

Reflection of Iranian Governance Pattern in Khaje Nizam Al-Mulks' Siyâsat-Nâma

Mohsen Morsalpour¹

Received: 2017/4/22

Accepted: 2018/8/1

Abstract

The royal institution in ancient Iran involved implications such as race, splendor, and personality. Ahura Mazda brokerage, construction and development, border protection, justice, and religiosity were the functions of royal institution and developed according to the requirements of the time. However, with the arrival of Islam, the royal institution was initially rejected and discouraged; but after a while, it prevailed on the Arab tribal teachings and became the supreme prototype of governance pattern. Investigation of Iranian rulers after Islam and even during Arab caliphs on whether or not the requirements of the royal institution were responsible for its functions (referred to the duties of caliph or Islamic rulers) indicates the importance of these elements in that period. In some texts of the Islamic period including the letter of Tahir to his son Abdullah, we can find the reflection of the aforementioned royal functions; but due to a change in some of the requirements and functions, the book *Siyâsat-Nâma* of Nizam al-Mulk is the first text of the Islamic period that has focused on them fully and comprehensively. With emphasis on the central role of the king and the royal institution functions, Nizam al-Mulk tried to change the Seljuk tribal government into the one with Iranian governance pattern. Taking into account an analytical approach, this paper tries to investigate the functions and requirements of the royal institution that is the center of Iranian governance pattern in *Siyâsat-Nâma* and effort of Nizam al-Mulk for changing Seljuk tribe's attitude.

Keywords: Nizam al-Mulk; *Siyâsat-Nâma*; Royal institution; Seljuks.

1. Assistant Professor of History, faculty of Humanities, University of Sistan and Baluchistan, Sistan and Baluchistan, Iran. morsalpour@lihu.usb.ac.ir

Introduction

Seljuk (Saljuq, Seljuq) was the family of nomadic tribes of Ghuz whose territory was divided among tribal leaders after the battle of Dandanaqan. On arrival, the tribal attitude and temper of Seljuk damaged the urbanites. Unfamiliarity of Turkmen with government on urbanites made them use Iranian bureaucrats that were generally brokers of the previous governments. After entering Iran, the nomadic Ghuz that had tribal armies accessed new pastures with tendency to decentralization, and their main issue was settling and civilizing as a society. Their unfamiliarity with the ruling urbanites caused them to seek help of Iranian bureaucrats that were dependent on Ghaznavids. By providing advice and solutions for the Seljuk Sultan, Iranian bureaucrats tried to propel them to the Iranian governance pattern. As one of the leading bureaucrats, and in order to familiarize the Seljuk, Nizam al-Mulk wrote this epistle. Writing epistle is an example of Iranian political wisdom that has rooted in

Nizam al-Mulk and Seljuks

Abu Ali Hassan Ibn Ali Tusi (485 –408/1092-1017) known as Khaje Nizam al-Mulk was from the 'Tous peasants' class. Peasants in the first Islamic centuries were the guard of heritage of ancient Persia. Nizam al-Mulk's father was the Syrian agent of Tous, Khurasan governor (by Masoud Ghaznavi) and wished his son to be a judge. That is why he forced his child to memorize the

ancient Persia. Contents of these epistles focused on royal institutions and their requirements and functions. After the arrival of Islam, the tradition of epistle writing with the efforts of people like Ibn Muqaffa'a was extended and placed among the Islamic political literature.

Nizam al-Mulk was the highest ranking minister of the Seljuk era who acted to repay the functions and requirements of the royal institution in *Siyâsat Nâma*. In examining this repayment, reflecting on the practical conduct of Nizam al-Mulk, requirements and functions of the royal institution in ancient Iran, and changing them during the Islamic era seemed inevitable; therefore, this article briefly discusses these cases. The main question of this article is what were the main ideas of *Siyâsat Nâma*? The supposition of this article is that the Iranian governance pattern with a high emphasis on Sultan (Shah) and his justice main ideas of *Siyâsat Nâma*.

Quran and learn jurisprudence from Imam Movafagh (the famous Shafi'i jurist). Nizam al-Mulk in his youth was engaged in court work and entered the governance of Ghaznavi; and it seems that he spent three or four years in Ghazni. After the fall of Ghaznavids, Khaje went to Ali Ibn Shazan, Balkhs Amir (local governor) from Seljuks and after a while and apparently by the order of Ibn Shazan, he joined as a broker of

Chaghri and Alp-Arsalan (465 -455/1072-1063). With the death of Toghril and subjugation of Alp-Arsalan, the Seljuk Empire was dominated by Nizam al-Mulk. He tried to change the rule of the Seljuk with non-concentration tendencies of dynasty and rulers of Turkmen to the centralized state with the Iranian governance pattern. Bosworth suspects that Nizam al-Mulk had represented himself as an agent of peasant class and a bureaucrat of Iran and kept alive his mission and traditions of these classes with civilizing Turkmen benefactors in order to protect Iran against chaos and anarchy of Turkmen (Bosworth, 1968: 57). Nizam al-Mulk had the Seljuk Empire affairs in his hand. He organized the court and bureaucracy and even in some military campaigns, he had the responsibility of personally commanding and embedding the army. Alp-Arsalan chose Nizam al-Mulk as Atabak of his crown prince and that the possibility of selecting Malik Shah for the crown prince had been the initiative of Nizam al-Mulk. Many of the achievements of Alp-Arsalan were related to Nizam al-Mulk (Herbert and Loewe, 1923: 305)

After the murder of Alp-Arsalan, Qavurt, the Seljuk ruler of Kerman (465 - 440/1072/1048) wanted to succeed him based on the principle of seniority. Therefore, he wrote a letter to Malik Shah and claimed that his brother's inheritance should be for him (Sadr al-Din Hosseini; 1933: 56). However, with the efforts of Nizam al-Mulk, the tribal teachings about

the governance faded away. Tribal tradition forced the largest and most tribal warriors to residency and that many of the Turkmens soldiers of Alp-Arsalan after his death were inclined to Qavurt, based on the then tribal tradition. Nevertheless, under the effect of the Iranian governance pattern, the Seljuk sultans wanted their children to be their successor; even if they were young or inexperienced (Malik Shah at the time of his succession was not still twenty years). According to this model, Malik Shah noted to Qavurt that despite the child, heir would not reach to brother. Nizam al-Mulk by using Arab and Kurdish forces could defeat and removing Qavurt instead of Nizam al-Mulk.

In Malik Shah's regime (485 -465/1092-1072), Nizam al-Mulk gained more power and dominance. Malik Shah called him father and all state affairs were under his authority. Nizam al-Mulk governed with the management of the Office of the Seljuk Empire; and he gave cities and bureaucratic positions to his subordinates and all matters were in his dominance. Nizam al-Mulk established the order and security in all regions and helped the Seljuk state. However, later in his life Nizam al-Mulk's relationship with Malik Shah turned fairly bad, but he remained in ministry position until the end of his life. After thirty years at the helm of the ministry that entitled "The government of Al-Nezamiyeh" by one of the Ismailia, he was killed in 485/1092. Malik Shah died a month after the death of Nizam

al-Mulk but glory and fame of Nizam al-Mulk was so much that Hindushah Nakhjavani writes that the death of Sultan after killing Khaje Nizam al-Mulk "didn't have too grand" (Nakhjavani, 1978: 281).

Iranian Governance Pattern in Ancient Era

The base of the Iranian governance pattern was the king. In this pattern, functions and specific requirements were laid upon the king. The royal institution in ancient Iran had implications. The requirements of royal institution included the race, splendor and personality (Morsalpour, 2010: 50-56). Iranian always recognized the clan descended from kings as sovereign. Procopius writes: the Iranians' rule was to never choose a person from the public classes in the reign, unless the royal family is totally extinct (Procopius, 1914: 33-32). Genotypes were compulsory that all ancient kings emphasized it and had their lineage to kings and dynasties before themselves.

Race was not the only factor to achieve the royal throne; a point that the royal family, in the light of the divine or splendor, was worthy to the throne. Of course, the survival of splendor depended on the king's measures and remained with the king when he was considered as the agent of Ahura Mazda. In the absence of the functions of a king or rebellion against the Creator, the splendor of the king was annihilated.

Among other requirements of the royal was properties related to the king. From the

viewpoint of Iranian, physical and mental health of the king was very important and maiming people could not achieve him the Kingdom. The princes were trained physically and mentally and prepared for the kingdom.

Functions of the royal institution in ancient Iran were developed with the demands of time. The first royal institution's function was agency of Ahura Mazda. The emergence of the royal institution and its functions were in relationship with the creation of the universe and the role of the king in evil- good fighting in the ancient Iranian mythology. According to the mythology, Ahura Mazda was in the light, and Ahriman (the devil) was in the dark and Ahura Mazda was informed of the existence of Ahriman and his coming to campaign (Zadesparam, 1987: 1) and the first Iranian king was created to fight the evil. Since the development of their royal institution, Iran's kings considered themselves as the agency of Ahura Mazda on the earth and they must comply with Aša (arta) and fight with Ahriman and evils. Their most important function was the agent of Ahura Mazda in order to propagate the good, and eliminate the bad.

Other functions of the royal institution were development and prosperity. These functions were formed since the creation of the royal institution during the Sassanid period. After mentioning the destruction inflicted on the world spanning for over four hundred years, Tansar in a letter to

Gushnasb writes that Artaxerxes for fourteen years compensated the damages by, "flowing waters and founding cities" (Tansar Letter; 1975: 93). Kings of ancient Iran directed to dig wells and to branch rivers in order to distribute waters. One of the examples of civil and reclamations was the urban development for which the Sassanid kings had great skill; and building many cities attributed to them. In other words, the cities that Sassanid kings built could immortalize them because of their names such as JondiShapour and Bishapour and Artaxerxes Khoreh and Ghobad Khoreh and others that specifically point to kings' name.

Development and prosperity were also associated with justice and the kings considered the prosperity of their territories to inculcate justice. The basis of justice in ancient Persia was associated with class divisions. The most basic sense that was implied was limits of classes and preventing their attacks on each other and stopping the oppression of the elite and bureaucracy against the weak people. Justice was the basic function of the royal institution and its failure had wide-ranging consequences or loss of the royalty. Artaxerxes ordered his descendants: "The king must be just because all goodness is provided in justice. Justice is a strong rampart that prevents the king from leaving and tearing country. The first indications of misfortune in any city is the stripping of justice, "and in his opinion, perversion of justice by the King will cause

defiance of people from his obedience (Instruction of Artaxerxes, 1969: 114 - 115).

One of the functions of the royal institution in ancient Iran was to protect the borders. Iranian kings considered themselves as guards and spent much for repulsing invaders. Bahram V after destroying Turks king narrated a poem "I'm guard of all the property of Iran" (Masoudi, 1988: 1/ 540); and in another poem while considering himself as the guardian of property, he wrote, "What a miserable country that nobody is guardian" (Tha'alibi, 1989: 359).

Religion was a major function of the royal institution in ancient Persia. Religion since the advent of Zoroaster and acceptance of religion by Goshtasb was considered as the function of the king. In the pre-Goshtasb era, Jamshid did not accept religion from Ahura Mazda (Avesta, 2008: 2/666). However, from the Goshtasb era, kings always wanted to show their belief in religion and made religion as the basis of their actions and statements. After accepting Zoroastrianism, Goshtasb tried to publicize it a lot and made many fireplaces all over his territory:

The priests spread in the world, establish over fires domes (Ferdowsi, 2007: 1/891). Tabari quotes that in promoting the Zoroastrian religion, many peasants were killed to accept religion (Tabari, 1967: 1/540). One of the pillars of the government of the first Artaxerxes and Sassanid dynasty was unit religion. Artaxerxes considered revolt against the Parthian war in the revival of religion. Artaxerxes's uprising caused that Tansar

(Tosser) joined him, the isolated priest who claimed he wanted the world's good for stamina of religion. Tansar believed that "religion and property both are similar, never separated, goodness and corruption and accuracy of both have a temperament" (Tansar letter; 1975: 53).

Changing Functions and Requirements of Royal Institution in Islamic Period

Royal requirements in the Islamic period were partly observed. In fact, the functions of ancient royal institution were altered, and sometimes, the duties of rulers and caliphs were transformed. Ma'mun considered the functions of his Caliphate as commandments of God, taking the rights of the oppressed from the oppressor, keeping the Muslims and jihad against the enemies of Islam, and arresting them (Masoudi, 1988: 3/433) that was an adaptation of the functions of the royal institution in ancient Persia. The functions of the royal institution in the Islamic period were known as the peasant rights on king. Ibn Taghtagha (Ibn Tabataba) considered some of the peasant rights on king that were the reminiscent of the royal functions: supporting the country and maintaining boundaries and borders, keeping the sides, safeguarding roads and eliminating the criminals, protecting the weak people from wick of rich, getting the right of subordinates from strong people, setting limits among the people, giving the right to the rightful owner, paying attention to the oppressed, and judging between themselves and the foreigners (Ibn Taghtagha; 1997: 39).

Although many rulers after Islam were not called king (Shah), they met some requirements and functions of the royal institution. Genotypes in that period were important due to Iranian descent and their bonds with ancient Persian kings. Their efforts showed that they had requirements of the royal institution; and performing royal functions indicates that the intellectual and political context of the era required rulers like the ancient Iranian kings.

One of the functions that were changed during the Islamic period was the brokerage of Ahura Mazda. Although Iran's rulers after Islam did not neglect such ideas, they were wary to call themselves the agent of God on earth. The Ahura Mazda brokerage doctrine was changed to the opinion of caliph, the successor of God who gave legitimacy to other rulers. Rashidun Caliphs considered themselves as the successor of prophet and avoided from considering themselves as the caliph of God on earth. The caliph being called the successor of God was coined during the Umayyad era. For the first time, Mu'awiya said, "I'm the Caliph of God" (Masoudi, 1988: 3/43). It seems that the caliphs who introduced themselves as the Caliph of Allah were the deviation from the teachings of Islam and was the impact of the Iranian royal institution pattern on Arabs. Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs who were called the successor of God on earth gave legitimacy to other rulers.

In the Islamic period, the functioning of justice differed from that of ancient Iran.

With the arrival of Islam, at least theoretically, class divisions were disappeared. In the Islamic period, preventing attacks of government agents on the weak and the arrest of the oppressed was the most important sense of justice.

Iran's rulers after Islam showed themselves good rulers like the kings of ancient Iran, and made efforts for the development and reclamation and even urbanism. In the Islamic era, although the urban development did not have the boom of pre-Islamic period, it retained its theoretical importance.

The function of defending the borders during the Islamic period was changed. With the advent of Islam in Iran, racial and national boundaries were turned into ideological ones, jihad against the infidels and protecting lives and property of Muslims were considered as the important functions of Governors.

Religion was one of the basic functions of Governors in the Islamic period, with a difference that the Islamic tenets took over Zoroastrianism position. Rulers invaded infidels and dealt with "unorthodoxy" and "evil religion", and they involved in spreading Islam. Yaqoub, Amir Ismaeel and Mahmoud are examples of such rulers; although with predatory motivation, they invaded the land of infidels, but to spread Islam and crush the infidels, they sent a part of their trophies to the caliph.

Reflection of Iranian Governance Pattern in Siyâsat Nâma

In response to requests of Malik Shah Nizam al-Mulk wrote a book called Siyâsat Nâma (Siar al-Molok). In his Siyâsat Nâma or "Book of Government" he provided a vital source of information on political ethos of the age and on the administrative and court procedures then prevalent in eastern Islam (Bosworth, 1968: 56). Among the then existing works, this book was desired to be the one for Sultan. This consists of fifty chapters and among the first thirty-nine chapters; eleven were written by Nizam al-Mulk. Using deep-rooted traditions, Nizam al-Mulk created a unique effect in line with the Seljuk tribal attitude adjustment and changed it to teachings of the Iranian governance. To Nizam al-Mulk, the king had basic role, and he tried hard to elevate the position of Seljuk rulers. Nizam al-Mulk offered thoughts of Iran by combining Islamic teachings. Policy writers of the Islamic era often mixed the ideas of the Iranian governance pattern with Islamic teachings based on the requirements. Even the most fanatic of epistle writers benefited from the Iranian royal tradition when they wanted to teach governance to kings and it was not considered against the Islamic principles. Among the most important policy writers of Seljuk era was Nizam al-Mulk who inculcated the notion of Persian King with Seljuk Sultans.

Siyâsat Nâma of Nizam al-Mulk can be considered as a great example of epistle in

Iran's Islamic period. Tabatabaei believes that the policy of the pre-Islamic era should be considered in line with the Sassanid era epistle tradition (Tabatabaei, 2002: 35). However, *Siyâsat Nâma* was in line with ancient political thought, given the changes in some functions of the royal institution, and consequently the content of the epistles, it must be considered as repayments of the tradition of writing epistle rather than simply extending it. In writing *Siyâsat Nâma*, Nizam al-Mulk used ancient sources such as letter of Tansar and especially Instruction (Ahd) of Artaxerxes and may be Artaxerxes Work Book (Karnameh). He also pointed, on many occasions, to the borrowing of Instructions of Artaxerxes. Nizam al-Mulk adopted many of his ideas from the Instruction of Artaxerxes and the formulation of *Siyâsat Nâma* has been in fact a version of that Instruction. Artaxerxes' work was approved by Nizam al-Mulk and he mentioned him as one of the kings who had greatly worked and left a good name behind (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 71). Nizam al-Mulk has mentioned a phrase in quotes of Artaxerxes. He writes: "Artaxerxes said any Shah (King) who does not have the ability to reform courtiers should know that he can never reform the public and peasants" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 70). As Nizam al-Mulk referred, this phrase was adapted from Artaxerxes, who said his Instruction that "every king wishes to foster the good of the masses of people" (Instruction of Artaxerxes, 1969: 88).

One of the main themes of the epistles in the pre-Islamic era was requirements and functions of the royal institution. According to the change of functions of the royal institution in the Islamic period, Nizam al-Mulk, tried to repay the Iranian governance pattern in his *Siyâsat Nâma*. One of the requirements of the royal institution in ancient Persian was the race. Iranians believed that whoever is in government must be of the royal lineage and the people lacking the same have had no right to rule. Tabari writes, "The Persians do not recognize anyone except the Fereydoun family to the royal and assume that if someone other than them be king, it is unjustly" (Tabari, 1967: 1/379). The doctrine of limitation of the right to rule in the descendant caused that Iranian family after Islam (like Taherid, Safarid, Sassanid, Al-Ziar, and Bowayhids) reach their lineage to ancient Persian kings. In addition, for linking Malekshah with the ruling dynasty of Iran, Nizam al-Mulk introduced him from generations of Turan Afrasiab (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 7). Afrasiab through Tur who was relative to Fereydoun, reached to Iran's royalty. Tur was one of three sons of Fereydoun who was the ruler of Turan (Iran to Iraj and Rome reached to Salam). Thus, Nizam al-Mulk obtained the right of kingdom for Malek Shah by lineage.

Having royal descent to reach the kingdom was not enough and having divine Farreh or Khowarna (charisma) was considered as another requirement of the

royal. This caused Nizam al-Mulk to also focus on having it and introduce the king with divine charisma. Somewhere in *Siyâsat Nâma*, he cited that "King with divine Farreh" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 71).

Among other requirements was the king's personality that Nizam al-Mulk paid attention to. He mentioned these requirements as "what is needed to be" and the features that the king should have such as good face, good temperament, manhood, riding, science and using a variety of weapons and arts (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 7). Following ancient Iranian kings and especially first Artaxerxes of Sassanid, Nizam al-Mulk recommended self-care and caution in issuing orders and instructions to Seljuk Sultan. Artaxerxes by a man standing over him got a paper and had said him: "Each time I was angry, give it to my hands. In the paper, it was written: Keep yourself. You are not God. You are body that each part will eat the other part soon and how fast to be the worms and soil" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 104). Elsewhere, he also writes that the king should appoint someone to correct his behavior and mood (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 82). Nizam al-Mulk also stated that the Sultan should be careful about commands and thus, a chapter entitled "butterflies caution in drunken and vigilance" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 104) assigned that appears in this section, he is under the effect of the advice of Artaxerxes.

Functions of the royal institution have great importance in the perspective of

Nizam al-Mulk and a higher volume of policies is allocated to repay them in the Islamic notion. One of the functions of the royal institution in ancient Persia was the brokerage of Ahura Mazda. Ahura Mazda chose the king as an agent to implement its intentions among the people, and the king was considered as the agent of propagating goodness and the battle with badness. Nizam al-Mulk acted to repay brokerage of Ahura Mazda in the Islamic concept. He writes in the first chapter of *Siyâsat Nâma*: In every era and time, the God chooses one among the people, and He adorns him with the royal and decent arts, and gives him materials and peaceful world and preserves him from the corruption and chaos" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 5). In addition, Khaje has raised the concept of "good king" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005:5). In mythology and history of Iran, the kings were divided into good and evil ones. A good king was broker of Ahura Mazda on earth and the evil king was created by Ahriman and attempted to ruin and devastate, and destruction of the goodness was considered for such king. Thus, Nizam al-Mulk said the king was chosen by God to be his agent on earth. Nizam al-Mulk's theory is opposed to the Islamic caliphate. In the early Islamic centuries, caliphs substituted themselves for God, and with granting the government gave legitimacy to other monarchs. However, Nizam al-Mulk in his views did not pay much attention to the Islamic Caliphate, and although many stories of

caliphs are placed in everywhere of *Siyâsat Nâma*, he has mentioned these anecdotes and caliphs' measures along the Iranian governance pattern.

Development and prosperity are other functions of the royal institution that are reflected in *Siyâsat Nâma*. The initial influx of nomadic Seljuk to Iran caused agricultural damages, especially in the cities of Khurasan province. With the consolidation of the rule of the Seljuk and fading tribal teachings and to further tribute, construction and development were needed. One of the tasks of Sultan was the reclamation of territory. Nizam al-Mulk in the following encourages Malek Shah to civilian projects:

Join to the mansion of the world by taking out canal, digging famous rivers and bridges for the passage of waters, building farms and fences, building new cities, constructing lofty buildings friary and schools transferring science, its name will always remain, and reward of those materials and blessing will continuously be for it (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 6).

As one of the most important functions of the royal institution, justice has been emphasized in *Siyâsat Nâma*. Nizam al-Mulk has dedicated a large part of the book to the justness and this function has a special position in his thought. This emphasis was due to brutality of military on the people. Some of Sanjars letters are shown this brutality (Joveini, 2005: 26-13) Ghazali also puts on the top one day of justice of Sultan

than his sixty years of worship (Ghazali, 1954: 4). Nizam al-Mulk has acted to repay the concept of justice and separated it from class divisions (that was the most basic sense of justice in ancient Persia), and even with sayings of the Prophet about justice (e.g. this tradition: the justice is the greatness of religion and Sultan's strength and goodness of slave and army) closed it to the concept of Islam. Even when he praised the justice of kings of Iran, he did not refer to its linkage with class divisions. Of course, in the view of Nizam al-Mulk, the absence of classes has not meant mixing people and their affairs. He stated that the conditions should not be such that "nobles and sanitation deprived, and each ignoble did not be afraid to put the title of king and minister to himself, and eunuchs put the Turks title on themselves and Turks put the eunuchs title... and people distinguish them" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 171). In another part, he considers one of the tasks of King "whatever that is not in the formal rule and foundation is brought to his rule" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 171).

One of the aspects of justice in the viewpoint of Nizam al-Mulk was to pay attention to the oppression. He writes, "It is no way that the king should investigate the oppression, unjust, and unfair, and listen to the words of slave in two days of the week" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 12). He has also allocated one of the chapters of *Siyâsat Nâma* to "answering the oppressed and giving them job and observing fairness" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 189- 192). Nizam al-

Mulk has provided many anecdotes of justice of kings of ancient Persia and Iranian Kings' procedure" which is one of the most basic concepts of justice from the perspective of him. Among the kings of ancient Iran, Khosrow and Anushirvan are praised by Nizam al-Mulk because of their reputation about justice. The justice of some of the rulers of Iran after Islam, like Abdullah Ibn Tahir, Adud-al-Dowleh, and especially Ismail Ibn Ahmad Samani is also contained in *Siyâsat Nâma*. Ghazali has also been asked by two letters from Sultan Sanjar to prevent military oppression against the people (Ghazali, 1954: 4 and 10)

According to Nizam al-Mulk, one of the aspects of justice was investigating the circumstances of agents and state officials and avoiding from their attacks on the slaves. Therefore, he has allocated some chapters of *Siyâsat Nâma* to the case that the king should investigate, judge and inspect the condition of operatives and agents, and by mentioning anecdotes, he has noted the harms of king's negligence of his agents.

Leaving rights for the worthy maids and servants and forgiveness of people by king were introduced through the examples of justice. He believed that the king must give the award of goodness and punishment of sins according to mistakes and based on forgiveness. "Contact with people as innocents, and show forgiveness to their sins and forgive them" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 6). The mismatch of reward with service and error with punishment in ancient Persia was

considered as injustices. One of the manifestations of injustice of the first Yazdgerd that is mentioned in references as criminal was disproportionate of reward or punishment with service or betray. Quoted by Dinevary, he did not give award to someone who had served, and he did not ignore the smallest mistakes and questioned the slight mistakes as great ones (Dinevary; 1989: 51).

Religion is another function of the royal institution that is insisted in *Siyâsat Nâma*. One of the important aspects of theoretical and practical models of Nizam al-Mulk was his attitude about the interaction between religion and power. He writes, "The king is obliged to check the religious situation" (Nizam al-Mulk; 2005: 70). Like Sassanid, he considered religion and property the same and in his idea, one of the basic functions of the royal institution was religion:

The best of what the king should be is religion; for the king and religion are like two brothers. When an anxiety emerges in the country, religion is disrupted, unbelievers and corruptors arise; and when religion is porous, the country will be rebelled and corruptors will be strong and the king will be suffering and heretical will be evident and Khawarij will force (Nizam al-Mulk; 2005: 70).

The idea of unity and unity of religion and state from the Sassanid era is in the epistle and in the Islamic period, this doctrine has been applied in many contexts. Among the texts referring to this doctrine, we can mention the Tansar, Artaxerxes eras, and *Shahnameh* of Ferdowsi that the words

of Nizam al-Mulk is very similar to their expressions.

Seljuk Sultans did not have much fanaticism in religious matters and their ministers played the religious role in *Siyâsat Nâma*. Nizam al-Mulk wanted the unity of Shafiis and Hanafis against Hanbalis unlike Kunduri that only supported Hanafis (Shimoyama, 2016:160). Nizam al-Mulk said the Seljuk Sultans claimed that in the whole world, there are two religions that are good and in the right way, Hannafi and Shafi'i (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 150). He founded Nizamiyeh schools in order to strengthen the Shafi'i religion. Nizamiyeh schools were built in major cities such as Bagdad and Neishabour and only those educated in these schools could enter the governance of Seljuk. The main objective of Nizam al-Mulk behind founding those schools was to strengthen Shafi'i religion and interaction of religion and government institutions (Morsalpour and Allahyari; 2008: 77). The system of education created by Nizam al-Mulk was known by the researcher as Madrasa. Safi argues that the purpose of constructing this madrasa was to counter the teaching of Ismailis who built Al-Azhar institutions in Cairo in 970 (Safi, 2006: 96). According to Fischer, the Nizamiyya madrasa became a nation-wide public system of education during the Seljuks era (Fischer, 2003: 38).

Nizam al-Mulk has changed the defense of borders and realized for internal enemies. In the Malik Shah era, the top and sides of

the territory was safe and had no external threats. Nizam al-Mulk believes that Muslims should be safe with the king (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 5). Moreover, the threat is from the Ismaili for Muslims. Nizam al-Mulk mentioned, "If at the time some of caliphs were in the developed area, it was not free from Khwaregids" (Nizam al-Mulk, 2005: 7); and it was informed of the Ismailis threat. Meanwhile, the Sunni revival during the Seljuk period had driven the radical Ismailis, known as the Assassins, to take extreme action (Saunders, 1962:343). He has also allocated several chapters of his *Siyâsat Nâma* to the exit of Mazdak, Khorramdinan, Sinbad, and Batenid that are stated to be on the Ismailis risk. Nizam al-Mulk believes that (that their examples were on Ismailis Seljuk era) every time the foreigners called a name on themselves, their original intention is to abolish Islam and Muslims.

Conclusion

Based on what was said; the royal institution in ancient Iran had requirements and functions that were transferred to the Islamic era by the epistle tradition. Nizam al-Mulk was familiar with the tradition of epistle and particularly some of the epistle of the Sassanid era such as Tansar letter and Artaxerxes Instruction; and in his *Siyâsat Nâma*, he has used their contents and ideas.

In compliance with the requirements of the royal institution, Nizam al-Mulk linked Seljuk with the dynasty of ancient Iranina

kings. In *Siyâsat Nâma*, more attention is paid to the functions of royal institution and Nizam al-Mulk tries to give Malik Shah the responsibility and promotes him to the level of ancient kings and change the tribal governments of Seljuk into the Iranian governance pattern. In response to the introductory question, it can be argued that the main ideas of *Siyâsat Nâma* are based on the Iranian governance model and the functions of the royal institution. Royal institutions have been reflected due to their

References

- [1] Artaxerxes Instruction, (1969). Translated by Mohammad Ali Imam Shoshtary, Tehran: National Heritage Association publications.
- [2] Avesta, (2008). *J. Doostkhah Report*, 13th Edition, Tehran: Morvarid.
- [3] Bosworth, C.E. (1968), "The Political and Dynastic History of Iranian World", in *History of Iran*, Cambridge Volume V, Cambridge University Press.
- [4] Dinevary, Abu Hanifeh, (1989). *Akhbar Altaval*, Qom: Manshorat-Alrazi.
- [5] Ferdowsi Tusi, A., (2007). *Shahnameh*, based on the Moscow Edition, Third Edition, Tehran: Hermes.
- [6] Fischer, Michael, (2003). *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*, London: University of Wisconsin Press.
- [7] Ghazali, Mohammad, (1954). *Ghazalis Letters*, Tehran: Avicennas Bookstore.
- [8] Ibn Taghtagha, (1997). *The history of Fakhri*, Beirut: Dar al-Qalam.
- [9] Herbert, M.G and Loewe, M.A,(1923), Seljuqs, in *Cambridge Medieval History*, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- [10] Joveini, Montejob-alain, (2005). *Atebat-al-Kotobeh: Letters of Sanjar Court*, Tehran: Asatir.
- [11] Morsalpour, M., (2010). The process of rebuilding royal institution from the third century to

change in the Islamic period in *Siyâsat Nâma*. Among the functions of the royal institution, justice and religion are emphasized. In *Siyâsat Nâma*, justice that has an important role in Nizam al-Mulk's thinking is used differently from its concept in ancient Iran. Religion of Nizam al-Mulk in connection with his practice culminated into the foundation of Nezamiyeh schools to promote Shafi'i jurisprudence and his intolerance against Ismailis.

the fifth century, doctoral dissertation of *The history of Iran during the Islamic era*, Isfahan, University of Isfahan.

- [12] Morsalpour, M., & Allahyari, F., (2008), "The religious Policy of Kerman Seljuks", *Journal of Historical Research*, the second year, Issue III, University of Sistan and Baluchistan.
- [12] Masoudi, Abu Hassan, (1988). *Meadows of Gold and Metals Essence*, Qom: Dar al-Hejreh.
- [13] Nakhjavani, Hindushah, (1978). *Advances of Experiences*, by the effort of Abbas Iqbal, Tehran: Tahuri publications.
- [14] Nizam Al-Mulk Tusi, (2005). *Siyâsat Nâma* , edited by J. Shoar, Tehran: Corporation of Pocket Book.
- [15] Procopius, (1914). *History of Wars: Book 1 the Persian war*. With an English translation by H.B Bewing, London: Henemann -Newyork: Macmillan.
- [16] Zadesparam (1987). *Selective of Zadesparam*, translated by Mohammad Taghi Rashed Mohassel, Tehran: Institute for Cultural Research and Studies.
- [17] Sadr Uddin Ali Hosseini, (1933), *News of government and Seljuk*, corrected by Mohammad Iqbal, Lahore, Fan jab publication.
- [18] Safi, Omid, (2006). *The Politics of Knowledge in Pre-Modern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Inquiry*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

[19] Sauders, J., (1962). The Seljuk Turks and Their Place in History, *History Today*, May 1.

[20] Shimoyama, Tomoko, (2016). "Religion and Politics in Seljuq period", *Sophia Journal of Asian, African and Middle Eastern Studies*, Shopia University.

[21] Thaalibi, (1900). *The History of Thaalibi*, Paris: imprimerie nationale.

[22] Tabatabaei, J., (2004). *A Philosophical Introduction to the History of Political Thought in Iran*, Tehran: Kavir Publication.

[23] Tabari, Mohammad Ibn Jarir, (1967). *History of Tabari*, Second Edition, Beirut: Dar al-Torath.

[24] Tansar Letter, (1975). Edited by M. Minoyee, Second Edition, Tehran: Kharazmi.

بازپرداخت الگوی ملکداری ایرانی در سیاست‌نامه خواجه نظام‌الملک

محسن مرسلپور^۱

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۶/۲/۲ تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۷/۵/۱۰

چکیده

نهاد شاهی در ایران باستان دارای الزاماتی چون نژاد، قر و شخصیت بود. کارکردهای نهاد شاهی نیز که بنا بر مقتضیات زمانه تکوین یافتند، کارگزاری اهورامزدا، عمران و آبادانی، حفاظت از مرزها، دادگری و دیناری بودند. اگرچه با ورود اسلام نهاد شاهی بدواً مطرود و مذموم شمرده شد اما پس از مدتی بر آموزه‌های قبیله‌ای عرب غلبه یافت و سرنمون‌های اعلامی الگوی ملکداری گشت. استقصای حکام ایرانی پس از اسلام و حتی خلفای عرب در اینکه نشان دهند الزامات نهاد شاهی را دارا هستند و کارکردهای آن (که به وظایف خلیفه یا حاکم اسلامی تعبیر می‌شد) را بر عهده گرفته‌اند، نشانگر اهمیت این عناصر در این دوره است. در برخی از متون دوره اسلامی از جمله نامه طاهر به پسرش عبدالله می‌توان بازتاب کارکردهای نهاد شاهی را یافت اما سیاست‌نامه خواجه نظام‌الملک نخستین متن دوره اسلامی است که با توجه به تغییر در پاره‌ای الزامات و کارکردهای نهاد شاهی، به بازپرداخت آنها به‌طور کامل و جامع اقدام نموده است. خواجه نظام‌الملک با تأکید بر نقش محوری شاه و کارکردهای نهاد شاهی، سعی داشت تا حکومت قبیله‌ای سلجوقی را مبدل به حکومتی با الگوی ملکداری ایرانی کند. این مقاله بر آن است با رویکردی تحلیلی به بررسی کارکردها و الزامات نهاد شاهی که محور الگوی ملکداری ایرانی است، در سیاست‌نامه و تکاپوی خواجه نظام‌الملک برای تغییر نگرش قبیله‌ای سلجوقیان پردازد.

واژه‌های کلیدی: نظام‌الملک، سیاست‌نامه، نهاد شاهی، سلجوقیان.

^۱. استادیار تاریخ، دانشکده علوم انسانی، دانشگاه سیستان و بلوچستان، سیستان و بلوچستان، ایران. morsalpour@lihu.usb.ac.ir