

AN EVALUATION OF RULER-RULED RELATIONS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF
SIYASATNAMAS*YÖNETEN-YÖNETİLEN İLİŞKİLERİNİN SİYASETNAMELER PERSPEKTİFİNDEN
DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

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Abstract

Article Info

The term "siyasatnama" is used to describe didactic works written in both prose and verse that provide guidance to rulers and state officials on the principles of administration. The siyasatnamas, which reflect a diverse geographical range from Andalusia-Maghreb to Transoxiana, provide a comprehensive account of the administrative relationship between the ruler and the ruled. The authors of siyasatnamas anticipated the categorization of the ruled, enabling the ruler to identify and administrate those under his authority. The works posit that the people should reflect the rulers and that rulers should reflect the people. They also emphasize that both the rulers and the ruled have rights over each other. The siyasatnamas emphasize the importance of not oppressing the ruled, maintaining constant communication with them and meeting their needs. They demonstrate the sustainability of these relationships and how the ruler can dominate the ruled masses. In this context, ensuring balance in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled is of great importance in administration processes.

Keywords: Siyasatnamas, the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, administrative balance

Öz

Siyasetnameler hükümdarlara ve devlet görevlilerine yönetim hakkında öğütler veren mensur ve manzum şekilde kaleme alınan didaktik nitelikli eserleri ifade etmektedir. Endülüs-Mağrib'den Maveraiünnehir'e kadar geniş bir coğrafyanın izlerini taşıyan siyasatnameler yöneten-yönetilen ilişkisine dair zengin bir yönetsel birikim sunmaktadır. Siyasatname yazarları hükümdarın idaresi altındakileri tanıması ve gereken şekilde yönetmesi için yönetilenlerin sınıflandırılmasını ön görmüşlerdir. Halkın hükümdarı, hükümdarın halkı yansıttığını dile getiren eserler yöneten ve yönetilenlerin birbirleri üzerinde hakları olduğunu vurgulamaktadırlar. Yönetilenlere zulmedilmemesini, onlarla sürekli iletişimde olunmasını ve ihtiyaçlarının karşılanmasını önemseyen siyasatnameler, bu ilişki düzlemlerinin sürdürülebilirliğini ve yöneticinin yönetilen kitleye hakimiyetini sağlama yollarını gösterir. Bu bağlamda, yöneten-yönetilen ilişkisinde dengenin sağlanması, yönetim süreçlerinde büyük önem taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyasatname, yöneten-yönetilen ilişkisi, yönetsel denge.

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Introduction

Siyasatnamas are works that provide guidance to rulers and state officials on the principles and practices of administration. The texts discuss the characteristics of the ruler, the relationship between rulers and those they rule, and the concepts, elements and processes of administration. The relationship between rulers and ruled is discussed through the siyasatnamas written between the 10th and 14th centuries. This inter-centuries includes the period that started with the Abbasids coming under the rule of the Buyids and continued until the Interregnum of the Ottoman Empire. The works written during this five-hundred-year period, which saw the establishment and collapse of numerous states, ranging from the Ghaznavids to the Karakhanids, the Almoravids to the Almohads, the Abbasids to the Seljuks, the Ayyubids to the Mamluks, and the Ilkhanids to the Timurids, have addressed the dynamics of power within the complex triangular relationship between rulers, state officials, and the people.¹ The siyasatnamas, which reflect a diverse geographical range from Andalusia-Maghreb to Transoxiana, provide a comprehensive administrative account of the ruler-ruled relationship.

In the context of relations between rulers and those they administrate, writers of siyasatnamas have proposed a system of classification for the ruled. This system is designed to enable rulers to identify and categorize those under their rule, as well as to facilitate the exercise of administration over them in an appropriate manner. The categorization of state officials and the people furnishes insight into their respective natures, thereby facilitating the acquisition of the requisite elements for their administration. The argument that the people reflect the ruler and the ruler reflects the people implies a reciprocal relationship between the ruler and the ruled, with each party holding rights over the other. This perspective underscores that the ruled are not subjected to oppression and that their needs are met. The establishment of equilibrium in the relationship between rulers and those they administrate is essential for the continuity of the

¹The works "El-Medinetü'l-Fazıla" and "Es-Siyasetü'l-Medeniyye" were authored by Farabi, a prominent figure within the Meshşai school of thought. The "Pendname" was authored by Sebüktegin, the inaugural ruler of the Ghaznavid State. "El-Ahkâmü's Sultaniye" was authored by Maverdi (974-1058), a Shafi'i jurist. "Nehcü'l Belağa" was written by the Mu'tazila author Sharif al-Radi. "Âdâbü'l-Mülük," authored by Ebû Mansur es-Sealibi (961-1038), encompasses works on comparative philology, poetry criticism, and politics within Arabic literature. It was dedicated to the Turkish emir of Khwarazm, Ebu'l-Abbas Mamun b. Mamun Khwarazmshah. Written by the Great Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk (1018-1092), "Siyeru'l-Mülük" was dedicated to the Great Seljuk ruler Melikshah. The "Kutadgu Bilig" was authored by the celebrated poet and statesman Yusuf Khass Hajib (1021-1070), who was nurtured within the Karakhanid State. Amir Keikavus wrote "Kabusname" for his son Gilan Shah. "Nasiha-tu'l-Muluk," a text written by Ghazali (1058-1111), an Ashari theologian, Shafi'i jurist, and mystic, was likely presented to the Great Seljuk Sultan Muhammad Tapar or Melik Sancer. "Nahju's-Suluk fi Siyase-ti'l-Muluk" was authored by Abu Najib Suhrawardi (1097-1168), a sufi, jurist. "Siracü'l-Muluk", written by Maliki jurist Muhammad b. Turtushi (1059-1126), was dedicated to Ma'mun al-Bataihi, the vizier of the Fatimid Caliph Amir-Biahkamillah. "Telhisu's-Siyase" was authored by Ibn Rushd, a philosopher, jurist, and physician who represented the Andalusian Meshsha'i school (1126-1198). "Mirsadü'l-İbad" was authored by Najmeddin Daye (1177-1256), a Kübrevi sheikh and commentator. "Ahlâk-ı Nasırî" was authored by the Iranian scholar and philosopher Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (1207-1274), a representative of the Bâtinî school, in the 13th century. "Nasihât al-Muluk" was authored by Sadi Shirazi (1218-1291), a prominent figure in Persian literature. "Siyasetü's-Şeriyye," a treatise written by Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328), a Hanbali jurist and Salafi scholar, was dedicated to Muhammad b. Qalawun, the seventh ruler of the Mamluk State of the Bahri Dynasty of Turkish origin, who reigned in Egypt between 1279 and 1290. "Al-Fahri," a text written by the Shiite historian Ibn Tıqtaqa (1262-1309), was dedicated to Fahreddin Îsâ, the administrator of Mosul under the rule of the Ilkhanate ruler Gazan Khan. "Tahrirü'l-ahkam fi tedbîriehli'l-İslâm" was authored by Badraddin ibn Jamaa (1241-1333), a jurist of the Mamluk period. The "Timur Tüzükatı" was authored by the founder and inaugural ruler of the Timurid State, Amir Timur (1336-1405). The "Mukaddime (Third Part)" was penned by the historian, social scientist, philosopher, politician, and statesman Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406).

relationship. Furthermore, it demonstrates how rulers may administrate by dominating the masses they administrate.

1. THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE RULED BY THE AUTHORS OF THE SIYASATNAMAS

In the siyosatnamas, the authors employ a classification system that groups the ruled according to specific categories, including professions and character traits. The classification process primarily divides society into two categories: state officials and the general population. These communities, which are subject to various distinctions according to their occupational groups and the characters they embody, facilitate a more nuanced understanding of the characteristics of the ruled. By gaining insight into the ruled, rulers can more effectively apply the principles of administration on a more solid basis. If rulers are aware of the conditions of officials and the people under their rule, they will be better positioned to administrate effectively.

Suhrawardi, who divided those under the ruler's rule into those who the people and served the head of state, divided the servants into those who are obligated and those who are appointed voluntarily, and the people into good, bad, and in-between. Since each group has different characteristics, the forms of administration to be applied are also different (Suhrawardi, 2013, p. 40-41). Sharif al-Radi, on the other hand, categorized the ruled as soldiers, clerks, judges, merchants, artisans, and those from the lower material classes (Radi, 2016, p. 219). Similar to Sharif al-Radi, Amir Timur also stated that the sultanate consisted of certain groups, namely seyits, wise sages, pious, soldiers, people (raiye), viziers, physicians, historians, artisans, and merchants (Timur, 2010, p. 82-85). Nasir al-Din Tusi, who argues for the equivalence of the classes of the ruled, draws similarities between the four elements (water, fire, air, earth) that make up the earth in the galaxy and the groups of the ruled. By identifying each of these four elements, called "anasir-ı erbaa", with a class in society, Tusi argues that the balance between water, fire, air and earth should also be maintained among the classes in society. He described jurists, judges, clerks, accountants, engineers, astrologers, doctors and poets as "people of the pen" and identified them with "water". He considered warriors, veterans, border guards, protectors, and soldiers as "people of the sword" and associated them with "fire". Merchants, craftsmen, and tax collectors belong to the "people of transaction" and are in the place of "air". On the other hand, laborers, farmers, and cultivators are "people of agriculture" and are considered to be in the place of "earth". He advocated the preservation of the balance between these groups in society, just as the superiority of one of the four elements over the other leads to important ecological problems (Tusi, 2013, p. 295).

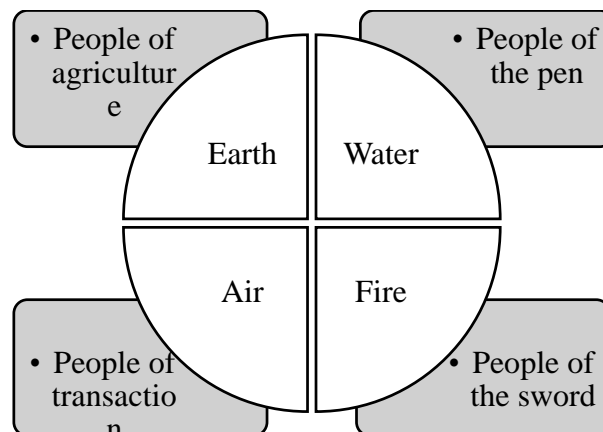


Figure 1: Nasir al-Din Tusi's classification of the ruled

Similar to Nasir al-Din Tusi's relationship with the "anasir-ı erbaa", the authors of siyosatnamas generally tried to explain state officials in terms of four basic groups. Ibn Khaldun, in the third chapter of his Muqaddimah, lists the duties of the ruler as vizier, scribe, custodian of

wealth and revenues, and hajib. Ibn Khaldun defines the duties of the vizier as protecting the people and taking care of the necessary military needs, while the scribe communicates with those who are far away in space and time, the custodian of goods and revenues carries out measures related to the collection and expenditure of taxes, and the hajib informs the ruler about the situation of the people (Ibn Khaldun, 2004, p. 326). Al-Ghazali also advises the ruler to value the four officials with him, listing them as a trustworthy deputy, a knowledgeable scribe, a compassionate guardian, and a companion who gives advice. He believes that the trustworthiness of the deputy will lead to the security of the country, the knowledge of the scribe to the wisdom and dignity of the sovereign, the compassion of the guardian to the sovereign not to be angry with him, and the advising nature of the companion to the orderliness of affairs (Al-Ghazali, 2016, p. 166).

Maverdi also states that the officials who carry out administrative affairs consist of four parts. These groups of officials, classified according to their duties and powers, are viziers with general authority and general qualifications, rulers with general authority and special qualifications, chief judge (qadi), commander-in-chief, guards and tax collectors with special authority and general qualifications, judges of a region, border guards with special authority and special qualifications (Maverdi, 2017, p. 62). Muhammad b. Turtushi also limited the number of state officials to four, which he saw as the foundation of the property, and likened the harmony among them to the serir (less elevated throne) balanced on four legs. According to Turtushi, the first pillar of the serir is the qadi, who judges without fear; the second is the security officer, who protects the weak from the strong; the third is the finance officer, who collects taxes without oppressing the subjects; and the fourth is the special messenger (ulak), who delivers news from officials and the people (Turtushi, 2011, p. 192). The categorization of the ruled in the works will make it easier for the ruler to determine the principles of administration and implement them more effectively.

Nasir al-Dīn Tusi and Muhammad b. Turtushi expressed the categorization of state officials in *siyasatnamas* with the metaphors of the four elements in the formation of the earth and the throne, respectively. In addition to these metaphorical expressions that evaluate the state officials in four parts, Najmeddin Daye, although he did not analyze the officials by dividing them into four parts, tried to explain the situation of the officials with the metaphor of the tent. Najmeddin Daye, who associates the Sultanate with a tent, compares the pole of the tent with the righteous and farsighted Vizier. Saying that the beys are the ropes of the tent, Daye relates the fact that some of the tent ropes are long and some are short to the fact that some of the beys are ulubey and some are small principalities. Rulers, kadis, scholars, and other state officials are other parts of the tent. In addition to the fact that state officials correspond to parts of the tent according to their qualifications, the main reason for the tent to stand is its stakes, and the stakes are the justice to be provided in the administration (Daye, 2017, p. 180). No matter how strong the tent's poles and ropes are, if the stakes are not enough, the tent will not be able to stand, and the failure to provide justice will cause the administration to be shaken.

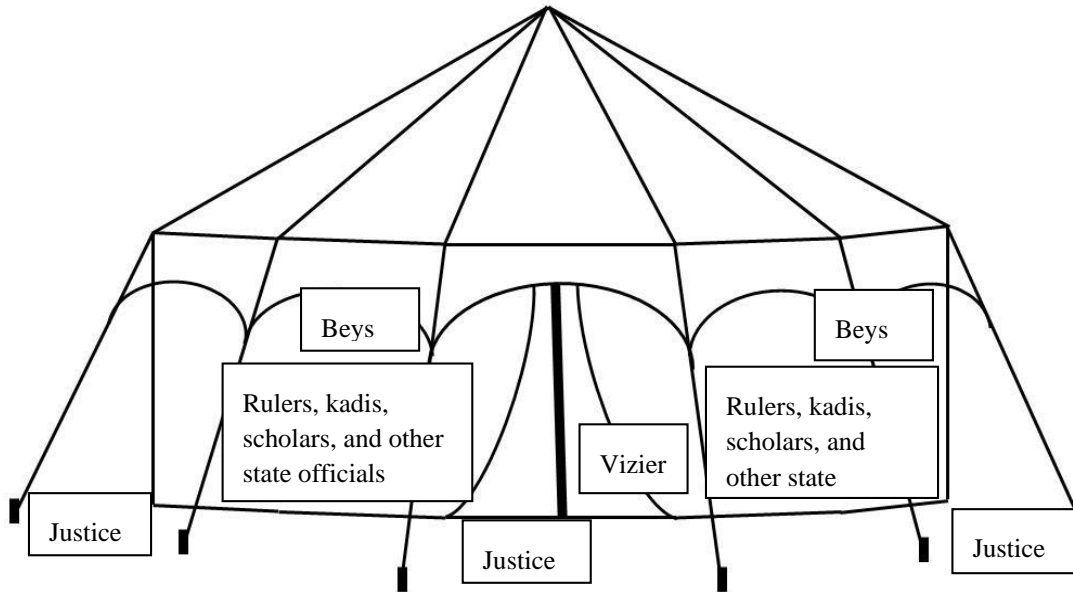


Figure 2: Tent metaphor according to the qualifications of state officials

The authors of the *siyasatnamas* did not confine the categorization of the ruled to that of state officials. Additionally, they categorized the people into distinct groups and delineated the optimal administration strategies for each, elucidating their distinctive characteristics. Ibn Taymiyyah, like Suhrawardi, employs a tripartite classification of people: those who exhibit corrupt and excessive tendencies, those who demonstrate excessive restraint from oppression, and those who occupy a position intermediate between these two extremes. Those who engage in corrupt practices and transgressions believe that administration is limited to the provision of sustenance and nourishment. This group seeks to safeguard its interests by continually shifting allegiances and attempting to conduct its affairs through the use of bribery and corruption. Those who refrain from oppression to an excessive degree do so out of cowardice and stinginess, causing the people to suffer as a result. Those who adhere to a moderate course of action, which Ibn Taymiyyah considers the optimal approach, are situated at a considerable distance from both extreme positions, whether positive or negative, and act in accordance with necessity (Taymiyyah, 1999, p. 69-70). Similarly, Muhammad b. Turtushi adopted a tripartite classification of society, as proposed by Ibn Taymiyyah, and delineated the appropriate conduct of administration for each stratum. In his ranking of the elders, juniors, and middles, he advised the ruler to treat the elders as fathers, the middles as brothers, and the juniors as sons. According to Turtushi, the ruler should treat the elders of society well, provide assistance to the middling ones, and treat the younger ones with compassion (Turtushi, 2011, p. 148).

Nasir al-Din Tusi also proposed a classification of the people into five classes, rather than the three classes posited by the aforementioned author. The initial classification, comprising individuals who are benevolent and demonstrate benevolence towards others, represents the most proximate community to the ruler. The second group comprises individuals who are benevolent but whose actions do not affect others. It is incumbent upon the ruler to ensure the fulfillment of the needs of this group. Those who do not exhibit benevolence or evil-loving tendencies should be safeguarded and encouraged to engage in virtuous actions in order to develop their abilities in accordance with their qualifications. The fourth group, defined as those who exhibit a proclivity for evil but refrain from engaging in evil actions towards others, should be cautioned and deterred. The fifth group comprises individuals who exhibit a proclivity for evil and engage in malevolent actions towards others. It is the responsibility of the ruler to attempt to reform these individuals through the implementation of prohibitions and educational measures (Tusi, 2013, p. 296-297). The categorization of the people according to their intrinsic characteristics in *siyasatnamas*

facilitates the ruler's ability to discern the characteristics of the people and to ascertain the most efficacious administration strategies.

2. MIRROR TO THE RULERS: THE REFLECTION OF THE RULERS AND THE RULED

The writers of *siyasatnamas* posit that both the ruler and the ruled possess rights over each other and that administration should be determined by taking into account the qualities of both parties. The texts that express the responsibilities of the ruler over the people and the people over the ruler establish a direct link between the ruler and the ruled, indicating that both parties influence each other. Beyond mere interaction, they endeavor to elucidate a reflection of administrative behavior.

Badraddin ibn Jamaa posited that the ruler is entitled to certain prerogatives, and that the people are similarly entitled to certain rights vis-à-vis their ruler. He proceeded to enumerate these rights, ascribed to both parties, in a series. One of the prerogatives of the ruler is to be obeyed, provided that such obedience serves the interests of the people. It is incumbent upon the sovereign, whose position in society must be acknowledged and accorded the respect due to such a role, to be forewarned of the machinations of those who seek to undermine his authority when he is not already aware of them. Furthermore, it is within the rights of the ruler to be informed about the status of his officials and to be assisted in fulfilling his obligations, given that he bears responsibility towards the people. It is recommended that the ruler maintain proximity to those he holds in high regard while distancing himself from those he views with disfavor. It is incumbent upon the people to protect the ruler, whether openly or secretly, in word and deed (Jamaa, 2010, p. 40-41). Badraddin ibn Jamaa delineates the rights of the people over the ruler. One of the fundamental rights of the people is the right to expect the ruler to protect the state. Furthermore, the people have the right to be consulted by the ruler when decisions are being made and for the judicial and administrative affairs of the state to be executed in accordance with the law. It is among the rights of the people that the sovereign should lead the army in times of war. Punishment should be commensurate with the crime committed. Taxation should be conducted by designated officials in accordance with the prevailing legislation. It is imperative that public works be accorded due importance, and that foundations be established. Spoils should be divided into shares and distributed in an equitable manner. The ruler's justice in his administration is also among the rights of the people (Jamaa, 2010, p. 42-43). While not as comprehensive as Badraddin ibn Jamaa, numerous authors acknowledge that the ruler possesses rights over the people, and that the people have rights over the ruler.

Muhammad b. Turtushi suggests that the ruler's treatment of the ruled should be evaluated in light of the welfare of the ruled and the practice of ruling equally among the people, which he deems to be the rights of the people over the ruler. Additionally, he articulated the rights of the ruler over the people in terms of the people's loving obedience to the ruler (Turtushi, 2011, p. 175). Similarly, Ibn Tīqtaqa enumerates the rights of the ruler over the people as respect, obedience, and non-reciprocity. He restricted the rights of the people over the ruler to providing assistance to those who request it, treating all individuals equally, refraining from commenting on their shortcomings, safeguarding borders and ensuring security (Tīqtaqa, 2016, p. 34-39). In the view of Sharif al-Radi, the rights of the people over the ruler are that the ruler should not conceal any information from them except in the context of war, should continue to seek their input through consultation, and should ensure that they receive what is rightfully theirs. Furthermore, the people's obedience, when called upon by the ruler, and their adherence to established order are also rights of the ruler over the people (Radi, 2016, p. 314). Similarly, Yusuf Khass Hajib enumerates the sultan's prerogatives over the people, which include honoring his decrees, fulfilling the obligations to the treasury, and being an adversary to those who pose a threat to the sultan's authority. In return, the people are entitled to expect the sultan to maintain the purity of silver, enact just laws, and ensure the security of all routes (Yusuf Khass Hajib, 2010, p. 411-412). Although the authors assert that both the ruler and the people have rights over each

other, they do not evaluate the administration in isolation. They do not limit the administration to the qualifications and ruling skills of the ruler; they also consider the impact on the people.

The mutual rights of rulers and the ruled as set forth in the *siyasatnamas* illuminate the relationship and interaction between them. The authors, who espoused the view that the ruler would be determined by the people and that the people would determine the ruler, sought to elucidate a reflection on the axis of attitudes and behaviors that transcended a mere choice. Those who suggest that the people accept the views of the ruler as a reference, on the grounds that "the people are on the religion of the ruler," argue that this reflects a certain degree of reflection (Sealibi, 1997, p. 52). The primary distinction between the ruler and the people is the influence derived from the latter's deference to the former's position. In essence, Ibn Tıqtaqa's assertion that the people adhere to the religion of the ruler signifies that the ruler possesses the capacity to shape the perspectives and attitudes of the people (Tıqtaqa, 2016, p. 33). In contrast, Najmeddin Daye posits that the ruler is aware of the state of his people and acts accordingly, with the people being on the religion of the ruler (Daye, 2017, p. 177).

In their analysis of the causes of societal decline, the authors of *siyasatnamas* attribute the problem to the immoral behavior of the ruler. They believe that social disorder can be corrected by reforming the ruler (Jamaa, 2010; Turtushi, 2011). The impetus for the people's insurrection can be attributed to the failure of the ruler to establish justice. If public order is disrupted, the consequences will extend beyond the ruler and the people to include state officials who facilitate their interaction. Abu Mansur al-Sealibi posits that a state ruled by those in conflict with each other is incapable of administering the people (Sealibi, 1997, p. 70). Additionally, Nizam al-Mulk suggested that the sultan's conduct would be emulated by state officials. Conversely, he suggested that if the sultan exhibited mercy, his soldiers would also demonstrate forgiveness, as people are influenced by the religion of their rulers (Nizam al-Mulk, 2016, p. 165). Yusuf Khass Hajib, in contrast, characterizes the impact of the rulers on the people through an intriguing analogy. He postulates that when a lion assumes the role of a dog's leader, the dogs will exhibit characteristics akin to those of lions. Conversely, when a dog assumes the role of a lion's leader, the lions will display behaviors reminiscent of dogs. (Hajib, 2010, p. 167). In contrast, Muhammad b. Turtushi suggests that it is the people who determine the ruler, and that rulers are shaped according to the attitude of the people (Turtushi, 2011, p. 339). Another author, Al-Ghazali, who espouses the view that the behavior of the people is contingent on the attitude of the ruler, also addresses the social consequences of the ruler's practices with regard to administration. If the ruler is honest, he is obeyed; if he is trustworthy, he is trusted; if he is just, hearts turn towards him; if he is cruel, people turn away; if he is generous, he is praised; and if he is stingy, he is vilified (Al-Ghazali, 2016, p. 150). The ruler exerts influence over the people, who in turn exert influence over and reflect the ruler.

3. AVOIDING OPPRESSION TO THE RULED

The prevailing view among authors of *siyasatnamas* is that the relationship between rulers and the ruled should be characterized by mutual respect and non-oppression. The avoidance of oppression, which can be ensured by maintaining an awareness of the needs of the ruled, necessitates the fulfillment of those needs. The ruler must first and foremost be aware of the situation of those under his rule, ensure the security of life and property, provide for their needs, ensure the benefit of the people in his public expenditures, and fulfill his responsibility towards them. Furthermore, it is incumbent upon the ruler to prevent state officials from oppressing the people and to ensure that they do not act in accordance with their personal interests, particularly with regard to the collection of taxes.

It is incumbent upon the ruler to maintain a close and transparent relationship with the people he administrates, ensuring that his policies align with their needs and concerns. Nasir al-Din Tusi posits that the ruler should not alienate those in need (Tusi, 2013, p. 300). In contrast, Maverdi counseled the caliph to address the concerns of the community directly (Maverdi, 2017,

p. 53). Abu Mansur al-Sealibi, who likens the ruler to the pillar of the marquee, argues that the ruler should approach the ruled at an equal distance, listen to their complaints, and meet their needs (Sealibi, 1997, p. 57). Both Sebüktegin and Suhrawardi stress the importance of communication in the relationship between ruler and ruled. Sebüktegin, who advises the ruler to listen to the complaints of the people and make his decisions accordingly, and Suhrawardi, who believes that decisions made in this way are the main means of avoiding oppression, emphasize the importance of communication in this relationship (Sebüktegin, 1975; Suhrawardi, 2013). Sadi Shirazi similarly asserts that the sovereign's capacity to communicate with all individuals, regardless of their status, and to be cognizant of their circumstances, will enhance his standing among those under his authority rather than undermine his authority (Shirazi, 2016, p. 59). Nizam al-Mulk asserts that the Sultan should establish a court of justice and listen to the complaints of the people. He maintains that ensuring the rights of the oppressed will be taken from the oppressors will prevent oppression. Those who intend to attack the property and lives of the people will be aware that the ruler may be aware of this and will therefore refrain from their actions (Nizam al-Mulk, 2016, p. 30). Similarly, Amir Timur ordered the appointment of officials to inform the sovereign about the situation of sipahi and the people (raiya) (Timur, 2010, p. 107).

Additionally, there are those who suggest that the sovereign should communicate directly with the people, eschewing the use of intermediaries. Muhammad b. Turtushi proposed that the sovereign should communicate directly with the ruled, eschewing intermediaries such as hajibs. He suggested that the introduction of intermediaries would result in a transfer of power. As the number of bureaucratic routes to the ruler increases, states will begin to disintegrate. Turtushi ultimately asserts that the existence of intermediaries between the ruler and the people would result in the demise of the administration (Turtushi, 2011, p. 166). Additionally, Al-Ghazali posits that facilitating the ruler's interaction with the people will prevent state officials from oppressing them and ensure the ruler is informed of the people's circumstances with accurate information (Al-Ghazali, 2016, p. 156). In contrast, Abu Mansur al-Sealibi characterizes the absence of communication between the ruler and the people as "the disease of concealment" (Sealibi 1997, p. 109).

The initial step in the prevention of oppression is for the leader to be cognizant of the individuals under their authority. The subsequent step in the avoidance of oppression is for the ruler to address the needs of the ruled. Ibn Rushd defines the leader as the individual who is most concerned with the interests of the city's population (Ibn Rushd, 2013, p. 65). The most significant obligation of the caliph towards the people is to guarantee their security and protect their property, while also facilitating their ability to earn a livelihood. Maverdi suggests that the ruler should address the people's needs promptly and equitably through the treasury, maintaining a balance in public expenditures (Maverdi, 2017, p. 53). Amir Timur, who considered the diverse needs of the population when allocating resources, directed that gold be provided from the treasury to merchants lacking capital, that agricultural materials be supplied to farmers without financial resources, and that the residence of any subject be rebuilt when damaged (Timur, 2010, p. 86). Similarly, Al-Ghazali argued that the ruler should prioritize the interests of the people over supererogatory acts of worship, and that the state should provide for those in need (Al-Ghazali, 2016, p. 69). Similarly, Najmeddin Daye, like Al-Ghazali, advocates for the comfort of the subjects (Daye, 2017, p. 140). Nizam al-Mulk, furthermore, asserts that the sultan should establish and implement laws for the comfort of the subjects and the fullness of the treasury (Nizam al-Mulk, 2016, p. 257).

Muhammad b. Turtushi, who advocates for the fulfillment of the people's needs, the prevention of rebellions and invasions, and the implementation of measures against famines, posits that the people spend what they earn, whereas the ruler earns what he spends (Turtushi, 2011, p. 567). Sadi Shirazi similarly asserts that the perpetuation and sustenance of the state necessitate the assistance of the impoverished and the subjugated, as well as the construction of almshouses, mosques, bridges, wells, and cisterns (Shirazi, 2016, p. 43). Both Abu Mansur al-

Sealibi, who suggested that the perpetuation of the state could be guaranteed when financial and material resources were allocated to the people, and Ibn Taymiyyah, who advocated for the prioritization of the benefits of the people in public spending, underscored the significance of addressing the needs of the ruled in the context of administration (Sealibi, 1997; Taymiyyah, 1999). Additionally, Sharif al-Radi posited that " whoever holds out his hand against his tribe, one hand will be held by him against them, and many hands will be held by them." He further asserted that if the ruler fails to assist his people, he not only fails to help himself but also forfeits the support of all of them (Radi, 2016, p. 53). Sebüktegin also suggested that if the ruler provided assistance to his people through verbal and material means, his reputation would be enhanced in their eyes, thereby facilitating administration (Sebüktegin, 1975, p. 229). Similarly, Yusuf Khass Hajib espoused the view that if the beys fulfilled the needs of the people in their public expenditures, it would result in the province being ruled without recourse to force (Yusuf Khass Hajib, 2010, p. 235).

The authors of the *siyasatnamas* advise the ruler to refrain from oppression but also caution that the ruler must ensure the rights of those under his rule are upheld. Furthermore, they urge that state officials should not enrich themselves by collecting taxes and then taking more than the people's property for themselves. In his writings, Sharif al-Radi asserts that the individual entrusted with the responsibility of administering the people by establishing and implementing laws and determining policies regarding public goods should not be stingy, ignorant, cruel, rude, or inclined to accept bribes (Radi, 2016, p. 144). Muhammad b. Turtushi also believes that a ruler must treat the ruled with kindness and support the weak against the strong in order to maintain power. He asserts that administration based on virtue is more enduring than tyranny (Turtushi, 2011, p. 345). Ibn Rushd also posited that in a virtuous city, it is exceedingly rare for the ruled to be brought to their senses through tyranny. He further asserted that the state of being virtuous is achieved through similar principles of administration (Ibn Rushd, 2013, p. 38). Suhrawardi counsels rulers to treat their subjects equitably while safeguarding their rights. He urges rulers to support the innocent while also defending against external threats (Suhrawardi, 2013, p. 53). Similarly, Ibn Tıqtaqa suggests that the people should not be subjugated by the ruler's political authority. The ruler should be aware that the protection of the lives and property of the ruled, as well as the cessation of social unrest, can be achieved through the implementation of effective political strategies (Tıqtaqa, 2016, p. 31). In contrast, Al-Ghazali suggests that the ruler should refrain from instilling fear in his people while implementing policies and should instead seek to gain their acceptance of his authority. Additionally, Najmeddin Daye counsels the people to be ruled under the protection of the state, due to the sanctity ascribed to the ruler (Daye 2017, p. 154).

This encompasses the avoidance of oppression of the people and the imposition of reasonable taxes. In the view of Sharif al-Radi, the ruler should accord greater priority to the country's public works than to the collection of taxes. An attempt to collect taxes without concomitant development would result in the usurpation of the rights of the ruled (Radi, 2016, p. 322). It is incumbent upon the ruler to direct his officials responsible for the collection of property to refrain from seizing the property of the people (Turtushi, 2011, p. 361). Ibn Taymiyyah posited that the caliph should appoint officials in taxation who are both strong and reliable, and should refrain from authorizing those who are weak and covet the people's property (Taymiyyah, 1999, p. 94). In contrast, Maverdi asserted that the people should not be intimidated during the collection of taxes (Maverdi, 2017, p. 53). Al-Ghazali, who drew a comparison between attempting to collect goods from those who are unable to pay taxes and taking a piece of meat from a hungry person and eating it, elucidated the ruler's imposition of excessive taxes on the people as an attempt to raise them by taking mortar and stones from the foundation of the wall (Al-Ghazali, 2016, p. 111). Similarly, removing materials from the foundation of a wall in order to raise it will result in harm, not benefit, to the wall. Similarly, going to extremes in taxing those who lack financial means will cause the power to be undermined. In contrast, Nizam al-Mulk proposes that tax officials should fulfill their obligations in a timely manner, avoiding undue financial burden and harm to

the taxpayers. He further suggests that officials who impose excessive taxes should be dismissed and exiled (Nizam al-Mulk, 2016, p. 38). Similarly, Sebüktegin suggests that a ruler should not expropriate the wealth of the people except for that which is owed, and should not amass a treasury through the exploitation of the people (Sebüktegin, 1975, p. 229). Ibn Khaldun posited that the practice of purchasing goods from the people at a low cost and subsequently reselling them at a premium would have a destabilizing effect on the established order. Ibn Khaldun, who views the state's involvement in production as a challenge to societal norms, suggests that rulers should generate revenue through fair taxation practices (Ibn Khaldun, 2004, p. 374). In addition to advocating for the non-oppression of the people with regard to taxation, the authors of the *siyasatnamas* also delineated the means by which this could be achieved.

In the process of collecting goods, tax officials are expected to adhere to the established legal framework, refrain from exceeding the prescribed limits, and avoid undue pressure on those who have not yet fulfilled their tax obligations. In his explanation of the procedures for tax collection, Sharif al-Radi stated that the owner should initially be asked whether he is in a position to pay the tax. If the answer is negative, the question should not be repeated. In the event that the response is affirmative, the gold or silver in question should be collected without the use of intimidation, threats, or oppression. In the event that an official is to confiscate animals for tax purposes, it is imperative that they do not enter the herd without the express permission of the owner. With the proprietor's consent, the official should then divide the assets in question into two distinct categories and request that the proprietor select one. The official should refrain from interfering with the selected item and should divide the remaining items into two portions and request that the owner choose one. This process should continue until the amount of tax remaining in the owner's property is sufficient to meet the required tax liability. Finally, the tax should be levied on the property that the owner permits to be taxed. In the event that the owner is dissatisfied with the taxation process, the animals should be mixed once more, and the process should be initiated anew (Radi, 2016, p. 281-282). Additionally, Amir Timur stipulated that agricultural revenue should be the proprietor's and that goods intended for taxation should be subject to the owner's consent. It is imperative that taxes are not collected from the people prior to the maturation of crops. Furthermore, owners must be treated with respect and dignity during the collection of goods (Timur, 2010, p. 121).

Irregularities in taxation would result in officials and the ruler accumulating wealth for themselves and engaging in unjust enrichment. In addition, the authors of the *siyasatnamas* highlighted the detrimental impact of irregularities on power structures, emphasizing the need to protect the people from oppression for the sake of individual enrichment. In his treatise, Keikavus asserts that when an individual occupying a position of authority and influence seeks to amass wealth, they inevitably bring about their own demise (Keikavus, 1970, p. 87). Badraddin ibn Jamaa posited that the caliph should refrain from amassing wealth from the treasury, whether for himself or his family. He further argued that the income belonging to the people should be expended for their benefit and that it should not be concentrated in the hands of a single individual, thereby depriving others (Jamaa, 2010, p. 60). In contrast, Abu Mansur al-Sealibi draws a comparison between a ruler who attempts to amass wealth in the treasury and one who exploits the people, likening the former to an individual who attempts to construct a wall for their house using materials removed from its foundation (Sealibi, 1997, p. 59). Sadi Shirazi elucidates the notion that the people's assets are not intended to be monopolized by the sovereign, given that the sovereign's requirements outstrip the people's necessities vis-à-vis the sovereign. The people are the same people with or without the ruler; however, the existence of the ruler is contingent upon the people (Shirazi, 2016, p. 82).

4. THE ESSENTIALITY OF BALANCE IN THE RULER-RULED RELATIONSHIP

The relationship between the ruler and the ruled is addressed through the categorization of the ruled, the establishment of communication with them, the fulfillment of their needs, and the

prevention of oppression. This is based on the assumption that the ruler has rights in the people and the people have rights in the ruler, which are mutually reinforcing. The maintenance of equilibrium in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled is essential for the continuity of the aforementioned relationship planes and for the demonstration of administration through the ruler's dominance over the people he rules.

In order to maintain his power, the ruler must establish a balance in his relationship with those under his rule. This requires a delicate equilibrium between two opposing forces: on the one hand, the ruler must avoid frightening the people too much and thereby opening the door to oppression; on the other hand, he must not be too lenient and allow them to become emboldened. Abu Mansur al-Sealibi posited that an effective ruler must possess both majesty and sympathy, demonstrating appropriate rewards and punishments when necessary (Sealibi, 1997, p. 88). Additionally, Al-Ghazali counseled the ruler to implement a form of administration that would ensure the comfort of the virtuous and instill fear in the hearts of the corrupt (Al-Ghazali, 2016, p. 148). The authors of the *siyasatnamas* suggested that the ruler should demonstrate a balanced approach to severity and mercy. Yusuf Khass Hajib suggested that even if the sultan wields a sword in his administration, he should distribute wealth with the other hand (Yusuf Khass Hajib, 2010, p. 168). The sultan should be sufficiently generous to avoid squandering his wealth, sufficiently prudent to prevent the growth of pride and negligence, and sufficiently composed to prevent the onset of helplessness (Sealibi, 1997, p. 103).

The maintenance of equilibrium in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled also necessitates the preservation of a certain degree of distance between the sovereign and the state officials. In the *siyasatnamas*, it is asserted that as officials become more proximate to the sovereign, they should accord greater attention to the relationship between them. In his treatise, Keikavus posited that proximity to the sultan was a cause of distance. He therefore advised state officials to avoid the proximity of the sultan, or even to avoid his service (Keikavus, 1970, p. 85). Furthermore, the authors advised the sovereign to exercise caution with his officials, suggesting that they establish more distant relations with their favored officials. Muhammad b. Turtushi suggested that as the ruler's affinity for his officials increases, the officials should maintain a greater distance from him to prevent any potential harm (Turtushi, 2011, p. 409). In contrast, Ali b. Abu Talib composed a missive to an administrator who had been the subject of complaints from his *dihqans*. He advised the administrator to adopt a dual approach, combining violence with compassion. This entailed wearing a soft outfit with a hard side against them (Radi, 2016, p. 278).

It is similarly crucial for the ruler to strive for equilibrium in his interactions with his subjects. Abu Mansur al-Sealibi posits that the ruler should administrate the people through the use of incentives and disincentives, benevolence and deprivation, good and evil, and violence and compassion (Sealibi, 1997, p. 107). Similarly, Amir Timur asserted that he administrates his people between fear and hope (Timur, 2010, p. 119). Muhammad b. Turtushi suggested that individuals of commendable character should be ruled with benevolence, the general public with benevolence and apprehension, and those of reprehensible character with intimidation. He counseled the ruler to be esteemed as an emir while not occupying the role, and to emulate the people after assuming a position of authority (Turtushi, 2011, p. 409). Suhrawardi similarly suggested that a ruler who treats criminals and rebels with violence and the distinguished and honest with compassion would thereby enhance his power (Suhrawardi, 2013, p. 67). In contrast, Sadi Shirazi counseled the ruler to conduct himself with majesty and benevolence towards his subjects and with cordiality and concord towards his intimates (Shirazi, 2016, p. 57). The equilibrium in the relationship between rulers and their subjects is crucial, as it determines the conduct of the former and the latter towards each other and serves as the foundation for the authority of the ruler.

CONCLUSION

The siyasatnamas, which provide advice to rulers and state officials on administration, address a number of key issues, including the qualities that rulers should possess, the relationship between rulers and the ruled, the concepts, basic elements, and processes of administration. The fundamental assumptions of administration that were valid during the period in which they were written are elucidated in Siyasatnamas, while also providing guidance on how an ideal ruler should behave. The siyasatnamas, which were composed between the 10th and 14th centuries in the region extending from Andalusia to Transoxiana, during the existence of states such as the Samanids, Ghaznavids, Karakhanids, Abbasids, Seljuks, Ayyubids, Mamluks, Ilkhanids, and Timurids, addressed the relations between rulers and their subjects within the context of the state.

The authors of siyasatnamas postulated the necessity of categorizing specific segments of society in order for the ruler to identify and subsequently administrate them in an appropriate manner. The classification of state officials and the people not only ensures their recognition but also facilitates the acquisition of the elements needed in the administrative processes. These works posit that both rulers and the ruled possess rights over each other, predicating this assertion on the notion that the people reflect the ruler, and the ruler reflects the people. It is emphasised that the ruled should not be oppressed, that constant communication should be established with them, and that their needs should be met. The writers, who suggest the existence of mutual rights between rulers and the ruled, contend that the administration should be structured in a manner that takes into account the distinctive characteristics of both parties. While articulating the responsibilities of the ruler to the people and the people to the ruler, they also underscore the reciprocal influence exerted by both parties through the establishment of a direct connection between the ruler and the ruled. Additionally, they endeavor to elucidate the reflections of administrative behaviors.

The fundamental tenet espoused by the authors of siyasatnamas is that the relationship between the ruler and the ruled should be founded on fairness and equity. This implies that neither the ruler nor the state officials should engage in any actions that could be perceived as unjust or discriminatory towards the ruled. The establishment of justice is contingent upon the fulfillment of the needs of the people. This can be achieved by the ruler's awareness of those under his rule. The ruler is first and foremost responsible for ensuring the safety of life and property, meeting the needs of the people, safeguarding their interests in public expenditure, and being aware of his or her obligations. Concurrently, the ruler must prohibit state officials from oppressing the people, particularly from pursuing their own interests in tax collection. Establishing equilibrium in the relationship between ruler and ruled will ensure the longevity of this relationship and demonstrate the means of administration by enabling the ruler to exert control over the masses under his rule.

Ethical Statement/*Etik Beyan*

The study titled “An Evaluation of Ruler-Ruled Relations in the Perspective of Siyasatnamas” has been conducted in compliance with scientific, ethical, and citation principles. No alterations have been made to the collected data, and this work has not been submitted for evaluation to any other academic publication platform. This study does not require an ethics committee approval. The article has been prepared in accordance with the ethical guidelines of *Anasay Journal*, which are based on the principles established by the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) for authors, reviewers, and editors.

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