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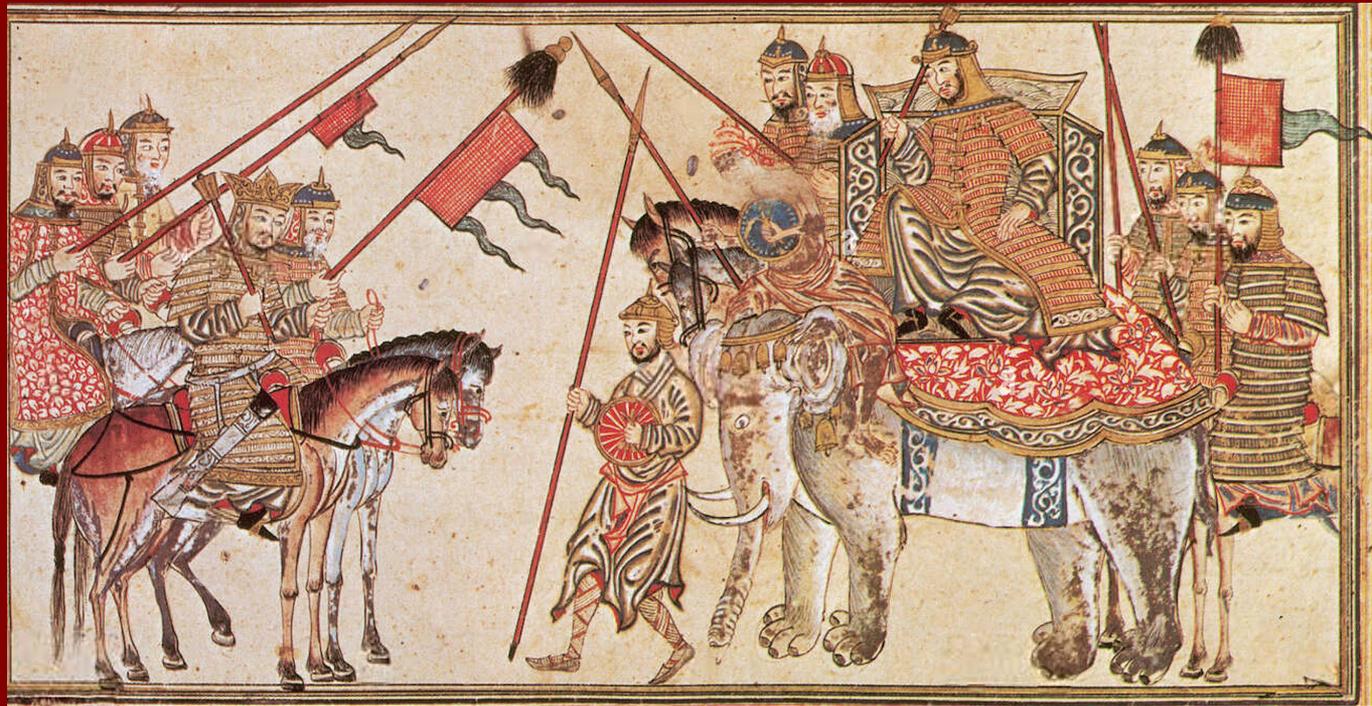
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An Introduction to  
*Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a*

A Persian Treatise on the Rules of War  
by Fakhr-i Mudabbir  
Dedicated to the Sulṭān of Delhi, Iltutmish

Hassan Rezai Baghbidi



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2026

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**Cover illustration:** Ilig Khān on horseback submitting to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna on an elephant. Folio from the *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh*, Persian painting, 14<sup>th</sup> century AD. By an unknown artist – Public Domain. Wikimedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The\\_Kara-Khanid\\_ruler\\_Ilig\\_Khan\\_on\\_horse\\_submitting\\_to\\_Mahmud\\_of\\_Ghazni\\_riding\\_an\\_elephant,\\_Persian\\_painting,\\_1306-14.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Kara-Khanid_ruler_Ilig_Khan_on_horse_submitting_to_Mahmud_of_Ghazni_riding_an_elephant,_Persian_painting,_1306-14.jpg)

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## Preface

The present monograph explores a remarkable text at the intersection of political thought, ethical instruction, and military science in the Indo-Persian world. *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajāʿa* (Rules of War and Bravery), composed by the esteemed historian and court official Fakhr-i Mudabbir and dedicated to Sulṭān Iltutmish of Delhi, offers a unique window into the intellectual and political life of medieval India. Written in Persian, which served for centuries as a language of governance, literature, and scholarship across much of South Asia, this manual reflects a dynamic tradition in which martial discipline, moral philosophy, and royal etiquette are carefully intertwined.

The long and complex military history of the Indian subcontinent, from the Vedic age to the medieval period, is marked by a tradition of continuous adaptation. Strategies evolved, armies changed, and new technologies and cultural influences shaped the practice of warfare. Within this evolving framework, *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajāʿa* stands out for its integrative approach: it combines Islamic ethical norms with Persian ideals of rulership and detailed military knowledge. It is a manual not only for warriors but for kings, commanders, and administrators, offering instruction in both the external demands of statecraft and the internal virtues required of just rulers and disciplined soldiers.

This monograph presents a translation of Chapters V, VII, and XV of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajāʿa*, accompanied by brief explanatory notes to clarify the text. These chapters were selected to give representative examples of the range of topics discussed, showing the main ideas and key themes while collectively presenting a vision of kingship grounded in justice, moral integrity, and wise governance. Chapter V emphasizes the importance of appointing an efficient, wise, and pious vizier (*wazīr*) capable of offering sound counsel. Chapter VII highlights the value of thoughtful deliberation in decisions about warfare, emphasizing the preference to avoid war whenever possible. Chapter XV turns to the

practical dimension of military affairs, focusing on the strategic timing of surprise attacks. Taken together, these chapters suggest that the author regarded warfare not merely as a matter of tactics, but as a serious moral and political responsibility requiring ethical judgment and prudent leadership.

The scope of this study is intentionally limited. Rather than providing a comprehensive analysis of the entire treatise, it offers a representative introduction to the key values and concerns expressed in Fakhr-i Mudabbir's writings. By focusing on these three chapters, the aim is to help readers grasp the main themes of the work and better appreciate the cultural and historical setting of its composition.

The publication of this monograph has been made possible through the generous support of Professor So Yamane, Project Leader of HINDOWS, and Professor Hiroko Nagasaki, Deputy Project Leader of HINDOWS, to whom I extend my heartfelt and profound gratitude for their encouragement throughout the completion of this monograph. I am also deeply grateful to Dr. Fuko Onoda for her assistance with administrative matters that made the publication possible.

It is my earnest hope that this monograph will serve as a meaningful contribution to the study of medieval Indian military and political history, as well as to the growing body of scholarship on Indo-Persian literature. While this work represents only a modest beginning, it is offered with the aim of encouraging further inquiry into a neglected but profoundly significant corpus of texts.

## Introduction

The history of warfare on the Indian subcontinent, from the Vedic age to the early thirteenth century, reveals a deeply layered martial tradition shaped by evolving technologies, shifting political structures, and changing strategic thought. Though fragmentary, our sources collectively illuminate the complex realities of ancient and medieval martial traditions: the composition and ethos of the warrior class, the art and craft of weaponry, and the conduct of war in its multifaceted dimensions. From the earliest hymns of the *Ṛgveda* to the expansive narrative epics of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and culminating in the sophisticated treatises of medieval Persian authors, this martial heritage reflects the dynamic interplay of cultural, political, and religious elements that shaped the military history of the subcontinent.

The *Ṛgveda*, one of the oldest literary monuments of Indo-Aryan civilization, provides the earliest glimpses into the martial world of ancient India. It recounts vivid images of war flags fluttering in the breeze, the stirring rhythms of war drums, and the thunderous charge of horse-drawn chariots. The hymns evoke the fervent invocation of the gods, most notably Indra, the warrior god, whose divine favor was sought to secure victory on the battlefield. Such sources reveal not only the weapons wielded, such as swords, bows, axes, clubs, javelins, and shields, but also the martial discipline and spirit of the warriors, evident in their preparation and conduct. The Battle of the Ten Kings (*dāśarājña yuddha*), described in the seventh *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda* (7.18; 7.33; 7.83.4–8), was fought between King Sudās and a confederation of opposing tribes. It stands as one of the earliest recorded conflicts in Indian historiography, offering valuable insights into the political and military alliances that shaped the Vedic era.

The two monumental epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, deepen our understanding by providing detailed descriptions of warfare on strategic, operational, and tactical levels. These texts are replete with

military terminology and detailed accounts of the organization and deployment of troops, including cavalry and infantry units, as well as the roles and qualifications expected of military leaders. They describe a sophisticated and diverse armory, encompassing a wide range of weapons such as the battle axe, bow and arrow, sword, *cakra* (a sharp circular missile weapon), club, javelin, *kūṭamudgara* (a war hammer-like weapon), *prāsa* (a barbed dart), shield, and spear. The use of armor was not limited to warriors but was also extended to horses and elephants, underscoring both the advanced nature of military technology and the vital role of animal contingents in ancient Indian warfare.

The progression from these ancient sources to later strategic treatises, such as the *Arthasāstra* attributed to Kauṭilya (Cāṇakya), signals a significant development in military thought. This seminal work elaborates not only on conventional warfare but also on the subtler arts of statecraft, including propaganda, psychological warfare, espionage, counter-espionage, and targeted assassination, as crucial elements of successful military campaigns. Thus, the military history of ancient India emerges as a multifaceted phenomenon that integrates battlefield tactics with broader political strategy and intelligence operations.

Amid this rich historical and cultural background, the extraordinary Persian work *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a* emerges as a significant contribution to the tradition of military thought. Its careful blend of ethical considerations and practical military advice offers valuable insights into the complexities of war and leadership in a changing world.

### **The Author**

*Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a* was composed by Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr ibn Sa'īd ibn Abu'l-Faraj, a distinguished historian and court official in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century AH / 13<sup>th</sup> century AD. He is better known by his honorific title Mubārakshāh and his pen name Fakhr-i Mudabbir. This work was completed under Sulṭān Shams al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Abu'l-

Muẓaffar Iltutmish ibn Ilam Khān (r. AH 607–633 / AD 1211–1236), to whom it was dedicated. Fakhr-i Mudabbir's scholarship and administrative experience are clearly reflected throughout the text, revealing his deep engagement with both the intellectual and political concerns of his time.

Fakhr-i Mudabbir provides a genealogy of himself not only in *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a*, but also in another of his works, variously referred to as *Baḥr al-Ansāb* (Ocean of Genealogies), *Shajara-yi Ansāb* (Tree of Genealogies), or *Tārīkh-i Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārakshāh* (History of Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārakshāh; ed. Ross 1927: 62)<sup>1</sup>. In these works, he claims patrilineal descent from Abū Bakr, the first caliph of Islam (r. AH 11–13 / AD 632–634; ed. Soheylī-ye Khānsārī 1967: 15), and, on his mother's side, from Bilkātikīn (Bilgetigin; ed. Soheylī-ye Khānsārī 1967: 246–247), the Turkish governor of Ghazna in eastern Afghanistan in the years preceding the rise of Sebūktigin (r. AH 366–387 / AD 977–997). He also refers to Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī — the general who led the 'Abbāsīd Revolution that overthrew the Umayyad dynasty and paved the way for the establishment of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate — as one of his ancestors (ed. Soheylī-ye Khānsārī 1967: 266). According to his own account, his great-grandfather, Abu'l-Faraj, served as treasurer and was a close confidant to the Ghaznavid Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (r. AH 451–492 / AD 1059–1099; ed. Soheylī-ye Khānsārī 1967: 104–105). Fakhr-i Mudabbir's own account suggests that he was probably born and raised in Ghazna (see also Shafī 1938: 191), although he spent a considerable portion of his life in Lahore, where he served the Ghaznavid Sulṭān Khusraw Malik (r. AH 555–582 / AD 1160–1186), as well as the Ghūrid Sulṭāns Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām (r. AH 569–602 / AD 1173–1206) and Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak (r. AH 602–607 / AD 1206–1210), before entering the service of Iltutmish (Soheylī-ye Khānsārī 1967: introduction, 5). His career thus

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<sup>1</sup> The unique manuscript of this work is currently housed in the Chester Beatty Library (MS Per 364). E. D. Ross has, however, erroneously attributed it to a different figure bearing the name Mubārakshāh, specifically Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārakshāh al-Marwarrūdhī (see also O'Neal 2018: 222).

spanned several key political centers, including Ghazna and Lahore. He likely composed *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a* after AH 626 / AD 1228, during his time in either Lahore or Delhi (Bosworth 1985: 445), a conclusion supported by the honorific title *Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (Helper of the Commander of the Believers), which he ascribes to Iltutmish (ed. Soheyli-ye Khānsārī 1967: 16). This title had been conferred upon the Sultān by the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mustaṣir billāh (r. AH 623–640 / AD 1226–1242) in AH 626 / AD 1228 (Soheyli-ye Khānsārī 1967: introduction, 10). The honorific title *Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn* is also attested on some of the coins struck during the reign of Iltutmish (see Goron and Goenka 2001: 19–21).

### **Historical Context**

The period extending from the rise of the Ghaznavids in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century AH / 10<sup>th</sup> century AD to the consolidation of the Delhi Sultanate under Iltutmish in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century AH / 13<sup>th</sup> century AD was one of significant upheaval and transformation across eastern Iran, Central Asia, and the Indian subcontinent. This era witnessed the emergence and decline of successive Islamic polities, the fluid movement of Turkish military elites, the spread of Persianate administrative norms, and the intensification of military encounters with both indigenous Indian powers and nomadic Central Asian invaders.

Sebüktigin, who ruled Ghazna under nominal Sāmānid suzerainty, initiated a series of incursions into northern India, thereby establishing a militarized frontier that transformed Ghazna into a strategic base for continued Islamic expansion into non-Muslim territories. Sebüktigin's son, Maḥmūd (r. AH 388–421 / AD 998–1030), institutionalized these campaigns into a sustained policy of conquest and holy war (*jihād*). Maḥmūd led repeated expeditions deep into the Indian subcontinent, reaching as far as the Ganges Valley.

By the 6<sup>th</sup> century AH / 12<sup>th</sup> century AD, however, Ghaznavid power had declined markedly. Bahrām Shāh ibn Mas‘ūd (r. AH 511–547 / AD 1117–1152) suffered a catastrophic assault on Ghazna by the Ghūrid ruler ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn (r. AH 544–556 / AD 1149–1161) in AH 545 / AD 1150. The Ghūrids, formerly subordinate to the Ghaznavids, capitalized on Ghaznavid weakness and rose rapidly with Seljuq backing. In AH 582 / AD 1186, the Ghūrid Sulṭān Mu‘izz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām finally extinguished the Ghaznavid dynasty, incorporating the Ghaznavid territories into a rapidly expanding Ghūrid realm.

Mu‘izz al-Dīn Muḥammad pursued an aggressive campaign of expansion into the Indian plains, subjugating powerful Rajput dynasties and extending Ghūrid suzerainty over the Punjab and adjacent regions. Yet the Ghūrid state, despite its impressive military feats, suffered from internal disunity and lacked the human resources necessary for sustained consolidation.

Following Mu‘izz al-Dīn Muḥammad’s assassination in AH 602 / AD 1206, the Ghūrid state broke apart. After this breakup, Ghūrid generals and local commanders in India sought to maintain their authority. Chief among them was Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak, a former Turkish slave and trusted commander of Mu‘izz al-Dīn Muḥammad. Based in Lahore, Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak consolidated his authority over northern India, thereby laying the foundations for the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate.

Following the sudden death of Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak in a polo accident, Ārām Shāh (r. AH 607 / AD 1210–1211) assumed power in Lahore; however, his rule was short-lived, and he was soon succeeded by Iltutmish, who consolidated his authority in Delhi and became the dedicatee of Fakhr-i Mudabbir’s *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā‘a*. Iltutmish had to deal with rival Turkish military commanders and assert control over semi-independent governors like ‘Alī Mardān in Bengal and Nāṣir al-Dīn Qabācha in Multān. At the same time, he faced renewed Rajput

resistance in Gwalior, Kalinjar, and Ajmer, along with the threat of Khwārazmian expansion in the northwest.

It was in this time of political change and uncertainty that Fakhr-i Mudabbir wrote his *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a*, dedicating it to Iltutmish. The work reflects the concerns of military and political leaders who were trying to bring order, strengthen their rule, and manage constant warfare. As the Delhi Sultanate was just beginning to take shape, such texts helped define ideals of leadership, courage in warfare, and good governance in the Persian-speaking Islamic world of northern India.

### **Manuscript Tradition**

The following account of the manuscript tradition is primarily based on the introduction to the critical edition prepared by Soheylī-ye Khānsārī (1967: introduction, 15–16), along with subsequent studies that have expanded upon his work. Soheylī-ye Khānsārī had access to the first six manuscripts known at the time, which he meticulously compared in preparing his critical edition. A seventh manuscript was later identified and discussed by 'Ābedī and Showqī (2020: 59) and Showqī (2021: 157–159). An eighth manuscript, representing an expanded version of the text, was first introduced by Mowlā'ī (1975). As I do not have access to any of the manuscripts other than the BT manuscript, the information presented here is necessarily partial and occasionally incomplete. The Persian text of the three chapters examined in this monograph is based primarily on Soheylī-ye Khānsārī's critical edition. The abbreviations used for the first six manuscripts follow those adopted by Soheylī-ye Khānsārī.

1. The **BT** manuscript, housed in the British Museum (Add. 16853; Figure 1), is written in *nasta'liq* script. Based on its calligraphic style, it appears to have been copied in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century AH / 15<sup>th</sup> century AD. It comprises 190 folios, though some folios are missing from the end (for a description of this manuscript, see Rieu 1881: 487–488). A photograph

of this manuscript is available in the Central Library of the University of Tehran (no. 1288). A microfilm of this manuscript is also preserved at the Noor International Microfilm Center in New Delhi<sup>2</sup>. This manuscript, regarded as the oldest extant manuscript of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a*, was published in facsimile by the Polish orientalist Zajączkowski in 1969 and later translated into Russian by Nadzhmutdinova and Shokhumorov in 1997.

2. The **RĀM** manuscript, preserved in the Rāmpur Library, was copied in *nasta'liq* script by Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Ḥusayn in AH 1212 / AD 1797.

3. The **BN** manuscript, preserved in the Bengal Library, is likewise in *nasta'liq* script and was likely copied in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century AH / 16<sup>th</sup> century AD. It lacks a folio at the end.

4. The **MD** manuscript, formerly in the possession of Abdolhoseyn-e Meykade and now kept in the Central Library of the University of Tehran (no. 8968), is in *naskh* script and is probably datable to the late 10<sup>th</sup> century AH / 16<sup>th</sup> century AD. It comprises 170 folios, though several folios are missing from the beginning, middle, and end.

5. The **MK** manuscript, preserved in the Malek Library in Tehran (no. 5347), is written in *nasta'liq* script and dated Ramaḍān AH 1084 / December 1673–January 1674 AD. This manuscript, comprising 237 pages, is corrupt and contains numerous textual errors.

6. The **SL** manuscript, in Soheylī-ye Khānsārī's own collection, is in *nasta'liq* script and likely dates to the early 11<sup>th</sup> century AH / 17<sup>th</sup> century AD. This manuscript, too, contains numerous errors.

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<sup>2</sup> I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the staff of the Noor International Microfilm Center for their gracious assistance in granting access to the microfilm of this manuscript and for their kindness in sending me a PDF copy.

7. The **MN** manuscript, preserved in the Mar‘ashī Najafī Library in Qom (no. 10318), is in *nasta‘līq* script and likely dates to the 11<sup>th</sup> century AH / 17<sup>th</sup> century AD. It comprises 116 folios and contains numerous errors.

8. The **BL** manuscript, formerly held in the India Office Library (MS 2767; now British Library MS 647), bears the title *Ādāb al-Mulūk wa Kifāyat al-Mamlūk* (Rules for Kings and the Welfare of Subjects).<sup>3</sup> It includes six additional chapters, chiefly concerning royal administration and official appointments, inserted after Chapter V of the original text. This fuller manuscript, comprising 138 folios, is written in *nasta‘līq* script and likely dates from the 10<sup>th</sup> century AH / 16<sup>th</sup> century AD (for a detailed description of this manuscript, see Ethé 1903: 1493–1496). The six additional chapters found in *Ādāb al-Mulūk wa Kifāyat al-Mamlūk* were published separately by Mowlā’ī in 1975.

### Text Structure

*Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā‘a* belongs to the genre of “Mirror for Princes” literature, a well-established didactic tradition intended to educate rulers, particularly princes and kings, in the virtues, moral principles, and practical skills deemed essential for just and effective governance. This genre combines ethical instruction with political and administrative guidance, aiming to shape both the character and conduct of those in power. The structure of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā‘a* clearly reflects this dual purpose: the opening chapters are devoted to outlining the moral qualities, personal discipline, and responsibilities expected of an ideal king, while the larger part of the work offers a comprehensive and systematic treatment of military organization, strategy, and the proper conduct of warfare.

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<sup>3</sup> Soheylī-ye Khānsārī (1967: introduction, 9) was aware of the existence of this manuscript, but he misidentified it as a distinct work by Fakhr-i Mudabbir, not recognizing it as an expanded version of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā‘a*.

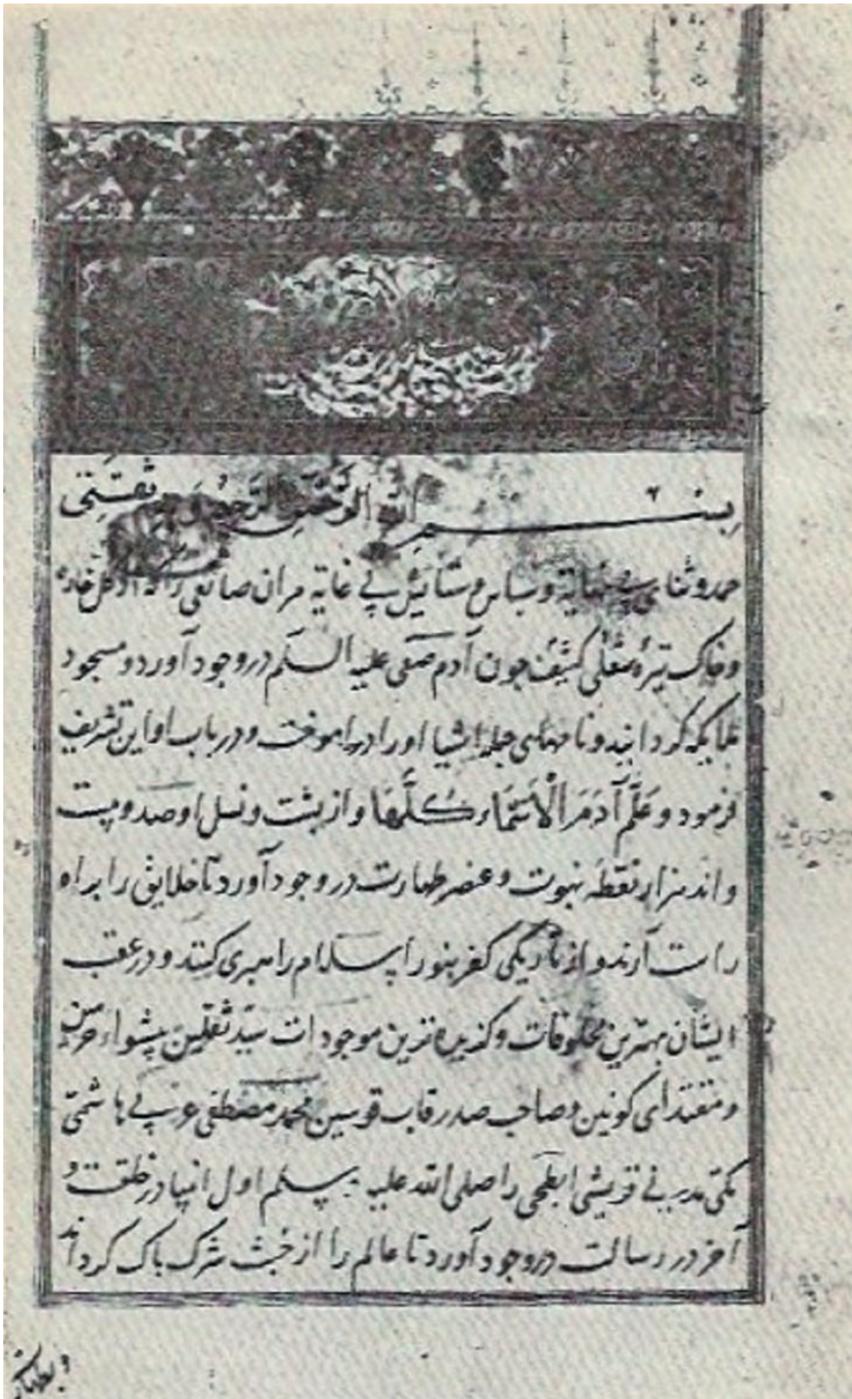


Figure 1. Opening page of the BT manuscript

The chapters of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā‘a*, together with the six additional chapters contained in *Ādāb al-Mulūk wa Kifāyat al-Mamlūk*, are as follows. The original thirty-four chapters of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā‘a* are numbered consecutively; however, the six additional chapters from *Ādāb al-Mulūk wa Kifāyat al-Mamlūk*, inserted between chapters 5 and 6 of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā‘a*, are marked with a plus sign.

1. On the generosity, forbearance, and forgiveness of kings
2. On the justice, good intention, and laudable qualities of kings
3. On the kindness and compassion of kings
4. On things of which kings must not be unmindful
5. On appointing a qualified, learned, counseling, pious, efficient, and God-fearing *wazīr* (vizier)

The six additional chapters of *Ādāb al-Mulūk wa Kifāyat al-Mamlūk*:

- 6<sup>+</sup>. On the choice of a wise, pious, good-intentioned, knowledgeable, and trustworthy *mustawfi* (comptroller)
- 7<sup>+</sup>. On the appointment of an experienced, efficient, trustworthy, and truthful *mushrif* (inspector)
- 8<sup>+</sup>. On the appointment of an efficient, truthful, pious, and God-fearing *ṣāhib-i barīd* (chief of intelligence)
- 9<sup>+</sup>. On the appointment of an efficient and truthful *wakīl* (deputy)
- 10<sup>+</sup>. On the choice of a respected, efficient, eloquent and good-looking *amīr-i ḥājib* (chief chamberlain)
- 11<sup>+</sup>. On the choice of a just, compassionate, pious, and God-fearing *amīr-i dād* (chief judge)

Continuation of the original chapters of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā‘a*:

6. On the sending of an ambassador, gifts, and presents
7. On consulting regarding war and avoiding war whenever possible
8. On the nature, virtue, and benefit of horses
9. On the shapes, defects, and trainings of horses
10. On knowing horses, their teeth, and their medical treatment
11. On the excellence, usefulness, and employment of each weapon

12. On reviewing an army, and preservation of order
13. On encamping the army
14. On sending out vanguards, spies, and patrols
15. On dispatching a night raid
16. On the proper way to place ambushes
17. On the choice of a battlefield
18. On arranging each division of troops
19. On arraying (troops) for battle
20. On fighting and the vigilance of commanders and combatants
21. On starting the battle and who should start first
22. On going out to fight and how to pray in the battlefield
23. On knowledge and foresight about war
24. On the futility of gathering troops from disparate regions
25. On the holy war against infidels
26. On taking *ghanīma* (booty) from enemies and *jizya* (tax) from infidels
27. On the siege of fortified places and its stratagems
28. On assisting the army with prayers
29. On the signs of victory on a battle day
30. On the necessity of rewarding every soldier according to his services
31. On acts for which soldiers become liable to punishment
32. On the rationale for and benefit of each weapon
33. On the fact that, whether one fights or avoids fighting, predetermined death will not be advanced or deferred
34. On advice that the king, army, and people must heed

### **Principal Themes**

The opening chapters of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajāʿa* lay the ethical and ideological foundation for kingship by emphasizing the personal virtues essential for legitimate and effective rule. Chapter 1 highlights the qualities of generosity, forbearance, and forgiveness. Chapter 2 continues with an emphasis on justice, good intention, and laudable conduct, while Chapter 3 turns to kindness and compassion. These virtues are not treated as abstract moral ideals but as operational principles that shape the king's

relationship with his subjects, his court, and his adversaries. They reflect a synthesis of Islamic ethical norms and Persian royal traditions, portraying the king as a figure who embodies divine justice while practicing magnanimity in governance. In Chapter 4, the text cautions rulers against heedlessness in matters critical to statecraft, urging them to remain perpetually vigilant, morally anchored, and spiritually attuned to their duties. In this schema, the king is not merely a political figure but a moral exemplar whose personal disposition can either reinforce or undermine the stability and righteousness of the realm.

A significant portion of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a* is devoted to the principled appointment of high-ranking officials, reflecting the author's concern with bureaucratic integrity and administrative efficiency. Chapter 5 begins with the selection of the *wazīr* (vizier), who must be efficient, wise, morally upright, and God-fearing, traits that ensure both competence and spiritual alignment with the king's aims. The succeeding chapters from *Ādāb al-Mulūk wa Kifāyat al-Mamlūk*, inserted between Chapters 5 and 6 of the main text and marked here with a plus sign, extend these criteria to other key roles. Chapter 6<sup>+</sup> addresses the *mustawfi* (comptroller), who is to be knowledgeable and trustworthy. Chapter 7<sup>+</sup> turns to the *mushrif* (inspector), who must combine experience with truthfulness. In Chapter 8<sup>+</sup>, the *ṣāhib-i barīd* (chief of intelligence), entrusted with sensitive information and surveillance, is likewise expected to embody both efficiency and piety. Chapters 9<sup>+</sup> to 11<sup>+</sup> treat the *wakīl* (deputy), *amīr-i ḥājib* (chief chamberlain), and *amīr-i dād* (chief judge), respectively, all of whom are expected to exemplify a blend of administrative efficiency, justice, and piety. These characterizations suggest that governance is as much about moral exemplarity and public perception as it is about administrative competence. Collectively, these chapters advocate for a deeply ethical framework of governance, in which public officials act as extensions of the king's vision and divine authority.

The transition to the military sections of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a* begins with a subtle treatment of diplomacy and the avoidance of war.

Chapter 6 emphasizes the importance of sending ambassadors, along with appropriate gifts and presents, underscoring the value of diplomacy as a means of both honor and strategic negotiation. In Chapter 7, the author explicitly counsels rulers to seek advice before engaging in warfare, advocating restraint and deliberation. War, while sometimes necessary, is to be approached only when all avenues of peace are exhausted.

Horses occupy a place of critical importance in *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a*, reflecting their indispensable role in both the military and cultural life of the Islamic world. Chapters 8 through 10 present a comprehensive and multi-faceted examination of equine matters, highlighting the horse's value not only as an instrument of warfare but also as a symbol of nobility, valor, and royal prestige. Chapter 8 sets the stage by exploring the nature, virtues, and strategic utility of horses, portraying them as creatures whose moral and physical attributes make them essential to both royal authority and military service.

Chapter 9 provides a detailed analysis of equine anatomy and function, discussing the ideal physical qualities of warhorses, including speed, endurance, agility, strength, and a temperament suited to combat. It emphasizes the strategic importance of selecting the right horse, noting that its capabilities could determine the success or failure of a campaign. The chapter also addresses defects in conformation and behavior that could hinder performance or endanger the rider, while extolling the benefits of proper training, discipline, and conditioning.

Chapter 10 turns to veterinary and practical concerns, explaining how to assess a horse's age through dental examination to ensure that mounts selected for military service are in their prime. It also includes early methods of medical treatment, reflecting a sophisticated understanding of equine health and a commitment to preserving the vitality of these valued animals.

Taken together, these chapters reveal that the horse, far from being a mere tool of war, is integrated into a broader moral-political vision in which animals, officials, and strategies alike serve the aims of just and effective governance. The detailed attention to equine care, selection, and training demonstrates the author's deep familiarity with equine science.

Following the discussion on horses and their strategic use, the author proceeds to elaborate on the material culture of warfare, beginning in Chapter 11 with a discussion on the excellence, utility, and proper employment of various weapons. Each weapon is evaluated not only for its practical use but also for its role in an ordered and well-prepared army. Chapter 12 turns to the review and inspection of troops, emphasizing that military order and internal discipline are essential to battlefield success. Chapter 13 addresses the principles of encampment, highlighting considerations of security, spatial organization, and readiness.

Chapters 14 through 16 focus on tactical preliminaries, including the deployment of vanguards, spies, and patrols, as well as the optimal timing for launching surprise attacks and setting ambushes. These discussions reflect an emphasis on foresight and calculated maneuvering in military planning. Chapters 17 and 18 shift focus to battlefield selection and the organization of troop divisions, emphasizing the crucial roles of terrain and unit cohesion in preparing for combat. Chapter 18 includes detailed diagrams illustrating various battle arrays, providing a visual guide to the strategic placement of troops and resources. One notable diagram depicts the *maṣāf-i dāl* formation, showing the precise placement of key units and elements within the army's arrangement. The diagram highlights the positions of the advance guard, vanguard, right wing, left wing, treasury, dressing pavilion, arms depot, horse barn, harem, wine house, the wounded, captives, and the central stem of the army, among others (Figure 2). This visual representation not only clarifies the complex spatial organization of troops and resources but also reflects the author's strategic emphasis on order, protection, and functionality within a battle array.

Chapters 19 through 22 outline the structure and choreography of combat. The author explains how to arrange battle formations, initiate engagements, and maintain vigilance during fighting. Particular attention is given to the sequence of attack and the integration of religious practice, such as prayer, even in the midst of conflict. In Chapter 23, the text praises strategic knowledge and foresight as essential attributes of military leadership, while Chapter 24 warns against the ineffective practice of hastily assembling troops without cohesion or preparation.

The religious and ethical dimensions of warfare become more pronounced in Chapters 25 through 31. Chapter 25 frames warfare against infidels as a sacred duty, and Chapters 26 and 27 treat the taking of *ghanīma* (booty) and *jizya* (tax), as well as the conduct of siege warfare. The importance of divine assistance is emphasized in Chapter 28 through the invocation of prayers for victory, while Chapter 29 outlines signs of impending success on the battlefield. Chapters 30 and 31 address the moral framework of military discipline, advocating fair rewards for service and warning against behaviors that incur punishment.

Finally, Chapters 32 through 34 offer broader reflections on the philosophy of war. Chapter 32 revisits the rationale behind different weapons, presenting them as components of a deliberate martial order. Chapter 33 emphasizes the inevitability of death, regardless of whether one enters combat or avoids it, encouraging courage grounded in faith. Chapter 34 concludes with practical and moral counsel directed at kings, soldiers, and the general populace, reinforcing the idea that military conduct must be guided by wisdom, justice, and devotion.



Throughout history, war ethics have been a central concern for philosophers and theologians across cultures, who have sought to define the moral boundaries of warfare and establish principles to limit violence and uphold human dignity. This longstanding effort gave rise to two foundational concepts: *jus ad bellum* (the right to war), which addresses the moral justification for going to war, and *jus in bello* (the right in war), which governs ethical conduct during conflict. In the Islamic tradition, such concerns were deeply embedded in political and legal discourse, and Fakhr-i Mudabbir’s treatise is a notable expression of this integration. He offers a morally grounded vision of warfare that emphasizes justice, restraint, and responsibility in both the decision to wage war and the conduct within it. Consistently prioritizing diplomacy, he stresses the importance of avoiding war whenever possible and upholding peace treaties (*‘ahd-nāma*; p. 148), aligning his views with broader frameworks such as the “ethical war” tradition (cf. Sanskrit *dharma-yuddha*). His work outlines a comprehensive code of conduct that includes the humane treatment of prisoners of war—arguing, for example, that captives should be spared and treated with dignity upon surrender (pp. 344–345), and that their execution should be delayed for as long as possible (p. 345). He further prohibits the killing of non-combatants, explicitly including women, children, the elderly, individuals with disabilities, the blind, and the mentally ill (p. 400; Nūrmoḥammadī Najaf-Ābādī et al. 2018).

In addition to these core principles, Fakhr-i Mudabbir elaborates a broader set of ethical injunctions: the preference for peace over war; strict adherence to peace agreements; consultation and deliberation in military decisions; refraining from belittling the enemy; ensuring the rights and fair treatment of soldiers; abstaining from verbal abuse; maintaining secrecy and protecting military intelligence; safeguarding the rights and welfare of civilians; upholding the rights of non-combatants; prohibiting harm to agricultural lands and farmlands; and avoiding the spread of fear or despair (see also Abūtorābī, Maḥmūdī, and Dāvarī 2023).

Yet, despite these ethical ideals, Fakhr-i Mudabbir also reflects the complex realities of his time, as he at times sought to reconcile Islamic principles with the socio-political circumstances in which he lived (Maḥallātī 2006: 188). For instance, while emphasizing just war, he allows certain critical decisions, such as breaching peace agreements or determining the fate of prisoners of war, to rest at the discretionary will of the Muslim king or commander, without clear guidelines. He states, for example, that a king may break a peace treaty if he perceives benefit in doing so:

«اگر در نقض صلح منفعت بیند جنگ کند»

“If he sees benefit in breaking the peace, he may wage war.” (p. 400)

He also says that the king may kill, enslave, or free prisoners of war as he wishes:

«خواهد بکشد خواهد بنده کند و خواهد آزاد کند بگذارد تا خدمت مسلمانان

کنند»

“He may kill, enslave, or free them, allowing them to serve the Muslims” (p. 401)

These positions align closely with the actual practices of the Sulṭāns of his era, highlighting a pragmatic flexibility within his ethical framework.

In a significant theoretical contribution, Fakhr-i Mudabbir classifies warfare (*ḥarb*) into five distinct categories (pp. 336–338): (1) war against infidels (*kāfirān*); (2) war between two groups of Muslims (*musalmānān*); (3) war against rebellious Kharijites (*khawārij*); (4) war against those who refuse to pay tax (*kharāj*); and (5) war against armed robbers (*duzdān*). Among these, the war against infidels is elevated to the status of a religious obligation (*farīḍa*), with those who perish regarded as martyrs (*shahīd*) and survivors esteemed as holy warriors (*ghāzī*; p. 336). So paramount is the notion of holy war (*jihād*) in Fakhr-i

Mudabbir's thought that he dedicates an entire chapter, Chapter 25 (pp. 388–396), to expounding upon its virtues. In contrast, all other categories of warfare are treated as lesser and are to be avoided unless necessitated by circumstance.

The book is richly furnished with numerous quotations from the grandees and military commanders of bygone eras. Notably, Fakhr-i Mudabbir presents a compelling quotation attributed to the grandees of Turkistān, which asserts:

«پادشاه و لشکرکش را ده خصلت بهایم بباید تا در لشکرکشی چست آید  
شجاعت خروه و مهربانی ماکیان و دل شیر و حمله کردن خوک و چپ دادن  
روباه و صبر کردن سگ بر جراحت و پای داشتن کلنگ و حذر کردن زاغ و  
غارت کردن گرگ و ساکنی گربه»

“A king and military commander must possess ten qualities of animals in order to be brisk in military expeditions: the bravery of a rooster, the kindness of a hen, the heart of a lion, the assault of a pig, the cunning of a fox, the patience of a dog on wounds, the endurance of a crane, the caution of a magpie, the plunder of a wolf, and the stillness of a cat.” (p. 394)

Among these diverse quotations stands one from Khusraw Anōshēravān (r. AD 531–579), the renowned Sasanian king revered for his wisdom and remembered as a paragon of just rulership, which condemns those who urge kings to war:

«بدترین و فرومایه‌ترین دستوران آن بود که پادشاه را بکارزار راه نماید یا گرد  
کارزار برآید»

“The worst and basest of viziers is he who leads the king to war or turns to war.” (p. 135)

Such quotations exemplify the book's richness in drawing upon historical wisdom and highlight the ethical and strategic virtues attributed to

exemplary leaders throughout the ages. This extensive use of authoritative voices not only enriches the text's moral and practical guidance but also significantly enhances its value as a profound source of intellectual and cultural insight.

One of the most remarkable features of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a* is its lexical richness and technical precision in military terminology. The work presents a vast and detailed vocabulary of warfare, featuring numerous terms that are obscure or entirely absent from Persian dictionaries, thereby offering a rare and invaluable insight into the conceptual and material language of medieval military culture (see, e.g., Alīqolīzāde and Pūlādī 2022; Pūlādī and Alīqolīzāde 2023). This linguistic precision is further reinforced by a systematic classification of weapons based on tactical utility: the bow is given precedence over other arms due to its superior range (p. 241), while the sword is noted for the fear it inspires in close combat. Indian sword blades are especially praised as the finest, most lustrous, and sharpest of all. Several varieties are mentioned, the most highly valued of which is called *mawj-i daryā* (wave of the sea), likely named for the water-like patterns created when the metal is forged and quenched in water (p. 258).

As just one example of the detailed typologies presented throughout the work, the author lists eight distinct types of bows: *chāchī*, *kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī*, *parvānchī*, *ghaznīchī*, *lawhūrī*, *karūrī*, *hinduvī*, and *kōhī* (p. 242). The *chāchī* refers to Chāch, the historical name for the region around modern-day Tashkent in Uzbekistan; the *kh<sup>w</sup>ārazmī* corresponds to Khwārazm, the large oasis region on the Oxus River in western Central Asia; and the *parvānchī* derives from Parvān in northern Afghanistan. The *ghaznīchī* is linked to Ghaznī, i.e., Ghazna, while the *lawhūrī* points to Lahore. The *karūrī* seems to reference Karur in South India. The *hinduvī* clearly indicates Indian origin. Lastly, the *kōhī*, meaning “mountainous,” seems to denote a bow type associated with highland regions rather than a specific locality. Together, these names reflect the wide geographic scope and regional diversity of archery traditions recognized by the author.

Fakhr-i Mudabbir's treatment of siege warfare is particularly instructive. He refers to a weapon called *kashkanjīr*<sup>4</sup> (p. 424), a mechanical siege engine similar to a catapult, designed to hurl large stones or other projectiles at fortifications (see also Tafāzẓolī 1966: 145–147). Notably, the meaning “cannon” given for this word in some later Persian dictionaries dating from the post-ninth century AH / post-fifteenth century AD, such as *Sharafnāma-yi Munyarī* (compiled in AH 878 / AD 1473 by Ibrāhīm Qawām al-Dīn Fārūqī) and *Bahār-i 'Ajam* (completed in AH 1152 / AD 1739 by the Indian poet Lāla Tīk Chand), has led certain scholars (e.g., Makhdoomee 1936) to the mistaken belief that cannon and gunpowder technology were already in use in India during the reign of Iltutmish. However, historical and linguistic analysis suggests that such anachronistic conclusions are unfounded (see also Khan 2001: 323–325; Khan 2004: 210–213).

In addition to siege engines, Fakhr-i Mudabbir lists several projectile weapons employed by besieging forces. Among these are *tīr* (arrow) and *nāvak* (small arrow), as well as lesser-known terms such as *ghadrak*, *uftak*, *malakhak*, *dāng-sang*, *nēm-dāng-sang*, *juvāl-dōz*, and *nēm-juvāl-dōz* (p. 241), which indicate a nuanced classification of missile types based on size, use, or material. The diversity and specificity of these terms demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of the mechanics and taxonomy of weaponry. Such terminology reflects not only a linguistic richness but also a deep familiarity with battlefield conditions and tactical applications. Each term likely connotes particular characteristics, whether in terms of range, velocity, or penetration, that made certain projectiles preferable in specific scenarios. For instance, smaller missiles might have been more effective in close-quarters or situations requiring

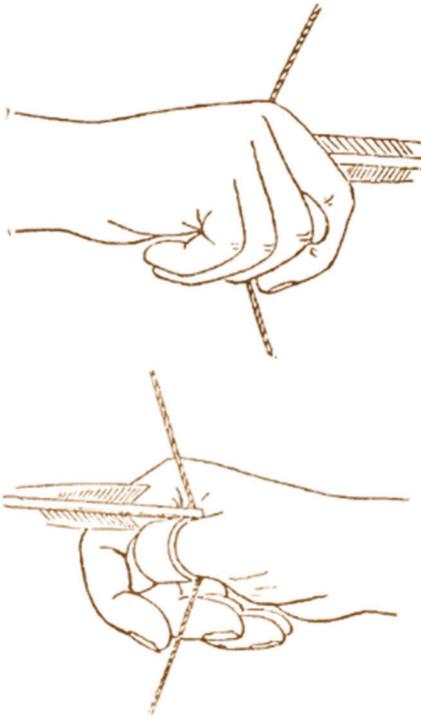
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<sup>4</sup> In Soheylī-ye Khānsārī's edition, as well as in some Persian dictionaries, the word has been recorded as *kushkanjīr*, on the assumption of an etymological connection with the Persian word *kōshk* (palace).

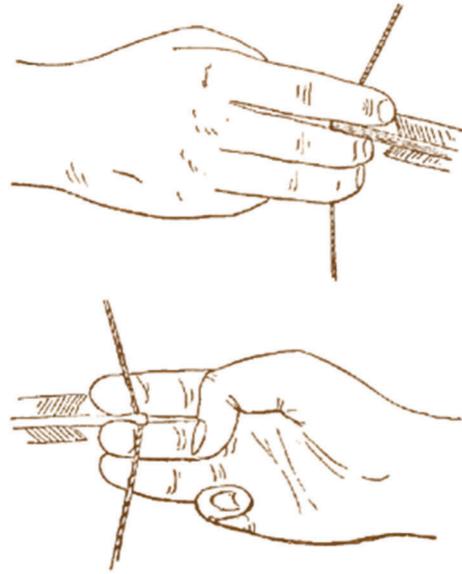
swift, repeated shots, while heavier ones were likely used for breaching wooden defenses, and piercing projectiles for penetrating armor.

The book employs the term *nāchakh* (p. 339), denoting a type of battle-axe, and *chakr* (p. 331), albeit misspelled as *jagr*, referring to a sharp, circular missile weapon derived from Hindi *chakr* (Sanskrit *cakra*). Additionally, the text mentions tools used in the breaching of fortifications, such as *dah-marda* (p. 423), whose name, literally meaning “(employed by) ten men,” strongly suggests its identity as a battering ram.

In the realm of archery, *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā‘a* provides detailed information on accessories and techniques. One notable example is the *angushtvāna* (thumb ring), used to protect the archer’s thumb from the pressure of the bowstring. Fakhr-i Mudabbir distinguishes three distinct types of thumb rings: *ghāzīvār* (warrior-style), *mīrīvār* (princely-style), and *turkīvār* (Turkish-style; p. 245), reflecting both social hierarchy and regional variation in military equipment. The differentiation of these types may also imply variations in design, materials, or intended use, with princely models perhaps being more ornate and ceremonial, while warrior-style rings prioritized function and durability. Closely related is the term *šast-i Bahrām* (Bahrām’s thumb, p. 244), an eponymous reference to the Sasanian king Bahrām V (r. AD 420–438), famed for his extraordinary prowess in archery. While McEwen (1974: 98) suggests that *šast-i Bahrām* may simply denote a thumb ring, Di Cesare (2019: 192) convincingly argues that the term instead refers to a specific archery technique known as the “Mongolian release.” This technique, which involves holding the nock of the arrow with the thumb and forefinger while drawing the bowstring, is particularly effective in mounted combat. It contrasts with the “Mediterranean release,” which employs the index, middle, and ring fingers (Figures 3 and 4). The *šast-i Bahrām* technique “was introduced by the Scythians in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, and then it spread up to China in the East, and Iran and Mesopotamia in the West, and was especially suited for mounted archery mastered by the Turkic peoples of the steppe” (Di Cesare 2019: 191).



**Figure 3.** *šast-i Bahrām* or Mongolian release (Morse 1885: 16)



**Figure 4.** Mediterranean release (Morse 1885: 13)

The numerous historical anecdotes drawn from actual battles and interwoven throughout the book as illustrative examples possess considerable scholarly value. Particularly noteworthy are the eighteen accounts concerning the Ghaznavids, which provide unique insights into this dynasty not found in other extant sources (for an English translation of these accounts, see Shafī 1938: 196–234). Among these, the author recounts a remarkable episode involving Sulṭān Maḥmūd:

«در آنوقت که قلعهٔ ملتان بگشاد چندان کافر و قرمطی کشته شد که جوی خون از در لوهور که سوی قبله است بیرون رفت و دست سلطان رحمه الله بر قبضهٔ شمشیر چنان از خون بگرفته بود و خون خشک شده که دست

گشادن میسر نشد تا آب گرم کردند و در طشت ریختند و قبضه شمشیر  
زمانی دیر در آب گرم بداشت تا دست از قبضه باز شد»

“At the time when he captured the Fort of Multān, so many infidels and Qarmatians were slain that a stream of blood flowed from the Gate of Lawhūr (i.e., Lahore), which faces the Qibla. The Sultān’s hand, may Allāh have mercy upon him, was so bloodied on the hilt of the sword, and the blood had congealed, that it became impossible to separate the hand. They heated water and poured it into a basin. He immersed the sword’s hilt in the heated water for an extended period until his hand was separated from the hilt.” (p. 268)

Elsewhere, the text offers a vivid account of the economic conditions during the reign of the Ghaznavid Sultān Ibrāhīm, when the city of Ghazna was struck by famine and prices soared dramatically. The majority of the inhabitants shuttered their homes and fled to other regions. Ultimately, the crisis was successfully resolved by Abu’l-Faraj the Treasurer:

«نان در شهر فراخ گشت چنانکه بامداد منی نان بهفتاد درم بود نماز شام  
بنجاه درم شد و دیگر روز بسی درم شد و دیگر روز بهفده درم باز آمد»  
“Bread became plentiful in the city. In the morning, a *man*<sup>5</sup> of bread was seventy *dirams*; by the time of the evening prayer, it became fifty *dirams*; the next day it became thirty *dirams*, and on the following day, it came down further to seventeen *dirams*.” (p. 107)

It is worth noting that some of the stories preserved by Fakhr-i Mudabbir appear to be unique to his work, often presented in altered or distorted forms not found in other historical or literary sources. For instance, his account of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Udayy’s injury, which prevents him from

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<sup>5</sup> During the reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Khaljī (AH 695–715 / AD 1296–1316) of the Delhi Sultanate, a *man* weighed approximately 15 kilograms (Chandra 2007: 103, footnote 1).

joining the army that kills al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī at Karbalā’, mirrors a broader narrative pattern seen elsewhere, such as in al-Aflākī’s *Manāqib al-‘Ārifīn* involving Ibn Mas‘ūd, though the names and details differ significantly (see Note 32). Likewise, the story of Anōshēravān and the plant *kabar* (caper) diverges from other known versions in both the identity of the foreign envoy and the tone of the reply, suggesting a shift in symbolic meaning (see Note 40). Fakhr-i Mudabbir’s brief version of Bilqīs’s exchange with Solomon also omits the complex layers found in other traditions, offering instead a simplified ending (see Note 43). In some cases, such as the claim that Sindpāl was Jaypāl’s great-grandson, the discrepancy cannot be linked to any known variant tradition and is more likely due to error (see Note 58). These differences suggest that Fakhr-i Mudabbir may have drawn on oral or now-lost written sources, or that he creatively reworked familiar stories, setting them apart from more established versions.

### Chapters V, VII and XV

Chapter V of *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā‘a* offers a thorough analysis of the appointment of a vizier, highlighting its critical importance to sound governance and the successful administration of state affairs. The discourse opens with the example of Moses, who sought divine support by requesting his brother Aaron to serve as his vizier. The chapter further highlights the vital role of viziers in both celestial and terrestrial governance.

The chapter then transitions to a pragmatic and philosophical reflection on the vizier’s essential function in statecraft. A kingdom, it asserts, cannot endure or prosper without a competent vizier, just as a body cannot live without a soul. Even prophets and exemplary rulers required viziers to manage affairs of state. The vizier is responsible for a vast array of duties, from military administration and treasury oversight to the care of the needy and maintenance of social order.

The text enumerates both disqualifying characteristics and essential virtues of a vizier. Deficiencies in physical appearance or moral character, such as ignorance, arrogance, impiety, corruption, or even physical deformity, are seen as reflections of the king's own shortcomings if overlooked. In contrast, a worthy vizier must possess an exceptional combination of noble lineage, refined character, intellectual acumen, religious piety, administrative skill, and eloquence. He must be literate in sacred and secular sciences, and capable in disciplines ranging from jurisprudence and theology to military strategy and astronomy.

The vizier's relationship with the king is also discussed in detail. The king must ensure the vizier feels secure in his position by avoiding suspicion, jealousy, and rash punishment, while also granting him freedom to advise, access the royal court, and manage state affairs autonomously. Historical examples, including viziers such as Uriah, Āṣif, and Buzurjmīhr, are invoked to illustrate these ideals, with the case of Khwāja Aḥmad al-Maymandī providing a particularly vivid narrative of loyalty and strategic brilliance.

Wisdom literature from Persian sages is interspersed throughout, highlighting longstanding cultural ideals regarding the vizier's virtues and functions. Sayings of figures such as Ardashīr (r. AD 224–242), Anōshēravān, Buzurjmīhr, and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (r. AH 35–40 / AD 656–661) enrich the philosophical depth of the chapter, reinforcing the vizier's role as the king's conscience, strategist, and shield against internal and external threats.

The chapter concludes with serious warnings: the vizier's position, though the highest among learned men, is filled with danger, envy, and moral responsibility. He must balance authority with humility, power with justice, and influence with religious fidelity. His failure can jeopardize the entire realm, while his uprightness ensures the kingdom's prosperity and divine favor.

Chapter VII presents a profound philosophical and ethical discourse on the nature of war, the responsibilities of kingship, and the necessity of prudence, consultation, and wisdom in governance. It opens by affirming the inherent bitterness and destructiveness of war.

The chapter exhorts rulers to prioritize justice and obedience to God, emphasizing that a just king, beloved by his people and divinely protected, has little need for war. The ideal king governs through wisdom and equity, upholds high moral standards, and achieves lasting greatness through humility, patience, and the unity of the people.

Drawing on the counsel of sages and historical examples, the text highlights the indispensable role of consultation in sound governance. Kings must rely not solely on their own intellect but must seek the guidance of wise and trustworthy viziers and advisors. Even the Prophet Muḥammad, despite his unmatched wisdom, was commanded by God to consult with others, demonstrating the sanctity of consultation and its role in safeguarding against error and blame.

A substantial portion of the chapter is devoted to historical anecdotes that celebrate intellect and strategic counsel over violence. For example, the story of the Indian king's invention of chess, sent as a challenge to Khusraw Anōshēravān, and Buzurjmīhr's counter-invention of backgammon exemplify intellectual diplomacy.

The chapter culminates with the story of Dārā and Dhu'l-Qarnayn, wherein symbolic exchanges of gifts and metaphors precede armed conflict. The war, though ultimately pursued, is portrayed as a consequence of provocation, with the clear moral that wisdom and dialogue are preferable to bloodshed.

Finally, the chapter describes the various forms of divine provision granted to humans and animals for self-preservation. While animals are equipped with physical defenses, humanity has been endowed with

superior tools: visible weapons and, more importantly, the invisible arms of intellect, judgment, and reason. These faculties are considered the most noble, as they enable the resolution of conflict without violence. Bloodshed is condemned in all forms except when pursued in the name of justice or in defense of truth, as it carries the heaviest moral and eschatological burden.<sup>6</sup>

Chapter XV presents a comprehensive analysis of the strategic, tactical, and psychological dimensions of executing a successful night raid in warfare. The author divides the operation into two essential groups: one consisting of seasoned warriors with battlefield experience, and the other made up of wise, intelligent, and obedient individuals capable of precise execution. The optimal timing for a night raid is identified as the period between midnight and dawn.

The tactics highlighted include targeting the enemy's horses by severing their tethers and bridles to create chaos within the encampment and provoke widespread panic. Before the main raid, a small vanguard is tasked with infiltrating the camp to neutralize resistance and further weaken the enemy's defenses.

Psychological warfare is a central theme: spreading false reports of enemy casualties or captures is encouraged to sow fear and confusion. The use of deception is explicitly sanctioned, drawing on a historical precedent attributed to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who affirmed the legitimacy of stratagem in battle with the dictum *al-ḥarb khud'ah* (war is deception).

In defensive scenarios, if one is the target of a night raid, the text highlights the importance of preparedness, recommending measures such as digging trenches to hinder enemy advances. The chapter cites a historical example involving Mūsā ibn Muḥammad, who trained his

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<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that only a partial English translation and brief discussion of this chapter currently exists (see Khan 1995: 293–299), which further motivates the need for a complete and detailed rendering.

forces in constant vigilance by entrenching every encampment along the route from Baghdād to Bādghīs. Though his cautious methods were questioned by Caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. AH 198–218 / AD 813–833), they ultimately led to a decisive military victory. This anecdote illustrates the value of foresight, patience, and unwavering preparedness in warfare.

Finally, the chapter praises the military prowess of Sultān Maḥmūd, highlighting his decisive and swift response to multiple threats. Faced with simultaneous incursions in Khurāsān by the Khānids and a rebellion in Hindūstān, he launched a rapid and daring campaign, defeating his enemies in both regions with remarkable speed and precision. His actions are presented as a model of martial intelligence, agility, and determination.

The Persian text of Chapters V, VII, and XV presented in this edition is based primarily on the critical edition prepared by Soheylī-ye Khānsārī (1967). The orthography of the text has likewise been retained in accordance with his edition, except in very few cases. For his work, Soheylī-ye Khānsārī consulted six manuscripts, namely BT, RĀM, BN, MD, MK, and SL. Among these, the BT manuscript holds particular significance as the oldest extant witness to the text. However, it appears that BT is at times underutilized or inconsistently represented in Soheylī-ye Khānsārī's edition.

In light of this, I have undertaken a close comparison between Soheylī-ye Khānsārī's critical edition and the BT manuscript, with the aim of identifying textual discrepancies and omissions and thereby offering a more precise version of the text. Where such differences are evident, I have proposed emendations, all of which are duly noted in the footnotes. In these annotations, square brackets [ ] denote words or phrases that are absent from the BT manuscript; SK refers to Soheylī-ye Khānsārī's edition; and the plus sign (+) marks words or phrases that are found in the BT manuscript but omitted in Soheylī-ye Khānsārī's edition. In the Persian text, the beginning of each folio in the BT manuscript is indicated

in parentheses by folio number and side, as in (51v) for folio 51 verso or (52r) for folio 52 recto. Images of Chapters V, VII, and XV of the BT manuscript are provided in the appendix at the end of the book.

In translating Chapters V, VII, and XV into English, I have aimed to remain as faithful to the original Persian text as possible. Every effort has been made to preserve the meaning, tone, and style of the original, while also ensuring that the translation follows the rules of English grammar and syntax. Where a literal translation would have led to awkward or unclear phrasing, I have chosen wording that conveys the intended sense more clearly in English. My goal has been to produce a translation that is both accurate and readable. Throughout the English translation of each chapter, words and terms requiring clarification are followed by note numbers in parentheses that direct the reader to the explanatory notes section located after the English translation of Chapter XV.

## اندر اختیار کردن وزیر کافی [عالم] ناصح پاکدین کاردان خدای ترس (51v)

### اندر اختیار کردن وزیر کافی [عالم] ناصح پاکدین کاردان خدای ترس

چون ایزد سبحانه و تعالی<sup>7</sup> موسی عمران را علیه السلام برسالت سوی فرعون میفرستاد از خداوند تعالی درخواست و گفت وَأَجْعَلْ لِي وَزِيرًا مِّنْ أَهْلِ هِرُونَ<sup>8</sup> آخی اشدُّ به اَزْرِي وَأَشْرِكُهُ فِي أَمْرِي گفت مرا وزیری ده هم از خاندان من و هارون برادر من و پشت مرا بدو قوی گردان و در کاری که مرا میفرمایی یعنی نبوت شرکت ده و راست همچنین است که وزیر شریک ملک باشد و حل و عقد او در ملک روان تر از حل و عقد پادشاه باشد که مصالح ملک بدو مفوض بود و آنچه او را فراز آید پادشاه بر سر آن نشود و پیغامبر صلی الله علیه واله<sup>9</sup> میفرماید<sup>10</sup> لِي وَزِيرَانِ فِي السَّمَاءِ وَوَزِيرَانِ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَأَمَّا وَزِيرَانِ فِي السَّمَاءِ فَجِبْرَائِيلُ<sup>12</sup> وَمِيكَائِيلُ وَأَمَّا فِي الْأَرْضِ فَاِبُوبَكْرٍ وَعُمَرُ یعنی من دو وزیر در آسمان دارم جبرئیل و میکائیل اند و آنکه در زمین دارم ابوبکر و عمرند و پیغامبر صلی الله علیه واله<sup>13</sup> میفرماید مَن اسْتَعْمَلَ<sup>14</sup> فَرَادَ اللَّهُ بِهِ خَيْرًا جَعَلَ لَهُ وَزِيرًا صِدْقًا اِنْ نَسِيَ ذِكْرَهُ اِنْ ذَكَرَهُ<sup>15</sup> اعَانَهُ یعنی<sup>16</sup> هر کرا خدای عز وجل پادشاهی و [یا] امیری و بزرگی دهد و بدو نیکویی خواهد او را وزیری (52r)

<sup>7</sup> سبحانه تعالی SK

<sup>8</sup> هَارُونَ BT

<sup>9</sup> علیه السلام BT

<sup>10</sup> کوید BT

<sup>11</sup> فَوَزِيرَانِ BT

<sup>12</sup> فَجِبْرَائِيلُ BT

<sup>13</sup> علیه السلام BT

<sup>14</sup> اسْتَعْمَلَ BT

<sup>15</sup> ذَكَرَهُ BT

<sup>16</sup> پیغامبر علیه السلام میگوید که BT

راست‌گوی<sup>17</sup> نیک‌مرد دهد که اگر از خیرات و عدل و احسان چیزی فراموش کند او را یاد دهد و اگر یاد دارد بدانش یاری دهد و جمله حکما چنین گفته‌اند اگر چه پادشاه بس داهی و کاردان باشد و قاهر و غالب او را از وزیر کافی ممیز عادل<sup>18</sup> عالم کاردان خدای‌ترس چاره نباشد<sup>+</sup> و چنانکه کالبد بی‌جان زنده نباشد ملک بی‌وزیر پاینده و با رونق نباشد و پیغامبرانی که مرسل و پادشاه بوده‌اند و وحی بر ایشان متواتر مُنزل [بود] ملک بی‌وزیر نداشتندی<sup>19</sup> که از پادشاهان لشکر کشیدن و ولایت گشادن و ملک گرفتن و بخشش و بزم و رزم کردن آید اما آبادانی ولایت و جمع کردن خزاین و فراهم داشتن لشکر و نصب کردن عمال و بازجستن حساب و عرض خواستن اجناس کارخانها و احصا فرمودن اسب و اشتر و دیگر مواشی و بازطلبیدن شکره و مواجب دادن خیل و حشم و کارداران و آسوده داشتن رعایا و تفقد کردن اهل صلاح و مشاخره و وظایف دادن ایشان و تعهد کردن بیوگان و ایتم و تربیت کردن علما و نظام اهل عالم و رونق و ترتیب دواوین و پرداخت کار اهل معاملات تعلق بوزرا دارد<sup>+</sup> و داود علیه السلام را وزیرى چون اوریا و سلیمان را چون آصف و ذوالقرنین را چون (52v) ارسطاطالیس و<sup>20</sup> نوشیروانرا<sup>21</sup> چون بزرجمهر<sup>22</sup> و خلفا را چون برامکه میبایست اما چند خصلت است که در وزیر نباید که اگر از آن خصلتها چیزی در وزیر باشد<sup>23</sup> عیب آن پادشاه بازگردد و بر نادانی او حمل افتد و چند خصلت<sup>24</sup> که در وزیر نباید

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<sup>17</sup> راستگو و SK؛ راست‌گوی BT

<sup>18</sup> ممیز کافی SK

<sup>19</sup> نداشتند BT

<sup>20</sup> و و SK

<sup>21</sup> نوشیروانرا BT

<sup>22</sup> بزرجمهر BT

<sup>23</sup> نباشد BT

<sup>24</sup> خصلتست BT

اینست<sup>25</sup> که یاد کرده آید<sup>26</sup> نباید که وزیر کوتاه‌بالا و کوسه و یکچشم‌کور و گران‌گوش و کاژ و لنگ و پیس و مجذوم و معیوب و زشت‌محاسن<sup>27</sup> و مزاج و بسیارخنده و ترش‌روی و کوتاه‌کندوری<sup>28</sup> و تنک‌چشم و متهتک و شتاب‌زده و زانی و لوطی و مفسد و بی‌نماز و خدای‌نا ترس و ظالم و مصادره‌کن<sup>29</sup> و بیرحم و بدنام و تیزخشم و تنک‌بار و سخت‌دل و بی‌علم و بی‌هنر و دروغگوی و سوگندخوار و عشوده و رشوتخوار و پادشاه‌دشمن و درویش‌دشمن و مسلمان‌آزار و مصلح‌دشمن و بی‌حیا و معتوه و مصروع و دیوانه و در بد کردن بی‌پشیمان باشد و آنچه در وزیر نباید اینست<sup>30</sup> باید که از خاندان وزارت باشد یا از خاندانی که آبا و اجداد او را درین دولت اسمی و صیتی<sup>30</sup> بوده باشد باید که کریم‌طبع و بزرگ‌خطر و کامل‌ادب و خوب‌منظر و بلندبالا و تمام‌زینت و صافی‌دل و پاک‌عقیده و لطیف‌خلق و ضابط‌امر و نافذفرمان و نیکومحضر و بسیارعطا و متین‌رأی<sup>31</sup> [و] (53۲) شیرین‌سخن و در کارها متآئی و راست‌وعده و قوی‌تدبیر و در کارها زودگزار و در کار ملک بسیار تفکر و تآئی و شجاع و مردانه و حزم‌نگاهداری و معاملات‌دان و متواضع و مکرّم و بی‌کینه و چرب‌زبان و رحیم‌دل و خندان‌روی و مصلح‌دوست و فراخ‌دل و بسیار صدقه و نان‌ده و خدای‌ترس و با اهل تجربه و مشاورت‌همنشین و بگاہ‌خیز و فراخ‌بار<sup>32</sup> و نماز‌کوش و شریعت‌دان و فقیه و صاحب‌اخبار و صاحب‌تفسیر<sup>33</sup> و بسیار فضل و فاضل‌دوست و نیکوالفاظ و نیکوخط

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<sup>25</sup> خصلتها اینست BT

<sup>26</sup> آمد BT

<sup>27</sup> زشت و فحاش SK

<sup>28</sup> کندوری SK

<sup>29</sup> مصادره‌گر SK

<sup>30</sup> نصیبی BT

<sup>31</sup> امین‌رای BT

<sup>32</sup> فراخ‌پیشانی SK

<sup>33</sup> صاحب‌نفس BT

و محاسب و دبیر و طبیب و منجم و شاعر و عروضی و اصولی و حمل و حلیم و انتقام‌ناکشنده و حاضر جواب و لشکرکش و حکیم باشد که بیشتر سخنان حکمت از ارسطاطالیس و<sup>34</sup> بزرجمهر<sup>35</sup> بروی<sup>36</sup> روزگار یادگار مانده است چون در وزیر این خصال پسندیده باشد<sup>37</sup> آن مملکت کم‌خصل و پاینده باشد اگر چه پادشاه از هر نوع که باشد ملک را بسبب اینچنین وزیر هیچ خللی نباشد و باید که هر روز<sup>+</sup> که بخدمت پادشاه رود نخستین کاری [که] بکند از جهت مسلمانی از بهر خدای کند و کار اهل صلاح را بیشتر دارد تا خدای عز و جل ببرکت این خیر<sup>38</sup> او را در آن روز از واقعات نگاهدارد که مملکت وزیران رانند اسم بر پادشاه باشد و کار کردن (53v) و فرمودن و مصالح مملکت تیمار داشتن باید و در جهان بسیار پادشاه زنان و کودکان و طفلان<sup>39</sup> بوده‌اند که از ایشان کاری نیاید وزیران کافی ملک رانده‌اند و مصالح پرداخته و شرّ دشمن بکفایت و کاردانی از ممالک دور داشته چون وزیر بدین<sup>40</sup> خصال ستوده آراسته باشد پادشاه باید<sup>+</sup> که او را از سه چیز بی‌بیم دارد و سه چیز بر وی فراخ دارد آنکه او را<sup>+</sup> از آن بی‌بیم دارد یکی آنکه برو خشم نگیرد و اگر گیرد زود عفو کند و بیاداش نشتابد و چون توانگر شود طمع سود و زیان وی نکند و چون شفاعت کند شفاعت او رد نکند و آن سه چیز که بر وی فراخ دارد یکی آنکه بهر وقت که خواهد او را بار باشد که اگر نباشد خللی بسیار زاید و سخن بدگویان و دشمنان در حق وی نشنود و راز خویش از او پنهان ندارد و چنان باید که دانش و عقل وزیر و کیاست او از کسانی

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<sup>34</sup> SK و (corrected to و in the errata section at the end of the edited book)

<sup>35</sup> BT بزرجمهر

<sup>36</sup> SK بر روی

<sup>37</sup> SK باشد

<sup>38</sup> SK آنخیر

<sup>39</sup> BT طفل

<sup>40</sup> BT برین

که در عصر او باشند بیش<sup>41</sup> باشد و در دلیری چنان باید که از هیچ خصمی و حربی نترسد و اگر پادشاه [را] چنان مصلحت روی دهد که [پیش] خصم او را فرستد دران بددلی نکند و بیشاشت پیش آن کار باز شود<sup>42</sup> و در دلیری چنان باید که خواجه احمد حسن میمندی بود که امیر ماضی یمین الدوله محمود سبکتکین غازی نور الله قبرهما [را] برداشت و بجنگ خانیان برد چون (54r) سلطان یمین الدوله آنجا رسید لشکر ایشان را بدید زیادت از لشکر او بود همه ترک و لشکر او بیشتر تاجیک<sup>43</sup> و هندو و باسعید بود بهراسید بخواجه احمد حسن پیغام داد که همه مردمان مرا میگفتند که احمد حسن ترا دشمنست و ترا روزی در کاری بزرگ اندازد باور نمیداشتم تا امروز مرا معلوم شد و معاینه کردم که مرا برداشتی و اینجا آوردی آنچه بر تو بود بکردی تا خدای عز وجل چه حکم کرده است و تهدیدها و وعیدها کرد خواجه احمد حسن پیغام بازفرستاد که خداوند سلطان را بگویند که امروز جنگ من و تو نیست که فریضه‌تر ازین کاری داری اگر ظفر و نصرت ترا باشد بدانی که من دوستداری و نیکخواهی کرده‌ام و زیادت جاه و مملکت [و] ولایت و لشکر و خزینة تو خواسته‌ام و اگر نعوذ بالله کار<sup>44</sup> دیگرگون باشد بیش نه تو مرا بینی و نه من ترا چون پیغام بازآوردند امیر ابوالقاسم عبدالملک که از سیستان<sup>+</sup> بخدمت آمده بود پیش سلطان ایستاده بود آن تافتگی<sup>45</sup> و دل‌نگرانی سلطان بدید گفت ای خداوند بسیستان شغالی بخانه<sup>46</sup> زالی درآمد این زال بزکی داشت خواست که این بزک را ببرد [و] بکشد زال را همسایگان گفتند که شغال آمده است بز ترا بخوهد برد زال بنگریست

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<sup>41</sup> پیش SK

<sup>42</sup> باشد SK

<sup>43</sup> تازیک SK

<sup>44</sup> کاری BT

<sup>45</sup> آشفنگی SK

<sup>46</sup> در خانه BT

گفت این بز من همچندِ شغال هست (54v) و بدو سرو<sup>47</sup> زیادت اگر او را بخواهد کشت او کشته به پس گفت ای خداوند لشکر ما همچند لشکر ایشان هست بهزار [و] چهار صد پیل زیادت اگر ما را بخواهند زد ما زده و کشته بهیم درین حدیث بودند [که] پیلوان پیل سپیدی<sup>48</sup> که از سیستان آورده بودند از آن امیر خلف احمد احمد نام پیش سلطان آمد و گفت ای خداوند از دوش باز این [پیل] را صد بار بیش بسته‌ام خویشان را باز کرده است و زنجیرها بگسسته این علامت و نشان ظفرست من بنده برین پیل بروم و علامت ایشانرا برابیم و نگونسار کرده پیش خداوند آرم سلطان خوشدل گشت و بفرمود تا مضاف کردند چون مضاف راست شد سلطان از میان لشکر بیرون آمد و از اسپ فرود آمد<sup>49</sup> و بر خاک دو رکعت نماز بکرد و سر بسجده نهاده و روی بر خاک میمالید و قل اللهم مالک المُلک میخواند پس سر بر آورد و بقلب لشکر آمد و احمد علی نوشتکین<sup>50</sup> را که امیر آخور بود بخواند و از اسپ خویش فرود آمد و او را برنشانند و زیررکابی خویش برکشید و در دست او داد و گفت با جمله غلامان سرای حمله بر و آن پیلوان پیش از همه حمله برد و میرفت تا علامتشان بر بود و بشکست و نگونسار کرد لشکر خانیانرا بشکستند و هزیمت کردند تا گذشت آنچه گذشت<sup>+</sup> و آن فتح<sup>51</sup> جدا (55r) گانه کتابیست پیلوانان<sup>52</sup> و غلامان سرای حمله مظفر و منصور باز آمدند و چنین گفتند<sup>+</sup> که ازان پیل سپید و از برگستوان او صد من پیکان بیرون کشیدند اردشیر بابکان را پرسیدند که کدام یار بهتر و بایسته‌تر باشد پادشاه را گفت دستور نیک که با وی رای زند و تدبیر مملکت کند تا او صواب

<sup>47</sup> SK سر (corrected to سرو in the errata section at the end of the edited book)

<sup>48</sup> BT نوشتینی بود

<sup>49</sup> SK نشست

<sup>50</sup> BT بوسکی

<sup>51</sup> SK فتح را

<sup>52</sup> SK پیلوان

و خطای<sup>53</sup> آن پادشاه را بازنماید و نیک‌آمد خویش در نیک‌آمد<sup>54</sup> پادشاه و بدآمد خویش از بدآمد پادشاه داند نوشیروان<sup>55</sup> میگوید که بدترین و فرومایه‌ترین دستوران آن بود که پادشاه را بکارزار راه نماید یا گرد کارزار برآید که در همه کارها خرج و نفقه از خواسته و زر بود [و] بکارزار از تن و جان عزیز بزرجمهر<sup>56</sup> گوید دستور [را] پنج چیز ببايد تا کارش تمام شود و خلل در ملک اندر نیاید یکی هوشیاری بهر کاری که آغاز کند سرانجام آن ببیند و ازان بیندیشد دیگر آنکه<sup>57</sup> دانشی<sup>58</sup> تمامش باشد چنانکه کارهای پوشیده بر وی آشکارا باشد تا درنماند سدیگر<sup>59</sup> دلاوری که از چیزی که نباید ترسید نترسد<sup>60</sup> چهارم راستی اندر هر چه گوید و کند در امید و بیم پنجم نگاهداشتن راز پادشاه اندر نعمت و محنت که جان خود بدهد راز پادشاه<sup>61</sup> اشکارا نکند حکیمی از حکما میگوید که وزیر ملک را چون جان باشد در اندام و هر اندامی که درو جان نباشد ضایعست (55v) و هر جانی که در اندام نیست ضایعست همچنان ملکی که درو وزیری<sup>62</sup> نباشد که برو رای زنند و صلاح و فساد آن باز گوید ضایعست وزیر بی ملک و ملک بی وزیر پاینده نباشد اصمعی میگوید که شش چیز پادشاه را باید تا<sup>63</sup> همیشه فارغ و خوشدل باشد یکی وزیری که سرّ وی<sup>64</sup> کشف نکند و تیمار

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<sup>53</sup> خطأ BT

<sup>54</sup> خوش‌آمد SK

<sup>55</sup> BT نوشروان

<sup>56</sup> BT بزرجمهر

<sup>57</sup> BT انک

<sup>58</sup> SK دانش

<sup>59</sup> SK سه دیگر (corrected to سدیگر in the errata section at the end of the edited book)

<sup>60</sup> SK ترسد

<sup>61</sup> BT بادشاهی

<sup>62</sup> BT زبری

<sup>63</sup> SK که تا

<sup>64</sup> SK او

پادشاهی بدارد و دیگر حصنی که اگر خوفی باشد خود را از خوف برهاند یعنی مرکبی تکاور راهوار که از پیش خصم بتواند رفت و شمشیری گوهردار بر آن سه دیگر یارانی که بر ایشان اعتماد توان کرد که پادشاه را خیانت نکند و چهارم ذخیرهٔ سبکبار گرانبها یعنی جواهر اگر وقتی حادثه‌یی<sup>65</sup> باشد با خود بتوان برد پنجم زنی جمیله [که] چون بنزدیک او رود جمله اندوه و نگرانی برود ششم طبّاحی که آنچه او را بدان اشتها باشد بسازد موبد<sup>66</sup> موبدان را پادشاهی از پادشاهان پارس بپرسید که صلاح پادشاهی چیست گفت وزیران که معین پادشاهانند اگر وزیران بصلاح و نیکوکار باشند کار مملکت و رعیت نیکو باشد و اگر وزیران بدکردار باشند کار مملکت و رعیت تباه شود گفت کدام خصلت پادشاهی و مملکت را سودمندتر باشد گفت نیت نیکو یکی از حکما را پرسیدند که مدبر امور [را] وزیر<sup>67</sup> چرا خوانند گفت بدانچه جمله حمل و دل‌نگرانی از خاطر پادشاه برگردد چنانکه خدای عز و جل فرموده<sup>68</sup> (56f) وَوَضَعْنَا عَنكَ وِزْرَكَ اِی حَطَطْنَا<sup>69</sup> عَنكَ حَمَلْکَ و باید که میان امرا و سپهسالاران کبیر موافقت رها نکند در نهان استمالت میکند بصلت و مبرّت و امیدهای خوب و در ظاهر بازمالیده میدارد که از موافقت سپهسالاران کبیر خللها زاید که گفتن را نشاید و خیل و حشم فروددست را گاه گاه تَلَطَّف و انعام میفرماید و عرصهٔ امید بر ایشان فراخ دارد و همواره امیدوار تربیت و انعام میدارد و نیک در مواجب و جامگی از حد بیرون استدراک<sup>70</sup> نکند و تنگ فرود نگیرد و چنان نکند که مستزید گردند و مأیوس شوند و در انعامات بسیار بازجست نکند که بددل شوند و از آن هم خللها زاید و اگر

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<sup>65</sup> BT حادثه

<sup>66</sup> BT موبدان

<sup>67</sup> BT وزیر را

<sup>68</sup> BT کفت

<sup>69</sup> BT خططنا

<sup>70</sup> BT استدراک

داند که از کسی خللی خواهد زاد آنرا زود تداوی<sup>71</sup> کند و از حال خصمان ملک باید که غافل نباشد و چنان باید که از حرکات و سکنات خصم هر روزه با علم باشد و درین باب مردان<sup>72</sup> جانباز مخاطره‌کن نصب دارد و مال ازیشان<sup>73</sup> دریغ ندارد و در ساختن لشکر و حشم هر چند جهد و جد که ممکن گردد فرونگذارد و در ساختن زرآدخانه و سلاح مبالغت بیش نماید و مال خزاین<sup>74</sup> از وجوه قانون و معتاد طلبد و البته آنچه بیرون شریعت و معاملات باشد روا ندارد که بر رعیت حیف نرود<sup>75</sup> که بقیامت پادشاه برهد و او بعذاب دوزخ درماند و پادشاهش فریاد نرسد و بر عمال و گماشتگان (56v) تأکید نماید تا ظلم<sup>+</sup> و زیادتی نکنند و بیرون<sup>+</sup> معاملات رعیت را مستأصل نگردانند و اگر کسی زیادتی کرده باشد ادب و تدارک فرماید که چون رعایا مستأصل شد<sup>76</sup> مال حاصل نشود و چون مال رایج نشود حشم قایم نگردد [و] چون حشم قایم نگشت مملکت ضعیف گردد و اگر خصمی قوت کند ملک از دست بشود و در جمله بدانند<sup>77</sup> که هیچ کاری باخطرتر از وزارت نیست که تیمار پادشاه و پادشاهی تا دربان و پاسبان نباید داشت و هیچ کس را چندان دشمن و حاسد نباشد که وزیر را و آخرین درجه اهل قلم وزارتست تا عاقبت چگونه بیرون آید پادشاه را ناصح بود و کارها را بنا بر خدای ترسی و دیانت نهاد<sup>78</sup> و آنچه<sup>79</sup> شرع نفرموده است گرد آن

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<sup>71</sup> تلافی SK

<sup>72</sup> مردمان SK

<sup>73</sup> از ایشان SK

<sup>74</sup> مال و خزاین SK

<sup>75</sup> رود SK

<sup>76</sup> شده BT

<sup>77</sup> بدانند SK

<sup>78</sup> کند SK

<sup>79</sup> از آنچه SK

نگشت<sup>80</sup> و بغرض فاسد مشغول نگشت<sup>81</sup> و در حق مسلمانی بمال و جان قصد نکرد<sup>82</sup> و ائق باشد که هیچ دشمنی بر وی قادر نشود و هیچوقت در خشم سلطان نیفتد و ازین کار باخطر سلامت بیرون آید و هیچ نکبتی بوی نرسد امیر المؤمنین علی علیه الصلوة والسلام<sup>83</sup> میفرماید<sup>84</sup> که رای پیر بهتر از حضور کودک باشد و گفت چون از وزیر ایمن شدی از امیر مترس و چون وزیر خیانت کرد جمله تدبیرها تباه شود و جمله رایهای<sup>85</sup> صواب باطل گردد.

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<sup>80</sup> نگردد SK; نکشت BT

<sup>81</sup> نشود SK; نکشت BT

<sup>82</sup> نکرده SK

<sup>83</sup> کرم الله وجهه BT

<sup>84</sup> میکوید BT

<sup>85</sup> رایهاء BT

## Chapter V

### On Appointing a Qualified, Learned, Counseling, Pious, Efficient, and God-Fearing Vizier

When God, Glorious and Exalted is He, sent Moses (see Note 1), son of Amram (see Note 2), peace be upon him, as His messenger to Pharaoh (see Note 3), he implored God, the Exalted, saying, *waj 'al lī wazīran min 'ahlī Hārūna 'akhī 'ushdud bihī 'azrī wa 'ashrikhu fī 'amrī*<sup>86</sup>. He said, “Grant me a vizier from my family, Aaron (see Note 4), my brother; strengthen my back through him, and let him share in the task You have commanded me with, that is, prophethood.” It is also true that the vizier shares in the kingdom, and that his administration and decision-making in the kingdom are smoother than those of the king, for the interests of the kingdom are entrusted to him. In whatever arises for him, the king does not interfere.

The Prophet (see Note 5), may God bless him and his household, says, *lī wazīrāni fī al-samā' wa wazīrāni fī al-'arḍ; fa 'ammā wazīrāni fī al-samā' fa Jibrīl wa Mikā'il, wa ammā fī al-'arḍ fa Abū Bakr wa 'Umar*<sup>87</sup>, meaning, “I have two viziers in the heavens, who are Gabriel (see Note 6) and Michael (see Note 7), and the ones I have on the earth are Abū Bakr (see Note 8) and 'Umar (see Note 9).” The Prophet, may God bless him and his household, also says, *man 'ista'mala fa 'arāda Allāhu bihī khayran ja'ala lahū wazīran ṣidqan 'in nasiya dhakkarahū wa 'in dhakarahū 'a 'ānahū*<sup>88</sup>, meaning, “Whoever God, may He be exalted and glorified, grants kingship, governance, or greatness to, and intends good for him, He grants him a truthful and upright vizier: one who reminds

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<sup>86</sup> “And appoint for me a vizier from my family, Aaron, my brother; strengthen my back through him and let him share in my task.” (*Qur'ān* XX: 29–32)

<sup>87</sup> “I have two viziers in the heavens and two viziers on the earth. The viziers in the heavens are Gabriel and Michael, and the viziers on the earth are Abū Bakr and 'Umar.”

<sup>88</sup> “Whoever is appointed (to govern), and God intends good for him, He grants him an honest vizier: if he forgets, he reminds him; and if he remembers, he assists him.”

him if he forgets any acts of good deeds, justice, or benevolence, and who supports him with his knowledge when he remembers.”

All the sages have said that no matter how knowledgeable, efficient, powerful, and dominant a king may be, he cannot dispense with a qualified, discerning, just, learned, efficient, and God-fearing vizier. Just as a lifeless body cannot be considered alive, a kingdom without a vizier cannot be deemed enduring or prosperous. Prophets who were commissioned and ruled as kings, and upon whom divine revelation was continually sent down, did not have a kingdom without a vizier. For kings lead armies, conquer provinces, seize territories, and engage in generosity, festivities, and warfare, whereas the tasks of promoting the prosperity of the realm, gathering the treasury, raising the army, appointing officials, auditing accounts, demanding (reports on the) goods from the workshops, ordering the counting of the horses, camels, and other livestock, claiming tributes, paying wages to troops, servants and officials, maintaining the well-being of the subjects, winning the goodwill of men of merit and paying them wages and stipends, assuming the care of widows and orphans, training scholars, maintaining order among the people of the world, promoting and organizing administrative offices, and attending to the affairs of merchants all pertain to the viziers. David (see Note 10), peace be upon him, needed a vizier like Uriah (see Note 11); Solomon (see Note 12), likewise, one like Āṣif (see Note 13); Dhu'l-Qarnayn (see Note 14), one like Aristotle (see Note 15); Anōshēravān (see Note 16), one like Buzurjmīhr (see Note 17); and the Caliphs, viziers like the Barmakids (see Note 18).

Yet, there are some characteristics that should not be in a vizier, for if any of those characteristics are in the vizier, their defect reflects upon the king and is attributed to his ignorance. The characteristics that a vizier should not possess are those enumerated here. A vizier should not be short in stature, thin-bearded, one-eyed, hard of hearing, cross-eyed, lame, vitiliginous, leprous, maimed, bearing an unsightly beard, jocular, excessively laughing, surly, stingy, envious, depraved, hasty, adulterous,

sodomitic, corrupt, neglectful of prayer, fearless of God, oppressive, confiscating, merciless, infamous, irascible, stingy, hard-hearted, ignorant, unskilled, untruthful, frequently swearing, flirtatious, bribable, hostile to the king, hostile to darvishes, Muslim-harassing, hostile to reformers, shameless, foolish, epileptic, mad, or one who never repents of wrongdoing.

That which is required in a vizier is that he be of a lineage of vizierate, or from a lineage whose forefathers and ancestors have attained name and fame within the state. He should be of noble temperament, grand in honor, well-mannered, of pleasing appearance, tall in stature, adorned with all the virtues, pure of heart, sound in belief, gentle in character, orderly in conduct, authoritative in command, of good presence, generous in giving, firm in judgment, eloquent in speech, deliberate in action, true to his promise, firm in policy, quick in action, reflective and contemplative in state matters, courageous, manly, prudent, skilled in negotiation, humble, honorable, free of malice, eloquent in discourse, compassionate at heart, cheerful-faced, friendly to reformers, broad-hearted, charitable, hospitable, God-fearing, and in the company of experienced and wise counsellors.

He should be an early riser, generous in receiving visitors, diligent in prayer, knowledgeable in sacred law, proficient in jurisprudence, acquainted with traditions and exegesis, abundantly learned, fond of the learned, refined in language and calligraphy, competent in accounting, correspondence, medicine, astronomy, poetry, prosody, and the principles of jurisprudence. He must be forbearing, patient, nonvindictive, quick-witted in reply, experienced in military expeditions, and wise — for most of the wise sayings that have endured through the ages come from Aristotle and Buzurjmihir. When such praiseworthy virtues are embodied in a vizier, the kingdom shall be enduring, with few enemies, and no harm will come to the kingdom because of such a vizier, regardless of the king's nature.

Each day, upon attending the king's service, the first task he undertakes, by virtue of being a Muslim, should be done for the sake of God. He should devote greater attention to matters concerning the righteous so that, by the blessing of this virtuous act, God, may He be exalted and glorified, may protect him from evil occurrences on that day. It is the viziers who govern the kingdom, yet the name rests upon the king. The vizier must work, command work, and care for the welfare of the kingdom.

Throughout the world, many kings have been women, children, or infants incapable of doing anything; in such cases, qualified viziers administered the state, attended to its interests, and capably and skillfully kept the harm of enemies away from the kingdom. When a vizier is adorned with such admirable qualities, the king should keep him fearless in three things and leave three things free for him. The things he should keep him fearless about are as follows: that he should not bear anger against him, and if he does, he should forgive swiftly and avoid rushing into punishment; that he should not covet his wealth or what he gains once he prospers; and that he should not refuse him when he intercedes. The three things he should leave free for him are as follows: that he shall have the right to enter the court whenever he wishes, for the absence of such a right would bring about numerous harms; that he should give no ear to the words of slanderers and enemies against him; and that he should not conceal his secrets from him.

A vizier's knowledge, wisdom, and intelligence should surpass that of his contemporaries. In bravery, he should be fearless of any enemy or battle. If the king's interests require sending him before the enemy, he should not fear, but face the task with cheerfulness. In bravery, he should be like Khwāja Aḥmad al-Maymandī, son of al-Ḥasan (see Note 19), who took the late Amīr, the holy warrior (*ghāzī*) Yamīn al-Dawla Maḥmūd, son of Sebūktigin (see Note 20), may God illuminate their graves, and led him to war against the Khānids (see Note 21). When Sultān Yamīn al-Dawla arrived there, he saw that their troops outnumbered his own, and that they were composed entirely of Turks, whereas his troops consisted largely of

Tājiks, Hindus, and those of Bā Sa‘īd (see Note 22). The Sultān was frightened and sent a message to Khwāja Aḥmad, son of al-Ḥasan, saying: “Everybody told me that Aḥmad, son of al-Ḥasan, is your enemy and would one day put you in a grave situation. I did not believe them, but today it became clear, and I saw with my own eyes that you had taken me and led me here. You did what was yours to do. Let us see what God, may He be exalted and glorified, has decreed.” He issued further threats and warnings.

In response, Khwāja Aḥmad, son of al-Ḥasan, sent a message to be conveyed to the lord Sultān, saying: “Today is not a battle between you and me, for you have a task of far greater obligation. If victory and triumph be yours, you will know that I have acted out of friendship and goodwill, seeking to increase your dignity, kingdom, governorship, army, and treasury. But if—may we seek refuge in God—the situation turns otherwise, then you shall never see me again, nor I you.”

When the message was conveyed, Amīr Abu’l-Qāsim, son of ‘Abd al-Malik (see Note 23), who had come from Sīstān to serve, was standing beside the Sultān. Seeing the Sultān’s distress and agitation, he said: “O Lord, in Sīstān, a jackal once entered the house of an old woman. The old woman had a young goat, and the jackal wanted to take it and kill it. The neighbors said to the old woman, ‘A jackal has come and wants to take your goat!’ The old woman looked and said, ‘This goat of mine is as large as the jackal and even has two horns. If the jackal manages to kill it, then it deserves to be killed.’”

He then said: “O Lord, our army is equal to theirs, and we possess 1,400 more elephants. If they manage to defeat us, then we deserve to be defeated and killed.”

As they spoke, a man named Aḥmad, the keeper of the white elephant brought from Sīstān and formerly belonging to Amīr Khalaf, son of Aḥmad (see Note 24), approached the Sultān and said: “O Lord, since

last night I have tethered this elephant more than a hundred times, but each time it has freed itself and broken the chains. This is a mark and a sign of victory. I, your servant, shall ride forth on this elephant, seize their banner, turn it upside down, and bring it to the Lord.” The Sultān was pleased and gave the command to engage in battle.

When the battle began, the Sultān emerged from among the troops, dismounted from his horse, and performed two units of prayer on the ground. He prostrated his head, pressed his face to the ground, reciting the verse: *qul Allāhumma mālik al-mulk*<sup>89</sup>. He then raised his head and advanced to the heart of the army. He summoned Aḥmad, son of ‘Alī, son of Nūshtigin (see Note 25), the Master of the Stables, dismounted from his horse, and placed him upon it. Then, drawing his own saddle-hung sword, he handed it to him and said, “Attack with all the household slaves.” The elephant keeper attacked first: he rode forth, seized their banner, broke it, and turned it upside down. They defeated and routed the Khānid army, and so it came to pass. That victory is a book of its own. The elephant keepers and the household slaves returned victorious and triumphant, declaring that from the white elephant and its armor, one hundred *man*<sup>90</sup> of arrows had been extracted.

Ardashīr, son of Bābak (see Note 26), was once asked: “Who is the best and most fitting companion for a king?” He said: “A good vizier with whom to consult and through whom to manage the affairs of the kingdom. He should point out the king’s right and wrong decisions, finding his own

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<sup>89</sup> *qul Allāhumma mālik al-mulk tu tī al-mulk man tashā`u wa tanzi`u al-mulk mimman tashā`u wa tu`izzu man tashā`u wa tudhillu man tashā`u biyadik al-khayr innaka `alā kulli shay`in qadīr*, “Say: O God, Owner of the Kingdom, Thou givest the kingdom to whom Thou wilt, and Thou takest away the kingdom from whom Thou wilt. Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and Thou abasest whom Thou wilt. In Thy hand is the good. Thou art Powerful over all things.” (*Qur`ān* III: 26)

<sup>90</sup> A unit of weight; see footnote 5.

fortune in the king's fortune, and his own misfortune in the king's misfortune."

Nōshēravān says: "The worst and basest of viziers is he who leads the king to war or turns to war, for all affairs require wealth and gold for expenditure and subsistence, but war demands the body and the beloved soul."

Buzurjmīhr says: "A vizier must possess five qualities for his office to be complete and no harm come upon the kingdom: first, intelligence, to foresee and reflect upon the outcome of any endeavor he undertakes; second, comprehensive knowledge, so that hidden matters become clear to him and he does not become perplexed; third, courage, to fear nothing that ought not to be feared; fourth, truthfulness, in whatever he says and does, whether in hope or in fear; fifth, loyalty in guarding the king's secrets, in both prosperity and hardship, so that he would sooner lose his life than betray them."

A sage of sages says: "The vizier is to the kingdom as life is to the body. A body without life is lost, and life without a body is lost. Likewise, a kingdom without a vizier therein with whom to consult, who declares its well-being and its corruption, is lost. A vizier without a kingdom, and a kingdom without a vizier, will not endure."

Al-Aṣma'ī (see Note 27) says: "For a king to remain ever free of care and cheerful-hearted, six things are required: first, a vizier who does not disclose his secrets and diligently tends to the kingdom; second, a fortress that enables him to free himself from fear in times of fear, namely, a swift and sure-footed mount capable of fleeing the enemy, and a well-tempered, sharp sword; third, companions who can be trusted and would not betray the king; fourth, a store of light yet precious treasure, that is, gems, which may be carried if misfortune occurs; fifth, a beautiful wife, so that when he draws near her, all sorrow and worry disappear; and sixth, a cook who prepares whatever his appetite desires."

A king of the kings of Persia once asked the Mōbid of Mōbids (see Note 28): “What ensures the well-being of the kingdom?” He replied: “The viziers, who are the assistants of kings. If the viziers are righteous and beneficent, the affairs of the kingdom and the subjects shall be prosperous. But if the viziers are evildoers, the affairs of the kingdom and the subjects shall be ruined.” The king then asked: “What quality is most beneficial to the kingdom and the realm?” He said: “A good intention.”

One of the sages was asked why the manager of affairs is called a *vizier*. He said: “Because he removes all burdens and anxieties from the king’s mind, just as God, may He be exalted and glorified, has said: *wa waḍa ‘nā ‘anka wizraka*<sup>91</sup>, meaning, *ḥaṭaṭnā ‘anka ḥamlaka*<sup>92</sup> (see Note 29). He must not neglect the agreement among the amīrs and great military commanders. Secretly, he should win their hearts with gifts, beneficence, and good hopes; yet openly, he must reprimand them. For from the agreement of great military commanders, harms may arise that are unfit to be spoken of.

From time to time, he should show kindness and generosity to the lower-ranking soldiers and servants, thereby broadening the domain of hope for them. He must continually keep them hopeful regarding training and gifts. In matters of wages and clothing allowances, he should neither assess excessively nor estimate too little, lest they become greedy or disappointed. Moreover, he should not inquire too much about the gifts, lest they become disheartened, for harms may also arise from that.

If he knows that harm may arise from an individual, he should promptly remedy it. Moreover, he must not remain heedless of the condition of the enemies of the kingdom; rather, he should be informed daily of their movements and activities. To this task, he should appoint self-sacrificing and courageous men and must not withhold wealth from them.

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<sup>91</sup> “And We removed from you your burden.” (*Qur’ān* XCIV: 2)

<sup>92</sup> “We removed from you your burden.”

In the organization of the army and servants, he must spare no effort or diligence, to whatever extent possible. Likewise, in the construction of arsenals and weaponry, he should intensify his efforts. He should demand the wealth of treasures through lawful and customary means, and certainly must not permit anything that lies outside the bounds of sacred law and proper dealings, so that no injustice befalls the subjects. The king may attain salvation in the hereafter, but he shall remain in the torment of hell, and the king will not come to his aid.

He must instruct the agents and appointees to refrain from oppression and transgression, and to avoid driving the subjects to despair outside the bounds of proper dealings. Should anyone transgress, he must punish him and redress the excesses. For when the subjects fall into despair, wealth will not be generated; and if wealth is not circulated, the servants will not stand firm; and if the servants do not stand firm, the kingdom will be weakened. In such a state, should an enemy exert force, the kingdom will be lost.

In summary, one must recognize that no position is more perilous than that of a vizier, for he must attend to all, from the king and the kingdom to the doorkeeper and the watchman. No one is subject to as many enemies and envious rivals as the vizier. The highest rank among the people of letters is that of a vizier. Whatever the outcome may be, he must serve as an advisor to the king, founding all affairs upon fear of God and religious devotion. He must avoid anything not sanctioned by the sacred law, refrain from pursuing corrupt aims, and never make an attempt on the property or life of any Muslim. If he acts accordingly, he may rest assured that no enemy will prevail against him, he will never incur the wrath of the king, he will emerge from this dangerous position unharmed, and no calamity shall befall him.

The Commander of the Believers, ‘Alī (see Note 30), may blessing and peace be upon him, says: “The counsel of an elder is better than the presence of a child.” He also said: “If you are secure from the vizier, then

do not fear the amīr.” But should the vizier commit treachery, all strategies will be rendered futile, and all sound judgments will be invalidated.

## 66r) باب هفتم<sup>93</sup>

### اندر مشورت<sup>94</sup> کردن در حرب<sup>+</sup> و تا ممکن بود<sup>95</sup> حرب ناکردن

بدانکه حرب کردن خود شیئی تلخست<sup>96</sup> و هر که اندران عجب آرد و منی کند خوار ماند اندران باب چنگ بعصمت ایزد تعالی باید زد و معنی حرب رفتن جان و مال<sup>97</sup> است و چون در خشنودی ملک تعالی باشد (66v) هر دو خوشست که پاداش آن بهشت جاودانست و نعمت ابدی و بقای سرمدی حکما گویند که پادشاه را جز بطاعت ایزد تعالی مشغول نباید بود و حرب تا بتواند و ممکن گردد نباید جست که نتوان دانست که ظفر کرا باشد چون پادشاه داد کند او را بکارزار حاجت نیاید بلکه همه خلق او را دوست دارند و فرمانبردار باشند و خدای تعالی ازو<sup>98</sup> خشنود باشد و روزگار بخرمی<sup>99</sup> گذارد و اگر کسی با چنین پادشاه فزونی جوید و تجاوز کند خدای<sup>100</sup> تعالی شرّ او دفع کند نوشیروان<sup>101</sup> گوید که پادشاه را هیچ چیز چنان خوار نکند که خوار گرفتن او مر کارهای بزرگ را و هوای دل نتوان یافتن مگر برای صواب و رأی<sup>102</sup> صواب را بیرون نتوان آورد مگر بمشورت و دشمن را هلاک نتوان کرد مگر بداد و

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<sup>93</sup> BT ۷

<sup>94</sup> BT مشورت در حرب

<sup>95</sup> SK گردد

<sup>96</sup> BT خورشى طلخ است

<sup>97</sup> BT مال و جان

<sup>98</sup> SK از او

<sup>99</sup> BT بخورمى

<sup>100</sup> BT خداوند

<sup>101</sup> BT نوشروان

<sup>102</sup> BT رراى

عدل و تن را پاکیزه نتوان داشت مگر بچشم<sup>103</sup> فرود گرفتن از ناشایستها و نعمت استوار نتوان کرد مگر بلشکر و مواسا کردن با مردمان و بکارهای بزرگ اندر نتوان رسید مگر بصبر و دوستی مردمان نتوان یافت مگر بفروتنی و دشمنی نیفزاید مگر بمتکبری چون رای صواب آمد نیت نیکویار باید کردن<sup>104</sup> تا بدان مهمم برسد که گفته‌اند<sup>105</sup> که رعیت را چاره نیست از سیاست و لشکر را از سالار و رای صواب را بمشورت و نیت کردن را استخارت و با استخارت حزم<sup>106</sup> بیاید که گفته‌اند الحزم سوء (67r) الظن حزم گمان بد بردنست بر مردمان عبدالله بن المقفع<sup>107</sup> میگوید که با حزم‌تر پادشاه را حاجت بود بوزیر و دلیرتر مردمرا حاجت آید بسلاح و بهترین اسپ را بتازیانه و نیکوترین تیغ را تیز کردن<sup>108</sup> و باحزم [را] راز<sup>109</sup> نگهداشتن بیاید که گفته‌اند سرک من دمک [یعنی] خون تو از راز تست و خون را چون بوقت برنگیری و مهممل بگذاری جانرا زیان دارد و چون شرایط آن بجای آری سود دارد و تن<sup>110</sup> بسلامت بود و آن همچنینست اگر چه با استوار و رازدار گشایی خللهای<sup>111</sup> بزرگ تولد شود و اگر راز<sup>112</sup> بر هیچکس نگویی همچون خون باشد که بر باید داشت که اگر برنداری جان در سر آن شود و هر چند پادشاه نیک دانا و عاقل و داهی باشد او<sup>113</sup> را

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<sup>103</sup> BT بخشم

<sup>104</sup> BT کرد

<sup>105</sup> BT گفته

<sup>106</sup> SK حزم

<sup>107</sup> BT المقفع

<sup>108</sup> BT کرد کردن (with struck through)

<sup>109</sup> BT ز

<sup>110</sup> BT تن را

<sup>111</sup> BT خللهاء

<sup>112</sup> SK از

<sup>113</sup> BT و او

از<sup>114</sup> دستوری کافی [و] قوی رای چاره نباشد و بی مشورت وزیر و خردمندان و عالمان و دستداران و ناصحان دولت هیچ کار نکند و بدانش خویش در هیچوقت بسنده نکند تا از ملامت رسته باشد و پیغامبر صلی الله علیه واله<sup>115</sup> که از جمله اهل عالم بدانش بیش بود ایزد تعالی با آن بزرگی که او را داده است مشاورت کردن فرمود چنانکه قرآن از آن عبارت خبر میدهد وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ فَإِذَا عَزَمْتَ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ ان اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ یعنی مشورت کن<sup>116</sup> در کارها با مردمان و نیت (67v) و عَزِمْتَ درست کن پس از آن توکّل بر خدای کن که خدای عزّ وجل توکّل کنندگان را دوست دارد و پیغامبر صلی الله علیه واله<sup>117</sup> میفرماید لَنْ يُهْلِكَ أَمْرٌ<sup>118</sup> بعد مَشُورَةٍ یعنی مردم هرگز هلاک نشود پس از آنکه مشورت کرده باشد و جای دیگر میفرماید الْمُسْتَشَارُ مُؤْتَمَنٌ بِرِأْسِ الْكَيْسِ [که] مشورت کنی باید که امین و رازدار باشد تا خللی نزاید و بر زنان مشورت نباید کرد و اگر مشورت<sup>119</sup> کرده شد با رای و گفت ایشان کار نباید کرد چنانکه پیغامبر صلی الله علیه واله<sup>120</sup> میفرماید شَاوِرُوا<sup>121</sup> النِّسَاءَ وَخَالَفُوهُنَّ با زنان مشورت کنید و در آنچه میگویند<sup>122</sup> کار مکنید چنین گویند که مردی بود که او را عبدالله بن عدی گفتندی از شیعه و دستداران آل رسول علیه السلام<sup>123</sup> و خانه

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<sup>114</sup> BT ازان

<sup>115</sup> BT علیه السلم

<sup>116</sup> BT کردن

<sup>117</sup> BT علیه السلم

<sup>118</sup> SK امرء

<sup>119</sup> BT مشور

<sup>120</sup> BT علیه السلم

<sup>121</sup> SK شاورو

<sup>122</sup> BT بگویند

<sup>123</sup> BT السلم

و جای<sup>124</sup> او در زمین شام بود و بدین جهت در خدمت یزید بودی<sup>125</sup> و خواستی همیشه که از آن زمین تحویل کند تا در خدمت بنی امیه نباید بود [و] تحویل کردن بجهت خویش و اقربا از آنجا میسر نمیگشت<sup>126</sup> و مردی شجاع و مبارز بود شبی با زنان و فرزندان بر بام<sup>127</sup> نشسته بود این خبر روایت کرد که بر قول زنان کار نباید کرد این زن را خشم آمد شوی را گفت من ترا میگویم که خویشان را از بام فرود ناندازی که افکار شوی و باشد<sup>128</sup> که جاییت بشکند و بمیری و خون تو در گردن تو باشد و در آخرت جای (68r) تو در<sup>129</sup> دوزخ باشد که خود را [تو] کشته باشی مرد گفت من خبر پیغامبر خدایرا بفرمان تو دست ندارم بل تا بمیرم و چون فرمان پیغامبر را صلی<sup>+</sup>الله علیه وآله<sup>130</sup> کار بسته باشم از فرمانبرداری او مرا بد نیاید از بام خویشترا فرود انداخت و دست و پایش بشکست او را برداشتند و زن برو بیغاره زدن و طنز کردن گرفت تا روز در آن رنج بود بامداد استخوان بند را بیاوردند تا ببندد مرد استخوان بند دست و پایش میبست پیادگان یزید آمدند که ترا بجنگ حسین [بن] علی علیه السلام<sup>131</sup> میباید رفت چون او را بدانحال بدیدند عذر او قبول کردند و مرد گفت الحمد لله<sup>132</sup> الّذی صدقنا وَعَدَهُ من با دست و پای شکسته و نالان مرده بهتر از آنکه بجنگ حسین علی و فرزندان او رفتن لشکر یزید برفت<sup>133</sup> و چون حال

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<sup>124</sup> BT جاء

<sup>125</sup> BT بود

<sup>126</sup> BT نمی شد

<sup>127</sup> SK پشت بام

<sup>128</sup> BT (with the first struck through) و باشد و باشد

<sup>129</sup> BT در آخرت

<sup>130</sup> BT علیه السلام

<sup>131</sup> BT کرم الله وجهه

<sup>132</sup> SK الله

<sup>133</sup> BT بلشکر یزید نرفت

او برانجمله بود او را معذور داشتند [و رفتند] و رفت آنچه رفت از کشتن حسین [علیه السلام] و اسیر کردن زن و فرزندان او مرد<sup>134</sup> از آن رنج صحت یافت و خدای را شکر کرد و زن را گفت اکنون ترا درست شد که اگر من فرمان تو کردمی و خبر پیغامبر [را] صلی الله علیه وآله<sup>135</sup> دست بازداشتمی امروز در خون حسین علیه السلام شریک بودمی و جای من در دوزخ بودی ابدالاباد چون بفرمان<sup>136</sup> تو نکردم خدای عزّ وجلّ مرا شفا داد از این رنج و ازان خون نگاهداشت و پیغامبر صلی الله علیه وآله<sup>137</sup> میگوید المّشاوره حصن<sup>(68v)</sup> مِنَ النَّدَامَةِ وَأَمَانَ مِنَ الْمَلَامَةِ مشورت کردن حصنیت از پشیمانی و امانیت از ملامت خلق و چون پادشاه و لشکرکش مشورت کرد<sup>138</sup> و دران رای صواب زدند شتاب زدگی نباید کرد که پیغامبر صلی الله علیه وآله<sup>139</sup> میگوید اَلتَّائِي مِنَ الرَّحْمَنِ<sup>140</sup> وَالْعَجَلَةُ مِنَ الشَّيْطَانِ در کارها تائی و رفق از خدای است و شتابزدگی از دیو حکما<sup>141</sup> چنین گفته‌اند که هر آنکس که چهار<sup>142</sup> چیز از خویشتن دور دارد هیچ مکروهی بدو نرسد شتاب و خشم و عجب و سستی و گفته‌اند که از دشمن نصیحت چشم مدار و برو مجادله و مناظره مکن جز بنیکوبی و فرصت نگاه میدار تا<sup>143</sup> آنگاه [که] دست یابی چون دست یافتی بر قول خدای کار کن چنانکه میفرماید واقتلوهم [حيث] ثقفتموهم چون دست یابید بر کافران هر کجا یابید بکشید

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<sup>134</sup> BT و مرد

<sup>135</sup> BT علیه السلام

<sup>136</sup> SK فرمان

<sup>137</sup> BT علیه السلام

<sup>138</sup> BT کند

<sup>139</sup> BT علیه السلام

<sup>140</sup> BT الله

<sup>141</sup> BT و حکما

<sup>142</sup> BT از چهار

<sup>143</sup> BT که تا

و فرصت فوت مکنید که حکما گفته‌اند اَشَدُّ الْعُصَصِ قَوْتُ الْفُرْصِ<sup>144</sup> بزرگترین و سخت‌ترین غصه‌ها فرصت فوت کردنست که هر که کند بیش هرگز بدان نرسد و بدانکه بروزگار پیشین [کارها] بمنظره و پیغام و افزونی دانش و حکمت بود جنگ<sup>145</sup> و خون‌ریزش نطلبیدندی کارها بعلم و حکمت کردند و اهل عالم و ممالک دران متفق بودند چنانکه رای هندوستان که شطرنج بفرمان و اشارت وی بساختند و حکمتی که در آن نهاده‌اند معلوم کرد<sup>146</sup> بدان فخر نمود و بنزدیک (69r) کسری انوشیروان<sup>147</sup> فرستاد با رسولان و هدایا و پیغام داد که ما را حکمتی و علمی چنینست که شما را نیست و ازین علم و حکمت بی بهره‌اید اگر بدانید بدین رسولان ببازید و هنر خویش پیدا کنید و اگر عاجز آید از باختن شطرنج و ازان علم که دران نهاده‌اند از ما خراج و مال مطلبید و ما را ساو و باژ فرستید کسری انوشیروان<sup>148</sup> بزرجمهر را بخواند و گفت تدبیر اینکار چیست بزرجمهر گفت من شطرنج برایشان بسازم و از ایشان ببرم و چیزی بسازم و بنزدیک ایشان فرستم که همه از آن عاجز آیند و ندانند باخت و بدانند که دانش ما از ایشان بیشست نوشیروان<sup>149</sup> شاد گشت ایشان را بخواند و بزرجمهر<sup>+</sup> را<sup>150</sup> بفرمود<sup>151</sup> که شطرنج با ایشان بباز باخت و از ایشان ببرد و نرد بیاورد پیش ایشان نهاد و گفت دعوی<sup>152</sup> دانش میکنید ببازید ایشان از باختن نرد عاجز آمدند و عذر خواستند و خراج و مال قبول کردند [و] باز گشتند و همچنین از

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<sup>144</sup> BT الفرض

<sup>145</sup> BT چنانکه جنگ

<sup>146</sup> BT کردند

<sup>147</sup> BT انوشروان

<sup>148</sup> BT انوشروان

<sup>149</sup> BT نوشروان

<sup>150</sup> SK بزرجمهر (corrected to بزرجمهر را in the errata section at the end of the edited book)

<sup>151</sup> BT تا بفرمود (with تا struck through)

<sup>152</sup> SK دعوی

روم بنزدیک نوشیروان<sup>153</sup> رسولان آمدند و گفتند که دانش ما بیشست و حکما بیشتر از روم بوده‌اند و بزرگتر علمهای ایشان طب و نجومست و نهاده و تجربه کرده‌ایشانست گفتند که ما خراج ندهیم که بعلم از شما پیشیم نوشیروان<sup>154</sup> گیاهی پیش ایشان نهاد و پرسید<sup>155</sup> که از این گیاه در ولایت شما باشد رسول گفت این گیاه را کَبَر خوانند (69v) و همه زمین ما<sup>+</sup> را بیشتر این<sup>156</sup> گیاه بگرفتست چنانکه کشاورزی کردن میسر نمیشود نوشیروان<sup>157</sup> رسول را گفت بازگرد قیصر را بگوی که ازین چه کمتر باشد که همه زمین ولایت تو بگرفتست چنانکه شما را کشاورزی کردن رها نمیکنند<sup>158</sup> تو شرّ این گیاه از ولایت خود دفع نمیتوانی کرد دعوی<sup>159</sup> دانش میکنی شرّ<sup>160</sup> و بلای<sup>161</sup> لشکر من از خود چگونه دفع خواهی کرد و ساو و باژ بفرست در خون و خواسته خود مشو و ولایت خود خراب مکن و همچنین [گویند] مال و خراج فرستادند<sup>162</sup> و گفته را عذر خواستند بلقیس ملکه سبا بنزدیک سلیمان علیه السلام<sup>163</sup> رسولان و هدایا فرستاد و گفت بنگرید که او را علم و دانش هست تا بتدبیر<sup>164</sup> آن

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<sup>153</sup> BT نوشروان

<sup>154</sup> BT نوشروان

<sup>155</sup> BT برسید

<sup>156</sup> SK ازین

<sup>157</sup> BT نوشروان

<sup>158</sup> SK نمیکنند

<sup>159</sup> BT دعوی

<sup>160</sup> BT سر

<sup>161</sup> BT پلاء

<sup>162</sup> BT بفرستادند

<sup>163</sup> BT علیه السلام

<sup>164</sup> BT تدبیر

بسازم<sup>165</sup> بمال<sup>166</sup> فریفته<sup>167</sup> شود یا نه و برای آزمایش<sup>+</sup> و<sup>+</sup> دانش یک سبوی<sup>168</sup> خوی  
 اسپ فرستاد و [گفت] بپرسید<sup>+</sup> که این چه چیزست و چند غلام و کنیزک مانند  
 یکدیگر [یک] لباس و یک زاد و [یک] بالا [که] بپرسید که ازینها کدام زن و کدام  
 مردند تا از دانش سلیمان علیه السلام<sup>169</sup> [من] آگاه شوم و سلیمان هر یک را جوابداد  
 و بگفت<sup>170</sup> [و] آن قصه نیک معروفست و چون از دانش سلیمان علیه السلام<sup>171</sup> معلوم  
 کرد دست از جنگ و خصومت برداشت و بطوع و رغبت بخدمت آمد و اسلام آورد و  
 شریعت قبول کرد و این همه که بکرد بمشورت و اتفاق و استصواب اعیان دولت و  
 ارکان مملکت کرد تا نیکبخت هر دو سرای گشت و سلیمان علیه السلام<sup>172</sup> [مر]  
 (70r) او را بسبب زیرکی و دانش و کمال عقل در عقد خود [در] آورد و بملکت خودش  
 بازفرستاد و همچنین در وقت<sup>+</sup> دارای<sup>+</sup> بن دارا از روم برای او خراج آوردندی<sup>+</sup> و<sup>+</sup> مال<sup>+</sup>  
<sup>+</sup> دادندی چون فیلاقوس پدر<sup>173</sup> ذوالقرنین علیه السلام<sup>174</sup> وفات کرد ذوالقرنین [بیش]  
 مال نداد دارا بنزدیک<sup>175</sup> ذوالقرنین رسول فرستاد و گوی و چوگانی یعنی تو کودکی  
 ترا گوی باید باخت و یک صره کنجد فرستاد که لشکر من در بسیاری بمثل این  
 کنجدند<sup>176</sup> چون بنزدیک ذوالقرنین رسیدند و گوی و چوگان و کنجد پیش وی نهادند

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<sup>165</sup> BT سازم

<sup>166</sup> BT که بمال

<sup>167</sup> BT بفریفته

<sup>168</sup> SK سبو

<sup>169</sup> BT علیه السلام

<sup>170</sup> BT کفت

<sup>171</sup> BT علیه السلام

<sup>172</sup> BT علیه السلام

<sup>173</sup> BT که پدر

<sup>174</sup> BT انار الله برهانه

<sup>175</sup> SK نزدیک

<sup>176</sup> BT کنجداند

گفت<sup>177</sup> معلوم کردم که درین چه حکمت داشتست بدانید که زمین بر شکل گوی صفت کرده‌اند و بچوگان آن را کار توان بست تمامت روی زمین را بتیغ که مثل چوگانست بضر بگیری و لشکر تو که در بسیاری بمثل کنجدست اما چرب و شیرین که بتوان خورد همچنانکه بخورند بزخم و [در] جواب آن یک صرّه سپندان کرد [و] بازفرستاد که لشکر من در انبوهی همچنین‌اند اما تیز و تلخ و سوزان که نتوان خورد و آن مرغی که هر روز بیضه زرین میکرد از جهت<sup>178</sup> تو بمرد تا دانسته باشی و طمع محال از ملک و لشکر من بریده گردانی<sup>179</sup> چون دارا برین حال واقف شد لشکرها جمع کرد و بحرب ذوالقرنین بیرون رفت ذوالقرنین هم لشکر بیاراست و بحرب دارا بیرون شد و هر دو لشکر مصاف کردند دارا شکسته شد و ذوالقرنین منادی فرمود که هر جا که دارا [را] بگیرند نکشند (70v) و دو تن از لشکر دارا او را زخمی زدند تا از اسپ درگشت تا<sup>180</sup> بدان سبب ایشان را بنزدیک ذوالقرنین جاهی و مکانتی باشد ذوالقرنین را ازان حال خبر شد بشتافت تا مگر حیلتی کند تا هلاک نشود کار او بنزدیک<sup>181</sup> رسیده بود ذوالقرنین او را گفت بمن حاجتی داری گفت حاجت دارم آنست که این دو کس که مرا زخم زدند کینه من از ایشان بکشی و روشک دختر مرا در عقد خود آری<sup>182</sup> هم بران جمله کرد و ملک پارس با ملک [روم] جمع شد<sup>183</sup> و پادشاه هفت اقلیم گشت و ملوک عالم را مسخر و منقاد خود گردانید<sup>+</sup> و مطیع و فرمانبردار او شدند و اگر دارا بحرب نرفتی هرگز ذوالقرنین جنگ نجستی و خون

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<sup>177</sup> و کفت BT

<sup>178</sup> جهة SK

<sup>179</sup> گردان SK

<sup>180</sup> و SK

<sup>181</sup> نزدیک SK

<sup>182</sup> آوری SK

<sup>183</sup> شده SK

نریختی و کار همه بحکمت و علم<sup>+</sup> و کفایت کردی که خون ریختن بدترین کارهاست و هیچ خردمند نجوید و بدین رضا ندهد و بدانکه ایزد سبحانه و تعالی چند گونه خلق آفرید از ایشان<sup>184</sup> برون فریشته و دیو و پری دو گونه خلقست یکی را مردم و دیگر<sup>185</sup> را حیوان خوانند یعنی جانوران از مردمان هر یکی را بر دیگری فضل نهاده<sup>186</sup> و غالب و مغلوب گردانیده<sup>187</sup> و مر حیوانات<sup>188</sup> را آلت گوناگون داده<sup>189</sup> یک گروه را چنگال و یشک<sup>190</sup> چون پیل و شیر و گرگ و ببر و پلنگ<sup>191</sup> و خوک و خرس و آنچه بدین ماند و یک گروه را چنگل<sup>192</sup> و شاخ چون گاو و گاومیش و کرگ و آنچه بدین ماند و آنرا که ازین<sup>193</sup> آلتها بی بهره کرد سبک پای آفرید و تکاور چون اسپ و گورخر و گوزن و آهو (71r) و کوتاه پای و جز آن تا از دشمن بتوانند<sup>194</sup> گریخت و مردم را که بیافرید او را دو گونه آلت داد تا شرّ و بلا از خویشان دفع کند یکی پنهان و دیگر آشکارا آنچه آشکارست سلاحست از آهن و چوب و سنگ و جز آن و آنچه پنهانست دانش و عقل و رای و تدبیرست و بهترین سلاحها آنست<sup>195</sup> که غرض بوفای رسد و همه مراد حاصل گردد از آنکه خون باید ریخت و وزر و وبال<sup>196</sup> در گردن گرفت که پس از کفر هیچ

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<sup>184</sup> SK از ایشان

<sup>185</sup> SK دیگری

<sup>186</sup> SK نهاد

<sup>187</sup> SK گردانید

<sup>188</sup> SK حیوان

<sup>189</sup> SK داد

<sup>190</sup> BT بشک

<sup>191</sup> BT کلنگ

<sup>192</sup> BT شنکل

<sup>193</sup> SK از این

<sup>194</sup> SK بتواند

<sup>195</sup> BT اینست

<sup>196</sup> SK وزر و وبال (corrected to وبال و وزر in the errata section at the end of the edited book)

وزر و وبالی و بزهی<sup>197</sup> بدتر از خون ریختن نیست مگر خونی که آن در راه حق ریزند و آن کافران و دشمنان دینند مگر خونی که بحق باشد و آن خون قصاصست باقی هیچ خونی نشاید ریخت تا از آن بپرهیزد که روز قیامت نخستین حکمی که ایزد تعالی بخواهد حکم<sup>198</sup> خون ناحق است<sup>199</sup> حقست تا معلوم گردد<sup>200</sup> والسلام.

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<sup>197</sup> بزّه BT

<sup>198</sup> کرد SK

<sup>199</sup> حقست SK

<sup>200</sup> والسلام BT



## Chapter VII

### On Consulting Regarding War and Avoiding War Whenever Possible

Know that war is, by nature, a bitter affair. Whoever approaches it with arrogance and self-conceit shall be humiliated. One must, therefore, seek refuge in the purity of God, the Almighty, in such matters. The meaning of war is the loss of life and property; yet if it is undertaken to earn the pleasure of the Almighty King, then both losses are noble, for their reward is eternal paradise, everlasting blessing, and unending existence.

The sages have said that a king ought to be occupied with nothing but obedience to God, the Almighty, and should, as far as he can and as much as possible, avoid seeking war, for no one can know whose will be the victory. When a king governs with justice, he has no need for war, for all people shall love him and obey him, and God, the Almighty, shall be pleased with him. He shall live his days with joy. And should anyone seek to surpass such a king or violate his rule, God, the Almighty, shall ward off his evil.

Nōshēravān says that nothing brings greater disgrace upon a king than his disregard for great endeavors. The devotion of the heart cannot be attained except in the pursuit of what is right, and right judgment cannot be discerned without counsel. An enemy cannot be vanquished save through justice and equity. The purity of the body cannot be preserved except by averting one's eyes from improper deeds. Prosperity cannot be sustained without an army and the cooperation of the people. Great achievements cannot be realized without patience, and the affection of the people cannot be secured except through humility. Enmity will not increase except through arrogance.

Once right judgment has been reached, it becomes imperative to choose a worthy companion in order to achieve the important goal. For it is said:

the subjects are in need of governance, the army requires a commander, right judgment demands consultation, intention requires seeking goodness<sup>201</sup>, and once goodness is sought, prudence must follow. As it is said, *al-ḥazm sū' al-ẓann*, meaning, “prudence is being suspicious.”

‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa’ (see Note 31), says that even the most prudent of kings is in need of a vizier, just as the courageous among the people require weapons. The finest horse needs a whip, and the most exquisite sword requires sharpening. A prudent person must safeguard secrets. As the saying goes: *sirruk min damik*<sup>202</sup>, meaning “Your blood is of your secret.” If blood is not let at the appropriate time and is left neglected, it harms one’s life; conversely, if the conditions for it are implemented, it yields benefit and the body remains healthy. The same applies to secrets: even when disclosed to trustworthy and confidential individuals, great harm will arise. Yet if you tell your secret to no one, it will be like the blood which must be let, if you do not let it, you will lose your life as a result.

No matter how knowledgeable, wise, and intelligent a king may be, he remains in need of a qualified and strong-willed vizier. A king should undertake no matter without consultation with his vizier, the wise, the learned, the devoted, and the advisers of the state. He must never rely solely on his own knowledge, so that he may be freed from reproach.

The Prophet, may God bless him and his household, who surpassed all people of the world in knowledge and upon whom God, the Almighty, has bestowed greatness, was commanded to consult with others. As the *Qur’ān* reports about it: *wa shāwirhum fī al-amr fa-idhā ‘azamta fatawakkal ‘alā Allāh inna Allāh yuḥibbu al-mutawakkilīn*<sup>203</sup>, meaning, “Consult with people in the matters, and set your intention and resolution

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<sup>201</sup> Such as through supplication or consultation with the *Qur’ān*

<sup>202</sup> “Your secret is of your blood.”

<sup>203</sup> “And consult with them in the matter. Then, when you have resolved, put your trust in God. Surely, God loves those who trust.” (*Qur’ān* III: 159)

aright. Then put your trust in God, for God, may He be exalted and glorified, loves those who trust.”

The Prophet, may God bless him and his household, says: *lan yuhlaka 'imru'un ba'da mashwiratin*<sup>204</sup>, meaning, “Man will never perish after having consultation.” Elsewhere, he says: *al-mustashāru mu'taman*<sup>205</sup>. One with whom you consult must be trustworthy and confidential so as not to bring about any harm. One should not consult with women, and if consultation is held with them, one should not act according to their opinion and speech. As the Prophet, may God bless him and his household, says: *shāwirū al-nisā' wa khālifūhunna*<sup>206</sup>. Consult with women, yet do not act according to what they say.

It is narrated that there was a man named 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Udayy (see Note 32), who was among the Shī'a (see Note 33) and devotees of the Messenger's household, peace be upon him. His home and place of residence was in the land of al-Shām (i.e., Greater Syria), and for this reason, he was in the service of Yazīd (see Note 34). He constantly desired to leave that land, so as not to be compelled into serving the sons of Umayya (see Note 35), but relocating from that place was not feasible for his own sake and that of his relatives. He was a brave and combative man. One night, he was seated on the rooftop with his wife and children, and he recounted a *ḥadīth* (see Note 36) which conveyed that one should not act in accordance with the counsel of women. His wife grew angry and said to her husband: “I tell you not to throw yourself from the rooftop, lest you be injured, your body broken, or even die, and your blood be upon your own head, and in the Hereafter your abode be in Hell, for you would have killed yourself.”

The man said, “Even if I were to die, I shall not abandon the *ḥadīth* of the Messenger of God on account of your command. And if I act upon the

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<sup>204</sup> “No man perishes after consultation.”

<sup>205</sup> “The consultant is entrusted.”

<sup>206</sup> “Consult with women, but oppose them.”

command of the Prophet, may God bless him and his household, no harm shall come to me for obeying him.” Then he threw himself from the rooftop. His limbs were broken. They carried him away, and his wife began to scold and mock him. He remained in pain until morning.

At dawn, a bonesetter was summoned to reset his limbs. While the bonesetter was binding them, foot soldiers of Yazīd arrived, summoning him to go forth to battle against al-Ḥusayn, son of ‘Alī (see Note 37), peace be upon them. Upon seeing him in that condition, they accepted his excuse. The man said: *al-ḥamd lillāh alladhī ṣadaqanā wa ‘dahū*<sup>207</sup>! If I were to die with broken limbs and in agony, it would still be better than marching against al-Ḥusayn, son of ‘Alī, and his children.”

The army of Yazīd departed, and since he was in that condition, they excused him and withdrew. And what was destined came to pass: al-Ḥusayn was slain, and his wife and children were taken captive. The man eventually recovered from that affliction, and he praised God. He said to his wife: “Now it has become clear to you that had I acted upon your command and abandoned the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, may God bless him and his household, today I would have been complicit in the blood of al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, and my place would have been in Hell eternally. But because I did not act upon your command, God, may He be exalted and glorified, granted me healing from this affliction and preserved me from that blood.”

The Prophet, may [God] bless him and his household, says, *al-mushāwarah ḥiṣn min al-nadāmah wa amān min al-malāmah*<sup>208</sup>. Consultation is a fortress against regret and a safeguard from the blame of people. When the king and the commander engage in consultation and discern the sound opinion therein, they must not act with haste. For the Prophet, may [God] bless him and his household, says, *al-ta’annī min al-*

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<sup>207</sup> “Praise be to God, Who hath fulfilled His promise unto us.” (*Qur’ān* XXXIX: 74)

<sup>208</sup> “Consultation is a fortress against regret and a safeguard from blame.”

*rahmān wa al-‘ajalah min al-shaytān*<sup>209</sup>. Deliberation and gentleness in actions are from God, whereas hastiness is from the Devil. The sages have likewise said that whoever distances himself from four things shall be spared from undesirable harm: haste, anger, arrogance, and sloth. It has also been said: do not expect counsel from an enemy, nor argue and debate with him except with courtesy, and guard the opportunity until you gain the upper hand. And when you do, act according to the word of God, as He says: *wa uqtulūhum haythu thaqiftumūhum*<sup>210</sup>. When you gain the upper hand over the unbelievers, kill them wherever you find them and do not let the opportunity slip away, for the sages have said: *ashadd al-ghuṣaṣ fawt al-furaṣ*<sup>211</sup>. The greatest and hardest of sorrows is the loss of opportunities; whoever loses them shall never attain them again.

Know that in earlier times, affairs were conducted through debate, messages, and the increase of knowledge and wisdom; war and bloodshed were not sought. Affairs were managed with knowledge and wisdom, and the people of the world and the countries were in agreement. Such was the case with the Rājā of Hindūstān, who had chess invented by his command and instruction, demonstrating the wisdom embedded within it. He took pride in it and sent it, along with messengers and gifts, to Khusraw Anōshēravān, conveying the message: “We possess such wisdom and knowledge that you do not, and you are deprived of this knowledge and wisdom. If you know, then play with these messengers and display your skill. But if you fail to play chess and the knowledge placed therein, do not demand tax and tribute from us and send us toll and tribute.”

Khusraw Anōshēravān summoned Buzurjmīhr and said, “What is the solution to this matter?” Buzurjmīhr said, “I will play chess with them and defeat them, then create something and send it to them by which all

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<sup>209</sup> “Deliberation is from the Compassionate (God), and haste is from Satan.”

<sup>210</sup> “And kill them wherever you find them.” (*Qur’ān* II: 191)

<sup>211</sup> “The severest of sorrows is the loss of opportunities.”

will be incapable, and unable to play, so they will know our knowledge surpasses theirs.” Anōshēravān was glad, summoned them, and commanded Buzurjmīhr to play chess with them. He played and defeated them. Then he brought backgammon and set it before them, saying, “If you claim knowledge, then play this.” They were incapable of playing backgammon, apologized, accepted the demand to pay tax and tribute, and returned (see Note 38).

And likewise, messengers from Rome came to Nōshēravān and said, “Our knowledge is greater, and most philosophers have been from Rome. The greatest of their sciences are medicine and astronomy, which were established and tested by them.” They said, “We do not pay tax, for in knowledge, we are ahead of you.” Nōshēravān placed a plant before them and asked, “Does this plant exist in your territory?” The messenger said, “This plant is called *kabar* (*Capparis spinosa*; see Note 39). It covers most of our land, so farming is not feasible.” Nōshēravān said to the messenger, “Return and tell Qayṣar (Caesar): What could be inferior to this, which has covered the entire land of your territory, so that it does not allow you to farm? You cannot even expel the evil of this plant from your own territory, yet you claim knowledge. How will you expel the evil and calamity of my army from yourself? Send toll and tribute, and do not endanger your blood and property. Do not ruin your own territory.” It is also said that they eventually sent tribute and tax and apologized for their words (see Note 40).

Bilqīs (see Note 41), the Queen of Saba’ (see Note 42), sent messengers and gifts to Solomon, peace be upon him, saying: “See whether he possesses knowledge and understanding, so that I may devise a strategy. Can he be enticed by wealth or not?” As a test and to find out, she sent a pitcher containing the sweat of a horse, instructing them to ask, “What is this substance?” Additionally, she sent several male and female servants, all alike in appearance, attire, age, and stature, instructing them to ask, “Which among them are female and which are male, so that I may ascertain Solomon’s knowledge,” peace be upon him. Solomon

responded to each inquiry and provided answers. That story is very well-known. Upon recognizing Solomon's knowledge, peace be upon him, she abandoned war and hostility and entered his service willingly and eagerly. She submitted herself to God and accepted the sacred law. She undertook all these actions through consultation, consensus, and approval of the nobility of the state and the pillars of the kingdom. In doing so, she became fortunate in both worlds. Solomon, peace be upon him, took her in marriage on account of her intelligence, knowledge, and perfect wisdom, and sent her back to her own kingdom (see Note 43).

During the reign of Dārā (see Note 44), son of Dārā (see Note 45), taxes and riches were brought to him from Rome. When Faylāqūs (see Note 46), the father of Dhu'l-Qarnayn, peace be upon him, passed away, Dhu'l-Qarnayn ceased to pay tribute. Dārā sent a messenger to Dhu'l-Qarnayn bearing a ball and a polo stick, implying, "You are but a child, fit only to play with a ball." He also sent a bag of sesame seeds, signifying, "My army is as numerous as these seeds." When they arrived before Dhu'l-Qarnayn and presented the ball, polo stick, and sesame, he said, "I perceive what wisdom lies in this. Know that the earth has been likened to a ball, and with a polo stick one may master it. I shall strike and seize the whole face of the earth with the sword, which is like the polo stick. Your army is as numerous as sesame seeds, yet oily and palatable, which can be eaten, and just as people eat sesame seeds, I will crush your army." In response, he filled a bag with mustard seeds and sent it back, conveying: "My army is as abundant as this, but sharp, bitter, and burning, which cannot be eaten. The hen that laid a golden egg for you each day has perished, that you may realize and give up the impossible greed for my kingdom and army."

When Dārā learned of this condition, he gathered armies and set out to war against Dhu'l-Qarnayn. Dhu'l-Qarnayn likewise prepared his army and set out to war against Dārā. The two armies engaged in battle. Dārā was defeated, and Dhu'l-Qarnayn ordered a proclamation not to kill Dārā wherever he was captured. Two soldiers from Dārā's army wounded him

so that he fell from his horse, hoping thereby to gain rank and position with Dhu'l-Qarnayn. When Dhu'l-Qarnayn learned of this, he hastened to find a way to prevent his death. But Dārā's end had drawn near. Dhu'l-Qarnayn asked him, "Have you any request of me?" He said, "I have a request: Avenge me upon the two who wounded me, and take my daughter Rawshanak (see Note 47) in marriage." He fulfilled all, and thus the kingdom of Persia was united with the kingdom of Rome (see Note 48). He became king of the Seven Climes (see Note 49). He subdued the kings of the world and brought them under his obedience; they became obedient and submissive to him. Had Dārā not gone to war, Dhu'l-Qarnayn would never have sought war nor shed blood, but would have carried out all matters with wisdom, knowledge, and competence, for shedding blood is the worst of deeds, and no wise person seeks or consents to it.

Know that God, Glorious and Exalted is He, created various kinds of beings. Apart from angels, demons, and fairies, there are two kinds of creation: one is called "human," and the other "animal," that is, living creatures. Among humankind, some individuals have been granted favor over others, so that some are dominant and others subordinate. To the animals, He has endowed various instruments: to some, claws and prominent teeth, such as the elephant, lion, wolf, tiger, leopard, swine, bear, and the like; to others, horns, such as the ox, buffalo, rhinoceros, and the like. And those He deprived of such implements, He created light-footed and swift, such as the horse, onager, deer, gazelle, hare, and others besides, so that they might flee from their enemies.

As for man, when He created him, He bestowed upon him two types of instruments to ward off evil and calamity: one invisible, the other visible. The visible consists of weapons made of iron, wood, stone, and the like; the invisible is knowledge, wisdom, judgment, and prudence, the best of weapons, since one's goal is realized and all objectives are achieved without the need to shed blood or bear its burden and consequence. After unbelief, there is no greater burden, consequence, or sin than the shedding

of blood, except that which is shed in the path of truth, against unbelievers and enemies of the religion, or blood shed justly, that is, in retribution. Other than that, no blood is to be shed, and it must be avoided, for on the Day of Resurrection, the first judgment that God, the Exalted, will demand is the judgment over unjust blood, that it may be made clear. With peace.



## (118r) باب پانزدهم

اندر فرستادن شبیخون و فرمودن که چگونه باید کرد و بچه وقت و هنگام  
باید برد تا بر دشمن زنند و باشد که بدان غرض بحاصل شود و دشمن  
هزیمت گردد

بدانکه شبیخون بردن را دو گروه مردم باید یک گروه مردمان دانا بکارزار و کاردیده  
و آزموده و یک گروه مردمان خردمند و هوشیار فرمان بردار و شبیخون<sup>212</sup> (118v)  
بشب باید برد وقت نیم شب تا وقت سحرگاه<sup>+</sup> و اگر بتوانند اسپان ایشان را پی کردن  
و افسارها و طویله‌ها<sup>213</sup> بریدن تا بپراگندند و بخیمه‌ها<sup>214</sup> و خرگاهها براوفتند و طنابها  
بگسلند تا خیمه‌ها<sup>215</sup> و خرپشتهها بیوفتند و کژ شود و هول و ترس در لشکرگاه<sup>216</sup> افتد  
و پیش از کار چند تن را درون فرستند با کاردهای تیز تا<sup>217</sup> هر که پیش آید بکارد  
زنند و طویلها و افسارها ببرند که اگر این کار و مراد بی جنگ و خونریزش برآید  
همه مقصود حاصل شود و آنگاه یک گروه بحرب مشغول شوند و یک گروه بنگاهداشت  
راهها تا هر چه از لشکرگاه بیرون آید بگیرند و بهتر آن بود شبیخون<sup>218</sup> اندر که  
آوازه<sup>219</sup> درافگندند که فلان را بکشند و فلان را بگرفتند اگر چه چنان نباشد تا سستی  
بکار ایشان درآید حقیقت آن آوازه ندانند و در دل نگرانی افتد که باشد<sup>+</sup> که چنین

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<sup>212</sup> BT شباخون

<sup>213</sup> BT طویلها

<sup>214</sup> BT بخیمها

<sup>215</sup> BT خیمها

<sup>216</sup> BT لشکر SK; لشکرگاه

<sup>217</sup> BT بدین کار تا

<sup>218</sup> BT شباخون

<sup>219</sup> SK آواز

است بددل شوند و بیش دستشان کار نکند و باشد که بگریزند و خیمه و رخت بگذارند و گفته‌اند که بحربگاه دروغ گفتن روا باشد تا خصم از آن مقهور گردد و امیرالمؤمنین علی علیه الصلوة والسلام<sup>220</sup> فرمود<sup>221</sup> در آن وقت که عمرو<sup>222</sup> عبدود را بچیزی در حرب خندق مشغول کرد و شمشیر بر پای عمرو زد پای او بیرون انداخت عمرو گفت یا علی غدر کردی ویرا جواب داد<sup>+</sup> که *أَلْحَرْبُ خُدْعَةٌ* یعنی جنگ کردن همه فریبست (119r) و اگر شباخون بر طرف وی باشد سپاه را چهار گروه کند یک گروه پیادگان تیرانداز با شمشیرداران و سپرداران و نیزه‌داران تا راه نگاه دارند دوم<sup>223</sup> از میمنه و قلب بجای خویش پنهان شوند و آنجا هیچ روشنایی ندارند تا ایشان را نبینند و آتش جای دیگر کنند<sup>224</sup> که آنجا هیچکس نباشد [تا] بروشنایی آنجا شوند و شما ایشان را در روشنایی ببینید<sup>225</sup> و ایشان شما را نبینند<sup>226</sup> آنوقت گرد ایشان درآیند و ایشان را در میان گیرند و مقصود<sup>+</sup> خویش حاصل کنند سوم<sup>227</sup> گروه از میسره بجای خویش باشند [بیدار] و ساخته و آماده با سلاح<sup>228</sup> تمام که اگر قصد سوی ایشان کنند مهیای<sup>229</sup> آن کار باشند تا دریشان<sup>230</sup> رانند<sup>231</sup> و دمار ازیشان برآرند چهارم گروه از تفاریق لشکر در پیش لشکر میباشند در صحرا و راهها نگاه میدارند و همه یکدیگر را

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<sup>220</sup> BT کرم الله وجهه

<sup>221</sup> BT کفت

<sup>222</sup> BT عمر

<sup>223</sup> BT و مرد

<sup>224</sup> SK (corrected to کنند in the errata section at the end of the edited book)

<sup>225</sup> BT بینند

<sup>226</sup> BT نه ببینید

<sup>227</sup> BT سیوم

<sup>228</sup> BT صلاح

<sup>229</sup> BT مهیاء

<sup>230</sup> SK در ایشان

<sup>231</sup> BT پرورانند

معین و پشاپشت باشند اگر کسی پیدا آید جواب ایشان بازدهند و همه یک‌رویه دریشان<sup>232</sup> پردازند<sup>233</sup> و مقهور و منهزم گردانند و بهتر آن بود که در گرد لشکرگاه زنجیر کشند و یا خندق کنند چنانکه حکایت کنند که مأمون خلیفه موسی [بن] محمد مروزی را از مرو بخواند که<sup>234</sup> منجّمان اتفاق کرده بودند و گفته که گشتاسان ملک بادغیس را مردی بشکند قصاب سرخ‌روی گربه‌چشم چون او را بخواند (119v) و لشکر داد و چون سپهسالار از بغداد بیرون آمد بدر بغداد چهار ماه بنشست و گرد لشکرگاه خندق کرد و مأمون بدو پیغام داد که ما را جنگ بدر بغداد نیست ترا میباید رفت کنده می‌کنی این چه حالست که چهار ماه بر یکجا بنشستی مگر شغل تو ناساخته است اگر ساخته نبود درین مدت ساخته شده این کنده کردن چه چیزست جواب بازفرستاد که من میدانم که مرا به بادغیس جنگ میباید کرد از اینجا بچهارصد فرسنگ من لشکر را حزم نگاه داشتن می‌آموزم که من ندانم که بدشمن کی خواهم رسید یا دشمن بمن کی خواهد رسید در آنوقت من لشکر را حزم نتوانم آموخت ایشان را ازین جای حزم آموخته خواهم برد تا بهر منزلی که بدشمن رسم یا دشمن بمن رسد من و لشکر حزم نگاه داشته باشیم و از کید و مکر و تاختن و شباخون آوردن خصمان ایمن باشیم و دیگر گفته‌اند که دشمن را خرد نباید داشت اگر چه خرد باشد تا برو پیروز شوی و بدوری راه و بسیاری لشکر فریفته نباید شد که هر که دشمن را خرد دارد و میان او و ازان خویش دور داند و به بسیاری [سپاه] فریفته شود او غافل باشد و دست از حزم نداشته باشد اگر سالاری بمن داده‌یی<sup>235</sup> و اعتماد این

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<sup>232</sup> SK در ایشان

<sup>233</sup> BT بردارند

<sup>234</sup> SK و

<sup>235</sup> BT داده‌ای

کار بمن کرده‌یی<sup>236</sup> کار بمن بگذار تا [من] این کار بکنم و از آنجا برداشت و بهر منزلی که فرود آمد (120r) خندق کرد و طلایه بهمه راهها بیرون فرستاد و شرایط حزم هیچ باقی نگذاشت و <sup>+</sup>همی رفت تا به گشتاسان رسید و به انجمه با وی جنگ کرده مر او را بکشت و در لشکرکشی و هوشیاری و مردانگی و کار بوقت کردن چون یمین الدوله محمود غازی رحمة الله علیه<sup>237</sup> باید بود که در آنوقت که خانیان بخراسان آمدند و در همه ولایت<sup>238</sup> بپراگندند و او در عقب ایشان همی تاخت و خانیان ازو همی گریختند تا آنگاه که او بطوس بنشست و خانیان [با] سپاهی انبوه و گران اندر بلخ و طخارستان<sup>239</sup> بنشستند ایمن [که یمین] الدوله محمود بطوس است و اندرین میان سندپال که نبیره شاه جیپال بود بهندوستان عاصی شد بسبب ماندن سلطان بخراسان و پیدا آمدن خانیان در آنولایت گفت سلطان مشغول شد بیش بماند پس سلطان از طوس بتاخت بدو روز و سه شب بمرو آمد و لشکر خانیان بلخ و طخارستان<sup>240</sup> ایمن نشسته از مرو بهفت روز از راه بیابانی که غول آنجا نتواند گذشت بلخ رفت و اندر عقب ایشان بطخارستان<sup>241</sup> شد و آن دشمنان را بزد و خلقی را بکشت و دیگر منهزم شدند و هم اندران ماه از بلخ بتاخت بهندوستان و سندپال را بگرفت و همه مرادها حاصل کرد چنانکه در اخبار و احوال در تاریخ ناطق و مذکور و مشهورست<sup>242</sup>.

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<sup>236</sup> BT کرده

<sup>237</sup> BT رحمه الله

<sup>238</sup> BT ولاية

<sup>239</sup> BT طخوارستان

<sup>240</sup> BT طخوارستان

<sup>241</sup> BT بطخوارستان

<sup>242</sup> BT مشهور است

## Chapter XV

### **On Dispatching a Night Raid, Commanding How to Execute It, at What Time and When to Conduct It to Attack the Enemy, Through Which the Objective May Be Achieved and the Enemy Routed**

Know that the execution of a night raid requires two groups of people: one consisting of men knowledgeable in warfare, battle-hardened and experienced, and another comprising wise, intelligent, and obedient men. The raid should be conducted during the night, from midnight until the break of dawn. If possible, efforts must be made to hamstring the enemy's horses and sever their bridles and tethers, causing them to scatter, trample the tents and pavilions, and break their ropes, so that the tents and canopies collapse and become askew, panic and fear thereby spreading throughout the camp.

Prior to the action, a few men should be sent inside with sharp daggers to stab anyone who approaches and to sever the tethers and bridles. If this action and objective are achieved without war or bloodshed, the entire goal shall be attained. Subsequently, one group should engage in war while another secures the (escape) routes, seizing anyone leaving the camp.

Furthermore, during the night raid, it is better to loudly proclaim that so-and-so has been killed or so-and-so has been taken captive, even if this is not the case, so that weakness may arise in their actions. Unable to discern the truth behind such cries, anxiety will take hold of their hearts, causing them to fear the report may indeed be true. Consequently, they become disheartened, their hands falter, and some may even flee, abandoning their tents and provisions.

It has also been said that, on the battlefield, telling lies is permissible for the enemy to be subjugated. The Commander of the Believers, 'Alī, blessings and peace be upon him, said that when he preoccupied 'Amr,

son of ‘Abdiwadd (see Note 50), with something during the Battle of the Trench and struck his leg with his sword, severing it, ‘Amr said, “O ‘Alī, you have used trickery.” He replied, “*al-ḥarb khud ‘ah.*”<sup>243</sup>, meaning, war is entirely deception (see Note 51).

If the night raid is directed toward him, he must divide the army into four groups: one group of infantry archers, swordsmen, shield-bearers, and spearmen to guard the path. A second group, consisting of the right flank and the center of the army, must remain hidden in place without any light so that they cannot be seen. They should kindle a fire elsewhere, where no one is present, to lure the enemy toward the light, where you can see them, but they cannot see you. Then they should gather around and besiege the enemy to achieve their objective. A third group, the left flank, must remain in place, awake, ready, and fully equipped with all weapons, prepared to react if the enemy intends to attack, in order to charge into the enemy and destroy them. A fourth group, consisting of the scattered parts of the army, must be positioned in front of the army in the open field to guard the roads, providing mutual support and standing back to back. If anyone appears, they should respond and engage together to defeat and rout them.

It is better to surround the camp with chains or dig a trench around it, as the story goes that Caliph al-Ma’ mūn (see Note 52) summoned Mūsā, son of Muḥammad al-Marwazī (see Note 53), from Marv, since the astrologers had reached a consensus and declared that Gushtāsān (see Note 54), the king of Bādghīs (see Note 55), would be defeated by a red-faced, cat-eyed butcher. After the Caliph summoned him and entrusted him with an army, the commander set out from Baghdād, but remained at the gate of the city for four months and constructed a trench around the military camp. Al-Ma’ mūn sent him a message, saying: “Our war is not at the gate of Baghdād. You must go forth. Why are you digging a trench? What is this condition that you have remained in one place for four

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<sup>243</sup> “War is deception.”

months? Is your mission unprepared? If it was, it should be ready by now. What is this trench-digging?” Mūsā sent back the reply: “I know that I must fight in Bādghīs. From here, across four hundred *farsang*<sup>244</sup>, I shall train the army to maintain vigilance, for I do not know when I shall reach the enemy, nor when the enemy shall reach me. At that time, I shall not be able to instruct the army in vigilance. From here, I shall lead those already trained in vigilance, so that at whichever station I encounter the enemy, or the enemy encounters me, the army and I may uphold vigilance and be safeguarded against the cunning, deceit, assaults, and night raids of the adversaries. It has been said that one must never underestimate the enemy, even if he is insignificant, to achieve victory over him. Nor should one be deceived by the remoteness of the path or the multitude of one’s army. Whoever regards the enemy as insignificant, perceives the distance between himself and the enemy as far, and is deceived by the multitude of the army, is heedless and has abandoned prudence. If you have granted me leadership and placed your trust in me concerning this matter, then entrust the matter to me, that I may carry it out.” Thus, he set out from there, and at every station where he halted, he dug a trench and dispatched advance guards along every route. He neglected none of the conditions of prudence. He proceeded until he reached Gushtāsān, fought him in Anjama, and slew him (see Note 56).

In matters of military campaign, intelligence, manliness, and timely action, one must be like the holy warrior (*ghāzī*) Yamīn al-Dawla Maḥmūd, may God’s mercy be upon him. When the Khānids entered Khurāsān and scattered throughout the province, he pursued them, and they fled before him until he settled in Ṭūs. Meanwhile, the Khānids, with a large and heavy army, settled in Balkh and Ṭukhāristān, assured that Yamīn al-Dawla Maḥmūd was in Ṭūs (see Note 57).

During this period, Sindpāl (see Note 58), the great-grandson of Shāh Jaypāl (see Note 59), rebelled in Hindūstān. Owing to the Sulṭān’s stay

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<sup>244</sup> A *farsang* is an old unit of distance, roughly equal to 6 kilometers.

in Khurāsān and the appearance of the Khānids in that province, he said to himself that the Sulṭān was preoccupied and would remain longer. The Sulṭān then departed from Ṭūs. After two days and three nights, he reached Marv. The army of the Khānids remained secure in Balkh and Ṭukhāristān. From Marv, within seven days, he went through a desert impassable even for a ghoul to reach Balkh. He then pursued them into Ṭukhāristān, defeated those enemies, killed many, and the rest were scattered. In that same month, he departed from Balkh and went to Hindūstān, where he seized Sindpāl and achieved all his objectives, as it is said, recorded, and well-known in historical accounts and narratives.

## Explanatory Notes

### Chapter V

1. Moses (Biblical Hebrew *Mōsheh*; Arabic *Mūsā*; Classical Persian *Mūsā*, *Mūsī*) is a central figure in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, renowned as the leader, prophet, and lawgiver of the Israelites. Traditionally dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, Moses is celebrated for liberating the Israelites from Egyptian slavery and leading them through forty years in the wilderness to the edge of the Promised Land. His life story combines historical, theological, and legendary elements. Born during a time of Egyptian oppression, Moses was raised in Pharaoh's palace (cf. Exodus 2: 1–10), fled to Midian after killing an Egyptian (cf. Exodus 2: 11–15), and was called by God, who spoke to him through his Angel from within a burning bush, to free his people (cf. Exodus 3: 1–12). Foundational events such as the parting of the Red Sea (cf. Exodus 14: 21–31) and the covenant at Mount Sinai, where he received the Ten Commandments (cf. Exodus 19–20), underscore his role in shaping the identity of the Israelites and their covenant with God.

In Islamic tradition, Moses is one of the most frequently mentioned and significant prophets, extensively detailed in the *Qur'ān* and further elaborated in later Islamic literature. He is portrayed as a decisive figure who confronted tyranny (cf. *Qur'ān* XXVI: 10) and received divine revelation (cf. *Qur'ān* VII: 143–145). According to Islamic belief, Moses foretold the coming of Muḥammad (cf. *Qur'ān* VII: 157, interpreted by many commentators as referring to this prophecy) and shares a strong spiritual and thematic affinity with him. The *Qur'ān* recounts several miracles associated with Moses, including the transformation of his staff into a serpent and the radiance of his hand when he drew it forth from his side, both signs shown to Pharaoh (cf. *Qur'ān* VII: 107–108; XXVI: 32–33; XXVIII: 31–32). The *Qur'ān* also emphasizes Moses' direct communication with God without intermediary, which earns him the epithet *kalīm Allāh* (the one who speaks to God; cf. *Qur'ān* IV: 164).

2. Amram (Biblical Hebrew *'Amrām*; Arabic *'Imrān*; Classical Persian *'Imrān*) is a significant biblical figure, known as the father of Aaron and Moses (Exodus 6: 20; Numbers 26: 59; 1 Chronicles 6: 3). The father of Aaron and Moses is not explicitly named in the *Qur'ān*. However, Islamic tradition, drawing on biblical parallels, identifies him with *'Imrān*, a view reflected in classical Muslim historiography, as seen in the work of al-Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje et al. 1879: I, 443).

3. The term Pharaoh originally referred to the Egyptian royal palace (Ancient Egyptian *per a'ō*, meaning “the Great House”; Hebrew *par'ō*; Arabic *fir'awn*; Classical Persian *fir'awn*) and only later came to denote the king himself, as seen in the Bible. Modern scholars have debated the identity of the Pharaoh during the time of Moses, but no consensus has yet been reached. According to the Bible, Pharaoh was a harsh and oppressive ruler who ordered the casting of Hebrew infants into the Nile River as part of a decree to control the Israelite population (Exodus 1: 22). This extreme measure was influenced by his astrologers' uncertainty over whether the savior of the Israelites would be a Hebrew or an Egyptian. Throughout the Exodus story, Pharaoh is portrayed as arrogant but ultimately humbled by God's power, especially through the ten plagues and the drowning of the Egyptian army in the Red Sea (Exodus 14).

In Islamic tradition, Pharaoh is similarly depicted as a tyrant who oppressed the Israelites. The *Qur'ān* (II: 49; VII: 141) recounts that Pharaoh decreed the killing of all male Israelite infants. Pharaoh arrogantly claimed divinity and attempted to build a tower to challenge the God of Moses (XXVIII: 38; XL: 36–37). His persecution of believers was severe (VII: 124; XXVI: 49). The *Qur'ān* describes several dialogues between Moses, Aaron, and Pharaoh, highlighting his resistance to God's message (XX: 49–60).

The fate of Pharaoh at the Red Sea is a point of divergence between the Biblical and Islamic narratives. The Bible suggests Pharaoh and his army overthrown as the Israelites escaped (Psalm 136: 15), but it does not explicitly state Pharaoh's death, leading some Jewish traditions to speculate that he might have been saved. In contrast, the *Qur'ān* clearly narrates Pharaoh's drowning and rejection of repentance (X: 90–92). This detail underscores his ultimate fate as a disbeliever despite his last-minute plea.

4. Aaron (Biblical Hebrew *'Aharōn*; Arabic/Persian *Hārūn*), son of Amram and the elder brother of Moses, is a prominent figure in Judaism, recognized as the founder of the Israelite priesthood and the first high priest. Aaron played a crucial religious role during the Exodus, serving as Moses' spokesperson and performing miracles by God's command, such as casting down his staff before Pharaoh, which turned into a serpent.

Although subordinate to Moses in leadership, Aaron established a hereditary priestly line through his sons, focusing primarily on cultic duties while Moses remained the central leader for divine instructions and secular governance. His

legacy includes both his religious authority and a significant failing: during Moses' absence on Mount Sinai, Aaron yielded to the Israelites' pressure and fashioned the golden calf, an act of apostasy for which he was spared divine punishment due to Moses' intercession (Exodus 32).

In Islamic tradition, Aaron appears alongside Moses as a key helper, noted for his eloquence and leadership. The *Qur'ān* mentions Aaron in connection with Moses during the Exodus and attributes the making of the golden calf not to Aaron but to a figure called al-Sāmirī (XX: 85–88), thereby somewhat exonerating him from blame. In the *Qur'ān*, however, the miracle of the staff transforming into a serpent before Pharaoh is attributed directly to Moses, not Aaron. The *Qur'ānic* term *wazīr*, describing Aaron's role as Moses' helper, later became the political title *vizier* in Islamic governance.

5. The early life of Prophet Muḥammad is cloaked in historical uncertainty, with limited reliable information preceding his prophetic mission. Most accounts place his birth around AD 570 in Makka (Mecca). Orphaned at a young age, his father died before his birth and his mother shortly thereafter, he was raised by relatives in modest circumstances (see *Qur'ān* XCIII: 6–8). Stories of his youth, like trade journeys to Syria, lack firm evidence. His marriage to Khadija, a wealthy merchant widow, brought stability, but records of his life during the period between this marriage and the onset of his revelations are limited and mostly uncertain.

Muḥammad began his prophetic mission at around age 40, and while traditional accounts describe his revelations as sudden and intense, modern scholars view them as part of a gradual, sincere spiritual development. The early phase of Muḥammad's prophetic mission is characterized by a complex mix of public preaching and periods of silence, such as the reported pause in revelation (see *Qur'ān* XCIII: 3). His initial revelations often emphasized ethical monotheism, accountability, and social justice, attracting a small but dedicated group of followers.

As opposition from Meccan elites intensified, Muḥammad's role shifted from a contemplative preacher to a political leader, especially after his migration to al-Madīna (Medina), then called Yathrib, in AH 1 / AD 622, where he established a theocratic community. This transformation reveals a dual dimension of his leadership, both spiritual and administrative.

Central to Islamic belief is the recognition of Muḥammad as *rasūl Allāh* (the Messenger of God; see *Qur'ān* XXXIII: 40; XLVIII: 29) and the perfect model of

conduct (see *Qur'ān* XXXIII: 21). The *Qur'ān* remains the most primary and contemporaneous source for Muḥammad's life, though its religious focus necessitates cautious historical interpretation. Other foundational texts include books on prophetic biography (*sīra*), military chronicles (*maghāzī*), and *ḥadīth* collections that preserve his sayings and actions.

In the final years of his life, Muḥammad consolidated his leadership across the Arabian Peninsula. The peaceful conquest of Mecca marked a turning point, transforming a persecuted movement into a dominant religious and political force. Many tribes, including those in remote regions, pledged allegiance, although often more out of political calculation than deep religious conviction (see *Qur'ān* XLIX: 14). Nevertheless, Muḥammad's efforts to educate and unify these diverse groups under the banner of Islam laid the groundwork for the religion's expansion. His Farewell Pilgrimage in AH 10 / AD 632, with its message of unity, ritual, and equality, encapsulated his vision for a unified Muslim community. His death shortly afterward led to a tribal method of leadership selection and opened the door to political challenges that would shape Islamic history.

6. Gabriel (Biblical Hebrew *Gavri'el*; Arabic *Jibrīl*; Classical Persian *Jibri'īl*), one of the earliest named angels in Jewish tradition, occupies a prominent role as a divine messenger and interpreter of visions. Gabriel first appears in the Book of Daniel (8: 16), where he is sent to explain the prophet's vision of a ram and a goat, a symbolic foretelling of historical empires. This period, likely during or after the Babylonian exile, marks a development in Jewish angelology, with angels becoming more individualized and named.

In Islamic tradition, Gabriel assumes a foundational role as the angel of revelation. Though named explicitly only a few times (*Qur'ān* II: 97–98; LXVI: 4), he is closely linked with *al-rūḥ al-amīn* (the trustworthy Spirit; *Qur'ān* XXVI: 193) and *rūḥ al-quḍus* (the holy Spirit; *Qur'ān* XVI: 102) in various verses that describe the transmission of divine messages. Gabriel is present at the very inception of Muḥammad's prophetic career, delivering the first verses of revelation in the Cave of Ḥirā' (*Qur'ān* XCVI: 1–5). He is also said to have supported Muḥammad during key battles, including the Battle of Badr (cf. *Qur'ān* III: 123–125), appearing with angels sent to assist the believers.

Over time, he came to be seen not only as the angel of Muḥammad but as the universal messenger to all prophets, reinforcing a theological bridge between Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. This shared role underscores Gabriel's function as

the emblem of divine-human communication across the Abrahamic traditions, uniting their narratives through his presence as revealer, interpreter, and agent of God's will.

7. Michael (Biblical Hebrew *Mīkhā'ēl*; Arabic *Mīkāl*, *Mīkā'il*; Classical Persian *Mīkā'il*) emerges in biblical literature as a powerful angelic figure whose identity and role are deeply rooted in the post-Exilic evolution of Jewish angelology. His first explicit appearance is in the Book of Daniel, where he is described as “one of the chief princes” (Daniel 10: 13) and later as “the great prince who stands watch over the sons of your people” (Daniel 12: 1). In Revelation (12: 7–9), Michael leads the heavenly army in a cosmic battle against the dragon, interpreted as Satan, reinforcing his image as the chief heavenly warrior.

In Islamic tradition, Michael is mentioned by name only once in the *Qur'ān*, in a verse that condemns hostility toward God's angels (*Qur'ān* II: 98). Though Michael plays a more reserved role in Islamic scripture than Gabriel, he appears in important traditional narratives. He is said to have supported the Muslim forces during the Battle of Badr, alongside Gabriel (cf. *Qur'ān* III: 123–125).

8. Abū Bakr, born shortly after AD 570 in Mecca, was one of the earliest and most devoted companions of Muḥammad. Before embracing Islam, he was a respected merchant and an expert in Arab genealogy. He was also known for his generosity, notably using his wealth to support early Muslims, including the manumission of enslaved converts. His personal life was closely intertwined with the Prophet's; his daughter 'Ā'isha became one of Muḥammad's wives.

From the earliest days of Muḥammad's mission, Abū Bakr was among his most trusted allies. He was one of the first adult males to accept Islam and became a central figure in the Prophet's inner circle. He accompanied Muḥammad during the migration from Mecca to Medina, an event commemorated in the *Qur'ān* (IX: 40). His close relationship with the Prophet was further demonstrated when he was chosen to lead prayers during Muḥammad's final illness. After Muḥammad's death in AH 11/ AD 632, Abū Bakr was recognized as the first caliph.

Abū Bakr's caliphate, though brief, was marked by formidable challenges. The most urgent of these were the *ridda*, or apostasy wars—a series of revolts that arose across the Arabian Peninsula following Muḥammad's death. These uprisings were led by rival claimants to prophethood. Abū Bakr responded with swift and decisive military action. Despite the harsh nature of these campaigns, he is remembered for

his clemency toward many of the rebels, some of whom later became loyal contributors to the Islamic cause.

In addition to consolidating internal control, Abū Bakr initiated the first Muslim military campaigns beyond the Arabian Peninsula. Honoring Muḥammad's final wishes, he sent an army toward the Byzantine Empire. Once stability was restored, he ordered further campaigns into Iraq and Syria, setting the stage for the vast territorial expansions under his successor, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Abū Bakr's caliphate lasted only two years, ending with his death in AH 13 / AD 634.

9. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (r. AH 13–23 / AD 634–644), the second caliph of Islam, stands as one of the most influential and dynamic figures of early Islamic history. Initially a fierce opponent of Muḥammad and his message, 'Umar's dramatic conversion to Islam became emblematic of the religion's transformative power. After joining the Muslim community in Mecca, 'Umar quickly rose in prominence, becoming known for his firm character, intellectual acuity, and strong sense of justice. Following the migration to Medina, he became one of Muḥammad's key advisers and political organizers.

Following the Prophet's death in AH 11 / AD 632, 'Umar played a pivotal role in securing Abū Bakr's succession, urging unity among the Muslims at a moment of deep uncertainty. Upon Abū Bakr's death in AH 13 / AD 634, 'Umar succeeded him as caliph. His ten-year reign marked a period of rapid expansion, administrative structuring, and religious consolidation. Under his leadership, the Islamic state stretched far beyond the Arabian Peninsula into the Byzantine and Sasanian empires.

'Umar was renowned for his austere personal lifestyle and moral rigor. Though his decisions were sometimes severe, they were widely seen as motivated by a deep commitment to justice and piety.

His assassination in AH 23 / AD 644 by a Persian slave named Abū Lu'lu'a ended an era of expansion and internal cohesion. Before his death, he appointed a six-member council to select his successor, aiming to avoid civil conflict.

10. David (Hebrew *Dāvid*; Arabic *Dāwūd*; Persian *Dāvūd*) is one of the most complex and influential figures across the Abrahamic traditions. David, depicted in the Hebrew Bible as a shepherd, warrior, poet, and ruler, embodies the transition from a tribal confederacy to a monarchy, centralizing power in Jerusalem and uniting the Israelite tribes. His ascent to kingship is recounted in biblical narratives,

beginning with his rise to fame through the defeat of Goliath (1 Samuel 17: 4–51), a pivotal moment that demonstrated his courage and divine favor.

This story is echoed in the *Qur'ān* (II: 251), where David slays Jālūt (Goliath) by God's will, reflecting his early role as a divinely supported figure. In Islam, David is revered not only as a king but also as a prophet and righteous servant of God. The *Qur'ān* affirms his appointment as a caliph to rule with justice (XXXVIII: 26), and describes him as the recipient of the *Zabūr* (IV: 163; XVII: 55), i.e., the Psalms. He is praised for his wisdom, judgment, and devotion, and prophetic traditions emphasize his asceticism, frequent fasting, and beautiful recitation.

In Christian tradition, David's centrality is elevated through his connection to Jesus. The Gospels of Matthew (1: 1–17) and Luke (3: 23–38) include genealogies that trace Jesus' lineage back to David, underscoring his significance within salvation history. Across all three Abrahamic faiths, David remains a figure of lasting spiritual and historical importance.

11. Uriah (Hebrew *ʿŪriyyāh*) appears in the Bible during the reign of King David (2 Samuel 11: 3). More than a common soldier, he is identified as one of David's elite warriors, listed among the "thirty-seven" (2 Samuel 23: 39), a distinction that underscores his loyalty and significance within the royal military ranks. During Uriah's absence at war, the biblical narrative recounts a moment of moral failing attributed to David, who became involved with Uriah's wife and later orchestrated events that led to Uriah's death.

Uriah is not mentioned by name in the *Qur'ān* but is often associated with a parable (*Qur'ān* XXXVIII: 21–25), where David is approached by two disputants seeking judgment. Many Muslim commentators interpret this episode allegorically, drawing connections to the biblical account involving David and Uriah. The *Qur'ān* does not portray David as committing deliberate wrongdoing; rather, it highlights his prompt recognition of error and sincere repentance.

12. Solomon (Hebrew *Shelōmōh*; Arabic/Persian *Sulaymān*), son of David, ascended to the throne of Israel through a transition politically managed within the royal court, despite not being the eldest son or most expected heir (1 Kings 1: 5–40).

Solomon's reign, traditionally dated from 965 to 928 BC, is portrayed in biblical accounts as a golden age of peace, prosperity, and cultural flourishing. His most

celebrated achievement was the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem, which became the central religious and political institution of the ancient Israelites (1 Kings 6). Through diplomatic alliances and extensive trade, Solomon acquired great wealth and brought exotic goods to his kingdom, enhancing the splendor of his court. The visit of the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10: 1–13; 2 Chronicles 9: 1–12) illustrates his widespread reputation for wisdom and magnificence.

Solomon's legendary wisdom is a defining aspect of his kingship, exemplified in the well-known judgment involving two women and a disputed child (1 Kings 3: 16–28). He is traditionally credited with authoring several biblical books, including Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, reflecting his intellectual and literary legacy.

In the *Qur'ān*, Solomon is honored as both a prophet and a just king, inheriting divine favor and authority from his father David (*Qur'ān* XXVII: 15–16). He is portrayed as a devout servant of God, endowed with remarkable abilities, including communication with birds and animals, control over the wind, and command of the jinn, who assisted him in construction (*Qur'ān* XXVII: 16–20; XXXIV: 12–13). His encounter with the Queen of Sheba ends with her acceptance of monotheism, depicting Solomon as a guide in both political and spiritual realms (*Qur'ān* XXVII: 22–44). A unique Qur'ānic detail describes how his death remained unnoticed until a termite gnawed through his staff, causing his body to fall (*Qur'ān* XXXIV: 14).

13. Āṣif ibn Barkhiyā, known in Islamic tradition as the vizier of Solomon, holds a distinctive role in the Qur'ānic narrative as a figure endowed with profound spiritual insight and mystical knowledge. He is famously credited with bringing the throne of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon's court in the blink of an eye, an act of miraculous power described in the *Qur'ān* (XXVII: 40).

The Hebrew Bible contains no direct counterpart to Āṣif. While Solomon's court included prophets and counselors (1 Kings 1: 8; 2 Samuel 15: 12) who contributed to governance and military planning, none are depicted as possessing supernatural abilities. In terms of spiritual authority, a loosely comparable figure might be Ahijah the Shilonite, a prophet active during Solomon's later years (1 Kings 11: 29–39; 14: 1–18), though his role is more prophetic than mystical.

14. Dhu'l-Qarnayn, meaning “the two-horned,” is a mysterious and powerful figure prominently featured in the *Qur'ān* (XVIII: 83–98), where he is portrayed as a just, divinely guided ruler who travels to the farthest ends of the earth—where the sun

sets and rises. He upholds justice, protects the weak, and demonstrates humility before God, consistently attributing his successes to divine mercy. One of the most striking episodes in the Qur'ānic narrative is his construction of a massive barrier of iron and copper to protect a vulnerable people from the destructive forces of Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj (Gog and Magog), echoing themes also found in Ezekiel (38–39). This account presents Dhu'l-Qarnayn as a sovereign whose authority is legitimized not by conquest alone, but by moral insight and submission to a higher divine will.

The identity of Dhu'l-Qarnayn has long been the focus of extensive scholarly debate and interpretation. The epithet “two-horned” is often linked to depictions of Alexander the Great (Greek *Ἀλέξανδρος*; Middle Persian *Aliksandar*; Arabic *al-Iskandar*; r. 336–323 BC) with ram's horns—symbols associated with the Egyptian god Ammon (Amun)—which has led many Muslim commentators to identify Dhu'l-Qarnayn with Alexander. However, this association is far from conclusive. While Islamic tradition frequently portrays Alexander in a favorable light, Zoroastrian sources present a contrasting view, portraying him as a destructive conqueror who burned sacred texts, dismantled the Zoroastrian religious and social order, and hastened the fall of the Achaemenid Empire. Alternative identifications have also been proposed, including Cyrus the Great (Old Persian *Kuruš*; Hebrew *Koresh*)—described in the Hebrew Bible (Isaiah 45: 1–13) as a divinely appointed liberator of the Jews from Babylonian captivity—as well as pre-Islamic Arab rulers such as the Lakhmid king al-Mundhir al-Akbar. These competing theories underscore the layered complexity of the Qur'ānic narrative and reflect the diverse historical and cultural influences that have shaped Islamic exegetical traditions.

15. Aristotle (Greek *Ἀριστοτέλης*; Arabic/Persian *Aristū*, *Aristātālīs*), the eminent 4<sup>th</sup>-century BC Greek philosopher, left an enduring legacy that profoundly shaped philosophical thought from antiquity through the medieval period. His vast body of work, spanning logic, metaphysics, ethics, natural philosophy, and rhetoric, became foundational across cultures. During the Islamic Golden Age, Arabic translations and commentaries on Aristotle's writings deeply influenced Islamic philosophy. He was honored by Muslim scholars as *al-mu'allim al-awwal* (the first teacher), a title that reflects his central role in shaping the intellectual traditions of the Islamic world.

Aristotle's association with Dhu'l-Qarnayn, often identified in Islamic tradition with Alexander the Great, emerged from a blending of historical fact and later legend. As Alexander's historical tutor, Aristotle became linked in Islamic and later medieval literature to the image of the wise vizier or counselor who guides a powerful ruler. While the *Qur'ān* presents Dhu'l-Qarnayn as a divinely guided king,

later Islamic narratives incorporated elements from Greek and Hellenistic lore, recasting Aristotle as the philosophical adviser to this idealized king. This association symbolized the union of wisdom and power, aligning Aristotle's philosophical ideals, particularly his vision of the philosopher-king, with the Qur'ānic portrayal of just and divinely sanctioned leadership.

16. Anōshēravān or Nōshēravān, derived from the Middle Persian term *anōšag-ruwān* meaning “of immortal soul,” is a reverential title for the Sasanian king Khusraw (Middle Persian *Husraw*) I. He is known for decisively suppressing the Mazdakite movement, a social and religious reformist group that threatened the established order. Through his extensive reforms, Khusraw transformed the Sasanian state into a highly centralized and efficient bureaucracy. He also reorganized the Sasanian military, improving its structure and capabilities to conduct prolonged campaigns on multiple fronts.

Beyond his administrative and military achievements, Khusraw was a notable patron of culture, philosophy, and science, initiating a flourishing period of intellectual activity within the empire. His court became a refuge for scholars and philosophers, including those displaced by the closure of the Neo-Platonic school in Athens. Furthermore, his reign saw vibrant cultural exchanges with both India and the Roman Empire, introducing Indian knowledge in medicine, astronomy, political theory, and games like chess, alongside Roman medical writings, scientific works, and musical instruments, enriching Sasanian cultural and intellectual life.

17. Buzurjmīhr (Middle Persian *Wuzurgmīhr*; Classical Persian *Buzurgmīhr*) is a legendary figure renowned for his wisdom and service as vizier to the Sasanian king Khusraw Anōshēravān. He is credited with solving the mystery of chess brought from India and inventing the game of backgammon. Despite his enduring fame, the historical reality of Buzurjmīhr remains uncertain.

He is closely associated with wisdom literature, especially the Middle Persian treatise *Ayādgār ī Wuzurgmīhr ī Bōxtagān*. This text begins with an introduction that presents Buzurjmīhr and emphasizes his high status. Commissioned by the king to instruct noble individuals, the treatise was intended to be kept in the royal treasury. It opens with reflections on the transience and futility of worldly things, followed by a detailed exposition of key Zoroastrian doctrines in a question-and-answer format. The work also explores abstract moral and philosophical questions, offering practical and pious guidance that prioritizes ethical and personal virtues over ritual observance.

18. The Barmakids were a distinguished Iranian family who rose to prominence as influential secretaries and viziers during the early 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. Their origins trace back to the hereditary high priests of the Buddhist temple of Nawbahār near Balkh. The family name “Barmak” likely derives from Sanskrit *pramukha* “chief,” highlighting their Buddhist roots prior to the Islamic era and reflecting a notable cultural and religious heritage that preceded their integration into the Islamic administration.

The first historically verifiable figure from the family was Khālīd ibn Barmak, who quickly aligned himself with the 'Abbāsīd revolution. Khālīd served under the first 'Abbāsīd caliph, al-Saffāh (r. AH 132–136 / AD 750–754), holding important fiscal and administrative positions before becoming governor of several regions under Caliph al-Manṣūr (r. AH 136–158 / AD 754–775). Although Khālīd never formally held the title of vizier, his influence within the 'Abbāsīd administration was significant, laying the foundation for the family's rising power.

The Barmakids reached the height of their authority under Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd who became the chief vizier to Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. Yaḥyā had once been Hārūn's tutor and was entrusted with extensive control over the caliphal bureaucracy, effectively governing the empire on behalf of the caliph. Yaḥyā's sons, al-Faḍl and Ja'far, also occupied key administrative roles, solidifying the family's dominance within the 'Abbāsīd court and the central government.

Despite their entrenched power and prestige, the Barmakids faced a sudden and dramatic downfall in AH 187 / AD 803. Ja'far was executed, while Yaḥyā and al-Faḍl were imprisoned, and the family's vast wealth was confiscated. The exact causes of their rapid fall remain debated, but political rivalry and Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd's growing unease over their increasing autonomy are widely considered the main factors behind this abrupt collapse of one of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate's most powerful families.

19. Abu'l-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Maymandī was one of the most influential statesmen of the Ghaznavīd era. Born around AH 361 / AD 972 in the village of Maymand near Ghazna, he rose steadily through the administrative ranks, supported by his close relationship with Sulṭān Maḥmūd, with whom he shared the bonds of foster brotherhood and schooling. His father, al-Ḥasan, served as governor of Bust under Sebūktigin, the father of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Although he was executed, crucified on a tree, on charges of embezzlement and property confiscation (Bosworth 1973: 73), Sebūktigin later recognized his innocence and deeply

regretted the decision. Aḥmad's early appointments, as head of the chancery, and later as chief accountant and military administrator, demonstrated both his growing influence and remarkable administrative acumen.

Aḥmad's first tenure as vizier began in AH 404 / AD 1013, following the dismissal of Abu'l-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl ibn Aḥmad al-Isfarāyīnī. He quickly became the principal architect of the Ghaznavid central administration. However, his rigid policies—especially toward provincial elites and tax officials—and his accumulation of personal wealth eventually alienated influential factions, leading to his dramatic downfall. He endured various forms of torment and the confiscation of his assets, and in AH 416 / AD 1025, he was imprisoned, remaining in custody throughout the rest of Maḥmūd's reign and the brief rule of his son, Muḥammad. It was only after Mas'ūd's accession in AH 421 / AD 1030 that Aḥmad was restored to favor and recalled to court. During his second term, he adopted a more restrained public demeanor and sought reconciliation with former opponents. Aḥmad died in office at Harāt (Herat) in AH 424 / AD 1032.

20. Yamīn al-Dawla Maḥmūd is recognized as the first truly independent ruler of the Ghaznavid dynasty. Born in AH 361 / AD 971 in Zābulistān, he was the eldest son of Sebūktigin, a Turkish slave commander under the Sāmānids who, in AH 366 / AD 977, was appointed leader of the Turkish troops in Ghazna. Sebūktigin served as a nominal Sāmānid governor for nearly twenty years before his death in AH 387 / AD 997. Although Sebūktigin initially designated his younger son Ismā'īl as his successor, Maḥmūd contested this decision, defeated his brother in battle, and seized power.

Upon ascending the throne, Maḥmūd rejected the nominal suzerainty of the Sāmānids and aligned himself with the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphate, from which he received honorific titles such as *Yamīn al-Dawla* (Right Hand of the State). This strategic affiliation provided Maḥmūd with religious legitimacy. His military campaigns targeted both Muslim and non-Muslim groups, and his successful defense of Khurāsān against the Turkic Khānids further cemented his dominance in the region.

Maḥmūd is perhaps best remembered for his expeditions into the Indian subcontinent. These campaigns were less about permanent conquest and more focused on acquiring wealth through plunder and tribute—resources vital for sustaining his professional army and centralized administration.

Culturally, Maḥmūd played a pivotal role in shaping the Perso-Islamic model of kingship. Despite his Turkish origins, he embraced Persian court culture, and his reign exemplified a centralized, militarized state governed by a Turkish warrior elite and administered by Persian bureaucrats. He was later upheld as an ideal ruler, celebrated for synthesizing Turkic military power with Islamic governance.

While his military successes were vast and his cultural influence enduring, the stability of the Ghaznavid state rested heavily on his personal authority. After his death, political unity quickly unraveled.

21. The Khānids, also known as the Ilig Khāns, Ilak Khāns, or Qarakhānids, were the first Muslim Turkic dynasty to establish a lasting rule over Central Asia, reigning from the late 10<sup>th</sup> to the early 13<sup>th</sup> century AD. Their rise began with Satuq Bughra Khān, who converted to Islam in the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century AD, paving the way for the Islamization of the Turkic peoples under their dominion. Expanding from their power base in the eastern steppes, the Khānids extended their rule eastward into Buddhist regions such as Khotan and westward into the Islamic heartlands once dominated by the Sāmānids. By AH 389 / AD 999, with the collapse of the Sāmānid Empire, they divided its former territories with the Ghaznavids, setting the stage for both rivalry and intermittent diplomacy between the two powers.

Tensions between the Ghaznavids and the Khānids escalated into open conflict as Ilig Khān sought to assert dominance over Khurāsān, a strategic and symbolically important region. The battle which is described hereafter in the text was fought in AH 398 / AD 1008 and represents the climax of Khānid military ambition in the region. In this campaign, Ilig Khān allied with his kinsman Qadir Khān ibn Bughrā Khān of Kāshghar and assembled a massive army of more than 50,000 warriors, crossing the Oxus River in a direct challenge to Ghaznavid control. Sulṭān Maḥmūd responded by mustering a formidable and ethnically diverse army and encamped near Balkh. A line of about 500 war elephants fortified his forces.

Ilig Khān initiated the assault with a shock attack of 500 elite cavalry against the Ghaznavid center, momentarily breaching their ranks. At this crucial moment, Maḥmūd sought divine help, he left the battlefield, climbed a hillock, and prayed. Maḥmūd's troops, invigorated by his prayer, launched aggressive counterattacks. The tide turned in the Ghaznavids' favor, especially with the devastating use of war elephants. One of the elephants grabbed Ilig Khān's standard-bearer with its trunk and threw him into the air. Other elephants knocked riders off their horses and trampled them to death. The Khānid army, overwhelmed by panic and disarray, fled

the battlefield. Many were captured or drowned in the Oxus River during their retreat (see al-ʿUtbī, ed. al-Ḥamdānī 2015: II/520-524).

22. “Those of Bā Saʿīd,” also rendered as باسعیدان in the *History of Bayhaqī* (ed. Yāhaqqī and Sayyedī 2011: 334; tr. Bosworth 2011: I/396), refers to the military troops of a certain Bā Saʿīd (= Abū Saʿīd), who may be identical with Bū Saʿīd, son of Sahl, mentioned earlier in the same work (ed. Yāhaqqī and Sayyedī 2011: 169; tr. Bosworth 2011: I/214). Bū Saʿīd initially served as a close adviser and head of the Army Department under Naṣr, the brother of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. After Naṣr’s death, Maḥmūd appointed him as overseer of the Ghaznavid family’s private estates and possessions in Ghazna. He later assumed the position of local administrator of Ghazna. Bū Saʿīd carried out both roles with distinction for many years, continuing his service even after Maḥmūd’s reign.

23. To the best of my knowledge, no information is available about Amīr Abu’l-Qāsim, son of ʿAbd al-Malik, of Sīstān.

24. Khalaf, son of Aḥmad (r. AH 352–393 / AD 963–1003), was the last prominent ruler of the Ṣaffārid dynasty in Sīstān. Born in AH 326 / AD 937 to Amīr Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad (r. AH 311–352 / AD 923–963), who had restored Ṣaffārid power following earlier dynastic upheavals, Khalaf inherited a realm under pressure from powerful neighbors such as the Sāmānids and later the emerging Ghaznavids.

The assassination of his father in AH 352 / AD 963, carried out through a conspiracy involving his commander-in-chief and members of his slave guard who allied with a rival Ṣaffārid prince, plunged Sīstān into a period of chaos. However, Khalaf ultimately regained control and secured his father’s throne. Khalaf’s early reign was marked by internal strife. He initially shared power with Abu’l-Ḥusayn Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad, a relative who served as regent during Khalaf’s pilgrimage to Mecca in AH 355 / AD 966. Upon his return, Khalaf faced ongoing civil wars and challenges to his authority from Ṭāhir’s heirs, requiring military assistance from the Sāmānids to regain control. His authority over key territories such as Bust was increasingly challenged by the rise of Sebūktigin, the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty. Despite these pressures, Khalaf regained full control over Sīstān after the death of Ṭāhir’s son, al-Ḥusayn, in AH 373 / AD 983 and likely ceased paying tribute to the Sāmānids, asserting greater independence.

Khalaf's later years were marked by increasing familial discord and political instability. Khalaf grew violent and arbitrary toward his own sons, culminating in the death of his son Ṭāhir around AH 392 / AD 1002. Ṭāhir's followers turned to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna for support, shifting local allegiance away from the Ṣaffārids. Maḥmūd responded by invading Sīstān, besieging Khalaf in his fortress at Ṭāq, and ultimately overthrowing him in AH 393 / AD 1003. This conquest brought the Ṣaffārid dynasty to an end, as Sīstān was absorbed into the expanding Ghaznavid empire. Khalaf spent his final years in captivity and died in prison in AH 399 / AD 1009.

25. Aḥmad, son of 'Alī, son of Nūshtigin, served as the Master of the Stables, a position primarily responsible for the care and supervision of the royal stables and horses. According to the *History of Bayhaqī*, during the reign of Mas'ūd, he held this position alongside the governorship of the regions of Khulm, Pērōz-i Nakhjīr, and Badakhshān (ed. Yāhaqqī and Sayyedī 2011: 294; tr. Bosworth 2011: I/350).

26. Ardashīr, son of Bābak (Middle Persian *Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān*), was the founder of the Sasanian Empire. Before that, he was a local ruler in Pārs (Persis) from around AD 213 to 224. He soon broke free from Parthian control and, in AD 224, decisively defeated Artabanus (Parthian *Ardabān*; Middle Persian *Ardawān*; r. AD 213–224) at the Battle of Hurmuzgān, an event that marked the collapse of the Parthian Empire and the official beginning of the Sasanian era. Ardashīr adopted the title *šāhān šāh* (King of Kings), although his formal coronation likely took place a few years later in Ctesiphon. His early reign was defined by territorial expansion and consolidation. He also implemented significant reforms aimed at centralizing power and replacing the feudal structure of Parthian rule with a stable, bureaucratic administration. Ardashīr ruled until his death around AD 242, leaving a unified empire to his successors.

27. Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qurayb al-Aṣma'ī (c. AH 125–216 / AD 743–831) was a prominent narrator, literary scholar, and lexicographer during the early 'Abbāsīd period. Born in al-Baṣra, a major intellectual center of the time, he received an elite education in Arabic poetry, grammar, and Qur'ānic recitation.

Seeking to deepen his understanding of the Arabic language and culture, al-Aṣma'ī spent time living among Bedouin communities, collecting authentic linguistic and poetic material directly from these oral traditions. Upon returning to al-Baṣra, he began teaching and mentoring many influential scholars of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD. Under the reign of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Aṣma'ī gained considerable prestige

at the ‘Abbāsīd court and became a favored courtier, particularly under the patronage of the Barmakids. However, after the downfall of the Barmakids, he composed satirical verses criticizing them. Many of al-Aṣma‘ī’s works have survived to this day and continue to serve as valuable resources for scholars studying classical Arabic language and literature. His legacy as a master of language, poetry, and lexicography remains central to understanding the intellectual history of the early ‘Abbāsīd period.

28. The Persian term *mōbid*, meaning “Zoroastrian priest,” derives from Middle Persian *mowbed*, which in turn originates from the Old Persian compound \**magupati*, meaning “chief of the magi” (*magu* = magus; \**pati* = lord, master). During the Sasanian period, *mowbeds* held significant theological, judicial, and administrative authority, often serving as both spiritual leaders and legal arbiters within the Zoroastrian community. At the top of the priestly hierarchy stood the *mowbedān mowbed* (Mōbid of Mōbids), a title analogous to “chief priest” or “high priest,” who oversaw the Zoroastrian clergy and served as a key advisor to the Sasanian king on religious matters. This office embodied the close integration of religion and state in the Sasanian period.

29. The Arabic word *wazīr*, meaning “helper” or “assistant,” and later “vizier” or “minister,” can be convincingly traced back to the native Semitic root *w-z-r*, which conveys the meaning “to bear (a burden)” or “to take upon oneself (a burden).” This interpretation is directly supported by the Qur’ānic usage of the term. In the *Qur’ān* (XX: 29–32), Moses asks God to appoint a *wazīr* for him to assist in his prophetic mission by sharing the weight of his responsibility. This is further strengthened by the verbal form of the root, *wazara*, meaning “to carry (a burden),” and the noun *wizr* (burden), making it semantically coherent within the Arabic linguistic framework without the need to invoke a foreign origin (see also Goitein 2010: 170). Notably, al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (ed. Dāwūdī 2009: 868), in his important lexical work *Mufradāt Alfāz al-Qur’ān*, composed in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century AH / 11<sup>th</sup> century AD, gives the same etymology for *wazīr*, placing it under the root *w-z-r* and defining it as *al-mutaḥammilu thiqla amīrihī wa shughlahū*, meaning “the one who bears the burden and responsibility of his amīr.” Some scholars, however, have proposed that Arabic *wazīr* is an Iranian loanword, suggesting an etymological connection with either the Avestan adjective *vīcira* (passing judgement; capable of making judgments) or the Middle Persian noun *wizīr* (decision; judgement) (e.g., Horn 1893: 242–243; Bartholomae 1904: 1438; Jeffery 1938: 287–288; Asbaghi 1988: 271; Ciancaglini 2008: 166).

30. ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, holds a foundational place in early Islamic history. Raised in the Prophet’s household, ‘Alī was among the first to accept Islam and remained a loyal supporter throughout Muḥammad’s life. His unwavering dedication was demonstrated in acts such as risking his life during the Prophet’s escape from Mecca to Medina. Renowned for his courage, ‘Alī fought in nearly all of the Prophet’s military campaigns and also served as a scribe, envoy, and religious authority. His marriage to Fātima, the Prophet’s daughter, linked him even more closely to the Prophet’s legacy and produced descendants, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, who became central figures in Islamic tradition.

After the Prophet’s death, ‘Alī’s political path was fraught with difficulty. Initially excluded from succession, he was sidelined during the caliphates of Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān, though he remained influential in various religious and legal matters. When he was eventually declared caliph after ‘Uthmān’s assassination, his rule was immediately challenged by rival factions, leading to civil conflicts such as the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Ṣiffīn. His decision to accept arbitration in the conflict weakened his authority and alienated the Kharijites, a radical group that ultimately turned against him. Though he defeated them at al-Nahrawān, the strife further eroded his support, and he was eventually assassinated by a Kharijite in AH 40 / AD 661.

Despite the political turmoil of his caliphate, ‘Alī’s legacy remains deeply influential. He is remembered for his moral integrity, devotion to justice, and deep spiritual insight, especially in Shi‘a Islam, where he is revered as the Prophet’s rightful successor. His life illustrates the profound challenges faced by early Muslim leadership, as ideals of piety and justice often clashed with the realities of power and factionalism. ‘Alī’s enduring significance reflects both his personal virtues and the foundational struggles that shaped Islamic history.

## Chapter VII

31. ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa’ (d. AH 142 / AD 759), whose birth name was Rōzbeh, was born in Fārs, Iran, and is widely regarded as one of the most influential figures in the development of Arabic prose and intellectual culture during the early Islamic period. Born into Persian nobility and deeply rooted in its traditions, he converted from Manichaeism to Islam and adopted the name ‘Abd Allāh. His upbringing and education in al-Baṣra gave him a profound understanding of both

Persian heritage and Arabic literary forms, enabling him to serve as a vital cultural bridge between these two worlds.

Professionally, ‘Abd Allāh served as a secretary, first under the Umayyads and later under the ‘Abbāsids. Renowned for his wit, eloquence, and boldness, he became a prominent figure in the literary and political circles of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. However, his steadfast loyalty to his ‘Abbāsīd patrons ultimately led to his downfall. After drafting a politically sensitive letter offering protection to the rebellious uncle of Caliph al-Manṣūr, he incurred the caliph’s wrath. This provoked his political enemies, who seized the opportunity to orchestrate his arrest and brutal execution. Although suspected of heresy due to his rationalist views, his death was primarily the result of political intrigue rather than theological conflict.

‘Abd Allāh’s most enduring contributions lie in his translations and adaptations of key Middle Persian works into Arabic. His translation of *Kalīla wa Dimna*, a collection of animal fables of Indian origin derived from the *Pañcatantra*, was not only a literary milestone but also a cultural bridge, transmitting Indian wisdom through Persian channels to the Arabic-speaking world. Although his original version is lost, its influence persists through numerous later Arabic and Persian versions and translations.

Beyond fables, he translated important Middle Persian texts that shaped the historical consciousness of the Islamic world. His translations were not mere reproductions; they were carefully adapted to meet the tastes and needs of an Arabic audience while preserving the core of Sasanian political and ethical ideals. These texts introduced enduring themes of kingship, statecraft, and moral conduct into Arabic literature.

In addition to his translations, ‘Abd Allāh authored original works that demonstrate his deep engagement with Persian cultural traditions and ethical thought, most notably *al-Ādāb al-Kabīr*. This work focuses on two main themes: the relationship between ruler and advisor, and social conduct, providing practical guidance on loyalty, governance, and personal behavior. Through this treatise, he aimed to create a comprehensive manual on governance and social ethics grounded in Persian heritage and universal wisdom.

32. Stories in which a man ignores his wife’s advice and, as a result, experiences a divinely ordained injury that spares him from committing a serious sin appear in various versions and are attributed to different figures. In Fakhr-i Mudabbir’s

account, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Udayy, throws himself from his rooftop despite his wife’s warnings and is severely injured, an event seen as divine intervention that prevents him from joining the army which killed al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, at Karbalā’. A similar narrative, preserved in al-Aflākī’s *Manāqib al-‘Arifīn* (ed. Yazıcı 1976: I/509-510), involves Ibn Mas‘ūd in al-Baṣra, who also disregards his wife’s caution, jumps from a roof, and breaks his leg. This injury keeps him from taking part in the conspiracy to kill Caliph ‘Uthmān.

33. Shī‘a Islam emerged in the early decades following the death of the Prophet Muḥammad as a movement grounded in the belief that legitimate leadership of the Muslim community belonged to the Prophet’s household, particularly to his cousin and son-in-law, ‘Alī. This conviction arose amid disputes over succession, as many early Muslims supported leaders chosen by consensus, while others argued that the Prophet had designated ‘Alī as his rightful heir. The assassination of ‘Alī in AH 40 / AD 661, followed by the political marginalization of his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, solidified a sense of injustice among their supporters. The martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā’ in AH 61 / AD 680, when he and his small band of followers were killed by the Umayyad army, became a foundational event in Shī‘ī memory.

The first major doctrinal split within the early Shī‘a occurred in the aftermath of the failed uprising led by Zayd, a grandson of al-Ḥusayn. Zayd’s followers, known as the Zaydiyya, formed the earliest distinct Shī‘a community. They adopted a relatively moderate theological stance and emphasized active opposition to unjust rulers. For Zaydīs, the Imamate was not restricted to a fixed number of leaders nor dependent on divine designation or infallibility. Instead, any descendant of ‘Alī who demonstrated piety and political courage in confronting tyranny could claim legitimate leadership.

A second major division took place after the death of the sixth Shī‘ī Imām, Ja‘far al-Šādiq, in AH 148 / AD 765. A group of his followers believed that his son Ismā‘īl, who predeceased him, had either not died or had designated successors of his own. These followers formed the Ismā‘īliyya, who developed a distinct doctrine of the Imamate, emphasizing the esoteric meanings of religious texts and the cosmological role of the Imām as a source of divine knowledge. The Ismā‘īlīs played a particularly influential role in Islamic history through the establishment of the Fāṭimid Caliphate in North Africa in the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, which rivaled the ‘Abbāsids in political and intellectual prestige. After the fall of the Fāṭimid state, the Ismā‘īlī movement splintered into various branches.

The followers who did not accept Ismā‘īl as Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s successor came to be known as the Imāmiyya, or Twelvers, referring to their belief in a line of twelve Imāms, beginning with ‘Alī and ending with Muḥammad al-Mahdī. The doctrine of twelve Imāms was gradually systematized, culminating in the belief that the twelfth Imām entered a state of occultation in AH 329 / AD 941 and remains hidden until his divinely appointed return. Twelver Shī‘ism came to emphasize the infallibility and divine guidance of the Imāms, who serve as the spiritual and moral heirs of the Prophet.

34. Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiya, the second Umayyad caliph (r. AH 60–64 / AD 680–683), assumed power following his designation by his father. His accession marked a significant turning point in Islamic political history, as it effectively instituted hereditary succession within the caliphate, an innovation that was met with considerable opposition. Many traditional Muslim sources regard this moment as the origin of dynastic rule in Islam, departing from the earlier model of elective leadership among the Prophet’s companions.

Yazīd’s brief reign is most remembered for the internal discord and tragedies that unfolded under his authority. The refusal of prominent figures such as al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, and ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, to pledge allegiance to Yazīd led to momentous and deeply painful events. The martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā’ in AH 61 / AD 680, at the hands of forces acting under Yazīd’s governor in Iraq, became a turning point in Islamic history and a central episode in the spiritual and emotional consciousness of Shī‘a Islam. This was followed by further violence, including the siege of Medina and the attack on Mecca, where opposition from local populations and the refusal to obey of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, prompted military campaigns resulting in the sacking of Medina and damage to the Ka‘ba, incidents that significantly harmed Yazīd’s reputation across the Islamic world.

Yazīd’s legacy remains deeply debated, shaped by the political and theological narratives of later Islamic historiography. Traditional accounts depict him as a morally compromised ruler, whose conduct stood in stark contrast to Islamic ideals of leadership. Anecdotes portraying Yazīd as indulgent in worldly pleasures, such as his alleged fondness for wine, music, and even keeping a pet monkey, served to reinforce his image as a ruler lacking the requisite piety and justice expected of a caliph.

35. Umayya ibn ‘Abd Shams, is recognized as the ancestor of the Umayyad dynasty. Although the precise historical details of his life remain uncertain, he is traditionally

regarded as a prominent figure in Mecca during the pre-Islamic period. His lineage held considerable military authority, with leadership roles often transmitted across generations. Over time, the family expanded and continued to produce influential leaders who played significant roles in early Islamic history.

Mu‘āwiya (r. AH 41–60 / AD 661–680) established the Umayyad dynasty after assuming the caliphate through a peace agreement with al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī. Under his leadership and that of subsequent caliphs such as ‘Abd al-Malik (r. AH 65–86 / AD 685–705) and Hishām (r. AH 105–125 / AD 724–743), the Umayyads ruled from Dimashq (Damascus) and incorporated administrative methods derived from Persian and Byzantine models. Their reign witnessed substantial territorial expansion across North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, Central Asia, and the Indian subcontinent, contributing to the empire’s immense growth in wealth and influence. Nonetheless, despite these achievements, persistent internal dissent, arising from Arab tribal rivalries, sectarian divisions, and the increasing opposition of Shī‘a groups, ultimately undermined Umayyad authority. This culminated in the ‘Abbāsīd revolution which brought about the dynasty’s overthrow in AH 132 / AD 749.

36. The term *ḥadīth*, meaning “narrative” or “talk,” refers specifically to the recorded sayings and actions of the Prophet Muḥammad and serves as a foundational component of Islamic tradition. These reports provide detailed guidance on matters of faith, practice, and ethics, complementing the *Qur’ān*. As Islam expanded across diverse regions, scholars undertook extensive journeys to collect and transmit *ḥadīth*, recognizing their importance for preserving the Prophet’s legacy. This widespread effort led to the development of rigorous methodologies for assessing the reliability of individual reports and their transmitters. Over time, these scholarly practices elevated *ḥadīth* to a primary source of Islamic law alongside the *Qur’ān*.

37. al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, son of Fāṭima, daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad, holds a revered place in Islamic history, especially within Shī‘a Islam. Born in Medina around AH 4 / AD 626, al-Ḥusayn grew up in close proximity to the Prophet, who is said to have shown great affection for him and his elder brother al-Ḥasan.

Al-Ḥusayn’s early years were shaped by the political upheavals of the nascent Muslim community. Under the guidance of his father, ‘Alī, he participated in military and political efforts during ‘Alī’s caliphate. After ‘Alī’s assassination and the rise of the Umayyad caliph Mu‘āwiya, al-Ḥusayn’s political engagement became more cautious. Though deeply opposed to Umayyad rule, he honored the

peace treaty his brother al-Ḥasan made with Mu‘āwiya. During this time, he avoided rebellion, despite growing support from his Shī‘a followers. However, this restraint would ultimately give way to defiance when Mu‘āwiya attempted to secure his son Yazīd’s succession, an act al-Ḥusayn viewed as illegitimate and corrupt.

Mu‘āwiya’s death in AH 60 / AD 680 marked a turning point. Al-Ḥusayn refused Yazīd’s demand for allegiance, viewing his rule as both morally and politically illegitimate. To avoid immediate confrontation, al-Ḥusayn went to Mecca, where he received numerous appeals from Shī‘a supporters in al-Kūfa urging him to lead a revolt. Trusting their promises, he dispatched his cousin Muslim ibn ‘Aqīl to gauge support. Although Muslim initially rallied large backing, the uprising was crushed by the brutal governor Ibn Ziyād, who executed Muslim and cowed the population. Despite learning of these dangers, al-Ḥusayn proceeded toward al-Kūfa, driven by a sense of duty and what he believed was a divine mission.

Al-Ḥusayn’s journey ended at Karbalā’, where he and his small group of companions were intercepted by Umayyad forces under ‘Umar ibn Sa‘d. They were denied water and forced into an open desert encampment. As negotiations failed and the situation grew increasingly dire, al-Ḥusayn made clear his unwavering refusal to pledge allegiance to Yazīd, equating such submission with spiritual slavery. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of Muḥarram, known as ‘Āshūrā, al-Ḥusayn and his seventy-two companions engaged in a hopeless but valorous battle. Despite their small numbers, they fought with extraordinary courage. One by one, al-Ḥusayn’s family members and loyal followers fell, including his brother al-‘Abbās, who was killed attempting to fetch water for the camp.

Al-Ḥusayn was eventually surrounded, gravely wounded, and killed. His body was desecrated, and his head severed as a gruesome trophy. The surviving women and children, including his son ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, were taken prisoner. The horror of Karbalā’ sent shockwaves through the Muslim world. To the Shī‘a, al-Ḥusayn became a martyr whose sacrifice embodied ultimate resistance against tyranny and corruption. His death was not seen as a military failure but as a moral victory, one that demonstrated the spiritual integrity of refusing to yield to injustice, even at the cost of one’s life.

38. The introduction of chess to Iran from India, alongside the invention of backgammon in Iran, stands as one of the most celebrated episodes of intellectual and cultural exchange between ancient civilizations. This narrative is chiefly preserved in the Middle Persian text *Wizārišn ī Čatrang ud Nihišn ī Nēw-Ardaxšīr*

(The Explanation of Chess and the Invention of Backgammon), which recounts, in a clear and interesting way, the transmission of the Indian game *caturāṅga*, rendered in Middle Persian as *čatrang*, to Iran during the reign of the Sasanian king Khusraw Anōšēravān.

The story begins with the King of India, referred to as the Rājā of Hindūstān in Fakhr-i Mudabbir's account and named Dēbšalm in the Middle Persian text (ed. Daryae 2016: 9), a transliteration of the Sanskrit *Devaśarman*, sending an elaborate embassy to Khusraw, bearing a luxurious chess set made of emeralds and rubies. Accompanying the set was a letter posing an intellectual challenge to the Iranian court: if the Iranians could understand and master the game, the Indian king would pay tribute to Iran; if not, Iran would be obliged to pay tribute to India. This challenge served as a test of wisdom and strategic acumen, reflecting the high value placed on intellectual prowess by both empires.

Initially, Khusraw consulted his wisest advisors, but none could decipher the rules of the game. Eventually, his vizier Buzurjmīhr, famed for his intellect, accepted the task. After studying the game closely, Buzurjmīhr successfully deduced the movements and symbolic roles of each piece. He then challenged the Indian envoy, Taxtrītōs (ed. Daryae 2016: 71; cf. Sanskrit *takṣitr*, “cutter”), and defeated him three times, thereby affirming the intellectual superiority of the Sasanian court.

In a gesture of reciprocal ingenuity, Buzurjmīhr devised a new game, backgammon, and sent it to the Indian court as a counter-challenge. When the Indian sages failed to understand its rules, the diplomatic advantage shifted, and India was compelled to pay tribute to Iran.

A version of this story also appears in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī (ed. 'Alīev 1970: VIII/206–216), where the king of India (*shāh-i Hind*) is also referred to as the Rājā of Kannauj (*rāy-i Qannauj*).

39. The Persian word *kabar* is related to the Greek *κάππαρις*, from which the Latin *capparis* and, ultimately, the English word *caper* are derived. These terms all refer to the caper plant (*Capparis spinosa*), known for its distinct bitterness. Despite the clear linguistic connections among these languages, the ultimate origin of the word remains uncertain, and the deeper etymology of *kabar* is not known (see also Frisk 1960: I/782; Beekes 2010: I/639).

40. The story of Anōshēravān, the Roman (i.e., Eastern Roman or Byzantine) envoys, and the plant *kabar* (caper) is preserved in two other distinct versions. In *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* by al-Ghazālī (ed. Homā'ī 1938: 55), a similar account is given, though the envoy is sent by the king of India rather than Rome. Anōshēravān's response is notably harsher: he declares that if even a single bush of the caper plant is found growing in his territory, he would have the governor of that district executed. In contrast, al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana fī al-Ṭibb* (ed. Zaryāb 1991: 58) presents a more diplomatic version of the narrative. Here, the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Manṣūr sends 'Umāra ibn Ḥamza as an envoy to the Byzantine Emperor. During a meal, the emperor serves pickled capers, prompting the envoy to smile and remark on their abundance in his homeland. The emperor responds, "Your land must therefore be desolate, for this does not grow except in ruined places, and that is why it is valuable to us," subtly reversing the symbolism found in the earlier versions.

41. The Queen of Saba' (Sheba) is not named in either the Bible or the *Qur'ān*, though later Islamic tradition commonly refers to her as Bilqīs, a name of uncertain etymology. From among many different proposals for the etymology of Bilqīs, only two are given here. One theory traces Bilqīs to the Greek word *παλλακίς*, meaning "concubine" (Watt 1974: 100), which may itself be a loanword from an earlier Mediterranean, possibly Semitic, language. A comparable term appears in Hebrew as *plgš /pileyeš/*, likewise meaning "concubine" (cf. Beekes 2010: II/1147). Another theory is based on the account of the Roman-Jewish historian Josephus in *Jewish Antiquities* (VIII: 158; tr. Thackeray and Marcus 1950: 656–657), who refers to the Queen of Sheba as *Νικαύλη*, probably based on a Semitic name like *\*nqwlh*. This name sounds similar to *Όνοκόλη* and *Όνόκωλις*, Greek terms meaning "donkey-legged," used for the demoness *Έμποςσα*, known for having donkey legs. The idea that the Queen of Sheba had donkey hooves, also found in Islamic tradition, may come from this mix of stories. Her name later changed in early Arabic, written without diacritics, through forms like *\*nqwlys*, *\*bqwlys*, and *\*bqlys*, to *blqys* (Bilqīs). This shift suggests that Islamic tradition may have kept an old legend of her as part queen, part mythical being (see also Pennacchiotti 2013: 87–90).

42. Saba' (Sheba) was an ancient kingdom that thrived in South Arabia from around 1000 BC. Its political and cultural center was Ma'rib, in present-day Yemen. The people of Saba' spoke Sabaic, a language of the Ancient South Arabian branch of the Semitic family. Sabaic is traditionally divided into three chronological stages: Early (up to approximately the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC), Middle (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to 4<sup>th</sup> century AD), and Late Sabaic (4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century AD; Multhoff 2019: 322).

43. The story of Bilqīs, the Queen of Saba' (Sheba), sending messengers and gifts to Solomon is often interpreted as a calculated and intelligent strategy by a discerning ruler seeking clarity on the true nature of Solomon's authority. In the *Qur'ān* (XXVII: 22–44), Bilqīs receives a letter from Prophet Solomon calling her and her people to the worship of one God. Rather than responding with hostility, she consults her advisors and opts to test Solomon with lavish gifts, seeking to determine whether he is a worldly king swayed by wealth or a prophet guided by divine wisdom. The biblical account (1 Kings 10: 1–13; 2 Chronicles 9: 1–12) also describes the Queen of Saba's visit to Solomon's court, highlighting her questions and gifts, and her admiration for Solomon's wisdom and his wealth, but omitting any tests or puzzles. Notably, in Christian tradition, she is referred to as the "Queen of the South" (Matthew 12: 42), where her journey to seek Solomon's wisdom is upheld as a model of earnest pursuit of truth.

Different versions of the story elaborate on the variety and intricacy of the gifts and tests that Bilqīs sent to Solomon. In Fakhr-i Mudabbir's brief account, she presents only two tests aimed at assessing Solomon's wisdom: identifying the contents of a pitcher filled with horse sweat and distinguishing between male and female servants who appeared identical. A more elaborate version appears in al-Tha'labī's *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, n.d.: 347–348; tr. Brinner 2002: 527–528), where the gifts are far more lavish. In addition to gender-concealed male and female servants, Bilqīs sends gold and silver bricks, horses with ornate saddles, a jeweled crown, musk, ambergris, fragrant wood, and a sealed box containing an unpierced pearl and an onyx bead pierced with a crooked bore. The tests in this version are correspondingly more complex: distinguishing male from female servants, guessing the contents of the sealed box before opening it, piercing the pearl with a straight bore, and threading a string through the crookedly pierced bead.

The conclusion of Bilqīs's story, like the accounts of her gifts and tests, differs across traditions. In some narratives, such as that of Fakhr-i Mudabbir, the tale ends with Solomon marrying Bilqīs. In another narrative, for example, she marries a man from among the chiefs of Yemen (see al-Maqdisī, ed. Huart 1903: III/108).

44. Dārā (also Dārāb), son of Dārā (also Dārāb; Middle Persian *Dārāy ī Dārāyān*), the last king of the legendary Kayānid dynasty, is commonly identified with the Achaemenid ruler Darius III (r. 336–330 BC). His reign is often portrayed as the culmination of the Kayānid saga. The *Dārābnāma*, a richly imaginative 12<sup>th</sup>-century Persian prose romance by al-Ṭarsūsī (ed. Ṣafā 1977), rooted in oral tradition,

recounts his dramatic life and heroic exploits. His story forms the concluding chapter in a dynastic narrative that bridges myth and history.

45. Dārā (also Dārāb; Middle Persian *Dārāy*), son of Bahman (Middle Persian *Wahman*), was the penultimate king of the legendary Kayānid dynasty and is often associated with the Achaemenid ruler Darius II (r. 423–404 BC). According to legend, Bahman died before Dārā’s birth, naming his wife as regent. After Dārā was born, she placed him in a chest and setting it adrift on a river, where he was found and raised by a man. As he matured, Dārā began to question his origins, and eventually the truth was revealed by the man’s wife. Driven by ambition, he joined the military and quickly rose through the ranks. His abilities earned him recognition, and upon meeting the queen, his mother, he was acknowledged as the rightful heir. She willingly abdicated, and Dārā assumed the throne. His son, also named Dārā (see Note 44), would become the final ruler of the Kayānid line.

46. Faylāqūs is a phonetic adaptation of the Greek name *Φίλιππος*, known as the father of Alexander the Great.

47. Rawshanak is a hypocoristic form derived from Old Iranian *\*Rauxšnā*, meaning “shining,” which corresponds to the Greek *Ρωζάνη*.

48. The legend of Dārā, son of Dārā, as briefly recounted by Fakhr-i Mudabbir, appears across a wide range of Middle Persian, Arabic, and New Persian sources, though many versions introduce significant variations. In these traditions, Dārā and Dhu’l-Qarnayn are often treated as historical figures, identified respectively with the last Achaemenid king Darius III, and Alexander the Great, son of Philip of Macedon. In some accounts, including that of Fakhr-i Mudabbir, Alexander’s homeland is called Rome rather than Macedon or Greece; his father is named Faylāqūs; and his wife is called Rawshanak. A vivid episode from this tradition appears in Nizāmī’s *Sharafnāma* (ed. Vahīd-e Dastgerdī, 1956: 159–161), where Dārā sends Dhu’l-Qarnayn a ball, a polo stick, and sesame seeds. Dhu’l-Qarnayn scatters the seeds on the ground, where birds immediately devour them, and he likens his army to those birds, suggesting they could just as swiftly overwhelm Dārā’s forces.

49. The concept of the Seven Climes is a mythological division of the Earth into seven distinct regions, unequal in size and significance. At the center lies Xvaniraθa (Avestan *X’aniraθa*, Middle Persian *Xwanirah*), the most prosperous and habitable region, believed to match the combined size and surpass the fortune of the six

surrounding climes. The Middle Persian title *haft kišwar xwadāy*, meaning “Lord of the Seven Climes,” appears twice in the text *Husraw ī Kawādān ud Rēdag-ē* (ed. Azarnouche 2013: 43, 47) in reference to the Sasanian king.

## Chapter XV

50. ‘Amr ibn ‘Abdiwadd was a renowned pre-Islamic warrior, known for his exceptional bravery and strength. He earned the title *fāris al-layl* (Knight of the Night) after he single-handedly defeated ten bandits during a nighttime ambush, while his companions fled. His courage made him widely feared and respected among the Arab tribes.

51. The Battle of the Trench was a decisive moment in early Islamic history that took place toward the end of AH 5 / AD 627. The conflict began when a Jewish tribe, expelled from Medina, allied with Meccan leaders and other tribes to attack the Muslims. This coalition marched on Medina, prompting Muḥammad to order the digging of a trench, a novel defensive tactic inspired by Persian warfare. Completed in six days with the active involvement of Muḥammad and the Muslims, the trench effectively blocked the Meccan cavalry’s main offensive.

Unable to cross the trench and suffering from a fodder shortage, the Meccans were forced into a siege they were unprepared to manage. During the confrontation, the renowned warrior ‘Amr ibn ‘Abdiwadd crossed the trench and challenged the Muslims to single combat. The young ‘Alī stepped forward, but the Prophet initially hesitated due to his youth. When no one else responded and ‘Amr persisted, the Prophet gave his blessing, placed his turban on ‘Alī’s head, and handed him his sword, marking a powerful moment of courage and inspiration.

The encounter between ‘Amr and ‘Alī is remembered for its strategic brilliance and deep moral significance. During the intense duel, ‘Alī distracted ‘Amr by saying, “Was it not enough that I faced you alone, yet you sought help?” As ‘Amr turned to look, ‘Alī swiftly struck, severing his legs and sitting on his chest. In response, ‘Amr spat in ‘Alī’s face, but ‘Alī restrained himself, determined to act out of devotion to God rather than personal revenge. This act of spiritual discipline is immortalized in Islamic literature, notably in al-Rūmī’s *Mathnavī* (ed. Nicholson 1925: I/229–234). Ultimately, ‘Alī carried ‘Amr’s severed head to the Prophet. When asked if he had used a stratagem, ‘Alī replied, “Yes, war is deception” (see also al-Majlisī 1983: XX/227–228). ‘Alī’s victory eliminated a critical threat and demoralized the

Meccan forces. Though the battle saw few casualties, it was a decisive strategic and symbolic triumph for the Muslims.

52. al-Ma'mūn, born in AH 170 / AD 786 as the eldest son of the renowned 'Abbāsīd caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, emerged as a profoundly intellectual ruler deeply shaped by his extensive education in Islamic law, literature, and the arts. His reign became synonymous with the promotion of learning and culture, setting him apart as one of the most scholarly 'Abbāsīd caliphs. This intellectual grounding influenced his policies and leadership style, intertwining governance with religious and philosophical discourse, which fostered a vibrant cultural renaissance during his time.

Politically, al-Ma'mūn's rise was shaped by the delicate power-sharing arrangements established by his father, which assigned him control over the key region of Khurāsān. After Hārūn al-Rashīd's death, escalating rivalry with his brother al-Amīn (r. AH 193–198 / AD 809–813) led to a brutal civil war marked by ethnic and factional tensions, particularly between Khurāsānian and Arab groups. With the military support of Iranian elites, al-Ma'mūn triumphed, securing Baghdad and executing al-Amīn. This victory not only solidified his claim but also shifted the 'Abbāsīd caliphate's center of gravity towards Iranian influences. In the aftermath, al-Ma'mūn sought reconciliation with Shī'a factions by appointing 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā as his successor, aiming to unify a fragmented empire amid persistent revolts and political unrest.

53. The figure named Mūsā ibn Muḥammad, who, according to Fakhr-i Mudabbir, was summoned from Marv by al-Ma'mūn and given command of an army, does not appear in historical sources. It seems that Fakhr-i Mudabbir's account is confused and mixes up different individuals. Since he mentions an astrological prediction about the defeat of the king of Bādghīs, the person he actually describes may be Mūsā ibn Shākīr, an Iranian astronomer and astrologer from Khurāsān, known to have been a close associate of al-Ma'mūn while the latter was governor in Marv.

54. Fakhr-i Mudabbir's vivid account of a campaign against a supposed king named Gushtāsān, set during al-Ma'mūn's reign, blends historical motifs with literary embellishment to highlight ideals like military vigilance. However, there is no evidence to support the existence of Gushtāsān or such a campaign, making the narrative historically unreliable.

55. Situated in the hills of present-day northwestern Afghanistan, Bādghīs (originally Bādghēs; cf. Middle Persian *Wādḡēs*, Avestan *Vāiti.gaēsa*) played a notable role in early Islamic frontier politics. Although brought under Muslim control in AH 32 / AD 652 (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje et al. 1893: V/2904), the region repeatedly resisted Arab rule. The Umayyads captured its fortress in AH 84 / AD 703 (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje et al. 1883: VIII/1129), yet unrest continued. In AH 87 / AD 706 (al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje et al. 1883: VIII/1184–1185), the local ruler Nēzak Ṭarkhān struck a short-lived agreement with Qutayba ibn Muslim that barred the latter from entering Bādghīs, reflecting Nēzak’s efforts to preserve autonomy.

Under the ‘Abbāsids, Bādghīs remained a center of dissent, where terrain and tribalism fostered anti-caliphal revolts from Ustādhsīs (AH 150 / AD 767) to Ḥamza al-Shārī’s Kharijite uprising (AH 185 / AD 801; al-Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje et al. 1879: X/354; 1881: XI/650). The ‘Abbāsīd response to Ḥamza’s revolt was brutal, with up to 10,000 of his followers reportedly killed. Within this context, Fakhr-i Mudabbir’s tale of Gushṭāsān reads as a literary echo of Bādghīs’s rebellious image.

56. The only event somewhat paralleling Fakhr-i Mudabbir’s account, though unrelated to Bādghīs, occurred after al-Amīn’s execution in AH 198 / AD 813, during al-Ma’mūn’s consolidation of power from Khurāsān. Despite his efforts, Baghdād remained a center of resistance where factions opposing him proclaimed Ibrāhīm, son of the former Caliph al-Mahdī (r. AH 158–169 / AD 775–785), as caliph (r. AH 201–203 / AD 817–819). To counter this, al-Ma’mūn appointed al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl governor of Baghdād and dispatched him alongside the military commander Ḥumayd ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. In this tense political climate, ‘Īsā ibn Muḥammad emerged as a key intermediary. Although he publicly supported Ibrāhīm, ‘Īsā secretly communicated with al-Ma’mūn’s envoys, a duplicity that eventually led to his imprisonment by Ibrāhīm in AH 203 / AD 819. According to Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg 1871: VI/249), ‘Īsā ordered the digging of a trench near Bāb al-Jisr (Gate of the Bridge) and Bāb al-Shām (Gate of al-Shām) but repeatedly delayed military action, citing excuses such as the need for supplies. Despite his imprisonment, ‘Īsā’s earlier mediation efforts were crucial; he consistently urged Ibrāhīm to surrender to prevent bloodshed. Thanks to ‘Īsā’s influence, power was transferred peacefully, and Ibrāhīm was allowed to live under al-Ma’mūn’s protection without further political ambitions.

57. This passage likely alludes to the events of AH 396 / AD 1006, when Maḥmūd of Ghazna was engaged in a campaign in Multān, India. During his absence, the Khānid forces seized the opportunity to invade and temporarily occupy parts of

Khurāsān. Upon receiving news of this incursion, Maḥmūd swiftly returned and launched a counteroffensive. His rapid response compelled the Khānids to retreat, allowing him to reestablish Ghaznavid authority over the region (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg 1863: IX/133–135).

58. The name Sindpāl, cited by Fakhr-i Mudabbir as the great-grandson of Jaypāl (Jayapāla, r. circa AH 353–392 / AD 964–1002), does not appear in any other historical sources. Established records consistently identify Bhīmpāl (Bhīmapāla, r. AH 412–417 / AD 1021–1026) as the great-grandson of Jaypāl and the last Hindu Śāhī ruler.

59. Jaypāl (Jayapāla) was a prominent ruler of the Hindu Śāhī dynasty and among the earliest Indian kings to confront the rising power of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. His reign marked the beginning of a determined, though ultimately unsuccessful, resistance against Ghaznavid incursions into northwestern India. In an effort to counter Maḥmūd's growing influence, Jaypāl forged alliances with regional powers; however, these efforts ended in defeat and the loss of key territories such as Kābul and Jalālābād. Despite these setbacks, he regrouped his forces in Lahore and continued his resistance until the pivotal Battle of Peshāwar in early AH 392 / late AD 1001, which resulted in a devastating defeat for Jaypāl and his capture along with several members of his family. Although he later ransomed himself and returned from captivity, the humiliation compelled him to abdicate in favor of his son Ānandpāl (Ānandapāla, r. circa AH 392–400 / AD 1002–1010) and end his life through ritual self-immolation. Despite resistance from Ānandpāl and his successors, Trilocanpāl (Trilocanapāla, r. circa AD 400–412 / AD 1010–1021) and Bhīmpāl, Maḥmūd continued his campaigns, gradually weakening the dynasty. Ultimately, after a series of expeditions, the Hindu Śāhī rule collapsed in AH 417 / AD 1026.

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## Index

This index follows a simplified system for determining word order. The definite article *al-*, which appears at the beginning of many Arabic words, is not considered in the alphabetical arrangement. For example, a name like *al-Bīrūnī* is listed under *B*, not under *A*. Greek letters are alphabetized according to the order of their English equivalents (for instance,  $\delta$  is treated as *d*,  $\lambda$  as *l*, and  $\zeta$  as *x*). Short and long vowels are not distinguished in the sorting process, so *a* and  $\bar{a}$ , or *i* and  $\bar{i}$ , are treated as the same letter. Variants of letters are grouped together, such as *s*,  $\dot{s}$ ,  $\acute{s}$ , and  $\check{s}$ ; and *n*,  $\tilde{n}$ , and  $\eta$ . In addition, the letters ʾ (hamza) and ʿ (ʿayn) are ignored when determining the position of a word in the index.

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## **Appendix**

Images from the BT Manuscript (British Museum, Add. 16853)  
Chapters V, VII, and XV



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ناصح باکدین کاروان حجابی ترس چون ایزد سبحان و تعالی موسی عمران را  
 علیا سلم بر سالت سوی فرعون میفرستاد از خداوند تعالی در خواست  
 و گفت **وَ اجْعَلْ لِي وَ لِزَيْرٍ مِّنْ اَهْلِ هَارُونَ اَخِي اَشْدُدَّ بِهِ اَ زْرِي**  
**وَ اَشْرِكْ فِيْ اَمْرِيْ** کتف مراوزیری ده از خاندان من و مارون برادر  
 من و بشت بر اید و قوی گردان در کارنی که مرا میفرمایید یعنی نبوت شرکت  
 ده و راست همچین است که وزیر شریک ملک باشد و حل و عقد او در ملک و ان  
 تر از حل و عقد باد شاه باشد که مصالح ملک بدو مفوض بود و آنچه او را فرما  
 آید باد شاه بر سران نشود و سفامبر علیه سلم گوید **لِي وَ لِزَيْرٍ مِّنْ اَهْلِ هَارُونَ**  
**وَ اَشْرِكْ فِيْ اَمْرِيْ** فَاَمَّا وَ لِزَيْرٍ مِّنْ اَهْلِ هَارُونَ فَجَبْرِيْلُ وَ مِيْكَائِيْلُ  
**وَ اَمَّا فِي الْاَرْضِ فَاَبُو بَكْرٍ وَ عُمَرُ** یعنی من دو وزیر در آسمان دارم  
 جبرئیل و میکائیل اند و آنکه در زمین دارم ابو بکر و عمرند و سفامبر علیه سلم  
 میفرماید **مَنْ اسْتَعْلَمَ فَاَرَادَ اللهُ بِهِ خَيْرًا جَعَلَ لَهُ مَوْزِيْلًا صِدْقًا اِنْ نَسِيَ**  
**ذِكْرَهُ وَ اَزْكَرًا عَانَةً** سفامبر علیه سلم میگوید که هر که خدا را عزو  
 و جلای دشناسی و امیری و بزرگی دهد و بدو نیکویی خواهد او را وزیر بی

داشت

راست گوی نیکی دهد که اگر از خیرات و عدل و احسان چیزی فراموش کند  
 او را یاد دهد و اگر یاد دارد بدانش یاری دهد و جمله حکما چنین گفته اند  
 اگر چه پادشاه پس دانی و کار دان باشد و قاهر و غالب او را از وزیر  
 کافی میزند عادل عالم کار دان خدای ترس جاره نباشد و چنانکه کالبیدی جان  
 زنده نباشد ملک بی وزیر باینده و بار و نفع نباشد و پیغامبرانی که مرسل  
 و پادشاه بوده اند و وحی برایشان متواتر منزل ملک بی وزیر نداشتند  
 که از پادشاهان لشکر کشیدن و ولایت کشادن و ملک گرفتن و بخشش  
 و نرم و ورزم کردن آید آنها ابادانی و ولایت و جمع کردن خزاین و فراخ داشتن  
 لشکر و نصب کردن عمال و باز جستن حساب و عوض خواستن اجناس کار  
 خانهها و احصا فرمودن اسب و اشتر و دیگر مواشی و باز طلبیدن سکه  
 و مواجب دادن خیل و حشم و کار داران و استوده داشتن رعایا و نفقه  
 کردن اهل صلاح و مشاخره و وظایف دادن ایشان و تقصد کردن  
 پوکان و ایام و ترتیب کردن علماء و نظام اهل عالم و رونق و ترتیب  
 دو این و برداخت کار امان معاملات تعلق بوزر دارد و دود او دلیله  
 السلم و زیری چون او ریا و سلیمان را چون اصف و ذوالقرنین را چون

از سلاطین و نو شر و از اجون بوزر جهر و خلفا را چون بر اگرمی بایست اما  
 چند خصلت است که در وزیر نباید که اگر آنان خصلتها را در وزیر نباشد  
 عیب آن بر باد شاه باز کرده و بر نادانی او صل افند و چند خصلت که در  
 وزیر نباید خصلتها اینست که یاد کرده آمد نباید که وزیر کوتاه بالا و کویسه  
 و یک چشم کوز و کران گوش و کاژ و لنگ و پس و مجذوم و معیوب و زشت  
 محاسن و فرج و بسیار خنده و ترش روی و کوتاه کند و روی و تنگ چشم  
 و متهمک و شتاب زده و زانی و لوطی و مفسد و بی نماز و خدا ناثرسن  
 و ظالم و مصادره کش و بی رحم و بد نام و تیز خشم و سنگ بار و سخت دل و  
 بی علم و بی ستر و دروغ گوئی و سو کند خوار و عسوف و دانه و رشوت خوار و  
 باو شاه دشمن و درویش دشمن و مسلمان آزار و مصلح دشمن و پلے  
 حیا و معتوه و مصروع و دیوانه و در بدر کردن بی بشیمان باشند و آنچه در وزیر  
 نباید اینست باید که از خاندان وزارت باشد یا از خاندانی که آبا و اجداد  
 او را درین دولت اسمی و نصیبی بوده باشد باید که کریم طبع و بزرگ خاطر  
 و کامل ادب و خوب منظر و بلند بالا و تمام زینت و صافی دل و پاک عقیده  
 و لطیف خلق و صابط امر و نافذ زبان و نیکو محرز و بسیار عطا و امین رای

شیرین سخن و در کار با متانی و راست و عده و قوی تدبیر و در کار با نو و کار  
 و در کار ملک بسیار تفکر و تامل و شجاع و مردانه و عزم نگاه دار و معاملات  
 دان و متواضع و کرم و پیکینه و جرب زبان و در جیم دل و خندان روی و  
 مصلح دوست و فراخ دل و بسیار صدقه و ان ده و خدای ترس و با اهل تجربه  
 و مساورت سم نشین و بگناه خیزد فراخ بار و نماز گوش و شریعت دان و  
 فقیه و صاحب اخبار و صاحب نفس و بسیار فضل و فاضل دوست و بنکو  
 الفاظ و نیکو خط و محاسب و دپیر و طبیب و منجم و شاعر و عروسی و اصولی  
 و محول و حلیم و اشقام ناکشده و حاضر جواب و لشکر کش و حکیم باشد که پشته  
 سخنان حکمت از ارسطاطالین و برز جهر بروی روز کار یاد کار مانده  
 است چون روزی این خصال بسندید بیاشد ان ملک کم خضم و  
 باینه باشد اگر چه پادشاه از هر نوع که باشد ملک را سبب انجمن وزیر  
 مسیح خلقی نباشد و باید که هر روز که بخدمت پادشاه رود نخستین کاری  
 بکند از جهت مسلمانیه از بهر خدای کند و کار اهل صلاح را پشته  
 دارد تا خدای عزوجل بیکت این خیر او را در ان روز از واقعات  
 نگاه دارد که ملک وزیران را اند اسم بر پادشاه باشد و کار کرد

و فرودن و مصالح مملکت تیار داشتن باید و در جهان بسیار بادشاهان  
 و کودکان و طفل بوده اند که از ایشان کاری نیاید و زمینان کافی ملک  
 رانده اند و مصالح برداخته و سر دشمن کینایت و کار دانی از مالک  
 دور داشته چون وزیر برین خصال پستوده آراسته باشد بادشاه باید که  
 او را از سه چیز پیم دارد و سه چیز بروی فراخ دارد آنکه او را ازان  
 پیم دارد یکی آنکه برو خشم نگیرد و اگر گیرد زود عفو کند و بیادش نشاید  
 و چون توانگر شود طمع سود و زیان وی نکند و چون شفاعت کند شفاعت  
 او رد نکند و آن حسد نیز که بروی فراخ دارد یکی آنکه بجز وقت که خواهد او را  
 بیار باشد که اگر نباشد خللی بسیار زاید و سخن بدگویان و دشمنان در  
 حق وی نشود و راز خویش از او بهمان ندارد و جهان باید که دانش عقل  
 و زیر و کیا بست او از کسانی که در عصر او باشند پیش باشد و در دلبری  
 جهان باید که از هیچ خصمی در پیم نترسد و اگر بادشاه جهان مصلحت روی  
 دهد که خصم او را فرستد در آن بدلی نکند و بشاشت پیش آن کار باز نمود  
 و در دلبری جهان باید که خواج احمد پس بمبندی بود که امیر ماضی بمین الدوله  
 محمود یکم بکلیب غازی نور الله قبر مبارک داشت و بچنگ خانیان برد چون

سلطان بن الدوله انجار سيد شکر ايشانزايد پزيادت از لشکراو  
 بود همه ترک و لشکراو پشته تا بجیک و مند و با سعید بود بجر اسید بخواجه  
 احمد حسن بنجام داه که مردمان مرا میکنند که احمد حسن ترا دشمن است  
 و ترا روزی در کاری بزرگ اندازد باور نمی داشتم تا امر و زمر معلوم شد  
 و معاینه کردم که مراداشتی و آنچه آوردی آنچه بر تو بود بگردی تا خدای  
 غر و جل چه حکم کرده است و تهدیدها و وعیدها کرد خواجه احمد حسن بنجام  
 باز فرستاد که خداوند سلطانرا بگوید که امر و زنجک من و تو نیست که فرضه  
 ترا این کاری داری اگر ظفر و نصرت ترا باشد بدانی که من دوستداری  
 و نیکنوی ای کرده ام و زیادت جاه و مملکت ولایه و لشکر و خزینه تو خواسته ام  
 و اگر نفوذ باشد کاری دیگر کون باشد پیش نه تو مرا اینی و نه من ترا چون سعید  
 باز آوردند امیر ابو القاسم عبدالملک که از سیستان بخدمت آمد بود  
 پیش سلطان ایستاده بود آن تا فلتی و دل نگرانی سلطان پدید کوف ای  
 خداوند سیستان شغالی در خانه زالی در آمد این زال بکنی داشت خدای  
 که این بزک را بر د بکشد زال را مسایجان گفتند که شغال آید است  
 بز ترا بخواید برد زال بگریست گفت این بز من هم چند شغال مست

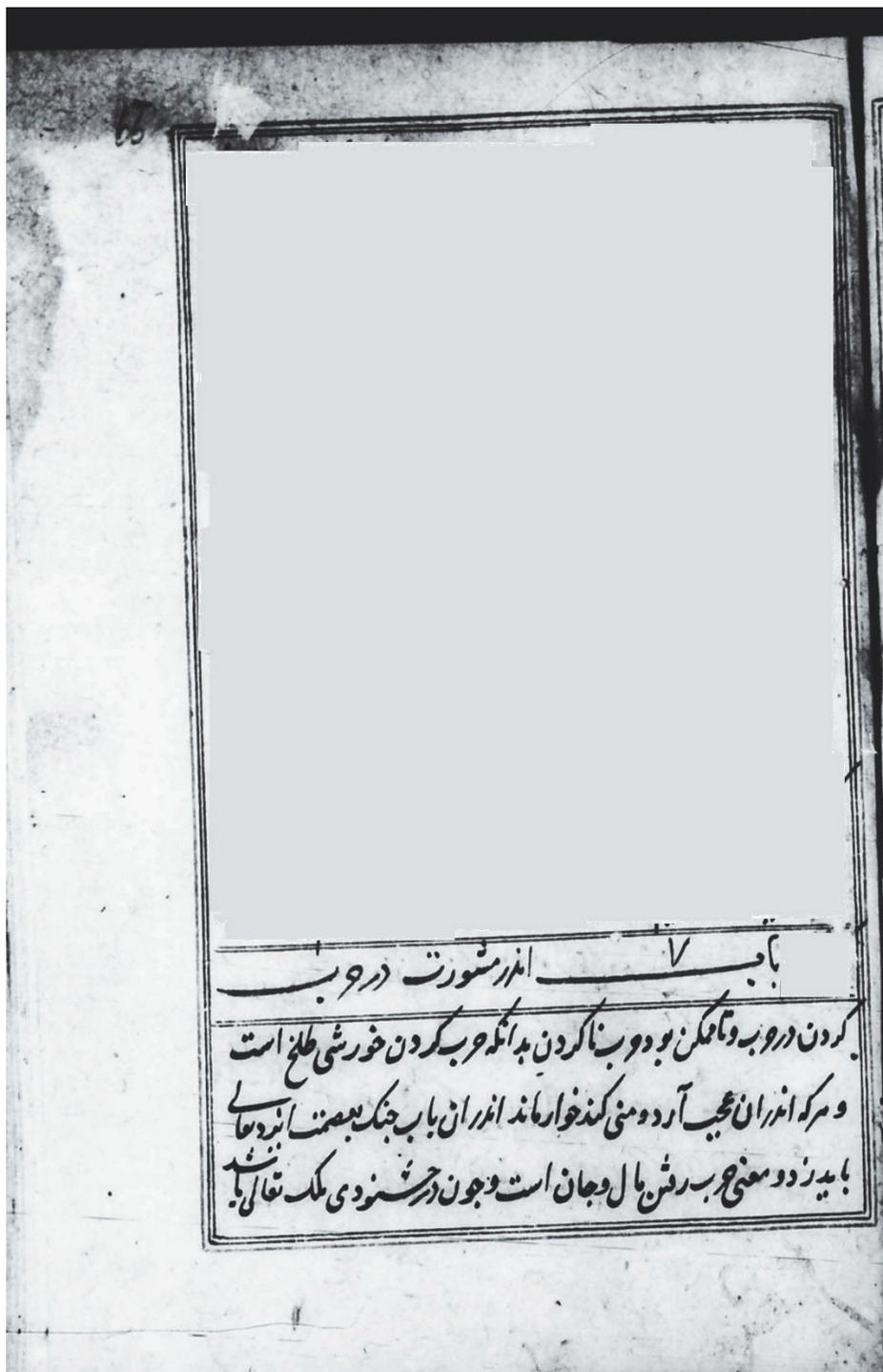
و بعد از زیادت اگر او را بخوابد کشت او کشته بر بس کف ای خداوند شکر  
 ما بجز لشکر ایشان مست هزار چهار صد پیل زیادت اگر ما را بخواهند زد  
 مازده و کشته بهیم درین حدیث بود دیدیم اولی استغنی بود که از سستان  
 آورده بودند از آن امیر خلف احمد احمد نام پیش سلطان آمد و کشت ای خدا  
 از دوش باز این را صد بار پیش بسته ام خویشین را باز کرده است و زین  
 بکسته این علامت و نشان ظفرست من بنده برین پیل بروم و علامت  
 ایشان را بر بایم و نگویسار کرده پیش خداوند آرم سلطان خوشدل کشت  
 و بفرمود تا مصاف کردن چون مصاف راست شد سلطان از میان لشکر  
 پرور آمد و از اسب فرود آمد و بر خاک دو رکعت نماز بکرد و بر سجده نهاد  
 و روی بر خاک می مالید و قُلِ اللَّهُمَّ مَالِكُ الْمَلَائِكَةِ مِجْرَانِدِسْ  
 بر آورد و بقلب لشکر آمد و احمد علی بوسکی را که امیر خور بود بخواند  
 و از اسب خویش فرود آمد و او را بر نشانند وزیر رکابے خویش بر کشید و  
 در دست او داد و گفت با جمله علما مان سر ای حله بر و آن بیوان پیش  
 از سر حله برد و میرفت تا علامت شان بر بود و بشکست و نکونار کرد  
 لشکر خانیان را بشکست و نمریت کردند تا کشت آنچه کشت و آن فتح جدا

کانه کتا پستت پلو امان و علایمان سرای جمله مظفر و منصور بار آمدند چنین  
 گفتند که از آن پیل سپید و از بزرگ ستوان او صد من پیکان پروان کشیدند  
 اردشیر با بکار زار سپید کرد که نام یار بهتر و با بسته تر باشد باد شاه را گشت  
 دستور نیک که با وی رای زد و تدبیر مملکت کند تا او صواب و خطا آن باد  
 را از نماید و نیک آمد خویش در نیک آمد باد شاه و بد آمد خویش از بد آمد  
 باد شاه و اند نو شر و آن میگوید که بدترین و فزویا به ترین دستور آن  
 بود که باد شاه را بکار زار را نماید یا کرد کار زار بر آید که در همه کار با فرج  
 و نفع از خواسته و ز بود بکار زار از تن و جان عزیز بر زخم گوید  
 دستور پنج چیز باید تا کارش تمام شود و خلل در ملک اندر نیاید یکی شویا  
 بجز کاری که آغاز کند سر انجام آن به پند و ازان پندیشد دیگر آنک  
 دانشی تمامش باشد چنانکه کارها بر بوشین بروی آشکارا باشد تا  
 در نامه سه دیگر دلاوری که از چیزی که نباید ترسید نرسد چهارم را پستی  
 اندر بر جگوید و کند در امید و پشم نجم نگاه داشتن و از باد شاه اندر نعمت  
 و محنت که جان خود بدید راز باد شامی آشکارا نکند حکیمی از حکما میگوید  
 که وزیر ملک را چون جان باشد در اندام و سر اندامی که در جان نباشد ضایع

و سرانی که در اندام است ضایع است همچنان ملکی در وزیرین باشد که بر  
 رای زند و صلاح و فساد آن بازگوید ضایع است وزیر بی ملک و ملک بی  
 وزیر بایده باشد اصمعی میگوید که سس پادشاه را باید تا همیشه فارغ  
 و خوشدل باشد یکی وزیری که سر وی کشف نکند و تیمار بادشاهی بدارد و دیگر  
 حصتی که اگر خوبی باشد خود را از خوف براند یعنی مرگی تگاور را مواری که از  
 پیش خصم تواند رفت و شمشیری که مرد در بران سه دیگر یارانی که بر ایشان اعتماد  
 توان کرد که بادشاه را چنانست نکند و چهارم ذخیره سبک بار کران بهای معنی جوا  
 اگر وقتی حادثه باشد با خود بتوان بر دنجم زینه جمیزه چون بز یک او رود جل  
 اندوه و کمزایی برود ششم طباطبائی که آنچه او را بدان استنها باشد بسیار  
 موبدان موبدان بادشاهی از بادشاهان بارس برسید که صلاح بادشاهیست  
 چیست کثرت وزیران که معین بادشاهان اند اگر وزیران بصلاح و نیکوکار باشد  
 کار مملکت و رعیت نیکو باشد و اگر وزیران بد کردار باشد کار مملکت و رعیت  
 تباه شود گفت کدام خصلت بادشاهی و مملکت را سودمندتر باشد گفت  
 نیت نیکویی از حکما بررسیدند که مدیر امور وزیر را جوا خوانند گفت بد آنچه  
 جمله حل و دل نکر اینی از خاطر بادشاه برگیرد چنانکه خدای عزوجل گفت

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 وَوَضَعْنَا عَنَّا كَيْدَ وِزْرِكَ اِي خَطَطْنَا عَنكَ حَمْلِكَ وَبَايَدُكَ مِيَانِ اَمْرِ اَوْ  
 سَهْمَا لَارَانِ كَيْدِ مَوَافَقَتِ رَا نَكُنْدِ وَرَهْمَانِ اِسْتِمَالَتِ مِي كُنْدِ بَصَلَتِ وَبَشَرِ  
 وَاميد ناي خوب و در ظاهر با نالیده میدارد که از موافقت سهسالاران  
 کبر خلهها را بد که گشتن را نشاید و خیل و حشم فرود دست را کادگاه تملطف  
 و انعام میفرماید و عرصه امید برایشان فراخ دارد و عموماً امیدوارتر  
 و انعام میدارد و نیک در مواجب و جاکی از حد پیرون استدار که نکند و  
 تنگ فرود نکند و جان نکند که مسته ذکر دهند و مایوس شوند و در انعامات  
 بسیار باز جست نکند که بد دل شوند و از آن هم خلهها زاید و اگر داند که از کسی  
 خللی خواهد زد آنرا بزودت او می کند و از حال خصمان ملک باید که غافل نباشد  
 و جان باید که از حرکات و سکنات خصم هر روزه با علم باشد و درین باب مردان  
 جا باز ملاحظه کن نصب دارد و مال از ایشان دریغ ندارد و در ساختن لشکر  
 و حشم هر چند جهد و جد که ممکن کردد فرود نکند و در ساختن بزراد خانه و سلاح  
 مبالغت پیش نماید و مال خراین از وجوه قانون و معناد طلبد و البته آنچه پیر  
 شریعت و معاملات باشد رواندازد که بر رعیت حیف نرود که بقیامت <sup>شاه</sup> باد  
 بریه و او بغداد در دوزخ در ماند و باد شامش فریاد نرسد و بر عال و کاشگان

تا کسی را تا طرد و زاده نکند برون مخالفت رعیت و امامت اصل گردانند  
 اگر کسی زیادتی کرده باشد او را بر مدارک زیاد کند چون رعایا مستأصل  
 مال حاصل نشود و چون مال راجع نشود مستأصل تا آنکه در خون شمشیر نکند  
 مملکت ضعیف گردد و اگر خصمی قوت کند ملک از دست نشود و در هر یک  
 که هیچ کاری با خطر تر از وزارت نیست که تیمار بادشاه و بادشاهی تا در بان باستان  
 بیاید داشت و هیچ کس را جندان دشمن و حاسد نباشد که وزیر را و آخرین  
 اصل قلم وزارت است تا عاقبت چگونه برون آید بادشاه را ناصح بود و کار با  
 را بنا بر خدای ترسی و دیانت نهاد و آنچه شرع نفرموده است کرد آن گشت  
 و بغرض فاسد مشغول نکند و در حق مسلمانی بمال و جان قصد نکند و اثنی  
 باشد که هیچ دشمنی بر وی قادر نشود و هیچ وقت در خشم سلطان نیفتد  
 و ازین کار با خطر سلامت برون آید و هیچ بگفتی بوی زسد امیر المومنین  
 علی کرم الله وجهه میگوید که رای پر بهتر از حضور کودک باشد و گفت چون از  
 وزیر ایمن شدی از امیر مترس و چون وزیر خیانت کرد جمله تدبیر با تپاه  
 شود و جمله رایح و صواب باطل گردد



مرد خوش است که باو اش آن بهشت جاودان است و نعمت ابدی و بقای  
 سرمدی حکما گویند که بادشاه را بجز بطاعت ایزد تعالی مشغول نباید بود و  
 تا بتواند و ممکن کرد و نباید جست که نتوان دانست که ظفر کبریا باشد و چون  
 داد کند او را بکارزار حاجت نیاید بلکه همه خلق او را دوست دارند و توان  
 بردار باشند و خدای تعالی از خوشنود بایشد و روزگار بخور می گذارد و اگر  
 کسی با چنین بادشاه فزون بی جوید و تجاوز کند خداوند تعالی شتر او دفع کند  
 نوز و آن گوید که بادشاه را هیچ چیز جهان خوار نکند که خوار کردن او مکار را  
 بزرگ راد هوای دل نتوان یافت مگر برای صوابه و برای صواب را پیرون  
 نتوان آورد مگر بمشورت و دشمن را مالک نتوان کرد مگر بداد و عدل و تن را  
 بگیرد نتوان داشت مگر بخشم فزود کردن از نا شایستهها و نعمت استوار  
 نتوان کرد مگر بشکر و مواسا کردن با مردمان و بکارهای بزرگ امر نتوان رسید  
 مگر بصبر و دوستی مردمان توان یافت مگر بفروتنی و دشمنی نیفراید مگر بتکبری چون  
 رای صواب آمد نیت نیکو یا باید کرد تا بدان مهم برسد که گفته که رعیت را  
 جاره نیت از سیاست و لشکر را از سالار و رای صواب را بمشورت و  
 نیت کردن را استخارت و با استخارت خرم میاید که گفته اند الحزم سؤء

الفلک حرم کمان بدبر دست بر مردمان عبد الله بن المقفع منگوید که با حرم تر  
 باد شاه را حاجت بود بوزیر و دلیر تر مردم را حاجت آید بسلاح و بهترین  
 اسب را بتازیانه و نیکوترین شمع را تیز کرد و کردن و با حرم نکند داشتن بیاید که  
 گفته اند **بشرك من ذمك خون تو از دست و خون را چون بوق بزگیری**  
 و مهمل کرداری جان از زبان دارد و چون شرایط آن بجای آری سود دارد و  
 تن را سلامت بود و آن هم چنین است اگر چه با استوار و راز دار کشایه  
 خلعها بزرگ تولد شود و اگر راز بر هیچ کس نگوید همچون خون باشد که بر باید  
 دانست که اگر بر نداری جان در سران شود و هر چند باد شاه نیک و امان  
 عاقل و دایمی باشد و او را از آن دستوری کافی قوی رای جاره نباشد  
 و بی مشورت وزیر و خود مندان و عالمان و دوستان و نصیحتان  
 دولت هیچ کار نکند و بدانش خویش در هیچ وقت بسند نکند تا از ملازمت  
 رسیده باشد و پیغامبر علیه السلام که از جمله اهل عالم بدانش پیش بود این و نفا  
 بان بزرگی که او را داده است مشاورت کردن فرمود چنانکه قرآن آن  
 عبارت فیه میده **وَسَاوِدْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ فَإِذَا عَزَمْتَ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ**  
**إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ** یعنی مشورت کردن در کار با مردمان و نیت

و عنایت است که بر آن توکل بر جنای کن که عذای و جمل توکل  
 گفته کان رادوست دارد و سوار علیکم میفرماید این نیک است امر و  
 بعد مشورت یعنی مردم مرکز مالک نشود پس آنکه مشورت کرد و ما  
 جای دیگر میفرماید ایستش از مؤمنان بر آن مشورت کنی باید که امین و راز  
 دار باشد تا خلی نراید و بر زنان مشورت نباید کرد و اگر مشورت کرده شد  
 باری و گفت ایشان کار نباید کرد چنانکه پیغامبر علیکم میفرماید شاوروا  
 النساء و خالفوا من با زمان مشورت کنید و در آنچه بگویند کار کنید چنین  
 گویند که مردی بود که او را عبدالعزیز عدلی گفته شد از شیوه و دستاران  
 آل رسول علیکم و خانه و جاه او در زمین شام بود و بدین جهت در  
 خدمت تزیید بود و خواستی و خواستی همه که از آن زمین تحویل کند تا فرست  
 پنهانی باید بود تحویل کردن بخت خویش و اقربا از آنجا میسر نمی شد  
 و مردی شجاع و مبارز بود شبی با زمان و فرزندان بر بام نشسته بود این  
 خبر روایت کرد که بر قول زنان کار نباید کرد این زنا خشم آمد شوی را  
 گفت من ترا میگویم که خویش را از بام زود اندازی که انکار شوی و با  
 و باشد که جایست بشکند و میری و خون تو در کردن تو باشد و در آخرت جای

تو در آخرت دوزخ باشد که خود را کشته باشی و کشت من خیر پیغمبر خدا یا برزخا  
 تو دست نداری بل تا بپریم و چون فرمان پیغمبر را علیه السلام کار بسته باشم از  
 فرمان برداری او مراد نیاید از بام خویش تن را فرو داند آخت و دست  
 و پایش بشکست او را برداشته و زن بر او پیغاره زد و طقه کرد و گفت  
 تا روز در آن رنج بود باید دادا پستخوان بند را پیاور دند تا بند در دستخوان  
 بند دست و پایش می بست بیادگان یزید آمدند که ترا بکنک حسین عجلایم  
 الله وجهی باید رفت چون او را بدان حال دیدند عذرا و قبول کردند  
 و مرده گفت الحمد لله الذی صدقنا و عدل من بادت و پای شکسته و نالان مرد  
 بهتر از آنکه بکنک حسین عجلایم و فرزندان او رقت بشکند یزید زلفت و چون حال  
 او بر آنجمله بود او را معذوردا شدند و رفت آنچو رفت از کشتن حسین و اسیر  
 کردن زن و فرزندان او و مرداران رنج صحت یافت و خدا بر او شکر کرد و زنا  
 گفت اکنون ترا درست شد که اگر من فرمان تو کردمی و خیر پیغمبر علیه السلام  
 دست باز داشتی امروز در خون حسین علیه السلام شریک بودمی و جای من  
 در دوزخ بودی ابد الآبای چون فرمان تو کردم حذای عزوجل مرا شفا داد  
 ازین رنج و از آن خون نگاهداشت و پیغمبر علیه السلام میگوید المشاوره حصین

من الذائب و انان من الكائنات صوت کردن حصنی است و پیشانی و آنگاه  
 است از طاعت خلق و چون باد شامه لشکر کش مشهورت کند و در آن رای  
 صواب زدند شتاب زدگی نباید کرد که پیغام بر الله مکه مدالتانی مرا الله  
 والعلمه من الشيطان در کار نامانی و رفق از خدای است و شتاب رودی در  
 دیو و حسد کما چنین گفته اند که هر آنکس که از چهار چیز از خویشتن دور دارد سج  
 مکر و سی بد و نرسد شتاب و خشم و عجب و هستی و کشته اند که از دشمن نصیحت چشم  
 مدارد و بر و مجادله و مناظره مکن جز بیکوسی و فرصت نگاه میدار که تا انگاه دست  
 یابی چون دست یابی بر قول خدای کار کن چنانکه میزاید و اقلو هضر  
 یقفتمو هضر چون دست یابد بر کافران هر کجا یابد بکشید و فرصت  
 فوت کنید که حکما گفته اند اشد العصب فوات الغرض بزرگترین و سخن من  
 غصها فرصت فوت کردن است که هر که کند پیش هر کز بد آن نرسد بود آنکه  
 بر و رگاب شین بمناظره و پیغام و افزونی دانش و حکمت بود چنانکه جنگ  
 و خون ریزش نطلبید ندی کار ابدیم و حکم کرد ندی و اهل عالم و مالک  
 در آن متفق بودند ندی چنانکه رای منند و سنان که شطرح بزبان و اشارت  
 وی بساختند و حکمتی که در آن نهادند معلوم کردند بد آن فرمود و بنزد

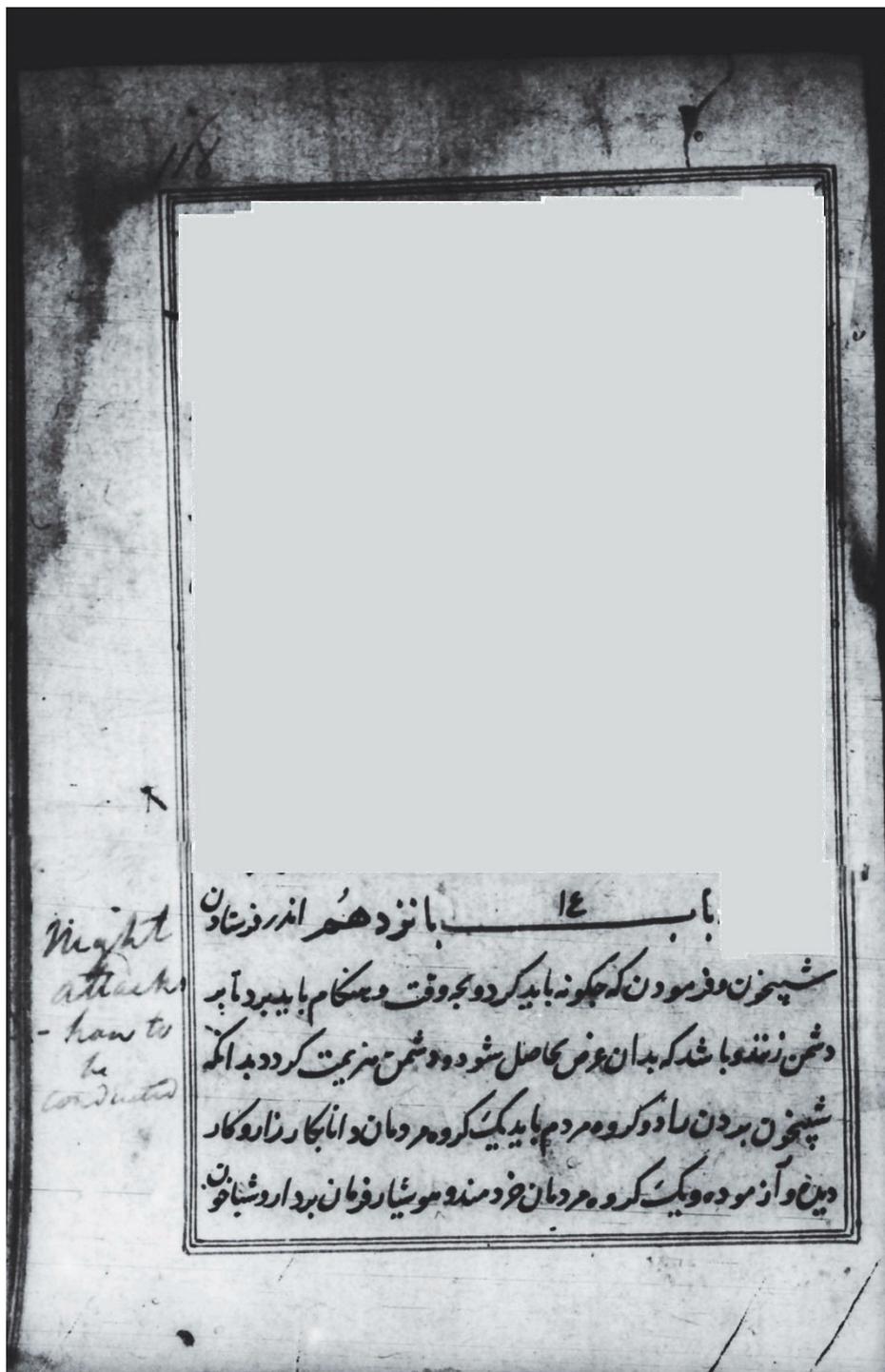
کسی انوشیروان فرستاد و بار رسولان و پادشاهان و پادشاهان را که از او گنجی درین  
 زمین است که شمار آنست و ازین گنجی که پاره پاره است پاره پاره آید اگر بدیند بدین  
 رسولان بیازم و من فرستاد پس بدین آید و اگر عاجز آید از باطن شطرنج و از  
 علم در آن سهاده اند از مخرج و مال طلبید و ما را ساو و با فرستید کسی  
 انوشیروان بزرگم را بخواند و گوشت پذیر این کار چست بزرگم گفت من  
 شطرنج برایشان بیازم و از ایشان بپریم و چری بیازم و بتردیکت ایشان  
 فرستیم که همه از آن عاجز آیند و ندانند باخت و بداند که دانش ما از ایشان  
 پیش است نوشیروان شازگشت ایشان را بخواند و بزرگم را تا بفرمود که شطرنج  
 با ایشان بیاز باخت و از ایشان ببرد و زرد پاورد پیش ایشان نهاد و  
 گوشت دعوی دانش میکنند بیازید ایشان از باطن نرد عاجز آمدند و غدر خوا  
 و خراج و مال قبول کردند باز گشتند و همچین از روم بتردیکت نوشیروان  
 رسولان آمدند و گفتند که دانش ما پیش است و حکما پیشتر از روم بوده اند  
 و بزرگتر علمهای ایشان طب و نجومست و نهاد و و بجز بگرد ما ایشانست  
 گفتند که مخرج ندیمیم که بعلم از شما پیش ایم نوشیروان یکسانی پیش ایشان  
 و پرسید که ازین کیا در ولایت شما باشد رسول گفت این کیا را اگر خوا

و بعد زمین با ما بیشتر این یک وقت چنانکه کشاورزی کردن جبر نمی شود  
 نو شر و ان رسول را گفت باز کردیم را گوی که از این چه کمتر باشد که همه زمین  
 ولایت تو بگرفت چنانکه شمار کشاورزی کردن را نمک و تو شر این گیاه از  
 ولایت خود دفع نمی توانی کرد و دعوی دانش میکنی سر و بلاء لشکر من از خود  
 دفع خواهی کرد و ساو و باز بفرست و در خون و خواسته خود مشغول و ولایت  
 خود خواب کن و همچین مال و خراج بفرستند و گفته را عذر خواستند بعتیس  
 ملکه سبانه نزدیک سلیمان علیه السلام رسولان و پادشاهان فرستاد و گوشت بگید که  
 او را علم و دانش هست مانند پیر آن سازم که بمایل بفریفته شود باینه و برای آن  
 و دانش یک سبوی خوی اسپ فرستاد و پیر سید که این چه چهرت و چند غلام  
 و کینه که مانند یکد که لباس و یک زاد و بالایر سید که از پیمان که ام زن و کدام  
 تا از دانش سلیمان علیه السلام آگاه شوم و سلیمان هر یک را جواب داد و گفت  
 آن قصه نیک معروفست و چون از دانش سلیمان علیه السلام معلوم کرد دست  
 از جنگ و خصومت برداشت و بطوع و رغبت بخدمت آمد و اسلام آورد  
 و شریعت قبول کرد و این همه که بگرد بمشورت و اتفاق و استقواب اعیان  
 دولت و ارکان مملکت کرد تا بگفت هر دو سرای گشت و سلیمان علیه السلام

او را بست زیر یکی و دانش و کمال عقل در عقد خود آورده بملکت خودش باز ستاد  
 و همچنین در وقت دارا برین دارا از روم برای او خراج آوردندی و مال دادی  
 چون فیلیا قوس که بر ذوالقرنین بنا را سد برآید و فوات کرد ذوالقرنین مال زیاد دارا  
 بر ذبک ذوالقرنین رسول فرستاد و گوی و جوکان یعنی تو کو دکی ترا گوی باید ستاد  
 و یک صرة کبند فرستاد که لشکر من در بسیاری بمثل این کبند اند چون نزدیک  
 ذوالقرنین رسیدند و گوی و جوکان و کبند پیش وی نهادند و گوشت معلوم کردم  
 که درین جوکمت داشتند بدانند که زمین بر شکل گوی صفت کرده اند و جوکان  
 آنرا کار توان بست تمدت روی زمین را بیخ که مثل جوکانست بضر بکیرم  
 و لشکر تو که در بسیاری بمثل کبند است اما جوب و شیرین که توان خورد و سخنا که بخوبید  
 بزم و جواب آن بکهره سبندان کرد باز فرستاد که لشکر من در اینوسی همچین اند  
 اما تیز و تیغ و سوزان که توان خورد و آن مرغی که هر روز پخته زر برین میکرد از  
 جهت تو بر دنا دانسته باشی و طمع حال از ملک و لشکر من برین کرد ایست  
 چون دارا برین حال واقف شد لشکر را جمع کرد و بجزب ذوالقرنین پیرون  
 ذوالقرنین هم لشکر پیار است و بجزب دارا پیرون شد و هر دو لشکر مصاف  
 کردند و اراشکته شد و ذوالقرنین منادی فرمود که هر جا که دارا بکیر ننگشند

و دوتن از لشکر دارا اهر از غمی زدند تا از اسب در گشت تا بد آن سبب ایشان را  
 نیز دیک ذوالقرن جامی و مکانی باشد ذوالقرن را از آن حال خبر شد بیگفت  
 تا مگر جیتی کند تا ملاک نشود کار او نیز دیک رسیده بود ذوالقرن او را گشت  
 بمن حاجتی داری گشت حاجت دارم آنست که این دو کس که مرا زخم زدند کینه من  
 از ایشان بکشی و رو شنگ و زخم او را عقد خود آری بمران جلوه کرد ملک با سبک  
 جمع شد و پادشاه سنت اقلیم گشت و ملوک علم را سحر و منقاد خود کرد و ایندو مطیع  
 و فرمان بردار او شدند و اگر در الجرب زرقی مرکز ذوالقرن جنگ نجستی و خون  
 زینجی و کار همه بکمت و علم و کفایت کردی که خون ریختن بدترین کار است  
 و هیچ خردمند بخوبی و بدین رضاند هر دو بد آنکه ایندو سبب آمدن تعالی خد کونه خلق  
 آفرید از ایشان برون فرشته و دیو و بری دو کونه خلق است یکی را مردم دیگر  
 را حیوان خوانند یعنی جانوران از مردمان هر یکی را بر دیگری فضل نهاده و غالب  
 و مغلوب گردانید و در حیوانات را آلت کونا کون داده یک گروه را احوال  
 و لشک چون پیل و شیر و کرک و بیره و کلنگ و خاک و فرس و آنچه بدن ماند و یک  
 گروه را شکل و شاخ چون گاو و کوا و میش و کرک و آنچه بدین ماند و آنرا که از این  
 آلهای بهره کرد سبک بای آفرید و نک آوری چون اسب و کور خر و کوزن و آمو

و کوبد بای و جوان تا از دشمن بتواند کپیخت و مردم را که بیافزید او را دو کوبه  
 داد تا شرو بلا از خویش تن دفع کند یکی بهمان و دیگر اسکار را آنچه اسکار است سلاح  
 است از آهن و در هر دو سنگ و جوان آنچه بهمانست دانش و عقل و رای و تدبیر  
 و بهترین سلاحها اینست که غرض بوفارسد و همه مراد حاصل کرد و از آنکه  
 خون باید ریخت و وز رو و بال در کردن گرفت که بس از کفر بیج و ز رو و بال  
 و بزه بدتر از خون ریختن نیست مگر خونی که آن در راه حق ریزند و آن کافران  
 و دشمنان دین اند مگر فونی که بجن باشد و آن خون تقاص است باقی بیج و  
 نشاید ریخت تا از آن بر هر چیز که روز قیامت نخستین حکمی که ایزد تعالی بخواند  
 حکم خون ناحق است تا معلوم کرد و السلام



Night  
attack  
- how to  
be  
conducted

باب ۱۴ بانتزدهم اندر فرستادن

سپهجون و فرمودن که چگونه باید کرد و بوقت و مکان باید بردن آب و دشمن زنده باشد که بدان عرض حاصل شود و دشمن منزیمت گردد بد آنکه سپهجون بردن را در گروه مردم باید یک گروه مردمان و انبیا کارزار و کار دین و آرموده و یک گروه مردمان خود مند و مویشا فرمان بردار و شبان

چنانچه در کتابهاست که در وقت تواتر اسبان ایشان را  
 بپا کردن و انباشتن در کوهها و درختها و در کوهها و در کوهها و در کوهها  
 طایفهها بکشند و بچراغها و درختها بپوشند و در کوهها و در کوهها  
 گاه آتش و پیش از آنکه در کوهها و در کوهها و در کوهها  
 هوش آید بکار در زنده و طویلهها و انباشتن را بپزند که اگر این کار و مراد می  
 و خون دینش بر آید همه مستور و حاصل شود و آنکه یک گروه بچراغ مشغول  
 شوند و یک گروه بچراغ و داشت راهها را بپوشد و از لشکر گاه بیرون آید یک  
 و بهر آن بود و بشان آنند که آواز در افکند که فلان شب است و فلان شب  
 بگردد که چنان باشد استی بکار ایشان در آید حقیقت آن آواز  
 مذاتند و در دل گران آید که باشد که چیزی است ببدل شوند و پیش  
 دستشان کار کنند و باشد که بگریزد و خیمه درخت بدارند و کشته اند که بچراغ  
 دروغ کشند و باشد از آن متور که دو امیر المؤمنین علی کرم الله  
 در جهنم در آن وقت که در جهنم و در آن محرمی در عرب حنفی مشغول  
 کرد و شمشیر بر پای هر روز دای او بیرون انداخت عمر و کشت یا علی قدر  
 کردی و بر او ایستاد که از لب خند عده بین جک کردن سندیست

و اگر

و اگر شایسته بر طرف دی باشد ...  
 نیز انداز با شمشیر و ارباب ...  
 مرد از پهنه وقت ...  
 ایشان را ...  
 اجاسو مدو شایسته از در روشناسی ...  
 وقت کرد ایشان در ایندو ایشان از در میان ...  
 حاصل کنند مبروم کرده از ...  
 باصناع تمام که اگر قصد صوی ایشان کنند ...  
 پرو را اندو دیوان ایشان ...  
 پیش لشکری باشند در صحرای ...  
 و بشنا بست باشند اگر کسی ...  
 در ایشان بر در افروخته ...  
 کنند و این حدیث است ...  
 را از در و چون آنکه ...  
 باد همین ...

و نشکر داد و چون به پهلوانان رسیدند پهلوانان آمدند بر بنیاد چهار پایه  
 و کردند شکرگاه خندق کرد و ما مویز را در میان داد که ما را جنگ بر بنیاد  
 نیت تلخی باید رفت کندی می گویی این چه جنگی است که چهار ما در یکجا نیشستی  
 که شغل تو تا ساخته است اگر ساخته شود در این جنگ ساخته شد این  
 کند که کنن چه چیز است جواب باز فرسآد که من میدانم که مر ایبا و درین سبب  
 می باید کرد از اینجا چهار صد فرسنگ بر لشکر را فرم نگاه داشتن می آموزم  
 که من ندانم که بدشمن یک خواهم رسید یا دشمن من کی خواهد رسید در آن وقت  
 من لشکر را فرم بنوانم آموخت ایشان از این جایی فرم آموخته خواهم برد  
 تا بر منتری که بدشمن در سم یا دشمن من رسد من و لشکر فرم نگاه داشته باشیم  
 و از کید و کراتش و شایخون آوردن ضمان امن باشیم و دیگر گفته اند  
 که دشمن را فرود نباید داشت اگر چه فرود باشما بروید و نشوی و به دوری  
 راه فرسایاری لشکر فریت نباید شد که هر که دشمن را فرود آورد و میان  
 او و ما آن خویش دود اند و بسیاری فریخته شود او غافل باشد و  
 از فرم بدانت باشد اگر سالاری من داده ای و اعتماد این کار من  
 که در لشکر من بگردان ای که بکنم و از اینجا بدانت و بدشمنی که فرود آمد

Not to  
 despise  
 an enemy

بن

صدق

خندق کرد و طلا و نقره را به دست آورد و در آنجا  
 و سعی رفت تا کشتن آن را در آنجا بودی جنگ کرد و در آنجا کشت  
 و در آنجا کشتی در آنجا کشتی و کار بر وقت کردن چون زمین  
 از دولت محمد و در آنجا کشتی بود که در آن وقت که خانیان بخارا  
 آمدند در دره ولایت پراکنده بود و در عقب ایشان می تاخت و خانیان  
 از دمی که پیش آمد تا آنجا که در بطون نشست و خانیان بسیاری از آن  
 اندر بلخ و طخوارستان بنشیند این دولت محمد و بطون است و این  
 میان سندان که نهر شاه چیمبال بود بهندوستان غاصی شد بسبب این  
 سلطان بخارا آمدن خانیان در آن ولایت کوفت سلطان از  
 مشغول شد پیش باند بس سلطان از طوس باخت بدو روز و شب  
 برآمد و کشت که خانیان بلخ و طخوارستان این نشسته از مر و بهنت روز  
 از راه پابانی که غول انجان خواند کشت بلخ رفت و اندر عقب ایشان بطوار  
 شد و آن دشمنان از بد و خلق را کشت و دیگر منزه شدند و هم اندران ما  
 از بلخ باخت بهندوستان و سندان را گرفت و همه را حاصل کرد  
 چنانکه در اخبار و احوال در آنجا ناطق و مذکور و مشهور است

سان

سان



The present monograph explores a remarkable text at the intersection of political thought, ethical instruction, and military science in the Indo-Persian world. *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa al-Shajā'a* (Rules of War and Bravery), composed by the distinguished historian and court official Fakhr-i Mudabbir and dedicated to Sulṭān Iltutmish of Delhi, offers a unique window into the intellectual and political life of medieval India. Written in Persian, which for centuries served as a language of governance, literature, and scholarship across much of South Asia, this manual reveals a dynamic tradition in which martial discipline, moral philosophy, and royal etiquette are closely intertwined. In modern terms, the work may be seen as a cross between Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*.

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