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INTRODUCTION

MIRRORS FOR PRINCES

Books of counsel for rulers, or ‘Mirrors for Princes’, form a distinctive and interesting genre of classical Arabic and Persian literature. They show how complete was the synthesis achieved between the Arab-Islamic and old Persian elements which were the main components of medieval Muslim civilization. They make impartial use of examples attributed to Arab Caliphs and Sááánid kings, Sufí saints and Persian sages; they islamize Zoroastrian maxims such as ‘religion and empire are brothers’; and they assume rightly or wrongly a substantial identity and continuity between Sááánían and Islamic state institutions. During the early Abbásid period, emphasis on the Persian contribution to Islamic civilization sometimes represented a šu'á'íbíe or nationalistic tendency among the Persian Muslims. Such nationalism must have been a factor in the revival of Persian as a literary language; it was to be expressed in no uncertain terms by Firdawsí (c. 320/932–410/1020) in his Sháhnáma. In general, however, religious universalism prevailed over national particularism; and Persians were foremost among the thinkers who developed the faith of Islam into a world religion. At the same time, Muslims of every nationality and school of thought came to accept the view of Muslim civilization as a Perso-Islamic synthesis. Thus, the Spanish Muslim Ibn 'Abd Rabbih of Córdoba (d. 320/940) placed a 'Mirror for Princes' full of Persian material at the head of his vast anthology of belles-lettres, al-'Iqd al-Parid; and the jurist al-Máwardi of Bašráh (364/975–450/1058), author of al-'Áhám al-Sulájíyáh,² the

¹ Ed. by Ahmad Amin et al., 7 vols., Cairo, 1567/1948–1572/1953; Book I, Kitáb al-Lulá'ab fíl-Suláb.
² Tr. by E. Fagnan, Les statuts gouvernementaux, Algiers, 1915. Among other works said to have been written by Máwardi, Fagnan mentions (Introduction, p. vii): Naifíbat al-Muláh, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. Arabes, No. 3447; 'Siyásat al-Mamálakáh; Qámís (or Qánistín) al-Wáidráh; Mu'ázfát al-Qádáíl (on moral virtues); Adáb al-durmá l-šulá; printed at Constantinople 1392/1874 and at Cairo, 1395/1877 and 1315/1897; al-Athábál wa'l-suláh (aphorisms), Leiden, manuscript 344, catalogue vol. I, p. 196; and Tu'ífí al-nasár wa taabí al-pá'ír. The last-named work was studied by Gustav Richter (see his Studien zur
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greatest theoretical exposition of Islamic constitutional law, also wrote books of advice for rulers which have not yet been fully studied by modern scholars, but which appear to resemble others of their kind. The classical 'Mirrors', with their Perno-Islamic outlook, continued to be copied, and also imitated and translated, during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, and must have been read by Sufis and officials of those empires and have influenced their thought and action. Materials found in 'Mirrors' also passed into popular folklore; and having been used along with Sufi materials by Sadī in his Būtān and Gulistān, they are still familiar to all who read or quote from those immortal works.

Not only the content, but also the form, of the 'Mirrors' reflect the convergence of Persian and Arab heritages and tastes. Sufi court literature must have consisted very largely of precepts or generalizations exemplified by aphorisms and anecdotes. The Traditions of Islam (Hadith) are of similar character, arranged either according to source (musa'ad), i.e. under the name of a transmitter, or in the more widely used compilations according to subject (musa'araf), i.e. in the form of rulings attested by sayings or actions ascribed to Muhammad or his Companions. Analogous forms are found in the literature concerning Sufi (uyûn) saints; while elegant prose literature, adab, also often took the form of generalizations illustrated by anecdotes, aphorisms or verses. Knowledge of Sāsānian literature first became available to Muslims, over a century after the Arab conquest of Trâq and Iran, through the Arabic translations made by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (c. 106/ 724-1350/1937), who also wrote the first original Arabic works of adab and advice for rulers. More will be said later in this Introduction about his achievements and about the sources of the Sāsānian and other materials found in the 'Mirrors'.1 Ibn al-Muqaffa's purpose, and indeed the purpose of many of the Pahlavi writings which he translated, appears to have been partly to convey ethical teachings, partly to advise on practical expediency and etiquette, and partly — perhaps mainly—to give pleasure through literary elegance and aesthetic merit. The same mixture of motives is apparent in subsequent adab literature, whether the subject be advice for rulers or other favourite themes such as friends, ascetics, masters, secretaries, horses, women, or moral qualities and their antitheses. The resultant literary products are sometimes edifying and often witty; but the confusion between ethico-religious and practical criteria, and the quest for rhetorical effect, impedes rational consideration of subject-matter in such works. 'Mirrors for Princes' do not venture upon systematic treatment of the problems of government and of state and society. Such treatment was indeed attempted by Abū Yūnīs (d. 182/796),2 Māwardī, and other lawyers, whose approach is strictly rational within the limits of their doctrinal postulates, and by Fārībī (d. 1109/950) and subsequent philosophers,3 who attempted to reconcile Platonic theories with Islamic concepts. Authors of 'Mirrors', however, keep clear of both constitutional law and political theory, and simply take for granted the existence of an Islamic state in whatever form they themselves knew it.

Along with common features, different 'Mirrors' show considerable variety of emphasis and subject-matter, having been written by men of different backgrounds. The Kitāb al-Tāj, written sometime between 232/847 and 247/861 and falsely attributed to al-Jāhij,4 is a manual of etiquette containing also political and ethical counsels; addressed to both rulers and courtiers, it holds up Sāsānian practices as models, but also quotes examples of Muslim Caliphs. Ibn Qutaybah (217/832-275/886) wrote primarily as a man of letters in the treatise on rulership (Kitāb al-Sulṭān) which forms the first book of his compilation of adab, 'Uyun al-Akhbār,5

1 This is evident in his Arabic version of Ka'lidah wa Dimnah: text, ed. 'Azizun, Cairo, 1350/1941, and ed. Cheikh, Beirut, 1955; French tr. by André Miquel, Paris, 1957.
2 In his Kitāb al-Khadīr, tr. E. Fagnan, Le livre de l'impôt foncier, Algiers, 1913. In the first part of this work, which he wrote for Hārūn al-Rāshīd, Abū Yūnūs explains the Caliph's responsibility to God for enforcing Islamic law and maintaining just government.
4 Ed. Ahmad Zaki Pāshā, Cairo, 1322/1914; tr. Ch. Pellel, Paris, 1934. Prof. Pellel argues convincingly that the Arabic style of the work, which is rather clumsy and obviously influenced by Persian, differs so greatly from the masterly Arabic of most of the works of Jāhij that its attribution to him must be false. The book is dedicated to the Amīr Pāshā Ibn Khākin, mansūr of the Prince of the Believers; of Turkish origin, he was a secretary and favourite of the Caliph Mutawakkil and was murdered with him in 247/861.
5 Cairo, 1345/1935-1349/1939.
and Ibn 'Abd Rabbîh did the same in the first book of his al-'Iqd al-Farîd, which contains very similar materials, perhaps drawn from common sources to which both Ibn Qutaybah and he had access.

In the Kitāb Baghdādî of Abûl-Fâdîl Ahmad ibn Abî 'Tâhir Tayfîr comes the letter which Tâhir Dâlî-Yamînîn (The Ambidextrous, d. 207/822), then viceroy of Khurâsân, sent to his son 'Abd Allâh on the latter's appointment by the Caliph al-Ma'mûn to the governorship of Diwâr Râbî'âh in Northern Mesopotamia. Tâhir advises 'Abd Allâh how to rule as a pious Muslim governor, and although some of his counsels are of old Persian origin, he regards them as Islamic precepts and does not ascribe them to Sûsânid kings or their sages.

Besides these, numerous other "Mirrors", of which some have survived, were written in Arabic, mostly, it seems, by authors 1 in book VI of the Kitâb Baghdâdî, which has been ed. and tr. by H. Keller, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1908; cf. Richter, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

2 Richter (op. cit.) mentions: al-Ṭâhir al-munashshî fi sadîkh al-mulûk by 'All ibn al-Âhwâzî, Cairo, 1900. This is not named in Brockelmann's list (G.A.L., Suppl. 1, p. 720) of the works of Abû 'All al-Husayn . . . al-Âhwâzî, a philologist and Qur'anic scholar, d. 496/1095. Among them Brockelmann includes a Kitâb al-Furû'î id-daw' al-mulûk by a different Abû 'All al-Hasân in that name (p. 99 below) and attributes it to Abû 'All al-Husayn al-Âhwâzî. According to the Madhîq al-Sûrî of Rashîd al-Dîn Wâsî, cited by Prof. Himâl, this was Abû 'All al-Husayn Muhammad al-Âhwâzî, a contemporary of Thâlibî (d. 424/1035), the author of Ya'qûbit al-Dahr. It may well be that all these variant names represent one author who originated from Ahwâz.

Sirîd al-mulûk by Ibn Abî Randaqsh al-Turtuqî (415/1025-430/1131 or 535/1131), a native of Tortosa in Spain who migrated to Egypt Besides Persian material, the work contains sayings of an Indian sage Shânâk, which have been shown to come through Persia from a Sanskrit book of wisdom called Rasâdî compiled by an author named Čânâkâya. (Richter, op. cit., p. 92) Ibn Abî Randaqsh was an opponent of Ghazâlî and wrote his Sirîd al-Mulûk as the hope of outshining Ghazâlî's Naṣirat al-Mulûk (Brockelmann, G.A.L., Suppl. 1, pp. 89-30).

Sudâm al-Mati' by Ibn Šâfar (d. 525/1130 or 526/1132, a Sicilian who migrated to Mecca; text, Tunis 1297/1681; tr. by M. Amari, Confronti Politici, Florence, 1862. This contains not only Persian materials, but also animal stories of Indian origin, some but not all from Kalîwat naa Dînâkh. Stories are included within stories as in the Arabic Nights, and this fashion is also said to be Indian (but probably received through Persia). (Richter, op. cit., pp. 91-92; Brockelmann, G.A.L., 1, pp. 351-2.)

Kitâb al-Tadkhîrah of Ibn Ḥanûlîn of Baghdâd (495/1091-520/1617), a philological and historical anthology containing a 'Mirror' (Brockelmann, G.A.L. 1, pp. 281-2). Also to be mentioned are:

Abûd al-Âiwâr al-Muṣbî by Ibn Miskawâwî (d. 424/1030), the historian and

whose approach was wholly literary; and items which recur in 'Mirrors' are also found in compilations of adâb such as the Kitâb al-Maḥâsin wa'l-Massûnî of Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Bayhaqî (early fourth/tenth cent.), as well as in historical works.

Better known and much more interesting are the 'Mirrors' written in Persian during the period of Saljuq domination: 2 namely the Qâhûnûmâh composed in 757/1258 by Kay Kâûs ibn Iskânî; 3 the Siyâsatmâh of Nizâm al-Mulk (408/1018-425/1034); 3 and the Kitâb Naṣirat al-Mulûk of Abu Ḫamîd Muhammad al-Ghazâlî (450/1058-9/550/1113).

The Qâhûnûmâh is a book of counsel addressed by the Ziyârid prince of Ṭabaristân to his son and heir Gâlûnshâh. Proud of his illustrious ancestry, but impious and not very secure on his throne as a vassal of the Saljuqs, Kay Kâûs was a realist; he was far from sure that his son would be able to retain the throne, and indeed Gâlûnshâh did not reign long before the Saljuqs Šûfîn Malikshâh deposed him and put an end to the dynasty. Besides giving advice on statecraft, war, etiquette, domestic life, and sport, Kay Kâûs tells his son how to practise other professions to which he might have to turn, namely those of doctor of religion (âlim), merchant, doctor of medicine, astrologer, poet, musician, courtier, secretary, farmer, craftsman, condottiere or dâwâsh. No other work gives so vivid a picture of life as it was lived in the heyday of medieval Islamic civilization. Interspersed through the book are sayings and anecdotes, mostly of Muslim but partly of scholar of Greek philosophy, author of Topûrû al-Ummûm and Tadhkîrah al-Abîhâ (which incorporates some of Aristotle's ethics). See p. Ivi below.


1 Ed. F. Schwally, Giessen, 1903; Index der Stellenneuaufl. R. Offer, Stuttgart, 1922.
2 An earlier 'Mirror' in Persian has survived from the Sûsânid or Ghaznavid period. This is the Adâb al-Sâlihân wa-l-Wairâk, tr. in C. Scheffer, Destino maschero. Pisa, 1883, pp. 10-28 (Richter, op. cit., p. 87, and W. Geiger and E. Kühn, Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, Strasbourg, 1866-1904, vol. ii, p. 347).

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Muslims at a time when there was unemployment among the educated classes, and complains of excessive granting and consequent cheapening of titles and of interference in state affairs by women (no doubt with Malikshah’s ambitious wife Turkân Khâtun in mind). Among these chapters are five on the subject of heretics, which may be later interpolations. One of these recounts the career and death of Mazdak, the arch-heretic of Sîsânîan times, in a tendentious but vivid version thought to derive ultimately from a lost romance which was translated into Arabic from Pahlavi by Ibn al-Muqaffa;2 there are also accounts of the Khurramites, Qaraşţans, and other heretical rebels of ‘Abbâsid times. All are seen as forerunners of the contemporary Bûhnites, i.e. Ismâ‘îlîtes—by the hand of one of whose assassins Nîzâm al-Mulk was to meet his death. Sociologically, even if not doctrinally, there may well have been some truth in this identification. The Siyāsât-nâmah shows that the aims of Nîzâm al-Mulk’s statesmanship were to promote justice, orthodox religion, and the stability and prosperity of the empire; he regards these aims as altogether mutually compatible, but does not conceal his fear that the ‘evil eye’ may have fallen on the Saljuq régime and that its days may be numbered.

Different in character and purpose is the book of counsel for kings of al-Ghazâlî,1 by general consent the most important religious thinker of medieval Islam. The work consists of two parts, of which the first is theological, setting forth and explaining, as do no other books of this kind, what are the beliefs which a pious Muslim ruler ought to hold and the religious principles on which he ought to act. The second part contains a ‘Mirror for Princes’, with further chapters on wâzîrs, secretaries, magnanimity in kings, aphorisms of the sages, intelligence, and women. The content of the second part is predominantly ethical and often reflects

1 Dr. J. A. Boyle has given the information that B. N. Zachoder, the Russian translator of the Siyâsât-nâmah (Moscow, 1949), considers these chapters to have been interpolated by Muḥammad Maqûribî, the copyist and royal librarian (see p. xiv, n. 1, above).

2 A. Christensen, L’Iran sous les Sassanides, Copenhagen, 1944, pp. 68 and 335-6. There was also a verse translation in Arabic by Abû al-Lâhîjî (d. 200/ 815).

3 The spelling ‘Ghazâlî’ is used following Montgomery Watt, Bouyges, Bouquet, Goldhâber; but see B. A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs, p. 339, n. 1, and Breckinmann, G. A. L. I. p. 419. Dr. J. A. Boyle states that in the Ikhân-nâmah of Farîd al-Dîn A‘târ (d. 627/1230) the name occurs twice (ed. Rôshân, pp. 134, 137) and that in both contexts the metre requires ‘Ghazâlî’. 2000
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the Sūfī attitude to life of which Ghazālī was such an eloquent exponent; but there are also passages of purely practical interest, and passages whose main point appears to be their literary effect. In form the work follows accustomed lines, with precepts enunciated by Ghazālī and exemplifying anecdotes and aphorisms. No less than other writers of 'Mirrors', the theologian Ghazālī views Muslim civilization as a Perso-Islamic synthesis. In Nasīhat al-Mulūk he has brought together a treasure-store of Sāsānian and Muslim stories and sayings, many of which are not found in earlier 'Mirrors'. It is unfortunate that this great thinker, who was also a profound scholar of philosophy and highly trained lawyer, should have said nothing here about the nature of the Islamic state or the role of the Caliphate or the Bā|mītine menace; he had, however, written on the two latter subjects in an earlier work (which will be discussed later in this Introduction), and as already mentioned it was not customary to bring law or philosophy into 'Mirrors for Princes'. Nasīhat al-Mulūk is nevertheless a work of great interest and value, as an exposition of Perso-Islamic beliefs and ethical concepts, and as a compendium of medieval folklore.

Both the Qudūsīnāmah and the Siyāsatnāmah have been translated into English, French, and German. It is hoped that despite shortcomings the present attempt to translate Nasīhat al-Mulūk may be of service.

NASIHaT aL-MULUk: THE PERSIAN AND ARABIC VERSIONS

Leading modern scholars have shown that numerous writings attributed to Ghazālī are spurious, but have not denied that Nasīhat al-Mulūk is an authentic work, composed by Ghazālī in Persian and later translated into Arabic.1 This is attested by outside authorities as well as by statements in manuscripts of the Arabic text.

In many of the Arabic manuscripts the opening passage addresses


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the work to the Sulṭān Muhammad ibn Malkihshāh as 'King of the East and West'. This title, first conferred on the Sulṭān Sulṭān Ṭughril Beg Muhammad by the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Qā'im, was sought and obtained by successive Great Sulṭāq rulers as a mark of Caliphal recognition. Although Muhammad ibn Malkihshāh had been proclaimed Sulṭān in 492/1099 by a faction of troops then warring against his half-brother Barkiyaruq, he acknowledged the latter's suzerainty in 497/1105 and accepted from him the title of 'King' of Northern Mesopotamia and Āşarbāŷān; only after the death of Barkiyaruq in 494/1104 and binding of Malikshāh II in 499/1105 was Muhammad generally acknowledged as Great Sulṭāq ruler. Nasīhat al-Mulūk would therefore have been composed at some date between 499/1105 and 502/1111, the year of Ghazâlī's death. In the Persian manuscript used by Professor Humălī, however, the opening passage does not name Muhammad ibn Malikshāh and addresses the work to the 'King of the East'. This title might mean 'King' of Khurāsān and refer to Muhammād's full brother and ally Sanjar, whose authority in that province was recognized by Barkiyaruq on the termination of the Saljuq civil war in 497/1103 and by Muhammad throughout his reign (499/1105–511/1118). Ghazâlī states in his autobiography that he moved to Nishāpūr and resumed public teaching in Dhu‘l-Qa‘dah 499/July 1106, after receiving strict orders from the Sulṭān of the time, who desired that luke-warmness in religion should be combated. Since Nishāpūr was in Sanjar's province and since the term Sulṭān was used of provincial as well as Great Sulṭāq rulers, Ghazâlī's reference might be to Sanjar; but the evidence of the Arabic manuscripts and of outside sources points to Muhammad, and it is possible that at some stage in the transmission of the Persian manuscript a copyist may have overlooked the words 'and West' in the royal title.

Dawlatshāh Samargandī, in his 'Memoirs of the Poets' written in 892/1487,2 reports a confrontation in the presence of Muhammad ibn Malikshāh between Ghazâlī and As‘ad Mīnāh, a theologian and a zealot of the Hanafite school (to which the Sulṭāq royal


family and most of the 'ulumā' of Khurāsān adhered, while Ghazālī followed the Shāfi‘īte school); when asked by 'Aṣ'ād whether he was a Ḥanafite or a Shāfi‘ite, Ghazālī replied, 'In matters of reason I belong to the school of proof, and in matters of law to the school of the Qur‘ān'.

In a manuscript entitled Faḍl al-Anām which Fritz Meier found at Istanbul, it is stated that Ghazālī composed Naṣīḥat al-Mulāk at Ṭūs after retiring from his teaching activity at Nishāpūr and after reaching the age of 53 (i.e. after 503/1109–10), and that the occasion was as follows: in a gathering at which the Sulṭān was present, Ghazālī refuted the hostile criticisms of some Ḥanafite 'ulumā', and the Sulṭān bade him write down what he had said; he did so, and the Sulṭān sent him in token of reconciliation a stag which he had shot at a hunt; in return for this gift Ghazālī composed a larger work for the Sulṭān, namely Naṣīḥat al-Mulāk.

If this is true, the Persian Naṣīḥat al-Mulāk must date from Ghazālī's last years (503/1109–10 505/1111), which he spent at his native Ṭūs, living in retirement and practising Sūfism but continuing to write and to teach.

Most manuscripts of the Arabic version bear the title al-Tibr al-Masāḥī Naṣīḥat al-Mulāk, 'the Melted ingot (of gold) on advice to kings'; and certain manuscripts noted by Brockmeier, Bouyges, and Meier contain statements that the work was written in Persian by Ghazālī and translated into Arabic by 'Ali ibn Mubārak ibn Mawhīb of Irbīl for the 'Atabeg Alp Qutluq Beg Qaymāz al-Zaynī. This is confirmed by Ibn Khallikān's biographical notice of the translator's uncle, who was called Ibn al-Mustawfī; Ibn Khal- likān (568/1171–581/1281), who claimed descent from the Barma- kids and was born and brought up at Irbīl but in 626/1229–30 left the city, states that Ibn al-Mustawfī was born in 564/1170 and that his full names were Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥtab al-Mubārak ibn Aḥtab Fath Ahmad ibn Mawhīb ibn Gāḥībīm ibn Ghālib al-Lakhmī; he wrote a history of Irbīl and other literary works which Ibn Khallikān admired, and served as mustawfī (i.e. finance minister) from before Ibn Khallikān's departure until 629/ 1232, when he became māzir; in the following year, however, after the virtuous ruler of Irbīl, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gūkūrī, had died without heirs and the Caliph al-Mustansīr had occupied the city, he was dismissed; thereafter he lived in retirement at Irbīl until the Mongols took the city in 634/1236, and then at Mosul until his death in 637/1239. Ibn Khallikān also states:

The office of mustawfī had been held by his father and by his uncle, Saḥī al-Dīn Aḥtab al-Hasān 'All ibn Mubārak, a man of eminent abilities; it was he who translated the Naṣīḥat al-Mulāk composed by Aḥtab Hamīd al-Ghazālī from the Persian language into Arabic, for Ghazālī had composed it only in Persian. I used to hear this in the days when I was in that country; it was well-known among the people.

For some reason, the Persian Naṣīḥat al-Mulāk virtually went out of circulation, while the Arabic al-Tibr al-Masāḥī was frequently copied in Mamlūk and Ottoman times. Scholars came to believe that the Persian original was irretrievably lost. There were some who thought that Ghazālī had written the Arabic text, perhaps because available manuscripts contained no mention of the translator or of the Persian original, and some who doubted whether the work was Ghazālī's at all, perhaps because manuscripts bore
titles which had been embroidered or altered by scribes, while similar titles were borne by works of other authors. Ibn Khalikin’s evidence had, however, been confirmed by the literary encyclopedist Hajji Khalilkhani known as Kutib Chelebi (d. 1057/1647), who in his Kusf al-Zamān inscribed two entries, not very clearly worded, but evidently showing that he knew of the existence of manuscripts of the Persian as well as the Arabic version. In the first entry headed al-Tūr al-Mabūk fi Naṣīf Ṭal-Al-Malāk, he states:5

Persian, by the Imām Abū Ḥāmid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Ghazālī, who died in 505, for the Saljuq Sulṭān Muhammad ibn Malik-shāh; then somebody translated it into Arabic. It was translated into Turkish by Muhammad ibn ‘All known as ‘Ashiq Chelebi and also by ‘Ala’ ibn Muḥammad al-Sharif al-Shirkiyl-Abn Beg, one of the proteges of Bayzaid ibn Sulṭān Suleymān Khān, who called it Naṣiṭat al-Sulṭān. It has an introduction setting forth Ghazālī’s counsels to Muslims ibn Malikshāh and two essays and seven chapters. It is these translations which are many appendices (iḥlāqāt). It was also translated (into Turkish) by Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Azīz known as Wujūdī who died in 1026.

In the second entry Hajji Khalifkhani states:6

It is the Persian al-Tūr al-Mabūk by the Imām Abū Ḥāmid ibn W. R. W. Gardner, al-Ghazali, Madras, 1919, p. 110. (Humā‘), Introduction; Bouyges, op. cit., p. 63 n. 1.)

1 e.g. Naṣīf al-Malāk, Sirat al-Malāk (among the manuscripts found by Meier; see below); Khorādib al-Sulṭān (Bouyges, op. cit., p. 61 n. 6, quoting Aḥmadwardi); Naṣīf al-Sulṭān (Turkish tr. mentioned by Hajji Khalifkhani; see below).

2 e.g. al-Tūr al-maṣūṣi fī taḥdīr al-Malāk by a certain Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Aṣīrī (p. xii, n. 2, and p. xviii, n. 2). Above; Nuṣīf al-Malāk by Mawardi (p. ix, n. 2, above); Naṣīf al-Malāk (in Persian) by Qiwām al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn i.i.i. (Hajji Khalifkhani, Humā‘); al-Naṣīf al-Mahmūdī, 11163-11164 by Shakhā ibn l.āfī al-Aṣār (d. 936/1529) and Naṣīf al-Sulṭān by Mustafa ibn Ahmad known as ‘All al-Dāʿarī (Hajji Khalifkhani); al-Tūr al-Mabūk fī ḍayl al-Sulṭān (historical) and an appendix to Muṣṭafā’s Sulṭān by Shams al-Dīn Abū Khayr Muhammad al-Sakhrwī (Humā‘).

3 Prof. Humā‘ mentions in his Introduction the following medieval writers who refer to Naṣīf al-Malāk as one of Ghazālī’s works: Yifrī (d. 632/1236) in his Chronicle, year 505; Safaṭi (d. 746/1345) in his Biographical Dictionary, life of Ghazālī; Fadhl Allāh Husayn Gwainī in his History of the Ancient Kings of Persia written for Nuṣīf al-Malāk al-Dīn Ahmad ibn Yūsuf Shah, Aṣc▸ of the Great Lush (r. 665/1266–c. 733/1332; Browne, Lit. Hist. iii. p. 68), reign of Kaytopur; Sayyid Muṣṭafā al-Zahīdī (1145/1731–1205/1795) in his Commentary on Ghazālī’s Ḥiyāt al-Ulmā‘ al-Dīn, where he also states that ‘somebody translated the Persian Naṣīf al-Malāk into Arabic and called it al-Tūr al-Mabūk’.


4 In 1990 Paul Horn learnt that manuscripts of the Persian original had survived in the libraries of Istanbul, and in 1939 Fritz Meier made investigations and found three Persian manuscripts, two copied in the eighth/fifteenth century and one undated. He also found six manuscripts of the Arabic version containing the names both of the translator Abū’l-Hassan ‘Ali ibn Mubārak ibn Mawhūb and of his patron the Artabeg Abū Quṭlah ‘Imān Beg Abū Manṣūr Qaymnāz Abū-Zaynī, and also containing the original Persian texts of poems which come in the work in addition to Arabic translations of them; among these six manuscripts, five had been copied in the eight/fifteenth and ninth/sixteenth centuries, two of them for Mamlūk Sulṭāns of Egypt, and one bore no date. Besides these Dr. Meier found twenty-three Arabic manuscripts with no mention of the translator’s or of his patron’s names and no Persian poems, possibly representing a later recension; several mixed and incomplete Arabic manuscripts; one Arabic and three Persian manuscripts containing only the first, i.e. theological, part, which may have been regarded as a separate work; and various manuscripts of Turkish translations, including those by Muḥibbī and Wujūdī which Hajji Khalifkhani mentioned. The period in which the Arabic translation was made is indicated in a biographical notice of ‘Ali ibn Mubārak’s patron by Ibn Khalikān. This gives his names as Abū Manṣūr Qaymnāz ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Zaynī, and despite the appellation ‘Abū Manṣūr’ states

5 Z.D.M.G., Bd. 54, 1900, pp. 313–14.


Particulars are given by Meier, loc. cit.

7 Bouyges, op. cit., pp. 61–62 n. 7, mentions a Persian manuscript at Cairo consisting of Part I only.

that he was a eunuch from Ŧabaristan and a freedman of the ruler of Iribil, Zayn al-Dīn 'Ali ibn Begteğin, who appointed him atabeg ('guardian') of his children—hence his surname al-Zaynī. Zayn al-Dīn 'Ali, called Küchik, had risen to power as a general in the service of 'Imād al-Dīn Zangi (d. 541/1140) and governed Iribil and also Mosul on behalf of the Zangids until his death in 563/1168; in 559/1164, according to Ibn Khalīkān, he put Qaymāz in charge of affairs at Iribil. He had intended that: after his death the government of Iribil should pass to his elder son, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Gōkbūrī; but Qaymāz secured the succession for the younger son, Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf. Gōkbūrī served the Zangids in various roles and fought with Saḥābī al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī against the Crusaders; Yūsuf also fought against the Crusaders and was killed at Nazareth in 586/1190, when Gōkbūrī finally succeeded to the government of Iribil. At Mosul, however, Qaymāz, who had served as governor since 571/1175, was to remain in office until his death in 593/1199, except for a spell in 589/1193 when he was temporarily deposed and imprisoned by a Zangid prince named 'Īzz al-Dīn Mas'ūdī. Qaymāz was a virtuous and pious ruler, who built a college (madrasa) at Iribil, rebuilt the mosque at Mosul, and patronized literature and poetry; his secretary was Majd al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr (d. 607/1210), a theologian and Traditionist, brother of the historian 'Īzz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr. Qaymāz must have commissioned the Arabic translation of Naṣīḥat al-Mulīk at some time during his long tenure of office at Iribil, i.e. during the quarter of a century before 586/1190.

Apart from those at Istanbul, only one other manuscript of the Persian Naṣīḥat al-Mulīk has come to light, namely at Tehran, having been acquired by the distinguished scholar Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahīm Khalḵhālī, who passed it to his friend Jalāl Khān Šaḥān Huṃālī; from it Professor Huṃālī was able to produce the edition printed by the Majlis Press at Tehran in 1315 solar/1937-1317/1939. Manuscripts of the Arabic al-Tūr al-Masāhīb on the other hand, are numerous, with ten conserved at Paris and others at Oxford, Cambridge, Utrecht, Cairo, Tunis, Beirut and elsewhere. Two editions of al-Tūr al-Masāhīb have been printed at Cairo, one in 1277/1860 on the margins of an edition of 'Ṭurūshī’s Sīrāj al-Mulīkī and another in 1317/1900.

Prof. Huṃālī found that Mr. Khalkhālī’s Persian manuscript

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1 See Note 2 on p. xii above.

2 The manuscript had been copied at a very late date, namely 1267/1850; but the style and vocabulary were such that the work must have been transmitted from a very early period of Persian prose. Unfortunately the text was disordered, with numerous errors and omissions. The History of the Kings of Persia (pp. 47-53 below) was hopelessly corrupt and defective, and certain stories of Anīshīrvarī (appearing on pp. 72-73 below) were also very corrupt. In preparing the printed text, Prof. Huṃālī1 did a laborious and scholarly work of reconstruction. Besides reordering and correctmg the manuscript text, he filled gaps where possible by referring to the Arabic edition of 1317/1900 and translating words and passages from it back into an appropriately archaic Persian. This Arabic edition was also full of errors and omissions, but in content was similar to the Persian, apart from some differences in order of items; the History of the Kings was equally corrupt, and the above-mentioned stories of Anīshīrvarī were missing. Prof. Huṃālī was not able to reconstruct the History of the Kings and left this and a few other passages as they stood, but filled various gaps by referring to classical Persian and Arabic works containing similar material. In his edition he has enclosed reconstructed words and passages within square brackets and supplied valuable footnotes.

The Oxford Arabic manuscript was examined by Dr. H. D. Isaacs, M.D., of Manchester, who prepared a typewritten transcript with a translation of Part I and a valuable introduction; these he presented to Manchester University as a thesis in 1956. The manuscript (Laurence Or. 210) is entitled Kitāb Naṣīḥat al-Mulīk wa kull Ḥanīta wa Ṣūlīh, "The Book of Counsel for Kings and for every Rich Man and Beggar", and is not dated but forms part of the Laudian collection acquired by the Bodleian Library between 1635 and 1640. Dr. Isaacs found it to be well preserved, though sometimes illegible at the margin or on account of blotches, and rather full of grammatical and auditional errors, the text having evidently been taken down from dictation. He was able to remedy these defects by referring to the Cairo edition of 1277/1860 and by other means. The names of the translator and of his patron did not appear in the opening paragraph of the manuscript, but there were Persian and after them Arabic versions of the poems (which Dr.
Isaacs was not able to reproduce in his typewritten text); the History of the Kings was defective (and not in accord with the corrupt fragments which survive in Prof. Humā‘ī’s Persian text). Aside from this and from the presence or absence of a few items and occasional differences of order, the contents of Dr. Isaacs’s Arabic and Prof. Humā‘ī’s Persian texts are substantially identical. ‘Alī ibn Mubārak ibn Mawhūb must be deemed to have fulfilled very successfully his intention of ‘adhering to the plan (of the work) and rendering it in accordance with its structure and form, without making any change in its content and character’.

**INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF AUTHENTICITY**

In Part I (p. 25 below) there is a sentence, ‘We have mentioned how it may be remedied in the Book of Anger in the Quarter on Destructive Things in the treatise Ḩiyā’ ‘Ulam al-Dīn’, i.e. Book XXV of Ghazālī’s magnum opus; and another sentence (p. 53), ‘To the description of this lower world we have devoted a treatise, may refer to Book XXVI of Ḩiyā’. In Part II, Chapter I, are several references to maladministration and bribery (pp. 77, 88–89, 93) which seem to reflect anxiety over Ṣalājūq affairs rather than theological predilection in favour of the past and against the present; and in Chapter II (p. 111) praise is given to Niẓām al-Mulk 1 in a way suggesting that the great usūr had lived not long ago. On the other hand, Chapter VI ends with a sentence (p. 157), ‘Understand, therefore, O brother, how great is the value of intelligence; since the reader is elsewhere addressed ‘O King’, and since a theologian would not call a Sulṭān ‘O brother’, these words cannot have formed part of Ghazālī’s original work; but this evidence does not seem sufficient to condemn the whole chapter as inauthentic.

In a thesis presented to Edinburgh University in 1962, the Rev. Harold Spencer has demonstrated the dependence upon Ghazālī’s Ḩiyā’ of the first two ‘Pillars’ of his Persian Kāmiyā-yi Sa‘ādat; and the latter must have been the work mainly used in the compilation of Part I of Naṣḥat al-Mulâk. The ten ‘roots’ of the faith as here expounded (pp. 6–12) closely follow the creed of ten articles found in Section 1 of the first ‘Pillar’ of Kāmiyā-yi Sa‘ādat; the ten

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1 Dr. Isaacs’s text has only ‘the Niẓām’, but in the context: this seems to mean Niẓām al-Mulk. See note on p. 111.

ˈbranches’ (guiding principles for royal conduct) appear to be an elaboration of Section 10 of the second ‘Pillar’, which is not paralleled in Ḩiyā’ where no advice to rulers is given; and many of the sayings and stories illustrating the ten ‘branches’ and the two ‘springs’ (knowledge of this world and of the last breath) are found in Kīmiyā-yi Sa‘ādat.

Prof. Humā‘ī has noted this affinity and expressed the opinion that the Persian style of Naṣḥat al-Mulâk is such that it can only have been written by the author of Kīmiyā-yi Sa‘ādat and in the fifth/eleventh or early sixth/twelfth century. The language is very simple, even more so than that of the Siyāḥatnāmah and Qādīnāmah; sentence construction is ‘linear’, with no clauses inside clauses and with the verb often not at the end of the sentence; nor does the author object to ending successive sentences with the same verb. Archaic Persian words are used, along with Arabic technical terms of Islam as might be expected in a work by a theologian; but some religious items are always expressed in Persian, such as namaz (prayer) for salat, and Atdah (Friday) for Jum’ah. As features of the work, Prof. Humā‘ī notes: the pleonastic use of rā after nouns governed by barā-yi and az bohr-i; use of infinitives to govern direct objects; frequent placing of predicates before subjects; frequent placing of cardinal numerals after their nouns; and occasional use of the prefix mi with subjunctive verbs. Dr. Meier has noted also the frequent use of farā and andar to make compound verbs. There is none of the verbal ornamentation seen in prose writings of the sixth/seventh/eleventh/twelfth century, such as the Chahār Maqālah of Niẓām ‘Arūḍī (d. 570/1174) or the Tadhkirat al-Awliyā’ of Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār (d. 627/1230); and rhymed prose is wholly lacking. 1 It is thus evident on linguistic grounds that the text has come down from an earlier period.

The Arabic style of Dr. Isaacs’s text reflects the evolution of medieval Muslim taste. There is a good deal of verbal adornment, in the forms of redundant synonyms and rhyming or jingling sentences or phrases. Such passages are found mainly in Part II, especially when the subject-matter belongs to adab rather than to religious or ethical literature; they are often much longer than the Persian, but otherwise follow it faithfully. Though many of the

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1 Some of the stories and sayings are built around puns and literary effects, but their style is equally simple and archaic. On the anachronism of Arabic puns attributed to Alexander and Anāhīrūn, see below, p. lix.
sayings and anecdotes come from Arabic sources, the simplicity of their Persian and complexity of their Arabic renderings show that in this work the former must have been the originals and the latter translations.

The extreme simplicity of the Persian becomes very pleasing in many of the anecdotes, which gain in effect from conciseness; the stories on p. 66 and p. 93 below are more effective told here than in the Siyāsatnāmeh, where they also appear. The Arabic version, however, is not unpleasant to read, in spite of its diffuseness, as the translator has avoided the excessive artifice and interminable rhymed prose found in some contemporary works.

During the transmission of a work such as this, scribes might well have interpolated further anecdotes or aphorisms which they considered apposite; and such accretions might be indentifiable through differences of literary style. No such differences, however, were perceptible in either Prof. Humā'ī's Persian or Dr. Isaacs's Arabic texts. In Part II, Chapter VII (pp. 165–6 below), for instance, there is an excursion comparing characters of women and animals; in Prof. Humā'ī's text it is headed faṣl ("section"), in Dr. Isaacs's text it is not headed, and in the Cairo edition of 1317/1900 it is missing; its moral tone seems lower than the rest of the chapter, but its style is similar.

In general, the subject-matter is consistent with Ghazālī's ideas as expressed in his other writings. This is discussed later, after an outline of Ghazālī's life and thought.

THE PRESENT TRANSLATION

To eliminate accretions and establish accurate texts from which a definitive English translation could be made, it would be necessary to collate the Istanbul and Tehran Persian manuscripts and a number of the better Arabic manuscripts. The present translation is provisional, being based upon the Persian text edited by Prof. Humā'ī, of which a copy was available in the Oriental Library of Durham University, and upon the Arabic text edited by Dr. Isaacs and included in his thesis, of which he most kindly lent a copy. Prof. Humā'ī's text has been followed except where it seemed preferable to use passages or words from Dr. Isaacs's text or to incorporate additional items from it. The more significant

1 e.g. in the Muqāmāt of ʿIrāq (d. 510/1122).
2 pp. xxviii–li below.

discrepancies between the two texts are recorded in footnotes. The History of the Kings (pp. 47–53) has been taken from Dr. Isaacs's text supplemented by that of the Cambridge Arabic manuscript Qq. 233. Translations of passages or words which were reconstituted by Prof. Humā'ī are enclosed in square brackets; in general they were found to conform in meaning with the corresponding passages or words in Dr. Isaacs's text. Translations of items taken from Dr. Isaacs's or the Cambridge texts and other added or conjured words are enclosed in round brackets. Where conjural readings or translations had to be made, indications are given in the footnotes; e.g. on p. 138, Alexander's saying that 'If actions depend on predestination by God, it is (! not permissible) to reduce effort'. Also noted are points and words of linguistic, theological, historical and general interest, and parallels with items in other works; for many of the notes in Part II gratitude is due to Dr. Isaacs. Prof. Humā'ī's text is designated P. (H.), Dr. Isaacs's text as Ar. (I), the Cairo edition of 1317/1900 used by Prof. Humā'ī as Ar. (H), and the Cambridge text as Ar. (Camb.).

It is hoped that despite the brackets and annotations the translated text will be found easy and pleasant to read. To avoid further encumbrance, particulars of persons appearing in the book are not included in the footnotes but are given in a Biographical Index. For particulars and bibliographies of some of the subjects arising in the book, reference is made in the footnotes to relevant articles in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

THE SALJŪQ PERIOD

Ghazālī's career was much influenced by the affairs of the Saljuqs, under whose régime he lived. They were the ruling family of a Turkoman tribe who had come to ʿIrāq and ʿIrāq not only as conquerors but also as champions of Sunnite Islam; in Transoxiana they had embraced Sunnism of the Ḥanafite school, and though continuing to speak Turkish, they had chosen Persian for their language of culture and government. 1 They first came up against

1 Probably the Saljūqs migrated to Transoxiana and embraced Islam after the conquest of Buhār by the Turkish Qarakhānids from the Persian Śāhānshāh in 1150/50. Although the literary revival of Persian began under the Śāhānshāhs, the governmental language of the Sānṣārīd and Būyid regimes had continued to be Arabic, in which the Secretaries (dābirs) had a strong vested interest. Only under the Turkish régimes, first partially under the Ghaznavids and then under
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the Ghaznavids, also ardent Sunnites, from whom they wrested Khorasan and Rayy through their victory at Dandānūn in 432/1040; and next against the weak and divided Daylamites, who for a hundred years had ruled Western Iran and Baghdaḏ, and whose princes, the Būyids, were Shīʿites of the Twelver sect. Holding that the rightful Twelfth Imām had been occulted at Sāmrār in 260/874, the Būyids had been content to acknowledge during his absence the suzerainty of the Sunnite ‘Abbāsid Caliph; but the position had not been easy. Constitutional harmony was restored when Baghdaḏ fell in 447/1055 to the Saljuq leader Tughrīl Beg Muḥammad, and the Caliph al-Qāʿim became the protégé of a Sunnite government. The new position was legitimized in 449/1058 when al-Qāʿim conferred on Tughrīl the title “King of the East and West”; but in 450-1/1059 Baghdaḏ was seized by Arslān al-Basāṣīrī, a Turkhāḵ general formerly in the service of the Būyids, who proclaimed allegiance to the visibly existent Imām of the Ismāʿīlī Shiʿa, i.e. the Fāṭimid anti-Caliph al-Mustaṣfīr in Cairo. On forty successive Fridays al-Basāṣīrī caused the sermons in the mosques of Baghdaḏ to be read in al-Mustaṣfīr’s name, but he received no support from Egypt and was defeated and killed by Tughrīl’s troops, who brought al-Qāʿim back to Baghdaḏ.

Under Tughrīl’s nephew and successor Alp Arslān (r. 455/1063-465/1072) and in the early years of the reign of Alp Arslān’s son and successor Malikshāh (r. 465/1072-485/1092), the Saljuq armies kept their zeal and conquered eastern Asia Minor from the Christian Byzantines and Syria and Palestine from the heretical Fāṭimids. This was also a period of internal peace and improved administration, thanks mainly to the efforts of Ḥasan ibn ‘Ali ibn Iṣḥāq, Nīẓām al-Mulk (485/1095-485/1092), the illustrious waṣīr of Alp Arslān and Malikshāh. A native of Tūs in Khurāsān, he had been brought up as a pious Sunnite of the Shīʿite school to which the ‘Abbāsid Calipha belonged, and he based his policy on the old Persian maxims “Religion and empire are twins”. He strove to suppress abuses, to introduce reforms, to initiate his still uncultured the Saljuqs, did Persian supplant Arabic in the chancelleries and in diplomatic correspondence. (B. Späte, Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit, Wiesbaden, 1958, pp. 245-7.)

1 i.e. Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Aṣḵarī, called al-Muḥall and Sābūḥ al-Zamān. On the Būyids and their policy, Prof. Claude Cahen has written a very interesting article in E.J. (2).
considered another son, al-Niẓār, to be his father’s originally and irrevocably designated heir. The ‘New Propaganda’ which swept through Irān was a Nizārī movement led by two men of genius, ‘Abd al-Malik ibn al-‘Āṭīṣah and then Ḥasan al-Ṣabīḥ (d. 518/1124). The latter had returned in 473/1081 from a visit to Egypt and was able in 483/1090 to acquire the old Daylamite fortress of Alamūt from its pro-Shī‘ite governor, and there establish his spiritual and military headquarters. Other fortresses, in Qhūstān (southern Khurāsān) and Fārs, and the town of Ṭīrīs on the Tigris, fell into Bāji‘īnī hands, and not a few officers and officials of the Saljiq régime were openly or secretly won over. After al-Mustanṣīr’s death, in Shawlī 487/January 1094, the movement ceased to have any connexion with Egypt. Al-Niẓār was imprisoned and put to death at Alexandria in 488/1095, but was held to have transmitted his powers to the leader of the movement in Irān and thus to have been the spiritual father of Ḥasan al-Ṣabīḥ, who had in fact already assumed the role of Authoritative Teacher.

Despite its attractions, Ismā‘īlism was not acceptable to most Persian Muslims, because they were unwilling to concede such limitless authority to any living man. In stressing this point in his refutations of the Bāji‘īnīs, Ghażālī voiced the prevailing opinion. The alleged antagonism of the Bāji‘īnī, and their secrecy and practice of assassination, were also repellent to the majority.

Meanwhile the authority of the Saljiqs was weakening as their former tribal solidarity gave way to factionalism. This revolved around the ambitions of a woman, Turkān Khātūn. A Qarakhānīid princess from Buhkārā, she had married Malikshāh, borne him a son Muhbīd in 480/1087–8, and won great influence over him; she had also been entrusted with the upbringing of his sister, Muhbīk (or Muhbūk) Khātūn, who in 480/1087 was married to the ‘Abbāsīd Caliph al-Muqtadī and bore a son, Ja‘far. After two years of conjugal discord, however, Muhbīk was brought back with Ja‘far to Ifshāhān, where a little later she died, and Turkān Khātūn took charge of Ja‘far. Her ambitions were to have Muhbīd designated as successor to the Sulṭānate and Ja‘far as successor to the Caliphate. With the help of her major-domo, Tāj ul-Mulk, she was able to gather together a powerful faction of supporters and infiltrate them into high positions. Against her

1 Rāwandi, Rāba‘at al-Sulṭān, O.M.S., N.s., ii, p. 140, says jister; Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, ed. Tornberg, 2, pp. 126 and 146, says daughter.

stood the Caliph and the wa‘z ir Niẓām al-Mulk, who despite jealousy excited by his nepotism, still had powerful supporters also. Niẓām al-Mulk upheld the designation of Barkiyārūq, son of Malikshāh by his earlier marriage to a Saljiq princess Zubaydah Khātūn, as heir to the throne.

Such was the state of affairs when Niẓām al-Mulk was assassinated; and Malikshāh died, on Ramaḍān 10/ October 14 and Shawlī 16/November 19 of the year 485/1094.1 Civil war then broke out among the Saljiqs, and expeditions sent by Niẓām al-Mulk against the Bāji‘īnīs were called off. Turkān Khātūn came to terms with the Caliph, who agreed to support Muhbīd’s claim to the Sulṭānate in return for her renunciation of Ja‘far’s claim to the Caliphate; and she later brought into the struggle against Barkiyārūq the army of a Saljiq prince, Barkiyārūq’s maternal uncle, by name Malik Ismā‘īl, whom she promised to marry; but ultimately Barkiyārūq prevailed. Then his paternal uncles Tutush, governor of Syria, and Arslān Arghān, governor of Khurāsān, rebelled against him, and he was defeated and imprisoned in 487/1094; but when Muhbīd died of smallpox in 487/1094, Barkiyārūq, who had narrowly escaped disqualification by blinding, was acknowledged as the ruler. Later in the same year Turkān Khātūn and the Caliph al-Muqtadī also died, unexpectedly as both were young; and in the following year Tutush and Arslān Arghān came to violent ends. Then in 492/1098-9 Barkiyārūq had to face a rebellion by his brothers Muhammad, who was governing Mosul and Akbarbājān, and Sanjar, who was governing Khurāsān; eventually, in 497/1102, they came to terms, but a year later Barkiyārūq died, and in 499/1103 his infant son Malikshāh II was disqualified by blinding. Muhammad, who was called Tapar, then came to the throne with support from most of the factions, leaving Sanjar to govern Khurāsān as vicerey.

1 Sources agree that Niẓām al-Mulk was assassinated by a Bāji‘īnī. One explanation is that the deed was done in revenge for the execution by the Saljiq authorities of a carpenter of Shībā near Qum accused of having murdered the local muezzin who had been denouncing Ismā‘īlīte activities in the town (Ibn al-Athir, x, p. 108). Rāwandi, p. 135, says that the heretics stabbed Niẓām al-Mulk at the instigation of Tāj ul-Mulk; since Tāj ul-Mulk was killed four months later by troops loyal to Niẓām al-Mulk, the explanation must have been current at the time. Malikshāh is said to have died at Baghshīl of a fever caught on a hunt; but if the purpose of his journey to Baghshīl had been to depose Muqtadī or impose the succession of Ja‘far, poison might have been the cause.
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In all these long civil wars, no high principles were at stake. Participants changed sides as ambition or expediency required, yet were ready to commit all sorts of murders and cruelties. The loss of Jerusalem in 490/1096 to the Fāṣimidis, from whom it was captured in 493/1096 by Franks, did not restrain the Saljuqs from their internecine strife. The Bāṭinītes gained further influence and captured more strongholds, including the castle of Shāhdiz on the outskirts of Isfahān itself.

Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh and Sanjar did what they could to restore the prestige of the Saljuq regime. In Khūrāsān, Sanjar (d. 554/1159) was to win a fine reputation, not only for chivalry and patronage of poets, but also for good government. Muḥammad aspired to fulfill the rôle of pious Sunni ruler, and no doubt would gladly have acted on the advice of the ‘ulamā’ and the secretaries; but his reign was largely occupied with fighting. He personally recaptured Shāhdiz, and like Bāqir ibn Bardoš before him ordered massacres of Bāṭinītes. In Iraq he defeated and killed a rebel Turkish general, Ayān, and a refractory Arab vassal, Sadaqah, the Mazyadid prince of Hillah, who was a Twelver Shi‘ite.

Finally, in 511/1118, he mobilized a number of armies and sent them under the command of his general Anūṣhtin Shirgīr to besiege Alamāt; while the siege was in progress, news came that Muḥammad had died at the age of only 37, and Shirgīr’s armies melted away. The struggle against the Bāṭinītes was continued intermittently by Sanjar; but under Ḥasan al-Sabh’s succession, the movement began to lose its proselytizing ardour and popular appeal as it assumed more and more the character of a petty territorial state. Moreover, thanks in part to the work of Ghāzālī, believers whose faith meant more than compliance with the laws and rituals of a state religion were finding another refuge, less objectionable than Ḥisnīta, in the organized mysticism of Shi‘ī fraternities.

GHAZĀLĪ’S LIFE AND WRITINGS

Born in Khurāsān near Tūs in 450/1060-1, Ghāzālī lost his father at an early age, but through the care of his guardian received a good education from scholar-theologians at Tūs and Gurgān. In

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or about 473/1080 he entered the Madrasah Niẓāmiyāt at Nishāpūr, which had been entrusted by Niẓām al-Mulk to the direction of Abū’l-Ma‘ṣūr Abū al-Malik al-Juwaynī, the leading Shā‘īte theologian of the day. Juwaynī was also the chief exponent of the teachings of Aḥmad ibn Aṣḥār (d. 324/935), who had combated the rationalistic interpretations of the Madrasahīs by using their method of dialectical argumentation in defence of orthodox beliefs; he had consequently been persecuted by Tughrīl Beg’s fanatically Sunnite wa‘azīr, the enunuch ʿAmīd al-Mulk Muḥammad al-Kundurī, who regarded Aḥṣārī asites no less vicious than philosophers and Shi‘īs, and had withdrawn to Mecca and Madīnā—whence his appellation ʿImām al-Ḥaramayn; but after Alp Arslan’s accession, he had returned to Nishāpūr, where he remained as director of the Niẓāmīyah till his death in 478/1085. Juwaynī was a pillar of the state religion, and also a close associate of the Śūṭī writer, Abū’l-Qāsim Abū al-Karīm al-Qushayrī, who in his widely read Rīḍālah had sought to reconcile moderate Śūṭīsm with Sunnite practice and Aḥṣārī dogmatism.8

Ghāzālī spent five years working under Juwaynī at Nishāpūr, where he also studied with a Śūṭī teacher named Farmāndī (d. 477/1084-5); after Juwaynī’s death, he went to Niẓām al-Mulk’s camp;9 and in 484/1091 Niẓām al-Mulk appointed him to a professorship in the Niẓāmīyah at Baghdād. Here his worldly career prospered. Notwithstanding his youth, students flocked to his lectures, and honours were heaped upon him. Of his feelings about the deaths of Niẓām al-Mulk and Malikshāh, and about the preceding intrigues and succeeding civil wars, he has left no record, his Autobiography being purely spiritual; but he must have been closely associated with the Caliph al-Muqtadī and with his 16-year-old son and successor al-Mustāfīr (r. 457/1064-9/1135). In

1 Ahmad son of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn al-ʿAttāsh gained control of Shāhdiz in 494/1100 after converting its garrison; Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh recaptured it in 500/1106.

8 Juwaynī and Qushayrī fled together from Nishāpūr in or shortly before 450/1060 to escape persecution by ʿAmīd al-Mulk (Shorter E.L., art. ʿSahābī, 1921). Qushayrī’s Rīḍālah has been summarized by R. Hartmann, al-Kuṣḥahīs Darstellung des Sufismus, Berlin, 1914.

2 According to D. H. Macdonald, art. Ghāzālī in Shorter E.L., he spent the next years in Niẓām al-Mulk’s retinue of canonists and theologians; but he may have remained in the Niẓāmīyah at Nishāpūr.
Muharram 487/February 1094 he took part in the ceremony of administering the oath to the newly acceded al-Mustazhir, and in his Autobiography he states that he was commanded by the Caliph to write a book exposing the truth about the doctrines of the Ta’lilmite (i.e. Bāṭinīte), which must have been his Mustazhir.¹ Like his master Juwayni, he became a pillar of the state religion, and at a troubled time in its history.

Besides orthodox law and theology, and Ṣūfism, Ghazālī studied the ideas of those whom he considered to be the most dangerous opponents of the true faith, namely the Baṭīnīte and the philosophers. As an Ash’ari and a trained logician, he regarded ‘aql (‘intelligence’, sometimes translated ‘reason’) as God’s highest gift to man; he was opposed to nādī (‘copying’), whether in its Bāṭīnite form of blind obedience to an Authoritative Teacher, or in the form of rigid adherence to custom and precedent (taqīd), as practised by Hanbalites and some other Sunnites. For Ghazālī, as for others of his day, ‘intelligence’ meant deductive reasoning, from premises given by divine revelation or by common sense; not inductive reasoning, through which new knowledge might be sought. He favoured the use of intelligence in support of religion, as well as for practical purposes, though he thought that religious discussion should not be excessive and that it should only be carried on by qualified persons.² He objected, however, to the attempts of the philosophers to find intellectual proofs of the existence of God and of the reality of prophethood and revelation, and to the attempts of the Bāṭīnīte to prove the logical necessity of there being an Authoritative Teacher.

In his first years at Baghdād, Ghazālī wrote numerous works on legal and other subjects. In 487/1094-5 and in the early months of 488/1095-6, he recorded the results of his special studies in voluminous writings, which included his Mustazhir and other refutations of Bāṭinism, his Aims of the Philosophers (Masāḥ al-Falāsifah) and Self-contradiction of the Philosophers (Tahāfut al-Falāsifah), treatises on logic, and his Happy Man (al-Iqtiṣād fil-‘Iṭiqād) in dogmatic theology. Though he doubtless received help from colleagues and disciples, this immense burden of writing,

¹ See below, pp. 11-13. Mustazhir was eventually deposed and put to death in 529/1133 by Maʿṣūd, a Shīʿite ruler in Ṭreyq who was a grandson of Muḥammad ibn Maʿṣūd ibn Malikshah.

² The Bāṭīnīte and the Ṣūfis likewise reserved higher knowledge or experience for senior initiates.

³ Together with responsibility for teaching 300 students and various official duties, was too great to be borne. He may also have been distressed by political events including Bakhirūrqū’s victory over Tutush, who had been acknowledged as Sulṭān by the Caliph al-Mustazhir and other dignitaries of Baghdād.¹ In Rajab 488/July 1095 he suffered a nervous breakdown and spiritual crisis. Realizing that his best work had been motivated by desire for influence and public recognition, he was assailed by doubts. He became sceptical about everything, not only about reason but also about the evidence of the senses; and for two months he was without religious faith. His tongue failed him, so that he could not lecture, and he feared instant death. After six months, he states, God answered his prayer and sent a light which cured his affliction. This light was the ecstasy and moral change of mystic faith—something which he had previously studied, but evidently had not yet experienced. He resolved to follow the Ṣūf path, and after giving away his wealth except enough for his children’s and his own subsistence, left Baghdād in Dhul‘l-Qa‘dah 488/Dec. 1095-Jan. 1096, secretly in the guise of an itinerant dervish for fear lest his friends or the Caliph al-Mustazhir might restrain him. For two years he lived a retired life in Syria, at Damascus in the great mosque and at Jerusalem and Hebron in the precincts of the Dome of the Rock and of Abraham’s tomb, studying and practising spiritual purification as taught by the Ṣūfis. Then he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, visited Madinah and returned to Damascus. During these years he worked on his great treatise on the Revivification of the Sciences of Religion (Iḥyā‘ Ulūm al-Dīn). He had intended never to resume the worldly life, but various concerns, together with the entreaties of his children, impelled him to return. He spent some time teaching at Baghdād, without resuming his official position, and finally reached Ṭūs in or about 493/1099-1100. Here, though still seeking retirement, he gave private lessons and was distracted by cares about his family and his livelihood, and was thus only occasionally able to experience mystic ecstasy. During this sojourn at Ṭūs he must have finished his Iḥyā‘ and its Persian analogue Kīmiyā‘-yi Saʿdād, and have written several other of his works, including his Beginning of Guidance (Bidayat al-Hidayah) for novice students, his Ayyuḥāl-
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Walad (a collection of pious exhortations) originally compiled in Persian, further theological and anti-Bāṭinit ‘asliyya essays, and perhaps also his best-known mystic work, the Niche of Lights (Mishkāt al-‘Anwar).¹

In Dhul-Qa‘dah 499/July–August 1106, Ghażalī received an order from the ‘Sulṭān of the time’ to resume public teaching at Nishapūr; he could not disobey, and he also now realized that his clining to retirement in the hope of preserving himself from worldly contamination had been selfish in motive. The Sulṭān was probably Sanjar, viceroy of Khurāsān, and the order was delivered by Sanjar’s naṣir, Fakhr al-Mulk, son of Naṣr al-Mulk.² Ghażalī spent some three years teaching in the Nizāmīyah College at Nishapūr, which was Sanjar’s capital. He embodied part of his lectures in his al-Mustasfā min ‘Ilm al-Uṣūl, a treatise on jurisprudence, and composed other works during these years, including a reply to criticisms of his Ḥiyā’, and his spiritual Autobiography—the Book of Rescue from Error (al-Munqīd min al-Dalāl), which is also an apology for Sūfism. In or about 503/1109–10, he again retired to Fās, and lived a Ṣūfī life, while continuing to give private lessons and to write, until his death at the age of 51 on 14 Jumādā II 505/18 December 1111. To this period belongs the treatise on Restraining the Masses from Theological Disputation (Iḥṣām ‘an ‘Ilm al-Kalām) which is said to be his last work; and if Dr. Meier’s evidence is correct, he must have spent many of these last days in compiling his book of Counsel for Kings, Nasiṭḥ al-Mulākā.

Ghażalī’s writings gave reasoned expression to three trends of opinion then current among Muslims: to the revulsion of the majority against ‘Iṣlām, to the popular distrust of neo-Platonic philosophy, and to the prevalent shift towards Sūfism. In advocating the Ṣūfī attitude to the faith while rejecting the antimonicianism and fantasies of some early Ṣūfis such as a-Hallaj (crucified 309/922), Ghażalī confirmed the work of earlier writers such as Abū ‘Īsā Makkī (d. 386/998) and Abū ‘l-‘Alā‘ al-Qushayri (376/986–455/1074), who had already done much to make moderate Sūfism respectable for orthodox Sunnites.

These trends which Ghażalī helped so much to strengthen ultimately went further than he himself would probably have

¹ Details and dates from Bouyges, op. cit. (cf. note 1 on p. xvi).
² Fakhr al-Mulk was assassinated by a Bāṭinite in 500/1107.
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only prophets and saints, not philosophers and theologians, can fathom the divine mysteries.\(^1\) Later generations for the most part accepted these views.\(^2\) Although Ghażâlî himself had objected only to those aspects of metaphysics and ethics which encroached upon revealed religion, 'philosophy' then ranged over much wider fields, and the revulsion against it tended to encompass them all. This and the spread of extreme Şûfiism were important factors in the stagnation and decay of Muslim thought in the later Middle Ages; but neither need be blamed upon Ghażâlî.

THE TEACHINGS OF NAŞİHAT AL-MULÛK

Besides imparting traditional Islamic and old Persian counsels, Naşihat al-Mulûk express a Şûfi view of life and of politics which seems genuinely Ghażâlîan. What matters above all is the inward spiritual life; the ruler must therefore sincerely believe in the true faith and fulfill its prescriptions, sincerely intend to govern justly, and sincerely resist the temptation to love worldly power and wealth, and pleasure, for their own sake. These are the specific themes of Part I, and they are reiterated in Part II also. Inconsistencies are not lacking in the book, but they are not of such importance as to cast doubt on its authenticity; nor is it to be expected that a 'Mirror for Princes' should be wholly and systematically consistent.

Large numbers of books attributable to Ghażâlî have been shown to be spurious by reason of their contents.\(^3\) Naşihat al-Mulûk, however, conforms with the criteria of authenticity set by leading scholars.\(^4\) It is orthodox, reflecting the doctrines of the later Şûrîte theologians of whom Ghażâlî was one; its Şûfiism is of

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\(^1\) G. H. Bousquet et al., *La Vérité des sciences de la foi*; Analyse et index, Algiers, 1955, Book I, chapters 1-4, especially p. 27.

\(^2\) Philosophy had mostly been pursued under the patronage of princes, but had acquired a certain popular appeal, as shown by the *Rayd* (Letters) of the Ibn Khinum al-Sufi, a literary group at Bâqraî in the second half of the tenth/fourth century which had Isma‘îlî tendencies. After Ghażâlî's time, popular interest ceased and royal patronage greatly declined. The return to Ghażâlî's criticisms by the Spanish philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroës; d. 1198) never became known in the Muslim east.


\(^4\) Montgomery Watt, op. cit.; Bouyges, op. cit.; D. B. Macdonald, art. Ghażâlî in *Shorter E.I.*

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the moderate, ascetic school, whose masters are often quoted, not of the pantheist school of Bâyazîd Bistâmi (d. 260/874) and Rûmîn ibn Maṣûr al-Hâlî[ê] (crucified 309/922), whose ideas and names receive no mention. There is an intense, indeed morbid, preoccupation with death, such as is found in Ghażâlî's works written after his spiritual crisis.\(^5\) The book is arranged in a logical and orderly manner which is also characteristic of Ghażâlî,\(^6\) and it illustrates his ability to write for laymen\(^7\) as well as for professional theologians and philosophers. It was Ghażâlî's practice in his later writings to use material from his earlier works without referring to them;\(^8\) and it was a common practice of the age to quote from works of other authors without acknowledgment.\(^9\)

The basic teachings of Part I are that rulership is a gift bestowed, i.e. predestined, by God, and that the ruler will be accountable for it to God on the Judgement Day. This implies that the ruler does not owe his power, and is accordingly not accountable for it, to fellow men (be they subjects, troops, *ulânê*, or indeed Caliphs). His first requirement is correct belief, which is set forth in a creed of ten articles, likened to 'roots of the tree of faith'; this has been taken from Section I of the first 'Pillar' of *Kimiyâ-yi Sâtîdât*, and agrees in content with Book II of *I’yâ*, on the Articles of Faith. In his conduct towards his subjects, he should be guided by ten principles, which are likened to 'branches of the tree of faith' and have also been taken from *Kimiyâ-yi Sâtîdât* but rearranged in a more logical order; they are from Section X of the second 'Pillar', where *Kimiyâ-yi Sâtîdât* makes a noteworthy deviation from *I’yâ*, substituting these principles of royal conduct for the account of Muhammad's personality and miracles given in Book XX of *I’yâ*. The third 'branch', on the need to overcome pride and anger, contains the already mentioned reference to *I’yâ* by name.\(^1\) The sixth 'branch', on the duty of attending to petitions, recommends continuance of a Sâsânian practice which is described with more detail

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\(^1\) Macdonald, art. in *Shorter E.I.;* Montgomery Watt, op. cit., pp. 28-29.


\(^3\) Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 239-42.


\(^6\) See above, p. xxiv.
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in Part II, Chapter I. Although the third 'branch' enjoins consultation with truly devout ‘ulama’, the only mention of the Shari‘at or Law of Islam here or in the whole book comes in the tenth 'branch', where the ruler is advised never to seek to please any subject in a way which would contravene the Shari‘at; and there is no mention of the Caliphate here or anywhere else in the book. The rest of Part I is about knowledge of this lower world and knowledge of the last breath, each of which is likened to a 'spring watering the tree of faith'; concerning the former there is a reference to a special treatise by the author, which may well be Book XXVI of Ihyā‘, and the latter appears to be derived from parts of Book XL of Ihyā‘, on Death and the Hereafter. In Book XXVI of Ihyā‘, on the Reproach of this World, Ghazâlî besides warning against worldly evils acknowledges the need for economic and governmental activity, concluding that men should strike the happy mean, regarding this world neither as an ordeal only, nor as a joy only, but as a necessary stage on the journey to rejoin God. Here, however, there is mention only of the world's evils, especially love of wealth and power for their own sake. This wholly negative attitude seems incongruous in a book addressed to a ruler and contrasts not only with Ihyā‘ but also with the emphasis laid in Part II, Chapter I, upon the royal duty of making the subjects prosperous, and with the praise given in Part II, Chapter IV, to the most extravagant royal munificence. The anecdotes in Part I are all Islamic, though one of them tells how a Muslim Caliph was advised to follow the example of a king of China.

In Part II, Chapter I, on qualities required in Kings, the most striking feature is the importance given to examples and practices of the Sasanian kings. Although Muslim rulers are cited no less frequently, they appear to follow in the footsteps of their great Persian forerunners Ardashîr and Anûshîrvân. The chapter begins by reiterating that kings are appointed by God, who sends them to protect men from one another just as He sent prophets to guide one.

1 Originally a Persian institution, but early adopted by the Muslims, justice being a common ideal of both civilizations. The royal periphrase of ad-nigar ft‘l-musâlim (examining and deciding petitions for the address of grievances) usually had to be delegated to mu’âifis and officials on account of pressure of other business; it formed an important field of jurisprudence beyond (but not necessarily incompatible with) the Shari‘at. See also below, p. xliii. Cf. Nishîm al-Mulk, Siyâsât-nâma, chap. iii; A. C. Chretiensoen, L’Iran sous les Sassanides, Copenhagen, 1944, pp. 282-3; 397-8; R. Levy, The Social Structure of Islam, Cambridge, 1957, p. 263.

2 G.-H. Bougault et al., op. cit., pp. 259-64.

Enlightened. Besides confirmatory verses from the Qur’an, a well-known saying from the Hadith is quoted, namely that the Sultan is 'God's shadow on earth'; and the 'divine shadow' is here assimilated to the 'divine effulgence', a Persian concept of a manifestation of the sacred element of fire or light in the person of the rightful ruler, which had evidently endured from Sasanian times but without its original Zoroastrian implications. Other men must therefore love and obey the king, who for his part must rule them justly. The king's accountability to God for his conduct, which formed the theme of Part I, is not reiterated here, but it is stated on the authority of a saying ascribed to Muhammad that unjust rule does not last long. The 'Magians' ruled well nigh four thousand years because (in the main) they upheld justice and thereby developed the world and made the subjects prosperous. Here follows the already mentioned 'History of the Kings' of the Persians, with characters of each, from Adam to Yazdagird III (pp. 47-53). Their rule only ceased when God, having blessed mankind by sending Muhammad, decreed that the sovereignty should pass to the Muslims in the reign of 'Umar. Their names and reputations, however, still endure in people's memories. A man, and especially a ruler, should practise virtue and justice in order that he may likewise leave behind a good name, which will endure—and also, it is added, in order that he may have few enemies to testify against him on the Judgement Day. No king has left behind so good a name as Anûshîrvân; Muhammad was proud to have been born in the reign of Anûshîrvân the Just.

These arguments, different from the teachings of Part I but not inconsistent with them, justify the use of Sasanian examples along with Muslim examples in the rest of the book. They also justify the pride of the Persians in their past history and in their great contribution to the civilization of Islam.

Royal justice, on which depends the prosperity of the subjects, is the most important theme of the chapter; but it is not adequately defined. In general it appears to mean conscientious rule. On p. 56 injustice is divided into two categories: that which Sultan does to subjects, strong men to weak, and rich men to poor; and that which

1 A. Chretiensoen, op. cit., pp. 31, 146, 508. This concept must have been an element in the Shi‘ite veneration of the Imams descended from 'Abî Muhammad's nearest relative, by his wife Fâtimah, Muhammad's daughter, and from 'Abî's son Hussain by his wife Shahrîbân, reputedly daughter of Yazdagird III, the last Persian king.

2 Cf. above, pp. xxiii and xxiv.
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men do to themselves, namely sin. Two stories are told showing that God (presumably often, not always) inflicts punishment in this world upon perpetrators of injustice. At the same time God accepts penitence and rewards kindness. The one unforgivable sin is shirk—putting other beings or things on a par with God. The quality most needed by kings is therefore correct religion; according to a well-known saying (of Sāmānī origin), ‘religion and empire are brothers’. The king’s duties are seen as primarily religious; he must personally avoid religious eccentricity and punish or banish recalcitrant heretics (no doubt Būnites in particular are meant), defend the territories of Islam, uphold the Sunna (the body of custom ascribed to Muhammad and recorded in the Ḥadith which forms the main source of Islamic law), and supervise the subjects of all ranks, rewarding good-doers and punishing evil-doers. He must always strive to set a good example, because the character of the subjects depends on the character of the king, whom the subjects copy. In his task of suppressing misbelief and misconduct, he must never show weakness, which is even worse than injustice. He must not, however, be concealed because he is king, such conceit being the worst of all royal faults (unfortunately no examples are given). He must discipline himself and his officials and show an ascetic devotion to duty like that of the two ‘Umar, who never spent a penny from the Public Funds on their private needs.

On p. 69 justice is defined in subjective terms as impartiality in judging claims and disputes, irrespective of the rank of the contestats. There is no discussion of objective criteria by which just decisions might be reached. It is stated, however, that if a claim is lodged against the king himself, he must submit to God’s jurisdiction and accept the verdict; presumably the case would be tried by a qādi (Islamic judge) and decided in accordance with the Shari‘at. The similar practice of the Sāmānī kings is described later in the chapter. The king must also, as enjoined by the Qur‘ān, temper justice with mercy and not demand gratitude for it. He must ensure that his officials perform their duties in like manner, justly and compassionately. This advice carries with it legal problems, which are not discussed. According to Islamic law, qādis are appointed by the ruler but are then irremovable and responsible only to God for their verdicts, against which there is no appeal; it is therefore not within the ruler’s competence to ensure that they judge justly. Here probably royal officials such as governors, military leaders, and in particular revenue officers, are meant. Taxation was in fact based upon long-established custom, not upon the Shari‘at; and in Book XIV of Ihya, on the Licit and Illicit, Ghazālī declares that almost all revenues collected by contemporary princes are illicit because uncanonical, and that pious Muslims should accordingly refuse payments from princes and avoid contact with them. This problem is not raised in Naṣībat al-Mulāk.

The ‘divine effulgence’, or as the Arabic version has it, the ‘divine shadow’, is discussed on pp. 73–74. Aristotle is quoted as having described it as one of the prerequisites of kings; and in a typically Persian Zuhūnspruch (which may, however, be derived ultimately from Plato) it is said to consist of sixteen intellectual, moral, physical and other qualities; one of these is attention to the examples of earlier Muslim and other kings.

Besides justice, another recurring theme is the need for security. The contemporary age is described in scathing terms (p. 77), which seem to represent more than the normal tendency of religious and especially Muslim thinkers to picture the present as evil and the early days of the faith as ideal. No doubt the Bānītine risings and Salājūq civil wars provoked this sweeping indictment. To establish security, the Sulṭān must ruthlessly enforce discipline and inspire awe; for insecurity is even worse than injustice. Earlier in the chapter it was said that royal weakness is worse than royal injustice. Examples are quoted from Muslim history showing how God sent efficient even if tyrannical governors to restore order out of anarchy. This contention that royal absolutism is justified by the paramount need for security came to be generally accepted in the later medieval Muslim world;1 it was to be used in seventeenth-century England by Thomas Hobbes. It conforms with the quietist Şī‘ī viewpoint

1 It was expressly stated by the Egyptian Şāfīite jurist Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Jamā‘ah (639/1241–733/1333). His contemporary and enemy, the Shābībī Ibn Taymīyrah of Damascus (d. 718/1318), held that the de facto ruler should be obeyed, such a ruler being needed to enforce the Shari‘at, but that the Muslim’s duty of obeying the Shari‘at was nevertheless paramount. Cf. E. J. J. Rosenthal, Political Thought in Medieval Islam, Cambridge, 1978, pp. 42–65, Prof. A. K. S. Lambton, The theory of kingship in the Naṣībat al-Mulāk of Ghasālī, in Islamic Quarterly, vol. 1, London, 1954, pp. 47–55, mentions a Şī‘ī writer, ‘Ali ibn ʿAbī al-Hamadānī (d. 780/1385), who in a work entitled Dīwān al-Mulāk declared that the ruler who is unjust and does not enforce the Shari‘at is not the ‘Shadow of God on earth’ but the vice-regent of Satan; presumably such a ruler should not be obeyed. In general, however, Ghasālī’s view, which is also expressed in some of his other writings (see below, pp. ii–iii), was to prevail during the following centuries.
that the good Muslim’s aim should be to perfect his inner spiritual life, and that he should resign himself to whatever: destiny God has foreordained for him in the political as in other spheres of worldly life. It contrasts with the opinion of Mawardi and earlier Sunni constitutional theorists that the ruler assumes contractual obligations towards the Muslim community and may therefore in the last resort be disobeyed if he does not fulfill them.

The rest of the chapter contains more detailed and practical maxims together with repetitions of the general counsels already given. Most of the examples are Sasanian, though many of the recommended practices endured in Muslim times; some of them, however, such as holding audience for the redress of grievances and keeping check upon officials and ambassadors, had probably been neglected by the Saljuq Sultanate. On p. 93 there is a complaint of bribery being prevalent in the administration of justice as a result of slackness and negligence by the Sultan. On p. 88, in a passage of precautions against the risk of the ruler’s being assassinated, the wickedness of the age is again denounced, no doubt with special reference to the Bajunites. The ruler’s personal responsibility for extortion by his revenue officials, which was apparently very bad in Saljuq times, is further emphasized; but there is no complaint that the taxation system as such is uncritical.

There are several enumerations of moral and intellectual qualities required in kings, including one attributed to Plato and another attributed to Socrates (p. 91). One of these qualities (p. 85) is determination to avoid drunkenness, which is a form of madness; whether this means the intoxication of royal conclave, or intoxication by wine, is not quite clear from the texts. The royal institutions of the convivial evening and of the boon companion (madin), which flourished in Muslim no less than in Sasanian times, are taken for granted in Nasib al-Muluk, as also in the Syu`atnama and Qabusnamah, despite the Qur’anic prohibition of wine. Qualities required in royal companions are also discussed, and one of these is that they should be noble-born; for men of noble birth, according to a celebrated Sufi saint, ‘show affection for the people, even though they do not practise piety’ (pp. 85–86). This thoroughly Persian, but rather un-Islamic, predilection for noble birth re-

\[1\] See below, pp. 354–414.

\[2\] See above, pp. xxvii–xxxii.

\[3\] Cf. Qur’an, xlix. 13: ‘The noblest among you in God’s sight are the most pious.’ Akins and Qarshayites nevertheless enjoyed immense aristocratic

appears in Chapter IV. A short section (pp. 86–87) gives advice, not to rulers, but to men who serve them, and leaves no doubt that in the author’s mind kings were ordinarily despotic and bloodthirsty masters whose service was something to be avoided! In general, however, the detailed maxims embody the two basic principles of the need for royal justice and the need for royal vigilance. Impartial justice is further exemplified in a story with an authentically Ghazali note of sincerity, telling how the most celebrated of all qalas awarded redress to a Magian against the most celebrated of all waizar solely on the strength of the Magian’s sworn declaration (which coming from a non-Muslim would in strict Islamic law be invalid against a Muslim’s testimony). The chapter ends by reiterating that obedience to the king is a religious duty incumbent on the subjects and that just rule is a religious duty incumbent on the king.

Chapters II and III describe qualities required in waizar and secretaries, who were the pillars of the civil bureaucracy in medieval Muslim states. Unfortunately there is no corresponding chapter about the armed forces, on whose efficiency and loyalty the position of Muslim rulers always depended.

In view of controversies about the origin of the waizarate, which evidently goes back to early Abbasid times, it is interesting to note what this book of the early sixteenth century has to say. The need for a waizar is attested by one of the Qur’anic sentences (xx. 30–33) in which the word occurs, and by the sentence ‘Consult them on the matter’ (iii. 153), thought to have been sent down after the reverse at Uhud and apparently referring to the Prophet’s

prestige. Here, however, the aristocracy of military, bureaucratic and landowning quality is meant, as also in Chapter IV, where the noble Barmakids are praised.

\[1\] This is the explanation generally given by Muslim authors; e.g. Mawardi, al-Ashab al-Salutiyah, tr. E. Fagnan, Les statuts gouvernementaux, Algiers, 1915, chapter ii, Le vizirat, pp. 40–57. Christensen, L’Iran sous les Sassanides, pp. 113–16, and Browne, Lit. Hist. i, pp. 255–6, consider the waizarate to be of Sasanian origin; but if so, history would surely have recorded the names of waizar of the later Sassanid kings. S. D. Goitein, The origin of the waizarate and its true character, in Islamic Culture, iv, 1944, pp. 255–63 and 382–93, and D. Sourdel, Le vizirat ‘abbasid, Damascus, 1959, l. 41–61, refute the theory of Sasanian origin. The waizarate came into being under the ‘Abbassids, who claimed to rule by divine right and had no peers but only servants. The Umayyads used to take counsel with their peers among the Arab noblemen, and their highness in principle been only chamberlains, even if in fact they may have begun to exercise ministerial functions.
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senior Companions and officers; modern Muslim writers, especially in Pakistan, cite it as evidence that Islam enjoys parliamentary democracy. On the other hand, the maxims quoted are almost all Sasani, and in the Persian text the Persian term dastur is used more frequently than the Arabic term wazir. Among desirable qualities in wazir, much importance is given to skill in diplomacy and in avoiding war; Aushirvan is quoted as having said that the worst wazir is one who whets the king’s appetite for war. There is no mention of the religious duty of jihad (holy war), which Ghaznavi sometimes interpreted in a spiritual sense. The wazir should take care, however, to look after the troops; for many wazirs were killed by troops in the days of old! He also has the perilous task of tactfully redirecting the king if ever the king errs or shows signs of that disastrous failing, royal conceit. The chapter contains words of praise for the celebrated Barmakid wazirs and the great Nizam al-Mulk, and ends by asserting that it is the duty of kings, wazirs and officials to work for the welfare of the subjects; in particular, they must levy taxes only in due season and in the measure of the subjects’ ability to pay, as had been the custom in ancient (i.e. Sasani) times.

The necessity for secretaries is similarly attested by Qur’anic and Traditional sentences, and a king of Greece is made to say that the world is ruled by the sword and the pen but the pen is superior. In historical fact, military upheavals seldom disturbed the position of the secretaries, who formed a more or less close corporation and continued, under Sasani kings, Arab Caliphs, Persian princes and Turkish Sultans alike, to perform the indispensable tasks of recording tax assessments and revenues and composing official correspondence. Much of the chapter consists of interesting tech-

icalities of the art of the pen, and the examples given are all Muslim. On p. 114, however, there is a list of secretarial qualifications ascribed to the ancient (presumably Sasani) sages and kings; most of these relate, not to penmanship, but to agriculture, probably in connexion with tax assessments. Skill in versification is also included. Nowhere in the chapter, however, is there any call for rhetorical ingenuity and subtlety in argumentation, on which the secretary Nizam al’Arufi (d. 570/1174) lays so much stress. The call here is for accuracy, lucidity and brevity. Unfortunately tastes were soon to change.

Chapter IV, on Magnanimity in Kings, begins impressively with a definition of magnanimity, or high-mindedness, as courage and self-respect derived from self-restraint and self-knowledge – a concept perhaps Greek in origin. The high-minded man, it is said, restrains himself from unworthy deeds and from mixing with ignoble persons; but it is also stated that courage and magnanimity are innate in kings and noblemen and not readily acquired by others. Here again appears the Persian predilection for noble birth. Belying expectations, the anecdotes exemplify magnanimity mainly in terms of financial generosity, and insist that on the part of kings such generosity should be on a most lavish scale. Since the wherewithal for such extravagance must presumably come from the state treasury, this advice seems inconsistent with the praise given in Part I to the conscientious stewardship of ‘Umar I and ‘Umar II, who never spent money from the Public Funds impropriely. These anecdotes make good reading; a few of them are Sasani, but most are Muslim, including four about the renowned generosity of the Barmakids. One of these makes the point that magnanimity in men of noble birth and meanness in men of low birth are innate and ineradicable, and another that magnanimity pays in the long run. The chapter ends with a gentle warning against magnanimity unaccompanied by adequate means.

until forced to admit Persian by Turkish rulers such as the Saliqis who knew no Arabic. The Persian secretaries quickly abandoned Zoroastrianism after the Abbasid advent and became for the most part staunch upholders of Sunnite Islam; in Egypt many secretaries remained Christian, and in Spain Jews were employed. Occasional Christian functionaries in the East are mentioned; e.g. Abu Sa’id al-Dawlah, wazir to the Caliph al-Muqaddi, who at a late stage in his career embraced Islam for political reasons (Oppler, op. cit., p. 211, n. 33).

In the introduction to his first Makallah (Discourse), on the Art of the Secretary.

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Chapter V consists of Aphorisms of the Sages, many of whom are unnamed. Among those named are Sūfī saints and other Muslim figures; the Qur’ānic Luqmān; the Sāsāniid king Ardashir; and the sages Buzurgmīrḥ and Yūnān whose identities are considered later in this Introduction, in the section on Sources; Alexander the Great; Aristotle and Socrates; and Galen and Hippocrates. Despite this variety of attributed sources, the aphorisms are remarkably uniform, being mostly Zahlensprüche, enumerations of desirable or undesirable qualities or actions. The Zahlenspruch is a feature of adab literature and especially of the writings of Ibn al-Muqaffā, by whom the taste was passed on from Sāsānian and perhaps ultimately Babylonian times; it has mnemonic value and is a good vehicle for the neat phase and witty juxtaposition, even if not for logical thought. Sayings of sages, usually unnamed except for Luqmān, also appear, along with sayings of Muḥammad and his Companions and of earlier prophets and Sūfī saints, in religious works such as Ghazālī’s Ḩāfiḍ al-Manāẓir. The present collection of aphorisms, some impressive, some witty, and some trite, is not arranged in any systematic order and imparts counsels on a wide range of subjects—ethical, practical and medical, Wisdom, knowledge and humility are praised, and greed and miserliness are condemned; the viewpoint is preponderantly ascetic, but sometimes more akin to that expressed by Sa‘dī: ‘Property is for the comfort of life, not for the accumulation of wealth.’

Chapter VI, on Intelligence, deals very superficially with its subject. Sentences from the Ḥudūd and a Qur’ānic verse (v. 100) addressed to ‘possessors of brains’ are adduced as evidence of the religious merit of ‘intelligence’ (by which term the Persian khrad and Arabic ‘aql have been translated), and the origins of the Persian and Arabic words are explained by purring etymologies. Intelligence is stated to be the source of virtues such as modesty and courage; it leads to knowledge, whereas knowledge of itself does not lead to intelligence; it is God’s highest gift to man; it is the beginning, middle and end of faith, and the intelligent man is the nearest of men to God. Why this should be so is not explained. In the subsequent aphorisms and anecdotes intelligence often seems to mean little more than shrewdness and tact, or at most ability to draw inferences; a Zahlenspruch is quoted to the effect that it consists of ability to correlate twenty-five opposites.

The chapter ends, as already mentioned, with a sentence addressed, not to the Sulṭān, but ‘O brother!’. This and the weak content of the chapter raise the question whether it is authentic; but neither ground seems sufficiently strong to justify condemning it as spurious. A ‘Mirror for Princes’ would not have been expected to touch upon problems such as the validity of ‘aql and naql (use of the intellect and copying of precedent) in theology and jurisprudence, nor the question whether philosophy and science undermine or support religion. Nevertheless some reference might well have been made to Ghazālī’s strongly held opinion that while faith based upon intellect (‘aql) is shakeable, faith based upon intuition (dhāra) is unshakeable.2

The seventh and last chapter, on Women, does not form a consistent whole, but in some places expresses a high-minded and benevolent viewpoint, worthy of Ghazālī. In general, though not always, religious faith in women appears to be valued no less highly than religious faith in men; and while divorce and polygamy are, of course, recognized as ‘disabilities’ of women, some of the passages and anecdotes seem to imply a concept of marriage as a happy and lasting, and perhaps ideally monogamous, partnership. A wife ought to be chosen for her piety, and also for her sincere intention to bear and rear children, but not for beauty, wealth or nobility of birth. Pious domesticity in women is described as no less pleasing to God than religious scholarship or holy war in men; and an anecdote tells how a man of the Children of Israel acted upon his pious wife’s advice in a way which pleased God and was rewarded in this world and the next.

On the other hand, a number of passages and sayings, including several attributed to ‘Umar, express a very disparaging, and more typically medieval Muslim, attitude towards women. Conspicuous among these is the already mentioned long and presumably genuine excursion comparing characters of women to characters of animals, all of them vicious except the sheep; curiously enough, the cow is not mentioned. At the same time, men are advised to make just allowance for the numerous physical and legal disabilities with which God (according to the puerulent myth related in the Qur’ān, vii. 18 ff., as well as in Genesis) has punished women because Eve ate forbidden food. While husbands are advised to be jealous, and are told that the greater their jealousy the greater will be their
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there is an implied reference to the unfortunate rôle played in Saljuq affairs by women such as Turkm Khanit. The chapter ends by stressing that the prosperity and peopling of the world depend on women, and that the choice of a wife or gift of a daughter in marriage is therefore a matter requiring great prudence. The last sentence and the concluding poem, however, strike a discordant note; for they assert that 'all' the world’s misfortunes are due to women!

In general, Part II of Na'ibat al-Mulkah appears to be compatible with Part I, which is unquestionably Ghazalian. The inconsistencies which have been noted are relatively few. Although interpolation cannot be ruled out, the probable explanation in most cases is that Ghazali was not a wholly consistent thinker. In writing a 'Mirror for Princes' he followed the traditions of the genre; he found justification for its upholding of Sasanian models in the theory of divine predestination, and for its absolutist monarchical tendency in the quietism and spiritualism of the Sufis.

GHAZALI’S VIEWS ON THE CALIPHATE

Similar political views appear in other writings of Ghazali, along with more legalistic expositions in which importance is attached to the Caliphate. In Iby, Book XIV, on the Licit and Illicit, chapters v and vi, Ghazali declares that the public interest requires obedience to rulers who dispose of military power, however unjust they may be, because resistance would cause civil war and even greater injury to the community; but he also states that pious Muslims, while entitled to use their own discretion, should beware of accepting payments or presents from princes, and even of visiting or keeping company with them, because most revenues collected by contemporary rulers—including, in his opinion, the land-tax (kharaj)—are unauthorized by the Qur'an. In Na'ibat al-Mulkah

1 Other verses enjoining seclusion or the veil appear likewise to refer only to Muhammad's wives, while Q. xxiv. 30-31, enjoining modesty in dress, appears to exclude veiling of the face and hands. R. Levy, The Social Structure of Islam, pp. 124-6, thinks that Quraysh women but not Bedouin women were generally veiled in Muhammad's time, and that 'ulama' in later times thought it proper for Muslim men and women to follow the sunnah (practice) of the Prophet and his wives in this respect. Prof. Levy says that in Persia women had long been secluded, but cites no evidence for this assertion. Two queens, Parinadukht and Azarmadukht, were placed on the Sasanid throne (see table on p. 32).

2 O. H. Bouquet et al., op. cit., pp. 146-51.

3 Ibid., p. 146, where Ghazali asserts that the only tax which may be legally levied on Muslims is the alms-tax (zaqat or sakkat). According to Mawardi, this was the view of Shafi'i, but Abu 'Ali al-Hasan held that kharaj may continue to be levied in respect of lands whose occupants have become Muslims (al-Ashab al-Saljik, tr. E. Fagan, Algiers, 1915, p. 310). Mawardi propounds elaborately theories of land taxation, property rights, feudal grants, etc. (chap. xliv, xlvii); he states that it was Anushirvan who established the kharaj at 'Iraq and that 'Umar followed Anushirvan's system (pp. 312-13).
the Sulṭān is advised to consult and frequent pious 'ulamāʾ con-
stantly, but to collect taxes in the same manner as the ancient (i.e.
Sāsānid) kings. In the Mustaṣḥirī Ghazālī quotes a saying to the
effect that the Muslims did not elevate the Hāshimites and Umayy-
ids in order to bow down to them and worship them, but that
having appointed them to be the rulers the Muslims obeyed and
followed them, because obedience (to the ruler) is (a form of)
worship of God.1 In Naṣīḥat al-Mulķūk, this duty of obedience is
justified solely by the arguments of divine predestination and
of the need for security, perhaps because Sulṭān (unlike Caliphs)
obviously could not be considered to have been in any way ap-
pointed by the Muslim community. Ghazālī had, however, sought
in his Mustaṣḥirī and elsewhere to justify the position of de faktu
rulers by representing them as authorized executors of Caliphal
functions; and even though a 'Mirror for Princes' cannot be ex-
pected to contain legal discussion, it nevertheless seems remarkable
that Naṣīḥat al-Mulķūk should not give to the Sulṭān a single word
of advice to respect and honour the Caliph. The Siyāsātalmākhāh
has a long story in chapter iii showing how the Šaffārid amīr Yaqūb
ibn Layth came to a bad end when he rebelled against the 'Abbāsīd
Caliph al-Mu'tamīd, and a pertinent warning in chapter xiii to the
'Master of the World' (i.e. to the Sulṭān Malikshāh) against
persons trying to persuade him to overthrow the house of the
'Abbāsīd. It may be that similar advice was omitted from Naṣīḥat
al-Mulķūk because there could be no shadow of doubt concern-
ing the loyalty to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphat and to Sunnism of the
particular Sulṭān to whom the work is addressed, namely Mu-
ḥammad Tapar or perhaps Sanjar.

An outline of Ghazālī's views on the Caliphate as expressed in
the Mustaṣḥirī and a comparison between his and Māwardī's views
may be apposite here.2 The subject is also discussed in Ḥiyā, Book II, on the Articles of the Faith, section iii, and in al-Iṣtiqād
fi'l-Iṣtiqād, chapter iii. As mentioned above,3 Ghazālī wrote the
Mustaṣḥirī shortly before his spiritual crisis in order to demon-
strate the legitimacy of the Caliphate or Imāmate of a-Mustaṣḥirī, who
in Muharram 487/Febuary 1094 had succeeded to the 'Abbāsīd

1 See above, p. 34.

1 I. Goldziher, Streitschrift des Ghazālī gegen die Bāṭinnīa-Sekte, Leiden, 1916;
selections from text, p. 81; analysis, p. 95.
2 For comprehensive treatment of the subject: E. I. Rosenthal, Political
Thought in Medieval Islam, Cambridge, 1958, chapter ii; R. Levy, The Social
3 Streitschrift, selections from text, pp. 48–50; analysis, pp. 71–72. Having
reached this conclusion, Ghazālī argues that professions of penitence by Bāṭī-
nītes may be taken at face value, despite their practice of tapṣīb (concealment),
and that the Bāṭinnī oath may be invalidated by means of cassiuarity.
4 Ibid., selections from text, pp. 78–81; analysis, pp. 90–97. Only a very small
part of this chapter is reproduced in Goldziher's selections.
5 al-Aḫkām al-Sulṭāniyyah, tr. Fagan, chapter i (on the Contract of the
Imāmate), pp. 5–42.
practice the ceremony was performed by leading 'ulama’ of the capital. In accepting the homage of the electors, the Caliph assumes a contractual obligation towards the community to fulfill certain functions, whereupon all Muslims become religiously bound to obey him. Mawardi enumerates seven Caliphal qualifications and ten Caliphal functions. The qualifications are: (1) justice ('adlāh), (2) knowledge ('ilm), i.e. of Islamic law and theology, (3) sound sight, hearing, and speech, (4) sound limbs, (5) administrative competence (ḥifz), (6) courage and energy in war, and (7) descent from Muhammad’s tribe, the Quraysh. The functions are to: (1) uphold religious orthodoxy, (2) enforce judicial verdicts, (3) maintain security, (4) apply the Qur’ānic penalties for offences, (5) garrison the frontiers, (6) wage holy war against infidels, (7) collect legally authorized tributes (fay') and alms-taxes (zakāt), (8) pay salaries and expenses, (9) appoint trustworthy officials, and (10) personally supervise governmental and religious business. Mawardi does not say that a Caliph may be deposed by the electors for non-fulfillment of these functions; all he admits is that a Caliph will lose his title if he forfeits the qualification of justice through immoral or unorthodox conduct, or if he is deprived of the qualification of physical soundness. The usual practice, inherited from Sasanian times, was to disqualify fallen Caliphs and other rulers byblinding them. Mawardi also discusses the case of an Imām (i.e. Caliph) who is deprived of liberty: if the intruder is an infidel or a Muslim rebel, the loss of liberty will disqualify the Imām for further office unless there is hope of his release; but if the intruder is one of the Imām’s own auxiliaries, who places the Imām under restraint and assumes discretionary authority but conducts affairs in accordance with the exigencies of right religion and justice, the Imām may accept the situation and retain office. In a later chapter, on the Amirate, Mawardi similarly admits an ‘amirate of conquest’, which arises when a military leader conquers a territory and is designated by the Caliph as its amir; provided that such an amir enforces theShar‘i‘ and maintains allegiance to the Caliph, he may lawfully keep control of the territory and demand the obedience of its inhabitants.

In chapter ix of his Musta‘zhir, Ghazālī gives a similar list of

1 Hormizd  (Hist.) II was imprisoned and blinded after being deposed, and only later put to death; Christensen, L’Iran sous les Samaneses, p. 444.
2 Streitschrift, selections from text, pp. 27-28; analysis, pp. 82-90.
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the Muslim community to fulfill such functions. Ghazālī’s arguments show clearly that he did not expect that any of the military, administrative or religious functions of government would actually be exercised by the Caliph; they would be exercised by Turks, by wāzirs and secretaries, and by ‘ulamā’. In Naṣīḥat al-Mulḵ the Sultan clearly fulfills the functions of old Persian kings and bygone Caliphs who had actually governed; to the Sultan go Ghazālī’s counsels to follow the example of Sāsānids and early Muslim forbearers, but not to the contemporary Caliph al-Mustaṣṭir. At the same time Ghazālī considered it vitally important that military leaders, civilian officials and ‘ulamā’ should work together for the good of the faith and all give allegiance to the rightful Caliph as the living symbol of legality, orthodoxy and Muslim unity; the lack of advice to this effect in Naṣīḥat al-Mulḵ is therefore surprising, even if explicable.

Sources

Naṣīḥat al-Mulḵ gathers together materials from many sources, of which only a few are mentioned in the text, namely:

p. 25 Iḥyā’ ‘Uḥūm al-Dīn, Book XXV.
   p. 33 (probably) Iḥyā’, Book XXVI.
   p. 70 Kitāb Siyyar al-Mulḵ, which in the context may mean
   the Siyyāṣatnāmah of Nīğm al-Mulk, or perhaps some book
   of biographies and examples of Muslim kings.
   p. 99 Kitāb al-Fard’īd to’l-Qul’īd of Abū’l-Ḥasan (Abū ‘Ali-al-
   Ḥasan) al-Awzā’ī.
   p. 74 Siyyar al-Mulḵ, which in the context must mean some
   version of the Book of the Kings (Khūlīdānīmāh).
   p. 94 Yāḏgārānāmah-ki; Ar. Kitāb Yāḏgīrānāmah.
   p. 98 ‘Adhīnāmah (also in Ar.) of Ardašīr.
   p. 107 Testament (waṣīyat-nāmah, Ar. waṣiyyat) of Anūrshārūn to his son.
   p. 120 Testament (waṣiyyat-nāmah, Ar. waṣiyyat) of (P.) Shāhīr ibn
   Ardašīr or (Ar.) Ardašīr.
   p. 153 (probably) Testament of Partizān to his son.
   p. 108 Proverbs (Amīṭḥal) of Abū ‘Ubayd (probably Abū ‘Ubayd al-
   Qalīn ibn Sallām).
   p. 140 Kitāb al-Adviyyāh.

The Islamic teachings which occupy Part I and much of Part II are corroborated by sayings and stories of Muḥammad and his

contemporaries, earlier prophets and the Children of Israel, Caliphs and other Muslim rulers, Muslim sages, and Şūfī saints. Dr. H. D.
Isaacs has noted parallels in Part I with Iḥyā’, and also some Talmudic parallels; these are shown in footnotes. As already
mentioned, the ‘Ten Branches’ (pp. 12–31) are paralleled in Kīmīyā-yi Šā‘īrāt (though the order there is different), but are not found
in Iḥyā’. Ignaz Goldziher has noted that the exhortations and examples of the two ‘Umers, Jesus, Moses, Abū Ḥāzim, Abū Qīlābāh, Ḥasan al-Basri, Muḥammad ibn Ka’b al-Qurraṭ, Šarqī al-Balkhī and Fuḍayl ibn ‘Iyāḍ appearing in Part I have with
few exceptions been copied from chapter ix of the Mustaṣṭir; these items are not included in Goldziher’s selections from the
text of the Mustaṣṭir. Passages concerning Muḥammad and his contemporaries must have been taken directly or indirectly from the
Hadith collections, and they are often headed Khabar or Aḥbār, which in Persian are commonly used instead of Ḥadīth to
designate the Islamic Traditions; but these words also appear with their ordinary meanings of ‘report’ or ‘reports’ at the head of
passages which cannot be Ḥadīth, or are unlikely to be sound Ḥadīth; the matter is accordingly brought up in footnotes. Stories of
Jewish origin (Irādalīyāt) and about Jesus are remarkably numerous, and of which the best known are: p. 17 (David), p. 39 and perhaps p. 40
(Children of Israel, told by Wāḥib ibn Munābih), p. 41 (Children of Israel, told by Yazīd al-Raqqāšī), p. 42 (Solomon), p. 56 (Children
of Israel), p. 57 (Moses), p. 72 (David), two on p. 141 (Torah, told by Wāḥib) and p. 161 (Children of Israel); and pp. 26, 33, 38, and
147 (Jesus). They probably all come from Iḥyā’ and go back to lost works of Wāḥib ibn Munābih (d. 114/732). The stories of
Solomon on pp. 108 and 157 are evidently based on Qur’ānic legend. Although Şūfī saints, pious Caliphs, Muslim sages,
&c., figure prominently in the adab literature, Ghazālī probably took the material for Naṣīḥat al-Mulḵ and for his
earlier works from Şūfī books such as the Qūt al-Qalīr (‘Food for Hearts’) of Abū Tālib al-Makkī (d. 386/9953) and the works of
al-Jīrīrī al-Muḥṣībī (d. 243/857),4 which he mentions in his

1 Stricksmeyer, p. 50 and p. 99.
3 Louis Massignon states that whole pages of Qūt al-Qalīr were copied in
4 Margaret Smith, An Early Mystic of Baghdad... al-Muḥṣībī, London,
1935; and her translation of his Rū’abīyy al-Iḥyā’ Allīh, London, 1940 (G.M.S.).
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Autobiography. 1 Professor Humālī has noted that many of the stories of saints come from the Qāt al-Qulāb and from the Risālah of Abū-l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī. 2 The story on p. 20 is paralleled in Ḥujwīrī's (d. 492/1097) Kashf al-Mahjūb, the oldest Persian treatise on Shi‘ism, 3 but there are no other signs of dependence.

A number of the Muslim and Sāsānian stories and sayings which exemplify the counsels given in Part II have also been traced in extant earlier works, as shown in the footnotes. Some eighteen items are paralleled in the Sīyāsatnāmah, ten being Muslim (pp. 46, 54, 66, 68, 71, 92, 95, 97, 98, 121), seven Sāsānian (pp. 75, 93, 95, 96, 100, 102, 103), and one here Muslim but in the Sīyāsatnāmah Sāsānian (p. 94); discrepancies in the texts and sometimes also in the names of the protagonists perhaps indicate use of different sources rather than direct borrowing. There are also parallels with the Qābāznāmah. Some eleven passages (pp. 87, 88, 96, 96–97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 124) deal with Sāsānian royal practices which receive more detailed treatment in the Kitāb al-Tāj of pseudo-Jabhīz. Parallels have also been noted with passages in some historical works, and in Ḥbn Qutaybah's 'Uṣūl al-Akbhār and Bayhaqī's Maḥāsīn wa'l-Maṣāne'ī among works of adab; Professor Humālī states that there are also parallels in the Maḥāsīn wa'l-Ajdād of pseudo-Jabhīz (which is similar in content to Bayhaqī's work). Carl Brockelmann has noted the existence of manuscripts of the Fārādī wa'l-Qalādī of Aḥwāzī, 4 examination of these and of Aḥwāzī's 'Mirror' al-Tūr al-Munawbih fi Tadbīr al-Malik would reveal how much Ghazālī depended on this earlier author (if as seems probable this was one author).

Among the stories of the Barmakids in Part II, Chapter IV, Professor Humālī has noted that four (pp. 122, 123, 125, 127) are shortened versions of stories found in the Tāriḥ-i Barāmikāh edited by Mīrzā 'Abd al-Karīm Khān Gurgānī (Tehran, 1312 solar/1935); on grounds of style he thinks that this Persian history of the Barmakids (which has been ascribed to an author named Muhammad ibn Iṣ̄seyn Harawi) must antedate Naṣīḥat al-Malik and thus be one of the oldest monuments of Persian prose. Some parallels in early Arabic works have also been inducted in the

footnotes. Professor Humālī thinks that some of the poems in Naṣīḥat al-Malik may be from Ghazālī's own pen and that some may go back to Ghazzavīd and Sāmānīd times; some may be translations of Arabic originals. Further research may reveal earlier sources of many more passages, such as those about secretaries in Chapter III and about women in Chapter VII. Two items which deserve investigation are the lines on Yaḥyā ibn Layth's tomb (p. 99), which though perhaps originally translated from Arabic may well be one of the oldest specimens of Persian verse; and the memorable saying Bih mī hah mī hah bih ('The best is greatest, not the greatest best') in the story, discussed below, about al-Maʿmūn's opening Anushīrvān's tomb (p. 82).

Writing when he did, Ghazālī probably drew much of the Sāsānian material in Naṣīḥat al-Malik from relatively recent Arabic and Persian compilations; indeed three stories (pp. 63, 82 [Alexander], and 171) gain all or most of their point from Arabic puns and therefore cannot be genuinely, or wholly, Sāsānian. There is evidence, however, pointing to the more distant sources of some items. Thanks mainly to the Fāhrīst ('Catalogue') compiled in 577/1181 by the bookseller Muhammad ibn Iṣ̄ḥāq al-Namīn, who gives titles of lost Arabic versions of lost Pahlavi books, and to the Uṣūl al-Akbhār of Ibn Qutaybah, who not infrequently quotes his sources, scholars have been able to form a picture of some of the Sāsānian source-books of the 'Mirrors for Princes.' 5 The most important translator of these was the celebrated 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa', put to death in 139/757 allegedly as a crypto-Manichaean heretic, but perhaps really for political reasons; it would appear, however, that after his conversion to Islam, which doubtless represented an acknowledgement of its supremacy as the state religion, he had maintained a syncretistic outlook, not unlike that of the Manichaeans, upon the various facets of his day, viewing their claims to exclusive truth with a measure of tolerant scepticism. Despite this, his translations achieved their purpose of presenting Persian culture as the model for Muslims, and they also set the model for elegant Arabic prose; but as other authors took over and Islamized their contents, they fell gradually into disuse with the exception of the masterpiece Kalīkah wa Dīnakkā. 6

1 Gustave Richter, op. cit. (see above, p. ix, note 2), chap. i; Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides, pp. 52-74.
2 Though probably less used than later versions, Ibn al-Muqaffa's translations

1 Text, ed. A. Ghalwash, p. 34; tr. W. Montgomery Watt, p. 54.
2 Cf. above, p. liii, note 3.
4 G.A.L., Suppl. i, p. 720; see above, p. xii, note 2.
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Ibn al-Muqaffa’s own works al-Adab al-Saghir, al-Adab al-Kabir, and al-Risalah fil-Sababah have been preserved and are included in Muhammad ibn al-‘Atr’s edition of All’s collection Risalah al-Bulagha (3rd ed., Cairo 1356/1936; 1st ed. 1331/1912). The two adab books impart teachings found in later ‘Mirrors’ and notably in Part II, Chapters I, II, IV and VI, of Naṣḥat al-Mulk, but do so in wholly abstract form, with no mention of names whether Sassanian or Muslim, nor even specifically of Islam, though stress is laid on religion (din) as well as on ‘intelligence’ (‘aql); one saying with an Arabic rhyme found in al-Adab al-Kabir (pp. 52–53 of Rosal’s al-Bulagha) also appears in the Persian text of Naṣḥat al-Mulk (p. 144 below) as a saying of Ardashir. The Risalah fil-Sababah, on the other hand, gives topical advice to the Caliph al-Mansur on the need to control his army, unify the different systems of Islamic law being followed at Basra and Kufah (an idea acceptable to Shi‘ite but not to Sunnite thought), conciliate the Syrians, levy taxes justly, consult ‘ulamâ’, and choose reliable and noble companions and high officials, especially royal relatives and ‘A’lids. The same emphasis on noble birth is, as already mentioned, a feature of Naṣḥat al-Mulk (pp. 85–86 and 124–5 below); but the idea is Persian. Rosal’s al-Bulagha also includes another work, Yatimat al-Salân, a second Yatimah, and collections of letters and aphorisms, all attributed rightly or wrongly to Ibn al-Muqaffa. It is evident that Ibn al-Muqaffa’s authentic and purported own writings were not among the sources of Naṣḥat al-Mulk; his ideas, however, must have been largely derived from lost Pahlavi works on which the ‘Mirrors’ also ultimately depended.

According to the Fûrist, Ibn al-Muqaffa’s translations included:

(i) The Khvûdaynâmé; Book of the Kings (Ar. Siyar al-Mulk). Oldest and perhaps most faithful of the many lost Arabic translations and versions from which the historians drew their somewhat varying accounts of Persia’s past. Probably in some of the may still have been available in Ghazâlî’s time. Ibn Isfandiyar in his History of Tabari wrote c. 1216 (abridged tr. by E. C. Brown, Leyden/London (G.M.S.), 1907) says that one of the books which he found in a bookshop in Khvûrazm was Ibn al-Muqaffa’s translation of the letter of Tanar (see below, p. 231, note 1).

(ii) The ‘Aynâmâh; translated and used in the Kitâb al-Tâj of pseudo-Jâhiz. Sâsânid royal practices and ceremonies, with anecdotes.

(iii) Kalilah va Dimnah; the surviving fables of the Indian sage Bidpai, in which animals utter aphorisms and Zahhâr’s proverbs.

(iv) Kitâb Mazdak; historical romance of the heretic Mazdak and King Qubad, used in chapter xlv of the Sîyâsatnâmé of Nisân al-Mulk.

(v) Kitâb al-Tâj fi Sirat Anûshirvân; either a romance of Anûshirvân, or a misnomer for the Kitâb al-Tâj (Tâj-nâmé) mentioned below.

The Fûrist also says that Ibn al-Muqaffa ‘translated’ the Adab al-Kabir, Adab al-Saghir, and Yatimah; and in another place that ‘the Persians in olden times had translated some books of logic and medicine and these were translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa and others.’

Various other Persian (i.e. Pahlavi) books which were translated into Arabic receive mention in the Fûrist and elsewhere. Among these were:

(i) Historical romances, probably with didactic material as in Kalilah va Dimnah; of Ardeshir, Mazdak, Anûshirvân, Bahram Chûbin, Parviz, and probably also of Bahram Gûr and other historical and mythical kings.4 Romances of Ardeshir and of the

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2 Richter, op. cit., pp. 47–51; Christensen, op. cit., p. 6a. There may have been more than one ‘Aynâmâh (Rules-book): cf. Fûrist, p. 305, 12; 138, 2 (tr. by the nurî Jâhân, c. 920); p. 314, 22 (Bahram Gûr’s Ayn of shooting, and the Ayn of polo-playing).


4 Fûrist, p. 305, 9–12: Rustam va Isfandiyar and Bahram Chûbin (tr. by Jâhân Ibn Sâmî); ‘Sâmî az Nûrî pasvâr; Keyhûrâkânî fi Sirat Anûshirvân (probably in error for Erkhâr, see next note); Khvûdaynâmé; Bahram va Narî; Kitâb Anûshirvân: p. 119, 3, Sirat Ardeshir va Sirat Anûshirvân (version by Abûn al-Lâbiq).
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game of chess (see below) survive in Pahlavi recensions made by Zoroastrians in post-Sasanian times.¹

(ii) Fictitious romances and fables, such as Kalila va Dimnah, the Book of Sindibad (originally Indian), Bihishto va Yasufaš (originally Buddhist), Hazar Afšānah (prototype of the 1001 Nights), Wāmiq va ‘Adhrā’, etc.²

(iii) Books of Counsel (Andarz or Pandēnah); aphorisms, Zahišsprīche, anecdotes, &c., on ethical and political subjects. This style of writing, cultivated in the Middle East since Old Testament and Babylonian times, evidently enjoyed particular vogue at Anūshīhrvān’s court. The lost originals must have reflected contemporary Zoroastrian ideas, but probably also contained materials of Greek and Indian origin. Considerable numbers of these books, including a Pandēnah of the age Buzurgmehr, survive in post-Sasanian Pahlavi recensions which reflect later Zoroastrian ideas.³

(iv) Testaments, letters, allocations, &c., addressed by kings to their successors, to the subjects and officials, &c. The best known was the ‘Covenant’ (‘Ahd) of Ardashir; some possibly genuine extracts of an Arabic translation of this have been published in M. Kūrd ‘Ali’s Rāsīl’ al-Bulāqhd. Firdawsi gives accounts both of Ardashir’s instructions to the nobles and of Ardashir’s deathbed testament to his son Shāpür I, and then of Shāpür’s testament to his son Hurruzm; indeed, almost all the Sānūd kings in Shāhēnāmah leave testaments, write letters, make speeches from the throne, &c., and such may indeed have been the royal practice; but it is thought that most of the lost texts transmitted from Pahlavi to Arabic must have been composed or re-edited in late Sasanian times on the lines of the andarz literature of that period.⁴ One

¹ Karmānūghī Ardashir-i Pābbāqūn and Modāghīn-i Tchaturm: Christensen, op. cit., p. 38; Grundris, ii, pp. 118–19 (E. W. West) and p. 133 (Nöelleske).
² Fīrūst, pp. 204–2; p. 310, 3–5.
³ Christensen, op. cit., pp. 57–58; West in Grundris, ii, pp. 90–116. The Fīrūst, pp. 315–16, paragraph on ‘Books by known and unknown authors about sermons, manners and proverbs of the Persians, Greeks, Indians and Arabs’, speaks of lost works which may have been based upon Pahlavi andrāz books, along with ‘testaments’ (see next note) and much else.
⁴ Richter, op. cit., pp. 63–64; Christensen, op. cit., p. 6; Fīrūst, pp. 315–16 (see preceding note): ‘Ahd of Ardashir, Kīrār Anūshīhrvān and Kīrār (1); p. 113, 14, Bahlāwuriversified the ‘Ahd of Ardashir; p. 129, 17 and 18, the books unanimously agreed to be best (for secretaries) were the ‘Ahd of Ardashir, Kalīla va Dimnah, the Rāsīl Maḥšūrāy of ‘Imrāh Ibn Hamzah, Ibn al-Muqaffa’s Yastomk, and the Rāsīl al-‘Imām of Abdāl Ibn Yūsuf al-Kīthib.

surviving example is the Letter of Tansar to the King of Tābaristān, conserved by Ibn Isfandiyār in his History of Tābaristān dated 606/1209–10 in a Persian summary of a lost Arabic translation said to have been made by Ibn al-Muqaffa; this is presented as a letter from Ardashir’s high priest Tansar, but is shown by internal evidence to date from Anūshīhrvān’s reign.¹ Among the post-Sasanian Pahlavi andarz books is one attributed to Khusraw son of Qūbād, i.e. Anūshīhrvān.

(v) The old Kitāb al-Tāj (Tājnāmah). Cited by Ibn Qutaybah as the source of passages often paralleled in the Kitāb al-Tāj of pseudo-Jāhiz; evidently consisted of political and ethical counsels for kings, partly in the form of sayings, testaments and letters from prison attributed to Parviz. Arthur Christensen and other scholars think that the original Pahlavi Tājnāmah may have been a book described by the historian Mas‘ūdī who saw a copy of it in 305/915–6 and says that it had been translated into Arabic; according to Mas‘ūdī it was illustrated with portraits of all the Sānūd kings and contained much information about their buildings and political institutions.² If so, much of the Sasanian material found in Muslim literature may have come from this source.

Among the Sasanian passages in Naṣībat al-Mulāsh, the very corrupt account of the Kings (pp. 47–53) and the story of Yazdār the Sinner’s death (p. 103) must presumably go back to some version of the Khwādīynāmah. No parallels could be traced in Kalīla va Dimnah, except perhaps in the story (here involving Solomon) on p. 157; the story of the royal meeting in the garden (p. 64) bears some resemblance to a story of a meeting of the kings of China, India, Persia and Greece found in the preface to Kalīla va Dimnah by Bahnūd ibn Sāwān known as ’Ali ibn al-Shāh al-Fārisī. The Āyīnāmah must be the ultimate source of the passages concerning Sānūd royal practices (pp. 87, 88, 96, 96–97, 100, 101, 105, 109, 14) already mentioned as having parallels in the Kitāb al-Tāj of pseudo-Jāhiz.

¹ Christensen, op. cit., pp. 63–66. Text in Journal Asiatique, ix, iii. 1894, pp. 185–230 and 302–55. Fīrūst, p. 316, 4, Kīrār’s letter to the Mardzan in the letter’s reply, may refer to the letter of Tansar but does not say that it was translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa (cf. above, p. 11x, note 3).
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The saying that 'monarchy and religion are like brothers' (p. 59) is ascribed by Ibn Qutaybah to Ardashir and also appears in the selections from the 'Covenant' (Ahd) of Ardashir in Bust al-Bulaghah. No parallels have been found in works consulted to the saying from Ardashir's 'Covenant' on p. 98 or to the saying from his or Shāhpūr's 'Testament' on p. 120; but his saying on p. 95 is from the 'Covenant', and as already mentioned his saying on p. 144 occurs (without attribution) in Ibn Muqaffa's al-Adab al-Kabir. Presumably all these sayings go back to 'testament' literature. The rest of Ardashir's sayings (pp. 105, 110) occur in Chapter III of the Wazirate, where they are intermingled with counsels from Anushirvān's 'Testament' (p. 127), with sayings of Bahram Gūr, of Anushirvān's chief mohed and of Aristotle and Buzurgmīrāh, and with a very small amount of Muslim material. The term used for 'minister' in this chapter is in Persian usually dastār but sometimes waźir, and in Arabic waźir; the word dastār, which occurs frequently in Firdawsi's Šahānmaḥ, meant in Sasanian times 'jurisdiction' (cf. the Muslim muftī), and among modern Zoroastrians means 'priest'. The various Sasanian sayings have been very much Islamized and adapted to make them applicable to the Abbasid institution of the wazirate; and they are perhaps more likely to have come from a single earlier Muslim source than to have been culled from different sources. The Muslim 'Books of Waźir' were mainly concerned, it seems, with events and practices in 'Abbasid and subsequent times. Ibn al-Muqaffa, however, uses the term waźir along with other terms such as helper, adviser, official, &c., in his discussion of royal companions in al-Adab al-Kabir; it therefore seems possible that some Pahlavi 'counsels' on the subject of dastār and royal officials may have passed into Arabic and so eventually into Naṣibat al-Mulāh.

Anushirvān appears as the subject of anecdotes and as giver and receiver of counsels. The anecdotes (pp. 55, 61–52, 63–65, 72, 73, 80, 83–24, 124) are mostly aphoristic in character; some may go back to the ancillary literature, others to the romance literature which

1 Christensen, op. cit., pp. 120 and 282.
2 Dominique Sourdel, Le Vieux 'Abbāsid, Damascus, 1953, pp. 6–14 ('Books of Waźir'); pp. 55–58 (use of the term waźir by Ibn al-Muqaffa). Charles Schefer in his Christomathia Persica, i, Paris, 1862, pp. 10–26, has reproduced the anonymous Adab ul-Sulhmat wa't-Wazarat which possibly dates from the Ghaznavid or Sāmniid periods (H. Esh in Grundzüge, ii, p. 347); this was not available at the time of writing.

was probably often didactic in tone. The story about the capers on p. 63 can hardly be authentically Sasanian. The story of the royal meeting in the garden on p. 64 has already been mentioned and will be discussed further. The story of the stolen wine-cup on p. 124 must be from the Ayyānāmāh.

Parviz does not figure prominently in Naṣibat al-Mulāh. Gustav Richter thinks that the saying of Parviz on p. 96 comes from the old Kitāb al-Tāj, and his saying to his son on p. 153 may well be from the same source unless it is from a 'testament'. The saying on p. 88, and the story on p. 94 if its protagonists should really be those named in Nizām al-Mulk's version, may go back to the romance of Bahram Chubin, or perhaps to the old Kitāb al-Tāj. The story of the fisherman on pp. 171 ff. may not be authentically Sasanian.

The only anecdote of which a source is named is that of King Gushṭāb (or, as the Sīyāsāt-nāmaḥ perhaps rightly has it, Bahram Gūr) and his corrupt waźir Rāstravish; on p. 94 this is said to be from the Yadgār-nāmaḥ-hā (in the Arabic text Kitāb Yadgār-nāmaḥ). This 'Book of Memoirs' must have been a collection of stories, available in Ghazālī's time and perhaps depending ultimately on Pahlavi originals; the following guess may deserve consideration. The Fihrist, p. 245, lines 1 and 2, says that Isḥāq ibn Yazid made translations from 'Persian' and that among these was the Book of Biographies of the Persians known as the (?) Ikhbīyār-nāmaḥ (Kitāb fi Sīrat al-Fars al-ma'ruf b(i)-Ikhbīyār-nāmaḥ); this is not likely to be an error for Bakhbīyār-nāmaḥ, the name of the Muslim imitation of the Indo-Persian Sindbadnāmaḥ, as the Bakhbīyār-nāmaḥ is thought to date from long after Ibn al-Nadim's time; could Ikhbīyār-nāmaḥ be an error for Yadgār-nāmaḥ?

Aphorisms, proverbs, &c., were immensely popular in early Muslim literature, and the tendency was to assimilate their style and contents and to disregard or ignore their sources. The Zuhhlenspräche about women in Chapter VI are shown by their contents to be of Muslim origin despite their Persian form. The

1 Richter, op. cit., p. 58.
2 Probably written originally in Persian during the sixth/seventh cent. E.I. (i), art. Bakhbīyār-nāmaḥ.
3 Richter, op. cit., p. 64, has located the following mentions of 'books of counsels' (sometimes 'testaments'): Ar. madhdh in the Fihrist: p. 78, 15; 203, 12; 204, 17; 18; 206, 29; 207, 21; 210, 23; 212, 22; 217, 4–5; 220, 25; 223, 14; 234, 23; 281, 80; 28a, 5.
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reference to the Pandēnāmah-hā (Books of Counsel) on p. 63, in a context where counsels of Sasanian kings and sages must be meant, suggests, however, that Ghazālī had access to translations or adaptations of Pahlavi andorz books, Professor Humā'ī has noted that the sapphire (here ascribed to Yūnān the Dastūr) on pp. 63–64 and the classification of worldly activities on p. 136 are paralleled in an edition of the Jāvēdān Khirad published at Tehran. The Jāvēdān Khirad, purportedly the testament of the mythical king Hūshang to his son, is said to have been found in an old chest by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn and to have been translated by Hasan ibn Sahl, brother of his māzir Faḍl ibn Sahl, and later incorporated into a compendium of counsels prepared by the philosopher and historian ʿAbd Allāh ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) with the title ʿAddā al-ʿArab waʿl-Furs; this consisted of (a) the translated Jāvēdān Khirad, and then wisdom of the (b) Persians, (c) Indians, (d) Arabs, (e) Greeks, and (f) contemporary philosophers. An Arabic text of the Jāvēdān Khirad, i.e. of Hūshang’s ‘testament’, is included in M. Kūrdir ‘Allī’s Rasa’il il-Buлагḥ. The Jāvēdān Khirad was also the title given to a Persian recension of the whole compendium made for the Moghul emperor Jāhānlīr; a second recension called Intikhāb-i Shāyistah-Khānī was made for one of the emperor Awrangzīb’s generals. Perhaps the Tehran edition is based upon these. The contents of the Intikhāb-i Shāyistah-Khānī, according to H. Etēh, include counsels of Hūshang and other mythical kings, of Anūshīrvān, and of the sages Buzurgmīr and Āgrabād; a short chronicle of the Persian kings; Arab sayings, and sayings of Muhammad and of Imāms and Sufi saints; the ‘testament’ of the Qur’ānic sage Luqran; and sayings of Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, &c., and of Indian holy men. It may well be that Ibn Miskawayh’s ʿAddā al-ʿArab waʿl-Furs was an immediate or intermediate source of much material in Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk.

In the Shāhnāma and other well-known works, the sage who figures as Anūshīrvān’s principal counselor or ‘māzir’ is always the celebrated Buzurgmīr. In Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk this role is filled by an unfamiliar person named Yūnān. He advises Anūshīrvān (pp. 62, 63), sends letters to him in the form of Zahlehresperch (pp. 72, 83) and sends intelligence (p. 154), and also utters a

"saying obviously not intended for a king (p. 136). Buzurgmīr is quoted more frequently, but only twice (pp. 135, 155) in connexion with Anūshīrvān by name; and no title is given to him, whereas Yūnān is called in the Persian text always dastūr, and in the Arabic text mostly māzir but sometimes dastūr. Christensen has noted that Yūnān is mentioned in the anonymous Majnūn al-Tawārīkh written in 520/1126 along with Buzurgmīr, Burzāyā, Mahbūb, Nārān and Simāḥ Burzūn as one of the sages, philosophers and mobeds at Anūshīrvān’s court; and he has also drawn attention to a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Zoroastrian work in Persian written by a Parsi named Marzubān of Rāwar in Sind and described by Edward Sachau. One part of this work is a romance in which Yūnān the Dastūr plays a big part. Anūshīrvān and he hold long platitudinous discussions; Anūshīrvān gathers together the Turkish, Roman, Chinese and Indian rulers in a beautiful garden (cf. the story on p. 64 below); Yūnān writes a book called the Farrukh-nāmah, copies of which are placed in the great fire-temple Āgar-gushnābād and in Anūshīrvān’s tomb (dakhmāh); after the Arab conquer a aged mobed presents a copy to ‘All (or in another version al-Ma’mūn), who orders Abūl-Khayr ‘Amrī to translate it into ‘Persian’ (tīr); later ‘Ali is led to the dakhmāh where he sees Anūshīrvān’s body sitting on a throne and finds a ring on his finger and a tablet on the wall on which are inscribed moral sentences and predictions (cf. the story on pp. 81–82 below). Sachau does not report these sentences, but probably would have mentioned Bīh mih māh mih bīh had it been among them. The Šāhsūnāmah also tells a story of the opening of Anūshīrvān’s tomb, and like Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk says that this was done by al-Ma’mūn. The story is rather similar to that of al-Ma’mūn’s finding the ‘Testament of Hūshang’ in an old chest. According to Professor Humā’ī, the classification of worldly activities in Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk (p. 136 below) is ascribed in the Tehran edition of the Jāvēdān Khirad to the sage Āgrabād; this name could easily be corrupted in the Arabic alphabet, if the

1 Christensen in his article in Le siege Buzurgmīr (see note 30 on p. lviii below).
2 Sachau, Contributions to the Knowledge of Parthian Literature, in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, iv, London, 1870, pp. 233–5 and 248–4. Sachau states that Marzubān gives the romance first in a vernified recension and then in two prose recensions, in one of which Ma’mūn and in the other Hārūn al-Rashīd opens Anūshīrvān’s tomb. In the vernified recension the opener’s name was changed to ‘All, probably in order to justify Zoroastrian claims for protection under the Shi‘ite Safavid régime.

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2 Grundris, ii, p. 346.
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The greatest Zoroastrian religious figure in Sasanian times was the chief nōbed in the reign of Shāpūr II, Ādūrbad-i Mahrpandān, who fixed the text of the Avesta and proved its validity by submitting himself to the ordeal of fire. Several ANDARZ books in the name of this sage, but probably written in late Sasanian times, still survive in post-Sasanian Zoroastrian Pahlavi recensions. Perhaps some sayings of Āzarbād passed into Muslim literature through Arabic translations, the king being changed at some stage from Shāpūr to the more familiar Anūshirvān; they were evidently incorporated into Ḥn Miskawāy’s Adāb al-‘Arab wal-Furs, and they may have reached Ghazālī through some later book in which the sage’s name became corrupted to Yūnān and in which the story of al-Ma‘mūn’s opening the old chest became romanticized into the story of his opening Anūshirvān’s tomb.

Naštah al-Mulik contains some sixteen sayings of Buzurgmīhr (pp. 75, 77, 90, 111, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 142, 145, 154, 155); one of these, on p. 146, may be of Christian origin. The question whether this renowned sage really existed has been exhaustively studied by Christensen. BUZURGMIHR, who is not mentioned at all in Tabari’s Annals, appears in later literature as Anūshirvān’s sagacious counsellor or waʻṣr and as the sayer of innumerable aphorisms, mostly ethical or political in content and often acerbic in tone, though sometimes merely witty. A consecutive account of Buzurgmīhr’s sayings given by Mas‘ūdī (d. 346/956) includes counsels which appear without attribution among the basic teachings of the ‘Mirrors for Princes’ (to fear God, heed scholars, respect noblemen, supervise judges and officials, guard the frontiers, &c.). Buzurgmīhr is also the Zoroastrian ethico-religious preacher of the surviving Pahlavi Pandnāmgh: Buzurgmīhr. In Firdawsi’s Shāhānshāh and in the surviving Pahlavi romance Maddig-i Tchatarq he interprets the game of chess sent to Anūshirvān by the King of India and invents the game of tric-trac. Firdawsi, and also Tha‘līlī (d. 420/1031) in his History of the Kings of the Persians, makes Buzurgmīhr perform wonderful feats

1 Christensen, L’Iraou les Sassanides, pp. 140 and 301; West in Grundris, ii, pp. 34, 35, 36.

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of dream and riddle interpretation, in one of which Th. Noldeke has seen a parallel with the legend of the sage Ahīqār, minister to the Assyrian kings Sennacherib and Esarhaddon and author of edifying aphorisms. In Christensen’s opinion, Buzurgmīhr’s fame in Muslim times stemmed from his role in Ibn al-Muqaffa’s immensely popular Kallīlah wa Dimnah, which has three introductions. The first is by Ibn al-Muqaffa; in the second introduction, Buzurgmīhr tells how the physician Buzrūyān brought Bidpāi’s fables from India for Anūshirvān; in the third introduction, he (Buzurgmīhr) recites Buzrūyān’s account of his upbringing and philosophical ideas. Having acquired from Kallīlah wa Dimnah the notion that Buzurgmīhr was Anūshirvān’s wise counsellor, Muslim writers readily ascribed to him all sorts of then circulating sayings and legends of sages. In regard to Buzurgmīhr’s end different traditions arose: Firdawsi and Tha‘līlī say nothing about it; Niẓām al-Mulk in the Siyāsathnāmah (chapter xliii) says that he outlined the empire of the Sānandis and explained their fall (cf. Naštah al-Mulik, pp. 99–100 below); and Mas‘ūdī and others say that he angered Farīz who had him put to death. Christensen has noted that in Firdawsi’s and Tha‘līlī’s accounts of the execution of three of Anūshirvān’s grandees by order of his successor Hurrūz IV, the name of one of them is given as Buzrūmīhr, and a little later on in the Shāhānshāh as Simāh Burzūn. In Christensen’s opinion, Buzrūyān and Burzūn are both ‘hypocoristic’ variants of the name Burzūn, and two persons must really have existed: a secular-physician named Burzūmīhr or Buzrūyān who studied in India, translated the Sanskrit Pandntatra (‘Fables of Bidpāi’), and propagated Indian cultural influences at Anūshirvān’s court; and a grandee named Burzūmīhr or Burzūn who was put to death by order of Hurrūz IV. Confusion of these two persons would give rise to the story of the sage’s execution by a king and attract further legends. The name of the bringer of the Fables must always have been transmitted in the form Burzrūyān, whereas in other reports of the same person’s wisdom the name must have been transmitted in the form Burzūmīhr; this would explain why the physician-fabulist and the sage came to be regarded as different persons. Finally, Christensen thinks, the name Burzūmīhr must in Muslim times have undergone corruption to Buzurgmīhr, which could easily occur in the Arabic, though not in the Pahlavi, writing system. The Zoroastrian authors of the surviving Pandnāmgh, which is
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Plutarch's *Lives* were known to the Muslims, and another passage states that his *Moralia* were translated into Arabic, doubtless from some Syriac version. It seems probable that material of this nature also reached Arabic through Pahlavi literature. Although Sasanian Persia's contacts with the Greek-speaking world were mainly hostile, the large Syriac-speaking population in Ctesiphon, the royal capital, and the famous medical school at Gundasyahpûr in Khûzistân founded in the fifth century A.D. by Nestorian Christian refugees from Byzantium, must have served as channels for the transmission of Greek ideas. More important was Anûshirvân's well-attested interest in Greek as well as Indian 'philosophy'. Christensen relates (from Syriac and Greek sources that a Christian named Paulus Persa wrote a compendium of Aristotelian theories in Syriac for Anûshirvân; that a Syrian physician named Uranios 'taught philosophy' to Anûshirvân who used to discuss it with the assembled mobeds; that Anûshirvân welcomed at Ctesiphon seven philosophers from a school at Athens closed in A.D. 529, though they soon returned home. The *Fishrit* mentions two lost Arabic books indicative of Anûshirvân's interest in Greek philosophic 'counsels'; in these, and in the unnamed books of Greek medicine and logic said to have been translated from Pahlavi by Ibn al-Muqaffa', it may be presumed that Greek philosophers became sages and that their teachings were recast in the form of aphorisms and *Zahlensprüche* like those of Buzurgmîr.

Another influence was the rôle of Alexander in Muslim historical tradition. The lost Greek romance of Alexander, written purportedly

1. Fishrit, p. 245. 15 and 27; p. 254. 6-9 (various works of Plutarch, including one tr. by Qustâ ibn Lûqâ, d. 300/912). An Egyptian writer, Muslihûr ibn Fārik, produced in 445/1053 a compendium of sayings, &c., of the philosophers, which was tr. into Latin, French, and English; the Eng. tr. was 'the first book printed in England' (1470) G.A.Lt., Suppl. 1, p. 829).

2. The *Gundasyahpûr* (Jundaysábâr) school continued into 'Abbâsid times, when it produced the famous Christian physicians of the Bakḫûshîfisl' family who attended Mansûr and Hârûn al-Râshîd.


4. Fishrit, p. 316, 6-8 (book of questions sent by the king of the Romans to Anûshirvân by the hand of Buqā' āl-Râmi); book of the philosophers sent by the king of the Romans to the king of the Persians who had been asking him about wisdom). In a Zoroastrian Persian rindout said to have been tr. from Pahlavi, the Roman king at the request of the Persian king (Shâpur I) sends philosophers with books of medicine and science such as those of Socrates and Aristotle, and they debate in the king's presence with the chief mobed who demonstrates the superiority of Persian science.

5. Richter, op. cit., pp. 94-99."

shown by internal evidence to have been written long after the fall of the Sasanids, must have transliterated the name Buzurgmîr into Pahlavi and have taken over his legendary personality as developed in Muslim literature. *Nabhat al-Mulâk*, like other *Mirrors* and *talad* books, also contains anecdotes and sayings of Alexander the Great and aphorisms ascribed to Greek philosophers and physicians. Before these are discussed, it must be said that Muslim thinkers—whether theologians, mystics, Bâtînites or philosophers—customarily pitched their writings in different keys, for initiates and non-initiates respectively. Ghazîll was well acquainted, not only with the metaphysical and ethical systems of Fârâbî (d. 339/950), Ibn Sînâ (d. 428/1037) and Ibn Mikawayh, but also with the real and supposed works of Plato, Aristotle, Galen, &c., which these Muslim philosophers had used in translations made from Syriac and Greek texts by scholars such as the Christian physicians Hunayn ibn Ishâq (d. 260/873) and Ishâq ibn Hunayn (d. 298/910). In his *Autobiography* Ghazîll pronounces his considered opinion: 'We must therefore reckon as unbelievers these philosophers themselves (i.e. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle) and their followers among the Islamic philosophers'; though he admits a little later on that Aristotle's philosophy contains undeniable truths in addition to heresy and unbelief. Philosophical literature, however, was read only by learned initiates, while in the more widespread read literature of romance and proverb, Aristotle and his peers figured as estimable sages. Ghazîll's willingness to quote for the edification of a Sulûn popular sayings ascribed to philosophers whose ideas he had elsewhere refuted for fellow-scholars was quite in keeping with the custom of the age.

Stories of the lives and sayings of Greek philosophers are known to have passed from the popular Greek literature of Hellenistic and Roman times into Syriac monastic literature and thence into early Arabic literature. Passages in the *Fishrit* suggest that...
translated the Šāfīdīn Khirāt; Ibn Qutaybah also quotes this saying of Alexander, but without a narrator. On p. 75, and evidently also on p. 96 and p. 137, Alexander is associated with Aristotle. Other sayings of Aristotle appear on pp. 73 and 139; the saying on p. 110 is ascribed in the Arabic text to Aristotle, in the Persian text to a Panāhmah—perhaps an Arabic or Persian version of some Pahlavi advice-book. There are sayings of Socrates on pp. 75–91, 134 (doubtful) and 139, of Plato on p. 91, and of Hippocrates (doubtful) on p. 139. Two Zahensprüche of a somewhat medical nature are ascribed to Galen (p. 140), and the second of these is said to be from the Kitāb al-Adviyāt (Book of Remedies); whether this might refer to an adaptation of one of Galen’s works or to some other work or chapter of a work in which Galen was quoted, is not clear from the context.

The question whether any Platonic, Aristotelian or other Greek ideas are to be found among these purported sayings of the philosophers, or among the teachings of Nashat al-Mulāḥ and of ‘Mirrors for Princes’ generally, can only be decided by competent classical scholars. Dr. H. D. Isaacs has noted parallels in Plato’s Republic to the discussion of justice and injustice in Part I (p. 24). The sayings that ‘the memory which a gentleman leaves behind him is his second life’ (p. 54) and to the effect that ‘a man is never respected unless he respects himself’ (p. 110) may well be Greek, and the Islamized sayings of Plato and Socrates on p. 91 may contain Greek elements. On p. 73 Aristotle is made (as has been mentioned) to include the ‘Divine Effulgence’ (fār, Pahlavi khorār) among royal qualities; and Dr. W. Montgomery Watt has pointed out that the following Zahrenspruch in which this ‘effulgence’ is defined bears some resemblance to Fārābī’s definitions of the qualities of Imāms in his Treatise on the Opinions of the Perfect City’s Inhabitants, which is based to a considerable extent on Plato’s Republic.2

On p. 134 there is an anecdote, doubtfully ascribed to Ibn al-Muqaffa’, concerning a King of India. It is not unlikely that a few items may go back through Arabic and Pahlavi literature to Indian origins.

1 Unnavn ibn Ishāq translated some Syriac extracts of a work of Galen on the effects of specific drugs (Fi guwāyid-unaqadh al-mufriḥāt); and various similarly named later works are mentioned (G. A. L., Suppl. 1, p. 368, No. 15; and Index).
2 E. I. J. Rosenthal, Political Thought in Medieval Islam, p. 133, n. 15, points out that Fārābī’s qualifications for the first ruler (Imām) are derived from Plato’s Republic, 495–72a (pp. 368–70 in Jowett’s tr.).
Introduction

Early Muslim civilization possessed a remarkable capacity to absorb materials from many sources, and to assimilate and indeed obliterate them in a Perso-Islamic whole. *Naḥbat al-Mulāk* is a good example of the product to which this process led.

TRANSLATION

N.B. The square brackets enclose translations of passages or words which were reconstituted by Professor Humá'í in his edition of the Persian text; in general they were found to conform in meaning with the corresponding passages or words in Dr. H. D. Isaac's recension of the Arabic text.

The round brackets enclose (i) translations of passages or words taken from the Arabic text in preference, or in addition, to the corresponding passages or words of the Persian text; and (ii) other added or conjectured words.

In the footnotes P. (H) means Professor Humá'í's edition of the Persian text; Ar. (I) means Dr. H. D. Isaac's recension of the Bodleian Arabic manuscript; Ar. (H) means the Arabic edition printed at Cairo in 1317/1900 and used by Professor Humá'í; and Ar. (Camb.) means the Cambridge Arabic manuscript Q. 231.

Particulars of persons appearing in the book are given in the Biographical Index. For particulars and bibliographies of some of the subjects arising in the book reference is made in the footnotes to relevant articles in the *Encyclopædia of Islam.*
PART I

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God, the Lord of All Being. Blessings and peace be upon the Chief of (God’s) Envoys, Muḥammad, and upon his good and pure descendants and (the pious Muslims) who followed (him).¹

The Shaykh, the Imām, the Ornament of the Religion, Glory of the Imāms, Proof of the Faith, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad [ibn Muḥammad] al-Ghazālī,² said (these words).³

You should understand, O King of the East,⁴ that God on High has bestowed upon you abundant prosperity and that you are obliged and bound to be thankful for it. If a person is not thankful for Almighty God’s gifts, those gifts will be cut off from him and at the Resurrection he will suffer shame and disgrace for his offence. To men of understanding, riches which cease at death have no value; for even though a man’s life be long, of what use will they be when it comes to an end? Noah, God bless him, lived a thousand years, but since he died five thousand years have passed; and it seems as if he had never existed. The wealth which has value is that which is enduring and eternal. (God’s) enduring gift is faith, which is the eternal wealth.

¹ al-Thābi‘ī, i.e. those who knew men who had known Muḥammad. Ar. (I) continues as follows: ‘I have been requested by important persons of the first rank to render this book, Counsell to Kings, from the Persian language into Arabic. I have adhered to its plan and rendered it in accordance with its structure and form, without making any change in its content and character; and I have endeavoured to amplify its expressions and clarify its allusions, with the object of facilitating the use of its arguments and importing to men’s minds a close understanding of it in the (full) measure of its rhetoric and eloquence. I have also translated the Persian verses cited by the author into Arabic verses, in such a way as to make their meanings clear and indicate the points and morals in them. For my shortcomings I apologise profoundly; as I am not one of the riders on this course, may the noble champions among them overlook my faults and may the scholars forgive my inadequacy. If any person finds a defect in the language (of the book) and suppresses it, or comes across a lapse and changes it, he will be amply recompensed and favourably remembered. From God alone comes success; in Him have I trusted and to Him do I turn.’
² Ar. (I) adds: raḥamahu ‘Ilāh, i.e. ‘the late’.
³ Ar. (I) adds: ‘addressing the late Sultān Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh’.
Counsel for Kings

God on High has granted you this gift and sow the seed of faith in your pure and steadfast heart; but He has left the tending of the seed to you. There is a saying that this seed may be nourished with the water of justice and piety until it grows into a tree whose roots reach the bowels of the earth and whose branches reach the clouds of the sky. As God said in his book (Q. xiv. 29), 'Have not you seen how God coineth a simile—a good word, like a good tree, (with) its roots firm and its branches in the sky?' But when its branches and roots are not fully developed, there is a danger that at the last breath the tree of faith may be blown down by the wind of death, and that the slave will then—God forbid—come before the Lord with no faith.

You should understand, O King, that this tree of faith has ten roots and ten branches, its roots being the beliefs of the heart and its branches the actions of the body. (Your servant) who invokes the True God on your behalf, having received encouragement and acceptance from the High Council (of the Kingdom), gives particulars of these ten roots and ten branches in order that the King of Islam may set about tending this tree.

If this is to be done properly, you must on one day of the week attend to God's business and devote your thoughts to Him, namely on Friday, which is the festival of the Believers. During this day there is an hour, in which every person who comes to God with a (sincere) intention will be granted his requests. How would it be if you devoted one day in every week to God's service? If you owned a slave and told him, 'Work one day a week in my service, and I will overlook your offences on the other six days,' and if he refused to do so, how would you regard and treat him? Yet he is not your creature, and he is only your slave in a metaphorical sense, while you are God's slave and creature in reality. Why do not you see fit to render such service yourself?

1 Ar. (1): 'Its root is the belief in Paradise and its branch is the practice of the pillar.'—i.e. the Five Pillars of Islam; profession of faith, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and pilgrimage.


4 Ghazzālī, Bidṭāyat al-Ḥidūqūq, tr. in Watt, The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazzālī, p. 185. (H. D. Isaacs.)

5 Jihād, cf. also Ḥidāyat, Book IV, chapter 5, and Bahārī, Sāḥīh, ii. 190 (Ṣaḥīh al-Isbābāh, H. D. Isaacs.)

6 bi-dil, Ar. (1), bi-nāyūkh. Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, art. Niya. The ritual prayer (jādih) is insufficent without a declaration of sincere intention (niyāh), expressed audibly or mentally. According to Ghazzālī, Ḥīḍāyat (Book VIII, chapter 1), it is required for other ritual acts also, but this is disputed. (H. D. Isaacs.)

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On the night before Friday you must form a sincere resolve to fast, and if (in addition) you have the power to do so on Thursday, it is better. On Friday, rise early, wash and dress yourself in clothes which have the three characteristics of being: (i) lawful, (ii) appropriate for the prayer, and (iii) not of silk. In summer they may be of Daḥiq, qasāh, face, or linen, in winter of fur, (cotton) wool. Clothing which does not have these characteristics is unacceptable to the True God. Perform the dawn prayer in company, (but) until the sun rises do not speak (to other men) and do not turn your face away from the direction (of God's house at Mecca).

Keep on reciting (God's) epistles and say one thousand times, 'There is no god but God and Muhammad is God's Apostle.' When the sun rises, order a reader to read this book to you aloud, and let him read it again every Friday until it abides in your memory, and when he finishes reading this book to you, perform a prayer of four prostrations and repeat (God's) epistles until noon. The reward for this is very great on Fridays. Afterwards, whether you resume your seat on the throne or remain in solitude, keep on saying, 'O God, bless Muhammad and Muhammad's family.' After and the noon prayer, keep on saying, 'I ask forgiveness of God and turn penitently to Him.' Give away as much as you can in alms, and pass this one day of the week attending to God's business. If you do so, then during the rest of the week God on High will look after your business.

1 Niya. See preceding note.

2 Is. 25.6. Shorter E.I., art. Salāḥ, p. 493. Silk garments were forbidden (as luxurious) to men, but not to women; they were nevertheless worn by Abbasid Caliphs and other Muslim rulers, as earlier by the Sasanian kings.

3 E.I. (a), art. Daḥāq. A linen cloth, often interwoven with gold thread or silk, from Daḥāq, a former city in Egypt.

4 A lustrous cloth, possibly interwoven with gold. Dusy, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes, p. 371.

5 Tārīḫ, corrected by H. from Tārīḫ. Ar. (1) has Nārī. "Khuza, in Persian 'fur'; but in Arabic, '纡 sof silk or silk interwoven with wool' (Dusy, op. cit., p. 437).

6 Thus in Ar. (1); P. (H) has ḍābul, 'brocade', but brocade is of silk.

7 Ar. (1): 'Byzantine (Rūmi) wool.'


9 Tārīḫ, mi-gīy, i.e. with the help of the rosary. Shorter E.I., art. Subhah and also art. Allah.

10 Rukūt, a unit of prayer in which there are three postures: standing, genuflexion, and prostration. Shorter E.I., art. Salāḥ, pp. 493-4.

11 Khulūūt, i.e. solitary religious meditation. Cf. Ḥyād, Book XXII, section xi; also Ḥyādī, Book XVI, on 'ʿarūda (retreat from worldly life). (H. D. Isaacs.)

12 'Abbās al-Muḥammad; likewise in Ar. (1). This would include the 'Abbāsids as well as the Alids.
ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CREED, WHICH ARE THE ROOTS OF FAITH

First principle
You should understand, O King, that you are a creature and that you have a Creator who is the Creator of the entire universe. All that exists in the universe is from Him, and He is one, for He has no equal. He has always existed, for His being has no commencement; and He will always exist, for His being has no end. His existence since eternity and in perpetuity is a prior cause, because non-existence cannot be predicated of Him and because His existence is of Himself. He needs no cause, but there is nothing which does not need Him; but His being is through Himself, the being of all things is through Him.


The creed here presented is substantially and to a large extent textually identical with the creed found in the first section of the first *Fîlîm* of Kîmiyâ-yi Sa'dâdat. (Harold Spencer.)


* dar asal u abad: asal, 'eternity without beginning'; abad, 'eternity without end'. *'Ax вокруг*: uñâbî.
* râb û nist, i.e. there is no 'way' for it; likewise Ar. (I), lâ ... nûbîl.

The Principles of the Creed
Second principle: of the Purity of the True God (sacred are His Name)

You should understand that He has no face, body or form. His descending into any (sort of) form is inconceivable. Size, manner, and quality cannot be predicated of Him, because He resembles nothing and is resembled by nothing. Anything that can be thought, imagined, or fancied concerning His size or quality is far removed (from Him). He is not in the same category as any created being. Similarly, He is neither in nor on any place, being intrinsically neither occupier nor occupied. Everything existing in the universe is under His throne, and the throne is under His power and subject to Him. The throne is not that which holds Him up; on the contrary, the throne and its bearers are all upheld by His favour and power. Before He created the throne, He had no limitations or need of space; and since creating it, He retains the same attributes that have been His since eternity. Change and alteration cannot be predicated of Him and His attributes. He is pure and far removed from the attributes of His creatures. In the next world He will be seen without 'how or what', for that vision is not of the same nature as vision in this world.

21, and al-Ishârâ', art. 22. (H. D. Isack.) This was a favourite theme of the Shî'is, e.g. Isha's in A. J. Arberry, ed., *Fifty Poems from the Rûfî*, No. 3, verse 4, p. 39: Zi 'ârha-i mî'mûnî-mi mâ-jîlât-i Yâr muntaghi'i—isâ-bi arâq u khal u khalât khalîl Râ-zi Zîkâ-rala—'The Friend has no need of our imperfect love.'

2 Pârî: Ar. (I) Tanzîl, i.e. 'removal' or 'exemption' (from human limitations); the orthodox concept evolved by Ibn Hanbal and Ash'arî in opposition to the popular Tâshkîh or Tâjîm (i.e. anthropomorphism) and the rationalizing Tâfi' of the Mu'tazilites (i.e. defining God in terms of what He is not and treating Him as purely abstract). *Shorter E.F.*, art. Tâshkîh; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 90, 92, 94, 307 f., 311, 231, 245; McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 188, 80, 202. (H.D.L.)


5 Ad. (I): 'because space would confine Him.' This was originally a Mu'tâzilite view, and Ash'arî rejected it, but it was later adopted by his school and became orthodox (Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 166–167). (H.D.L.)


7 Concerning the throne, Ghazalli differs from Ash'arî (Wensinck, op. cit., p. 116). (H.D.L.)

8 Wensinck, op. cit., p. 188. (H.D.L.)

9 Pâh u nûmânîh.

10 Bi-khatnî muzâhîm; Ar. (I), hauwa muhâyâ bi-dhâtî. This is the orthodox view as opposed both to anthropomorphism and to the Mu'tazilite view that 'seeing God' means 'knowing God'; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 193–4, and McCarthy, op. cit. pp. 55–57, 116, (H.D.L.)
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Third principle: of God’s Omnipotence

He is powerful and mighty, and moreover resembles nothing. He has power over all things and his might is complete; for impotence, inadequacy, and weakness cannot be predicated of Him. Whatever He has wished to do, and whatever He will wish to do, He does. The eight heavens, the seven earths, the throne, the stool, and all existing things are in the grip of His power and in none other’s hand but His.

Fourth principle: of (God’s) omniscience

He is cognizant of everything that is knowable, and His knowledge encompasses all things. From the heights above to the soil below, nothing proceeds without His knowledge; for all things proceed from Him and are made apparent by His power. The number of sand-grains in the desert, leaves on the trees, thoughts in men’s hearts or molecules in the air is as visible to His knowledge as is the number of the stars in the heavens.

Fifth principle: of (God’s) will

Everything there is in the universe exists through His will and pleasure. Things few or many, small or great, good or evil—profit or loss, imperfection (or perfection), distress or ease, sickness or health—occur solely because they have been predestined and willed, judged, and decreed by Him. If all the humans, jinnis, devils and angels in the universe joined (in an attempt) to move,

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Everything there is in the universe exists through His will and pleasure. Things few or many, small or great, good or evil—profit or loss, imperfection (or perfection), distress or ease, sickness or health—occur solely because they have been predestined and willed, judged, and decreed by Him. If all the humans, jinnis, devils and angels in the universe joined (in an attempt) to move,

fix, diminish, or increase a single molecule of the universe, they would be too weak to be able to do so unless He so willed. Whatever He wills comes into being, and nothing that He has not willed exists. No thing or person can avert this. Everything that is, was or will be has been predestined and planned by Him.

Sixth principle: of (God’s) seeing and hearing

Just as He is cognizant of all that is knowable, so too is He seer and hearer of all that is visible and audible. The near and the far are equally within His hearing; the bright and the dark are equally within His sight. The sound of the foot of an ant walking on a dark night is not beyond His hearing, nor are the colour and shape of a worm below the ground beneath His sight. His actions are not done with tools or implements.

Seventh principle: of the Lord’s speech

His command is valid and obligatory for all creatures. Everything that He proclaims, and (all) His promises and threats, are real. His word is His command. Just as He is knowing, powerful, seeing and hearing, so too is He capable of speech; but His speech is not with palate, tongue or mouth. The Torah, Gospels, Psalms, Qur'aan and Books of the Prophets are all His word. His word is (one of) His attributes(s), and all His attributes are pre-eternal, having always existed; but while words among men consist of sounds and syllables, the word of the True God on High is pure and far removed from this.

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His command is valid and obligatory for all creatures. Everything that He proclaims, and (all) His promises and threats, are real. His word is His command. Just as He is knowing, powerful, seeing and hearing, so too is He capable of speech; but His speech is not with palate, tongue or mouth. The Torah, Gospels, Psalms, Qur'aan and Books of the Prophets are all His word. His word is (one of) His attributes(s), and all His attributes are pre-eternal, having always existed; but while words among men consist of sounds and syllables, the word of the True God on High is pure and far removed from this.

1 Cf. McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 238–9, and creeds in Maqālāt, art. 13, and Ibnabān, art. 16. (H.D.I.)
2 Heading in P. (H), ‘Fifth and Sixth Principles’; in Ar. (I), ‘Sixth Principle: of the fact that He is hearing and seeing’.
3 Ar. (I): ‘He sees the crawling of the ant in the dark night, and nothing is concealed from Him. Even the sound of the worm beneath layers of earth does not elude His hearing.’
4 Ar. (I): ‘His hearing is divorced from the agency of any ear, nor does His sight depend on the agency of any eye, just as His knowledge does not proceed from any thought and His action does not rely on any instrument or set of tools.’
5 The Mu'tazilites denied that God sees and hears. Cf. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 238, and creeds in Maqālāt, art. 13, and Ibnabān, art. 13, also p. 171 (from Ibn Asḳar). (H.D.I.)
7 Shafi'i. Shaker E.I., art. Shafi'i.
8 Yāsīn 'Abduh. Art. in Shorter E.I.
Counsel for Kings

Eighth principle: of the Lord's actions

All that exists in the universe is created by Him, and no person shares with Him in His creative activity, because the Creator is One and has no partner. All created things, (even) distress, poverty, weakness, and ignorance, have been created by Him justly. Injustice is intrinsically impossible in Him, because the unjust man is one who takes possession of the property of another, and taking possession of the property of another is not possible in Him; for there is no proprietor besides Him. All things that are, have been and can be are His property, and He (alone) is the proprietor, without equal and without partner. No person, therefore, has any part in the 'how' and 'why' of His creative activity, on the contrary, in what He does no person has any part, unless it is acquiescence and resignation.

Ninth principle: of the world to come

The universe which He created has been produced by Him from two sorts (of substance): soul and (bodily) form. He made the bodily form the abode of the human soul, so that it may take from this world the provision for the world to come. For every soul He has predestined a period during which it may exist in the bodily form; and the end of that period will be its term, which does not admit of extension or reduction. When the term comes, He separates the soul from the body; but when (the deceased) is laid in the tomb, He lets it pass together with the bodily form so that (the deceased) may answer the interrogation of Munkar and Naktar.

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1 Cf. Q. xxvii. 94, 'God created you and what you make'. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 239 (creeds of Ash'ari in Maqālāt, art. 17, and Ibnāh, art. 18). (H.D.I)

2 In opposition to the Mu'tazilite view of God's justice (сад).

3 Art. (1): 'No person may (raise) objections (قُسَرِّفَ) against Him over "how much" and "how"'.

4 'Jum u khubul; Art. (1), shakhs is sahih.

5 "Zlā'ī (a favourite Shi'ī concept. Cf. Q. xxix. 19; Q. ii. 193, 'the best provision (khayrā sālih) is piety'.

6 Ajal. E.I. (3), art. Aqid; Wensinck, op. cit., p. 287; McCarthy, op. cit., p. 291 (Maqālāt, art. 54; Ibnāh, art. 53) (H.D.I).

7 Art. (1), 'his soul is returned to his body'; cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 195. (H.D.I)

8 Two interroging angels. Shorter E.I., art. Munkar and Naki; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 164-5; McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 244 and 250 (Maqālāt, arts. 28 and 47; Ibnāh, arts. 30 and 45). It seems that the Mu'tazilites denied or allegorized

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The Principles of the Creed

These are two persons who will question him about God and the Prophet. If he is at a loss (to answer), they will place him in the tomb of torment and fill the tomb with him with snakes and scorpions. At the Resurrection, which is the Day of Reckoning and Retribution, (God) will again let the soul pass together with the bodily form. He will arouse all (men), and each person will see his deeds written in a book in such a way that he is reminded of them all; (God) will acquaint him with the degree of his obedience or disobedience through a balance fitted (to weigh) his deeds. Thereafter he will command them all to pass over (the bridge) called the Sirāt. The Sirāt is thinner than a hair and sharper than a sword-blade. Whoever in this world has been on the straight path will cross the Sirāt with ease; but whoever has not known or followed that straight path will not find his way across the Sirāt and will fall into Hell. All will be brought to the Sirāt and questioned about everything that they have done. The truthful will be called upon (to prove) the reality of their truthfulness and honesty; the hypocrites and dissemblers will be exposed and disgraced. One group will be reckoned severely, another mildly; and another will go to Paradise without reckoning. Finally, the whole lot of the unbelievers will be sent to Hell whence they will never obtain release, while the obedient and the Muslims will be carried to Paradise. Disobedient sinners will be sent to Hell; but any who obtain the intercession of Prophets, Imāms, or 'alima or saints will be granted forgiveness. One who has no intercessor will be carried this notion, which is not plainly mentioned in Q. (H.D.I) Cf. Ilyas', Book XI, chapter vii (where the serpents and scorpions in the tomb are said to symbolize ninety-nine major and various minor vices of the human soul).

1 Art. (1), 'mighty and terrible persons'.

2 Shorter E.I., art. Khidma; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 167-74; McCarthy, op. cit., p. 244 (Maqālāt, art. 28; Ibnāh, art. 30). (H.D.I)

3 Cf. Q. xxvii. 24; ūṣūr al-ṣāhih, 'the bridge to hell'. Shorter E.I., art. Khidma; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 169, 253, 233-7; McCarthy, op. cit., p. 244 (creeds in Maqālāt, art. 28, and Ibnāh, art. 30). (H.D.I)

4 ūṣūr al-ṣāhih; ve ūṣūr-māt-i-status; from the Fāṭimids, Q. i. 6.

5 Dānshī; Art. (1), Dānshī 'Abd-al-Rahmān; Shorter E.I., art. Dānshī.

6 Bihāt; Art. (1), jamah (the 'garden'). Shorter E.I., art. Dānshī.

7 Art. (1), 'obedient Muslim'.

8 Muslim sinners appear to be meant; cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 171. (H.D.I)

9 ūṣūr-al-ṣāhih; Shorter E.I., art. ūṣūr-al-ṣāhih; Wensinck, op. cit., pp. 85, 180, 194 f. (H.D.I)

10 Missing in Art. (1).

11 Būwūsī-i-din; Art. (1), al-ahbābūr mānūl-ṣūdūl.
to Hell and punished in the measure of his sin, but will ultimately be carried to Paradise if he has brought the True Faith intact to the other world (please God he may)."  

Tenth principle: of the Prophet, blessings upon him

Since God on High has predestined that some of a man’s actions and circumstances will cause him happiness and others unhappiness, and since no man can himself recognize which these actions and circumstances are, God on High in the exercise of His favour and mercy created angels and commanded them to disclose this secret to persons whose happiness He had determined since eternity, namely Prophets. To them He gave messages, which He thus transmitted to His creatures, in order that (the Prophets) should acquaint them with the paths of happiness and unhappiness, whereby no person might have any longer an argument against the God on High. Then He sent to His creatures the last of them all, our (own) Apostle, whose Prophethood He brought to such a degree of perfection that no room remained for further excellence. For this reason He made him the Seal of the Prophets, after whom there will be no prophet, and commanded all His creatures, both jinns and humans, to follow him. He made him the Chief of all Prophets, and made (his) Companions and friends the best of all companions of prophets. Blessings be upon him and the other Prophets and Emmissaries, and upon his virtuous, pure Descendants and Companions; upon them be peace, great peace.

THE BRANCHES OF THE TREE OF FAITH

You should understand, O King, that the root of faith consists of what exists in the heart by way of knowledge and belief; and that the branch of faith consists of what proceeds from the seven limbs by way of just and pious action. If the branch is withered,

2. Ar. (I) adds: "acquisition and works" (iṣ天上bahu wa l-mālabu); i.e., man "acquires for himself" the actions which have been predestined for him. Shuter E.I., art. Kash, Kader, Kāfīd; Wessinck, op. cit., pp. 92, 191, 85, 213-14, 445; McCarthy, op. cit., pp. 242-3 (excl. in Maqālīd, art. 24) (H.D.I.)
3. Ar. (I) adds: "Muḥammad, whom He made a herald of good news and a lover, and..."  
4. According to Ghazzālī’s Bidṣyat al-Hīḍyayh, tr. in W. Montgomery Watt, The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī, pp. 173 ff.; these are the eyes, ear, tongue, stomach, genitals, hands and feet (H.D.I.)
5. Ḥarīm.
7. Iṣṭāna. One of the epithets of God in the Qur’ān, where it probably means ‘the real God’ as opposed to the false (ḥātīl) gods of the heathen. Used by some Sufis with the pantheistic implication of ‘God, the only reality’
8. Islamic law distinguishes between ṣāḥdīd (sets of worship) and mu‘āmādī (transactions with fellow men). In his Ḥyān, iv. 15, G. classifies sins as against (i) God, (ii) fellow men, (iii) self.
10. The ten principles or ‘Branches’ are evidently based on the ten ‘rules for holders of authority’ given in Kīmyā’-yī Sa‘ādat, Pillar II, section 10 (but not in Ḥyān). Their order in K.S. is as follows: (N, m-M, Roman figures; K-S, Arabic figures): i (2), ii (3), iii (4), iv (10), v (1), vi (2), vii (7), viii (a), ix (5), x (6). Most but not all of the anecdotes and sayings also come from K.S. (Harold Spencer.)
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First principle

'This is that (the ruler) should first of all understand the importance, and also the danger, of the authority entrusted to him.' In authority there is great blessing, since he who exercises it righteously obtains unsurpassed happiness; but if any (rule) fails to do so, he incurs torment surpassed only by the torment for unbelief. The proof of the importance of this blessing is that God's Apostle said: 'One day of just rule by an equitable Sultān is more meritorious than sixty² years of continual worship.' He also stated: 'On the Resurrection day no shade or shelter will remain except the shade and shelter of the True God on High. [In this] shade will be seven persons: (i) the just Sultān, (ii) the young man who grows up in the worship of God, (iii) the man who lives in the bazaar but whose heart is in the mosque, (iv) two men who make friends with each other for God's sake, (v) the man from whose eyes tears rain down when he remembers God and is alone, (vi) the man who is sought after by a beautiful and wealthy woman but tells (her) 'I fear God', and (vii) the man who gives charity with his right hand in such a way that his left hand does not know of it.'¹ The Apostle declared that the man dearest to God on High is the just Sultān, and that the man who is most hateful and contemptible in the sight of the True God is the unjust Sultān. He also stated: 'By God, in the hand of Whose power lies Muhammad's soul, all actions of the just Sultān affecting his subjects are carried to heaven every day; and each prayer of his is worth seventy thousand prayers.' Such being the case, there is no greater blessing than God's grant to a person of the office of ruler and Sultān, whereby one hour of his life is raised (to be equivalent) to the whole life of any other person; but if he shows no appreciation of this blessing and gives himself over to tyranny and passion, there is a terrible risk that God on High will count him an enemy. The gravity of the danger of authority is attested by this story told by Ibn 'Abbās: 'One day God's Apostle came and took hold of the ring of the door of the Ka'bah.⁴ Inside the edifice of the Ka'bah was a group of

1. Wilh. i.e. authority entrusted by God. Shorter E.I., art. Wilh.
2. Ar. (I), seventy; Kelmāt al-Ṣlātāt, sixty; Ḫiyār seventy. (Harold Spencer.)
3. These sayings cannot be authentic, as Muhammad would never have used the word Sultān.
5. The Shrine of Mecca, containing the magic black stone.

The Branches of the Tree of Faith

Quraysh. He told them that the Imāms and Sultāns would be of Quraysh as long as they should do three things: if asked for mercy, show it; if asked for a judgement, render it justly; and if their word were given, keep it. Should any one of them not do these things, the curse of God and (God's) angels and all (God's) slaves would rain down upon him, and neither his obligatory nor his (supererogatory) acts¹ of worship would be acceptable to God on High.

The Apostle once said: 'There are three persons on whom God will not look at the Resurrection day: the Sultān who is a liar, the old woman who is an adulteress² and the dārūkh who is a boaster and braggart.' He told his Companions: 'The territories to the east and west will soon fall to (your) invasion. You and all governors³ of those territories will be in Hell-fire, except for any who fear God, live frugally, follow the path of piety and turn to Him in penitence.' He also said that no slave of God⁴ who has been entrusted with subjects by the Lord can cheat them and neglect advice without being barred by God from Paradise. Other sayings of God's Apostle are these: 'If any man is granted authority over the Muslims and does not look upon them as he would look upon members of his own household, tell him that he will get his place in Hell.'

'Two persons in my community will be denied my intercession; the tyrant, and the innovator⁵ who practises such exaggeration⁶ in religion that it goes beyond the limit. 'The harshest torment at the Resurrection day will be for the unjust Sultān.' [There are some persons] with whom God is angry, and whether or not He chooses to send His wrath upon them in this world, their resting place will be Hell-fire: (i) the prince of a people who receives his due from them, and instead of personally according them fair treatment, protecting them against injustice and maintaining impartiality between the strong and the weak, pronounces judgement arbitrarily; (ii) the man who does not enjoin his wife and children to

¹ Forādāh va suumāt (custom). Ar. (I), farādūn va nafm (supererogation).
² Ar. (I), 'old man who is an adulterer'.
³ Suḥābah. Art. in Shorter E.I.
⁴ 'Āmīdah: Ar. (I), 'ummi. The word 'ummi ('agent') was used in Umayyad times to mean provincial governor, and in 'Abhaibah times to mean the financial agent or chief revenue collector in a province or district. Ar. in E.I. (2).
⁵ i.e. human being.
⁶ 'Abhā: 'Bid'āh ('innovation') is the contrary of Suumāt ('custom'), and there has been a tendency in orthodox (Sunnite) Islam to regard the former as harmful. Shorter E.I., art. 'Bid'a.
⁷ Ghulm, a term usually applied to the beliefs of extreme Shi'ites.
obey the True God, require them to learn the precepts of the religion, and care about the source of the food he gives them; (iii) the man who engages a labourer and does not discharge his debt and pay the full wage; (iv) the man who acts unjustly in the matter of his wife's dowry.1

One day 'Umar was about to say the prayer2 at a funeral, (but) a man came up and said the prayer then and there. When they had buried the deceased, the man put his hand into the grave and said: 'O Lord God, if You torture him, it will be because he has rebelled against You; if You show mercy to him, (it will be because) he needs it. Happy are you, O (dead) man, who never were prince, overseer, scribe, bailiff or tax gatherer!3 Then he vanished from their sight.

'Umar bade them search for him, but they did not find him; and 'Umar said that it had been Khîrî. The Apostle once stated, 'Woe to princes, woe to functionaries, woe to treasurers.'4 These are persons who at the Resurrection will wish that they had been hanged from the sky by their own curds and that they had never held office.5

The Apostle also stated that all who have been granted authority6 will without exception be led in on the Resurrection day with their arms manacled;7 if they have been righteous, they will be set free, but if not, a further manacle will be added.

'Umar7 said: 'Woe betide the judge8 on earth from the Judge in Heaven on the day when he sees Him, unless he be one who awards justice and performs his duty aright, not judging arbitrarily or favouring relatives but giving sentence in fear of (God) and hope (of salvation); one who makes God's decree9 the mirror which he holds before his eyes and in accordance with which he passes judgement.'

God's Apostle stated that on the Resurrection day holders of

1 Kâhin; Ar. (I), pâdî, Shorter E.I., art. Mahr.
2 Shorter E.I., arts. Dâjûna and Sâlîha (p. 497).
3 'Amîr; 'arîf; kâhî; 'awwad; jâlî. Likewise in Ar. (I) with 'awwadî for 'awwadî. An 'awwadî was an armed bodyguard in the service of kings, revenue officers, etc.; cf. p. 56 below, note 2.
4 'Ammûnî, i.e. custodians of the property of others, including public funds. Ar. (I) has 'awwadînîyâh (pl. of 'awwadîl; see preceding note).
5 Ar. (I) adds: 'over ten persons.'
6 Cf. Q. v. 69, ghulât aydhîhim (their—i.e. the Jews—hands have been manacled).
7 Ar. (I): 'All ibn Abî Taîbî.'
8 Dâhûr; Ar. (I), qâfî, Shorter E.I., art. Kâfî. Pious Musulims were traditionally allowed to accept the office of qâfî.
9 'Ihabîni; Ar. (I) kâhî, i.e. the Qur'ân.

The Branches of the Tree of Faith

authority will be brought in and told, 'You were shepherds10 of my sheep.' (One of them will be asked), 'Why did you award a penalty and inflict a punishment on so-and-so in excess of what I bade11 you?' He will reply, 'O Lord God, in wrath because they were offending against You'; and he will be told, 'Why should your wrath exceed Mine?' Another will be asked, 'Why did you inflict a punishment falling short of what I bade you?' He will reply, 'O Lord God, I did so out of compassion'; and he will be told, 'Why should you be more compassionate than I am?' Then God on High will order them to be shown the corners of Hell.

Hudhayfah (ibn al-Yamân) used to say, 'I never praise any holder of authority, whether virtuous or wicked.' When asked why, he replied that it was because he had heard God's Apostle declare: 'On the Resurrection day, all holders of authority will be brought in, whether unjust or just. All will be stationed on the (bridge called) Sirât,12 and God on High will inspire the Sirât to shake them off in some sharp shake; for there will not be a single one among them who has not judged unjustly, taken a bribe when trying a case, or lent his ear overmuch to one contestant. All will fall off the Sirât, and all will go down to Hell for seventy years, at the end of which time they will reach (their) restful place.'

It is related in the Traditions that David used to go out at night and ask all whom he met their secret opinion about David's character. On one occasion Gabriel came up to him in the form of a man. David put the same question to him, and he replied, 'David is a good man, except that he gets his living from the Public Treasury13 and not from the toil of his own hands.' David then went into the mihrâb14 and wept, saying, 'O Lord God, teach me a trade so that I may live by the toil of my own hands.' Then God on High taught him the trade of armourer.

Umar ibn al-Khairî, used to substitute for his own night-watchman and go out on the beat, so that if he saw anything amiss

1 Shakîhîn; Ar. (I), ruî. The word for 'subjects', ruîyâd, means literally 'locks'; A. K. S. Lambton, Theory of Kingship, in the Islamic Quarterly, 4, 1954, p. 49. Ar. (I) adds after this: 'and the treasurers of My property on earth'.
2 i.e. in the Qur'ân. In P. (II) the royal 'We' is used.
3 Cf. p. 11 above.
5 Bayî al-Mal. Art. in E.L (s).
6 This word generally means a niche in the mosque indicating the qiblah (direction of prayer). In Q. however, it appears to mean 'palace' or 'temple', or part thereof; xxviii. 20, and xxxiv. 13, also xix. 12. Shorter E.I., art. Mundîd, 26, p. 243.
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he might have it attended to. 'If a many sheep,' he said, 'were to be left by the side of an (irrigation) ditch and not rubbed with ointment, I would fear lest I be questioned about it on the Resurrection day.' 4 (Consider, O Sulṭān, how 'Umar, with his circumspection and sense of justice—and no man has ever attained to his degree of piety and steadfastness—used to take careful thought and stand in awe of the terrors of the Resurrection; while you, on the other hand, have been sitting heedlessly, careless of the circumstances of your subjects and taking no thought for the people under your charge. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar and a group of hiskinsafksaid: 'We used to pray to God that He would let us see 'Umar in our dreams, and after twelve years I saw him. It was as though he had just bathed and had a loin-cloth tied round his waist. I asked him, 'How have you found your Lord, and for what good works has He recompensed you?' 'O 'Abd Allāh,' he replied, 'how long is it since I departed from you?' 'Twelve years,' I said. 'Since I departed from you,' he continued, 'I have been in the process of being called to account, and I was afraid lest I should perish. But God is forgiving and compassionate, bountiful and generous.' 5 Such was the case of 'Umar, who during his lifetime had none of the instruments of government except his whip. The Caesar (of the Romans) sent several emissaries to observe what sort of a man this was and what sort of life he led. On arriving at Madinah they asked, 'Where is your king? and were answered, 'We have no king, but an Ḥākim, 6 who has gone out to the city gate.' The emissaries went out to the city gate and saw him sleeping on the ground in the sun, with a whip placed beneath his head and so much sweat flowing from his brow that the ground had become moist. When they saw ('Umar) thus, their hearts were filled with great astonishment that a man in awe of whom the world's kings trembled should be sleeping in such surroundings. Then they said: 'He has ruled justly; of course he can sleep in safety. Our king has ruled unjustly; of course he is always apprehensive. We testify that your religion is the right religion, and even though this was not the purpose of our mission, we have become (inwardly) Muslim here and now. We shall return soon and (publicly) make ourselves Muslims.'

The Branches of the Tree of Faith

Such, then, is the danger of authority. Knowledge of this subject takes long (to acquire); but the ruler should know that he will find safety in always being with devout 'ulamā' who will instruct him in the way of justice and keep the danger of his role fresh in his (mind).

Second principle

This is that the ruler should be always thirsting to meet devout 'ulamā' and ask them for advice; and that he should beware of meeting 'ulamā' with worldly ambitions who might inveigle, flatter and seek to please him in order to gain control over his terrestrial body by stealth and deceit. The devout 'ālim is not one who has covetous designs on the treasury, but one who gives his knowledge in just measure.

One such was Shaqīq al-Balkhi, God have mercy on him. He came into the presence of Hārūn al-Rashid, who said, 'You are Shaqīq, the ascetic.' 'I am Shaqīq,' he replied, 'but not an ascetic.' Hārūn asked him for a word of advice. 'God on High,' he replied, 'has seated you in the place where the Truthful (Abū Bakr) sat, and demands from you the same truthfulness as from him. He has set you in the place of the Discerning ('Umar), and demands from you the same discernment between right and wrong as from him. He has put you in the position of ('Uthmān of the Two Lights, and demands from you the same modesty and generosity as from him. He has placed you in the station of 'Abī ʿAbd Allāh Abī Thalib, and demands from you knowledge and justice such as were his.' Hārūn told him to continue. 'Yes, willingly,' he replied; 'God on High owns a house called Hell, and He has made you the janitor of that house. (At the same time) He has given you three things: the Public Treasury, the sword, and the whip. He has told you to keep people out of Hell with these three things. When an indigent person comes to you, do not deny him access to the Public Funds; when a person disobeys God's commands, chastise him with the whip; and when one person wrongfully kills another, put him to death with the sword if so requested by the murdered person's executor. 7 Unless you do these things, you will be foremost among the denizens of Hell, and other (rulers) will replace you.' Hārūn told him to continue (further). 'You

1 i.e. scholar of religion. This advice accords with Qasim's warning against worldly 'ulamā' in Ḭāfe, Book I (on Knowledge), chapter vi (on Disadvantages of Knowledge).
2 Alternatively, the next of kin may forgive the murderer or claim blood-money (diya) as compensation. Shorter E.F., arts. 340, 341, 342.
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... (who help you to govern) the world are the streams (which flow from it). If the fountain is clear, there can be no damage from silt in the channels; if the fountain is turbid, there will be no hope (of maintaining) the channels."

Anecdote

Hārūn al-Rashīd (once) went out with 'Abbās (to visit) Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyād. When he reached the door of the house, Fuḍayl was reciting the verse (Q. xciv. 20): 'Do those who commit evil deeds reckon that We shall make them like those who believe and do good deeds, no matter whether it be their life-time or their death-time? How ill they judge!' The meaning of this verse (in Persian) is: 'Do those who do evil deeds suppose that We shall treat them equally with those who believe and do good deeds? They judge ill.' Hārūn said, 'If we (have come) seeking advice, this is enough.' Then he bade them knock on the door. 'Abbās knocked on the door and cried out, 'Homage to the Prince of the Believers! [Open the door for him!]' It was night-time, and Fuḍayl set down a lantern and opened the door. Hārūn groped in the darkness until his hand touched Fuḍayl's hand. 'Alas for so soft a hand," exclaimed (Fuḍayl), 'unless it gets salvation from God!' Then he said, 'O Prince of the Believers, prepare to answer God on the Resurrection day! For you will be made to stand with every Muslim, one by one, and be questioned about the justice of your conduct towards (each of) them.' Hārūn wept. 'Hush!', said 'Abbās; 'you might kill the Prince of the Believers.' 'O Hāmān,' replied Fuḍayl, 'you and your quiver already destroyed him, and you tell me that I might kill him!' Hārūn said (to 'Abbās), 'They call you Hāmān because you have turned me into Pharaoh.' Then (Hārūn) laid a thousand dinars before Fuḍayl, saying: 'This is lawful. It is from my mother's dowry and (inheritance).' 'I did you,' rejoined Fuḍayl, 'keep what you hold. Take refuge in the Lord; (in so doing) you will give it back to me.' Then he rose and left him, having accepted nothing.

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz asked Muhammad ibn al-Ka'b al-Quraṣṭānī to describe justice to him. He replied, 'To every Muslim

1 "Unmade": cf. p. 15, note 4.
2 Probably al-'Abbās ibn al-Afnāf, a poet and royal favourite, q.v. in Index. The anecdote is given at length in Hujwīrī's Kashf al-Mubā Yaşb, tr. Nicholson, G.M.S. xvii, Leiden, 1921, pp. 97–100, but Hārūn's companion is there the sūfī Faḍl ibn Rabī'ah.
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who is younger than you, be a father; and to every (Muslim) who is older than you, (be a son; and to every Muslim of the same age,) be a brother. Punish every offender in proportion to his crime; and beware lest you inflict a whipping in anger, for your place will then be in Hell.'

A certain ascetic1 came to the contemporary Caliph, who asked him for advice. 'I once travelled,' he replied, 'in China. Their king had become deaf, and used to weed a great deal. "I do not weep", he said, "because my hearing has been impaired, but because a victim of justice may suddenly cry out for help at the door of my palace and I shall not hear him. But, thank God, my eyes are sound."' (This king) issued a proclamation that persons having to complain of oppression should wear red clothes; and thereafter it was his daily practice to ride out mounted on an elephant, and summon any person dressed in red and hear his complaint. O Prince of the Believers! (continued the ascetic), 'this king, who showed such clemency towards God's slaves, was an infidel, while you are a Believer; be mindful of the quality of your own clemency!'

Abu Qīlāb came to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who asked him for counsel. He replied: 'From Adam's time till today, no Caliph has endured except you.' When asked to continue, he said: 'Do not put yourself in the place of a Caliph who is about to die, or (you) will be (one).' When again asked to continue, he said: 'If God is High on High is with you, what do you fear, and if He is not, what refuge have you?' (The Caliph) told him that what he had said was acceptable.

One day when (Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam) was Caliph, he thought to himself: 'I have been blessed with wealth in this world for such and such a length of time. How shall I fare at the Resurrection?' He sent one (of his servants) to Abū Ḥāzim, who was the (foremost) 'ālim and ascetic of the time, with a message saying: 'Send me some of the food which you will take when you finish fasting.'

Abū Ḥāzim sent him a small portion of cooked bran, with a

1 Thus in Ar. (1). There is a similar anecdote in Hujwīrī's Kashf al-Mubā Yaşb, p. 99; Fuḍayl there tells it to Hārūn.
2 Zadok, Shorter E.I., srt. Zadh. This story also appears in the Siyāsāt-nāmeh, chap. iii, but without mention of the ascetic or of China, and in a context which suggests that it was one of the old Persian kings.
3 Both P. (H) and Ar. (I) have 'Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik'; which is historically wrong. The Caliph Sulaymān (son of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik) and the Caliph 'Umar II (son of 'Abd al-'Azīz) were first cousins, and the Caliph Marwān I was their paternal grandfather.
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message saying: 'This is what I shall eat for supper.' (Marwân), on seeing it, wept; it made a deep impression on his heart, and he fasted for three days (and nights), eating nothing whatever. On the third night he broke his fast with (the bran). They say that during that night he had intercourse with his spouse, who conceived 'Abd al-'Azîz [the parent of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz], who was unique in the world and resembled 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb in the justice (of his rule). They say that it was because of the blessing which resulted from (Marwân's) sincere intention1 when he ate that food.

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz was asked what was the cause of his repentance. 'One day', he replied, 'I was beating a page-boy.' 2 He said to me, 'Remember the night when I will be the Resurrection day'; and those words troubled my heart.3

One of the saints4 saw Hârûn al-Rashîd standing bareheaded and barefooted on the hot gravel at 'Arafât.5 He had raised his hands and was saying: 'O Lord God, You are You and I am I. My occupation is to be ever involving myself in sin, Yours to be always engaged in forgiving. Have mercy upon me!' The saints said: '(See) how the autocratic6 of the earth is supplanting the autocrat of the sky!'7

'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz asked Abû Ḥâzim to give him a word of advice. 'Sleep on the ground', he said, 'and put death under your pillow.'8 If you ever think that death will overtake you, take hold of it; but whenever you do not think [that death will overtake you], keep off it. For maybe death is really near.'9

The holder of authority should keep these anecdotes before his eyes and accept these counsels, which have been given to others (before him). From every 'ālim whom he meets, he should seek counsel; and every 'ālim who meets kings should give this sort

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1 i.e. the supper—usually a banquet—with which the 'Id al-Fitr begins at the end of Ramadan. Shorter E.I., arts. Salām, Ramadan, 'Id al-Fitr.
2 Nīyat. See p. 4, note 6.
3 Ghulūm; literally 'laud'. Used for slave-boys employed as pages and messengers, and also for slave-soldiers, who in the 'Abbasid period were mainly Turks. Cf. W. Barthold, Turkestân down to the Mongol invasion, G.M.S., n.s., v, London, 1928, p. 227. This story is also told by Ma'âšîd, Qur'ān al-Dhakâhî, ed. Barber de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, v, p. 146.
4 Buzurgpa: Ar. (I), Akhâr; i.e. those who were 'great' in religion.
5 Mountain near Mecca, with adjacent plain where pilgrims stop on the 9th Dhu'l-Hijjah. Shorter E.I., arts. 'Arafâ, and Muta'dîf, Arabic, p. 122.
6 Jabalâr. Literally, 'head'. The next sentence is obscure in both F. (II) and Ar. (I).
7 The dharm (drachma) was the silver coin and the dinâr (denarius) was the gold coin of the early Muslim world. In principle one dinâr was worth ten dharm, but in practice the rate varied.
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To sum up, (the ruler) must act justly towards his subjects and (at the same time) keep his staff, household, and sons on (the path of) justice. Nobody, however, can do this unless he first observes justice inside himself. Now justice consists of restraining tyrannous instincts, passions, and anger in order to make them the prisoners of reason and religion, and of not letting reason become the prisoner of tyrannous instincts, passions, and anger. Most human beings are men who have girt (the sword of reason) to the belt of subservience (to the passions). Under the influence of passion or anger, they think up stratagems for bringing their passion or anger to fruition. They are unaware that reason is the arm of God on High, and that passion and anger are the army of the Devil. How can a man who keeps God's army captive in the hands of the Devil's army act justly towards others?

The sun of justice rises in (the ruler's) breast. Then its beams spread to the members of the (royal) household and nobles of the palace, and then its rays reach the subjects. But to expect to find rays without the sun is to expect the impossible.

(You should understand and be assured of this, O Sulṭān, that justice springs from perfection of the intellect and that perfection of the intellect means that you see things as they (really) are and perceive the facts of their inner reality without being deceived by their outward appearances. For instance, if you oppress people for the sake of this world, then you should consider what your aim in this world is. If your aim is to eat good food, you should understand that this is an animal passion in a human form, for: gluttony is one of the natural characteristics of brute beasts. If your aim is to wear brocade, you are a woman in the form of a man, for self-adornment and silliness are activities of women. If your aim is to whet your wrath against your enemies, you are a lion and a beast of prey in human form, for the spasmodic access of wrath is a characteristic of beasts of prey. If your aim is that people should serve you, then you

1 Zalem u shahrist u khasan. Dr. H. D. Isaacs has noted parallels with Plato's terminology: 'justice' (adl) = dikaiosyne; 'passion' (shahrist) = epithymia; 'anger' (shahrist or ghadaf) = orgē.
2 'Aql wa din. Cf. Plato's 'mox (= 'aqi). (H.D.I.)
3 Ibnit.
4 Khunaytir.
5 The next passage is found in Ar. (I) and Ar. (II) but is missing from F. (H.); it appears in Kirmāz-yi Su'adat, II, 10, under 'rule' 9. (H. Spencer) See p. 13, note 6.
7 Cf. the 'lion' and the 'monster' in Plato's Republic, loc. cit. (H.D.I.)

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are an ignorant man in the form of an intelligent man, for if you were (really) intelligent you would know that those who serve you are only servants and slaves to their own bellies, lusts, and passions, and that they have been using you as a net with which to get what they desire and that their subservience and prostration are for their own benefit, not yours. A sure sign of this would be if they were to hear rumours that the rulership might be taken from you and given to another; they would then turn away from you with one accord and seek to insinuate themselves into the intimacy of that other person. Wherever they learn that darhams are (to be found), in that place will they serve and to that place will they bow down. In reality this is not service but mockery. The intelligent man is one who sees the spirit and reality of things and is not deceived by their forms. The real nature of the above-mentioned activities is as we have described and explained. A man who will not let himself be assured of this is not intelligent; and a man who is not intelligent will not be just, and his last abode will be Hell-fire. The capital from which all forms of happiness are derived is intelligence.)

Fourth principle

This is that the holder of authority should not be dominated by pride; for pride gives rise to the dominance of anger, and will impel him to revenge. Anger is the evil genius and blight of the intellect.

We have mentioned how it may be remedied in the Book of Anger in the Quarter on Destructive Things in (our) Treatise on the Revivification of the Sciences (of Religion). If anger is becoming dominant, it will be necessary for the ruler in all his affairs to bend his inclinations in the direction of forgiveness and make a habit of generosity and forbearance, unless he is to be like the wild beasts.

There is an anecdote that Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr ordered the execution of a man who had committed treason. Mubārak ibn Fadlān, who was present, said: 'O Prince of the Believers, listen first to one of the sayings of God's Apostle! 'Let me hear it!' he replied, and (Mubārak) continued: Ḥasan al-Baṣri quotes God's
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Apostle as having stated that on the Resurrection day, when God's creatures are being assembled on the plain, a herald will cry out:

'Let any person who has a title to favour from God on High stand up!' None will stand up except those who have pardoned others.' After (hearing this), the Caliph said: 'Release the man. I have pardoned him.'

Most holders of authority become so angry when a person speaks abusively of them that they proceed to shed his blood. On such occasions (the ruler) should recall what Jesus said to John son of Zacharrias: 'If someone talks about you and tells the truth, thank (God), and if he tells a lie, thank (God) all the more; for (God) will have added (a credit item) to your ledger with no exertion on your part.' This means that the piou works performed by that man will be entered in your ledger.

A certain person was described to God's Apostle as an exceedingly strong man. 'In what way?' asked the Prophet. 'Any man whom he wrestles with', they replied, 'he throws down. He prevails over all.' God's Apostle declared: 'The strong and virile man is one who prevails over his own anger; not one who throws other men down.'

God's Apostle also said that if any man can achieve three things, his faith will be perfect. They are: not to form a wrong intention when angered, not to set aside what is right when pleased, and not to take more than what is right when powerful.

'Umar said: 'Do not rely on any person's temper until you have tested him when he is covetous.'

'Ali ibn Husayn, blessings upon him, went one day to the mosque where a man insulted him. His attendants made ready (to kill) the man, but he said: 'Keep your hands off him!' Then he said to the man: 'What do you not know about us (far) exceeds what you do know. Have you any request which could be satisfied by our hand?' The man was ashamed. 'Ali then gave his own cloak and a thousand

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dināṣr to the man, who started to go, saying: 'I testify that there is no (true) scion of the Prophet except him.'

Another story told of ('Ali) Zayn al-'Abidin is that he twice summoned a slave but got no answer. ('Did not you hear me call?') he asked him. 'I did hear', he replied. 'Why did you not answer?' 'You are so good-tempered', he said, 'that I was confident that you would not be annoyed with me.' 'Thanks be to God', said (his master), 'that my slave has confidence in me'; and he set him free (then and there).

Another slave belonging to ('Ali) Zayn al-'Abidin once broke the leg of one of his master's sheep. 'Why did you do it?' asked Zayn al-'Abidin. 'I did it on purpose', he replied, 'to anger you.' 'Then I will anger the person who gave you the idea, namely the Devil', rejoined Zayn al-'Abidin; and he set this slave free also.

There was another man who also used to insult ('Ali Zayn al-'Abidin). To this man he said: 'Gallant Sir, between Heaven and Hell there is a narrow pass. If I cross it I shall not fear these words of yours; if I cannot cross it, I shall be worse than you have said.'

God's Apostle said, 'There may well be persons who through forbearance and forgiveness attain the same degree (of merit) as those who keep the fast and perform the prayer; and there may well be persons whose names will be inscribed in the register of the mighty even though they hold no authority except over their own households.'

Another saying of God's Apostle is that Hell has a gate through which only those will enter who give vent to their anger in ways contrary to God's Law.

It is related that the Devil came to Moses and said: '(O Moses, three things will I teach you, and then shall you seek a favour for me from the Lord.) Beware of quick temper, for the quick-tempered man [is light-headed] and I can play [tricks] with him (as easily) as children play with a ball. Beware of the tongue, for on none of the traps which I have set for humans do I rely so much as on the tongue. Beware of avarice, for I deprive [the miser] both of religion and of (happiness in) this lower world.'

God's Apostle declared: 'Whoever suppresses anger and has strength enough to set it aside will be clad by the True God on
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High in beatiﬁc raiment;2 and 'Woe to him who grows angry and forgets God's anger against him'.

A certain person asked God's Apostle, 'Teach me some action whereby I may enter heaven!' 'Never become angry', the Prophet told him; 'and furthermore, never ask anybody for anything that is heaven to you.' ('Teach me more'), requested the man; and the Prophet told him, 'Following the afternoon prayer, beg God's pardon seventy times, so that he may forgive your sins of seventy years.' 'I have not been sinning for seventy years', rejoined the man. 'Then your mother's', said the Prophet. 'My mother has not been sinning so long', rejoined the man. 'Then your father's', said the Prophet. 'My father has not been sinning so long', rejoined the man. 'Then your brethren's', said the Prophet.

'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd relates that once when God's Apostle was apportioning a property, a man said, 'This apportionment is not for God', meaning that it was not equitable. Ibn Mas'ūd repeated the story to God's Apostle. The latter grew angry, and his blessed face ﬂushed; but all he said was, 'God have mercy on my brother Moses. People caused him greater annoyance than this, but he kept his patience.'

This assortment of Traditions2 and anecdotes contains suﬃcient counsel for holders of authority. If the root of faith is (ﬁrmly) established, it will be eﬀective. [If it is not eﬀective], this will be because the heart is empty of faith and because nothing remains except talk on the tongue. I do not know what sort of falsity exists in the heart of a Finance Officer3 who receives thousand dinārs and gives them away to some individual when he holds them in trust for all. You should know the truth, which is that the whole (community) will claim them back from him on the Resurrection day. The proﬁt from them will go to another, while the torment and retribution will come to him, his action having been an extreme example of neglect (of God's commands) and un-Muslim conduct.

Fifth principle

This is that in every situation which arises, (the ruler) should ﬁgure that he is the subject and that another person is the holder of authority; and that he should not sanction for others any thing

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that he would not sanction for himself. Were he to do so, he would be making fraudulent and reasonable use of the authority entrusted to him.

(On the day of Badr) God's Apostle was sitting in the shade when Gabriel (came down and) said: 'O Apostle of God, you are in the shade and your Companions are in the sun. How is this?' Gabriel's rebuke to him was as severe as that. (Subsequently) God's Apostle declared: 'If any person wishes to be saved from Hell and enter Heaven, when death finds him he must ﬁnd the words 'There is no God but God', and he must never sanction for any Muslim that which he would not sanction for himself.' Another saying of the Apostle, God bless him, is that if any person rises in the morn ing with his mind concerned about anything except God, he is not a godly man; and that if any person disregards and neglects the welfare of the Muslims, he is not one of them.

Sixth principle

This is that (the ruler) should not disregard the attendance of petitioners at his court and should beware of the danger of doing so. As long as the Muslims have grievances, he need not occupy his time with supererogatory religious observances; for redressing the grievances of the Muslims is more meritorious than any work of supererogation.

One day 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz had been attending to the people's affairs. He continued until the time of the noon prayer, and afterwards went home and rested for one hour. His son asked him, 'How can you be sure that death will not come at this very hour, when somebody may still be waiting at the court for the redress of a grievance and you will have failed in your duty towards him?' You are right', he answered; and he rose and went out.

Seventh principle

This is that (the ruler) should not form a habit of indulging the passions. (For example), even though he might dress more ﬁnely or eat more sumptuously, he should be content with all (that he has); for without contentment,4 just conduct will not be possible.

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1 Ḥullāt-ya ḫurāmāt.
3 *Amīl. See p. 15, note 4.
4 *Ar. (I): 'for the Muslims'.
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'Umar (ibn al-Khattāb), God be pleased with him, asked a certain (pious) Muslim, 'Have you heard anything about my way of life that might be objectionable?' 'I heard', he replied, 'that you have been putting two loaves on the tray for your meals, and that you possess two shirts, one for night-time and one for day-time.' 'Is there anything else?' asked 'Umar. 'No', he replied. 'By God', said 'Umar, 'both these two things shall also cease.'

Eighth principle

'This is that (the ruler) should make the utmost effort to behave gently and avoid governing harshly. It has been stated by God’s Apostle that holders of authority who treat the subjects gently will themselves be treated gently at the Resurrection. In an invocation, he prayed: 'O Lord God, treat gently all holders of authority who treat their subjects gently, and treat harshly all who treat their subjects harshly.' He also stated: 'To be entrusted with authority and given command is a fine thing for one who exercises it rightly, but an evil thing for one who exercises it wrongly.'

Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, who was one of the Caliphs (of the house of Umayyah), asked Abū Ḥāzin, who was a saint and ascetic among the 'ulamā' of his time, 'What policy will lead to salvation in this (royal) task?' He replied, 'Whenever you receive a dirham, receive it from somewhere that is lawful, and put it somewhere that is lawful.' 'And who is capable of doing this?' asked the Caliph. Abū Ḥāzin replied, 'One who refuses to endure Hell and prefers the repose of Paradise.'

Ninth principle

'This is that (the ruler) should endeavour to keep all the subjects pleased with him. God’s Apostle once said (to his Companions): 'The best of my community are those who love you and whom [you love], and the worst of my community are those who hate you and whom you curse.' A holder of authority should not let himself be so deluded by the praise he gets from any who approach him as to believe that all the subjects are pleased with him. On the contrary, (such praise) is entirely due to fear. He must therefore appoint trustworthy persons to carry on espionage¹ and inquire about his standing among the people, so that he may be able to learn his faults from men’s tongues.

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Tenth principle

This is that the ruler should not give satisfaction to any person if a contravention of God’s law¹ would be required to please him; for no harm will come from such a person’s displeasure.

'Umar (ibn al-Khattāb) used to say, 'Every day when I rise, half of mankind is displeased with me, and it will be impossible to please both the contestants who are to come before me. But a man would be exceedingly foolish² if, for the sake of satisfying human creatures,³ he failed to satisfy the True God.⁴

Mu‘āwiyah once wrote a letter to ‘A‘ishah, God be pleased with her and her father and him who loved her. In it [he asked her for a word of advice], and she wrote back: 'I have heard God’s Apostle say that if any person seeks to win God’s pleasure in a way which displeases the people, the ‘True God on High will be pleased with him and will cause the people to become pleased with him; but that if any person seeks to win the people’s pleasure in a way which displeases God, (for instance, by not commanding them to obey God, not teaching them the particulars of their religion, letting them eat and drink prohibited things, or depriving the hired labourer of his due wage and the woman of her rightful share), the True God on High will be displeased with him and will cause the people to become displeased with him.'

THE EXPLANATION OF THE TWO SPRINGS WHICH WATER THE (TREE OF) FAITH

The roots and branches of faith having been explained, you should understand that there are two springs of knowledge from which this tree draws water.⁵

The First Spring

This is knowledge of this lower world, of what is and why man has been brought into it. You should understand that a stopping-

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¹ Share', i.e. the legal and ritual code of Islam. Sharī'ah, Shorter E.J., art. Share‘ah.
² Ḥiyā. According to I. Goldziher, Mohammedsische Studien, i, pp. 219 ff., Ḥiyā originally meant 'foolishness', in contrast with Ḥayn ('level-headedness'). Later it was used to mean 'ignorance of the truth revealed through Muhammad'.
³ Khulq and Ḥiyā.
⁴ This section accorded with Ḥiyā', Book XXVI (on the Reproach of this World); but see Introduction, p. xli.
⁵ Tajamm. Likewise in Ar. (I).
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place is not a fixed abode, and that man is in this world in the role of a traveller, the mother’s womb being his first stop and the grave his last stop. His home is the abode (which comes after that). Every year as he passes through life is like a stage on the journey, every month like a traveller’s halt for a rest, every week like a village encountered on the road, every day like a farah, and every breath like a step. With every breath he breathes, he draws so much nearer to the after-world. This lower world is like a bridge, and a traveller passing over a bridge who lingers on its span forgetful of his destination will not be an intelligent person. The intelligent person is one who in the stopping-place of this world concerns himself solely with provision for the road and seeks no more of the world than the amount he needs (for such provision). Anything he amasses in excess of what he needs will be a deadly poison; at the moment of death he will wish that all his storehouses had been filled with ashes and had never contained silver and gold. However much more he may amass, his proper share will not exceed the amount he needs; the remainder will breed nothing but sighs and sorrows and at the moment of his death make the agony harder to bear. That is the moment (when he will be called to account whether) these riches have been lawfully amassed; and if they have been unlawfully amassed, his torments in the world to come will (far) surpass his present sorrows. Only with great difficulty will he be able to endure giving up this world. However, if his faith is sound, despair will not appear, and perhaps, God willing, in the end he will be forgiven.

You should understand that the comfort of this world lasts a limited number of days and is moreover troubled and mixed with pain. It is never perpetual or pure; it will cease in the world to come, and that world is the kingdom without end. The intelligent man will therefore find it easy to abide his few days patiently for the sake of perpetual comfort. If a man deadly loved a certain woman and somebody said to the lover, ‘Be patient tonight and I will

1 Watan.
2 In Greek, parauma. The distance covered by an ass in one hour. Varies with the road, but generally taken to be 18 miles or 6 km.
4 Naib. Ar. (A): ‘his proper share will only be what he eats and wears, nothing else’.

The Two Springs which water the Tree of Faith

deliver her to you for a thousand nights without trouble or danger’, then notwithstanding the intensity of his love he would find it easy to abide one night in patience for the sake of a thousand nights. The duration of this world is not a thousandth part of that of the world to come and indeed is incommensurable with it, the latter being without end; such length is intrinsically beyond the power of (human) imagination.

To the description of this lower world we have devoted a (special) treatise, and we shall content ourselves here with explaining this world’s nature through ten analogies.

First analogy

This is to explain the spell1 of this world. God’s Apostle said, ‘Hold aloof from the world, for she is a worse spell-binder than Hûrût and Mârut.2’ The beginning of her spell is that she appears to you in such a way that you suppose her to be stationary and fixed in relation to you; for you look at her, and she is the universe itself—yet she is continually fleeing from you. (In fact), however, she is gradually moving, atom by atom and breath by breath. She resembles a shadow which, when you look at it, appears stationary, but is in fact continually moving. It is evident that your life is likewise continually moving and parting company from you, though you are heedless and ignorant of this.3

Second analogy

Another example of her spell is that she presents herself to you in an endearing manner in order to make you fall in love with her, and pretends that she will go along with you and not with another. She resembles a worthless woman who is vicious and importunate and lures men to her in order to make them her lovers, then takes them to her house and destroys them.

It is related that Jesus in one of his revelations4 saw this world

1 Kitâb-i hadâh-im. Probably Ilyâ’, Book XXVI (Third Quarter, Book VI), or perhaps Kimyâ-yi-i Salâdat, Introduction, Third ‘Element’; both contain the following ‘analogies’ (pp. 66–69 of the text of F.K., ed. by A. Ārâm, Tehran, 1310). (H. Spencer.)
2 Jâlûvi; Ar. (A), iṣb. Shorter E.I., art. Iṣbâ (i.e. magic, sorcery).
3 Q. ii. 66. See Index and art. in Shorter E.I.; also p. 172 below.
4 Ar. (H) here has two Arabic verses, as follows: ‘What is the world but a mirage, even though its delights be many and good? Its bliss passes after the enjoyment, while the passage of the clouds continues to occur.’

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in the form of an old hag. 'How many husbands have you had?' he asked her. 'Too many to be counted', she replied. 'Did they die or divorce you?' he asked. 'I killed them all', she replied. 'How strange of these other fools', he said; 'they see, but they take no warning.'

**Third analogy**

This is that she keeps her outward appearance finely adorned, and keeps all that is harmful or testing concealed, in order that ignorant persons on seeing her outward appearance may be deceived. She is like an ugly old hag who masks her face but has put on fine clothes and done herself up ornately. Men see her from afar and are enchanted with her, but when they remove her veil they are dismayed to find such ugliness.

There is a Tradition that at the Resurrection this world will be brought up in the form of an ugly old hag with green eyes and protruding teeth. When the (human) creatures look at her, they will say: 'We take refuge in God from this (person). What can she be, with such ugliness and blemishes?' They will be told, 'She is the lower world, for whose sake you bore envy and ill-will to one another, shed blood unrighteously and broke the bonds of kinship. You were lured and deceived by her.' She will then be taken to Hell, and she will say 'O Lord God, where are my lovers?' Then God on High will order that her lovers be taken to Hell with her.

**Fourth analogy**

A person should reckon how long eternity had lasted when he himself did not exist in this world; how long it will last when he ceases to exist; and how long will last his few days which lie between the eternity with no beginning and the eternity with no end. He will then understand that this world resembles the route of a traveller, starting from the cradle, ending at the grave, and with a given number of stages in between; that each year is like a stage, each month like a farsakh, each day like a mile, and each breath like a step; and that the (traveller) is continually moving (along this road). One person may have one farsakh's distance left to go, another less, another more; yet each sits tranquil, as if he were...

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2. 'Ar. (I), 'blue'.
3. Qaf' - ra'im.
4. Almost word for word from the 'First Spring', p. 32 above.
5. Mil. Borrowed by Arabic from Latin. Miles were used in the ex-Roman and farsakh in the ex-Persian parts of the Muslim empire.

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**The Two Springs which water the Tree of Faith**

always to remain in the same position, planning activities which may last ten years and which he himself may never need—for in ten years he may be under the earth.

**Fifth analogy**

You should understand that this world, in the pleasures which her sons get from her and again in the disgrace which in the after-life they will suffer because of her, is like a person who eats rich and sweet food in such excess as to ruin the stomach. Eventually such a person becomes aware of the disgusting condition of his stomach and of his bad breath, and observes his performance of the natural functions. Then he feels ashamed of himself and full of remorse, because the pleasure has passed while the disgusting condition remains. The greater the amount of delicious food he eats, the bulkier and fouler will be his stools; and similarly, the greater his intimacy with this world, the more disgraceful will be the consequences for him. They will (first) become apparent at the time of his death-agony. A person blessed with abundant riches—gardens, orchards, slave-girls, slave-lads, gold and silver—will suffer greater pain on parting from them at the time of the soul's severance than one who possesses fewer of these things. His pain and torment will not cease at death, but will be augmented; for love of this world is a quality of the heart, and the heart remains as it is and does not die.

**Sixth analogy**

You should understand that while the affairs of this world mostly appear to be of limited scope and people seldom expect their involvement in them to be of long duration, it may happen that one affair will give rise to a hundred others and that their whole life long will be expended on them. Jesus declared that the seeker of this world is like the drinker of sea-water; the more he consumes, the thirstier he becomes, and he will continue drinking until he perishes; and he will never be cured of that thirst. God's Apostle declared that just as it is impossible for a person to walk into sea-water without getting wet, so is it impossible for him to become involved in the affairs of this world without being defiled.

**Seventh analogy**

This is that a person who comes into this world resembles one who goes as a guest to the home of a host, whose custom is to keep...
his mansion always adorned for guests and to invite them in parties. The host places before them a tray of jewels and gold, and a silver censer with aloes-wood and incense for giving fragrance; but they leave the tray and the censer for the next party when it arrives. If a person is acquainted with the etiquette of the host, and if he is intelligent, he will ignite the aloes-wood and incense and enjoy the fragrance, and then leave the censer willingly, offer thanks and depart; but a person who is stupid and ignorant will suppose that the tray and the censer are to be given to him to take away, and when they are recovered from him at the time of his departure he will feel pain and indignation and begin to complain loudly. You should understand that this world is like that host’s mansion. It is a watering-place on the beggars’ road, whence they may draw sustenance for their journey. They should not covet the goods which are in the mansion.

Eighth analogy

This world’s inhabitants, in their preoccupation with its affairs and forgetfulness of the world to come, resemble a ship’s passengers who, on reaching an island, go ashore to perform the natural functions and ritual ablutions. The ship’s officers call out, ‘Let nobody take too long or get busy with anything except the ablutions, as the ship is to sail soon.’ Then the passengers disperse over the island. One group of them is intelligent; they quickly perform the ablutions and come back, find their place, and get the least crowded and most agreeable seats. Another group stays fascinated by the wonderful sights of the island; they gaze at its flowers and (fruit-trees), at its sweet-voiced birds and its (beautifully) coloured and shaped pebbles, but on their return can find no seats on board and have to sit in a cramped, dark place and suffer discomfort. Another group did not merely gaze at those beautiful pebbles; they picked them up and took them on board, but found no place on the ship and had to sit in a (very) confined part and load the pebbles on their necks. When a day or two had passed, the colour of those pebbles changed and became dark, and unpleasant smells began to issue (from them); but these passengers could find nowhere to throw them. They now regret (what they did); and they are still carrying those stones uncomfortably on their necks. Another group was so astonished by the wonderful sights of the island that they went on sight-seeing until they had wandered far from the ship; and the ship sailed. They had not heard the captain’s call, being in (the interior of) the island; and the result was that some perished of thirst, others were destroyed by wild beasts. The first group represents the believers and ascetics, while the last group represents the unbelievers who have forgotten the God existing in the other world and utterly abandoned themselves to this world. As God Almighty said in His book (Q. xvi. 109), ‘They have preferred the present life over the world to come.’ The intermediate groups represent disobedient sinners who have kept the root of faith but have not held aloof from this world; one group enjoyed (pleasures) despite poverty, (the other) group amassed so much wealth as to become overburdened.

Ninth analogy

Abū Hurayrah, God be pleased with him, relates: ‘One day God’s Apostle asked me, “O Abū Hurayrah, would you like to see this world and all that is in it?”’ I replied, “Yes, O Apostle of God!”’ Then he took my hand and led me to a dune-hill on which had been thrown human heads now reduced to skulls, scraps of cast-off old clothing, putrid bones, and human ordures. ‘O Abū Hurayrah,’ he said, “do you see these heads of men? Such will be the heads of you who are full of worldly ambition and greed. Like you (men), those men hoped for long life and endeavoured to develop the world and amass wealth; today their bare bones lie here, as you can see. These scraps of clothing are the robes which they wore in their days of elegance and luxury; now the wind carries these robes into the midst of this impurity. These bones are the bones of their beasts of burden, on whose backs they rode round the world. These ordures are the delicious foods which they acquired

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1 Reading na-shanīdand, which agrees with Ar. (I), P. (H), ha-shanīdand, ‘they heard the captain’s call, but were (in the interior of) the island’. 
2 Ar. (H) ad-imad, On the question of faith and works, Shater E.E., arts. Inmad, Khāridīt (p. 248), Murdīj, Mu’tasila (p. 432).
3 The term ‘imārat-i dūms ñ ‘mi-khadrīdand. The Qatar Development Board (1970–59) was entitled Majlis al-Tameem. The words na’m ‘Ar. (H) and ad-imad (P) mean ‘inhabited and cultivated’, as opposed to ‘desert’. This is in contradiction with the teachings of Part II, cf. p. 46 and pp. 55–56 below. See Introduction, p. 31.
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by trickery and stole from one another, and which they later ejected from them into this filth which nobody can approach on account of the stench. The whole of this world is such as you see. If anyone wishes to weep over this world, tell him to weep over this."" Abü Hurayrah, God be pleased with him, reports that all present then wept.

Tenth analogy

In the time of Jesus three men were walking along a road when they came across a treasure. They said, 'Let us send one man to fetch something for us to eat.' They sent one of them, and he went and bought food and then said to himself, 'I must put poison into this food, so that they may eat it and die, and the treasure will then be left to me.' The other two men said, 'When this man comes back and brings the food, let us kill him so that the treasure may be left to us', and when he returned bringing the poisoned food, they killed him and then ate the food and both died. Jesus, peace be upon him, passed by that place and said to his disciples: 'Behold this world! The three men have killed (one another) for her sake, and she has outlived all three.'

This (concludes) our advice to seekers of this world about this world.

The Second Spring

This is knowledge of the last breath.

You should understand that human beings fall into two groups. One group chooses this world; they prefer to hope for long life and never think about the last breath. The other group is intelligent; they always keep the last breath before their eyes, (asking) when it will occur, how they will take the faith with them safely, what things will go with them from this world to the grave, and what things will be taken by the enemies and not remain with them. Such thoughts ought to be in the minds of all persons, and especially of kings and persons who have to deal with this world; for these latter have frequently sent out their minions to distract God's slaves, and the people's minds have often been filled with fear and dread by minions of kings.

1 Ghulam; cf. preceding note. On 'Izar'īl, Q. xxii. 11, and art. in Shorter E.I.
2 'Jum. The word also means 'life'. Ar. (I), rūh.
3 Munabkhabura; likewise in Ar. (I).
4 Mushūt; cf. the 'fixed term' (qāt) mentioned in Q. xxxv. 44.
5 Bātgān, 'beasts of burden'. Ar. (I) specifies them as 'horses of pedigree stock'.

The Two Springs which water the Tree of Faith

At the True God's court, there is a page named 'Izar'īl, blessings upon him. He is known as the Angel of Death, and no creature's soul will be spared from his grasp. Officials1 of kings seize silver and foodstuffs, but this official (of God) seizes only souls. With the former, mediation and entreaty are always profitable; with the latter, they are of no avail. The former will at length concede a respite of some or more days; the latter never grants a moment's respite. The wonders of his ways are many. To explain the ways of the Angel of Death, we shall, God willing, recount five anecdotes.

First anecdote

Wahb ibn Munabih, who was one of the scholars of the Jews and became a Muslim, has related that there was a king who was numbered among the great kings. One day he wished to ride out (on horseback). He bade all the commanders of his army to ride out (also), in order to display his sovereignty and might to the people; magnificent clothes were brought for him to wear, and splendid beasts1 were led before him; but he was not satisfied until an even more splendid mount was brought. On this he rode out, proceeding with great pomp into the midst of his army. The Devil came and put his mouth on that king's nose and blew the wind of vainglory up it, with the result that the king said to himself, 'Who is there in the universe like me?' And he rode on, not glancing in his vainglory at anybody. Then a man clad in old, rough clothes came and saluted the king, who gave no response. The man took hold of the horse's reins. 'Do not you know whose horse's reins you are holding?' asked the king. 'I have a request to make of you', he said. 'Wait until I dismount', he replied. 'I want it now', he said. 'Tell me what it is', he asked. 'Nobody must know', he said; 'for I have a secret which must be told into no ears but yours.' 'Tell it', he said. The man raised his head to the king's ear and whispered, 'I am the Angel of Death.' 'Give me a respite', begged the king; 'enough to go home and bid farewell to my wife and children.' 'No, by God', he replied; 'never again shall you go home and see your wife and children, for your life is
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reckoned at one breath—and the moment has come! And right at that moment, when the king was on horseback, he seized the king's soul, and the king fell to the ground. The Angel of Death then left him and went to a believer with whom God was pleased. He saluted the believer, who gave a response, and then said to him, 'I have a secret for you.' 'Tell it,' he asked. 'I am the Angel of Death,' he said. 'You are welcome,' he replied; God be praised that you have come, I have long been waiting for you. In all the universe there has been no absent person for whom I have thirsted more than for you.' 'Any business you have, you may attend to now,' he said. 'Any business of mine,' he replied, 'is less important than meeting the True God.' 'How would you like me to take your soul?' he asked; 'for I was bidden, 'Take his soul in the way he would like.' 'Give me,' he replied, 'a respite until I carry out the ablutions and perform the prayer. When I prostrate my head, then take my soul.' The Angel of Death did as he requested and carried him to the mercy of God the Strong and Glorious.

Second anecdote

It is related that a certain man had great possessions. He sought to amass every sort of wealth that God on High has created, in the hope of living to enjoy it as he pleased. In the course of time he accumulated these riches, and built a lofty and beautiful palace which he equipped with two strong doors and kept guarded by slaves (as fierce as) hangmen.1 Then one day he caused sumptuous foods to be prepared, and assembled his kinsfolk, household and retainers in order that they might partake of them in his presence. He himself mounted a throne, and as he reclined on it began saying to himself: 'You have accumulated this world's riches. Now sit back (all) your life long, free of care, and enjoy them.' He was still thinking these thoughts, when outside the palace he saw a man, worn-out clothes, with a sack on his neck like a darseh, come up to beg for bread. (The man) struck the knocker with such an exceedingly hard,grim blow that all those present were afraid. The guards jumped up and asked him what he meant by such insolence.2 'Tell this master of yours to come out,' he replied; 'for I have business with him.' 'What right have you to summon him?

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to go to you?,' they asked. 'Tell him,' he replied. They told him. 'Why did not you (chide him and) get rid of him in such and such a way?' their master asked. Then again the man rapped on the door with the knocker, harder than the first time; and all leapt from their seats, making to attack him. 'Keep quiet,' he said, 'for I am the Angel of Death.' When they heard him, they were all afraid and their tongues and feet were stilled. Then that rich man said to them, 'Ask him what he will take in substitution.' He answered them, 'Tell him this. It is for you that I have come. Do what you wish, but I shall yet sever from you all these riches which you have amassed.' Thereupon the rich man collected his money, and signs for it overcame his heart. 'O accrued wealth,' he cried out, 'you have deluded me and kept me from worshipping God on High! I fancied that you would take my hand, but today you have become my anguish, woe and lament. I leave empty-handed, and you stay behind for my enemies!' God on High then empowered the money to speak to him. 'Why do you curse me?' it asked him; 'curse yourself, for God on High created us both out of dust and gave me into your hands in order that you might take provision for the world to come, give charity to darsehsh, and build mosques, bridges and hospices.3 On that condition was I to hold your hand in the next world. But you hoarded me, spent me on your whims and kept me under guard, and finally today assigned me to your enemies. You sighed and worried; but what fault was that of mine? Then the Angel of Death took (the rich man's) soul, and he fell head first off his throne.

Third anecdote

Yazid al-Raqâshî reports that among the Children of Israel one of the despots4 was (ruling). One day when he was seated on the throne of sovereignty, he saw come in through the door of the palace a man of hateful and exceedingly gruesome mien. All leapt from their seats in dread of him, crying out 'Who are you?' 'I am he,' said the man, 'whom no chamberlain can exclude. No king do I fear, and no despot can jump loose from my grip.' On hearing this, the despot fell flat on his face. A trembling came over his limbs, and he asked, 'Are you the Angel of Death?' 'Yes indeed,'

1 Ghulâbîn-e jallâd.
2 Ax. (i) 611: 'and told him to wait till they had eaten so that they might give him whatever might be left'.
3 Ax. (i) 612: 'and told him to wait till they had eaten so that they might give him whatever might be left'.
he replied, 'For God's sake,' he pleaded, 'give me a single day's respite, that I may repent (of my sins), crave forgiveness, and restore these funds which I hold in my treasury to their owners.' 'No indeed!', he replied; 'At this very moment must it be. For the days of your life have been numbered, and not one more day is left.' 'Give me a single hour's respite,' he begged. 'The hours of your life', he replied, 'have been numbered, and not one more hour is left. They have all passed, while you were heedless.' 'If you take me to the next world right now, what will accompany me?' he asked. 'Nothing except your works', he replied. 'I have never done a good work', he said. 'So Hell and God's wrath are bound to be your place', he replied. Then (the Angel of Death) took his soul from him, and he fell; and wails and shouts arose in the kingdom. Had (the people) known what was to be done with him, they would have wailed and lamented even more.

Fourth anecdote
It is related that the Angel of Death went to Solomon one day and glanced several times at a certain boon companion of his. When the Angel of Death went out, the boon companion asked Solomon, 'O Prophet of God, who was this man who glanced at me so sharply?' 'The Angel of Death', he stated. 'I am afraid', said the boon companion, 'that he may take me away; (so please) use your miraculous power immediately. Order the wind to take me out of his reach forthwith and carry me to the land of India! Perhaps I may be safe for a moment (over there). Solomon gave the order, and the wind carried him to the remotest part of India. During the same hour the Angel of Death again came to Solomon, who asked, 'Why did you glance at that man so often?' 'I was amazed', he replied; 'for I had been commanded to take his soul in the land of India, and he was a long way from India. I continued wondering when the time would be, until by God's command the wind did carry him to the land of India, on that signal given by you who are God's Prophet. Then I caught his soul over there.'

Fifth anecdote
It has been related that Dhūl-Qarnayn came to a nation who had no possessions. He saw graves dug at the doors of their houses;

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The Two Springs which water the Tree of Faith

and every day they went to these graves and worshipped. Their only food was herbs. Dhūl-Qarnayn sent a messenger to summon their king, but he refused to come, saying: 'I have no business with Dhūl-Qarnayn, and no demands to make of him.' Then Dhūl-Qarnayn went to him and asked, 'What has befallen you?' 'Why (do you ask that)?' he said. 'For this reason,' he replied, 'I do not see any possessions belonging to you people. Why do not you amass silver and gold, and thereby gain profit?' 'Because no person has ever gained satisfaction from such profit,' he said; 'and because it always brings loss in the world to come.' 'For what purpose did you dig these graves?' he asked. 'So that I may at every hour see what stage has been reached on the road to the after-world,' he said; 'thus (are we reminded) not to forget death and not to let this lower world become dear to our hearts, but to remain assiduous in worship.' 'Why do you eat herbs?' he asked. 'Because we think it hateful', he said, 'to turn our stomachs into tombs for (animals) when the delights of food go no further than the throat.' Then the king put his hand down (into a crevice) and brought forth a human skull, (which he placed) before Dhūl-Qarnayn, saying: 'O Dhūl-Qarnayn, do you know who this was? Perhaps this was one of the kings of this world, who ruled unjustly, spent his time amassing worldly wealth, and oppressed and despoiled the subjects. The True God on High saw his tyranny, took his soul, and sent him to Hell. This is his head!' Then he put [his hand] down again, picked up another skull, and placed it before Dhūl-Qarnayn, saying: 'O Dhūl-Qarnayn, do you know who this was? Tell me', he requested. 'This', he said, 'was one of the just and righteous kings, who was kind and merciful to the subjects. When God on High took his soul, He sent him to Paradise.' After saying this, he laid his hand upon Dhūl-Qarnayn's head, saying, 'O Dhūl-Qarnayn, I see this head of yours. Perhaps it will soon be one of those two!' On hearing these words, Dhūl-Qarnayn wept and said to him: 'If you will consent to accompany us as a guest, I will grant you up to half of my empire.' 'No', he answered. 'Why?' he asked. 'The whole of mankind', he answered, 'are hostile to you on account of your sovereignty and wealth. To me they will always be friendly, on account of my contentment and poverty.'

These anecdotes explain the last breath. It has to be recognized that headless persons dislike talking of death; they are afraid that after doing so they may cease to find this world agreeable.
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It is stated in the Traditions¹ that he who thinks often of death and the grave will find the grave to be one of the meadows of Paradise over him, and that he who is heedless thereof, and does not think, will find the tomb to be one of the caverns of Hell over him.

It is reported in the Traditions² that one day when God’s Apostle was describing the recompense of martyrs³ who are killed in the war against the unbelievers, ʿA’ishah asked: ‘Is there anyone, O Apostle, who will not be a martyr, yet will receive the martyr’s recompense?’ ‘Yes,’ he stated; ‘whoever thinks of death twenty times a day will have recompense on the same scale as martyrs.’ He also enjoined, ‘Think often of death. This will stone for your sins, and make you sick of this world and cold towards her.’ Once he was asked, ‘Who are the cleverest of men?’ He answered, ‘Those who think most about death and spend most time preparing and equipping themselves for it are the clever and intelligent ones. Respect in this world and honour in the world to come are theirs.’

If a person has understood that this world is such as we have said, and if he has kept the last breath always fresh in mind, this world’s business becomes an easy burden for him. The tree of his faith stands erect, by reason of the strengthening of its roots and the appearance of branches on it; and his faith carries him safely, God willing, to the presence of the ‘Truth on High.

May God grant to His Majesty⁴ the King of the East⁵ a clear eye, whereby he may see this world and the next as they (really) are, and so take pains in matters appertaining to the next world and in this world treat mankind well; for a thousand thousand or more of God’s creatures are his subjects. If he governs them justly, they will all be intercessors⁶ for him at the Resurrection, and he will be secure against rebuke and punishment; but if he governs them unjustly, they will all be his adversaries, and the position of one who has so many adversaries will be very, indeed terribly, dangerous. When intercessors become adversaries, the case is hard. And God knows best what is right.

PART II

CHAPTER I
ON QUALITIES WHICH ARE REQUIRED IN THE EXERCISE OF DISCIPLINE AND JUSTICE BY KINGS⁴ AND (OUGHT TO FIGURE) IN EVERY ROYAL BIOGRAPHY AND CHRONICLE

You should understand that God on High selected two classes of the Sons of Adam and endowed these two classes with superiority over the rest: the one being prophets, blessings and peace be upon them, and the other kings. To guide His slaves to Him, He sent prophets; and to preserve them from one another, He sent kings, to whom He bound the welfare⁷ of men’s lives in His wisdom⁸ and on whom He conferred high rank. As you will hear in the Traditions,⁹ ‘the Sultān is God’s shadow on earth,’ which means that he is high-ranking and the Lord’s delegate over His creatures. It must therefore be recognized that this kingship and the divine effulgence⁹ have been granted to them by God, and that they must accordingly be obeyed, loved and followed. To dispute with kings is improper, and to hate them is wrong; for God on High has commanded (Q. iv. 6a) ‘Obey God and obey the Prophet and those among you who hold authority,’ which means (in Persian) obey God and the prophets and your princes.⁸ Everybody to

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¹ Andar ʿiyāsāt tā taʿadd-i ʿibdāh-khāhān. ʿIyāsat (Ar.), ‘discipline’ or ‘infliction of punishment’, came to mean ‘exercise of political authority’. Adh (Ar.) and adh (P.) mean ‘awarding of just decisions’ and sometimes merely ‘just conduct’ or ‘just character’. ḫad (Ar.), ‘equity’, is used almost synonymously. The antonyms are ʿalm (Ar.), nasīm (P.) and āzār (Ar.), ‘injustice’, ‘oppression’, ‘tyranny’.
² Mulazāmat.
³ Ar. (I), ‘in living together under one who rules’.
⁵ The term ‘Sultān’ (‘authority’) was applied in Ghazāl’s time to all rulers including Calipha.
⁶ For-i Isd. Cf. pp. 73–74 below and notes. See Introduction, p. xii.
whom God has given religion must therefore love and obey kings and recognize that their kingship is granted by God, and given by Him to whom He wills. God Almighty stated this, in the verse (Q. iii. 25): 'Say, O God, owner of the sovereignty! (You give the sovereignty to whom You will, and You take it away from whom You will. You strengthen whom You will, and You humble whom You will. In Your hand is the choice of what is best. Verily You are powerful over everything.)' This means (in Persian) that God on High, who is the King of Kings, gives the kingship to whom He wills, and that He strengthens one man through His favour and humbles another through His justice.

The Sultan in reality is he who awards justice, and does not perpetrate injustice and wickedness, among God’s slaves; for the unjust Sultan is ill-starred and will have no endurance, because the Prophet stated that 'sovereignty endures even when there is unbelief, but will not endure when there is injustice'. It is (recorded) in the chronicles that for wellnigh four thousand years this universe was held by the Magians and the kingdom remained in their family. This endured because they maintained justice among the subjects. In their religious system they did not permit injustice or oppression; and through their justice and equity they developed the universe (and made it prosperous). In the Traditions it is related that God on High sent the following revelation to the Prophet David: 'O David, tell your nation not to speak ill of the people of Persia; for it is they who developed the universe, so that My slaves might live in it. You must understand that the development or desolation of this universe depends on kings; for if the king is just, the universe is prosperous and the subjects are secure, as was the case in the times of Ardashir, Faridun, Bahram Gur, Kshatra, and other kings like them; whereas when the

1 Pahlavani. 2 addhakth. 3 Shina' buced; Ar. (1), mosh'izam.
4 Quoted also in the Siyastanmeh, chap. ii.
5 Mubn; Ar. (1), Majis. Shorter E.I., art. Majis.
6 Khwānsd. According to Christians, L’Iran sous les Sassanides, p. 116, "The Magians were originally a tribe of the Median people who had the privilege of priesthood. . . . In the Sassanid empire . . . the clergy continued to be recruited from the tribe of the Magians, which naturally had grown a good deal over the centuries. Compare the great family of the Saaids in Sh'ite society."
7 Kiš; Ar. (1), maddahab.
8 Ašādān kardand; Ar. (1), ammirat. Cl. p. 37, note 3, above. See Introduction, p. xl.
10 'Ājam. E.I. (a), art. 'Ājam.
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affairs of this world and the kingship. (Kayumarth) was the first of the kings of this world, and his reign lasted 30 years. After him was Hīshāhah, whose reign lasted 40 years. After him was Taḥmūrath, who warred against the jinnīs and whose reign lasted 30 years. After him was Jamshīd—he who introduced saddles and weapons. (He fought) numerous wars and carried out great works, and his reign lasted 700 years. After him was Bayvarshāb, known as al-Ḍabāb; he was the possessor of the Two Snakes. His (qualities) were cheating, evil tricks and magic, and he was a tyrant, oppressor, aggressor and despot; his reign lasted 1,000 years. After him was Afrīdūn, who had a good name and an excellent character and morals; his (qualities) were good repute and spreading justice, and his reign lasted 500 years. After him was Minūchihir, whose (qualities) were erudition and (carrying out) great works and mighty enterprises; his reign lasted 120 years. After him was Navaḍar who reigned 12 years. After him was Afrāṣīyāb, the mythical kings of Persia

The Achaemenid kings and their reign (B.C.)

Cyrus, 559-530
Cambyses, 529-522
(Pseudo-) Smurcia, usurper, 521
Darius, 521-485
Xerxes, 485-465
Artaxerxes, usurper, 485-464
Artaxerxes I, 464-425, known as Longimanus
Xerxes II, 425
Sogdianus, 425-444
Darius II (or Ochus), 424-405, known as Naosus
Artaxerxes II, 404-358, known as Moemon
Artaxerxes III (or Ochus), 358-338
Narse (or Arseu), 338-336
Darius III, 336-330, known as Codo-

Kingship

Fārīdūn (or Afrīdūn)
Mūnūchihir (Navaḍar)
Ziv bīn 'Ṭahmāb
Garnshāb
Kay Qubād
Kay Kāšān
Kay Khusraw
Lurbrāb
Gushībāb
Bahman
Humay (widow of Bahman, mother of Dārā)
dārā (= Darius III) (see Index)

Dārā (Darius III) (see Index)

Dārā iṣn Dārā)*
3 Dārā tīfraytān, cf. ibid., p. 114.
4 Thus in Ar. (I) and Ar. (Camb.). Not in P. (H.).

Qualities required of Kings

who ruled over (? Tūrān) and whom the Turks called (Kankā Alp); he possessed courage, and used to make his soldiers march by night and disturb the country with his men and horses; his reign in the lands of Iran lasted 12 years. After him was Taḥmūrath, whose (qualities) were courage and good morals; his reign lasted five years and a quarter. (After him) was Kay Qubād, who had (the ability to) mobilize troops and deploy armies, and the (quality) of mercy towards the subjects; his reign lasted 120 years. After him was Kay Kāšān, whose (quality) was magnanimity and who reigned 120 years. After him was Kay Khusraw, whose (qualities) were excellent performance (of religious works), and withdrawal from affairs and asceticism after obtaining his desires; his reign lasted 60 years. After him was Lurbrāb, who was the possessor of the crown and of greatness and glory; his reign lasted 70 years. After him was Gushībāb, who adopted the path of Zoroastrian and whose reign lasted 120 years. After him was Bahman (ibn) Isfandiyār, whose (qualities) were malice and bellicosity and whose reign lasted 112 years. After him was his daughter Humay, whose (qualities) were judgement and discretion and whose reign lasted 17 years. After her was Dārā, whose (characteristics were) leading troops, organizing affairs, and granting provinces in fief; his reign lasted 50 years. After him was Dārā, who was characterized by defeat, misfortune and cowardice, and whose reign lasted 41 years. After him was Alexander (the Great), who is Dārā-ī Qarnāyīn; his (characteristics) were wandering around the world, making distant journeys, seeing marvels, conquering countries, and vanquishing kings; his reign lasted 36 years. 8

1 Ar. (I): ʿal-Lān. Ar. (Camb.): 'the first (sic) of the kings of Iran'.
3 P. (H.) adds: 'and descendants of his are reigning in Turkāshān, Samargand and Bukhārā even now'. This refers to the Qara-Qhānī or Ilqānīī Turkāshī (Uighur) dynasty of Transoxiana and Khāzhān who ruled 326/933-256/1165.
4 Not in Ar. (I). P. (H.): ʿ... Lurbrāb; the crown of magnanimity was his and his reign lasted 110 years.' Ar. (Camb.): ʿ... Lurbrāb, who was the possessor of the crown and of greatness and glory', etc., as above.
5 Thus also Ar. (Camb.). P. (H.): Shamārin.
6 According to Firdevs and some others, there were two kings named Dārā, father and son, and Alexander was really the son of the elder Dārā (or Dārāh) not of Philip (Fayrāq). Browne, Lit. Hist. i, pp. 118-119; Shorter E.F., art. Ishkhunadar.
7 Ar. (Camb.): adds: 'and justice towards the subjects and troops'.
8 Ar. (I) and Ar. (Camb.) pass hence straight to Ardashīr Shāhīn. The following paragraph concerning the Kings of the Farsians is taken from P. (H.).

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Then the kingship passed to the Kings of the factions, and of these one faction known as the Ashkâns won the ascendency. The first of the Ashkâni kings was Ashk ibn Hurmuz, whose reign lasted 13 years and one month... the last of the Ashkâni kings, whose reign was (full of) disorder. After him (Ardashir ibn Pâbak ibn Sâsân) rose and took the kingship from them, winning power, glory, and success; the kingship remained in his family... .


The Ashkâni Kings
(according to Tabârî)

| Ashk ibn Ashkân (10 years) | Araxes, c. 250-248 B.C. (? Ashk) |
| Shâpîr ibn Ashkân (20 years) | Tiridates, 248-211 |
| Gûdâr ibn Ashkân (10 years) | Artabânas I (conquered Mesopotamia) |
| Bîshân (21 years) | Pîrâspatur |
| Gûdar-i Kûchik (19 years) | Phraates I |
| Narsî | Mithridates I, b. between 141 and 130 |
| Hurmuz (17 years) | Phraates II |
| Ardavan (14 years) | Artabânas II |
| Kûkâr Ashkân (40 years) | Mithridates II, the Great |
| Balâsh (24 years) | Massâcres |
| Ardavan-i Agâh (13 years) | Sanarrocâses, d. c. 70 B.C. |

(The total, 226 years; making, with the 40 years of the *Mulûk al-Tawâlîf*, 266 years from Alexander to Ardashir the Sâsânid. See Browne, loc. cit.).

The Arasht (Parthian) Kings

| Araxes | Artabânas I (conquered Mesopotamia) |
| Tiridates | Pîrâspatur |
| Artabânas I | Phraates I |
| Mithridates I, b. between 141 and 130 | Phraates II |
| Artabânas II | Mithridates II |
| Mithridates II | Orodos I (defeated Crassus, c. 53 B.C.) |
| Phraates IV, c. 38 B.C.-d. a.d. 2 | Phraates I |
| Orodos II | Vonoennes I |
| Vonoennes I | Artabanus III, c. a.d. 16- ? |
| Artabanus III | Gotares (? Gûdâr) |
| Vonoennes I | Bardazes |
| Vonoennes I, c. 50 a.d. | Vologeses I |
| Vologeses I | Pacorus |
| Chosroes or Orroes (Khushraw, Kinh) | Vologeses II, c. 122-c. 149 |
| Vologeses III | Vologeses IV |
| Civil wars | Artabânas IV, d. 226 (Ardavan). |

(from death of Alexander, 333 B.C., to death of Artabânas IV, 349 years.)

8 Name missing from P. (H).

3 Perhaps the missing figure is 434 years. See Browne, loc. cit.

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(until) the sovereignty passed from them to the Muslims. The early (kings) of Kayûmarth to Kay Qâbûd were called the (Pash-didans), and those from Alexander to Ardashir Pâbakân were called the Ashkâni kings.

Ardashir's reign lasted 44 years, of which 30 were (spent) in waging wars and putting the world right, and 14 in peace.

1 P. (H): *Bâddâyât*.

2 From P. (H). Ar. (I) has only: 'After him was Ardashir Sâsân, whose reign lasted 78 years.' Ar. (Camb.): 'After him was Ardashir Sâsân, whose reign lasted 30 years.' The names and reigns of the Sâsânid kings (according to Christensen, *L'Irân sous les Sassanides*) were as follows:

(Pahlav.) | (Greco-Latin.) | (Perso-Arabic.)
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Ardashir I, son of Pâbagh, son of Sâsân (A.D. 226-41) | Sapor | Ardshir, Bâbâkân |
Shâbûr I, son of Ardshir I (241-72) | Sapor | Shâpîr (Ar. Sâbûr) |
Vâhrâm I, son of Shâbûr II (273-93) | Varanes | Bahram |
Vâhrâm II, son of Vâhrâm I (276-93) | Varanes | Bahram |
Vâhrâm III, son of Vâhrâm II (293-309) | Varanes | Bahram |
Narseh, son of Shâbûr I (293-309) | Narseh | Narseh |
Hormizd II, son of Narseh (304-9 or 310) | Hormizd (A.D. 310) | Hormizd (A.D. 310) |
Shâbûr II, son of Hormizd II (309 or 310) | Sapor | Shâpîr (Ar. Sâbûr), 'Dhâ'-Akstî', the 'Uprooter of the Shoulders' (of Arab rebels) |
Ardshir | Artaxerxes | Ardshir |
Ardashir II, b. of Shâbûr II Artaxerxes (379-83) | Sapor | Shâpîr (Ar. Sâbûr) |
Shâbûr III, son of Shâbûr II | (363-88) | Bahram |
Vâhrâm IV, son of Shâbûr II (363-88) | Varanes | Yezagard (Ar. Yezârjîd) |
Yezagard I (399-421) | Varanes | Yezagard (Ar. Yezârjîd) |
Vâhrâm V, Gûr, son of Yezagard I (402-38 or 430) | Varanes | Yezagard (Ar. Yezârjîd) |
Yezagard II, son of Vâhrâm (430 or 439-37) | Varanes | Yezagard (Ar. Yezârjîd) |
Hormizd III, son of Yezagard II (457-9) | Varanes | Hormizd |
Pîrûz I, son of Yezagard II (457-9) | Varanes | Pîrûz |
Valûsh, brother of Pîrûz I (? or son) | Varanes | Balâsh |
Kavkîd I, son of Pîrûz I (488-311) | Varanes | Qubbâd |

[footnote continued overleaf]
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After him was Shâpûr1 ibn Ardashîr, whose reign lasted 33 years. After him was (?) Hurmuz2, whose reign lasted 30 years and 9 months. After him was Bahram ibn Bahram, whose reign lasted 4 years. After him was Narsî, whose reign lasted 9 years. After him was Hûrûmîz ibn Narsî, whose reign lasted 70 years and 5 months. After him was Shâpûr Dha’l-Âktîf, whose reign lasted 70 years. After him was Shâpûr ibn Shâpûr, whose reign lasted 5 years. After him was Bahram ibn Shâpûr, whose reign lasted 12 years. After him was Yazdgard the Sinner, whose (qualities) were tyranny, oppression and evil-doing, and whose reign lasted 30 years. After him was Bahram Gûr, whose (qualities) were entire attention to the welfare of the subjects, shooting with the bow, hunting, and spending his time in merry-making, playing, feasting and drinking; his reign lasted 33 years. After him was Yazdgard ibn Bahram, whose reign lasted 8 years. After him was Hurmuz, whose reign lasted 11 years. After him was Fîrûz ibn Hurmuz, whose reign lasted 11 years. After him was (? Balâsh3), whose

(Pahlavi) (Greek-Latin) (Perso-Arabic)

(Shihâb, brother of Kavâd I) (Jânâb)
Khusraw (Ar. Kïrast) Khurraw (Ar. Kïràst)
Khosrow, Anûshîbaha-rûzûvân (‘of immortal soul’), son of Kavâd I (531-79) Anûshîbha, known as the ‘just’ Hurmuz
Bahrâm Chibbân Bahram Chibbân
Fîrûz II Shârâmânûkh (queen), sister of Borân Hormuz V Khusraw IV Farrukhîshâh, or Khvaremachkâh Yazdgard III, son of Shâhryâr (630-57) or (628-63)

1 Ar. (I): Shâbûr.
2 Ar. (I): Ùmamkîr. Ar. (Camb.) has Bahrâm ib. Bahram, reigned 120 years, followed by Bahram ib (illegal), reigned 4 months.
3 Ar. (I): Ašk. Ar. (Camb.): Ausg. Presumably copyist’s errors for Balâsh.
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virtue and shun vices and vile things, if they are to leave a good name behind them and not to be remembered by people for wickedness.

Verses1

Lad, shun evil! Repent if you do wrong!
From yourself keep intoxication far!
Be afraid of the had time that may come!
After you, only talk of you will last.
Take good care that such talk be of the best!

There is a saying that the memory which a gentleman2 leaves behind him is his second life among the people (in this lower world). An intelligent person should therefore read these reports of the kings and observe the vicissitudes of this fickle world, in order that he may understand and avoid losing his heart to her; for she will not continue (always) to be kind, nor unkind. He should endeavour to avoid making too many enemies; having enemies is a rather difficult matter, as God on High is a just judge and will inevitably award enemies their due at the Resurrection. It accordingly does not pay to make enemies for the sake of this world, as the following story shows.

Anecdote3

Abū 'Ali Daqqāq came to Abū 'Ali Ilyās, who was army commander at Nishāpūr. Abū 'Ali Ilyās was a very cistening man, and he sat down cross-legged in front of Abū 'Ali Daqqāq and asked him, 'Give me a word of advice.' Abū 'Ali Daqqāq answered him, 'O Amir, I will ask you a question; and (please) give a candid reply!' 'I will,' he said. 'Tell me,' he went on, 'do you prefer gold, or an enemy?' 'I prefer gold,' he replied. 'Then how is it,' he asked, 'that you will leave behind here that which you prefer, and take with you that which you do not prefer, namely the enemy?' Tears welled in the Amir's eyes, and he said: 'You have given me a piece of advice which in these (few) words sums up all counsel and wisdom.'

1 Ar. (1) has three Arabic verses meaning much the same, except that 'intoxication' does not appear.
2 'Asād-mard, literally 'free man'; Ar. (1), al-rjīl, 'gentleman'.
3 This anecdote is found in the Siyāṣāt-nāmah of Nizām al-Mulk, chap. vii. Ar. (1) makes Abū 'Ali Ilyās come to, and kneel before, the assisit Abū 'Ali Daqqāq. The Siyāṣāt-nāmah makes Abū 'Ali Daqqāq come to, and kneel before, Abū 'Ali Ilyās.

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God on High sent the Prophet to transform the Abode of Unbelief into the Abode of Islam through his benediction, and to bring development and prosperity4 to the world through justice and equitable (rule). The king of that epoch was Anushirvān, who surpassed the kings who had been before him in justice, equity and (ability to enforce) discipline. This was due to the benediction of the Apostle, God bless him, because he was born during his lifetime; after the birth of Muhammad, Anushirvān [continued living two years. Our Prophet] was proud of his epoch, and said: 'I was born in the time of the Just King.' Such was his information about (Anushirvān's) justice; and people still mention (that king's) reign on account of its justice, and speak more of his justice and equity than (of the justice and equity) of all the kings; with the result that the inhabitants of this universe well know how excellent is his name, even though he was an unbeliever. The kings before him whom we have mentioned all showed concern for justice; they developed the world and kept their troops under control through (strict) discipline. Remains of their buildings and works are (still) visible in the world, and every city is named after one or another king. They founded villages, excavated irrigation tunnels and brought out all the waters that were being wasted to give life to the land. It was through justice that Anushirvān made the world prosperous.

(Ancdote5)

One day during his reign Anushirvān pretended to be sick. He sent his confidants and agents with orders to wander through the territories of the kingdom and corners of the realm and obtain an old brick from a ruined village for him to use as a medicine. He mentioned to his friends that the doctors had prescribed such (a medicine). They set out and wandered through his entire realm, and then returned, saying, 'We have not found a single ruined place or old brick in the entire kingdom.' Anushirvān rejoiced and thanked his God, and said: 'By this device I only wished to test my realm and try my provinces, in order that I might know whether there was still any ruined place in the kingdom and (if so) repair and repopulate it. But there is no longer any place which is not populated and flourishing. The affairs of the kingdom are fully

1 N-barakatu-t-thā y. I.F. (a), art. Baraka; 'a beneficent force, of divine origin'.
3 From Ar. (1); missing in F. (4).
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Regulated, its institutions are organized, and its prosperity has reached the height of perfection.

The efforts of these kings to develop the world were (made) because they knew that the greater the prosperity, the longer would be their rule and the more numerous would be their subjects. They also knew that the sages had spoken rightly when they said: 'The religion depends on the monarchy, the monarcly on the army, the army on supplies, supplies on prosperity, and prosperity on justice.' They would not tolerate any (infractor), small or great, because they knew beyond all doubt that where injustice and oppression are present, the people have no foothold; the cities and localities go to ruin, the inhabitants flee and move to other territories, the cultivated lands are abandoned, the kingdom falls into decay, the revenue diminishes, the treasury becomes empty, and happiness fades among the people. The subjects do not love the unjust king, but always pray that evil may befall him.

Now injustice is of two kinds. One is the injustice which Sulţāns do to subjects, strong men to weak, and rich men to poor. The other is the injustice which you do to your own self, namely the curse of sin. So avoid treating your own self unjustly, and then God will keep injustice from you, as the following story shows.

Anecdot

Among the Children of Israel was a fisherman who used to catch fish and sustain his family thereby. One day a large fish fell into his net, and he rejoiced and said, 'I will sell the fish and use the proceeds for our expenses.' On the way a bailiff came up to him and asked, 'Will you sell this fish?' The fisherman said to himself, 'If I say that I will sell, he will not give a good price for it'; so he replied, 'I am not selling it.' The bailiff grew angry and beat the fisherman on the back with a stick; then he took the fish without paying anything for it. The fisherman prayed, 'O Lord, You created me weak and him strong; get me redress from him in this world, as I have not the patience to wait for the world to come!' The bailiff carried the fish to his house and told his wife to broil it. His wife broiled the fish, and laid it on a tray and brought it to her husband. According to one account, the man ate the fish and then his finger began to ache and he became feverish. According to another account, the man stretched out his hand to partake of the fish, and then the fish opened its mouth and bit the man's finger and he became feverish. The doctor said, 'The hand must be amputated in case it infects the whole arm.' He amputated the hand, but the pain reappeared and the man again became feverish. The doctor said, 'The arm must be amputated'; but when he had amputated it, the pain again reappeared, and the man became so extremely feverish that he slipped away into the desert and began crying (to God) for help. Seeing a tree, he sat down beneath it and fell asleep; and in a dream (he was told), 'Before you have the other hand cut off, give satisfaction to your adversary!' After waking from his dream, he meditated and remembered, 'I have taken that fish unjustly, and the fish has bitten me.' He went back to the city, found the fisherman, and fell at his feet and wept remorsefully; then he gave him all that he possessed. The fisherman was satisfied, and immediately the pain abated. He slept that night, and on the next day God on High restored his hand. A revelation then came to Moses: 'O Moses, if (this man) had not given satisfaction [to his adversary], I who am God would have tortured him thus as long as he lived.'

Anecdote

Moses, God bless him, addressed a prayer to God on High, 'O Lord God,' he prayed, 'show me Your justice.' 'O Moses,' He said, 'cannot you be patient? 'O Lord,' he replied, 'with Your help I can.' 'Arise,' He commanded, 'and go to such and such a spring and sit there hidden.' Moses went and did so. A rider came up to the well, drank water, performed the ablutions, took a purse from his girdle, left it there, and went. Then a boy came and took the purse and went. Then a blind man came and performed the ablutions and stood in prayer. Suddenly the rider came back. 'I left a purse here,' he said to the blind man, 'and you have come but nobody else has been here during this last hour. Give back the purse!' 'I am blind,' answered the man; 'I have not seen any gold.' The rider grew angry and drew his sword and killed the blind man;
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then he searched for the gold but did not find it and went. Moses said, 'O Lord God, I know what the facts are.' Then Gabriel came down and said: 'God the Strong and Glorious has commanded me (to tell you this).' 'I know things which you do not know. As regards the boy who took the purse, that purse was his own property. The gold (in it) belonged to his father, who was a labourer in the service of this rider. All that he had accumulated through his labour for the rider was in that purse, and this boy has now recovered his family's rightful substance. As regards the blind old man, before he went blind he had killed this rider's father, and now the rider has taken vengeance on him. Behold, O Moses! Such is Our justice!'

The author of this book states that the above story has been quoted in order that the intelligent man may understand how nothing is hidden from God on High, and how God awards justice in this world to victims of oppression. So heedless are we, however, that when disaster falls we do not think whence it comes.

Dhi'll-Qarnayn was asked, 'Over what things in your empire do you rejoice?' 'Over two things,' he replied; 'one is justice, and the other that I am able to reward any person who is kind to me with even greater kindness.'

Tradition

The Prophet stated: 'God loves kindness in all (human) actions. Let the man who is to slaughter a sheep therefore sharpen his knife, so that he may deliver that living creature from pain sooner.'

Tradition

Ibn 'Umar has reported that God's Apostle stated: 'God on High created nothing finer on earth than justice. Justice is God's balance on earth, and any man who upholds this balance will be carried by Him to Paradise.'

Tradition

Ibn 'Umar reports that God's Apostle stated: 'There is a place in Paradise for the kind and charitable, including the man who is kind to his own family and dependants.'

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Qatadah in his explanation of the verse (Q. lv. 7), 'That you should not transgress in the balance', i.e. in justice, says that it means, 'Treat the sons of Adam kindly and be just with them, as you would wish them to be just with you.'

'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar is (also) reported to have told that God's Apostle stated: 'When God on High sent Adam down to earth, He gave him four words of command, saying, 'O Adam, your task and the task of all your sons lies in these four words. One word is for Me in particular; one word is for you who are Adam; one word is [between Me and you; and one word] is between you and men. As for the one concerning Me, it is that you worship Me correctly. The word concerning you is that I shall reward you. The one between Me and you is that it is for you to pray and for Me to answer. The one between you and men is that you should treat them justly and act equitably.'

Qatadah has (also) said that injustice is of three kinds: that which God never forgives, that which never lasts long, and that which He does forgive. As for the injustice which He never forgives, this is associating partners with Him;² for He said (in His book—Q. xxxi. 12), 'Verily associating partners with Him is a great injustice.'³ The injustice which does not last long is injustice by God's slaves to one another. The injustice which God does forgive is injustice which a man inflicts on himself through sin; but when he repents and returns to God on High, the Strong and Glorious Lord will forgive him and carry him to Paradise.

The quality which kings most need is correct religion, because monarchy and religion are like brothers.⁴ (The king) needs it equally whether he be healthy or sick. He must be diligent in matters of religion, performing the duties at the proper times, avoiding eccentricity and (heretical) innovation,⁵ and shunning unjust and immoral actions. If he hears that any person in his territory is suspect as regards religion, he must summon him and

1 Ar. (1), Ibn 'Umar, Ar. (H), 'Umar.
2 Sharh, See art. in Shorter E.F.
3 The speaker in the Qur'an is the sace Luqman.
4 Ar. (1), 'Religion and empire (al-din wa'l-daulah) are twins'; a well-known saying usually attributed to Ardashir Pâhâkân (e.g. Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uyun al-Akhbar, Cairo, 1343/1923-1345/1925, i. p. 13; and the extracts from the 'Testament of Ardashir' in M. Kurd 'Ali ed., Rasûl il-Bulughah', Damascus, 1365/ 1946, p. 354).
5 Hamâ wa hidâyat. Innovation was generally assumed by Sunnites to be heretical. Shorter E.F., art. Bid'a. Cf. p. 15, note 6.
interrogate him until he repents, or else punish him or exile him from the territory; in this way the kingdom will be purged of eccentrics and (heretical) innovators, and Islam will be strong. He must keep the borders populated by sending garrisons, strive to increase the power of Islam, and keep the Prophet's Sunnah fresh (and vigorous); in these ways he will earn praise, (become great) in the eyes of his subjects and formidable in the eyes of his enemies, and attain high merit and dignity.

You should understand that the piety of the people depends on the good character of the king. He must keep an eye on the activities of the subjects, small or great, and never connive at evil-doing on their part. He must honour the virtuous and reward good-doers, and he must restrain evil-doers from their wickedness and punish their evil-doing, without respect (for persons). The people will then choose to act virtuously and refrain from evil. When the king is incapable of enforcing discipline and tolerates evil-doers, his affairs will go to ruin along with theirs. Sages have said that the character of subjects springs from the character of kings; for the common people and the royal officials and troops become good or bad through the instrumentality of their kings inasmuch as they acquire their habits from them. Have not you observed how it is reported in the chronicles that Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik when Caliph concerned himself wholly with development and prosperity; that Sulaymân ibn 'Abd al-Malik was in the habit of eating and indulging to excess; and that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-‘Azîz was concerned to serve God? Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn al-‘Afsh said . . . 4 'I did not know that the activities of the people depend on the activities of the Sultân of the epoch. However,' he continued, 'in the reign of Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the people concerned themselves with planting gardens and orchards and

1 Thughr-Å(s); Ar. (I) al-Thughur. The term was applied to frontiers with infidels and in particular to Cilicia and the Anti-Tiet district in the Byzantine frontier. But Mas’ûdî, Praxies d’Or, ii, p. 207, ascribes to Buzurgmîr the maxim ‘keep an eye on the frontiers so as to recognize and ward off danger’. The ‘custom’ or ‘precedent’ of Islam, as opposed to ‘innovation’ (bid’ah). Sunnites ascribed the entire Sunnah to Muhammad. It was elaborated during the three centuries after his death and contains elements from many sources, Shorter E.T.I., arts. Sunna and Hadîth.

2 Muhámmad ibn ‘Ali ibn al-‘Afsh says that Muhammad ibn Jarir al-‘Tabari is quoted (as having said) that . . .’ Ar. (I) has only ‘Muhámmad ibn ‘Ali ibn al-‘Afsh said . . .

1 The passage from this point to the end of the paragraph is lacking in Ar. (I) and Ar. (II).

2 Ar. (I) makes the seller reply: ‘I do not want it. I do not covet other men’s property.’

building houses, and in the reign of Sulaymân ibn ‘Abd al-Malik with eating well—they used to ask one another, ‘What have you cooked?’ and ‘What have you eaten?’ Whereas in the reign of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azîz the people concerned themselves wholly with serving God, reciting the Qur’ân, giving charity and doing good works.’ In view of this, you will understand that the people in every epoch choose to do as their Sultân does. Now every individual’s nature contains envy, ambition, spite, cupidity, and love of pleasure; and when people get a (free) hand from kings they indulge their desires, but when the king is right-minded they likewise repress these things and cease indulging their desires—as I heard in the following story.

Anecdote

It is related that in the days of Anûshírvân the Just, a certain man bought a house from another man and found a (hoard of) treasure in it. He immediately went to the seller and told him, ‘You sold me such and such a place, and the things which are in it are yours.’ There was a long dispute between them, and they went to Anûshírvân. ‘Do you have children?’ he asked. One of them replied, ‘I have a son’, and the other, ‘I have a daughter’. Then the king said, ‘Become kinmen forthwith, so that it may belong to you both and to your children also.’ This they did, and they were well satisfied with each other.

Now what would you say if those two men had lived in the days of an unjust Sultân? Each would have asserted that the treasure was his own property. But because they knew that their king was just, they strove to be honest.

Aphorism

Sages have said that kings are like bazaars. Everybody takes to the bazaar those of his wares which he knows are in most demand, and does not take to the bazaar anything which he knows is not in demand.

The two men who had the dispute over the hoard of treasure knew that their king possessed piety, justice, and honesty and was a
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buyer of these wares; they accordingly took these same wares to him and laid them before him, thereby gaining happiness. There is a saying current among the people of this present age that 'We get the Amirs whom we deserve', meaning that in so far as we are wicked, treacherous and dishonest, they are unjust like us. In our opinion this is erroneous, because we have found and verified that good men are good through the instrumentality of kings and that the conduct of mankind varies with their conduct. Have not you remarked how people will describe a city as one whose inhabitants do not complain of one another and are not maltreated by their Sulţān? It is not because of their own excellence, but because of the excellence of the Sulţān, that no complaint is heard from anybody; and if this Sulţān who has not been receiving complaints does (eventually) receive one from somebody, (the fact will be that) the inhabitants did not previously have any complaints to make. You should know that there is a saying of the Sages that 'the people of an epoch resemble their kings more than they resemble their epoch', and that there is a saying in the Traditions that 'the people follow the religion of their kings'.

The discipline maintained by Anūshirvān was such that if a person dropped an ass-load of gold in some place, nobody except the owner would dare to take it, even though it had been left there a long time. Yūnān the Dastūr once said to Anūshirvān: 'Do not be conniving at injustice; for (if you become) deserted and your subjects impoverished, you will then be the King of the Beggars and Governor of the Ruins, and you will not possess this present glory.' Anūshirvān thereupon sent letters to his revenue officers, saying: 'If I get news that the land is uncultivated in any spot except where it is uncultivable, I shall hang the revenue officer at that very spot.'

Desertion and ruin of a territory result from two things: royal weakness and royal tyranny, each of which causes hardship among the yeomen. In the old days the kings kept up a jealous rivalry (to see) whose territory was the more populous and prosperous (as the following story shows).

Anecdote

They say that the King of India sent an emissary to Anūshirvān with the following message: 'I am superior in sovereignty. Pay tribute to me!' Anūshirvān assigned a lodging for the emissary. On the following day he assembled the senior officials and summoned the emissary, to whom he said: 'Hear the answer to the message which you brought.' Then Anūshirvān called for a box and took out of it a small golden casket; and out of this he took a handful of capers (kabar), which he gave to the emissary, asking, 'Are there any of these in your country?' 'Yes, plenty', replied the emissary. 'Go hence,' said Anūshirvān to the emissary, 'and tell the King of India that he should first make his country prosperous and populated, as it has gone to ruin and been overwhelmed by pride (kihr). After that let him cover this prosperous kingdom. If you tour my realm in search of caper-bushes, you will not find a single one; and if I hear that a single caper-bush exists anywhere in my territory, I will have the local revenue officer hanged on a gallows.'

The king must follow the precepts and methods of these kings who preceded him, and govern rightly like them. He must also read the Books of Good Counsel,7 for these predecessors lived long lives, went through many experiences, and learnt by experience to distinguish right from wrong; just as Anūshirvān, despite all his righteousness, used to read the books of the former (kings),8 ask for anecdotes about them and follow their ways. The kings of this present age have even more reason to do so, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

Anūshirvān asked Yūnān the Dastūr to inform him about the ways of the earlier (kings). 'How many things shall I say in praise of them?' he replied; 'three, two or one?' 'What are these three things?' Anūshirvān asked. 'At no time,' Yūnān the Dastūr answered, 'did I see ignorance in them; at no time dishonesty; and at no time anger.' 'What are the two other things?' he asked. 'They

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1 'The story has been built up around the Arabic pun, kobar and kihr (Ar.) being spelt identically. Caper-bushes grow in rock-crevices and waste places. See Introduction, pp. lxxvi–lv, and p. 81, note 2. 2 Pidshah; Ar. (1), al-mallah. 3 Pindavālak; Ar. (1), kustah manū shāh. See Introduction, p. lxxvii. 4 Musā'adūn; Ar. (1), al-musā'adūn. Possibly the ancients in general may be meant.
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were always in haste to do good and on guard not to do evil.' 'Tell me the one other thing,' Anūshīrvarân said. 'Their kingship and their courage,' he answered, 'depended more on their own selves than on (other) men.' Anūshīrvarân called for wine, and said: 'Let us drink (of this cup to the happiness of) the brave men who will come after us and hold the crown, throne and cap.' May they remember us, just as we remember those who were before us!

The unluckiest (of men) is he who is conceited because he is king. He does not make the world prosperous, and he does not find happiness. He does not know how to live (a good life). He will depart from this world reluctantly, leaving behind him an unpleasant notoriety, and (will suffer) in the next world remorse, despair, and eternal torment.

The point (of these remarks) is that (the kings of old) strove to make their realms prosperous, with the result that their good reputations still endure as men of whom people say, 'He has left a good name.' The following story shows this.

Anecdote

Anūshīrvarân had a garden called 'The Thousand Delights.' On a certain occasion the Caesar (of the Romans), the Emperor (of China), the Khāqān (of the Turks) and the King of India had come and were sitting in that garden at a reception given for them by Anūshīrvarân. 'Nothing in this world,' said the Caesar, 'is as good as the good name with which he is mentioned in this company. Why are we not like him? 'Come,' said Anūshīrvarân, 'let us do good deeds and think good thoughts!' 'When you think a good thought, 'said the Chinese Emperor, 'you have done a good deed; and when you achieve virtue, you will find success.' 'First think good thoughts and then do them,' said the Khāqān; 'thus will you by Anūshīrvarân. 'Nothing in this world,' said the Caesar, 'is as good as the good name with which he is mentioned in this company. Why are we not like him? 'Come,' said Anūshīrvarân, 'let us do good deeds and think good thoughts!' 'When you think a good thought, 'said the Chinese Emperor, 'you have done a good deed; and when you achieve virtue, you will find success.' 'First think good thoughts and then do them,' said the Khāqān; 'thus will you

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Aphorism

The Prince of the Believers 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: 'I must set out on a journey to make sure that the people's affairs are being put right; because within the realm dwell many defenceless persons who cannot come to me. I must tour the realm to observe the revenue officers and inquire about their characters, and I must satisfy the petitions of the needy. It will be the best-spent year in all my life.'

Anecdote

Zayd ibn Aslam said: 'One night I saw 'Umar patrolling with the night-guard. I joined him and marched with him. 'O Prince of the Believers,' I said, 'authorize me to go out on patrol with you?' 'It is allowed', he said; and I went with him. When we were out of the city, we caught sight of a fire a long way off. 'Perhaps some (traveller) has halted there', we said. When we reached the place, we saw a woman with two or three small children. They were weeping. The woman had placed a pot on the fire, and she was saying, 'May God get (me) justice from 'Umar; for he has eaten his fill and we are hungry.' On hearing this, 'Umar, God bless him, stepped forth and greeted her, asking, 'May I come up?' The woman replied, 'If you come with good intentions, you may.' 'Umar went up and questioned the woman. She answered, 'We came from a certain place and arrived here hungry and tired out. The hunger has made us miserable, and we cannot sleep.' 'What is in this pot?' asked the Prince of the Believers. She replied, 'There is water in it. I hope to quench the children with this pretense.' The Prince of the Believers 'Umar then went back and during the same night made his way to a flour-merchant's shop, where he bought a sack of flour which he slung over his shoulder. Then he went to a grocer's shop and bought some cooking-fat. 'O Prince of the Believers,' I said, 'give me these things and let me carry them!' 'If you carry this load,' he replied, 'who will carry my load of sin and ward off that woman's mal- diction from me?' The Prince of the Believers 'Umar then went up to them again. 'May God reward you with blessings!' said the woman; 'you are better fitted to look after the Muslims than

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'Umar is.' He then put a little cooking-fat into the pot, together with some flour, and kindled a fire beneath the pot. Whenever the fire died down, he blew on it, and the ash settled on his beard. He continued thus until (the meal) was cooked. Then he put it into a bowl and said to the children, 'Eat!' 'Umar's next words were to the woman. 'Do not wish 'Umar ill,' he told her, 'as he had no knowledge of your troubles.' That was all he said. Then he left.' 'Umar was the first to be called Prince of the Believers, Abū Bakr having (only) been called Successor of God's Apostle. When 'Umar's turn came, people began to say Successor of the Successor of God's Apostle; but 'Umar said that all those who ascended (the throne subsequently) would then be called Successor of the Successor of the... which would be too long. 'O people,' he asked, 'am I your Prince?' They answered 'Yes.' 'Then call me Prince of the Believers,' he said; 'but I am still the same son of al-Khaṭṭāb.' It is related that the Treasurer of the Public Funds was once asked: 'Did the Prince of the Believers 'Umar ever take liberties with the Public Funds?' The Treasurer replied: 'When he had nothing to eat (for his next meal), he would take just the amount for that (meal); and as soon as he acquired anything, he would repay.' One day 'Umar delivered the sermon and said: 'O people! In the time of the Prophet the divine inspiration used to come down, and through that inspiration he used to know men's outward acts and inward thoughts, both good and bad. Now the inspiration has ceased, and we view every person by his public behaviour; but God the Strong and Glorious is well aware of men's secret motives. I try to ensure that neither I nor my assistants and revenue officers ever take anything from the people (wrongfully) nor ever give (anything to anybody wrongfully).'

If you wish to learn why justice, piety and equitable rule are what leave a Sulṭān with a good name, you should study the reports about 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz; for not one of the descendants of Marwān and Umayyah possessed the admirable qualities which were his, and not one of them is a subject of men's prayers and

1 Mobāhin; the beard and moustache were considered the most handsome of the features. Ar. (O, 'face'.
2 Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn. Alternatively, 'Commander of the Faithful'.
3 Khalīfah-šī 'Rasūl Allāh; i.e. 'Caliph'. But the 'Abbasids were called Khalīfah Allāh, which was taken to mean 'Viceroy of God'. See below, p. 77, note 3.
4 Wašī. See art. in Shorter E.I.
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praises as is he, thanks to his having been pure in faith and righteous in conduct, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

They say that in the days of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz a severe drought occurred. A party of Arab nomads came to the court of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz headed by a man who was to state their case, which was as follows: 'The skin on our bodies is parched through lack of nourishment. Our relief is in your Public Funds. The money in the Public Treasury is of three kinds only: it belongs either to God or to His slaves or to you. If it belongs to God, He has no need of it, so give it to His slaves; if it belongs to God's slaves, give it to them; if it belongs to you, then (Q. xii. 88) 'give it to us in charity. Verily God recompenses the charitable.' 'Tears came to the eyes of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, and he replied, 'It is as you have said.' Then he ordered that their needs be satisfied from the Treasury. The nomad (spokesman) requested permission to leave, and 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz said to him: 'O man, you have stated the case of God's slaves to me. State my case likewise to God on High!' The nomad Arab turned his face to the sky and said, 'O Lord, in Your strength and glory do for 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz what he has done for Your slaves.' At that very moment a cloud came up and rain began to fall. During the rainstorm a large hailstone came down, and dropped onto a baked brick and broke. Out of it came a letter, which said: 'This warrant is from Me, God on High, to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. I have exempted 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz from hell-fire.'

Anecdote

They say that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz sat up one night studying by lamp-light certain items in the daily report on the subjects. Suddenly a page entered and began speaking of some domestic matter. 'Put out the lamp,' said 'Umar, 'and then speak; for this oil belongs to the Public Treasury, and the people's property ought not to be used except for the people's business.' If the king is just, his self-denial will be such as this, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

They say that 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz had a slave who controlled and supervised the Public Treasury. 'Umar also had three daughters. On the ninth day of the Month of the Pilgrimage, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz's daughters came to him and said: 'Tomorrow is the Feast.' The wives and daughters of the subjects chide us, saying, 'The daughters of the Prince of the Believers are not important enough to wear white robes.' 'Umar's daughters wept, and his heart was moved. He summoned the slave-official who was Treasurer, and told him, 'Take one month's worth of my subsistence allowance from the Public Funds and supply their requirements from it.' 'O Prince of the Believers,' replied the Treasurer, 'are you going to take a month's subsistence allowance out of the Public Funds? First reflect! You have another month's living ahead.' 'God bless you, O slave, you have spoken aright,' said 'Umar; and he then told his daughters: 'Repress your longings; for no Muslim will attain Paradise without self-denial.' Whenever Princes have had characteristics such as these, their officials and troops have had similar characteristics. Perfect justice consists of this: that you treat the unknown litigant of no repute and the well-known litigant of high worldly rank and dignity with complete impartiality in (your handling of) claims and disputes, viewing each with the same eye and not favouring one over the other. For in the world to come, the jewel and the potsherd will be equal in value, and dignity will save no man from getting burnt in the fire. For example, if a claim were lodged against the king by an insignificant person, the king should withdraw from the seat of sovereignty and submit the case to God's jurisdiction, and then grant redress against himself and satisfy (the aggrieved person). Let him take as his rule God's words (Qur'an, xvi. 92): 'Verily God enjoins justice and kindness.' The fact is that if you have a claim on some person for money or anything else, you should absolve him of it without demanding gratitude from him. You should also instruct your revenue officers

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...
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and trusted agents to act in the same way and perform their duties in the same spirit. There will then be no questions concerning the subjects (for the ruler to answer at the Resurrection day); for God’s Apostle is reported to have said that every shepherd will be questioned concerning his flock and every king concerning his subjects. Such is the position, and you should know it.

Anecdote

They say that the Amir of Khurāsān, Ismā’īl ibn Ahmad, had stopped at Marv, and that it was his custom wherever he stopped to bid a herald proclaim that no soldier of his had any business (to interfere) with the subjects. Then one of his ass-drivers went into a vegetable garden and caused a little damage; and the vegetable gardeners came to the gate of the Amir’s palace and complained. The Amir ordered that the ass-driver be fetched, and asked him, ‘Do you get pay?’ He answered, ‘I do.’ The Amir asked, ‘Did not you hear the herald? He answered, ‘I did.’ The Amir asked, ‘Then why did you cause damage to my subjects?’ He answered, ‘I made a mistake.’ The Amir said, ‘I cannot risk going to Hell because of your mistakes’; and he ordered that the ass-driver’s hand be cut off, which they did.

Anecdote

Another story about Ismā’īl the Sāmānī is told in the Book of Rules for Conduct by Kings. He was then at Jā-yi Muliyyān, and whenever he arose and went to cross the stream, he would bid a herald proclaim (that he would be holding audience); and (after) the noon prayer he would remove the carpet, and there would be no chamberlain or Janitor (at his door). Thus any aggrieved person could enter, walk up to the edge of the carpet, state his case to the

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Amr and depart satisfied. The Amr would continue dealing with the cases, in the manner of a revenue officer, until all were settled. Then he would arise, taking hold of his beard and turning his face to the sky, and say: ‘O Lord, this is the effort which I have made. I do not know whether injustice has been done to any of Your slaves by my hand. You are aware of my sincere intention, for injustice is repugnant to me. Forgive, O Lord, any lack of perception on my part.’

Ismā’īl’s character being so good, his affairs were bound to prosper. His entire army numbered a thousand men, while ‘Amr ibn Layth had a hundred thousand men, all lavishly armoured in iron and equipped (with weapons); but God on High gave him the victory over ‘Amr ibn Layth by blessing him with justice and equity. Having acquired the world, Ismā’īl treated ‘Amr ibn Layth with kindness. Then ‘Amr ibn Layth sent a man to him with this message: ‘You should know that I possess large sums of money in Khurāsān and ‘Irāq. I am making an inventory, which I shall send to you. Unless others take the money, it is yours.’ When Ismā’īl heard these words, he laughed and said: ‘‘Amr ibn Layth is not being straight with me even now. He wishes to put all the crimes and sins that he has committed onto my shoulders, and thus lighten his burden before he goes to the next world.’ ‘Inform ‘Amr ibn Layth’, he told (the messenger), ‘that I do not need it.’ Later he sent ‘Amr ibn Layth to Baghdād. Ismā’īl exercised the amirate over Khurāsān with great dignity and received robes of honour from the Prince of the Believers. The government remained with his family one hundred and thirty years. When the government passed to the ‘youngsters’, these latter oppressed the people; sovereignty has (now) passed from their hands.

In the Traditions the following sayings of God’s Apostle are quoted: ‘One hour of just government by a Sulṭān is better than

1 Kītīb Sīyār ul-Mulk; the second title of the Siyāh-i-Muḥāṣib. 2 Jā-yi Muliyyān, and whenever he arose and went to cross the stream, he would bid a herald proclaim (that he would be holding audience); and (after) the noon prayer he would remove the carpet, and there would be no chamberlain or Janitor (at his door). Thus any aggrieved person could enter, walk up to the edge of the carpet, state his case to the

1 Ismā’īl; Ar. (I): ‘like governors’ (ḥukmān).
2 Niyas, Ar. (I): ‘The (undeniably) true’ (ṣerif). 3 Ar. (I): ‘He (Ismā’īl) sent him as a messenger to Baghdād, and then he received a robe of honour and other honours from the Prince of the Believers.’ Ismā’īl must have been the recipient of the Caliph’s honours, as ‘Amr was executed after a year’s captivity at Baghdād by order of the newly ascended Caliph al-Muktafi, in 296/909, E.I. (a), art. ‘Amr ibn Layth.
4 Kūshān; Ar. (I), 2 ilā tashghīrīm na ḥubānīm. Presumably these disparaging terms refer to the Ghaznavids, who overthrow the Sāmānids and were overthrow by Ghazni’s patrons the Sāljuqs.
5 Khurasan. See Introduction, p. ivii.
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sixty1 years of worship by (pious) worshippers.' 'To give redress to the victim of injustice is to purify one's mind.' 'He who draws the sword of oppression will find the sword of defeat drawn against him by God, and will never escape sorrow.' As the poet says:

Your face can be cheerful, but always grows glad
Whenever you see an injustice redressed.
So say what it is that you would like to hear
And don't kill unless you would like to be killed.'

Anecdote

One day David was looking at the weather, when he saw raining out of the sky something like chaff. 'My God, what is this?,' he asked. A revelation came down: 'O David, this is My curse which I rain down upon descendants of oppressors.'

Anecdote

When Anūshīrvān the Just held the kingship, Yūnān was his Dāstūr.4 He sent a letter to Anūshīrvān saying: 'O King, man's conduct' is of three kinds. (i) He may grant redress and not ask for it; [manifestly this is justice], and it is the highest category. (ii) He may grant redress and ask for it; this is justice, and it is the intermediate category. (iii) He may not grant redress and not ask for it; this is the (lowest) category of injustice. Consider which of these is to your liking, and choose. I know that our king will not choose injustice.'

Anecdote

Anūshīrvān was asked, 'Which king is most admired?' He replied, 'The one of whom the enemies are most afraid, by whom the highways are (kept) most safe, and in the shadow of whose justice the subjects are best protected.'

Anecdote

Shabīb ibn Shabbāh went one day to (the Caliph) Mahdī and said, 'O Prince of the Believers, God on High has given you the

1 Ar. (I): 'seventy'.
2 Thus also in Ar. (H); but H. conjectures 'And don't speak in ways you would not like to hear.'
3 Not in Ar. (I).
4 Ar. (I): 'Yūnān the Sage the Minister (al-ḥākim al-ṣawā'ir) wrote to him.'
5 Ar. (I): 'the conduct of kings'.
6 Ar. (I): 'He may grant redress to his subjects.'
7 Not in Ar. (I).

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entire lower world; since you enjoy such ease, give a little of this world to the subjects!' 'What ought I to give to the subjects?' he asked. 'Justice and equitable rule,' he replied; 'for if, thanks to you, the subjects can sleep safely (in their beds), you also will be able to sleep safely in the tomb.' 'O Prince of the Believers,' he continued, 'beware of the eve which has no morrow, and of the day after which no night comes! As long as you can, award justice; for it is through justice that you will get justice, and through injustice that you will get injustice. Adorn yourself with righteousness, for at the tribunal of the Resurrection no man will lend you his adornment.'

With righteousness should you your person adorn;
You can't hope to get it from anyone else.'

Anecdote

A letter reached Anūshīrvān from the Caesar of the Romans, asking 'Wherein lies the stability of the King's rule?' Anūshīrvān wrote in reply: 'I never issue orders thoughtlessly, and when I issue orders I carry them out. I never leave behind hope or fear; that is to say, if I give cause for hope, I fulfil it, and if I give cause for fear, I don't shrink from doing what I have said.'

Anecdote

Aristotle was asked, 'What great man is worthy to be called king, or is God alone (worthy)?' He answered, 'The man in whom you will find certain things, however lacking he be in other qualities.' Then he continued, 'First of all knowledge,' and (then) forbearance,3 compassion, clemency, generosity and the like; because great men owe their greatness to the divine effulgence and to their radiance of soul, pureness of body, and breadth of intellect and knowledge, as well as the dominion which has long been in

1 Ar. (H) and Ar. (I) have two Arabic distichs: 'Beautiful and adorn yourself with piety.—A pious man never goes among the people.—The hand of kindness does not wither; so preach (or have a share of) (kindness).—It sells well (if or you will make a good profit), and the capital does not dwindle.'
2 'Imān, Ar. (I), al-ṣawā'ir, 'work'—but perhaps a copyist's error.
3 Burdār; Ar. (I), al-ṣawā'ir, 'justice'.
4 Burzās; Ar. (I), al-malik, 'kings'.
5 Farrāi ṣādi; Ar. (I), al-ṣawā'ir, 'the divine shadow'. Cf. p. 45, note 6. See Introduction, p. xlii. Thālibī, Ḥistoria des Rois des Perses, ed. Tatenberg, p. 7, explains it as the divine majesty which is from time to time reflected in kings.
their family. (It is because of these things that) they are and have been kings.‘

The divine effulgence is expressed in sixteen things; intelligence, knowledge, sharpness of mind, ability to perceive things, perfect physique, literary taste, horsemanship, application to work, and courage; together with boldness, deliberation, good temper, impartiality towards the weak and the strong, friendliness, magnanimity, maintaining tolerance and moderation, judgement and foresight in business, frequent reading of the reports of the early Muslims, and constant attention to the Biographies of the Kings and inquiry concerning the activities of the Kings of Old; because the present world is the continuation of the empire of the forerunners, who reigned and departed, each leaving a memory to his name and (acquiring) treasure in this life and the next. The treasure for the next life is righteous conduct, and the treasure in this life is a good name among the people.

1 Ar. (I): ‘The meaning of their phrase Fārī-I Isbāl is the Divine Shadow and it is manifested in . . .’

2 Thus in Ar. (I) and Ar. (II); P. (H) has ‘twelve things’. The qualities listed add up to considerably more than sixteen, but some may be intended to go in pairs. Dr. W. Montgomery Watt kindly drew attention to the resemblance of these qualities to the qualities listed by Fārīshī in his Ādī ‘Abbā-Sī-Madā‘i I-Fādilah, ed. and tr. F. Theiet, Leiden, 1900, text pp. 56-61, tr. pp. 94-97.

According to Fārīshī, the Imam who is the first head of the virtuous city, head of the virtuous community, and head of whole inhabited world, requires the following twelve qualities: (i) soundness of limb, (ii) understanding and imagination, (iii) memory, (iv) capacity and astuteness, (v) good powers of expression, (vi) willingness and ability to be taught, (vii) indifference to food, drink, women, play and pleasures, (viii) love of truth and hatred of lying, (ix) magnanimity and generosity, (x) contempt for worldly wealth, (xi) love of justice and hatred of injustice, (xii) firmness and boldness in doing what ought to be done. The second (and subsequent) heads of the virtuous city require six additional qualities: (i) wisdom, (ii) knowledge, especially of the laws, customs and rules prescribed for the city by the forerunners, (iii) skill in deduction, especially in deducing what would have been the purpose of the first Imam in matters for which the forerunners have set no precedent, (iv) insight, especially in getting to the bottom of matters not experienced by the forerunners, (v) skill in guiding the people through telling them about the laws laid down by the first Imam and that has been deduced therefrom, (vi) bodily steadfastness in war, proved both in service and in leadership. Fārīshī’s list of qualities is based upon Plato’s Republic, 485-72. See Introduction, p. liii.

3 'Im. Ar. (I), al-‘umāl, ‘work’; probably a copyist’s error.

4 Forhang. Not in Ar. (I).

5 P. (H) adds: ‘and fine accoutrements’.

6 Sulayf, The Companions and contemporaries of Muhammad.

7 Siyar ul-Muluk. Cf. p. 70, note 1. Perhaps the reference here is to the Khattul Islam, which was known in Arabic as Siyar ul-Muluk. See Introduction, p. 1x.

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Aphorism

Alexander asked Aristotle whether courage or justice is higher. He answered, ‘If the king has ruled justly, he will not need courage.’

Anecdote

One day Alexander was riding with his army. One of them said to him, ‘God on High has given you a great empire. Take many wives so that you may have many children. Then your influence in the world will endure.’ He answered: ‘The memory (which a man leaves) is not of sons, but of righteous customs and good morals. When a person has acquired dominion over the men in this world, it would not be right that the women should acquire dominion over him.’

Anecdote

Alexander dismissed a certain nobleman from his staff and gave him a paltry employment. Later the man came one day to Alexander, who asked him, ‘How do you like your employment?’ He answered, ‘May the king’s life be long. A man is not great through his employment; but an employment may be made honourable and noble through good conduct and through the practice of justice and equity.’ This very much pleased Alexander, who reinstated and further promoted him.

Aphorism

Socrates said: ‘The whole world has been built up through justice. If injustice entered in, it would no longer stand firm.’

Aphorism

Buzurgmehr was asked, ‘Wherein lies the king’s strength?’ He answered, ‘The king’s strength is manifested in three things: in his watch over the outlying regions through his journeys, in his self-defence against the enemy, and in his affection for the doctors of religion and the scholars.’

1 In the Siyāsāt-nāmeh, chap. xlii, and Qāhār-nāmeh, chap. xxvi, Alexander makes this remark in reply to suggestions that he marry a beautiful daughter of Dār al-Dīr. Dār al-Dīr.

2 Dalā‘ul ‘arba al-qādi‘; Ar. (I), al-‘umāl; ahd al-qādi‘; i.e. clergy and men of letters. Ar. (I) attributes the following remarks also to Buzurgmehr, substituting ‘inhabitants of the outlying regions’ for ‘subjects’.
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Whenever Sultāns rule oppressively, insecurity appears; and however much prosperity there may be, this will not suit the subjects if accompanied by insecurity. However little prosperity there may be, this will not displease them if accompanied by security; on the contrary, it will suit them well, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

A pilgrim bound for Mecca lost his way and fell into a tract of sand-hills. He walked on until he came to a tent in which (he saw) an old woman and, at the entrance, a dog asleep. He greeted the old woman and asked her for food. 'Go and bring some snakes,' she told him; 'then I will roast them for you to eat.' 'I would not dare to catch snakes,' the pilgrim replied. 'I will come with you,' the old woman said. Then she took the pilgrim and the dog with her and went to the edge of the barren sands. She caught several snakes, and brought them back and roasted them for the pilgrim to eat. 'O mother,' asked the pilgrim, 'have you any water?' 'There is a spring yonder,' she said; 'go and drink!' The pilgrim went to a well, and found the water brackish and bitter: but having no alternative, he drank and came back. 'I am amazed by what you do,' he told the old woman; 'how can you live in such a place and on food and water like this?' 'What sort of homes do you have?' she asked. He replied, 'We have nice homes and gardens, pleasant foods, rich meats, various comforts, and many kinds of fruit.' The old woman said, 'I heard all this. Tell me; is the man over you someone who oppresses you, and are you under his thumb? If you commit an error, does he dispossess you of wealth and property?' 'This does occur,' answered the pilgrim. 'Then those pleasant foods,' said the old woman, 'those delicious sweets and those running waters contain fear, danger and injustice, all of which are poisons; while these foods (here) contain security, which is the bezoor stone.'

Have you not heard that the greatest blessings—after religion and being Muslim—are good health and security? Now the security of the world depends on the discipline maintained by the Sultān.

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It is incumbent on the king to be a (strict) disciplinarian, because the Sultān is the Deputy of God the Strong and Glorious. The Sultān ought to inspire such awe that the subjects, if they should see him from afar, would not dare to rise. The king of this present age (particularly) needs to maintain such discipline and inspire such awe, because the people of today are not the people of old times. On the contrary, this is an age when men are shameless, mannerless and merciless. If, God forbid, the Sultān in their midst were weak, universal ruin would befall the religion and the (whole) lower world; for a century, say, of unjust rule by Sultāns will not cause so much damage as one hour of the injustice of subjects to one another. When the subjects oppress one another, God on High will appoint a forceful (and oppressive) ruler over them, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

They say that Hajji ibn Yūsuf was once given a piece of silver on which was inscribed: 'Fear God on High and do not oppress the people so much.' Hajji, who was exceedingly eloquent, went up into the pulpit and said: 'O people! God on High has set me in authority over you. If I depart, you will not get rid of oppression in the time after me by behaving as you do now. God has many slaves like me. If I go, one worse than I am will come.'

Anecdote

Buzurgmir was asked, 'Which Sultān is purest?' He answered, 'He through whom the pure are safe and of whom the wrongdoers are afraid.'

The Sultān who fails to maintain discipline inspires no awe in the eyes of the people; the subjects become discontented with him and always speak ill of him. Have not you seen how a provincial commoner who is appointed assessment officer will begin his career by speaking harshly and asserting his position through

1 Khālid ibn Khālid; Ar. (1), Khālid ibn Khālid. This title was used by the 'Abbāsid Caliph instead of the earlier Khālid ibn Khālid.'

2 Shadow of God on earth, is given to the Sultān. Concerning the use of the term Sultān, cf. p. 45, note 5.

3 Ar. (1): 'one year'.

4 Anīs-ī shumār. Ar. (1), ansālīla, is appointed null (governor).

5 Ar. (2) first have an Arabic verse: 'There is no hand over it but God's, and there is no tyrant who will not be consumed by another.'
strict discipline, knowing (full well) that the subjects still look upon him with the same eyes as before? (In this connexion there is a curious story.)

Anecdote
Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb had a son whom people called Ziyād ibn abithi (Ziyād, son of his father). This was because he had been born in the Days of Ignorance, and Abū Sufyān had grown weary of him and used to say, 'He is not my son.' When the control of affairs passed to Mu‘āwiyyah, however, the latter made him a close (associate) and gave him the governorship of Ḥiraq. At the time of his assuming office, the inhabitants of Ḥiraq were unruly folk, everywhere engaged in rebellion, robbery and other mischief. One Friday Ziyād came to the mosque, and went up into the pulpit and delivered the sermon. After the sermon, he said: 'By God, if I find any person out of doors after the bed-time prayer, I shall cut off his head. Let you who are here present notify those who are absent. I have decided, however, to grant three days' grace.' Then he went back to the governor's palace and stayed (indoors). After the days of grace had expired, he rode out with a large party of cavalry and toured the city, but then returned home. When it grew dark, he bided his time until one watch of the night had passed; then he went out and toured (the city). He saw an Arab nomad standing with some sheep in a gateway, and asked him 'Whence come you?' He replied, 'I have journeyed (hither) and stopped at this place until (the hour comes) for me to sell the sheep.' Ziyād said, 'I know that you are telling the truth, but if you let me off, the people will get word that Ziyād does not do as he says. My ability to enforce discipline will then be impaired, and my prestige and power to inspire awe will be broken. Anyhow, Paradise is better for you than this place.' So he gave the order, and (his soldiers) cut off the man's head. Then they moved on from that place and decapitated everybody they found, until by daybreak they had severed the heads of one thousand five hundred men from their bodies and piled up the heads on top of one another like a mountain at the gateway to the palace. Great terror came over the people because of this. The next night Ziyād made another tour; he found three hundred persons, and had them all beheaded.

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Thereafter nobody dared to go out after the bed-time prayer. When Friday came, Ziyād went up into the pulpit and said: 'Do not lock the doors of the shops at night. If any of you suffer loss, I shall pay compensation.' From that night on, they did not dare to lock the doors of the shops at night. One day a money-changer came (to him) and said, 'I have been robbed of four hundred dinārs. Can you swear to this?' Ziyād asked, 'I can', he replied. Then Ziyād administered the oath to him, gave four hundred dinārs compensation and told him, 'Say nothing to anybody.' On Friday, when the prayer was over, Ziyād went up into the pulpit and said: 'Take note that four hundred dinārs have been stolen from the money-changer so-and-so's shop. All the people are here present, and if you reveal the whereabouts of the four hundred dinārs of gold (it will be restored to its owner); but if you do not, I tell you once and for all that I shall let nobody out, and that I shall order my troops to kill you, all of you, here in this mosque.' Immediately they seized the perpetrator of the theft, who had aroused suspicion, and brought him before Ziyād. They also recovered the gold. Ziyād ordered that he be punished, and this was done on the spot. After some time had passed, Ziyād asked which was the most insecure quarter in Basrah. They told him that it was the quarter of the Banū Azd. He gave orders that a valuable robe (of brocade) should be dropped there, in such a way that nobody would see (its being dropped). This was done several times, and nobody dared to pick up the robe. Then Ziyād's close associates said to him: 'The discipline which you maintain is excellent, but you have been too ruthless in liquidating so many people.' Ziyād replied: 'I got more evidence (against them) three days ago. These people could not restrain themselves from their misconduct. The evil which has come upon them came from their own evil actions.'

Counsel

Continual backgammon-playing, chess-playing, wine-drinking, ball-games (and hunting) do not befit the king because they

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1 Naμāt-i khuffam; Ar. (1), al-‘ish‘at al-‘dhīrah. Shorter E.1., art. Salāt, p. 140. 2 Ar. (1): 'crucified'. 3 The Aedites were the ruling tribe of Umrān and had a powerful colony at Basrah. See Charles Pellat, Le milieux barbare et la formation de Gālib, Paris, 1953, pp. 23 f. 4 Nārūd. 5 'Shārānji.
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distract him from his task. Every task needs time; and when time is lacking, profit becomes loss and joy becomes sorrow.

The Khuārs of old divided the day and night into four parts. In one part they worshipped and did obeisance to God. In another part they attended to (the affairs of) the kingdom, giving redress to victims of injustice, discussing plans with the doctors (of religion) and the men of understanding, issuing decrees, writing dispatches, sending emissaries and performing other such royal functions. The third part was for eating and sleeping and for the happy and cheerful enjoyment of this (world). The fourth part they spent in hunting, polo-playing and similar (sports).

Bahārūn Ghūr is reported to have divided his day into two halves. In one half he worked for the benefit of the people, and in the other half he relaxed. During the whole of his reign nobody worked all day long.

By order of Anūshirvān, the mōbeds2 went up to a high place and observed which were the houses whence no smoke issued. (Then they came down) and inquired what had happened to the occupants (of those houses); and if they were in distress, they removed the distress from their hearts.

No king should ever tolerate extortion from the subjects by any revenue officer,3 as the following story shows.

Anecdote

It is related that one of Anūshirvān’s revenue officers sent him (three thousand) dīrāms in excess of the assessed land revenue. Anūshirvān ordered that the excess be returned to its owners and that the revenue officer be hanged; and these things were done.

A king who unjustly extorts wealth from the subjects and puts it into the treasury is like a man who builds the foundation for a wall (using) damp (brick) and puts the wall upon it when it is not yet dry; neither the top nor the bottom will endure.

The king must look after the world as he would look after his own house, so that the world may prosper and be developed. What he takes (from the subjects) he must take in moderation, and what he gives he must give in moderation; for each of these things has its limit and its measure, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

One day Ma’mūn gave governorships4 to four persons. To one he gave the government of Khūzistān and a robe of honour5 with a gift of (ten) thousand dīnārs; to another the government of Egypt and a robe of honour with a gift of (ten) thousand dīnārs; to another letters of commission6 to Khurāsān and a robe of honour with (ten) thousand dīnārs; and likewise to the fourth [he gave the government of Armenia]. Then he summoned the Chief Mōbed7 and said: ‘Honoured Sir!8 In the days when your kings held the government of Persia they did not give such robes of honour (and gifts) to anybody. I have heard that they never went beyond four thousand dīnārs.’ The Chief Mōbed replied: ‘May the life of the Prince of the Believers be long! They had three things which you have not. Firstly, they took from the people moderately and they gave moderately. (Secondly), they took where (taking) was appropriate and they gave where (giving) was needed. (Thirdly), they were feared by no person other than the evil-doer.9 Ma’mūn said, ‘You have spoken truly,’ and gave no further reply.

It was because of this that Ma’mūn found and opened the tomb of Anūshirvān.10 He saw his face as if it were fresh and undecayed

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2. Shāhīs. The highest rank of Caliphal esteem, given to generals, naqshīts, and vassal princes, and accompanied by monetary gifts and later also titles (B. Spuler, Iran in frühislamischer Zeit, pp. 332 ff.). From this word through Spanish, it is derived the English word ‘gala’. P. (H) has ‘dwar dīnār’ but see below; perhaps shahr bār may be a copyist’s error for shahr dīnār, ‘10,000’. Ar. (I) does not mention the 3,000 dīnārs, saying only ‘a robe of honour equal (in value) to it’ (I to the respective governorship).
3. Āmil; see p. 15, note 4.
5. Ar. (I): ‘crucified’.
6. Al-Mahādīs-māhādīs. The head of the Zoroastrian priesthood was known by this title in both Sasanian and Islamic times. P. (H), māhādīs.
7. Ya Ḏūlpān, in both P. (H) and Ar. (I); cf. p. 6a, note 3.
8. Sīr; see note 3, above. Ar. (I): ‘that their robes of honour were not worth more than 4,000 dīnārs’.
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and the robes on him fresh and undecayed. On his finger was a signet ring with a red ruby such as Ma’mūn’s eye had never beheld, and on the bead was inscribed: ‘The best is greatest, not the greatest best.’ Ma’mūn ordered that a robe of gold cloth be wrapped over him, and this was done; but one of Ma’mūn’s servants took the ring from his hand and hid it. Ma’mūn found out and put the servant to death; and he replaced the stolen ring on Anūshirvān’s finger, saying: ‘This servant would have disgraced us (for ever). Till the Resurrection day people would have gone on saying that Ma’mūn opened Anūshirvān’s (tomb to rob his) ring.’

Anecdote

Alexander asked some of his sages, at a time when he was about to start on a journey, ‘Show us a way whereby we may impart stability to our affairs.’ The chief of the sages answered: ‘O king, let not your heart be overcome by love for anything, nor by enmity for anything; for the heart is like its name. In Arabic they call it ‘gūl’, and its characteristic is to be beat;’ and the heart-beat is produced by contraction which is soon followed by expansion. Have recourse, therefore, to thought! Make thought your māsīr and intelligence your companion! Try hard to keep awake at night, and undertake nothing without seeking counsel! When granting redress and (awarding) justice, avoid bias! If you act thus, all your enterprises will turn out as you desire.’

The king must be wise and unruffled. Sages have said that three stories are told in the Qādīnāndoh, as follows (cf. R. Levy, pp. 44–45): I have read in the annals of the bygone Calipha that the Caliph Ma’mūn once visited the tomb of Nūshirvān the Just and found his body reposing on a throne which had crumbled to dust. Round the wall of the building there was an inscription in gold ink writ- ten in the Pehlevi character. Ma’mūn gave orders that scabbards with a knowledge of Pehlevi should be summoned to translate the inscription into Arabic, which in its turn was made comprehensible in Persian. It began as follows: ‘Through- out my lifetime all God’s creatures enjoyed my justice, and no one came into my presence but received mercy from me. When the time came for me to be reduced to helplessness, I saw that the only charity I could bestow was to have these sentiments inscribed on these walls. Then, if anyone should visit me, he could read the words, understand, remember and apply them, and so depart from me empty-handed.

Qualities required of Kings

categories of conduct are vile: hot temper in kings, cupiditv in officials, and parsimony in rich men.

Anecdote

Yūnān the Dastūr wrote a letter to Anūshirvān giving him some advice. ‘O King of the World,’ he said, ‘four things must you always keep with you: (i) justice; (ii) intelligence; (iii) patience; and (iv) modesty. Four things must you never have with you: (i) envy; (ii) arrogance; (iii) narrow-mindedness; and (iv) malice.’ He also said: ‘O King of the World, the (kings) who preceded you have all passed away, and the coming of others is arranged. Until they come, try hard to make all the kings and the subjects feel that they would miss you.’

Anecdote

One day in spring Anūshirvān is reported to have ridden out to enjoy the fresh air. He was proceeding through some green meadows, and he saw fruit-laden trees and well-watered, flourishing gardens. Having viewed them, he dismounted and made a prostration in gratitude to God on High. He kept his face on the ground a fairly long time. When he raised his head from the dust, he said to his companions: ‘Each year’s abundance depends on the justice, equity, kindness and beneficence of the Sulfān to his subjects. Thanks be to God who has made our kindness to the subjects plain to see.’ He spoke thus because he had once been put to the test, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

They say that one day when Anūshirvān had gone out hunting, he became separated from his attendants. He came to the top of a hill and saw a village. Being thirsty, he made his way to it and went to the door of a house to ask for water. A young girl came out of the house. When she saw him, she went back into the house and began pounding sugar-cane; then she took the juice and filled a the Quraysh aristocracy. It was considered to be the contrary of jahāl, ‘foolish- ness’ (or ‘ignorance’); cf. p. 31, note a.

2 According to Prof. Homa’, this anecdote also appears in the Khuday Bārūn (a universal history written for Shāh Sulaymān Șaffāt in 1087/1677–8 by Muḥammad Yūsuf Wali), with almost identical wording except ‘pomegranate’ for ‘sugar-cane’.

1 Bih nih nhām nhākh Ik. (1), al-aynāda aḥbaru layn’l-akbaru aṣnaḍa.
2 Qūlūb. The attribution of this Arabic pun to Alexander’s sages is curious. Cf. p. 63, note 1.
3 Ɂashūh bawād Ɂashīh-zīgā ḍawm. Ik. (1), waṣṣā ṭar waḥīḥām, ‘digni- fied and unruffled’. Ɂim, ‘unruffledness’, was the much-prized characteristic of
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cup which she brought and gave to Anūshirvān. He looked and
saw in the cup some specks of dust; but he began to sip the juice
slowly, and went on drinking (slowly) till he finished it. ('Good
luck to you!' he said; 'how nice the juice would have been but for
the dust which dirtied it!') The girl replied, 'I put that dust in the juice
on purpose, Sir.' Anūshirvān asked, 'Why?' She replied, 'Because I
saw that you were thirsty and hot-livered. If the dust had not been
there, you would not have drunk the juice slowly, and then you
would have done yourself harm.' Anūshirvān was delighted at the
young girl's cleverness. Presently he asked, 'How many canes did
you (crush) to get all that juice?' 'One,' she said. Anūshirvān left
the place, filled with amazement, and on his return asked for the
tax-roll of the village. It was very low. He reflected and said,
'Does a village where all that juice comes from one sugar-cane have
an income of (only) this amount and a tax-assessment as low as this?
He began thinking that he might increase the tax-assessment of
the village. After a while, he again passed through that village
asked for water. The same girl came out, and again went back into
the house to extract juice. She took a very long time. Anūshirvān
grew impatient and said, 'Why are you so slow?' The girl replied,
'Because one cane would not give enough juice to quench your
thirst. I have had to take three canes today to get as much juice as
formerly came from one.' 'What might be the reason for this mis-
fortune?', Anūshirvān asked. 'I do not know,' said the girl, 'but the
king's intentions towards us has changed for the worse, and I have
heard that when the king has an ill intention towards the subjects,
the blessing goes out of all things.' Anūshirvān was filled with
amazement; he again formed a good intention, and he asked for
that girl's (hand in marriage) because of her cleverness.

(Aphorism)
Three categories of men are truthful: (i) prophets; (ii) kings;
and (iii) madmen. 'They say that drunkenness is (a form of)
madness; also that the madman fears the drunkard, because the frenzy
of the madman is (from) inside the body, whereas the frenzy of

1 Ar. (l), 'Ya sarhang'. Sarhang, in modern Persian 'colonel', probably then
also signified some high military rank. Not in P. (II).
2 Juridah-yi kharid; likewise in Ar. (I).

Qualities required of Kings
wine is from outside. Woe to him who persists in making himself
drunken with wine. 1

Verses
A man who imprudently drinks too much wine
will not be disgraced when he's sober again.
A king who conducts state affairs when he's drunk
will find when he's sober his kingdom is gone.

Happy and radiant-faced is the king who is vigilant against
royal drunkenness; whose officials are honest; and whose close
companions 2 is a good counsellor. The symptom of (frenzy in)
a king is his appointing an impecunious man to be his minister
and keeping him until he becomes affluent, then dismissing him
from his post and appointing another. Such conduct is like that of
a man who finds a small child and nourishes the child as long as he
remains small, but as soon as he grows up and becomes competent
kicks him. It is said that four duties are incumbent on kings: (i) to
purge the realm of ignoble men; (ii) to keep the realm prosperous
through close (co-operation) with wise men; (iii) to respect (the
opinions of) pious men and pay heed to experienced persons and
elders; (iv) to increase (the prestige of) the realm by decreasing
the number of bad men.

It is reported that when 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz succeeded to the
Caliphate, he wrote a letter to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī saying (in Arabic):
'Help me by (sending one of) your companions.' He replied: 'Either
he will be a seeker of this world, in which case there will be no good
in him; or he will be a seeker of the next world, in which case he
will be no good to you. Turn rather to the noble-born, 3 although
they are not pious, they are generous.' (In Persian): He requested
Ḥasan to send one of his companions to help him in his task, and
Ḥasan replied, saying, 'Whoever I send to you must be in one of
two categories: he will seek either this world or the next. The

1 Ar. (I), 'Woe to him who persists in the intoxication of heedlessness.'
2 'Heedlessness' (ghaflat) is generally used with reference to religion. Cf. Q. xxiv. 37.
3 Prof. Husain's quotes some Arabic verses with much the same meaning from
the Cairo edition of 1317/1900.
4 Barakah, 'radiant-faced': an epithet of kings, cf. farr-i īzād; see p. 45 and pp. 73-74 above and notes. * Kārākran; Ar. (I), al-muqaddām ala oḥlihīlī.
5 Hamshīn; Ar. (I), jallī.
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seeker of this world will not give you good advice, and the seeker of the next world will not give you (good) companionship. 1 Prefer rather the noble-born 2 who, although they do not practise piety, nevertheless show affection for the people. Pure origin never does any harm. 3

The king should accordingly never entrust his business to unworthy persons, but (should entrust it) to men of noble origin. 3 If he puts it into the hands of unworthy persons, he will cast his kingship to the winds, and his realm will be ruined and fall victim to many disorders, from every direction and of every kind. As the poet says,

When once a house gets rotten down below,
The walls fall bit by bit from off their base.
Unless you want your dynasty to fall,
do not entrust unworthy men with power.

Any person who enters the service of kings must have three qualities, if he is to be worthy of serving kings.

Verses (in Arabic)

If the service of kings you enter, put
very strong garments of discretion on!
When you go into (royal courts), go blind!
When you come out, if come you do, come dumb!

(In Persian)

If the service of kings you enter, put
very strong garments of discretion on!
When you go in, keep both your eyes well closed!
When you come out, keep both your lips tight shut!

Any man who acts indiscreetly in the service of kings does himself an injustice. Even if he be a king's son, indiscretion in their service is quite (inadmissible), as the poet has said: 4

Although you're the son of the king, even so
Be chary of him if you value your head!

1 Ar. (I) does not quote 'Asān al-Bīrī's reply (in Aracic) as it appears in P. (H), but translates back into Arabic from the less epigramsmatical Persian rendering. The sentences about the 'noble-born' and 'pure origin' are omitted from Ar. (I) perhaps because the concept is not strictly Islamic; cf. Q. xlv. 13. 'The noblest of you in God's sight are the most pious.' Cf. p. 299 below. See Introduction, p. xlv and p. xlvii.

2 Ar. (I) misses this sentence. It eliminates all reference to the 'noble-born'.

3 Similar Arabic verses in Ar. (II) and Ar. (I).

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A person who acts indiscreetly with the king is like a snake-charmer who keeps snakes with him and sleeps and rises with them; or like someone who has for his neighbour a lion; or like someone who is in the sea amid man-eating sharks. Such persons brave danger (at the risk of) their own lives.

Aphorism

'Woe to him,' says the sage, 'who is condemned to serve the Sultan; for he will possess no friends, no kinmen, no sons, no respect and no sympathy. None will show sympathy and affection towards him except those who want to profit from his learning or courage; and when they have taken their profit, they will no longer show friendship, loyalty or (even) shame, their attitude having mostly been hypocrisy. They will make light of their own oppressions, but make much indeed of the least offence committed by another against their wishes.'

Sufyān al-Thawri has said: 'Do not keep company with the Sultan! If you are obedient, he will overburden you; and if you are disobedient, he will kill you.'

Unless permission is (given), kings ought not to be approached, as the following story shows.

Anecdoté

(Bāḥrām Gūr) once went to his father at a time when no person might have audience (with the king). The king said to Bāḥrām:

'Go away, and give so-and-so the chamberlain thirty strokes with the rod; then banish him from the court and appoint such and such a nobleman 5 in his place.' (Bāḥrām!) was then thirteen years old.

1 This story appears in the Kūtāb al-Taj of pseud-Jāhiz, ed. Ahmad Zākī Pāshā, Cairo, 1924, p. 126, tr. Ch. Pellat, Paris, 1954, p. 149, where the king is Yazgurd (I) and his son is Bāḥrām (Gūr). Both P. (H) and Ar. (I) commence: 'Yazgurd ibn Shabān went to his father.' Ar. (I) begins the next sentence: 'Shabān said to Bāḥrām.' P. (H) has: 'The king said to Bāḥrām.' The name Shabān has clearly been interpolated by ignorant scribes.

In the Arabic text of the Kūtāb al-Taj, Aṣḵāmdad appears as the name of the chamberlain who gave Bāḥrām a beating, and Pellat has translated accordingly; likewise in Christensen, op. cit., pp. 255-6. But see following note.

Bāḥrām Gūr spent his youth at the court of Mūshibīr, King of Hīrāb, but according to Ṭabarī (tr. Noldke, pp. 90-91) returned for a while to his father's court.

5 Pulān Ṣāḵkāvar; Ar. (I), Pulān al-baḥrān. See preceding note. The Ṣāḵkāvān (free men) were the nobles of the Sassanid empire, coming after the grandees of the seven great families and the top-ranking officials. Christensen, op. cit., pp. 111-13.

2 P. (H) and Ar. (I) have 'Yazgurd' here and below.
old. The nobleman found out why the (former) chamberlain had been banished from the court; and one day when (Bahārīm) came and requested to go in (to his father’s presence), he laid his hand on (Bahārīm’s) chest and turned him back, saying: ‘If I again see you here at such a time, even though you are the king’s son I shall give you sixty strokes with the rod—thirty strokes for the chamberlain who was banished, and thirty to stop you from being insolent and bringing the pain of a beating and humiliation upon me.’

It is best for the king not to make war in person. His prestige will benefit (if he does not), because many lives depend on his life and the welfare of the subjects lies in his survival. He must likewise avoid doing injustice to himself, just as [he must avoid tolerating injustice to the people. He must not make his tasks too difficult for himself] and he must not take them too easily. Every night he must cause (other) men to sleep in the room where he (is supposed to) sleep and himself go to some undisclosed place. Thus, if an enemy should come with designs on the king’s life, he would find another instead and would not touch the king, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

It is related that Khusraw Parviz fled from Bahārīm Chūbīn and said: ‘Disgraceful though it seems to flee, I shall save the lives of many thousands of human beings from destruction; for if I am destroyed, all these thousands of human beings will be destroyed because of me.

‘The reason why we are saying so much on this subject is that our present age is an exceedingly wicked one. The people are wicked, and the Sulṭān are preoccupied with their lower world. With wicked people, things cannot be put right through tolerance and indulgence; as the Arab saying goes, ‘The slave is beaten with the rod, while for the free man censure is sufficient.’ Meaning (in Persian): ‘Until the slave is beaten on the head with the rod, he will not wake from the sleep of heedlessness; but for the free man censure is sufficient.’ This proverb has been coined about men of noble and ignoble origin.

There have been times when one man kept the whole universe secure with one whip, as did the Prince of the Believers ‘Umar (ibn al-Khaṭīb), God be pleased with him. Today, however, if the subjects were treated thus, no benefit would result and mischief would arise. Power to inspire awe and maintain discipline are essential (in the present-day Sulṭān), if the individual is to be able to go about his business and if the people are to have security from one another. In this connexion we shall now quote (a Tradition) which will be of interest to the reader.

(Tradition)

The Prince of the Believers ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb, God bless his face, was asked why he did not give salutary advice to the people. He replied, ‘It is a well-known fact that God’s Apostle at the hour of his death drew up his will and then made a gesture with three fingers and said with the tip of his tongue: ‘Do not ask me questions about them.’” Afterwards people said that his gesture meant three months, or three years, or thirty years; the doctors of the religion have fixed it at three hundred years. (The words) mean: “Since three hundred years will elapse after me, do not ask me about (those persons).” What use, then, will advice be to the people at the present time?

Anecdote

Another question was put to ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb on this subject. He said: ‘At the beginning of the period, the people were asleep and the doctors of the religion were awake. Now the doctors of the religion are asleep and the people are dead. What use are a sleeper’s words to a dead man?’

This present age is one in which the people’s outlook has been corrupted, and in which they have all grown wicked in both deed and intention. As long as they are not intimidated and disciplined by the Sulṭān, they do not obey God and do not practise virtue.

Command of armies was entrusted in Sā汗anian times to ṭabīb (Christensen, op. cit., pp. 130 and 379–1) and under the Caliphate to omars; but in fact energetic monarchs often led campaigns in person.

Kūr; Ar. (1), nāmil.

This practice of the Sā汗anian kings is mentioned by pseudo-Ṭābīb, Kūdū al-Tā’ī, p. 124, tr. Ch. Pellat, pp. 144–5.


Masādam-i bā aql u bē aql; Ar. (1), fit man tā aqla tā aqla. Ar. (1), khalār; see Introduction, p. lvi, P. (H), chill-e, ‘nothing’.

Ar. (1), ‘unāsīr ibn, “about those (persons)”; P. (H), ājamīb, ‘there’.

Ar. (1), ‘those persons’; P. (H), ‘that person’. The Sulṭān period was more than four centuries after Muḥammad.

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Tradition

The Prophet, God bless him, is reported to have said: 'Justice is the strength of the religion and power of the Sufiān; in it lies the welfare of the upper classes and of the masses.' (In Persian): He said, 'Justice is the strength of the religion and power of the Sufiān; it is salutary for the subjects, and wholesome for kinsmen. It is living in security and abiding in good health.'

All (deeds) are weighed in the balance of justice, as God on High has said (Q. lv. 6): 'And the sky, He raised it up, and He set the balance.' In another place, He said (Q. xlii. 10): 'God is He who sent down the Book with the truth and the balance.'

The most suitable person to hold rank and kingship is he whose heart is an abode of justice, whose house is a resting-place for men of religion and intelligence, whose mind is a storehouse for the learned, and whose conversation is with men of intelligence and discretion, as the poet says: ①

His hand a storehouse of kindness, his mind a storehouse of sense; the gate of his house is adorned for all those who knowledge seeks.

It is reported that Hasan al-Basri, God have mercy on him, declared: 'If a king holds religion in high esteem, he will be highly esteemed (by the subjects); and if he comes to know God, all mankind will seek to know him.' As the poet says: ②

If a man has been able to know God,
everybody will seek to know that man.
Happy is he who in this lower world
from the very beginning has known God.

Aphorism

[Buzurgmehr has said:] 'The care which the king takes to maintain his kingdom must be even greater than that which the gardener takes to maintain his garden by not letting weeds fill the place of the sweet basil.' ③

1 Al-khaṭṭāṭ b. 'Ummahah.
② Similar verses in Ar. (I) and Ar. (II).
③ Ar. (I): 'He who has known God on High, his name is favoured among men for his spiritual knowledge (‘ilmān); happiness belongs to him who at the beginning attains to knowledge of God, be He praised.'
④ Jāpfānd; Ar. (I), rayhān, 'myrtle'.

Qualities required of Kings

Plato has said: 'If a king is going to be victorious, he will (carry) certain marks of victory: he will be strong of body, silent of tongue, and discerning and prudent of mind, as well as possessing intelligence. He will be honoured in his kingship, dear to the hearts of the people (and element in his actions). He will have learnt from the experience of past ages. In the eyes of his enemies he will be accomplished and without fault. When he perceives that might and strength come from God on High, not from men, the victory will ultimately be his even though his enemies be strong.'

(Aphorism)

Socrates is reported to have said: 'If a king’s reign is going to last long, he will (carry) certain marks of kingship. Religion and justice will be dear to his heart, with the result that he will be dear to the hearts of his subjects; intelligence will be his close companion, with the result that the intelligent will draw close to him; and knowledge will be the object of his quest, with the result that the scholars will acquire knowledge. He will esteem the arts, with the result that those who practise them will be esteemed, and will patronize the men of letters, with the result that literature will branch forth. He will eliminate the pursuers of vice, with the result that vice will be eliminated (from his kingdom). No king will derive happiness from his kingship unless he possesses these qualities. His kinsmen and companions, even though they possess them, will all be destroyed by his hand if he does not, because destruction springs from ignorance, and vices all arise from lack of intelligence; (as the poet says):

Verses

How sound the advice: no important man’s son
should walk like a lion in a field full of hens.
Be careful to keep eyes and body intact;
for some pairs of eyes can give umbrage to kings!④

① 'Ar. (I) here quotes Q. ii. 250: 'How often has a little company prevailed over a numerous company by God’s leave! And God is with the patient.'
② Humar-ḥā; Ar. (I), 'his merit (fadlihah) will be glorious and his house great'.
③ ʻAdāh.
④ From Sānānīth through Šāhād to Šaftūd and Šafīvī mahzoon it was customary to disqualify actual or potential rivals to the throne among the royal family by blinding them with the hot iron. See Introduction, p. liv and note 1.
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When in the king's presence, don't act like a king!
Keep out of his presence when he's in a rage!
Perhaps when he's calm he won't hold you to blame;
but if you speak rashly, you'll die by his hand.
I've heard that the wine of annoyance soon vims
the intoxication of anger to kings.

Aphorism

Mu'a'wiyah asked Aḥnas ibn Qays, 'O Abū Yahyā, what is the quality of this epoch?' He replied, '[The epoch] is you. If you practise virtue, the epoch will be virtuous, and if you practise vice, the epoch will be vicious.' In Persian: 'If you are virtuous, it will be virtuous, and if you are vicious, it will be vicious.'

Aḥnas ibn Qays has also said: 'Just as the world is made prosperous through justice, so is it made desolate through injustice. This is because justice radiates light up to one thousand farasahs from its seat, while injustice sheds darkness up to one thousand farasahs from its seat.'

Fudayl ibn Iyāḍ has said: 'If my prayers (to God) were answered, I would pray for nothing except (that we might have) a just Sultan; for in the well-doing of such a ruler lies the well-being of the world and the good ordering of God's slaves.'

It is reported in the Traditions that those who give just measure in this world for the sake of God the Strong and Glorious will stand on pulpits of pearl at the Resurrection day.

Anecdote

One day when Alexander was seated on the throne and holding audience, they brought before him a thief, whom he sentenced to be hanged. 'O king,' said the thief, 'I did steal, but such was not my desire; I did not wish it.' Alexander answered him: 'Thus also shall you be hanged. Such is not your desire, and your heart does not wish it.'

It is incumbent on the king to administer justice (personally) and to supervise its administration (by others). He must consider cases with great care and make sure that his decisions concerning

Qualities required of Kings

punishments are carried out in full by his agents, such as the wazir, the viceroy and others; for the Sultan's (prerogatives of) administering justice, supervising (the judicial administration) and (deciding) punishments are still in large measure the object of bribery. This is the result of slackness and negligence on the part of the Sultan, who ought to do his utmost to ensure that such things are found out, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

King Gushṭāb had a wazir named Rāst-ravishn. Because of his name, the king reckoned him to be one of the righteous men; and being unaware of his activities, he would not listen to anybody who spoke ill of him. This Rāst-ravishn had had to the (king's) deputy: 'The subjects have become insolent in consequence of our excessive justice. Their insubordination, as I see it, forbodes disaster; so let us chasten them before disaster occurs. Now the chastening should take two forms: eliminate bad men; do not eliminate good men, but take their wealth!' From then on Rāst-ravishn would take a bribe from every person whom the deputy arrested and then order his release. This continued until all the subjects became beggars and nothing remained in the treasury. After things had been in this pass for some time, an enemy rose up against King Gushṭāb, who now observed that there were no funds in his treasury wherewith to equip the army. In his anxiety, he rode out alone one day and headed for the desert, thinking hard. Suddenly he saw a flock of sheep in the distance. He made for the place, and saw a tent pitched and the sheep sleeping. Then he noticed a dog hanging on a gibbet. When he reached the tent, a man came out and greeted him, helped him down, and brought what food there was. 'Before I eat this bread,' said Gushṭāb, 'explain to me about that dog.' The young man replied: 'I
kept the dog to guard the flock, but he grew fond of a she-wolf. When the dog slept, the she-wolf would come and carry off one sheep at a time and eat it. After this had been going on some time, the governor of the district came and demanded that I pay the pasture-tax.\(^1\) (I counted the flock, and it was below strength.) One day I sat down and began thinking. I watched the flock and saw the she-wolf come and do as I have described, while the dog stayed still. Then I knew that the damage to my flock had been caused by that dog, and I hanged the dog on the gibbet.\(^2\) Guushtááb left the place and began thinking to himself: 'Our subjects are our flock. The same thing might also happen to us.' On his return home he asked for the agenda of the public business.\(^3\) From one end of the agenda to the other he saw (evidence of) Rášt-ravish's meddling. He coined a proverb, 'If ever a man lets himself be deceived by a high-sounding name,\(^4\) he'll end by finding himself left without any daily bread'; and then he ordered that Rášt-ravish be hanged on a gibbet, which they did. 'This story comes in the Collections of Tales,\(^5\) and the poet has said:

**Verses**

I'm not deceived by your high-sounding name, O gentle Sir! Your name is a trap for winning your bread and your sustenance! If somebody uses a good name as a trap for procuring bread, of this you may be quite certain, his bread is a trap for your life.

**Anecdote**

It is said that 'Amr (ibn) Layth had a near relative who was also counted among his closest friends, by name Abú Ja'far Zayyádúyáh.\(^6\) Thanks to the friendship which 'Amr (ibn) Layth felt towards him, his affairs prospered so much that one day a hundred red-haired camels were dispatched to him\(^7\) from Harih, each carrying

\(^1\) **Mard**; *Ar. (ī), baq' al-mardī.\(^8\)

\(^2\) **Rášt-ravish**; *Ar. (ī), al-rást-ráśim jot*; Cf. p. 68, note 3.

\(^3\) Such names were common in Sádina times and are in use today (e.g. Rášt-rášir, 'right-doer'; Miðan-purast, 'fatherland-worshipper'; Ranšah-fámir, 'clear-conscious').


\(^5\) Or Zaydawáyra. This story also appears in the **Siyyádatnamáh**, chap. xi, but with Farváza for 'Amr ibn Layth and Bahám Chátnín for Abú Ja'far Zayyádúyáh.

\(^6\) According to the **Siyyádatnamáh**, chap. iii, 'the chivalry and magnanimity of  

### Admonition\(^9\)

Arádášír has said: 'The Suláín who lacks the capability to reform his aristocracy\(^10\) should know that he will be incapable of reforming the mass of his subjects.\(^11\)

Similarly, God on High has stated (Q. xxvi. 214): 'And warn your clan, your nearest kin.'

The Arabs (have a saying) that nothing is more damaging to the subjects and more prejudicial and sinister for the king than royal inaccessibility and seclusion; and that nothing impresses the hearts of the subjects and officials\(^12\) more than ease of access to the king. For when the subjects know that the king is easily approachable, it will be impossible for the officials to oppress the subjects and

\(^7\) **'Anam**; *Ar. (ī), 'anam jot*.

\(^8\) **Kharár**; estimated at 66b.i.b.\(^6\)

\(^9\) Al-má'múyáh. Quoted also in the **Siyádatnamáh**, chap. viii. In the 'Ad ("Covenant") of Arádášír (selections in M. Kúrd 'All, ed. Rášil al-Bulágháh, p. 38b): 'The king will never be able to put right the masses (yuq'amu'ma fa-yiðmáh) until he puts right the aristocracy (al-kháṣíyáh).'

\(^10\) **Kháṣíyáh**; *Ar. (ī), Kháṣíyáh.*

\(^11\) **'Amá**; *Ar. (ī), 'ánam jot.*

\(^12\) **'Umar**; *Ar. (ī), 'ámár.*
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for the subjects to oppress one another. Through making himself readily accessible, the king will acquire information about all the affairs (of the realm), of which he must never be heedless if the prestige of the monarchy is to be maintained and if he himself is to reign undisturbed, as the following story shows:

Anecdote

They say that Ardashīr was so keenly observant of what went on that when his boon-companions came to him in the morning he would say to each: 'Last night you ate this or that, and you were with your wife so-and-so or with such-and-such a slave girl.' So accurately would he describe what each had done that people began saying that an angel used to come down from heaven and inform him; but it was only due to his keen observation and interest in the affairs of the subjects. The late Sulṭān Maḥmūd (ibn Subuk-tīghīn) was also like this.

Aphorism

Aristotle has said that the best ruler is he who, like a vulture, has carrion round about him; not he who, like carrion, has vultures round about him.

Anecdote

King Alexander said that the best king is he who turns the bad customs in his kingdom into good ones, and that the worst king is he who turns the good customs in his kingdom into bad ones.

Anecdote

(Parvīz) has said that there are three sorts of men whose offences no king should overlook: (i) those who have designs on his realm;

1 Shīhāb-i mulk; Ar. (I), nāmā al-mamlakah (or 'law'; Greek nomos).
2 Nadīmīn; Ar. (I), nadīma. This anecdote appears in the Kitāb al-Tawāf of pseudo-Jāhiz, text pp. 165–8, tr. Pellat, p. 183.
3 Ar. (II) and (I): 'the best king is one who is as sharp-eyed as an eagle and whose companions are like eagles, not like carrion.' Ar. (I) adds: 'i.e., if the Sulṭān is far-sight ed, alert and thoughtful about the after-life, and d his intimates and the aristocracy of his empire have these qualities, the affairs of the kingdom will be well-ordered and the business of the subjects will proceed along the straight (path).'
4 Thus in Ar. (I) and Ar. (II); also in the Śiyāṣat-nāmah, chap. iv, and in the Kitāb al-Tawāf, p. 94, tr. Pellat, p. 119. P. (II): 'Andāshīrva', which must be a copyist's error.

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(ii) those who have designs on his harem; and (iii) those who do not keep his secrets.

Anecdote

Sulṭān (al-) Thawrī, God have mercy on him, has said that the best of Sulṭāns is he who chooses for company the doctors (of religion), knowers (of God) and doers of good. They say likewise that it is through man that all things acquire value, but that knowledge, intelligence and talent [cannot make] man better than knowledge (itself) and intelligence (itself). When glory and happiness come to the king by means of knowledge and intelligence, the glory will have permanence and the happiness will have a firm foundation. Wherever intelligence and knowledge are present, in that (man) are assembled twelve qualities: chastity, courtesy, abstemiousness, honesty, truthfulness, modesty, compassion, kind-heartedness, fidelity, patience, tact and equanimity. All these are qualities of kings.

It must be realized that qualities have to be linked in pairs if they are to be rightly used: intelligence must be coupled with knowledge, [wealth with gratitude], charity with kindness, effort with good fortune; and when good fortune comes, all the qualities must go with it, (as) the following story shows.

Anecdote

They say that in the days when Ya'qūb (ibn) Layth grew mighty and won fame and renown, having conquered Kirmān, Sītān, Fārs and Khūraštīn, he formed designs on Irāq. Mu'tamid, who was then Caliph at Baghdād, wrote a letter to Ya'qūb saying: 'You are a man who started life as a coppersmith. Where did you pick

1 Abī-'l-'īm wa ma'rujūt wa sīāh, i.e. 'alāmadī, pīfīs, and pius men. Ar. (I) has only Abī al-'īm. The Śiyāṣat-nāmah, chap. viii, also quotes this saying.
2 Ar. (I), Yuqūd, 'it is said.' P. (II), gūyed, he (Sulṭān) has said.
3 Ar. (I): 'All things acquire their beauty through human beings, and human beings acquire beauty through knowledge and are raised in value through intelligence.'
4 Ar. (I): 'discernment, courtesy, piety, honesty, correctness (or health), modesty, compassion, kind-heartedness, fidelity, patience, equanimity and tact.'
5 Ar. (I): 'You must realize.'
6 Dandāt; the good fortune which brings royal power, or any sort of wealth, to individuals and families.
7 Ar. (I): Kirmān, Sītān, Fārs and Khūraštīn. The Śiyāṣat-nāmah, chap. iii, has a long and dramatic account of Ya'qūb ibn Layth's rebellion against Mu'tamid.

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up the art of kingship?1 Ya’qūb wrote in reply: ‘The same Lord who gave me good fortune gave me the art of kingship.’

In the Covenant of Ardashi2 there is a passage like this: ‘All glory which is not laid on the carpet of knowledge will be turned into humiliation; and all justice which is (awarded) without fear of God will be turned into sorrow.’

Anecdote

One day Ma’mūn was seated (on the throne, trying cases and pronouncing sentences).4 A certain case was brought before him and he referred it to Fāḍil ibn Sahl, who was his wazīr, saying: ‘Settle this man’s claim right now. So swift is the rotation of fate’s wheel that (fortune) never stays as it is and never fulfills the hopes of its lovers.’

The author of this book declares that it is the duty of intelligent and noble kings to pay constant attention to these reports,1 so that they may make good use of their reigns by awarding redress to the victims of injustice and by satisfying the wants of the needy. They must, however, understand fully that the wheel does not pause at any point in its rotation, that good fortune cannot be relied on, and that the affairs (of kings) do not depend on armies and abundant treasuries, but that when fortune’s rope swings back, all these things lose significance, and remorse then becomes useless — as the following story shows.

Anecdote

They say that when Marwān (the last of the Umayyads) reviewed his army, which numbered three hundred thousand men, all equipped and armed, his wazīr told him, ‘It is a [mighty] army.’ ‘Hush!’ replied Marwān; ‘when the time is up, this equipment

1 Tadhîr ul-mulk. The term was also used to mean ‘politics and economics’.
2 See Introduction, pp. lixi and lvii.
3 Ar. (H) and Ar. (I) have another story: ‘Abd Allâh ibn Tâhir asked his father, ‘How long will this good fortune stay with us and this wealth and dominion endure in our house?’ He replied, ‘As long as the carpet of justice and equity is spread in this hall.’
4 Thus in Ar. (I). The story also comes in the Siyāṣāt-nāmah, chap. xxxvi, with Fâḍil ibn Sahl as the wazīr (likewise in Ar. (I)). P. (H): Sahl ibn Fâḍil.
5 Abûhîr; see Introduction, p. lvli.
6 Dāndat; cf. p. 97, note 6.
7 P. (I) has ait, i.e. ‘do depend’, but Prof. Humâl’s conjectures nist. Ar. (I), ‘that the heavenly predestination cannot be held back by soldiers, abundant finances and munitions’.

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will be useless, and when the doom comes, this army, huge though it is, will look small. Even if we take possession of the whole world, it will be taken from us in the end. For whom has this world fulfilled its promises that it should fulfill them for us?’

Anecdote

Abûl-Hasan al-Ahwâzî in his Book of Gems and Necklaces1 has said: ‘This world does not cheer a drinker, nor does it remain long in the possession of an owner. [So take supplies2 for your tomorrow out of your today; for neither day nor morrow will last long.]’ (In Persian:) ‘This world satisfies no drinker and keeps its promise to no wooer. So take today a supply for tomorrow, before today and tomorrow cease to exist.’

It is said that these two verses are inscribed on the tomb of Ya’qūb (ibn) Layth:

(in Arabic)3
I owned Khurasân and all parts of Fârs;
I never lost hope of ruling in ‘Irâq.
Salute this world with its sweet breeze of spring,
as if Ya’qūb had never lodged in it!

(in Persian)
I conquered this Khurasân; in Fârs, too, I was ruler.
The empire of ‘Irâq was not safe against me either.
Salute the universe with its fragrant breeze of spring-time!
Ya’qūb-I Layth, you might think, had never sojourned in it!

Anecdote4

A king who had lost his kingdom was asked, ‘What was it that caused fortune1 to turn (its face) away from you?’ He replied: ‘My

1 Kitâb al-Farâ’id wa’l-Qadâ’id. See Introduction, p. lviii.
2 Zad; cf. p. 10, note 6.
3 Ar. (I): ‘You owned . . . . ‟You never lost . . . ‟. Before these verses, Ar. (H) has four other dicta: ‘Salute the tomb-dwellers who have passed away, as if they had never sat in the council-chamber,—had never drunk a draught of the cool water, had never eaten that which is half wet and half dry.—He (God) brought me (here) in dreaded death with a pang, and a thousand cavaliers no longer sang my praises.—O visitor to (this) tomb, take our advice and have regard for us, (who were) your patrons in this world. (Let this be) a present to mankind.’
4 Ar. (I): ‘Question and answer.’ Cf. Qâhsâmah, tr. B. Levy, p. 216 (explanation attributed to Buurgumir). In the Siyâṣât-nāmah, chap. xliii, Buurgumir says that the Sâkâns were defeated because they left affairs to women and boys.
5 Dândat; cf. p. 97, note 6.
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becoming too confident in my own fortune and strength, and too complacent about my own knowledge; my neglecting to seek advice, and my appointing inferior men to (superior) posts; my inability to devise stratagems on appropriate occasions and to deal with situations promptly; my slowness and hesitancy at times when haste was needed; and my failure to satisfy the wants of the people.' He was then asked: 'Who among the unworthy are the most harmful?' He replied: 'Ambassadors who betray their trust for the sake of personal ambition; they bring utter ruin to the kingdom.' As Ardashir said, 'How copious is the blood which (treacherous ambassadors) have shed! how numerous the armies which they have defeated! how many the harem-folk whose veils they have torn! how vast the riches which they have looted! how solemn the oaths which they have broken, through treason and unworthiness (on their missions)!' The kings of the Persians paid great attention to this problem and (took care) never to send an (untried) man on a mission," as the following story shows.

Anecdote

It is said that when the kings of the Persians sent an ambassador on a mission to another king, they used to send a spy to accompany him and report in writing all that the ambassador had said and heard. When the ambassador returned, they would compare (his statement) with the spy's written report; and if it proved truthful, they would know that he was a suitable man and would then send him on a mission to the enemy.

Anecdote

They say that Alexander sent an ambassador to Dārā ibn Dārā and that when he brought back the latter's reply, Alexander felt doubtful about one word. 'I feel doubtful about this particular word,' he told the ambassador; 'did you hear it correctly from

1 Quoted also in pseudo-Jāhid, Kitāb al-Tujj, p. 123; tr. Pellat, p. 142.
2 On Sasanid practices with ambassadors, see Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides, pp. 414–15; on Muslim practices, Šāhābi, chap. xxii. For 'untried', P. (t) has 'impeccious'.
3 Cf. pseudo-Jāhid, Kitāb al-Tujj, p. 123; tr. Pellat, pp. 142–3. The practice is recommended by Nisām ul-Mulk, Šāhābi, chap. xxi. It is said to be still in use in Soviet and other communist embassies.
4 Pseudo-Jāhid, Kitāb al-Tujj, pp. 123–33, and tr. Pellat, pp. 143–4, tells the same story but with quite different wording.

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Dārā's lips.' 'With my own ears I heard him say this word', the ambassador answered. Alexander ordered that the (ambassador's) statement be written down and handed to another ambassador, who should convey it to Dārā ibn Dārā. The second ambassador arrived and laid before Dārā the statement which had been written down. When Dārā reached the word about which Alexander had felt doubtful, he called for a knife and cut out the word and sent it back to Alexander, together with a letter in which he wrote: 'The stability of the empire depends on the correct practice and sound character of the king, and the well-being of the king depends on the accuracy and truthfulness of ambassadors; because ambassadors take statements from the lips of kings, and bring back the reply of one king to another. I have therefore cut out this word, which was not my word; I was not able to cut out the tongue of your ambassador.' When the (second) ambassador returned, Alexander read the letter and summoned the (first) ambassador. 'Who influenced you', he asked, 'to seek to destroy an empire with one word?' The ambassador confessed, but said: '(Your Majesty) has misinterpreted my conduct. I have been accused unfairly.' 'Do you suppose', Alexander answered, 'that we sent you to work for your own interests, to injure ours and to scheme against the blood of the people?' Then he ordered that the man's tongue be pulled out of his neck, and this was done.

Admonition

When the Sultān's subjects fall into penury or suffer distress, it is his duty to come to their aid, especially in times of drought or when they are incapable of earning their livelihood (on account of high prices). The king must (then) provide them with food and grant them financial help from the treasury, and take good care to stop his officials from oppressing the subjects; for in that case the people would become impoverished and quit the territory, the royal revenues would be shattered, profit would accrue to hoarders, and the Sultān would (earn) curses and a bad name. It was for this reason that the Sultāns of old practiced the utmost frugality in such

1 A more detailed account of Sultān Sālid royal practices in times of distress (especially invasion or rebellion) appears in pseudo-Jāhid, Kitāb al-Tujj, pp. 173 f.; tr. Pellat, pp. 190–1.
2 Šahābi, 'the (royal) retinue'; Ar. (I), 'the (royal) retinue, servants and followers'.
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situations, and were accordingly able to grant aid from their treasures to the subjects.

Anecdote

They say that it was the custom of the kings of the Persians to hold audiences for the subjects on the days of Nawruz and Mihrâgân. A few days before the date of Nawruz, the king’s herald would proclaim: ‘Get ready for such-and-such a date. Let every man prepare his case, put his plea in writing, and assemble his evidence. Let him who has an adversary know that he may complain of him to the king, and that he should (accordingly) prepare his case.’ This they would do, and when the day came, the king’s herald would stand at the gate of the palace and proclaim: ‘Should any man keep another away from this gate, the king will be innocent of his blood.’ Then in the people’s pleas would be taken in an all-laid before the king, for him to examine one by one. If there was any plea complaining of the king himself, he would cause the Chief Mobebed, which in their language meant the Chief Judge, to sit on his right hand, and then he would rise (from his throne) and kneel down in the presence of the Chief Mobebed, facing his adversary, and say: ‘First hear this man’s suit against me, before all the other cases. Award him justice, and show no favour or bias.’ Then the king’s herald would proclaim: ‘If any persons among you have suits against the king, let them sit together, so that your claims for justice on the king may be awarded or dealt with first!’ Then the king, together with his adversary, would kneel in front of the Chief Mobebed and say to the latter: ‘No sins are greater in the view of God on High than the sins of kings. The debt owed to God on High by kings in return for His blessings to them is paid by their protection of the subjects, redress of the subjects’ grievances and extirpation of the subjects’ oppressors. If the king himself should be unjust, (the subjects) must not forget God on High on account of (the king).’ O Mobebed, keep watch over yourself! Keep watch lest you choose me rather than your own self? For I shall put to you the same questions as God on High will put to me, and I now lay the responsibility on your shoulders! Then the Mobebed would give his opinion, and the ruler would act accordingly. The accounts in the Siyastân-nâmeh, chap. vi, and in the Kitâb al-Tâj, pp. 159-63; tr. Pellat, pp. 179-81.

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would say: ‘When God on High grants good fortune to His slaves, He deputes to be chief over them the man who is the best of His creatures on earth; and when He desires that His slaves shall know how much He values that Deputy,4 he causes the Deputy’s tongue to pronounce just such words as your tongue has now been pronouncing.’ Then the Mobebed would try the case and, if in the proceedings between the king and his adversary a valid claim was established by the latter, would award him damages in full against the king; but if any person laid a false claim against the king and could produce no proof, the Mobebed would sentence him to be punished, and then proclaim: ‘Such is the reward of men who seek to defame the king and the realm!’ When the king had finished trying the cases, he would reseal the throne, place the crown upon his head, and turn to his officials5 and say: ‘I began with myself, so that no man thereafter might hope to do injustice to another. If any of you have adversaries, it is up to you to grant them satisfaction likewise.’

On that day, those who had been nearest to the king were farthest; those who had been strongest (in his estimation) were weakest; and those who [had been highest in his sight] were lowest. [All the Kings of the Persians] continued in this way until the reign of Yazdgard the Sinner, who changed the customs of the Sâsânids. He governed the world unjustly,6 until a horse came in through the door of one accord as to the horse’s beauty, and they all attempted to catch it, but could not. Finally, it walked up to Yazdgard and stood in front of him at the end of the hall.7 Yazdgard then rose, saying: ‘Keep well away! This

1 Sâdîr; Ar. (I), Khâtifak.
2 Indones.; Ar. (I), jumâ’tâthi ‘aa hâdâ’hâtâthi, ‘his company and his nobles’.
3 Yazdgard-i Bâzâzâhâr (al-Atihâr), i.e. Yazdgard I. The Siyastân-nâmeh, chap. vi, and the Kitâb al-Tâj, p. 162; tr. Pellat, p. 182, state that Yazdgard I abolished the audiences. ‘Tabari does not mention this in his account of Yazdgard I, but states (tr. Nöldeke, p. 113) that Abûrâm Gilr’s son Yazdgard II gave up attending long public audiences (as his father had done) so that he might better take counsel for the good of the kingdom and all of its enemies.
4 Ar. (I) adds: ‘and spread corruption’. Similar accounts of the miraculous horse which killed Yazdgard ‘the Sinner’ are given in the Siyastân-nâmeh, chap. vi; in the Kitâb al-Tâj, pp. 163-4; tr. Pellat, p. 184; by ‘Thâ’îlîbî, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, pp. 548-9; and by ‘Tabari, tr. Nöldeke, p. 77.
5 đen; also in Ar. (I). According to ‘Tabari and Tha‘îlibî, Yazdgard’s death took place at a royal palace in Gurgân.
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horse is a gift which God has bestowed on me.' Then he stood up, and ever so gently stroked the horse's head and face. The horse stayed still. Then Yazgard called for a saddle and with his own hand put the saddle on its back and pulled (the strap) tight. Then he stepped behind the horse to slip the crupper on. The horse kicked Yazgard right on the heart, and he died at once. Then the horse turned and bolted, and nobody knew whence it had come. People said that it was an angel commissioned by Almighty God to deliver them from that tyrant.

Anecdote

The Qādī (Abū Yūsuf) relates: 'One day when Yahyā ibn Khalīd al-Barmakī was present at a session of the Council of State,1 a Magian came in and lodged a claim against h.m. I asked (the Magian to bring) a witness, but he had no witnesses. Then he said (to me), 'Make him swear on oath (that he will tell the truth). I made (Yahyā) swear (and settled the case between Yahyā) and the Magian, (who went) away (satisfied). I had placed Yahyā on an equal footing with the Magian, as Islām requires.2 I was never biased in any person's favour, because I feared to be questioned thereon by God on High.'

On this subject of the Authority of Rulers3 there is much to be said; but I did not want to go on for longer than this and am content to have written this much, in order that the reader may know the worth of notables and commoners4 alike, and in order that he may refrain from treating his commoners unjustly. (At the same time) the subjects are under an obligation to honour their Sūfān and never in any way to rebel against him, if they are to comply with the command of God on High which we have already mentioned5 (Q. iv. 62): 'Obey God, and obey the Prophet and those

1 P. (H), Abū Sufyan; Ar. (I), Abū Yūsuf. 2 Majlis-i ʿibād; Ar. (I), Majlis-i ṣubūn. Perhaps what is meant is a session of the Dīwān al-maṣūr fiʿl-maṣūlim. According to R. Levy, The Social Structure of Islam, Cambridge (Eng.), 1957, p. 348, these courts for the settlement of grievances were usually presided over by the wakīr, rather than by the Abbāsid Caliph in person. Cf. the High Council (Majlis-i Aʿlā) mentioned on p. 4 above.
3 Ḫurāṣ-i ʿImārāt. Sentence missing in Ar. (I). In fact the Sharīʿat regarded evidence by non-Muslims as valueless in cases involving Muslims (Shorter E.I., art. Shāhīd); but some Muslims rulers took great care to be impartial between Muslims and non-Muslims (e.g. ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-Azīz, cited in Levy, op. cit., p. 342).
5 Mīkhrān-i Khāṭerān; Ar. (I), Al-ʿuṣūm waʾl-ṣabāh ... al-qadhar.
6 Cf. above, p. 45.

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among you who hold authority.' When God on High gives a man so lofty a rank and position that He enjoins obedience to that man in the same context as obedience to Himself and to His Apostle, it is mankind's duty to obey that man; (and it is that man's duty, in gratitude for God's blessings), to rule justly and do good in accordance with the divine commands, to refrain from oppressing the subjects, and to show mercy to the victims of injustice. There is a saying, 'Beware of the man who seeks vengeance with tears'; for the plea of the victim of injustice cannot be shut out by any chamberlain. It will assuredly be answered by God, especially if it be a midnight invocation;7 as the saying goes,8

Although you hold power, don't hasten to wrong and oppress mankind, because it will lead you to sin and to fear of hell in the end! While you're forgetfully sleeping, the man whom you wronged is awake; for sleep never overcomes him who prays to the Almighty Lord.

God's Apostle, blessings upon him, said:9 'I mourned the deaths of four men who were not believers: Anūshīrān for his justice, Hāṣim al-Ṭāʿī for his generosity, Imrūʿ-ʿl-Qays for his poetry, and Abū Ṭālib for his piety.'

7 Duʿā. Cf. Q. xvi. 80–81: 'Perform the prayer (al-ṣalāt) at the sinking of the sun until the darkening of the night, and the Qurʾān-recitation of dawn; Qurʾān-recitation at dawn is witnessed (by God).—And in part of the night, keep vigil in it, as a work of supererogation for you.'
8 Ar. (I): 'Do not hasten to oppress (mankind) as long as you hold power; it will end in sin and fear of torment.—You sleep while the victim of your injustice is awake—and his prayer cannot be shut out (by any chamberlain).'
9 In Arabic; the same in Ar. (I).
CHAPTER II
ON HANDLING THE WAZIRATE AND THE CHARACTER OF WAZIRS:

You should understand that a king will be successful with the help of a virtuous, worthy and competent minister; because no king can reign without a minister, and any king who acts (solely) on his own judgement will surely fall. Are you not aware how God’s Apostle, despite the high rank which he held, was commanded by God to consult the intelligent and the learned among his Companions? God on High commanded (Q. iii. 153), ‘And consult them on the matter’; and in another place, referring to Moses (Q. xx. 30-33), ‘Appoint for me a wazir‘ from among my own kinsfolk, Aaron my brother. Confirm my strength through him, and associate him in my task.’ (In Persian) He said, ‘Appoint my wazir from among my own kinsfolk, Aaron my brother.’ If Prophets (could) not do without wazirs and administrators, how much the more do we need them?

Ardashir Pābākān was asked, ‘Which companion suits the king best?’ He replied, ‘A virtuous, intelligent, devoted and honest minister, with whom views can be exchanged and to whom secrets can be told; for good ministers see how kings are faring.’

The king ought to observe three principles in his treatment of the wazir: (i) not to punish him in haste when vexed with him; (ii) not to covet his wealth when he grows rich; and (iii) not to refuse him a (necessary) request when he makes one. Similarly, the king ought to grant three facilities to the wazir: (i) to let him see the king whenever he wishes; (ii) not to listen to talk by slanderers against him; and (iii) not to keep secrets hidden from him. For the good minister is the guardian of the king’s secrets, and on him depend the orderly handling of business, the revenue, and the prosperity of the realm and of the treasury; through him the monarchy acquires adornment, prestige and power. Suggesting (courses of action) and answering questions are his constant tasks. He is the gladdener of the king’s friends and the confounder of the king’s enemies. No man is more deserving of encouragement and esteem than such a minister.

It is related that Anāhīrāvān recommended to his son: ‘Respect the minister, for if ever he should see you engaged in any unworthy activity, he would not collude with you in it. A wazir must be the sort of man who inclines to virtue and shrinks from evil. If he finds the king to be kind-hearted and sympathetic towards the subjects, he will be (a good) helper in the king’s (task); with a little capital, he will in time bring in a (good) return. If the king is hard-hearted and unsympathetic, the wazir must gradually redirect him in the gentlest possible manner, and guide him to the praiseworthy, or rather the well-pleased, path.’ (My son) should understand that stability comes to the king through the minister and to the world through the king; he should (be aware) that he ought not to think or do anything save that which is good; and he should know that the first person whom a king needs is a minister.

Bahram Gūr was asked, ‘How many things does the king need to complete the course of his reign and to live his life free of care?’ He replied, ‘Six things: (i) a good minister to whom he may reveal secrets and with whom he may exchange opinions; (ii) a good horse to rescue him should he ever need arise; (iii) good weapons and swords; (iv) copious wealth of light weight and heavy value, such as jewels, pearls, rubies and the like; (v) a wife of fair countenance to console him in his troubles; and (vi) a good cook who, if the king’s temper is frayed, will cook something to soothe it.’

Ardashir has said, ‘Every king will be well advised to seek, and having found, keep these four: (i) a wazir who can be trusted; (ii) a secretary1 who possesses erudition; (iii) a chamberlain2 who shows mercy; and (iv) a boon companion3 who gives good counsel. When the minister is trustworthy, this shows that the king is safe;

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1 Phsr-rā wazāyāt kārd; Ar. (I), qala Kīrūt Anāhīrāvān bi-nisāzāti. See Introduction, p. ixii. Ar. (H), Lāqām. From Ar. (I); missing in P. (H). 2 Dabrī; Ar. (I), al-khānib. Cf. p. 114 and note 4. 3 Ḥāfar. 4 Nadrīm.
when the secretary is erudite, this shows that the king is intelligent; when the chamberlain is merciful, the people bring their petitions to the king; and when the boon companion is a good counsellor, this shows that things are not heading for disaster.

The Chief Mobeš in the reign of Anēshirvān said: 'Kingship cannot be maintained without good and helpful assistants, and (the best of assistants) will be of no avail unless the king himself is pious; for the root must first be sound, and then the branch.' Piety in a king means uprightness, namely that he should be upright in all his dealings and should insist by word and deed that all his subjects and officials be as upright as he is; that he should keep his heart uprightly with God on High, and that he should be aware how his might and his power, his accomplishment of his tasks, his triumphing over his enemies, and his success in his ambitions, all come from God. For should he ever become van- glorious, there would be danger of downfall, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

The Prophet Solomon, God bless him, was seated on the throne of sovereignty. The wind lifted him and carried him into the air. Solomon looked down upon his kingdom, feeling full of vainglory in the obedienee rendered to him by birds, (jinn) and humans. Thoughts of his own greatness and majesty were passing through his mind, when suddenly his throne began to topple over. 'O throne, right yourself,' he said. 'Be upright yourself,' replied the throne; 'then I will right myself.'

God on High has stated in His tremendous and ever-existent book (Q. xiii. 12): 'Verily God changes not what: is in a people until they change what is in themselves.'

Abū 'Ubayd has said in his (book of) Proverbs: 'He who keeps within the limits prescribed (by God) is safe from stumbling.'

1 Mōbad, Mābdadin; likewise in Ar. (I). See p. 80, note 2.
2 Rūṭ, 'truthfulness'; also 'straightness', 'horizontality'.
3 Rūṭ bāšī; Ar. (I), asāfīn, 'be straight' (cf. al-ṣirāt al-mustaṣafīn, 'the straight path'), in Q. l. 60.
4 Thus in P. (H) and Ar. (I). Probably Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, whose Proverbs (Amshād) are mentioned by Brocklmann, G. A.L., Suppl., 1, p. 166. Ar. (H): Abū 'Ubaydah.
5 The Qāmāmām (tr. Levy, pp. 233–34) likewise asserts that the awe(r) must be old, also that he must possess an imposing appearance and a long beard.

because although a minister may be young and have intelligence, he will not have experience unless he is old, and the things which men learn from life cannot be taught them by any other man. The good minister is the ornament of the monarchy, and a pure and excellent ornament is needed. It has been said that the minister needs five things if his work is to be satisfactory and good: (i) watchfulness, whereby he will see clearly the outcome of everything upon which he enters; (ii) knowledge, whereby concealed things will be revealed to him; (iii) courage, so that he will fear nothing that ought not to be feared and will show no timidity; (iv) truthfulness, so that he will treat all men honestly without exception; and (v) ability to keep secrets at all times, until finally he departs this life still keeping (the king's) secrets.

Ardashir Pābakān has said that the minister must be unhurried, well-spoken, brave-hearted, broad-minded, good-looking, modest and tactful; and (in addition) pure in faith, so that he may restrain the king from all unorthodoxy; ripe in experience, so that he may lighten the king's tasks; and watchful, so that he may see the consequences of things, fear time's vicissitudes, and guard against time's wrath.

Whenever a king has an honest and devoted minister, that minister will have more enemies than friends. Accordingly the king must not listen to talk from slanderers against him; the result will (only) be that the friend bears a grudge and that the enemy suffers disappointment. Likewise the minister, when he sees any undesirable habit (forming) in the king, must bring him back to good habits (but without speaking harshly); because if you speak to a king who is self-willed in a way which displeases him, he will do something still worse. The proof of this statement is that when God on High sent Moses on a mission to Pharaoh, He bade (His prophet) speak gently; in the words of His book (Q. xx. 45), 'And speak gently to him, in case he may be mindful or afraid.' Since God on High enjoined gentle speaking to His enemy, it behoves (us) even more to speak gently to other men. If the king replies roughly, the minister must not take it to heart; for power loosens a king's tongue, with the result that he may speak irresponsibly. However devoted, truthful and right-doing the minister may be,
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he should never claim credit with the king for his conduct or put the king under an obligation to him; because, as the saying goes, if you do someone a kindness and then reproach him (for ingratitude), you would be better off owing a debt of gratitude yourself. This (maxim) is especially applicable where kings are concerned.

It must be understood that any [good] which the minister and other close associates of the king can do will result from the effulgence surrounding the king, and that people will accordingly owe a debt of gratitude to the king; while the worst disasters which can befall a king will arise from two sources—from (an unfaithful) minister, and from evil intent.

Aṭṭāsīhrāna has said that the least minister is one who whets the king’s (appetite) for war at times when suspension of war would be expedient; [because ordered government, and life, health and property are destroyed in war].

Aristotle has said that when a king has an ignorant minister, his reign will be like a cloud which passes without dropping rain.

Apotriative

(In) the Book of Maxims, Aristotle has said: ‘Work which is done by another man’s hand, both by way of smooth-speaking and by way of rough-speaking, and which serves your purpose and brings you no discredit, will be better than work which you do with your own hand. There is a proverb coined by the sages: ‘Better to catch the snake with other men’s hands.’ The wisest wāṣir is one who, as long as he can, will wage war by correspondence and diplomacy and use (every) artifice to stop war. If he cannot put things right through diplomacy and artifices, he will try giving presents. If their (army) is defeated, he will pardon their faults and will not be in haste to kill them, because a man still alive can be killed, un-ṣūrī-i malīkh i sal by horakhsīh. Cf. p. 45 and pp. 73-74 above, where the term is farr-i izaz, ‘divine effulgence’.

1 Ar. (I), ‘because war in other circumstances (i.e. when not expedient) ammihilates the stores of wealth, and hares the generous (qualities) in men’s souls and the well protected (virtues) in men’s spirits’.
2 Thus in P. (H), Ar. (I) and Ar. (H); ‘he (Aṭṭāsīhrāna) also said . . . ’.
4 Thus in Ar. (I); neither version makes clear whether the king’s army or the enemy’s army is meant.

The Wazirate and the Character of Wazirs whereas a man once killed cannot be made alive. A man becomes a man in forty years, and out of a hundred men one proves competent (to serve the Sultan); and if a man from the king’s army is taken prisoner, (the good minister) will ransom him, to give hope and encouragement to the rest. He must keep each man’s ration at the proper level, and call up men for training1 in the use of military equipment and weapons; and he must speak kindly to them and treat them civilly, because many wāṣirs were killed by the troops in the days of old. It is indeed good fortune for the king when God on High gives him a competent, truthful and devoted wāṣir; for the Prophet, God bless him, said: ‘When princes or (high) office are granted to a man, God on High, if He wishes that man well, will give him a pious, truthful and right-doing wāṣir, to remind him if he forgets anything of his duty towards the subjects, and to assist him if he remembers.’

The author of this book declares that in all periods of time God on High manifests His power over the world by selecting certain categories of His slaves, such as kings, ministers, and doctors of religion, in the interest of the world’s prosperity. One of the marvels of the world is the story of the Barmakids’ whose munificence and generosity no men have equalled, so numerous were their governorships and so copious their revenues. After (their fall), the office of steward and wāṣir to the kings decayed and lost status and lustre, until God on High reformed (matters) through the Glory of the Empire Nizām al-Mulk, al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Ali ibn Iṣḥāq,2 God raised him to the same high level as the wāṣirs of old, and indeed even higher; so much so that among the rich and cultured, the alien (and poor), and the rest, there is nobody whether noble or humble who has not benefited from his bounty and benevolence.3 We have only mentioned this point in order that the reader may understand how great is the disparity between men who are suitable and men who are not.

Buzurgmīhr has said: ‘Some things are not comparable with

1 Thūs in Ar. (I).
2 Reading tadbīr, n, for P. (H) mard-r. Ar. (I), ‘and he must train (yudarib) the brave men . . . ’.
4 Name missing in Ar. (I).
5 Ar. (I), ‘until God . . . caused the blessing of the House of Sāliḥ and the shadow of their empire (till duqālaīhīn), al-Nīṣām (i-Ṣulāk al-Mulk), and brought them to the level of the wāṣirs of old . . . ’. See Introduction, p. xiv.
6 Ar. (I), ‘embraced in their bounty and submerged in gratitude to them’, i.e. presumably the bounty of the Sāliḥs.
others. The essential qualities of man are finer than all (other)
qualities, for the universe from end to end has been embellished
by man. God on High does not make mistakes; He grants worthi-
ness to whomsoever He wills, and keeps every individual in what-
soever state He wills.' Kings, and (their) ministers and the stewards
(of their domains), must therefore be in this category (of those to
whom worthiness is granted). They must conserve the usages of
the ancients, and when they demand sums of money from the
subjects for the well-being of the empire, they must demand them
only at the proper seasons and times; they must know the usages
and fix (tax-)burdens in accordance with capacity and ability (to
pay). They must be 'crane-slayers, not sparrow-slayers, at the hunt':
that is to say, they must take nothing from the poor; they must
not covet the belongings and estates of deceased persons when
there are heirs, but must shun such greed, as it is inauspicious;
they must keep the hearts of the subjects and officials happy by
granting them benefits and satisfying their petitions; and they
must realize that their rank and dignity and their competence and
worth are bound up with the welfare of the subjects. They will
then earn good repute in this world, and forgiveness and acceptance
in the next.

CHAPTER III
ON THE ART OF THE PEN AND THE
(FUNCTIONS OF) SECRETARIES

Scholars have said that there is nothing so fine as the pen,¹
because through it all past events may be reconstructed. Among
the fine points of the pen, one is that God on High has sworn oaths
by it: in the words of His book (Q. lviii. 1), 'Nūn. By the pen
and what they inscribe,' and in another place (Q. xcvi. 3–4),
'Recite: And your Lord is the Most Generous, Who taught by the
pen.' (Moreover) God's Apostle, blessing upon him, stated: 'The
first thing that God created was the pen,' meaning (in Persian),
'When God on High created the first thing, He created the pen.'
With it He determines that which will occur until the Resurrection
(day).

It is related that 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, in his commentary on
the verse (Q. xii. 53) 'Set me over the storehouses of the land; I
am a knowing keeper', has said that God on High quotes (the
words of) Joseph, on whom be peace, and that the words mean
'Give me the stores of the land, for I am a secretary and can keep
accounts.' He has also said,² 'The pen is the goldsmith of words';
and again, 'The heart is a mine, intelligence is the gem and
the pen is the jeweller.' Other sayings of his³ are, 'The pen is
the physician of words' and: 'The pen is a great talisman.' One of
the kings of Greece⁴ said, 'This world's affairs are determined by two
things only, and one of them is beneath the other: they are the
sword and the pen, and the sword is beneath the pen.' The pen
is the art and merchandise of those who learn; through it are known
the opinions of all men, be they near or far. However much ex-
perience of life men may have, they do not become intelligent

¹ Reading kuttāb (pl. of hātāb), 'secretaries'; elsewhere the term used in P. (H)
is dātab. Ar. (I), 'On secretaries (kuttāb) and their art' (adab).
² qalam; Ar. (I), al-'ilm, 'knowledge'; probably a copyist's error.
³ qalam; Ar. (I), al-'ilm.
⁴ Ar. (I), Hadith; see Introduzione, p. lvii.
⁵ Ar. (I) and Ar. (H): 'Ibn al-Mu'azz has said...'.
⁶ Ar. (I) and Ar. (H): 'Galen (Jālibīns) has said...'.
⁷ Ar. (I), 'and I Nahiydha the sage has said...'; Ar. (H), 'Balnīns (? Apollos-
nus of Tyana).
⁸ Ar. (I) and Ar. (H): Alexander.

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until they read books; for it is obvious that not very much experience can be acquired in this brief existence, and it is also evident that not much knowledge (knowledge) can be memorized.

Moreover, if the sword and the pen did not exist, this world would not stand on its feet. These two are rulers over all things. Secretaries, however, must know other things besides the art of writing if they are to be fit for the service of great men. The sages and kings of old have said: 'The secretary must know ten things. One is the nearness or farness of water beneath the ground for digging irrigation tunnels.' Others are: knowledge of the [lengths of] night and day in winter and summer; the courses of the moon, stars and sun, and their conjunctions and oppositions; ability to count on the fingers; geometry; the science of calendars and dates; the requirements of farmers; acquaintance with medicine and pharmacy; ability to forecast north and south winds; and skill in versification and rhyme.

Besides knowing all these things, the secretary must be cheerful-hearted and pleasant to meet. He must [know how] to cut, handle, take up and put down the pen; how to express with its nib all that is in his mind; and how to safeguard himself from the excesses of the pen. He must also know which letters (of the alphabet) should be written in elongated form, which in rounded form, and which should be joined.

As for handwriting, he must write legibly and in a way which will do justice to each letter, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

A secretary employed by 'Umar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] as a revenue officer wrote a letter to 'Umar in which he had not made the 's' of 'Kāris-hād; still so-called in 'Irāq, but in modern Iran usually qanād. Some districts, such as Yazd, depend entirely for their water on these tunnels, which are up to 50 miles (80 km). Long. Words missing in Ar. (1).

Shamā`-i dawlah; Ar. (1), hādā'ī-handāsah. Or perhaps 'engineering'.

Nīzāmī 'Arādī in his Chahāb Maqālāt (tr. E. G. Browne, G.M.S. xi. 2, p. 121) says that four men are essential in the service of kings—the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer, and the Physician; but he does not require the Secretary to be expert in all these arts. Ibn Qutaybah, however, states in his 'Uyun al-Abhāb (Cairo, 1363/1905, i, Part I, p. 44) that the Persians used to say that no man was properly qualified as a secretary unless expert in irrigation and canal-digging, astronomy and the calendar, weights and measures, geometry, bridge and aqueduct building, craftsmen's tools, and details of arithmetic. Probably these qualities were needed for assessing taxes.

1 i.e. of reed pens (see below). Qalam (Ar.) is from Latin calamus, 'reed'.

2 'Aml; see p. 15, note 4.

Art of the Pen and Functions of Secretaries

'Bismillah' (in God's name) legible. ('Umar) summoned him and said: 'First make the 's' of 'Bismillah' legible. Then you may return to your post.'

The first thing which secretaries should know is how to cut pens. When people know how to cut pens properly, at any rate their handwriting will be better, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

The Shāhanshāh of Rayy1 is said to have had twelve wazirs. One of them was the Šāhīb Ismā`īll ibn 'Abbād. All the other wazirs were as one in cursing and maligning him.2 When the (Shāhanshāh) observed this, he gathered them together, and (the Šāhib) said to them: 'What accomplishments have you which I lack, that you can speak so ill of me to the king? [My father taught me the profession of wazirship, not that of carpentry.]' Pen-cutting is the least of my accomplishments. But who is there among you who can cut a pen, dip it once into the ink-well, and with that (much ink) write a whole line?3 None could. The Shāhanshāh then said to him, 'Cut one!' He did, and wrote (a whole line). Then they all acknowledged his excellence.

As regards the reeds (from which pens are cut), the best ones will be straight, narrow in diameter, and yellow.4 Pens (cut with the nib) slanting4 from the right (are desirable) for (writing) Persian, Arabic and Hebrew, and pens (cut with the nib) slanting to the left for the (Greek5) language. Secretaries must have the best

1 Thus in Ar. (1). P. (H), Shāhanshāh-ī, 'the Shāhanshāh had'. See Index.

2 Ar. (1) reads: 'and in saying that the Šāhib could not cut his pen'. Details and technical terms concerning pens, pen-knives, ink, ink-wells, paper, seals, forms of address and reply, dates, &c., are given by Abī Bakr Muhammad ibn Yahyā al-Sūlī (d. 353/967 or 968) in his Adab al-Kutab, ed. Muhammad Baijū al-Abbār, Baghdad and Cairo, 1341/1922, Part II, pp. 91–102.

3 zarb; Ar. (1), asfār al-lanām. No mention of 'yellowness' in reed-pens was found in Sūlī, op. cit. Perhaps 'yellow' means 'well-dried' (not green). Cf. below, p. 117, note 1 and 2.

4 mukharrafl, Sūlī, op. cit., p. 86, says that pens must be slightly mukharrafl (cut with a slant) in order to hold the ink.

5 P. (H), subēnī Sūlī, for which Prof. Husân'ī conjectures Sūlī; but the Syriac language was ordinarily called Sūrādī. Ar. (1), Darī; this was a form of old Persian spoken in Khurāsān and used as the court language at Ctesiphon in Sasanian times, but it must have been written like Pahlavi from right to left in a form of Syriac alphabet. Perhaps Sūrā and Darī are copyists' errors for 'Abbād, 'Romān', which was the name given to Byzantine Greek (e.g. by Sūlī, op. cit., pp. 192–3, describing how Arabic replaced Persian and Greek in the dīvāns under 'Abbād al-Malik and Hājjāk).
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of pens, such as those described by Yahyā (ibn Khālid) al-Barmakī in the letter which he sent to Muhammad Layth; in it he described such pens as ‘neither thin nor thick, and narrow in diameter and straight’. Knives for cutting pens must be sharp, with the blade shaped like a crane’s bill and (set) on a slope from the right. The block2 on which the nib is cut must be exceedingly hard. The ink ingredients3 must be from Pārs, of good quality and light weight. The paper4 must be glossy and of even texture. The ink ingredients must be properly dissolved. No letter should be elongated when there are more than three (in a word),5 as this looks ugly; and the letters must be properly proportioned to one another. This can only be done by discerning, intelligent persons whose hands are accustomed to it.

Anecdote

‘Abd Allāh ibn Rāfi‘, a secretary employed by the Prince of the Believers ‘Alī, on whom be peace, relates: ‘I had been writing dispatches. The Prince of the Believers said to me, “O ‘Abd Allāh, lengthen6 the ink-well and lengthen the pen, leave (broad) spaces between the lines and write the letters in rounded form.”’

Anecdote

‘Abd Allāh ibn Jabalah was a good secretary. He used to tell his apprentices: ‘If you possess a pen, you possess an ocean; if

1 Ar. (1): ‘with a thin line’.
3 ‘Anqāl. Şülli, op. cit., p. 102, says that sağ is a synonym for midd (‘ink ingredients’).
5 ḫirāf (‘word’); ḫayr (‘letter’). Ar. (I) says the opposite: ‘Every letter (ḥaraf) which is more than three letters (ṣṣāf) is left when there are more than three to a word’ must be elongated, and any less than three must not be elongated.
6 ‘Dār ibn Rāfi‘: Ar. (I) qalīl. Şülli, op. cit., p. 103, has a paragraph explaining the term midd mādāl (‘stretching the ink-well’). It meant putting ink ingredients (midd) and other substances (camphor and salt used as preservatives) into the ink-well; cf. also Lane, Arabic Lexicon, s.v. madīd al-ma‘āf, ‘to put oil into the lamp’. Ar. (II): gijh, ‘put in wading’ (lijb, which consisted of cotton, wool, or silk fibres called buhrāf—cf. Şülli, pp. 97–100). It would seem that dār ibn Rāfi‘ is a Persian translation of madd, and that qalīl is an Arabic retranslation of dār ibn Rāfi‘. ‘Lengthen the ink-well’ would thus mean ‘replenish it’; and ‘lengthen the pen’ may mean ‘give it a more elongated nib’ (nāḥ, ra‘ā).
He also commanded: 'Dust the letter. Verily dust is blessed.' This means (in Persian), 'When the letter has been written, drop it on to the dust, for dust is blessed.'

When you have written the letter, read through what you have included in it before you fold it, so that in case there should be a mistake you may detect it.

The secretary must also try hard to ensure that the wording (of letters) shall not be prolix, but brief and meaningful. The same words must not be written twice, and heavy phrases must be avoided if the writer is to win praise.

A great deal has been said on the subject of the art of the secretary. May (the reader) be content with this much, lest (the discourse) become too long. There is a saying (in Arabic), 'The best discourse is one which is brief, significant and not boring'; that is to say (in Persian), 'The best discourse is one which takes so short a time to deliver and is so close to reality and full of guidance that (the listener) will become, not wearied or bored with it, but more and more eager to learn it by heart.'

CHAPTER IV
ON MAGNANIMITY IN KINGS

Anecdote

The Prince of the Believers 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, has said: 'Take good care not to be mean-minded; for I have seen nothing more degrading in men than low-mindedness.' As 'Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ has said, 'Where a man puts himself, there will he find himself; that is to say, if he has self-respect he will be elevated, and if he has self-contempt he will be abased.' Now the meaning of the word 'magnanimity' is 'self-restraint and courage', and magnanimity in men of high rank comes from self-respect and self-knowledge. A man is never respected by other men unless he respects himself, or valued by other men unless he values himself. Self-respect consists of not mixing with ignoble persons, not conversing with unworthy persons, not doing deeds which ill become one, and not saying words which people will hold to one's discredit.

Magnanimity and courage are found in kings and high-ranking persons, for God on High has implanted these characteristics in them. Kings who lack this characteristic will have difficulty in acquiring it from boon-companions and suzors, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

Abū Dawānīq, ordered that five hundred dirhams be given to a certain man. ʿAbd (؟) ibn al-Ḥaṣāb, said, 'No king should reckon in terms of less than a thousand.'

1 Dar balanda-yi himmat-i pāzhāshhā; Ar. (I), Fi sammār himmat-i-wulūh, Himmat (Concern for one’s own dignity and the welfare of others) is henceforward translated ‘magnanimity’.
2 Khulštān-dārī ... yuṭ-ḍilī; Ar. (I), (ṭuṭ-ḍilī), that he elevates himself.
3 Ar. (I), 'pride' (al-umāṣab).
4 A sobriquet of the ‘Abbāsid Caliph Mansūr, given to him because of his parsimony. A dīnār (pl. dīnārūn) was a coin worth one sixth of a dirham. Both P. (H) and Ar. (I) have dāmātā for dāmānīg. From the Persian dāmāg, which is still used, meaning the sixth part of the revenue of an estate.
5 Thus in P. (H). Ar. (I), ʿAbd (؟) ibn al-Khaḍāyī; Ar. (H), ʿAbd (؟) ibn al-Khaḍāib. See Index.
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Similarly, when Háruän al-Rashid was riding in procession one day, one of the soldiers fell off his horse. Háruän said, 'Give him five hundred dirhams.' Yahyā (ibn Khālid al-Barmakī) made a sign with the eye meaning 'That is wrong'. When they disembowled, Háruän asked him: 'What did I do wrong that you signalled to me thus with the eye?' He replied: '(Sums) less (than a thousand) ought not to be uttered by royal lips. That they should deign to mention them is unseemly.' Háruän asked 'If a case occurred in which more than five hundred dirhams would be disproportionate, what should be done?' Yahyā replied: 'Tell them to give (the man) a horse with appurtenances.' That would show that you are not petty-minded.

It was for the same reason that the Caliph Ma‘mūn excluded (his son) ’Abbās, who had been heir-apparent, from the succession. What happened was that Ma‘mūn passed by the door of ’Abbās’s room one day and heard him call to a page-boy: 'I saw a lot of nice leeks at the Ruṣāfah Gate and want some. Take half a dirham in silver and bring me some of those leeks.' Ma‘mūn (summoned him and) said: 'Now that you have learnt how to halve a dirham, you have ceased to be suitable as heir-apparent. Under you, there would be no well-being for anybody.’

Anecdote

It is related that (Ardashīr) in his testament to his son advised (as follows): 'If you wish to give something to a person, keep yourself superior to that thing, so that you may give it to him with your own hand or order that it be brought into your presence and then give it when your eye can fall on him. Try to ensure that your gift be worth not less than the income from a town, so that the person may have wealth and be freed from want, and so that

1 P. (H): 'with that which goes on it’. Ar. (1): 'in accordance with the current etiquette'. A royal gift of a horse was accompanied with full trappings for the horse and armour for its rider, with or without an allowance and a groom for the horse’s upkeep.

2 P. (H): 'It is related that Shāhārūr ibn Ardashīr in his testament (nabdah) to his son...'. Ar. (1): 'It is related that in the testament (nabdah) of King Ardashīr...'. Likewise in Ar. (H). "Mas'ūd, however (Praties d'or, ii, p. 164–6), quotes various sayings of Sāhib ibn Ardashīr, including a death-bed injunction for his son Hurras and his successors to maintain high morals, elevated generosity, and meritorious efforts. See Introduction, p. iii.

3 P. (H): ‘the value ( qimāt) of a town’. Ar. (1): ‘the value of the income (qimāt dakhil) of a province or village, or the value of the income of a town or hamlet’.

Magnanimity in Kings

his clan as long as they survive may be rich through you. You will then be counted among the living, not among the dead. Beware also of wishing to engage in any sort of trade; that is (a mark of) mean-mindedness in kings.'

Anecdote

They say that one of the ministers of Hurras ibn Shāhūr wrote a letter to the king in which he mentioned: ‘Some merchants have arrived by sea bringing with them pearls, rubies and other jewels. I have bought one hundred thousand dinārs worth of the jewels on behalf of the King. Now there is a certain merchant who will buy them for one hundred thousand dinārs and so much per cent.’ Hurras said: ‘Truly it is not such a (large) sum that we should crave it. If we were to engage in trade, who would carry on the monarchy? Beware of ever doing such a thing again and of ever adulterating our assets with a dirham or a dāngā of trading profits; for this detracts from the good name and good character of the King, and leaves him a bad name after death.’

Anecdote

(’Umārah) ibn Hamzah was in Abū Dawānī’s (al-Manṣūr’s) council-chamber one day. It was the day for the Redress of Grievances. A man stood up and said, ‘O Prince of the Believers, I have suffered injustice at the hands of ’Umārah ibn Hamzah, who has wrongfully seized my landed estate.’ Abū Dawānī said: ‘Rise, O ’Umārah. Go and sit facing your adversary and state your case!’ ’Umārah replied: ‘I am not his adversary. If the estate is one of mine, I present it to him. I shall not rise from my place, because the Caliph has honoured me and placed me here. I will not barter my rank and position for an estate. These words pleased the nobleman (present), because (they gave proof) of his high-mindedness.

1 dāngā; Ar. (1), dāngā. See p. 119, note 4.
2 Ar. (1) and Ar. (H). ‘The Amir ’Umārah ibn Hamzah’. P. (H). ‘Amīr ibn Hamzah.’ The story of ’Umārah ibn Hamzah also appears in the Sīrāt ‘Abd al-Malik, chap. vi, Schefer’s text (p. 40) and tr. (p. 56), and also Schahinger’s tr. (p. 141), give the Caliph as Wāhid; Durrie’s tr. (p. 46) gives the Caliph as Abu Dawūnī (al-Manṣūr).
3 Rāḥ-i mašādīm; Ar. (1), ṣawān mašādīm, Cf. p. 104, note 1.
4 Mīhirat; Ar. (1), al-shāhir. 
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Anecdote

Yahyā ibn Khalīl al-Barmakī was riding from Hārūn al-Rashīd's palace to his own palace one day, and as he approached the latter a man appeared and said: 'O 'Abd 'Allah! I have a petition to make to you, and I have made God on High [my intermediary] to you.' Yahyā ordered that the man be lodged at the gate of his palace and presented with a thousand dirhams every day. By the end of the month, thirty thousand dirhams had been given to him; he then picked up the silver and departed. Yahyā was informed of this. 'I swear by God,' he said, 'that if the man had not departed, his pension would have continued at the same rate until the end of his life.'

(Anecdote)

It is related that Ja'far ibn Mūsā al-Hādī owned a slave-girl named Badr al-Kabīr. None in her lifetime could possibly have been so fair of countenance and pleasant of temper as she; and in lute-playing, singing and other arts she had perfect mastery. Muhammad (ibn) Zubaydah heard about her and sought to buy her from Ja'far ibn Mūsā. Ja'far told him: 'You know that selling things ill becomes one such as me; but were it not that she is the housekeeper of my palace, I would give her to you.' A few days later Muḥammad ibn Zubaydah came to Ja'far's palace and they sat down to an entertainment. Badr al-Kabīr sang and played. Muhammad ibn Zubaydah also sang and played a great deal; and

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Anecdote

he gave Ja'far a great deal of wine (to drink). Then Muḥammad carried off the slave-girl and took her to his palace, but did not lay his hands on her. On the following day Muḥammad invited Ja'far to an entertainment. When they sat down to the wine, Muḥammad sent word to Badr al-Kabīr to give a recital behind the curtain. (This she did); but Ja'far said not a thing, so elevated was his magnanimity. Nor did he let any change appear in his manner. Then Muḥammad sent orders that the boat in which Ja'far would travel home be filled with dirhams; and into that boat, they say, were loaded two (thousand) purses totalling twenty million dirhams. The boatmen were ordered to convey all this (cargo) to Ja'far's house (and so they did). It is said that none of the kings ever paid so high a price for a slave.

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Anecdote

[One of the sages was asked.] 'Who among men is worst off?' 'He,' replied the sage, 'whose magnanimity is loftiest, whose knowledge is amplex, (whose intelligence is broadest), and whose circumstances are tightest.' Then the sage was asked, 'To whom should such a man have recourse to gain deliverance from his ill-fortune and straitened circumstances?' He replied: 'To kings, to noblemen, and to those who possess magnanimity.' (There is a saying: 'Have as your neighbour an ocean, or a king.') The following story shows this.

Anecdote

Sa'd ibn Salmāt al-Bihili said: 'My circumstances became straitened in the days of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Manifold debts piled up on me, my creditors pressed me hard, and I was desperate. I went to 'Abd Allāh ibn Mīlīk al-Khūsāṣī and asked him what course to adopt. 'Abd Allāh replied: 'Nobody can save you from your predicament except the Barmakīs.' 'Who is there', I asked,

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1 Nuḥāyat.

2 Muḥtarūn; Ar. (1), al-ahbab.

3 Not in P. (H), Babur (`ocean') is used in panegyrics and titles as a symbol of abundant generosity, also of abundant learning.

4 P. (H), Sa'd ibn Salmāt; Ar. (1), Sa'd ibn Muḥsam; Ar. (H), Sa'd ibn Sālim. Ibn Qutayyah and Jāḥiṣ give the name as Sa'd ibn Sālim.

5 Thus in Ar. (1) and Ar. (H). P. (H): 'Sa'd ... said to Hārūn al-Rashīd, "My circumstances have become straitened ... ."' According to D. Sourdel, Le Viager d'Abkīdīs, Damascus, 1930, i, p. 173, n. 4, this story comes in the Kitāb al-Faraj be-dīl Shaddah al-Tanwūšī (d. 384/994).
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"who can endure their pride and arrogance?" "In your own interest", he replied, "it must be endured." Then I went to Faṣl and Ja'far, the sons of Yahyā ibn Khālid al-Barrānī, and told them about my situation. "May God grant you strength", they replied. Then I went back to 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik al-Khuwāṭī (feeling distressed and downhearted), and related to him what I had heard (from them). "Stay with us today", he said, "so that we may see (together) what God on High has predestined." "I stayed there a while, until my page-boy came and told me, 'There are some laden camels at the gate of our palace, and two men with them. People say that they are agents of Faṣl and Ja'far.' "I hope that relief has come," said 'Abd Allāh; "rise, go (home) and see what this is." I went (home) and (at my gate) saw a man, who came up to salute me. With him he had a sheet of paper, on which was written: "As soon as you left, I went to the Caliph and told him about your situation. He ordered me to pay you a million dirhams from the Public Treasury," I replied. "Let us depart and go to the house of Yahyā ibn Khālid. Perhaps relief for you will be found there." Each took a horse to the house of Yahyā ibn Khālid. Manṣūr began weeping, and Yahyā asked, 'What is the matter with you?" Manṣūr explained the matter to him, and Yahyā was grieved and stayed silent a while. Then he looked up and summoned his treasurer. 'How much silver is there in my treasury?' he asked him. 'Five million dirhams', the

Anecdote

They say that during a convivial entertainment one of Anūshirvān's boon-companions stole a jewel-encrusted wine-cup. Anūshirvān saw the butler began searching for the cup, and when he could not find it, called out: 'A gold cup with jewels (on it) has been lost. Nobody may depart until it is given back.' Anūshirvān said: 'The man who stole it will not give it back, and the man who saw who it will not tell; so let them go!' Wherever munificence and magnanimity are to be found, there

1 Tadhrī. Likewise in Ar. (1).
2 Ghulām; or 'messenger' (probably armed). Cf. p. 22, note 3.
3 Bayt al-Mašr. Cf. p. 63, note 5. Hārūn's generosity would have been more admirable if he had helped Sīhū from his own, and not from the public funds.
4 Majlis-i shurāh; Ar. (1), majlis-i shurāh. This story is also told in the Kitāb al-Taj, p. 101, tr. Pells, pp. 126-7; in the Qiyāṣ of Qinnasrin, Cairo, 1343/1925-1934/1940, ii. p. 339; and in the Kitāb al-Maḥfūz wa'l-Musālim of Bayhaqī, ed. F. Schwally, Giessen, 1902, p. 506.
5 Shurād-dīr; Ar. (3), al-shurādī.

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also will (noble) origin be present. Ignoble persons can never conceal their origin, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

One day during the period after Hārūn al-Rashīd had become ill-disposed towards the Barrānīs, he is reported to have summoned Sāliḥ and said: 'Go to Manṣūr (ibn Ziyād) and tell him that he owes us ten million dirhams and must produce that sum right now. If he does not pay by nightfall, bring me his head. Do not ask for more information (about the matter) than this.' Sāliḥ relates: 'I went to Manṣūr and acquainted him with the shape of things. Manṣūr said: 'Alas, I am ruined'; and he swore on oath that his entire property and wealth amounted to (only) one hundred thousand dirhams,' Whence can I obtain ten times a million dirhams?' he asked. Sāliḥ said to Manṣūr: 'You must solve your own problems. There is no time for delay.' (The Caliphal) edict is as I have informed you.' "Take me to my home", Manṣūr requested Sāliḥ, 'so that I may (bid farewell to my family and children) prepare a will." Sāliḥ went with him and entered the house. Manṣūr prepared a will (making bequests) to the members of his household, who all began to weep and cry, and the noise grew loud. Perceiving this, Sāliḥ said to Manṣūr: 'Let us depart and go to the house of Yahyā ibn Khālid. Perhaps relief for you will be found there.' Each took a horse to the house of Yahyā ibn Khālid. Manṣūr began weeping, and Yahyā asked, 'What is the matter with you?' Manṣūr explained the matter to him, and Yahyā was grieved and stayed silent a while. Then he looked up and summoned his treasurer. 'How much silver is there in my treasury?' he asked him. 'Five million dirhams', the
treasurer replied; and Yahyâ ordered that it be brought forth. Then he sent a servant to (his son) Fâdîl with the following message: 'You told me that you wanted to buy an estate (and would be willing to pay) one million dirhams. I have just found a splendid estate. It is in perfect order and has always yielded (good) returns. You must send the money!' Fâdîl sent the money. Then Yahyâ sent another servant to Ja’far with the following message: 'I have an important enterprise on hand. Please send two million dirhams.' Ja’far sent them within the hour. Then Yahyâ said, 'See, O Manṣûr, we have eight million dirhams collected here!' Sâlih replied: 'I will not take this money unless it is the full amount. I should not dare to go to the Caliph (with less).'

Yahyâ was downcast, but he looked up again and told a page-boy to go to Danânîr. She was a slave-girl whom the Prince of the Believers had presented [to Yahyâ]; and the Prince of the Believers had presented to this slave-girl an extremely valuable jewel. 'Go to Danânîr', said Yahyâ to the page-boy, 'and tell her to send the jewel which was given to her by the Prince of the Believers.' The page-boy went and brought the jewel. Then Yahyâ said to Sâlih: 'The Prince of the Believers went to great trouble to acquire this jewel. He bought it through the mediation of the merchants for two hundred thousand dinâr and afterwards gave it to Danânîr (the lute-player). As soon as he sees it, he will recognize it. This will be another two million dirhams.' For at that time one dinâr was worth two dirhams. Then (Yahyâ) continued, 'See, here is the full amount of Manṣûr’s fine!' Tell the Prince of the Believers to make a gift to us of Manṣûr! Sâlih took the money and the jewel to (Hârûn) al-Rashîd. (While he and Manṣûr were on the way), Manṣûr recited a verse in Arabic, and Sâlih heard it and was amazed at its ill nature and indecency. The verse ran as follows:

(You did not heed me because you were bound to me, but because you feared to be shot by the arrows.)

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1. Ar. (1): 'Manṣûr said to him, "I have clung to your skirt, my lord, and I only recognize this money as your kind favour. Please find the full account of my debt."'

2. Mâṣâdārah, 'confiscation'. Likewise in Ar. (1). Confiscation of the allegedly ill-gotten fortunes of high officials was an important item in the revenues of Caliphs and Sulâhâs; see B. Spuler, Iran in früh-schislomer Zeit, 1935, pp. 282–3.

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Allah. About the ill-feeling between them he had heard nothing. He journeyed to Arar until he came to the door of 'Abd Allâh bin Mâlik. He knocked and handed the letter to a chamberlain. The chamberlain gave the letter to 'Abd Allâh, who ordered that the bearer of the letter be brought before him. 'Abd Allâh knew that the letter was forged. When the man had come in and paid his compliments, 'Abd Allâh said to him: 'You have been to great trouble and made a long journey; and you have brought a spurious letter. But keep your nerve! I shall not disappoint you after you have come to me full of hope.' May the Amir's life be long!' replied the man; 'If my coming embarrasses you, do not pretend otherwise; for God's earth is broad, and God on High will provide my daily bread. But this letter which I have brought is not forged.' 'Abd Allâh replied: 'If you are willing, I will adopt (one of) two courses with you. One is that I write to my agent at the court of the Prince of the Believers and tell him to make inquiries about this letter which you have brought. If the letter is found to be genuine, I shall give you a choice. Should you desire the governorship of a city, I will grant one to you; and should you desire a gift, I will present to you two hundred thousand dirhams with an appropriate number of horses and their accoutrements. If the letter is forged, I shall order (my men) to give you two hundred strokes of the rod and to shave your beard. Meanwhile I hold you under arrest; I shall order that ample provision be made for your convenience until the reply to your letter comes. (The other course), if you so desire, (is that) I pardon you.' The man answered, 'I would prefer that you ascertain whether I have brought a genuine letter or not.' Thereupon 'Abd Allâh ordered that the man be detained in a room and provided with whatever he might need. Then 'Abd Allâh wrote a letter to his agent at Baghdad saying: 'A man has come to me bringing a letter initialed by Yahyâ ibn Khâlid. I suspect this letter. You should investigate the authenticity of this letter and report the result (to me). When 'Abd Allâh's letter reached the agent, he went on horseback to Yahyâ ibn Khâlid, whom he found among a party of retainers and boon-companions, and gave the letter to him. Yahyâ read it and said to the agent, 'Come back (tomorrow) when I shall have written the reply.' Then he turned to his boon-companions

1 Ar. (i) adds: 'and a robe of honour (khâla'at) and a ceremonial presentation (tashrij'). A gift of money would be accompanied by a gift of horses to carry the coins away.

Magnanimity in Kings

and said, 'If a man takes a spurious [letter] from me to my enemy, what should be his punishment? Each one said something (different) and mentioned some sort of punishment. 'You are all wrong,' said Yahyâ; 'your suggestions would be (acts of) meanness and pettiness. You know well on what close and intimate terms 'Abd Allâh ibn Mâlik stands with the Prince of the Believers; and you also know that there is enmity between me and him. The devil desired that I should (seek to) cast him down from his rank and office. However, that was not right. It was for this reason that enmity arose between us. Had I known that such an enmity was to arise between us, I would have given a million dirhams or more (to prevent it). Now, however, God on High has caused this man (to appear) and made him (the instrument for our) reconciliation. By doing as he has done, (the man) has rid my heart of a twenty-year-old grievance and put me back on good terms with 'Abd Allâh. You should therefore understand that I must fulfill the man's hopes and not deceive the expectations which he has placed in me. I shall write a letter to 'Abd Allâh requesting him to treat the man with affection and respect, and to be sure to give him his due.' When (Yahyâ's) boon-companions heard these words, they were moved to admiration (of his generosity and magnanimity). Then Yahyâ called for paper and ink-well, and wrote to 'Abd Allâh in his own hand (the following letter):

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful! May He grant you long life!

'Your agent so-and-so, God exalt him, came bringing me your letter. I read it and rejoiced to learn that all is well with you. You suspected the gentleman in question1 of having committed a forgery. This is to inform you that the letter is mine and is not forged. It is my hope that you will fulfill the gentleman's hopes and exert yourself on his behalf. Be assured that whatever you do for him you will have done for me.'

(Yahyâ then addressed and) sealed the letter and gave it to the agent, who dispatched it to 'Abd Allâh. After he had received (and read) it, 'Abd Allâh summoned the man to his presence and asked him, 'Of the two courses which I mentioned to you, which do you prefer?' He replied, 'I would prefer a gift.' 'Abd Allâh then ordered that he be given two hundred thousand dirhams, ten Arab horses—(five of them) with saddle-cloths and five with litters,

1 In jarrâa-mard; Ar. (i), dhâlîha'-rajulâ'-barr.
Happiness is being grateful and appreciating what you have. It’s about focusing on the positive aspects of your life and being content with what you have. Gratitude helps us appreciate our blessings and leads to a more fulfilling life. It’s about being thankful for the good things in life and not taking them for granted.

When we are grateful, we are more likely to experience happiness, improve our relationships, and increase our resilience. Gratitude helps us cultivate a mindset of abundance, which can lead to a more positive outlook on life. It’s about giving thanks for the things in life that we often take for granted.

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the means is (a sign) of levity, whereas magnanimity together with fortune yields (fine) results; because the man who possesses magnanimity will incline, when fortune is unfavourable, towards lowness, but will attain, when fortune rises, to magnanimity of the highest order.

Another saying is that things are needed in (appropriate) quantities: of magnanimity there should be enough to reach Baghdad, (but not when the) provision for the road is only) enough to last two farsâbîr.1

Anecdote

‘Abd al-'Azîz ibn Marwân, when he was governor of Egypt, one day went out riding and came to a certain place. A man called out to his son, 'O 'Abd al-'Azîz!' On hearing this, the governor ordered that the man be given one thousand dîrâms to be used for the benefit of that (boy). The news spread through Egypt,2 and during that year everybody to whom a son was born named him 'Abd al-'Azîz.

Anecdote

A similar incident occurred when Tâsh, who was the High Chamberlain3 of the Amir of Khurâsân, passed one day through (the street of) the money-changers at Bukhârâ, and a man called out to his slave whose name was Tâsh. The (High Chamberlain), however, ordered that they be arrested and that their property be confiscated. 'You were trying to ridicule me', he said.

Observe how greatly the Qurayshite nobleman differed from the slave-soldier who had been bought for dîrâms. On this subject much is told, but if we were to repeat it all, (this chapter) would become too long.

You must, however, understand that although magnanimity may be slow in yielding results, it does in the end cause men to attain their ambitions.

As the poet has said:4

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1 See p. 32, note 2.
2 Ar. (1): 'through the city of Miṣr' (perhaps Fusûrî).
3 Hâfiz ibn Baghîr: Ar. (1), al-ḥâfîz al-kalîr.
4 These verses are metreically sound (isâfî) but not clearly intelligible, and Prof. Hunât thinks that several words must be corrupt. Bânûreghî, here translated 'high-mindedness', might mean 'greatness of soul' or 'greatness of rank'.
CHAPTER V

[CITING APHORISMS OF THE SAGES]

Wisdom is a gift from God on High, who gives it to whom He wills.

(Socrates has said that) a man who has been granted wisdom by God but grieves because he lacks wealth is like one who enjoys ease and security but grieves because he lacks grief and hardship; for the fruit of wisdom is ease (and superiority), while the fruit of money is hardship, misfortune and disaster.

(Ibn al-Muqaffa’s) has related that one of the kings of India possessed so many books of wisdom that they (had to) be carried on (elephants). He therefore ordered the sages to produce a summary of them, and the sages unanimously summarized them in four words: a word for kings, namely justice; a word for subjects, namely obedience; a word for the body, namely abstinence from food except at times of hunger; and a word for the soul, namely to look only at itself.

(Aphorism)

A sage is reported to have said, ‘Men are of four sorts: (i) Those who possess knowledge and know that [they possess it]; from them you should seek to learn. (ii) Those who possess knowledge, but do not know that they possess it; they are forgetful, and you should remind them. (iii) Those who lack knowledge and know that they lack it; they seek guidance, and you should guide them. (iv) Those who lack knowledge and do not know that they lack it; they are ignorant, and you should shun them.’

1. Ar. (I) and Ar. (H): Al-khab’u’l-khidmisi fi dhikri hisham’l-humadi’. Prof. Humadi thinks that at some stage in the transmission of the Persian manuscript a copyist must have taken the first aphorism for the chapter heading.

2. ‘If one is in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H), P (H) attributes this rather than saying to Socrates, but Ar. (I) and Ar. (H) give no attribution.

3. ‘Thus in Ar. (I) and Ar. (H), P (H), ‘Ibn al-Muqaffa’ has said that…’ P (H), ‘It is related that…’

4. Likewise in Ar. (I). The point is not clear.

Aphorism

A sage was asked, ‘What is nearest?’ He answered, ‘(Life’s) term.’ And what’, they went on, ‘is farthest?’ ‘Hope’, he answered.

Abnaf ibn Qays said: ‘Two things cannot be tricked. If an enterprise is heading for success, it cannot be tricked back into failure; and if it is heading for failure, it cannot be tricked forward into success.’

Luqmān (the sage) said to his son, ‘Take care of two things, and do not worry about others: religion for the next world, and dirhams for this world.’

Anushirvān asked Buzurgmīrsh, ‘Why is it that the friend can turn into an enemy, but the enemy cannot be turned into a friend?’ He answered, ‘Ruining that which has been developed is easier than (re-)developing that which has been ruined; breaking goblets is easier than mending them. (Similarly),’ he continued, ‘good health is better than drinking medicines, refinishing from sin is better than praying for forgiveness, repressing desires is better than suffering remorse, and controlling the lust of the body is better than going to hell.’

A sage in the days of old who had spent several years travelling round the world used to teach people these words: ‘Without knowledge, a man will have no glory in either world; without serenity, no profit from his knowledge; without piety, [no honour] in the sight of God on High; without patience, no steadfastness in religion; without munificence, no share in (his own) wealth; and without obedience, no plea with God.’

Anecdote

Buzurgmīrsh was asked, ‘What glory is accompanied by humiliation?’ He answered: ‘The glory which goes with serving Sulţāns.’

1. Aṣ. Cl. Q. xxix. 53; xxxv. 34; and p. 39 above.

2. This maxim closely conforms with the censure of love of money in Part I, pp. 31-43 above, the ‘First’ and ‘Second Springs’!

3. Aḥhindān; Ar. (I), al-‘imār. Cl. p. 37, note 3.

4. In Ar. (I) the saying runs: ‘Without knowledge, a man will have no glory in this world or the next; without patience, no safety in his religion; if he is ignorant, he will not profit from knowledge; without piety, no honour in the sight of God; without munificence, no share of his (own) wealth; and without good counsel no plea with God.’

5. Ar. (I) adds to this: ‘and the glory which is accompanied by envy, and the glory which is accompanied by (false) means.’
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Anecdote

Buzurgmîhr was asked, 'How can fools be taught sense?' He answered '(By making them work hard so that they have no time for meddling.)'2 'How can misers be taught sense?'3 'By treating them with contempt and scorn, so that they may know their worthlessness.'4 'How can noblemen be taught sense?'5 'By ceasing to meet their demands.'6 'And who is a gentleman?'7 'He who gives and does not mention it.'

Mâlik Dinâr bi was asked, 'Why do men destroy themselves for the sake of money?' He answered, 'Because they suppose that wealth is better than other things, and do not realize that the things for which wealth is needed are better than wealth.' He was also asked, 'Is there anything dearer than life for which men will fearlessly give their lives?' He answered, 'Three things are dearer than life: religion, spouse, and relief from hardship.' Again he was asked, 'How do knowledge, munificence and courage give adornment?' He answered, 'Knowledge gives truthfulness,8 munificence gives cheerfulness, and courage gives eminence after victory.'

Aphorism

Yûnân the Dastûr said, 'Among the worst misfortunes are four things, from which God protect us: having a large family and small means, having a bad neighbour, having an unfaithful wife, and having an unworthy son.'

This world's inhabitants have agreed that worldly activities are of twenty-five kinds.9 Five of these are predestined and predetermined, namely: desire for: (i) wife; (ii) children; (iii) money; (iv) kingship; (v) life. Five others require effort, namely: (i) knowledge; (ii) writing; (iii) horsemanship; (iv) entering paradise; (v) deliverance.10

From Ar. (I), P. (H), bi-nânâqht dâshtan andârin-i pardâsh; meaning not clear.

2 Ar. (I), al-sâhîr. Or 'free men.'
3 Jânâin-mard; Ar. (I), al-hîrâm.
4 See Index, Ar. (I): 'He (i.e. Buzurgmîhr) was also asked . . . .' 8 i.e. Aristotle.
5 Râdî; Ar. (I) al-sâhîr. Why this should be so is not explained.
6 The Qâhîmhânu, tr. Levy, p. 110, attributes a similar saying to Buzurgmîhr: 'There are four things which are great misfortunes—a bad neighbour, a large family, a quarrelsome wife, and poverty.'
7 Prof. Humâlî points out that the Tehran edition of the Jâvidân Khu'râd contains a similar classification into 25 kinds and 5 classes ascribed to the 'sage A'âzâhrâbîd' and only slightly different in content. The Jâvidân Khu'râd was a collection of Sâzânîan ethical teachings said to have been translated from Pahlavi by Hasan ibn Sahî (brother of Fuzûl ibn Sahî, q.v. in Index). See also Introduction, p. lviv.

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Ance from hell. Five others depend on temperament, namely: (i) fidelity; (ii) civility; (iii) modesty; (iv) munificence; (v) truthfulness. Five others derive from habit, namely: (i) walking; (ii) eating; (iii) sleeping; (iv) sexual intercourse; (v) urination and defecation. The other five are hereditary, namely: (i) good looks; (ii) good character; (iii) magnanimity; (iv) arrogance; and (v) meanness.

As regards this world's hardships, there are (three) things which intelligent persons must not overlook: (i) the extinction of this world; (ii) the vicissitudes of time; (iii) the cruel blows which time deals; (iv) the fickleness of time.

Aphorism

A sage said, 'Six things would be cheap, even if they cost the world (to buy): wholesome food, healthy children, congenial colleagues, considerate superiors, and perfect speech and intelligence.'

Aphorism

A sage said, 'The most worthless things are (these) five: illuminated lamps in sunshine, rain upon salt-marshes, beautiful wives in the hands of blind husbands, delicious foods (set) before overfed persons, and God's word in (the hearts of) tyrants.'

Question (and Answer)

A woman put a question to Buzurgmîhr, who replied, 'Right now I do not recall the answer to your question.' The king pays you a great deal of money on account of your knowledge,' said the woman; 'yet you do not know the answer to my question.' 'I am paid by the king for what I know,' he replied; 'if I were paid for what I do not know, not all the money in the world would suffice.'

Question (and Answer)

Alexander was asked, 'Why do you hold your teacher2 in greater honour than your father?' He answered, 'Because my father is the cause of my transient life, while my teacher is the cause of my eternal life.'

1 Su'll. Missing in Ar. (I) and Ar. (II). A somewhat different version in the Qâhîmhânu, tr. Levy, pp. 39-40.
2 šulûq, . . . šulûq. The Arabic spellings are identical except for their diacritical points, but the meanings are contrary. Cf. the Arabic pun attributed to Alexander's caption on p. 82, and note 2.
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(Alexander also) said: 'If time does not move as you wish, you must move as time wishes; for mankind is the slave of time, but time is not the slave of man. With every breath he breathes, man is nearer to death and farther from life.'

(On another occasion Alexander) said: 'If actions depend on predestination by God, it is (?) not permissible to reduce effort.'

A group of sages are reported to have asked Buzurgmehr to acquaint them with some items of wisdom which would be of benefit both to their bodies and to their souls, so that they might endeavour to act accordingly, and thereby earn good rewards from God on High. He answered: 'You should be aware that four things increase the eye's vision and four things diminish it; [that four things fatten and fruitify the body and four things weaken and emaciate it; that four things keep the body whole and four things keep it broken; and that four things enliven the heart and four things deaden it]. The four things which increase the eye's vision are: (i) fresh verdure; (ii) running water; (iii) children; (iv) seeing friends. The four things which diminish the eye's vision are: (i) eating salty food; (ii) pouring hot water over the head; (iii) looking at the sun's orb; (iv) seeing enemies. The four things which fatten (and fruitify) the body are: (i) wearing smooth garments; (ii) living without anxiety; (iii) using fragrant perfumes; (iv) taking siestas. The four things which weaken the body are: (i) eating sun-dried meat; (ii) overmuch sexual intercourse; (ii) staying too long in hot baths; (iv) going to sleep too early in the evening. The four things which keep the body whole are: (i) taking meals at the proper times; (ii) maintaining the proper proportions in all things; (iiii) not working too hard; (iv) not worrying unnecessarily. The four things

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which keep the body broken are: (i) walking in uncomfortable shoes; (ii) travelling over rough roads; (iii) riding frisky horses; (iv) sexual intercourse with old women. The four things which enliven the heart are: (i) adequate intelligence; (ii) trustworthy partners; (iii) congenial wives; (iv) agreeable and helpful friends. The four things which deaden the heart are: (i) freezing cold; (ii) simoon heat; (iii) acid and unpleasant smoke; (iv) being afraid [to speak].

Aphorism

Socrates the sage said: 'Five things destroy men: cheating friends, ignoring scholars, holding a low opinion of one's self, acquiescing in boasts by unworthy persons, and following the whims of the heart.'

[Aphorism]

Hippocrates has said: 'Five things can never have enough of five things: (i) eyes of seeing; (ii) females of males; (iii) fire of faggots; (iv) earth of rain; (v) scholars of knowledge.'

A sage was asked, 'What are the bitterest things in the world [and what are the sweetest]?' He answered, 'The bitterest things are hearing harsh (words) from unworthy persons, becoming indebted, and (falling into) distress; the sweetest things are [having] children, (hearing) nice words, and being comfortably off.'

Aphorism

A sage was asked, 'What is wealth?' 'Contentment', he answered. Then he was asked, 'What is love?' 'Soul-sickness and reluctance to die', he answered.

Aristotle [was asked], 'Which friend is most faithful and which companion is most affectionate?' He answered, 'The noble friend (is most faithful and the old friend is most affectionate); but it is best to plan (one's) affairs with intelligent persons.'

1 Bandah; Ar. (I), 'ædīn, 'enemy', perhaps a copyist's error for 'abd, 'slave'.
2 Inserted by H., missing from his Persian manuscript. Ar. (I), 'Man is the enemy of time and time is the enemy of man'; Ar. (II), 'Man is the slave of time and time is the enemy of man'.
3 qimmat.
4 Assuming par kvizh khâstun râvd nist, which would concur with the sense of the previous saying, namely that man must make an effort to adapt himself to predestined changes in his circumstances. Prof. Hurni, however, has râvd nist, 'it is current', perhaps 'normal' or 'natural'. Ar. (I): 'effort is forbidden and he who renounces it will be thrashed (by God).'
5 Ar. (I) has instead: 'pure wine'.
6 Gâish-î qâldî; Ar. (I), al-sâbîn al-qâlidî. Cf. Ibn Qayyûba, 'Iyân al-Abhâb, Cairo, 1343/1925-1348/1930, iii, p. 3771: 'It is said that four qualities destroy life and often kill—entering hot baths with the stomach full, excessive sexual intercourse, eating dry sun-dried meat (al-qâlid al-jaff) and drinking cold water first thing in the morning.'
7 Ar. (I): 'avoiding burdensome activities.'

1 P. (I), Ar. (I), and Ar. (II) add to the list 'learned teachers', which raises the items to five.
2 Bim-i nukhan, corrected by H. from bim-i dushman, 'fear of the enemy'; Ar. (I) and Ar. (II) also have 'fear of the enemy'.
3 Thus also in Ar. (I).
4 Ar. (I), 'ears of news'.
5 Ar. (I) here has an aphorism: A sage was asked, 'What is death and what is sleep?' He answered, 'Sleep is light death and death is heavy sleep.'
they fall sick, they do not complain night and day about God on High; (iii) however nice any food (they have), they share in eating it; (iv) however much they fight and quarrel together, they do not keep grudges in the heart but (always) make it up quickly; (v) the slightest threat makes them frightened and brings tears to their eyes.'

*Aphorism*

Wahh ibn Munabbih said: 'At the beginning of the Torah are written four sentences.¹ They are: Every tax-gatherer² who is not pious is the same as a thief, [and every man who lacks intelligence is the same as a beast.]

*Aphorism*

A sage said: 'The essence of greatness is taking pains, and the essence of error is haste. The essence of depravity is miserliness.'

*Aphorism*

A sage said, 'You should look at [three things] with three eyes: (i) at poor men with the eye of humility, not with the eye of arrogance; (ii) at rich men [with the eye of counsel], not with the eye of envy; (iii) at women with the eye of compassion, not with the eye of desire.'

*Aphorism*

Wahh ibn Munabbih has said: 'In the Torah I read that three things are mothers of sins, namely arrogance, greed, and envy, and that five others are their children, namely over-eating, over-sleeping, bodily comfort, love of this world, and praise of mankind.³ He also said, 'Whoever is saved from three things will go to Paradise, and they are: gratitude, sustenance, and blame.⁴ One ought not to claim gratitude for kindnesses (done to other men); [one ought to reduce (the extent to which) one is sustained by [other men]; and one ought not to blame [other men’s faults.]

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¹ *Sukhāni nātī,* but Ar. (I) al-kalām al-khasi, 'rough words'.
² Thus also in Ar. (I). The connexion with forgetfulness is obscure.
³ Kitāb al-Adviyyah; Ar. (I), Kitāb al-Adviyyah. See Introduction, p. lxxxii.
⁴ Balgham; also in Ar. (I). See Index. P. (H): Abūl-Qasām.
⁵ Ar. (I) also, ādī al-bi’d; i.e. permitted by Islam. Again no apparent connexion.

Abdāl, 'substitutes' (sing. of Ar. ḫadā). Used in Śūfi language for a saint (pālū) of the sixth grade, coming after the ghannath, gūh, nūpah, ṣāsūd, and ʿabdār, and before the ḫabūr. Such terminology is incongruous on the lips of Buzurgmīhr. Perhaps the story is of Christian origin, echoing Matthew xix. 14.

* Ring.
Admonition

Aḥnaf ibn Qays has said:4 'Kings have no friends, liars receive no loyalty, jealous men have no peace (of mind), mean men have no chivalry, and immoral men have no greatness.'

(Aphorism)

Dhū'l-Riṣālatayn² has related that a man complained to Alexander of (another) man. Alexander asked, 'Do you wish me to hear what you have to say against him? (It will be) on condition that I also hear what he has to say against you.' The man was afraid. Then Alexander said, 'Depart, and control your spite against (other) men if you wish to escape (other) men's criticisms.'

Aphorism

Buzurgmihr has said, 'Sound (health) consists of four things: soundness of religion, soundness of body, soundness of property, and soundness of family. Soundness of religion consists of three things: (i) not following the passions; (ii) obeying the commands of (God's) law; (iii) not tricking people. Soundness of body consists of three things: eating little, sleeping little, and speaking little. Soundness of property consists of three things: (i) avoiding stinginess; (ii) depositing (money with others); (iii) spending (money) rightly. Soundness of family consists of three things: (i) living contentedly; (ii) mutual support; (iii) unanimous obedience to God on High.'

Hāfiz al-ʿĀmm was asked, 'Why do we not find that which the men of old found?' [He answered]: 'Because five things have passed you by: (i) wise counsellors; (ii) helpful friends; (iii) unremitting effort; (iv) legitimate profit-earning; (v) a blessed epoch.'³

It is reported in the Traditions⁴ that God's Apostle said (to 'Ali): 'O 'Ali, turn your face to me and empty your ears and heart; eat, dress, give, collect and hold fast!' 'O Apostle of God,' asked 'Ali, 'what do these words mean?' 'O 'Ali,' answered God's Apostle, 'swallow your anger, cover up your brother's short-

⁴ Quoted also by Ibn Qutaybah, 'Uṣūn al-ʿAbbād, ii, p. 10.
⁴ Khubār. See Introduction, p. lvii.
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Aphorism

Ardashir said: 'Beware of the honourable man when he is hungry and of the dishonourable man when he has had enough.'

Ibn al-Qiriyah is reported to have come into the presence of Ḥājjī ibn Yāsūf. He was one of the (great saints) of the time and excelled in learning and culture. 'What is unbelief?' Ḥājjī asked him. ['Intoxication with (worldly) wealth and despiar of (God's) mercy.'] 'What is satisfaction?' 'Willing acceptance of what God gives and willing endurance of that which is disagreeable.' 'What is patience?' 'Repressing anger and bearing disappointment. 'What is serenity?' 'Readiness to forgive after gaining power, and to be appeased after being angered.' 'What is honour?' 'Keeping friends and fulfilling duties to them.' 'What is contentment?' 'Preferring to eat little and wear little.' 'What is wealth?' 'Holding the small to be great and the little to be much.' 'What is kindness?' 'Achieving great things with small tools.' 'What is dignity?' 'Keeping control of your subordinates.' 'What is courage?' 'Being resolute in the face of the enemy and stopping others from fleeing.' 'What is intelligence?' 'Being truthful and eager to please this world's inhabitants.' 'What is justice?' 'Not seeking to gratify the heart's desires, but speaking truthfully.' 'What is equity?' 'Impartiality in law-suits.' 'What is humiliation?' 'Sickness from empty-headedness and defeat from lack of means.' 'What is greed?' 'Satisfying desire instead of having hope.' 'What is honesty?' 'Fulfilling obligations.' ['What is treachery?'] 'Acting slackly (when in possession of power). 'What is (understanding) meditation, and seeing far into things.'

(Aphorism)

Eight sorts of men meet with humiliation: (i) those who sit uninvited at someone's table; (ii) those who give orders to the

1 Karim; la'm. This saying, in Arabic with the same two rhyming words, appears without attribution in Ibn al-Muqaffa'a's al-Add al-Kabir, in M. Kurd 'All ed., Ṭuwwil al-Badagha', 3rd ed., Cairo, 1365/1946, pp. 52-53. Ar. (I) does not have this item.
2 Thus in Ar. (I); see Index, P. (II), Ibn al-Qiriyah.
3 Reading buzurgs for F. (II) khaṣṣurān, 'merchants'. Ar. (I): al-dakhîr, possibly 'noblemen', but here probably 'saints'.
4 Ar. (I), 'attacking in the face of enemies and unbelievers'.
5 Ar. (I), 'correctness of character and (religious) beliefs'.
6 Probably hope that God will provide. Ar. (I), keenness of desire.'
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(Aphorism)

(A sage said, 'Five men hold money dearer than their own selves and souls: mercenaries, diggers, men of wells, and irrigation tunnels; men who voyage by sea to do trade, and snake-charmers who catch snakes with their hands and eat the poison for bets.')

(Aphorism)

('Amr bin Ma'dikarib said: ‘Gentle words soften hearts harder than rocks, and rough words harden hearts softer than silk.’)

(Aphorism)

(A sage said: ‘Grief is a disease of the soul, just as pain is a disease of the body. Joy is nourishment of the soul, just as food is nourishment of the body.’)

(A sage asked a man to lend him a (dinar). He did not, and the sage said (to him): 'The only thing that has stopped you is that I once blushed from embarrassment. Had you given it to me, I should have paled, not once, but a thousand times, from your demanding (repayment).')

(Aphorism)

(A sage said: ‘The man who sows when his soil is wet will be worth nothing.’)

(He also said: ‘Men who lack pith and weightiness will be trees which bear no fruit; Men who unshaste the sword of oppression will kill themselves with it; Men who do not do justice to themselves will not be free from remorse; If men open their hands to give generously, their faces will shine luminously; ‘Men who do not guard against their faults become attached to them; Youth is the foster-brother of madness, and grey hair is the spouse of compromise and tranquillity; ‘Let your provision for the journey be pure from sin, and let no contrary (inducements) deter you.’)

Aphorism

Luqmân the Sage was walking along a road when he saw a man clad in sack-cloth. 'Who are you?' he asked him. 'One of Adam's breed', he answered. 'What is your name?' he asked. 'Whatever people call me', he answered. 'What do you work at?' he asked.

Verse

Once Jesus saw, left lying on a road
the body of a man who had been killed.

1 Ar. (1): He (Luqmân) said, ‘What restrains me from this happiness?’
2 Sentence missing in Ar. (1).
3 Al-bukhâmî su‘al’-asâhir. From Ar. (1). This proverb is missing in P. (H), but evidently forms the text to be illustrated by the Persian verses which follow.
4 Prof. Humâ’î states that these verses have been attributed to Naṣîr-i Khusraw, but considers the attribution doubtful. He points out that in Asâdî’s Lexicon (Lughrat-i Fars—cf. Browne, Lit. Hist. ii, pp. 273–4) there appears under the heading charkhâsit ('wine-press') another distich (in the same metre) which is attributed to Rûdâkî: 'This sword has not for tyrants' use been made;
grapes in the wine press are not there for juice.'
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He was aghast at what he saw, and caught
the tip of his forefinger with his teeth;
Then, speaking to the dead man, said these words:
'[Whom] did you kill that you should have been killed?
The time will come at last when he who was
today your killer will himself be killed.'

(Nabidh, 'juice', though used as a euphemism for 'wine', meant in earlier times
'non-alcoholic grape-juice'.)

Prof. Humā'ī thinks it probable that the above verses about Jesus are by
Rādāki and come from the same poem as the verse attributed to him by Asadī.
The Arabic version printed at Cairo has at this point some cognate verses
quoted by Prof. Humā'ī.

If your hand has skill with the blade to kill people, remember the right path.
Jesus saw a man who had been killed on a road. He hit his finger-tips a long time,
then said, 'Whom have you killed? We shall see you when at last you come, just
as I see a slain man cast (on the road). Your killer who caught you will also taste
being killed; so the lamentation will long continue.'

CHAPTER VI

ON INTELLIGENCE AND INTELLIGENT PERSONS:

It is reported in the Traditions2 that God on High created in-
telligence in the best (possible) form, and said to it 'Go' and it went.
Again he said to it 'Come' and it came. Then He said: 'In (all) the
universe I have created nothing better and finer than you. To you
I shall give the rewarding and the punishing of all My creatures.'
The correctness of this report is proved by the fact that God on High has legislated for His slaves in two ways, namely through
commands and prohibitions, and that both depend on intelligence.3
As He Himself said in His incontrovertible revelation (Q. v. 100):
'So fear God, O possessors of brains.' Possessors of brains are
possessors of intelligence and intelligence in Arabic is called 'aql,
and 'aql is derived from (maq'īl); a refuge situated on top of a hill
to which no (enemy's) hand can reach is called a (maq'īl).4

(Aphorism)5

Some men from Fârs were asked, 'Why is intelligence called
khirâd?' They answered, 'Because intelligent men buy it from
both worlds.'

Anecdote

The Prophet,6 God bless him, stated: 'The intelligent man has
four marks by which he can be recognized: (i) he overlooks

2 Ar. (l), Al-Sāb al-Shāshī 'l't-Aql wa'l-'Uqil'. P. (H), Dar Sifat-i Khirad
ghând. Khirâd. Ar. 'aql, is translated 'intelligence' rather than 'reason'. See
Introduction, p. xxxiv and p. xxxviii.
4 i.e., 'real' intelligence means obeying God's revealed commands despite any
contrary appearances.
5 P. (H) 'al-'aql, 'counsel-shackle' or 'head-band'; but Prof. Humā'ī presumes
this to be an error for ma'qīl as in Ar. (H). Ar. (l): 'Aql is derived from al-'qīl
wal-'maqīl al-mamī' (the strong refuge) which no man's hand can touch because
of its impregnability, strength and solidity.'
6 Not in Ar. (l) and Ar. (H). A pun on Persian khrâd, intelligence, and bâ-
khârâd, 'they buy'.
7 Ar. (l) and Ar. (H) attribute this saying, not to the Prophet, but to Ḥakim
al-Fars, 'a sage of the (ancient) Persians.'
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the offences of persons who have wronged him; (8) he treats lesser men humbly; (iii) he outstrips higher-placed men in good works; (iv) he always remembers God, (always) speaks with knowledge, and (always) realizes the utility of speech and the time and place for it. When hardship befalls him, he stretches out his hand to God. The unintelligent man likewise has distinguishing marks: he wrongs people, ill-treats the humble, claims superiority over the great, speaks without knowledge, (and mistakenly stays silent). When hardship befalls him, he destroys himself; and when he sees good works, he turns away his face.'

Aphorism

Sa'id ibn Jubayr has said: ‘I never saw a finer garment on any person than intelligence. If a man is broken, it mends him; if he is disgraced, it strengthens him. If Ma'mūn heard these words, he was pleased and bade the man be seated. Then he ordered that he be given one hundred thousand dirhams from the treasury, together with horses, robes and splendid ornaments; and at every audience at which there was debating, he placed the man in a higher position, until he came to be above all the others.

We have related this story for the purpose of demonstrating that persons who achieve high positions do so by means of intelligence, knowledge and courtesy.

Anecdote

One day a man came to the gate of Manṣūr Abū Dawānīq's palace and said to the chamberlain, 'Inform the Prince of the Believers that from Syria has come a man named Aṣīm who says: “In bygone days the Prince of the Believers and I were together (studying) for approximately one year. Now I wish to offer my greetings.”' He was brought in, and after he had offered his greetings, (the Caliph) questioned him and bade him be seated. Abū Dawānīq was troubled in heart by the man's discourtesy and asked, 'What request have you come to make?' He answered, 'I have come to see the Prince of the Believers in view of our old companionship.' (Abū Dawānīq) ordered that the man be given a thousand dirhams, and he (took them and) departed. A year later he returned, at a time when the Caliph had lost a son and was in mourning. 'What request have you come to make?' the Caliph asked him. 'I am the man', he answered, 'who shared with you in

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wine came, he rose and said: 'The Prince of the Believers has seen and taken note that I his slave was unknown to the company at the conference. It was the Prince of the Believers himself who elevated me to this illustrious position, out of regard for a small stock of intelligence bestowed on me by Almighty God. After having honoured and flattered me (so much), does he now command this? I do not reproach the Prince of the Believers for having elevated intelligence to this position; but if I were to drink wine, the intelligence would quit me and discourtesy might issue from me. I should then become a disgrace to the company of the Prince of the Believers and look contemptible in the eyes of the courtiers. It is to be expected, however, that he will decide on the right course and refrain from depriving and dispossessing me of this precious jewel; if so, it will be (an example of) lordly grace and generosity.' When Ma'mūn heard these words, he was pleased and bade the man be seated. Then he ordered that he be given one hundred thousand dirhams from the treasury, together with horses, robes and splendid ornaments; and at every audience at which there was debating, he placed the man in a higher position, until he came to be above all the others.

Ar. (I), 'a strange man'.
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your studies in Syria. I have come to fulfil the duty of (condolence in) bereavement.' (Abū Dawānīq) ordered that the man be given five hundred dirhams; for he was niggardly in making gifts. None of the 'Abbāsīds was such a miser as he, and for that reason he was nicknamed Abū Dawānīq.1 The man departed, but returned a year later; and although he could not find another pretext, he got in while an audience was being held and sat down in front of the Caliph. 'What request have you come to make?' the Caliph asked him. 'O Prince of the Believers,' he answered, 'I am the man who used to (hear and) write down Traditions (of the Prophet) with you at Damascus. We wrote down a certain invitation 2 (in response to) which, when any man recites it, whatever request he makes is granted. I recently mislaid that invocation, and I have come to get (a copy of) it from the Prince of the Believers.' 'Do not trouble yourself,' the Caliph answered; 'I was the first (of us to use) this invocation of which you speak. I have recited it (for three years past) in the hope that God on High might rid me of you; and if it were acceptable (to God), I should be rid of you.'

We have related this story to (demonstrate) that however much knowledge men may possess, they will not attain dignity and rank unless they also possess intelligence.

(Ancedote)

During the same period a man from Madīnah is reported to have come to Abū Ja'far (al-Manṣūr) because he had been friendly with him in bygone days. After Abū Ja'far had acceded to the Caliphate, the man was admitted to his presence. When Abū Ja'far saw him, he recognized him and spoke kindly to him; and (thereafter) he summoned him frequently and treated him as a close (friend). (The man) possessed intelligence but not knowledge. 'O Prince of the Believers,' he said, 'I am your devoted friend and obedient servant; but I am not qualified to keep company with kings and am not worthy to serve rulers. Advise how I may visit you without committing any breach of etiquette.'3 'Put longer intervals between your visits', Abū Ja'far replied, 'so that, by not coming, you will have left a blank in my mind, but4 that when I see you, 5 I shall remember those bygone days'. But Ar. (I) has: 'so that if you are

1 See p. 119, note 4.
2 Da'dī, Ar. (I), du'dī al-bāštā.
3 Arāb.
4 Prof. Hamal', following Ar. (H), has here inserted suk; 'not so that, when I see you, I shall remember those bygone days'. But Ar. (I) has: 'so that if you are

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I shall remember those bygone days. Seat yourself at a distance from me, so that the chamberlain may conduct you to a higher position. Do not stay seated too long, for that is discourteous. Do not make requests, lest you vex me; but when I show kindness to you, make known your gratitude wherever (you go), so that I may hear and be pleased and then order further kindnesses for you. Never mention the conversations which have passed (between us). The man accepted these words (of advice). (Thenceforward) he went twice a year to offer his greetings to the Caliph, who on each occasion would give him two thousand dirhams.

We have related this story to (demonstrate) that persons who possess intelligence but not knowledge are guided by their intelligence to knowledge, whereas persons who have a share of knowledge [but no share of intelligence see all their actions frustrated]. If any man had a full share of both knowledge and intelligence, he would be unique in the world like a prophet, īmān or sage. Human goodness, glory, dignity and well-being in this world and the next are all derived from intelligence, (as the poet has said):

Intelligence gives worth and rank to men;
intelligence conveys men to the moon.
Intelligence can wash men's sins away;
intelligence gives thrones and crowns 6 to men.

Intelligence is the beginning of faith, middle of faith, and end of faith. 7 The intelligent man 8 is not one who, having fallen into a difficulty, strives to get out of it (as best he can), but (one who strives) to avoid falling into situations in which he may meet with trouble or suffer vexation.

Admonition

King Parvīz said to his son 9: 'Take care of the subjects, and intelligence will then take care of you. Safeguard the subjects from disaster, and intelligence will then safeguard you from disaster. Understand that you are a judge of men and that intelligence is absent in it (i.e. the interval), I shall not forget you, and when you come, I shall not be bored with you and my fondness for you will continue increasing.' 10

1 'Kudāh, 'cap'. See p. 64, note 1.
2 Īmān, i.e. correct religious faith.
3 Ar. (I) attributes this saying to 'one of the ancients' (i.e. Persians).
4 See Introduction, p. lxxiv.
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your judge. In like manner it is self-evident that people will not listen to (orders from) you unless you listen to (orders from) intelligence.'

Aphorism

Yûnûn the Dastûr wrote a letter to Anûshîrvân and included in it a message about intelligence. When Anûshîrvân heard it, he expressed approval and ordered the following reply (to be sent): 'O sage, you did well to include the message about intelligence. We and our predecessors alike have all been admonished with intelligence; so how could I oppose intelligence?'

You should understand that the intelligent man is the nearest of men to God on High, and that intelligence like the sun illuminates the world. It is good in all men, and best (of all) in men of high rank. Anûshîrvân has said, 'How could I reject intelligence and not do what it commands? For kings and non-kings there is nothing better than intelligence. By its light the ugly is distinguishable from the beautiful, the good from the bad, and the false from the true. Nothing can be distinguished [without the help of intelligence].'

Aphorism

Buzurgmîr has said, 'Two things cannot be found in perfect form among humans: (i) intelligence; (ii) courage.'

Aphorism

Luqâmân the sage has said, 'Although men may be knowing, their knowledge is useless to them unless it is accompanied by intelligence.'

\[1\]

\[1\] Mûkarrâm: Ar. (I), al-ahbâr no'ul-su’um. Ar. (I) and Ar. (H) continue this passage with the following long simile: 'Intelligence in the human body is like the sap in a tree, because as long as the tree is fresh and moist, people derive pleasure, bliss, relaxation and joy from the fragrance of its scent, burgeoning of its flowers, sweetness of its fruits and sight of its appearance and freshness; but when its sap goes dry and its vigour wanes, it is fit only to be uprooted and burnt or cut up. Man is the same. As long as his intelligence is strong and his body sound, companionship with him will be blessed and contact with him agreeable; but if his intelligence ceases and ignorance overcomes him, he will then be unfit for life and only death will shield him.'

\[2\] Ar. (H) here has the following aphorism: Anûshîrvân asked Buzurgmîr, 'Whom would you wish to be the most intelligent of men?' He answered, 'The enemy.' Why?' (Anûshîrvân) asked. He answered, 'Because if the enemy were intelligent, he would deserve to be saved from his wickedness.' Not in P. (H) or Ar. (I).

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Aphorism

Anûshîrvân said to Buzurgmîr, 'Everything that becomes abundant becomes cheap, with the exception of intelligence; the more one possesses of that, the dearer it becomes.'

Aphorism

Buzurgmîr was asked, 'What thing is there which men cannot dispense with?' He answered, 'Intelligence.' Then he was asked, 'What amount ought a person to have?' (He answered, 'Nothing is perfect in any person; so how can the amount be known?') 'All things need intelligence, and intelligence needs testing in practice. No riches are so costly as intelligence, and no poverty is so harsh as ignorance. The more knowledge a person has, the greater is (his need of) intelligence. [A learned man with scant intelligence] resembles a weak shepherd with a large flock.'

Aphorism

Scholars have said, 'Intelligence is a prince whose armies are discernment, understanding, memory and reflection. The happiness of the soul depends upon intelligence just as the stamina of the body depends upon intelligence. The soul is a lamp and intelligence is its light, which spreads all through the body; the intelligent man is not gloomy, because he never does deeds which might cast the gloom (of grief) over him, and he does not grieve over things which ought not to be grieved over.'

Question (and Answer)

Ibn 'Abbâs was asked, 'Is intelligence or courtesy best?' 'Intelligence,' he answered; 'because intelligence comes from God on High, whereas courtesy is a (self-imposed) obligation of His slaves.'

Anecdote

'Abd Allâh ibn Mubârâk was asked, 'What is intelligence and what are the qualities of the intelligent man?' He answered, 'Intelligence is learning knowledge (and acting with knowledge). Now

\[1\]

\[2\] In P. (H) these sayings appear as Buzurgmîr's answers. Ar. (I), however, has: A sage said, 'All things . . .'; &c.

\[3\] Takhâlif.
knowledge\(^1\) is knowing what ought to be done, and intelligence is applying (your knowledge) when you have learnt it.'

The Prophet, God bless him, stated: 'None of the things which God on High has apportioned\(^2\) among His slaves is higher than intelligence. An intelligent man's eating and sleeping are more meritorious than an unintelligent man's worshipping and fasting; and an intelligent man's laugh is better than an unintelligent man's tears.\(^3\)

Aphorism

A sage was asked, 'What is intelligence?' He answered, 'Intelligence consists of (making) links and knots between twenty-five things.\(^4\) Were it not for these links and knots, the good and the bad would be confused. Firstly there are a knot and a link between monotheism and polytheism. Then there are knots between\(^5\) belief and unbelief, between piety and freedom from fear, between heedlessness (of God) and submission (to God);\(^6\) between doubt and certainty, between good health and misfortune, between virtue and corruption, between good character and bad character, between meanness and generosity, between modesty and boastfulness, between friendship and enmity, between praise and blame, between effort and despair, between decency and indecency, between truth and falsehood, between calmness and rashness, between light and darkness, between obedience (to God) and rebellion (against Him), between remembering God and heedlessness (of Him), between

\(^{1}\) Ar. (I): 'Knowledge is knowing that you ought to learn, and intelligence is acting (accordingly) when you have learnt.'

\(^{2}\) Qimmat: i.e. by predestination.

\(^{3}\) i.e. weeping in penitence for sin. After this saying of the Prophet in Ar. (H), and before it in Ar. (I), come two aphorisms which are missing in P. (H): A man said to Eusebid, 'I will not rest until I destroy your soul.' He answered, 'I will not rest until I drive the malice out of your heart.' A sage said, 'Just as a fool steals issues from a corpse, so does the stink of ignorance issue from an ignorant man; and it harms him, his neighbours and his relatives.'

\(^{4}\) Ar. (I) and Ar. (H) say 'twenty-three.' The actual totals are twenty-three in P. (H) and seventeen in Ar. (I).

\(^{5}\) Ar. (I) from here on reads: 'between belief and unbelief, good health and misfortune, generosity and meanness, good character and immorality, stupidity and ignorance, decency and indecency, truth and falsehood, gravity and light-headedness, darkness and light, belief and unbelief (against God), remembering (God) and heedlessness (of Him), good counsel and envy, right custom and wrong innovation, compassion and cruelty, and serenity and right.'

\(^{6}\) Ghaflat u Islam.
CHAPTER VII

DESCRIBING WOMEN AND THEIR GOOD AND BAD POINTS

The Apostle, God bless him, stated that the best and most blessed of women are those who are most prolific in child-bearing, fairest in countenance, and least costly in dowry. He also stated, 'In so far as you are able, seek a free woman in marriage; they are the purest.'

The Prince of the Believers 'Umar (ibn Al-Khattāb) said, 'Take refuge in God from the evils caused by women, and beware (even) of the most pious of them.' This means, let not (even) your own wife receive praise.

The author of this book declares that any man who desires to be sound in his religion and sound as master of his house ought not to care about nobility of birth and beauty of countenance; for a pious (wife) is the best and most beautiful.

(Anecdote)

It is related that at Marv lived a man called Nūh ibn Maryam, who was the qādī of Marv and also held the office of mayor. He was blessed with great wealth and had a very beautiful daughter. Many of the leading officials sought her hand, and the father was at a loss to know on whom he should bestow her. 'If I bestow her on one,' he used to say, 'another will be displeased'; and he despaired (of solving the problem). He had an Indian slave named Mubārak, and once he told (this slave) to go to his orchard and keep watch over it. He went and stayed in the orchard two months.

One day the master came to the orchard and told the slave to bring

a bunch of grapes. The slave brought one, but (the grapes) were sour. The master told him to go and bring another bunch. The slave brought one, but (the grapes) were equally sour. 'How is it,' the master asked, 'that you cannot get sweet grapes from a garden of this size?' 'I do not know,' replied the slave, 'for I have eaten no grapes from this garden.' 'Why not?' asked the master. He replied, 'You ordered me to keep watch over the grapes. You did not tell me to eat them.' 'God on High will keep watch over you likewise,' said the judge, recognizing that the slave was scrupulous. Then he said to the slave, 'I have a plan for your (future).' He replied, 'I am a slave, bought for dirhams and an Indian. You are a judge. What plan have you for my future?' 'Listen carefully to what I shall say,' the judge told him. 'Give your command,' he replied. 'O Mubārak,' continued the judge, 'I have a daughter whom a great many important persons wish to wed. I do not know on which of them to bestow her. What do you say?' 'O master,' he replied, 'the unbelievers demand nobility of birth, and the Jews and the Christians look for beauty of countenance. In the time of our Prophet, blessings upon him, (men) looked for religion, and today they demand worldly (wealth). Choose whichever of these four you desire!' I have already made my choice, O slave,' replied the judge; 'I have chosen religion, and I bestow my daughter upon you.' 'O master,' he said, 'I am a slave, bought for money. How can you give your daughter to me? She will never want me for a husband.' 'O slave,' replied the judge, 'arise and come home with me.' When they arrived at the house, the judge said to the girl's mother, 'O wife, this slave is exceedingly worthy and pious. It is my desire to give this daughter of mine to him (in marriage). What do you say?' 'Let me go and ask the girl,' she replied. The mother went and told the girl, who said, 'I shall do whatever you desire and command.' So the judge bestowed his daughter on Mubārak, and also gave him much gold and lodged them together. After a time Mubārak had a son, whom they named 'Abd Allāh; he whose name is celebrated and well known throughout the world and inscribed in the books, and whose asceticism and knowledge will be mentioned as long as the universe continues.

1 Kühn; Ar. (I), mahār. Shorter E.L., art. Mahr.
2 Not in Ar. (I).
3 Aqīl.
4 This and the following anecdotes about 'Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak and 'Abd Sā'd, except for the last sentence of the third anecdote, are missing in Ar. (I).
5 Office of mayor, rū'dust; 'leading officials', ru'ā'tidn. These terms were used of civilan officials, including 'bureaucrasts' of villages and quarters of cities.
6 Später, Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit, p. 345; Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, p. 234. The name 'Noah son of Mary' is curious.
7 He would have stayed in the garden-house, which is still a pleasing feature of Persian life (like the summer cabin in America).
(Similarly), when you take a wife, choose religion; for if you seek name or wealth, it will lead to disaster. You will be helpless and become desperate, and your wife will be unwilling to obey you. When you seek a wife, do not seek gratification and sensual enjoyment; seek sincere intention: to bear children for you, to restrain you from rebellion (against God), to enhance your obedience (to Him), and to screen you from the fire of hell.

(Ancedote)

Ten guests are reported to have come to ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak’s (house) one day when he had nothing to lay before guests. He did, however, have a horse. With its help he had been wont to fight the infidels and perform the pilgrimage in alternate years. He killed the horse and laid it before his guests. ‘You had nothing’, said his wife, ‘except this horse; why have you killed it?’ ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak immediately went into the house, carried out all the articles and furnishings which were that wife’s property from her dowry, handed them to her and pronounced her to be divorced. ‘I do not need that woman,’ he declared, ‘because she hates guests.

Not long afterwards, a man arrived and said, ‘O imām of the Muslims, I have a daughter whose mother has died. Every day this girl tears her clothes and laments. She will come presently for a consultation with you. Give her a word of advice which perhaps may soothe her heart.’ ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak said something to her accordingly. When the girl returned home, she said, ‘O father, I have repented. Henceforward I shall not vex God on High. But I have one request to make of you.’ ‘What is it?’ her father asked. ‘You have been saying’, she replied, ‘that my hand is sought by possessors of worldly wealth. Take heed! To no man shall you give my hand, unless it be to ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak. For if we possess worldly wealth, he possesses both religion and worldly wealth.’ He therefore gave his daughter (in marriage) to ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak, to whom he also sent a large quantity of dīnār and ten horses. One night ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak dreamt that Somebody was saying to him: ‘If you have divorced an old wife for Our sake, We have given you a young wife to help you understand that no person’s

1 Niyāt: see p. 4, note 6.
2 Mājli: or ‘mālaun’.
3 Dīn ... na dūṣa. This seems inconsistent with ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mubārak’s poverty when he had nothing to offer his guests except the flesh of his horse. (Eating horse-flesh was disapproved, but not prohibited, by Muslim theologians.)

Action is overlooked in Our (assessment) and that no person suffers loss on Our (account).'

Aecedote

Abū Sa‘îd related that in the time of the Children of Israel there was a good man who had a pious, judicious and tactful wife. An inspiration came down to the Prophet of the Age saying, ‘Inform that good man that We have predestined him to spend one half of his life in poverty and one half in wealth. Let him choose now whether the poverty shall be during his youth or during his old age.’ The young man on hearing this went to his wife and said, ‘O wife, this is the command which has come down from God on High. How do you suggest that I choose? What is your choice?’ she asked. ‘Come,’ he replied, ‘let us choose the poverty during our youth, so that when hardship comes we may have strength to endure it. (Moreover), when we grow old we shall need something to eat if we are to be free from cares and capable of properly obeying (God’s commands).’ Thereupon his wife said, ‘O husband, if we are poor during our youth, we shall be unable to obey God’s (commands) properly then; and thereafter, when we shall have thrown to the winds the pride of our life and grown weak, how shall we perform the duties involved in obeying (God)? Let us therefore choose the wealth now, so that we may during our youth have strength both to obey God’s commands and to practise charity.’ ‘Your opinion is the right one’, said the husband; ‘let us act accordingly.’ Then (another) inspiration came down to the Prophet of the Age, (and the message for that man and his wife was this): ‘Now that you are striving to obey Us and that your intention is good, I who am the Sustainer of all life cause you to pass (straight) to wealth. Continue striving to obey My commands, and of whatever I give you give part for alms so that both this world and the next may be yours.’

The author of this book declares that he has related this story to help you understand that a good helmate will do (you) good in this world’s and the next world’s affairs alike.

1 See Index. Aecedote missing in Az. (1).
2 Niyāt; see p. 4, note 6.
3 Sadaqah. See art. in Shorter E.I. This sentence, and the ensuing comment by the author, are also found in Az. (1), from which the rest of this story and the three previous stories are missing.

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**Tradition**

Ibn `Abbâs, God be pleased with him, has related that the Prophet went into the house of Umm Salamah, God be pleased with her, and saw that she had performed the morning prayer and was reciting God's epithets. "O Umm Salamah," he asked her, 'why do not you join in the congregational prayer and go to the Friday service? Why do not you make the pilgrimage and go to fight for God against the infidels? Why do you not finish memorizing the Qur'ân?" 'O Apostle of God,' she replied, 'all these are men's activities.' Then the Prophet, peace be upon him, stated: 'For women too there are activities of equal worth.' 'Which are they, God's Apostle?' she respectfully inquired. He answered: 'Whenever a woman who fulfills God's requirements and is obedient to her husband takes hold of a spinning-wheel and turns it, this is as if she were reciting God's epithets, joining in congregational prayer, and fighting against infidels.'

As long as (a woman) spins at the wheel, sins vanish from her. Spinning at the wheel is women's bridge and stronghold. Three things' sounds reach to the throne of God on High: (i) the sound of bows being drawn by warriors fighting infidels; (ii) the sound of the pens of scholars; (iii) the sound of spinning by virtuous women.

**Aphorism**

Abnaf ibn Qays has said: 'If you want women to like you, satisfy them sexually and treat them tenderly.'

Umar (ibn al-Khaṭṭāb), peace be upon him, has said: 'Do not speak to women of love,' because their hearts will be corrupted. For women are like meat left in a desert; God's (help) is needed to preserve them.

**Aphorism**

Mughirah ibn Shu’bah said, 'I have spent my life with women in three ways: during my youth, in having sexual intercourse (with

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them); during my middle age, in being witty and tender (with them); and during my old age, in keeping together adequate wealth (for them).'

As for keeping numerous concubines, this is not commendable, except in so far as justice can be done to them.

**Tradition**

Salmân al-Fârsî, God be pleased with him, has related that the Prophet, God bless him, was (once) asked, 'Which women are best?' He answered, 'Those who obey you, whatever be your commands.' Then he was asked, 'Which are the worst?' He answered, 'Those who avoid pleasing their husbands.'

**Aphorism**

A teacher was teaching girls how to write. A sage passed by and said, 'This teacher is teaching wickedness to the wicked.'

**Aphorism**

An intelligent woman was asked, 'What are the virtues of women?' ('And what,' she rejoined, 'are the faults of men?)' 'Niggardliness and cowardice,' (they answered). ('These,' she said,) 'are among the virtues of women.'

**Aphorism**

A sage wished (that) his short wife (might have been) tall. People asked him, 'Why did not you marry a woman of full stature?' 'A woman is an evil thing,' he answered, 'and the less (there is) of an evil thing the better.'

**Aphorism**

A sage has said, 'Men who marry women get four sorts of wife: (i) the wife who belongs wholly to her husband; (ii) the wife who

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2. *Khahor.* See Introduction, p. ivii. The pages from here up to the end of the paragraph which compares characters of women and animals are missing in Ar. (II) but are present in Ar. (I).
3. *Fudhāb.* By counting with the rosary; Shorter E.I., art. Subha.
5. A play on the words rīrād ("spins") and rīrād ("poor away", "vanish").
6. *Rīdāy* ("stronghold"): originally a place where relays of horses were kept and later a fortified monastery for dārūzās engaged in Holy War.
7. Ibn Qutaybah, *Uṣūl al-Ākhbār,* IV. p. 96, attributes a similar saying to al-Abna‘.
8. *Ibq.*
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belongs half to her husband; (iii) the wife who belongs one-third to her husband; (iv) the wife who is her husband's enemy. The wife who belongs wholly to her husband will be a woman who is a virgin. The wife who belongs half to her husband will be a woman whose former husband has died but has no children. The wife who belongs one-third to her husband will be a woman whose former husband has died but who has children by the first husband. The wife who is her husband's enemy will be a (divorced) woman whose former husband is still living. Therefore the best wives are virgins.

As for the distinctive characteristics with which God on High has punished women, (the matter is as follows).

When Eve (disobeyed Almighty God and) ate fruit which He had forbidden to her from the tree in Paradise,① the Lord, be He praised, punished women with eighteen things: (i) menstruation; (ii) childbirth; (iii) separation from mother and father; (iv) marriage to a stranger; (v) pregnancy (through him); (vi) not having control over her own person; (vii) (having) a lesser share in inheritance; (viii) her liability to be divorced and inability to divorce; (ix) its being lawful for men to have four wives, but for a woman to have (only) one husband; (x) the fact that she must stay secluded in the house; (xi) the fact that she must keep her head covered inside the house; (xii) (the fact that) two women's testimony (has to be) set against the testimony of one man; (xiii) the fact that she must not go out of the house unless accompanied by a near relative; (xiv) the fact that men take part in Friday and Feast Day prayers and funerals while women do not; (xv) disqualification for rulership and judgeship; (xvi) the fact that merit has one thousand components, (only) one of which is (attributable) to women, while nine hundred and ninety nine are (attributable) to men; (xvii) the fact that if women are profligate they will be given (only) half as much torment as (the rest of) the (Muslim) community at the Resurrection Day; (xviii) the fact that if their husbands die they must observe a waiting period② of four months.

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1. ① Ar. (I): al-nāqi, 'the woman who has returned' (i.e. to her own family).
2. ② Cf. Q. ii. 33-34 and vili. 18-24.
3. ③ Shorter E.I., art. Mirzah.
4. ④ Ibid., art. Tālak.
5. ⑤ Ibid., art. Nikäb.
6. ⑥ Ibid., art. Shāhīd.
7. ⑦ Participation by women in the Salāt is permitted but not recommended.
8. ⑧ Ar. (I) adds 'ulūm, 'knowledge', probably here meaning 'profession of 'ulūm', i.e. 'doctor of religion'.
9. ⑨ 'Idād. Shorter E.I., art. 'Idāa.

Women and their Good and Bad Points

and ten days (before remarrying); (xviii) the fact that if their husbands divorce them they must observe a waiting period of three months or three menstruations (before remarrying).

Excursus describing the types of women

The race of women consists of ten species, and the character of each of these corresponds and is related to the distinctive quality of one of the animals. One (species) resembles the pig, another the ape, another the dog, another the snake, another the mule, another the scorpion, another the mouse, another the pigeon, another the fox, and another the sheep. The woman who resembles the pig in character knows full well how to eat, break (crockery),① and cram her stomach, and she does not mark where she comes and goes. She does not trouble herself with religion, prayer and fasting, and she never thinks about death, resurrection, reward and punishment, about (God's) promises, threats, commands and prohibitions, or about (His) pleasure and displeasure. She is heedless of her husband's rights② and careless about nurturing and disciplining her children and teaching them knowledge of the Qur'ān. She always wears filthy clothes, and an unpleasant smell issues from her. The woman who has the character and peculiarities of the ape concerns herself with clothes of many colours—green, red, yellow, with trinkets and jewels—pearls or rubies, and with gold and silver. She boasts of these to her relatives, but maybe her secret (self) is not the same as her (outward) appearance. The woman who has the character of the dog is one who, whenever her husband speaks, jumps at his face and shouts at him and snarls at him. If her husband's purse is full of silver and gold and the household is blessed with prosperity, she says to him, 'You are the whole world to me. May God on High never let me see evil befall you, and may my own death come before yours!' But if her husband becomes insolvent, she insults and chides him, saying 'You are a poor wretch',③ and everything is the opposite of what it was before. The woman who has the character of the mule is like a restive mule which will not stay in one place.④ She is stubborn and goes her own

① This heading is absent in Ar. (I), and in Ar. (H) the whole passage is missing. See Introduction, p. xxvi.
② Thus in Ar. (I).
③ Ar. (I), 'heedless of God's pleasure and wrath'.
④ Ar. (I) adds: 'curses aspersions on his reputation and genealogy and expels him from the house ...'
⑤ Ar. (I), 'which if it stops on a bridge will not budge however much it is whipped'.
way, and is conceited. The woman who has the peculiarities of the scorpion is always visiting the houses of the neighbours, gossiping and collecting gossip; she does her utmost to cause enmity and hatred among them and to stir up strife. Like the scorpion she stings wherever she goes. She is not afraid to be one of those concerning whom the Prophet, blessings upon him, stated: 'No instigator of strife will enter Paradise', meaning (in Persian) 'No tale-teller will go to heaven'. The woman who has the character of the mouse is a thief who steals from her husband's purse (and hides what she has stolen) in the houses of the neighbours. She steals barley, wheat, rice and miscellaneous supplies and gives away yarn for spinning. The woman who has the peculiarities of the pigeon flits about all day long and is never still. She says to her husband, 'Where are you going and whence have you come?' and she does not speak affectionately. The woman who has the peculiarities of the fox lets her husband out of the house and eats everything there is (in it), then does not stir and pretends to be sick, and when her husband comes in, starts a quarrel and says, 'You have deserted me (alone in the house) sick.' The woman who has the peculiarities of the sheep is blessed like the sheep, in which everything is useful. The good woman is the same. She is useful to her husband and to (his) family and the neighbours, compassionate with her own kinsfolk, affectionate towards the (members of the) household and towards her children, and obedient to Almighty God. The pious, veiled woman is a blessing from God on High, and few men (able to find) a pious, veiled woman (for a wife); as the following story shows.

Anecdote

It is related that an immoral man wished to presume upon a virtuous woman in an unlawful manner. 'O woman,' he said, 'go and lock all the doors securely.' She went, and then returned and said, 'I have locked all the doors except one.' 'Which door is that?' he asked. 'The door between us and the Lord,' she answered; 1 Ar. (I): 'Where are you going? Without doubt you do not want me and love someone else. You are not being straight with me and affectionate towards me.'

Mustarah. Ar. (I): 'The religiosity of woman is her veil (struha) and (it—or she—is) one of God's blessings to His slaves.'

2 Ar. (I): 'I have locked the doors which lie between us and (other) creatures (khaiga), but there remains the door which lies between you and the Creator (Khalilu).'

Women and their Good and Bad Points

'I knew no way of (locking) that (door). ' The man was awed by these words, and he repented and returned to God.

Anecdote

A certain descendant of 'Ali lived at Samarqand. One day when he was standing at the door of his house a woman passed by. The lane being empty, he seized the woman's arm and dragged her inside the house. Then he attempted to have intercourse with her. 'O Sayyid,' she said, 'first answer me one question. Then do what you please.' 'Say (what it is),' replied the descendant of 'Ali. 'If you possess me unlawfully and then I become pregnant by you and then a child comes, what do you think this child will be? A descendant of 'Ali or a (bastard)?' 2 Ar. a descendant of 'Ali', he said. 'Whether or not you yourself are one of 'Ali's descendants,' she said, 'the deed which you intended is something which genuine descendants of 'Ali would not do.' (These words) abashed the descendant of 'Ali. He let go of the woman's arm, and he vowed to God on High that he would never treat women, whether near relatives or strangers, 3 in that way again.

A man ought to be eager (to uphold his respectability), for religious merit is (associated) with such eagerness and with extreme jealousy. (A man's eagerness) should reach the point where he will insist that the noise of pounding with the pestle by his womenfolk shall not be heard by strange men. If a man comes to the door of the house, it is improper for the women to answer him smoothly and gently, because the hearts of men are captivated by many things; if a woman does have to answer him, she ought to put her finger to her mouth so that he will take her (voice) for (the voice of) an old woman. It is improper for women to look upon any man who is not a near relative, even though that man be blind.

(Tradition)

In the Traditions (this saying of God's Apostle has been reported). Among his Companions was a man named 'Abd Allah.

1 The title, still used today, of descendants of 'Ali through his son Husayn. His descendants through Hassan are called Sharif.

2 P. (II), 'Alma, buraq yd-yibjt. According to Lane's Arabic Lexicon, ibj means a grandson or descendant, usually by a daughter and through the female line, in contrast with hijib, a grandson or descendant through a son and the male line. Ar. (I): khis-an (khustan) 'wrongly, vulgar (wretch).

3 Msram; n-mjram; cf. Q. xxiii. 55.

4 Khobar; see Introduction, p. lvii.
ibn Maktum, who was blind, and one day (this man) was sitting among the women in God’s Apostle’s House. The Prophet, God bless him, came in and said, ‘O ‘Aishah, it is not permissible for women to sit with men who are not close relatives.’ ‘But he is blind’, said ‘Aishah. ‘Even if he cannot see you,’ replied (the Prophet), ‘you can see him.’

(Ancedote)

Hasan al-Basri is reported to have arrived at the house of Rabi’ah al-‘Adawiyyah with some of his friends. ‘It has been a (long) way’, they cried out; (‘permit us to come in’). ‘Wait one hour’, she replied. Then she ordered a rug to be put up as a curtain, and they came in and greeted her; and she answered them from behind the curtain. ‘Why have you put up the curtain?’ they asked. ‘I was ordered to do so’, she replied; ‘for the blessed God on High has said (Q. xxxiii. 52), ‘Ask them from behind a curtain.’’

It is a man’s duty never in any circumstance to look upon a strange woman; for besides the penalty in the next world there is a penalty in this world, as the following story shows.

(Ancedote)

It is related that there once lived at Bukharah a water-carrier, who for thirty years had been carrying water to the house of a certain goldsmith. Now the goldsmith had an exceedingly beautiful and virtuous wife. One day when the water-carrier had brought the water, he saw her standing in the courtyard. Suddenly he walked up, took her hand, and squeezed it. Then he departed. When the goldsmith returned home, his wife said to him, ‘Tell me truly, Did you do something (in the bazaar) today which has displeased God on High? What was it?’ He replied, ‘I did nothing, except that at lunch-time I made a bracelet for a certain woman, and she put it on her arm. The woman was intensely beautiful, and I took

1 Ar. (I), ‘set out to visit Rabi’ah al-‘Adawiyyah... with a group of his friends’. On chronological grounds, Hasan cannot have visited Rabi’ah. See Index.
2 This verse and Q. xxxiii. 52 refer in the context only to the Prophet’s wives, but were held in medieval Islam (and are still held by some Muslims) to be applicable to all Muslim women. The word for ‘curtain’ (khud) came to mean ‘seclusion of women’.
3 Ar. (I) adds, ‘well-known for her dignity (al-rasidah) and characterized by ‘veiling’ (al-nir).
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For all these reasons, intelligent men will be merciful towards their wives and will not treat them unjustly; because women are prisoners in the hands of men. The intelligent man will (also) have forbearance for women; because they are deficient in intelligence. Referring to their scant intelligence, the Prophet, peace be upon him, stated: 'They are deficient in (their) intellects and (their) religion.' Moreover, no man ought to act upon (women's) plans; if he does, he will lose, as the following story shows.

Anecdote

King Parviz was extremely fond of fish. One day when he was sitting on the terrace with Shirin, a fisherman brought a large fish and laid it before them. Parviz ordered that he be given four thousand dirhams. Shirin said, 'You were not right to give this fisherman four thousand dirhams.' 'Why (not)?' he asked. Shirin answered, 'Because henceforward whenever you give four thousand dirhams to one of your servants and retainers, he will say '(The king) gave me the same as he gave to a fisherman'; and whenever you give less, he will say, '(The king) gave me less than he gave to a fisherman'. 'You are right,' said Parviz; 'but it is over now, and kings cannot decently go back on their word.' (I have) a plan for dealing with the matter,' said Shirin; 'call back the fisherman, and ask him whether the fish is male or female. If he says that it is male, tell him that you wanted a female one; and if he says that it is female, tell him that you wanted a male one.' So Parviz called back the fisherman. He was a clever and very knowing man, and when Parviz asked him 'Is this fish male or female?' he kissed the ground and said: 'This fish is neither male nor female. It is hermaphrodite.' Parviz laughed and ordered that he be given a further four thousand dirhams. The man then went to the treasurer, drew eight thousand dirhams, and put them into a knapsack which he slung over his shoulder. When he came out into the courtyard, one dirham dropped from the knapsack. He put down the knapsack and picked the dirham up; and Parviz and Shirin saw him do this. Shirin turned to Parviz and said, 'What a poor fellow this fisherman is! One dirham out of the eight thousand

1 Husna nāqīṣat-i-’uqul wal-din. Ar. (I) omits this saying.
2 Tadbīr.
3 Khwābā, Ar. (I): Hādī’i-l-sumahatu khwābā, lā dhabarun nū lā unnūb. The Arabic rhyme being the main point, perhaps the story was originally Arab, not Persian.

skin on which they slept. Fatimah owned (none of the goods) of this world (except) a rug and a palm-fibre pillow. It will therefore assuredly be proclaimed on the Resurrection Day, 'Lower your eyes that the Lady of Paradise may pass!' A wife will become dear to her husband and gain his affection, firstly by honouring him; secondly by obeying him when they are alone together; and (further) by bearing in mind his advantage and disadvantage, adorning herself (for him), keeping herself concealed from (other) men and secluding herself in the house; by coming to him tidy and pleasantly perfumed, having meals ready (for him) at the (proper) times and cheerfully preparing whatever he desires, by not making impossible demands, not nagging, keeping her nakedness covered at bed-time, and keeping her husbands' secrets during his absence and in his presence.

The author of this book declares that it is the duty of gentlemen to respect the rights of their wives and to show mercy, kindness and forbearance to them. A man who wishes to become merciful and affectionate towards his wife must [remember] ten things (which will help him) to act fairly: (i) she cannot divorce you, while you can (divorce her whenever you wish); (ii) she can take nothing from you, while you can take everything from her; (iii) as long as she is in your net she can have no other husband, while you can have another wife; (iv) without your permission she cannot go out of the house, while you are not afraid of her; (vii) she is content with a cheerful look and a kind word from you, while you are not content with any action of hers; (viii) she is taken away from her mother, father and kinship (for your sake), while you are not separated from any person unless you so wish; (ix) you may buy concubines and prefer them to her, while she has to endure this; (x) she kills herself (with worry) when you are sick, while you do not worry when she dies.

1 Khâtûn-i-khātû: Ar. (I), Sayyidat al-nisâ’ Fatimah.
2 Murdân; Ar. (I), al-rîjîl al-dîbrîr.
3 Sur-râhâlânâh; Ar. (I), al-nisâ’ al-imrâb.
4 Ar. (I) adds, 'without your permission'. In Islamic law, the wife's dowry (mahr, P. khân) cannot be taken from her.
5 Hâdî’i-l-sumahatu khwābā, lā dhabarun nū lā unnūb. The Arabic rhyme being the main point, perhaps the story was originally Arab, not Persian.
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dropped and he objected to parting with it. Parviz was annoyed and replied, ‘What you say is true.’ Then he ordered that the fisherman be called back, and said to him, ‘What a poor fellow you must be! When one dirham out of the eight thousand dropped from your knapsack, you put down the knapsack from your shoulder and picked the dirham up.’ The fisherman kissed the ground and said, ‘May the king’s life be long! I picked up that one dirham because of its importance. It has the king’s face stamped on one side and the king’s name inscribed on the other. I feared that some person might unknowingly trample upon it and dishonour the king’s name and face, and that I should be (responsible for) the offence.’ Parviz was pleased (with this answer) and ordered that: he be given a further four thousand dirhams. So the fisherman returned (home) with twelve thousand dirhams. Then Parviz said, ‘A man who acts upon a woman’s suggestion will lose two dirhams for every one.’

The author of this book declares that the prosperity and peopling of the world depend on women. True prosperity, however, will not be achieved without (sound) planning. It is men’s duty, especially after coming of age, to take precautions in matters of choosing wives and giving daughters in marriage, and so avoid falling into disgrace and embarrassment. It is a fact that all the trials, misfortunes and woes which befall men come from women, and that few men get in the end what they long and hope for from them; as the poet has said,

When slaves rebel against the Merciful, when men in fear and dread of Sulţān stand, it’s due to women.

When robbers put their lives into the balance, when men incur disgrace, invariably it’s due to women.

The disobedience and sad fate of Adam, Joseph’s incarceration in the dungeon, were due to women.

Hārūt’s long stay in Babylon, where he withies suspended by a hair, making loud groans, was due to women.

1 Afghāni; Ar. (I), 1, p. 37, note 3.
2 Tāhā, 37, note 2. After this Ar. (I) adds: ‘There is a saying, ‘Consult them and do the opposite’ attributed by the Sūratatulmān, chap. xili, to Muḥammad.
3 Likewise in Ar. (I).
BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

ABRAH (Hārūn). Son of `Imrān, who had been sādar al-Pharaoh; elder brother of Moses (q.v.) and his sādar. Consecrated in the making of the golden calf. 106.

(Al-)`Abras (ibn al-`Abbas). B. c. 133/75; d. c. 188/803 or 193/808. Arabic poet; a favourite of Hārūn al-Rashīd and a protégé of the Barmakids. Author of elegant ghazals (love-poems). 20.

(Al-)`Abras (ibn al-Ma`mūn). D. 233/848. Son of the Caliph Ma`mūn. Excluded from the succession when Ma`mūn designated first the `Abid `Ali b. Na`īm as his own half-brother Mu`taṣib; but appointed governor of (northern) Mesopotamia, where he distinguished himself in war against the Byzantines. His troops attempted to proclaim him Caliph after Ma`mūn's death in 218/833, but he swore allegiance to Mu`taṣib. He acquiesced, however, in a second attempted coup d'état; this failed, and he was imprisoned and died. 120.

`Abd Allāh ibn al-`Abbas. D. c. 86/669-70. Son of Muhammad's uncle. `Abd Allāh, and ancestor of the `Abbasids. Served as governor of Basrah under `Ali; alleged to have embellished the public funds on relinquishing this post, but possibly took them with the approval of Mu`āwiyah. Recognized the Umayyads and refused to join in the revolt of `Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr (61/681-2). Appears to have been a genuine scholar. Very large numbers of Traditions and Qur'ānic interpretations are attributed to him. 14, 113, 117, 155, 102.

`Abd Allāh ibn Ja`far. A secretary in the service of Mu`āwiyah (q.v.), who sent him to negotiate the abdication of Hasān. 16.

`Abd Allāh ibn Ja`far (ibn Abī Talib). D. 80/669 or 85/704. A nephew of `Ali. Probably born in Abyssinia where his father emigrated during the persecution of the first Muslims at Mecca; they later rejoined Mu`āwiyah at Madinah. `Abd Allāh was famous for his generosity. He attempted to dissuade Ḥusayn (q.v.) from his fateful expedition to `Iraq. 131.

`Abd Allāh ibn Mātūm. A blind Companion of Muhammad. 167 f.

`Abd Allāh ibn Malik al-Khuț`at. Arab general in the service of Mahdi. Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ma`mūn. Was chief of the shūṭah (palace guard or police) at Baghdaḏ. As governor of Armenia led troops against the first Khurramite rebels in Ḍarabjān. Dismissed in 202/817 at the instigation of Ma`mūn's sādar Fadl ibn Sahl (q.v.). 123 f., 127 ff.

`Abd Allāh ibn Ma`ṣūm. D. 32/653 or 33/654. A Meccan of humble origin and one of Muhammad's first converts. Fought in various campaigns; became an official and teacher at Kūfah. Celebrated for his piety and as a transmitter of Traditions and Qur'ān-reader. His reading differed from the official recension of `Uthmān in that he considered `īṣār 1, exāl and ṣawwād to be not part of the Qur'ān. Ancestor of the historian Mut`ad. 38.

`Abd Allāh ibn Mu`āwiyah. B. 108/726; d. c. 181/797. Persian mystic and ascetic, known also as a Traditionist and critic of unreliable Ḥadīth. Staunch upholder of Law and Custom (Sharī`ah and Sunnah) and opponent of heresy. Was a Ḥanafite but influenced the thought of Ibn Ḥanbal. Lived mainly at Marv where he founded two monasteries (ḥānāfs). Died in `Iraq and is buried at Ḥir. 155, 159, 160.

`Abd Allāh ibn Rab`āh. Not identified. 131.


`Abd al-`Azīz ibn Marwān. D. 857/754. A good governor of Egypt; took up the post under his father Marwān I (q.v.) and remained in it under his brother `Abd al-Malik for twenty years until his death. Designated by Marwān to succeed `Abd al-Malik as Caliph, but the latter wished to designate his own sons Walīd and Sulaymān and did so after `Abd al-`Azīz's death. 22, 133.

`Abd al-Ra`ūmān ibn `Abd al-Malik, D. 31/652. Early Meccan convert to Islam; one of those who emigrated temporarily to Abyssinia. Fought at Badr and in other battles. Was an able business man and made a large fortune. 65.

`Abū `Ali (al-Hassan ibn Muhammad) al-Dāqāq. D. 466/1075 or 471/1081. A mystic and preacher of Nishāpūr; teacher of Abī l-Qāsim al-Qushayri, the author of the celebrated Rūdūh (compiled 437/1047) which did much to make Ṣūfism respectable. 54.

`Abū l-Ya`qūb. A governor of Kūfah under the Ḍayids named Abī `Ali Muhammad ibn Ḥūayyān who died in 365/976; he is not likely to have ever been army commander at Nishāpūr, as stated here and in the Ṣūdātdanāmah, chap. vii. But the Ṣūdātdanāmah, chap. ix, states that he was governor of Kūfah. 54.

`Abū Bakr (Abū Allāh al-Atiq). First Caliph. R. 11/632-13/654. One of Muhammad's first converts and most trusted friends and advisors; father of `Abū Bakr. His armies quelled the riddah (rebellions of Arab tribes under rival prophets), and defeated the Byzantines at Ajnādīn in Palestine. Known as al-Ǧudīdīq because of his sincerity. 19, 67.

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Abū Hāşim (Maslama ibn Abī Dīnār). D. 136/754 or 140/758. Called al-Aʿraj ("The Lame"). A prominent ascetic and mystic of Mathnāwī. 21, 22.

Abū Hurayrah. D. 57/676 or 58/678. Real name doubtful; so called because of his fondness for little cats. Companion of Muhammad, whom he joined at Madinah in 7/629. The most prolific transmitter of Tradition among the Companions. 37 f.

Abū Jaʿfar Zaydūyah. A kinsman of ʿAmr ibn Layth (q.v.). Not identified. 94 f.

Abū Mūsā (Abū ʿAbdallāh ibn Qays) al-Asbāʿī. D. c. 42/663. A Yamanite, he joined Muhammad in 7/628. Commanded troops in the Yaman under Muhammad and Abū Bakr. Under ʿUmar he was appointed governor of Baṣrah in 11/632 and commanded expeditions in Persia and northern Mesopotamia. Continued as governor of Baṣrah under ʿUthmān. Neutral in the civil wars, but was nevertheless appointed by ʿAlī (q.v.) to be his representative at the arbitration of Adhrāʾ in 37/657. In his verdict, however, he declared both ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah to be unworthy of the Caliphate. 23.

Abū l-Qāsim Ėtibar. Sage and mystic of Samarkand, noted for his wise sayings and his kindness. Real name, Isaḥāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismaʿīl. D. 343/953.

Or: Sage of Kirmān, contemporary with Ibn Sinā (Hūnālī). 140.

Abū Qālābāh (al-Jarmī). D. 104/723. Transmitter of Traditions. An opponent of Shīʿah, he thought that innovation (baḍāʿ) should be punished with death. 21.

Abū Saʿīd. Probably either Abū Saʿīd ibn Abīl-ʿĪrāq (real name Faḍl Allāh ibn Muḥammad) or Abū Saʿīd Abū ʿAbdullāh ibn Isā al-Kharrāṣ. Abū Saʿīd ibn Abīl-ʿĪrāq, b. 357/968, d. 440/1049, was a mystic of Mayyānā in Khurāsān and reputed but possibly not real author of Şīfi quatrains in Persia; celebrated also for the correspondence with the philosopher Ibn Sīnā. Pantheistic in tendency, he said, "There is nothing inside this shirt except God." At first he lived as a solitary ascetic, but from the age of 40 he devoted himself to serving the poor, for whom he arranged lavish banquets and ecstatic dances. He was often accused of heresy, but had influential protectors; moreover, his powers of thought-reading and interpreting physiognomy were considered miraculous. Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāṣ, d. 280/894, an ascetic of Baghdād, was accused of heresy and fled to Bukhārā, then to Egypt. Said by Hujwīrī to have been the first to define fānd (self-anihilation in God), though others attribute this to Bāyyūzī Bīriṭāni. 161.

Abū Suyūṭ (Sukh ibn Ḥabib ibn Ummayyāz). D. c. 153. Leader of the Umayyad clan of the Quraysh at Mecca and a successful merchant. Opposed Muhammad, and commanded the Meccans at Badr and Uḥud and in the War of the Rift. Negotiated the surrender of Mecca in 8/629, and was treated with much consideration by Muhammad. Fought in the Muslim armies at Hunayn and the Yarmūk. His daughter...
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*'Abd al-Malik B. 613 or 614, d. 58/675. The beloved of Mu'adh bin Jabal, who died in 629; son of Dārā Bakt. Was accused of adultery but exonerated by revelation (Q. xxiv. 11 f.). Criticized 'Uthmān but deplored his murder. Fought for Tā'ifah and Zuhayr in the Battle of the Camel (56/666), so-called after the camel on which he rode. After the battle she was sent back to Madīnah by 'Ali (q.v.), with whom she became reconciled. Talented and literate, she was an important source of Tradition. 31, 44, 169.

Alexander the Great (Iskandar-i Rūmī). Son of Philip (Fāylaqūs) or, according to some Persian accounts, son of Dārā the Elder (or Dārāb) by Philip's daughter (see table on p. 48, note 1). Educated by Aristotle. Made war against Dārā the Younger, conquered Egypt, and at a battle in Mesopotamia finally defeated Dārā, who, however, escaped. Corresponded with Dārā, married his daughter, and received his testament, thus becoming legitimate king of Persia when Dārā was murdered. Conquered India and travelled over the world in quest of knowledge. Died at Babylon. Alexander is regarded as the exemplar of the philosopher king and has become the hero of legends derived from the lost Alexander-romance of pseudo-Callisthenes (see Introduction, p. 1xii f.). He is said to have travelled with Khidr (q.v.—or according to Nizâmî with Ilyas) through the Land of Darkness to the Fountain of Life, but not to have drunk from it (as Khidr did); and is generally identified with the Qur'ānic Dhūl-Qarnayn (q.v.). 73, 84, 93, 96, 100 f., 113 n. 8, 137, 138, 142.

Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib. B. c. 598, d. 40/661. Son of Abū Ṭālib, cousin of Muhammad and his second or third convert. Married his daughter Fatimah shortly after the hijrah to Madīnah. Married with great bravery in Muhammad's wars. Uncompromisingly high-principled and religious. Took no part in public affairs under Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. Elected Caliph after the murder of 'Uthmān in 35/656, but was accused by his enemies of having connived at the murder. Defeated the pretenders 'Abdallāh and Zuhayr at the battle of the Camel (see 'Abīshah) and encountered the army of Mu'āwiya (q.v.) at the plain of Siffin. To stop the shedding of Muslim blood by Muslims, he agreed to arbitration by the Qur'ān. Part of his army disapproved of his accepting arbitration and seduced (the Khārijīs); he had to take the field against them at the bloody battle of Nahrawān (58/675). Meanwhile, the interdictors Abū Mas'ud al-'Ashīrī (q.v.) and 'Amr ibn al-As (q.v.) had pronounced 'Ali to be disqualified, and 'Amr had also confirmed Mu'āwiya. 'Ali could not accept this. He continued to claim the Caliphate and to rule in 'Iraq and Persia until his murder by a Khārijī, Ibn Mujam, Shī'ites hold that 'Ali is Wali al-'Āsh (Friend of God) and First Imam, having been designated successor by Muhammad at Ghadir Khumm after the latter's farewell pilgrimage. 16 n. 7, 19, 59, 116, 142, 167, 169.

Ali ibn (al-)Hubayr, called Zayn al-'Abidin and 'Ali Asghar. D. 93/712. Younger son of Husayn (q.v.); survived the massacre of Karbalá in Biographical Index

which his elder brother 'Ali Akbar was killed. Fourth Imam of the Shi'ites; respected also by Sunnis, and especially Šī'is. 26, 27. (AL-)AMIN, MUHAMMAD, 'Abbasid Caliph, b. 179/797, r. 193/809-198/813. Son of Hārūn al-Rashid by the latter's principal wife (and cousin) Zuhayrda. Faḍl ibn Yahyā al-Harmaki was his tutor and the poet Abū Nuwās was his boon-companion. Hārūn in 186/802 designated Amin as his successor and Ma'mūn as Amin's successor. Amin, a pleasure-loving prince, duly succeeded and Ma'mūn became governor of Khurāsān. In 194/808 Amin violated the arrangement by designating his own son as his successor. After long wars Amin was defeated and put to death by Ma'mūn's Khurāsānian troops led by Tāhir the Ambaxid. 122 f.

AMIR IBN AL-'ĀSH. D. c. 42/663. Qurayshite politician and general, converted to Islam shortly before the Muslim conquest of Mecca. Commanded troops sent by Muhammad to 'Umān and took part in the conquest of Palestine and Syria. Conquered Egypt 194/610-21/614 and removed governor till the death of 'Umar. Founded Fustāṭ (later Cairo) and was an excellent administrator. Dismissed by 'Uthmān. Joined Mu'āwiya against 'Ali, and at Siffin in 37/657 suggested to Mu'āwiya the idea of Qur'anic arbitration. Appointed by Mu'āwiya to be one of the arbiters at Adhārūt, and unexpectedly declared 'Ali deposed and confirmed Mu'āwiya. Meanwhile, Mu'āwiya had re-appointed him governor of Egypt, where he remained in office till his death, 119.

AMIR IBN LAVTH. The second Sa'īdīr Amīr, r. 265/879-278/890, d. 282/992. Originally a mule-driver, then a stone-mason. Elected by the army to succeed his brother Ya'qūb (q.v.). Paid homage to the Caliph al-Mu'tamid and is described as a magnanimous and statesmanlike ruler. Cashed with the Sāmānids in Khurāsān and was defeated and captured at Balkh by Jāmār the Sāmānī (q.v.), who sent him to Baghdad where he was executed by order of the Caliph al-Muktafī. 1. 91 f.

AMIR IBN MA'lshāH. Yamanite warrior and poet. Converted in 106/721 but apostatized and took part in the riddāt; captured, then released by order of Abū Bakr. Fought in the battles of the Yarmūk and Qādiyān (16/637); probably was killed there or at Nihāvān (21/641). Few of his poems survive. 146.

Ancuṣrān, Khurāb aI. The greatest Sāsānian king, famous for his justice and magnanimity. R. 531-79 (see table on p. 52). Third son of Qubād, who had attempted to curb the nobles and first favoured, then after an attempt to overthrow him, turned against and crushed the heretical Mazdakites. Anciently renounced taxation, to make it more equitable and productive; superimposed upon the feudal system a standing army and a bureaucracy; and sternly punished injustices and abuses. He maintained Zoroastrianism as the state religion and repressed heresy, but showed tolerance to the Nestorian and Monophysite Christians and the Jews. He also took an interest in Greek and Indian culture (see Introduction, p. 1xii). He waged intermittent wars against
of the grandees murdered his elder brother Shāhpūr, and proclaimed a prince of another branch of the Sāsānian family as king; but Bahrām was able to win the throne with the help of Mundhir’s troops. He con-
ciliated the nobles, supported the Zoroastrian state church, reduced the taxes, and encouraged people to enjoy life. Many stories are told of his prowess in love and war, skill in hunting, and fondness for poetry and music. 46, 86, 87 ff., 93 n. 4, 107.

BANŪ HĀSHIM. See Hāshimites.

BANŪ UMAYYAD. See Umayyads.

BARMĀKIDS. Family descended from the high priests of the principal temple at Balkh, called the Nawbavār (probably a Buddhist vāhana). After the final Arab conquest of the city (date uncertain), they became Muslim and retained possession of the temple estates. Khalid al-
Barmakī (d. 165/878–79) joined the ‘Abbāsid revolt in Khorāsān, served the Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik as head of the diwan of the army (jund) and land-tax (khārj), and was governor of provinces in the east of the empire until Mansūr and Mahdi. His son Yahyā, one of the most illustrious cāfars in Muslim history, was appointed tutor-secretary to the prince Ḥārūn in 125/742. He was imprisoned by the Caliph Hādī for a short while before the latter’s murder, and thereafter served Ḥārūn as vazir for seventeen years. He did much to promote prosperity in the empire, but acquired such prestige and wealth that he almost overshadowed the Caliph himself. His son Fadl and Ja’far served as his assistants, as tutors to the Caliph’s sons Amin and Ma’mūn respectively, and at times as provincial governors. Ja’far was Ḥārūn’s favourite, Fadl the first to incur his displeasure. In 198/813 Ja’far was suddenly executed by order of Ḥārūn; Yahyā (d. 180/895), Fadl (d. 193/808) and others of the family were imprisoned at Raqqah, where Ḥārūn usually resided; and all their wealth was confiscated. 104, 111, 116, 120, 123 ff., 125 ff., 127 ff.

BUZURGHMĪR. Sage at the court of Anūšīhrān; concerning his identity and significance see Introduction, pp. xxvii ff. 75, 77, 90, 111, 135, 137, 138, 140, 143, 145, 154, 155.

CABRAS OF THE ROMANS (Qaysari-Rūm). 18, 64 ff., 73.

DAHRĪ. Mythical tyrant who overpowered and slew the mighty and beneficent king Jamshīd; a cannibal with snakes growing from his shoulders. Overthrown after a thousand years by the hero Farīdūn, who chained him to Mount Damavand. Also known as Bayrārāb. 47.

DANĀNĪR. A slave-girl and singer, trained by Ḥārūn al-Rashīd’s celebrated court musician Iṣḥāq al-Mawṣūlī. 126.

DĀR A’BAN DĀRĀ (Dārā the Younger). See under Alexander the Great. 100 ff.

DAVID (Dā’ūd). Prophet and king; also a Caliph (Khālid; Q. xxxviii. 25). He slew Goliath (Jālūt), and God revealed the Psalms (Zāhār) to him. A perspicacious judge, expert armourer, and fine singer. 17, 46, 72.

THE DEVIL. See Iblīs.
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Dhūl-Qarnayn, 'The Two-Horned'. A surname of Alexander the Great (q.v.); also the name given in the Qur'ān (xxviii. 83-98) to a person whom God made strong in the land and to whom He gave access to everything. This person travelled to the rising-place and setting-place of the sun and built a dam between two mountains to protect the people from devastation by Gog and Magog (Yājūj and Mājūj). Most but not all commentators identify him with Alexander the Great. 42 f., 58.

Dhūl-Ryadhayn. Title of Faḍl ibn Sahl (q.v.).

Emperor of China (Fang-fu). 64. See also p. 21.

Eve (Hāwā'). Wife of Adam (q.v.). 164.

Faḍl ibn Sahl. D. 207/818. Son of Sahl ibn Zādān Bardrūh, a Persian employed by Yayhū ibn Khālid al-Barmakī (see Barmakids). In 190/806, after the execution of Jā'ir ibn Yayhū ibn Barmakī, he became tutor to Ma'mūn (q.v.) and was converted from Zoroastrianism to Islam. After the death of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, Ma'mūn chose him as his vizier. He directed Ma'mūn's policy towards Amin (q.v.) and was given authority over both the civil and the military administrations with the title Dhūl-Ryadhayn (Holder of the Two Directorships). He commanded expeditions against Uṣrūshānah in Turkistan and Kābul, whose princes acknowledged Caliphal suzerainty and embraced Islam. After Ma'mūn's troops led by the generals Tāhir and Harthamah had occupied Baghdaḍ and eliminated Amin, Faḍl's brother Ḥasan ibn Sahl was appointed governor of Iraq. Faction of 'Irāqis who disliked Ḥasan because he was a Persian and objected to the designation of 'Ali al-Ridā as Ma'mūn's successor rebelled and proclaimed successive pretenders Caliph. Faḍl by means of false accusations led Ma'mūn to dismiss Harthamah, who died in prison, and also 'Abd Allāh ibn Mālik al-Khuṭʿī (q.v.) and others; moreover, he misrepresented to Ma'mūn the facts of the situation in 'Irāq. 'Ali al-Ridā is said to have given the true facts to Ma'mūn, who then set out from Merv (hitherto his capital) for Baghdaḍ. On the way Faḍl was murdered at Sarakhs in the bath, allegedly by order of Ma'mūn, and 'Ali al-Ridā died at Tūs after drinking pomegranate juice. Ḥasan ibn Sahl then had a nervous breakdown and left the post, but his health recovered and in 210/825 his daughter Purān was married to Ma'mūn with magnificent ceremonies. 98, 142.

Faḍl ibn Yayhū al-Barmakī. See Barmakids.

Fāṭimah bint (or Afdīn). Mythical king who overpowered the tyrant Dābabh (q.v.), and ruled with splendour and justice for five hundred years. Father of Iraq, to whom he gave the lands of Iran; of Sīm, to whom he gave the Syrian and Greek marches; of Tūr or Tūj, to whom he gave the Turkish marches and who was the ancestor of Afra'yīb (q.v.); and of Minūchihīr. Tūr and Sīm murdered Iraq, but were eventually killed by Minūchihīr, who had sworn vengeance. 46.

Fāṭimah, B. c. 605, d. 633. Daughter of Muḥammad by Khadijah; married 'Ali (q.v.) at Madīnah in 2/624 or 3/625 and became the mother of Hasan, Husayn (q.v.), and two daughters. Came to be regarded by Sunnites and Shi'ites alike as an exemplar of virtuous womanhood. 106.

Faḍl al-Din ibn 'Iyād, Abū 'Ali. D. 187/803. Native of Marv and at first a bandit leader, but kind-hearted towards his victims. Repented and became a Sufī under the spiritual guidance of Ābān ibn 'Abī 'Ayishah. Held that this lower world is wholly bad and laid great stress on sincere intention. Was also a transmitter of sometimes doubtful Traditions. 20, 92.

Gabriel (Jibrīl, Jibrīʾī). Messenger-angel; communicated God's revelations to Muhammad and earlier Prophets. 20, 58.

Galīn (Jalāʾīn). The physician and philosopher, b. A.D. 129, d. c. 200. See Introduction, p. xxiii. 113 n. 6, 140.

Gūshṭābš (Hystaspes). Legendary king; convert and protector of Zoroaster. 93 f.

Hājij ibn Yūsuf. D. 95/714. Born a humble member of the Taqīf tribe of Tāʾif, he is said to have become a schoolmaster. Distinguished himself as a soldier in the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik's campaigns in 'Irāq against Muṣ'ab, brother of the anti-Caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr; then commanded the force which besieged Mecca for seven months and finally killed 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr (72/692). Served as governor of the Eṣṣār and Yaman until appointed governor of 'Irāq in 74/694. Remained in that office under 'Abd al-Malik and Wālid until his death in 95/714. Celebrated for his ruthlessness in suppressing Khārijīte, Shiʿite, and other rebellions and in enforcing the payment of taxation. Though afterwards viewed as a tyrant, he restored prosperity by establishing order and repairing and extending irrigation works. He made his headquarters at the new city of Wāṣit, midway between Baṣrah and Kūfah. His generals Qutaybah ibn Muslim and Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim conquered Transoxiana and Sind. The vocalization of the 'Uhmānic text of the Qur'ān is said to have been done on his order. 77, 144.

Hārūn. Wāzir of Pharaoh (q.v.). He built for his royal master a tower which reached to the sky. 20.

Hārūn al-Rashīd. 'Abbasid Caliph, b. 149/766, r. 170/786-193/809. He succeeded by his father the Caliph Maḥdī as second successor after his elder brother Mūsā al-Hāfīdhe. The latter during his reign of thirteen months tried in vain to persuade Hārūn to renounce his rights. After his mysterious murder, Hārūn al-Rashīd succeeded without opposition. On his relations with the Barmakids and their sudden fate, see Barmakids. Hārūn has remained famous for the prosperity of his reign and for his patronage of literature and music. He waged war against Byzantium with moderate success, and died at Tūs on his way to deal with a rebellion in Transoxiana. During the latter part of his reign he resided mainly at Raqqah on the Euphrates, east of Alep. 19, 20, 22, 123, 123 f., 123 ff., 127.
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HABÜT AND MÁRÜT. Two angels in Babylon who teach people how to cause division between man and wife, but harm nobody except with God's permission (Q. 9. 68). Though imprisoned and suffering torture, they are still active. 33, 172.

HABAN AL-BAGH (Abū Sa‘īd al-Hasan ibn Abī l-Hasan). B. 21/642, d. 110/728. Celebrated preacher, ascetic, scholar, and transmitter of Tradition. Said to have been the son of a slave. Born at Madinah but lived at Basrah. Corresponded with 'Abd al-Malik, Hajjaj, and 'Umar II, and gathered a large circle of disciples. Many sayings are attributed to him and stories told of him. Appears to have been neutral in politics. Is regarded as the greatest pioneer of Sufism. Wasi'il ibn 'Atī, founder of the Mu'talitite school, was his pupil but seceded on the question whether sinners are true believers. 25, 85, 90, 168.

HĀŠIMITE. The clan of the Quraysh tribe at Mecca to which Muhammad belonged. It was one of the less influential clans. The name is also given to their descendants, including both the 'Alids and the Abūsā'id. 130 f.


HAYIM AL-TĀṬI. D. c. 605. Pre-Islamic poet and exemplar of hospitality and generosity. His diwan survives, and many stories are told of him. 105.


HISJĀM IBN 'ABBĀS AL-MALIK. Umayyad Caliph, r. 166/754-170/757. Succeeded his brother Yazid II ibn 'Abd al-Malik after the latter had died of grief over the loss of a beloved singing girl. A strict Muslim and efficient ruler, but notorious for his parsimony and harshness in exacting taxation. His troops invaded France but were defeated near Poitiers in 114/733-34.

HIZAYYAH IBN YAMÁN (ibn Husayy al-Yaman). D. 26/647, Companion of Muhammad; commander of 'Abd al-Azīz (Ctesiphon) under 'Umar; took part in the conquest of Persia, and at the decisive battle of Nihawand in 216/634 assumed command when the first commander 'Ummān ibn al-Muqarrin was killed, and rallied the Arabs to victory. Was also a transmitter of Tradition. Said to have been a supporter of 'Ali. 17.

HUMAYNAH IBN SHABIB (Hormizd I). Shāšā'ī king, r. 272-273. See table on p. 51. 121.

HUSAYN IBN 'ALI. D. 61/680. Second son of 'Ali by Fatimah; much loved by his grandfather Muhammad. Married a Persian lady taken captive in the wars of conquest and believed to have been Shahranā, daughter of Yazgardi III. Considered by Shi'ites in later times (though not by all contemporary Shi'ites) to have become third rightful Imam after the death of his brother Hasan in 49/669. Lived quietly at Madinah until Yazid ibn Mu'awiya succeeded to the Caliphate, when he responded to a call from Kufah and crossed the desert with a small party of relatives and supporters to assert his right. The Kūfians failed to rise in support, and a force sent by the governor 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Yazid and commanded by 'Umar ibn Sa'id ibn Abī Waqqas surrounded the party. Husayn rejected an ultimatum to surrender, and although Yazid's orders to 'Ubayd Allāh are said to have been to capture them alive, a skirmish occurred on the 10th Muharram; Husayn was killed by Shirm, and his elder son 'Ali Akbar and a nephew and some others were also killed; his younger son 'Ali Aqbar (Zayn al-'Abidin) and various kinsfolk survived. The heads of the deceased were taken to Yazid, who is said to have deprived their loss; the survivors were sent to Madinah, where they appear to have lived in peace. While Sunnites came to regard Husayn as an exemplar of high-minded courage and devotion, Shi'ites view his martyrdom as a supreme sacrifice for the establishment of men's sins. 131.

IRU (Greeks Diabolos). The Devil; a rebellious angel or jinn, who refused to bow to Adam. His punishment has been postponed until the Resurrection Day, when he tricks men and leads them astray, except Believers. Often identified with the Satan (Shayān) who tempted Adam and Eve, but there are many Satans. 27. 39.

IBN 'ABBĀS. See 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās.

IBN MA'SĀUF. See 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd.

IBN MU'ADDAF, 'Abd Allāh. B. c. 166/754, d. 139/757. Originally named Rūshīb, Son of Dādūyah, a Persian nobleman who served in the revenue administration of Fārs under Hajjaj and who had a hand which was withered (māṣīfah), perhaps from torture. Adhered to the 'Abbaṣī revolt, embraced Islam, and was employed as a secretary, mainly it seems in the governorate of Basrah. Translated from Pahlavi into Arabic the Khudūsimmāt (Book of the Kings) and other lost works, as well as the extant Kullāt al-Dumāt (see Introduction, pp. lxxii ff.). Also composed in Arabic some extant and probably authentic prose works. Said to have been a crypto-Manichean (Zindī). Was put to death by fire at Basrah, allegedly for imitating the style of the Qur'ān and translating books which corrupted the faith and morals of the Muslims, but possibly in fact for suspected intrigue with the Caliph Maṣṣūr's uncle 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Ali, who had commanded the 'Abbaṣī armed forces which defeated and killed the last Umayyad Marwān II and had been imprisoned at Basrah by Maṣṣūr after claiming the Caliphate on the death of Saifāh. 134.

IBN ABU TA'ZZ. 'Abd Allāh. D. 295/908. 'Abbaṣī prince devoted to poetry and learning; author of surviving anthologies, poems, and works on rhetoric and literary criticism. Proclaimed Caliph by a faction of troops on the death of his second cousin al-Muktafi; chased from the palace by another faction later the same day, and murdered twelve days later. 113 f.

IBN AL-QAMROKHAY. D. 84/703. So-called after his mother; real name Ayūb ibn Zayd. Eloquent preacher and agitator against Hajjaj ibn Yūsuf (q.v.). Imprisoned by Hajjaj, who held disputations with him and later put him to death. 164.

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IBN ‘UMAR. See ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar.

IMRUL-QAYY. D. c. 540. Pre-Islamic poet, author of the finest ode in the collection of the seven ‘Mu’allaqat’ made in 1337/72 by Ḥasan al-Ra‘wiyah. His father, Ḥujr ibn Ḥārith, king of Kindah, was murdered, and he sought unsuccessfully in long wanderings to avenge the deed and recover the kingdom. Said to have gone to Byzantium to seek help from the emperor (Justinian), but without success; and to have died on his return journey at Ankarā, allegedly poisoned by the emperor’s order. 105.


ISMA‘IL IBN AHMAD. Sūmānī Amīr, r. 279/892-295/907. Eliminated but did not kill or main his brother Nār I, the founder of the dynasty (r. 250/864-279/982). When ‘Amr ibn Layth (q.v.) raised pretensions to Transoxiana, Isma‘il defeated him at Balkh in 287/990 and annexed Khurāsān with Caliphal sanction. 70 f.

‘IZA‘IL. The Angel of Death. Mentioned, but not by name, in Q. xxxii. 11. 39-42.

JĀ‘AFAR IBN MūSĀ AL-HĀDĪ. Son of the Caliph (Mūsā al-Hādī), who reigned for thirteen months and was mysteriously murdered in 170/786 in his hareem, probably at the instigation of his brother Hārūn al-Rashīd (q.v.) or of their mother Khayyārīn. Jā‘far was thus a first cousin of Amin (q.v.) and Mā‘ṣūm (q.v.). 122 f.

JĀ‘AFAR IBN YAHΥA AL-BARMĀNĪ. See Barmakids.

JESUS (Ṭāb). Prophet and apostle, son of the virgin Mary (Maryam) by God’s word; a spirit from God. He received the Gospel (Injīl) from God. He had power to raise the dead, heal the sick, and breathe life into clay birds. He was not crucified, another being substituted for Him, and He was raised to God. His coming was a sign and a mercy to men, among whom he lived in poverty, doing them good by His example and bringing them wisdom and proofs of God. 26. 33 f., 35, 38, 147 f.


JOSEPH (Yūsuf). Prophet, son of Jacob (Ya‘qūb). Sold into slavery by his brothers and taken to Egypt. His beauty inflamed his master’s wife (Zulaykha), but he resisted her temptations on a clear sign from God. His innocence was proved by the fact that his shirt was torn from behind. He was imprisoned nevertheless, and while in prison interpreted Pharaoh’s dream as meaning that there would be seven fat and seven lean years. Pharaoh (q.v.) put him in charge of the granaries of Egypt, and he summoned his brothers to join him there. 113, 172.

(Al)-KHUD, or KHUDAR. The name given to a servant of God mentioned in Q. xviii. 60-82, whom Moses met on his journey to the meeting-place of the two seas. Sometimes identified with Elias (Hyke), sometimes with the companion of Alexander (q.v.) who went with him to the spring of life. Popularly believed to help Muslims in distress and appear to them in green, whence his name. 16.

LUQĀM. Sage, mentioned in Q. xxxi. Famous for his longevity. The later Muslims ascribed to him many of the fables ascribed in the West to Aesop. 107 n. 1, 135, 143, 146.

MA‘ĀNĪ. Magians. Mentioned in Q. xxii. 17, and taken to mean Zoroastrians in general. 46.


MAḤMUD IBN SUBUḤQĪN (Maḥmūd of Ghazna). B. 361/971, r. 387/997-421/1030. His father was Subuktigin, founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty and son of a slave-born troop commander in the service of the Sūmānīs, who sseeded and set up an autonomous state at Ghazna in what is now Afghanistan. Maḥmūd conquered the Panjihī, Sind, and much of Persia; championed Sunnīm and the ‘Abbasid Caliphate, receiving the title Yamin al-Dawlah; and raised the celebrated Hindu temple of Somakhit in Gujrat in 417/1026, destroying its idol. He patronized Bīrūnī and other scholars and poets, but failed to kidnap the philosopher Ibn Sīnā after his refusal to come to Ghazna. The nigandry reward which he offered for the Shahāmadān was snared by Firdawsi in verses of immortal satire. 96.

MAJNUN (Mahd). The epithet given to Qays ibn al-Mulawwah of the tribe of Banū Amr, a pre-Islamic poet. He fell in love with Layla bint Sa‘d of the same tribe, but although she reciprocated his love, her father married her to another man. Mad with grief, he foook his tribe and lived alone, wandering in the desert. In the end the unhappy Layla became free; but by that time it was too late. Thanks mainly to NJīfī, this romance became a favourite theme of Persian literature. 173.

MĀLĪK DINĀR. D. 127/745 or 131/749. Son of a slave who was later emancipated. Ascetic and mystic of Bārāz; a disciple of Hasan al-Baṣrī (q.v.), and himself a teacher of Rābī‘ah al-Adawiyyah (q.v.). He stressed correct action as well as sincere intention. According to Aṭṭār, he was accused of stealing when on board ship, beaten, and thrown into the sea, whereupon fish came to the surface each bearing two diners; whence his name. Hujwīrī tells a similar tale of him but states that Dinār was his father’s name. 136.

(Al)-MA‘ṢŪM, Abū‘l-Abba‘ Abū Allāh. B. 170/786, r. 198/813-218/833. Son of Hārūn al-Rashīd by a Persian slave woman and half-brother of Amin (q.v.). Had been governor of Khurāsān and continued while
Caliph to reside at Marv until 204/819, when he entered Baghdād after crushing a revolt in favour of his second cousin, the prince-musician Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī. Sought to reconcile the Shiʿites by designating their 8th Imām ʿAlī al-Ridā as his successor; but the latter died at Ṭūs in 203/818 (see under Faḍl ibn Sahl). Maʿmūn founded at Baghdād a Dar al-Ḥikmah, where the astronomer-mathematician Khwārizmī worked and where numerous works of Greek philosophy and science were translated by Ḥunayn ibn Ἰṣḥāq and others (see Introduction, p. ix). In the last year of his reign he instituted an inquisition against judges and officials who would not subscribe to the Muʿtazilite doctrine of the created Qurʾān, which he had formally adopted in 212/827. His troops fought against the Khurramite heretics in Ḥamadhān, and in three successive years he personally led campaigns against the Byzantines, on the last of which he died at Ṭarsūs. See also ʿAbbās ibn al-Maʿmūn, 81 f., 98, 150 ff.

(Al-)Mansūr, Abū Jafar ᾠʿAbbās, Abū ʿAbbās al-Naqi. Abū ʿAbbās Caliph, b. 82/702, d. 136/754-137/755. Succeeded his brother Saffāh, and defeated the rival claimant, his uncle ʿAbbās al-Muqaffaʿ. Treacherous to death the Khurramite Christian leader Abū Muslim, to whom he owed his victory over ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī and to whom the ʿAbdābids owed their victory over the Umayyad Quelled numerous revolts and founded Baghdād, 15/572. Noted for his parsimony, he left a full treasury to his successor. 25, 119, 121, 151, 152 f.


Maswān (ibn Haiḥam) (Ibn Alī-ʾĪṣāʾ ibn Umayyah). Umayyad Caliph, 64/684-65/685. A second cousin of Muʿāwiyah. Had been adviser to ʿUthmān (q.v.). Aged about 70, he rallied the supporters of the Umayyads in the confusion following the death of Yazīd (see under Husain ibn ʿAlī) and defeated the forces of the anti-Caliph ʿAbd Allāh ibn Zubayr at Marj Rabiḥ near Damascus. The subsequent rulers of the dynasty were his descendants. 21 f., 67.

Maswān II (Ibn Muhammad ibn Maswān). Last Umayyad Caliph in the east, b. 127/743-127/750. Capable ruler and general; crushed revolts in Syria, ʿIrāq and Persia. Resided at Harrān. Was defeated at the Battle of the Zab by an ʿAbbāsid army commanded by ʿAbbās ibn ʿAlī, uncle of the future Caliph Saffāh and Massūr. Escaped to Egypt, but was caught and killed in a church where he had taken refuge. Then aged about 70. Called ʿal-Ḥamīr, ʿThe Ass’; not, it is said, as an insult, but because of his tenacity. 98.

Muṣaḥra, Zoroastrian priest. In Sasanian times there were several categories of clergy, whose titles and functions are obscure (Christensen, pp. 118 f.); but the supreme pontif officially called Moḥebd-ḡumbād. The office continued to exist in ʿAbbāsid times (Men, p. 31), when Chief Moḥebd fulfilled the same function, as head of his community responsible to the government,
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Muhammad 'Ali ibn al-Fadl. Not identified. 60.
Muhammad ibn Ka‘b al-Qurashi. D. 108/727. Of the Jewish Quraysh tribe of Madinah. Spared on account of his tender age when the tribe was liquidated after the War of the Ditch (see under Muhammad). Knew some of Muhammad's Companions and was a transmitter of Tradition. 26.
Muhammad ibn Layth. A secretary under Mahdi and Hārūn al-Rashīd. Said to have denounced the Barmakids to Hārūn al-Rashīd. 116.
Muhammad ibn Zubayr. See Amin.
Munkar and Nakir. Two guardian angels who interrogate men in the tomb. 10.
(Al-)Mu'tamid (cāla 'llah). 'Abdād Caliph, r. 256/870-276/882. A weakling, he left real power to his brother al-Muwaffaq, who warred against the heretical 'Anṣārī rebels in Southern 'Iraq, defeating them in 270/883, and against Ya‘qūb ibn Layth (q.v.). Muwaffaq died in 278/891, and in 279/892 Mu'tamid moved the capital back to Baghda from Sāmārā', where it had been located since Mu'ta'smīn chose the site in 221/836. 97.
Najāsh (Najashi). Name given to the king of Abyssinia at the time of Muḥammad and to the kings of Abyssinia generally. During the persecution at Mecca some of the early believers including Ja'far ibn Abī Tālib migrated to Abyssinia; they rejoined Muhammad at Madinah. The Negus is said to have inwardly become a Muslim. The dynasty, however, remained Christian. 117.
Nīqām al-Mulk, Hasan ibn 'Ali ibn Ihsāq, called 'The Khwājah'. B. 409/1018, d. 485/1092. Son of an impious landowner (dāḥiq) of Tūs. Memorized the Qur'ān at the age of 11 and studied theology and law with a Shāfi‘ite teacher at Nishāpūr. After the battle of Daudūnīn in 432/1040, his father and he migrated to Ghaznāv and he entered the Ghaznawīd service as a dāhīr (secretary). Some time later he transferred to the service of the Saljuqs, first at Balkh and then at Marv, which was the headquarters of Chaghri Beg Dā‘ūd, the Saljuq co-ruler (d. 452/1060), and of his son Alp Arslān, who was governor of Khurasān. When Chaghri's brother Tughril Beg Muhammad, the conqueror of Baghda, died childless in 455/1063, Alp Arslān succeeded to the Sulṭānate against the claims of Sulaymān, his paternal uncle. Sulaymān had been backed by Tughril's suzur, the eunuch 'Amid al-Mulk Kundūrī, who was cruelly put to death and who foretold a like fate for Nīqām al-Mulk. For the next twenty-eight years Nīqām al-Mulk served as chief suzur to the Great Saljuq Sulṭānate. In 465/1072 Alp Arslān was murdered, and in accordance with his wishes Nīqām al-Mulk secured the succession for his 17-year-old son Malik-Shāh in the face of a dangerous revolt by an uncle, Qawwur Beg, and invasions from Samarqand and Ghazna; for these services he was rewarded with the title Atebāgh ('father-lord'). On events in his later years and on his death by the hand of a Bānite assassin, see Introduction, pp. xxvii-xxxii. 114.
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NOAH (Nob), Prophet; the people spurned his preaching of God's word. God made the oven boil and ordered Noah to build the ark. Only the few who believed were saved; Noah's son and wife did not believe. The waters were made to subside and the ark landed on a mountain called al-Jūdā. Noah was aged 950 years at the time of the flood (Q. xxix. 13-14). 3

NUSH IBN MARYAM. A qâdi (judge) of Marv. Not identified. 158

PARVIZ, KHUSRAW II. Sâslân king, r. 591-628. Was made king by the palace faction who deposed and killed his father Hurmuq IV during the rebellion of Bahram Chôvin (q.v.). The latter refused to recognize him as king, and he fled to the Byzantine emperor Maurice. With military help from Maurice and backing from some of the grandees he recovered the kingdom. When Maurice was murdered by a usurper, Phocas, in 602, Parviz made war against Byzantium. His troops, commanded by the generals Shahbarzâr and Shâhlin, overran Asia Minor and Syria, captured Jerusalem (614), conquered Egypt (616), and took Chalcêdon opposite Constantinople (617). Later the tide of war turned in favour of the Byzantines, whose emperor Heracloss (accused 610) invaded Mesopotamia, defeated Shahbarzâr, and captured Dastgard. Parviz's usual residence seventy miles north-east of Cæsiphôn. Parviz refused to make peace; but he had killed, threatened and insulted several of his high officials and generals. He was deposed by the grandees, imprisoned, and later put to death with several of his sons. Another son, Shûrûyy, was made king with the name Quhab II; he is said to have ordered his father's death. He made peace with Heracloss, restoring Syria, Palestine, Egypt, &c., to Byzantine rule, but died of the plague, leaving a 7-year-old son, Ardshir III, as heir. Shahbarzâr then usurped the throne, murdering Ardshir III, but was killed by his own soldiers two months later. Anarchy resulted, with a succession of powerless rulers including two queens, until Yazgird III (q.v.) ascended in 634. Parviz was famous for his wealth and splendour and also for his cruelty and avarice. Long remembered were his court musician Barbad, who created the Iranian system of music, and his war-horse Shabdût. See also Shîrin. 85, 94 n. 5, 96, 117 n. 10, 153, 171 f.

PHARAOH (Fir'awm). King of Egypt at the time of Moses (q.v.) and Aaron (q.v.); exemplar of tyranny and arrogance. When Moses brought him a message from God, he refused to believe; he desired that prayers be offered to himself as god and ordered his minister Hamân (q.v.) to build a tower reaching to the sky. Drowned with his troops when Moses divided the seas. 20, 199.

PLATO (Al-Shûnûn). The philosopher, b. 428 or 429 B.C., d. 347 B.C. See Introduction, p. lxx and p. lxxiii. 91

QATADAH (Abû-l-Khaštâb Qatadâh ibn Dî'amal al-Sudûfûn). D. 1177/75. A Qur'anic exegete, pupil of Hasan al-Basrî. A forrunner of Mu'tazilite thinking; alleged to have been one of the Qaradâris (believers in free will, who were suspected of dualism). 59.

QURAYSH. The Arab tribe of Mecca. Its most important clans before Muhammad were the Umayyah (q.v.) and the Makhôm; the Hâshimites (q.v.) were a lesser clan. 15, 132.

RA'ÎH AL-'ADWÂYAH. B. 957/73-9 or 997/717, d. 185/801. Celebrated wazir of 'Abd al-Malik. Said to have been a lustful and to have been kidnapped and enslaved in her youth, then manumitted because of her piety. Lived an ascetic life in the desert near Basrah, surrounded by a large circle which included Milûk Dînâr (q.v.), Sufâyân al-Tâwarî (q.v.), and Shâqiq al-ahwâl (q.v.). One of the first to teach the Sûfî doctrines of unselfish love (babû) and union with God (tawâfî). Many sayings of hers and anecdotes about her are quoted, including her words: 'O Lord, if I worship You from fear of hell, burn me therein; if I worship You in hope of paradise, exclude me thence; but if I worship You for Your own sake, withhold not from me Your eternal beauty.' 168.

RÂST-RÂVISHN. Legendary toûâr of King Gushtâb (q.v.). 93 f.

SAJJIB ISMA'IL IBN 'ABBâD. See Isma'îl ibn 'Abbâd. 168.


SA'ID IBN SALM AL-SHâRÎ. High-ranking courtier and provincial governor under Hârin al-Rashîd and Ma'mûn. 123 f.

SAKHIR IBN 'AMR AL-KALIHK. D. c. 406/611. A companion of Muhammad and transmitter of Tradition. 117.

SALÂM (AL-)FIRÂZ. Companion of Muhammad; the first Persian convert to Islam. His Persian name was Firdaus. Said to have travelled in Syria as disciple of a Christian monk and to have been kidnapped by Bedouin; then, after being sold as a slave to a Jew, to have found his way to Madânâh, where he became a 'client' (manad) of Muhammad himself. He advised the digging of the Ditch whereby the Muslims whitewashed the Meccean siege of Madânâh in 5/667. Died at Madi'n (Cæsiphôn), where his tomb is still a place of pilgrimage. Both the Sûfîs and the Shi'ites claim Salâm as one of themselves. Extreme Shi'ites, such as the still-existent 'Alawite (Nusairî) sect in Syria, place Salâm on a par with Muhammad and 'Ali, Salâm being the 'Nasir al-din', i.e. 'All the 'idea' (ma'mâl), and Muhammad the 'name' (tâm). 165.

SHÂRÎ IBN SHÂRÂH (al-Mînkâr). A preacher. His eloquence consoled the Caliph Mahdî (q.v.) on the death of a favourite daughter. 72.

SHÂHANSHAH OF RVAY. Bûyûd ruler, either Mu'ayyâd al-Dawlah (d. 372/982) or Fâkhân al-Dawlah (d. 387/997). The Bûyûds revived and assumed the ancient title Shâhanshâh (King of Kings). 115.

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Su'llāt, Favourite wife of Khurasaw II Parvīz (q.v.). Said to have been of humble origin; Christian by religion. Her first lover is said to have been a stone-mason, Farḥād; their romance is one of the most popular themes of Persian literature. Khurasaw promised Shīrīn to Farḥād if he should cut through the mountain of Bizīn; Farḥād had almost done this when a false report came that Shīrīn was dead, and he lamented bitterly and expired from grief. 171 f.

Sundhād. A sage who figures in the story of the Seven Wazīrs, a popular cycle of folklore found in Persian and in the 1001 Nights and several medieval European languages. A king entrusts the education of his son to this sage, who orders the young prince to keep silence for a week. The favourite queen then makes slanderous allegations about the prince, who cannot reply, and the king sentences him to death. However, the king's seven wazīrs tell seven stories to him, thereby delaying matters till the eighth day when the prince speaks and proves his innocence. 173.

Socrates (Suqārīt). The Philosopher, b. 459 n.c., d. 399 n.c. See Introduction, p. lxxxvi and p. 133, 135, 139.

Solomon (Sulaymān). Prophet and king; son of David (q.v.). Possessed discerning judgement and great knowledge. Ḥanūn worked for him, a fountain of brass flowed for him, the wind obeyed him, and he could speak to birds. One bird, the hoopoe (Ja'dhūd), brought him news of the Queen of Sheba, Bīlīqī, who ultimately heeded his appeal to her to embrace Islam. For a while he preferred good things to remembering God, but he repented. 42, 108, 157.

Supīr (al-ğu'ami). B. c. 977/715-6, d. 1607/77 or 1617/78. Theologian and ascetic of Kūfah; a transmitter of not always accurate Traditions. Founded a school of law which did not last. A rigorist, he opposed Abū Ḥanīfah because of the latter's use of naʿīr (rational judgement in the absence of Qur'ānic or Traditional prescription). 87, 97.

Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Umayyad Caliph, r. 98/715-99/717. Succeeded his brother Walid in accordance with the designation made by 'Abd al-Malik; Walid on the advice of Ḥajjāj (q.v.) had designated his own son, but the latter and also Ḥajjāj had died. Out of hatred for Ḥajjāj, Sulaymān dismissed the generals and officials who had served him in Ṣaʿīd and Persia, thereby causing much disorder. He quarrelled against Byzantium, reaching the Bosphorus, but had to retire. A cruel and pleasure-loving ruler, he was nevertheless persuaded by a theologian to designate as successor the pious 'Umar II (q.v.) rather than his own son. 21, 3, 60.

Tāsi (Ṭāsiān al-Dawlah Abī 'l-Abbāb Tāṣī). D. 373/686-7 or 379/689. Turkish general under the later Sāmānids. When the Sāmānids realm began to break up, he held Nishāpūr for a short time but was driven out and fled to the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawlah (q.v.), who sent him to Gīurghān; there he died suddenly of plague or poison. 139.

'Umar II (r. 'Abd al-As'īz (ibn Marwān). Umayyad Caliph, b. 623/682-3. r. 99/717-101/720. Son of the good governor of Egypt, 'Abd al-As'īz (q.v.). Educated at Madinah and appointed in 97/716 by Walid to be governor of the Hijāz; exercised his authority there with the guidance of a council of ten 'alāma'; was recalled in 93/711-12 at the instance of Ḥajjāj. Succeeded to the Caliphate without opposition on the death of Sulaymān (q.v.). His upspringing and pride in his descent from 'Umar I, who was his mother's grandfather, made him the most conscientious of all Caliphs. He discontinued the Umayyad practice of cursing 'Ali at the Friday prayers; compensated the Christians for the cathedral at Damascus which Walid (q.v.) had taken from them; and sought to spread Islam by persuasion rather than force. He did justice to the manūfi (non-Arab converts to Islam), giving them equal pay with Arabs in the armed forces and exempting them from payment of the humiliating poll-tax (jaizāt) which was being illegally imposed on them. His attempt to solve the problem of the land tax (khārj) appears to have been less successful. He frequently 'alāma' and corresponded with the Abbasids. 'Abd al-Rahmān III, his son, was succeeded by his grandson, 518. Together with Abū Bakr was Muḥammad's close friend and councillor at Madinah. On Muḥammad's death he proposed that Abū Bakr be Caliph, and on Abū Bakr's death he appears to have been chosen with the approval of all Muḥammad's Companions except the supporters of 'Ali. He preferred the simpler title 'Prince of the Believers' and continued living austerely. His command of men was such that the Arab generals who conquered Syria, Ṣa'īd, Egypt and Persia during his reign obeyed his orders without question; and he was able to dismiss those guilty of injustice or misconduct. Important institutions and reforms are attributed to him, including the office of qādi (Islamic judge). He was murdered by Abū 'l-Lūb's, a Persian slave of Muḥirrah ibn Shūbāh (q.v.), when still in his prime and before he had made any proposal for the succession. Called al-Fāriqūq because he distinguished right from wrong. 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31, 53, 56, 65, 67, 68, 70, 114 f., 119, 158, 162.

'Ummar ibn Ḥamzah (ibn Mūlah ibn Yazīd). D. 200/814-15. Secretary and courtier under Manṣūr and al-Muḥāshib. Also served as revenue officer or governor in Başrah, Abwak and Fās. Famous for his generosity and eloquence, but notorious for his extravagance and conceit. Author of a lost asāb work (see Introduction, p. lxxvi, note 4). 121.

Umm Salamah (Hind bint Abī Umaysyah al-Mughirah). A wife of Muḥammad, who married her in 4/626 after her former husband Abū Salamah 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-As'ād al-Maghūrāhī had died of wounds received at Uḥud. Her mother Barrak was a daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. 162.

Umayyads. The most influential clan of the Quraysh at Mecca. Called after Umaysyah, grandfather of Abū Sufyān (q.v.). Renowned for their
commercial and diplomatic ability and šahb (level-headedness). The only other clan of comparable influence was the Makhdum. Abū Sufyân's son Mu'âwiyyah (q.v.) founded the Umayyad Caliphate dynasty. 30, 67, 130 f.

Uthmân ibn Affân ibn Abîl-Asw ibn Umayyah). Third Caliph, r. 33/644–35/655. A Meccan of the Umayyad clan, noted as a young man for his elegance. Married Ruqayyah, a daughter of Muhammad by Khadijah, and embraced Islam. Migrated to Abyssinia; rejoined Muhammad at Madinah; did not fight at Badr because Ruqayyah was on her death-bed. Then married 'Umm Kultâm, another daughter of Muhammad by Khadijah; whence his epithet Dal'il-Nârûya, 'He of the Two Lights'. Elected Caliph by the Shâhâ (Council of Advisers) which met after 'Umar's death. A weak though pious ruler, he was accused of nepotism; and he antagonized certain pious circles by ordering the official recension of the Qur'an (in its present form) and the destruction of all other versions. A party of rebels from Egypt was led by Muhammad ibn Abî Bakr besieged his house, then, on a false rumour of treachery, rushed in and killed him. He was reading a copy of the Qur'an at the time, and it was besotted with his blood. 19. WAHBI ibn MUNÂAMIL (al-Dinsârî). B. 43/664; d. 110/728 or 112/729. A Yamanite, probably one of the Abâd (descendants of the Persian conquerors); his father may possibly have adhered to Judaism. One of the earliest Arabic prose-writers, he wrote a Kitâb al-Mubâda' containing South Arabian legends and histories of prophets from Adam to Jesus which was used by Ibn Ishaq, and also a Kitâb al-Mughâsa (history of Muhammad's wars). Celebrated as a transmitter of Tradition and as an authority on both Jewish and Christian lore, also as an ascetic. 39, 141.

WALID ibn 'ABD AL-MALIK. Umayyad Caliph, r. 87/705–93/715. Succeeded by designation of his father 'Abd al-Malik after the death of his uncle 'Abd al-Aziz (q.v.). Interested mainly in building and economic development. Rebuilt the Prophet's mosque at Madinah and continued the Christian cathedral at Damascus, enlarging it into the magnificent mosque of the Umayyads. Gave a free hand in 'Iraq and Persia to the governor 'Umayr (q.v.), whose generals Qutayyah ibn Muslim and Muhammad ibn al-Qasim conquered Transoxiana and Sind. 60.

YASHîA ibn Khâlid al-Barmâkî. See Barnakids.

Yâqûb ibn Layth. The first 'Abbasid Amir, r. 247/861–253/867. A native of Sitnân; began life as a copper-smith and was proud of it. Organized the people of Sitnân in their resistance against the Kharijites and other surrounding bands. Gained control of Khurâsân and Fârs, but his authority in Fârs was not recognized by the Caliph Mu'tamid. Made war against the Caliph, but refused to ally himself with the heretical Zakzûq (negro) rebels of southern 'Iraq. Defeated by the Caliph's brother Muwaqqaf at Dayr al-'Âqûl near Baghdad; retired with his army largely intact and died shortly afterwards. 97 f. 99.

YazdâGHAD II, Sâsânîd king, r. 438 or 450–479. According to Ḥabîr it was he (and not Yazdâghad I) who abolished the royal audiences for the redress of grievances. Son of Bahârân Gûr (q.v.). 103, n. 3.

YazdâGHAD III ibn Shâhryâr. The last Sâsânîd king, r. 633–51 or 652. A grandson of Parvîz. Placed on the throne by a general, Rustam, who began rebuilding the army to meet the Arab threat; but Rustam was defeated and killed at Khilân in 15/636 by the army of Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqas, a Companion of Muhammad and early convert. Ctesiphon (al-Ma'dîn) was lost in the following year. Yazdâghad withdrew to Iṣâkhîr in Fârs and prepared to defend Irân, but in the hard-fought battle of Nihâvând in 21/642 the Persian army was destroyed; both the Persian commander Firuzân and the Arab commander Nûman ibn al-Muqarrin were killed, but the Arabs were rallied by Hûdâyây ibn al-Yamân (q.v.). The provincial governors and nobles then had to shift for themselves, and many came to terms with the Arabs. Yazdâghad fled to Khurâsân, but got little support there, and his appeal to the king of China met with no response. Eventually in 31/651 or 32/652 he was murdered at Mary in the house of a miller who had given him shelter. 33, 87, n. 1.


Ziyâd ibn Abîthî. D. 57/676–7. An Arab of Tâ'if, son of an unknown father by a woman called Sumayyah; whence his name, 'Ziyâd son of his father'. Became a government secretary at Baṣrah and showed great administrative and diplomatic ability. He supported 'Alî and opposed Mu'âwiyyah, but in 64/662 the governor of Baṣrah, Mughârîz (q.v.), effected a conciliation between him and Mu'âwiyyah. To bind his allegiance, Mu'âwiyyah adopted him as a 'brother' by a procedure called ittiḥâd. Opponents of the Umayyads alleged that Abî Sufyân (q.v.) was his real father and that Sumayyah was a harlot. Mu'âwiyyah gave unlimited confidence to Ziyâd, whom he appointed to be governor of Kufa and after Mughârîz's death in 96/705 to be governor of Baṣrah also. Ziyâd ruthlessly restored order in 'Iraq and Irân. He transplanted Arab rebels and turbulent Bedouin to the frontier province of Khurâsân and maintained an elaborate spy-network. 'Iraq prospered under his rule. He died a natural death and was succeeded as governor of Kufa by his son 'Ubayy Allah (see under Hasunîy). 78 f.