



Review Article

SIYĀSAH AL-SHAR IYYAH (ISLAMIC POLITICAL SCIENCE) AS A DISCIPLINE OF KNOWLEDGE IN ISLAM

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ABSTRACT

The birth and development of political institutions is largely the product of human thought and action. The creation of the 'Madinah Society' which is considered by the majority of Muslim scholars as the first 'Muslim community' was produced by Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) concept of community (*ummah*). The concept is based on the social and political interaction between him and his followers in the cities of Makkah and Madinah. The establishment of the Madinah Society led to the formation of the first Islamic state by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and constituted a formal and legal political organization. Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) vision and aspiration for creating a new social and political order was realised during his lifetime due to his success in cultivating a new civilization based on the belief of the One God. Moreover, his political career was crowned by the establishment of the new state of Madinah. This article attempts to examine how the idea of the first Muslim community (*ummah*) and the state institution was formed, and how the school of Islamic political science (*Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*) emerged as a separate discipline in Islamic studies, its fields of study, the different phases of its development and its relation to Islamic political thought.

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INTRODUCTION

The Formation of the Madinah Community as the First Political Institution in Islam

The concept of community is a broad and complex abstraction. David¹ stated that we frequently use 'community' to refer to a physical concentration of individuals in a single place. The Random House Dictionary defines community as a social group of any size, whose members reside in a specific locality, share a government, and have a common cultural and historical heritage. "Community" is a social group sharing common characteristics or interests and perceiving itself as distinct in some respect from the larger society within which it

exists.² Community is indivisible from human actions, purposes, values and social interaction. It is an inescapable aspect of human life, shared perspectives, and commitment to a certain place and its group. At the root of the human community, David³ states, "lies the brute fact of social life: organization". Organization in turn structures the relation and interaction of the members of the community. The early Muslim community in Makkah was a small group of individuals sharing common religious characteristics and interests. It perceived itself as a distinct human association different from the larger society of Makkah within which it existed. Through its interactions it became organized and structured in accordance with its own Islamic image of itself. The founding of the Islamic community in Makkah was a successful implementation of the Islamic ideology concerning life. Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) followers were organized into an association of believers in Islam and were united by their religious association, as the new converts also accepted

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¹. David W. Miner and Scott Greer (eds). 1969. The Concept of Community. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, p.ix.

². The Random House Dictionary of English Language. 1965. p.157.

³. David and Greer. 1969. The Concept of Community., Op.cit., p. 3.

Islam as their new identity. The concept of *ummah* (Muslim community), like all other concepts in Islamic thought, was conceived and developed in the context of Islamic social, political and religious settings. For that reason the term *ummah* carried a different meaning, namely that of a religious group, a people, and a nation. The Holy Qur'an reflects a gradual development of this term from initially a religious association of believers (the Muslim community in Makkah) to a complete and organized social, economic, and political system (in Madinah).⁴ As a religious group, the term *ummah* refers to a group of individuals united by a religious leader (a Prophet) on the basis of divine guidance.⁵ This religious group existed in the form of small religious communities within the society. When the term *ummah* was used in reference to people, it referred to a socio-religious association of individuals gathered around a common leader. An example of this meaning can be found in the Qur'an when it spoke of the people of 'Ad, Thamud, Lihyan, Nuh and Ibrahim (PBUH).⁶ The Qur'an states: "To every people (was sent) an apostle; when their apostle come the matter will be judged between them with justice, and they will not be wronged."⁷ Again in chapter 16:36 God said: "For We assuredly sent amongst every People an apostle, (with the Command), "Serve Allah, and eschew Evil." These two meanings of *ummah* appeared frequently during the Makkan period.

The Makkan period can be regarded as the initial stage for the moral cultivation of individuals in order to form a distinct religious association around the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The Qur'an reflects this gradual change in the life of the Muslim community in stating, "and verily this Brotherhood of yours is a single Brotherhood, and I am your Lord and Cherisher: therefore, fear me and no other."⁸ By the end of the Makkan period and during the early stages of the Madinah period, the term *ummah* assumed yet another meaning. For the first time, the term referred to a sizable group of people united by common bonds of religion, shared experiences, and common aspirations as well as geographical and institutional arrangements. The *ummah* becomes a *nation*. The Holy Qur'an refers to this development when it describes the Islamic community as the best community given to mankind; an integrated and balanced community. God proclaimed: "Ye are the best of peoples evolved for mankind."⁹ In another chapter, God said: "Thus have we made of you an Ummah (nation) justly balanced, that you might be witnesses over the nations and the Apostle a witness over yourselves."¹⁰ The first Muslim community grew with time and became the nucleus of the Madinah state which was also regarded as the first Islamic state in the history of Islam. The moment any community

consciously defines and attains its political goals such as independence and territorial sovereignty over its own affairs, it becomes potentially a state-community. Upon their arrival in Madinah, the Makkan Muslims united themselves under a formal written constitutional arrangement with the Muslim community of Madinah and its surrounding communities, which culminated in the establishment of a state and new state-order. This political integration in the process of state-building by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) illustrates the successful implementation of an ideology into a concrete political reality of a new social order. Reflecting on this development, Professor Watt stated: "Toward the end of the Makkan period, however, the word *ummah* makes its appearance in the Qur'an. At first it is equivalent to *qawm* (people) however, the *ummah* is the community formed by those who accepted the Messenger (Prophet Muhammad). The first article in the Constitution of Madinah shows Muslim Quraish and Yathrib (Madinah) together with their associates constitute a single *ummah* (nation)."¹¹ The Madinah period was another phase in Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) religious and political leadership. It was during this period that the concept of the Islamic community (*ummah*) was fully developed and Prophet Muhammad's role accordingly became that of prophet-ruler. The establishment of the Muslim society was regarded by the majority of classical Muslim scholars as the first Islamic state of Madinah, and was based on a formal and legal political organization. Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) succeeded in spreading the teachings of a new religion (Islam), planted the seeds of a new civilization, and crowned his political career by establishing a new state, namely the Islamic state of Madinah.

The State Institution from an Islamic Historical Perspective

The theory of state and government has always been the most controversial issue in Islamic history. The reason for this controversy is due to the absence of details regarding these issues in the Qur'an. Although the state is regarded as one of the most fundamental institutions of society, and a political organized community has existed throughout human history, in the early days of Islam, the concept of society and state meant the same thing. For that reason the term 'state' is not found in the Qur'an nor can it be found in the Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The Qur'an merely refers to an organized authority which belongs to God as the source of governing authority. It is believed that the current concept of 'nation state' (*dawlah* in Arabic) is a relatively recent development which was generally linked to the 'Treaty of Westphalia' in 1648.¹² Early Muslim jurists normally used the terms '*khilafah*' or '*imamah*' to denote the idea of a political order.¹³ Beginning from the period of the first Muslim Caliph Abubakr al-Tayyib to the period of the Ottoman caliphate, Muslims regarded the '*caliphate institution*' as the central platform and sole institution answerable for the implementation of Islamic law (*sharia*) in the Muslim empire. When the Ottoman caliphate collapsed in 1924, many

⁴. See The Holy Qur'an chapters 2:134, 20: 16, 36: 21, 3: 103, 22. See also Muhammad F. Abdul Baqu. *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufarras Li al-Alfaz al-Qur'an al-Karim*. 1945. Cairo: Dar al-Matabi' al-Sha'ab.

⁵. Manzooruddin Ahmad. 1962. "Key Political Concepts in the Qur'an", in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol.2 (September), p.80.

⁶. The Holy Qur'an, chapters: 4:54, 8:73, 9:73, 11:61, 14:9, 25:38, 38:13.

⁷. The Holy Qur'an, 10:47.

⁸. The Holy Qur'an, 23:52.

⁹. The Holy Qur'an, 3:110.

¹⁰. The Holy Qur'an. 2:143.

¹¹. W. Montgomery Watt. 1955. "Ideal Factors in the Origin of Islam", in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol.1. No.3, p.161.

¹². Abdul Rashid Moten. 1999. *Political Science: An Islamic Perspective*. London; Macmillan and Press Ltd., p.17.

¹³. Manzooruddin Ahmad, "Key Political Concept in the Qur'an, op.cit., p.80.

Muslim kingdoms attained their independence in the form of nation states. With this new political development in the Muslim world, Muslim scholars felt that an alternative platform was needed responsible for the implementation of Islamic law in the newly changing world of politics. Ever since, the idea of an 'Islamic State' was used in the writings of Muslim scholars as an alternative to the caliphate system. In modern Arabic, the term 'dawlah' refers to the nation state. Although the term 'dawlah' is found in the Qur'an, it was not used to refer to the state, rather it was used in its literal sense of 'circulation or making a circuit' where it is stated that wealth should not circulate solely among the rich. For example God said in the Surah al-Imran (3:140) 'watalika al-Ayyamun walayha' *Such days (of varying fortunes) We give to men and men by turns.*¹⁴ And in chapter 59: 7, God stated 'kayl yak naduwlatan baynaaghniy 'minkum',¹⁵ "In order that it may not (merely) make a circuit between the wealthy among you."

Perhaps it was in this figurative sense that the term came to be used for political authority. Although the explicit terms 'state' or 'polity' are lacking, the essential elements that constitute political order were referred to in the Qur'an. As such, certain scholars claimed that although the usages of the word 'dawlah' in the aforementioned verses do not refer to the concept of state, it was perhaps used figuratively to imply rotation (of political authority). However, Ahmed Davutoglu argued that the semantic transformation from the root *dwl* to *dawlah* occurred in three stages. First, it was used to denote the change of political power, next to denote continuity of the ultimate political authority and finally as a nation state.¹⁶ Historically, the term 'dawlah' was first used by Muslims to refer to the state in the early seventh century A.H. namely in the Abbasid period. It was first applied to a new regime established by a revolution as opposed to the Umayyad dynasty.¹⁷ However, as the Abbasid regime became permanently established, the emphasis was gradually changed from revolution to organized authority; that is the state.

The establishment of the first Islamic state in Madinah by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) could be examined by applying either the historical or speculative method of inquiry. J.K. Bluntschli in his discussion about 'the rise and fall of state' emphasized that the manner in which a state is formed is a phenomenon of great psychological and historical interest because of its long-enduring influence over the entire life of the state. In his discussion of the historical formations of the state, Bluntschli distinguished three different formative stages: (1) original formation; (2) secondary formation; and (3) derived formation.¹⁸ The original formation of the state has its beginnings among a people and in a territory independent of existing states. The secondary formation starts from within a territory by its inhabitants who are dependent upon already

existing states. Finally, the derived formation is that which gives rise to a new state through an outside influence. The development of the states of Rome, Athens, and later the Republic of Iceland are good examples of the nation state. Bluntschli argues that the foundation of Rome is the most original of all the ways in which a state can arise, "here everything is new: the people gather itself around common leaders out of fragments of many different races, and becomes a united Roman people; uncultivated and unclaimed territory is taken possession of and becomes the site of the eternal city."¹⁹ Bluntschli considered that people and their territory are the two basic elements in the formation of a state and that the organization of a multitude into a nation follows their establishment in a territory. He states, "both elements coincide, the creative spirit of the king and the political will of the people meet together in the law of the State, as a single act, and the State is the free work of the conscious will of the people."²⁰

The formation of the state of Athens is another example of the rise of a new state in an original form. Unlike Rome, Athens became a state by the organized efforts of its inhabitants on their own land. The foundation of the state of Athens was ascribed to "King Theseus who united the scattered communities of the country in a single State and concentrated the government in Athens."²¹ Here, it was the political organization of the people to whom the land belonged under the authority of a King which brought the state into being. The historical view of the original formation of the state as developed by Bluntschli is of practical importance to the study of the rise of the Islamic state of Madinah. The creation of the Islamic state of Madinah was a conscious effort by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his followers to organize themselves into a new political body independent of other communities with its own laws and institutions. The three basic elements, namely the people, the land (territory), and the political organization which gave birth to both Rome and Athens coincided and interacted in a similar manner and gave birth to a new state: the Islamic state of Madinah. In this case, if we keep the modern concept of state in mind, we find that the Madinah society established by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) carries the modern concept of a state to its full meaning, both in political theory and in marks of statehood to modern international law.

The Madinah society consisted of Muslim immigrants from Makkah (*al-Muhajirun*) and the fragmented communities of Madinah (*al-Ansar*) and its surrounding territories. The territory consisted of the city of Madinah and its neighboring settlements. The political organization of the people was the Charter of Madinah (a *fah* al-Mad nah), a formal and legal compact in the form of a constitution formulated and accepted by the free will of the people. As in the case of Rome, "the creative spirit of the king and the political will of the people met together in the law of the State."²² At this point, it is important to discuss the manner by which the actual establishment of the Islamic state of Madinah took place. 'The spirit of the king' (the political leadership of Prophet

¹⁴. The Holy Qur'an, 3:140.

¹⁵. The Holy Qur'an, 59:7.

¹⁶. Ahmad Davutoglu. 1989. *Alternative Paradigms : The Impact of Islamic and Western Weltanschauung on Political Theory*. Maryland: University Press of America, p.27.

¹⁷. Hamid Enayat. 1982. *Modern Islamic Political Thought*. London: Macmilland Press Ltd., p.78.

¹⁸. Johann K. Bluntschli. 1961. *The Theory of State*. New York: Books for Libraries Press, p. 259.

¹⁹. Ibid., p.262.

²⁰. Ibid.

²¹. Ibid.

²². Ibid.

Mu ammad) and 'political will of the people' (the political integration and organization of the people) met together in 'the law of the State' (the Islamic law or *shar ah*).

Siy sah (Politic) from an Islamic Perspective

The word 'politics' has been synonymous with the word 'siy sah' which originated from the Arabic words 'sasa', 'yasusu' and 'siyasatan' which means to take care,²³ and if the word is used for human affairs, it means 'administer their affairs.'²⁴ In modern Arabic usage from the end of the 19th and 20th centuries, the term 'siyasah' has taken on a new meaning which is often used in reference to political affairs. In its modern sense, 'siy sah' is synonymous to politics, the art of government, or governmental affairs. As a technical term, 'siyasah' has been defined by Muslim jurists such as Ab al-Waf Ibn Aq l as "an action that can bring people closer to the betterment and further away from the damage, although the Prophet did not fix it, and Allah too had not sent revelation to organize it."²⁵ While Husain Fauzy al-Najjar defined 'siy sah' as the "setting of interest and benefit of the people along with taking care policy (the right) to ensure good lives."²⁶ In addition, Ibn Mandh r defined 'siy sah' as "arrange something that leads to the betterment."²⁷

Prophet Mu ammad (PBUH) used the term 'siy sah' to refer to 'the art of government' or 'governmental affairs' as evidenced in the ad th, 'k nat Ban Isr 'ltas suhum al-Anbiy ',²⁸ meaning the Children of Israel were governed by the prophets. Al-Qistil and Im m al-Nawaw interpreted the phrase 'tas suhum al-Anbiy ' as "the Prophet manages the governmental affairs of the Children of Israel in the way other leaders of other nations managed the affairs of their own citizens."²⁹ Based on this precedent by the Prophet (PBUH), the majority of classical Muslim scholars defined 'siy sah' as the art of government expected of all government officials. From here it can be seen that the word 'siy sah' from the beginning was only used to mean 'the art of government', which is similar to the meaning of the Western concept of 'politics'. From a western perspective, besides the word 'polis', the Greek philosophers also used other words such as 'politicos' or 'politica' which means state organization or the art of government.³⁰ In his effort to popularize the usage of the word 'politics' to mean the art of government, Aristotle named his work 'politica'. Plato opted for a similar strategy by

naming his work 'politeia'.³¹ Both of these books were regarded as the main reference for Western political scientists that paved the way for the emergence of political science as an independent discipline. In Islam the earliest Muslim scholar to use the word 'siy sah' to refer to politics was Ab asan al-Ahwazi in his book titled 'Tahdh b al-Siy sah' (Political Education) written in 446 AH. This is the earliest book on Islamic political science. Following this work, several other works emerged such as 'Risalah al-Bir fi al-Siy sah' and 'Siy sah al-' mmah' (General Politics). Both works were written by al-Kindi in 866AH. After the death of al-Kindi, his students produced his own work entitled 'Kit b Siy sah al-Kab r' (The Great Book of Politics) and 'Siy sah al- agh r' (The Small Book of Politics). These four books were regarded as the main references in the philosophic trend of Islamic political science.³² It has to be understood that the meaning of the word 'siy sah' as explained above is in line with Prophet Mu ammad's (PBUH) initiative to unite his followers and other groups with various cultures surrounding Madinah into a single structured and independent community under his leadership. This is clearly a political practice to achieve his goals in creating an Islamic state of Madinah as the first state based on Islamic principles.

Islamic Political Science (Siy sah al-Shar iyyah) as a Part of Islamic Jurisprudence

It is necessary to acknowledge that according to Islam, the root and origin of all social and political institutions, including the state and government are derived from religion. Leonard Binder stated, "the point is that Islamic theology cannot accept the idea of tension between religion and politics, Islam at once is religion and a nation."³³ The strong link between religion and politics in Islam can be seen more clearly if we look at the history of the Muslim community in Madinah. The Muslim community of Madinah selected events that carried political values as moments to mark history. An example of this is the determination of the Islamic new year (Islamic calendar) which is not based on the Prophet's birthday, or on the year that hr received the revelation (wa y), instead the Islamic calendar is based on the migration (ijarah) of the Prophet (PBUH) from Makkah to Madinah.³⁴ This migration was very important to the Muslim community of Madinah, as through this event the Muslims obtained the freedom to spread the teachings of Islam and enabled them to unite in their efforts to create a 'Muslim community' (an ummah) which can be regarded as the basis for the building of a sovereign state, namely the Islamic state of Madinah which was regarded as the first Islamic state. In the classical period of Islam Muslim jurists (*al-fuqaha'*) were the only category of scholars qualified to derive laws from Islamic sources to regulate the life of the community within the state. According to them, the existence of proper laws in any state is a prerequisite for political stability and the existence of political stability is a

²³. Ibn Manzur. 1968. Lisan al-'Arab. Beirut: Dar al-Sadir., Vol.6. p.108.

²⁴. Fuad Irfan Bustani. 1956. Munjib al-Tullab. Cairo: Dar al-Falah, p.341.

²⁵. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. 1953. Al-Turuq al-Hukmiyyah Fi al-Siyasah al-Shar'iyyah. Riyadh: Dar al-Wathan, p.13.

²⁶. Husain Fauzy al-Najjar. 1969. Al-Islam Wa al-Siyasah. Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif., p.55.

²⁷. Ibn Manzur. 1968. Lisan al-'Arab. Beirut: Dar al-Sadir, Vol.6, p.108.

²⁸. Quoted from ZainalAbidin Ahmad. 1977. Ilmu Politik Islam. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, p.30.

²⁹. Lukman Thaib. 1998. Politik Menurut Perspektif Islam. Kajang: Synergymate Sdn Bhd, p. 6.

³⁰. Abdul Rashid Moten, 1998. Political Science: An Islamic Perspective, op.cit., 17.

³¹. Lukman Thaib. 2006. Discourse on Islamic Political Thought. Kuala Lumpur: University Malaya Publisher, p. 4.

³². Lukman Thaib. 1998. Politik Menurut Perspektif Islam, op.cit., p.25.

³³. Leonard Binder. 1968. The Ideological Revolution in the Middle East. New York: John Willey and Sons, p.27.

³⁴. Lukman Thaib. 2006. Discourse on Islamic Political Thought. Op.cit., p. 8.

prerequisite for the emergence or existence of political theory or governmental system, namely (*Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*). In the early period of Islam, *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* was not thought of as a separate discipline in Islamic intellectual discourse. Most Muslim scholars among them Imam al-Sh fi , Ab Y suf and Ab an fah discussed Islamic political science under the rubric of Islamic law (fiqh). To illustrate, Imam al-Sh fi discussed the rights of citizens who became prisoners of war in his *al-Umm* in the chapter '*B bfahli al-D r al- arb*', and the discourse on the rights of citizens who were not from a Muslim territory but whose countries have agreements with the Muslim territory (Muslim state) under the title of '*B bahl al-D r al-'Ahd*'. While the discussion on the rights of non-Muslim citizens in a Muslim territory were discussed under the title '*B bDiyyaahli al-Dhimma*'. Imam al-Sh fi also discussed international relations in the chapter '*al-SiyarwaalMagh z*'.³⁵ The same method was employed by Ab Y suf³⁶ in his discussion on the concept of sovereignty in the chapter of '*B b al- ukmiyyah*' and the discussion of political representation under the chapter of '*al-Sh ra*' in his *al-Kharaj*.

Al-Siyasah al-Shar iyyah as an Independent Discipline

Since the classical period of Islam, Muslim jurists (al-fuqah) were the only group of scholars qualified to rule on practical problems. Their rulings pertaining to the art of governance developed into an independent study by the name of *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*, which maintained its classical form in terms of structure and methodology. However, during the Abbasid caliphate of the 9th century, there emerged several Muslim scholars who worked towards making *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* a systematic system of government and administration such as Ibn Abi Rabi' (833-842 A.D.) in his work '*Sul k al-M likf Tadb r al-Mam lik*', Imam Maward with his book '*al-A k m al-Sult niyyahf al-Wil yah al-D nniyyah*', and Imam al-Ghaz l in his work '*Al- adb ral-Masb kf Na ah al-Muluk*'.³⁷ Despite the number of Muslim scholars who engaged this theme, only three were regarded as the first to discuss *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* in a comprehensive and systematic and as a separate discipline in Islam, namely Ibn Taymiyyah in his work '*al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyahf I l al-R al-Ra iyyah*', followed by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah in his book '*al- uruq al- ukmiyyahf al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*'.³⁸ The new term '*Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*' greatly assisted in the popular acceptance of the term to denote an independent discipline with Islamic studies. Although in its original connotation '*al- iyasah al-Shar' iyyah*' meant a narrowly '*shari'atic political system*' or system of government based on Islamic law. However one of the contemporary Muslim scholars, Abd al-Wahh b al-Khall f has defined '*Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*' as "a flexibility in judgment given to a person in authority to take action based on the needs of the community (ummah), as long as it is not against any principle of

shar ah."³⁹ In other words, we can also define '*Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*' as 'knowledge of Islamic states or countries that specifically discusses details the systems of governance, with the view to better mankind and avoid various harms that may arise in the community or nation.'

The Domain of *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*

According to Abdul Rahman Taj, the study of *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* is the study of the affairs related to the organization of a society and a nation's etiquette in accordance with the Shar ah. However, according to Abd al-Wahh b al-Khall f, *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* is the study of various rules and laws necessary to appropriately regulate with the teachings of religion within a nation for the benefit of mankind and to help fulfil the various needs of society.⁴⁰ If the formation of *Fiqh al-Siy sah* is properly reviewed, the existence of two types of '*siy sah*' (politics) emerge. First: *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* is a form of politics that consists of processes to restructure religious norms and ethics. Second: *al-Siy sah Wa iyyah* is solely a human form of politics without observing the norms and ethics of religion in its restructuring process. In terms of resources, it can be said that the source of *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* is made up of revelation (religion) and the process of human thought that seeks to derive laws thereof to meet the needs of his environment.⁴¹

Among the main differences between *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* and *al-Siy sah Wa iyyah* is that the latter is solely a human product. It includes expert opinions (*ara' ahl al-Ba ar*), traditions (*al- Urf*), customs (*al-'adah*), past experience (*al-Tajarub*) and previous rules that are inherited (*al-Aw ' al-Mawr thah*). Usually the sources of law derived from humans and their environment is different and dynamic because of the customs, experiences, views and cultures of people which are in a state of perpetual growth.⁴² *Al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* also included human thought as part of its law but not in an originating sense. All law is ultimately derived from divine origins and human thought is used as tool to derive those laws from their divine origins. One may say that the questions being asked are human while the answers given are fundamentally divine in origin but carry a degree of human interpretation. Furthermore, *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* honours the role of human thought by establishing the rule that all thought that does not contradict divine teachings and is widely accepted or practiced within a nation must be observed. This obligation is commanded by Allah, "O you who believe! Obey Allah and obey His Messenger and those in authority (government) from among you."⁴³

³⁹. Abdul Wahhab al-Khallaf. 1977. *Al-Siyasah al-Shar' iyyah Wa al-Nizam al-Dawlah al-Islamiyyah fi Shu'un al-Dusturiyyah Wa al-Kharijiyyah*. Cairo: Dar al-Ansar, p.4.

⁴⁰. Abdul Wahhab al-Khallaf. 1953. *Al-Siyasah al-Shar' iyyah fi Shu'un al-Dusturiyyah Wa al-Maliyyah*. Cairo: Matba'ah al-Ta'lif., p.31-32.

⁴¹. Ahmad Sukarja. 1995. *Piagam Madinah Undang-Undang Dasar: Kajian Perbandingan Tentang Dasar Hidup Bersama Dalam Masyarakat Majmuk*. Jakarta: UI Press, p.11.

⁴². Ibid.

⁴³. The Holy Qur'an, 4: 59.

³⁵. Ibid.

³⁶. Abdul Nasir Omar Abdi. 2000. *Muhammad Rashid Ridha Discourse on the Concept of Islamic State*. Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia., p.31.

³⁷. Munawir Syazali. 1993. *Islam dan Tatanegara: Sejarah, Pemikiran dan Ajaran*. Jakarta: UI Press, p.42.

³⁸. Lukman Thaib. 2006. *Discourse on Islamic Political Thought*. Op.cit., p.9.

The difference between *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* and *al-Siy sahWa iyyah* is the former is Islamic in nature, whereas the products of *al-Siy sahWa iyyah* may potentially be opposed to Islam because in its restructuring process it does not refer to religious norms. However, any product of *al-Siy sahWa iyyah* can have Islamic values or can be categorized under *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* if it meets the following six criteria: 1. The contents are in line with the *shar ah*, 2. The equality of man is maintained, 3. Does not burden the community, 4. Upholds justice, 5. Is able to promote advancement and prevent harm, 6. The formation procedure is through consensus. Now in terms of the purposes of each form of *al-Siy sah*, it can be said that *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* aims to achieve the happiness of mankind in this world and hereafter, whereas the *al-Siy sahWa iyyah* aims to achieve happiness in this world alone.

In terms of the categories of *Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*, Muslim jurists have differed. According to Abd al-Wahh b al-Khall f, *Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* can be divided into three areas: 1. '*Siy sah Dust riyah*' (constitutional politics), 2. '*Siy sah M liyyah*' (financial politics), and 3. '*Siy sah Kh rijyyah*' (foreign affairs). Whereas according to Abdul RahmanTaj, *Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* can be classified into seven areas of study: 1. '*Siy sahDust riyah*' (constitutional politics), 2. '*Siy sah Tashr iyyah*' (legislative politics), 3. '*Siy sahQa iyyah*' (legal politics), 4. '*Siy sah M liyyah*' (financial politics), 5. '*Siy sahId riyah*' (administrative politics), 6. '*Siy sahTanf dhiyyah*' (application politics), 7. '*Siy sahKh rijyyah*' (foreign affairs).⁴⁴

The Objective of Studying *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*

The main purpose for the study of *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* according to Abd al-Wahh b al-Khall f is to understand how to create a national organization to demonstrate that Islam is a fair political system that seeks to better mankind.⁴⁵ Knowledge of *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* provides an understanding of the dynamism of life and how the needs of Muslims can be lawfully met. It is important to note at this juncture that *Fiqhal-Siy sah* is different from *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*. *Fiqh* or *Fiqhal-Siy sah* is merely a political theory from an assumed Islamic perspective that results from an individual's *ijtihad* such as the *al-A k mal-Sult niyyah* by Imam al-Maward , which is not binding in so long as it is not adopted as law. In other words, it does not have binding legal force that forces Muslims to follow such a theory unless it is institutionalised and formally becomes law. In contrast, *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* consists of various regulations that are expressed by the rulers (*umar '*) and scholars of a country in the form of various laws and regulations (*qaw n n*) that have binding authority and those who do not comply will be punished accordingly. The *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* is managed by the *umar '* and scholars of a country appointed on the legislative council of a country. Ordinary scholars do not have the political authority to introduce formal law (*q n n*). This view is compatible with the view held by Abd al-Wahh b al-Khall f who considered *al-Siy sah al-*

Shar iyyah the government authority to create a policy that requires norms which are not contrary to religion.⁴⁶ Thus it is clear that the organizing institution or body of *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* is the government and not an individual scholar not appointed in legislative institutions. Since the products produced by the legislative body are forms of legal regulation the *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* is therefore binding.

Phases of the Development of *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*

The history of Islamic political thought (*al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*) grew in the intellectual histories of Muslim societies because of various important events. The practical life of the Prophet (PBUH) with his companions in Madinah is a fertile platform to study social and political issues in Islam within the context of an Islamic state. After the death of the Prophet, there were many significant events that occurred among the leaders of the Muslim community of Madinah. The first was the debate that occurred in the Saq fah regarding who would replace the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as the leader of the Muslim community and head of the Muslim state. Muslims have always taken political issues seriously. The reign of the four rightly guided caliphs is testimony to this fact. Moreover, the transfer of power from one caliph to the other in this period varied and constitutes a significant milestone for the development of Islamic political science.

In general it is possible to say that in the past, Islamic political thought in general can be divided into two trends. The first is the '*shar atic trend*' and the second the '*philosophical trend*'. Among the Muslim thinkers who were regarded as pioneers in the *shar atic trend* were al-Maward , al-Ghaz l , IbnTaymiyyah and IbnJam ah, whereas in the pioneers of the philosophic trend were al-Far b , IbnS n and IbnRushd. All these philosophers were working towards merging Islamic political science with philosophy.⁴⁷ In terms of the development phase of *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*, it can be divided into three periods, namely the classical phase starting from the 7th to the 13th century (1258 M), the intermediary phase that began from the 14th century until the fall of the Abbasid dynasty and the progression of colonialism in 19th century, and modern phase that started from the 19th century until now.

The Classical Phase

The phase began with the time of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), through to the reign of the Umayyads, and up to the beginning of the Abbasid dynasty. In the early days of Islam until the time of the Umayyad Dynasty (661-750 AD), *al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyah* and Islamic political thought in general were not prominent discourses among Muslim intellectuals although at that time opposition movements existed between the Sunnis, Khaw rij and Shi'ite groups. It was during the Abbasid dynasty that Islamic political thought expanded through several prominent Muslim intellectuals as part of the Abbasid drive to cultivate vast knowledge. The early period of the Abbasid dynasty was considered the golden era of Islamic

⁴⁴. Abdul Rahman Taj. 1953. *Al-Siyasah al-Shar'iyyahWa al-Fiqh al-Islami*. Cairo: Matba'ah Dar al-Ta'rif., p. 8.

⁴⁵. Abdul Wahhab al-Khallaf. 1977. *Al-Siyasah al-Shar'iyyahWa al-Nizam al-Dawlah*. Op.cit., p.5.

⁴⁶. Muhammad Diya al-Din 1969. *Nazariyyah al-Siyasah al-Islamiyyah*. Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif., p.296.

⁴⁷. MunawirSyadzali. 1993. *Islam dan Tata Negara*. Op.cit., p.

thought. Among Muslim intellectuals who emerged in this period was:

1. Ibn Abi Rab'ah (833-842AD) with his work '*Sul k al-M lik fi Tadb r a-Mam lik*' (the King's behavior in the government administration)
2. Al-Farabi (870-950AD), who wrote the book '*r 'ahlal-Mad nahal-F ilah*' (the Views of the Inhabitants of the Ideal City), '*Ta l al-Sa dah*' (Road to Achieve Happiness) and '*al-Siy sah al-Madaniyyah*' (Urban Politics)
3. Al-Mawardi (975-1059AD) authored the renowned '*al-A k m al-Sul niyyahf al-Wil yah al-D niyyah*' (Government Regulations)
4. Al-Ghazali (1058-1111AD) authored '*I y Ul m al-D n*' (Revival of Religious Knowledge), '*al-Turuqal-Masb kfNa ah al-Mulk*' (Advice to the Kingnotto Transgressed all Bounds), '*Al-Istish df al-I'tiq d*' (Moderation in Belief) and '*Kimiya' al-Sa dah*' (the Alchemy of Happiness).

Among several important features that stand out in Islamic political thought in the classical era is the influence of Greek thought especially Platonic thought regarding the origins of a nation.⁴⁸ Muslim scholars appreciated Plato's political theory concerning the state.⁴⁹ However, Muslim scholars asserted that the state was to be based on Islamic teachings with the aim of meeting the physical and spiritual needs of mankind in this world and the next. Achieving happiness (*al-Sa dah*) in the world and spiritual bliss in the hereafter within the context of a state as promoted by al-Farabi is compatible with the claims of al-Mawardi in that states are formed to extend the Prophet's (PBUH) mission while meeting the physical and spiritual needs of mankind in this world and the next.⁵⁰ The second characteristic of Islamic political thought in the classical era is based on the social-political situation at that time. Islamic political thought developed as a response to political social conditions that occurred during this era.

Thus we see that some Muslim scholars of political science at the time such as Ibn Abi Rab'ah in his work entitled '*Sul k al-M likf Tadb r al-Mam lik*' which was presented to the Caliph of the Abbasid dynasty, al-Mu'tasim (833-842 AD) discussed the legitimacy of existing systems of government while defending the status quo in the interests of the ruler (Sultan) by demanding people to be obedient to the caliph. Only the last chapter offered recommendations for the reformation of the government. On the other hand, through the influence of ancient Greek thought like Plato and Aristotle, al-Farabi formulated his political thought on philosophical grounds. His political theory asserts that the purpose of creating a state is to gain happiness. However only philosophy can lead to happiness and as such it is fitting as the head of the state. The tendency of al-Farabi's idealism can be seen through his concept of the 'Ideal State' (*al-Mad nah al-F ilah*). The ideal city highlighted by al-Farabi reminds us of the theory of the

philosopher king proposed by Plato in his *Republic*.⁵¹ Al-Farabi's view of the ideal city differs from *al-Mad nah al-J hiliyyah*, *al-Mad nah al-F siqah*, *al-Mad nah al-Mutabaddilah* and *al-Madinah al-llah* especially the communities that reside therein. The ideal city described by al-Farabi is a city where the society has a high intellectual ability especially related to philosophy. Since al-Farabi's theories largely describe social phenomena in the community, it is difficult to implement his political ideals.

The Intermediary Phase

The intermediary phase began with the collapse of the Abbasid dynasty at the hands of the Mongols in the year 1258AD. This event crippled advances in Islamic politics and had a lasting impression of Islamic political thought. The Islamic empire experienced a political split with the emergence of many small dynasties. The fall of the Abbasid dynasty, a major centre of learning, resulted in the retardation of the Islamic world. This retardation coincided with the emergence of the Western world from their dark ages. In the volatile political environment, Islamic political thought has shown a tendency to revive the strength of the Muslim world. It is therefore not surprising for Muslim thinkers to analyse the fall of the Muslim world at the time. Among the Muslim scholars who emerged in this phase are:

1. Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328 AD). One of his most important works in Islamic political science (*Siy sah al-Shar iyyah*) is '*al-Siy sah al-Shar iyyahf l al-Ra' wa al-Ra iyyah*' (Shar'ah-based Politics in Order to Improve the Rulers and the Community). In Taymiyyah's realist thinker and a Muslim scholar who thought that the destruction of the society is due to the weaknesses of leaders. Therefore, he suggested a model of Islamic government where the Muslim community (*ummah*) can only be properly regulated by a good ruler.⁵² Ibn Taymiyyah concluded that his political theory was a good answer to the turmoils of the Muslim community.⁵³ His political thought focused on two things: honesty (*al-Am nah*) and strength (*al-Quwwah*) that serve as the necessary prerequisite for a leader. The importance given to honesty and strength was a reaction to the Mongol invasion.
2. Ibn Khaldun (1332 – 1406 AD) authored the famed *Muqaddimah*. He is the foremost Muslim sociologist. The main contribution of his political thought is the theory of group solidarity (*A abaiyyah*). He opined that the prerequisite for the existence of a dynasty, empire or great nation is having strong group solidarity and the leader must be from the most dominant group in that country.
3. Shah Waliullah al-Dahlawi (1702 – 1762 AD) was a Muslim scholar who was critical of the Islamic system prevalent in his time. He is a scholar who allowed people to protest if the leader is despotic. According to him the administration of '*Khulaf al-R shid n*' did not differ much from the Roman and Persian systems of

⁴⁸. H. Rapar. 1991. *Filsafat Politik Plato*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press, p.62.

⁴⁹. Ibid.

⁵⁰. M.M. Syarif. 1996. *Para Filosof Muslim*. Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, p.74.

⁵¹. Munawir Syazali. 1993. *Islam dan Tatanegara*. Op.cit., 82.

⁵². Ibid.

⁵³. A.K.S. Lambton. 1979. "Islamic Political Thought", in Joseph Scacht and C.E. Bosworth (ed). *The Legacy of Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press., 415.

government.⁵⁴ For this reason he allowed people to protest against a cruel leader.

The Modern Phase

The modern phase began with the advancement of Western colonialism in the Muslim world. There were three problems faced by modern Islamic political thought. Firstly, the backwardness of the Muslim world caused by internal factors that led to the emergence of reform movements. Secondly, the pressures asserted by the Western world for political power and territory of the Muslim world that ended with the conquest and domination of the Muslim world which eventually developed the spirit of hostility and anti-Western sentiments. Thirdly, the Western world was dominant in the fields of knowledge, technology and management.⁵⁵ As a result of the above conditions, various groups of Muslim scholars emerged some of whom liked to imitate Western thought while others rejected it and invited to a return to pure Islamic thought. There are three tendencies of Islamic political thought in this phase: the first group are those who believe that religion and politics should unite and not separate. According to this group, the country cannot be separated from religion since the country's task is to uphold the religion. This group was represented by:

1. Mu ammad Rashid Rida (1865 – 1935 AD) with his work *'al-Khilafah wal-Imamah al-'Ula'* (Caliphate or Religious Leadership) and his *Tafsir al-Manar*.
2. Hasan al-Banna (1906 – 1949 AD), the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood movement (*IkhwanulMuslimin*). Through a modern political party known as the 'Freedom and Justice Party' (*Hizbi al-Hurriyah wal-'Adalah*) they were able to win the Egyptian parliamentary elections and formed a government in June 2012.
3. Abul-Kalam Azad (1903-1979 AD) with his books *'Al-Khilafah wal-Mulk'* (Caliphate and Kings) as well as *Islamic Law and Constitution*. He is also the founder of the *Jama'at Islami* movement in Pakistan.
4. Sayyid Qutb (1906 – 1966 AD). Among his most famous essays is *'Ma limf al-'Arq'* (Guide) and *al-'Adalah al-Ijtima'iyyah al-Islamiyyah'* (Social Justice in Islam). He was a member of the Muslim Brotherhood.
5. Imam Khomeini (1900 – 1989 AD), the founder of the concept of *wilayat al-faqih* and among his most famous works is *'Hokumat-Islami'* (Islamic Governmental System).⁵⁶

The second group consists of those who believe that religion and politics have a reciprocal and inter-dependant relationship. Religious rules require countries to enforce the sharia while the country needs religion for legitimacy. Muslim thinkers showed moderate political thought without neglecting the importance of the country towards religion. This group was represented by:

1. Mu ammad Abduh (1849 – 1905 AD) who is considered an Egyptian reform figure.
2. Mu ammad Iqbal (1873 – 1938 AD) as the founding father of Pakistan.
3. Mu ammad Husein Haikal (1888 – 1945 AD) with his books *'al-ukmat al-Islamiyyah'* (Islamic rule) and also *'ayatumu ammad'* (Muhammad's life history).
4. Fazlur Rahman (1919 – 1988 AD), known as father of Pakistan reforms who authored *'Islam and Modernity'* and *'Major Themes of the Qur'an'*.

The third group believes that religion should be separated from politics on the grounds that Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) never ordered the establishment of a state. The formation of the state in the early days of Islam was the natural result of communal life. They believed that there was no need for Muslims to establish an Islamic state.⁵⁷ This group is represented by:

1. Al Abd al-Raziq (1888 – 1966 AD) who wrote *'al-Islam wa-Ul al-ukm'* (Islam and Government) and *'Bath al-Khilafah wal-ukmah al-Islamiyyah'* (A Study of the Islamic Caliphate and Government)
2. Muhammad Husayn (1889 – 1973 AD) who authored *'Mustaqbal al-Thaqafah Misr'* (The Future of Egypt's Culture)
3. Mustafa Kemal Attaturk (1881 – 1983 AD) the founder of Modern Turkey.

What is Islamic Political Thought?

This paper refers to political thought as a set of thinking which consists of ideas, thoughts, doctrines and concepts pertaining to the existence of political institution.⁵⁸ In other words, political thought, be it Islamic or Western can be defined as an "exercise in thinking and conceptualization which is aimed at political institution and political power."⁵⁹ The differences between Islamic and Western political thought is that Islamic political thought is a product of revelational guidance and reason exercised by Muslim thinkers in the classical period.⁶⁰ Although both Islamic and Western political thought rest on intellectual pedestals, they are not identical. Western political thought is a form of thinking based upon the Greek conception of political philosophy.⁶¹ Another difference between Islamic and Western political thought is that Western politics stands for the separation or elimination of religious thought from the understanding of world affairs and the confinement of religion to abstract worship, while Islamic political thought on the other hand does not allow the separation of religious values from the political scenario.⁶² Besides, the main concern of Western political thought is the material aspect of political affairs, while God has no role in that system.

⁵⁷. Ibid.

⁵⁸. Lukman Thaib. 2006. Discourse on Islamic Political Thought. Op.cit., p.9.

⁵⁹. Ibid., p.35.

⁶⁰. Abu 'Ala al-Maududi. 1969. The Islamic Law and Constitution. Lahore: Islamic Publication., p.143.

⁶¹. Muhammad Nazer KaKa Khel. 1988. "Legitimacy of Authority in Islam", in the Journal of Islamic Studies, Vol. 14, No.1, pp.168-170.

⁶². Abu 'Ala al-Maududi. 1969. The Islamic Law and Constitution. Op.cit., 144.

⁵⁴. Anthony Black. 2006. Pemikiran Politik Islam dari Masa Nabi Hingga Masa Kini. Jakarta: Serambi., pp. 459-460.

⁵⁵. Syadzali. 1993. Islam dan Tatanegara. Op.cit., p. 115.

⁵⁶. Anthony Black. 2006. Pemikiran Politik Islam. Op.cit., p.458.

Conclusion

The founding of the Islamic community in Madinah was the successful implementation of Islamic ideals. The followers of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) were organized into an association of believers in Islam and were united by their religious association, as the new converts also accepted Islam as their new identity. With this, a new concept of human association emerged. The concept of Muslim community (*ummah*), like every other concept of Islamic thought, was conceived and developed in the context of Islamic social, political and religious settings. For that reason the term *ummah* carried a different meaning, such as a religious group; a people; and a nation. By the end of the Makkah period and during the early stages of the Madinah period, the term *ummah* assumed yet another meaning. For the first time, the term referred to a sizable group of people united by common bonds of religion, shared experiences, and common aspirations as well as geographical and institutional arrangements.

The *ummah* became a nation. The Holy Qur'an refers to this development when it described the Islamic community as the best community given to mankind with an integrated and balanced community. God said, "ye are the best of peoples evolved for mankind",⁶³ and again in another chapter God said, "thus have we made of you an *ummah* (nation) justly balanced, that you might be witnesses over the nations, and the Apostle a witness over yourself."⁶⁴ It was during the Madinah period the Makkah Muslims (*al-Muhajirin*) united themselves under a formal written constitutional arrangement with the Muslim community of Madinah and its surrounding communities. A state was then established. This political integration in the process of state-building by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) illustrates the successful implementation of an ideology into the concrete political reality of a new social order, and his political career was crowned by the establishment of a new state, namely the Islamic state of Madinah.

The historical view of the original formation of the state as developed by Bluntschli is of practical importance to the study of the rise of the Islamic state of Madinah. The creation of the Islamic state of Madinah was a conscious effort by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his followers to organize themselves into a new political body, independent of other communities with its own laws and institutions. The three elements, namely the people, the land (territory), and the political organization which gave birth to both Rome and Athens coincided and interacted in a similar manner and gave birth to the new state of Madinah. In this case, if we keep the modern concept of state in mind, we find that the Madinah society which was established by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) carries the modern concept of a state to its full meaning. The Madinah society consisted of the Muslim immigrants from Makkah (*al-Muhajirin*) and the fragmented communities of Madinah (*al-Ansar*) and its surrounding territories. The territory was compassed by the city of Madinah and its neighbouring settlements. The political organization of the people was the Charter of Madinah (*al-Fath al-Madaniyah*), a formal and legal compact in the form of a constitution formulated and accepted by the free will of the people. As in the case of Rome, the

creative spirit of the king and the political will of the people met together in the law of the State.⁶⁵ At this point it is important to discuss the manner by which the actual establishment of the Islamic state of Madinah took place. The spirit of the king (the political leadership of the Prophet Muhammad) and the political will of the people (the political integration and organization of the people) met together in the law of the state, that is the Islamic law (*shari'ah*). It is necessary to acknowledge that according to Islam the root and origin of all social and political institutions, including the state and government, are derived from religion, and in the classical period of Islam, the Muslim jurists (*al-Fuqaha'*) were the only group of scholars qualified to issue rulings for practical problems. Their rulings concerning governance formed a science named *al-Siyasah al-Shari'iyah* which maintained its classical structure and methodology. It was not thought of as a separate discipline in Islamic intellectual discourses, instead most Muslim scholars such as Imam al-Shafi'i, Abu Yusuf and Abu Hanifah discussed Islamic political science under the rubric of Islamic law (*fiqh*).

Only during the Abbasid period of 9th century did there emerge several Muslim scholars who worked towards making *al-Siyasah al-Shari'iyah* a systematic system of government and administration such as Ibn Abi Rab' (833-842 A.D.) through his work '*Suluk al-Malik li Tadbir al-Mamluk*', Imam Mawardi in his '*al-Akmal li Sulayman al-Nisaybi al-Wilayah al-Diniyah*', Imam al-Ghazali with his work entitled '*al-Tadbir al-Masburi li Na'ih al-Mulk*', Ibn Taymiyyah in his work '*al-Siyasah al-Shari'iyah li al-Ra'iyah*', followed by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah in his book '*al-Uruq al-Ukmiyyah li al-Siyasah al-Shari'iyah*'.⁶⁶ The new term '*Siyasah al-Shari'iyah*' greatly assisted in the popular acceptance of the term to denote an independent discipline with Islamic studies. Although in its original connotation '*al-Siyasah al-Shari'iyah*' meant a narrowly '*shari'atic political system*' or system of government based on Islamic law. However one of the contemporary Muslim scholars, Abd al-Wahhab al-Khallaf has defined '*Siyasah al-Shari'iyah*' as "*a flexibility in judgment given to a person in authority to take action based on the needs of the community (ummah), as long as it is not against any principle of shari'ah*".⁶⁷ In other words, we can also define '*Siyasah al-Shari'iyah*' as 'knowledge of Islamic states or countries that specifically discusses details the systems of governance, with the view to better mankind and avoid various harms that may arise in the community or nation'.⁶⁸ In general it is possible to say that in the past, Islamic political thought in general can be divided into two trends. The first is the '*shari'atic trend*' and the second the '*philosophical trend*'. Among the Muslim thinkers who were regarded as pioneers in the *shari'atic trend* were al-Mawardi, al-Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Jam'ah, whereas in the pioneers of the *philosophical trend* were al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and

⁶⁵. Johan K. Bluntschli. 1961. The Theory of the State. Op.cit., p. 262.

⁶⁶. Lukman Thaib. 2006. Discourse on Islamic Political Thought. Op.cit., p.9.

⁶⁷. Abdul Wahhab al-Khallaf. 1977. Al-Siyasah al-Shari'iyah Wa al-Nizam al-Dawlah al-Islamiyyah fi Shu'un al-Dusturiyyah Wa al-Kharijiyyah. Cairo: Dar al-Ansar, p.4.

⁶⁸. Abdul Wahhab al-Khallaf. 1977. Al-Siyasah al-Shari'iyah Wa al-Nizam al-Dawlah. Op.cit., p.4.

⁶³. The Holy Qur'an, 3:110.

⁶⁴. Ibid., 2:143.

IbnRushd. All these philosophers were working towards merging Islamic political science with philosophy.

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