THE

SHÁHNÁMA OF FIRDAUSÍ

DONE INTO ENGLISH BY

ARTHUR GEORGE WARNER, M.A.

AND

EDMOND WARNER, B.A.

"The homes that are the dwellings of to-day
Will sink 'neath shower and sunshine to decay,
But storm and rain shall never mar what I
Have built—the palace of my poetry."

FIRDAUSI.

VOL. IX

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The year A.D. 1010 saw the completion of the Sháhnáma, the great Persian epic. Its author, the poet Firdausí, spent over thirty laborious years in its composition, only to experience, when the task had been achieved, a heart-breaking disappointment well worthy of inclusion in any record of the calamities of authors. His work has survived the test of time, and by general consent is accounted to be one of the few great epics of the world. Geographically, and in some other respects, it may be said to stand half-way between the epics of Europe and those of India. In its own land it has no peer, while in construction and subject-matter it is unique. Other epics centre round some heroic character or incident to which all else is subservient. In the Sháhnáma there is no lack either of heroes or of incidents, but its real hero is the ancient Persian people, and its theme their whole surviving legendary history from the days of the First Man to the death of the last Sásánian Sháh in the middle of the seventh century of our era. It is the glory of the Persian race that they alone among all nations possess such a record, based as it is on their own traditions and set forth in the words of their greatest poet. In another sense, too, the Sháhnáma is unique. The authors of the other great epics tell us little or nothing of their own personalities or of their sources of information. Their works are fairy palaces suspended in mid air; we see the result, but know not how it was achieved. The author of the Sháhnáma takes us into his confidence from the first, so that in reading it we are let into the secret of epic-making, and can apply the knowledge thus gained to solve the problem of the construction of its great congeners. To the student of comparative mythology and folk-lore, to the lover of historic romance or romantic history, and to all that are fond of tales of high achievements and the gests of heroes, the Sháhnáma is a storehouse of rich and abundant material. To set forth a complete presentment of it with the needful notes and elucidations is the object of the present translation, made from two of the best printed texts of the original—that of Vullers and Landauer, and that of Turner Macan.

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PREFATORY NOTE

The General Index at the end of this volume should be consulted in preference to the Indexes to the separate volumes of this work.—E.W.

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THE SHÁHNÁMA

VOL. IX.

ABBREVIATIONS

C.—Macan's edition of the Sháhnáma
L.—Lumsden's do.
P.—Mohl's do.
T.—Tihrán do.
V.—Vullers' do.

BCM. The Chahár Maqála (" Four Discourses ") of Nidhámí-i-'Arúdi-i-Samarqandí. Translated into English by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B.

CTC. Theophanis Chronographia. Ex Recensione Ioannis Classeni.

LEC. The Lands of the Eastern Califate. By G. Le Strange.

NIN. Das Iranische Nationalepos von Theodor Nöldeke.

NT. Geschichte der Perser und Araber sur Zeit der Sasaniden . . . von. Th. Nöldeke.

RM. The Rauzat-us-safa; or, Garden of Purity. . . . By Mirkhond. . . . Translated . . . by E. Rehatsek.

RSM. The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy. By George Rawlinson, M.A.

ZT. Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mo'hammed-Ben-Djarir-Ben-Yezid-Tabari, traduite . . . Par M. Hermann Zotenburg.

NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION

á as in "water."
í as in "pique."
ú as in "rude."
ạ as in "servant."
i as in "sin."
u as in "foot."
ai as in "time."
au as in *ou* in "cloud."
g is always hard as in "give."
kh as *ch* in the German "buch."
ẓh as *z* in "azure."

IV

THE SĀSĀNIAN DYNASTY

(Concluded)

XLIV

KUBÁD (COMMONLY CALLED SHÍRWÍ)

HE REIGNED SEVEN MONTHS

ARGUMENT

Kubád on his accession sends two chiefs to accuse of misgovernment the fallen and imprisoned Sháh, Khusrau Parwíz, who justifies himself at great length. His fall is made the subject of a lament by Bárbad, the minstrel, who afterwards mutilates himself. The chiefs, noticing symptoms of remorse in Kubád, insist upon the death of Khusrau Parwíz who is killed with all his other sons. Kubád falls in love with, and wishes to marry, Shírín, who poisons herself rather than consent, and Kubád himself is poisoned soon afterwards.

NOTE

The days of the reign of Kubád (Kobad II., Feb.-Sept., A.D. 628) were few and evil. Tradition already had prepared the ground for this in the unfavourable account given of his early years.[1] The murder of his father was followed by that of all his brothers, and by the tragic death of Shírín, while in addition to all these horrors a frightful pestilence broke out in his reign and the great mortality that ensued still further weakened the resources of an already almost exhausted country and helped to pave the way for the successful Arab invasion of a few years later on. Kubád is represented in the poem as a loutish, uneducated youth,[2] but even if his abilities had been great it is difficult to see how he could have extricated himself from the coil in which

[1] See Vol. viii., p. 390 [2] *Id.*

he found himself involved without mishap to himself or others. He owed his release from prison and perhaps his life to the very conspirators that subsequently demanded of him for their own security the death of his father. To have refused would have been fatal to himself, while in all probability his father and his brothers, with the exception of one who would have been made Sháh, would have perished all the same. It is inconceivable that the conspirators would have run the risk to themselves of restoring Khusrau Parwíz, with his black record of ingratitude as instanced by his treatment of Bandwí and Gustaham,[1] to his former position as ruler. With the exception of his infatuation for Shírín, which hardly can be regarded as historical, Kubád throughout his short reign was the victim of circumstances.

§§ 1 and 2. Kharrád, son of Barzín, was one of the most trusted ministers of Khusrau Parwíz and planned the assassination of Bahrám Chúbína.[2] According to Tabarí he fell at the battle of Dhú Kár.[3]

As the epoch of the Sásánian Dynasty draws to an end through scenes of deepening tragedy the legitimist leanings of the tradition seem to become more and more pronounced and we have an instance here. It is hardly to be supposed, historically speaking, that formal charges of misgovernment were drawn up against, and as formally answered by, Khusrau Parwíz, but rather that someone, desirous of vindicating that Sháh's memory and conversant with the circumstances of the time, soon after his death drew up the charges and the replies thereto. Versions of them are given in both the Arabic and Persian Tabarí and elsewhere. Four of the charges are found in both the Tabarís as well as in the Sháhnáma.[4] They are :—

1. The murder by Khusrau Parwíz of his father Hurmuzd.
2. The illegitimate accumulation of treasure as a result of the financial oppression of the people.
3. The harsh treatment of the royal princes.
4. The refusal to restore the True Cross.

To these the Arabic Tabarí adds :—

1. The general ill-treatment of all prisoners.
2. Enforced recruiting for the royal Haram even of women already married.

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[1] See Vol. viii., p. 354 *seq.* [2] *Id.* p. 331 *seq.* [3] *Id.* p. 190.
[4] NT, 363 *seq.* ZT, ii., 334 *seq.*

3. The keeping of the troops for a long period absent from home.

The Persian Tabarí adds :—

1. The imprisonment of the troops defeated by the Arabs at Dhú Kár and by Heraclius.
2. The exactions of arrears of tribute for the previous twenty or thirty years.
3. The attempt to slay the youthful Yazdagird (afterwards the last Sásánian Sháh).
4. The deposition of Nu'mán, prince of Híra.[1]
5. The mutilation and subsequent execution of Mardánsháh.[2]

In the Arabic Tabarí eight charges are made against Khusrau Parwíz two of which—those relating to the royal Haram and the refusal to restore the "True Cross"—are left unanswered.

In the Persian Tabarí eleven charges are formulated to each of which in the same order an answer is made. Some of the charges, however, must be regarded as later additions while that relating to Nu'mán is not likely to have suggested itself to a Persian and must come from an Arab source. In the Sháhnáma there are eight charges, all of which are more or less answered, but not in the same order as they are preferred, but in the following :—1, 6, 7, 8, 2, 5, 3, 4. Thus Khusrau Parwíz replies to the most serious accusations—those of offences against persons—first. The Sháhnáma agrees most closely with the Arabic Tabarí, supplies the missing answer with regard to the "True Cross," but does not deal with the *gravamen* of the royal Haram question, as that particular charge is not one of those mentioned in the poem.

Galínúsh subsequently served in the war against the Arabs, fought at the Battle of the Bridge, and was perhaps slain at Kádisiya.[3]

§ 5. Indignant legitimate tradition is naturally very wroth with Mihr Hurmuzd, the murderer of Khusrau Parwíz, whom it describes as the lowest of the low and vilest of the vile. According to Tabarí, however, Mihr Hurmuzd was the son of Mardánsháh, the governor of Nímrúz and one of the most obedient and faithful of Khusrau Parwíz' officials. In the Persian Tabarí's version of the Romance of Bahrám

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[1] See Vol. viii., p. 190. [2] See p. 6.

[3] NT, p. 365 *note*. RM, Pt. II., vol. iii., pp. 95, 116.

Chúbína that hero's brother, Yalán-sína in the Sháhnáma, is called Mardánsháh. Yalán-sína is always represented as being one of Bahrám Chúbína's most loyal adherents just as the other brother, Gurdwí, was a firm supporter of Khusrau Parwíz, while their sister Gurdya held an intermediate position, faithful to Bahrám Chúbína, but opposing his kingly ambition in every way in her power. Later on when married to Gustaham, the maternal uncle of Khusrau Parwíz, she agreed, on condition that she should become the Sháh's wife and that a full amnesty should be given to all her adherents, to murder her husband and did so. There would be nothing strange therefore in Mardánsháh, if identical with Yalán-sína, becoming reconciled to, and receiving high office from, Khusrau Parwíz. He would serve one master as faithfully as he served the other. In the circumstances the strange thing would have been for the treacherous Sháh not to have taken the first convenient occasion against him. According to the story the Sháh, two years before his deposition, consulted the astrologers who informed him that his death would come from Nímrúz. He therefore began to suspect and summoned Mardánsháh, but finding no pretext for putting him to death, as he was perfectly loyal and withal an aged man, determined merely to cut off his right hand and make him a large present of money as compensation. The sentence was carried out. Mardánsháh regarded such a mutilation as worse than death and, when shortly afterwards the Sháh was good enough to send and express his regret for what had occurred, asked the Sháh to grant him a boon. The Sháh swore to do so, on which Mardánsháh requested that his head should be struck off in order to wipe out the disgrace put upon him. The Sháh, bound by his oath, felt himself obliged to consent and the execution took place accordingly. The Shah wished to make Mardánsháh's son governor of Nímrúz, but he refused and withdrew from the army.[1] He joined the conspiracy against Khusrau Parwíz[2] and by avenging his father on the Sháh justified the prediction of the astrologers.

The account given by Theophanes of the last days of the Sháh is different. As a general rule it is not prudent to put faith in stories of what occurred in Oriental palaces or prisons, but owing to the special circumstances of the case his information may be good in this instance, as it appears to be

[1] NT, p. 379. ZT, ii., 330. [2] See Vol. viii., p. 196.

based on letters written by Heraclius. After the capture of Khusrau Parwíz by the conspirators, he was bound and confined in the "House of Darkness," which he had himself built as a stronghold for his treasures. Here he was sparingly fed on bread and water for, said Shírwí: "Let him eat the gold that he has vainly amassed, and for whose sake he has starved many, and made the world itself a desert." Shírwí also sent satraps to revile and spit upon him, had his son Mardásas, whom he had wished to crown, slain before his eyes, and all his other sons as well, sent his enemies to beat and spit upon him, and, after five days of such treatment, had him put to death with arrows. Shírwí then wrote to Heraclius to announce the death of the detested Khusrau Parwíz, arranged terms of peace, released all the captives, and restored the "True Cross."[1] With regard to these latter statements of Theophanes it should be observed that peace was not concluded, and the "True Cross" restored, till after the death of Shírwí.[2]

According to Tabarí Kubád had Mihr Hurmuzd put to death.[3]

§ 6. The association of Khusrau Parwíz and Shírín began, it would seem,[4] before his accession to the throne, and he reigned for thirty-eight years. If Shírwí really wished to marry Shírín it must have been for political motives and because she had been so much in his father's confidence and might furnish useful information. For a son to marry his father's wives was, according to Persian ideas, quite the correct procedure in the circumstances.

Kubád is said to have been bitterly reproached by his two sisters, Púrándukht and Ázarmdukht, for his share in the deaths of his father and brothers, and to have suffered much from sickness and remorse. He died at Dastagird, but from what cause is uncertain.[5] The plague was very virulent at the time. Poison was often made to account for what was really due to disease.

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[1] CTC, i., 502. [2] NT, p. 392 and *note*. [3] *Id.* p. 382.
[4] See vol. viii., p. 383. [5] NT, p. 384 and *notes*.

§ 1

How Shírwí ascended the Throne, announced his Will, and sent Chiefs to his Father with Counsel and Excuses

Now when Shírwí sat on the goodly throne,
And donned the royal crown so much desired,
The leaders of the Íránians each drew near
To proffer him the homage due to kings,
Exclaiming: "Worshipful and honoured Sháh!
Know, God gave thee the crown, and now thou sittest
Securely on the throne of ivory,
And may thy sons and scions have the world."
Kubád replied: "Be ever conquering
And happy. Never will we practise ill.
How good is justice with benevolence!
The world will we keep peaceful and cut off
The works of Áhriman by every right,
Ancestral precedent that greateneth
The Glory of our Faith. I will dispatch
A message to my sire and tell him all.
He is in evil odour in the world
Through his ill deeds: let him excuse his faults
To God and turn to custom and the way.
C. 2027 If he shall heed me he will not resent
My conduct. Then will I devote myself
To state-affairs and strive to compass justice
Both publicly and privily, do good
Where good is due, and break no poor man's heart.
I need two honest men of goodly speech,
Whose memories are charged with ancient lore."

He asked the assembly: "Whom shall I employ?
Who is most shrewd and honest in Írán?"
The warriors all suggested by their looks
Two men of lore if they should give consent.
Kubád perceived whom the Íránians
Agreed to choose: one of them was Ashtád,
The other was Kharrád, son of Barzín,
The old—two sages eloquent and heedful.
Kubád addressed them thus: "O ye wise men,
Ye chiefs experienced and veteran!
Deem not the conduct of the world too toilsome,
Because the Great by travail compass treasure.
It is for you now to approach the Sháh;
Perchance through you he may conform himself.
Appeal to him by instance new or old
As there is need."
With tears unwillingly
Those sages made them ready. When Kharrád,
Son of Barzín, and when Ashtád, who had
Gashasp for sire, had mounted on their steeds,
As bidden, Kubád said: "Now with right good will
'Tis yours to take the road to Taisafún,[1]
To carry to my glorious sire a message,
And bear it all in mind from first to last.
Say: 'Twas no fault of ours nor did the Íránians
Cause this, but having left the way of Faith
Thou hast thyself incurred God's chastisement,
For, first, no son legitimate will shed
His sire's blood though impure or give assent
Thereto and fill the hearts of upright folk
With pain. Again, thy treasures fill the world,
And thine exactions reach all provinces,
While, thirdly, many horsemen brave and famed
Within Írán who gladdened there have left
Son, country, and their own pure kith and kin,

[1] Couplet omitted.

Have parted, this to Chín and that to Rúm,
And now are scattered o'er each march and land.
Again, when Cæsar, who had done and borne
So much for thee, had given thee a host
And daughter too with treasure and much else,
Desired of thee the Cross of Christ for Rúm,
So that his land might be revived thereby,
C. 2028 How did the Cross of Jesus profit so
Thy treasures when complaisance on thy part
Would have made Cæsar glad ? But thou didst not
Restore it, hadst not wit enough for that,
Or one to guide thee to humanity.
Again, thy greed was such that wisdom's eye
Was all obscured in thee, and thou didst seize
The chattels of the poor whose curses brought
Ill on thy head. Thou slewest thy mother's brothers,[1]
Two loyal men who gave thy throne a lustre.
Moreover thou hadst sixteen sons whose days
And nights were passed in prison while no chief
Could sleep secure from thee but hid in fear.[2]
Know, that which hath befall'n thee is from God ;
Reflect on thy foul deeds. As for myself,
I am but as the instrument in all
This wrong, am but the heading of the tale.
By God, 'twas not my fault, no aim of mine
To wreck the Sháh's throne ! Now for all seek grace,
And say so to these chieftains of Írán ;
Turn from ill deeds to God—the Guide to good—
Who may abate the woes that thou hast brought
Upon thyself.' "

On hearing this the twain
Departed with their hearts all seared and sore
Till, sorrowful and weeping, they arrived
At Taisafún and in that city sought

[1] Bandwí and Gustaham.
[2] This sentence comes at the end of the speech in the text.

The palace of Márúsipand for there
The exalted king resided. Galínúsh
Sat at the palace-gate: thou wouldst have said:—
"Earth is convulsed before him!" He was armed
In helm and breastplate, all the Arab steeds
Wore bards, and all his soldiers were drawn up,
Equipped, and sword in hand. He grasped a mace
Of steel, his heart all fire and storm. Now when
Kharrád, son of Barzín, and when Ashtád,
Son of Gashasp, those sages twain, dismounted,
He rose forthwith, rejoiced to look on them,
And gave them place befitting, hailing them
As famous chiefs. The eloquent Kharrád
First laved his tongue in valour and then said
To Galínúsh: "Kubád the glorious
Hath donned in peace the Kaian crown. Írán,
Túrán and Rúm have tidings that Shírwí[1]
Is seated on the throne of king of kings.
Why this cuirass and helm and massive mace?
Who is thine enemy?"

Said Galínúsh:—

"O veteran! may all thy doings prosper.
Thou art concerned about my tender frame C. 2029
Because I am in iron garniture.
I bless thee for thy kindness; thou deservest
That I shall sprinkle jewels over thee.
Thy words are naught but good, and may the sun
Be thine associate in the world. Declare
Why thou hast come, then look for my reply."

He thus gave answer: "Glorious Kubád
Commissioned me to bear Khusrau Parwíz
A message and if now thou wilt ask audience[2]
I will deliver what the world-lord said—

[1] That being the name by which he had been generally known, his real name (Kubád) having been kept secret. See Vol. viii., pp. 371, 416.

[2] Reading with P.

That monarch of the flock."

Said Galínúsh :—

"Who can remember words so well as thou,
O worshipful? Yet nathless Sháh Kubád
Gave me full many a counsel touching this,
And charged me, saying: 'Let none have by day
Or night an audience of Khusrau Parwíz
Unless thou hearest what the messenger
Hath got to say in Persian new or old.'"

Ashtád said: "I hold not my message secret,
O fortunate! It is: 'The sword is fruiting,
And nuzzling princes' heads.' In this regard
Now ask for audience of Khusrau Parwíz
That we may tell the message of the Sháh."

This hearing Galínúsh arose, made fast
His mail, went to the Sháh with folded arms,
As servants should, and said thus: "Live for ever,
O Sháh! May evil never vex thy heart.
There cometh by Ashtád and by Kharrád,
Son of Barzín, a message from the Sháh
From court."

Khusrau Parwíz laughed out and said :—

"Speak wiser words for if he be the king
Then what am I, and why am I within
This narrow prison, and why need'st thou ask
That I shall grant an audience unto any,
Be their words false or true?"

So Galínúsh
Returned to those two warriors, reported
The answer of the paladin, and said :—
"Now go with folded arms, declare your message,
And hearken his reply."

Those sages twain
Of honest speech inswathed their visages
In sashes brought from Chín and, when they saw
The Sháh, did reverence and waited long

What while he sat upon a lofty throne
Adorned with effigies of sheep and wolves,
Impleached with gold and gems, with under him
A couch of yellow broidery. He leaned
On cushions hued like lapis-lazuli,
Held a fine quince and drowsed there all amort.
When he beheld those chiefs supreme in wisdom C. 2030
He roused himself and secretly invoked
God's help. He laid that fine quince on the cushions
That he might welcome those two wayfarers.[1]
The quince slipped from the cushions, rolled unbruised
Upon the couch and thence from throne to floor.
Ashtád ran, took it up, wiped off the dust,
And laid the quince upon his head. The world-lord
Turned from Ashtád that he might neither see
Nor scent the quince. They set it on the throne,
And stood themselves. The matter of the quince[2]
Perturbed Khusrau Parwíz who boded ill,
Looked up to heaven, and said: "O truthful Judge!
Who can establish one whom Thou o'erthrowest,
Who join what Thou hast broken? When bright fortune
Departeth from a race it bringeth sorrow
Because the day of joy is passed away."
Then to Ashtád: "Now for thine ambassage
From mine unnatural child of ill repute,
And from that handful of conspirators,
My hateful and black-hearted enemies.
Malignant fools are they and in their folly
Most wretched. Fortune will desert our race;
None will rejoice again; the crown and throne
Will pass to those unfit; this royal Tree
Will be destroyed; the Base will be exalted;
The spirits of the Great grow sorrowful.

[1] 'ces deux esclaves.' Mohl.
[2] Reading with P.

The majesty will bide not with our sons,
Or with our kindred or posterity;
Their friends all be their chiefest enemies,
Revilers and destroyers of the race.
This quince hath made the secret evident;
The throne of king of kings will bear no fruit.
Now tell to me the words that thou hast heard:
I count his less than water in the stream."

Then those two men released their tongues to speak,
And told all that Kubád, his son, had said,
Not keeping e'en a whisper back from him.
The king of kings, when he had heard the message,
Writhed with distress and heaved a deep, cold sigh.
Then said he to those chiefs: "Hear my response,
And bear it to the young prince, every word.
Say: 'Quit thine own misdeeds ere blaming others'.
What thou hast uttered are they words of thine?
A murrain on the prompter![1] Speak not so
C. 2031 As to rejoice thy foe with thy fool's talk,
And let him learn that thou hast not the wisdom
To furnish speech with knowledge from thy brains.
If thy trust is in words that profit not
Thou mak'st default in soul and wisdom too.
He that shall call thee wicked, then acknowledge
Thee to be world-lord, should not sit before thee,
And order matters whether great or small.
Think not in future of such messages
Or thou wilt cause thy foemen to rejoice.
My state hath been appointed me by God;
My hopes are set upon the other world,
And thou by these thy charges which are lies
Wilt gain no glory in the nobles' eyes.'"

[1] Reading with P. and T.

§ 2

How Khusrau Parwíz answered Shírwí

"Now will I make full answer that thou mayst
Repeat my words in public. They will serve
As my memorial when I am gone—
A truthful statement of my case—and thou
Wilt know, when I reveal my grief and travail,
That all my treasures were derived from toil.
Thou speakest in the first place of Hurmuzd,
His anger with me, and those bygone days:
My father's wrath against us was aroused
By slanderer's words and thus confusion came.
When I had learned what occupied his thoughts
I left Írán by night, avoiding roads.
He sought my death by poison; I perceived
No antidote but flight and so I fled,
And was not taken in the net of bale.
I heard that ill had come upon the Sháh,
And quitted Barda' when the news arrived.
That knave Bahrám Chúbína with his troops
Opposed us on the battlefield. I fled
From him too on the day of fight that I
Might fall not in his clutches. Afterwards
I came a second time and bravely fought,
My troublous fortune passed away and all
The realm that I had lost returned to me.
My contest with him was no brief affair;
The whole world were spectators of the strife.
By the command of God who multiplieth
His benefits on us, and is the Guide
In good and ill, Írán and Turkistán[1]

[1] Túrán in the text.

Submitted and Bahrám Chúbína's plans
Were foiled. Released from war with him I hasted,
First, to take vengeance for my father's death.
C. 2032 Bandwí and Gustaham, my mother's brothers,
Men that had not a peer in any land,
Had risked their lives for me and were all mine
In love as well as kinship, but there were
My father's death and mine own grief thereat;
I was not sluggish to avenge his blood.
I lopped Bandwí both hand and foot for he
Had made the Sháh's place dark, while Gustaham,
Who disappeared and sought some distant nook,
Was slain all unawares by my command:
Those murderers' lives and aims all came to naught.
Next, as to what thou said'st of thine own case,
Of thine own strait confinement and affairs;
It was to keep my sons from evil deeds
That would recoil upon themselves. Ye were
Not straitly bound in prison, not misprized,
And had no harm to fear. I did not then
Treat you with scorn but held my treasury
At your disposal, acting as the Sháhs
Had done before, not idly or without
A precedent. Chase, minstrelsy, and polo—
All that befitteth chiefs—were yours at will,
With hawks and cheetahs, jewels and dínárs.
Your so called prison was a palace where
Ye lived in joy. I dreaded thee moreover
Through what the readers of the stars had said.
That was the cause of thine imprisonment
That thou mightst do us naught of injury—
The very injury that thou art doing.
I never parted with thy horoscope
Till I had sealed and given it to Shírín.
When I had reigned for six and thirty years,
And thou past doubt amidst such pleasant days

Gav'st all the matter to the wind, although
Much time had passed o'er us, there came to thee
A letter out of Hindústán but not
Without my cognizance. The chief of Rájas
Sent us a letter, jewels, divers stuffs,
An Indian scimitar, white elephant,
And all that I could hope for in the world,
And with the scimitar was gold brocade
With all varieties of gems uncut.
To thee the letter was on painted silk;
So when I saw the Indian script I called
An Indian scribe, a fluent, heedful speaker,
Who when he read the Indian Rája's words
Wept for the letter ran: 'Live joyfully
For thou art worthy both of joy and realm,
And on the day of Dai in month Ázar C. 2033
Thou wilt be king and ruler of the world.
Thy sire will reign for eight and thirty years,
For so the stars ordain. Good times will shine
Upon thee; thou wilt don the crown of greatness.'
These words have been fulfilled to me to-day,
But we should wash not from our hearts affection.
I was aware that fortune had decreed
That when thy throne had gained its brilliancy
Mine only portion would be toil and pain,
And that my bright day would be turned to gloom;
But as I gave, had Faith, made friends, and loved
I did not lour by reason of that letter.
I gave it, having read it, to Shírín,
And pondered much upon it. In her keeping
Are both the letter and the horoscope,
And no one great or small is ware thereof.
If thou wouldst see it make request of her;
Thou haply mayst regard it more or less.
I wot that seeing it thou wilt repent,
And seek to heal the past. For what thou said'st

Of bonds and of imprisonments, and how
We have done others hurt, 'tis this world's way,
And that of former chiefs and kings of kings,
And if thou know'st it not speak with an archmage;
He will enlighten thee thereon and tell thee:—
'' 'Tis ill to keep God's enemy alive.'
Those that were in our prison were mere dívs
Complained of by the righteous. Neither bloodshed
Nor utter harshness ever was our trade.
I shut up criminals and did not hold
Of small account wrongs done by them to others;
But now I hear that thou hast freed these men—
Men worse than dragons—and for this thou art
A sinner guilty both in word and deed
In God's sight. Now that thou art lord be prudent,
And if thou know'st not how consult the wise.
Forgive not those that vex thee though thou hopest
For wealth through them, and what can better bonds
For one in whom thou seest naught but harm?
In talking of my wealth thou hast not shown
Good sense and wisdom. We have never asked
For more than toll and tax. When these were paid
If any were still rich, though men might say
That they were foes and miscreants of the seed
Of Áhriman, we thought of God and passed
Such matters lightly by. From Him I had
The crown and throne, and they have cost me dear.
C. 2034 The Maker of the world, the righteous Judge,
Hath willed this change of fortune. In the world
His will is paramount, so when He would
Our minishment we seek not for addition.
We sought to please our Judge, but by our toils
Have not evaded His apportionment,
And when He asketh me I will tell all.
That Questioner is wiser than thou art,
And one more potent in all good and ill.

The miscreants that stand before thee now
Are not thy friends or kin, and what they say
Of me that also will they say of thee
Before thy foes. They are but slaves of gold
And silver: thou wilt find in them no helper.
They have possessed thy heart and there instilled
Each fault of mine. Such words as these are not
In thy philosophy and will not profit
Those miscreants' minds, but I have uttered them
For my foes' sake that they who read this letter,
Writ in the ancient tongue, may know that lies
Lack lustre even from the mouths of Sháhs.
'Twill be too a memorial in the world,
A consolation to the man of wisdom,
And after our decease whoe'er shall read
These words of ours will learn our policy.
I gathered armies from Bartás and Chín,
And everywhere appointed generals,
Then made attacks upon mine enemies
Till none dared raise his head. When they were scattered
Our treasuries were all filled. The whole land toiled
For us, and from the sea so many gems
Were brought us that the shipmen grew aweary.
Plain, sea, and mountain, all were mine. Now when
The treasury of drachms had been expended
The coffers were refilled with new dínárs,
With precious stones and royal jewelry,
As well as clothes and implements of war,
And when our crown was twenty-six years old
Our treasuries were rich with many gems.
I struck a new die for my drachms and turned
To joy and merriment. That year when I
Had ta'en account I found the total sum
Ten million of dínárs. Paidáwasís,[1]

[1] See Vol. vii., p. 95 *note*.

In Persian reckoning, I spent and squandered.
Each purse contained twelve thousand in dínárs,
And those thus spent were royal, while besides
The tribute and dínárs from Hindústán,
The realm of Rúm and land of sorcerers;
Besides from every province gifts and tribute
From all the sovereigns and potentates;
C. 2035 Besides New Year and Autumn offerings,
The gifts of horses and of fair-faced slaves;
Besides cuirasses, helmets, axes, swords,
Which every one sent to us liberally;
Besides musk, camphor, sables, beaver-skins,
Red weasels' and white wolves', our subjects all
Set suchlike loads upon their beasts and sought
Our court in haste; none was recalcitrant.
Abundant toil of all sorts have we spent
To amass a treasure—one additional
To those known as Khuzrá and as 'Arús,[1]
Reserved by me against an evil day.
We long discussed what name the hoard should have,
And in the end we called it Bád Áwar.[2]
Thus in my six and twentieth year of reign
Heaven till the eight and thirtieth favoured me;
My chieftains were all safe, my foes all quaked,
And now I hear that thou art sovereign—
An evil juncture this for all the world,
Which reft of pleasure must perforce be mute.
Thou wilt make earth calamitous, fulfilled
With suffering and profitless. Moreover,
Those same injurious persons that surround thee,
And are the Light[3] of thy dark nights, will give
Thy throne up to the wind that thou mayst not
Enjoy the world. Were there with thee a sage,
So that thy darkened mind might be illumed,
Thou wouldst not do amiss in giving gifts

[1] See Vol. viii., p. 406. [2] *Id.* [3] Urmuzd in text.

So that thy wealth might reach the poor. My son,
Whose days are few, whose wisdom is but scant!
Solicitude will rob thy soul of joy.
This know, that these our treasures are thy stay;
The opportunity is in thy grasp.
They are the appanage of royalty;
A world that is all moneyless is lost.
A pauper Sháh will be unjust, and he
Whose hand is empty hath no strength or worth.
Without the means of largess he by all
Will be declared a fraud and not a Sháh.
Moreover, if thy riches reach thy foes,
And all the idols come to Brahmans' hands,
The worshippers will turn from God, thy name
And fame be spurned. If thou art treasureless
Thou wilt not have an army, and thy subjects
Will hail thee not as Sháh. The dog is good
At begging bread, but if thou fillest him
He threateneth thy life. Again, thou said'st
About my strategy that I have stationed
The troops along the roads, and blamest me
Through ignorance, not knowing gain from loss.
The answer is that by my toil I gathered C. 2036
My splendid treasures, captured foreign cities,
And shattered all my foes that we might sit
Without vexation, toil, or injury
In peace upon the pleasant throne. I scattered
My horse about the frontier, and (to show
The difference 'twixt the worthless and the worthy)
When thou recall'st the troops from every side
The foe will see the road clear, for Írán
Is like a garden in the jocund Spring,
Whose happy blossoms never fail to flower,
A garden of pomegranate and narcissus,
Of apples and of quince; but when the orchard
Becometh void of men the enemy

Will root up all the marjoram and snap
All branches of pomegranate and of quince.
Írán's walls are its troops and gear of war,
Its thorns all arrows on its battlements,
And if in wantonness thou flingest down
The garden-wall the garden is as waste,
As sea or upland. Cast not down its wall
Or thou wilt break the Íránians' hearts and backs,
For then will raid and ravage, horsemen's shouts,
And all the incidents of war ensue.
Expose not thou our children, wives, and land
To trouble: let but one such year elapse,
And sages will describe thee as a fool.
Now I have heard that thou dost give high place
To men unworthy. Know that Núshírwán,
Son of Kubád,[1] recorded in his Letter
Of Counsel that whoe'er doth give his arms
To foes doth give himself to slaughtering,
Since, when he asketh back those arms for use,
The enemy will fight.[2] As for the message
Of Cæsar, which hath made thee call me heartless,
And self-willed, thou recallest not the facts:
Thy words were prompted by some counsellor.
As for my tyranny and his good faith,
Canst thou discern good faith from tyranny?
Receive mine answer, thou of little wit!
But let me say withal, as is but right,
Thou art the plaintiff and the witness too—
A thing no man of wisdom would allow.
When Cæsar washed off from his face the dust
Of bale he chose me as his son-in-law
For valour's sake. Whoever walketh not
The earth for ill, and hath some share of wisdom
Within him, knoweth that Bahrám Chúbína
Began the feud and that the Íránians

[1] Reading with P. and T. [2] See Vol. viii., p. 27.

Took sides with him. The Rúmans did not triumph
O'er him; the drifting sand can not bind fast
The mountain! But in that fight God vouchsafed
To aid me, and the armies of the world
Were naught to me. The Íránians have heard C. 2037
Of those events, and thou shouldst hear from them.
As for myself, I did whate'er I could,
Upon the day of fight, for Niyátús
With kindness and with magnanimity,
But have not reckoned that day's recompense,
And Farrukhzád will tell thee just the same:
Look not upon the world with boyish eyes.
Gashasp, who was our treasurer, can tell,
And that good archimage, our minister,
That I bestowed upon the Rúman troops
A hundred thousand purses from our treasures.
I gave to Niyátús a thousand nuggets,
With earrings and red gold. Each nugget's weight
Was as a thousand treasury-miskáls
I reckoned. I bestowed on him withal
Fine watered pearls that experts had found flawless,
And every one worth thirty thousand drachms
To jewellers, and five score noble steeds,
Selected from my stables—fifty saddled,
The others very choice, housed in brocade,
Mates for the wind upon the waste. I sent
All these to Cæsar with my thanks withal.
For what thou said'st about the Cross of Christ,
That bit of old wood flung among my treasures—
A matter of no loss or gain to me—
Thou hast been listening to some Christian's talk.
I mused that one like Cæsar, great and mighty,
Surrounded as he is by learnéd men—
Philosophers and potentates and priests—
Should call one that was executed God!
While as for this dry, rotten wood, if this

Mere useless Cross were God 'twould be Urmuzd,
Whose name we give to every month's first day,
And would have vanished from our treasury
As Christ himself departed from the world.
Again for what thou said'st: 'Make thine excuse,
Amend thy conduct and ensue God's path,'
I answer: 'May the two hands of Kubád,
His feet and lips and tongue rot! It was God
Who placed the crown upon my head: I took,
And revelled in the gift. I have returned it
Since He demanded it. What next I wonder?
To Him will I confess, not to a boy
Scarce able to distinguish good and ill.'
All that God doth is welcome unto me
Though I have seen much woe and bitterness.
For eight and thirty years have I been Sháh,
And none among the kings hath been my peer.
He that bestowed this world on me may give
Another but will have no thanks of mine!
C. 2038 I will pronounce a blessing on the realm:—
'May earth be ever teeming with the wise.'
So long as God shall help and succour us
None will dare curse."

Then said he to Kharrád:—

"O Memory of the great ones of the world!
Say to that foolish and impetuous boy:—
'The lustre of our countenance is dimmed:
Farewell to thee for ever. As for me,
May all our converse be henceforth with sages.'
As for yourselves, illustrious messengers,
Ye Persians eloquent and eminent!
To both of you I also bid farewell.
Say nothing but the words that ye have heard.
I give my blessing to the world at large,
Which we have looked on as a passing thing.
All mother-born must die—whome'er thou hast

In mind—Khusrau Parwíz back to Kubád.
So too Húshang, Jamshíd, and Tahmúras—
To all the world the founts of fear and hope—
Whom dív and beast acknowledged, passed and died
When their day ended. Farídún, the blest,
Who banned ill, close or open, from the world,
And stayed Zahhák the Arab's hand from evil,
Scaped not by bravery the clutch of fate.
So was it with Árish whose arrow's flight
Was one farsang ;[1] victorious Káran,
The capturer of cities ; Kai Kubád,
Who having come from Mount Alburz became
Through manhood world-lord over all the folk,
And built himself a world-famed house of crystal,[2]
Adorned with lustrous pearls and gates of gems.[3]
So was it with Káús, that man of might,
Who took the world by skill and policy,
He that adventured toward the sky above,
Unwitting of the processes of time ;
So too with Siyáwush, that lion famed,
Who slew two tigers in his youthful days,[4]
And built Gang-dizh[5] with toil but gat therefrom
No treasure. Where are now Afrásiyáb,
The Turkman king, whose semblance e'en in dream
None seeth ; where Rustam, Zál, Asfandiyár,
Whose fame is their memorial with us ;
Gúdarz and his choice sons, three score and ten,
Those cavaliers upon the riding-ground,
And lions of the fray ; where Kai Khusrau,
The noble lion-man who in the fight
Made lions prisoners ; and Sháh Gushtásp,
The convert to 'The Good Faith,' he by whom

[1] Much further according to the legend. See Vol. v., p. 12.
[2] This is attributed to Kai Káús elsewhere. See Vol. ii., pp. 81, 101.
[3] This line occurs three couplets too low in C.
[4] This is not mentioned elsewhere in the poem.
[5] See Vol. ii., pp. 189, 279.

Grace was renewed; where went renowned Sikandar,
Who overturned the world, and where Jámásp,
Who shone in astrologic lore more brightly
C. 2039 Than Sol or Venus? Where is that famed Sháh,
Bahrám Gúr, matchless in his strength and courage?
No Sháh was like him in munificence;
The turning heaven dared not to touch his head.
Where is that Sháh, my grandsire, bright of soul
Who ruled the world as Kisrá Núshírwán?
Where are the seven and forty world-lords?[1] Gone
Is all their work, gone are the Great and Wise,
The warrior-horsemen and the men of lore,
These passing those in prowess and those these
In years? They all have left this spacious world,
Left palace, hall, and riding-ground. Midst Sháhs,
Though some were older far, I had no peer.
I walked the world for good and ill, and held
The evil day aloof. 'Twas mine to traverse
Full many a ruggéd path and sweep away
Full many a foe. My treasures fill all lands;
Where earth and water are my toil is seen.
When with me too the world shall cease, and all
The nobles' hopes grow dim, with my son also
The throne will not abide, for he will quit it,
And all his fortune end. What time the angel
That taketh souls approacheth I shall say:—
'Take my soul gently.' I will clear my heart
By penitence, and freedom from offence
Shall be my breastplate. Well have men of wisdom,
Good, veteran, learned, declared: 'If wakeful fortune
Decline one must expect fears manifold,
And he whose day of greatness hath gone by

[1] Khusrau Parwíz was only the forty-third Sháh. Perhaps some, who never became Sháhs, such as Siyáwush and Asfandiyár, are included, or it may be that the author of this defence (see p. 4) wrote from his own point of view, not that of the supposed speaker.

Is foolish if he asketh its return.'
This is my message to the world, to mean
And mighty too: ere long the Sháh and all
His famous troops will fall to slaughtering
Each other and fling fire on field and fell;
Then sires will fall by sons and sons by sires;
Our enemies, the people that discoursed
Of evil deeds and chilling words, will pay
The smart when we are gone and not for long
Enjoy the world. Since rule and greatness end
With me what reck if Lion or another
Shall have the sway?"
Ashtád and brave Kharrád,
Son of Barzín, those sages, when they heard
The message of that leader, were heart-pierced,
And smote their heads. Both sorrowed for their words;
They buffeted their faces, rent their robes C. 2040
In grief, and scattered dust upon their heads.
Those ancients fared forth from his presence, weeping,
In anguish, with their hearts all arrow-points.
With furrowed faces and in sore distress
They went before Shírwí and every whit
To that man brainless and incompetent
Detailed the message that the Sháh had sent.

§ 3

How Shírwí grieved for Khusrau Parwíz and how the Chiefs were displeased thereat

Shírwí wept bitterly on hearing this;
His heart quaked for the crown and throne, and when
The company dispersed that had dismayed him

With foul words clamouring for his father's blood,
And burning the youth's heart, he left the throne
Of kingship, clasped with honoured hands his head,
And wept blood on his breast. News of that weeping
And of the lamentation of the king,
Came to the host and all were in dismay.
They met, discussed Khusrau Parwíz, and cried :—
" If he shall sit upon the throne again
He will disgrace the captains of the host."
Whenas the sun rose o'er the darksome hills
The malcontents awoke and went to court.
The Sháh, on hearing of it, took his seat
Upon the throne, and those of high degree,
Akin or alien, approached the presence.
They took their seats with scowls but no one spoke.
The king said : " Gibbeting is the desert
Of him that mourneth not my father's woes.
I call such misbegotten and a knave.
Let none depend on such because that man
Is rottener than a rotten willow-tree."
He gat this answer from the men in fault :—
" Call whosoever saith : ' I serve two Sháhs '
A fool at heart and vile whate'er his rank."
Shírwí rejoined : " For Sháhs no wealth no troops !
For one month we will utter pleasant words,
And give no hint of duress to my sire ;
He may make statements that will gladden us
Because his treasures are in every coast."
C. 2041 On hearing this they rose to seek their homes.
Then Sháh Shírwí gave orders to the cooks :—
" Let nothing be denied Khusrau Parwíz :
Serve up his food upon a golden service,
And let the food itself be rich and grateful."
The servers brought it but he would not eat
The viands that were proffered, hot or cold.
Shírín's hand brought to him all that he ate

Because she sorrowed with him in his grief.
She was his sole good friend and soothed his woes
Both day and night, shared all his hopes and fears,
And quaked for him like willow in the wind.
A month passed and meanwhile Khusrau Parwíz
Was full of pain and anguish night and day,
His faults and crimes recalled to memory,
And little relish of that life had he.

§ 4

How Bárbad lamented Khusrau Parwíz, cut off his own Fingers, and burned his Instruments of Music

Now list the lamentation of Bárbad,[1]
And grow forgetful of the world at large.
On hearing that the Sháh, not by advice
And 'gainst his will, no longer filled the throne,
That "men are seeking how to murder him;
The soldiers are renouncing fealty,"
Bárbad came from Chahram to Taisafún
With tearful eyes and heart o'ercharged; he came
To that abode and saw the Sháh whereat
His tulip-cheeks became like fenugreek.
He bode awhile in presence of the Sháh,
Then went with wailing to the audience-hall.
His love flamed in his heart, his heart and soul
Burned in his anguish for Khusrau Parwiz;
His eyes rained like a cloud in Spring and made
His bosom as the margent of the sea.
He fashioned him a dirge upon the harp,
And to that dirge he sang a mournful plaint.

[1] For the story of Bárbad see Vol. viii., p. 396 *seq.*

With visage wan and heart fulfilled with grief
He thus lamented in the olden tongue :—

" O Sháh ! O noble chieftain ! O Khusrau !
O great ! O strong ! O hero ne'er cast down !
Where are thy mastery and greatness now,
Where all thy Grace, thy fortune, and thy crown ?

" Where that imperial circlet, towering height ?
Where are thine armlets and thine ivory throne?
Where all thy manliness, thy Grace, and might,
Who 'neath thy wings hadst this world for thine own ?

" Oh ! whither are thy dames and minstrels gone,
Gate, audience-hall, and leaders of thy day,
C. 2042 The diadem and Káwa's gonfalon,
And all the blue-steel falchions, where are they ?

" Where are the head, the crown that loved it well—
Mate of the earrings and the throne of gold ?
Where are Shabdíz, his stirrups and his sell—
The steed that 'neath thee ever caracol'd ?

" Where are thy helmet, head, and habergeon
All golden and compacted gem to gem,
Thy cavaliers in gold caparison,
Whose swords made enemies the sheaths for them?

" Where all the camels for thy progresses,
The golden litters and attendance rife,
Led steeds, white elephants, and dromedaries ?
Have one and all grown hopeless of thy life ?

"Where are thy fluent tongue and courteous,
Thy heart, thy purpose, and thine ardent soul?
Why reft of all art thou abandoned thus?
Hast read of such a day in any roll?

"Oh! trust not to this world whose remedy
Is weaker than its bane. 'Twas thy desire
To have a son to aid and succour thee:
Now through the son the gyves are on the sire!

"It is by sons that kings obtain their might,
And are unblemished by time's travailings;
Yet ever as his sons increased in height
Both Grace and vigour failed the king of kings.

"None that shall lend an ear while men recall
The story of Khusrau Parwíz must dare
To trust the world. Account as ruined all
Írán and as the pards' and lions' lair.

"Of the Sásánian race the Sháh was head—
One peerless in the sight of crown and state:
The foeman's wishes are accomplishéd,
And, like Írán, the race is desolate.

"No man possessed a larger host than he,
Yet who had cause for justice to beseech?
The great protector brought the misery,
And now the wolves are making for the breach!

"'O Sháh devoid of shame!' thus tell Shírwí,
'Such conduct is not worthy of this court.
Count not upon thy troops' fidelity
When war is rife on all sides.' God support

"Thy soul, my master! and it is my prayer
That He thy foemen's heads may headlong fling.
By God and by thy life, my king! I swear
By New Year's Day, by sun, and jocund Spring,

"If e'er this hand of mine again shall turn
To harping may no blessing light on me;
Mine instruments of music will I burn
That I may ne'er behold thine enemy."

He cut four fingers off and grasped the stumps
Within his other palm. Returning home
He kindled fire and burned his instruments,
While those about Kubád both day and night
At all that might befall them quaked with fright.

§ 5

How the Chiefs demanded from Shírwí the Death of Khusrau Parwíz and how he was slain by Mihr Hurmuzd

C. 2043 Shírwí, a timid, inexperienced youth,
Found that the throne beneath him was a snare,
While readers of mankind saw that 'twas time
For men of might. Those that had done the ill,
And had produced that coil, went from the hall
Of audience to the presence of Kubád
To mind him of their infamous designs:—
"We said before and now we say again
Thy thoughts are not on government alone.
There are two Sháhs now seated in one room,
One on the throne and one on its degree,

And when relations grow 'twixt sire and son
They will behead the servants one and all.
It may not be, so speak of it no more."
Shírwí was frightened and he played poltroon
Because in their hands he was as a slave.
He answered: "None will bring him to the toils
Except a man whose name is infamous.
Ye must go homeward and advise thereon.
Inquire: 'What man is there that will abate
Our troubles secretly?'"
The Sháh's[1] ill-wishers
Sought for a murderer to murder him
By stealth, but none possessed the pluck or courage
To shed the blood of such a king and hang
A mountain round his own neck. Everywhere
The Sháh's foes sought until they met with one
Blue-eyed, pale-cheeked, his body parched and hairy,
With lips of lapis-lazuli, with feet
All dust, and belly ravenous: the head
Of that ill-doer was bare. None knew his name
Midst high and low. This villain (may he never
See jocund Paradise!) sought Farrukhzád,
And undertook the deed. "This strife is mine,"
He said. "If ye will make it worth my while
This is my quarry."
"Go and do it then
"If thou art able," Farrukhzád replied.
"Moreover open not thy lips herein.
I have a purse full of dínárs for thee,
And I will look upon thee as my son."
He gave the man a dagger keen and bright, C. 2044
And then the murderer set forth in haste.
The miscreant, when he approached the Sháh,
Saw him upon the throne, a slave attending.
Khusrau Parwíz quaked when he saw that man,

[1] Khusrau Parwíz.

And shed tears from his eyelids on his cheeks
Because his heart bare witness that the day
Of heaviness was near. He cried: "O wretch!
What is thy name? Thy mother needs must wail thee."

The man replied: "They call me Mihr Hurmuzd,
A stranger here with neither friend nor mate."

Thus said Khusrau Parwíz: "My time hath come,
And by the hand of an unworthy foe,
Whose face is not a man's, whose love none seeketh."

He bade a boy attending him: "Go fetch,
My little guide! an ewer, water, musk,
And ambergris, with cleaner, fairer robes."

The boy-slave heard, unwitting what was meant,
And so the little servant went away,
And brought a golden ewer to the Sháh
As well as garments and a bowl of water,
Whereon Khusrau Parwíz made haste to go,
Gazed on the sacred twigs and muttered prayers:
It was no time for words or private talk.
The Sháh put on the garments brought, he made
Beneath his breath confession of his faults,
And wrapped a new simarre about his head
In order not to see his murderer's face.
Then Mihr Hurmuzd, the dagger in his hand,
Made fast the door and coming quickly raised
The great king's robe and pierced his liverstead.

Such is the process of this whirling world,
From thee its secret keeping closely furled!
The blameless speaker and the boastful see
That all its doings are but vanity,
For be thou wealthy or in evil case
This Wayside Inn is no abiding-place;
Yet be offenceless and ensue right ways
If thou desirest to receive just praise.

When tidings reached the highways and bázárs:—

"Khusrau Parwíz was slaughtered thus," his foes
Went to the palace-prison of the sad,
Where fifteen of his noble sons were bound,
And slew them there, though innocent, what time
The fortune of the Sháh was overthrown.
Shírwí, the world-lord, dared say naught and hid
His grief though he wept sorely at the news,
And afterwards sent twenty of his guards
To keep his brothers' wives and children safe C. 2045
Now that the Shah had been thus done to death.
So passed that reign and mighty host away,
Its majesty, its manhood, and its sway
Such as no kings of kings possessed before,
Or heard of from the men renowned of yore.
It booteth nothing what the wise man saith
When once his head is in the dragon's breath.
Call this world "crocodile" for it doth gnaw
The prey that it hath taken with its claw.
The work of Sháh Khusrau Parwíz is done;
His famous hoards and throne and host are gone.
To put one's trust in this world is to be
In quest of dates upon a willow-tree.
Why err in such a fashion from the way
Alike by darksome night and shining day?
Whate'er thy gains let them suffice thee still
As thou art fain to save thy soul from ill,
And in thy day of strength hold thyself weak;
For kindly impulses and justice seek,
And be intent on good. For what is thine
To give or spend do as thou dost incline;
All else is pain and toil. How goodlier
Than we are friends whose faithfulness is clear!
Such faithfulness of friends is greatly dear.

§ 6

How Shírwí asked Shírín in Marriage, how Shírín killed herself, and how Shírwí was slain

Since I have ended with Khusrau Parwíz
I speak next of Shírwí and of Shírín.
As soon as three and fifty days had passed
Since that whereon that glorious Sháh was slain
Shírwí dispatched Shírín a messenger
To say: "Thou wicked, potent sorceress,
Learned but in necromancy and black arts!
In all Írán thou art the guiltiest.
By necromancy didst thou gain the Sháh,
And by thy craft thou bringest down the moon.
Quake, guilty one! and come to me. Abide not
Thus in thy palace, joyful and secure."
Shírín raged at his message and abuse
So foul and senseless. Thus she said: "God grant
That parricides possess not Grace or presence.
I will not see the wretch e'en from afar
At funeral or feast."
That mournful dame
Sent for a scribe and had a document
Drawn in the olden tongue, instructing him
Regarding her last wishes and estate.
C. 2046 She kept a little poison in a pyx;
She could not well procure it in the city.
She kept it on her, sewed a winding-sheet
To wrap her form—that cypress of the garden—
And then returned this answer to Shírwí:—
"Exalted Sháh, the wearer of the crown!
Now perish all thy words and perish too
The villain's heart and spirit that hath heard

Of witchcraft save by name and joyed therein.
Had Sháh Khusrau Parwíz been one to cheer
His soul with sorcery there would have been
A sorceress within his bower, and she
Had seen his face.[1] He kept me for his pleasure,
And when the dawn was peeping he was wont
To call me from the golden bower and joy
At sight of me. Shame on thee for such words!
Such knavish talk becometh not a king.
Remember God, the Giver of all good,
And utter not such words in others' hearing."

They brought the answer to the Sháh. Shírwí
Raged 'gainst the guiltless dame[2] and said: "Thou needs
Must come. None is blood-thirstier than thou.
Come and behold my crown's top. If it be
Magnifical then do it reverence."

Shírín, on hearing this, was full of pain;
She writhed; her cheeks grew wan. She thus replied:—
"I will not come to thee save in the presence
Of those wise men that are about thy court,
Men of experience and clerkly skill."

Shírwí dispatched and summoned fifty men
Both wise and old, then sent one to Shírín,
To say: "Arise and come. Enough of talk."

Thereat she robed herself in blue and black,
And drew anear the Sháh, approached apace
The Rosary of Revellers[3]—the spot
Wherein those fluent Persians were—and sat
Behind the great king's curtain as became

[1] Reading with P.

[2] So far as the charge of witchcraft was concerned. Shírín (Vol. viii., p. 389) had murdered Maryam, Kubád's mother.

[3] "elle alla droit à la salle de fête de Schadegân." Mohl or, more strictly, Barbier de Meynard, who completed the translation from §4 to the end of the poem.

The virtuous. He sent to her to say :—
" Two months[1] of mourning for Khusrau Parwíz
Are o'er. Now be my wife that thou mayst take
Thy pleasure and avoid a mean estate.
I will maintain thee as my father did,
And e'en with more respect and tenderness."
Shírín replied : " Let me be righted first,
And then my life shall be at thy dispose.
I will not hesitate in answering
The hest and purpose of thy glorious heart."
Shírwí agreed to that fair dame's request,
C. 2047 Whereat the noble lady raised her voice
Behind the royal curtains, saying : " O Sháh !
Be happy and victorious. Thou said'st
That I was a bad woman and a witch,
Remote from purity and rectitude."
Shírwí replied : " 'Twas so, but generous folk
Do not take dudgeon at mere hastiness."
Shírín addressed the other Persians present
Within the Rosary of Revellers,
And asked : " What have ye seen in me of ill,
Guile, folly, and dark ways ? For many a year
I was the mistress of Írán and helped
The Brave in everything. I ne'er ensued
Aught but the right ; fraud and deceit I banned.
Through my word many were made governors,
And took their portions of the world full oft.
Who hath beheld my shadow in Írán
Away from home ? If any one hath marked
My shadow, crown, and state let such declare
What he hath seen or heard and by his answer
Reveal the truth."
The magnates in attendance
All spake her fair. " In all the world," they said,
" She hath no peer in public and in private."

[1] Reading with P.

Shírín proceeded thus: "Ye lords and chiefs
Both veteran and redoubted! three things make
The worth of women that bedeck the throne
Of greatness: one is modesty and wealth
Wherewith her husband may adorn his house;
The next is bearing blesséd sons, that she
May e'en exceed her spouse in happiness;
The third is having beauty and fine form,
Joined with the love of a sequestered life.
When I was mated to Khusrau Parwíz,
And entered on seclusion, he had come
Weak and dispirited from Rúm to live
Within our land, but after reached such power
As none had heard of or had looked upon.
Moreover I have had four sons by him
To his great joy—Nastúr, Shahryár, Farúd,
And Mardánsháh, blue heaven's coronal.
Jamshíd and Farídún had not such sons;
May my tongue perish if I lie herein!
Their bodies all are now beneath the dust,
Their spirits roaming in pure Paradise."
Unveiling then her lovely countenance,
And musky hair, "There is my face," she added,
"Such as it is. If there be falsehood show it.
My hair was all my hidden excellence,
For none on earth e'er used to look thereon.
What I display is all my sorcery,
Not necromancy, fraud, and evil bent."
None had beheld her hair before, no chief C. 2048
Had heard thereof. The elders were astound,
And their mouths watered. When Shírwí beheld
The visage of Shírín his spirit flew
Unmarked away from him. Her face so dazed him
That love of her filled all his heart. He cried:—
"I want none but thyself. If I have thee
For wife Írán can give me nothing more.

I will not go from thy commands, but limn
My loyalty to thee upon mine eyes."
The lady of the lovely face replied:—
"I still need somewhat of the Íránian king.
I have two wants if thou wilt bid me speak,
And may thy king of kingship last for ever."
Shírwí replied: "My soul is thine, thy wish,
Whate'er it be, is granted."
Said Shírín:—
"All treasures laid up by me in this land
Thou shalt assign me as mine own before
This noble company and write thyself
Upon this roll that thou renouncest all,
Both small and great."
Shírwí made haste to do
Her bidding. Having gained her wish she quitted
The Rosary of Revellers, the chiefs
And noble Persians, went home, freed her slaves,
And made them happy with that wealth of hers
Whereof she gave a part to mendicants,
And to her family a larger share.
She gave too somewhat to the Fanes of Fire,
The feasts of New Year's Day and Mihr and Sada,
To ruined homes and caravansarais
Then turned to lions' lairs. All this she gave
As offerings from Khusrau Parwíz, the world-lord,
And joyed his soul thereby. She sought the garden
And taking off her veil sat unadorned
Upon the ground and summoning her folk
Assigned with courtesy a place to each,
Then cried thus loudly: "Hear, ye unaggrieved!
For none will ever see my face again.
Fear ye the Judge of those that seek for justice,
The Lighter of the sun and moon and stars,
And speak but truth; deceit is not for sages.
Since first I came before Khusrau Parwíz,

First made mine entry to his golden bower,
And was chief wife and Glory of the Sháh,
Hath any fault at all appeared in me ?
There is no need to speak to save my face :
What booteth that to woman in her need ? "
All rose to make reply : " Famed dame of dames, (2040
So eloquent and wise and bright of soul !
By God ! none ever saw thee, ever heard
Thy voice behind the curtains. Verily
Thy like hath sat not on the goodly throne
Since Sháh Húshang."
Then all the servitors,
Slaves emulous and vigilant of heart,
Exclaimed : " Exalted lady praised in Chín,
In Rúm and in Taráz ! who would presume
To speak aught ill of thee ? Could evil-doing
Befit that face of thine ? "
Thus said Shírín : —
" This reprobate, whom heaven above will curse,
Slew his own sire to compass crown and throne,
And may he never more see fortune's face !
Hath he himself shut death out by a wall
Who lightly reeked thus of a father's blood ?
He sent a message to me that bedimmed
Mine own shrewd soul. I answered : ' While I live
My heart shall serve my Maker.' I declared
My purpose fully, fearful of my foe :
He may defame me publicly when dead.
Ye are free agents and my slaves no longer."
They wept much at her words and furthermore
Consumed with anguish for Khusrau Parwíz.
Informants went before the Sháh and told
What they had heard about that guiltless dame.
He asked : " Hath that good lady further wishes ? "
She sent to say : " I have one wish, no more :
I fain would ope the late Sháh's charnel-house ;

I have a great desire to look on him."
Shírwí replied: "So do, 'tis natural."
The keeper oped the door. That pious lady
Began her wailing, went and laid her face
Upon the visage of Khusrau Parwíz,
Spake of the past and took the mortal bane:[1]
She sent the dust up from her own sweet life.
She sat beside the Sháh with visage veiled,
Clad in a single camphor-scented robe;
She set her back against the wall and died;
She died and won the plaudits of the world.
Shírwí fell sick when he had heard the news,
For such a spectacle affrighted him.
He bade construct another sepulchre,
And make her diadem of musk and camphor.
C. 2050 He shut the old Sháh's charnel. Soon they gave
Shírwí the bane; the world had had its fill
Of Sháhs! Thus luckless both in birth and death
He left the throne of kingship to his son.
One reigneth seven months and in the eighth
Doth don the camphor crown! Of earth's good things
To have possession of the throne is best,
Of evils life cut short is evilest.

[1] *Cf.* p. 36.

XLV

ARDSHÍR, SON OF SHÍRWÍ

HE REIGNED SIX MONTHS

ARGUMENT

Ardshír's accession is well received by the people. He makes Pírúz, son of Khusrau, the captain of the host. Guráz, on the pretext of avenging Khusrau Parwíz, but really with the intention of seizing the kingship for himself, schemes to bring about the death of the Sháh who is murdered at a banquet by Pírúz.

NOTE

Ardshír (Artaxerxes III., September, A.D. 628—April, A.D. 630) was, according to Tabarí, only seven years old at his accession. By some accounts he was only one year old at the time.[1] He was of course a mere puppet in the hands of the nobles. The "True Cross," if the date of its elevation at Jerusalem—Sept. 14th, A.D. 629—be correct, must have been restored during his reign.[2]

§ 1. The Arabic Tabarí says that the realm was administered by Mih-Ázar-Gushnasp (Mihr 'Hasis in the Persian version), the High Steward, who had charge of the Sháh's person. This may account for his being made out to be a regicide in the Sháhnáma. He really seems to have been a well-intentioned man who did his best in very difficult circumstances. At all events, according to the Persian Tabarí, Shahrbaráz, after taking possession of Ctesiphon, slew him and other nobles on the pretext of avenging the death of Khusrau Parwíz.

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[1] NT, p. 386. ZT, ii., 347. [2] NT, p. 392 *note*.

§ 2. It appears that Shahrbaráz (Guráz) was not consulted when Ardshír was raised to the throne, and he made this an excuse for taking violent measures. The occasion was a favourable one for an ambitious general in command of an army. Moreover, he had an understanding, confirmed by matrimonial alliances, with Heraclius, who no doubt promised to recognise him if he became Sháh. He accordingly marched upon Ctesiphon with 6,000 or, according to another account, 60,000 troops. The High Steward made an attempt at resistance, but Shahrbaráz with the connivance of the captain of the guard and other chiefs was successful and the usual scenes of outrage and massacre ensued.[1]

§ 1

How Ardshír, Son of Shírwí, ascended the Throne and harangued the Chiefs

Now as the next confronting me I voice
The reign of Sháh Ardshír, I have no choice.
When Sháh Ardshír sat on the throne both young
And old flocked to him from Írán, for many
Were chiefs grown old, to hear what he would say.[2]
The young Ardshír then loosed his tongue and thus
He spake: "Ye well-tried warriors! may one,
Whoe'er he be, that sitteth on the seat
Of sovereignty possess an open mind,
And worship God. We will ensue the course
Of former Sháhs, ensue too Grace and Faith.
May we remember God who giveth good,
May all our acts be just! I will advance
The pious and make tyrants bleed. I trust
The army to Pírúz, son of Khusrau,
Who loveth equity and loyal lieges.

[1] For the above see *Id.*, p. 386 and *notes*. ZT, ii., 347. RSM, p. 541
[2] Couplet omitted.

They for their part with such a paladin
Still will be happy and serene of soul."
Full many were contented with his speech;
A peaceful ruler was the wish of each.

§ 2

How Guráz was displeased at Ardshír being Sháh and how he caused Ardshír to be slain by Pírúz, Son of Khusrau

Then tidings reached Guráz, who had involved
Khusrau Parwíz in sorrow and distress,
And he dispatched from Rúm a man to say:—
"The crown of vile Shírwí is in the dust.
Hell take his soul and be his charnel-house C. 2051
O'erturned! Who ever knew a lofty cypress
Wrecked in the garden by the grass, and one
Like to Khusrau Parwíz, whose peer as king
Time's eye and heart perceive not, who bestowed
My greatness on me, and I have not turned
From his behest? Now fate dethroneth him,
And fortune's face is utterly averse;
The circling heaven is his foe and maketh
His portion to be hidden in the earth;
The sun and moon amerce him of his sway,
And take the crown and throne from such a king,
Bestow the sovereignty upon Shírwí,
And give up all Írán to wretchedness!
When he passed and Ardshír assumed the crown
Both young and old rejoiced in him, but I,
If I have any portion in Írán,
Will suffer not our country's air to breathe

Upon him. Have I not received the news
Of Sháh Khusrau Parwíz wrecked by the words
Of one of evil mark? I will not have
A king like this one though the age be Sháhless,
For there is much contention in his head,
And he adviseth with another host.
Now will I come in force with chosen chiefs
Of Rúm and of Írán, and we shall see
What sort of Head that is to whom such schemes
Appeal. I will uproot him so that never
Shall he name kingship more."

He sent a runner
To seek the ancients of the Íránian host,
And strove in other fashion to advance
His ill designs by writing to Pírúz,
Son of Khusrau, thus: "The Sásánians' fortune
Is louring and we need a world-aspirant
To gird himself for action. Haply thou
Art ware of what to do and how to take
The needful steps, wilt seek for many helpers,
Both young and old, wilt clear away Ardshír,
And afterwards attain thy whole desire,
Be safe and well contented; but if thou
Reveal this plot, and feed the sword of war
With blood, I will lead forth such hosts from Rúm
That I shall make the world dark in thine eyes.
Heed well my words, and mayst thou think no scorn
Of mine intent; thou must not fall through folly.
Oh! pass not from the throne of majesty
To underneath the dust. Repentance then
Will not avail thee when in wreak my sword
Is reaping heads."

Pírúz, son of Khusrau,
When he had read that letter and perceived
The whole intendment of that self-willed man,
C. 2052 Much pondered on the matter and consulted

The ancient magnates, saying: "This affair
Hath come upon me unawares and like
A revelation!"
This was their reply:—
"Famed and redoubted chieftain! if our Sháh
Shall perish we shall rightly perish too
For such a crime. Let not Guráz' words move thee
To perpetrate such ill, but take occasion
For doing good. Write him a fitting answer,
And wake him from his dream. Say: 'Thwart not thou
God's purposes; give not the Dív a way
To thine own heart. Reflect upon the case
Of Sháh Khusrau Parwíz and all the wrong
That led to his undoing, for what time
Thou didst depose him the Sásánian fortune
Went at one blow, and when Shírwí ascended
The royal throne and girt his kingly loins
Folk hoped such days as when Khusrau Parwíz
Was Sháh whose wits were keen in all regards,
And if the world became what it became,
And gat no profit from the state of things,
It was because the world dealt foolishly,
And by one stroke lost its advantages.
Now that Ardshír, succeeding to Kubád,
Is seated as the Sháh upon the throne,
The world rejoicing in his majesty,
And earth and time exulting in his Grace,
Why should the world, now tranquil, be convulsed
By pain and war? Knock not at evils' door;
Those that slay blameless kings will prosper not.
In this strife circling heaven must not raise
Írán in dust. I fear that God will end
The Íránians' term for ills more heinous still.'"
Pírúz, on this wise counselled, wrote Guráz—
That villain of vile race (may none like him

Be ever chief !) —a profitable letter,
And thou hadst said that one had got his heart
Between the shears when he had read those words.
In fierce wrath with Pírúz, son of Khusrau,
He gathered all his baggage and commanded
The host to march forth plainwards. At the news
Pírúz dispatched a cameleer to go
In all haste to Tukhár to summon him,
Informing him at large of the affair,
Of what Guráz was doing and the strife
About the imperial throne. Then from Tukhár
This answer reached Pírúz, son of Khusrau :—
C. 2053 " Risk not the blood of the Íránian chiefs,
O noble man ! but hear what saith Guráz.
Since thou hast written on such wise perchance
He may not come to fight with thee."
Now when
Pírúz, son of Khusrau, had seen that letter
His heart had no repose from evil thoughts,
But gloomed with thinking how to harm the Sháh,
Whose wont it was to summon him, for he
Was an observant man and eloquent,
And served as minister and treasurer.
He came one dark night for an audience,
And found the wine bright and the welcome warm.
Ardshír was seated in his palace-hall
In company with many young and old,
And when Pírúz, son of Khusrau, came raised,
Thou wouldst have said, his head to heaven, called
For harp, and all the hall was filled with music.
Pírúz, son of Khusrau, when midnight came,
Had drunk one man[1] of wine while the companions
Of Sháh Ardshír were all bemused ; no minstrel
Was left that kept his wits. The miscreant
Dismissed the company : he and the Sháh

[1] See Vol. i., p. 290 *note*.

Alone remained. That man of outrage rose,
Laid hand upon the Sháh's lips unawares,
And held it there until Ardshír was dead.
The palace filled with scimitars and arrows.
All there—ambitious youths and warriors—
Were fautors of Pírúz, son of Khusrau.
Upon this manner ceased Ardshír to be
When he had had six months of sovereignty.

XLVI

GURÁZ (ALSO CALLED FARÁYÍN)

HE REIGNED FIFTY DAYS

ARGUMENT

Guráz, hearing of Ardshír's death, marches on Taisafún and urged on by his younger, though dissuaded by his elder son, usurps the throne. His rule described. A plot is formed against him and he is slain while returning from the chase. The throne remains vacant for a while.

NOTE

Cf. note to previous reign. Guráz (Shahr-Barz, April 27th—June 9th, A.D. 630) reigned for forty days.[1] He was one of the three chief generals employed by Khusrau Parwíz in his long war against the Eastern Roman Empire. His real name, according to Tabarí, was Farruhán. This in Pahlaví would be Farrukhán, which by a misreading has become Faráyín in the Sháhnáma. Shahrbaráz (Shahrguráz, or Shahrwaráz) is, says Tabarí, a title. Firdausí uses the shortened form Guráz, which means "boar," because it is more convenient metrically. The title may have been appropriate enough. In the Sháhnáma the general is split up into two personalities—Guráz or Faráyín, the usurper, and Shahránguráz, the avenger of the breach made by the upstart in the sacred line of Sásánian succession.[2] In Tabarí the leader of the revolt is a native of Istakhr named Pusfarrukh.[3] Shahránguráz in the Sháhnáma is also of the same city.

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[1] NT, p. 390 and *note*. [2] *Id.* pp. 292 and *note*. 388 and *note*. [3] *Id.*

§ 1

How Guráz (also called Faráyín) received News of the Slaying of Ardshír, hastened to Írán, took Possession of the Throne, and was killed by Shahrán-guráz

Pírúz, son of Khusrau, dispatched a post,
And letter too, in secret to Guráz,
Whose sombre soul, what time the messenger
Arrived, grew like the sun, and from those parts
He led forth such an army that the way
Was barred to fly and emmet. Like the wind
He sped to Taisafún, his soldiers' hands
All had been bathed in blood. When he arrived
The chiefs went out to welcome him, but none
Among the troops dared breathe for they were few. C. 2054
Guráz, on entering the city, stayed not
For minister and counsellor but chose
A void place, and the magnates privily
Conferred with him. Pírúz, son of Khusrau,
Set loose his tongue and said: "Famed paladin!
Whom hast thou chosen to be king of kings,
And illustrate the crown of majesty?"
The warrior Guráz made answer thus:—
"I have not any secrets from Írán.
To-morrow look ye out for some new Sháh
To sit like some new moon upon the throne."
Since knowledge is the glory of a man
Walk not, if thou canst help it, foolishly.
He that hath wisdom speaketh goodly words,
And as it groweth he deserteth ill.

It is the best of man's accomplishments,
The world's endeavour and the way of God.
Of things that grace one not there is no need
To speak at large for he will foolishly
Disgrace himself howe'er he may exalt
The case in point. When wisdom hath deserted
The head, and shame the eye, fame and disgrace,
And cold and hot, are one—no terror this
To any coward whether quick or dead.
Make, if thou canst, all good thy business
Because the world abideth not with any.
Let all thy usance be humanity,
Munificence and uprightness thy Faith.

When Faráyín assumed the royal crown
He uttered what was in his mind and said :—
" Let me assume the kingship for a while,
And sit upon the throne of gold in joy.
Far better scatter wealth and be exalted
Than purchase sixty years of servitude.
Thus will I sit a while in sovereignty,
Arrayed in satin[1] and in painted silk,
And after me my son shall take my throne,
Assume this royal crown, be king as was
His sire, and be exalted and renowned.
Whoe'er shall minister to our delight
Shall be a happy man among mankind.
In feast-time we will drink with joyful hearts,
In war-time we will hunt our enemies."

His elder son said privily to him :—
" Who of us, father ! ever wore the crown ?
Feel not secure, take means to compass wealth ;
Thou wast the world's protector ; keep to that.
If any member of the royal race
Shalt come thou wilt not long be here ; thy heart
Will keep of kingship only grief and pain ;

[1] Or " beaver-skins."

Thou wilt be wretched, destitute, and wan."
Then said the younger son: "Thou hast become C. 2055
Crowned in the world and hast both troops and treasures
Befitting royalty, but treasureless
Wilt have to labour still. What ancestor
Of Farídún, who had Abtín to sire,
E'er wore the crown? Hold fast the world by courage
And treasure. Nobody is born a king."[1]
The younger's words pleased Faráyín the best,
Who bade his elder son: "Be not so raw."
He laid out in the royal offices
The muster-roll and called all troops to court.
He gave drachms night and day and many robes
Of honour ill-deserved. Within two weeks
Of all the treasury of Sháh Ardshír
Remained not what would buy an arrow's plume!
Whene'er Guráz would go forth to the pleasance
The lights were torches made of ambergris,
Four score before and four score after him:
Behind them came his friends and partisans.
Of gold and silver were the goblets all,
The golden gem-encrusted.[2] 'Twas his use
To feast all night. The nobles' hearts were full
Of vengeance on him. 'Twas his wont to roam
A-nights the gardens and the riding-ground.
Save but to sleep and wake, to eat and plunder,
That slight, weak-witted one knew naught. He went
Drunk ever to repose and with a sash
From Chín about his head. The troops were all
Vexed to the heart at him while all the province
Was full of turmoil and distress. He lost
All trace of generosity and grew
Unjust, unfortunate, and good for naught.
The world was wrecked by his iniquity,

[1] But *cf.* Vol. vi., p. 320. [2] The above couplets transposed.

And at his handling people smote their heads.
He shed the blood of innocents until
The troops grew wroth with him. He used to shut
His eyes for gold and would have sold the world
To win dínárs. Folk cursed him. All desired
His death and meeting privily discussed
His deeds. Hurmuzd Shahránguráz, a horseman
Redoubted of the city of Istakhr—
The glory of the chieftains—thus addressed
One night the Íránians secretly: "Ye chiefs!
The time of Faráyín is proving grievous;
He holdeth all the chiefs in light esteem.
Why have your brains and hearts become thus straitened?
Through him all eyes are tearful, livers charged
With blood. Is no physician to be found?
He is not royal or Sásánian;
Why gird the loins before him? Of a truth
C. 2056 Your hearts have flown out of your breasts or else
Your pluck hath disappeared!"
The folk replied:—
"Since there was no one left fit for the throne
None is inspired by jealousy to take
This base-born's heart away; but we adopt
Thy counsel. Tell us from thy stores of lore
How to release Írán from this insane
And hot-brained Sháh ill both in word and deed.
May he be never blessed!"
Shahránguráz
Replied: "The Íránians have suffered long.
If ye will harm me not but play the Persian
E'en now by holy God's aid will I bring him
Down from his throne to dust."
He gat this answer:—
"May no harm come to thee! All we the host
To-day are thy supporters and thy stronghold

If ill herefrom befall thee."
Hearing this
That royal warrior sought how to set
Hands on the worthless Sháh. Now he one day
Took order and departed from the city
To hunt, and of the Íránians a troop
Of lords and lieges fared, escorting him.
He urged his courser on and rode about
As 'twere Ázargashasp, the cavaliers
Encircling him and beating up the game.
Now at what time they turned back city-wards
Shahránguráz looked at the hapless Sháh
With boldness, chose an arrow from his quiver,
One that was straight and had a point of steel,
And urged his black steed while the host looked on.
He stretched the bow and drew it out at whiles
To chest or head, then notched, as if in sport,
An arrow on the string and drew the bow
Till it concealed the point, and loosed his thumb.
Forthwith the shaft struck on the monarch's back,
Who dropped his whip. The arrow was all blood
Up to the feathers and the iron head
Protruded from his navel. All the troops
Unsheathed and all that night while dust-clouds rose
They plied their swords and knew not whom they
fought,
But took and gave back blows and cursed or blessed
That deed. Now when the yellow Veil appeared,
So that the world seemed like a leopard's back,
There was a multitude of slain and maimed,
And cavaliers and leaders were astound.
That great host was dispersed like timid sheep C. 2057
When they perceive a wolf. Long they remained
Without a king: none cared to claim the crown.
For long they sought and sought in vain to trace
Some royal scion of the noble race.

XLVII

PÚRÁNDUKHT

SHE REIGNED SIX MONTHS

NOTE

Púrándukht (Puranducht, summer A.D. 630—autumn A.D. 631), reigned, according to Tabarí, for one year and four months. Her name, it appears, should be spelt with a B, not with a P. She is said to have restored the "True Cross," but it seems more probable that this was done in the reign of Ardshír. She made the leader of the successful conspiracy against Shahrbaráz her prime minister.[1] She was the first historical female Sháh and it was in allusion to her reign and that of her sister Ázarmdukht that the distich is quoted in Mír Khánd :—

> "No dignity remains in a household
> In which the hens are crowing like cocks."[2]

§ 1

How Púrándukht ascended the Throne and slew Pírúz, Son of Khusrau, and how her own Life ended

'Tis but crude policy when women rule,
But yet there was a lady—Púrándukht—
Surviving of the lineage of Sásán,

[1] For the above see NT, p. 390 *seq.* and *notes*, ZT, ii., 349.
[2] RM, Pt. II., vol. iii., p. 101.

And well read in the royal volume: her
They seated on the throne of sovereignty,
The Great strewed jewels over her, and then
She spake upon this wise: "I will not have
The people scattered,[1] and I will enrich
The poor with treasure that they may not bide
In their distress. God grant that in the world
There may be none aggrieved because his pain
Is my calamity. I will expel
Foes from the realm and walk in royal ways."
She made search for Pírúz, son of Khusrau,
Who was delated by an alien,
Whereat she chose some warriors from the host
Who brought Pírúz before her. She exclaimed:—
"Foul-purposed miscreant![2] thou shalt receive,
As infamous, the guerdon for thy deeds."
She bade bring from the stalls a colt unbroken,
And bound, firm as a rock, Pírúz thereto
Without a saddle and with yoke on neck.
The vengeful lady had that untamed steed
Brought to the riding-ground and thither sent,
With lassos coiled up in their saddle-straps,
A band of warriors to urge the colt
To utmost speed, to strive from time to time
To throw Pírúz and ever roll itself
Upon the ground. That colt won much applause
Until with skin in shreds and dripping blood
Pírúz gave up the ghost right wretchedly. C. 2058
Why having done wrong seekest thou for justice?
Nay, ill for ill; that is the course of right.
Púrándukht ruled the world with gentleness;
No wind from heaven blew upon the dust,
But when six months had passed beneath her sway
The circle of her life bent suddenly;
For one week she was ailing, then expired,

[1] Through misgovernment. [2] One couplet omitted

And took away with her a fair renown.
Such is the process of the turning sky,
So potent while so impotent are we!
If thine be opulence or poverty,
If life affordeth gain or loss to thee,
If thou shalt win what thou desirest so,
Or disappointed be in wretchedness,
And whether thou be one of wealth or woe,
Both woe and wealth will pass away no less.
Reign as a Sháh a thousand years, five score,
For sixty years or thirty, ten or four,
It cometh to one thing, when all is done,
If thou hadst many years or barely one.
Oh! may thine actions thine own comrades be,
For they in every place will succour thee.
Let go thy clutch upon this Wayside Inn
Because a goodlier place is thine to win.
If thine endeavour be to learning given
Thou wilt by knowledge roam revolving heaven.

XLVIII

ÁZARMDUKHT

SHE REIGNED FOUR MONTHS

NOTE

Before Ázarmdukht (Azermidocht, end of A.D. 631—beginning of A.D. 632) came to the throne there seems to have been a short interval during which a distant scion of the royal House, who took the name of Pírúz, ruled for less than a month. The chief noble of the time, who was governor of Khurásán, wished to make Ázarmdukht his wife on which she had him privately executed. This noble's son was the Rustam that fought and fell at Kádisíya some years later. On hearing of his father's fate Rustam, who was in temporary authority in Khurásán, marched with a great army against Ázarmdukht, overthrew her and put her to death after she had reigned six months. Her name probably means "modest girl."[1]

§ 1

How Ázarmdukht ascended the Throne and how she died

There was another dame hight Ázarmdukht,
Who had fruition of the crown of greatness.
She came, sat down upon the royal throne,
And made herself the mistress of the world.
Her first words were: "O sages, veterans,
And masters of affairs! be just in all,

[1] For the above see NT, p. 393 and notes, ZT, ii, 350 *seq.*

And follow precedent, for ye hereafter
Must make the bricks your pillow. I will foster
The loyal liege, assist him with dinárs,
And if he erreth be longsuffering;
But him that is disloyal and deserteth
The way of wisdom and of precedent
Will I suspend in shame upon the gibbet,
Be he an Arab, Rúman cavalier,
Or Persian thane."

She filled the throne four months,
But with the fifth disaster came thereto,
C. 2059 For she too died, the throne had not a Sháh,
But was the plaything of the ill-disposed.
With the revolving sky 'tis everything
To be all vengeful with its fosterling.

XLIX

FARRUKHZÁD

HE REIGNED ONE MONTH

NOTE

Between, and even earlier than, the death of Ázarmdukht and the accession of Yazdagird III., the order of the dynastic succession becomes very confused. The names of the Sháhs vary in the different lists. The reason is that it was a period of great internal unrest and various aspirants to the throne held contemporaneously some short-lived authority in different provinces of the empire. One of these princes, Farrukhzád (Farrukhzád-Khusrau) has received the honour of being included in the list of the Sháhs as recorded in the Sháhnáma. Two accounts of the length of his reign are given in Tabarí. According to one, it lasted for six months, according to the other, for a year. Both agree that he did not die a natural death, and one of them states that his death was instigated by the adherents of Yazdagird.[1]

§ 1

How Farrukhzád ascended the Throne and how he was slain by a Slave

Then from Jahram they summoned Farrukhzád,
And seated him upon the throne of kingship.
There with a pious soul he praised the Maker,

[1] NT, p. 397 and note. Cf. RSM, p. 544.

And said: "Son of the kings of kings am I,
And would have naught but quiet in the world.
The mischief-maker shall not be exalted
While I am Sháh, but him that from his heart
Ensueth right, and is not mischievous,
Will I hold dear as my pure soul, and seek not
To harm the harmless. Him that beareth toil
On our behalf we will reward with treasure.
We will hold dear all friends and raise the fame
Of chieftains everywhere, but all my subjects,
Both friends and enemies, are safe with me."
The troops all blessed him: "Ne'er may earth and time
Lack thee." Yet when his throne was one month old
The head of all his fortune came to dust.
He had a slave, a cypress-tree in stature,
Fair, lusty, and well-liking. That knave's name
Was Siyah Chashm.[1] May heaven ne'er bring his like!
The Sháh too had a handmaid whom he loved.
She chanced on Siyah Chashm all unawares
One day, who sent to say: "If thou wilt meet me
At such a place thou shalt have endless gifts,
And I will deck thy crown with jewelry."
The handmaid heard, made no reply, but went
And told the thing to Farrukhzád who raged,
And could not eat or sleep in his concern.
He put the feet of Siyah Chashm in fetters,
And cast him into prison. When the knave
Had been confined awhile the Sháh released him,
C. 2060 For many pled for him. The slave returned
To serve the Sháh and cut his lifetime short,
For just as such a bad malignant slave
Would do he sought revenge upon the Sháh,
And seizing on a time when Farrukhzád

[1] Black-eyed.

Reposed himself put poison in the wine.
The Sháh drank, lived one week, and all that heard
About his fate lamented him. The kingship
Was in extremities and foes appeared
On every side. The throne of king of kings,
Through these ill doings of the Íránians,
Was overturned.

Of such a fashion are
Time's revolutions! Let it be thy care
To gather for thyself therefrom thy share.
Eat what thou hast and trust the morrow not,
For it may hold for thee a different lot:
To give to others it may take from thee.
Thou callest this a world and verily
It doth whirl! So enjoy thine own, let go
The surplusage that thou hast toiled for so
To other folk but never to thy foe,
Else whensoe'er thy day is overpast
Thy hoards will be as is the desert-blast,
Thy treasures all become thine enemy's;
So give away to set thy mind at ease.

L

YAZDAGIRD

HE REIGNED TWENTY YEARS

ARGUMENT

Yazdagird becomes Sháh. The country is invaded by the Arabs. He sends Rustam, the captain of the host, to oppose them. Rustam takes a despondent view of the situation, and after some attempt at negotiations is defeated by the Arabs at Kádisíya and slain. The war continues, and Yazdagird withdraws to Khurásán to get help from Máhwí of Súr, the governor. Máhwí plots with Bízhan, a Turkish prince, against Yazdagird, who is betrayed in battle and takes refuge in a mill, where he is slain by the miller at the bidding of Máhwí. Máhwí assumes the crown, makes war on Bízhan, is taken prisoner, and put to death. The poem ends with a brief passage, in which Firdausí gives some account of the completion of his undertaking, of help afforded him and of discouragements undergone, and concludes with a well founded assurance of his own future fame.

NOTE

Yazdagird (Isdegird III., A.D. 632-652 or 653) has given his name to a chronological era which still obtains among the Parsís. It dates from June 16th, A.D. 632. He was the son of Sháhryár, son of Khusrau Parwíz, and was an infant at the time when that Sháh and his sons were put to death after the accession of Shírwí (Kubád;[1]) On that occasion he was taken for safety to Istakhr. Tabarí says that he was

[1] See p. 34. 35.

murdered at the age of twenty-eight after a reign of twenty years. He was therefore only eight years old when a party among the nobles set him up as a puppet king at Istakhr (Persepolis), the old seat of empire, Ctesiphon at that time being in the hands of a rival claimant of the throne. In the contention that followed Yazdagird was successful, and in the course of A.D. 633 he became recognised as sole Sháh, the administration remaining in the hands of the chiefs.[1] He had succeeded to a heritage of woe. His empire was ill-prepared for the troubles that were in store for it. Exhausted by long wars, torn by domestic dissentions, and lately devastated by plague, it had to confront a new and vigorous organization inspired by religious enthusiasm and impelled thereby to extend its borders on every side. Had Yazdagird been a born leader of men and come to the throne in the prime of life, he might for the time at least have been successful, but in the circumstances, and taking into consideration what we can gather as to his own character, we can now see how hopeless from the outset his prospects were. Students of Persian, however, have probably reason to feel grateful to his reign, for even though we put aside as unsatisfactory what tradition tells us on the subject, a reasonable presumption remains that with the return of settled government to a distracted country there was a revival of interest in the story of the Íránian race and its heroes, and that compilations were then made from which we still though indirectly benefit.[2]

§§ 2-11. The following is intended to supplement Firdausí's inadequate account of the Arab conquest of the Sásánian empire. He appears to assign it to the last years of Yazdagird's then nominal sovereignty. From time immemorial the Íránians and Semites had been at enmity.[3] In Íránian legend this feeling had found expression in the story of the wicked Sháh Zahhák, who, though originally an Aryan myth,[4] came to be regarded in succeeding ages as an earthly king with his seat at Babylon. When, later still, the Íránians again felt the weight of Semitic oppression, he was turned into an Arab.[5] Although during Sásánian times the semi-independent kingdom of Híra served to some extent as a buffer-state between the Persian empire and the wilder Arab

[1] NT, p. 307 *seq.* and *notes*. [2] *Cf.* Vol. i., p. 67. [3] *Id.* p. 10.
[4] *Id.* p. 7. [5] *Id.* pp. 54, 135, 141.

tribes there was always the liability of raids and the danger was much increased when Khusrau Parwíz was so unwise as to put an end to the long-standing dynasty of the princes of Híra and appointed a governor of his own in their stead.[1] In his reign too had occurred the disastrous battle of Dhú Kár, in which the smallness of the forces engaged were out of all proportion to the importance of the result. The Arabs celebrated their victory with songs of triumph.[2] With that inspiring memory and revelation of Persian weakness, with the prospect of rich spoil to be won, and a nation of infidels to be converted, it is not surprising that hostilities should break out between the young and vigorous and the old and enfeebled empire. Muhammad himself, tradition tells us, addressed a threatening letter to Khusrau Parwíz, who tore it up, and the Prophet, on hearing of this, said: "He has rent his own realm."[3] Muhammad died in June, A.D. 632—the month of the child Yazdagird's accession. Abú Bakr, the first Khalífa, being apprised by an Arab chieftain, who had embraced Islam, of the state of the Persian empire, sent his great general, Khálid, to begin hostilities. Khálid was very successful in numerous engagements, and temporarily the whole tract bordering the western bank of the Euphrates from the Roman frontier almost to the Persian Gulf came into the hands of the Arabs. Khálid made Híra his headquarters, and was preparing to attack Ctesiphon and invade Írán when he was recalled by Abú Bakr to take command of the forces destined for the Syrian campaign. "This is 'Umar's doing," said Khálid. "He does not want to see me conquer 'Irák."[4] The departure of Khálid was the Persians' opportunity. Encouraged by Rustam, who under Yazdagird had become commander-in-chief, the inhabitants of the conquered region rose against the Arabs but unsuccessfully. At this juncture Abú Bakr died and was succeeded by 'Umar, who began his reign by giving Abú 'Ubaida the chief command in Syria in the place of Khálid. Then, it is said, he appealed publicly to the Faithful to volunteer for the invasion of Persia and for two days in vain, the supersession of Khálid having caused great indignation. It may, however, have been thought that the acquisition of so much fertile territory and the consequent proximity to the Persian

[1] Vol. viii., p. 190. [2] NT, p. 342. [3] ZT, ii., 325.
[4] Id. iii., 348.

capital, were a sufficient achievement for the time being. Nevertheless, on the third day, when 'Umar made his appeal, Abú 'Ubaida (not Khálid's successor) offered himself and Sa'ad, son of Wakkás, followed suit. A thousand others imitated their example. 'Umar gave Abú 'Ubaida the chief command as he had been the first to volunteer. The Persians in the meantime had withdrawn to Ctesiphon, whence Rustam dispatched a force, which had with it the flag of Káwa,[1] to watch the enemy. Abú 'Ubaida, who was very inferior in numbers, threw a bridge across the Euphrates, attacked the Persians, was defeated and slain. This battle is known as "The Battle of the Bridge," and took place in November, A.D. 634. An attack, however, by the Persians on Híra failed, and the Arabs raided the Persian settlement of Baghdád (not of course the well-known city of that name[2]) where twice a year a fair was held. 'Umar appointed Sa'ad, son of Wakkás, to succeed Abú 'Ubaida, and both sides made efforts to reinforce their respective armies. The Persian adherents west of the Euphrates again rose. Rustam crossed the river with a great host, and advanced to Kádisíya where the Arabs had concentrated. The battle that ensued is said to have lasted four days with varying fortune till a dust-storm turned the scale in favour of the Arabs. The slaughter was very great and so was the spoil. 'Umar forbade the Arabs to make any further advance for the present, but as the situation of their camp proved to be very unhealthy he directed Sa'ad to choose a more suitable site, whereupon Sa'ad founded Kúfa. Thenceforth the whole of the region west of the Euphrates was lost to the Persians. To secure the lower course of the Euphrates and Tigris 'Umar also founded Basra, west of the Shatt-al-Arab. The battle of Kádisíya seems to have been fought A.D. 636-7, but the chronology of the period is somewhat uncertain. Then came a considerable pause in the Arab advance. The Arabs seem to have spent the interval well in securing what they had gained while the Persians on the other hand appear to have been paralysed by their misfortunes. At all events, when the invasion was resumed and Sa'ad, crossing the Euphrates, marched on Ctesiphon, no resistance was offered and Yazdagird, who had lingered there too late to secure the removal of most of his treasures, fled with his court to Hulwán.[3] His example of flight seems

[1] Vol. i., p. 154 *seq.* [2] See Vol. vi., p. 254. [3] See Vol. vii., p. 187.

to have been followed by a majority of the inhabitants. The Arabs came in for an immense booty according to Oriental accounts. If, however, we take into consideration the domestic troubles of the years preceding Yazdagird's accession, and what must have been the financial needs of the short-lived Sháhs of that period, we are justified in suspecting that the amount of precious metals and of the more portable forms of wealth generally was not so great as has been affirmed. Sa'ad, when he had established himself in the Persian capital, asked permission of 'Umar to pursue Yazdagird who had gathered a considerable army under the command of a Mihrán[1] at Jalúlá in the neighbourhood of Hulwán. 'Umar refused to allow Sa'ad to go in person and instructed him to send instead Háshim who was either his brother or his nephew. Háshim was much inferior in point of numbers, and it was six months before he brought the Persians to a decisive engagement. He then won a complete victory, and followed up his success at Jalúlá by the capture of Hulwán. Yazdagird fled to Rai and 'Umar, content for the moment with what had been achieved, forbade any further advance. The next stage of the Arab conquest was made outside the sphere of Sa'ad's authority, who sent, however, by 'Umar's command troops to assist. In the north Mesopotamia, and in the south Khúzistán, were invaded and annexed. A raid was made also across the Persian Gulf from Bahrain into Párs, but without lasting results, as the Arab forces got into difficulties and had to be rescued by an expedition sent for the purpose from Basra. About A.D. 640 in consequence, it is said, of complaints made by the people of Kúfa, 'Umar recalled Sa'ad and Yazdagird seized the opportunity to make a supreme effort to recover his lost possessions. A large army, summoned from the yet unconquered provinces of the empire, was concentrated at Naháwand, some fifty miles south of Hamadán, and placed under a Persian general named Pírúzán. On this 'Umar ordered Nu'mán, who was in command in Khúzistán, to gather all available forces from the regions already annexed and march against the enemy. Nu'mán, who was greatly inferior in point of numbers, found the Persians strongly encamped at Naháwand and tried in vain to bring on a general engagement. In the end he managed to effect his purpose by means of a stratagem. He broke up

[1] See *id.* p. 185.

his camp and made a hasty retreat. Pírúzán went in pursuit, on which Nu'mán turned upon him and won what the Arabs call "The Victory of Victories" (A.D. 641-2). Pírúzán was taken prisoner and slain, and Nu'mán himself fell in the fight. This was the last effort of the Persians at a national resistance. Henceforth their opposition was merely provincial or local, and wholly ineffective. One after another the remaining provinces of the Sásánian empire were overrun by the Arabs and permanently annexed, while Yazdagird, who had fled from Rai after the disaster of Nahávand, remained a fugitive till his death some ten years later.

§ 2. In Tabarí Rustam's father is called Farrukh-Hurmuzd, the governor of Khurásán, who was slain, it is said, by Ázarmdukht and avenged by his son.[1] Khurásán probably formed part of the satrapy of Nímrúz, one of the four into which Núshírwán divided his empire.[2] Tradition makes the governors of that satrapy, and their sons play a very important part during the last few years of the Sásánian dynasty.[3] The position of commander-in-chief held by Rustam at the battle of Kádisíya, probably indicates that he had been instrumental in bringing about the elevation of Yazdagird to the throne.[4]

Rustam's brother was named Farrukhzád.

§ 3. Mughíra, son of Shu'ba, was one of the companions of Muhammad, and played a prominent role in the affairs of the time. He went on a similar embassy to the Persians before the battle of Nahávand.[5] He was governor for a time at Basra,[6] Mecca,[7] and Kúfa, where he died in A.D. 670.[8]

§ 4. Sa'ad took no personal part in the battle of Kádisíya. He was suffering from sores at the time and had to content himself with merely directing operations.[9] Consequently he did not slay Rustam in single combat as Firdausí states. When the dust-storm came on the fourth day of the battle, Rustam was seated under an awning erected on the bank of the canal of Kádisíya and surrounded by the camels that carried his treasure. The awning was blown into the water, and Rustam took shelter among them. In the confusion caused by the storm, the Arabs broke the Persian centre. One of them, named Hilál, striking in the darkness at random among the camels, happened to hit the one under which

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[1] p. 59. [2] See Vol. vii., p. 214. [3] pp. 5, 6, 59, 87, 95 *seq.*
[4] NT, p. 397 *note*. NIN, p. 13. [5] ZT, iii., 474. [6] *Id.* 404.
[7] *Id.* iv., 2. [8] *Id.* 16. [9] *Id.* iii., 398.

Rustam was seated, and cut the cord that secured its load of treasure which fell on Rustam's head. Though injured, he made an attempt to swim across the canal, but was caught by Hilál and slain.[1]

§§ 9-11. There is a general agreement in Persian tradition that Yazdigird did not die a natural death. The scene of it is mostly laid at Marv, and the most popular version associates it with a mill. Firdausí's story evidently has been worked up as the appeals addressed to Máhwí show. The villain's guilt too is more emphasized, and he is made more directly responsible for the tragedy. Elsewhere the miller murders the Sháh for mere greed. Marv appears to be a likely place for Yazdagird to have chosen to reside in, as he could easily escape thence across the Oxus in case of need. In some accounts he does cross and negotiates to little purpose with the Turks, but is brought back across the river for the final scene. What the truth of the matter was seems to be quite uncertain.

§ 14. According to the account in the Persian Tabarí, Máhwí, after the death of Yazdagird, remained at Marv till he was compelled to leave owing to the approach of the Arabs, when he fled across the Oxus and took refuge with the Turks.[2] Their Khán is the Bízhan of the Sháhnáma.

§ 1

How Yazdagird ascended the Throne and addressed the Chiefs

When Farrrukhzád departed Yazdagird
Became the Sháh upon the day of Ard
In month Sapandármad. What said the man
Brave, eloquent but weary of life's span ?
" Would that my mother had not brought me forth,
High heaven not turned o'er me !
The days of greatness and the days of want

[1] *Id.* 396. [2] ZT, iii., 505.

For all soon cease to be.
Time, as thou lookest, passeth; none can take
Arms to contend with it,
So furnish forth the board and drain the cup,
And sad talk intermit.
What though thou ride high heaven yet bricks will prove
Thy pillow at the last;
If thou be king what of the end? First throne,
But what when life hath past?
Let not thy heart be troubled, trust not much
High heaven as thy support;
It acteth as it willeth; elephant
And lion are its sport.
'Twill outlast thee, its tale is long; be not
With pride of life o'erflown;
Thou canst not better Farídún or be C. 2061
Parwíz[1] with crown and throne.[2]
From those exalt seven planets do thou well
Consider what to Yazdagird befell."
When he sat happy on the throne of kingship,
And placed upon his head the crown of might,
He said: "By process of the turning sky
I am the true-born son of Núshírwán.
Mine is the sway from sire to sire and mine,
Are Virgo, Sol, and Pisces. I will seek
For greatness, wisdom, hardihood, contention,
And manliness, for life and fortune stay
With none, nor treasure, kingship, crown, and throne.
Fame will abide for aye but not desire;
Put off desire then and exalt thy fame.
It is by fame that man shall live for ever
While his dead body lieth in the dust.
How good are Faith and justice in a Sháh!
The times are full of blessings on his fame.

[1] Khusrau Parwíz. [2] Couplet omitted.

I purpose while I live to pluck up ill,
Both root and branch."
The chiefs applauded him,
And hailed him as the monarch of the earth,
And thus it was, till sixteen years had sped,
That sun and moon revolved above his head.

§ 2

How Sa'ad, Son of Wakkás, invaded Írán, how Yazdagird sent Rustam to oppose him, and how Rustam wrote a Letter to his Brother

It was so that 'Umar, the famous Arab,
Commander of the Faithful,[1] he whose sword
Turned day to night, the man approved by God,
Who hath no equal, sent the chosen Sa'ad,
Son of Wakkás, with troops against the Sháh.
When Arab fortune worsted Persian,
And the Sásánians' fortune had grown dark,
The world had had full measure of its Sháhs;
Gold was not seen, the mite was manifest,
Good turned to evil, evil turned to good,
The path lay Hellward, not to Paradise,
The wheel of circling heaven was changed and cut
All kindness for the Persians clean away.
The slave must do the almighty Maker's will,
And bear what He inflicteth. Save with Him
There is no life or joy.
When Yazdagird
Learned what had chanced he gathered troops on all sides,
C. 2062 And bade Hurmuzd's son lead them forth. His name

[1] He assumed this title.

Was Rustam. He was wary, wise, a warrior
And potentate, a reader of the stars,
Exceeding shrewd and all attent to hear
The archimages' words. He marched away
With all the noble, those that were alert
And brave, and after thirty months they sought
To fight at Kádisíya. Being learned
In heaven's lore as an astrologer,
And one both just and good, he said: "No time
Is this to fight, the river of the Sháhs
Will flow not in this bed," and so he took
His astrolabe, observed the stars and smote
His head because it was a day of bale,
Then wrote in grief and told his brother all,
First offering praise to God who had ordained
His good and evil fortune, and proceeded:—
"Well may the revolutions of the sky
Fill the observer with disquietude!
I am the guiltiest person of the time,
And therefore have been caught by Áhriman,
Because the kingship passeth from this House;
No season this of conquest and the Grace!
From the fourth heaven Sol is looking down
To hasten to the fight of mighty men.
Both Mars and Venus bode mishap to us,
And none can 'scape high heaven. Mercury
And Saturn are opposed, the former too
Hath entered Gemini. Such is the case,
A great event is toward, and my heart
Is weary of its life. I can discern
All that will be but fain would hold my peace.
When I agnized this secret of the sky—
That it assigneth us but grievous travail—
I wept right sorely for the Íránians,
And burned for the Sásánians. Woe is me
For head and crown, for state and throne, and woe

For majesty, for fortune, and for Grace
Because hereafter will defeat betide them
From the Arabians, the stars not turn
Save to our hurt, and for four hundred years
None of our royal race will rule the world!
An envoy from our foemen came to me,
And divers parleyings followed. 'We,' they said,
'Will give up to the Sháh the tract between
The river-bank and Kádisíya; ye
Shall grant us access to some trading centre
That we may sell and buy; we will not ask
For more hereafter; we will pay large dues,
And will not seek the chieftains' diadems,
C. 2063 But will obey withal the king of kings,
And render hostages at his demand.'
Such is the talk. No action hath ensued,
But still the stars are adverse. Long will be
The strife. Fierce Lions will be slain by hundreds.
The chieftains that are with me in the war—
Galbwí of Tabaristán and Armaní,
Who do the deeds of Áhriman in fight,
Mahwí, he of Súrán, and other chiefs,
Who wield the heavy mace and battle-ax—
Heed not our foes proposals but observe:—
'Who are these haughty folk and what do they
Both in Írán and in Mázandarán?
For road and territory, weal and woe,
We must employ the mace and scimitar;
We will exert ourselves, quit us like men,
And make the world both dark and strait to them.'
None of them knoweth circling heaven's design,
And how its aspect hath been changed to us.
On reading this take measures with the chiefs,
Make preparations and lead forth the host,
Collect the treasures, handmaids, and state-robes,
Then hasten Ázar Ábádagán—

The dwelling of the Mighty and the Free.
Whatever herds of horses thou mayst have
Send to the treasurer of Ázargashasp.
If soldiers seek thee from Zábulistán,
Or from Írán, imploring thy protection,
Receive and treat with kindness their excuses
In view of what the turning sky is doing--
The cause of joy and terror to us all,
At whiles exalting and at whiles abasing.
Let mother know my words for of a truth
She will not look upon my face again.
Greet her from us and counsel her at large
Not to be troubled here below. If any
Shall bring bad news of me be not too downcast,
For know that in this Wayside Hostelry
He that amasseth treasure by his toil
Will find his toil more than such worldly treasure,
And that another will enjoy the fruit.
What need was there for so much toil and greed ?
Desire is lessened not by having more.
At all times worship God and purge thy heart
Of all affection for this Wayside Inn
Because our fortune is in straits, the king
Will see me not again. Do thou and all
Our House, both old and young, unceasingly
Praise God and pray the Maker, for with this
My host I am in stress, in travail, grief,
And bitter fortune, and shall not escape C 2064
At last. May this sweet country of Írán
Be in prosperity ! Whenas the world
Is straitened to the king hold treasure, life,
And person of small worth, for of that race
So famed and honoured there is no one left
Save that exalted one. Watch over him
By day and night till I have fought the Arabs.
Be not remiss in toil for he is now

All that we have to look to in this world,
And the Sásánians' memorial,
For no one will behold that House again.
Woe for the head and crown, for seal and right
Since royal throne will go adown the blast!
Fare well, be not concerned, and ever be
Before the world-lord, and if ill betide him
First give thine own head to the scimitar
Ungrudgingly. When pulpit fronteth throne,
And when Abú Bakr and 'Umar shall be
As household words, our long toils will be lost,
And long will be the fall before the rise.
Thou wilt not see throne, diadem, or state:
The stars award the Arabs everything.[1]
There will not be throne, crown, or golden boot,
Or gem, or coronet or flaunting flag.
One man will toil, another will enjoy;
None will give heed to justice or to bounty.[2]
Then warriors will be men that fight afoot
While horsemen will be mocked and flouted at;
The warlike husbandman will be despised,
High birth and majesty will bear no fruit;
Then men will rob each other, none will know
A blessing from a curse, and secret dealing
Prevail o'er open, while the hearts of men
Will turn to flint, sire will be foe to son,
And son will scheme 'gainst sire; a worthless slave
Will be the king, high birth and majesty
Will count for nothing; no one will be loyal.
There will be tyranny of soul and tongue.
A mongrel race—Iránian, Turkman, Arab—
Will come to be and talk in gibberish.[3]
C. 2065 They will collect all treasures 'neath their skirts,
Toil and resign the product to their foes.

[1] Two couplets omitted. [2] Three couplets omitted.
[3] See Vol. i., p. 34.

Grief, travail, bitterness will thus prevail
As joy did in Bahrám Gúr's days; feasts, song,
Race and renown will cease; men will set traps,
Will seek their profit in another's loss,
And make their pretext Faith; no difference
Will be 'twixt Spring and Winter;[1] there will be
No wine at feasts; they will not recognise
Degree and place but live on barley-bread,
And dress in wool. When much time hath passed thus
None will regard the noble Persian stock.
They will be shedding blood for lucre's sake,
An evil age will be inaugurate.
My heart is full, my face is wan, my mouth
Is parched, my lips are filled with sighs to think
That after I—the paladin—have gone
Sásánian fortune shall become thus dark;
So faithless hath revolving heaven grown,
Ta'en umbrage, and withdrawn from us its love!
If with my lance I strike a brazen mountain
I pierce it, being brazen-bodied too,
But now my shafts with steel-transfixing heads
Are impotent with men that wear no mail!
My sword, which felled the necks of elephants
And lions at a blow, can not cut through
An Arab skin! My knowledge bringeth loss
On loss upon me. Would that I possessed not
This wisdom since it causeth me to know
Of this ill day! The chiefs that are with me
From Kádisíya are both hardy men
And hostile to the Arabs. They expect
That this brake will be filled, that earth will run
Like the Jíhún, with our foes' blood. None knoweth
The secret of the skies and that this strife

[1] Muhammadan years being lunar the months are associated with no particular season.

Can not be quickly ended; but when fortune
Departeth from a race what profit cometh
Of travail and of fight? Be prosperous,
My brother! May the Sháh's heart joy in thee
Because this Kádisíya is my charnel,
My breastplate is my shroud, my helmet blood:
Such is the secret of the lofty sky.
Bind not thine own heart to my griefs but keep
Thine eyes upon the Sháh, and sacrifice
Thyself for him in fight, because the day
Of Áhriman is coming on apace
When circling heaven will show us enmity."
When he had sealed the letter he said thus:—
"My blessing be upon the messenger
That shall convey this letter to my brother,
And tell him not what I have said, but other!"

§ 3

How Rustam wrote to Sa'ad, Son of Wakkás, and how he replied

C. 2066 He sent a messenger in swiftness like
The flash and thunder-clap to Sa'ad. They wrote,
In apprehension yet not in despair,
A letter on white silk and thus endorsed:—
"This from the paladin of paladins—
The warlike Rustam, son of Hurmuzdsháh[1]—
To Sa'ad, son of Wakkás, the prudent, wise,
And circumspect, who hath come forth to fight."
It thus began: "We still must fear the World-lord,
The Holy, who sustaineth turning heaven,

[1] *Cf.* Mardánsháh as a proper name and p. 59.

Whose rule is justice and beneficence.
May blessings from Him rest upon the king,
The lustre of the signet, crown, and throne,
The lord of sword, of diadem and lasso,
Whose Grace restraineth Áhriman in bonds.
A hateful matter hath occurred to us
In these uncalled for labours and this strife.
Reply to me and say who is your king,
Who thou art, what thy rule and custom are,
And whose assistance is it that ye seek
With unmailed soldiery and unmailed chief?
Fed up with bread thou art still ravenous;
Thou hast no elephants, no throne, no baggage.
Enough for thee to live within Írán,
For crown and signet are another man's,
Who hath Grace, elephants, and crown and throne—
A famous Sháh of lengthy lineage.
No throned king hath such stature or the moon
In heaven such aspect. When enthroned he sitteth
With smiles that make his silvern teeth appear;
His gifts would purchase Arabs in the gross,
And not impoverish his treasury.
His dogs, his hawks, and cheetahs are twelve thousand,
And they are decked with golden bells and varvels.
The whole waste of the wielders of the spear
Could find not in a year from end to end
Enough to feed his cheetahs and his hounds
When he is hunting on the plain. The Arabs,
From drinking camels' milk and eating lizards,
Have reached a pitch whereat the Persian throne
Is coveted! Shame, shame on circling heaven!
Ye have no veneration in your eyes,
Or, in your wisdom, love or reverence.
With such a visage and such tastes and ways
Is thy heart set upon the crown and throne?
If thou art seeking power within thy means,

And art not merely speaking words in jest,
C. 2067 Dispatch to us some man of goodly speech,
Send some brave veteran and man of lore,
That he may tell me thine intent and who
Doth lead thee to attempt the royal throne.
Then will I send a horseman to the Sháh
To ask of him whatever thou wilt ask,
But seek not with so great a king to fight,
For shame at last will come upon thy face.
His grandsire was the world-lord Núshírwán,
Whose justice made the agéd young again.
His fathers have been Sháhs, and he is king;
The age remembereth none like to him.
Fill not the world with curses on thyself,
Misprize not thine own precedents. Regard
This letter of advice and bar not thou
Thine eyes and ears to wisdom." When the letter
Was sealed he gave it to high-born Pírúz,
Son of Shápúr. To Sa'ad, son of Wakkás,
This paladin and magnates from Írán,
Of ardent soul, went whelmed in iron, silver,
And gold, with golden shields and golden girdles.
On hearing, Sa'ad, that noble man, set forth,
Swift as the flying dust, to meet Pírúz
With troops, forthwith dismounted and inquired
About the army and its paladin,
About the Sháh, his minister and host,
The watchful leader and his provinces.
He spread his cloak beneath Pírúz and said:—
"We hold the sword and spear to be our mates:
Brave warriors make no mention of brocade,
Of gold and silver or of food and slumber.
Ye have no part in manhood but are like
To women with your colours, scents, and forms.
Your prowess is in donning broidery,
Adorning roofs and decorating doors."

Pírúz then gave the letter and told Sa'ad
The words of Rustam. Sa'ad heard, read, and wondered.
He wrote an answer back in Arabic,
Announcing good and ill. He wrote there first
The name of God and of His messenger,
Muhammad, who directeth to the truth.
He spake of Jins and men, of what the Prophet,
The Háshimite,[1] had said, the Unity
Of God, of the Kurán, of promise, warning,
Of menace and of novel usages,
Of liquid pitch, of fire, and icy cold,
Of Paradise, its streams of milk and wine,
Of camphor and of musk, of bubbling springs,
Of wine and honey and the trees of heaven.[2]
Then: "If the Sháh accepteth the true Faith
He will obtain both worlds with joy and kingship,
And have withal the earrings and the crown,
Perpetual beauty and prosperity.
His intercessor there will be Muhammad, C. 2068
His form like pure rose-water. In as much
As Paradise will be thy recompense
We must not plant thorns in the garth of bale.
The personality of Yazdagird,
This spacious world, such gardens, riding-grounds,
And halls and palaces with all the thrones
And crowns, the festivals and revelries,
Are less worth than one hair of an Hourí.
In this our Wayside Hostelry thine eyes
Are dazed by crown and treasure, and thou trustest
Too much in ivory throne, in wealth, and signet,
In fortune and in crown. Why be concerned
About a world when one draught of cold water
Out-prizeth it? Whoever cometh forth

[1] Háshim was the great-grandfather of Muhammad.
[2] This is taken from the Kurán. *Cf.* Vol. i., p. 99.

To fight with me will see a narrow grave,
And Hell, naught else; but Paradise is his
If he believeth. Mark how he should fare.
He still will choose the one and shun the other
As every wise man knoweth."
Then he set
The Arab seal thereon and praised Muhammad.
The messenger of Sa'ad, son of Wakkás,
Went with all speed to Rustam. Now what time
Shu'ba Mughíra went forth from the chiefs
To journey to the paladin, a noble,
One of the Iránians, came in from the way
Before the captain of the host, and said:—
"A messenger hath come—a weak, old man—
Without a horse or weapons and ill-clad,
With thin sword slung about his neck and shirt
All plainly tattered."
Rustam thus apprised
Prepared a tent-enclosure of brocade.
They laid a carpet of gold thread of Chín;
The soldiery turned out like ants and locusts.
They set a golden ante-throne whereon
The captain of the host assumed his seat
With eight score warriors attending him—
Horsemen and lions on the day of battle—
With crowns, with violet robes, and golden boots,
With torques and earrings, while the tent-enclosure
Was royally adorned. Shu'ba Mughíra,
On coming to the tent-enclosure, walked not
Upon the cloth but humbly on the ground,
And used his scimitar as walking-stick.
He sat upon the dust without a look
At any—captain of the host or chief.
Then Rustam said to him: "May thy soul joy,
And by its knowledge make thy body strong."
Shu'ba Mughíra said: "If thou, good sir!

Acceptest the true Faith, peace unto thee."
Now Rustam, hearing this, was vexed and frowned.
He took and gave the letter to a reader. C. 2069
That learned man told him what was writ, and Rustam
Made answer: "Tell him: 'Thou art neither king
Nor an aspirant to the diadem,
But thou hast seen my fortune in eclipse,[1]
And so thy heart ambitioneth my throne.
The case is one of moment to the wise,
But thou hast not considered it. If Sa'ad
Had the Sásánian throne I well might share
His feasts and fights, but since the faithless stars
Bode ill, what shall I say? This is the day
Of bale. If for my guide I take Muhammad,
And this new Faith for old, all will go wrong
Beneath this crook-backed sky, and all go hard
With us.' But as for thee, depart in peace;
The day of battle is no time for words.
Tell Sa'ad: 'To die with honour is a thing
Far better for me than crude parleying."

§ 4

How Rustam fought with Sa'ad, Son of Wakkás, and was slain

Shu'ba Mughíra went his way, and Rustam
Bade to array the host and sound the trumpet.
From all sides troops assembled, clouds of dust
Arose, and din that deafed the sharpest ears.
"The steely lance-heads mid the murky reek
Are," thou hadst said, "stars mid night's azure gloom,"

[1] Reading with P.

While spears ne'er ceased to smite on glittering helms.
The strife endured three days, till water failed
The Íránians, and their warriors' hands and steeds
Became unfit for combat. Rustam's lips
Grew as the dust with drought, his tongue was split,
And men and horses battened on moist clay,
So grievous was the stress!
Shouts rose like thunder
From Rustam and from Sa'ad as they advanced,
Each from his post. Each left his army's centre,
And drew off from the field. Departing thus
They came beneath a steep-up eminence,
And there those chieftains twain assailed each other
Revengefully upon that scene of strife
Till Rustam, roaring like a thunder-clap,
Smote with his sword Sa'ad's charger on the head,
Smote the swift charger which came headlong down,
C. 2070 And brave Sa'ad was unhorsed. Then Rustam reared
Aloft a trenchant blade to show to him
The Day of Doom, and was in mind to strike
His head off, but by reason of the dust
Raised by the troops they could not see each other.
Then Rustam lighted from his steed and saddle
Of leopard-skin and fastened to his belt
His charger's reins but, while dust blinded him,
Sa'ad hurried up and smote him with the sword
Upon his helm whence blood ran down his face,
And while his eyes were blinded by the gore
The aspiring Arab gained the upper hand,
Again smote Rustam on the head and neck,
And flung his warrior-body on the dust.
None in the two hosts were aware thereof,
Or whither those two paladins had gone,
But searched until they found the scene of strife.
The Íránians, when they spied their paladin
Slashed by the scimitar from head to foot,

Fled. Many a chieftain perished in the press,
And many failed for thirst upon the saddle.
The world had had full measure of the Sháhs.
The host fared to the monarch of Írán,
And hastened on the way both day and night.
When Rustam had been slain in fight, and when
The chiefs' heads were all turned, the Muslim host
Sped like a savage lion in pursuit.[1]
At that time Yazdagird was at Baghdád;
To him the troops came flocking and announced
That Rustam was no more, and that the sea
Was dry with grief, that many men had fallen,
And that the rest had fled the battlefield.
The hosts, both Persian and Arabian,
Reached Karkh, and Farrukhzád, son of Hurmuzd,
Wroth and with tearful eyes came from the Arwand,
Arrived at Karkh, fell on the enemy,
And not an Arab warrior survived.
The Persians marched out from Baghdád intent
To meet the foe, and bloody was the event.

§ 5

How Yazdagird consulted with the Íránians and went to Khurásán

When Farrukhzád had gone back to the Sháh,
All over dust and in his fighting-gear,
He lighted from his charger, did obeisance,

[1] The French version of the rest of this section is as follows:—"Yezdegird était à Bagdad lorsque ses troupes affluèrent autour de lui. Farrukhzad, fils d'Hormuzd, furieux et répandant des larmes, traversa le Tigre, entra dans Kerkh et livra un assaut terrible qui ne lassa vivant aucun des guerriers armés de lances. Les troupes sortirent aussitôt de Bagdad et allèrent chercher le combat dans la plaine; mais lorsque la poussière de la lutte se fut dissipée, les Iraniens étaient en fuite."

Blood in his eyes and anguish in his heart,
And said to Yazdagird: "Why weep so much?
Is it to wash the throne of kings with tears?
C. 2071 Thou only of the royal race art left
To wear the crown and sit upon the throne.
One, with a hundred thousand enemies,
How canst thou battle when exposed to all?
Betake thee to the forest of Nárwan;
The folk will gather to thee there and thence,
Like valiant Farídún, do thou renew
The fight like fire."
The king of kings gave ear.
New thoughts occurred. Upon the morrow's morn
He sat upon his throne, assumed the crown,
Held an assembly with his men of lore,
The magnates and shrewd-hearted archimages,
And said: "What seemeth good to you herein?
What precedents recall ye from the past?
Saith Farrukhzád to me: 'Depart and take
Thy followers to the forest of Nárwan:
The people of Ámul, are servitors,
The people of Sarí all slaves, to thee,
And, when thy troops are many, come again
With puissance to battle with the Brave.'
Do ye approve?"
They all of them exclaimed:—
"That is the course."
The king of kings rejoined:—
"It is not well. I purpose otherwise.
Shall I desert the chieftains of Írán,
And this great host, our country, throne, and crown
To save myself? That were not majesty,
Or manliness or policy. To fight
The foe is better for me than disgrace.
The leopard spake a saw in this regard:—
'Whene'er the time of stress shall come on thee

Turn not in folly from thine enemy.'
For just as subjects should obey their king
In good and ill so he must not desert them
In their distress and go off to his treasures."
The great men blessed him, saying: "Crown and signet
Exist for ends like these. Think what thy will
And wishes are, and what assurances
Thou wouldst of us."
The Sháh thus answered them :—
"Anxiety is ruin to the heart.
Our best course is to go to Khurásán
Where we shall feel secure from strife with foes,
For there we are possessed of many troops,
And valiant paladins. The Turkish chiefs
And Khán of Chín will come and do us homage
While I will make the union stronger still
By marriage with the daughter of Faghfúr.
A great host will arrive to succour us,
The magnates of Túrán and mighty men.
There is the warden of the marches too,
Máhwí, with horsemen, elephants, and wealth
Of all kinds. He is our chief governor, C. 2072
The highest of the guardians of our coasts.
I raised him when he was a vagabond,
A minstrel and a braggart, giving him,
Though worthless, name and worth, men, government,
Lands, elephants. Base though he be and vile
Still his advancement hath been at my court.
Now I have heard an archmage quote this saw :—
'Of one whom thou hast wrongly harmed beware :
Of one made rich by thee thy hopes are fair.'
I never injured him in aught, and he
Will 'venge me on my foe."
But Farrukhzád
Smote his two hands together and exclaimed :—

"O Sháh who fearest God! put little trust
In those of evil bent. In this regard
There is a modern saw which runneth thus:—
'Howe'er on birth thou practise witchery,
And strivest such an one from rust to free,
Since the All-giver framed him thus to be
To loose God's bonds thou wilt not find a key.'"
"O mighty, raging Lion!" said the Sháh,
"To make this trial will work me no hurt."
He stayed that night and, when the morning broke,
Those noble men set forth and left Baghdád
For Khurásán, and took their travail lightly.
The chieftains of Írán all sorrowful
Accompanied their Sháh, that noble man,
And called down blessings on him, saying: "May time,
And earth, ne'er lack thee."
From the host rose wails
For grief and at the going of the king,
And all the Íránian thanes—the warriors' stay—
Drew near to him with outcries and in tears,
And said to him: "O Sháh! we are thy slaves
With souls and bodies filled with love for thee.
We all will go with thee to learn how fortune
Will sport with our king's life, for if we lose
Our Sháh how can our hearts find joy in home,
And country? We will quit our settlements,
Our children, and our wealth to share thy toils.
We care not for our lives without thy throne:
May fortune ne'er abandon thee."[1]
C. 2073 With eyes
All tears the king of kings said to those nobles:—
"Be ever more intent in praising God.
It may be I shall look on you again,
And that our sorrows and distress will cease.

[1] Three couplets omitted.

Ye all are my true helpers and the heirlooms
Left by my sires. I would not have you harmed:
Share not mine ills then. We will mark the intent
Of circling heaven, its progress, and to whom
It showeth love. Resign yourself thereto:
None can evade its secret purposes."
Then said he to the merchantmen of Chín:—
"Make no long tarrying here, else will the Arabs
Convert your quest of gain to loss."
They parted
With pain and trouble, sorrow, care, and wailing.
So Farrukhzád, son of Hurmuzd, led forth
The troops and called the veterans of Írán,
And then the Sháh set out with wail and woe.
The leader led the van. Stage after stage
He marched to Rai and tarried there for wine,
And minstrelsy, thence went he to Gurgán,
Like wind, and stayed one se'nnight sad or glad.
Departing thence toward Bust he set his face
With wrinkled cheeks and body in ill case.

§ 6

How Yazdagird wrote to Máhwí of Súr

The world-lord, resolute to go to Marv,
Wrote to Máhwí of Súr, the governor,
In rage and pain, in tears and hope deferred,
And calling an experienced scribe poured forth
His heart, and it was full. He first praised God,
The all-wise Lord, the Fosterer, the Master
Of circling Mars and Sol, of elephant
And ant, at will creating out of naught,
And needing no instructor, then proceeded:—

"What hath befallen us! And gone are all
This kingship's hue and perfume. Rustam's death
Upon the battlefield and by the hand
Of one whose name is Sa'ad, son of Wakkás,
A landless, low-born, witless, aimless man,
Hath straitened all the world to us through sorrow.
Now that Sa'ad's army is at Taisafún,
With woods and foot-hills fronting them, array
C. 2074 Thy host to fight with his and summon all
Thy troops to that same end.[1] Lo! I will follow
Behind my letter swiftly as the wind,
And give thee what I purpose in my mind."[2]

§ 7

How Yazdagird wrote to the Marchlords of Tús

He wrote moreover to the folk of Tús,
With full heart and with face like sandarac,
First offering his praises to the Judge
"From whom are fortune, strength, and excellence,
Grace, triumph, throne, and diadem of kingship.
From foot of ant to soaring eagle's plume,
From elephant on land to crocodile
In water, all are faithful, do His will,
And draw no breath unless by His command.
This from the world's Sháh, mighty Yazdagird,
Son[3] of a famous king and valorous,
Victorious leader of the Íránian host,
Who guardeth his domain, desireth more,
And cometh of a great, God-fearing race
That thank their stars that they possess the crown,

[1] Three couplets omitted. [2] Two couplets omitted.
[3] Reading with P.

Have peopled earth and made crown, throne, and signet
Resplendent, to his marchlords with their thrones
And treasures, Grace, high-bearing, crowns and host
At Shamírán, Rúína,[1] and Mount Ráda,
Kalát and elsewhere. May the Fosterer
Watch over us and keep you from the scath
Of evil hap. In sooth the chiefs have heard,
For it hath been an ensign in the world,
That in regard to warfare, valour, birth,
Our hearts are full of kindness, love, and justice.
High birth especially constraineth us—
The Sháhs—to let our toils exceed our treasures
On your behalf. What time Bahrám Chúbína,
That malcontent, grew noted and rejected
Our rule and diadem ye all abandoned
Your marches, spacious cities, pleasances,
Your parks and palaces, and in that case,
In terror of disaster, made your homes
On dale and lofty height. If God almighty C. 2075
Shall grant me strength and fortune favour us
I will repay your good deeds lavishly,
And pray to Him who watcheth o'er the world.
In sooth ye must have heard of what the stars
Have brought upon our head by these vile Snakes
With looks like Áhriman, who lack all knowledge,
Shame, fame, and treasure, fortune and descent,
And fain would let the world go to the winds.
It is the compass of the lofty sky
That tribulation shall befall this realm
By these vile miscreants, these Raven-heads,[2]
Devoid of sense and knowledge, fame and shame.
These greedy men, who covet diadems,

[1] "Rouïndiz." Mohl.

[2] The Persians translated "'Aráb" by "Zágh" (raven) and applied the expression to those hated enemies.

Have fixed their eyes upon this royal state,
And Núshírwán once dreamed that this our throne
Would lose its brilliant lustre. He beheld
A hundred thousand Arabs—raging camels
With bits[1] snapped—seeking how to cross the Arwand,
And bring destruction on our fields and fells,
Saw that both Fire and Fane of Fire would perish,
The light of New Year end and Sada feast,
That in Írán and Babylon dark smoke
Would rise from tilth and crop to Saturn's sphere,
While on the world-king's hall the battlements
Would tumble to the ground.[2] The dream is now
Fulfilled and heaven's favour fain to quit us.
Those that we value most will be misprized,
The base will be set up on high by fortune,
Ill scattered through the world, mishap apert
And good concealed. In all the provinces
Some tyrant, some obscene calamity,
And signs of dark night's coming will appear,
Our glorious fortune be cut off from us.
Now as our counsellors and paladins—
Men of pure rede—advise we purpose going
To Khurásán and to its warlike marchlords.
Because now of the governor of Tús
Have I led here the elephants and drums,
And we shall see how fortune will make bonds
Of our frail knots. I am girt up for battle
That I may meet the Arabs face to face,
While Farrukhzád—my very veins and skin,
And my firm friend—is now at Altúníya,
Intent on fight, and host confronteth host,
While Kashmigán, that warrior's son, hath reached
Our court and spoken well and loyally.

[1] Properly the piece of wood passed through a perforation made in the nostrils of a camel to guide it by.

[2] See Vol. viii., p. 66.

I heard what he could tell about these marches, C. 2076
Their heights and depths, their caves, retreats, the hold
Upon Mount Gumbadán and Jarmana,
The fort of Lázhawardí for our stores,
Spots such as Ál, Makhzúm, and waste of Gil:
He kindly opened all his heart to me.
My host for battle is too numerous
To tarry long within these narrow holds.
We have held council; all the paladins
Attended; we debated and resolved
To take with us crown, throne, and seal and signet,
All garments of Kashmír and Rúm and Chin,
Such goods as we can gather from Kibchák
And from Kírwán, all that we have in hand
Of clothes and carpets, articles of gold,
With gems uncut and all that most we prize,
And provand and equipment for the future.
Of oxen forty thousand will drag loads
Of unthrashed corn and after these will come
Twelve thousand asses drawing loads of dates
For us. A trusty archimage will bring
Pistachios, millet, and pomegranate-juice.
Attending on the outcome they will send
Thereafter many asses' loads of salt,
And add a thousand camels' loads of millet,
Fat from the tails of sheep and butter-skins.
A thousand Bactrian camels will bring dates,
Another thousand sugar, as their loads.
Twelve thousand also will bring drums of honey.
All these will come at one time to the holds.
Besides all these my servants will bring in
Some forty thousand salted carcases,
And of black naphtha in the next two months
Three hundred camel-loads. An archimage

With escort will arrive from[1] Shamírán,
And from Mount Ráda while, in sight of all
The elders and the wise, the mountain-chiefs,
Sent by the marchlords, will convey whate'er
Is needed to the gates and give the list
To our own treasurer, and if the Great
Among the folk will but restrain themselves
They will in sooth receive no injury
Among the valleys and the lofty hills
From Arab or from Turkman. Help from you
In these our strenuous times will aid us much.
Our minister, that wise and holy man,
Will now give orders to our treasurer
To send five robes of Persian make to all
C. 2077 That toil for us and, when those toils are over,
A splendid turban of gold broidery.
In these our present troubles each shall have
Two score drachms from our treasures, afterwards,
For service rendered, for each drachm three-score,
Each worth more than ten dángs,[2] and he will read
This legend: 'In the name of holy God,
The Object of our reverence, hopes, and fears,'
Upon one side. The other side will bear
Our face and crown, the legend: 'Through our love
The earth becometh fruitful.' These have been
Prepared for New Year's Day, the nobles' eyes
Fulfilled with wealth. God's blessing on the man
Whose faults are few and who forgetteth not
Our diadem."

The Sháh when he had sealed
The letter sent it to the army-chiefs.
With this king's missive in his hand there came
A horseman of high fortune and high aim.

[1] Reading with P.
[2] The dáng properly was a quarter of a drachm.

§ 8

How Yazdagird went to Tús and how Máhwí of Súr met him

Thence they conveyed the drums and came to Tús
From Nisháp̀úr. Máhwí of Súr had news :—
" The Sháh is on the road to Dahistán,"
And went to meet him with a mighty power,
All spearmen and in coats of mail, and when
The Glory of the royal state appeared,
The flag of majesty and such a host,
Alighted from his steed forthwith and paid
His duty to the king of kings, walked softly
Upon the burning dust and from his eyes
Shed tears of reverence. He kissed the ground,
Prolonging his obeisance. All his troops
Acclaimed the Sháh and touched earth with their heads,
While Farrukhzád enranked his powers when he
Beheld the visage of Máhwí of Súr
By whom his heart was joyed and whom he counselled
At large : " This Sháh of royal race do I
Commit to thee to serve him, suffering not
The blast to blow on him, and none save thee
To earn his thanks. I must depart to Rai,
Uncertain whether I shall see again
The royal crown for 'gainst these Arab spearmen
Full many such as I have died in battle.
There was not one within the world like Rustam,
The horseman, never hath the ear of sage
Heard tell of such, yet by a Raven-head[1] C. 2078

See p. 91, *note*.

Was he cut off, so adverse was our day !
God grant to him a place among the Just,
And give the swarthy Ravens to our spears !
Máhwí replied : " O paladin ! the Sháh
Is eye and soul to me. I undertake
In thy place to defend thy king, thy Heaven."
So Farrukhzád, son of Hurmuzd, departed
To Rai as bidden by the Sháh. The sky
Revolved awhile with matters in this stay,
And all love passed from that malignant's brain,
And none dared go to battle with the Arabs
Because the azure sky was helping them ;
The visage of the monarch of Írán
Grew wrinkled ; the foe's deeds made strait his heart.
Máhwí saw that the Sháh was at a stay,
And driven on by fortune helplessly,
Ambitioned speedily the throne and changed
In policy, in manners, and dispose,
Then for a season he began to affect
Ill health and barely showed the Sháh respect.

§ 9

How Máhwí of Súr incited Bízhan to war with Yazdagird and how Yazdagird fled and hid himself in a Mill

There was a paladin, a Turk by race,
A man of influence and named Bízhan ;
He dwelt within the coasts of Samarkand
Where he had many kin. Ill-starred Mahwí,
Becoming self-assertive, wrote to him :—
" Thou prosperous scion of the paladins !

A strife hath risen that will bring thee profit :
The Sháh is of all places here at Marv
And with no troops ! His head and crown and state,
Wealth, throne, and host, are thine if thou wilt come.
Recall the vengeance owing to thy sires,
And give this unjust race its just reward."
Bízhan, considering the letter, saw
That insolent Máhwí would win the world,
Then spake thus to his minister : " Thou chief
Of upright men ! what sayest thou to this ?
If I lead forth a host to aid Máhwí
'Twill be my ruin here."[1]
The minister
Replied : " O lion-hearted warrior !
'Twere shame to help Máhwí and then withdraw. C. 2079
Command Barsám to set forth with a host
To aid upon this scene of strife. The sage
Will term thee daft to go and fight in person
At the insistence of this man of Súr."
Bízhan replied : " 'Tis well, I will not go
Myself."
He therefore bade Barsám to lead
Ten thousand valiant cavaliers and swordsmen
To Marv with all the implements of war
If haply he might take the Sháh. That host
Went like a flying pheasant from Bukhárá
To Marv within one week. One night at cock-crow
The sound of tymbals went up from the plain.
How could the king of kings suspect Mahwí
Of Súr to be his enemy ? Shouts rose.
A cavalier reached Yazdagird at dawn
To say : " Máhwí saith thus : ' A host of Turks
Hath come. What is the bidding of the Sháh ?
The Khán and the Faghfúr of Chín command :
Earth is not able to support their host ! ' "

[1] Two couplets omitted.

The Sháh wroth donned his mail. The armies ranged.[1]
He formed his troops to right and left, and all
Advanced to battle. Spear in hand he held
The centre, and the whole world was bedimmed
With flying dust. He saw how lustily
The Turks engaged, unsheathed his sword, and came,
As 'twere an elephant before his troops.
Earth Nile-wise flowed. Like thundering cloud he charged,
But not a warrior supported him;
All turned their backs upon that man of name,
And left him mid the horsemen of the foe.
The world's king, when Máhwí withdrew, perceived
The practice hid till then—the intent and plan
To capture him—yet played the man in fight,
Displaying valour, strength, and warriorship,
Slew many at the centre, but at length
Fled in despair, with falchion of Kábul
In hand, pursued by many Turks. He sped
Like lightning mid night's gloom and spied a mill
On the canal of Zark[2]. Alighting there
The world's king lay in hiding from his foes
Within the mill. The horsemen searched for him;
All Zark was hue and cry. The Sháh abandoned
C. 2080 His gold-trapped steed, his mace, and scimitar
With golden sheath. The Turks with loud shouts sought him,
Excited by that steed and equipage.
The Sháh within the mill-house lurked in hay.
With this false Hostel thus it ever is:
The ascent is lofty and profound the abyss.
With Yazdagird, while fortune slumbered not,
A throne enskied[3] by heaven was his lot,
And now it was a mill! Excess of sweet

[1] Couplet omitted. [2] See LEC, p. 400. [3] Reading with T.

Bred bane for him and, if thou art discreet,
Affect not this world for its end is ill.
Whiles a tame serpent to the touch it still
At whiles will bite, and hot that bite will be.
Why then affect this cozening hostelry
While like a drum the signal to be gone
Thou hearest, bidding: "Bind the baggage on,
And for sole throne the grave's floor look upon?"
With mouth untasting and with tearful eyes
The Sháh abode until the sun arose,
And then the miller oped the mill-house door.
He bore a truss of grass upon his back.
A low-born-man was he, by name Khusrau,
Poor, foolish, unrespected, purposeless.
He lived upon the profits of his mill,
Which gave him full employment. He beheld
A warrior, like a lofty cypress, sitting
In dolour on the ground with kingly crown
Upon his head and with brocade of Rúm
Bright on his breast; his eyes a stag's, his chest
And neck a lion's; of beholding him
The eye ne'er tired. He was unique in form;
Wore golden boots; his sleeves were fringed with pearls
And gold. Khusrau looked, stood astound, and called
On God, then said: "O man of sunlike mien!
Say in what sort thou camest to this mill?
Why didst thou take it for thy resting-place
Full as it is of wheat and dust and hay?
Who art thou with such form, such Grace and looks?
Sure, heaven never saw the like of thee!"
The Sháh replied: "I am Íránian-born,
In flight before the army of Túrán."
The miller said, abashed: "I have no comrade
Save penury, but still, if barley-bread,

With some poor cresses from the river-bank,
Will serve thee I will bring them; naught have I
Besides: a man so straitened well may wail."
Through stress of fight the Sháh had rested not,
Or eaten, for three days and so replied:—
"Bring what thou hast, that and the sacred twigs
Will serve my turn."

C. 2081 The poor and lowly miller
Brought him the cresses and the barley-bread,
Made haste to fetch the sacred twigs and, reaching
The toll-house[1] on the way, crossed to the chief
Of Zark to make request for them. Máhwí
Had sent men on all sides to find the Sháh,
And so the chieftain asked the miller: "Friend!
For whom need'st thou the sacred twigs?"
Khusrau
Replied: "There is a warrior at the mill,
And seated on the hay, a cypress slim
In height, a sun in looks, a man of Grace,
With eyebrows arched and melancholy eyes:
His mouth is full of sighs, his soul is sad.
I set stale fare before him—barley-bread,
Such as I eat myself—but he is fain
To take the sacred twigs while muttering grace.[2]
Thou well mayst muse at him."
The chief rejoined:—
"Go and inform Máhwí of Súr hereof,
For that foul miscreant must not reveal
His proper bent when he shall hear of this."[3]
Forthwith he charged a trusty man to take

[1] The toll-house was at the ford or ferry. The same word might also mean a place of worship and accordingly Mohl or rather his successor (see p. 37 *note*) translates:—"Il se rendit au lieu où était l'oratoire et fit prévenir aussitôt le chef de Zark qu'on lui demandait le Barsom."

[2] See Vol. i., p. 80 *s.v. Báj*.

[3] *I.e.* if subsequently he should learn that we knew and did not tell him.

The miller to Máhwí who asked of him,
Then anxious for himself; "For whom didst thou
Require the sacred twigs? Tell me the truth."
The miller all a-tremble made reply:—
"I had been out to fetch a load and flung
The mill-door open roughly, when know this:
The sun was in mine eyes, but his are like
Those of a startled fawn; his locks are dark
As the third watch of night; his breath suggesteth
Musk, and his face embellisheth his crown.
One that hath never seen the Grace of God
Should take the mill-house key. His diadem
Is full of uncut jewels, and his breast
Bright with brocade of Rúm. The mill hath grown
As 'twere a sun through him, and yet his food
Is barley-bread, his seat upon the hay!
'Spring,' thou wouldst say, 'in Paradise is he:
No thane e'er set so tall a cypress-tree.'"

§ 10

How Máhwí of Súr sent the Miller to kill Yazdagird, and how the Archimages counselled Máhwí to forbear

Now when Máhwí had taken thought he knew:—
"'Tis none but Yazdagird!" and bade the miller:—
"Haste and cut off his head forthwith or I
Will cut thine own off presently and leave C. 2082
None of thy stock alive."
The chiefs, the nobles,
And mighty men heard this and all the assembly
Were filled with wrath at him; their tongues were charged

With words, their eyes with tears. An archimage,
By name Rádwí, whose mind wore wisdom's bridle,
Said to Máhwí: "O thou malignant one!
Why hath the Dív confused thine eyes? This know:
The royal and prophetic offices
Are two gems set within one finger-ring.
To break one is to trample life and wisdom
Beneath thy feet. Reflect upon thy words,
And then forbear. Be not the Maker's foe.
First will disaster come on thee herefrom,
Then thou wilt leave a seed-plot for thy child,
With fruit of colocynth and leafage blood.
Ere long thou wilt behold thy head abased;
Thy villainy will be exposed; thy sons
Will reap what thou hast sown. This deed of thine
Will wreck the Faith of God, and crown and throne
Will curse thee."
Then a devotee devout,
Who never put his hand forth to injustice,
By name Hurmuzd, son of Kharrád, a man
Who rested in the Faith, said to Máhwí:—
"O thou oppressor! quit not thus the way
Of holy God. I see thy heart and sense
Bedimmed. We see thy breast a tomb. Though strong
Thou hast no brain; thy mind is weak; thou seekest
The smoke and not the fire. I see that thou
Wouldst have the malediction of the world,
And, when thou quit'st it, travail, smart, and anguish.
Now will thy lifetime prove a wretched one,
And fire thy dwelling-place when thou departest."
He sat. Shahrán rose and addressed Máhwí:—
"Why this audacity? Thou hast opposed
The king of kings and cottoned with the Khán
And the Faghfúr. Full many of this race
Have proved of no account yet men ne'er hasted

To slay them. Shed not, as thou art a slave,
The blood of Sháhs because thou wilt be cursed
Till Doomsday."
This he said, and sat down weeping
In anguish with heart full and eyes all gall.
Then Mihr-i-Núsh stood forth in deep distress,
With lamentation, and addressed Máhwí :—
" O evil man of evil race, who art
Not well advised or just ! a crocodile
Respecteth royal blood, a leopard finding
A slain king doth not rend him. O thou worse
In love and instinct than the beasts of prey !
Thou covetest the Sháh's crown ! When Jamshíd
Was slaughtered by Zahhák did that affect C. 2083
Heaven's will ? Nay, when Zahhák had won the earth
Abtín appeared, the glorious Farídún
Was born, the fashion of the world was changed,
And thou hast heard what tyrannous Zahhák
Brought on himself as sequel of his crimes,
For though he lived above a thousand years
Still in the end the avenger came to him.
Then, secondly, when Túr, the exalted one,
Afflicted by his longing for Írán,
Slew in his folly virtuous Íraj,
On whom the very dust looked pityingly,
Dispatched him[1] to the hero Farídún,
And gave the world to sorrow, Minúchihr,
One of the race, appeared and undid all
Those bonds. When, thirdly, princely Siyáwush
Went forth to war, albeit reluctantly,
Afrásiyáb, inspired by Garsíwaz,
Washed shame and honour from his mind and wits,
And slew the youthful and right royal prince,
So that the world became his enemy.
Sprung from that prince the world-lord Kai Khusrau

[1] His head, according to the story. See Vol. i., p. 202.

Came and filled all the world with hubbub, clave
Asunder with his scimitar his grandsire,[1]
And frayed all those that else had sought revenge.
The fourth count is the feud against Arjásp,
The slayer of Luhrásp. Asfandiyár
Went forth to fight with him and took swift wreak.
Fifth, is the vengeance ta'en for Sháh Hurmuzd.
Khusrau Parwíz, whenas he felt confirmed
In heart and power, dealt in the way we know
Both with Bandwí and Gustaham. The sky,
Which then revolved, revolveth still.[2] Forgetting
What they had done for him, when his sire's blood
And love and family appealed to him,
He in his day of strength abated theirs.[3]
One may not scorn the occasion of revenge,
For such a time will quickly come to thee,
And thou wilt suffer for thine evil thoughts,
Thy son will reap what thou hast sown, and fate
Will not rest long from vengeance; so refrain
From all this treasure-hoard, this heritage
Of crown and precious things. Thou art revolting
Because the Dív enjoineth, and abjuring
The way of God. The Dív, as thou wilt learn,
Is tempting thee with things not for thine honour.
Burn not thy soul and body in Hell-fire;
Dim not this world-illuming crown but gather
Thy scattered troops; recant what thou hast said;
Go ask the Sháh to pardon thee and when
Thou seest him renew thy fealty.
C. 2084 From there prepare to battle with the foe;
Be instant both in counsel and excuse,
For not to hearken to the words of sages
Will mark thee out as evil in both worlds.
Men bring to naught things done a day too late.

[1] Afrásiyáb, whose daughter Farangís married Siyáwush.
[2] *I.e.* history repeats itself. [3] Vol. viii., pp. 354, 358.

Wilt thou treat Yazdagird, the king of kings,
Worse than malignant Turks, for in the fray
He is a lion, on the throne a Sháh
As bright as sun and moon, a memory
Of the Sásánians ? None is girdle-girt
Like him. From sire to sire his ancestors
Were mighty men and compassers of wisdom
From Núshírwán, the Sháh, back to Ardshír,
While, seventh backward from Ardshír, Sásán,
The world-lord, had the crown,[1] for God entrusted
To him the Kaian crown, and all the kings
Were of that glorious race. Now many a man
Hath been thy better, but they ne'er conceived
Designs like these. As for Bahrám Chúbína,
Three hundred thousand skilful cavaliers
On barded steeds fled at one shaft of his,[2]
And left the field of fight to him ; but when
His heart grew weary of the race of Sháhs
The head of his resplendent fortune fell.
So Faráyín, who sought the throne of kings
Unworthily and bathed his hands in blood,
Was in like manner miserably slain :
This age endureth not such mockeries.
Fear Him, the Lord, the Maker of the world,
For He created throne and crown and signet.
Defame not thine own person wantonly
Because ere long such things will rise against thee.
Know that whoever speaketh not the truth
To thee is thy soul's foe. Now thou art sick
While I am as the leech, a leech that waileth,

[1] *De jure* not *de facto*. The first Sásán, here referred to, was the son of Dárá and after his father's overthrow by Sikandar took refuge in obscurity. Several generations later a descendant of his of the same name became the father of Ardshír Pápakán—the founder of the Sásánian Dynasty. The Sásánians, naturally sought to connect themselves with the old line of the Persian monarchy, with the Achaemenids in history and with the Kaiánians in legend. *Cf.* Vol. vi., p. 199.

[2] See Vol. viii., p. 126.

And sheddeth drops of blood. Thou art thyself
Less than the slave of slaves. Be not ambitious
In thy heart's thoughts. Leave strife to holy God,
And seek in honour's way the throne of greatness."
The shepherd-born[1] had set his heart upon
The throne: the archimages' rede was hard.
So hath it ever been; 'tis no new thing:
The flouts of fortune are past reckoning,
Exalting to the sky above this one,
And making that vile, wretched, and undone,
Not leagued with that, on war with this not bent,
But void of wit, shame, Faith, and precedent.
The archmages all, till the world gloomed and moon
Succeeded sun, warned that vindictive man,
Who was not one hair better for their talk,
And said when night came: "Ye must leave me now
C. 2085 O sages! I will ponder this to-night,
And take all kinds of wisdom to my breast.
We will call twenty wise men from the host
That we may need not to deplore this ill."
The prudent archimages went their ways,
The men of war arrived. Máhwí held session
With his confederates[2] and said: "What think ye
Herein? If Yazdagird remain alive
Troops will collect to him from every side;
My secret purposes have been exposed,
And all, both great and small, have heard thereof!
My life will end through his hostility,
And neither folk nor field and fell be left."
A wise man said: "Thou shouldest not have acted
At first so. If the monarch of Írán
Be ill-disposed toward thee then past doubt
Ill will befall thee from him, yet 'tis ill
To shed his blood for then God will avenge him.
To left and right are cares and pains of all kinds:

[1] *I.e.* Máhwí. *Cf.* p. 87. [2] Reading with P.

Consider how thou need'st must act herein."
Máhwí's son said to him: "Well counselled sire!
Since thou hast made the Sháh thine enemy
Be rid of him; troops from Máchin and Chín
Will come to him and earth grow strait for us.
Hold this no trifle. Since thou hast prevailed
Tempt not the maws of lions. Thou and all
Thy host will be uprooted from the world
If standard-wise the Sháh's skirt be unfurl'd."

§ 11

How Yazdagird was slain by Khusraw, the Miller

Thereat the shameless, infamous Máhwí
Turned fiercely to the miller, saying: "Up!
Take cavaliers and shed my foeman's blood."
The miller, hearing, knew not what to do,
But when at night the moon assumed her throne
Departed mill-ward to the Sháh and when
He left the court-gate of Máhwí his eyes
Were charged with tear-drops and his heart was full.
Forthwith Máhwí dispatched some cavaliers
To follow swift as smoke, instructing them:—
"See that ye sully not the crown and earrings,
The signet and the royal robes with blood,
And strip the Sháh when lifeless."
With his eyes
All tearful and cheeks yellow as the sun
The miller went, exclaiming: "Judge almighty,
Who art above the processes of time!
Wring presently his heart and soul for this C. 2086
Abhorred behest!"
With heart all shame and qualm,

With wetted cheeks and tongue all charged with dust,
He reached the Sháh and drawing nigh with caution,
As one would speak a secret in the ear,
Stabbed with a dirk his middle. At the blow
The Sháh cried: "Ah!" Then tumbled head and crown,
And barley-bread before him, to the dust!
He that abideth when he might depart
From this world hath no wisdom in his heart,
And wisdom is not in the turning sky,
Whose love is as its stress and enmity.
'Tis well to look not on the world and so
From these its doings love and wrath not know.
The planets weary of their fosterlings,
And guiltless folk like Yazdagird are slain;
None else hath perished thus of all the kings,
Nor of his host a plier of the rein.
The horsemen of accursed Máhwí, on seeing
That royal Tree thus laid to rest afar
From palace and his scenes of ease, drew near,
Gazed, one and all, upon his face, removed
His cincture, violet robe, and coronet,
His torque and golden boots, and left him there
In miserable case upon the ground—
The monarch of Írán flung on the dust,
Blood-boltered, with gashed side![1] Those emissaries,
When they arose, all framed their tongues to curse:—
"Oh! may Máhwí himself fare, prostrate thus,
All gory on earth's face."
They told Máhwí:—
"The exalted Sháh hath passed away from throne,
From battle and delights," and he commanded
To take, when it was night, the monarch's corpse,
And fling it in the stream. The miller took
The body of the Sháh forth from the mill,

[1] Reading the couplet that follows here two couplets lower.

And flung it (mark the horror !) in the water,[1]
And there it floated with a bobbing head ![2]
When it was day and people went abroad
Two men of worship visited the spot.
One of these men austere and sober reached
The river-bank and, when he saw the corpse
All naked in the water, hurried back
In consternation to the monastery,
And told the other monks what he had seen :—
" The Sháh, the master of the world, is drowned,
And naked in the water-way of Zark ! "
Then many of those holy men—the chief
And others of all ranks—set forth. A cry
Of anguish rose from them : " O noble man, C. 2087
And royal crown-possessor ! none e'er saw
The wearer of it in such plight as this,
Or ever heard before the time of Christ
A case like this king's through his wicked slave,
This misbegotten dog, this reprobate,
Who fawned upon his master till ill came ;
Máhwí's just portion is to be accursed.
Woe for the head and crown, the height and mien !
Woe for the breast and arms, the hands and mace !
Woe for the last descendant of Ardshír !
Woe for that cavalier so young and goodly !
Strong wast thou ; thou hadst wisdom in thy soul,
And thou hast gone to bear the news hereof
To Núshírwán that, though thy face was moonlike,
And though thou wast a king and soughtest crowns,
Yet in the mill they pierced thy liverstead,
And flung thy naked body in the stream ! "[3]
Four of the monks went stripped into the water,
Seized the bare body of the youthful king,

[1] Thus, if we interpret the passage by strict Zoroastrian principles, polluting one of the elements and adding sacrilege to regicide, but *cf.* Vol. iv., p. 129.
[2] Couplet omitted. [3] Three couplets omitted.

That grandson of the world-lord Núshírwán,
And drew it to the bank while young and old
Lamented greatly. They prepared for him
Within the garth a charnel-house and raised
Its summit to the clouds. They sealed his wound
With gum, with pitch, with camphor, and with musk,
And then arrayed him in brocade of gold,
With fine Egyptian linen underneath,
And dark-blue Russian cloth o'er all. They decked
His place of rest with wine and gum and camphor,
With musk and with rose-water.
When the form
Was hidden of that noble Cypress-tree
What said that honoured thane of Marv ? " In secret
A guerdon waiteth him that after travail
Departeth with good conscience from the world."
Another said : " Though man may laugh, yet know
That he is of the sufferers, for he
Will find the falseness of the turning sky,
Which will reveal to him both rise and fall."
Another said : " Call not him one of wit
That serveth his own form with princes' blood,
And seeketh wealth, despite of infamy,
With soul unfearful of an evil end."
Another said : " Since the Sháh's lips are closed
I see not crown or royal seat or signet,
Or courtiers or a realm or diadem,
Or throne or helmet, and if these possess
No moment in themselves why this expense
Of toil and time ? "
C. 2088 " Thy good report, I see," Another said, " will win thee worthy praise.
Thou in the garth of Paradise didst set
A cypress : now thy soul beholdeth it."
Another said : " God took thy soul and gave
Thy body to the care of the devout.

Hereby thy soul is profited, hereby
Will harm betide the foe. The Sháh hath now
His work in Paradise; his foeman's soul
Is on the road to Hell."

Another said:—

"Wise, knowledge-loving Sháh sprung from Ardshír!
Thou reapest now the crop that thou didst sow:
The lamp of sovereignty is still alight."

Another said: "Though thou'rt asleep, young king!
Thy spirit is awake. Thy lips are mute,
And with full many a groan thy spirit passed
And left thy body free. Thy work is done:
Thy soul is busy now. Thy foeman's head
Is on the stake. Although thy tongue is tied
Thy spirit speaketh, and thy soul is purged
Although thy form is pierced, while if thy hand
Have dropped the reins thy spirit still will wield
The spear in battle."

Said another one:—

"O famous warrior! thou hast departed
With thine own works as guide. Thy royal seat
Is now in Paradise; this earth of bale
Is now another's share."

"The man that slew
One such as thee," another said, "will look
Upon harsh days anon."

The prelate said:—

"Thy slaves are we and laud thy holy soul.
Be this, thy charnel, as a garth all tulips,
This bier thine upland and thy plain of joy."

They spake, took up the bier and carried it
From waste to mausoleum. Thither came
The hapless Sháh, crown, throne, and casque at end.
O man of many years, whose words still run!
Turn from the path of greed, break off thy strain.
What shall we say hereof? Was justice done,

Or vengeance by the seven planets ta'en,
On Yazdagird ? The sage, if unresolved
Upon the point, could make me no reply,
Or if he spake 'twould be in words involved
That keep the answer still a mystery.
If thou hast means, good man ! indulge thy heart ;
Trust not to what the morrow promiseth,
Because the world and thou perforce must part,
And time accounteth for thine every breath;
Thou shouldest sow not any save good seed
In what remaineth of thy mortal strife ;
Control the door of appetite and greed ;
He that provided will provide through life,
And life itself will but produce for thee
Fair fame and happiness, good friend ! Then still
C. 2089 With all thy might eschew iniquity,
For from a wise man should proceed no ill.
Bring wine ; our day is nearly o'er and hence
We must away, for what hath been will be.
Had I incomings balancing expense
Then time would be a brother unto me.
The hail this year like death on me hath come,
Though death itself were better than the hail,
And heaven's lofty, far-extending dome
Hath caused my fuel, wheat, and sheep to fail.

§ 12

How Máhwí of Súr was informed of the Obsequies[1] of Yazdagird and ascended the Throne

One came and told Máhwí of Súr : " The world-lord
Is hidden in the dust. The prelates, priests,

[1] " Slaying " in the text.

And monks of Rúm—all those of life austere,
Both young and old, throughout that march and land—
Went wailing, took his body from the stream,
And made for him within the garth a charnel—
A great one, higher than the mountain-slopes."[1]
Máhwí, that luckless wretch, exclaimed: "Írán
Had ne'er before affinity with Rúm."
He sent and slew the builders of that charnel,
With those that mourned, and gave that march to spoil,
Such was his will and worth! Thereafter he
Made search throughout the world and found not one
Of that great stock. He had a crown and signet,
The Sháh's erewhile, and to that shepherd-born
The throne appealed. He called his intimates,
Announced the purpose that he had at heart,
And told his minister: "Experienced man!
The day of strife and battle is upon us.
I have no treasure, fame or lineage,
And may but give my head up to the winds.
The name that is upon my signet-ring
Is Yazdagird: my scimitar hath failed
To make men yield to me. Throughout Írán
Men are his slaves although his kin is scattered.
The sages do not hail me as the Sháh,
The soldiers do not recognise my seal.
My machinations tended otherwise.
Oh! wherefore did I shed the world-king's blood?
All night am I sore-troubled in my thoughts:
The World-lord knoweth how it is with me."
The counsellor replied: "The thing is done,
And common talk. Act for thine own behoof,
For thou hast burst thy belt. The Sháh is dust C. 2090
Within the charnel; dust hath healed his soul.

[1] Reading with P.

Call round thee all the world-experienced men,
And set thy tongue to words of pleasantness.
Say thus: 'The Sháh gave me the crown and signet
As emblems of authority, perceiving
The coming of an army from the Turks,
Called me at dead of night, and said: "When bruit
Of war ariseth who can say which side
The dust will be, so take this crown and ring,
For they may help thee on the day of battle.
I have one daughter only left to me:
In truth she is in hiding from the Arabs.
Hereafter yield not to the foe my throne,
And by these tokens walk thou in my steps."
I have then from the Sháh as legacy
This crown and in accord to his behest
Am sitting on the throne.' By this device
Give thou thine acts a gloss for who will know
The truth from falsehood?"
"Good!" exclaimed Máhwí,
"Thou art a minister—a peerless one!"
He summoned all the captains of the host,
And spake at large to them to that effect.
They knew: "It is not true, and well it were
To cut his head off for his shamelessness."
A paladin observed: "'Tis thy concern
If what thou sayest be the truth or not."
He heard and sat him down upon the throne,
By his deceit gat hold of Khurásán,
Distributed the earth among his chiefs,
And said: "I am the world's king with the signet.'
He called his kin and said the same at large;
He took the whole earth as it were a gift;
The stars were in amaze at him. He chose
The vicious as accorded to his nature,
Debased the sages and made everywhere
Chiefs of the bad. The head of right was humbled,

And knavery on all sides manifest.
He gave his elder son Balkh and Harát,
And sent troops to each quarter. As his host
And treasures grew the heart of that ingrate
Was gratified. He gave his troops rewards
And put them in good case; he filled the heads
Of his own kith and kin with vapourings.
Then with his troops and valiant warriors,
Preceded by the scouts and Garsiyún—
A veteran chief—they marched upon Bukhárá,
Intent on war, for "Chách and Samarkand
Are ours," Máhwí said, "and they must be made
The captives of this crown and seal, for so
Did Yazdagird, king of the world, command— C. 2091
Chief of the planets seven. With the sword
Will I take vengeance on Bízhan by whom
The fortune of earth's king was turned to gloom."

§ 13

How Bízhan, hearing of the Slaying of Yazdagird and of Máhwí of Súr's Accession to the Throne, led forth the Host to fight with him

In time news reached Bízhan: "Máhwí hath seized
The throne of might and everywhere imposeth
His seal and signet; earth accepteth him,
And now with warlike troops his face is turned
Toward the Jíhún for battle."
"Who bestowed
The signet on him?" asked Bízhan, and one
Acquainted him with all: "When thou didst reach
The desert of Farab, and fortune's lips
Were closed to good and ill, there parted hence

To him a force of haughty cavaliers
In quest of fame, for he had said: 'If thou
Wilt send me troops I will dispatch to thee
By privy pact the crown of king of kings
With golden throne and signet. In the world
The sovereignty is fitly thine.' Thy troops
Went hence in haste and found the Sháh at Marv.
They compassed him about. The Íránians fled.
When that wise king was left alone he feared
That ill might come upon him from the host.
There was a certain mill upon the ford,
And thither went the Sháh, a sun in Grace.
Máhwí of Súr heard of him, sent and slew him,
And through the royal signet gained the world
When he had slain his master. Now the more part
Of praise and blame in this affair is thine,
Thine were the valiant horsemen and the strife."
Barsám said thus: "O king! what time[1] I took
A mounted force from Chách[2] Máhwí had said
To thee: 'The golden throne of Yazdagird,
His armlets set with gems, his crown withal
And treasure, will I send to Balkh. The throne
And crown within the world must needs be thine.'
I fought three days at Marv. When on the fourth
The world's light shone I battled furiously,
For I was pressed. Tyrannical Máhwí
Displayed his back. The Íránian king of kings,
Abandoned, like a furious lion charged
C. 2092 My troops and slaughtered many of my chiefs,
But, when he had no comrades left, he too
Displayed his back; but how that master-slayer,
That faithless slave, put him to death I know not.
Thus with no toil Máhwí obtained and used
His master's treasures. Then the miscreant,
Becoming dazed by so much wealth, appeared,

[1] Reading with P. [2] Couplet omitted.

Thou mightest say, as if he ne'er had seen me!
Although my troops remained two months at Marv
He gave us no kind look but put to death,
And privily, his lord, so great a king,
The lustre of the world, a cavalier
That 'raiseth o'er the orbit of the moon
His head amidst the host' thou wouldst have said.
No Turk encountered and escaped his mace:
He broke our nobles' hearts. I have not seen
Such breastplate, hand, and mace. Máhwí thus furnished
Seized on the realm in this unholy wise.
Now that the foe in arms invadeth thee
Thou and thine army must be up and doing.
Let not weeds blossom in the royal garden
Or it will be forgotten."

Hearing this,
Bízhan raged much at having helped to dim
The fortune of the Sháh, then bade assemble
His host of Turks, his horsemen of the day
Of battle, sped forth from Káchár Báshí,
And lost no time upon the road. Whenas
He drew anear Bukhárá all the waste
Was covered with his troops to whom he said:—
"Haste not and let Máhwí be first to lead
His host across the water[1] to contend
With me. Perchance on him I may avenge
The Sháh."

He asked thereafter: "Did the king
Leave no availful child? Had he no brother?
In the default of sons had he no daughter,
Whom we might carry with us and assist,
And take full satisfaction of Máhwí?"

Barsám replied: "My lord! this race's day
Is passed; the Arabs hold those provinces;

[1] The Oxus.

No Sháh is left or worshipper of Fire."
Bízhan, on hearing this, resumed his march,
Astound at this world's doings. Scouts announced :—
" A host hath come and campeth at Baigand.
They crossed in boats, their dust obscured the sun."
Bízhan, the chief, led on his troops to war,
And when Máhwí of Súr beheld them thou
C. 2093 Hadst said : " His soul took flight." He was in dudgeon
At all those breastplates, helmets, shields of Chín,
At all those maces, spears, and battle-axes
Of Chách. The air grew dark and earth was lost
To sight therein as he arrayed his host.

§ 14

How Máhwí of Súr was taken and slain by Order of Bízhan

Bízhan, when he had drawn up his array,
Prepared an ambush for the Íránians ;
Máhwí knew of it and with loud exclaims
Departed from among his troops. Bízhan
Looked forth, beheld the flag, and knew : " Máhwí
Is minded to take flight," and bade Barsám :—
" Lead from the central host what troops thou hast,
And draw toward one side ; we must not let
Máhwí decline the battle and haste thus
Jíhún-wards. Speed and keep him well in sight,
For we must deal with him in other wise."
Barsám of Chín observed the flag and drew
His troops apart until with frowning face,
And malisons upon his lips, he reached
The desert of Farab, there found Máhwí,

And, with his weight upon the stirrups, charged ;
Then, closing face to face, he plied his sword,
Displaying valour, seized his foeman's belt,
Unseated him and dashed him to the ground,
Alighted, bound his hands, and then remounting
Drove him along in front. With that came up
Barsám's own comrades, and the bruit of him
Filled all the plain. They said : " O chief ! Máhwí
Should be beheaded on the way."
He answered :—
" Not so ; Bízhan as yet is not informed
About the capture."
Presently Bízhan
Gat news : " That ill-conditioned slave is taken,"
Heard and grew glad of heart. He hugged himself,
And thus released from care roared lion-like.
Then many valiant Turks came and discussed
The fashion of the slaying of Máhwí.
All that they recognised as of his court
They put to death—a countless multitude.
They looted all the baggage and dragged off
Máhwí stripped bare of all. The guilty wretch
Lost all his wits when he beheld Bízhan,
Was as a soulless body with affright, C. 2094
And strewed upon his head the unstable sand.
Bízhan said : " O thou miscreant ! may none have
A slave like thee ! Why didst thou put to death
That righteous Sháh, the lord of victory
And throne, and by ancestral right both Sháh
And king, the memory of Núshírwán ? "
Máhwí made answer thus : " The evil-doer
Can look for naught but slaying and reproach.
Now smite my neck for wrong done and fling down
My head in presence of this company."
The other gave reply : " I will so act
That I shall banish vengeance from my heart,"

Struck off Máhwí's hand with the scimitar,
And said: "This hand hath not a peer in crime."
The hand thus lopped, he said: "Cut off his feet
That he may not escape," and further bade:—
Cut off his nose and ears, let him be placed
Upon a horse out on the burning sand
Until he sleepeth in his shame."
They bound him
From head to foot with cords, the clarions sounded,
A herald went the circuit of the host,
And, as he passed the entry of the tents,
Made proclamation: "Slaves that slay your masters!
Indulge no foolish thoughts, and may all those
Without compunction for a monarch's life
Be as Máhwí and never see the throne."
There was a prince, by name Guráz, at once
The glory and the pleasure of Máhwí.
He was the governor of Marv what time
Máhwí died wretchedly. As eldest son
He was his father's lustre, who had made
A crown of gold for him. When fortune loured
Upon Máhwí the horsemen rode to Marv
From all sides. Tumult spread. The war-cry rose,
And strife and turmoil filled the land. Guráz
Was slain mid those dark doings, and the day
Of all his race was done. He had three sons
Among his troops, three favourite sons possessed
Of crown and throne. A lofty pyre was kindled,
And he and his three sons were burned thereon.
None of the seed remained or if some did
Men harried them. The chieftains cursed that race,
All vengeful for the slaughter of the Sháh:—
"May it be cursed and may there never fail
A man to curse it as it hath deserved."
Bízhan, the Turk, too was an evil-doer.
His own time came, his wisdom was estranged,

And I have heard that he grew mad at last,
And was so till he slew himself. Well done, C 2095
Thou still revolving, crook-backed sky! Since then
Hath been the epoch of 'Umar, made known
The Faith, and to a pulpit changed the throne.

§ 15

Account of the Completion of the Sháhnáma

When five and sixty years had passed me by
I viewed my task with more anxiety,
And as my yearning to achieve it grew
My fortune's star receded from my view.
Persians well read and men of high degree
Wrote all my work out and would take no fee.
I over-looked from far, and thou hadst said
That they had rather handselled me instead!
Naught but their praises had I for my part,
And while they praised I had a broken heart.
The mouths of their old money-bags were tied,
Whereat mine ardent heart was mortified.
Of famous nobles of this town 'Alí,
The Dílamite,[1] most shared the work with me,
For he, a man of ardent temper made,
Through kindliness of soul forwent no aid.
Husain, son of Kutíb, a Persian lord,
Asked me for naught without its due reward,
But furnished gold and silver, clothes and meat,
And found me ways and means, and wings and feet.
As for taxation, naught thereof know I;
All at mine ease in mine own quilt I lie.

[1] In Vol. i., p. 35, the names are given according to the reading of BCM.

What time my years attained to ten times seven
And one my poetry surmounted heaven.
For five and thirty years I bore much pain
Here in this Wayside Inn in quest of gain,
But all the five and thirty years thus past
Naught helped; they gave my travail to the blast,
And my hopes too have gone for evermore
Now that mine age all but hath reached fourscore.
I end the story of Sháh Yazdagird,
And in Sapandármad, the day of Ard,
And year four hundred of Muhammad's Flight,
The last words of this royal book I write.
For ever flourishing be Sháh Mahmúd,
His head still green, his heart with joy imbued.
I have so lauded him that publicly
And privily my words will never die.
Of praises from the Great I had much store;
The praises that I give to him are more.
May he, the man of wisdom, live for aye,
His doings turn to his content alway.
This tale of sixty thousand couplets I
Have left to him by way of memory.
C. 2096 My life from days of youth to eld hath sped
In talk and hearkening what others said.
When this, my famous tale, was done at last
O'er all the realm my reputation past.
All men of prudence, rede, and Faith will give
Applause to me when I have ceased to live,
Yet live I shall; the seed of words have I
Flung broad-cast and henceforth I shall not die.

The Sháhnáma of Firdausí is ended.

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*See p. 333 *note.*

GENERAL LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C.—Macan's edition of the Sháhnáma
L.—Lumsden's Do.
P.—Mohl's do.
T.—Tihrán do.
V.—Vullers' do.

AM. The Voiage and Travayle of Sir John Maundeville, Knight . . . Edited . . . by John Ashton.

AS. The Sháh Námeh of . . Firdausí. Translated and abridged. . . . By James Atkinson Esq.

BAG. A History of Ancient Geography. By E. H. Bunbury F.R.G.S.

BAN. A Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. . . . By Richard F. Burton.

BBR. Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629). By Samuel Beal.

BCM. The Chahár Maqála ("Four Discourses") of Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí-i-Samarquandí. Translated into English by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B.

BGDF. The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon. Edited by J. B. Bury, M A.

BHA. The History of Alexander the Great, being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes. Edited . . . with an English Translation and Notes, by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, M.A.

BLEA. The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, being a Series of Translations of the Ethiopic Histories of Alexander. . . . By E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A.

BLHP. A Literary History of Persia. By Edward G. Browne, M.A.

BLRE. History of the Lower Roman Empire. By J. B. Bury.

BPB. Photius: Bibliotheca. Ex Recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri.

CIG. Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.

CTC. Theophanis Chronographia. Ex Recensione Ioannis Classeni.

DAA. Arriani Anabasis . . . F. Dübner.

DAI. Arriani Indica . . . F. Dübner.

DEI. J. Darmesteter, Études Iraniennes.

DFKHP. History of the Parsis. By Dosabhai Framji Karaka, C.S.I.

DHA. The History of Antiquity. From the German of Professor Max Duncker. By the late Evelyn Abbot, M A.

DZA. Professor Darmesteter's Trans. of the Zandavasta in the Sacred Books of the East. Reference to Parts[1] and pages.

EHI. The History of India as told by its own Historians. By Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B.

EP. Eastern Persia, an Account of the Journeys of the Persian Boundary Commission, 1870-71-72.

GDF. The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon, Esq. With Notes by Dean Milman and M. Guizot. Edited, with additional Notes, by William Smith, L.L.D.

GH. The Land of the Hittites. . . . By John Garstang, D.Sc.

GHP. Histoire des Perses par le Comte de Gobineau.

GIP. Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie.

GKS. Kleine Schriften von Alfred von Gutschmid.

GYZ. Geiger: Das Yátkár-i Zarírán und sein Verhältniss zum Sáhnáme. Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der k.b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Munchen. 1890. Bd. II. Heft I. p. 43.

HAP. History of Art in Persia from the French of Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez.

HB. The Country of Balochistan. . . . By A. W. Hughes, F.R.G.S.

HEP. Essays on the Sacred Language, Writing and Religion of the Parsis. By Martin Haug, Ph. D. Edited and enlarged by E. W. West, Ph. D.

HIE. The Indian Empire. By W. W. Hunter, C.S.I., C.I.E., L.L.D.

HLP. The Legend of Perseus. By E. S. Hartland.

HQC. Q. Curtius Rufus . . . ed. Edmundus Hedicke.

HRVP. Veterum Persarum . . . Religionis Historia. Ed. 2nd. By Thomas Hyde.

HS. Syntagma Dissertationum quas olim auctor doctissimus Thomas Hyde S.T.P. separatim edidit.

JFB. The earliest English version of the Fables of Bidpai . . . now again edited and induced by Joseph Jacobs.

JP. Persia Past and Present, by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson.

JRGS. The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

JZ. Zoroaster. By A. V. Williams Jackson.

KA. Asia. By A. H. Keane, F.R.G.S.

KUR. Kitab-i-Yamini of Al Utbi. Translated by the Rev. James Reynolds, B.A.

LAN. The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. A New Translation from the Arabic. . . . By Edward William Lane.

LEC. The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. By G. Le Strange.

[1]The second edition of Part I. is referred to unless otherwise specified.

LPC. A View of the History and Coinage of the Parthians. By John Lindsay, Esq.

MA. Alexandre le Grand . . . Par Paul Meyer.

MCAI. Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian. . . . By J. W. M'Crindle, M.A.

MCI. The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great. . . . By J. W. M'Crindle, M.A. . . . New Edition.

MF. Reliqua Arriani et Scriptorum de rebus Alexandri M. Fragmenta collegit . . . Carolus Muller.

MGN. Narrative of a Journey through the Province of Khorassan, etc. By Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.S I., C.I.E.

MHP. History of Persia. By Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B.

MLM. The Life of Muhammad. By William Muir, Esq.

MM. Maçoudi: Les Prairies d'Or. Texte et traduction par C Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille.

MPC. Pseudo-Callisthenes, primum edidit Carolus Mullerus.

MSJP. A Second Journey through Persia, etc. By James Morier Esq.

MZA. Rev. L. H. Mills' Trans. of the Zandavasta in the Sacred Books of the East. Reference to Part and pages.

NAR. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans, von Prof. Dr. Th. Nöldeke in Denkschriften der . . . Akademie der Wissenschaften . . . Wien, 1890.

NIN. Das Iranische Nationalepos von Theodor Nöldeke.

NK. Geschichte des Artachŝîr i Pâpakân aus dem Pehlewi übersetzt . . . von Th. Nöldeke.

NPS. Nöldeke: Persische Studien. II. Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. CXXVI. Band.

NSEH. Sketches from Eastern History. By Theodor Nöldeke. English Translation.

NT. Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden . . . von Th. Nöldeke.

OHS. The History of the Saracens. By Simon Ockley. Fourth Edition.

RFGM. The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World. By George Rawlinson, M.A.

RH. The History of Herodotus. . . . By George Rawlinson, M.A.

RK. The Koran translated from the Arabic. By J. M. Rodwell. Second Edition.

RM. (*In Vols. III and IV*) The Mahábhárata translated into English Prose (*by Kisari Mohan Ganguli*). Published by Pratápa Chandra Rái, C.I.E.
(*Elsewhere*) The Rauzat-us-safa; or, Garden of Purity. . . By . . . Mirkhond . . . Translated by E. Rehatsek.

RP. (*In Vols. I and V*) Records of the Past. First Series.
(*Elsewhere*) Professor Rawlinson's Parthia in the Story of the Nations' Series.

RPNS.	Records of the Past. Second Series.
RSM.	The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy. By George Rawlinson, M.A.
SAC.	The Chronology of Ancient Nations . . . of Albírúní . . . translated . . . by Dr. C. Edward Sachau.
SHC.	The "Higher Criticism" and the Verdict of the Monuments. By the Rev. A. H. Sayce.
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SM.	History of the Early Kings of Persia . . . Translated from the original . . . Persian of Mirkhond . . . by David Shea.
SP.	The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea . . . Translated from the Greek and annotated by Wilfrid H. Schoff, A M.
STD.	The Dabistán . . . Translated . . . by David Shea and Anthony Troyer.
WLS.	In the Land of the Lion and Sun . . . By C. J. Wills, M.D.
WPR.	The Pársí Religion. By John Wilson.
WPT.	Dr. E. W. West's Trans. of the Pahlaví Texts in the Sacred Books of the East. Reference to Parts and pages.
YMP.	The Book of Sir Marco Polo . . . newly translated. . . . By Colonel Henry Yule, C.B.
ZT.	Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mo'hammed-Ben-Djarir-Ben-Yezid Tabari, traduite . . . Par M. Hermann Zotenburg.

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

VOLUME I.

Page xii, line 21, *for* ' Evil ' *read* ' evil.'
Page xiii, line 15, *for* ' Born ' *read* ' born.'
Page 4, line 4, *delete* ' still.'
Page 5, line 22, *after* ' camel ' *add* ' of which the red-haired variety was most esteemed.'
Page 6, line 21, *for* ' Scythian ' *read* ' Elamitic.'
Page 7, line 19, *for* ' was ' *read* ' became,' line 25 and elsewhere, *for* ' Tritá ' *and* ' Traitána ' *read* ' Trita ' *and* ' Traitana,'
Page 9, line 16 and elsewhere, *for* ' Ázarbiján ' *read* ' Ázarbáiján.'
Page 10, bottom The date of the fall of Nineveh has lately been assigned to the year B.C. 612. See ' The Fall of Nineveh,' p. 9 *seq.* By C. J. Gadd.
reference number 2, *after* R *insert* P.
Page 11, line 29 and elsewhere, *for* ' Hira and Anbar ' *read* ' Híra and Ambár.'
Page 13, reference number 2, *for* ' NESH ' *read* ' NSEH.'
Page 14, line 25, *for* ' Sámánides ' *read* ' Sámánids.'
Page 17, *delete* lines 7-10.
reference number 1, *add* ' See too A. V. Williams Jackson,' ' From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam,' Ch. v.'
Page 19, line 19, *for* ' Sacaestan ' *read* ' Sacaestán.'
reference number 3, *delete* ' iii.'
Page 21, line 7 and elsewhere, *for* ' Nuh ' *read* ' Núh.'
line 12, *for* ' appealed ' *read* ' turned.'
Page 29, line 12 from bottom, *cf* LEC, pp. 206, 207 and *note*.
Page 31, *delete* lines 13-16, *and read* ' that Fazl, son of Ahmad, is referred to on both occasions.'
Page 33, line 23, *delete* full stop, *insert* comma, *and for* ' Such is not ' *read* ' not be in.'
Page 34, five lines from bottom, *delete* ' While I sat looking on ' *and read* ' While I o'erlooked from far.'
Page 37, line 22, *for* ' Arúdí *read* ' 'Arúdí.'
Page 38, seven lines from bottom, *for* ' Bazh ' *read* ' Bázh.'
six lines from bottom, *after* ' city ' *add reference number* 1.
at bottom *add note* ' [1] The quarter in which Bázh was situated was known as Tabarán.'
Page 39, bottom, reference number 1, *delete* ' §1 and 7 ' *and read* ' The too spiritual conception of the Deity in §1 and the references to 'Alí in §7.'

Page 41, last line, *for* ' axe ' *read* ' ax.'
Page 43, note 2, *for* ' fakká ' *read* ' fakká,' *and for* ' Cf.' read ' *Cf.*'
Page 45, line 24, *after* ' indigo ' *add reference number* 2.
line five from bottom, after ' Cemetery ' *add reference number* 3.
at bottom *add* ' [2] *Cf. Encl. Brit.* (11th ed.), Vol. 11, p. 917, col. 2.
[2] Professor A. V. Williams Jackson's suggestion that, as burial in the Muhammadan cemetery was refused, the corpse of Firdausí was reconveyed within the walls and buried in ground belonging to him, seems far from improbable. From Constantinople to the Tomb of Omar Khayyám, p. 291.
Page 50, line 7, for ' Ahriman ' *read* ' Áhriman.'
Page 51, line 23, *add reference number* 1.
bottom, *add* ' [1] Thus Pírán (see p. 55) may represent Perun, the Slavonic god of thunder.'
Page 61, line 3, *delete* ' which ' *and to end of sentence, and insert* ' *i.e.* of Azargashasp.'
Page 62, bottom, after reference number 7 *insert* DZA, i, 209.
Page 67, line 18, end, *add* ' bin.'
Page 68, line 9, end *add* ' or identical with.'
bottom, reference number 1, *add* NIN, 15.
Page 69, bottom, *for* ' 108 ' *read* ' 107.'
Page 71, line 19, *after* ' Oxus ' *insert* ' Caspian.'
line 20, *after* ' Dardanelles ' *insert* ' Mediterranean.'
bottom, reference number 6, *after* ' 80 ' *add* ' notes.'
Page 73, line 8 from bottom, *for* ' land ' *read* ' earth.'
,, 7 ,, *after* ' Shâhs ' *add reference number* 1.
,, 5 ,, *after* ' canal ' *add reference number* 2.
bottom, *add* ' [1] Kai Kubád. *See* Vol. ii, p. 22. [2] *Id.* 192.'
Page 74, line 8, *after* ' tree ' *add reference number* 1.
bottom, add ' [1] *Cercis Siliquastum.*'
Page 77, line 11, *for* ' the first half ' *read* ' three-fifths.'
line 8 from bottom, after ' repetitions ' *add reference number* 1.
bottom, *add* ' [1] These of course do not include the great duplications of tradition in the poem.'
Page 82, line 11, *for* ' regarded ' *read* ' looked upon.'
line 25, *after* ' farr ' *add reference number* 2.
bottom, *add* ' [2] pp. 369, 370.'
Page 83, line 18, *before* ' múbidán ' *insert*—
line 25, *after* ' subject ' *add reference number* 2.
bottom, *add* ' [2] The expression is used, however, of Bahrám Gúr (Vol. vii, p. 78) and of Núshírwán (viii, p. 14). It is also applied to non-Íránians, to Suhráb, who was opposing the Íránians (ii 145), Pírán (ii, 261, 275, 324, iii, 106), Pílsam (ii, 352), Tazháv, an Iránian deserter (iii, 28), Bazánúsh (vi, 297), and there are other instances.'
Page 84, line 3, *for* ' camp enclosure ' *read* ' camp-enclosure.'

Page 85, line 20, *for* ' end ' *read* ' beginning.'

Page 87, bottom, *add* ' Rogers, The Shah-namah of Fardusi. Translated from the original Persian. 1909. (A version partly in verse and partly in epitomized prose)

Page 88, lines 11 and 27, *for* ' Ardibihisht ' read ' Ardíbihisht.'
line 12 and bottom, *for* ' Sharívar ' *read* ' Shahrívar.'
lines 12 and 26, *for* ' Farvardín ' *read* ' Farwardín.'
line 17 and page 89, line 3, *for* ' Ádar ' *read* ' Ázar.'

Page 89, line 4, *for* ' Dín ' *read* ' Dai.'

Page 90, line 9, *for* ' 3 generations ' *read* ' 4 generations[1] ' *and add at bottom*,' [1] *See* Vol. v. p. 203.'
for ' Barmaiún. Kataiún.' *read* ' Purmáya. Kaiánush.'
15 *add as son to Minúchihr* ' Zarasp.'
17, *add as son to Tús* ' Zarásp.'

Page 92, line 5 *add as descendant from Túr* ' Máh Áfríd, d.'
line 10, *add as descendant of Wisa* ' Kurúkhán.'
line 11, *for* ' Pírán ' *read* ' Pírán=Gulshahr.'
line 15, *to descendants of Afrásiyáb add* ' Manízha, d.=Bízhan '
and delete ' Rúín.'
line 17, *for* ' Kurakhán ' *read* ' Kurákhán.'

Page 93, lines 20 and 22, *transpose* ' EP ' *and* ' EHI.'

Page 94, *delete lines* 4-5.
bottom, *add* ' ZT. Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mo'hammed-Ben-Djarir-Ben-Yezid Tabari. Traduite sur la version Persane d'Abou-'Ali Mo'hammed Bel'ami par M. Hermann Zotenberg.'

Page 100, line 4, *for* ' Shaddad son of Ad ' *read* ' Shaddád son of 'Ad.'

Page 100, line 7, *for* ' Shaddad ' *read* ' Shaddád.'

Page 100, line 10, *for* ' Nasiru'd ' *read* ' Násiru'd.'

Page 104, after line 4 *insert*—
' Thus is it now : what the world's end will be
None knoweth openly or privily.'

Page 106, line 12, for ' *The* ' read ' *In*,'

Page 108, line 15, *for* ' with ' *read* ' to.'

Page 112, line 2, for ' *The* ' read ' *In*.'
8 from bottom, *for* ' light ' *read* ' blaze.'

Page 113, line 7 and elsewhere, *for* ' Ind ' *read* ' Hind.'
line 19, end, *add* full stop.

Page 117, line 2, *Delete* ' FOR.'

Page 118, line 4, *for* ' mountain of the holy ' *read* ' Mountain of the Holy.'

Page 120, line 1, for ' *Slain* ' read ' *slain* ' and delete ' *the Hand of*.'

Page 121, line 5, for ' *Fight* ' read ' *fight*.'

Page 126, line 5, *add* ' This is the first of many doublets in the poem.'
line 16, *for* ' gold ' *read* ' good.'

Page 129, line 6 from bottom, *for* ' o ' *read* ' of.'

Page 130, line 11, *after* ' gallery ' *insert* . . .
line 23, *for* ' have ' *read* ' find,' *and add to reference* 4 ' WPT. i. 142.'
Page 131, line 15, *for* ' They ' *read* ' they.'
Page 132, line 11, *add* full stop *at end.*
Page 135, line 3, *for* ' departed from ' *read* ' abandoned.'
line 11 from bottom, end, *delete* comma *and insert* full stop.
Page 138, line 8 from bottom, *delete* ' thou my ' *and read* ' any.'
Page 141, line 4 from bottom, *for* ' light ' *read* ' Grace.'
Page 142, line 5 from bottom, *for* ' downstricken ' *read* ' downstricken.'
line 4 from bottom, *for* ' Áspikán ' *read* ' Áspikán.'
Page 143, line 7, *for* ' 1 ' *read* ' 2.'
15, *for* ' 2 ' *read* ' 3.'
20, for ' Baghdad ' *read* ' Baghdád.'
25, *after* ' Ispahán ' *add reference number* 4.
31, *for reference number* 3 *read* 5.
33, *for reference number* 4 *read* 6.
bottom, *after reference* 3 *insert* ' ' ZT, i, 117,' *and for reference numbers* 4 *and* 5 *read* 5 *and* 6.
Page 145, line 25, for ' *Evil* ' read ' *evil.*'
Page 147, line 7, *for* ' Kúrds ' *read* ' Kurds.'
Page 161, line 6, *for* ' Bait al ' *read* ' Baitu'l.'
Page 171, line 2, *for* ' HIS REIGN WAS ' *read* ' HE REIGNED.'
Page 173, line 31, *for* ' glory ' *read* ' Glory.'
Page 174, after line 21 *add* ' §24. We have here another doublet. *Cf.* p. 290.'
Page 175, line 13, *for* ' He,' *read* ' Be.'
Page 181, line 13, *delete* ' never ' *and insert it after* ' children.'
2 from bottom, end, *insert* comma.
Page 184, line 18, *for* ' except ' *read* ' unless.'
Page 189, line 4 from bottom, for ' *Envious* ' read ' *envious.*'
Page 199, line 7 from bottom, for ' *Slain* ' read ' *slain.*'
Page 201, note, line 4, *for* ' Námáh ' *read* ' Námah.'
Page 205, line 9, for ' *Born* ' read ' *born.*'
Page 207, line 13, *for* ' Chach ' *read* ' Chách.'
Page 208, line 12, *for* ' wagons did they fill ' *read* ' wains they filled.'
Page 209, line 19, *for* ' no lorger harboureth ' *read* ' hath ceased to harbour.'
line 20, *for* ' evident ' *read* ' plain.'
Page 211, *delete line* 2 *and read* ' With treasure and brocade, dínárs and gems.'
Page 212, line 21, *for* ' All ' *read* ' all.'
line 7 from bottom, *for* ' torquoise ' *read* ' turquoise.'
Page 219, line 5 from bottom, *for* ' a ' *read* ' the ' *and after* ' ball ' *add reference number* 1.
bottom, *insert* ' [1] *See* p. 79.'
Page 221, line 18, *for* ' Announce ' *read* ' announce.'
line 7, from bottom, *for* ' he ' *read* ' He,'

Page 224, line 11, *after* 'me' *insert* 'stay.'
Page 224, line 12, *for* 'Stop to draw breath' *read* 'To breathe.'
22, *for* 'moralising' *read* 'moralling"
Page 226, line 4, *delete* 'of our'
Page 227, line 21, for '*Slain*' read '*slain*' and delete '*the Hand of.*'
Page 228, line 9, *for* 'produce of it' *read* 'fruit thereof.'
Page 230, line 9, *for* 'our avenging' *read* 'vengeful.'
Page 236, *after line 7 insert* '§18 *Cf.* previous reign, §24.'
line 8, beginning, *insert* '§29'
5 from bottom, beginning, *insert* '§31.'
Page 237, bottom, note 1, *add* 'But *cf.* Vol. v. p 30.'
Page 250, side reference, *prefix* 'V.'
Page 252, line 15, *for* 'Danbar' *read* 'Dambar.'
Page 256, line 4, *for* 'Dunbar' *read* 'Dambar.'
Page 275, line 3 from bottom, for '*Explain*' read '*explain.*'
Page 280, line 9, and elsewhere, *for* 'Almighty' *read* 'almighty' *when not absolute.*
Page 284, line 1, for '*Aware*' read '*aware.*'
Page 292, line 20, for '*War against*' read '*fight.*'
Page 293, end of note, *add* '309.'
Page 299, line 6 from bottom, for '*Wroth*' read '*wroth.*'
Page 307, line 7 from bottom, *add reference number* 1 *after* 'lasso.'
Page 325, line 11, *for* 'Sám' *read* 'Zál.'
Page 337, line 2, *delete* 'FOR.'
Page 338, line 6, *for* 'Yast' *read* 'Yasht,' *and at bottom, note* 1, *after* 1 *insert* '*Cf.* p. 59.'
From 342, line 3 from bottom, *for* 'Knowhow' *read* 'Know how.'
Page 347, line 10, *for* 'lowered' *read* 'loured.'
Page 351, side reference, *insert* 2.
4 lines from bottom, *insert* comma *after* 'throb.'
Page 352, line 4, *delete* semicolon.
Page 354, line 21, *for* 'Guzhdaham' *read* 'Gazhdaham.'
Page 355, line 4 from bottom, *delete* comma *at end.*
Page 358, line 6 and elsewhere, *for* 'Hirmund' *read* 'Hírmund.'
Page 366, line 12, *delete* 'not.'
Page 373, line 2, *for* 'HIS REIGN WAS' *read* 'HE REIGNED.'
Page 378, line 7, *for* 'lance' *read* 'spear.'
Page 380, line 6 from bottom, *after* 'harm' *add reference number* 1, *and at bottom add* '1 *Cf.* BLHP, i, 452. Jackson, "From Constantinople to the Tomb of Omar Khayyam," p. 119.'
Page 381, line 4 from bottom, *for* 'plants' *read* 'plans.'

VOLUME II.

Page v, line 13, end, *add*—
Page ix, line 25, *delete* 'Kai.'
Page 3, line, 12, *for* 'Kataiún' *read* 'Katáyún.'

Page 3, line 15, to children of Gushtásp *add* Farshídward, Shírú, and thirty-seven others (un-named), *for* 'Bíshútan' *read* 'Bishútan *and for* 'Afrid' *read* 'Áfríd.
bottom, *after* (20) *insert* =d. of Kaid.
Page 5, line 20, *after* 'd'Or,' *add* full stop, *and for* 'texte' *read* 'Texte.'
Page 6, heading, *for* 'NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION' *read* 'ABBREVIATIONS.'
Page 18, line 4, *for* 'Kharzarwán' *read* 'Khazarwán.'
Page 19, line 18, *for* 'Turkestán' *read* 'Turkistán.'
Page 27, line 1, *delete* full stop *at end.*
line 4 from bottom. 'There is actually a tribe existing to this day among the Elburz Mountains, or the fastnesses of ancient Hyrcania, which still bears the name Div Sapeed.' S. G. W. Benjamin, Persia and the Persians, p. 302.
Page 29, note 1, *add* 'Vol. v, p. 116.'
Page 61, line 9, *for* 'bears' *read* 'bear.'
Page 69 line 20 *add* semicolon *at end.*
Page 81, line 3 from bottom, *after* 'crystal' *insert reference number* 9 *and at bottom add* 'Ruins near Aivan-i-Kait (Kai?) some forty miles South-east of Tihrán are still traditionally ascribed to Kai Káús. *See* A. V. Williams Jackson. From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam, p. 123.'
Page 89, line 25, end, *insert* comma.
26 *after* 'Káús' *insert* comma.
Page 96, line 6 from bottom, *after* 'Zawára' *add reference number* 1 *and at bottom add* '1 This is the first mention of Rustam's brother.'
Page 97, line 5, *for* 'a Zam of' *read* 'Zam's stream with.'
bottom, *delete* 'The name of a river' and *read* '*i.e.* the Oxus.'
Page 103, line 12, *for* 'What ever' *read* 'Whatever.'
Page 118, bottom, *for* 'i, p. 236' *read* 'v, p. 30.'
Page 119, bottom, *after* 'V' *insert* full stop.
Page 121, line 21, *after* 'him' *insert reference number* 1, *and at bottom add* '1 C. adds rightly :—

They led him herdwards
That they might have their portion from that steed ;
As I have heard, he covered forty mares
And one became with foal.

Cf. p. 128 and NIN, p. 45 *note* 1.'
Page 157, line 7, *for* 'spoken' *read* 'unspoken.'
Page 196, line 16, *for* 'heart and eyes' *read* 'Heart and Eyes.'
Page 200, line 11, *for* 'she' *read* 'She.'
Page 221, line 13, *for* 'unled' *read* 'unsoiled.'
Page 224, end of last line, *insert reference number* 1 *and add at bottom* '1 See pp. 38 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*'
Page 225, line 12, *for* 'All-righteous' *read* 'all-righteous.'
Page 229, line 16, *for* 'Who' *read* 'who.' *and elsewhere.*

Page 247, line 5 and elsewhere, *for* ' Almighty ' *read* ' almighty ' *when not absolute.*
Page 252, line 4, *for* ' my ' *read* ' mine.'
Page 256, line 6 from bottom, *for* ' caparisoned ' *read* ' betrapped.'
Page 257, line 2 from bottom, *delete* full stop *and insert* comma *at end.*
Page 261, line 21 and elsewhere, *for* ' Holy ' *read* ' holy ' *when not absolute.*
Page 265, line 18, *delete* comma *at end.*
Page 281, line 22, *for* 'Irán ' *read* ' Túrán.'
Page 285, line 1, *for* ' dressed ' *read* ' drest.'
Page 306, line 14, end, *insert* semicolon.
Page 310, line 4 from bottom, *for* ' All-holy ' *read* ' all-holy.'
Page 312, line 4 from bottom, *after* ' league ' *insert* comma.
Page 313, line 5 from bottom, end, *insert* comma.
4 from bottom *after* ' hearing ' *insert* comma.
Page 321, line 1, end, *add reference number* 1.
12, end, *add reference number* 2.
bottom, *insert* ' [1] See p. 261. [2] See p. 293.'
Page 328, line 11, *for* ' Kalúr ' *read* ' Kalú.'
5 from bottom, for ' blunt ' read ' pointless.'
4 from bottom, *for* ' would go ' *read* ' hunted,' *and insert* full stop *at end.*
3 from bottom, *delete* ' To hunt,' *and for* ' at ' *read* ' At.'
Page 341, line 8 from bottom, *for* ' Kawá ' *read* ' Káwa.'
Page 374, line 6 from bottom, end, *insert reference number* 1.
bottom, *insert* ' [1] See p. 312.'
Page 377, line 22, *insert reference number* 1.
bottom, *insert* ' [1] See p. 273.'
Page 384, line 7 from bottom, *delete* comma *and insert* full stop *at end.*
Page 390, bottom, *delete* " *and insert* ' ".
Page 395, line 3, end, *insert reference number* 1.
bottom, *insert* ' See p. 363.'
Page 412, last line, *for* ' toward ' *read* ' tow'rd.'

VOLUME III.

Page 3, line 24, end, *add* ' Kisari Mohan Ganguli and published by.'
Page 14, line 30, end, *add reference number* 5 *and* ' The text also allows the view that Farúd dwelt on Mount Sapad. See Vol. v, p. 30.'
Page 15, Note 1, end, *add* ' There was no difficulty in finding an additional rhyme without using ' Pashan.' ' Gashan ' (much) rhymes with ' Pashan ' in Vol. viii, p. 397 and *note.*
Page 20, line 22, end, *add reference number* 1, *and at bottom* ' [1] *Cf.* Vol. i, p. 61.'
Page 36, line 8, *for* ' Tis ' *read* ' 'Tis.'
Page 45, line 23, *for* ' that ' *read* ' thou.'

Page 59, line 17 and elsewhere, *for* 'Almighty' *read* 'almighty' *when not absolute.*
Page 68, line 18, *for* 'stoneand' *read* 'stone and'
Page 83, note 2, end, *add* '(p. 10).'
Page 84, line 7 from bottom and elsewhere, *for* 'All-holy' *read* 'all-holy' *when not absolute.*
Page 102, line 22 *for* 'Omnipotent' *read* 'omnipotent.'
Page 110, line 2 and elsewhere, *for* 'Who' *read* 'who.'
6, *for* 'Whom' *read* 'whom.'
Page 130, line 11, *add* comma *at end.*
Page 134, line 6, end, *add* !
line 15, end, *add* ".
Page 141, line 2 from bottom and elsewhere, *for* 'Holy' *read* 'holy' *when not absolute.*
Page 148, note, *for* 'Pehlevan' *read* 'Pehlewan' *and after* 'donna' *delete* comma
Page 151, line 4 from bottom, *add* full stop *at end.*
Page 172, note, *for* 'Car' *read* 'car.'
Page 191, line 12, *for* 'Abul' *read* ''Abu'l.'
Page 194, line 8, *for* 'Khan' *read* 'Khán.'
Page 213, line 22, *for* 'Oleader' *read* 'O leader.'
Page 234, note, *for* 'Et' *read* 'et' *and* for '*comblan*' read '*comblant.*'
Page 237, line 7, prefix ".
Page 241, line 22, *delete* 'far.'
Page 251, note, *for* 'Sur' *read* 'sur.'
Page 275, line 10, end, *delete* !
Page 285, line 8 from bottom, *for* 'fraicheur' *read* 'fraîcheur.'
last line, *add reference number* 2.
Page 287, side reference, *for* 'V. 1063' *read* 'V. 1065' *and subsequent side references consecutively, i.e.,* 'V. 1066,' 'V. 1067,' *etc., up to page* 305.
Page 294, line 7, *for* 'buffalos' *read* 'buffaloes.'
Page 298, note, *for* 'La' *read* 'la.'
Page 304, line 11, *delete* semicolon *and insert* comma.
Page 305, line 25, *add side reference* 'V. 1086,' *and read subsequent side references consecutively, i.e.,* 'V. 1087.' 'V. 1088,' *etc., up to page* 356.
Page 318, note, *for* 'Il' *read* 'il.'
Page 328, line 12, end, *insert* semicolon.
Page 348, line 15, *add* comma *at end.*

VOLUME IV.

Page v, line 5, end, *delete* full stop *and insert* —
Page ix, line 10, *for* 'wrath' *read* 'Wrath.'
Page 8, line 10, end, *add* 'See Vol. vii, pp. 381, 422.'
Page 31, line 6, *delete* comma *and insert* semicolon.
Page 40, line 9, end, *add reference number* 1, *and insert at bottom*
'1 *Cf.* Vol. i. p. 386 and *note.*'

Page 85, note, *prefix reference number* 1.

Page 139, note 2, *add* 'It is interesting to find the dog appearing in the Book of Tobit in which there are Iránian elements. *Cf.* Vol. iii, p. 271 and *Encl. Brit.* 11th Ed. *s v.* Tobit.'

Page 141, line 9, end, *delete*——

Page 143, line 6, from bottom, *insert* comma *at end.*

Page 144, line 8, *delete* comma *and insert* semicolon.

Page 150, line 8, *for* 'buffalos' *read* 'buffaloes.'

§3. There appears to be a doublet here as Afrásiyáb is first said to be beyond Jaz and then at Baigand, *i.e.*, in the neighbourhood first of the Jaxartes and then of the Oxus, but the context favours the latter position.

Page 155, line 10, *delete and insert* 'He ranged the army's centre and its wings.'

Page 256, line 1, *delete and insert* 'All filled with minstrelsy and harp and wine.'

bottom, *delete* comma *and insert* semicolon.

Page 259, line 7 from bottom, *delete* 'Barda', a cavern' *and insert* 'to Barda', one'

Page 262, note 2, *Add* 'The situation of Barda' would, however, make Lake Gokcha more appropriate. *Cf.* p. 259.'

Page 304, line 14, end, *delete* comma *and insert* semicolon.

Page 324, line 12 from bottom, *for* 'shore' *read* 'river[1],' and at bottom *add note* '[1] The Euphrates.'

Page 325, line 8 *after* 'city' *add reference number* 1 and at bottom *add note* '[1] Shúráb. *Cf.* Vol. vii, p. 254.'

Page 339, line 1, *for* 'sea' *read* 'river.'

Page 340, line 3, *for* 'sea' *read* 'stream.'

Page 344, line 16, *for* 'sea' *read* 'stream.'

25, *for* 'sea' *read* 'river.'

28, *for* 'sea' *read* 'stream.'

31, *for* 'sea' *read* 'stream.'

Page 346, line 18, end, *add reference number* 1, and at bottom *add note* '[1] *Cf.* Vol. v, p. 233 *note.*'

VOLUME V.

Page 14, line 2 from bottom, end, *add reference number* 11, *and at bottom* '[11] Spitáma seems to mean 'White.' See JZ, p. 13.'

Page 30, line 19, *for* 'Girdkuh' *read* 'Girdkúh.'

line 24, *add* 'It has been stated by an oriental authority that Dizh Gumbadán ('the Domed Fort') and Girdkúh were identical. See LEC, p. 365.'

Page 71, line 13, *for* 'his' *read* 'a.'

Page 71, line 17, end, *add reference number* 1 *and at bottom* '[1] In Firdausí Núsh Ázar is the son of Asfandiyár, but in Dakíkí may of course be a brother and the one referred to above.'
Page 126, line 4, end, *add reference number* 1 *and at bottom* '[1] *Cf.* p. 233 *note*.'
Page 133, line 21, *for* 'wisdon' *read* 'wisdom.'
Page 160, line 23, end, *add quotation mark*.'
Page 161, last line, end, *insert* full stop.
Page 214, line 14, end, *add quotation mark*.'
Page 277, line 8, *insert* full stop.
6 from bottom, end, *insert* semicolon.
Page 288, note 1, *add* 'Cf. E.P. i, 256.'

VOLUME VI.

Page vi, line 3, *for* 'Married' *read* 'married.'
Page ix, line 14, *for* 'Rúmáns' *read* 'Rúmans.'
Page 3, line 8 from bottom, *delete* 'Rustam.'
7 from bottom, *for* 'Chubína' *read* 'Chúbína.'
4 from bottom, *for* 'Shirwí' *read* 'Shírwí'
Page 6, line 21, *for* 'Muller' *read* 'Müller.'
Page 15, line 10, *for* 'legend' *read* 'Legend.'
note 3, *add* 'Cf. Vol. vii, p. 79.'
Page 17, line 1, *for* 'Mukaffa' *read* 'Mukaffa'
Page 39, line 6 from bottom, end, *delete* ? *and insert* !
Page 64, line 8, *for* 'Ravi' *read* 'Rávi.'
Page 81, line 2, end, *insert* hyphen.
Page 89, line 5, for '*Married*' read '*married.*'
Page 98, line 14, end, *insert* comma.
Page 133, line 4, end, *insert* semicolon.
Page 135, line 12 from bottom, *read* 'He must not privily devise.'
10 from bottom, *for* 'wise' *read* 'sage.'
Page 136, line 4, end, *insert* !
Page 137, line 7, end, *insert* comma.
Page 150, bottom line, end, *insert* comma.
Page 154, line 13 from bottom, end, *insert* full stop.
Page 161, line 20, end, *insert* reference number 1.
bottom, *insert note* '[1] *Cf.* Vol. i, pp. 118, 132.'
Page 207, line 7, *after* 'above' *insert* '(p. 195).'
Page 209, line 10, end, *insert reference number* 2, *and at bottom add note* '[2] Mohl, rightly according to Nöldeke (NIN, p. 26 and *note*), reads 'Sámánians' for 'Ashkánians.' The former claimed descent from Bahrám Chúbína.'
Page 210, line 13 from bottom, end, *delete* comma.
Page 212, note, *add* 'Cf. p. 201.'
Page 231, line 4 from bottom, end, *insert* comma.
Page 250, line 9 from bottom, *for* 'Chubína' read 'Chúbína.'
Page 288, line 9, beginning, *delete* ".
Page 291, line 10 from bottom, *after* 'Oh' *insert* !
Page 292, line 1, end, *insert* comma.

Page 296, line 6 from bottom, for '*Rúmáns*' read '*Rúmans.*'
Page 298, line 13 from bottom, *for* 'Pars' *read* 'Párs.'
Page 304, bottom line, end, *insert* comma.
Page 312, line 3, *for* 'respect' *read* 'respecteth' *and for* 'thou art' 'thou'rt.'
Page 316, second note, *prefix* 2.
Page 323, note, line 5 from bottom, end, *insert* comma.
Page 327, line 7, *for* 'Ambar' *read* 'Ambár.'
line 8, *for* ''Abbasid' *read* ''Abbásid.'
Page 339, note, *for* 'Shammas' *read* 'Shammás.'
Page 372, line 2 from bottom, *for* 'the spring of' *read* 'a lake near.'
bottom line, after 'birth-place' *add, reference number* 8, *and at bottom add note* '[8] The lake in question being the source of two rivers the expression 'Spring' used by Firdausí in connexion with it is not wholly inappropriate.'
Page 376, line 7 from bottom, *for* 'great' *read* 'Great.'
Page 387, line 12 from bottom, *prefix* ".
Page 402, line 1, end, *insert* comma.

VOLUME VII.

Page vii, line 4, *for* 'SASÁNIAN' *read* 'SÁSÁNIAN.'
Page xi, line 13 from bottom, *for* 'Feasts' *read* 'Banquets.'
Page 85, line 16 from bottom, *insert* comma *at end.*
3 from bottom, *for* 'Kharzarwán' *read* 'Khazarwán.'
Page 95, line 18 end *delete* comma *and insert* semicolon.
Page 106, line 15, *after* 'scabbards' *insert* comma.
Page 110, line 15, *for* 'an as' *read* 'as an.'
Page 118, line 11 from bottom, for '*Irán*' read '*Írán.*'
Page 155, line 9 from bottom, *delete* semicolon *and insert* comma.
Page 156, line 6, after 'Hormisdas' *delete* comma *and insert* 'III.
Page 184, note, line 14 from bottom, *after* 'bunch' *delete* . *and insert* ?
Page 185, bottom note, *prefix* 4.
Page 207, heading, *for* 'KUBAD' *read* 'KUBÁD.'
Page 209, line 2, *after* 'below' *insert reference number* 1, and at bottom *add* '[1] *Cf.* MHP, ii, 77, RH, Bk. iii, ch. 35 and *note.*'
line 3 from bottom, end, *delete* 1 *and insert* 2, and before note *delete* 1 *and insert* 2.
Page 217, line 4 from bottom. Sura appears to be identical with Thapsacus of which Tiphsah (1 Kings, iv. 24) meaning probably 'ford' seems to have been the Hebrew form. The army of Cyrus the Younger in his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon) crossed the river there on foot. Xenophon, Anabasis, I, iv, 17.

Page 227, line 5 from bottom, *after* ' crown ' *insert* comma.
Page 231, bottom line, *delete* full stop *and insert* comma.
Page 239 and 247, heading, *read* ' NÚSHÍRWÁN '
Page 251, line 13 from bottom, *for* ' Garshasp ' *read* ' Gashasp '
Page 263, line 6 from bottom, *delete* comma *and insert* semicolon.
Page 275, bottom line, end, *insert* comma.
Page 300 line 11, *insert* comma *after* ' For ' *and* ' know.'
Page 331, line 4, *delete* ' the ' *and insert* ' from.'
Page 348, line 20, *for* ' Sáhh ' *read* ' Sháh.'
Page 369, line 18, *for* ' frowning face ' *read* ' looks afrown.'
Page 395, line 10, *for* ' was ' *read* ' were.'
11, *for* ' were ' *read* ' was.'
Page 400, line 1, *for* ' crown ' *read* ' treasure.'
2, *for* ' treasure, for ' *read* ' crown because.'
Page 410, bottom line, *for* ' Almighty ' *read* ' almighty.'

VOLUME VIII

Page v, line 17, *for* ' answer ' *read* ' Answer.'
Page viii, line 13 from bottom, *add* ' to Caesar.'
Page xv, line 20, *for* ' PCHAP ' *read* ' HAP.'
Page 72, line 21, *for* ' Khán's *read* ' Khán's.'
Page 91, note, *for* ' Parwiz *read* ' Parwíz.'
Page 122, line 14, *delete* first hyphen.
Page 138, line 19, *delete id.*
Page 143, line 10, *insert* comma after ' *Letter* ' and ' *Parmúda.*'
Page 147, line 11, *for* ' great ' *read* ' Great.'
Page 153, line 18, *delete* full stop *and insert* comma.
Page 189, line 16, *for* ' Zab ' *read* ' Záb.'
Page 190, line 16, *for* ' Garabzin,' ' Galabzin ' *read* ' Garábzín ' ' Galábzín '
Page 191, line 12, according to Muir's ' The Life of Mohammad,' edited by T. H. Weir (1923), p. 431 *note*, the battle of Dhú Kár was fought A.D. 611.
Page 192, note, *for* ' PCHAP ' *read* ' HAP.'
Page 205, line 6 from bottom, *after* ' take ' *insert reference number* 1 *and at bottom add* ' 1 See Vol. 5, p. 156 *note.*'
Page 225, *justify* line 25.
Page 265, line 22, *delete* full stop *and insert* comma.
Page 270, line 5, *for* ' Luhrasp ' *read* ' Luhrásp.'
line 6, *for* ' Asfanfiyar ' *read* ' Asfandiyár.'
Page 272, line 1, *insert* comma *after* ' one.'
Page 279, line 4 from bottom, *for* ' and readers of the stars ' *read* ' with the astrologers.'
Page 285, line 5, *for* ' great ' *read* ' Great.'
Page 287, line 20, *for* ' achieved ' *read* ' accomplished.'
Page 313, line 21, end, *delete* full stop *and insert* comma.
Page 317, line 2 from bottom, *delete* comma.
Page 327, line 13, *for* ' brave ' *read* ' Brave.'
Page 328, bottom, *for* ' in haste ' *read* ' with speed.'
Page 343, bottom, *for* ' gory ' *read* ' glory.'

Page 348, line 6 from bottom, *for* 'in a letter to the king'
read 'to the monarch in a letter.'
Page 353, line 5, *for* 'If' *read* 'It'
Page 362, line 11 from bottom, *delete* hyphen.
Page 374, line 8, *for* 'Ot' *read* 'Of.'
Page 411, line 8, *for* 'the' *read* 'thy.'
Page 421, line 12 from bottom, *for* 'Galínús' *read* 'Galínúsh.'

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[1] This is assumed in all cases where it is doubtful which Gustaham is meant. *Cf.* Vol. i, p. 369.

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[1] Misprinted "Kalúr."

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[1] Properly speaking, Zábulistán is the name of the hilly country about the upper waters of the Helmund, while Nímrúz and Sístán are synonymous nam s for the low lying lands into which its waters descend, but Firdausí does not seem to make any such distinction.

[2] The city has suffered much in the past from the ravages of war and earthquake and has been rebuilt several times on slightly varying sites.

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[1] May be identical with the above in legend.

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[1] *Cf.* Vol. v., p. 30.

[2] See p. 333 *note*.

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[1] Not the same apparently as those above.

[2] See p. 333 *note*.

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[1] It is not clear which Zarasp is intended.

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