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NIZAM AL-MULK TUSI

HIS CONTRIBUTION TO STATECRAFT, POLITICAL THEORY AND THE ART OF GOVERNMENT

By
S. RIZWAN ALI RIZVI



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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The following system has been used for Arabic and Persian letters :—

ا	a	ر	r	ف	f
ب	b	ز	z	ق	q
پ	p	ژ	zh	ک	k
ت	t	س	s	گ	g
ث	th	ش	sh	ل	l
ج	j	ص	ṣ	م	m
چ	ch	ض	ḍ	ن	n
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	و	w
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	ه	h
د	d	ع	‘	ء	’
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ی	y

The short vowels have been transcribed as a, i, u; the long vowels as ā, ī, ū.

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 Muḥammad and Muḥammadanism, etc.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY

Khwājah Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. 'Alī Isḥāq, better known in history by his title, Niẓām al-Mulk, was born at Rādkān,[1] a suburb of Ṭūs, some fifty miles to the north of Mashhad,[2] on a Friday in A.H. 408/A.C. 1017. His family belonged to a clan of middle class land holders.[3]

The name of his mother was Zamurrad Khātūn.[4] who dreamed that her son should be named Ḥasan[5] after the grandson of the Prophet. She complied. She died when he was weaning and during the same period his father, Isḥāq, was confronted with financial difficulties. These, however, were not permitted to stand in the way of Ḥasan's education.

1. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, Gibb Memorial Series, Leiden/London, 1912, fol. 242a. He writes that the home town of Khwājah Ḥasan (Niẓām al-Mulk) is Rādkān. Rādkān is about half-way between Khabūshan and Ṭūs which is mentioned by Ibn Hawqal, and Yāqūt who calls it a small town. It became famous as the birthplace of Niẓām al-Mulk.

2. Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Volume II, MacMillan and Co., London, 1951, p. 32.

3. Shams al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. I Būlāq, 1299/1882, p. 179. Dihqāns were like the smaller Zamindārs of Uttar Pradesh in India.

4. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Razzāq Kānpūrī, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, Nafees Academy, Karachi, 1968, p. 45.

5. Ibid., p. 48.

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According to *Waṣāyā*, his first teacher was the jurist, 'Abd al-Ṣamad.[6] Ḥasan learnt the Holy Qur'ān by heart at the age of eleven.[7] Then he studied the theological sciences with Imām Mūwaffaq, one of the outstanding Shāfi'i 'Ulamā' of Nīshāpūr. This explains his allegiance to the Shāfi'ī doctrine, a fact that finds confirmation in the *Siyāsat Nāmah*.[8]

It is not known when his first marriage took place except that he had two sons 'Ubaid al-Allāh (Mu'īd al-Mulk) and Muẓaffar (Fakhr al-Mulk) at the time he reached the court of Chaghrī Beg Dā'ūd at Merv.[9] His second marriage took place in A.H. 457/A.C. 1064 with Gargīah,[10] daughter of a Christian ruler. He was fortunate in respect of his twelve sons[11] and the wizārat remained in his family for more then ninety-two

6. Ilyās Aḥmad, "The Political Theory of Niẓām al-Mulk", *Iqbāl*, the Bazm-i-Iqbāl, Lahore, July 1961, p. 65.

7. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., p. 51.

8. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, ed : Muḥammad Qazvīnī and M M Chahārdihī Chap. II, Chap Teherān Muṣawwar, Teherān, 1334/1965, pp 114-15. "He (Sulṭān Alp Arslān) was often heard to say, 'what a pity ! i only my wazīr (Niẓām al-Mulk) were not of the Shāfi'ī belief'. He was ex ceedingly overbearing and awe-inspiring and because he was so devoted i his beliefs and disapproved of the Shaff'ī religion I lived in constant reve rential fear of him", p. 114. "He disapproves of the Shāfi'ī religion an he is always rebuking me for it", p. 115. Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn, *Tabaqāt al Kubrā*, Vol. 4, Cairo, 1323-4/1905-6, pp. 103-4 and *Islamic Culture*, Vo XX, Nos. 4, October 1946, p. 404. *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* says that "he was Shāfi'īte and a staunch follower of the doctrines of this school". Howeve Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī both or Sunnīs.

9. Ibn al Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, Būlāq, 1290/1874, p. 72.

10. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., p. 143.

11. Ibid., p. 144 ; Saif al-Dīn, *Āthār al-Wuzarā'*, Public Oriental Librar Patna, MS. writes that *Niẓām al-Mulk* had twelve sons.

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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 Sa'd Ṣūfī[12] Nīshāpūrī, before him, it was not only accepted but the whole expenditure on it was also borne by him. This Madrasa, styled Niẓāmiyah, after his name, was founded in October, 457/1065 and completed in September, 459/1067. It had twenty-seven renowned Professors including men like the great theologian and Ṣūfī Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī. "Niẓām al-Mulk personally lectured on "Ḥadīth" or tradition at his madrasa"[13] in A.H. 480/ A.C. 1087. These lectures in Arabic have been edited by Dr. 'Abd al-Hādī Riḍā and published in A.H. 1378/ A.C. 1959 from Cairo.[14] In accordance with Muslim tradition, the Madrasa not only provided free education but also disbursed scholarships. It also supplied books, lodging, boarding[15] and other necessities to its students.

Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī of Samarqand says in his *Chahār Maqāla* that Niẓām al-Mulk did not like poets as he had little taste for poetry and established close con-

12. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām āl-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., p. 519.

13. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, Cambridge University Press, 1968, p. 72.

14. 'Abd al-Hādī Riḍā, "Amālī Niẓām al-Mulk al-Wazīr al-Saljūqī fi'l Ḥadīth", *Ma' had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiya*, Vol. V, Section (1), Shār' al-Bustān, al-Qāhira, Dhul-Q'adah, A.H. 1378/A.C. 1959, pp. 349-378.

15. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, sixth ed. (reprint) Mac-Millan and Co., London, 1958, p. 410.

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tacts with 'ulamā' and mashā'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 Fārmadī was a famous sūfī; his greatness is testified by the fact that Imām Ghazzālī became his disciple. Ibn al-Athīr says that when Shaikh Abū 'Alī Fārmadī used to come to the court of Niẓām al-Mulk, he cordially welcomed and seated him on his own Musnad. And he used to speak before the Shaikh respectfully. The great divine of the period, Abū al-Ma'ālī Imām al-Ḥaramayn Shaikh 'Abd al-Malik al-Juwainī[18] mentioned him in his lecture—as a pious and deeply religious person who never defaulted in the observance of his religious duties. He was fond

16. Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī, *Chahār Maqāla*, Teherān, A.H. 1305/A.C. 1887 p. 89. And Niẓāmī Arūḍī Samarqandī, *Chahār Maqāla*, edited by Muḥammad Qazvīnī and Dr. Muḥammad Mu'īn, chāp Khāna-i Dānishgāh Teherān, 1334/1955, pp. 82-83.

17. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* Vol. X, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

18. His courage was demonstrated in Malik *Shāh's* reign, when once the Sulṭān declared that 'Id would be the next day, the Imām proclaimed his verdict that the fast was to continue and the Sulṭān had to bow before his decision.

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of the company of men of learning and spent most of his leisure with them. Niẓām al-Mulk abolished the public cursing of the orthodox Ash'arīs[19] in the mosques of Khurāsān. This brought back several prominent scholars such as al-Qushairī and al-Juwainī. On al-Juwainī's return from Ḥijāz, Niẓām al-Mulk built Madrasa-i-Niẓāmiyah of Nīshāpūr for him in which he continuously delivered lectures for thirty years.[20] Niẓām 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 Shī'ites and Ismā'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".[21] It does not seem true that he was harsh towards heretics, if the affairs of the state were not involved in any way. The Kāẓimayn Shrine was burnt and plundered during the riots in the year A.H. 443/A.C.

19. This sect is named after Imām *Ash'ari* whose full name is Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Ismā'īl. The Imām was born in A.H. 270/A C. 883 in Baṣra and he died in A.H. 330/A.C. 941 in Baghdād.

20. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., p. 532.

21. E. G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, Cambridge University Press, 1964, p. 175; The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume XXIV, eleventh edition, New York; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. 342, Madison Avenue, 1911, p. 609, says that Niẓām al-Mulk was a "statesman of the first rank"

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1051 by the populace of Baghdād.[22] It was rebuilt by Niẓām al-Mulk. Malik Shāh and Niẓām al-Mulk offered Fāṭiḥa and visited the shrines in A.H. 479/A.C. 1086.

Tughril Beg died at the age of seventy on 4 September, 1063, at the village of Tajrisht. Alp Arslān (1063-1072) succeeded him. At that time. Abū Naṣr al-Kundūrī,[23] generally known as 'Amīd al-Mulk, the late King's minister unwisely proclaimed Sulaymān, the brother of Alp Arslān, Sulṭān at Ray[24]. Alp Arslān could not forgive this hostile act. Eventually, this false step of al-Kundūrī led to his death. Niẓām al-Mulk had no hand in the matter, because, he neither persuaded al-Kundūrī to support Sulaymān nor did he instigate Alp Arslān to execute him. It is certain that Niẓām al-Mulk was innocent. Those authors who blame Niẓām al-Mulk for the execution have probably been misled by the message sent by al-Kundūrī to Niẓām al-Mulk to the effect that Niẓām al-Mulk had established a bad tradition in getting his predecessor executed. "An evil innovation and an ugly practice you have introduced into the world by putting the deposed minister to death. I say that you

22. G Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge University Press, 1930, p. 77.

23. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, ed. Moinul Ḥaq, Vol. V, Pakistan Historical Society, 30, New Karachi Housing Society, Karachi-5, 1967, p. 184. "Kunduri means belonging to Kundur, a village in Turaythith, a district in the neighbourhood of Naysabur".

24. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., pp. 3 and 11.

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may experience the same in your own person".[25] But al-Kundūrī's message was not based on any justifiable suspicion. Sulṭān Chaghrī Beg Dā'ūd, being greatly impressed with the ability of Khwāja Ḥasan 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 Narzame[30] or al-Khwārazmī[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, Niẓām al-Mulk about his brother and sons. He chose his son Malik Shāh to succeed him. Alp Arslān was a devout Mulim and this, in great measure, must have been due to Niẓām al-Mulk's influence on him.[32] Malik

25. Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Sulaymān Al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr wa Āyāt al-Surūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl, 'Alī Akbar 'Ilmī, Teherān (Irān), 1333/1954, p. 118. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V. op. cit., p. 183.

26. Muḥammad Taqī Khān, *Ganj-i Dānish*, Iṣfahān, A.H. 1305/A C. 1887, p. 350.

27. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 175.

28. Oxus is called in Arabic and Persian Jaiḥūn while the modern name of it is Amū Darya.

29. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 120.

30. Ibid., p. 120 n.

31. According to Ibn al-Athīr, al-Bundārī and Rāwandī, Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr, op. cit., p. 120 n. The classical name of Khwārazm was Chorasmia, a region at the mouth of Jaiḥūn river.

32. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit. pp. 24-25 and E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 180. His dying words according

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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 Niẓām 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 fought which lasted for three days and nights before the pretender was defeated. In the meantime, Altigīn, the Khān of Samarqand[33] conquered Tirmidh in A.H. 465/A.C. 1072 and on another side Ibrāhīm of Ghazna captured Malik Shāh's uncle, Amīr 'Uthmān; but Ibrāhīm was routed by the Amīr Gumushtigīn. Malik Shāh weathered all these storms together with the rebellion of a brother, with the support of Niẓām al-Mulk. The reign of the

to Ibn al-Athir 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 shock 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"!

E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II op. cit., p. 180.

"Sar-i Alp Arslān dīdī Zi rif'at rafta bar gardūn : Bi-Marw ā, tā bi-khāk andar sar-i Alp Arslān bīnī"!

Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr wa Āyāt al-Surūr*, op. cit., p. 121.

"سر الب ارسلان دیدی ز رفعت رفتہ بر گرد ون
بمرو آئی تا بخاک اندر تن الب ارسلان بینسی"

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

newly crowned king was exposed to severe threats of all kinds which were also successfully met by Niẓām 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] Saljūq[35] power (Malik Shāh 1072-92) reached its zenith under the guidance of Niẓām al-Mulk. "His domain extended in lengh from Constantinople to the Caspian"[36] Sea. Niẓām al-Mulk has been described as the most successful statesman in the "Political History of Islām."[37] Ibn Khallikān says, "for the twenty years covering the reign of Malik Shāh, Niẓām al-Mulk had all the power concentrated in his hands, while the Sulṭān had nothing to do but sit on the throne or enjoy the chase".[38]

In 1074 Niẓām 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

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

35. Turkish pronunciation is Salchk and Salchwk while Arabic is Saljūq.

36. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa Anbā 'Abnā' at-Zamān*, M. de Slane's English Translation, Vol. II, Paris/London, 1842, p 587.

37. P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, op cit., p. 477.

38. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. I, op cit., p. 255.

39. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

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Calendar of the dominions of H.E.H. the Niẓām after having been reformed by Sir Sālār Jung, I".[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, 330 years as against Khayyām's Calendar which leads to an error of one day in 5,000 years.[44] According to Ibn al-Athīr, he himself was a learned and cultured man. His *Siyāsat Namah* was written in 1091 only a year before his assassination on 10 Ramaḍān[45] 485/14 October 1092 near Ṣiḥna,[46] or near Nihāwand,[47] between Kangawar and Bīsutūn

40. Hāroon Khān Sherwānī, "Some Precursors of Niẓāmul-Mulk Ṭūsīt", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VIII, Hyderabad (Deccan), January, 1934, p. 15.

41. A.J. Arberry, *The Legacy of Persia*, Oxford University Press, London, 1953, p. 305. Jalāli Era began on 15 March, 1079.

42. P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, op. cit., p. 477.

43. Ameer 'Ali, Syed, *A Short History of the Saracens*, MacMillan and Co., London, 1961, p. 316.

44. M.M. Sharīf, *Muslim Thought, its origin and achievements*, Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1951, p. 49 and P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, op. cit., p. 377.

45. 'Alā al-dīn 'Aṭā'-Malik Juvainī, *Tā'rīkh-i Jahān Gushā* or *History of the World Conqueror*, translated from the text of Mirzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī by John Andrew Boyle, 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 Ramaḍān, 485 (16th of October. 1092) and by that blow he was martyred.

46. The Encyclopaedia of Islām, M.Th. Houtsma, A.J., Vol. III L-R, Luzac & Co., 1936, p. 935.

47. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 186.

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while he was accompanying the King on his journey from Iṣfahān to Baghdād.[48]

The assassin was a youth of Daylam, Abū Ṭāhir Ḥārith (Bu-Ṭāhia Arrāni),[49] an Ismā'īlī fidā'ī disguised as a Ṣūfī who pretended to be presenting a petition. Niẓām al-Mulk was buried in the graveyard of Karrān[50] in Iṣfahān. It is generally believed that it was the first bold stroke of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ's assassins at orthodoxy. The period of glory that covered the reigns of the first three Saljūqs ended with Niẓām 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[51] on Niẓām al-Mulk's death of which the graceful Arabic verses by Shib al-Dawla are cited by E.G. Browne in his *A Literary History of Persia*.[52] Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd

48. Jalāl al-dīn Suyūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulafā', Cairo, A.H. 1305/A.C. 1887, p. 432 ;

The Encyclopaedia Britannica, volume 16, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., William Benton, 1971, p. 546.

49. 'Alā al-Dīn 'Aṭā-Malik Juvainī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, op, cit., p. 676.

E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op, cit., p. 213, and the Encyclopaedia of Islām, op, cit , p, 934. The last eleven chapters of *Siyāsat Nāmah*, added shortly before the Wazīr's assassination in 1092. Daylam is a district of Northern Persia.

50. Muḥammad Taqī Khān, *Ganj-i Dānish*, op. cit., p. 350, and also 'Abbās Iqbāl, *Wizārat dar 'Ahd-i Salāṭīn-i Buzurg-i Saljūqī*, Publications of Dānishgāh-i Teherān No. 520. Teherān 1338/1959, p. 50.

51. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., p. 71.

52. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 188. "The

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al-Malik Mu'izzī of Nīshāpūr, composed his famous elegy of considerable length lamenting the deaths of Niẓām al-Mulk and Malik Shāh from which only a few verses are given by A.J. Arberry.[53]

The author of the *Chahār Maqāla* says that an astrologer Ḥakīm-i- Mauṣilī, told Niẓām al-Mulk that his death would follow his own within six months[54] and went to Nishāpūr where some land was allotted to him. The saying of the astrologer came true.

Ibn al-Athīr narrates how Niẓām al-Mulk, 'Umar Khayyām and Ḥasan Ṣabbāh, 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-Athīr says further that Niẓām al-Mulk was acquainted with Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ before he went to Egypt.[55] Niẓām al-Mulk himself writes in his *Waṣāyā* that he remained a pupil of Imām Muwaffaq for four years. During this period, 'Umar (Khayyām)

Minister Nidhamul-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".

53. A J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1958, p. 115.

"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".

54. Aḥmad bin 'Umar bin 'Alī Niẓāmī Samarqandī, *Chahār Maqāla*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, Chāpkhāna-i Dānishāh, Teherān, 1344/1955 p. 125.

55. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., p. 110.

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and Ḥasan (Ṣabbāḥ) 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, Ḥasan (Ṣabbāḥ) said to 'Umar (Khayyām) and me that it was well known that the pupils of Imām Muwaffaq reached high positions in their careers[56]. 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' ? Ḥasan 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 Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ soon came true.

Niẓām al-Mulk became the Prime Minister of the mighty Saljūq Empire. He fulfilled the agreement once made in true spirit.[57] Another confirmation is furnished by the intrigues of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ against Niẓām al-Mulk. Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ unscrupulously tried to gain the King's favour by discrediting Niẓām al-Mulk as a revenue minister. This story will be found in the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*.[58] Niẓām al-Mulk says, in his *Wāṣāyā*, "During the time of Alp Arslān nobody knew Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ in Khurāsān. But during the period of Sulṭān Malik Shāh (A.H. 465/A.C. 1072

56, 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., p. 55.

57. Ibid., p. 53.

58. Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī, *Tārikh-i Guzidah*, trans. of Jules Gantin, Vol. I, Paris, 1903, pp. 208-211.

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after the conflict of Qāvurt) Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ came to me at Nīshāpūr. I entertained him as well as I could and left no stone unturned to please him ; One day, Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, very dexterously, said to me that 'I might go against our mutual compact'. I replied that 'I would not do so'. Then Ḥasan Sabbāḥ said that 'I had been very kind to him, but the terms of the compact were different'. I replied that Ḥasan was right and he should be a sharer in my office, honour and even in my property. After that I introduced Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ with a good deal of praise to Malik Shāh'. Gradually, he gained the Sulṭān's confidence and got very close to him. The Sulṭān began to take his advice in all important matters.[59] Dawlat Shāh Samarqandī writes in his *Tadhkirah* that Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ wanted to be a full-fledged Prime Minister.[60] There are Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ's two nefarious acts which are testified by Niẓām al-Mulk in his *Waṣāyā*. Once some marble was brought by certain merchants for buildings that the Sulṭān wanted to erect. He was so pleased that he gave a reward of one thousand dīnārs in appreciation. The wazīr was called upon to distribute it among the traders. Niẓām al-Mulk gave (600) six hundred dīnārs to those who had six camels and (400) four hundred dīnārs to those who had four camels. Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ heard it and said that Niẓām al-Mulk had made a mistake in the distribution of

59. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., p. 421.

60. Dawlat Shāh Samarqandī, *Tadhkirah*, Bombay, A.H. 1305/A.C. 1887, p. 64.

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 Sulṭān sent for Niẓām al-Mulk. Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ was also present there. As soon as the Sulṭān saw Niẓām al-Mulk he laughed at him and ordered Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ to relate his objections in respect of the distribution of the reward. Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ explained that if the weight was taken into consideration, Niẓām 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 Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ had finished his arguments, the Sulṭān made light of the matter. He laughed and kept quiet. But Niẓām al-Mulk understood that the Sulṭān had not been unaffected. The story of the three school-fellows had also been discussed in the *Jāmi 'al-Tawārikh*,[62] which says that the reason of the enmity which existed between Niẓām al-Mulk and Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ was that they and 'Umar Khayyām were school-fellows toge-

61. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., pp. 422-23.

62. Rashīd al-dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Jami 'al-Tawārikh*, 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 *Dastūr al-Wuzarā'* 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 *Jami' al-Tawārikh*. However, the story of Niẓām al-Mulk, Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ and 'Umar Khayyām having been school-fellows has been accepted by a reliable authority like the *Rauḍat al-Ṣafā* as well. Moreover, the "Sarguzasht-i Sayyidnā" also confirms it.

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ther in Nīshāpūr. They became devoted friends which resulted in their solem compact that whichever of them should reach a lofty rank should share his wealth and honour with the other two. Now it happened that Niẓām al-Mulk became the Prime Minister of Saljūqian Empire. 'Umar Khayyām reminded him of the covenant of their school days. Niẓām al-Mulk acknowledging the old compact gave 'Umar Khayyām the government of Nīshāpūr and its dependencies. But 'Umar Khayyām had no desire to administer a province. He preferred to get a stipend. Therefore, Niẓām al-Mulk sanctioned him a pension of ten thousand dīnārs from the treasury of Nīshāpūr, to be paid to him annually without the deduction of any tax.[63] After that Ḥasan Ḥabbāḥ came

63. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 253. He admits in his *A Literary History of Persia*, after a good deal of probing that they were Niām al-Mulk's contemporaries, for 'Umar Khayyām was his protege and Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ 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 Whimfield 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 Saracens*, op. cit., mentions the three school-fellows at page 317. A.J. Arberry. *The Legacy of Persia*, op. cit., refers to the three school-fellows at page 83. Sir John Malcolm, *Malcolm's History of Persia*, edited and adapted Persian translation Mirzā Ḥairat, with notes and dissertations by M.H. Court, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore.

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to demand his share. The narrative describes how Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ rejected the government of Ray or Iṣfahān, and would be content with nothing less than a high rank in the court, which position Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ 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 Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir at Cairo, where he supported the cause of Nizār and returned to Persia to carry on the "New Propaganda" in his name.

The author of *Tārīkh-i Istaẓharī*[64] says that Niẓām al-Mulk, Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ and 'Umar Khayyām were studying together at Nīshāpūr, and were schoolfellows. After 'Umar Khayyām, Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ was asked what he wanted. He replied that he desired to be employed in the Government. At this Niẓām al-Mulk gave him the charge of the revenue assessment of Hamadān and Dīnawār.[65] But Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ expected Niẓām al-Mulk to give him a share in the ministry, he felt insulted at his assignment, and he conceived hostile feelings towards Niẓām al-Mulk. Within a very short period of time Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ won over the courtiers and gained the favour of the Sulṭān to the view that as he (the King) had been

1888 discusses the story at page 245. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, volume XXIV, op. cit., speaks also about the association of three schoolfellows at page 609.

64. A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, op. cit , pp. 387-389.

65. Dawlat Shāh Samarqandī, *Tadhkirah*, op. cit., p. 64 and 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., p. 421.

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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 Sulṭān asked Niẓām 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, it could be accomplished in one year".[67] Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ said that he could do it in forty days. After forty days the Sulṭān asked Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ if he had completed his statement of accounts. Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ replied that he had and the document was presented. When the Sulṭān asked him about Ray, the leaf dealing with it was not in its place, Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ was perplexed, and his hands and feet began to shake. When the Sulṭān asked him further questions, Ḥasan

66. It is called in 'Arabic Anṭākiyah.

67. 'Abd al-Razzāq in his book *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi* writes that this task can be accomplished at least in two years, op. cit , page 423. The *Tārikh-i Istaẓharī* says that when Niẓām al-Mulk saw that Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ would complete the task in time, he asked his own servant to make friends with a favourite slave of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ, 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 Niẓām 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 Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ was not a fool to let his book fall into Niẓām al-Mulk's hands. Besides, the statement could not conceivably be completed within forty days.

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Ṣabbāḥ could not reply.[68] At that time, Niẓām al-Mulk submitted, "O my Lord, I knew from the beginning that this man was crazy. But when your majesty paid heed 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 Sulṭān ordered that Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ be driven out of the court. He concealed himself, and sought refuge with one of his friends. Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ several times hatched conspiracies to supplant his benefactor and, on the failure of his designs, he would have been executed but Nizām al-Mulk saved his life. He was even more magnanimous to his own murderer whom he forgave.

His own private servants often committed mistakes but he usually forgave them. According to *Ṭabqāt al-Kubrā*[69] it was the daily routine of Niẓām al-Mulk to distribute one hundred dīnārs to beggars and needy men every morning. He was generous by

68. Anon, *Dabistān-i Madhāhib*, Calcutta, 1809 a much later book, says that Niẓām al-Mulk diplomatically got the volume from the house of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ and disarranged the leaves of the same, that is why Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ could not give the correct reply to Sulṭān. The author of the *Dabistān-i Madhāhib*, has not mentioned his name in his book. However, Manẓūr Aḥsan 'Abbāsī holds that his name was Mīr Dhu al-fiqār 'Alī al-Ḥusainī. Manẓūr Aḥsan Abbāsī, *Makhṭūṭāt-i Fārsia*, 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.

Dawlat Shāh Samarqandī, op. cit,. also writes that the rikābdār of Niẓām al-Mulk took the slave of Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ into confidence and got the leaves disarranged so that Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ could not answer the questions put by Malik Shāh. All these statements seem to emerge from some common and, probably, Ismā'ilī sources.

69. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., p. 139.

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nature but his generosity was not extravagant. Faqī
Abū al-Qāsim says that one night he was the gues
of Niẓām al-Mulk. When the table was laid, he als
was at the table. The seating arrangement was suc
that Niẓām al-Mulk was on one side and on the othe
sider sat 'Amīd, a man of position, and by the sid
of 'Amīd there was a poor beggar whose right han
had been cut off. When the beggar started eatin
with his left hand, 'Amīd did not like his way o
eating. When Niẓām al-Mulk saw 'Amīd's face, h
asked the beggar to move and sit by him. After tha
he ate with the beggar. Ibn al-Athīr says that Niẓām
al-Mulk always entertained at his table beggars and
poor men. Beggars used to sit close to Niẓām al-
Mulk.[70]

A spirit of hatred and jealousy having sprung up
between Niẓām al-Mulk and Tāj al-Mulk Abu'l
Ghanā'im Ibn Dārist, a thing which frequently happ-
ens among men in high positions, the latter told Ibn
al-Habbāriyah to compose a satire on Niẓām al-Mulk,
promising the poet his favour and an ample recom-
pense in case he consented. "But how", said Ibn al-
Habbāriyah, "Can I attack a man to whose kind-
ness 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 Isḥāq rules and that fate
assists him; (Wonder not that) prosperity flows pure
for him and turbid for Abu'l Ghanā'im, fortune is

70. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol, X, op. cit., p. 72.

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like the wheel for raising water, it can not be turned but by Oxen".[71] When these verses were communicated to Niẓām al-Mulk, who was a native of Ṭūs, he merely observed that they contained an allusion to a common proverb saying that the people of Tūs 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 Niẓām 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 Niẓām al-Mulk's pages and followers, (who detested him) fromwhat they knew of his evil tongue".[72] He was not only noble in character, but also 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 Niẓām al-Mulk he would have appropriated the Empire to himself. But Niẓām al-Mulk always served the monarch and the Empire faithfully. Thus revealing his unselfish adherence to principles. Feelings of disaffection were increasing between Malik

71. 'Imād al-Dīn says, in his *Kharīdah*, that, on this occasion, Niẓām 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'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 9 n. Habbāryah means a female descended from Habbār.

72. Ibn Khallikān, *Waſayāt al-A'yān wa Anbā 'Abnā' al-Zamān*, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 9-10. Ibn al-Habbāriyah's full name is Sharīf Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad Ibn Sāliḥ Ibn al-Habbāriyah who was a native of Baghdād and was one of the poets patronised by Niẓām al-Mulk.

Shāh and Niẓām al-Mulk because of the prompting of Malik Shāh's queen, Terken Khātūn and Tāj al-Mulk and it is said that Niẓām al-Mulk was dismissed by Malik Shāh in favour of Tāj al-Mulk[73] on the charge of extravagant expenditure on the army and nepotism.

Malik Shāh's wrath burst out because of an unguarded reply made by Niẓām 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".[74] Niẓām 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 Sultān in fury dismissed Niẓām al-Mulk and replaced him by Tāj al-Mulk.[75] It seems probable, however., that whereas the Sulṭān's grave dissatisfaction with Niẓām al-Mulk was a fact, it could not go to the extent of Niẓām al-Mulk's dismissal. *The Cambridge History of Iran* seems to be correct 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 Iqbāl suupports *Cambridge History of Iran* in the following words:

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73. Rāwandī, Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr, op. cit., p. 135.
74. Ibid., p. 134 and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., pp. 70-71.
75. Ibid., p. 135.
76. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, op. cit., p. 263.

After the assassination of the Khwāja (the wazīr Niẓām al-Mulk) Malik Shāh went to Baghdād and nominated Tāj al-Mulk Abū al-Ghana'im in his place, but before the ceremonies regarding the installation of the new Khwāja (wazīr) could take place, the Sulṭān died on 10 Shawwāl 485 in Baghdād.[77]

Ibn Khallikān says that Tāj al-Mulk Abū al-Ghanā'im al-Qummī succeeded to the wazīrate on the death of Niẓām al-Mulk.[78] One of the earliest sources, Anūshirwān bin Khālid, says nothing about Niẓam al-Mulk's departure from office.[79] There are other arguments which prove that he was in office till the last gasp of his breath. If Taj 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 Niẓam al-Mulk's murder",[80] because, as Boyle says, "The wazīr's enemies at court concocted the murder in association with the assassins".[81] Tāj al-Mulk was so keen upon getting the office of the Prime Minister that he linked himself up with the Fidāīs. He was so strongly suspected of association with the murder that Tāj al-Mulk himself was as-

77. 'Abbās Iqbāl, *Wizārat dar 'Ahd-i Salātīn-i buzurg Saljūqī*, op. cit., p. 51.

ملک شاه بعد از قتل خواجه ببغدار رفت و تاج الملک ابو الغنائم را نامزد مقام خواجه نمود لیکن قبل از آنکه مراسم جلوس خواجه جدید بر دست وزارت بعمل آید سلطان در دهم شوال ۴۸۵ در بغداد فوت کرد -

78. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 9.
79. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, op. cit., p. 102.
80. Ibid , p. 70.
81. Ibid , p. 102.

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sassinated some four months later.[82] As a matter of fact, Niẓām al-Mulk remained in his office till his martyrdom. If Niẓām al-Mulk had been dismissed from his post then there was no sense in his travelling with Malik Shāh to Baghdād. Shortly before his departure, he handed over the *Siyāsat Nāmah* for calligraphy to Muḥammad Maghribī,[83] the copyist of the Royal Library. During this journey calamity befell him and there was yelling and crying as Niẓam al-Mulk was stabbed. Indeed Malik Shāh 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 Niẓām al-Mulk's dismissal is not true.[84] According to Rāwandī (d.A.H. 599/A C. 1202) "Terken Khātūn wanted to put Tāj al-Mulk in the office of Niẓām al-Mulk".[85] This shows that Terken Khātūn and her supporters in the court might have propagated a rumour about Niẓam al-Mulk's dismissal to win over the supporters of Niẓām 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

82. E.G, Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op. cit:, p. 187.

83. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. VI, and p. 265.

84. Mu'īn al-din Aḥmad Nadvī, *Tārīkh-i Islām: Khilāfat-i 'Abbāsia*, ed. 2, Vol. II, Ma'ārif Press A'ẓamgarh, A.H. 1372/A.C. 1953 says, Ibn al-Athīr did not discuss the dismissal.

85. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 133.

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he dismissal.[86] However, al-Athīr,[87] Ibn al-Qalānisī[88] nd al-Bundārī[89] either do not mention the dismissal r say clearly that Niẓām al-Mulk was not deposed. he Encyclopaedia of Islām says that Sulṭān Malik hāh "did not dare to dismiss him. The earliest his- orian to assert that he was dismissed is Rashīd al- Dīn Faḍl al-Allāh, who appears to have misunder- tood the purport of some verses by al-Naḥḥās quoted n the *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, and really composed after Niẓām's death".[90]

It is now opportune to say something about the ources. It is not at all possible to discuss the material f all the secondary sources cited in this thesis. But it is necessary to introduce the primary sources nd also to mention some important secondary sources egarding the history of the Saljūqs of which Niẓām l-Mulk is directly and indirectly an integral part. He not only remained the Wazīr 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

86. Ibid., p. 140. Jā'far 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 Niẓām al-Mulk's dismissal.

87. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, Cairo, A.H. 1301/A.C. 1883, pp. 84-85.

88. Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhail Tārīkh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, p. 121.

89 Al-Bundārī, *Dawlat al-Saljūq*, Cairo, 1900, pp. 59-60.

90. The Encyclopaedia of Islām, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, A.J. Wensinck, Vol. III, L-R, E.J. Brill, Leiden (Holland), 1936, p. 935

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murder of Niẓām al-Mulk.

The leading authorities on the history of th Saljūqs are Baihaqī and Ibn al-Athīr. A discussion o the latter work will follow. There are three othe main sources—the *Lam' al-Tawārīkh* in Arabic by Ab al-Futūḥ Barakāt b. Ismā'īl (d. A.H. 500/A C. 1106) the *Tārīkh-i Āli Saljūq* of Abū Ṭāhīr Khātūnī an the *Zawālu 'Uṣūr al-Wuzarā' wa Wuzarā 'uṣūr al-Zawāl*, by Sharaf al-dīn Anūshīrwān bin Khālid (d. A.H. 533/A C. 1138). The Tārīkh-i Āli Sabuktigīn[91] was written by Abū al-Faḍl Baihaqī (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 Sulṭan Mas'ūd of Ghazna. Baihaqī 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 displomatic relations between the Saljūqs and Ghaznavids. All parts of 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 Ghaznavids and the rise of the Saljūqs.

91. Abū al-Faḍl Baihaqī *Tārikh-i Baihaqi*, Calcutta, 1864, p. 246. I.H. Qureshi. *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, 4th ed. The Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, 1958. pp. 11-12. *Tārikh-i Baihaqi* "is only a fragment of his greater work, the *Tārikh-i Āli Sabuktigin*."

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The *Siyāsat Nāmah*[92] is a treatise on history, and the art of government and administration. The first Persian text was published in Paris by M. Charles Schefer in 1891, and the French translation by Schefer with helpful historical notes in 1893; and a "supplement", containing information regarding the life and times of the Niẓām al-Mulk was published in 1897 by Schefer. It was one of the rare manuscripts before the publications of the first edition in 1891.

B.N. Zakhoder rendered the *Siyāsat Nāmah* into Russian and published it in 1949, from Moscow. Subsequently the Persian text was edited by S. 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khalkhālī and published from Teherān in 1932. The author of this thesis has used the Qazvīni's edition of 1344/A.C. 1965 which is more satisfactory than other publications.

Malik Shāh commissioned some of his experienced advisers, Sharaf al-Mulk, Majd al-Mulk, Tāj al-Mulk, Niẓām 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 Sulṭān liked none except that by Niẓām al-Mulk and said "I will make this book my guide and follow its maxims."

Niẓām al-Mulk wrote thirty-nine chapters of *Siyāsat Nāmah* extempore. As he was constantly facing the enemies of the Saljūq Empire, he could add

92. A review on the *Siyāsat Nāmah* by Professor Nöldeke was published in Volume XLVI of the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft in 1892, at pages 761 to 768. (Wiesbaden, Germany)

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the remaining eleven chapters only at the time of revision and completed it in A H. 485/A.C. 1092. Seven chapters of it deal with the heretics, there origin and growth. Thus the *Siyāsat Namah* 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 Nāmah* 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 Niẓām al-Mulk brought about the disintegration of the state. This is one of the proofs of his administrative farsightedness. His practical administrative abilities are epitomised in what may be called a Model Statesman's Manual, the *Siyāsat Nāmah*, for which he is famous.

Niẓām al Mulk gives detailed information regarding how to keep the Sulṭān fully informed of all matters within his Empire, including the doings of the governors of the provinces through "Barīd". He outlined the paths which a Sulṭān should follow if he wanted to keep his subjects satisfied. According to I H. Qureshī, "his *Siyāsat Nāmah* was the bible of Muslim administrators".[93]

The *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr wa Āyāt al-Surūr* was written by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥusain b. Hammat al-

93. I.H. Qureshī, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, op. cit., p. 19.

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Rāwandī in A H. 599/A C. 1202. This book has been edited with notes, glossary and indices by Muḥammad Iqbāl 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 Saljūq dynasty. This book of al-Rāwandī became known to students in 1865. when it was noticed by De Jong and De Goeje as forming the original of the *Tawārīkh-Āli Saljūq* compiled in Turkish during the reign of Sulṭān 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. Tchefer in 1897 in his "supplement" to the *Siyāsat Nāmah* of Niẓām al-Mulk. The discussion of the period (A.H. 552-590/A.C. 1157-1194) relates to the decline and fall of the Saljūq power on which this book is an incomparable authority, for the author himself and his uncles were some of the favourite courtiers of Sulṭān Ṭughril, the last of the Saljūqs, 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 Anwarī, Niẓāmī and Jamāl al-dīn Iṣfahānī, most of whom were contemporaries of the author. He belonged to a learned family of Rāwand which was a small town in the neighbourhood of Kāshān, whose members were all scholars and professors. There was no peace in the country, during the years following the death of Sulṭān Ṭughril in

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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-Rāwandī 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. 1169-1199 for almost nothing can be found either in al-Bundārī or Ibn al-Athīr 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 Saljūq history in this work is not so reliable for it largely depends on *Saljūq Nāmah* of Ẓahīr al-dīn Nīshāpūrī who was his relation. Occasional errors have crept into this book. The first edition of this work was dedicated to Rukn al-dīn, but after his death in A.H. 601/A.C. 1204 and Kaikhusraw'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 Sulṭān. It was but natural to use works like the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū and the *Tārīkh-i Guzīdah* of Mustawfī. These were also used by the writers of the *Rauḍat al-Ṣafā*, the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* and the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*. Qādī Aḥmad Ghaffārī might have used *Rāḥat al Ṣudūr* in compiling his *Tārīkh-i Jahān Ārā*. The famous 'Amād al-dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī's

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d. A H. 597/A.C. 1200) book *Nurṣrat al-Fatrah wa Uṣrat al-Faṭrah* is in fact the Arabic translation of he Persian chronicle by the Wazīr Sharaf al-dīn Anūshīrwān b. Khālid, and has been published in Bundārī's Arabic recension, entitled *Zubdat al-Naṣrah va Nukhbat al-'Uṣrah* by Houtsma and published from Leiden in 1889. *Zubdat al-Naṣrah* was actually written by Sharaf al-dīn Anūshirwān b. Khālid who became Wazīr during the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad in A.H. 511/A C. 1117 to A.H. 525/A.C. 1131. He has also written a book *Fu'ūru Zāmān al-Ṣudūr wa Ṣudūru Zamān al Futūr* in Persian language in which he covered the ministers beginning from the middle of the period of Niẓām al-Mulk to the and of the period of Sulṭān Ṭughril bin Muḥammad bin Malik Shāh upto A.H. 527/A.C. 1133. 'Amād al-dīn completes the history of the Saljūqī wazīrs by adding the period from 'Amīd al-Mulk Abū Naṣr al-Kundūrī to the middle of Niẓām al-Mulk's tenure in the beginning and the history of the ministers of Ṭughril bin Muḥammad upto those of the Saljūqs 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-Fataḥ Bundārī's (d. A H. 623/A.C. 1226) Arabic revision of al-Kātib's work entitled *Zubdat al Naṣrah wa Nukhbat al-'Uṣrah* has been editited by Houtsma. This book gives us valuable information about the Saljūqs. Bundā.ī has simplified the difficult style of al-Kātib so that the book may be easily understood by the readers.

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Zain al-Akhbār is written by Abū Sa'īd 'Abd Ḥaī b. Aḍḍaḥḥāk bin Maḥmūd Gardezī. He hims lived during the reigns of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Sulṭ Mas'ūd. He completed his work during the time Sulṭān 'Abd al-Rasbīd Ghaznavī. This work is bett than *Tārikh-i Baihaqī* in the respect that it cove Maḥmūd Ghaznavi as well as the beginning of t Saljūqs. No one else gives first-hand informati about the early Saljūqs.

The *Al-Kāmil fi-'l-Tārīkh* of Izz al-dīn Abū a Ḥussain 'Alī b. Muḥammad commonly known as Ib al-Athīr (d. A.H. 630/A.C. 1232) is well known. It wa published from Egypt in A.H. 1303/A.C. 1885. It considered one of the most authentic sources in th history of Islām due to its encyclopaedic information He was not the contemporary of the Saljūqs; but h was very near to that period. He had excellent mean of getting the information. We get a mass of detailed information about the Saljūqs and the Saljūqs o 'Irāq and Syria. Ibn al-Athīr's accuracy is corroborat ed by W. Barthold in his introduction to *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion.*

Dhail Tārīkh-i Dimashq was written by Abū Ya'lā Ḥamza b. Asad commonly known as Ibn al-Qalānīssī (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

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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 Zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (d. A.H. 655/A.C. 1257). It is available in two volumes published in Hyderabad (Deccan), A.H. 1370-1/A.C. 1951-52 and also in the facsimile edition of J.R. Jewett with an introduction.

Wafayāt al-A'yān wa Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān is a well-known work of Qāḍī Shams al-dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bkr b. Khallikān Barmakī (d. A.H. 681/A.C. 1282). It was published in Egypt, de Slane translated it into English in four volumes and S. Mo'īn al-Ḥaq of Pakistan Historical Society has edited it. We gather a good deal from it about the characters of the leading personalities belonging to the Saljūq 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 the biographies of Malik Shāh and Sanjar with many details. It also deals with the Muslim education systems of that period.

Al-Mukhtaṣar-fī Akhbār al-Bashar was written by Abū al-Fidā' (d. A.H. 732/A.C. 1331). This book has also been considered authentic in the field of the history of Islām. It gives political, academic and sociological information of the Saljūq Empire.

Mīrkhwānd Muḥammad Ibn Khāwind Shah

Maḥmūd's (d. A.H. 903/A.C. 1497) *Rauḍat al-Ṣafā'* published in Bombay in A.H. 1291/A.C. 1874 is equally famous in the West and in the East. Its information regarding the history of the Arabs is often unreliable. But the information and materials concerning the history of the non-Arabs are reliable. It often furnishes details about the Saljūqs which are not available elsewhere.

Tārīkh-i Guzīdah by Ḥamd Allāh bin Abī Bakr Qazvīnī in A.H. 730/A.C. 1329 was reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1900.-1901. It is neither as reliable nor as detailed as the primary sources. The *Tārīkh-i Guzīdah* and the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* have both been popular sources with all the later Persian historians who, therefore, have indirectly used the *Saljūq Nāmah*.

Walī al-dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Jābir b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn[94] (d. A.H. 808/A.C. 1406), is more famous for his *Muqaddimah* than for his *Kitāb al-'Ibar wa*-Dīvān al-Mubtadā' wal-*Khabar fi Ayyām al-'Arab wal 'Ajam wal Berber* which deals with the Saljūq period

94. Hāroon Khān Sherwānī, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*. Shāikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1970, p. 185.

An autobiography of Ibn-Khaldūn has been edited by Al-Ṭanjī from Cairo in 1951 in which the date of birth of Ibn-Khaldūn has been given as 1342 by Sherwānī while nearly all the authors mention 1332. Muḥammad bin Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, *Al-Ta'rif bi Ibn-i Khaldūn wa Riḥlatuhū Gharban wa Sharqan*, al-Qāhira, A.H. 1370/A.C. 1951. There is no difference in his accepted date of birth in Al-Ṭanjī's book. Dā'ra al-Ma'ārif al-Islāmia, Vol. I. Al-A'tamād. Miṣr, A.H. 1352/A.C. 1933, pp. 152-53.

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to a greater extent.

The first *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ḥusainī (d. A H. 622/A.C. 1225) contains many details of the career of Sulṭān Ṭughril not to be found in the *Rāḥat al-Ṣūdūr*.

The *Jāmī' al-Tawāri* of Rashīd al-dīn was written in A.H. 599/A.C. 1202. It treats, at great length, the last ten years of Ṭughril's reign (A.H. 580-590/A.C. 1184-1194).

The *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī* by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Razzāq Kānpūrī first published in 1912 from Kānpūr (India), exclusively deals with Niẓām al-Mulk and covers his entire career. The author has quoted two letters of Niẓām al-Mulk which he addressed to his sons, Mu'id al-Mulk and Fakr al-Mulk which are of considerable importance. The Urdu translation of *Dastūr al-Wuzarā,* (Waṣāyā) has also been included in this book which is not easily available elsewhere. It is one of the best biographies of Niẓām al-Mulk ever written.

Chapter 11

NIẒĀM AL-MULK AS A THINKER

Niẓām 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 Shāh. Malik Shāh asked his leading officers, Sharaf al-Mulk, Tāj al-Mulk, Majd al-Mulk and Niẓām al-Mulk[1] to produce books on politics and administration; only Niẓām 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 Saljūqian State. Any one who wishes to understand the political thought of Niẓām 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

1. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 2.

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and the factors that conduce to the creation of political vigour, of public spirit, of stability and the expansion of territories. Niẓām 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. Niẓām 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 Niẓām al-Mulk is guided by the Sharī'a. He believes in the Sunnī 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.[2] Niẓām al-Mulk accepts the masses as equals in faith, in law and in the observance of various forms of Muslim worship. Niẓām al-Mulk held that only the Sharī'a could form the basis as well as the constitutional law of the Saljūqian state recognizing no distinction between religious and secular functions of the government and the state.

Niẓām 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'a in a Muslim State. He is of the opinion that without the agency of a religio-socio-political organization, man cannot fulfil 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 trans-

2. Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. IV, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1950, p. 332. Durant holds that Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī influenced prominent Christian apologists who borrowed his ideas. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XI, eleventh edition, New York, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 342, Madison Avenue, 1910, p. 916, says that Niẓām al-Mulk appointed him to a professorship in his college at Baghdad in 1091.

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orm 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] Nizām al-Mulk 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 adminstrative reality. The very title of the book reveals Nizām al-Mulk'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 administrative 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.

3. Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, 2nd ed., Leiestumabridge American Webster, Merriam Co., 1954.

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And this is mainly what Niẓām 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.

Niẓām al-Mulk's education, travels, experience, and wide range of reading gave him an excellent grounding in Islāmic 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 Islām. His main ideas can be understood correctly only if the Islāmic frame of reference is kept in mind. He was deeply influenced by Islamic universalism and it is not

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possible to agree with Kritzeck when he says that he was "to some extent serving the cause of Persian nationalism "[4] 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-Islāmic Irānian traditions, their influences can surely be traced in Nizām 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 Irānian nationalism because he sincerely follows the views of Muslim jurists like al-Māwardi 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 Islām itself.

He begins his *Siyāsat Nāmah* in the name of Allāh and ends with the statement that "Allāh Knoweth best what is right".[5] This God-consciousness

4. Kritzeck, James, (ed) *Anthology of Islamic Literature*, Halt Rinehart and Winston, New York, Chicago and San Francisco, 1964 ; p. 153.

5. Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit p. 266.

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permeates the entire thought of Niẓām al-Mul
The ideas of justice, benevolence and morality a
stem from it. Indeed, the fact that Niẓām al-Mulk
approach is moral emanates from his strong faith
an omnipresent and omniscient God Who does no
tolerate injustices and oppression or fraud and fals
hood. That is why his thoughts are lofty, his approac
highly responsible and his presentation sincere an
simple. No conscious effort was needed by him i
this; indeed, almost all Muslim thinkers, to mentio
only few, like al-Fārābī, al-Māwardī and al-Ghazzāli
in different fields, have maintained their Islāmic out-
look in their thought, whether based on pure reason
or on authority. He, however, differs from philoso-
phers 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 Niẓām al-Mulk and out and out
philosophic thinkers is that whereas the latter usually
support their views with rational arguments, Niẓām
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 respon-

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sibility of a ruler for the welfare of the people. "It is said that at the time of his father's death 'Abd Allah bin 'Umar al-Khaṭṭāb (may Allah be pleased with them) asked, 'O father' where and when shall I see you again'? The father ('Umar) replied. 'In the next world'. 'Abd Allah 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'.[6] The moral of the anecdote is so clear that it needs no clarification, but, for a Muslim 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 Niẓām al-Mulk's interest in the rights of the people is, once again, his religion which insists that "Ḥuqūq al-'Ibād" take precedence over piety. A wrong done to a human being, be he a

6. Ibid., p. 12.

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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. Niẓām 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 corner-stone of Niẓām 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 Niẓām 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 some times the best human effort fails to produce the desired result and some objects

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are achieved without any effort[7] through what may be called a happy coincidence or chance, but to Niẓām 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.

Niẓām 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 Islām, 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 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 Niẓām 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 siezed power through his sword would look upon the throne

7. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit, p.315. For example Niẓām al-Mulk writes in his *Waṣāyā* that once he besieged the impregnable fort under Faḍlūya, 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.

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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. Niẓām 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 Niẓām 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

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whomsoever He likes.[8] Thus even if human effort or circumstances endow a person with power, he can not 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 immunity upon him from rebellion. It has to be remembered that Nizām al-Mulk upholds the superiority of the Shari'a over the monarch who is as subject to it as his humblest subject. The Shari'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.

قل اللهم مالک الملک توء تی الملک من تشآء و تنزع الملک ممن تشآء

'Say : 'O Allāh ! owner of sovereignty ! Thous givest sovereignty unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou withdrawest sovereignty from whom Thou wilt''. Qur'ān, iii, 26 : English translation by Marmaduke Pickthall, Nazleesons, Temple Road, Karachi, 1974, p. 34.

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This is the whole point in the anecdotes relati to the Caliph 'Umar and the Prophet Joseph.[9] Niẓā al-Mulk holds that however virtuous a ruler mig have been, whatever might have been his religio status in the world, if he had been entrusted with t affairs of the people in the world, he shall be que tioned after his death regarding any conscious unconscious lapse on his part. Not even the slighte injury to a human being shall go without punishme or retribution.

This Niẓām al-Mulk's theory is only superficiall akin to the western theory of the Divine Right kings and is totally different from it in its implica tions. According to Niẓām al-Mulk, God does no choose a man for a throne without laying heavy res ponsibility upon him. His purpose in this choice is t provide for "the well-being of His creatures"[10] an the king is "to close the doors of corruption, confusio and discord"[11] so that "under his just rule"[12] me "may live their lives in constant security".[13] If h does so his subjects would desire the continuance o

9. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit , p. 12. The former ha 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' ?

10. Ibid., p. 7.
11. Ibid., p. 7.
12. Ibid., p. 7.
13. Ibid., p. 7.

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 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'a, Niẓām al-Mulk is not advocating the establishment 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 Niẓām 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.

Niẓām al-Mulk naturally does not go into the question of the Caliphate in details for 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—

14. McLlwain (Editor), *The Political Works of James I*, Cambridge, Mass, 1918, p. 307.

15. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, *Muslim Conduct of State*, Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1365/1945, pp. 80-81.

The word 'theocracy' was coined by Flavius Josephus to characterise the type of the Israelite state.

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which were respected and invoked affection, neve
theless in actual fact were inoperative. The monarch
partly out of respect for the Islāmic legal form
and partly because of popular sentiment, sought
approval and showed all respect to it. In view of t
hold of the Sharī'a on the people, it was politic
do so, but there the matter ended. However, Niẓā
al-Mulk was aware of the dangers involved in medd
ing with the institution of the Caliphate even wh
it had become decrepit. Apart from the dange
perhaps his own sentiments dictated loyalty to th
House of 'Abbās. Nevertheless, in the realm of practic
politics, now it was the Sulṭān who was importa
and it is he who is the real subject of Niẓām al-Mulk
thought, who did find a basis for justifying the exi
tence of the Sultanate in its own right and not on
as the recipient of delegated or usurped authori
from the Caliphate. Here he differs radically from th
jusists like al-Māwardī. For Niẓām al-Mulk the Su
tanate was as much an instrument of God's dispe
sation for the good of the people as the Caliph
had been in its palmy days of power and authorit
The *Siyāsat Nāmah* is a book of politics in its actu
and practical form and not a book on Islāmic la
As a book of practical politics it had no compeer f
several centuries.

This would be clear from comparing it with th
two books on similar topics nearest to its time. Th
Qābūs Nāmah was written in 1082, nine years befo
the composition of the *Siyāsat Nāmah* by 'Unṣur a

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Ma'ālī Kaikāūs b. Sikandar b. Qābūs b. Washmgir, prince of Tabaristān, at the age of sixty-three for his son Gilān Shāh, who became the last ruling member of a small princely house, the Ziyārids. The *Qābūs 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 Qābūs Nāmah* gives advice on a wide range of subjects containing forty-four chapters. Kritzeck says, "it is considered, together with the *Siyāsat Nāmah* and the *Chāhār Maqāla*, one of the three greatest works of early Persian prose".[16] The style of the *Qābūs Nāmah* is less rugged and more polished than that of the *Siyāsat Nāmah*. "Bahār rates the *Chahār Maqāla* as one of the four masterpieces of early Persian prose, placing it on the same level as the *Tārīkh-i Baihaqī*, the *Qābūs Nāmah* and the *Siyāsat Nāmah*".[17]

Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Alī Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī[18] Samarqandī composed his *Chahār Maqāla* in about A.H. 550/A.C. 1156 for the prince, Shams al-Ma'ālī Malik al-Umarā' 'Abd al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mas'ūd, of the Bāmiyān line of the Ghūrid dynasty. This is one of

16. Kritzeck, James, ed. *Anthology of Islamic Literature*, op. cit., p. 160.

17. A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, op. cit., p. 102.

18. His title was Najm al-Dīn, but he is always known by his pen name of Niẓāmī.

Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī, *Chahār Maqāla*, op. cit. p. IX.

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the famous books of Persian literature, and discus
in four discourses, illustrated with many anecdot
the four important professions: the civil servi
poetry, astrology and medicine. Its style did n
agree with contemporary trends. But it stands as
monument of early Persian prose. He cared less abo
the absolute accuracy of his expositions than abo
the elegance of their expression. The *Chahār Maqā*
was written sixty-five years after the *Siyāsat Nāma*
and does not deal, like the *Siyāsat Nāmah*, exclusive
and systematically with politics and administratio
Thus the *Qābūs Nāmah* is the first book on the art
government in Persian, but a critical analysis show
that it is not systematic or comprehensive, whereas
the *Siyāsat Nāmah* combines these qualities. Thu
neither the *Qābūs Nāmah* nor the *Chahar Maqā*
stand in comparison with the *Siyāsat Nāmah*. O
course, Machiavelli's *Prince* was not written unti
A.C. 1513, more than four centuries later, and unlik
the *Siyāsat Nāmah* was thoroughly amoral in it
approach.

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Chapter III

NIẒĀM AL-MULK AS A STATESMAN

Niẓām al-Mulk's eminence as a thinker has been iscussed at length in a previous chapter, but he was ven more eminent as a practical statesman. Indeed, e was not only incomparable in the qualities of tatesmanship among his contemporaries, but also here have been few in history who can seriously and comparison with him. The dictionary defines a atesman as "a man versed in the principles and art government; one who shows unusual wisdom in eating or directing great public matters".[1] The rm, however, is loosely applied to politicians of hemeral importance, but the difference between a atesman and a politician has been practically set t in the dictum that "the politician thinks of mself and his party; the statesman thinks of the ople and the country".[2] However, "the practical atesman is interested in theory and knowledge only so far as they can be immediately applied as apons in the struggle for political power".[3] Niẓām Mulk no doubt applied his energies to further the

1. Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, ond edition, G and C Merriam Co., 1954, p. 2461.
2. Ibid., p. 1909.
3. Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Edwin R.A. Seligman, Vol. the MacMillan & Co., New York, September/1951, p. 210.

interests of his sovereign and the state, but he d
not stop there. As a believing Muslim, he held t
interests of Islām and the world community of Mu-
lims as supreme while dealing with individual mo-
archs and states. If any short term interests came in
conflict with moral principles on the one hand a
the well-being of a larger entity or community
the other, he sacrificed the short-term gains. Niẓā
al-Mulk invariably sought to ensure a conformi
and compatibility between the interests that he w
employed to safeguard and those that he had
serve in conscience as an orthodox faithful Musli
He lived in a difficult world which had more than i
normal share of internecine conflicts and narr
loyalties. His greatness lies in smoothing them o
and steering clear of the temptation, natural in t
direction of the policies of a great Empire, to asse
its supremacy above legally recognized institutio
with almost negligible material power like the 'Abb
sid Khilāfat. Besides, he tried to maintain good rel
tions with like-minded Muslim states, even though h
had the resources and strength to provokeconflictswit
them and then establish the superiority of the Saljūq
A practical statesman is concerned with the co-ordina
tion and intergration of day to day political activity
The course to be adopted in a given political situa
tion cannot be anticipated in advance but arises fro
a certain tact, which in all cases must work wit
unpredictable sets of facts, weigh many impalpabl
factors and balance intangible alternatives. We fin

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that many an unpredictable set of problems was successfully resolved by Niẓām al-Mulk throughout his long career as a Prime Minister. His *Siyāsat 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 construction 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".[4] The greatness of Niẓām al-Mulk is that he imagined, scrutinized and analysed 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 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,

4. Ibid., p. 222.

5. Ibid., p. 226.

Henry Kissinger said, "the statesmen's achievements are imperfect and partial".[6]

Niẓām 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 the 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 opportunist 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 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 Niẓām 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'a. Reck rightly observes that "without adequate guid-

6. Henry S. Kissinger, "U.S. Foreign Policy", *Horizons U.S A.*, United States Information Service (74-202. 19), p. 11.

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ance, supplied by education and philosophy, the statesman is at sea".[7] In the case of Niẓām 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 Niẓāmiyah[8] and a philosopher of towering personality, the famous Imām al-Ghazzālī.[9] 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 an well as in his *Siyāsat Nāmah*. The Saljūqs appeared on the Eastern political horizon and gave a new life and vigour to the Islāmic world by obliterating all the hostile forces, particularly in the reigns of Alp Arslān and his son Sulṭān Malik Shāh. Niẓām al-Mulk remained close to both the Sulṭāns 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

7. Andrew J. Reck, *The New American Philosophers : An Exploration f Thought Since World War II*, Louisiana State, University Press, 1968, . 269.

8. Philip K. Hitti, *The Near East in History*, (A 5000 year story), D. an Nostrand Co., New York, 1960, p. 358. "Though basically a theological seminary, the madrasah of Niẓām al-Mulk did some justice to the umanities and concerned itself with training for public careers".

9. He was known as Imām al-Jalīl (The Great Leader). Ḥujjat al-slām (Proof of Islām) and Zain al-dīn (Ornament of the Faith).

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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 remarkable degree in the book, *Naṣā'iḥ al-Wūzarā' Wa al-Umarā'* written by the statesman, Sari Mehmed *Pāshā*,[10] as late as in the eighteenth century.

Niẓām al-Mulk's inspiring leadership was felt in every walk of life under the Saljūq rule.[11] This imaginative and versatile statesman[12] occupied the first place as a Minister on the state of the vast and turbulent Eastern Islāmic World. For more than thirty years his talent was applied to the domestic and foreign affairs of the Saljūq Empire. Niẓām al-Mulk established a respectful bond of friendship with the Caliphate since the very beginning of the Saljūq rule. Niẓām al-Mulk realized that the Caliphate carried

10. Sari Mehmed Pāshā, *Naṣā'iḥ al-Wūzrā'wa al-Umarā'*, Ed. and translated by Walter Livingston Wright, Princeton, 1935. Sari Mehmed Pāshā wrote a handbook of Ottoman statecraft during his career as treasurer to the Ottoman Sulṭān Aḥmad III who ruled 1115/1703-1143/1730. Sari Pāshā aspired to the office of Grand wazīr but was executed by the Government.

11. R.N. Frye, ed : *The Period from the Arab invasion to the Saljūqs* (The Cambridge History of Iran), Volume IV, Cambridge University Press, 1975, p. 463. "With the coming of the Saljūqs many political and intellectual transformations tock place which changed completely the direction of the development of philosophy, the sciences and kalām".

12. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume XXIV, op. cit., p. 609. Niẓām al-Mulk was a "renowned author and statesman of the first rank".

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more weight in the world of Islām than any Sultanate however strong or flourishing.

Niẓām 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 Saljūq 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 became more prosperous then they were in their ancestral lands. After achieving this limited end they lost their original motivation. An emipre could not be sustained by such forces. It needed a standing and professional army and Niẓām 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 Qutlumush and Qāvurt, with a large Turkmen force, were still lurking in the Alburz[13] 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 the tact, wisdom, efficiency and statesmanship of Niẓām al-Mulk. Fortified with this general recognition, Alp Arslām became the real power. Consequen-

13. It is also pronounced Elburz.

tly, Qutlumush was killed in the battle-field and Qāvurt made an agreement with Alp Arslān.[14]

Once Sulṭūn 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 Sulṭān said that neither the army nor money could prevent death Niẓām 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 slightly'. As a result, no death occureed during the next six years. It was quite manifest that the produce of the country had tremendously

14. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., pp. 60-61

increased and people had prospered. After hearing this story, Sulṭān Alp Arslān cancelled his previous orders and met the requirements of the army from the treasury".[15] It is obvious that if the Sulṭān 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 Niẓām al-Mulk. He was informed by spies that Qutlumush[16] had left the fortess of Kuid Kūh and started plundering the country and soon Ray was to be attacked. Alp Arslān also started towards Nishāpūr and he and his army reached Dāmghān. Alp Arslān, compelled by his brotherly affection, sent a message to Qutlumush to desist from mischief. Qutlumush did not pay any attention and started looting the area around Ray. Qutlumush filled wādi al-Milḥ[17] with water making a passage to Ray impossible. This situation worried Alp Arslān. Niẓām 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 'Ulamā' and the ṣūfis of Khurāsān,[18] whom I have treated with kindness and magnanimity. All of them are praying for the victory of the Sulṭān. This army of yours is your best support".

15. *Ibid*; pp. 346-47.

16. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., p. 12.

17. 'Abd al-Razzâq. *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., pp. 476-77.

18. Khurāsān is obviously been used here in the sense of Īrān as earlier writers sometimes loosely did.

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After saying this he put on his armour, proceeded with Alp Arslān and distributed money to the troops. The Sulṭān 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.[19] When the Sulṭān returned to Ray in A.H. 456/A.C. 1063, 'Amīd al-Mulk welcomed him with full military honours. On this clear and decisive victory, Alp Arslān was greatly pleased with Niẓām al-Mulk.

After this victory Alp Arslān set out for jihād against the Byzantians from Ray towards Ādharbā'ijān in A.H. 456/A.C. 1063. Alp Arslān directed Malik Shāh to attack other Byzantian fortresses. Accordingly Malik Shāh captured one fortress after another. Among these, there was a fortress near Surmaī, which was also captured by Malik Shāh who ordered its demolition. But Niẓām al-Mulk very politely demurred and impressed upon Malik Shāh that it being a border citadel, it could be stocked as an arsenal[20] to be used in case of future warfare. The advice was accepted and Niẓām al-Mulk's foresight was later justified.

The Saljūq Sulṭāns did not make Baghdād their capital[21] as they resided in Ray. A resident was

19. 'Abd al-Razzāq, Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī, op. cit., p. 477.

20. Ibid,, p. 479.

21. Philip K. Hitti, *The Near East in History*, op. cit., p. 295. "Ṭughril kept his seat of government in al-Rayy, Alp chose Iṣfahān, but Alp's son Malik Shāh (1072-1092) moved from Iṣfahān to Baghdād". Hitti is wrong in saying that Malik Shāh moved his capital to Baghdād.

posted at Baghdād to watch their interests. In A.H. 464/A.C. 1071 Alp Arslān sent one Amīr Aytakin (Ai-Tegin) al-Sulaymānī as resident to Baghdād. When he reached Baghdād in Rabī'al 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 Sulṭān and asked for the dismissal of the Resident. On Niẓām al-Mulk's advice, the Sulṭān dismissed him and appointed in his place Sa'd al-Dawla Gauhar Ā'īn. Gauhar Ā'īn was heartily welcomed and a Darbar was held in his honour.[22] It was Niẓām al-Mulk's statesmanship that led to an amicable settlement, because, otherwise, the powerful Alp Arslān would have tried to force Aytakin (Ai-Tegin) Sulaymānī 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 Niẓām al-Mulk to secure the succession for his son Malik Shāh.[23] Immediately after the death of the Sulṭān, Niẓām al-Mulk took "Bai'at" (oath of allegiance) from the Commanders and important men of the state in favour of Malik Shāh. Meanwhile, Niẓām al-Mulk sent the news of Malik Shāh's succession to the Caliph at Baghdād and

22. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit , p. 29.

23. Alp Arslān had seven sons among them Malik Shāh had been recognized as heir since A.H. 458/A.C. 1066.

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secured recognition for him so that the Khuṭba wa read in his name. He officially informed the gover nors of the different provinces and the neighbourin kings and states about the succession. And for winn ing over the hearts of the regular army and th auxiliary troops, Niẓām al-Mulk increased the salar ies of the troops by a total of 700,000 dīnārs.[24] I was necessary, at that juncture, to secure the loyalty of the army to crush the new Sulṭān's brother, uncl and other possible rivals. Niẓām al-Mulk's statesman ship 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 recogni tion from the Caliph for his candidate. Besides, time was the very essence of success in the entire proceed ings. If Niẓām al-Mulk had faltered, the Empire could have been thrown into the turmoil of a civil war. He knew that in such matters *fait accompli* is the best guarantee of success.

At the beginning of Malik Shāh's reign, the states man, Niẓām al-Mulk had enhanced the soldiers' allowances by 700,000 dīnārs in order to secure their loyaity against possible rivals for the succession. Later, Malik Shāh, motivated by economy, expressed the desire of discharging most of the troops. Niẓām

24. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 87.

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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 Kirmān[25] and other provinces, reached Ray, he reviewed the army and discharged 70,000 Armenian soldiers in the teeth of Niẓām al-Mulk's opposition. Niẓām 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".[26] The Sulṭān did not listen to the statesman and the retrenched troops joined his brother Tekish, who used them in a rebellion against Malik Shāh.[27] Eventually, Tekish captured Tirmidh and proceeded towards Nīshāpūr, 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 Sulṭān was touring al-Jazīrah,[28] Tekish again revolted and marched upto Sarakhs. This time he would have conquered Ray, if Abū al-Futūḥ Ṭūsī, one of the friends of Niẓām al-

25. Kirmān is situated in Southern Persia.
26. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 81.
27. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., pp. 52 and 76.
28. It is in the upper Mesopotamian region.

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Mulk, at his instigation, had not given Tekish a politically tactful bluff saying that Malik Shāh was back in Ray. Tekish became frightened and went to Wanaj. After three months, Malik Shāh returned and decided to deal with him. He surrendered and after some time, he was blinded and imprisoned[29] and paid the penalty for his disloyalty. Niẓām 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 Niẓām al-Mulk had a correct grasp over the affairs of the state and like a true statesman could foresee difficulties. Malik Shāh had been recognized as heir apparent since A.H. 458/A.C. 1066 and his name had been included in Khuṭba[30] in that capacity. In A.H. 465/A.C. 1072 Qāvurt, his uncle rebelled and ultimately he was defeated and arrested. Ibn Khallikān writes that after his arrest Qāvurt was brought before Malik Shāh and he craved pardon for his rebelliousness. Malik Shāh paid no heed to his pleadings. Then Qāvurt presented to the Sulṭān a bundle of letters from high officials in which every one had expressed loyalty to Qāvurt. Seeing this bundle, Sulṭān called Niẓām al-Mulk and ordered him to read out to him every letter. Niẓām al-Mulk took the bundle from the Sulṭān and put all the letters in the fire-place which burnt them into ashes in no time

29. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kâmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., pp. 48 and 55.

30. Ibid ; p. 20 ; Mīrkhwānd, *Rauḍat al-Ṣāfa*, Vol. IV, Bombay, A.H. 1291/A.C. 1874, p. 100.

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 Niẓām 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 Niẓām al-Mulk that every one should be given promotion as a reward. If the Sulṭān did not pay heed to this request, the army's sympathies might turn to Qāvurt. Niẓām al-Mulk heard this demand from the army coolly and calmly. Niẓām al-Mulk satisfied them by saying that he would put the matter the very next day before the Sulṭān. In the night he consulted the Sulṭān and Qāvurt was executed with his consent. Early next morning, when the heads of the army came to hear the reply of the Sulṭān, Niẓām al-Mulk told them the Qāvurt Beg had killed[32] himself last night by taking poison and therefore, the Sulṭān was overwhelmed with grief on his uncle's death. This was not a suitable time for asking

31. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 353.

32. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit , p. 141. Qāvurt is generally pronounced Qadard.

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for a reward. At this, the heads of the army w[ent] away quietly and thus the grave danger of a rev[olu]tion was averted.[33] There are numerous instan[ces] like this of Niẓām al Mulk's far reaching foresigh[t to] narrate all of which would be tedious. "He [ap]Turkmen immigrants, who had entered Irān with [the] Seljūks, engaged in hostilities outside the country[34] as "statesman of the first rank".[35]

In A.H. 476/A.C. 1083 one of Malik Shāh's clo[se] companions (Nadims) and son-in-law of Niẓām al-M[ulk] Saiyid al-Ru'asā' Abū al-Maḥāsin Muḥammad co[m]plained that Niẓām al-Mulk had defrauded [the] Empire of large sums of money and amassed v[ast] treasures.[36] If Niẓām al-Mulk was handed over to h[im] he offered to deposit a million dīnārs in the Impe[rial] treasury. Malik Shāh paid no heed to this calum[ny] Niẓām al-Mulk, however, came to know, about it [by] somemeans. He first of all equipped his several thousa[nd] slaves as cavalry men by giving them arms and hors[es] When this Turkish cavalry was ready, Niẓām al-M[ulk] invited Malik Shāh to a feast. At the time of t[he] Sulṭān's departure, as was customary, he present[ed] valuable presents to Malik Shāh. Then Niẓām al-Mu[lk] requested the Sulṭān to inspect the recently equipp[ed] cavalry of the slaves. When the Sulṭān express[ed] approval, the minister said, "Sir ! I have served y[ou] and your father. I have many claims upon you.

33. Ibn al Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol X, op. cit., p. 27.
34. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 16, op. cjt., p. 546.
35. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume XXIV, op. cit., p. 609
36. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol X, op cit., p. 44.

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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 Sulṭān, as a corner to live in, and a tattered cloth to wrap my nakedness, are enough for me". This speech of Niẓām al-Mulk removed any doubts from the Sulṭān's mind and Malik Shāh ordered that Abū al-Maḥāsin be blinded and put in the prison of Fort Sādah.[37]

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

Tāj al-Mulk and Terken Khātūn[38] suggested to Malik Shāh that the greater part of the standing

37. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 75; Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., pp. 147-48.

38. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 133. 13.
Nizām al-Mulk's enemy Tāj al-Mulk, who was patronized by Terken Khātūn daughter of Tamghāch Khān and wife of Malik Shāh.

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.[39] Malik Shāh seems to have been persuaded by the argument, so he spoke to Niẓām 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 treasures and retrenchment of the armed forces was the surest method of losing territory as well as money. This argument settled the matter.

Niẓām 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,[40] and who were tied to it by bonds of kinship. Niẓām al-Mulk arranged for a thousand young Turkmen to be enrolled in the service of the Sulṭān and trained as his special attendants. He also built up a nexus of

39. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., pp. 185-86.
40. Ibid., p. 121.

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 Sulṭān Sanjar.

When after the accession of Malik Shāh to the throne rebels rose against him, the Byzantine Emperor saw his opportunity[41] for aggrandizement and proceeded towards Irān. 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 Sulṭān's identity was kept secret. When Niẓām al-Mulk came to know of it, he declared after the Maghrib prayer that the Sulṭān 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 Saljūq army had been arrested the previous day and offered to release them. Niẓām al-

41. Qāḍī Aḥmad, *Nigāristān*, Bombay, A.H. 1275/A.C. 1858, p. 171.

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Mulk pretended that he knew nothing about ther Therefore, the captives were brought before hir Niẓām al Mulk saw them and rebuked them as gre fools. "You drifted away from the army and g arrested", said he, "If you had been killed, both th states would have earned a bad name that captive were murdered during peace time. Now go awa immediately and do not be such fools again i future". Niẓām al-Mulk then departed, and when h reached Saljūq territory, he got down from his hors and apologised to Malik Shāh for his pretended rudeness. On Malik Shāh's return, there were rejoic ing[42] in the Saljūq camp.

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

Niẓām al-Mulk did not limit his attention to the creation of military strength.[43] As a wazīr 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,

42. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., p. 501.

43. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 16, op. cit. p. 546. Niẓām al-Mulk "also took part in military operations, being charged with reducing the rebellious province of Fārs in 1067."

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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 Niẓāmiyah[44] University was an outstanding contribution, 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.[45] 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[46] was provided by the University with free board and lodging.[47] Thus Niẓām al-Mulk ensured not only the intellectual development of the people of the Empire, but also a continuous supply of enlightened and capable civil servants as well as judicial officers.[48] This, of course, was only

44. Philip K. Hitti, *The Near East in History*, op. cit., p. 270. The backbone of its curriculum was the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth, and Poetry, but it also taught several secular disciplines.

45. Niẓām al-Mulk founded the Niẓāmiyah University at Baghdād and it established branches at Nīshāpūr, in Khurāsān, in Iṣfahān, Merv, Khūzistān,' Moṣul, Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar, 'Āmul, Baṣrah, Herāt, Balkh, Ṭūs, Damishq 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".

47. Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West* (The making of an Image), The Edinburgh University Press, 1960, p. 216.

48. Barnette Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror*,

one aspect of its functions. It was through shee statesmanship that Niẓām al-Mulk achieved an maintained his dominant position in the administra tion.

Niẓām al-Mulk most certainly learned from exper ience but no amount of experience will turn a perso with mediocre talent into a genius. There is no doub that Niẓām 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-Ṣamad that the teaching of the Qur'ān was not satisfactory. The teacher asked if young Ḥasan (the future Niẓām al-Mulk) had any remedy to suggest. Ḥasan came out with the sugges- tion 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, presents, gifts and sustenance money would be easier.[49] The suggestion was adopted and is still in vogue in the larger Qur'ān Schools, and may have been the origin of the moni- torial system in the West.

Niẓām al-Mulk went, for the second time, along with Malik Shāh to Baghdād in Ramaḍān 484/1091. Caliph Muqtadī ordered Niẓām al-Mulk to sit in front

Cambridge, Harvard University Press, MC MXLI, 1941, p. 12.

For example, Barnette Miller says, Niẓāmiyah was "for the instruc- tion of those intended for places in the Public Administration".

49. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., p. 52.

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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 Niẓām al-Mulk had always stood in his way.

Ultimately, Niẓām al-Mulk succeeded in his efforts to such an extent within two years that Malik Shāh gave his daughter in marriage[50] 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 Niẓām 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 in the good books of Terken Khātūn,[51] the first and favourite wife of Malik Shāh, over whom she exercised great influence. Abū al-Ghanā'īm Ibn Dārist, originally a private secretary to Terken Khātūn, had been awarded the high title of Tāj al-Mulk who even aspired to the Prime Ministership.[52] It was at his suggestion that Terken Khātūn was always poisoning Malik Shāh's ears against Niẓām al-Mulk. These three successfully conspired to alienate the Sulṭān from Niẓām al-Mulk, thus bringing the matter to a critical juncture. The

50. The detail of the marriage can be had in Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, Vol. X, p. 55.

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

52. 'Abbās Iqbāl, *Wizārat dar 'Ahd-i Salāṭīn-i buzurg-i Saljūqī*, op. cit., p. 93.

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aged Niẓām al-Mulk had appointed his twelve sons in many key posts in order to keep a strong hold over the whole Empire. Terken Khātūn's chief ambition was to secure the succession to the throne for her young son Maḥmūd[53] while Niẓām al-Mulk was in favour of the elder Barkiyāruq.[54] Fuel was added to the Sulṭān's resentment when Niẓām al-Mulk's grandson Shams al-Mulk 'Uthmān, the governor of Merv, meted out harsh treatment to Quoden, a favourite of the Sulṭān. Malik Shāh sent "an angry message to the Niẓām 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".[55] 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".[56] 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

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

54. Barkiyāruq was the son of Saljūq princess Zubaida Khātūn. She was the daughter of Yāqūtī bin Chaghrī Beg. Barkiyāruq was born in A.H. 474/A C. 1081.

55. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 185; Rāwandī, p. 134.

56. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 134.

exaggeration, to the Sulṭān.[57] Terken Khātūn and her clique were not the only foes with whom Niẓām al-Mulk had to contend. Indeed Shī'ī[58] resentment had been building up because of his strong support to orthodoxy. After his assassination Shī'ī influence grew very strong.[59] Niẓām al-Mulk's outburst was unguarded but substantially true because within a couple of months of his assassination[60] started the downfall of the Empire.

The Saljūq Empire was one of the largest and most consolidated political structures of human history. To Niẓām 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 statesmenship[61] of any empire builder.

57. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 185.

58. Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, Christophers, 22, Berners Street, London, W. I, 1952, pp. 339-40. The Fāṭimides of Egypt are called the Western Ismā'ilīs, while the disciples of Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ have been designated as the Eastern Ismā'ilīs.

59. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 292.

60. V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, trans. from the Russian by V. and T. Minorsky. Vol. I, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1962, p. 26 ; Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 309.

61. Encyclopaedia of World Art, ed : Beatrice Carson, Vol. XII. McGraw-Hill Book Co., London, 1966, p. 865 ; Ann K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, Oxford University Press, 1953, p. XIV.

Chapter IV

THE CONCEPT AND THEORY OF STATE

Niẓām al-Mulk's concept and theory of the state is based on the Qur'ān, Sunnah, Fiqh and history. Niẓām 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 Rāshidah 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 "Madīnah Charter", drawn up laying down the details of the compact between the Prophet and the various communities resident in Madīnah at the time

1. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., pp. 265-66.

2. Nithār Aḥmad, "'Ahd-i Nabawī men Riyāsat Kā Nashw' wa Irtiqā' ", University of Karachi, July, 1974, p. 146 (unpublished thesis in Urdu).

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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, he 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.[3]

Similarly, Bosworth Smith observes that "Mohammad is a three-fold founder of a nation, of an empire and of a religion".[4] Thus, Niẓām al-Mulk had a good model before 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 every thing 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

3. R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge, 1962, p. 173.

4. Ilyās Aḥmad, *The Social Contract and the Islamic State*, the Urdu Publishing House, Allahabad, 1944, p. 66, quoting Bosworth Smith: *Mohammad and Mohammedanism*, p. 290.

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that of the life to come.[5]

Niẓām al-Mulk, throughout his treatise uses, th term Dīn for Islām. The term Dīn has been used i the Qur'ān at several places. Dīn is in fact a way an 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 politica power had their origin in the Islāmic Dīn—code of Divine guid ance in all spheres of human activity. Political institutions s developed under the dictates of Dīn assumed greatest impor tance in the organization of worldly and other-worldly affairs.[6] Therefore, "Islām as a Dīn involves the whole being."[7]

It should be remembered that Malik Shāh had commissioned Niẓām al-Mulk to produce a book for "the dīnī and dunyāwī"[8] guidance of the state. Being thus commissioned, Niẓām al-Mulk as a devout[9] Muslim, naturally based his theory and concept of the state on the Qur'ān as well as the Sunnah which furnish guidance regarding the precedents set up by the Prophet in ordering the affairs of the Muslim state.[10] For the purpose of a profound understanding of both the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, Niẓām

5. Ibid., p. 66.

6. Muḥammad 'Azīz Aḥmad. *The Nature of Islāmic Political Theory*, Ma'aref Ltd., Karachi, 1975, p. 1.

7. Muḥammad 'Azīz Aḥmad, "Dīn — Basis of political organization in Islām", *Proceedings of the Fourth All Pakistan Political Science Conference, 1966.* Technical Printers, Karachi, June 1968, p. 56.

8. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 2.
Here dīnī—religious and dunyāwī—worldly.

9. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

10. Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah* op. cit., p. 265.

al-Mulk naturally had to rely upon the accumulated wealth of "Ijtihād" and "Ijmā' ". In other words, Niẓām al-Mulk's concept of the state was grounded in the Sharī'a.[11] For the purpose of applying the dictates of the Sharī'a to the state, he had to understand its nature and necessity.[12] He reached the conclusion that the state grows out of a fundamental impulse for organization with the purpose of controlling the individual's 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 Niẓām al-Mulk as a moral institution for the good of the Millat. In this connection, the political theory of Niẓām 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 you a nation who invite to goodness, and enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency. Such are they who are successful".[13] Niẓām al-Mulk further thinks that the state is the outward expression of the inherent authority of the faith and its external

11. Ibid., p. 68.
12. Ibid., p. 69.
13 Qur'ān, III : 104, op. cit., p. 40.
A better translation, more in accord with the context should have the word "body" instead of "Nation".

ولنكن منكم امة يد عون الى الخير و يا مرون بالمعروف و ينهون عن المنكر و اولئک هم المفلحون -

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expression [14] The goal is the happiness of the peopl in this world and the world to come.[15] This happines can be attained through an attitude of unqualifie obedience to God.[16] The *Siyāsat Nāmah* fully recogn ses the Islāmic principle of the supremacy of th Shari'a.[17] Niẓām al-Mulk held that prayers[18] forn the basis of the training for complete obedience t the Shari'a. Therefore, he laid great emphasis on proper organization of the mosques by the state. This is an indication of the fact that Niẓām al-Mul held the state to be a moral institution so that purit could be maintained in human relationships. Niẓān al-Mulk held that the realm is held in trust for th good of the people by the monarch under the Shari'a.[2 Thus Niẓām al-Mulk did not believe that the monarch was fully sovereign, as real sovereignty resides wit Allah.[21] In a Muslim state, the Shari'a being base upon the injunctions of God, possesses all the appea tances of sovereignty. The exercise of authority unde the Shari'a was delegated to the Prophet Muḥammad who was to be followed by no other Prophet. The divine communication in the form of "waḥy"[22] being cut off,[23] the affairs of the Muslims had to be ordered by successors to the Prophet for wordly affairs to be

14. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 69.
15. Ibid., p. 11.
16. Ibid., p. 51.
17. Ibid., p. 51.
Niẓām al-Mulk uses the term Shari'at,
18. Ibid., p. 51.
19. Ibid., p. 51.
20. Ibid., p. 7.
21. Ibid., p. 9,
22. Ibid., p. 109,
23. Qur'ān, xxxiii ; 40, op. cit., p. 274.

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elected by the Ummah. The Muslims tacitly understood that authority had been delegated to the Millat which elected a successor to the Prophet as a 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 Shari'a.[24] Niẓām al-Mulk considered the Caliphate as the 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, Islām led the world in power, order, and extent of government, in refinement of manners, in standards of living, in humane legislation and religious toleration, in literature, scholarship, science, medicine, and philosophy".[25] Nizam 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 Arab has no superiority over the non-Arab, 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.

24. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 68.

25. Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization* (The Age of Faith), Vol. IV, op. cit , p. 341.

26. Qur'ān, xlix : 13, op. cit., p. 339.
"The noblest of you, in the sight of Allāh, is the best in conduct".
ان اکر مکم عند الله اتقا کم

27. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 121.

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Originally purchased as slaves to be the bodyguard o the Saljūq Sulṭāns, they were appointed to the highest office in the state, and, says Lane Poole, 'the great slave vassals o the Seljūks were as proud and honourable as any bastards o medieval aristocracy; and when they in turn assumed kingl powers, they inherited and transmitted to their lineage the high traditions of their former lords.[28]

Niẓām al-Mulk gives an elaborate theory regarding the appointment and promotion[29] of slaves[30] in the state.

Niẓām al-Mulk believed that only the Sharī'a provided the basis of political authority.[31] There was no doubt in his mind that the Khilāfat was based in Sharī'a but what was the position of the Sultanate? He agreed that the Sultanate[32] had also become a necessary institution. As such, it could continue as circumstances had changed. Therefore, he expounded a separate theory of the Sultanate under the Sharī'a.[33] Niẓām al-Mulk is of the opinion that the most powerful means of preserving the Sultanate is the Sharī'a.[34] The establishment of a Sultanate could be fruitful only if it continued to uphold the supremacy of the Sharī'a.[35] Indeed, if the Sharī'a loses its hold upon the people, the Sulṭān loses his authority, and then, the Sultanate is destroyed.[36] This shows Niẓām al-

28. Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge University Press. 1971, p. 74.

29. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 123.

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

31. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 68.

32. Ibid., p. 11.

33. Ibid., p. 265.

34. Ibid., p. 69.

35. Ibid., p. 68.

36. Ibid., p. 7.

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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 Sharī'a by subjecting the Caliph, the Sulṭān 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.[37] Therefore, Niẓām al-Mulk's main concern was to preserve the Islāmic norms[38] and to adjust the governmental practices to the all-embracing religious sentiments of the people.[39] This was in keeping with the enlightened opinion of the period. For instance, Imām al-Ghazzālī, "assumes a general conformity with the Sharī'a"[40] in his *Naṣiḥat al-Mūlūk*. The idea of the supremacy of the Sharī'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

37. E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, Cambridge University Press, 1962, p. 242.

38. P.M. Holt, *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 150.

39. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op, cit., p. 51.

40. Lambton, "The Theory of Kingship in the Naṣīḥat al-Mūlūk of Ghazzālī", The *Islamic Quarterly*, Vol. I, No, 1, London, April, 1954, pp. 50-51.

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the *Siyāsat Nāmah*. 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.[41] He should also be God-fearing.[42] Niẓām 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 what qualities he should cultivate to become a good ruler, but without a strong legal basis, his good qualities[47] may not attract loyalty. Niẓām al-Mulk, therefore, tried to find a solution to this problem. The form known to the Shari'a of a legitimate state is the Khilāfat. 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 to be reconciled with the Khilāfat ? Jurists had tried to solve the problem through the theory of delegated

41. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 8.

42. Haroon Khan Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, Sh, Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1945, p. 131.

43. Ibid, p. 124, quoting *Qābūs Nāmah*, Chapter XLII.

44. Al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyah*, trans. Syed Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Nafees Academy, Karachi, 1965, p. 87.

45. Shiblī Nu'mānī, *Al-Ghazzālī*, M. Thanā'—Allāh Khān, 26, Railway Road, Lahore, 1961, p. 336.

46. Amir Hasan Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Sultanate*, Jamiyat-ul-Falah Publication, Karachi, 1963, pp. 149-150.

47. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 9.

48. E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, op. cit., p. 43.

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authority. According to them, the Sultanate had been legitimized because authority had been delegated to it by the Caliph.[49] The jurists, however, tied themselves into knots over these questions. They had to recognize all kinds of authority, including usurped authority (imārat-i-istīlā').[50] 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 pretence of submission, that submission is not a reality. The jurists, by maintaining that every Amīr (as the Sulṭān was), whether enjoying delegated full authority, or limited authority or usurped authority must maintain the supremacy of the Shari'a 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 Shari'a was maintained by its content, not by its extent of jurisdiction. It was the same Shari'a within each Sultanate, but that Sharī'a 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 Sulṭān or not, but it had no effective authority. Niẓām al-Mulk's logical mind could not reconcile itself to such a dichotomy. If Sharī'a was supreme, it had to be supreme not only within small compartments created by the selfish adventurers and rulers,

49. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 105.
50. Al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyah*, op. cit., pp. 66-68.

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but it had to assume an overall supremacy as well. Niẓām al-Mulk, as a practical statesman, knew that any theoretical solution that he developed would remain unapplied and he possessed no means to enforce any theory, however sound, beyond the Suljūq 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 Qur'ān, the Sunnah of the Prophet and their interpretation. But interpretation involves an agency which forms part of the Muslim millat. 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 Sharī'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 Sharī'a.

The Shari'a demands that the Caliph must protect the territory of Islām from encroachments by non-

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believers, and should even extend it, and domestically, must keep law and order[51] 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[52] 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.

It was under such circumstances that the Saljūqs came to power. They were believing Sunnīs and enthusiastic in their allegiance to Islām.[53] To them, the Caliphate was a canonical institution and they enthusiastically offered their services to make the Caliphate once again vigorous and strong.[54] These services were not only accepted, but in appreciation, the Caliph delegated his powers to the Sulṭān[55] 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 Cali-

51. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 54.
52. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op, cit., p. 103.
53. P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, op. cit., pp. 474-75.
54. Ibid, pp. 474-75. 55. Ibid, p. 474.

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phate. Though not in form, yet in essence, this w
a new situation, because the Sultanate willingly ma
itself an instrument of the Caliphate and the dichot
my was dissolved. It is true that even now the phy
cal means of strength were all possessed by t
Sultanate, but it recognized sincerely and faithful
the moral and legal superiority of the Caliphate.
has already been mentioned that all authority
based ultimately in the willingness of those subje
to it to accept it and obey it. For this reason, th
subordination of the Sultanate was real and not mere
ly a legal fiction.

Niẓām al-Mulk played no mean role in bringin
about this conciliation between law and fact. He wa
guided by his conviction that the Muslim Umma
must be united, and that, it could be united onl
through the Caliphate. For this, the Sultanate ha
to make some sacrifice and Niẓām al-Mulk held an
political sacrifice on the part of the Saljūq stat
worth-while to enable the community to integrat
itself once again under the Caliphate.[56] A questio
here arises quite naturally. If the Saljūqs made th
Caliphate strong, why did they not extend its autho-
rity to those parts of the Muslim world that were out-
side the Saljūq Sultanate. This would have been
misunderstood as aggression on the part of the Saljūq
Sultanate and not the assertion of its innate autho-

56. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume XXIV, Eleventh edition, New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. 342, Madison Avenue, 1911, p. 609. "The Seljūks considered themselves the defenders of the orthodox faith and of the Abbāsid Caliphate".

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rity 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 Saljūq Sultanate were much too limited for such grandiose schemes. Niẓām al-Mulk was after all a practical statesman. For many centuries Arabia had ceased to be the political centre of gravity in Islām, but even then Mecca[57] and Madīnah[58] have retained their primacy in the affections of the Islāmic world. The 'Abbāsid Caliphate was supported[59] by the Sultanate because of Niẓām al-Mulk's love of, and faith in, Islām and not for renewing the Persian political norms.[60] The classical Caliphate constituted the golden period of the Islāmic 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 Niẓām al-Mulk's time. Niẓām 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, Niẓām al-Mulk took care to get the legal supremacy of the Caliphate not only recognized but also to make

57. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., p. 41.

58. Ibid, p. 41.

59. Hamilton A. R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. Stanford J., England, 1962, p. 24.

60. Kritzeck, James, ed. *Anthology of Islamic Literature*, op. cit., p. 153.

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it the dominant factor. He was able to do this be cause it was not only the Caliphate that gaine strength in this alliance, but also the Sultanate, be cause of its status as an agent of the Caliphate. T demonstrate the loyalty of the Sultanate he did utilis its resources against the heretics, who challenged th legal supremacy of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate.[61] Th Ismā'īlīs were bent on seizing power to dominate th Muslim world.[62] Therefore, their programme include the subversion and destruction of all Muslim politica organization including the Sultanate as much as the Caliphate.[63] Their most effective arm was the subver- sion of the orthodox doctrine. Niẓām al-Mulk fully understood this and he warned the Sulṭān that "The Dīn-i Muḥammad Muṣṭafā has no more vile enemy than them, and the Kingdom of the Master of the world has no worse opponent".[64] Therefore, the sub- versive activities of the heretics[65] must not be tolera- ted in the state. Niẓām al-Mulk not only condoned the use of force, but even approved of it as well, as a means of political action. Niẓām al-Mulk's opposition to the employment of heretics in key positions seems to be based on the following precedent: "Amīr al-Mūminīn 'Umar was sitting in the mosque of Madīnah; Abū Mūsā Ash'arī was sitting before him, and was putting the Accounts of Iṣfahān. These were

61. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 428.

62. A.J. Arberry, *The Legacy of Persia*, op. cit., p. 84.

63. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 211.

64. Ibid., p. 210.

65. Ibid, p. 258.

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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 him'. Abū Mūsā said, 'he can not come into the Mosque'. Amīr al-Mūminīn 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said, 'Is he unclean then'? Abū Mūsā said, 'He he is a Christian (Tarsā)'. '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-Mulk was not baseless because the Bāṭinī heretics were engaged in the mountainous areas of 'Irāq,[67] Khurāsān[68] and other places in subversive activities. The state is charged by the Shari'a 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 Sharī'a. The Islāmic political system is based in "dīn". If "dīn" is subverted[69] the political entity and organization of the "Millat" would also

66. Ibid, p. 184. Qur'ān, V : 51, op. cit., p. 71.
يا ايها الذين آمنو الاتتخذ وا اليهود و النصارىٰ اولياء بعضهم اولياء بعض.
67. Ibid, p. 244. 68. Ibid. p. 237.
69. Ibid, p. 69.

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be destroyed.[70] Now the political system that Niẓā
al-Mulk sought to save from destruction is not wort
less. On the other hand, it is of great value and for
a rich part of the heritage of man. This has been
cognized by important thinkers who could shed th
prejudice to examine the merits of the system obje
tively. For instance, it was highly praised by Rou
seau in the chapter dealing with civil religion in h
famous treatise, *Social Contract*.[71] It has also captiva
ed the mind of a modern political scientist, David
Apter, who laments the non-religious basis of th
modern society and says, "having lost its religio
basis, our society is in danger of becoming a syste
of organized plunder in which meaning derives onl
from personal gain, orderliness becomes mere co
tainment of anarchy, and the concept of humanene
has no wider distinction than an individual's functio
al value".[72] But since the idea of the unity of religio
and politics was implicitly accepted, a practical solu
tion was worked out by Muslim administrators tha
was maintained and strengthened by Niẓām al-Mulk
It was secured by the independence of the judiciary
and the acceptance of the rule of Sharī'a in th

70. Ibid, p. 69.

71. Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, trans: Henry J
Tozer, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1948, p. 222; Rousseau
Political Writings, trans: Frederick Watkins, Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd.,
Edinburgh, 1953, p. 146.

72 David E. Apter, *The Politics of Modernization*, University of
Chicago Press, 1965, p. 426.

73. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 69.

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

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governance of the state. Being a part of the general conviction, its authority was not only respected but also cherished. The Sulṭāns acted as its custodians and as such the protectors of the Caliphate and its sanctity.[75] Though the Islāmic 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 Niẓam al-Mulk practically admits the above mentioned material state structure since it conforms to some basic phenomena which are not opposed by Islām. But Niẓām al-Mulk, in contrast to the Western theorists, develops the idea of a state structure within the framework of Islām which 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.[76] 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 Shari'a, had to reflect His moral attributes of justice and universal

75. Ibid, pp. 152-53.

76. Tamara Talbot Rice, *The Seljuks in Asia Minor*, Thames and Hudson London, 1961, p. 97.

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benevolence. A strong outcome of this benevolence the guidance vouchsafed to all creation in some form but particularly to human beings in the shape of th discrimination between right and wrong, good an bad. This discrimination was strengthened throug prayer and education. Hence Niẓām al-Mulk, put s much emphasis on the organization of the mosques and education.[78] God's attribute of justice is reflecte in the state through a strong judiciary[79] and in it social policies which must be based in the Qur'āni principle of equality without making any distinctio between the rich and the poor or on the basis o status and power. Niẓām al-Mulk, therefore, insist on the provision of equal opportunities to all th people in the state.[80] As a corollary, Niẓām al-Mull is of the opinion that social equality is meaningles unless equality of economic opportunity[81] is provide to all the inhabitants of the state. According to Islām property is a trust to be administered by the owne for the good of the entire community. An outcome o this concept is the institution of the "zakāt" to th benefit of the needy classes in the community[82] without

77. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyasat Nāmah*, op cit., p. 51.

78. Hamilton A.R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, op. cit., p. 24.

79. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 51.

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.

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distinction of caste of creed. The Prophet himself says: "It shall be taken from the rich and distributed among the poor and the needy".[83] He (peace be upon him) gives the following principle which has also been followed by Niẓām 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 Niẓām 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 Niẓām al-Mulk laid great emphasis upon "Amr-bi-al-ma'rūf" (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 through Shūrā[88] which he holds to be a compulsory institution providing a mechanism for decision mak-

83. Syyid Abul A'lā Maudūdī, *First Principles of the Islamic State*, ed. and trans: Khurshīd Aḥmad, Islamic Publications Ltd., Lahore, 1974, p. 70, quoting Bukhārī and Muslim.

توخذ من اغنياء هم و ترد الى فقـراء هـم

84. Ibid., p. 70, quoting Abū Dā'ūd, Tirmidhī.

85. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Nizām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., p. 139.

86. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 8.

87. Ibid., p. 8.

88. Ibid, p. 109. Qur'ān, III : 159, op. cit., p. 45.

و شاور هم فى الامر -

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ing 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 Niẓām al-Mulk tried to do by his insistence upon Islāmic brotherhood.[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. Niẓām 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 *Siyāsat Nāmah*.

89. Amir Hasan Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Sultanate*, op. cit., p. 169.

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Chapter V

THE SALJŪQ SULTANATE SEEKS A LEGAL BASIS

The legal position of the Sultanate vis-a-via 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 Saljūqs 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 Sulṭān's power during the time of Niẓām al-Mulk's ministership. The Caliphate had grown so weak that at one time its abolition at the hands of the Ismā'īlis had all but been accomplished. The Ismā'īlīs were in power in Egypt, Aleppo, Transoxiana[1] and even in Ghazna.

1. Ansar Zahid Khan, "Ismā'īlism in Multan and Sind", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. XXIII, Part I, Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, January, 1975, pp. 36 and 48.

The Ismā'īlīs gained power in Egypt and continued to control Yemen and thence penetrated into Gujarat, while the Nizārīs ably led by Ḥasan an Ṣabbāḥ. Therefore, Daudpotah, one of the scholars of Sind, has designated this age as the 'Dark period in the history of Sind. Transoxiana, a word of modern invention, is well adapted to express the meaning of Mawarā al-nahr while Soghdia was an ancient name for Transoxina.

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Similarly, they held Kūfa[2] and Ray.[3] And all of these, according to Niẓām al-Mulk, had one object in common—the overthrow of Sunnī Islām[4] of which the Caliphate was the outward symbol. The Fāṭimids were entrenched in Egypt, and, not content with their dominions in the Western areas of the Islāmic world, they initiated a long and bitter struggle with the 'Abbāsid Caliphate. 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 Fāṭimids with the help of Sulṭān Maḥmūd in right earnest. The Fāṭimid Caliph of Egypt, al-Ḥākim, sent a letter to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, in A.H. 403/A.C. 1012, for securing his allegiance, but he diverted it to Baghdād where it was burnt in public.[5]

Al-Basāsīrī, a military governor of Baghdād under the Buwaihids, almost put the Caliphate under his control. In A.H. 449/A.C. 1057, Ṭughril Beg defeated Dubays bin Mazayd[6] and al-Basāsīrī[7] who revolted at Maūṣil[8] against the 'Abbāsids. After that

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

3. Rhagae was the classical name of Ray. However, Ray has now been abandoned in favour of Teheran. The ruins of Ray lie closeby.

4. A.J. Arberry, The *Legocy of Persia*, op. cit., p. 48.

5. Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge University Press, 1931, p. 164.

6. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 107.

7. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. S. Moinul Ḥaq, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 265.

Basāsīrī means native of Basā, a town in the province of Fārs.

8. The modern Mosul.

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Ṭughril Beg was engaged in war. Al-Basāsīrī taking advantage of the absence of Ṭughril Beg returned in A.C. 1058 and reoccupied Baghdād. The Caliph al-Qā'im was forced to sign a document renouncing his rights in favour of the rival Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir (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 Shāfi'ites were canvassing orthodox colleges[10] for "the liberation of the Caliphate from Shī'ite control.[11] "In pursuance of their object, the Sunni leaders formed"[12] "an alliance with the Seljuk leaders"[13] which was formally ratified by the Caliph after the Saljūq conquest of Western Persia and 'Irāq (1055).[14] "The renewed association under the Seljuks of the ruling and orthodox institutions was drawn still closer by the initiative of the Vizier Niẓām al-Mulk in founding Niẓāmiya madrasa".[15] It is obvious from these

9. P.K Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, op. cit., pp. 474-75.

10. Hamilton A.R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

11. Ibid., p. 24.

12. Ibid., p. 24.

13. Ibid., p. 24.

14. Ibid., p. 24.

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

15. Ibid., p. 24.

Yahyā al-Khashshāb, "Niẓām al-Mulk wa al-Madāris al-Niẓāmiyah", *College of Arabic Language and Social Studies Magazine*, No. 5. National Offset Printing Press, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 1395 A.H . 1975 A.C. p. 557.

"وجمل نظاميه بغداد جامعه تضاهي ازهر الفاطمين
و تقوم بنشر الدعوه للمذهب السني و ترد على الباطنيه"

facts that the Sunnis and the Ismā'ilī Shī'as had not only doctrinal differences, but the two sects were also struggling for political supremacy. The orthodox 'Ulamā' and educational institutions were naturally perturbed at the growth of Ismā'īlī power which could not but, through its influence and authority, undermine the allegiance of the people to the Sunnis faith. This also explains why Niẓām al-Mulk considered it his duty to fight against the heretics, who left to themselves, would have subverted both doctrine and political authority.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna applied for recognition as soon as he came to the throne. This was granted along with the title of Yamin al-Dawla. After further conquests and specially the successful expedition to Somnāth,[16] he applied for more titles but in spite of repeated requests he failed in his object,[17] even though Sulṭān Maḥmūd captured Qazvīn[18] and placed the newly conquered province in charge of Mas'ūd and ordered him to capture the remaining areas still under the Buwaihids, Ibrāhīm bin Marzuban of Daylam, ruler of Zanjān, Abhar, Sarjahām and Shahrazūr were defeated on the first of Ramaḍān 420/13th September, 1029 by Mas'ūd. Mas'ūd then proceeded to

16. Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Ḥaī bin Aḍḍaḥḥāk bin Maḥmūd Gardīzī, *Zain al-Akhbār* or (*Tārikh-i-Gardizi*), ed. 'Abd al-ḍa'īf Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Wahāb al-Qazvīnī, Ministry of Irān, A.H. 1350/A.C. 1931, pp. 68-69; R.N. Frye, *The Cambridge History of Iran* (The period from the Arab invasion to the Saljūqs), Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 179.

17. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 170.

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

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complete the conquest of Hamadān[19] and Iṣfahān.[20] He captured Hamadān and then advanced to Iṣfahān. 'Alā'al-Dawla fled away to Tustar and Mas'ūd occupied Iṣfahān in the beginning 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 Iṣfahān.[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 Alī Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbās, commonly known as Ḥasanak, had been, since his childhood, in the service of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and had become a ra'īs of Nīshāpūr.[25] He went for Hajj to Mecca,[26] and while coming back, he got a Khil'at from the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ẓāhir, which so offended al-Qādir, the 'Abbāsid Caliph, that he demanded his

19. The classical name of Hamadān was Ecbatana.

20. It later became the capital of Irān.

21. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. IX, op. cit., p. 279.

22. Ibid, p. 279.

23. Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, op. cit., Appendix N. p. 237.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd died on 23, Rabī'al-Thānī, 421/30 April, 1030, but Mas'ūd received the news of his father's death on 20, Jumādī al-Awwal, 421/26, May, 1030.

24. Ibid, p. 120.

25. Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Ḥai bin Aḍḍaḥḥāk bin Maḥmūd Gardīzī, *Zain al-Akhbār*, op. cit., p. 77.

26. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. IX, op. cit., p. 239.

execution,[27] but the Sulṭān appeased the Caliph by sending the Khil'at to Baghdād to be burnt.[28] The Sulṭān was an orthodox Sunni.

But during the last years of the Sulṭān'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 Sulṭān Maḥmūd and entreaties gradually changed into threats. It is on record that Maḥmūd wrote an insolent letter to the Caliph threatening to ravage Baghdād with his elephants. The Caliph at this sent him a small note with only three letters inscribed on it. These were ا, ل and م. 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"[29] in which the destruction of an Abyssinian force which attacked Mecca with elephants has been described. At this the Sulṭān turned pale and apologized to the Caliph. In fact, there never was close cooperation between the Caliph and the Ghaznavids.

The rise of the Saljūqs ended the political power of the Ghaznavids. In the beginning of the fifth cen-

27. Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad bīn Ḥusain Baihaqī Dabīr, *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqi*, ed. *Ghanī* and Faiyāḍ, Chāpkhāna Bānk Millī Irān, Teherān, 1324/1945, p. 186.

28. Ibid, pp. 182-83.

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".

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tury of Hijra, Isrā'īl,[30] son of Saljūq, acquired influence at Bukhārā Sulṭān Maḥmūd invited Isrā'īl and welcomed him with courtesy. During the course of conversation, Isrā'īl[31] told Maḥmūd that if Isrā'īl sent his arrow, his kinsmen would flock wherever he was and an army would be formed. This made Maḥmūd so apprehensive that he captured Isrā'īl and sent him as a prisoner to the fort of Kālanjar in Hindustān [32] After that, the Saljūq tribesmen approached Maḥmūd with a request to permit them to settle in Khurāsān[33] to which he consented, hoping to get recruits for his army.[34] This opportunity made the Saljūqs stronger and soon they became the masters of Khurāsān. The Saljūqs defeated Mas'ūd, son of

30. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op, cit., p. 89.

31. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. IX, op. cit., p. 261 ; Vambery, *Tārīkh-i-Bukhārā*, trans : Nafees al-dīn Aḥmad, Majlis-i-Taraqqī-i-Adab, Club Road, Lahore, 1959, p. 109n.

32. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 90 ; Muḥammad Nāẓim, *Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, op. cit , p. 64n. According to Muḥammad Nāẓim, this Kālanjar was situated to the north of Jhelum, in the pass leading into Kashmīr. It was therefore different from the fort named Kālinjar in Bundhelkhand.

Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad bin Ḥusain Baihaqī Dabīr, *Tārikh-i Baihaqi*, op. cit., page 181. Footnote says that the meaning of Kālanjar is black Fort which was situated to the North of Lahore and the South of Kashmir in the olden days.

33. Khurāsān was wrongly applied to Pontus in the Medieval period.

34. Yūsuf 'Abbās Hāshmī, "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 Saljūqs were enlisted in the army for the Makrān expedition. After the expedition was over, the Commander of the 'Irāqian forces was instructed to keep the Saljūq tribe under control.

Maḥmūd at Dandānqān[35] in A.H. 431/A.C. 1040. Th Saljūqs after their victory over Mas'ūd, decided in meeting[36] to approach the Caliph for recognition. This shows that the Saljūqs had risen to power an established an Empire as the result of a successful re bellion against a legally constituted government which whatever its differences with the Caliph, had receiv ed his recognition. In the mind of the orthodox Sun nīs the Saljūqs were rebels and lacked the mora 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 Sunnīs and the only power capable of dealing with the machinations of the Ismā'īlīs. With the weakening of their authority, Sunnīsm lost its political arm and, as has already been mentioned, the power of the Ismā'īlīs increased to an extent that even the sacred shrines of Mecca and Madīnah[38] pass-

35. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

Before the battle of Dandānqān, in A H. 426/A.C. 1035 a 15,000 (fifteen thousand) strong force under the command of Hājib Begtughdī left Nīshāpūr for Nīsā. But Begtughdī was defeated by the Saljūqs. After this victory the Saljūq leaders repeated their request for the conferment of Nīsā and Merv, and this time it could not be refused, Thus on a fateful day in the month of Shawwāl, 426/August-September, 1035 the Sulṭān conferred Farāwah on Beghū, Dihistān onDā'ūd and Nīsā on Ṭughrīl. However, the request for the conferment of territories in A.H. 426/A C 1035 is the clear date for their political consciousness.

The modern name of Dandānqān is Tāsh-Rabād.

36. *Rāwandī Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., pp. 102-103.

37. Ibid, p. 103. See Appendix E.

38. Syed Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, op. cit., p. 600.

ed 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 Faṭimids. Therefore, the Caliph and Sunnī areas needed the support of a powerful state. Hence both the madrasas which had been the centers of Sunnis revivalism and the Caliph needed the Saljūqs. Little wonder then that the Saljūqs 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 Ṭughril Beg applied, not only was he recognized but orders were also given by the Caliph to mention Ṭughril's name in Khuṭba at Baghdād and on the coinage.[39] He also was granted the title of al-Sulṭān Rukn al-Dawla Abū Ṭālib Ṭughril Beg Muḥammad bin Mīkā'īl Yamin Amīr al-Mu'minin.[40] It has been mentioned that the Buwaihid governor of Baghdād, Al-Basāsīrī practically held the Caliph as his prisoner. This situation was unbearable and intolerable for Ṭughril Beg who was a fervent Sunnī. Therefore, Ṭughril Beg marched with his army on Baghdād on 18 December, 1055, and compelled al-Basāsīrī to leave the city at once. The Caliph's authority was thus restored.[41] It has been mentioned that

39. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 105.

40. Ibid, p. 105. Vambery, *History of Bukhārā*, op. cit., p. 108 n. Ṭughril is the short form of Ṭughrūl which means murderer.

41. Ibn at-Ṭiqtaqā, *Al-Fakhri*, trans ; C.E.J. Whitting Luzac and Co., London, 1947, p. 283.

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subsequently Al-Basāsīrī returned to Baghdād and forced the Caliph to renounce his office in favour of the Faṭimids. At this Ṭughril Beg once again marched on Baghdād, reinstated al-Qā'īm and made al-Basāsīrī pay for his disloyalty with his life (1060). The Daylamite[42] power was then finally crushed.[43] The services of Ṭughrīl Beg[44] to orthodox Islām were highly appreciated by the Caliph. Ṭughril Beg was received in audience. Ṭughril Beg kissed the ground[45] 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.[46] 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 Sharī'a.[47] Those who seek European parallels are bound to go wrong because the basic notions of the western law and the Islāmic Sharī'a are fundamentally different. Western authors have recognised the fact that the co-operation between the Caliphate and the Saljūqs led to the emergence of Islām once again as a world power and brought unity and peace to the entire Muslim world which had previously

42 Daylam is a district of Northern Īrān.

43. P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, op. cit., pp. 474-75.

44. Ibn Khallikān. *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 103.

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

45. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kâmil*, Vol. X, op. cit , p. 436.

46. Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Vol. II. op. cit., pp. 30-31.

47. Amir Hasan Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Sultanate* op. cit., pp. 149-50.

been groaning under anarchy and conflict between petty states.[48] Ṭughril Beg was the first monarch to be given "a regular sovereign title"[49] of al-Sulṭān.[50] He also was the first Muslim ruler whose coins bore that title.[51] The word Sulṭān occurs in the Qur'ān in the sense of authority. As a title, however, it was used by Maḥmūd of Ghazna for the first time in the political history of Islām.[52] The title of Sulṭān was unofficial with the Ghaznavid while it was official with the Saljūqs. This is confirmed by Hitti who says "though Maḥmūd is credited with being the first in Islām to be designated Sulṭān, evidence from coins shows that this high designation was first officially borne by the Saljūq rulers".[53] The conferment of the title of Sulṭān by the Caliph, gave the institution of the Sultanate an official designation and status.

It would be wrong to assume that the Khalīfa ceased to exercise authority, and was reduced to a mere figure-head of religious authority. During Niẓām al-Mulk's time the Saljūqs derived the power of Sharī'a[54] not as *de-facto* rulers, but as the representa-

48. Stanley Lane—Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (Chronological and Geneological Tables with Historical Introductions), Librairio *Orientaliste*, Paul Geuthner, 13, Rue Jacob—Paris VI—e, 1925, pp. 149-50

49. P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, op. cit., p. 474 n.

50. Al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 105.

51. Stanley Lane—Poole, *Cataloque of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*. ed R.S. Poole, Vol. III, London, 1877, pp. 28-29.

52. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit.. pp. 55-56 and 170.

53. P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, op. cit., pp. 464-65.

54. Shāh Mu'īn al-dīn Aḥmad Nadvī, *Tārikh-i Islām* (Khilāfat-i 'Abbāsia), Vol. II, Ma'ārif Press, A'ẓamgarh, A.H. 1388/A.C. 1968, p. 83.

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tives of the *de-jure*[55] sovereign. The Ismā'īlis, however, had not been eliminated. Egypt[56] and much of North Africa and Syria were held by these.[57] However, their sway would have extended over the rest of the Islāmic world[58] as well but for the efforts of Niẓām al-Mulk. Indeed, it could not have been otherwise, because in its own defence and to seek a visible symbol of its doctrine, Sunnīsm identified itself so completely with the 'Abbāsid Caliphate that Sunnīsm and faith in the 'Abbāsid Caliphate became almost identical.[59] This attitude has survived in one form or another upto the present day. As Ṭughril Beg was an ardent Sunnī, it was inconceivable for him to disobey the Caliph. This attitude expressed itself in practically all the actions of the Saljūqian government. For instance, Ṭughril 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[60] at Constant-

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

56. Syed Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, op. cit., p. 600. Jouhar inaugurated the Faṭimid rule by founding the city of al-Qāhira which became later the capital of Muiz and his successors. The modern Cairo, However, the Muslim name is Miṣr.

57. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 168.

58. P.M. Holt, *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 149-50.

59. Ibid., p. 150.

60. Abū al-Fıdā, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*, Vol. I, al-Ḥusainnīyah al-Miṣriyah, n.d., p. 169 ;

"فيها أرسل ملک الروم الی السلطان طغر لبک هديه عظيمه و طلب منه المعاهده فأجابه اليها و عمر مسجد القسطنطينيه و أقام فيه الصلاه و الخطبه لطغر لبک و دانت الناس له و تمکن ملکه و ثبت"-

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inople. He recited the Khuṭba in the name of the Abbāsid Caliph. This annoyed the Fāṭimid ambassador and led to the rupture between the Egyptians and the Greeks.[61]

An anecdote will illustrate that the Saljūq army also considered its duty to obey the Caliph. In A.H. 429/A.C. 1037 the city of Nīshāpūr was captured in the month of Ramaḍān. The soldiers were wanting to get booty from the city and they could not get it unless the city was looted. Ṭughril Beg did not agree to this because of the sanctity of Ramaḍān. On 'Id day, the soldiers again sought permission to plunder the city, at which the Sulṭān said that plundering the city would violate the directive of the Caliph at which the troops gave up the idea of plunder.[62] The Caliph did not hesitate from interference when he thought it was necessary. In A.H. 429/A.C. 1038 when Ṭughril Beg was declared Sulṭān at Merv[63] and Nīshāpūr, his brother Dā'ūd 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 Ṭughril Beg asking him to stop his brother's malprac-

Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. VIII, Qāhirah, n d, p. 52.

"و أرسل عوضه من الهدايا شئيا كثيراً و عمر وا مسجد القسطنطينيه
و أقاموا فيه الصلاه و الخطبه لطغر لبک و دان حينئذ الناس كلهم
و عظم شانه و تمكن ملكه و ثبت"

61. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 101.

62. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., pp. 473-74.

63. Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad bin Ḥusain Baihaqī, *Tārīkh-i Baihaqī*, p. cit,, p. 553.

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tices. The ambassador was honoured by Ṭughril Beg and the Caliph's orders were carried out.[64] Niẓām al-Mulk held, in accordance with the prevailing legal opinion, that the final authority in the Commwealth of Islām rested with the Caliph. Niẓām al-Mulk reminded the ruler that "the state and religion are like twin brothers[65] and that their welfare were interdependent and thus he particularly made the Sulṭān responsible for the administration of justice in accordance with the Sharī'a.

Ṭughril Beg sought to strengthen the relations between the two Houses by matrimonial alliances. Therefore, his niece, Khadija Arslān Khātūn[66] was married to Khalīfa al-Qa'im in A.H. 448/A.C. 1056, whose Khuṭba of Nikāḥ was read by Ra'is al-Rū'sā'. The favourite wife of Ṭughril Beg died at Zanjān in A.H. 452/A.C. 1060. After that, Ṭughril Beg very humbly requested the Caliph to give his daughter, Saiyidah in marriage to him as a token of his favour. Ṭughril Beg, despite his being the lady's husband, paid her a homage that vassals paid to their overlords and humbled himself in her presence showing his sincere reverence to the House of 'Abbās.

Ṭughril Beg died and Alp Arslān succeeded him in A.H. 456/A.C. 1063. He sent, with full royal honours, back the widow of Ṭughril Beg (the daughter of al-

64. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. IX, op. cit., p. 312.

65. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 69.

66. Khadija Khātūn was the daughter of Chaghri Beg Dā'ūd and was the sister of Alp Arslān.

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Qā'im), who was at Ray at that time, to Baghdād, and applied for recognition and a title from al-Qā'im, who bestowed upon him the title of Ḍiyā'al-dīn 'Aḍud al-Dawla and a Khil'at. Consequently, the Caliph sent his ambassador to Alp Arslān for taking his "Bai'at"[67]

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 Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznavi[68] 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 Āni 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 Baghdād to inform the Caliph of the victory. In reply the Caliph expressed his appreciation and wished the Sulṭān good luck.[69]

In the spring of 463/1071[70], Alp Arslān was in

67. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., pp. 11-14.

68. Ibid., p. 17.,

Yūsuf 'Abbās Hāshmī, "Political, Cultural, and Administrative History of the later Ghaznavids", op. cit., p. 182.

69. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., pp. 479-80.

70. Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1961. p. 52.

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northern Syria when he heard the news that th
Romanus had assembled a vast army at Erzerum
and had marched eastwards into Armenia. The Sulṭā
was taken by surprise because the "more reliab
sources say that it included Frankish, Russian, Khaza
Pecheneg, Oghuz, and Qipchaq mercenaries, as we
as Greeks and Armenians"[72] whose total strengt
came to 200,000.[73] This time Romanus IV was dete
mined to annihilate the 'Abbāsid Caliphate of Baghdā
completely and to establish a solid Christian state i
which the government of Baghdād would be hande
over to a Catholic priest.[74] He also intended to co
vert all the mosques, not only in Baghdād but a
over the conquered territories of the Muslim worl
into churches.[75] The news of Christian advance wa
continuously pouring in and reaching Alp Arslān. A
that time, he was at Khūwī[76] or Khūyakh nea
Ādharbā'ijān. The Sulṭān found himself in an awk

71. The classical name of it was Theodosiopolis.

72. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V. op. cit
p. 63.

73. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh ibn Khaldūn* (Saljūqī w
Khwārazim Shāhī Salāṭīn Aur Fitna'i Tātār), trans: Ḥakīm Aḥmad Ḥusai
Allāhabādī, Vol. VII, Nafees Academy, Karachi, 1967, p. 28.

74. Vambery, *History of Bukhārā*, op. cit., p. 117. Jāthalīq, deput
archbishop who was supposed to be a religious leader in Muslim world.

75. Niẓām al-Mulk *Waṣāyā*, trans: "Abd al-Razzāq Kānpūrī, Nafee
Academy, Karachi, 1968, pp. 301-302; Vambery, *History of Bukhārā*, op
cit., p. 117.

76. Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh Ibn Khaldūn*, Vol. VII, op. cit., p. 28., 'Abd
al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit. p. 482, writes Khūie and in th
footnote according to another writer, Khūyekh.

J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 33
writes Khūy.

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ward 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 Niẓām al-Mulk to proceed along with his family and his paraphernalia to Tabrīz.[77] Niẓām al-Mulk requested him to let him remain with him. The Sulṭān insisted upon Niẓām al-Mulk leaving for Tabrīz. The reason probably was that the Sulṭān wanted to ensure the continuation of the resistance if he got martyred. The Sulṭān could muster only fifteen thousand soldiers to fight with the huge and strong Christian army.[78] The Sulṭān 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 Sulṭān. The Sulṭān ordered to cut off his nose and ears and then set him free. The Sulṭān sent the nose and the ears to Niẓām al-Mulk along with the Russian great Cross which the Prime Minister was directed to send to Baghdād.[79] In the meantime, Romanus IV captured the city of

77. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit. p. 482; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh Ibn Khaldūn*, op. cit., p. 28, writes that his family was sent with Niẓām al-Mulk to Hamadān. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn al-Maghrabī, *Kitāb al-'Ibar wa Dīwān al-Mubtadā' wa al-Khabar fi Ayyām al-'Arab wa l-'Ajam wa al-Berber wa Man 'Āṣara hum Min dhawī al-Sulṭān al-Akbar*, Vol. V, n. d. p. 4. (Name of the publisher is also not given).

78. A l-Rāwandi. *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 119. According to Rāwandī there were six lac mount soldiers with him.

79. Ibn Khaldūn. *Tārikh Ibn Khaldūn*, Vol. VII, op. cit., p. 29.

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Khilaṭ, and killed most of the Muslims and made ca
tives of the rest. At this Alp Arslān marched again
Romanus IV and approaching his camp sent an am
bassador to the Byzantine Emperor suggesting peac
The Emperor rejected the offer and demanded tot
surrender and the Sulṭān's capital before he could thin
of the cession of the hostilities. Then the Sulṭān mad
preparation for battle against Romanus. Imām Ab
Naṣr Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Malik Bukhāri[80] Ḥana
advised the Sulṭān to postpone the march for a da
and to start the next day after the Jum'a prayer
because on that day the Khaṭībs all over the Islāmi
world would be praying for the success of Muslim
armies. The Sulṭān accepted the suggestion an
asked his soldiers, only to follow him if they wer
keen on martyrdom. Eventually, only twelve thousan
warriors marched with the Sulṭān At midday, whil
severe fighting was going on, a strong hot wind star
ted blowing against the forces of the Sulṭān. Th
river was already in possession of the enemy whic
caused the Muslim soldiers unbearable thirst. Afte
observing their miserable plight in the battle-field
Sulṭān got down from his horse and put down his hea
on the ground and prayed to God to turn the direction
of the hot wind towards the enemy. The prayer wa
effective, and the direction of the hot wind changed.
Then Alp Arslān's troops attacked the Byzantine
forces and ultimately the mighty Byzantine army was
defeated in 1071 and the Emperor of the Byzantine

80. Ibid., p. 29 n.

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Empire, Romanus Diogenes, was captured and brought before the Sulṭān.[81] The Sulṭān 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[82] by the eldest son Constantine X Ducas, Michael VII.[83] The Turks, however, succeeded in establishing themselves in Asia Minor[84] 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.[85] It is quite obvious that Alp Arslān 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 Islām and the weakness of the Caliphate, To an outsider, like the Christian Emperor, it must have appeared that Sunnī Islām 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 Arslān. The Christians seem to have been ignorant of the might of the Saljūq power that had arisen to defend the Caliphate and through it Sunnī Islām.

Alp Arslān never visited Baghdād, but the con-

81. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., pp. 481-88.

82. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., pp. 63-64. quoting Bundārī, pp. 38-44 ; Ibn al-Jauzī, Vol. VIII, pp. 260-65.

83. Kenneth M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958, p. 193.

84. Sir Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*, op. cit., p. 52.

85. Ibid., p. 292.

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tact between the Sultanate and the Caliphate wa channelled through Niẓām al-Mulk who kept cordia relations with the Caliphs who were also Shāfi'īs.[86]

In A.H. 464/A.C. 1071, the daughter of Alp Arslān Safrī Khātūn, was married to al-Qā'im's heir outsid Nīshāpūr. The Wakīl-i Nikāḥ of the bridegroom wa 'Amid al-Dawla Ibn Jahīr and of the bride it wa Niẓām al-Mulk.

During the reign of Alp Arslān in A.H 462/A.C 1070, the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph was inserted in the Khuṭba, and the name of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir as well as the Shī'ī ādhān were abolished in Mecca. For establishing the 'Abbāsid Khuṭba and the abolition of the Shī'ī ādhān at Mecca, Alp Arslān bestowed thirty thousand dīnārs on and granted an annual salary of fifty thousand dīnārs to the Sharīf of Mecca, Muḥammad bin 'Alī Hāshim al-Ḥasanī who came to him with this news.[87] He did the same to the Sharīf of Madīnah.[88]

Sulṭān Alp Arslān, in his life time, used the Caliph's support in A.H. 458/A.C. 1066, to make his son Malik Shāh the heir apparent; this being granted a ceremony was held at Merv in which the amīrs offered their oath of allegiance to Malik Shāh and his

86. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 73.

87. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, Vol. X, op. cit., p. 41.

88. Ibid., p. 41.

Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb, "Niẓām al-Mulk wa al Madāris al-Niẓāmiyah", *College of Arabic Language and Social Studies Magazine*, op. cit., p. 557 says that Nizām al-Mulk wants to uphold the Sunnism and on this basis he tries his utmost for the unity of Millat-i Islāmia.

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name was placed in the Khuṭba.

Immediately after the death of Sulṭān Alp Arslān, Niẓām al-Mulk took the oath of allegiance again from the important men of the state and elite of the Empire in favour of Malik Shāh. Niẓām al-Mulk sent the news of Malik Shāh's succession to the Caliph at Baghdād and secured rccognition from him so that the Khuṭba was read in Malik Shāh's name. Alp Arslān made Malik Shāh his Walī'Ahd at Niẓām al-Mulk's suggestion and it has been mentioned that the Caliph had approved of this nomination.[89] But it was again considered necessary to get it ratified as Malik Shāh was only seventeen years of age when he ascended the throne. After that Amīr Sa'd al-Dawla Gauhar Ā'īn was sent to Baghdād in Ṣafar 466/1074 for receiving the deed of investiture from the Caliph al-Qā'im for the young Sulṭān. This embassy was given a royal welcome by the Caliph and when it entered the city of Baghdād the whole population of Baghdād rushed to see it. A special pompous darbār was 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 Sulṭān and called him by the title of Yamīn Amīr al-Mu'minīn.[90] The Caliph al-Muqtadī, for the

89. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., p. 498.

90. Ibid., p. 539, and Richard Coke, *Baghdād : The City of Peace*, Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, W.C.2, 1927. p. 115.

"Malik Shah was the first Prince to obtain the fully title of Amir al-

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first time, bestowed the title of Mu'izz al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn[91] upon Malik Shāh.[92] Rāwandī calls Malik Shāh Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Malik Shāh bin Muḥammad Qasīm Amīr al-Mu'minin.[93]

One of the most influential and respected religious figures at that time was Abū Isḥāq Shīrāzī to whom al-Muqtadī sent on an embassy to Malik Shāh in A H. 475/A.C. 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 dust under the hoofs of his mule as a blessing.[94] After he reached Ray, Malik Shāh and Niẓām 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.[95]

Malik Shāh visited Baghdād for the first time in A.H. 479/C.A. 1086.[96] Niẓām al-Mulk was with him. He was received with full royal honours by Abū Shūjā' Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Ḥusain Ḥamadānī. The Sulṭān went to the darbār-i Khāṣ 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.[97] On A.H. 480/A.C. 1087 the Caliph

Mua'minin (commander of the Faithful) from the caliph, it having previously been always reserved for the caliphs alone".

91. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 176.
92. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., p. 276.
93. Al-Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 125.
94. J A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 275.
95. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X. op. cit., pp. 42-43.
96. Ibid., p. 103.
97. Ibid., pp. 103-104.

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held a grand darbār in the palace in which the Sulṭān and Niẓām 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 Sulṭān by the Caliph. After that Niẓām al-Mulk introduced the officials one by one to the Caliph with short introductions. A costly Khil'at was also bestowed upon Niẓām al-Mulk by the Caliph on which "al-wazīr al-'Ālim al-'Ādil Niẓām al-Mulk Raḍī Amīr al-Mu'minīn"[98] was woven. No other minister had been honoured by the Caliph in this manner before. The Caliph exhorted the Sulṭān to act according to the Sharī'a,[99] maintain justice[100] and be benevolent to the people.[101] The Sulṭān humbly acknowledged the exhortation and after that the darbār-i'Aām was adjourned. During this visit Sulṭān Malik Shāh's daughter who had already been married to the Caliph al-Muqtadī was conducted to the palace. The very long procession of the bride with precious paraphernalia and valuable articles reached Baghdād and the whole of the city was beautifully illuminated.[102] This procession of the bride was warmly welcomed by Abū Shūjā', wazīr of the Caliph along with three hundred torch bearers. The procession was then led by Niẓām al-Mulk and proceeded towards the Caliph's

98. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., p. 315.

99. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit , p. 68 ; Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. III L—R, op. cit., p. 933.
"Kiwām al-Dīn and Raḍī Amīr al-Mu'minīn".

100. Ibid., p. 47. 101. Ibid., p. 11.

102. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X., op. cit., p. 55.

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palace.

There only Niẓām al-Mulk was allowed to be on horse back. Terken Khātūn was welcomed by the women of the Caliph's family. Next day, a grand feast of walīma was held and the grandeur of it can be better imagined than described. Ibn al-Athīr says that the people of Baghdād had never seen such a marvellous wedding.[103] It would not be out of place to mention that Malik Shāh stayed in Baghdād from Dhil Ḥij 479/1087 to Ṣafar 480/1087 and this last ceremony of his daughter's wedding was performed while he was in Baghdād, but before the ceremony was over he left Baghdād and was represented by Niẓām al-Mulk. In this connection, it may be mentioned that Malik Shāh had been indifferent to al-Muqtadī for some time. Niẓām 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[104] became strong and wanted to "overthrow the

103. Ibid., pp. 48 49 and 65-66.

104. Hamid Behzadi, "The Principles of Legitimacy and its influence upon the Muslim Political Theory", *Islamic Studies* : Journal of the Islamic Research Institute, Vol. X, No. 4, Islamic Research Institute, P.O. Box 1035, Islamabad, December, 1971, p. 286.

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 Ḥujjat'. Western Ismailis are called Bohras and divided into various small groups of which the most importants are Dā'ūdis and

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'Abbāsids".[105] Malik Shāh sent an envoy to their stronghold of Alamūt. When he reached Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ commanded one of his followers to stab himrelf; 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 followers".[106] However, Sulṭān 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 Sulṭān sent another of his chief amīrs, called Qizil-Sarigh, to expel the heretics from Kuhistān; 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,[107] is one of the dependencies of Mu'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, where-

Sulaymānis". And Marshal G S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins* (The struggle of the early Nizari Ismailis Against the Islamic World), Mouton and Co., 1955, p. 122.

"Niẓām 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. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit, p. 211.

106. Sir John Malcolms, *History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 257.

Niẓām al-Mulk, the Prime Minister of Malik Shāh, Khalifa al-Mustarshid 'Abbāsī and other forty eight great men of Islām such as Khulafā', wazīrs, scholars, 'Ulamā' and mashaīkh were assassinated by the Bāṭinīs. The details of it can be had in the *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II. by E.G. Browne at pages 311 to 313.

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

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upon he raised the siege and his army dispersed. Now at the time when Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ first rose in rebellion, Niẓām al-Mulk was Malik Shāh's wazīr.[108] The assassination of Niẓām al-Mulk which led to the downfall of the Saljūqs was looked upon as a great achievement of the Ismā'īlīs.[109] After Niẓām al-Mulk's murder and Malik Shāh's death the Saljūq power declined rapidly and became totally ineffective.[110]

The chapter on titles[111] in the *Siyāsat Nāmah* throws considerable light on the relationship between the Caliphate and the Sultanate. Niẓām al-Mulk acknowledges the primacy of the titles that were bestowed by the Caliph upon the Saljūqid Sulṭāns [112]

The election of the Caliph or the nomination of his successor was generally not influenced by the Saljūq Sulṭāns. But once, due to the separation of Sulṭān Malik Shāh's daughter, Mah-Malik Khātūn, from the Caliph al-Muqtadī instigated Malik Shāh to get little Abū al-Faḍl Ja'far, his own grandson, nominated as successor for Caliphate. Technically, Ja'far belonged to the House of 'Abbās, but it would not have been proper to declare a child as Caliph. But even this unhappy separation between the Caliph, al-Muqtadī, and of Malik Shāh's daughtar did not cause any poli-

108. 'Alā al-Dīn 'Aṭā'-Malik Juvainī, *The History of the World Conqueror* (The Tārikh-i Jahān Gushā), Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 675-76.

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

110 Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *The Middle East (A History)*, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1960, p. 95.

111. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 170.

112. Ibid., p. 176.

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tical rupture because of wise counsels to Niẓām al-Mulk.[113]

The Saljūqid Sulṭāns were punctilious in mentioning the Caliph's name in the Khuṭba all over their Empire, while the Sulṭān's name was dropped several times from the Khuṭba at Baghdād, to which Sulṭāns could never retaliate.[114]

The appointment of Qāḍīs,[115] Khaṭībs,[116] Imāms[117] of the mosques and other religious functionaries had to be performed by the Caliph personally. Therefore, the Qādīs were so independent and daring in the discharge of their duties that they did not spare even the Sulṭāns if they transgressed the Sharī'a. For example, once Qāḍī Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin al-Muẓaffar al-Shāmī, 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 Sulṭān and his minister, Niẓām al-Mulk, should also not be allowed, the Qāḍī corroborated[118] and replied that he would not listen

113. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, A.J. Wensinck, Vol. III L-R, op. cit., p. 933.

114. Amir Hasan Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Sultanate*, op. cit., p. 156

115. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmāh*, op. cit., p. 51.

116 Ibid., p. 51. 117. Ibid , p. 51.

118. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op cit., p. 173.

Ahmad Moavaz, "Justice under the Seljuqs and Khawarazmshahs", *Barrassiha-ye Tarikhi*, No. 63 (T. XI, Vol. 2), Supreme Commander's staff, Tehran—Iran, June-July, 1976 p. 15.

"در دوران خواجه نظام الملک طوسی، وزیر مشهود سلجوق، داد رسی اهمیت بیشتری پیدا کرد و کوشش پی گیر برای گسترش دار و عدل از راه حمایت ستم دیدگان انجام یافت"

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to their tesimony either. It should be remembered that Niẓām al-Mulk was the real architect of the Empire of the Saljūqs. 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 Islām into petty states and chieftainships, constantly at war with one another and recognizing no central authority. With the increasing power of Shī'a states, even though they were incapable of maintaining peace and order, Sunnī Islām 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 Sunnī Islām was the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, and therefore, it was the main target of Ismā'īlī endeavour. The Christian Empire of the Byzantians also looked upon the 'Abbāsid Caliphate as the stronghold of Sunnī political power. The Caliphate, however, was so weak that a local officer of Baghdād could wind it up. And the Christian host assembled by the Byzantine Emperor, Romanus IV, would have dealt such a blow to Islām 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 Niẓām al-Mulk who

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knew how to maintain himself in power and simultaneously seek to build up the Saljūq Empire and then to weld it into the strong arm of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate[119] and through the Caliphate to strengthen Sunnī Islām. Therefore, he was made the target, and ultimately he was assassinated by an Ismā'īlī agent. Niẓām 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 U'lamā'.

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 Sunnīs and the Ismā'īlīs in the world of Islām, a conflict that drew into its vortex Sulṭāns and their ministers, 'Ulamā' and students of the great colleges, the common people and their leaders. This struggle is quite apparent from Niẓām al-Mulk's writings and the juristic endeavours like those of Māwardī to rehabilitate the Khilāfat 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

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. 255-56.

The Saljūqs "reinforced the authority of the Caliphate, endowed mosques, encouraged arts and sciences, fought anarchy and paganism with unswerving 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."

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direction. With rare exceptions they have tried to discover parallels in the world of Islām of their own sovereign institutions. In the West the law is the will of the sovereign while in the Islāmic legal system the Caliph and the Sulṭān both are the servants and minions of the law. How could then they discover whether sovereignty was vested in the Caliph or the Sulṭān, whom it resided in enither. 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 Niẓām 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 Sulṭāns 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'a, 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 Sunnī world, at the peril of his soul. Some Western writers have accused Niẓām al-Mulk of not dealing adequately with the Caliphate in his book.[120] They seem to forget that the *Siyāsat Nāmah* is intended to be a manual

120. Leonard Binder, "The Political Theory of Niẓam Al-Mulk", Iqbal, Vol. IV, No. III, Bazm-i-Iqbal, 2, Narsinghdas Garden, Club Road, Lahore, January, 1956, p. 49.

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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 Māwardī whose work *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah* is well known to all students of Muslim political and constitutional theory.

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Chapter VI

NIẒĀM AL-MULK'S PRESCRIPTION FOR THE STABILITY OF THE STATE

In the previous chapter Niẓām al-Mulk's theory of the state has been discussed at some length, Niẓām al-Mulk demarcates the distinction between the theory[1] of state and the art of government. The Sulṭān is not only the visible symbol of the state but also an administrator. He must, therefore, be a good Muslim[2] otherwise he would not observe the injunctions of Islām in his administration, nor will he order the affairs of the state in the true interests of Islām. He will also fail in his duty to enforce the Sharī'a in his realm.

Niẓām al-Mulk can not even think of a polity without the steel frame of the Sharī'a, because without this sustaining support of the law which commanded general loyalty, the state would collapse.[3] Niẓām al-Mulk 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

1. R.N, Frye, *The Cambridge History of Iran* (*The period from the Arab invasion to the Seljuqs*), Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 166.
C.E- Bosworth admires Nizām al-Mulk as a political theorist.
2. Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 69.
3. Ibid., p. 69.
4. Ibid., p. 11.
"الملک یبقی مع الکفر و لا یبقی مع الظلم"

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justice without a law.[5] In a Muslim state the only valid law which is recognized universally is the Sharī'a.[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'a 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 Sulṭān loses power, because his own authority is derived from the supremacy of the Sharī'a.

Niẓām al-Mulk rightly thought that the greatest enemy of the Sharī'a is heresy.[8] During his time the Ismā'īlīs were active in the Saljūq Empire. Their basic aim was to subvert Sunni[9] Islām[10] and for that purpose they wanted to overthrow the 'Abbāsid Caliphate[11] as well as the Saljūq Sultanate, because both of them were the main bastions of the Sharī'a. Hence in another manner the state and the Sharī'a

5. Ahmad Moavaz, "Justice under the Saljūqs and Khawarazimshahs", *Barrassiha-ye Tārikhī*, No. 63, (T. XI, Vol. 2), op. cit., pp. 13-36.

6. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 7.

7. E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, op. cit., p. 242 n.

8. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 210.

9. Etan Kohlberg, "From Imāmiyya to Ithnā—'Ashriyya", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. XXXIX, Part 3, School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London), Malet Street, London, 1976, p. 533.

10. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 253. "The constant object of them is to overthrow Islām".

11. Ibid., p. 211.

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became strongly identified with each other.[12] Thus the greatest enemies, not only of the Saljūq Empire, but also of established government[13] everywhere in the Muslim world were the Ismā'īlī heretics of Alamūt. Therefore, it was the target of their machinations.[14]

The Ismā'īlīs were led by an extremely able, devoted and industrious leader. There can be little doubt that Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ who established his headquarters at Alamūt[15] was a great organizer. These Ismā'īlīs[16] were called "Bāṭinīs"[17] because they

12. Ibid., 69.

13. I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, op. cit., p. 27.

Multān had long been a centre of Ismā'īlī dissenters from whose possession Muḥammad bin Sām 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 Ismā'īlī sect entered the Jāmi' Masjid at Dehli and began to slaughter the worshippers. "We read of Fīrūz Shāh taking action against these dissenters. The vast majority of the Muslims in India and all the Sulṭāns of Dehli were, however, orthodox and mainly supporters of the 'Abbāsids".

14. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., pp. 210-11.

15. It is ten thousand (10 000) feet above the sea.

16. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'i, *Shi'ite Islām*, trans. from the Persian, Seyyed Ḥossein Naṣr, Persian Studies Series, No. 5, State University of New York Press, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1975. It deals with the Ithnā 'asharī point of view and discusses its difference with Isma'īlism. 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā' Malik Juvainī, *Tārikh-i Jahān Gushā* or *The History of the World-Conqueror*, op. cit., pp. 642-44. Ja'far Ṣādiq, the Sixth Imām had four sons, of whom the eldest, Ismā'īl, was through his mother the grandson of Ḥasan ; the second, Mūsā was the son of a slave girl ; the third, Muḥammad Dibaj, and the fourth, 'Abd Allāh, is known as Aftah. Ja'far designated as his successor his son Ismā'īl. Afterwards Ismā'īl took to strong drinks and Ja'far Ṣādiq expressed his disapproval thereof. He therefore designated his second son, Mūsā, as his successor. Ismā'īl died

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worked underground. Their programme 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] Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ's effort in trying to gain the wizārat and oust Niẓām al-Mulk might well have been for this purpose. One of the reasons why Niẓām al-Mulk advocated a close relationship between the Saljūq Sultanate and the Caliphate[19] was to ward off the intrigues of the Ismā'īlīs. In fact, despite Niẓām al-Mulk's clear and correct analysis and his prophetic warning the Ismā'īlīs did succeed in giving a crushing blow to the Saljūqs by the murder of Niẓām al-Mulk. One also legitimately suspects that the proposed steps to weaken the armed forces of the

before Ja'far Ṣādiq (may God be pleased with him !) in the year 145/762 3. Those who had attached themselves to Ismā'īl said that Ismā'īl was not dead and that his death had been feigned in order to deceive the people. However, when Ja'far (may God be pleased with him !) died in 148/765 the generality of his Shī'a followed Mūsā.

17. Ibn Funduq and 'Alī bin Zaid, *Tārikh-i Baihaq*, ed. A. Bahmanyār, Teheran, 1317/1938, p. 53. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 443. The modern name of Baihaq is Sabzawār. 'Alā' al-dīn 'Atā' Malik Juvainī, *Tārikh-i Jahān Gushā or History of the World-Conqueror*, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 641-58. These pages deal with the history of the Bāṭinīs.

18. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., pp. 210-11.

19. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 57.

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Sultanate that Niẓām al-Mulk so capably insisted were really inspired by Ismā'īlīs 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] Niẓām al-Mulk's insight into the gravity of the activities of the Ismā'īlīs was proved by the fact that all diplomatic efforts to persuade them to give allegiance to the Saljūqs and to stop their subversive activities failed. So he did military action in A.H. 485/A.C. 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 figurehead[23] was the character of the monarch and his personal qualities. The Sulṭān must possess :

a comely appearance, a pleasing disposition, integrity, manliness, daring skill in horsemanship, knowledge of and expertise

20. Mohibul Hasan Khan, "Medieval Muslim Political Theories of Rebellion against the state", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XVIII, Hyderabad-Daccan, 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.

22. Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, op. cit., pp. 339-40.

23. Shiblī Nu'mānī, *Al-Ghazzālī*, op. cit., pp. 335-36.

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in the 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 Farḍ prayer) abundant fasting, respect for religious authorities, honouring devout and plous 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.[24]

He should make every effort to become popular through his service to the people[25] because on the support of the people would lie his real strength.[26] He must guard himself against becoming a tyrant [27] The best method of doing so is to cultivate piety and respect for the Shari'a,[28] because so long as he follows the law,[29] 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,[30] 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

24. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 9.

25. Ibid., p. 8.

26. Glyn Daniel, *The Seljuks in Asia Minor*, Thames and Hudson London, 1961, pp. 97-99.

27. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 11.

28. Ibid., p. 51. 29. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

30. Ibid., p. 56. The Prophet said, "Justice is the glory of the faith and the power of the state; in it lies the prosperity of nobility and commons".

العدل عزالدنيا و قوةالسلطان و فيه صلاح العامه والخاصه

authority.[31]

He should keep good company and cultivate the society of men who give him sound advice.[32] For this he has to cultivate a good judgment, because without a sound judgment[33] he can be neither a good judge of men, nor of their motives, nor of the quality of the advice that they tender.

In a polity which depends so much upon the monarch's qualities and intentions,[34] the role of public servants[35] is crucial. Hence suitable devices[36] must be introduced to control them and keep them on the path of rectitude.[37] 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[38] should be maintained. These spies should be honest,[39] virtuous and upright men distinguished by their public spirit, so that they hide nothing and re-

31. Ibid., p. 54.

32. Ibid., pp. 169 and 199.

33. Ibid., p. 101.

34. Ibid., p. 363. The Prophet Muḥammad (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 Allāh, and His Prophet".

من استعمل على المسلمين عاملا و هو يعلم ان فى المسلمين من هو خير منه فقد خان الله و رسوله

35. Philip K. Hitti, *The Near East in History*, op. cit., p. 358.

36. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., pp. 146, 153 and 155.

37. Ibid., p. 35.

38. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 267.

39. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 101.

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port 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 should be forced to do so.[40] Besides their identities should remain hidden,[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[42] should be at least duplicated[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.[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[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 effeciency of the government and the stability of the state should be chosen carefully.[46] It has already been mentioned that the utmost vigilance should be exercised in preventing heretics,[47] unbelievers[48] or disloyal persons infil-

40. Ibid., p. 54.
41. Ibid., p. 155.
42. Ibid.. p. 74.
43. Ibid., p. 34.
44. Ibid., p. 155.
45. Ibid., p. 83.
46. Ibid., p. 179.
47. Ibid., pp. 179-80.
48. Ibid., p. 180. Qur'ān, V : 51, op. cit., p. 71. "O ye who believe ! Take not the jews and christians for friends. They are friends one to

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trating 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 treacherous activities.[56] The Sulṭān would then be forewarned and thus forearmed and quite often be able to nip the mischief in the bud.[57]

So far as servants are concerned, Niẓām al-Mulk lays great stress upon the utility of the slaves who feel that a personal bond exists between them and the monarch[58] and because their advancement depends entirely upon his favour,[59] 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[60] in the Ottoman Empire and of the

another".

یا ایهاالذین آمنوا لاتتخذوا الا الیهود و النصاریٰ اولیاء بعضهم اولیاء بعض

49. Ibid., p. 210.
50. Ibid., p. 34.
51. Ibid., p. 210.
52. Ibid., pp. 8 and 47.
53. Ibid., p. 54.
54. Ibid., p. 146, 153.
55. Ibid., p. 153.
56. Ibid., p. 34.
57. Ibid., p. 87.
58. Ibid., p. 121.
59. Ibid., p. 121.
60. Ibid., p. 121 ; J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., pp. I51-54. The body of Turkish infantry forming Sulṭān's guard.

slaves during the last years of Fīrūz Shāh's reign[61] in the Sultanate of Dehli would show. Whatever the 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,[62] which are sure to spread discoutent and weaken the hold of the state.[63]

The Sulṭān must make himself available and grant access to all complainants[64] and must maintain an efficient court of maẓālim[65] presided over by himself so that it is widely known that the oppressed can reach him and obtain redress.[66] This would provide an effective safeguard against official injustice and thus add to his popularity which will result in the stability of the state.

An unnecessary multiplication of posts and officers not only burdens the treasury but works against

he derivation of this word is Turkish such as yenitsheri (yeni means new nd tsheri means soldiery).

61. I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, op. it., p. 67. "Fīrūz Shāh's last days were clouded by the machinations of ome of his slaves whose misdoings ultimately resulted in anarchy".

62. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 12.

63. Ibid., p. 7.

64. Ibid., pp. 13 and 261.

65. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 227. "Niẓām al-Mulk maintained that it was indispensable for the ruler to old a maẓālim court twice a week to exact redress from the unjust, to spense justice, and to listen to the words of his subjects without an inter-ediary".

Dīwān-i Maẓālim has also been dealt with by Aḥmad Moavaz.

Aḥmad Moavaz, "Dād rasī dar 'Ahd-i Saljūqiyān wa Khawārzim-āhān", *Barrassihā-ye Tārikhi*, No. 63 (T. XI, Vol. 2)., op. cit., pp. 13-36.

66. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 13.

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efficiency [67] If several persons share duties, the chances that they would intrigue against each other and create complications and difficulties.[68] It may be useful to shorten tenures of offices ond rotate[69] 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.[70] This is even more relevant in case of provincial governors[71] 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[72] should be treated with great care. The tribes being knit together by ancient ties of kinship[73] and common interests should be humoured and rewarded for loyalty[74] 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[75] it should be treated with kindness and reconciled. The monarch should not show vindictiveness in punishment after reconciliation.

67. Ibid., pp. 178-79.
68. Ibid., p. 178.
69. Ibid., p. 46.
70. Ibid., p. 37.
71. Ibid., p. 46; Ḥasan Anvary, "Dīwān-i Istifā dar Ḥukūmat-i Ghaznaviyān wa Saljūqiyān", *Barrassihā-ye Tārikhi*, No. 62 (T. XI. Vol. I), Supreme Commander's staff, Tehran-Irān, April-May, 1976, pp. 81-116.
72. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 121.
73. Ibid., p. 121.
74. Ibid., p. 121.
75. Ibid., p. 120.

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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.[76] Many princes of royal blood have instinctively ambitious of setting themselves up as independent and sovereign rulers.[77] They have to be carefully watched, yet treated with consideration. If they are not treated properly, they are able to get the sympathy of powerful elements.[78] Besides if happy and prosperous[79] 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, a contented and happy people.[80] 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[81] and the state should organize free kitchens for the needy and

76. Ibid., p. 121 : Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., pp. 18-19
77. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 54.
78. Ibid., p. 90.
79. Ibid., p. 55. Ḥamd Allāh, Mustaufī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, ed. and trans : G. Le Strange, Gibb Memorial Series, XXIII, London, 1916-19, pp. 33-34.
80. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 8.
81. Ibid., pp. 150-52.

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the poor.[82] 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. Hoarding and cornering of necessities[83] must be stopped and punished.[84] The market is to be controlled in the interests of the consumer.[85]

For this purpose the Muḥtasib's department[86] should be made efficient and effective and only men of proven integrity be appointed as "muḥtasibs".[87] These officers would also look after the moral state of the society and would stop any public violation of the "Shari'a".[88] A law abiding[89] 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.[90] Besides it should be effectively protected from the mischief of corrupt collectors of revenue[91] who should not be permitted to extort any money from the cultivators.[92] All public spending must be directed towards common good and it should be remembered that the treasury really belongs to the people.[93]

82. Ibid., p. 152.
83. Ibid., p. 53.
84. Ibid., p. 53.
85. Ibid., p. 53.
86. Ibid., p. 51.
87. Ibid., p. 51-52.
88. Ibid., p. 51.
89. Ibid., p. 8.
90. Ibid., p. 23.
91. Ibid., p. 35.
92. Ibid., p. 35.
93. Ibid., p. 23, 68, 70, 164-66. Ibid., p. 70, Qurān, XII : 88, op. cit., p. 150.

"Be charitable unto us. Lo ! Allah will requite the charitable".

"تصدق علينا ان الله يجزى المتصدقين"

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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 by a large number of educational institutions[97] and free institutions[98] but also by free boarding houses and stipends to needy but intelligent students.[99] Thus any one with talent and ambition could enter

94. Ibid., p. 164. 95. Ibid., pp. 122-23.

96. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 71-72.

A detailed account of educational institutions can be had in the rticle of Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb. Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb, "Niẓām al-Mulk wa l-Madāris al-Niẓāmiyah", *College of Arabic Language and Social Studies Magazine*, op. cit., pp. 545-69.

97. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 69 ; Syed Ameer Ali, *he Spirit of Islam*, op. cit., p. 370.

98. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XXIV, op. cit., p. 609. izām al-Mulk immortalised his name by the foundation of "several iversities (the Niẓāmiyah at Baghdād), observatories, mosques, hospis and other institutions of public utility".

99. Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West*, op. cit., p. 216 ; Kenneth M. tton, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 154.

the more powerful and opulent class.[100]

However, the farsightedness of Niẓām al-Mul guided well his ruler Malik Shāh and made the Saljū Empire a strong cultural, military and ruling powe in the Near East.[101]

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100. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. VII, Oxford University Press, London, 1954, p. 362 n.

Niẓām 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 Baghdād.

101. P.M. Holt, *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 150

Chapter VII

NIẒĀM 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".[1] As Niẓām 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 Niẓām 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. Niẓām al-Mulk was not the minister of a modern nation state, such an idea would have been blatantly anachronistic in the context of the

1. The Oxford Universal Dictionary, 3rd Edition, Oxford, 1955.

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Medieval Islāmic World. To some extent it is stil new and almost inapplicable even today to severa Muslim States. Niẓām al-Mulk was acting on behal of a monarch with other potentates of varying impor tance. His diplomacy, therefore, had to be based i humouring the personal desires of those whom h wanted to befriend the Saljūqian State. Anothe prime mover in the diplomacy was dictated by th nature of the state which he had been called upo to serve. It was an upstart power, having risen from the humble origin of a tribe seeking land for culti vation and pasture to habilitate its growing population Its human resources soon became so considerabl that old and long established dynasties and state had to recognize its strength.

It should be remembered that the desire of al upstart dynasties has been to gain respectability b ailiances—preferably matrimonial—with other wel established families and the Saljūqs were no excep tion. The defeat of the Byzantine Emperor at th hands of the Saljūqs naturally annoyed such a stal wart of Christendom as Gibbon who referred to th Saljūq monarch as "the shepherd"—a reference t the origin of the Saljūq dynasty. Gibbon says, "the shepherd presumed to despatch an ambassador, o herald, to demand the tribute and obedience of the Emperor of Constantinople".[2] Ṭughril Beg sent the Sharīf Nāṣir Ibn Ismā'īl on an embassy to the Queen

2. Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 31. quoting Gibb.

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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-Mustanṣir the Fāṭimid 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] Niẓām al-Mulk thus achieved in one stroke a rupture between Byzantium and Egypt. Gibbon's cheap gibe was more than avenged by Niẓām al-Mulk's diplomacy who humiliated the Byzantine Emperor and reduced him to vassalage as we shall see later.

Niẓām 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. Niẓām 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, no country which does not cultivate diplomatic relations with other countries is not able to safeguard its interests. He understood that diplomatic relations

3. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 101.

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could be maintained mainly by sending embassies t the different countries to secure special objectives Ambassadors are diplomatic agents who are represen tatives of their countries and all respect and courtes is to be extended to them. This, however, is a delicat matter, because it will offend the ambassador of a important country if he is treated at par with th envoys of less important states. Hence, they are t be treated also according to the importance of thei respective states. Niẓām al-Mulk complains tha when an ambassador is coming from a foreign countr nobody gives any information until he actually arrive at the court. The result is that proper preparation for their receptions are not made and no forethough is given to the discussions with him.[4] Therefore Niẓām al-Mulk suggests that the officers at the fron tiers must be told that whenever they receive th first intimation of the approach of an ambassado they should despatch a rider and find out his parti culars. They should find out all the details about th number and the condition of his entourage. He shoul acquire information as to how many mounted an unmounted men constitute it. What paraphernalia and equipment is accompanying him and what i the nature of his business ?[5] Niẓām 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

4. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 112.
5. Ibid., p. 112.

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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.[6] 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".[7]

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 Sulṭān 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

6. Ibid., p. 112.
7. Ibid., p. 112.
8. Ibid,, p. 112.

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different part of the world".[9]

Niẓām al-Mulk has also dealt with the function 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, Niẓām al-Mulk explains 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 wazīr 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

9. Ibid., p. 111.

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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 compaign, 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]

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.[11] 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".[12] This practice is the precursor of the modern concept of "diplomatic immunities". Sherwāni says, "We are struck by the great modernity of the Khwāja when we read what he has to say about foreign representatives ; for he writes as if he were writing today about a Western

10. Ibid., pp. 113-14.
11. Ibid,, pp. 115-16.
12. Ibid,, p. 112.

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country in our own time".[13]

It is desirable to enumerate the qualifications and qualities of an ambassador laid down by Niẓām al-Mulk. "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".[14] 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".[15] After that he takes lineage, military skill, horsemanship, bravery and reliability into consideration. For example, Niẓām 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.[16]

Niẓām 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 Niẓām al-Mulk realized that in interstate relations neither hostility nor friendship can be ever lasting. There-

13. Haroon Khan Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, op. cit., p. 138.

14. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 116.

15. Ibid., p. 116.

16. Ibid., p. 116.

17. Ibid., p. 116.

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fore, he counsels that the Sulṭān "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. Niẓām 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.

Niẓam 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 successfully. In this connection Niẓām al-Mulk says,

> Spies must always go out to the limits of the Empire in the guise of merchants, travellers, ṣūfīs, chemists and mendicants, and bring reports of everything they hear, so that no matter of any sort, remains hidden, and if any trouble starts developing, 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 subversive activities carried on by foreign agents. Under the Saljūqs the Ismā'īlīs were the main agents

18. Ibid., pp. 264-65.

19. Ibid., p. 87.

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of subversion, and a good deal of trouble could have been averted if the Saljūq intelligence had been really efficient.

The *Siyāsat Nāmah* 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 Saljūqian diplomacy. Niẓām al-Mulk considers diplomacy an art of accommodation and persuasion in inter-state relations. It was greatly 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-Isḥāq Shīrāzī[20] in A.H. 475/A.C. 1083 who was sent on an embassy to Malik Shāh[21] by the Caliph.

20. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed: S. Moinul Haq. Vol. I, Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, 1961, p. 51. He was a pupil of Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī.

21. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., pp. 42-43; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayat al-A'yān*, Vol. V. op. cit., pp. 357-58. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 275.

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 information. The state has also to depend on many other subsidiary sources as well, and all of them are used 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 Naṣr bin Ibrāhīm became rebellious, Sulṭān Alp Arslān decided to send an expedition to Māwarā al-Nahr. During the preparations, the Sulṭān sent an ambassador to Shams al-Mulk; and Nizām al-Mulk sent Dānishmand Ashtar on his own behalf with the Sulṭān'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 wazīrs every now and then, and to make requests and say things to him which they themselves can not say to the Sulṭān. The wazīr passes what they say on to the Sulṭān. 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 Sulṭān Alp Arslān ignored the ambassador of the Khān and sent his own ambas-

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sador to convey his reply. Niẓām al-Mulk sent Danishmand Ashtar 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 Sulṭān and his country. He reported that Alp Arslān's wazīr was a heretic. This false reporting was immediately transmitted by Dānishmand Ashtar[22] to Niẓām al-Mulk.

Sometimes, women were assigned important diplomatic tasks. We sometimes find women acting as envoys, as was the case of Barkiyāruq's sister who was married to Naṣr, the brother of 'Alā' al-Dawla, the Salṭān 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 Bahrām Shāh against his brother Arslān Shāh, the latter commissioned her to secure the surrender of Bahrām Shāh and sent 200,000 (two lac) dināars 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.[23] Sometimes, women carried on diplomatic activity in their own interests. However, mention

22. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., pp. 114-15 ; J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 262.

23. Sanaullah, *The Decline of the Saljuqid Empire*, University of Calcutta 1938, p. 15.

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may be made also of Ṣafwat al-Mulk, mother of Duqāq who married Ṭughtakīn, the Atābeg of her son, after the death of Tutush, 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 Yāqūtī from captivity by her representations to Karbūqā.[24]

Terken Khātūn was with her son Maḥmūd, a child of four years at Baghdād. 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 Niẓām al-Mulk's contribution was subtantial 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 Niẓām al-Mulk who was in the closest contact with the Sulṭān. Before and after Niẓām al-Mulk foreign affairs were largely handled by the Sulṭān himself. It was Niẓām al-Mulk's duty to look after the reception

24. Ibid., p. 15-16.

25. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II. op, cit., p. 300.

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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 Niẓām al-Mulk's time. However, because of its importance, a permanent resident was kept at Baghdād who was styled as "Shaḥna". *The Cambridge History of Iran*, says that "the Shaḥna was the Sulṭān's ambassador to the Caliph".[26] Diplomatic establishments were not kept up permanently in any foreign country, though Niẓām 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 Saljūqs started there and so did the rise of the Mongols and Chingiz Khān later.

There were probably certain officials who were always sent out as ambassadors when they were required. It was usually Niẓām 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 Saljūq diplomacy was a stiff formality, designed by Niẓām al-Mulk to impress others with the dignity of the Sultanate. A foreign ambassador entering into the boundaries of the Saljūqian Empire was immediately

26. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 213.

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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 Sulṭān 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 Baghdād. So great was the respect in which the Caliph was held that his ambassadors drew large crowds throughout their journey. For instance, when Abū Isḥāq arrived in Khurāsān; 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 Sulṭān Malik Shāh, both the Sulṭān and Niẓām al-Mulk welcomed him with great respect. When Shaikh Abū al-Isḥāq Shīrāzī put forward the Caliph's complaint about Abū al-Fataḥ, then the Sulṭān in consultation with Niẓām al-Mulk redressed them immediately[28] and made the 'Amīd al-'Irāq, Abū al-Fataḥ powerless.[29]

Throughout the first interview usually the Sulṭān remained impassive. The ambassador was expected to prostrate himself before the Sulṭān. Later he would enter into personal relations with the Sulṭān at a state banquet, or possibly he might be granted a

27. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., pp. 357-58.
J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 275.
28. Ṭālib Hāshmī, *Malik Shāh Saljūqi*, op. cit., p. 229.
29. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol, X, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

personal interview. Mostly Niẓām al-Mulk remained with the Sulṭān 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 Sulṭān Malik Shāh at Baghdād. The ambassador was subjected all the while to a vigilante supervision ; he was to return to his country having learnt and seen nothing except what had been intended by the Saljūqian government that he should see and learn. In this respect, Niẓām 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 the 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.[30]

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

The embassies of the Saljūq Empire travelled abroad with a sumptuous train laden with rich pre-

30. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 261.

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sents and brocades. "Frequently, kings have sent abmassadors bearing rich gifts, or valuables or weapons to express their meekness and submissiveness".[31] The Saljūqs 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 Niẓām 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 Saljūqs 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 Saljūqian diplomacy. Most of the Sulṭāns believed in its efficacy. On the whole, the marriage of Saljūqian ladies to foreign potentates often proved fruitful. The only exception was the marriage of Malik Shāh's daughter to the House of Baghdād. 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 Saljūqs realized the importance of winning over alien populations to their side. The Saljūq

31. Ibid., p. 116.

Sulṭān defeated Romanus IV at Manzikert in A.C. 1071 and the fall of Barī[32] brought the turning point in Byzantine history and eventually the Saljūqs established themselves 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 perferred 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.

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32. Barī was the most flourishing port and the capital of Byzantine Asia Minor.

33. Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*, op. cit., p. 293.

Chapter VIII

NIẒĀM AL-MULK AS A PRACTICAL DIPLOMAT

Ṭughril Beg cemented his alliance with the Caliph through marriage. After dealing the Buwaihids finally, Ṭughril Beg came to Baghdād in A.C. 1055 where he remained for about a year during which Chaghrī Beg Dā'ūd's daughter, and Ṭughril's niece, Arslān Khātūn Khadīja, the sister of Alp Arslān, was married to the Caliph, al-Qā'im with great pomp[1] in A.H. 448/A.C. 1056 for strengthening ties between them. On the death of Ṭughril Beg's wife the Sulṭān sent his ambassador, the Qāḍī of Ray to Baghdād for requesting the hand of the Caliph's daughter,[2] Syyida al-Nisā',[3] 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) dīnārs from Ṭughril Beg if he even demanded the marriage. Other marriage alliances however, matured through the efforts of the ambassadors of the Caliph

1. E.G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 172. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 48.

2. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 173.

3. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 111. Rāwandī is wrong in saying that Syyida al-Nīsā' was the sister of the Caliph.

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and those of the Sulṭān Ṭughril Beg.[4] Eventually, al-Kundūrī told the Caliph's ambassador frankly that the refusal to marry the Caliph's daughter to Ṭughril 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.[5] After this Ṭughril Beg proceeded in A.H. 455/A.C. 1063 to Baghdād, and on his arrival, he sent a present of one hundred thousand dināars for his bride. On the appointed day, she seated herself on a throne and received Ṭughril Beg when she did not even remove the veil from her face. Ṭughril Beg kissed the ground, and then offered her many magnificent presents which were beyond description.[6] He was delighted at his reception.

The daughter of Sūlṭān Malik Shah, Mah-Malik Khātūn[7] was married to Caliph, al-Muqtadī[8] in A.H. 480/A.C. 1087. On that occasion, a very long procession of the bride with valuable paraphernalia reached Baghdād. This procession of the bride was welcomed by the wazīr of the Caliph along with three hundred torch bearers. This procession was then led by Niẓām al-Mulk to the Caliph's palace. Niẓām al-Mulk's

4. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yan*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 101n. The detailed account regarding this fact has been given by Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī in his book *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd*,

5. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 212.

6. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 102.

7. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., at page 140, and E G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, op. cit., at page 300 are wrong in saying that Mah-Malik Khātūn was the sister of Sulṭān Malik Shāh.

8. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 181.

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prestige was so high that at the Caliph's command, only Niẓām al-Mulk rode while the other dignitaries walked, and when they reached the Caliph's audience Niẓām al-Mulk was seated on a "Masnad" and given a robe of honour with a border on it, inscribed with "Niẓām al-Mulk Raḍī Amīr al-Mu'minīn".[9] This diplomatic marriage with the Caliph, al-Muqtadī was celebrated with great pomp and grandeur,[10] in the presence of Terken Khātūn, Niẓām al-Mulk, and the Caliph's wazīr Abū Shujā'.[11] On the next day of this marriage, the Caliph gave a Walima feast to the Sulṭān's officials which he had specially arranged for them.[12]

In the month of February, 1058 was born a son, Abū al-Faḍl Ja'far. The Caliph was so much delighted that he ordered a splendid decoration of the city of Baghdād. Sulṭān Malik Shāh visited Baghdād for the third time, probably to see his grandson. At that time, the Caliph had two sons, one of whom was the Imām al-Mustaẓhir; the other was the son of the Sulṭān's daughter.[13] During this visit Niẓām al-Mulk was not with him as he had been martyred en route to Baghdād. It was Niẓām al-Mulk who had been dexterously and carefully handling the diplomatic affairs of the Saljūqian Empire. Now Sulṭān Malik Shāh insisted that the Caliph, al-Muqtadī should

9. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit.. p. 265.
10. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., pp. 48-49 ane 65-66.
11. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 100.
12. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 358.
13. Ibid., p. 359.

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 Sulṭān Malik Shāh, Khātūn al-'Iṣmah was married to Imām al-Mustaẓhir in A.H. 502/A.C. 1108.[14] After the arrival of Sulṭān Malik Shāh at Baghdād, he sent costly presents to the Caliph, al-Muqtadi and on the next day a polo[15] match was played.[16] On this occasion Sulṭān Malik Shāh gave his sister, Zulaykhā Khātūn in marriage to Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dawla and on whom he bestowed the iqṭā's of ar-Raḥba, Ḥarran, Sarūj, Raqqa 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 Niẓām al-Mulk by the Caliph. But reconciliation took place after some time between Niẓām al-Mulk and Fakhr al-Dawla because Niẓām al-Mulk acknowledged him as a man of great intelligence. And that is why Niẓām 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]

14. Ibid, p. 359.

15. During that time, probably the measurements of a pole ground were 300 by 200 yards.

16. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, op. cit.. p. 182.

17. Ibid. p. 182.

18. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafoyāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., pp. 171-72. In allusion to this fact, Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Habbāriyah composed the following

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Besides, Niẓām al-Mulk's daughter Ṣafiyah was married to Ibn Jabīr's son, 'Amīd al-Dawla in A.H. 462/A.C. 1069.

Niẓām 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 Raḍī Amīr al-Mu'minīn",[19] the latter is believed to be the earliest title of this type bestowed on a wazīr. The respect paid to the Caliph was by no means empty. Tughril Beg was declared Sulṭān at Merv and Nīshāpūr in A.H. 429/A.C. 1038. During this period his brother Dā'ūd started malpractices in these provinces. The Caliph, al-Qā'im realized his responsibility and he despatched an ambassador[20] to Ṭughril 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. Abū al-Hayjā surnamed Shibl al-Dawla was in Niẓām al-Mulk's service and married into his family. When Niẓām al-Mulk was martyred, he intended to go to Kirmān for soliciting the bounty of Nāṣr al-dīn. He, therefore, requested the Caliph, al-Mustaẓhir for a letter of recommendation. Al-Mustaẓhir

lines: "Say to the wazīr 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 wazīr a second time; thank then the thing (the female sexual organ) which created thee lord-wazīr".

19. The Encyclopaedia of Islām, ed: M. Th. Houtsma, Vol. III, L—R, op. cit, p. 933.

20. Amir Hasan Siddiqi. *Caliphate and Sultanate*, op. cit., p. 146.

wrote at the top of the written request the following words; "Abu'l Hayjā! you go very far in search of a pasture-ground; may God speed you back".[21] Abū al-Hayjā proceeded to Kirmān with this letter of recommendation. When he arrived there, he placed this letter before the wāzīr. 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 "qaṣīdah" 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 Sulṭān maintained a resident (called Shaḥna) at the Caliph's court. Al-Qā'im disliked the appointment of Ai-Tegin (Aytakin) as the Shaḥna, because his son had killed one of the Caliph's slaves. Therefore, Alp Arslān and Niẓām al-Mulk removed Ai-Tegin. Niẓām al-Mulk rightly believed that it was of the utmost importance for the Saljūqs to maintain good relations with the Caliphs of Baghdād because the recognition accorded by them to a ruler was the only guarantee of securing

21. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 319.
22. Ibid., pp. 319-20.

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the loyalty of the people. It has already been mentioned that the Saljūqs 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 Arslān's ambassador was received graciously and the Caliph agreed to recognize the new Sulṭān and bestowed on him several honorific titles[23] in A.H. 456/A.C. 1064.[24] After that, the 'Abbāsid Caliph despatched his ambassador to Alp Arslān for his "Bai'at".[25] "And finally, good relations were established with the 'Abbāsid Caliphs".[26] Alp Arslān in turn secured the Caliph's consent for nominating his son Malik Shāh, heir apparent which was done in A.H. 458/A C. 1066 at a ceremony near Merv[27] in which the amirs offered their oath of allegiance to Malik Shāh. After the death of Sulṭān Alp Arslān, Nizām al-Mulk again took the oath of allegiance from the elites of the Empire in favour of Malik Shāh. In the meantime, he despatched the news through an ambassador of Malik Shāh's succession to the Caliph for securing recognition for him. After the ratification by the Caliph, Nizām al-Mulk despatched another ambassador, amīr Sa'd al-Dawla Gauhar Ā'in for receiving letters patent of investiture from the Caliph for the

23. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p 116.

24. Ẓahīr al-Dīn, Nīshāpūrī, *Saljūq Nāmah*, Teherān, 1332/1954, pp. 3-24.

25. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit , pp. 11-14.

26. J.A. Boyle. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 57.

27. Ibid., p. 61.

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Sulṭān in A.H. 466/A.C. 1074. When this embassy entered the city of Baghdād a royal 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 Sulṭān Malik Shāh. Niẓām al-Mulk was with Sulṭān Malik Shāh when Sulṭān's first state visit was made in A.H. 479/A.C. 1087. At this first visit to Baghdād, Sulṭān Malik Shān was received with full state honours by Abū Shujā' Ẓahīr al-dīn Muḥammad bin Husain Ḥamadānī. The Sulṭān went to the court of the Caliph, and offered valuable presents to the Caliph.[28] The Caliph held a pompous darbār in the palace on the Sulṭān's state visit to Baghdād in A.H. 480/A.C. 1087. On that occasion, the Caliph bestowed a Khil'at upon the Sulṭān Malik Shāh. After that, in tune with recognized diplomatic procedures of the age, Niẓām al-Mulk introduced the higher officials one by one to the Caliph. After the completion of this ceremony, the Caliph also bestowed upon Niẓām al-Mulk a costly Khil'at on which his new title was inscribed.[29] The Caliph exhorted the Sulṭān Malik Shāh to perform his function according to the Shari'at.[30] The diplomatic importance of Niẓām al-Mulk can very well

28. Amir Hasan Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Saltanate*, op. cit , p. 155 n.
29. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., p. 313.
30. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 68.

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be appreciated when we analyze the consequences of the last visit of Malik Shāh to Baghdād in A.H. 485/A.C. 1092. This time Sulṭān Malik Shāh was alone because Niẓām al-Mulk had just been martyred by a Bāṭinī while going to Baghdād with him and the Sulṭān thus lost the diplomatic brain. As a matter of fact, Sulṭān Malik Shāh was freed to do whatever whim crossed his mind and as such he decided to expel the Caliph from Baghdād. It was to be by the Sulṭān done for setting up his grandson Abū al-Faḍl Ja'far as Caliph, even though his grandson was ineligible according to Sharī'a. However, the death of Malik Shāh saved al-Muqtadī. Only once, Niẓām al-Mulk was not with him and such a grave crisis was created in the foreign relation. The Ismā'īlīs removed Niẓām al-Mulk from the political-cum-diplomatic field so that they might be able to destroy the 'Abbāsid Caliphate through the Sunnī Sulṭān.

Apart from the Caliphate, which was of the utmost importance from the point of views of the Saljūqs, their outstanding neighbour was the Byzantine Empire and a study of the relations between the Saljūqs and the Byzantines show the remarkable diplomatic acumen possessed by Niẓām al-Mulk. The Saljūqs were desirous of establishing themselves in Asia Minor which brought them into conflict with the Byzantine Empire. Alp Arslān captured Anī from its Byzantine garrison. Then the Sulṭān penetrated

into Georgia[31] where he consolidated his influence b marrying a niece of the Georgian king Bagrat IV. I spite of this gesture, Romanus IV attacked on Khilā in A.H. 463/A.C. 1070. Therefore, Alp Arslān reache Zahra, a place between Akhlāṭ and Malāzgird (Man zikert) from where he sent an ambassador to Romanu IV offering him peace. But this offer of Sulṭān Alp Arslān was disdainfully rejected.[32] Romanus advance to meet the Sulṭān, was defeated at Malāzgird an captured alive. After protracted negotiations, a treaty of peace was signed between Sulṭān Alp Arslān and the Emperor, Romanus, who agreed to marry his daughters to the sons of Alp Arslān,[33] to pay an annual Jizya of three hundred and sixty thousand dīnārs, a ransom of a million dīnārs, and surrender all prisoners of war.[34] Romanus IV was deposed and as such this marriage alliance could not take place. He was treated leniently. Romanus was granted a role of honour, and a tent for himself and 15,000 dīnārs for his expenses, and a number of his nobles and officers were also set free. The Sulṭān sent with them an escort to take them safely to their own marches, and himself rode with them a parasang.[35]

31. W.E.D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932. pp. 90-92.

32. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., pp. 483-84.

33. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

34. Syed Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens*, op. cit., p. 313.

35. E G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 177-78. Parasang is a Persian measure of length, about 3-1/4 miles.

This diplomacy caused dissensions among the ruling class of Byzantine. This treaty has been universally recognized as a stroke of genius. Niẓām al-Mulk persuaded the Sulṭān to treat Romanus generously which saved the Saljūqs 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 Shāh as their suzerain, and paid him tribute".[36] A marriage had been arranged between Malik Shāh and Anna Comnena, daughter of Alexius Comnenus.[37] But the death of Anna prevented a union from which great results were expected, both for the East and the West.[38] Sulṭān Malik Shāh decided to attack Aḥmad Khān bin Khiḍr Khān of Māwarā al-Nahr[39] from Iṣfahān in A.H. 482/A.C. 1089. Niẓām 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 Niẓām al-Mulk took him along with him. When Niẓām al-Mulk reached Kāshghar, he received the Kharāj from the ambassador and then bade him farewell.[40] The point was that

36. Syed Ameer Ali, *A Short History of Saracens*, op. cit., p. 317.

37. Ibid., p. 319 n. Gibbon thinks that the lady must have been Anna Comnena herself.

38. Ibid., p. 319.

39. Māwarā al-Nahr is called Transoxiana.

40. 'Abd al-Razzāq Kānpūrī, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., p. 502.

Niẓām al-Mulk wanted to show the Christian worl that the ambassador of the Byzantine Empir brought the Kharāj to pay it to the Saljūqid upt Kāshghar.

We shall now turn to the relations of Saljūqs wit other states. The House of Ghazna occupied an im portant place in the minds of the Saljūqs, becaus compared to it they were merely upstarts. Marriag alliances with the Ghaznavids would remove th inferiority complex. Alp Arslān left five sons an three daughters. One of his sons, Arslān Arghūn wa married to one of the princesses of the Ghaznavid The Ghaznavid Empire during Ibrāhīm's reign be came strong and as such both Ibrāhīm and Mali Shāh started diplomatic negotiations and marriag links between the two Houses established earlier wer maintained. Ibrāhīm's son, 'Alā'al-Dawla Mas'ūd II had married a daughter of Alp Arslān. After tha 'Alā'al-Dawla married one of Malik Shāh's daughter Jauhar Khātūn, who was famous and popularl known in Ghazna as Mahd-i 'Irāq.[41] Later Malil Shāh's another daughter was married to youn Mas'ūd II.[42]

Ṭughril Beg understood the importance of th Buwaihid dynasty. After securing an understandin with 'Imād al-dīn Abū Kālījār Marzbān of Khūzistān

41. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., p. 111; J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 94.

42. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 182-83.

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Fārs, Kirmān, Baṣra, and Oman, the Saljūqs had restrained Ibrāhim Inal[43] a son of Ṭughril's mother and the leader of the Ināliyān from invading Buwaihid territory in Luristān. One of the daughters of Abū Kālījār was married into the Saljūq royal family. And one of Chaghrī's daughters was married to Buwaihid prince Fūlād-Sutūn in A.H. 439/A.C. 1047.[44]

Sulṭān Alp Arslān restored the governorship of Baṣra in A.H. 459/A.C. 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 Fāṭimid influence in the Arabian peninsula.

Alp Arslān endeavoured to maintain harmony and peace with the Qarakhānids through a series of diplomatic marriages. As a matter of fact, there was some danger that the Qarakhānids attitude might flare up into hostility and as such Niẓām al-Mulk

43. Baihaqī, *Tārīkh-i Baihaqi*, ed : Ghanī and Faiyāḍ, op. cit., pp. 550-53 ; J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p 19. Inal is pronounced Yanāl in *Tārīkh-i Baihaqi*.

44. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

Quoting Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol, IX, pp. 365-66.

45. Bundārī, *Zubdat al-Nuṣra wa Nukhbat al-'Uṣra*, ed: M. Th. Houtsma, II, Leiden, 1889, pp. 34-36.

46. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vo. V, op. cit., p. 61.

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adopted a more realistic diplomacy with them. Alp Arslān married himself the widowed daughter of Qadīr Khān Yūsuf, former ruler of Kāshghar and Khotan. Alp Arslān's daughter 'Ā'isha was married to Ibrāhīm's son Shams al-Mulk Naṣr; and Malik Shāh was married to another Qarakhanīd princess, Terken Khātūn who gave birth to the future Saljūq Sulṭān Maḥmūd.[47] These relations were not immune from occasional tensions. However, during the period of turmoil, Malik Shāh received the personal submission of the Khān of Kāshghar who also offered one of his daughters in marriage to one of the Sulṭān Malik Shāh's sons. All these affairs were so well managed by Niẓām al-Mulk that ultimately the Eastern Qarakhānids came under the Saljūq control at Uzkand.[48] Malik Shāh's brother Ayāz could not resist the Qarakhānid invaders, but once the new Sulṭān Malik Shāh was firmly established on the throne, he drove Shams al-Mulk's brother from Tirmidh in A.H. 466/A.C. 1073 and cornered him into Samarqand. These circumstances now forced the Khān to enter into negotiations, and to seek the intercession of Niẓām al-Mulk for peace. Niẓām al-Mulk followed a policy which compelled the Qarakhānids to preserve peaceful relations with the Saljūqs.[49]

The first to feel the impact of the Saljūq power

47. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., p. 28; J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 65.

48. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 92.

49. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. IX, op. cit., p. 212.

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was the famous House of Ghazna. The Saljūqs 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 Saljūqs 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 Baghdād. If the Saljūqs could secure letters patent from the Caliph, their legal position in the world of Islām 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 Muḥammad al-Ma'mūnī as an embassador to Ṭughril Beg with a gracious reply at Ray.[52] This diplomatic step achieved the required result as the Saljūq Sulṭān was granted recognition and his name was placed on the coins.[53] This shows that Ṭughril Beg kept himself in touch with the Caliph, employing a "faqīh" as his envoy from Nīshāpūr.

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

51. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr* op. cit., p. 104.

52. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 177.

53. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 105.

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However, Ṭughril Beg made a state visit to Baghdād in A.H. 447/A.C. 1055.[54] On this occasion, as has already been mentioned more fully, Sulṭān Ṭughril Beg was received ceremoniously and the customary exchange of gifts[55] took place between the Caliph and the Sulṭān. Then a decree was read, bestowing upon the Sulṭān the legal power to rule. The Sulṭān's diplomacy led also to the recognition of his conquests. He received a favourable consideration of his application for recognition for two reasons. The relations between the House of Ghazna and the 'Abbāsid Caliphate had started deteriorating under Maḥmūd 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 faineant Caliph irked him. Once he went so far as to threat invasion of Baghdād with his army and elephants. The Caliph was aware of the psychology of the Muslims. Therefore, he sent a cryptic reply on a piece of paper in the form of three letters of the alphabet only, namely,

54. Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 30; Sir Percy Sykes states that Tughril Beg visited Baghdād in 1005 which is worng. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit , p. 45.

55. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., p. 105.

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"ālif, lām and mīm".[56] This mystified the Ghaznavid court until 'Allama' Qahistānī pointed out that this was the opening of the famous chapter of the Qur'ān[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 Maḥmūd and his officers. In any case, it was obvious that no tears would be shed in Baghdād over the decline of the Ghaznavids. Maḥmūd's son, Mas'ūd was sorely in need of strengthening his army after the death of his father. He, therefore, invited the Saljūqids of Ādharbā'ijān for assisting him. At the request of the Saljūqs, Mas'ūd granted them an amnesty and reinstated 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 Sulṭān Maḥmūd".[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 Ghaznavid made them so powerful

56 Ḥasan bin 'Abd Allāh 'Abbāsī, *Āthār al-Awwal fi tartīb al-uwal*, Miṣr, A.H. 1305/A C 1887, p. 81.

57. Qur'ān, CV, op. cit., p. 420-21.

58. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 100.

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that "the imām (Khalif) al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh sent an embassy to them, and the person whom he selected for this mission was the qāḍī Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb al-Māwardī. (. . .) On this occasion, al-Māwardī 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 were not one sided but it was a both ways traffic. These reached the extent that in A.C. 1058 Ṭughril Beg was received by the Caliph, al-Qā'im. On this occasion, al-Qā'im bestowed on Ṭughril 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 Ṭughril Beg sent 10,000 (ten thousand) dināars to the Caliph, 5,000 (five thousand) dīnārs to his officials and 3,000 (three thousand) dīnārs to his Ra'īs al-Ru'asā'. In addition to these, Ṭughril Beg sent some precious jewels and other valuable presents to the Caliph [61] We have seen that a good deal of Saljūq's diplomatic activity was directed towards cultivating the friendship of the House of Baghdād.

Alp Arslān during his expedition to Syria, laid siege to Aleppo, which was under the rule of Maḥmūd

59. Ibid., pp. 100-101. In the footnote of the same volume at page 101 there is a different version quoting "Imād al-dīn al-Iṣfahānī about the two envoys : one was called Abū Bakr al-Ṭūsī, and the other Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Māmūn.

60. J. A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit , p. 47.

61. Amir Hasan Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Sultanate*, op. cit., p. 155 n.

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Ibn Naṣr Ibn Ṣāliḥ Ibn Mirdās al-Kilābī. After negotiations, Alp Arslān declared that if Maḥmūd desired peace he should pay homage to him. Therefore, Maḥmūd along with his mother went to Alp Arslān's tent. Alp Arslān welcomed them and bestowed upon them robes of honour, and then raised the siege.[62]

The Turkmen were numerically the most important tribal group, their control, therefore, presented a special problem. Niẓām 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 Sulṭān's direct control.

Aḥmad Khān bin Khiḍr who was the nephew of Terken Khātūn, wife of Sulṭān Malik Shāh incurred the opposition of some religious institutions in A.H. 482/A.C. 1089 which compelled one of the Shāfi'ī faqīhs, Abū Ṭāhir bin 'Abiyyak to come to the court of Malik Shāh for aid. Niẓām al-Mulk's foreign policy and the Sultān'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 Aḥmad Khān was made captive and sent to his capital.[64] The slow but steady diplomatic activities of Niẓām al-Mulk during Malik Shāh's

62. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., pp. 104-105.
63. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 246.
64. Ibid., p. 92.

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reign brought destruction of the long established Marwānid state in Diyārbark. Moreover, Saljūqid influence was extended into the Arabian peninsula[65] by the diplomatic efforts of Niẓām al-Mulk.

During the reign of Malik Shāh, Niẓām al-Mulk brought Ṭāhir's son Tāj al-dın Abū al-Faḍl Naṣr of Sistān in power in A.H. 483/A.C. 1090 as a Saljūq vassal[66]. 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 Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ[67] 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.[68] During that time, his foreign policy remained on the defensive because Niẓām al-Mulk's foreign policy had the lead and as such the Egyptian power was made inferior to that of the Salūqian. Niẓām al-Mulk went on working quietly and pushing Saljūq influence into the Arabian peninsula. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed 'Amīd al-Mulk obtained

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 Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ in the Eastern part of the Islāmic world. This was the reason which compelled Niẓām al-Mulk to tackle the matter within and without the country by establishing Niẓāmiya Colleges all over the Empire to counter the Ismā'īlī movement. He specially supported the Shāfi'ī and the Ḥanafī 'Ulamā' to combat the Ismā'īlīs movement.

68. J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 427. Boyle is wrong to mention 1074 at page 427.

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permission from the Sulṭān 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 Saljūqian state. When Niẓām 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. Niẓām al-Mulk's efforts were rewarded when the Sharīf of Mecca, Muḥammad b. Abī Hāshim, in A.H. 462/A.C. 1070 came to Alp Arslān with the news that the Khuṭba in Mecca was now being read for the 'Abbasid Caliph, and the Shī'ī adhān and the Khuṭba for the Fāṭimids al-Mustanṣir had been abolished.[70] Hence the Sulṭān bestowed upon him thirty thousand dīnārs and an annual salary of fifty thousand dīnārs.[71] The main danger, however, came from Alamūt where Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ established himself and organized the Bāṭinī (secret) da'wa. Through pious frauds he was able to organize a network of terrorist activities throughout the Sunnī world. When their activities became intolerable, Sulṭān Malik Shāh in A.H. 485/A.C. 1092, despatched an amīr called Arslān-Tash[72] to expel Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ from Alamūt. But the army was defeat-

69. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Vol. V, op. cit., pp. 178-79.
70. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., pp. 35-41.
71. Amir Hasan Siddiqi, *Caliphate and Sultanate*, op. cit., p. 153 n.
72. The meaning of Arslān-Tash is Lion-stone.

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ed. The Sulṭān despatched another army under Ghizil-Sarigh[73] and ordered the forces in Khurāsān to assist him. "Ghizil-Sarigh besieged them (heretics) in the castle (ḥiṣār) of Dara,[74] which is adjacent to Sistān and is one of the dependencies of Mu'minabad,[75] and joined battle with them".[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 Sulṭān Malik Shāh, Niẓām al-Mulk had wanted to handle this grave situation by a diplomatic move to impress upon Ḥasān bin Ṣabbāḥ, the strength of Saljūqian Empire through an ambassador. When the ambassador reached Alamūt,[77] he started negotiations which proved fruitless. However, at the time of the ambassador's departure, Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ commanded one of his followers to stab himself; and another, to cast himself headlong from a mountain. He commanded the third Fidā'ī to drown

73. The meaning of Ghizil-Sarigh is Red-yellow.

74. Dara lies to the South of Tabas and the Southeast of Birjand.

75. The District of Mu'minabad is situated to the East of Birjand.

76. 'Alā'-al-Dīn 'Aṭā'-Malik Juvainī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* or *The History of the World-Conqueror*, Vol. II, op. cit,, p. 675-76

77. Ibid., p. 674; Yurun-Tash, (1) an amīr of Sulṭān Malik Shāh was holding the district of Alamūt as iqṭā'. He constantly used to attack Alamūt and its occupants which eventually compelled them to depart elsewhere. At that critical moment, Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ claimed to have received a message from his Imām, Mustanṣir not to leave the place, because good luck awaited them there. On account of these words, Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ named it "Baladat-al-Iqbāl". (2)

(1) The meaning of Yurun-Tash is while-stone.

(2) The meaning of "Baladat-al-Iqbāl" is "the town of good fortune".

himself in water.[78] These mandates of Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ were obeyed without hesitation[79] which astonished the ambassador. Then Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ 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".[80] The Ismā'īlīs of Alamūt were not suppressed and one of them martyred Niẓām al-Mulk. This was the severest blow that the Ismā'īlī terrorists struck at the Saljūq Empire.

78. Ṭālib Hāshmī, *Malik Shāh Saljūqi*, Qawmī Kutub Khāna, Lahore, 1975, pp. 180-81.

79. Muḥammad Taqī Khān, *Ganj-i Dānish*, op. cit,, p. 414; E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 208-209. The blind obedience of Fidā'īs has also been well illustrated by E.G. Browne when he quotes an anecdote preserved by Fra Pipino and Marino Sanuto: "When, during a period of truce, Henry, Count of Champagne (titular king of Jerusalem), was on a visit to the old man of Syria, one day, as they walked together, they saw some lads in white sitting on the top of a high tower. The Shaykh, 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".

80. Sir John Malcolm, *Malcolm's History of Persia*, op. cit., p. 247.

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Chapter IX

CONCLUSION

Throughout history Niẓām al-Mulk has enjoyed an unrivalled reputation as a statesman,[1] a thinker on public administration and a builder of a great Empire. The Western World has greatly eulogized Niccolo Machiavelli,[2] and it is recognized that he has influenced Western politics ever since his *Prince*[3] 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.[4] He was employed on diplomatic missions which gave him a taste of interstate intrigue. He was employed in the small Republic of Florence and witnessed the intrigues common at that 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 environ-

1. A.M.A. Shushtery, *Outlines of Islamic Culture*, Vol. I, The Bangalore Press, Banglore City, 1938, p. 142.

2. Niccolo Machiavelli wae born in 1469.

3. Machiavelli, *The Prince and the Discourses*, trans : Luigi Ricci and Christian E. Detmoed, ed : Max Lerner, Random House, Inc., The Modern Library, New York, 1950, pp. 3-98.

4. Ibid., p. xxv.

5. Ibid., p. xxvi.

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ment in which political morality was non-existant. 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 Niẓām al-Mulk offers a complete contrast in almost every respect. He served a great Empire which had sufficient resources, both financial and military, to feel no need for adopting immoral means for achieving its goals. Niẓām al-Mulk's tone is highly moral in his famous *Siyāsat Nāmah*;[9] 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 Islām. All the measures suggested by him go to achieve these two great objectives. His own position was almost supreme, next in authority to the Sulṭān

6. Ibid., pp. 103-540; George H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, George G. Harrap and Co., London, 1951, p. 291. The *Prince* and the *Discourses* were both begun and largely finished in 1513.

7. Raymond G. Gettel, *Gettell's History of Political Thought*, ed: Lawrence C. Wanlass, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1961, p. 146.

8. Machiavelli, *The Prince* (*Bādshāh*), trans: Maḥmūd Ḥusain, Urdu Academy Sind, Karachi, 1927, p. 135.

9. Anwar, G. Chejne, *Succession to the Rule in Islam*, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1960, p. 11; Arnold Hottinger, *The Arabs*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1963, p. 109.

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himself, who always listened to and accepted his advice.[10] The only intrigues he had to encounter were against his own position or the hold of Sunnī Islām on the polity. It can be said to his credit that he met every threat in an open, straight forward 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 Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ[11] after his disgrace at the Saljūqian court would show, Niẓām al-Mulk's greatness emerges unsullied from his dealings with all those who tried to subvert his position as the head of the Saljūqī government.

The Saljūq 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 Saljūq Empire. The Ghaznavid power in fact started on a course of decline; the Buwaihids were a spent force; the Fāṭimid pressure was increasing at an alarming speed. The Ḥijāz, the heart of the Muslim world, owned allegiance to the Fāṭimids and the Ismā'īlī rites now replaced the traditional Sunnī forms in the sanctuaries of Mecca and Madinah. The 'Abbāsid Caliphate had grown weak and even under Buwaihid

10. Sayyid Abūl A'lā Maudūdī, *Sālājiqa*, Islāmic Publications Ltd., 13-E, Shahalam Market, Lahore, 1968, p. 252.

11. Bertold Spuler, *The Muslim World*, (A Historical Survey), Part I, trans : from the German by F.R.C. Bagley, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1960, pp. 86-87.

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tutelage had become a mere religious symbol of Sunnī unity and power. Now it was receiving blow after blow from the Ismā'īlīs[12] and it seemed only a question of time when it would finally succumb to Ismā'īlī pressure and be finally annihilated. The Muslim masses were obviously confused and whereas Ismā'īlī[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 Ismā'īlī doctrines. To add to their confusion, the Sunnīs 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[14] were publicly denounced from the pulpits of mosques in Khurāsān. All this added not only to public confusion but also the utmost weakness of Sunnism. These conditions were causing great anxiety to all the Sunnī religious circles and particularly to the learned professors of the Sunnī 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

12. 'Abd al-Razzāq Kānpūrī, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, Nāmī Press Kānpūr, 1912, p. 522.

13. Ibid., p. 544,

14. H A.R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism* (An Historical Survey), Oxford University Press, London, 1950, p. 118 ; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., p. 150. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Ismā'īl was the founder of this school of thought.

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to gain a legel status. This was achieved by obtaining letters patent from the 'Abbāsid Caliphate of Baghdād. This was much more than merely a legal fiction. The Empire could hope to gain the allegiance of its own inhabitants by this method and little else. If the Caliphate disappeared under Ismā'īlī pressure, it would create fresh legal difficulties for all emerging states in the Sunnī world and some new legal device wou'd have to be invented by the jurists for them as they did after the annihilation of the Baghdād Caliphate at the hands of the Mongols.[15] However, the Saljūq 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 Saljūq 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 Niẓām al-Mulk.[17] He was highly educated, being a graduate of the famous Dār al-'Ulūm of Nīshāpūr[18] which produced such giants

15. W.B. Fisher, *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. I. Cambridge University Press, 1968, p. 413 ; Bertold Spuler, *The Muslim World* (A Historical Survey). Part II. trans : From German by F.R.C. Bagley, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1960. This book of Spuler deals with the Mongol period.

16. Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Vol II, op. cit , p. 31.

17 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X. op. cit., pp. 32-33.

18. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit., p. 65 ; These three were the students of Imām Muwaffaq at Nīshāpūr.

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as 'Umar Khayyām[19] and Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ.[20] He himself was a Shāfi'ite[21] but conformed to the Ḥanafī rites not only because of his fear of Saljūq intolerance, who, like others of Central Asian origin, were staunch Ḥanafīs, but also because he wanted to serve the larger interests of Islām. He proceeded methodically. He put the administrative machinery of the Empire on a sound basis and gradually built the Saljūq stāte 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 Faṭimid[22] Caliphate of Egypt, to secure Ḥijāz again for orthodoxy, to curb the influence of the Ismā'īlīs of Alamūt[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

19. R.N. Frye, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 658.

Baihaqī the oldest authority gives the details of 'Umar Khayyām's birth. On the basis of his horoscope Govinda calculated the exact day of 'Umar's birth. The Institute of Theoretical Astronomy of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. confirms 18 May 1048. and Muḥammad Marmaduke Pickthall, *Islamic Culture*, Ferozsons, Karachi, 1952, p. 69.

20. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Jāmi' Al-Tawārikh*, (Part of the Ismā'īlīs History), ed: M.T. Danesh-Pajuh and M. Modarresy, Bānk-i-Millī, Teheran, Iran 1960, p. 111.

21. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 115.

22. G E. Von Grunebaum, *Islam*, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1969, p. 6.

23. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsī*, op. cit., p. 521.

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Byzantium[24] were calculated to defeat them convinc
ingly so that they would make no attempt to recove
Anatolia, to humiliate them to the extent of establish
ing the Saljūq supremacy, yet to reconcile them s
that they would find their losses and humiliatio
bearable. If he had shown no moderation he woul
have been confronted with the task of conquering al
the Byzantine territories and it would have bee
beyond his resources and man power to deal with
such large and well populated territories. The resul
is that Anatolia[25] is still a Muslim land and the mighty
Ottoman Empire has shrunk almost to the fron
tiers of the area conquered and colonized under the
discerning policies of Niẓām al-Mulk. His dealings
with the Fāṭimid Caliphate of Egypt shows a similar
caution and moderation. He obtained the allegiance
of Ḥijāz and secured its approaches by consolidating
the Saljūq 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 Niẓām al-Mulk's
religious persuasion, the former being Christian and
the latter Ismā'īlī. Such Christians as were in Ana-
tolia were fully reconciled to Saljūq domination be-
cause of Niẓām al-Mulk's policy of religious tolerance.

24. Ibid., pp. 590-91.

25. P.M. Holt, *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 231.

Anatolia came under the Saljūqs finally in 1075.

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These were, however, peripheral matters. Niẓām al-Mulk's genius shines even more brightly if we assess him as a statesman[26] 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 Islām in a major part of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and even Central Irān, not only destroying its political power, but Islām itself through forcible conversion of the Muslims and a large scale destruction of mosques and turning them into churches.[27] The question was not whether this was practical; the important fact is that the weakness of Islām 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 Ismā'īlīs almost subverted the orthodox faith by procuring the 'Abbāsid Caliph's abdication in favour of the Fāṭimids of Egypt and establishing their rites in the very heart of the Muslim World, the senctuaries of Mecca

26. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭūsi*, op. cit.. pp. 500-01.
27. Ibid , pp. 350-51.

and Madīnah. Indeed the situation was so grave that all thinking theologians and Sunnī 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 Niẓām al-Mulk came to power as the prime-minister of a rising power, which had yet to find a place in the loyalty 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 Sunnī Islām to its place of primacy. It was in these circumstances that Niẓām al-Mulk seems to have set himself the task of rebuilding the political might of Islām and restoring the prestige and power of Sunnism. The task that Niẓām al-Mulk[28] 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 co-operation 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 Sulṭān but actually to make him a partner in the great undertaking. A lesser man could have been

28. S.D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1966, pp. 190-91.

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tempted to oust the Sulṭān and to seize the power himself ; indeed some writers have wondered why he remained loyal to the royal dynasty ; but Niẓām 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 Saljūqs became, under his tutelage,[29] much more powerful than the Ghaznavids whom they had ousted, and if Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghazna could feel irked by the humiliation he suffered at the hands of the Caliph, surely the Saljūq Alp Arslān (455-465/1063-1072)[30] and Malik Shāh (465-485/1072-1092)[31] could well have failed to understand how much they needed the help of the Caliph in overcoming their difficulties. Indeed Niẓām al-Mulk seems to have realized from the very beginning the need of co-operation between the Caliphate and the Sultanate if he was to succeed in his great design of rebuilding the power of Islām. 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 Sunnī Islām and their distinguished professors. He went on cementing the alliance between the Sultanate and the Caliphate and restraining the Sulṭān from any lack of forbearance through-

29. Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, op. cit., pp. 64 and 66.

30. Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1967, p. 115.

31. Ḥusain Amin, *History of Iraq in the Seljuqid Era*, al-Irshād, Baghdād, A.H. 1385/A.C. 1965, p. 328.

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out his tenure of office, because the alliance was basic to his efforts. The task of consolidating the Saljūq 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 Islām and its weakness, or of dealing with his great and mighty Christian neighbour, the Byzantine Empire.[32] As a devout Sunnī it irked him to think that the two holiest cities of Islām, Mecca and Madīnah, should be, against all tradition, in the hands of Ismā'īlīs[33] 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 Saljūq Sultanate and the 'Abbāsid Caliphate were to stand as the repositories and symbols of Sunnī Islām, they must hold sway over Ḥijāz. Niẓām al-Mulk's action in reducing to

32. Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge University Press, 1971, p. 33 ; (Second Edition, 1957, p. 33).

33. R.N. Frye, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. IV, op. cit., p . 522.

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submission the states on the way to Ḥijāz was directed towards this end. But obviously he could not have considered this enough. His men and money must have been active in the Ḥijāz itself and their success brought Ḥijāz back to Sunni control[34] and rites.

Then Niẓām al-Mulk extended the Saljūq 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[35] to the assassin's dagger,[36] 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 Niẓām 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,[37] 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[38] he revitalized the intellectual

34. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Vol. X, op. cit., p. 21.

35. M. Th. Houtsma, "The Death of Nizam al-Mulk and its consequences", *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. III, Part 2, Sr. No. 6, Trivandrum, September 1924, esp. p. 159.

36. 'Alā'ad-Dīn 'Aṭā' Malik Juvainī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, trans: J.A Boyle, Vol. I, Manchester University Press, 1958, pp. 213-14; Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh, (Part of the Ismā'īlīs History), op. cit., p. 110.

37. A.M.A. Shushtery, *Outlines of Islamic Culture*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 169.

38. Ibid., p. 59

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life of the world of Islām that came under his sway; great names are found among the professors who taught in the institutions[39] founded by Niẓām 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 it even more remarkable that the prevailing anarchy had undermined all academic and cultural value, before Niẓām al-Mulk took up the work of patient reconstruction. It is true that good administration always encourages economic activity[40] which brings prosperity in its wake and this in turn encourages intellectual efforts. But Niẓām 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 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 *Siyāsat Nāmah*[41] is a masterpiece[42] by all

39. Bayard Dodge, *Al-Azhar* (A Millennium of Muslims Learning), The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C., 1961, p. 39.

40. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsāt Nāmah*, op. cit., p. 23.

41. Leonard Binder, "The Political Theory of Niẓām al-Mulk", *Iqbal*, Vol. IV, No. III, op. cit., p. 27.

42. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, trans: Muḥammad Munavwor,

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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 Islām 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 Ḥadīth[43] and earn respect in an atmosphere enriched 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 Islām does not exalt a Sultanate into a religious entity. Niẓām al-Mulk, however, was able to see that the Saljūq Empire could not fulfil its destiny of making Sunnī Islām strong and invincible without creating a halo of sanctity around the institution of the state.

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Majlis-i-Taraqqi-i- Adab, Lahore, 1961, p. Alif ; Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, op. cit., p. 7. Quoting Barthold." The *Siyāsat Nāmah*, however, is a mine of information regarding the Ghaznawid system of administration".

43. 'Abd al-Hādī Riḍā, "Amālī Niẓām al-Mulk al-Wazīr al-Saljūqī fi'l Ḥadīth", *Supra*, p. 3.

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 Niẓām al-Mulk created the myth that the Sulṭān was Ẓill-al-Allāh, the Shadow of God. Himself orthodox and learned in Islāmic Law, yet he thought it in the best interests of Islām to make the Sulṭān's authority a part of Sunnī religious thinking. Hence the legend was introduced in the Khuṭba which said, "The Sulṭān is the Shadow of God on Earth; he who exalts the Sulṭān exalts Allāh; he who holds the Sulṭān in contempt holds Allāh in contempt".[44] Despite the fact that orthodox 'Ulamā' disliked the innovation at the highest levels, yet Niẓām 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 Islām. The Caliphate[45] was the symbol of the unity and authority of Islām, but the generality of the 'Ulamā'[46] 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

44. السلطان ظل الله ، من اكرم السلطان اكرم الله ، و من اهان السلطان اهان الله ـ

45. Muḥammad Isḥāq Sundilawī, *Islām Kā Siyāsi Niẓām*, Ma'arif A'ẓam-Garh, A.H. 1376/A.C. 1957, p. 11.

46. I.H. Qureshi, *Ulema in Politics*, Ma'aref Ltd., G.P.O. Box 23, Karachi, 1972, pp. 1-22. The functions of the 'Ulamā' in the Muslim Society have well been described by Dr. I.H. Qureshi which will help a good deal to understand the role of 'Ulamā' who cooperated with Niẓām al-Mulk for the unity of Ummah.

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that it had ceased to protect the political interests of Islām 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 Shari'a and Islām was the Sultanate and not the Caliphate. Niẓām 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 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 Baghdād was finally destroyed by the heathen Mongols,[47] the theory propagated and established by Niẓām 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. Niẓām 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 Islām would feel confused. It was a great contribution to the legal thought in Islām, even though it violated the classical concept of Islāmic Law that

47. J A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 348.

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the Muslim community was an indivisible entity. Niẓām al-Mulk[48] 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 Saljūq 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 Islāmic world remained entirely in the realm of desiderata. There was no doubt that the Islāmic world had broken into smaller units. Even the mighty Saljūqs and Niẓām al-Mulk's[49] genius could not possibly unite it again. And Niẓām al-Mulk was too sophisticated to think that this alliance between the Caliphate and the Sultanate,[50] so laboriously forged by him would last indefinitely. That alliance had needed a dire necessity of the Islāmic World for consolidation because it was facing grave disintegration before the emergence of the Saljūqs. It had also needed the need of the Saljūqs to gain a foothold in the affections of the people. And above all it had needed the idealism and genius of Niẓām al-Mulk[51]

48. P.M. Holt, *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. II, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 681.

49. Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1966, p. 125.

50. Ḥasan Ibrāhim Ḥasan, *Al-Niẓām al-Islāmia*, Urdu translation as *Musalmānon Kā Niẓām-i Ḥukmrāni*, translated by Muḥammad Muḥib Allāh Lāṭī Nadvī, Maktaba' Aywān-i Ashā't Ltd., Karachi, 1952, pp. 170-75.

51. Hassan Ibrahim Hassan, *Islām* (A Religious, Political, Social and Economic Study). Baghdād—'Irāq, 1967, pp. 170-71.

to create the desire for close cooperation between the Caliphate and the Sultanate. These circumstances might never recur in that combination. That led Niẓām al-Mulk to think that the unity of the Islāmic 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.[52] That was the reason that the formula of "the Sulṭān is the Shadow of God : he who exalts the Sulṭān, exalts God, he who holds him in contempt holds God in contempt"[53] had to be invented. The Sultanates have gone like the Caliphates, yet in many parts of the Islāmic World the formula is still repeated in the Khuṭba by imāms who have inherited it and are unaware of its historical-cum-political background.

52. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, op. cit , pp. 7 and 17. In every age and time Allāh 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. Qur'ān, IV : 59, op. cit.. p. 55.

اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم

"Obey Allāh, and obey the Messenger and those of you who are in authority".

53. See *Supra*, p. 234.

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Appendix E

TEXT OF THE SALJŪQ APPLICATION FOR RECOGNITION

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.

آنگه باتفاق بر مقتضای عقل و کفایت نامهٔ نبشتند بامیر المؤمنین القایم بامر الله که ما بندگان آل سلجوق گروهی بوزیم همواره مطیع و هواخوا دولت و حضرت مقدس نبوی و پیوسته بغزو و جهار کوشیده ایم و بر زیارت کعبهٔ معظم مداومت نموده ، و مارا عمی بود درمیان ما مقدم و محترم اسرائیل بن سلجوق ، یمین الدوله محمود بن سبکتگین او رابی جرمی و جنایتی بگرفت و بهندوستان بقلعه کالنجر فرستار و هفت سال در بند داشت تا آنجایگه سپری شد ، و بسیاری بیوستگان و خویشان مارا بقلاع باز داشت ، و چون محمود در گذشت و پسرش مسعود بجای او بنشست بمصالح ملک قیام نمی نمود و لهو و تماشا مشغول می بود ، مثل : من آثر اللهو ضاعت رعیته و من آثر الشرب فسدت رویته ، هرکه لهو بر گزیند رعیت را نبیند و هرکه مداومت شرب کند رویتش تباه شود ، لا جرم اعیان و مشاهیر خراسان از ما درخواستند تا بحمایت ایشان قیام نمایم ، لشکر او روی بما نهازند میان ما کرو فر و هزیمت و ظفر می بود تا عاقبت بخت نیک روی نمود و دست باز پسین مسعود بنفس خویش با لشکری گران روی بما نهاد ، بیاری خدای عز و جل و باقبال حضرت مقدس مطهر نبوی دست ما غالب آمد و مسعود شکسته و خاکسار و علم نگومسار پشت برگاشت و اقبال و دولت بما گذاشت ، مثل : من اطاع الله ملک و من اطاع هواه هلک ، مطیع خدا مالک گردد و مطیع هوا هالک شود ، شکر این

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موهبت و سپاس این نصرت را عدل و انصاف گستردیم و از راه بیداد و جور کرانه کردیم و میخواهیم که این کار بر نهج دین و فرمان امیر المومنین باشد ، مثل : من جعل ملکه خادماً لدینه انقاد له کل سلطان و من جعل دینه خادماً لملکه طمع فیه کل انسان ، هر که ملک از برای دین جوید سلاطین منقاد اوشوند و هر که دین فدای ملک کند هر کس بد و طمع کند ، و این نوشته بر دست معتمد ابو اسحاق الفقاعی بفرستادند ـ[1]

1. Râwandî, *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, op. cit., pp. 102-04.

Appendix F

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EVENTS

Hijrī era	*Christian era*	
403	1012	The Fāṭimid Caliph, al-Ḥākim sent a letter to Sulṭān Maḥmūd which he diverted to Baghdād where the same was burnt in public.
408	1017	Niẓām al-Mulk was born at Rādkān, a suburb of Ṭūs.
414	1023	Rupture between Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the Caliph.
420	1029	Ibrāhīm bin Marzuban of Daylam defeated by Mas'ūd.
421	1030	Mas'ūd occupied Iṣfahān and 'Alā' al-Dawla fled away to Tustar.
421	1030	Sulṭān Maḥmūd died on 30th April. Mas'ūd received the news of his father's death on 26th May.
429	1807	The Saljūq army captured the city of Nīshābūr.
429	1038	Ṭughril Beg was declared Sulṭān at Merv and Nīshāpūr.
431	1040	The Saljūqs defeated Mas'ūd son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna at

Hijrī era	*Christian era*	
		Dandānqan.
439	1047	Chaghrī's daughter married to Buwaihid prince Fūlād-Sutūn.
443	1051	The Kāzimayn Shrine burnt and plundered during the riots by the populace of Baghdād.
443	1051	Ṭughril Beg sent presents to the Caliph, his officials and to his wazīr.
447	1055	Ṭughril Beg made a state visit to Baghdād where he remained for about a year.
448	1056	Khadīja Arslān Khātūn married to Caliph al-Qā'im.
449	1057	Ṭughril Beg defeated Dubays bin Mazayd and al-Basāsīrī.
450	1058	Ṭughril Beg received by the Caliph, al-Qā'im.
450	1058	Al-Basāsīrī reoccupied Baghdād in the absence of Ṭughril Beg.
452	1060	Ṭughril Beg once again marched on Baghdād, reinstated al-Qā'im and made al-Basāsīrī pay for his treachery with his life.
452	1060	The favourite wife of Ṭughril Beg died at Zanjān.
453	1061	Ṭughril Beg requested the hand of the Caliph's daughter, Sayida

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Hijrī era	*Christian era*	
		al-Nisā' in marriage.
454	1062	The marriage contract of Ṭughr Beg with the Caliph's daughte ratified.
455	1063	Ṭughril Beg proceeded to Bagh dād and presented the valuabl presents to his bride.
455	1063	Ṭughril Beg died at the age o seventy at Tajrisht.
455	1063	Alp Arslān succeeded Ṭughri Beg.
456	1063	'Amīd al-Mulk welcomed Sulṭān Alp Arslān with full military honours at Ray.
456	1063	Alp Arslān set out for Jihād against the Byzantians from Ray towards Adharba'ijān.
456	1064	Recognition and reception of Alp Arslān.
456	1064	Malik Shah married Jalālīyya Khātūn who was known as Terken Khatūn.
457	1064	Niẓām al-Mulk's second marriage with Gargīah.
457	1065	Niẓāmiyah Madrasa founded.
458	1066	Alp Arslān secured the Caliph's consent for nominating his son Malik Shāh heir apparent.

Hijrī era	*Christian era*	
459	1067	Niẓāmiyah Madrasa completed.
459	1067	Sulṭān Alp Arslān restored governorship of Baṣra to Taj al-Mulūk Hazarasp b. Bankīr.
462	1069	Niẓām al-Mulk's daughter Ṣafiyah married to Ibn Jahīr's son, 'Amīd al-Dawla.
462	1070	Sharīf of Mecca comes with news that Sunnī rites restored in Ḥijāz and 'Abbāsid Caliphate again acknowledged.
463	1071	Romanus IV marched eastwards into Armenia.
463	1071	Byzantine army defeated at Malazgird and Romanus Diogenes captured and brought before the Sulṭān Alp Arslān.
464	1071	Alp Arslān's daughter, Safrī Khātūn married to al-Qā'im's heir.
464	1071	Alp Arslān appointed amīr Aytakin (Ai-Tegin) al-Sulaymānī as Shaḥna of Baghdād. Ai-Tegin withdrawn on Caliph's protest.
465	1072	Al-tigin, the Khān of Samarqand conquered Tirmidh.
465	1072	Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ came to Niẓām al-Mulk at Nīshāpūr.

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Hijrī era	*Christian era*	
465	1072	Malik Shāh's uncle, Qāvurt re belled.
466	1073	Sulṭān Malik Shāh drove Sham al-Mulk's brother from Tirmidh and cornered him into Samar qand.
466	1074	Niẓām al-Mulk called a confer ence of astronomers for reform ing the Persian Calendar. The result was the production of a Jalālī Calender.
466	1074	Sa'd al-Dawla Gauhar Ā'in sent to Baghdād for receiving the deed of investiture from the Caliph, al Qā'im for Sulṭān Malik Shāh.
468	1075	A military man, Badr al-Jamāli brought the Fāṭimid Caliph under his control.
472	1079	Jalālī era began on 15th March.
473	1080	Sulṭān Malik Shāh discharged thousands of Armenian soldiers.
474	1081	Barkiyāruq born.
475	1082	*Qābūs Nāmah* written by 'Unsur al-Ma'ālī.
475	1083	Abū al-Isḥāq Shīrāzī sent on an embassy to Malik Shāh by the Caliph, al-Muqtadī.
476	1083	Saiyid al-Ru'asā' Abū al-Muḥāsin

Hijrī era	*Christian era*	
		Muḥammad a close companion of Malik Shāh complained that Niẓām al-Mulk has amassed vast treasures.
479	1086	The Kāzimayn Shrine rebuilt by Niẓām al-Mulk.
479	1087	Sulṭān Malīk Shāh visited Baghdād for the first time with Niẓām al-Mulk.
480	1087	Niẓām al-Mulk personally lectured on tradition in his Niẓāmiyah University at Baghdād.
480	1087	Daughter of Sulṭān Malik Shāh, Mah-Malik Khātūn married to Caliph al-Muqtadī.
480	1088	Caliph's son Abū al-Faḍl Ja'far and the grandson of Sulṭān Malik Shah born.
482	1089	Sulṭān Malik Shah proceeded to attack Aḥmad Khan bin Khiḍr Khān of Māwarā al-Nahr from Iṣfahān.
483	1090	Niẓām al-Mulk brought Ṭāhir's son Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Naṣr of Sistān in power as a Saljūq vassal.
84	1091	First draft of *Siyāsat Nāmah* completed.

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Hijrī era	*Christian era*	
484	1091	Niẓām al-Mulk's second visi with Sulṭān Malik Shāh to Bagh dād.
485	1092	Last visit of Sulṭān Malik Shā to Baghdād.
485	1092	Niẓām al-Mulk assassinated nea Ṣiḥna.
485	1092	Sulṭān Malik Shāh nominated Tā al-Mulk but before his installa tion Sulṭān Malik Shāh died i Baghdād.
485	1092	*Siyāsat Nāmah* completed.
485	1092	Sulṭān Malik Shāh despatched a amīr called Arslān Tash and the Qizil-Sarigh to expel the heretic from Alamūt.
502	1108	Khātūn al-'Iṣmah another daugh ter of Sulṭān Malik Shāh marrie to Imām al-Mustaẓhir.

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Appendix G

CLOSSARY 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 Khilāfat—the 'Abbāsids came from the family of the Prophet Muḥammad's uncle al-'Abbās, and as such they were able to claim the legitimacy of inheritance for the Khilāfat. 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 Ḥanīfa—Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān is the great Sunnī jurisconsult, and the founder of the Ḥanīfī school of fiqh. His famous disciples are Imām Abū Yūsuf and Imām Muḥammad who are mainly followed throughout central Asia, Turkey, Hindustan and Pakistan.

Al-Madīnah—the city of the Prophet Muḥammad and the place of his burial. It was called Yathrib and later al-Madīnah, "the city".

'Amid al-'Irāq—the executive officer of 'Irāq. During the time of Sulṭan Malik Shāh, 'Amīd al-Iraq was Abū al-Fataḥ.

'Amīd al-Mulk—Abū Naṣr al-Kundūrī generally known

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as 'Amīd al-Mulk was the minister of Ṭughr Beg.

Amīr—leader; a Commander; a Chief; a nobleman. It generally, includes the various high officers i a Muslim state. In the Saljūqian state the ter amīr was used for the members of the Turkis military classes.

Amīr al-Mu'minīn—the commander of the Faithful The title was first given to 'Abd al-Allāh ibn Jaḥsh after his expedition to Nakhla,[1] and wa afterwards assumed first by Ḥaḍrat 'Umar. I was used exclusively for the Caliph.

Ash'arīs—this school is named after Imām Ash'a whose full name was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Ismā'īl. The Imām was born in Basra and he died in Baghdāḍ. Those who follow this schoo 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.

Atabek—literally "Father Lord". This title was first given to Niẓām al-Mulk.

Alif Lām Mīm—herein, these letters form الم (alam) the beginning of the sūrah CV of the Qur'ān. This should not be confused with the muqaṭṭ'āt used in the beginning of six sūrahs.

Bai'at—oath of allegiance. It is a contract first made by the people with the Prophet in Islām. This

1. A Dictionary of Islām by T.P. Hughes, op. cit., p. 14.

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contract brought into existence civil society as well as government. Therefore, this contract in Islām is a reality which continued in the Muslim state as essential for any government to claim legal legitimacy.

Baladat al-Iqbāl—literally the city of good fortune. Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ gave this name to Alamūt.

Barīd—postal and intelligence service.

Darbār—an audience.

Darbār-i 'Am—general audience.

Darbār-i Khāṣ—special audience which was attended only by the high officials.

Dastūrī—leave; dismission; a customary fee; tax, or percentage.[2]

Dihqān—land lord by hereditary right.

Dīn—faith, way of life.

Dīnār—dinār is a unit of gold currency. It was later replaced by tūmān 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 Saljūq, the term meant finance minister.

Faqīh—a man learned in Islāmic jurisprudence.

Farḍ—obligatory duties enjoined by the Qur'ān.

Fātiḥa—used in the thesis for prayers for the dead, of which the opening chapter of the Qur'ān, sūrah al-fātiḥa is an essential part.

2. Persian-English Dictionary by Johnson and Richardson, Revised and Enlarged by F. Steingass, K. Paul Bookseller, London, (1892), 1930.

Fāṭimid—a dynasty of Caliphs who reigned over Egypt, North Africa and Syria from A.H. 297-567/A.C. 909-1117. The Fāṭimid Caliphate represented the subtantial political achievement of the Ismā'īlī Shī'ī movement.

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

Fiqh—Muslim jurisprudence.

Ḥadīth—Traditions and sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad.

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

Ḥanafī—those who follow Abū Ḥanīfa's school of jurisprudence.

Ḥijāz—the land of the pilgrimage; the holy land of Islām, in cities of Mecca and Madinah are its main centres.

'Īd—the two main Muslim festivals. The 'Īd al-Fiṭr comes at the end of the month of Ramaḍān (the month of fasting), and the 'Īd al-Aḍḥā (the feast of sacrifice) comes on the day next to the Ḥajj. Both are marked by special congregational prayers, the former is a day of alms giving and the latter of sacrifice commemorating the attempted sacrifice by Abraham of his son Ismā'il,

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according to Muslims tradition.

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

Ijtihād—the interpretation of Islāmic 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 Sunnīs.

Imāmīya—The Shī'as who believe in divinely ordained "imāms" in apostolic succession to the Prophet.

Imārat-i Istīlā'[3] —governorship through forceful seizure of power. It was legitimized by a subsequent recognition by the Caliph.

Ismā'īlī—is a Shī'a who believes that Ḥaḍrat Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was the true Imām and not Ḥaḍrat Mūsā al-Kāzim. The Ismā'īlīs believe in a succession of seven imāms.

Iqṭā'—a land assignment usually assigned for service by a Muslim ruler. Under Niẓām 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 Niẓām al-Mulk for safeguarding the interests of the state.

Ithnā 'Asharī—the sect of the Shi'as which believes in twelve imāms. Ismā'īlī Shī'as recognize succession of seven imāms.

3. Al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyah*, op. cit , pp. 66-68.

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Jalālī Calendar—'Umar Khayyām's calendar styled after the name of Sulṭān Malik Shāh. This calendar is more accurate than the Gregorian one.

Jāmī' 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 dhimmī.

Jihād—is an effort; or a striving; a religious war waged for the cause of Islām which is an obligation under the Sharī'a for Muslims.

Juma' Prayers—there are five daily farḍ prayers, of which the Ẓuhr one is replaced on every Friday

4. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, *Introduction to Islām*, No. I, Publications of Centre Cultural Islamique, Paris, A.H. 1378/A.C. 1959, p. 141.

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by special service.

Ka'ba—literally a cube, the cube-like building in the centre of the mosque at Mecca, which contains the Ḥajr-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.

Kharāj—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.

Khaṭīb—a person attached to large mosques whose function is to deliver sermons.

Khalīfa—Caliph, the head of the Muslim Commonwealth. Khalīfa is from Khalf, "to leave behind". The successors of the Prophet Muḥammad, in their political authority, are vested with authority in all matters of state but in subordination to the Sharī'a.

Khilāfat—Caliphate, the office of the Khalīfa.

Khilāfat-i Rāshida—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 Islām.

Khuṭba—the sermon delivered on Friday before the congregational prayer. It includes a prayer for the ruler; mention in the Khuṭba is a mark of sovereignty in a Muslim state.

Khuṭba of Nikāḥ—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 Islāmic sciences.

Mashā'ikh—plural of Shaikh, literally an old man; applied to Ṣūfī 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 Niẓām al-Mulk.

Maẓālim—investigation into complaints against the servants of the state. The Maẓālim court was held by the Sulṭān and some of his high officers authorized by the Sulṭān.

Millat—nation. A word which occurs in the Qur'ān. When the Prophet Muḥammad 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-i Islāmia—the Islāmic community. It is generally applied to the World Muslim Community.

Mu'adhdhin—caller of the adhān or summons to prayer.

Muḥtasib—an officer who looks after the moral state of the society and stops any public violation of

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the Shari'a. 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.

Mukūs—plural of "maks", irregular taxes which are contrary to Shari'a and as such Niẓām al-Mulk abolished them.

Nikāḥ—signifies conjunction, but in the language of the Shari'a it is applied to the marriage contract.

Parasang—is a Persian measure of distance, about $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

Qāḍī—judge.

Qaṣīda—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 Moḥammad through the angel Gabriel. It provides the fundamental principles and injunctions of Islām.

Ramaḍān—the nineth month of the Islāmic 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 Islām".

Ra'īs—chief; leader. The plural of it is ru'asā'. But in Saljūq times the ra'īs was an important local

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official, generally acting as a tax-collector.

Ra'īs al-Ru'asā'—was the title of the prime minister of Khalīfa al-Qā'im whose name was Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī bin Ḥasan bin Aḥmad bin al-Muslima.

Rikābdār—a pantry-man ; butler.

Sanad—deed of investiture ; a certificate.

Shāfi'ī—one of the orthodox schools of Islamic jurisprudence. The founder of this school of jurisprudence was Imām Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī. He was born at Askalon in Palestine in A.H. 150/A.C. 767. He derived his patronymic al-Shāfi'ī from his grandfather, Shāfi' ibn al-Ṣā'ib. 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 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn founded a madrasa for the preservation of his works. Niẓām al-Mulk himself was a Shāfi'ī and most of the 'Ulamā' in every madrasa-i Niẓāmiya were Shāfi'ites.

Shaikh—the leader of an 'Arab tribal group, but in Saljūq times applied for a religious leader or for a man of power and authority. The plural of it is shuyūkh, mashāikh.

Sharī'a—the canonical law of Islām ; derived from the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.

Shī'a—literally a partisan. They held Ḥaḍrat 'Alī to be the first Caliph.

Shūrā—means "consultation". The believers are

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commanded to order their officers through consultation. Niẓām al-Mulk emphasises shūrā as one of the methods of the government in his *Siyāsat Nāmah*.

Ṣūfī—a man who professes the mystic principles of Taṣawwuf is called a ṣūfī.

Sulṭān—the general meaning of it is authority. It was first used unofficially for Maḥmūd of Ghazna and officially for the Saljūqid Sulṭān Ṭughril Beg. Later on, it has been used in the sense of a powerful ruler or an independent ruler of any territory.

Sunnī—the orthodox section of Islām. The full name is ahl-al-sunnat wa-al-jamā'at, those who follow the tradition and the community of Islām.

Sunnah—literally a path or a manner of life. A term used for those rules and ordinances of Muslim Community which are established upon the precept or practice of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Sūrah—a chapter of the Qur'ān.

Tarsā—a Christian; sometimes loosely used for any non-Muslim.

'Ulamā'—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.

Ummah—a people; a nation. This word, according to Thomas Patrick Hughes, occurs about forty times

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in the Qur'ān and is derived from the Hebrew word, "Ummāh".[5] The Islāmic Ummah is founded in tawḥīd which unites all its members into an indivisible unity of thought, of body, and of will.

Waḥy—revelation; inspiration. It is used more specifically for divine revelation to the Prophets.

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

Wakīl-i Nikāḥ—the authorized representative of a party in a marriage contract.

Walī 'Ahd—heir apparent; especially to a sovereign.

Walīma—the nuptial feast, which is generally given on the day after the marriage. The custom is founded on the example of the Prophet Muḥammad and on his sayings.

Wazīr—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 wazīr bears the burden of state; others from wazar, "a refuge", because the ruler has recourse to the counsel of the wazīr; others from azr, "the back, or strength", because the ruler is strengthened by his wazīr as the human frame is by the backbone. Under the 'Abbāsid Caliphs the first person to be called al-wazīr was Salma al-Khallāl; under Hārūn al-Rashīd, Yaḥya bin Barmak greatly enhanced the

5. A Dictionary of Islām by Thomas Patrick Hughes, op. cit., p. 654.

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importance of the office. Under the Saljūqs the wazīr was the chief official in the bureaucracy. The importance of office of wazīr declined in importance towards the end of the Saljūqid rule.

Zakāt—the word zakāt means purification. It is an institution of Islām and founded upon an express command in the Qur'ān. It is the religious duty of every Muslim who enjoys continued possession with full proprietory rights of a prescribed minimum of wealth, called niṣāb.

Ẓill al-Allāh[6]—Shade of God; shadow of God. It is also a ṣūfī term which is referred to the insān-i kāmil. But in the thesis it is used for the Sulṭān.

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6. Arabic-English Dictionary by A.M.D.G; Catholic Press, Beirut, 1915.

Appendix H

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