NIZĀM AL-MULK TŪSĪ
HIS CONTRIBUTION TO STATECRAFT, POLITICAL THEORY AND THE ART OF GOVERNMENT

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A thesis presented to the University of Karachi for the Degree of Ph.D. in Political Science

August, 1977
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge with gratitude the inspiration and guidance that I have received from my supervisor, Dr. Muhammad 'Azīz Ahmad, who, as a matter of fact, suggested to me to write this thesis on "Nizām al-Mulk Tūsī". It is a vast topic and I had to concentrate mainly on the political ideas of Nizām al-Mulk Tūsī. I have tried to work out the theoretical and practical aspects of government enunciated and enacted by Nizām al-Mulk in the true spirit of Islām. Whatever, humble contribution I have been able to make in this thesis, I owe it to Dr. Muhammad 'Azīz Ahmad, whereas I am solely responsible for the shortcomings and errors that may have been left in the final draft.

RIZWAN RIZVI

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The following system has been used: For Arabic and Persian letters:

- a = ә, r = ә, f = f
- b = ә, z = ә, q = q
- p = ә, zh = k
- t = ә, s = l
- d = ә, m = l
- h = ә, n = n
- d = ә, m = m
- sh = l
- j = ә, s = m
- d = ә, m = m
- kh = ә, t = t
- u = ә, v = v

The short vowels have been transcribed as a, i, u; the long vowels as ә, ә, ә.

Uniformity has not been observed in the transliteration of the names and words of those scholars who wrote them in English, e.g; Mohammed and Mohammedanism for Muhammad and Muhammadanism, etc.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Khwāja Abū 'Alī Ḫasan bin 'Alī bin Ishāq, better known in history by his title, Nizām al-Mulk, was born at Rādkān, a suburb of Toš, some fifty miles to the north of Mashhad, on a Friday in A.H. 408/A.C. 1017. His family belonged to a clan of middle class land holders.

The name of his mother was Zamurad Khātūn, who dreamed that her son should be named Ḫasan after the grandson of the Prophet. She complied. She died when he was weaning and during the same period his father, Ishāq, was confronted with financial difficulties. These, however,

1. 'Abd al-Karīm bin Muḥammad al-Ṣum'ānī, Kitāb al-Ansāb, Gibb Memorial Series, Leiden/London, 1918, Vol. 242a. He writes that the native town of Khwaja Ḫasan (Nizām al-Mulk) is Rādkān. Rādkān is about half-way between Khabdushan and Toš which is mentioned by Ibn Hawqal, and Yūsuf who calls it a small town. It became famous as the birth-place of Nizām al-Mulk.


were not permitted to stand in the way of Hasan's education.

According to Wasāłyā, his first teacher was the jurist, 'Abd al-Ṣāmam. Hasan learnt the Holy Qur'ān by heart at the age of eleven. Then he studied the theological sciences with Imām Muwaffaq, one of the outstanding Shāfi'i 'Ulmā' of Nişāhpūr. This explains his allegiance to the Shāfi'i doctrine, a fact that finds confirmation in the Siyāsat Nāmah.

It is not known when his first marriage took place except that he had two sons 'Ubaid al-Allāh (Mu‘īd al-Mulk) and Muṣaffar (Fakhr al-Mulk) at the time he reached the court of Chaghry Beg Dā'ūd at Merv. His second marriage took place in A.H. 457/A.C. 1064 with Gargāh, daughter

8. Niẓām al-Mulk, Siyāsat Nāmah, ed. Muḥammad Qazwīnī and M.M. Chahardīḥī Chap. II, Chap Teherān Muṣawwar, Teherān, 1344/1965, pp. 114-115. "He (Sultān Alp Arslān) was often heard to say, 'what a pity! if only my wasīr (Niẓām al-Mulk) were not of the Shāfi'i belief'. He was exceedingly overbearing and awe-inspiring and because he was so devoted in his beliefs and disapproved of the Shāfi'i religion I lived in constant reverential fear of him", p. 114. "He disapproves of the Shāfi'i religion and he is always rebuking me for it", p. 115. Subki, Tāj al-Dīn, Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, Vol. 4, Cairo, 1323/1905-6, pp. 103-4 and Islamic Culture, Vol. XX, Nos. 4. October 1946, p. 404. Tabaqat al-Kubrā says that "he was a Shāfi'i 'Itel and a staunch follower of the doctrines of this school". However, Ḥanafī and Shāfi'i both are Sunnis.
of a Christian ruler. He was fortunate in respect of his twelve sons and the wizārat remained in his family for more than ninety-two years. He was a good father full of affection for his sons and daughters.

He was greatly interested in education. When one day a proposal for a Madrasa was put up by Abū Saʿd Sūrī, before him, it was not only accepted but the whole expenditure on it was also borne by him. This Madrasa, styled Niẓāmiyyah, after his name, was founded in October, 457/1065 and completed in September, 458/1067. It had twenty-seven renowned Professors including men like the great theologian Sūrī Abū Ḫamīd Muḥammad al-Ġazzālī. "Niẓām al-Mulk personally lectured on Hadīth or tradition at his madrasa" in A.H. 480/A.C. 1087. These lectures in Arabic have been edited by Dr. 'Abd al-Ḥādī Rida and published in A.H. 1378/A.C. 1959 from Cairo.

In accordance with Muslim tradition, the Madrasa not only provided free education but also disbursed scholarships. It also supplied books, lodging, boarding and other


necessities to its students.

Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī of Samarqand says in his Chahār Naqāla that Nizām al-Mulk did not like poets as he had little
taste for poetry and established close contacts with
‘ulamā’ and masha‘ikh. 16 Ibn al-Athīr says, “He was a
religious-minded person, just, humane, easy to forgive the
defaulters and very quiet and reserved. His assembly was
humming with the readers of the Holy Qur’ān, the jurists,
the doctors of the faith, and other noble and pious people.
When he heard the call of a mu‘adhdhin, he rose immediately
and did not attend to any work until he had offered his
prayers. If the mu‘adhdhin had become idle by chance and it was
time for prayer, he would order the mu‘adhdhin to make the
sacred call. He fasted every Monday and Thursday”. 17 Shaikh
Abū ‘Alī Fārwardī was a famous sufī; his greatness is testified
by the fact that Imām Ghazzālī became his disciple. Ibn
al-Athīr says that when Shaikh Abū ‘Alī Fārwardī used to come to
the court of Nizām al-Mulk, he cordially welcomed and seated him
on his own mansad. And he used to speak before the Shaikh
respectfully. The great divine of the period, Abū al-Ma‘ālī
Imām al-Haramayn Shaikh ‘Abd al-Malik al-Juwainī 18 mentioned

1887, p. 89. And Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī Samarqandi, Chahār Naqāla,
edited by Muhammad Qazvini and Dr. Muhammad Mu‘īn,
chā‘p Khāna-i Fānīshgāh, Teherān, 1334/1955, pp. 82-83.
18. His courage was demonstrated in Malik Shāh’s reign, when
once the Sultan declared that ‘Id would be the next
day, the Imam proclaimed his verdict that the fast was to
continue and the Sultan had to bow before his decision.
him in his lecture — as a pious and deeply religious person who never defaulted in the observance of his religious duties. He was fond of the company of men of learning and spent most of his leisure with them. Nizām al-Mulk abolished the public cursing of the orthodox Ash'arīs\(^\text{19}\) in the mosques of Khorāsān. This brought back several prominent scholars such as al-Qushairī and al-Juwainī. On al-Juwainī's return from Nījāz, Nizām al-Mulk built Madrasa-i Nizāmiyān of Nīshāpur for him in which he continuously delivered lectures for thirty years.\(^\text{20}\) Nizām al-Mulk indeed devoted his energies for re-establishing orthodox Islām in the territories which had been torn by schism.

Browne says about him that "he was a most capable administrator, an acute statesman, a devout and orthodox Sunnī, harsh towards heretics, especially the Shi'ites and Iṣrā'īlīs, a liberal patron of letters, a sincere friend to men of virtue and learning and, unremitting in his efforts to secure public order and prosperity and to promote religion and education".\(^\text{21}\) It does not seem true

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19. This sect is named after Imām Ash'arī whose full name is Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Ismā'īl. The Imām was born in A.H. 276/A.C. 885 in Bāṣra and he died in A.H. 330/A.C. 941 in Baghdād.


that he was harsh towards heretics, if the affairs of the state were not involved in any way. The Kāsimayn Shrine was burnt and plundered during the riots in the year A.H. 443/A.D. 1051 by the populace of Baghdad. 22 It was rebuilt by Nişām al-Mulk. Malik Shāh and Nişām al-Mulk offered Fatīha and visited the shrines in A.H. 479/A.D. 1086.

Tughril Beg died at the age of seventy on 4 September, 1065, at the village of Tajright. Alp Arslân (1063–1072) succeeded him. At that time, Abū Nasr al-Kundurī, 23 generally known as 'Amīd al-Mulk, the late King's minister unwisey proclaimed Sulaymān, the brother of Alp Arslân, Sultan at Ray. 24 Alp Arslân could not forgive this hostile act. Eventually, this false step of al-Kundurī led to his death. Nişām al-Mulk had no hand in the matter, because, he neither persuaded al-Kundurī to support Sulaymān, nor did he instigate Alp Arslân to execute him. It is certain that Nişām al-Mulk was innocent. Those authors who blame Nişām al-Mulk for the execution have probably been misled by the message sent by al-Kundurī to Nişām al-Mulk to the effect that Nişām al-Mulk had established a bad tradition in getting his predecessor executed. "An evil innovation

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and an ugly practice you have introduced into the world by putting the deposed minister to death. I say that you may experience the same in your own person." But al-Kurārī's message was not based on any justifiable suspicion. Sultan Chaghī Beg Bā'ūd, being greatly impressed with the ability of Khwāja Hasan had sent him to Prince Alp Arslān as his tutor and secretary 26 who soon "became Alp Arslān's adviser and minister, and, on the accession of his master to the throne, Prime Minister of the vast realm." 27

Alp Arslān, after the capture of Romanus IV, reached the Oxus 28 and there a prisoner Yūsuf Barzamī 29 or Narzam 30 or al-Khwārzamī 31, mortally wounded him with a dagger. Alp Arslān lingered on for a day or two after he had received his fatal wound and gave his dying instructions to his faithful minister, Nizām al-Mulk about his brother and sons. He chose his son Malik Şah to succeed him. Alp Arslān

28. Oxus is called in Arabic as Persia Jaihūn while the modern name of it is Amū Darya.
29. Rāwandī, Rāhat al-Sudūr, op. cit., p. 120.
30. Ibid; p. 120 n.
31. According to Ibn al-Athīr, al-Sundārī and Rāwandī, Rāhat al-Sudūr, op. cit., p. 120 n.
The classical name of Khwārzam was Chorasmia, a region at the mouth of Jaihūn river.
was a devout Muslim and this, in great measure, must have been due to Nizām al-Mulk's influence on him.32 Malik Shāh was only seventeen years of age when he became the monarch of the mighty Empire which was built up by his father under the guidance of Nizām al-Mulk. His succession to the throne was by no means unchallenged. For soon his uncle, Qāvurt, marched to Ray, and at Karāj, to the South of Hamadān, according to Ibn Khallikān, a desperate battle was

32. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, Vol.X, op. cit., pp. 27-25 and E.G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia, op. cit., p. 180. His dying words according to Ibn al-Athīr are "Never", said he, "did I advance on a country or march against a foe without asking help of God in mine adventure, but yesterday, when I stood on a hill, and the earth shook beneath me from the greatness of my army and the host of my soldiers, I said to myself, 'I am the king of the world, and none can prevail against me': wherefore God Almighty hath brought me low by one of the weakest of His creatures. I ask pardon of Him and repent of this my thought". He died with the utmost resignation and was buried at Merv with the following epitaph quoted by Sir Percy Sykes, History of Persia, Vol.II, op. cit., p. 33.

"Thou hast seen Alp Arslān's head in pride exalted to the sky; come to Merv, and see how lowly in the dust that head doth lie"!


RAWANDI, Ṭayy al-Ṣudūr wa Ṭayy al-Surūr, op. cit., p. 121.

"سر الاب ارسلان دید ی ز رحمت وهم بر گردیدن"

"بهر آی گفتگاه اهدار تی الاب ارسلان نیستی"
fought which lasted for three days and nights before the pretender was defeated. In the mean time, Altīgin, the Khān of Samarqand\(^33\) conquered Tirmīz in A.H. 465/A.C. 1072 and on another side Ibrāhīm of Ghuzna captured Malik Shāh's uncle, Amīr 'Uthmān; but Ibrāhīm was routed by the Amīr Gunuguṯīgīn. Malik Shāh weathered all these storms together with the rebellion of a brother, with the support of Nizām al-Mulk. The reign of the newly crowned king was exposed to severe threats of all kinds which were also successfully met by Nizām al-Mulk. He met all the political and administrative difficulties with wisdom and circumspection and was awarded, for his invaluable services, the high title of Atabek.\(^34\) Saljūḡ\(^35\) power (Malik Shāh 1072–92) reached its zenith under the guidance of Nizām al-Mulk. "His domain extended in length from Constantinople to the Caspian"\(^36\).

**Sea.** Nizām al-Mulk has been described as the most successful statesman in the "Political History of Islam"\(^37\). Ibn Khallikān says, "for the twenty years covering the

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33. It is spelt in most of the English books Samarqand.

34. This title, which means literally "Father Lord" (In Turkish, Atabeg, arabicized into Atabek). The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XXIV, op. cit., p.609. This title was first given to Nizām al-Mulk.

35. Turkish pronunciation is Saljūk and Salāḥk while Arabic is Saljūq.


reign of Malik Shāh, Nizām al-Mulk had all the power concentrated in his hands, while the Sultān had nothing to do but sit on the throne or enjoy the chase. 38

In 1074 Nizām al-Mulk called a conference of astronomers at his newly built observatory and assigned them the task of reforming the Persian Calendar. 39 The result was the production of a remarkable solar calendar styled after his sovereign's name and "which was adopted by the emperor Akbar the great as the Ilāhī calendar and still subsists as the official Calendar of the dominions of H.E.R. the Nizām after having been reformed by Sir Sālar Jung, 1st. 40 This Jalālī calendar, 41 in the judgment of a modern scholar is "somewhat more accurate than ours", 42 and in the opinion of Gibbon, it "surpasses the Julian and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian". 43 Actually

Khayyām's Calendar is more accurate than the Gregorian because the Gregorian Calendar leads to an error of one day in 3,350 years as against Khayyām's Calendar which leads to an error of one day in 5,000 years. According to Ibn al-Athīr, he himself was a learned and cultured man. His Sīyāṣat Namah was written in 1091 only a year before his assassination, 45 on 485/14 October 1092 near Sihnā, 46 or near Niḥāwand, 47 between Kangavar and Bīsutūn while he was accompanying the king on his journey from Ṣijahān to Baghdād. 48


45. 'Alā al-dīn 'Aṭā'-Malik Juvainī, Taʾrīkh-i Jahān Gushā, or History of the World Conqueror, translated from the text of Mirzā Muhammad Qazvīnī by John Andrew Doyle, Vol. II, Manchester University Press, 1958, writes at pages 676 and 677 that Niẓām al-Mulk was stabbed on the night of Friday the 12th of Ramādān, 485 (16th of October, 1092) and by that blow he was martyred.


The assassin was a youth of Daylam, Abū Taḥir Ḥarīth (Bu-Taḥir Arrānī), an Ismāʿīlī fidāʿī disguised as a Sārī, who pretended to be presenting a petition. Nizām al-Mulk was buried in the graveyard of Karrān in Isfahān. It is generally believed that it was the first bold stroke of Ḥasan Sabbāh’s assassins at orthodoxy. The period of glory that covered the reigns of the first three Saljuqs ended with Nizām al-Mulk’s death in 1092. He was deeply mourned by the people upon whom he had ruled so wisely, sympathetically and generously for thirty years. A fallen minister is seldom praised by Eastern poets but many elegies were composed on Nizām al-Mulk’s death of which the graceful Arabic verses by Shīb al-Dawla are cited by E.G. Browne in his A Literary History of Persia.


52. E.G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia, op. cit., p. 188. “The Minister Nīḥāmul-Mulk was a peerless pearl, which the All Merciful God esteemed as of great price, but, precious as it was, the age knew not its value, so in jealousy He replaced it in its shell”.
Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Mu'izzî of Nishâpur, composed his famous elegy of considerable length lamenting the deaths of Nizâm al-Mulk and Malik Shah from which only a few verses are given by A.J. Arberry.  

The author of the Chahâr Maqâla says that an astrologer Hakîm-i Maugâli, told Nizâm al-Mulk that his death would follow his own within six months and went to Nishâpur where some land was allotted to him. The saying of the astrologer came true.

Ibn al-Athîr narrates how Nizâm al-Mulk, 'Umar Khayyâm and Hasan Sabbâh, when School fellows, promised to share with one another any good fortune. This story has become controversial. It has been strongly objected to by Houtsma and has also been questioned on the basis of chronological difficulties by others. But we get more authentic sources in its support. Ibn al-Athîr says further that Nizâm al-Mulk was acquainted with Hasan Sabbâh before

"In one month the aged minister departed to paradise sublime, the youthful king followed after him in another month; the world is full of commotion at the going of (the) minister and king".

he went to Egypt. Nizām al-Mulk himself writes in his
Nasāyī that he remained a pupil of Imām Muwaffaq for
four years. During this period, 'Umar (Khayyām) and Hasan
(Sabbāh) too enrolled themselves as his pupils. "These
two were very brilliant students" he continues, "so I
became close to them. Whenever, I was not attending a
lecture, I discussed the lessons with them. One morning,
Hasan (Sabbāh) said to 'Umar (Khayyām) and me that it
was well known that the pupils of Imām Muwaffaq reached
high positions in their careers. There is no doubt that
if not all but some of them will be successful and reach
the height of honour and wealth. Therefore, we three
should make a covenant among ourselves'. 'How', said I,
'will the conditions of the compact be fulfilled'? Hasan
replied, 'whoever reaches a high status among us should
consider it his duty to share his wealth equally with the
other two'. The prediction of Hasan Sabbāh soon came true.

Nizām al-Mulk became the Prime Minister of the
mighty Saljūq Empire. He fulfilled the agreement once
made in true spirit. Another confirmation is furnished
by the intrigues of Hasan Sabbāh against Nizām al-Mulk.
Hasan Sabbāh unscrupulously tried to gain the King's

56. 'Abd al-Razzāq, Nizām al-Mulk Tūsī, op. cit., p.53.
57. Ibid; p. 53.
favour by discrediting Nizām al-Mulk as a revenue minister. This story will be found in the Tarikh-i G uzīdah. 58 Nizām al-Mulk says, in his Wāgīyā, "During the time of Alp Arakan nobody knew Hasan Sabbāh in Lihrāsam. But during the period of Sultan Malik Shāh (A.H. 465/A.C. 1072 after the conflict of Qavurt) Hasan Sabbāh came to me at Nishāpur. 'I entertained him as well as I could and left no stone unturned to please him; one day, Hasan Sabbāh, very dexterously, said to me that 'I might go against our mutual compact'. I replied that 'I would not do so'.

Then Hasan Sabbāh said that 'I had been very kind to him, but the terms of the compact were different'. I replied that Hasan was right and he should be a sharer in my office, honour and even in my property. After that I introduced Hasan Sabbāh with a good deal of praise to Malik Shāh'. Gradually, he gained the Sultan's confidence and got very close to him. The Sultan began to take his advice in all important matters. 59 Dawlat Shāh Samargandī writes in his Taḫkhirah that Hasan Sabbāh wanted to be a full-fledged Prime Minister. 60 There are Hasan Sabbāh's two nefarious acts which are testified by Nizām al-Mulk.

60. Dawlat Shāh Samargandī, Taḫkhirah, Bombay, A.H. 1305/A.C. 1887, p. 64.
in his wasiya. Once some marble was brought by certain merchants for buildings that the Sultan wanted to erect. He was so pleased that he gave a reward of one thousand dinars in appreciation. The wazir was called upon to distribute it among the traders. Nizam al-Mulk gave (600) six hundred dinars to those who had six camels and (400) four hundred dinars to those who had four camels. Hasan Sabbah heard it and said that Nizam al-Mulk had made a mistake in the distribution of the reward which should have been divided in accordance with the weight of the marble brought by the merchants. Those who had brought the larger quantity should have been given more. The Sultan sent for Nizam al-Mulk. Hasan Sabbah was also present there. As soon as the Sultan saw Nizam al-Mulk he laughed at him and ordered Hasan Sabbah to relate his objections in respect of the distribution of the reward. Hasan Sabbah explained that if the weight was taken into consideration, Nizam al-Mulk’s division would prove to be incorrect. If weight had been the basis of the awards both groups of the camelmen would have got equal share. 61 When Hasan Sabbah had finished his arguments, the Sultan made light of the matter. He laughed and kept quiet. But Nizam al-Mulk understood that the Sultan had not been unaffected. The story of the three school-fellows has also been discussed

in the Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh, 62 which says that the reason of the enmity which existed between Nizām al-Mulk and Hasan Sabbāh was that they and 'Umar Khayyām were school-fellows together in Nišāpūr. They became devoted friends which resulted in their solemn compact that whichever of them should reach a lofty rank should share his wealth and honour with the other two. Now it happened that Nizām al-Mulk became the Prime Minister of Saljuqian Empire.

'Umar Khayyām reminded him of the covenant of their school days. Nizām al-Mulk acknowledging the old compact gave 'Umar Khayyām the government of Nišāpūr and its dependencies. But 'Umar Khayyām had no desire to administer a province. He preferred to get a stipend. Therefore, Nizām al-Mulk sanctioned him a pension of ten thousand dinārs from the treasury of Nišāpūr, to be paid to him annually without

62. Rashīd al-dīn Faḍl Allāh, Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh, ed. E. Blochet, 2 Vols. London, 1910-14 has been quoted by E.G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia, op. cit., p. 253. The European writers have particularly focused their attention on Bastūr al-Wuzarāʾ because it contained the story of three school-fellows and as such they have tried their best to prove it as fictitious. This conclusion of theirs is not at all believable as the story of the three school-fellows has been given earlier in the Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh. However, the story of Nizām al-Mulk, Hasan Sabbāh and 'Umar Khayyām having been school-fellows has been accepted by a reliable authority like the Raudat al-Safāʾ as well. Moreover, the "Sar-guzasht-i Sayyidna" also confirms it.
the deduction of any tax. After that Ḥasan Sabbāh came to demand his share. The narrative describes how Ḥasan Sabbāh rejected the government of Ray or Isfahān, and would be content with nothing less than a high rank in the court, which position Ḥasan Sabbāh misused by trying to contrive injury to his benefactor, whom he hoped to succeed as Prime Minister. He, however, failed in his attempt disgracefully and ultimately fled away to the court of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir at Cairo, where he supported the cause of Nizār and returned to

63. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 285. He admits in his *A Literary History of Persia*, after a good deal of probing that they were Nizām al-Mulk's contemporaries, for 'Umar Khayyām was his protege and Ḥasan Sabbāh was on solid grounds, associated with his violent death op. cit. at pages 191 and 192. He further pointed out some other comparatively late works in this connection in his article entitled "Yet more light on 'Umar Khayyām", in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1899 at pages 409 to 420.

The same story of three school-fellows is found in Fitz Gerald and Whitfield dealing with 'Umar Khayyām. A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, op. cit., p. 387. P.B. Vachha's translation of the biography of 'Umar Khayyām speaks about the friendship of the three school-fellows. This tale of three school-fellows has also been retold by Percy Sykes in his *History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 35. Syed Ameer 'Ali in his book *A Short History of the Sarmasens*, op. cit., mentions the three school-fellows at page 517.

Persia to carry on the "New Propaganda" in his name.

The author of Tarikh-i Istaghari \(^{64}\) says that Nizām al-Mulk, Hasan Sabbāh and 'Umar Khayyām were studying together at Nishāpūr, and were school-fellows. After 'Umar Khayyām, Hasan Sabbāh was asked what he wanted. He replied that he desired to be employed in the Government. At this Nizām al-Mulk gave him the charge of the revenue assessment of Hamadān and Dīnawar. \(^{65}\) But Hasan Sabbāh expected Nizām al-Mulk to give him a share in the ministry, he felt insulted at his assignment, and he conceived hostile feelings towards Nizām al-Mulk. Within a very short period of time Hasan Sabbāh won over the courtiers and gained the favour of the Sultan to the view that as he (the King) had been reigning for twenty years, it was essential that he should acquire some information regarding the income and expenditure of the Empire, and the correct position of his treasury. The Sultan asked Nizām al-Mulk how long it would take to prepare a full statement showing the details of Income and Expenditure of the whole Empire. The minister replied, "By the blessing of your fortune, your Empire extends from the frontiers of Kāshghar to Asia Minor and Antioch; \(^{66}\) if one devotes oneself to this task diligently,


\(^{65}\) Dawlat Shāh Samarkandī, Tadhkirah, op. cit., p. 64 and 'Abd al-Razzāq, Nizām al-Mulk Tūslī, op. cit., p. 421.

\(^{66}\) It is called in 'Arabic Antūkiyāh.
it could be accomplished in one year. Hasan Sabbāh said that he could do it in forty days. After forty days the Sultan asked Hasan Sabbāh if he had completed his statement of accounts. Hasan Sabbāh replied that he had and the document was presented. When the Sultan asked him about Ray, the leaf dealing with it was not in its place, Hasan Sabbāh was perplexed, and his hands and feet began to shake. When the Sultan asked him further questions, Hasan Sabbāh could

67. 'Abd al-Razzāq in his book Nizām al-Mulk Tūsī writes that this task can be accomplished at least in two years, op. cit., page 423. The Tārīkh-ı İstakhbārī says that when Nizām al-Mulk saw that Hasan Sabbāh would complete the task in time, he asked his own servant to make friends with a favourite slave of Hasan Sabbāh, and lavished gold and money upon him and got the statement on the pretext of comparing it with the one prepared by his own master. And Nizām al-Mulk further instructed his servant that on the fortieth day when the prepared statement came into his hands, he could jumble the sheets. According to the settled plan, on the fortieth day, the servant disorganized this book. This however, is largely improbable because Hasan Sabbāh was not a fool to let his book fall into Nizām al-Mulk's hands. Besides, the statement could not conceivably be completed within forty days.
At that time, Nizām al-Mulk submitted, "O my Lord, I knew from the beginning that this man was crazy. But when your majesty paid head to him, I dared not interfere. How is it possible to draw up the accounts of an Empire of this extent in forty days?" The Sultan ordered that Hasan Sabbāb be driven out of the court. He concealed himself, and sought refuge with one of his friends. Hasan Sabbāb several times hatched conspiracies to supplant his benefactor and, on the failure of his designs, he would have been executed but Nizār al-Mulk saved his life. He was even more magnanimous to his own murderer whom he forgave.

68. Anon, Dastiān-i Madīnahīb, Calcutta, 1809 a much later book, says that Nizām al-Mulk diplomatically got the volume from the house of Hasan Sabbāb and disarranged the leaves of the same, that is why Hasan Sabbāb could not give the correct reply to Sultan. The author of the Dastiān-i Madīnahīb has not mentioned his name in his book. However, Manzūr Ahsan 'Abbāsī holds that his name was Mār Dhu al-fiqār 'Alī al-Husainī. Manzūr Ahsan Abbāsī, Makhtūtāt-i Farsia, Punjab Public Library, Lahore, 1963. A perusal of the book makes it quite clear that the writer was a believer in the potency of the Stars and was not a Muslim. This creates a doubt about his bearing a Muslim name. Daulat Shāh Samarqandi, op. cit., also writes that the rikābdar of Nizām al-Mulk took the slave of Hasan Sabbāb into confidence and got the leaves disarranged so that Hasan Sabbāb could not answer the questions put by Malik Shāh. All these statements seem to emerge from some common and, probably, Ismā'īlī sources.
His own private servants often committed mistakes but he usually forgave them. According to *Tabqat al-Kubra* it was the daily routine of Nizām al-Mulk to distribute one hundred dinārs to beggars and needy men every morning. He was generous by nature but his generosity was not extravagant. Faqīḥ Abū al-Qāsim says that one night he was the guest of Nizām al-Mulk. When the table was laid, he also was at the table. The seating arrangement was such that Nizām al-Mulk was on one side and on the other side sat 'Amīd, a man of position, and by the side of 'Amīd there was a poor beggar whose right hand had been cut off. When the beggar started eating with his left hand, 'Amīd did not like his way of eating. When Nizām al-Mulk saw 'Amīd’s face, he asked the beggar to move and sit by him. After that he ate with the beggar. Ibn al-Athīr says that Nizām al-Mulk always entertained at his table beggars and poor men. Beggars used to sit close to Nizām al-Mulk.

A spirit of hatred and jealousy sprang up between Nizām al-Mulk and Tāj al-Mulk Abu’l Ghānī’īn Ibn Dārist, a thing which frequently happens among men in high positions, the latter told Ibn al-Habbāriyah to compose a satire on Nizām al-Mulk, promising the poet his favour and an ample recompense in case he consented.

"But how", said Ibn al-Habbāriyah, "Can I attack a man to whose kindness I am indebted for every object I see in my house"? "I insist on your compliance", said Tāj al-Mulk; on this the poet composed the following piece: "Wonder not that Ibn Ishaq rules and that fate assists him; (wonder not that) prosperity flows pure for him and turbid for Abu'l Ghanā'im, fortune is like the wheel for raising water, it can not be turned but by oxen". When these verses were communicated to Nizām al-Mulk, who was a native of Tus, he merely observed that they contained an allusion to a common proverb saying that the people of Tus are oxen, and not only abstained from punishing the poet, but overlooked his conduct and treated him with greater kindness than everbefore. This is cited as an instance of Nizām al-Mulk's noble conduct and of his extreme indulgence.

"Not withstanding the extraordinary degree of favour shown to him by this wazīr, Ibn al-Habbāriyah had much to suffer from the malice of Nizām al-Mulk's pages and followers, (who detested him) from what they knew of his evil tongue". He was not only noble in character, but also

71. 'Imād al-Dīn says, in his Kharīdah, that, on this occasion, Nizām al-Mulk bestowed upon the poet a robe of honour and five hundred pieces of gold. This is mentioned in Ibn Khallikān's Wafayāt al-A'īn, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 9 n. Habbāriyah means a female descended from Habbār.

72. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'īn wa Aabā 'Abnā' al-Zamān, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 9-10. Ibn al-Habbāriyah's full name is Sharīf Abū Ya'la Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sālih Ibn al-Habbāriyah who was a native of Bagheda and was one of the poets patronised by Nizām al-Mulk.
loyal to the monarch and faithful to the Empire, he enjoyed absolute power under Malik Shāh. If there had been any other person instead of Nizām al-Mulk he would have appropriated the Empire to himself. But Nizām al-Mulk always served the monarch and the Empire faithfully. Thus revealing his unselfish adherence to principles. Feelings of disaffection were increasing between Malik Shāh and Nizām al-Mulk because of the promptings of Malik Shāh’s queen, Terken Khâtûn and Taj al-Mulk and it is said that Nizām al-Mulk was dismissed by Malik Shāh in favour of Taj al-Mulk on the charge of extravagant expenditure on the army and nepotism.

Malik Shāh’s wrath burst out because of an unguarded reply made by Nizām al-Mulk to a message demanding his explanation. "He who gave you the crown, placed on my head the Turban, and these two are inseparably connected and bound together". Nizām al-Mulk is reported to have said, meaning to say that the monarchy could not last without his support. This was exaggerated by his enemies and it is said that the Sultan in fury dismissed Nizām al-Mulk and replaced him by Taj al-Mulk. It seems probable, however, that whereas the Sultan’s grave dissatisfaction with Nizām al-Mulk was a fact, it could not go to the extent of Nizām al-Mulk’s dismissal. The Cambridge History of Iran seems to be correct.

73. Rawandi, Ḳaḥṭ al-Ṣudûr, op. cit., p. 135.
75. Ibid; p. 135.
in its assessment when it says that "Tāj al-Mulk Abu'l Ghanā'im had been designated to succeed him as wazīr to Malik Shāh but had not formally assumed office before Malik Shāh died". 76 'Abbās Iqbal supports Cambridge History of Iran in the following words:

After the assassination of the Khvāja (the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk) Malik Shāh went to Baghdad and nominated Tāj al-Mulk Abu al-Ghanā'im in his place, but before the ceremonies regarding the installation of the new Khvāja (wazīr) could take place, the Sultān died on 10 Shawwal 485 in Baghdad. 77

Ibn Khallikān says that Tāj al-Mulk Abu al-Ghanā'im al-Qummi succeeded to the wazīrate on the death of Nizām al-Mulk. 78 One of the earliest sources, Anūshirwān bin Khālid, says nothing about Nizām al-Mulk's departure from office. 79 There are other arguments which prove that he

76. J.A. Boyle, The Cambridge History of Iran, op. cit., p. 263.

77. 'Abbās Iqbal, Wizārat dar 'Abd-i Salāṭīn-i buzurg Salībī, op. cit., p. 51.


was in office till the last gasp of his breath. If Tāj al-Mulk had assumed office as Prime Minister, he would not have conspired with the Ismā'īlī assassins. J.A. Boyle says, "Tāj al-Mulk was widely suspected of having instigated Nizām al-Mulk's murder", because, as Boyle says, "The wazīr's enemies at court concocted the murder in association with the assassins". Tāj al-Mulk was so keen upon getting the office of the Prime Minister that he linked himself up with the Fidaīs. He was so strongly suspected of association with the murder that Tāj al-Mulk himself was assassinated some four months later. As a matter of fact, Nizām al-Mulk remained in his office till his martyrdom. If Nizām al-Mulk had been dismissed from his post then there was no sense in his travelling with Malik Shāh to Baghda. Shortly before his departure, he handed over the Siyāsat Nāmah for calligraphy to Muhammad Maghribī, the copyist of the Royal Library. During this journey calamity befell him and there was yelling and crying as Nizām al-Mulk was stabbed. Indeed Malik Shāh

80. Ibid; p. 70.
81. Ibid; p. 102.
himself was shocked and came with tears in his eyes and sat down by his wounded minister. Thus one can conclude quite confidently that the story of Nizām al-Mulk’s dismissal is not true. According to Rāwandī (d. A.H. 599/A.C. 1202) "Terken Khātūn wanted to put Tāj al-Mulk in the office of Nizām al-Mulk". This shows that Terken Khātūn and her supporters in the court might have propagated a rumour about Nizām al-Mulk’s dismissal to win over the supporters of Nizām al-Mulk to weaken his position. The rumour originated in from the royal palace and vigorously spread by powerful courtiers and ministers; and as such an authority like Rāwandī was misled and wrote about the dismissal. However, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Qalānīsī.


85. Rāwandī, Ṣaḥāḥ al-Sudūr, op. cit., p. 133.

86. Ibid; p. 140. Jaʿfar the son of Khalīfa, Muqtadī was not the nephew but the grandson of Malik Shāh. The daughter of Malik Shāh was given to Khalīfa in marriage, not his sister. Rāwandī is wrong here as he is in the case of Nizām al-Mulk’s dismissal.


and al-Bundari\textsuperscript{89} either do not mention the dismissal or say clearly that Nizam al-Mulk was not deposed. The Encyclopaedia of Islam says that Sultan Malik Shah "did not dare to dismiss him. The earliest historian to assert that he was dismissed is Rashid al-Din Fadl al-Allah, who appears to have misunderstood the purport of some verses by al-Nahhas quoted in the Rihat al-Sudur, and really composed after Nizam's death".\textsuperscript{90}

It is now opportune to say something about the sources. It is not at all possible to discuss the material of all the secondary sources cited in this thesis. But it is necessary to introduce the primary sources and also to mention some important secondary sources regarding the history of the Saljuqs of which Nizam al-Mulk is directly and indirectly an integral part. He not only remained the Wazir of the Empire for thirty years but was also directly concerned with its progress and achievements. The symptoms of its decline began to manifest themselves in the form of the conflict for succession to the throne after the murder of Nizam al-Mulk.

\textsuperscript{89} Al-Bundari, Daulat al-Saljüs, Cairo, 1900, pp. 59-69.

The leading authorities on the history of the Saljūqs are Baḥbaḥī and Ibn al-Athīr. A discussion of the latter work will follow. There are three other main sources—the Lam' al-Tawārīkh in Arabic by Abū al-Futūḥ Barakāt b. Ismā'īl (d. A.H. 500/A.C. 1106), the Tarīkh-i ʿAlī Saljūq of Abū Ṭahīr Ḥāṭūnī and the Zawāli 'Uṣūr al-Wuzara' wa Wuzara 'Uṣūr al-Zawālī, by Shārāf al-Dīn Aḥmad Irwān bīn Khūlid (d. A.H. 533/A.C. 1138). The Tarīkh-i ʿAlī Sabuktīgīn was written by Abū al-Faḍl Baḥbaḥī (d. A.H. 470/A.C. 1077). He himself witnessed the beginning of the Saljūq power and was directly involved in the politics of that age. His teacher Abū Naṣr had been the Dīwān-i Risālat in the court of Sultan Nas'rūd of Ghazna. Baḥbaḥī worked under Abū Naṣr as an assistant for nine years and after the death of his teacher he got more opportunities of knowing the ins and outs of the conflict and the political and diplomatic relations between the Saljūqs and Ghuznavids. All parts of his history are not available; some have been lost; it would have been of great value if the work had been preserved in its entirety. The most useful information contained in the extant portion is his discussion of the weaknesses and the causes of the downfall of the Ghuznavids and the rise of the Saljūqs.

The Siyāsat Nāmah is a treatise on history, and the art of government and administration. The first Persian text was published in Paris by M. Charles Schéfer in 1891, and the French translation by Schéfer with helpful historical notes in 1893; and a "supplement", containing information regarding the life and times of the Nizām al-Mulk was published in 1897 by Schéfer. It was one of the rare manuscripts before the publications of the first edition in 1891.

B.N. Zåkhoder rendered the Siyāsat Nāmah into Russian and published it in 1949, from Moscow. Subsequently the Persian text was edited by Ș. 'Abd al-Rabīm Khalkhāli and published from Teherān in 1932. The author of this thesis has used Qazvinī's edition of 1344/A.H. 1965 which is more satisfactory than other publications.

Malik Shāh commissioned some of his experienced advisers, Sharaš al-Mulk, Najā al-Mulk, Tāj al-Mulk, Nizām al-Mulk and others to produce a manual for the guidance of his administration. Each one wrote a treatise and submitted to Malik Shāh but the Sultan liked none except that by Nizām al-Mulk and said "I will make this book my guide and follow its maxims".

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92. A review on the Siyāsat Nāmah by Professor Nöldeke was published in Volume LIV of the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft in 1892, at pages 761 to 768. (Wiesbaden, Germany)
Nizam al-Mulk wrote thirty-nine chapters of Siyāsat Nama. As he was constantly facing the enemies of the Saljuq Empire, he could add the remaining eleven chapters only at the time of revision and completed it in A.H. 485/A.D. 1092. Seven chapters of it deal with the heretics, their origin and growth. Thus the Siyāsat Nama consists of fifty chapters dealing with the royal prerogatives and duties along with the administration of every department of the Government of the Empire.

The Siyāsat Nama is full of historical anecdotes and some of them are not correct. It embodied the author's views regarding the merits and demerits of the extant administration of the Empire. The assassination of Nizam al-Mulk brought about the disintegration of the state. This is one of the proofs of his administrative far-sightedness. His practical administrative abilities are epitomised in what may be called a Model Statesman's Manual, the Siyāsat Nama, for which he is famous.

Nizam al-Mulk gives detailed information regarding how to keep the Sultan fully informed of all matters within his Empire, including the goings of the governors of the provinces through "Barīd". He outlined the paths which a Sultan should follow if he wanted to keep his subjects satisfied. According to I. B. Qureshi, "his Siyāsat Nama was the bible of Muslim administrators".93

The Nāhat al-Sudūr wa Ayāt al-Surūr was written by Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hammat al-Rawandī in A.H. 599/A.C. 1202. This book has been edited with notes, glossary and indices by Muḥammad Ḥqālāl who sometime was a student in the Muslim University of 'Alīgarh and it was published at Teherān (Īrān) in 1333/A.C. 1954. It gives detailed information regarding the Saljuq dynasty. This book of al-Rawandī became known to students in 1865, when it was noticed by De Jong and De Goeje as forming the original of the Tawārikh-1 Ālī Saljuq compiled in Turkish during the reign of Sultan Murād II (1412-1451) in three parts.
The second extract of it comprising the history from the beginning until the death of Malik Shāh was published by M. Schöfer in 1897 in his "supplement" to the Siyāsat Nāmah of Nizām al-Mulk. The discussion of the period (A.H. 552-590/A.C. 1157-1194) relates to the decline and fall of the Saljuq power on which this book is an incomparable authority, for the author himself and his uncles were some of the favourite courtiers of Sultan Tughril, the last of the Saljuqs, and thus had easy access to first-hand information regarding the happenings at the court. Besides, it contains a considerable number of verses by some of the greatest Persian poets like Anwārī, Nizāmī and Jamāl al-dīn Isfahānī, most of whom were contemporaries of the author. He belonged to a learned
family of Rawand which was a small town in the neighbourhood of Kashan, whose members were all scholars and professors. There was no peace in the country, during the years following the death of Sultan Tughril in A.H. 590/A.C. 1194; there was no respect left for any learning or morality; learned men were neglected, and valuable books were either sold or destroyed by the tyrannical chiefs. During this time corruption was rampant and money was unjustly extorted from the people by the agents of the cruel governors.

At that time al-Rawandi led a life of retirement and isolation devoting his time to writing this book. It is the sole primary source for the years A.H. 555-595/A.C. 1160-1199 for almost nothing can be found either in al-Bundari or Ibn al-Athir about it. The information supplied by the author on these years is first-hand, detailed and reliable. It is written in a clear and simple style. The early portion of Saljuq history in this work is not so reliable for it largely depends on Saljuq Namah of Zahir al-dIn Kishapur who was his relation. Occasional errors have crept into this book. The first edition of this work was dedicated to Ruka al-dIn, but after his death in A.H. 601/A.C. 1204 and Kaikhsraw’s restoration to the throne, the writer was compelled to change his dedication. He, however, himself went to Iconium, taking with him the revised edition of his book, and presented it personally to the Sultan. It was but natural to use
works like the Zubdat al-Tawārīkh of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū and the Tārīkh-i Guzīdah of Mustawfi. These were also used by the writers of the Ḥaḍrat al-Safā, the Ḥabīb al-Siyar and the Tārīkh-i Alfī. Qâdi Ahmad Ghaffārī might have used Bahār al-Sudūr in compiling his Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā. The famous 'Amid al-dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī’s (d. A.H. 597/ A.C. 1200) book Nuṣrat al-Fatrah wa ’Usrat al-Fatrah is in fact the Arabic translation of the Persian chronicle by the Wazīr Sharaf al-dīn Amūshīrwān b. Khālid, and has been published in Bundārī’s Arabic recension, entitled Zubdat al-Nasrah wa Nuhbat al-’Usrah by Houtsma and published from Leiden in 1889. Zubdat al-Nasrah was actually written by Sharaf al-dīn Amūshīrwān b. Khālid who became Wazīr during the reign of Sultan Mahmūd bin Muḥammad in A.H. 511/ A.C. 1117 to A.H. 525/A.C. 1131. He has also written a book Futūrū Zamān al-Sudūr wa ‘Uṣūrū Zamān al-Futūr in Persian language in which he has covered the ministers beginning from the middle of the period of Nizām al-Mulk to the end of the period of Sultan Tughril bin Muḥammad bīn Malik Shāh upto A.H. 527/A.C. 1133. ’Amīd al-dīn completes the history of the Saljuqī wazīrs by adding the period from ’Amīd al-Mulk Abū Naṣr al-Kundūrī to the middle of Nizām al-Mulk’s tenure in the beginning and the history of the ministers of Tughril bin Muḥammad upto those of the Saljuqs of ‘Irāq in the end. He was very close to the politics of his time in the same way as Sharaf al-dīn.
was in his time. 'Abd al-Fatah Bundārī's (d. A.H. 623/A.D. 1226) Arabic revision of al-Kātib's work entitled Zubdat al-Nafrah wa Nukhbat al-'Iṣrah has been edited by Houtsma. This book gives us valuable information about the Saljuqs. Bundārī has simplified the difficult style of al-Kātib so that the book may be easily understood by the readers.

Zain al-Akhbār is written by Abu Sa'id 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Addahāk bin Mahmūd Gardezī. He himself lived during the reigns of Sultan Mahmūd and Sultan Mas'ūd. He completed his work during the time of Sultan 'Abd al-Rasḥād Ghaznavī. This work is better than Tārīkh-i Bahlajī in the respect that it covers Mahmūd Ghaznavī as well as the beginning of the Saljuqs. No one else gives first-hand information about the early Saljuqs.

The Al-Farīḍ fi'l-Tarīk of 'Izz al-Dean Abu al-Rasāl 'Alī b. Muhammad commonly known as Ibn al-Āthīr (d. A.H. 630/A.D. 1232) is well known. It was published from Egypt in A.H. 1503/A.D. 1885. It is considered one of the most authentic sources in the history of Islam due to its encyclopaedic information. He was not the contemporary of the Saljuqs; but he was very near to that period. He had excellent means of getting the information. We get a mass of detailed information about the Saljuqs and the Saljuqs of 'Iraq and Syria. Ibn al-Āthīr's accuracy is corroborated by W. Bartholom in his introduction to Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion.
Dhail Tarikh-i Dimashq was written by Abu Ya'la Hamza b. Asad commonly known as Ibn al-Qalanisi (d. A.H. 555/A.C. 1160). The same Dimashq edited by H.F. Amedroz was published from Leiden in 1908. The main portions of it relating to the Crusades have been translated under the heading The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades by H.A.R. Gibb with an introduction. It throws sidelight on the prevailing conditions of the time. There are passages dealing with the important events of the period as well.

Some valuable information may be culled from the Mir'at al-Zaman of Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi (d. A.H. 655/A.C. 1257). It is available in two volumes published in Hyderabad (Deccan), A.H. 1370-1/A.C. 1951-2 and also in the facsimile edition of J.R. Jewett with an introduction.

Waṣayat al-A'yan wa Anhā' Abu' al-Zaman is a well-known work of Qadi Shams al-din Abu al-'Abbās Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Abī Usr b. Khallikan Barmaki (d. A.H. 681/A.C. 1282). It was published in Egypt, de Slane translated it into English in four volumes and S. Mo'In al-Haq of Pakistan Historical Society has edited it. We gather a good deal from it about the characters of the leading personalities belonging to the Saljuq period. This biographical work holds a high position among similar books and Nicholson considered it the best general biography ever written. The historical events which are nearer the author's time are considered most reliable. It furnishes
CHAPTER-II

NIZĀM AL-MULK AS A THINKER

Nizām al-Mulk’s energies were completely absorbed in the business of state. He obtained a wide experience of political affairs and administrative procedures. He had outstanding experience in practical politics. His entire life was spent as a man of affairs. He remained Prime Minister upto the end of his life in the service of Malik Šāh. Malik Šāh asked his leading officers, Sharaf al-Mulk, Tāj al-Mulk, Majd al-Mulk and Nizām al-Mulk to produce books on politics and administration; only Nizām al-Mulk’s Siyāsat Nāmah met with his approval. His experience naturally determined his views and he developed a philosophy in politics.

He set himself the task of finding out what are the factors of political success, how a state may attain stability and, above all, what were the main requirements of the Saljuqian State. Any one who wishes to understand the political thought of Nizām al-Mulk must go to his Siyāsat Nāmah. It is justly regarded as a good exposition of contemporary political theory. It also embodies a detailed plan of running the government successfully.

The book deals with the principles of statecraft and the factors that conduce to the creation of political vigour, of public spirit, of stability and the expansion of territories. Nizām al-Mulk naturally discussed what he regarded most relevant for Saljūq power. Almost all of his views actually bear, directly or indirectly, upon the question of what constitutes strength and weakness for a state in peace and in war. But what invests the Siyāsat Nāmah with more than a merely historical interest is the fact that the main principles enunciated by it still guide nations and rulers in their relations with one another and in their domestic affairs.

The Siyāsat Nāmah is not at all Machiavellian in its outlook or aims. It does not advocate low cunning, breach of agreement and diplomatic lies. It is not a dry treatise on the discussion of basic principles. It is enriched with a large number of historical anecdotes to illustrate the points that he makes. It is written in an extra-ordinarily simple style devoid of rhetorical artifices, but its simplicity is in a way deceptive because its artlessness conceals consummate mastery of expression. Apart from the style, there is an earnestness and farsightedness in Siyāsat Nāmah which outweighs its purely literary value. Nizām al-Mulk is not Machiavellian in his outlook because his philosophy is moral, being based in religion. He is of the opinion that a polity to
be beneficent must be rooted in religion. Therefore, in his thinking and investigations into political principles, Nizām al-Mulk is guided by the Sharī'ah. He believes in the Sunni theory of the Khilāfat, but is fully aware of the gulf between this theory and the political reality of kingship; and hence he tries to maintain the harmony between the Caliphate and the Sultanate. In this he is influenced by al-Māwardī. In his philanthropy and morality he turns to al-Ghazzālī. Nizām al-Mulk accepts the masses as equals in faith, in law and in the observance of various forms of Muslim worship. Nizām al-Mulk held that only the Sharī'ah could form the basis as well as the constitutional law of the Saljuqian state recognizing no distinction between religious and secular functions of the government and the state.

Nizām al-Mulk aims at practical and theoretical perfection in human relations with God. For him the consummation of human ideals consists in love, hope and fear all related to God. He concerns himself with the individual as well as the community both of whom have to be governed by the Sharī'ah in a Muslim State. He is of the


opinion that without the agency of a religio-socio-political organization, man cannot fulfill his destiny. Thus he makes the state a moral entity. Therefore, the function of the state is to guarantee not only life, liberty and property through justice and equity but also the welfare and happiness of its citizens. This ideal he tries to transform into practical reality. He was eminently capable of doing so, as all his thoughts manifest that he is a practical thinker.

Objections may be raised on characterizing the Siyāsat Nāmah, a treatise on statecraft and practical administration, as the embodiment of a philosophy, but if a thinker is "one who reduces the principles of philosophy to practice in the conduct of life", 3 Nazām al-Nūk most certainly was a thinker and his magnum-opus — the Siyāsat Nāmah — embodies his thought; which has translated the basic philosophy mentioned in the previous paragraph into administrative reality. The very title of the book reveals Nizām al-Nūk's intention. He calls it the "Book of politics".

It may be argued that the practical application of the philosophy is limited to the methods of making the existing institutions more efficient and fruitful rather than the creation of new institutions to interpret his philosophy, but such an argument would only betray a lack

of understanding of the nature of political and adminis-
trative institutions, which are seldom created and brought 
out like rabbits from the thinker's hat. They are 
generally modified to serve some need, be it practical 
or philosophical. And a philosopher may achieve the same 
object by interpreting their functions and modifying 
their nature by such interpretation to correspond to 
his philosophy. And this is mainly what Nizām al-Mulk 
has done. He set before himself the three-fold objectives 
of making the state strong, stable and vigorous; of 
increasing its benevolent and beneficent functions; and 
of increasing the efficiency of all its organs and 
institutions. Everyone of these objectives, in so far as 
it was achieved — and the popularity of the book 
throughout the Middle Ages is an indication of its 
achievement — demonstrates both the success of his 
endeavour in applying his thought to practical ends and 
the soundness of the thought itself. The involvement of 
philosophy is also demonstrated by the fact that he does 
not describe the institutions and procedures as they 
existed but discusses the forms in which they should work.

Nizām al-Mulk's education, travels, experience, 
and wide range of reading gave him an excellent grounding 
in Islamic culture and academic traditions. He had an 
absorbing interest in deductive and inductive logic and 
though he was no specialist in the discipline, he 
understood its importance and usefulness in framing his
theories. But most extraordinary in his intellectual growth was his capacity for learning by direct experience and through personal associations.

As he was a devout and practising Muslim, his thought was inevitably based in Islam. His main ideas can be understood correctly only if the Islamic frame of reference is kept in mind. He was deeply influenced by Islamic universalism and it is not possible to agree with Kritzeck when he says that he was "to some extent serving the cause of Persian nationalism". His ideas were based, as has been mentioned earlier, in Islam, but as the Muslim administrative tradition in the East had adapted many institutions and procedures from pre-Islamic Iran, traditions, their influences can surely be traced in Nizam al-Mulk's thought, but that is a far cry from saying that he was serving the cause of Persian nationalism. Nor can his attitude in reconciling the claims of the Sultanate and the Caliphate and a recognition of the former be interpreted as serving the cause of Iranian nationalism because he sincerely follows the views of Muslim jurists like al-Nawardi who had preceded him. The institutions and processes that he suggested in his writing were those that he thought best for the contemporary Muslim State.

His concern for the common man and his passion for their social betterment grew out of his religious convictions; he looked upon social and governmental problems as basically moral in nature, and he came to identify his conception of social justice with Islam itself.

He begins his Siyāsat Na[mah in the name of Allāh and ends with the statement that "Allāh Knoweth best what is right".\(^5\) This God-consciousness permeates the entire thought of Nizām al-Mulk. The ideas of justice, benevolence and morality all stem from it. Indeed, the fact that Nizām al-Mulk's approach is moral emanates from his strong faith in an omnipresent and omniscient God who does not tolerate injustices and oppression or fraud and falsehood. That is why his thoughts are lofty, his approach highly responsible and his presentation sincere and simple. No conscious effort was needed by him in this; indeed, almost all Muslim thinkers, to mention only few, like al-Fārābī, al-Māwardī and al-Ghazzālī, in different fields, have maintained their Islamic outlook in their thought, whether based on pure reason or on authority. He, however, differs from philosophers in so far as he does not enunciate philosophic dicta and then sets himself the task of proving their validity. The philosophy emerges from his attitude in dealing with practical problems. Another point of difference between

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Nizām al-Mulk and out and out philosophic thinkers is that whereas the latter usually support their views with rational arguments, Nizām al-Mulk generally makes assertions and tries to demonstrate their validity through anecdotes.

His Siyāsat Nāmah is an exposition of practical pragmatism, and not a treatise of doctrinal idealism. In his book the principle appears like the soul and historical experience as contained in the illustrative anecdotes like the body; and both are inter-woven into a single indivisible entity. Take, for instance, the following anecdote which illustrates the responsibility of a ruler for the welfare of the people. "It is said that at the time of his father's death 'Abd Allāh bin 'Umar al-Khattāb (may Allāh be pleased with them both) asked, 'O father, where and when shall I see you again'? The father ('Umar) replied, 'In the next world'. 'Abd Allāh said, 'I would like to see you sooner'. He replied, 'you will see me in a dream tonight, tomorrow night, or the next night'. However, twelve years passed by without 'Umar appearing to his son in a dream. After twelve years, one night he saw him in a dream and said, 'O father, did you not say that within three nights I should see you'? He said, 'I was occupied, because in the country around Baghdād a bridge had become dilapidated and officials had not attended to its repair. A goat's forefoot fell into a hole in that bridge and was broken. Till now I had been interrogated for that'. The moral of the anecdote is so clear that it needs no clarification, but, for a Muslim

6. Ibid; p. 12.
reader no argument could have been more effective. There are numerous stories in the Siyāsat Nāmah of a similar nature. It employs the method of inductive logic with great success. In fact, it is the effective employment of this method which has given its unique influence and popularity to the Siyāsat Nāmah.

The fountain-head of Niz̄m al-Mulk's interest in the rights of the people is, once again, his religion which insists that "Buqūq al-'Ibad" take precedence over piety. A wrong done to a human being, be he a believer or a non-believer, shall not be forgiven by God until the injured person himself forgives the offender. A ruler is no exception, and because, he has to deal with a large number of people, he is more vulnerable to the sin of having inflicted injuries on people in his charge consciously, through his negligence or even oversight. Niz̄m al-Mulk holds the ruler responsible for both conscious and unconscious injuries, creating a high degree of responsibility in the ruler. This, indeed, is the cornerstone of Niz̄m al-Mulk's thought which is moral both in its basic principles and details.

Being a deeply religious person, he believed that God vouchsafed guidance to his creatures hence he also believed in intuition including the validity of messages conveyed through 'true' and significant dreams. This idea is not contrary to reason as some may be inclined to believe, because, many dreams are in fact the quintessence of deep psychological processes, and are based in the
purposeful working of the subconscious mind. When the mind feels frustrated in its conscious and rational search of the solution of a problem the subconscious takes over and often comes with the desired answer. To Nizām al-Mulk, however, both intuition and its cognate process—the significant dream—is a form of divine guidance. He had too much experience—his own and that of others—at his disposal not to realize that sometimes the best human effort fails to produce the desired result and some objects are achieved without any effort through what may be called a happy coincidence or chance, but to Nizām al-Mulk's earnest mind, God's intention is involved for some higher purpose. He had in view the fact that often such happenings create frustration or cheap optimism, both of which are inhabitive of effort.

Nizām al-Mulk has a theory of kingship which is not radically different from the Islamic concept of rulership in the matter of its obligations and functions, but there is a serious departure in one respect. Basically, the rulership is elective in Islam, but with the emergence of hereditary Caliphates and even more so with the rise of Sultanates, the elective factor had been reduced to a legal fiction. Indeed, so far as the Sultanate was

7. 'Abd al-Razzāq, Nizām al-Mulk, Tūsī, op. cit., p.315. For example, Nizām al-Mulk writes in his Wasta' that once he besieged the impregnable fort under Fadlūna which luckily was surrendered only after a night's siege. This was pure and simple help of God; because that very night all the wells and tanks in the fort dried up which forced the besieged to surrender.
concerned it was not even hereditary in the strict sense, because, quite often a man with the highest military talent or support occupied the throne. Thus, it was difficult to frame a theory that would suit the circumstances. There were only two options open to Nizām al-Mulk. The first was to declare that the strongest man, through his prowess or diplomacy, came to the top. If the theory of sheer capability is seriously advanced and accepted, a man who seized power through his sword would look upon the throne as the fruit of his own endeavour. This would create selfishness and lack of regard for any moral obligation and could well result in tyranny and Machiavellian cynicism. If it is believed that power comes through personal effort based in sheer ambition, what can make the ruler responsible to anyone except himself and his selfish interests? Then the furtherance of one's own interests, by any means fair or foul, would be the only motivation for framing policies. Enlightened self-interest may, it is true, result in benevolent measures, but the danger of the ruler's resorting to tyranny and unscrupulous actions would always lurk around the corner and would overwhelm the people as well as polity, the moment it appeared that scruples barred efficient action. Nizām al-Mulk, because of piety and an all-pervasive moral sense, could not advocate a theory with such dangerous implications.
The other option — and the one more in accord with Nizām al-Mulk’s piety and moral sense — was to make the ruler responsible to a moral code. This option, of course, he adopted. He achieved his end by pointing out that human effort was not the decisive factor in success. He attributed all success and failure to God’s will. Thus if a man did succeed either through his effort or merely through peaceful succession, he owed the result to God. It was God who had given him power. This was in accord with the Qur’ān which proclaims that He bestows sovereignty upon whomsoever He intends and takes away sovereignty from whomsoever He likes. \(^8\) Thus even if human effort or circumstances endow a person with power, he cannot preserve it without God’s pleasure. And, of course, in the first place, he would not come to power without His help. Thus if God is the Bestower of power, authority and sovereignty, the person who occupies the throne does so because God has chosen him for such purpose.

This theory comes dangerously near the western theory of the Divine Right of Kings, but it steers clear of the difficulties involved in the acceptance of the western theory. God does choose the ruler but bestows no

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\(^8\) قل اللّه مالك الملك تحرم على الملك من علّمه و تتزعزع الملك متعزم

"Say: ‘O Allah! owner of sovereignty! Thou givest sovereignty unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou withdrawest sovereignty from whom Thou wilt”. Qur’ān, iii, 26: English translation by Marmaduke Pickthall, Fazl-e-Aam, Temple Road, Karachi, 1974, p. 54."
immunity upon him from rebellion. It has to be remembered that Nizām al-Mulk upholds the superiority of the Sharī'a over the monarch who is as subject to it as his humblest subject. The Sharī'a gives the right of rebellion to the subject in case the monarch seriously transgresses the Sharī'a in public dealings. Indeed such rebellion becomes not only legal, but a public duty. And for the same reason the monarch cannot turn to tyranny, fraud or falsehood to achieve his personal sordid aims. After raising a person to the throne, God expects him to be virtuous, responsible and benevolent, otherwise there is dire punishment in store for him. The retribution may even come in this life, it surely will come in the next.

This is the whole point in the anecdotes relating to the Caliph 'Umar and the Prophet Joseph.9 Nizām al-Mulk holds that however virtuous a ruler might have been, whatever


The former has been narrated in the text, vide supra. The latter is as follows:

"Tradition holds that when Joseph, the Prophet, was dying, he expressed his wish to be buried near his forefather, Abraham. When the dead body of Joseph was brought near the boundary of Abraham's tomb, Gabriel appeared and said, 'this is not his place; for on the Day of Resurrection he will have to answer for his actions in connection with the sovereignty which he exercised over the country (entrusted to him). Now if Joseph found himself in such a predicament what will be the position of others'?
might have been his religious status in the world; if he had been entrusted with the affairs of the people in the world, he shall be questioned after his death regarding any conscious or unconscious lapse on his part. Not even the slightest injury to a human being shall go without punishment or retribution.

This Nizām al-Mulk's theory is only superficially akin to the western theory of the Divine Right of kings and is totally different from it in its implications. According to Nizām al-Mulk, God does not choose a man for a throne without laying heavy responsibility upon him. His purpose in this choice is to provide for "the well-being of his creatures" and the king is "to close the doors of corruption, confusion and discord" so that "under his just rule" men "may live their lives in constant security." If he does so his subjects would desire the continuance of his reign and will be a source of strength to him. One should compare this with a western notion of kingship as stated at the end of the sixteenth century, King James I of England held that "the state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth: for kings

10. Ibid; p. 7.
11. Ibid; p. 7.
12. Ibid; p. 7.
13. Ibid; p. 7.
are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon
God's throne, but even by God himself they are called
gods". 14

By bringing in God into the state, both as the
chooser of the monarch and as the author of its basic law,
the Sharī'ā, Nizām al-Mulk is not advocating the establish-
ment of a "theocracy" in its accepted sense. God is the
final arbiter of political as, indeed, any other aspect of
human affairs, but He does not exercise His political
authority like the accepted sense of the term "theocracy"15
in the west through a body of priests. That authority,
in Nizām al-Mulk's view, is exercised through a king, his
ministers and his officers, none of whom is divinely
ordained in any sense of the word.

Nizām al-Mulk naturally does not go into the question
of the Caliphate in detail because the simple reason that it
no longer played a vital or active role in the polity. It
had been reduced to a mere symbol and its functions had
become merely legal myths — which were respected and invi-

14. Hellwag (Editor), The Political Works of James I,

15. Muhammad Hamidullah, Muslim Conception of State,
Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1363/1945, pp. 80-81.
The word 'theocracy' was coined by Flavius Josephus
to characterise the type of the Israelite state.
affection, nevertheless in actual fact were inoperative. The monarchs, partly out of respect for the Islāmic legal forms and partly because of popular sentiment, sought its approval and showed all respect to it. In view of the hold of the Sharī'a on the people, it was politic to do so, but there the matter ended. However, Nizām al-Mulk was aware of the dangers involved in meddling with the institution of the Caliphate even when it had become decrepit. Apart from the danger, perhaps his own sentiments dictated loyalty to the House of 'Abbās. Nevertheless, in the realm of practical politics, now it was the Sultan who was important and it is he who is the real subject of Nizām al-Mulk's thought, who did find a basis for justifying the existence of the Sultanate in its own right and not only as the recipient of delegated or usurped authority from the Caliphate. Here he differs radically from the jurists like al-Nawardī. For Nizām al-Mulk the Sultanate was as much an instrument of God's dispensation for the good of the people as the Caliphate had been in its palmy days of power and authority. The Siyāsat Nāma is a book of politics in its actual and practical form and not a book on Islāmic law. As a book of practical politics it had no comppeer for several centuries.

This would be clear from comparing it with the two books on similar topics nearest its time. The Qānūn Nāma was written in 1082, nine years before the composition of
the Siyāsat Nāmah by 'Uṣūr al-Ma'ālī Kaikāṣ b. Sīkandar b. Qābus b. Washmgir, prince of Tabaristān, at the age of sixty-three for his son Gīlān Shāh, who became the last ruling member of a small princely house, the Ziyārīds. The Qābus Nāmah is a book of moral precepts and rules of conduct. It achieved a pretty wide popularity, for it is full of wit and wisdom, rich in anecdote and illustration narrated with a frank directness coming out of a ripe experience; and, in this respect, it is comparable to the Siyāsat Nāmah. The Qābus Nāmah gives advice on a wide range of subjects containing forty-four chapters. Kritzneck says, "It is considered, together with the Siyāsat Nāmah and the Chahār Naqāla, one of the three greatest works of early Persian prose". The style of the Qābus Nāmah is less rugged and more polished than that of the Siyāsat Nāmah. "Bahār rates the Chahār Naqāla as one of the four masterpieces of early Persian prose, placing it on the same level as the Tarīkh-i Bahāqī, the Qābus Nāmah and the Siyāsat Nāmah".  


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18. His title was Majū al-Dīn, but he is always known by his pen name of Nizāmī. Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī Samarqandī, Chahār Naqāla, op. cit., p. lx.
for the prince, Shams al-Ma'āli Malik al-Umarā' 'Abd al-Hasan 'Ali b. Mas'ūd, of the Bāmiyān line of the Ghūrid dynasty. This is one of the famous books of Persian literature, and discusses in four discourses, illustrated with many anecdotes, the four important professions: the civil service, poetry, astrology and medicine. Its style did not agree with contemporary trends. But it stands as a monument of early Persian prose. He cared less about the absolute accuracy of his expositions than about the elegance of their expression. The Chahār Maqāla was written sixty-five years after the Siyāsat Nāmah and does not deal, like the Siyāsat Nāmah, exclusively and systematically with politics and administration. Thus the Qābūs Nāmah is the first book on the art of government in Persian, but a critical analysis shows that it is not systematic or comprehensive, whereas the Siyāsat Nāmah combines these qualities. Thus neither the Qābūs Nāmah nor the Chahār Maqāla stand in comparison with the Siyāsat Nāmah. Of course, Machiavelli's Prince was not written until A.C. 1513, more than four centuries later, and unlike the Siyāsat Nāmah was thoroughly amoral in its approach.
CHAPTER III

NIZĀM AL-MULK AS A STATESMAN

Nizām al-Mulk's eminence as a thinker has been discussed at length in a previous chapter, but he was even more eminent as a practical statesman. Indeed, he was not only incomparable in the qualities of statesmanship among his contemporaries, but also there have been few in history who can seriously stand comparison with him. The dictionary defines a statesman as "a man versed in the principles and art of government; one who shows unusual wisdom in treating or directing great public matters."

The term, however, is loosely applied to politicians of ephemeral importance, but the difference between a statesman and a politician has been practically set out in the dictum that "the politician thinks of himself and his party; the statesman thinks of the people and the country." However, "the practical statesman is interested in theory and knowledge only in so far as they can be immediately applied as weapons in the struggle


2. Ibid; p. 1909.
for political power.\(^3\) Nizām al-Mulk no doubt applied his energies to further the interests of his sovereign and the state, but he did not stop there. As a believing Muslim, he held the interests of Islam and the world community of Muslims as supreme while dealing with individual monarchs and states. If any short-term interests came into conflict with moral principles on the one hand and the well-being of a larger entity or the community on the other, he sacrificed short-term gains. Nizām al-Mulk invariably sought to ensure a conformity and compatibility between the interests that he was employed to safeguard and those that he had to serve in conscience as an orthodox faithful Muslim. He lived in a difficult world which had more than its normal share of internecine conflicts and narrow loyalties. His greatness lies in smoothing them out and steering clear of the temptation, natural in the direction of the policies of a great Empire, to assert its supremacy above legally recognized institutions with almost negligible material power like the 'Abbāsid Khilāfat. Besides, he tried to maintain good relations with like-minded Muslim states, even though he had the resources and strength to provoke conflicts with them and then

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establish the superiority of the Saljuqs. A practical
statesman is concerned with the co-ordination and
integration of day to day political activity. The course
to be adopted in a given political situation cannot be
anticipated in advance but arises from a certain fact,
which in all cases must work with unpredictable sets
of facts, weigh many impalpable factors and balance
intangible alternatives. We find that many an unpredict-
able set of problems was successfully resolved by Nizām
al-Mulk throughout his long career as a Prime Minister.
His Siyāsāt Nāmah breathes the very air of practical
statesmanship. "A spider", writes Marx, in Das Kapital,
"conducts operations that resemble those of a weaver,
and a bee puts to shame many an architect in the con-
struction of her cells. But what distinguishes the worst
architect from the best bee is this that the architect
raises his structure in imagination before he erects it
in reality". The greatness of Nizām al-Mulk is that he
imagined, scrutinized and analyzed his problems and found
tentative solutions by blending different factors
inherent in the situation that confronted him. The solution
that he built up resembled the careful work of an
architect who brings various necessary materials for the
construction of a noble edifice. That, however, is not
the entire requirement. There are some feasible solutions

4. Ibid; p. 222.
which involve risks. The statesman’s function is to evaluate the magnitude of the risk but this depends on his courage. Risks loom large before those who lack courage. A careful blending of caution and courage is the soul of statesmanship. After the nature of the risk has been properly determined the statesman proceeds with courage and determination. "There is throughout the world a growing agreement that many troubles have been due in considerable measure to lack of courage in statesmen".5

One of the modern statesmen, Henry Kissinger said, "the statesmen’s achievements are imperfect and partial".6

Nizām al-Mulk, on the contrary, solved all the troubles in the Saljūqian state with courage and fortitude, and his plans were better conceived, and therefore, more effective than those of his modern counterparts. However, wise, circumspect, far-sighted and courageous a statesman may be, he yet needs trustworthy moorings. His goal remains obscure and his policies seldom can rise above being just opportunistic and expedient. As they are attuned to the exigencies of passing phases of developments, their results lack the quality of permanence and are seldom able to affect posterity. Apart from moral considerations, if politics

5. Ibid; p. 226.

be divorced from morality and become totally amoral, the results obtained are short-lived. The fault of Machiavellism lies in the solid practical handicap of its results being almost invariably temporary. Every Machiavellian solution of a problem brings in its wake more problems. The greatness of Nizām al-Mulk lies in the fact that his solutions and measures proved stable and did not create further crises and difficulties in their wake. This was due to his essentially just and moral approach to the problems of government and administration. His morality was not experimental or wayward; it was solidly based in his religious convictions and regard for the Sharī'ā. Reck rightly observes that "without adequate guidance, supplied by education and philosophy, the statesman is at sea". In the case of Nizām al-Mulk, we find that he was guided by the Qur'ān, and the Sunnah as explained to him by the learned men of Madrasa Nizāmiyyah and a philosopher of towering personality, the famous Imām


Thus he was well armed not only with a practical philosophy of life, but his own education and the guidance of great scholars gave him a vision and breadth of view generally denied to a practical statesman.

His statesmanship is deeply and convincingly manifested in his career as well as in his Siyāsat Nāmah. The Saljūqs appeared on the Eastern political horizon and gave a new life and vigour to the Islamic world by obliterating all the hostile forces, particularly in the reigns of Alp Arslān and his son Sultān Malik Shāh. Nizām al-Mulk remained close to both the Sultāns and directed their policies. He proved himself uniquely capable of dealing with the most difficult and complicated situations as a statesman. He reformed and founded many institutions during his period of service. But as a far-sighted statesman, he very correctly concluded that there was still a long way to go to bring about stability and strength to the state. The treatise, Siyāsat Nāmah, was unique in character and, especially in the eleventh century, was considered to be indispensable for all rulers and administrators. In any case, the spirit of his writing continued for centuries, and its influence can be traced to a

9. He was known as Imam al-Jalīl (The Great Leader), Hujjat al-Islām (Proof of Islam) and Zain al-Dīn (Ornament of the Faith).
remarkable degree in the book, \textit{Naṣīḥ al-Wuẓūrāʾ wa al-Umarāʾ} written by the statesman, Sari Mehmed Paša, as late as in the eighteenth century.

Nizām al-Mulk's inspiring leadership was felt in every walk of life under the Saljuq rule. This imaginative and versatile statesman occupied the first place as a Minister on the state of the vast and turbulent Eastern Islamic World. For more than thirty years his talent was applied to the domestic and foreign affairs of the Saljuq Empire. Nizām al-Mulk established a respectful bond of friendship with the Caliphate since the very beginning of the Saljuq rule. Nizām al-Mulk realized that the Caliphate carried more weight in the


11. S.K. Frye, ed.: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs (The Cambridge History of Iran), Volume IV, Cambridge University Press, 1975, p. 463. "With the coming of the Saljuqs many political and intellectual transformations took place which changed completely the direction of the development of philosophy, the sciences and kalām".

12. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume XXXV, op. cit., p. 609. Nizām al-Mulk was a renowned author and statesman of the first rank.
world of Islām than any Sultanate however strong or flourishing.

Nizām al-Mulk built, trained, encouraged and inspired his master's army through administrative measures, and made it strong for all emergencies. This, in itself, was a monumental task that the statesman had to undertake. The Saljuq power had originally depended upon tribal levies. The tribes were motivated by the reward of new and fertile lands in which they could settle down and become more prosperous than they were in their ancestral lands. After achieving this limited end they lost their original motivation. An empire could not be sustained by such forces. It needed a standing and professional army and Nizām al-Mulk's greatness lay in realizing and creating the kind of army that was needed.

Nizām al-Mulk had a talent for seizing an opportunity when it presented itself. This he displayed right in the beginning when Alp Arslān succeeded to the throne. His military prowess had succeeded in defeating al-Kundūrī and Sulaymān, but Qutlumshū and Qāvurt, with a large Turkmen force, were still lurking in the Alburz\[3] mountains, awaiting a chance to descend on the key cities of Ray and Qazvīn to seize power. At this stage, it was decisive to gain recognition for Alp Arslān, which was done through

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13. It is also pronounced Elburz.
the tact, wisdom, efficiency and statesmanship of Nizām al-Mulk. Fortified with this general recognition, Alp Arslān became the real power. Consequently, Qutlumush was killed in the battle-field and Qāvurt made an agreement with Alp Arslān.¹⁴

Once Sultan Alp Arslān was about to move for an expedition against the Byzantine Empire. He, therefore, wanted to realize taxes in advance. The harvest time was a bit away and, therefore, the people were worried. Moreover, there was a plague in Merv which was taking a heavy toll of lives. One day, these happenings were discussed in the court. The Sultan said that neither the army nor money could prevent death. Nizām al-Mulk respectfully replied that only justice and benevolence could eradicate the plague. "I have read in the books of history", said he, "that a king wanted to know the exact position of his treasury. Nobody knew his intention. The ministers of the empire very carefully verified and reported the correct position of the treasury to the King. After being informed of the sound position of the treasury, the King called upon all the officials of the state and thanked God in the presence of all of them and said that the position of the treasury was satisfactory and could meet any eventuality. 'I promise that

from now onward nobody would be put to the trouble of
the payment of taxes so long as the treasury is full.
It will now be the duty of the officers to assure that
even the weakest person is not oppressed by anyone even
easily. As a result, no death occurred during the
next six years. It was quite manifest that the produce
of the country had tremendously increased and people had
prospered. After hearing this story, Sultan Alp Arslan
cancelled his previous orders and met the requirements
of the army from the treasury. It is obvious that
if the Sultan had persisted in his design the result
would have been gross dissatisfaction, misery and failure
of the scheme.

There was a time when the affairs of Ray were causing
worry to Nizam al-Mulk. He was informed by spies that
Qutlumush had left the fortress of Kurd kuh and started
plundering the country and soon Ray was to be attacked. Alp
Arslan also started towards Nishapur and he and his army
reached Daghhan. Alp Arslan, compelled by his brotherly
affection, sent a message to Qutlumush to desist from mis-
chief. Qutlumush did not pay any attention and started looting
the area around Ray. Qutlumush filled wadi al-Nilh.

15. Ibid; pp. 346 - 347.
17. 'Abd al-Gazzaq, Nizam al-Mulk TusI, op. cit.,
pp. 476 - 477.
with water making a passage to Ray impossible. This situation worried Alp Arslān. Nizām al-Mulk said to him, "Do not worry at all. I have recruited soldiers whose shots never miss the targets. I have secured the loyalty of pious reciters of the Holy Qur'ān, the 'Ulama' and the Sufis of Khorāsān, whom I have treated with kindness and magnanimity. All of them are praying for the victory of the Sultan. This army of yours is your best support". After saying this he put on his armour, proceeded with Alp Arslān and distributed money to the troops. The Sultan put his horse in the water and crossed it safe and sound along with the army. Then severe fighting started between Qutlumush and Alp Arslān in which Qutlumush was killed. When the Sultan returned to Ray in A.H. 456/A.D. 1063, 'Amīd al-Mulk welcomed him with full military honours. On this clear and decisive victory, Alp Arslān was greatly pleased with Nizām al-Mulk.

After this victory Alp Arslān set out for jihād against the Byzantians from Ray towards Ādharbā'ijān in A.H. 456/A.D. 1063. Alp Arslān directed Malik Shāh to attack other Byzantine fortresses. Accordingly Malik Shāh captured one fortress after another. Among these, there was a fortress near Surmaī, which was also captured.

18. Khorāsān is obviously been used here in the sense of Iran as earlier writers sometimes loosely did.
by Malik Shāh who ordered its demolition, but Nizām al-Mulk very politely demurred and impressed upon Malik Shāh that it being a border citadel, it could be stocked as an arsenal to be used in case of future warfare. The advice was accepted and Nizām al-Mulk’s foresight was later justified.

The Saljūq Sultāns did not make Baghdaḏ their capital as they resided in Ray. A resident was posted at Baghdaḏ to watch their interests. In A.H. 464/A.D. 1071 Alp Arslān sent one Amīr Aytakin (Al-Tegin) al-Sulaymānī as resident to Baghdaḏ. When he reached Baghdaḏ in Ṣabīʿal-Awwal, the Caliph did not acknowledge him. The reason was that the assignee’s son had in the meanwhile murdered one of the important slaves of the Caliph. The Caliph despatched the shirt of the slain person to the Sultān and asked for the dismissal of the resident. On Nizām al-Mulk’s advice, the Sultān dismissed him and appointed in his place Saʿd al-Dawla Gauhar Aʿīn. Gauhar Aʿīn was heartily welcomed and a Darbār was held in his

20. Ibid., p. 479.

"Tuzhril kept his seat of government in al-Rayy, Alp chose Isfahān, but Alp’s son Malik Shāh (1072-1092) moved from Isfahān to Baghdaḏ". Hitti is wrong in saying that Malik Shāh moved his capital to Baghdaḏ.
honour. It was Nizām al-Mulk's statesmanship that led to an amicable settlement, because, otherwise, the powerful Alp Arslān would have tried to force Aytakin (Ai-Tagin) Sulaymān on the Caliph's court. The friendly relations with the Caliph resulted in saving the Empire from grave difficulties later.

At the time of his death, Alp Arslān instructed his faithful minister Nizām al-Mulk to secure the succession for his son Bālik Shāh. Immediately after the death of the Sultan, Nizām al-Mulk took "Bai'at" (oath of allegiance) from the Commanders and important men of the state in favour of Bālik Shāh. Meanwhile, Nizām al-Mulk sent the news of Bālik Shāh's succession to the Caliph at Baghdad and secured recognition for him so that the Khutba was read in his name. He officially informed the governors of the different provinces and the neighbouring kings and states about the succession. As for winning over the hearts of the regular army and the auxiliary troops, Nizām al-Mulk increased the salaries of the troops by a total of 700,000 dinārs. It was necessary, at that juncture, to secure the loyalty of the army to crush the new Sultan’s

23. Alp Arslān had seven sons among them Bālik Shāh had been recognized as heir since A.H.458/A.D.1066.
brother, uncle and other possible rivals. Nizām al-Mulk’s statesmanship came into full display on this occasion. First, he recognized the fact that Malik Shāh was capable and would make a good ruler after his father, because, if he had thought otherwise, he would not have thrown his full weight on Malik Shāh’s side. The maintenance of good relations with the Caliph, apart from other reasons, was necessary to secure recognition from the Caliph for his candidate. Besides, time was the very essence of success in the entire proceedings. If Nizām al-Mulk had faltered, the Empire could have been thrown into the turmoil of a civil war. He knew that in such matters faät accompli is the best guarantee of success.

At the beginning of Malik Shāh’s reign, the statesman, Nizām al-Mulk had enhanced the soldiers’ allowances by 700,000 dinārs in order to secure their loyalty against possible rivals for the succession. Later, Malik Shāh, motivated by economy, expressed the desire of discharging most of the troops. Nizām al-Mulk regarded such projects for economy to be pernicious, believing the army to be the prime buttress of the royal power. However, Malik Shāh persisted in his drive for economy and in A.H. 473/A.C. 1080 when he, after a tour of Kirman and other provinces, reached Ray, he reviewed

25. Kirman is situated in Southern Persia.
the army and discharged 70,000 Armenian soldiers in the teeth of Nizām al-Mulk’s opposition, Nizām al-Mulk remonstrated. He said, “there are no secretaries, merchants, tailors, or craftsmen of any kind amongst these persons — the only profession they know is soldiering. If they are discharged, we can never be sure that they will not set up some candidate as your rival. We shall have to deal with them, and by the time we overcome them, we shall have expended several times more than we normally allot for their salaries”. The Sultan did not listen to the statesman and the entrenched troops joined his brother Tekish, who used them in a rebellion against Malik Shāh. Eventually, Tekish captured Tirmish and proceeded towards Kīshpur, the capital of Khurāsān. Malik Shāh routed Tekish, who submitted, but this proved simply a temporary truce. Tekish was awaiting for an opportune moment, when the Sultan was touring al-jazīrah, Tekish again revolted and marched upon Sarakhs. This time he would have conquered Ray, if Abū al-Futūh Tūsī, one of the friends of Nizām al-Mulk, at his instigation, had not given Tekish a politically tactful bluff saying that Malik Shāh was

28. It is in the upper Iraqotamian region.
back in Ray. Tekish became frightened and went to Wanaj. After three months, Hallik Shân returned and decided to deal with him. He surrendered and after some time, he was blinded and imprisoned and paid the penalty for his disloyalty. Nizâm al-Mulk's prognostication proved true and much more than what had been saved by the dismissal of the Armenians had to be spent on the suppression of this revolt. This amply shows that Nizâm al-Mulk had a correct grasp over the affairs of the state and like a true statesman could foresee difficulties. Hallik Shân had been recognized as heir apparent since A.H. 458/A.D. 1066 and his name had been included in Khutba in that capacity. In A.H. 465/A.D. 1072, Šavurt, his uncle rebelled and ultimately he was defeated and arrested. Ibl Khallikâ writes that after his arrest, Šavurt was brought before Hallik Shân and he craved pardon for his rebelliousness. Hallik Shân paid no heed to his pleading. Then Šavurt presented to the Sultan a bundle of letters from high officials in which every one had expressed loyalty to Šavurt. Seeing this bundle, Sultan called Nizâm al-Mulk and ordered him to read out to him every letter. Nizâm al-Mulk took the bundle from the Sultan.


and put all the letters in the fire-place which burnt them into ashes in no time. By this sagacious action the high ups of the court got relief because many of them had been in correspondence with Qāvurt. If these letters had been read, both sides would have gone to the point of no return in excitement and the consequences would have torn the Empire into warring camps. The result of this statesmanship on the part of Nizām al-Mulk led to the unanimous declaration of allegiance by all the elements of the Empire and since then they devoted themselves whole heartedly to serving the Empire so that no stigma of suspicion attached to their good name.31

When after Qāvurt's defeat the heads of the army came to congratulate Malik Shāh, they suggested to Nizām al-Mulk that every one should be given promotion as a reward. If the Sultan did not pay heed to this request, the army's sympathies might turn to Qāvurt. Nizām al-Mulk heard this demand from the army coolly and calmly. Nizām-al-Mulk satisfied them by saying that he would put the matter the very next day before the Sultan. In the night he consulted the Sultan and Qāvurt was executed with his consent. Early next morning, when the heads of the army came to hear the reply of the Sultan, Nizām al-Mulk told them that Qāvurt Beg had killed32 himself last night by

32. 'Abd al-Razzāq, Nizām al-Mulk: Tusī, op. cit., p.151. Qāvurt is generally pronounced Qudur.
taking poison and therefore, the Sultan was overwhelmed with grief on his uncle's death. This was not a suitable time for asking for a reward. At this, the heads of the army went away quietly and thus the grave danger of a revolution was averted.\textsuperscript{33} There are numerous instances, like this of Nizâm al-Mulk's far reaching foresight, to narrate all of which would be tedious. He kept Turkmen immigrants, who had entered Iran with the Seljuks, engaged in hostilities outside the country\textsuperscript{34} as "statesman of the first rank".\textsuperscript{35}

In A.H. 476/A.D. 1083 one of Malik Shah's closest companions (Nadîms) and son-in-law of Nizâm al-Mulk, Saiyid al-Ru'asâ' Abû al-Bahâsin Muhammad complained that Nizâm al-Mulk had defrauded the Empire of large sums of money and amassed vast treasures.\textsuperscript{36} If Nizâm al-Mulk was handed over to him, he offered to deposit a million dinârs in the Imperial treasury. Malik Shah paid no heed to this calumny. Nizâm al-Mulk, however, came to know about it by some means. He first of all equipped his several thousand slaves as cavalry men by giving them

\begin{itemize}
\item 33. Ibn al-Athîr, Kamil, Vol. X, op. cit., p. 27
\item 34. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 16, op. cit., p. 546.
\item 35. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume XXIV, op. cit., p. 609.
\end{itemize}
arms and horses. When this Turkish cavalry was ready, Nizām al-Mulk invited Malik Shāh to a feast. At the time of the Sultan's departure, as was customary, he presented valuable presents to Malik Shāh. Then Nizām al-Mulk requested the Sultan to inspect the recently equipped cavalry of the slaves. When the Sultan expressed approval, the minister said, "Sir! I have served you and your father. I have many claims upon you. It has been said to you that I have filled my personal treasury with your wealth. I acknowledge this and it is absolutely true. From that wealth I have equipped this army and have also expended large sums of money for charitable purposes. The aim of all this expenditure has been only to spread your fame and glory. You also get the reward in the hereafter for amounts spent in charity. At this time, all my property and wealth are before you". Then he turned to his secretary and ordered, "Write down the names of these slaves in the muster roll of the Sultan, as a corner to live in, and a tattered cloth to wrap my nakedness, are enough for me". This speech of Nizām al-Mulk removed any doubts from the Sultan's mind and Malik Shāh ordered that ʿAbd al-Kasāf ʿAbd al-Kasāf, Nizām al-Mulk ʿAbbās ʿAbbās, op. cit., pp. 147 - 148.

No person can hold power without exciting jealousy and inviting rivalry. Nizām al-Mulk had to fight many harsh political battles. His authority was challenged not only by Hasan bin ʿAbbān, as has been mentioned earlier, but also, at a later stage, by Taʿj al-Mulk, Sharaf al-Mulk, Ṣajd al-Mulk and even more seriously by Terken Khātūn, the beloved first wife of Sultan Malik Shāh.

Taʿj al-Mulk and Terken Khātūn suggested to Malik Shāh that the greater part of the standing army could be discharged and its numbers thereby cut from 400,000 to 70,000 as there was no danger of war.

The Siyāsat Nāmah gives the details of this incident. Malik Shāh seems to have been persuaded by the argument, so he spoke to Nizām al-Mulk about the matter. He at once guessed that his opponents had been at work. He pointed out that if such a large number of men were dismissed, they would raise difficulties for the government. Besides, a large and expanding empire needed a large army. If the army was permitted to be reduced, the Empire would shrink. Any person who recommended an economy of that kind was not a friend, for armies brought

Nizām al-Mulk's enemy Taj al-Mulk, who was patronized by Terken Khātūn daughter of Tāmghāch Khan and wife of Malik Shāh.

treasures and retrenchment of the armed forces was the surest method of losing territory as well as money. This argument settled the matter.

Nizām al-Mulk fully understood that there should be a body of people who had special ties with the dynasty. It was necessary that there should be a hard core of supporters to sustain the Empire. He, therefore, pleaded for the special treatment of those Turkmen families which had supported the royal family in the early days of its rise to power, and who were tied to it by bonds of kinship. Nizām al-Mulk arranged for a thousand young Turkmen to be enrolled in the service of the Sultan and trained as his special attendants. He also built up a nexus of relatives and clients within the central government and in the key posts of the provincial administrations, and in this way surveillance over the Empire was wide-spread and far-reaching in Malik Shāh’s reign. However, after his death this policy fell into disuse. It was the alienation of the Turkmen clans that paved the way for the outburst of Ghuzz violence in Khurāsān during the reign of Sultan Sanjar.

When after the accession of Malik Shāh to the throne rebels rose against him, the Byzantine Emperor saw his opportunity for aggrandizement and proceeded towards

40. Ibid: p. 121.
41. Qādī Ahmad, Nigarīstān, Bombay, a.H. 1275/A.C. 1858 p. 171.
Iran. Malik Shāh came out to counter this invasion. Both armies were camped in one vicinity. But having seen the power and grandeur of Malik Shāh, the Byzantine Emperor was inclined towards peace. Ambassadors were being exchanged to determine the terms and conditions of the agreement. During this time, one day Malik Shāh went out with a few horsemen for a hunt and by sheer chance fell into the hands of the Christians. The Sultan's identity was kept secret. When Nizām al-Mulk came to know of it, he declared after the Nashīrub prayer that the Sultan had come back from hunting. Then he himself went to see the Byzantine Emperor, who received him warmly and asked his assistance in arriving at an agreement. During the conversation the Emperor mentioned casually that some men of the Saljuq army had been arrested the previous day and offered to release them. Nizām al-Mulk pretended that he knew nothing about them. Therefore, the captives were brought before him. Nizām al-Mulk saw them and rebuked them as great fools. "You drifted away from the army and got arrested", said he, "If you had been killed, both the states would have earned a bad name that captives were murdered during peace time. Now go away immediately and do not be such fools again in future". Nizām al-Mulk then departed, and when he reached Saljuq territory, he got down from his horse and apologised to Malik Shāh for his pretended rudeness. On Malik Shāh's
return, there were rejoicing in the Saljuq camp.

The provisioning of the army as it moved through the country was a matter of no small difficulty. Nizam al-Mulk, therefore, created stores of fodder and grain at reasonable distances. This plan was followed under Malik Shah and greatly facilitated the movements of his troops. Later the system fell into disuse contributing considerably to the difficulties of the declining Saljuq Empire.

Nizam al-Mulk did not limit his attention to the creation of military strength. As a wazir his main concern was the proper organization and efficient working of the financial system. A remarkable testimony to his success is the growth of prosperity, the enrichment of the financial resources of the Empire, its large standing armies, the large sums disbursed to the poor and the needy, the encouragement of architecture, literature and, most of all, education. In this field the Nizamiyya University was an outstanding contribution.

42. 'Abd al-Razzâq, Nizam al-Mulk Tusî, op. cit., p. 961.

43. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 16, op. cit., p. 546.

Nizam al-Mulk "also took part in military operations, being charged with reducing the rebellious province of Fars in 1067".

44. Philip K. Hitti, The Near East in History, op. cit., p. 270. The backbone of its curriculum was the Qur'an, Hadith, and Poetry, but it also taught several secular disciplines.
because it has earned an everlasting niche of fame in the history of academic attainments. It, with its subsidiary campuses spread over a vast area of the Empire, was instrumental in making the highest education available to every student near his habitation. Any one who cared and had a talent for academic attainment could find the opportunity of achieving his ambition, because education was free and of the highest quality, being imparted by the most eminent professors of the age. And the student was provided by the University with free board and lodging. Thus Nizām al-Mulk ensured not only the intellectual development of the people of

45. Nizām al-Mulk founded the ʿizāmiyah University at Baghdad and it established branches at Nīshāpūr, in Khurāsān, in Isfahān, Merv, Khūzistān(1), Mosul, Jazīrah Ilīm ʿUmar, ʿĀmul, Basrah, Herāt, Dūkh, Tūs, Barmashq and Ghazna.

(1) The classical name of Khūzistān is Susiana.

46. J.A. Boyle, The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol.V, op. cit., p. 217. "Exceptionally there were women students and teachers".

the Empire, but also a continuous supply of enlightened and capable civil servants as well as judicial officers. This, of course, was only one aspect of its functions. It was through sheer statesmanship that Nizām al-Mulk achieved and maintained his dominant position in the administration.

Nizām al-Mulk most certainly learned from experience but no amount of experience will turn a person with mediocre talent into a genius. There is no doubt that Nizām al-Mulk had considerable native talent. For instance, there is the incident of his finding a solution to the paucity of teachers in a Seminary. One day, he reported to his first famous theologian and jurist teacher, 'Abd al-Samad that the teaching of the Qur'ān was not satisfactory. The teacher asked if young Hasan (the future Nizām al-Mulk) had any remedy to suggest. Hasan came out with the suggestion that the class be broken into groups of ten each and each group be placed under the supervision of a bright student who could supervise the work of his group and report its progress to the teacher. Besides, the distribution of cash rewards,


For example, Barnette Miller says, Nizāmiyyah was "for the instruction of those intended for places in the Public Administration".
presents, gifts and sustenance money would be easier. The suggestion was adopted and is still in vogue in the larger Qur'ān Schools, and may have been the origin of the monitory system in the West.

Nizām al-Mulk went, for the second time, along with Malik Shāh to Baghdaḍ in Ramadān 484/1091. Caliph Muqtadī ordered Nizām al-Mulk to sit in front of the throne of the Caliphate and gave him his blessings. When Malik Shāh came to know about this, he did not like it, because he had been planning to depose Muqtadī for some years. But Nizām al-Mulk had always stood in his way.

Ultimately, Nizām al-Mulk succeeded in his efforts to such an extent within two years that Malik Shāh gave his daughter in marriage to Caliph al-Muqtadī. This healed the strain in the relations between the Caliphate and the Sultanate and avoided a legal and constitutional difficulty of grave proportions.

The later years of Nizām al-Mulk's life were filled with disgust. It is quite manifest that three persons, namely, Tāj al-Mulk, Sharaf al-Mulk and Majd al-Mulk were

49. 'Abd al-Razzāq, Nizām al-Mulk Tūsī, op. cit., p. 52.

in the good books of Terken Khatūn, the first and favourite wife of Malik Shāh, over whom she exercised great influence. Abū al-Ghanī Im Im Dārist, originally a private secretary to Terken Khatūn, had been awarded the high title of Tāj al-Mulk who even aspired to the Prime Ministership. It was at his suggestion that Terken Khatūn was always poisoning Malik Shāh's ears against Nizām al-Mulk. These three successfully conspired to alienate the Sultan from Nizām al-Mulk, thus bringing the matter to a critical juncture. The aged Nizām al-Mulk had appointed his twelve sons in many key posts in order to keep a strong hold over the whole Empire. Terken Khatūn's chief ambition was to secure the succession to the throne for her young son Mahmūd while Nizām al-Mulk was in favour of the elder Barkiyāruq. Fuel was added to the

51. Her name was Jalālīyya Khatūn, but she was known as Terken Khatūn (usually spelt "Turken Khatūn" in the books), whom Malik Shāh had married in A.H. 456/A.C. 1064.


53. Terken Khatūn wanted to promote the succession of her third son Mahmūd who was the youngest of all the possible candidates.

54. Barkiyāruq was the son of Saljūq princess Zubaidā Khatūn. She was the daughter of Yaqūtī bin Chaghri Beg. Barkiyāruq was born in A.H. 474/A.C. 1081.
Sultan's resentment when Nizam al-Mulk's grandson Shams al-Mulk 'Uthman, the governor of Merv, meted out harsh treatment to Quoden, a favourite of the Sultan. Malik Shah sent "an angry message to the Nizam al-Mulk, asking him ironically whether he was his partner in sovereignty or his Minister, and complaining that his relations not only held the richest posts under the government, but, not content with this, displayed an arrogance which was intolerable". The aged minister, angered and hurt by these harsh and ungrateful reproaches from one who owed him so much, replied rashly, "He who gave thee the crown, placed on my head the turban of Ministership, and these two are inseparably connected and bound together". This language he would hardly have employed in calmer moments, but obviously he had got fed up with intrigues against his office. These words were reported, probably with considerable exaggeration, to the Sultan. Terken Khatun and her clique were not the only foes with whom Nizam al-Mulk


had to contend. Indeed Shia resentment had been building up because of his strong support to orthodoxy.

After his assassination Shia influence grew very strong. Nizām al-Mulk's outburst was unguarded but substantially true because within a couple of months of his assassination started the downfall of the Empire.

The Saljuq Empire was one of the largest and most consolidated political structures of human history. To Nizām al-Mulk goes the credit of building it up almost brick by brick and when his master mind's sustaining influence had been destroyed, it collapsed. There can be no greater tributes to the statesmanship of any empire builder.

58. Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, Christophers, 22, Berners Street, London, W.1, 1952, pp.339-340. The Fatimides of Egypt are called the Western Isma'īlīs, while the disciples of Hasam bin Sabbāh have been designated as the Eastern Isma'īlīs.


CHAPTER IV
THE CONCEPT AND THEORY OF STATE

Nizām al-Mulk's concept and theory of the state is based on the Qur'ān, Sunnah, Fiqh and history. Nizām al-Mulk says in his Siyāsat Nāmah that "it contains advice, wisdom, proverbs, exegesis of the Qur'ān, traditions of the Prophet (peace be upon him), stories of the messengers of God, tales of the just kings; it also tells the deeds of the departed".1 He draws great inspiration from the conventions of the Khilāfat-i Rashiddah and the rulings of prominent jurists. The question, therefore, arises whether he could get any guidance from these sources. The answer is generally speaking, that Islām concerns itself very much with human affairs and relations.

Wellhausen says that "the first Arabic Community with sovereign power was established by Mohammad in the city of Madinah, not upon the basis of blood which naturally tends to diversity, but upon that of religion which is equally binding on all".2 The "Madinah Charter",

drawn up laying down the details of the compact between
the Prophet and the various communities resident in
Madinah at the time of his settling down there, variously
known as a Decree, an Ordinance, a Charter, and a
Constitution has been discussed by Wellhausen, Hell,
Nicholson and Montgomery Watt. Nicholson observes about
this document that

Ostensibly a cautious and tactful reform,
it was in reality a revolution. Muhammad
durst not strike openly at the independence
of the tribes, but he destroyed it, in
effect, by shifting the centre of power from
the tribes to the community; and although
the community included Jews and pagans as
well as Moslems, as fully recognized, what
his opponents failed to foresee, that the
Moslems were the active, and must soon be
the predominant, partners in the newly
founded state.

Similarly, Bosworth Smith observes that "Mohammad is a
three-fold founder of a nation, of an empire and of a
religion". Thus, Nizām al-Mulk had a good model before

Cambridge, 1962, p. 175.

4. Ilyās Ahmad, *The Social Contract and the Islamic State*
The Urdu Publishing House, Allahabad, 1944, p. 66, quoting
him. It is a well known fact, that the affairs of the nascent state were ordered, from the beginning, in accordance with the Qur'ān and the Prophetic guidance as Davenport says,

The Qur'ān is the general code of the Muslim world, a social, civil, commercial, military, judicial, criminal, penal and yet religious code. By it everything is regulated — from the ceremonies of religion to those of daily life, from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body, from the rights of general community to those of each individual, from the interests of man to those of society, from morality to crime, from punishment here to that of the life to come.5

Nizām al-Mulk, throughout his treatise uses, the term Din for Islām. The term Din has been used in the Qur'ān at several places. Din is in fact a way and organization for human life, and by its very nature, it is the basis of political authority in Islām.

Muslim experiences with the theory and practice of political power had their origin in the Islamic Din — code of Divine guidance in all spheres of human activity. Political institutions so developed under the dictates of Din assumed greatest importance in the organization of worldly and other-worldly affairs. Therefore, "Islam as a Din involves the whole being".

It should be remembered that Malik Shâh had commissioned Nizâm al-Mulk to produce a book for "the dînî and dûnyawî guidance of the state. Being thus commissioned, Nizâm al-Mulk as a devout Muslim, naturally based his theory and concept of the state on the Qur’ân as well as


the Sunnah which furnishes guidance regarding the predecessors set up by the Prophet in ordering the affairs of the Muslim state.\textsuperscript{10} For the purpose of a profound understanding of both the Qur’ān and the Sunnah, Nizām al-Mulk naturally had to rely upon the accumulated wealth of "Ijtihād" and "Ijmāʿ". In other words, Nizām al-Mulk's concept of the state was grounded in the Shari'ā.\textsuperscript{11} For the purpose of applying the dictates of the Shari'ā to the state, he had to understand its nature and necessity.\textsuperscript{12} He reached the conclusion that the state grows out of a fundamental impulse for organization with the purpose of controlling the individual relations with God, the universe, and his fellow beings. It was not only the life of the individual that was to be transformed through a sequence of divinely ordained actions, but the Muslim community also as a whole was to be transformed into a state. Therefore, the state is conceived, by Nizām al-Mulk, as a moral institution for the good of the Millah. In this connection, the political theory of Nizām al-Mulk bases the authority of the state on the individual. The Muslim's obligation is contained in the verse of the Qur'ān: "and there may spring from

\textsuperscript{10} Nizām al-Mulk, Siyāsah, op. cit., p. 265.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.; p. 68.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.; p. 69.
you a nation who invite to goodness, and enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency. Such are they who are successful.\textsuperscript{13} Nizām al-Mulk further thinks that the state is the outward expression of the inherent authority of the faith and its external expression.\textsuperscript{14} The goal is the happiness of the people in this world and the world to come.\textsuperscript{15} This happiness can be attained through an attitude of unqualified obedience to God.\textsuperscript{16} The Siyāsāt Nāmah fully recognises the Islāmic principle of the supremacy of the Sharī'ah.\textsuperscript{17} Nizām al-Mulk held that prayers\textsuperscript{18} form the basis of the training for complete obedience to the Sharī'ah. Therefore, he laid great emphasis on a proper organization of the mosques by the state.\textsuperscript{19} This is an indication of the fact that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Qur'ān, III:104,\textit{op. cit.}, p. 40.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Nizām al-Mulk, Siyāsāt Nāmah,\textit{op. cit.}, p. 69.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Ibid; p. 41.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid; p. 51.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Ibid; p. 51.
\item Nizām al-Mulk uses the term Sharī'at.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Ibid; p. 51.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Ibid; p. 51.
\end{itemize}
Nizām al-Mulk held the state to be a moral institution so that purity could be maintained in human relationships. Nizām al-Mulk held that the realms is held in trust for the good of the people by the monarch under the Sharī'a. Thus Nizām al-Mulk did not believe that the monarch was fully sovereign, as real sovereignty resides with Allah. In a Muslim state, the Sharī'a being based upon the injunctions of God, possesses all the appurtenances of sovereignty. The exercise of authority under the Sharī'a was delegated to the Prophet Muhammad, who was to be followed by no other Prophet. The divine communication in the form of "wahi" being cut off, the affairs of the Muslims had to be ordered by successors to the Prophet for worldly affairs to be elected by the Ummah. The Muslims tacitly understood that authority had been delegated to the Millat which elected a successor to the Prophet as Caliph. The Caliph was to order the affairs of the Muslim Community, and, therefore, was its leader and agent, and his main function was to enforce the Sharī'a. Nizām al-Mulk considered the Caliphate as the

20. Ibid; p. 7.
22. Ibid; p. 109.
best form of state both for religious and historical reasons because it was founded in the Sharī'a. Besides, with it was associated the most glorious period in Muslim history. "For five centuries, from 700 to 1200, Ḩisām led the world in power, order, and extent of government, in refinement of manners, in standards of living, in humane legislation and religious tolerance, in literature, scholarship, science, medicine, and philosophy". 25 Ḩizām al-Mulk believed that there should be no racial or tribal discrimination in the state. His view was based upon the following tradition of the Prophet: "The Arāb has no superiority over the non-Arāb, nor the white man over the black. The most pious among you is the best". 26 The state in his view had special responsibilities towards the weak. Of these, to his mind, the slaves 27 were the most deserving.


"The noblest of you, in the sight of Allāh, is the best in conduct".

27. Ḩizām al-Mulk, Siyāsat Nāmah, op. cit., p. 121.
Originally purchased as slaves to be the bodyguard of the Sultāns, they were appointed to the highest offices in the state, and, says Lane Poole, 'the great slave vassals of the Seljūks were as proud and honourable as any bastards of medieval aristocracy; and when they in turn assumed kingly powers, they inherited and transmitted to their lineage the high traditions of their former lords.\(^{28}\)

Nizām al-Mulk gives an elaborate theory regarding the appointment and promotion\(^{29}\) of slaves\(^{30}\) in the state.

Nizām al-Mulk believed that only the Shari‘a provided the basis of political authority.\(^{31}\) There was no doubt in his mind that the Wilāyat was based in Shari‘a but what was the position of the Sultanate? He agreed that the Sultanate\(^{32}\) had also become a necessary

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30. Ghulāms were trained slaves while the Bandagan were untrained slaves.


32. Ibid; p. 11.
institution. As such, it could continue as circumstances had changed. Therefore, he expounded a separate theory of the Sultanate under the Shari'a. Nizām al-Mulk is of the opinion that the most powerful means of preserving the Sultanate is the Shari'a. The establishment of a Sultanate could be fruitful only if it continued to uphold the supremacy of the Shari'a. Indeed, if the Shari'a loses its hold upon the people, the Sultan loses his authority, and then the Sultanate is destroyed.

This shows Nizām al-Mulk's political insight, because, in the ultimate analysis, political authority can be sustained only through the consent of the ruled. This consent can be secured only through a conviction that there is need of the authority. The Shari'a by subjecting the Caliph, the Sultan and the people alike to its mandate creates the bond that is sustained by conviction. If that bond is destroyed, loyalty and willingness to obey disappear and this would destroy authority. Good government thus depends for its existence on the presence of law-abiding subjects. Therefore, Nizām al-Mulk's

33. Ibid; p. 265.
34. Ibid; p. 69.
35. Ibid; p. 68.
36. Ibid; p. 7.
main concern was to preserve the Islamic norms and to adjust the governmental practices to the all-embracing religious sentiments of the people. This was in keeping with the enlightened opinion of the period. For instance, Imam al-Ghazzali, "assumes a general conformity with the Shari'a" in his Nashīhat al-Mulūk. The idea of the supremacy of the Shari'a really is the logical outcome of the concept of the sovereignty of God. He is the highest authority and there is no one who shares power with Him. His authority is universal, permanent, inalienable and indivisible, and, therefore, it is a unity. This concept of sovereignty is all-pervading throughout the Siyāsah Nashīḥah. The authority was bestowed upon man as vicegerent of God on earth, but it was limited by the Shari'a. Under it, the monarch is responsible for the well-being of the people as well as the peace and security of the land. He should also be


God-fearing. \(^{42}\) Nizām al-Mulk's contemporaries, Kaikā'ūs, \(^{43}\) al-Māwardī\(^{44}\) and al-Ghazzālī\(^{45}\), all devote considerable attention to the qualities of a God-fearing \(^{46}\) ruler.

However, this does not solve the problem. It is good for a monarch to know that qualities he should cultivate to become a good ruler, but without a strong legal basis, his good qualities \(^{47}\) may not attract loyalty. Nizām al-Mulk, therefore, tried to find a solution to this problem.

The form known to the Shari'ā of a legitimate state is the Khilāfah. But then there had arisen the Sultanate as well and, so far as the people were concerned the more palpable reality was the Sultanate. \(^{48}\) How was the Sultanate

\hspace{1cm} 42. Haroon Khan Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, Sh. Muhammed Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, 1945, p. 131.

\hspace{1cm} 43. Ibid, p. 124, quoting Abūs Nāmah, Chapter XLII.


\hspace{1cm} 45. Shibli Nu'mānī, *Al-Ghazzālī. F. Thaūbā'-Allāh: Khān*, 26, Railway Road, Lahore, 1961, p. 336.


\hspace{1cm} 47. Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsah Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 9.

\hspace{1cm} 48. L.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, op. cit., p. 45.
to be reconciled with the khilafat? Jurists had tried to solve the problem through the theory of delegated authority. According to them, the Sultanate had been legitimized because authority had been delegated to it by the Caliph. The jurists, however, tied themselves into knots over these questions. They had to recognize all kinds of authority, including usurped authority (imarat-i-istilah). Now, in fact, delegation and usurpation are contradictory, because delegation implies willingness of the person who delegates whereas usurpation is merely the result of physical force. Even if usurped authority makes a pretense of submission, that submission is not a reality. The jurists, by maintaining that every Amir (as the Sultan was), whether enjoying delegated full authority, or limited authority or usurped authority must maintain the supremacy of the Shar'ia within his own sphere of territorial jurisdiction and thus try to ensure rule of law. Thus a curious position came to hold the field. The universal nature of the Shar'ia was maintained by its content, not by its extent of jurisdiction. It was the same Shar'ia within each Sultanate, but that Shar'ia was not sovereign in the aggregate of the political units. True Caliphate


remained a venerable institution, it could issue letters patent in favour of the Sultan or not, but it had no effective authority. Nizam al-Mulk's logical mind could not reconcile itself to such a dichotomy. If Shari'a was supreme, it had to be supreme not only within small compartments created by the selfish adventurers and rulers, but it had to assume an overall supremacy as well. Nizam al-Mulk, as a practical statesman, knew that any theoretical solution that he developed would remain unapplied and be possessed no means to enforce any theory, however sound, beyond the Saljuq territories.

He, therefore, devised the method of demonstrating within his jurisdiction how the local sovereignty of the Shari'a could be integrated into its universal supremacy. The sovereignty of the Shari'a was recognized because it embodied the injunctions of the Quran, the Sunnah of the Prophet and their interpretation. But interpretation involves no agency which forms part of the Muslim milieu. And the sovereignty of the Shari'a would be meaningless without its application to the affairs of men. This means enforcement, which, in its turn, demands power and authority. These are provided by the state; that is the reason why the state has been held to be a canonical necessity. The Shari'a recognizes that this canonical necessity can not be met without the involvement of the "Millat". This involvement naturally would lead to
diversification in accordance with the time and its peculiar needs having arisen out of human actions over a period of time. Hence it must allow the millat to establish any form of the state or government suiting its needs according to the time and circumstances but in doing so it must not transgress the dictates of the Shari'ā.

The Shari'ā demand that the Caliph must protect the territory of Islam from encroachments by non-believers, and should even extend it, and domestically, must keep law and order so that the believers can perform their religious duties in safety. The Caliph is required to see to it that the injunctions of the Prophet as interpreted by the orthodox jurisconsults are enforced. Indeed, if properly qualified, he himself has the right to interpret them. In any case, if different interpretations came into the field, he has to choose which one he should enforce. Because of the rise of powerful chiefs and other causes, the Caliphs had grown effete and incapable of exercising their authority because of the loss of the means of asserting authority. The Suljūqs found the Caliphate with tremendous prestige and moral dignity, but lacking the power to exercise its legal authority or carry out its legal obligations.

52. Dāwandī, Nābat al-Sudūr, op. cit., p. 103.
It was under such circumstances that the Seljuqs came to power. They were believing Sunnis and enthusiastic in their allegiance to Islam. To them, the Caliphate was a canonical institution and they enthusiastically offered their services to make the Caliphate once again vigorous and strong. These services were not only accepted, but in appreciation, the Caliph delegated his powers to the Sultan for the good of the whole community. This was true delegation because it was made willingly, and, in this manner, the Sultanate became an institution of the Caliphate. Though not in form, yet in essence, this was a new situation, because the Sultanate willingly made itself an instrument of the Caliphate and the dichotomy was dissolved. It is true that even now the physical means of strength were all possessed by the Sultanate, but it recognized sincerely and faithfully the moral and legal superiority of the Caliphate. It has already been mentioned that all authority is based ultimately in the willingness of those subject to it to accept it and obey it. For this reason, the subordination of the Sultanate was real and not merely a legal fiction.

55. Ibid; p. 474.
Nizām al-Mulk played no mean role in bringing about this conciliation between law and fact. He was guided by his conviction that the Muslim Ummah must be united, and that, it could be united only through the Caliphate. For this, the Sultanate had to make some sacrifice and Nizām al-Mulk held any political sacrifice on the part of the Seljūq state worth-while to enable the community to integrate itself once again under the Caliphate. 56 A question here arises quite naturally. If the Seljūqs made the Caliphate strong, why did they not extend its authority to those parts of the Muslim world that were outside the Seljūq Sultanate. This would have been misunderstood as aggression on the part of the Seljūq Sultanate and not the assertion of its innate authority by the Caliphate and would have resulted in a large scale war in the Muslim world and would have destroyed all chances of achieving the political unity of the Muslim Ummah. Besides, the resources of the Seljūq Sultanate were much too limited for such grandiose schemes. Nizām al-Mulk was after all a practical statesman. For many centuries Arabia had ceased to be the political centre of gravity in Islam, but even then Mecca57 and Madīnah58


58. Ibid; p. 41.
have retained their primacy in the affections of the Islam world. The 'Abbāsid Caliphate was supported\textsuperscript{59} by the Sultanate because of Nizām al-Mulk's love of, and faith in, Islam and not for renewing the Persian political norms.\textsuperscript{60} The classical Caliphate constituted the golden period of the Islamic state which provided only one centre of power and was unitary in form and essence. It was impossible to restore that element to the Caliphate during Nizām al-Mulk's time. Nizām al-Mulk realized that the Saljūq power was a reality and could not be obliterated because of its strength. The best method, therefore, to strengthen the Caliphate was by bringing about an alliance between it and the Saljūq Sultanate. In this alliance, Nizām al-Mulk took care to get the legal supremacy of the Caliphate not only recognized but also to make it the dominant factor. He was able to do this because it was not only the Caliphate that gained strength in this alliance, but also the Sultanate, because of its status as an agent of the Caliphate. To demonstrate the loyalty of the Sultanate he did utilise its resources against the heretics, who challenged the legal supremacy of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate.\textsuperscript{61}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{60} Kritzeck, James, ed. Anthology of Islamic Literature, op. cit., p. 153.
\item \textsuperscript{61} J.A. Boyle, The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 428.
\end{itemize}
were bent on seizing power to dominate the Muslim world. Therefore, their programme included the subversion and destruction of all Muslim political organization including the Sultanate as much as the Caliphate. Their most effective arm was the subversion of the orthodox doctrine. Nizām al-Mulk fully understood this and he warned the Sultan that "The Din-i Muhammad Mustafā has no more vile enemy than them, and the Kingdom of the Master of the world has no worse opponent". Therefore, the subversive activities of the heretics must not be tolerated in the state. Nizām al-Mulk not only condoned the use of force, but even approved of it as well, as a means of political action. Nizām al-Mulk’s opposition to the employment of heretics in key positions seems to be based on the following precedent: "Amīr al-Imām ‘Umar was sitting in the mosque of Madinah; Abū Mūsā Ash‘arī was sitting before him, and was putting the Accounts of Isfahān. These were inscribed beautifully and were accurate so that all who saw admired them. Abū Mūsā was asked, 'whose writing is this'? He replied, 'my Secretary's'. The Caliph then said, 'Send someone to bring him here so that we may see

63. Nizām al-Mulk, Siyāsat Nāmah, op. cit., p. 211.
65. Ibid; p. 258.
him'. Abū Mūsā said, 'he can not come into the Mosque'. Amīr al-Mūminīn 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb said, 'Is he unclean then'? Abū Mūsā said, 'He; he is a Christian (Tarsē)'. 'Umar gave Abū Mūsā a blow on the thigh — so hard that he said he thought his thigh was broken. Then 'Umar said, 'Have you not read the command of the God (Rabb al-'izzat) where He speaks 'O ye who believe! Take not the Jews and Christians for friends. They are friends one to another'. Abū Mūsā said, 'This very moment I dismissed him and gave him his leave (dastūrī)'. 66 However, the fear of Niẓām al-Dīn was not baseless because the Bātīnī heretics were engaged in the mountainous areas of 'Irāq, 67 thurāsān 68 and other places in subversive activities. The state is charged by the Shari'ā with protecting the Muslim Community from possible encroachments on the part of the non-Muslim world, with safeguarding it from schism and heresy, and with enforcing the stipulations of the good life as set forth in Shari'ā. The Islamic political system is based in "dīn". If "dīn" is subverted 69 the political entity and organization

66. Ibid; p. 184.
68. Ibid; p. 244.
69. Ibid; p. 69.
of the "Millat" would also be destroyed. Now the political system that Ni'mam al-Mulk sought to save from destruction is not worthless. On the other hand, it is of great value and forms a rich part of the heritage of man. This has been recognized by important thinkers who could shed their prejudice to examine the merits of the system objectively. For instance, it was highly praised by Rousseau in the chapter dealing with civil religion in his famous treatise, *Social Contract*. It has also captivated the mind of a modern political scientist, David E. Apter, who laments the non-religious basis of the modern society and says, "having lost its religious basis, our society is in danger of becoming a system of organized plunder in which meaning derives only from personal gain, orderliness becomes mere containment of anarchy, and the concept of humanness has no wider distinction than that individuals' functional value". But since the idea of the unity of religion and politics was implicitly accepted, a practical solution was worked out by Muslim administrators that was

70. *Ibid*; p. 69.


maintained and strengthened by Nizām al-Mulk. It was secured by the independence of the judiciary and the acceptance of the rule of Sharī'a in the governance of the state. Being a part of the general conviction, its authority was not only respected but also cherished. The Sultāns acted as its custodians and as such the protectors of the Caliphate and its sanctity. Though the Islamic concept is radically different, yet some of the basic concepts of the modern theory of state are not necessarily contradicted. For instance, the Western political concept defines the state having the following four elements: population, territory, government and sovereignty. The composition of these four elements bring the state into being. If sovereignty is interpreted as effective authority without further examination, all the elements put forward are so basic that Nizām al-Mulk practically admits the above mentioned material state structure since it conforms to some basic phenomena which are not opposed by Islām. But Nizām al-Mulk, in contrast to the Western theorists, develops the idea of a state structure within the framework of Islām which


74. Amir Hasam Siddiqi, Caliphate and Sultanate, op. cit., p. 166.

is wider in its horizon and deeper in its humanitarian approach. He evolves the theory that the state is a political institution with strong moral, social and humanitarian attributes.  The moral attributes of the state arise inevitably from the idea of the sovereignty of Allāh. An institution that was to serve the interests of the "Millat", as an agency of God's commands embodied in the Sharī'a, had to reflect his moral attributes of justice and universal benevolence. A strong outcome of this benevolence is the guidance vouchsafed to all creation in some form, but particularly to human beings in the shape of the discrimination between right and wrong, good and bad. This discrimination was strengthened through prayer and education. Hence Nizām al-Mulk, put so much emphasis on the organization of the mosques and education. God's attribute of justice is reflected in the state through a strong judiciary and in its


social policies which must be based in the Qur'anic principle of equality without making any distinction between the rich and the poor or on the basis of status and power. Nizām al-Mulk, therefore, insists on the provision of equal opportunities to all the people in the state. As a corollary, Nizām al-Mulk is of the opinion that social equality is meaningless unless equality of economic opportunity is provided to all the inhabitants of the state. According to Islam, property is a trust to be administered by the owner for the good of the entire community. An outcome of this concept is the institution of the "zakāt" to the benefit of the needy classes in the community without distinction of caste or creed. The Prophet himself says: "it shall be taken from the rich and distributed among the poor and the needy". He (peace be upon him) gives the following

80. Ibid; p. 23.
81. Ibid; p. 186.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XXIV, op. cit., p. 609. "He immortalized his name by the foundation of several universities", observatories, mosques, hospitals and other institutions of public utility.

82. Ibid; p. 265.
principle which has also been followed by Nizām al-Mulk in his theory of state: "The Government is the guardian (helper) of everyone who has no guardian". 84 This economic precept was implemented by Nizām al-Mulk through the large scale distribution of alms 85 and gifts. The benevolent activity of the state included the building of inns and poor houses and the provision of employment to the people according to their capacity and worth 86 in the state. This secured an economic equilibrium leading to the successful implementation of welfare projects. 87 A moral state is impossible without a moral society, hence Nizām al-Mulk laid great emphasis upon "Amr bi-al-ma'rif" (enjoining the good) and "Nahy an-al-munkar" (forbidding the evil).

He lays great emphasis on the participation of those qualified to do so in the affairs of the state.

84. Ibid; p. 70, quotia: Abū Dā'ūd, Tirzādī.
85. 'Abd al-Razzāq, Nizām al-Mulk Ťūsī, op. cit., p. 179.
87. Ibid; p. 8.
through Shūrā\textsuperscript{88} which he holds to be a compulsory institution providing a mechanism for decision making in the state. The ruler is restrained in his management of state affairs by the institution of Shūrā. The concept of "nationality" in itself does not foster any divisive tendencies, nor does it breed any inherent hostility towards other nations residing in different states, if it is not permitted to become exclusive. This is what Nizām al-Mulk tried to do by his insistence upon Islamic brotherhood.\textsuperscript{89} Being successful in his effort he welcomes and accommodates all peoples living in different parts of the world without debarring their entry on the basis of nationality. Nizām al-Mulk's concepts are those of Islām. His greatness lies in understanding them and giving them a practical shape both through implementation and his philosophy as embodied in his Siyāsah Nārūh.

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid; p. 109. Qur'ān, III:159, op. cit., p. 45.

\textsuperscript{89} Amir Hasan Siddiqi, Caliphate and Sultanate, op. cit., p. 169.
CHAPTER V

THE SALJŪQ SULTANATE SEeks A LEGAL BASIS

The legal position of the Sultanate vis-à-vis the Caliphate has been discussed in a previous chapter. All legal authority depends on two factors. The first, which is generally accepted in the Western world as well, is the coercive power possessed by that authority to enforce its decrees. It is obvious that the Khilāfat had long ceased to possess it before the rise of the Saljuqs to power. The other factor, quite often invisible but no less valid, is the general willingness to accept it's authority. Now this was the factor at work between the Caliph's authority and the Sultan's power during the time of Nizām al-Mulk's ministership. The Caliphate had grown so weak that at one time its abolition at the hands of the Ismā'īlīs had all but been accomplished. The Ismā'īlīs were in power in Egypt, Aleppo, Transoxiana and even in Ghazna. Similarly,


The Ismā'īlīs gained power in Egypt and continued to control Yemen and thence penetrated into Gujarat, while the Nizārīs ably led by Hasan bin Sabbūh. Therefore, Daudpotah, one of the scholars of Sind, has designated this age as the 'Dark period in the history of Sind. Transoxia, a word of modern invention, is well adapted to express the meaning of maqwar al-nahr while Soghdia was an ancient name for Transoxiana.
they held Kūfa and Ray. And all of these, according to Nizām al-Mulk, had one object in common — the overthrow of Sunni Islam of which the Caliphate was the outward symbol. The Fatimids were entrenched in Egypt, and, not content with their dominions in the Western areas of the Islamic world, they initiated a long and bitter struggle with the 'Abbāsids. They despatched their emissaries to different countries to induce the rulers to recognize their claims as the supreme head of the Muslim world. The 'Abbāsids took up the struggle with the Fatimids with the help of Sultan Māhmd in right earnest. The Fatimid Caliph of Egypt, al-Nāṣir, sent a letter to Sultan Māhmd, in A.H. 403/A.D. 1012, for securing his allegiance, but he diverted it to Baghdad where it was burnt in public.

Al-Nasāṣirī, a military governor of Baghdad under the Buwaihids, almost put the Caliphate under his control. In A.H. 449/A.D. 1057, Tughrīl Beg defeated Dubays bin

2. Kūfa was a cantonment town under the 'Arabs.

3. Ray was the classical name of Ray. However, Ray has now been abandoned in favour of Teherān. The ruins of Ray lie close by.


Mazayd⁶ and al-Basāṣīr⁷ who revolted at Maṣīl⁸ against the 'Abbāsīd. After that Tughrīl Beg was engaged in war. Al-Basāṣīr taking advantage of the absence of Tughrīl Beg returned in A.C. 1058 and reoccupied Bağdad. The Caliph al-Qā'im was forced to sign a document renouncing his rights in favour of the rival Fātimid al-Mustansīr (1035-94) in Cairo, to whom he now sent the emblems of the Caliphate, including the mantle of the Prophet and other sacred relics. "Al-Qā'im's turban and a beautiful window from his palace were also sent as trophies to Cairo".⁹ Early in the fifth century, the Shī'ītes were canvassing orthodox colleges for "the liberation of the Caliphate from Shī'ite control.¹⁰ In pursuance of their object, the Sunnī leaders formed an alliance with the Seljuk leaders¹¹ which was formally ratified by the Caliph after

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⁸. The modern Maṣīl.
¹³. Ibid; p. 24.
the Saljuq conquest of Western Persia and 'Iraq (1055).  

"The renewed association under the Seljuks of the ruling and orthodox institutions was drawn still closer by the initiative of the Vizier Nizam al-Mulk in founding Nizamiya madrasa". It is obvious from these facts that the Sunnis and the Ima'mi Shias had not only doctrinal differences, but the two sects were also struggling for political supremacy. The orthodox 'Ulams and educational institutions were naturally perturbed at the growth of Ima'mi power which could not but, through its influence and authority, undermine the allegiance of the people to the Sunnis faith. This also explains why Nizam al-Mulk considered it his duty to fight against the heretics who, left to themselves, would have subverted both doctrine and political authority.


Al-'Iraq is situated between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers which is called also as Mesopotamia.

15. Ibid; p. 24.

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna applied for recognition as soon as he came to the throne. This was granted along with the title of Yaqsin al-Dawla. After further conquests and specially the successful expedition to Somnath, he applied for more titles but in spite of repeated requests he failed in his object even though Sultan Mahmud captured Qazvin and placed the newly conquered province in charge of Mas'ud and ordered him to capture the remaining areas still under the Buaihids. Ibrahim bin Marzuban of Daylam, ruler of Zanjanc, Abhar, Sarjahman and Shahrazur were defeated on the first of Ramadan 420/13th September, 1029 by Mas'ud. Mas'ud then proceeded to complete the conquest of Hamadan and Isfahan. He captured Hamadan and then advanced to Isfahan. 'Ala' al-Dawla fled away to Tustar and Mas'ud occupied Isfahan in the beginning.


18. Its importance was that it posed a threat to the Buaihids and others.

19. The classical name of Hamadan was Ecbatana.

20. It later became the capital of Iran.
of the year 421/January 1030. 21 Jalāl al-Dawla, who was in power at Baghdād and a relation of 'Alā' al-Dawla, prevailed upon the Caliph, to ask Mas'ūd to retain 'Alā' al-Dawla as his deputy at Isfahān. 22 Mas'ūd respected the Caliph's recommendation. While the negotiations were going on in this respect, he received on A.H. 421/A.C. 1030 the news of his father's death. 23 The extent of the Caliph's moral authority is illustrated by another anecdote. 24 Abū 'Ali Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbās, commonly known as Ḥasanak, had been, since his childhood, in the service of Sultan Mahmūd and had become a ra'īs of Niṣapur. 25 He went for Ḥajj to Mecca, 26 and while coming back, he got a Khil'at from the Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir, which so offended al-Qadīr, the


22. Ibid; p. 279.


Sultan Mahmūd died on 23, Ṣaḥiḥ al-ʾIkānī, 421/30 April, 1030, but Mas'ūd received the news of his father's death on 20, Junādī al-Awwal, 421/26, May, 1030.

24. Ibid; p. 120.


Abbasid Caliph, that he demanded his execution, but the Sultan appeased the Caliph by sending the Khil'at to Baghdad to be burnt. The Sultan was an orthodox Sunni.

But during the last years of the Sultan's reign, his attitude towards the Caliph had changed considerably and ultimately a serious rupture took place in their relations in A.H. 414/A.C. 1023. The reason seems to have been the fact that the Caliph refused to carry out all the wishes of Sultan Mahmud and entreaties gradually changed into threats. It is on record that Mahmud wrote an insolent letter to the Caliph threatening to ravage Baghdad with his elephants. The Caliph at this sent him a small note with only three letters inscribed on it. These were M, J and F. When opened in the Court, every one was mystified, but one of the officers said that the Caliph obviously referred to the Sūrah of the Qur'ān entitled the "Elephant" in which the destruction of an Abyssinian force which attacked Mecca with elephants has been described. At this the Sultan turned pale and apologized to the Caliph.


29. Qur'ān: CV, op. cit., pp. 420 - 421. "The allusion is to the Campaign of Abraha, the Abyssinian ruler of Al-Yaman, against Mecca, with the purpose of destroying the Ka'bah in the year of the Prophet's birth".
fact, there never was close co-operation between the Caliph and the Ghaznavids.

The rise of the Saljuqs ended the political power of the Ghaznavids. In the beginning of the fifth century of Hijra, Isrā'īl, son of Saljuq, acquired influence at Bukhārā. Sultan Mahmūd invited Isrā'īl and welcomed him with courtesy. During the course of conversation, Isrā'īl told Mahmūd that if Isrā'īl sent his arrow, his kinsmen would flock wherever he was and an army would be formed. This was Mahmūd so apprehensive that he captured Isrā'īl and sent him as a prisoner to the fort of Kālanjar in Hindustān. After that, the Saljuq tribesmen approached Mahmūd with a request to permit them to settle in Khūrāsān.

30. Rawandi, Bahat al-Sudur, op. cit., p. 89.


32. Rawandi, Bahat al-Sudur, op. cit., p. 90; Muhammad Nāzim, Mahmūd of Ghazna, op. cit., p. 64n. According to Muhammad Nāzim, this Kālanjar was situated to the north of Jhelum, in the pass leading into Kashmir. It was therefore different from the fort named Kālanjar in Bundelkhand.

Abū al-Faūl Muḥammad bīn Ḥusayn Ḥaiḥaqī Dabīr, Tārīkh-i Haiḥaqī, op. cit., page 181. Footnote says that the meaning of Kālanjar is black Fort which was situated to the North of Lahore and to the South of Kashmir in the olden days.

33. Khūrāsān was wrongly applied to Pontus in the Medieval period.
to which he consented, hoping to get recruits for his army. This opportunity made the Saljuqs stronger and soon they became the masters of Khorasan. The Saljuqs defeated Mas'ud, son of Mahmud, at Dadanqan in A.H. 431/A.D. 1040. The Saljuqs after their victory over Mas'ud, decided in a meeting to approach the Caliph for recognition. This shows that the Saljuqs had risen to power and established an empire as the result of a successful rebellion against a legally constituted government which, whatever its differences with the

34. Yusuf 'Abbas Houshmand, "Political, Cultural and Administrative History of the later Ghaznavids" (from 421/1030 to 583/1187), Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the University of Hamburg, Germany, 1957, p. 47. (unpublished in English).

These Saljuqs were enlisted in the army for the Makran expedition. After the expedition was over, the Commander of the 'Iraqi forces was instructed to keep the Saljuq tribe under control.

35. Ibid. pp. 49 - 50.

Before the battle of Dadanqan, in A.H. 426/A.D. 1035 a 15,000 (fifteen thousand) strong force under the command of R meget Beg Qadri left Nishapur for Nish. But Beg Qadri was defeated by the Saljuqs. After this victory the Saljuq leaders repeated their request for the conferment of Nish and Kerv, and this time it could not be refused. Thus on a fateful day in the month of Shawwal, 427/A.D. 1036, September, 1035 the Sultan conferred Farawah on Beghui, Dihistan on Dru-i and Nish on Yusuf. However, the request for the conferment of territories in A.H. 426/A.D. 1035 is the clear date for their political consciousness.

The modern name of Dadanqan is Tash-Kabah.


37. Ibid; p. 103.

See Appendix E.
Caliph, had received his recognition. In the mind of the orthodox Sunnis the Saljuqs were rebels and lacked the moral authority to rule. Hence they needed a legal status badly, and this could be secured only through the Caliph’s recognition. Whatever the fault of the Ghaznavids in their dealings with the Caliph, they were orthodox Sunnis and the only power capable of dealing with the machinations of the Isma'ilis. With the weakening of their authority, Sunnism lost its political arm and, as has already been mentioned, the power of the Isma'ilis increased to an extent that even the sacred shrines of Mecca and Madina38 passed under their sway and most of the 'Abbāsid dominions were in their hands. Subsequently, as has been mentioned, the Caliph himself was forced to abdicate in favour of the Fatimids. Therefore, the Caliph and Sunni areas needed the support of a powerful state. Hence both the madrasas which had been the centers of Sunni revivalism and the Caliph needed the Saljuqs. Little wonder then that the Saljuqs received the support of the madrasas as well as recognition from the Caliph. From being rebels they could be transformed into the arm of the orthodox faith and consequently the servants and prop of the Caliphate. Therefore, when Tughril Beg applied, not only was he recognized...
but orders were also given by the Caliph to mention Tughril's name in Khutba at Baghda and on the coinage. He also was granted the title of al-Sultan Rukn al-Dawla Abu Tahir Tughril Beg Muhammad bin Miqail Yamini Amir al-Muminin. It has been mentioned that the Buwayhid governor of Baghdad, Al-Basasiri, practically held the Caliph as his prisoner. This situation was unbearable and intolerable for Tughril Beg who was a fervent Sunni. Therefore, Tughril Beg marched with his army on Baghda on 18 December, 1055, and compelled Al-Basasiri to leave the city at once. The Caliph's authority was thus restored. It has been mentioned that subsequently Al-Basasiri returned to Baghda and forced the Caliph to renounce his office in favour of the Fatimids. At this Tughril Beg once again marched on Baghda, reinstated Al-Fatih and made Al-Basasiri pay for his disloyalty with his life (1060). The Daylamite power


40. Ibid., p. 105.

Varchery, History of Bukhara, op. cit., p. 108 n. Tughril is the short form of Tughrul which means murderer.


42. Daylam is a district of Northern Iran.
was then finally crushed. The services of Tughril Beg to orthodox Islam were highly appreciated by the Caliph. Tughril Beg was received in audience. Tughril Beg kissed the ground in homage and was then placed on a throne and formally appointed the vicegerent of the Caliph for administering the 'Arab as well as non-'Arab lands. He was publicly thanked for his services, and enjoined to rule with justice. The recognition and the exhortation were alike to satisfy the requirements of the Shari'a. Those who seek European parallels are bound to go wrong because the basic notions of the Western law and the Islamic Shari'a are fundamentally different. Western authors have recognised the fact that the co-operation between the Caliphat and the Saljuqs led to the emergence of Islam once again as a world power and brought unity and peace to the entire Muslim world which had previously been growing.


Tughrulbek is a Turkish compound name: the Turks employ the word tughril to designate a falcon well known in that country, and it is used also as a proper name for men; both signify commander (amir).


47. Amir Kaman Siddiqi, Caliphate and Sultanate, op. cit., pp. 149 - 150.
under anarchy and conflict between petty states. 48 Tughril Beg was the first monarch to be given "a regular sovereign title"49 of al-Sultan. 50 He also was the first Muslim ruler whose coins bore that title. 51 The word Sultan occurs in the Qur'an in the sense of authority. As a title, however, it was used by Mahdi of Ghazna for the first time in the political history of Islam. 52 The title of Sultan was unofficial with the Ghaznavid while it was official with the Saljuqs. This is confirmed by Hitti who says "though Mahdi is credited with being the first in Islam to be designated Sultan, evidence from coins shows that this high designation was first officially borne by the Saljuq rulers". 53 The conferment of the title of Sultan by the Caliphs gave the institution of the Sultanate an official designation and status.

48. Stanley Lane - Poole, The Mohammadan Dynasties (Chronological and Genealogical Tables with Historical Introductions), Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 13, Rue Jacob - Paris VI - e, 1925, pp. 149 - 156.


It would be wrong to assume that the Khalifas ceased to exercise authority, and was reduced to a mere figure-head of religious authority. During Nizam al-Mulk's time the Saljuqs derived the power of Shari'a not as de-facto rulers, but as the representatives of the de-jure sovereign. The Isma'iliya, however, had not been eliminated. Egypt and much of North Africa and Syria were held by these. However, their sway would have extended over the rest of the Islamic world as well but for the efforts of Nizam al-Mulk. Indeed, it could not have been otherwise, because in its own defence and to seek a visible symbol of its doctrine, Sunnism identified itself so completely with the 'Abbasi Caliphate that Sunnism and faith in the 'Abbasi Caliphate became almost identical. This attitude has survived in one form or another up to the present day. As Tughril Beg was an


55. Here de-jure and de-facto have been used in the western sense.


59. Ibid; p. 150.
ardent Sunnī, it was inconceivable for him to disobey the Caliph. This attitude expressed itself in practically all the actions of the Saljuqian government. For instance, Tughril Beg sent the Sharīf Nāṣir Ibn Ismā'īl on an embassy to Theodora, the queen of the Greeks. The Sharīf obtained her permission to conduct Friday prayers in the mosque at Constantinople. He recited the Khutba in the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph. This annoyed the Fātimid ambassador and led to the rupture between the Egyptians and the Greeks. 61

An anecdote will illustrate that the Saljuq army also considered its duty to obey the Caliph. In A.H. 429/ A.C. 1037 the city of Nishāpūr was captured in the month of Ramadān. The soldiers were wanting to get booty from the city and they could not get it unless the city was looted. Tughril Beg did not agree to this because of the sanctity of Ramadān. On 'Id day, the soldiers again sought


permission to plunder the city, at which the Sultan said that plundering the city would violate the directive of the Caliph at which the troops gave up the idea of plunder. The Caliph did not hesitate from interference when he thought it was necessary. In A.H. 429/A.C. 1038 when Tughril Beg was declared Sultan at Merv and Nishapur, his brother Bu'add carried on ravages in these areas. That news reached the Caliph, al-Qā'im who realized his responsibility for the welfare and safety of the people and sent an ambassador to Tughril Beg asking him to stop his brother's malpractices. The ambassador was honoured by Tughril Beg and the Caliph's orders were carried out. Nizām al-Mulk held, in accordance with the prevailing legal opinion, that the final authority in the Commonwealth of Islam rested with the Caliph. Nizām al-Mulk reminded the ruler that "the state and religion are like twin brothers" and that their welfare were interdependent and thus he particularly made the Sultan responsible for the administration of justice in accordance with the Shari'a.

63. Abū al-Fadl Muhammad bin Husain Bālaḡī, Tarikh-i Bālaḡī, op. cit., p. 555.
Tughril Beg sought to strengthen the relations between the two Houses by matrimonial alliances. Therefore, his niece, Khadija Arslan Khātūn 66 was married to Khalīfa al-Qā'im in A.H. 446/A.C. 1056, whose Khutba of Nikāh was read by Rabi'Is al-'u'sā. The favourite wife of Tughril Beg died at Zanjān in A.H. 452/A.C. 1060. After that, Tughril Beg very humbly requested the Caliph to give his daughter, Saiydah in marriage to him as a token of his favour. Tughril Beg, despite his being the lady’s husband, paid her homage that vassals paid to their overlords and humbled himself in her presence showing his sincere reverence to the House of ‘Abbās.

Tughril Beg died and Alp Arslan succeeded him in A.H. 456/A.C. 1063. He sent, with full royal honours, back the widow of Tughril Beg (the daughter of al-Qā'im), who was at Ray at that time, to Bāgh, and applied for recognition and a title from al-Qā'im, who bestowed upon him the title of Diya’ul-Dīn ‘Adud al-Dawla and a Khalīfat. Consequently, the Caliph sent his ambassador to Alp Arslan for taking his “Bai‘at”. 67

66. Khadija Khātūn was the daughter of Chaghri Beg Bā‘un and was the sister of Alp Arslan.

Alp Arslān not only maintained the good and respectful relationship with the Caliphate, but, for the first time, established a matrimonial alliance with the House of Ghazna. He got his second son, Arslān Shāh married to the daughter of Sultan Ibrāhīm Ghurānī, and henceforth enmity changed into friendly relationship between the two dynasties which further consolidated the millat and enhanced the dignity of the Caliphate.

The Christian city Anī was densely populated and contained more than five hundred churches. It was also considered to be one of the strong-holds of the Christians. After a severe fight that city was conquered and this was considered to be a great victory of the Muslims over the Christians. A letter was despatched to Baghdad to inform the Caliph of the victory. In reply the Caliph expressed his appreciation and wished the Sultan good luck.

In the spring of 463/1071, Alp Arslān was in northern Syria when he heard the news that the Romans

68. Ibid; p. 17;


had assembled a vast army at Erzerum and had marched eastwards into Armenia. The Sultan was taken by surprise because the "more reliable sources say that it included Frankish, Russian, Khazar, Recheneq, Oghuz, and Qipchaq mercenaries, as well as Greeks and Armenians" whose total strength came to 200,000. This time Romanus IV was determined to annihilate the 'Abbāsid Caliphate of Baghdad completely and to establish a solid Christian state in which the government of Baghdad would be handed over to a Catholic priest. He also intended to convert all the mosques, not only in Baghdad but all over the conquered territories of the Muslim world, into churches.

71. The classical name of it was Theodosiopolis.


74. Vamberry, *History of Bukhara*, op. cit., p. 117. Jathliq, deputy archbishop who was supposed to be a religious leader in Muslim world.

The news of Christian advance was continuously pouring in and reaching Alp Arslān. At that time, he was at Khūwī 76 or Khūyakh near ‘Umār b. ‘Ijān. The Sultan found himself in an awkward position as his forces could not reach him from the capital in time nor could more troops be recruited. If the Christian enemy was permitted to advance, Baghdād would be conquered by the Christians and the Caliphate destroyed. In such a precarious situation, he ordered Nizām al-Mulk to proceed along with his family and his paraphernalia to Tabrīz. 77 Nizām al-Mulk requested him to let him remain with him. The Sultan insisted upon Nizām al-Mulk leaving for Tabrīz. The reason probably was that the Sultan wanted to ensure the continuation of the resistance if he got martyred. The Sultan could muster only fifteen thousand soldiers.


* Ayvām al-‘Arab wa al-‘Ajām wa al-Berber wa Nūn 'Ajara hum bih dīnī al-Sultan al-Akbar, Vol. V, n.d., p. 4. (Name of the publisher is also not clear.)*
to fight with the huge and strong Christian army. The Sultān adopted the strategy of starting the fight before the Christians could combine. He first fought the Russian forces which were led by the Duke of Muscovy himself who was defeated, captured and brought before the Sultān. The Sultān ordered to cut off his nose and ears and then set him free. The Sultān sent the nose and the ears to Nizām al-Mulk along with the Russian great Cross which the Prime Minister was directed to send to Baghdad. In the mean time, Romanus IV captured the city of Khīlat, and killed most of the Muslims and made captives of the rest. At this Alp Arslān marched against Romanus I and approaching his camp sent an ambassador to the Byzantine Emperor suggesting peace. The Emperor rejected the offer and demanded total surrender and the Sultān’s capital before he could think of the cession of hostilities. Then the Sultān made preparation for battle against Romanus. Imam Abū Nasr Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Malik Bukhārī80 Ḥanafi advised the Sultān to postpone the march for a day and to start the next day after the Jum‘a prayers because on that day the Khatībs all over

78. Al-Rāwandi, Rāhat al-Sudur, op. cit., p. 119. According to Rāwandi there were six lac mount soldiers with him.


80. Ibid: p. 29 n.
the Islamic world would be praying for the success of Muslim armies. The Sultan accepted the suggestion and asked his soldiers, only to follow him if they were keen on martyrdom. Eventually, only twelve thousand warriors marched with the Sultan. At midday, while severe fighting was going on, a strong hot wind started blowing against the forces of the Sultan. The river was already in possession of the enemy which caused the Muslim soldiers unbearable thirst. After observing their miserable plight in the battle-field, Sultan got down from his horse and put down his head on the ground and prayed to God to turn the direction of the hot wind towards the enemy. The prayer was effective, and the direction of the hot wind changed. Then Alp Arslan's troops attacked the Byzantine forces and ultimately the mighty Byzantine army was defeated in 1071 and the Emperor of the Byzantine Empire, Romanus Diogenes, was captured and brought before the Sultan. The Sultan treated him with courtesy. He, however, did not impose harsh terms and Romanus was let off on the payment of a ransom. The other concessions secured from him could not be obtained because he was dethroned by the


eldest son of Constantine X Ducas, Michael VII. The Turks, however, succeeded in establishing themselves in Asia Minor and their influence could be felt in the Eastern Roman Empire where the Iconoclastic movement and a new elegance in court etiquette owed their origin to Muslim influence. It is quite obvious that Alp Arslan saved the 'Abbāsid Caliphate from destruction at the hands of the Christians, who obviously had been encouraged by the rise of petty states in the world of Islam and the weakness of the Caliphate. To an outsider, like the Christian Emperor, it must have appeared that Sunni Islam could be annihilated at one mighty blow. Diplomatic activity and preparations had resulted in the organization of the grand army that was defeated by Alp Arslan. The Christians seem to have been ignorant of the might of the Seljuk power that had arisen to defend the Caliphate and through it Sunni Islam.


85. Ibid; p. 292.
Alp Arslân never visited Baghdâd, but the contact between the Sultanate and the Caliphate was channelled through Nizâm al-Mulk who kept cordial relations with the Caliphate who were also Shi'îs. 86

In A.H. 464/A.D. 1071, the daughter of Alp Arslân, Safî Khâtûn, was married to al-ṣū'm's heir outside Nishâpur. The Wakîl-î Nikâh of the bridegroom was 'Amîd al-Dawla Ibn Jâhîr and of the bride it was Nizâm al-Mulk.

During the reign of Alp Arslân in A.H. 462/A.D. 1070, the name of the 'Abbâsid Caliph was inserted in the Khutba, and the name of the Fâtimid al-Mustansîr as well as the Shî‘î ṣâdhân were abolished in Mecca. For establishing the 'Abbâsid Khutba and the abolition of the Shî‘î ṣâdhân at Mecca, Alp Arslân bestowed thirty thousand dinârs on and granted an annual salary of fifty thousand dinârs to the Shirîf of Mecca, Muhammad bin 'Ali Kãshîn al-Andalûsî who came to him with this news. 87 He did the same to the Shirîf of Madînah. 88


88. Ibid; p. 41;

Yahya al-Shashshâb, "Nizâm al-Mulk wa al-Madâris al-Nizâmiyân", College of Arabic Language and Social Studies Magazine, op. cit., p. 557 says that Nizâm al-Mulk wants to uphold the Sunnîs and on this basis he tries his utmost for the unity of Hillat-i Islâmî.
Sultan Alp Arslan, in his lifetime, used the Caliph's support in A.H. 458/A.D. 1066, to make his son Malik Shah the heir apparent; this being granted a ceremony was held at Merv in which the amirs offered their oath of allegiance to Malik Shah and his name was placed in the Khutba.

Immediately after the death of Sultan Alp Arslan, Nizam al-Mulk took the oath of allegiance again from the important men of the state and elite of the Empire in favour of Malik Shah. Nizam al-Mulk sent the news of Malik Shah's succession to the Caliph at Baghdad and secured recognition from him so that the Khutba was read in Malik Shah's name. Alp Arslan made Malik Shah his wali'Abd at Nizam al-Mulk's suggestion and it has been mentioned that the Caliph had approved of this nomination. But it was again considered necessary to get it ratified as Malik Shah was only seventeen years of age when he ascended the throne. After that Amir Sa'd al-Dawla Gauhar K'in was sent to Baghdad in Safar 466/1074 for receiving the deed of investiture from the Caliph al-qā'im for the young Sultan. This embassy was given a royal welcome by the Caliph and when it entered the city of Baghdad the whole population of Baghdad rushed to see it. A special pompous garbār was

89. 'Abd al-Kazzāq, Nizām al-Mulk Tūsī, op. cit., p. 498.
held in which the Caliph himself sat on the throne of the Caliphate and his grandson al-Muqtadī who became a Caliph later on stood behind him. The Caliph ordered his wazīr to read the early portion of the "Sanad" loudly. After that the Caliph prayed for the Sultan and called him by the title of Yamin Amīr al-Mu'minīn. 90

The Caliph al-Muqtadī, for the first time, bestowed the title ofMu'izz al-Dumya wa al-Dīn 91 upon Malik Shāh. 92

Sāwandi calls Malik Shāh Sultan Mu'izz al-Dumya wa al-Dīn Malik Shāh bin Muhammed Yasim Amīr al-Mu'minīn. 93

One of the most influential and respected religious figures at that time was Abū Ishāq Shīrāzi to whom al-Muqtadī sent on an embassy to Malik Shāh in A.H. 475/A.D. 1083. In every town through which he passed, the people of all sections came out to welcome him, and sought to touch his stirrups and collect the


"Malik Shāh was the first Prince to obtain the full title of Amīr al-Mu'minīn (commander of the Faithful) from the caliph, it having previously been always reserved for the caliphs alone".


dust under the hoofs of his mule as a blessing. After he reached Ray, Malik Shāh and Nizām al-Mulk not only showed all respect to him and accepted whatever grievances he put on behalf of the Caliph before them and eventually 'Amīd al-'Irāq was soon made ineffective.

Malik Shāh visited Baghdad for the first time in A.H. 479/A.D. 1086. Nizām al-Mulk was with him. He was received with full royal honours by Abu Shujā' Zāhir al-Dīn Muhammad bin Musain Hamadānī. The Sultan went to the darbār-i Khāq of the Caliph, and offered to him precious presents and tribute to him. Malik Shāh was not allowed to kiss the Caliph's hand, but only his ring. On A.H. 480/A.D. 1087 the Caliph held a grand darbār in the palace in which the Sultan and Nizām al-Mulk along with nearly forty high officials presented themselves before the Caliph. At that time a Khil'at and two swords were bestowed upon the Sultan by the Caliph. After that Nizām al-Mulk introduced the officials one by one to the Caliph with short introductions, a costly Khil'at was also bestowed upon Nizām al-Mulk by

96. Ibid; p. 103.
97. Ibid; pp. 103-104.
the Caliph on which "al-wazīr al-ʿĀlim al-ʿĀdīl Nizām al-Mulk Radī Amīr al-Muʾminīn," was woven. No other minister had been honoured by the Caliph in this manner before. The Caliph exhorted the Sultan to act according to the Shariʿa, maintain justice and be benevolent to the people. The Sultan humbly acknowledged the exhortation and after that the darbār-i 'Āmm was adjourned. During this visit Sultan Malik Shāh's daughter who had already been married to the Caliph al-Muqtaṣi was conducted to the palace. The very long procession of the bride with precious paraphernalia and valuable articles reached Baḥrād and the whole of the city was beautifully illuminated. This procession of the bride was warmly welcomed by Abū Shīḥāb, wazīr of the Caliph along with three hundred torch bearers. The procession was then led by Nizām al-Mulk and proceeded towards the Caliph's palace.


100. Ibid; p. 47.

101. Ibid; p. 11.

There only Nizām al-Mulk was allowed to be on horseback. Tertken Khātūn was welcomed by the women of the Caliph’s family. Next day, a grand feast of waqfma was held and the grandeur of it can be better imagined than described. Ibn al-Athīr says that the people of Baghdad had never seen such a marvellous wedding. It would not be out of place to mention that Malik Shāh stayed in Baghdad from Dhlī Hij 479/1087 to Safar 480/1087 and this last ceremony of his daughter’s wedding was performed while he was in Baghdad, but before the ceremony was over he left Baghdad and was represented by Nizām al-Mulk. In this connection, it may be mentioned that Malik Shāh had been indifferent to al-Nuqtadī for some time. Nizām al-Mulk succeeded so well in his efforts within a short period of time that Malik Shāh gave his daughter in marriage to the Caliph. This naturally strengthened the political relations between the Caliphate and the Sultanate and avoided the possibility of any rupture.

Once again during Malik Shāh's reign the heretics became strong and wanted to "overthrow the 'Abbāsids". Malik Shāh sent an envoy to their stronghold of Alamāt. When he reached Hasan bin Sabūh commanded one of his followers to stab himself; and another, to cast himself headlong from a precipice. Both mandates were instantly obeyed! "Go", said he to the astonished envoy, and explain to your master the character of my


About the Eastern Ismailis (Agha Khan) Fyzee says: "They hold that Ali was more God than man, while Prophet is given a secondary position to him as 'Hujjat'. Western Ismailis are called Bohras and divided into various small groups of which the most important are Dā'udis and Sulayfānis". And Marshall G.S. Hodgson, The Order of Assassins (The struggle of the early Nizari Ismailis Against the Islamic World), Mouton and Co., 1955, p. 122.

"Nizām al-Mulk and others attack them by linking them with the tradition of Mazdak, who was supposed to have ordered a communism of property and of women in Sassanid Persia; and treat them as primarily interested in the expropriation of wealth and in general license".

105. Nizām al-Mulk, Siyāsat Namah, op. cit., p. 211.
followers". However, Sultan Malik Shāh sent an army against them which was defeated, but Malik Shāh persisted in the idea of extirpating that nest. Therefore, at the beginning of 485/1092 the Sultan sent another of his chief amirs, called Qizil-Sarigh, to expel the heretics from Kūhīstān; and ordered the forces of Khurāsān to follow and assist him. Qizil-Sarigh besieged the heretics in the fort of Dara, which is adjacent to Sistān, is one of the dependencies of Mā'minābād, and then he joined the battle with the forces of Khurāsān. Before he could take the place, however, he received the news of Malik Shāh's death, whereupon he raised the siege and his army dispersed. Now at the time when Hasan bīn Sahlī first rose in rebellion, Nizām al-Mulk was Malik Shāh's wazīr. The assassination of Nizām al-Mulk which led

Nizām al-Mulk, the Prime Minister of Malik Shāh, Khalīfa al-Sultānī, 'Abdāsī and other forty-eight great men of Islam such as Khulāṣī, wazīrs, scholars, 'Ulāma' and mashaikh were assassinated by the Bātinsīs. The details of it can be had in the Literary History of Persia, Vol. II, by E.G. Browne at pages 311 to 315.

107. It is also called Sijistān which was in the region of Afghanistan.

to the downfall of the Saljuqs was looked upon as a
great achievement of the Isma'ilis. After Nizam al-
Mulk's murder and Malik Shah's death the Saljuq power
declined rapidly and became totally ineffective.

The chapter on titles in the Siyasa Namah
throws considerable light on the relationship between
the Caliphate and the Sultanate. Nizam al-Mulk acknow-
ledges the primacy of the titles that were bestowed by
the Caliph upon the Saljuqid Sultans.

The election of the Caliph or the nomination of
his successor was generally not influenced by the
Saljuq Sultans. But once, due to the separation of
Sultan Malik Shah's daughter, Mah-Malik Khutun, from the
Caliph al-MuqtadI instigated Malik Shah to get little
Abu al-Fadl Ja'far, his own grandson, nominated as
successor for Caliphate. Technically, Ja'far belonged
to the House of 'Abbás, but it would not have been
proper to declare a child as Caliph. But even this
unhappy separation between the Caliph, al-MuqtadI, and

109. J.A. Boyle, The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol.V,
op. cit., p. 293.

110. Sydney Nettleton Fisher, The Middle East (A History),


112. Ibid., p. 176.
of Malik Shāh's daughter did not cause any political rupture because of wise counsels of Nizām al-Mulk. 113

The Saljuqid Sultāns were punctilious in mentioning the Caliph's name in the Khutba all over their Empire, while the Sultan's name was dropped several times from the Khutba at Baghdad, to which Sultāns could never retaliate. 114

The appointment of Qādis, Khatības, Imāms of the mosques and other religious functionaries had to be performed by the Caliph personally. Therefore, the Qādis were so independent and daring in the discharge of their duties that they did not spare even the Sultāns if they transgressed the Shari'ā.

For example, once Qādi Abu Bakr Muhammad bin al-Shuzaffar al-Shāmil, refused to accept the testimony of a witness on the ground that he was dressed in silk. When the complainant protested that on similar grounds the evidence of the Sultan and his minister, Nizām al-Mulk,

116. Ibid; p. 51.
117. Ibid; p. 51.
should also not be allowed, the Qādī corroborated and replied that he would not listen to their testimony either. It should be remembered that Nizām al-Mulk was the real architect of the Empire of the Seljuqs. In this manner it was his statesmanship that rescued the entire population from the devastation of political anarchy that had resulted from the break-up of the Eastern world of Islam into petty states and chieftainships, constantly at war with one another and recognizing no central authority. With the increasing power of Shi'a states, even though they were incapable of maintaining peace and order, Sunni Islam had come to face the danger of annihilation. The Ismā'īlī missionary effort, utilizing psychological methods combined with a prevailing cult of violence and secret assassination, would have annihilated its adversary Sunnīsm without much difficulty. The symbol of Sunni Islam was the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, and therefore it was the main target of Ismā'īlī endeavour. The Christian Empire of the Byzantines also looked upon the 'Abbāsid Caliphate as

the stronghold of Sunnī political power. The Caliphate, however, was so weak that a local officer of Baghdaḍ could wind it up. And the Christian host assembled by the Byzantine Emperor, Romanus IV, would have dealt such a blow to Islam itself that it could well have been wiped off from Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. The Sunnī theologians became extremely worried and they began to make efforts to strengthen the hold of the House of 'Abbās on the popular mind. They were fortunate in finding a great and capable ally in Nizām al-Mulk who knew how to maintain himself in power and simultaneously seek to build up the Saljuq Empire and then to weld it into the strong arm of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate and through the Caliphate to strengthen Sunnī Islam. Therefore, he was made the target, and ultimately he was assassinated by an Iṣwāʾī agent. Nizām al-Mulk could not have achieved his spectacular success if he had not been helped by the general sentiment of the people and the constant and untiring work of the 'Ulama'.

119. Sir Mark Sykes, Bart, M.P., The Caliphs' Last Heritage (A Short History of the Turkish Empire), MacMillan and Co., Ltd. St. Martin's Street, London, 1915, pp. 255–256. The Saljuqs "reinforced the authority of the Caliphate, endowed mosques, encouraged arts and sciences, fought anarchy and paganism with unsparing courage, and on the whole were humane, and apart from military affairs relied on the advice of the soundest financiers and statesman they could find in their dominions".
Many western writers have felt confused because they have examined only the apparent happenings and gained no insight into the nature of the forces at work and the great conflict between the Sunnis and the Isma'ili's in the world of Islam, a conflict that drew into its vortex Sultans and their ministers, Ulama' and students of the great colleges, the common people and their leaders. This struggle is quite apparent from Nizam al-Mulk's writings and the juristic endeavours like those of Mawardi to rehabilitate the Khilafat in the esteem of the people by trying to conciliate the fact of disruption and weakness with the theory of legal supremacy and authority.

Western writers have gone astray in one more direction. With rare exceptions they have tried to discover parallels in the world of Islam of their own sovereign institutions. In the West the law is the will of the sovereign while in the Islamic legal system the Caliph and the Sultan both are the servants and minions of the law. How could they then discover whether sovereignty was vested in the Caliph or the Sultan, whom it resided in neither. Neither of them had a divine right, nor, for that matter, a status independent of the law. The sovereignty of the law is dependent upon the loyalty of the people to it. As in Nizam al-Mulk's
period people were generally loyal to the law, it was supreme and the Caliph drew his power from the contemporary notions of law. If mighty Sultans prostrated themselves before the Caliph, it was not because the Caliph had bigger armies or possessed any visible means of supporting his authority, but because the law of Sharī'ah, universally respected and forming a part of the faith of the peoples, vested them with authority. Of course there being no visible means of enforcing this authority, the Caliph could be disobeyed but by a rebel, at least so it was universally believed in the Sunni world, at the peril of his soul. Some Western writers have accused Ṣīzām al-Mulk of not dealing adequately with the Caliphate in his book. They seem to forget that the Siyāsah Nāmah is intended to be a manual of good administration and neither a treatise on abstract political theory nor constitutional law. Whenever, he considers it good for the "millat" or the Sultanate to accept the primacy of the Caliphate he does it in unambiguous language, but he does not go out of his way to discuss theoretical matters which he leaves to others. The legal study was done by men like Wāwūrī whose work al-Abkām al-Sultānīyah is well known to all students of Muslim political and constitutional theory.

CHAPTER VI

NIZĀM AL-MULK’S PRESCRIPTION
FOR THE STABILITY OF THE STATE

In the previous chapter Nizām al-Mulk’s theory of the state has been discussed at some length. Nizām al-Mulk demarcates the distinction between the theory of state and the art of government. The Sultān is not only the visible symbol of the state but also an administrator. He must, therefore, be a good Muslim otherwise he would not observe the injunctions of Islam in his administration, nor will he order the affairs of the state in the true interests of Islam. He will also fail in his duty to enforce the Shari’a in his realm.

Nizām al-Mulk cannot even think of a polity without the steel frame of the Shari’a, because without this sustaining support of the law which commanded general loyalty, the state would collapse. Nizām al-Mulk


3. Ibid; p. 69.
firmly believed in the dictum that a polity could endure even if it denied the truth of Islām, but it could not last without justice. 4 And there can be no justice without a law. 5 In a Muslim state the only valid law which is recognized universally is the Sharī'ah. 6 Being itself based in immutable principles it is, by its very nature stable and provides the state with the strongest element of stability. Being the real sovereign in the state, the Sharī'ah holds it on an even keel and does not let it deviate from its course.

Its strength, however, lies in unquestioning loyalty of the people. 7 If it ceases to command loyalty and adherence, the state begins to disintegrate and the Sultan loses power, because his own authority is derived from the supremacy of the Sharī'ah.

Nizām al-Mulk rightly thought that the greatest enemy of the Sharī'ah is heresy. 8 During his time the

4. Ibid; p. 11.
Iṣmāʿīlīs were active in the Saljuq Empire. Their basic aim was to subvert Sunnī Islam and for that purpose they wanted to overthrow the Ābbāsid Caliphate as well as the Saljuq Sultanate, because both of them were the main bastions of the Shari'a. Hence in another manner the state and the Shari'a became strongly identified with each other. Thus the greatest enemies, not only of the Saljuq Empire, but also of established government everywhere in the Muslim world were the Iṣmāʿīlī heretics of Alāmūt. Therefore, it was the target


"The constant object of them is to overthrow Islam".

11. Ibid; p. 211.

12. Ibid; p. 69.


Mūlānā had long been a centre of Iṣmāʿīlī dissenters from whose possession Mubārak bin S̄ām took the city in A.H. 571/A.C. 1175. But the sect did not die, and on 6 Rajab, 634/A.C. 1237, a thousand fully armed members of the Iṣmāʿīlī sect entered the Jāmī Masjid at Dehlī and began to slaughter the worshippers. "We read of Farrūq Shāh taking action against these dissenters. The vast majority of the Muslims in India and all the Sultans of Dehlī were, however, orthodox and mainly supporters of the Ābbāsids".
of their machinations. 14

The Ismāʿīlīs were led by an extremely able, devoted and industrious leader. There can be little doubt that Ḥasan b. Sabhān who established his headquarters at Almāt 15 was a great organizer. These Ismāʿīlīs 16 were called "Bāṭīnīs" 17 because they worked underground. Their

15. It is ten thousand (10,000) feet above the sea.
16. Muhammad Ḥusayn Tabātābā’ī, Shīʿite Islām, trans. from the Persian, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Persians Studies Series, No. 5, State University of New York Press, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1975. It deals with the Ithnā ʿasharī point of view and discusses its difference with Ismāʿīlism. 'Alī al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juwainī, Tahrīkh-i Jahān Gushā or The History of the World-Conqueror, op. cit., pp. 642-644. Jaʿfar Ṣādiq, the Sixth ʿImām had four sons, of whom the eldest, Ismāʿīl, was through his mother the grandson of Ḥasan; the second, Mūsā, was the son of a slave girl; the third, Muhammad Dībaj, and the fourth, 'Abd Allāh, is known as Aftāh. Jaʿfar designated as his successor his son Ismāʿīl. Afterwards Ismāʿīl took to strong drinks and Jaʿfar Ṣādiq expressed his disapproval thereof. He therefore designated his second son, Mūsā, as his successor. Ismāʿīl died before Jaʿfar Ṣādiq (may God be pleased with him!) in the year 145/762-3. Those who had attached themselves to Ismāʿīl said that Ismāʿīl was not dead and that his death had been feigned in order to deceive the people. However, when Jaʿfar (may God be pleased with him!) died in 148/765 the generality of the Shīʿa followed Mūsā.

programmes of assassinating their opponents was carried out through devoted agents, most of them were dupes of clever religious frauds. Their activities became more intense in the proportion that the state became strong.

One of their methods was to gain the favour of those in authority by outward conformity for the purpose of securing key positions in the government, the better to extend their influence and to carry out sabotage. 18 Hasan bin Sabbāh's effort in trying to gain the wizarat and oust Nizām al-Mulk might well have been for this purpose. One of the reasons why Nizām al-Mulk advocated a close relationship between the Saljuq Sultanate and the Caliphate 19 was to ward off the intrigues of the Ismā'īlīs. In fact, despite Nizām al-Mulk's clear and correct analysis and his prophetic warning the Ismā'īlīs did succeed in giving a crushing blow to the Saljuqs by the murder of Nizām al-Mulk. One also legitimately suspects that the proposed steps to weaken the armed forces of the Sultanate that Nizām al-Mulk so capably insisted were really inspired by Ismā'īlī sources. But since they could not work openly for an organized revolution, they plotted the assassination of their leading enemies and led sporadic risings in order to overthrow


the Caliphate. 20 Nizām al-Mulk's insight into the
gavity of the activities of the Ismā'īlīs was proved by
the fact that all diplomatic efforts to persuade them to
give allegiance to the Salṭāns and to stop their sub-
versive activities failed. So did military action in
A.H. 485/ A.D. 1092 because Alamūt 21 was found impregnable.
The Ismā'īlī 22 leadership had succeeded in creating such
deep and unbreakable loyalty among its soldiers and
warriors that all political and military efforts proved
useless. Therefore, nothing but the utmost vigilance
could stem the Ismā'īlī subversive activities.

The central factor in the stability of a monarchy
where the monarch was not a mere figure head 23 was the
character of the monarch and his personal qualities. The
Sultan must possess

a comely appearance, a pleasing disposition,

integrity, manliness, daring skill in horsemanship, knowledge of and expertise in the

20. Mohibul Hasan Khan, "Medieval Muslim Political
Theories of Rebellion against the state", Islamic
Culture, Vol. XVIII, Hyderabad-Baccau, January
1944, p. 42.

21. J.A. Boyle, The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol.V,
op.cit., p. 261.

An account of the Alamūtis and their crimes against humanity can be found in Von Hammer's History of
the Assassins which has been translated into

English by Wood.


use of various kinds of arms and accomplishment in different arts, pity and mercy upon the creatures of God, strictness in the performance of promises, sound faith and true belief, devotion to the worship of God and the practice of such virtuous deeds as praying in the night, (i.e. in addition to the prescribed times of Fard prayer) abundant fasting, respect for religious authorities, honouring devout and pious men, winning the society of men of learning and wisdom, giving regular alms, doing good to the poor, being kind to subordinates and servants, and relieving the people from their oppressors.  

He should make every effort to become popular through his service to the people because on the support of the people would lie his real strength. He must guard himself against becoming a tyrant.  

27. Nizām al-Mulk, Siyāsat Nāmah, op. cit., p. 11.
doing so is to cultivate piety and respect for the Shari'a, because so long as he follows the law, he can not incline towards tyranny, as the Shari'a prescribes excellent limits of authority and its exercise.

He should make every effort to enforce justice, not only among the people at large but also to punish wrong doers and oppressors among his officials who should not be permitted to exceed their legitimate authority.

He should keep good company and cultivate the society of men who give him sound advice. For this he has to cultivate a good judgment, because without a sound judgment he can be neither a good judge of men, nor of their motives, nor of the quality of the advice that they tender.

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28. Ibid; p. 51.
29. Ibid; pp. 11-12.
30. Ibid; p. 52.
31. Ibid; p. 5.
32. Ibid; pp. 169 and 199.
In a polity which depends so much upon the monarch's qualities and intentions, the role of public servants is crucial, hence suitable devices must be introduced to control them and keep them on the path of rectitude. For this the first essential is the creation of a system of checks and balances so that no one is able to exercise absolute authority. Another method is, and it should be considered as complimentary to the first, that an efficient system of espionage should be maintained. These spies should be honest, virtuous and upright men distinguished by their public spirit, so that they hide nothing and report nothing but the truth and the whole truth. This duty is of such great importance that if the people chosen for this purpose do not give their consent to undertake it, they

34. Ibid; p. 265. The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) says, "He who appoints a governor over the Muslims, knowing that there is amongst the people a better man than that, has betrayed Allah and His Prophet".


37. Ibid; p. 355.


should be forced to do so.\textsuperscript{40} Besides their identities should remain hidden,\textsuperscript{41} otherwise they would be prevented from finding out the facts or reporting them and may even be put under duress to send false news. In fact, this entire espionage system\textsuperscript{42} should be at least duplicated\textsuperscript{43} so that if one group fails to find out facts or report them, the other should, or even normally they would complement each other's information.\textsuperscript{44} Of course the different groups should work unknown to one another.

The monarch should be in a position to enforce obedience to his orders and if orders are not obeyed\textsuperscript{45} and discipline is undermined among the public servants or any other sector of the subjects, the stability of the state would be threatened. In fact, the power to enforce obedience is the real bastion of the strength of the state. The public servants being of such importance for the efficiency of the government and the stability of the state should be chosen carefully.\textsuperscript{46} It has already

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid; p. 54.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid; p. 155.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid; p. 74.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid; p. 34.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid; p. 155.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid; p. 83.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid; p. 179.
been mentioned that the utmost vigilance should be exercised in preventing heretics, 47 unbelievers 48 or disloyal persons infiltrating into the service, because their main motive would be to disrupt the state 49 or at least they would become willing agents 50 of disloyal and hostile elements. 51

In choosing the public servants their merit 52 as governed by right belief 53 and loyalty is to be kept in view. Their capacity for good and efficient service should form a yardstick. From this it follows that efficiency would suffer greatly if worthless favourites or their recommendees are recruited or promoted. 54 This will also enable him to keep an eye 55 upon traitors and

47. Ibid; pp. 179-180.
48. Ibid; p. 184.
50. " يا أبا الذين آمنوا لا تتخذوا اليهود و الصابئ  اولباء بعضهم أولباء بعض.
52. Ibid; pp. 8 and 47.
53. Ibid; p. 54.
54. Ibid; pp. 146, 153.
55. Ibid; p. 153.
trencherous activities. The Sultan would then be forewarned and thus forearmed and quite often be able to nip the mischief in the bud.

So far as servants are concerned, Nizām al-Mulk lays great stress upon the utility of the slaves who feel that a personal bond exists between them and the monarch and because their advancement depends entirely upon his favour, they are loyal. This is true only to a limited degree because sometimes the slaves become a problem to the state as the power of the Janissaries in the Ottoman Empire and of the slaves during the last years of Firūz Shah's reign in the Sultanate of Dehlī would show. Whatever the

56. Ibid; p. 34.
57. Ibid; p. 87.
58. Ibid; p. 121.
59. Ibid; p. 121.
60. Ibid; p. 121;
   The body of Turkish infantry forming Sultan's guard. The derivation of this word is Turkish such as yenitscheri (yeni means new and tsherī means soldiery).
   "Firūz Shah's last days were clouded by the machinations of some of his slaves whose misdoings ultimately resulted in anarchy".
methods employed the monarch's personal vigilance is of the utmost importance. It is only this that can prevent the officers from bribery, extortion and tyranny, which are sure to spread discontent and weaken the hold of the state.

The Sultan must make himself available and grant access to all complainants and must maintain an efficient court of maqālim presided over by himself so that it is widely known that the oppressed can reach him and obtain redress. This would provide an effective safeguard against official injustice and thus add to his popularity which will result in the stability of the state.

63. Ibid; p. 7.
64. Ibid; pp. 15 and 261.
66. Nizām al-Mulk maintained that it was indispensable for the ruler to hold a maqālim court twice a week to exact redress from the unjust, to dispense justice, and to listen to the words of his subjects without an intermediary.

Diwān-i Maqālim has also been dealt with by Ahmad Moavaz.


An unnecessary multiplication of posts and officers not only burdens the treasury but works against efficiency.\(^{67}\) If several persons share duties, the chances are that they would intrigue against each other and create complications and difficulties.\(^{68}\) It may be useful to shorten tenures of offices and rotate those holding them so that they do not become so well entrenched as to be in a position to intrigue against the monarch and create other difficulties.\(^{69}\) This is even more relevant in case of provincial governors because if they become rooted in one place, the temptation to break away from central authority is very great. Besides it will not create mutual jealousies in case one change is more profitable than another. Tribesmen and nobles whose authority and importance is based upon huge followings\(^{70}\)

\(^{67}\) Ibid; pp. 178 - 179.

\(^{68}\) Ibid; p. 178.

\(^{69}\) Ibid; p. 46.

\(^{70}\) Ibid; p. 37.

\(^{71}\) Ibid; p. 46;


\(^{72}\) Nizām al-Mulk, Siyāsāt Nāmah, op. cit., p. 121.
should be treated with great care. The tribes being knit together by ancient ties of kinship and common interests should be humoured and rewarded for loyalty but if any single tribe shows signs of contumacy, it should be punished and brought back to its allegiance swiftly. It has to be convinced that the monarch has the means to punish it. Once it submits it should be treated with kindness and reconciled. The monarch should not show vindictiveness in punishment after reconciliation.

There are always centrifugal forces at work in a big Empire. These have to be carefully controlled and dealt with. There are many factors capable of disrupting a state. The first and the one that tends to assert itself more often is dynastic dissensions. Many princes of royal blood have instinctively ambitious of setting themselves up as independent and sovereign rulers. They have to be carefully watched, yet treated with consideration. If they are not treated properly, they are able to

73. Ibid; p. 121.
74. Ibid; p. 121.
75. Ibid; p. 120.
76. Ibid; p. 121;
get the sympathy of powerful elements. But if happy and prosperous in their dependence, they might not risk their position and advantage through political gamble. Similarly some tribes or well placed officials might get too ambitious and try to break away. All this has to be watched constantly and remedies found at the first signs of discontent or disloyal ambition.

The best guarantee of stability is, however, contented and happy people. If they are loyal and law abiding, self-seeking nobles would fail to find support. In this connection the poor and the slave should be specially cared for. Food should be plentiful and the state should organize free kitchens for the needy and the poor. The agricultural produce should be kept up so that there is no shortage of food stuffs. State granaries should be maintained in the Empire to provide plentiful food stuffs during natural calamities or bad harvests. Boarding and cornering of necessities must be stopped.

78. Ibid; p. 90.
79. Ibid; p. 55;
81. Ibid; pp. 150 - 152.
82. Ibid; p. 152.
83. Ibid; p. 53.
and punished. The market is to be controlled in the interests of the consumer.

For this purpose the Muhtasib's department should be made efficient and effective and only men of proven integrity be appointed as "muhtasibs". These officers would also look after the moral state of the society and would stop any public violation of the "Sharī'a". A law abiding and contented people are the surest bulwark of stability. The peasantry is to be specially looked after and all help should be extended to it. Besides it should be effectively protected from the mischief of corrupt collectors of revenue who should not be permitted to extort any money from the cultivators. All public spending must be directed towards common good and it should be remembered that the

84. Ibid; p. 53.
85. Ibid; p. 53.
86. Ibid; p. 51.
87. Ibid; pp. 51-52
88. Ibid; p. 51.
89. Ibid; p. 8.
90. Ibid; p. 23.
91. Ibid; p. 35.
92. Ibid; p. 35.
treasury really belongs to the people.93

A large number of families should be encouraged to create a stake in the well-being of the state because if there is no vested interest or stake their service will not be coming forward to serve the state in times of crisis. Old and well-established families in particular should be humoured.94 This envisages a class of well-established, prosperous and strongly entrenched families who would fear unnecessary change, and yet the class should not be made exclusive and the compartments water tight.

Slaves could rise to nobility through military service for which they were given special training.95 The secretarial class and those professions that depended on good education should be constantly fed by the educational institutions.96 This could be achieved not only

93. Ibid; p. 23, 68, 70, 167-166.
Ibid; p. 70. Qur'ān, XII:38, op. cit., p. 150.
"Be charitable unto us, Lo! Allah will requite the charitable".

94. Ibid; p. 164.

95. Ibid; pp. 122-123.

96. J. A. Boyle, The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. V.
A detailed account of educational institutions can be had in the article of Yahyā al-Khashshāb.
by a large number of educational institutions and free institutions but also by free boarding houses and stipends to needy but intelligent students. Thus any one with talent and ambition could enter the more powerful and opulent class.

However, the farsightedness of Nizām al-Mulk guided well his ruler Malik Shāh and made the Saljūq Empire a strong cultural, military and ruling power in the Near East.


Nizām al-Mulk immortalised his name by the foundation of "several universities (the Niẓāmiyyah at Baghdad), observatories, mosques, hospitals and other institutions of public utility".


Nizām al-Mulk included a division for training in Public administration, as well as one for instruction in Islamic theology in the celebrated madrasah which he founded at Baghdad.

CHAPTER VII

NIZĀM AL-MULK'S THEORY OF DIPLOMACY

The dictionary defines "diplomacy" as "the management of international relations by negotiation" and as "skill or address in the conduct of international intercourse and negotiation". Its application has even been extended to cover "skill in intercourse of any kind". As Nizām al-Mulk was both a thinker and a practical statesman and both these accomplishments rest upon his successful tenure of the head of the government of a newly established yet potentially a mighty Empire in the Middle Ages, he had naturally to have recourse to diplomacy in all the three meanings given by the dictionary. Strictly speaking, modern diplomacy in its technical sense covers the area of inter-state relationships. A growing Empire in the Middle Ages had to deal with other states, relations with some of which Nizām al-Mulk wanted to cultivate to secure its frontiers against attack of ambitious adventurers and the insatiable medieval desire for expansion and yet others it wanted to absorb within the orbit of its authority or at least influence. Nizām al-Mulk was not the

minister of a modern nation state, such an idea would have been blatantly anachronistic in the context of the Medieval Islamic World. To some extent it is still new and almost inapplicable even today to several Muslim States. Nizām al-Mulk was acting on behalf of a monarch with other potentates of varying importance. His diplomacy, therefore, had to be based in humouring the personal desires of those whom he wanted to befriend the Saljūqian State. Another prime mover in the diplomacy was dictated by the nature of the state which he had been called upon to serve. It was an upstart power, having risen from the humble origin of a tribe seeking land for cultivation and pasture to habilitate its growing population. Its human resources soon became so considerable that old and long established dynasties and states had to recognize its strength.

It should be remembered that the desire of all upstart dynasties has been to gain respectability by alliances—preferably matrimonial—with other well established families and the Saljūqs were no exception. The defeat of the Byzantine Emperor at the hands of the Saljūqs naturally annoyed such a stalwart of Christendom as Gibbon who referred to the Saljūq monarch as "the shepherd"—a reference to the origin of the Saljūq dynasty. Gibbon says, "the shepherd presumed to despatch an ambassador, or herald, to demand the tribute and
obedience of the Emperor of Constantinople". 2 Tughril Beg sent the Sharīf Naṣir Ibn Ismā'īl on an embassy to the Queen of the Greeks, Theodora, who was an unbeliever; and the Sharīf requested permission to conduct the Friday prayers in the mosque at Constantinople. Having obtained this permission, he conducted the prayer and pronounced the Khuṭba in the name of the Caliph al-Qā'im. This gave great offence to the ambassador of al-Mustansir the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt, who happened to be present, and it was one of the principal causes of rupture between the Egyptians and the Greeks. 3 Nizām al-Mulk thus achieved in one stroke a rupture between Byzantium and Egypt. Gibbon's cheap gibe was more than avenged by Nizām al-Mulk's diplomacy who humiliated the Byzantine Emperor and reduced him to vassalage as we shall see later.

Nizām al-Mulk was both a theorist and a practical statesman. He knew all the ins and outs of contemporary methods of administration. His theories were the results of his practical experience and his administration truly reflected his theories. This is as true of his diplomacy as of his administration. We shall, therefore, first turn to his theory of diplomacy. Nizām al-Mulk well understood


the great importance of diplomacy. He realized that the sovereignty of the state remains dormant and can even be subverted by the activities of foreign countries. Therefore, a country which does not cultivate diplomatic relations with other countries is not able to safeguard its interests. He understood that diplomatic relations could be maintained mainly by sending embassies to the different countries to secure special objectives. Ambassadors are diplomatic agents who are representatives of their countries and all respect and courtesy is to be extended to them. This, however, is a delicate matter, because it will offend the ambassador of an important country if he is treated at par with the envoys of less important states. Hence, they are to be treated also according to the importance of their respective states. Nizām al-Mulk complains that when an ambassador is coming from a foreign country nobody gives any information until he actually arrives at the court. The result is that proper preparations for their receptions are not made and no forethought is given to the discussions with him. Therefore, Nizām al-Mulk suggests that the officers at the frontiers must be told that whenever they receive the first intimation of the approach of an ambassador they should despatch a rider and find out his

particulars. They should find out all the details about the number and the condition of his entourage. He should acquire information as to how many mounted and unmounted men constitute it. What paraphernalia and equipment is accompanying him and what is the nature of his business? Nizām al-Mulk also lays down the procedure which should be followed by the officers in conducting an ambassador through their respective jurisdictions. A trustworthy person must be appointed to accompany him to the next important city. From there he should hand him over to another agent who will likewise go with him to the next city, and this has to be continued until they arrive at the court. All hospitality has to be extended to the ambassadors at the time of coming and likewise they must be entertained when they are going back to their countries. "Whenever the ambassadors arrive at a place, it must be a standing order that officers should extend to them adequate hospitality so that they proceed satisfied. When they go back, precisely the same procedure is to be followed".

5. Ibid; p. 112.
6. Ibid; p. 112.
7. Ibid; p. 112.
An ambassador represents the head of his state and as such is the mouthpiece of his country in a foreign state. "Whatever treatment is given to an ambassador, whether good or bad, reflects on the respect for the king who sent him. And the kings have always shown the greatest respect to one another and treated their ambassadors well, because this has ever redounded to their own dignity and honour." 8 Nizām al-Mulk says that it would be fitting for the Sultan to arrange ceremonies in the Court on the visit of an ambassador. Therefore, he suggests: "Twenty special sets of arms, studded with gold, jewels and other ornaments, should always be kept ready and stored in the treasury. Twenty slaves finely dressed would bear these weapons and stand round the throne whenever an ambassador arrives from a different part of the world." 9

Nizām al-Mulk has also dealt with the functions of the ambassadors sent by his own state. The task of an ambassador is to observe attentively every detail and take notice of every occurrence that may be useful for his country. Of course, his main business is to safeguard and further the interests of his own country. In spite of this normal function, Nizām al-Mulk explains

8. Ibid; p. 112.
9. Ibid; p. 111.
in quite a frank manner the secret functions of the
ambassador which he has to perform in the state to which
he is sent.

We must remember that when kings send
ambassador to one another their object
is not merely the message or the letter
which they send openly. But they have a
hundred other purposes and objects
secretly in view. In fact, they wish to
know the exact position and condition
of the roads, paths, rivers, tanks and
pastures. They want to know whether they
are fit for the passage of troops, and
whether fodder is available anywhere
near them. Who are the officers in
rearious places? What is that king's
military strength and how well is the
army armed and equipped? What is the
standard of his table and his company?
what is the procedure and etiquette of
his court? Does he play polo? Does he
hunt? What are his manners and qualities,
his designs and intentions, his appearance
and bearing? Is he cruel or just?, old or
young? educated or uneducated? Is his
country flourishing or decaying? Are his
troops contented? Are the cultivators rich or poor? Is he avaricious or generous? Is he alert or negligent in affairs? Is his wazir competent or the reverse, of good faith and high principles or of impure faith and loose principles? Are his military generals experienced and battle-tried? Are his courtiers learned and worthy? What are his likes and dislikes? Is he jovial and good natured in his cups? Does he show magnanimity and mercy or is he careless? Does he incline more to jesting or to gravity? Does he prefer boys or women?

The real object of all these investigations is that, if at any time they want to defeat that king, or oppose his designs or criticize his faults, being informed of all his affairs they can think out their plan of campaign, and being aware of all the circumstances in the countries to which they have been accredited might prove helpful to their own country for effective action.10

10. Ibid; pp. 113 - 114.
It should also be realized that the ambassadors are always on the look out for weaknesses in the kingdom and the king, next time they might convey censure and criticism of those faults from their kings. If quarrel, trouble and even fighting starts between the two rulers, ambassadors might frequently go to and fro under prevailing situations. Even in such precarious conditions they should be treated with usual consideration. "And if at any time there has been disagreement or enmity between kings, and if ambassadors have still come and gone as occasion required, and discharged their missions according to their instructions, never have they been ill-treated or treated with less than usual courtesy". This practice is the precursor of the modern concept of "diplomatic immunities". Sherwani says, "We are struck by the great modernity of the Khawaja when we read what he has to say about foreign representatives; for he writes as if he were writing today about a Western country in our own time".

It is desirable to enumerate the qualifications and qualities of an ambassador laid down by Nizām al-Mulk.

12. Ibid; p. 112.
"An embassy requires a man who has served kings, who is courageous in speaking but does not talk too much, who has travelled widely, who has a knowledge of various branches of learning, who has a retentive memory and is far-seeing". He should also be presentable and possess a pleasing personality. Therefore, an ambassador should be "tall and handsome and if he is old and learned, that is better". After that he takes lineage, military skill, horsemanship, bravery and reliability into consideration. For example, Nizám al-Mulk adds if a courtier is sent as an envoy, he will be more reliable; and if the man sent is bold and brave, skilled in fighting and horsemanship, and celebrated as a warrior, he will be extremely good, for he will show to the world that our men are of such calibre; and if an ambassador be a man of noble family that will also help, for he will earn respect for his lineage.


15. Ibid; p. 116.

Nizām al-Mulk concludes that "the character and good sense of an ambassador are a guide to the conduct and wisdom of his king". 17

As a practical statesman and diplomat Nizām al-Mulk realized that in interstate relations neither hostility nor friendship can be ever lasting. Therefore, he counsels that the Sultān "should wage war against his enemies in such a way that there remains room for peace. He should so contract friendships that they can be broken, and so break them that they can be mended again". 18 This is possible only through diplomatic effort, hence diplomacy has been called the first line of defence. However, diplomacy would be ineffective unless the state can muster armed strength as the last resort. Nizām al-Mulk, therefore, laid great stress on the preparation of the armed forces, their contentment and equipment. Diplomatic personnel is to be used, as we have already seen, for the purposes of espionage. But diplomacy is also helped by a good and efficient system of espionage.

Nizām al-Mulk gives a planned theory of espionage in and out of the state for the purpose of good internal administration and for repelling foreign designs

17. Ibid; p. 116.

successfully. In this connection Nizām al-Mulk says,

Spies must always go out to the limits
of the Empire in the guise of merchants,
travellers, sufis, chemists and mendicants,
and bring reports of everything they hear,
so that no matter of any sort, remains
hidden, and if any trouble starts develop-
ing, it may be nipped in the bud; and if
any foreign king was preparing to attack
the state with his army the spies would
inform the government which would take
action and repel the attack. 19

Internal espionage would also help in uncovering any sub-
versive activities carried on by foreign agents. Under
the Saljuqs the Isma‘iliya were the main agents of sub-
version, and a good deal of trouble could have been
averted if the Saljuq intelligence had been really
efficient.

The Siyasa Namah is the first known work which
deals fully and frankly with the secret tasks of the
ambassador. It helps a good deal in understanding the
hidden complex factors that had to be taken into
consideration in formulating Saljuqian diplomacy. Nizām
al-Mulk considers diplomacy an art of accommodation and
persuasion in inter-state relations. It was greatly

19. Ibid; p. 87.
helped by the impression created by royal ceremonial and
by the personal courtesies of the monarch.

Negotiation lies at the root of all diplomacy. However, negotiation is a highly delicate matter and
demands great ability. The negotiator must expound
cogently and tactfully the general and particular points
of view of his own country. His chances of success
depend largely on the care with which he studies the
problems under discussion, a wide knowledge and a ready
wit. For example, he may be selected on the basis of
some personal relationship or on the ground of piety
as was the case with Shaikh Abū al-Ishaq Shīrāzī²⁰ in
A.H. 475/A.C. 1083 who was sent on an embassy to Malik
Shāh²¹ by the Caliph. The ability of the negotiator,
however, is limited by the nature of the matters under
negotiation as well as the equation established by the
relative strength of the parties and their real
interests. There can be no sound diplomatic policy
without accurate information and it is one of the
principal duties of an ambassador to supply such infor-
mation. The state has also to depend on many other
subsidiary sources as well, and all of them are used

20. Ibn Khallikān, Wafaqāt al-A’yān, ed: S. Moinul Haq,
Vol. 1, Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, 1961,
p. 51.
He was a pupil of Abū al-Tayyib al-Tabarî.

pp. 357 - 358.
J.A. Boyle, The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. V,
op. cit., p. 275.
to some extent in the formulation of a policy.

Nizām al-Mulk realized that foreign ambassadors sometimes misrepresent facts on their return. For instance, once Shams al-Mulk Nāṣir bin Ibrāhīm became rebellious, Sultān Alp Arslān decided to send an expedition to Mawarīn al-Nahr. During the preparations, the Sultān sent an ambassador to Shams al-Mulk; and Nizām al-Mulk sent Dānishmand Ashtār on his own behalf with the Sultān's ambassador. The ambassador went and delivered his message. The Khān sent him back together with an ambassador of his own. It is customary for ambassadors to have access to the wazīra every now and then, and to make requests and say things to him which they themselves can not say to the Sultān. The wazīr passes what they say on to the Sultān. At the time of his departure, Nizām al-Mulk was informed that the ambassador of the Khān of Samarqand was at the door. The ambassador came in and said what he had to say to Nizām al-Mulk and went away. But Sultān Alp Arslān ignored the ambassador of the Khān and sent his own ambassador to convey his reply. Nizām al-Mulk sent Dānishmand Ashtār with the envoy as he was a clever man. When the ambassadors reached Samarqand they presented themselves before Shams al-Mulk, and in the course of the reporting he asked his own ambassador about the Sultān and his country. He reported that Alp Arslān's wazīr was a heretic. This false
reporting was immediately transmitted by Dānishmand Ashtar to Nizām al-Mulk.

Sometimes, women were assigned important diplomatic tasks. We sometimes find women acting as envoys, as was the case of Barkiyaruq's sister who was married to Naṣr, the brother of 'Alā al-Dawla, the Sultan of Ghazna. 'Alā al-Dawla put his brother to death, prohibited his widow, perhaps owing to her political activities, from leaving Ghazna, and later married her. When after the death of 'Alā al-Dawla, Sanjar was championing the cause of Bahram Shāh against his brother Arslān Shāh, the latter commissioned her to secure the surrender of Bahram Shāh and sent 200,000 (two lac) dināra and many presents to Sanjar. But she proved a dangerous weapon and actually turned into a spy of Sanjar by revealing to him the weak points of Arslān Shāh and inciting him to war. Sometimes, women carried on diplomatic activity in their own interests. However, mention may be made also of Sāfīwat al-Mulk, mother of Dughqā who married Tughrīkīn, the Atābeg of her son, after the death of Tughrī, her husband; she also played a prominent part in the political field. Urtuq's wife combined in her person both diplomacy and military


spirit. She freed her grandson Yaqūṭī from captivity by her representations to Fārābūqā. 24

Terken Khatūn was with her son Maḥmūd, a child of four years at Baghdad. She was able, through her diplomacy, to get recognition for her infant son's accession to the throne. 25

The creation of nation-states has added new dimensions to the development of diplomatic techniques, forms and methods; particularly the century between the Congress of Vienna and the First World War has been most productive. Yet Nizām al-Mulk's contribution was substantial and basic. He was the first to put diplomacy in the forefront of statecraft. Though the Saljūqs organized a strong army, yet they relied a good deal on active diplomacy to maintain peace with foreign countries.

The Saljūqs did not have a separate foreign office. The foreign affairs of the Empire were handled by Nizām al-Mulk who was in the closest contact with the Sultan. Before and after Nizām al-Mulk foreign affairs were largely handled by the Sultan himself. It was Nizām al-Mulk's duty to look after the reception of foreign embassies, and probably he also fitted out the


Sultanate's embassies to foreign courts and selected the personnel. There was no permanent diplomatic service in the modern sense during Nizām al-Mulk's time. However, because of its importance, a permanent resident was kept at Baghdad who was styled as "Shahna". The Cambridge History of Iran, says that "the Shahna was the Sultan's ambassador to the Caliph". Diplomatic establishments were not kept up permanently in any foreign country, though Nizām al-Mulk kept a large number of spies who gathered information about the politics of his neighbours, especially the steppes. This was mainly due to the fact that the steppes were the breeding place of new forces. The rise of the Saljuqs started there and so did the rise of the Mongols and Chingiz Khan later.

There were probably certain officials who were always sent out as ambassadors when they were required. It was usually Nizām al-Mulk himself who would go, whenever a truce was arranged with the enemies, to conduct the post-war affairs. He also usually went to arrange the marriage alliances with different states. The external characteristic of Saljuq diplomacy was a stiff formality, designed by Nizām al-Mulk to impress others with the dignity of the Sultanate. A foreign ambassador entering into the boundaries of the Saljuqian Empire was

immediately hedged around with etiquette and hospitality — largely to ensure that he should arrive at the capital without seeing unauthorised persons. When he was ushered into the presence of the Sultan he was greeted in accordance with a set procedure. The ambassador was received in precedence according to his country's importance. The ambassadors representing the Caliphate were given special precedence over all other ambassadors; this lasted till the sack of Baghdad. So great was the respect in which the Caliph was held that his ambassadors drew large crowds throughout their journey. For instance, when Abu Ishāq arrived in Khorāsān; the people gathered up the dust from under the hoofs of his mule and preserved it as a sacred relic.27 When he reached the court of Sultan Malik Shah, both the Sultan and Nizām al-Mulk welcomed him with great respect. Then Ḥa′āshīr Ḥabīl al-Ishāq Shīrāzī put forward the Caliph's complaint about Abu al-Fathān, then the Sultan in consultation with Nizām al-Mulk redressed them immediately.28 and made the 'Aṣīd al-Īrāq, Abu al-Fathān powerless.29


Throughout the first interview usually the Sultan remained impassive. The ambassador was expected to prostrate himself before the Sultan. Later he would enter into personal relations with the Sultan at a state banquet, or possibly he might be granted a personal interview. Mostly Nizām al-Mulk remained with the Sultan and it was he who actually conducted the conversation throughout. While the ambassador came to the court the guards would appear clad in more decorated and richer uniforms than usual. The more sophisticated ambassador would be entertained with impressive display of riches and rarities — or occasionally he might be taken to games like polo as was done in the instance of Sultan Maliks Shāh at Baghdad. The ambassador was subjected all the while to a vigilant supervision; he was to return to his country having learnt and seen nothing except what had been intended by the Saljuqian government that he should see and learn. In this respect, Nizām al-Mulk suggests,

There is always a huge crowd of complainant frequenting the court. Unless they receive the answers to their petitions they would not go away. Any stranger or ambassador, reaching the court would see this clamorous multitude and think that flagrant injustice is done.
to the people at this court. These doors must be closed so that they (strangers and ambassadors) should not see such spectacles again. All the requests from the town or the country, should be heard quietly and the decision should be written down at once. Having received the judgment the complainants must go back immediately so that there is no more of this unnecessary tumult and unseemly clamour.  

Even if the ambassador behaved disrespectfully, he would yet be treated courteously and with respect.

The embassies of the Saljuq Empire travelled abroad with a sumptuous train laden with rich presents and brocades. "Frequently, kings have sent ambassadors bearing rich gifts, or valuables or weapons to express their meekness and submissiveness". The Saljuqs reciprocated with gifts mainly destined for the Caliph or the ruler to whose court the ambassadors were sent; but influential ministers also were wooed with gifts. Sometimes, other courts did the same, for instance Nizām al-Mulk was loaded with honours and gifts which were never bestowed upon any minister before him by the Caliph's court.


A great asset in the success of diplomacy is the reputation that treaty obligations are considered to be inviolable. The Saljuqs carefully respected the terms of their treaties unless breach was made by the enemy. It was also understood that the show of force is better than its actual use until the latter becomes absolutely essential. The importance of marriage alliances between powerful families was fully realized. Marriage occupied a large part in Saljuqian diplomacy. Most of the Sultans believed in its efficacy. On the whole, the marriage of Saljuqian ladies to foreign potentates often proved fruitful. The only exception was the marriage of Malik Shah's daughter to the House of Baghdad. This form of diplomacy was rather expensive, as it involved dowries, and gifts, and even subsidies for the whole community in the form of the remission of some taxes.

The Saljuqs realized the importance of winning over alien populations to their side. The Saljuq Sultan defeated Romanus IV at Manzikert in A.C. 1071 and the fall of Nari 32 brought the turning point in Byzantine history and eventually the Saljuqs established themselves

32. Nari was the most flourishing port and the capital of Byzantine Asia Minor.
in Asia Minor. For instance their treatment of the Christian population that came to them by conquest was exemplary, so much so that "Christians often preferred their rule to the Emperor's because of the lighter taxation". 33 Their encouragement of trade by reducing taxes resulted in the diversion of the Southern trade from Constantinople leaving only the Northern commerce for it. This created financial difficulties for the Byzantine, thus reducing the capacity for defence.

33. Steven Runciman, Byzantine Civilization, op. cit., p. 295.
CHAPTER VIII

NIẒAM AL-MULK AS A PRACTICAL DIPLOMAT

Tughril Beg cemented his alliance with the Caliph through marriage. After dealing the Buwayhids finally, Tughril Beg came to Baghdad in A.H. 1055 where he remained for about a year during which Shahri Beg Da‘ud’s daughter, and Tughril’s niece, Arslan Khut‘u Khadija, the sister of Alp Arslan, was married to the Caliph, al-Qā‘im with great pomp in A.H. 448/A.C. 1056 for strengthening ties between them. On the death of Tughril Beg’s wife the Sultan sent his ambassador, the Qādi of Bay to Baghdad for requesting the hand of the Caliph’s daughter, Syyida al-Nisā‘ī, in marriage in A.H. 453/A.C. 1061. This request was considered presumptuous by the Caliph, al-Qā‘im and for avoiding the alliance he commanded his ambassador to demand 300,000 (three lac) dinārs from Tughril Beg if he even demanded the marriage. Other marriage alliances however, matured through the efforts of the ambassadors of the Caliph and


3. Rawandi, Kāhāt al-Sudur, op. cit., p. 111. Rawandi is wrong in saying that Syyida al-Nisā‘ī was the sister of the Caliph.
those of the Sultan Tughril Beg. Eventually, al-Kundūrī told the Caliph's ambassador frankly that the refusal to marry the Caliph's daughter to Tughril Beg was out of question. Hence after a good deal of negotiation the marriage contract was ratified between the ambassadors of both parties outside the gate of Tabrīz in A.H. 454/A.C. 1062. After this Tughril Beg proceeded in A.H. 455/A.C. 1063 to Baghādād, and on his arrival, he sent a present of one hundred thousand dinārs for his bride. On the appointed day, she seated herself on a throne and received Tughril Beg when she did not even remove the veil from her face. Tughril Beg kissed the ground, and then offered her many magnificent presents which were beyond description. He was delighted at his reception.

The daughter of Sultan Malik Shāh, Mah-Malik Khātūn was married to Caliph, al-Muqtādī in A.H. 480/A.C. 1087. On that occasion, a very long procession of the bride with valuable paraphernalia reached Baghādād. This

   The detailed account regarding this fact has been given by Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī in his book Shudhūr al-'Uqūd.


procession of the bride was welcomed by the wazīr of the Caliph along with three hundred torch bearers. This procession was then led by Nizām al-Mulk to the Caliph's palace. Nizām al-Mulk's prestige was so high that at the Caliph's command, only Nizām al-Mulk rode while the other dignitaries walked, and when they reached the Caliph's audience Nizām al-Mulk was seated on a "Masnad" and given a robe of honour with a border on it, inscribed with "Nizām al-Mulk RaḍĪ Amīr al-Muʿminīn". This diplomatic marriage with the Caliph, al-Muqtadī was celebrated with great pomp and grandeur, in the presence of Turken Khātūn, Nizām al-Mulk, and the Caliph's wazīr Abū Shuṭaṭ. On the next day of this marriage, the Caliph gave a Walīma feast to the Sultan's officials which he had specially arranged for them.

In the month of February, 1098 was born a son, Abū al-Faḍl Jaʿfar. The Caliph was so much delighted that:


he ordered a splendid decoration of the city of Baghdad. Sultan Malik Shah visited Baghdad for the third time, probably to see his grandson. At that time, the Caliph had two sons, one of whom was the Imam al-Mustazhir; the other was the son of the Sultan's daughter. During this visit Nizam al-Mulk was not with him as he had been martyred on route to Baghdad. It was Nizam al-Mulk who had been dexterously and carefully handling the diplomatic affairs of the Saljuqian empire. Now Sultan Malik Shah insisted that the Caliph, al-Muqtadir should declare his grandson, Ja'far heir to the Caliphate. This step was not desirable, as a minor could not be made Caliph according to the Sunni theory of Caliphate.

Another daughter of Sultan Malik Shah, Khatin al-'Isma'il was married to Imam al-Mustazhir in a.H. 502/ A.C. 1108. After the arrival of Sultan Malik Shah at Baghdad, he sent costly presents to the Caliph, al-Muqtadir and on the next day a polo match was played. On this occasion Sultan Malik Shah gave his sister, Zalaykhan Khatin in marriage to Muhammad b. Sharaf al-Bawla and on whom be

15. During that time, probably the measurements of a polo ground were 300 by 200 yards.
bestowed the iqṭā's of ar-Rahba, Harran, Saruṭ, Raqqā and Khābūr. 17 The device of marriage alliances was not limited to the royal families. For instance, Fakhr al-Dawla Ibn Jahīr was dismissed from his ministership in pursuance of the advice of Nizām al-Mulk by the Caliph. But reconciliation took place after some time between Nizām al-Mulk and Fakhr al-Dawla because Nizām al-Mulk acknowledged him as a man of great intelligence. And that is why Nizām al-Mulk gave his daughter Zubaidah in marriage to Fakhr al-Dawla Ibn Jahīr and this marriage alliance procured his reappointment to the ministership. 18 Besides, Nizām al-Mulk's daughter Saffiyah was married to Ibn Jahīr's son, 'Amīd al-Dawla in A.H. 462/A.D. 1069.

Nizām al-Mulk's methods were so successful that he came to be recognized by the Caliph as his great supporter. This is the height of successful diplomacy. He was rewarded with new titles, "Kuwām al-Dīn and Bairām Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn", 19 the latter is believed to be the

17. Ibid., p. 182.


In allusion to this fact, Aḥū Ya'allāh Ibn al-Habbarīyūh composed the following lines: "Say to the wāzīr without being deterred by the gravity of his aspect, though he appears grand and exalted in his station: 'were it not for the daughter of the Shaykh, you would not have been appointed wāzīr a second time; thank then the thing (the female sexual organ) which created thee lord-wāzīr".

earliest title of this type bestowed on a wazīr. The respect paid to the Caliph was by no means empty. Tughrīl Beg was declared Sultan at Merv and Nişāpūr in A.H. 429/ A.C. 1038. During this period his brother Da‘ūd started malpractices in these provinces. The Caliph, al-Qā'īm realized his responsibility and despatched an ambassador to Tughrīl Beg for stopping the ravages in these areas. The Caliph’s orders were carried out. Even ordinary recommendations of the Caliph were treated with great respect. Abu al-Ḥayja’i surnamed Ṣhibl al-Bawli was in Nizām al-Mulk’s service and married into his family. When Nizām al-Mulk was mortally wounded, he intended to go to Kirman for soliciting the bounty of Nāṣr al-Dīn. He, therefore, requested the Caliph, al-Mustazhir for a letter of recommendation. Al-Mustazhir wrote at the top of the written request the following words: "Abu’l Hayja’i! you go very far in search of a pasture-ground; God speed you back". Abu’l-Ḥayja’i proceeded to Kirman with this letter of recommendation. When he arrived there, he placed this letter before the wazīr. The wazīr, on seeing it, came down from his chair to show his respect for the recommended note and bestowed on him a sum of one


thousand dīnārs. He composed a poem in the praise of the wazīr and he recited it. The wazīr, on hearing this poem, bestowed another thousand dīnārs and when the recitation of the "qasīdah" was finished, he bestowed one thousand dīnārs more and a robe of honour. Then an excellent horse was brought out, saddled and bridled, and the wazīr said: "The wish of the commander of the faithful shall be fulfilled. It is his desire that you speed back". 22

The wazīr then provided him with the expenses of the return journey.

It has been mentioned that the Saljuqs maintained a resident (called Shahrā) at the Caliph's court. Al-Ṣāḥib disliked the appointment of Al-Tegin (Aytakin) as the Shahrā, because his son had killed one of the Caliph's slaves. Therefore, Alp Arslān and Nizām al-Mulk removed Al-Tegin. Nizām al-Mulk rightly believed that it was of the utmost importance for the Saljuqs to maintain good relations with the Caliphs of Baghdad because the recognition accorded by them to a ruler was the only guarantee of securing the loyalty of the people. It has already been mentioned that the Saljuqs realized the importance of securing recognition from the Caliph even before Nizām al-Mulk's appointment as wazīr. Later the Caliph's assent was speedily secured by Nizām al-Mulk for Alp Arslān.

Alp Arslän's ambassador was received graciously and the Caliph agreed to recognize the new Sultan and bestowed on him several honorific titles in A.H. 456/A.C. 1064. After that, the 'Abbasid Caliph despatched his ambassador to Alp Arslän for his "Bai'at". "And finally, good relations were established with the 'Abbasid Caliphs".

Alp Arslän in turn secured the Caliph's consent for nominating his son Malik Shäh, heir apparent which was done in A.H. 458/A.C. 1066 at a ceremony near Merv in which the amirs offered their oath of allegiance to Malik Shäh. After the death of Sultan Alp Arslän, Nizām al-Mulk again took the oath of allegiance from the elites of the Empire in favour of Malik Shäh. In the meantime, he despatched the news through an ambassador of Malik Shäh's succession to the Caliph for securing recognition for him. After the ratification by the Caliph, Nizām al-Mulk despatched another ambassador, amīr Ṣa'd al-Dawla Gaubār A'īn for receiving letters patent of investiture from the Caliph for the Sultan in A.H. 466/A.C. 1074.

When this embassy entered the city of Baghdad a royal

27. Ibid: p. 61.
guard of honour was provided by the Caliph and the whole population of Baghdād rushed out to welcome the ambassador. A special darbār was held in which the Caliph himself sat on the throne and ordered his wazīr to read a portion of the letters patent of investiture loudly and the Caliph himself prayed for the Sultān Malik Shāh. Nizām al-Mulk was with Sultān Malik Shāh when Sultān’s first state visit was made in A.D. 479/A.C. 1087. At this first visit to Baghdād, Sultān Malik Shāh was received with full state honours by Abū Shuja’ Zāhir al-dīn Muḥammad bin Ḥusain Ḥamadānī. The Sultān went to the court of the Caliph, and offered valuable presents to the Caliph. The Caliph held a pompous darbār in the palace on the Sultān’s state visit to Baghdād in A.D. 480/A.C. 1087. On that occasion, the Caliph bestowed a Khil’at upon the Sultān Malik Shāh. After that, in tune with recognized diplomatic procedures of the age, Nizām al-Mulk introduced the higher officials one by one to the Caliph. After the completion of this ceremony, the Caliph also bestowed upon Nizām al-Mulk a costly Khil’at on which his new title was inscribed. The Caliph exhorted the Sultān Malik Shāh to perform his function according to the


29. 'Abd al-Razzāq, Nizām al-Mulk Tūsī, op. cit., p. 313.
Sharī'at. 30 The diplomatic importance of Nizām al-Mulk can very well be appreciated when we analyze the consequences of the last visit of Malik Shāh to Baghdad in A.H. 485/A.C. 1092. This time Sultan Malik Shāh was alone because Nizām al-Mulk had just been martyred by a Bāṭini while going to Baghdad with him and the Sultan thus lost the diplomatic brain. As a matter of fact, Sultan Malik Shāh was freed to do whatever whim crossed his mind and as such he decided to expel the Caliph from Baghdad. It was to be by the Sultan done for setting up his grandson Abū al-Fadl Ja'far as Caliph, even though his grandson was ineligible according to Sharī'īa. However, the death of Malik Shāh saved al-Juqtadī. Only once, Nizām al-Mulk was not with him and such a grave crisis was created in the foreign relation. The Ismā'īlīs removed Nizām al-Mulk from the political-cum-diplomatic field so that they might be able to destroy the 'Abbāsid Caliphate through the Sunnī Sultan.

Apart from the Caliphate, which was of the utmost importance from the point of view of the Saljuqs, their outstanding neighbour was the Byzantine Empire and a study of the relations between the Saljuqs and the Byzantines show the remarkable diplomatic acumen possessed by Nizām al-Mulk. The Saljuqs were desirous of establishing

themselves in Asia Minor which brought them into conflict with the Byzantine Empire. Alp Arslan captured Ani from its Byzantine garrison. Then the Sultan penetrated into Georgia, where he consolidated his influence by marrying a niece of the Georgian king Bagrat IV. In spite of this gesture, Romanus IV attacked on Akhlat in A.H. 463/A.D. 1070. Therefore, Alp Arslan reached Zahra, a place between Akhlat and Malazgird (Mazikert) from where he sent an ambassador to Romanus IV offering him peace. But this offer of Sultan Alp Arslan was disdainfully rejected. Romanus advanced to meet the Sultan, was defeated at Malazgird and captured alive. After protracted negotiations, a treaty of peace was signed between Sultan Alp Arslan and the Emperor, Romanus, who agreed to marry his daughters to the sons of Alp Arslan, to pay an annual Jizya of three hundred and sixty thousand dinars, a ransom of a million dinars, and surrender all prisoners of war. Romanus IV was deposed and as such this marriage alliance could not take place. He was treated leniently. Romanus was granted a robe of honour, and a


tent for himself and 15,000 dinars for his expenses, and a number of his nobles and officers were also set free. The Sultan sent with them an escort to take them safely to their own marches, and himself rode with them a parasang.\(^{35}\) This diplomacy caused dissensions among the ruling class of Byzantine. This treaty has been universally recognized as a stroke of genius. Nizam al-Mulk persuaded the Sultan to treat Romanus generously which saved the Saljuqs from undertaking a total war and introduced a process of disintegration in the Byzantine Empire which ultimately converted Anatolia into a Muslim land. "Nicephorus Botaniates, who ascended the throne of Byzantine on the abdication of the son of Constantine Ducas, and Alexius Comnenus his successor, acknowledged Malik Shah as their suzerain, and paid him tribute".\(^{36}\)

A marriage had been arranged between Malik Shah and Anna Commena, daughter of Alexius Comnenus.\(^{37}\) But the death of Anna prevented a union from which great results were

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Parasang is a Persian measure of length, about 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) miles.


37. Ibia; p. 319 n. 
Gibbon thinks that the lady must have been Anna Commena herself.
expected, both for the East and the West. Sultan Malik Sharīḥ decided to attack Ahmad Khān bin Khidr Khān of Mawarā al-Nahr from Isfahān in A.H. 482/A.D. 1089. Nizām al-Mulk was ready to proceed for this purpose. At that time, the ambassador of Byzantium reached there for paying the annual Kharāj, and as such Nizām al-Mulk took him along with him. When Nizām al-Mulk reached Kāshgār, he received the Kharāj from the ambassador and then bade him farewell. The point was that Nizām al-Mulk wanted to show the Christian world that the ambassador of the Byzantine Empire brought the Kharāj to pay it to the Saljuqs up to Kāshgār.

We shall now turn to the relations of Saljuqs with other states. The House of Ghaznavid occupied an important place in the minds of the Saljuqs, because compared to it they were merely upstarts. Marriage alliances with the Ghaznavids would remove the inferiority complex. Ala Arslān left five sons and three daughters. One of his sons, Arslān Arghūm was married to one of the princesses of the Ghaznavids. The Ghaznavid Empire during Ibrāhīm’s reign became strong, and as such both Ibrāhīm and Malik Sharīḥ started diplomatic negotiations and

38. Ibid. p. 319.
39. Mawarā al-Nahr is called Transoxiana.
marriage links between the two houses established earlier were maintained. İbrahim’s son, ‘Ala’ al-Dawla Mas’ud III had married a daughter of Alp Arslan. After that ‘Ala’ al-Dawla married one of Malik Shah’s daughters, Jawhar Khâtûn, who was famous and popularly known in Ghazna as Bahd-ı ’Irâq. 41 Later Malik Shah’s another daughter was married to young Mas’ud II. 42

Tughril Beg understood the importance of the Buwaibid dynasty. After securing an understanding with ’Imad al-dîn Abû Kâlijär Marzbân of Khûzistân, Pârs, Kirmân, Basra, and Oman, the Saljuqs had restrained Ibrahim Inal, 43 a son of Tughril’s mother and the leader of the Inâliyân from invading Buwaibid territory in Luristân. One of the daughters of Abû Kâlijär was married into the Saljuq royal family. And one of Chaghri’s daughters was married to buwaibid prince Fûlûd-Sútûn in A.H. 439/A.D. 1047. 44


Inal is pronounced Ymâl in Târîkh-i Bahâqî.


Sultān Alp Arslān restored the governorship of Basra in A.H. 459/A.D. 1067 to the Kurd Tāj al-Mulūk Hazārasp b. Bankīr 45 who tied up his fortunes with those of the Saljūqs. Therefore, Alp Arslān gave one of his sisters in marriage to Hazārasp b. Bankīr. After the death of Tāj al-Mulūk Hazārasp b. Bankīr, the same sister was given, in a political marriage again, to the 'Uqailid Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Quraish. 46 This diplomatic policy greatly diminished the Fatimid influence in the Arabian peninsula.

Alp Arslān endeavoured to maintain harmony and peace with the Qarakhanīds through a series of diplomatic marriages. As a matter of fact, there was some danger that the Qarakhanīds attitude might flare up into hostility and as such Ḥizām al-Mulk adopted a more realistic diplomacy with them. Alp Arslān married himself the widowed daughter of Badīr Khān Yūsuf, former ruler of Kāshghar and Khotan. Alp Arslān's daughter 'A'isha was married to Ibrāhīm's son Shams al-Mulk Nāṣr; and Malik Shāh was married to another Qarakhanīd princess, Terken Khātūn who gave birth to the future Saljūq Sultan Mahūn. 47

Those relations were not immune from occasional tensions. However, during the period of turmoil, Malik Shah received the personal submission of the Khan of Kashghar who also offered one of his daughters in marriage to one of the Sultan Malik Shah’s sons. All these affairs were so well managed by Nizam al-Mulk that ultimately the Eastern Qarakhanids came under the Saljuq control at Uzkan. 48 Malik Shah’s brother Ayaz could not resist the Qarakhanid invaders, but once the new Sultan Malik Shah was firmly established on the throne, he drove Shams al-Mulk’s brother from Tirmidh in A.H. 466/A.D. 1075 and cornered him into Samarqand. These circumstances now forced the Khan to enter into negotiations, and to seek the intercession of Nizam al-Mulk for peace. Nizam al-Mulk followed a policy which compelled the Qarakhanids to preserve peaceful relations with the Saljuqs. 49

The first to feel the impact of the Saljuq power was the famous house of Ghazna. The Saljuqs had secured the permission from the Ghaznavids to settle in Khurāsān and, soon after, the authority of the Ghaznavids came to an end and the Saljuqs developed not only the early marks of real sovereignty but also of a growing and


expanding power. Their main handicap was that they lacked a legal status. In law they were rebels and usurpers and orthodox Muslims could not give them their real loyalty, because of the general respect for law. The only source of legal recognition was the House of 'Abbās 50 at Baghdad. If the Saljūqs could secure letters patent from the Caliph, their legal position in the world of Islam would be secured. Therefore, they sent a letter through an ambassador, Abū Isḥāq al-Fuqā'ī 51 to al-Qā'im assuring the Caliph of their loyalty. The Caliph, al-Qā'im on receiving the letter despatched Hibat al-Allāh bin Muhammad al-Nā'ūnī as an ambassador to Tughril Beg with a gracious reply at Ray. 52 This diplomatic step achieved the required result as the Saljūq Sultan was granted recognition and his name was placed on the coins. 53 This

50. A Dictionary of Islam by Thomas Patrick Hughes, (Revised) Premier Book House, Katchery Road, Lahore, 1885, p. 1. The son of 'Abd al-Mu'ttalib, and consequently the paternal uncle of Muḥammad, the founder of the 'Abbāsida dynasty.

51. Wāwandī, Rāhat al-Sudūr, op. cit., p. 104.


shows that Tughril Beg kept himself in touch with the Caliph, employing a "faqih" as his envoy from Nishapur. However, Tughril Beg made a state visit to Baghdad in A.H. 447/A.C. 1055. On this occasion, as has already been mentioned more fully, Sultan Tughril Beg was received ceremoniously and the customary exchange of gifts took place between the Caliph and the Sultan. Then a decree was read, bestowing upon the Sultan the legal power to rule. The Sultan's diplomacy led also to the recognition of his conquests. He received a favorable consideration of his application for recognition for two reasons. The relations between the House of Ghazna and the 'Abbāsid Caliphate had started deteriorating under Mabsūd of Ghazna, who, in spite of his knowledge that the legal recognition by the 'Abbāsid Caliphate was necessary making his rule acceptable to his Muslim subjects, did not show proper respect to the Caliph. Perhaps he was led away by two considerations. First, the recognition having been accorded, it was not practical politics for the 'Abbāsids to withdraw it. Secondly, there were no competitors in the


field. His own resources and reputation were so great that subservience to a feeble Caliph irked him. Once he went so far as to threaten invasion of Baghdad with his army and elephants. The Caliph was aware of the psychology of the Muslims. Therefore, he sent a cryptic repl. on a piece of paper in the form of three letters of the alphabet only, namely, "ālif, lām and mīm". 56 This mystified the Ghaznavid court until 'Allama Qanbistānī pointed out that this was the opening of the famous chapter of the Qurʾān 57 which mentions the attack on Mecca by Abraha, the ruler of Ethiopia who brought into action his elephants against the poorly defended city. The force, however, was destroyed. This allusion to the fate of the force had tremendous psychological effect on Mawdūd and his officers. In any case, it was obvious that no tears would be shed in Baghdad over the decline of the Ghaznavids. Mawdūd's son, Mas'ūd was sorely in need of strengthening his army after the death of his father. He, therefore, invited the Saljūqs of Ḥabarba'ījān for assisting him. At the request of the Saljūqs, Mas'ūd granted them an amnesty and reinstated

56. Ḥasan bin 'Abd Allāh Ḥabbāṣī, Ḥārār al-Awwal fī tartīb al-Duwal, Misr, A.H. 1305/A.C. 1887, p. 81.

them on their arrival. This was a diplomatic blunder on
the part of Mas'ūd. Another diplomatic mistake was
committed by Mas'ūd when he tranquillised their hearts
by setting at liberty the ambassadors sent from
Transoxiana. "They had requested him to lessen the
rigour of the confinement in which their chief had
lingered from the time of his arrest by Sultān Mahmūd". 58
In pursuance of their desire, the captive prince obtained
Mas'ūd's permission to open correspondence with his
nephews. This resulted in a complete victory of Saljūqids.
The triumph of Saljūqids over the Ghurids made them
so powerful that "the inām (khalīf) al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh,
sent an embassy to them, and the person whom he selected
for this mission was the qādī Abu'l Hasan 'Ali ibn
Muhammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Mūwātiddī. (...) On this occasion,
al-Mūwātiddī exhorted them to fear God, to govern their
subjects with justice and mildness, and to extend their
beneficence to the people". 59 These diplomatic relations

p. 100.

In the footnote of the same volume at page 101
there is a different version quoting "Imād al-dīn
al-Isfahānī about the two envoys: one was called
Abū Bāk r al-Tūsī, and the other Abū Muhammad Hibat
Allāh ibn Muhammad ibn al-Qā'im."
were not one sided but it was a both ways traffic. These reached the extent that in A.C. 1058 Tughril Beg was received by the Caliph, al-Qā'im. On this occasion, al-Qā'im bestowed on Tughril Beg the honorific titles of Rukn al-Dawla and Malik al-Mashriq wa al-Maghrib, together with seven robes of honour and two crowns signifying rule over the 'Arabs and 'Ajamīs. 60 In A.H. 443/A.C. 1051 Tughril Beg sent 10,000 (ten thousand) dirhams to the Caliph, 5,000 (five thousand) dirhams to his officials and 3,000 (three thousand) dirhams to his Ra'īs al-Ru'asān. In addition to these, Tughril Beg sent some precious jewels and other valuable presents to the Caliph. 61 We have seen that a good deal of Saljuq's diplomatic activity was directed towards cultivating the friendship of the House of Baghdad.

Alp Arslan during his expedition to Syria, laid siege to Aleppo, which was under the rule of Mahmūd Ibn Naṣr Ibn Sāliḥ Ibn Mirdās al-Kilābī. After negotiations, Alp Arslan declared that if Mahmūd desired peace he should pay homage to him. Therefore, Mahmūd along with his brother went to Alp Arslan's tent. Alp Arslan welcomed

them and bestowed upon them robes of honour, and then raised the siege. 62

The Turkmen were numerically the most important tribal group, therefore, presented a special problem. Nizām al-Mulk's policy was to engage them in raiding the neighbouring non-Muslim territories. 63 Some were persuaded to move into Syria and Asia Minor. The remaining Turkmen were employed in the empire and some of them were kept under the Sultan's direct control.

Ahmad Khān bin Asdur who was the nephew of Torkhon Abūtūn, wife of Sultan Malik Shāh incurred the opposition of some religious institutions in A.H. 482/ A.D. 1089 which compelled one of the Shāfī'ī faqīhs, Abu Tahir bin 'Abiyyūk to come to the court of Malik Shāh for aid. Nizām al-Mulk's foreign policy and the Sultan's prestige at that time were at the peak. The appeal for intervention against the Khān by the faqīh, was effectively taken up by Malik Shāh who occupied Bukhārā and Samarqand and eventually Ahmad Khān was made captive and sent to his capital. 64 The slow but steady diplomatic activities of Nizām al-Mulk during Malik Shāh's reign brought destruction of the long established

64. Ibid; p. 92.
Harwīmīd state in Diyarbakır. Moreover, Saljūqid influence was extended into the Arabian peninsula by the diplomatic efforts of Nizām al-Mulk.

During the reign of Nālik Shāh, Nizām al-Mulk brought Tāhir’s son Tāj al-dīn Abū al-Faḍl Naṣr of Sistan in power in A.H. 483/A.C. 1090 as a Saljūq vassal. It has already been mentioned that the Ismā‘īlīs posed the greatest danger to the ‘Abbāsid Caliphate as well as the Saljūq Sultanate. Their two strong pillars were the Fāṭimid Caliphate of Egypt and Hasan bin Sabbāh at Alamūt. The Egyptian government had been directed by a military man, Badr al-Jamālī since A.H. 468/A.C. 1075 who brought the Fāṭimid Caliph under his control. During that time, his foreign policy

65. Ibid; p. 98.
66. Ibid; p. 94.
67. The political importance of the Ismā‘īlīs began with the foundation of the Fāṭimid Caliphate but they became powerful under Hasan bin Sabbāh in the Eastern part of the Islamic world.

This was the reason which compelled Nizām al-Mulk to tackle the matter within and without the country by establishing Nizāmiyya Colleges all over the Empire to counter the Ismā‘īlī movement. He specially supported the Shāfi‘ī and the Hanafī 'Ulama‘ī to combat the Ismā‘īlīs movement.


Boyle is wrong to mention 1074 at page 427.
remained on the defensive because Nizām al-Mulk’s foreign policy had the lead and as such the Egyptian power was made inferior to that of the Saljuqian. Nizām al-Mulk went on working quietly and pushing Saljuq influence into the Arabian peninsula. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Mansūr Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed 'Amīd al-Mulk obtained permission from the Sultān Alp Arslān to pronounce maledictions against the Shī'ites in Khurāsān, but he included the Ash'arites as well. This policy so annoyed the imāms of Khurāsān, that some of them left the country and passed four years in exile. This created a bad impression in the Arab world about the Saljuqian state. When Nizām al-Mulk came into power, he called the imāms back from Arabia and treated them with honour, respect and kindness. 69 They were all provided opportunities to pursue their academic activities. Nizām al-Mulk’s efforts were rewarded when the Sharīʿ of Mecca, Muḥammad b. Abī Ḫāṣim, in A.H. 462/656, C. 1070 came to Alp Arslān with the news that the Khutba in Mecca was now being read for the ‘Abbāsid Caliph, and the Shī'ī aghān and the Khutba for the Fātimid al-Mustansīr had been abolished. 70 Hence the Sultān bestowed upon him thirty


thousand dinārs and an annual salary of fifty thousand dinārs. The main danger, however, came from Alamut where Ḥasan bin Ẓabbāh established himself and organized the Bābī (secret) da'wa. Through pious fraud he was able to organize a network of terrorist activities throughout the Sunni world. When their activities became intolerable, Sultan Malik Shāh in A.H. 485/A.C. 1092, despatched an amīr called Arslān-Tash to expel Ḥasan bin Ẓabbāh from Alamut. But the army was defeated. The Sultan despatched another army under Ghizil-Sarīgh and ordered the forces in Khurāsān to assist him.

"Ghizil-Sarīgh besieged the (heretics) in the castle (hisār) of Dara, which is adjacent to Sīstān and is one of the dependencies of Mu'īminabād, and joined battle.

72. The meaning of Arslān-Tash is Lion-stone.
73. The meaning of Ghizil-Sarīgh is Red-yellow.
74. Dara lies to the South of Tabas and the South-east of Birjand.
75. The District of Mu'īminabād is situated to the East of Birjand.
with them.\textsuperscript{76} Before he could take the fort, he got
the pathetic news of Malik Shāh's death, and therefore,
he raised the siege. However, before the death of
Sultan Malik Shāh, Nizām al-Mulk had wanted to handle
this grave situation by a diplomatic move to impress
upon Hasan bin Sabbāh, the strength of Saljuqian Empire
through an ambassador. When the ambassador reached
Alamūt,\textsuperscript{77} he started negotiations which proved fruitless.
However, at the time of the ambassador's departure,
Hasan bin Sabbāh commanded one of his followers to stab
himself; and another, to cast himself headlong from a
mountain. He commanded the third Fida'i to drown himself
in water.\textsuperscript{78} These mandates of Hasan bin Sabbāh were

\textsuperscript{76} 'Ala'-al-Dīn 'Aṭā'-Malik Juvainī, Tārikh-i Jahān-
şušā or The History of the World-Conqueror,

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid; p. 674; Yurum-Tash, (1) an aṭīr of Sultan Malik Shāh was
holding the district of Alamūt as iqa'. He
constantly used to attack Alamūt and its occupants
which eventually compelled them to depart else-
where. At that critical moment, Hasan bin Sabbāh
claimed to have received a message from his imām,
Mustangir not to leave the place, because good luck
awaited them there, on account of these words, Hasan
bin Sabbāh named it "Buladat-al-Iqābāl". (2)

(1) The meaning of Yurum-Tash is white-stone.
(2) The meaning of "Buladat-al-Iqābāl" is "the town
of good fortune".

\textsuperscript{78} Tālik Īskālī, Malik Shāh. Saljuqī, Qawmī Kutub al-Hān,
Railway Road, Lahore, 1975, pp. 180 - 181.
obeyed without hesitation which astonished the ambassador. Then Hasan bin Sabbāh said to the ambassador, you would not have acknowledged the truth of what I had told you about my strength during my conversation. Now you have seen my followers with your own eyes. "Go and explain to your master the character of my followers".

The Ismā'īlīs of Alamūt were not suppressed and one of them martyred Nizām al-Salik. This was the severest blow that the Ismā'īlī terrorists struck at the Saljuq Empire.

79. Muḥammad Taqī Kāhin, Gazzī-i Banīsh, op. cit., p. 414;


The blind obedience of Ismā'īls has also been well illustrated by E.G. Browne when he quotes an anecdote preserved by Fra Filippo and Narino Benuto:

"When, during a period of truce, Henry, Count of Champagne (titular king of Jerusalem), was on a visit to the old city of Antioch, one day, as they walked together, they saw some lads in white sitting on the top of a high tower. The Shākh, turning to the Count, asked him if he had any subjects as obedient as his own; and, without waiting for a reply, made a sign to two of the boys, who immediately leaped from the tower and were killed on the spot".

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

Throughout history Nizām al-Mulk has enjoyed an unrivalled reputation as a statesman, a thinker on public administration and a builder of a great Empire. The Western World has greatly eulogized Niccolò Machiavelli, and it is recognized that he has influenced Western politics ever since his Prince was written. It has been truly said that even those who have condemned him for many of his immoral suggestions have ever succumbed to the magic of his advice. Even when he was at the height of his power he never held an office higher than that of a Secretary. He was employed on diplomatic missions which gave him a taste of inter-state intrigue. He was employed in the small Republic of Florence and witnessed the intrigues common at that


2. Niccolò Machiavelli was born in 1469.


4. Ibid; p. XXV.
time in the politics of Italy, he twice met Caesar Borgia\(^5\) and was deeply influenced by his mode of thinking. Machiavelli was, in every sense, the product of his environment in which political morality was non-existent. Machiavelli is not merely amoral, his thought is definitely immoral. The present notions of political realism are derived from his ideas. Even his *Discourses*,\(^6\) less read but perhaps more learned, is less offensive, nevertheless quite immoral. Success and the achievement of power\(^7\) justify any means, however, immoral.\(^8\)

It will be seen that Nizām al-Mulk offers a complete contrast in almost every respect. He served a great Empire which had sufficient resources, both

5. *Ibid*; p. \(\Xi\).\(\lambda\).\(\upsilon\).

6. *Ibid*; pp. 103 - 540;


The *Prince* and the *Discourses* were both begun and largely finished in 1513.


financial and military, to feel no need for adopting immoral means for achieving its goals. Nizām al-Mulk’s tone is highly moral in his famous Siyāsat Na-mah; he never stoops low for achieving the ends he had in view. His main concern was the consolidation of the Sultanate’s power for two great ends; the welfare of the people and the strengthening and glorification of Islam. All the measures suggested by him were to achieve these two great objectives. His own position was almost supreme, next in authority to the Sultan himself, who always listened to and accepted his advice. The only intrigues he had to encounter were against his own position or the hold of Sunni Islam on the polity. It can be said to his credit that he met every threat in an open, straightforward and honest manner and vindicated his methods by complete success. His own methods and his theory alike stand for an unsullied morality. Indeed, instead of being vindictive against his enemies, he sometimes treated them with generosity as would his treatment of


Hasan bin Sabbāh after his disgrace at the Saljuqian court would show, Nizām al-Mulk's greatness emerges unsullied from his dealings with all those who tried to subvert his position as the head of the Saljuqī government.

The Saljuq Empire started as an illegal rebel state at a time when a power vacuum had been built up in the areas which later became part of the Saljuq Empire. The Ghaznavid power had in fact started on a course of decline; the Buwaihis were a spent force; the Fātimid pressure was increasing at an alarming speed. The Hijāz, the heart of the Muslim world, owed allegiance to the Fātimids and the İsṃā'īlī rites now replaced the traditional Sunni forms in the sanctuaries of Mecca and Madinah. The 'Abbāsīd Caliphate had grown weak and even under Buwaihi tutelage had become a mere religious symbol of Sunni unity and power. Now it was receiving blow after blow from the İsṃā'īlīs and it seemed only a question of time when it would finally succumb to İsṃā'ī pressure and be finally annihilated. The Muslim


masses were obviously confused and whereas Isma'ili\textsuperscript{13} propaganda was both vigorous and effective, Sunnism was in no position to counter it. It was mainly their innate conservatism that had been saving the people from large scale conversion to Isma'ili doctrines. To add to their confusion, the Sunnis were divided amongst themselves. The followers of the Hanafī school of jurisprudence and the Shāfi'ite were at loggerheads and there was little tolerance lost between the two. The Ash'arites\textsuperscript{14} were publicly denounced from the pulpits of mosques in Khurāsân.

All this added not only to public confusion but also the utmost weakness of Sunnism. These conditions were causing great anxiety to all the Sunni religious circles and particularly to the learned professors of the Sunni institutions of higher learning. Minds were naturally turning to the potentialities inherent in the rise of a vigorous new state, which in itself faced difficult problems. The first problem was that it had to gain a legal status. This was achieved by obtaining letters patent from the 'Abbāsid Caliphate of Baghdad. This was much more than merely a legal fiction. The Empire could hope to gain the allegiance of its own inhabitants by

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid; p. 544.

this method and little else. If the Caliphate disappeared under Ismāʿīlī pressure, it would create fresh legal difficulties for all emerging states in the Sunnī world and some new legal device would have to be invented by the jurists for them as they did after the annihilation of the Baghdad Caliphate at the hands of the Mongols.\(^{15}\)

However, the Saljuq Empire would not be able to fulfil its destiny if such an emergency arose at the start of its career. It is true that the tribal military strength of the Saljuq was considerable, otherwise its initial success would have been impossible, but it needed a statesman to deal with the problems facing the new state and to take full advantage of the opportunities that offered themselves to an enterprising and discerning intellect, which the "Shepherd"\(^{16}\) warriors and rulers could not be expected to possess.

Such an intellect was Mīzām al-Mulk.\(^{17}\) He was highly educated, being a graduate of the famous Dār al-ʿUlūm


of Nishapur which produced such giants as 'Umar Khayyam and Hasan bin Sabah. He himself was a Shafiite but conformed to the Hanafi rites not only because of his fear of Saljuq intolerance, who, like others of Central Asian origin, were staunch Hanafis, but also because he wanted to serve the larger interests of Islam. He proceeded methodically. He put the administrative machinery of the Empire on a sound basis and gradually built the Saljuq state into a really strong polity, capable of dealing with its foes effectively and expanding its territories and influence. He seems to have a clear picture of his aims in his mind. He wanted to stop the expansion of the

18. 'Abd al-Kazzaz, Kizâm al-Mulk Tusî, op. cit., p. 65; these three were the students of Imam Nawaffan at Nishapur.


Fatimid\textsuperscript{22} Caliphate of Egypt, to secure Hijāz again for orthodoxy, to curb the influence of the Ismā'īlīs of Alamūt\textsuperscript{23} and to secure Anatolia for Islām and then convert it into a centre of commerce. These were political aims and were achieved with consummate skill. He knew when to stop, and not to undertake impossible tasks. For instance, his dealings with Byzantium\textsuperscript{24} were calculated to defeat them convincingly so that they would make no attempt to recover Anatolia, to humiliate them to the extent of establishing the Saljuq supremacy, yet to reconcile them so that they would find their losses and humiliation bearable. If he had shown no moderation he would have been confronted with the task of conquering all the Byzantine territories and it would have been beyond his resources and man power to deal with such large and well populated territories. The result is that Anatolia\textsuperscript{25} is still a Muslim land and the mighty Ottoman Empire has shrunk almost to the frontiers of the area conquered and colonized under

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} 'Abd al-Razzāq, \textit{Nizām al-Mulk Tūsī, op. cit.,} p. 521.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid; pp. 590 - 591.
\end{itemize}
the discerning policies of Nizām al-Mulk. His dealings with the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt shows a similar caution and moderation. He obtained the allegiance of Hijāz and secured its approaches by consolidating the Saljuq power in the adjoining areas but he left the main territory of the Egyptian state intact so that he should not bite more than he could chew and digest. It should also be remembered that both these empires — the Byzantine and the Egyptian — had populations who were not friendly to Nizām al-Mulk's religious persuasion, the former being Christian and the latter Ismā'īlī. Such Christians as were in Anatolia were fully reconciled to Saljuq domination because of Nizām al-Mulk's policy of religious tolerance.

These were, however, peripheral matters. Nizām al-Mulk's genius shines ever more brightly if we assess him as a statesman with an ideal, a vision and a programme of action and take into consideration not only the magnitude of his undertaking but also his success in achieving his goals. When he came into power, the Eastern World of Islām was torn into fragments, a number of small kingdoms and many petty chiefs were struggling to keep themselves in power and, in the process, were encouraging the forces of anarchy and disorder. A more serious aspect of the problem was that the power of Islām was being

constantly weakened and this reached such proportions that the Christian Byzantium could dream of annihilating Islam in a major part of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and even Central Iran, not only destroying its political power, but Islam itself through forcible conversion of the Muslims and a large scale destruction of mosques and turning them into churches. The question was not whether this was practical; the important fact is that the weakness of Islam became so apparent as to tempt the Christian Empire to try it. It was not only the Christians who sought to take advantage of the situation; the Isma'ili's almost subverted the orthodox faith by procuring the 'Abbāsid Caliph's abdication in favour of the Fatimids of Egypt and establishing their rites in the very heart of the Muslim World, the sanctuaries of Mecca and Madīnah. Indeed the situation was so grave that all thinking theologians and Sunni religious seminaries tried to bolster the claims of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, but they were powerless politically and could achieve little except creating public opinion.

It was in these depressing circumstances that Nizām al-Mulk came to power as the prime-minister of a rising power, which had yet to find a place in the loyalty

27. Ibid; pp. 350 - 351.
and affection of the people. Despite its comparatively substantial military strength, it lacked the vision as well as the resources of bolstering up decadent Muslim power and restoring Sunni Islam to its place of primacy. It was in these circumstances that Nizām al-Mulk seems to have set himself the task of rebuilding the political might of Islam and restoring the prestige and power of Sunnism. The task that Nizām al-Mulk set himself needed the highest intelligence, political sense and statesmanship. Because what had to be achieved could not be divided into compartments, so that priorities could be found and the task undertaken piecemeal. Besides he had to gain the support and cooperation of every right-minded person, of all who were capable of seeing the gravity of the situation and in particular of the religious and intellectual circles. But before he could do so, he had not only to gain the confidence of the Sultan but actually to make him a partner in the great undertaking. A lesser man could have been tempted to oust the Sultan and to seize the power himself; indeed some writers have wondered why he remained loyal to the royal dynasty; but Nizām al-Mulk was too wise and too noble to provoke a conflict within the newly emerged state that would ultimately have destroyed all his chances.

of success in his great design. The Saljuqs became, under his tutelage, much more powerful than the Ghaznavids whom they had ousted, and if Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna could feel irked by the humiliation he suffered at the hands of the Caliph, surely the Saljuq Alp Arslan (455-465/1063-1072) and Malik Shahn (465-485/1072-1092) could well have failed to understand how much they needed the help of the Caliph in overcoming their difficulties. Indeed Nizam al-Mulk seems to have realized from the very beginning the need of cooperation between the Caliphate and the Sultanate if he was to succeed in his great design of rebuilding the power of Islam. A perusal of the account of his endeavour in this regard will bring out the truth of this statement. His great allies in his effort were the great seminaries of Sami Islam and their distinguished professors. He went on cementing the alliance between the Sultanate and the Caliphate and restraining the Sultan from any lack of forbearance throughout his tenure of office, because the alliance was basic to his efforts.


The task of consolidating the Saljuq power was another facet of the same endeavour. This he did by sound administrative methods, quite a few of which have been described at length. In particular he was violently opposed to any decrease in the military strength of the Sultanate and he resisted all attempts at reducing the size of the army. Without a good army, he realized, he could not achieve his grand object of restoring good government, of eliminating or reducing to submission small states that were the real causes of the division in the polity of Islam and its weakness, or of dealing with his great and mighty Christian neighbour, the Byzantine Empire. As a devout Sunni it irked him to think that the two holiest cities of Islam, Mecca and Madinah, should be, against all tradition, in the hands of Isma'ilis and that their rites should be established there. But apart from this natural resentment, he could not be unaware of the psychological impact of every Muslim pilgrim being forced to conform to rites that all orthodox believers considered to be heretical. If the Saljuq Sultanate and the 'Abbasid Caliphate were to stand as the


repositories and symbols of Sunnī Islam, they must hold sway over Hijāz. Nizām al-Mulk's action in reducing to submission the states on the way to Hijāz was directed towards this end. But obviously he could not have considered this enough. His men and money must have been active in the Hijāz itself and their success brought Hijāz back to Sunnī control and rites.

Then Nizām al-Mulk extended the Seljūq dominions to borders that could be held effectively. He was too wise to try to extend his sway over areas that he could not hold effectively. He found a still struggling state and left it, when he fell a martyr to the assassin's dagger, a mighty and well consolidated Empire and any minister or statesman could be proud of this achievement and assure for himself a niche in the temple of immortality; but Nizām al-Mulk achieved much more. He did not only build up an Empire but he rebuilt a tottering social edifice, and rejuvenated the teaching and preaching of Sunnī theology. As a founder of universities, observatories, hospitals, his philanthropy found useful targets. In


particular education owed to his foresight and personal munificence tremendous progress. Through his great universities and colleges he revitalized the intellectual life of the world of Islam that came under his sway; great names are found among the professors who taught in the institutions founded by Nizām al-Mulk. In literature, architecture and the secular sciences the achievements of the Saljūq Empire would excel those of any other state of the period. It was no mean achievement for a single man to have converted a state founded by untutored tribesmen and peasants into a culture state, which even today inspires admiration and praise. It is even more remarkable that the prevailing anarchy had undermined all academic and cultural value, before Nizām al-Mulk took up the work of patient reconstruction. It is true that good administration always encourages economic activity which brings prosperity in its wake and this in turn encourages intellectual efforts. But Nizām al-Mulk's achievement was greater. He did not depend on the prosperity that his administration created to bring about a cultural renaissance. This was a direct effort, conscious and well planned. He

38. Ibid; p. 59.


will live in history as a great patron of learning and scientific effort. He himself was an author of no mean eminence. It is not given to every one to leave behind a work that has drawn tributes of praise from succeeding generations.

The Siyāsah Namah is a masterpiece by all standards; it is a work of mature thought and rich experience and fully reflects the personality of its author. It is almost encyclopaedic in its coverage of institutions, political morality, historical anecdotes, understanding of the teachings of Islam in their application to society and the state. In addition, it is masterly prose, sufficiently rugged, not to sound pretentious or insincere, simple and direct, yet beautiful in its rhythm and sonorous qualities. It is the kind of art that is subtle, seemingly unconscious and yet powerful and attractive. A man who could lecture on the complex science of Hadith and earn respect in an atmosphere enriched


"The Siyāsah Namah, however, is a mine of information regarding the Ghaznavid system of administration".

by the presence of so many eminent professors — some of the best of that times — was certainly a scholar of depth and standing.

All this would show that his talent was indeed splendorous. And yet throughout all his achievements taken singly so great, none is so great as his success in making the Saljūq state an object of religious reverence and devotion. Normally Islam does not exalt a Sultanate into a religious entity. Nizām al-Mulk, however, was able to see that the Saljūq Empire could not fulfill its destiny of making Sunni Islam strong and invincible without creating a halo of sanctity around the institution of the state. Hitherto the Caliphate alone had enjoyed this privilege. Even though the really orthodox circles frowned at the innovation and called it un-Islāmic and unprecedented, yet Nizām al-Mulk created the myth that the Sultan was Zill-al-Allāh, the Shadow of God. Himself orthodox and learned in Islamic Law, yet he thought it in the best interests of Islam to make the Sultan's authority a part of Sunni religious thinking. Hence the legend was introduced in the Khutba which said, "The Sultan is the Shadow of God on Earth; he who exalts the Sultan exalts Allāh; he who holds the Sultan in contempt holds Allāh in contempt". 

السلطان ظل الله، من أكرم السلطان كن إله،، و من أهان السلطان 
اهان الله...
Despite the fact that orthodox 'Ulama' disliked the innovation at the highest levels, yet Nizām al-Mulk was able to carry the imāms of the mosques with him. The reason was that to the Muslims in general, the Sultanate was the sole prop of the authority of Islam. The Caliphate was the symbol of the unity and authority of Islam, but the generality of the 'Ulama' and the Muslims had seen that despite its legal position, great prestige and hold on the affections of the people, it had grown so weak that it had ceased to protect the political interests of Islam and had been the victim of its actual weakness and the designs of its enemies. It had no authority except in the support that it received from a strong political institution like the Sultanate that was capable of securing obedience to its orders. Therefore, the real guarantor of the Sharia and Islam was the Sultanate and not the Caliphate. Nizām al-Mulk thus, through his sound political instinct, was able to raise the Sultanate from a merely secular institution deriving its legal authority from the will of the Caliph to a legal


46. I.H. Qureshi, Ulama in Politics, Na'aref Ltd., G.P.O. Box 23, Karachi, 1972, pp. 1 - 22. The functions of the 'Ulama' in the Muslim Society have well been described by Dr. I.H. Qureshi which will help a good deal to understand the role of 'Ulama' who cooperated with Nizām al-Mulk for the unity of Ummah.
and sacred institution existing in law on its own merits and in its own right. This change was fundamental and when ultimately the 'Abbāsid Caliphate of Bagdad was finally destroyed by the heathen Mongols, the theory propagated and established by Nizām al-Mulk came handy to those Muslim states that came to be established later. With the decline in the power of the Caliphate the Sultanate emerged as the legal equal of the Caliphate and on its destruction as its substitute. Nizām al-Mulk must have foreseen that the Caliphate’s innate weakness would at last assert itself to the extent of destroying it, and that should not result in a legal vacuum, otherwise the entire world community of Islam would feel confused. It was a great contribution to the legal thought in Islam, even though it violated the classical concept of Islamic law that the Muslim community was an indivisible entity. Nizām al-Mulk was a practical statesman and his thought never departed from political realism. If he had stuck to classical norms of thought, he could not give his support to the Saljuq state. But he deviated from the old notion in so far as he recognized that the Caliphate could not function without


the support of the Sultanate. Even then the ideal of the unity of the Islamic world remained entirely in the realm of desiderata. There was no doubt that the Islamic world had broken into smaller units. Even the mighty Saljuqs and Nizam al-Mulk's genius could not possibly unite it again. And Nizam al-Mulk was too sophisticated to think that this alliance between the Caliphate and the Sultanate, so laboriously forged by him would last indefinitely. That alliance had needed a dire necessity of the Islamic World for consolidation because it was facing grave disintegration before the emergence of the Saljuqs. It had also needed the need of the Saljuqs to gain a foothold in the affections of the people. And above all it had needed the idealism and genius of Nizam al-Mulk to create the desire for close cooperation between the Caliphate and the Sultanate. These circumstances might


never recur in that combination. That led Nizām al-Mulk to think that the unity of the Islamic World had become impossible in the foreseeable future and the Sultanate would exercise greater influence on the lives of the people. Therefore, the Sultanate had to be endowed with a certain amount of sanctity.\textsuperscript{52} That was the reason that the formula of "the Sultan is the Shadow of God; he who exalts the Sultan, exalts God, he who holds him in contempt holds God in contempt"\textsuperscript{53} had to be invented. The Sultanates have gone like the Caliphates, yet in many parts of the Islamic World the formula is still repeated in the Khutba by imāms who have inherited it and are unaware of its historical-cum-political background.

\textsuperscript{52} Nizām al-Mulk, \textit{Siyāsāt Nāmah}, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 7 and iv.

In every age and time Allah chooses one person from the human race and, having adorned and endowed him with kingly virtues, entrusts him with the interests of the world and the well-being of His Creatures; He charges that person to close the doors of corruption, confusion and discord, and He imparts to him such dignity and majesty in the eyes and hearts of men, that under his just rule they may live their lives in constant security and ever wish for his reign to continue.


\textbf{"Aṭṭāmīr al-Allāh wa Aṭṭāmīr al-Rasūl Wālī al-Ahār Makkā."

"Obey Allah, and obey the messenger and those of you who are in authority".

\textsuperscript{53} See supra, p. 234.
The content of the letter speaks very well of the modest motives of the Saljūqs, which obliged them to approach the Caliph for authorization to rule the country.
راه بیدان و چر کرده کردیم و میخواهم که این گار بر دچ دین و فیلی امیر المومنین باشند، مثل: من جمل ملک خاتماً ندیم افکاد لکه کل سلطان و من جمل ندیم خادم لکه طمع که کل انسان، هر که ملک از برای دین جویید سلاطین متقاد اوعده و هرکه دین فی ملک که هر که فی طمع که و این هرگاه بر دست میمعد ابو اسحق اللفی اپریساده —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hijri era</th>
<th>Christian era</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>403</td>
<td>1012</td>
<td>The Fatimid Caliph, al-Hakim sent a letter to Sultan Mahmud which he diverted to Baghdad where the same was burnt in public.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>408</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>Nizam al-Mulk was born at Kādir, a suburb of Tus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>414</td>
<td>1023</td>
<td>Rupture between Mahmud of Ghazna and the Caliph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>420</td>
<td>1029</td>
<td>Ibrahim bin Harzuban of Baylan defeated by Mas'ud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>421</td>
<td>1030</td>
<td>Mas'ud occupied Isfahan and 'Ali al-Dawla fled away to Tusbar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>421</td>
<td>1030</td>
<td>Sultan Mahmud died on 30th April. Mas'ud received the news of his father's death on 26th May.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>429</td>
<td>1037</td>
<td>The Saljuq army captured the city of Kishapur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>429</td>
<td>1038</td>
<td>Tughril Beg was declared Sultan at Nery and Kishapur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>431</td>
<td>1040</td>
<td>The Saljuqs defeated Mas'ud son of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna at Bandanin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>439</td>
<td>1047</td>
<td>Chaghri's daughter married to Buwathid prince Fulad-Sultan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Kazimayn Shrine burnt and plundered during the riots by the populace of Baghdad.

Tughril Beg sent presents to the Caliph, his officials and to his wazir.

Tughril Beg made a state visit to Baghdad where he remained for about a year.

Khadija Arsalan Khulun married to Caliph al-Qa'im.

Tughril Beg defeated Dubays bin Hazryd and al-Bassir.

Tughril Beg received by the Caliph al-Qa'im.

Al-Bassir reoccupied Baghdad in the absence of Tughril Beg.

Tughril Beg once again marched on Baghdad, reinstated al-Qa'im and made al-Bassir pay for his treachery with his life.

The favourite wife of Tughril Beg died at Zenjan.

Tughril Beg requested the hand of the Caliph's daughter, Sayida al-Nisa' in marriage.

The marriage contract of Tughril Beg with the Caliph's daughter ratified.
455 1063 Tughril Beg proceeded to Baghdād and presented the valuable presents to his bride.

455 1063 Tughril Beg died at the age of seventy at Tajright.

455 1063 Alp Arslān succeeded Tughril Beg.

456 1063 'Amīd al-Mulk welcomed Sultan Alp Arslān with full military honours at Rays.

456 1063 Alp Arslān set out for Jihād against the Byzantians from Ray towards Ḍahrāba'ījan.

456 1064 Recognition and reception of Alp Arslān.

456 1064 Malik Shāh married Jalā'īyya Kūshān who was known as Terken Khatūn.

456 1064 Nizām al-Mulk's second marriage with Gargīsh.

457 1064 Nizāmiyyah Madrasa founded.

457 1065 Nizāmiyyah Madrasa completed.

457 1065 Alp Arslān secured the Caliph's consent for nominating his son Malik Shāh heir apparent.

458 1066 Sultan Alp Arslān restored governorship of Baṣra to Tāj al-Mulk 'Abdārās④ b. Bankīr.

Sharif of Mecca comes with news that Sunni rites restored in Hijaz and 'Abbasiid Caliphate again acknowledged.

Romanus IV marched eastwards into Armonia.

Byzantine army defeated at Malazgird and Romanus Diogenes captured and brought before the Sultan Alp Arslan.

Alp Arslan's daughter, Safiri Khutun married to al-Qa'im's heir.

Alp Arslan appointed amir Aytafin (Al-Tegin) al-Sulaymani as ShUGH of Baghdad. Al-Tegin withdrawn on Caliph's protest.

Al-Tegin, the Khan of Samarqand conquered Tirmidh.

Musa bin Sabbah came to Nizam al-Mulk at Nishapur.

Malik Shah's uncle, Qavurt rebelled.

Sultan Malik Shah drove Shams al-Mulk's brother from Tirmidh and cornered him into Samarqand.

Nizam al-Mulk called a conference of astronomers for reforming the Persian Calendar. The result was the production of a Jalali Calendar.

Sa'd al-Dawla Gauhar A'in sent to Baghdad for receiving the deed of investiture from the Caliph, al-Qa'im for Sultan Malik Shah.
A military man, Badr al-Jamālī brought the Fatimid Caliph under his control.

Jalālī era began on 15th March.

Sultān Malik Shāh discharged thousands of Armenian soldiers.

Barkiyāruq born.

Qābūs Nāmah written by 'Uusur al-Ma'ālī.

Abū al-Ishāq Shīrāzī sent on an embassy to Malik Shāh by the Caliph, al-Muqtadī.

Sayyid al-Su'ārā' Abū al-Muḥāsin Muḥāmed a close companion of Malik Shāh complained that Nizām al-Mulk had amassed vast treasures.

The Kāzimayn Shrine rebuilt by Nizām al-Mulk.

Sultān Malik Shāh visited Baghādād for the first time with Nizām al-Mulk.

Nizām al-Mulk personally lectured on tradition in his Nizāmiyyah University at Baghādād.


Caliph's son Abū al-Fadl Ja'far and the grandson of Sultān Malik Shāh born.
Sultan Malik Shah proceeded to attack Ahmad Khan bin Khidr Khan of Mawara al-Nahr from Isfahan.

Nizam al-Mulk brought Tahir's son Taj al-Din Abu al-Fadl Nasr of Sistan in power as a Saljuq vessel.

First draft of Siyasa Namah completed.

Nizam al-Mulk's second visit with Sultan Malik Shah to Baghdad.

Last visit of Sultan Malik Shah to Baghdad.

Nizam al-Mulk assassinated near Shiina.

Sultan Malik Shah nominated Taj al-Mulk but before his installation Sultan Malik Shah died in Baghdad.

Siyasa Namah completed.

Sultan Malik Shah despatched an Amir called Arslan Tash and then Qizil-Sarigh to expel the heretics from Alamut.

Khata'a al-'Ishah another daughter of Sultan Malik Shah married to Imam al-Mustazhir.
APPENDIX G

GLOSSARY AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

The terms included in the list below consist of expressions used in the thesis. Some of the terms have become obsolete.

'ABBĀSID KULLĀFAT - The 'Abbāsids came from the family of the Prophet Muhammad's uncle al-'Abbās, and as such they were able to claim the legitimacy of inheritance for the Kullāfat. Thirty-seven Caliphs of the 'Abbāsid dynasty reigned over the Muslim Empire from A.H. 132/A.C. 749 to A.H. 656/A.C. 1258.

ABŪ HANĪFA - Abū Hanīfa al-Su'mān is the great Sunni jurist, and the founder of the Hanīfi school of fiqh. His famous disciples are Imam Abū Yusuf and Imam Muḥammad who are mainly followed throughout central Asia, Turkey, Hindustān and Pakīstān.

AL-MADĪNA - The city of the Prophet Muḥammad and the place of his burial. It was called yathrib and later al-Madīnah, "the city".

'AMĪD AL-'IRĀQ - the executive officer of 'Irāq. During the time of Sultan Malik Shāh, 'amīd al-'Irāq was Abū al-Fatah.

'AMĪD AL-MULK - Abū Naṣr al-Kundūrī generally known as 'Amīd al-Mulk was the minister of Tughrili Beg.
AMĪR - leader; a Commander; a Chief; a nobleman. It generally, includes the various high officers in a Muslim state. In the Saljuqian state the term amīr was used for the members of the Turkish military classes.

AMĪR AL-MU'MINĪN - the commander of the Faithful. The title was first given to 'Abd al-Allāh ibn Jahsh after his expedition to Nakhlā, and was afterwards assumed first by Badrāt 'Umar. It was used exclusively for the Caliph.

ASH'ARĪS - this school is named after Imam Ash'ārī whose full name was Abū al-Hasan 'Ali bin Isma'īl. The Imam was born in Basra and he died in Baghdad. Those who follow this school of thought are termed Ash'arīs. In the beginning they were confused with Mu'tazila. Later they formed the orthodox wing as opposed to the philosophical Mu'tazila.

ATABĀK - literally "Father Lord". This title was first given to Nizām al-Sūr.".

ALIF LAM MIM - herein, these letters form ل (alam) the beginning of the sūrah ʿAl of the Qur'an. This should not be confused with the muqattat used in the beginning of six sūrahs.

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BAIBAT - oath of allegiance. It is a contract first made by the people with the Prophet in Islam. This contract brought into existence civil society as well as government. Therefore, this contract in Islam is a reality which continued in the Muslim state as essential for any government to claim legal legitimacy.

BAIIBAH Al-IQBAH - literally the city of good fortune. Hasan bin Sabbah gave this name to Alamut.

BARID - postal and intelligence service.

DARBAR - an audience.

DARBAR-I 'AM - general audience.

DARBAR-I KHAS - special audience which was attended only by the high officials.

DASTI - leave; dismissal; a customary fee; tax, or percentage.2

BAHR - land lord by hereditary right.

DIN - faith, way of life.

DINAR - dinar is a unit of gold currency. It was later replaced by toman in Asia Minor.

DIWĀN — originally a loose leaf register. Later the office of the ministry of finance and treasury. In later times, not in the Saljuq, the term meant finance minister.

FAQĪH — a man learned in Islamic jurisprudence.

FARĪD — obligatory duties enjoined by the Qur'ān.

FĀTIHA — used in the thesis for prayers for the dead, of which the opening chapter of the Qur'ān, surah al-fātiha, is an essential part.


FIDĀ'Ī — the followers of 'Abd Allāh bin Saffāh are divided into seven classes or ranks according to the teachings of the Ismā'īlī sect. Fidā'ī is the fifth. A Fidā'ī is one who sacrifices his life without hesitation for his sect.

FIJJI — Muslim jurisprudence.

HADITH — Traditions and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad.

HAJJ — the pilgrimage to Mecca founded upon express injunctions of the Qur'ān, which is a legal obligation for individual Muslims who can afford it.

HANAFĪ — those who follow Abū Hanīfa's school of jurisprudence.
 sillārū - the land of the pilgrimage; the holy land of Islam, in cities of Mecca and Madīnah are its main centres.

'Id - the two main Muslim festivals. The 'Id al-Fitr comes at the end of the month of Ramadān (the month of fasting), and the 'Id al-Adhā (the feast of sacrifice) comes on the day next to the Rojū. Both are marked by special congregational prayers, the former is a day of almsgiving and the latter of sacrifice commemorating the attempted sacrifice by Abraham of his son Ismā'īl, according to Muslims tradition.

Ijmā' - is the third foundation of the shari'ah. It represents consensus on a legal point.

Ilm al-Uṣūl - the interpretation of Islamic principles by the application of the human intellect for their application to all emergent problems.

Imām - a leader. A person whose eminence is recognized in any field. A person who leads prayers. Also used for the Caliph by the Sunnis.

Isbā'iyya - The Shi'as who believe in divinely ordained 'imāmas' in apostolic succession to the Prophet.
IMĀRAT-1 ISLĀM - governorship through forceful seizure of power. It was legitimized by a subsequent recognition by the Caliph.

ISLĀM - is a Shī'ī who believes that Hadrat Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far al-Sādiq was the true Imām and not Hadrat Mūsā al-Kāzīm. The Ismā'īlīs believe in a succession of seven Imāms.

IQTĪ - a land assignment usually assigned for service by a Muslim ruler. Under Nizām al-Mulk the standing army was supported partly by revenues from iqṭā's assigned to the soldiers. However, a reform in this system was brought about by Nizām al-Mulk for safeguarding the interests of the state.

IISMĀ 'ASŠĀHĪ - the sect of the Shī'as which believes in twelve Imāms. Ismā'īlī Shī'as recognize succession of seven Imāms.

JĀLĀTI CALENDAR - 'Umar ibn Āby a's calendar styled after the name of Sultan Malik aSāh. This calendar is more accurate than the Gregorian one.

JĀMI' MASJID - generally the chief mosque of any city where people assemble for the Friday prayers.

JIZYA – is a capitation tax, which is levied by Muslim rulers upon subjects of a different faith, in return for protection. It was levied from able-bodied non-Muslim subjects in lieu of military service. However, women, children, anchorites, priests and religious teachers and poor men are exempt. There are instances of exemption for life in reward of some outstanding service. A non-Muslim Egyptian put the project of re-digging the canal from Fustat (Cairo) down to the Red Sea for consideration by the Muslim government. This canal known as Nahr Amīr al-Mu'minīn facilitated the transport between Egypt and Madīnah. In appreciation Caliph 'Umar rewarded that non-Muslim by exempting him from jizya for his entire life. 4 He who pays the poll-tax and obtains protection from the Muslim state is called a Shari'ī.

JAMA' – is an effort; or a striving; a religious war waged for the cause of Islam, which is an obligation under the Shari'ā for Muslims.

JUMA' PRAYERS – there are five daily fard prayers, of which the Zuhr one is replaced on every Friday by special service.

KA'Ba - literally a cube, the cube-like building in the centre of the mosque at Mecca, which contains the Hajar-I Aswad. The Muslims of the whole world turn their faces towards this sacred mosque. The Caliph 'Umar first built a mosque around the ka'ba, in A.H. 17/A.C. 638.

KA'BAJA - a tax; tribute; land tax. It was generally applied to a tribute from non-Muslims to the state. Normally it is the state demand on most of the agricultural land.

KHATIB - a person attached to large mosques whose function is to deliver sermons.

KHILIFA - Caliph, the head of the Muslim commonwealth. Khalifa is from khalf, "to leave behind". The successors of the Prophet Muhammad, in their political authority, are vested with authority in all matters of state but in subordination to the Shari'a.

KHILAFAT - Caliphate, the office of the Khalifa.

KHILAFAT-I RASULIDA - was the government of the first four rightly guided Caliphs held by the orthodox, to have ruled in accordance with the law and spirit of Islam.

KHUTBA - the sermon delivered on Friday before the congregational prayer. It includes a prayer for the ruler; mentioning in the Khutba is a mark of sovereignty in a Muslim state.
KHUTBA OF NIHAD - a sermon delivered just after the marriage contract is concluded.

MADRASA - a college, a seminary, or even a university. But generally a school for teaching the Islamic sciences.

MASHAIKHA - plural of Shaikh, literally an old man; applied to Sufi leaders and sometimes to theologians.

MASJID - a mosque.

MASNAD - a large cushion on which men of less than regal status recline. A prop; a support; a seat of authority inferior to a throne. In the thesis it is referred to the seat of Nizam al-Mulk.

MAZALIM - investigation into complaints against the servants of the state. The Mazalim court was held by the Sultan and some of his high officers authorized by the Sultan.

MILLAT - nation. A word which occurs in the Qur'an, when the Prophet Muhammad speaks of the religion of Abraham, he generally uses the word millat. The Ottomans used the word "millet" for non-Muslim communities living under their protection.

MILLAT-1 ISLAMIA - the Islamic community. It is generally applied to the World Muslim Community.
MU'TASIB - an officer who looks after the moral state of the society and stops any public violation of the Sharī'ah. In so far as he performs the duties of a magistrate, his jurisdiction is limited to matters connected with commercial transactions, defective weights and measures, fraudulent sales, and non-payment of debts.

MUKUS - plural of "makš", irregular taxes which are contrary to Sharī'ah and as such Nizām al-Mulk abolished them.

NIKĀH - signifies conjunction, but in the language of the Sharī'ah it is applied to the marriage contract.

PARKASANG - is a Persian measure of distance, about 32 mile.

QĀDĪ - judge.

QASIDA - panegyric; a laudatory poem.

QUR'ĀN - the Koran. The Qur'ān is held to be eternal and the word of God. It was revealed from time to time to the Prophet Muhammad through the angel Gabriel. It provides the fundamental principles and injunctions of Islam.

RAMADĀN - the ninth month of the Islamic lunar calendar is the month of fasting. The fast continues from dawn to the setting of the sun each day throughout the month. The observance of the injunction to fast during this month is
one of "the five pillars of Islam".

RA'ĪS - chief; leader. The plural of it is ru'asā'. But in Saljuq times the ra'Īs was an important local official, generally acting as a tax-collector.

RA'ĪS AL-KU'ASĀ' - was the title of the prime minister of Khalīfa al-Qa'im whose name was Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī bin Ḥasan bin Ahmad bin al-Muslimān.

RIKĀBUūN - a pantry-man; butler.

SANAD - deed of investiture; a certificate.

SHĀFI'I - one of the orthodox schools of Islamic jurisprudence. The founder of this school of jurisprudence was Imām Muhammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'I. He was born at Askalon in Palestine in A.H. 150/A.C. 767. He derived his patronymic al-Shāfi'I from his grandfather, Shāfi'i ibn al-Sā'īb. The Imām is held to be the first who reduced the sciences of jurisprudence into a regular system. He died in A.H. 204/A.C. 819 and his tomb is at Cairo; where the famous Salāḥ al-Dīn founded a madrasa for the preservation of his works. Nizām al-Sulṭān himself was a Shāfi'ī and most of the 'Ulama' in every madrasa-i Nizāmiya were Shāfi'ītes.

SHĀLIKH - the leader of an 'Arab tribal group, but in Saljuq times applied for a religious leader or for a man of power and authority. The plural of it is shuyūkh, maṣūlhīk.
SHARI' A – the canonical law of Islam; derived from the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

SHI'I – literally a partisan. They held Hadrat 'Ali to be the first Caliph.

SHURA – means "consultation". The believers are commanded to order their officers through consultation. Nizam al-Mulk emphasises shura as one of the methods of the government in his Siyasaat Nārah.

SUFI – a man who professes the mystic principles of Tasawwuf is called a sufi.

SULTAN – the general meaning of it is authority. It was first used unofficially for Mahād of Ghazna and officially for the Saljuqid Sultan Tughril Beg. Later on, it has been used in the sense of a powerful ruler or an independent ruler of any territory.

SUNNA – the orthodox section of Islam. The full name is ahl-al-sunnat wa-al-jama'at, those who follow the tradition and the community of Islam.

SUNNAH – literally a path or a manner of life. A term used for those rules and ordnance of Muslim Community which are established upon the precept or practice of the Prophet Muhammad.

Sūrah – a chapter of the Qur'an.
TARSÄ - a Christian; sometimes loosely used for any non-Muslim.

'ULmā́ - plural of 'ālim; literally, one who knows. Generally used for a man of religious learning. In Muslim countries their rulings touching private and public matters of importance, regulate the behaviour of the Muslim Community.

Ummā́ - a people; a nation. This word, according to Thomas Patrick Hughes, occurs about forty times in the Qur'ān and is derived from the Hebrew word, "Ummāh". The Islamic Ummah is founded in tawhīd which unites all its members into an indivisible unity of thought, of body, and of will.

WANZ - revelation; inspiration. It is used more specifically for divine revelation to the Prophets.

đalāl - means an attorney; an agent; an ambassador. It is also used in the sense of a guardian.

đalāl al-mukādhā - the authorized representative of a party in a marriage contract.

đalāl 'and - heir apparent; especially to a sovereign.

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WALĪMA - the nuptial feast, which is generally given on the day after the marriage. The custom is founded on the example of the Prophet Muhammad and on his sayings.

WAŻĪR - the principal minister in a Muslim state. There are three opinions respecting the etymology of the word. Some derive it from wizr, "a burden", because the ważīr bears the burden of state; others from wazar, "a refuge", because the ruler has recourse to the counsel of the ważīr; others from azr, "the back, or strength", because the ruler is strengthened by his ważīr as the human frame is by the backbone. Under the 'Abbāsid Caliphs the first person to be called al-ważīr was Salmâ al-Khallāl; under Dârūn al-Raghîd, Yahyâ bîn Barmak greatly enhanced the importance of the office. Under the Saljûqs the ważīr was the chief official in the bureaucracy. The importance of office of ważīr declined in importance towards the end of the Saljūqid rule.

ZAKĀT - the word zakāt means purification. It is an institution of Islam and founded upon an express command in the Qur'ān. It is the religious duty of every Muslim who enjoys continued possession with full proprietary rights of a prescribed minimum of wealth, called misâb.

ZILL AL-ALLĀH⁶ - Shade of God; shadow of God. It is also a Sûfî term which is referred to the insân-i kâmil. But in the thesis it is used for the Sultan.

APPENDIX II

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Only those works which have been cited in the thesis have been included.

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