

ANALYSIS AND REREADING OF POLITICAL ADVICES IN IMAM MOHAMMAD GHAZALI TOUSI'S POLITICAL THOUGHTS

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İmam Muhammed Gazali Tousi'nin Siyasi Düşüncelerindeki Siyasi Tavsiyelerin Analizi ve Yeniden okunması

Özet

İmam Muhammed Gazali İslam dünyasının en ünlü düşünürü ve önemli biliminsanlarından biridir. Tous'un Taberan köyünde hicri 450/MS 1058 yılında doğmuştur. Epey maceralı fakat mutluluk dolu 55 yılın ardından aynı şehirde hicri 505/MS 1111 yılında vefat etmiştir. Gazali'nin zamanında monarşi ve halifelik en hassas dönemlerinden geçiyordu ve zamanın diğer önde gelen düşünürleri gibi Gazali de tartışmalardan uzak kalamadı.

Biraz geçimsiz olması ve ruh halindeki değişimler araştırmacılar için birçok zorluk getirmiştir. Yaşamının son dönemlerinde kaleme aldığı ve Gazali'nin tartışmalı eserlerinden biri "Nasihat- Al- Moluk" adlı kitabıdır. Bu kitap iki bölümden oluşmaktadır: birinci bölümde İslami eğitim, inanç ve bazı etik tavsiyeler bağlamında bilgiler sunulmuştur. Ancak ikinci bölümde, eser farklı bir boyut kazanmakta ve bir siyasi tavsiyeler risalesine dönüşmektedir. Bu makalede, bahsedilen eser bazında onun siyasi düşünceleri analiz edilip, değerlendirilecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: İmam Muhammed Gazali Tousi, Nasihat-al-Moluk, Saljuqids, siyasi tavsiye yazısı, ideal kral.

Abstract

Imam Mohammad Ghazali is a famous thinker and one of the distinguished scientists of the world of Islam. He was born in the village of Taberan in Tous in 450 A.H/1058 A.D and after 55 years of an adventurous, but blissful life, he passed away in 505 A.H/1111 A.D in the same city. In Ghazali's time, the relationship between the monarchy base and caliph ship was passing its most sensitive altitudes and like other eminent thinkers of the time, Ghazali couldn't be away of the quarrels and directions.

His character stick of being quarrelsome and also his spiritual changes has brought many difficulties for researchers. One of the debatable works of Ghazali is "Nasihat -Al- Moluk" which belongs to the works of the last years of his life; this book includes two parts: in section one, he has presented some information in the context of Islamic instruction and beliefs and also some ethical advices, but in the next section, it takes another quality and changes to an epistle like political advice-works or policy-works. In this article, we try to analyze and evaluate his political thoughts, on the basis of the recited book.

Key words: Imam Mohammad Ghazali Tousi, Nasihat-Al-moluk, Saljuqids, Political advice-writing, the ideal king.

Imam Mohammad Ghazali Tousi's Political thoughts

Ghazali starts his political advices in nasihat-Al-moluk with an introduction to "self-structuring and reinforcement of individual faith" that is self-refining. He supposed heart faith with deeds to body organs or in other words, good thought with good deeds as the faith tree and addressed to the current king, says: "oh, thou the king of east, know the value, there was a blessing which was eternal, that's faith which is the bean of the eternal fortune, and the holy God has said to grow this by the water of my obedience, and know its roots are the heart faith and its branches are the acts of the body."¹ In the representation of "the watering-trough of faith tree", he turns to introducing two sources irrigating it, "the first source is the recognition of this world"² and "the second is the recognition of the next breath."³

In the first watering, trough, that's "this world", by showing it as the occasion for gathering provisions of futurity and halting-place, not resting-place, he tries to bring the king to his senses from the hatch of faith and

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knowledge and to diminish his greed and tyranny on people: "thou the king, know this world is the halting place, not the resting-one, and Adam is like a passenger whose first home is the mother's womb, grow and the tomb his final place, and home-town and resting-place is after that, and wise is the one who, in this world occupies himself just with provisions of the way and is satisfied with the needs and everything more is the murderer poison,... and all is grief and regret."⁴ By enumerating "the magic of this word" and the eternal goods of futurity, he emphasizes on this point and says: "oh, thou the king, be aware the conform of this world is a few days and that's mixed with pains, and the cause of that eternal conform which remains is to die, and that's the infinite kingdom. So, for the wise it's easy to wait a few days for the eternal tranquility."⁵

In the next watering trough, means "the next breath", with its remembrance he also tries to bring the addressee to his senses and to make him aware of the return less way of the futurity and the consequences of his good and bad acts. "know humans are tow groups, one sees the present situation of this world, and is hopeful of a long life and doesn't think to the next breath, how it will be and how he'll same his faith, and what to bring to grave from this world and it's indispensable for all creatures, and to kings and the inhabitants of this world more."⁶ Because in contrast with other angles who give a respite of "one hour or day, he doesn't give just a breath and he has many strange characteristics."⁷

In the meantime, Ghazali recalls the king of planning and time management by believing in this speech that "and on this day (Friday) of the week, dedicate your time to God, so that heal dedicate the rest of the week to your affairs."⁸ He asks him to do a mutual treatment with God. To do this, by compilation of a worship plan for self refining and self-structuring, asks the king to spend his Friday on prayer and chant.⁹ An interesting point here is that along with prayer and praising to God, Ghazali emphasizes on studying and rereading of "Nasihah-Al-Muluk" as one of the worship precepts, "so that it remains in mind."¹⁰

The importance of reading pieces of advice and studying history and the adventures of monarchs doesn't finish here, since we'll see in the future that he calls it as one part of the sixteen parts combination of divine glory.¹¹

Ghazali starts the representation of his political advices, in "Nasihah-Al-Muluk", with presenting the issue of monarchy as a divine matter.

By an equal comparison between "the almighty of sky", God, and "the judge of earth", king of the territory of Iran, in an unequal measurement, he tries to present the king as the God's alternative on earth. In this way, he calls God as "the almighty of sky" and "the judge of sky" and in context, then he introduces the king as "the almighty of earth" and "the judge of earth".¹²

Like khajeh Nezam-Al-Molk and other words of wisdom-writers, he tries to propose monarchy as an issue, legality of which has a quorum from the side of the Nourisher of the world, not from caliph, Imam or men.

He not only calls monarchy the gift of God, but also he looks for the identity of prudence in pledge of destiny and fate and from yaqub's words in response to Mo-Tamed, Abbasi caliph who had asked: "thou were brazier, from where you had found this prudence of monarchy?" Writes: "Yaqub answered, He God who gave me this government, he also gave me this prudence of monarchy."¹³

In continuation, Ghazali Claims that all the world inhabitants have divided world affairs in 25 parts. He separates these 25 parts in 5 category of 5, as "virtual, effort, impress ional, habitual, and inherit" affairs and the interesting point in this classification is that he places monarchy along with "wife, child, wealth and life" in the first category of five classes under the title of "fate and destiny" or virtual affairs.

In the first chapter of "Nasihah-Al-Muluk", that's "justice, politics and the king's character", Ghazali calls two groups of prophets and king as equal ones who are chosen by God, that in consequence of this choice and selection, the first group is appointed to guide creatures and the second, to prevent from man's tyranny and in encroachment to each other. He starts the opening of speech with a mixture of "divine glory" thought and the instructions of the religion of Islam, and he mentions the king's obedience as the religious individuals' duty. By dividing kings to "real sultans" or legitimate and "oppressive sultans" or illegitimate, he states the key for continuity and sustenance of the monarchy is "justice" and the cause of its annihilation is "corruption and oppression to peasants". He emphasizes on the importance of justice up to level that he prefers the expansion of blasphemy to the tyranny accompanied with being religious. In this way, being in rest in consequence of stabilization of the king's ethical base, he refers to its practical use in this world, even without a little indication of caliphate and addressed to sultan of the time, says: "be aware that the Almighty

chose two groups from Adam's sons. And preference them over others, one, the prophets and the other, the king. But he sent his prophets to men in order to show them the way. And selected the kings to save them from each other, and merited them a great place, as you hear in news that sultan is God's shadow on earth. He is the shadow of God's majesty on earth, means he is great and chosen to be a God to the creatures. Then one should know that loving the one who is given monarchy and divine glory is a necessity and also to obey sultan; It doesn't deserve to quarrel with kings or suppose them as enemies, as God has said: "Obey Allah and obey the messengers and the governors among you".¹⁵ The interpretation in such that you should be obedient to your God, his prophets and your leaders. So every one who is given a religion by God, is to obey to obey the kings and be obedient to them, and be aware that it is God who merits this kingdom and gives it any one whom he wants. He said (God in Quran) the God Almighty is the king of king, gives kingdom to any one he wants, honour one by grace and humiliates one by justice,¹⁶ and sultan really is the person who expands justice among servants and doesn't corrupt and oppress and the oppressive one is bad omen and doesn't deserve to exist. Because prophet Mohammad (p.b.u.h) said: Monarchy continues with blasphemy. But not with tyranny".¹⁷

Like other sunnite words-of-wisdom-writers, Ghazali refers to the meaning of governors in the verse "obey Allah and obey the messengers and the governors among you" not as religious leaders like Imam or Caliph, but also he believes the exact sense of it over kings and sultans.

For Ghazali divine glory was a combination of sixteen, of series of spiritual and physical features and ethical virtues, which is not unlike the governer's features of paradise in Farabi's viewpoint: On the other hand, it was very similar to the features which were emphasized as necessary in policy-works of Nezam-Al-Molk: "know that divine glory is sixteen things: wisdom and knowledge, sharpness and recognizing everything, the exact figure of culture, familiarity with riding and saddling, manliness with courage and mildness and kindness, to deal the weak from strong (generosity), to be friendly and to act moderately, prudence and thought in affairs, to read the news much, to travel much and to survey about the previous kings. Because this world is the remainder of the previous governments who had monarchy and went and just their names remained".¹⁸

Besides, in another place he suggests studding policy-works as one of the sixteen elements of divine glory to sultans to moderate their political behavior, "and the king should follow the manner of the previous ones who were beneficent and righteous and read their advice-works, since they had many adventures which brought them lots of experience and they distinguished between good and bad. And Anushiravan, in spit of his benefactions, studied the previous kings' books and wanted their stories and followed their conduct and it's better for our kings to do this".¹⁹

In the discussion of the history of the world kings, on the basis on the teachings of the great Quran, he recalls first, Adam as the first of God's creatures, then on the basis of the sources in access, he enumerate 48 ones of sultans Iranshahr from the beginning of man's creation by integrating mythical king of Iranshahr with the real kings of the old Iran and by wrongly putting some of the commanders of the army in the position of kings, that the duration of their governance was in total 3695 years and 9 months and 25 days.²⁰

According to the texts to which he rely, among 48 kings of Iranshahr, the longest government belonged to "Bior Zahak Zolhayyatein's horse" (1000 years), Jamshid (700 years), Afreydoon (500 years), and the shortest ones to Farrokhzad (1 month), Goraz (1 month and 25 days), Bahram Bahramian and Azarmidokht (jointly 4 months), alternatively.²¹

These 48 sultans of the Old Iran include 45 men and 2 women among whom homa with 17 years of governance, Tourandokht with 6 months and Azarmidokht with 4 month belong to kianian and Sasanian, alternatively. The first king of Iranshahr, Kiomarh was from Pishdadian and the last one Yazdgerd- Shahriar from Sasanian.²² "and after him Moslims prevailed and took non-Arab territories".²³ the richest of the kings, named khosro Parviz.²⁴ and the most tyrant and deceitful one was Zahhak, to whom allocates one-fourth of Iran's pre-Islam monarch history and he was the symbol of "deceit, oppression, tyranny and murder",²⁵ and the justest one, called Anushiravan, "who was the honour of the kings of Iran for his justice merit and cultivated provinces".²⁶ Of these 48 kings mentioned, it was Jamasb who was a wise governor²⁷ and another one, Sekandar Roumi, entitled Zolgharnein was "the messenger king".²⁸

But, from all this introduction and naming the relationships and characters of the kings of earth, Ghazali tries to conclude that after the end of each king's governance, just him name remains and "if his deeds are good,

people remind him well, and if they are bad, people remind him badly.²⁹ So it's necessary for people (human beings), specifically the kings. To cultivate good deeds and to avoid defects and clumsiness, so that their good names will remain and others don't remind them badly".

He emphasizes at studying history and analyzing kings' adventures as necessary, Since it's a way for "wise people to look at this unfaithful world, and not to feel attached to it, in which just the beneficients will remain, not the wicked ones.

Look what's better, be like that After you, it remains just the words, that's all".³⁰

In order to preserve the current political order, to concentrate power and to make a balance in strong kings' political behavior, Ghazali tries to remind the most effective ways which are studying history and taking a lesson of it and also death and sleeping in the depth of soil.

Ghazali believes the most deserved choice for monarchy is a person who is in favour of justice because he sees justice in relation with religion and wisdom. "And the most deserved one for the position of monarchy and kingdom is one whose heart is the center of justice; his house is the resting-place of religious and wise people and his principle is from God's of knowledge and is associated with intellectuals and consultants".³¹ in this way, form his point of view, one of the characteristics of his favorite sultan is to accompany and consult with learned ones. "the best king is one who associates with scholars".³²

The reason of his emphasis on the link between sultans and religious scientists is to take use of their consultation to create and protect political order and only by extending justice and reducing tyranny and corruption, this goal is achieved. "The threat of monarchy... it's explanation is lengthy. And the governors is healthy and safe in the situation that he is constantly associated with scholars to teach him the path of justice and occasionally mention the risk of this matter to him".³³

The worst choice for monarchy is a pride and arbitrary person who doesn't take an step to support justice and in result. Safety of the society, "and the most unfortunate one is a person who is proud of his monarchy and doesn't cultivate the world, and doesn't know how to live, he passes his life in this world in pain, and in the next world suffers from reproach, regret, haplessness

and eternal punishment, and in his point of view, the fortunate king is one who tries to cultivate the province, so that his good name will remain".³⁴

After an anecdote with an allusion to this fact that "two swords don't hold in one sheath"³⁵ from Amroleith Saffari, Ghazali concludes that "it's not possible for two kings to govern in one territory".³⁶ This word shows he doesn't believe in simultaneous governance of caliph and sultan, and this matter is completely true and logical.

In some parts of *Nasihah-Al-Muluk* and following Aristotles' thoughts, he puts knowledge and justice at the head of an ideal king's characteristics, and enumerates other characteristics are mostly ethical, in this way: "first, knowledge and justice brevity and tolerance, kindness and generosity and forgiveness and the rest which is like this".³⁷ In another part of the same book, by an allusion to an story of *zolgharnein*, he tries to illustrate his ideal sultan, as a simple-living, satisfied, just, wise, righteous, kind, religious, vegetarian person and one who always thinks of death and cemetery;³⁸ in order to persuade and encourage sultan to continue viewing death, as a way to control and balance political behavior- he refers to prophets words that "one who thinks of death, twenty times a day, there is some rewards and the degree of martyrs for him"³⁹ in contrast, he introduces illegitimate and in ideal sultan, a cruel and tyrant person.

Ghazali considers "wealth and landed properties" as the cause of enmity between peasants and sultan, and "mendicant and satisfaction" as the cause of their friendship,⁴⁰ then he invites sultan of the time to realism, self-refining and carnal mortification and says: "god Almighty gives the sultan of the world a bright eye to see the world and futurity as if it and suffers himself in affairs of the futurity."⁴¹

In continuation of explaining his ideal king's characteristics, Ghazali still views wisdom and knowledge as the most important features and balance of the divine justice, and in its description says: "The exalted God created wisdom in the best figure and said" I didn't create anything better and greater than you and the creatures' reward and punishment is up to you", as he said in his holy Quran: "Abhor from God, you the wisdom owners, and wisdom owners are Gods of knowledge and nowadays knowledge is called intellect."⁴² He introduces wisdom as the base of ascending and descending of individuals' social base and even prefer to science and writes: "wisdom takes people to a high degree and

takes the unwise ones down" and "if the person is learned, as he has no wisdom, there is no dignity and rank for him".⁴³ Ghazali considers thorough wisdom and knowledge as the criterion of a complete man and the source of all welfares, and on the importance and preference of wisdom to knowledge. Says: "One who has wisdom and not knowledge, his wisdom will guide him to knowledge, and one who own knowledge and doesn't have any wisdom, all his works are reverse, and one who has bath of then, either is a messenger or Imam or a sage in this world, and the whole peoples' benefits, dignity, rank and advisability of all the affairs of the two worlds is of wisdom..."⁴⁴

Eventually, he sees wisdom in parallelism with faith, and considers it not as the key to solutions of events, but as the force of prudence, provision facture and prevention of problems and happenings, and writes: "wisdom is the beginning of faith, middle faith and the end of faith... wisdom doesn't mean that when you have a problem, you try to solve it, but it means you should try firstly not to have a problem which annoy you."⁴⁵

After that, in an evaluation action, Ghazali mentions to differences between a wise and foolish person from Hakim parsian's words to make the current sultan familiar with his favorite and ideal sultan's ethical features, so he says: "there are some sings for a wise person, of which all know him: first, he forgives one who annoys his and is descent to one and is inferior to him, he precedes in welfares of one who is superior to him, and always thinks of God, speak in a knowledgeable manner, knows the time and situation of speaking, at the time of encountering difficulties turns to God: and the foolish one has his own characteristics He oppresses to people, is wicked to inferiors, tries to ameliorate superior ones, speaks without any knowledge, when he is silent makes a fault, facing difficulties kills himself, and when he sees welfares he doesn't pay attention"⁴⁶ In this way, he present two important and distinguished features of his favorite and ideal sultan as wisdom and self-refining.

Of other characteristics of his ideal sultan, Ghazali mentions to "truthfulness, Separation between right and wrong, shame and generosity and science and justice", means unique characteristics of the first four caliphs.⁴⁷ and completes this discussion with features like sultan's "magnanimity, self-recognition, high-mindedness", "good thought, good speech and good deed". In the fourth chapter of *Nasihah-Al-Muluk* named on king's aspiration and magnanimity, he recites the last characteristics of his ideal sultan as such: "and

the meaning of aspiration is self-caring and courage. The great aspiration is to know yourself. And honour it, and when one doesn't know his own value, there is no rank for him. And to honour himself means not to associate with evils and not to do the works which are not suitable to him, and not to state words because of which others blame him"⁴⁸

Mentioning that the source of welfare and benefits of the year is king's justice and kindness to peasants,⁴⁹ send in contrast, reduction of benefits of everything is due to king's bad purpose on peasants;⁵⁰ Ghazali suggests his ideal sultan to think, to accompany wisdom, to consult and to be patient, and to be patient, and says: "and now reflect and make thought Your own minister, make friend with wisdom and try to be awake during night and don't do anything without consultation, at the time of helping and being just, don't hesitate. And when you act like this, everything will be to your favour, and he should be patient, not hasty."⁵¹

Ghazali states that pride and willfulness is of the calamities of monarchy which emanates from obstinacy and is the cause of the king's decline and suggests consultation as a drug to cure this disease and writes: "One asked a king whose monarchy had declined, what the reason was he said "being proud of my government and force, sufficing to my own knowledge, ignoring consultation, appointing inferior ones to great positions, spoiling treachery instead of myself, not solving the problem when it was needed. To slow down and hesitating when it was time to haste and not granting people's requests".⁵²

Under the influence of the thoughts of the old Iran. Ghazali believes that religion and monarchy are attached together and the link between them is inseparable. By rejecting religious negligence and indulgence, he emphasizes on the necessity of religious strangulation and considers piety as the king's best perfection and writes: "religion and monarchy are twins-and the best thing for the king to have is the right religion, since religion and kingdom are like two brothers who are born from one mother, he should deal with the affairs of religion and perform the duties at the right time. And avoid any carnal desire, innovation, doubt and clumsiness which injure religion, and when he hears of someone irreligious or accused in his province, threatens him to repent or otherwise, punishes him or dismisses him from his province, until his territory is neat and void of any carnal desire and innovation, and Islam is granted. He is in favour of the dignity of Islam, by sending army and soldiers to cultivate the

villages and always acts according to prophet's tradition to be respectful to others and to be appalling to enemies, and his rank and esteem is great to friends and enemies".⁵³

Ghazali considers king's respect to religion as the linking factor between this one and God's creatures: "any king who grants religion, peasants will grant him, and any one who gets acquainted with God, all the men look for acquaintance with him, such that the poet says:

anyone who gets acquainted with him

get's acquainted with God

from the beginning he became familiar with God

Favours one who lived in this world"⁵⁴

Ghazali believes the first duty of his ideal king is to acknowledge and reinforce Islamic beliefs and to do the duties which emanate from this position, he owns as other duties emanate from this matter. His responsibility to people is to behave justly and to avoid tyranny. injustice and tyranny to people won't be forgotten in the judgment of the last day.⁵⁵

He believed people's ethics and behaviors is affected by king's morale and behavior; in other words, they follow him in his ethics and behavior and make a pattern of his deeds. "know that the piety of people is of the king's good character, and he should pay attention to peasant's affairs in detail and in great scale".⁵⁶, ... "Scholars have said peasant's behaviour is born from the king's, since usual people become jealous and wicked, by imitating their behaviour"⁵⁷ and "people's behaviors turn with king's behavior"⁵⁸ Then what scholars have said is true that "men of the time are more like the current king than their current time and it's recited in news that people follow their king's religion".⁵⁹

In a comparison between his time and the first years of Islam, beside praising Omar's time, Ghazali criticizes existing disorders and the deviations of people and sultans of his time and suggests the necessity of having and using his force, that's majesty and policy to his ideal sultan and has an emphasis on it. "and once there had been a man who saved all the world and subjugated it in a valley on his soldiers, mean's Omar Khattab, Moslim's leads and it was the art of that time and the peasants.

If nowadays it's behaved by peasant's that way, they don't tolerate and we'll face corruption. But it's a necessity for sultan to have majesty and policy, so that every one is busy with his own affairs and people are safe from each other".⁶⁰ About the disorders of his time, he says: "This is the time that people's ideas are corrupted and all have become evil-doing and evil-purpose-unless there is sultan's fear and policy, people won't obey."⁶¹ There fare he notifies his ideal sultan the necessity of exploiting his power to make order and to make people obey him, which is the goal of policy.

In contrast of what Lambton⁶² claims: "Ghazali doesn't represent any definition for justice and only mentions to its opposite issues, corruption and oppression". Despite, It's obvious. What he means is not "the legal justice".⁶³ we should acknowledge that Ghazali presents a definition of justice and his goal of stating this concept is to protect human greatness and to regard quality and parallelism between human beings: "and justice in all is that, in judgment and enmity, you consider the nameless unknown and the famous great one as equal and view them with the same eye don't grant one over another, as this is rich and the other poor, because their rank and value in the world is the same and noon suffers himself by the pain of hell because of others' position".⁶⁴ In an other part of *Nasihah-Al-Muluk*, Ghazali defines justice as "the perfection of intellect and religion" and also exploring reality and the depth of matters; and mentions it as the preventing factor of three evil characteristics, common between men and animals which are "tyranny, lust and anger" and explains the joint between intellect and religion as follows: "justice is prevent intellect from tyranny, lust and anger to capture it by intellect and religion, not the reverse... intellect is from angels nature and belongs to God's army ...and lust and anger are of satan's army. One who captures God's army is satan's, How he can be just to others"⁶⁵ and "oh you sultan! Know and be aware that justice emanates from perfection of intellect. The perfection of intellect is to view things as they are and to recognize their reality and depth, and not to be proud of its appearance."⁶⁶ and "wise is the person who views the reality and spirit of the things, not their appearance, and the reality of the things is such that has been said and any one who doesn't know this is not wise, and one who is not wise, is not just... so it is why the head of all the features is intellect."⁶⁷

Finally, by interpreting justice as "mean's right" and religion as "God's right", he creates a real and tangible definition of justice which is the result of

Turk's time, that's infinite tyranny on people and writes: "oh king, be aware it's indispensable to you to avoid anything unlawful and to do all the God's precepts, and it's two kinds one is between you and the exalted God like prayer, fasting and to avoid doing and eating religiously prohibited things and the other is between you and other people, it is being just to peasants and desisting of tyranny".⁶⁸ In this way, Ghazali guides sultan by self-refining and self-structuring to peasants and desisting of tyranny and by imitating the word, "what you choose for yourself, choose it for others too, and what you don't select for yourself, don't select it for others", he suggests it to his ideal sultan: "The point is that in everything between you and the exalted God, be such obedient that you like others to be to you and in the matters between you and other people, act in such a way that as a peasant you like sultan to do that way."⁶⁹

After defining justice and proving its preference to religion, Ghazali believes that recognizing justice principles of peasants to sultan is more important than justice, itself. "To know, how you will be judged on the last day."⁷⁰ Ten principles which he gives sultan for the expansion of justice to peasants are as following: "1- First, the governor knows the value of his government",⁷¹ 2- "He should be always greedy to visit religious scholars and to listen to their advices and avoid visiting those scholars who are greedy to the belongings of this world."⁷² 3- "He Shouldn't suffice to prevent just himself from tyranny and it's also necessary to prevent his servants, agents, obedients and the deputies and he shouldn't be content of their tyranny."⁷³ 4- "The governor is often proud and anger emanates from pride and motivates to revenge and is the giant enemy of intellect. But when this anger prevails, he should try his best to forgive all in his affairs and to be patient and generous".⁷⁴ 5- "In every happening, the governor supposes himself as a peasant and another one as the governor, and what he doesn't like for himself, doesn't like it for any one else, and if he selects it, he has betrayed the government".⁷⁵ 6- "He shouldn't despise others' requests and he should avoid this threat, and until Muslims have needs and requests, he shouldn't make himself busy with supererogatory prayers, since granting others' wants is more merited than any supererogatories else".⁷⁶ 7- "The governor shouldn't fall into the habits of being occupied with lust or wearing the best clothes and eating the most delicious foods, but also he should be contented in every affair that without this contentment, expanding justice is not possible".⁷⁷ 8- "The governor should deal all the works in a friendly manner, not with anger".⁷⁸ 9- "He should try to keep

peasants satisfied with him but in agreement with the principles of the religion".⁷⁹ 10- "He shouldn't be willing to satisfaction of others in opposition of religion, since dissatisfaction of ones who are in opposition to religion, isn't harmful."⁸⁰

Ten orders and principles which Ghazali names as the framework of justice, is often based on wisdom, self-refining and human generosity. If he didn't limit the principles of 5, 6, 9, 10 with the words and concepts of "Moslims and religion", particularly Sunnite, we could have mentioned him as the constructor of world-wide principles and eternal rules of "the ideal sultan".

As monarchy is the most important tool and the necessary condition of the expansion of justice in the society, Ghazali considers it as the most valuable one of God's blessings which is merited to human beings. On the strength of prophet's words (p.b.u.h.) that "one day justice fasting of a just king is greater and better than a period of sixty years of prayers"⁸¹ "to help the oppressed ones is poor-rate of wisdom"⁸² "The exalted God created nothing better than justice and it's God's balance on earth, and the person who holds this balance, it will take him to heaven."⁸³ "Justice is the honour of religion, the king's power and peasants' advisability" Its' safe compatibility and existing, sitting good health, and to pass all the goods is by the balance of justice"⁸⁴ Not only he emphasizes on indescriptive performance and amelioration of justice to religion, but also he introduces "the just sultan" as the best person close to God and "the tyrant sultan" as the most inferior one and God's enemy, and from prophets' words says: "I take an oath to Allah to whom Mohammad's life depends, the just king is taken to sky several times a day which is equal to the number of his peasants' acts and each of his prayers is as seventy thousand prayers".⁸⁵ and in contrast, "the most difficult and severe punishment of the last day is for the tyrant sultan."⁸⁶

Ghazali, not only prefers justice to religion, but also he grants pagan but just sultan and from prophet's words writes: "And Anushiravan is better than other sultans of Iran in justice and policy... and the prophet (p.b.u.h.) was proud of his time and said: I was born at the time of a just king and he is called so because of his justice. So that all the world know how well is the good name, though he is pagan."⁸⁷

To represent his beliefs and may be as he writes to a non-Arab king, Ghazali Continues in this way: "It's recited in history that 4 thousands years of

the world belonged to the clergy, and the territory was particular to their family, he remained because he was just to peasants, and protected them, he didn't do any tyranny and oppression, and cultivated the world by justice"⁸⁸

In continuation of this discussion, he indicates cultivation is the result of safety, and safety is the result of king's justice, and reversely, he considers desolation as the product of insecurity which is the result of tyranny and says: "cultivation and desolation of the world is to kings, that if the king is just, it will be cultivated, other wise, it will be destroyed by his wickedness."⁸⁹

In order to prove and explain this thought to his ideal sultan, he imitates the patterns of the old Iran and writes: "know that oppression and wickedness was not the ancient kings' habit and they didn't like to oppress their relatives. Since you know that people don't stand oppression and wickedness, and the provinces will be destroyed and they will escape to other provinces to join them,... and monarchy will decline, and its' revenues will diminish, the treasures will be emptied and living becomes bitter and difficult to people, and people don't like tyrant kings and always curse, so that the exalted God won't make them fortunate and they be desolated soon."⁹⁰ and states in another part: "Greece asked Anushiravan not to accompany tyranny, so his province will be ruined and peasants will become impoverished and in this way you'll be the king of the poor and leader of damage and you'll become evil-named in the world".⁹¹ and "the desolation of the world is of two things one, from the king and another, from his oppression, During the time of Old Iran, the kings were jealous to each other whose province was more cultivated than others".⁹²

annihilation of religion ← decline of monarchy ←

← power decrease ← wealth reduction ← migration and population reduction ← power reduction insecurity ← tyranny

By adopting the patterns of the Old Iran, Ghazali recalls his ideal sultan the reverse of this story too and states: "know that the ancient king's efforts were to cultivate this world, because they learned the more cultivation, the more their province and more numerous their peasants, they also recognized the world scholars were true that "religion is based on monarchy, monarchy on army, army on soldiers, soldiers on cultivation and cultivation on justice."⁹³; as a result, religion and monarchy are based on justice.

protection of religion ← continuity of monarchy ← $\frac{\text{desolation}}{\text{reduction of territory}}$
 ← power increment ← wealth increment ← lack of migration and
 population increment ← safety ← justice $\frac{\text{cultivation}}{\text{territory development}}$

Ghazali states that the key to good associations between the Iranian king and Abbasi caliph, in the period of Samanian was Amir Esmaeil Samani's justice and his kindness to peasants, he also claims in the reason of desolation and decadence of the inheritance of his monarchy: "when he oppressed children and Corrupted provinces, they lost their territory."⁹⁴

In most parts of Nasihat-Al-Moluk, Ghazali recalls Omar as the symbol of "justice and policy"⁹⁵ and one who is faithful to principles of the Great Quran and on the strength of successive anecdotes and discourses, about the next caliph he concludes that "his justice and precaution were such that no one equals him."⁹⁶

At the end of the discussion of justice as the main feature of his ideal sultan, he views different kinds of tyranny and believes it is of three categories: 1- the creatures' to God which is polytheism and God won't forgive this tyranny, 2- creatures' tyranny to each other which doesn't sustain eternally and the responsibility of its preventing and defeating is to sultan, 3- creatures' tyranny to their own body and soul which is the guilt and sin, and in the case of repentance to God, its' forgiven.⁹⁷

By reciting some anecdotes from Omar⁹⁸ and prophets' words that "all ask the shepherd of his herd, and the king of his peasants"⁹⁹ Ghazali teaches his ideal sultan not to ignore his peasants, even a second, since carelessness of peasants of the peasants will bring him the burden of guilt"¹⁰⁰. Therefore, he is responsible to peasants and he shouldn't spare anything in defeating wickedness and expansion of justice. "Sultans must thank God's blessings by protecting peasants and judging fairly over them and cutting enemies' hands over them."¹⁰¹ and "he shouldn't permit his agents to take anything from peasants by force."¹⁰²... since according to prophet (p.b.u.h), "on dooms day, the kings will be taken and the exalted God asks them" you were the shepherds of my sheep and treasurers of my territory."¹⁰³

Ghazali calls insecurity, the result of tyranny and wickedness to peasants and the king's dishonest behavior and writes: "and when the king oppresses, insecurity appears and though there are lots of blessings, peasants won't enjoy it due to insecurity. And in spite of its lack, when it's safe, they will enjoy it more."¹⁰⁴ so, he considers Safety and preserving government as the extreme of policy and believes about its social position and rank: "the greatest blessing after religion and being Muslim, is safety and being healthy, and this safety is the consequence of the king's policy."¹⁰⁵ by criticizing the extension of insecurity and increasing weakness of the king's power in his time, Ghazali describes political leader's weakness and his imprudence in governing and also people's impudence as the main factors of the insecurity crisis and challenges them in the critical scene as following: "It's necessary for the king to have policy, since he is God's caliph, and his majesty should be such that no one can stand on his feet at the time of his presence, and the king of our time should be like this in majesty and policy, because our people are not similar to previous ones and it's the time of the shameless and impolite ones and (I take refuge in God) if the king is weak, there will be desolation in this world and our religion will be injured and a hundred years of king's oppression has not that much harm, that the peasants' oppression to each other, and when the peasants become wicked, the exalted God will appoint a tyrant sultan to them."¹⁰⁶

And we should obey tyrant sultans unconditionally. The reason of this idea is to regard precautions and following the teaching of tradition, any situation is prefer to internal wars. Basically, a tyrant sultan should be dispossessed of monarchy or forced to resign, but until a bad king is in support of the military power, so that we can dispossess him with much difficulty, and every effort to dispossess him requires an intolerable internal quarrel, we should necessarily abandon him in power and obey him "it's the king's right to be granted and obeyed and we're never allowed to rebel against him, to obey God's orders in Quran as he has said: "obey Allah and obey the messengers and the governors among you."¹⁰⁷

Then, when God gives someone such a great position and dignity which is linked to God's and prophet's obedience, his fear and obedience is indispensable"¹⁰⁸

The deductive basis of this viewpoint is that if we announce power-owners as illegitimate, the whole base of Islamic duties and social order will fall down.

Ghazali considers the relationship between sultan and peasants as mutual. As he asks peasants to obey and reverence against the king, he introduces the king as an individual who is responsible of kindness and expansion of justice, helping the poor and to defeat tyrants and says: "It is the king's duty to thanks God for his blessing, and to obey him as he has ordered, to comply with justice and kindness, to avoid oppression and to help the oppressed ones, that is said be afraid of benediction of oppressed people and avoid any one who wants to take revenge with his tears, and avoid the time when there is no limitation for their prayers and it will be granted soon, particularly the prayers of midnight down"¹⁰⁹ and Ibn-Al-Moghafa says: "Indian kings had many books that the elephants carried them, So it was told to governors to reduce them. All the scholars were agreed upon four ideas: one is the king's words which is justice, another is peasant's words which is obedience, the other word is particular to our body which is not to eat till the time of hunger, and the last one is to soul and that is not view anything except himself"¹¹⁰

Ghazali prohibits his ideal king of attending wars, because he believes his murder will bring about civil quarrels, internal revolutions and external attacks and it will bring many harmful consequences for defenceless people, which Ghazali recalls as "tyranny to all creatures". After that, because of murder plots planned and performed by Esmailian, he suggests sultan to get rid of this threat by substituting others, as bait, in his bed and through this, to prevent falling down of the current social order, and disorders to happen in the territory. "And the best thing for the king is that he doesn't injure himself and to protect his chastity on which many lives depend and the goodness of the peasants is in his life, so he shouldn't oppress himself, not to oppress all others, and he shouldn't go to extremes and every night lies down others in his bed and he himself goes to another place, so that any one who has decided to kill him, finds another person and can't reach him"¹¹¹

More than this, he asks his ideal sultan to avoid appointing descent people, since, otherwise, "he will lose his territory and it will be ruined, many problems will appear from every where";¹¹² in other words, appointing indecent ones to significant affairs is one of the reasons of disorders and removing the

current social order of the territory; therefore, by no means, he won't ignore the risks of the position of monarchy and the habit of ingratitude.

Cleaning the territory of opposite forces to government, association with wise ones, consulting olds and eradicating those people who confuse social safety and order, in order to preserve and sustain monarchy are four main duties necessary for Ghazali's ideal sultan.¹¹³ By dividing tradition into two categories of "good" and "bad", he indicates that another duty of the political manages is preserving good traditions and eliminating bad ones to preserve the current situation.¹¹⁴ One of the good traditions, preservation of which is suggested to the ideal king is to help peasants during famine, draught and other natural disasters; there fare, "he should serve them foods and help them from public treasures and don't permit his agents to oppress peasants, that in this situation, people will impoverish and will turn from government, his revenues will be cut down, and benefits will return to hoarders and store keepers, and just bad prayers and evil name will remain for sultan".¹¹⁵

Ghazali dictates his favorite sultan to protect and monitor the properties of treasury and to use it truly and fairly as another duty of the king and with an allusion to an anecdote says: "One night, Omar-Ibn-Abdol-Aziz sat and was looking to the news and stories of the peasants under the light of a lamp, a servant came and told something about the head man, Omar said: first extinguish the lamp and keep on speaking because it's oil is from treasury of Moslims and it's just for their us age".¹¹⁶ On the king's personal behavior, Ghazali accepts that he can't dedicate all his time and effort to kingdom affairs, but warns him not to spend all his time on playing chest, drinking, playing polo-stick and hunting, "since it prevents him to deal with works and everything has it's own time; when it's not the time of doing that. benefit will turn to loss, and happiness to sadness."¹¹⁷

Ghazali knew well that sultan likes to gather flatterers and panegyrists around himself and his fear prevents people of telling the truth. For this reason, warns him of the risk of flatterers and writes: "The governor shouldn't be so pride that every one who reaches him commends him and so that he thinks all the peasants are content of him, and that's from their fear; but also he should summon reliable persons to research carefully about his habits and situation, that we can know about our defects from others' words".¹¹⁸ Because the best

court is the public court, and as they are in favour of the governor's performance, they can evaluate governments better than any one else.

In order to reduce king's power and arbitrariness and to balance his political behaviour, Ghazali proposes him to appoint a wise and intellectual minister who is a necessary need and an honest consultant for sultan, and writes: "know that monarchy is completed with a consultant and a just, deserved and capable minister; because no king can continue his monarchy without a consultant, and everyone who decides according to his own idea, undoubtedly, will fall down. Don't you see that in spite of all prophet's greatness and eloquence, the Exalted God told him to consult with his companions, wise men and intellectuals, where he says: "Consult them in affairs."¹¹⁹ and in another place, Moses said: "appoint a minister for me from my family, Harun my brother"¹²⁰ "since, prophets weren't needless of ministers, it's a necessity for others hot to be ministerless".¹²¹

He emphasizes on the importance of the presence of a wise Iranian minister, beside the Turk primary sultan, to balance his political behavior, moderation and prudence in affairs of the territory and also to diminish his arbitrariness, and says: "and the minister should be inclined to goodness and avoid bad deeds, and if the king is kind to peasants, he should accompany him, otherwise; he should slightly change the king's attitude and he should know the king's sustenance is up to me, and the world's continuity to king. He shouldn't do and think about anything except good ones and know that the first person hear to king is he, himself".¹²² And in the description of the worst minister and consultant from Anushiravan's words says: "the worst minister and consultant is one who motivates king to fight, in the situation which is good to be calmed without quarrel. Because in all the affairs, it is money and wealth which is spent and in quarrels, body and life and also money."¹²³

After that, he turns to describe the features of the best minister and mentions to characteristics like peaceability, reasonableness, moderation, keeping away from going to extremes and prudence in affairs, and on the basis of Aristotle says: "It's the minister's duty to fight through prudence and speech as much as possible; if it wasn't effective,¹²⁴ he should try it with gift and relation ship. And if the army is injured, he should forgive them and not to be hasty in killing them, because we can kill the live ones, but not the reverse... and if one of the members of the king's army is captured, he should buy and

return him to encourage others and to keep everyone's share, and to teach brave ones, techniques of fighting and to communicate with them well, because there had been many people of army in ancient periods who killed ministers."¹²⁵

Of other characteristics of a desired minister, Ghazali points to his kindness to peasants to attract people's satisfaction and to develop safety and writes: "and he should be familiar with traditions and to grant peasants as much as possible. And in hunting they should hurt the wild animals, not the birds, it means he should not take anything from poor ones, and in peoples' properties and inheritance, he should be like their heir, and he shouldn't be greedy which is evil, and he should make friend with peasants and servants through granting their requests and contributions, and views his position, capability and merits in peasant's goodness; to be of a good reputation in this world and to take rewards in the next world."¹²⁶

In addition to awareness, wisdom and political experience for his ideal minister as the necessary conditions of this position, he brings other features which are sufficient to this post and writes: "The minister should be wise, experienced and old, because when he is a wise young man, he doesn't have any experience and what we experience from history we can't gain from no one else. And the good minister is the beauty of monarchy and it should be the best and it's said five things are necessary for a minister to ameliorate his deeds; one is carefulness, another knowledge the third one courage, the fourth truthfulness, and the fifth to save king's secrets in any situation, so that he passes away without telling them to any one"¹²⁷

He states some mutual duties for the king against the minister. By alluding to bad and evil-ending stories of "dog and wolf friendship" and "the king goes to his treacherous and corrupted minister, Rastraveshn" advises his ideal sultan not to neglect to control and monitor the agent's performance, even the minister who is the exact symbol of commitment and faithfulness.¹²⁸ Then he recalls the treacherous agents: "anyone who is deceived by name, gets stock in his bread and one who betrays bread, gets stock in soul...:

Your good name is a trap and deceit for my bread and I'm not deceived by your good name Be sure that bread is a trap for my life, for one who traps good name for bread".¹²⁹

Believing that controlling territory, cultivation of province and treasury, majesty and sustenance of monarchy, helplessness of enemies and happiness of friends, all is the result of the wise and deserved minister, in contrast Ghazali asks his ideal sultan: "if you saw any faults in his performance and behavior, don't be hasty to punish him;... and when he becomes wealthy, don't covet to his wealth;... when he requires something grant it, and there are three things that he shouldn't spare from him: first, when he wants, visits the king, second, not to listen to ill-speakers' words about him and third not to hide anything from him, because he is the honestest one to king".¹³⁰

After representing his political thoughts about minister and the post of ministry, Ghazali introduces his subseries which is known as "teachers" or "literary persons" in the history of the territory of Iran. He begins this discussion by mentioning to the inestimable value of pen in religious, political and literary texts¹³¹ and writes: "And knowledgeable ones have said that nothing is greater than pen; because it can return all the previous affairs to this him".¹³² Then he compares two ancient and effective rivals in all the changes in the history of Iran's territory, pen and the sword, and the result of this evaluation is that... "this world is based upon two things: pen and the sword and sword is under the pen"¹³³ and "pen and the sword are two governors in everything that there was no pen and sword, this world didn't exist".¹³⁴

In continuation, he writes about the features and characteristics of a teacher and claims: "...The previous kings and wise men have said that teachers should have ten things...", This means before an ideal teacher becomes a capable, distinguished and calligrapher one, he should be "a well-digger, astrologer, mathematician, aware of the things related to calendar, doctor and chemist, meteorologist and disencumbered and outwardly good to prevail all the problems of the time by prudence and exploiting current sciences; in addition, his hand writing should be eloquent to transfer all the meanings"¹³⁶ and "he should try his best to summarize the words but with a deep meaning, and the words shouldn't be repeated; and he should avoid indigestible and heavy words to be praised",¹³⁷ "so that no one will be tired of it and its interpretation is not difficult and every one is greedy to learn them".¹³⁸

Another group who he reminds are ambassadors and messengers. He believes one of the factors of the territories' ruin and impudence of the external enemies is the treachery of the internal ambassadors; for this reason, he

considers them as the most harmful ones of indescents¹³⁹ and by imitating solutions of non-Arab kings that "unless you haven't tested people, don't send them as messengers"¹⁴⁰ tries to solve the problem. In this way, if the applicant of employment in an embassy, was successful in exams and practical tests, they dispatched him as the messenger of the king to different territories: "if it was true, they know that he was deserved, and then they sent him to enemies as the messenger"¹⁴¹

Finally, Ghazali works on the role of women in the arena of policy, although he names Fatemeh, and Ayesheh as leader and pattern of Muslim women but from Omar's words¹⁴² he advises "to avoid even the most pious one of them."¹⁴³ and from khosroparviz's words, says: "don't work on the basis of the prudence and decision of women, since any one who follows their prudence, will lose two drachmas for each drachma."¹⁴⁴ Immediately, in a contradictory action and according to the holy verse. Writes: "God of this book says cultivation of the world and also Adam's generation is from women, and without prudence and decision, cultivation is never possible; and it's said "consult and oppose them"¹⁴⁵ But, by the way, How can we solve the contradiction of consulting and opposing women?

By refer to Holy Quran and prophet's tradition, well recognize that Islam is the religion of moderation and avoids going to extremes. This is very logical and reasonable that we can use women's prudence and decisions and use their consults to improve the determined goals. But the matter of the men of the arena of politics working as tools in the hands of women and being the unconditional performer of their desires, is not a logical and reasonable matter. During some periods of the history of Iran like saljuqids and Kharazm shahids, many disasters happened, the cause of which was women's influence on political managers. By studying the history of Iran, we'll recognize that many deserved ones left political arena under the influence of plots and efforts of the women and their headless bodies were found; and he speaks about women with this approach: "and in reality anything of grief, calamity and misfortune happening to men is from women and few ones will be fortunate with these creatures, that the poet says:

Woman is man's dread and sultan's pear, the reason of man's dread and sultan's fear the reason of man's impudence to God is woman any calamity to men is from women. The thief who loses his life by the fear of women."¹⁴⁶

In summary, in *Nasihat-Al-Moluk*, Ghazali speaks of a king to whom God has merited the blessings of justice and knowledge. Sultan is God's shadow, one part of the divine organization, that's not true to revolt against him. Like his other books, in this book, Ghazali doesn't turn to justify the governmental affairs, but also he tries to moderate effects and results of the oppressive and occasionally atheist and bold ones. His purpose in *Nasihat-Al-Moluk* is to some extent different from his goal in *Eghtesad-All-Eteghad*. The purpose is to warn the king and to limit him through attracting his attention to his ethical responsibility and coming closer to the ideals of the divine government; not through taking refuge in soufi's Gnostic world or the abstract and mutual world of jurist consult, but also by inviting the king to administer justice and to pay attention to peasants.

But, though he tried to bring a combination of Islamic and Iranian ideals, by resisting on sultan's absolute power and his responsibility just to God, like *NeZam-Al-Molk*, he helps the sustenance of the main and basic in compatibility between ideals of Islam and Iran.

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