

Khajeh Nezam Ul-Molk and Siasat Nameh

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Abstract: Some works in field of politics and political thoughts, emerged in context of Islam and Iran, and were changed into written form with the aim of how to learn to owners of powers or those people, who were involved in production, distribution and applications of power, to have suitable behavior in political life. In regard with naming these works, no agreement and consensus of ideas is existed. Sometimes, these works are interpreted as political advice letters; sometimes they would be described as political letter writing and sometimes eastern countries attempt to take benefit of "Ayeneh Shahryari" to express their mean. However, it seems that advice letter writing is more suitable for naming the group of works, since it can imply the destination and has also generality and comprehensiveness. The most brilliant political advice letter in mid history of Iran is the book "Siasat Nameh" or "Seir Al-Moluk" work of Khajeh Nezam Ul-Molk Toosi. Khajeh was born on 408 A.H (1017) in Radakan Village, one of the districts of Toos, in a peasant house. He was killed on 485 A.H (1092) near Kermanshah by one of the Ismaili devotees and probably as a result of provocation of Malek Shah. He was minister of Seljuk for 30 years. The present study aims at introducing and reviewing political-literary character of Khajeh and his brilliant work "Siasat Nameh".

Keywords: Khajeh Nezam Ul-Molk Toosi, Siasat nameh, Seljuk, political advice letter writing, idealistic Sultan.

Introduction

Biography of Khajeh Nezam Ul-Molk Tossi

Undoubtedly, Nezam Ul-Molk is one of the most brilliant characters in practical policy and political actions in history of Islam and Iran [1]. In other words, domination of Seljuk is in close relationship with two persons including Nezam Ul-Molk and Ghazali. It could be mentioned that the first one is the biggest politician and the second is the biggest theologian of all ages [2].

Khajeh Nezam Ul-Molk can be compared to Barmaki family in terms of political function. Their destiny was similar with the difference that Nezam Ul-Molk was in service of Sultans and Barmakis selected giving service to caliphs. However, it should be accepted that the choice, especially about Barmaks, has not been based on freedom and authority.

In time of Barmaks, the power was in hands of Caliphate system and those people, who wanted to be close to it, had to be in service of caliphs. In time of ministry of Barmaks, Abbasid Caliphate had achieved to its peak by Harun Al-Rashid and till emergence of independent and semi-dependent governmental dynasties in regions of Islamic territories and under governorship of Abbasids, a few time was remained, except for inheritable building of Bani Aghlab in Africa by time of Harun Al-Rashid. By the time of Khajeh, caliphate system needed support of powerful kingship dynasties such as Ghaznavid and Seljuk to provide its sustainability and to fight the enemies, who tended to destruct the system like Fatemi Caliphs in Egypt or Ismaili Daian in Iran or Al Buyeh in Baghdad. However, the supports could not be achieved easily and they were not related to a political transaction in benefit of caliphs. Hence, both Khajeh and Barmak Dynasty came in service of powerful institutes by that time. In addition, in time of Khajeh, two systems of sultanate and caliphate were responsible for regulating forces and behavior of people in the political or religious orientations.

The original name of Khajeh Nezam Ul-Molk was "Abu Ali Hassan" and his father's name was "Abul Hassan" son of Ishaq Ibn Abbas Noghani Toosi. Surname of "Nezam Ul-Molk" was given by Alb Arsalan, Seljuk sultan, to him. He was born on 408 or 410 A.H in Noghan Village in region of Radakan from districts of Toos in a peasant family [3]. By that time in Toos, other great thinkers and individuals like Ghazali entered Islamic and Iranian Society. Clearly, Iranian nationality of Khajeh and then being

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in service of sultanate system could affect orientation of his political thought and action. It has been quoted that Khajeh was grown up in a peasant house. Peasant in political dictionary, against next ages that used to be applied for landless farmers, in time of Khajeh and before that time was a sign for being local magnifico. Peasants in Sasanid Era were local owners, who had important role in social and economic hierarchy and power creation. Peasant in same meaning was transferred to early centuries of Iran in Islamic age.

Education of Khajeh was in fields of Shafei Jurisprudence and Hadith. Apparently, his family tended to see him in position of judgment; although this was not achieved. However, he could achieve a position that could be responsible for selecting and dismissing judges. He was firstly in service of Ghaznavids in Ghazneh and then entered to Court of Ali Ibn Shazan, who had a court in Balkh on behalf of Ghoghri Beik Davoud, powerful Seljuk person. However, because of suffering from his subservient for financial limitations he left him and went to Marv. In this city, he gained success and became booker of Alb Arsalan by Choghri Beik Davoud. With rise of Alb Arsalan in 455 A.H, Khajeh became minister of Seljuk. With death of Alb Arsalan and becoming successor of Malek Shah, he was again great Khajeh and Seyyed Al-Vozara. This age of Iran history became known as "Al-Dula Nezamih" (military government) [4]. In late sultanate of Malek Shah, disputes were created between him and Khajeh on selecting prince, since Malek Shah wanted to select one of his children named Mahmud as prince. However, as Khajeh believed that another son of the king, Barkiaragh, was more competent than Mahmud, announced his opposition with Malek Shah. On the other hand, by that time Khajeh had power and influence in court of Malek Shah to some extent that the king had not the ability to interfere in his works and decisions, since the main part of governing affairs were in hands of sons and relatives of Nezam Ul-Molk. Hence, Malek Shah felt fear of increasing power of Khajeh and was motivated by his wife, Tarkan Khatoon, in 485 A.H and dismissed Khajeh from ministry and selected Taj Ul-Molk Shirazi instead of him. Soon, Khajeh was killed by the same year near to Nahavand by one of the Ismaili Followers named Bu Taher Arani. However, some historians have announced their doubt about Ismaili identity of Bu Taher Arani [5]. Till his death in 485 A.H, Khajeh was minister for 30 years. He had direct interference in arranging affairs of country for 30 years. Many victories of Seljuk and their rapid developments were results of competence of Khajeh. Hence, affairs of Seljuk were disturbed after his death.

Seljuks, who were subservient of Khajeh Nezam Ul-Molk, occupied Baghdad through overcoming Ghaznavids in eastern regions of Iran in 447 A.H and dismissed Al Buyeh. Presence of Seljuks was similar to dominance of Sunni system and forces on Shiite Al Buyeh and survival of Baghdad's caliph; although soon Seljuk indicated that contrary to their religious Sunni orientations, they were tended to align no considerable issue of power to Abbasid Caliph. Hence, role of Khajeh, in case of taking surname of "Razi Amir Al-Momenin" from Caliph, is unforgettable in regard with stabilizing sultanate establishment and its priority to the Caliphate system. Hence, the most important elements for orientation of political behavior of Khajeh and his political thoughts can be summarized as follows: he was guardsman of ministry and in service of the institution of sultanate with Iranian orientations and strong orientations in Shafei jurisprudence. Institute of sultanate, which was by that age totally under dominance of power of Seljuks, had characteristic of nomads and races and ethics of immigrant Turks of central Asia. Hence, efforts of Khajeh for collecting and running the characteristics with desirable characteristics of two institutes of sultanate and ministry are considerably thinkable [6]. Due to considerations of kingship and religious orientations, Khajeh used to do efforts to meet and negate the thing named as ill-religion and was common among Ismailian. Maybe the most important political innovation of Khajeh in this field was supplying cost for establishing and running schools in all major cities such as Nezameh and Baghdad, in which educating was free. Here, he was aimed at training teachers and scholars, who have been able to fight Ismaili propagations. In fact, he was aimed at realizing political, thought and cultural recovery of Sunni religion [7]. In addition, it seems that he has been aimed at realizing his political goals and training governmental servants with Sunni Religion, which should become successor of class of former teachers. Secondly, he hoped that using scholars trained in these schools, he should gain authority of groups and fight against Ismaili Sect propagation, which used to threaten existence of the government. One of the outputs of establishment of schools was providing

conditions for bureaucracy with religious classes. Through establishment of schools, teachers on one hand and scientists on the other hand became close to each other [8]. Moreover, the story of three elementary friends, Nezam Ul-Molk and Omar Khayyam (famous poet and mathematician) and Hassan Mobah (leader of Iran's Ismailian) in childhood has been nothing other than a legend and it should not be considered for extracting political orientations. In addition to opposition to people with ill-religion, Khajeh used not to consider other religions of Sunni based on narratives of some references and scholars. The major competitor of Shafei Jurisprudence in pages of Iran was Hanafi Jurisprudence. In this regard, one can refer to one event in life of Khajeh, which can't be defended significantly. The reference is participating in murder of Amid Al-Molk Kondori, another minister of Alb Arsalan, who was adherent of Hanafi Jurisprudence. Religious prejudices of Kondori caused him to maledict Ashaereh, which were usually Shafei. Because of radicalisms of Kondori, some Shafei and Ash'ari scientists like Ghashiri and Imam Al-Haramain Juveini left Khorasan. Juveini was one of the teachers of Ghazali, scientist and jurist of Seljuk Era. After killing Kondori, Khajeh owned his position of ministry with no competitor [9].

Advice letter (Andarz Nameh) writing in Saljouqid Era

By that age, literature of advice letter was prospered more than any time in previous of future times. This was maybe because important channel was dominant for imposing religious beliefs to ceremonies. It seems that advice letters, especially due to rapid displacement of dynasties and need for transferring tradition and experience from one regime to another, is useful. In addition, advice letters used to train social skills, management of people, art of discourse, how to behave with different classes and mainly discussion on friendship, literature and attention. Advice letters included Iranian, Islamic and philosophical subjects of Greece. Advice used to be supplied with careful and jobbery spirits, in addition to paying attention to the afterworld, along with the world that was one of the characteristics of Islamic Works. Their educational content was never non-Islamic and Islamic thought and justice used to be written with a larger font. As power of governors was in service of supporting religion and truth, nothing in unethical methods that used to be advised to the government was no considered non-Islamic.

Therefore, the books "Merat Al-Moluk" were not European in actual meaning. Ideals, to the obedience of which the governor used to be invited, were not Christian ideals, but also they were Islamic-Iranian Realistic policies. Their ethical principles were worldly to some extent. On the other hand, they were not "Makia Vali Maslak"; their advices used to constantly integrate ethical principles with operationalization and political power were never enough in its limit [10]. Here, some wariness ethics would be observed that are placed in form of monotheism and believe in recovering dead bodies. These advice letters could indicate values of Sunni religious government, which was formed in Saljouqid Era. Discussion on disorganizations of that time is one of the main bases for policy letter writing. It could be mentioned certainly that all important policy letters would be began with criticism and pathology of the world and time. In fact, emphasis on disorganizations of the world can be typically considered as privative aspect of repay of political thoughts in Iranian political advice letters after Islam. One of these works is work of Khajeh Nezam Ul-Molk named "Siasatnameh" or "Siar Al-Moluk". Siar Al-Moluk is classical composition of philanthropist autarchy and in the other words, instrumental autarchy. Siasatnameh was an overview on what Khajeh had not achieved to it [11]. Writing a book like Siasatnameh was basically aimed at making Saljouqids familiar with ancient Iran's kingship manners and making balance between governorship culture and traditions and power of Seljuk. In this regard, role of Khajeh would be cleared in Ministry Institution.

Siasatnameh of Khajeh can be considered as a contractual mediator, which can link two ages of Siasatnameh writing in Islamic Iran. As a result of codification of same compositions and publishing them, in future evolution of Siasatnameh writing and providing preparations of Constitution Movement, the theory of "Absolute Sultanate" changed into common governmental theory of Iran. Siasatnameh had such a position in political thoughts of Iran that almost no recent political work and composition can be found that has not considered some issues and subjects of Siasatnameh as guarantee.

Siasatnameh (Policy Letter)

In addition to have long-term impacts on political actions in Iran, Khajeh Nezam Ul-Molk was also skillful in practical policy. As it was mentioned, Khajeh has written a book named "Siasatnameh", which is most famous and important work of Khajeh. In addition, Dastur Al-Vozara (orders of ministers) and Vasaya-e Khajeh (will of Khajeh) have been also recorded among his works; although the most important work of Khajeh is certainly "Siasatnameh" or "Siar Al-Moluk", which is the most important work in regard with his political actions. The work was created by 479 A.H following request of Malek Shah, who had asked his servants to create a work in this field. Khajeh has stated in Siasatnameh that: "by 479 A.H, Malek Shah asked me and other servants to think about meaning of territory that is not proper in our age and can't be controlled and governed in our court and parliament or it is hidden for us. Write that what are those jobs and actions that have been common in previous ages and now are not common. Write about everything about traditions and manners of Moluks that have been common in previous times. Think about territories and kings and write explicitly and present us, so that we can hesitate about them and give order for future actions on religion and worldly actions. Through this, we can found everything that should be learnt and we can also act based on order of Almighty God. We should find kindness of God on us and bad actions in previous times. Through this, we can realize that as Almighty God provided the world for us and subjugated our enemies, nothing bad should be continued in our territory against religion and orders of God. Slaves and servants presented everything about experiences and learnt issues from their teachers and presented the service in 50 seasons or chapters. In each chapter, news and narratives of great and elderly people was presented. The book is so useful and mitzvot of both worlds would be achieved through reading it.

No king takes action based on the book in this time, especially by this time that although majority of readers use it mostly on religious and worldly actions, good manners would be opened for them. Also, regulations and court and parliament and properties and transactions would be cleared for them and nothing would be hidden in the government [12]".

However, interesting issues derived from words of Khajeh are as follows:

- 1- Necessity of pathology of governmental subjects and presenting solution and codifying kingship instructions and bureaus for solving existing political, social and economic and cultural problems and disputes.
- 2- Khajeh attributes his thoughts in field of politics and kingship to Malek Shah, which is Siasatnameh and "Service" [13] based on him that was his wish and decision.
- 3- Another issue is related to existence of contradiction between primary action and idea of Khajeh, since he had to introduce previously Seljuk Governors [14] as the only source of orientation of some solutions for removing political and social problems. On the other hand, the most important criticism of Khajeh in Siasatnameh is associated with same governors and their governorship system.
- 4- Another issue is that applied source by Khajeh to write the book includes "His Experiences and Knowledge".
- 5- Necessity of transparency of governmental affairs and attachment of the "religion and government" is another issue that although Khajeh emphasizes it in domain of idea, practically has no belief on attachment of religion and politics. This is because, he believes that pagan just Sultan is prior to Muslim despot king.
- 6- Another issue was dominance of thought of "Divine Ordinance" and "Radicalism" in creation of political thoughts of "Siasatnameh". In addition, sultanate is a divine trust and Almighty God has subjugated our enemies [16].
- 7- Readers and agents would take benefit of existing thoughts in political advices of worldly and afterworld interests. Hence, Khajeh takes any action to clear importance of studying and using these thoughts. He has gone forward to some extent in this field that considers it irrevocable writing and codifying these works and studying them by kings, especially in Seljuk Era [17].
- 8- Finally, mentioning political thoughts in from of narratives and stories is for avoiding readers to be bored. Based on Khajeh, through these readers would not be bored [18] and suffered and it would stick in minds of listeners and would not be forgotten.

Siasatnameh was at the first regulated in 39 chapters and then in late of life of Khajeh, 11 chapters were added to it and it was completed in 50 chapters. The original version of the book was not recorded in time of Khajeh, but also it has been recorded and collected through studying his notes and compositions. "Apparently, Khajeh has not codified the book by himself, but also he had traveled with Malek Shah to Baghdad in 485 A.H and asked authors of specific books of king to do this and the author, Mohammad Maghrebi, regulated and collected it after murder of Khajeh" [19]. Second section of Siasatnameh or same chapter 11 was written under such conditions that dispute of Khajeh with his subservient, Malekshah, and some courtier stimulations were increased. Hence, while investigating subjects inserted in it, the status should be considered. Khajeh has not considered theoretical discussion and relevant trainings of it in Siasatnameh, but also he has referred to realistic issues that can be basis of the government. The major part of his book contains some narratives that can refer to his ideas and they can be considered as pacemaker. A brilliant issue in Siasatnameh is that Khajeh has not confirmed Caliphate system and associated branches to it. He has even said nothing about relationship between caliph and sultan and has just referred generally to caliphs or has presented some issues about their manners in order to explain desired subject. Accordingly, Khajeh has specified whole book to the kingship and sultanate institution and propagating it. On the other hand, criticism of political and religious movements of ancient Iran after Islam in late 11 chapters of book is one of the most interesting issues that unfortunately some scholars have neglected it and assumed Khajeh through this as recovery agent of baseless Iranshahri though [20]. In Shahnameh, Khajeh Nezam Ul-Molk has explained duties and function of different social classes, quality of political preparations and relations, pathology of racial government of Turks and presenting solutions for centralization of their disorganized power, problems of court, minister and sultan, army, ownership system of Ahgta [21], religious sects, social behaviors and some ethical and normative concepts such as justice and consultation. However, theoretical basis of Siasatnameh was defending Iranian political traditions and central politics of Sultan against eccentricity orientations of nomadic Turk military officials [22]. Undoubtedly, Siasatnameh is one of the most important sources for identification and investigation of political organizations and Muslim governments of East. Late chapters of the book about Ismailian can explain background of the sect and contains also abundant historical subjects. In addition, studying it can be useful for gaining information about social and ethical and spiritual status of Iranian in early 5 centuries. In addition, it should be noted that in his book, some historical mistakes are existed that can't cause disruption for original subject of it. Khajeh is not a historian, but also hi has been aimed at collecting and presenting instructions for sultanate and governorship.

Although Khajeh has coated some ideal lessons and trainings of governorship from Eskandar Maghduni, Ghobad, Bahram, Daryush III (Dara), Khosro Parviz, Anu Shiravan, Yazdgerd III, Omar Ibn Abdol Aziz, Omar Ibn Khatab, Azado Duleh Deilami and Mahmud Ghaznavid; he has also considered some idealistic kings and symbol of justice and fairness in his work such as Arab Omar Ibn Khatab, Turk Mahmud Ghaznavid and Samanid Amir Ismail. Siasatnameh is a collection of different short and tall parts, which has been collected from different sources. In fact, the book is at the same time advice and philosophy and interpretation of Quran and news of Prophet Mohammad and stories of imams and prophets and also narratives of kings. In fact, the book contains everything mentioned above and subject created from mind of the author has formed just a little part of early pages of the book [23].

Subjects in this book can be classified to several sections as follows:

- 1- Advice: all chapters of the book, except for chapters 44-47 including historical narratives and introduction of chapter 43, contain advices.
- 2- Narratives of Karim Quran, hadiths and narratives of Prophet Mohammad and his friends, words of great people of religion and governors and famous people
- 3- Spacious narratives: the narratives that were sometimes more than 10 pages have been different texts, which have been written using style of historical narrative and can sometimes make readers bored because of containing repetitive issues and many redundancies.
- 4- Short narratives: the part included some narratives in a single page about kings and ministers and sultans.

- 5- Explaining events of the era of author: in whole book, 4 narratives are existed about age of Nezam Ul-Molk and everything is also existed about sultanate of Alb Arsalan.
- 6- Historical narratives: issues under these titles include chapters 44-47, in which Nezam Ul-Molk has explained history of some "Khawarij" and "Mulhids" for warning his compatriots, which have been dominant on religion and government in previous times in different countries. Although events of the era of author includes all things he has viewed and heard, he has not referred general sources applied in interpreting historical narratives and has sufficed to some phrases and expressions such as "it has been stated in history that..."; "I read in books of ancients that..."; "it has been expressed in history of Imams that..."; "kings of news state that..."; "it has been expressed in news that..." and so on. However, he has applied limited and a few numbers of sources for codifying historical narratives as follows:
 - a) History of "Sepahian" or "Isfahan", which nothing is available of this book unfortunately [24]
 - b) Tabari History [25]
 - c) History of Abbasid Caliphs or "Al-oragh Suli" [26]
 - d) Makharigh Al-Anbia or "Heil Al-Motenabein" work of Mohamamd Zakaria Razi [27]
- 7- Interpretation: at the end of some chapters or narratives, 3-4 lines have been added, which are short interpretation about the aforementioned issues. Although the phrases are relatively short, they should be placed in specific class, since they are generally separated from others issues.

Language of "Siar Al-Molouk" is old compared to current language. It contains a lot of old words, expressions and collocations. Old and considerable phrases are existed in glossary and appendixes of the book. In this book, similar to other texts, Arabic words are less than newer books. However, some Arabic words are existed in Siar Al-Molouk that has no use today. Style of composition of Nezam Ul-Molk is simple and clear and has no technical complexity and has no rhythmic prose that was emerged in next ages. Applying repetitive and improper expressions and words can't be observed in works of Nezam Ul-Molk. Instead, brevity, especially in advices, is to some extent that can cause ambiguity of destination and target.

Conclusion

Style of Siasatnameh is a combination of Bal'ami History and Beyhaghi History; meaning that it is similar to Bal'ami prose in terms of mental aspects and is similar to Beyhaghi History in terms of new words and expressions.

In regard with observance of instructions and structures, it is hardly committed. For example, in his sentences, the position of subject and object is preserved and subject is prior to verb and sentences end to verb certainly. Maybe observance of literary and structural principles in proses of Khajeh is not systematic and can indicate three targets to us mainly as follows: first, dominance of Khajeh on principles of literature and his information and perfection and knowledge for writing an adorned and corrected; second, because of the king, following order of whom the book has been written and third, considering simplicity of word and language because of using applying simple expressions in the book, which can be related to advices and orders of the king in addition to representation of history.

Finally, philosophical approach of the author in discriminating historical events, believe in radicalism and divine ordinance was to some extent that Khajeh used to consider no function for human in regard with rise and collapse of governments and believed that it is a divine issue. However, this is not an unlikely and unreasonable issue due to Ash'ari sect of Khajeh.

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