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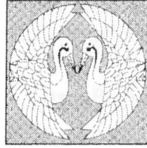
### Front cover:

Portrait of the Georgian translators of “Kalila and Dimna”, king Vakhtang VI, and of the poet and scholar Saba Sulhan Orbeliani. Manuscript P 2 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 3a, 22.0×19.0 cm.

### Back cover:

Illustration to the story “Disservice”, the same manuscript, fol. 97a, 19.0×22.5 cm.

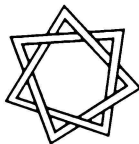
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# TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

V. V. Kushev

## A PASHTUN RULER AND LITERARY FIGURE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ON POLITICAL ETHICS

We present here several chapters from the second part of the treatise on political ethics, *Dastār-nāma* ("Book of the Turban") by Khushhāl-khān Khatak (1613—1689), an extremely popular Afghan poet, military leader, and head of a large Pashtun tribe. The translation of this chapters follows here the text of two editions: the Kabul edition of 1966 [1] and the Peshawar edition of 1991 [2]. The Kabul edition was prepared by Siddiqallāh Riṣḥṭīn, President of the Academy of Pashto Language and Literature (*Pashto tolāna*), and contains a brief foreword by him and glossary. The Peshawar edition was prepared by Hājī Purdil-khān Khatak; it includes his introduction and a foreword by Muḥammad-Nawāz Tā'ir, director of the Pashto Academy of Peshawar University. Both editions, which employ the modern script and orthography of standard Kabul and Peshawar Pashto, were completed on the basis of a 1952 publication of this work, the only major prose work by Khushhāl-khān (ethical-didactic in genre and encyclopaedic in the content of most of its chapters). It was prepared by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Shakūr, director of the Peshawar Museum *'Ajā'ib-i guhar*, with the aid of Khān-Muḥammad A'zam-khān from Jahangira and Khān-Muḥammad Sajāwul-khān from Tordher. The text of the treatise was prefaced by brief forewords by 'Abd al-Shakūr and Samandar, and the text was equipped with a small dictionary drawn up by the well-known philologist Dūst-Muḥammad Kāmīl [3] and transferred to the above-mentioned Riṣḥṭīn edition. The publication was based on a manuscript provided by a resident of Gumbat (not far from Kohat), Bahādur Muḥammad-Rafīq-khān. This first edition preserved the special features of the manuscript text, including script details peculiar to authors of that time from the Khatak tribe. According to the Persian-language colophon, the manuscript was prepared on the lands of Muḥammad-Afdal-khān expressly for him (apparently the grandson of Khushhāl-khān and the author of the historical work *Tārīkh-i muraṣṣa'*) by the scribe 'Abd al-Ḥalīm on 5 Jumādā II 1119/3 September 1707 [4].

The treatise was composed by Khushhāl-khān while he was imprisoned in the fortress of Ranthambhor in the Indian principedom of Jaipur, where he was dispatched in March, 1664 by order of the Moghūl ruler Aurangzēb

(1618—1707). He spent here two and a half years and, after that, an additional two years under house arrest in Agra [5]. In addition to the *Dastār-nāma*, Khushhāl-khān also wrote many poems during that time, mostly nostalgic in content, which made up the collection *Firāq-nāma* ("Book of Separation") and were included in the poet's *Dīwān*. The author indicated the exact date of the treatise's completion: "The beginning was on Wednesday, and the end on 17 Rabī' al-awwal, here is the *qit'a* with the chronogram:

Such a book as was composed by Khushhāl in Pashto,  
Was in the past not composed by the Pashtuns.  
If you ask me about the time of its writing,  
I will say thus: "It is enough to suffer in isolation".

Both the content of the chronogram and the sum of the Arabic letters which comprise it confirm that the work was completed approximately a year before Khushhāl-khān's transfer from Ranthambhor to Agra, which would date it to A.H. 1076. 17 Rabī' al-awwal 1076 corresponds to 27 September 1665.

The collection of the Khudabakhsh Public Library in the city of Patna in the Indian state of Bihar contains under call number 1568 an undated copy of a manuscript from Gumbat. It is apparently a late copy, judging by the ink used [6].

In addition to the above-mentioned three editions in the original language, an Urdu translation of the *Dastār-nāma* was published by the Pashto Academy of Peshawar University thanks to the efforts of Khaṭīr Ghaznawī, Purdil-khān Khatak and the copyist Maḥmūd Fānī.

The work by Khushhāl-khān is an ethical-didactic composition written in the "mirror" genre deeply rooted in the literature of the Near East. Such compositions usually contained instructions for a future or beginning ruler, constituting in fact educational works on the theory and practice of ruling. Khushhāl-khān follows this ancient literature tradition in his own vein and provides a brilliant example of such kind of literature. Special conditions under which his work was done seem to have influenced favourably the contents of his writing. Apart from demonstrating vast topical richness, it displays a charming freedom in choosing parables aimed to give good examples of right social behaviour.

The encyclopaedic, by the standards of his time, learnings and cultural broad-mindedness of Khushhāl-khān, which enabled him to compose his treatise, is certainly the result of his profound knowledge of Persian literature, as well as his acquaintance with Indian culture, combined with Khushhāl-khān's life and war experiences. The *Dastār-nāma* can be viewed as both continuation and further development of the rich didactic literary tradition in the East. At the same time, his treatise laid down the philosophical and didactical foundations for his further writings. His special interest in morals developed undoubtedly under the influence of his predecessors' literary works and Islamic traditional values. But to a much more extent the *Dastār-nāma* was written in strict following the principles of *pas'htūn-wālī*, that is, a code of honour which contained the main regulations of tribal traditional law and determined the Pashtuns' social behaviour.

According to this code, all Pashtu men are equal in their rights (in fact, the Pashtun have a strict societal hierarchy), which leads us to suppose that Khushhāl-khān's moral instructions and injunctions, outwardly intended for the Afghan nobility, were not only restricted to this stratum but were also addressed a broader audience. The *Dastār-nāma* contains, in a concentrated form, the main ideas of spiritual and material culture, betraying Khushhāl-khān's social credo which implies humanism in culture and in political culture in particular. No doubt, his ethical-didactical compositions stimulated further literary process in Khatak milieu: the original compositions and translations intended for broad Pashto audience were created by his sons, grandsons, and grand grandsons, as well as by the members of his clan and the Khatak tribe, women writers being no exception. The verses and prose of Khushhāl-khān have played a significant role in the history of Afghan culture; his works served as a source of the rich stream of the seventeenth — eighteenth century secular Pashto literature, including lyrics, poems, works on ethics, and chronicles.

Additionally, the significant contribution of Khushhāl-khān to Pashto culture can also be seen in the stylistics and lexis of the *Dastār-nāma*. By introducing into Pashto lexical borrowings from the languages with which Pashto had long-term contacts, and, on the contrary, replacing numerous habitual "arabisms" by the old Afghan lexis, revived by him, also significantly extending the use of dialecticisms, and, what is more important, introducing language innovations, Khushhāl-khān created the language which most Pashtun could easily understand irrespective of their tribal or social position. It may be said that this language stands close to modern "standard" Pashto.

The treatise, and especially the first part, is in fact an encyclopaedic reference work which provides, in the fashion of the time, information on science, literature, history, art (music and painting), diversions and sport (hunting, shooting, swimming, horse-riding, chess, and draughts), upbringing, commerce, and agriculture. In the twenty chapters of the first part, which treat "the arts" (*hunar*), the author does not strive for a detailed presentation: he identifies major themes, demonstrates their significance for the ruler, and shows how the arts are mastered. Khushhāl-khān concentrates primarily on the knowledge which a man of noble birth — a ruler and leader of a tribe, an aristocrat or warrior — should possess. The work is of interest for the study of cultural history as a source on the culture and everyday life of the Pashtuns.

The twenty chapters of the second part, which treat the "qualities" (*khiṣlat*) indispensable for a ruler, reflect Khushhāl-khān's views on political philosophy and the ethics of conduct for a political leader. He strives to demonstrate that by following the author's recommendations on ties between states and tribes, relations between authority and subjects, and the ruler's conduct, one cannot help but aid the establishment of high moral principles, humanity, honesty, and a love for peace within society irrespective of time and place or conditions of the age and region.

Khushhāl-khān had numerous Indian, Iranian, and Arab predecessors in the genre he chose for his work, but he was the first literary moralist among the Pashtun. He was undoubtedly influenced by works of edification in Persian, with which he acquainted himself before his imprisonment at Ranthambhor and Agra, or probably during his imprisonment, although he himself complains of a lack of necessary literature (see below). Among the works which Khushhāl-khān likely followed were '*iyār-i dānish*' by Abū-l-Faḍl 'Allāmī [7] — an abridged version of Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifī's *Anwār-i Suhaylī* [8] prepared for the emperor Akbar — and the best Persian version of *Kalīla wa Dimna* (the author of the oldest was Rūdakī, beginning of the 10th century; around A.D. 1153/54, Niẓām al-Dīn Abū-l-Ma'ālī Naṣrallāh made for Bahrām-shāh a Persian translation of *Kalīla wa Dimna* from the Arabic translation of 'Abdallāh b. al-Muqaffa'). All of the texts listed go back to the Sanskrit *Pañcatāntra* through the Middle Persian translation (carried out in the sixth century during the reign of Khusraw Anūshīrwān), which was translated into Arabic in approximately 750, and earlier, around 579, into Syriac. Possibly having inherited Khushhāl-khān's interest in the genre, his grandson, Afḡal-khān, in 1716 translated '*iyār-i dānish*' into Pashto, calling it '*ilm-khāna dā dānish*' [9]. Khushhāl-khān was also greatly influenced by Sa'dī's *Gulistān* and *Būstān*, quotations from which make up a significant part of the verse insertions in the *Dastār-nāma*. In this, Khushhāl-khān also influenced his descendants: his son, 'Abd al-Qādir, in 1712 translated *Gulistān* into Pashto, entitling his translation *Guldasta*. Khushhāl-khān may have had access to some of the numerous Persian books of advice and edification (*andarz-nāma*, *pand-nāma*) such as *Karīma* [10] and *Pand-nāma* by Sa'dī [11], *Pand-nāma* by Aṭṭār [12], *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* by 'Alī Ḥafāhānī [13], and the anonymous *Tuḥfa dar akhlāq wa siyāsat* [14], which goes back to Middle-Persian works of moral teachings and instructions on leading a righteous life (*Andarz-i Āturpat-i Mahrāspand*, *Pandnāmak-i Zaratušht*, *Wāchak-i echand*, and others [15]).

However, the work which most likely was modelled by Khushhāl-khān more than others was the *Qābūs-nāma* by Kay Kāwus, grandson of Qābūs, ruler of Tabaristan. The work, though distant from Khushhāl-khān chronologically, had been extremely popular among Persian readers over nine centuries. Kay Kāwus composed the *Qābūs-nāma* in 1082/83 for his son, Gīlānshāh [16]. The *Dastār-nāma* betrays its relationship with this work not only in its goal and thematic material, but also in its chapter headings, inserted illustrative stories and verses, and the mention in stories and fables of well-known Greek, Iranian, and Arab historical figures. In one of his poems, Kay Kāwus enumerates the arts, sports and activities on which he practiced and those qualities he approves in a ruler: "I chose in the world twenty things, in order to spend a long life with them: poetry, singing and music, good wine, chess and draughts, hunting with

the snow-leopard and hawk, the ball and field for play, the palace hall, battle and feasting, the horse and weapons, generosity, prayer and the *namāz*. As for the *Dastār-nāma*, Khushhāl-khān laid out his views on all of these matters with the exception of wine and feasts, exhibiting somewhat greater moral certitude and piety than Kay Kāwus.

Khushhāl-khān's work displays less similarity with the ethical-didactic work *Siyāsat-nāma*, drawn up in 1091/92 at the order of the Saljūk ruler Malik Shāh by his *wazīr* Nizām al-Mulk, and with the edifying "Four Conversations" of Nizāmī 'Arūdī Samarqandī, composed by the author in 1157 for the Ghurid ruler, Ḥisām al-Dīn 'Alī. Khushhāl-khān, however, was undoubtedly familiar with both of these works [17].

The *Dastār-nāma* consists of a general introduction (comprised of a preface and two chapters) and two parts, each of which has in turn its own introduction and twenty chapters. The chapters of the first part are called *hunars* ("arts"); the chapters of the second part are called *khiṣṣats* ("qualities"). Chapter headings run as follows. First part: (i) On knowing oneself; (ii) On the science which is recognized as the acquisition of perfection; (iii) On writing, which is necessary for the acquisition of perfection; (iv) On the composition of poetry; (v) On firing a bow; (vi) On swimming; (vii) On horsemanship; (viii) On the hunt; (ix) On courage; (x) On generosity and nobility; (xi) On marital relations; (xii) On the upbringing of children; (xiii) On the treatment of servants; (xiv) On acquiring the means to live; (xv) On agriculture; (xvi) On trade; (xvii) On the study of one's lineage; (xviii) On the musical science; (xix) On draughts and chess; (xx) On painting. Second part: (i) Accepting advice; (ii) Making decisions; (iii) Silence; (iv) Truthfulness; (v) Shame, modesty, and conscience; (vi) Good nature; (vii) Magnanimity; (viii) Forgiving and mercy; (ix) Thinking one's actions through; (x) Justice; (xi) Relying on God; (xii) Upbringing; (xiii) Fear of God; (xiv) Managing the state; (xv) Courage and steadfastness; (xvi) Softness and sociability; (xvii) Pride and honour; (xviii) Good sense and circumspection; (xix) Piety and de-

votion; (xx) Penitence and repentance. The conclusion speaks of flaws in human nature: ignorance, from which one can free oneself, and stupidity, which is insurmountable.

The prose text of the *Dastār-nāma* is leavened with 195 verse excerpts in Persian, 92 in Pashto, 57 in Arabic, as well as with 25 Qur'ānic citations. They are ordinarily not referenced, which makes one assume that the author cited most of them from memory, as he says. But excerpts from *Gulistān* and *Būstān* which we were able to identify are cited by Khushhāl-khān without distortion. Their text is identical to the text of one or another of the manuscripts of Sa'dī's *Kullīyyat* which serve as the basis for existing print editions. In the final lines of the conclusion, Khushhāl-khān writes on the subject:

"I had no books, or I would have included good quotations here, drawing amply and with references from poetry and prose, Arabic and Persian. But what I had in my memory, what I learned, does not by a single word go beyond the bounds of the *riwāyat* [18], is not beyond the *hikmat* [19]; in all are the benefits and aims of faith and peace. This is a treatise on coming to know ability and talent, for this was the subject I studied in prison: understanding and delusion. And if I was deprived [of books] in this task, I still had a pen. In the light of the above-mentioned goal, I came to understand that I should leave that which is preserved in my memory as instruction and advice to my children, brothers, friends, and comrades-in-arms".

Written in conditions less than ideal for creative work, the treatise *Dastār-nāma*, unlike other works by Khushhāl-khān, is not always stylistically perfect and sometimes exhibits somewhat authorial syntax. It rather resembles a rough draft in several sections. This compelled the publishers to indicate (in the interpretation of words in notes and in the glossary) the difficulty of understanding various sections of the text. These factors could not but affect our translation of thirteen chapters from the second half of the work, which we present avoiding cuts [20].

## DASTĀR-NĀMA

### Part two

which includes chapters on twenty qualities indispensable in politics

Politics and the administration of the country clearly depend on all of these qualities. In their absence, affairs do not acquire stability, dangers and disorder arise; the lack of even one of them causes harm. We know politicians of two virtues. Some are the *sardārs* [21], who are called *amīrs* [22]. Thus, the master in his home is an *amīr*: "You are all shepherds and you are all responsible for the flock" (Arab.). There is also an *amīr* in the village, in the tribe, and in the large country. If one counts in this fashion, there are many *amīrs*, but [the true] *amīr* is he who has at his disposal twelve thousand brave, noble young men whom he commands, who place their faith in him, and who fear him, according to the indication: "Obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you" [23]. That is, obey God, the Prophet, and the *amīr* who is yours. Some commentators proposed reading *ālīms* in place of *amīrs*, that is, "follow the scholars".

Today it has become accepted to consider the Padishah of the time a lord and ruler, as is the Sultan of Sultans (*sulṭān al-salāṭīn*). The Shahanshah in his own kingdom, who stands beneath the Sultan of Sultans, is called Sultan and acts at the order and behest of the Sultan of Sultans. Where there is a *ḥākim* [24], he is called *nā'ib* [25]; all of these are *amīrs*. The Shahanshah can be compared to a large river; these others to tributaries. These tributaries — just as the taste of water in a river is the same as in tributaries and streams — are exceptional people under the power of the padishah. Rulers in their own realms are *maliks* [26], i.e. *sulṭāns*, [and] they are like individual rivers: by their own conditions, some are large and some are small. The water of a large river and the water of tributaries give grace; but if the water is foul-smelling, salty, bitter, rotten, one cannot obtain grace from it. If the rulers are adorned with arts and laudable qualities, they are like beneficial water; if not, they are like dirty water. In accordance with the *sharī'a* [27], water is clean if its colour, taste, and smell do

( ۱۰۷ )

## لسم خصلت عدل د انصاف دی

د ملک د آبادانی ، د خلق د آسایش مدار هم په دا کار دی - دا خصلت دی چه څه دی .

چو گردد شا عالم عدل پيشه شود آسایش که که ، همیشه که کافر وی چه عادل وی ، به تر عفه مسلمانان چه د ملک په کار ظالم وی .

عدل و انصاف دان نه کفر نه دین آنچه در حفظ ملک در کار است  
عدل و انصاف گر کند کافر بهتر از ظلم شاه دیندار است  
نو شیروان چه کافر و ، د عدالت د صفت کار یی په لاس نیولی و پیغمبر (ص) ستایلی دی .

## ابیات

پیغمبر که در عهد نو شیروان برخ کشت چشم و چراغ جهان  
بگفتا که از ظلم زان ساده ام که در عهد نو شیروان زاده ام  
حدیث د نبوت پناه دی :

« العدل ساعة خير من عبادتين ستة قيام لياليها و صيام نهارها . » هر څوک دخپل کاله امیران دی ، بادشاه په ملک نیولی دی . ملک په کلی دکاله خبیثت په خپل کاله ، عدل هرجا لره بویه .  
قوله تعالی : « يا ايها الذين آمنوا اوفوا افسكم و اهليكم نارا . »  
الملك يبقی مع الکفر ولا يبقی مع الظلم .

عدل درې حرفه دی : عین ، دال ، لام . عین په عربی سترگوته وایسی ، دال راعنما ، لام (زغره) . واحالي ، بادشاه ، ملک ، سلطان لره بویه چه سترگي دی په رعیت لری ، رهنمای دي وي ، د دیو ونښه کار نه لکه زغره چه حفظ د بدن ده ، دی دي هم درعیت حافظ وی ، ظلم دي ورنه بربردی « الرعي لعباد الله و الحامي لبلاد الله » . به ده باندې درست شی .  
ملك راني لوی امر دی

## بیت

رعیت نوازی و سر لشکری نه کار بست باز یچو سر سری

Fig. 1

not change. If it causes harm, then even if it should be an entire river, the water will become useless. A ruler should, above all, adorn himself with the *sharī'a*, and then study all of the phenomena and elements of ruling a country, political art, morals and the qualities [necessary in order] to become a pure river, capable of bearing grace. The arts have already been laid out [28], we now move to the inner qualities.

## THE FIRST QUALITY

### Accepting advice

The good sense of rulers springs from two sources: what is immanent in the ruler, a part of his essence, and what is external, brought in from without. The immanent is when a ruler himself possesses qualities and talents and all of the arts and qualities exist within him. But even then, he needs advice: one should not act without conferring with well-wishers. The Prophet Muḥammad, who was perfect in intellect, constantly conferred with his *aṣḥāb* [29]. He said: "I have four *wazīrs* — two on earth, and two in heaven".

Those on earth were Abū Bakr [30] and 'Umar [31]; in heaven, Jabrā'il [32] and Mīkā'il [33]. Each time a revelation was sent down to him, his condition became such that he was compelled to seek advice. All others also need advice in the first place. One must weigh all that is in one's thoughts, and then query all well-wishers, for the opinion of others may prove to be better than one's own opinion and own thoughts.

### Qit'a

It sometimes happens, that the opinion of a wise man with a radiant mind  
Is incorrect,  
And sometimes an untutored babe  
By chance sends the arrow directly into the target [34].

The other is good sense brought in from without. What is meant is a man, still young, who does not yet know his own abilities, or one feeble-minded, or women who are insufficiently intelligent. If they are appointed to conduct political affairs, the actions of such people will be successful only on the condition that they have wise *wazīrs*. Rulers came to need *wazīrs* so that harm would not come to the realm. Otherwise, harm will come to the realm and a change of authority is beyond doubt. In any case, rulers need knowledgeable *wazīrs*, for to be a *wazīr* is a matter for scholars. The fact of the matter is that the benefit of conference is great. And if a matter carried out in accordance with good advice comes to ruin, reproaches and exactions will not be directed at anyone.

## THE SECOND QUALITY

### Making decisions

This means that it is fitting for rulers to strive toward action: if from his lips escape the words "I will do that" or something of that nature, they are obligated without fail to undertake the matter. Whether [it] is destructive or creative, unto life or unto death, [they must] carry it out without retreating from their words. The greatness of rulers is in word and deed; if they are flighty and petty, then so are they themselves — despicable and weak. "The words of rulers are the rulers of words" (Arab.). For this reason, in each matter good sense and consultation are obligatory: God forbid that words should be spoken which do not become guides, otherwise they shall cause the ruler harm and damage and difficulties shall arise. Let him first think through everything to maturity, and only then speak his mind.

On this subject, which concerns rulers, there are many metaphoric parables and worthy mentions of comparisons. One ruler ate earth. Physicians treated him, but were unable to prevent him from doing this. One wise man boasted that he would cure him. They invited him, and he said: "Do not eat earth". The ruler said: "I cannot live without this". The wise man proposed: "Pro-nounce the words 'I will not eat [it]!'". "I will not eat [it]", repeated the ruler. And the physician said: "You are a ruler, and you have heard of the decisions of rulers. If they have made a decision and revealed it, then the matter is firmly decided". The ruler agreed: "It is so". And the wise man said: "If you have uttered that you will not eat earth, then by betraying your word, you violate your own decision". And the ruler no longer ate earth. The story is said to concern the caliph Ma'mūn [35].

There was another ruler in India. While rewarding someone, he said: "Give [him] six thousand". While being recorded [in the decree], "sixty thousand" was written down by mistake. They reported that the original list had read six thousand, and during copying it had become sixty thousand. [They asked] what the decision would be. [The ruler] deigned to say: "His good fortune. Now I will not retreat from my words — give him sixty thousand!" Such is the condition of rulers.

Sultan Maḥmūd [36] was preparing to march on some realm and the following words escaped his mouth: "I will march on Khorezm". Ḥasan Maymandī [37] and other well-wishers asked him: "Why has the Sultan so rashly announced this campaign?" "I now regret it myself", he said, "but I will not reject what has been spoken by my tongue, even if I do not return alive [from the campaign]". He completed that campaign with great difficulties.

During some diversion, one Kāshmirī ruler carelessly said: "I will eat as much poison as [usually] kills man". Then, after some thought, he said: "During that diversion, I was joking, but since I have said it, I will eat [the poison]". He ordered that the poison be brought. All of his household and slaves began crying, but he did not betray his word; he took the poison and died from it. No matter how they tried to talk him out of it: "Why don't you eat less of it" — he replied that that would be a ruse, and

men do not employ cunning and ruses. The essence [of my words is] the importance of the decisions rulers make in their affairs. Each decision must be taken with understanding. And may there be peace.

### THE THIRD QUALITY

#### Silence

The people heed what is spoken by the ruler. Whether a scholar or an ignoramus, all [people] should prefer silence. There is no quality better or higher than silence. Great harm comes from speech. There is much misfortune when secrets are revealed, when there is inappropriate decisiveness in speech. [Speech] is [the vehicle] for inflicting insult, divorcing one's wife, and manumitting slaves. It holds unease for the angels, and — God forbid! — retreat from the faith. If one makes calculations, words can cause a thousand misfortunes, one can even lose one's head because of them.

#### *Miṣrā'*

A hot tongue brings ruin to a cool head.

"Salvation lies in silence" (Arab.). A wise man lived once who constantly kept a chicken's egg in his mouth. When they asked him why [he did this], he replied: "I have made a cover for my mouth so that nothing may fly out of it". They told him: "Although no little harm comes from the tongue, benefits are to be had as well", to which he objected: "May there be no harm; then there is no need for benefit". Keeping a secret is a special quality; I discovered it in silence, for silence is the best means of [achieving] that. Rulers must keep profound secrets even from those close to them and their proxies, with the exception of cases when their opinion and knowledge can be trusted completely.

#### *Bayt* (Pers.)

If your opinion is known to someone other than yourself,  
[Then] you should mourn that opinion and knowledge [38].

Aristotle was a *wazīr* of the ruler Iskandar [39]. In school, [they] sat together and were friends since childhood. But even the secret of the horns on Iskandar's head the latter did not tell him. [He] resolved state matters with him, but did not reveal his secret thoughts, did not speak of his intentions and strivings. By means of logical speculation, Aristotle determined that, when speaking of a campaign in a certain direction, Iskandar intended to go in the other direction.

### THE FOURTH QUALITY

#### Truthfulness

The truth must inhere in everything, but especially in rulers. The entire world heeds their words, and that which escapes their lips makes the rounds of the world. If a ruler should lie, whether in jest or in mockery, people will lose faith in him, for they repeat what he says. For this reason, it befits rulers to be careful and attentive to each word, and especially in speeches, explanations, and agreements. Better death than a betrayal of one's word. If [they] are firm in the truth, misfortune shall not befall them, they will always enjoy respect, and will succeed and conquer.

#### *Miṣrā'* (Pers.)

You provide the truth, the Creator grants victory.

#### *Bayt* (Pers.)

With truth, with directness is the Lord satisfied,  
I have met no one who went astray on the true, direct path [40].

In the Qur'ān, the Most High glorifies the truthful and sincere. One must not go against a promise. "The noble [man] is faithful to [his] promise" (Arab.). Do not make promises, but if you promise, fulfill [your promise].

### THE FIFTH QUALITY

#### Shame, modesty, and conscience

He who lacks shame and modesty has neither the spiritual, nor the secular. Conscience is the envelope of the spirit, and if there is no envelope, there is no soul. Daring, and generosity, and chastity, and honesty, and piety, and magnanimity, and compassion, and nobility, and intercession — none of this exists outside of shame and conscience. When there is shame and conscience, there is all of this; otherwise, the soul is empty. The soul and life are dear to all. But he who has not shame will flee [to save himself], while he who has shame will remain and perish. Property is dearer than the soul when it is acquired for



important matters and expended in accordance with shame and conscience. A lovely beloved is a beautiful sight; but it is inaccessible to contemplation because of shame. Zulaikhā [41], in a moment of solitude, when with compulsion and tears she inclined Yūsuf [42] to consent, covered with fabric her idol made from gold. Yūsuf asked: "What have you hidden?" She replied: "This is my god, I am ashamed before him, and for this reason have hidden [him], that he should not see my deed". Yūsuf said to her: "If you are ashamed before such a [petty] idol, then how can I not be ashamed before my God, who is All-knowing and All-seeing".

Fear is indivisible from shame: he who is ashamed before God fears Him, and he who has no shame has no fear. There are many types of shame: before God, before the angels, before people. Shame before God stems from the fact that the Most High has such vision that even beneath the earth He sees how in the darkest night a black ant crawls beneath a black stone. Nothing is concealed from His gaze, for Him all that each person does is clear. If a person performs something inadmissible with some woman, if he seeks out a concealed corner, or if a young boy comes to him in a secret place, then he experiences disgust because of great shame and powerful fear. And even if his shame before God and the young boy are not equal, the All-present and All-seeing does not take this into account, and the person will become sinful when he breaks the divine commandments.

Another type of fear is [fear] before the angels. No matter what action or deed should come from a person, the angels who sit on his shoulders will bear [them] to the throne of God. And there [sit] other angels who observe deeds, affairs, words. And one must have great shame in order not to commit diabolical deeds which contradict the *sharī'a*; they are saddened by all that brings joy to the devil.

*Bayt* (Pers.)

Grief stems from that evil which is in every nature.  
May my fear become a rebuke to Satan [43].

[People] are ashamed before the angels in all things, but several areas are considered damned. Primarily, they are those which for a sitting and lying [person] are exposed beneath the navel and above the knees, that is, the privy parts of a man and woman. When washing, men and women are obligated to observe this rule. Washing must take place at such a time that others do not find out. Moreover, one [should] not expose oneself overmuch [while visiting] a latrine, and much else. It is said that no one saw the Sultan [Maḥmūd] Ghaznawī wash. And no one knew when the Indian Sultan Muḥammad Khiljī [44] retired [to the harem]; not even trusted servant-girls knew this. He was an amazingly good padishah who virtually never departed from the rules of shame.

*Miṣrā'* (Pers.)

He who has no shame has also no faith.

Shame before people is diverse, and he whose eyes are clear with insight will comprehend, but [I must] write about some things. Not to obey one's parents and not to show them attention, not to heed their advice and instruction, not to follow moral requirements when they endure insult, not to resist such evil, not to fulfil their instructions in all matters, not to avenge a murder — all this is shameful. And there is a *riwāyat*: a son who does not avenge his father is a mongrel and a bastard. To insult a neighbour, fail to help a friend, not support a comrade, not respect a teacher, not honour one's parents, not share one's property [upon] seeing them hungry and barefoot, not to be merciful, not to show magnanimity — this is also recognised as shameful. If the '*abd al-zawja*', that is the wife's slave, whom she commands and who obeys her in all, endures her caprices, if she walks along the streets, rides out wilfully on *ziyārats* [45], or if strangers can hear her voice from the courtyard, or if her laughter is heard, or even the sound of her bracelets, then there is this *ḥadīth*: "In truth, Allah hates the sound of anklets just as [He hates] singing, and He condemns the possessor of that just as He condemns this action; so let her not put on bracelets, or she is damned" (Arab.). That is her torment. And the husband of a wife who allows this also [suffers] torment, disgrace, and dishonour. He who well remembers these shameful things will grasp any others, and if I were to write about all of them, this book would be overlong. But avarice, elicitation, and begging are also an important sign of shamelessness and immodesty, just as in this a person disgraces his fathers and forefathers, and the same shall happen to him himself. If his ancestors did not perform vile deeds, then they shall appear to him as though he was born not of his own father.

*Bayt* (Pers.)

A son who lacks the features of his father,  
Call [him] a stranger, do not call [him born] of his father.

Requests between father and son, wife and husband, servant and master, teacher and pupil, *pīr* [46] and *murīd* [47], who have rights in relation to one another, are not considered begging. But this depends on nobility. If a son is noble, he will be saddened even by a request [directed] toward his father.

*Bayt* (Pers.)

Abandon greed and rule,  
The neck that is not encumbered by avarice rises high [48].

The ruler is he who is not avaricious; consider the ruler who is grasping and mercenary a pauper.

( ۱۴۸ )

خطه په کښې واقع وی نظر دې د اصلاح پرې وکا . په اغماض دې  
 ندني وکا ( خد ما صفادع ماکدر ) دانايان د طمن ژبه کوتاه لری ، چه  
 عین مطلب خو د ظاهر ښه گڼه - په عدم استعداد و استطاعت دا داعیه  
 په خاطر نه وه بدايت يې په چهارشنبه شروع و نهايت يې په اولسم  
 درېم الاول وشو . دافطه د تاريخ ده :

## قطعه

دا کتاب چه په پښتو خوشحال انشاء کړي  
 پخوانه دی انشاء کړي پښتانه  
 که تاريخ يې د انشاء له مانه غواړي  
 وایم دایس دی محنت د بیلنا نه

په تاريخ پنجم جمادی الثاني ، سنه ۱۱۱۹ یکمزارو یکصدو نوزده ،  
 در سر کار زبده خوانین بلند مکان ، خان مکرمت نشان مرجع حسنات  
 حسنه ، منبع افاضات ذاتیه محمد افضل خان جیوادام الله ارشاده و  
 ضاعف آثار اقباله - نسخه معظمه دستار نامه به خط احقر عبدالحمید از  
 حوصله قلم به منصب تحریر در آمد.

Fig. 2

*Bayt* (Pers.)

He who eats bread earned through his own labour  
Does not seek recourse to the charity of the rich man Ḥātim Ṭā'ī [49].

Bad and shameless is he who, with no need for recompense, asks [something] for himself without experiencing need. And yet another sign of shamelessness: will he who does not understand the shame of others comprehend his own? He who values his own sister and daughter will value those of others as well.

## THE SIXTH QUALITY

## Good nature

A good nature is a sublime characteristic. However many good qualities a man may have, if he lacks a good nature, they are all useless. An *āyat* was sent down to the Prophet Muhammad: "Receive from me grace; I have made your nature good, thanks to which you have made the world yours" [50]. Rulers must try to develop this quality in themselves. However much is achieved by the sword and the treasury, as much — if not more — [is achieved] by a good nature.

*Bayt* (Pers.)

With pleasant speech, kindness and goodness  
You can lead an elephant by a single hair [51].

Treat everyone kindly, and say good things even about your enemy. Abū Muslim Marwazī [52] had no equals in courage; he was an unsurpassed warrior and leader. By his efforts and martial feats the 'Abbāsids came to power in the caliphate. He never spoke badly of his enemies. He said: "We fight well with one another with swords, why should we make use of our tongues?" His friendliness was such that if a leper came to him, he would rise to meet him and embrace him. He never mocked anyone. When someone was angry with him, he only laughed in response. He valued neither his own wealth nor his life. For his good nature, magnanimity, and disinterestedness, God gave him an army, and he first conquered Khorasan, then Iraq [53] and Baghdad, and he achieved high honours. Ya'qūb Layth [54] was a carpenter, and began to employ the tactic of raids. He chose righteousness and justice: having seized a caravan, he would surrender half to its owners and divide half among his comrades. He followed Abū Muslim Marwazī and adopted from him all of the good nature and friendliness of the latter's nature. And as a poor carpenter who came to possess these qualities, he conquered Khorasan and Iraq. His three subsequent generations ruled there.

I want to say that a [person with] a good nature will make a stranger his own, an enemy a friend, while a [person of] bad character alienates and turns a friend into a foe. If you strike someone with a sword and inflict a wound, that will be forgotten, the pain will pass, he will recover, and that is all. But if you wound someone with your tongue, a wound will appear in the heart, and a wound in the heart does not heal; it remains forever in memory. Even if you mention someone in jest and with humour, [that] can be interpreted as an insult and will not be forgotten. And it will cause anger and aversion. Here is one example. A certain Balkh ruler was conversing in the *majlis* with his *amīrs* and mentioned the wife of one of them. Anger entered that [man's] heart, and his son urged him to [commit an] evil [deed]. The matter came to a conflict and bloodshed. One must always restrain one's tongue: there is no place for ridicule and mockery, as ridicule sparks a fire.

## THE SEVENTH QUALITY

## Magnanimity and nobility

This is also a laudable quality. [It] comes from the essence [of a person]. He who has shame, has nobility. Nobility cannot appear in a shameless and base [person]. Nobility is [manifested] primarily in relation to family and friends. The Refuge of the Prophetic Mission deigned to say: "And of your wife also the father", that is, the father of your wife is also your father.

*Bayt*

The father-in-law is the same as a father to the husband, the husbands of sisters are brothers,  
And the wives of brothers are sisters, the wives of the father-in-law are the same as mothers.

Affinity through marriage is distinguished by even greater love than closeness through blood relation. According to the *sharī'a*, relatives by marriage and blood have the same rights, and all that is done to observe them is noble. There will be no nobility in he who does not understand the essence of shame and modesty. Moreover, he who does not give a neighbour his due is not noble. If they meet in morning and evening, live next to each other, but do not share [their] grief and sadness, there is no nobility here.

*Fard* [55]

I sympathise with acquaintances, such is their position, but woe to a stranger.

But if they will not have nobility, then who will? It is, of course, indispensable for a ruler. If someone was ever indispensable to him, or if he drank simple water in someone's home, may he remember and reward them a hundred times over,

for nobility lies in dying in his service. If there is a worthy one among his sons, may he make him his proxy, and if there are none [of these], if they lack abilities, talent, are weak and licentious, may he have mercy on them, show them condescension, and not forget their service. And more: [if] a servant of God appeals to him for help and refuge, may he defend him with his life, property, and realm.

Moreover, may he look directly into the face of each person, never commit base deeds for the sake of material, worldly gain, and if a lowly person appeals to him, may he grant him an audience. In state affairs, one should accept petitions on questions of property, but when an affair of state concerns the bases and structure of the state, such petitions with offers to participate should not be accepted: a person who renders an appeal concerning such a state affair may be an enemy rather than a friend. Such powers should not be granted to anyone. Each case which arises should be resolved according to the advice of well-wishers, but it is not magnanimous to refuse petitions on property and financial transactions.

### THE EIGHTH QUALITY

#### Forgiveness and mercy

Magnanimity and generosity are called mercy, but in its essence mercy is manifested in the forgiving of sins and guilt. Magnanimous is he who possesses this quality of character. The Most High possesses this, which is why one of his epithets is the Most Merciful. "Do not despair of God's mercy" [56]. Rulers are a shadow of God's good will, and this quality should be strong in them: he in whom there is no mercy and magnanimity lacks the nature of a ruler.

A person does not manifest forgiveness and mercy for two reasons. First, hope that he will live long and will rid himself of all who are against him; second, worldly avarice which overcomes him. And also egoism. All of these three qualities deserve to be condemned. No one is eternal in this world. Rapaciously seized worldly wealth and power do not remain with anyone forever, and egoism and self-satisfaction do not bring benefits. For what happened to the Pharaoh Hāmān [57]? A ruler should open his eyes to the truth, see himself in the world and see that the world needs him, and [he should] be grateful for this. And if God has made him dependent on the world, then what has he himself done in the world? One must be grateful for not passing up the opportunity to forgive and be merciful in order to vanquish an enemy, and there would be more victories. One must not stint on forgiveness and mercy, as there is nothing higher than magnanimity. Even vengeance does not grant as much satisfaction as forgiveness. The Sultan Sanjar [58] was victorious over a padishah, captured him in battle, and everyone thought that he would kill him. The sultan held festivities to celebrate the victory, invited this enemy and entertained him. After the feast, he asked for platters and valuables, placed them before him, and the padishah extemporised two *bayts*:

#### *Mathnawī* (Pers.)

He captured me, did not kill [me] in anger or out of vengeance,  
Although, without a doubt, I should have been killed,  
And then on a platter he gives me priceless gems.  
Look, what forgiveness and gifts have been accorded me.

The sultan released him and returned to him the realm which he had ruled. The sultan's retainers said to him: "What has the Sultan done? Such an enemy was captured with great difficulty, and the Sultan let him go". The sultan objected: "I forgave him as a sign of gratitude [to God] for the fact that he became my captive, and not I his. And also because my mercy will become known to the entire world — so merciful and all-forgiving is Sanjar!" His retainers said: "But he will rise up again!" The sultan uttered: "If he rebels, I will go to war with him again. And if he should be my captive ten times, I will still forgive him". That padishah, while he was alive, was as faithful to the sultan as a slave. The well-known *amīr* Atsīz [59] was a *nūkar* [60] to the sultan, considered him his brother. The *amīrs* of the sultan said to him: "If he rebels, call us together", because they espied a mutinous nature in him, but the sultan immediately gave him Khorezm to rule and released him there to reign; he rendered honour to him and the latter left. After laughing, the sultan said: "This shah will no longer show his face here, he has left and will not return". The *amīrs* said: "The Sultan has only to say [the word], and we will cut him to pieces". The sultan said: "Such conduct is unworthy of the generous and merciful, that is not magnanimous and not noble".

After leaving for Khorezm, Atsīz once again rebelled. He erected a fortress in the city of Hazarasb (lit. "one thousand horses" — V. K.), but finally, yielding to the sultan's blows, he left the city and fled. The poet Rashīd Waṭwāṭ was Atsīz's panegyrist, and when he composed against the sultan the following *bayr*:

O hero Rustam, if the shah becomes your enemy  
One ass will not overcome a thousand horses,

the sultan ordered: "If Rashīd falls into our hands, cut him to shreds". And Rashīd was captured, and when they brought him to the executioners, he said: "Convey my request to the Sultan". The murderers asked: "What [request]?" [Rashīd answered:] "I, a wretch, am so mean of body that the Sultan need not cut me, there is not enough flesh in me to make two pieces". When this was conveyed to the sultan, he laughed and pardoned Rashīd. This glorious padishah was defeated by a local people called the Ghuzz, on the field of battle not far from Bukhara, he was put in chains and kept for a time in the Termez fortress. Then the 'ay-yārs [62] came and freed him from the fortress. One *malik* brought him to Khorasan through Balkh, and he died in Registan.

Forgiveness and mercy are the great qualities of rulers, they are part of [their] inner nature. But they are also necessary for people of council and righteousness, for the ruler consults with scholars, wise men, the knowledgeable and the noble. They influ-

ence the ruler, and the qualities of mercy and magnanimity gain the upper hand in him. But if he would converse with the base and greedy, the evil and ignorant [or] the outcast they will also influence him.

*Bayt* (Pers.)

If an angel sits down with a demon, know the fear of betrayal and treachery,  
Beware an evil neighbour, avoid [him] — may God protect us from the hell fire [63].

### THE TENTH QUALITY

#### Righteousness and justice

These are the foundation of a state's good organisation and prosperity, and the peace of people. What are they?

[*Bayt*] (Pers.)

When a ruler strives for justice in matters,  
Temporary tranquillity becomes permanent.

An unbeliever, if he is just, is better than a Muslim despot in affairs of state.

[*Rubā'i*] (Pers.)

Know righteousness and justice, and not unbelief or faith,  
For it is this which is indispensable in preserving the state,  
Righteousness and justice shown by an unbeliever  
Are better than the oppression of a believing shah.

Nūshīrwān [64] was an unbeliever, but was just in the conduct of affairs, and the Prophet spoke of him with praise:

*Bayts* (Pers.)

The Prophet, who in the age of Nūshīrwān  
Became the eye and light of the world,

Said: "I am free from tyranny  
Because I was born in the age of Nūshīrwān".

There is a *ḥadīth* on the Refuge of the Prophetic Mission (that is, the Prophet Muḥammad — V. K.): "One hour of justice is better than sixty years of prayer with night vigils and mid-day fasting" (Arab.). Each [person] is a ruler in his home: a padishah reigns in the realm, the elder rules in the village, the master of the house in his home, and justice is indispensable for each [of them]. As the Most High said: "Believers, guard yourselves and your families against a Fire!" [65]. "May a ruler [live] in unbelief, so long as he does not retreat from justice" (Arab.). The word "justice" consists of three letters: 'ayn, dāl, and lām. 'Ayn is "eye" in Arabic, dāl is "leader", and lām is "defence and armour". A padishah, *malik*, sultan must observe his subjects, show them the way, and defend them as reliably as armour which guards the body; he must be the guardian of his subjects and not allow their oppression. "Shepherd of the servants of Allah and guardian of the countries of Allah" (Arab.). This [utterance] is true in relation to a ruler. The management of the state is a great matter.

*Bayt* (Pers.)

Justice [in regard] to [one's] subjects and the command of the army  
Are not games, but a serious matter.

The management of the state, politics, and power — these are from Allah, for the matter is not simple. He who acts in just fashion is a deputy of the Most Merciful; a despot and tyrant is a deputy of Satan. There is a *ḥadīth*: "When a ruler is just, he is a deputy of the Merciful, and when he is a tyrant, a deputy of *shayṭān*" (Arab.). According to the *ḥadīth*, a just ruler is granted so much that each prayer of his subjects is counted as seventy prayers. If a Muslim ruler is unjust and despotic, but is called just, [for] that threatens unbelief. If an unbeliever is glorified for justice, there is no fear of unbelief in this, as the Prophet was proud of Nūshīrwān: "I was born in the age of a just ruler" (Arab.). Allah the Most High said: "... and be unbiased. Surely God loves the just" [66].

The first condition of justice is that a ruler not consider himself greater than his subjects. On the day of the full moon, the Prophet sat in shade while his comrades were in the sun. Jabrā'il came down to him and said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, you are in the shade, the *aṣḥāb*, your friends, in the sun". The Prophet immediately moved into the sunlight. Moreover, show no preference for yourself, and others will show no preference for another over you.

[*Bayt*]

If he does not show a preference for himself over another,  
May that [latter person] not place himself higher.

In matters of righteousness and justice, a son and a brother, a stranger and a weak [person] should be equal before the ruler. One must not despise a pauper and a *darwīsh* [or] force them to wait; one should hear them out without delay, carry out

their requests, act in accordance with the *shari'a* and customary law, in reasonable, peace-loving, and virtuous fashion so that all is to the benefit of people. Then evil and corruption are dispelled and each receives his lawful due. Thus must one act. One must not be an egoist, wilful, vain, contemptuous, lazy, and limited. One must make due with little, rely on God, be noble, possess the qualities of a *qalandar* [67]. It is imperative to converse and consult with scholars, wise men, righteous men, hate and avoid those of bad upbringing who say and think bad things.

*Rubā'ī* (Pers.)

You strive toward primacy, but do not be ahead of others,  
Be like balsam and wax, do not be like a sting.  
If you desire evil from no one,  
Do not speak badly, do not teach what is bad, do not harbour evil.

Striving toward the possession of the world is the root of all evil. "Striving to possess the world stands at the head of all deadly sins" (Arab.). Those who thirst for dominion in the world, in striving for this, have grown distant from it in a single instant. Abandon all of these desires and efforts to others, who will tear it to pieces.

*Miṣrā'* (Pers.)

[O] Allah, Allah, someone has lost [something], [but] someone has saved.

[*Bayt*]

At once, in a moment, in an instant,  
The state of the world changes.

Regret comes after death, and in this world there is no gain of profit, reward, goods, honour neither for the young nor the old; death is a dagger plunged into the throat.

*Bayt* (Pers.)

O youth, although you hope for old age, strive,  
For at times the old man remains and the young man exits.

Happy is the ruler who in his youth conducted affairs in just fashion. "Allah loves best repentance, the repentance of a youth" (Arab.). A ruler who until forty years of age has not strictly observed just [principles] in affairs is deserving of hell. *Ḥadīth*: "May good overcome evil in he who has attained forty years of age; otherwise, he will set off for the fire of hell" (Arab.).

[*Bayt*]

If a forty-year-old does not have knowledge and upbringing,  
In truth, he is not worthy of being called a person.

The Prophet Muḥammad deigned to say: "I am beloved of Allah and a repentant youth is loved by Allah" (Arab.); that is, I am beloved of Allah and a repentant youth is a favourite of God. *Ḥadīth*: "A repentant youth and I, we both shall be in paradise, and he pointed to his forefinger and middle finger" (Arab.); that is, we will go directly to paradise like these two fingers. *Ḥadīth*: "Verily, the repentant youth will receive great recompense from Allah" (Arab.). The ruler who repents in his youth, who acts justly and righteously, humbly, piously, intelligently, his lot will also be like that shown above.

In this chapter, much is promised and much warning is given. Each who will be worthy of the Most High in this will receive these degrees. "Such is the wisdom of Allah, and this is worthy of he who strives" (Arab.).

## THE TWELFTH QUALITY

### Upbringing

The ruler must exhibit great knowledge and skill in this. [One should] not raise dishonest, base, low, vile, harmful, and evil [people]. [One should] go about upbringing in such fashion as to continue a noble lineage of father and grandfather, in its natural essence, in a tribe, so as to raise intelligent, reasonable, knowledgeable, wise [people].

*Bayt* (Pers.)

Raise two, o shah, ruler of the world!  
One for battle, and the other for counsel [68].

The meaning is that they should be grateful to their fathers and grandfathers for what they have been given, that they should serve faithfully and display loyalty from generation to generation; [one should] raise people who will be faithful.

*Bayt* (Pers.)

Increase the significance and worthiness of your ancestors,  
So that you never come to know treachery from the one you raise [69].

Those whom rulers have made great have become great, and those whom rulers have made mean and base have become mean and base. All of these people are akin to gold, silver, lead and copper, and their upbringing is like a stone with an engraved design, a signet, and a signet-ring. Whether they are gold or lead, the basis is in the stone with an engraved design and the signet. If there is much gold in a signet-ring, then it is clear that it weighs twice as much, but a stone with an engraved design with an inlaid ruby, sapphire, or diamond is several times more valuable; its [worth] is set at thousands of *laks* [70], and the seal which bears the name of the padishah is several times [more valuable]. The ruler's kindness is like a seal, and the rewards and high posts he grants are like stones with engraved designs with rubies and other valuable stones. By such an engraved stone, whether it is set in gold, lead, or copper, shall he be evaluated, especially when the ruler puts his seal in it: if he gives his seal to a trifling scoundrel and makes him a *wazīr*, *wakil* [71], all people will submit to him. If someone says that this matter is unworthy, it will not help. This is as if a good, valuable seal with the name of the padishah, [a seal] worthy of gold, were set in copper. The case is the same with granting position and office. But if that engraved stone and seal (i. e. position and office — V. K.) are taken away, the person remains worthless and low like the copper of which he is [made], even if the signet-ring itself is gold, as the value of gold is not comparable to the value of an engraved stone, which is measured in *laks*. But it is necessary that a valuable engraved stone be set in gold, and not copper (i. e. high office should be given to a worthy candidate — V. K.). And as was said, may rulers raise worthy people. The meaning of my words is that the opinion of a ruler is alchemy, and alchemy turns lead into gold. If this is not clear, what is clear?

*Bayt* (Pers.)

Those who transform ashes by means of alchemy,  
Will they glance at us even out of the corner of their eye?

In elevating someone, the ruler should not listen to those many people who will begin to debase that [elevated man]. If he has raised him up, but then brings him down because of someone's words and does not feel ashamed of this, he will lose general trust.

*Bayt* (Pers.)

Do you know why water does not cause wood to sink?  
[Because] it is ashamed to sink what was grown by it.

Let no one, neither the nobleman nor the [person] of low origin, err, be deceived by the love and amity of rulers. When they remove the engraved stone or seal from their finger, the finger remains as it was; the same is true of people if the padishah takes their office and position away from them, they also remain in their original state.

*Bayt* (Pers.)

A part of a silver thread can make its way into the harness of a mule,  
Another part can become a signet-ring with the seal *Sulaymān* [72].

Rulers must be intelligent in relation to themselves just as in their mercy and kindness toward others. The Most High has nurtured rulers and for this reason given them these engraved stones. If He takes them away, He takes them away in an instant, in a blink of the eye, and rulers become just like other people. As we know, this is the lot of the Shah of [this] world. May there be peace, may there be peace.

## THE FOURTEENTH QUALITY

### Managing the state

This is an important art, but in its characteristics it belongs in the realm of qualities. In it lies the stability of the state, for if there is no order, there will be no stability. The ruler has various groups of subjects capable of improving affairs, thanks to which the ruler is guaranteed order and organisation. The family — that is, spouses and children, servants, household members, subjects, craftsmen, traders — of the ruler has as many sections and estates as there are in the realm and the state. If he does not manage this [family], harm will come to the faith and the world. But if all of this falls on a single [person], how can he manage? This is why he needs deputies and assistants, so that he can connect the threads of all matters and learn from them the answer to all questions. They arrange matters so that affairs are conducted in an orderly fashion, so that there is no confusion, so that there is no house without a mistress, without slave-girls of the mistress, without maids.

If there is no good woman of the house, the threads of the home's fate will not knit together, the home will not be in good order, for how can anything flourish if the joints of possessions are not fastened together? For this reason, a ruler is above all obligated to think of a successor, as in case of an accident or unfortunate event a successor must be readied. If the country suffers harm and destruction, authority will collapse in that destruction, and the people will be trampled and destroyed.

May the eldest son be appointed successor; he will become heir, executor, legal inheritor. If there are many sons and some are more worthy and capable than the first-born, the right still lies with the eldest. If there is no son may it be a brother or a brother's son, and if they are lacking, a nephew of the father. If these are lacking too, then in place of his children [the ruler] should make another noble [relative] the eldest, who will be considered a son. In a word, whoever is appointed heir should be greeted and have his authority increased among the people. He should be taught the science and art of politics and managing the state.

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دے زدہ کول ئے لکه دخط مشق هے لری- مشق ئے په موئے  
 قلم کیږی- په دا قلم چه دخط دے، هم نقاشی کیږی- اما  
 لازمه ئے موئے قلم دے- مرزا خلیل دامیر تیمور گورکان غے  
 هے مصور وئ چه لکه نورو به په موئے قلم کار کاوے، ده  
 به دخط په قلم هغه کار کاوے- والسلام



### باب دویم

#### د خصلتونو مشخون په شل خصلت چه لازمه د سیاست

ظاهر دے چه ولایت سیاست ظاهر موقوف په دا خصایل  
 دے، که په دا کچه نه وی، کار ئے انتظام نه نسی- خطر و  
 اختلال ترے تولد شی- نقصان دیو خصلت په ترک هم واقع  
 کیږی- د سیاست ظاهری مراتب دی- په دوه تنه کچه هم پر  
 سردار وی، چه امیر باله شی- په کاله کچه دکاله خنښن امیر  
 دے- کُلْکُم رَاعٍ وَکُلُّکُمْ مَسْئُولٌ عَنْ رَعِيَّتِهِ- په کلی کچه هم امیر  
 وی، په اولس کچه هم په اقلیم کچه هم- په دا حساب امیران  
 ډیر دی، اما امیر هغه دے چه دولس زره جوانان دده په حکم  
 کچه وی- حکم پرته ناندوی، خوف ورجا درخښه کاندے- موافق

Fig. 3



If the ruler has many children, he inclines all of them to obey [the successor], so that they follow his orders, do not display disobedience, insubordination. When such a worthy [person] appears in the family, there is harmony with him, help for him, and all together shall rejoice and enjoy life in honour and glory. But if they shall be entwined in hatred and envy against each other, they will become prisoners of evil fate, piteous, unhappy people. The unfaithful Chingiz-khān ate pork, but harmony reigned among his people, tribe, and clan; his father was the ruler of the country, his orders were obeyed by the populated fourth of the World, and all the children of his lineage became the rulers of states.

Bayt (Pers.)

Good in union with charm conquered the world.  
Yes, one can conquer the world with unity.

On his deathbed, Chingiz-khān offered his children the following testament. He ordered them to bring a quiver, removed an arrow from it, and gave it to one [of them] that he might break it. That [one] broke it. He took another [arrow] and added yet another; there were two arrows. He gave them to his sons; they broke them. Then he gave [them] three, then four, then five. When there were ten [or] twelve, they could not break them, and he said to them: "Each [of you] alone will be broken just as one, two, or three arrows, but if you will be together, in union and harmony, no one will overcome you, just like many arrows placed together". They accepted this advice, and his descendants rule to this day. The Chaghatay [73] were their *nūkars*, and they also came to power. Harmony and union are indispensable in order to rule. And in the *Rawdat al-ṣafā'* [74], in the chapter on Chingiz-khān, it is said that when he was not yet the ruler, but headed an *ülüs* [75], the *ülüs* was so subordinate to his commands that no one contradicted his orders, even if they evoked the dissatisfaction of women and men.

After appointing an heir, one must attend to the matter of a *wazīr*. The *wazīr* is given such freedom of action that anyone can appeal to him — [the] respect and honour [he is accorded] are no less than the heir. Then the *wakīl*, who openly and directly receives petitions. Then the *khānasāmān* [76], who is in charge of expenditures for the court and army. Then the *khazānachi* [77], *bakhshī* [78], and *ārids* [79], who must always know about the condition of the army, report the truth about its upkeep and provisions for it. Then, the appointment of *nā'ibs* to each land. *Wāqi'anawīs* [80], *fawdzdār* [81], *mīrlashkar* [82], commanders of units of ten and twenty cavalymen, *jumā'atdār* [83], *būzbāshī* [84], *zamīndārs* [85], *maliks*, *dā lāro nigahbānān* [86], *ṭawkidār* [87], *qādī*, *muftī* [88], *muhtasib* [89], *kotwāl* [90]. This organization is like a living organism: the padishah is the heart, the *wazīr* the ears and eyes, the *wakīl* the hands and feet, the army the other functioning parts. Many matters depend on the functioning of this organism, and for their sake it exists. The earth and heavens, the throne of God and the empyreans, the seven planets, the sun and moon, wind and water — all of this is also akin to an organism. The will of God is manifested as follows: the four angels closest to God: Jabrā'il, Mikā'il, Isrā'īl [91], 'Azrā'il [92], who are attended by countless *krors* [93] of angels. If there were no such organisation, there would be no world. May there be peace.

## THE FIFTEENTH QUALITY

### Courage and steadfastness

Jabrā'il brought the Messenger of Allah the prophetic mission and selflessness at the same time, giving him the right to choose one of these two qualities. He chose selflessness, but the prophecy was still sent down to him. All grace contained in courage and selflessness is like a "headache" of concerns and troubles in the head. If this is lacking, why would there be troubles? Events and occurrences befall everyone, but especially many befall statesmen. And they occur not anywhere, but in one's own home. They have the realm, the army, the treasury, many affairs, and all of this presumes [that] events [will take place]. If this were lacking, why would there be events? He who has nothing does not have grief either.

Bayt (Pers.)

We have no turban — there is no sadness,  
If we have nothing — there is nothing to be concerned about.

The groans of the tormented and despairing [are heard] in the palace of the rose-faced beauty. There is no cause for concern if you have but little [94].

Misrā' (Pers.)

A large fortune [means] more grief about one's fortune.

Many rulers in many states are so exhausted by their cares that in prayers they ask for the liberation of their soul. But one should not show weakness. The lion does not cease to be a lion even if chains are placed on his neck, for these very chains are a symbol of his greatness: no one would place chains on foxes or jackals.

Bayt (Pers.)

When our flower-trader wishes to take flowers to the bazaar,  
He must ready himself to endure the cries of the buyer.

Great affairs demand that one not fear great concerns and afflictions.

*Bayt (Pers.)*

There is no beautiful or ugly thing,  
The nature of which is not established for a purpose.

Each [person] is created for a specific purpose, but in his own hands he has nothing.

*Miṣrā' (Pers.)*

A wise man will make a simple [man] noble.

When one among many is venerated, it renders him chosen, exalted, and this is for the good of all, because he is appointed to this by the Creator. And he is endowed with will and courage. But in his courage he should not act ignobly in relation to those whom he has chosen as his friends. Whatever difficult matter might stand before him, he should display steadfastness in it.

*Bayt (Pers.)*

In each matter in which persistence is shown,  
Even from a thorn a rose will result.

When many unhappy events take place, one must have a firm heart and not lose one's head.

*Bayt (Pers.)*

Whether a matter is difficult or easy,  
Before God's grace they are all equal.

One needs only firmness, and God will make what is difficult easy. If a flood carries away a kingdom and all that is in it, the heart should not shudder; one must say to oneself: "What was given to me has been taken away; if [something] is given to me, it will be given again".

*Miṣrā' (Pers.)*

To whom has [fate] been faithful that it should be faithful to us?

To whom has the world shown loyalty that it should show it to us? What has happened to all rulers? What has happened to their realms and wealth? The time of each has come and gone, ours shall pass as well. May the ruler not be ingratiating and obsequious with anyone so that they do not remember him as weak; better death than life in humiliation and dishonour. If they begin to humiliate a ruler, [he] must fear no one and not let slip from [his] hands persistence and selflessness.

*Bayts (Pers.)*

If harm comes to you, do not take offence at people,  
For peace and suffering come not from people.

Know [that] the conflict between enemy and friend comes from God,  
For the hearts of both are subordinate to Him [95].

May he retain persistence and striving in affairs, and not show weakness and laziness. Like Sulayman from whose hand the signet-ring fell, but returned [to him]. If he ends up alone, may his will lead him across the earth. While his head is upon his shoulders, let there be distress and ill-wishers.

*Mathnawī*

While there is a head on the body of the lover,  
There is in it distress and misfortune.  
Stout young men will shake their heads —  
They do not care whether there are lions or elephants.  
All seems to them a trifle,  
When there is courage and steadfastness.  
May one lose one's head, but not one's courage.  
No one remains on the earth forever.  
You will not be preserved after death,  
No matter how you tend to yourself.

**THE TWENTIETH QUALITY****Repentance and penitence**

No one will ever be free from sin. Sin appeared simultaneously with the appearance of man. Clothing appeared, and with it dirt. Dirt on one's clothes is removed with soap, the dirt of sin [is removed] with repentance and penitence. Repentance is necessary for all; it preserves [us] from misfortune. The Most High loves the repentant just as He loves those who worship. Whether a sin is committed consciously or in error, all can hope for its remission. If a servant of God sins seventy

times a day and repents, the Most High accepts this [repentance]. When a person commits a sin, the angel at his left hand takes up the *qalam*: I will write this down. The angel at his right side says to him: "Wait, do not write, it seems that he is repenting". And when the true believer repents and confesses, the angel records a good deed in place of a sin.

The bearer of the sins of the faithful is the angel 'Azrā'il. But one should not treat sin lightly, as this threatens unbelief. Even a minor sin should be considered grave: a thousand transgressions and a thousand repentances are proof of a frivolous attitude toward sin. Confession is pronounced for various reasons, the tongue should not rest by day nor by night from penitent confession\*.

## Notes

1. *Dastār-nāma muṣannif Khushhāl Khataik* (Kabul, 1345/1966). (Destaar naama de Khoshhal Khān Khataik. Pashto Tolana, 1966).
2. *Dastār-nāma dō Khushhāl-khān Khataik* (Peshawar, 1991).
3. *Dastār-nāma muṣannif Khushhāl Khataik*, p. 1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
5. *Kullīyyat-i Khushhāl-khān Khataik sara dō muqaddame au ḥāshīyye dō Dost-Muḥammad-khān Kāmil Muhmand* (Peshawar, 1960), pp. XVIII—XX.
6. Zalmay Hewādmal, *Dō Hind dō kitābkhāno khattī nuskhe yā dō Hind dō dzino kitābkhāno dō paṣḥto khattī nuskho fihrist* (Kabul, 1363), pp. 165—6. (*Catalogue of Pushtu Manuscripts in Indian Libraries* by Zalmay Hewadmal (Academie of Sciences of Afghanistan, 1984)).
7. Abū-l-Faḍl b. Mubārak 'Allāmī, *'Iyār-i dānish* (Kanpur, 1984), p. 304.
8. *Fihrist-i abwāb wa ḥikāyāt-i Anwār-i Suḥaili ta 'līf-i Husayn Wā'iz Kāshif* (Calcutta, 1829).
9. Abū-l-Faḍl b. Mubārak 'Allāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 304; *A Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Afghan Language; to Which is Subjoined a Glossary in Afghan and English*, ed. by Bernhard Dorn (St. Petersburg, 1847), pp. 1—23; *The Gulshan-i-Roh: Being Selections, Prose and Poetical, in the Puṣḥtu, or Afghān Language*, ed. by Captain H. G. Raverty (London, 1860), pp. 81—116.
10. Sa'dī, *Karīmā* (Bombey, 1314/1896—97), pp. 2—16.
11. 'Aṭṭar, *Pand-nāma*, in *Karīmā*, pp. 1—60.
12. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm 'Aṭṭar Nishābūrī, *Dīwān*, ba ihtimām wa taṣḥīḥ-i Taqī Tafaddulī, chap-i 6 (Tehran, 1371/1992).
13. *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, ta'līf-i 'Alī b. Abī Ḥafṣ al-Isfahānī, ba ihtimām-i S. H. Taqī-zāda (Tehran, 1317/1938).
14. *Tuḥfa dar aḥlāq wa siyāsāt*, ba ihtimām-i Muḥammad Taqī Dānish-Pazhūh (Tehran, 1341/1962).
15. *Izvedai' dorogi i puti pravedykh. Pekhleviiskie nazidatel'nye teksty* (To Know the Roads and Ways of the Righteous. Pahlavi edifying texts), introduction, transcription of texts, translation, commentary, glossary, and indices by O. M. Chunaikova (Moscow, 1991).
16. *Kitāb-i Naṣīḥat-nāma ma'rūf ba Qābūs-nāma*, ta'līf-i amīr 'Unṣur al-Ma'ālī Kaykāwus b. Iskandar b. Wushmagīr b. Ziyār ba taṣḥīḥ wa muqaddama wa ḥawāshī-yi duktur Amīn 'Abd al-Majīd Badawī (Tehran, 1342/1963); *Kabus-name (Qābūs-nāma)*, translation, article, and notes by corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, E. E. Berthels, 2nd edn. (Moscow, 1958).
17. *Siasat-name. Kniga o pravenii vazira XI stoletia Nizam al-mul'ka (Siyāsāt-nāma. Book on the Rule of the Eleventh-Century Wazīr, Nizām al-mul'k)*, translation, introduction to the study of the text, and notes by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder (Moscow—Leningrad, 1949); *Siyāsāt-nāma yā Siyar al-mulūk*, ta'līf-i Abū 'Alī-Hasan b. 'Alī Nizām al-mul'k, ba ihtimām-i sayyid 'Abd al-Rahīm Khalkhālī (Tehran, 1310/1931); *Chahār maqāla*, ta'līf-i Nizāmī 'Arūdī Samarqandī, ba kūshih-i duktur Muḥammad Mu'in (Tehran, 1334/1915—16); Nizami Aruzi Samarqandi, *Sobranie redkosti, ili Chetyre besedy* (Collection of Rarities, or Four Conversations), trans. from the Persian by S. I. Baevsky and Z. N. Vorozheykina, editor and author of an introduction A. N. Boldyrev (Moscow, 1963); M. D. Semidchieva, *Nekotorye osobennosti razvitiia persiazaychnoi didakticheskoi prozy XI—XII vv. (na materialakh "Kabus-name", "Siyasat-name" i "Chahar makale")* (Certain Features of the Development of Persian-Language Didactic Prose of the Eleventh—Twelfth Centuries: Based on the *Qābūs-nāma*, *Siyāsāt-nāma* and *Chahār maqāla*), abstract of PhD dissertation (Moscow, 1989); *The Chahār Maqāla of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī-i-Samarqandī*, edited with introduction, notes and indices by Mīrzā Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb of Qazwīn (Leiden—London, 1910). — Gibb Memorial Series, XI; *Revised Translation of the Chahār Maqāla of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī of Samarqand, followed by an abridged translation of Mīrzā Muḥammad notes to the Persian text*, by Edward G. Browne (London, 1921). — Gibb Memorial Series, XI, 2.
18. *Riwāyat* — legend, tale.
19. *Hikmat* — a wise utterance, wisdom, philosophy.
20. The translation of several chapters from the first part of the work on the "arts" which a ruler must master (writing, verse composition, shooting, the hunt, commerce) will be accessible in one of the coming issues of *Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie* (St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies), which also contains a list of Khushhāl-khān's major works and provides a history of the treatise's composition.
21. *Sardār* — leader, commander, military commander; prince.
22. *Amīr* — emir, leader, commander of a military detachment. Khushhāl-khān uses the term also in the sense of a master, a ruler on any level.
23. The Qur'ān, 4: 62. The Qur'ān citations are given here as translated by Arthur J. Arberry in his *Koran Interpreted* (London—New York, 1955).
24. *Hākīm* — governor, head of a city or provincial administration.
25. *Nā'ib* — governor-general, governor; deputy.
26. *Malik* — ruler; village elder.
27. *Sharī'a* — the collected statutes of Muslim law.
28. The author means the first part of his work.
29. *Aṣḥāb* — companions of the Prophet Muḥammad.
30. Abū Bakr — the first of the four so-called "Rightly-guided" caliphs (632—634).
31. 'Umar — the second of the so-called "Rightly-guided" caliphs (634—644).

\* Khushhāl-khān goes on to cite the Persian and Arabic text of the confession of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī [96], indicating the time of its reading during the day.

32. Jabr'āl — one of the four angelic retainers of Allah, an intermediary between Allah and Muḥammad; according to tradition, he transmitted to Muḥammad the text of the Qur'ān.
33. Mikā'il — one of the angelic retainers of Allah; his name is frequently employed in Muslim magic.
34. *Kulliyat-i Sa'dī*. *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, *ghazaliyyāt*, *qaṣā'id*, *qita'āt wa rasā'il*. Az rū-i qadimtarīn nuskhahā-i mawjūd, ba ihtimām-i Muḥammad 'Alī Furūghī (Tehran, 1536/1977), p. 119.
35. Ma'mūn — al-Ma'mūn (813—833) — the seventh 'Abbāsīd caliph, from 809—813 he was governor-general of Khorasan.
36. Maḥmūd — Ghaznawīd sultan (998—1030), during his rule, the Ghazna principedom became a powerful state.
37. Maymandī — Hasan Maymandī, *wazīr* of Maḥmūd (see n. 36).
38. *Kulliyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 253.
39. Iskandar — Alexander the Great (356—323 B.C.), known in Arab literature as Iskandar the Two-horned.
40. *Kulliyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 51.
41. Zulaykhā — in the Qur'ānic tradition, the wife of the Egyptian grandee Potiphar; she passionately fell in love with Yūsuf (Bibl. Joseph, see n. 42).
42. Yūsuf — the Qur'ānic incarnation of the Biblical Joseph the Beautiful; the story of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, who tries in vain to win his love, attracted the authors of many Arab, Persian, and Turkic works.
43. *Kulliyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 387.
44. Khiljī — Muḥammad Khiljī, one of the rulers of the Afghan Khiljī dynasty (1290—1321) in Northwest India.
45. *Ziyārat* — pilgrimage to holy places.
46. *Pīr* — sheikh, head of a Sūfī order.
47. *Murīd* — disciple of a Sūfī order sheikh.
48. *Kulliyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 119.
49. Hātim Tā'ī — legendary Arab ruler, symbol of generosity.
50. Here the author gives a Pashto translation of an *āyat* which, unfortunately, I was unable to identify.
51. *Kulliyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 116; cf. also p. 306.
52. Abū Muslim — the leader of the 747 uprising in Khorasan against the Umayyad caliphate; he was betrayed and murdered in 755 by al-Manṣūr, the second 'Abbāsīd caliph.
53. Iraq — here, most likely, Iranian Iraq, the area to the north-west of Isfahan.
54. Ya'qūb Layth (861—890) — the first *amīr* of the Ṣaffārīd dynasty, which ruled in Sistan, Khorasan, and Fars. In his youth, he was a coppersmith (*ṣaffār*); Khushḥāl-khān mistakenly calls him a carpenter.
55. *Fard* — one verse line inserted in prose.
56. The Qur'ān, 39:54.
57. Hāmān — in the Qur'ān and Islamic traditions, the name of the Pharaoh's *wazīr*.
58. Sanjar — sultan (1119—1157) of the Saljūk dynasty.
59. Atsīz — the ruler of Khorezm (1127—1156), the first of the dynasty of the Khwārazmshāhs. Khorezm was given to him by the Sultan Sanjar (see n. 58), against whom Atsīz rebelled and fought.
60. *Nūkar* — at various times member of the guard of a feudal lord, vassal of a feudal lord or merely servant.
61. Waṭwāt — Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt (1087—1182), poet-paenegyrist at the court of Atsīz, author of works on poetics and poetry of didactic content.
62. *'Ayyārs* — a social group in the medieval Eastern city. The *'ayyārs* were composed partially of déclassé elements and had their own organisation and armed units. The latter frequently participated in battle with unbelievers and uprisings against foreign rulers, but were also not above raids on caravans. In Persian folklore, the *'ayyārs* are a synonym for courage and daring, not devoid of chivalric connotations. Ya'qūb Layth (see n. 54) came from the ranks of the *'ayyārs*; thanks to the support of his comrades-in-arms, he founded the Ṣaffārīd dynasty.
63. *Kulliyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 88.
64. Nūshīrwān (Anūshīrwān) — Anūshīrwān the Just, the sobriquet of the Sassanian Shah Khusraw I (531—579), who is depicted in legends as the just ruler.
65. The Qur'ān, 66:6.
66. *Ibid.*, 49:9.
67. *Qalandar* — a wandering *darwish*.
68. *Kulliyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 251.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
70. *Lak* — one-hundred thousand.
71. *Wakīl* — granted authority and trust.
72. Sulaymān — the Qur'ānic personage, taken from the Bible, that is king of Israel Solomon (965—928 B.C.), famous for his great wisdom and wealth. He controlled the elements with the aid of a magic signet-ring and seal.
73. Chaghatāy — a group of Turkic tribes who enjoyed special privileges during the rule of the *amīr* Tīmūr.
74. *Rawdat al-safā'* — title of a work by Mīr Khwānd (vols. 1—6) and Khwāndamīr (vol. 7) on general history from the creation of the world until 1524, but primarily a history of Irān, and especially the period of the Tīmūrīd dynasty.
75. *Ūlūs* — clan-tribal unit, people.
76. *Khānasāmān* — director of a household, major-domo.
77. *Khazānachi* — treasurer.
78. *Bakhshī* — an official who possesses complete information on the state of affairs in the country; secretary; main falconer.
79. *'Arid* — here, apparently, the registrar of petitions from subjects who reports about them to the ruler or *wazīr*.
80. *Wāqī'anawīs* — historiographer.
81. *Fawzdār* — a police chief, the head of a police unit.
82. *Mīrlashkar* — military commander.
83. *Jumā'atdār* — here possibly the head of a mosque (cf. also *jam'dār* — a cavalry officer).
84. *Būzbāshī* — head of the stables.
85. *Zamīndār* — a major land-owner, feudal lord; a land tax inspector in the Moghūl empire.
86. *Nigahbānān (do lāro)* — (road) guard.

87. *Ṭṣawkidār* — guard.
88. *Muftī* — representative of a Sunnī Islamic court, who issues independent judgments on the basis of the Qur'ān and traditional Muslim law.
89. *Muhtasib* — guardian of moral behaviour and order in a city and, in particular, at the bazaar.
90. *Korwāl* — chief of police; judge; in seventeenth-century Bukhara, an official who supervised the construction of state buildings.
91. *Isrāfīl* — one of the four angelic retainers of Allah; he transmits to the angels divine decisions on the fate of people and announces the approach of the Final Judgment with the sounds of a trumpet.
92. 'Azrā'īl — one of the four angelic retainers of Allah, the angel of death.
93. *Kror* — ten million.
94. Lit. "The other's dung is of use to no one; they press their own dung". The author means animal dung traditionally employed to produce fuel.
95. *Kulliyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 60.
96. Jīlānī, 'Abd al-Qādir (1077—1166) — Šūfī sheikh, theologian and preacher, the author of secret prayers (likely borrowed from other sources); his name is linked with the founding of the Qādiriya order.

### Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** *Dastār-nāma*, the second part, beginning of chapter 10, the Kabul edition (1966), p. 107.
- Fig. 2.** *Dastār-nāma* text's ending with the chronogram and colophon, the same edition, p. 138.
- Fig. 3.** *Dastār-nāma*, the second part, beginning, the Peshawar edition (1991), p. 167.
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