether or not the conquered lands in al-'Irāq and Syria should be distributed amongst the warriors was to be decided, representatives from all sections in and around al-Madīnah were called in and the session continued for several days. Here is a fragment of the speech delivered by 'Umar I: "Verily I do not implore you but to share with me in the thing entrusted to me and to share with me the burden of your affairs. Verily I am one among you. I do not desire that you should follow anything arising out of my caprice."[3]

On the eve of the battle of Nihāwand there was another important sitting of the Council. The *Khalīfah* wanted to command the army in person. 'Uthmān, Ṭalḥah, az-Zubayr and 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān bin 'Awf spoke against his going. Finally a peroration by 'Ali against 'Umar's going decided the issue and the *Khalīfah* was restrained by the majority from going in person.[4]

Many questions pertaining to the affairs of the State were decided by the *Shūra*, the salary of the soldiers,

1. Abū Yūsuf, p. 14.
2. Aṭ-Ṭabarī, I, 2213.
3. Abū Yūsuf, p. 14.
4. Aṭ-Ṭabarī, I, 2214-18.

establishment of the various offices, appointment of Governors, right of foreigners to trade in Muslim countries, levying taxes on them, etc.

These deliberations of the *Shūra* were not of an unrecognised character. The *Shūra* was recognised as part and parcel of the Islamic State machinery. 'Umar I declared clearly, "There can be no *Khilāfat* except by consultation."[1] Thus both in theory and in practice the *Shūra* was an essential part of the government.

In addition to the *Shūra* there was another circle of selected Muhājirīn consisting of 'Ali, 'Uthmān, 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān, Ṭalḥah, az-Zubayr and a few others whom the *Khalīfah* usually consulted in his day-to-day administration.

Abū Bakr appointed 'Umar as the Chief Justice and also placed him in charge of distributing the poor tax. 'Ali was entrusted with the work of correspondence, the supervision of the captives of war and their treatment and ransom. Thus the heavy burden of administering the vast Empire was not allowed to rest on the shoulders of a single man but gladly shared by the leading Companions.

Even the ordinary citizen, if he so desired, could have a hand in the administration of the State. 'Umar I consciously initiated and encouraged democratic methods. When the question of appointing tax-collectors for al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah and Syria came up, he ordered the citizens of those provinces to select persons whom they considered the most trustworthy among them. The people of al-Kūfah chose 'Uthmān bin al-Farqad, those of al-Baṣrah al-Hajjāj bin al-'Ilāṭ and those of Syria Ma'an bin Yazīd. 'Umar I appointed only these men for the respective provinces.

His willingness to accede to the wishes of the people,

1. *Al-Fārūq*, II, p. 17.

and, in his later days, his anxiety to please his subjects, made the factious people of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah take too much advantage and clamour for the change of Governors too often. 'Umar I yielded every time; and this weakness gave much trouble to his successors. Thus the violent 'Umar of his youth, weighed down by conscientiousness and a sense of responsibility and concern for the subjects, began to err on the side of weakness.

The Provinces. For administrative purposes 'Umar I divided the Empire into eight provinces—Makkah, al-Madīnah, Syria, al-Jazīrah (Mesopotamia proper), al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, Egypt and Palestine. Under the Byzantines Palestine was a province with ten districts. 'Umar I divided this province into two big areas. The headquarters of one was Ayliya and that of the other Ramlah. Each area had a separate Governor. Egypt was divided into Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt. The former called aṣ-Ṣa'īd had twenty-eight districts. Ibn Abī Sarḥ was appointed its Governor. The latter had fifteen districts and was under 'Amr bin al-'Āṣ who was also the Governor-General. In Persia 'Umar I allowed the old territorial divisions to continue. The old provinces were Fārs, Karmān, Khurāsān, Makrān, Sijistān and Ādharbayjān. The entire Persian Empire was a part of the province of the Sāsānian Empire.

Provincial Officials. By the end of the Pious *Khilāfat* a framework of provincial administration had been evolved. The chief officials of the provinces were the *Wāli*, the *'Āmil*, the *Qāḍi*, the *Kātibu 'd-Dīwān* (Secretary in charge of the Army) and the *Ṣāḥibu Bayti 'l-Māl* (Finance Secretary).

Each province had a permanent Government House (*Dāru 'l-Amārah*) and a permanent Secretariat (*ad-Dīwān*). When 'Umar I sent 'Ammar as the Governor of al-Kūfah, he sent with him an expert and reliable staff of ten persons.[1]

1. See *Usudu 'l-Ghābah* under al-Qarz who was one of the ten.

Each district had its district officer (*al-'Āmil*) and district *Qāḍi*. All the district officials were under the Governor of the province. Each subdivision of the district had its *'Āmil* with his staff.

'Umar I kept a strict watch over the appointment and conduct of the officers during the tenure of their office. On the whole most of his appointments were fortunate.

Instrument of Instructions

On the appointment of a *Wāli* or *'Āmil*, he was given an instrument which contained his appointment order and specified his powers and duties. This deed bore the seal or signature of the *Khalīfah* and was witnessed by several of the *Muhājirīn* and the *Anṣār*. Just before the *'Āmil* left al-Madīnah, the citizens were assembled in the mosque and the deed or instrument of instructions read out in public. Thus every citizen came to know the exact powers and duties of the Governors and *'Āmils*. 'Umar I used to address the Governors-designate thus: "Listen, verily I am not sending you as rulers and potentates; on the other hand, I am sending you as the leaders of guidance so that men may follow you. Render unto the Muslims their rights; beat them not, lest you humiliate them; praise them not lest you make them indisciplined. Do not shut your doors against them, lest the strong amongst them devour the weak ones." [1]

Every *Wālı* or *'Āmil*, on his appointment, had to furnish a detailed list of all his properties and belongings.[2] Any extraordinary increase in his property was watched and action taken against him. As a matter of fact the excessive wealth of Abū Hurayrah and that of 'Amr bin al-'Āṣ were confiscated by 'Umar I.[3]

The officers were paid very high salaries and also

1. Abū Yūsuf, p. 66.
2. Al-Balādhuri, p. 219.
3. Ibid., pp. 82-83, 291.

provided with rations so that there might not be any temptation to receive bribes. This was in addition to their annuities. For instance, 'Ammār bin Yāsir had an annuity of 600 *dirhams*; and in addition to it he had daily rations of wheat and mutton.[1]

Revenue Administration under the Pious Khalīfahs

We have seen that the sources of revenue under the Prophet were limited only to five items. As the Empire expanded, the sources of revenue also naturally multiplied. Besides *al-ghanīmah*, *az-zakāt*, *al-jizyah*, *al-kharāj* and the income from the crown lands, much revenue was derived from tithes (*al-'ushūr*) collected from merchants.

Al-Ghanīmah. According to the Qur'ān,[2] the fifth (*khums*) of *al-ghanīmah* is to be shared between the Prophet, his relatives, the orphans, the indigent and the wayfarer. The Prophet used to divide the *khums* into three portions, one for himself, one for his relatives and the third for the other three categories mentioned in the Qur'ān.[3] Abū Bakr, 'Umar I and 'Uthmān divided the *khums* into three portions; but the share of the Prophet and that of his relatives were spent on the weapons and equipment of the army and nothing out of the *khums* was given to the heirs of the Prophet or his relatives.[4] 'Ali also did the same.[5]

Az-Zakāt. The rules relating to *az-zakāt* were fixed by the Prophet and strictly followed. Even the *Khalīfah* could not exempt anyone from the payment of *az-zakāt*. 'Umar I made a slight modification in the rules of *az-zakāt* in favour of the State.

Horses were imported into Arabia only a few centuries before the Prophet and the animals were extremely

1. *Orient Under the Caliphs*, p. 112.
2. Chapter VIII, verse 41.
3. Abū Yūsuf, p. 11.
4. But another report says that the Banū Hāshim received their shares till the last year of 'Umar's reign. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
5. Ibid., p. 11.

valuable for purposes of war. In the days of the Prophet the number of horses in Arabia was not very large. So he did not levy *az-zakāt* on them. Under 'Umar horse trade became a lucrative concern; and while the poor dealers in camels and goats had to pay the *zakāt*, the rich horse merchants went untaxed. In the light of the changed circumstances, 'Umar levied *az-zakāt* on horses also.

Al-'Ushr. Al-'ushr was one-tenth of the produce taken by the State from such lands as had natural water facilities. From lands watered with buckets only one-twentieth of the produce was taken.[1] *Al-'ushr* was collected only from fairly big estates yielding at least a gross produce of five *wasqs* which equalled 60 *ṣā's*.[2]

Till the *Shūra* convened by 'Umar I made its decision against the grant of lands to the Muslims, conquered lands used to be distributed among the soldiers like any other booty. From such lands the State took *al-'ushr*. But after the decision made in the *Shūra*, the Muslims were forbidden to acquire any land. This decision left some lands in the possession of the early Muslims. The later but more powerful Muslims like the Umayyads were prevented from possessing any. They bided their time, and took the earliest opportunity to upset the arrangement made by the *Shūra*.

Al-Jizyah. Under the Prophet's regime a uniform rate of one *dīnār* was levied per head per annum. 'Umar I had to modify this uniformity taking the prevalent customs in Persia and other countries into consideration. The capitation tax was universally in force under the Sasānians who levied this tax in several grades. 'Umar retained the grades deviating, out of necessity, from the precedence of the Prophet of collecting a uniform rate. It was generally four *dīnārs* from the rich, two from the middle class, and one from poor people with some

1. Abū Yūsuf, p. 21.
2. Al-Balādhuri, p. 7; Abū Yūsuf, p. 31. See infra for the exact measure of a wasq and a ṣā'.

income.[1] In Egypt 'Amr bin al-'Āṣ levied a uniform rate of two *dīnārs* per head.

Since this tax was expressly taken as the price for military protection given by the State, whenever the *Khalīfah* felt that he could not protect a region any more, he immediately ordered the return of the whole of *al-jizyah* collected from that region. Before the battle of the Yarmūk, when the Muslim forces withdrew from Hims, Damascus and other advanced posts, the *Khalīfah* ordered the return of the whole of the *jizyah* amount collected from those cities and the adjoining places.[2] If any one of the *dhimmīs* took part in a campaign, his *jizyah* was cancelled. If any one of them rendered some service to the army, his *jizyah* for that year was dropped.[3] When Cyprus was conquered under 'Uthmān, no *al-jizyah* was levied on the Cypriots as the *Khalīfah* was not yet certain that he would be able to protect them from foreign attacks.

Thus we see that *al-jizyah* was an impost prevalent among several nations before Islam, the difference being that whereas others were not so conscientious in the fulfilment of their obligation to protect the subjects in return for this tax, the Muslims did discharge their duty faithfully; and that where the Muslims could not protect the *dhimmīs*, they refunded the entire amount collected.

Al-Khāraj. Under the Prophet the *kharāj* lands were very limited and it did not require any elaborate machinery to administer them. By the end of the Pious *Khilāfat* the area yielding *al-kharāj* comprised a considerable portion of the Roman and the whole of the Persian Empire. Therefore a very elaborate system was required to collect and administer the taxes.

The first matter that confronted 'Umar I concerning

1. Al-Baladhuri, pp. 124, 152, 271.
2. Ibid., p. 137; Abū Yūsuf, p. 81.
3. At-Ṭabari, I, pp. 2663-2665.

al-kharāj was whether or not the conquered lands of Syria and al-'Irāq should be treated as enemy property to be distributed among the soldiers. 'Umar I himself was against depriving the children of the soil of their ancestral possessions for various reasons. He knew that the stability of a government at that stage of civilisation entirely depended on the prosperity of the agricultural classes and that depriving them of their lands would not only be a great hardship to them but would also undermine the stability of the government itself. Further, he wanted a regular source of revenue for the administration of the realm, to pay the salaries of the officials and soldiers and to meet the other expenses of the State, such as purchase of arms, etc.[1] If the conquered lands went to the soldiers, the State would be reduced to bankruptcy. Another argument which weighed much with 'Umar I was that it was likely that the martial Arab race, by taking to agricultural pursuits, should become ease-loving and non-martial. In this view he was backed up by 'Ali, 'Uthmān and Ṭalḥah;[2] but 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān, az-Zubayr and Bilāl,[3] backed by the military chiefs, were very emphatic that the conquered lands should be divided among the soldiers as done by the Prophet.

As we have seen above, 'Umar I summoned a special session of the *Shūra* and the discussions went on for several days. The whole discussion turned round the point whether the conquered land should be left in the hands of the former cultivators in the interest of the future generations or not.[4] The opposition held that the future generations had no right to them. Finally, 'Umar quoted verses 7-9 of Chapter LIX of the Qur'ān wherein Allāh declares that the conquered land belongs to the poor among the *Muhājirīn* and the *Anṣār* ... "and to those who come after them." He laid emphasis on the clause, "who come after them," and carried his proposal through.[5]

1. Abū Yūsuf, p. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 14.
3. Ibid., p. 1.
4. Al-Balādhuri, p. 269.
5. Abū Yūsuf, p. 15.

Having thus established that the conquered lands should be left in the hands of the former owners, 'Umar I proceeded to organise their administration. Instead of introducing a uniform system for such diverse countries as Arabia, Persia, Syria and Egypt, 'Umar I wisely decided to retain the former systems as far as possible removing only the glaring evil and introducing the new Islamic spirit in the old mundane administration.

The custom prevalent in al-'Irāq since the days of Qubādh was that taxes varied according to the produce of the land. 'Umar I appointed 'Uthmān bin Ḥunayf, the best available Arab knowing something about the survey of land, its quality, etc., to survey the whole of al-'Irāq. The work was done with much efficiency. The area surveyed covered more than 30,000 square miles. Cultivable land alone was 36,000,000 *jaribs*[1] (one *jarīb* was equal to 3,600 sq. yards).

Crown lands, lands endowed to fire temples, unclaimed lands, lands confiscated from rebels, lands the revenue of which was set apart for roadmaking and the maintenance of postal service and forest lands were declared *al-fay'*, and their income alone amounted to 7,000,000 pieces.[2] The whole amount was set apart for public works and utility services. Some of these lands were given as *in'ām* for meritorious services to Islam, but no land was declared *al-kharāj* or *al-'ushr* free.

Lands cultivated with barley were taxed one *dirham* per *jarīb* per year;[3] those cultivated with wheat or sugarcane two *dirhams*; vegetables three; cotton five; sesame eight; and land cultivated with grapes or dates ten *dirhams* per *jarīb* per year.[4] Of course, lands of inferior quality had to pay a lesser amount of tax. The total revenue of al-'Irāq in the first year of the survey was 86,000,000 *dirhams* which soon swelled to 100,020,000 *dirhams*. According to Ibn Khurdādhbīh, the total

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 269.
2. Abū Yūsuf, p. 32.
3. Al-Balādhuri, p. 271.
4. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 269, 271.

al-kharāj collected by 'Umar I from al-'Irāq was 128,000,000 *dirhams*.[1] 'Umar continued all the *Marzubāns* and *Dihqāns* in their old rights.

'Umar could not carry out the survey of any other province. He allowed the old arrangements to continue and also the old languages of administration—Persian in al-'Irāq and Persia, Syriac in Syria, and Coptic in Egypt.

In Egypt the system of taxation established by the Pharaohs was continued by the subsequent conquerors. In the days of the Pharaohs, the whole of Egypt had been surveyed and taxes fixed either in cash or in kind. 'Umar I continued the same old system. The Romans used to collect an additional quantity of grains for provisioning their armies. Such taxes were collected by the Muslims also in the form of wheat, oil, honey, vinegar, etc., in the beginning;[2] but later they were discontinued by 'Umar I as unjust and cruel. Egypt was subjected to years of draught and years of prosperity. Every year the *Khalīfah* had the produce estimated and the taxes modified accordingly. The average tax levied was one *dīnār* and three *irdabs*[3] of grain per *jarīb*. The total tax collected from Egypt per year came to about 12,000,000 *dīnārs*.

In Syria the Romans had surveyed the whole land, classified it according to fertility of the soil, and water facilities and fixed different rates of tax for the various kinds of land. Formerly the whole administration of Syria was carried on in Greek. In the 6th century A D. Syriac was adopted as the medium of administration. 'Umar I retained the old system and the Syriac language. The total tax collected from Syria came to 14,000,000 *dīnārs*. One very significant reform of 'Umar I was that he abolished the Roman feudal system in Syria and gave the land to the actual cultivators of the soil.

In other parts of the Empire the old system was

1. Al-Khudari, III, p. 143.
2. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 124-25, 152, 173-74, 179, 215
3. One irdab is equal to five-and-a-half bushels.

continued unless there was a specific treaty to the contrary. Great care was taken to reclaim the waste lands. They were assigned to intending cultivators on condition that they should be reclaimed within three years. Thus a very large area of waste lands came under cultivation as is shown by the phenomenal rise in the amount of tax collected from al-'Irāq and other provinces.

Al-'Ushūr on Merchandise. Another source of revenue offered itself to 'Umar I.[1] Abū Mūsa al-Ash'ari, the Governor of al-Kūfah, wrote to the *Khalīfah* that the Muslim merchants who traded in foreign countries were subjected to a 10% tax on articles of merchandise. 'Umar I wrote back to the Governor directing him to levy the same tax on foreigners trading in Muslim countries.[2] Then this tax was extended to the *dhimmīs* also. The *dhimmīs* were subjected to a 5% tax[3] and the Muslims had already been paying a *zakīt* of $2\frac{1}{2}$% on articles of trade. This tax gave an enormous income to the State. Tax was levied on open articles. No search was made on entering the borders. No tax was collected on goods worth less than 200 *dirhams*.[4]

Al-Fay'. Under the Pious *Khalīfahs* very large estates were acquired by the State as *al-fay'*. In Syria and Egypt the private estates abandoned by the fleeing Patricians, the former crown lands, those estates which were confiscated for active opposition to or rebellion against the Muslims, unclaimed lands and forest lands became *al-fay'*. In Persia, as we have seen above, in addition to these categories of lands, those endowed to fire temples and those set apart for making roads and maintaining the postal service were also declared *al-fay'*.[5] Most of the *fay'* lands were assigned to the soldiers and became 'Ushr estates.

1. The pre-Islamic Meccans collected tithes on merchandise that passed through the city. See supra, p. 10.
2. Abū Yūsuf, p. 78.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 272 seq.

Income from the unassigned *fay'* estates was set apart for public work and public utilities. Canals were dug, dams put across rivers to regulate water supply through sluices, and tanks constructed out of this fund. In addition to the canals for irrigational purposes, canals to convey drinking water were also dug in several places. Al-Maqrīzi writes that in Egypt alone 120,000 labourers were being employed throughout the year.[1]

Public Works. Although there was not a separate department of public works, all the chief items of work covered by the department in a modern State were attended to by the provincial governments. A Government House (*Dāru 'l-Amārah*) was built in every provincial headquarters, a Secretariat (*ad-Dīwān*) and a Treasury House (*Baytu 'l-Māl*). Prison houses, rest houses, etc., were established at various centres. Roads and bridges were constructed, old wells drained and new ones sunk.

Some very big canals and a large number of smaller ones were dug out for irrigational and navigational purposes and to provide pure drinking water to the citizens of large cities. Nahru Ma'qil, a canal from the Dijlah, was dug out for reclaiming a large tract of waste land. In Khūzistān alone several irrigational canals were constructed by the Governor of the district, al-Juz' bin Mu'āwiyah. Nahru Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, a canal connecting the river Nile and the Red Sea, served both irrigational and navigational purposes. It was of very great help in expediting a large supply of food stuffs from Egypt to al-Madīnah during the great famine in the days of 'Umar I. Nahru Abī Mūsa was a canal intended for the supply of fresh water to the citizens of al-Baṣrah. Several new towns were built during the period of the Pious *Khilāfat*, such as, al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah and al-Fusṭāṭ and several villages like al-Mawṣil were converted into towns.

[1] Al-Maqrīzi, I. 76.

Al-Ḥima. There were huge State pastures (sing. *al-ḥima*).[1] As early as the days of the Prophet a large meadow was set apart for grazing the State animals which came by way of taxes.[2] Supervising these animals was a very responsible task. In the days of 'Umar the State pastures had no less than 400,000 camels and horses.[3]

The Treasury (*Baytu 'l-Māl.*) There was no need for a treasury in the days of the Prophet. All amounts collected and all wealth gathered from various sources were distributed then and there by him. Abū Bakr followed the Prophet's procedure very strictly. During the first year of his *Khilāfat* he distributed ten *dirhams* to everyone and in the second, twenty.

'Umar I, at the suggestion of al-Walīd bin Hishām, established a treasury in spite of the opposition of 'Ali and appointed 'Abdullāh bin al-Arqam as the Chief Treasury Officer. He also appointed 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān bin 'Ubaydi 'l-Qāri and Mu'ayqib as his assistants. Treasury houses on a moderate scale were built in al-Madīnah and in all the provincial headquarters and guards were posted to watch them. Each province had a separate Treasury Officer who was usually independent of the Governor. There was a tussle between Sa'd bin Abī Waqqāṣ, the powerful but extravagant Governor of al- Kūfah, and Ibn Mas'ūd, the Treasury Officer, as a consequence of which Sa'd had to be deposed by 'Uthmān.

Al-Qāḍi. Even under the Prophet the judicial and executive functions were separated. The Prophet appointed a *Qāḍi* over each of the provinces The *Qāḍi* was practically independent of the Governor in matters of dispensing justice. Each province had a Chief *Qāḍi* and each district a *Qāḍi* of its own. As yet the provin-

1. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 8, 9.
2. Ibid., p 9.
3. *Sharḥu 'l-Mu'aṭṭah*, IV, pp. 246-47.

cial *Qāḍi* did not exercise any control over the district *Qāḍis*. The *Qāḍis* treated the high and low as equals. 'Ali lost a suit of armour and found it with a man. The case came up before *Qāḍi* Shurayḥ. 'Ali stood by the side of the accused claiming no privileged treatment.[1]

The *Qāḍi*, according to the theory of Islamic law, had to be a male adult, in full possession of the mental faculties, a free citizen, Muslim in faith, irreproachable in character, sound of sight and hearing, and well versed in the prescriptions of law.[2] Only most eminent scholars who were also wise and upright were appointed as *Qāḍis*. In some cases 'Umar tested the judging capacity and judicial acumen of the candidates before appointing them. The *Qāḍis* were paid amply so that they might not be driven to the necessity of taking bribes. During the whole period of the Pious *Khilāfat*, there was not a single complaint that a *Qāḍi* accepted any bribe or acted partially. Litigations were very few.[3]

'Umar laid down that the *Qāḍi* should treat all the parties equally; that the burden of proof lay on the plaintiff or the complainant; that the defendant or accused could swear in the absence of evidence; that under all circumstances the parties could compromise; that the judge could, on his own initiative, review his own judgment; that the date of hearing should be fixed in advance; that in the absence of the defendant, the case could be decided *ex parte*; that every Muslim was qualified to give evidence provided that he had not undergone any punishment previously and provided also that his false testimony had not been already proved.[4] He enjoined also that in technical matters, the evidence of experts should be sought. Mosques were used as courts and no fees were charged for deciding cases.

In a letter to the famous *Qāḍi* Shurayḥ, 'Umar

1. Jurji Zaydān, *Tārikhu 't-Tamadduni 'l-Islāmi*, IV, p. 39.
2. Al-Māwardi, Chapter VI.
3. At-Tabari, 2135.
4. *Al-Fārūq*, II, 62-63.

ordained that he should follow the Qur'ān; that in the absence of clear instructions in the holy book, he should seek guidance from the traditions of the Prophet; that lacking any precedence on any particular topic, he should have resort to the consensus of opinion (*al-ijmā'*) of the scholars (already expressed on various topics); and that lacking any guidance even in the *ijmā'* he should depend on his own common sense.

Al-Iftā' (*Free Legal Opinion*). Seeking legal opinion from well-known scholars had been in practice since the very inception of Islam. 'Umar I systematised the institution. He authorised only a few well-known and trustworthy scholars to give legal opinion, on application, without charging any fee. This important institution justified the State in assuming that every citizen knew the law, for it gave a free opportunity to every person to know such legal details as he or she did not already know.

The Police. Abū Hurayrah is definitely known to have been given police powers in al-Baḥrayn. Police duties were performed by the public in general. 'Umar I introduced night watches and patrol. A regularly organised police force was not established until the time of 'Ali's *Khilāfat*. This Pious *Khalīfah* formed a municipal guard called the *Shurṭah* whose chief was styled *Ṣāḥibu 'sh-Shurṭah*. Supervision of markets, weights and measures and the detection of and prosecution for crimes were among the duties of the police.

Prisons. For the first time in Islam 'Umar established prisons. In Makkah he purchased the house of Ṣafwān bin Umayyah and converted it into a prison. Such prisons were established in important provincial centres. 'Umar was also responsible for introducing exile as a punishment.

Religious Administration under the Pious Khalīfahs

For the propagation of Islam the early *Khalīfahs* depended chiefly on the example of the Muslims,

especially the Muslim army. They issued elaborate moral instructions to the soldiers of Islam to behave as heroic human beings and not as beasts of prey. Abū Bakr's instructions to Usamah should be written in letters of gold.[1] Such instructions were issued by all the Pious *Khalīfahs* from time to time. It was the exceptional morale of the Muslim soldiers, their uprightness, their sympathy for the poor and the oppressed, their humane treatment of the conquered, the lowly and the slaves that won the admiration of millions for their religion and for the new social order which they represented. Moreover, Islam offered many worldly advantages also to the believers. Therefore there was no necessity for an organised proselytising mission. In later days the Umayyads had to check mass conversions.

Al-ḥajj was an organised institution even before Islam. Every year the *Khalīfah* led the ceremonies of the *ḥajj* in person or appointed a substitute. Leading all the prayers in the chief mosque of the metropolis was a part of the duty of the *Khalīfah*, and his Governors led the daily prayers in the chief mosques of the provincial headquarters.

Large and beautiful mosques were built throughout the Empire and arrangements made for their maintenance. In Arabia alone 4,000 mosques were built in the reign of 'Umar I. The courts of the Ka'bah were fittingly enlarged and the Mosque of the Prophet built on a large scale. Lights were not common among the early Muslims, and even mosques went without them in the beginning of Islam. Under 'Umar I, wealth and resources having developed sufficiently, arrangements were made to light all the mosques in the Empire and furnish them with mats or carpets.

The Qur'ān was arranged during this period and a standard edition of it was issued. Eminent Qur'ān readers were sent to various centres to teach the people how to

1. See infra.

read the sacred book. Every mosque was used as a school. The study of the Qur'ān occupied the first place. Next came the study of jurisprudence. Just as eminent readers (sing. *al-qāri*) were sent to the various parts of the Empire to teach the Qur'ān, so also eminent jurists (sing. *al-faqīh*) were sent to teach jurisprudence. These jurists received State salaries. Only authorised persons could teach jurisprudence, and, as we have seen under *al-iftā'*, only approved jurists could give legal opinion.

CHAPTER IV

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE PIOUS KHALĪFAHS

AFTER the demise of the Prophet, the major part of Arabia revolted against the restraints and duties imposed by Islam on the headstrong Arabs. Abū Bakr planned and reconquered the entire subcontinent of Arabia. His military genius in planning such a large and systematic campaign has not yet received due meed of praise.

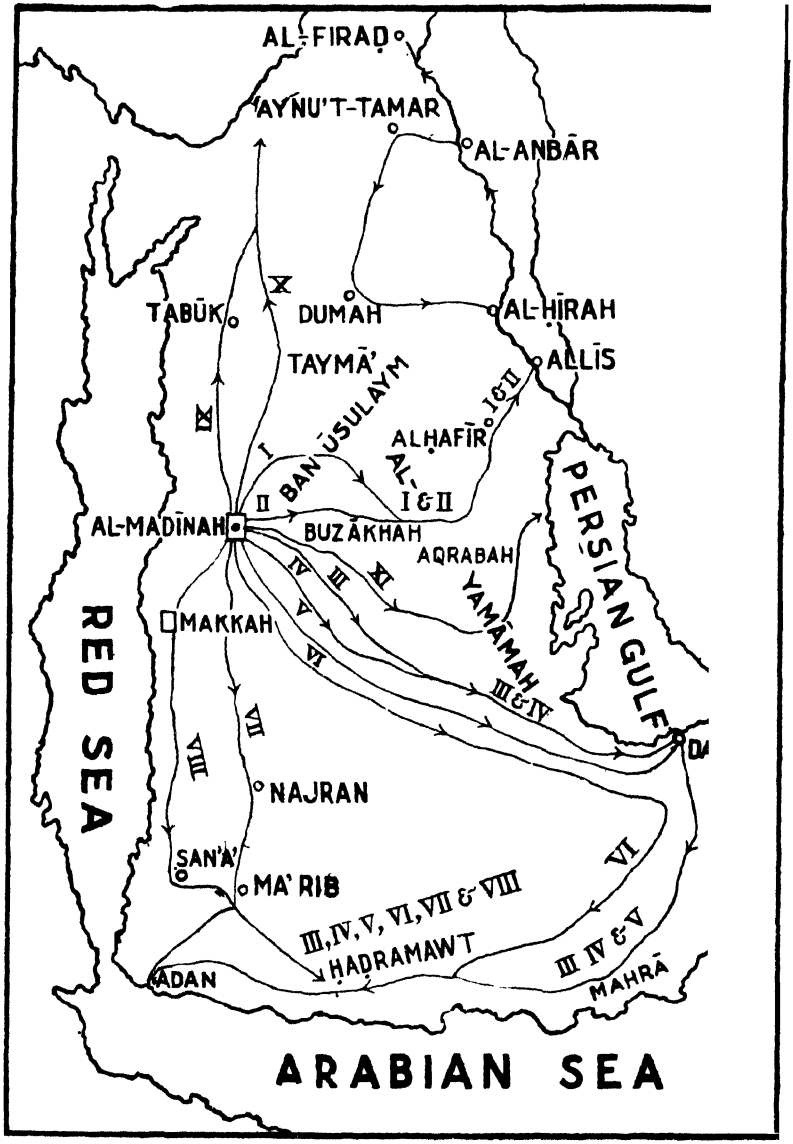
With practically no forces left at al-Madīnah when the surrounding hostile tribes were ready to attack the capital, he boldly sent out a large army to punish the Byzantines.[1] This army was under the boy Commander, Usāmah bin Zayd who fulfilled his task with astonishing success. Usāmah asked the soldiers to attack the enemy, as soon as order was given, in one compact unbreakable line with full force and not to pursue the fleeing enemy at the expense of breaking their own solid line.[2] The method of attack succeeded marvellously well, and the forces hastened back to al-Madīnah with all honours striking terror in the hearts of the sullen and discontented tribesmen around al-Madīnah.

Abū Bakr then sent out eleven expeditions organised with such great skill that the whole of the great peninsula was subdued in the most systematic way imaginable. A study of the map on the next page will convince any reader as to the great insight and genius for military strategy with which the expeditions were planned to embrace the whole of a subcontinent larger than the Indian peninsula.

Army No. I was sent against the hostile tribes of Banū Sulaym and Banū Hawāzin to the north-east of

1. At-Tabari, I, 1848.
2. *Orient Under the Caliphs*, p. 94.

MILITARY CAMPAIGN UNDER ABŪ BAKR



al-Madīnah; No. II against the false prophet, Ṭulayḥah, to the east of the capital; and Nos. III and IV against the formidable Musaylimah the Liar to al-Yamāmah to the south-east of al-Madīnah. After despatching these four expeditions against the neighbouring foes, Abū Bakr sent an expedition to 'Umān, the south-east of Arabia (marked No. V in the map); another to Mahrā in the south (No. VI); two to al-Yaman in the south-west (Nos. VII and VIII); two to the north (Nos. IX and X) and one to the east against al-Baḥrayn (No. XI).

Army No. I easily subdued Banū Sulaym and Banū Hawāzin and joined army No. II under the great Khālid bin al-Walīd. The combined forces under the redoubtable general took up the task against Musaylimah and relieved armies Nos. III and IV to join No. V in 'Umān. This grand combination of the three units, after completing the subjugation of 'Umān, marched south, and, effecting a junction with army No. VI in Mahrā, stormed the chief city of that country. Then the four combined forces, bypassing Ḥaḍramawt, which was very strongly defended, effected a junction with units Nos. VII and VIII and reconquered the whole of al-Yaman. Then this mighty combination of six armies advanced against Ḥaḍramawt and reduced it to obedience.

Units Nos. I and II (under Khālid), after defeating Musaylimah, marched towards the north on the eastern side of the peninsula, and in a series of battles snatched a large part of the fertile basin of the Euphrates from the Persians. Expedition No. XI subdued al-Baḥrayn and the expeditions sent to the north (Nos. IX and X) led to the conquest of the whole of Syria.

Number of soldiers employed under the Pious Khalīfahs

The subjugation and reconversion of the whole of Arabia to Islam placed a very large number of soldiers at the disposal of the *Khalīfah*. Already there was a state of war between the Arab tribes of Banū Bakr bin Wā'il

and Persia.[1] When the Muslim armies marched against the Persians, the tribesmen joined them in large numbers under their redoubtable leader al-Muthanna. The entire Arabian race was mobilised. Still, against the two mighty and populous empires of Rome and Persia, the Arab armies were always inferior in numbers.

In al-Kūfah alone, which later grew into a very large military station, there were during this period 4,000 soldiers, one thousand of whom were kept engaged in war every year by turn.[2] Ibn Sa'd reports that 30,000 new soldiers were recruited evey year.[3] These recruits belonged to various nationalities and diverse religions. There were Persians, Syrians, Greeks and Egyptians professing Islam, Christianity or Judaism. In the unfortunate battle of Ṣiffīn very large numbers were engaged. 'Ali's army numbered 90,000 and that of Mu'āwiyah 85,000.[4]

The Great Dīwān. By the close of 'Umar's reign most of the Arabs were enrolled in the armies of Islam. In addition to the Arabs even those non-Arabs who had embraced Islam were under an obligation to fight for the sacred creed. These soldiers had to be supported.

During the early days of the Prophet's regime, the soldiers of Islam were supported by the income and earnings of all the faithful and from the slender State revenues. Under Abū Bakr the income of the State was divided among the soldiers. The same practice was continued in the beginning of 'Umar's reign. But in an Empire comprising the whole of Arabia, the entire Persian Empire and the rich countries of Syria and Egypt, it was not possible that all the units should be

1. Between 606 and 611 A D. Hāni bin Mas'ūdi 'sh-Shaybāni defeated the Persian regular troops in the battle of Dhū-Qār and the Banū Bakr were expecting further attacks by the Persians when Islam came to their aid. The great Muslim general al-Muthanna belonged to one of the clans of Banū Bakr. See at-Ṭabari, Vol. I, pp. 1016-1037.
2. At-Ṭabari, I, 2850.
3. Ibid
4. Al-Mas'ūdi, IV, 344.

paid without any record. Further, 'Umar felt that it was not just that the old Companions, who had toiled and suffered from the very inception of the Prophet's mission, should get the same amount as the latest recruits to the faith.

To regulate the receipts and disbursement of the revenue, 'Umar I established the department of finance under the name of the *Diwān*.[1] The expense of the civil and revenue administration was the first charge upon the revenues. The next was military requirements. The surplus was used for the support of the community. In this all persons of the Arab race and their *mawāli* were entitled to well-defined and strictly regulated shares. A register was maintained of all Arabs and non-Arabs (men, women and children) entitled to a stipend.

'Umar I began his stipend list with the widows of the Prophet. They received 12,000 *dirhams* each per annum.[2] Those who took part in the battle of Badr were allowed an annuity of 5,000 each; and the same amount was assigned to each of the two grandsons of the Prophet, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and to the uncle of the Prophet, al-'Abbās.[3] The sons of the warriors of Badr were given 2,000 each. Those who became Muslims before the migration to Abyssinia were entitled to 4,000 each and those who became Muslims before the capture of Makkah to 3,000 each. Those who accepted Islam on the conquest of Makkah were allowed 2,000 *dirhams* each.

After this 'Umar I arranged the mass of Arab tribes in the order of their relationship to the Prophet. Those who were scholars of the Qur'ān and those who had rendered special services to Islam received high annuities.[4] The Arab soldiers and their *mawāli* were assigned three to four hundred *dirhams* each.[5] Hundred *dirhams* each was fixed for weaned children. Later, the limit

1. For the origin and meaning of the word see *Ṣubḥu 'l-A'shā*, Vol. I, pp. 89-90.
2. Accounts vary: see Abū Yūsuf, pp. 24-25.
3. According to one report, al-'Abbās got 12,000; Abū Yūsuf, p. 25.
4. Abū Yūsuf, p. 25. 5. Ibid.

of weaning was abolished. Every Muslim child, on birth, was entitled to the annuity. The annuity rose as the child grew up. At the outset all Muslims received annuities without any racial distinction. Since the arrangement of the *Dīwān* was according to the Arabian tribes, the non-Arabs had to get affiliated to some tribe or other. This has been wrongly taken to mean that only Arab Muslims were granted stipends and not the non-Arabs. 'Umar assigned 100 *dirhams* each to the wives and children of the soldiers who had either fallen in battle or were engaged in active service.

This is the first instance in the history of the world where the government took the responsibility of feeding and clothing the entire population of the State. Arabia was not a country which could have supported the whole of its population out of its own resources. So the Arabs had to be supported from the revenue drawn from the very rich neighbouring countries of al-'Irāq, Syria and Egypt. This step was dictated by the special circumstances of the case. It was usual in those days to distribute the conquered lands among the soldiers who settled on them. If the Arabs had adopted the same custom, the whole race consisting of only a few lakhs of people[1] would have been absorbed by the more populous conquered countries. The distinct identity of the conquering race would have disappeared and the Empire would have been dismembered much earlier.

There were many defects in the system, which, in the long run, gave considerable scope for the manipulation of the pension lists. The system blended military and political pensions into one. It gave a lot of trouble under the Umayyads. Hisham, as we shall see later, removed this defect to some extent.

Most of the military systems prevalent in the

1. According to Ibn Khaldūn the Arabs numbered only 150,000 during the Prophet's reign ; see *al-Muqaddamah*, I, pp. 293, 314.

seventh century were feudal. The king divided the land among the barons who bound themselves to provide a certain number of soldiers to fight the king's battles. By this system, which was in vogue both in the Roman and in the Persian Empire, the soldiers were not bound to the king by direct allegiance. They were the soldiers of the barons or vassals and thus could be called upon by the barons to fight against the king himself. 'Umar I was the first ruler to introduce the system of paying regular salaries to the soldiers.

The first attempt in the history of the world to take the responsibility of feeding all its citizens by the State worked for a short time magnificently well. But unfortunately the productive forces of Arabia had not yet reached a stage wherein such an attempt could become permanent. Moreover, even what little was possible was foiled by internecine wars and disunion among the believers. A critic like Sir William Muir admits: "A great nation dividing thus amongst them their whole revenues, spoil, and conquests, first on the principle of equal brotherhood, and next on that of martial merit and spiritual distinction, is a spectacle probably without parallel in the world."[1]

Military Districts (sing. *al-jund*). The Empire was divided into nine military districts apart from the political divisions. Each one of them was called a *jund*. The military districts were: al-Madīnah, al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, al-Mawṣil, al-Fusṭāṭ, Miṣr, Damascus, Ḥims and Palestine. There were regular barracks for soldiers in all these places. Each of the nine military stations had a huge stable with 4,000 horses and their equipment ready so that at a short notice 36,000 cavaliers could be put on the field. Large meadows were reserved for grazing these horses. Every horse was branded on the thigh, "Fighter in the way of God."[2] Special atten-

1. *Annals of Early Caliphate*, p. 227.

2. [illegible] *Kanzu 'l-'Ummāl*, II, p. 231; *al-Fārūq*, II, p. 99.

tion was devoted to breed superior varieties of horses. In addition to these big military stations, there were military barracks in all big cities, frontier posts and coastal towns. Each of the military centres had a record office and a provision store. There was also a Paymaster (al-'Arīf) attached to each military station through whom salaries were disbursed.

Soldiers' Emoluments

The lowest salary of a recruit in the beginning of 'Umar's arrangement was 200 *dirhams* per year. This was subsequently raised to 300. The officers drew salaries from 7,000 to 10,000 *dirhams* per year. On the whole the average salary of a soldier came to about 600 *dirhams* per year.[1] Besides this salary every wife and child of a soldier drew a pension from the State. Further, every soldier got free rations (raw in the initial stage and later cooked and served hot), dress, foot-wear, etc., and batta (*al-ma'ūnah*). Apart from these emoluments, the early conquerors of Islam had four-fifths of the plunder of the vast riches of Syria, Egypt and Persia[2] divided amongst them.

Great care was taken to provide as much comfort to the soldiers as possible. Barring exceptional emergencies, a soldier was not allowed to be absent from home for more than four months. If the *Khalīfah* could choose the time and place of operation, he chose cold countries for summer and hot ones for winter campaigns. Much attention was bestowed on the health of the soldiers. Their barracks which were well ventilated and spacious, were built in known healthy spots. Each army had a number of physicians and surgeons attached to it.

Arms of the Army. The army consisted of the infantry (*ar-rājil*), the cavalry (*al-fursān*), the archers, (*ar-rumāt*), a service corps (*al-ghilmān*), scouts (*aṭ-ṭali'ah*)[3] and rear-scouts (*ar-rid'*). Over every ten soldiers there was a decurion (*Amīru 'l-'Ashrah*)[4] and over every

1. *Orient Under the Caliphs*, p. 360.
2. Aṭ-Tabari, I, 2204-2205.
3. Ibid., 2225.
4. Ibid.

hundred a lieutenant (*al-Qā'id*). Above ten *Qā'ids* there was a Commander (*al-Amīr*).

Bodyguard. Mu'āwiyah, the Governor of Syria under 'Umar and 'Uthmān, was the first to institute a bodyguard in Islam. The force consisted of picked Arab tribesmen in whom he had perfect confidence. During the battle of Ṣiffīn, Mu'āwiyah had a pavilion erected in the centre and took his seat on it. At the most critical juncture, when 'Ali's great general, Mālik al-Ashtar, directed his attack at Mu'āwiyah's person and was almost within his reach,[1] it was the bodyguard of the Umayyad *Amīr* that beat back the attack and saved his life.

On the March. On the march the scouts went much in advance of the army spying and studying the path that lay ahead. Much behind them the army followed in the battle order.[2] The vanguard marched in front followed by the centre and the two wings. Then came the rear-guard with the luggage, siege engines, etc. Women and children of the soldiers often accompanied it as also their flocks and herds. Behind the rear-guard rode the rear-scouts. Troops were usually marched by easy stages with a full twenty-four hours' rest every Friday.

Camping. When inside the enemy territory, great care was taken in camping. Invariably the camp was protected by a fire ditch and barricades, and sentries were posted on duty. The soldiers went to sleep with the arms on their side ready to go into the attack as soon as they were awakened. As a matter of fact, there was not one occasion during the whole of the Pious *Khilāfat* when the Muslim camp was surprised by the enemy. Camping grounds were carefully chosen by an officer appointed for the purpose known as *ar-rā'id*.

Supply. Till the days of 'Umar the army provided itself mostly by looting the enemy country after the practice of the day. Later on, taxes gathered in kind, such as grains, olive oil, honey, vinegar, etc., were used

1. Al-Khuḍari, II, 140. 2. Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, 2174.

for the purpose. This caused considerable hardship to the subjects. Therefore 'Umar converted all tax payments into cash and established an Army Supply Department known by the name *Ahrā'*. The first officer appointed to organise the Supply Department was 'Amr bin 'Utbah.

Weapons. Swords, bows and arrows, lances and slings formed the chief weapons of warfare. Swords were mostly double-edged [1] Arab arrows were so small that the Persians called them spindles in derision.[2] Shields and helmets were used for protection. Coats of mail, owing to their very high price, could be worn by only some of the soldiers. Ballistas and mantelets were used to attack forts. In the year 16 A.H. the Muslims used as many as twenty balistas or catapults in the siege of Bahurasīr and a huge wooden *dabbābah* possibly with iron plates to prevent it from being burnt as it was burnt in the siege of aṭ-Ṭa'if.[3] *Naqqābūn* (hole-makers), concealed in that huge "*tank*" moving on wheels, were pushed to the very walls of the town. There, protected from the enemy missiles, they effected a breach with picks and drills. In the storming of Damascus, the Muslims swam the moat on inflated skins, flung on the turrets ropes with running nooses, climbed the walls and opened the gates.[4]

In defensive battles fire ditches and barricades were used.

Use of Flags in the Battlefield. In the battle of Nihāwand an-Nu'mān gave the signal for the attack by waving the flag. He is reported to have said: "I shall now shake the standard I carry three times. After the first shake let each perform the ablutions and satisfy his natural wants. After the second shake, let each turn to his sword (he may have said sandal throng) and get ready, putting everything in order. When the third shake is, by Allāh's will, made, then rush and let none of you heed the other."[5]

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 260.
2. Abū Yūsuf, p. 16; Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, 2236.
3. Al-Balādhuri, p, 55.
4. Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, pp. 2152-2153.
5. Al-Balādhuri, p, 303.

Tactics

During the wars with two of the most civilised empires in the world, the Arab generals had to employ various tactics and strategems. In the battle of al-Walijah, Khalid placed an ambush on either side of the enemy. In the heat of the battle, the hidden forces emerged suddenly, and, attacking the enemy on the flanks by surprise, turned the tables against him.

At al-Qadisiyah, the Persians were arranged in thirteen lines one behind the other and the Muslims had only three lines. "Their three ranks suffered much from the Persian arrows, against which their only defence was a barrier of palm-branches stuck upright into their baggage, the leather throngs from which they employed to bind round their heads in substitution for helmets."[1] The Muslims as usual stood firm till the enemy approached very near and charged him with great force as they had been doing since Badr with their lances. Then they set aside their lances and bows and used their swords with deadly effect. As in pre-Islamic days, Sa'd, the Commander-in-Chief, sent orators to harangue the soldiers in order to rouse their martial ardour.

In fighting the Persians, the Arabs had to encounter a new factor, the elephants. The Arab horses were afraid of the huge enimals,[2] and the soldiers themselves did not know how to tackle them. At first some of the heroes like Abū 'Ubayd bin Mas'ūd tried to strike at the trunks of the enormous creatures.[3] Some succeeded while some others were crushed by the huge but agile animals.[5] Later, they tried another method. They cut off the girdle of the *hawdaj* on the elephant and made the rider topple down to be killed immediately. In order to frighten the enemy horses, the Arabs covered

1. Levy, R., *Sociology in Islam*, II, p. 303.
2. Al-Balādhuri, pp 251-252 ; aṭ-Ṭabari, I, 2181.
3. Aṭ-Tabari, I, 2118-2119.
4. Al-Muthanna killed an elephant : aṭ-Ṭabari, 2118-2119.
5. Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, 2179.

their camels completely with white blankets and made them advance against the cavalry of the enemy, at which the horses took fright and fled away from the field.

The Muslim army had been steadily growing and was being employed in very large numbers against the much large numbers of the enemies. In the battle of the Yarmūk, the Muslims had about 40,000 soldiers all mounted,[1] and the enemy had 240,000 consisting of both infantry and cavalry. It must have been impossible to deploy such enormous numbers in a few lines. So Khālid adopted a method of war quite new to the Muslims. He divided his forces into 38 cohorts (sing. *al-kurdūs*) of more than one thousand soldiers each and arranged them in three wings. The centre consisted of 18 cohorts with Abū 'Ubaydah in command and the side wings consisted of 10 each. The right wing was under 'Amr bin al-'Āṣ and the left under Yazīd bin Abī Sufyān.[2] Khālid retained the supreme command in his own hands.

The Byzantines launched a tremendous attack. Khālid ordered the right and the left wings to advance and meet the onslaught. While the two wings were engaging the enemy, Khālid ordered the centre to advance and wedged it in between the enemy's infantry and cavalry. Thus isolated, the cavalry of the enemy took to flight; but Khālid held back the Muslims from pursuing the enemy. Then the entire Muslim force attacked the adversary "as if a wall crashed on them"[3] and defeated him completely.

At Ṣiffīn 'Ali arranged his infantry into lines as devised by the Prophet. Men with armour were put in the front rank. He ordered his men to wait till the enemy approached so near that the former's lances were at the

1. Figures vary in different accounts: al-Khuḍari, I, 27; al-Balādhuri, p. 134; Ibn Khaldūn. *al-Muqaddamah*, I, p. 28.

2. Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, 2093.

3. فكانما هدم عليهم حائط, al-Khuḍari, I, pp. 276 seqq.

chest of the latter. He instructed his men that while charging they should lean forward over their lances for better effect. He arranged his cavalry in cohorts. The horsemen were armed with bows and arrows and swords. At close quarters they set aside their bows and used swords.

By the end of the Pious *Khilāfat*, Muslims had organised a very efficient army of first-class well-disciplined fighters with all the weapons of their age including important siege engines; they had efficiently built up a system of marching, camping, transport, supplies, and other essentials of a first-rate army; and they had learnt and improved the technique of defence, of laying siege, of taking a fortress by storm and of fighting huge armies with a much lesser number. The Prophet had devised for them a unique method of warfare; and in every respect, in organisation, in supplies, in weapons, in technical skill, the quality of the soldiers and commanders, in tactics, and above all in morale, the Muslims had outstripped all their contemporaries.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL ORGANISATION UNDER THE UMAYYADS AND ITS EFFECT ON ADMINISTRATION

WITHIN about three or four decades of the Islamic revolution, the organisation of Arab society had considerably changed. Society had definitely passed the clan and tribal stage and feudal elements had begun to appear in their rudimentary form. It took the whole of the Umayyad period to render the feudal organisation complete. Even under the Prophet, landed estates had begun to appear.[1] The greatest warriors of Islam like 'Ali,[2] Ṭalḥah,[3] az-Zubayr and others[5] received big estates under Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān as *al-qatā'i'* (fiefs).[6] The feudal organisation in Syria, Egypt and Persia was maintained. Thus the Arabs, who had lagged behind their neighbours in social evolution, by one sudden effect, overtook them. Naturally some of the glaring evils of feudalism were done away with by the early Muslim conquerors who were imbued with a spirit of equality and fraternity, and immense relief was afforded to the oppressed serfs, slaves and landless peasants who had so far been forced to work on land for practically nothing.

Abū Bakr and 'Umar I saw the danger in Muslim warriors becoming landowners to the exclusion of the people of the soil and exercised great control over the land-hungry Quraysh. But the social forces which the great revolution had released and hard facts and realities of the situation were too strong to be controlled or countered by the weak 'Uthmān. The Quraysh were let loose on the vast Empire. Most of them received,

1. See infra.
2. Al-Balādhuri, p. 14.
3. Ibid., pp 273 seq.
4. Ibid., pp. 12, 13.
5. Ibid , pp. 273 seq.
6. Yaḥya bin Ādam, *Kitābu 'l-Kharāj*, pp. 42, 56 seq, 61, 67; al-Balādhuri, pp. 13, 14, 21.
7. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 144, 273.

or acquired by doubtful means, or purchased, big estates and converted them from *al-kharāj* lands to *al-'ushr* lands.

The revolution was brought about by the poor and the needy under the leadership of a scion of the upper class. But the fruits of the revolution went, as was the case with all such revolutions, to the upper class against whom the revolution had started. Within about thirty years after the demise of the great Prophet, we see his erstwhile enemies in control of the entire Empire with the son of Abū Sufyan at the top.

Thus a revolution which started as a great equalising and levelling force, a revolution which appeared to jump across all the painful processes of social evolution was betrayed by the richer classes who captured the movement. Abū Dharr, who protested against the great wealth of 'Uthmān,[1] died languishing in exile; Ibn Mas'ūd had to find his own level ; and 'Ammār fell fighting. The great Usāmah's family sank into oblivion. His daughter had to seek and get some favour from the saintly 'Umar II.

Against all the logic of social facts, against the opposition of some of the leading Companions, and even against the practice of giving away fiefs started by the Prophet,[2] 'Umar wanted to avoid the birth of feudalism. Instead of a feudal aristocracy, he designed a military class of warriors (*al-muqātilah*) drawing regular pensions from the State. He was too much ahead of his times. So he had to make compromises. Even in this revolutionary enterprise he could not follow the logic to its extreme end. The ever-increasing mass of new converts could not be accommodated in his pension list based on Arabian tribes. Had he made it comprehensive enough to embrace all Muslims, it would not have worked. The

1. Uthmān left behind him 150,000 dīnārs, 1,000,000 dirhams and his estate in Wādiu 'l-Qura, Ḥunayn and other places were worth 100,000 dīnārs. Besides, he left a very large number of camels and horses. See al-Mas'ūdi, I, 301.

2. See infra.

productive forces had not yet reached a stage wherein the entire mass of the people could be equally or almost equally supported by the State out of its organised labour. Therefore all that was physically possible was to ensure bread and vinegar for the entire Arab race and the early foreign converts. It was not an ordinary achievement. It had no parallel in the history of the world.

'Umar's effort was to avoid the inevitable, the conversion of the tribal into feudal society. As long as his strong hand was there the land-hungry Quraysh were held in check. But the weak and well-meaning 'Uthmān could not control them. They migrated to the provinces and carved out estates for themselves thereby causing great resentment among the population of the provinces.[1]

Thus the dictum, that out of every tribal society a feudal one is born, was again proved. The attempt at levelling and equalising failed; the brotherhood of all believers was jeopardised; racial differences, trible distinction and even discrimination between the old and new converts entered the scheme of things. Under the Umayyads (except during the two-and-a-half years under 'Umar II) it was not the religious consideration or scruple that played the strongest part but considerations of revenue and income.

By the end of the Umayyad period, we observe the following distinct classes:

1. The feudal aristocracy, Arab and non-Arab.

2. The military class (mainly Arabs) enjoying State pensions.

3. Small landowners.

4. New converts neither owning lands nor enjoying State pensions (*mawāliu 'l-Islām*)

5. Artisans, labourers, etc.

1. Al-Khuḍari, II, 91.

6. The beggar class including the permanently sick, the incapacitated, the indolent and others.

7. Slaves.

Each one of these classes presented problems which the Umayyads had to tackle. A very honest and sincere effort was made by the saintly 'Umar II. But it was an uphill task, too big and too difficult for the conscientious *Khalīfah*. He died in the effort, but the task remained unfulfilled. These problems developed to such huge dimensions that they enveloped and destroyed the dynasty itself.

The Feudal Aristocracy

Feudalism with all its evils had existed in Syria, Persia and Egypt when the Muslims conquered these countries. Some of the glaring evils were removed by the conquerors. But the old system was allowed to continue in all the three lands. Estates deserted by the fleeing Patricians, former crown lands, lands of warriors confiscated for active opposition to the Muslims, lands belonging to the fire temples and those whose income was set apart for maintaining the postal service in Persia became State property, the income from which went to the central treasury.[1] Other feudal estates under the Syrians, Egyptians and the *Dihqāns* of Persia were allowed to continue under them in return for tax or tribute.

In Arabia proper, when the Prophet conquered the lands around al-Madīnah, the estates belonging to Banū Naḍīr were divided among the *Muhājirīn* and two of the poor *al-Anṣār*;[2] and those of Banū Qurayẓah were divided among those who were present.[3] The Prophet also granted fiefs in all parts of Arabia.[4] 1580 fiefs carved out of the estates of Khaybar were granted by 'Umar to the 1540 who had taken part in the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyah and the 40 Muslims who were with Ja'far

1. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 272 seq. 2. Ibid., pp. 18, 20.
3. Ibid., p. 22
4. Ibid., pp. 12, 13, 14, 18, 20, 35, 73, 93, 129.

bin Abī Ṭalib in Abyssinia.[1] Under Abū Bakr and during the early part of 'Umar's reign many estates were given to the early heroes of Islam.[2]

There was a clamour from all sides for more land. In the days of 'Umar I, after a very long sitting of the *Shura*[3] and very hot discussions, it was decided that no more conquered lands should be distributed among the Muslims. In spite of this, in the reign of 'Uthmān, the Quraysh acquired private estates (*al-qatā'i'*). For instance, a large extent of the property left by the Patricians in Syria and the confiscated lands had passed on to the State. At the request of Mu'awiyah, 'Uthmān assigned to him these estates or at least a large part of them.[4] He gave many more estates as fiefs to others also.[5]

As the *Khalifah*, Mu'awiyah retained the estates granted to him by 'Uthmān and gave portions of them to his supporters, not in trust, but as alienable private property. 'Abdu 'l-Malik[6] and other Umayyad *Khalifahs*[7] did the same. Moreover, when the non-Muslim owners died heirless, 'Abdu 'l-Malik granted their *al-kharāj* lands to the Muslims as *al-'ushr* lands. Other Umayyad *Khalifahs* granted fiefs to their favourites and also allowed the Muslims to purchase the *kharāj* lands from non-Muslims. When the *kharāj* lands passed into the hands of the Muslims, they became *al-'ushr* lands; and hence, the revenue declined.

Not only in Syria but also in al-'Iraq, Egypt and other parts of the Empire the Muslims began to acquire great estates, by grant, by purchase, and by other doubtful means. The stern and wise principles laid down by 'Umar in the matter of acquiring lands were relaxed in so many individual cases by the weak 'Uthmān that the democratic system of administration began to degenerate into a system based on the whim and fancy of the ruler.

1. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 26, 28
2. Ibid., p. 12.
3. See supra, p. 39.
4. Al-Ya'qūbi, II, p. 191
5. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 144, 273.
6. Ibid., p. 148.
7. Ibid., pp. 148, 179, 180, 308.

The Quraysh, and especially the Umayyads, took the maximum advantage of the weakness of 'Uthman. They established a monopoly over Babylon (as-Sawād), the most fertile region in the Empire, and claimed it as their private property to the exclusion of the Muslim community as a whole. The haughty Sa'īd bin al-'Āṣ went to the extent of declaring: "The Sawād is nothing but the estate of the Quraysh. We take of it what we like and leave off what we choose to."[1] The Quraysh had carved out many estates in this region. But 'Ali, on his election to the *khilāfat*, took back most of the landed properties in al-'Irāq which were granted by 'Uthmān to his favourites and relatives.[2]

In spite of what 'Ali was able to do in al-'Irāq, by the end of the reign of Mu'āwiyah, a form of feudalism was established throughout the Muslim Empire. The evil which set in under the mild 'Uthmān became more and more serious under the later Umayyads. The fact that many complaints of forceful possession by the strong were brought before 'Umar II shows that the process of acquiring land was not fair in all cases. 'Umar II himself declared that more than half of the wealth was in the hands of Banū Marwān and that most of it was ill-gotten.[3]

Thus was created a Muslim landed aristocracy which deprived the State of a large amount of revenues. The aristocrats were powerful men who could not be taxed strictly. The burden naturally fell on the poorer classes. Moreover, there was scope in the system of collection of taxes to shove the burden on to the poorer people. Often the feudal chiefs, Muslims and non-Muslims, were the tax-collectors in the villages. These big landholders apportioned the entire tax due from the village to the smaller landowners and thus saved themselves from all taxes. Besides, they collected

1. عالسواد الاعستان فريش فناخذ ما نشاء و نترك ما نشاء : al Aghāni, Vol. XI, p 30.
2. Al-Mas'ūdi, IV, p. 29.
3. Ibnu 'l-Jawzi, pp. 108-11 : see infra, p. 69.

many items of unauthorised taxes, presents and countributions and appropriated a good part of them for themselves. In this way the evils of feudalism, rampant among the Romans and the Persians, which were abolished by the wise and strict rules of 'Umar I, reappeared under the Umayyads.

Umayyad *Khalīfahs* like Mu'awiyah, 'Abdu 'l-Malik, al-Walīd and Hisham and their powerful Viceroys like al-Ḥajjāj,[1] Maslamah,[2] and Khālid al-Qasri[3] became the greatest landowners in the Empire. We have seen how 'Uthmān granted most of the crown lands in Syria to Mu'āwiyah. To this he added other estates like Fadak in Arabia, much bigger ones in Persia and the East and those confiscated from the Romans in Egypt and other parts of Africa. These estates were, in theory, the property of the Muslim community as a whole; but Mu'āwiyah began to dispose them off as if they were his private property. Of course, a large part of the income went towards the State expenses; but the great scruple of the Shaykhayn (Abū Bakr and 'Umar) had disappeared.

This accumulation of huge estates continued under the successors of Mu'āwiyah. Abdu 'l-Malik accelerated this process. When feudalisation was at its climax, the saintly 'Umar II was elected the *Khalīfah*. 'Umar realised that the vast estates of the Umayyads were accumulated at the expense of the State and the poorer subjects and felt called upon to dispossess the misappropriators. This meant courting the enmity of the entire royal family. Nevertheless, he was determined either to succeed or to die in the attempt. He made a beginning with himself. He had inherited vast estates from his father. He returned all of them to the State. Even the cash and jewels in the house including those of his wife, the noble Fāṭimah, he surrendered to the State treasury.

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 290.
2. Ibid., p. 294.
3. Ibid., p. 293; al-Ṭabari, II, 1855.

Then he summoned the members of the ruling family and addressed them thus: "O descendants of Marwan, you have a very big portion of honour and wealth in your hands. I feel that one-half, nay, two-thirds of the wealth of the people (*al-ummat*) is in your hands." Then he exhorted them to return the ill-gotten wealth to the rightful owners. The haughty princes retorted: "By God, as long as our heads are not separated from our bodies, these estates shall not be returned. By God, neither will we declare our sires and grandsires infidels,[1] nor will we reduce our children to beggary." 'Umar replied: "By Allah, if you do not help me to restore this right, I shall humiliate and disgrace you."[2]

Thereafter 'Umar II assembled the common people in the mosque and addressed them as follows: "They (the Umayyad *Khalifahs*) have given to us, the members of their family, estates and grants. By Allah, neither had they the right to give them, nor did we have the right to receive them. Now I restore all of them to their rightful owners and begin the process with myself and my house." He sent for all the documents of his estates and went on cutting them to pieces with a pair of scissors. This went on from the morning to the noon.[3]

'Umar II undertook a task too big for him, a task which was counter to the historical process. He fought the feudal aristocracy heroically; but he could not succeed. The princes of the royal blood, finding the saint too much for them, removed him from their path by poisoning him. Thus even the great Umayyad saint could not put an end to vast estates accumulating in the hands of the princes. After him the process was set on the move with a vengeance by his unworthy successors and the climax was reached under Hisham.

Hisham and his Governor of al-'Iraq, Khalid bin

1. By declaring them in the wrong.
2. Ibnu T-Jawzi. *Kitābu 'l-Adhkiyā*. pp. 108-11.
3. Ibid., p. 208.

'Abdillāhi 'l-Qasri were the two great landlords in al-'Irāq who monopolised such huge quantities of grains that they could fluctuate the price of the commodity as they liked. They could raise the price by withholding the stock and lower it by releasing it. They could force others to sell before them by giving a shock to the market and then sell their own stocks at a price to be dictated by them. It is interesting to note that a keen business rivalry developed between these two great landlords and business men which ended in the political and financial ruin of the weaker.[1]

One good resulted from the land-hunger of Khālid al-Qasri. A very large area of marshes in the district of Wāsiṭ was drained by the famous engineer Ḥassānu 'n-Nabaṭi; and big estates were carved out of the newly reclaimed lands. The chief estates of Khālid are enumerated by name in aṭ-Ṭabari.[2]

The Military Class

The rise of the military class in Arabia, rather the rise of the entire mass of the desert-dwellers of Arabia as a military class, is a unique feature in the history of the world. There is no parallel where the entire population of a subcontinent, unable to support itself any more on the limited resources of the land, rises as one man, dominates the surrounding countries, and subsists on the income of the conquered lands by a system of universal pensions.

Their own lands could support the Arabs no more. So they rose and carried everything that lay before them. If they settled in the adjoining countries, there was the fear of their getting merged in the population of those countries.[3] They had to retain their identity as conquerors and yet maintain themselves. Therefore, as a natural

1. Al-Jahshiyāri, pp. 58, 59.
2. Aṭ-Ṭabari, II, pp. 16, 65.
3. The Arabs numbered only a few lakhs at the end of the Prophet's reign. See Ibn Khaldūn, I, pp. 293-314.

result of the inexorable economic causes, the entire nation and the early non-Arab Muslims had to be converted into a military class with pensions from the revenues of the Empire. If Arabia had been economically self-sufficient, a feudal monarchy would have emerged. Feudalism could be only based on productive land; there was not much of it in Arabia; so it could not thrive there. The tribal forces swelled, burst asunder the tribal structure, overflowed into the adjacent land and again sank back into the old tribal bounds. As there was not sufficient productive land in Arabia to support a feudal or any other form of society more advanced than the tribal one, the country could not have anything but tribalism.

Even as early as the days of 'Umar I, all Arabs were liable to military service and received State pensions. Military service was compulsory for all those subjects of the Empire who received pensions. They were bound, at stated periods, to attend the colours of their respective *al-jund* or legion for the necessary training. Under the Umayyads, thousands of *al-mawāli* had to fight in the ranks of the Muslim armies without receiving any pension. This injustice was brought to the notice of 'Umar II. He ordered that all Muslims, Arabs or non-Arabs, who took part in the wars, should receive pensions. This generous policy did not last long.

From the beginning there was no uniformity in the military pensions. As we have already seen,[1] political and military pensions were clubbed together. The Umayyad rulers behaved very capriciously in this matter. Names of unfriendly or suspected persons were removed from the list and other names inserted. Pensions were reduced or increased at will. The custom of giving pensions also to the wives and children of the *muqātilah* had already been restricted by Mu'āwiyah and altogether discontinued by 'Abdu 'l-Malik bin Marwan. 'Umar II reintroduced the practice.

1. See supra, p. 54.

The Small Landowners

In the Early Muslim Empire feudalism was completely divested of military obligation. If the old feudal order was retained, it was done so only for the purpose of collecting taxes and not to serve military ends.

Those lands which were conquered from the feudal order by force (*'anwatan*) were given to the actual tillers of the soil and those estates which were conquered by peace (*sulḥan*) were allowed to be retained by the old landlords.

Thus there were three categories of lands :

1. Estates vacated by the former rulers and the nobility, the endowed estates of fire temples, estates belonging to the postal department and lands left behind by those who were killed on the battlefield, etc.[1] These estates became crown lands from which the State took the landowners' share of the produce. These were the estates which were later on given to the Muslim nobles as *al-qatā'i'* and formed the basis on which Muslim feudal lords thrived.

2. Those lands which were conquered by force and given back to the peasantry in return for *al-kharāj* without any obligation to render military service. On these lands flourished the smaller peasantry.

3. Those lands which were conquered by peace and left under the old feudal lords in return for a stipulated tribute or *al-kharāj* to be paid by them in a lump sum.[2]

The conversion of the peasants to Islam deprived the State of *al-jizyah* and *al-kharāj*. When such conversions began to take place on a mass scale, they created a very serious financial problem for the rulers.

1. Al-Baladhuri, pp. 272 seq.
2. Ibid., pp. 5, 9, 60, 152, 174 seqq

The Mawāli

A very large number of the landless new Muslims migrated to the towns and attached themselves to Arab families as their clients (*al-mawāli*). Further, prisoners taken in wars, who subsequently became Muslims, were also thus attached to the families of their masters. The Prophet said: "The *mawla* of a people is one among them, be he one through captivity, through affiliation, or through covenant."[1] In adition to these categories, the cultivating peasants, when they became Muslims, abandoned the *kharāj* lands and came over to the towns to have the advantages of town life and enjoy the privileges of Islam. These people, in the days of the Pious *Khalīfahs*, paid no poll-tax.[2] Many of them were included in the pension list, but even then a very large number was excluded.

Under the Umayyads, the influx into towns of these categories of men became so great that the countryside suffered for want of labourers. Moreover, mass conversion caused very great financial loss to the government. Most of the Umayyads were more particular about the revenue than about conversion to Islam. Hence al-Hajjāj collected *al-jizyah* from the *mawāli* as well and collected *al-kharāj* from those *al-mawāli* who, after their conversion to Islam, continued in possession of the *kharāj* lands. He "even re-imposed it upon those who had before been freed from it."[3] He forebade *al-hijrah* (immigration into the centres of Islam) to the *mawāli* and drove back such as had already migrated to the towns under his jurisdiction to their original places.

There was very great discontent among the *mawāli*. They were Muslims, but they had to pay the *jizyah* and the *kharāj*. They fought in the wars of Islam, but received no salaries. In Khurāsān alone there were 20,000 *al-mawāli* soldiers fighting for Islam without receiving any remuneration from the State.

1. مولى القوم منهم وسواء كان مولى رق او مولى اصطناع او مولى حلف
See Ibn Khaldūn, I, 246.
2. Al-jizyah.
3. Wellhausen, p. 280.

'Umar II, realising the injustice done to the *mawāli*, cancelled al-Ḥajjāj's order forcing them to pay the *jizyah* and ordered annuities to be given to those who served in the army. But the good and just rule of 'Umar II did not continue long. After him the *mawāli* were treated with contempt and injustice; and they played an important role in bringing about the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty.

Artisans and Labourers

Islam gave a stupendous fillip to arts and sciences. Though the zenith was not yet reached under the Umayyads, many industries had begun to appear. The textile industries kept large numbers well occupied. The manufacture of cloths, carpets (sing. *al-bisāṭ*), curtains (sing. *as-sitr*), long strips (sing. *an-nakhkh*), prayer-rugs (sing. *al-muṣalla*), quilts, pillows, various sorts of cushions, etc., gave employment to many. The perfume industry was especially paying under the Umayyads. Jewellers and manufacturers of valuable vessels and costly cloths of silk and of gold and silver embroidery made heaps of money. Shipbuilding and arms manufacture employed a very large number of workers.

Artisans, both Muslim and non-Muslim, thrived and prospered. They were not much affected by the civil wars; and life went on smoothly in spite of the civil strife. Mu'awiyah[1] and, after him, 'Abdu 'l-Malik[2] and al-Walīd I were very much interested in the prosperity of the industrial classes. Al-Walīd had a special taste for architecture and constructed many magnificent buildings which gave employment to thousands. We do not find any evidence of large-scale unemployment under the Umayyads. Of course, there was the lazy mendicant class.

The skilled non-Muslim artisans who earned large incomes had a very great advantage over their Muslim

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 117. 2. Ibid.

co-professionists. While the Muslims had to pay *az-zakāt* on gold, silver and animals, the non-Muslims escaped by paying *al-jizyah* alone, which never exceeded four *dināars* per year on the richest class. This advantage, which the non-Muslims enjoyed over the Muslims, the Umayyads were not slow to perceive. Their Governors taxed the rich non-Muslim artisans in ways other than those prescribed by the *shari'at*. For example, under Mu'āwiyah, the presents received by his Governor of al-'Irāq on a Nawrūz[1] alone amounted to 10,000,000 *dirhams*.[2]

The Beggar Class

The beggar class consisted of the incapacitated and the indolent. 'Umar I fixed pensions for all early Muslims; and the charities were administered in such a way that there was no necessity for begging. But things degenerated after him. The system of pensions and charities could not embrace all Arabs and non-Arabs, Muslims and non-Muslims. Therefore begging became a common thing. Al-Walīd I made elaborate arrangements to support the blind, the aged, the maimed and the other incapacitated. Hundreds of public kitchens were established where the poor could take their meals. This indiscriminate charity and the system of caring for the wayfarers gave rise to a class of lazy persons who made begging and visiting mosques as wayfarers a profession. This class not only depended on the State for its support, but also paid no taxes. Non-Muslim beggars belonging to the above categories were exempted from *al-jizyah*.

The Slaves

The teachings of the Prophet and his example decidedly discouraged slavery. As a result, under 'Umar I, it was completely abolished as far as the Arab nationals were concerned. The Arab upper classes, even in

1. The Persian New Year Day.
2. Al-Ya'qūbi. Vol. II, p. 259.

those days when their resources used to be very slender, were accustomed to have slaves. In many families male slaves were a boon. As long as they were young, they served as domestic servants. When they came of age, they earned their own livelihood as artisans but were always attached and devoted to their masters' families. Thus a childless widow or a brotherless girl could always depend on the slaves of the family (in bondage or freed) to attend to all her needs.

After the emergence of Islam, the resources of the Arabs multiplied on the one hand, and, on the other, all Arab slaves were emancipated. The rich could not get slaves to serve their needs. Slaves were imported from far and wide. Besides, necessity made the unscrupulous rulers adopt a new and abnoxious course. They levied a child tax on the prolific Berbers and others which supplied the ruling class with a large number of young male slaves. It was 'Umar II who did away with this inhuman innovation.

Thus we see that by the end of the Umayyad period, feudalism had been firmly established in the entire Islamic Empire; that a feudal aristocracy of Muslims had sprung up in addition to the already existing non-Muslim one; that the strong socialistic and equalitarian tendencies of Islam had been drowned in mutual jealousies and the race for more and more of land; that instead of a uniform society based on equality and brotherhood, a stratified society had appeared among the Arabs, while the old stratification continued among the non-Arabs; that the feudal aristocracy was growing richer and richer by defrauding the Government on the one hand and the peasants and others on the other; and that each of the new classes presented a set of problems for the Umayyads to solve.

CHAPTER VI

THE UMAYYAD CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Khilāfat

UNDER the Umayyads the *Khilāfat* of the holy Prophet was converted into a *de facto* kingship. It seems as though it could not have been otherwise. From the beginning there were no fixed rules regarding the election of a *Khalīfah*. The Qur'ān is silent on the point and the Prophet left the matter entirely in the hands of the Muslim community by leaving no clear instructions. The election of Abū Bakr, though generally approved, cannot be called a regular one. There were no rules regarding the qualifications required of a *Khalīfah*, as to the method of nomination and election and as to the qualifications of a voter or elector. Nor was the system of *bay'at* an innovation of Islam. It was an old Arab custom continued by the new religion. Whenever a clan or tribe chose its head, the members of the community used to pay homage to him. Sometimes a special *bay'at* was taken for a particular pact or undertaking.

The Prophet did not make any rules concerning elections, for no one under the circumstances could have done it. Modern methods of election could not have been practised in those days in any country of the world, and least of all in Arabia. The old Arab custom was that the most influential members of the clan or tribe proposed a man to be the chief and the others acknowledged him. If there was a serious difference of opinion, only the sword could decide. A similar procedure was adopted in the election of Abū Bakr. A small section of the *Anṣār*,[1] assembled in the meeting place of Banū Sa'dah, and agreed to elect Abū Bakr. Then he was acknowledged by others. 'Ali genuinely felt injured that his claims were ignored and did not pay homage to Abū Bakr till after the death of Fāṭimah. As yet a civil war among the

1. About 40 in number ; at-Ṭabari, I, 1819.

Muslims was out of the question. The general sense of the Companions of the Prophet including that of 'Ali and the much chagrined Sa'd bin 'Ubādah who refused to pay homage to Abū Bakr till his death[1] was that the sceptre of the young State should not be split in twain.[2] So any undeserving man could have easily got himself elected and demanded obedience in the name of the unity of all the Muslims. To avoid such a contingency Abū Bakr proposed 'Umar. But he declined the honour and immediately nominated Abū Bakr and paid homage to him. The argument against splitting the sceptre of Islam prevailed; and those like 'Alī and Sa'd who were dissatisfied with the election, had to yield in the general interest of the young community.

Before his death Abū Bakr nominated 'Umar after consulting some of the leading Companions.[3] The problem of a successor confronted the fatally wounded 'Umar. His decision, though well meant, proved harmful. His arrangement left the entire power in the hands of 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān bin 'Awf and again it amounted to a nomination: this time nomination by the *Khalīfah's* nominee. After the unhappy murder of 'Uthmān, 'Ali was elected by the same old method. The insurgent mob hailed him as the *Khalīfah*, and practically thrust the office on him under threat of personal violence. There was no other way. No other method is imaginable. Electing one more candidate would have meant civil war.

A feudal society was being born from a tribal one and it required fedual overlords. The Umayyads supplied it with them. As to the method of appointing the successors, the experience of the preceding half a century had clearly shown Mu'āwiyah that the method of nomination was the best. He also knew that in the case of earlier nominations it was not personal merit alone that counted. For instance, by no stretch of imagination could it be considered that 'Uthmān was the best qualified person for the

1. At-Ṭabari, I, pp, 1844 seq. 2. Ibid., pp. 1883 seq.
3. Ibid, pp. 2157 seq.

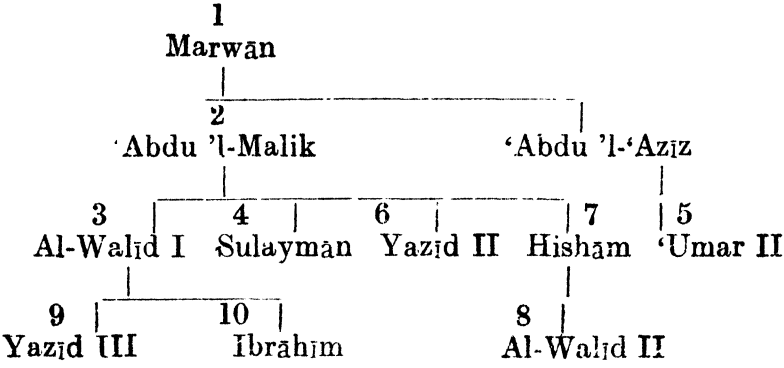
Khilāfat on the ground of personal capacity to rule a martial race and a rising empire. Family, wealth, position, relationship to the Prophet, tribal backing, past services were all taken into account. When family, position, wealth, tribal backing, etc., counted in nominating a successor and not services to Islam or personal merits alone, it was quite natural that Mu'āwiyah should nominate his son for the great office.

Under the Sufyānids succession was determined by the rule of primogeniture. Mu'āwiyah was succeeded by his elderst son, Yazīd, who, in his turn, was succeeded by his eldest son, Mu'āwiyah II. Although in practice the *Khilāfat* passed from father to son under the Sufyānids and descended down in the same family under the Marwānids, the office in theory continued to be elective. The authority of the *Khalīfāhs* was based on the homage done to him by every Muslim citizen and never was the *Khilāfat* looked upon as hereditary.

The nomination of a single successor under the Sufyānids gave place to the nomination of two under the Marwānids. Marwān nominated his two sons to succeed him one after the other, 'Abdu 'l-Malik and 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz. The latter having predeceased the former, 'Abdu 'l-Malik nominated two of his sons, al-Walīd and Sulaymān. Sulaymān nominated a cousin and a brother, 'Umar bin 'Abdi 'l-'Azīz and Yazīd bin 'Abdi 'l-Malik. Yazīd II nominated a brother and a son, Hishām and al-Walīd II. Besides, under the Marwānids the rule of a son succeeding the father was not strictly followed. The rule of Mu'āwiyah II was a failure. No boy could rule the unruly Arabs Therefore Marwān started and others followed the practice of nominating two grown-up persons to avoid a minor's rule. But throughout, the successors were chosen from the descendants of Marwān I.

The choice of two successors at a time by the last reigning prince gave rise to a new kind of evil. Many elder members of the senior branches had to be left without the possibility of succession. Thus under

al-Walīd II the evil became very apparent and led to his murder.



It will be seen from the above table that, at the time of al-Walīd II, Yazīd and Ibrāhīm, the sons of al-Walīd I, the eldest son of 'Abdu 'l-Malik, were left out of power, while al-Walīd II, the son of the third son of 'Abdu 'l-Malik ruled over the Empire with the possibility of his son succeeding him. This made the sons of al-Walīd I revolt and murder al-Walīd II. This murder divided the Umayyads into two camps, and this division was one of the causes for the downfall of the dynasty.

The Shūra

From the beginning the *Shūra* was not an elected or representative body. It consisted in effect of a few topmost men. It was more a Council of Elders of the pre-Islamic days than a parliament. Since its meetings took place in the mosque, less important persons also could take part in it. Such presumptuous spirits were only few and the earlier *Khalīfahs* tolerated them. It is certain that under the first two *Khalīfahs* the most important leaders of the revolution were constantly consulted. Under 'Uthmān even this semblance of a council disappeared. His relatives were his chief advisers; and on one important occasion he called for a conference of the Governors, rather than the parliament of the faithful. During his governorship of al-Ḥijāz, 'Umar II established a council and consulted it

on all important affairs of the province. When he succeeded to the office of the *Khilāfat*, he endeavoured his best to get as many of the best men among scholars and divines around him as possible. But his reign was so short and eventful that he could not accomplish anything definite in this direction.

Absolutism

The old harmless 'Uthmān imagined that he was a full sovereign and began disposing off the *fay'* of the Muslims as he liked. He gave the whole of the *khums* of Tripoli to Marwān, who was his son-in-law and an evil counsellor of his.[1] To Ibn Abī Sarḥ, he gave one-fifth of the *khums* and to 'Abdullāh bin Khālid 50,000 pieces. Such presents were never given by the previous *Khalīfahs*. He gave a beautiful camel belonging to the State to a relative of his in an irregular way. 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān bin 'Awf, the companion who was solely responsible for 'Uthmān's election, took forcible possession of the animal, slaughtered it and distributed the meat among the citizens of al-Madīnah. 'Uthmān was old and weak, his counsellors selfish and unscrupulous ; so the holy *Khilāfat* took a worldly turn.

Nor did things improve under Mu'āwiyah who was himself the recipient of several irregular gifts from 'Uthmān. As we have already seen, most of the vast crown lands were given to Mu'āwiyah by 'Uthmān. Mu'āwiyah began enjoying and bestowing them as he pleased. Under him the rules of pensions were manipulated to suit the royal interests. Many names disappeared from the register while many new ones were inserted. The stipends of many were discontinued or reduced. Many favourites received enhanced stipends. Thus Mu'āwiyah became the ruler over the Arabs and the absolute disposer of the *fay'* of the Muslims. Money means power. Full control over the purse of the Muslims gave Mu'āwiyah absolute power, and the later Umayyads clung to it.

1. Al-Ya'qūbi, II, 191.

The Court

It was quite natural that with wealth and absolute power a court should spring up. The great 'Umar I, even if he had wanted to have a court, could not have afforded the luxury out of his 5,000 *dirhams* per year (about Rs. 100 per month) with his several wives and numerous children. It was under 'Uthman that the beginnings of a court appeared. His pompous life and costly surroundings, so vehemently denounced by Abū Dharri 'l-Ghifāri, were the precursors of the Umayyad court. Even in 'Umar's days, Mu'āwiyah, his young Viceroy in Syria, could afford to maintain a small court because he was not as scrupulous with public money as his conscientious master. After the attempt on his life, Mu'āwiyah instituted a guard (*al-ḥaras*); and even in the mosque, he constructed a small partition known as the *ḥujrah* (room) to protect himself from intending assassins. It was this very same *Khalīfah* of the holy Prophet who set up a throne and sat on it like a king.[1] From these beginnings a veritable royal court developed at Damascus under the worldly Umayyads with all the attendant evils. Thus the great successorship of the holy Prophet of God was, under the Umayyads, converted into a grand monarchy with absolute powers and all its accompaniments.

The heroic and saintly 'Umar II did a good deal to eliminate the rot that had entered the sacred institution. He returned all his wealth and that of his wife to the State treasury, led a simple life and was content with the meal served in the State kitchen for the poor and the helpless. The courtiers, songsters, poets, musicians, and others was turned out of the court. He sat on the floor as his great-grandfather 'Umar I had done. As the *Shūra* could not be restored again in the old form, he tried to get round him as many scholars and divines as possible to advise him, and kept himself in touch with great scholars like al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri.

1. Ibn Khaldūn, I, p. 217.

After the death of 'Umar II the grand court of the Umayyads was revived. The old pomp and gay life of the palace was restored. Poets, musicians, songstresses and others returned and the Umayyad royalty was restored with great pomp and ostentation. The ruler of the Muslim Empire was no more the *de facto Khalīfah* of the holy Prophet of God, but he became a worldly emperor like the Khusraws and the Cæsars with unlimited power over his subjects.

The Central Boards

There were five Boards at the Centre—*Dīwānu 'l-Jund* (The Military Board), *Dīwānu 'l-Kharāj* (The Board of Finance), *Dīwānu 'r-Rasā'il* (The Board of Correspondence), *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam* (the Board of Signet) and *Dīwānu 'l-Barīd* (The Board of Posts).

1. *Dīwānu 'l-Jund.* It was the same great *Dīwān* established by 'Umar I which assigned annuities to all Arabs and to the Muslim soldiers of other nationalities. The form in which 'Umar had left it underwent much change in the hands of the Umayyads. On the one hand, the Government meddled with the register of the second *Khalīfah* as it liked; and, on the other, the recipients began to regard the pension as a subsistence allowance rather than as a salary given for military service. "Hishām put a stop to the abuse of granting pensions as a benefice ('living'); no one got it, not even an Umayyad prince, who had not either seen service in the war himself or sent a substitute. His own share he gave to his *mawla*, Yaqūt, who had to take the field in his stead."[1]

2. *Dīwānu 'l-Kharāj.* This Central Board directly administered the revenue side of as-Sawād, the richest region of the Empire, and also administered the entire finance of the State. It was the Central Finance Board where all receipts and disbursements were made and records relating to them maintained. The surplus of the provinces was paid into this Board. Still, as we shall see

1. Wellhausen, p. 348.

below, huge sums were kept in the provincial treasuries for local purposes and emergencies.

3. *Dīwānu 'r-Rasā'il.* The Prophet employed several persons to maintain the records of the State. During the Pious *Khilāfat* the machinery at the Centre was almost the same as far as correspondence was concerned. Individual Companions were employed to record the various activities of the State.

Under the Umayyads a regular Board of Correspondence (*Dīwānu 'r-Rasā'il*) was established. Literally it means a Board of Letters or Pamphlets. As a matter of fact this Board issued circulars and pamphlets giving instructions to the provincial officers and the subjects in general. Some of these circulars and pamphlets have been copied in the book of al-Jahshiyāri.[1] This Board dealt with all correspondence, issued circulars and pamphlets and coordinated the work of all the other Boards. Political correspondence under the early *Khalīfahs* was very brief and to the point. To 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd, the *Kātib* of Marwān II, is ascribed the introduction of the flowery style with its conventional polite phraseology.[2] 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd's style was followed and improved upon under the 'Abbāsids. An Arabic proverb says, "*Insha* (epistolary composition) began with 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd and ended will Ibnu 'l-'Amīd."[3]

4. *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam.* Mu'āwiyah established a Chancery Board which bore the title of *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam* (The Board of Signet). Every order issued by the *Khalīfah* was registered by the Board; and then the original was sealed and despatched. Before the establishment of this Board, unsealed orders were sent out or delivered to the persons concerned. Mu'āwiyah gave a letter to 'Amr bin az-Zubayr ordering Ziyād bin Abīhi to give the bearer 100,000 *dirhams.* 'Amr opened the letter,

1. *Kitābu 'l-Wuzarā'i-wa 'l-Kuttāb,* (Egypt, 1938).
2. Ibn Khallikān, I, p. 550, and al-Mas'ūdi, VI, p. 81.
3. Ibnu 'l-'Amīd was the Wazīr of Ruknu 'd-Dawlah, the Buwayhid.

altered the figure to 200,000 *dirhams* and received the amount from Ziyād.[1] The fraud was, however, detected when the Viceroy sent his account. 'Amr was arrested for fraud; but his brother, 'Abdullāh bin as-Zubayr, paid the extra amount to Mu'āwiyah and secured his release. The keeping of office copies and the sealing of orders before despatching them were not confined only to the Central Government; the Governors also adopted the system. Ziyād used to preserve copies of all his orders.[2] By the time of 'Abdu 'l-Malik, the State Chancery had developed into a regular department and State archives had been established at Damascus.

5. *Dīwānu 'l-Barīd.* Mu'āwiyah was the first Muslim ruler to establish the postal system. It was originally designed to serve the purposes of the State; and later, it was used by the subjects also. The main highways were divided into stages, and each stage had horses ready to carry the post. In Arabia and Syria camels were used.[3] Thus by a system of relay, the State messages and, later, all posts were carried from one part of the Empire to another.[4] The system was known as *al-Barīd.* In *Mu'jamu 'l-Buldān* Yaqūt writes that the word came from the Persian word *burīdan* (to cut off) as the tails of the postal horses used to be cut off to distinguish them from the other horses and to recognise a rider on such a horse as the messenger of the State.[5] The distance between one stage and another was twelve miles.

Under 'Abdu 'l-Malik the postal system was considerably improved. Not only was the post carried through a relay of horses, but also State officials used the postal system for swift journey.[6] In times of emergency the postal carriages were used for swift transport of troops. They were able to carry 50 to 100 men at a time. Under Yūsuf bin 'Umar, the Viceroy of al-'Irāq, the postal

1. Al-Jahshiyāri, pp. 24-25.
2. Al-Ya'qūbi, II, p. 279.
3. Ibnu 'l-Athīr. Vol. VI, p. 49.
4. Al-Mas'ūdi, IV, p. 93.
5. Quoted by al-Khudari, II, p. 222.
6. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, IV, pp. 352 to 356, 374.

department for that province alone cost 4,000,000 *dirhams* a year. The postmasters, in addition to their postal duties, had to keep the *Khalīfah* informed of all important happenings in the territories under their jurisdictions.

The Currency

Before Islam the Arabs were using the Persian and Roman coins. Neither had they a Central Government nor a common currency. Of course, in the south, where a high standard of civilisation and a stable government had prevailed, some coins bearing Ḥimyaritic inscriptions and the Attic owl also had been under circulation. The Meccans accepted all coins of pure gold and silver and determined their value by weight. Under the Prophet and Abū Bakr, only the Roman and Persian currencies were used. Dr. Karabacek had a *dīnar* of the false prophet, Musaylimah ; and Saulcy in the *Journal Asiatique* had spoken of a copper piece issued by Khālid bin al-Walīd.[1]

Under 'Umar I the Muslim Empire expanded by leaps and bounds and all kinds of coins poured in, some of which were defective. On an examination it was found that the *dirhams* were of three different weights. Some weighed 20 carats, some 12 and some only 10. 'Umar struck the average and minted *dirhams* each weighing 14 carats which equalled $\frac{7}{10}$ *mithqāl*. The model adopted was that of the Persian *dirham*. This was done in the year 18 A.H. Some had "All praise is to Allāh" inscribed on them, some bore "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God," and others, "There is no God but Allāh." He fixed the ratio of the *dīnār* and the *dirham* as 1 : 10. 'Uthmān issued some *dirhams* with the inscription "Allāh is Great."

According to Noldeke's Syrian, Mu'āwiyah struck gold and silver money, but it was not accepted (by the

1. See *Orient Under the Caliphs*, p. 198 (footnote).

Christians) because there was no cross upon it."[1] But Maqrīzi says that they were rejected because they were defective.[2] Muṣ'ab bin az-Zubayr struck coins in the name of his brother 'Abdullāh. Silver pieces bearing 'Abdullāh's name in Pahlavi characters have been acquired.[3] 'Abdullāh bin az-Zubayr was the first to mint the *dirham* in the round shape. The shape of the previous *dirhams* was not a perfect circle and the surface was rough and defective. These defects were removed and the coin was made a piece of art and æsthetics. On one side his *dirham* bore the inscription "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God," and on the other, "God commands fidelity and justice." The coins minted by Muṣ'ab seem to be different from those minted by his brother, 'Abdullāh, the formidable rival of 'Abdu 'l-Malik for the office of the *Khilāfat*.

When 'Abdu 'l-Malik became the undisputed master of the Muslim Empire, he took up the problem of coinage. According to al-Balādhuri,[4] the Romans got paper from Egypt and the Muslims got *dīnārs* from the Romans. Up to the days of 'Abdu 'l-Malik, the Egyptian paper bore Christain inscriptions and the sign of the cross as water mark. Under 'Abdu 'l-Malik the verse "Say, He alone is God" was substituted. The Romans threatened to retaliate by inscribing some blasphemy against the Prophet on the *dīnārs*. 'Abdu 'l-Malik was not the monarch to be cowed down like that. He had his own *dīnārs* and *dirhams* minted in A.H. 76. The attempt succeeded marvellously well; uniformity in weight and size and artistic beauty were attained beyond all expectations. The ratio between the *dīnār* and the *dirham* in value was 10 : 1 and in weight 10 : 7. To make the Muslim *dīnār* attractive to the Romans, 'Abdu 'l-Malik put 2% of more gold in his *dīnār* than the Roman coin contained.[5] Mubarak 'Ali Bashā, who has made a thorough study of the Muslim coins, says that

1. *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 198; Wellhausen, p. 218.
2. Al-Khuḍari, II, 360.
3. Wellhausen, p. 218.
4. Al-Balādhuri, p. 240.
5. Al-Khuḍari, II, p. 360.

in the days of 'Abdu 'l-Malik, a *dīnār* weighed half the weight of a modern English guinea.[1]

At the command of 'Abdu 'l-Malik, al-Ḥajjāj also minted and issued *dirhams*. His *dirham* was round in shape. On the one side was inscribed "Say, He alone is God," and, on the other, "There is no God but Allāh." Both the sides had beautiful borders. On one of them (within the border) was inscribed "This *dirham* was minted in such and such a city," and, on the other, "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God: He sent him with guidance and the true religion to supersede all other religions."[2]

When Yazīd bin 'Abdi 'l-Malik became the *Khalīfah*, his Viceroy in al-'Irāq, 'Umar bin Hubayrah, minted the Hubayriyah *dirham* on the standard weight of six *dawānīq*.[3] When Hishām, who was a great hoarder, succeeded Yazīd, he ordered that the standard should be raised to seven *dawānīq* (sing. *dāniq*). So his Viceroy, Khālid al-Qasri, minted and issued the Khālidiyah coins containing seven *dawānīq*. All the previous coins were withdrawn and all mints except the one at Wāsiṭ were closed down. Khālid was deposed in 120 A.H.; and his successor reverted to the old standard of six *dawāniq*.

Weights and Measures

From the very beginning of the Muslim State, great care was taken to see that merchants and dealers used proper weights and measures. Of all the pious *Khalīfahs* 'Ali was most particular about it. He used to go round the market of al-Kūfah, whip in hand, to see that proper weights and measures were used and no one cheated anyone else.[1] Under the Umayyads police officers were in charge of the supervision of weights and measures. Al-Walīd I was also in the habit of visiting markets. Sometimes he even reduced the prices of articles.

1. Al-Khuḍari, p. 363. 2. Ibid., p. 361.
3. For the exact weight of a dāniq see next page.

Often local areas had their own weights and measures. The following weights were in general use:

1. *The Ḥabbah* (Grain): It was equal to the weight of two grains of barley. The word was of purely Arabian origin.[1]

2. *The Qīrāṭ* (Carat): It was equal to 4 *ḥabbahs* or 8 grains of barley. The word is of Greek origin.

3. *The Dāniq*: It weighed $2\frac{1}{2}$ *qīrāṭs*. The word is of Persian origin.[2] Its weight was equal to 20 grains of barley which was equal to $\frac{1}{6}$ of the weight of a *dirham*.

4. *The Mithqāl*: Each *dīnār* weighed one *mithqāl*. The weight of a *dīnār* was $\frac{10}{7}$ of that of a *dirham*. Each *dirham* weighed six *dāniqs*. Thus a *mithqāl* was equal to $\frac{6 \times 10}{7}$ *dāniqs* which equalled in weight to $171\frac{3}{7}$ grains of barley. The weight of the *dīnār* was equal to that of half a modern English guinea.[3]

5. *The Ūqīyah* (Ounce): The word is of Greek origin and it weighed about $\frac{1}{12}$ of an English pound. Its exact weight was 1·312 English ounces.

6. *The Riṭl*: A *riṭl* weighed 15·75 ounces, i.e. about one pound. Its exact weight was 38·4 *tolās*.

7. *The Mann*: A *mann* weighed two *riṭls*. Roughly it was equal to an Indian *Ser*. To be exact, a *mann* weighed $76\frac{3}{4}$ *tolās* while an Indian *Ser* weighs 80 *tolās*.

8. *The Nuwāt*: It was a weight employed to weigh gold and silver. It weighed 20 *ūqīyahs* which equalled 64 *tolās*.

9. *The Qinṭār*: This weight was used to weigh a very large quantity of the precious metals. Reports vary

1. Al-Balādhuri, pp, 299 seq. 2. The Persian word was دانگ.
3. See supra, pp. 87-88.

as to its exact weight. Abū 'Ubayd says that it was equal to 1,200 *ūqīyahs*[1] and as-Sīdī supports him by saying that it weighed 100 *riṭls*.[2] Since these two independent reports agree (1,200 *ūqīyahs* being equal to 100 *riṭls*), we can safely grant that a *qinṭār* weighed 100 *riṭls*. The origin appears to be Greek connected with the word *centum*.

10. *The Buhār*: The word literally means weight; and is evidently an Arabicised form of the Persian word *bār* (weight). It was used to indicate a weight of 300 *riṭls*. Abū 'Amr says that it was equal to 600 *riṭls*.[3]

Liquids and grains were mostly measured and not weighed. The following measures were prevalent:

1. *The Mudd* (Modius): It was Greek in origin and measured 1·15 litres. It could contain $52\frac{1}{2}$ *tolās* of wheat, i.e. $1\frac{1}{3}$ pounds of that grain.

2. *The Ṣā'*: 4 *mudds* made one *ṣā'*. Hence a *ṣā'* could hold 210 *tolās* of wheat.

3. *The Qafīz*: 12 *ṣā's* made one *qafīz*. It could hold slightly more than $64\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. of wheat.

4. *The Wasq* (ass load): It was equal to five *qafizes* which equalled 60 *ṣā's* equalling in measure to 323 lbs. of wheat.

5. *The Kurr*: 6 *wasqs* made one *kurr* which equalled 360 *ṣā's*, nearly $4\frac{1}{3}$ cwt. of wheat.

6. *The Jarīb*: 40 *qafizes* made one *jarīb* which equalled about $5\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. of wheat.

Units for Measuring Lengths

1. *The Uṣbu'*: Six grains of barley lined up breadthwise made one *uṣbu'* or inch.

1. Ibn Sīdah: *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Vol. XI, p. 266.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

2. *The Bishr*: A span is called a *bishr*.

3. *The Dhirā'*: 24 *uṣbu's* made one *dhirā'* (cubit). The standard cubit was $22\frac{3}{4}$ English inches long.

4. *The Bā'*: A fathom was called a *bā'*.

5. *The Mīl*: 4,000 cubits made one *mīl*.[1] The *mīl* was equal to 1·44 English miles.

6. *The Farsakh*: This word is of Persian origin and is the same as the Persian *farsang* or *para-i-sang*. A *farsakh* was equal to $3\frac{3}{4}$ English miles.

The unit for measuring lands was the *jarīb*. A *jarīb* was equal to 3,600 square yards, nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre.

Under the Umayyads, weights and measures were standardised and they used to be sealed by the Government. Al-Ḥajjāj seems to be at the bottom of this reform. The picture of a Byzantine weight, validated by al-Walīd I, bearing on the obverse $\overline{|B}$, i.e. two ounces, and on the reverse a Kūfic inscription stating that the *Khalīfah* has recognised it as equivalent to two *ūqiyahs* is published by Hitti. He is of the opinion that probably it is "the earliest inscribed Muslim weight thus far found."[2]

The Change of the Language of Administration

When 'Abdu 'l-Malik consolidated the much distracted Muslim Empire under his sway, he desired uniformity in the administration. In Persia most of the crucial administrative posts were occupied by the Persians, in Syria by the Greeks and in Egypt by the Copts. Most of these administrators were non-Muslims. Arabic was the language of the Bedouins, and, as such, had not yet possessed the terms necessary for running the administration of a huge civilised empire. Most of the *Khalīfahs* and their Governors thought—and the foreigners saw to it that they so thought—that the administration could not be carried on in Arabic.

1. Ibn Khaldūn, I, p. 7. 2. Hitti, p. 223.

It is due to the genius of the great intellectual al-Ḥajjāj, that this apparently insurmountable difficulty was mastered.[1] One day he saw one Ṣāliḥ bin 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān, a clerk in his office, writing both in Arabic and in Persian. He observed him and went away. It struck Ṣāliḥ that al-Ḥajjāj might make him supersede his superior, Zādān Farrukh. He conveyed his apprehension to Zādān who haughtily replied that al-Ḥajjāj stood in greater need of him than he was in need of al-Ḥajjāj as no one else could carry on the work.[2] Ṣāliḥ said that he could convert the registers into Arabic. Zādān asked him to try a few lines. Ṣāliḥ accomplished the task marvellously well. Zādān wanted to make sure if Ṣāliḥ's genius had been really noticed by al-Ḥajjāj. So he asked Ṣāliḥ to pretend to be ill. Ṣālih did as directed by his boss. Al-Ḥajjāj immediately sent his own physician to treat the rising genius. At Zādān's behest, Ṣāliḥ did not take any active step to further attract the attention of al-Ḥajjāj. In the wars connected with the revolt of Ibnu 'l-Ash'ath, Zādān Farrukh was killed as a civilian casualty. Thereupon al-Ḥajjāj made Ṣāliḥ Secretary in the place of Zādān.[3] Ṣāliḥ was offered 100,000 *dirhams* by the interested Persians to tell al-Ḥajjāj that it was not possible to change the language of the registers. Ṣāliḥ did not take the bait.[4] He accomplished the difficult task in 87 A.H. and earned the gratitude of the entire Arab community. But he met with a very tragic end under Yazīd II.[5]

The man in charge of the Syrian *Dīwān* in the days of Mu'āwiyah was Sarjūn (Sergius)[6] bin al-Manṣūr the Greek, and he was followed by his son al-Manṣūr. The man who translated the Syrian *Dīwān* from Syriac to Arabic was Sulaymān bin Sa'īd, the *Kātību 'r-Rasā'il.* The translation of the Syrian *Dīwān* took place in the days of al-Walīd.

1. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 300 seqq.
2. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 33.
3. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
4. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 300-301.
5. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 3.
6. Al-Balādhuri, p. 193.

The *Dīwān* of Egypt was translated into Arabic in 87 A.H. by Ibn Yarbū' al-Fazāri of Hims during the reign of al-Walīd.

Thus were all the records of the Government translated into Arabic; and the language of Arabia became the medium of administration throughout the Muslim Empire. In spite of this change, Persians, Greeks, and Copts were not completely excluded from the administration. They picked up Arabic and continued in the service of the Government in large numbers.

Religious Organisation under the Umayyads

Although it has become a fashion to paint all the Umayyads except the irreproachable 'Umar II as ungodly and irreligious and to call the Umayyad period a period of reaction against Islam, the main factors of the Islamic religion continued unaltered under the Umayyads. It is a lack of historical sense that makes critics consider Islam a sudden jump in the historical evolution of Arabia and the Umayyad period as a recoiling after that sudden jump. A careful study of all the available material will show that throughout the historical process was consistent and natural and that the dialectical process has worked as consistently as in any other country of the world.

It is true that the thesis and antithesis in pre-Islamic Arabia found a synthesis under Islam, that under the Umayyads, this synthesis developed into a thesis and antithesis for which a new synthesis was found under the 'Abbāsids which again, in its turn, got resolved into a thesis and antithesis. This working of the historical process will be a very interesting topic of study if undertaken with sufficient equipment.

The religious organisation under the Umayyads remained almost the same as under the Pious *Khalīfahs*. Religious dogmas still remained elastic; and if people were executed for their views, they were done so because

their views were dangerous to the dynastic interests of the Umayyads, and not because they held religious views different from the common ones. The spirit of toleration that admitted into the fold of Islam and employed usefully even rival prophets like Ṭulayḥah continued under the Umayyads.

Muslim laws were not as yet codified; much less the Muslim tenets. The judges possessed wide discretionary powers and the practice of denouncing people as *kāfirs* or *zindīqs* on the slightest pretext had not yet come into vogue. The term used to denounce the shocking behaviour of Yazīd I was *fisq* (transgression). In spite of all the profane acts attributed to al-Walīd II, including the tearing of the Qur'ān to pieces with arrows, he was not denounced as a *kāfir*. He was only dubbed a *fāsiq* (transgressor), and curiously enough it is recorded that this monarch, like one of his predecessors, 'Uthmān, suffered death with the Qur'ān in his hand.[1]

The same arrangement for the conduct of prayers and the care of the mosques, which had existed under the Pious *Khalīfahs*, continued under the Umayyads. New mosques were built in very large numbers and the old ones enlarged and beautified. The *zakāt* and other alms were collected and distributed to the poor exactly as they were done under the Pious *Khalīfahs*. Every year the *Khalīfah* appointed a person to lead the Ḥajj ceremonies as the previous rulers had done, and very often Umayyad rulers led the pilgrimage in person. The other most important duty of waging war against the infidels and inviting the non-Muslim nations to embrace Islam was as faithfully and zealously performed by the Umayyads as done by the Pious *Khalīfahs* before and the 'Abbāsids after them. On the whole, the form of religious organisation, the spirit of religious performances and ceremonies and the guarding of Muslim interests, as opposed to those of the non-Muslims, remained the same as under the immediate successors of the Prophet.

1. Al-Khuḍari, II, p. 337.

CHAPTER VII

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE UMAYYADS

THE Easterners in general, and the Muslims in particular, loved local autonomy. In the matter of administration the provinces were autonomous to a very large extent. All provincial expenses were met from the revenues of the respective provinces. All works of public utility, such as roads, canals, public buildings, mosques, schools, etc., were raised and all essential services run from the treasury of the province where they were required. The *'ushr* from 'Umān used to be sent to the State treasury at al-Baṣrah. 'Umar II ordered that it should remain in 'Umān itself and that it should be divided among the poor of the province.[1] He also ordered that the *kharāj* of Khurāsān should remain in the same province and be spent there itself.[2]

After meeting all the charges and paying the State annuities, the provincial treasuries contained huge amounts. When Mukhtār conquered al-Kūfah, the treasury contained 9,000,000 *dirhams*.[3] Ibn Ziyād left 19,000,000 at al-Baṣrah,[4] and Yazīd bin Muhallab captured the treasury of the same city with 10,000,000.[5]

Another important feature to be noted in the Umayyad administration is the separation of financial from political administration. Formerly, the *Amīr* or *Wāli*, as the chief of the whole administration, had both these departments under his charge. Mu'āwiyah was the first to see the evils of the system although as early as the reign of 'Umar we see separate treasury officers being appointed in certain provinces. Mu'āwiyah desired that

1. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 77. seq.
2. Aṭ-Ṭabari, II, 1366.
3. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, IV, 187.
4. Ibid., p. 110.
5. De Goeje : *Fragmenta Hist. Arabicorum*, Vol. I, p. 59.

these two branches of administration should be separated completely. He wrote to 'Amr bin al-'Āṣ about it, but the crafty general and administrator refused to hold the horn while another milked the cow. By patience and care Mu'āwiyah succeeded in separating these two branches in his own lifetime in almost all the provinces. The officer in charge of finance, especially the administrator of land-tax, was called *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Kharāj*.

The appointment of subordinate Governors or administrators was in the hands of the major Governors. The Governor of Africa appointed the *'Āmil* of Spain and the Governor of al-'Irāq, the *'Āmils* of Khurāsān, Sind, etc. The intimation of the appointment used to be given to the *Khalīfah*. Sometimes the *Khalīfah* himself suggested the dismissal of certain *'Āmils* and the appointment of certain others. In all the major towns of the provinces *'Āmils* were appointed. When 'Ziyād bin Abīhi became the Viceroy of al-'Irāq, he divided Khurāsān into four districts and appointed an *'Āmil* over each of them. Similarly under al-Ḥajjāj *'Āmils* were appointed over Karmān, Sijistān, Sind and other districts. Later, when the Governors of Khurāsān became practically independent, they appointed their own *'Āmils* over the various districts of that country.

The Provinces and Districts of the Empire

At the end of the Umayyad period, the Muslim Empire was divided into 14 huge provinces (sing. *al-iqlīm*) of unequal size. Each of them was subdivided into several large districts (sing. *al-kūrah*). To give an example, the whole of Arabia, a subcontinent larger than the Indian peninsula, formed a single province and the whole of Spain one district.

1. *The Province of Arabia.* The Arabian province was divided into four districts: 1. Al-Ḥijāz, comprising the whole of al-Ḥijāz, the entire Arabian region north of

1. Al-Maqdisi, quoted by al-Khuḍari, III, pp. 32 to 40.

Makkah and the whole of Wādiu 'l-Qura. It contained the towns of Makkah (which was the capital of the district and also of the province), al-Madīnah, Taymā', Yanbū', al-Jār, aṭ-Ṭā'if, etc.

It comprised the whole of north-western Arabia and a portion of the north-east.

2. *Al-Yaman*: This district comprised the whole of al-Yaman (consisting of Tihāmatu 'l-Yaman with its capital Zubayd and Najdu 'l-Yaman with its capital Ṣan'ā'), Ḥaḍramawt and Mahrā. It contained the famous towns of Ṣan'ā', Ma'rib, Shihr, Ẓafār, etc., and the ports of Ḥudaydah, Mukhā and 'Adan.

3. *'Umān*: Comparatively it was a smaller district comprising the south-western part of Arabia, and its capital was Ṣuhār, a port on the Arabian Sea.

4. *Hajr*: The capital of Hajr was al-Aḥsā'. This district comprised the whole of al-Yamāmah also. Hajr was that area most of which was formerly covered by al-Baḥrayn.

2. *The Province of al-'Irāq.* This province was divided into six districts.

1. *Al-Kufah*: It encompassed the area around al-Kūfah including al-Qādisīyah and 'Aynu 't-Tamar.

2. *Al-Baṣrah*: The district of al-Baṣrah included al-Ubullah and 'Abbādān also in addition to al-Baṣrah.

3. *Wāsiṭ*: This district had Fammu 'ṣ-Ṣulḥ also in it.

4. *Al-Madā'in*: The district of al-Madā'in included, in addition to the town of that name, an-Naharwān, Jalūla, etc.

5. *Ḥulwān*: This district encompassed Khāniqīn and as-Sīrwān also.

6. Sāmarra: Besides Sāmarra this district had in it the towns of al-Karkh, al-Anbār, Hīt, Tarkīt, etc.

3. *The Province of al-Jazīrah.* It comprised the ancient Assyria. It was the region that lay between the Tigris and the Euphrates. It consisted of three districts.

1. The Region of Rabī'ah with Mawṣil as its headquarters included the towns of Naṣībīn, Ra'su 'l-'Ayn, etc.

2. The Region of Bakr with Amad as its capital.

3. The Region of Muḍar with ar-Raqqah as the capital of the district.

Al-Mawṣil was the capital of the province.

4. *The Province of Syria.* It contained six districts.

1. Qinnasrīn: Its capital was Ḥalab and it comprised in it the towns of Qinnasrīn, Mar'ash, Iskandarūnah, etc.

2. Ḥimṣ[1]: It comprised Salamiyah, Tadmur, and al-Lādhiqīya also.

3. Damascus with Bayrūt, Tripoli, etc.

4. Al-Urdunn: Its capital was Tiberias and it included the important port of Acre.

5. Filastīn: With its capital ar-Ramlah, this district had in it the towns of Ma'āb, Tabūk, etc., also.

5. *The Province of Egypt.* Egypt was divided into seven districts.

1. Al-Jifār which had al-Faramā' as its capital.

1. I have not given the names of the capitals of those districts, the names of which are identical with the names of the district headquarters.

2. *Al-Ḥawf* with Bilbays (also Balbīs and Bilbīs) as its capital.

3. *Ar-Rīf*: It had al-'Abbāsīyah as its chief town.

4. *Alexandria* with the surrounding area.

5. *Maqdūnīyah* with al-Fusṭāṭ as its capital.

6. *Aṣ-Ṣa'īd*: This district had Aswān as its capital.

7. *Al-Wāhāt*: The Oases

6. *The Province of al-Maghrib* (The West). This province comprised the whole of North Africa, West of Egypt and also Spain, Sardinia and the Balearic Islands. It had seven districts.

1. *Barqah.*

2. *Ifrīqiyāh* with al-Qayrawān as the capital.

3. *Ṭāhirat.*

4. *Sijilmāsah.*

5. *Fās*: also known as the Nearer Sūs (as-Sūsu 'l-Adna).

6. *The Farther Sūs* (as-Sūsu 'l-Aqṣa).

Its capital was Ṭarafānah.

7. *Spain*: Its capital was Cordova.

7. *The Eastern Province.* It consisted of two big divisions divided by the river Oxus (Jayhūn or Āmū). The fertile region that lies on the east of the river was called (*a*) Mā Warā'u 'n-Nahr or Haytal and that which lies on the west, (*b*) Khurāsān. The former was divided into six districts and the latter into eight.

(*a*) *Mā Warā'u 'n-Nahr.*

1. *Farghānah* having Akhsikath as its capital.

2. *Isbijāb.*

3. *Shāsh* with Banakath as the capital.

4. *Ushrusanah* having Bunjikath as the capital.

5. *Ṣughd*: Its capital was Samarqand which was also the capital of the province.

6. *Bukhārā*.

(*b*) *Khurāsān*.

1. *Balkh*.
2. *Kābulistān*: Its capital was Ghaznah.
3. *Sijistān* with Zaranj as its capital.
4. *Hirāt*.
5. *Juzjānān* having Yahūdiyah as its capital.
6. *Marw*.
7. *Naysābūr* with Irānshahr as the capital.
8. *Kūhistān*: Its capital was Qā'in.

8. *The Province of ad-Daylam*. This province comprised the region on the south and south-east coast of the Caspian Sea. It had five districts.

1. *Qūmis*: Its capital was Dāmighān.
2. *Jurjān* having Shahristān for its capital.
3. *Ṭabaristān* with Amul as the capital.
4. *Ad-Daylamān*: Its capital was Baradān.
5. *Al-Khazar* with Itil as the capital.

9. *The Province of ar-Rihāb*. It comprised the region on the south-west of the Caspian Sea.

1. *Arrān*: Its capital was Bardha'ah and one of its chief towns was Tiflis.
2. *Armenia*: Its chief town was Marāghah.
3. *Ādharbayjān* with Ardabīl as its capital.

10. *The Province of al-Jibāl* (Ancient Media). It consisted of three districts.

1. *Ar-Rayy*.

2. *Hamadhān* which was also the capital of the province.

3. *Iṣfahān.*

11. *The Province of Khūzistān* (al-Ahwāz). It contained seven districts.

1. *As-Sūs.*

2. *Jundaysābūr* : It was als o the capital of the province.

3. *Tustar.*

4. *'Askar Mukram.*

5. *Al-Ahwāz.*

6. *Ad-Dawraq.*

7. *Rāmhurmuz.*

12. *The Province of Fārs.* It had six districts.

1. *Arjān.*

2. *Ardashir Kharrah.* Its capital was Sīrāf.

3. *Dārābjird.*

4. *Shīrāz* : It was also the capital of the province.

5. *Sābūr.*

6. *Iṣṭakhr.*

13. *The Province of Karmān.* It comprised five districts.

1. *Bardsīr* (also Sardsīr).

2. *Narmāsīr.*

3. *As-Sīrjān* : It was also the capital of the province.

4. *Bamm.*

5. *Jirut.*

14. *The Province of as-Sind.*

1. *Mukrān* : Its capital was Banjbūr (Panjpūr).

2. *Ṭūrān* with Qasdar as the capital.

3. *As-Sind Proper*: Its capital was al-Manṣūrah.
4. *Wayhind.*
5. *Qanūj.*

Although Syria was a province of the Empire, no separate Governors were appointed for that country under the Umayyads. Mu'āwiyah, who had been its Governor for twenty years, became the ruler of the whole of the Muslim Empire. Even after he became the *Khalīfah*, he kept the provincial government of Syria in his own hands appointing deputies over the various districts.

The most important viceroyalty of the Empire was that of al-'Irāq. From the days of 'Umar, that is, since the foundation of the two military towns of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah each had a separate Governor. But during the most critical periods of Umayyad history, these two governorships had to be combined under one very able administrator. Mu'āwiyah combined these two governorships under Ziyād bin Abīhi[1] and Yazīd combined them under 'Ubaydullāh bin Ziyād. Similarly, 'Abdu 'l-Malik combined them under al-Ḥajjāj whose viceroyalty comprised the whole of al-'Irāq, Ṭabaristān, Jurjān, Khwārizm, Khurāsān, Sijistān, Karmān, as-Sind, etc., a veritable empire in itself with al-Yamāmah, Najd, 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn to boot.[2]

Spain was under the Viceroy of Africa. It was conquered in 92 A.H. and was governed by a series of *'Āmils* who were subordinate to the Viceroy of Africa. The duration of the office of the Viceroy of Africa was subject to the caprice of the *Khalīfahs* who themselves changed very fast. The *'Āmils* of Spain were changed at the whim and fancy of the Governors of Africa. So no capable *'Āmil* could continue in Spain for a long time. It was one of the reasons for the failure of the Arabs in Spain.

About Egypt, a great mass of details in addition to

1. Aṭ-Ṭabari, II, 88, 2. Ibid., pp. 1032, seqq.

the accounts given by the later historians is available from the papyri. Mu'āwiyah had promised the whole revenue of Egypt to 'Amr bin al-'Āṣ for his support against 'Ali. When further conquests in North Africa were made, Mu'āwiyah did not like that the revenue of the new territory should also go into the pockets of 'Amr. So he incorporated the newly conquered African territory into a separate province.

The Provincial Dīwāns

There seem to have been only three Boards in the provinces.

1. *Dīwānu 'l-Jund* (The Military Board).
2. *Dīwanu 'r-Rasā'il* (The Board of Correspondence).
3. *Dīwānu 'l-Mustāghillāt* (The Finance Board).

Dīwānu 'l-Jund administered the military affairs of the province. *Dīwānu 'r-Rasā'il* was the Chief Secretariat which dealt with all correspondence and coordinated the work of all departments. The entire correspondence of this department from the very beginning was carried on in Arabic. *Dīwānu 'l-Mustaghillāt* was the finance department of the province where accounts of all receipts and disbursements were kept.

A register containing the copies of all orders emanating from the Governor was maintained in all the provinces ; but as yet no *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam* was established in the provinces.

Dīwānu 'l-Barīd at the Centre was represented in the provinces by *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Barīd* (The Postmaster).

The Provincial Officials

The provincial officials under the Umayyads were almost the same as under the Pious *Khalīfahs*.

1. The Amīr or Wāli.

The duties of the *Khalīfah* were to conduct the daily prayers, to command the Muslim armies, to collect taxes and charities and spend them as they should be spent and to administer civil and criminal justice.

In the province all these duties devolved on the Governor if he was appointed with general powers. The *Wāli* himself conducted prayers in the chief mosque of the provincial headquarters and made arrangements for the conduct of prayers throughout his province. He commanded the armies of the province in person or appointed proper commanders over them. He appointed all provincial officers, such as *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Kharāj*, *'Āmilu 's-Ṣadaqāt*, the *Kātibs* of the *Dīwāns* and others. Sometimes the appointments for important provincial posts were made by the *Khalīfah* himself. Usually the *Wāli* made the appointment and informed the *Khalīfah*.[1]

The Governors with general powers were permanent officers subject to good conduct. They had almost absolute powers. Such Governors in al-'Irāq were Ziyād, his son 'Ubaydullāh, al-Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf, 'Umar bin Hubayrah, and Khālid bin 'Abdillāhi 'l-Qasri. Of all these al-Ḥajjāj was the most firmly established *Wāli* and he continued till his death.

The primary reason why such absolute powers had to be given to the Governors was the difficulty of communication. If every case had to be referred to the *Khalīfah*, it would have involved very long delay, and sometimes delay would have been dangerous.

Though the chief function of a *Wāli* was to take such measures as would suppress the tendency to rebellion, many of the *Wālis* got interested in many of those functions which are performed by the modern provincial governments, such as the improvement of the

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 224.

country in general, reclamation of waste lands, draining marshes, digging canals, constructing roads, bridges, etc.

Under the later Umayyads, princes of the royal blood were appointed Governors. Some of them preferred to remain at the court appointing substitutes (sing. *an-nā'ib*) to administer their provinces for them, concerning themselves with filling their pockets from the revenues of the provinces. Thus when Hishām appointed Maslamah Governor of Armenia and Adharbayjān, the prince preferred to remain at the court. Later, when he took charge of the province in person, he failed to send the balance of the revenue to the central treasury.

2. The 'Āmil.

The *'Āmil* was in charge of the revenue of the province. During the period of conquest and expansion, the *Amīr* (who was the man of the sword) was the chief provincial officer. When the Empire was sufficiently consolidated, the *'Āmil* began to advance in importance. Where the interest of the treasury was concerned, his opinion might even overrule that of the *Amīr* or *Wāli*.

3. Ṣāḥibu 'l-Kharāj.

The person in charge of the collection of the land-tax was called *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Kharāj*. In the days of the Prophet there was not much *al-kharāj* to be collected. *Az-zakāt* was the chief source of revenue ; the officer collecting it was called an *'Āmil*. Later on, when *al-kharāj* became the most important source of revenue, the revenue officer was called *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Kharāj*. Very often an *'Āmil* took over the duties of an *Amīr* also and appointed a separate individual to collect the *kharāj*.

4. The Kātib.

The chief of a *Dīwān* was known as the *Kātib*. While the *Wāli* was in charge of the entire administra-

tion, military and fiscal, the *Kātib* administered certain departments thus relieving the *Wāli* of a great amount of work. Later, when the administrative machinery developed further, it was not possible for the *Wāli* to attend to all the details of administration by himself. So he had to appoint several *Kātibs* to assist him.

Early in the Umayyad period, revenue administration was separated from the executive business. The Finance Secretary of the province (*Ṣāḥibu 'l-Kharāj*) was in charge of the collection and disbursement of the entire revenue of the province. He had to collect the *kharāj*, the *zakāt*, the *jizyah*, the tribute from the tributary princes, and other *ma'mūls*, such as presents on the Nawrūz and Mihrgān festivals, and meet all the expenses of the province—pensions, salaries, public undertakings, etc.

5. *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Aḥdāth.*

Each of the chief police officers of the provinces and of the provincial towns was known as *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Aḥdāth*. His function was half military and half police. He had to maintain law and order ; if necessary, engage the rebels in battle and look to the policing of the province. Mostly the police work was entrusted to the local chiefs. But *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Aḥdāth* was the officer responsible for the prevention of rebellion and other crimes like theft. He had not only to punish crimes but also be watchful and remove the causes thereof.

Under Ziyād, al-Kūfah alone had a military police force of 40,000 men. Perfect order prevailed throughout the province. No one dared even to pick up a thing left on the road till the owner returned and recovered it. Lonely women could sleep in their houses without locking the doors. Ziyād declared that if a citizen lost

anything through theft, he would hold himself responsible for it.[1]

Under Mu'āwiyah all the suspects in Damascus were registered and watched.[2] Ziyād appointed Ja'd bin Qays to watch the activities of the suspects.[3]

6. The Qāḍi.

The Arabs in general and the Muslims in particular hated becoming Judges. In pre-Islamic days eminently just people were appointed *al-Ḥākim* or *al-Qāḍi* to decide particular cases of dispute. The terms *al-Ḥākim* and *al-Qāḍi* were continued under Islam. In the early days only a few *Qāḍis* were appointed. Later, as Muslim colonies sprang up throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, a network of *Qāḍis* had to be established to decide disputes among the Muslims.

From the beginning the Muslim rulers wisely left the settlement of disputes among their non-Muslim subjects to their own chiefs and priests. Only when disputes among non-Muslims took a turn which was likely to affect law and order, the Government interfered.

In those good days most of the disputes were settled by the parties themselves and the *Qāḍis* did not have much work to do.[4] So they were given a lot of other duties also to perform. Many of them administered the properties of orphans and the insane and also the endowments (*awqāf*).

The position and the quality of the *Qāḍis* under the Umayyads were not so good as they were under the Pious *Khalīfahs*. Much of their independence and dignity had to be sacrificed to suit the whims of the tyrants. Still, where the matter in dispute concerned only the common people, most of the *Qāḍis* were impartial and just.

1. See *Tārikh-i-Islām* by Shāh Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad, II, p. 35.
2. Ibid. 3. Ibid. 4. Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, 2135.

The rules of Muslim jurisprudence not having been codified till then, the *Qāḍi* had a large measure of freedom in deciding cases. Sometimes the *Qāḍi* wrote to the *Khalīfah* for elucidation of certain points of law. In the days of 'Umar bin 'Abdi 'l-'Azīz, 'Iyāḍ bin 'Ubaydillāh, the *Qāḍi* of Egypt, wrote to him seeking guidance on the right of pre-emption disputed between a neighbour and a partner. 'Umar decided that the partner had a greater claim than the neighbour.[1]

As the law was not yet codified, there was a lack of uniformity in its administration. Since a good deal depended on the discretion of the *Qāḍis*, it is obvious that they should have held different views on several questions.

During the days of Mu'āwiyah, his *Qāḍi* in Egypt, Sulaym bin 'Anz, decided a dispute relating to inheritance. The parties refused to abide by the decision and again came to him quarrelling. This time the *Qaḍi* wrote down his judgment and took the signatures of army officers.[2]

Distinctive Features of Certain Major Provinces

Al-'Irāq. Al-'Irāq was the richest and most populous of all the provinces. The most important cities of this province were the two military stations of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. Their entire population was bound to render military service. These two cities were the spoilt children of the Muslim State. As early as the days of 'Umar I, they became restive and troublesome; and even that great *Khalīfah* had to change his Governors constantly on the demand of the unruly citizens. Under 'Uthmān things became much worse, and the citizens of these two cities had a hand in the revolution which brought about his murder. After 'Uthmān, the long series of civil wars and the dependence of one party or

1. Al-Khuḍari, II, p. 355.
2. Ibid

another on these mighty military settlements destroyed all discipline and law in them.

When 'Abdu 'l-Malik succeeded in consolidating the whole of the Muslim Empire under him he placed the province of al-'Irāq under the able and ferocious Viceroy, al-Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf. By a series of most drastic measures al-Ḥajjāj re-established order and enforced the old compulsory military service on the part of all those who received State annuities.[1]

Egypt. Financial administration in Egypt was carried on by the Copts who had been trained in the Byzantine system. Some records seem to have been kept in Greek, but the bulk of the records was maintained in the Coptic language till it was translated into Arabic under al-Walid I.

The province of Egypt was divided into Upper and Lower Egypt. Each of these units was divided into districts (sing. *al-kurah*). Each district consisted of a town or village with the surrounding territory. These districts, in their turn, were divided into villages (sing. *al-qaryah*) each under a headman (*al-Māzut*).

The Arab rule came to Egypt as a geat relief. When an Arab Governor was denounced as harsh, it was by the interested moneyed classes who resented the vindication of the rights of the poor against them. This was especially the case against the Governor Qurrah bin Shārik. The Governors allowed the use of both Arabic and Coptic scripts. They did not compel the non-Muslim clerks to use Muslim formulæ in their letters; but, on the other hand, permitted them to use the sign of the cross.

Syria. Syria being the seat of government, it was governed by the *Khalīfāh* himself with the help of the Deputy Governors of the four districts. Is was the first

1. Al-Aghāni, XII, p. 42.

foreign province to come under the Arab rule, and was governed according to the rules originally laid down. Since the Umayyads had to depend on this province for the continuance of their power, the Syrian subjects were usually kept contented.

Spain. When the Muslims conquered Spain, a very bad system of feudalism was prevalent in that unfortunate land. The Muslim administration swept away the unjust rights and privileges of the governing classes—nobles and the clergy. In the place of grinding imposts, the Spaniards had now to pay light and fixed taxes—*al-kharāj*, *al-jizyah*, etc.

Of course, the estates of the nobles and others, who fought the invaders, were confiscated and distributed among the Muslim soldiers as permanent colonies had to be established to hold those far off regions. The slaves and serfs, who had been treated worse than as animals, were raised to the status of free human beings with a permanent right in the lands they tilled.

Spain was subdivided into five large sub-districts: Andalusia, Central Spain, Galicia cum Lusitania, the area east of the Douro to the Pyrenees, and the territory beyond the Pyrenees. The Arabs converted Spain into a garden and gave to the Spaniards for the first time in their history what might be called a civilised government.

CHAPTER VIII

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE UMAYYADS

Sources of Revenue

THE sources of revenue under the Umayyads were more than those under the Pious *Khalīfahs*. They were:

1. *Al-Khums*, fifth of the booty, of the products of mines and of treasure-troves.
2. *Az-Zakāt*.
3. *Al-'Ushr* on land (one of items of *az-zakāt*).
4. *Al-Jizyah*.
5. *Al-Kharāj*.
6. *Al-'Ushur* on merchandise.
7. *Al-Fay'*.
8. Tribute under treaties.
9. Additional imposts in kind.
10. Presents on occasions of festivals, etc.
11. Child tribute from the Berbers.

1. The Khums.

We have already seen how the Prophet divided the *khums* among the various categories mentioned in the Qur'ān. The Pious *Khalīfahs* stopped giving the share of the Prophet's relatives[1] and used the amount for military purposes.[2] The same custom was followed by the Umayyads. But 'Umar II, relying on the text of the Qur'ān, sent the share of the Prophet and that of his elatives to the Hāshimites at al-Madīnah to be divided amongst them.[3] His successors reverted to the practice of the Pious *Khalīfahs* and the early Umayyads.

1. See supra, p. 36. 2. Abū Yūsuf, p. 12. 3. Ibid., p. 12.

2. *Az-Zakāt.*

There was no innovation in or meddling with the rules of *az-zakāt*, for they were fixed by the *naṣṣ* (text) and could not be varied at will. While distributing the annual pensions, Mu'āwiyah deducted the *zakāt* due from the pensioners for the year.[1] This has been compared to the reduction of income-tax from the salaries of government servants.[2] But there must have been a difference between the modern deduction and the one made by Mu'āwiyah. The income-tax is levied on the government servants' current salary. *Az-zakāt* could not have been levied on the current annuity: for after defraying all his expenses, if a pensioner saved more than 200 *dirhams*, which remained with him for one full year, then only *az-zakāt* would have become due and that too only on the amount saved. Perhaps what Ya'qūbi means is that the total *za-zakāt* due from the individual on his entire property for the preceding year was ascertained and deducted from the annuity to cut short the double process of disbursing the annuities and then collecting the governmental dues.

3. *Al-'Ushr.*

Al-'ushr was the tithe or one-tenth of the produce of land collected from Muslim landowners. When the Muslim State came into existence at al-Madīnah, most of the Meccan Muslims were poor and landless. When the lands of the hostile Jews came into the possession of the Prophet, he divided them first among the Meccan Muslims (who had no landed property) and then among the others also. This process of dividing the conquered lands among the conquering soldiers was the general rule of the times. The Prophet levied *al-'ushr* on lands already possessed by the Muslims and also on such lands as were distributed by him to his followers. When the Prophet conquered Khaybar, the Jews of that place besought him

1. Al-Ya'qūbi, II, p. 276.
2. *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 187; Hitti, p. 225.

to leave the major part of the land in their hands and receive a part of the produce as *al-kharāj*. The Prophet granted their request.

Thus even as early as the days of the Prophet, two categories of land came into existence, the *'ushr* land and the *kharāj* land. When the Muslims became richer and richer, they began purchasing the *kharāj* lands. On purchase by a Muslim, the *kharāj* land automatically became *al-'ushr* land. The income of the State from the *'ushr* land was only one-tenth of the produce or less and that from the *kharāj* land one-half in the beginning of the Muslim State.

Under 'Umar I the process of dividing the conquered land among the warriors or the purchase of the *kharāj* land by the Muslims was put an end to. All Muslims were granted State pensions and forbidden to acquire any more land. But the land hunger of the greedy Umayyads and others could not be checked after the death of the great *Khalīfah*. They carved out huge estates from the *kharāj* lands, thus causing considerable loss to the State. When some of the rulers wanted to put an end to this loss of revenue, those Muslims who wanted to acquire more lands suggested that they would pay the same tax as paid by the non-Muslims. *Al-kharāj* could not be collected from the Muslims, for it is a form of tribute to be levied from the subject people. Yet it was realised that when the Muslims were prepared to pay the same tax, they should not be deprived of the right of acquiring lands in view of the fact that the system of pensions had ceased to embrace all the Muslims. So they were permitted to acquire land and the old *kharāj* was collected from them under the new name of 'lease money' (*al-ijārah*). Thus the right of the Muslims only to pay the *'ushr* on their land fell into disuse when the prohibition of 'Umar against the acquisition of land by them was disregarded.

On the whole, the simple and clear rules enunciated by the great second *Khalīfah* were disregarded even

under his immediate successor. The confusion arising from this breach of law and from other historical factors was so great that the entire financial system was thrown into chaos, and this chaotic condition enveloped and consumed the Umayyad dynasty.

4. *Al-Jizyah.*

Al-jizyah was an old tax prevalent among the Persians and the Byzantines, which was continued by the Muslims. It was money collected as substitute for military service and as a price for the protection offered by the State. According to the teachings of Islam, it could be collected only from non-Muslims and never from the Muslims.

There is no evidence to prove that the Muslim State meant the *jizyah* to be a symbol of humiliation. The haughty Arabs regarded all taxes as a mark of subordination. Even the payment of *al-kharāj* was regarded as a sign of inferiority. They had no objection to pay taxes if they were called charities. Therefore Muslims paid their taxes under the various heads of charities—*az-zakāt* and *aṣ-ṣadaqah*. The Christian tribe of Banū Taghlib would not pay any tax because they considered it humiliating; nor would they embrace Islam. But they offered to pay double the poor-tax (*az-zakāt*). The Muslims accepted it. On its part the Muslim State did not want to humiliate its non-Muslim subjects, but the haughty non-Muslim Arabs regarded payment of any tax as a symbol of humiliation. The ill-treatment meted out to the non-Muslim tax-payers is clearly denounced by Abū Yūsuf as against the spirit of Islam.[1]

Under the Umayyads, Muslim conquests vastly increased and proportionately the avarice of the ruling class rose. The days of the conscientious Abū Bakr, who ordered that every pie of the State received by him for his maintenance should be returned to the public treasury from his private property, and the days of

1. See al-Balādhuri, pp. 181, 182, 314; Abū Yūsuf, p. 70.

'Umar, who would not place his own son on a par with the sons of those who did not flee[1] from the field of Uḥud, and the days of 'Ali, who would dip a dry loaf of barley bread in water and eat it, were gone. A gay court with a rich princely class and feudal lords with enormous *ḥarims* and loving all sorts of luxuries and amusements including the prohibited ones had sprung up. Every son of the famous warriors of early Islam, every scion of the Umayyad family, which had fought tooth and nail against Islam in its early days, was now a rich prince with a miniature court. This new class had to be provided from the *fay'*[2] of the Muslims.

Islam as the most sensible religion naturally attracted many converts. When it became the master of a vast Empire offering great worldly advantage also to its adherents, millions of the conquered people began to embrace it *en masse*. This meant loss of *al-jizyah* on the one hand and additional expenditure by way of pensions to those millions on the other. A serious situation arose—loss of revenue, addition in the number of pensioners and a very expensive and parasitic class of rulers wanting more and more to squander and hoard.

The new Muslims were called *al-mawāli*; and they were attached to one tribe or another of Arabia. As long as the number of these new converts was manageable, there was no difficulty. Many of the non-Arabs in the provinces became the *mawāli* of the various tribes settled in the respective provinces. This arrangement worked well as long as the number of these *al-mawāli* was limited. Sometimes whole tribes of new Muslims were affiliated to Arab tribes.[3] When the rush into Islam became too great even for this arrangement, the new converts could not become the *mawāli* of any particular tribe; so they became the *mawāli* of Islam. Converts attached to

1. 'Umar fled away from the battlefield of Uḥud on hearing a false rumour that the Prophet was killed.
2. The word in an unrestricted sense meant the total wealth of the State.
3. Al-Balādhuri, p. 280.

powerful tribes had their right to the non-payment of *al-jizyah* exercised through their powerful patrons. But the poor *mawali* of Islam had no one to support them. To avoid *al-jizyah* and earn pension and also out of the converts' proverbial zeal for the new religion, they joined the Muslim armies. Still they were given no stipends from the *fay'* of the Muslims. Many migrated to the towns in order to avoid the hated *al-jizyah* and to get enlisted in the pension registers of the towns. This caused serious shortage of labour in the villages. They were in no better predicament in the towns. Al-Hajjāj forced most of the *mawāli* in the great cities of al-'Irāq to go back to their villages and also compelled them to pay those taxes which they had been paying before their conversion to Islam.

The Umayyads, out of fear of losing the revenue, had been discouraging conversion to Islam; and if anyone got converted, they declined to exempt him from *al-jizyah* or to enlist him as a State pensioner. 'Umar II wanted to reverse all that his Umayyad predecessors had done in this regard. When one of his officials pointed out that placing the *mawāli* on an equal footing with the Arabs in the matter of taxes would empty the treasury, 'Umar replied: "Glad would I be, by Allāh, to see everybody become Muslim so that thou and I have to till the soil with our own hands to earn a living."[1] When the Governor of Egypt complained against the fall in the revenue due to mass conversions, 'Umar II wrote: "God sent His Prophet as a missionary and not as a tax-gatherer." In Khurāsān the officials tested the genuineness of the new converts by their willingness to get circumcised. 'Umar II forbade it saying: "Muḥammad was sent to call men to the faith, not to circumcise them."

'Umar II was an idealist. He failed to see the trend of historical forces. It was easy for his corrupt and unscrupulous relatives to do away with the unsuspecting saint than it was for that man of God to liquidate the devildom around him. 'Umar strived after the impossible and

1. Ibnu 'l-Jawzi, pp. 99-100.

naturally failed. He died like a hero but never faltered.

The unfortunate *al-mawāli* had to pay *al-jizyah* like the non-Muslims. They grumbled, conspired and revolted. Many of the noble-minded Arabs supported them till finally the Umayyad dynasty was overthrown.

The fixed *al-jizyah* imposed under the pious *Khalīfahs* of one, two and four *dīnārs* on the poor, the middle class and the rich respectively, became almost whimsical under the Umayyads. Instead of each individual paying his *al-jizyah*, quotas were fixed for the various villages. If a village with one hundred taxable heads was paying 200 *dīnārs* at a particular time, the same amount was demanded from it when the number of taxable heads had been reduced by conversion and flight. Thus the smaller number of villagers had to pay what the one hundred people had paid originally.[1]

In Egypt, to avoid *al-jizyah*, a large number of people became monks or pretended to have become ones. Some cases of pretension were detected and tax demanded from all the monks who, according to the rules laid down by the Prophet, had been exempted from *al-jizyah*. Further, the *jizyah* of the dead was collected from those who inherited their property.[2]

The very sound fiscal principles laid down by the great 'Umar I were violated by the Umayyads. This violation led to confusion in the finances of the Empire and to extortion and cruelties which forced the oppressed people to rise and destroy the unjust rule.

5. *Al-Kharāj.*

Al-kharāj presented a very serious problem under the Umayyads. According to the original practice, conversion to Islam freed a non-Muslim from all tributary obligations. The convert became a part and parcel of the

1. The justification was that the total quantity of the land of the village remained constant.
2. Al-Maqrīzi, I, p. 295.

conquerors. He belonged no more to the subject nation. When a piece of land bearing *al-kharāj* was acquired by a Muslim, it became an *al-'ushr* land. As there were mass conversions and as acquisition of lands by Muslims took place on a very large scale, the State treasury suffered severely. Therefore the Umayyads made it a rule that each village should pay its original tax in a lump. This meant additional burden on the non-Muslims.

Various measures were tried to remedy the state of affairs. Sometimes unscrupulous Viceroys like al-Ḥajjaj made the Muslim land-holders pay the *kharāj* and the converted Muslims pay the poll-tax.

Under 'Umar I it was agreed that the entire conquered land was to be State property and that it should be given to non-Muslims to cultivate and pay the *kharāj* to the treasury. As long as the Muslims were prevented from acquiring lands (in view of the pensions they received from the State), the principle worked well. When an owner of *al-kharāj* land became Muslim, he had to leave the land to the community and get himself enlisted as a pensioner of the State. 'Ali said to a newly converted proprietor of 'Aynu 't-Tamar, "Thy land falls to the Muslims; if thou wilt, get thee into the city and receive pension, else thou must remain as farmer (*al-qahrumān*) on the land and deliver to us part of the yield."[1] When a new Muslim chose to remain on the land and pay the original amount, the payment was treated as lease money and not as *al-kharāj*. If these clear principles had been held fast to, there would have been no difficulty, no confusion.

As for the principles evolved during the Pious *Khilafat*, the following emerge out clearly:

1. Lands in possession of the Muslims up to the verdict of the special *Shūra*, which decided the question in 16 A.H., were to continue as *al-'ushr* lands.

2. Muslims were not to acquire *al-kharāj* lands.

1. Abū Yūsuf, p. 43.

3. If the owner of a *kharāj* land became a Muslim, he had to give up his land and enlist himself as a pensioner of the State, the sale proceeds of the land going to the treasury.

4. If a convert to Islam chose to retain his *kharāj* land even after his conversion, he had to pay the *kharāj* amount as lease amount and not as tribute to the State which is due only from non-Muslims.

If these four principles had been adhered to, no difficulty would have arisen. Under the Umayyads a mixing up of these principles confounded the whole situation. The land-hungry Quraysh were allowed to acquire the *kharāj* lands. As a powerful and rich clique, they also claimed and got the concession that, as Muslims, they should only pay *al-'ushr* and not *al-kharāj*. They enjoyed pensions from the State on the one hand and the fruits of the *'ushr* lands on the other. If millions became Muslims entitled both to pensions and freedom from the payment of *al-kharāj*, and if most of them also acquired *al-kharāj* lands from the non-Muslims, no State could make both the ends meet. No government since the days of 'Umar I was strong enough to enforce strict adherence to the rules, and much of the State expenditure was met from the enormous *al-khums* that came from the various theatres of war and from the unjust and illegal levies collected by tyrants like al-Ḥajjāj.

Under 'Umar II, when the wars of further conquests were stopped and unjust levies dispensed with, a great financial strain was felt. Therefore he had to go back to the old regulation, "that the *kharāj* land was first of all the joint property of the Muslims and secondly must be considered the joint possession of the communities concerned, to whom the Muslims had handed it over for usufruct on payment of tribute, so that therefore portions of it must not be taken from the whole to become, by passing into Muslim ownership, tax-free private estates."[1]

1. Wellhausen. pp. 280 seq.

'Umar II prohibited the sale of *al-kharāj* lands to the Muslims from the year 100 A.H. It was beyond his power to give the order retrospective effect although he fought tooth and nail to get back most of the misappropriated crown lands and other State effects. In spite of this decree, some cases of Muslims acquiring lands occurred. On detection of such cases both the buyer and the seller were punished. The purchase money was forfeited to the government and the land restored to the peasant.[1] Even this decree of 'Umar II was not adhered to for a long time. It was in force during the next two reigns. Then the land-hungry began grabbing land, and the *Khalīfahs* acquiesced in this breach of the law. But these new acquirers were made to pay the *kharāj* on the newly acquired lands.

In Spain alone the Muslim warriors were given such lands as were conquered by force. In the strict spirit of the Qur'ān and according to the practice set up by the Prophet, the soldiers were entitled to the conquered lands. In Syria and al-'Irāq a deviation from the practice of the Prophet was undertaken in the interests of the State and the future generations. In Spain Muslim colonies had to be established to keep the country down. So in that country the Umayyads including the pious 'Umar II had to adopt the original practice, which prevailed in the days of the Prophet, of dividing the conquered land among the participants in the conquest. Those lands which were conquered by the Muslims through peace were left with the former owners in return for tribute.

During the reign of Marwān II, Naṣr bin Sayyār, his great Governor of Khurāsān, introduced a tax reform which reconciled the financial interests of the State with the principle that the Muslims need not pay the tribute. He raised a fixed amount solely from land-tax from every taxable district. All land proprietors, irrespective of their religion or nationality, had to contribute to it in

1. Ibnu 'l-'Asākir quoted by Von Kremer : see *Orient Under the Caliphs*, p. 209.

proportion to their property. The *mawāli* were freed from the poll-tax. This principle was adopted in other parts of the Empire also sooner or later. If this had been done earlier, many of the difficulties and injustices would have been avoided.

This principle cancelled the regulation that the Muslims were bound to pay only the *'ushr* and not the *kharāj*. Although this reform, at the outset, appeared to be against the interests of the Muslims, the disadvantage was more than offset by allowing them to own *al-kharāi* lands against the enactment of both the 'Umars.

The other items of regular taxes did not raise any special problems under the Umayyads.

Unauthorised Exactions

1. *Extra Taxes in Kind.*

According to al-Maqrīzi, extra taxes were also collected. In Egypt they were levied on each district (*al-kūrah*), the chief of which was made responsible for their delivery. These extra taxes consisted of articles in kind, such as material for ship-building or implements. The whole community was liable for satisfaction of all the demands and no money substitute was accepted.[1] These taxes, which were being levied under the Romans, were, for some time, continued under 'Umar I. But in his later days, the great *Khalīfah* discontinued the practice. The Umayyads broke this good rule of 'Umar also and reimposed the unjust exactions.

2. *Presents, etc.*

Further, under the Umayyads, the officials accepted presents on behalf of the Government on festive occasions, such as the Nawrūz and the Mihrgān festivals, and weddings. Besides, a certain *ma'mūl* or customary fee was collected whenever the lands of a peasant were supplied with water and this was called

1. Al-Maqrīzi: *Khiṭaṭ*, p. 77.

ujūru 'l-futūḥ.[1] Khuda Bakhsh, after consulting Margoliouth, calls it sluice money.[2] A sort of stamp fee also was collected on paper used for writing documents. Officials always expected that people should wait upon them with presents.[3] One of Mu'āwiyah's Viceroys in al-'Irāq received presents totalling 10,000,000 *dirhams* on a Nawrūz.

These unauthorised collections were not new to the countries in which they were levied. They were being levied under the Romans and Persians. 'Umar I discontinued but the Umayyads renewed them. They were again discontinued by 'Umar II[5] and once more reimposed after him. In al-Yaman a brother of al-Ḥajjāj began collecting *al-kharāj* instead of *al-'ushr*. 'Umar II put a stop to the unauthorised levy.[6]

3. *Child Tribute.*

Although Islam discouraged slavery and declared it meritorious to free slaves, the institution of slavery was not abolished. Muslim conquests made the Arabs more and more rich, and they wanted more and more of luxury. There was a great demand for slaves. Therefore the conquering armies of Islam took as many of them as possible. Mūsa bin Nuṣayr took 300,000 captives from Ifrīqiyah,[7] and captured 300,000 virgins in Spain.[8] In Sughd alone Qutaybah's captives numbered 100,000.

Az-Zubayr bin al-'Awwām bequeathed 1,000 male and female slaves[10] and the *Khalīfah*, 'Uthmān, had 1,000. Umayyad princes maintained retainers of thousands of slaves.[11] Not to speak of the nobles, each of the ordinary private of the Syrian army in the battle of Ṣiffīn had one to ten slaves waiting on him.[12]

1. See Von Kremer, p. 212. Many texts read "couriers' fees," اجور الفيوج. I see no reason why that reading should not be accepted.
2. *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 212.
3. Al-Ya'qūbi, II, p. 259.
4. Abū Yūsuf, p. 49.
5. Al-Balādhuri, p. 73.
6. Al-Maqrīzi, I, p. 148.
7. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, IV, p. 448.
8. Al-Maqarri, IV, p. 454.
9. Al-Mas'ūdi, IV, p. 254.
10. Ad-Damīri, I, 49.
11. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, IV, p. 147.
12. Al-Mas'ūdi, IV, p. 387.

To satisfy this great demand for slaves, all the captures of the Muslim armies were not enough. Slave-purchasing expeditions were sent out to all foreign countries. Yet the demand could not be satisfied. So the Umayyads resorted to levying a child tribute on the Berbers.[1] This was wholly against the spirit of the teachings of the Prophet; and the immoral tribute was dispensed with by the saintly 'Umar II.

Revenue Administration of al-'Irāq

Al-'Irāq was the richest province of the Empire.[2] Since the days of 'Uthmān, this rich and beautiful province lacked order and peace. This lack of order and peace threw the fiscal affairs of the province into great confusion. The revenue under 'Umar I from this province was 120,000,000 *dirhams*,[3] but at the time when 'Abdu 'l-Malik became the master of al-'Irāq, the revenue had dwindled to 40,000,000 *dirhams*.[3]

The causes for the great fall in the revenue were many, and one of them was the mass conversion of the non-Muslims to Islam which took away a very large part of *al-kharāj* and *al-jizyah*. The ruthless Viceroy of 'Abdu 'l-Malik, al-Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf, stabilised the financial position of al-'Irāq by means fair or foul and the newly conquered territories of the East yielded a large revenue. As-Sind alone brought in a surplus revenue of 6,000,000 *dirhams* per annum.[4]

Most of the records relating to the receipts and disbursements of the Umayyad period were destroyed during the various civil wars. The revenue from al-'Irāq alone reached 130,000,000 *dirhams* per year.

1. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 237 seq.
2. قرى بالعراق من قفيز و درهم فتغلل لكم ما لا تغل لاهليها
See the *Mu'allaqah* of Zuhayr.
3. Al-Balādhuri, p. 270.
4. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, IV, pp. 427-28; Jurji Zaydān, II, p. 27.

Egypt.

The land in Egypt, as under the Romans, belonged to the State and was rented out to the peasants who cultivated it. After the harvest the yield was estimated by a government official known as the *Qabbāl* who collected the government dues.[1] No *al-kharāj* was levied on the individual cultivators as done in the other provinces. Taxation was collective and specified groups of villages were responsible for particular amounts. *Al-jizyah* was collected by the village headman who forwarded it to the headquarters. The annual revenue of Egypt was 3,000,000 *dīnārs* or 36,000,000 *dirhams*.[2]

Syria.

The total revenue per year from the province of Syria amounted to 20,000,000 *dirhams*.[3]

1. See Becker, *Papyri*, pp. 70 seq.
2. Jurji Zaydān, II, p. 27.
3. Ibid.

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC WORKS UNDER THE UMAYYADS

Agriculture

As EARLY as the days of Mu'āwiyah, efforts were made to reclaim more lands and to provide additional facilities for cultivation. The Ma'qil canal which was constructed in the reign of 'Umar was made deeper and the accumulated silt removed.[1] A large number of dams were constructed in the mountainous regions to store large quantities of rain water for the purpose of irrigating the lands.[2] Mu'āwiyah had the canals of Kāẓimah, Azraq and ash-Shuhdā' dug in the neighbourhood of al-Madīnah which increased the produce so much that the land around al-Madīnah alone yielded 150,000 *wusūq* of dates and 100,000 *wusūq* of wheat.[3] Al-Ḥajjāj constructed the two canals of an-Nīl and aẓ-Ẓabi,[4] the former of which connected the Euphrates and the Tigris. He also completed the canal of Sa'd by digging out a part of a mountain.[5] He also constructed several dams.[6]

The rivers Euphrates and Tigris were subject to constant floods which broke their banks and inundated large tracts of land.[7] Under the Persian kings constant efforts were made to reclaim them. During the year 6 or 7 of the Hijrah there were floods which burst the banks of the rivers at several places and submerged a large part of the country.[8] Mu'āwiyah was the first to pay attention to the reclamation of these submerged lands.[9] His work was continued by al-Ḥajjāj during the reign of al-Walīd.[10] Had al-Ḥajjāj been provided with sufficient funds, he would have drained the whole area. As a matter of fact, he demanded 3,000,000 *dirhams* for the restoration of

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 366.
2. *Wafāu 'l-Wafā*, II, p. 321.
3. Ibid., pp. 117 and 237.
4. Al-Balādhuri, p. 290.
5. Ibid., p. 274.
6. Ibid., p. 290.
7. Ibid., p. 292.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 293.
10. Ibid., p. 290.

dams, but al-Walīd did not sanction the amount.[1] Maslamah, a brother of the *Khalīfah*, undertook the work at his own cost and made a huge fortune out of it.[2] The great engineer, who planned the drainage of the whole area, was Ḥassān an-Nabaṭi.[3] Again the work was taken up by Khālid al-Qasri, the Viceroy of Hishām, who employed the same engineer to drain more marshy areas. Khālid al-Qasri's chief estates, most of which were carved out from the newly reclaimed land, are mentioned by name in aṭ-Ṭabari.[4]

Al-Ḥajjāj prevented the slaughter of oxen so that they might be available for the plough. Thus the first step in the direction of preserving the livestock of the Empire was taken by the great intellectual. He imported a large number of buffaloes from India and introduced them in al-'Irāq and Syria.[5] Hishām took great interest in horse breeding.

Public Buildings and Other Undertakings

As early as the days of 'Umar, public buildings for offices of the State and mosques for the worship of the faithful began to be built by the government. 'Umar and, after him, 'Uthmān extended the courts of the mosques of Makkah and al-Madīnah. Mu'āwiyah built for himself the famous Green Palace at Damascus. The Ka'bah was rebuilt by Ibnu 'z-Zubayr as desired by the Prophet. On his accession, 'Abdu 'l-Malik restored it to the form in which the Prophet left it.[6]

In the year 86 A.H. certain parts of the city of Makkah were inundated by a great cloud-burst causing much damage. Abdu 'l-Malik constructed walls and embankments around the exposed areas so that no damage from cloud-burst may occur thereafter.[7] In 69 A.H. the same monarch erected in Jerusalem the magnificent

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 294. 2. Ibid., p. 274. 3. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 7.
4. Aṭ-Ṭabari, II, p. 1655. 5. Al-Balādhuri, p. 293.
6. Ibid., pp. 167 seq. 7. Ibid., p. 54.

Dome of the Rock (*Qubbatu 's-Ṣakhrah*) wrongly called by the Europeans "the Mosque of 'Umar." He built another mosque in the southern section of the sacred area.

The greatest builder of the period was al-Walīd bīn 'Abdi 'l-Malik. During his reign when people met, building formed the main topic of discussion. The mosque at al-Madīnah was rebuilt on a very grand scale[1] for which material came from all parts of the Empire. The Byzantine Emperor, at the request of al-Walīd, sent 100,000 *mithqāls* of gold (50,000 guineas) and forty camel loads of mosaics with a large number of expert masons. The gold work on the single wall, towards which the worshippers faced, alone consumed 45,000 *mithqāls*. The other building on which al-Walīd bestowed great attention and wealth was the mosque in Damascus. The construction of this mosque is estimated to have cost 600,000 *dīnārs*. For this building also material came from far off places. It was considered to be one of the marvels of the world and people came from far and near to see and admire its grandeur and beauty. In addition to these two great mosques, al-Walīd built, extended and beautified scores of other mosques and decorated the mausoleum of the Prophet. He also built several schools and hospitals. He removed from a church at Ba'labakk a dome of guilded brass and set it over the mosque of 'Abdu 'l-Malik in Jerusalem.

In the third year of his reign (A.H. 88) al-Walīd had all the roads in the Empire repaired and planted with mile-stones.[2] Along all the roads rest-houses were built and wells sunk. It was al-Walīd who first thought of establishing hospitals throughout the Empire.[3] He had those who had infectious diseases, especially the lepers, segregated. He made elaborate arrangements for feeding and treating the sick. The most remarkable service rendered to humanity by al-Walīd, which no other State

1. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 7 seq.
2. At-Tabari, I, p. 1191.
3. Al-Ya'qūbi, II, p. 348.

had ever rendered was his undertaking to support all the incapacitated and limbless. He prevented them from begging, granted pensions to them, and, above all, appointed servants to lead the blind and assist the incapacitated.[1] Further, this great and noble monarch provided for the care and education of all the orphans.[2]

The philanthropic undertakings started by al-Walīd I were improved upon and extended by the saintly 'Umar II. He had rest-houses built and wells sunk in the newly conquered territories of the East. He ordered the *Wālis* of Khurāsān and Samarqand to build rest-houses along all the roads, feed the wayfarers, treat the sick among them, and, if they were without means, to pay them the fare, etc., to reach their destinations.[3]

Most of the days of Hishām were spent in wars and in suppressing rebellions. Still this monarch also did his bit. He built several ponds and tanks on the way to Makkah for the convenience of the pilgrims. His Governor at al-Mawṣil built a college and also a caravansarai in that big city. Even the infamous al-Walīd II paid attention to the blind, the crippled and the indigent. He raised by ten per cent the annuity assigned to the blind and the crippled and ordered public distribution of food.[4]

Education

The Prophet made elaborate arrangements for religious teaching. He trained instructors and sent them to the various parts of Arabia. Under the Pious *Khalīfahs*, the same arrangement was continued with more elaboration and extensive application. But during their days only a few branches of learning came to be recognised, the Qur'ānic exegesis (*at-tafsīr*), traditions of the Prophet (*al-ḥadīth*), jurisprudence (*al-fiqh*) and the study of pre-Islamic poetry.

1. As-Suyūṭi, p. 224. 2. Ibid. 3. Aṭ-Ṭabari, II, p. 1364.
4. De Goeje : *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicasum*, I, p. 123.

Under the Umayyads more branches of learning sprang up, such as Grammar, History, Geography, etc. Some scholars studied sciences like Medicine and Chemistry, but these sciences had not yet become common. Khālid, son of Yazīd I, was a great master of Medicine and Chemistry and left writings on these two subjects.

Thus up to the end of the Umayyad rule religious studies formed the main part of education; and, as auxiliaries to religious subjects, other subjects were also taught. Students learned History to know the details of the Prophet's life and his wars; Spherical Geography to know the times of prayer and fasting in various parts of the extensive Empire and Arabic Literature to know the diction of the Qur'ān. Most of the schools were attached to mosques and endowed with property. Many of the monarchs built schools in different parts of the Empire.

At the time of the Prophet, only a handful of the people could read and write at the birthplace of Islam. Starting with such meagre beginnings, within a century after the demise of the Prophet, education became fairly common. A large part of the population could read and write, and most of the Muslims read and understood the Qur'ān.

Municipal Administration

Damascus.

In addition to the construction of public buildings, embankments, etc., the main municipal activities of the Umayyads seem to have centred round water supply. One set of channels supplied fresh water to the city and another set served as sewage. The chief feature of Damascus even today is its system of flowing water. The most remarkable aspect of the system is that both the sets of channels touch every house in the city. When new constructions and alterations in the houses take place, care is taken to divert these channels properly so that water may be kept flowing day and night. The Baradah River, the Chrysorrhoas of the Greeks, had been conducting a plentiful supply of water into the ancient

town even before the Muslim conquest; "but the merit of developing the system of water-courses to such an extent that up to this day even the poorest house has its particular fountain, is unquestionably due to the sovereigns of the house of Omayya."[1]

As in the case of the principal towns of Syria, Damascus was walled for defensive purposes. "The various trades and guilds occupied separate quarters or streets which were named after them."[2] This division seems to have sprung from the tribal spirit of the Arabs, each one of the tribes desiring to live in separate quarters with its own houses, mosques, bazaars and the burial ground. Each of these quarters was called a ward (*al-ḥārrah*) and is still well marked. The rulers took advantage of this clannish spirit, and, to prevent combinations, converted these *ḥārrahs* into small walled towns, each separated from the rest by strong gates guarded by a warder (*al-ḥāris*). In times of trouble these quarters could be isolated by closing the strong gates.

Damascus must have become a very large city under the Umayyads who beautified it with stately buildings, springs, fountains, gardens and avenues. On the register alone Damascus had 45,000 pensioners.[3] The population must have been several times more.

Al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah.

Al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, the two largest cities of al-'Irāq, sprang from military camps and were built in the reign of 'Umar I. As early as A.H. 50, al-Baṣrah had reached a population of 200,000. Much later the city is reported to have had 120,000 streams.[4] As regards water supply, the two cities of al-'Irāq, being situated on the bank of the Euphrates, still have a perennial supply of plentiful water; and, just as in Damascus, every house had its own stream. If at any stage the city had 120,000

1. Amīr 'Ali, p. 193.
2. Ibid., p. 192.
3. De Goeje: *Frag. Hist. Arab.*, I, p. 5.
4. Al-Iṣṭakhri, p. 80; Ibn Hawqal, p. 159.

streams, it means that there were 120,000 houses or blocks of houses in the great city each having a stream of its own.

According to a census taken during the governorship of Ziyād bin Abīhi, al-Kūfah had a population of 60,000 men capable of bearing arms and their women and children numbered 80,000.[1] Very soon after this the city further increased in population.

Makkah and al-Madīnah.

Al-Madīnah always had plenty of water supply, but Makkah had very little of it. Sulaymān bin 'Abdi 'l-Malik applied himself to solve this problem. Through his Governor at Makkah, Khālid al-Qasri, who later became the Viceroy of al-'Irāq, he had a great tank built at the foot of Mount Thabīr; and from there water was carried to the holy city through lead pipes and allowed to fall in a tank of alabaster between Rukn and Zamzam. Khālid, noted for his extravagance, invited all the citizens of al-Madīnah to attend the opening ceremony. This canal supplied a large quantity of water to the birthplace of Islam.

Al-Mawṣil.

Under the later Umayyads al-Mawṣil was coming into great eminence. Hishām had a canal dug at a cost of 8,000,000 *dirhams* which supplied the city with plenty of good drinking water. The famous road by the side of the canal was planted with shady trees and became the resort of the citizens and their families for evening recreation. Al-Ḥur bin Yūsuf, the Governor under Hishām, built a college, a caravansarai, and a mansion of pure white alabaster for his residence.

Smaller Towns and Villages.

The smaller towns and villages, especially in the mountain regions, preserved their native features and ancient cultural patterns. Islam changed the beliefs of the people, but it did not, as yet, change the details of their cultural life.

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 350; al-Mas'ūdi, IV, p. 194.

CHAPTER X

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE UMAYYADS

THE Prophet and, after him, his successors were in supreme command of the forces of Islam. They had full control over the use of troops and disposition of military equipment and supplies. Next to the *Khalīfah* came the Commander-in-Chief appointed by him. The first qualification required of a Commander was military skill[1] and not noble birth. Ṭāriq bin Ziyād, who conquered Andalusia, was a freedman.[2]

Under the Commander-in-Chief, usually the tribal chiefs led their men in battle, but the Commander-in-Chief could substitute competent subordinates if the chiefs themselves could not be present.[3] Just before the battle of the Yarmūk, when there was some difficulty about the chief command, the tribal chiefs were ready to go into battle independently without any coordination.[4] But better sense soon prevailed and such a disorganised battle was never fought as long as the *Khalīfahs* retained their authority.

Numbers

By the beginning of the reign of Mu'āwiyah Muslim armies had swollen to very large numbers. In the battle of Ṣiffīn 175,000 soldiers were engaged on both sides. Ziyād's census of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah revealed that the former had 60,000 warriors and the latter 80,000.[5] About this time Miṣr had 4,000 soldiers. There should have been very large numbers in the other principal cities of the Empire also. Spain was invaded by a large army having many Berbers in it. Yazīd bin al-Muhallab invaded Jurjān and Ṭabaristān with an army of 100,000

1. Aṭ-Ṭabari, II, p. 10. 2. Ibid., II, p. 123. 3. Ibid., I, p. 2112.
4. Ibid., I, pp. 2091 seq. 5. Al-Mas'ūdi, IV, p. 344.

men;[1] and the army of Marwān II, the last ruler of the Umayyad dynasty, in the fateful battle of the Zāb numbered 120,000. These figures give us an idea of the number of soldiers available to the rulers. All Muslims were eligible to become soldiers, and hence a very large number of the new converts (Persians, Copts, Berbers and Turks) served Islam as soldiers in the way of God.

Emoluments

By the time of Mu'āwiyah the emoluments of soldiers seem to have risen to about 1,000 *dirhams* per head per year including the family pensions. In A.H. 74 al-'Irāq alone had 60,000 stipendiaries (sing. *al-murtazaq*) and the allowance for them and their families amounted to 60,000,000 *dirhams* per year.[2] In addition to the fixed annual pensions, the rulers had to pay the soldiers from time to time extra amounts for special undertakings. Yazīd I paid 100 *dīnārs* over and above the pension to every soldier who was prepared to march against Makkah and al-Madīnah. Yazīd III had to shell out 2,000 *dirhams* to each of the soldiers who took up arms against al-Walīd II. But al-Walīd II offered his supporters only 500 *dirhams* each. The Syrians who marched against the Khawārij in A.H. 130 had to be paid 1,000 *dīnārs*, a war horse and a beast of burden each. Even the Kharijite Ḍaḥḥak had to pay his men high salaries.[3]

In order to ensure a constant supply of men, the Umayyads had to subsidise various tribal chiefs on condition that they would supply a certain number of warriors when required. The chief of the Qaḥṭānite tribes received an annual subsidy of 2,000,000 *dirhams* in return for a standing draft of 2,000 men.[4] This works out at 1,000 *dirhams* per soldier which was the average cost per head incurred by the government of Mu'āwiyah. Whether this was in addition to the salaries of the soldiers, is not clear. Probably it was not. Yazīd II allotted stipends for 3,000

1. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, V, p. 19.
2. Al-Mas'ūdi, V, p. 194.
3. Aṭ-Ṭabari, II, p. 1939.
4. Al-Mas'ūdi V, p. 2000.

men in 'Umān to be available for service when called upon.[1]

The most systematic payment was made under 'Umar I when every soldier received his stipend, his family had pensions and he himself got rations, comforts and *batta* in addition to his share in the four-fifths of the enormous booty.[2] Under 'Umar soldiering was a princely business. With the election of 'Uthmān, the system began to degenerate. Under his weak rule his hungry relatives and favourites began to manipulate the register by increasing the stipend of the favourites. Under Mu'āwiyah things became still worse. The names of suspects and undesirable politicals were removed from the register or their pensions were cut down. New names were entered and the stipends of the favourites increased. This game, once begun, was carried to absurd extremity and the whole system was thrown in confusion and chaos. 'Umar II discovered that 20,000 *al-mawāli* were in active service but received no salaries. During the successive civil wars, the opposing *Khalifahs* paid the soldiers as much as they could and those who could not or would not pay the soldiers enough lost the war. Things improved in the days of Hishām. All the records relating to the Umayyad period were destroyed in the domestic wars of the Umayyads, the various revolts during their reigns and the great 'Abbāsid revolution. Hence it is almost impossible to get the exact details.

Compulsory Service

The stipends fixed by 'Umar were of such a nature that they could be interpreted as State maintenance. In the days of that great *Khalīfah* the zeal for the holy war was still aglow, and it was safely assumed that every able-bodied and healthy Muslim would fight. But active service was not made a condition for the payment of pensions; for the system embraced from the widows of the Prophet down to the newborn child in the

1. De Goejè: *Frag. Hist. Arab.*, p. 66. 2. Al-Balādhuri, p. 253.

remotest corner of Arabia. Even under 'Umar, people who did not serve in the field received their pensions regularly. Under 'Uthmān and his successors things deteriorated further. By the time of al-Ḥajjāj every Arab claimed pension, but none felt bound to fight for the State.

In the year 80 A.H. al-Ḥajjāj compelled the citizens of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah to provide each a force of 20,000 men for reinforcing the armies in Persia under the threat of withholding the pensions. Three years later he levied another force of 20,000 men from al-Kūfah for the campaign in Khurāsān. He disbursed the annuities and threatened with death those who, after taking their stipends, did not join the army within three days.[1] Against the redoubtable Khārijite leader Shabīb, al-Ḥajjāj sent a conscript host of 40,000 warriors and 10,000 camp-followers.[2]

Volunteers

From the very beginning reward in the next world was one of the chief motives of the Muslims. In many cases the worldly benefits and the opportunities of making money did also count, but never was the motive of paradise and its great attractions absent from any Muslim's mind when he undertook to serve in a war against the infidels or against the heretics. In the early days of Islam not only did the Muslims fight for nothing, but also they gave their all for the noble cause. Later, when wealth poured in, they gave freely in the way of Allāh and willingly fought the battles of Islam. Even under the Umayyads many Muslim volunteers offered to fight against the infidel Turks, Christians, Hindus, Zoroastrians and others. Often they joined the armies at their own expense and with their own equipment and sometimes even contributed towards the expense of the war. Such a contribution was called *at-tanāhud*.[3] The

1. Al-Mubarrad : *al-Kāmil*, edited by Wright, p. 210.
2. Aṭ-Ṭabari, II, p. 948.
3. Literally, the word means sharing the expense of a journey.

stipendiaries could not go home as a matter of right when a certain campaign was over, but the volunteers could. They joined only for a certain purpose and when that purpose was accomplished, they were free to return home.

Military Stations, Fortifications, etc.

In the outposts of the extensive Empire and in strategic places the Muslims established military stations and garrisons. Strategic fortifications were built on the frontiers.[1] Soldiers who settled in these military stations and garrisoned the outposts and the border fortresses received regular annuities and family pensions and were provided against war risks. The great cities of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, al-Fusṭāt and Qayrawān were originally military camps.

Al-Baṣrah and al-Kufah.

The sites chosen for these two cities and later for the city of Wāsiṭ testify to the sound strategical sense and insight of the early Muslims.

Al-Baṣrah.

In the year 14 A.H. the Muslim army was camping on the ruins of an ancient settlement called Kharābah. The officer in command pointed out to 'Umar the necessity of a camping ground and suggested the very same site for the purpose. Water and reeds (for fuel) were available easily and in plenty at that spot, and this was one of the chief considerations for selecting the site. Umar consented to the proposal and thus arose the camp which later became the great city of al-Baṣrah.

At first the soldiers built their huts of reeds. When they went out on a campaign, these huts were pulled down to be set up again on their return. Soon the population increased. Permanent houses, mosques and public buildings sprang up. In the course of a few

1. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 163-71.

decades, the city grew up by leaps and bounds, and, as we have already seen, in the days of Ziyād it contained a population of more than 200,000. At a later period the city had 120,000 channels supplying water to as many houses. The number of troops at first quartered at this spot was only 800; and from such humble beginning the might city of al-Baṣrah rose.

Al-Kūfah.

After the conquest of al-Madā'in for some time the Arab garrison of al-'Irāq was stationed in that former capital of the Persian Empire; but the malarial climate of that city did not suit the Arabs.[1] Then a camp was established at al-Anbār.[2] In this new place the Muslims suffered much from gnats.[3] So 'Umar had a suitable place searched out which could have the desert climate and at the same time be in the vicinity of al-Anbār. Such a site on a higher elevation was found and approved by 'Umar.[4] On this site grew al-Kūfah, the great capital of 'Ali. In the year 17 A.H. Sa'd, the Governor of the city, built a mosque and a government house in front of which he left a large space for the future bazaar. Then he marked out portions of the site and allocated them to the tribes who wanted to settle there.[5] In the beginning some 20,000 Arabs and a few thousand *al-mawāli* and others settled in the town. When Ziyād took the census of the city, it contained a population of 140,000 people.

A glance at the map will show how carefully the sites for these two military stations were chosen. Al-Baṣrah served the purpose of a seaport and al-Kūfah commanded the Euphrates. Both the towns had the desert behind them and could get support from al-Madīnah. They were primarily intended to be military stations. Almost all the citizens settled in them received pensions and were bound to serve in the army. But due to the increase in the wealth of the people and due to the

1. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 275 seq.
2. Ad-Dīnawari, p. 131.
3. Al-Balādhuri, p. 275.
4. Ibid., p. 276 ; Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, p. 2389.
5. Al-Balādhuri, p. 276.

defect in the system of pensions, the citizens began to shirk the onerous duties of military service.

Moreover, these two cities, pampered and spoilt by the opposing *Khalīfahs*, became the hotbeds of all seditions, conspiracies and rebellions. Al-Ḥajjāj completely subdued them, stamped out sedition and even billeted soldiers in the houses of the citizens. To reduce the importance of these two mighty cities, he built a new city midway between al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, al-Madā'in and al-Ahwāz and named it Wāsiṭ (the middle one).[1]

To the end of the Umayyad rule, al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah remained the most important sources of manpower of the Empire in the East. The garrison of Khurāsān under Sulaymān bin 'Abdi 'l-Malik had in it 40,000 soldiers from al-Baṣrah and 7,000 from al-Kūfah. Hishām sent a reinforcement of 10,000 soldiers from each of the two cities to the same province against the redoubtable Khāqān.

Other Military Stations

In every newly conquered territory the Arabs chose a strategic town for stationing the army. Where such towns did not exist, they selected a strategic spot and camped their soldiers there with their families. These camps were very soon converted into prosperous towns. In some places new towns for stationing the army were built. In Khūzistān, 'Askar Mukram sprang up from a camp, and in Fārs, Shīrāz. In the province of as-Sind, al-Manṣūrah and al-Maḥfūẓah were built to serve military purposes. The town of Merg sprang up in Transoxania, and in the province of Ādharbayjān troops were stationed at Marāghah and Ardabīl.

In Syria the towns which were already in existence were used as military stations. When the Muslims conquered Syria, the Byzantines abandoned the land lying north of Antioch and Aleppo, and, destroying the

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 290.

towns therein, converted a large part of the territory into one vast wilderness to keep the dreaded Muslims away. At the outset, the Muslims welcomed this separation, but gradually, feeling more secure and confident, they built up and fortified the towns and villages abandoned by their foes and step by step extended their conquest to the very block-houses of the Byzantines. They fortified the frontier posts with castles called *al-'Awāṣim* (the protectors).

The most important fortified strategical points were Ṭarsūs, Adana, Mar'ash, Malaṭyah and Maṣṣiṣah [1] which were situated either at the junction of the military roads or at mountain passes from which Byzantine troops might issue. A very close check was kept on the members of the garrison and their families. An officer was appointed for the sole purpose of enquiring into arrivals and departures.

Maṣṣiṣah was one of the earliest frontier posts. 'Abdu 'l-Malik built a strong castle in it,[2] and 'Umar II provided for the spiritual salvation of citizens by building a mosque.[3] Ṭarsūs which had been abandoned by the Byzantines lay in ruins. It was rebuilt by the Umayyads and converted into a large camp later by Hārūnu 'r-Rashid. Mar'ash, Adana and Malaṭyah changed hands several times till they were finally conquered by al-Manṣūr the 'Abbāsid.[4]

In other provinces also the same system of border fortification was adopted. The Umayyads built and maintained block-houses and fortified watch posts (sing. *ar-ribaṭ*). Later, when the need for these watch posts disappeared on account of the further extension of the Muslim Empire, they were converted into seminaries for *darwīshes* who spent their time in religious exercises and mystic visions.

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 165.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 168, 185, 187 seq.

Military Ranks

The formation of troops was in tens, hundreds and later in thousands. Over every ten men there was a Decurion (*Amīru 'l-'Ashrah* or *āl-'Arīf*); over every hundred (in some cases over every fifty), a Deputy (*an-Nā'ib*); over every ten *Nā'ibs* commanding in all one thousand men, there was a Lieutenant (*al-Qā'id*), and over every ten *Qā'ids*, a commander (*al-Amīr*). A company of one hundred men formed a squadron and ten squadrons formed a cohort (*al-kurdūs*).

As under the Pious *Khalīfahs*, the army was composed of infantry, cavalry, a service corps and a party of hole-makers (*an-naqqābūn*) whose duty was to effect breaches in the walls of the enemy's fortresses under the protection of a mantelet (*ad-dabbābah*). The civil officers attached to the armies were almost the same as under the Pious *Khalīfahs*, viz. the Paymaster, the Treasurer, the Advocate, the Interpreter, the Reporter, the Mentor and the *Qāḍi*.

On the March

As already noticed in Chapter IV, the army used to march in the battle (*at-ta'biyah*) formation. The dull piercing sound of the small drum drowned the noise and bustle of the march. In smaller expeditions or when the despatch of reinforcement was very urgent, the cavalry took the foot soldiers on horseback.[1] To cover long distances the infantrymen were also transported on horses. Every soldier had to know riding and swimming. So there was no difficulty in transporting the whole mass of the army on horseback when necessary. Under ordinary circumstances, the entire infantry marched on foot by easy stages. After every day's march the Muslims used to pitch their camp.

The Camp.

The work of setting up the entrenchments and digging ditches belonged to the vanguard which marched

1. It was an old Arab custom, and the additional rider was called *ar-radif*.

ahead of the main army. The camp sites were carefully chosen by an official specially appointed for the purpose. The camps, if of long duration, were protected by barricades also, and, as an additional precaution in enemy territories, the warriors stood to arms in their proper formation, enough in numbers to repel any surprise attack.[1] If, for any reason, the digging of a trench was omitted, still further precautions were taken to avoid surprise and ensure safety. The camps were provided with two or four exits.[2] When the camp was set up, it looked like a small town or village with streets, market and squares. Soon the camp fire was lit, kettles began to boil and the campers, after a simple dinner, began to form friendly circles.

Women.

Often women and children accompanied the soldiers; firstly, for the comfort of the soldiers and, secondly, to settle with them in the newly conquered territories. To the Indian mind it may appear strange that women and children should be risked like this in the proximity of the battlefield. In the pre-Islamic wars and even in the battles of Badr and Uḥud women stood behind their men and encouraged them with martial songs and speeches. It was a common thing for the Arab women to be taken captives, to pass from one hand to another and sometimes to go back to the original husbands. The presence of women and children, though sometimes an encumbrance and impediment, often served as an incentive to fight to the last.

In the battle of the Yarmūk several women took part in the actual fighting. Among them Hind, Mu'āwiyah's mother, was one.[3] Further, whenever the enemy succeeded in penetrating the Arab lines, women attacked them with swords and drove them back. Just before the capture of Bukhārā in the year 90 A.H., while Qutaybah

1. At-Ṭabari, III, p. 335.
2. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, VI, pp. 162, 163, 280.
3. At-Ṭabari, I, pp. 2100 and 2447; al-Balādhuri, p. 13.

was laying siege to the city, the Turks and the Ṣughdians came to the aid of the beleagured city. The besieged forces sallied forth, and the Muslims, hemmed in on all sides, gave way. Screaming Muslim women beat the faces of their soldiers' horses and forced them back on the enemy.[1] The force that sallied forth was driven back into the city which was captured soon thereafter.

Transport

In the matter of transport, the Arabs had one marked advantage over their adversaries. While the Byzantines and others used cumbersome methods of transport, the Arabs transported their soldiers, their women and children, baggage and supplies and even the siege engines on the backs of camels. These 'ships of the desert' also carried ambulances and sedan chairs for the sick and the wounded. Von Kremer's tribute to the camel is worth being quoted in full to do justice to the patient and useful creature: "Leo's observation on the transport camels in the Arab army calls for special notice. 'While the Byzantines used horses, mules and donkeys, or waggons drawn by oxen, the Arabs transported men and baggage with far greater safety and expedition by means of camels, even through arid deserts wholly unsuited to the Greek army—an advantage that cannot be too highly estimated.' I do not at all exaggerate in holding that the Arabs secured most of their victories by the help of their camels. These patient animals conquered Syria and Egypt for them. Before the Muslim conquest the camel does not seem to have been used in Asia Minor. It won indeed the victories of Islam."[2] The Arabs used to decorate the pack-saddles with small banners as it is the practice even now with the caravans, and this heightened the impressiveness of the march.

Whenever necessary, the Muslims used other means of transport also—pack-horses, mules and donkeys. The

1. Al-Khuḍari, II, p. 297.
2. *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 332 seq.

great ballista, "The Bride" (*Al-'Arūs*), was sent to as-Sind in a ship with other engines, provisions and other supplies. During the great famine in the days of 'Umar I, 'Amr bin al-'Āṣ sent food to the port of Yanbū' by ships from where it was transported on camels to al-Madīnah.

Morale

From the very beginning the Prophet was very particular about the morale of the soldiers. He forbade them to kill monks, women, children and the blind and forbade the destroying of horses, cutting down of trees or other wanton waste.[1] When the expedition to Mu'tah under Usāmah was about to start, Abū Bakr addressed the commander of the army thus: "See that thou avoidest treachery. Depart not in any wise from the right. Thou shalt mutilate none, neither shalt thou kill child or aged man, nor any woman. Injure not the date-palm, neither burn it with fire, and cut not down any tree wherein is food for man or beast. Slay not the flocks or herds or camels, saving for needful sustenance. Ye may eat of the meat which the men of the land shall bring unto you in their vessels, making mention thereon of the name of the Lord. And the monks with the shaven heads, if they submit, leave them unmolested. Now march forward in the name of the Lord, and may He protect you from sword and pestilence."[2]

These instructions were strictly followed by the Muslims. While their adversaries shot at them, especially at their horses, with poisoned arrows, the Muslims did nothing of the sort. Pillaging and burning villages was a Byzantine military practice. The Muslim law prevented it except under certain conditions. In every respect the Muslims had moral superiority over their enemies.

Siege Tactics and Siege Weapons

The first fortified town to be attacked by the Muslims

1. *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 322 (footnote).
2. Amīr 'Ali, p. 93; at-Ṭabari, I, p. 1850.

was aṭ-Ṭā'if. In attacking the town the Prophet used a ballista (*al-manjanīq*) and a mantelet (*ad-dabbābah*).[1] The town surrendered before it could be stormed. The first fortified place to be taken by storm was the Garden of Death (*Ḥadīqatu 'l-Mawt*) at 'Aqrabah in al-Yamāmah. There Barā' bin Mālik was lifted to the top of the wall. He jumped boldly in the midst of the enemy and opened the gates for the Muslim forces to enter.[2] To take Damascus by storm, the Muslim soldiers swam the moat on inflated skins, and, flinging on the turrets ropes with running nooses, climbed the walls and opened the gates.[3]

In the siege of Bahurasīr in the year 16 A.H., twenty ballistas and one huge *ad-dabbābah* made of wood were used. In the siege of aṭ-Ṭā'if, the *dabbābah* was made of cow-hides and wool. It was burnt by defenders of aṭ-Ṭā'if by throwing red-hot bars of iron causing loss of lives to the Muslims. Hence the improvement was made. If it had iron plates, which probably was the case, to make it non combustible, then it must have been a veritable tank.

The machine *al-'Arūs* used in the siege of Daybul in as-Sind was so big and powerful that it required 500 men to work it.[4] This machine threw huge pieces of stones with great force and precision. The chief artillerist in charge of the *'Arūs* was Ja'wiyah who shattered the talisman flagstaff with the third stone. The garrison made a sortie. It was defeated and driven back into the city, and the Arabs, planting their ladders, just when the garrison defending the ramparts had sallied forth and was being defeated, swarmed over the walls and took the city by storm.

Two names of machines hurling stones on the besieged towns are noticed under the Umayyads: the *manjanīq* and the *'arrādah*. According to Ibnu 'l-Athīr,[5]

1. See supra, p. 28; al-Balādhuri, p. 55.
2. At-Tabari, I, p. 1943.
3. Ibid., I, p. 2152; al-Balādhuri gives a different version.
4. Al-Balādhuri, p. 437.
5. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, VII, p. 98.

the *'arrādah* was a smaller machine which could be loaded on a barge or boat. The machine was used when the bigger one could not be brought near the wall by filling up the moat.

"The catapults were so strong that the blocks of stone which issued from them flew in a straight line against the walls and penetrated right into them. To obtain such tremendous results they had considerably to enlarge the lifting beams, so that the machine assumed quite an extraordinary size."[1] It was with such a powerful machine that as early as the reign of Mu'āwiyah the walls of Kābul were shattered.[2]

The siege tactics as seen in the various sieges may be summed up as follows:

The besiegers kept up a constant attack giving no rest to the besieged and tried to breach the walls with the use of powerful stone-throwing machines and through the use of the *dabbābah* which concealed in it the *naqqābūn* armed with picks and drills. While the *naqqābūn* were at work, they were protected by a barrage of arrows from the archers. Sometimes a battering ram (*al-kabsh*) was employed. Unable to stand this constant assault, when the defenders of the ramparts sallied forth to attack the besieging force, the Muslims defeated them; and, before the enemy soldiers could hurry back to their original posts on the walls, they planted their ladders and, scaling the walls, took the fort by storm. Often they swam across the moat, every soldier having been taught to swim.

Battle Weapons.

Under the Umayyads the infantrymen used lances about 8 feet long, bows, arrows in quivers, javelins, double-edged swords, maces having a sharp iron knob, battle-axes, long shields covering the whole body and also

1. *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 327.
2. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, III. p. 174.

small round ones with a knob in the middle. They wore helmets to protect the heads and mail shirts or shirts made of leather with several folds, often overlaid with a breast plate, to guard the body.[1] The hands and legs were incased in iron. As early as the battle of Nihāwand, the armour worn by Nu'mān was so heavy that it impeded his agility.[2] The warriors were armed with daggers (sing. *ad-dabbūs*)[3] also for use at close quarters. Sometimes slings were also used.[4]

The horsemen were equipped with lances, bows and arrows, and long, broad and straight swords. They carried smaller shields for protection and wore shirts of chain mail which came up to the knees. The horses were protected on the breasts and foreheads with iron plates. The riders used girdles, reins and round saddles.

Thus we see that in the matter of weapons, the Muslim soldiers in the Umayyad period were not behind their contemporaries. They came in contact with several nations inhabiting all the three continents of the Old World and adopted what was best in their weapons and equipments.

In addition to all these material weapons, the greatest weapon of the Muslim soldier was his faith and determination. He believed in the righteousness of his cause, possessed an excellent morale and fought courageously and skilfully with very little regard for his life.

Tactics.

The masterly tactics evolved by the great Prophet held its ground to the end of the Umayyad period and even much afterwards. We have already noticed the evidence of at-Ṭurṭūshi[5] to the effect that the *ṣaff* method was adopted in his country as late as his own

1. At-Ṭabari, I, p. 1315. 2. Al-Balādhuri, p. 304.
3. Ibnu 'l-Athīr. X, pp. 44 seq. 4. Ibid., VII, p. 245.
5. A Spanish Muslim (died A.H. 520) who was the author of *Sirāju 'l-Mulūk*.

days with great success.[1] Of course, there were variations in the tactics employed in the different battles.

Just before the battle of the Yarmūk, as we have already seen, Khālid arranged his cavalry in cohorts.

It was recognised by the Umayyad strategists that the infantry was the best suited to withstand the onslaught of the enemy, and that the cavalry was the best fitted for attack. Thus, in all their battles a combination of the infantry and the cavalry was used. In the fight with the Shī'ite rebels of al-Kūfah under Sulaymān bin Ṣurad, who demanded vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn, the Umayyads used both infantry and cavalry. Again in the battle with the dreaded Khārijite leader, Shabīb, 'Attāb divided his army into the usual three wings and himself took the centre. The infantry, which was under an entirely independent command, was arranged in three lines. The mail-clad swordsmen were placed in the first. Behind the infantry the cavalry was arranged in cohorts

In the battle of Bukhārā, the Turks took up their position on the other side of the river and for a time the Muslims could not cross the deep stream. Then one of the heroes of Banū Tamīm named Harim crossed the river on his horse. Other horsemen followed him and engaged the enemy. In the meanwhile a temporary bridge was improvised and the infantry, crossing the river by it, took the enemy on the back. Thus hemmed in on two sides, the Turks were completely routed and Bukhara was captured. In this way the infantry aided the cavalry to attain victory.

When the army was divided into cohorts or squadrons, the divisions kept close to one another; and if one of them was pressed too hard, others or men detached from them came to its aid.[2] The Commander-in-Chief coordinated the efforts of the various squadrons. The battle order was invariably a long square which was

1. For a full description of the *ṣaff* method, see Ibnu 'l-Athīr, IV, p 344.
2. Ad-Dīnawarī (ed. Guirgase), p. 128.

difficult to attack as it afforded the greatest advantage for defence. Even while giving battle, great care was taken to keep the battle formation intact. Since the days of the Prophet, the Muslims never used to pursue the fleeing enemy at the expense of breaking their own formation. 'Ali definitely forbade his soldiers to kill a fleeing foe. Even in hand-to-hand fight, the formation was kept intact.

As directed by the Qur'an and the Prophet, and later by 'Ali and others, the Muslims held their positions firmly. They would not be goaded to hasty onslaught. They waited patiently for the enemy to launch the attack. When once the first blow was delivered, they pressed forward with might and main in serried ranks, putting their shields together, like ferocious lions caring very little for their lives.

With all his courage and disregard for life, the Muslim soldier was circumspect and skilful. "Foresight and cunning," said al-Muhallab, the great warrior, counselling his sons on his death-bed, "are of more avail in war than bravery."[1]

A unique method of warfare was evolved by the Kharijite leader Mirdas. The Kharijites, who were always very few in numbers, possessed some of the best and noblest horses, whose names and pedigrees are still preserved; and with their aid they carried the method of "strike and run" to perfection. They suddenly appeared in the country, terrorised the population and took from them what they wanted. On the approach of the government troops, they engaged the advance forces, such as the scouts, the vanguards, etc., sometimes the entire army, killed as many of them as possible, and then escaped on their marvellous steeds. To meet this new danger, al-Hajjaj had to procure a large number of equally good horses on which the redoubtable Kharijites were chased for hundreds of miles till they were finally engaged and annihilated.

1. See Levy's *Sociology of Islam*, vol. II.

CHAPTER XI

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE EARLY 'ABBĀSIDS

By the end of the Umayyad rule, the Arabs in general and the Umayyads in particular had monopolised all the high offices of the State to the exclusion of the non-Arab Muslims. This policy of discrimination between Arab and non-Arab Muslims caused a great wave of resentment throughout the Empire, and the 'Abbāsids effectively exploited it to their advantage. The revolution which wrested the supreme power from the Umayyads and transferred it to the 'Abbāsids, having been manned and conducted chiefly by the non-Arabs, opened the eyes of the subject nationalities and made them realise their real strength.

"Henceforth the non-Arabs, as common subjects of a great and civilised empire, assumed their proper place as citizens of Islam, were admitted to the highest employment of the state, and enjoyed equal consideration with the Arabs. A greater revolution than this has scarcely been witnessed either in ancient or modern times. It gave practical effect to the democratic enunciation of the equality and brotherhood of man. To this mainly is due the extraordinary vitality of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate and the permanence of its spiritual supremacy, even after it had lost its temporal authority. The acceptance of this fundamental principle of racial equality among all the subjects helped the early sovereigns of the house of 'Abbās to build up a fabric which endured without a rival for over five centuries, and fell only before a barbarian attack from without." [1]

The Khilāfat

The *Khalīfah* was the head of the whole Empire.

1. Amīr 'Ali, pp. 402-403.

As we have already noticed, he was more a political head than a religious one although his authority was based on religious factors. The Prophet and, after him, all his successors have been delegating the exercise of their military function to a general (*al-Amīr*), revenue administration to an *'Āmil* and judicial power to a *Qāḍi*. In addition to these offices a very high office, that of the Minister (*al-Wazīr*), was instituted by the 'Abbāsids to whom the *Khalifah* delegated his civil authority. In spite of delegating his several duties to the various functionaries of the State in this manner, the *Khalīfah* remained the final arbiter of all governmental affairs.

Although the *Khilāfat* was not a purely religious office like that of the Pope, the Pious *Khalīfahs*, as the immediate temporal successors of the great Prophet and as the leaders of the pligrimage (*al-ḥajj*) and the prayer (*aṣ-ṣalāt*), had a good deal of the religious elements attached to their person and to their office. But much of the religious halo attached to the person of the *Khalifah* and the sanctity attached to his office were destroyed under the Umayyads some of whom were indifferent to religion.

The 'Abbāsids came to power backed by a strong movement for the revival of the pure and impartial State of the early Muslims, a revolution which demanded that a Qurayshi and Salmān of Fārs, a noble Arab and the Negro Bilāl, an ordinary subject and a prince like Jabalah[1] should once more be treated as equals, a revolt against the discrimination made against the non-Arab Muslims, a mighty protest against the worldliness of the Umayyads. As creatures of a strong religious revival, the 'Abbāsids took great care to lay much emphasis on the religious character and dignity of their office as an *Imāmat* (religious leadership). In about a century after the establishment of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, the Vicegerent of the Messenger of God (*Khalīfatu Rasūlilāh*) became

1. See supra, p. 6.

the Vicegerent of God (*Khalīfatullāh*) and God's Shadow on the Earth (*Zillullāhi 'ala 'l-arḍ*).[1]

Form the failure of the rule of Mu'āwiyah II, the Marwānids realised early enough that a boy ruler or a weak one was a danger to the dynasty itself and they invariably nominated more than one grown-up successor. This led to a new set of evils. In the interest of the dynasty the Marwānids did not observe the strict rule of inheritance. This ill-defined hereditary principle of succession was followed throughout the 'Abbāsid period with the same evil results. The reigning *Khalīfah* nominated a favourite son (without any regard to his seniority or juniority) or any other kinsman whom he regarded as the best suited successor. Out of the first eight rulers of the 'Abbāsid period, there was only one case of the eldest son succeeding the father directly, that of al-Hādi.

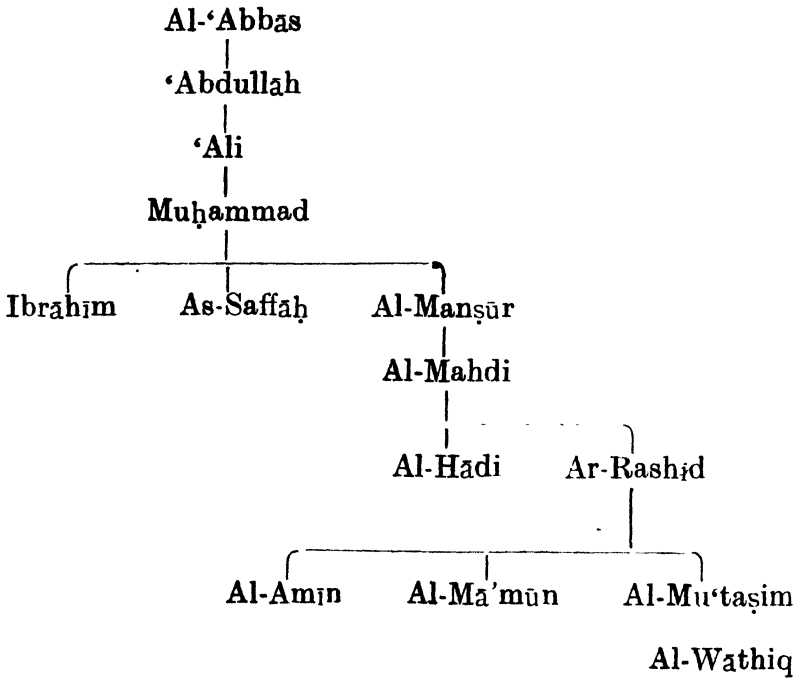
As-Saffāḥ nominated his brother al-Manṣūr to succeed him and after him 'Isa bin Mūsa. Al-Manṣūr got round 'Isa by the payment of a large sum to waive his right of succession in favour of al-Mahdi, the son of al-Manṣūr. 'Isa was to succeed al-Mahdi. By the use of threat, al-Mahdi made 'Isa give up his right of succession altogether in favour of al-Mahdi's two sons, al-Hādi and ar-Rashīd, who ruled one after the other.

Ar-Rashīd nominated al-Amīn (who was junior to al-Mā'mūn but was born to Princess Zubaydah) as his immediate successor. Al-Mā'mūn, who was senior to and more talented than al-Amīn, but was the son of a Persian slave girl, was designated al-Amīn's successor. This preference of a frivolous junior to a more sober and more talented senior led to very unhappy consequences mainly due to the weakness and faults of the former.

Al-Mā'mūn nominated al-Mu'taṣim, his brother, as his successor ignoring the claims of his own son, al-'Abbās. Al-Mu'taṣim was succeeded by his son al-Wāthiq. With

1. Al-Mas'ūdi, VII, p. 278.

the death of al-Wāthiq, the sun of ʿAbbāsid glory began to descend and real power passed into the hands of the Turks and other non-Arab generals.



The nomination of successors without any regard to the strict rules of inheritance caused civil wars as it did under the Umayyads, and the house of al-ʿAbbās was divided against itself from the very beginning.

Soon after the death of as-Saffāḥ, ʿAbdullāh bin ʿAli, the uncle of the deceased *Khalīfah* and victor of the battle of the Zāb, revolted against the succession of al-Manṣūr to the throne. But he was defeated and got out of the way.

Al-Mahdi set aside the succession of ʿIsa bin Mūsa and nominated his two sons to succeed him. Had ʿIsa been powerful enough, a civil war would have ensued.

Soon after his succession, al-Hādi endeavoured to nominate his son, a mere boy, as his successor and to set aside the claim of Hārūnu 'r-Rashīd. The great *Wazīr*, Yaḥya bin Khālid, advised the *Khalīfah* against the improper course and suffered imprisonment therefor.

Ar-Rashīd ought to have been more careful; but he was not. He nominated three of his sons (al-Amīn, al-Mā'mūn, and al-Mu'tamin) to succeed one after another and gave al-Mā'mūn, on whose good sense the *Khalīfah* relied, the option of setting aside the claim of Mu'tamin. Ar-Rashīd not only nominated his three sons to succeed him but also put them in actual possession of the means of fighting out a civil war by dividing the Empire into three parts and giving one to every one of them. Ar-Rashīd should have anticipated the arrogance and frivolities of al-Amīn which led to the civil war resulting in the latter's defeat and murder. Al-Mā'mūn was careful not to repeat the mistake of his father and, by nominating only his brother, Mu'taṣim, avoided the possibility of a civil strife.

The *Khilāfat* came to be an office to be held by the most outstanding and influential person from among the Quraysh. The *Khalīfah* was to be elected by all the Muslims. Since there was no other machinery of election, the old tribal method of nomination by some influential person and subsequent securing of homage for him became the established practice. Although the *Khalīfah* nominated his successor, the right of the successor was not based on the nomination by the preceding *Khalīfah* but on the homage obtained for him.

Abū Bakr's speech,[1] soon after his election, clearly shows that he was to be the ruler only as long as he enjoyed the confidence of the Muslims. There was much discontent against 'Uthmān and a section of the Muslim community demanded that he should abdicate. 'Uthmān recognised the principle that he was to rule only as long

1. Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, pp. 1845-46.

as he acted rightly and enjoyed the confidence of the Muslims; but he refused to recognise the fact that he had done wrongs enough to justify a deposition or that he had lost the confidence of the majority of the Muslims. Again, the lack of a machinery to find out the general opinion of the Muslims was at fault; and the meek old *Khalīfah* had to suffer death at the hands of the rebels.

All the Umayyad *Khalīfahs* recognised that the right of a *Khalīfah* depended on the homage done to him by the Muslims; and the answers[1] of 'Umar II to the Khārijite 'Āṣim clearly show that the pious Umayyad *Khalīfah*, like Abū Bakr before him, recognised the principle that the Muslims were to follow him only as long as he was in the right and enjoyed the confidence of the people.

Again, after his election as the *Khalīfah*, Yazīd III clearly laid down the same principle and declared that al-Walīd II had to be deposed and murdered as he acted in contravention to the Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet and that he would hand over power to anyone whom the Muslims wanted to elect.[2]

The same theory continued under the 'Abbāsids also and al-Ma'mūn's answers to a Khārijite zealot recognised it in clear terms. The principle that each *Khalīfah* should be elected and that he should hold office during the pleasure of the people was recognised throughout, but no machinery was evolved or could be evolved at that stage of society by which the votes of millions of Muslims could be taken as often as the rulers changed or had to be changed.

All the early 'Abbāsid *Khalīfahs*, with the exception of the unfortunate al-Amīn, were men of great abilities and worked hard as the chiefs of the entire administration of a very vast Empire. Many of them attended to the

1. Al-Khuḍari, II, pp. 309-328.
2. Al-Mas'ūdi, V, pp. 458 seq.

minute details of administration, led the armies in person and acted as the highest court of justice. The early 'Abbāsid *Khalīfahs* were a part and parcel of the vast administrative machinery, and in that capacity they acquitted themselves remarkably well.

The Shūrā

We have seen how in the pre-Islamic days the chief of a clan or tribe had to make his decision in a Council of Elders of the clan or tribe; how during the Pious *Khilāfat* the *Khalīfahs* convened the Shūra to discuss and decide important questions of the State; again we have noticed[1] how 'Umar II attempted to revise the institution when he acted as the Governor of al-Ḥijāz.

All along it was recognised in theory that the *Khalīfah* should consult his subjects through a selected few in all matters of administration. But nothing definite could be done under the Umayyads. Of course, the leading members of the Umayyad family formed a sort of council of the *Khalīfah*. Under the early 'Abbāsids, the members of the royal family and the members of those families which were faithful to the dynasty like the Māhanids and the Barmakids were often consulted by the rulers.

Al-Ma'mūn was the first *Khalīfah* to constitute a regular Council of State representing every community which owed allegiance to him. These representatives enjoyed perfect freedom in the expression of their opinions and were not hampered in their discussions. This council was continued under the later *Khalīfahs* also; and when the Empire broke up into principalities, each prince had a council of his own in imitation of the *Khalīfah's* council.

The Court

The colour of the early 'Abbāsids was black; black too was the colour of their banner bearing in white the

1. See supra, pp. 80-81.

inscription, "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God." The coronation was marked by absolute Arab simplicity. The *Khalīfah* wore a black *kaftān* (a flowing garment) and a black turban. On him rested the mantle of Muḥammad and in his hand was placed his (the Prophet's) staff. 'Uthmān's copy of the Qur'ān was kept before him. One after another the nobility first and then the others kissed the hand of the *Khalīfah* and this was the form of paying homage.

The court staff consisted of the princes of the *Khalīfah's* house, the palace staff, the *Khalīfah's* freedmen, the guards, the private secretaries, the Qur'ān readers, the *Mu'adhdhins*, the astronomers, the officers in charge of the clocks, story-tellers, jesters, the *Khalīfah's* artisans (goldsmiths, carpenters, etc.), marshalls, hunters, menagerie-keepers, personal attendants, cooks, physicians, crew of the court boats, lamp-lighters, etc.

After his return to Baghdād (819 A.D.) al-Mā'mūn had a list prepared of men whom he wished to entertain at his table. The list included literati, savants, courtiers, and military leaders.

"The court establishment consumed large sums. For the kitchen and bakery 10,000 *dīnārs* (100,000 marks) were allotted per month. Merely for musk a monthly sum of 300 *dīnārs* was paid into the kitchen, though the Caliph did not care much for it in his food, and at the most had but a little in his biscuits. In addition to these sums the following payments are shown per month: 120 *dīnārs* for water carriers, 200 *dīnārs* for candles and oil, 30 *dīnārs* for medicine, 3,000 *dīnārs* for incense, baths, liveries, arms, saddles and carpets."[1]

The Wazīr

Next to the *Khalīfah* came the *Wazīr*. Although the word is Arabic, the office was of Persian origin. Al-Māwardi[2] and other theorists speak of two kinds of

1. Mez, pp. 142-43. 2. *Al-Aḥkāmu 's-Sulṭāniyah*, Chapter II.

al wizārat, the *wizārat* of *tafwīḍ* (having full unlimited authority) and the *wizārat* of *tanfidh* (having limited executive powers only).

Often the *Wazīr* was all-powerful. He could appoint and dismiss Governors and Judges. Although, in theory, he had to consult the *Khalīfah* regarding every important appointment or dismissal, often he acted without consulting him.

The office of the *Wazīr* did not exist under the Pious *Khalīfahs*, nor under the Umayyads. It is an 'Abbāsid institution borrowed from the Persians. The first individual to be called a *Wazīr* under as-Saffāḥ was Abū Salmah al-Khallāl. He was the chief of the 'Abbāsid propaganda at al-Kūfah and was known as the "*Wazīr* of the Family of Muḥammad." He was charged with pro-'Alid sympathy and executed. After him as-Saffāḥ appointed Abū Jahm. According to another version,[1] he appointed Khālid bin Barmak. Khālid came of a noble family of Persian priests and was one of the leaders of the 'Abbāsid revolution. Although Khālid discharged the duties of the *Wazīr*, he did not call himself by that name being afraid of the fate that overtook Abū Salmah.

Under the early 'Abbāsids we do not clearly discern the two separate posts of the *Wazīr* and the *Ḥājib*. After Abū Salmah's murder, the person who performed the duties of the Prime Minister did not call himself the *Wazīr*. Often a single person seems to have performed both the functions of the *Wazīr* and the *Ḥājib*.

Under as-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, the *Wazīrs* were highly circumspect and were kept under the strict supervision of the *Khalīfahs*. Under al-Mahdi and al-Hādi and during the major part of the reign of ar-Rashīd the *Wazīrs* practically exercised the powers and prerogatives of the *Khalīfah*. They could appoint and dismiss any officer except the one directly appointed by the *Khalīfah*. They acted as the Chief Judge and heard

1. Al-Khudari, III. p. 71.

all appeals from the lower courts. The *Khalīfahs*, who had perfect confidence in their *Wazīrs*, were glad that more and more of the burden of the office was being taken by trustworthy *Wazīrs* and some of them devoted more time for their pleasures and amusements.

The task of the *Wazīr* was by no means easy. He had to please the despotic monarch on the one hand and the fickle populace on the other. The office required an intimate knowledge of administration, principles of taxation and the whole of Muslim Law, public and private. Losing the confidence of the monarch meant dismissal, confiscation of all properties and certain death. As a rule, the early 'Abbāsids executed all their deposed *Wazīrs*. Under ar-Rashīd his *Wazīr*, Ja'far, and his Barmakid family became so powerful that the suspicious monarch in a fit of jealousy and fear had him executed; and all the members of the family were degraded and imprisoned.

Under al-Amīn, al-Faḍl bin ar-Rabī' and during the early years of al-Mā'mūn's reign, al-Faḍl bin Sahl were the *de facto* rulers. But once al-Mā'mūn's eyes were opened by the great *Imām* 'Ali ar-Riḍa, he took all powers into his own hands and his two successors followed in the footsteps of their great predecessor. After them the *Khalīfah* ceased to be the *de facto* ruler and real power passed into the hands of his functionaries.

The Ḥājib (Chamberlain)

The growth of a large Empire with scores of newly subdued races and discontented people, the growth of new religious and social movements, which the *Khalīfahs* had to suppress, and the rivalry between the members of the Muslim nobility for power, put the lives of the *Khalīfahs* in great danger. 'Umar I was assassinated by a discontented prisoner of war and 'Ali by a disgruntled religious zealot. Mu'āwiyah was attacked but he escaped with a serious wound. Since the attack on his life, Mu'āwiyah took care not to mingle with the people freely. He

conducted the daily prayers ; but even in the mosque he had a separate room (*al-ḥujrah*) constructed for him. He was the first to place guards (sing. *al-ḥaras*) at his door and always had a special bodyguard with him.

Apart from the danger to the life of the *Khalīfah*, it was not practicable that he himself should be at the beck and call of every citizen of one of the most extensive empires the world has ever seen. Therefore 'Abū 'l-Malik appointed a *Ḥājib* to interview all those who wanted to see the *Khalīfah* and send on to him only those who really stood in need of interviewing the *Khalīfah* in person. Many of the needs and complaints were attended to by the *Ḥājib* himself. To counterbalance and compensate for this isolation of the *Khalīfah* from the common people, 'Abdu 'l-Malik appointed a day in the week when he heard all grievances and complaints in person.

The office of the *Ḥājib* received additional significance and very great importance under the 'Abbāsids. Keeping away a large number of people from interviewing the monarch implied power to the *Ḥājib* to remove their grievances himself and thus obviate the necessity of seeing the *Khalīfah*. Gradually the power of the *Ḥājib* increased on account of his remaining always with the *Khalīfah*. The duty of the *Ḥājib* also included introducing accredited envoys and dignitaries of foreign countries into the presence of the *Khalīfah*.

The Central Boards

The 'Abbāsids developed a very elaborate system of administration. Under the Umayyads there were five Central Boards. Qudāmah bin Ja'far[1] gives a list of eleven in his days. In determining which of the Central Boards existed during the early 'Abbāsid period, there are four special difficulties :

(*a*) The writers on this subject do not draw[2] a

1. He flourished during the first half of the tenth century.
2. Mez : *The Renaissance of Islam*, p. 76.

clear line between the central departments and the provincial ones. We have simply to infer from the context or with reference to the names of the provinces which are sometimes mentioned along with those of the Boards.

(*b*) Details as to when some of these Boards came into being are not available.[1]

(*c*) "It is difficult, nay well-nigh impossible, to give a perfectly accurate account of the administrative machinery at a given period, inasmuch as different rulers frequently made capricious changes."[2]

(*d*) Some of the departments in a big Board also seem to have been called *Dīwāns*.

In spite of the confusion we can clearly make out the following Boards at the centre:

1. *Dīwānu 'l-Jund*.[3]
2. *Dīwānu 'l-Kharāj*.[4]
3. *Dīwānu 'r-Rasā'il*.[5]
4. *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam*.[6]
5. *Dīwānu 'l-Barīd*.[7]

Thus the five Central Boards which existed under the Umayyads were continued under the early 'Abbāsids, and many more were added to them. By the end of the first century of the 'Abbāsid rule, the following Boards seem to have been established:

6. *Dīwānu 'l-Azimmah* (the Audit and Account Board).[8]

7. *Dīwānu 'n-Nazri fi 'l-Maẓālim* (the Board of Investigation of Grievances).[9]

1 Regarding a few we get full information.
2. *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp 236 37.
3. Al-Jahshiyāri, p 197.
4. Ibid., p. 89.
5. Ibid., p. 197.
6. Ibid., pp. 139, 212.
7. Ibid., p. 336.
8. Ibid., p. 196.
9. Al-Khudari, III, p. 88.

8. *Dīwānu 'n-Nafaqāt* (The Boàrd of Expenditure).[1]

9. *Dīwānu 's-Ṣawāfi* (The Board of Crown-lands.[2]

10. *Dīwānu 'ḍ-Diyā'* (The Board of Estates).[3]

11. *Dīwānu 's-Sirr* (The Board of Secrecy).[4]

12. *Dīwānu 'l-'Arḍ* (The Board of Military Inspection).[5]

13. *Dīwānu 't-Tawqī'* (The Board of Request).

1. Dīwānu 'l-Jund.

The great *Dīwān* of 'Umar I, distorted and disfigured by the early Umayyads, but reformed and rectified by Hishām, was continued under the 'Abbāsids. All soldiers irrespective of their nationalities were given stipends and allowances,[6] but, retaining the very useful reform of Hishām, for whom al-Manṣūr had a great admiration, no one, who did not take part in any war, was paid any annuity.

This *Dīwān* was responsible for the recruitment and pay of the troops. Actually, the *Khalīfah* or his *Wazīr* looked after these matters which were among the most important in the State.

2. Dīwānu 'l-Kharāj

This *Dīwān*, founded under the Umayyads, was continued by the 'Abbāsids. It not only kept the account of the taxes collected, but also maintained the records of the expenditure. In this way it became the Central Finance Board. As under the Umayyads, it was one of its duties to collect the taxes of as-Sawād, the richest province of the Empire. All amounts remaining over in the provinces, after payment of the salaries of the officials

1. Al-Jahshiyāri, pp. 140, 230, 329.
2. Ibid., p. 337.
3. Ibid., p. 139.
4. Ibid , pp. 139, 337.
5. Ibid., p. 365; Amīr 'Ali, p. 418.
6. This was made possible by reducing the pay of the soldiers and making it almost uniform. Aṭ-Ṭabari, III, pp. 238 and 245.

and meeting other necessary expenditure, were received in this office.

3. Dīwānu 'r-Rasā'il.

"The duties of the president of this bureau, who may be regarded as one of the principal Secretaries of State, was to draw up the imperial mandates, diplomas, letters patent, and political correspondence generally, and after these had been approved by the sovereign, or the vazier, to seal them in red wax with the pontifical seal bearing the Caliph's device. He also revised and corrected official letters, and sealed them himself. He attended the public audiences, where the Caliph heard the complaints or petitions of the people, and took down the royal decision on the paper presented by the suitor; often in such cases a copy was given to the complainant while the original was kept in the state archives. From the nature of the work transacted in this office and the style of writing, which was and has always[1] been elaborately elegant, the secretaries and clerks were necessarily selected from among men of talent and education belonging to the higher classes of society."[2]

4. Dīwānu 'l-Khātam.

Von Kremer,[3] Amir 'Ali,[4] Mez[5] and Levy[6] write that this Board was displaced by *Dīwānu 't-Tawqī'*. Al-Jahshiyāri mentions *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam* under several of the 'Abbasid rulers.[7] According to him, this Board was in existence even under al-Amīn (809-814 A.D.).[8] Mez writes that *Dīwānu 't-Tawqī'* was presided over by Ja'far, the great *Wazīr* of ar-Rashīd (786-809 A.D.).[9] Ja'far (ex. 803 A.D.) presided over *Dīwānu 'n-Nazri fi 'l-Maẓalim*,[10] and the orders were known as the *tawqī āt*.[11] Thus we see that *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam*

1. Since the days of Marwān II.
2. Amīr 'Ali, p. 416.
3. *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 236.
4. Amīr 'Ali, p. 416
5. Mez, p. 76.
6. Levy, I, pp. 35 seq.
7. Al-Jahshiyāri, pp 139, 212, 365.
8. Ibid., p. 365.
9. Mez., p. 79.
10. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 249.
11. *Waqqa'a* simply means to decide a case or give a decree. See al-Jahshiyāri, p. 249.

continued at least for a decade even after the establishment of *Dīwānu 't-Tawqī'*. Whatever may be the ground for the above statement of the European writers, it is definite that *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam* continued till and during the reign of al-Amīn

5. Dīwānu 'l-Barīd.

The postal department, introduced into the Islamic Empire by Mu'āwiyah, was further developed under 'Abdu 'l-Malik and his successors and perfected under the 'Abbāsids. Ar-Rashīd oraganised the service through his tutor and counsellor Yaḥya bin Khālid, the Barmakid.

There was a central office at Baghdād which received mails and reports from the whole of the Empire and sorted and distributed them to the various departments. *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Barīd* (the Postmaster-General) at Baghdād submitted such of the reports to the *Khalīfah* as he thought necessary and the other reports (which used to be already classified and sorted to some extent at the provincial headquarters) were sent to the concerned departments. The provincial postmasters sent separate reports concerning each department of administration. In this way the work of distributing them to the various departments at the Centre was facilitated. Extracts of important reports were made and kept on the file of the central office.

The central office had very accurate postal itineraries of the whole Empire in which all the stations were noted and the distances between different stations carefully marked. The earliest Arab geographers derived much help from these accurate postal directories.

The Postmaster-General at the capital was one of the most important officers of the *Khalīfah*. Besides looking after the Imperial Mail and supervising the various postal establishments, he was in charge of a very elaborate espionage system in which the services of the entire personnel of the whole department were utilised In

this double capacity, as the chief of the postal department and the head of the espionage system, the postmaster was called *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Barīdi wa 'l-Akhbār* (Controller of the Post and Intelligence Service). He was not only the Postmaster-General and Inspector-General of espionage but also the direct confidential agent of the *Khalīfah*. *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Barīd* had in his hands the appointment of the postal officials in all the provincial towns, their general superintendence and the payment of their salaries.

The Postmaster-General was a very powerful officer and could report even against the Governors. There is on record a report sent by the Postmaster-General of Baghdād to the *Khalīfah*, al-Mutawakkil, who was out of the capital, against the powerful Governor of Baghdād. The Governor neglected his legitimate duties and gave occasion for some scandal by his absorption in the love of a slave girl, whom he had brought from al-Ḥijāz, whither he had gone on pilgrimage. The following is the report:

"In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. O, Commander of the Faithful, Muḥammad bin 'Abdillāh has purchased a girl for 100,000 *dirhams*. He amuses himself with her from noon to night and neglects the affairs of the State. The Commander of the Faithful would not like to see Baghdād in an uproar, for then the Commander of the Faithful would have difficulty in restoring order. The most humble slave reports this to the Commander of the Faithful whom may God strengthen. Peace and Mercy and the blessing of Allāh be upon him."[1]

6. Dīwānu 'l-Azimmah.

Some writers[2] have wrongly called it *Dīwānu 'z-Zimām*. This *Dīwān*, founded by al-Mahdi (158-168 A.H.) was called *Dīwānu 'l-Azimmah*[3] at the Centre and *Dīwānu 'z-Zimām* in the provinces.[4] This Board

1 *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 231.
2. Hitti, p 321 ; *Orient*, p 237, and Amīr 'Ali, p 416
3 Plural of az zimām; see al-Jahshiyāri, pp. 196 and 260, also see Mez, p. 76
4. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 199.

concerned itself with audit and accounts and was an effective means of improving the administration. All provincial audits and accounts officers were under its jurisdiction.

7. Dīwānu 'n-Nazri fi 'l-Maẓālim.

The Prophet and, after him, his Pious Successors heard appeals from all parts of the Empire, and investigated into all grievances of the subjects.

After the assassination of 'Ali and the attempt on Mu'āwiyah's life, the *Khalīfahs* became less and less accessible to the public. But all the Umayyad rulers set apart some time for hearing appeals and the inspection of grievances. According to Ibnu 'l-Athīr,[1] 'Abdu 'l-Malik was the first *Khalīfah* to devote a special day for hearing cases of *al-maẓālim*. 'Umar II followed the precedence set up by his uncle with great zeal.[2]

The 'Abbāsids continued this practice and established a regular department which was the highest court of criminal appeal. Under ar-Rashīd, Ja'far presided over this Board. On a certain day Ja'far decided a thousand and odd cases and passed brief decrees. On an examination, it was found that none of the sentences was repeated and none was against the truth or right (*al-ḥaqq*).[3]

Al-Mā'mūn set apart Sundays for deciding cases of *al-maẓālim*. A woman brought a case against the *Khalifah's* son. Al-Mā'mūn ordered a *Qāḍi* to hear and decide the case in his presence. The *Qāḍi* decided the case against the prince and the decree was executed.[4]

8. Dīwānu 'n-Nafaqāt.

This Board was concerned with the requirements of the court. It dealt with the salaries of court officials, provisions (bread, meat, sweets, eggs, fruits, fuel, etc.),

1. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, I, p. 46.
2. Al-Ya'qūbi, II, p. 367.
3. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 249.
4. Al-Māwardi, Chapter VII.

constructions and repairs of the royal buildings, and care of the stables (horses, mules, camels, other animals, and their fodder) and met all contingent expenses connected with the requirements of the court.

9 & 10. Dīwānu ṣ-Ṣawāfi[1] *and Dīwānu 'ḍ-Ḍiyā'.*[2]

Aṣ-Ṣawāfi means crown-lands and *aḍ-ḍiyā'* means estates. Both these Boards are mentioned by al-Jahshiyāri. But the passage dealing with *aḍ-ḍiyā'* reads: "And (al-Manṣūr) placed Ṣā'id, his *mawla*, in charge of his estates."[3] Therefore it appears that the crown-lands were under *Dīwānu 'ṣ-Ṣawāfi* and the personal estates of the *Khalīfah* under *Dīwānu 'ḍ-Ḍiyā'*.

11. Dīwānu 's-Sirr.

This Board is mentioned in two places by al-Jahshiyāri, that is, under al-Manṣūr[4] and under ar-Rashīd.[5] In both the places it is reported to be under the same officer who was in charge of *Dīwānu 'r-Rasā'il*. Possibly it was a section or department of *Dīwānu 'r-Rasā'il*.

12. Dīwānu 'l-'Arḍ.

This Board is also mentioned by al-Jahshiyāri.[6] It concerned itself with the inspection of military equipments, etc. The arsenals were under a special officer called the *Mushrifu 'ṣ-Ṣanā'ati bi 'l-Makhzan'*.[7] Whether this Board was a part of *Dīwānu 'l-Jund* or an independent one is not clear.[8]

13. Dīwānu 't-Tawqi'.

An order passed on a petition of request or grievance was called *at-tawqi'*.[9] Such orders used to be brief,

1. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 337.
2. Ibid., p. 139.
3. وقلد ضياعه صاعدا مولاه Ibid. p. 139.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 337.
6. Ibid., p. 365.
7. Amīr 'Ali, p. 418.
8. Ibid.
9. Al-Jahshiyāri, pp 249, 343, 388.

comprehensive, elegant and clear and used to be recorded on the petitions themselves. Such orders, passed by Ja'far, who presided over *Dīwānu 'l-Maẓālim*,[1] were sold to collectors of literary pieces, who paid one *dīnār* a piece for them.[2]

Later a *Dīwān* was established which drew up formal documents based on these short notes; entered them into a register, and sent them on to the concerned persons. This *Dīwān* seems to have taken up the work of *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam* as well.[3] But *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam* is mentioned under the early 'Abbasids including the reign of al-Amīn.[4] Therefore, *Dīwānu 't-Tawqī* must have substituted *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam* later than al-Amīn's accession.

A vivid account of the working of this *Dīwān* under al-Mu'taḍid (279-289 A.H.) is given by al-Maqrīzi[5] and al-Qalqashandi.[6]

A petition to postpone the date of payment of the *kharāj* was presented to the *Khalīfah*. He heard the case and gave his decision to the scribe who wrote it down in a concise and elegant language on the petition itself. Then the petition was passed on to the officers of the *Dīwān* who drew up the formal document. Several copies of the document were made (one of them was made in a register) and, after affixing the seal and the motto of the *Khalīfah*, the copies were sent out as circular letters to all provincial Governors and other officials concerned.

The Central Judiciary

It was in the days of al-Mahdi that the institution of the Chief Judge (*Qāḍiu 'l-Quḍāt*)[7] came into existence. In the days of the Prophet he was the Chief Judge at al-Madīnah, and he appointed *Qāḍis* for the various

1. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 249.
2. Ibn Khaldūn: *Kitābu 'l-'Ibar*, I, p. 206.
3. Mez, p. 79; Von Kremer, p. 236; Amīr 'Ali, p. 416; Levy, I, pp. 356 seq.
4. Al-Jahshiyāri, pp. 139, 212, 365.
5. *Khiṭaṭu Miṣr*, I, p. 274.
6. *Ṣubḥu 'l-A'shā*, I, p. 93.
7. The title was objected to as a title of God which no man could assume.

provinces of Arabia. Later, the *Khalīfah* appointed *Qāḍis* who were independent and had neither subordinate *Qāḍis* under them nor were they under any superior *Qāḍis*. Al-Mahdi appointed Abū Yūsuf, the most illustrious student of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, as the *Qāḍi of Qāḍis*. So far, the provincial *Qāḍis* were appointed by the Governors of the respective provinces or directly by the *Khalīfah*. Henceforward, the Chief Judge appointed his deputies (*nā'ibs*) in the provinces. Abū Yūsuf served as the Chief Judge under al-Mahdi and his two sons, and died in the year 798 A.D.

The Central Police

The police was called *ash-Shurṭah* and the police officer *Ṣāḥibu 'sh-Shurṭah* by 'Ali who was responsible for instituting the office. The Umayyads would not adopt the name given by 'Ali. They called the police officer *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Aḥdāth*. When the 'Abbāsids came to power, the police officer once more became *Ṣāḥibu 'sh-Shurṭah*.

The chief police officer at Baghdād ranked almost as a Governor; and under the later 'Abbāsids presided over a *Dīwān* and held the rank of a minister.[1] Under the early 'Abbāsids he was the chief of the bodyguard of the *Khalīfah* and executed death sentences.[2]

Mu'āwiyah was the first *Khalīfah* to have a bodyguard, and since then the bodyguard had become a part and parcel of the military force at the capital. Under the first two 'Abbāsid *Khalīfahs* Persian soldiers formed the bodyguard. Al-Mahdi, the third *Khālīfah* of the house of al-'Abbās, selected 500 men from among the Ansār of al-Madīnah to form his bodyguard. Al-Mu'taṣim, the eighth 'Abbāsid *Khalīfah*, made the great mistake of discarding the Arab bodyguard and forming a standing military corps of Turks. "Dressed in splendid uniform they galloped recklessly through the streets of Baghdād, knocking down everybody in their

1. Ibn Khaldūn: *al-Muqaddamah*, I, p. 452.
2. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, VI, pp. 16-17.

way. There was a howl of rage in the capital."[1] The *Khalīfah* had to remove himself to Sāmarra with his bodyguard. This force was officered almost entirely by Turkomans, freedmen or slaves, and before long "assumed the part of the Praetorian guards of the Roman Empire, deposing and setting up sovereigns at their own will and pleasure."[2]

Prison Administration

Among the pre-Islamic Arabs it was customary to lead the prisoners along the streets in chains. People would give them alms, and that was the means of their sustenance. Even after the advent of Islam, the same old custom was continued till 'Alī put a stop to it and maintained the prisoners from State revenues. Mu'āwiyah and his successors did likewise.

Imprisonment is not one of the punishments prescribed by the Qur'ān. The holy book prescribes summary punishment for all crimes. With the degeneration of the Muslim Commonwealth, certain evils crept in. Political crimes on the part of the discontented subjects and suspicion on the part of the rulers, who were not sure of their title to the great office of the *Khalīfah*, created a new contingency, that of placing the suspects and others in prisons. With the appearance of new types of crimes, prison-houses had to be built in every province and filled with a large number of prisoners.

Under the early 'Abbāsids, the old practice of leading the prisoners along the street seems to have been revived. Abū Yūsuf vehemently criticising the practice writes: "It is incumbent that every non-Muslim prisoner should be fed and well treated till his case is decided. Then what about a Muslim who has committed a mistake or a crime? Is he to be left to die of starvation because fate or ignorance has forced him to become what he is?" . . . . "Do away[3] with leading them in chains for

1. Amīr 'Alī, p. 282. 2. Ibid.
3. Abū Yūsuf's book *Kitābu 'l-Kharāj* was written in answer to certain questions put by the Khalīfah Hārūn."

people to give alms to them; for it is a great wrong that Muslims, who have committed some crimes or mistakes (God having ordained that they should), should be imprisoned and led out in chains to be bestowed with alms. I do not think that the infidels do such a thing with Muslims who are their prisoners. Then, how is it proper that Muslims should lead Muslims in chains in order that they may get something to eat? And sometimes they do not get anything."[1] Abū Yūsuf further suggests that all male and female prisoners should be supplied each with a cotton suit for summer and a woollen one for winter.

Religious Organisation under the Early 'Abbāsids

Islam, at its inception, consisted of a few simple tenets. The Prophet insisted that all Muslims should profess belief in God and his own mission; but he did not pry into men's private views and their variations in details. Soon after the death of the Prophet, there was a widespread apostasy which was stamped out; and all those apostates who repented were taken back into the fold of Islam. Even Ṭulayḥah, who had claimed to be the Prophet of God, was tolerated within the fold of Islam when he became a Muslim. Under 'Umar and 'Uthmān, we do not hear of any heresies. During the *Khilāfat* of 'Ali, Ibn Sabā and Nuṣayr attributed divinity to 'Ali who had Nusayr executed. Under the Umayyads, as we have already seen, people were not executed for holding views which were slightly different from the common ones. But many were killed whose views were likely to endanger the dynastic interests of the Umayyads. This freedom to hold slightly divergent views in matters of belief did not spring from any deliberate attempt on the part of the Umayyads, but was the result of the freedom implied in the great Islamic movement itself.

By the end of the Umayyad period, this freedom had been abused giving rise to many absurd beliefs which were quite opposed to the fundamental precepts of Islam.

1. Quoted by al-Khuḍari, III, pp. 155-156.

Again, the absence of a written code gave room for much difference of opinion among jurists, judges and others. This occasioned lack of uniformity in the law of the land and variations in the performance of the religious duties.

The Qur'ān was compiled under Abū Bakr, and its authorised version was issued under 'Uthmān. The Qur'ān is a book, small in volume, containing in all 6,666 verses. Of them about 6,000 verses deal with Biblical stories and other narrations which have a moral or religious value. Only some 600 and odd verses of the Qur'ān deal with orders and prohibitions (*al-awāmiru wa 'n-nawāhi*). Excluding repetitions, the number of verses dealing with orders and prohibitions are only a few hundred in number. Hence, a large part of the tenets, religious practices and legal and moral regulations depend on the sayings and examples of the Prophet.

Already in the last years of the Prophet's life, it was a pious custom that when two Muslims met, one should ask for news (*al-ḥadīth*) and the other should relate a saying or anecdote of the Prophet. After his death this custom continued and the name *al-ḥadīth* was still applied to sayings and stories which were no longer new.[1] In the first century of Islam there was a large number of living witnesses from whom traditions were collected, committed to memory and orally handed down. No book on traditions, written before the 'Abbasids came to power, has come down to us.

The most ancient book which deals with the Muslim law and gives a large number of traditions is the *Mu'aṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik[2] bin Anas (died 178 A.H.) of al-Madīnah. The most ancient and authoritative collections of traditions, arranged in chapters according to the subject-matter,

1. Sprenger, Uber das Traditionswesen bei den Arabern, Z. D. M. G., Vol. X, p. 2, quoted by R. A. Nicholson, p. 143.

2. Some are of the opinion that az-Zuhri or 'Ibnu Jurayj was the first to set down traditions in writing.

are those of al-Bukhāri and Muslim both of whom died in the later half of the third century A.H.

Some of the passages of the Qur'ān were explained by the Prophet himself. 'Abdullāh bin al-'Abbās, a cousin of the Prophet, was the real founder of Qur'ānic exegesis (*at-tafsīr*). The gist of the researches of the early interpreters, whose writings have perished, is embodied in the great commentary[1] of the famous historian aṭ-Ṭabari who died in 310 A.H.

All the four great schools of Muslim jurisprudence, which are still called by the names of their founders, Abū Ḥanīfah (80-150 A.H.), Mālik bin Anas (d. 178 A.H.), ash-Shāfi'i (150-204 A.H.), and Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal (168-241 A.H.), flourished under the early 'Abbāsids.

Thus during the early period of the 'Abbāsid rule, the meanings of the verses of the Qur'ān were made more or less definite and the great mass of the sayings of the Prophet and reports about his doings collected and arranged. Further, Muslim law was codified and regulations regarding the various religious duties and ceremonies fixed by the four great schools of Muslim law and jurisprudence (*al-fiqh*). Thus a few marked steps were taken in the direction of making a hitherto elastic and dynamic creed definite and static.

Although a tendency towards defining and fixing the beliefs of the Muslims is clearly perceived in the period with which we are concerned (the first century of the 'Abbāsid rule), the articles of faith were not yet defined and made fixed. The only intellectual group which could have done it was that of the Mu'tazilah. But they, being of a liberal outlook, disdained to engage themselves in rendering elastic creed inelastic and fixed.

This was done by one 'Ali bin Ismā'īl al-Ash'ari commonly known as Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari. He had been a Mu'tazilite for a long time; then he renounced the

1. This work has been published at Caire in 30 volumes.

creed of *I'tizāl*, and passing over to the then (about 300 A.H.) triumphant orthodox side, became its intellectual exponent. Having learnt all that the Mu'tazilites could teach him and, having thoroughly mastered their dialectics, he turned against them with deadly effect the weapons which they had put in his hands

For the first time in Islam organised religious persecution and inquisition by the State began under the 'Abbāsids. The early 'Abbāsids were sincerely religious and took to persecution seriously. Their zeal for the faith would not allow them to tolerate views which they considered to be against the cardinal principles of Islam. On the one hand, they were really religious and felt it their duty to punish heresies, and, on the other, they used the charge of heresy as a convenient pretext against their enemies. Many supporters of the 'Alid cause died as heretics. Heresy was the excuse offered for the murder of the great Wazīr, Ja'far, and the degradation of the entire Barmakid family. The same charge was levelled against the great general, Afshīn, before he was executed. Thus the establishment of an inquisition served two purposes. Firstly, it was used to suppress the new fangled beliefs and practices which were becoming numerous, and, secondly, it was used as a weapon against the enemies of the *Khalīfah*.

It was under al-Mahdi that organised State persecution began. During his stay at Khurāsān he had come across certain types of people who, calling themselves Muslims, held Manichaean beliefs and indulged in such practices as were likely to loosen the bonds of domestic and social morals. He imbibed an intense abhorrence of their tenets, and when he became the *Khalīfah*, he made it a part of his duty to put down the heretics.

A heretic of that type was called *az-Zindīq*. Various explanations are given of this term. R. A. Nicholson writes: "*Zaddīq* is an Aramaic word meaning 'righteous.' Its etimological equivalent in Arabic is *ṣiddīq*, which has a different meaning, namely, 'veracious.' *Zaddīq*

passed into Persian in the form *zandīk*, which was used by the Persians before Islam, and *zindīq* is the Arabicised form of the latter word."[1]

Some are of the opinion that it is an Arabicised Persian word and that its origin was *zan dīn* (woman's creed), i.e. hiding infidelity and professing faith.[2] The wide scope of the term is shown by the fact that it included under it the pagan chiefs of the Quraysh, Abū Muslim, Bābik, Māzayyār, Afshīn, the Qarāmiṭah leader al-Jannābi, Ibnu 'r-Rāwandi, al-Ḥallāj and others.[3] This wide scope of the term became dangerous in the hands of a *Khalīfah* like al-Mahdi, a suspicious whisper into whose ready ear led, often without trial, to a fatal end. A very large number of persons were apprehended as heretics and put to death. The worst aspect of it was that intriguers, taking advantage of the blind hatred of the *Khalīfah* for anybody who was dubbed a *zindīq*, often without tendering any proof, could bring about the ruin and death of their enemies.

Al-Mahdi established a department of the State to hunt down the heretics and appointed a minister to be in charge of it. He was called *Ṣāḥibu 'z-Zanādiqah*. The department worked very vigorously under al-Mahdi and his fiery son al-Hādi. It was a kind of inquisition which apprehended a great multitude as heretics and put them to death Under ar-Rashīd and his immediate successors, Persian influence was supreme and *Ṣāḥibu 'z-Zanādiqah* did not have much work to do. After the execution of Ja'far and the degradation of the entire Barmakid family, it was given out that the Barmakids were *zindīqs*.

The narrow dogmatism under the first few of the 'Abbāsids created a revulsion in the minds of thinking people and paved the way for the doctrine of *al-i'tizāl* being accepted as the State creed under al-Mā'mūn. "With the eye of genius Mā'mūn foresaw the trend of

1. Nicholson, p. 375 (footnote).
2. According to 'Izzu 'd-Dīn bin 'Abdi 's-Salām quoted by S. A Q Husaini in *Ibn al-'Arabi*, p. 36.
3. Nicholson, p. 375.

the dogmas that ware gradually coming into force in the Church of which he was the head ; the rigidity they were acquiring with the efflux of time, and their ultimate consequences on society and state. In his judgment, adherence to those doctrines was worse than treason, for their tendency was to stifle all political and social development, and end in the destruction of the Commonwealth. He foresaw the effect of swathing the mind of man with inflexible dogmas. He, therefore, applied himself vigorously, during the last four years of his reign, to the task of secularising the state, and of emancipating the human intellect from the shackles which doctors and jurists were beginning to place upon it. No one was better qualified than he for this great work of reform. In his knowledge of the traditions and jurisprudence he excelled most of the doctors of his time ; his study of the Qur'an was profound and careful ; he was a disciple of the apostolical Imam ar-Riḍa, from whom he imbibed his love for philosophy and science and that liberalism which forms a distinguishing feature in the teachings of 'the philosophers of the House of Muḥammad.' The first half of the second century had already witnessed the Dissent of Wāṣil bin 'Aṭā. Wāṣil was originally a disciple of the Imam Ja'far as-Ṣādiq, from whom he learnt the value of Human Reason. He afterwards attended the lectures of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri, from whom, however, he seceded on a question of religious dogma. His followers are, in consequence of his secession, called Mu'tazilah or dissenters and the system that he founded was designated as the Madhhabu 'l-I'tizāl, the Dissenting Church..... Ma'mūn adopted the Mu'tazilite doctrines and tried to introduce them in his dominions, as he considered the safety of Islam, and all the hope of progress, depended on their general adoption."[1]

The two cardinal tenets of the Mu'tazilah adopted and enforced by al-Ma'mūn were the doctrine of freedom of will in the place of predestination and that the Qur'an, though inspired, was "created." The orthodox and

1. Amīr 'Ali, pp. 275-277.

hitherto undisputed tenet was that it was "uncreated and eternal."

An inquisition was set up by the liberal al-Mā'mūn called the *Miḥnah*. People suspected of holding views opposed to the ones approved by the State, especially on the above two tenets, were punished. "Those who wou d not take the test were flogged and threatened with the sword. After Mā'mūn's death the persecution still went on, although it was conducted in a more moderate fashion. Popular feeling ran strongly against the Mu'tazilites. The most prominent figure in the orthodox camp was the Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, who firmly resisted the new dogma from the first. 'But for him,' says the Sunnite historian, Abū 'l-Maḥāsin, 'the beliefs of a great number would have been corrupted.'[1] Neither threats nor entreaties could shake resolution, and when he was scourged by the command of the Caliph Mu'taṣim, the palace was in danger of being wrecked by an angry mob which had assembled outside to hear the result of the trial. The Mu'tazilite dogma remained officially in force until it was abandoned by the Caliph Wāthiq and once more declared heretical by the cruel and bigoted Mutawakkil (847 A.D.). From that time to this the victorious party have sternly suppressed every rationalistic movement in Islam."[2]

Arrangements for the conduct of prayers throughout the Empire were made as during the previous periods. Thousands of mosques were built. Baghdād alone had 27,000 of them; and the *ḥajj* ceremony was organised by the government as usual. On the whole, there was more of formal religious observances under the 'Abbāsids than before.

By the end of the Umayyad period the conflict between the spread of Islam and the financial interest of the State disappeared. All land-owners had to pay *al-kharāj* in the *kharāj* area and *al-jizyah* was removed

1. *An-Nujūmu 'z-Zāhirah*, ed. by Juynboll, Vol. I, p. 639.
2. R. A. Nicholson, p. 369.

from all Muslims. The 'Abbāsids, who rode to power on the rising tide of the discontent of the new converts, could not afford, even if it was necessary, to force their own supporters to pay the detested tax. There was no need; and the 'Abbāsids could champion the spread of Islam without suffering any substantial loss of revenue. Great masses embraced Islam, and the movement was deliberately and zealously encouraged by the *Khalīfahs*. Thus under the early 'Abbāsids the entire Muslim Empire was Islamised by removing all impediments on the way of new converts and by offering them equal status with the old Muslims both in theory and in practice.

CHAPTER XII

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE EARLY 'ABBĀSIDS

VON KREMER admits that the love for local freedom and hatred of centralisation are more in the East than in the West.[1] Apart from this love of freedom, there was another fact which demanded decentralisation. As we have already seen, the means of communication were so slow that the Governors had to be given full control over their provinces.

During the early part of al-Manṣūr's reign (138 A.H.), Spain became an independent Muslim State under 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān, a grandson of Hishām bin 'Abdi 'l-Malik. The Governor of Ifrīqiyah attempted to reconquer the country; but the invading force was defeated, and the head of the 'Abbāsid commander was sent by a secret messenger and thrown in front of al-Manṣūr as he was holding his court at Makkah.

During the short reign of al-Hādi (168-170 A.H.), a scion of the house of 'Ali, Idrīs (a brother of an-Nafsu 'z-Zakiyah), escaped to Tangier from the battlefield of Fakh. He was welcomed by the Berbers who helped him to lay the foundation of the Idrīsid dynasty. Several attempts were made by the Governors of Ifrīqiyah to reconquer Western Africa, but they all ended in failure.

Even Ifrīqiyah proper was in intermittent revolt since the accession of the 'Abbāsids. It was a difficult and unruly province to govern and it did not yield any revenue. Hence it had been the cause of a constant drain on the resources of the Empire. Every year a subsidy of 100,000 *dīnārs* had to be remitted from the revenues of Egypt to balance the deficit budget of the government of Ifrīqiyah.

1. *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 238.

Ibrāhīm, whose father Aghlab had been a successful Viceroy of Ifrīqiyah, proposed to ar-Rashīd that if the governorship of Ifrīqiyah was bestowed permanently on him and his successors, he would not only restore peace and order in the province, but also (instead of asking for any subsidy) remit 40,000 *dīnārs* annually to Baghdād. On Harthamah's advice, ar-Rashīd accepted Ibrāhīm's offer subject to investiture and confirmation by the *Khalīfah* upon each succession. Henceforth Ifrīqiyah became an autonomous principality.

During the early years of al-Mā'mūn's reign, al-Yaman was in a state of revolt due to the influence of the Shī'ites. Al-Mā'mūn wanted to send a strong man to that province who would restore order and establish a strong government. Al-Ḥasan bin Sahl recommended the name of Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm, a descendant of Ziyād bin Abīhi. He was appointed Governor in the year 203 A.H. Muḥammad marched with an army against Tihāmatu 'l-Yaman and conquered it. He established his headquarters at Zabīd in 204 A.H. and ruled over al-Yaman from that city. He and, after him, his successors were the Governors of the *Khalīfah* only in name; but, for all practical purposes, they were almost independent.

Thus during the early 'Abbāsid period four independent Muslim kigdoms were established in the West, each with its own separate history. As time rolled on, several independent dynasties arose in the East also.

Even under the Umayyads, governorships had almost become hereditary. This tendency developed further under the 'Abbāsids, and the result was the split of the mighty Empire into small principalities, most of which acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the *Khalīfah*.

When an 'Abbāsid *Wazīr* fell from power, he was executed and all his properties were confiscated. Moreover, all the Governors and other important officials appointed by him were disgraced and dismissed from service. This

gave rise to a sort of "spoils" system. The change of ministers involved changes in the Governors which meant dislocation in the administration of the provinces.

Up to the end of the Umayyad period, the administrative machinery was simple ; and there were not many departments at the Centre or in the provinces. Under the 'Abbasids, the governmental machinery became more elaborate and naturally greater order was brought in the system of administration.

The Provinces

The division of the Empire into provinces was not uniform. As we have already seen, al-Ḥajjāj's viceroyalty embraced the whole of the Eastern Empire. Under less capable Governors the huge provinces or the more difficult ones to administer were subdivided. Sometimes the whole of the Arabian subcontinent was placed under one Governor and sometimes spilt up into two or three governorships. Similarly, the province of Khurasan sometimes embraced, in addition to its four districts (Marw, Balkh, Hirāt and Naysābūr), the whole of Mā Warā'u 'n-Nahr, Khwārizm, Sijistān, and Kūhistān. Under the 'Abbāsids the huge and unwieldy provinces of Arabia and Khurasan were split up and also the very rich or very difficult and unruly provinces.

From the revenue chart given by al-Jahshiyāri, it is clear that there were 35 fiscal provinces.[1] Ibn Khaldūn adds one more, Māsabadhān.[2] Thus we are able to make out 36 clear units of fiscal administration in the 'Abbāsid Empire under ar-Rashid and al-Mā'mūn. Prof. Hitti has given a list of 24 of the chief provinces of the 'Abbāsid Empire.[3]

The following are the fiscal provinces given by al-Jahshiyāri :

(1) As-Sawād ; (2) Kaskar ; (3) the district of Dijlah ; (4) Hulwān ; (5) al-Ahwāz ; (6) Fārs ; (7) Karmān ;

1. Al-Jahshiyāri, *Kitābu 'l-Wuzarā'i wa 'l Kuttāb*, pp 358-364
2. *Al-Muqaddamah*, I, p 323. 3. Hitti, p. 330.

(8) Mukrān ; (9) as-Sind ; (10) Sijistān ; (11) Khurāsān ; (12) Jurjān ; (13) Qūmis ; (14) Ṭabaristān ; (15) ar-Ray ; (16) Iṣfahān; (17) Hamadhān; (18) al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah ; (19) Shaharzūr ; (20) al-Mawṣil ; (21) al-Jazīrah ; (22) Adharbayjān ; (23) Mūqān and Karkh ; (24) Jilān ; (25) Armīniyah ; (26) Qinnasrīn and al-'Awāṣim ; (27) Ḥimṣ; (28) Damascus ; (29) al-Urdunn ; (30) Filasṭīn ; (31) Egypt ; (32) Barqah ; (33) Ifrīqiyah ; (34) al-Yaman ; (35) Makkah and al-Madīnah. To these 35, we can add Māsabadhān from the list of Ibn Khaldūn.[1]

These 35 or 36 units were fixed for fiscal purposes. The major units like Egypt and Khurāsān had a complete set of provincial officers and all the provincial *Dīwāns*. In the pages of aṭ-Ṭabari we come across appointments of officers to all these units ; but more often several of these units were placed under one officer.

Ar-Rashīd made Ja'faru 'l-Barmaki the Viceroy of the whole West from al-Anbār to the western limits of the Empire and made his brother al-Faḍlu 'l-Barmaki the Viceroy of the whole East.[2] After the fall of the Barmakids, the same *Khalīfah* made al-Faḍl bin Sahl Governor of Khurāsān, Jurjān, Ṭabaristān and ar-Rayy.[3] Al-Ma'mūn bestowed on al-Faḍl the whole of "the East from Hamadhān mountain to the mountain of Siqinan and Tibet in length and from the Sea of Fārs[4] and al-Hind[5] to the Sea of Daylām and Jurjān[6] in breadth : and he allotted to him a stipend of 3,000,000 *dirhams* and called him *Dhū 'r-Kiyāsatayn*.[7] The meaning of the term *Dhū 'r-Riyāsatayn* is "the master of two domains," the domain of war and that of statesmanship.[8]

Thus we see that the extent of the area of a governorship depended on the importance of the Governor and not on any definite demarcation. The area of political governorship being thus variable according to

1. *Al-Muqaddamah*, I, p. 323.
2. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 230.
3. Ibid., p. 337.
4. The Persian Gulf.
5. The Arabian Sea.
6. The Caspian Sea.
7. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 337.
8. Ibid.

the importance of the incumbent in the eyes of the *Khalīfah* or his *Wazīr*, these 35 or 36 units seem to have remained fixed as fiscal provinces.

The Provincial Dīwāns

Each of the main *Dīwāns* at the Centre had a corresponding *Dīwān* or an officer to represent it in every one of the provinces. Often the functions of more than one *Dīwān* at the Centre were combined in a single *Dīwān* of the province. The existence of the following provincial *Dīwāns* is ascertainable :

1. *Dīwānu 'l-Kharāj*.[1]
2. *Dīwānu 'r-Rasā'il*.[2]
3. *Dīwānu 'z-Zimām*.[3]
4. *Dīwānu 'l-Barīd*.[4]
5. *Dīwānu ḍ-Diyā'*.[5]

Dīwānu 'l-Kharāj.

In the provinces this *Dīwān* concerned itself with the assessment and collection of taxes and with husbanding and multiplying the taxable resources of the people. All payments were made in this *Dīwān* and all expenses, salaries of officials, annuities, pay and allowances to the soldiers, cost of public utility works and all other expenses of the State, were met by it. It was the finance department of the province.

Dīwānu 'r-Rasā'il.

This *Dīwān* looked after the entire official correspondence appertaining to the province. It was, so to say, the Chief Secretariat of the province. The functions of the *Dīwānu 'r-Rasā'il* and *Dīwānu 'l-Khātam* at the Centre were performed by this Board at the provincial headquarters.

1. Al-Jahshiyārī, pp. 139, 161, etc.
2. Ibid., p. 180.
3. Ibid., p. 196.
4. Ibid., p. 314.
5. Ibid., p. 321.

Dīwānu 'z-Zimām.

This *Dīwān* looked after the financial audit of the province. At the head of this Board generally a financier was placed.

Dīwānu 'l-Barīd.

Each of the provincial headquarters had a post office with branches in all the important cities and towns of the province. The postmaster in charge of the province was responsible for the postal administration of the entire province. The magnitude of the postal department of a province can be realised from the fact that under Hisham the expenses of postal administration in the province of al-'Iraq alone amounted to 4,000,000 *dirhams*.[1] Under the 'Abbasids it cost 154,000 *dīnārs*.[2] This high expenditure included the cost of feeding the animals, the purchase of new ones and the salaries of the postal officials and menials.

In addition to his enormous administrative work, the provincial postmaster had to submit confidential reports to *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Barīd* at Baghdād or to the *Khalīfah* himself directly on the conduct and activities of the government officials (including the Governor) and important private individuals. Besides, he had to submit periodical reports on the condition of the province, the working of the administration, the state of the peasantry and agriculture, the attitude of the local authorities towards the monarch on the one hand and towards the subjects on the other, the condition of the mint and the amount of gold and silver coined. He had to attend all important government functions, especially the mustering and paying of troops.

Under al-Ma'mūn, when his great general Ṭāhir bin Ḥusayn, who had been made the Governor of Khurasan, declared his independence by substituting his own name in the place of that of al-Ma'mūn in the *Khuṭbah*, the

1. Al-Māwardi, Chapter XIV.
2. Amir 'Ali, p. 417. A *dīnār* in those days was equal to 22 *dirhams*.

postmaster of Khurāsan immediately despatched a report to al-Mā'mūn.

As we have already seen, all the roads in the Empire had been repaired and planted with milestones under al-Walīd and, later, under 'Umar II. More roads were constructed under the 'Abbāsids and planted with milestones. All these roads were divided into definite postal stages and at every one of them horses, mules or camels were kept ready for the quick transport of mails and passengers. In exceptionally emergent cases, the transport was very quick. The message from Ṭāhir about his success over 'Ali bin 'Isa bin Māhān, reached al-Mā'mūn in three days. The distance covered was 750 miles.

During the 'Abbāsid regime, as under the Romans, pigeons were trained and used as letter-carriers both by the government and private individuals. The news of the capture of Bābik Khurrami was carried to al-Mu'taṣim by this method.[1] About this time the founder of the Qarāmiṭah sect organised the use of pigeons systematically and on a considerable scale. Ar-Raqqah and al-Mawṣil could communicate with Baghdād, Wāsiṭ, al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah through carrier pigeons within 24 hours.

" The fire telegraph (signalling) which was in use in the Byzantine Empire was retained by the Muslims in the countries which had formerly been Greek, but was not introduced in the other provinces. It is said to have worked particularly well on the North African coast. This statement holds good for the 3rd/9th century. A message reached Alexandria from Ceuta in one night,[2] and in three to four hours from Tripoli."[3]

Dīwānu 'ḍ-Ḍiyā'.

This Board looked after and managed the personal estates of the *Khalīfah* in the province. The *Khalīfahs* had vast personal estates in most of the provinces.

1. Al-Mas'ūdi, VII, pp. 126 seq.
2. Ibnu 't-Taghribirdy, I, p. 174.
3. Mez, pp. 502 seq.

The Provincial Officials

The most important officer was the *Wāli* who was in charge of the entire administration of the province. Next in rank and importance was the *Qāḍi*. Other important officers were *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Barīd*, *Ṣāḥibu 'sh-Shurṭah* and the secretaries of the various Boards.

Salaries.

All the provincial officers were paid well and there was not much corruption under the early 'Abbāsids. The chief provincial officers under the Umayyads received 300 *dirhams*[1] per month each and the same salary was continued under the early 'Abbāsids till the days of al-Ma'mūn when al-Faḍl bin Sahl raised the salaries further.[2] Under al-Ma'mūn the *Qāḍi* of Egypt is reported to have drawn a salary of 4,000 *dirhams* per month.[3]

The salary of an ordinary clerk was 10 *dirhams* a month,[4] which was equal to the salary of a labourer who was employed in building Baghdād.[5] Sawwār, the *Qāḍi* of al-Baṣrah under al-Manṣūr, had two *Kātibs* under him; one was paid 40 *dirhams* and the other 20. He wrote for an equalisation of the salaries hoping that the salary of the low-paid clerk would be raised to 40; but, much against his expectation, the salary of the better-paid clerk was reduced to 30 and that of the low-paid one raised to the same figure.[6]

From the above figures we understand that the salary of a provincial officer was thirty times that of a labourer or the initial salary of a clerk.

The Wāli.

Al-Māwardi[7] counts the following among the duties of a Governor: the supreme direction of the military affairs of the province, the nomination and control of

1. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 141.
2. Ibid.
3. As-Suyūṭi : *Husnu 'l-Muḥāḍarah*, II, p. 100.
4. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 149.
5. Aṭ-Ṭabari, III, p. 326.
6. Al-Jahshiyāri, pp. 123 seq.
7. Al-Māwardi, Chapter III.

the judiciary, levying of taxes, meeting all the expenses of the province, maintenance of law and order, safeguarding religion against innovation (*al-bid'at*), police administration, supervision of morals (*al-iḥtisāb*), presiding at Friday prayers, the equipment and despatch of the annual pilgrim caravan, the waging of war against the unbelievers (where the province adjoined an enemy's territory) if no special commander was appointed, the stationing and disposition of troops and paying their salaries and the execution of the *Qāḍi's* decrees.

Usually the Governor heard all cases of *al-maẓālim* or appointed an officer for that purpose. The cases of *al-maẓālim* included official excesses, excessive collections, omission of names in the register, misappropriations, unjust confiscation of property, non-payment of proper salaries, withholding of conjugal rights, non-compliance with the *Qāḍi's* judgment, non-performance of public prayers and improper behaviour in public.[1]

As in the case of the *Waẓīr*, al-Māwardi[2] makes out two kinds of Governors, those having full powers and those having only limited jurisdiction. To these two categories he adds a third, the *Amīr* by usurpation (*al-Amīru bi 'l-istīlā'*).[3]

The early 'Abbāsids did not keep a Governor in the same province for a long time. The Governors used to be transferred from one province to another. On being relieved of the governorship of a province, the Governor had to give a full report of his administration. If there was the slightest suspicion of breach of trust, all his properties were confiscated.

The office of a Governor was not a sinecure under the early 'Abbāsids. The Governors held office for short terms and were liable to dismissal at the pleasure of the sovereign. After the 'Abbāsid dynasty was firmly

1. Al-Māwardi, Chapter VII. 2. Ibid., Chapter III.
3. Ibid.

established, the terms of the Governors became longer; but still their powers of initiation were limited. However, some Governors succeeded in obtaining special privileges through services rendered to the State or through special loyalty to the *Khalīfah*.

The Qāḍi.

Each provincial capital and also every important town in the province had a *Qāḍi*. Al-Māwardi[1] makes a distinction between two kinds of judgeship. In the one kind, the authority is general and absolute and, in the other, it is special and limited. He lays down the following qualifications for a *Qāḍi*.[2] He must be a male,[3] Muslim, in full possession of his senses, a freeman, honest, pious and above suspicion, free from defects of hearing and sight, and, above all, well-versed in the principles of jurisprudence.

He prescribes the following as the duties of a *Qāḍi*[4]: settling disputes, restoration of rights, administration of the properties of minors, the insane, etc., supervision of endowments (*al-awqāf*), execution of wills (*al-waṣāya*), encouragement of and arranging for the marriage of widows, execution of the prescribed punishments (*al-ḥudūd*), removal of public encroachments, control over his subordinates (sing. *an-nā'ib*) and watching their conduct and protecting the weak against the strong.

The *Qāḍi* was to give his judgment and the execution thereof was in the hands of the Governor.

Under the Umayyads, the *Qāḍis* had much scope for using their own interpretations of the laws and possessed a good deal of personal discretion in matters of procedure, etc., as the laws had not yet been codified. But during the 'Abbasid period the laws were codified and the rules of judicial procedure made definite. Thus uniformity in law and procedure was established throughout the Empire.

1. Al-Māwardi, Chapter VI.
2. Ibid.
3. Abū Ḥanīfah is for women also.
4. Al-Māwardi, Chapter VI.

Since the time of al-Manṣūr, a remarkable legal institution came into existence—a permanent body of witnesses. Formerly only witnesses known to be of good repute were accepted. Others were either openly rejected or, in case they were absolutely unknown, enquiries were made regarding them from their neighbours. "But now, as there is such a lot of false swearing, secret enquiries are made regarding the witnesses; that is to say, a list of men, fit to be called as witnesses, is prepared. The result is that not reliability but inclusion in the prepared list is now the passport to the witness-box, the word witness (*ash-shāhid*) signifying such an individual."[1]

From these witnesses some were chosen as assessors to help the *Qāḍi* in his work. Selection of witnesses became one of the duties of the *Qāḍi*, and on a *Qāḍi* vacating his office, the assessors appointed by him ceased to continue in that capacity.

Ṣāḥibu 'sh-Shurṭah.

Each city had its own police force called the *Shurṭah* under a chief known as *Ṣāḥibu 'sh-Shurṭah* who was responsible for the protection of the person and property of the citizens. His force patrolled the city at nights for the purpose of suppressing the malefactors. Every day he had to prepare and send a report to the police chief at Baghdād. According to Ibn Khaldūn,[2] the duties of *Ṣāḥibu 'sh-Shurṭah* mainly related to the maintenance of law. He had to suppress crimes, investigate them and punish the guilty.

He administered the customary (*al-'urf*) laws which were distinct from the laws of the *Sharī'at*. *Ṣāḥibu 'sh-Shurṭah*, unlike the *Qāḍi*, had to move about to investigate crimes reported or suspected and could use force to extract confession from the accused. He could imprison a suspected person in order to make investigations and could torture him to force him to make a

1. Al-Kindi, p. 361, quoted by Mez, p. 227.
2. *Al-Muqaddamah*, I, pp. 400 seq.

confession.[1] He could imprison for life a habitual criminal or one who caused great hardship to the community. He could hear the evidence of *dhimmīs* and could hear and decide cases of assaults.[2]

The police held equal rank with the militia and its personnel were well paid. The officers of the *Shurṭah* were honest and discharged their duties with great zeal and ardour.

The Muḥtasib.

Along with *Ṣāḥibu 'sh-Shurṭah* another officer, the *Muḥtasib*, was appointed for the maintenance of law, especially the religious and moral side of it. His business was to see that the religious and moral precepts of Islam were obeyed. This office, created under al-Mahdi, was continued under his successors.

Al-Māwardi writes that the *Muḥtasibs* were of two kinds, volunteers and paid officials. Their function was to order people to do good and prevent them from doing the evil. In his capacity as the superintendent of markets, the *Muḥtasibs* went through the city daily accompanied by a detachment of subordinates, inspected provisions to find out if they were adulterated and tested weights and measures.[3]

His duties included prevention of nuisance, removal of obstruction from and encroachment upon public streets, prevention of burying people in lands owned by others, prevention of cruelty to servants and animals, forcing debtors to pay their debts, encouraging regular attendance at the mosque, preventing public eating in the month of Ramaḍān, enforcement of *al-'iddah* (the period of waiting) on widows and divorced women, encouragement of the marriage of unmarried girls, preventing men consorting with women in public, chastising anyone found in a state of drunkenness, supervision of games, etc.

1. Abū Yūsuf, p. 107.
2. Al-Māwardi, Chapter XIX.
3. Al-Māwardi, Chapter XX.
4. Ibid.

The *Muḥtasib* could only try cases summarily when the truth was not in doubt. If a case required sifting of evidence and administering of oaths, it had to go to the *Qāḍi*. His functions stood midway between those of the *Qāḍi* and the *Nāziru 'l-Maẓālim*; but in rank and power he was inferior to both of them.[1] Essentially, the duties of the *Muḥtasib* related to public morals and prevention of commercial knavery. An offence had to be committed in public before the *Muḥtasib* could take cognizance of it. He had no right to pry into the secrets of men or exceed the limits of decency.[2]

1. Al-Māwardi, Chapter XX. 2. Ibid.

CHAPTER XIII

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE EARLY 'ABBĀSIDS

ALTHOUGH the sources of revenue under the 'Abbāsids were the same as under the Umayyads, there was a great difference in the spirit of administering the revenue system. Under the Umayyads an invidious distinction was made between the Arabs and the non-Arabs and between the old converts and the new ones, but all such distinctions were abolished under the 'Abbāsids, and all Muslims were treated on an equal basis in the matter of revenue collections. Still some of the hideous and unauthorised collections made under the Umayyads seem to have continued under the 'Abbāsids also. From the revenue charts given by al-Jahshiyāri and Ibn Khaldūn it is clear that some provinces were paying a certain number of slaves as tribute every year. Abū Yūsuf gives a long list of illegal imposts and recommends to ar-Rashīd that they should be discounted as they are against the *Sharī'at*.

The principles of revenue administration, which had been evolving through the preceding two centuries, were definitely laid down by the great master of jurisprudence, Abū Yūsuf, in answer to a series of questions of put to him by ar-Rashīd. Abū Yūsuf's book, *Kitābu 'l-Kharāj*,[1] gives a clear exposition of the principles and the history of their evolution. It points out the course to be followed in the future and brings to the notice of the *Khalīfah* most of the corrupt practices prevalent in the sphere of revenue administration, and exhorts him to put an end to them.

The Provincial Sources of Revenue

1. Al-Ghanīmah.

Abū Yūsuf includes under *al-ghanīmah* all those

1. Būlāq, 1306 A.H.

categories also on which *khums* is levied; such as minerals and precious metals[1] dug out or picked up from the earth, treasure-troves and precious commodities gained from the sea—pearls, amber, etc.[2]

We have seen how the *khums* was divided by the Prophet, how his immediate successors abolished his share and that of his relatives, how 'Umar II sent the share of the Prophet and that of his relatives to the Banū Hāshim and how his successors dispensed with the innovation.

Abū Yūsuf says that the companions of the Prophet were unanimous in their opinion that the share of the Prophet and that of his relatives should be spent on the equipment and weapons of the army.[3] Abū Ḥanīfah and most of the Ḥanafi jurists are of the opinion that the *khums* should be spent as done by the four pious *Khalīfahs*. Abū Yūsuf writes that he concurs in the opinion of ash-Shāfi'i that the share of the Prophet should be used for the common good of the Muslims and that of his relatives should be given to the descendants of Hāshim.[4]

2. Az-Zakāt.

Abū Yūsuf advises ar-Rashīd to appoint separate *'Āmils* to collect *az-zakāt*. He holds that it is not proper that the revenue from the *ṣadaqāt* (charities) of the Muslims should be mixed up with that derived from the *kharāj*.[5] He further holds that the *zakāt* of each town should be distributed in the same town and should not be carried outside it.[6]

3. Al-'Ushr.

Abū Yūsuf mentions the following categories of land as *al-'ushr* land[7]:

1. There is no tax on precious stones; p. 12.
2. But Abū Ḥanīfah excludes sea products. Abū Yūsuf, p. 39.
3. Ibid., p. 11.
4. Ibid., p 12.
5. Ibid., p. 46.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., pp. 33, 39.

1. All Arabian lands except the ones in the hands of Banū Taghlib.[1]

2. Such non-Arabian lands as the owners of which embraced Islam.

3. Such non-Arabian lands as were conquered by the Muslims by force and were distributed by the Imām (the *Khalīfah*) among the conquerors.[2]

Abū Yūsuf recognises the right of the *Khalīfah* to grant the conquered non-Arabian lands to the Muslim soldiers and also his right to bestow the *fay'* lands as fiefs on Muslims for special services. Such lands may be given as *al-kharāj* lands or as *al-'ushr* lands.[3]

Thus, the practice, started by 'Uthmān and followed by his Umayyad successors in clear contravention of the rules laid down by the great 'Umar has become a recognised principle in the hands of the 'Abbāsid jurist. Abū Yūsuf also lays down that the fiefs once granted by a *Khalīfah* cannot be revoked by his successors.

In addition to the lands of the above categories, such waste lands (*al-mawāt*), marshes (*al-baṭā'iḥ*) and forests (*al-ājām*) as are reclaimed by Muslims are to become *al-'ushr* lands unless they are watered by the *kharāj* channels (*anhāru 'l-kharāj*).[4]

Under the Pious *Khalīfahs*, all Muslims holding lands paid only *al-'ushr* and no one paid *al-kharāj*. Under the Umayyads more and more of the *kharāj* lands came into the possession of the Muslims, and huge estates came under the ownership of a few princes. This meant loss of revenue to the State; and al-Ḥajjāj was forced to collect *al-kharāj* from those Muslims also who held former *al-kharāj* lands. Naturally this caused resentment among the Muslim land-holders.

According to the reform of an-Naṣr bin Sayyār, the tax on each village was fixed, and it was apportioned

1. For full details see al-Balādhuri, pp. 181-183.
2. Abū Yūsuf, p. 35. 3. Ibid., p. 33. 4. Ibid.

among all the land-owners, Muslims and non-Muslims, on the basis of the extent of the land. This reform prevented the loss of revenue to the government on the one hand and permitted Muslims to own *al-kharāj* lands on the other.

4. Al-Jizyah.

Abū Yūsuf holds that *al-jizyah* is compulsory on all the people of *adh-dhimmāh* except the Christians of Banū Taghlib and Najrān.[1] It is to be levied on men only and not to be levied on women and children. It shall not be taken from the indigent, the blind, the crippled, the monks and the old who have neither employment nor wealth.[2] Abū Yūsuf fixes *al-jizyah* at the rate of 48 *dirhams* per year for the rich, 24 for the middle class and 12 for the labourers.[3] The Christians of Banū Taghlib were to pay double the *zākāt*.[4]

Although *al-jizyah* on the new converts was abolished by the great Governor of Khurāsān, an-Naṣr bin Sayyār, during the last days of the Umayyads, the hatred caused by that impious imposition was so great that even its abolition at the eleventh hour could not save the dynasty.

The 'Abbāsids, whose success was mainly due to the help rendered by the Khurāsānis and other non-Arabs, never imposed *al-jizyah* on Muslims belonging to any nationality. This liberal step and the consequent Islamisation of the whole Empire was rendered possible by two great reforms which were made towards the close of the Umayyad period.

As we have already seen, the reform of Hishām limited pensions only to active combatants. The State was no more responsible to give annuities to all Muslims and no more did the fear of granting pensions to the new converts deter the *Khalīfah* from encouraging conversion to Islam. Another fear that prevented the

1. Abū Yūsuf, p. 69.
2. Ibid., p. 70.
3. Ibid., pp. 70-71.
4. Ibid., p. 69; al-Balādhuri, pp. 181-183.

Umayyads from encouraging conversion to Islam was the loss of revenue by way of the *kharāj* lands being converted into the *'ushr* lands. This fear was removed by the reform of an-Naṣr bin Sayyar which was adopted throughout the Empire. Of course, more conversions meant loss of *al-jizyah*. This loss was more than compensated by the savings from the former indiscriminate pensions.

These two great reforms (the pension reform and the *kharāj* reform) were actually made under the Umayyads at a time when they were nearing their end, and the 'Abbāsids reaped their full benefit.

5. Kharāj.

Abū Yūsuf gives the *Khalīfah* the option of dividing a conquered land among the warriors (as done previous to the decision of 'Umar I) or of leaving it in the hands of the people of the soil (as done by the second *Khalīfah*). When the land was left in the hands of the conquered people, it became their alienable private property. Thus, all lands, which were conquered by force from the non-Arab people and were left by the conquerors in the hands of the children of the soil, and all lands, which were taken by peace from them, become *al-kharāj* lands.[1]

'Umar I had fixed the rates of taxes. But Abū Yūsuf is against such fixation and holds the system injurious to the interest of the public treasury. He gives the *Khalīfah* the right to vary the rates at his discretion.

Al-Mā'mūn reduced the tax in as-Sawād from one-half of a produce to two-fifths, a reduction of twenty per cent.[3] The same *Khalīfah* reduced the tax of ar-Rayy by 2,000,000 *dirhams*[4] and raised that of Qūmis from 2,000,000 to 7,000,000 *dirhams*.[5]

1. Abū Yūsuf, p. 39.
2. Ibid., p. 48.
3. Al-Fakhri, p. 260.
4. Aṭ-Ṭabari, III, p. 1030.
5. Ibid., pp. 1092 seq.

Al-kharāj was usually levied after the harvest, and the financial year for the collection of *al-kharāj* was solar, and not lunar as in the case of the charities collected from the Muslims. The date of payment in those territories which were conquered from the Sāsānians was the Nawrūz or New Year's Day. The calendar employed being defective, much trouble was experienced; but the defect was rectified later under al-Muqtadir (295-320 A.H.).

Al-Māwardi enumerates three methods of assessing *al-kharāj*:

1. *Al-kharāj* was assessed on the basis of the total area of the village irrespective of the actual area cultivated.

2. The total cultivated area alone was made the basis of assessment.

3. The total yield was divided, the State getting its share.[1]

The system of assessing *al-kharāj* in lump sums payable by the various districts had continued from the days of the Sāsānians. The taxes were heavy, and, to pay them in the lean years, farmers had to sell away parts of their holdings. The system of assessing *al-kharāj* in lump sums was known as *at-takmilah* and it was discontinued under al-Muqtadir.[2]

It is reported that 'Ubaydullāh, the *Wazīr* of al-Mahdi, suggested to him that his income would be increased if, instead of the *takmilah* system, he introduced the system of sharing the produce of the land.[3]

From the scanty accounts we have about the administrative details of this period we can conclude that all the three systems enumerated by al-Māwardi were in practice under the early 'Abbāsids. We learn of complaints against the *takmilah* system[4] and that of

1. Al-Māwardi, Chapter XIII.
2. Al-Maqrīzi, I, pp. 273 seq.
3. Al-Fakhri, pp. 215-216.
4. Al-Maqrīzi, I, pp. 273 seq.

at-taqbīl[1] and also learn that al-Mā'mūn took two-fifths of the yield instead of one-half.

Under the early 'Abbasids the collection of taxes was left in the hands of the contractors in return for a fixed sum of money. This naturally led to extortions of various kinds. This buying and selling of tax-farms is severely condemned by Abū Yūsuf. This system, which was known as *at-taqbīl*,[2] had led to unauthorised exactions from the subjects by the contractor (*al-muqabbil*). Abū Yūsuf permits *at-taqbīl*, if the people of a village propose that some trustworthy man from among them should be allowed to collect and pay the taxes into the treasury on behalf of all of them.

In Egypt the taxes were paid collectively as had been the custom under the Byzantines. Experts estimated the probable yield in the various districts and, meeting the heads of the villages, settled what proportion of the total tax was payable by each village. The appropriate part of this sum was imposed on the individual villagers. The share of the defaulters had to be paid by the rest. The system of *at-taqbīl* was more common in Egypt than in al-'Irāq. Contracts used to be made for four years to permit of adjustments for drought or other unusual difficulties.

6. *Al-'Ushūr.*

This tax is not mentioned in the Qur'ān. It was imposed by 'Umar I. Abū Yūsuf writes that some traders of Manbij sought permission from 'Umar to trade in Muslim countries promising to pay tithes and that the *Khalīfah*, after consulting the Companions of the Prophet, permitted them to do so.[3]

Abū Yūsuf[4] makes a clear distinction between the tributes (*al-kharāj*, *al-jizyah* and *al-'ushūr*) and the charities (*az-zakāt*, *aṣ-ṣadaqah*, and *al-'ushr*). The eight charges on the charities are definitely mentioned in the

1. Al-Fakhri, p. 260.
2. Abū Yūsuf, p. 60.
3. Ibid., p. 78.
4. Ibid, p. 46

Qur'ān.[1] Abū Yūsuf lays down that the following five items of expenditure are to be met from the tributes:

1. The salaries of *Qāḍis*, Governors, and other government officials.

2. Emoluments to soldiers.

3. Digging new canals and repairing the old ones for purposes of cultivation.

4. Digging canals for supplying water to big cities.

5. Prison administration.

The Total Revenue of the Empire

The total revenue of the Empire (including the price of commodities collected in kind) under ar-Rashīd,[2] according to a report in the handwriting of Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin 'Abdi 'l-Ḥamīd,[3] was 530,312,000 *dirhams*.[4] The revenue in cash alone amounted to 404,708,000 *dirhams*.[5]

The total cash revenue in the days of al-Mā'mūn, as given by Ibn Khaldūn,[6] was 319,600,000 *dirhams* and 3,817,000 *dīnārs*[7] which give a total of 403,574,000 *dirhams*.[8]

According to Qudāmah's balance sheet,[9] which represents the revenue in the days of al-Mu'taṣim, the total revenue received at Baghdād, including the price of taxes collected in kind,[10] was 314,281,350 *dirhams* and 5,102,000 *dīnārs*[11] which gives a total of 426,525,350 *dirhams*.[12]

1. See supra, p. 23.
2. Al-Jahshiyāri, pp. 357 seq.
3. Ibid., and Ibn Khaldūn, I, p. 321.
4. Received at Baghdād after defraying the provincial expenses. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 364.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibn Khaldūn, I, pp. 321 seq.
7. Totalled by al-Khuḍari, III, pp. 200 seqq.
8. Converting the *dīnārs* into *dirhams* at the rate of 22 dirhams per *dīnār*; see al-Jahshiyāri, p. 364. Hitti gives a total of only 331,929,008 *dirhams*; see p. 321.
9. Al-Khuḍari, III pp. 200 seqq.
10. Hitti, p. 321.
11. Totalled by al-Khuḍari, pp. 200 seqq.
12. At 22 *dirhams* per *dīnār*.

From a comparison of these lists we see that the total revenue received at Baghdād during the early 'Abbāsid period, after meeting all the expenses[1] in the provinces, was 400 to 500 million *dirhams* per year.

Of all the lists available that of al-Jahshiyāri[2] gives the figures of the earliest period and it gives more details than that of Ibn Khaldūn. Items omitted by Ibn Khaldūn are marked thus *, and those figures of the great historian and pvilosopher which differ from those of al-Jahshiyāri or have been omitted by the latter are given within brackets.

Al-Jahshiyāri's List

			Dirhams
1.	The value of the income from the grain lands of *as-Sawād* (*athmānu ghallāti's-Sawād*)	... ...	80,780,000 (27,780,000)
2.	From other items of revenue (*abwābu 'l-māl*) of as-Sawād	...	14,800,000
	Clothing pieces of Najrān	... 200 pieces	
	Sealing lac (terra sigillata)	... 240 *ritls*	
3.	*Kaskar*[3]	... ...	11,600,000
4.	*The District of Dijlah*[4]	... ...	20,800,000
5.	*Ḥulwān*	... ...	4,800,000
6.	*Al-Ahwāz*	.. ...	25,000,000
	Sugar	... 30,000 *ritls*	
7.	*Fāris*	... ...	27,000,000
	Black raisin-water (black raisin)	... 20,000 *ritls*	
	* Pomegranates and quinces	... 250,000	
	Rose-water	... 30,000 bottles	
	* Mangoes	... 15,000 *ritls*	
	* Sīrāfi clay[5]	... 50,000 *ritls*	
	* Raisins	... 3 *Hāshimi kurrs*	
8.	*Karmān*	... ...	4,200,000

1. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 364.
2. Ibid., pp. 356 seqq.
3. The region of Wāsiṭ.
4. The region of Shaṭṭu 'l-'Arab.
5. Edible ; see Le Strange : *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 58.

			Dirhams
Yamani and Khabīṣi[1] garments		500	
Dates	...	200 *riṭls*	
Cumin (*al-kammūn*)[2]	...	100 *riṭls*	
9. *Mukrān*	...	...	4,000,000
10. *As-Sind and its Adjuncts*		...	11,000,000
* Foodstuff	...	1,000,000 *kayrakhi qafizes*	
* Elephants	...	3	
* Hashīshi robes	...	2,000 pieces	
* Waist wrappers	...	4,000	
Indian incense	...	150 *manns* (150 *riṭls*)	
* Other kinds of incense or aloes-wood (*al-'ūd*)	...	150 *manns*	
* Sandals	...	2,000 pairs	
* These were in addition to cloves and nutmeg (*al-jawzbuwa*).			
11. *Sijistan*	...	...	4,600,000 (4,000,000)
Stipulated (*al-mu'ayyanah*) clothes	...	300 pieces	
Al-fānid (a kind of sweets)	...	20,000 *riṭls*	
12. *Khurāsān*	...	...	28,000,000
Pure silver ingots	...	2,000	
Pack horses (*al-barāzīn*)	...	4,000	
Slaves	...	1,000 heads	
Cloth pieces	...	27,000	
Myrobalans (*al-ihlilaj*)	...	300 *riṭls* (3,000 *riṭls*)	
13. *Jurjān*	...	...	12,000,000
Silk	...	1,000 *manns* (1,000 pieces)	
14. *Qūmis*	...	...	1,500,000
Pure silver ingots	...	1,000	
* Garments	...	70 pieces	
* Pomegranates	...	40,000	

1. Khabīṣ is a town in Karmān ; al-Jahshiyāri. (Cairo), p. 282 (footnote 2).
2 A kind of plant used as a carminative.

			Dirhams
15.	*Ṭabaristān, Rūyān and Dunbāwand*	... ...	6,300,000
Ṭabari carpets	...	600 pieces	
Garments	...	200	
Cloth	...	300 pieces	
Kerchiefs	...	300	
Vessels (*sing. al-jām*)	...	600 (300)	
16.	*Ar-Rayy*	... ...	12,000,000
* Pomegranates	...	100,000,000	
* Peaches	...	1,000 *riṭls*	
(Honey	...	20,000 *riṭls*)	
17.	*Iṣfahān* (Excluding Khamtash and rural areas of 'Isa Radis)	... ...	11,000,000
* Honey	...	20,000 *riṭls*	
* Wax	...	20,000 *riṭls*	
18.	*Hamadhān and Dastabā*[1]	...	11,800,000
Plums or robbs	...	1,000 *manns* (1,000 *riṭls*)	
Honey of Arwand	...	20,000 *riṭls* (12,000 *riṭls*)	
19.	*The two Māhs*[1] *of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah*	... ...	20,700,000 (10,700,000)
	Māsabadhān and ar-Rūyān[2]	...	(4,000,000
20.	*Shahrzūr and its adjuncts*	... ...	24,000,000 (6,000,000)
21.	*Al-Mawṣil and its adjuncts*	... ...	24,000,000
White honey	...	20,000 *riṭls*	
22.	*Al-Jazīrah, ad-Diyārāt and al-Furāt*	... ...	34,000,000
23.	*Ādharbayjān*	... ...	4,000,000
24.	*Mūqān and Karkh*	... ...	300,000

1. Nihāwand and Dīnawar.
2. Given by Ibn Khaldūn ; might have been comprised by province No. 15.

			Dirhams
25. *Jīlān*[1]	...	...	... (5,000,000)
Slaves	...	100 heads	
	...	(1,000 heads)	
Honey	...	12 wine-skins	
	...	(12,000 wine-skins)	
Hawks	...	10	
Garments	...	20	
26. *Armīniyah*	...	...	13,000,000
Carved or dug out (*al-maḥfūrah*) carpets	...	20	
Variegated cloth (*ar-raqm*)	...	580 pieces	
Fish (seasoned with salt and vinegar	...	10,000 *ritls*	
Tarragon (*at-ṭarīkh*)	...	10,000 *ritls*	
Falcons	...	30	
Mules	...	200	
			Dīnārs.
27. *Qinnasrīn and al-'Awāṣim*		...	490,000 (420,000)
* 28. *Ḥimṣ*		..	320,000
* Raisins	...	1,000 camel loads	
29. *Damascus*	...	...	420,000
(Raisins 1,000 camel loads)			
30. *Al-Urdunn*	...	...	96,000
31. *Filasṭīn*	...	...	320,000[2] (310,000)
And from all the Districts of Syria	...	300,000 *ritls* of raisin (300,000 *ritls* of oil)	

1. The cash column is not filled up in al-Jahshiyāri's book. Ibn Khaldūn gives the amount as 5,000,000 *dirhams*. See *al-Muqaddamah*, Vol. I, p. 323.

2. Al-Jahshiyāri's figure reads ثلاث مائة و عشرون آلاف and that of Ibn Khaldūn ثلاث مائة و عشرة آلاف. Since the word آلاف can be used with ten and not with twenty, the figure of Ibn Khaldūn must be correct. See al-Jahshiyāri, p. 363, and Ibn Khaldūn, I, p. 324.

			Dīnārs
32.	*Egypt* Excluding Tinnis, Dimyāṭ and al-Ashmūn, the revenues of which are set apart to provide for expenditure	... ...	1,920,000 (2,920,000)
33.	*Barqah*	... ...	1,000,000 (dirhams)
34.	*Ifrīqiyah*	... ...	13,000,000 (dirhams)
Carpets		... 120 pieces	
35.	*Al-Yaman*	... ...	870,000 (370,000)
36.	*Makkah and al-Madīnah*	...	300,000

The contributions in kind are to the value of 5,000,000 (and odd) *dīnārs* (including the gold coins) which at the rate of 22 *dirhams* per *dīnār*[1] are equivalent to 125,532,000 *dirhams*.

The coined silver money amounts to 404,780,000[2] *dirhams*.

The money plus the value of the deliveries in kind amount to 530,312,000 *dirhams*.

Revenue Subdivisions

From the scanty details which we are able to get about the revenue subdivisions of al-'Irāq and Egypt, we can presume that all the fiscal provinces would have been similarly divided. However, it must be borne in mind that, due to local traditions and accidental circumstances, there must have been much difference in details from province to province.

1. Theoretically, the *dīnār* was equivalent to 10 *dirhams*. Under ar-Rashīd gold, having appreciated in value a *dīnār* was normally worth 20 *dirhams*, though in governmental transactions, as here, its value was reckoned at 22 *dirhams*: Von Kremer: *Ueber das Einnahmebudget des Abbasiden Reichs vom Jahre*, p. 306, in Denkschrift d. phil-hist. cl d. Wiener Academie Bd. XXXVI, p. 287, quoted by Levy, II, p. 347.

2. The total of the amounts as they appear in the list is different. Evidently there are errors and omissions in the body of the chart which become obvious when we compare these figures with those of Ibn Khaldūn.

We have already seen how Egypt was subdivided.[1] As-Sawād was divided into districts (sing. *al-kūrah*) each of which consisted of several sub-districts (sing. *aṭ-ṭassūj*).[2] Each *ṭassūj* was divided into several rural areas (sing. *ar-rustāq*) and each *rusṭāq* into villages (sing. *al-qaryah*). To give an example, Bādurayya was the richest subdivision in as-Sawād, situated on the right bank of the Tigris, and was the most difficult to administer. An officer who succeeded in administering that rich subdivision was usually nominated as *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Kharāj*. The *ṭassūj* of Bādurayya was divided into twelve *rustāqs* of which the best was that of Karkh. Karkh itself was divided into twelve *qaryahs*.

Illegal Levies

Abū Yūsuf enunciates that the *kharāj*-payers should not be required to feed the tax-collectors, nor to pay the waiting charges (*ujūru 'l-madā*) nor the handful (*al iḥtifān*) of corn, nor any extra charge on an exceptionally good crop (*an-nazlah*). They should not be made to pay the carrying charges (*al-ḥamwālah*) or to pay for the pamphlets (*aṣ-ṣuḥaf*) of instructions and other papers (*al-qarātīs*); nor should they be forced to pay the wages for couriers (*ujūrū 'l-fuyūj*). No batta (*al-ma'ūnah*) is due to anyone from them. No additional customary charges (*ar-riwāj*) should be levied at the time of collecting *al-kharāj*.

Ill-Treatment of the Tax-Payers

Al-Jahshiyāri writes that the *kharāj*-payers were being ill-treated by exposing them to wild animals (*as-sibā'*), bees (*az-zānābīr*), polecats (*as-sanānīr*) and that al-Mahdi put a stop to those cruelties.[3] Abū Yūsuf writes that tax-payers were made to wait at the door of the tax-collectors for days together, that they were made to stand in the sun and that sometimes the tax-collectors beat them severely inflicting injuries.[4] The *Imām* recommends that these unjust and cruel tortures should be suppressed and suggests that there should be an espionage system to watch and report these atrocities as the *kharāj*-payers themselves could not make any reports.

1. See supra, p. 109.
2. Yāqūt: *Mu'jamu 'l-Buldān*, I, p. 241.
3. Al-Jahshiyāri, p. 163.
4. Abū Yūsuf, p. 70.

CHAPTER XIV

PUBLIC WORKS AND MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE EARLY 'ABBĀSIDS

Agriculture

AGRICULTURE, upon which the collection of taxes depended, received great impetus under the early 'Abbāsids. The restoration and preservation of all canals and the digging of new ones were looked upon as one of the most important functions of the government. Abū Yūsuf lays emphasis on the fact that it is one of the primary duties of the government to restore, at its cost, canals for the promotion of agriculture.

Great care was taken to improve cultivation in as-Sawād, the most fertile part of the Empire. Deserted villages were reinhabited and ruined farms rehabilitated. "Canals from the Euphrates, either old and now re-opened or else entirely new, formed a 'veritable network.'[1] The first great canal, called Nahru 'Īsa after a relative[2] of al-Manṣur who had re-excavated it, connected the Euphrates at al-Anbār in the north-west with the Tigris at Baghdād. One of the main branches of the Nahru 'Īsa was the Ṣarāṭ. The second great transverse canal was Nahr Ṣarṣar, which entered the Tigris above al-Madā'in. The third was the Nahr al-Malik ('river of the king') which flowed into the Tigris below al-Madā'in.[3] Lower down the two rivers came the Nahr Kūtha and the Great Ṣarāṭ,[4] which threw off a number of irrigation channels. Another canal, the Dujayl (diminutive of Dijlah, the Tigris), which originally connected the Tigris with the Euphrates, had become silted up by the tenth century,

1. Al-Iṣṭakhri, p. 85; Ibn Hawqal, p. 166.

2 & 3 For these canals see al-Iṣṭakhri, pp. 84-85; same in Ibn Hawqal, pp. 165-66; al-Maqdisi, p. 124; al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh*, pp. 99, 111 seq.; Le Strange, "Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdād, written about the year 900 A.D. by Ibn Serapion," Journal Royal Asiatic Society (1895), pp. 225-31.

4. Yāqūt, III, pp 377-78.

and the name was given to a new channel, a loop canal, which started from the Tigris below al-Qādisīyah and rejoined it farther south after sending off a number of branches.[1] Other less important canals included the Nahr al-Ṣilaḥ dug in Wāsiṭ by al-Mahdi.[2] Arab geographers speak of caliphs 'digging' or 'opening' 'rivers,' when in most cases the process involved was one of re-digging or re-opening canals that had existed since Babylonian days. In al-'Irāq as well as Egypt the task consisted mainly in keeping the ancient systems in order."[3]

The staple crops of al-'Irāq were barley, wheat, rice, dates, sesame, cotton and flax. Besides these crops, nuts, oranges, sugarcane and other useful things were grown in large quantities in the very fertile and alluvial plains of the south.[4]

Like al-'Irāq and Egypt, Khurāsān was another very rich agricultural country. It yielded a revenue of 28,000,000 *dirhams*, 2,000 ingots of pure silver, 4,000 pack-horses, 1,000 slaves, 27,000 pieces of cloth, etc. The land around Bukhārā was another veritable garden where a large variety of fruits grew.

In addition to the growing of corns, fruits and vegetables, great care was taken to grow flowers of all varieties, especially roses and jasmines.

Public Buildings and Other Undertakings

During his short and bloody reign, as-Saffāḥ built not only the palace of al-Hāshimīyah at al-Anbār but also constructed rest-houses for the convenience of pilgrims at reasonable intervals all the way from al-Qādisīyah to Makkah. He also planted milestones along the whole distance.

Al-Mahdi improved and enlarged the buildings of

1. Al-Istakhri, pp. 77-78; Yāqūt, vol. II, p. 555
2. Al Balādhuri, p. 291; Qudāmah, p. 241.
3. Hitti, pp. 349 seq.
4. Ibn Hawqal, pp. 355 seq

as-Saffāḥ and constructed tanks at every stage and filled them with water. Moreover, he further enlarged the court of the Ka'bah. It must be said, not to the credit of al-Mahdi, that he ordered the name of al-Walīd to be effaced and his own written on the wall of the Mosque of the Prophet. He enlarged the mosques and schools in all the principal cities and built new ones where none existed.

The most marvellous construction during the early 'Abbāsid period was the building of Baghdād. Dissatisfied with al-Hāshimiyah, al-Manṣūr searched for a suitable site for building his capital and selected a spot on the right bank of the Tigris, some fifteen miles above al-Madā'in. The spot is mentioned as old Baghdād in connection with the wars of al-Muthanna.[1]

The city was circular in shape,[2] surrounded by a strong wall and a deep moat. It had four gates with massive iron doors and each of them was mounted by a gilt cupola. The royal palace was in the middle of the city, and on it stood the cathedral mosque. The suburbs, which were many in number, were covered with parks, gardens, villas, and beautiful prominades. They had a large number of bazaars and all other amenities.

Baghdād was designed to be a strong military position which could defy any enemy. Al-Manṣūr advised his son al-Mahdi not to allow the city to spread on the left bank of the river lest its strong military value should be compromised. But the son did not pay heed to the father's advice. On the left bank he built a more extensive city and called it al-Mahdiyah, which was more magnificent than the city on the western bank. "The palace (*Qaṣru 'l-Khalīfah*) stood in the midst of a vast park 'several hours in circumference,' which, besides a menagerie and aviary, comprised an enclosure for wild animals reserved for the chase. The palace grounds were laid out in gardens, and adorned in exquisite taste with

1. Muir : *The Caliphate, Rise, Decline and Fall*, p. 457
2. For a map of Baghdad see the above book, opp page 464

plants, flowers, and trees, reservoirs and fountains, surrounded by sculptured figures."[1]

"Baghdad was a veritable City of Palaces, not made of stones and mortar, but of marble. The buildings, although not different in structure or style from those in Damascus, were usually of several stories, and the influence of Persian taste was distinctly visible in the decorations. The palaces and mansions were lavishly gilt and decorated, and hung with beautiful tapestry and hangings of brocade or silk. The rooms were lightly and tastefully furnished with luxurious *dīwāns*, costly tables, unique Chinese vases, and gold and silver ornaments. The imperial *Qaṣrs* were resplendent with inlaid jewels; and the interminable halls bore distinctive names according to their ornamentation. The special feature of one was a tree made entirely of gold, with birds perched on its branches made also of gold, and studded with gems."[2] The tree weighed 500,000 drams; and the birds were so constructed that they chirped by automatic devices.[3] Baghdad had a very large number of public baths to which women were also allowed on specific days. Not long after its foundation, the city had as many as 10,000 baths.[4] Under Muqtadir (295-320 A.H.) the city is said to have had 27,000 baths[5] and later 60,000.[6]

"Then as now the bath-house comprised several chambers with mosaic pavements and marble-lined inner walls clustering round a large central chamber. This innermost chamber, crowned by a dome studded with small round glazed apertures for the admission of light, was heated by steam rising from a central jet of water in the middle of a basin. The outer rooms were used for lounging and for enjoying drinks and refreshments."[7]

Care of the Sick and the Poor

Al-Mahdi resembled al-Walīd I in many respects;

1. Amīr 'Ali, p 445.
2. Ibid., pp. 447 seq.
3. Al-Khaṭīb, I, pp. 100-105.
4. Al-Ya'qūbi, pp. 250, 254.
5. Al-Khaṭīb, pp. 118 seq.
6. Ibid., p. 117.
7. Hitti, pp. 338 seq.

and in the care of the sick and the poor also he resembled his great predecessor. He provided pensions for the lepers and prevented them from begging or roaming about in the streets. He also fixed pensions for those poor people who were imprisoned for debts. Under the wise and generous rule of the Barmakids hospitals and dispensaries were established throughout the Empire, and the poor, the incapacitated and the sick were properly cared for. It is reported that under al-Wāthiq, when the 'Abbāsid power was at its zenith, there was not a single mendicant throughout the whole Empire. On the whole, the 'Abbāsids took great care to relieve the sufferings of the poor, and their hospitals and infirmaries, which admitted patients of both sexes, provided food and treatment.

Education

As we have already seen, education had become common throughout the Empire by the end of the Umayyad period. Most of the Muslims, males and famales, could read and understand the Qur'ān. The elementary school was an adjunct of the mosque and the Qur'ān was used as a reading text-book. Very young girls also attended these schools. The curriculum consisted of reading, writing, grammar, stories about and traditions of the Prophet, elementary principles of arithmetic and some devotional poems. Senior students studied Qur'ānic Exegesis, Qur'ānic Criticism, the Science of Apostolic Tradition, Jurisprudence, Scholastic Theology, Grammar, Lexicography, Rhetoric and Literature. Advanced scholars engaged themselves in the study of Astronomy, Spherical Geography, Philosophy, Geometry, Music and Medicine.

The early 'Abbāsid period is especially illustrious in world annals for its "most momentous intellectual awakening in the history of Islam and one of the most significant in the whole history of thought and culture."[1]

About the year 771 A.D. an Indian savant introduced

1. Hitti, p. 306.

the Siddhanta (*Sindhind*), which was translated into Arabic by Muḥammad bin Ibrahīm al-Fazāri at the command of al-Manṣūr. The famous astronomer al-Khwārizmi who died in 850 A.D. based his astronomical tables (*zīj*) on al-Fazāri's work. The same Indian savant, who brought the Siddhānta, is supposed to have introduced the Arabic (*Hindi*) numerals also. From Persia came works on arts and *belles-lettres*.

In 765 al-Manṣūr summoned from Jundi-Shāpūr the Nestorian Jūrjīs (George) bin Bakhtīshu', who was the dean of the hospital of that city, which was famous for its academy of medicine and philosophy (founded about 555 A.D. by Anūsharwān), and made him his court physician. Jūrjīs's son Bakhtīshu' was appointed the chief physician of the Baghdād hospital under ar-Rashīd.

Abū Yaḥya hin al-Baṭrīq is supposed to have translated for al-Manṣūr the major works of Galen and Hippocrates who flourished in the first half of the fifth century B.C. The *Elements* of Euclid and the *Almagest*, the great astronomical work of Ptolemy, appear to have been translated about this time.[1] The chief (*ash-shaykh*) of the translators was Ḥunayn bin Isḥāq who was later appointed superintendent of *Baytu 'l-Ḥikmah*. He with the help of his son Isḥāq and a nephew Ḥubaysh bin al-Ḥasan translated many Greek works into Arabic.

"The apogee of Greek influence was reached under al-Mā'mūn. The rationalistic tendencies of this Caliph and his espousal of the Mu'tazilite cause, which maintained that religious texts should agree with the judgments of reason led him to seek justification for his position in the philosophical works of the Greeks .... In pursuance of his policy, al-Mā'mūn in 830 established in Baghdād his famous *Bayt al-Ḥikmah* (house of wisdom), a combination of library, academy and translation bureau which in many respects proved the most important educational institution since the foundation of the

1. Al-Mas'ūdi, VIII, p. 291.

Alexandrian Museum in the first half of the third century B.C. .... Beginning with al-Ma'mūn and continuing under his immediate successors the work was centred mainly in the newly founded academy. The 'Abbāsid era of translation lasted about a century after 750."[1] *Baytu 'l-Ḥikmah* had an observatory attached to it which was used for teaching astronomy. The numerous hospitals in Baghdād were utilised as centres of medical study.

Roads

Arabia proper had no artificial roads. Tracks formed by the constant treading of men and beasts were the only roads. In 24 B.C., during the reign of Augustus Caesar, an expedition was launched by the Romans against al-Yaman from Egypt.[2] An army of 10,000 men marched along the western coast of Arabia down to al-Yaman. During this invasion the infantry had constructed a road. The word *ṣirāṭ* is supposed to be related with the word street. Barring this road, Arabia had no artificially built road.

Soon after the appearance of Islam, a very large part of the Roman Empire and the whole of the Persian Empire passed under the sway of the Muslims. These highly civilised nations had a few well-constructed roads and they have been described in a number of books dealing with roads (*al-masālik*).

The following were the main post roads of the Empire under the 'Abbāsids :

1. Baghdād to Cyranaica.

Baghdād, Mawṣil, Balad, Sinjār, Nisībin, Ra'su 'l-'Ayn, Ḥaqqah, Mambij, Aleppo, Ḥamāt, Ḥimṣ, Ba'labakk, Damascus, Tibrias, Ramlah, Ghifār, al-Fusṭāṭ, Alexandria and thence to Cyranaica.[3]

2. Baghdād to Syria.

From Baghdād along the eastern bank of the

1. Hitti, p. 310.
2. See supra, p. 2.
3. Qudāmah, pp. 227 seq.

Euphrates to al-Anbar and thence to Hīt where the road crossed to the western bank of the river and proceeded to Syria.

3. Baghdād to China.

Baghdad, Ḥulwan, Hamadhan, ar-Rayy, Naysābūr, Marw, Bukhārā, Samarqand,[1] and thence to the frontier of China.

4. Marw to Farghānah.

The great eastern road branched off at several places. At Marw it branched off and, passing through central Khurāsān, reached Balkh. Beyond Balkh, it crossed the Oxus near Tirmidh and entered Farghānah at Rasht.[2]

5. Naysābūr to Shīrāz.

At Naysābūr the great eastern road branched off and, passing through Yazd, reached Shīrāz crossing Irān diagonally.

6. Baghdād to Makkāh.

The road to Makkah crossed the Euphrates at al-Kūfah and entered the desert at 'Udhayb[3] and, passing through Ma'dinu 'n-Nuqrah (north-east of al-Madīnah) reached Makkah. This road was metalled by al-Mahdi from al-Qādisīyah to Zubālah.

7. The Roman Highway.

The Roman highway on the western side of Arabia, which was later extended farther, stretched from Damascus in Syria to Ṣan'ā' in al-Yaman. Starting from Damascus, it passed through Petra, Tabūk, al-'Ula, al-Madīnah, Makkah, aṭ-Ṭā'if and Khawlān and reached Ṣan'ā'.

8. Al-Fusṭāṭ to the Atlantic.

Al-Fusṭāṭ, Alexandria, Qayrawān, thence proceeding along the coast to as-Sūsu 'l-Adna on the Atlantic

1. Al-Maqdisi, p. 278. 2. Al-Ya'qūbi: *Kitābu 'l-Buldān*, p. 287.
3. Qudāmah, p. 186.

Ocean. From Qayrawān to as-Sūsu 'l-Adna was 2,150 miles.[1] This was the great highroad which communicated between Spain and the East.[2]

Bridges

Although at many places the postal department and the travellers had to employ the ferry to cross the major rivers, there were also a large number of bridges throughout the Empire.

Roman bridges were known to the Arabs even before the advent of Islam. The pre-Islamic poet Ṭarafah has referred to the Roman bridge (*qanṭaratu 'r-Rūmi*) in his famous *al-Mu'allaqah*.[3] The most famous bridge in the Muslim Empire was the one constructed "by the Emperor Vespasian over the Geuk Su, a tributary of the Euphrates near Samosata. It was regarded as one of the wonders of the world because it 'soared high above a ravine in a single arch of masonry, each stone being ten yards long and five high.'"[4] In Khūzistān the bridge of Disful, east of the ancient Sūsa, was 320 paces long and 15 broad, and was built on 72 arches. Ibn Serapion calls it the 'Bridge of the Romans.'[5] "In al-Aḥwāz there was the 'Indian Bridge,' built of bricks, with a mosque erected on it;[6] and over the upper Qārūn was the bridge of Idhaj, spanning the stream at a height of 150 yards in a single arch of stone, held together with iron clamps."[7]

Under the Sāsānians there were permanent bridges over the Tigris. But most of these bridges fell to pieces and were displaced by bridges of boats. "A permanent bridge with five "doors," one large and four small, led across the 'Isa canal at the point where it branched off

1. Ibn Khurdādhbīh, p. 89.
2. Ibid., p. 55.
3. كقنطرة الرومى اقسم ربها لتكتنفن حتى تشار بقدمد
"Like the Roman bridge whose builder swore
That it shall stand compact built with bricks."
4. Mez, p. 495.
5. Le Strange, p. 239.
6. Al-Maqdisi.
7. Mez, pp. 494 seq.

from the Euphrates.[1] At the end of the 3rd/9th century the width of the large "door" was fixed at 22 yards, that of the small "doors" each at 8 yards, after it had been ascertained that even so the largest vessel could pass through."[2]

Care of the Travellers

We have already seen that, under the Umayyads, al-Walīd I had all the roads in the Empire repaired and planted with stones, that along all the roads rest-houses were built and wells sunk and that 'Umar II had the same amenities provided in the newly conquered territories of Transoxania. This good and useful work was continued under the 'Abbāsids.

Elaborate arrangements were made to police the highways, and to provide the inns with provisions and plenty of water. In Turkistān alone there were 10,000 hostelries in many of which the needy traveller was given food for himself and fodder for his beast.[3] In Khūzistān buckets of water, often brought from a distance, were placed along the road at intervals of one *parasang*.[4] Mez admits that the East was more hospitable than the West.[5]

Municipal Administration

The towns of the Muslim Empire were divided into metropolises (sing. *al-miṣr*), cities (sing. *al-qaṣabah*), towns (sing. *al-madīnah*) and villages (sing. *al-qaryah*).

There were five types of towns:

1. Hellenistic Mediterranean type.

2. The South Arabian type: Makkah, al-Fusṭāṭ and some other towns belonged to this type in which the streets were narrow and the houses several storeys high with about two hundred people living in each of the houses.

1. Wuzarā', p. 257.
2. Mez, p. 494.
3. Al-Iṣṭakhri, p. 290.
4. Al-Maqdisi, p. 418.
5. Mez, p. 493.

3. The Mesopotamian and the Eastern type.

4. The Iranian type: Iranian towns consisted of a citadel, the official quarters, and the commercial quarters. These three portions were separated by walls.

5. The garden towns like al-Madīnatu 'z-Zahrā' at Cordova and Samarrā near Baghdād. These new towns were spacious with very wide streets, and the houses stood single and apart with several trees in each of the courtyards.

Water Supply

The Muslims always emphasised the importance of drinking water. We have seen how under the Pious *Khalīfahs* and then under the Umayyads huge amounts were spent to provide water for cities like Makkah, al-Madīnah, al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, Damascus, al-Mawṣil, etc. The same tradition was kept up by the 'Abbasids.

Baghdād, like Damascus and the cities of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, abounded in fresh water canals. Al-Khaṭīb[1] devotes a section of his history to the canals (*anhār*) of Baghdād. Most of these canals were brought from the Tigris. In addition to these canals there were a large number of cisterns which were used as reservoirs. In addition to the large number of streams, there were two covered aqueducts built of bricks and lime.[2] Drinking water was carried to the houses of the well-to-do by water-carriers direct from the main river.

In spite of all the efforts of the Umayyads to provide fresh water to the holy city of Makkah, the city suffered much, especially during the *ḥajj* season, for want of water. Zubaydah, a grand-daughter of al-Manṣūr and wife of ar-Rashīd constructed at her own expense of 1,500,000 *dīnārs* the famous underground aqueduct which still bears her name. It relieved fresh water scarcity in the holy city to a very great extent and is still one of the

1. Al-Khaṭīb, Vol. I, pp. 111-117.
2. Al-Ya'qūbi: *Kitābu 'l-Buldān*, p. 250.

principal sources of water supply. This aqueduct sometimes gave trouble; and it is recorded that about the middle of the third century a skin of fresh water in Makkah cost 80 *dirhams*. The defect in the aqueduct, which gave such trouble from time to time, was rectified by the mother of al-Mutawakkil.[1]

In Samarqand, since pre-Islamic times, water circulated in an old moat of the fortress. It was carried to the middle of the market by a stone dam whence it was distributed by means of lead pipes. The system was supervised by Zoroastrian engineers.[2] Throughout the city, arrangements were made to supply the citizens with iced water in God's name. "Water was supplied at 2,000 places either in brick-built shelters or from brass buckets."[3]

Naysābūr, the greatest town of the East, had an underground water-course like the other great cities of Iran. A large number of conduits ran underground supplying water to the houses and gardens of the city. These water-courses had their own supervisors and administrators.[4]

The ancient city of Carthage had marvellous aqueducts. Yāqūt praises their arches and minaret-like pillars.[5] Al-Kindi considers them as one of the wonders of the world.[6]

Thus, in all the towns throughout the Muslim Empire, the old systems for water supply were continued and new arrangements made. Al-Fusṭāṭ used the Nile water, which the water-carriers supplied at the uniform rate of half a *dāniq* per skin. The town of Qumm had an underground water-course like that of Naysābur.[7] The mountainous town of Dīnawar, rich in springs,

1. At-Ṭabari, III, p. 1449.
2. Al-Iṣṭakhri, p. 216, Ibn Hawqal, p. 866.
3. Al-Istakhri, p. 290; Ibn Hawqal, p. 339.
4. Al-Maqdisi, p. 394.
5. Yāqūt, IV, p. 58.
6. Mez, p. 413.
7. Al-Ya'qūbi; *Buldan*, p. 274.

signalised its refinement by supplying water in cool pitchers with mouthpieces."[1]

Town Administration (Tadbīru 'l-Balad)

"Nothing was more foreign or distasteful to the Asiatic mind than a severely centralised government. Every hamlet, every town, indeed, conducted its own affairs by itself, and the government only interfered when it was insubordinate."[2]

Al-Manṣūr is reported to have remarked that an honourable *Qāḍi*, a just police officer, a business-like financial administrator and a trustworthy postmaster formed the four pillars of government. All these four officers were appointed by the government in every town—a *Qāḍi*, a *Ṣāḥibu 'sh-Shurṭah*, an *'Āmil* and a *Ṣāḥibu 'l-Barīd*.[3]

Many of the towns were governed by a council of notable citizens (*Dīwānu 'sh-Shūra*). The members were nominated by the government; and the council was presided over by an elected president (*aṣ-Ṣadr*). In the East each town with its dependencies administered its own affairs, levied its own taxes and paid the fixed revenue to the State. Only if there was a dispute with the neighbouring towns, the government interfered.

The cities with their dependencies formed so many semi-independent principalities and resembled in many respects the free cities of Europe.

Each of the commercial cities had a merchants' guild or syndicate which supervised commercial transactions and suppressed frauds. This body was presided over by the most influential and outstanding merchant of the city who was called *Ra'īsu 't-Tujjār*. The members were called *Amīns*.

Thus, in matters of administration, trade and social

1. Mez, p. 415.
2. *The Orient Under the Caliphs*, p. 238. 3. Ibn Hawqal, p. 309.

relations, the towns were almost self-sufficient and most of the functions of the government, such as the collection of taxes, maintenance of order, administration of justice, regulation of trade and commerce and looking after all civic amenities were performed by the citizens themselves.

The Administration of Baghdād

The administration of Baghdād requires special attention. As the capital of the entire Empire, all the Central Boards were situated at Baghdād. There was a separate Governor for the city known as the Governor of Baghdād, who was in charge of the western portion of the city. The eastern portion was under the direct administration of the court. This portion was divided into several wards each of which was placed under the administration of a courtier.

Baghdād must have been a very huge city, but, unfortunately, we do not have any details about the number of its population. About the year 300 A.H. there were in Baghdād 27,000 mosques.[1] Even if we count at the low rate of fifty males per mosque, the adult male population should have been 1,350,000 and the total population from two to three millions. Al-Khaṭīb has calculated the adult male population of Baghdād to have been about 1,500,000[2] at the rate of 25 males per bath. The city is reported to have had 60,000 baths. If the number of mosques and the number of baths given by writers are true, we will not be far wrong if we assess the total population of the city at about 3,000,000 souls, men, women and children all included.[3]

"Immense streets, none less than forty cubits wide, traversed the city on both sides of the river, from one end to the other, dividing it into blocks or quarters, each under the control of an overseer, or supervisor, who

1. Al-Khaṭīb: *Tarikhu Baghdād*, p. 70. 2. Ibid., p. 74.
3. Al-Khuḍari estimates the population of Baghdād under the 'Abbāsids at 2,000,000: see Vol. III, p. 134.

looked after the cleanliness, sanitation, and the comforts of its inhabitants. At the corner of each street were posted sentries (*aṣḥābu 'l-arbu'*) to maintain order."[1]

Apart from the government officials, each of the different nationalities in the capital had its own foreman (*ar-Ra'īs*) and judge (*al-Qāḍi*). The *Ra'īs* represented their interests with the government and to him the stranger to the city of his nationality could appeal for counsel or help. He was also responsible for the good conduct of his compatriots.

At night the squares and the streets were lighted with lamps and there were elaborate arrangements for the disposal of night-soil.

1. Amīr 'Ali, p. 445.

CHAPTER XV

THE ARAB NAVY

THE Northern Arabs had always a dread for the sea. After a small force sent across the Red Sea was completely lost in the sea, 'Umar I would not trust the treacherous element any more. Mu'āwiyah sought permission from him to invade the Byzantine territories from the sea also, but 'Umar refused to grant it.[1] The first Muslim expedition by sea was the one launched by al-'Alā' bin al-Ḥaḍrami against the Persians across the Gulf without the previous sanction of the *Khalīfah*. Under 'Uthmān, Mu'āwiyah got the necessary permission.[2] But 'Uthmān stipulated that naval service should be completely voluntary and that no one should be pressed in against his will. Mu'āwiyah is reported to have made fifty summer and winter raids against the Greek islands of which Cyprus was conquered in A.H. 28 by expeditions launched both from the Syrian and the Egyptian coasts.[3]

At the beginning the ships' crew were mostly Greco-Syrians (the countrymen of the ancient Phoenicians) and Copts. The warriors who were carried in the ships were mostly Arabs who received salaries and rations.

In A.H. 34[4] Mu'āwiyah sent an expedition of 200 ships against the Byzantines who could assemble 600 vessels against the invaders. The Muslims boldly sailed close to the enemy vessels, and, ship grappling ship, the men fought at close quarters. A bloody battle followed and victory fell to the Muslims. The bold and beautiful wife of the Commander, Busaysah, was present on board one of the ships. She gave evidence as to how a young soldier,

1. Al-Balādhuri, p. 28 ; aṭ-Ṭabari, I, pp. 2820 seq.
2. Al-Balādhuri, p. 28 ; aṭ-Ṭabari, I, p. 2824.
3. Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, p. 2826.
4. Aṭ-Ṭabari places the event in A.H. 31 ; see I, p. 2865.

'Alqamah, saved a ship by boldly throwing himself against a grapple and cutting it with the sword. In A.H. 30 Junādah bin Abī Umayyah al-Azdi conquered Rhodes from the Byzantines and the Muslim fleet struck terror in the heart of the Greeks who were in constant fear of it.

In the year 48 A.H. Mu'āwiyah launched an attack on Constantinople by land and sea. Greek reports say that the Muslim navy numbered 1,800 vessels.[1] The navy had to withdraw on account of the Greek fire thrown by the garrison on the advancing Muslim fleet. In the year 54 A.H. a raid was made on Crete. The two great admirals under Mu'āwiyah were Junādah and 'Abdullāh bin Qays. 'Abdullāh alone led about 50 raids against the Byzantines. In the year 68-69 a navy of 200 ships, sailing from Alexandria, attacked Sicily. The raid succeeded and the expedition returned with a very large booty.

By the end of the reign of Mu'āwiyah the Muslims had a great fleet of 1,700 ships. The task of ship-building on such a large scale was facilitated by the large number of forests in the mountains of the Lebanon.[2] In addition to the ship-building yards in the Syrian coast, several in the coast of Egypt were engaged in ship-building.[3]

A very large part of the reign of 'Abdu 'l-Malik was spent in the civil war. Hence, he could not pay much attention to the navy. Under his son al-Walīd the navy had a heyday. Most of the islands in the western Mediterranean, and, above all, Spain and as-Sind, were conquered with the aid of the mighty Muslim navy.

"The fleet was divided into five squadrons, those of Syria with headquarters at Laodicea, Africa (that is Tunis), Egypt (with Alexandria as the starting point), the Nile (with headquarters at Babylon), and a special squadron to guard the mouths of the Nile from descent upon the coast by the Byzantines. For Egypt the chief

1. J. B. Bury: *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, pp. 41 seq.
2. Al-Khudari, II, p. 212. 3. Al-Balādhuri, p. 144.

arsenals and ship-building yards were at Babylon and Clysma."[1] The ship-building yard at Tunis alone built one hundred ships during the short governorship of Mūsa bin Nuṣayr. We can have an idea of the extent of the Muslim navy from the fact that in the siege of Constantinople in 717 A.D. an armeda of 1,800 ships was employed.

Muslim navigation was divided into two separate areas, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. The types of vessels used in these two areas were quite different. In the Mediterranean planks were nailed together whereas in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean they were stitched.[2] This difference was the result of traditional usage. Not using the nails is ascribed to the fact that salt water might attack the nails.[3] The ships of the Mediterranean were larger than those in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Even under the Umayyads the mercantile navy became important; and under the 'Abbāsids Arab merchants traversed the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. The Arabs were supreme in the Mediterranean. From Antioch to the Atlantic they took 36 days to journey. The port of Antioch was Seleucia which under the early 'Abbāsids was the most important centre of trade in Syria. Al-Mu'taṣim had it fortified. About this time the harbour of Syrian Tripoli sheltered a thousand vessels. The military harbour from which operations were directed against the Byzantines was Tyre which was protected by massive fortifications.[4]

Since the force sent by 'Umar I perished in the Red Sea, it was dreaded very much owing to its reefs and adverse winds. They sailed on it only in day time. On account of the dangers of navigating, this sea, the Nile waterway, which runs parallel to the Red Sea, became important for maritime navigation too. At Aydhab the cargo was disembarked and taken to Aswān or Qūs from where it went on the Nile to Cairo.[5]

1. Muir : *Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline and Fall*, p. 362.
2. Al-Mas'ūdi, I, p. 365.
3. Ibid.
4. Al-Ya'qūbi : *Buldān*, p. 327.
5. Nāṣir Khusraw, p. 64 ; Mez, p. 510.

The route along the coast (for all ships in those days kept close to the coasts) from 'Adan to the Persian Gulf and thence to the shore of Baluchistān was called the "Persian Sea." And the rest of the ocean was called the "Indian Sea." The two were navigable at opposite seasons. When the one was calm, the other was rough and vice versa. The Persian Sea was navigable at all seasons and the Indian only in winter.[1] The most important harbours on the Indian Ocean were 'Adan and Sīrāf. Next to them in importance came al-Baṣrah, Daybul[2] and Hurmuz.[3] 'Adan was the great centre of trade between Africa and Arabia and the meeting point of the trade between India and China on the one hand and Egypt on the other. Sīrāf was the world port of the Persian Gulf through which the exports and imports of entire Persia passed.[4] Under the early 'Abbāsids the dues levied on the shipping at this port amounted to 253,000 *dīnārs* per year.[5] It was especially the port for China. Al-Baṣrah, like Calcutta, had to be reached through a river. At the mouth of the river there was a lighthouse, which was illuminated at night for the guidance of the ships.

The Muslims had factories or trading centres in all the important cities of the Far East. "They sailed along the Indian coast, or directly from Muscat in about one month to the Malabar port Kulam (modern Quilon), then left Ceylon on the right and went to the Nicobar Islands (10 to 15 days from Ceylon), then to Keda in Malacca about a month's journey from Quilon, then to Java and the Sund-Island, Mā'it; thence in 15 days to Combodia, then Cochin China and China. The Chinese coast alone demanded two months' voyage; further, in those regions, since only one wind blows for half the year, they had to wait for the favourable one. On the return journey they sailed 40 days from Tsunanchou to Atyeh (north-west

1. Ibn Rustah, p 86 foll.; Mez, p 511.
2. At the mouth of the Indus.
3. The port of Karmān.
4. Al-Iṣṭakhrı, p. 34.
5. Ibn al-Balkhi, J.R.A.S. 1912, p. 188.

point of Sumatra) where they traded, and took the sea again in the following year in order to reach home in some 30 days with the help of the regular winds."[1]

The first 'Abbāsid *Khalīfah* to undertake a naval operation was ar-Rashīd. Early in the 'Abbāsid period the two chief maritime countries of the Muslim Empire, Spain and Western Africa, became independent of the government of Baghdād, and under ar-Rashīd Ifrīqiyah also became independent all but in name. In spite of the loss of these important maritime provinces, ar-Rashīd was able to conquer Rhodes for a second time. Crete and Cyprus, which had slipped away from the Muslim hands during the internecine wars, were attacked by ar-Rashīd in 175 A.H., and the Greek admiral was taken prisoner.

In the days of al-Mā'mūn the Aghlabid fleet conquered Sicily and ravaged lower Italy. It was the mightiest fleet in the Mediterranean and as such dominated the shores of that sea all around. During the reign of al-Wāthiq[2] the Aghlabid forces appeared before the very walls of Rome.

1. Chaw Ju-Kua, p. 114, quoted by Mez, pp. 516 seq.
2. In the year 231-232 A.H.

CHAPTER XVI

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE EARLY 'ABBĀSIDS

As we have already seen, the *Khalīfah* possessed and exercised supreme authority in all military matters although the details were worked through *Dīwānu 'l-Jund*. Under the autocratic rule of the Umayyads, it was the *Khalīfah* who decided the military policy and was responsible for war or peace. The general organisation of the army was a central subject administered under the direct supervision of the *Khalīfah*. Under the 'Abbāsids military affairs were attended to by the *Khalīfah* or his *Wazīr*.

After the *Khalīfah* or his *Wazīr*, the highest authority in military matters was the Commander-in-Chief. Al-Māwardi devotes the whole of Chapter IV of his famous book[1] to military rules and regulations, treatment of soldiers, of prisoners of war, of enemies, etc., and gives a long list of the duties of the Commander which throws much light on the Muslim view of the military art. He writes that the Commander should be responsible for the safety of the army, should take precautions against surprise and examine all places in which an ambush is possible. He must choose a proper place for engaging the enemy. The battlefield should be, as far as possible, an even ground, well supplied with water and pasture. Wherever possible, the flanks of the army should be protected by natural obstacles such as mountains, rivers, etc. He must make arrangements for sufficient food for his men and enough of fodder for the animals. Further, the Commander should try to have a correct estimate of the number of the enemy forces and keep himself informed of their movements. He must keep some soldiers in reserve and place a sufficiently large number of

1. *Al-Aḥkāmu 's-Sulṭāniyah.*

men to guard the flanks. He must urge the soldiers to fight hard promising reward in this world and in the world to come. He must not allow his men to engage themselves in trade or agriculture.[1]

From the earliest times the Arabs used to have physicians and surgeons in the army. That practice was continued under Islam. Each army had a *Qāḍi* who was in charge of the booty and distributed it according to the laws of Islam. There was also an advocate (*ad-Dā'iyah*) to represent the cases of the soldiers and a *Rā'id* whose duty it was to select proper camp-sites. Each army had its own interpreter and also a scribe.[2]

The Umayyad army had exceeded the 100,000 mark. Under the early 'Abbāsids still larger forces were available for employment in the field. Three[3] figures are available regarding the number of soldiers employed under the early 'Abbāsids. In the year 190 A.H., when ar-Rashīd marched against the treacherous Emperor Nicephorus, beat him down to his knees and reduced him to the contempt of a personal impost on himself and each member of the imperial house, the *Khalīfah* had under his command 135,000 paid soldiers (*al-murtaziqah*) and a very large number of volunteers (*al-mutaṭawwi'ah*). The number of volunteers must have been immense as it was a holy war against the infidels under the personal leadership of the *Khalīfah*.

We are able to get the peak figures only in connection with the civil wars. At Ṣiffīn the soldiers employed by both the sides numbered 175,000.[4] In the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Mā'mūn, the latter's forces which occupied al-'Irāq alone numbered 125,000. There must have been a considerable number on the side of al-Amīn, the ruling monarch In addition to these huge numbers, al-Mā'mūn should have left small forces behind him to

1 Al Māwardi, Chapter IV 2. Aṭ-Ṭabari, I, pp. 2223 seq.

3 A *qaṣidah* (ode) of Marwān bin Abī Ḥafṣah says that al-Faḍl bin Yahya had an army of 500,000 in Khurāsān ; al-Khuḍari, III, p. 11. I have not taken the figure into account fearing that it may be a poetical exaggeration

4. See supra, p. 52 ; al-Mas'ūdi, IV, p. 344.

garrison the eastern provinces, and on al-Amīn's side there should have been some additional forces garrisoning the provincial and frontier towns. In a parade at Baghdād, conducted under al-Muqtadir (917 A.D.) in the presence of the Byzantine envoys, 160,000 cavalry and footmen are reported to have taken part.[1]

Under the 'Abbāsids higher military posts were open to all nationals and equal treatment and equal salaries were given to soldiers of all nationalities. This democratic complexion attracted very large numbers to Islam and to the army of the *Khalīfah*. Many of the new converts in Syria, Egypt, Africa, al-'Irāq, Persia and Transoxania chose military service as it was the most profitable of the services available.

Thus, under the early 'Abbāsids, the Muslim army became very large and the soldiers were recruited from all nationalities. Although the 'Abbāsids still retained very large Arab forces, the military monopoly of the Arabs was done away with and non-Arabs got more and more of the military posts. Natives of Khurāsān continued for nearly a century to form the main body of the 'Abbāsid forces, and, later, the Turks began to predominate in the Muslim army.

National Corps

Al-Manṣūr, who was the virtual founder of the 'Abbāsid dynasty and who took great interest in military matters, seems to have formed three national divisions,[2] namely, the North Arabian Division (*Muḍar*), the South Arabian Division (*al-Yaman*), and the Khurāsāni Division. This splitting up of the army into national corps was continued under the successors of al-Manṣūr. Al-Mu'taṣim added two more divisions, one consisting of Turks and the other of Africans.

The division of the army into these five national corps was intended to prevent a general rising and to

1. Hitti, p. 303. 2. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, V, pp 462 seq.

counterpoise one unit against another; but this arrangement brought other evils. It was the homogeneous, well-knit army of the Arab race belonging to a single land and having the same interests and aspirations that won all the victories of early Islam. The splitting up of the army into national corps destroyed the *espirit de corps* of the Muslim army and introduced in its place a spirit of antagonism, jealousy, rivalry and competition for power.

The foreign Turkish soldiers, out of whom al-Mu'taṣim formed his personal bodyguard, behaved with such arrogance and recklessness that it caused very great resentment among the people of Baghdād, and the *Khalīfah* was obliged to transfer his residence along with the headquarters of his bodyguard to the new city of Sāmarra, built on the eastern bank of the Tigris. This Turkish guard soon assumed the part of the Praetorian guards of the Roman Empire under the weak successors of al-Mu'taṣim, and their Commanders deposed and set up *Khalīfahs* at their own will and pleasure.

Emoluments

The salary in the beginning of 'Umar's reign was 300 *dirhams* for the recruits and the average salary of the forces was about 600 *dirhams* per annum. It rose under Mu'āwiyah to 1,000 *dirhams* per head per year.

During the course of the 'Abbāsid revolution, the soldiers engaged in the movement received very small allowances of 3 to 7 *dirhams*,[1] but in the reign of the first 'Abbāsid *Khalīfah* the average pay of the foot-soldier was 960 *dirhams* per annum in addition to the usual rations, allowances and share in the booty. The horseman received double that salary.

About the end of ar-Rashīd's reign the salary of the foot-soldier had fallen down to 60 *dirhams* a month[2] against the 80 given by as-Saffāḥ, and under al-Mā'mūn

1. Aṭ-Ṭabari, II, pp. 1968 seq.
2. Under the government of Africa; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, VI, p. 187.

the salary was further reduced to 20 *dirhams* a month. The horseman got only 40 *dirhams*.[1] However, during the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn both sides paid their soldiers 960 *dirhams* per annum.

In comparison with the salary drawn under the Umayyads and in comparison with that paid by as-Saffāḥ, the pay of the soldier under al-Ma'mūn was very low (about one-fourth). But, by itself, it was not a low salary. A clerk employed in the central government received only an initial salary of 10 *dirhams* a month, and when al-Manṣūr built the city of Baghdād, he paid each of the labourers only 2 *dāniqs* per day[2] (one-third of a *dirham*). Thus, even the salary paid by al-Ma'mūn was double the wages of a labourer or the initial salary of a clerk.

As long as the Muslim army consisted of only Arabs, the *Khalīfah* could not cut down the salaries for fear of a mutiny which was very easy in a homogeneous army. Besides, as we have already seen, till the days of Hishām the Arabs looked upon their pensions as a subsistence or living allowance rather than as a salary for which they were bound to render service. Moreover, the number of Arab soldiers available for service in the field being limited (many of them having grown above the need to earn their livelihood through a soldier's profession), the State was forced to pay them heavy salaries under the Umayyads.

Under the 'Abbasids, the Arabs lost their military predominance as they lost their influence with the *Khalīfah*. Arabs, Persians, Turks, Berbers, Negroes, all were enlisted in the army without any racial or colour bar. Thus, the descendants of al-'Abbās had a wider field for recruitment, and, being not bothered about the race of the soldiers, could get them in very large numbers. It is an ordinary law of economics that with the increase in the supply over and above the demand, the value of a commodity decreases. Even other things being equal, the

1. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, VI, p. 187. 2. At-Tabari, III, p. 326.

very fact that a large number of soldiers were available would have made the State reduce the salaries. As the field for recruitment widened more and more, the salaries of the soldiers droped lower and lower.

Further, under the 'Abbāsids, soldiering did not involve so much risk to life as it did under the earlier periods. Islam was firmly established over a very wide area and the wars of conquest and expansion were not continuous but intermittent. In those regions where the soldiers were more exposed to the risk of war or rebellion, the State paid higher salaries. Al-Ma'mūn paid 40 *dirhams* a month to the footman at Damascus and 100 *dirhams* a month to the cavalry.[1] During the civil war with his brother, the same *Khalīfah* paid his foot-soldiers at the rate of 80 *dirhams*. The troops guarding the frontiers received higher salaries and additional allowances. Under al-Manṣūr, each of the soldiers garrisoning Malaṭyah received, in addition to his usual salary, free quarters, an allowance of 10 *dīnārs* and provisions worth 100 *dīnārs*. Al-Mu'taṣim assigned a monthly salary of 100 *dirhams* to every horseman and 40 to every foot-soldiers who garrisoned the important strategic station of Tyana, at the foot of Taurus in the neighbourhood of the Cilician passes.[2]

Another reason for the reduction in the salaries of the soldiers was the enormous increase in the size of the army. "The armies became considerable and counted in hundreds of thousands under the first 'Abbāsids as shown above. This large growth of the army forced them in fact to cut down the pay of the soldiers."[3]

The final and most important reason for the decrease in the salary of the soldiers seems to be the appreciation of the *dīnār*. The soldiers were paid in gold at the rate of one *dīnār* for every 10 *dirhams*. But the market value of *dīnār* during the reign of ar-Rashīd, as we

1. De Goeje, pp. 428, 433, 464; *The Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 336.
2. Ibnu 'l-Athir, VI, p. 311. 3. *The Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 339.

have already seen,[1] was 20 to 22 *dirhams*. Thus, a soldier getting 20 *dirhams* in gold could have the benefit of 40 or more in silver.

Volunteers

Under the Umayyads, a very large number of Muslims took part in the wars of Islam as volunteers. Many more flocked under the standards of the 'Abbāsids to defend the Muslim territory or raid into the territories of the non-Muslims. The summer expeditions against the Byzantines aroused special zeal and ardour among the believers and even women of the royal family took part in some of them.[2] In due course these summer expeditions assumed the character of a religio-military exercise performed every year. When the enemy, in his turn, attacked the frontier towns of the Muslim Empire, the inhabitants of the towns (colonies of Muslims set up by the State) rose to a man to defend them "save those who had neither horse nor weapons."[3] The *Khalīfah* sent his army; and volunteers and money poured in from all parts of the Empire to assist the defenders of the frontiers of Islam.[4] The services of volunteers were available to the *Khalīfah* against heretics also, for every Muslim considered it his pious duty to stamp out all kinds of heresies.

But there was one defect in employing the volunteers. They could go back to their homes after a particular campaign ended. A large body of Muslim volunteers offered to fight against Bābik Khurrami hoping that the campaign would be a short one. But when they found that victory was not possible in one campaigning season, they made up their mind to return home.[5]

Military Stations and Fortifications

Under the Umayyads, the most important military stations were the cities of al-Basrah and al-Kūfah.

1. See supra, p. 203 (footnote).
2. Two aunts of al-Manṣūr joined an expedition (138-39 A.H.) in fulfilment of a vow.
3. At-Tabari III, p. 1235.
4. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, VII, p. 80.
5. At-Tabari, III, p. 1214.

Under the 'Abbāsids, both these great military stations lost much of their importance; and Baghdād not only was the capital of the new dynasty but also served the military purpose hitherto served by al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah and Wāsiṭ.

Al-Manṣūr felt that it was a great military mistake on the part of the Umayyads that they did not possess a heavily fortified city which could have defied the enemy for a considerable length of time. This defect he wanted to rectify by building Baghdād. Built on the west bank of the Tigris on a very strong and mighty scale, with deep canals in the rear and massive iron gates, Baghdād, in its original conception, was an unassailable fortress which could not easily be taken by any foe. It not only held the principal cities of al-'Irāq in check but also served as an admirable heart of the Empire. The eastern bank, which was more vulnerable, was provided with accommodation for a very large force. Since al-Manṣūr desired that Baghdād should be a strong military position, he enjoined on his son al-Mahdi not to permit the growth of any suburbs, especially on the left bank. But the prince, when he became the *Khalīfah*, built an equally grand city on the eastern side and called it al-Mahdīyah.

With a pure military purpose al-Manṣūr built a strong citadel near ar-Raqqah on the upper reaches of the Euphrates and garrisoned it with Khurāsāni soldiers. He called the citadel ar-Rafīqah (the Companion). The same *Khalīfah* strengthened the defences of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah with money collected from the citizens of those two great cities.

The Umayyads had extended their rule as far as Cilicia and Cappadocia. But when the strength of the Muslim Empire declined as a result of the internecine wars and dissensions, the Byzantines not only reconquered all the important border towns but also a portion of the territory belonging to the Arabs.

Al-Manṣūr and, after him, his successors recovered all the frontier towns, fortified them and planted in them

Muslim colonies. Ar-Rashīd created a special province out of the border towns of Asia Minor and called it al-'Awāṣim The garrison of these outposts received high salaries in addition to considerable special allowances and provisions. They were granted lands which they cultivated themselves. Arab tribes were brought from the interior of Arabia to colonise these border towns and the State provided them with all necessary facilities. Al-Manṣūr built and fortified Mar'ash, Malaṭyah and several other border towns. At Malaṭyah he quartered a garrison of 4,000 men and gave them special allowances and facilities. The fort Ḥiṣnu 'l-Manṣūr was built by the same *Khalīfah.*

Ar-Rashīd had the town of Maṣṣīṣah surrounded by ramparts. He manned Taurus with a garrison and converted it into a large camp. He fortified Adana and quartered a garrison there. At Anazarbah, eleven miles north-east of Maṣṣīṣah, he planted another military colony. He built a citadel at Mar'ash and called it al-Hārūnīyah. Zubaydah, wife of ar-Rashīd, rebuilt at her own expense the famous town of Iskandarūn (Alexanderette). Al-Mu'taṣim, who was very jealous in guarding the Muslim frontiers, completed the fortification of Maṣṣīṣah and had the old town of Tyana peopled with military colonists. As we have already seen, he paid higher salaries to the garrison of this strategic town.

The same system of border fortifications was also adopted in other provinces which adjoined foreign countries. We have already noticed how a large number of watch-posts in Transoxania later became seminaries for *Darwīshes* and *Ṣūfis.*

Military Intelligence

The Arabs, especially the 'Abbāsids, had a very efficient spy system. Since the days of Mu'āwiyah, the Arabs had developed a very well-organised spy system to report their enemies' strength, their weak points, the plans of their forts and other strongholds and, in short, to

collect all such information as may be useful to a nation against its enemies. For this espionage system, people from all classes of society were chosen, and often the chief military and naval officers themselves ventured into the enemy country to find out the real state of affairs. 'Abdullāh bin Qays, the great hero of several naval engagements, often took to espionage in person; and, during one such adventure, his liberality towards a poor Greek woman disclosed his identity and he was executed by the Byzantine government.

Qutaybah bin Muslim always used to prepare a map of the country which he wanted to invade, with the help of reports received through the spies. Persons of both sexes were employed as spies. They travelled about in different guises, especially those of merchants and physicians and furnished secret reports to the Muslims.

Apart from what the generals did on their own initiative, the central government at Baghdād had its independent spy system in the adjoining countries, and the spies submitted regular reports to the court at Baghdād. Under ar-Rashīd one 'Abdullāh as-Sidi served for twenty years as a spy in the Byzantine Empire. From the reports furnished by the spies, the description of the Byzantine Empire, its military strength, its resources for defence, etc., were compiled by Ibn Khurdādhbih and handed down to us. The Muslim government tried to get military information about nations other than the Byzantines also. The report of a spy sent by al-Wāthiq to the regions of the Volga and the Jaxartes is preserved in the work of Idrīsi.[1]

Since the days of Mu'āwiyah, the *Khalifahs* kept a very strict watch over strangers entering the Muslim Empire. Mu'āwiyah also kept a close check upon the members of the garrisons and their families and appointed an Arab official in each garrison town to enquire into arrivals and departures. This system was continued under the 'Abbāsids.

1. Idrīsi, translated by Jaubert, p. 416 ; see *The Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 355.

The Arms of the Army and Their Weapons

The army consisted of the infantry (*al-ḥarbiyah*), the cavalry (*al-fursān*), the archers (*ar-rāmīyah*), the naphtha firemen (*an-naffaṭūn*), the hole-makers (*an-naqqābūn*) and the labour corps (*al-ghilmān*).

The infantry used lances, bows and arrows, javelins, swords and battle-axes and the cavalry used lances, bows and arrows and long, broad and straight swords. Archery was much improved under the 'Abbāsids and new kinds of bows were used which could throw several arrows at the same time. Crossbows and hand-bows were used to shoot larger and heavier arrows. A machine made out of a combination of several crossbows could throw a number of arrows at the same time. To use these improved bows[1] a separate corps of archers was formed.

The *naffāṭun* prepared and used naphtha.[2] They placed sulphur and white naphtha with the stones and wrapped the whole with tow. These fire-balls were set in the holder of the *manjanīq* and shot against the walls so that they split with the heat.[3] Ar-Rashīd used such balls in the siege of Heraclea in the year 187 A.H. The *naffāṭun* wore fire-proof suits in which they could safely penetrate into the burning ruins of the enemy's strong-holds. During one of ar-Rashīd's campaigns against the Byzantines, the way of the Muslims was barred by Emperor Nicephorus with trees which had been felled and set fire to. The *naffaṭūn* in their special fire-proof suits plunged themselves in the midst of the burning trees and cleared the way for the army.[4]

As we have already seen, the *naqqābūn* were armed with picks and drills. It is popularly believed[5] that the Muslims were the first to invent gunpowder. We have just now seen that they employed sulphur and white naphtha to blast the walls of the enemy. When

1. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, XIII, p. 55 seq.
2. At-Tabari, III, p. 79.
3. Al-Aghāni, XVII, p. 45.
4. Ibid., XVII, p. 45.
5. Levy, II, p. 311.

convenient holes were made in the walls of forts, it is quite probable that cumbustive and explosive materials should have been used to blow off a portion of the fortification.

Each army had a labour corps (*al-ghilmān*)[1] attached to it. They carried spades, axes and other tools[2] in addition to swords and shields. In one of the campaigns a force of 40,000 soldiers was accompanied by a labour corps of 10,000 men.[3] Troops were also employed for digging and other heavy works.[4]

On the March

We have already described the Arab army on the march under the Umayyads. Almost the same arrangements continued under the 'Abbāsids; but the grandeur of the march was enhanced by the Persian and Turkish elements and the tendency of the court at Baghdād to make a greater display of splendour.

As under the Umayyads, the scouts went ahead of the army investigating all possible places of ambush, collecting information about the enemy movements and the strength of his forces, and mapping out the terrain for the use of the Commander where such maps did not already exist. Behind the scouts the entire army marched in battle array followed by the rear scouts (*ar-rid'*). Von Kremer has given the following description of the 'Abbāsid army on the march:

"The Arab army must have created a great and powerful impression as they passed in innumerable columns through the hostile country. Troops of light cavalry in brilliant shirts of mail and shining steel helmets with long lances, the heads of which were adorned with black ostrich-feathers, formed the vanguard. The archers—of tawny colour, strong and half-naked—accompanied them running and almost kept pace with their horses. The two wings were secured against sudden

1. At-Ṭabari, II, p. 948.
2. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, VII, p. 270.
3. At-Ṭabari, II, p. 948.
4. Ibid., III, p. 1199.

attack by flying corps. In the centre marched the infantry, armed with javelin, sword, and shield. In their midst thousands of camels carrying provisions, tents and arms moved onward, while ambulances and sedan-chairs for the sick and the wounded, and war-machines packed upon camels, mules and pack-horses followed in the rear. If the Commander of the Faithful himself or one of his princes happened to be with the army, the splendour of the scene was heightened by the diverse gold-embroidered costumes of the royal bodyguard. There could then be seen Persian guards with their high, black caps of lamb's leather, the Turkish palace guards with snow-white turbans. On the banners and standards shone, embroidered in gold, the name of the ruler who, in the midst of his royal household surrounded by the highest commanders, rode on his palfrey streaming with pearls and gold. Immediately behind the prince were eunuchs—easily distinguished on account of their distorted features—and a line of thickly covered palanquins in which were to be found select ladies of the Harem."[1]

The beating of the drum was the marching signal, and the columns stopped as soon as it ceased.[2]

The Camp

Describing the camp, Von Kremer writes:

"When, at last, they reached the appointed places of encampment, where the vanguard had already set up entrenchments, and had dug ditches, there arose, all of a sudden at a wave of the magician's wand, as it were, a large town of tents with streets, markets and squares. The camp-fire was set aglow and the kettles began to boil, and after a simple dinner people began to form friendly circles at which stories were related and ancient poetry declaimed to the accompaniment of flute or violin. Only when the stars began to fade from the firmament did peace and stillness of night steal over the camps and their variegated denizens."[3]

1. *The Orient under the Caliphs*, pp 333 seq
2. At-Tabari, III, p. 1203.
3. *The Orient under the Caliphs*, pp 334 seq.

Leo the Wise (886-912 A.D.) writes that the Arabs "were always in fear of night attacks, especially in foreign territory, and took great precautions against them. Guards were placed on duty all night or else the camp was carefully fortified so as not to be taken by surprise."[1]

During the march against Bābik Khurrami, Afshin, the Commander-in-Chief, placed the main body of the army in the midst of a calthrop or prickly hedge (*al-hasak*).[2] Mounted soldiers kept circling, night and day, around the camp at a distance of a league.[3]

Various kinds of trenches were used by the Muslims for purposes of defence. We have already seen that the Prophet employed fire-trenches around al-Madinah to defend the city against the Meecans.[4] Such fire-trenches were commonly used to protect camps and supplies. Ibnu 'l-Athir speaks of concealed pits which were commonly used as defence against cavalry attacks.[5] In the war against the *Zanji* (Ethiopian slave) rebels during the reign of al-Mu'tamid (256-279 A.H.), an army of the *Khalifah* which was despatched to regain al-Basrah from the rebels remained entrenched before the city for six months before it was forced to retreat.[6] Many of the fortified towns had trenches dug around the walls and filled with water. It was a pre-Islamic device which was continued by the Muslims.

Women

With the advent of the 'Abbasids we hear no more of those heroic Arab women who took active part in the wars of early Islam as suppliers of water, nurses of their wounded and despatchers of the wounded foes. Some lone women to fulfil a vow or to register a pious deed sometimes soiled their feet in the way of God. But such exceptions were only few. Non-Arab elements became more and more dominant, and thenceforward we hear of women carried in thickly veiled palanquins and heavily covered litters.

1. Levy, II, p. 310.
2. At-Tabari, III, p. 1197.
3. Ibid., p. 1200.
4. Ibid., I, p. 1465
5. Ibnu 'l-Athir, VII, p. 236
6. Ibid., VII, p. 163

Transport

Under the 'Abbāsids, in addition to the camels, horses, mules and oxen, river boats and gondolas also had to be employed in large numbers. The region affected by the *Zanji* rebellion was marshy; and rivers and narrow channels were the only means of approaching the villages. The rebels had a large number of boats and could dominate the region with their superiority in vessels for a long time. The *Khalīfah's* government in order to meet this new situation built a large number of canoes and shallow rafts made of local reeds in addition to the larger vessels The larger vessels were equipped with rudders, but the freeboard was made sufficiently low to be hidden among the reeds.[1] During one of the campaigns against the rebels, 10,000 additional boatmen were employed to handle these boats and canoes besides the regularly employed crews.[2]

Thus, we see that the Arabs employed all kinds of means of transport according to the nature of the terrain —camels, horses, oxen, mules, ships, boats, canoes, etc. Campaigns were carefully planned and arrangements for the quickest transport of men and material made on a very elaborate scale. This attention to the details of the campaigns was one of the causes of the stupendous success of the Arab arms.

Supplies

In the beginning, according to the custom of the times, Muslim forces chiefly depended on the land of the enemy for their supplies. Since the days of 'Umar I, arrangements were made for supplies from the central government. Still, much reliance was placed on the possibility of local supplies.

In the campaigns against Constantinople, when the Muslim armies could not advance beyond Taurus, they had to suffer much for want of local supplies. Hence,

1. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, VII. pp. 234 seqq. 2 Ibid , VII, p. 274.

the 'Abbāsids took great care to see that their armies were well provisioned. In the long campaign against the *Zanji* rebels, Muwaffaq, the brother of Mu'tamid, who was in command, made arrangements with the merchants of al-Baṣrah to provide him with large quantities of supplies which were kept in specially constructed stores.[1] When al-Mu'taṣim invaded Asia Minor in 244 A.H., he is said to have had with the army 30,000 merchants and providers as well as thousands of camels and mules laden with supplies.[2]

In 241 A.H. a Sūdānese tribe revolted against the *Khalīfah* and persistently attacked the government forces. Several expeditions launched against them by the Egyptian Governor came to grief for want of provisions. Finally, a large army from Egypt was ordered to move against the rebels and it was supplied with provisions by sea from the Suakin coast. The chief of the Sūdānese tribe, 'Ali Bābā, not knowing anything about the ships, evaded direct attack and planned to wipe out the Egyptian army by alluring it farther and farther and exhausting all its supplies. This time he was disappointed. The rebellion was quelled and 'Ali Bābā himself admitted to terms.[3]

Morale

Before the 'Abbāsid period, the morale of the Muslim forces was excellent. There was no standing army in the sense known to us and no mutiny of the soldiers. Every Arab was a soldier liable to be called up for service in the field. Excepting a small bodyguard consisting of loyal tribesmen, the Umayyads had no standing forces.

The 'Abbāsids had very large standing armies. As we have seen, large national corps were formed and permanently stationed in barracks. The history of these military divisions is one of mutual jealousies and rivalries

1. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, VII, p 246.
2. J. B. Bury : *Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 263, footnote No. 3.
3. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, VII, pp. 50 seqq.

inter se and insubordination to constituted authority and readiness to rebel on the slightest pretext.

On the whole the morale of the Muslim soldiers under the 'Abbasids was much lower than that of the fighters of the earlier periods.

Tactics

By the end of the Umayyad period, two distinct methods of warfare were in common use – the *ṣaff* method and the *kurdūs* method. Since the battle of Ṣiffīn, the practice of arranging the infantry in lines and the cavalry in cohorts became common.

In the fight against the 'Abbāsids, Ibrāhīm bin 'Abdillāhi 'l-Ḥasani refused to adopt the cohort method.[1] In the final battle of the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Mā'mūn, the former's forces were arranged in lines and the latter's in cohorts.

Of the battles fought during the early 'Abbāsid period, the accounts of two battles are useful for a study of the tactics employed during that period—the final battle of Niṣībīn in the year 137 A.H. in which Abu Muslim completely defeated 'Abdullāh, the rebel uncle of al-Manṣūr and the last battle of the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Mā'mūn in the year 198 A.H.

At Niṣībīn fighting went on for five months without any definite result, but in the end, through Abū Muslim's able tactics, 'Abdullāh was completely defeated. On the final day, while marshalling his troops, Abū Muslim depleted his own right wing and greatly augmented the left. 'Abdullāh, fearing an attack on his right by the opposing left, emptied his left wing to strengthen the right. Thus, Abū Muslim succeeded in weakening the left wing of 'Abdullāh. Then he launched a mighty attack with his own depleted right and the main weight of the centre which was directed towards the left wing of

1. See *supra*, p. 27.

the enemy. The weakened left wing of 'Abdullāh could not stand the forceful onslaught and gave way. The rout was complete and 'Abdullāh fled.

In the final battle between the forces of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, the former's general 'Ali bin 'Īsa arranged his forces in formations each of which composed of a thousand soldiers and was placed under one banner (*ar-rāyah*). These formations (*ar-rayāt*) were placed one behind another at a distance of a bowshot.[1] Al-Ma'mūn's general, Ṭāhir, on the other hand, arranged his soldiers in cohorts (*al-karādīs*). A surprise attack by Ṭāhir with the aid of several cohorts won the day for him.[2]

1. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, VI, p. 165 2. At-Ṭabari, III, p. 823.

CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSION

THE most outstanding feature of Arab administration is the ease with which the Arabs assimilated foreign institutions with their own notions of Government. Most of the institutions of the lands which they conquered were kept intact, but a new and vigorous spirit was infused in them. In Syria and Egypt, they adopted the Roman and in Persia the Persian system. Still, the glaring evils of feudalism, as practised in those lands and also in Spain, were done away with, and human souls in the degraded form of serfs and slaves regained their legitimate human stature.

Another feature to be noted is the religious and moral spirit which dominated the entire field of administration under the early *Khalīfahs*. Fear of God pervaded the whole political atmosphere and every Muslim, as the follower of the great Prophet of God, felt his great responsibility. Degeneration and worldliness did creep in later, but they were checked to some extent by conscientious rulers like 'Umar II and al-Mā'mūn the Great. Finally, when the fear of God and the spirit infused by the holy Prophet waned, the Empire was destroyed by barbarian hordes and the Muslims had to pay very dearly for having deviated from the path shown by Allāh's Messenger.

Theoretically, all Muslims were considered equal in every respect, and every man—Muslim or non-Muslim—was equal in the eye of law on all matters concerning this world. There were departures in the field of practice, but the theory reasserted itself again and again. If there were cases of extreme bigotism and narrow fanaticism on the one hand, there were cases of broad-minded toleration and liberalism also on the other. Khalid al Qasri, the Umayyad Viceroy of al-'Iraq, allowed his mother to continue in the Christian faith and permitted

the construction of new churches. His toleration, it is reported, even went to the extent of allowing Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians to have Muslim wives. The early 'Abbāsid rulers displayed much toleration and insigh t and caused books on philosophy and sciences in the leading civilised languages to be translated into Arabic. Thus, many of the works of the Greek and Roman masters and the great *rishis* and *gurus* of India were translated into Arabic for the use of the Muslim scholars.

The Government of the Muslim Commonwealth was democratic in theory and practice during the days of the early *Khalīfahs*, but, later, it remained democratic in theory alone. In practice the Umayyad and the early 'Abbāsid rulers were absolute monarchs, and under the later 'Abbāsids real power passed into the hands of foreign *Amīrs* who could enthrone or depose *Khalīfahs* at their will.

The institution of the *Shūra* seems to have worked successfully only under the early *Khalīfahs*.[1] 'Umar II tried to revive the institution and al-Mā'mūn succeeded in doing so. Al-Mā'mūn's *Shūra* was as representative as it could be in those days. Later, other Muslim princes also had a council known as the *Shūra* to assist them in the government of their territories, but none of them attained that amount of power and freedom which the early *Shūra* enjoyed.

Although feudalism with military service based on land was a common feature in other lands, the Muslim world was free from it during the period covered by this work. Feudal elements in other forms—big estates, a landed aristocracy, etc.—had already appeared; but military service was not as yet based on land. The *Khalīfahs* maintained standing armies and employed paid generals and soldiers.

The early Muslim soldier was the best paid and most contented in the world. He fought for a cause which he sincerely loved. The benefit of the conquest went to him. Out of the spoils he got his share of the four-fifths and gave only one-fifth to the State. He was amply paid.

1. Especially under 'Umar I

well fed, and diligently cared for. His family enjoyed a State pension whether he was alive or dead.

Each expedition was carefully planned and all possible needs and contingencies provided for. Vinegar for soldiers fighting in as-Sind was sent to them soaked in cotton and dried. Their siege engines and additional supplies came laden on ships. Enormous amounts were spent on each expedition so that nothing might be left wanting. Al-Hajjāj sent a moderate army to Sijistān, the equipment of which alone, apart from the soldiers' salaries, came to 2,000,000 *dirhams*[1]

The strategy evolved by the Prophet proved irresistible and deadly to the enemy. The morale of the Muslim soldier was the highest ever known and the patient camel, 'the ship of the desert,' provided the best means of transport even in the most difficult terrain. The Arabian horses were, as they perhaps still are, the best that could be had.

It was the sheer merit of the Muslims that gave them the great success — their military genius, immense capacity for organisation, inexhaustible patience in working out and providing for the detail, quick grasp of the essentials of other systems and immediate assimilation of the good things thereof and, above all, their courage and steadfastness in the battlefield.

The great success of the Muslims in the various fields has been an object of wonder and surprise. Wonder always springs from lack of knowledge. Since people did not care to study the Islamic phenomena in all their details, either due to prejudice or owing to despise of "the barbarians," and since some superstitious Muslims, in their ignorance, gave a tinge of miracle and marvel to every aspect of Muslim life, they could not look at the merits of the Muslim system and indulged in enshrouding all the achievements of the Muslims in a robe of miracle and surprise. If the Muslims conquered and maintained a very large part of the then known world, it was not by accident or aimless activity. There was a well-thought-out system in all that they accomplished, a system, all the details of which were carefully planned and precisely executed.

1. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, IV, p. 365.

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF THE KHALĪFAHS

		A.H.	A.D.
The Pious Khalīfahs			
Abū Bakr	. .	11-13	632-34
'Umar	...	13-23 (end)	634-44
'Uthmān	...	24-35	644-56
'Ali	...	35-40	656-61
The Umayyads			
Mu'āwiyah I	...	40-60	661-80
Yazīd I	...	60-64	680-83
Mu'āwiyah II	...	64	683-84
Marwān I	...	64-65	684-85
'Abdu 'l-Malik	...	65-86	685-705
Al-Walīd I	...	86-96	705-715
Sulaymān	...	96-99	715-717
'Umar II	...	99-101	717-720
Yazīd II	...	101-105	720-724
Hishām	...	105-125	724-743
Al-Walīd II	...	125-126	743-744
Yazīd III	...	126	744-745
Ibrāhīm	...	126-127	745
Marwān II	...	127-132	745-750
The Early 'Abbāsids			
As-Saffāḥ	...	132-136	750-754
Al-Manṣūr	...	136-158	754-775
Al-Mahdi	...	158-168	775-785
Al-Hādi	...	168-170	785-786
Ar-Rashīd	...	170-193	786-809
Al-Amīn	...	193-198	809-813
Al-Mā'mūn	...	198-218	813-833
Al-Mu'taṣim	...	218-227	833-842
Al-Wāthiq	...	227-232	842-847

APPENDIX B

LIST OF BOOKS CONSULTED AND QUOTED

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3. Amīr 'Ali: *A Short History of the Saracens*, London, 1934.
4. Arnold: *The Caliphate*, Oxford, 1924.
5. Abū 'l-Farj: *Kitābu 'l-Aghāni*, Būlāq, 1286 A.H., in 20 vols.

6. Al-Balądhuri : *Futūḥu 'l-Buldān*, ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1866.
7. Aḍ-Damīrī : *Ḥayātu 'l-Ḥayawānu 'l-Kubra*, Cairo. 1309, in 2 vols.
8. Ad-Diyarbakri : *al-Khamis*, Cairo, 1302, in 2 vols.
9. Hitti : *History of the Arabs*, London, 1940.
10. Husaini : *Ibn al-'Arabi*, Adyar, 1931.
11. Ibn 'Asākir : *Ta'rīkhu Dimashq*, MS.
12. Ibnu 'l-Athīr : *Ta'rīkhu 'l-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, Leyden, 1851-76, in 14 vols.
13. Ibun 'l-Athīr : *Usudu 'l-Ghābah fi Akhbāri 's Ṣaḥābah*, Cairo, 1286 A.H.
14. Ibn Ḥawqal : *al-Masāliku wa 'l-Mamālik*, Leyden, 1873.
15. Ibnu 'l-Jawzi : *Kitābu 'l-Adhkiyā'*, Cairo, 1306 A.H.
16. Ibn Khallikān: *Wafiyātu 'l-A'yān*, Cairo, 1310, in 3 vols.
17. Ibn Khurdādhbih : *al-Masāliku wa 'l-Mamālik*, Leyden, 1306 A.H.
18. Al-Iṣṭakhri: *al-Mamālikuwa'l-Masālik*. Leyden, 1870.
19. Ibn Khaldūn : *al-Muqaddamah*, ed. M. Quartremere, Paris, 1858, in 3 vols.
20. IbnKhaldūn: *Kitābu 'l-'Ibar*, Būlāq, 1284 A.H., in 7 vols.
21. Al-Jahshiyāri : *Kitābu 'l-Wuzarā'i wa 'l-Kuttāb*, printed copy with the original pages marked; the original pages have been quoted (Cairo, 1938).
22. Al-Khuḍari : *Ta'rīkhu Umami 'l-Islāmīyah*, Cairo, 1926, 1934, in 3 vols.
23. Al-Maqarri: *Nafḥu 't-Ṭīb*, Būlāq, 1279 A.H., in 4 vols.
24. Al-Maqdisi : *Aḥsanu 't-Taqāsīm*, ed. De Goeje. Leyden, 1906.
25. Al-Maqrīzī: *Khiṭāṭu Miṣr*, Būlāq, 1270 A.H., in 2 vols.
26. Al-Mas'ūdi : *Murūju 'dh-Dhahab*, ed. and translated by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-77, in 9 vols.
27. Al-Māwardi : *Al-Aḥkāmu 's Sulṭānīyah*, Egypt, 1298 A.H.
28. Maẓharu 'l-Ḥaqq : *'Umar bin 'Abdi 'l-'Azīz*.
29. Mez : *The Renaissance of Islam*, London, 1937.
30. Mu'īnu 'd-Dīn : *Ta'rīkh-i Islām*, A'ẓamgarh, in 3 vols.
31. Al-Mubarrad : *al-Kāmil*, Cairo, 1286.
32. Ibn Sīdah : *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Cairo, in 17 vols.
33. Levy, *Sociology in Islam*, London, in 2 vols.

34. Nicholson: *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge, 1930.
35. Al-Qalqashandi: *Ṣubḥu 'l-A'sha*, Cairo, 1913, in 14 vols.
36. Qudamah: *Kitābu 'l-Kharāj*, Leyden, 1306 A.H.
37. As-Suyūṭi: *Ḥusnu 'l-Muḥāḍarah fi Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhirah*, Cairo, 1299 A.H., in 2 vols.
38. Ash-Shibli: *al-Fārūq*, A'ẓamgarh, in 2 vols.
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40. Ibn Taghrībirdi: *An-Nujūmu 'ẓ-Ẓāhirah*, Leyden, 1851, in 2 vols
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44. Sir William Muir, *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline and Fall*, Edinburgh, 1915.
45. Yaḥya bin Ādam: *Kitābu 'l-Kharāj*, Cairo, 1347 A.H.
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59. Le Strange: *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* Cambridge, 1905.
60. Aṣ-Ṣābi: *Kitābu 'l-Wuzarā'*, Leyden, 1904.
61. Ibnu 'l-Faqih: *Kitābu 'l-Buldān*, ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1302 A.H.

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The definite article *al* has been prefixed throughout the text to those Arabic names which take it, but in the index it is denoted by a dash, e.g.— 'Abbās for al-'Abbās. Names of books as well as Oriental words and technical terms explained in the text are printed in italics.

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