

## **The Influence Of Amid-Al-Mulk, Nizam Al-Mulk And Imam Muhammad Ghazali's Political Performance And Instructions On The Decrease In Authority Of Abbasid Caliphate And The Increase In Authority Of Seljuq Dynasty<sup>1</sup>**

Seyed Abolghasem Foroozani<sup>2</sup>

Shiraz University, Professor, Department of History, Shiraz, Iran

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Research Article

### **Abstract**

Despite the fact that Abbasi Caliphate had had lost its socio-military power throughout the Islamic territory even prior to the advent of Saljuqi dynasty, it still preserved a great deal of its spiritual authority. However, some events happened which caused the diminution of Abbasi Caliphate's spiritual authoritative status in a way that the risk of Caliphate's collapse seemed highly tangible, while the Saljuq were gaining preliminary ruling strength. As the basis of Al Qaem bi Amrellah Abbasid was undermined because of the rise of Arsalan Basasiri, a warlord planned to dominate Abbasid territory and was supported by Fatimid Caliph Al-Mustansir Billah, Sultan Toghrol the first, the leader of Seljuk Turks, supported Abbasid Caliph. When Sultan Toghrol was sending troops to Baghdad and was battling Arsalan Basasiri, he was considering saving Sunni Caliphate of Abbasid from Ismaili Fatimid Caliphate's domination. After that Seljuk Sultan defeated Arsalan Basasiri, he gained a favorable position, but then he gradually dominated Abbasid Caliph. After him, other powerful Seljuk Sultans also attempted to decrease the power of Abbasid Caliphs by utilizing instructions and performances of Iranian viziers like Amid al-Mulk and Nizam al-Mulk. To do so, some of the literati and faqih's opinions, like Imam Muhammad Ghazali, on the limitations of Abbasid Caliph's ruling power were also employed by Seljuk rulers. The current study utilizes descriptive-analytic method to explore the issue that Khawaja Amid al-Mulk Kondori, Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi and Imam Muhammad Ghazali played especial and determining roles in the significant decrease in the authority of Abbasid Caliphate and the increase in the authority of Seljuk Dynasty through their political thought and performance.

**Keywords:** Abbasid Caliphate, Seljuq Dynasty, Amid al-Mulk Kondori, Khwaja Nizam Al-Mulk Tusi, Imam Muhammad Ghazali.

## **Amid-El-Mülk Etkisi, Nizamülmülk Ve Muhammed Gazali'nin Politik Performansı, Abbasi Halifesinin Otoritesindeki Düşüşün Sebepleri Ve Selçuklu Hanedanlığının Otoritesinin Artışı**

### **Öz**

Abbasi Halifeliğinin, Selçuklu hanedanının batırılmasından önce bile, İslami bölge boyunca sosyo-askeri gücünü kaybetmiş olması gerçeğine rağmen, ruhsal otoritesinin büyük bölümünü korumayı başarmıştır. Ancak, Abbasi Halifeliği'nin ruhsal otorite statüsünün, Halifenin çöküş riskinin bariz bir şekilde hissedilebilir olduğu gerçeğinin azalmasına neden olan bazı olaylar yaşanırken, Selçuklular ilk yönetim güçlerini kazanıyordu. Abbasi Al Qaem bi Amrillah'ın gücünün, Arslan Besariri'nin yükselişiyle baltalandığından, Askeri diktatör Abbasi bölgesini domine etmeyi planladı ve Fatimili Halife Al-Mustansir Billah tarafından desteklendi, Selçuklu Türklerinin lideri Sultan

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<sup>2</sup> Foroozani\_s\_a@yahoo.com, ORCID: 0000-0003-1962-3403.

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Tuğrul'da Abbasi Halifesini destekledi. Sultan Tuğrul Bağdat'a asker gönderip Arslan Besasiri'yle savaşırken, Abbasi'nin Sünni Halifeliğini İsmaili Fatimi Halifeliği'nin hakimiyetinden kurtarmayı düşünüyordu. Selçuklu Sultanı Arslan Besariri'yi mağlup ettikten sonra, avantajlı bir pozisyon kazandı, ama sonra kademeli olarak Abbasi Halifeliğine egemen oldu. O'ndan sonra, diğer güçlü Selçuklu sultanları da Amid Al-Mulk ve Nizamül Mülk gibi İranlı vezirlerin talimatlarını kullanarak Abbasi Halifelerinin gücünü azaltmaya çalıştı. Bunu yapmak için, İmam Muhammed Gazali gibi alimlerin Abbasi Halifelerinin gücünü kısıtlama konusundaki fikirleri Selçuklular tarafından kullanılmıştır. Bu yazıda, Amid Al-Mülk, Nizamül Mülk ve İmam Muhammed Gazali'nin Abbasi Halifesinin büyük düşüşünde ve politik düşünce ve performanslarıyla Selçuklu Hanedanlığının büyük yükselişinde nasıl etkili olduğu, betimleyici analitik metot kullanılarak anlatılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Abbasi Halifeliği, Selçuklu Hanedanlığı, Amid Al-Mülk, Nizamül Mülk, İmam Muhammed Gazali.

## Introduction

Seljuk Turks led by Toghrol Beik and other tribal leaders, after several battles with Ghaznavids, were able to eventually defeat Sultan Masoud Ghaznavi (422-432 A.H) in the battle of Dandaghan in 431 AH (Bayhaqī, 1356: 834-835). First, Seljuks took Khorasan from Ghaznavids' domination. (Frye, 1365: 229) and then they extended their domination to other parts of Iran. Having reached Iran, The leaders of Seljuk divided up different states of Iran among themselves and afterwards each of them went to their own territory (Rawandi, 1364: 104). Meanwhile, Toghrol Beik, Seljuk Sultan, who was considered spiritually greater than other Seljuk leaders, sent troops to central areas of Iran (Mustawfi Qazvīnī, 1364: 429) and shortly seized vast areas of the country. Meanwhile, a Turk warlord named Arsalan Basasiri, who was supported by Fatimid Caliphate and was attempting to subvert Abbasid Caliphate, achieved significant successes (Forouzani, 1393: 78-86). The increasing power of Arsalan Basasiri caused Abbasid Caliph, Al Qaem bi Amrellah, to ask Seljuk Sultan, Toghrol, for support in order to save Abbasid Caliphate regimen (Hoseini, 1380: 55). Thus, in 447 AH, Seljuk Sultan sent troops to Baghdad to fight Arsalan Basasiri and eventually, in the last period of 451 A.H, he suppressed Arsalan Basasiri (Ibn al-Athir, 1385: 13/5890). Sultan Toghrol, thus, saved Abbasid Caliph from the domination of the Turk warlord and revived Abbasid Caliphate (Hamadānī, 1386: 19). After this determining action, Sultan Toghrol gained increasing power and authority in the affairs of Abbasid Caliphate. As we will see in the following lines, what made Sultan Toghrol achieve his aims and successful, was the political actions of his well-known vizier: Khawaja Amid al-Mulk Kondori. The novelty of the current article lies in its particular attention to Imam Muhhammad Ghazali's endeavors, as a religious theorist in decreasing Caliphate's power and in enhancing Seljuq's authority, in addition to other political activists.

### 1. The Role Of Khawaja Amid Al-Mulk Kondori In The Development And Stability Of Seljuk Sultan Toghrol's Power

Amid al-Mulk Abu Nasr Kondori, the most famous vizier of Seljuk Sultan Toghtol, was among the landowners of the Kondor region (from the villages of Nishapur). He studied in Nishapur (Hoseini, 1380: 60) and was very skilled in writing, clerical and ministerial affairs (Hondemir, 1355: 2/148-149). Amid al-Mulk was the vizier of Sultan Toghrol for more than eight years (Bendari Isfahani, 1356: 35). Because Turks were not familiar with Ministerial affairs and state organization for administrative affairs, it is certain that Toghrol had to depend on Iranian agents and officialdom. Bosworth points to co-operation of aristocracy, viziers, scholars and outstanding scientists of Khorasan with the Seljuk and takes Salar Buzgan or Abu alqasem Buzgani, (emir of Buzgan region located near Ghahestan and badghis) as an example. The mentioned author also reported co-operations between Salar Buzgan and Seljuk in the battle of Dandaghan. Referring to several references, Bosworth acknowledged Salar Buzgan as the first vizier of Seljuk Toghrol (Bosworth, 1362: 1/ 262-268).

Bayhaqī also considered Salar Buzgan as a capable, wise and clever man (Bayhaqī, 1356: 730). Bosworth believes: "the aristocracies of Nishapur who joined Seljukian, probably had given council to Toghrol concerning administrative and political policies of the Islamic regimen (Bosworth, 1362: 1/ 271). Among Iranian

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ministers, Amid-al Mulk Kondori had a great position in Seljuk Sultan Toghrol's opinion (Forouzani, 1393: 92). With regard to what extent Sultan Toghrol trusted his vizier, Amid AlMulk, Bondari Isfahani states: "Toghrol was looking through his eyes and heard through his ears and also was appointing and deposing people by his advice" (Bondari Isfahani, 1365: 11).

Seljuk Sultan Toghrol was familiarized with common concepts within the Iranian-Islamic Culture through Iranian ministers. The invaluable and unique position of a king was among the instructions of Iranian governmental agents to Seljuk Sultan. The political unity and territorial integrity through centralization of power, the glorious and magnificent court, ceremonies and formal customs and the turning over of state delegations regarding administrative affairs to an experienced minister, titled vizier, were among the instructions of Iranian ministers to Seljuk Sultan. After he was entitled supreme Sultan, Toghrol, who was intensely under the influence of Iranian ministers' instructions, brought other Seljuk leaders under his control and did not let them divert from the centrifugal force (Forouzani, 1393: 92-93).

In 447 AH, Sultan Toghrol entered Baghdad when Caliph Al Qaem bi Amrellah asked him to. After a while, in mosques of Caliphate capital Khutbahs were recited in his name and Abbasid Caliph entitled him Sultan Rokn Al-dole (Rawandi, 1364: 105). At the same time, the representatives of Caliph Al Qaem bi Amrellah set off to welcome Sultan Toghrol. At that time, Amid al Mulk Kondori, who was the vizier of Toghrol, went to welcome representatives of Abbasid Caliph on Sultan's command. In 448 AH, when Khadija Arsalan-Khatun (nephew of Sultan Toghrol) was betrothed to caliph Al Qaem bi Amrellah, the marriage ceremony was held when Amid al Mulk was there (Ibn al-Athir, 1385: 13/ 5852-5859). It is worthy to mention that between the years 447 to 449 AH, Abbasid Caliph and Sultan Toghrol had connections through their viziers (Raeis al-Roasa and Amid al-Mulk) (Forouzani, 1393: 76-79).

In 449 AH, Sultan Toghrol set off to Baghdad for the second time. At that time, the vizier of caliph, Raeis al Roasa, went to Ghafs, a region near Baghdad, to welcome Seljuk Sultan. For another time, Amid al Mulk went to visit and welcome the vizier of caliph. After that caliph Al Qaem bi Amrellah and Sultan Toghrol visited Sultan Toghrol in Dhu al-Qidah of 449, Toghrol sat on a throne and caliph gave the power to rule all his territory to Sultan Toghrol and he was contented with Seljuk and entitled him the king of east and west (Ibn al-Athir, 1385: 13/5875-5876). It is obvious that the increasing authority of Sultan Toghrol was not possible without the political actions of Amid al Mulk. The following lines will confirm the ideas mentioned here by noting some of Amid al Mulk's actions.

Amid al Mulk Kondori had doubtlessly intended to bring Iran out of caliphate domination, and to do so, he preferred political ways and for that reason sometimes apparently he compromised with powerful Arabs. Amid al Mulk's conservative behavior was surprising to Ibrahim Ianal (brother of Sultan Toghrol) and in 448 AH he censured Amid al Mulk and told him: whom are these Arabs that you admire them like the Sultan? (Forouzani, 1393: 83). However, later events showed that Amid al Mulk Kondori's approach was only due to

political considerations. In Dhu al-Qi'dah of 451 AH when Sultan Toghrol sent troops to Baghdad and Arsalan Basasiri left the city by force, caliph Al Qaem bi Amrellah and his wife Arsalan Khatun, who had left the city when Arsalan Basasiri's was in power, returned to the city. Meanwhile, Amid al Mulk vice regally welcomed the caliph and his wife. After Al Qaem entered Baghdad, Sultan Toghrol visited him (Ibn al-Athir, 1385: 13/5887-5889) and caliph, as a reward for Toghrol's efforts for bringing him back to the throne, entitled the Seljuk Sultan as Rokn al din (Hamadānī, 1386: 18-19). Thus, Sultan Toghrol gained a much more favorable position than before.

Eventually, Sultan Toghrol found and killed Arsalan Basasiri in Dhu al-Hijjah of 451 AH. Before that, in 447 AH, Seljuk Sultan had also deposed Malek Rahim (the last ruler of the Arab Iraq Buoyed dynasty) from the throne. Toghrol also had destroyed the local rebels and plunderers in the region of Arab Iraq. In this situation, the aim of Sultan Toghrol and his councilors and assistants was to limit the caliph's worldly power and to prevent him from intervening in state affairs. Thus, it was on the top of their agenda to determine the caliph's worldly rights and to prevent him from using Muslims' Bayt al-mal. (Forouzani. 1393: 78-88).

To achieve this goal, Toghrol sent Amid al-Mulk on a mission to ask the Sultan to devote the tributes of some central regions for the Seljuk army's expenses. While he was on the way to his mission, Amid al-Mulk told Sultan Toghrol: it can be expected that caliph has the same demand of you (Hamadānī, 1386: 19). For sure it can be said that due to his actions, Amid al-Mulk was sure of this. While he was on his way and before going to the Caliph, Amid al-Mulk encountered caliph's vizier (Raeis al-Roasa) who had a message for Toghrol. Not telling him about his mission, Amid al Mulk returned to Toghrol with the vizier of Caliph (Forouzani, 1393: 88). Meantime, Amid al Mulk told Toghrol that in his opinion, the vizier of caliph is on a mission to ask the Sultan to devote the tributes of some regions to caliph for his life expenses. Amid al Mulk reminded Sultan: if the message is about financial expenses and incomes, tell him that you will give the responsibility to your vizier (Amid al-Mulk) the responsibility to do it (Hamadānī, 1386: 19).

As Amid al-Mulk had guessed, the message of Al Qaem bi Amrellah to Sultan was related to determining financial expenses of the caliphate court and Sultan Toghrol acted upon his vizier's recommendation, so he gave the responsibility to Amid al-Mulk. To make preparations, Amid al-Mulk used "the law book of Baghdad" to determine the regions and properties which should be at the disposal of the Sultan and also he determined some rights for the caliph's expenses. Thus, because of Amid al-Mulk's wisdom and deftness, Abbasid caliph became Seljuk Sultan Toghrol's vassal and "the climax of Seljuk Sultan's domination over Abbasid caliphate was evident" (Forouzani, 1393: 88-89).

In 453 AH, Sultan Toghrol sent the judge of Rey to ask Caliph Al Qaem's daughter's hand in marriage (Bondari Isfahani, 1356: 22). Because the marriage of Sultans to the daughters of Abbasid caliphate was unprecedented, caliph became angry when he heard it and sent a message to him that he should give up these kinds of ideas. To make him give up this idea, Caliph also had declared that if Sultan insisted on marrying his daughter, he should pay three hundred thousand dinars to caliph and the tributes of border areas and its country sides should be granted to him (Al Qaem bi Amrellah). After he became aware of this, Sultan Toghrol was about

to take back his demand but Amid al-Mulk prevented him from retreating. In fact, Amid al-Mulk stated that Sultan Toghrol's retreating from his demand would cause him to seem untrustworthy and ineffective. After Toghrol agreed to the caliph's demands, Amid al-Mulk went to Al Qaem bi Amrellah with huge properties and a huge number of attendants to propose for Al Qaem bi Amrellah's daughter's hand but the caliph was disturbed and threatened that he would make him leave Baghdad. Thus, without achieving his goal, Amid al-Mulk left Baghdad to go to Hamedan. After these events, on the one hand, caliph's wife (Arsalan Khatun) was summoned on Toghrol's command from Baghdad and on the other hand, Amid al-Mulk refused to pay the expenses and costs of Al Qaem bi Amrellah. Thus, the Caliph had no other choice and he was forced to agree to his daughter's marriage to Seljuk Sultan and the girl, whom the Sultan asked for, was sent to him and they married (Ibn al-Athir, 1385: 13/5909-5911). With this action which happened because of Khwaja Amid al-Mulk Kondori's recommendations, Abbasid caliph had no authority anymore and Seljuk Sultan was in the peak of his power and had absolute authority because of Amid al-Mulk Kondori's wisdom and deftness.

## **2. Khawaja Nizam Al-Mulk Tusi And His Role In The Significant Authority Of Sultan Alb Arsalan And Seljuk Malik Shah**

Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi was the son of Abu al Hasan Ali and the grandson of a man named Ishaq who was the owner of one of the villages of Bayhaq (Sabzevar). Abu al Hasan Ali, who was an agent of Suri Ibn motaz in Ghaznavids time, Khorasan's minister, married in Tus and Nizam al-Mulk Hasan was born at that city. Having learnt the common sciences of his own age, He served Abu Ali Shazan (Forouzani, 1393: 147-148). It should be said that after Chaghri Beik Davood (brother of Sultan Toghrol) left the state of Balkh and Takharestan and some other regions for his son, Alb Arsalan, to rule, he appointed Fazl Ibn Shazan as his minister. (Hoseini, 1380: 63-64). When Fazl Ibn Shazan was dying he told Alb Arsalan (who succeeded his father and was the ruler of Khorasan) that Nizam al-Mulk was deft and adept. After the death of Toghrol, because of Nizam al-Mulk's deftness and wisdom, Alb Arsalan could succeed to the throne and Nizam al-Mulk was appointed as his vizier (Ibn al-Athir, 1388: 14/6109).

Nizam al-Mulk had a critical role in the oppression of the rise of Ghotlmosh (cousin of Sultan Toghrol) against Alb Arsalan. He also was an assistant and a supporter of Seljuk Sultan when Alb Arsalan was able to defeat his enemies in Georgia, Armenia and Aran. Conquering the stronghold of Pahn Dezh in Fars and also oppressing Fazluye Shabankare (the ruler of Fars) and the most important of all, participating and co-operating in Alb Arsalan's fights with Romanus (the Caesar of eastern Rome) in the battle of Malazgard, are other glorious deeds of Nizam al-Mulk Tusi during the reign of Alb Arsalan. What is related to this study here is that Alb Arsalan had a friendly relationship with Abbasid caliphate and to make caliph Al Qaem bi Amrellah satisfied, sent his daughter, who had been married to Sultan Toghrol by force, back to Baghdad. Indubitably, this act of Sultan Alb Arsalan made Abbasid caliph contented and after a while, Alb Arsalan was entitled as Sultan Azad al Din Alb Arsalan by Al Qaem bi Amrellah, Borhan Amir al-Mu'minin (Forouzani, 1393: 103-117). This is

evident that Nizam al-Mulk, the vizier of Sultan Alb Arsalan, had a critical role in establishing friendly relationships between Seljuk caliph and Sultan Alb Arsalan and he wanted Alb Arsalan to oppress his enemies, the pretenders, and also to extend his territory.

In Rabi al-awwal of 465, while Sultan Alb Arsalan was on the way to conquer Transoxiana, he was killed by a man named Khwarazmi (Ibn al-Athir, 1368: 17/49-50). Meanwhile, using his wisdom and judgment, Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk was able to set the path so that Alb Arsalan's son, malik Shah, succeeded the throne (Hamadānī, 1386: 31-32). Then Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk sent a man named Sa'd al Dole Gohar aiin to Al Qaem bi Amrellah in order to receive the decree (reign command) of Malik Shah's reign. In the first months of 466, Abbasid caliph decreed the reign of Malik Shah and sent it for him (Ibn al-Athir, 1388: 14/5968-5983). The first person who claimed to succeed the throne was his uncle, Malik Ghavard. In the battle carried out in Jumada al-awwal of 466, Malik Shah was able to oppress Ghavard (Forouzani, 1393: 126). Meanwhile, the role of Nizam al-Mulk was significant (Rawandi, 1364: 126-127). The account of Sultan Malik Shah's military conquests needs further explanation but of course, that young king gained a lot from Nizam al-Mulk's wisdom and advices and it was only in 473 AH when his brother, Takesh, rebelled against him, he did not act upon his vizier's recommendation and because of that he suffered a lot of damage (Forouzani, 1393: 134).

Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk's wise many efforts to make the bases of Malik Shah's reign stronger and his proper use of advertising elements to present the deftness of Sultan in statesmanship are admirable (Rawandi, 1364: 125-130) but what concerns the issue of this paper here is to focus on the caliphate and reign. In this way one can recognize how Seljuk Sultan dominated over Abbasid caliphate system. In 479 AH, for the first time Sultan Malik Shah and his vizier, Khwaja Nizam al-Mulk, left for Baghdad and having sent many presents to Caliph Al Qaem bi Amrellah, they entered his court. At that time, caliph dressed Sultan Malik Shah with Samite (clothing) and officially gave him authority to rule over Abbasid State. The Abbasid Caliph also dressed Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk with Samite. After a while, in the beginning of 480 AH, the daughter of Sultan Malik Shah was sent to Baghdad with a unique dowry to marry Caliph Al Qaem bi Amrellah and accompanied by Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk, she went with great magnitude to Dar al-Khilafah and married the caliph in a magnificent ceremony (Ibn al-Athir, 1388: 14/6059-6060).

Two years after the marriage of caliph Al Qaem bi Amrellah to the daughter of Malik Shah, Seljuk Sultan asked caliph to return the sultan's daughter, who had born a son named Abu al Fazl then, back to him. This demand was made after Malik Shah's daughter had shown her inconvenience. In 482 AH, caliph, compelled, returned Malik Shah's daughter back to Isfahan. In 484 AH, Seljuk Sultan entered Baghdad and stayed there and his brother, Totosh (the ruler of Dameshq), and other rulers of other regions came to him. At that time, Malik Shah ordered to build the Sultanic Jame mosque and his vizier, Nizam al-Mulk, and other political and military high-class agents also began to build residences in Baghdad in order to possess their own special residences when they go to Baghdad. Indubitably, "These actions suggests the domination of Seljuk Sultan and his agents over caliph and Abbasid caliphate court" (Forouzani, 1393: 139-140).

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In 485 AH, while Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi accompanied by Malik Shah was leaving to Baghdad, he was killed near Nahavand in 10<sup>th</sup> of Ramadan. After this event, Malik Shah continued his trip towards Baghdad and in the 24<sup>th</sup> of Ramadan of the same year, reached that city (Ibn al-Athir, 1388: 14/6105-6112). This was the third time that Malik Shah was visiting Baghdad. While Malik Shah was in Baghdad, a sense of suspicion and hostility between him and caliph al Moqtadi was in the air and Malik Shah commanded caliph to leave his capital and to go to Dameshq or any other cities of Hejaz (Mecca or Medina) (Bondari Isfahani, 1356: 79). This suggests the climax of Seljuk Sultan's power and the domination over Abbasid caliphate. As mentioned earlier, after Malik Shah's daughter married caliph al Moqtadi bi Amrellah, she had his son. Sultan Malik Shah intended to move the capital of caliphate to Isfahan and to assign his grandson, Abu al Fazl Jafar, whom he had entitled Amir al Mumenin, as the caliph of that city (Sattar Zadeh, 1386: 77). It appears that Malik Shah had arranged his daughter's marriage to Abbasid caliph to pave the way for his grandson to succeed the caliphate (throne) and then to appoint him as his successor and thus, his grandson and successor could gain both positions (Forouzani, 1393: 151-152). Since Sultan Malik Shah died in 16 of Shawwal 485 (Hoseini, 1380: 102), he could not carry out his plan to destroy Abbasid caliphate. Regarding what will be presented in the following lines, we can realize that the increase in the power of Seljuk Malik Shah's reign against Abbasid caliphate was because of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi's thoughts and performances.

Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk who was vizier and in power for thirty years during the reign of Sultan Alb Arsalan (455-465 AH) and Sultan Malik Shah's reign (465-485 AH), believed in specific principles and methods related to statesmanship and he has stated those principles and methods in his book: *Syasatnameh*. On the one hand, he believes in Islamic laws and on the other hand, he considers the ancient Iranian statesmanship methods. In other words, Nizam al-Mulk's approach on state affairs can be considered based on the Iranian-Islamic framework. He believes in a concentrated and authoritative rein (Forouzani, 1393: 150) and only this suggests that Nizam al-Mulk did not believe in the domination of caliphate over the reign. Nizam al-Mulk states on the first pages of his book: "the mighty God selected a person among men in every era and embellished him with kingly crafts and the peace of men and the world interest is tied to him" (Nizam al-Mulk, 1357: 7).

From the point of view of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk, the king should be just, constructive and apt to listen to council of the wise and his regime should be based on the official religion. Although Nizam al-Mulk provided practices in every field for the success of the king in state affairs (Forouzani, 1393: 150), the concept of submission to caliph was not mentioned in any part of his recommendations. Focusing on religious laws is one of the important concepts of his recommendations. He declares that it is necessary for the king to pay attention to research on religious affairs and by saying so he points out to this fact that "state and kingdom and religion are like brothers. When the state is agitated, religion will be affected too..." (Nizam al-Mulk, 1357: 68-69). Thus, Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk even undermined the role of caliph as a spiritual leader and increased the range of Sultan's power and authority.



### 3. Imam Muhammad Ghazali And The Role Of His Divine Reign Theory In Confirming Unique Power Of Seljuk Sultan Sanjar

Before discussing this issue, it is necessary to explain that after the advent of Al Bui and reign of the kings of that dynasty over Abbasid caliphate and also the increase in the Ghaznavid kings' power, the validity and authority of Abbasid caliphs decreased significantly. Because of that, it was necessary to determine a limit by law between caliphate and reign and the mutual relations and interests of these two estates. A while before establishing of Seljuq dynasty, Abd al Ghader Taher Baghdadi (died at 429 AH) who was a Sunni faqih and was Shafi'i put forward the theory of Imamah (caliphate) which was an apology of caliphate and its powers (Lambton, 1389: 217-218). After Seljuk acceded to the throne, the circumstances allowed Seljuk sultans to claim to be and act as religious authorities. Indubitably, Sultan Toghrul who had received the title of Rokn al Din and Sultan Alb Arsalan who had received the tile of Azad al Din and Sultan Malik Shah who had received the title of moez al Din, were seeking to reach their aims by employing their religious reputation (Forouzani, 1393: 328). Thus, when Seljuk gained political and religious power, the theory of caliphate was not working in the way that was introduced by Baghdadi and Others. Realizing this fact, Al-Mawardi (died at 450 AH) attempted in his book *Ahkam al Soltanieh va alviato al Dinieh* by advancing his theory and discussions on ministry any kingdom to make a bridge between caliphate and reign (Al-Mawardi, 1406: 22-34).

Al-Mawardi was the founder of this theory that without doing any harm to the rights of caliphate as the virtual Amir of central regions, some authorities and privileges can be devoted to the ruler of distant regions (Lambton, 1366: 204). From the point of view of Al-Mawardi it was necessary that the ruler or the governor attempts to retain the excellence and dignity of caliphate and the caliph should also regard the decisions made by the governor as legal and valid and the two sides pledge to cooperate and act on friendly terms (Al-Mawardi, 1406: 30-34). Using his theory, Al-Mawardi paved the way for new relations between Abbasid caliphate and the reign in the Seljuk era and thus, he promoted caliphate position as the leader of Islamic society. Yet, from Seljuk point of view, caliph's power was limited and bounded and Seljuk Sultans monitored the affairs of Abbasid caliphate. Thus, while the power of Seljuk Sultan was not limited, Abbasid caliph was considered only as the religious leader of the Islamic society and "gradually the basic Islamic fiqh of Seljuk reign was substituted by the basic Islamic ethics" (Forouzani, 1393: 328-329).

To realize how these changes took place to the theoretical basics of Seljuk reign, Imam Muhammad Ghazali's (450-505 AH) political course of thoughts should be considered based on the time his work was published. In his book *Mostazhari* which he had probably published between 487 and 488 AH and he had written for caliph Mostazhar, Ghazali attempts to recognize caliph as the representative of God legitimately and to permit caliph to give any sort of legal and legitimate power to others. Imam Muhammad Ghazali in the book of *Eghtesar al E'teghad* "discusses Imamah and reign brings about a new horizon and puts forward a theory based on society and the close link between Imamah and the reign" (Lambton, 1389: 292-296). According to Ghazali's theory which is mentioned in his book, it was necessary for Imam (caliph) and Sultan to cooperate and Sultan was

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inevitable for Imamah estate to be recognized officially and Sultan in turn too was legitimately recognized only by taking an oath at the presence of Imam (Forouzani, 1393: 330).

Imam Muhammad Ghazali in his book, *Ehya Olum al Din*, which was written probably between 489 and 495 AH (Lambton, 1389: 304) and which is considered as his most important book in Arabic about ethics, religious issues and Sufism (Ghazali, 1389 46), declared on the relations between reign and caliphate as follows: “the Emir who was in charge of the executive and to the point he was believing him as being Imam and was presenting Khutbah (Sermon) in his name and coined, he was obedient to him and although he did not strictly believed in other canonical conditions and laws, he was recognized as a legitimate king and he accepted religious power in the provinces he was ruling” (Lambton, 1389: 304-306).

In his book *Nashat al Moluk* which is in Persian, Ghazali has written about practical wisdom and ethics (Ghazali, 1389: 54) and it was written between 498 and 505 AH “he expresses his opinion about reign which is different from his opinion about caliphate and the relationship of these two estate, which is respectively discussed in his books: *Mostazhari* and *Eqtesar al E'teqad*. In his book, *Nasihah al Moluk*, he is mostly concerned with practical duties of the ruler rather than a fundamental theory. The description Ghazali gave has been greatly influenced by Islamic ethics” (Lambton, 1389: 309). In the book of *Nasihah al Moluk* which is written in Seljuk Sultan Sanjar's name (Safa, 1373: 2/924), Ghazali states the “the reign is God's bliss and favor to Sultan” (Lambton, 1366: 205). He has called Sultan as *Zal Allah fi al Arz* and state “Sultan is the God's grandeur shadow on earth” (Ghazali, 1389: 103).

Though the interpretation and definition of the reign in Ghazali's book, *Nasihah al Moluk*, is replete with Islamic ethics “it includes another theory concerning reign which originates from Iranian ancient governmental theory or it is strongly influenced by it. In Iranian ancient theory of reign, there was a strict link between Zoroastrian religion and Sassanid government ... and the king who had absolute and unconditioned power would engaged in Jihads and assume God had given him the right to do so”. (Lambton, 1366: 208).

In the book mentioned earlier, Ghazali who addresses Sanjar does not focus on the necessity of Caliph's confirmation of his reign anymore and he only points that the basis of dominating power is the absolute power of God (Forouzani, 1393: 331). From Ghazali's point of view, the position of king is that high that states as following: “God almighty chose two groups among men and made those two superior to others, the first group consists of the prophets and the other are the kings... thus it is necessary to know that one should love the one God chosen as the king and gave him Godly splendor and also one should obey and follow the king and not to fight him” (Ghazali, 1389: 103). The most important attribute of the king is justness from Ghazali's perspective and a significant part of his book, *Nasihah al Moluk*, is devoted to this issue (Forouzani, 1393: 331). Ghazali states his opinion about this issue as following: “if the king is just, the world will be prosperous and people will be in peace ... but if the king is unjust and cruel, the world will be ruined” (Ghazali, 1389: 104). To prove his point, Ghazali on the one hand refers to ancient Iran and he recognizes Zoroastrian's four thousand survival because

they were just and on the other hand he quotes Muslim's prophet: a day of justice by a just Sultan is worthier than sixty years of prayer (Forouzni, 1393: 331). Another issue which Ghazali is concerned with is the theory of "togetherness of religion and reign". He highlights the necessity of right form of king's religion and regards it as the best attribute of the king, and he point that "religion and reign are (like) two brothers coming from one womb" (Ghazali, 1389: 104).

In the laws which were sent to different officers by Sultan Sanjar's Resalat (post) office, he refers to the rank of *Zal Allah fi al Arz* (God's shadow on earth) which God grants to Sultan and to the most important duty of Sultan which is bringing justice and establishing religious laws, and also he mentioned the mutual relationship of the kingdom and the reign (Atabak Jovayni, 1384: 33-9). Thus, it should be mentioned that as a scientist and a sage, Imam Muhammad Ghazali has also contributed to the increase in the power of Seljuk king and the decrease in the spiritual role of caliph.

### **Conclusion**

Since the reign of Abbasi Caliphates, Iranian enjoyed outstanding positions in different military, political, official and economic areas, for playing a privileged role in the establishment of the Abbasi Caliphate. Thanks to this prestigious status, Iranian tended to reestablish their deeply rooted great ancient Iranian culture and transferred a great deal of their Iranian conventions, traditions, science along with many of their artistic and cultural manifestations to the Abbasi Caliphate and the Islamic territory. However, due to Iranian's later independence seeking revolutions, Abbasi Caliphate lost its socio-political and economic power gradually. Yet, the Caliphate's religious credit as religious referent was still highly significant the way Iranian governors sought to set up peaceful relationships with Abbasi Caliphate so as to gain their credit for Iranian governors' legitimacy and validity in reigning. Nonetheless, there were many Iranians who demanded freedom from such religious authorities of Abbasi Caliphate, while insisting on their brilliant history. The dream came true through the reign of Saljuq dynasty and Abbasi Caliphate's religious credit decreased significantly as a result of official activities and the teachings of the Iranian religious scholars.

Seljuk Sultan Toghrol turned to a major rival of Abbasid caliph and a threat to his power a while after he suppressed the opposing parties of Abbasid caliphate. He dominated Abbasid caliphate due to the guidance and advice of his wise vizier, Amid al-Mulk. During the reign of Sultan Alb Arsalan, the relationships of Abbasid caliphate and Seljuk reign improved. This was because of his wise vizier's actions, Khwaja Nizam al-Mulk who by doing so wanted to reassure Seljuk Sultan in order to reach his goals concerning expanding his territory. Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk who was the vizier during the whole twenty year period of Malik Shah's reign, gradually made Seljuk Sultan so powerful that caliph was not able to refuse Sultan Malik Shah's demands. Nizam al-Mulk, who firstly wanted to be a powerful Sultan and have concentrated reign, intensely undermined the spiritual power of Abbasid caliph when he considered carefully the theory of brotherhood and the link between religion and reign. Indubitably, the thought of Imam Muhammad Ghazali's divine reign did severely injure the Abbasid caliph's spiritual power. The reason is that Imam Muhammad Ghazali had a high position in

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society as a big religious scientist and Faqih and also as a religious theorist, and his thoughts concerning divine magnificence of Sultan and his emphasis on this issue that Sultan is chosen by God and is the shadow of his grandeur on earth, brought Seljuk Sultan a special status. By Focusing on the link between reign and religion, Ghazali brought the Abbasid caliph's spiritual position to the lowest possible level. Thus, it should be said that Amid al-Mulk and Nizam al-Mulk as political agents of the Seljuk reign and Imam Muhammad Ghazali as a religious faqih and scientist, combined the power of the Seljuk Sultan, which was at first based on military force, with religious power. Using this method, Seljuk Sultan gained an increasing authority and Abbasid caliphate became weaker day by day.

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