

Redress of Public Grievances in the Umayyad & Abbasid Era

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Abstract

In the contemporary world, the redress of public grievances has a central place in the states' administrative system simultaneously with the formal judicial systems. The prime example is the institution of the Ombudsman that exists in almost all countries of the world. The current article presents a glimpse of this system in a particular period of the Islamic history when the political institutions of the Muslims were in the early stages of evolution although sound foundations had been laid down by the Prophet Muhammad (S. A. W) and his Rightly Guided Caliphs. This submission shows that the Muslim rulers were quite conscious of the need of dispensing justice not only through the formal judicial systems but also sometimes through informal and speedy intervention to ensure that the abuse of power and authority is timely checked. These interventions gradually led towards having an institution for this purpose that was ultimately called 'Wilayat al Mazalim' (The Department of Grievance Redress). The article is restricted to the rule of two dynasties as the periods before and after, required separate inquiry and presentation that has been done in other articles.

Keywords: Public grievances, Umayyad, Abbasid, Islamic history, Political institutions.

The Umayyad's Period

According to the statement of Mawardi in the period of the Rightly Guided Caliphate (*al Khilafa al Rashida*) there was no need to have independent system for grievance redress purposes. However after that period during the reign of Umayyads such cases became more frequent-so much so that people would openly act unjustly towards each other and try to get the better of each other. Admonition and exhortation were not then enough to prevent them from mutual hostilities and recriminations. There was, thus a need of judiciary which combined the power of authority with the

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fairness of legal system; to investigate cases of *Mazalim*¹(public grievances) in order to prevent people from taking undue advantage of each other and to see that justice was done for those taken advantage of.²

Although the government of Umayyads cannot be compared with the Rightly Guided Caliphate as the former was a dynastic rule while the later was a government which was more democratic in today's sense where people were having much more freedom of expression. Nevertheless this period was much better if it was to be compared with any other kingdom particularly those which were ruled by non-Muslim kings. The only big flaw in the system of government was that it did not have that confidence of the masses as the previous government of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, otherwise there were many good qualities.

The first caliph of this dynasty was Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan (may Allah be pleased with him). He was a Companion of the Prophet (peace be upon him) and was one of his scribes of the Quran too. He has been a governor of *Bilad al Sham*³ for quite a long time before taking over as the caliph after abdication of Hasan bin Ali (may Allah be pleased with him).

There are reports in the books of history which suggest that Muawiyah did take care of public grievances himself. For this purpose he had fixed a time in the morning when he used to sit in the mosque in an open session to listen to the complaints of the down trodden who found it difficult to reach to the royal court. So the poor, the needy, the weak, the Bedouins and the sick used to come to him, present their complaints and he used to pass orders for the solution of those problems on the spot. Only after completion of this open session he would go to the royal court and would sit on the throne.⁴

After Muawiyah, it is 'Abdul Malik bin Marwan who was the fifth caliph of Umayyad dynasty. He is mentioned by historians as one who took great care of redressing public grievances against public servants.

According to the claim of Mawardi and Abu Ya'la, he was the first to assign a specific day for the investigation of claims by those who suffered wrong actions without doing it directly himself. When he had to deal with some problem or needed executing a judgment, he would hand it over to his judge; Abu Idrees al Iwadi. The litigants had to accept his verdict out of the fear of Abdul Malik who was aware of the circumstances and reason for the decision. Thus Abu Idrees was actually conducting the cases and orders were given by Abdul Malik.⁵

When Hajjaj once insulted Anas bin Malik, the Companion of the Prophet (peace be upon him), he went and complained to Abdul Malik, who was shocked after hearing his complaint. He sent written orders to Hajjaj to go to Anas with all his staff and ask for his forgiveness. Hajjaj ultimately did that.⁶

Once Abdul Malik learnt about one of his officials that he accepted gifts from the public. He called him and asked, "Have you been accepting gifts from the people since you have assumed the office?" He replied, "O commander of the faithful, the land of your cities is fertile, plenty of tax is collected and people are enjoying their lives." Abdul Malik asked him to reply the question which he had asked i.e. whether he had been accepting gifts since the assumption of office." He said, "Yes". Abdul Malik said, "If you accept gifts and do not reward the giver, you are a mean person and if you reward him from the wealth which does not belong to you, you are a dishonest and cruel person. So whatever you have done is either dishonesty or injustice or artificial ignorance." Having told him that, he dismissed him from his position.⁷

Afterwards the injustice of officials and the oppressive conduct of the haughty increased to such an extent that only most powerful authority and the strictest of commands could restrain them. So 'Umar bin Abdul Aziz undertook judicial investigation of wrong action and abuse. He would reject all such wrong doing and would maintain respect for just and fair practices if necessary. He re-instated property seized unlawfully by the Umayyad to their owners with such force and roughness that it was said, "we fear the consequences of such repression for you", he replied, "I am at pains to guard my actions before Allah and fear Him every day on account of my deeds but my fear for the Day of Judgment of which there is no escape is still greater."⁸

This is the reason that made great jurists like Sufyan al Thawri and Saeed bin al Musayyab term him as the fifth Rightly Guided Caliph and counted his era as part of the Rightly Guided Caliphate.⁹ Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal said:

"It is narrated in a Hadith that Allah will raise at the beginning of every century a man who will revive the Deen (religion) for this Ummah. So when we look into first century it is 'Umar bin 'Abdul Aziz and when we look at the second century, it is Imam Shafi."¹⁰

Umar bin Abdul Aziz was nominated as the next caliph by his predecessor Sulayman. He came to the mosque and addressed the people:

*“O people, I have been put to trial with this matter (caliphate) and I was never consulted about it, nor did I demand it. The Muslims were also not consulted. Therefore I resign from this responsibility and you are free to elect for you whoever you like.”*¹¹

All the people shouted in one voice, “We elect you O commander of the faithful, we agree upon your leadership.” When he heard this, he praised Allah, recited greetings over the Prophet (peace be upon him), delivered a speech and said at the end, “O people, whoever obey Allah, his obedience is compulsory and whoever is disobedient to Him, there is no compulsion of his obedience. So if I disobey Allah, there should be no obedience for you to me.”¹²

Once he addressed the people and said, “I have appointed men over you whom I don’t say are the best among you but are better than whom, who are worse, so whoever is oppressed by his ruler, he should come to me without permission (to complain).”¹³

According to Mawardi, Umar bin Abdul Aziz addressed his people at the beginning of his rule and said:

*“I advise you to fear Allah as He approves nothing but piety and welcomes none except people having piety. There are governors who do not give what is true and right till it was bought from them and they spread falsehood until it was taken from them in lieu of ransom. By Allah, if I am not able to revive an abandoned Sunnah and to eliminate an evil deed I would not care to live for a single moment. Put the matter of your Hereafter in order, your worldly life will become orderly. A man is separated from Adam only because of death is already submerged in death.”*¹⁴

Something unique which was done by ‘Umar bin ‘Abdul ‘Aziz, was that he re-instated the properties of people which were grabbed by the members of royal family. It is reported that a group of people went to him complaining that their land, which they have revived, has been occupied by Waleed bin Abdul Malik who in turn granted it to some other person. ‘Umar said, “The Messenger of Allah said, that this country belongs to Allah and people are the subjects of Allah, whoever revives a barren land will become his property.”¹⁵ Thus he reinstated the owners of the land.¹⁶

This is only one example but actually he returned all property and wealth of his family members which was owned by

them illegally, either to the public treasury or if the original owner is known, to the owners.¹⁷

He was over cautious in this matter. So it is reported that he would deposit anything belonging to him or his family members even if he had in his mind the slightest doubt that it might have come to his possession illegally. It is said that he sold his agricultural lands, slaves, animals, machinery, dresses, perfumes and whatever items of luxury were in his possession and deposited the money in public treasury.¹⁸

Even he objected to the big quantity of ornaments of gold and diamonds owned by his wife. He asked her either to deposit that in public treasury or leave his home. She agreed to deposit that in public treasury.¹⁹

It is reported that a man came to him and complained about misuse of authority by one of his officials and that he had grabbed his property illegally. Umar asked for ink and pen and then wrote to that official: Mr. So and so has told this. If he is true, needless to come to me, just return whatever belongs to him.²⁰

A man brought apples for him but he regretted to accept them. The man said, "The Prophet (peace be upon him) used to accept gifts." He replied, "It was gift for the Messenger of Allah and bribery for us and I don't need them."²¹

The above discussion shows the strictness and care of Umar bin Abdul Aziz about the property and belongings of the public. One can guess that if a ruler is so strict about his own self and his family members, how much he will be taking care of the abuse of power by his officials.

Among the fourteen caliphs of the Umayyad besides Muawiyahit is not only 'Abdul Malik bin Marwan and 'Umar bin 'Abdul Aziz, who are known for taking care of redress of public grievances. Hisham bin 'Abdul Malik was also known for his strictness and stinginess when it came to the expenses from public treasury. From historical reports one can easily conclude that he took care of avoiding any injustice with the public. Thus when there was a sum of money given to him by his governors or other officials to be deposited in public treasury, he would demand confirmation through proof that the sum had been legally collected and only after that he would allow it to be deposited in public treasury.²²

Hisham was known for his good character. It is reported that once he misbehaved with a respectable man. He said to him that being a caliph he should be ashamed of using such vulgar language. On hearing that Hisham apologised to him.²³

In the historical sources there is no mention of the justice system of other Umayyad caliphs, who came after Hisham. It is presumed that as a whole the justice system did work like in the past but it seems that among the later caliphs there was no one who was prominent particularly in the matter of accountability of public servants and redress of public grievances like their predecessors.

Grievance Redress System during Abbasid Caliphate

A study of the early history of Islamic state reveals that the Abbasids were the first dynasty who paid full attention to the establishment and development of state institutions as never before. There was a policy difference between Umayyads and Abbasids. The Umayyad period was mainly of conquests whereas one great objective of the early Abbasids was the consolidation of the empire and in order to attain this end, aggression enterprises and foreign conquests were abandoned. The political machinery which existed under the Abbasid Caliphate and was afterwards adopted either wholly or with some modifications by the states that came into existence on the breakup of the Arab Empire was founded by Mansoor and derived its character from his genius.²⁴

The government of the caliph was called *al-Diwan al Aziz* (August Board). The grand *Wazir* presided over the board and received the designation of *Wazir e Diwan al Aziz*. The administrative machinery under Abbasids, in its effective distribution of work and its control of details, ranks with the best modern systems. The following were the principal departments of the state:

- The *Diwanal Kharaj* (Control office of taxes) or department of finance
- The *Diwan al Zimam* (Audit or Accounts office)
- The *Diwan al Jund* (War office)
- The *Diwan al Mawaliwa al Ghilman* (office for the protection of clients and slaves), in which a register was kept of the freed men and slaves of the Caliph and whence their support was assigned to them
- The *Diwan al Bareed* (the Post office)
- The *DiwanZimam al Nafaq* (Household Expenses Office),
- The *Diwan al Rasayel* (Chancery office)
- The *Diwan al Tawqia* (Board of Requests)
- The *Diwan al Nazar fi al mazalim* (Board for the inspection of grievance)

- The *Diwan al ahdaswa al shurta* (Militia & Police office)²⁵

After the assassination of Ali and attempt on the life of Muawiyah, the Caliphs became less and less accessible to the public. However, most of the Umayyad caliphs set apart some time for hearing appeals and the inspection of grievances. According to Ibn al Athir, Abdul Malik was the first caliph to devote a special day for hearing cases of public grievances. ‘Umar bin ‘Abdul Aziz followed the precedent established by his uncle with great zeal. The Abbasids continued this practice and established a regular department which was the highest court of criminal appeal.²⁶

The administration of justice, besides judges, in this period was in the hands of *Sahib al Mazalim* (In charge of Public grievances department). The moral qualities required in the person exercising the jurisdiction were set out. Practically he was to combine vigilance with firmness. Ministers and governors with full powers had the jurisdiction inherent in them; if they had restricted powers, it was necessary that special mandate should be obtained and in as much as the jurisdiction was general in scope, the nominee should be apt for the office of successor-designate to the caliphate, ministry or governorship of the large province. If, however, the jurisdiction was limited to supplementing the deficient authority of the judges, persons of lesser rank were eligible so long as they were not suspended because of injustice or bribery. The highest tribunal of the public grievances was *Diwan al Nazar fi al Mazalim* (Board of Investigation in public grievances). It was presided over by the sovereign himself or in his absence, by a special officer known as the President. Other members of the board included the chief justice, the *Hajib*, and the principal secretaries of the state with some nominated Muftisor jurists.²⁷

According to the report of Mawardi among the Abbasid caliphs many paid personal attention to the redress of public grievances particularly against public servants. So among them those who heard such cases personally were Mahdi, Hadi, Al Rasheed, Mamoon and the last one who did that personally was al Muhtadi who reinstated owners in their properties.²⁸

Once al Mansoor asked his son Mahdi about the number of his livestock and the later showed ignorance. Mansoor told him that he did not know about his cattle while the responsibility of the empire was much greater. Likewise Mansoor at the time of his

death wrote a letter to this son Mahdi reminding him of the obligations towards Allah and the public.²⁹

Once al Mansoor was sitting in his palace when an arrow fell near him. He took it and noticed that something was written on it. He read it; it was quite a long statement in which he has been warned of his destiny if he did not care for the wrong deeds done by him. Among other things it read: "It is destiny which goes on by itself. So wait and see, the destiny keeps changing. It elevates a mean person to high ranks and humiliates a dignified person sometimes." At the end it was written, "From one of your prisoners belonging to Hamzan". Al Mansoor sent his men to find out in the prison about the person. There they found an old man in fetters reciting the following verse of the Quran: "And the wrong doers will see what a come-back they shall have."³⁰

They asked him if he belonged to Hamzan. He replied in positive. They brought him to al Mansoor He told the caliph that he was a feudal of Hamzan where the Abbasid governor wanted to occupy his estate and on refusing he was imprisoned by him for four years then. Mansoor ordered him to be released, returned his estate to him, offered him governorship of his area and told him to decide the fate of that Abbasid governor. The man thanked him, regretted to accept the governorship and forgave the governor. However Mansoor dismissed the accused governor of his post.³¹ It is reported that whenever Mansoor dismissed an official, he used to confiscate his property too.³²

It is narrated that Mansoor, on learning that a group of his scribes had made some fabrications and alteration in the record, ordered them to be brought before him and be punished. One of them recited some poetic verses in which he said, "O commander of the faithful, May Allah prolong your life in prosperity and power. We seek protection in your forgiveness, for if you grant us protection, it is by virtue of your being able to afford safety to the whole world. As for us, we are merely scribes who have committed mistakes so forgive us for the sake of noble recording angels". Thereupon he ordered them to be released and bestowed gifts on the young man as he had shown his sense of trust.³³

Al Mansoor though was very harsh for rebels and criminals but was very merciful for masses. He had told the people to complain to him without hesitation if any official of the government did any injustice to anyone. Once a farmer complained against a government official. Mansoor told him that if he was true, he was allowed to bring the official with his hands tied. Likewise, Isa bin Moosa, governor of Koofa killed a man. When

Mansoor came to know he intended to kill him in retaliation. However, he found out that he was killed by mistake therefore he reprimanded him severely.³⁴

It is narrated that Moosa al Hadi was sitting in a court hearing for claims and grievances and Umarah bin Hamzah who had influence in the court was sitting next to him. A complainant claimed that Umarah had taken his property illegally. Al Hadi ordered Umarah to sit with the complainant for the hearing. Umarah however said, "O, commander of the faithful, if the property belongs to him, then I don't oppose his claim and if it is mine I gift it to him. I do not want to sell my position in the royal court".³⁵ It may happen that the magistrate act graciously when according to him the victim is right but at the same time maintain a respect for the defendant, which safeguards his honour from suspicion of using force or preventing a rightful claim. Thus 'Awn bin Muhammad relates that the people of Nahr al Mirghab at Basra claimed against Mahdi about the area through his judge Ubaidullah bin al Hasan al Anbari, but neither he nor al Hadi, his successor handed it over to them. When al Rasheed came to power and they sought redress from him before Ja'far bin Yahya who was the in-charge of Wilayat al Mazalim but al Rasheed did not cede it to them either. Then Ja'far bin Yahya purchased it from al Rasheed for 20,000 dirhams and gave it to them saying, "I am doing this so that you may be aware that the commander of the faithful holding to his right did not want to cede it to you and that his servant has purchased it from him and has granted it to you."³⁶

It is possible that Ja'far undertook what he did at his own in order to remove suspicion of wrongdoing from al Rasheed; it is also possible that he did it on the advice of al Rasheed so that neither his father nor his brother be accused of injustice and the later is more likely. However whichever of the two cases it was, justice was done, honour safeguarded and meanness prevented.³⁷

Many Abbasid rulers presided over the sessions of grievance redress personally. Among them were al Mahdi, Al Hadi, Al Rasheed, Al Mamoon, Al Mu'tasim and Al Muhtadi. Al Mu'tasim is said to be very strict in this matter. Once a woman complained to him that a military officer has abducted her son. Mu'tasim called him and on his refusal to confess he pressed him with his hand till the sound of his bones was heard and he fell down on ground. Then he ordered him to produce the child and he did.³⁸

It is narrated that Al Mamoon used to personally sit in the court for hearing grievances of people on Sundays. Once he rose to

leave the court when a woman in rags met him saying (in poetic verses):

*“O flower of the justice to who even uprightness itself is guided. O, Imam, by whom the whole land has been illuminated. A widow takes her complaint to you, O support of realm, against whom, without means of defence, a lion has made an attack: has seized land from her after she was rendered incapable and had become separated from her family and children.”*³⁹

Al-Mamoon lowered his eyes for a moment and then raised his head saying: “Before less than what you have spoken of, patience and fortitude they would have weakened; my heart is sickened by your sadness and affliction. Now is the time for the midday prayer, so depart and bring your adversary on the day I shall promise you; the court sits on Saturdays; and if I sit on the day I will see that you receive justice; if not, then at the Sunday sitting. She then went and attended on Sunday in the first row. Al Mamoon then asked her, “Against whom have you a complaint?” She replied, “The one standing by your side, Al Abbas, your son.” Al-Mamoon told his judge, Yahya bin Aktham to hold a sitting with both the parties for investigation of the case. He did that in the presence of Al Mamoon. When the woman raised her voice, one of the people reprimanded her; but al Mamoon said, “Leave her, for surely it is the truth which is making her speak and falsehood is making him silent.” Then he ordered that her land be restored to her.⁴⁰ His action of holding investigation in his presence without doing it personally was indicative of good administration in two ways. Firstly; it concerned a judgment which might have been in favour of or against his son. One may not give judgment in favour of his son although it may be done against him. Secondly, the litigant was a woman with respect to whom he was too highly placed to respond; moreover his son by virtue of his rank, found himself in a position in which no one other than caliph could enforce the law. Thus al Mamoon referred the investigation in his son’s presence to someone who was able to converse with the woman, resolve the claim and elucidate the relevant facts but it was the caliph himself who issued the decree and enforced the law.⁴¹

It is recounted that once, while al Muhtadi was holding a court for redress of grievances, various petitions regarding the coins known as *Khusroes* were presented to him. When he inquired about them, Sulayman bin Wahab replied, “Umar bin al Khattab, had imposed on the inhabitants of *al-Sawad* and the areas around it to the east and west which he conquered. Payment by installments

of the *kharaj* (land tax) in silver and gold; the *dirhams* and dinars were minted with the weight of *Khusroes* and of the Ceaser, and the people of these regions would pay the money they had, according to the number required without considering the disparity in weight between various coins. Then the people became corrupt and those who had to pay *kharaj* would give Tabari coins, which were four *doniq* and would keep the *wafi* money of full weight, which had the weight of a *Mithqal*. When Ziyad became the governor of Iraq, he exacted payment in *Wafis* and imposed payment in *Khusroes*. The agents of the Banu Umayyad continued the practice until Abdul Malik began his rule. He examined the difference between the two weights and assessed the weight of *dirham* at five and a half *mithqal*, leaving the *mithqalas* it was. Later al Hajjaj began to demand payment in *khusroes*, something which was annulled by ‘Umar bin Abdul Aziz but was reinstated by those who came after him until the time of al Mansoor. When, however, as *Sawad* was destroyed, al Mansoor put an end to payment in silver of the *Kharaj* due on wheat and barley and transformed it into a proportional tax in kind. These two grains are the most common in al Sawad and he left a few other grain crops, dates and fruit trees to be assessed in accordance with the *kharaj*, which was till then exacted in *khusroes* and provisions.”⁴² Al Muhtadi said, “May Allah guard me from imposing an unjust measure on the people, be it from long ago or recent past- relieve the people of it.” Hassan bin Makhlad said that this abolishment of the commander of the faithful represented an annual loss of 12 million *dirhams* to the treasury-Al Muhtadi replied, “I would establish what is right and will remove what is unjust even if it cause loss to the treasury.”⁴³

From the above mentioned examples it becomes manifest that during Abbasid period there was a particular emphasis upon the institution of *Mazalim*. Although all caliphs were not equal in this respect but no doubt that redress of public grievances and accountability of public servants and that of the influential did receive due care and attention during this period.

Conclusion

The above discussion shows that at a time when this was rare for rulers and kings to be accessible directly to their subjects, the Muslim rulers kept this distinction. Although the two periods under discussion have not been the ideal Islamic states and were basically ruled by hereditary kings, however, among them some were like Umar bin Abdul Aziz who were at the peak of piety and justice

and others were like Abdul Malik and Mansoor who despite many negative things in their character, generally kept the flag of justice for the public fly high. The discussion is, of course, about an age when today's Europe and the rest of the world was passing through what is called 'dark ages' of utmost ignorance and lawlessness. The whole point is that the more the rulers stick to the principles enshrined in Quran and practiced by Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W), the more they will try to provide justice to their subjects and no doubt that if they keep away from those principles there will be selective justice or no justice at all. Today when grievance redress is discussed, in general people mention Sweden, pioneering the Ombudsman system however many are not aware that this system basically was quite built in within the Islamic political and administrative system and in all different Muslim states through the history it existed in one or other form as was discussed in this article.

Notes & References

¹ *Mazaimis* plural of *mazlamah*, coming from the root word *zalma* i.e. to do injustice. Noun from this verb is *zulm* i.e. cruelty or injustice. See: Ibn Durayd, *Jamharat al Lughah* (Beirut: *Dar Ithya al Turath al 'Arabi*, 1989), 3/166

² Abu al Hasan Ali bin Muhammad bin Habib al Al Mawardi, *Al Ahkam al Sultaniyyah wa al Wilayat al Diniyyah*, trans. Asadullah Yate (London: Ta Ha Publications, 1996), 116,117.

³ *Bilad Al Sham* mentioned in Islamic history consisted of today's Syria, Lebanon, Palestinian territories, Jordan and the so called Israel.

⁴ Abu al Hasan Ali bin Muhammad bin al Husayn bin Ali Al Masoodi, *Muroj al Dhahab wa Ma'adin al Jawahir*, trans. (urdu) Akhtar fatihpoori, (Karachi: Nafees Academy, 1985), 4/54-55

⁵ Al Mawardi, *Al Ahkam al Sultaniyyah*, op.cit.,118. See also: Abu Ya'la, Qazi Abu Muhammad al-Husayn al-Hanbali, *Al Ahkam al Sultaniyyah* (Cairo: 1937), 59

⁶ Shah Mueenuddin Ahmad Nadawi, *Tareekh-i-Islam* (Azam Garh: Ma'arif Press, 1939), 2/140,141

⁷ Masoodi, *Murooj al dhahab wa Ma'adin al Jawahir*, op.cit. 3/152,

⁸ Al Mawardi, *Al Ahkam al Sultaniyyah*, op.cit, 118

⁹ Ibn al Jawzi, *Seerat-i-Umar bin Abdul Aziz*, ed. Naeem Zarzor (Beirut: Dar al Kutub al 'Ilmiyyah, 1984), 72-73.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 66

¹³ Abu Muhammad Abdullah Bin Abdul Hakam, *Seerat-i-'Umar bin Abdul Aziz*, ed. Ahmad Ubayd (Beirut: Dar al IlmlilMalayeen, 1967), 43

¹⁴ Al Mawardi, *Al Ahkam al Sultaniyyah*, op.cit. 121.

¹⁵ The Hadith has been narrated by many books; among them Abu Dawood, *Kitab al Kharaj wa al Imarah wa al fay*, Bab: "fiihya al mawat", Hadith No. 2671

¹⁶ Ibn Jawzi, *Seerat-i-Umar bin 'Abdul Aziz*, op.cit.,125.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 125-132, Ibn 'Abdul Hakam, *Seerat-i-'Umar bin Abdul Aziz*, op.cit., p. 58

¹⁸ Ibn 'Abdul Hakam, *Seerat-i-'Umar bin Abdul Aziz*, op.cit.,124

¹⁹ Ibn Jawzi, *Seerat-i-Umar bin 'Abdul Aziz*, op.cit., 128

²⁰ Ibn 'Abdul Hakam, *Seerat-i-'Umar bin Abdul Aziz*, ed. Ahmad Ubayd, op.cit., 63

²¹ *Ibid.*, 156

²² Dr. Ahmad Shalabi, *Mawsoo'at al Tarikh al Islami wa al Hadharah* (Cairo: Maktabah al Nahdhah al Misriyyah, 1984), 2/97

²³ Izz al Deen Abu al Hasan Ali 'Abd al Wahid al Shaybani Ibn Athir, *Al Kamil fi al Tarikh* (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1965), 5/196.

²⁴ Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens* (London: Mac Millan & Co., 1955), 405

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- ²⁵ Ibid., 414
- ²⁶ Dr. S.A.Q Hussaini, *Arab Administration* (Lahore: Shaikh M. Ashraf, 1970), 190
- ²⁷ Anwar Ahmad Qadri, *Justice in Historical Islam* (Lahore, Shaikh M. Ashraf, 1974), 50-51
- ²⁸ Al Mawardi, *Al Ahkam al Sultaniyyah*, op.cit., 78
- ²⁹ Dr. Riaz Mahmood, *The Concept of Administrative Accountability in Islam* (Lahore: Maqbool Academy, 2001), 113
- ³⁰ *Al Quran*, 26:227
- ³¹ Masoodi, *Murooj al dhahab wa Ma'adin al Jawahir*, op.cit., 3/348
- ³² Jurji Zaidan, *Tarikh al Tamaddun al Islami* (Cairo: Matba'ah al Hilal, 1902), 2/34
- ³³ Al Mawardi, *Al Ahkam al Sultaniyyah*, op.cit.
- ³⁴ Shah Mueenuddin Nadwi, *Tarikh-i-Islam*, op.cit., 3/56
- ³⁵ Al Mawardi, *Al Ahkam al Sultaniyyah*, loc.cit., 136
- ³⁶ Ibid., 136
- ³⁷ Ibid., 137
- ³⁸ Hashim bin al Hasan al Abiri Al Alawi, *Atwar Wilayat al Mazalim Abr al Tarikh*, 41
- ³⁹ Al Mawardi, *Al Ahkam al Sultaniyyah*, loc.cit., 128.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., 128
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Ibid., 121
- ⁴³ Ibid., 122