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THE SHAHNAMA OF FIRDUSAII.

Done into English by

ARThUR GEORGE WARNER, M.A.

AND

EDMOND WARNER, B.A.

The year A.D. 1010 saw the completion of the Shāhnāma, the great Persian epic. Its author, the poet Firdausi, 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 Shāhnāma 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 Sāsānian Shāh 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 Shāhnāma 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 Shāhnāma 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 congeneries. To the student of comparative mythology and folklore, to the lover of historic romance or romantic history, and to all that are fond of tales of high achievements and the deeds of heroes, the Shāhnāma is a storehouse of rich and abundant material. To set forth a complete presentation 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.
THE

SHÁHNÁMA OF FIRDÁUSÍ

DONE INTO ENGLISH BY

ARTHUR GEORGE WARNER, M.A.

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"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."

FIRDÁUSÍ

VOL. IX

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THE

SHAHNAMA

VOL.

IX.
CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Page ix, lines 1-3, for "v, xi, xii," read "vii, xiii, xv."
Page 130, Col. 1, line 14 from bottom, for "xii" read "xv."
Page 131, Col. 1, line 21, for "xii" read "xv."
Pages 123-133, in the case of Roman numerals, for "vii" read "ix," for "vii" read "x" etc.
Page 195, Col. 2, line 11, delete first comma.
Page 196, Col. 1, line 11 from bottom, delete "Ahran."
Page 216, Col. 2, after line 10 from bottom, insert "Reign of, J57, V, 281 seq. Note on, v, 281."
Page 225, Col. 1, line 8 from bottom, delete "Bandwi."
Page 240, Col. 2, line 13 from bottom, before "102" insert "i."
Page 245, Col. 1, line 12, for "102" read "102."
Page 251, Col. 1, line 11 from bottom, after "of" insert comma.
Page 257, Col. 1, line 3 from bottom, read "Olympias."
Page 276, Col. 1, line 3 from bottom, read "Olympias."
Page 279, Col. 2, line 5 from bottom, for "363" read "263."
Page 280, Col. 1, line 25, for "140" read "140."
Page 302, Col. 1, line 10 from bottom, for "85" read "23."
Page 310, Col. 1, line 3, for "196" read "171."
Page 311, Col. 2, line 15 from bottom, after "by" insert "vitrified" insert comma.
Page 327, Col. 2, line 31 end, add "ix, 23."
Page 328, Col. 1, line 29, for "205" read "105."
Page 334, Col. 1, line 7, for "Northman" read "Northmen."
Page 337, Col. 2, line 2 from bottom, add "viii, 108."
Page 392, Col. 1, line 7 from bottom, insert comma at end.
Page 393, Col. 1, line 25 end, insert comma.
Page 396, Col. 1, line 23, before "137" insert "vii."
Page 372, Col. 1, line 14, delete "vi."
Page 385, Col. 1, line 23, delete "176."
Page 386, Col. 2, line 10 from bottom, after "Khurásán," insert "176."
Page 391, Col. 2, line 7 from bottom, delete "Yazdagird."
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.
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefatory Note</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on Pronunciation</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE SÁSÁNIAN DYNASTY (concluded)

**Kurád (Commonly Called Shírwí)**

1. How Shirví ascended the Throne, announced his Will, and sent Chiefs to his Father with Counsel and Excuses  8
2. How Khusrau Parwíz answered Shirví  15
3. How Shirví grieved for Khusrau Parwíz and how the Chiefs were displeased thereat  27
4. How Bárbád lamented Khusrau Parwíz, cut off his own Fingers, and burned his Instruments of Music  29
5. How the Chiefs demanded from Shirví the Death of Khusrau Parwíz and how he was slain by Mihr Hurmuzd  32
6. How Shirví asked Shírin in Marriage, how Shírin killed herself, and how Shirví was slain  36

**Ardshír, Son of Shirví**

1. How Ardshír, Son of Shirví, ascended the Throne and harangued the Chiefs  44
2. How Guráz was displeased at Ardshír being Sháh and how he caused Ardshír to be slain by Pirúz Son of Khusrau  45

**Guráz (also called Faráyín)**

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 Shahránguráz  51

**Púrándukht**

1. How Púrándukht ascended the Throne and slew Pirúz, Son of Khusrau, and how her own Life ended  56
CONTENTS

Azarmdukht—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>How Azarmdukht ascended the Throne and how she died</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>How Azarmdukht ascended the Throne and how she died</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Farrukhzád—

| 1.    | How Farrukhzád ascended the Throne and how he was slain by a Slave | 61   |

Yazdagird—

| 1.    | How Yazdagird ascended the Throne and addressed the Chiefs | 70   |
| 2.    | How Sa‘ad, Son of Wakkás, invaded Irán, how Yazdagird sent Rustam to oppose him, and how Rustam wrote a Letter to his Brother | 72   |
| 3.    | How Rustam wrote to Sa‘ad, Son of Wakkás, and how he replied | 78   |
| 4.    | How Rustam fought with Sa‘ad, Son of Wakkás, and was slain | 83   |
| 5.    | How Yazdagird consulted with the Iránians and went to Khurásán | 85   |
| 6.    | How Yazdagird wrote to Máhwi of Súr | 89   |
| 7.    | How Yazdagird wrote to the Marchlords of Tús | 90   |
| 8.    | How Yazdagird went to Tús and how Máhwi of Súr met him | 95   |
| 9.    | How Máhwi of Súr incited Bízhan to war with Yazdagird and how Yazdagird fled and hid himself in a Mill | 96   |
| 10.   | How Máhwi of Súr sent the Miller to kill Yazdagird, and how the Archmages counselled Máhwi to forbear | 101  |
| 11.   | How Yazdagird was slain by Khusrau, the Miller | 107  |
| 12.   | How Máhwi of Súr was informed of the Obsequies of Yazdagird and ascended the Throne | 112  |
| 13.   | How Bízhan, hearing of the Slaying of Yazdagird, and of Máhwi of Súr's Accession to the Throne, led forth the Host to fight with him | 115  |
| 14.   | How Máhwi of Súr was taken and slain by Order of Bízhan | 118  |
| 15.   | Account of the Completion of the Sháhnama | 121  |

Index | 123 |
General List of Abbreviations | 135 |
General Table of Contents | 139 |
Corrections and Additions | 177 |
General Index | 191 |
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-Samarqandi. Translated into English by
Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B.

CTC. Theophanis Chronographia. Ex Recensione Ioannis
Classeni.

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

NIN. Das Iranische Nationalepos von Theodor Nöldeke.

NT. Geschichte der Perser und Araber sur Zeit der Sasaniden

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 Zoten-
burg.
NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION

a as in "water."
i as in "pique."
â as in "rude."
a as in "servant."
i as in "sin."
u as in "foot."
æ as in "time."
aʊ as in ou in "cloud."
g is always hard as in "give."
kh as ch in the German "buch."
zh as z in "azure."
IV

THE SÁSÁNIAN DYNASTY

(Concluded)
KLUBÁD (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. 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, 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 Parvíz, with his black record of ingratitude as instanced by his treatment of Bandwi and Gustaham, 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 Parvíz and planned the assassination of Bahram Chúbína. According to Tabari he fell at the battle of Dhu Kár.

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 Parvíz, 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. They are:

1. The murder by Khusrau Parvíz 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.

1 See Vol. viii., p. 354 seq. 2 Id. p. 331 seq. 3 Id. p. 190. 4 NT. 393 seq. 5 ZT. ii., 334 seq.
3. The keeping of the troops for a long period absent from home.

The Persian Tabari 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 Sasanian Shah).
4. The deposition of Nu'mán, prince of Hira.¹
5. The mutilation and subsequent execution of Mardansháh.²

In the Arabic Tabari eight charges are made against Khusrau Parwiz two of which—those relating to the royal Haram and the refusal to restore the “True Cross”—are left unanswered.

In the Persian Tabari 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 Parwiz replies to the most serious accusations—those of offences against persons—first. The Sháhnáma agrees most closely with the Arabic Tabari, 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 Hurnuzd, the murderer of Khusrau Parwiz, whom it describes as the lowest of the low and vilest of the vile. According to Tabari, however, Mihr Hurnuzd was the son of Mardánsiháh, the governor of Nimruz and one of the most obedient and faithful of Khusrau Parwiz' officials. In the Persian Tabari's version of the Romance of Bahrán

¹ See Vol. viii., p. 190.
² See p. 6.
Chúbína that hero's brother, Yalán-sína in the Sháhnáma, is called Mardánsíh. Yalán-sína is always represented as being one of Bahram Chúbína's most loyal adherents just as the other brother. Gurdwi, was a firm supporter of Khúsrau Parwíz, while their sister Gurdya held an intermediate position, faithful to Bahram Chúbína, but opposing his kingly ambition in every way in her power. Later on when married to Gustaham, the maternal uncle of Khúsrau 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 Mardánsíh, if identical with Yalán-sína, becoming reconciled to, and receiving high office from, Khúsrau 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 Nimruz. He therefore began to suspect and summoned Mardánsíh, 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. Mardánsíh 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 Mardánsíh 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 Mardánsíh's son governor of Nimruz, but he refused and withdrew from the army.1 He joined the conspiracy against Khúsrau Parwíz 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

---

based on letters written by Heraclius. After the capture of Khusrau Parwiz 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 Shirwí: "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." Shirwí 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. Shirwí then wrote to Heraclius to announce the death of the detested Khusrau Parwiz, arranged terms of peace, released all the captives, and restored the "True Cross." 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 Shirwí.

According to Tabarí Kubád had Mihr Humuzd put to death.³

§ 6. The association of Khusrau Parwiz and Shirín began, it would seem, before his accession to the throne, and he reigned for thirty-eight years. If Shirwí really wished to marry Shirín 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, Púrandukhít and Azarmdukhít, for his share in the deaths of his father and brothers, and to have suffered much from sickness and remorse. He died at Dastagirid, but from what cause is uncertain. The plague was very virulent at the time. Poison was often made to account for what was really due to disease.

¹ CTC, i., 592. ² NT, p. 392 and note. ³ Id., p. 382.
⁴ See vol. viii., p. 383. ⁵ NT, p. 384 and notes.
\[§\ 1\]

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

Now when Shirwí sat on the goodly throne,
And donned the royal crown so much desired,
The leaders of the Íráníans 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.
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 Irán?"

The warriors all suggested by their looks
Two men of lore if they should give consent.
Kubád perceived whom the Iránians
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 Iránians
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 Irán who gladdened there have left
Son, country, and their own pure kith and kin,

¹Couplet 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, 
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 Irán; 
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 Bandwi and Gustaham.  
² This sentence comes at the end of the speech in the text.
The palace of Márusipand 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 Shírwí¹
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
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 Parwiz
A message and if now thou wilt ask audience²
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."

"Who can remember words so well as thou,
O worshipful? Yet nathless Sháh Kúbád
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 Galímúsh 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 Galímúsh 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,
Implenched 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 amart.
When he beheld those chiefs supreme in wisdom
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 quince2
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! Speak not so
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.'"
§ 2

How Khusrau Parwiz answered Shirwi

"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 Bahram Chúbina 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.\footnote{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.
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 Shirín.
When I had reigned for six and thirty years,
And thou past doubt amidst such pleasant days
Gay'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 Dái in month Ázar
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 divs
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.
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 Šáhs.
'Twill be too a memorial in the world,
A consolation to the man of wisdom,
And after our decease who'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 Íhindústán,
The realm of Rúm and land of sorcerers;
Besides from every province gifts and tribute
From all the sovereigns and potentates;
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 Æwar.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 Light³ 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 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,
Irán's walls are its troops and gear of war,
Its thorns all arrows on its battlements.
And if in wantoness 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 Iránians' 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 Nūshírwán,
Son of Kuhád, recorded in his Letter
Of Counsel that who'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. As for the message
Of Caesar, 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 Caesar 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 Bahram Chúbína
Began the feud and that the Iránians

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 Iránians have heard
Of those events, and thou should'st 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.
Ghashasp, 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 Caesára 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 Caesára, great and mighty,
Surrounded as he is by learned 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 Urmiźd, 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! 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—whom'e'er thou hast
In mind—Khusran Parwiz back to Kubád.
So too Húshang, Jamshíd, and Tahmúras—
To all the world the founts of fear and hope—
Whom div and beast acknowledged, passed and died
When their day ended. Farídún, the blest,
Who banned ill, close or open, from the world,
And stayed Zaheák the Arab’s hand from evil,
Seared 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 Kusbád,
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-dízü with toil but got therefrom
No treasure. Where are now Afrásiyáb,
The Turkmán king, whose semblance c’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 Khusran,
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 Than Sol or Venus? Where is that famed Sháh, Bahrám Gír, 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 Kísrá Núshírwán? Where are the seven and forty world-lords? 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 rugged 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 Khúsrau 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. p. 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 that the leader, were heart-pierced,
And smote their heads. Both sorrowed for their
words;
They buffeted their faces, rent their robes
In grief, and scattered dust upon their heads.
Those ancients fared forth from his presence,
Weeping, 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 Parwiz, 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."

On hearing this they rose to seek their homes.
Then Sháh Shírwí gave orders to the cooks:—
"Let nothing be denied Khusrau Parwiz:
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 Parwiz
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 Parwiz, 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 wherecat
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,
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 Parwiz must dare
To trust the world. Account as ruined all
Irán 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 accomplished,
And, like Irán, 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 Shirwí the Death of Khusraw Parwíz and how he was slain by Mihr Hurmuzd

C. 2043 Shirwí, 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."

Shirví was frighten ed 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 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 dinárs for thee,
And I will look upon thee as my son."

He gave the man a dagger keen and bright,
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 Parwiz: "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 Shâh
As well as garments and a bowl of water,
Whereon Khusrau Parwiz made haste to go,
Gazed on the sacred twigs and muttered prayers:
It was no time for words or private talk.
The Shâh 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 bázârs:—
"Khusrau Parwiz 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 Shah was overthrown.
Shirwí, 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
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 Shírin in Marriage, how Shírin killed herself, and how Shírwí was slain

Since I have ended with Khusrav Parwíz
I speak next of Shírwí and of Shírin.

As soon as three and fifty days had passed
Since that whereon that glorious Sháh was slain
Shírwí dispatched Shírin 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."

Shírin 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.
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 Khusráu Parwíz been one to cheer His soul with sorcery there would have been A sorceress within his bower, and she Had seen his face. 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. Shiríwí Raged 'gainst the guiltless dame 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."

Shíríwí 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—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 Schadegán." 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 of mourning for Khusrau Parwiz
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."

Shirin replied: "Let me be righted first.
And then my life shall be at thy dispose.
I will not hesitate in answering
The best and purpose of thy glorious heart."

Shirwí agreed to that fair dame's request,
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."

Shirwí replied: "'Twas so, but generous folk
Do not take dudgeon at mere hastiness."

Shirin 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 Irán and helped
The Brave in everything. 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 Irán
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.
Shirin proceeded thus: "Ye lords and chiefs
Both veteran and redoubled! 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 blessed sons, that she
May c'ën 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 Parwiz,
And entered on seclusion, he had come
Weak and dispirited from Rûm 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—Nastûr, Shahryâr, Farûd,
And Mardánshâh, blue heaven's coronal.
Jamshîd and Farîdûn 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 c'ër 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
Had heard thereof. The elders were astounded,
And their mouths watered. When Shîrwî beheld
The visage of Shîrin 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 Irân can give me nothing more."
I will not go from thy commands, but limb
My loyalty to thee upon mine eyes.”

The lady of the lovely face replied:—
“ I still need somewhat of the Iránian 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 Shírin:—

“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 Khusráu 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 Khusráu 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,
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 recked 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 Khusraú 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.
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.
ARDSHİR, SON OF SHĪRWĪ
HE REIGNED SIX MONTHS

ARGUMENT

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

NOTE

Ardshir (Artaxerxes III., September, A.D. 628—April, A.D. 630) was, according to Tabarī, 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 Tabarī says that the realm was administered by Mih'-Azar-Gushnasp (Mihr 'Hasis in the Persian version), the High Steward, who had charge of the Shāh's person. This may account for his being made out to be a regicide in the Shāhnāma. 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 Tabarī, Shahrbarāz, after taking possession of Ctesiphon, slew him and other nobles on the pretext of avenging the death of Khusrau Parwīz.

¹ NT, p. 386. ZT, ii., 347. ² NT, p. 392 note.
§ 2. It appears that Shahrbaráž (Guráž) 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 Shahrbaráž 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 Shírí, 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 Irán, 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 Píruz, son of Khüsrau,
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 Ardsír being Sháh and
how he caused Ardsír 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
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 Shirwí,
And give up all Irán to wretchedness!
When he passed and Ardsír assumed the crown
Both young and old rejoiced in him, but I,
If I have any portion in Irán,
Will suffer not our country’s air to breathe
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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 Irán, 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 Iránian host,
And strove in other fashion to advance
His ill designs by writing to Pírúz,
Son of Khusrau, thus: “The Sásáníans’ 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,
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
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 Sásánián 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 Kúbád,
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, he 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 Tukhār to summon him,
Informing him at large of the affair,
Of what Guráz was doing and the strife
About the imperial throne. Then from Tukhār
This answer reached Pírúz, son of Khusrau:—
"Risk not the blood of the Iránian 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's 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 Ardashír'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. He was one of the three chief generals employed by Khúsrau Parwız in his long war against the Eastern Roman Empire. His real name, according to Tabari, was Farruhán. This in Pahlaví would be Farrukhán, which by a misreading has become Faráyín in the Sháhnáma. Shahrbaráz (Shahrguráz, or Shahrvaráz) is, says Tabari, 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. In Tabari the leader of the revolt is a native of Istakhr named Pusfar-rukh. Shahránguráz in the Sháhnáma is also of the same city.

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 i.e. 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 satin¹ 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 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.

* 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 dinárs. 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
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
Hearing this

That royal warrior sought how to see
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
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

PŪRĀNDUKHIT

SHE REIGNED SIX MONTHS

NOTE

Pūrāndukht (Puranducht, summer A.D. 630—autumn A.D. 631), reigned, according to Tabarî, 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 Ardshîr. She made the leader of the successful conspiracy against Shahrbarâz her prime minister.¹ She was the first historical female Shâh and it was in allusion to her reign and that of her sister Ázarmdukht that the distich is quoted in Mîr Khand:—

“No dignity remains in a household
In which the hens are crowing like cocks.”²

§ 1

How Pūrāndukht ascended the Throne and slew Pîrûz,
Son of Khusrau, and how her own Life ended

’Tis but crude policy when women rule,
But yet there was a lady—Pūrāndukht—
Surviving of the lineage of Sásân,

¹ For the above see NT, p. 390 seq. and notes, ZT, ii., 349.
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, 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! 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-straops.
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.
Why having done wrong sekeest thou for justice?
Nay, ill for ill; that is the course of right.
Pírándukht 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 Shah 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

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. 303 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,
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 Azarmdukht 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  
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,  
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 Íráníans,
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.
Yazdagird becomes Shah. 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 Bizhan, 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 Bizhan, 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 Khusran 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. 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 dissensions, 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 Iránián race and its heroes, and that compilations were then made from which we still though indirectly benefit.

§§ 2-11. The following is intended to supplement Firdausi'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 Irániáns and Semites had been at enmity. In Iránián legend this feeling had found expression in the story of the wicked Sháh Zahhák, who, though originally an Aryan myth, came to be regarded in succeeding ages as an earthly king with his seat at Babylon. When, later still, the Irániáns again felt the weight of Semitic oppression, he was turned into an Arab. Although during Sásánian times the semi-independent kingdom of Hiira served to some extent as a buffer-state between the Persian empire and the wilder Arab

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1 NT. p. 397 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 Parwiz was so unwise as to put an end to the long-standing dynasty of the princes of Hira and appointed a governor of his own in their stead. 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. 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 Parwiz, who tore it up, and the Prophet, on hearing of this, said: “He has rent his own realm.” Muhammad died in June, A.D. 632—the month of the child Yazdagird’s accession. Abú Bakr, the first Khalifa, 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 Hira his headquarters, and was preparing to attack Ctesiphon and invade Irán 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.” 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 ’Ubaída 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, Abū 'Ubaida (not Khālid's successor) offered himself and Sa'ad, son of Wakkās, followed suit. A thousand others imitated their example. 'Umar gave Abū '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 Kháwa,1 to watch the enemy. Abū '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 Hīra failed, and the Arabs raided the Persian settlement of Baghdád (not of course the well-known city of that name2) where twice a year a fair was held. 'Umar appointed Sa'ad, son of Wakkās, to succeed Abū '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-Arabi. 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

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 Mihrán1 at Jalálá in the neighbourhood of Hulwán. 'Umar refused to allow Sa'ad to go in person and instructed him to send instead Hāším who was either his brother or his nephew. Hāším 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 Jalálá 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 Khúžistán, 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 Nahávand, some fifty miles south of Hamadhán, and placed under a Persian general named Pírúzán. On this 'Umar ordered Nu'mán, who was in command in Khúžistán, 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 Nahávand 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

1See id. p. 185.
his camp and made a hasty retreat. Piruzan went in pursuit, on which Nu'man turned upon him and won what the Arabs call "The Victory of Victories" (A.D. 611-2). Piruzan was taken prisoner and slain, and Nu'man 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 Sassanian empire were overrun by the Arabs and permanently annexed, while Yazdagird, who had fled from Rai after the disaster of Nahavand, remained a fugitive till his death some ten years later.

§ 2. In Tabari Rustam's father is called Farrukh-Hurmu zd, the governor of Khurasan, who was slain, it is said, by Azarmdukht and avenged by his son.1 Khurasan probably formed part of the satrapy of Ximruz, one of the four into which Nushirwan 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 Sassanian dynasty.3 The position of commander-in-chief held by Rustam at the battle of KadISiya, probably indicates that he had been instrumental in bringing about the elevation of Yazdagird to the throne.4

Rustam's brother was named Farrukhzad.

§ 3. Mughira, 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 Nahavand.5 He was governor for a time at Basra,6 Mecca,7 and Kufa, where he died in A.D. 670.8

§ 4. Sa'ad took no personal part in the battle of KadISiya. 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 Firdausi 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 KadISiya 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 Hilal, striking in the darkness at random among the camels, happened to hit the one under which

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1 p. 59.  
3 pp. 5, 6, 59, 87, 95 seq.  
5 ZT, iii., 474.  
6 Id. 494.  
7 Id. iv., 2.  
8 Id. 16.  
9 Id. iii., 308.
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 Hīlāl and slain.¹

§§ 9-11. There is a general agreement in Persian tradition that Yazdīgird 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. Firdausī's story evidently has been worked up as the appeals addressed to Māhwi show. The villain's guilt too is more emphasized, and he is made more directly responsible for the tragedy. Elsewhere the miller murders the Shāh for mere greed. Marv appears to be a likely place for Yazdīgird 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 Tabarī, Māhwi, after the death of Yazdīgird, 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 Khān is the Bizhan of the Shāhnāma.

§ 1

How Yazdīgird ascended the Throne and addressed the Chiefs

When Farrukhızād departed Yazdīgird Became the Shāh upon the day of Ard In month Sapandārmad. 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. 306. 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 Faridun or be
Parwiz\(^1\) 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 Nushirwan.

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 Parwiz.
\(^{2}\) 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 Irán, how Yazdāgird 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 infliceth. Save with Him
There is no life or joy.

When Yazdāgird
Learned what had chanced he gathered troops on all sides,
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 attentive 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 Kádisiya. 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 Shâh the tract between
The river-bank and Kádisiya; 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,
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-robos,
Then hasten Ázar Ábádagán—
The dwelling of the Mighty and the Free.
Whatever herds of horses thou mayst have
Send to the treasurer of Azargashasp.
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
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—Íránian, Turkman, Arab—  
Will come to be and talk in gibberish.³  
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 Bahram Gur'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; 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
Sasanian 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 Kadisiya are both hardy men
And hostile to the Arabs. They expect
That this brake will be filled, that earth will run
Like the Jihun, 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 Ahriman 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

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 Hurmuzdsháh¹—
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 Ahriman 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 Iran,
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 silver 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,  
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 Núshírwan,  
Whose justice made the aged 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 Irán,  
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.”
Pirúz 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,
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. 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 deafl the sharpest ears. "The steely lance-heads mid the murky reek Are," thou hast 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 Iránians, 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, 
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 Iránians, when they spied their paladin 
Slashed by the scimitar from head to foot,
YAZDAGIRD

Fled. Many a chieftain perished in the press.
And many failed for thirst upon the saddle.
The world had had full measure of the Shahs.
The host fared to the monarch of Iran,
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 Baghdad;
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 Hormuzd,
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 Baghdad intent
To meet the foe, and bloody was the event.

§ 5

How Yazdagird consulted with the Iranians and went
to Khurásán

When Farrukhzád had gone back to the Shah,
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 affluent 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?
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,
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 Farrúkhzád
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 outeries 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

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
Thy host to fight with his and summon all
Thy troops to that same end. Lo! I will follow
Behind my letter swiftly as the wind,
And give thee what I purpose in my mind.”

§ 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 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 malecontent, 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
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 Ahriman, 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 "Roníndiz." 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 Nūshīrwān once dreamed that this our throne  
Would lose its brilliant lustre. He beheld  
A hundred thousand Arabs—raging camels  
With bits\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Altúniya,  
Intent on fight, and host confronteth host,  
While Kashmigán, that warrior's son, hath reached  
Our court and spoken well and loyally.
\textsuperscript{1} Properly the piece of wood passed through a perforation made in the nostrils of a camel to guide it by. 
\textsuperscript{2} See Vol. viii., p. 66.
I heard what he could tell about these marches, 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 Kashmir 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
That toil for us and, when those toils are over,
A splendid turban of gold broi dery.
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 Māhwī of Sūr met him_

Thence they conveyed the drums and came to Tús
From Nishápur. Māhwī of Sūr had news:—
"The Sháh is on the road to Dahístán,"
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 Māhwī of Sūr
By whom his heart was joyed and whom he coun-
selled
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

\(^1\) 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 Hurnuzd, 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 Yazdagírd and how Yazdagírd 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 Máhwí,  
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.”

Bizhan, 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.”

The minister
Replied: “O lion-hearted warrior!
'Twere shame to help Máhwí and then withdraw.
Command Barsámn 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.”

Bizhan replied: “'Tis well, I will not go
Myself.”

He therefore bade Barsámn 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 Máhwí
Of Súr to be his enemy? Shouts rose.
A cavalier reached Yazdagírd at dawn
To say: “Máhwí saith thus: ‘A host of Turks
Hath come. What is the bidding of the Sháh?
The Khán and the Faghfûr 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 bedimm'd
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 Zark². 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
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 enskied³ 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.
While 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 canst 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.”

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. Málhwí
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 Málhwí 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.”


\(^3\) I.e. if subsequently he should learn that we knew and did
not tell him.
YAZDAGIRD

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 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 Rádwi, whose mind wore wisdom's bridle,  Said to Máhwi: "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 Máhwi:— "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 seestest 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 Máhwi:— "Why this audacity? Thou hast opposed The king of kings and cottoned with the Khán And the Faghfür. 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 Shaïhs 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 Máhwî:
"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 Shâh’s crown! When Jamshîd
Was slaughtered by Zâhhâk did that affect
Heaven’s will? Nay, when Zâhhâk had won the earth
Abtîn appeared, the glorious Farîdûn
Was born, the fashion of the world was changed.
And thou hast heard what tyrannous Zâhhâk
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 Tûr, the exalted one,
Afflicted by his longing for Irân,
Slew in his folly virtuous Íraj,
On whom the very dust looked pityingly.
Dispatched him† to the hero Farîdûn,
And gave the world to sorrow, Minûchîhir,
One of the race, appeared and undid all
Those bonds. When, thirdly, princely Siyáwush
Went forth to war, albeit reluctantly,
Afrâsiyâb, inspired by Garsîwaz,
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

† His head, according to the story. See Vol. i., p. 202.
I04

THE SHÁHNÁMA OF FIRDÁUSÍ

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. Asandiyár
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 Bandwi 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-illumining 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.
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 Pápákán—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 Kááníans in legend. Cf.
Vol. vi., p. 199.
² See Vol. vii., 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-born¹ 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 archimages 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
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 confederates² 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:

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 Khusrau, 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
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 Irán 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,
And there it floated with a bobbing head!

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,
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;
Máhwi'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!"  

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 Nūshīrwān,
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?"

"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 beheldeth 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
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 Māhwī of Sūr was informed of the Obsequies\(^1\) of
Yazdagird and ascended the Throne

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

\(^1\)"Slaying" in the text.
And monks of Rūm— 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.”

Máhwí, that luckless wretch, exclaimed: “Írán
Had ne'er before affinity with Rūm.”

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 crewhile, 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
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 Šáh 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 Šáh 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—
Chief of the planets seven. With the sword
Will I take vengeance on Bizhan by whom
The fortune of earth’s king was turned to gloom.”

§ 13

How Bizhan, 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 Bizhan: “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 Jihún for battle.”

“Who bestowed
The signet on him? ” asked Bizhan, 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 Sír 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 time1 I took
A mounted force from Chách2 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
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 Báshi,
And lost no time upon the road. Whenas
He drew anear Búkhárá 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 water1 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
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 Frániáns;
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
Jihún-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,
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 Núshirwán?"
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."

Bizhan, 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.
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 Dilamite,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 Kutib, 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 Yazdáigírd,
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 Máhmúd,
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.
My life from days of youth to eíd 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.
INDEX

This Index and the Table of Contents at the beginning of the volume are complementary. References to the latter are in Roman numerals.

### Abbreviations, list of, xi

Abtín, father of Farídún, 53, 103
Abú Bakr, Khalífa, 76
begins war with Persian Empire, 66
Abú 'Ubaídah, Arab general, 66
supersedes Khálid in Syria, 66
Abú 'Ubaïda, Arab general, 67
made commander in Persian campaign, 67
slain, 67
Afrásiyáb, ruler of Túrán, 25, 103
Áhriman, the Evil Principle, 8, 18, 73, 74, 79, 91
Ál, place, 93
Albarz, Mount, 25
'Álî, the Dilâmî, friend of Fir- divâsí, 121
Altúníya, place, 92
Amul, city in Mázdârân, 80
Apologue, 86
Apothegms, 87, 88, 110
Arab, Arabs, 3, 5, 25, 60, 69, 70, 72, 75 seq., 79, 80, 92, 94, seq., 114, 117
invasion of Irán by, 3, 65 seq.
steeds, 11
tribes, 65
triumph of, over Dhú Kár, 66
chieftain, incites Abú Bakr to invade Persia, 66
concentrate at Kádisíya, 67
Arab, Arábs, booty found by, at Ctesiphon (?), 68
annex Mesopotamia, 68
Khuzistán, 68
= 'Umar, 72
cal, 82
= Sa’ád, 84
defeated, 85
Núshírván’s dream of, 92
Arabíán, Arabíans, 74, 85
Arabic, 81
Archmages, viii
Ard, day, 70, 122
Ardshír Pápakan, first Sásánian Sháh, 105, 110, 111
Ardshír, son of Shírwí, Sháh, vii, 43 seq.
makes Pírúz general, 44
entertains Pírúz at feast, 48
death of, 49
treasury of, squandered by Guráz, 53
Árish, famous Iránián archer, 25
Arjásp, king of Túrán, 104
Armaní, Iránián chief, 74
'Arús, treasure, 20
Arwand (Tigrís), river, 85, 92
Asfandiyár, son of Sháh Gush-tásp, 25, 26 note, 104
Ashtád, Iránián chief, 11 seq.
chosen to visit Khusrav Parwíz at Taísafún, 9
and Khurrád parley with Gálímúsh, 11
visit Khusrav Parwíz, 12
report to Shírwí, 27
Astrolabe, 73
Astrologer, 73
Azar, month and day, 17
Azar, Abadagan (Azargashasp q.v.), 74
Azargashasp, spirit of lightning.

Baghdad, Persian settlement of, 67
raided by Arabs, 67
Baghdad, city (Cf. Vol. viii, p. 109 note), 88
Yazdagird quits, 88
Bahrain, group of islands in Persian Gulf, 68
Bahrám Chúbina, Íranian hero, 6, 15, 16, 22, 91, 105
assassination of, referred to, 4
Romance of, 5
Bahrám Gúr, Sháh, 26, 77
Baigand, city and fortress between Bukhara and Oxus,
Máhwí encamps at, 118
Belkh, city, 116
bestowed by Máhwí on his son, 115
Bandwí, maternal uncle of Khusráu Parwíz, 4
execution of, referred to, 4, 16, 104
Bárbad, minstrel, vii, 29 and note
visits Khusráu Parwíz in prison, 29
lament of, 30

Bardá', city on the borders of Ázarbáiján and Armenia, 15
Bársám, general of Bizhán, 97, 117
marches on Marv, 97, 116
Máhwí's conduct to, 117
pursues and overtakes Máhwí, 118
captures Máhwí, 119
Bartás, region in Turkistán, 19
Barzín, father of Khusráu Parwíz, 4, 9, 12, 27
Básra (Bassora), city on the Shatt-el-Arab, 68, 69
founded by 'Umar, 67
Battle of the Bridge, 5, 67
Bizhán, Khán of Turks, vii, 70, 96
Máhwí writes to, 96
consults his minister, 97
sends troops to Marv, 97
Máhwí makes war on, 115
marches against Máhwí, 117
lays ambush for Máhwí, 118
sends Bársám in pursuit of Máhwí, 118
hears of Máhwí's capture, 119
puts Máhwí to death, 120
goes mad and kills himself, 120, 121

Brahman, 21
Bridge, Battle of the, 5, 67
Bukhárá, city on the ZarafshÁn river in the province of Sughd, 97, 115, 117
Bust, city in Sístán, 89

C

César, 10, 23
letter of, about the True Cross referred to, 22
Chách (Tashkand), city in Túrán, 115, 110
battle-axes of, 118
Chahram (Jahram), city in Párs 29, 61
INDEX

Chin country (often = Turán), 10, 41, 107, 118
sashes from, 12, 53
gold thread of, 82
Khán of, 87
merchantmen of, 89
shields of, 118
Christ, 24, 109
Cross of, 23
Christian, 23
Commander of the Faithful, 72
'Umar, the first, 72 and note

Contents Table of, vii
Cross, the true, 4, 5, 10, 24
restoration of, 7, 50
of Christ, 23
Elevation of, 43
Crystal, House of, 25 and note
Ctesiphon (Taisafún q.v.), 65
seq.,
taken by Shahrbaráz, 43, 44
Sa'ad, 67
booty found at, 68

D

Dahistán, town, also district
north of the Atrak, 95
Dag, day, 17
Dans, coin, 94 and note
Darkness, House of, 7
Dastagird, city, 7
Dhú Kár, Battle of, 4, 5, 60
dilamite, 'Alí the, friend of Fir-dausí, 121
Div, divs, 18, 25
= Ahriman, 47, 102, 104

E

Egyptian, 110
linen, 110

F

Faghfir of Chin, 87, 97, 102
Faithful, Commander of the, 72
'Umar, the first, 72 and note
Farab (Firabr), town on the
Oxus opposite to Amwi, desert of, 115, 118
Farán (Guráz, Shahbaráz q.v.),
Sháh, vii, 59, 53, 105
accession-speech of, 52
counseled by his eldest son,
52
counseled by his youngest
son, 53
misrule of, 53
plot against, 54
Faridán, Sháh, 25, 39, 53, 71,
80, 103
Farrhán (Farrukhán). See Far-
áyín.
Farrukhán (Farruhán). See Far-
áyín.
Farrukh-Hurmuzd (Hurmuzd
q.v.), father of Rustam, 69
Farrukhzád, Sháh, vii, 61 seq.,
70
Siyáh Chashm and, 62
poisons, 63
Farrukhzád, son of Hurmuzd,
brother of Rustam, and
favourite of Khusrau Parwíz, 23, 87, 92, 95
bribes Mihr Hurmuzd to
murder Khusrau Parwíz, 33
defeats the Arabs, 85
counsels Yazdagírd, 86, 87
leads the host to Khurásán, 89
trusts Yazdagírd to
Máhwi, 95
goes to Rái, 96
Farúd, son of Shirín and Khusrau
Parwíz, 39
Firdausí, 99
account of Arab conquest
by, supplemented, 65
Yazdagírd’s death, 70, 107
reflections on, 108, 111
on completion of Sháhnáma, 121
friends and assistants of, 121
exempt from taxation, 121

INDEX
INDEX

Firdausi, time spent on Shahnama, by, 122
praise of Sultan Mahmud, by, 122
Flight of Muhammad, referred to, 122
Ford and toll-house of Zark, 100
and note, 116

G

GALBWFL, Iranian chief, 74
Galinush, Persian general, 5, 11, 12
parley of, with Kharrad and Ashtad, 11
Gang-dizh, stronghold, 25
Garsiwaz, brother of Afrasiyab, 103
Garsiyun, Iranian chief, 115
Gashasp, father of Ashtad q.v., 11
Gemini, constellation, 73
Gil (Gil, Gilan ?), district on south-west coast of Caspian, 93
Glory. See Grace.
Grace or Glory, the divine, 8, 26, 39, 41, 44, 47, 73, 74, 79, 90, 91, 95, 99, 100, 101, 116
Gadarz, Iranian hero, 25
seventy sons of, 25
Gumbadân, Mount, 93
stronghold on, 93
Guraz (Shahrbaraz, Farayin q.v.) general of Khusrau Parwiz and Shah, vii, 44
rebellion of, 45
message of, 45
writes to Piruz, 46
Piruz writes to, 47
account of, 50
meaning of, 50
dual personality of, 50
marches on Taisafun, 51
confers with Iranian magnates, 51
misrule of, 53
conspiracy against, 51
goes hunting, 55

Guraz, end of, 55
Guraz, son of Mâhwî, referred to, 107, 115
governor of Marv, 120
put to death with his sons, 120
Gurdwî, brother of Bahrâm Chûbîna, 6
Gurdyâ, sister of Bahrâm Chûbîna, 6
Gurgân, province on the south-eastern shores of the Caspian, 89
Gushtasp, Shah, 25
Gustaham, maternal uncle of Khusrau Parwiz, 4, 6
assassination of, referred to, 16, 104

H

HAMADÂN, city in 'Irak 'Ajami, 68
Haram, of Khusrau Parwiz, 4, 5
Harât, city in north-western Afghanistân, 115
bestowed by Mâhwî on his son, 115
Hâshim, Arab general, 68
sent by 'Umar in pursuit of Yazdagird, 68
wins battle of Jalûlá, 68
takes Hulwân, 68
Hâshimeî = Muhammad, 81 and note
Heraclius, Eastern Roman Emperor, 5, 7
Shirzi's letter to, 7
alliance of, with Shahrbaraz, 44
Hilal, Arab, 69
slayer of Rustam son of Farrukh-Harmuzd, 70
Hindustan, 17, 20
Hira, city, west of the Euphrates near Nedjef, 5, 66
kingdom of, 65
abolished by Khusrau Parwiz, 66
attacked by Persians, 67
INDEX

Hūrī, 81
House of Darkness, 7

Crystal, 25 and note
Hulwān, town on the border of
'Irāk 'Ajami, west of Kirmānshāh
Yazdagird retires to, 67
taken by Hāshim, 68
Hurmuzd, son of Nūshirwān,
Shāh, 4, 15, 103
Hurmuzd (Hurmuzdshāh, Farrukh-Hurmuzd q.v.),
father of Rustam, 72, 78
85, 89, 96
Hurmuzd Shahrāngurāz (Shahrāngurāz q.v.), 51
Hurmuzd, devotee, 102
pleads with Māhwī for Yazdagird, 102
Husain, friend of Firdausī, 121
Hiishang, Shah, 25, 41

Indian, scimitar, 17
script, 17
scribe, 17
Īraj, son of Faridūn, 103
'Irāk, 66

Irān, vii, viii, 9 seq., 15, 21, 22,
31, 36, 38, 39, 44, 45, 51,
66, 74, 75, 79, 85, 86, 88,
92, 96, 103, 106, 108, 113
Irānian, Irānians, vii, 22, 23,
49, 47, 48, 63, 73, 76, 88,
90, 110
homage Shirwī, 8
choose two chiefs to visit
Khusrau Parwīz in prison,
9
plot against Gurāz, 54
go hunting with Gurāz, 55
race, 65
enmity of, with Semite,
65
announces arrival of Shu'ba
Mughira to Rustam, 82
defeat of, at Kadisiya, 84
retreat to Yazdagird, 85
—born, 99
Irānians, defeat of, at Marv, 116
ambushed, 118
Istakhr (Persepolis), 59, 54
Yazdagird taken to, 64
made Shāh at, 65

J

Jahram. See Chahram.
Jalalā, 68
Jāmāsp, minister of Gushtāsp, 26
Jamshid Shāh, 25, 39, 103
Jarman, place, 93
Jerusalem, 43
Elevation of the True Cross
at, 43
Jesus, 10
Jīhān (Oxus), river, 77, 115, 118
Jins, 81

K

Kābul, city
falchion of, 98
Kāchār Bāshī, city in Tūrān, 117
Kadisiya, town west of Euphrates
and near
Nedjef, 5, 73, 74, 77, 78
Battle of, 5, 67, 90
date of, 67
canal of, 69
Rustam advances to, 73
Kāian, crown, 11, 105
Kai Kāūs, Shāh, 25
Kai Khusrav, Shāh, 25, 103
Kai Kūbud, Shāh, 25
Kalāt, stronghold, 91
Kāran, Iranian hero, 25
Karkh, a suburb of Baghdād, 85
Arab defeat at, 85
Kashmīgan, son of Farrukhzhād,
92
Kāwa, the smith, 30
flag of, 30, 67
Khālid, Arab general, 66
begins hostilities against
Persian Empire, 66
recalled to lead Syrian cam-
paign, 69
Khán of Chín, 87, 102
Kharrád, son of Barzin, Iránian minister, 4, 11, 12, 24
end of, 4
chosen to visit Khusráu Parwíz at Tāisáfíán, 9
Ashgád and, parley with Galínúsh, 11
visit Khusráu Parwíz, 12
report to Shirwí, 27
Kharrád, father of Hurmúz, 102
Khurásán, province in northeastern Irán, viii, 59, 69, 87, 88, 92
Máhwí becomes master of, 114
Khusráu Parwíz, Sháh, vii, 4 seq., 11, 12, 25, 20 note, 30, 31, 33 seq., 38 seq., 45 seq.
charges against, 4, 5, 9, 10
reply of, to charges, 5, 14
seq.
Haram of, 4, 5
last days of, Theophanes’ account of, 6
Shirwí’s treatment of, 7
sons of, executed, 7, 35
Shirín and, 7
imprisoned at Taisáfíán, 9
companioned by Shirín, 29
Bárúbad visits, 29
laments over, 30
steed of, 30
son of, 31
referred to, 33 and note
kingdom of Hira abolished by, 66
Muhammad’s letter to, 66
Khusráu, father of Pírzúz, vii, 44, 46, 48, 49, 51, 57
Khusráu, a miller, viii, 99. See Miller.
Khúzístán (Susiana), province at head of Persian Gulf
annexed by Arabs, 68
Khuzrá, treasure, 20
Kibchák, region cast of the Jaxartes and north of Táshkand, 93
Kirwán (Karwán, district north of Jaxartes?), 93
Kísrá Núshírwán. See Núshírwán.
Kubád, son of Pírzúz, Sháh, 22, 25
Kubád (Shirwí q.v.), Sháh, vii, 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 14, 24, 32, 47, 64
tragic reign of, 3
pestilence during, 3
boorishness of, 3
difficult situation of, 3
reproached by his sisters, 7
Kúfa, city, west of Euphrates and north of Nedjef, 68, 69
founded by Sa’ád, 67
Kurán, 81
quoted, 81 and note
Kutíb, father of Husain, 121

L
Lázhawardí fort, 93
Luhrásp, Sháh, 104

M
Mácutíx (China), 107
Mahmúd, Sultán, praise of 122
Makhzím, place, 93
Máhwí, Persian chief, viii, 70, 74, 89, 95, 97, 100 seq. 118
described, 87
Farrukhzád entrusts Yazdágírd to, 95
accepts charge of Yazdágírd, 96
becomes disaffected to Yazdágírd, 96
writes to Bízhan, 96, 116
betrays Yazdágírd, 97, 98, 116, 117
quest of, for Yazdágírd, 100
has tidings of Yazdágírd, 101
consults his warriors, 106
son of, counsels, 107
INDEX

Māhwī, son of, receives Balkh and Harát, 115
   governor of Marv, 120
   put to death with his sons, 120
   sends miller to slay Yazdagird, 107, 110
   troops after miller with instructions, 107
   troops of, strip corpse of Yazdagird, 108
   hears of death of Yazdagird, 108
   bids miller throw corpse of Yazdagird into stream, 108
   slays monks, 113
   consults his intimates and minister, 113
   advised by his minister, 113
   claims the throne on false pretences, 114
   becomes master of Khurāsān, 114
   evil rule of, 114
   makes war on Bizhan, 115
   conduct of, to Barsám, 117
   crosses Oxus and camps at Baigand, 118
   flees, 118
   overtaken by Barsám, 118
   captured by Barsám, 119
   put to death by Bizhan, 120
Marchlords, viii
Mardānshāh (Yalān-sīne q.v.), 5, 6
   son of, 5, 6
   conspires against Khusrau Parwiz, 6
   mutilation and execution of, 6
Mardānshāh (Mardāsas), son of Shirin and Khusrau Parwiz, 39
Mardāsas (Mardānshāh q.v.), 7
   execution of, 7
Mars, planet, 73, 80
Mārūsipand, palace, 11
Marv, oasis and city in ancient northern Khurāsān, now in Turkestan, 70, 80, 110, 117
Marv, traditional scene of Yazdagird’s death, 70
   Yazdagird at, 97, 116
   thune of, 110
   apothegm of, 110
   conduct of Māhwī to Barsám at, 117
   Guráz, son of Māhwī, governor of, 120
Mázandarān, region between Alburz range and Caspian, 74
Mecca, city, 69
Mercury, planet, 73
Mesopotamia, annexed by Arabs, 68
Mih-Āzar-Gushnasp, minister of Ardshir, son of Shirwi, in Arabic Tabari, 43
   put to death, 43
Mihr, feast, 49
Mihr ’Hāsīs, minister of Ardshir, son of Shirwi, in Persian Tabari, 43
   put to death, 43
Mihr Hurmuzd, murderer of Khusrau Parwiz, vii, 34
   account of, 5
   referred to, 6, 33
   conspires against Khusrau Parwiz, 6
   put to death, 7
   described, 33
Mihr-i-Nāsh, 103
   pleads with Māhwī for Yazdagird, 103
Mill, viii, 98, 116
Miller, viii, 79
   Yazdagird and, 99
   informs chief of Zark about Yazdagird, 100
   informs Māhwī about Yazdagird, 101
   bidden to slay Yazdagird, 107
   bidden to fling corpse into stream, 108
Munichhr, Shāh, 103
Mir Khānd, distich of, quoted, 56
Monks, 109
   find Yazdagird, 109
Monks, lament over and entomb Yazdagird, 109 seq.

sentences of, over Yazdagird, 110

slain by Māhwī, 113

Mughīra, son of Shu'ba. See Shu'ba Mughīra, 69

Muhammad, the Prophet, 69, 81 seq.

letter of, to Khusrau Parwiz, 66

Flight of, referred to, 122

Muslim, 85

N

Nahāvand, city, south of Hamadān, 68, 69

Yazdagird concentrates his forces at, 68

Battle of, 69

Nārwan, forest of, 86

Nastūr, son of Shirin and Khusrau Parwiz, 39

Nile, 98

Nimrūz*, 5, 6

sattarpy of, 69

Nishāpūr, city in Khurāsān, 95

Niyātūs (Theodosius, son of Maurice), 23

Note on Pronunciation, xii

Nu'mān bin Munzīr, prince of Hīrā, 5

Nu'mān, Arab general, 68

sent by 'Umar to fight Yazdagird, 68

defeats Pirūzān at Nahāvand, 68

slain, 69

Nūshirwān, Shāh, 22, 26, 74, 80, 92, 105, 109, 110, 119

Letter of Counsel of, 22

division of Empire by, 60

dream of, 92

"The Battle of the Bridge," 67

fail in attack on Hīrā, 67

defeat of, at Kādisiya, 67, 84

Jalula, 68

Nahāvand, 69

Shu'ba Mughīra's embassy to, 69

robes, 94

transcribe Shāhnāma for Firdausi, 121

Pestilence, in reign of Kubād, 3, 7

Pirūz, son of Khusrau, minister of Ardshīr son of Shīrwī, vii

appointed general, 44

---

*See p. 333 note.
INDEX

Pírúz, letter of Guráz to, 40
takes counsel, 49
writes to Guráz, 47
Guráz marches against, 48
appeals to Tukhár, 48
feasts with Ardshír, 48
informs Guráz of the death of Ardshír, 51
put to death, 57
Pírúz, Íranían prince, 59
Pírúz, son of Shápúr, Íranían noble
takes Rustam's letter to Sa'ad, 80, 81
Pírúzán, Persian general,
commands Persian forces at Nahavand, 68
slain, 69
Pisces, constellation, 71
Plague. See Pestilence.
Pronunciation, Note on, xii
Purandukht, shah, vii, 56
reproaches Kubád, 7
makes Shahránguráz prime minister, 56
True Cross and, 56
Pusfarrukh, 50

Q

Quince, omen of the, 13, 14

R

Ráda, Mount, 91, 94
Rádwi, archimage
pleads with Máhwi for Yazdágrírd, 102
Rai, city and district near Tih-rán, 68, 69, 89, 95, 96
Rája, 17
letter of, 17
put in charge of Shírín, 17
Raven, Raven-head, 91 and note, 95 note, 96
Revellers Rosary of 38, 40
Roman, 50, 66
Rosary of Revellers, 38, 40
Ruına, place, 91
Rúm, Eastern Roman Empire,
10, 11, 20, 39, 41, 45, 46, 49
brocade of, 90, 101
monks of, slain by Máhwi, 113
Kúman, Kúmans, 23, 60
Russian, cloth, 110
Rustam, son of Zál, Íranian hero, 25
Rustam, Persian commander in chief under Yazdágrírd III., viii, 60, 67, 69, 73,
81 seq., 90, 95
overthrows Ázarmdukht, 59
advances to Kádisiya, 67, 73
end of, 69
finds evil aspects in the stars, 73
writes to his brother, 73
hears of Shu'ba Mughírá's arrival, 82

S

Sa'ad, son of Wakkáš, Arab general, viii, 67, 68, 82 seq., 90
succeeds Abú 'Ubaída, 67
at Kádisiya, 67, 69
founds Kúfa, 67
takes Ctesiphon, 67
recalled, 68
sent by 'Umar to invade Írán, 72
letter of Rustam to, 78
taken by Pírúz 80, 81
Sada, feast, 40, 92
Samarkand, city in Turkistán, 96, 115
Sapandármad, month, 70, 122
Sayf, city in Mázandárán, 86
Sásán, son of Dára, 105 and note
lineage of 56, 105
Sásánián, Sásániáns, 4, 5, 46,
47, 59, 60, 95, 72, 73, 76,
77, 83, 105
Dynasty, 4
INDEX

Sásánian, Empire, conquered by the Arabs, 65 seq.
Satrapy, satrapies, Nasírwnán's four, 69
Saturn, planet, 73
sphere of, 92
Seasons, confusion of the, 77 note
Semite, race, enmity of, with Fráns, 95
Shabdúz, steed of Khusrau Parwiz, 30
Sháhnáma, viii, 4 seq., 43, 50, 61, 70
completion of, Firdausi on, 121
length of, 122
date when completed, 122
Shahrán, 102
pleads with Máhwí for Yazdagírd, 102
Sháhránguráz (Hurmuzd Shahránguráz, Guráz q.v.), vii, 50
heads conspiracy against Guráz, 54
Shahrbaráz (Guráz q.v.), Fránsian general, 43, 50
rebellion of, 43, 44
alliance of, with Heraclius, 44
Shahr-Barz. See Shahrbaráz.
Sháhruráz (Shahrbaráz q.v.), 50
Sháhrwaráz (Shahrbaráz q.v.), 50
Shahtyár, son of Shírín and Khusrau Parwiz, 39
father of Yazdagírd, 64
Shámirán, stronghold north of Harát (?), 91, 94
Shápir, father of Pirúz, 80
Shátt-al-Arab, the combined streams of the Tigris and Euphrates, 67
Shírín, wife of Khusrau Parwiz, vii, 28, 39
Khusrau Parwiz and, 7
has charge of Shírín's horoscope, 16
Raja's letter, 17
companions Khusrau Parwiz in prison, 29
reproached and summoned by Shírín, 36
Shírín, makes her will, 36
goes to Court, 37
justifies herself, 38, 40
sons of, 39
unveils to the Court, 39
Shírín falls in love with, 39
makes request of Shírín, 40, 41
goes home, 40
distributes her wealth, 40
frees her slaves, 41
poisons herself, 42
Shírín (Kúbád q.v.), Sháh, vii, 7, 8, 11, 27, 28, 31 seq., 39, 45, 47, 64
treatment of Khusrau Parwiz by, 7
writes to Heraclius, 7
horoscope of, 10
kept by Shírín, 10
Ashtád and Kharrád report their interview with Khusrau Parwiz to, 27
reproaches and summons Shírín, 36, 37
falls in love with Shírín, 39
grants Shírín's requests, 40, 42
poisoned, 42
son of, 42
length of reign of, 42
Sháiba Mughírâ, companion of the Prophet, 69, 83
embassy of, 69, 82
Sikándar (Alexander the Great), Sháh, 26
Siyán Chasm, slave of Farrukhzád, 62
handmaid of Farrukhzád and, 62
imprisoned, 62
released, 62
poisons Farrukhzád, 63
Siyáwush, son of Káí Káús, 25
and note, 26 note, 103
Snakes = Arabs, 91
Súr, Súrán, city near Ispahan, 71, 89, 95, 97, 100, 116, 118
Syrian, 66
INDEX

T
Takarí, historian, 4, 59, 61, 64, 69
Arabic, 4, 5, 7, 13, 59
Persian, 4, 5, 43, 70
Tabaristán (Mázandarán), 74
Table of Contents, vii
Tahmúras, Sháh, 25
Taisafín (Ctesiphon), city on left bank of Tigris, 9, 10, 99
Khusrau Parvíz imprisoned at, 9
Bárbad visits Khusrau Parvíz at, 29
Taráz, city north-east of Táshkand, 41
Taxation, Firdausí's exemption from, 121
Theophanes, Greek Chronicler, account of last days of Khusrau Parvíz by, 6
Tigris, river, 67
Toll-house and ford of Zark, 100 and note, 116
Tukhár, Iránian general, refuses to help Pírúz against Gúráz, 48
Túr, son of Farídún, 103
Túrán, 11, 80, 99
Turk, Turks, 70, 96 seq., 105, 114, 117, 120
Turkish, 87
Turkistán, 15
Turkman, Turkmans, 25, 76, 94
king = Afrásíyáb, 25
Tús, city in Khurásán, viii, 90, 95
governor of, 92

U
'Umar, Khalífa, 66 seq., 72, 76, 121
founds Basra, 67
sends Háshím in pursuit of Yazdagird, 68
Na'mán to fight Yazdagird, 68
Sa'ád to invade Irán, 72
Urmuzd, the Good Principle, 21

V
Venus, planet, 26, 73
Victory of Victories, The, 69
Virgo, constellation, 71

W
Wakkás, father of Sa'ád q.v., viii, 72, 78, 82, 90

Y
Yalánsína (Mardánsháh q.v.), 6
Yazdagird, Sháh, viii, 5, 61, 64 seq., 68 seq., 72, 81, 90, 101, 105, 106, 113, 115, 116, 122
Era of, 64
taken for safety to Istákhr, 64
age of, at accession, 65
difficult position of, 65
historical importance of reign of, 65
flight of, from Ctesiphon, 67
Huwlán, 68
last attempt of, to recover his empire, 68
concentrates his forces at Nahávand, 68
defeated and a fugitive, 69
death of, referred to, 69
host returns to, after Kádísíya, 85
hears of Rustam's death, 85
quits Baghdád, 88
makes for Marv, 80
entrusted to Máihi by Farrúkhzád, 95, 99
at Marv, 97, 116
hears of the coming of the Turks, 97
betrayed by Máihi, 98
defeated, 98, 116
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yazdagird, miller and, 99 seq.</td>
<td>99, 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>described, 99, 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhwī bids miller slay, 107, 116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slain, stripped and flung into stream, 108, 109 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corpse of, recovered, lamented over and entombed, 109 seq.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firdausī on, 111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Z</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zābulistān, 75*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zalhāk, Sháh, 25, 65, 103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zahhāk, an Aryan myth, 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>king of Babylon, 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an Arab, 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zāl, son of Sām and father of Rustam, 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zark, town south-east of Marv, 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canal of, 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corpse of Yazdagird flung into, 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recovered from, 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ford and toll-house of, 109 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chief of, 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hears from miller about Yazdagird, 109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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'  dc.

AM.  The Voyage and Travayle of Sir John Maundeville, Knight . . . Edited . . . by John Ashton.
BCM.  The Chahár Maqála (" Four Discourses ") of Nidhámi-i-'Arúdí-i-Samarquandi. 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.  Arrianii Anabasis . . . F. Dübner.
DAI.  Arrianii Indica . . . F. Dübner.
DEI.  J. Darmesteter, Études Iranienes.

135
GENERAL LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DFKHP. History of the Parsis. By Desabhai 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 Parts1 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.
GIP. Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie.
GKS. Kleine Schriften von Alfred von Gutschmid.
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 Haag, 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.
HIS. 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. Kitabi-Yamini of Al Uthbi. Translated by the Rev. James Reynolds, B.A.
LEC. The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. By G. Le Strange.

1The second edition of Part I. is referred to unless otherwise specified.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title and Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LPC.</td>
<td>A View of the History and Coinage of the Parthians. By John Lindsay, Esq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA.</td>
<td>Alexandre le Grand... Par Paul Meyer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCAI.</td>
<td>Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian... By J. W. McRindle, M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCI.</td>
<td>The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great... By J. W. McRindle, M.A. New Edition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF.</td>
<td>Reliqua Arriani et Scriptorum de rebus Alexandri M. Fragmenta collegit... Carolus Müller.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGN.</td>
<td>Narrative of a Journey through the Province of Khorassan, etc. By Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.S.I., C.LE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLM.</td>
<td>The Life of Muhammad. By William Muir, Esq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM.</td>
<td>Maçoudi: Les Prairies d'Or. Texte et traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPC.</td>
<td>Pseudo-Callisthenes, primum editit Carolus Mullerus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSJP.</td>
<td>A Second Journey through Persia, etc. By James Morier Esq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAR.</td>
<td>Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans, von Prof. Dr. Th. Nöldeke in Denkschriften der... Akademie der Wissenschaften... Wien, 1890.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIN.</td>
<td>Das Iranische Nationalepos von Theodor Nöldeke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK.</td>
<td>Geschichte des Artachšīr i Pāpakān aus dem Pellewi übersetzt... von Th. Nöldeke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT.</td>
<td>Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden... von Th. Nöldeke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RFGM.</td>
<td>The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World. By George Rawlinson, M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH.</td>
<td>The History of Herodotus... By George Rawlinson, M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RK.</td>
<td>The Koran translated from the Arabic... By J. M. Rodwell. Second Edition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Elsewhere)</td>
<td>The Rauzat-us-safa; or, Garden of Purity... By... Mirkhond... Translated by E. Rehatsek.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Elsewhere)</td>
<td>Professor Rawlinson's Parthia in the Story of the Nations' Series.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPNS</td>
<td>Records of the Past. Second Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSM</td>
<td>The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAC</td>
<td>The Chronology of Ancient Nations . . . of Albiruni . . . translated . . . by Dr. C. Edward Sachau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHC</td>
<td>The “Higher Criticism” and the Verdict of the Monuments. By the Rev. A. H. Sayce.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SK</td>
<td>The Koran . . . Translated . . . by George Sale, Gent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>History of the Early Kings of Persia . . . Translated from the original . . . Persian of Mirkhond . . . by David Shea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea . . . Translated from the Greek and annotated by Wilfrid H. Schoff, A M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>The Dabistán . . . Translated . . . by David Shea and Anthony Troyer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WLS</td>
<td>In the Land of the Lion and Sun . . . By C. J. Wills, M.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPT</td>
<td>Dr. E. W. West’s Trans. of the Pahlavi Texts in the Sacred Books of the East. Reference to Parts and pages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YMP</td>
<td>The Book of Sir Marco Polo . . . newly translated. . . . By Colonel Henry Yule, C.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mo’hammed-Ben-Djarir-Ben-Yezid Tabari, traduite . . . Par M. Hermann Zotenburg.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

## VOLUME I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td></td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter I</td>
<td>Land and People</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter II</td>
<td>Poet and Poem</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter III</td>
<td>Text and Translation</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF PREVIOUS TRANSLATORS</td>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANCIENT PERSIAN CALENDAR</td>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENEALOGICAL TABLES</td>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td></td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION</td>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## THE SHÁHNÁMA

**The Prelude—**

### SECT.

1. Invocation  
2. Discourse in Praise of Wisdom  
3. Of the Making of the World  
4. Of the Nature of Man  
5. Of the Nature of the Sun  
6. Of the Nature of the Moon  
7. In Praise of the Prophet and his Companions  
8. On the Compilation of the Sháhnáma  
9. Of the Poet Dâkîfî  
10. How the present Book was begun  
11. In Praise of Abû Mansûr, Son of Muhammad  
12. In Praise of Sultán Mahmûd  

## THE BEGINNING OF THE HISTORY: THE PISHDÁDIAN DYNASTY

**Gaiúmart—**

1. The Greatness of Gaiúmart and the Envy of Ahriman  
2. How Siyámak was slain by the Div  
3. How Hûshang and Gaiúmart went to fight the Black Div  

139
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Húshang—</th>
<th>Vol. I</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Accession of Húshang and his civilising Arts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How the Feast of Sada was founded</td>
<td></td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tahmúras—</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tahmúras ascends the Throne, invents new Arts, subdues the Divs, and dies</td>
<td></td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jamshíd—</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Greatness and Fall of Jamshíd</td>
<td></td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Story of Zahhák and his Father</td>
<td></td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Iblís turned Cook</td>
<td></td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How the Fortunes of Jamshíd went to Wrack</td>
<td></td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zahhák—</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The evil Customs of Zahhák and the Device of Irná'il and Karmá'il</td>
<td></td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Zahhák saw Farídún in a Dream</td>
<td></td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Birth of Farídún</td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Farídún questioned his Mother about his Origin</td>
<td></td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Story of Zahhák and Káwa the Smith</td>
<td></td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Farídún went to Battle with Zahhák</td>
<td></td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Farídún saw the Sisters of Jamshíd</td>
<td></td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The Story of Farídún and the Minister of Zahhák</td>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How Farídún bound Zahhák</td>
<td></td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farídún—</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How Farídún ascended the Throne</td>
<td></td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Farídún sent Jandal to Yaman</td>
<td></td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How the King of Yaman answered Jandal</td>
<td></td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How the Sons of Farídún went to the King of Yaman</td>
<td></td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Sarv proved the Sons of Farídún by Sorcery</td>
<td></td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Farídún made Trial of his Sons</td>
<td></td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Farídún divided the World among his Sons</td>
<td></td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How Salm grew envious of Šraj</td>
<td></td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How Salm and Túr sent a Message to Farídún</td>
<td></td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How Farídún made Answer to his Sons</td>
<td></td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. How Šraj went to his Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How Šraj was slain by his Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. How Farídún received Tidings of the Murder of Šraj</td>
<td></td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. How a Daughter was born to Šraj</td>
<td></td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. The Birth of Minúchíhhr</td>
<td></td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. How Salm and Túr had Tidings of Minúchíhhr</td>
<td></td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. How Farídún received his Sons' Message</td>
<td></td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. How Farídún made Answer to his Sons</td>
<td></td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. How Farídún sent Minúchíhhr to fight Túr and Salm</td>
<td></td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. How Minúchíhhr attacked the Host of Túr</td>
<td></td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## General Table of Contents

### Faridun (continued) Vol. I.

- Sect. 21. How Tur was slain by Minuchihr ........................................... 220
- Sect. 22. How Minuchihr wrote to announce his Victory to Faridun .................. 221
- Sect. 23. How Káran took the Castle of the Aláns ........................................ 223
- Sect. 24. How Kálwi, the Grandson of Zahhák, attacked the Iránians ..................... 225
- Sect. 25. How Sáh was fled and was slain by Minuchihr .................................. 227
- Sect. 26. How the Head of Sáh was sent to Faridún ....................................... 229
- Sect. 27. The Death of Faridun ..................................................................... 232

### Minuchihr—

1. How Minuchihr ascended the Throne and made an Oration ............................ 237
2. The Birth of Zál ............................................................................. 239
3. How Sáh had a Dream touching the Case of his Son ................................. 243
4. How Minuchihr took Knowledge of the Case of Sáh and Zál ......................... 248
5. How Zál went back to Zábulistán .................................................................. 251
6. How Sáh gave the Kingdom to Zál ............................................................. 253
7. How Zál visited Mihráb of Kábul .................................................................. 256
8. How Rúdába took Counsel with her Damsels ............................................. 259
9. How Rúdába’s Damsels went to see Zál ...................................................... 263
10. How the Damsels returned to Rúdába .......................................................... 267
11. How Zál went to Rúdába ........................................................................ 270
12. How Zál consulted the Archmages in the Matter of Rúdába ......................... 273
13. How Zál wrote to Sáh to explain the Case ................................................. 275
14. How Sáh consulted the Archmages in the Matter of Zál ................................ 278
15. How Sindukht heard of the Case of Rúdába ................................................. 280
16. How Mihráb was made aware of his Daughter’s Case .................................. 284
17. How Minuchihr heard of the Case of Zál and Rúdába ................................. 288
18. How Sáh came to Minuchihr .................................................................... 289
19. How Sáh went to fight Mihráb .................................................................. 292
20. How Zál went on a Mission to Minuchihr ................................................. 295
21. How Mihráb was wroth with Sindukht ...................................................... 299
22. How Sáh comforted Sindukht .................................................................... 301
23. How Zál came to Minuchihr with Sáh’s Letter ........................................... 306
24. How the Archmages questioned Zál ............................................................ 308
25. How Zál answered the Archmages .............................................................. 309
26. How Zál displayed his Accomplishment before Minuchihr ......................... 311
27. Minuchihr’s Answer to Sáh’s Letter ............................................................ 314
28. How Zál came to Sáh ............................................................................. 317
29. The Story of the Birth of Rustam ............................................................... 320
30. How Sáh came to see Rustam .................................................................... 324
31. How Rustam slew the White Elephant ....................................................... 327
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MINÚCHIHR (continued)</th>
<th>Vol. I.</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32. How Rustam went to Mount Sipand</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. How Rustam wrote a Letter announcing his Victory to Zāl</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. The Letter of Zāl to Sām</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Minúchihr's last Counsels to his Son</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NAUDAR—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How Naudar succeeded to the Throne</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Pashang heard of the Death of Minúchihr</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Afrásiyáb came to the Land of Irán</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Bármán and Kubád fought together and how Kubád was slain</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Afrásiyáb fought with Naudar the second Time</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Naudar fought with Afrásiyáb the third Time</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Naudar was taken by Afrásiyáb</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How Wisa found his Son that had been slain</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How Shamásás and Khazarwán invaded Zábulístán</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How Zāl came to help Mihráb</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. How Naudar was slain by Afrásiyáb</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How Zāl had Tidings of the Death of Naudar</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. How Ighríras was slain by his Brother</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ZAV—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Zav is elected Sháh</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GARSHÁSP—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How Garshásp succeeded to the Throne and died, and how Afrásiyáb invaded Irán</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Rustam caught Raksh</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Zāl led the Host against Afrásiyáb</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Rustam brought Kai Kubád from Mount Alburz</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INDEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VOLUME II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENEOLOGICAL TABLES</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABBREVIATIONS</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE KAIÁNIAN DYNASTY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECT.</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How Kai Kubád ascended the Throne and warred against Turán</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Rustam fought with Afrásiyáb</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Afrásiyáb came to his Father</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Pashang sued to Kai Kubád for Peace</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Kai Kubád came to Istakhr of Pars</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### General Table of Contents

#### Part I. The War with Mázandarán—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Prelude</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>How Káuš sat upon the Throne and was tempted to invade Mázandarán.</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How Zál gave Counsel to Káuš</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>How Káuš went to Mázandarán.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Message of Káuš to Zál and Rustam</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### The Seven Courses of Rustam—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The First Course. How Rakhshe fought with a Lion</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The Second Course. How Rustam found a Spring</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The Third Course. How Rustam fought with a Dragon</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The Fourth Course. How Rustam slew a Witch</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The Fifth Course. How Rustam took Ulád captive</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The Sixth Course. How Rustam fought with the Dív Arzhang</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The Seventh Course. How Rustam slew the White Dív</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>How Káuš wrote to the King of Mázandarán</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>How Rustam went on an Embassy to the King of Mázandarán</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>How Káuš fought with the King of Mázandarán</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>How Káuš returned to the Land of Irán and farewell Rustam</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Part II. The Doings of Káuš in the Land of Barbaristán and Other Tales—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>How Káuš warred with the King of Hámávárán</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>How Káuš asked to Wife Súdába, the Daughter of the King of Hámavárán</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How the King of Hámavárán made Káuš Prisoner</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>How Afrásiyáb invaded the Land of Irán</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>How Rustam sent a Message to the King of Hámávárán</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>How Rustam fought with Three Kings and delivered Káuš</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>How Káuš sent a Message to Afrásiyáb</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>How Káuš ordered the World</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>How Káuš beguiled by Iblis ascended the Sky</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>How Rustam brought back Káuš</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### The Story of the Fight of the Seven Warriors—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>How Rustam went with the Seven Warriors to the Hunting-ground of Afrásiyáb</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>How Rustam fought with the Túránians</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

KAI KÁÁS—

PART II. THE STORY OF THE FIGHT OF THE SEVEN WARRIORS

(continued)—

 Vol. II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13. How Pilsam fought with the Iránians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. How Afrásiyáb fled from the Battlefield</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PART III. SUHRÁB—

1. The Prelude | 119 |
2. How Rustam went to the Chace | 120 |
3. How Rustam came to the City of Samangán | 122 |
4. How Táhání, the Daughter of the King of Samangán, came to Rustam | 123 |
5. The Birth of Suhráb | 129 |
6. How Suhráb chose his Charger | 127 |
7. How Afrásiyáb sent Bárámán and Húmán to Suhráb | 129 |
8. How Suhráb came to White Castle | 131 |
9. How Suhráb fought with Gurdáfíd | 132 |
10. The Letter of Gazhdaham to Káüs | 136 |
11. How Suhráb took White Castle | 137 |
12. How Káüs wrote to Rustam and summoned him from Zábulístán | 138 |
13. How Káüs was wroth with Rustam | 142 |
14. How Káüs and Rustam led forth the Host | 148 |
15. How Rustam slew Zhánád Razm | 149 |
16. How Suhráb asked Hajáir the Names of the Chiefs of Irán | 152 |
17. How Suhráb attacked the Army of Káüs | 159 |
18. How Rustam fought with Suhráb | 162 |
19. How Rustam and Suhráb returned to Camp | 165 |
20. How Suhráb overthrew Rustam | 168 |
21. How Suhráb was slain by Rustam | 172 |
22. How Rustam asked Káüs for an Elixir | 177 |
23. How Rustam lamented for Suhráb | 179 |
24. How Rustam returned to Zábulístán | 182 |
25. How Suhráb’s Mother received the Tidings of his Death | 184 |

PART IV. THE STORY OF SIYÁWUSH—

1. The Prelude | 191 |
2. The Story of the Mother of Siyáwush | 193 |
3. The Birth of Siyáwush | 195 |
4. How Siyáwush arrived from Zábulístán | 197 |
5. The Death of the Mother of Siyáwush | 199 |
6. How Sídábá fell in Love with Siyáwush | 200 |
7. How Siyáwush visited Sídábá | 202 |
8. How Siyáwush visited the Bower the second Time | 206 |
9. How Siyáwush visited the Bower the third Time | 210 |
10. How Sídábá beguiled Káüs | 211 |
11. How Sídábá and a Sorceress devised a Scheme | 214 |
13. How Siyáwush passed through the Fire | 218 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush begged Súdába's Life of his Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>How Káus heard of the Coming of Afrásíyáb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush led forth the Host</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>The Letter of Siyáwush to Kai Káus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>The Answer of Kai Káus to the Letter of Siyáwush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>How Afrásíyáb had a Dream and was afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>How Afrásíyáb inquired of the Sages concerning his Dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>How Afrásíyáb took Counsel with the Nobles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>How Garšíwaz came to Siyáwush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush made a Treaty with Afrásíyáb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush sent Rustam to Káus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>How Rustam gave the Message to Káus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>How Káus sent Rustam to Sístán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>The Answer of Káus to the Letter of Siyáwush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush took Counsel with Bahram and Zanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>How Zanga went to Afrásíyáb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>How Afrásíyáb wrote to Siyáwush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush gave up the Host to Bahram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>The Interview of Siyáwush with Afrásíyáb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush displayed his Prowess before Afrásíyáb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>How Afrásíyáb and Siyáwush went to the Chase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>How Pirán gave his Daughter to Siyáwush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>How Pirán spake to Siyáwush about Farangis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>How Pirán spake with Afrásíyáb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>The Wedding of Farangis and Siyáwush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>How Afrásíyáb bestowed a Province on Siyáwush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush built Gang-dizh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush discoursed with Pirán about the Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>How Afrásíyáb sent Pirán into the Provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush built Siyáwushgird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>How Pirán visited Siyáwushgird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>How Afrásíyáb sent Garšíwaz to Siyáwush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>The Birth of Farúd, the Son of Siyáwush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush played at Polo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>How Garšíwaz returned and spake Evil before Afrásíyáb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>How Garšíwaz returned to Siyáwush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>The Letter of Siyáwush to Afrásíyáb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>How Afrásíyáb came to fight with Siyáwush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush had a Dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>The Parting Words of Siyáwush to Farangis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush was taken by Afrásíyáb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>How Farangis bewailed herself before Afrásíyáb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>How Siyáwush was slain by Gurwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>How Pirán saved Farangis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KAI KÁUS—

PART IV. The Story of SIYÁWUSH (continued)—

PAGE

58. The Birth of Kai Khusrau ........................................ 325
59. How Pírán entrusted Kai Khusrau to the Shep-

herds ................................................................. 328
60. How Pírán brought Kai Khusrau before Afrásiyáb........ 330
61. How Kai Khusrau went to Siyáwushgird ...................... 333

PART V. HOW RUSTAM AVENGED SIYÁWUSH AND HOW

GÍV BROUGHT KAI KHSURAU TO ÍRÁN—

1. Firdáusi's Lament over his old Age ............................ 336
2. How Káus heard of the Case of Siyáwush ..................... 337
3. How Rustam came to Káus ........................................ 338
4. How Rustam slew Súdába and led forth the Host .......... 340
5. How Farámarz slew Warázád ................................. 341
6. How Surkha led his Troops to fight with Rustam .......... 344
7. How Afrásiyáb led forth the Host to avenge his Son ...... 348
8. How Pílsam was slain by Rustam .............................. 350
9. How Afrásiyáb fled from Rustam ............................ 353
10. How Afrásiyáb sent Khsurau to Khutan .................... 355
11. How Rustam reigned over Túrán for Seven Years ......... 357
12. How Záwára went to the Hunting-ground of Siyáwush .. 359
13. How Rustam harried the Land of Túrán ...................... 360
14. How Rustam returned to Írán .................................. 361
15. How Gúdarz had a Dream of Kai Khusrau ................. 363
16. How Gív went to Túrán in Quest of Kai Khusrau ......... 365
17. The Finding of Kai Khusrau .................................... 369
18. How Gív and Kai Khusrau went to Siyáwushgird ......... 373
19. How Kai Khusrau won Bihzád ............................... 374
20. How Farangís went with Kai Khusrau and Gív to Írán .. 377
21. How Kulbád and Nastíhan fled from Gív ................. 378
22. How Pírán pursued Kai Khusrau ............................ 380
23. How Pírán contended with Gív .............................. 382
24. How Pírán was taken by Gív .................................. 385
25. How Farangís delivered Pírán from Gív .................... 386
26. How Afrásiyáb found Pírán on the Way .................. 388
27. How Gív disputed with the Toll-man .................... 390
28. How Kai Khusrau crossed the Jihún ....................... 392
29. How Kai Khusrau came to Ispahán ......................... 394
30. How Kai Khusrau came to Káus ............................ 397
31. How Túús refused Allegiance to Kai Khusrau .......... 399
32. How Gúdarz was wroth with Túús ......................... 402
33. How Gúdarz and Túús went before Káus on the matter of the Kingship ........................................ 403
34. How Túús and Farámarz went to the Castle of Bahman and came back foiled .......................... 405
35. How Kai Khusrau went to the Castle of Bahman and took it ........................................ 406
## GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

**KAI KĀÙS—**

**PART V. HOW RUSTAM AVENGED SIYĀWUSH, ETC. (continued)—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30. How Kai Khusrau returned in Triumph</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. How Kāús set Khusrau upon the Throne of Kingship</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INDEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VOLUME III**

**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE KAIÁNIAN DYNASTY (continued)**

**KAI KHUDRAU—**

**PART I. HOW KAI KHUSRAU, TO AVENGE SIYAWUSH, SENT A HOST AGAINST TŪRĀN—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Prelude</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How the Nobles did Homage to Kēi Khusrāu</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Kai Khusrāu made a Progress through his Realm</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Kai Khusrāu swore to Kai Kāús to take Vengeance on Afrāsiyāb</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Kai Khusrāu numbered the Paladins</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Kai Khusrāu bestowed Treasures on the Paladins</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Kai Khusrāu sent Rustam to the Land of Hind</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How Kai Khusrāu reviewed the Host</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE STORY OF FARŪD THE SON OF SIYAWUSH—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9. The Prelude</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How Tūs went to Turkistān</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. How Farūd heard of the Coming of Tūs</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How Farūd and Tuhkār went to view the Host</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. How Bahram came to Farūd upon the Mountain</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. How Bahram went back to Tūs</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. How Riüniz was slain by Farūd</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. How Zarāsp was slain by Farūd</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. How Tūs fought with Farūd</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. How Gīv fought with Farūd</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. How Bīzhan fought with Farūd</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. How Farūd was slain</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. How Jarīra slew herself</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. How Tūs led the Host to the Kāsa Rūd, and how Palāshān was slain by Bīzhan</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. How the frānians suffered in a Snowstorm</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. How Bahram captured Kabūda</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. How the frānians fought with Tuhkār</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. How Afrāsiyāb had Tidings of Tūs and his Host</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>How Piran made a Night-attack on the Iranians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>How Kai Khusrau recalled Tus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>How Fariburz asked a Truce of Piran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>How the Iranians were defeated by the Turkmans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>How Bahram returned to look for his Whip upon the Battlefield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>How Bahram was slain by Tazhav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>How Gv slew Tazhav in revenge for Bahram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>How the Iranians went back to Khusrau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Part II. The Story of Kamus of Kashan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Prelude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>How Khusrau reviled Tus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How Khusrau pardoned the Iranians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>How Khusrau sent Tus to Turan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Message of Piran to the Army of Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>How Afrasiyab sent an Army to Piran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>How Tus slew Arzhang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>How Haman fought with Tus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>How the Iranians and Turanians fought the second Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>How the Turanians used Sorcery against the Host of Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>How the Iranians retreated to Mount Hamawan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>How the Host of Turan beleaguered Mount Hamawan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>How Piran went in Pursuit of the Iranians to Mount Hamawan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>How the Iranians made a Night-attack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>How Kai Khusrau had Tidings of his Host</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>How Fariburz asked to Wife Farangis, the Mother of Kai Khusrau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>How Taus saw Siyavush in a Dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>How Afrasiyab sent the Khan and Kamus to help Piran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>How the Khan of Chin came to Hamawan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>How the Iranians took Counsel how to act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>How Gudarz had Tidings of the Coming of Rustam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>How the Khan of Chin went to reconnoitre the Army of Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>How Fariburz reached Mount Hamawan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>How Piran took Counsel with the Khan of Chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>How Gv and Tus fought with Kamus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>The Coming of Rustam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>How the Iranians and Turanians arrayed their Hosts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>How Rustam fought with Ashkabus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part II.</td>
<td>The Story of Kāmuṣ of Kashān (continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. How the Khān held Conclave concerning the Coming of Kamūs</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. How the Iranians and Turānians set the Battle in Array</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. How Alwā was slain by Kamūs</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. How Kamūs was slain by Rustam</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part III.</th>
<th>The Story of Rustam and the Khān of Chin—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How the Khān of Chin had Tidings of the Slaying of Kamūs</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Chingish fared with Rustam</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How the Khān of Chin sent Hūmān to Rustam</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Pirān took Counsel with Hūmān and the Khān</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Pirān came to Rustam</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How the Turānians took Counsel for Battle with the Iranians</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Rustam harangued his Troops</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How the Iranians and Turānians set the Battle in Array</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How Rustam reproached Pirān</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How the Battle was joined</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. How Shangul fought with Rustam and fled</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How Rustam fought with Sāwa</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. How Rustam slew Gahār of Gahān</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. How the Khān was taken Prisoner</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. How the Host of the Turānians was defeated</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. How Rustam divided the Spoil</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. How Rustam wrote a Letter to Kai Khusrāu</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. How Kai Khusrāu made Answer to Rustam’s Letter</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. How Aftāsiyāb had Tidings of the Case of his Army</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. How Rustam fought with Kāfūr the Man-eater</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. How Aftāsiyāb had Tidings of the Coming of Rustam</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Aftāsiyāb’s Letter to Pūlādward</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. How Pūlādward fought with Cūv and Tūs</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. How Rustam fought with Pūlādward</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. The Wrestling of Rustam and Pūlādward</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. How Aftāsiyāb fled from Rustam</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. How Rustam returned to the Court of the Shāh</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. How Rustam went back to Sistān</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part IV.</th>
<th>The Story of the Fight of Rustam with the Dīv Akwān—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Prelude</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## General Table of Contents

### Part IV. The Story of the Fight of Rustam, etc. (continued)—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. How Khusrau summoned Rustam to fight the Dív Àkwán</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Rustam went in Quest of the Dív</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How the Dív Àkwán flung Rustam into the Sea</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Afrásiyáb came to, inspect his Steeds, and how Rustam slew the Dív Àkwán</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Rustam went back to the Land of Irán</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Part V. The Story of Bizhán and Manízha—

| 1. The Prelude | 287 |
| 2. How the Irmanians appealed to Khusrau | 289 |
| 3. How Bizhán went to fight the wild Boars | 292 |
| 4. How Gurgín beguiled Bizhán | 294 |
| 5. How Bizhán went to see Manízha, Daughter of Afrásiyáb | 296 |
| 6. How Bizhán went to the Tent of Manízha | 298 |
| 7. How Manízha carried off Bizhán to her Palace | 301 |
| 8. How Garsiwaz brought Bizhán before Khusrau | 309 |
| 9. How Piráán carried off Bizhán to her Palace | 304 |
| 11. How Gurgín returned to Irán and lied about Bizhán | 307 |
| 12. How Giv brought Gurgín before Khusrau | 315 |
| 13. How Kai Khusrau saw Bizhán in the Cup that showed the World | 318 |
| 14. How Khusrau wrote a Letter to Rustam | 319 |
| 15. How Giv bore the Letter of Kai Khusrau to Rustam | 321 |
| 16. How Rustam made a Feast for Giv | 324 |
| 17. How Rustam came to Khusrau | 326 |
| 18. How Kai Khusrau held Feast with the Paladins | 329 |
| 19. How Rustam made Petition for Gurgín to the Sháh | 331 |
| 20. How Rustam equipped his Escort | 333 |
| 21. How Rustam went to the City of Khutan to Pirán | 334 |
| 22. How Manízha came before Rustam | 337 |
| 23. How Bizhán heard of the Coming of Rustam | 340 |
| 24. How Rustam took Bizhán out of the Pit | 344 |
| 25. How Rustam attacked the Palace of Afrásiyáb by Night | 347 |
| 26. How Afrásiyáb went to fight with Rustam | 349 |
| 27. How Afrásiyáb was defeated by the Irmanians | 351 |
| 28. How Rustam returned to Kai Khusrau | 353 |
| 29. How Kai Khusrau made a Feast | 355 |

### Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOLUME IV</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on Pronunciation</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

**THE KAMÁNİAN DYNASTY** *(continued)*  

KAI KHUSRAU *(continued)*

### PART VI. THE BATTLE OF THE TWELVE RUKHS—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Prelude</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>How Afrásiyáb called together his Host</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How Kái Khusrav sent Gádratz to fight the Túr-ánians</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>How Gív was made the Bearer of Overtures from Gádratz to Pírán</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>How Gív visited Pírán at Wisagird</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Arraying of the Hosts.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>How Bízhan went to Gív to urge him to fight</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>How Húmán askecl Pírán for Leave to fight</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>How Húmán challenged Ruhám</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>How Húmán challenged Fáriburz</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>How Húmán challenged Gádratz</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>How Bízhan heard of the Doings of Húmán.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>How Gív gave the Mail of Siyáwušt to Bízhan</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>How Húmán came to battle with Bízhan</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>How Húmán was slain by Bízhan</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>How Nástíhan made a Night-attack and was slain</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>How Gádratz asked aid of Khusrav</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The Answer of Khusrav to the letter of Gádratz</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>How Khusrav arrayed the Host.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>How Pírán wrote to Gádratz Son of Kishwád.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The Answer of Gádratz to the Letter of Pírán.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>How Pírán asked Succour from Afrásiyáb</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>The Answer of Afrásiyáb to the Letter of Pírán</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>How the Fránians and Túmáns fought a pitched Battle</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>How Gív fought with Pírán and how Gív's Horse jibbed</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>How Gádratz and Pírán arranged a Battle of Eleven Rukhs</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>How Pírán harangued his Men of Name</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>How Gádratz and Pírán chose the Warriors for the Battle of the Eleven Rukhs</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>How Fáriburz fought with Kulbád</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>How Gív fought with Gurwí</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>How Guráza fought with Siyáman</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>How Fúrúuhl fought with Zángula</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>How Ruhhám fought with Bárman</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>How Bízhan fought with Rún</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>How Hajír fought with Sipahram</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>How Gúrgír fought with Andaríman</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>How Barta fought with Kuhram</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>How Zanga, Son of Sháwarán, fought with Akháš</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>How Gádratz fought with Pírán</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

KAI Khusrau—

Part VI. The Battle of the Twelve Rukhs (continued)—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>How Gádarz returned to the Warriors of Irán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>How Láhhák and Farshídward bewailed Pírán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>How Láhhák and Farshídward took the Road to Túrán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>How Gustaham pursued Láhhák and Farshídward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>How Bëzhan followed after Gustaham.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>How Láhhák and Farshídward were slain by Gustaham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>How Bëzhan beheld Gustaham in the Mead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>How Kai Khusrau built a Charnel-house for Pírán and for the other Chiefs of Túrán, and how he slew Gúrwi the Son of Zíra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>How the Túránians asked Quarter of Kai Khusrau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>How Bëzhan returned with Gustaham.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part VII. The Great War of Kai Khusrau with Afrásiyáb—

1. In Praise of Sultán Mahmúd | 139 |
2. How Kai Khusrau arrayed his Host against Afrásiyáb | 145 |
3. How Afrásiyáb heard that Pírán was slain and that Kai Khusrau had arrayed his Host. | 150 |
4. How Kai Khusrau had Tidings that Afrásiyáb advanced to fight with him. | 157 |
5. How Shída came before his Father Afrásiyáb | 158 |
6. How Afrásiyáb sent an Embassage to Kai Khusrau | 161 |
7. How Kai Khusrau sent an Answer to Afrásiyáb | 168 |
8. How Kai Khusrau fought with Shída the Son of Afrásiyáb | 171 |
9. How Shída was slain by Khusrau | 175 |
10. How the Battle was joined between the Hosts | 177 |
11. How Afrásiyáb fled | 183 |
12. How Kai Khusrau announced his Victory to Káins | 185 |
13. How Afrásiyáb went to Gang-bihisht | 186 |
14. How Khusrau crossed the Jíbún | 187 |
15. How Kai Khusrau fought with Afrásiyáb the second Time | 190 |
16. How Afrásiyáb took Refuge in Gang-bihisht | 193 |
17. The Letter of Afrásiyáb to the Faghfur of Chíán | 196 |
18. How Kai Khusrau arrived before Gang-bihisht | 198 |
19. How Jahn came to Kai Khusrau with an Embassage from Afrásiyáb | 200 |
20. How Kai Khusrau made Answer to Jahn | 204 |
21. How Kai Khusrau fought with Afrásiyáb and took Gang-bihisht | 207 |
22. How Afrásiyáb fled from Gang-bihisht | 211 |
23. How Kai Khusrau gave Quarter to the Family of Afrásiyáb | 212 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART VII. THE GREAT WAR, etc. (continued)</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57. How Zal asked of Kai Khusrau a Patent for Rustam</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. How Kai Khusrau gave a Patent to Giv</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. How Kai Khusrau gave a Patent to Tus</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. How Kai Khusrau gave the Kingship to Luhrasp.</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. How Kai Khusrau farewelld his Women</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62. How Kai Khusrau went to the Mountains and vanished in the Snow</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. How the Paladins were lost in the Snow</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. How Luhrasp had Tidings of the Disappearance of Kai Khusrau</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Luhrasp—</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How Luhrasp built a Fire-temple at Balkh</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Gushtasp quitted Luhrasp in Wrath</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Gushtasp returned with Zarir</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Gushtasp set off for Rum</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Gushtasp arrived in Rum</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How a Village-chief entertained Gushtasp</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The Story of Katayun the Daughter of Cesar</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How Cesar gave Katayun to Gushtasp</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How Mirin asked in Marriage Cesar's second Daughter</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How Gushtasp slew the Wolf</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. How Ahran asked Cesar's third Daughter in Marriage</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How Gushtasp slew the Dragon and how Cesar gave his Daughter to Ahran</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. How Gushtasp displayed his Prowess upon the Riding-ground</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. How Cesar wrote to Ilyas and demanded Tribute</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. How Gushtasp fought with Ilyas and slew him</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. How Cesar demanded from Luhrasp Tribute for Iran</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. How Zarir carried a Message from Luhrasp to Cesar</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. How Gushtasp returned with Zarir to the Land of Iran and received the Throne from Luhrasp</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| VOLUME V |
|---|---|
| Abbreviations | 3 |
| Note on Pronunciation | 5 |

### THE KAIÁNIAN DYNASTY (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gushtasp—</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PART I. THE COMING OF ZARDOHSHT AND THE WAR WITH ARJÁSP—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How Firdausi saw Dakhki in a Dream</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Luhrasp went to Balkh and Gushtasp sat upon the Throne</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect.</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Vol. V**

**THE SEVEN STAGES OF ASFANDIYÁR—**

1. The First Stage: How Asfandiyár slew two Wolves .......................... 119
2. The Second Stage: How Asfandiyár slew two Lions .......................... 124
3. The Third Stage: How Asfandiyár slew a Dragon ............................. 125
4. The Fourth Stage: How Asfandiyár slew a Witch .............................. 128
5. The Fifth Stage: How Asfandiyár slew the Simurgh .......................... 131
6. The Sixth Stage: How Asfandiyár passed through the Snow ................. 134
7. The Seventh Stage: How Asfandiyár crossed the River and slew Gurgsár .... 139
8. How Asfandiyár went to the Brazen Hold in the Guise of a Merchant .......... 143
9. How the Sisters of Asfandiyár recognised him .................................. 147
10. How Bishütan assaulted the Brazen Hold ........................................ 150
11. How Asfandiyár slew Arjásp ....................................................... 152
12. How Asfandiyár slew Kuhram ..................................................... 155
13. How Asfandiyár wrote a Letter to Gushtasp and his Answer .................. 159
14. How Asfandiyár returned to Gushthasp ........................................ 161

**PART III. THE STORY OF ASFANDIYÁR’S FIGHT WITH RUSTAM—**

1. How Asfandiyár ambitioned the Throne and how Gushthasp took Counsel with the Astrologers .......... 167
2. How Asfandiyár demanded the Kingdom from his Father ........................ 170
3. How Gushthasp answered his Son .................................................. 172
4. How Katáyún counselled Asfandiyár ............................................... 175
5. How Asfandiyár led a Host to Zábul ............................................. 177
6. How Asfandiyár sent Bahman to Rustam ......................................... 179
7. How Bahman came to Zál .............................................................. 182
8. How Bahman gave a Message to Rustam ......................................... 184
9. How Rustam made Answer to Asfandiyár ......................................... 187
10. How Bahman returned ................................................................. 190
11. The Meeting of Rustam and Asfandiyár .......................................... 192
12. How Asfandiyár summoned not Rustam to the Feast ............................ 196
13. How Asfandiyár excused himself for not summoning Rustam to the Feast .... 198
GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

GUSHTASP—Vol. V

PART III. THE STORY OF ASFANDIYAR'S FIGHT, etc. (continued)—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15. How Rustam answered Asfandiyar, praising his own Race and Deeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. How Asfandiyar boasted of his Ancestry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. How Rustam vaunted his Valour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. How Rustam drank wine with Asfandiyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. How Rustam returned to his Palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. How Zal counselled Rustam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. How Rustam fought with Asfandiyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. How the Sons of Asfandiyar were slain by Zawána and Farámarz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. How Rustam fled to the Heights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. How Rustam took Counsel with his Kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. How the Simurgh succoured Rustam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. How Rustam went back to fight Asfandiyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. How Rustam shot Asfandiyar in the Eyes with an Arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. How Asfandiyar told his last Wishes to Rustam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. How Bishútan bare the Coffin of Asfandiyar to Gushtasp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. How Rustam sent Bahman back to Irán</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PART IV. THE STORY OF RUSTAM AND SHAGHÁD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Prelude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Rustam went to Kábul on behalf of his Brother Shaghad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How the King of Kábul dug Pits in the Hunting-ground and how Rustam and Zawára fell therein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Rustam slew Shaghad and died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Zal received News of the Slaying of Rustam and Zawára, and how Farámarz brought their Coffins and set them in the Charnel-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Farámarz led an Army to avenge Rustam and slew the King of Kábul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Rúdába lost her Wits through Mourning for Rustam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How Gushtasp gave the Kingdom to Bahman and died</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BAHMAN, SON OF ASFANDIYAR—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How Bahman sought Revenge for the Death of Asfandiyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Bahman put Zal in Bonds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Farámarz fought with Bahman and was put to Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Bahman released Zal and returned to Irán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Bahman married his own Daughter Humái and appointed his Successor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humái—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vol. VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Humái—</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How Humái cast away her Son Dáráb on the River Farát in an Ark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How the Launderer brought up Dáráb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Dáráb questioned the Launderer's Wife about his Parentage, and how he fought against the Rúmans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Rashnawád learned the Case of Dáráb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Dáráb fought against the Host of Rúm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Humái recognised her Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Humái seated Dáráb upon the Throne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDEX</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VOLUME VI</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genealogical Table of the SásániANS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABBREVIATIONS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note on Pronunciation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE KAÍÁNIAN DYNASTY (concluded)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dáráb—</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How Dáráb built the City of Dárábgird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Dáráb defeated the Host of Shu‘íb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Dáráb fought with Failákús and took to Wife his Daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Dáráb sent back the Daughter of Failákús to Rúm, and how Sikandar was born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dará, Son of Dáráb—</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How Dará harangued the Chiefs and took Order for the Realm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Death of Failákús and Sikandar's Accession to the Throne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Sikandar went as his own Ambassador to Dará</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Dará fought with Sikandar and was worsted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Dará fought with Sikandar the second Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Sikandar fought with Dará the third Time, and how Dará fled to Kírmán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Dará wrote to Sikandar to propose Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How Dará was slain by his Ministers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How Dará told his last Wishes to Sikandar and died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How Sikandar wrote to the Nobles of Írán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sikandar—</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How Sikandar sat upon the Throne of Írán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Sikandar wrote to Díáráí and Rúshanak, the Wife and Daughter of Dará, touching the Nuptials of Rúshanak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Dilarai answered the Letter of Sikandar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Sikandar sent his Mother, Nâhîd, to fetch Rûshânâk, and how he married her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Kaid of Hind had a Dream, and how Mîhrân interpreted it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Sikandar marched against Kaid of Hind and wrote a Letter to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Kaid of Hind answered Sikandar's Letter and announced the Sending of the Four Wonders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How Sikandar sent back the Messenger to receive the Four Wonders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How Sikandar sent Ten Sages with a Letter to inspect the Four Wonders of Kaid of Hind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How the Ten Sages brought the Daughter, the Cup, the Leech, and the Sage, from Kaid of Hind to Sikandar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. How Sikandar tested the Sage, the Leech, and the Cup sent by Kaid of Hind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How Sikandar led a Host against Fûr of Hind and wrote a Letter to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. How Fûr answered the Letter of Sikandar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. How Sikandar arrayed his Host to fight with Fûr of Hind and made iron Steeds and Riders filled with Naphthâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. How the Host of Sikandar fought with the Host of Fûr, how Fûr was slain by Sikandar, and how Sikandar seated Sawurg upon the Throne of Fûr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. How Sikandar went on a Pilgrimage to the House of the Kaaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. How Sikandar led his Troops from Judda toward Mîsr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Sikandar's Letter to Kaidâfa, Queen of Andalus, and her Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. How Sikandar led his Troops to Andalûs and took the Hold of King Faryân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. How Sikandar went as an Ambassador to Kaidâfa and was recognised by her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. How Kaidâfa counselled Sikandar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. How Tàinûsh, the Son of Kaidâfa, was wroth with Sikandar, and how Sikandar took Precaution against him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. How Sikandar made a Compact with Kaidâfa and returned to his Troops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. How Sikandar went to the Country of the Brahmans, inquired into their Mysteries, and received an Answer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Sikandar (continued)—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>How Sikandar came to the Western Sea and saw Wonders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>How Sikandar reached the Land of Habash, fought, and was victorious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>How Sikandar reached the Land of the Narmpái, how he fought and was victorious, how he slew a Dragon, ascended a Mountain, and was forewarned of his own Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>How Sikandar reached the City of Women, named Harūm, and saw Wonders there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>How Sikandar reached the Land of the Narmpái, how he fought and was victorious, how he slew a Dragon, ascended a Mountain, and was forewarned of his own Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>How Sikandar reached the City of Women, named Harūm, and saw Wonders there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>How Sikandar saw a Corpse in a Palace of Jewels on the Top of a Mountain, and the Speaking Tree, and how he was warned of his Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>How Sikandar marched his Army to Chin, carried his own Letter to Faghfūr, and returned to his Army with the Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>How Sikandar returned from Chin, made War against the Sindians, and went to Yaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>How Sikandar marched toward Pābīl and found the Treasure of Kāi Khusrau in a City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>How Sikandar went to the City of Bābīl, wrote a Letter to Arastālis, and received his Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Sikandar’s Letter to his Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>How Sikandar’s Life ended and how they carried his Coffin to Iskandariya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>How the Sages and other Folk lamented Sikandar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>How the Mother and Wife of Sikandar lamented him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Firdausi’s Complaint of the Sky and Appeal to God</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vol. VI**

### THE ASHKĀNIAN DYNASTY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The Praise of Mahmūd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The Tribal Kings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>How Pāpak saw Sāsān in a Dream and gave him a Daughter in Marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>How Ardshīr Pāpakān was born, and of his Case with Ardashir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>How Ardashir’s Slave-girl fell in Love with Ardshīr and how he fled with her to Pārs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>How Ardashir heard of the Flight of Ardshīr with the Damsel and pursued them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>How Ardashir wrote to Bahman, his Son, to take Ardshīr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Ashkánian Dynasty (continued) — Vol. VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### The Sásánian Dynasty

#### Ardshír Pápakan —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Shápúr, Son of Ardshír —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Vol. IX
GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTION</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>URMUZD, Son of Shápur—</td>
<td>Vol. VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How Urmuzd addressed the Assembly.</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Urmuzd gave up the Throne to Bahram, charged him, and died.</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAHRAM, Son of Urmuzd—</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How Bahram succeeded to the Throne, charged the Nobles, and died.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Bahram, Son of Bahram, ascended the Throne, charged the Nobles, and died.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAHRAM BAHRAMIYAN—</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How Bahram Bahramiyan succeeded to the Throne and died four Months after.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NARSÍ, Son of Bahram—</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How Narsí succeeded to the Throne, counselled his Son, and died.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URMUZD, Son of Narsí—</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How Urmuzd, Son of Narsí, ascended the Throne, and how his Life ended.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHAPÚR, Son of Urmuzd, surnamed Zu’l Aktáf—</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How Shapur, Son of Urmuzd, was born forty days after his Father’s Death, and how he was crowned.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Táir, the Arab, carried off the Daughter of Narsí and married her, how Shapur went to Yaman to fight him, and how his Daughter fell in Love with Shapur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Táir was bemused by his Daughter and how she came to Shapur, who took the Hold and slew Táir.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Shapur went disguised as a Merchant to Rúm, how he was taken by Caesar, and how Caesar ravaged the Land of Irán.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How the Damsel took Measures to free Shapúr, and how he fled with her from Rúm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How the High Priest and the Captain of the Host, hearing of Shapúr’s Arrival, went to him with the Troops.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Shapúr made a Night-attack, and how Caesar was taken.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How the Kúmans placed Bazamúsh upon the Throne of Caesar; his Letter to Shapúr and the Answer.</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Shápúr, Son of Urmuz, (continued)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. How Razámúsh went to Shápúr and made a Treaty of Peace</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. How Mání, the Painter, came to Shápúr with Pretense of being a Prophet, and was slain</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How Shápúr made his Brother Ardshír Regent till his own Son should grow up, and how his Days ended</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ardshír, Brother of Shápúr—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How Ardshír sat upon the Throne and gave a Charge to the Officers</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Shápúr, Son of Shápúr—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How Shápúr, Son of Shápúr, sat upon the Throne and gave a Charge to the Officers</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bahram, Son of Shápúr—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How Bahram sat upon the Throne and gave a Charge to the Officers</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Yazdagírd, Son of Shápúr—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How Yazdagírd sat upon the Throne and gave a Charge to the Officers</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Bahram Gúr, Son of Yazdagírd, was born and sent to be brought up by Munzír, the Arab</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Bahram went to the Chase with a Damsel and how he displayed his Accomplishment</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Bahram showed his Accomplishment in the Chase before Munzír</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Bahram came with Nu'mán to Yazdagírd</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Yazdagírd put Bahram in Bonds, how he escaped by the good Offices of Tainísh, and how he returned to Munzír</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Yazdagírd, by the Advice of an Archmage, went to the Spring of Sav and was killed by a Water-horse</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How the Iránians took Counsel and placed Khusrau upon the Throne</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How Bahram Gúr heard of the Death of his Father and invaded Irán</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How the Iránians heard of Bahram’s Pillaging and wrote to Munzír, and how he replied</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. How Bahram Gúr arrived at Jahram with the Host of Munzír, and how the Iránians went out to him</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How Bahram Gúr harangued the Iránians as to his Fitness to rule, how they rejected him but promised him the Kingship if he would take the Crown from between the Lions</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

Yazdagird, Son of Shapûr (continued)—

Vol. VI

VOLUME VII

Prefatory Note .......... v
Abbreviations .......... xvi
Note on Pronunciation .... xvi

THE SÁSANIAN DYNASTY (continued)

Bahrám Gúr—

sect.

1. How Bahram ascended the Throne, charged the
Officers, and wrote letters to all the Chiefs . 7
2. How Bahram pardoned the Fault of the Irâniâns,
farewelled Munzir and Nu'mán, and remitted
the Irâniâns' Arrears of Taxes .... 9
3. How Bahram went to the House of Lambak, the
Water-carrier, and became his Guest .... 12
4. How Bahram went to the House of Barahám, the
Jew, who treated him scurvily .... 16
5. How Bahram bestowed the Wealth of Barahám
upon Lambak .... 19
6. How Bahram slew Lions and forbade Wine-
drinking .... 21
7. The Story of the young Shoemaker and how
Bahram allowed Wine again .... 24
8. How Rûzbâh, Bahram's High Priest, ruined a
Village by a Stratagem and restored it .... 26
9. How Bahram married a Country Miller's Daughters .... 31
10. How Bahram found the Treasures of Jamshîd and
bestowed them upon the Poor .... 34
11. How Bahram, returning from Hunting, went to the
House of a Merchant and departed displeased .... 39
12. How Bahram slew a Dragon and went to a Yokel's
House .... 42
13. How Bahram went to the Chase and espoused the
Daughters of the Thane Barzin .... 48
14. How Bahram slew Lions, went to the House of a
Jeweller, and married his Daughter .... 55
15. How Bahram went to the Chase and passed the
Night in the House of Farshîward .... 67
16. How a Bramble-grubber revealed the Case of
Farshîward, and how Bahram bestowed
that Householder's Wealth upon the Poor .... 70
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>How Bahrám went to the Chase and slew Lions</th>
<th>Vol. VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>How Bahrám went to hunt the Onager, showed</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his Skill before the Princes, and returned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to Baghdad and Istakhr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>How the Khán of Chin led forth a Host to</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>war with Bahrám, and how the Iránians asked</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quarter of the Khán and submitted to him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>How Bahrám attacked the Host of the Khán and</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>took him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>How Bahrám took a Pledge from the Túránians,</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>how he set up a Pillar to delimit the Realm,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and placed Shahra upon the Throne of Túrán</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>How Bahrám wrote to announce his Victory</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to his Brother Narsi and returned to Irán</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>How Bahrám wrote a Letter of Directions to</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his Officials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>How Bahrám called before him the Envoy of</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cæsar, and how the Envoy questioned and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>answered the Archmages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>How Bahrám dismissed Cæsar’s Envoy and</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>charged his own Officials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>How Bahrám went with his own Letter to</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shangul King of Hind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>How Shangul received the Letter from Bahrám</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and made Reply</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>How Shangul prepared a Feast for Bahrám, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>how Bahrám displayed his Prowess</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>How Shangul suspected Bahrám and kept him</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>from Irán</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>How Bahrám fought with the Wolf at the Bidding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of Shangul and slew it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>How Bahrám slew a Dragon</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>How Shangul became troubled about Bahrám and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gave a Daughter to him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>How Faghfúr of Chin wrote to Bahrám and how</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he replied</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>How Bahrám fled from Hindústán to Irán with</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the Daughter of Shangul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>How Shangul followed Bahrám, learned who he</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>was, and was reconciled to him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>How Shangul went back to Hind and Bahrám to</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irán</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>How Shangul with seven Kings visited</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bahrám</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>How Shangul returned to Hindústán, and how</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bahrám remitted the Property-tax to the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Land-owners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>How the Time of Bahrám came to an End</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
YAZDAGIRD, SON OF BAHRAM GUR—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>How Yazdagird sat upon the Throne and exhorted the Captains of the Host</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HURMUZ—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>How Hurmuz, Son of Yazdagird, ascended the Throne</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PİRÚZ—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>How Pîrûz sat upon the Throne and made an Oration</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>How Pîrûz built the Cities of Pîrûz-Râm and Bâdana-Pîrûz, and how he went to war with Tûrân</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Letter of Khûshnawáz to Pîrûz</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>How Pîrûz fought with Khûshnawáz and was slain</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BALÁSH—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>How Balâsh ascended the Throne and harangued the Iránians</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>How Sûfarai had Tidings of the Slaying of Pîrûz, how he wrote a Letter to Khûshnawáz, and how Khûshnawáz replied</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How Sûfarai fought with Khûshnawáz, and how Kubád was released from his Bondage</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KUBÁD, SON OF PİRÚZ—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>How Kubád sat upon the Throne and made an Oration to the Iránians</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>How Sûfarai went to Shiráz, how the Iránians slandered him to Kubád, and how Kubád slew him</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How the Iránians put Kubád in Bonds and committed him to Rizmihr, the Son of Sûfarai, and how Jâmâsp, the Brother of Kubád, was set upon the Throne</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>How Kubád escaped from Ward with Rizmihr, how he wedded the Daughter of a Thane, and how he took Refuge with the Haitálians</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>How Kubád returned from Haitá to Irán, how he had Tidings of the Birth of his Son, Nûshîrwân, and reascended the Throne</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Story of Kubád and Mazdak, and how Kubád adopted the Faith of Mazdak</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>How Nûshîrwân rejected the Faith of Mazdak and slew him and his Followers</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>How Kubád nominated Kisrá as Successor, and how the Great gave him the name of Nûshîrwân</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Prelude</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>How Nushirwan ascended the Throne and made an Oration to the Iranians</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How Nushirwan divided his Realm into four Parts and wrote a Decree to his Officers on the Administration of Justice</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>How Nushirwan required Bābak to muster the Host</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>How Nushirwan harangued the Iranians, and how the Kings acknowledged his Supremacy</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>How Nushirwan went round his Empire and built a Wall in the Pass between Iran and Turān</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>How Nushirwan chastised the Alans and the Men of Balāch and Gilan</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>How Munzir, the Arab, came to Nushirwan for Succour against the Injustice of Casar</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The Letter of Shāh Nushirwan to Cesar of Rūm</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>How the Letter of Nushirwan reached Cesar and how he replied</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>How Nushirwan went to war with Cesar</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>How Nushirwan took divers Strongholds in his March to Rūm</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The Battle of Nushirwan with Farfūriyyūs, the Leader of Cesar's Host, the Victory of Nushirwan, and his Capture of Kāhniyūs and Antākiya</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>How Nushirwan built the City of Zib-i-Khusraw in the Likeness of Antākiya and settled the Rūman Captives therein</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>How Cesar wrote to Nushirwan and sent Tribute.</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>The Birth of Nushzād, the Son of Nushirwan, by a Woman who was a Christian</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>The Sickness of Nushirwan and the Sedition of Nushzād</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The Letter of Nushirwan to Rām Barzin, the Warden of the March of Madā'īn, respecting the Taking of Nushzād</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>How Rām Barzin fought with Nushzād, and how Nushzād was slain</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part II. The Story of Būzurjmihr and the Seven Banquets of Nushirwan—

1. How Nushirwan had a Dream and how Būzurjmihr interpreted it 281
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART II. THE STORY OF BÚZRJMIHR, etc. (continued)</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. The first Banquet of Núshírwán to the Sages, and the Counsels of Búzarjmihr</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The second Banquet of Núshírwán to Búzarjmihr and the Archimages</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The third Banquet of Núshírwán to Búzarjmihr and the Archimages</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The fourth Banquet of Núshírwán to Búzarjmihr and the Archimages</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The fifth Banquet of Núshírwán to Búzarjmihr and the Archimages</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The sixth Banquet of Núshírwán to Búzarjmihr and the Archimages</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The seventh Banquet of Núshírwán to Búzarjmihr and the Archimages</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART III. THE STORY OF MAHBÚD AND OTHER MATTERS</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Story of Mahbúd, the Wazír of Núshírwán, and how Mahbúd and his Sons were slain by the Sorcery of Zurán and a Jew</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How the Sorcery of Zurán and the Jew in the Matter of Mahbúd was discovered, and how both were slain by Command of Núshírwán</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. In Praise of the Wisdom of Núshírwán, and how he built the City of Súrsán</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Story of the War of the Khán with Ghátkar, the Prince of the Haitálians, the Defeat of Ghátkar, and how they set Faghánísh upon the Throne</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Núshírwán had Tidings of the Battle of the Khán with the Haitálians and how he led a Host against the Khán</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How the Khán had Tidings of the Coming of the Host of Núshírwán to Gurgán and wrote a Letter in the Cause of Peace</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Núshírwán answered the Letter of the Khán</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How the Khán bethought himself and wrote offering his Daughter in Marriage to Núshírwán</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How Núshírwán answered the Letter, and sent Míhrán Sitád to see and fetch the Daughter of the Khán</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How the Khán sent his Daughter, escorted by Míhrán, with a Letter and Treasures to Núshírwán</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. How the Khán withdrew, and how Núshírwán marched from Gurgán to Taisafíún</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Discourse on the Justice of Núshírwán and how Mortals had Peace under his Usages</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### General Table of Contents

**Nūšīrwān—**

**Part III. The Story of Mahbūd, etc. (continued)**  
Vol. VII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>How Būzurjmihr counselled Nūshīrwān and discoursed on good Deeds and Words.</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Part IV. The Introduction of the Game of Chess into Īrān. The Legend of the Invention of the Game. The Discovery of the Book of Kalīla and Dimna**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>How the Rāja of Hind sent the Game of Chess to Nūshīrwān</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>How Būzurjmihr invented Nard, and how Nūshīrwān sent it with a Letter to the Rāja of Hind.</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The Story of Gav and Talhand, and the Invention of Chess</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>How Nūshīrwān sent Barzwi, the Leech, to Hindustan to fetch a wondrous Drug, and how Barzwi brought back the Book of Kalīla and Dimna</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Index** 433

**Vol. VIII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on Pronunciation XVI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Sāsānian Dynasty (continued)**

**Nūshīrwān (continued)—**

**Part V. The Fall and Restoration to Favour of Būzurjmihr, and the Wisdom of Nūshīrwān—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>How Nūshīrwān was wroth with Būzurjmihr and ordered him to be put in Ward</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>How the Ambassador of Caesar came to Nūshīrwān with a locked Casket and how Būzurjmihr was set at large to declare its Contents</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Discourse on the Responses of Nūshīrwān</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Nūshīrwān's Letter of Counsel to his Son Hurmuzd</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>How an Archmage questioned Nūshīrwān and how he made Answer</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Part VI. The Shāh’s last Years—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>How Nūshīrwān made ready to war against Caesar</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>How Nūshīrwān took the Stronghold of Sakila and how a Shoemaker had Dealings with him.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>How the Envoys of Caesar came to Nūshīrwān with Apologies and Presents.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>How Nūshīrwān chose Hurmuzd as his Successor.</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GENERAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Núshírwán—**

**PART VI.** The Sáh's Last Years (continued) — **VOL. VIII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. How the Archimages questioned Hurmuzd and how he replied</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Núshírwán appointed Hurmuzd as his Successor and gave him parting Counsels</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Núshírwán had a Dream and how Búzurjmihr interpreted it as signifying the Appearance of Muhammad</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hurmuzd, Son of Núshírwán—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Prelude</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How Hurmuzd ascended the Throne and harangued the Chiefs</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How Hurmuzd slew Ízíd Gashasp, Zardusht, Simáh Barzín, and Bahrám Ázarníhán, his Father's Ministers</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How Hurmuzd turned from Tyranny to Justice</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How Hosts gathered from all Sides against Hurmuzd, and how he took Counsel with his Wazirs</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How Hurmuzd heard of Bahrám Chúbína and sent for him</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How Bahrám Chúbína came to Hurmuzd and was made Captain of the Host</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How Bahrám Chúbína went with twelve thousand Cavaliers to fight King Sáwa</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How King Sáwa sent a Message to Bahrám Chúbína and his Answer</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How King Sáwa and Bahrám Chúbína set the Battle in Array against each other</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. How King Sáwa sent another Message to Bahrám Chúbína and his Answer</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How Bahrám Chúbína had a Dream in the Night, how he gave Battle the next Morning, and how King Sáwa was slain</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. How Bahrám Chúbína sent a Letter announcing his Victory, and the Head of King Sáwa, to Hurmuzd, and his Answer</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. How Bahrám Chúbína fought with Parmúda, Son of King Sáwa, and overcame him, and how Parmúda took Refuge in the Hold of Áwáza</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. How Bahrám Chúbína sent a Message to Parmúda and how Parmúda asked Quarter</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. How Bahrám Chúbína asked of Hurmuzd a Warrant to spare the Life of Parmúda and the Answer</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. How Hurmuzd's Letter, granting Quarter to Parmúda, reached Bahrám Chúbína, and how Bahrám Chúbína was wroth with Parmúda</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect.</td>
<td>How Parmida came before Hurmuzd with the Treasures sent by Bahram Chubina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>How Hurmuzd heard of the Ill-doing of Bahram Chubina and made a Compact with the Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>How Hurmuzd wrote a chiding Letter to Bahram Chubina and sent him a Distaff-case, Cotton, and Women's Raiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>How Bahram Chubina put on the Woman's Dress and showed himself therein to the Chiefs of the Host</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>How Bahram Chubina went to hunt and saw a Lady who foretold the Future to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>How Bahram Chubina assumed the royal Style and how Kharrad, Son of Barzin, and the Archscribe fled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>How Hurmuzd received News of Bahram Chubina's Doings, and how Bahram Chubina sent a Frail of Swords to Hurmuzd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>How Bahram Chubina wrote to Hurmuzd and how Khusrau Parwiz fled from his Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>How Bahram Chubina made known to the Chiefs his Designs upon the Throne, and how his Sister Gurdya advised him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Bahram Chubina's Letter to the Khan and how he coined Money with the name of Khusrau Parwiz and sent it to Hurmuzd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>How Bahram Chubina wrote to Hurmuzd and how Khusrau Parwiz heard of the Blinding of Hurmuzd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>How Hurmuzd sent Ayin Gashasp with an Army to fight Bahram Chubina and how he was slain by his Comrade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>How Hurmuzd grieved, refused Audience to the Irâniâns, and was blinded by Bandwi and Gustaham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>How Khusrau Parwiz heard of the Blinding of Hurmuzd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Khusrau Parwiz—**

1. The Prelude | 196  |
2. How Khusrau Parwiz sat upon the Throne and made an Oration | 197  |
3. How Khusrau Parwiz visited his Father and asked Forgiveness | 198  |
4. How Bahram Chubina heard of the Blinding of Shâh Hurmuzd and how he led his Troops against Khusrau Parwiz | 200  |
5. How Khusrau Parwiz and Bahram Chubina met and parleyed | 204  |
6. How Bahram Chubina and Khusrau Parwiz returned, how Gurdya advised Bahram Chubina, and how Khusrau Parwiz told his Purpose to the Irâniâns | 220  |
Khusrau Parwiz (continued) —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
26. How Khusrau Parwiz fought the third Time with Bahram Chubina and defeated him 300
27. How Khusrau Parwiz sent an Army under Nastush after Bahram Chubina, and how Bahram Chubina captured him and reached the Khân of Chîn 303
28. How Khusrau Parwiz pillaged the Camp of Bahram Chubina and wrote a Letter to Cesar who answered it with a Robe of Honour and Gifts 306
29. How Niyatus was wroth with Bandwi and how Maryam made Peace between them 309
30. How Khusrau Parwiz gave Presents to Niyatus and the Rûmans, how he dismissed them to Rûm, and wrote Patents for the Nobles of Iran 312
31. Firdausi's Lament for the Death of his Son 315
32. The Story of Bahram Chubina and the Khan of Chîn 316
33. How Makâtûra was slain by Bahram Chubina 320
34. How the Lion-ape slew a Daughter of the Khan, how it was slain by Bahram Chubina, and how the Khan gave him a Daughter and the Kingdöm of Chîn 322
35. How Khusrau Parwiz heard of the Case of Bahram Chubina and wrote a Letter to the Khan, and how he replied 327
36. How Khusrau Parwiz sent Kharrad, Son of Barzin, to the Khan and how he schemed to slay Bahram Chubina 331
37. How Bahram Chubina was slain by Kulun as Kharrad, Son of Barzin, had planned 336
38. How the Khan had Tidings of Bahram Chubina's Death and how he destroyed the House and Family of Kulun 343
39. How Khusrau Parwiz had Tidings of the Slaying of Bahram Chubina and honoured Kharrad, Son of Barzin 345
40. How the Khan sent his Brother to Gardya, the Sister of Bahram Chubina, with a Letter touching her Brother's Death and asking her in Marriage as his Queen, and her Answer 349
41. How Gardya consulted her Nobles and fled from Marv 349
42. How the Khan received Tidings of the Flight of Gardya and how he sent Tuwurg with an Army after her, and how Gardya slew Tuwurg 351
43. How Gardya wrote to Gardwi 354
44. How Khusrau Parwiz slew Bandwi 354
45. How Gustaham rebelled against Khusrau Parwiz and took Gardya to Wife 355
46. How Khusrau Parwiz took Counsel with Gurdwi concerning Gustaham and how Gurdya, prompted by Gurdwi, slew him . . . . 358
47. How Gurdya wrote to Khusrau Parwiz and how he summoned and married her . . . . 361
48. How Gurdya showed her Accomplishment before Khusrau Parwiz . . . . 363
49. How Khusrau Parwiz sent an ill-disposed Marchlord to Rai and how he oppressed the Folk there . . . . 395
50. How Gurdya made Sport before Khusrau Parwiz and how he gave Rai to her . . . . 367
51. How Khusrau Parwiz portioned out his Realm . . . . 368
52. How Shirwi, the Son of Khusrau Parwiz, was born of Maryam with bad Auspices and how Khusrau Parwiz informed Caesar . . . . 371
53. How Cesar wrote a Letter to Khusrau Parwiz, sent Gifts, and asked for the Cross of Christ . . . . 374
54. How Khusrau Parwiz answered Cesar's Letter and sent Gifts . . . . 379

The Story of Khusrau Parwiz and Shīrīn —

55. The Prelude . . . . 382
56. How Khusrau Parwiz loved Shīrīn, how they parted, how he met her again while hunting and sent her to his Bower . . . . 383
57. How the Nobles heard that Shīrīn had come to the Bower of Khusrau Parwiz and how they advised him and were satisfied with his Answer . . . . 386
58. How Shīrīn murdered Maryam and Khusrau Parwiz put Shirwi in Bonds . . . . 389
59. How Khusrau Parwiz made the Throne of Tākdis . . . . 391
60. The Story of Sarkash and Bārbaad, the Minstrel, and Khusrau Parwiz . . . . 396
61. How Khusrau Parwiz built the Palace of Mada'in . . . . 400
62. Discourse on the Splendour and Greatness of Khusrau Parwiz . . . . 405
63. How Khusrau Parwiz turned from Justice, how the Chiefs revolted, and how Guraz called in Cesar . . . . 407
64. How Cesar withdrew through an Expedient of Khusrau Parwiz and how the Chiefs released Shirwi from Bonds . . . . 409
65. How Khusrau Parwiz was taken and how Shirwi sent him to Taisafūn . . . . 418

INDEX . . . . . . . . . . 423
**THE SASÁNIAN DYNASTY (concluded)**

**KUBÁD (COMMONLY CALLED SHIRWI)**

1. *How Shirwí ascended the Throne, announced his Will, and sent Chiefs to his Father with Counsel and Excuses*  
   - Page 8

2. *How Khusrwá Parwíz answered Shirwí*  
   - Page 15

3. *How Shirwí grieved for Khusrwá Parwíz and how the Chiefs were displeased thereat*  
   - Page 27

4. *How Bárbad lamented Khusrwá Parwíz, cut off his own Fingers, and burned his Instruments of Music*  
   - Page 29

5. *How the Chiefs demanded from Shirwí the Death of Khusrwá Parwíz and how he was slain by Mihr Hurmúzd*  
   - Page 32

6. *How Shirwí asked Shirín in Marriage, how Shirín killed herself, and how Shirwí was slain*  
   - Page 36

**ARDSHÍR, SON OF SHIRWI—**

1. *How Ardsúr, Son of Shirwí, ascended the Throne and harangued the Chiefs*  
   - Page 44

2. *How Guráž was displeased at Ardsúr being Sháh and how he caused Ardsúr to be slain by Pírúz Son of Khusrwá*  
   - Page 45

**GURÁZ ALSO CALLED FARÁVIN—**

1. *How Guráz, (also called Farávin,) received News of the Slaying of Ardsúr, hastened to Irán, took Possession of the Throne, and was killed by Shahránguráž*  
   - Page 51

**PÚRÁNDUKHÍT—**

1. *How Púrúándukhít ascended the Throne and slew Pírúz, Son of Khusrwá, and how her own Life ended*  
   - Page 59

**ÁZARMÍDUKHÍT—**

1. *How Ázarmídukhít ascended the Throne and how she died*  
   - Page 59

**FARRUKHZÁD—**

1. *How Farrukhzád ascended the Throne and how he was slain by a Slave*  
   - Page 61
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect.</th>
<th>How Yazdagird ascended the Throne and addressed the Chiefs</th>
<th>Vol. IX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>How Sa'ad, Son of Wakkás, invaded Iran, how Yazdagird sent Rustam to oppose him, and how Rustam wrote a Letter to his Brother</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>How Rustam wrote to Sa'ad, Son of Wakkás, and how he replied</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>How Rustam fought with Sa'ad, Son of Wakkás, and was slain</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>How Yazdagird consulted with the Iranians and went to Khurášán</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>How Yazdagird wrote to Máhwí of Súr</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>How Yazdagird wrote to the Marchlords of Túš</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>How Yazdagird went to Túš and how Máhwí of Súr met him</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>How Máhwí of Súr incited Bizhan to war with Yazdagird and how Yazdagird fled and hid himself in a Mill</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>How Máhwí of Súr sent the Miller to kill Yazdagird, and how the Archimages counselled Máhwí to forbear</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>How Máhwí of Súr was taken and slain by Order of Bizhan</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>How Yazdagird was slain by Khusrau, the Miller</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>How Máhwí of Súr was informed of the Obsequies of Yazdagird and ascended the Throne</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>How Bizhan, hearing of the Slaying of Yazdagird and of Máhwí of Súr's Accession to the Throne, led forth the Host to fight with him</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>How Máhwí of Súr was taken and slain by Order of Bizhan</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Account of the Completion of the Sháhnáma</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 10, for 'was' read 'became.' Line 25 and elsewhere, for 'Trata' and 'Traitana' read 'Trita' and 'Traitana.'
Page 9, line 16 and elsewhere, for 'Azarbijan' read 'Azarbaijan.'
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.
Page 11, line 20 and elsewhere, for 'Hira and Anbar' read 'Hira and Ambar.'
Page 13, reference number 2, for 'NESH' read 'NSEH.'
Page 14, line 25, for 'Sámáñdes' read 'Sámáñds.'
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 10, for 'Sacaestan' read 'Sacaestán.'
Reference number 3, delete 'in.'
Page 21, line 7 and elsewhere, for 'Nuh' read 'Núh.' Line 12, for 'appealed' read 'turned.'
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 'Bázh' read ' Bázh.'
Six lines from bottom, after 'city' add reference number 1. At bottom add note: '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 'Ali in §7.'

VOL. IX
Page 41, last line, for 'axe' read 'ax.'

Page 43, note 2, for 'fakkâ' read 'fakkâ,' 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.


Professor A. V. Williams Jackson's suggestion that, as burial in the Muhammadan cemetery was refused, the corpse of Firdausi 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 'Thus Piran (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 Ázargashasp.'

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 NIX, 15.

Page 69, bottom, for '108' read '107.'

Page 71, line 10, after 'Oxus' insert 'Caspian.'

line 20, after 'Dardanelles' insert 'Mediterranean.'

bottom, reference number 6, after 'So' add 'notes.'

Page 72, line 8 from bottom, for 'land' read 'earth.'

'7' after 'Sha'hs' add reference number 1.

'5' after 'canal' add reference number 2.

bottom, add 'Kai Kubâd. See Vol. ii, p. 22. *Id. 192.'

Page 74, line 8, after 'tree' add reference number 1.

bottom, add '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 '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 'pp. 369, 370.'

Page 83, line 18, before 'mûbidân' insert—

line 25, after 'subject' add reference number 2.

bottom, add 'The expression is used, however, of Bahram Gûr (Vol. vii, p. 78) and of Nûshirwân (viii, p. 14). It is also applied to non-Iranians, to Shahrâb, who was opposing the Irâniâns (ii, 145), Pirân (ii, 261, 275, 324, iii, 109), Pilsam (ii, 352), Tazhây, an Irâniân deserter (iii, 28), Bazânûsh (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 88, lines 11 and 27, for 'Arbibihisht' read 'Arbibihisht.'

Page 89, line 9, for 'Ardibihisht' read 'Arbibihisht.'

Page 89, line 13, for 'Sarivar' read 'Shahrivar.'

Page 90, line 15, for 'Farvardin' read 'Farvvardin.'

Page 92, line 5, add as descendant from Tur 'Máh 'Áfíl, d.'

Page 94, delete lines 4-5.

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

Page 104, after line 4 insert—

'Thus is it now: what the world's end will be
None knoweth openly or privily.'

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.'

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 123, line 5, add 'This is the first of many doublet in the poem.'

Page 124, line 9 from bottom, for 'o' read 'of.'
CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

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 'down-
stricken.'
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 'Baghdâd.'
25, after 'Ispahân' 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 'Kûrds' read 'Kurds.'

Page 161, line 6, for 'Bait al' read 'Bâtu'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 186, line 4 from bottom, for 'Envious' read 'envious.'

Page 199, line 7 from bottom, for 'Slain' read 'slain.'

Page 201, note, line 4, for 'Nâmah' read 'Nâmâh.'

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 10, for 'no longer harboureth' read 'hath ceased
to harbour.'
line 20, for 'evident' read 'plain.'

Page 211, delete line 2 and read 'With treasure and brocade,
dinârs and gems.'

Page 212, line 21, for 'All' read 'all.'
line 7 from bottom, for 'turquoise' read 'turquoise.'

Page 219, line 5 from bottom, for 'a' read 'the' and after 'ball'
add reference number 1.
bottom, insert 'See p. 70.'

Page 221, line 18, for 'Announce' read 'announce.'
line 7, from bottom, for 'he' read 'He.'
CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Page 224, line 11, after 'me' insert 'stay."
Page 224, line 12, for 'Stop to draw breath' read 'To breathe.'
Page 224, line 22, for 'moralising' read 'moralling.'
Page 226, line 4, after 'dist. of our;' read 'dist.,
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 6, for 'our avenging' read 'vengeful.'
Page 230, after line 7 insert '§18.' Cf. previous reign, §24.
Page 231, line 8, beginning, insert '§29.'
Page 235, line 3 from bottom, for 'Explain' read 'explain.'
Page 235, line 9, and elsewhere, for 'Almighty' read 'almighty' when not absolute.
Page 236, line 1, for 'Aware' read 'aware.'
Page 282, line 2, 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.
Page 352, line 4, delete semicolon.
Page 354, line 21, for 'Gazhdaham' read 'Gazhdaham.'
Page 355, line 4 from bottom, delete comma at end.
Page 358, line 6 and elsewhere, for 'Hirmund' read 'Hirmund.'
Page 360, 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 'Cf. BLHP, 1, 452.' Jackson, "From Constantinople to the Tomb of Omar Khayyam," p. 119.
Page 381, line 4 from bottom, for 'plants' read 'plants.'

VOLUME II.

Page v, line 13, end, add——
Page ix, line 25, delete 'Kai.'
Page 3, line 12, for 'Kataním' read 'Katayún.'
Page 3, line 15, to children of Gushtasp add Farshidward, Shirú, and thirty-seven others (un-named), for 'Bishútan' read 'Bishútan and for' Afríd 'read' Áfríd.

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 18, line 18, for 'Turkestán' read 'Turkistán.'

Page 27, line 1, delete full stop at end.

Page 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 69, line 9, for 'hears' read 'hear.'

Page 69 line 20 add semicolon at end.

Page 81, line 3 from bottom, after 'crystal' insert reference number 9 and at bottom add 'Kur's near Aivan Í-áif (Kai?) some forty miles South-east of Tíhrán are still traditionally ascribed to Káí Káns. See A. V. Williams Jackson. From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyám, p. 123.'

Page 80, line 25, end, insert comma.

Page 95, line 6 from bottom, after 'Zawára' add reference number 1 and at bottom add '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 Oxns.'

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 24, after 'him' insert reference number 1, and at bottom add 'C. adds rightly:—'

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 '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.
CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Page 217, line 5 and elsewhere, for 'Almighty' read 'almighty' when not absolute.

Page 232, line 4, for 'my' read 'mine.'

Page 256, line 6 from bottom, for 'captivating' 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 295, line 18, delete comma at end.

Page 281, line 22, for 'Trân' read 'Tárán.'

Page 300, 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.

Page 321, line 1, end, add reference number 1.

Page 328, line 11, for 'Kalûr' read 'Kalu.'

Page 374, line 6 from bottom, end, insert reference number 1.

Page 377, line 22, insert reference number 1.

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.

Page 412, last line, for 'toward' read 'toward.'

VOLUME III.

Page 3, line 24, end, add 'Kisarí Mohan Ganguli and published by.'

Page 14, line 30, end, add reference number 5 and 'The text also allows the view that Faríd 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 'Cf. Vol. i, p. 61.'

Page 36, line 8, for 'Tis' read 'Tis.'

Page 45, line 23, for 'that' read 'thon.'
CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

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 'Omnijiotent' read 'omnipotent.'

Page 134, line 6, end, add '!

Notes on insert side references consecutively, i.e., 'V. 1060,' etc., up to page 305.

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 298, note, for 'La' read 'La.'

Page 305, line 11, add side reference 'V. 1086,' and read subsequent side references consecutively, i.e., 'V. 1087,' 'V. 1088,' etc., up to page 359.
CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Page 85, note, prefix reference number 1.

Page 130, note 2, add 'It is interesting to find the dog appearing in the Rock of Tabat in which there are human elements. Cf. Vol. iii, p. 271 and End. Brit. 11th Ed. s.v. Tabat.'

Page 141, line 6, 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 'bultalos' read 'buffaloes.'

§3. There appears to be a doublet here as Afrasiyab 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 250, line 1, delete and insert 'All filled with minstrelsy and harp and wine.'

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!', and at bottom add note 'The Euphrates.'

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

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

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

Page 341, line 16, for 'sea' read 'stream.'
25. for 'sea' read 'river.'
28. for 'sea' read 'stream.'
31. for 'sea' read 'stream.'

Page 349, line 18, end, add reference number 1, and at bottom add note 'Cf. Vol. v, p. 233 note.'

VOLUME V.

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

Page 39, line 19, for 'Girdkuh' read 'Girdkūh.'

Page 71, line 13, for 'his' read 'a.'
CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Page 71, line 17, end, add reference number 1 and at bottom: 'In Firdausi Nish Ázar is the son of Asfandiyár, but in Dákiki may of course be a brother and the one referred to above.'

Page 126, line 4, end, add reference number 1 and at bottom: 'Cf. p. 233 note.'

Page 133, line 21, for 'wisdom' 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.

Page 288, note 1, add 'Cf. E.P. i, 250.'

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.'

Page 6, line 21, for 'Muller' read 'Müller.'

Page 15, line 10, for 'legend' read 'Legend.'

Page 17, line 1, for 'Mukaffa' read 'Mukaffa.'

Page 39, line 6 from bottom, end, delete ? and insert !

Page 41, line 8, for 'Ravi' read 'Rávi.'

Page 48, line 2, end, insert hyphen.

Page 52, 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.'

Page 207, line 7, after 'above' insert ' (p. 105).'
CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS 187

Page 206, line 6 from bottom, for 'Rúmants' read 'Rúmants.'
Page 208, line 12 from bottom, for 'Pars' read 'Párs.'
Page 209, bottom line, end, insert comma.
Page 312, line 3, for 'respect' read 'respecteth' and for 'thou art' 'thou art.'
Page 316, second note, prefix 2.
Page 323, note, line 5 from bottom, end, insert comma.
Page 327, line 7, for 'Ambar' read 'Ambar.'
   line 8, for 'Abbasid' read 'Abbasid.'
Page 330, note, for 'Shammás' 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 'The lake in question
   being the source of two rivers the expression
   'Spring' used by Firdawsí 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 's.'
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 10 from bottom insert comma at end.
   3 from bottom, for 'Kharzarwán' read 'Khazarwán.'
Page 95, line 13, 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 'Iran' read 'Frín.'
Page 155, line 9 from bottom, delete semicolon and insert comma.
Page 159, line 6, after 'Hormídas' 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 'KUBÁD' read 'KUBÁD.'
Page 209, line 2, after 'below' insert reference number 1, and at
   bottom add 'Cf. MIP, 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 Típsháh (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 'NUSHIRWAN.'
Page 251, line 13 from bottom, for 'Garsha-p' read 'Gasha-p.'
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 19, for 'Sahh' read 'Shah.'
Page 369, line 18, for 'frowning face' read 'looks afrown.'
Page 395, line 10, for 'was' read 'were.'
Page 400, line 1, for 'crown' read 'treasure.'
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 'Parviz.'
Page 122, line 14, delete first hyphen.
Page 138, line 19, delete id.
Page 143, line 10, insert comma after 'Letter' and 'Parmida.'
Page 147, line 11, for 'great' read 'Great.'
Page 153, line 18, delete full stop and insert comma.
Page 181, line 16, for 'Zab' read 'Zāb.'
Page 190, line 16, for 'Garabzin,' 'Galabzin' read 'Garābzīn'
   'Galābzīn'
Page 191, line 12, according to Muir's 'The Life of Mohammad,' edited by T. H. Weir (1923), p. 431 note, the battle of Dhu Kār 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 '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 'Luhrāsp.'
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.'
CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

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 'It' read 'It'

Page 362, line 11 from bottom, delete hyphen.

Page 374, line 8, for 'Of' read 'Of.'

Page 411, line 8, for 'the' read 'thy.'

Page 421, line 12 from bottom, for 'Galínus' read 'Galinúsh.'
GENERAL INDEX

This Index and the General Table of Contents in this volume are complementary. References to the latter are in Italic.

A

Aaishma Da'ya, demon, iii., 272
= Asmodeus possibly, iii., 272
Abán, genius, iii., 287, 328
'Abbás, Arab chief, attacks Hurmuzd, viii., 93
'Abbásid, 'Abbásids, Muhammadan dynasty, vi, 327
rise of, i, 13
fall of, i, 14
Abbreviations, General List of, ix, 135
Abdaas, bishop, vi, 372
Abraham, patriarch, vi, 65
Abtin (Aptya, Athwya), mythical Iranian hero, husband of Farának and father of Farídún, ix, 53, 103
legend of, i, 145
Zahhák slays, i, 151, 155
Farídún avenges, i, 170
mythological origin of, i, 171, 172, 174
Abú'-Ali Muhammad, Persian poet, Sháhnáma of, i, 69
Abú Bakr, the first Khalifa (A.D. 632-4), i, 12, ix, 79
begins war with Persian Empire, ix, 66
Abú Dulaf, friend of Firdausí, i, 35
assists Firdausí, i, 35
reciter of the Sháhnáma, i, 39
Abúl 'Abbás Fazl bin Ahmad, minister of Mahmu'd and perhaps a patron of Firdausí, i, 30, 100, iv, 141
account of, i 36
disgrace of, may have affected Firdausí, i, 37
Abúl Fazl, minister under the Sámanids, father of Abú 'Ali al Bal'ami who translated Tabari, vii, 430
patron of Rúdagi, vii, 383
Abúl Kásim (Firdausí, q.v.), i, 24, 38, 99, 112, iv, 140,
v, 80, 119, vi, 20, 207, viii, 28
Abúl Kásim of Gurgán, shaikh, iii, 191
dream of, about Firdausí, iii, 191
Abú' Muzaffar. See Nasr.
Abú Mansúr bin Abúr Razzák, prince of Tús, i, 67 seq., vi, 10
Sháhnáma of, vi, 16
probably compiled by Magi for, i, 69, viii, 71,
73
importance of, for Firdausí, viii, 73.
Abú Mansúr bin Muhammad, son of above (?), 139
patron of Firdausí, i, 29, 110
murdered, i, 20, 111
praise of, i, 110
advice of, to Firdausí, i, 111

191
INDEX

Abú Raibám Muhammad. See Albirúni.
Abú Tálib, uncle of Muhammad, i, 12
Abú 'Ubáda, Arab general, ix, 66
supersedes Khálid in Syria, ix, 66
Abú 'Ubáda, Arab general, ix, 67
made commander in Persian campaign, ix, 67
slain, ix, 67
Accession of a Sháh, ceremony at, vi, 409
Achaemenid, Achaemenids, the first historical Persian dynasty, i, 64, v, 10, 281, vi, 194, 197, 198
Achshunwar. See Akhshunwar.
'Ád, father of Shaddád, q.v.
Arab tribe, vii, 276
'Adan, seaport and territory in southern Arabia, vi, 386
Ádar. See Azár.
Ádarbád, son of Mahraspand, Zoroastrian Saint, v, 10
note
ordeal of, v, 16 note
Adén. See 'Adán.
Adonis, iv, 315
Ægean sea, vi, 204
Afrásiyáb—cont.
one of the Zoroastrian triad of evil, i, 50 and note
mythological origin of, i, 337
first mention of, in Sháh-náma, i, 342
advocates war with Naudar, i, 343
bidden by Pashang to invade Irán, i, 343
sends Shamásás and Khazawán to invade Sistán, i, 345
marches to Dahistán, i, 346
writes to Pashang, i, 349
encourages Bárman to challenge the Iránians to single combat, i, 347
rewards Bárman, i, 348
fights with Naudar, i, 348 and seq.
encounters Káran, i, 350
victorious, i, 350, 352
beleaguers Naudar in Dahistán, i, 353
sends Kurrákhán to attack Pars, i, 353
takes Naudar and other chiefs prisoners, i, 355
hears of the death of Bárman and bids Wísa pursue Káran, i, 356
hears of the Turkman defeats, i, 392
sends for, and slays, Naudar, i, 392
spares the other captives at Ighríras' request, i, 393
Afrasiyab, imprisons the captives at Sur, i, 304
advances to Kai, i, 303
wroth with, and slays, Ighirras, i, 307
fights with Zal, i, 308
Pashang’s wrath with, i, 374
invades Iran, i, 374 seq.
sends Kulun to intercept Rustam, i, 382
fights with Arabs for Iran and takes it, ii, 92
king of Tarun and Chin, ii, 69
expelled from Iran by Kai Kaus and Rustam, ii, 101
wrests war with the Seven Warriors, ii, 111 seq.
nearly taken prisoner by Rustam, ii, 14, 140, 354,
iii, 242, 250 and note
plot of, against Suhrawad and Rustam, ii, 129
gifts of, to Suhrawad, ii, 130
identical with Astyages in legend, ii, 191
referred to, ii, 322, 347, 394,
iii, 206, iv, 145, 150, 194
invades Iran, ii, 224 seq.
Dream of, ii, 232, 243, 297,
iv, 170, 207
determines to sue for peace and sends hostages, ii, 235 seq.
receives Zanga and consults Piran, ii, 253 seq.
sends Piran to welcome Siyawush, ii, 258
plays at polo with Siyawush, ii, 294
marries Farangis to Siyawush, ii, 275
recalls Siyawush, from Gang-dizh, ii, 285
sends Garsiwaz to Siyawushgird, ii, 289
deceived by Garsiwaz respecting Siyawush, ii, 296 seq.

Afrasiyab, sends Garsiwaz to summon Siyawush and Farangis to court, ii, 300 seq.
attacks, takes, and has Siyawush executed, ii, 314 seq.
appealed to by Farangis, ii, 317
ill-treatment of Farangis by,
ii, 320, 322
referred to, iv, 204
appeal of Piran to, ii, 324
referred to, iv, 205
spares Farangis, ii, 325, and her son Kai Khusrau, ii, 327
interview of, with Kai Khusrau, ii, 332
referred to, iv, 205
sends Surkha against the Iranians, ii, 341
marches to avenge Surkha, ii, 348
fights with Tus, ii, 353
rescue of, from Rustam by Human, ii, 354
crosses the sea of Chin, ii, 356
consults Piran about Kai Khusrau, ii, 356
returns, ii, 362
vengeance of, on Iran, ii, 393
pursues Kai Khusrau, ii, 388 seq.
disgraces Piran, ii, 390
turns back at the Jihun, ii, 394
Kai Khusrau’s oath to take vengeance on, iii, 21
hears of the approach of the Iranian host, iii, 71
bids Piran gather troops, iii, 71, 79
numbers the host, iii, 79
loss of kindred of, in battle, iii, 94
rewards Piran, iii, 106
reinforces Piran, iii, 118
Afrasiyāb, announces to his chiefs the defeat of his host, iii, 242
exhorted by his host to continue the war, iii, 243, 249
makes his preparations, iii, 213, 250
sends Farghār to spy on Rustam, iii, 250
consults with Shīdā, iii, 250
describes Rustam, iii, 251
receives Farghār’s report, iii, 253
consults with Pirān, iii, 253
bids Pirān continue the war, iii, 254
sends Shīdā to summon Pūlādwand, iii, 255
consults Pūlādwand, iii, 256
interferes in the fight between Rustam and Pūlādwand, iii, 263
withdraws to Chīn and Māchīn, iii, 265
go in pursuit of Rustam and is defeated, iii, 280
hears of the case of Bizhān and Manizhā, iii, 301
consults Kurākhān, iii, 301
sends Garsiwāz to search Manizhā’s palace, iii, 301
sentences Bizhān to death, iii, 304
respite Bizhān, iii, 308
imprisons Bizhān, iii, 309
disgraces Manizhā, iii, 309
escapes from Rustam, iii
bids Pirān prepare for war, iii, 349
arrays the host against Rustam, iii, 350
flees from Rustam, iii, 352
goes to Khallukh, iv, 10
addresses his nobles, iv, 10
sends Shīdā to Kharazm, iv, 11.
Pirān against Frān, iv, 11
reinforcements and bids him break off negotiations with Giv, iv, 20
Afrasiyāb, receives tidings from Pirān, iv, 77
= king of Gang, iv, 134
Kai Khusrāu’s great war with, 152, iv, 135 seq.
encamped at Baigand (Kunduz), iv, 151
hears ill tidings of Pirān and of the host, iv, 151
distress, iv, 152
swears to be avenged on Kai Khusrāu, iv, 152
hears of the advance of Kai Khusrāu, iv, 153
harangues and equips his host, iv, 153
patrols the Jīhūn with boats, iv, 154
holds a council, summons Kurākhān, and crosses the Jīhūn, iv, 154
sends Kurākhān with half the host to Bukhārā, iv, 154
marches to Āmwi, iv, 154
encamps in Gīlān, iv, 155
arrays his host, iv, 155
takes his post at the centre, iv, 155
gives Shīdā command of the left wing, iv, 155
sends Jahn to guard Shīdā’s rear, iv, 155
gives a grandson command of the right wing, iv, 156
commands to Gurdgīr, Nastūh, Ighīrās, and Garsiwāz, iv, 156
proposes to invade Nīmrūz, iv, 156
reviews the host and prepares to encounter Kai Khusrāu, iv, 158
urged by Shīdā not to delay the attack, iv, 159
reply of, iv, 160
wishes to meet Kai Khusrāu in single combat, iv, 160
sends Shīdā on an embassy to Kai Khusrāu, iv, 161
Afrasiyab, hears of Shida's death, iv, 176

grief of, iv, 179

commands in person against Kai Khusrau, iv, 179

sends Jahn to the left, iv, 180

reinforced by Garsiwaz, iv, 181

forced by Garsiwaz and Jahn to quit the field, iv, 182

returns to camp, iv, 183

abandons his camp and recrosses the Jihun, iv, 184

joins forces with Kurakhán, iv, 186

stays at Bukhára, iv, 186

withdraws to Gang-bihisht, iv, 187

reinforced by Kákula, iv, 188

sends troops to Chách, iv, 188

under Tawurg desertward, iv, 188

marches to meet Kai Khusrau, iv, 190

commands the centre, iv, 190

hears of Kurakhán's defeat and return, iv, 193

hears that Rustam is advancing, iv, 194

fails in attempt to surprise Rustam and withdraws to Gang-bihisht, iv, 194, seq.

asks aid from the Faghfúr, iv, 196

prepares Gang-bihisht for a siege, iv, 197

besieged in Gang-bihisht, iv, 198, 208 seq.

offers terms of peace to Kai Khusrau, iv, 203

rallies his troops at the storming of Gang-bihisht, iv, 209

escapes, iv, 211

gets possession of the treasures of Pitán, iv, 210

Afrasiyab, arrays his host to fight with Kai Khusrau, iv, 220

offers Kai Khusrau peace or single combat, iv, 221

fights a general engagement against Kai Khusrau, iv, 223, 226

defeated and escapes by flight, iv, 227

army, of, surrenders to Kai Khusrau, iv, 228

takes refuge at Gang-dizh, iv, 230

captive kindred of, sent to Kai Káus by Kai Khusrau, iv, 232

Kai Káus on, iv, 237

Khusrau's inquiries concerning, iv, 247

hears of Kai Khusrau's approach and quits Gang-dizh, iv, 248

searched for by Kai Khusrau, iv, 248

fears of the Irónians concerning, iv, 249

Kai Khusrau takes counsel with Kai Káus about, iv, 258

wanderings and wretched plight of, iv, 259

takes refuge in a cave near Barda', iv, 259

lament of, overheard by Húm, iv, 260

capture of, by Húm, iv, 261

Darmesteter on, iv, 136

pitted and unbound by Húm, iv, 262

escapes into lake Urumiah, iv, 262 and note

attracted by the voice of Garsiwaz, iv, 205

holds converse with Garsiwaz, iv, 266

recapture of, by Húm, iv, 269

slain by Kai Khusrau, iv, 268
INDEX

Afrāsiyāb, daughter of -Farangis, iv, 394
Khān of Chin descended from, vii, 334
hoard of, viii, 148, 406
Africa, vi, 30
Afrigh, king of Khvārazm, ii, 190
'Afrīt, genie, i, 42
Agani, Sargon I. of, v, 293
Age, old, Firdausi's lament over his, ii, 336
Golden. See Golden.
Aghraeratha (Ighriras, q.v.), iv, 137
Aghriras. See Ighriras.
Agni, Vedic personification of fire, ii, 25
Ahdānāmak (Andarznāmak), Pahlavi treatise, vi, 257
Ahmad, son of Ismā'īl, Sāmānid, vii, 383
Ahmad, son of Rahul, lord of Mary, v, 260, 261
Ahmad, Fāzī son of. See Ābul 'Abbās Fazl.
Ahmad Hasan Maimandi, minister of Mahmūd, i, 32, 39, 45
Ahmad ibn Muhammad, patron of Firdausi, i, 29
Ahraun, Rūman chief, 154, iv, 342 seq., 353
bidden by Caesar to slay the dragon of Mount Sakila, iv, 342
takes counsel with Mirīn, iv, 342
referred by Mirīn to Hīshwī, iv, 341
Ahraun, required by Gushtāsp to furnish him with arms, iv, 345
goes with Gushtāsp and Hīshwī to Mount Sakila, iv, 319
Hīshwī and, welcome Gushtāsp on his return, iv, 347
gives gifts to Gushtāsp, iv, 347
Ahraun, has the dead dragon conveyed to Caesar's court, iv, 348
marries Caesar's third daughter, iv, 348
Mirīn and, display their accomplishment on the riding-ground, iv, 349
Caesar's wrath with Mirīn and, iv, 351
Mirīn and, send a scornful message to Caesar, iv, 353
set to guard the baggage, iv, 355
Āhriman, the Zoroastrian Evil Principle, sometimes used metaphorically, 139, i, 5, 6, 50, 134, 138, 159, 164, 205, 218, 236, 238, 241, 245, 287, 315, 360; ii, 34, 42, 43, 51, 53, 56, 78, 160, 208, 214, 217, 250, 260, 303, 315, 324, 358, 361, 374 seq., 405 seq.; iii, 17, 123, 214, 228, 251, 266, 275, 277, 287, 293, 294, 300, 303, 304, 314, 316, 318, 338; iv, 23, 41 seq., 45, 46, 80, 103, 124, 128, 130, 162, 163, 179, 206, 243, 272, 288, 342, 348, 352; v, 17, 33, 39, 45, 50, 90, 99, 103, 122, 123, 125, 147, 177, 198, 206, 246, 271, 276; vi, 106, 112, 206, 246, 281, 290, 299, 318, 384; vii, 80, 233, 265, 271, 290, 312, 323, 334, 359, 360, 367, 369; viii, 19, 21, 22 86, 87, 176, 177, 198, 210, 219, 243, 293, 333, 364, 421; ix, 8, 18, 73, 74, 79, 91
envies Gaūmārt, i, 118
son of (the Black Dīv), i, 119
Surūsh warns Gaūmārt against, i, 119
ridden by Tahmūras, i, 125, 127
= Zahhāk, i, 162
= Salm and Tūr, i, 194
Áhriman = Afrásiyáb, i, 306
Faith of, ii, 358; vi, 281, 290
= idolater, viii, 51
= Bandóv or Gustáham, viii, 80
= Khárrád, son of Barzín, viii, 111
= Bahám Chúbína, vii, 205
Ahuna Vairya, Zoroastrian sacred formula, v, 17
Ahura Mazda (Urmuzd), the Zoroastrian Good Principle, i, 116, 235; ii, 25, 81; iv, 137
Ahwáz, city and province (Khuzistán, Susiana), i, 280; vi, 35, 199, 208, 357; vii, 197, 198, 201, 214, 224; viii, 400, 402
Airán-végó (Irán-vej q.v.), ii, 189
Akem Manau, Zoroastrian demon, iii, 271, 272
= Akúman = Akwán, iii 272
assails Zarduhsht, v, 17
Akesínes (Chínáb), Indian river, vi, 31, 64
Akhást, Túránian hero, 151; iv, 105
chosen to fight with Zanga, iv, 97
slain by Zanga, iv, 109
Akhshunwar (Achshunwar), Haitállán king, vii, 160
Akki, foster-father of Sargón I of Agáni, v, 293
Aknoton, Pharaoh (XVIII dynasty)
lover of peace like Yazdagird, son of Shápúr, vi, 371
‘Ákr Bábil, prison, viii, 194, 196
Akúman. See Akem Manau.
Akwán, div, 150, iii, 270 seq., 280 seq., 284, 309)
Story of, iii, 271
Professor Nóldeke on the, iii, 271
Firdausi on, iii, 273, 281
boulder of, iii, 271, 279, 309, 343, 344, 347
removed from pit’s mouth by Rustam, iii, 315
Akwán, appears in the form of an onager, iii, 273 seq.
pursued by Rustam, iii, 275
foils Rustam, iii, 279
takes Rustam at a disadvantage, iii, 276
offers Rustam a choice of deaths, iii, 277
outwitted by Rustam, iii, 277
slain by Rustam, iii, 281
described by Rustam, iii, 282
Ál, place, ix, 93
Aláns (Alami), people, now the Ossetes of the Caucasus, 141, 167, i, 217; iv, 14, 60, 65, 391; vi, 395; viii, 300
invade Irán, i, 19
castle of the, i, 223
taken by Káran, i, 223, seq.
castellan of, duped by Káran, i, 224
monarch of, vi, 395
Núshirwán’s dealings with, vii, 210, 239 seq.
King of = Khusrau Parwíz, viii, 208, 209, 213
Alár, a village in Ardshír-Khurra q.v., vi, 205
Albírúní, Abú Rahíd Muhammad, Oriental author and chronologist (A.D. 973–1048), ii, 189
account of Altír (Gangdízh ?) by, ii, 190
Alburz, mountain-range south of the Caspian, also mythi-
cal range (Hara-berezaiti) surrounding the earth, 142, i, 4, 71, 145, 158, 235, 248, 250, 277, 298, 351, 373; ii, 11, 23, 27, 70, 99, 144, 339, 401; iii, 120; iv, 139; v, 202; vii, 177; ix, 95
Farádún taken by his mother to, i, 152
Zál cast away, and found, upon, i, 241 seq.
Alburz, Kai Kubád brought by Rustam from, i, 382 seq.
Kai Káns' buildings on, ii, 81
Aleppo (Chalybon - Bereoa), city in northern Syria, vii, 218; viii, 41
Alexander I, king of Epirus Italian expedition of, vi, 12 attributed to Alexander the Great, vi, 12
Alexander the Great (Sikandar q.v.), B.C. 356-323, son of Philip II of Macedon and his queen Olympias, i, 14, 49; ii, 8 seq.; iv, 314; v, 30; vi, 193, 194, 204, 252, 253, 373; vii, 383 barrier of, i, 16; vi, 78 legend of, in the Kurán, vi, 78 persecutor of Zoroastrianism, i, 15, 59, 61, 63, 338 paternity of, i, 55 and note; vi, 16, 18 one of the Zoroastrian triad of evil, i, 59 and note said to have burnt the Zoroastrian scriptures, i, 63 Zoroastrianism under, i, 63 Era of, ii, 100 accompanied by experts to the East, vi, 11 Romance of, origin and growth of, vi, 12 seq. diagram to illustrate, vi, 84 Syriac Christian Legend of, See Syriac.
Muhammad’s references to, in the Kurán, vi, 15, 77 Persian national hero, how he became, vi, 15 cities founded by, vi, 13, 18 name, Persian legend of his, vi, 19 Aristotle, tutor of, vi, 29 letter to, vi, 68 correspondence about the succession with, vi, 81 Alexander the Great, Roxana (Kúshanak) and, vi, 30, 32 reign of, first years of, in history and romance, vi, 30 Darius' banquet, his flight from, vi, 30 his pursuit of, vi, 31 murderers of, his treatment of them in history and romance, vii, 32, 33 daughter of, marries, vi, 33 Fakís and, vi, 61 Calanus and, vi, 61 Porus and, historical account of, vi, 63 camp of, his visit to, vi, 64 iron steeds, his device of, vi, 64 stature of, vi, 64 Cleophis and, vi, 65 Ammon, Oasis of, his visit to, vi, 65 Candace (Kaidáfá) and, vi, 65 seq.
Antigonus (Naitkún), assumes name of, vi, 66 Plutarch’s Life of, vi, 67 Brahmans, visit of, to the, vi, 67 Indus mistaken for the Nile by, vi, 68 marvels of his return-journey, vi, 69 admiral of (Nearchus), vi, 69 Amazons and, vi, 12, 72 legend of, vi, 72 Gloom and Fount of Life, legend of his expedition to, in the Pseudo-Clisthenes, vi, 74 seq.
Andreas, his cook, legend of, vi, 76 in the Kurán, vi, 77 Will of, vi, 81 death of, vi, 82 dispute over his place of interment, vi, 82 corpse of, taken to Memphis, vi, 82
Alexander, the Great, interred at Alexandria, vi, 82

Alexander, son of Alexander the Great and Cleophas (?), vi, 65

Alexandria (Iskandariya q.v.), city and sea-port in Egypt, vi, 13, 15, 17, 83

Pseudo-Callisthenes originated at, vi, 13

AlPCS, fights with, and worsts, Aiwa, v, 72

Alkus, fights with, and worsts, Aiwa, vii, 114

Allah, Muhammadan name of the Deity, i, 59

Al Mansúr, 'Abbásid Khalífa (A.D. 754-775), founder of Baghdad, vi, 254

Almás, river, iii, 251

Alp-Arselan (Arslán), Seljuk Sultan (A.D. 1063-1073), ii, 219 note

Al-Awá, Rustam’s spear-bearer, slain by Kamús, 149, iii, 188

Al-Awá, Iranian hero, probably identical with the above, v, 166

Almu, Muhammad on, i, 12, 106

cult of, i, 13

Muhammad on, i, 12, 106

Albéd, place, iii, 283

Al-Iskandarús. See Halai.

Al Khúdhr (Khsr q.v.), the Green Prophet, vi, 78 and note

Alkús, Turánian hero, ii, 114

Ambassadors, instances of kings and chiefs going in person as ambassadors or spies, vi, 325

Ambúh, place, iii, 41

Amen-Ra, Egyptian god personated by Nectanebus, vi, 10
Ameshapentas, the, personifications of good qualities in Zoroastrian theology, iii, 271; v, 15 seq.

Amida (Diyárbakr), city on the upper Tigris, vii, 187

Amín, 'Abbásid Khalifâ, (A.D. 809-813), i, 14

Ammianus Marcellinus (4th century A.D.) Roman historian, v, 13

Ammon, Oasis of, Alexander the Great's visit to, vi, 30, 65

'Ammurîya, Rûman stronghold in Asia Minor between Sîvî Ilsîr and Ak-Shahîr, probably representing the ancient Amorium but sometimes confounded with Angora (Angûriya) the ancient Ancyrâ further to the north-east, vi, 23 note, 89, viii, 46 (Cf. LEC. pp. 134, 153)

Failakûs marches from, against Dârâb, vi, 23

Amorium. See 'Ammurîya.

Amr, Arab chief, attacks Hurmuzd, viii, 93

Amul, city in Mázandarán, i, 145, 177, 289, 298, 314, 366, 367; ii, 18, 194; v, 284; vii, 89, 237; viii, 365, 385, 392; ix, 86

Amul. See Amwî.

Amulet, of Kâi Khusrau, iv, 133 given by Zardûhsht to Asfandiyâr, v, 130

Amwî (Amul, Amûyah, now Charjû), city on the left bank of the Oxus where crossed by the route from Marv to Bûkhârâ, iv, 11, 65, 154, 184, 206; vii, 91 and note, 331, 357, 359; viii, 354

Anâbdî, vi, 32

Anæsthetics, employment of, i, 236, 321 seq.

Anbâr. See Ambâr.

Anûrya. See Anûrûrîya.

Andalús (Land of the West or of the Vandals), Spain, 159, vi, 60, 122, 138

Andaman, Indian noble, viii, 202

Andarâb, town in Afghanistán between Bâlkh and Kâbul, iv, 65

Andarîmân, Turâniân hero, 151, ii, 264; iv, 26; v, 29

Andarîmân (Varâdaremaini), brother of Arjâsp, v, 12, 141, 155

commands one wing of the host, v, 49

executed by Asfandiyâr, v, 158

Andarznâmak (Ahdnâmak), Pahlavi treatise, vi, 257

Andîv, country, viii, 313

Andiyân, Indian warrior, 172

viii, 225, 257, 259, 290, 293, 294, 296

deceived by Caesar's talisman, vii, 285

Bahram Châbînî writes to, viii, 285

receives Kûrmân, viii, 313

Andræanticus, sea, vi, 77

Andreas, Alexander the Great's cook,

legend of, vi, 76 seq.

in Kûran, vi, 77

Androphagoi, the, iii, 141

Anestres Castri = Nûshârwan, vii, 383

Angora. See 'Ammûrîya.

Angra Mainyu = Âhriman, ii, 28

Animals, domestication of, i, 126

Ant, the, Firdausi's plea for, i, 201 and note
Antákiya (Antioch), city in Syria on the Orontes, viii, 41
taken by Núshirwán, vii, 218, 258 seq.
Antigonus (Naitkún), name assumed by Alexander the Great in legend, vi, 60
Antioch. See Antákiya.
New, vii, 218, 259
Antiochus, Macedonian general, vi, 76
Antiochus Sidetes, ii, 80, 81
Aogemaide, Pahlaví treatise, iv, 130
Antipater, regent in Macedonia for Alexander the Great, intrigued against by Olympias, vi, 82
Aphrodité, goddess, iv, 315
Apollo, god, and the Python, vi, 203
Apoplogues, i, 242, 265, 285; iii, 332; iv, 18, 21, 28, 47; vi, 310; ix, 86
Apotheams, i, 259, 260; ii, 157, 158, 170, 224, 254, 273, 208, 300, 313, 315, 330; 357, 383; iii, 53, 91, 96, 107, 188, 212, 260, 277, 301, 310, 341, 348, 350, 351; iv, 13, 32, 33, 38, 39, 59, 93, 108, 121, 131, 208; v, 78, 105, 168, 214, 242, 249, 250, 295; vi, 50, 303, 343; vii, 17, 18, 29, 42, 270, 277, 290, 301, 493; viii, 119, 166, 200, 215, 244, 235, 295; ix, 87, 88, 110
Apprentice, a merchant’s, entertains, and finds favour with Bahram Gur, vii, 40 seq.
Apríes (Pharoah-Hophra, B.C. 589-579), vi, 19
Apszheron, peninsula on the western shore of the Caspian, i, 58, note
Áptya. See Abytín.
Arab, Arabs, 162. 164, ii, 70, 81, 99; iii, 14; iv, 14; v, 31; vi, 90, 161, 200, 254, 321 seq., 377, 385, 399; 398, 402, 499; vii, 10, 107, 201, 219, 244, 245, 247; viii, 57, 94, 188, 190, 191, 208, 239, 241, 250, 251; ix, 3, 5, 25, 60, 69, 70, 72, 75 seq., 79, 80, 92, 94 seq., 114, 117
migration of, northward, i, 11
raids of, into Persian territory, i, 12; vi, 17, 21, 322
domination of, over Frán, i, 12 seq.
ing = Mardás, i, 135
= Zahhák, i, 139, 275
rebellion of, against Kai Káús, ii, 83
Afrásiyáb fights with, for Frán, ii, 92
Daráb demands tribute from vi, 22
steed, i, 243, 254, 290; vi, 380; vii, 120, 392; ix, 11
cymbal, vi, 244
invasion of, vii, 72, 93; ix, 3, 65 seq.
withdraw, viii, 96
sage, sages, vii, 406
quoted, vii, 277
tribes, ix, 65
triumph of, over Dhú Kár, ix, 66
chieftain, incites Abú Bakr to invade Persia, ix, 69
concentrate at Kádisiya, ix, 67
booty found by, at Ctesiphon (?), ix, 68
annex Mesopotamia, ix, 68
Kházistán, ix, 68
= 'Umar, ix, 72
seal, ix, 82
Sa’ad, ix, 84
defeated, ix, 85
Núshirwán’s dream of, viii, 69 seq., ix, 92
Ardawán, daughter of 161, vi, 202
marries Ardshír Pápakan, vi, 202, 229
incited by her brother Bahman to poison Ardshír Pápakan, vi, 250
condemned to death, vi, 260
saved by Ardshír Pápakan’s minister, vi, 260
gives birth to Shápur, vi, 261
restored to favour, vi, 265
writes to Papak, vi, 214
summons Ardshír Pápakan to court, vi, 214
receives gifts from Ardshír Pápakan, vi, 215
highly esteems Ardshír Pápakan, vi, 215
sons of, vi, 215, 255, 267
note
their fate, vi, 228, 229 and note, 250
disgraces Ardshír Pápakan, vi, 210
Ardshír Pápakan intrigues with slave-girl of, 160, vi, 201, 217 seq.
eldest son of, made ruler of Párs, vi, 218 and note
consults the astrologers, vi, 218
Ardshír Pápakan, vainly pursued by, vi, 221 seq.
returns to Rai, vi, 223
writes to his son about Ardshír Pápakan, vi, 223
Ardshír Pápakan marches against, vi, 227
prepares to encounter Ardshír Pápakan, vi, 227
defeated, captured by Kharrád, and slain by Ardshír Pápakan, vi, 228
buried by Tabák, vi, 229
palace of, at Rai spared (?) by Ardshír Pápakan, vi, 229 and note
Ardshír, secretary of, slain by Shápur, vi, 250
Míhrak — Míhrak — Márík (?) vi, 259
Ardhibihisht, ameshaspenta q.v., iii, 286, 328
month, i, 82; v, 16, 39, 92 note
Ardshír, son of Bizhán,
goes with Zarír to Rúm, iv, 360
hails Gushtásp as Sháh, iv, 362
Ardshír, son of Gushtásp, 155, v, 26, 51
death of, foretold by Jámásp, v, 49
slain, v, 57
Ardshír, Iranian hero, perhaps the son of Bizhán, supra
tells Nástúr where to find Zarír, v, 67
takes Farámarz prisoner, v, 288
Ardshír (Bahman q.v.), Sháh, vi, 213, 271 and note
meaning of, v, 259 and note
Ardshír (Artaxerxes II), brother of Shápur, Sásánian Sháh, 163, vi, 3, 328
Shápur arranges for the succession with, vi, 360 seq.
title of, vi, 364
abdication of, vi, 364
Ardshír, high priest temp., Pírúz, vii, 179 seq.
released by Khúshnawáz, vii, 180
Ardshír, high priest temp. Núshírwán, vii, 304, 333, 337, 342
discourse of, vii, 305
questions Búzurjmihr, vii, 308
Ardshír Khurra (Khurra-i-Ardshír), city, (Gúr or Júr, now Firúzábád), and district in Párs, vi, 199, 205, 206, 229 and note, 231, 241, 245; vii, 206; viii, 251, 252, 412 and note
Ardshir Khurra, city, Ardshir Pāpakān builds a Fire-temple in, vi, 230
makes irrigation-works in, vi, 230
meaning of, vi, 290 note
Ardshir Pāpakān (Artaxerxes I),
Shāh and founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, 160, 161; i, 42; ii, 10; v, 10; vi, 193, 209 note, 213 seq.,
294 seq., 303, 307, 315, 322, 325, 495; vii, 79, 185, 212; viii, 191, 214, 222, 205, 270, 285, 302, 303; ix, 105, 109, 111
Notes on, vi, 193 seq., 254 seq.
founds a new national dynasty, restores Zoroas-
trianism, and collects its scriptures, i, 62 seq.
genealogical table of his descendants, vi, 3
rise of, compared to that of Cyrus the Great, vi, 194
Tabari's account of, vi, 198
legend of Cyrus the Great transferred to, vi, 195
birth of, vi, 213
summoned to court by Arda-
wān, vi, 214
equipped by Pāpak, vi, 214
presents gifts to Ardwān, vi, 215
Ardwān favours, vi, 215
prowess of, in the chase, vi, 215
graciously, vi, 216
writes to Pāpak, vi, 216
advised by Pāpak, vi, 216
intrigues with Gulnār, vi, 217 seq.
hears from Gulnār of the presage of the astrologers, vi, 216
flees with Gulnār to Pārs, vi, 220 seq.
followed by the divine Grace in the form of a mountain-
sheep, i, 374; vi, 221 seq.
Ardshir Pāpakān, adherents flock to, vi, 223
addresses his supporters, vi, 224
founds a city, vi, 202, 224
receives promises of help, vi, 224
joined by Tabāk, vi, 225
Tabāk and, defeat Bah-
man, son of Ardwān, vi, 226
marches from Pārs against Ardwān, vi, 227
defeats and slays Ardwān, vi, 228
as recorded in Kārnāmak, vi, 202
gives the spoil to the troops, vi, 229
spares (?) Ardwān's palace at Rai, vi, 229 and note
Tabāk counsels, vi, 229
marriage of, with Ardwān's daughter, vi, 202, 229, 210
returns to Pārs, vi, 229
builds Khurra-i-Ardshir, vi, 229 and note
irrigation-works of, at Khurra-i-Ardshir, vi, 230
war of, with the Kurds, vi, 106, 230 seq.
and Haftwād, vi, 236 seq.
message sent by arrow to, vi, 238
worsted by Haftwād and entertained and coun-
selled by two youths, vi, 239 seq.
slays Mihrak, vi, 241
marches to attack the Worm, vi, 241
gives instructions to Shahrgār, vi, 241
stratagem of, against the Worm, vi, 242
slays the Worm and its attendants, vi, 244
summons Shahrgār, vi, 244 and note
takes Haftwād's stronghold, vi, 244
Ardshir Pāpakān, defeats and slays Haftwād and Shāhwāni, vi, 245

carries off the spoil, vi, 245
builds a Fire-temple, vi, 245
rewards the two youths, vi, 245

invasion of Kirmān by, vi, 205, 245
goes to Ta Isaifān, vi, 245
principles of government of, vi, 250, 273 seq., 280 seq.
Reign of, 161, vi, 254 seq.
Note on, vi, 254
length of, vi, 254
Tabarī on, vi, 254
coins of, vi, 256, 257, 205
Shāpūr crowned by, vi, 257
cities of, vi, 257
prophecy of, vi, 257
enthroned at Baghdad, vi, 258
title of King of kings of, vi, 193, 199, 254, 258, 273
inaugural address of, vi, 258
daughter of Ardawān and, vi, 258
plot of, with her brother Bahman, to poison, vi, 259
discovers plot against him, vi, 260
consults his minister, vi, 260
condemns the daughter of Ardawān to death, vi, 260
minister of, saves daughter of Ardawān and mutilates himself, vi, 100, 261
Shāpūr, son of, born, vi, 261
hears about Shāpūr from his minister, vi, 262
recognises and acknowledges Shāpūr, vi, 264
restores the daughter of Ardawān to favour, vi, 265
rewards his minister, vi, 265
makes a new coinage in honour of his minister, vi, 250, 265
builds Jund-i-Shāpūr, vi, 266

Ardshir Pāpakān, harassed by wars, consults Kaid, vi, 260
wrath at Kaid's advice, vi, 207
seeks in vain for the daughter of Mihrak, vi, 268
referred to, vi, 270
discovers Urμzūd, vi, 271
counsels Urμzūd, vi, 280
calls and counsels Shāpūr, vi, 286 seq.
Church and State, his views on, vi, 250 seq., 286
duration of his dynasty, vi, 252, 257, 280
death of, vi, 291
Balāchistān, his failure to conquer, vii, 242
Nard, invention of, attributed to, vii, 382
True Cross in treasury of, viii, 380

Ardshir, son of Shīrwi, Shāh, 175, ix, 43 seq.
makes Pirūz general, ix, 44
entertains Pirūz at feast, ix, 45
death of, ix, 49
treasury of, squandered by Gurāz, ix, 53

Aretail-aspa. See Arjāsp.

Aries, constellation, i, 88, 118, 310, 335; iii, 26, 38, 187, 318; iv, 24, 147, 158, 180; v, 30, 109, 118, 119, 120; viii, 342, 394

Ariobazanes, the murderer of Darius Codomannus, vi, 32

Ariobazanes, satrap, vi, 32 and note

Ārish, legendary Irānian archer, v, 92; vii, 234 and note; viii, 75, 219 and note; ix, 25

Aristobulus, Greek writer, temp. Alexander the Great, vi, 12

Aristotle (Arastālis q.v.), Greek philosopher (B.C. 384-322)
Aristotle, Alexander the Great's tutor, vi, 29
letter to, vi, 68
correspondence with, about the succession, vi, 81, 83
silk-worm, his account of, vi, 204

Arjāsp, Turānian hero, ii, 264
Arjāsp (Arēṣa'-aspa), king of Turān, i, 155, 156; ii, 9, 29; iii, 109; v, 9, 11 seq., 20, 22, 24 seq., 20, 31, 51 seq., 89, 98, 90, 107 seq., 116, 141, 142, 150, 167, 171, 172, 180, 206; vi, 339, 335, 337, 359; vii, 95, 104, 148; ix, 104
hoard of, viii, 148
in receipt of tribute from Gushṭāsp, v, 32
hears of Gushṭāsp's resolve not to pay tribute, summons, and harangues his priests, v, 36
sends Bīdirafsh and Nāmkhāst to Gushṭāsp, v, 37, 40
receives Gushṭāsp's answer and calls out the host, v, 45
gives one wing to Kuhram, v, 46
the other to Andarimān, v, 46
the chief command to Gurgsār, v, 46
banner to Bīdirafsh, v, 46
vanguard to Khashāsh, v, 46
rear to Hāshādīv, v, 46
marches against Irān, v, 46
defeat of, foretold by Jāmāsp, v, 52
gives one wing to Bīdirafsh, v, 55
the other to Gurgsār, v, 56
centre to Nāmkhāst, v, 56
takes the rear himself, v, 56

Arjāsp, gives Kuhram the command in chief, v, 56
thrice offers rewards to any that will fight Zarir, v, 61, 62
offer of, accepted by Bīdirafsh, v, 62
calls for Bīdirafsh to fight Nastūr, v, 69
fights with the Irānians, v, 71
defeat of, v, 72
proclaimed by Gushṭāsp, v, 75
hears of Asfandiyār's imprisonment and of Gushṭāsp's absence in Sistān, v, 86
summons his chiefs, v, 86
sends Sitūh as spy to Irān, v, 86
on receiving Sitūh's report calls out the host, v, 87
sends Kuhram to attack Balkh, v, 90
marches against Gushṭāsp, v, 94
commands the centre, v, 95
defeats Gushṭāsp and beleaguers him on a mountain, v, 96
Asfandiyār's vow of, and prayer for, vengeance on, v, 103, 104
hears of Asfandiyār's arrival, v, 108
proposes to retreat, v, 108
sends away the spoil of Balkh, v, 108
five sons of, v, 108
persuaded by Gurgsār to remain and fight, v, 108, 109
makes Gurgsār leader of the host, v, 109
arrays the host, v, 109
commands the centre, v, 110
surveys the battlefield from a height, v, 110
prepares for flight if needful, v, 110
Arjasp, dismayed at Asfandiyar's prowess, reproaches Gurgsär, v, 111
hears of Gurgsär's capture and flees, v, 112
entertains Asfandiyar disguised as a merchant, v, 145
questions Asfandiyar, v, 146
allows Asfandiyar to entertain the Turkman chiefs, v, 149
prepares to attack Bishútan, v, 151
bids Kuhram prepare for war, v, 151
sends out Turkhán with troops to reconnoitre, v, 151
hears from Kuhram that Asfandiyar has come, v, 152
bids the Turkmans march out in force, v, 152
palace of, attacked by Asfandiyar, v, 153
arms and encounters Asfandiyar, v, 153, 154
beheaded by Asfandiyar, v, 154
palace of, fired and his women carried off by Asfandiyar, v, 154, 162
head of, thrown from the ramparts of the Brazen Hold, v, 157
sons of, grieve for, v, 157
Asfandiyar takes the treasure of, v, 161
Khán of Chín descended from, vii, 334
Arjuna, one of the five Pandavas (Indian mythology) iv, 138, 139
Ark, 158
Arman, Armenia or district in Ázarbáiján, vii, 203
Armaní, Iránian chief, ix, 74
Armenia (Arman, Irání q.v.), country, iii, 12; vi, 202, 203; vii, 153, 224; viii, 93, 99, 184, 193, 202, 377
Armenia, Roman, vii, 187
Armenian, Armenians (Iráníans), iii, 280; vii, 188, 189, 195, 226, 248, 252
version of the Pseudo-Ca- listhenes, vi, 14
like, vii, 254
— Mansí, vii, 293 and note
Armín, son of Kai Kúbad. See Kai Armín.
Arnawáz, sister of Jamshíd, wife of Zánkhák and Farídún, and mother of Íraj, i, 142
married to Zánkhák, i, 149
seq.
counsels Zánkhák as to his dream, i, 148
Farídún meets, i, 162
Zánkhák tries to kill, i, 197
son of, by Farídún, i, 177
Arnold, Mathew, his "Sohrab and Rustum," ii, 118
Arrán, the modern Karabagh, the region between the Kur and Aras rivers, i, 9
Arrian, Greek historian (A.D. 96-180), vi, 31, 68
Anabasis of, vi, 12
Indica of, vi, 12
Caspian Gates of, vi, 32
on the stature of Porus, vi, 64
Ichthyophagi, vi, 69 seq.
Alexander and the Amazons, vi, 72
death of Alexander, vi, 82
Arrow-shots, three famous, vii, 75
Bahrám Chúbíná's, vii, 126
Arsaces, name of the founder and other kings of the Parthian (Ashkánán) dynasty, vi, 197
Arsacid, Arsacids, dynastic title of the above, iii, 9; vi, 205, 255; vii, 156, 185, 212
imperial system of, vi, 198
some of, escape from Ard-shír Pápakán to Armenia, vi, 203
Arzacid, rivalry of, with Sasanians, viii, 73
Arsalas, murderer of Darius Codomanus, vi, 32
Arses, Shah (B.C. 338-339) vi, 29
Arslan Jazib, one of Mahmud's generals, i, 100
referred to, i, 114
Artabanus III (II according to some reckonings), Parthian king (A.D. 10-40), iii, 9, 10
Artabanus, son of above, iii, 9
Artabanus, Persian captain of the guard temp. Xerxes, v, 282
Rustam and, v, 282
Artabanus III or IV (Ardawán q.v.), vi, 201
Artang, the house of the heresiarch Mání, ii, 19 and note; vii, 355 and note; viii, 172 and note, 362 and note
Artaxerxes Longimanus, Shah, v, 281, 282
Bahram and, v, 282
Artaxerxes Mnemon, Shah, i, 59
Artaxerxes Ochus, Shah (B.C. 359-338), vi, 18 note, 29
Nectanebus II conquered by vi, 29
murdered, vi, 29
Artaxerxes I, Sasanian Shah. See Ardshir Pápakán.
Artaxerxes II (Ardshir brother of Shápúr), Sasanian Shah, vi, 303
Arts, invention of the. See Gauîmart, Ilushang, Talmúras, and Jamsid.
Arús, treasure, viii, 406 and note, ix, 29
Arwand (Dijla, Tigris), ii, 392, 404; vi, 329; viii, 90; ix, 85, 92
Faridún's crossing of the, i, 160
Arzhang, a div and commander of the troops of Mázan-darán, 143; ii, 43, 44, 50 seq., 63, 64; v, 203
Arzhang, put in charge of Kai Káús and his troops when taken prisoners, ii, 41
slain by Rustam, ii, 57
Arzhang, dungeon of, iii, 309
Arzhang, Turanian hero, 148, iii, 76, 77
challenges the Iránians, iii, 119
slain, iii, 120
Arzhang, Mání the heresiarch's house. See Artang.
Aryan, Aryans, race, iii, 10 and note, iv, 137
race, i, 7
early seats of, i, 7
meaning of, i, 7
organization of, i, 7
primitive religion of, i, 7
belief in magic of, i, 8
division of, i, 8
India and Irán conquered by, i, 8
Indian, their relations with the Iránians, i, 15
Árzú, daughter of Sarv and wife of Salma, i, 188 and note referred to, i, 178 seq.
Árzú, daughter of Máhiyár the jeweller, vii, 59, 61
referred to, vii, 55, 56, 58
sings to Bahram Gur, vii, 60
Bahram Gur woos and weds, vii, 61 seq.
meaning of, vii, 65 note
Ascalon, city in Palestine, v, 292
Asclepias acida, plant. See Homa.
Asfandiyár (Sponta data, Span-dát), mythical Iránian hero, son of Shah Gush-tasp, and the rival in legend of Rustam, 155-157, i, 42, 55; ii, 29; v, 9, 10, 12, 24 seq., 29, 30, 41 seq., 45, 49, 60 seq., 90 seq., 258, 259, 261, 270, 281 seq., 286, 290, 293; vi, 15, 49, 55, 200, 213, 224, 242, 254, 271; viii, 95, 104 and
Asfandiyār—cont.

note, 171, 270, 332, 395
note: ix, 25, 26 note, 104

invulnerability of, v, 19
sisters of, 156, v, 20, 22
carried off by the Turk-
mans, v, 93, 100, 171
rescued by, v, 153, 192
lament over, v, 252 seq.
marriage of, with Humāi,
v, 22, 77
ignored by Firdausī, v, 22
birth of, v, 32
answers, in conjunction with
Zarīr and Jāmāsp, Arjāsp’s letter, v, 42
triumph of, over Arjāsp
foretold by Jāmāsp, v, 52
given command of one wing,
v, 55
addresses his five brothers,
v, 65
hears his father’s offer of
the crown and throne to
the avenger of Zarīr, v, 66
slays Bādirafsh, v, 70
presents the head of Bādira-
fish and the steed of Zarīr
to Gushtāsp, v, 71
divides the host, v, 71
attacks, with Nastūr and
Nūš Āzar, the Turkmans,
v, 71
grants quarter to the Turk-
mans, v, 72
made chief ruler of Irān
under Gushtāsp and sent
by him to convert the
world, v, 76
rests from his labours, v, 77
makes Farshīdward govern-
or of Khorāsān, v, 77
reports the success of his
administration to Gusht-
āsp, v, 77
slandered by Gurazm, v, 78
called to court, v, 80 seq.
sons of, 157, v, 80, 81
resigns his host to Bahman,
v, 82
arraigned by Gushtāsp, v, 83

Asfandiyār, put in bonds, v.

sent to Gumbadān, v, 84
solaced by Bahman and
others, v, 85
Jāmāsp advises Gushtāsp
to release, v, 97
hears of arrival of Jāmāsp,
v, 98, 99
parley of, with Jāmāsp, v,
99 seq.
eight and thirty brothers
of, v, 101, 103, 111, 160
bids Jāmāsp send for black-
smiths, v, 101
breaks his bonds himself, v,
102, 206
calls for his steed and arms,
v, 102
sets off with Jāmāsp, Bah-
man, and Nūş Āzar, v,
103
vow of, v, 103
laments over Farshīdward,
v, 104
prays that he may avenge
Farshīdward on Arjāsp, v,
104
shrouds Farshīdward, v, 105
sees and addresses the corpse
of Gurazm, v, 105
passes the Turkman trenches
and defeats the outposts,
v, 106
interview of, with Gusht-
āsp, v, 106
receives the promise of the
crown and undertakes to
deliver Gushtāsp, v, 107
arrays and leads the host,
v, 109
attacks the Turkmans, v,
110
defeats Kuhram, v, 110
takes Gurgsār prisoner, v.
111
defeats Arjāsp, v, 112, 206
grants quarter to the Turk-
mans, v, 113
distributes the spoil, v,
114

VOL. IX.
Asfandiyár, undertakes to rescue his sisters from the Turkmans, v, 115
prepares to invade Túrán, v, 115
Seven Stages (Haft Khwán) of, ii, 29; v, 27, 118, 119, 121, 133, 162; viii, 171
Story of, 156, v, 116 seq. compared with Rustam’s, v, 117
rivalry in legend between Rustam and, v, 116
quits Balkh and goes, with Gurgsár as guide, to Túrán, v, 120
offers the kingdom of the Turkmans to Gurgsár in return for faithful service, v, 120
questions Gurgsár, v, 120 seq., 124, 125, 128, 131, 134, 139, 141
during his adventures in the Seven Stages, leaves Bishútan in command, v, 122, 124, 126, 129, 132 note, 144
praised by Bishútan and the host, v, 123, 125, 131, 133
scythed chariot made by, v, 126
revived by Bishútan after encountering the dragon, v, 127
song of, v, 129
amulet given to, by Zardubhít, v, 130
courages the Íráníans to persevere, v, 136
prays for deliverance from the snow, v, 138
leaves the baggage behind, v, 138
reproaches Gurgsár for giving false information, v, 139, 140
offers to make Gurgsár captain of the Brazen Hold if he will be a trusty guide, v, 140
Asfandiyár, guided by Gurgsár crosses ford with host, v, 140
cursed by Gurgsár, v, 141
slays Gurgsár, v, 141
surveys the Brazen Hold, v, 142
captures, questions, and slays two Turkmans, v, 142
Bishútan and, consult, v, 143
stratagem of, to take the Brazen Hold, v, 116, 143
disguised as a merchant, interviews Arjásp, v, 145
assumes the name of Kharrád, v, 146
questioned by Arjásp, v, 146
trades as a merchant in the Brazen Hold, v, 147
meets his sisters, v, 147
gives a banquet to the Turkman chiefs, v, 149
surprises the Brazen Hold, v, 152 seq.
provides for his sisters’ safety, v, 153
attacks the palace of Arjásp, v, 153
encounters Arjásp, v, 154
beheads Arjásp, v, 154
fires Arjásp’s palace, v, 154
carries off the women, v, 154
quits the Brazen Hold and leaves Sáwa in charge, v, 154
joins Bishútan, v, 155
pursues Kuhram to the Brazen Hold, v, 159
encounters and takes Kuhram prisoner, v, 157
grants no quarter to the Turkmans, v, 158
puts to death Andarimán and Kuhram, v, 158
announces his victory to Gushtás, v, 159
disposes of the spoil, v, 161
Asfandiyar, carries off his sisters, the womenfolk of Arjas, and others from the Brazen Hold, v, 192
sets fire to, and dismantles, the Brazen Hold, v, 192
sends his sons homeward by different routes, v, 192
returns himself by the Seven Stages, v, 192
picks up his left baggage, v, 192
hunts while waiting for his sons, v, 193
rejoined by his sons, v, 193
welcome of, on his return to Iran, v, 193
banquets with Gushtasp, v, 194
fight of, with Rustam, Story of, 156
recited by Nadr, son of Harith, at Mecca, v, 166
complains to his mother of Gushtasp’s treatment of him, v, 167
counselled by his mother, v, 168
fate of, foretold by Jamasp, v, 169
recounts his deeds before Gushtasp, v, 170
promised the throne by Gushtasp when he has brought Rustam and his kin in bonds to court, v, 173
meets with an ill omen on starting for Zabulistan, v, 177
consults with Bishutan, v, 178
sends Bahman on an embassage, v, 179
message of, to Rustam, v, 179
receives Rustam’s answer from, and is wroth with, Bahman, v, 191
converses of Rustam with Bishutan, v, 192
Asfandiyar, goes attended to meet Rustam, v, 192
parleys with Rustam, v, 192 seq.
declines Rustam’s invitation to visit him, v, 193
invites Rustam to a feast, v, 195
repents of having invited Rustam, v, 196
counselled by Bishutan to keep on friendly terms with Rustam, v, 196
does not summon Rustam to the feast, v, 197
wrangles with Rustam, v, 198 seq.
does not assign Rustam his proper seat at the feast, v, 200
remonstrated with by Rustam, v, 200
bids Bahman resign his own seat to Rustam, v, 200
vilifies Zal and Rustam, v, 201
recounts his lineage, v, 205
his exploits, v, 205
his capture of a hill-fort, v, 206
tries a handgrip with Rustam, v, 208
challenges Rustam, v, 209
astonished at Rustam’s prowess at the board, v, 210
declines Rustam’s overtures, v, 211 seq.
calls Zabulistan “Babble-stead,” v, 216
parodies Rustam’s address to royal tent-enclosure, v, 216
arms for fight with Rustam, v, 223
refuses Rustam’s suggestion of a general engagement, v, 224
informed by Bahman of the slaying of Nush Azar and Mihr-i-Nush, v, 227
Asfandiyar, enraged with Rustam, v, 228
wounds Rustam and Raksh, v, 229
jeers at Rustam, v, 229
calls upon Rustam to surrender, v, 230
returns to camp, laments for Nush Azar and Mihr-i-Nush, and sends their corpses to Gushtasp with a message, v, 232
converses with Bishūtan of the fight with Rustam, v, 232, 249
Simurgh instructs Rustam how to overcome, v, 237 seq.
branch of tamarisk fatal to, v, 239 and note
summoned by Rustam to fight and becomes despondent, v, 240
Rustam's final effort for peace with, v, 241 seq.
Bahman and Bishūtan hear of the overthrow of, v, 244
address of, to Bishūtan, v, 245
Rustam bewails, v, 246
confides Bahman to Rustam, v, 248
foretells evil for Rustam, v, 248
gives his last charge to Bishūtan, v, 249
death of, v, 250
Rustam laments over, v, 250
corpse of, sent to Gushtasp by Rustam, v, 251
funeral procession of, conducted by Bishūtan, v, 251
lamentations over, v, 252 seq.
corpse of, displayed by Bishūtan, v, 253
Rustam writes to Gushtasp to excuse himself in the matter of, v, 250
Xerxes and, v, 282
Asfandiyar, Bahman on the vengeance due for, v, 283
referred to, v, 288
Asfandiyar-nāma (Spand-dāt-nāma), v, 26, 27
Ashmaogha, vii, 188
Ashi Vanguhi, the genius of piety, iv, 137
Ashk, presumed founder of the Ashkānian (Parthian) dynasty, vi, 107, 210
meaning of, vi, 197
Ashkabūs, Túrānian hero, i, 148, iii, 183, 186, 297, 268
challenges the Irānians, iii, 179
Ruhham worsted by, iii, 179
Rustam's fight with, iii, 109, 179 seq.
referred to, viii, 75
parleys with Rustam, iii, 180
slain by Rustam, iii, 181
Ashkānian, Ashkānians, race and dynasty, i, 49; iii, 9, 11; v, 10, 282; vi, 196, 209; viii, 214
duration of rule, vi, 193
times, Firdausi's lack of materials for, vi, 193
surviving traditions of, transferred to other dynasties, vi, 194
importance of, vi, 194
genealogy, vi, 197
Ashkash, Irānian hero, iii, 33, 34, 80, 317, 350, 352; iv, 13, 57, 61, 65
Rustam and, go to rescue Bizhan, iii, 334
conveys baggage toward Irān, iii, 349
Kai Khusrau sends to Khārazm, iv, 15
Shida defeated by, iv, 60, 72
troops of, recalled, iv, 145
sent with a host to Zam, iv, 157
pillage of Makrān by, stopped by Kai Khusrau, iv, 243
Ashkush, appointed governor of Makran, iv, 211

Kai Khushan welcomed by, on his return from Ganges, iv, 251

Ashtád, Iranian chief, ix, 11 seq.

Astrologer, consulted by

Astronomer, son of Sháhpur, vi, 375 seq., 390

Bahram Gúr, vii, 144, 145

Khan of China, vii, 313

Khurram Parwiz, vii, 372

Asteages (Istuevag), king of the Medes (Manda q.v., B.C. 584-550)

Astronomer, consulted by

Assyrians, ii, 9

Astyaghs, di, 159

Asoka, Indian king (B.C. 247-225), i, 15

Asp, Persian name of, ii, 114

Assarbanipal, Assyrian king, and

Khurram Parwiz, reigns of compared, viii, 193

Assyria, v, 292

Assyrians, i, 10

Invasions of Iran by, i, 10

Astawadh. See Haftwád.

Asivihád, demon, iv, 137

Astrolabe, i, 104, 188, 310 note; ii, 215, 273; iv, 158, 297; vi, 379; vii, 353; ix, 73

Astrologer, Astrologers, Astrology, i, 104, 188, 255, 310 and note; ii, 233, 284, 409; iv, 27, 47, 158, 159, 279, 284, 334, 335; v, 48, 108 seq., 203; vi, 108, 109, 114, 132, 195, 198, 201, 218, 227, 377; ix, 73

Importance of, in Sháhpámá, i, 52

Consulted by Faridún, i, 104

Minúchínir i, 251, 397

Záid, i, 255

Sám, i, 278

Kai Káus, ii, 193, 215, 217

Afrázíyáb, ii, 273; iv, 158

Siyáwush, ii, 282

Rústam, iii, 219

Kai Khurram, iv, 158

Húmán, v, 310

Astrologer, consulted by Sikan-dar, vi, 180

Ardawan, vi, 218

Yardagh, son of Sháhpur, vi, 375 seq., 390

Bahrám Gúr, vii, 144, 145

Khán of China, vii, 353

Talhand, vii, 408, 413, 418

Khusrau Parwiz, vii, 372

Asteages (Istuevag), king of the Medes (Manda q.v., B.C. 584-550)

Conquered by Cyrus, i, 18;

vi, 194

Identified by Armenian historians with Zalhák, i, 72, 144

Mandane and, legend of, ii, 190

Afrázíyáb and, in legend, ii, 191

Asura. See Ahúra.

Atbara, tributary of the Nile, vi, 65

Athenaeus, Greek writer (2nd-3rd centuries A.D.), iv, 316

Deipnosophistae of, ii, 10 quoted, iv, 314

Athens, schools of, closed by Justinian, vii, 280

Áthrvans, priests of the Cult of Fire, i, 59

Áthwyá. See Atbín.

Atkinson, James, on the Sháhpámá, vi, 250

Átossa, wife of Cambyses and Darius Hystaspis, v, 11

=Hutaosa, wife of Gush-tásp (?), v, 11

Átropatene (Ázarbájjan q.v.), i, 9, 61

Primitive seat of Fire-worship, i, 59

Sub-kingdom in Parthian times, vi, 198

Attock, town on the Indus in northern India, vi, 52

Aurand, father of Sháh Luhrásp, v, 205

Árvat-aspa (Luhrásp q.v.), iv, 310; vi, 11
Autumnal equinox, iv, 313
Kai Luhrás is crowned at, iv, 313
Avars, Caucasian tribe, viii, 194
Avasta. See Zandavasta.
Avidius Cassius, Roman general, vi, 201 note
Awá, Iránian hero, iv, 149
Áwáza, stronghold, 170, viii, 134.
Azar, Ethiopian, dynasty, viii, 24 note
Áyás, region, v, 61, 74, 107
Áyín Gashasp (Yazdánbakhsh), Iránian noble, 171, viii, 75, 150 note, 222
Hurmuž consults, viii, 174, 177
and the prisoner, story of, viii, 177 seq.
marches to Hamadán, viii, 178
consults a seer, viii, 178
murdered, viii, 181
avenged by Bahram Chúbína, viii, 181
troops of, disperse, viii, 181
Ázad Sarv, Firdausi’s authority for the Story of Rustam and Shaghád, v, 200 seq.
Ázad Sarv, archmage and agent of Núshírwán, v, 261, vii, 283 and note
goes to Marv, vii, 283
discovers Búzurjmír, vii, 283
returns with Búzurjmír to court, vii, 283
Ázáda, Rúman slave-girl, vi, 382
goes hunting with Bahram Gúr, vi, 382
tries to shame Bahram Gúr in his markmanship, vi, 383
slain by Bahram Gúr, vi, 384 and note
Ázar (Ázarbáiján q.v.), ii, 195
Ázar, genius, iii, 287, 328
Ázar (Ádar), month and day, i, 88, 80; vi, 411; viii, 241, 421; ix, 17
Ázar Ábádagán (Ázarakhsh, Ázargashasp q.v.), Fire-
temple at Shúz (Takht-i-Suláimán) near the south-
eastern border of Azarbáiján, not at Tabríz with
which the place has been wrongly identified (NT, p. 100, note), 172, iv, 250; vii, 86, 224, 362; viii, 282; ix, 71
importance of, i, 61
visited by Kai Khusrvan, iii, 20
Kai Khusrvan and Kai Khúis
go on a pilgrimage to, iv, 238
Khatún, wife of Khán, sent
to serve at, vii, 5
Bahram Gúr visits, vii, 86, 94
Núshírwán visits, vii, 250, 363
Ázar Afrúz, third son of Asfandiyár, v, 81
Ázarakhsh (Ázargashasp, Ázar Ábádagán q.v.), Fire-
temple, i, 61
importance of, i, 61
Ázarbáiján (Atropatene q.v.),
province in north-western Persia, i, 9, 61; ii, 339; iv, 136; v, 16; vi, 198, 203; vii, 100, 214
meaning of, i, 50
Ázargashasp, spirit of the light-
ing, i, 73, 248, 309, 349; ii, 57, 294, 345; iii, 23, 53.
72, 92, 97, 114, 194, 279,
327; iv, 84, 100, 147,
175, 275, 397, 399; vi,
351; vii, 21, 70, 232;
vi, 49, 122, 152, 170,
245, 250, 415
temple of (Ázar Ábádagán q.v.), iv, 130, 258, 259; vii, 86, 250, 317, 395; viii, 68, 184, 210 and note
visited by Kai Khusrvan, iii, 20
Azargashasp, temple of Kai Khusrav and Kai Ka'uns go on a pilgrimage to, iv, 248
referred to, iv, 204
Gushasp q.v., vi, 212 and note
Bahram Gur visits, vii, 80, 130
high priest of, converts Sapinmad to Zoroastrianism, vii, 130
Nushirwan visits, vii, 250, 303
Khusrav Parwiz visits, viii, 283, 307, 312
Azargashasp, Iranian warrior, viii, 290
Azar Makian, father of Farrukhizad, viii, 408
Azarmulukht, Shâh, 175, v, 294; ix, 50, 50
reproaches Kubâd, ix, 7
end of, ix, 50, 60
Azarnarsî, son of Hurmuzd son of Narsî, vi, 318
Azdites, Arab tribe, i, 11
Azhi, Azi (Dahâka, Zahhák q.v.), i, 142; ii, 81

B
Bâbak, Tribal King. See Pâpak.
Bâbak, muster-master of Nushirwan
bidden to enrol the host, 167, vii, 230
insists on Nushirwan's attendance for enrolment, vii, 231
asks pardon of the Shâh, vii, 232
Bâbar, founder of the Mogul dynasty in India
resolutions of, as to wine-drinking, vii, 75 note
Babblestead, nonce name given by Asfandiyar to Zâbulistân, v, 210
Babul (Babylon q.v.), 160
Bab i-Bayân, a surcoat of leopard or tiger skin worn by Rustam in battle, iii, 184, 186
referred to, iii, 278
Babylon (Bâbil, gate of the god), city on the left bank of the Euphrates, now represented by the modern Hillah on the right bank, ii, 80; iii, 280; vi, 17, 31, 81, 83; viii, 104, 149; ix, 65, 92
hanging gardens of, v, 293
Sikandar marches toward, vi, 170, 178
prodigious birth at, vi, 81, 180
Sikandar sickens at, vi, 181
dies at, vii, 81, 183
Zahhák king of, ix, 95
Babylonia, ii, 80, 81
Babylonian, vi, 254
script, vi, 320
Bacchus, Saint and Martyr, vii, 188
Bactria, region between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus, vi, 32, 108
Bactrian plains, iii, 10
camels, vii, 47; ix, 93
Badakhshan, region south of the Upper Oxus and east of Balkh, famous for its rubies, iv, 65, 102
signet-ring of, i, 300
gem of, vi, 382 and note
Bâdân-Pîrûz (Shahrân - Pîrûz, Ardabil q.v.), city built by Shâh Pîrûz in Azarbaijân, 166, vii, 100, 103
Badar, Bâdar, battle of, ii, 337 note, v, 106
Bâd Awar, treasure viii, 406, and note, ix, 29
Baeton, Greek writer, temp. Alexander the Great, vi, 12
Baghdad, city on the Tigris, founded by the 'Abbasid Khalîfa Al Mansûr
Baghdad — cont.
as his capital in A.D. 762, on the site of an old Babylonian city (Baghdad), 161, 165, i, 14, 160; iii, 35; iv, 147, 256; v, 28; vi, 254, 290, 322, 327; vii, 83 and note; viii, 109 note, 112, 174, 193, 203, 393; ix, 68
Ardshir Papakán enthroned at, vi, 258
Yazdagird quits, ix, 88
Persian settlement of, ix, 67 raided by Arabs, ix, 67
Bagiz, vi, 32
Bagoas, vi, 29
Bahar, district in Turkistan where Siyawushgird was built, ii, 286
Bahman (Vohu Manah), amesha spenta q.v., iii, 286, 327; v, 16; vi, 362 and note
Yasht, Pahlavi Text, vii, 188
month and day, iv, 81 note, v, 310; vii, 31 and note
Bahman (Ardshir, Artaxerxes), son of Asfandiyár, Sháh, 156, 157, i, 42; ii, 9; v, 81, 166, 251, 254, 293, 297, 393; vi, 20 note, 34 and note, 49, 200, 213, 270 and note; viii, 270
eldest son of Asfandiyár, v, 80
Asfandiyár resigns the host to, v, 82
hears of Asfandiyár’s imprisonment, v, 85
goes with others to solace him, v, 85
accompanies Asfandiyár from Gumbadán, v, 103 sent on an embassage, v, 179 seq.
crosses the Hirmund, v, 182
coming of, reported to Zál, v, 182
interview of, with Zál, v, 183
Bahman, follows Rustam to the hunting-ground, v, 184
tries to kill Rustam, v, 184
interview of, with Rustam, v, 185 seq.
entertained by Rustam, v, 186
astonished at Rustam’s appetite, v, 186
leaves Rustam, v, 190
gives Rustam’s answer to Asfandiyár, v, 191
Asfandiyár’s wrath with, v, 191
resigns his seat at the feast to Rustam, v, 200
informs Asfandiyár of the slaying of Núsh Ázar and Mihr-i-Núsh, v, 227
hears of Asfandiyár’s overthrow, v, 244
confided to Rustam by Asfandiyár, v, 248
Zawára warns Rustam against, v, 250
remains with Rustam, v, 252, 256
instructed by Rustam and profits thereby, v, 256
Gushtásp advised by Jámásp to write to, v, 258
Gushtásp’s letter of recall to, v, 258
equipped by Rustam for his journey, v, 258
welcomed and called Ardshir by Gushtásp, v, 259 and note
long arms of, v, 281
appointed by Gushtásp to succeed him, v, 270
historical position of, in Persian legend, v, 284
ascends the throne and harangues the chiefs on the vengeance due for Asfandiyár, v, 283
invades Sistán, v, 284 seq.
sends a hostile message to Zál, v, 285
Bahman, rejects Zal’s concilia
tory overtures, v, 280
sacks Zal’s palace, v, 280
pillages Zabuhistan, v, 287
ights, defeats, and exe-
cutes Farâmarz, v, 288
Bishûtân intercedes for Zal
with, v, 288
stops the pillage of Zâbul
and releases Zal, v, 286
quits Zâbul by Bishûtân’s
advice, v, 290
passes over his son Sâsân
and nominates Humân and
her issue as successors to
the throne, v, 294
death of, v, 294
referred to, v, 310
Bahman, son of Arddawân, 160,
161, vi, 202, 225, 227, 290
made ruler of Pars, vi, 218
and note
referred to, vi, 222
bidden by Arddawân to seek
out Ardishir Pâpakân, vi,
223
wounded and put to flight
by Ardishir Pâpakân and
Tabâk, vi, 227
escapes to Hind after the
defeat of Arddawân, vi, 228
urges his sister to poison
Ardawân, vi, 250
Bahman, Íranian magnate, temp.
Nûshirwân, vii, 312; viii,
22
Bahman, castle of, in Ázar-
bâujân, 146, ii, 330, 495
seq.
Bahrain, group of islands off
the Arabian shore of the
Persian Gulf, vi, 330; ix,
68
Bahràm, genius, iii, 287, 328;
vii, 366 and note
day, vii, 279
fatal to Bahràm Chûbînâ,
viii, 337 and note, 339
and note
Bahràm, moralist, quoted by
Firdawsî, ii, 180
Bahràm (Vardanes), son of
Gûdûz and brother of Giv,
human hero and Parthi-
ân king, 115, 117, 118;
i, 33, 35, 38, 58, 62, 68,
127, 138, 144, 158, 249,
257, 258, 271, 290, 318,
338, 340; ii, 13, 15, 14,
43, 46 seq., 67, 72, 95 seq.,
114, 119, 132, 200, 214,
232; iv, 8, 312; vi,
107
takes part in the Fight of the
Seven Warriors, ii, 107
seq.
go es with Siyâwush against
Afrâsiyâb, ii, 226
put in command by Siyâ-
wush, ii, 250, 257
interviews Farûd, iii, 47 seq.
Farûd presents his mace to,
iii, 50
reports his interview with
Farûd to Tûs, iii, 51
tries to save Farûd, iii, 52
reproaches the frâniâns, iii,
60
slays Kabûd, iii, 74
rescues the crown of Rîv-
niz, iii, 94
loses his whip, iii, 11, 95
becomes fey, iii, 95
succours a wounded brother,
iii, 97
finds his whip, iii, 95
loses his horse, iii, 95
set on by Turkmans, iii, 98
Rûm, iii, 99
wounds Rûm, iii, 99
interviews Pirân, iii, 99
attacked by Tazhâv, iii,
101
found by Giv, iii, 192
death and burial of, iii, 194
Bahràm, son of Zarasp, frâniân
hero, goes with Zarûr to
Rûm, iv, 300
commands the host in
Zarûr’s absence, iv, 300
hails Gushtasp as Shâh, iv,
302
Bahram, Iranian warrior or king, iv, 268

Bahram = Ardawan, vi, 197, 210

Bahram, son of Piruz, Iranian warrior, temp. Bahram Gur, vii, 85

Bahram, father of Shirwi temp. Nushirwan, vii, 251, 262

Bahram, son of Urmuzd, Sasanian Shah (Varahran I), 162, vi, 3
receives the throne from, and is counselled by, Urmuzd, vi, 303 seq.
mourns for Urmuzd, vi, 306
Reign of, vi, 307 seq.
Note on, vi, 307
appoints his successor and dies, vi, 309
Mani and, vi, 327

Bahram, son of Bahram, Sasanian Shah (Varahran II), 162, vi, 3, 308
appointed to succeed his father, vi, 309
Reign of, vi, 310
Note on, vi, 310
story told of, vi, 310

Bahram, son of Shapur, Sasanian Shah (Varahran IV), 163, vi, 3, 371
Reign of, vi, 308
Note on, vi, 308
ruler of Kirmân, vi, 308
title of, vi, 313, 308
seal of, vi, 308
Tabari's account of, vi, 308
daughter of, vi, 309
resigns the throne to his brother, vi, 309
dies, vi, 309

Bahram, son of Siyawush, 172, viii, 75, 103, 245
reported slain, viii, 128
returns with captive sorcerer, viii, 128
speech of, viii, 169
related to Bahram Chubina, viii, 187
wife of, viii, 187

Bahram, son of Siyawush, wife of, warns Bahram Chubina, viii, 247
pursues Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 233
besieges Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 236
beguiled by Bandwi, viii, 236, 245
returns with Bandwi to Bahram Chubina, viii, 238
blamed by Bahram Chubina, viii, 238
given custody of Bandwi, viii, 238
slain by Bahram Chubina, viii, 247

Bahram, Iranian general, left in charge of host by Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 296

Bahram, father, in Persian Tabari, of Bahram Chubina, viii, 77

Bahram, name of, inscribed on cup incites Khusrau Parwiz to afflict Rai, viii, 305 and note

Bahram Azarmihan, Iranian scribe, 170
Hurmuizd attempts to suborn, viii, 85 seq.
reveals state-secret to Hurmuizd, viii, 88
put to death, viii, 89

Bahram Bahramiyân, Sasanian Shah (Varahran III), 162, vi, 3, 314, 324, 334
Reign of, vi, 314
Note on, vi, 314
miscalled "Kirmânschâh," vi, 314, 308
appoints his son to succeed him, vi, 314, 315

Bahram Chubina, son of Gas-has, marchlord of Rai, Persian warrior and usurper, 170-173, i, 14; vi, 209, 250; viii, 70, 73, 184, 187, 190, 200, 214, 215, 343 seq., 352 seq.,
Bahram Chubina

- refuses Sawa's offers, viii, 113 seq., 117
- counselled by Kharrad, viii, 121
- arrays his host, viii, 122
- prayer of, before battle, viii, 123
- encourages the Irâniâns against Sawa's sorcery, etc., viii, 124 seq.
- defeats and slays Sawa, viii, 126
- doings of, after battle with Sawa, viii, 130
- rewarded by Hurmuzd, viii, 133
- ordered to attack Parmuda, viii, 133
- holds revel in a garden, viii, 135
- attacked by and defeats Parmuda, viii, 135 seq.
- besieges Parmuda in Awaza, viii, 138
- informs Hurmuzd, viii, 138
- negotiates for surrender of Awaza with Parmuda, viii, 138 seq.
- receives surrender of, and insults, Parmuda, viii, 143
- blamed by Kharrad and archscribe, viii, 144
- tries to appease Parmuda, viii, 145
- has inventory made of the wealth in Awaza, viii, 147
- sends Ízíd Gashaasp with spoil to Irân, viii, 148
- Hurmuzd begins to suspect, viii, 151
- advances of, to Khán rejected, viii, 153
- goes to Balkh, viii, 153
- guided by an onager, viii, 159
- incited to seek the kingship, viii, 158
- change in, viii, 158
- questioned by Kharrad, viii, 158

 Bahram Chubine, refuses Sawa's offers, viii, 113 seq., 117

counselled by Kharrad, viii, 121
arrays his host, viii, 122
prayer of, before battle, viii, 123
encourages the Irâniâns against Sawa's sorcery, etc., viii, 124 seq.
defeats and slays Sawa, viii, 126
doings of, after battle with Sawa, viii, 130
rewarded by Hurmuzd, viii, 133
ordered to attack Parmuda, viii, 133
holds revel in a garden, viii, 135
attacked by and defeats Parmuda, viii, 135 seq.
besieges Parmuda in Awaza, viii, 138
informs Hurmuzd, viii, 138
negotiates for surrender of Awaza with Parmuda, viii, 138 seq.
receives surrender of, and insults, Parmuda, viii, 143
blamed by Kharrad and archscribe, viii, 144
tries to appease Parmuda, viii, 145
has inventory made of the wealth in Awaza, viii, 147
sends Ízíd Gashaasp with spoil to Irân, viii, 148
Hurmuzd begins to suspect, viii, 151
advances of, to Khán rejected, viii, 153
goes to Balkh, viii, 153
guided by an onager, viii, 159
incited to seek the kingship, viii, 158
change in, viii, 158
questioned by Kharrad, viii, 158
Bahrám Chúbina, sends Yalán-sina after Kharrád and archers, viii, 150
pardons archers, viii, 162
renounces allegiance to Hurmuzd, viii, 192
intercepts the royal letters, viii, 193
consults the chiefs, viii, 163
becomes friends with the Khán, viii, 172
appoints a prince for Khurá-sán, etc., viii, 173
marches to Rai, viii, 173
avenges murder of Ayin Gashasp, viii, 181
historical campaign of, against Khusrau Parwíz, viii, 189
carline and, viii, 189, 303
marches to the Nahrawán, viii, 201
spies' report of, to Khusrau Parwíz, viii, 201
Khusrau Parwíz marches to meet, viii, 203
interview of, with, viii, 204 seq.
tamper with troops of Khusrau Parwíz, viii, 225
combat of, with Khusrau Parwíz, viii, 228
arrives at Taisafún, viii, 231
sends Bahrám, son of Siyá-wush, in pursuit of Khusrau Parwíz, viii, 233
blasphemes Bahrám, viii, 238
induces, warns and imprisons Bandwi, viii, 238
addresses the magnates, vii, 239
elected Sháh, viii, 243
gives malcontents three days to quit frán, viii, 244
plot against, viii, 245 seq.
warned, viii, 247
slays Bahrám, son of Siyá-wush, viii, 247
hears of Bandwi’s escape, viii, 248
Bahrám Chúbina, deceived by forged letters, viii, 287, 293, 294
marches against Khusrau Parwíz, viii, 287
goes to Azar Abádagán, viii, 288
arrays his host, viii, 289
fights with and slays Kút, viii, 290
sends back corpse of Kút, viii, 291
worst Rúmans, viii, 292
“Harvest of,” viii, 292
charges and routs Khusrau Parwíz’ centre, viii, 294
fights with Gurdwí, viii, 294
goes to fight Khusrau Parwíz and his body-guard, viii, 297
leaves Jánfúráz in charge of host, viii, 297
puts to flight and pursues Khusrau Parwíz, viii, 298
Surúsh saves Khusrau Parwíz from, viii, 299
deserted by his chiefs, viii, 302
retreats, viii, 302
releases Nastuíh, viii, 306
goes to Rai, viii, 306
welcomed by Khán, viii, 310
asks oath of Khán, viii, 317
counsels Khán to resist Makátúra, viii, 318
challenged by Makátúra, viii, 319
fight of, with M. kátúra, viii, 320
Khán sends gifts to, viii, 321
asked by Khán’s wife to avenge death of her daughter on lion-ájé, viii, 324
battles of, with lion-ájé, viii, 325
extradition of, demanded by Khusrau Parwíz, viii, 328
urges Khán to make war on frán, viii, 330
sets forth for frán, viii, 331
Bahrám Chúbína, Kharrád attempts to prejudice, with Khán, vii, 333
arrives at Marv, vii, 336
fateful day of, vii, 337, 339
Kulún seeks interview with, vii, 339
stabs, vii, 340
sister of, mouras, vii, 340
dying speech of, vii, 341
makes Yalán-sína his mandatory, vii, 342
letter of, to Khán, vii, 343
burial of, vii, 343
name of, on cup, vii, 365
and note; assassination of, referred to, ix, 4

Bahrám Gúr, Sásánian Sháh (Varáhráhan V), 163-165 i, 42; vi, 3, 250, 325, 329
birth of, vi, 375
Yazdagírd advised by magistrates to choose governor for, vi, 379
put in Munzír's charge, vi, 372, 378
goes with Munzír to Yaman, vi, 378
nurses of, vi, 378
education of, vi, 378 seq.
obtains his tutors' dismissal, vi, 380
makes choice of steeds, vi, 380
slave-girls, vi, 381
go to the chase with a slave-girl, vi, 382
markmanship of, vi, 383 seq.
slays his slave-girl, vi, 384 and note
goes hunting with Nu'mán and Munzír, vi, 384
picture of, hunting, sent to Yazdagírd, vi, 385

Bahrám Gúr, returns with Nu'mán to Yazdagírd, vi, 389
complains of Yazdagírd to Munzír, vi, 387
receives advice and his slave-girl from Munzír, vi, 388
falls into disgrace at court, vi, 380
asks Taimūsh to intercede for him, vi, 389
welcomed and returns to Munzír, vi, 390
hears of his father's death and of the election of Khusťau, vi, 395, 396
claims the kingship and is supported by Munzír, vi, 390 seq.
interview of, with Jawánwí, vi, 398
negotiates with the Fránians, vi, 401 seq.
Fránians produce examples of Yazdagírd's cruelty to, vi, 404
addresses the Fránians, vi, 404
proposes to decide the question of the kingship by ordeal, vi, 405
promises to rule justly, vi, 406
agrees to be the first to face the ordeal, vi, 409
Reign of, 164, vii, 3 seq.
Note on, vii, 3 seq.
length of, vii, 3
largely legendary, vii, 3
character of, vii, 3
resembles Janes V of Scotland, vii, 3
accession of, vii, 7
ace of, at, vii, 373
inaugural measures at, vii, 7 seq.
holds eight days' court, vii, 7 seq.
appoints ministers, vii, 4, 8, 11
Bahram Gur, sends letters to the chiefs, vii, 8
pardons his enemies, vii, 9
makes festival for three days, vii, 9
rewards Nu'man and Munzir, vii, 10
honours Khusrav, vii, 10
remits arrears of taxes, vii, 11
restores the nobles exiled by Yazdagird to their honours, vii, 11
proclamations of, vii, 12, 79, 82
persecutes the Christians, vi, 373; vii, 4
war of, with Ruma, vii, 4
adventures of, 164, vii, 4, 12 seq.
forbids wine-drinking, vii, 23
allows wine-drinking again, vii, 25
whip of, vii, 47, 54, 63, 64
equipage of, for the chase, vii, 48, 76
loses and finds his tughral, vii, 49, 50
visit of, to Barzin, vii, 49 seq.
marries Barzin's daughters, vii, 53
hunting-feats of, vi, 383 seq.; vii, 54, 55, 77, 80, 81
visits a jeweller, vii, 56 seq.
course of life of, bewailed by Ruzbih, vii, 50
many wives of, vii, 56
asks and obtains Arzû in marriage, vii, 61 seq.
visit of, to Farshidward, vii, 68
forbids all plundering, vii, 79
ear-marks and brands onagers, vii, 81
remits the tribute of Barkuh and Jaz, vii, 82
visits Baghdaḏ, vii, 83
holds revel at Baghdaḏ, vii, 83
Bahram Gur reproaches Rûzbih for parsimony, vii, 83
reported to be given up to pleasure, vii, 84
reproached by his chiefs, vii, 84
secret preparations of, against the Khan, vii, 85
summons his chiefs, vii, 85
levies a host, vii, 86
makes Narsi viceroy, vii, 86
 goes to Æzar Abadagan, vii, 86, 94, 139
march of, to Marv against the Khan, vii, 89
defeats the Khan at Kasmihan, vii, 4, 5, 90, 170
note
marches on Bakhara, vii, 90
defeats the Turkmans, vii, 91
grants peace to the Turkmans, vii, 91
boundary pillar of, vii, 92, 160, 161, 164
makes Shahra ruler of Turan, vii, 92
goes to Istakhr, vii, 95
deposits the Khan's crown in a Fire-temple, vii, 95
goes to Taisafun, vii, 95
welcomed by Narsi and the chiefs, vii, 99
remits taxes for seven years, vii, 5, 97
happiness of the world under, vii, 99
bestows Khurasan on Narsi, vii, 99
inquires about Caesar's envoy, vii, 100
gives audience to Caesar's envoy, vii, 101
Caesar's questions to, vii, 102
parting gifts of, to Caesar's envoy, vii, 106
addresses the archmages, vii, 106
Bahram Gur, wazir complains of Shangul to, vii, 109
writes to Shangul, vii, 110.
visit of, to Hind, vii, 5, 112 seq.
motive of, vii, 5
fabulous, vii, 6
bears his own letter to Hind, vii, 112
audience of, with Shangul, vii, 112
entertained by Shangul, vii, 116
wrestles before Shangul, vii, 117
displays his markmanship before Shangul, vii, 118
calls himself Barzwi, vii, 121
slays monsters, vii, 121 seq.
offered a daughter and great advancement by Shangul, vii, 127
takes to wife one of Shangul’s daughters, vii, 128
receives an invitation from Faghfûr, vii, 129
reply of, vii, 130
tells Sapinûd of his wish to quit Hind, vii, 131
meets some Iranian merchants and pledges them to secrecy, vii, 133
feigns sickness, vii, 134
escapes with Sapinûd, vii, 134
reproached by Shangul, vii, 135
makes a league with Shangul, vii, 137
welcome of, on his return, vii, 137
addresses the nobles, vii, 138
praised by the nobles, vii, 139
makes a new treaty with Shangul, vii, 140
entertains Shangul and seven other kings, vii, 140 seq.

Bahram Gur, appointed Shangul’s heir, vii, 143
parting gifts of, to Shangul, vii, 144
takes account of his treasures, vii, 144
term of life of, foretold by the astrologers, vii, 144
resolves to levy no more taxes, vii, 145
unsuccessful attempts of, to benefit his subjects, vii, 146 seq.
Gipsies introduced into Iran by, vii, 9, 149
appoints Yazdagird his successor, vii, 150
death of, vii, 6, 150
Firdausi’s reflections on, vii, 150, 151
mourning for, vii, 151
Bahram-Gushnasp, father, in Arabic Tabari, of Bahram Chubina, vii, 77
Bahram Tal, viii, 138 and note
Baidâ (White), a town in Pars a few miles north of Shiráz, not to be confounded with the stronghold known as “White Castle” further north, i, 236; vi, 198 and note, 199
Baigand, city and fortress (Kuhandiz?) between Bukhara and the Oxus, vii, 176
Afrasiyâb encamps at, iv, 151
Mâhuwi encamps at, ix, 118
Baisinghar Khân, grandson of Timûr the Lame, life of Firdausi by, i, 23
dition of Shâhnâma of, 1, 23
preface to, i, 67
Baite‘ Mukaddas (Gang-i-Dizhukht), Zahhâk’s capital (Babylon ?), also an Arab name for Jerusalem, i, 191
GENERAL INDEX

Baitu'l Harâm, the Kaaba *q.v.*, vi, 119, 121

Báj, Zoroastrian system of praying, i, 80

Bakhtagan, father of Bûzurj-mîh, vii, 279

Baku, town on the peninsula of Apsheron on the western shores of the Caspian and a chief centre of the petroleum industry, i, 58

note

Bakyir, mountain where Afrâsiyâb had a palace, vii, 136

Balaam, prophet, v, 15

Bal'ami, Abû 'Ali Muhammad al- (died A.D. 996), Samanid minister and compiler of the Persian version of Tabari's Annals, vii, 5

Balas (Balâsh *q.v.*), Sásânian Shâh, vii, 170 seq.

Balash, king of Kirmân, slain by Ardshîr Pâpakân, vi, 205

Balâsh (Balâsh), Sásânian Shâh, vi, 3

appointed regent by Périz, vii, 164

hears of the overthrow of Périz, vii, 169

Reign of, vii, 170 seq.

Note on, vii, 170

character of, vii, 171

introduces public baths, vii, 171

end of, vii, 171

title of, vii, 171

accession of, vii, 171

Sûfarai's letter to, vii, 173

welcomes Sûfarai on his return from Turân, vii, 181

dethroned, vii, 182

Balchi, city in northern Afghânistân, 154, 155, ii, 101, 228, 231, 241, 249; iii, 153, 192; iv, 10, 20, 95, 156, 157, 255; v, 18, 20, 29, 31, 33, 41, 48, 73, 80, 87, 91, 104, 171, 255; 1'alkh—cont.

vii, 94, 331, 359, 384; viii, 22, 74, 95, 153, 159, 161, 173; ix, 116

ancient seat of Aryan civiliza-

situated on ancient trade-

seat of the Magi, i, 60 seq.

Zoroaster's successful evan-

Zoroaster slain at, i, 61; v, 18

792, 93

rhyme-word, Firdausi's diffi-

Shâhnâma, scene of, shifted to, ii, 9; iv, 317

Siyâvush defeats Garsiwaz at, and takes, ii, 229

Lurhrasp makes, his capital, iv, 713

becomes a devotee at, v, 31

Kuhram sent by Arjâsp to

stormed, v, 92, 93

Lurhrasp slain at, v, 91, 93

spoil of, sent away by Arjâsp, v, 108

Asfandiyâr quits, to invade Turân, v, 120

aphorist of, viii, 221

bestowed by Mâhwi on his son, ix, 115

Balûch, Balûchistân (Gedrosia, Makrân), country, 157, ii, 80, 226; iii, 34; iv, 130; vi, 12, 70; vii, 340

Ardshîr Pâpakân's ill suc-

Xûshirwân conquers, vii, 242

becomes prosperous, vii, 302

Balûchis, people, vii, 241 seq.

ravages of, vii, 217, 241

chastised by Xûshirwân, vii, 242

Bálwî, Iranían noble, 172, viii, 257, seq.

deceived by Caesar's talisman, viii, 273
GENERAL INDEX

Banâdî, causes defection of Bahram Chûbîna’s chiefs, viii, 302

Bândâ, praised by Casar, viii, 279

receives Chách, viii, 314

Bândât, father of Mazdak, vii, 188

Bâmiyân, city in Afgânîstân, north of the Kuh-i-Baba mountains and famous for its Budhîst ruins, iv, 65

Banî, Frânîn chief, temp. Ardashîr Pâpakân, vi, 202

Bandawâ, Sindian chief, defeated by Sukanâr, vi, 175

Band-i-Kai-Sâd, dam at Shíhsâr, vi, 295

Bandî, Frânîn noble temp. Kubâd, vii, 207

Bandî, maternal uncle of Khushnûw Pârwîz, 171-173, viii, 200, 202, 204 seq., 224, 225, 227, 231, 234, 245 seq., 289, 290, 298, 350, 357; ix, 4

imprisonment of, viii, 77, 170


Bandâ, Bahrâm Chûbîna hears of escape of, viii, 248 entertained by Mausil, viii, 249

goes with Mausil to meet Khushnûw Pârwîz, viii, 282

Bahram Chûbîna writes to, viii, 285

VOL. IX.

Bandâ, causes defection of Bahram Chûbîna’s chiefs, viii, 302

insults of, to Niyâtûs, viii, 300, 310

reconciled to Niyâtûs, viii, 311

minister of Khushnûw Pârwîz, vii, 313

adherents of, beheaded, viii, 370

execution of, referred to, ix, 10, 104

Banî Tâyî, Arab tribe, vii, 188

Banquets, the Seven, of Nûshîr-wân, 168. See Nûshîr-wân.

Bânûgâshasp, daughter of Rustam and wife of Gîv, ii, 4

stays with Rustam while Gîv seeks Kâi Khushnûw, ii, 305

suitors of, ii, 383, 384

rejoins Gîv, ii, 395

Bâr, mountain-range in Khurá-sân, v, 30

Bâr, treasure, viii, 406 and note

Barâhâm, a Jew, 164, vii, 13

entertains Bahrâm Gur scurvily, vii, 10 seq.

goods of, confiscated, vii, 20

Pârbad, minstrel, 175, viii, 396 seq., 406, ix, 29 and note

supersedes Sarkash, viii, 399 visits Khushnûw Pârwîz in prison, ix, 29

lament of, ix, 30

Barbar, Barbaristân, town and country (British Somaliland), 143, ii, 82 seq., 90, 93, 98; iii, 207, 299; iv, 139, 148; vi, 114; vii, 327; viii, 381

identification of, ii, 70

king of, ii, 83, 94, 95
taken prisoner by Gurâzâ, ii, 97

sends embassy to Gush-tasp, v, 75
Barada', city in Arrân q.v., now in ruins, on the Tharthûr a tributary of the Kur, iv, 147; vii, 341; viii, 99, 100, 184, 222, 226; ix, 15
Afrâsiyâb takes refuge in a cave near, iv, 259
Bardî. See Baidá.
Barkûh, city between Istakhr and Yazd, vii, 79, 80
tribute of, remitted by Bahram Gûr, vii, 82
Barmâîân (Purmâya q.v.), brother of Farîdîn, i, 90, 91
Bârmân, son of Wîsâ, Turâînian hero, 142; 144, 151, i, 92, 342; ii, 18, 129, 130, 150, 349; iii, 79, 210; iv, 149
spies out the Iranian host, i, 340
challenges the Iranians to single combat and slays Kuhram, i, 347
rewarded by Afrâsiyâb, i, 348
besieges Gazhdaham in White Castle, i, 354
defeated and slain by Kâran, i, 354
revival of, in legend, ii, 119
marches on Irân, ii, 228
defeated by Siyâwush, ii, 229
chosen to fight Ruhhâm, iv, 97
slain by Ruhhám, iv, 102
Barrier, Alexander's (Sikan-dar's), in the Caucasus, 160, i, 16, vi, 189, 249
legend of, vi, 78
site of, vi, 79
described, vi, 104
Barsaentes, satrap, vi, 32
murderer of Darius Codomanus, vi, 32
executed, vi, 32
Barsâm, general of Bîzhan, ix, 97, 117
marches on Marv, ix, 97, 116
Mâhwî's conduct to, ix, 117
Bar-âm, pursues and overtakes Mâhwî, ix, 118
captures Mâhwî, ix, 119
Barsam, the sacred twigs, implement in Zoroastrian religious ceremonial, i, 80
Barsine (Stateîrâ), eldest daughter of Darius Codomanus, vi, 33
marries Alexander the Great, vi, 33
Barta, Iranian hero, 151, iii, 25, 92; iv, 149
chosen to fight with Kuhram, iv, 97
slays Kuhram, iv, 105
Bartás, region in Turkistán, ix, 19
Barzin, sacred Fire and Fire-temple on the Pînalûd Kuh, south west of Tûs and Mashad in Khurasân, i, 237; ii, 107; vii, 391; viii, 216
Iranians worship at, vi, 400
Barzin, Fire-temple built by Luhrasp at Balkh, iv, 318
Barzin, Iranian hero, i, 305; ii, 12, 22, 73; iii, 25, 127, 273
Barzin, father of Bîhzád, temp. Yazdagird son of Shápûr, vi, 305
Barzin, Iranian noble, temp. Bahram Gûr, 164
visited by Bahram Gûr, vii, 49
entertains Bahram Gûr, vii, 50 seq.
gives his daughters in marriage to Bahram Gûr, 164, vii, 53
Barzin, father of Râd and Dád, temp. Bahram Gûr, vii, 86
Barzin, father of Ûstád, temp. Nûshîrwan, vii, 251
Barzin, father of Shàdân, vii, 382, 423
Barzin, bower of, vii, 83
Barzin, general of Nûshîrwan, viii, 17
Barzin, father of Kharråd, 172-173, viii, 74, 70, 190, 205 and passim, ix, 4, 9, 12, 27
Barzin, father of Jahn, viii, 301
Barzwi, nonce-name assumed by Bahram Gur in Hind, vii, 121, 134
Barzwi, physician and sage, temp. Nushirwan, 169, vii, 383
go on a mission to Hind, vii, 424
consults a sage, vii, 427
hears of the book of Kalila and Dimna (Fables of Bidpai), and procures it
for Nushirwan, vii, 427, 428
translates the above into Pahlavi, vii, 382, 428
asks boon of Nushirwan, vii, 429
Basra (Bassora), city on the Shatt-el-Arab, ix, 68, 69
founded by 'Umar, ix, 67
Bastam, city near Damaghân on the road to Nishapür, vii, 357
Bastan-nama (Khudâi - nâmâ),
Firdausi's chief authority,
v, 24, 27, 291; vi, 17, 84
traditional origin of, 1, 67
discussed, 1, 68
translated into Arabic by Ibn Mâkaftâ', vi, 19, 373
modern Persian, 1, 67 seq.;
vii, 382
Bastavairi, Bastar (Nastûr q.v.),
v, 12, 25
Batarûn (Marcian), Rûman
general, vii, 41, 47, 52
Baths, public, introduction of,
by Bahâsh, vii, 171
Battle of the Twelve Rukhs, 151, iv, 7 seq., v, 29
Firdausi's reflections on, iv, 98, 100
Eleven Rukhs, 151, iv, 88
arranged by Gûdarz and Ptân, iv, 95 seq.
of the Bridge, ix, 5, 67
Battlestead - Brazen Hold, v, 121
Bazanûsh (Valerian q.v.), 161
defeat of, and capture by,
Shâpür son of Ardshir, vi, 294, 295
single combat of, with Garnasht, vi, 297
bridge built by, at Shûsh-
tar, vi, 298
Bazanûsh (Jovian q.v.), 162, 163,
vi, 324, 326
elected Emperor, vi, 353
sues for peace, vi, 353
accepts Shâpûr's terms, vi, 355
Bazh, suburb of Tûs, i, 38
Bâzrangi, dynasty of Tribal
kings, vi, 108
Bâzûr, Tûrânian warlock, iii, 128
uses magic against the Frâni-
ians, iii, 128
wounded by Ruhâm, iii, 129
Beas (Hyphasis), easternmost of
the rivers of the Punjab,
vi, 64
Bedouins, i, 135, 179
desert of the, iv, 148
commanded by Zahir in Kai
Khusrav's host, iv, 148
Bel, Babylonian god, v, 203
temple of, v, 203
Belisarius, Roman general (A.D.
505-565). vii, 180, 187, 247, 218
Berber, race in northern Africa,
vi, 73
Berbera, trading-station in the
Gulf of Aden, ii, 79
Berlin, viii, 192
Berozias, Barzwi q.v., vii, 383
Bessus, satrap, temp. Alexander
the Great, vi, 32
assumes royal state in
Bactria, vi, 32
executed, vi, 32
Bhima, one of the five Pân-
davas, iv, 138, 139
Bhutan, Indian kingdom, be-
tween Assam and Thibet,
vi, 81
GENERAL INDEX

Bibliotheca, of Diodorus, v, 293
Bid, a div, ii, 44, 54, 55, 93
slain, ii, 59, 64; iii, 256; iv, 290; v, 294
Bídád, city of Cannibals in the vicinity of Sughd, iii, 244 seq.
meaning of, iii, 244 note
stormed by Rustam, iii, 246
Bídirašh (Vidrafsh), Túránian hero, 155, v, 24, 25, 41, 51, 52, 62 seq.
goes as envoy to Gushtásp, v, 37, 40 seq.
returns with Gushtásp's answer, v, 44
receives banner from Arjásp, v, 46
commands one wing, v, 56
volunteers to fight Zarír, v, 62
slays Zarír, v, 63
fights Nastúr, v, 70
slain by Asfandiyár, v, 70
head of, presented to Gushtásp, v, 71
Bidpái, Indian sage, vii, 383
Fables of (Book of Kalila and Dimna), brought to Persia, 169, vii, 213, 382
Bih Árid, daughter of Gushtásp, ii, 3; v, 22
taken captive by the Turkmans, v, 93, 94, 100
goes with Humáí to draw water and meets Asfandiyár, v, 147
escapes from Arjásp's palace, v, 153
laments over Asfandiyár, v, 252
reproaches Gushtásp, v, 254
Biháfrídh, ancestor of Ardshír Pápakán, vi, 200
Bih Ardzír, Seleucia q.v. as rebuilt by Ardshír Pápakán, vi, 254, 291 note, viii, 194, 196
Bihbíhán, town near the left bank of the Táb river in Párs, vii, 188
Bihisht (Paradise), name of the country round Gang, iv, 195
Bibistún. See Bístún.
Bihruz, a scribe temp. Bahram Gúr, vii, 71 seq.
makes an inventory of the goods of the miser Farshídward, vii, 72
Bihzád ("well bred"), the horse of Siyáwush and subsequently of Kai Khusráu, 1, 166, ii, 391; iv, 172, 303
Siyáwush's last charge to, ii, 312
Farangís instructs Kai Khusráu how to obtain, ii, 374 seq.
Bihzád, Gushtásp's horse, v, 56, 69
Bihzád, Iránían chief, temp. Yazdagird son of Shápúr, vi, 395; vii, 85 (?)
Bihzád, Iránían chief, temp. Kubád son of Pírúz, vii, 207
Binalúd, mountain-range, west of Mashhad, north of Nishápúr, v, 29
Birds, Sikandar holds converse with, 160, vi, 160
Birká-i-Ardshír, city in Párs founded by Ardshír Pápákán, vi, 290 and note
Bírmáya, cow, i, 151
supplies the infant Farídún with milk, i, 151
slain by Záhhák, i, 152, 153, 102
Birthmark, characteristic of Kaian race, ii, 372; iii, 49 and note
described, ii, 372; iii, 49
Siyáwush's, iii, 49
Kai Khusráu's, ii, 372; iii, 49 and note
Farúd's, iii, 49
Bisá (Fasá, Pasá, city south of Lake Bákhtígán in Párs, vii, 89 ?)
Bishútan, hears of Asfandiyár's overthrow and laments for him, v, 244
Rustam bewails Asfandiyár to, v, 240
Asfandiyár's last charge to, v, 249
heads Asfandiyár's funeral train, v, 251
displays the corpse of Asfandiyár, v, 253
reproaches Gushtasp, v, 253
consoles Katáyún, v, 255
supports Rustam's overtures to Gushtasp, v, 257
intended by Gushtasp to be Bahman's minister, v, 279
intercedes for Zál, v, 288
intercession of, accepted, v, 289
counsels Bahman to quit Zábul, v, 290

Bistáni (Gustaham g.v.), viii, 255
and note, 256

Bistún (Bagistana i.e. "Place of God," Behistún, Bistiún), a lofty rock a few miles east of Kirmánsáh and famous for its inscriptions, i, 379; ii, 128; iii, 12, 184, 359; iv, 190; v, 59, 184; vii, 61, 393; viii, 200

inscription of Darius Hystaspis at, i, 9; v, 11
Gotarzes at, iii, 9, 11
=Zál's white elephant, i, 328
= Rustam, v, 220

Bíwarasp (Záhhák), i, 72, 144
meaning of, i, 135

Bíward, Túrúání hero, iii, 151
comes to aid Pírán, iii, 152

Bíward, frómian chief temp. Yazdáqíd, son of Shápúr, vi, 305

Bízhan, frómian hero, son of Giv, 147, 150-152; ii, 4, 300 and note; ii, 4, 306 and note; iii, 20, 45, 117, 79 seq., 81, 92, 101, 115, 121,
Bizhan—cont.

129, 130, 134, 139, 141, 157 seq., 211, 234, 247, 248, 253, 259, 294, 271, 284 seq., 286, 330 seq., 337 seq., 349, 350, 352 seq.;
iv, 7, 13, 26 seq., 50, 77, 88, 91, 102, 123 seq., 147, 202; vi, 194
favourite with the poet, iv, 8
parentage of, iii, 244
friendship of, with Gustaham the son of Gazhdaham, iii, 15
relations of, with Giv, iii, 15
undertakes to slay Palashân, iii, 26
to carry off the crown and handmaid of Tazhâv, iii, 27
swears to avenge Zarâsp, iii, 59
borrows a steed from Gustaham, iii, 59
the mail of Siyawush, iii, 60, 69
worsts Farûd, iii, 62
praises Farûd to Tûs, iii, 62
fights with Farûd, iii, 64
Palashân, iii, 70
pursues Tazhâv, iii, 77
takes Ispanwî captive, iii, 78
prowess of, with Kawa's standard, iii, 93
shares his steed with Gustaham, iii, 95
goes with Giv in quest of Bahrám, iii, 102
attacks Biûâd, iii, 244
goes to summon Rustam, iii, 245
worsted by Puläwand, iii, 258
Story of, and Manizha, 150, iii, 12, 285 seq.
historical basis of, iii, 11
Mohl on, iii, 285
Firdausi on, iii, 287
referred to, viii, 72
volunteers to go to the help of the Irmâniâns, iii, 291

Bizhan, goes to Irmân with
Gurgin, iii, 292
destroy the wild boars, iii, 293
envièd by Gurgin, iii, 294
steed of, iii, 296, 302, 313
intercourse of, with Manizha's nurse, iii, 297
visits Manizha, iii, 298
drugged, iii, 299
wakes in Afrasiyâb's palace, iii, 300
holds revel with Manizha, iii, 300
discovered by Garsiwaz, iii, 302
taken before Afrasiyâb, iii, 303
sentenced to death, iii, 304
lament of, iii, 305
imprisoned, iii, 309; v, 116
searched for by Gurgin, iii, 310
receives Rustam's ring, iii, 340
Rustam's conditions of release for, iii, 345
released, iii, 349
pardons Gurgin, iii, 346
joins in attack on Afrasiyâb's palace, iii, 347
presented to Kai Khûsrau by Rustam, iii, 354
holds converse with Kai Khûsrau, iii, 356
desires to fight Hûmân, iv, 39
asks Giv to lend him the mail of Siyawush, iv, 40
seeks Gûdarz' permission to fight Hûmân, iv, 41
receives the mail of Siyawush from Giv, iv, 45
parleys with Hûmân, iv, 45
returns after the fight in Hûmân's armour, iv, 51
defeats night-attack and slays Nastihan, iv, 54
attacks with Giv Pîrân's centre, iv, 83
Bizhan, fights with Farshidward, iv, 87
chosen to fight with Rûm, iv, 97
slays Rûm, iv, 103
asks Gûdarz for help for Gustahan, iv, 117
rescues Gustahan, iv, 124 seq., 132
brings back the corpses of Lahhâk and Farshidward, iv, 126, 132
Kai Khûrsor renemonstrated with by, and other nobles, for refusing audience, iv, 275
Kai Khûrsor gives audience to, and other nobles, iv, 283 seq.
Kai Khûrsor’s gift to iv, 295
brings Luhrâsp before Kai Khûrsor, iv, 300
sets out with Kai Khûrsor on his pilgrimage, iv, 307
refuses to turn back when hidden by Kai Khûrsor, iv, 307
Kai Khûrsor farewell and warns, and his comrades, iv, 308
vanishes and is sought in vain by, and his comrades, iv, 308
end of, iv, 309
Gûdarz’ grief for, iv, 310, 312
sons of, go with Zarîr to Rûm, iv, 390
hailed Gûshâsp as Sháh, iv, 392
Bizhan, Ashkânian king, vi, 197, 210
Bizhan, Khân of Turks, 176, ix, 70, 96
Mâhwi writes to, ix, 96
consults his minister, ix, 97
sends troops to Marv, ix, 97
Mâhwi makes war on, ix, 115
Marches against Mâhwi, ix, 117
Bizhan, Khân of Turks, lays ambush for Mâhwi, ix, 118
sends Bârsâm in pursuit of Mâhwi, ix, 118
hears of Mâhwi’s capture, ix, 119
puts Mâhwi to death, ix, 120
goes mad and kills himself, ix, 120, 121
Black Div. See Div.
horse, Gushtâsp’s, v, 18
cured by Zarduhsht, v, 18
Stone, meteorite built into the wall of the Kaaba at Mecca, ii, 103 and note, vi, 95
Blest, Country of the, vi, 74, 79
Boars, wild, devastate Irman, iii, 290
slain by Bizhan, iii, 293
Bombay. Mori. See Silk.
Book of Kings, Firdausi’s Shâh-nâmâ, i, 43
Indication and Revision, Mas’ûdi’s, vi, 252
quoted, vi, 252
Boot, golden. See Golden.
Borysthenes, river (Dnieper q.v.), iii, 191
Bouker of the Div Akwân, iii, 271, 343 seq., 347
Rustam carried off on, iii, 276
flung into the sea with, iii, 278
raised from the sea, iii, 309
used to cover Bizhan’s prison, iii, 399
removed from pit’s mouth by Rustam iii, 345
Boundary-pillar, Bahram Gûr’s, vii, 92, 160, 161, 104
Bowl, the full, symbolism of, vi, 63
Brabantio, his warning to Othello, vi, 324
Brâfrûk-rôsh, a Karap, v, 15
slayer of Zarduhsht, v, 15
Brahman, Hindu priest, iii, 20; iv, 50; v, 207, vii, 425; ix, 21
Brahmans (Gymnosophistae), vi, 159

Palladius on, vi, 61
country of, vi, 143, 147
hear of Sikandar’s coming
and write to him, vi, 143
Sikandar’s interview with,
vi, 67, 143 seq.
described, vi, 144
reply to Sikandar’s questions,
vi, 144 seq.
Sikandar quits, vi, 147
Brahmanism supersedes
Buddhism in eastern Iran, i, 16
Brains, human, prescribed
to Zahhák by Iblis, i, 139,
140
Bramble-grubber, 164. See
Diláfruz.
Brand-mark, iii, 291
of Káüs, iii, 291
Brazen Hold, the, 156, v, 116,
117, 119 seq., 159, 197,
206, 255
route to, v, 120, 135
described, v, 121, 135, 141
Asfandiyár’s stratagem for
taking, v, 116, 143
surprised from within by
Asfandiyár, v, 152 seq.
left in charge of Sawa, v,
154
Arjásp’s head thrown from
the ramparts of, v, 157
Asfandiyár destroys, v, 162
referred to, viii, 171
Bride, the, one of the Kai Káüs’
treasures, iv, 295
given by Kai Khusrâu to
Giv, Zál, and Rustam, iv,
295
Brides of the Treasure, Genii
that watch over secret
hoards, vi, 250
Bridge, Battle of the, ix, 5, 67
Browning, Robert, his poem of
“The Glove,” vi, 384
Bucephalus, city founded by
Alexander the Great, vi,
18
Bucephalus, horse of Alexander
the Great, vi, 18
birth of, vi, 20
a mare (Ethiopic version),
vi, 18
offered by Darius to Porus,
vi, 31
death of, vi, 18, 64
city built by Alexander in
memory of, vi, 18
Buddha, birth stories of, vii, 383
Buddhism, in eastern Iran and
Kábulistán, i, 15
superseded by Brahmanism,
i, 16
regarded as idolatrous by
Zoroastrians, i, 16
Buddhist saints, story of two, vi,
63
Budge, Dr. E. A. Wallis, his
editions of the Syriac
and Ethiopic versions of
the Pseudo-Callisthenes,
vi, 14, 17 note
Budini, race, vi, 73
Bütti, demon, assails Zarduhsht
i, 62 ; v, 17
Bukhára, city on the Zarafshán
river in the province of
Sughd, ii, 241 ; iv, 65 ;
vii, 331, 348, 359, 384 ;
ix, 97, 115, 117
Kurákhán sent to, iv, 154
Afrásiyáb joins Kurákhán
at, iv, 186
Fire-temple built by Túr at,
iv, 225
Bahram Gúr attacks, vii, 90
receives tribute from, vii,
94
Bukhtakán. See Bakhhtagán.
Bulgár (Bulgaria), viii, 406
Bull, mythological, i, 71 ; ii,
407 ; vii, 245
-fish, ii, 128
Bundahish, Pahlavi text, i, 91,
92, 117, 125, 131, 235, 236, 337 note, 338, 369 ;
ii, 3 note, 11, 26, 81, 118, 189
meaning of, i, 70 note
GENERAL INDEX

Burdah-i-h, account of Creation in, i, 117
Būrāb, courtfarrier to Cæsar, iv, 320
refuses to employ Gushṭāsp, iv, 327
Būrāzā, minister under Yazdagird son of Shāpūr, vii, 4
Burial-place of Rustam’s race, the scene of the battle between Bahman and Farāmarz, v, 287
Burjak and Burjatúr, vi, 207.
See Youths, the two.
Burjasp, Turanian hero, iv, 26
commands the left wing, iv, 26
Burns, quoted, viii, 3
Burrus, Praetorian prefect temp. Nero, vii, 279
Burzmihr, Iranian warrior, vii, 80
bears Narsî’s letter to Bahram Gūr, vii, 94
Burzmihr, scribe, viii, 81, 87, 313
=Būzurjmihr (?) q.v., viii, 71
Burzayalā, Turanian hero, iv, 182
fights and flees from Kais Khusrau, iv, 183
Būsipas, nonce name used by Hūmān when parling with Rustam, iii, 198
Bust, city in Sistān, situated at the junction of the Kandahār and Helmund rivers, i, 252; iv, 65; v, 173, 277, 287; vi, 175; vii, 173, 395; ix, 89
stream of, i, 252
Buzgūsh, name of tribe, ii, 55 and note, iii, 207
Būzurjmihr, chief counsellor of Nūshirwân in Iranian tradition and famous for his wisdom, 167-170, i, 27; v, 201; vii, 5; viii, 3 seq., 67 seq.
associated with the Persian Wisdom-literature, vii, 278
Būzurjmihr, a semi-mythical personage, vii, 280
found by Azâd Sarv at Mary, vii, 283
undertakes to interpret Nūshirwân’s dream vii, 283
goes with Azâd Sarv to court, vii, 283
adventure of, with a snake, vii, 284
interprets Nūshirwân’s dream, vii, 284
rewarded and honoured by Nūshirwân, vii, 286, 289, 304, 311, 315, 388
accomplishments of, vii, 286
discourses of, at the Seven Banquets of Nūshirwân, vii, 287 seq.
on fate and fortune, vii, 201
on the attainment of greatness, vii, 201, 296
on what is worthiest, vii, 201
on sages, vii, 288, 291, 292, 294, 296 seq., 309
on fools, vii, 297, 298, 306
on conduct, vii, 288, 291 seq., 299, 309
on kings, vii, 290, 294, 295, 301, 312
on the wise administrator, vii, 294
on sons, vii, 295, 303, 311
on riches and poverty, vii, 295
questioned by Ardshir and Yazdagird, vii, 308
on scribes, i, 27; vii, 311
on loyalty, vii, 312
discourse of, vii, 306
questioned by Nūshirwân, vii, 307 seq.
expounds the game of chess, vii, 380, 388
invents the game of nard, vii, 384, 386
welcomed on his return from Hind by Nūshirwân, vii, 393
General Index

Buzurjmihr, goes hunting with, and is suspected of theft by, Nushirwan, viii, 4
disgraced by Nushirwan, viii, 5
instructs Nushirwan's page, viii, 5
refuses to admit himself in the wrong, viii, 6 seq.
treated with increasing rigour, viii, 7, 8
released, viii, g
divination by, viii, 10 seq.
advises with Nushirwan, viii, 47 seq.
instructed by Nushirwan to prove Hurmuzd, viii, 56 seq.
abolition of Fire-worship foretold by, viii, 68
death of, viii, 69, 71
= Burzmihr (?), viii, 71
Mas'udi on, viii, 71

Caesar, temp. Luhrasp, Nastar, master of the herds to, iv, 325
refuses to employ Gushtasp, iv, 326
Ibrâb, court-farrer to, iv, 326
refuses to employ Gushtasp, iv, 327
proposes to give his eldest daughter in marriage, iv, 329
wrath of, at his daughter's choice of Gushtasp, iv, 330
yields to bishop's counsel, iv, 331
refuses to provide for his daughter and Gushtasp, iv, 331
bids Mirin slay the wolf of Fâskûn, iv, 333
inspects the slain wolf, iv, 341
marries his second daughter to Mirin, iv, 341
bids Ahran slay the dragon of Mount Sakila, iv, 342
third daughter of, iv, 342 seq.
moved to Ahran, iv, 348
rejoices in his two sons in law, iv, 348
proclaims the tidings of the slaying of the wolf and the dragon, iv, 349
sons-in-law of, display their accomplishment on the riding-ground, iv, 349
sees Gushtasp's prowess and questions him, iv, 350
learns the truth about the wolf and the dragon and asks pardon of Gushtasp and Katâyûn, iv, 351
wrath of, with Mirin and Ahran, iv, 351
seeks to find out through Katâyûn who Gushtasp is, iv, 351

Cæsar, the dynastic title of the kings of the West or Kûm who were regarded as being descended from Salm, the son of Faridûn, 154, 161, 162, 165, 167, 169, 172-174, i, 262; ii, 383; iii, 9; vi, 112, 297, 353; vii, 103; viii, 8 seq., 19, 43 seq., 51 seq., 230, 232, 245, 252 seq., 257 seq., 290, 306 seq., 334, 373 seq., 498 seq.; ix, 10, 23
transliteration of, i, 84 and note

temp. Luhrasp, 154, iv, 339 seq.; v, 11, 32, 167
daughter of = Katâyûn, iv, 344; v, 167, 205
capital of, founded by Salm, iv, 325
Caesar, *temp.* Luhrasp, receives Gushtasp with honour at court, iv, 352.

Illyas refuses to pay tribute to iv, 352.

receives a scornful message from Mirin and Ahran, iv, 353.

takes counsel with Gushtasp, iv, 353.

bids Gushtasp lead off the host, iv, 354.

arrays the host, iv, 355.

Gushtasp brings the dead body of Illyas to, iv, 355.

welcomes Gushtasp after his victory, iv, 356.

consults Gushtasp about demanding tribute from Iran, iv, 356.

sends an envoy to Luhrasp, iv, 356.

gives audience to Zarir, iv, 360.

replies, to, and dismisses Zarir, iv, 361.

questions Gushtasp, iv, 361.

sends Gushtasp to Zarir's camp, iv, 361.

goes to feast with Gushtasp and discovers who he is, iv, 363.

gives gifts to Katayun, iv, 393.

the Iranian chiefs, iv, 364.

parts in good will from Gushtasp, iv, 364.

sends embassy to Gushtasp on hearing of Arjasp's defeat, v, 75.

*temp.* Humai, sues to Rushanawad for peace, v, 397.

= Failakus *q.v.*, vi, 24, 29, 27.


= Valerian (Bazanush *q.v.*), vi, 329.

= Jovian (Bazanush *q.v.*), vi, 353, 354.

*temp.* Shahpir son of Ardshir, 161.

pays tribute, vi, 208.

*temp.* Shahpir son of Hurmuz, 162, vi, 341 seq., 345 seq.

Shahpir in disguise visits, vi, 336.

entertained by, vi, 337.

discovered by, vi, 337.

arrested by, vi, 337.

sewn up in an ass's skin by, vi, 338.

put in charge of wife of, vi, 338.

invades and ravages Iran, vi, 338.

Shahpir prepares to attack, vi, 349.

overthrown by Shahpir at Taisafun, vi, 349 seq.

Shahpir’s treatment of, vi, 349, 357.

mother of, vi, 351.

brother of (Yanush *q.v.*), vi, 351.

*temp.* Yazdagird son of Shahpir, vi, 389.

pays tribute, vi, 389.

*temp.* Bahram Gur, 165.

embassage of, to Bahram Gur, vii, 5, 80, 100.

marches on Iran, vii, 84.

propounds questions to Bahram Gur, vii, 102.

envoy of, questioned by the high priest, vii, 104.


replies to Nushirwan concerning Munzir, vii, 245.

treasures of, taken by Nushirwan, vii, 255, 258.

sues to Nushirwan for peace, vii, 291.

sends tribute to Nushirwan, vii, 362.

death of, vii, 43.

*temp.* Nushirwan, Hurmuzd, and Khurram Farwiz, 172.
Caesar, temp. Nūshirwān, etc.,
offends Nūshirwān, viii, 41 seq.
marches against Nūshirwān, viii, 49
attacks Hurmuzd, viii, 93
retakes cities, viii, 93
makes peace with Hurmuzd, viii, 95
welcomes Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 257
offers help to Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 261
changes his mind, viii, 262
consults the astrologers, viii, 264
decides to help Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 265
offers daughter to Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 266
offers of, accepted by Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 269, 270
talisman of, vii, 271, 275
decieves Rūman envoys, vii, 272
mastered by Kharrad, vii, 274
gifts of, to Kharrad, vii, 278
writes to Khusrau Parwiz, vii, 279
praises Rūman envoys, vii, 279
consuls Maryam, vii, 279, 280
gives Niyātūs charge of Maryam, vii, 280
corpse of Kūt sent to, vii, 291
Khusrau Parwiz announces death of Bahrām Chūbīna to, vii, 345
daughter of, gives birth to Shirwī, viii, 371
Khusrau Parwiz’ letter to, vii, 373
rejoicing of, at birth of Shirwī, viii, 374
embassy of, to Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 374
gifts of, given by Khusrau Parwiz to Shirwī, viii, 381
Cesar, temp. Nūshirwān, etc.,
invited to seize Iran, viii, 198
tricked by Khusrau Parwiz and retreats, viii, 410
letter of, about the True Cross referred to, ix, 22
Cesarean birth of Rustam, i, 236, 321 seq.
Calanus (Sphïnēs), Indian ascetic, vi, 61
Onesicritus and, vi, 61
Alexander the Great and, vi, 61
death of, vi, 61
derivation of, vi, 61
identical with the sage sent by Kaid to Sikandar (see Four Wonders), vi, 62
Calendar, Zoroastrian, i, 88; iii, 286
adopted by Darius Hystaspis, i, 59
Callinicus. See Kāliniyūs.
Callisthenes, Greek historian temp. Alexander the Great
vi, 12; 74
Romance of Alexander fathered on, vi, 13
account of, vi, 13
Callirēs quâdrivalvis, the Arar tree, vi, 19
Cambyses, father of Cyrus the Great, ii, 190
identical with Siyāwush in legend, ii, 191
Cambyses, son of Cyrus the Great and King of Persia (B.C. 528-521), v, 10, 11; vi, 16
Camel, piece in chess, vii, 422
position of, vii, 422
move of, vii, 422
Cancer, constellation, iii, 125, 151, 255; vii, 257
moon in, an evil omen, i, 188; iii, 255 (?)
Candace (Kandake, Kaidāfā q.v.), dynastic title of the queens of Ethiopia, vi 13, 72
Général Index

Candace Alexander the Great and, vi, 65 seq.
Candahar. See Kandahar.
Cannibalism, iii, 191, 244
Canopus, star, i, 188
of Yaman, i, 260; ii, 203; iii, 207; vi, 382
Cappadocia (Palamina), vi, 294
Captives, mutilation of, vi, 323,
334, 348, 357
settlement of, vi, 327, 357
Carline and Bahrain Chubina, viii, 180, 393
Carmelians, ii, 123
of Yaman, ii, 123
Carthage, defeat of Crassus at, i, 15
Carthagians, the, vi, 30
Alexander the Great's legendary visit to, vi, 30
Casaubon, Isaac, vi, 13
Caspian Sea, i, 3, 4, 10, 19, 56, 57, 338; ii, 180, 339;
iii, 10, 192; iv, 139; v, 13
Caspian Gates, iv, 315; vi, 31, 32
Cassander (B.C. 350-297), eldest son of Antipater and
King of Macedonia, vi, 82
Castellans, bishop as. See Bishop.
Castes, division of Aryans into, 1, 7
Iranians into, i, 130, 132
Castle, White. See White Castle of the Alans. See Alans.
Bahman. See Bahman.
Oblivion, vii, 184
Kubad son of Piruz confined in, vii, 184
 escapes from, viii, 184
Catholicus, viii, 195
Catullus, Roman poet (B.C. 84-54), i, 69
on Persian next of kin marriage, i, 69
Caucasus, mountain range running in a south-easterly
direction from the Black Sea to the Caspian, i, 10;
iv, 310; vi, 15; vii, 214, 217; viii, 72
Caucasus, passes iii, i, 10; vi, 79
forthed, i, 10, vii, 133, 187, 210, 239
Mas'udi's account of, vii, 215
barrier (mythical) of Alexander the Great (Sikander) in, i, 10; vi, 78, 180, 249
legend of, in the Kurán, vi, 78
tsited of, vi, 79
described, vi, 164
Cave, cavern, in Mazandaran, ii, 28
White Dív's, ii, 28, 55, 58 seq.
Abrasayáb's, in Ázarbáiján, iv, 130 seq., 259 seq.
Central clime. See Clime.
Cháhí (Shásh, Old Táshkand, now'm in ruins), city on the
right bank of the Jaxartes west of Ferghána, famous for its bows, ii,
241, 258; iv, 10, 187, 188,
255; vii, 197, 329, 334,
349, 343, 348, 358, 359;
viii, 314, 377; ix, 115, 116
bow of, i, 227; iii, 123, 181,
227; v, 244; vi, 384;
viii, 125, 129, 294
government of, given to Tús
by Rustam, ii, 358
thane of, one of Firdausí's authorities, vi, 107, 216
referred to, vi, 229 and
note
daughter of governor of, vii, 285
in intrigue of, vii, 285
executed, vii, 286
battle-axes of, ix, 118
Chagham, district on the right
bank of the Oxus where that river is crossed from
Tirmid, and city further
north on the upper waters of river of the same name, iii, 152, 177, 228; vii, 94,
157, 359
Chaghán, ceded by Kubád to the Haitáhans, vii, 198
monarch of = Faghánish, vii, 333
Chaghwán = Chaghán (?), vi, 174
Sikandar visits, vi, 174
quits, vi, 175
Cháha, hostelry of, i, 45
Chahár Makála, Persian treatise, i, 23
account of Firdausi in, i, 38, 45
Chahram (Jahram q.v.), city in Párs
Chalalh, vii, 193
Chálandshán. See Chánlandshán.
Chaledon, viii, 104, 105
Chalybon-Beroea (Aleppo), city in northern Syria, vii, 218;
viii, 41
held to ransom by Núshírwán, vii, 218
Champions, the Twelve, vii, 156. See Rukhs.
Chamros, mythical bird, i, 235
Chálantschán (Khálanjan Khálanjan), district and town (Fírzán) near Isphán
on the Zayinda river (see LEC. pp. 206, 207 and note), i, 29
Ahmad ibn Muhammad of, patron of Firdausi, i, 29
Firdausi’s escape from drowning at, i, 29, 29
Chao-wou = Sáwa q.v., vii, 72
Characters, chief, of Sháhnáma, i, 49
Characteristics, of frán, i, 3 seq.
Characteristics of a Happy Man, Pahlaví text, vii, 279
Charam, place in frán, iii, 49, 41, 52, 68, 85, 80, 111, 112
Charbar, place on the coast of Balúchistán (Makrán), vi, 70
Chares of Mytilene, Greek writer and official at the court of Alexander the Great ii 10; vi 01
Chares of Mytilene, story by, of Hystaspes and Zariadres quoted, iv, 314
Charinda, river, iii, 10 note
Charjui (Amuí q.v.), city on the Oxus, vii, 91 note
Chargos. See Taimúsh.
Chase, equipage for, vii, 48, 76; viii, 384
Chess, game of, 169, vi, 201;
vii, 14 and note, 280, 385 seq.; viii, 371
Note on, vii, 380
sent by the Rája of Hind to Núshírwán, vii, 5, 380, 384 seq.
expounded by Búzurjmihr, vii, 380, 388
symbolism of, vii, 381
two forms of, vii, 381, 388, 422
changes in powers of pieces in, vii, 381
Mas’ádi on, vii, 382
invention of, Story of the, 169, vii, 394 seq.
Chess-board, vii, 14, 385, 388
Chess-men, vii, 14, 380, 388
Chevy Chase, i, 82
Chigil (Naryn ?) district and river, tributary of the Jaxartes, iv, 155
monarch of, v, 110
commands the left, v, 110 = Arjásp, v, 54, 86
Turkman of, = Gurgsár, v, 130
Chihrazád (Humáí), daughter and wife of Sháh Bahan, ii, 3; v, 200 and note
meaning of, v, 200 and note
Chújast (Khanjast, Urumiah), lake in Azarbáijan, iv, 130 note
Children, sometimes brought up un-named, i, 8, 170
China, country, China, but generally in the Sháhnáma equivalent to Chinese Tartary and sometimes to Turán, 160, 165, 173,
Chin, county, China — cont.

assigned by Faridún to Tūr, i, 180
brocade of, i, 260, 233 and passim
coasts of, vi, 173
cloth of gold from, ii, 275; vi, 152, 170, 230

diārās of, iv, 241
Faghfūr of. See Faghfūr.
helm of, i, 132
images of, v, 35

implements of, vi, 122
Khān of. See Khān.
King of = Atrāsiyāb, ii, 99; iv, 105, 170, 230
= Khān, iii, 227, 228; vii, 87
= Arjāsp, v, 30, 52, 55, 69, 86, 108
= Faghfūr, vii, 131

lord of = Mahmūd, iv, 142
= Sikandar, vi, 113
= Faghfūr, vii, 171

mace of, iii, 129
ornaments of, ii, 232; vi, 102, 139
paper of, vi, 172
pen of, vi, 57, 99

prince of = Khān, iii, 226
= Atrāsiyāb, iv, 194
= Arjāsp, v, 35
= Parmūdā, vii, 142
= Sāwa, viii, 222

ratties of, vi, 171, 173; vii, 49
robes of, iii, 329; viii, 205, 257

Rose of daughter of the Khān, vii, 303 and note
sea of, i, 113, 149, 252, 344; ii, 12, 250, 270, 285, 359, 357; iii, 151, 252; iv, 237, 254; v, 190, 203

Chin, sea of — cont.
233, 230 note; vi, 149;

vii, 313; viii, 377
shield of, iii, 125, 140, 250;
x, 118
Sikandar goes to, vi, 169
silk of, i, 137; iii, 104, 165;
v, 159, 205; vi, 85, 260;
vii, 73, 92, 347, 394, 418;

viii, 258, 260, 374

steel of, iii, 189

stuffs of, vi, 143, 215

ware of, vii, 78

sage of, viii, 235

sashes from, ix, 12, 53
gold thread of, ix, 82
merchantmen of, ix, 89

China, country, vi, 204

silk industry of, vi, 204

Chināb (Akesines), river in the Punjab, vi, 31, 64

Chinese, vii, 72
language, vi, 147

Chingish, Turānian hero, i49, iii, 207

volunteers to avenge Kāmūs, iii, 194

challenges Rustam, iii, 194

slain by Rustam, iii, 195

Chinwī, noble of Chin, viii, 331

Chionitae, people, v, 13

géographical position of, v, 13

Chorene, Moses of. See Moses.

Chosran, Chosroes I (Kisrā), Sāsānian Shāh, vii, 212, 281.

See Nāshīrwār.

Chosroes, king of Armenia, vi, 202

Christ, 174, vi, 339; vii, 207, 240, 204, 270, 273, 270; ix, 24, 109

Faith of, vi, 133, 339; vii, 271; viii, 43, 191, 272, 319, 380

account of, vii, 276
father of, viii, 276

mother of, viii, 279

Cross of, viii, 377, 380; ix, 23

laughter of, viii, 191, 380
Cloud, thunder-, as water-stealing demon, i, 7
of bale=Afrasiyab, ii, 13
name given by Rustam to himself, ii, 53
Clough, quoted, viii, 187
Cocks and hens, taught to crow

daybreak, i, 126
Colchians, people of the south-eastern shores of the
Euxine, vi, 72
Colic, cure of, vii, 39
Commander of the Faithful, ix, 72
'Umar, the first, ix, 72 and
note
Commons, king of the, vii, 3
Communists (Mazdakites, q.v.),
vii, 185
Companions of the Prophet
(Muhammad), 139
praise of, 139, i, 106
Constantinople, vii, 316; viii, 194
conspirator against Nushirwan escapes to, vii, 316
Contents, General Table of, ix, 139
Cook, chief, of Nushirwan, grievance of, vii, 18
Cordwainer. See Shoemaker.
Corn-land, taxes on, vii, 215
Corpse, 160
Cos, island in the Egean sea, vi, 204
silk industry of, vi, 204
Cosmogony, ancient Iranian, i,
5, 71
Firdausi's, 102, iv, 136
Country of the Blest. See Blest.
Courses, the Seven, of Rustam,
143, ii, 29, 44 seq.
Crassus, the triumvir (B.C. 115-
53), i, 15
defeat of, at Carrhae, i, 15
Creation, Zoroastrian account of,
i, 5, 117
Firdausi's account of, i, 102
seq.
Crete, island, south of Greece,
vi, 323 note.
Crete, Minos king of, legend of, vi, 323 note
Crocodile, iii, 278
  = assassin, vi, 111
  = Kámús, iii, 192
Cross, the, 174, vi, 351, 352; vii, 249, 270, 279; viii, 308, 309, 374
  captured by Dáráb, vi, 306 and note
religion of, vi, 138
Passion of, viii, 191, 196, 253, 377, 378, 380; ix, 4, 5, 14, 16
  restoration of, ix, 7, 50
of Christ, ix, 23
Elevation of, ix, 43
Crows and Owls, story of, viii, 263 and note
Crystal, House of, ix, 23 and note
Ctesias. See Ktesias.
Ctesiphon (Tásaitin q.v.), city on the left bank of the Tigris
  some 25 miles below Baghdad, originally an extension of Seleucia on the
right bank of that river, ii, 80; vi, 321, 322, 325, 372; viii, 42, 188, 189, 193, 194, 195; ix, 65 seq.
taken by Shahahrázád, ix, 43, 44
Sa‘ad, ix, 67
booty found at, ix, 68
Culture-heroes. See Gámart, Húshang, Tähmúras, and Jamshíd, i, 118 seq.
Cup, divining-, of Kai Khusrau, iii, 317, 318, 323
  inexhaustible, of Káid, 159, vi, 94, 100, 109
  poisoned, proffered to Ardshír Pápakán, vi, 250
  crystal, to detect poison (?), vii, 51
Cybele, Greek goddess, vi, 71
  = Hittite Ma, vi, 71
Cymbals, of the Brides of the Treasure, vi, 250; vii, 35 and note

Cypress, of Kishmar. See Kishmar.
Cyrus the Great (B.C. 558-528), son of Cambyses and founder of the Persian empire
legend of, in Herodotus identical with that of Kai Khusrau, ii, 9, 190
in Ctesias transferred to Ardshír Pápakán, vi, 195
rise of, i, 18
  compared to that of Ardshír Pápakán, vi, 194
  historical parallel with Kai Khusrau, v, 10

D

Dabistán, 17th century Persian treatise, v, 28
Cypress of Kishmar, account of, in, v, 28
Dád, Iránian warrior, vii, 86
Dádáfríd, melody, viii, 308 and note
Daévas. See Div.
Daghwi, desert in Turkistán, ii, 193; iv, 117
Dahae i.e. “foes” or “robbers,” a name given by the Iránians to the nomad tribes dwelling east of the Caspian and north of the Atrak in the region now occupied by the Yamut Turkmans, i, 19; iii, 10
Daháka (Azhí, Azi, Záhhák q.v.), evil spirit, i, 7, 142, 172
Dahistán, stead or home of the Dahae q.v. and town between Harát and Marv, i, 280, 344 seq., 349, 393; iv, 61, 72, 79, 148, 157; ix, 95
Naudar beleaguered in, by Afrásiyáb, i, 353
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dai, genius, i, 88, 89; iii, 287, 328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>month or day, i, 88, 89; v, 43; vi, 306; viii, 173, 421; ix, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damir, day, i, 88; v, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dai Marj, place where Bahram Gür is said to have been drowned, vii, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalitya, river, v, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daizan (Tair q.v.), vi, 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legend of, vi, 322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter of, legend of, vi, 323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakhma, &quot;Tower of Silence,&quot; i, 81 and note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakiki, Persian poet, 139, 154, 155; ii, 3 note, 8; v, 10, 13; vi, 196; viii, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>account of, i, 28, 67, 69; 199; v, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firdausi and, v, 21 seq., 30, 87, 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work of, compared with the Yatkar-i-Zarirân, v, 24 seq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damaghan, city on the road from Tihran to Nishapûr and the capital of the province of Kûmis, ii, 15; iv, 255; viii, 109, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daman-i-Kuh, the northern &quot;mountain-skirt&quot; of modern Persia, iii, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damasc, chief city in Syria, vi, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolaus of, Greek historian, temp. Augustus, vi, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damawa, volcano nearly 20,000 feet high and the culminating peak of the mountain-range south of the Caspian, i, 143, 144, 148; vi, 202; viii, 391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zahhák lettered on, i, 169, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arish's arrow-shot from, v, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dambar, city in Kabulistan (?) which was regarded as Indian, i, 252, 256; iv, 278, 283, 284; vii, 396, 399, 421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâmdâd, Nask, i, 70 note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damûr, Turâanian hero, ii, 296, 319; iv, 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overthrown by Siyäwush, ii, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advocates execution of Siyäwush, ii, 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danbar. See Dambar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandamis. See Mandanes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dang, coin, ix, 94 and note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dânishwar, the dihkân, supposed compiler of the Bâstân-nâma, temp. Yazdagird III, i, 67, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dambe, river, v, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darins' expedition to, v, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dárâ, son of Dârâb, Shâh (Darius Codomanus q.v.) 158, i, 42; ii, 3, 9; v, 281; vi, 83 seq., 112, 113, 123, 124, 132, 137, 170, 172, 188, 325, 333; vii, 220, 242, 387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first historic Shâh in the Shâhmâna, i, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>origin of name, v, 207 note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legendary son of Dârâb, vi, 17, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appointed by Dârâb to succeed him, vi, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reign of, 158, vi, 29 seq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on, vi, 29 seq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical account of, vi, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movements of, after his final defeat by Alexander (Sikandar), vi, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikandar's correspondence with the wife and daughter of, vi, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accession of, vi, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>letter of, to the kings, vi, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pays his troops, vi, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambassadors come to, vi, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demands tribute from Sikandar, vi, 36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dárá, marches against Sikandar, vi, 37
Sikandar’s visit to the camp of, vi, 38
invites Sikandar to a banquet, vi, 40
ambassador of, recognises Sikandar, vi, 40
sends horsemen in pursuit of Sikandar, vi, 41
defeated by Sikandar, vi, 43
collects another army, vi, 43
defeat of, vi, 44
goes to Chahram vi, 44
Istakhr vi, 44
takes counsel with his chiefs vi, 45
collects a new host vi, 46
marches from Istakhr, vi, 46
defeat of, vi, 46
withdraws to Kirmán, vi, 49
bewails himself, vi, 47
letter of, to Sikandar, vi, 49
Für, vi, 50
marches against Sikandar, vi, 51
abandoned by his troops and flees, vi, 51
murdered by his ministers, vi, 52
murderers of, arrested by Sikandar, vi, 53
dying interview of, with Sikandar, vi, 53
vengeance promised to, by Sikandar, vi, 53
tells his last wishes to Sikandar, vi, 54
bestows Rúshanak upon Sikandar, vi, 55, 86
dies, vi, 55
burial of, vi, 56
Sásán, son of, vi, 211
kindred of, support Ardshír Pápakán, vi, 223
Dárá (Daráh), city, viii, 41, 194
taken by Núshirván, viii, 41
ceded by Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 188
Dáráh Parwiz, viii, 186, 284
goes disguised to Khusrau Parwiz’ camp, viii, 286
betrays Bahram Chúbína, viii, 286
returns to Bahram Chúbína, with forged letter, viii, 287
Dáráb, Sháh, son of Bahman and Humái, 158, i, 42; ii, 3, 9; v, 281, 292, 297 seq.; vi, 11, 34 and note, 49, 83, 84, 89, 132, 137, 172, 188; vii, 215; viii, 191
foundling legend of, ii, 11; v, 293 seq.
Tabari’s version of, v, 297 note
birth of, v, 294
referred to, v, 294 seq.
exposed on the Parát, v, 295
found and adopted by a launderer, v, 299 seq.
royal birth of, asserts itself, v, 298
youthful escapades of, v, 298
brought up as a cavalier, v, 299
feels lack of natural affection for the launderer, v, 300
hears of his case from the launderer’s wife, v, 300
enlists, v, 301
seen by Humái, v, 302
and the adventure of the ruined vault, v, 303
receives gifts from Rashnawád, v, 304
questioned by Rashnawád, v, 304
prowess of, against the Rúmans, v, 305, 306
praised and rewarded by Rashnawád, v, 305, 306
captures the Cross, v, 306
and note
takes of the spoil one spear, v, 307
returns to Irán, v, 307
Darab, Rashnawad hears from the launderer and his wife of the case of, v, 308
Rashnawad writes to Humai about, v, 308
recognised by Humai as being her son, v, 308
appears with Rashnawad before Humai, v, 309 seq.
crowned by Humai and accepts her excuses, v, 310
Humai proclaims the accession of, v, 311
visited by, and rewards, the launderer and his wife, v, 311, 312
Reign of, 158, vi, 11 seq.
Note on, vi, 11 seq.
father of Sikandar in Persian legend, vi, 16
legendary father of Dará, vi, 17
harangues the chiefs, vi, 20
ambassadors come to, vi, 21
employs Rúman artificers, vi, 21
wars with the Arabs, vi, 21
defeats and demands tribute from Arabs, vi, 22
wars with Rúm, vi, 22
defeats Failakús, vi, 23
grants terms of peace to Failakús, vi, 24
marries the daughter of Failakús, vi, 25
returns to Párs, vi, 25
becomes disaffected towards his wife (Náhid), vi, 25
marries again, vi, 27
Dará is born to him, vi, 27
fails in health, vi, 27
appoints Dará to succeed him, vi, 27
dies, vi, 28
Daráb, Darálgird, city in Párs, 158, vi, 17, 198, 199; viii, 313
Darband, town and pass between the Caucasus q.v., and the Caspian, ii, 330; viii, 309 note
Darband, Pass of, described, i, 16
fortification of, i, 16, 17
and note, vii, 213, 230
Maxúdi’s accounts of, vii, 215
Darí, vii, 430 and note
Dariel, Pass of, in the Caucasus, vi, 79
Darínus, Hystaspis, Sháh, i, 9, 65; v, 10; viii, 187
trilingual inscription of, at Bihástin, i, 6
Zoroastrian calendar adopted by, i, 50
reign of, and Gushtáp’s compared, v, 11
conversion of, v, 11
Daríus, Codomanus (Dará q.v.) Sháh, i, 49; vi, 16, 17, 29
defeated at Issus, vi, 30
Alexander escapes from the banquet of, vi, 30
defeated at Gaugamela, vi, 31
asks that his family may be restored to him, vi, 31
wrote to Porús, vi, 31
historical account of the death of, vi, 31
daughter of, marries Alexander, vi, 33
corpse of, sent to Pars, vi, 33
assassins of, punished, vi, 33
Dareja, river in Ázarbajján, v, 14
Darkness, Land of. See Gloom. House of, ix, 7;
Dárman, viii, 202
Darmesteter, Professor, on Fir dánsi’s geography, ii, 70, 80
on Afrásiyáb’s capture by Hím, iv, 130
Story of the Worm, vi, 203
Haftwád, vi, 206
Darín, Zoroastrian religious rite, v, 16
Daryai Rúd, river in Ázarbajján, v, 14
Dastagird, city, viii, 103, 106; ix, 7
  taken by Heraclius, viii, 104
Dashma, Iranian hero, iv, 118
Dastán (Zál q.v.), i, 81, 248, 291
Dastán-i-Sam (Zál q.v.), i, 81
Dastán-i-Zand (Zál q.v.), i, 245
  and note, 248
Date-palm, i, 4
  taxes on, vii, 215, 225
Daughter of Kaid. See Kaid,
Four Wonders of
Daulat Sháh, author of “Lives of the Poets,” i, 24
Death, early, Firdausi’s justification of, ii, 119
Dead Sea, viii, 102
Deinon. See Dimon.
Deipnosophisté, of Athenaeus, ii, 10
  quoted, iv, 314
Derketo, goddess, v, 292
  legend of, v, 292
Destiny, Muhammadan and Zoroastrian conceptions of, i, 52
Dewasarm, king of Hind, vii, 381
  sends the game of chess to Núshirván, vii, 380
Dharma, Indian god of righteousness, iv, 138
  follows in the form of a dog the Pándavas in their pilgrimage, iv, 139
Dhoulkarnain. See Zu’l-kar-nain.
Dhú Kár, battle of, viii, 188, ix, 4, 5, 160
  historical account of, viii, 169
  date of, viii, 191
Diagram to illustrate reign of
Gushtásp, v, 27
  Persian Romance of Alexander the Great, vi, 81
Díka-i-Khusrauí, treasure, viii, 406 and note
Dice, vii, 381
  used in the game of nard, vii, 381, 389
  symbolism of, vii, 381, 382
Díhkán, Persian generic title, i, 50, 81
  Faith of, vi, 95
Díla (Arwánd, Tigris q.v.), river, i, 100
Faridún’s crossing of, i, 100
Diláfrúz, Iranian hero, iv, 147
Diláfrúz, a bramble-grubber,
  Bahram Gúr and, vii, 70 seq.
Diláfrúz-i-Farrák pál, Iranian slave-girl, 102, vi, 3
  slave to Caesar’s wife, vi, 338
  pities Shápúr, vi, 339
  discovers who Shápúr is, vi, 339
  frees Shápúr from the ass’s skin, vi, 349
  escapes with Shápúr from Ráum, vi, 349 seq.
  entertained by a gardener, vi, 342
  praised by Shápúr, vi, 346
  named and honoured by Shápúr, vi, 356
  meaning of, vi, 356 note
Dílam, Dílamán, district on the Caspian now represented by Talish and part of Gilán, vi, 202, 227; vii, 243, 244, 302
Dílamids (Buyids), dynasty ruling in south-western Iran in the 10th century A.D., i, 14, 21, 45
Dílamite, ’Alí the, friend and helper of Firdausi, i, 35; ix, 121
Dílanjám, Caesar’s (temp. Lúhrásp) second daughter, iv, 333
  asked in marriage by Mirín, iv, 333
  married to Mirín, iv, 341
Diláráuí, wife to Dará and mother of Rúshánamak, 158, 159, vi, 87 seq.
  visited by Náhid, vi, 80
Dimna, Kalíla and, 169. See Fables of Bidpai.
Dina-i Mainog-i Khirad, Pahlavi text, ii, 180
quoted, vii, 279
Dinar, gold coin, i, 81, 231, 393 and passim
Dinawari, Arabic historian (ninth century), vi, 16, 64, 80, 81, 256, 323; vii, 6, 150, 186, 214
Dinkard, Pahlavi text, i, 70 note, 373; ii, 20, 81; vi, 252
Diodorus, Greek historian, temp. Julius Cesar and Augustus, v, 293
Bibliotheca of, v, 293
Diognetus, Greek writer, temp. Alexander the Great, vi, 12
Dionysus, Greek god, vi, 71
temple of, visited by Sidkandar, vi, 71
Diram. See Drachm.
Dirázdast (Longimanus), title, v, 281; vi, 324 and note
Dív, divs (Daévas), demons or "foreign devils," i, 42, 82, 130, 131, 133, 148, 227, 290; ii, 27, 33, 34, 37, 41 seq., 57 seq., 68, 73, 101, 102, 144; iii, 70, 74, 200, 232, 244, 255, 257 seq., 321, 208, 273 seq., 320, 330, iv, 86, 87, 177, 288, 290; v, 32, 58, 60, 71, 108, 174; 201, 202, 213, 220, 230; 245; vi, 135, 140, 150, 241; vii, 115, 154, 174, 308 seq.; viii, 150, 101, 209, 211, 217, 218, 290, 341, 342, 399 and note, 418; ix, 18, 25
rebel against Tahmúras, i, 127
overthrown by Tahmúras, i, 127
teach Tahmúras the art of writing, i, 127
build edifices for Jamshíd, i, 133

Div, divs, carry Jamshíd on his throne up to the sky, i, 133
title of honour, ii, 20
song of a, ii, 31
Arjásp informed by a, of Gushtásp's resolve not to pay tribute, v, 36
Mazdak's five, vii, 205
Búzurjmihr's ten, vii, 368
Akwán. See Akwán.
=Ahriman, i, 82, 126, 156, 195, 200; ii, 40, 324, 343, 370, 380, 400; iii, 180, 293, 333; iv, 63, 84, 201, 206, 278, 287, 280, 289 seq., 301, 322, 341; v, 35, 81, 180, 188, 189, 194 seq., 218, 228, 242; vi, 349; vii, 93, 107, 109, 117, 143, 154, 206, 227, 268, 289, 303, 304, 323, 332, 308 seq., 370, 390; viii, 27, 50, 87, 123, 215, 222, 304, 341, 346, 411; ix, 47, 102, 104
=Bahrám Chábán, viii, 153, 219, 293, 298
—witch, viii, 161
=Zahhák, vii, 242
=Kulún, viii, 342
Binder of the =Tahmúras, i, 42, 125, 126, 214
=Gúdarz, iv, 35
=Rustam, iii, 253, 292
Black, son of Ahriman, i, 82, 117; ii, 53; v, 199; viii, 171
White, i, 43, i, 82; ii, 27, 39
seq., 43, 44, 53, 54, 55, 58 seq., 60, 93, 163, 373; iii, 143, 256, 314; iv, 136, 290; v, 117, 176, 203, 207, 234
defeats Káns, ii, 40
blood of, cures blindness, ii, 58, 62
slain by Rustam, ii, 60
Divining-cup. See Cup.
Dneiper (Borysthenes), river in southern European Russia, flowing into the Black Sea, iii, 101
Don (Tanais), river in southern European Russia, flowing into the Sea of Azov, iv, 315 note, 316

Doni, The Moral Philosopher of, vii, 383

Drachm (diram), silver coin, i, 81

Dragon, 143, 154, 156, 160, 164, 165, i, 42, 123; vi, 132, 149

Faridun takes the form of, i, 180

of the Kashaf, i, 235

Sám and the, i, 296 seq., v, 292

slain by Rustam and Rakhsh, ii, 48 seq.

of Mount Sakila, iv, 342 seq.

Gushtasp and, iv, 343 seq.

Dakiki, v, 23, 30

Gúdarz's, ii, 303, 404

Gushtasp's, v, 19

Kaid's, v, 62, 91

Katayum's, iv, 310, 320, 330

Nushirwan's, vii, 282 seq.; ix, 92

Odatis', iv, 315

Papak's, vi, 200, 212

Piran's, ii, 325

Sám's, i, 243, 244

Siwawush's, ii, 309

Tús', iii, 149

Zaraddres', iv, 315

Draupadi, joint wife of the five Pandavas, iv, 138 and note, 139

Drought and famine in Iran, i, 3, 5, 370, 371; ii, 393; vii, 159, 162

Piruz's measures to alleviate, vii, 159, 162

breaking up of, described, vii, 163

Mazdak's parable concerning, vii, 201

Dravspa, genius of cattle, iv, 137

Dualism, i, 5, 49, 50, 52, 59, 58

taught by Urmuzd to Zar-dusht, v, 16

Dughdhóva, v, 14, 15

account of, v, 14

Dúk, plain, viii, 282, 284

mountain, viii, 289

Dukhtmush. See Xúsha.

Dunbar. See Dambar.

Duncker, Professor, ii, 9

on date of Zandavasta, ii, 9

Dúrársróló, a Karap q.v., v, 15

Dust, prevalence of, in Iran, i, 3

as a metaphor, i, 75 and passim

Dynasty, dynasties, Iran, i, 49

Pishdadian q.v.

Káánian q.v.
Dynasty, Ashkánian q.v.
Sásánian q.v.

E

Eclipse of sun, total, temp. Pírúz, vii, 150
Edessa, S. James of, i, 374
Eggs, golden, as tribute, vi, 24, 36, 109, 160
Egypt (Misr, q.v.), ii, 80; vi, 12, 16, 17, 72, 81, 82; viii, 187, 193
Pseudo-Callisthenes written in, vi, 13
invaded by Alexander the Great, vi, 30
Egyptian Egyptians, vi, 16; viii, 193; ix, 110
falsification of history by, vi, 16
thorn, viii, 210
linen, ix, 110
Ekbatana (Hamadán), the capital of Media, i, 17; ii, 191; vi, 31, 32
capital of the Manda, q.v., i, 17
Elam (Susa, Khúzistán), ancient kingdom and Persian province at the head of the Persian Gulf, i, 9; vi, 194, 198
Elburz. See Alburz.
Elements, the four, i, 102, 286
Elephant, elephants, i, 112 and passim
towers on, iv, 179
Für's, vi, 115, 116
Sikandar's device to overcome, vi, 115, 116
=Rustam, iii, 221, 253
=Rakhsh, iii, 257
=Für, vi, 117
piece in chess, vii, 285, 423
position of, vii, 388, 422
move of, vii, 422
White, Zál's, 141, i, 328
referred to, i, 377
Elephantine, the-Rustam, ii, 65, 67
Eleven Kukhs, Battle of the, iv, 88
arranged by Gúdarz and Piran, iv, 95 seq.
Firdausi's reflections on, iv, 7, 98, 100
Ellipi, kingdom of, i, 9, 17
Elixir, 144, ii, 177, 178
Elymais (Elam, q.v.), kingdom, vi, 198
Endless peace, the, vii, 217
Enótoïkaitê, the, vi, 80
Epirus, ancient kingdom in northern Greece, vi, 12
Alexander I of, vi, 12
his expedition to Italy, vi, 12
Equinox, autumnal, iv, 313
Erinde, river, iii, 10 and note, 11
Esdras (Ezra), Jewish priest and scribe, supposed by the Muhammadans to have restored from memory the law lost during the captivity, vii, 207, 264
Ether, vii, 275
Ethics, Muhammadan, respected, viii, 74
Ethiop, Ethiopian, Ethiopic, i, 44; iii, 220; vi, 43, 71, 80
=Indian, vi, 13, 68
western and eastern, vi, 13, 68, 71
version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, q.v., vi, 17 and note, 18, 30, 33, 66, 67, 71, 74, 82, 83
Ethiopia, vi, 72
flight of Nectanebus to, vi, 18 note
western and eastern, vi, 68
=India, vi, 68
Eumenes, Greek ephemerist, temp. Alexander the Great, vi, 12
Euphrates (Farát, q.v.), river, ii, 80; v, 202; vi, 31, 327; vii, 217; viii, 188, 190
GENERAL INDEX

Euxine, sea, i, 19; ii, 191, 330; vii, 72
Eye, metaphor for child, i, 178, 180, 181, 185, 191; ii, 207, 228; v, 272; vii, 279, 369
evil, ii, 204, 252; iii, 141, 157; iv, 144, 282; v, 194, 245, 251, 269; vi, 266, 402; vii, 78, 81, 172; viii, 16, 417
turns milk to bane, vii, 320 seq., 324, 325

Fables of Bidpai (Book of Kalila and Dimna), vii, 213, 427 seq.; viii, 202 note, 390
introduction of, into Persia, vii, 213
translation of, vii, 382, 383
Firdausi's account of, vii, 430
vogue of, vii, 383
origin of, vii, 383
Nushirwan's acquisition of, vii, 423 seq.

Faghánísh, temp. Pirúz, king of the Hâttâlah, 168, vii, 157
helps Pirúz for a consideration, vii, 157
temp. Nushirwán, 168
made king instead of Ghâtkar, vii, 333
Nushirwán takes counsel about, iii, 333
descent of, from Bahram Gúr, vii, 334
Nushirwán writes to, vii, 337
makes submission to Nushirwán, vii, 360

Faghfúr, dynastic title of the rulers of Chin and Máchín, 152, 153, 160, i, 202; ii, 383; iv, 11, 135, 190, 238 seq.; v, 221; vi, 35, 171
Faghfúr—cont.
So, 113, 109 seq., 325; vii, 310, 343, 398; viii, 71; ix, 87, 97, 102
temp. Kai Khusrú, helps Afrásiyáb, iv, 219
Khán and, sue to Kai Khusrú for peace, iv, 229
orders Afrásiyáb to quit Khutan and Chin, iv, 230
grants facilities to Kai Khusrú for his march through Chin, iv, 239
Khán of Chin and, welcome Kai Khusrú, iv, 240 confirmed in the possession of Chin and Máchín, iv, 252
temp. Sikandar, ambassadors from, come to Dârâ, vi, 35
Sikandar visits as his own ambassador, vi, 170
gives audience to Sikandar, vi, 170
entertains Sikandar, vi, 171
answers Sikandar, vi, 172
gifts of, to Sikandar, vi, 173
sends envoy with Sikandar, vi, 173
temp. Bahram Gúr, 165
daughter of, the wife of Shangul, vii, 115
hears of Bahram Gúr's exploits in Hind, vii, 129
invites Bahram Gúr to visit him, vii, 129
Bahram Gúr's reply to, vii, 130
temp. Nushirwán, viii, 97
Faghfúr, son of Sáwa, viii, 74, 75, 120
confused with Faghfúr of Chin, viii, 74
parley of, with Bahram Chúbina, viii, 112
head of, on spear, viii, 132
Failakús (Philip II of Macedon), grandfather in Iranian legend of Sikandar (Alexander the Great), 158; vi, 57, 102, 112, 125, 130, 131, 151, 182; vii, 215; viii, 387

wars with Dáráb, vi, 22

allied with the king of Rús, vi, 22

marches from 'Ammúriya to encounter Dáráb, vi, 23

defeated and returns to 'Ammúriya, vi, 23

sues for peace, vi, 23

agrees to send tribute, and give his daughter in marriage, to Dáráb, 158, vi, 24, 25

adopts Sikandar as his heir, vi, 27

Faith, Faiths, the four, vi, 92, 95

of Christ, Christian, vi, 133, 352, 356

of Ahriman, ii, 358; vi, 281, 290

Faithful, Commander of the, ix, 72

'Umar, the first, ix, 72 and note

Fákírs, the, vi, 61

Alexander the Great and, vi, 61

Onesicritus and, vi, 61

Fákka', a kind of drink, i, 43 note

Falátún (Plato), vii, 100; viii, 264

Falconry, ii, 108, 196; vi, 176; vii, 42, 48 seq., 54, 55, 70 and note

origin of, i, 126

Famine, See Drought.

Farab (Fáriyáb? q.v.), iv, 185

Farab (Firabr), desert and town on the right bank of the Oxus opposite to Ánwí, g.v., vii, 91, 92

desert of, ix, 115, 118

Fará’in, Iranian chief, vii, 207

Farámarz, son of Rustam, 146, 157, ii, 4, 319, 341 seq., 349, 351, 354; iii, 18, 30, 35, 39, 202, 323, 325, 329, 328; iv, 14; v, 173, 174, 182, 183, 198, 231, 260, 261, 272, 274, 281, 283, 284

parentage of, iii, 323

appointed to expel the Turkmans from Zábulis-tán, iii, 31

referred to, v, 184

Zawára and, sent by Rustam to bid Zál and Kúdába prepare to receive Asfandiyár, v, 190

slays Mihr-i-Násh, v, 227

goes to Rustam and Asfandiyár, v, 247

marches against Kábul, v, 274, 276

takes the corpses of Rustam, Zawára, and Rakhsh from the pits, and conveys them to Zábul for burial, v, 274 seq.

fights with the king of Kábul and puts him and his kin to death, v, 276, 277

makes a Zábuli king of Kábul, v, 277

returns to Zábul, v, 277

hears of Bahman's invasion and marches against him, v, 287

defeated and put to death, v, 288

Farának, wife of Abtin and mother of Farídún, i, 90, 145, 157

Farídún brought up by, on Birmaya’s milk, i, 151

taken by, to Mount Alburz, i, 152

told by, about his origin, i, 153

prays for Farídún’s safety, i, 158
Farának, rejoices over Farídún’s success, i, 175

gifts of, to Farídún, i, 170

Farának, daughter of Bāzent, vii, 53

married to Bahrám Gūr, vii, 53


Mandane and, identical in legend, ii, 191

Siyāwush marries, ii, 270

Afrásiyāb summons, to court, ii, 300 seq.

Siyāwush confides in, ii, 307 seq.

Afrásiyāb appealed to by, ii, 317 seq.

imprisoned, ii, 320

sentenced, ii, 322

Pīrān saves and takes charge of, ii, 324 seq.

Kāi Khusrau born of, ii, 320

dwells at Siyāwushgird, ii, 333

instructs Kāi Khusrau how to find Bīhzād, ii, 374

gives Giv the mail of Siyāwush, ii, 376

crosses the Jīfūn, ii, 392

provided for by Kāi Kāūs, ii, 399

Farāburz marries, iii, 148

referred to, iii, 149 seq., 202; iv, 205, 213, 216

death of referred to, iv, 394

Farāt (Euphrates), river, 158, v, 294, 309; vi, 37, 42, 43, 290; vii, 93, 250

Dārāb cast away upon, v, 295

Farājīn (Guráz, Shahrbaráz q.v.), Shāh, 175, ix, 50, 53, 105

accession-speech of, ix, 52

conquered by his eldest son, ix, 52

Farājīn, counselled by his youngest son, ix, 53

misrule of, ix, 53

plot against, ix, 54

Farātirvān (Porphyrogenitus ?), Kūman general, 167, vii, 218

defeated by Nūshirwān, vii, 250

makes report to Casar, vii, 260

Farghān, Kūman architect, and Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 401 seq.

Farghāna, region south of the Jaxartes, east of Sughd, iii, 109

Farghār, Turānian hero, iii, 250

goes to spy on Rustam, iii, 259

reports to Afrāsiyāb, iii, 253


Parthian origin of, iii, 11

goes as envoy to the king of Māzandarān, ii, 63

takes part in the Fight of the Seven Warriors, ii, 111

steed of, iii, 313

goes with Rustam to rescue Bīžhan, iii, 334

left in command by Giv, iv, 83

put in command of the left wing, iv, 92

left at Gang-bihisht, iv, 219

Farhād, Irānian general, temp. Nūshirwān, vii, 251

commands left wing, vii, 251

Farhād, lover of Shirīn, viii, 192

Fariburz — cont.
211, 213, 215, 238, 239, 253, 258, 268, 280, 331; iv, 14, 34, 37, 91
encampment of, described, ii, 155
claims of, to the throne supported by Túṣ, ii, 401, iii, 13
recognises Kai Khusrau as Sháh, ii, 410
Kai Khusrau's letter to, iii, 84
reads to the chiefs Kai Khusrau's letter, and supersedes Túṣ, iii, 86
sends Ruhhám to Pirán, iii, 87
obtains an armistice and prepares to renew the campaign, iii, 89
fights and is defeated, iii, 90
returns to Irán, iii, 111
asks Rustam to support his suit to Farangís, iii, 146
marries Farangís, iii, 148
leads the van of Rustam's expedition to succour Túṣ, iii, 148
meets Gádarz, iii, 193
joins forces with Túṣ, iii, 169

goes to Kai Khusrau with tidings of victory, iii, 236 seq.
returns to the host, iii, 241, 243
commands the right wing, iv, 24
supersedes pro tem. by Katmára, iv, 92
chosen to fight with Kulkáb, iv, 97
slays Kulkáb, iv, 99
commands with Tukhár the troops from Kháwar, iv, 148
slays Fartús, iv, 181
commands the right, iv, 191

takes part in the siege of Gang-bihisht, iv, 199

Fariburz, Kai Khusrau remonstrated with by, and other nobles for refusing audience, iv, 275
Kai Khusrau's gift to, iv, 295
sets out with Kai Khusrau on his pilgrimage, iv, 306
refuses to turn back when hidden by Kai Khusrau, iv, 307
Kai Khusrau farewells and warns, and his comrades, iv, 308
vanily reminds his comrades of Kai Khusrau's warning, iv, 309
end of, iv, 309

Farídún (Thraétöna), Sháh, son of Abtín and Farának, i, 40, 134, 153, i, 39, 42, 51, 55, 90 seq., 142, 286, 339, 341, 349, 351, 364, 379, 382, 384, 385; ii, 11, 17, 19, 21, 29, 33, 36, 37, 99, 103, 105, 204, 237, 274, 318, 327, 392, 400, 404; iii, 21, 37, 245, 257; iv, 17, 60, 90, 89, 91, 142, 149, 151, 153, 168, 174, 203, 204, 221, 222, 255, 259, 260, 262, 266, 299, 280, 289, 299, 313, 328; v, 32, 34, 190, 180, 196, 204 seq., 245, 260, 261, 271, 283; vi, 73, 172, 209, 400; vii, 37, 38, 60, 62, 73, 79, 101, 120, 199, 207; viii, 129, 205, 218, 231, 242, 260, 300, 370 seq., 301, 392; ix, 25, 30, 53, 71, 86, 103

mythological origin of, i, 171 seq.
Zähhák's dream of, i, 147 seq.
advent of, prophesied, i, 149
Faridún, birth of, i, 150
father of, slain by Zahhák, i, 151
brought up on the milk of
the cow Birmáya, i, 151
taken by his mother to
Mount Alburz, i, 152
palace of, burned by Zahhák,
i, 152, 153
questions his mother about
his origin, i, 152
contemplates revenge on
Zahhák, i, 154
dissuaded by his mother, i,
154
Káwa revolts to, i, 157
resolves to war with Zahhák,
i, 157
brothers of, i, 158
ox-head mace invented by,
i, 158
rewards the smiths, i, 158
goes to fight Zahhák, i, 159
visited and instructed by
Suriish, i, 159
life of, attempted by his
brothers, i, 160
saves himself by his magic
power, i, 160
van of, led by Káwa, i, 160
crosses the Arwand (Díjla,
Tigris), i, 160
enters Zahhák’s capital, i,
161
overthrows Zahhák’s talisman,
i, 161
seeks in vain for Zahhák, i,
162
finds the sisters of Jamshíd,
i, 162
hears where Zahhák is, i, 163
Story of, and Zahhák’s minis-
ter (Kundrav), i, 164
doings of, reported to Zah-
hák by Kundrav, i, 165
attacked by, and over-
throws, Zahhák, i, 168, 288
 counselled by Suriish about
Zahhák, i, 168, 169
Faridún, becomes Sháh, i, 168
feeters Zahhák upon Mount
Damáwand, i, 169
Reign of, i, 170, i, 171 seq.
Note on, i, 171 seq.
three sons of, i, 174, 177
ethnic significance of, i,
174
accession of, i, 174
holds a feast, i, 175
makes a progress through
the world, i, 176
builds himself a seat, i, 177
sends Jándal on a mission, i,
177
receives Jándal’s report, i,
182
instructs his sons how to
deal with Sarv, i, 182
sons of, outwit Sarv, i, 184
receive Sarv’s daughters
in marriage, i, 185
return home, i, 186
proved by Faridún, i, 186
named by Faridún, i, 187
wives of, named by Farid-
dún, i, 188
horoscopes of, taken by
Faridún, i, 188
divides the world among
his sons, i, 189
grows old, i, 189
Salm and Túr write to, to
demand the abdication of
fraj, i, 191
makes answer to his sons, i,
193
holds converse with fraj, i,
195
writes to Salm and Túr, i, 197
fraj’s head sent to, i, 202
mourning of, for fraj, i, 203
sight of, injured by mourn-
ing for fraj, i, 204
hopes for issue from fraj, i,
205
recovers his sight, i, 206
gifts of, to Minúchíhr, i, 207
gives a feast to the nobles,
i, 207
GENERAL INDEX

Farrdún, receives an embassage from his sons, i, 209
makes answer to his sons, i, 211
receives an embassage from Salm and Tūr, i, 215
hears of Minūchihr’s victory, i, 222
Minūchihr sends the heads of Salm and Tūr to, i, 222, 229
welcomes Minūchihr on his return in triumph, i, 230
confides Minūchihr to Salm, i, 231
gives thanks to God and prays for death, i, 232
distributes the spoil to the troops, i, 232
enthrones Minūchihr, i, 232
passes his last days in austerities, i, 232
dies, i, 232
burial of, i, 233
mourning for, i, 233
Firdausi’s reflections on, i, 170, 232
final warfare of Zahhāk with, i, 278, cf. 173
Mount Sipand besieged by order of, i, 329
Grace of, i, 335
saying of, ii, 219 and note
flag of = flag of Kāwa, vi, 50
capital of, vii, 215, 238
Fārīn (Maiyāfarīn, Martyropolis), city in Roman Armenia, vii, 200
taken by Kubād, vii, 200
Fāriyāb, city half way between the town of Marvūr and Balkh, iv, 65
Farr, i, 82. See Grace.
Farruhān (Farrukhān). See Farāyin.
Farruk, ruler of Nimrūz, viii, 375
Farrukhān (Farruhān). See Farāyin.
Farrukhānzd (Farrukhānzd q.v.), viii, 195

Farrukh-Hurmuzd (Hurmuzd q.v.), father of Rustam, ix, 69
Farrukhzād (of glorious birth), name assumed by Gush-tāsp in Rūm, iv, 351 seq., 357, 360
Farrukhzād, Shāh, 175, ix, 61 seq., 70
Siyah Chashm and, ix, 62
poisons, ix, 63
Farrukhzād (Farrukhānzd q.v.), son of Hurmuzd, brother of Rustam, and favourite of Khusrau Parwiz, ix, 23, 87, 92, 95
conspires with Gurāz, viii, 408, 412
goes to the host, viii, 412
rebels in favour of Shīrwī, viii, 413
brother of, viii, 413 and note
conspires with Tukhār, viii, 414
proclaims Shīrwī Shāh, viii, 416
hears where Khusrau Parwiz is hiding, viii, 419
holds talk with Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 420
bribes Mīhr Hurmuzd to murder Khusrau Parwiz, ix, 33
defeats the Arabs, ix, 85
counsels Yazdagird, ix, 86, 87
leads the host to Khurāsān, ix, 89
entrusts Yazdagird to Māhwī, ix, 95
goes to Rai, ix, 96
Farrukhzād, Irānian warrior, viii, 241, 296
speech of, viii, 240
Farsang (parasang), measure of length, about 3.88 miles, i, 82
Farshīward, son of Wisa and brother of Pirān, Turānian hero, 152, 1, 92; iii.
Farshidward — cont.

90, 160, 168, 205, 252; iv, 7, 10, 110, 122, 125, 133, 153, 190, 192
summons Pirán to save
Farangis, ii, 322
commands with Lahhák the
right wing, iv, 82
attacks the Íránians in
flank, iv, 82
opposed by Zanga, iv, 83
goes to help Pirán and
attacks Giv, iv, 85
prowess of, iv, 86
fights with Guraza, iv, 87
Bizhan, iv, 87
Lahhák and, put in joint
command, iv, 84
Piran’s instructions to,
iv, 95
hear of the death of Pirán
and the coming of Kai
Khusrau, iv, 112
lament for Pirán, iv, 112
take counsel with the
host, iv, 113
fight and escape Íránian
outpost, iv, 116
referred to, iv, 118, 120,
129
repose themselves, iv, 121
corpses of, brought back
by Bizhan, iv, 129, 132
deaths of, announced to
Afrásiyáb iv, 152
Farshidward, brother of Asfandiýár, 155, v, 20, 22, 110,
114, 141, 171
governor of Khuúsán, v, 77
stationed on the Íránian
right, v, 94
mortally wounded by Khu-
ram, v, 95, 101, 104
Asfandiýár laments for, v,
101, 104
resolves to avenge, v, 104
dies, v, 104
shrouded by Asfandiýár, v,
105
Farshidward, a miser, 194, vii,
67 seq.
Farshidward, a miser, Bahram
Gún visits, vii, 68 seq.
pretended destitution of,
vii, 68 seq.
wealth of, described, vii, 70,
72, 73
Fartús, Íránian hero, iii, 182,
213, 231, 251
comes to aid Pirán, iii, 152
hears of the coming of
Rustam, iii, 175
slain by Bahram, iv, 181
Farúd, son of Siyávush and
Jarira daughter of Pirán,
and half brother of Kai
Khusrau, 145, 147, i, 92,
370; ii, 3, 204; iii, 8, 14,
42 seq., 72, 85, 87, 93, 107,
111 seq.; iv, 42, 135;
v, 30
birth of, ii, 204
hostility of Tús to, iii, 13
Story of, 147, iii, 37 seq.
referred to, iii, 39
advised by Tukhrár, iii, 47,
52 seq.
interview of, with Bahram,
iii, 47 seq.
birth-mark of, iii, 48
Gives his mace to Bahram,
iii, 50
eighty slaves of, the, iii, 55
their mockery of Tús, iii,
59
their mockery of Giv, iii,
58
slays the steed of Tús, iii, 59
wounds the steed of Giv, iii,
58
slays the steed of Bizhan, 
iii, 61
worsted by Bizhan, iii, 62
attacks the Íránians, iii, 63
prowess of, iii, 64
mortally wounded, iii, 64
dies, iii, 65
mother and slaves of,
destroy themselves, iii, 66
burial of, iii, 68
Kai Khusrau’s grief for, iii,
81 seq., 112
Farúd, son of Shirin and Khusraw Parwiz, ix, 39

Farukhzád. See Farrukhzád.

Farwardin, genius, i, 88; iii, 287, 328

name of month and day, i, 88, 133, 203; iii, 230, 286, 217, 323; vi, 375; vii, 363; viii, 367, 371

origin of, iii, 286

Faryán, king, father-in-law of Kaidrísh, 159, vi, 60, 67, 124 seq., 171, 172

city of, taken by Sikandar, vi, 124

slain, vi, 125
daughter and son-in-law of, taken prisoners, vi, 125

brought before Naitkún, vi, 126

sentenced to death, vi, 126

pardoned, vi, 126

Fáskín, forest in Rúm, iv, 333, 335 seq.

Wolf of, 154

described, iv, 333, 336

Mirín bidden by Caesar to slay, iv, 333

Gushtásp undertakes to slay, iv, 336

keeps tusks of, iv, 338

tusks of, produced before Caesar by Hishví, iv, 351

referred to, iv, 350

Fátima, daughter of Muhammad and wife of ‘Ali, i, 12

Fazl. See Abú ‘Abbás Fazl.

Feast. See Mihrán, Naurúz, New Year’s Day, Sada.

Ferghána. See Farghána.

Fight of the Seven Warriors, i, 43, ii, 82, 107 seq.

Firdausí, Persian poet and author of the Sháh-náma, 146, 154, 155, 160, 173, 1, 3, 22 seq.; ii, 9, 10, 82, 119; iii, 11, 108, 271, 272; iv, 130, 138, 314, 310; v, 10, 20 seq., 29, 282; vi, 10, 17, 64 seq.,

Firdausí:—cont.

72, 78, 80 seq., 197, 198, 202, 250, 254, 204, 313, 315, 321 seq., 326, 328, 368; vii 3, 4, 6, 153, 156, 159, 185, 186, 188, 213, 214, 217 seq., 317; viii, 71, 73, 74, 187, 190, 192, 193, ix, 60

materials for the life of, i, 23 seq.

personal references of, in the Sháh-náma, i, 24 seq.

conclusions from, i, 35

date of birth of, i, 24

Muhammadan of the Shi’ite sect, i, 24, 106, 107

fond of wine, i, 25; iv, 313; v, 164, vi, 201, 306, 309, 314, 302, 309; vii, 277

owed or occupied land, i, 25; vi, 411; ix 112

escape of, from drowning, i, 20, 29

son of, i, 26; vii, 160

referred to (?), i, 27; vii, 277, 311
dearth of, 173, i, 26; viii, 190

complains of old age, 160, i, 26; ii, 339; iv, 141; v, 202; vii, 220

patrons, friends and helpers of, i, 29 seq., 35, 39, 110; ix, 124

exempted from taxation, i, 33, 39; ix, 121

Nizámí’s account of, i, 38 seq., 45

later legends of, iii, 15, 109, 101; iv, 8

Dakíki, and. See Dakíki. Mahmúd and, See Mahmúd.

Satire of. See Mahmúd.

Sháh-náma of. See Sháh-náma.

Yúsuf and Zulikha of, i, 45

admits Muhammadan traditions into Sháh-náma, vii, 42
GENERAL INDEX

Firdausi, and rhyme-word, viii, 397, note
account of Arab conquest by, supplemented, ix, 65
Yazdagird’s death, ix, 70, 107
reflections on, ix, 108, 111
on completion of Shāhnāma, ix, 121
time spent on Shāhnāma, ix, 122
praise of Sultan Mahmūd
See Mahmūd
Fire, ancient cult of the Aryans,
i, 7, 49, 50
priests of, See Magi.
region of, ii, 50
Hiushang’s discovery of, i, 123
institution of the Cult of,
i, 119, 123
Feast of Sada, i, 124
ordeal by, 144, ii, 218 seq.
sacred, vi, 21, 201, 212
Fire—fane or temple, 154. See Azar Abādagān, Āzar-gashasp, Barzin.
—worship, abolition of, vii, 88
Firuz, frāman king, iv, 149
Firuzābād. See Gūr.
Firūzī Kūh, pass in the Alburz range, ii, 28
Fish, mythological, i, 71, 72, 148, 252; ii, 15, 290; iv, 279; vii, 341 and note, 499; viii, 212 and note
salt, the, legend of, vi, 79 seq.
—eaters. See Ichthyophagi.
Fleece, Golden. See Golden.
Flesh-meats, introduction of, attributed to Ahriman, i, 138
Flight, of Muhammad, referred to, ix, 122
Flying-machine, of Kai Kāus, ii, 103

Fo-lin, vi, 73 and note
Footman (pawn), piece in chess, vii, 385
position of, vii, 388
move of, vii, 422
promotion of, vii, 422
Ford and toll-house of Zark, ix, 100 and note, 110
Fort, hill, Malcolm’s description of, i, 236
Fortifications vitrified, vi, 79, 165
Fount of Life, the, vi, 74 seq., 158 seq.
Sikandar’s expedition to, vi, 158 seq.
account of, in the Pseudo-Callisthenes, vi, 71 seq.
Sikandar fails to find, vi, 160
Founts, the Seven, viii, 392
Four, Wonders of Kaid. See Kaid.
Faiths, vi, 91, 95
Fragrasyan (Afrasiyāb, q.v.), i, 338; ii, 81, 189; iv, 137, 138
Frashōkar, son of Gushtasp, v, 26
Frāsiyāb (Afrasiyāb, q.v.), i, 338; ii, 81
Fravashī, i, 309; ii, 82; iii, 280
Frazdānava, lake or river, v, 13
Frūbā, sacred Fire, vi, 201, 255
Funj, leader of Khān’s host, temp. Nūshirvān, vii, 330
Fūr (Porus, q.v.), dynastic title and Indian king, temp. Sikandar, 159, vi, 31, 51, 62, 64, 110, seq. 123, 132, 135, 137, 170, 172, 175; vii, 395
Dārī’s letter to, vi, 50
Sikandar’s war with, vi, 67, 112 seq.
routed by Sikandar’s iron steeds, vi, 110
single combat of, with Sikandar, vi, 117
slain, vi, 117
troops of, submit to Sikandar, vi, 118

VOL. IX.
Furúhil, Iránian hero, 151, iv, 24, 33
chosen to fight with Zangula, iv, 97
slays Zangula, iv, 101

GENERAL INDEX

Gandarep, monster, i, 143
slain by Keresáspa, i, 172, 173

Gang, mountain, iv, 162; v, 216
Gang, sea of, ii, 302
Gang, stronghold in Túrán and seat of Afrásiyáb, ii, 241, 261, 300, 344, 357, 369; iii, 236, 253; iv, 258
king of = Afrásiyáb, iv, 134
two places known as, iv, 136 = Gang-bihisht q.v., iv, 190, 195, 197, 198, 204, 208, 218, 220, 221, 229, 232 = Gang-dízh q.v., iv, 247

Gang-bihisht, north of the Jaxartes, stronghold and seat of Afrásiyáb, 152, iv, 135, 136, 207 seq., 228
Afrásiyáb at, iv, 187
marches from, iv, 190
returns to, iv, 196
described, iv, 195
prepared for a siege by Afrásiyáb, iv, 197
besieged by Kai Khusrav, iv, 198, 208 seq.
taken by storm, iv, 209 seq.
occupied by Kai Khusrav for a while, iv, 218
Gádárz left in command of, iv, 219

Gustaham, son of Naudar, left in command of, iv, 238, Kai Khusrav dwells for a year in, iv, 254

Gang-dízh (Gang-i-Siyawush), stronghold, 145, 153, iv, 135, 136, 180 note, 203, 257, 204; ix, 25
possible identification of, ii, 189
meaning of, ii, 19
building and description of, ii, 279 seq.
Afrásiyáb takes refuge at, iv, 230
Kai Khusrav resolves to pursue Afrásiyáb to, iv, 231
marches to, iv, 247

Gabriel, angel, i, 114; iv, 140; vi, 138 note
Gahán (Kahan, town above Juwayn on the Farah river which flows into the northern end of the Lake of Zirih in Sístán?) 149, iii, 152, 177, 224, 225
Gahári, Túránian hero, 149, iii, 210, 224, 251
comes to aid Pírán, iii, 152
slain by Rustam, iii, 225
Gaiúmart, the first Sháh and culture-hero, and the first man in Zoroastrian tradition, 139, i, 90, 91, 116, 123; vi, 208; viii, 24, 55, 260, 269, 310, 376
Reign of, i, 117 seq.
Note on, i, 117
greatness of, i, 118
culture-hero, i, 118
son of, i, 119
slain by Black Dív, i, 120
envied by Ahriman, i, 119
warned by Súrísh, i, 119
grief of, for the death of Síyámak, i, 120
bidden by Súrísh to avenge Síyámak, i, 120
goes with Húshang to fight Black Dív, i, 121
death of, i, 121
Firdausí's reflections on, i, 121
rites of, vii, 53
Faith of, vii, 273; vii, 277
Gallwí, Iránian chief, ix, 74
Gálínúsh, put in charge of Khusrav Parwíz, viii, 421; ix, 5, 11, 12
parley of, with Kharrád and Ashtád, ix, 12 seq.
Gangdizh, Kai Khustan, forbids his troops to injure, iv, 247
enters, iv, 248
remains a year at, iv, 249
advised by his paladins to leave, iv, 249
appoints a governor for, iv, 249
distributes treasure at, iv, 250
Gang-i-Dizhukht (Baitu'l Mukaddas q.v.), i, 161, 226
Gang-i-Siyawush. See Gangdizh.
Ganges, Indian river, vi, G4
Garamik-kart. See Giraniu.
Garcha, Turanian hero, iii, 152
comes to aid Piran, iii, 152
Garden of the Hesperides, vi, 74
Indians, vii, 199
Gardener, a, vi, 341
entertains Shāpūr son of Urmuzd, vi, 341 seq.
sent by Shāpūr to the high priest, vi, 344
describes Shāpūr, vi, 344
rewarded by Shāpūr, vi, 357
Gargwī, Turanian hero, v, 109
commands the left, v, 109
Garib, surface-measure, vii, 215
and note
Garshasp. See Keresáspa.
Garshasp, son of Zav, Shāh, 142,
i, 99, 91, 174; ii, 339
Reign of, i, 373 seq.
Note on, i, 373
relation of, to Keresásp, i,
174
accesion of, i, 374
death of, i, 375
Garshasp, Turanian hero, i, 42,
144, 207, 212, 214, 239, 345; ii, 4; iii, 290, 273; v, 202
relation of, to Keresáspa, i,
174
Garshasp, Turanian chief, temp.
Shāpūr son of Ardshir, vi, 297
single combat of, with Bazānūsh, vi, 297
Garshasp, Turanian noble, temp.
Nūshirvān, vii, 18
Garsiwaz, brother of Afrásiyāb,
145, 150, 153, i, 92, 342, 349; ii, 3, 188, 180, 193, 195, 228, 231 seq., 249, 253, 204, 268, 269, 280, 289 seq., 313 seq. 7 iii, 197, 208, 306, 310, 350, 352; iv, 10, 135 seq., 209 seq., 252, 268; vi, 325; ix, 103
defeated by Siyawush, ii, 229 seq.
sues for peace to Siyawush, ii, 237 seq.
fails to string the bow of Siyawush, ii, 266
visits Siyawush, ii, 280 seq.
enies Siyawush, ii, 292 seq.
challenges Siyawush, ii, 294
slanders Siyawush, ii, 296 seq.
betrays Siyawush, ii, 301 seq.
compasses the death of Siyawush, ii, 315 seq.
charged with the execution of Farangis, ii, 322
goes to Manizha's palace, iii, 301
finds Bīzhan, iii, 302
takes Bīzhan before Afrásiyāb, iii, 303
ordered to execute Bīzhan, iii, 304
imprison Bīzhan, iii, 309
disgrace Manizha, iii, 309
put in charge of the elephants, iv, 150
reinforces Afrásiyāb, iv, 181
Jahn and, compel Afrásiyāb to quit the field, iv, 182
commands the rear, iv, 191
taken prisoner by Rustam at the storming of Gangbihisht, iv, 210
referred to, iv, 211
sent to Kai Kāūs, iv, 233
imprisoned, iv, 235
Garsā̄waz, sent for by Kai Kāūs and Kai Khusrau, and put to the torture, iv, 205
voice of, attracts Afрасiyāb from lake, iv, 205
holds converse with Afрасiyāb, iv, 260
slain by Kai Khusrau, iv, 209
Garsiyān, Irānian chief, ix, 115
Gashan, as rhyme-word, viii, 397 note
Gashasp, Irānian chief, vi, 304
addresses the nobles on the succession to the throne, vi, 304
Gashasp, Irānian general, temp. Nūshirwān, vii, 251
put in charge of baggage-train, vii, 251
Gashasp, Irānian noble, viii, 17, 18
Gashasp, father in Shāhnāma of Bahram Chūbina, viii, 76, 99, 162, 100, 304
Gashasp, father of Ashtād q.v., ix, II
Gathas, ii, 8; v, 11, 12, 17
Gaugamela, village near Nineveh, vi, 31, 32 note
battle of, vi, 31
Gaumata (the false Smerdis),
Magus, vi, 207
usurpation, and death of, i, 58
overthrow of, celebrated at the Magophonia, i, 59
Gav, king of Hind, 169, vii, 395 seq.
mother of, vii, 305 seq.
two marriages of, vii, 395, 396
two sons of, vii, 395, 396
becomes queen, vii, 307
tries to keep peace between her sons, vii, 397 seq.
hears of the death of Tālhand, vii, 419
reproaches Gav, vii, 420
Gav, mother of, chess invented to appease, vii, 421
death of, vii, 423
birth of, vii, 395
tutor of, vii, 397, 398, 401, 402, 407, 408, 410, 413, 417, 421
rivalry between Tālhand and, vii, 397 seq.
war between Tālhand and, vii, 404 seq.
atttempts of, at accommodation with Tālhand, vii, 405, 408, 413
defeats Tālhand, vii, 412
proposes a decisive battle to Tālhand, vii, 414
victory of, vii, 416
invents chess to console his mother for the death of Tālhand, vii, 421
Gaza, city in south-western Palestine, vi, 30
siege of, by Alexander the Great, vi, 30
Gazhdaham, Irānian hero and castellan of White Castle, I44, i, 369; ii, 131, 132, 134, 138, 139, 145, 149; iii, 15, 25, 33, 40, 45, 294; iv, 13, 24, 149
besieged by Bārmān, i, 354
relieved by Kārān, i, 354
Suhrāb described by, ii, 136
evacuates White Castle, ii, 137
Gedrosia (Makrān, Balūchistān), vi, 69
Gelani. See Gilān.
Gemini, constellation, vi, 155; viii, 86, 203; ix, 73
Genealogical tables
Pishdādān dynasty, i, 90, 91
Kaḷānian dynasty, ii, 3
Sāsānian dynasty, vi, 3
Kings and heroes of Tūrān, i, 92
Irānian heroes, ii, 4
Genealogies, fictitious, v, 282, 290, 293; vi, 199, 211
Genealogies of Pāpak in Tabari, vi, 200
Mas'ūdī, vi, 200
Geography, Firdausi's, ii, 28
Darmesteter on, ii, 79, 80
Geometrician, vi, 377
Geopothros (Gotarzes q.v.), iii, 9
George, Armenian general, vii, 105
Germanus, vii, 218
Germay, vii, 73
Geircha (Georgia), country between the Caucasus and the Aras, iv, 14, 65
the king of, iv, 149
Gharchis (Georgians), vii, 94
Ghātkār, ruler of the Hātianians, q.v., 168; vii, 334, 335
hears of, and destroys, the Khān's embassy to Nūsh-irwān, vii, 330
prepares to oppose the Khān, vii, 330
defeated, vii, 332
Ghaznīn, city in Afghānīstān, the capital of Sūltān Mahmūd, i, 20, 257, iv, 14; v, 173; vii, 173
Ghee, clarified butter, vi, 105
Ghūl, a sorceress, i, 42, v, 117, 128
referred to, v, 121
described, v, 130
slain by Aslandiyār, v, 131
Ghundī, a div, ii, 44, 54, 55, 93; iii, 256; iv, 299; v, 204
Ghūr, district in Afghānīstān between Harāt and Ghaznīn, ii, 101
Ghuz, a Turkish tribe and desert cast of Gurgān, iv, 60
Gīl, Gīlān, district on the southwest coast of the Caspian, 167, i, 230, 231; ii, 220, 203; iv, 148, 205; v, 13; vi, 227; vii, 224, 340, 362, ix, 93
river of = Kızıl Uzun, also called Safīd Rūd, iv, 154
waters of = Caspian, i, 230
Gil, Ahrāsiyāb's camp in, iv, 155
Nūshirvān's dealings with, vii, 210, 212 seq.
captives from, settled at Sūrsan, vii, 328
Gimirrā. See Kimmerians.
Gipsies, the, 165, vii, 6
Noldke on, vii, 6
language of, vii, 6
brought into Irān by Bahram Gūr, vii, 149
Girāmī (Garāmik-kart), son of Jāmāsp, 155, v, 24 seq., 58
death of, foretold by Jámāsp, v, 50
worst Nāmkhāst, v, 50
rescues Kāwa's flag, v, 59
slain, v, 59
Siravgard, Tūrānian stronghold on the Oxus, iii, 73, 80
occupied by the Irānians, iii, 78
Girduni, Sirdarra, pass in the Alburz range, ii, 28; vi, 32
Sawachi, pass in the Alburz range, ii, 28
Girdkuh, fortress, v, 30
Girih (Jirrah), place south of Shirāz, vi, 199
Gīv, Irānian hero, son of Gūdarz, and father of Bīzhan, 146-
Giv—cont.

307 seq., 311 seq., 330 seq.,
337 seq., 359, 353 seq.;
iv, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19
seq., 20 seq., 39 seq., 52,
54, 56, 59, 89, 82 seq., 90,
99, 102, 136, 147, 157, 223,
226, 227, 233 seq., 292,
296, 306 seq.; v, 207,
268; vi, 194; viii, 108
meaning of, ii, 335
historical character, iii, 9
relationship of, to Rustam,
ii, 155, 305, 384; iii, 323
son of Gûdark, ii, 158
wife of, ii, 305, 384; iii, 323
sister of, ii, 384; iii, 323
father of Bizhan, ii, 306
and note
solicitude of, for Bizhan,
iii, 15
harries Mâzandarân, ii, 39
taken prisoner in Mâzandarân,
ii, 40
released by Rustam, ii, 58
taken prisoner in Hâmâvarân,
ii, 90
released by Rustam, ii, 97
goes in search of Kai Kâûs,
ii, 194
takes part in the Fight of
the Seven Warriors, ii,
107 seq.
bears letter from Kâûs to
Rustam, ii, 139
campment of, described,
ii, 155
helps to saddle Rakhs for
the fight with Suhhrâb, ii,
100
Suhhrâb described by, ii, 166
quarrels with Tûs over the
future mother of Siyâwush,
iii, 194
sent by Gûdark to seek Kai
Khusrau, ii, 304 seq.
finds Kai Khusrau, ii, 370
receives the mail of Siyâwush,
ii, 377
exploits of, in defence of
Kai Khusrau, ii, 378 seq.
Giv, tells how he captured
Pîrân's wife and sister, ii,
385
overthrows Pîrân and his
host, ii, 385
releases Pîrân, ii, 387
at the Jihûn, ii, 391 seq.
announces Kai Khusrau's
arrival in Irân, ii, 394
accompanies Kai Khusrau
to Isphâhân, ii, 396
rewarded by Kai Kânûs, ii,
399
goes on an embassy to Tûs, ii,
400
bears Kai Khusrau's letter
to the castle of Bahrâm,
ii, 408
undertakes to slay Tazhâv,
iii, 28
burn the barricade at the
Kâsû rûd, iii, 29
horse of, wounded by Farûd,
iii, 58
lends Bîzhan the mail of
Siyâwush, iii, 60, 69
sees Palâshân approaching,
iii, 69
burns the barricade at the
Kâsû rûd, iii, 73
parleys with Tazhâv, iii, 75
rousers the Irânians, iii, 81
rallies the host, iii, 91
many kindred of, slain, iii, 94
urges Bahrâm not to return
to the battlefield, iii, 96
goes in quest of Bahrâm, iii,
102
takes Tazhâv captive, iii,
102
buries Bahrâm, iii, 104
made adviser to Tûs, iii, 116
interrupts Tûs' parley with
Humân, iii, 122
raids Khutân, iii, 247
steed of, iii, 257
worsted by Pûlâdward, iii,
258
interferes in the fight
together Rustam and
Pûlâdward, iii, 263
GENERAL INDEX

Giv, opposes Bizhan's expedition to Irman, iii, 201
questions Gurgin about Bizhan, iii, 311
wroth with Gurgin, iii, 314
appeals to Kai Khusrau, iii, 315
comforted by Kai Khusrau, iii, 315, 318
sent to summon Rustam, iii, 319
met by Zal, iii, 321
tells Bizhan's case to Rustam, iii, 322
announces Rustam's approach to Kai Khusrau, iii, 326
goes to welcome Rustam, iii, 353
holds parley with Piran, iv, 20
overtures of, rejected and returns to Gudarz, iv, 21
commands the rear, iv, 24
referred to, iv, 39
tries to stop Bizhan from fighting Humân, iv, 40, 43
overruled by Gudarz, iv, 43
refuses to lend Bizhan the mail of Siyawush, iv, 43
repeats of his refusal, iv, 44
son of Bizhan, iv, 76
ordered to dispatch troops to oppose Lahhák and Farshídward, iv, 82
sends Zanga and Gurgin, iv, 83
leaves Farhád in command and attacks with Bizhan Piran's centre, iv, 83
defeats Rúm, iv, 84
attacks by Lahhák and Farshídward, iv, 85
superseded pro tem. by Shidush, iv, 92
chosen to fight with Gurwi, iv, 97

Giv, takes Gurwi prisoner, iv, 100
opposes Bizhan's going to help Gustaham, iv, 110
consents to Bizhan's going to help Gustaham, iv, 120
brings Gurwi before Kai Khusrau, iv, 127
given a command, iv, 140
commands the rear, iv, 194
takes part in the siege of Gang-bihisht, iv, 160
goes with the captives to Kai Kâús, iv, 233
gives Kai Kâús tidings of Kai Khusrau, iv, 234
rewarded by Kai Kâús, iv, 239
returns to Gang-bihisht with letter for Kai Khusrau, iv, 238
made governor of the country between the sea and Gang-dizh, iv, 240
welcomes Kai Khusrau on his return from Gang-dizh, iv, 250
rewarded by Kai Khusrau, iv, 252
Gudarz and, meet Hum, iv, 263
hear of Hum's adventure with Afrasiyab, iv, 263
Kai Khusrau remonstrated with by, and other nobles for refusing audience, iv, 275
sent by Gudarz to summon Zal and Rustam, iv, 278
bidden with other chiefs by Kai Khusrau to make an assembly on the plain, iv, 291 seq.
Kai Khusrau's gift to, iv, 295
receives grant of Kum and Ispahan, iv, 298
sets out with Kai Khusrau on his pilgrimage, iv, 306
refuses to turn back when bidden by Kai Khusrau, iv, 307
GENERAL INDEX

Giv, Kai Khusrav farewells and warns, and his comrades, iv, 308
disappears and is sought in vain by, and his comrades, iv, 308
end of, iv, 309
grief of Gúdarz for, iv, 310, 312
Givgán, Iranían hero, ii, 100, 155; iii, 31; iv, 24
Gloom, the (Land of Darkness), 160, v, 30; vi, 79
conception of, vi, 73
visited by Asfandiyár, v, 76
Sikandar’s expedition to, vi, 74 seq.
account of, in the Pseudo-
Callisthenes, vi, 74 seq.
Sikandar hears of, vi, 158
enters, vi, 159 seq.
emerges from, vi, 162
jewels of, vi, 162
Glory, the divine. See Grace.
Glove, The, Browning’s poem of, referred to, vi, 384
note
Go-between, old woman as, i, 280 seq.
Gog and Magog (Yájúj and Májúj, q.v.), the barbarous nomads of northern Asia, i, 16; vi, 78
Golden, Age, i, 129, 134
boott, iv, 34, 180, 243, 282, 300, 359
Fleece, land of the, i, 57
Gomer. See Kimmérians.
Good Thoughts, Words, and Deeds, Zoroastrian formula, 169, vii, 317, 318
symbolised in the game of nard, vii, 381
Gordyene, kingdom, south of Armenia, vi, 108
Götarzes, Parthian king and Iranían hero (Gúdarz, q.v.), iii 109
memorial tablet of, iii, 9
Geopothros, iii, 9
coin of, iii, 9
Gotarzes, war of, with Vardanes, iii, 10, 11
Mehretdates, iii, 10 seq.
character of, in history, iii, 10
Grace or Glory, the divine, i, 113, 114, 116, 123, 130
seq., and passim
account of, i, 82
visible appearances of, i, 82, 130, 374, 385; vi, 221
seq.
Granicus, river in Asia Minor flowing into the Propontis (Sea of Marmara), vi, 30
battle of the, vi, 30, 31
Grapes, bunch of, Kúbád and the, vii, 183
note
Greece, vi, 30
Greed and Need, personification of, vi, 140; vii, 71, 205, 206, 368, 369
Greek, Greeks, i, 10; v, 282; vi, 82
relations of, with the Irán-
ians, i, 14
history and legend in relation to Persian dto, ii, 9
conception of India, vi, 68
captives, mutilation of, by the Persians, vi, 373
philosophers entertained by Núshirwan, vii, 280
Green, Prophet, the, See Al
Khídr.
sea, the, vi, 174
note, viii, 49 and note
Gretta Green, vi, 323
note
Gritton, fabulous bird, i, 235 and
note
Gúdarz, son of Kishwád, Iranían hero, and father of Giv, a reminiscence of the Parthian king Götarzes, q.v., 146, 148, 151–153, i, 42
seq., 384,
Gudarz assail.
388, 301, 190; ii, 8, 11.
15, 18, 19, 21, 28, 33, 38.
49, 45 seq., 50, 51, 107, 81
seq., 55, 88 seq., 100, 111,
112, 115, 117, 118, 129,
123, 126, 127, 129 seq.,
131, 139, 137, 139, 143,
145, 149 seq., 151 seq.,
164, 190, 172, 177, 187.
205, 206, 211 seq., 220,
225, 232, 239, 240, 253,
254, 255, 258, 294, 298,
273, 277, 280, 298, 302,
305, 308, 322, 327, 329
seq., 337 seq., 354, 357
iv, 7, 13, 70, 80, 85, 88
seq., 102, 103, 106 seq.,
113 seq., 130, 145 seq.,
149, 157, 192, 171, 180,
191, 200, 220, 227, 292,
299; v, 207, 208; vi,
194; viii, 103, 106; ix,
taken prisoner in Mázand- darán, ii, 40
released by Rustam, ii, 58
receives Ispahán from Kai
Káús, ii, 78
taken prisoner in Háma-
varán, ii, 90
released by Rustam, ii, 97
censures Kai Káús, ii, 105
takes part in the Fight of
the Seven Warriors, ii, 107
mediates between Kai Káús
and Rustam, ii, 144 seq.
encampment of, described,
ii, 153
sons and grandsons of, ii,
158; iii, 33; ix, 25
loss of, iii, 83 note, 94,
131; iv, 310, 312
survivors of, iv, 208
consolés Siyáwush for his
mother's death, ii, 109
appointed ruler of Sughíl
and Sipánjáb, ii, 358
returns to Irán, ii, 392
sees Surúsh in a dream, ii,
393
Gúdarz, sends Giv to seek for
Kai Khusraw, ii, 304
hears of Kai Khusraw's
arrival in Irán, ii, 305
welcomes Kai Khusraw and
Giv, ii, 306
accompanies them to Is-
takhr, ii, 309
dispute of, with Tús, ii, 400
seq.
goés with Kai Khusraw to
the castle of Bahman, ii,
407
advises Tús to avoid
Kalát, iii, 41
supersedes Tús, iii, 83
informs Kai Khusraw about
Faríd and the defeat of the
Irámmians, iii, 83
sends Bánizhán for Káwa's
standard, iii, 92
Irámmian watchman and, iii,
150 seq.
meets Fariburz, iii, 163
Rustam, iii, 171
warns Rustam not to trust
Pirán, iii, 212
sends Ruhham to help Rus-
tam, iii, 227
praises Rustam, iii, 248
steed of, iii, 313
goés to welcome Rustam,
iii, 353
sent to invade Tùrán by Kai
Khusraw, iv, 15
ordered to negotiate with
Pirán, iv, 15
negotiations failing, marches
from Raibad to meet Pirán, iv, 22
arrays his host, iv, 24
gives the right wing to
Fariburz, iv, 24
baggage to Hajír, iv, 24
left wing to Ruhham, iv,
24
rear to Giv, iv, 24
posts a watchman on the
mountain-top, iv, 25
takes his station at the cen-
tre, iv, 24
Gúdarz, counsels Bizhan as to his fight with Húmán, iv, 41
overrules Gív’s objections, iv, 43
rewards Bizhan, iv, 52
prepares to resist a night-attack, iv, 53
gives a force to Bizhan, iv, 54
joins battle with Pirán, iv, 55
writes to Kai Khusrau, iv, 56
sends Hajír with the letter, iv, 57
receives Kai Khusrau’s reply, iv, 62
prepares to renew the fight, iv, 63
receives Rúín with a letter from Pirán, iv, 67
entertains Rúín, iv, 68
dismisses Rúín with presents and the reply to Pirán’s letter, iv, 74
prepares for the flank-attack of Lahhák and Farshídward, iv, 82
sends Hajír with orders to Gív, iv, 82
harangues the host, iv, 80
resolves to fight in person, iv, 90, 92, 99

gives the left wing to Farhád, iv, 92
right wing to Katmára, iv, 92
rear to Shidúsh, iv, 92
chief command to Gustaham, iv, 92
instructs Gustaham, iv, 92
holds a parley with Pirán and arranges with him the Battle of the Eleven Rukhs, iv, 95 seq.
slays Pirán’s steed, iv, 107
pursues Pirán, iv, 108
calls on Pirán to surrender, iv, 108
Pirán wounds, iv, 108
Gúdarz, slays Pirán, iv, 109
drinks Pirán’s blood, iv, 109
sends Ruhám to fetch Pirán’s corpse, iv, 110
harangues the host, iv, 110
resumes his command, iv, 111
calls for volunteers to pursue Lahhák and Farshídward iv, 116
sends Gustaham, iv, 117
Bizhan to help Gustaham, iv, 119
comes before Kai Khusrau with the other champions, iv, 126
receives Ispánán, iv, 129
commands the left wing, iv, 147
takes part in the assault on Gang-bihísht, iv, 208
left in command at Gang-bihísht, iv, 219
Gív and, meet Húm, iv, 263
hear of Húm’s adventure with Afrásíyáb, iv, 263
gives Kai Khusrau and Kai Kháús tidings of Afrásíyáb, iv, 204
Kai Khusrau remonstrated with by, and other nobles for refusing audience, iv, 275
takes counsel with other nobles, iv, 277
sends Gív to summon Zál and Rustam, iv, 278

goes with other chiefs to meet Zál and Rustam, iv, 282
audience of, with Kai Khusrau, iv, 283 seq.
holds, with other chiefs, at the bidding of Kai Khusrau, an assembly on the plain, iv, 291 seq.
Kai Khusrau’s charge to, iv, 291
gift to, iv, 295
asks Kai Khusrau for a patent for Gív, iv, 298
Gúdarz, goes with Kai Khusrav on his pilgrimage, iv, 300; turns back at the bidding of Kai Khusrav, iv, 307 laments the loss of the paladins, iv, 310, 312 returns to Iran, iv, 310 promises fealty to Luhrasp, iv, 312 grants of, go with Zarir to Rum, iv, 300 hail Gushtasp as Sháh, iv, 302 Gúdarz, Ashkánian king, vi, 197, 210 Gúdarzians, descendants of Gúdarz son of Kishwád, iii, 108, 115, 200, 214 Gúlár, place, vi, 206 Gulgán (bright-bay), steed of Gúdarz, iii, 390 steed of Luhrasp, v, 64 steed of Bahram Gur, vii, 57 Gulshahr, wife of Pirán, ii, 269, 270, 288, 387, 390 prepares Jaríra's wedding outfit, ii, 270 presents gifts to Farangís, ii, 275 announces the birth of Kai Khusrav to Pirán, ii, 326 referred to, ii, 383 Gulzaryún, river in Turkistán (Jaxartes), ii, 358, 381; iv, 187, 189, 190, 218, 219; vii, 329, 340, 390 Gulnár, slave-girl of Ardawán, vi, 217 meaning of, vi, 217 note intrigue of, with Ardshír Pápakán, vi, 217 seq. reports the presage of the astrologers to Ardshír Pápakán, vi, 219 flees with Ardshír Pápakán to Pars, vi, 220 Gumbadán, mount and stronghold, v, 20, 80, 152, 171, 177, 200; ix, 93 situation of, v, 30 Astandiyár wanted at, v, 84 Gund-i-Shápúr (Shápúr Gírd, Kes Shápúr, Kand-i-Shápúr, Gund-i-Shápúr), city in Khuzistán, north-west of Sháshttar and now represented by the ruins of Sháhábád, vi, 205; vii, 210, 270 built for Roman captives, vi, 205 Mání-gate of, vi, 327 Náshzád imprisoned at, vii, 264 and note Gúr (Júr, Zúr, Firúzábád), city in Pars, south of Shíráz, vi, 199, 205, 220 note, 230, 245 Gúr, nickname of Bahram son of Yazdagírd, vii, 6 Nóldeke on, vii, 6 Gúrán, king of Kirmán, iv, 146 Guráz (Shahrbaráz, Faráyín q.v.), general of Khusrav Parwíz and Sháh, 174, 175, viii, 104, 408, 409 seq.; ix, 44 conspires with Farrukhzád, viii, 408 invites Caesar to take Irán, viii, 408 rebels, viii, 411; ix, 45 letters of, ix, 45, 49 letter of Pirúz to, ix, 47 account of, ix, 50 meaning of, ix, 50 dual personality of, ix, 50 marches on Tairsafún, ix, 51 confers with Iránian magnates, ix, 51 misrule of, ix, 53 conspiracy against, ix, 54 goes hunting, ix, 55 end of, ix, 55 Guráz, son of Máhwí, referred to, ix, 107, 115 governor of Mary, ix, 120 put to death with his sons, ix, 120
Guráza, Iranian hero, 151, ii, 74, 310; iii, 29, 25, 34, 45, 48, 92, 129, 141, 253; iv, 15, 24, 34.

takes king of Barbar prisoner, ii, 97.

takes part in the Fight of the Seven Warriors, ii, 107 seq.

campement of, described, ii, 153.
goest with Rustam to rescue Bizhan, iii, 334.

fights with Farshidward, iv, 87.

chosen to fight with Siyámak, iv, 97.

slays Siyámak, iv, 100.

Gurazm (Kavárazem), a relative of Gushhtásp, 155, v, 12, 22, 53, 90, 101, 102, 104 seq., 171, 205, 261.

evies Aslandiyár, v, 78.
deralt of, referred to, v, 97.

Aslandiyár addresses the corpse of, v, 105.

Gurdáfríd, daughter of Gázhdáham, 144, ii, 110, 138.

referred to, ii, 131.

encounter of, with Suhrább, ii, 132 seq.

beguiles Suhrább, ii, 133 seq.

Gurdgír, son of Afrásiyáb, n, 92.

commands the troops from Tartary, Khallukh, and Balkh, iv, 156.


a legitimist, viii, 74.

Gustáham and, persuade Khusrau Parwiz not to make a night-attack, viii, 224.

takes charge of baggage, viii, 228.

Báhrám Chúbína writes to, viii, 285.

Gurdwi, fights with Báhrám Chúbína, viii, 294.

receives province, viii, 313.

informs Khusrau Parwiz of Gurđya's doings, viii, 350.

writes to, and sends Khusrau Parwiz' letter to, Gurďya, viii, 360.

wife of, goes with letters to Gurďya, viii, 360.

hears of the plight of Raí and informs Gurďya, viii, 397.


a legitimist, viii, 74.

present at council, viii, 104.

speech of, viii, 105, 107, 171.

referred to, viii, 221.

counsels Báhrám Chúbína, viii, 221.

laments Báhrám Chúbína, viii, 340.

resident at Marv, viii, 340 seq.

informs her followers of the Khán's offer of marriage, viii, 349.

starts for Irán, viii, 351.

parleys with Tuvurg, viii, 352.

arrives at Ámwi, viii, 354.

doings of reported to Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 350, 358.

met by Gustáham, viii, 350.

asked in marriage by Gustáham, viii, 357.

receives letters from Khusrau Parwiz and Gurďdi, viii, 360.

plots murder of Gustáham, viii, 360.

justifies murder of Gustáham, viii, 360.

reports death of Gustáham to Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 364.
Gurdaya, dresses up as a warrior to please Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 394.

prowess of, in drinking, viii, 394.
appointed overseer of royal bower, viii, 394.
diverts Khusrau Parwiz and saves Rai, viii, 398.

Gurgan, hero, 159, 164, ii, 33, 35.

takes part in the Fight of the Seven Warriors, ii, 197 seq.,
undertakes embassage to Atrāsyāb, iii, 297;
goese with letter from Kai Khusrau to Rustam, iii, 271.
accompanied by Bizhan to Irmin, iii, 292.
refuses to help Bizhan against the wild boars, iii, 294.
envies and beguiles Bizhan, iii, 294.

Gurgin, to please Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 394.
diverts Khusrau Parwiz and saves Rai, viii, 398.

Gurgin, hero, 159, 164, ii, 33, 35.

takes part in the Fight of the Seven Warriors, ii, 197 seq.,
goese with letter from Kai Khusrau to Rustam, iii, 271.
accompanied by Bizhan to Irmin, iii, 292.
refuses to help Bizhan against the wild boars, iii, 294.
enies and beguiles Bizhan, iii, 294.

Gurgin's quest for Bizhan, iii, 310.
finds Bizhan's steed, iii, 311.
questioned by Giv about Bizhan, iii, 312.
false account of, about Bizhan's disappearance, iii, 313.

Giv, anger of, iii, 314.
appears before Kai Khusrau, iii, 316.
imprisoned, iii, 317.
appeals to Rustam, iii, 331.
released, iii, 333.
goese with Rustam to rescue Bizhan, iii, 334.
pardoned by Bizhan, iii, 349.
opposes Lahhák, iv, 83.
chosen to fight Andarimán, iv, 97.

Andarimán, iv, 104.
Kai Khusrau remonstrated with, and other nobles for refusing audience, iv, 283 seq.,
audience of, with Kai Khusrau, iv, 283 seq.

Gurgsár, tribe, v, 43 and note

Gurgsár, Turanian hero, 156, v, 117, 131 seq., 149, 233

note

date made captain of the host by Arjasp, v, 49.
given command of one wing, v, 50.
made leader of the host, v, 109.
taken prisoner by Asfandiyyar, v, 111.
offers to guide Asfandiyyar to the Brazen Hold, v, 113.
goese as guide with Asfandiyyar to Túrán, v, 120.
offered the kingdom of the Turkmans by Asfandiyyar in return for faithful service, v, 120.
Gurgsār, describes the route to the Brazen Hold, and the Seven Stages, v, 120 seq., 124 seq., 128, 132, 134
chagrin of, at Asfandiyār's successes, v, 124, 128, 131, 133
reproached by Asfandiyār for giving false information, v, 139, 140
offered the captainship of the Brazen Hold by Asfandiyār in return for trusty guidance, v, 140
shows the Irānians a ford, v, 140
questioned by Asfandiyār for the last time, v, 141
curses Asfandiyār, v, 141
slain by Asfandiyār, v, 141
Gūrkān (Jūzjān), city and district between Marvrūd and Balkh, iv, 65
Gurkils, tribe (?), vii, 15
Gurūkhān, Irānian hero, iv, 149
Gurwi, Tūrānian hero, 145, 151, 152, ii, 290, 314, 319, 338, 340; iii, 197, 199, 237; iv, 7, 99, 111, 252; v, 272
challenges and is overthrown by Siyāwush, ii, 295
advocates the execution of Siyāwush, ii, 317
carries out the execution of Siyāwush, ii, 320
chosen to fight with Gīv, iv, 97
taken prisoner by Gīv, iv, 100
brought by Gīv before Kai Khusrāv, iv, 127
executed, iv, 129
Gurzblān, vi, 394. See Gurkān.
Gushasp, none-name assumed by Bahrām Gūr, vii, 59 seq.
Gushasp, none-name assumed by Bahrām Gūr, vii, 59 seq.
Gūsh-bistār, a savage, vi, 80, 177
meaning of, vi, 177 note
interview of, with Sikandar, vi, 177
Gushtāsp (Vistāspa, Vishtāsp, Hystaspes?), son of Lahrāsp, father of Asfandiyār, and Shīh, 154-157, i, 42, 61; ii, 3, 9; iii, 109; iv, 314 seq., 334 seq., v, 24 seq., 61, 68, 90, 92 seq., 103 seq., 119, 130, 148, 154, 155, 159, 166 seq., 180, 181, 183, 205, 200, 208 seq., 213, 216, 220, 221, 233 note, 243, 248 seq., 281, 280, 293; vi, 20, 40, 55, 200, 213, 251, 252, 258; vii, 359; viii, 41, 69, 95, 148, 213, 270, 392, 393; ix, 25
son of Luhrāsp, iv, 318
jealousy of, respecting the grandsons of Kai Kāūs, iv, 318
asks Lahrāsp to appoint him heir to the crown, iv, 318
departs in wrath for Hind, iv, 319
arrives at Kābul, iv, 320
overtaken by Zarīr, iv, 320
takes counsel with the chiefs, iv, 321
returns to Lahrāsp, iv, 322
pardoned by Lahrāsp, iv, 322
determines to quit Irān, iv, 323
takes a steed of Lahrāsp's, iv, 323
story of, in Rūm, ii, 10; iii, 285; iv, 324 seq.
interview of with Hīshwī, iv, 324

1 The Hystaspes of legend not necessarily the father of Darius I. See Vol. iv, p 341 seq.
Gushtasp, vainly seeks work in Rum as a scribe, iv, 325 herdsman, iv, 326 camel-driver, iv, 326 blacksmith, iv, 327 dreamed of by Katayun, iv, 329
goes to Caesar’s palace, iv, 330 chosen for her husband by Katayun, iv, 330 marries Katayun, iv, 331 spends his time in the chase, iv, 332 makes friends with Hishwi, iv, 332 and note asked by Hishwi to undertake the adventure of the wolf of Faskun, iv, 335 undertakes to slay the wolf of Faskun, iv, 339 provided with steed and arms by Mirin, iv, 336 goes with Mirin and Hishwi to the forest of Faskun, iv, 337 prays for help, iv, 337 gives thanks for his victory, iv, 338 takes the wolf’s tusks, iv, 338 welcomed by Hishwi and Mirin on his return, iv, 339 discovers to Katayun his royal race, iv, 340 referred to, iv, 343 seq. asked by Hishwi to undertake the adventure of the dragon of Mount Sakila, iv, 345 bids Ahran provide a steed, sword, and other arms, iv, 345 goes with Ahran and Hishwi to Mount Sakila, iv, 349 takes two of the dragon’s teeth, iv, 349 gives thanks for his victory, iv, 347

Gushtasp, welcomed by Hishwi and Ahran on his return, iv, 347 accepts gifts from Ahran and bestows part upon Hishwi, iv, 347 returns to Katayun, iv, 348 goes to the sports on Caesar’s riding-ground, iv, 349 prowess of, at polo and archery, iv, 350 questioned by Caesar, iv, 350 reproaches Caesar for his treatment of Katayun, iv, 350 claim of, to have slain the wolf and the dragon, iv, 351 confirmed by Hishwi, iv, 351 reconciled to Caesar, iv, 351 goes to court and is received with honour by Caesar, iv, 351 consulted about Ilyas by Caesar, iv, 353 leads forth the host, iv, 354 refuses the overtures of Ilyas, iv, 354 brings the body of Ilyas to Caesar, iv, 356 routs the host of Ilyas, iv, 356 returns in triumph to Caesar, iv, 356 recognised by Zarir, iv, 360 goes to Zarir’s camp, iv, 361 hears of Luhra’s abdication in his favour, iv, 362 saluted as Sháh by the chiefs, iv, 362 invites Caesar to a feast, iv, 362 sets out for Irán with Katayun, iv, 364 parts in good will from Caesar, iv, 364 welcomed and crowned by Luhra, iv, 364
GENERAL INDEX

Gushtasp, Reign of, 154, v, 9 seq.
Notes on, v, 9 seq., 110 seq., 166 seq., 260 seq.

division of, v, 9
points of interest in, v, 9 compared with that of
Darius Hystaspis, v, 10
diagram to illustrate, v, 27
legend of Zarduhsht and, v, 18

black horse of, v, 18, 28
sees his place in Paradise, v, 19
Ridge of, v, 29
succeeds Luhrasp as Shah, v, 31
sons of, v, 32
pays yearly tribute to Arjasp, v, 32
converted by Zarduhsht, v, 33
helps to spread the Faith, v, 34
establishes Mihr Barzin and other Fire-fanes, v, 34
conversion of, recorded on
Cypress of Kishmar, v, 34
advised by Zarduhsht not to pay tribute to Arjasp,
v, 35
receives embassage from Arjasp and takes counsel
with his chiefs, v, 41
sends answer to Arjasp, v, 43
summons the host, v, 47
marches against Arjasp, v, 48
bids Jámásp foretell the issue of the fight, v, 48
distress of, at Jámásp’s prophecy, v, 53
encouraged to fight by Jámásp, v, 54
gives Zarir the standard and the command of the cen-
tre, v, 55
one wing to Asfandiyár, v, 55
other wing to Shidasp, v, 55
the rear to Nastúr, v, 55
Gushtasp, takes up his position on a height, v, 55, 56, 63
referred to, v, 60, 64 seq., 80
hears of the death of Zarir, v, 64
wishes to avenge Zarir, v, 64, 68
dissuaded by Jámásp, v, 64, 69
offers his daughter Humái to the avenger of Zarir,
v, 64
crown and throne to the avenger of Zarir, v, 66
gives his steed and arms to
Nastúr, v, 69
sees and laments over Zarir’s corpse, v, 73
bids Nastúr lead the host home, v, 74
marries Humái to Asfandiyár, v, 74
gives Nastúr a command and bids him invade
Túrán, v, 74
rewards the host, v, 75
builds a Fire-fane and makes
Jámásp its archmage, v, 75
Mansion of, v, 75
writes to his governors to announce the defeat of
Arjasp, v, 75
receives embassies and tribute from Caesar and from
the kings of Barbaristán, Hind, and Sind, v, 75
makes Asfandiyár chief ruler of Irán and sends
him to convert the world, v, 76
sends the Zandavasta to each clime, v, 77
Gurazm slanders Asfandiyár to, v, 78
sends Jámásp to recall As-
fandiyár to court, v, 80
convokes an assembly and arraigns Asfandiyár, v, 82 seq.
GENERAL INDEX

Gushtasp, puts Asfandiyar in bonds, v, 84
sends Asfandiyar to Gumbadán, v, 84
takes the Zaandavasta to Sistán, v, 85
welcomed by Rustam and Zál, v, 85
kings revolt from, v, 85
while in Sistán hears from his wife the sack of Balkh and the captivity of his daughters, v, 93
calls together his chiefs and summons the host, v, 94
marches from Sistán toward Balkh, v, 94
takes command of the centre, v, 94
thirty-eight sons of, slain, and defeat of, in fight with Arjasp, v, 95, 96
takes refuge on a mountain, v, 96, 100
consults Jámásp, v, 96
sends Jámásp to Asfandiyar with the offer of the crown in return for help, v, 97
interview of, with, and promise to resign the crown to, Asfandiyar, v, 106
commands the centre, v, 109
makes thanksgiving for victory, v, 113
promises to resign the crown to Asfandiyar when he has delivered his sisters from captivity, v, 114
summons troops, rewards Asfandiyar, and sends him to invade Túrán, v, 115
hears of Asfandiyar's success and writes to him, v, 160
gives a banquet on Asfandiyár's return, v, 161
consults Jámásp and the astrologers on Asfandiyár's future, v, 168

Gushtasp, Asfandiyar recounts his deeds to, v, 170 seq.
promises to resign the throne to Asfandiyar when he has brought Rustam and his kin in bonds to court, v, 173, 174
Asfandiyar sends the corpses of Núsh Ázar and Mihr-i-Núsh, and a message to, v, 232
Asfandiyar's last message to, v, 249
hears of Asfandiyar's death and laments for him, v, 252
wrath of the nobles with, v, 252
 reproached by Bishútan, v, 253
Humáí and Bih Áfríd, v, 254
Rustam's overtures to, v, 256
Bishútan testifies in Rustam's favour to, v, 257
reconciled, and writes, to Rustam, v, 257
advised by Jámásp to write to Bahman, v, 258
writes to Rustam and Bahman to recall the latter, v, 258
welcomes and gives Bahman the name Ardshir, v, 259
tells Jámásp of his wishes as to the succession, v, 279
dies, v, 280

Gustáhpam, son of Naudar and brother of Túz, i, 90; ii, 127, 336; iv, 194
Túz and, sent by Naudar to conduct the Persian women to Alburz, i, 351, 353
hear of Naudar's death, i, 304
passed over in the succession, i, 390, 370
Kai Khusráu sends troops to succour, iv, 157

VOL. IX.
Gustaham, son of Naudar, attacks the Túráníans, iv, 178 sent to Chách with troops, iv, 188 reports his defeat of Khurákhán, iv, 193 takes part in the assault on Gang-bihisht, iv, 208 left in command of Gang-bihisht, iv, 238 goes to welcome Kai Khusrau on his return from Gang-dízh, iv, 252 left behind as viceroy on Kai Khusrau's return to Iran, iv, 254

Gustaham, son of Gazhdaham,1 Iranian hero, 152, i, 369; ii, 12, 58, 107; iii, 19, 25, 33, 45, 48, 59, 92, 93, 127, 129, 139, 141, 211, 247, 248, 253, 273, 289, 294, 322, 350; iv, 7, 13, 15, 24, 33, 93, 132 seq., 149, 191, 292

takes part in the Fight of the Seven Warriors, ii, 107 seq.

friendship of, for Bizhan, iii, 15 lends Bizhan a steed, iii, 60 mounts behind Bizhan, iii, 95

attacks Bídád, iii, 244

sends Bizhan to summon Rustam, iii, 245

goes with Rustam to rescue Bizhan, iii, 334

fights with Andarímán, iv, 87

made commander in chief pro tem. vice Gúdarz, iv, 92

Gúdarz instructs, iv, 92 resigns his command to Gúdarz, iv, 111

volunteers to pursue Lahhák and Farshídward, iv, 116

wounded, iv, 123

Gustaham, son of Gazh láham, rescued by Bizhan, iv, 124 seq.

healed by Kai Khusrau, iv, 133

Kai Khusrau remonstrated with by, and other nobles for refusing audience, iv, 275

audience of, with Kai Khusrau, iv, 283 seq.

Kai Khusrau's gifts to, iv, 295

sets out with Kai Khusrau on his pilgrimage, iv, 306

refuses to turn back when bidden by Kai Khusrau, iv, 307

Kai Khusrau farewells and warns, and his comrades, iv, 308

disappears and is sought in vain by, and his comrades, iv, 308

end of, iv, 309

Gustaham, Iranian warrior, temp. Yazdagird son of Shápür, vi, 394

lions of, slain by Bahram Gur, vi, 410

Bahrám Gur's commander-in-chief, vii, 85

Gustaham (Bistám q.v.), maternal uncle of Khusrau Parwiz, 171-174, viii, 199, 200, 202, 204 seq., 227, 228, 231, 255, 257, 259, 260, 282, 289, 293, 295, 298; ix, 4, 6

imprisonment of, vii, 189

Bandwi and, escape and revolt, viii, 182

informs Khusrau Parwiz of the blinding of Hurmuzd, viii, 184

referred to, viii, 189

revolt of, viii, 191, 355

saves Khusrau Parwiz from Turk, viii, 220

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1This is assumed in all cases where it is doubtful which Gustaham is meant. Cf. Vol. i, p. 369.
Gustaham (Bistam), Gurdwând, dissuade Khusrâu Parwiz from making a night-attack, viii, 224

treasurer, viii, 229 and note accompanies Khusrâu Parwiz in his flight, viii, 231

turns back and murders Hurmuzd, viii, 232

rejoins Khusrâu Parwiz, viii, 233

Khusrâu Parwiz warned against, viii, 255, 256

deceived by Caesar’s talisman, viii, 272

praised by Caesar, viii, 279

Bahram Châbîna writes to, viii, 285

chooses comrades for Khusrâu Parwiz in battle, viii, 296

receives Khurâsân viii, 313

summoned to court, viii, 355

hears of execution of Bandâwi, viii, 355

hears of Gurdya’s doings, viii, 356

goes to meet Gurdya, viii, 356

asks Gurdya in marriage, viii, 357

Gurdya plots murder of, viii, 390

intimates of, beheaded, viii, 370

assassination of, referred to, ix, 10, 104

Gutschmid, Alfred von, on the Cyrus legend in Ctesias, vi, 195

Gûzihr, Tribal King, vi, 198, 199

Haft Khwàn, ii, 29; v, 117 and note

of Rustam and Asfandiyâr compared, v, 117

Mân, ii, 29

Haftwâd (Haftânbûkht, Astawadh), Tribal King, 161, vi, 199

account of, in Tabarî, vi, 205

daughter of, vi, 205, 266, 233, 234

becomes guardian of the Worm, vi, 236

Nöldeke and Darmesteter on, vi, 209

son of, vi, 206

helps his father against Ardshîr Pâpakân, vi, 236

Story of, 161, vi, 232 seq.

seven sons of, vi, 233, 235

rise to power of, vi, 235

builds, and migrates to, a stronghold, vi, 235

Ardshîr Pâpakân and, vi, 239 seq.

slain by Ardshîr Pâpakân, vi, 245

Haitál, Haitâlians, country and people (White Huns), dwelling north of the Oxus, 166, 168, vii, 6, 153, 164, 164, 171, 174, 181, 187, 197, 349, 344, 390; viii, 45, 244, 329, 370, 377

origin and seat of, i, 19, 20

confused with the Turks, vii, 4

Bahram Gûr’s defeat of, vii, 4

help Pîrûz, vii, 156, 157

Pîrûz’s expedition against, vii, 159, 191 seq.

tradition of, vii, 160

king of, vii, 160, 184

helps Kubâd, vii, 198

Kubâd’s flight to, vii, 179, 184, 198
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Haital Haitalians, Nushirwan's alliance with the Khan against</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Khan's war with</td>
<td>328 seq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Nushirwan's embassy to Nushirwan destroyed by</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>defeated</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Faghanish made king by</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Niishirwan's help sought by</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Faghanish made king by</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Niishirwan takes counsel concerning</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Ha'iy, son of Kutiba, governor of Tus and a patron of Firdausi</td>
<td>35, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Hajir, Iranian hero</td>
<td>134, 136, 140, 349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>Hamawan, mountain</td>
<td>135, 137, 138, 142, 144, 153, 154, 158, 161, 164, 167, 169, 172, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>Handgrip, as test of strength</td>
<td>64, 66, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>Haram, of Isphahan, tenth-century Arabic historian</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Haraiti Bareza (Alburz, q.v.), mountain</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Harám, the environs of Mecca</td>
<td>65, 120 and note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix</td>
<td>Haram, of Khusraw Parwiz</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>Harat, city in north-western Afghanistan</td>
<td>4, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Halab (Chalybon - Beroea, Aleppo), city in northern Syria</td>
<td>359, 360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Halai (Olympia (?), Nahid), daughter, in legend, of Philip II of Macedon</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Harat, early seat of Aryan civilization, i, 7
battle of, i, 21
Firdausi flees to, from Mahmud, i, 39
desert of, ii, 228; viii, 114
marshlord of. See Makh. bestowed by Makhw on his
son, ix, 115
Haris, father of Kais, vii, 250
Harith, father of Nadr, q.v., v, 169
Harith bin Jahala, prince of the
Ghassanians, vii, 217
protected by Justinian, vii, 217
war of, with Munzir, vii, 217
Harpagus, Persian noble, temp.
Astyages, i, 190
= Piran in legend, ii, 191
Harum (City of Women), 160, vi,
73, 153 seq.
visited by Sikandar, vi, 153
seq.
Sikandar's correspondence
with the ruler of, vi, 153
seq.
Harun-r-Rashid, Khalifa (A.D.
780-809), i, 14
Harut, angel, iii, 280, 288
'Harvest of Bahram,' viii, 292
Hasan Sabbah (The Old Man of
the Mountain), v, 30
Hashim, Arab general, ix, 68
sent by 'Umar in pursuit of
Yazdagird, ix, 68
wins battle of Jalula, ix, 68
takes Hulwan, ix, 68
Hashimi, a descendant of Hashim
the great grandfather of
Muhammad, i, 25; vi, 362
and note
Hashimite = Muhammad, ix, 81
and note
Hashish, murderer of Darius
Codomanus, vi, 32
Hatra (Al Hadr), city, vi, 321
seq.
account of, vi, 322
besieged, vi, 322
fall of, legend of, vi, 322
Hatra, king of, vi, 323
Haug, his theory of the origin of
Zoroastrianism, ii, 8
Hauz, tank or pool, i, 293 and
note, vii, 50 and note
Hawk, hawks, domestication of,
by Tahnuras, i, 126
two white, Kai Kubâd's
dream of, i, 385
Hawking. See Falconry.
Hay, sack of, Bahram Chubina
and the, vii, 199
Hazãr, Hazãran, Tûránian hero,
v, 24, 59, 59
Hazara, father of Kût, vii, 291
Hecataeus, Greek historian
(6th-5th centuries B.C.), vi, 13
Helendopolis, city in Bithynia, vi,
61
Heraclius, Eastern Roman Em-
peror (A.D. 610-642), v,
306 note; viii, 187, 191;
ix, 5, 7
attempts of, for peace with
Khusran Parviz, viii, 194,
195
takes Dastagird, viii, 194
retreat of, viii, 195, 196
Shirwî's letter to, ix, 7
alliance of, with Shahbaraz,
ix, 43, 44
Hermit, Khusran Parviz and the
172, viii, 254
Herodotus, Greek historian
(B.C. 484-425), ii, 9; iii, 191;
vi, 13, 19, 68, 72, 73; viii,
193
legend of Cyrus the Great in
ii, 190; vi, 195
Heroes, chief, of mixed descent,
i, 55
Vale of, vii, 6
Hesperides, Garden of the, vi,
74
Hierapolis. See Arayish-i-Rûm.
High priest, temp. Shâpûr son of
Urmuzd, vi, 343 seq.
hears of Shâpûr's return, vi,
344
informs the captain of the
host, vi, 345
Hijâz, north-western Arabia, viii, 24 and note, 69, 67
Hilâl, Arab, ix, 67
slayer of Rustam son of Farrukh-Harmuzd, ix, 70
Himâlaya (Himvat), mountain-range dividing India from Thibet, vi, 74, 81
Himyat. See above.
Himyar—Hámávarán (Yaman), ii, 79
Hind, Hindústán, 147, 159, 161, 165, 169, i, 231, 261; ii, 92, 228, 287, 289; iii, 30, 152, 194, 195, 177, 204, 221, 222, 235, 237, 238, 242; iv, 14, 90, 95, 133, 196, 208, 272, 317, 320; v, 76, 188, 257, 262, 205, 277; vi, 80, 81, 91, 98 and passim
land of sorcerers, i, 163
Mai of, i, 252
king of (Shangul) temp. Kai Khusrau, iii, 162, 210, 218, 251
temp. Bahrán Gúr, vii, 113, 119, 126, 128
temp. Núshirwán, viii, 52
lord of=Shangul, iii, 187
man of=Shangul, iii, 216
prince of, iv, 71
lord of=Mahmúd, iv, 142
monarch of, iv, 319, 321
kings of, send tribute to Gushtásp, iv, 75
ambassadors from, come to Dáráb, vi, 21
Dárá, vi, 35
ruler of=Für, vi, 51
Sikandar invades, vi, 98
silk of, vi, 99
king of=Káid, vi, 103
Sikandar becomes king of, vi, 118
people of, help the Sindians against Sikandar, vi, 175
Rája of, 169. See Rája.
Bahrán Gúr's visit to, vii, 5, 110 seq.
motive of, vii, 5
Hind, Bahrán Gúr's visit to, fabulous, vii, 6
king of, entertained by Bahrán Gúr, vii, 149 seq.
Núshirwán goes to, vii, 241
Hindiyá (Amida ?), city in Roman Armenia, vii, 269
taken by Kubál, vii, 200
Hindu Kush, mountain-range in Afghanístan, ii, 80
Hindústání, vii, 6
Gipsy language a debased form of, vii, 6
Hiong-Nu, probably the Huns, v, 13
Híra (Jebel Núr), mountain north of Mecca, viii, 42
Hírbar, keeper of the women's house of Kai Káús, ii, 202, 269
Hírmand (Helmund), river in Sístán in eastern Frán, i, 358, 359; ii, 321; vi, 178, 182, 180, 191, 196, 219, 285
referred to, v, 198, 231
Híshám ibn Muhammad ibn Al-Kalbi, Arabic historian (5th-9th centuries A.D.), vi, 30; viii, 73
Híshwí, Rúman toll-collector, iv, 334 seq.
terview of, with Gushtásp, iv, 324
becomes friends with Gushtásp, iv, 332
asks Gushtásp, on behalf of Mirín, to undertake the adventure of the wolf of Fáskín, iv, 335
Hishwi, goes with Gushtasp and Mirin to the forest of Fāskiün, iv, 337
Mirin and, welcome Gushtasp on his return, iv, 330
asks Gushtasp, on behalf of Ahrafin, to undertake the adventure of the dragon of Mount Sakila, iv, 344
goes with Gushtasp and Ahrafin to Mount Sakila, iv, 340
Ahrafin and, welcome Gushtasp on his return, iv, 339
asks Gushtasp, on behalf of Ahrafin, to undertake the adventure of the dragon of Mount Sakila, iv, 344
goes with Gushtasp and Ahrafin to Mount Sakila, iv, 340
Ahrafin and, welcome Gushtasp on his return, iv, 347
receives gifts from Gushtasp, iv, 348
confirms Gushtasp’s claim to have slain the wolf and dragon, and produces their teeth to Caesar, iv, 351
Hittite, Hittites, vi, 71
empire, vi, 71
Hiuen Tsiang, Chinese traveller (A.D. 603-668), vi, 63
quoted, vi, 63, 73
Hoibaras, Persian slave, temp. Astyages, vi, 195
Hold, The Brazen. See Brazen Hold.
Holy Ghost, the, vi, 138 and note
Holy Questions, Mountain of the, i, 62
Homa (Soma), a plant held sacred by the Zoroastrians, i, 8 and note, ii, 8
juice of, ii, 8
referred to, iv, 138
Homer, vi, 13, 72
epic method of contrasted with Firdausi’s, i, 47
quoted, vi, 68, 73
Hormisdas I. See Urmuzd son of Shápūr.
Hormisdas II. See Urmuzd son of Narṣī.
Hormisdas (Urmuzd son of Urmuzd son of Narṣī), Persian prince, takes refuge with the Romans, vi, 318, 325
Hormisdas, goes with Julian to the East, vi, 325
Horoscope, i, 152
of the sons of Faridun, i, 183
Zāl, i, 254, 278
Rustam, i, 278, 307
Siyāwush, ii, 190, 205, 234
Mirin, iv, 334
Shaghād, v, 264
Ardawān, vi, 218
Bahram Gūr, vi, 376
Yazdagird son of Shāpūr, vi, 390
Shirwī, vi i, 372; ix, 10, 17
Horse, of Persian royalty, how distinguished, ii, 410 note
Gushtasp’s black. See Black horse.
(steed, knight), piece in chess, vii, 285, 423
position of, vii, 388, 422
move of, vii, 422
Hourī, maid of Paradise, i, 272; ix, 81
House of Darkness, ix, 7
Crystal, ix, 25 and note
Houses, the Twelve, of the sky, i, 103, 188
good influence of, i, 52
Hrazdān, river in Armenia, v, 13
Hulwān (Arash), town, vii, 187, 201
situation of, vii, 187
Yazdagird retires to, ix, 67
taken by Hāshim, ix, 68
Hūm (Haoma, q.v.), hermit, 153, iv, 135 seq., 259 seq.
hears Afrasiyāb lamenting in the cave, iv, 260
capture of Afrasiyāb by, iv, 264
Darmesteter on, iv, 136
pities and unbinds Afrasiyāb, iv, 262
tells his adventure with Afrasiyāb to Gūdarz and Gīv, iv, 393
Kai Kāus and Kai Khusraw, iv, 264
suggests how Afrasiyāb may be recaptured, iv, 265
General Index

Hum, recaptures Afrasiyab, iv, 206
Hum. See below.
Humai (Humai), daughter of Gushasp, ii, 3; v, 12, 25
marriage of, with Asfandiyar, v, 22, 74
ignored by Firdausi, v, 22
offered in marriage to the avenger of Zarir, v, 64
taken captive by the Turkmans, v, 93, 100
goes with Bih Afrid to draw water and meets Asfandiyar, v, 147
escapes from Arjasp’s palace, v, 153
bewails Asfandiyar, v, 252
reproaches Gushasp, v, 254
Humai (Chihra$d, q.v.), daughter and wife of Bahman, and mother of Darab, Shah, 157, 158, ii, 3, 9, 10; v, 281, 290 seq.; vi, 20, 22, 199
married to Bahman, v, 200
Bahman appoints, and her issue, to succeed him, v, 291
Semiramis (?), v 293
genealogies of, v, 293
Reign of, 158, v, 292 seq.
Note on, v, 292 seq.
accession of, v, 294
Darab born of, v, 294
referred to, v, 296
hears of Ruman invasion and bids Rashnawd lead forth the host, v, 301
reviews the host, v, 302
affected on seeing Darab, v, 302
hears from Rashnawd about Darab, v, 308
recognises that Darab is her son, v, 308
thanksgiving largess of, v, 309
Rashnawd and Darab appear before, v, 309 seq.
Humai, crowns, and excuses herself to, Darab, v, 310
proclaims Darab, v, 311
Humai, Iranian chief, temp. Bahram Gur, vii, 88
ходит as envoy to the Khán, vii, 87
Humán, son of Wisa and brother of Piran, Turanian hero, 144, 148, 149, 151, i, 92;
ii, 129, 130, 132, 148, 150,
264, 390; iii, 90, 91, 93, 108, 120 seq., 133 seq.,
142, 149, 152, 153, 158,
160, 169, 177, 182, 192,
202, 205, 210, 217, 227,
232, 234, 252, 259, 350;
iv, 7, 8, 10, 29 seq., 44,
55, 56, 61, 75, 76, 91, 118,
152
Barmam and, join Suhrab with troops, ii, 129
Afrasiyab’s instructions to, ii, 129
misleads Suhrab as to Rustam, ii, 165, 169
reproaches Suhrab for sparing Rustam, ii, 171
throws the blame for Suhrab’s death on Hajir, ii,
176
withdraws from Iran under safe conduct, ii, 176, 181,
182, 184
rescues Afrasiyab from Rustam, ii, 354, 355
persuades Afrasiyab to abandon the pursuit of Kai Khusrav, ii, 394
parleys with Tus, iii, 121
leads the host against Tus, iii, 127
counsels Piran, iii, 134
pursues the Iranianians to Mount Hamawan, iii, 135
rallies the Turanianians, iii, 139
reconnoitres the Iranianians, iii, 174
informs Piran of the arrival of Rustam, iii, 174
Húmán, parleys disguised with
Kustam, iii, 196
commands the centre, iv, 25
dissuaded from fighting by
Pírán, iv, 30
parleys with Bizchan, iv, 45
armour of, donned by Bi-
zhán, iv, 51
Túránians' grief at death of,
iv, 51
Huns, the, i, 10; v, 13; vi, 15;
vii, 153
settlement of, at Samarkand, i, 19
White. See Haitál.
Húr, father of Bihruz, vii, 72
Hurmuz (Urmuzd), Ashkánían
king, vi, 197
Hurmuz (Ormus), city and island
on the south-eastern shore
of the Persian Gulf, vi, 204
Hurmuz (Hormisdas I), Sháh,
166, vii, 153, 186
appointed by Yazdagird to
succeed him, vii, 155
Reign of, vii, 159
Note on, vii, 156
defeated by Pírúz, vii, 157
pardoned by Pírúz, vii, 150,
158
leads the van in the war
with the Turkman (Hai-
tálíans), vii, 104
perishes in battle, vii, 168
Hurmuz, minister of Bahram
Gúr, vii, 26
Hurmuzd (Hormisdas IV), son
of Núshirván, Sháh, 169-
172, vii, 270; viii, 50
seq., 69 seq., 74 seq., 78,
87, 147, 169, 170, 174,
198, 209, 212, 213, 222,
232, 265, 270, 304, 312,
333, 355, 370, 376; ix, 4,
15, 104
son of the Khan's daughter,
vii, 317
sent against the Turks, vii
317
examination of, viii, 3, 57

Hurmuzd (Sháh), counselled by
Núshirván, vii, 25 seq.
Núshirván's testament in
favour of, and last coun-
sels to, vii, 61 seq.
Reign of, 170, viii, 70
Note on, viii, 70
character of, viii, 70
system of administration of,
viii, 71
justice of, viii, 71
instances of, viii, 90 seq.
scribes executed by, viii, 71
insult of, to Bahram Chú-
bina, viii, 76
Lazic war renewed by, viii,
76
Bahram Chúbina's gift of
swords to, viii, 76
accession of, viii, 78
turns to evil courses, viii,
81
puts to death Ízid Gash-
hasp, viii, 83
poisons Zarduhsht, viii, 83
seq.
schemes against and puts
to death Simáh Parzin,
viii, 85 seq.
Attempts to suborn Bahram
Ázarmihan, viii, 85 seq.,
gives audience, viii, 86
hears state-secret from Bah-
rám Ázarmihan, viii, 88
puts to death Bahram Ázar-
mihan, viii, 89
repentance of, viii, 90, 93
places of residence of, viii,
90
wars of, viii, 92
attacked by Sáwa, viii, 92
Sáwa's letter to, viii, 93
attacks by Cesar, viii, 93
Khazars, viii, 93
Arabs, viii, 93
consults the Frániáns, viii,
94
counselled by his wazir, viii,
94
makes peace with Cesar,
Hurmuzd (Sháh), attacks and defeats the Khazars, viii, 95
sends for Mihrán Sitád, viii, 97
hears prophecy about Bahram Chúbína, viii, 98
orders search to be made for Bahram Chúbína, viii, 99
discovers and sends for Bahram Chúbína, viii, 100
consults Bahram Chúbína, viii, 100
gives chief command to Bahram Chúbína, viii, oz
questions Bahram Chúbína, viii, 103
gives Rustam's banner to Bahram Chúbína, viii, 105
sends Mihrán with Bahram Chúbína, viii, 106
intelligencer after Bahram Chúbína, viii, 107
to recall Bahram Chúbína, viii, 108
Kharrád, son of Barzín, as envoy to Sáwa, vii, 110
hears of Bahram Chúbína's victory, viii, 132
makes thanksgiving, viii, 132
rewards Bahram Chúbína and the troops, viii, 133
surveys spoils sent by Bahram Chúbína, viii, 150
grows suspicious of Bahram Chúbína, viii, 151
dismisses the Khan with gifts, viii, 152
hears from Kharrád of Bahram Chúbína's disaffection, viii, 160
consults with high priest, viii, 161
Áyín Gashasp, viii, 174, 177
plans to make away with Khusrav Parwíz, viii, 174
hears of Khusrav Parwíz' flight, viii, 176
imprisons Bandví and Gustaham, viii, 176

Hurmuzd (Sháh), hears of the murder of Áyín Gashasp, viii, 182
dethroned and blinded, viii, 183, 200
visited in prison by Khusrav Parwíz, viii, 185, 168, 230
requests of, to Khusrav Parwíz, viii, 199
referred to, viii, 211
counsels Khusrav Parwíz, viii, 230
murdered, viii, 232

Hurmuzd Garázbín or Galázbín (Kharrád son of Barzín q.v.), viii, 190
Hurmuzd, priest, vii, 188
assists Nushirwán in his disputation with Mazdak, vii, 188, 206
Hurmuzd, Iránian general, vii, 251
commands the outposts in Nushirwán's army, vii, 251
Hurmuzd (Hurmuzdsháh, Farrukh-Hurmuzd q.v.),
father of Rustam, ix, 72, 78, 85, 89, 96
Hurmuzd Shahránguráz (Shahránguráz q.v.), ix, 54
Hurmuzd, devotee, ix, 102
pleads with Málwi for Yazdagird, ix, 102
Hurmuzdagán, vi, 193, 199
battle of, vi, 193, 199, 202, 256
Husain, friend of Firdausi, ix, 121
Húshang, son of Siyámak, minister of Gáiumart, and
Sháh, 139, 140, i, 42, 90, 91, 126; ii, 204; iv, 133, 286, 292, 302; V, 180, 245; vi, 37, 273; viii, 376; ix, 25, 41
Firdausi's etymology of, i, 121
goes with Gáiumart to fight the Black Div, i, 121
slays the Black Div, i, 121
Reign of, 140, i, 122
Hūshang, Reign of, Note on, i, 122
succeeds Gaumart, i, 122
culture-hero, i, 123
discovers lire, i, 123
institutes Fire-worship, i, 123
found the Feast of Sada, i, 124
domesticates animals, i, 124
dies, i, 124
Firdausi's reflections on, i, 124
rites of, vii, 53
Faith of, viii, 380
Hūshdiv, Turanian hero, v, 40
put in charge of the rear, v, 40
Hūshyār, astrologer, vi 372, 375
takes Bahram Gūr's horoscope vi, 176
Hushravah (Kai Khusrau, q.v.),
iv, 137, 138
Atossa (?), v, 11
Hyryanias (Khyons, Chionitae ?),
people, v, 13
Hyapat, son of Semiramis, v, 292
Hydaspes, id.
Hydaspes (Jhilam), river in the
Punjab, vi, 18, 31, 62, 63
Hydraotes (Rāvi), river in the
Punjab, vi, 64
Hyperboreans, the, vi, 74
Elysium of, vi, 74
Hyphasis (Beas), river in the
Punjab, vi, 64
Hyrcania (Gūrgūn, q.v.), ii, 27 ;
iii, 10 ; vi, 373
Gīv, prince of, iii, 9
Hystaspes (Gushtāsp, q.v.), iv,
314 seq.
Hystaspes, father of Darius I, v,
10
governor of Parthia, v, 10

Iblīs, the Muhammadan Devil,
140, 143 ; iv, 200, 282 ; v,
174, 218
Iblīs, occasional substitution of
for Āhriman in the Shāh-
nāmā, i, 50, 70 ; ii, 82, 110
tempts Zahhāk, i, 130 seq.
turns cook, i, 137 seq.
causes serpents to grow out
of Zahhāk's shoulders, i, 139
counsels, garbed as a leech,
Zahhāk, i, 139
Ibn Muka'at', Persian scholar
and Arabic writer, vi, 373 ;
vii, 161
account of, vi, 17
translator of the Bāstān-
nāmā into Arabic, vi, 17
Fables of Bidpai (the
Book of Kalila and
Dimna) into Arabic,
vii, 383
Ibrāhīm, Abraham the patri-
arch, vi, 119, 120
house of = the Kaaba, vi, 119
Ichthyophagi, vi, 81
Sikandar and, vi, 69, 147
Arrian on, vi, 69
modern accounts of, vi, 70
city of, described, vi, 177
go to meet, and are visited
by, Sikandar, vi, 178
hand over the treasures of
Kai Khusrau to Sikandar,
vi, 178
Iīd-i-Kurdi, Feast of, i, 143
Ighérioas (Aghrāratha, Aghrē-
raž), brother of
Afrasiyāb and Turanian
hero, 142, i, 92, 337, 342
seq., ii, 18, 20, 303, 304 ;
iii, 8 ; iv, 130, 200, 292
characterised, i, 55, 338
opposes war with Irān, i,
343
Bārmān's single combat,
i, 347
over-ruled by Pashang, i,
344
Afrasiyāb, i, 347
Irānian captives saved by,
i, 393
released by, i, 395 seq.
Indian, Indians, Faith of, 172, viii, 275
script, ix, 17
scribe, ix, 17
Indies, Greek idea of two, vi, 13
duplicate races in, vi, 68
Indo-European race, i, 7
Asiatic branch of, i, 7
Aryans, i, 7
carly seats of, i, 7
religion of, i, 7
Indra, Indian god, ii, 25; vi, 203
Vritra and, ii, 25; vi, 203
Indus, river, i, 71, 252; ii, 21; iii, 177, 204, 237, 251; v, 203; vi, 62, 67, 70; vii, 241
mistaken for the Nile, vi, 68
Introduction, to Sháhnáma, i, 3 seq.
Jollas, Alexander the Great’s cup-bearer, vi, 82
Íraj, youngest son of Farídún q.v. and the protagonist of the Iránián race, 140, i, 54, 90, 91, 211; ii, 8, 10, 19, 29, 237, 297, 302; iii, 8; iv, 140; v, 42, 44, 201; vi, 353; vii, 73; viii, 206, 376 and note, 392; ix, 103
etymology of, i, 174
naming of, i, 188
horoscope of, i, 188
receives Irán and Arábía as his portion, i, 189
abdication of, demanded by Salm and Túr, i, 192
offers to go to his brothers, i, 196
visits Salm and Túr, i, 198
reception of, by Salm and Túr, i, 198
offers to resign his kingship to his brothers, i, 200
slain by Túr and Salm, i, 201
head of, sent to Farídún, i, 202
mourning for, i, 203 seq.
daughter of, 140, i, 205
married to Pashang, i, 205

Ighríras, upbraided and slain by Airásiyáb, i, 307
Pashang’s grief for, i, 371
revival of, in legend, iv, 135
given a command, iv 156
head of, sent by Kai Khusrarau to Kai Kháús, iv, 185
referred to, iv, 267
Ijás bin Kabisa, viii, 188
governor of Hírá, vii, 190
Ílá, Turánián king, iv, 182
fights with Kai Khusrarau, iv, 182
Ilyás, ruler of Khazar q.v., 154, iv, 301
tribute demanded of, by Cesar, iv, 352
refuses tribute and declares war, iv, 352
makes overtures to Gushťás, iv, 354
corpse of, brought by Gushťás to Cesar, iv, 355
Imagery, of Sháhnáma. See Sháhnáma.
Imaus, Greek form of Himálaya q.v., vi, 12
’Inánians, ’Inánians, Arab tribe, vi, 324, 330, 331, 333
Ind. See Hind.
Indra, iv, 316; vi, 17, 64, 81, 83, 204
Iránians and Aryans of, i, 15
Palladius on, vi, 61
Ancient, M’Crindle’s, quoted, vi, 68
=Ethiopia, vi, 68
Indian, Indians, 172, vi, 81, 375, 397; vii, 135, 149; viii, 377
=Ethiopians, vi, 13, 68
sages, vi, 61, 83, 91 seq., 143 seq., 206
bells and gongs, vi, 175; viii, 40, 120
bane, vi, 259
king of = Shangul, vii, 118
tongue, vii, 117, 143
sword, falchion, scimitar, vii, 127, 145, 417; ix, 17
Garden of the, viii, 196
Íraj, daughter of, gives birth to Minúchíhr, i, 206
vengeance for, i, 215 seq.
referred to, i, 335, 349
Íraj, king of Kábul, iv, 149
Írák, ix, 66
=Írák 'Arabi (Babylonia), vii, 214, 224
Íram, gardens of, i, 100, 113;
ii, 78;
vii, 235
and note
Írán, 142-144, 146, 148, 150, 152-155, 157, 158, 162, 163, 165, 167, 172, 173, 175, 176, i, 3, 113, 152, 153
and passim
boundaries of, i, 3
physical features of, i, 3
gradual desiccation of, i, 3
and see Drought.
climate of, i, 4
flora of, i, 4
fauna of, i, 5
land of contrasts, i, 5, 58, 60
cosmogony of, i, 5
people of, i, 6
-vej, region, i, 9
situation of, i, 9
Zoroaster’s (Zarduhsht’s) birth-place, i, 62
Arab conquest of, i, 12
Arabia and, Íraj’s portion, i, 189
-Shahr, ii, 81
fought for by Afrásíyáb and the Arabs, ii, 92
invaded by Suhráb, ii, 130
lord of =Mahmúd, iv, 142
monarch of =Dáráb, vi, 21, 26
and Sháhnáma compared, vi, 193
invaded by Munzír and Nu’mán, vi, 397
Rúm’s tribute to explained, vi, 187
Íránian, Íránians, 144, 147-151, 153, 155, 163-167, 171, 176, i, 9 and passim
neighbours of, i, 9
Íránians, historical relations of, with Semites, i, 10
Assyrians, i, 10
Arabs, i, 11; vi, 17; ix, 65 seq.
Greeks and Romans, i, 14
Aryans of India, i, 15
Túránians, i, 16 seq.
Kimmerians, i, 17
Scythians, i, 17
Parthians, i, 18
Alani, i, 19
Huns, i, 19
Turks, i, 20
traditional relations of, with other Indo - Europeans, Semites, and Túránians, i, 34, 35, 56
revolt against Jamshíd and summon Záhhák to Írán, i, 139
chiefs of, imprisoned at Sári, i, 363
plot for release with Ighiríras, i, 363
inform Zál, i, 366
released by Kishwád, i, 367
provided for by Zál, i, 367
bewail Nándár, i, 364
wish to withdraw from the Seven Stages, v, 135
encouraged to persevere by Asfandiyár, v, 136
provoked to combat by Zawára, v, 225
Sikandar’s proclamation to, vi, 44
bewail themselves, vi, 48
counsel Dárá to come to terms with Sikandar, vi, 48
ask quarter of Sikandar, vi, 51
hail Sikandar as ruler, vi, 56
after Yazdaghird son of Shápúr’s death meet for counsel in Pars, vi, 304
Jawánwí sent by, to Munzír, vi, 397
Iránians, offer prayer at the Fire-fane of Barzin, vi, 400
loyal, support Bahrám Gúr, vi, 402
procedure of, to elect a Sháh, vi, 403
decide to reject Bahrám Gúr, vi, 403
remonstrated with by Munzír, vi, 403
object-lesson of, to Munzír, vi, 404
accept Bahrám Gúr’s proposal for settling the question of kingship by ordeal, vi, 406
ask Munzír to intercede with Bahrám Gúr for them, vii, 9
arrears of taxes of, cancelled, vii, 11
levied by Bahrám Gúr, vii, 86
resolve to submit to the Khán, vii, 87
send Humái as envoy to the Khán, vii, 87
letter of, to the Khán, vii, 87
ask for Narsi’s good offices with Bahrám Gúr, vii, 93
lament for the death of Pirúz, vii, 169
revolt against Kubád, vii, 195
put Kubád in fetters, vii, 195
ask pardon of Kubád, vii, 200
pardon of Kubád, vii, 200
iron steeds, Sikandar’s, vi, 115
Iskandariya (Alexandria), vi, 160
Iskandar buried at, vi, 185
Iskandar, Sée Sikandar.
Iskandar, herb, vi, 26
Iskandariya (Alexandria), 160, vi, 185
Ismael, vi, 65, 120, 121
Iskandar. See Sikandar.
Iránian, Iránians, defeat the Turks, vii, 126
revolt against Hurmuzd, vii, 156
elect Bahrám Chúbína Sháh, vii, 243
homage Shírvi, ix, 8
Irman, (Armenians q.v.), 150, iii, 286
complain to Kai Khusrav of the wild boars, iii, 290
Irmanians (Armenians q.v.), 150, iii, 286
Isdigird I (Yazdagird son of Shápár), Sásánian king, vi, 371
Isdigird II (Yazdagird son of Bahrám Gúr), Sásánian king, vii, 153
Iron steeds, Sikandar’s, vi, 115
Isa (Jesus), viii, 276 note
Iskandar. See Sikandar.
Iskandar, herb, vi, 26
Iskandariya (Alexandria), 160, vi, 185
Island, the=Meroe, vi, 65
Islands, Male and Female, vi, 72
Irmanians, offer prayer at the Fire-fane of Barzin, vi, 400
loyal, support Bahrám Gúr, vi, 402
procedure of, to elect a Sháh, vi, 403
decide to reject Bahrám Gúr, vi, 403
remonstrated with by Munzír, vi, 403
object-lesson of, to Munzír, vi, 404
accept Bahrám Gúr’s proposal for settling the question of kingship by ordeal, vi, 406
ask Munzír to intercede with Bahrám Gúr for them, vii, 9
arrears of taxes of, cancelled, vii, 11
levied by Bahrám Gúr, vii, 86
resolve to submit to the Khán, vii, 87
send Humái as envoy to the Khán, vii, 87
letter of, to the Khán, vii, 87
ask for Narsi’s good offices with Bahrám Gúr, vii, 93
lament for the death of Pirúz, vii, 169
revolt against Kubád, vii, 195
put Kubád in fetters, vii, 195
ask pardon of Kubád, vii, 200
pardon of Kubád, vii, 200
iron steeds, Sikandar’s, vi, 115
Iskandariya (Alexandria), vi, 160
Iskandar buried at, vi, 185
Iskandar. See Sikandar.
Iskandar, herb, vi, 26
Iskandariya (Alexandria), 160, vi, 185
Island, the=Meroe, vi, 65
Islands, Male and Female, vi, 72
origin of legend of, vi, 72
GENERAL INDEX

Ismā'il. See Ishmael.

Ismā'il, brother of Sultán Mahmúd, i, 21

Ispanwî. See Ispanwî.

Ispahan, city in 'Irak-i-'Ajami, i, 351 ; ii, 304, 309 ; iii, 109 ; vi, 57, 86, 87, 100, 201, 202, 210 ; vii, 9, 84, 214, 224 ; viii, 90

Israfil, archangel, 160, vi, 78

Issedones, tribe situated on the Tarim basin in eastern Turkistan, iii, 192

Issus, town, plain, and gulf in Cilicia, vi, 30

Istakhr, Ardashir Pāpakān marches from, against the Kurds, vi, 230

Istakhr, Ardshir Pāpakān returns victorious to, vi, 232

Istakhr, Ardshir Pāpakān made Shah at, ix, 65

Istupegu. See Astyages.

Italy, vii, 218

Alexander of Epirus' expedition to, vi, 12

Alexander the Great's legendary expedition to, vi, 12, 30

Iwán-i-Kerkh, vi, 327

Izads (Yazatas), the, iii, 286

Izid, vii, 75

Izid Ghashap, archscribe, 170, vii, 74


Izid Ghashap, Iranian warrior, conducts spoil to Iran, vii, 148

Jabala bin Salim, vii, 73

Jacob of Sarúg, Syriac poet. Syriac Christian Legend of Alexander the Great versified by, vi, 15, 74, 78, 84

Jādūstān, vi, 100 and note

Jagatai, mountain-range in Khurāsān, vii, 79

Jahn, son of Afrasiyāb, Tūrānian hero, 152, i, 92 ; ii, 204, 208 ; iv, 150, 162, 200 seq., 214
Jahn, son of Afrâsiyâb, sent to guard Shída's rear, iv, 155
advances to the attack and is defeated by Kárán, iv, 178
stationed at the centre with Afrâsiyâb, iv, 179
sent to the left with troops, iv, 180
Garsiwaz and, compel Afrâsiyâb to quit the field, iv, 182
commands the right, iv, 190
helps to defend Gangbihisht, iv, 209
taken prisoner by Rustam, iv, 210
sent to Kai Káús, iv, 233
interned by Kai Káús, iv, 235
spurious passage about, iv, 272 note
Jahn, architect of throne of Tâkhdis, viii, 391
Jahram (Chahram), 161, 163,
city in Pars, vi, 44, 119, 202, 225, 237, 241, 268, 400; vii, 185; ix, 29, 61
Dârâ goes to, vi, 44
desert of, vi, 401
Jáj (? Chách q.v.), iv, 150
Jalâlpûr, city in the northern Punjab, vi, 18
Jalûlû, town north-east of Bagh-
dâd, i, 12, ix, 68
battle of, i, 12, ix, 68
Jam, son of Kubâd and brother
of Nûshirwân, vii, 316
conspires against Nûshir-
wân, vii, 316
Jámâsp, chief minister of Shâh
Gushtâsp, 155, i, 42; ii, 9; v, 12, 22, 24 seq., 58, 206, 216, 248; vii, 171, 393; ix, 26
omniscience of, v, 19, 48
answers, in conjunction with Zarîr and Asfandiyâr, Ar-
jást's letter, v, 42
Jámâsp, foretells the death in
battle of Ardshir, v, 49
Shidasp, v, 50
Girámí, v, 50
exploits of Nastûr, v, 50
death of Nîvâr, v, 51
Zarîr, v, 52, 70 note
triumph of Asfandiyâr, v, 52
defeat of Arjâsp, v, 52
encourages Gushtâsp to fight, v, 54
referred to, v, 59, 102
dissuades Gushtâsp from avenging Zarîr, v, 64, 68
made archimage of Fire-
temple built by Gush-
tâsp, v, 75
sent to recall Asfandiyâr to
court, v, 80 seq.
advises Gushtâsp, when be-
leaguered by Arjâsp, to
release Asfandiyâr, v, 97
volunteers to go to Asfan-
diyâr, v, 97
reaches Gumbadân in dis-
guise, v, 98
interview of, with Asfan-
diyâr, v, 99 seq.
sends for blacksmiths to
unchain Asfandiyâr, v, 101
sets off with Asfandiyâr, Bahman, and Nûsh Ázar,
v, 103
foretells Asfandiyâr's fate,
v, 169
reproached by Bishútân, v, 234
advises Gushtâsp to write
to Bahman, v, 257
writes by Gushtâsp's orders
to recall Bahman, v, 258
Gushtâsp tells his intention
as to the succession to, v, 279
prophecy of, viii, 68
additions of, to throne of Tâkhdis, viii, 392
Jámâsp, son of Pírûz, 166, vi, 3
supersedes Kubâd temporar-
ily, vii, 184, 195
Jāmāsp, son of Pīrūz, title of, vii, 189
fate of, vii, 189, 200
James, St., bishop of Edessa, i, 374
James V of Scotland, vii, 3
Bahārām Gūr’s resemblance to, vii, 3
Jamhūr, king of Hind, vii, 395, 399, 398, 399, 491, 493
Jamshid, son of Tāhmūras, Shāh and culture-hero, 164, 169, i, 42, 90, 91; ii, 4, 33, 37, 168, 204, 358, 399; iii, 7, 57, 257, 273; iv, 93, 133, 149, 203, 209, 272, 274, 290; v, 32, 34, 38, 47, 150, 202, 215, 219, 245, 271, 284; vi, 45 and note, 172, 209; vii, 36 seq., 107, 192, 173, 211; viii, 22, 242, 269, 310, 334, 341, 387; ix, 25, 39, 103
Reign of, 149, i, 129 seq.
Note on, i, 129 seq.
the Írānian Noah, i, 129
meaning of, i, 130
ascends the throne, i, 131
greatness of, i, 131
culture-hero, i, 132
makes armour, i, 132
raiment, i, 132
institutes castes, i, 132
great builder, i, 133
introduces jewelry and perfumes, i, 133
leechcraft, i, 133
ship-building, i, 133
carried by the diwās into the air, i, 133
feast held in memorial of, i, 134
fall of, i, 139, 134, 139
Írānian revolt against, i, 139
flight and death of, i, 139
sisters of, married to Zahr-āk, i, 149
found by Farīdūn, 149, i, 162
referred to, iv, 304
Jamshid, treasure of, found by Bahārām Gūr, 164, vii, 30
described, vii, 30
Jandal, envoy of Farīdūn, 170, i, 177
asks Sarv’s daughters in marriage for Farīdūn’s sons, i, 178
informs Farīdūn of the outcome of his mission, i, 182
Jandal, city in Hind, vii, 149
monarch of, entertained by Bahārām Gūr, vii, 149 seq.
Jānfarūz, Írānian general, vii, 297
Jānūsiyār, minister of Dārā, vi, 52, 88
murders Dārā, vi, 52
informs Sikandar of Dārā’s murder, vi, 52
arrested by Sikandar, vi, 53
executed, vi, 56, 88
Jaranjās, Turānian hero, iv, 159
Jarīra, daughter of Pīrūn, wife of Siyāwush, and mother of Farūd, 147, i, 92; ii, 3; iii, 43
married to Siyāwush, ii, 268 seq.
birth of her son Farūd, ii, 291
referred to, iii, 30
advises Farūd, iii, 42
dream of, iii, 63
kills herself, iii, 66
Jarmana, place, ix, 93
Jasha, king, i, 97, 98
Jātakas, vii, 383
Jats, people of north-western India, vii, 6
fabulous origin of, vii, 6
Jawānwi, Írānian magnate, vi, 373; vii, 8, 10
goes as ambassador to Munzir, vi, 301
interview of, with Munzir, vi, 301 seq.
recognises the divine Grace in Bahārām Gūr, vi, 301 seq.
GENERAL INDEX

Jawánwi, suggests a course of action to Munzir, vi, 400
returns to Írán, vi, 400
bidden by Bahram Gur to remit the arrears of taxes,
vii, 11

Jaz (Gaz), town north-west of Isphahán, vi, 337; vii, 76, 79, 80
tribute of, remitted, vii, 82

Jerusalem, v, 366 note, vi, 81; viii, 191, 196
Elevation of the True Cross at, ix, 43

Jesus, i, 42; vii, 191; ix, 10
sayings of, viii, 276 and note
Cross of, viii, 380
laughter of, viii, 191, 380

Jew, Jews, 168, vi, 356; vi, 13, 273; viii, 21, 67, 270
Faith of, vi, 95
Bahram Gur’s adventure with a, vii, 16 seq.
persecution of, vii, 153
Zurán’s plot with a, against Mahbúd, vii, 320 seq.
bewitches Nushirwán’s food, vi, 321
makes confession to Nushirwán, vii, 325
Fables of Bidpái, vogue of largely due to, vii, 353
Jewelled tree, Kai Khusrav’s, iii, 329

Jeweller, a, 164. See Máhiyáár.
dughter of, 164

Jewels, discovery of, i, 133
Palace of, 160

Jhilam (Hydaspes), river in the Punjáb, vi, 18, 31, 63


Jíhún—cont.
134, 174, 332; ix, 77, 115, 118
boundary between Írán and Turán i, 71, 370, 371
confused with the Aras, i, 370
fords of, viii, 331

Jins, ix, 81

Johari Das, Babu, quoted, vi, 81
Joktan, vi, 65
= Kahtán, vi, 65

Joshua, vi, 77
Moses and, Muhammadan legend of, vi, 77

Jovian (Bazánúsh), Roman Emperor (A.D. 303-4), vi, 324 seq.; vii, 41
confused with Valerian, vi, 324

Judaism, vi, 327

Judda, the port of Mecca, 159, vi, 121

Sikandar arrives at, vi, 121

Julian (Yánúsh), Roman Emperor (A.D. 361-363), i, 12; vi, 325
confused with Valerian, vi, 324

not an emperor in the Sháhnáma, vi, 324, 326
expedition of, against Persia, vi, 324 seq.

Julius Valerius, early Latin translator of the Pseudo-
Callisthenes, vi, 14, 61, 66 seq., 71, 74, 78, 79, 81

Jund-i-Shápúr (Gund-i-Shápúr q.v.), city, vi, 256
= Ráš-Shápúr, vi, 256
foundation of attributed to Ardshír Pápakán, vi, 296

Jupiter, planet, i, 72, 161, 188, 281; ii, 115; iii, 318; iv, 143, 295; v, 250; vi, 138, 172, 202; vii, 49, 248, 357; viii, 28, 152, 157, 395

Justin I, Eastern Roman Emperor, vii, 316
Justin II, Eastern Roman Emperor, vii, 212; viii, 41
Justinian, Eastern Roman Emperor, i, 10; vii, 212, 219, 317; viii, 41
silk worm introduced into the West during reign of, vi, 204
bargains of, with Nūshirwān, vii, 214, 216 seq.
protection of Hárit bin Jabala by, leads to war with Nūshirwān, vii, 217
successes of, in the West, vii, 217
closes the schools of Athens, vii, 280
Juyā, a div, ii, 71
slain by Rustam, ii, 72

K

Kaba, the, 159, vi, 65
account of, vi, 65
Sikandar’s expedition to, vi, 67, 83, 119
Kabāb, small pieces of meat skewered together for roasting, ii, 103; iii, 60; iv, 121; v, 152; viii, 250
Kabiṣa, viii, 188
Kabtān, king of Misr and the progenitor of the Copts, vi, 121
welcomes Sikandar, vi, 121
praises Kādāba to Sikandar, vi, 122
Kabūda, 147, one of Afrāsiyāb’s herdsmen, iii, 73
slain by Bahram, iii, 74
Kabul, Kābulistān (Afghanistān), city and country, 141, 157, i, 57, 252, 291, 208, 277, 282, 273, 280, 294, 298, 299 note, 300, 302 seq., 316, 357, 378; ii, 12, 18, 21, 92, 228, 200, 271, 341; iii, 17, 32, 145, 153, 165, 174, 183, 199, 202, 206, 321; iv, 14, 65, 169, 278, 284, 292; v, 120, 170, 173, 224, 242, 251, 260, 263 seq., 271, 273 seq., 284, 287; vi, 207; vii, 173
Buddhism in, i, 15
superseded by Brahmanism, i, 16
daggar of, i, 219; vi, 320
Zāl visits, i, 250
Beauty of = Kūdāba, i, 202, 316
monarch of = Mihrāb, i, 294, 305
rejoicings at, over Zāl’s successful embassy to Minūchīhr, i, 314
preparations at, to welcome Sām and Zāl, i, 315
falchion of, i, 376; ix, 98
Shaghād sent to be brought up at, v, 264
king of, 157, v, 264, 271
daughter of, marries Shaghād, v, 264
Shaghād and, plot against Rustam, v, 265 seq.
gives a feast, v, 266
pretends to quarrel with Shaghād, v, 266
treachery of, v, 268 seq.
akases himself before Rustam, v, 269
entertains Rustam and invites him to hunt, v, 269
hypocrisy of, v, 271
Farāmarz sent against, v, 274, 279
defeated and put to death with all his kin, v, 277
tribute of, question about, v, 295
Farāmarz makes a Zābuli king of, v, 277
monarch of, entertained by Bahram Gūr, vii, 140 seq.
Kāchār Bāshī, city in Turān, ii, 258, 300, 304; vii, 330, 358; ix, 117
GENERAL INDEX

Kádisi, Kádisiya, town on one
of the canals west of the
Euphrates and south of
Mashad 'Ali (Nedjef), vi,
119, 339; ix, 5, 73, 74,
77, 78
battle of, i, 12, 143; ix, 5,
67, 69
date of, ix, 67
canal of, ix, 69
Rustam advances to, ix, 73
Ka'basta (Urmiah q.v.), lake,
v, 137
Káf, mythical Mount Alburz
q.v., ii, 83, 404; iv, 65,
149; viii, 66 and note
Káfür, king of Bélád, 149, iii, 191
worst the Frániás, iii, 244
slain by Rustam, iii, 245
Kalhán, desert of, i, 287
Kalhán, the Arabic form of
Joktan, the progenitor of
the southern Arabs, vi,
95, 120
Kai, meaning of, ii, 8
Kaian, Kaínian (see Kái), ii, 8,
9, 22, 404; iii, 5 seq., 9,
14, 43, 97, 112, 147, 397,
318, 320, 328, 342; iv,
5 seq., 24, 33, 35, 65, 110,
127, 159, 169, 175, 234,
290, 292, 299, 273, 279,
285, 286, 289, 293, 308,
319, 324; v, 7 seq., 10,
47, 49, 52, 54, 57, 59, 60,
67 seq., 73 seq., 79, 80, 91,
97, 122, 168 203, 210,
223, 253, 254, 282, 288,
289, 291, 311; vi, 9 seq.,
17, 34, 48, 55, 57, 59, 81,
112, 125, 141, 179, 180,
194, 196, 200, 202, 210,
223, 237 note; viii, 65,
210
dynasty, i, 49, 373; ii, 7
seq.; iii, 5 seq.; iv, 5
seq.; v, 7 seq.; vi, 9 seq.
genealogical table, ii, 3
birth-mark, ii, 372
stature, ii, 375
saying, iv, 33
Kaian, throne, viii, 214
race, viii, 217
crown, ix, 11, 105
Kalíanush (Katáiún), brother of
Farídún, i, 90, 91, 158
v, 261
referred to, i, 147, 165
Purnáya and, summon the
smiths to Farídún, i, 158
go with Farídún against
Zahhák, i, 159
attempt to kill Farídún, i,
160
Kai Árash, son of Kai Kubád,
ii, 3, 23, 204, 205; vi,
197, 210, 228; vii, 216
Kai Armín, son of Kai Kubád,
ii, 3, 23
Káid, Indian king, 159, 161, i,
55; vi, 61, 83, 91 seq.,
112
identical with Mandanes
(Dandamis), vi, 62
consults Mihrán about his
dreams, vi, 92 seq.
dreams of, interpreted by
Mihrán, vi, 94, seq.
Four Wonders of, 159, vi,
94, 97 and note, 99 seq.
dughter, 159, vi, 94, 100,
102, 104
described, vi, 100, 102,
104
married to Sikandar, vi,
104
reference in Sikandar's
Will to, vi, 182
cup, described, vi, 94,
100
principle of, explained,
vi, 109
leech, vi, 94, 101
prescribes for Sikandar,
vi, 107
sage, vi, 94, 101
= Calanus, vi, 62
Sikandar's encounter of
wits with, vi, 62, 104
seq.
explains the principle of
the cup, vi, 109
Kaid, sends his Four Wonders and other gifts to Sikandar, vi, 105
prophecy of, in legend, vi, 250, 260
consulted by Ardshir Pāpakān, vi, 266
advice of, to Ardshir Pāpakān, vi, 207, 273
Kaidāfa (Cilicia), vi, 294, 297
Kaidāfa (Kandake, Candaules q.v.),
139, vi, 83, 121 seq., 325
obtains Sikandar’s portrait, vi, 122
praised by Kadtün to Sikandar, vi, 122
replies a letter from Sikandar, vi, 123
answers Sikandar’s letter, vi, 123
welcomes Kaidrūsh on his return from captivity, vi, 127
receives Naitkūn (Sikandar) graciously, vi, 128
state of, described, vi, 128, 130, 133
gives audiences to Naitkūn (Sikandar), vi, 128 seq.
recognises Sikandar, vi, 129 seq.
hears Sikandar’s embassage, vi, 129
covenants of, with Sikandar, vi, 132, 133
warns Sikandar against Tainīsh, vi, 133
chides Tainīsh, vi, 135
takes counsel with Sikandar about Tainīsh, vi, 135
approves of Sikandar’s scheme, vi, 137
takes counsel with her nobles, vi, 139
gifts of, to Sikandar, vi, 140
Sikandar’s final message to, vi, 143
Kaidrūsh (Kandaros, Candaules),
son of Kaidāfa (Candaules),
vi, 134, 135
Kaidrūsh, wife of, vi, 66
taken with his wife, by Sikandar, vi, 125
brought with his wife before Naitkūn, vi, 126
sentenced with his wife to death, vi, 126
pardoned with his wife, vi, 126
gratitude of, vi, 127
returns to Kaidāfa, vi, 127
presents Naitkūn (Sikandar) to Kaidāfa, vi, 127
Kaiḥan, S. of Kaid.
Kai Kāus, son of Kai Kūbhād and Shāh, 143-147, 152, 153, 162, 167, 174, 236, 238, 254, 256 seq., 266
Reign of, i i j, ii, 25 seq.
Notes on, ii, 25 seq., 79 seq., 118, 188 seq., 335
visits Rustam, ii, 83
tempted by divs, ii, 39 seq., 82, 102 seq.
goes to Mount Kāf, ii, 83
defeats Atrāsīyāb and regains Irān, ii, 100
makes Rustam paladin of paladins, ii, 101
Kai Kaús, requires Kai Khusrau to swear vengeance on Afrásiyáb, iii, 21
welcomes Giv and hears his tidings of Kai Khusrau, iv, 234
proclaims the conquest of Túrán and Chín, iv, 236
awards Giv, iv, 236
send Giv back with letter to Kai Khusrau, iv, 238
hears that Kai Khusrau is returning and goes with the nobles to welcome him, iv, 256
receives gifts from, and hears the adventures of, Kai Khusrau, iv, 257
counsels a pilgrimage to the temple of Ázargashasp, iv, 258
Kai Khusrau and, hear from Gúdarz of Húm's adventure with Afrásiyáb, iv, 264
send for Garsiwaz and put him to the torture, iv, 265
make thanksgiving before Ázargashasp, iv, 269
go in state to the temple of Ázargashasp, iv, 270
prays that he may die, iv, 270
obsequies of iv, 271
treasure of, called "The Bride" bestowed by Kai Khusrau on Giv, Zál, and Rustam, iv, 295
favour shown by Luhrásp to the grandsons of, iv, 318, 321 seq.
grandsons of, go with Zarír to Rúm, iv, 360
hail Gushtásp as Sháh, iv, 362
Kai Kāûs, Rustam's patent from, v, 203


travashi of, ii, 82

identical with Cyrus the Great in legend, ii, 9, 10
prophesies respecting, ii, 310, 372, 390
birth of, ii, 325 seq.
account of youth of, ii, 328 seq.
questioned by Afrāsiyāb, ii, 332
dwells at Siyāwushgird, ii, 333
sent to Khutan, ii, 356
Māchmān, ii, 357 note

described by Surash, ii, 303
Gūdarz sends Giv to seek, ii, 394 seq.
recalled by Giv, ii, 379
found by Giv, ii, 370
birth-mark of, ii, 372, iii, 49 note
saves Pirān's life, ii, 387
at the Jiḥūn, ii, 391 seq.
arrives at Zam, ii, 394
visits Gūdarz at Ispahān, ii, 399

Kai Khusrav, tells his story to Kai Kāûs, ii, 397

praises Giv to Kai Kāûs, ii, 398

goes to Istakhr, ii, 399

enthroned as Shah, ii, 400, 411

supported by Gūdarz and opposed by Tūs, ii, 400 seq.

letter of, to the defenders of the castle of Bahman, ii, 407

establishes Fire-worship at the castle of Bahman, ii, 409

pardons Tūs, ii, 410

Reign of, 147, iii, 7 seq.

Notes on, iii, 7 seq., 108, 191, 271, 285 seq.; iv, 7, 135 seq.

last link with the Vedas, iii, 7

longest in respect of subject-matter in the poem, iii, 7

divisions of, iii, 7

episodes of, iii, 7

warlike character of, iii, 8

subject-matter of, iii, 8

accession of, iii, 17

go on a hunting expedition, iii, 19

to the temple of Azar-gashasp, iii, 20

swears to take vengeance on Afrāsiyāb, iii, 21

prepares for war, iii, 23 seq.

offers reward for the head of Palāshān, iii, 29

crown of Tazhāv, iii, 27

slave of Tazhāv, iii, 27

head of Tazhāv, iii, 28

burning the barricade at the Kāsa rūd, iii, 28

going on an embassage to Afrāsiyāb, iii, 29

warns Tūs to avoid Kalāt, iii, 39
Kai Khusrau, hears of the death of Farúd and of the defeat of the Iranians, iii, 84
wrath of, with Tús, iii, 84 seq., 111
writes to Fariburz, iii, 84
disgraces Tús, iii, 86
imprisons Tús, iii, 87
pardons Tús and the Iranians, iii, 114
hears of the peril of the Iranians on Mount Hamáwan and summons Rustam, iii, 142 seq.
sends Rustam to succour the Iranians, iii, 145
further the suit of Fariburz to Farangis, iii, 147
hears of Rustam's victory, iii, 239
disposes of the captives and spoil, iii, 240
sends gifts to Rustam and the host, iii, 241
goes to meet Rustam on his return in triumph, iii, 267
gives a feast to the chiefs, iii, 268
rewards Rustam, iii, 269
holds a court and hears of the doings of the div Akwán, iii, 273
writes to summon Rustam, iii, 274
goes to welcome Rustam on his return from slaying the div Akwán, iii, 282
rewards Rustam, iii, 283
hears at a feast of the case of the Iranians, iii, 289
calls for volunteers, iii, 291
sends Bízhan and Gurgin to Irán, iii, 292
comforts Gív for the loss of Bízhan, iii, 315, 318
imprisons Gurgín, iii, 317
promises Gív to consult the divining-cup about Bízhan, iii, 317
Kai Khusrau sends Gív to summon Rustam, iii, 319
sends the host to meet Rustam, iii, 327
welcomes Rustam, iii, 328
jewelled tree of, iii, 329
requests Rustam to rescue Bízhan, iii, 330
releases Gurgin at Rustam's request, iii, 333
equips Rustam for his quest of Bízhan, iii, 333
welcomes Rustam on his return, iii, 354
rewards Rustam and his comrades, iii, 356
holds converse with Bízhan, iii, 356
gives gifts to Manízha, iii, 356
hears that the Turánians are invading Iran, iv, 12
summons his paladins, iv, 13
host, iv, 14
sends Rustam to Hindústán, iv, 14
Luhrásp to the Aláns, iv, 14
Ashkash to Khárazm, iv, 15
Gúdarz to Túrán, iv, 15
orders Gúdarz to negotiate with Pirán, iv, 15
receives letter from Gúdarz, iv, 58
rewards Hajír, the bearer, iv, 58
prays for victory, iv, 58
sends Hajír with answer, iv, 61
leads a host to aid Gúdarz, iv, 62
referred to, iv, 85
presage of, that Pirán would be slain by Gúdarz, iv, 85, 88
reaches Gúdarz, iv, 111, 126
receives Gúdarz and the other champions, iv, 126
Gurwí brought by Gív before, iv, 127
Kai Khusrav, laments over Piran, iv, 127
buries Piran and the Turanian champions, iv, 128
puts Gurwî to death, iv, 129
rewards the host, iv, 129
Gives Isphahân to Gûdarz, iv, 129
pardonsthe Turanian host, iv, 131
amulet of, iv, 133
heals Gustaham, iv, 133
summons reinforcements, iv, 134, 145
Great War of, with Afrasiyab, iv, 135 seq.
exemption of, from death, iv, 138
recalls the troops under Luhrasp, Rustam, and Ashkasch, iv, 145
stations Tûs on his right with Kâwa’s standard, iv, 149
gives the right wing to Rustam, iv, 147
left wing to Gûdarz, iv, 147
commands to various chiefs, iv, 148, 149
hears of Afrasiyâb’s passage of the Jihûm, iv, 157
sends troops to the aid of Gustaham, son of Nau-


Dar, at Balkh, iv, 157
Ashkasch with a host to
Zam, iv, 157
marches to Khârazm, iv, 157
surveys the seat of war and
entrenches the host, iv, 157
Shîda’s embassage to, iv, 191
Kai Khusrav, sends Kârân with a reply to Shîda, iv, 198
arms to fight with Shida, iv, 171
makes Ruhhâm charge of his
standard-bearer, iv, 171
sends instructions to the host, iv, 171
parley of, with Shida, iv, 172
accepts Shîda’s challenge to a wrestling-bout, iv, 175
gives Ruhhâm charge of his
steed, iv, 175
wrestles and overthrows Shida, iv, 175
instructs Ruhhâm to bury Shîda, iv, 179
spares the life of Shîda’s interpreter and bids him return to Afrasiyâb with


tidings, iv, 176
wears for vengeance on, and
attacks, Afrasiyâb, iv, 178
bids Shammâkh attack, iv, 180
attacks with Rustam from the centre, iv, 180
fights with Ustukilâ, Flâ and
Burdzûyalâ, iv, 182
returns to camp, iv, 183
hears of Afrasiyâb’s retreat, iv, 184
offers praise to God, iv, 184
pursues Afrasiyâb, iv, 185 seq.
marches to Sughd, iv, 188
hears tidings of Afrasiyâb, iv, 188
marches from Sughd and
reduces the Turkman
strongholds, iv, 189
to the Galzaryûn, iv, 189
commands the centre, iv, 191
prays for victory, iv, 191
Kai Khusrau, hears of the defeat
of Kurákhán by Gustaham, son of Naudar, iv, 193
hears of Rustam’s defeat
of Tawurg, iv, 193
warns Rustam to beware of
Afrásiyáb, iv, 194
plunders the camp of, and
pursues, Afrásiyáb, iv, 195
besieges Gang-bihisht, iv, 198, 208 seq.
converses with Rustam, iv, 198, 199, 222
receives Jahn in audience, iv, 200
declines Afrásiyáb’s pro-
posals for peace, iv, 207
with Rustam, Gustaham
son of Naudar, and Gú-
darz, assails Gang-bihisht on all sides, iv, 208 seq.
prays for victory, iv, 208
takes Gang-bihisht by storm, iv, 209 seq.
searches vainly for Afrá-
siyáb, iv, 212
gives the spoil of Gang-
bihisht to the troops, iv, 217
grants quarter to the Turk-
mans and assumes the
government of Túrán, iv, 217
dwells for a while at Gang-
bihisht, iv, 218
leaves Gúdarz and Farhád
at Gang-bihisht, iv, 219
marches against Afrásiyáb, iv, 220
rejects Afrásiyáb’s over-
tures, iv, 223
fight a general engagement
against Afrásiyáb, iv, 223, 229
entrenches his troops and
prepares with Tús and
Rustam for a night-at-
tack from Afrásiyáb, iv, 224
Kai Khusrau, repulses Afrási-
yáb’s night-attack, iv, 225
defeats Afrásiyáb, iv, 227
receives the submission of
Afrásiyáb’s army, iv, 228
gives a feast, iv, 228
offers praise to God, iv, 228
returns to Gang-bihisht, iv, 228
accepts the submission of the
Khán and Faghfúr, iv, 229
resolves to pursue Afrá-
siyáb to Gang-dizh, iv, 231
plan of, opposed by the host, iv, 231
supported by Rustam, iv, 231
agreed to by the host, iv, 232
sends Gív with Afrásiyáb’s
captive kindred to Kai
Káús, iv, 232 seq.
leaves Gustaham, son of
Naudar, in command at
Gang-bihisht and marches to Chín, iv, 238
demands facilities from the
Khán, the Faghfúr, and
the king of Makrán, iv, 238
marches through Khútan, iv, 240
welcomed by the Faghfúr
and the Khán of Chín, iv, 240
stays three months in Chín, iv, 241
leaves Rustam in Chín and
marches to Makrán, iv, 241
sends an embassy to the
king of Makrán, iv, 241
gives honourable burial to
the king of Makrán, iv, 243
stops the pillage of Makrán, iv, 243
stays a year in Makrán, iv, 244
makes ready a fleet, iv, 244
Kai Khosrau, leaves Ashkash as governor and marches to the desert, iv, 244
voyage of, iv, 245
wonders of, iv, 245
lands, iv, 246
appoints Giv governor, iv, 249
receives the submission of the chiefs, iv, 247
seeks for tidings of Gang-dizh and of Ahrāsiyāb, iv, 247
marches to Gang-dizh, iv, 247
forbids his troops to injure Gang-dizh, iv, 247
enters Gang-dizh, iv, 248
searches for Ahrāsiyāb, iv, 248
remains a year at Gang-dizh, iv, 249
urged by his paladins to return to Iran, iv, 249
appoints a governor for Gang-dizh, iv, 249
distributes treasures at Gang-dizh, iv, 250
marches seaward from Gang-dizh, iv, 250
welcomed by Giv, iv, 250
crosses the sea to Makrān, iv, 251
welcomed in Makrān by Ashkash and the chiefs, iv, 251
appoints a governor for Makrān, iv, 251
marches to Chin, iv, 251
welcomed by Rustam, iv, 251
confirms the Faghfūr and Khān in the possession of Māchin and Chin, iv, 252
goes with Rustam to Siyāwushgird, iv, 252
rewards Rustam and Giv, iv, 252
welcomed by Gustaham, son of Naudār, iv, 252
goes to Gang-bihisht, iv, 253
Kai Khosrau, prays for satisfaction on Afrāsiyāb, iv, 253
dwells for a year in Gang-bihisht, iv, 254
desires to return to Kai Kaus, iv, 254
leaves Gustaham, son of Naudār, as viceroy, iv, 254
carries off treasure from Chin and Makrān, iv, 254
arrives at Chāch, iv, 255
Sughd, iv, 255
met by Khūzān and Tālimān, iv, 255
makes offerings to the Fire-temple at Būkhārā, iv, 255
crosses the Jihān, iv, 255
arrives at Bālkh, iv, 255
welcomed everywhere by the people, iv, 255
goes by Tālikān, the Marv-rūd, Nishāpūr, and Dām-ghān to Rai, iv, 255
stays two weeks at Rai, iv, 256
announces his approach to Kai Kaus, iv, 256
goes to Baghdad and thence to Pārs, iv, 256
reception of, by Kai Kaus, iv, 256
presents gifts, and tells his adventures, to Kai Kaus, iv, 257
has a feast given in his honour by Kai Kaus, iv, 257
rewards the troops, iv, 258
takes counsel with Kai Kaus concerning Ahrāsiyāb, iv, 258
goes with Kai Kaus on a pilgrimage to the temple of Azargāshasp, iv, 258
Kai Kaus and, hear from Gūdarz of Hūm's adventure with Ahrāsiyāb, iv, 264
Kai Khosrau, and Kai Káús, send for Garsiwaz, and put him to the torture, iv, 265
slays Afrasiyáb, iv, 268
Garsiwaz, iv, 269
Kai Káús and, make thanksgiving before Azargashasp, iv, 269
treasurer of, makes gifts to Azargashasp, iv, 269
sends letters announcing his triumph to all the chiefs, iv, 270
holds festival and bestows treasure, iv, 270
goes with Kai Káús in state to the temple of Azargashasp, iv, 270
performs the obsequies of Kai Káús, iv, 271
assumes the crown as sole Shah, iv, 272
becomes world-weary, iv, 272
shuts up his court and withdraws to his oratory, iv, 274
prays that he may be taken from the world, iv, 274
passes a week in prayer, iv, 274, 279
remonstrated with by the nobles, iv, 275, 279
replies to the nobles, iv, 276, 279
passes five weeks in prayer, iv, 280
hears from Surísh that his prayer is granted, iv, 280
bids him appoint Luhrásp as his successor, iv, 281
puts off his royal robes, iv, 281
receives Zál, Rustam, and others in audience, iv, 283 seq.
pardons Zál, iv, 291
orders an assembly to be held on the plain, iv, 291
Kai Khosrau, treasure of, disposal of, iv, 291
found by Sikandar, 170, vi, 179
charge of, to Gúdarz, iv, 294
gifts of, to Giv, Zál, and Rustam, iv, 295
Gustaham, iv, 295
Gúdarz, iv, 295
Faribuz, iv, 295
Bízhan, iv, 295
Zál’s companions, iv, 297
confirms Rustam in possession of Nimruz, iv, 297; v, 203
bestows Kuu and Isphahan on Giv, iv, 298
confirms the charge of Káwa’s flag, and gives Khurásán, to Tús, iv, 300
summons and crowns Luhrásp, iv, 300
Zál’s protest to, against Luhrásp’s succession to, iv, 301
justifies his choice of Luhrásp, iv, 301
takes leave of the Frániáns, iv, 303
women of, lament for him, iv, 304
commends his women to the honour of Luhrásp, iv, 305
dismisses the Frániáns, iv, 305
counsels Luhrásp, iv, 305
bids Luhrásp farewell, iv, 305
sets forth on his pilgrimage with some of his chiefs, iv, 306
Indian parallel, iv, 138
again appealed to by the Frániáns, iv, 306
reply of, iv, 307
bids his chiefs return, iv, 307
rests with his remaining chiefs by a spring, iv, 307
prepares for his passing, iv, 308
farewells his chiefs, iv, 308
Kai Khusrau, warns his chiefs of the coming of the snow, iv. 308

disappears, iv. 308

Kai Kubad, Shah and founder of the Káianián dynasty, 142, i. 42, 373, 374; ii. 3, 8, 12, 14, 19, 18 seq., 20, 23, 34, 39, 37, 87, 143, 144, 249, 290, 270, 274, 327, 339, 393, 399, 394; iii. 34, 49, 51, 57, 144; iv. 35, 70, 149, 168, 201, 283, 298, 302; v. 174, 180, 188, 180, 202, 205, 210, 221, 272; vi. 197, 210; vii. 37, 74, 115, 120, 173; viii. 80, 170, 200, 270, 310, 332; ix. 25, brought by Rustam from Mount Alburz, i. 382 seq. tells his dream to Rustam, i. 385

accepted by Zal and the other chiefs as Sháh, i. 387

Reign of, 142, ii. 11

Note on, ii. 11

origin of, ii. 11 and note

makes peace with Afrásiyáb, ii. 20

gifts of, to Zal and Rustam, ii. 21

descendants of, commanded by Diláfrúz, stationed on Kai Khusrau's left hand, iv. 147

Kai Manush, vi. 200

Kai Pashín, son of Kai Kubad, ii. 3, 23, 204, 205; iv. 392

Kais, Arab chief, entertains Khusrau Parwiz, viii. 250

Kaiser Friedrich Museum, viii. 192

Kait. See Kaid.

Kai Ufi, vi. 200

Kaiwán, Kánián statistician, vii. 11

Kaiwán, calculates the arrears of taxes, vii. 11

Kákula, Túrání hero, iv. 188

reinforces Afrásiyáb, iv. 188

Kákwi (f. Karkwi), grandson of Záhhák, 141, i. 226

attacks the Túrians, i. 225

defeated and slain by Minú-chihr, i. 227

Kaláhúr, warrior of Mázandarán, ii. 67

tries a handgrip with Rustam, ii. 67

Kalát, stronghold, iii. 39; ix. 91

home of Farúd, iii. 39

Kai Khusrau bids Tús to avoid, iii. 39

Tús marches to, iii. 40

captured by the Túrians, iii. 66

Kalát-i-Nádirí, stronghold, ii. 180; iii. 14

described, iii. 14

Kalé (Nereis), daughter of Alexander in the Pseudo-Callisthenes, vi. 77

Andreas, the cook, and legend of, vi. 77

Kalila and Dimna, Book of, 169. See Fables of Bidpai.

Kálíniyus (Nicephorium, Callinicus, Warígh q.v., Rakka), city situated at the junction of the Belikh and the Euphrates, 167, vii. 188

taken by Núshírwán, vii. 218, 257

Kalú, mountain in Túrán, ii. 3281

Pírám sends Kai Khusrau to be brought up on, ii. 328

goes to see Kai Khusrau at, ii. 329

Kalús, Rúmani chief, iv. 356

sent as envoy to Ilyás, iv. 354, 358

Luhrásp, iv. 357

entertained by Luhrásp, iv. 357

1 Misprinted "Kalar"
GENERAL INDEX

Kálús, describes Gushtásp to Luhrásp, iv, 358

dismissed with honour, iv, 159


Story of, of Kashán, 148, iii, 168 seq.

Firdausí on, iii, 260

comes to the aid of Pirán, iii, 151

plan of campaign of, adopted, iii, 162

leads the attack, iii, 168

hears of the coming of Rustam, ii, 175

Rustam described by Firdausí to, iii, 183

challenges Rustam, iii, 187

parleys with Rustam, iii, 188

fights, and is taken prisoner by, Rustam, iii, 189

end of, iii, 190

Kanábád, mountain, part of the Bínálúd range north of Nishápúr in Khurásán.

The name may be preserved in the modern Gunahád, a village to the north of that range, iv, 23, 37, 47, 48, 51, 55, 56, 76, 88, 112

occupied by Firdausí, iv, 22

Kand. See Kaid.

Kandá Gashasp, Iránian warrior, vii, 103, 122, 103

speech of, vii, 166

Kandaháír, city in southern Afghánistán, i, 280; iv, 65; v, 233 note

Kandake (Candace q.v., Kaidáfa q.v.), vi, 60

Kandaros. See Kaidrásh.

Kandáules. See Kaidrásh.

Kand-i-Shápúr. See Gund-i-Shápúr.

Kangha (Khárázam q.v.), country, ii, 189, 190

Kangláz (Gang-dízíh q.v.), stronghold, ii, 189, 190

Kanír. See Támírásh.

Kännúj (Kamaju), city near the west bank of the Ganges in the division of Agra in the United Provinces of British India, i, 264, 357; ii, 35; iv, 278, 283, 284; v, 257; vi, 64, 207, 352; vii, 115, 119, 123, 128, 129, 141, 137, 345, 386, 390, 393, 425

conquest of, by Mahmúd, i, 99, 100 and note. 113

Sikandar reaches, vi, 110

eriver of, vii, 112 and note, 300

monarch of = Shangul, vii, 140

Bahram Gúr appointed heir to, vii, 143

Karabagh (Arrán), district north of the Aras, i, 9

seat of primitive Fire-worship, i, 56

Karakh-Másháán, town built on the lower Tigris by Ardashír Pápákán, vi, 199, 291

note

Káran, son of Káwa, Iránian hero and the mythical progenitor of a family famous in Ashkánían times, 141, i, 207, 211, 214 seq., 344, 345, 395; ii, 11 seq., 18, 22, 119; iii, 9; iv, 149; vi, 194; viii, 165; ix, 85

takes the Castle of the Álans, i, 223 seq.

reports his success to Minúchínhr, i, 225

commands Naudár’s host, i, 345

tells of his encounter with Afrásíyáb, i, 350

counsels Naudár, i, 353
Karaq, son of Kawa, with Shidūsh and Kishwād, pursues Kurākhān, i, 354. defeats and slays Karmān, i, 354. defeats Wisa, i, 357. meets and defeats Shāmāsās, i, 301. bears to Zay the news of his election as Shāh, i, 370. re-appearance of, in legend, iv, 135, 140. made champion of the host, iv, 140. sent by Kai Khusrau to welcome Shīda, iv, 195. bears Kai Khusrau's answer to Shīda, iv, 198. opposes and defeats Jahn, iv, 178. family, of, vii, 171. glorification of, vii, 179. origin of, vii, 185. rivalry of, with Mihrān, vii, 185. Kāran, mountain, the name given from the above hero to part of the Alburz range which lies between Mount Damīwand and Amul and formed his principality, and that of his descendants as late as and after the Muhammadan conquest, v, 112.

Kashaf (Kasa rūd q.v.), river in north-eastern Khurasan, i, 245, 290
story of the dragon of, i, 296 seq.
Kashan (Kasan, town in Farghana, north of the Jaxartes ?), iii, 108, 151, 170, 177, 180, 181, 188, 192, 204, 207, 224, 237, 242; iv, 189; v, 39; vii, 331, 334
Kāmūs of, Story of, 148, iii 108 seq.
in Tūrán, iii, 108
in Irán, iii, 109
man of—Kāmūs, iii, 189
Kashan, city between Ispahan and Kumi, iii, 109
Kashmar. See Kishmar.
Kashmigan, son of Farrukhzád, ix, 92
Kashmihan, place north-east of Marv, vii, 89
Bahram Gūr's victory at, vii, 90
Sūfarai's victory at, vii, 170
Kashmir, country, i, 113; ii, 271, 338; iii, 35, 152, 237, 251; iv, 14, 60, 65; v, 203; vii, 395, 396, 421
king of, vi, 31
monarch of, entertained by Bahram Gūr, vii, 140 seq.
Kastantaniya (Constantinople), viii, 265
Kastarit. See Kyaxares.
Kaswín. See Kazwín.
Kāt (Káth), one of the two capitals of Khārazm (Gurganj being the other) situated on the right bank of the Oxus, iii, 152
Katāyūn (Nāhīd), daughter of Caesar, wife of Gush tásp, and mother of Asfandiyār, 154, 156, ii, 3; iv, 345; v, iii, 253
referred to, i, 55; v, 205, 249, 252
Katāyūn, eldest daughter of Caesar, iv, 318
Story of, 154, iv, 329, seq.
marriage of, iv, 329, seq.
dreams of Gushtásp, iv, 329, seq.
sees and chooses Gushtásp for her husband, iv, 330
marries Gushtásp, iv, 331
sells a jewel, iv, 332
discovering that Gushtásp is of royal race, iv, 340
persuades Gushtásp to go to the Sports on Caesar's riding-ground, iv, 349
Cesar reproached by Gushtásp for his unkindness to, iv, 350
reconciled to Caesar, iv, 351
referred to, iv, 358
receives gifts from Caesar, iv, 363
sons of, v, 32
counsels Asfandiyār, v, 168, 175
ancestry of, v, 205
Asfandiyār's last message to, v, 249
laments over Asfandiyār, v, 252
consoled by Bishiitan, v, 255
Katīb, Arab chief, vi, 21, 65, 120
Katmāra, Iranian hero, iv, 92
put in command of the right wing, iv, 92
Kāús, Shāh. See Kāi Kāús.
brand-mark of, iii, 291
Kāús, son of Shāh Kubád, vii, 316
Kavārazem (Gurazm q.v.), v, 12
Kāvi (Kāi), ii, 8
Usa, ii, 25
Kāvi (Kavig), v, 14
Kavig (Kāvi), v, 17
meaning of, v, 14
Kāvi Husravah (Kāi Khusrav q.v.), iv, 137, 138
Kāvya Ushana (Kāi Kāús, q.v.), ii, 25
Kāvyan (Kāian), ii, 8
Káwa, the smith, *Ipo*, i, 155 seq.,
207, 214; iv, 105, 175;
vii, 155; viii, 72; ix, 30
Zahhák and Story of, *Ipo*, i,
154 seq.
revolts and goes to Farídún,
i, 157
leads Farídún's van, i, 160
flag of, i, 143, 169, 211, 217,
218, 237, 332; ii, 12, 227,
341, 349, 354, 490, 492,
493, 499, 410; iii, 25, 38,
39, 48, 84, 85, 110, 121,
129, 132, 135 seq., 149,
161; iv, 24, 25, 34, 55,
59, 92, 112, 140, 180, 220,
243, 282, 292, 359; vi,
347; vii, 250; viii, 385;
ix, 30, 97
origin of, i, 157
Bízhan's prowess with, iii,
93
half of, taken by Pirán,
iii, 94
staff of, cloven by Páúl-
dwand, iii, 258
Tüs confirmed in charge
of, by Kai Khusrau, iv,
390
rescued by Girámi, v, 59,69
Káwian, standard, i, 211
Kázirán, town west of Shíráz, vi, 199
Kazwin, city north-west of Tih-
rán, v, 30
Kerátor. See Taimúsh.
Keresás, Keresás, Iránian
er, i, 234, 235, 373; ii, 4
account of, in the Zand-
avasta, i, 172
later development of, i, 174
Keresasvada (Garsiwaz q.v.), ii,
180; iv, 137
Khalaj (Kharlíkh), a Turkish
tribe dwelling north of the
Jaxartes and east of Táchkand, vii, 92
Kálíd, famous Arab general
*temp*. Muhammad, v, 12
begins hostilities against
Persian Empire, ix, 60
Khálid, recalled to lead Syrian
campaign, iv, 66
Khalluk (cf. Khalaj), iv, 10,
156; v, 42, 44, 55, 91, 74,
99, 107, 112, 157, 242, 255
Khán of Chíin, the, *temp*. Kai
Káds, ii, 383
*temp*. Kai Khusrau, i, 48, 149,
iii, 108, 169 seq., 194 seq.,
172, 175 seq., 181, 184,
187, 199 seq., 190, 198 seq.,
205, 207 seq., 215, 217, 221,
222, 229 seq., 235, 241,
242, 251, 254, 259, 268,
320; iv, 60, 135, 238 seq.;
v, 109, 220
Khán of Chíin = Arjásp, v, 47, 51,
72
*temp*. Sikandar, ambassadors
from, come to Dárá, vi, 35
*temp*. Bahram Gúr, 165, vii,
49, 91, 93, 97, 101, 111
invades Irán, vii, 84
responds graciously to the
Iránians' embassage, vii,
88
gives himself up to pleasure
at Marv, vii, 88
fate of, in war with Bahram
Gúr, vii, 5, 90
crown of, placed in a Fire-
temple, vii, 95
Khúishmawáz, son of, vii,
105
*temp*. Núshírwán, 168, vii, 186,
328 seq.; viii, 43, 52, 87,
80, 97 seq.
daughter of, married to
Núshírwán, 168, vii, 213,
357
historically ruler of the
Turks, vii, 317
relations of, with Núshí-
wrán, vii, 88
the Haitálians, vii, 317,
328 seq.
embassy of, to Núshírwán,
vi, 329
hears of the destruction of
his embassy by the Hái-
tálians, vii, 330
Khán of Chín, leads forth his troops, vii, 330
defeats the Haitólians, vii, 332
Núshírwán takes counsel about, vii, 333, 334
descent of, from Afrásíyáb and Arjásp, vii, 334.
Núshírwán writes to, vii, 337
purposes to invade Frán, vii, 337
hears of Núshírwán's advance, vii, 338
takes counsel, vii, 338
sends embassy to Núshírwán, vii, 339
hears his envoy's account of Núshírwán, vii, 344
offers to make affinity with Núshírwán, vii, 345
attempts to outwit Núshírwán, vii, 351
gives audience to Míhrán Sitád, vii, 351
invites Míhrán Sitád to choose a wife for Núshírwán, vii, 352
consults the astrologers, vii, 354
trusts his daughter to Míhrán Sitád, vii, 354
gives presents to Míhrán Sitád, vii, 356
parts with his daughter at the Jihún, vii, 350
dughter of, 168
described, vii, 352, 357.
evacuates territory, vii, 358
Khán of Chín (see too Parmúda), temp, Hurmuzd, Khúsrau Parwiz, and Yazdagird, 171, 173, viii, 141 seq., 190, 191, 204, 215, 220, 263 seq., 309, 316 seq., 314 seq., 349 seq., 351, 352, 359, 357, 363; ix, 87, 102
supposed war of, with Hurmuzd, viii, 72
Khán of Chín, marriage of daughter of, with Núshírwán referred to, viii, 72
letter of, viii, 77
dismissed by Hurmuzd with gifts, viii, 152
refuses advances of Bahrám Chúbína, viii, 153
becomes friends with Bahrám Chúbína, viii, 172
brother of, 173, viii, 190, 191
reports flight of Gúrdýa, viii, 351
ordered to go in pursuit, viii, 351
parley of, with Gúrdýa, viii, 352
daughter of, viii, 190
killed by lion-ape, 173, viii, 342, 324
queen of, viii, 190
asks Bahrám Chúbína to avenge her daughter, viii, 324
disgraced, viii, 344
welcomes Bahrám Chúbína, viii, 316
swears friendship with Bahrám Chúbína, viii, 317
dominated by Makátúra, viii, 317
advised by Bahrám Chúbína to slight Makátúra, viii, 318
views fight between Bahrám Chúbína and Makátúra, viii, 320
sends gifts to Bahrám Chúbína, viii, 321
refuses to give up Bahrám Chúbína, viii, 329
distrust Bahrám Chúbína, viii, 334
impress of seal of, obtained by Khrárd, viii, 338
burns Kúlún's kindred, viii, 334
seeks in vain for Khrárd, viii, 344
mourns for Bahrám Chúbína, viii, 344
GENERAL INDEX

Khán of Chín, brother of, 173
Khánagí, Rúman noble, viii, 375, 378
Khan of Chin, brother of, 77
Bizhan, ix, 97
Khánagí, Rúman noble, viii, 375, 378
Khanjast (Chijast, Urumiah), lake in Azarbaiján, iv, 130, 204; viii, 282
Khar (Khuvar) of Rai, district and town (now Aradun), so called to distinguish it from a town of the same name in Párs, situated south-east of Tihrán, i, 308, 374, 381
Kharazm (Khiva), country, ii, 180, 190; iv, 11, 12, 15, 60, 61, 72, 157, 173, 180, 287; vi, 72; vii, 238, 359
Kharazmians, people, ii, 190; vi, 72
Kharijites, Muhammadan sect, i, 13
Kharrád, Iránian hero, i, 365: ii, 11, 22, 33, 73, 340; iii, 115, 127, 139, 211, 273, 289; iv, 15
Kharrád, nonce name assumed by Astandiyár, v, 149, 149
Kharrád, temp. Ardshír Pápakán, Iránian warrior, 161, vi, 284
takes Ardawán prisoner, vi, 223
temp. Bahram Gúr, Iránian chief, vi, 85
temp. Khubád son of Pirúz, archmage, vii, 207
temp. Núshírwán = (?), the above, vii, 251
Kharrád, sacred Fire, vi, 212 and note, 220, 391
Kharrád, bower of, vii, 83
Kharrád, son of Barzín (Hurmuzd Garábzín or Galábzín), 171-173, viii, 74, 76, 158 seq., 205, 225, 257 seq., 290, 270, 331 seq., 381; ix, 4, 11, 12, 24
sent by Hurmuzd as envoy to Sáwa, viii, 110
beguiles Sáwa and flees, vii, 111
flight of, reported to Sáwa, viii, 112
counsels Bahram Chúbína, viii, 121
seeks refuge, vii, 123
counts Iránian slain, vii, 127
blames and counsels Bahram Chúbína for his behaviour to Parmáda, viii, 144, 146
questions Bahram Chúbína on his adventure with the onager, viii, 158
flees from Balkh with archscribe, viii, 159
makes report of Bahram Chúbína to Hurmuzd, viii, 160
real name of, viii, 190
waits on Khusráu Parwíz, viii, 252
speech of, to Caesar, viii, 259, 275
masters Caesar's talismans, viii, 211, 275
Cesar's gift to, viii, 278
praised by Cesar, viii, 279
made chief minister, viii, 314
speech of, to Khán, viii, 332
attempts to prejudice Bahram Chúbína to the Khán, viii, 333
intrigues against Bahram Chúbína, viii, 334 seq.
cures daughter of queen of Chín, viii, 336
incites Khúlún to kill Bahram Chúbína, viii, 337
asks boon of queen of Chín, viii, 338
GENERAL INDEX

Khâraz, returns to Irân and is rewarded, vii, 345
reads out Caesar’s letter to Khusrâw Parwiz, viii, 370
end of, ix, 4
chosen to visit Khusrâw Parwiz at Tâsafûn, ix, 9
Ashtâd and, parley with Gâlinush, ix, 11
visit Khusrâw Parwiz, ix, 12
report to Shîrwî, ix, 27
Khârád, Irâniân general, defeats Khazar, vii, 96
Khârád, father of Hurmuzd, ix, 102
Khashâsh, Tûrâniân hero, v, 47
made leader of the van, v, 46
Khatâ (Cathay), northern China, ii, 357
Khatlan (Khattal), a general name for the non-Muslim
madan regions to the north and east of Khurâ-
sân (=Haitál), more specifically a district on the
right bank of the upper Oxus west of, or
forming part of, Badakh-
shân, iii, 218, 228; iv, 65; vii, 94, 331, 359
Khâtún, consort of the Khân of
Chín, vii, 5
fate of, in war with Bahram
Gûr, vii, 5
Khâwar, the West or Khurâ-
sân (?), perhaps=Khâr
g. v., iv, 147, 148. Cf.
Kâran (mountain).
Khazar, Khazars, region and
people north of the Cau-
casus, i, 17; ii, 285; iv, 71, 316, 352 seq., 358, 361; vii, 83, 214, 224; vii, 94, 377, 379
invasion of, viii, 72, 93
defeated, viii, 99
Khazarwân, Tûrâniân hero, 142
Shamâsas and, invade Zâbu-
listân, i, 345, 358
Khazarwân parleyed with by
Mihráb to gain time, i, 358
slain by Zâl, i, 360; ii, 18
Khazarwân, temp. Bahram Gûr,
king of Gilân, vii, 85
takes the Khan prisoner,
vii, 90
Khazarwân, Irâniân noble, temp.
Khusrâw Parwiz, speech of, viii, 241
Khârzá, treasure, viii, 406 and
note
Khîlafat, the, i, 12 seq.
Khîlât, robe of honour, i, 82
Khír, place on the south-western
shore of Lake Nirîs in
Pârs, vi, 198
Khîr (Al Khîdr, g. v.), chief and
prophet, vi, 159
goes with Sikander to the
Gloom, vi, 159
parts company with Sikan-
dar, vi, 160
finds the Fount of Life, vi, 160
Khîva (Kharazm), country, ii, 190
Khôrasan. See Khurásân.
Khshâthrá-saoka (Gang-dizh ?),
stronghold, ii, 180, 190
Khudán-nâma (Bástán-Nâma), i, 66; v, 24
Khurásân, province in north-
easteri Irán, 176, ii, 399;
iv, 148, 203; v, 28, 77;
vi, 242, 301; vii, 100,
214, 224, 237, 335; viii,
78, 94, 241, 313, 355, 399;
ix, 50, 60, 87, 88, 92
Narsî made ruler of, vii, 99
governor of, viii, 75
prince of, viii, 173
Mâhwi becomes master of,
ix, 114
Khurásân, chieftain, viii, 241
speech of, vii, 240
Khurásânî. See Mákh.
Khûrdâd, ameshaspenta, i, 88; iii, 287, 328
Khiirdad, month and day, i, 88, 159; vii, 112, 225, 351; viii, 25, 173
Khurm, seat of an oracle, vi, 82
meaning of, vi, 82
oracle of, consulted, vi, 184
Khurra-i-Ardshir. See Ardshir Khurra.
Khurram Abad (Karkh ?), city, vi, 327, 357
and note
Khurshi'd, genius and day, i, 88; v, 92
note
Khurshid, Iranian chief, viii, 270, 296
Piruz advances against, vii, 164
writes to Piruz, vii, 165
appeals to Bahram Gur's treaty, vii, 166
prayer of, to God, vii, 167
digs a trench, vii, 67
defeats Piruz by a feint, vii, 168
correspondence of, with
Safarai, vii, 174 seq.
defeated by Safarai, vii, 177
takes refuge in Kuhandizh, vii, 177
sues for peace, vii, 178
releases Kubad, Ardshir, and other captives, and gives up the spoil, vii, 180
Khusrau, Shah. See Kai Khusrau.
Khusrau, Iranian noble, 163, 164, vi, 408
elected Shah in succession to Yazdagird son of Shahpur, vi, 395; vii, 11
proposes that Bahram Gur shall begin the ordeal, vi, 409
does homage to Bahram Gur, vi, 410
honoured by Bahram Gur, vii, 10
Khusrau, father of Khazarwan, viii, 241, 296 (?)
Khusrau Parwiz, son of Hurmuzd, Shah, 171-175, v, 291, 300 note; vi, 3; viii, 71, 74, 170, 173, 174, 181, 182, 101 seq., 216, 304, 309, 310, 334, 335, 342, 358, 397 seq., 395 note, 413 note; ix, 4 seq., 11, 12, 25, 29 note, 30, 31, 33 seq., 38 seq., 45 seq.
horse of, story of, viii, 91
Hurmuzd plots to kill, viii, 174
flees, viii, 175
adherents gather round, viii, 175
swear fealty to, vii, 170
goes to Baghdad, viii, 184
visits Hurmuzd in prison, viii, 185, 198, 230
extensive historical conquests of, viii, 187
materials for reign of, in Shahnma, viii, 187
flight of, historical, from Ctesiphon, viii, 188
affects Christianity in exile, vii, 188
helped on terms by Emperor Maurice, viii, 188
historical campaign of, against Bahram Chubina, viii, 189
visits of, to Fire-temple at Shiz, viii, 190, 283, 307, 312
Nu'man bin Munzir executed by, viii, 190
triumphal arch of, viii, 192
Assurbanipal and, reigns of, compared, vii, 193
fall of, historical account of, viii, 193 seq.
attentions of Heraclius to make peace with, vii, 194, 195
treatment of defeated generals by, viii, 194
Khusrau Parwiz, prediction concerning, viii, 194

Reign of, vii, 196, viii, 180 seq.

Note on, vii, 186 seq.

Hurmuzd’s requests to, viii, 199

spies’ report of Bahram Chubina to, viii, 201

takes counsel, viii, 202

marches to meet Bahram Chubina, viii, 203

interview of, with Bahram Chubina, viii, 204 seq.

attacked by Turk and saved by Gustaham, viii, 220

dissuaded from making a night-attack, viii, 224

troops of, tampered with by Bahram Chubina, viii, 226

sends away his baggage, viii, 228

combat of, with Bahram Chubina, viii, 228, 229

retreats to, and holds, the bridge of Nahrawán, viii, 228

worssts Yalán-sina, viii, 229

flees to Taisafún, viii, 229

counselld by Hurmuzd, viii, 230

prepares to flee, viii, 231

takes refuge in a shrine, viii, 233

arrives at Babil, viii, 249

entertained by Kais, viii, 250

Mihrán Sitád, viii, 251

town of Kársán and, viii, 252

interview of, with Hermit, viii, 254

warned against Gustaham, vii, 255, 256

welcomed by Cæsar, vii, 257

takes up his abode at Warigh, viii, 257

instructs his embassy to Cæsar, vii, 257

Cæsar offers daughter to, viii, 266

Khusrau Parwiz, accepts Cæsar’s offer, viii, 269, 270

welcomes Niyátús and Maryam, viii, 280

marches to Dúk, viii, 282

Mausil and, viii, 283

returns to Dúk, viii, 284

Dárâ Panáh goes over to, viii, 286

forges letter to Bahram Chubina, viii, 286

sends corpse of Kút to Cæsar, viii, 291

decides to fight without Rúman help, viii, 292, 293

arrays his host, viii, 293

resolves to fight in person, viii, 295

bodyguard of, viii, 296

leaves Bahram in charge of host, viii, 296

flees from Bahram Chubina, viii, 298

saved by Surúsh, viii, 299

returns to Niyátús and Maryam, viii, 299

suspected of Christian tendencies, viii, 308

gives banquet to Niyátús and Rúmans, viii, 309

restores captured cities to Rúm, viii, 312

makes Kharrád, son of Barzín, chief minister, viii, 314

proclamation of, viii, 314

demands extradition of Bahram Chubina, viii, 328

advised to send envoy to Khan, viii, 329

resolves to put Bandwi to death, viii, 354

summons Gustaham, viii, 355

hears of Gurdya’s doings, viii, 356, 358

writes to Gurdya viii, 359

hears of the death of Gustaham, viii, 362

welcomes Gurdya to court, viii, 362
Khusrau Parwiz, Gardya dresses up to please, viii, 393
warned by Shirin against Gardya, viii, 394
makes Gardya overseer of royal bower, viii, 394
oppresses Rai, viii, 395
relieves Rai, viii, 398
organizes the realm, viii, 399 seq.
puts to death adherents of Bandwi and Gustaham, viii, 376
consults astrologers on birth of Shirwii, viii, 372
grieved at Shirwii’s horoscope, viii, 372
consults the high priest, viii, 372
writes to Caesar, viii, 373
Cesar’s embassy to, viii, 374
gives Caesar’s gifts to Shirwii, viii, 381
presents to Khánagí, viii, 382
and Shirin, ix, 7
Story of, 174, viii, 382 seq.
equipage of, for the chase, viii, 384
married to Shirin, viii, 386
justifies his marriage, viii, 388
gives gilded chamber to Shirin, viii, 389
displeased with Shirwii, viii, 390
and throne of Tákús, viii, 391 seq.
palace of, story of, viii, 400 seq.
Farghán and, viii, 401 seq.
imprisons Kúman artificers, viii, 402
releases Kúman artificers, viii, 403
treasures of, viii, 406
Guráz intrigues against, viii, 408
device of, against Guráz and Caesar, viii, 409
Khusrau Parwiz sends Farrukhzhád to the host, viii, 412
hears Kúríd proclaimed Shah, viii, 416
arms and hides in garden, viii, 417
palace of, plundered viii, 418
discovered, viii, 419
holds talk with Farrukhzhád, viii, 420
recalls former presage, viii, 420
imprisoned, viii, 421
duration of reign of, viii, 421
charges against, ix, 4, 5, 6, 10
reply of, to charges, ix, 5, 14 seq.
Haram of, ix, 4, 5
last days of, Theophanes’ account of, ix, 6
Shirwii’s treatment of, ix, 7
sens of, executed, ix, 7, 33
imprisoned at Taisafiin, ix, 9
companioned by Shirin, ix, 29
Bárbad visits, ix, 29
laments over, ix, 30
steed of, ix, 30
son of, ix, 31
referred to, ix, 33 and note
kingdom of Híra abolished by, ix, 66
Muhammad’s letter to, ix, 66
Khusrau and Shirin, Persian poem, viii, 102
Khusrau, father of Pirúz, 175, vii, 44, 49, 48, 49, 51, 57
Khusrau, a miller, 176, ix, 99
See Miller.
Khutan, town and district in eastern Turkistan, 146, 150, ii, 277, 288, 325, 357, 383; iii, 107, 242, 247; iv, 20, 210; vii, 84, 113, 330, 334, 350
Khutan, raided by Giv, iii, 247
monarch of, iv, 11
Atrasiyab, iv, 230
Kai Khusrau marches
through, iv, 210
people of, make submission
to Nushirwan, vii, 360
Khuzá' Arab tribe, vi, 65
rule of, ended by Sikandar, vi, 120
Khúzán, a king of Párs, iv, 146, 191
meets Kai Khusrau in
Sughd, iv, 255
Khúzians, people of Khúzistán,
q.v., iv, 146
Khúzistán (Susiana, 'Arabistán),
province at the head of the
Persian Gulf, vi, 290
and note, 208, 327, 357; viii, 199 and note, 193
annexed by Arabs, ix, 68
Khuza', treasure, ix, 20
Khvaitúk-das, i, 60
Catullus on, i, 60
Khýons (Hyyaonas), v, 13, 25
Kibchák, region east of the
Jaxates and north of Tásh-
kand, iv, 254; ix, 93
Kibtís, vi, 397 and note
Kimák, a river in Kibchák, iv,
203, 231
Kimmerians, the, i, 17
Kinám-i-Asrán, near to, or
identical with, the ruins of
Shús (Sús, Susa), vi, 327,
357 and note
King, the ideal, iii, 16
of kings, title of, vi, 193, 197
meaning of, in Achaemenian
and Parthian
times, vii, 198
assumed by Ardashir Pápa-
kán, vi, 193, 199, 254,
258, 273
of the Commons, vii, 3
piece in chess, vii, 382, 385
position of, vii, 388, 422
check to, vii, 422
mate to, vii, 423
piece in nard, vii, 382, 389
Kings, Book of, Firdausi's, i, 43
Persian, viii, 73
Tribal. See Tribal.
Kirmán, region in southern Irán,
158, iv, 149; vi, 31, 47,
57, 59, 199, 202, 205, 245,
252; vii, 214; viii, 313
Dará retires to, vi, 46
etymology of, vi, 204, 236
Ardshir Pápakán's invasion
of, vi, 205, 245
Kirmánsháh, title, vi, 313, 368
Kirmánsháh, city between Bagh-
dád and Hamadán, vii,
187; viii, 192
Kirmánsháhán, city in Kírmán,
south of Yazd, vi, 368
Kirwán (Karwán, district north
of Jaxartes?), ix, 93
Kirwí, Iranian noble, vii, 23
story of, vii, 22
Kishmar, place south of Nishá-
púr in the Kuhistán dis-
trict of Khurásán, v, 35
Cypress of, v, 27
account of, v, 28, 34
Gushtásp and, v, 34
Kishwád, Iranian hero, father
of Gúdarz, 151, i, 207,
344, 395; ii, 4, 11, 12,
18, 22, 33, 70, 73, 107, 112,
138, 318, 384, 390, 494,
499; iii, 19, 24, 33, 45,
100, 121, 123, 126, 143,
154, 187, 215, 280, 302,
305, 308, 311, 327, 339;
iv, 20, 32, 35, 63, 147,
174, 180, 203, 294, 310,
360, viii, 104
Káran, Shídúsh, and, pursue
Kurúkhán, i, 354
sent by Záh to release the
Iránian captives, i, 367
Kishwaristán, Iránian hero, iv,
148
commands the troops from
Barbaristán and Ráum, iv,
148
Kisrá, Sháh, 166. See Nushir-
wán.
Kitradád, Nask, i, 373
Knathaiti, Pairika, female personification of idolatry, i, 172
Kobâd, Shâh. See Kûbûd.
Ktesias, Greek historian (5th century B.C.), vi, 105
Gutsmichl on, vi, 105
account of Semiramis in, v, 203
Persica of, v, 203
Kûbûd, Iranian hero, brother of Kâran, 142, i, 207
accepts Barman’s challenge to single combat, i, 347
reply of, i, 347
Kubâd, son of Pîrûz and father of Šûshrûn, Shâh (Kobâd), 166, vi, 3, 208; vii, 179 seq. and note, 226, 247; viii, 25, 49, 72, 108, 190, 245, 295, 285, 312, 369; ix, 22, 25
Kubâd, Shâh. See Kâi Kûbûd.
Kubâd, son of Pîrûz and father of Šûshrûn, Shâh (Kobâd), 166, vi, 3, 208; vii, 179 seq. and note, 226, 247; viii, 25, 49, 72, 108, 190, 245, 295, 285, 312, 369; ix, 22, 25
Kubâd, imprisoned, vii, 184
escapes, vii, 184, 197
marriage of, vii, 184, 190, 198
Kubâd, Shâh. See Kûbûd.
Kubâd, imprisoned, vii, 184
marriage of, vii, 184, 190, 198
Kubâd, Shâh. See Kûbûd.
Kubâd, Shâh. See Kûbûd.
Kubâd, Shâh. See Kûbûd.
Kubâd, Shâh. See Kûbûd.
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Kubâd, Shâh. See Kûbûd.
Kubâd, Shâh. See Kûbûd.
Kubâd, Shâh. See Kûbûd.
GENERAL INDEX

Kubad (Shirwī), secret and public names of, viii, 371, 410
proclaimed Shah, viii, 410
imprisons Khusrav Parwiz, vii, 421
accedes to throne, viii, 421
Reign of, 175, ix, 3
Note on, ix, 3
tragic, ix, 3
pestilence during, ix, 3
boorishness of, ix, 3
difficult situation of, ix, 3
reproached by his sisters, ix, 7
Kubad, son of Jam son of Kubad, vii, 316
plot to make, Shah, vii, 316
Kubard, Turanian hero, iv, 190
commands the left, iv, 190
Kuch, tribe or town (Kūk?) in Kirmān, ii, 220
Kūfa, city west of the Euphrates and in the neighbourhood of Mashad 'Ali (Nedjef), viii, 190; ix, 68, 69
wood of, vi, 381
founded by Sa'ad, ix, 67
Kūh, nonce name assumed by Hūmān, iii, 198
Kuhandizh (Baigand q.v.), vii, 177
Khūshnawaz takes refuge in, vii, 177
Kuhila, Turanian hero, iv, 181
slain by Minūchihr, iv, 181
Kuhistān, generally a mountainous region, particularly that of northern Iran, Parthia, or of the high ranges further south, but in the Shāhmāna=Mā wara'ū'n-Nahr (Transoxania), ii, 190
Kuhram, Turanian hero, 151, ii, 349
chosen to fight with Barta, iv, 97; v, 20
slain by Barta, iv, 105
Kuhram, brother or son of Arjasp, 156, v, 29, 58, 80
Kuhram, commands one wing of the host, v, 40
in chief, v, 90
sent by Arjasp to attack Balkh, v, 100
troops of, storm Balkh, burn the Fire-temple, and slay Zardahsht and the priests, v, 92
stationed on the left, v, 95
mortally wounds Farshidward, v, 95
appointed by Arjasp to send away the spoil of Balkh in the charge of his younger brothers, v, 108
commands the right, v, 110
defeated by Asfandiyār, v, 110
bidden to prepare for war, v, 151
retreats to the Brazen Hold, v, 152
mistakes Bishātan for Asfandiyār, v, 152
hears the cries of the Iranian watch from the Brazen Hold and takes counsel with Andariman, v, 156
makes for the Brazen Hold with his troops, v, 156
pursued by Asfandiyār, v, 156
encountered and taken prisoner by Asfandiyār, v, 157
executed, v, 158 and note
Kujara, city and province on the Persian Gulf, vi, 205, 206, 232
Haftwād migrates from, to stronghold, vi, 235
Kulbad, Turanian hero, brother of Pirān, 146, 151, i, 92, 342; ii, 18, 204, 388; iii, 190, 177, 198, 199, 205, 210, 222, 231, 234, 252; iv, 10, 20
wounded by Zal, i, 361
death and revival of, in legend, ii, 110
Kulbad, pursues Kai Khusrav, ii, 377
chosen to fight with Faribuz, iv, ix,
slain by Faribuz, iv, 99
Kulun, Tūrāman hero, i, 382, 387
sent by Afrāsiyāb to intercept Rustam, i, 383
slain by Rustam, i, 386
Kulun, Turk in league with Kharrad against Bahram Chubina, viii, 335
incited by Kharrad to kill Bahram Chubina, viii, 337
arrives at Marv by help of Khān’s seal, viii, 339
seeks interview with Bahram Chubina, viii, 339
stabs Bahram Chubina, viii, 340
maltreated, viii, 340
kindred of, burnt, viii, 344
Kum, city in ʿIrak Ḥajami, between Tihǎn and Kishān, ii, 390
bestowed on Giv by Kai Kāis, ii, 390
Kai Khusrav, iv, 208
Kumār, city or cape in India, ii, 203 and note
Kundrav, minister of Zahhāk, 140
mythological origin of, i, 143
Faribān and, Story of, 140, i, 104
goes to Zahhāk with tidings of Faribān, i, 105
Kundur, Tūrāman hero, iii, 152, 185, 210, 215, 251; v, 112,
worsted by Rustam, iii, 224 stationed on the right, v, 94
Kunduz (Kuhandiz, Baigand q.v.), iv, 151
Afrāsiyāb encamps at, iv, 151
marches from, iv, 154
Kur (Cyrus), river in Transcaspia flowing into the Caspian sea, v, 13
Kuraish, Arab tribe, vi, 65
Kurākhān, son of Afrāsiyāb, i, 94; iv, 10
counsels Afrāsiyāb, iii, 304 summoned and sent with troops to Bakhara by Afrāsiyāb, iv, 154
joined by Afrāsiyāb, iv, 186 defeated by Gustaham son of Naṣur, iv, 193
defeat of, announced to Afrāsiyāb, iv, 194
Kurākhān, governor of Balkh, viii, 22
Kurān, vi, 65; viii, 277 note; ix, 81 and note quoted, i, 99; v, 109; viii, 42, 102; ix, 81 and note references to Alexander the Great in, vi, 15, 78, 84
legend of Moses and the salt fish in, vi, 77
Gog and Magog in, vi, 78
Kurd, Kurds, the people of Kurdistān q.v., 161, i, 9; vi, 193, 203, 257
language, i, 64
legend of the origin of the, i, 140
Ardshīr Pāpakān’s war with, in Kārnānak, vi, 190, 209, 256
Shāhmāna, vi, 230 seq.
Kurdistan, mountainous region north of Mesopotamia, vi, 330
Kurdzād, daughter of Mihrak q.v.
Kuria Muria Islands, off the southern coast of Arabia, vi, 72
Kurūkhān, Tūrāman warrior, i, 353
sent by Afrāsiyāb to attack Pārs, i, 353
Kurus, Indian tribal race, iv, 388
Kūs, i, 177. See Tammisha.
Kūt, Kūran warrior, 172, viii, 281, 289, 291
slain by Bahram Chubina, viii, 290
Kiit, corpse of, sent back to Rûmans, viii, 291
Kutch (read Kûch g.v.), iii, 31
Kutib, father of Husain (or Ha'y) one of Firdausi's patrons, i, 35; ix, 121
Kyaxares (Kastarit), king or chief and leader in the confederacy that overthrew Nineveh, i, 18

L

Labarum, the, v, 306 note
Ládan (Pashan), battle of, iii, 13 seq., 80 seq., 89 seq., 123; iv, 27, 37, 90, 120, 299
Lagus, Ptolemy son of. See Ptolemy.
Lahhák, Tûránian hero, brother of Pîrân, 152, i, 92; ii, 323 note; iii, 90, 166, 198; iv, 7, 71, 122, 125, 133, 160, 162
summons Pîrân to save Farangîs, ii, 322
pursues the Íránians to Mount Hamawan, iii, 135
commands with Farshíward the right wing, iv, 26
attacks the Íránians in flank, iv, 82
opposed by Gurgin, iv, 83
goes to help Pîrân and attacks Giv, iv, 85
prowess of, iv, 86
put in chief command with Farshíward, iv, 94
Pîrân's instructions to, iv, 95
Farshíward and, hear of the death of Pîrân and the coming of Kâi Khusrâu, iv, 112
lament for Pîrân, iv, 112
take counsel with the host, iv, 113
fight, and escape from, Íránian outpost, iv, 116

Lahhák, Farshíward and, referred to, iv, 118, 120, 126
repose themselves, iv, 121
corpses of, brought back by Bizhân, iv, 120, 132
deaths of, announced to Afrâsiyáb, iv, 152
Lambak, a water-carrier, 164
entertains Bahrâm Gûr, vii, 13 seq.
rewarded by Bahrâm Gûr, vii, 20
Land of Darkness. See Gloom.
Land-tax, Mahmûd's remission of, vi, 196, 208
Nûshirwân's reform of, vii, 215, 225
Latin version, early, of Pseudo-Callisthenes. See Julius Valerius.
Laundèrer, a, foster-father of Dâráb, 158, v, 292
finds Dâráb in the Farât, v, 296
Dâráb adopted by, and his wife, v, 297
quits his home with wife and Dâráb and settles elsewhere, v, 298
becomes wealthy but sticks to trade, v, 298
perturbed at Dâráb's youthful escapades, v, 298
brings up Dâráb to be a cavalier, v, 299
Dâráb's lack of natural affection for, v, 300
wife of, informs Dâráb of his case, v, 300
Rashnâwâd sends for, and his wife, v, 304
informed by, of the case of Dâráb, v, 308
visits, with his wife, Dâráb at his accession, v, 311
dismissed with gifts, v, 312
Lâzhawârdî, fort, ix, 93
Lazica, region on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, vii, 215; viii, 194
Lazic war, renewed by Hurmuz, viii, 70
Bahram Chubina defeated in, vii, 70
Leo, constellation, ii, 405; iii, 81, 318; vi, 172, 180; vii, 410; viii, 122, 394
Libra, constellation, i, 310; vi, 97
Life, Fount of. See Fount. Water of, 160. Id.
Plutarch’s, of Alexander the Great, vi, 67
Lion, lions, slain by Rakhs, 143.
i, 45
Asfandiyar, 156, v, 125
Bahram Gur, 163-165, vii, 55, 77
-ape, 173, vii, 322 seq.
Lion’s House, constellation of Leo, i, 168
Lion’s Mouth, the place, iv, 245
Loadstone, chamber of, viii, 275
suspended cavalier in, viii, 475
Longimanus (Dirazdast), title of Artaxerxes I, son of Xerxes, v, 281
Lucerne (Medicago sativa), tax on, vii, 215
Luch, perhaps = Kuch q.v., vii, 392
captives from, settled at Sursan, vii, 328
Luhrasp, Shah, 154, 155, i, 42.
i, 3, 9; iv, 57, 65, 135, 337, 347, 350 seq.; v, 10, 20, 21 and note, 20, 29, 30, 33, 64, 68, 80, 87, 90 seq., 98 seq., 104, 114, 141, 154, 155, 157, 159, 160, 167, 171, 180, 183, 205, 208, 243, 255, 281, 284; vi, 55, 200; viii, 95, 118, 213, 270, 392; ix, 194
sent to the Alans by Kai Khusrau, iv, 14
Luhrasp, successes of, iv, 60, 71
troops of, recalled, iv, 145
omitted by Surush to be Kai Khusrau’s successor, iv, 281
rowned by Kai Khusrau, iv, 300
Zal’s protest against the succession of, iv, 301
succession of, justified by Kai Khusrau, iv, 301
acknowledged by Zal, iv, 302
the chiefs, iv, 303
undertakes to respect Kai Khusrau’s wives, iv, 305
consulted and farewellled by Kai Khusrau, iv, 306
addresses the chiefs, iv, 311
receives the fealty of Zal and other chiefs, iv, 312
praises and rewards Zal, iv, 312
coronation of, iv, 312
Reign of, 154, iv, 314 seq.
Note on, iv, 314 seq.
harangues the chiefs, iv, 316
makes Balkh his capital, iv, 317
builds the Fire-temple of Barzin, iv, 318
shows favour to the grandsons of Kai Kaüs, iv, 318, 321 seq.
refuses to appoint Gush-tasp his heir, iv, 319
sends Zarir in pursuit of Gush-tasp, iv, 320
pardons Gush-tasp, iv, 322
hears of Gush-tasp’s flight, iv, 323
consults Zarir and the sages, iv, 323
searches in vain for Gush-tasp, iv, 324
receives Kahlus, Caesar’s envoy, in audience, iv, 357
entertains Kahlus, iv, 357
consults Zarir, iv, 358
questions Kahlus, iv, 358
Luhrasp, dismisses Kâlûs with honour, iv, 359
sends Zarîr with other chiefs on a mission to Rûm, iv, 359
message of, to Caesar, iv, 361, welcomes and crowns Gush-
tâsp on his return to Frân, iv, 364
resigns the throne to Gush-
tâsp and becomes a devotee, v, 31
converted by Zarduhsht, v, 33
advises Gushtasp to resign the kingship to Asfan-
diyar, v, 66
opposes Kuhram, v, 91
slain, v, 91, 93, 99
Asfandiyar’s vow to avenge, V, 103
Lumsden, his edition of the Shahnama, i, 76
Luna. See Moon.

M

Ma, Hittite goddess, vi, 71
=Cybele, vi, 71
priestesses of= Amazons, vi, 71
Macan, his edition of the Shâh-nâma, i, 76; vi, 66
Mace, Faridun’s, i, 161, 163, 165, 168
the making of, i, 158
Macedonia, vi, 81, 82
Macedonian invasion of the East, vi, 68, 69
Mâchín (China), ii, 357 note, 370, 394; iii, 46, 253, 295; iv, 151, 203, 229, 231, 234, 252; v, 142, 145; viii, 417; ix, 107
Machine, flying, of Kai Kâûs, ii, 103
Macrianus, Praetorian prefect, vi, 294
treachery of, to Valerian, vi, 294

M’Crindle, Ancient India of, quoted, vi, 68, 80
Madâ. See Medes.
Madâ’in, Ctesiphon (Taisafûn), and the neighbouring cities, 167, 174, vii, 201, 244, 269, 272, 337, 363; viii, 4, 46, 102, 193
Nûshirwân sends his Rûman captives to, vii, 259
palace of Khusrau Parwiz, story of, viii, 400
Mâdik, king of the Kurds, meaning of, vi, 203, 256
Madôryal, mountain, part of the Alburz range, southeast of the Caspian, v, 30
Magi, priests of the Medes (Madâ), i, 9; ii, 190; vi, 372, 373; vii, 171, 184
preservers of tradition, i, 56, 60
meaning of name, i, 56 and note
rise to power of, i, 58
influence of, declines after the Greek conquest, i, 59
principal seats of, i, 60
literature of, i, 61
language of, i, 64
compile the prose Shâh-
nâma for Abû Mansûr, i, 69
advocates of next-of-kin marriage, ii, 189
Magian, Magians, vii, 60
chant, vii, 60
fire, vii, 409
Magic, i, 51
derivation of, i, 56
sympathetic, i, 8
Magism, v, 11
Magog. See Gog.
Magephonia, import of, i, 59
Magnus. See Magi.
Mahâbharata, Indian Epic, iii, 8; iv, 316; vi, 31, 80
the passing of the five Pândavas in, compared with that of Kai Khusrâu, iv, 138

Macedonian invasion of the East, vi, 68, 69
Mâchín (China), ii, 357 note, 370, 394; iii, 46, 253, 295; iv, 151, 203, 229, 231, 234, 252; v, 142, 145; viii, 417; ix, 107
Machine, flying, of Kai Kâûs, ii, 103
Macrianus, Praetorian prefect, vi, 294
treachery of, to Valerian, vi, 294
Mahārīd, grandmother of Minūhīr, i, 205
Mahārīd, daughter of Tūr, iv, 301
Mahārīd, daughter of Barzin, vii, 53
married to Bahrām Gūr, vii, 53
Mahārīz, scribe, viii, 81
Mahān, Iranian noble, v, 260, 263
Mahbiid (Meboš), minister of Kubād and Nūshirwān, 158; vii, 213
instrumental in making Nūshirwān Shāh, vii, 319
Nūshirwān’s treasurer, vii, 319
sons of, vii, 319
serve Nūshirwān’s meals, vii, 319, 321
wife of, prepares Nūshirwān’s food, vii, 321, 322
envied by Zūrān, vii, 319
fall of, vii, 317, 322
Nūshirwān’s repentance with regard to, vii, 317, 325
Mahā-i-Azāda Khū, wife of Tūr, i, 188
meaning of, i, 188 note
Mahīyār, minister of Dārā, murders Dārā, vi, 52
tells Sikandar of the murder, vi, 52
arrested by Sikandar, vi, 53
executed, vi, 50, 88
Mahīyār, Iranian noble, vii, 38
praises Bahrām Gūr, vii, 38
Mahīyār, a jeweller, 164, vii, 55 seq.
daughter of. See Ārzū.
entertains Bahrām Gūr, vii, 59 seq.
Mahmūd, Sultan (A.D. 999-1030), i, 100; iii, 15; vii, 24
account of, i, 21
brothers of, i, 21, 114
Firdausi’s praise of, 139, 152, 155, 156, 160, 161; i, 29 seq., 112 seq.; iv, 135 seq., 139; v, 30, 89, 118, 202; vi, 20, 107, 270, 292, 370; vii, 277; ix, 319
Firdausi’s feeling against, i, 33; vi, 62, 92 seq and note
Satire on, i, 23, 40 seq.
alleged ill treatment by, i, 33, 30 seq.; vii, 43
alleged repentance of, i, 45; iv, 8
occasion of, iv, 8
approves of Firdausi’s version of the light between Rustam and Ashikabūs, iii, 109
remission of the land-tax by, vi, 180, 208
Mahraspand, father of Ādarbād, v, 16 note
Mahrwi, viii, 248
Māhwi (=Shāhwī ?), one of Firdausi’s authorities, i, 67; vii, 382
Māhwi, Persian chief, 176, ix, 70, 74, 89, 95, 97, 100 seq., 118
described, ix, 87
Farrukhzād entrusts Yazdagird to, ix, 95
accepts charge of Yazdagird, ix, 96
becomes disaffected to Yazdagird, ix, 96
writes to Bizhan, ix, 96, 116
betrays Yazdagird, ix, 97, 98, 110, 117
quest of, for Yazdagird, ix, 100
has tidings of Yazdagird, ix, 101
consults his warriors, ix, 106
son of, counsels, ix, 107
receives Balkh and Harāt, ix, 115
governor of Marv, ix, 120
put to death with his sons, ix, 120
sends miller to slay Yazdagird, ix, 107, 110
Máhwi, sends troops after miller with instructions, ix, 107
troops of, strip corpse of Yazdagird, ix, 108
hears of death of Yazdagird, ix, 108
bids miller throw corpse of Yazdagird into stream, ix, 108
slays monks, ix, 113
consults his intimates and minister, ix, 113
advised by his minister, ix, 113
claims the throne on false pretences, ix, 114
becomes master of Khurasan, ix, 114
evil rule of, ix, 114
makes war on Bizhan, ix, 115
conduct of, to Barsám, ix, 117
crosses Oxus and camps at Baigand, ix, 118
flees, ix, 118
overtaken by Barsám, ix, 118
captured by Barsám, ix, 119
put to death by Bizhan, ix, 120
Mai, city in Turkistan, i, 252, 256, 261; iv, 278, 284; vii, 91, 334, 385, 421
Mai, king of Hind, vii, 395, 396, 399, 401, 403, 404
Maidan, riding-ground, i, 83
Maidhyo-maungha, cousin and first convert to Zardusht, v, 17
Mail of Siyáwush, iii, 58, 60, 61, 69, 81; iv, 40, 41, 44, 45, 51
referred to, iv, 42, 43
Maishán (Mesene), a small state on the lower Tigris, vi, 109
Májúj (Magog), 160. See Yájúj.
Makátúra, Turkman chief, i, 73, vii, 317
dominates the Khán, vii, 418
Makátúra, slighted by the Khán, viii, 318
challenges Bahrám Chúbína, viii, 319
fight of, with Bahrám Chúbína, viii, 320
Mákh, vii, 71, 78
Makhzám, place, 93
Makná Bád, city, iii, 109
Makrán (Gedrosia, Balúchistán),
country on the shore of the Arabian Sea, ii, 80, 182, 202, 397; vii, 390; viii, 303, 417
king of, 153, iv, 238 seq.
refuses facilities to Kai Khusráu, iv, 239, 242
buried by Kai Khusráu, iv, 243
Kai Khusráu marches upon, iv, 241
stops pilage of, iv, 243, 244
prepares a fleet in, iv, 244
sails for Gang-dizh from, iv, 245
returns to, iv, 251
goes to Chin from, iv, 251
Alexander the Great’s return by, productive of marvels, vi, 69
etymology of, vi, 69
Malcolm, Sir John, identification and description of Mount Sipand by, i, 230; v, 30
version of Suhráb by, ii, 118
on the scene of the death of Bahram Gúr, vii, 6
Málíka, daughter of Táir, vi, 3, 324
legend of, vi, 323, 330 seq.
offers to betray her father’s stronghold to Shápúr, vi, 331
makes the garrison drunk, vi, 333
opens the gate to Shápúr, vi, 333
Mahka, goes to Shapur's camp, vi. 333
Manigomian, Armenian family, viii. 188
Mamun, Khadfa, i, 14; vii. 382, 430
Man, the First (Gaumart q.v.), i. 5
on the nature of, 139, i. 104
of Sigz (Rustam), ii. 100 and note
Man, weight, i. 299 and note; vii. 148 and note, 314, 399
Manachihr, i. 200 note
Manda, nomads, i. 18
confused with the Madâ (Medes), i. 18; vi. 104
empire of the—empire of the Medes, ii. 191
Mandane, daughter of Astyages, ii. 190
=Farangis in legend, ii. 191
Mandanes (Dandamis, Kait, Kainhan, Kand, Kaid, q.v.), vi. 61
Onesicritus and, vi. 61
identical with Kaid, vi. 62
Man, heresarch, 163, ii. 19 note; v. 118 and note; vi. 307; viii. 188
account of, vi. 327
gate, vi. 327, 359
teaching of, vi. 328
disputation of, with the high priest, vi. 358
executed, vi. 359
Manicheism, ii. 19 note
Manizha, daughter of Afrasiyab, 150, iii. 285, 295 seq., 304, 308 seq., 348, 349
Bzhan and, Story of, 150, iii. 7, 12
historical basis of, iii. 11
Mobul on, iii. 285
Firdausi on, iii. 287
referred to, viii. 72
sends her nurse to Bzhan, iii. 297
invites Bzhan to visit her, iii. 298
drugs Bzhan, iii. 299
Manizha, wakes Bzhan in Afrasiyab's palace, iii. 300
holds revel with Bzhan, iii. 300
disgraced, iii. 300
made Bzhan's attendant, iii. 310
referred to, iii. 318, 319
hears of the arrival of Rustam's caravan, iii. 337
interviews of, with Rustam, iii. 337, 312
hears Rustam's ring to Bzhan, iii. 340
kindles signal fire for Rustam, iii. 344
receives gifts from Kai Khusrau, iii. 350
Manshur, Turanian hero, iii. 101, 105, 172, 182, 185, 199, 205, 210, 213, 220, 231, 241, 251, 256
comes to the aid of Piran, iii. 151
hears of the coming of Rustam, iii. 175
Mansion of Gushtasp, Fire-temple, v. 75
Mansur bin Nuh, Samanid prince (A.D. 961—979), i. 20, 21
v. 21; vii. 5
Manushan, a king in Pars, iv. 140, 180, 191
Munushihar (Minachihr), i. 338
Manwi, viii. 253
Marathi, Scythian people, iv. 315
Marchlord, ill-disposed, oppresses Rai, 174, viii. 300
destroys gutters and cats, viii. 300
recalled, viii. 308
Marcian (Bataran q.v.), viii. 41
Marco Polo, Venetian traveller (A.D. 1254—1324), vi. 74
Mardanshah, (Yalansina q.v.), viii. 71, 70; ix. 5, 6
son of, ix. 5, 6
conspires against Khusrau Parviz, ix. 6
mutual fight and execution of, ix. 6
Mardánsháh (Mardásas), son of Shirín, viii, 189, 191, 193, 196; ix, 39
execution of, ix, 7
Mardás, father of Zabhlákh, Story of, i 40, i, 135 seq.
murdered by Zabhlákh, i, 137
Mardásas. See Mardánsháh.
Mardwí, Túránian hero, iii, 77
Mardwí, Persian official, vii, 21
Mardwí, gardener, viii, 397
Margh, city in Turkistán, i, 256; iv, 278, 284; vii, 91, 331, 412, 421
Mark, birth. See Birthmark.
Marriage, next of kin (Khvaitíik-das), i, 60; ii, 180; v, 17
Mars, planet, i, 72, 276, 332, 339; ii, 247, 407; iii, 110, 159, 178, 318, 332; vii, 92, 252, 418; viii, 395; ix, 73, 89
Martyropolis, ceded by Khusrau Parwíz, viii, 188
Márúspand, palace, ix, 11
Márút, angel, iii, 286
Marv, oasis and city in ancient northern Khurásán, now in Turkistán, 173, i, 45; ii, 101; v, 29, 260, 261, 263; vii, 174, 357; viii, 60, 93, 173, 330, 337, 349 seq., 352, 356; ix, 70, 89, 110, 117
eyear seat of Aryan civilization, i, 7
as rhyme-word, vii, 88 note
Khán reaches, vii, 88
Bahram Gúr marches on, vii, 89
Ázád Sárv finds Búzurjmihr at, vii, 283
traditional scene of Yazdagird's death, ix, 70
Yazdagird at, ix, 97, 116
sage of, ix, 110
apothegm of, ix, 110
conduct of Máhwi to Bar- sám at, ix 117
Gúrás, son of Máhwi, governor of, ix, 120
Marvell, quoted, viii, 399 note
Marvříd (Murgháb), river in Khurásán flowing into and forming the Marv oasis, ii, 228; iv, 255; vii, 92
Mary, Maryam, mother of Jesus, viii, 276 note, 277 note
Maryam, daughter of César, 173, 174, viii, 188, 192, 276 note, 278, 279, 373, 374, 380, murder of, viii, 193, 389
referred to, vii, 255, 266, 269, 270, 371, 381, 389
counselled by César, viii, 279, 280
Niyátús put in charge of, viii, 280
as peace-maker, viii, 310
Mashad, city in Khurásán, ii, 189
Máshya and Máshyóni, the off-spring of Gájumart, the first man, i, 117, 131
Masius, Mount, vii, 41
Massagetae, tribe, iii, 192
Masúdí, Arabic historian (died A.D. 950), v, 293; vi, 62, 63, 82, 193, 257, 313, 315; vii, 3, 4, 6, 153, 280
version of the death of Rustam by, v, 261
genealogies of Pápak according to, vi, 200
'Book of Indication and Revision' by, vi, 252
apologue of the owls by, vi, 310
parentage of Yazdagird son of Shápúr according to, vi, 371
account of the fortifications at Darband by, vii, 215
origin of the game of nard according to, vii, 382
origin of the game of chess according to, vii, 382
on Búzurjmihr, viii, 71
Maundeville, Sir John, vi, 13, 72
Maurice, Eastern Roman Emperor, viii, 187, 188
Maurice, helps Khusrav Parwiz on terms, vii, 188
murder of, viii, 103
Mausil, Armenian prince, vii, 188, 189, 218, 282, 295
entertains Bandwi, vii, 240
Khusrav Parwiz and, vii, 283
referred to, viii, 293 and note
Má wara 'un-Nahr (Kuhistán q.v., Transoxanía), ii, 19, 190; iii, 151
Maximian, Roman Emperor, viii, 188
Mayam, place, iii, 49, 41, 53, 111
Mayors of the palace, Oriental, i, 14
Mazaga, Indian city, vi, 65
taken by Alexander the Great, vi, 65
Mázana (Mázandarán, q.v.), ii, 28
Mázandarán, region lying between the Alburz range and the Caspian, 143, i, 4, 5, 12, 253, 279, 290, 294, 296, 298, 319, 323, 339, 378; ii, 25 seq., 33, 34, 36 seq., 45, 55, 60 seq., 66 seq., 75, 79, 78, 81, 93, 105, 139, 143 seq., 293, iii, 144, 197, 207, 215; 232, 243, 250, 290, 324, 339; iv, 80, 130, 296, 299; v, 110, 117, 203, 207, 220; vi, 373; vii, 215; viii, 48; ix, 74
approach to, from Irán, ii, 28
description of, ii, 27
king of, 143, ii, 39, 43, 54, 62 seq.
interview of, with Rustam, ii, 67
flight of, with Rustam, ii, 73
transforms himself into a rock, ii, 74
death of, ii, 75
Mázandaráñian, a native of, or pertaining to, Mázandarán, iii, 320
Mázdak, heresiarcb, 166, i, 93; vii, 181, 185
disputation of, with Núshírwán, vii, 188, 206 seq.
account of, vii, 188, 204
becomes chief minister to Kubád, vii, 201
influence of, over Kubád, vii, 201
parable of, to Kubád in time of drought, vii, 201
practical application of Kubád's reply by, vii, 202
converts Kubád, vii, 204
preaching and practice of, vii, 204
attempt of, to convert Núshírwán, vii, 205
Kubád decides against, vii, 208
executed with his followers by Núshírwán, vii, 208
Mázdakism, vii, 184
Mázdakites, vii, 184
great assembly of, vii, 205
massacre of, vii, 185, 208
Mébodes. See Mahbúd.
Mecca, city, v, 31, 166; vi, 120; ix, 69
Síkandar's visit to, vi, 64, 119 seq.
account of, vi, 64
Medea, land of, i, 57
Mede, Medes (Mádá), Aryan people, i, 7, 10, 17, 50, 58, 72; vi, 194, 203
account of, i, 9
confused with the Manda (nomads), i, 18; vi, 194
city of the empire of the Manda, i, 17; ii, 191
Media, iv, 315; vi, 31; vii, 0;
Magna, vi, 201, 203, 259
vii, 214
Median, vi, 105
Median, language (Zend), i, 64 seq.
empire, ii, 9; vi, 104
Mediterranean, the, vi, 204
GENERAL INDEX

Megara, city in Greece, vi, 323

temp. Bahram Gür, vii, 85

Folded, Indian magnate, vii, 85

entertains Bahram Gür, vii, 22

Messiah, v, 38

made the slave of his own apprentice, vii, 42

Merchants, Iranian, made accessories to Bahram Gür's flight from Hind, vii, 133, 134

Messenger, the, viii, 355

Mesopotamia, vi, 30, 324

Arab invasions of, vii, 14

annexed by Arabs, ix, 48

Mesopotamian desert, vi, 322

Messiah, the, viii, 267

Mihr-Azar-Gushnasp, minister of Ardshir, son of Shirwî, in Arabian Tabarî, ix, 43

put to death, ix, 43

Mihr, month and day, i, 88, 89, 174, 175, 232; vi, 24, 33, 55

Mihr, feast, ix, 40

Mihr, sacred Fire. See Mihr Barzin.

Mihr Azar, priest, vii, 188, 206

assists Nishirwan in his disputation with Mazdak, vii, 206

and note

established by Gushtasp, v, 34

Mihr Barzin, Iranian warrior, temp. Bahram Gür, vii, 85

Mehrdad, Iranian magnate, vii, 21

entertains Bahram Gür, vii, 22

Mehrdad, Parthian prince, iii, 10 seq.

Memphis, Egyptian city, vi, 82

corpse of Alexander the Great taken to, vi, 82

Merchant, a, 164

entertains and disperses

Bahram Gür, vii, 39

Mercury, planet, i, 72; iii, 159, 318; v, 243; vi, 171, 224; viii, 290, 305; ix, 73

Meroe, island and city of, vi, 13, 65

Mero, mythical mountain, iv, 139

Mesopotamia, vi, 30, 324

Arab invasions of, iii, 14

annexed by Arabs, ix, 48

Mesopotamian desert, vi, 322

Messiah, the, viii, 267

Mihr-Azar-Gushnasp, minister of Ardshir, son of Shirwî, in Arabian Tabarî, ix, 43

put to death, ix, 43

Mihr, month and day, i, 88, 89, 174, 175, 232; vi, 24, 33, 55

Mihr, feast, ix, 40

Mihr, sacred Fire. See Mihr Barzin.

Mihr Azar, priest, vii, 188, 206

assists Nishirwan in his disputation with Mazdak, vii, 206

and note

established by Gushtasp, v, 34

Mihr Barzin, Iranian warrior, temp. Bahram Gür, vii, 85

Mihr Bidlar, Iranian magnate, vii, 21

entertains Bahram Gür, vii, 22

Mihr 'Hasis, minister of Ardshir, son of Shirwî, in Persian Tabarî, ix, 43

put to death, ix, 43

Mihr Hurmuzd, Iranian noble, 175, viii, 196; ix, 34

account of, ix, 5

referred to, ix, 6, 33

conspires against Khusrau Parviz, ix, 6

put to death, ix, 7

described, ix, 33

Mihr-i-Nush, second son of Asfandiyar, ii, 3; v, 80, 88

slain by Fararaz, v, 227

death of, reported to Asfandiyar by Bahman, v, 227

corpse of, sent to Gushpasp, v, 232

Mihr-i-Nush, Persian sage, vii, 270

quoted, vii, 270

Mihr-i-Nush, ix, 103

pleads with Mawli for Yazdagird, ix, 103

Mihr Narsî, chief minister of Bahram Gür and of his son Yazdagird, vii, 4, 153

sons of, vii, 4

Mihr Piruz, Iranian warrior, temp. Bahram Gür, vii, 85

Mihrâb, king of Kâbul, 141, 142, i, 234, 361; ii, 12, 14, 18, 21

visited by Zâl, i, 250

tributary to Sâm, i, 250

daughter of (Rûdâba), i, 257, v, 203

praises Zât to Sindukht, i, 260

hears from Sindukht of the loves of Zât and Rûdâba, i, 284

reproaches Rûdâba, i, 289

Sâm sent against, i, 292
Mihrāb, hears of Sām's coming, i, 292, 293
     Muhādhir's assent to
     Zāl's marriage, i, 314
felicitates Sindukht, i, 315
Sindukht and, prepare to
welcome Sām and Zāl, i, 314
entertain Sām and Zāl, i, 317
visit Sām, i, 319
hears of the birth of Rustam, i, 323
goes with Zāl and Rustam
to meet Sām, i, 324
parleys with Shamāsās and
Khazarwān to gain time, i, 358
writes to summon Zāl, i, 359
Mihrāb, Tribal King, 161, vi, 3
196, 237, 238, 257, 207,
208, 270, 272, 273; vii,
185, 192
=Mihrak, vi, 266
slain by Ardhīr Pāpākān,
vi, 241
daughter of, 161, vi, 3,
241, 250, 257, 268 seq., 272
escapes, vi, 241, 250, 268
referred to in Kaid's
prophecy, vi, 267
discovered by Shāpūr, vi,
268 seq.
 informs Shāpūr of her
birth, vi, 270
marries Shāpūr, vi, 270
birth of her son Urnuzd,
vi, 271
=Mihrak—Mādik—Arda-
wan (?), vi, 250
importance of, in legend, vi,
257, 207; viii, 72, 73
Mihrāb, servant of Nūshīrwān,
viii, 18, 19
Mihrān, family, vii, 159
importance of, vii, 72, 73
proverb on, vii, 185
account of, vii, 185
rivalry of, with family of
Kāran, vii, 185
men of mark among the,
vii, 186, 187; viii, 74
Mihrān, treasurer to Yazdagird
son of Shāpūr, vi, 387
Mihrān, Iranian general, vii, 251
commands the centre of
Nūshīrwān's host, vii, 251
Mihrān, archscribe, viii, 76
sent with Bahram Chūbīnā,
viii, 109
counsels Bahram Chūbīnā,
viii, 122 and note
seeks refuge, vii, 123
congratulates Bahram Chū-
binā, viii, 129
takes counsel with Khārrād,
viii, 159
flies from Balkh and is
retaken, vii, 159
pardoned by Bahram Chū-
binā, viii, 160
referred to, viii, 163
speech of, viii, 166
Mihrān Sitād, Iranian high priest
and envoy, temp. Nūshī-
wān, 168, vii, 180, 350,
361, 363; viii, 96, 100
attempt of the Khan to out-
wit, vii, 352
takes charge of the Khan's
daughter, vii, 354
receives charge from the Khan,
vii, 356
welcomed on his return, vii,
357
embassage of, referred to,
vii, 72, 97
sent for by Hurmuzd, viii, 97
tells of prophecy about
Bahram Chūbīnā, vii,
98, 210
death of, viii, 99
Mihrān Sitād, merchant, enter-
tains Khastaru Parwiz,
viii, 254
GENERAL INDEX

Mihráz, father of Ilyás ruler of Khazar, iv, 352
Mihráz, César's envoy, vii, 261
negotiates peace with Núshírwán, vii, 261
Mihrdáṭ. See Meherdates.
Mihrgán, feast, i, 175 and note, iv, 313; vi, 230 and note, 245
Mihrmas, vi, 200
Míl as rhyme word, i, 75
Mílád, Iránian hero, iii, 11, 12, 25, 29, 145, 274, 289, 293, 345; iv, 83, 147, 191; vi, 394; viii, 72, 211
import of word, viii, 73
customs of, viii, 210
Mílád (Taxila), Indian city, vi, 102, 109, 110
situation of, vi, 62
Sikandar approaches, vi, 98
Military obsequies, temp. Núshírwán, vii, 252
Milk, bane of, vii, 125 and note, 324
easily "turned," vii, 317
poisoned by the Evil Eye, vii, 320 seq., 324, 325
Mill, 176, ix, 89, 116
Miller, a, daughters of, 164
becomes Bahrám Gúr's father-in-law, vii, 34
dignified by Bahrám Gúr, vii, 34
Miller, a, 176, ix, 70
Yazdagírd and, ix, 99
informs chief of Zark about Yazdagírd, ix, 100
informs Málhwí about Yazdagírd, ix, 101
bidden to slay Yazdagírd, ix, 107
fling corpse into stream, ix, 108
Minagreía, province on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, vii, 215
Minister, piece in chess. See Wazír.
Minos, king of Crete, vi, 323 note
legend of, vi, 323 note
Minú, viii, 253 and note
Minúchíhr, Sháh, 140-142, i, 42, 90, 91, 209 seq., 274, 275, 319, 337, 339 seq., 348, 303; ii, 19, 29, 33, 36, 37, 302, 318, 400; iii, 9, 30, 87, 115; iv, 10, 65, 69, 70, 76, 136, 206, 283, 285, 298; v, 12, 174, 252, 284; vi, 200, 353; viii, 219, 223, 392; ix, 103
birth of, i, 206
eytymology of, i, 206 and note
Farídún's gifts to, i, 207
goes to fight Salm and Túr, i, 216
makes proclamation to the host, i, 218
contends against Salm and Túr, i, 219
prepares for a night-surprise, i, 220
sends Túr's head to Farídún, i, 222
sends Kárán to take the Castle of the Aláns, i, 223 seq.
hears of Kárán's success, i, 225
defeats and slays Karkví, i, 225 seq.
pursues and slays Salm, i, 227
pardons Salm's troops, i, 229
sends Salm's head and a letter to Farídún, i, 229
return of, in triumph, i, 230
welcomed by Farídún, i, 230
confided to Sám by Farídún, i, 231
enthroned by Farídún, i, 232
mourning of, for, and burial of, Farídún, i, 233
Reign of, 141, i, 234 seq.
Note on, i, 234 seq.
accession and inaugural address of, i, 237
Sám's address to, i, 238
Minuchir, hears of Sām’s finding of Zāl, i, 248
son of, i, 248
sends Naudar to congratulate late Sām, i, 248
summons Sām and Zāl to court, i, 249
Sām tells the story of his quest to, i, 250
Zāl’s horoscope taken by order of, i, 251
gifts of, to Sām, i, 251
hears of the case of Zāl and Rūdāba, i, 288
advises with the archi-
mages, i, 288
welcomes Sām, i, 280
hears of Sām’s campaign, i, 290
bids Sām destroy Mīhrāb and his belongings, i, 292
receives Zāl well, i, 300
consults the astrologers as to Zāl, i, 307
Zāl proved by hard ques-
tions by order of, i, 308
Zāl displays his accomplish-
ment before, i, 311
gracious reply of, to Sām, i, 314
warned of his death by the astrologers, i, 335
counsels, and gives the throne to, Naudar, i, 335
dies, i, 336
Minūchir, son of Ārash, iv, 149
commands the troops from Khurāsān, iv, 148
slays Kuhflā, iv, 181
commands the left, iv, 191
Mīrin, Rūmān chief, 154
asks Caesar’s second daugh-
ter, Dilanjām, in marriage, iv, 333
bidden by Caesar to slay the wolf of Fāskūn, iv, 333
casts a horoscope, iv, 334
asks Hishwi to interest Gushtāsp in his behalf, iv, 334
Mīrin, provides Gushtāsp with a steed and arms, iv, 339
goes with Gushtāsp and Hishwi to the forest of Fāskūn, iv, 337
Hishwi and, welcome Gushtāsp on his return, iv, 339
informs Caesar that he has slain the wolf, iv, 341
marries Caesar’s daughter, iv, 341
consulted by Ahraš, iv, 342
refers Ahraš to Hishwi, iv, 344
letter of, to Hishwi, iv, 344
Ahraš and, display their accomplishment on the riding-ground, iv, 349
Cesar’s wrath with, iv, 351
sends a scornful message to Caesar, iv, 353
set to guard the baggage, iv, 355
MiR Khānd (Mirkhond), Persian historian (A.D. 1433-
1498), v, 30; vi, 92, 315; vii, 3, 4, 6, 159, 159, 171, 183, 186; viii, 192
distich of, quoted, ix, 59
Miskāl, measure of weight, vi, 24 and note, viii, 394
Mīsr (Egypt), 159, ii, 79, 80, 84, 94, 99, 143, 280; vi, 114, 115, 122, 181; viii, 381
king of temp. Kai Kāūs, ii, 94, 95, 98
king of, defeated by Sikandar, vi, 37
welcomes Sikandar, vi, 121
invaded by Sikandar, vi, 37, 121
sea of, vi, 120
Sikandar stays a year in, vi, 121
Mithra, Mītra, god, i, 7
Mithradat. See Meherdates.
Mītrāk, vi, 206
= Mīhrāk, vi, 206
= Mīhrāk = Mādhk = Arda-
wān (?) vi, 259
Mithrdates. See Meherdates.

Mithrdates I, Parthian king, ii, 80

Modes of speech, viii, 39

Mohi, Jules, his edition and translation of the Shah-nama, i, 76, 77; vi, 60

on the Story of Bizhan and Manizha, iii, 285, 286

the Worm, vi, 203

Wisdom-literature, vii, 280

Mong, Indian city, vi, 18

Monks, ix, 109

find and recover corpse of Yazdagird, ix, 109

lament over and entomb Yazdagird, ix, 109 seq.

sentences of, over Yazdagird, ix, 109 seq.

slain by Mähwi, ix, 113

Monophysite, viii, 195

Moola Firooz, i, 201 note

Moon, one of the seven planets, i, 72, viii, 395

on the nature of the, 139, i, 205

=Tür, i, 223

divided by Muhammad, viii, 42, 67

Moses, Hebrew law-giver, v, 294

Salt Fish and, legend of, vi, 77

Faith of, vi, 95

Moses of Chorene, Armenian historian (5th century A.D.), i, 72

account of Zahhák by, i, 144

Kustam by, i, 239

Mosul, city in Mesopotamia, vi, 322

Mountain, mountains, sanctity of, i, 118

of the Holy Questions, i, 62

=skirt (Dāman-i-Kuh), iii, 15, 94, 95

=Raklsh, iii, 221, 251

Old man of the, v, 30

=sheep, personification of the divine Grace, vi, 201, 221. See Ram.

Mu'awiyah, Khalifa (A.D. 661-670), i, 12, 13

Mūbid, i, 83

Mughira, son of Shu'ba. See Shu'ba Mughira, ix, 69

Muhammad, the Prophet (about A.D. 571-632), i, 13, 40, 41; ii, 337 note; vi, 65, 190, 202; viii, 42, 191; ix, 69, 81 seq.

on 'Alí, i, 12, 166

praise of, i, 166

quoted, i, 166, v, 166

reference of, to Alexander the Great in the Kurān, vi, 15, 77

Muhammad, birth of, vii, 213

Nūshirwān and, 170, viii, 68

divides the Moon, viii, 42, 67

letter of, to Khusrav Parviz, ix, 66

Flight of, referred to, ix, 122

Muhammad Kāsim, Arab general, vi, 325

Muhammad Laskari, friend of Firdausi, i, 99; iii, 286

Muhammad Mahdi, his edition of the Shāh-nāma, i, 76

Muhammad, son of Abūr-Razak, i, 68, 99

Muhammadan, Muhammadans, vi, 78; vii, 73

elements in Shāh-nāma, viii, 42

ethics respected, vii, 74

Mukaffa'. See Ibn Mukaffa'.

Mūltān, city in the Punjāb, vii, 140

monarch of, entertained by Bahram Gūr, vii, 140

Mumaseuni, tribe, i, 237

Munzir, al, dynasty of, i, 55

Munzir, prince of Hira, temp. Yazdagird son of Shāpūr and Bahram Gūr, 163, 164, vi, 372, 394, 409, 408; vii, 9

visits Yazdagird, vi, 377

monarch of Yaman, vi, 378
Munzir, returns to Yaman with Bahram, vi, 378
chooses nurses for Bahram, vi, 378
dismisses Bahram’s tutors, vi, 380
provides Bahram Gür with steeds, vi, 380
provides Bahram Gür with slave-girls, vi, 381
goes to the chase with Bahram Gür, vi, 384
sends a picture of Bahram Gür shooting to Yazdagird, vi, 385
sends Bahram Gür with Nu’mán to Yazdagird, vi, 389
receives a letter from Yazdagird, vi, 387
- counsels and sends Bahram Gür a slave-girl and presents, vi, 388
welcomes Bahram Gür on his return, vi, 390
supports Bahram Gür's claim to the throne, vi, 390 seq.
invades Iran, vi, 397
- interview of, with Jawání, vi, 398 seq.
refers Jawání to Bahram Gür, vi, 398
advises Bahram Gür to negotiate with the Iranians, vi, 401, 404
intercedes with Bahram Gür for the Iranians, vii, 10
rewarded by Bahram Gür, viii, 10

Munzir, son of Nu’mán, prince of Hira, temp. Núshirwán, 167, vii, 243 seq.
protected by Núshirwán, vii, 217
war of, with Háthir bin Jabala, vii, 217
sent by Núshirwán to invade Kum, vii, 249
Murdâd, ameshaspentâ, i, 88; iii, 287, 328

Músh, town west of Lake Vân, vii, 188
Mushkinâb, a miller’s daughter, vii, 32 and note
taken to wife by Bahram Gür, vii, 33
Mushkinak, a miller’s daughter, vii, 32 and note
taken to wife by Bahram Gür, vii, 33

Mushim, ix, 85
Mutawakkil, Khalifa (A.D. 847-861), i, 14
- Cypress of Kishmar destroyed by, v, 28
Mutilation, instances of, vi, 261, 323, 334, 345, 357, 404
Mytilene, Chares of, Greek writer, temp. Alexander the Great, ii, 10; vi, 61 quoted, iv, 314

N

Nabarzanes, Persian general, vi, 32
- pardoned by Alexander the Great, vi, 32
Nádîr, Sháh, iii, 14
Nadr son of Háthir, vi, 100
recites the story of Rustam and Ashfandiyâr, v, 109
fate of, v, 109
Nahávand, city, south of Hama-dán, i, 12; ix, 68, 69
Yazdagird concentrates his forces at, ix, 68
Battle of, i, 12; ix, 69
Náhíd (Katayûn, q.v.)
Náhíd (Halai, Olympias?),
daughter of Failakús and mother of Sikandar, i59, vii, 24 seq., and note
married to Dáráb, vi, 25
troubled by offensive breath, vi, 20
cured, but repudiated by Dáráb, vi, 20
returns to Failakús and gives birth to Sikandar, vi, 20
Náhid, visits Dílárái and Rúsha-nak, vi, 89
referred to, vi, 187
Náhid, the planet Venus, vi, 211
Nahraván, city near Baghdad, east of the Tigris; also a canal on the eastern bank of that river, quitting it about 100 miles above, and rejoining it about 160 miles below, Baghdad, vii, 141; viii, 187, 204, 209, 231
bridge of, vii, 223, 228 seq.
broken down by Khusrú Parwiz, viii, 229
Naishapur. See Nishápúr.
Naitkín (Antigonus), minister of Sikandar, name of, assumed by Sikandar, vi, 66, 125 seq.
personates Sikandar, vi, 125 seq.
Kaidrúsh and his wife brought before, vi, 126
sentenced to death by, vi, 126
pardoned by, vi, 126
Sikandar, vi, 131, 133, 134, 141
Nakula, one of the five Pandavas, iv, 138
referred to, iv, 139
Names, use of, in sympathetic magic, i, 8, 177, 179
secret and public, viii, 372
and note
Nánkhāst, Turánian hero, v, 24, 26
goes as envoy to Gushtásp, v, 37, 40
returns with Gushtásp's answer, v, 44
given command of the centre, v, 59
worsted by Girámi, v, 59
Napata, city in Nubia, vi, 65
Naphtha, 159, i, 56
black, iv, 208, 209
use of, in sieges, iv, 208, 209
Naphtha, Sikandar's iron steeds filled with, 159, vi, 115
Fúr's elephants and troops routed by the use of, vi, 116
used to vitriify Sikandar's barrier, vi, 105
Nard, game of, 169, viii, 371
invention of, vii, 280, 381, 382, 386
sent by Núshírwán to the Rája of Hind, vii, 5, 381
meaning of, vii, 381
symbolism of, vii, 381
Mas'údi on, vii, 382
described, vii, 389
Narimán, Iranían hero, father of Sám and great-grandfather of Rustam, i, 42, 174, 207, 212, 239, 299, 333, 344; ii, 4, 49, 115, 119, 125, 126, 162, 354; iii, 17, 35; v, 190, 199, 202, 242, 262, 294, 266, 289
death of, described, i, 329
Narimanau, epithet of Kerešásp, i, 172, 174
Narmpáí, name of a tribe, 160, ii, 55 and note, 63, 64; vi, 71 and note
Sikandar and, vi, 150
Narses (Narsi, son of Bahram, q.v.), Sásánian king
Narses, Exarch, treatment of, by Empress Sophia, viii, 76
Narses, general, viii, 189
Narsi, Ashkánian king, vi, 197, 216
Narsi, son of Bahram, Sháh (Narses), 162, vi, 3, 313, 319, 325, 339, 331, 337; vii, 359
Reign of, vi, 315 seq.
Note on, vi, 315
title of, vi, 315
inaugural address of, vi, 315
daughter of, 162. See Núsha.
Narsi, brother of Bahram Gúr, 165, vi, 3; vii, 4, 95, 100
Narsí, made captain of the host, vii, 11
regent, vii, 80
fails to persuade the Fráni-
tans to resist the Khán, vii, 87
Bahrám Gúr’s letter to, vii, 92
writes to Bahrám Gúr on
behalf of the Fráni-
tans, vii, 94
welcomes his brother on his
return from Hind, vii, 137
Nárwan, forest of near Tanmísha
q.v. i, 217, 218; ii, 341; viii, 350, 360, 377; ix, 80
Nasibín (Nisíbis, q.v.), vi, 329
inhabitants of, refuse to
submit to Shápúr, vi, 350
taken by Shápúr, vi, 350
Násirú’d-Dín, title of Subuk-
tigín, q.v., i, 21, 100, 114
Nasr, Amir, brother of Sultán
Máhmúd, i, 21; vi, 196
account of, i, 100
referred to, i, 114
praise of, i, 114; vi, 207
Nasr, Arab chief, vi, 65
appeals to Síkandar for
help, vi, 120
made ruler of Mecca, vi, 121
Nasr, son of Ahmad, Sámanid, 
vi, 349
patron of Rúdagí, vii, 383
Nástár, Cásar’s master of the
herds, iv, 325
refuses to employ Gushtásp, 
iv, 349
Nástihan, Turání hero, son of
Wísa and brother of Shírán, i, 46, 157; i, 92; ii, 
204; iii, 79, 198, 210, 231, 232; iv, 53 seq., 61, 75, 
77
pursues Ká Khúsrau, ii, 
377 seq.
Nástihan, slain by Bizhán, iv, 
51
Nástih, Frán hero, ii, 4; in, 
49; iv, 148
Nástih, Turání hero, iv, 150
Nástih, son of Míhrán Sitád, i, 73, 
vi, 225, 303
advises Hurmuzdí, viii, 96
released by Bahrám Chú-
bína, viii, 306
Nástúr (Basta-vairí, Bastvár), 
son of Zarír, 155, v, 12, 
25, 26
exploits of, foretold by 
Jámás, v, 50
given command of the rear, 
v, 55
fights victoriously, v, 60
goes in search of Zarír, v, 67
finds Zarír’s corpse and 
laments over it, v, 67
exhorts Gushtásp to avenge 
Zarír, v, 68
goes forth with Gushtásp’s 
steed and armour, v, 69
challenges Bídírafsh, v, 69
fights with Bídírafsh, v, 70
attacks, with Asfandiyár and 
Núsh Azár, the Turán-
ians, v, 71
leads the host home, is 
given a command, and 
invades Túrán, v, 74
stationed on the Frán hero’s 
left, v, 94
commands the right, v, 109
Nástúr, son of Shírín and 
Khusrau Parwiz, ix, 39
Nature-worship, of the Aryans, 
i, 7, 51
Nau-Ardshír = Nard, vii, 381
Naubahár, Fire-temple at Bálkh, 
31
Lühúrásp retires to, v, 31
Naúdar, Sháh, 142, i, 60, 91, 
300; ii, 20, 30, 70, 153, 
339, 400, 491; iii, 8, 24, 
39, 50, 57, 67, 80, 112, 
123, 132, 177, 187, 215, 
237, 289, 294, 347; iv, 
13, 61, 70, 157, 197, 178.
Naudar—cont.
191, 193, 206, 237, 254, 202, 207; vii, 37, 171; viii, 223, 242
embassies of, to Sám, i, 248, 288
returns with Sám to court, i, 289
counselled by Minúchihr and appointed his successor, i, 335
laments for Minúchihr, i, 336
Reign of, i, 337 seq.
Nearchus, admiral of Alexander the Great, vi, 12, 61, 70
Ichthyophagi, account of by, quoted by Arrian, vi, 69, 70
Nectanebus II (Nekt-neb-f), the last Pharaoh
personates Amen-Ra and becomes the legendary father of Alexander the Great, vi, 10
story of, vi, 18 and note
Need, personification of. See Greed.
Negroes, the, described, vi, 73, 157
cause frost and snow to harm Sikandar, vi, 156, 157
Nekt-neb-f. See Nectanebus.
Nereis. See Kalé.
Nero, Roman emperor (A.D. 54–68), vii, 279
Néryósang, ii, 82
Nestorian, Nestorians, viii, 195
Metropolitan, vii, 219
Patriarch, vii, 219
New Year, Persian, beginning of, i, 74, 88
Feast of (Naurúz, New Year’s Day), i, 74, 274; vii, 94, 200
origin of, i, 133
Nicaea, Indian city, vi, 18
Nicephorium (Callinicus, Kální-
yús q.v., Warigh, Rakka), viii, 188
Nicolaus of Damascus, Greek historian temp. Augustus, vi, 195
Nil, as rhyme-word, i, 75
Nile, i, 40, 71, 114, 297; ii, 96, 153, 217, 310, 402; iii, 38, 41, 58, 208, 224, 225; iv, 145 seq., 180, 333; v, 179, 188, 191, 245; vi, 42, 109, 171, 200; vii, 48, 250, 344, 410; viii, 126, 284, 293, 294; ix, 98
Blue, vi, 65
mistaken for Indus, vi, 68
Nimruz, Sistan, Zabulistan, i, 332, 309, 319, 357; ii, 21, 31, 66, 77, 80, 84, 338, 395; iii, 17, 35, 310; iv, 159, 188; v, 85, 248, 288; vi, 327; vii, 196, 284; ix, 5, 6.

confirmed to Rustam by Kai Khusrau, iv, 207.

Zal by Luhrasp, iv, 312.

Sikandar marches to, vi, 175.

satrapy of, ix, 69.

Nineveh, vii, 103.

fall of, i, 10.

kings of, that attacked Iran, i, 10.

battle near, vii, 104.

Ninus, mythical founder of Nineveh, v, 202, 203.

Ninyas, son of Ninus, v, 203.

Niris, salt lake in Pars, vi, 17.

referred to, vi, 21.

Nisã, city (Muhammadabad ?) in Khurasan or town in Kirmán, vii, 80; viii, 10.

Nishapûr, city in Khurasan,¹ i, 30, 45; ii, 104; iv, 255; v, 28 seq., 291; vi, 298; viii, 173; ix, 95.

Nisibis (Nasbúni q.v.), city in northern Mesopotamia, i, 374.

sieges of, i, 374, viii, 41.

peace of, vi, 254.

cession of, by Jo.ian, vi, 326.

by Khusrau Parwiz (?), viii, 188.

Nisus and Scylla, story of, vi, 323 note.

Nitteis, vi, 10.


death of, foretold by Jám-ás, v, 50.

slain, v, 66.

Niyáthús (Theodosius, son of Maurice), 173, viii, 189, 281, 288; ix, 23.

brother of Cesar, vii, 280, 310.

put in charge of Maryam, vii, 280.

welcomed by Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 280.

wrot with Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 290.

watches light between Khusrau Parwiz and Bahram Chubín, vii, 297.

entertained at banquet by Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 309.

quarrel of, with Bandwi, viii, 309.

threat of, to Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 310.

reconciled to Bandwi, viii, 311.

returns to Rüm, viii, 312.

Nizámí, Persian poet, viii, 192.

Nizámí-i-"Arúdi, Persian writer (12th century A.D.), 1, 23.

account of Firdausi by, i, 37 seq., 45, 46.

Nöldeke, Professor, v, 20, 21, 282; vi, 108 note, 190 and note, 253, 313, 372; viii, 71, 188.

on the div Akwán, iii, 271.

quoted, v, 118.

treatise of, on the Alexander Romance, etc., vi, 14 and note.

on the Story of the Worm, vi, 203, 205, 296.

on Halwád, vi, 206.

on the Gipsies, vii, 6.

on Súfarai, vii, 171, 185.

on Wisdom-literature, vii, 281.

¹ Properly speaking, Zabulistan is the name of the hilly country about the upper waters of the Helmand, while Nimruz and Sistan are synonymous names for the low lying lands into which its waters descend, but Firdausi 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.
Nöldeke, on Romance of Bahrám Chúbina, viii, 73
North, Sir Thomas (A.D. 1535-1603 ?), vii, 383
version of the Fables of Bādpai by, vii, 383
Northman, the, vi, 19
found the Russian empire, vi, 19
Note on Pronunciation, preceding text in each volume
Nubia, vi, 65
Núh bin Nasr, Sámání prince (A.D. 942-954), vii, 5
Núh II. bin Mansúr, Sámání prince (A.D. 976-997), i, 21, 39; v, 21
Nu'mán, prince of Hira, 163, 164, vi, 372, 306, 404
visits Yazdáqird, vi, 377
goes to the chase with Bahrám Gúr, vi, 384
goes to the Persian court with Bahrám Gúr, vi, 386
returns to Yaman with letters and presents, vi, 387
welcomes Bahrám Gúr on his revisiting Yaman, vi, 300
invades Irán, vi, 397
rewarded by Bahrám Gúr, vii, 10
Nu’mán bin Munzír, prince of Hira, viii, 188; ix, 5
put to death, viii, 190
Nu’mán, Arab general, ix, 68
sent by ‘Umar to fight Yazdáqird, ix, 68
defeats Pirúzán at Nahávand, ix, 68
slain, ix, 69
Nurse, Manizha’s, iii, 297
interview of, with Bizhan, iii, 297
Núsha (Dukhtnúsh), daughter of Narsi, 162, vi, 3, 324, 311
carried off by the Arabs, vi, 323, 330
Núsh Ázar, Fire-temple at Balkh, v, 92 note, 173, 241, 255
burnt by the Turkmans, v, 93
Núsh Ázar, youngest son of Asfandiyár, ii, 3, v, 166, 283, 285
attacks, with Nástír and Asfandiyár, the Túránian host, v, 71
builder of a Fire-temple, v, 81
with Asfandiyár at Gumbadán, v, 98
informs Asfandiyár of Jám-ásp’s arrival, v, 98, 99
accompanies Asfandiyár from Gumbadán, v, 103
slays Turkhán, v, 151
wrangles with Zawára, v, 226
slays Alwá, v, 226
slain by Zawára, v, 227
death of, reported to Asfandiyár by Bahman, v, 227
corpse of, sent to Gushtásp, v, 232
Núshírván (Kísrá, Chosroes I), Sháh, 166-170, i, 27, 42;
v, 260; vi, 3, 201; vii, 4, 199, 220, 273 seq., 279 seq., 320; viii, 3 seq., 71, 72, 86 seq., 98, 120, 169, 168, 200, 205, 209, 300, 312, 313, 377; ix, 22, 26, 71, 80, 92, 105, 109, 110, 119
collector of Iránián tradition, i, 67
quoted, vi, 208, 209 and note
origin of name, vii, 183, 211
and note
birth of, stories of, vii, 180, 197 seq.
assistants of, against Mazdák, vii, 188, 206
upbringing of, vii, 200
Mazdák’s attempt to convert, vii, 205
disputation of, with Mazdák, vii, 206 seq.
INDEX

Nushirwan, Kuhad decides in favour of, vii, 208
executes Mazdak and his followers, vii, 208
Kuhad's testament in favour of, vii, 210, 310
Reign of, 167, vii, 212 seq.
Notes on, vii, 212 seq., 279
Reign of, 168, vii, 212 seq., 310 seq., 380 seq.,
viii, 3 seq., 41 seq.
Roman Emperors contemporary with, vii, 212
historical events of reign of, in the Shahnama, vii, 213
marriage of, with the daughter of the Khan, vii, 347, seq.
referred to, viii, 72, 97 seq.
Wars of, with Rüm, vii, 213, 217
first campaign of, vii, 218, 249
consiracy against, vii, 214, 310
division of empire by, vii, 214, 224; ix, 69
bargains of, with Justinian, vii, 214, 216 seq.
taxation reformed by, vii, 215, 224
wall of, in the Caucasus, 167, i, 10; vii, 215, 239
Mas'udi's account of, vii, 215
Dealing of, with the Aláns, vii, 210
Gilán, vii, 216
Balúchis, vii, 217
Munzir supported by, vii, 217, 244
and consequent war with Rüm, vii, 217, 244
jealous of Justinian's successes in the West, vii, 217
promises to rule justly, vii, 221 seq.
attends muster at the insistence of Bábak, vii, 231
approves of Bábak's conduct, vii, 232
Nushirwan, method of, in levying troops, vii, 234
writes to Caesar on Munzir's behalf, vii, 245
supplies Munzir with troops for the invasion of Rüm, vii, 249
goes to Azar Ábádagán, vii, 250
disposition of host by, vii, 251
addresses his troops, vii, 251
proclamations of, vii, 252, 305
burial of dead soldiers by, vii, 252
policy of, with enemies, vii, 253
takes Shúráb, vii, 254
Áráyish-i-Rüm, vii, 255
Caesar's treasures, vii, 255, 258
defeats Farfúrus, vii, 256
takes Antákíya, vii, 258
disposes of the Rúman captives, vii, 259, 327
Rúman cordwainer and, vii, 260
envoy from Caesar comes to, vii, 261
grants peace to Caesar, vii, 262
appoints Shírví to receive the Rúman tribute, vii, 262
Christian wife of, vii, 263
mother of Nushzad, vii, 263, 274 seq.
helps Nushzad, vii, 266
laments for Nushzad, vii, 270
imprisons Nushzad, vii, 264
illness and reported death of, vii, 264, 265
hears of Nushzad's revolt, vii, 266
instructs Rám Barzin how to act, vii, 267 seq.
Seven Banquets of 168, vii, 280, 287 seq.
possible origin of, vii, 280
Nūshīrwān, Seven Banquets of Būzurjmihr's discourses at, vii, 287 seq.
dream of, vii, 282
consists the archmages, vii, 282
seeks for a dream-interpreter, vii, 282
dream of, interpreted by Būzurjmihr, vii, 284
rewards and honours Būzurjmihr, vii, 286, 289, 304, 311, 315
relations of, with Singibā, vii, 317
the Haitālians, vii, 317
with Mahbūb and his sons, vii, 319 seq.
suspects Zūrān, vii, 324
greatness of, vii, 327
buildings of, vii, 327
embassy of Khān to, vii, 329
consults the chiefs as to Faghanish, the Khān, and the Haitālians, vii, 333
reply of chiefs to, vii, 334
rejoinder of, to chiefs, vii, 339
prepares for war with the Khān, vii, 337
writes to his chiefs, the Khān, and Faghanish, vii, 337
marches from Madā'īn, vii, 337
goes to Gurgān, vii, 337
receives embassy from the Khān, vii, 339
holds a court, vii, 340
displays his prowess before the assembly, vii, 341
dismisses the Khān's envoy with a letter, vii, 344
Khān's offer of affinity to, vii, 347
reply of, vii, 349
occupies territory evacuated by the Khān, vii, 353
Haitālians and others bring gifts to, vii, 360, 362
gives praise to God, vii, 361
Nūshīrwān, receives the tribute from Rūm, vii, 362
goes to the temple of Āzar-gashasp, vii, 363
greatness of, vii, 364
questions Būzurjmihr, vii, 397 seq.
receives the game of chess from Hind, vii, 386, 385
Rāja of Hind's embassy to, vii, 384
rewards Būzurjmihr for discovering how to play chess, vii, 388
sends Būzurjmihr with presents and the game of nard to Hind, vii, 399
proposes wager with the Rāja, vii, 391
welcomes Būzurjmihr on his return from Hind, vii, 393
acquires the Book of Kalīla and Dimna, vii, 423 seq.
sends gifts to the Rāja, vii, 445
rewards Barzwi, vii, 429
precautions of, as to successor, vii, 3
goes hunting with Būzurjmihr, viii, 4
suspects and disgraces Būzurjmihr, viii, 5
treats Būzurjmihr with increasing rigour, viii, 7, 8
reconciled to Būzurjmihr, viii, 9
questioned by archimages, viii, 14 seq., 28 seq.
gives judgment against his own son, viii, 16
chief cook of, aggrieved, viii, 18
counsels Hurmuzd, viii, 25 seq.
writes to console Caesar's son and successor, viii, 43
wroth at answer received, viii, 45
invades Rūm, viii, 46
Nūshirwán, success of, viii, 47
  checked, viii, 47
in want of money, viii, 47
takes counsel with Būzurjmihr, viii, 17
refuses advances from a shoemaker, viii, 50, 71
high esteem of, for scribes, viii, 50
grants peace to, and takes tribute from, the Kumans, viii, 52
returns to Taisafín, viii, 53
sons of, viii, 56, 63
instructs Būzurjmihr to prove Hurmuzd, viii, 59 seq.
testament of, in favour of, and last counsels to, Hurmuzd, viii, 61 seq.; ix, 22
directions of, as to interment, viii, 65
hall of, shattered, viii, 68
death of, viii, 69, 71
system of administration of, viii, 71
ministers of, put to death by Hurmuzd, viii, 81 seq.
choice of Hurmuzd by, story of, viii, 87
palace of, viii, 193
dream of, ix, 92
Nūsh Zād = Mihr-i-Nūsh, q.v., vi, 285 and note
Nūshzād, father of Mihrak, vi, 237, 241, 267, 270, 273
Nūshzād, son of Nūshirwān, 167, vii, 213, 295, seq.
historical account of, vii, 219
Firdausi’s account of, vii, 293 seq.
education of, vii, 263
imprisonment of, vii, 264
hears report of Nūshirwān’s death, vii, 293
revolts, vii, 266
helped by his mother, vii, 266
writes to Caesar, vii, 266

Nūshzāl, goes to fight with Rām Pāzūn, vii, 272
exhorted to yield by Pirūz, vii, 273
reply of, to Pirūz, vii, 274
wounded, vii, 275
repents, vii, 275
sends message to his mother, vii, 275
dies, vii, 275
lamentation for, vii, 276
Firdausi’s reflections on, vii, 279

O

Oasis of Ammon, vi, 65
Alexander the Great’s visit to, vi, 65
Oblivion, Castle of, vii, 184
Obsequies, military, in the time of Nūshirwān, vii, 252
Oceanus, Homeric and Oriental, i, 71
Odatis, Scythian princess, iv, 315
legend of, iv, 315
Odenathus, Arab chief, vi, 222
Shāpūr son of Ardashir and, vi, 294, 325
confused with Valerian, vi, 324 seq.

Olorico, Minorite Friar and traveller (A.D. 1286-1331), vi, 13
Old Man of the Mountain, the, v, 39
Olives, taxes on, vii, 215, 225
Olympias (Nūhid, Halai ?), wife of Philip of Macedon and mother of Alexander the Great
legendary relations of, with Nectanebus, vi, 16, 18
choice by, of name for her son, vi, 19
intrigues of, vi, 82

Omartes, Scythian chief, iv, 315
legend of, iv, 315

Omen, ii, 102, v, 177
of the quince, ix, 13, 14
Omphis, Indian king, vi, 62
Onager, the div Akwán as, iii, 273 seq.
Bahrám Chúbína guided by, viii, 150, 158
Onesicritus, chief pilot of Alexander the Great and writer, vi, 67
untrustworthy, vi, 12, 61, 67
Fakirs and, vi, 61
Calanus and, vi, 61
Mandanes and, vi, 61
Onnes, minister of Ninus, v, 292, 293
Padashkvár, a mountain or section of the Alburz range, i, 338
Page, of Núshírwán, viii, 5 seq.
relative of Búzurjmihr, vii, 5
instructed by Búzurjmihr, vii, 6
takes messages between Núshírwán and Búzurjmihr, viii, 6 seq.

Ordeal by fire, ii, 218 seq.
Orinus (Hurmuz), city on the Persian Gulf, vi, 204
Osrhoene, kingdom in northern Mesopotamia, vi, 198
Othello, play of, quoted, vi, 324
Owls, Mas'údi’s apologue of the, vi, 310
and Crows, story of, vii, 263
Ox, the first, i, 5
legend of the, i, 117, 236
Ox of Kai Káús, ii, 26
Ox-hide, or skin, filled with gold as tribute, v, 265 and note; vii, 262, 303; viii, 49, 52, 53
Oxus (Jhún, q.v.), river, i, 57; ii, 190; v, 12, 29, ; vii, 150, 317; viii, 72
ancient trade-route, i, 57
confused with Aras, i, 71, 370
change in course of, i, 57
note, iii, 10
referred to, ix, 117 and note, 118
Oxyartes, father of Roxana (Kúshanak), wife of Alexander the Great, vi, 32

P

Palestine, vi, 39

Palawina (Cappadocia), vi, 294, 297, 298
Paléism, Turánian hero, 147, iii, 26, 70
surveys the Iránian host, iii, 69
slain by Bizhan, iii, 70
Paikár-i-Gurd, melody, viii, 398 and note
Pairika. See Parí.
Palace of Jewels, 160
Paladins, 154
Paláshán, Turánian hero, 147, iii, 26, 70

Pahlav, region, ii, 77, 102; iii, 222
Pahlaví, middle Persian language of Ashkánian (Parthian) and Sásánian times, vii, 6, 113, 188, 380 seq.; viii, 73, 74; ix, 50
meaning of, i, 64, 83
Firdausi’s use of the word, i, 69
Fables of Bidpai translated into, vii, 382
language (middle Persian), v, 24, 26, vi, 194
texts, ii, 27; v, 13, 14, 24, 30, ; vi, 195, 196, 257
version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, vi, 14, 16, 84
writing and reading, confusion in, vi, 14, 62, 205, 206
Paidáwasf, Persian coin = five dinárs, vii, 95 and note, viii, 381 and note; ix, 19
Paighú = Túránian, v, 13, 21
note, 38 note, 41 note, 44
note; viii, 190
Paidáwasf, Persian coin = five dinárs, vii, 95 and note, viii, 381 and note; ix, 19
Paighú = Túránian, v, 13, 21
note, 38 note, 41 note, 44
note; viii, 190

Pahlaví, middle Persian language of Ashkánian (Parthian) and Sásánian times, vii, 6, 113, 188, 380 seq.; viii, 73, 74; ix, 50
meaning of, i, 64, 83
Firdausi’s use of the word, i, 69
Fables of Bidpai translated into, vii, 382
language (middle Persian), v, 24, 26, vi, 194
texts, ii, 27; v, 13, 14, 24, 30, ; vi, 195, 196, 257
version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, vi, 14, 16, 84
writing and reading, confusion in, vi, 14, 62, 205, 206
Paidáwasf, Persian coin = five dinárs, vii, 95 and note, viii, 381 and note; ix, 19
Paighú = Túránian, v, 13, 21
note, 38 note, 41 note, 44
note; viii, 190

Pahlaví, middle Persian language of Ashkánian (Parthian) and Sásánian times, vii, 6, 113, 188, 380 seq.; viii, 73, 74; ix, 50
meaning of, i, 64, 83
Firdausi’s use of the word, i, 69
Fables of Bidpai translated into, vii, 382
language (middle Persian), v, 24, 26, vi, 194
texts, ii, 27; v, 13, 14, 24, 30, ; vi, 195, 196, 257
version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, vi, 14, 16, 84
writing and reading, confusion in, vi, 14, 62, 205, 206
Paidáwasf, Persian coin = five dinárs, vii, 95 and note, viii, 381 and note; ix, 19
Paighú = Túránian, v, 13, 21
note, 38 note, 41 note, 44
note; viii, 190

Pahlaví, middle Persian language of Ashkánian (Parthian) and Sásánian times, vii, 6, 113, 188, 380 seq.; viii, 73, 74; ix, 50
meaning of, i, 64, 83
Firdausi’s use of the word, i, 69
Fables of Bidpai translated into, vii, 382
language (middle Persian), v, 24, 26, vi, 194
texts, ii, 27; v, 13, 14, 24, 30, ; vi, 195, 196, 257
version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, vi, 14, 16, 84
writing and reading, confusion in, vi, 14, 62, 205, 206
Paidáwasf, Persian coin = five dinárs, vii, 95 and note, viii, 381 and note; ix, 19
Paighú = Túránian, v, 13, 21
note, 38 note, 41 note, 44
note; viii, 190

Paikár-i-Gurd, melody, viii, 398 and note

Pairika. See Parí.

Palace of Jewels, 160

Paladins, 154

Paláshán, Turánian hero, 147, iii, 26, 70
surveys the Iránian host, iii, 69
slain by Bizhan, iii, 70

Pálawina (Cappadocia), vi, 294, 297, 298

Palestine, vi, 39
Palladius, bishop, vi, 61, 62
   treatise of, on the Brahmanas, vi, 61
   interpolated into the Pseudo-Callisthenes, vi, 61
Palmyra, city in Syrian desert, vi, 204, 322, 324; vii, 217
Palus Macotis (Sea of Azoff), vi, 73
Pándavas, the five, iv, 138, 139
   pilgrimage of, compared with that of Kài Khusrau and his pandus, iv, 138
Pand Náma, of Moola Firooz, i, 204 note
Pándnamák-i Vadhshór-Mitró-i Bühktakán, Pahlavi text, vii, 270
Pándu, Indian king, iv, 319
Pápak, Tribal King, 160, vi, 3, 194, 195, 198 seq., 211
   note and seq., 227, 252, 254, 259; viii, 214, 219
   and note, 285
Sásán and, vi, 212
   daughter of, marries Sásán, 160, vi, 213
   mother of Ardshír Pápakán, vii, 214
Ardawán’s letter to, vi, 214
   dies, vi, 218
   kindred of, support Ardshír Pápakán, vi, 223 seq.
Pápakán Ardshír. See Ardshír Pápakán.
Parable, Mazdak’s, vii, 201
Paradise Lost referred to, vi, 71
Pari, i, 83, 172
Paris, city, MSS. of the Pseudo-Callisthenes in National Library at, vi, 14
Parmúda (see too Khán of Chín), 170, 171, viii, 75, 117, 130, 139 seq., 140, 149 seq., 164, 174
   hears of Bahram Chúbína’s victory and takes counsel, vii, 131
   marches toward Jihún, viii, 131
Parmúda, approaches Balkh, viii, 134
   attacks and is defeated by Bahram Chúbína, vii, 134 seq.
   escapes to Áwáza, viii, 138
   besieged by Bahram Chúbína, viii, 138 seq.
   negotiates surrender of Áwáza with Bahram Chúbína, viii, 139 seq.
   surrenders Áwáza and sets out for frán, viii, 143
   insulted by Bahram Chúbína, viii, 144
Bahram Chúbína tries to placate, viii, 145
Párs (Persis, Fársistán), country on the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf, 142, 153, 160, 1, 351, 353, seq., 357, 368, 371; ii, 23, 28, 76, 101, 220, 275, 286, 302, 410; iv, 149, 250, 269, 270, 318; v, 293; vi, 17, 25, 32 note, 37, 45, 115, 110, 194 and passim; vii, 86, 90, 95, 160, 194, 201, 206, 214, 224; viii, 109
   note, 112, 210, 241, 393, 395; ix, 68
   corpse of Darius Codomanus sent to, vi, 33
   Ardshír Pápakán flees to, vi, 220
   marches from, against Ardawán, vi, 227
   returns to, vi, 229
fránimans, after the death of Yazdagird son of Shápír, meet to consult in, vi, 394
París, ix, 64
Part Kings. See Tribal Kings.
Parthia, kingdom, v, 10
Hystaspes governor of, v, 10
Parthian, Parthians, i 10, 90, 64; vi, 203, 250, 322; vii, 150; viii, 73
   conquest of frán by, i, 19
Zoroastrianism under, i, 93
Parthian, dynasty, iii, 9, 11; v, 281; vi, 194, 201
uses the title of King of kings, vi, 197
Great King, vi, 198
history, events of, reproduced in distorted form in Shāhnhāma, iii, 11
kings, ii, 80
Parwiz, Irānian chief, vi, 304
Parwiz, meaning of, viii, 187.
See also Khosrow Parwiz.

Parshan (Lādan), battle of, iii, 15, 80, 89; iv, 27, 36, 44, 90, 200; viii, 397 and note
Parshang, father of Minūchihr, i, 90; iii, 25 (?); iv, 136, marries daughter of Irāj; i, 205
Parshang, ruler of Tūrān and father of Afrāsiyāb, 142; i, 92, 336, 337; ii, 11, 13, 18, 20, 21, 297, 401; iii, 15; iv, 78, 139, 151, 174, 222, 266, 289
consults his chiefs as to war with Irān, i, 342
bids Afrāsiyāb invade Irān, i, 343, 375
advised by Ighrīsas not to make wāi, i, 344
overrules Ighrīsas, i, 344
Afrāsiyāb's letter to i, 346
wroth with Afrāsiyāb, i, 374
Parshang (Shida, q.v.), son of Afrāsiyāb, i, 92; iii, 15
Parshin, son of Kai Kubād. See Kī Parshin.
Parshin, Irānian noble, vi, 408
Patashwargar, region, vi, 202 and note
Pāt-khusrau, brother of Gush-tasp, v, 26
Patrician, iv, 348
Patrons of Firdausi, i, 29
Pauravas, Indian race and dynasty, vi, 31
Paurushasp. See Paurushaspas.
Perfumes, invention of, i, 133

Periods, mythic and historic, of Shāhnhāma, i, 49, 53
Perzoes (Pīrūz), Sāsānian king, vii, 150
Persepolis (Istakhr), city in Pārs, vi, 31, 32 note; 373; ix, 65
buildings at, attributed to Humāi, v, 203
Zoroastrian scriptures said to have been burnt at, i, 63
Persia, i, 308; ii, 191; iii, 109, 128; iv, 8; v, 306 note; vi, 61, 278; vii, 118, 129, 381; viii, 105; ix, 66
Chess brought to, vi, 201; vii, 280, 284 seq.
Fables of Bidpai brought to, vii, 213, 423 seq.

Persian, Persians, i, 6, 8 seq., 73, 74; ii, 100; v, 74; vi, 39, 44, 45, 81, 143, 148, 157, 170, 201 and passim
bard, quoted, vii, 265
dispute with the Rūmans over Sīkandar's burial, vi, 184
empire, ii, 9; vi, 197, ix, 65
war of, with Rūm, viii, 41
history and legend in relation to Greek history and legend, ii, 9
language, vi, 147, 205; vii, 134, 140, 143, 430; ix, 12, 65
monks introduce the silk-worm into Europe, vi, 204
mutilation of captives, vi, 323, 334, 348, 357, 494
sea or gulf, vi, 204, 205, ix, 66, 68
swords, vii, 135
wisdom-literature, vii, 278 seq., viii, 3
verse, vii, 383
Fables of Bidpai translated into, vii, 383
conquest of Yaman, viii, 24
note
raids Syria, viii, 41
Persian, Persians, defeat by Romans referred to, viii, 72
war with Turks, viii, 72
Book of Kings, vii, 73
Tabari. See Tahari.
= Bahram Chúbina, viii, 113
= Hurmuzd, viii, 110, 117
 prince = Bahram Chúbina, viii, 319
ideas on marriage, ix, 7
= Ashtád and Khattád, ix, 24
exoncrate Shirín, ix, 38
winn 'The Battle of the Bridge,' ix, 67
fail in attack on Híra, ix, 97
defeat of, at Kádisiya, ix, 67, 84
Jalúlá, ix, 68
Nahávand, ix, 69
Shuba Mughira's embassy to, ix, 99
robes, ix, 94
transcribe Shálhámá for Firdausí, ix, 121
Persica, of Ktesias, v, 293
Persis (Párs, Fársistán), vi, 195
Peshótanu (Bishúttan q.v.), v, 12
Pestilence, in reign of Kubád, ix, 3, 7
Petroleum, in ancient cult and modern industry, i, 56 seq.
Pharasmanes, King of Khárazm, vi, 72
Philip II of Macedon, (Fálakús, B.C. 382–339), father of Alexander the Great, i, 55 note, vi, 16, 29
Nectanebús and, story of, vi, 18
names his son Alexander, vi, 19
Philon, Macedonian noble, vi, 76
Philosophers, Greek, entertained by Núshirwán, vii, 280
Phocas, Eastern Roman Emperor, viii, 187, 189, 193, 194
Phospor, morning star, ii, 123
Photus, quoted, vii, 101
Phraates II, Parthian king,
(B.C. 135–127), ii, 80, 81
Phraates = Phráatoes, iii, 11
Phrygians, the, vi, 71
Pil, as rhyme-word, i, 75
Píllar, Bahram Gún's, vi, 92, 160, 161, 164
Písam, Túránian hero, 144, 146,
ii, 112 seq., 329, 323 note,
359 seq.; iii, 204
pleads for Siyáwush, ii, 315
summons Firán to save Parsangis, ii, 322
Fírán, son of Wísá, Túránian hero, cousin, commander-in-chief, and counsellor of Afrásiyáb, 145, 146, 148–
152, i, 92; ii, 3, 112, 188,
257 seq., 204, 277, 291,
316, 315, 319, 335, 359,
379, 377, 379 seq., 397,
308.; iii, 13, 26 note, 39,
42, 58, 90, 91, 98 seq., 102,
108, 120, 122, 123, 125,
142, 149 seq., 158, 160,
161, 169, 181 seq., 192, 193,
199 seq., 210 seq., 222,
227, 232, 234, 242, 252,
253, 259, 309 seq., 335 seq.,
349, 350, 357; iv, 7, 10
seq., 15 seq., 29 seq., 39,
38, 41, 47, 59 seq., 88 seq.,
93 seq., 103, 109 seq., 117,
118, 120, 134, 145, 150,
160, 162, 205, 209; vii, 414
character of, i, 55
identical with Harpagus in legend, ii, 101
advises Afrásiyáb to receive Siyáwush, ii, 253 note and seq.
goes to welcome Siyáwush, ii, 252 seq.
daughter of, 145. See Járíra.
arraigns for Siyáwush, 145, ii, 258 seq.
entertains Siyáwush, ii, 278
Pirán, offers to help Siyawush to build Gang-dizh, ii, 278
prophecy of Siyawush to, ii, 282 seq.
goes to collect tribute, ii, 285
visits Siyawush, ii, 287
Afrasiyáb, ii, 288
summoned to save Farangis, ii, 322 seq.
pleads for Farangis, ii, 324
takes charge of Farangis, ii, 325
dreams of Siyawush, ii, 325
protects the infant Kai Khusrau, ii, 326 seq.
advises Afrasiyáb respecting Kai Khusrau, ii, 356
sends Kulbud and Nastihan to pursue Kai Khusrau, ii, 377
overthrown with his host by Giv, ii, 385
appeals to Kai Khusrau, ii, 386
released, ii, 387
describes Giv’s prowess to Afrasiyáb, ii, 389
disgraced, ii, 390
retires to Khutan, ii, 390
appointed to oppose the Iránians, iii, 71, 79
marches on Giravgard to surprise the Iránians, iii, 80
captures the Iránians’ herds, iii, 81
defeats the Iránians, iii, 82, 94
Rulhám’s embassy to, iii, 87
grants a month’s amistice to Fariburz, iii, 88
losses of, in battle, iii, 94
takes half of Káwa’s standard, iii, 94
sends Ruín to attack Bahram, iii, 98
goes to see Bahram, iii, 99
hears of the Iránians’ retreat, iii, 105
informs Afrasiyáb and returns in triumph, iii, 106
Pirán, goes to Khutan, iii, 107
goes to oppose Tús, iii, 117
informs Afrasiyáb of the Iránian invasion, iii, 118
reinforced, iii, 118
joins battle with Tús, iii, 118
sends a warlock to bring a snowstorm on the Iránians, iii, 128
defeats the Iránians, iii, 131
takes counsel with his chiefs, iii, 133
pursues the Iránians, iii, 134
sends Lahlak and Hamán on in advance, iii, 135
reaches Mount Hamawan, iii, 137
beleaguers the Iránians, iii, 138
attacked by Tús, iii, 139
hears of the approach of reinforcements, iii, 151
haangues his host, iii, 151
goes to meet his allies, iii, 153
plan of campaign of, rejected, iii, 162
hears of the arrival of Iránian succours, iii, 164 seq.
Rustam, iii, 174
takes counsel with Kámus and the chiefs, iii, 175, 182
attacks the Iránians, iii, 176
describes Rustam to Kámus, iii, 183
parleys with Rustam, iii, 202
reports to his kindred his interview with Rustam, iii, 206
declives Rustam’s terms, iii, 217
retreats, iii, 231
counsels Afrasiyáb, iii, 253
urges Afrasiyáb to withdraw to Chín, iii, 295
city of, iii, 335
entertains Rustam in disguise, iii, 335
pursues Rustam, iii, 349
sent by Afrasiyáb to invade Irán, iv, 11
Pirán, holds parley with Giv, iv, 20
informs Afrasiyáb, iv, 20
receives reinforcements, iv, 20
rejects Giv's overtures, iv, 21
occupies Kanábad, iv, 22
arrays his host, iv, 25
gives the centre to Húmán iv, 25
left to Burjásp, iv, 26
right to Láhhák and Farshídward, iv, 26
sets scouts on the mountain-top, iv, 26
dissuades Húmán from fighting, iv, 30
hears of Húmán's death, iv, 51
sends Nástihan to make a night-attack, iv, 53
hears of Nástihan's death, iv, 55
attacks Gúdarz, iv, 55
proposes terms to Gúdarz, iv, 63
sends Ruín with letter to Gúdarz, iv, 67
receives Gúdarz' reply, iv, 74
harangues his troops and prepares for battle, iv, 75
sends messenger to Afrásiyáb, iv, 75
receives Afrásiyáb's reply, iv, 80
becomes despondent, iv, 81, 98
sends Láhhák and Farshídward to take the Frankians in flank, iv, 82
fights with Giv, iv, 84
appeals to Láhhák and Farshídward for help, iv, 85
announces the proposed Battle of Eleven Rukhs, iv, 94
gives the chief command to Láhhák and Farshídward, iv, 94
Pirán, instructs them, iv, 95
holds a parley with Gúdarz and arranges with him the Battle of the Eleven Rukhs, iv, 95 seq.
steed of, slain by Gúdarz, iv, 107
falls under his steed and is injured, iv, 107
flees from Gúdarz, iv, 107
refuses to surrender, iv, 168
wounds Gúdarz, iv, 108
lamented for by Láhhák and Farshídward, iv, 112
Kai Khusrau, iv, 127
buried with the Turánian champions by Kai Khusrau, iv, 128
death of, announced to Afrásiyáb, iv, 151
treasures of, taken possession of by Afrásiyáb, iv, 219

Pírúz (Perozes), Sháh, 166 vii, 3 ; vii, 4, 153, 178 seq., 335, 359 ; vii, 73, 75, 108, 242, 245, 297, 285
passed over in the succession by Yazdáqird, vii, 155
helped by the Haitálians, vii, 159, 157
defeats Hurmuz, vii, 157
Hurmuz pardoned by, vii, 159, 158
Reign of, 166 viii, 159 seq.
Note on, vii, 159 seq.
calamities of, vii, 159
title of, vii, 159
relief of, vii, 159
measures of, against drought vii, 150, 102
cities of, vii, 159, 103
expedition of, against the Haitálians, vii, 159, 104 seq.
tradition of, vii, 100
in mythical story, vii, 101
Pirúz (Perozés), Bahram Gúr's pillar said to have been moved by, vii, 161
dughter of, taken prisoner, vii, 161
child of, the wife of Kubád, vii, 161, 184
accession of, vii, 161
advances against Khúshnawáz, vii, 164
gives the van to Hurmuz, vii, 164
gives the rear to Kubád, vii, 164
gives the regency to Balásh, vii, 164
makes Súfarai (Sarkhán) minister to Balásh, vii, 164 and note
repies to the appeal of Khúshnawáz, vii, 165, 167
defeated by Khúshnawáz, vii, 168
death of, vii, 168
Iranian tradition of the revenge for, vii, 170
Súfarai determines to avenge, vii, 173
Pirúz, Iranian chief, vii, 85
Pirúz, Iranian general, vii, 187
Pirúz, Iranian warrior, vii, 219, 273 seq.
exhorts Núshzád to yield, vii, 273
Pirúz, father of Ustád, viii, 290
Pirúz, son of Khusráu, minister of Ardshír son of Shíwí, 175
appointed general, ix, 44
letter of Guráz to, ix, 46
takes counsel, ix, 46
writes to Guráz, ix, 47
Guráz marches against, ix, 48
appeals to Tukhár, ix, 48
feasts with Ardshír, ix, 48
informs Guráz of the death of Ardshír, ix, 51
put to death, ix, 57
Pirúz, Iranian prince, ix, 50

Pirúz, son of Shápur, Iranian noble, takes Rustam's letter to Sáad, ix, 80, 81
Pirúzán, Persian general, commands Persian forces at Nahávand, ix, 68
slain, ix, 69
Pirúz-Rám (Rám-Pirúz), city built by Pirúz, 166, vii, 159, 163
Pirúz Shápur (Ambar q.e.), vi, 327, 357
Piscés, constellation, i, 310 and note; ii, 407; iii, 20, 159, 318; iv, 394; vi, 395; vii, 245; viii, 51, 342; ix, 71
Pishdádian, Pishdádiáns, i, 116, 373; vii, 161, 171
Dynasty, i, 49, 115 seq., 122; ii, 9, 330; iii, 9, 13; vi, 194
Plague. See Pestilence.
Planets, the seven, vi, 206; vii, 408
created by Áhríman, i, 52
evil influence of, i, 52
symbolized in the game of naut, vii, 382
Plato (Falátún), Greek philosopher (B.C. 427-347), vii, 100 note
Planisphere, ii, 215, 216
Pleíads, Pleiades, i, 114, 205, 244, 245, 267, 332; ii, 148, 282, 394, 408; iv, 183, 245, 329; v, 110, 131; vi, 160, 401; vii, 395; viii, 53, 158
Plutarch, Greek writer (A.D. 46-120), vi, 67
Poll-tax, vii, 215, 225
Polo, game of, 145, ii, 263 seq., 292; iv, 340, 350; vi, 329, 379, 382; vii, 57, 118, 143, 235; viii, 246, 247, 258, 371; ix, 16
episode in Kármámak and Sháhnmá, vi, 196, 257, 293, 271
-stick, ii, 292; iv, 350; vi, 271, 272; vii, 118; viii, 247
Porous (Fur q.v.), Indian king, vi, 17, 92 seq., 96, 70, 83
son of, vi, 18, 83;
Darius' letter to, vi, 31
origin of name of, vi, 31
kingdom of, vi, 31
Alexander and, historical account of, vi, 63
in the Pseudo-CaUisthenes, vi, 64, 97
statute of, vi, 63
nephew of, vi, 63
Pourushaspâ, father of Zar-"duhsht (Zoroaster), ii, 9;
v, 14, 15, 17
Prefatory Note, vii, v
Prelate, or bishop q.v., iv, 341, 348
as militarist, iv, 107; v, 309; vi, 144; viii, 47
and note
Prelude, to Shahnâna, i, 99 seq.
Kai Kâts, ii, 20
Suhrâb, ii, 110
Siâyâvash, ii, 104
Kâi Khusrâu, iii, 15
Farâd, iii, 57
Kâmûs, iii, 110
Akwan, iii, 272
Bizhan and Manîzha, iii, 287
Battle of the Twelwe Rukhs, iv, 9
Rustam and Shaghâd, v, 201
Nûshirwân, vii, 220
Humnûz, viii, 77
Presbytêt, iv, 348
Prithâ, Indian princess, iv, 316
Procopius, Byzantine historian (6th century A.D.), vii, 187
Promethiun, i, 57
Pronunciation, Note on, preceding text in each volume.
Property-tax, remission of, 165
Prophet, the, Praise of, 139
Proverb, i, 107, 109, 197; vii, 185; viii, 187
Pseudo-CaUisthenes, Greek Romance of Alexander the Great, ii, 9; vi, 30 seq., 62 seq., 71, 72, 74 seq.
Pseudo-CaUisthenes, account and versions of, vi, 13 seq., 17
vogue of, vi, 17
treatise of Pâlâdins interpolated in, vi, 64
Alexander and Porous in, vi, 64
historic elements in, vi, 83
Egyptian elements in, vi, 83
Persian elements in, vi, 83
Arabic elements in, vi, 83
diagram to illustrate, vi, 84
Ptolemy, son of Lagus, one of Alexander the Great's generals, king of Egypt (B.C. 323-283), and historian, vi, 12, 13, 69
Pâlâd, a div, ii, 44, 54, 55, 64, 93; iii, 250; iv, 296 and note; v, 204
Pâlâd, Iranian hero, ii, 22
Pâlâd, Tûrâniun hero, ii, 264;
iii, 199, 234
Pâlâdwand, Tûrâniun hero or div, 119; iii, 191, 208, 270
summoned by Afrâsiyâb, iii, 254
goes to help Afrâsiyâb, iii, 255
takes counsel with Afrâsiyâb, iii, 250
worsts Tûs, iii, 257
Giv, Ruhhâm, and Bizhan, iii, 258
decaves in twain Kâwa's standard, iii, 258
challenged by Rustam, iii, 259
overthrown by Rustam, iii, 204
withdraws with his army from the field, iii, 205
Pun-t (Berbera q.v.), ii, 70
Pûrândukht, Shah, 175, v, 294;
v, 3; ix, 59
reproaches Kuhâd, ix, 17
makes Shahrânguâz prime minister, ix, 59
True Cross and, ix, 59
Purmáya (Barmáin), brother of Farídún, i, 90, 91; v, 261
referred to, i, 147, 165
Kaiánúsh and, summon the smiths to Farídún, i, 158
Go with Farídún against Zahhák, i, 159
attempt to kill Farídún, i, 160
Pusfarrukh, ix, 50
Python, Apollo and the, vi, 203

Q

Queen of Chín (wife of the Kháń), viii, 190
daughter of, slain by lion-ape, viii, 322
asks Bahárm Chúbína to avenge her daughter, vii, 324
steward of, plots with Kharrád against Bahárm Chúbína
vi, 335
daughter of, cured by Kharrád, viii, 336
grants boon to Kharrád, vii, 338
disgraced, viii, 344
Questions, Mountain of the Holy,
i, 62
hard, vii, 102 seq.
Quince, omen of the, ix, 13, 14
Quintus Curtius, Roman writer
(1st century A.D.), vi, 65
on the Amazons, vi, 72

R

Races, duplicate in West and East, vi, 68
fair-haired, vi, 73
Rád, ruler of Zábúlistán, vii, 86
Ráda, Mount, ix, 91, 94
Rádwi, archimage
pleads with Mahwí for Yazdagírd, ix, 102

Rái, city and district near Tih-rán, 174, i, 363, 366 seq.;
ii, 23, 399; iii, 242; iv, 147, 255, 256; v, 14, 18;
vi, 32, 202, 219, 229; vii, 84, 160, 184; viii, 72,
155, 166, 171, 173, 174, 189, 214, 216, 240; ix,
68, 69, 89, 95, 96
seat of the Magi, i, 60
Khár of. See Khá. i, 368, 374, 381
Ardawán’s capital, vi, 201
Shápúr of, vii, 184, 185, 191, 192
seat of Arsacid power, vii, 72
Bahrám Chúbína goes to, vii, 306
Khusrau Parwiz oppresses, vii, 365
misery of, viii, 367
Gurdya delivers, viii, 368

Rája. See Rájá.

Raibad, town, about twenty miles west of Nishápúr, and district east of the Jagataí range, in Khurásán,*, iv, 17, 22, 23, 47, 55, 76, 88, 112, 134
occupied by Gúdárz, iv, 16
arrival of Káí Khusraú at, iv, 111, 126

Rájá (Rái) of Hind, temp. Lhur-rasp, iv, 321; ix, 17
temp. Núshírwan, 169, vii, 140
and note, 143, 424
proposes wager to Núshír-wán, vii, 5, 385, 387
receives game of nard from Núshír-wán, vii, 5, 381, 389 seq.
fails to discover how to play the game, vii, 392
pays forfeit to Núshír-wán,
vii, 393
receives Núshír-wán’s gifts from Barzíwi, vii, 425

* The village of Riward to the south of the range may perhaps indicate what
was once the western boundary of the district.
Rāja, assists Barzvi in his mission to Hind, vii, 428
letter of, ix, 17
put in charge of Shirin, ix, 17
Rakhsh, Rustam's steed, 142, i, 380; ii, 13, 42 seq., 97, 74, 94, 97, 110, 116, 139, 143, 311, 354; iii, 149, 177, 180, 180, 194, 195, 223, 224, 229, 227, 229, 259, 294, 275, 279, 278, 279, 313, 324, 329, 335, 342, 344, 349 seq., 350, 352; iv, 295; v, 117, 184, 192, 198, 207, 208, 214, 219, 228 seq., 234 seq., 260, 275 caught by Rustam, i, 378 seq.
described, i, 379, 380
care taken of, i, 380
slays a lion, ii, 45
encounters a dragon, ii, 48
stolen by Turkmans, ii, 121 seq.
sire of Shurab's charger, ii, 128
saddled by Giv, Ruhliam, and Tūs for the fight with Shurab, ii, 160
referred to, iii, 184, 228, 253; v, 199
wounded by Asfandiyār, v, 229
returns home without Rustam, v, 229
Rustam's thought of abandoning, v, 235
healed by the Simurgh, v, 237
tries to save Rustam, v, 270
falls into the pit, v, 270
body of, taken from pit by Faramarz, v, 275
tomb of, v, 270
laid of = Rustam, v, 306
Rakhshasas, vi, 13
Rakka (Callinicus, Kālimiyūs q.v., Nicephorium, Warigh), city, viii, 188
Ram, personification of the Divine Grace, i, 374. See mountain-sheep.
Rustam's life saved by a, ii, 49
constellation, ii, 299; v, 129
Rām, Fire-temple, vi, 202, 226
Rām, Íránian warrior, viii, 291
Rām Ardashir, city, vi, 202, 290 and note
Rām Barzin, high priest and general, 167, vii, 275
Kubād's testament kept by, vii, 210
Nūshirwān's instructions to, concerning Nūshzād, vii, 297 seq.
goes to fight with Nūshzād, vii, 272
hears of Nūshzād's last wishes, vii, 276
Rām Barzin, Persian official, viii, 313
Rāmbihsht, wife of Sásān, vi, 198
Rām Hurmuz, city in Khūzistān, east of Ahwāz, vi, 199
plain of, vi, 199
Rāmishn - i - Ardashir, district, vi, 202
Rām Kubād (Aragān), city, vii, 188
Rām Piruz. See Piruz Rām.
Rangwi, Íránian warrior, viii, 296
Rasafa, viii, 188
Kashnawād, captain of the host to Humāi, 158
assembles troops, v, 301
Dārāb enlists under, v, 301
host of, reviewed by Hūmāi, v, 302
marches on Rām, v, 302
and the adventure of the ruined vault, v, 303
gives presents to Dārāb, v, 304
questions Dārāb, v, 304
sends for the launderer and his wife, v, 304
Rashnawād, Dārāb and, defeat the Rūmans, v, 305, 306; praises Dārāb, v, 305, 306; offers Dārāb the spoil, v, 306; grants peace to Caesar, v, 307; returns to Irān, v, 307; hears from the launderer and his wife about the case of Dārāb, v, 308; writes to Humāi about the case of Dārāb, v, 308; appears with Dārāb before Humāi, v, 309; seq. Rās-Shāpūr (Gund-i-Shāpūr, q.v.), city, vi, 255, 259; Rāt, weight, vi, 156 and note. Rāven, Raven-head, ix, 91 and note, 95; note, 96; Rāvi (Hydraotes), river in the Punjab, vi, 64; Rawalpindi, town and district in the Punjab, vi, 62; Rawlinson, Sir Henry, his account of Gotarzes’ inscription at Bihistūn, iii, 9; Rawlinson, Professor, vi, 253; Red Sea, ii, 304; Reeds (bamboos), vi, 71; gigantic, seen by Sikandar, vi, 148; used in house-building, vi, 71, 148; Religion, War of the, v, 10, 26; two campaigns of, v, 29; Remus, See Romulus; Respēh, viii, 188; Responses, of Nūshirwān, viii, 14 seq., 28 seq.; Revellers, Rosary of, ix, 38, 49; Rhyme-words, i, 74; ii, 228; note; v, 261; vi, 372; vii, 88 and note, 89 and note, 174 and note, 245 and note, 203 and note; Firdausi and, vii, 307; note; Ridge of Gushṭāsp, v, 29; Rīv-Ardshīr, city east of the Jārāhī river near the head of the Persian Gulf, vi, 202; referred to, vi, 224; Rīvnīz, son-in-law of Tūs, i, 47; iii, 14, 25, 45, 57, 60, 71; prepares to attack Farūd, iii, 51; referred to, iii, 55; burial of, iii, 68; Rīvnīz, son of Kai Kāns, ii, 3; iii, 14, 96, 113, 114, 232; slain, iii, 93; battle for crown of, iii, 94; Rīvnīz, son of Zarasp, iv, 360; Zarir and, go to Rūm, iv, 360; hail’s Gushṭāsp as Shāh, iv, 362; Rīzmīhr (Zarmīhr), son of Sūfātā, i, 166; vii, 257; viii, 169; identical with Sūsātā, vii, 183; Kubād and, go to the Hairātnās, vii, 186; fate of, vii, 186; loyalty of, to Kubād, vii, 196; helps Kubād to escape from prison, vii, 197; negotiates a marriage for Kubād, vii, 197; made chief minister, vii, 200; Rīzvān, angel, ii, 39 and note, 288; Roc, mythical bird, i, 51, 235; Roman, Romans, i, 10; iii, 286; vi, 254, 318, 325, 326; vii, 244; viii, 188, 189, 195; ix, 50, 66; relations of, with the Irānians, i, 14; empire, Eastern, i, 373; vi, 253; war of, with Persian, vii, 41, 103; Alexander’s legendary visit to, vi, 30; emperors, vi, 321, 371, 372; neglect the defences of the Caucasus, vii, 187; so-called tribute of, to Persia, vii, 187; treatment of Munzir by, vii, 217; leads to war with Nūshirwān, vii, 217.
GENERAL INDEX

Romans, defeat Bahram Chubina, viii, 70
Romance of Alexander the Great (Pseudo-Callisthenes, q.e.) vi, 11 seq., 88
incorporation of, in Shahnama, vi, 19
vogue of, vi, 17
sources of marvels in, vi, 1, 64, 349

diagram to illustrate, vi, 84
Rome, vi, 104, 107, 203, 301, 324
Shapir son of Ardshir's wars with, vi, 204, 207
Bahram Gur's war with, vi, 373
Romulus and Remus, founding legend of, vi, 203
Rook, piece in chess. See Rukh.
Rosary of Revellers, ix, 38, 49
Roxana (Ruschanak, q.e.), vi, 33
Alexander and, vi, 30
account of, vi, 32
Rudaba, daughter of Mibrab, king of Kabul, wife of Zal, and mother of Rustam, 141, 157, i, 145, 209; ii, 44, 180; v, 182, 184, 190

Story of Zal and, i, 256 seq., referred to, iii, 285
Zal hears of, i, 257
description of, i, 257, 259, 260, 272
hears of Zal, i, 260
falls in love with Zal, i, 260
handmaids of, go in quest of Zal, i, 203
interview Zal, i, 260
invited Zal to visit Rudaba, i, 207
reproached by the porter, i, 207
describe Zal, i, 268
prepares to receive Zal, i, 269
entertains, and plights her troth to, Zal, i, 272
Zal consults the archimages on the matter of, i, 273

Rudaba, go-between of, with Zal, i, 280
Zal sends Sam's letter to, i, 280
rewards her go-between, i, 281
go-between of, discovered by Sindukht, i, 281
reproached by her parents, i, 282, 287
congratulated by Sindukht, i, 315
seen and admired by Sam, i, 318
married to Zal, i, 318
Zal and, go to Sistan, i, 319
grieveous travail of, i, 320
saved by the Smith, i, 321
Caesarean operation performed upon, i, 322
gives birth to Rustam, i, 322
fests in sorrow for Rustam, v, 278
frenzy of, v, 278
regains her wits, v, 279
referred to, v, 190, 289
lamentation of, v, 280

Rudagi, Persian poet, versifies the Fables of Bidpai, vii, 383, 431
Rudbar, district, v, 30
Rudyab, father of Papak (in Shahnama), vi, 200, 212
Ruc, wild, as a prophylactic, i, 380

Ruhnam, son of Gudarz, Farnian hero, ii, 4, 62, 73, 144, 158, 310; iii, 19, 33, 48, 87, 115, 120 seq., 139 seq., 154, 157, 182, 187, 211, 248, 259, 294, 298, 273, 322, 350, 352; iv, 13, 15, 21, 31, 37, 147; vii, 159
helps to saddle Rakhsh for the fight with Suhrab, ii, 110
mortal wounds Farud, iii, 64
embassy of, to Piran, iii, 87
attacks Bazir, ii, 128
Ruhham, worsted by Ashkabus, iii, 179
  goes to the help of Rustam, iii, 227
  worsted by Puladwand, iii, 258
  goes with Rustam to rescue Bizhan, iii, 334
  commands the left wing, iv, 24
  superseded pro tem, by Farhad, iv, 92
  chosen to fight with Barman, iv, 97
  slays Barman, iv, 102
  sent by Gudarz to fetch Piran's corpse, iv, 110
  acts as Kai Khusrav's standard-bearer in his combat
  with Shida, iv, 171
  protests against Kai Khusrav's fighting on foot with
  Shida, iv, 174
  holds Kai Khusrav's steed, iv, 175
  instructed by Kai Khusrav to bury Shida, iv, 176
  Kai Khusrav remonstrated with by, and other nobles
  for refusing audience, iv, 275
Ruhham, king of Rai, temp. Bahram Gur, vii, 85
Ruhham, Iranian warrior, vii, 156
  helps Piruz to gain the throne, vii, 156, 186; viii, 73
Ruin, son of Piran, 151, i, 92; iii, 207, 234; iv, 10, 71,
  90, 102, 152, 153, 162
  summons Piran to save Farangis, ii, 323 and note
  sent by Piran to attack Bahrám, iii, 98
  wounded by Bahrám, iii, 99
  put in command of ambush, iv, 26
  bears letter from Piran to Gudarz, iv, 67
Ruin, entertained by Gudarz, iv, 68
  returns to Piran with Gudarz' reply, iv, 74
  goes to help Piran against Giv and is defeated, iv, 84
  chosen to fight with Bizhan, iv, 97
  slain by Bizhan, iv, 103
Runa, place, ix, 91
Rukh, piece in chess (castle), vii, 385, 423
  position of, iv, 8; vii, 388, 422
  move of, iv, 8; vii, 422
Rukhs, Battle of the Twelve, 151; iv, 7 seq.
  meaning of, iv, 7
  Battle of the Eleven, 151, iv, 88
  arranged by Gudarz and Piran, iv, 95 seq.
  Firdausi's reflections on, iv, 7, 98, 106
  referred to, v, 29; vii, 156
Rum, the Eastern Roman Empire, 154, 158, 162, 167,
  172, 173, i, 15, 229; ii, 143, 297, 307, 360; iii, 106, 151, 164, 296; iv, 14,
  133, 148, 196, 197, 208, 272, 312, 314, 316, 317,
  323 seq., 339, 331, 333 seq.,
  339, 341 seq., 345, 348, 349
  354, 355, 355, 359, 360,
  304, 304; v, 75, 76, 102,
  180, 188, 202, 301, 305;
  vi, 49, 51, 51, 53, 81,
  94, 104, 113 seq., and
  passim
  king of = Mahmud, i, 113
  = Sikandar, vi, 172
  West and, Salm's portion, i, 189
  brocade of, i, 157, 183, 210,
  252, 263, 316 and passim;
  iii, 26, 235, 291, 297, 355;
  iv, 128, 271, 304; v, 295;
  vi, 56, 89; vii, 64, 67, 276,
  384; viii, 157, 173, 278,
  337, 367, 374; ix, 99, 101
Rúm, helm of, iii, 114
sea of, iii, 177
city in, founded by Salm, iv, 325
ravaged by Rashnawd and Daráb, v, 307
ambassadors from, come to Daráb, vi, 21
Daráb wars with, vi, 22
prince of, vi, 22
chiefs of, vi, 23, 153
withdraw on Daráb's approach, vi, 23
tribute of, to Frán, vi, 24
explained, vii, 187
ambassadors from, come to Dara, vi, 35
reed (pen) of, vi, 85
stuff of, vi, 143
philosophers of, vi, 115, 154; viii, 276, 382
cavaliers of, vi, 107
Sháh of = Sikandar, vi, 170
Sikandar's policy to safeguard, vi, 178
Arastáli's advice to Sikandar concerning, vi, 179
invaded by Shápúr, vi, 350
slave-girls of, chosen by Bahram Gúr, vi, 382
Bahram Gúr's war with, vii, 4, 5, 84
Núshírwán's wars with, vii, 213
robes of, viii, 308
captured cities of, restored to, viii, 312
monks of, slain by Málwi, ix, 113
Rúman, Rúmans, 154, 158, 162, 167, 172, 173, iii, 399; iv, 357, 390, 393; v, 173, 205
202; vi, 44, 45, 101 seq., 113, 114, 127, 142, 148, 168, 170, 179 seq., and possém
slaves, i, 252; vi, 382; vii, 54, 259
invade Frán, v, 301
defeated by Rashnawd and Daráb, v, 305 seq.
Rúman, Rúmans, king of = Philip of Macedon, vi, 19
carry out works in Frán, vi, 21
= Sikandar, vi, 50, 52, 154
Fránians ask quarter of, vi, 51
tongue, vi, 160; vii, 256, 261
dispute with the Persians as to Sikandar’s burial, vi, 184
sages, vi, 185
their sentences over the coffin of Sikandar, vi, 1, 85, seq.
silk, vi, 280; vii, 424
defeated by Shápúr, son of Arshír, vi, 297
generals build bridge at Shíshhtar, vi, 299
astrologic tablets, vi, 376
cunuchs, vi, 67; viii, 279
ten, vii, 73
helmet, vii, 89, 272, 274
bishop, vii, 275, 276
envoy, viii, 8 seq.
surrender to Núshírwán, viii, 47
entrench themselves, viii, 47
sue for peace and pay tribute viii, 51 seq.
architect, viii, 193, 401
marches, viii, 252
robes, viii, 253
helmets, viii, 105, 270, 417
worsted by Bahram Chúbína, vii, 292
artificers imprisoned by Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 402
released by Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 403
Rúmiya (New Antioch, Súrsán q.t.), a suburb of Ctesiphon (Taisafán) on the east bank of the Tigris, vii, 218
Rús (Russia), vi, 19; viii, 406
king of, vi, 22
Rúshanak (Roxana, q.v.), daughter of Dárá (in Sháhnáma) and wife of Sikandar, 158, 159, ii, 3; vi, 86 seq., 188 account of, vi, 32 derivation of, vi, 33 bestowed by Dárá on Sikandar, vi, 55 son of, vi, 81, 181 visited by Náhúd, vi, 89 married to Sikandar, vi, 90 reference in Sikandar’s Will, to, vi, 181 Rúshan Pirúz, city, vii, 160 Russia, vi, 19 Russian, Russians, vi, 19 empire, vi, 19 foundation of, vi, 19 cloth, ix, 110 Rustam, son of Zál, Iranian national hero, 141-150, 153, 154, 156, 157, i, 42, 68, 90, 174, 235 seq., 376 seq.; ii, 4, 18, 25, 34, 35, 42 seq., 79, 92 seq., 188, 236, 237, 271, 280, 290, 311, 316, 318, 319, 335, 344 seq., 349 seq., 371, 372, 380, 394, 400; iii, 24, 35, 36, 40, 107 seq., 121, 134, 138, 141 seq., 155, 164 seq., 182 seq., 204, 307, 308; iv 11, 13, 27, 30, 65, 157, 167, 172, 198, 220, 227, 277, 285, 289, 292, 310, 324; v, 9, 22, 30, 50, 73, 86, 165, 254 seq., 278, 279, 281, seq., 298; vi, 325, 395; vii, 151; viii, 100, 177, 219, 223, 332; ix, 25 Caesarean birth of, i, 230, 321 seq. account of, in Moses of Chorene, i, 236 presage of, by the astrologers, i, 278, 307 Simurgh, i, 321 origin of name, i, 322 and note effigy of, sent to Salm, i, 322 nurturing of, i, 324 Rustam, goes with Zál and Mihrábl to meet Sám, i, 325 slays the white elephant, i, 327, 377 bidden by Zál to take Mount Sipand, i, 329 takes Mount Sipand, i, 331, 377 sends the Spoil to Zál, i, 333 sets fire to Mount Sipand, i, 333 bidden by Zál to prepare for war, i, 376 reply of, i, 376 Zál gives Sám’s mace to, i, 378 obtains Rakhsh, i, 378 first campaign of, ii, 11 seq. nearly takes Afrásiyáb prisoner, ii, 14, 110, 354 rewarded by Kai Kubád, ii, 21 Seven Courses of (Haft Khwán) 143, ii, 44 seq. life of, saved by a ram, ii, 46 song of, ii, 51 rescues Kai Káús in Mazandarán, ii, 58 handgrip of, ii, 66, 67 encounter of, with Kaláhúr, ii, 67 Juval, ii, 71 audience of, with the king of Mazandarán, ii, 67 seq. encounter of, with the king of Mazandarán, ii, 73 rewarded by Kai Káús, ii, 77 entertains Kai Káús, ii, 83 takes the king of Shám prisoner, ii, 97 defeats Afrásiyáb, ii, 100 made paladin of paladins by Kai Káús, ii, 101 goes in search of Kai Káús, ii, 104 takes part in the Fight of the Seven Warriors, ii, 107 seq. slays Alkús, ii, 115
INDEX

Kustam, and Suhrāb, Story of, ii, 118 seq.
loses Rāhsh, ii, 121
Afrasiyāb’s plot against, ii, 129
hold-a-drinking-bout, ii, 141
quarrels with Kai Kāns, ii, 142
reconciled by Gūdarz, ii, 144 seq.
go in disguise to see Suhrāb, ii, 149
adventure of, with Zhanda Kāzm, ii, 150 seq.
Suhrāb described by, ii, 151, 166
encampment of, described, ii, 154
armed by Tūs, Giv, and Kuhlān for his fight with Suhrāb, ii, 160
challenges Suhrāb, ii, 161
charge of, to Zawāra, ii, 167
declines Suhrāb’s advances, ii, 169
saves his life by a ruse, ii, 170
prays that his strength may be restored, ii, 171
learns too late that Suhrāb is his son, ii, 173
grief of, ii, 173 seq.
makes a truce with Hūmān, ii, 179
tries to slay Hajīr, ii, 179
himself, ii, 177
brings up Siyāwush, ii, 196
matches with him against Afrasiyāb, ii, 225, seq.
returns and quarrels with Kai Kāns, ii, 242 seq.
grief and wrath of, at the death of Siyāwush, ii, 338 seq.
puts Surkh to death, ii, 349
lights with the Tūrāmians, ii, 349 seq.
appoints Tūs ruler of Chāch, ii, 355
Gūdarz ruler of Sughd and Sipanjāb, ii, 358

Kustam, daughter of, ii, 383, 384, iii, 324
wife of, ii, 384, iii, 323
hears of Kai Khusrau’s arrival in Frān, ii, 395
Turkman occupation of Za-bulistan, account of by, iii, 14
goes to do homage to Kai Khusrau, iii, 17
witnesses Kai Khusrau’s oath to avenge Siyāwush, iii, 22
proposes to Kai Khusrau to expel Turkmans from Za-bulistan, iii, 30
asks Kai Khusrau to pardon Tūs and the Frāmans in the matter of Fatūd, iii, 113
summoned by Kai Khusrau, iii, 143
advocates the marriage of Fariburz and Farangis, iii, 149
marches to succour Tūs, iii, 148
meets Gūdarz, iii, 171
takes counsel with Tūs and the chiefs, iii, 172
arrays the host, iii, 177
fight of, with Ashkabūs, legend about, iii, 199
referred to, viii, 75
parleys with Ashkabūs, iii, 180
slays Ashkabūs, iii, 181
described by Pirān, iii, 183
harangues the troops, iii, 186, 219, 223, 232, 235
challenged by Kāmūs, iii, 187
spear-bearer of, slain by Kāmūs, iii, 188
parleys with Kāmūs, iii, 188
takes Kāmūs prisoner, iii, 189
and the Khān of Chin, Story of, 149, iii, 191 seq.
referred to, iii, 193
slays Chingish, iii, 195

VOL. IX.
Rustam, parleys with Húmán, iii, 196
conditions of peace offered by, iii, 197, 205
parleys with Pi'ran, iii, 202
proposes peace on terms to the Iránians, iii, 211
warned by Gúdarz not to trust Pi'ran, iii, 212
wrath of, with Pi'ran, iii, 218
unhoises Shangul, iii, 221
prowess of, in battle, iii, 222
seq.
overthrows Kundur, iii, 224
slays Sáwa, iii, 224

Gahášt, iii, 225
attacks the Khán of Chín, iii, 225, seq.
victorious, iii, 231, seq.
wroth with Tús and the Iránians, iii, 234
sends Faríburz to Kai Khusrau with tidings of victory, iii, 230, seq.
leads on the host, iii, 238
reaches Sugd, iii, 244
sends troops to attack Bídád, iii, 244
slays Káfír, iii, 245
besieges and storms Bídád, iii, 246

sends Gív to raid Khutan, iii, 247
praised by Gúdarz, iii, 248
described by Afrásiyáb, iii, 251
attacks the Turánians, iii, 257
challenges Púládwand, iii, 259
overthrows Púládwand, iii, 264
defeats the Turánians, iii, 266
divides the spoil, iii, 266
ravages Turán, iii, 266
returns in triumph, iii, 267
asks Kai Khusrau's leave to return to Zál, iii, 269
rewarded by Kai Khusrau, iii, 269

Rustam, Story of fight of, with the div Akwán, 149, iii, 271 seq.
summoned to court by Kai Khusrau, iii, 274
pursues the div Akwán, iii, 275
foiled by Akwán, iii, 276
taken at a disadvantage by Akwán, iii, 276
offered a choice of deaths by Akwán, iii, 277
outwits Akwán, iii, 277
finds Rakhs among Afrásiyáb's herds, iii, 278
encounters Afrásiyáb's herds, iii, 279
defeats Afrásiyáb, iii, 280
slays Akwán, iii, 281
carries off the spoil, iii, 281
welcomed by Kai Khusrau, iii, 282
tells his adventure with Akwán, iii, 282
rewarded by Kai Khusrau, iii, 283
returns home, iii, 283
summoned to court in the matter of Bizhán, iii, 319 seq.
visited by Gív, iii, 322
promises to help Gív, iii, 324
goes with Gív to court, iii, 326
address of, to Kai Khusrau, iii, 327
undertakes the rescue of Bizhán, iii, 330
plan of, iii, 333
chooses his comrades, iii, 334
goes disguised to Turán, iii, 335
gives presents to Pirán, iii, 336
welcomed by Pirán, iii, 336
opens a market, iii, 337
interviews of, with Manízha, iii, 337, 342
Rustam, sends food and his ring to Bizhan, iii, 340
removes boulder of Akwán from pit’s mouth, iii, 345
makes conditions for release with Bizhan, iii, 345
releases Bizhan, iii, 346
arrays his troops against Afrásiyáb, iii, 350
mocks Afrásiyáb, iii, 351
defeats Afrásiyáb, iii, 352
triumpant return of, iii, 353
presents Bizhan to Kai Khusrau, iii, 354
rewarded by Kai Khusrau, iii, 356
goes to Sístán, iii, 356
sent to Hindustan by Kai Khusrau, iv, 14
successes of, iv, 60, 71
troops of, recalled, iv, 145
commands the right wing, iv, 147
attacks with Kai Khusrau from the centre, iv, 180
goestoZawaráto the right wing, iv, 180
sent to the desert to attack Tawurq, iv, 188
reports his defeat of Tawurq, iv, 193
advances, iv, 194
failure of Afrásiyáb’s attempt to surprise, iv, 195
takes part in the siege of Gang-bihísht, iv, 199, 208 seq.
Kai Khusrau’s converse with, iv, 168, 199
captures Jahn and Garsiawaz, iv, 210
advises Kai Khusrau to reject Afrásiyáb’s overtures, iv, 222
ordered to prepare for a night-attack from Afrásiyáb, iv, 224
supports Kai Khusrau’s proposal to pursue Afrásiyáb to Gang-dizh, iv, 231

Rustam, left by Kai Khusrau in Chin, iv, 241
welcomes Kai Khusrau on his return from Gang-dizh, iv, 251
accompanies Kai Khusrau to Siyáwushgúrd, iv, 252
summoned by the Íránians to remonstrate with Kai Khusrau, iv, 278
with Zál and the sages, sets forth for Irán, iv, 279
met on arrival by Gúdarz and other chiefs, iv, 282
holds converse with the Íránians, iv, 282
audience of, with Kai Khusrau, iv, 283 seq.
holds, with other chiefs, at the bidding of Kai Khusrau an assembly on the plain, iv, 291 seq.
Kai Khusrau’s gift to, iv, 295
confirmed by Kai Khusrau in possession of Nim-rúz, iv, 297
sets out with Kai Khusrau on his pilgrimage, iv, 306
turns back at the bidding of Kai Khusrau, iv, 307
laments the loss of the paladins and returns to Irán, iv, 310
Zál and, welcome Gushtásp to Sístán, v, 85
rivalry in legend between Asfandíyár and, v, 116
Haft Khwán of, compared with that of Asfandíyár, v, 117
Asfandíyár’s fight with, Story of, 156, v, 190 seq
recited by Nadr, son of Hárrith, at Mecca, v, 166
referred to, v, 166, 170, 306
Gushtásp bids Asfandíyár go against, v, 173
Asfandíyár’s message to, v, 179
Rustam, life of, attempted by Bahman, v, 184
interview of, with Bahman v, 185
entertains Bahman, v, 186
great appetite of, v, 186, 219
jest with Bahman on his small appetite, v, 186
sends Zawara and Faramarz to bid Zal and Rûdába prepare to receive Asfandiyâr, v, 190
goes to the Hîrmund, v, 191
parleys with Asfandiyâr, v, 192, seq.
invites Asfandiyâr to visit him, v, 193
accepts Asfandiyâr’s invitation to a feast, v, 193
tells Zal, of his interview with Asfandiyâr, v, 196
indignation of, at not being summoned to the feast, v, 197
sets forth to reproach Asfandiyâr, v, 198
wrangle of, with Asfandiyâr, v, 198 seq.
demands his proper seat at the feast, v, 200
Zal and, vilified by Asfandiyâr, v, 201
details his ancestry, v, 202
recounts Sám’s exploits, v, 202
his own exploits, v, 203, 207
patents of, from Kai Kâús and Kai Khusrau, v, 203
aged six hundred years, v, 204
tries a handgrip with Asfandiyâr, v, 209
accepts Asfandiyâr’s challenge, v, 209
asks for neat wine, v, 211
makes fresh overtures to Asfandiyâr, v, 211 seq.
addresses the royal tent-enclosure, v, 215

Rustam, bids Zawara bring him his arms, v, 218
rejects Zâl’s counsels, v, 220
arms for battle, v, 222
gives Zawara charge of the troops, v, 222
goes with Zawara to the Hîrmund, v, 222
invites Zawara, v, 222
crosses the Hîrmund and summons Asfandiyâr to the combat, v, 223
suggests a general engagement, v, 224
distress of, at the death of Nûsh Azar and Mihr-i-Nûsh, v, 228
offers to surrender Zawara and Faramarz to Asfandiyâr, v, 228
wounded by Asfandiyâr, v, 229
flees from Asfandiyâr, v, 229
sends Zawara with a message to Zal, v, 230
parleys with Asfandiyâr, v, 231
recrosses the Hîrmund, v, 231
kin of, grieve over his wounds, v, 234
bids the leeches to attend to Rakhsh first, v, 234
despair of, v, 235
advised by Zal, v, 235
Zal summons the Simurgh to the aid of, v, 235
healed by the Simurgh, v, 237
instructed by the Simurgh how to overcome Asfandiyâr, v, 237, seq.
cuts the fatal branch of tamarisk, v, 239
prepares the arrow, v, 240
summons Asfandiyâr to renew the light, v, 240
makes a final effort for peace with Asfandiyâr, v, 241 seq.
Rustam, behails Asfandiyār to Bishūtān, v, 240
Asfandiyār contentes Bahman to, v, 241
foretells an evil future for, v, 248
laments Asfandiyār, v, 250
warned by Zawārā against Bahman, v, 250
sends Asfandiyār’s corpse to Gushtāsp, v, 254
Bahman remains with, v, 252, 259
instructs Bahman, v, 250
writes to Gushtāsp to excuse himself in the matter of Asfandiyār, v, 250
overtures of, to Gushtāsp supported by Bishūtān, v, 257
Gushtāsp accepts the excuses of, and writes to, v, 257
requested by Gushtāsp to send back Bahman, v, 258
equips Bahman for his journey, v, 258
Story of, and Shaghād, 157, v, 200 seq.
provenance of, v, 200 seq.
death of, v, 201, 273, 289
versions of, v, 294
Kābul’s tribute to, question of, v, 295
Shaghād and the king of Kābul, v, 295
plot against, v, 295
takes up Shaghād’s cause, v, 297
prepares to occupy Kābul with a host, v, 268
persuaded by Shaghād to go with Zawārā and a small escort, v, 268
pardons king of Kābul, v, 299
entertained by king of Kābul, v, 299
goes hunting with Zawārā, v, 270
falls a victim to treachery, v, 270

Rustam, Shaghād, glories over, v, 271
slays Shaghād, v, 272
last words of, v, 272
corpse of, taken from the pit by Fārāmarz, v, 274
obsequies of, v, 274 seq.
Artabanus and, v, 282
burial place of, v, 287
scene of the battle between Bahman and Fārāmarz, v, 287
personification of the Saca, i, 68; vi, 104
conduct of, in Hámainarán, vii, 104, 108
banner of, bestowed on Bahram Chūbina, viii, 105, 217

Rustam, Persian commander in chief under Yazdagird III, 176; ix, 90, 97, 99, 73, 81 seq., 90, 93
brother of Farrukhzād, vii, 413 and note
rebel of, vii, 413
overthrows Azarmdukh, ix, 59
advances to Kādisiya, ix, 67, 73
end of, ix, 69
indis evil aspects in the stars ix, 73
writes to his brother, ix, 73
hears of Shu’ba Mughira’s arrival, ix, 82

Rūzbih, Bahram Gūr’s high priest, 164, vii, 20 seq., 54, 67
bewails Bahram Gūr’s course of life, vii, 56
reproached by Bahram Gūr for his parsimony, vii, 83
Rūzbih, scribe, viii, 252

S

SA’AD, son of Wakkās, Arab general, 176, ix, 67, 68, 82 seq., 90
Sa'ad, succeeds Abū 'Ubaida, ix, 67
at Kādīsiya, ix, 67, 69
founds Kūta, ix, 67
takes Ctesiphon, ix, 67
recalled, ix, 68
sent by 'Umar to invade Iran, ix, 72
letter of Rustam to, ix, 78
taken by 'Irūz, ix, 80, 81
Sabbākh, king of Yaman, iv, 146
Sabz dar sabz, melody, viii, 399
and note
Sacaē (Scythians), i, 17, 19
Rustam a personification of, i, 68; vi, 104
Sacaēstān. See Sīstān.
Sacrifice, human, and serpent-worship, i, 143
Sada, feast of, I49, i, 23; iv, 317; v, 309; vi, 33, 55.
230 and note, 245, 273.
389; vii, 11, 94, 200; viii, 68, 133, 216, 313;
x, 40 92
institution of i, 124
Sāda, Irānian noble, vii, 312
Safīd Rūd, river flowing through Gilān into the Caspian,
v, 13, 16
Sagastān (Sīstān q.v.), v, 13
Sage, sages, I59, vi, 101, 103
Indian, vi, 62
naked (Brahmans q.v.)
of Kaid. See Kaid.
saying of, viii, 155
Sagittarius, constellation, i, 188; iv, 355
Sagsār, Sagsārs, district and tribe, i, 279 and note, 290,
323, 339; ii, 143; iii, 152, 207
Sahadeva, one of the five Pāndavas, iv, 138
referred to, iv, 139
Sahi, wife of Iraj, i, 188
referred to, i, 182 seq.
Sahl, son of Māhān, Irānian noble, v, 260, 261, 263
Saifu'd-Daula, title of Sultān Mahmūd, i, 21
Sakīl, son of Cesar, temp. Lahrāsp, iv, 355
commands the left wing, iv, 355
Sakīla, mountain, 169, iv, 342;
viii, 41
dragon of, I54, iv, 342 seq.
referred to, iv, 343, 351,
358
stronghold of, taken by Rūmans, viii, 47
Saklāb (Slavonia), ii, 360; iii,
152, 164, 177, 185, 204,
218, 221 seq., 235, 238,
243, 255; vi, 179; vii,
112, 115, 304; viii, 379
Salm, eldest son of Fāridūn, I40,
I41, i, 42, 90, 91, 153 seq.,
335, 342, 344, 362; ii,
19, 237, 318; iii, 37, 115,
iv, 60, 69, 269, 272; v,
265, 261, 284; vi, 353;
vi, 101; viii, 266, 270,
300, 379 note, 378, 381
racial significance of, i, 54
etymology of, Firdausī's, i,
174
naming of, i, 187
horoscope of, i, 188
receives Rūm and the West,
i, 189
envies Iraj, i, 190
plots with Tūr, i, 190
Tūr and, demand the abdication of Iraj, i, 191
Iraj visits, i, 198
Iraj not welcomed by,
i, 198 seq.
slay Iraj, i, 201
send Iraj's head to Fāridūn,
i, 202
hear of Minūchihr, i, 208
send an embassy to Fāridūn,
i, 208
receive Fāridūn's reply, i,
213 seq.
pREPARE FOR WAR, i, 215
worsted by Minūchihr, i,
220
plan night-surprise, i, 220
worsted, i, 221
Salm, hears of Tār’s defeat and death, i, 223
retreats on the castle of the Alâns, i, 223
prevented by Minúčihir, i, 223
flees from Minúčihir, i, 227
slain by Minúčihir, i, 228
troops of, ask quarter of Minúčihir, i, 228
head of, sent to Faridûn, i 229
Scimitar of, iv, 335 seq.
Salt, Rustam’s caravan of, i, 330 seq.
desert, i, 3
fish, legend of the, vi, 76 seq.
Sâm, son of Narîmân, Íranian hero, father of Zâl and
grandfather of Rustam, 141, 142, i, 42, 207, 212,
231, 235, 238 seq., 337
344, 375; ii, 4, 19, 17, 33,
34, 49, 125, 126, 137, 140,
173, 182, 183; iii, 35, 121,
202, 215, 200, 279, 283;
iv, 222, 251, 290, 301,
319; v, 14, 15, 58, 62, 63,
196, 198 seq., 242, 282
seq., 266, 267, 274, 285,
289, 289, 290; vii, 74;
viii, 223
pronunciation of, i, 95 note
etymology of, i, 171 seq.
Minúčihir confided to, by
Faridûn, i, 231
mace of, i, 235, 290, 207, 328
given by Zâl to Rustam, i, 378
speech of, to Minúčihir, i, 238
casts away his son Zâl at birth, i, 241
hears rumours of Zâl, i, 243
dreams of, concerning Zâl, 1, 243, 244
consults the archmagies and
bidden to seek his son, i, 243
finds his son on Mount Alburz, i, 244 seq.
Sâm, son of, restored to him by
the Simurgh, i, 247
returns home with Zâl, i, 248
congratulated by Minúčihir, i, 248
goes with Zâl to court, i, 249
tells of his quest to Minúčihir, i, 250
Minúčihir’s gifts to, i, 251
public rejoicings at his home-coming, i, 252
goes to the wars and leaves Zâl to rule in Zâbulistân,
i, 253
Mîhrâb tributary to, i, 256
Zâl writes to, about Rûdâba, i, 275
receives Zâl’s letter to, i, 277
consults the astrologers, i, 278
Rustam’s birth foretold to, i, 278
replies to Zâl’s letter, i, 279
returns from the war, i, 280
summoned to court, i, 289
welcomed by Minúčihir, i, 289
tells of his campaign, i, 290
slays Karkwî, i, 291
bidden to destroy Mîhrâb
and all his belongings, i, 292
welcomes and promises to
help Zâl, i, 293
writes to Minúčihir and
pleads past services, i, 295
tells of the slaying of the
dragon of the Kashaf, i, 296
“One blow,” i, 297, 299
receives Sindukht in audience i, 302
invited by Sindukht to visit Kâbul, i, 305
dismisses Sindukht with gifts, i, 305
hears of Zâl’s success with
Minúčihir and informs Mîhrâb, i, 314
goes with Zâl to Kâbul, i, 317
Sám, sees Rúdába and felicitates Zál, i, 318
returns to Sístán, i, 319
entertains Mihráb and Síndukht, i, 319
leaves Zál the regent of Sístán and goes on a campaign, i, 319
hears of the birth of Rustam, i, 323
writes to congratulate Zál, i, 323
comes to see Rustam, i, 324
bids Zál and Rustam farewell, i, 327
hears of Rustam's success at Mount Sipand and writes to Zál, i, 334
Naudar's appeal to, i, 339
goes to court, i, 340
met and offered the crown by the Iránian chiefs, i, 340
refuses the crown, i, 340
reconciles the chiefs and Naudar, i, 341
counsels Naudar, i, 341
rewarded by Naudar, i, 341
deaths of, referred to, i, 345, 346, 349
obsequies of, 358
mace of, given by Zál to Rustam, i, 378
exploits of, recounted by Rustam, v, 202
Sám, Iránian warrior, temp. Yazdagird son of Shápúr, vi, 395
Sáma Kesáspá Narimanau, Iránian hero, i, 171 seq.
Samangán, city south-east of Balkh (?), i, 144 ii, 121 seq., 130
king of, i, 144, ii, 118, 140, 184
entertains Rustam, ii, 122
father of Zhanda Razm, ii, 150
Sámání, Sámáníds, i, 14, 20, 21, 67; vii, 5, 383
end of dynasty of, i, 21
Samarkand (Sogdiana, Sughd), city and district in Turkistán, ii, 241; vii, 107, 358, 359; viii, 377; ix, 96, 115
early seat of Aryan civilization (?), i, 7
settlement of the Huns at, i, 19
Sambáz, Iránian chief, speech of, vii, 242
Samírán, king, vi, 405 and note
Samkurán, Iránian hero, iv, 149
Sandar, Sandaris, the Arar tree, vi, 19
Sandal, Sandali, city in Hind, vii, 395, 396, 401 seq.
king of, entertained by Bahram Gúr, vii, 140 seq.
Sanja, a div, ii, 39, 40, 44, 55; iv, 296; v, 204
Sanscrit, vii, 382
Sapad, mountain. See Spentódata.
Sapandámad. See Spandármad.
Sapínúd, daughter of Shangul, vi, 3; vii, 144
married to Bahram Gúr, vii, 128
finds out who her husband is, vii, 131
plans Bahram Gúr's flight from Hind, vii, 132
reproached by Shangul, vii, 135
converted to Zoroastrianism, vii, 139
visited by Shangul, vii, 142
Sapor I (Shápúr son of Ardashír q.v.), Sásánian king, vi, 294, 321
Sapor II (Shápúr son of Urmuzd q.v.), Sásánian king, i, 374; v, 13; vi, 294, 321; viii, 41
Sapor III (Shápúr son of Shápúr q.v.), vi, 395
Sarakhs, city in Kuarásan, between Nishápúr and Marv, ii, 108
Saraparda, i. 84
Saroshmanu cinzade. See Homa.
Sargon 1. of Assyria, v, 203.

building legend of, v, 303
Sarí, city in Mazandaran, i, 230, 280, 300; v, 174, vii, 237; viii, 108, 341, 355, 362; ix, 80

Irish captives imprisoned at, i, 303 released, i, 307
Sat-epul-i-Zohab, vii, 187
Sarkab, Ruman general, viii, 281, 292
Sarkash (Sergius), minstrel, 174, vii, 193, 303 seq. 409

Story of, 174, viii, 390
disgrace of, viii, 399
Sarkhán. See Súhar. 
Sarúch, desert in Kirmán, ii, 226, vii, 302
Sarúq, Jacob of, Syriac poet. See Jacob.

Sarv, king of Yaman, 140, i, 211, 280; v, 209; vi, 73
daughters of, asked in marriage by Faridún for his sons, i, 178
consults his chiefs, i, 179
agrees, conditionally, to Faridún’s request, i, 181
attempts to outwit Faridún’s sons, i, 183 seq.
gives his daughters in marriage to Faridún’s sons, i, 185

Sarv—Ázad Sarv, q.v.
Sásán, eponym of Sásánian dynasty, viii, 210, 220, 339, 341
Sásán, son of Bahman, ii 3; vi, 290

disinherited and flees from court, v, 204
account of, v, 291

Sásán, name of Fará’s son and several of his descendants, ii 3; vi, 200, 211, 224, 255; ix, 105 and note

Sásán, descendants of, help Ardashir Pápakán, vi, 224

House of, vi, 251, 270 and note
linage of, ix, 59, 105 and note

Sásán, father of Ardashir Pápakán, 160, vi, 3, 193, 198, 200, 201, 249
legend of, vi, 211 seq.
marrs daughter of Pápak, vi, 213

Sásánian, Sásánians, i, 11, 374; iii, 9; v, 13, 281; vi, 81, 209, 225, 253, 257; vii, 85, 185, 214, 237; viii, 95, 74, 75, 339, 413
note; ix, 4, 5, 46, 47, 59, 54, 65, 74, 75, 76, 77, 83, 105

dynasty, i, 49, 374; ii, 10; v, 10, 282; vi, 249 seq., 253, 257, 321; vii, 1 seq., 381; viii, 73; ix, 4
Tabari on the rise of the, vi, 108
characterised, vi, 249
Zoroastrianism under, vi, 251
Masúdi on Church and State under, vi, 251
duration of, vi, 257
empire, i, 11; vi, 193, 327; viii, 103

conquered by the Arabs, ix, 65 seq.
genalogical table of, vi, 3, 253
Tabari’s history of, vi, 14 note

titious genealogies of, v, 200; vi, 100, 211, 250
view of Sikandar, vi, 15, 224
and note, 250 and note
rivalry with Arsacids, vii, 73
usage, viii, 109
architecture, vii, 103
race viii, 285, 350, note

Satire, Fírúnd’s, on Sultán Mahmúd, i, 40 seq.
Satrapy, satrapies, Núshírwnán's four ix, 69
Saturn, planet, i, 72, 109, 161, 204, 245, 295, 311; ii, 183, 208, 215, 247, 263, 310, 319, 394, 407; iii, 32, 110, 178, 232, 237, 254, 268, 318; iv, 31, 214; v, 68, 89, 136, 154, 159, 220, 233; vi, 97, 115, 179, 281, 318, 385; vii, 92, 131, 252, 267, 346, 418; viii, 24, 66, 324, 392, 395; ix, 73
sphere of, ix, 92
Sav (the Sāybar of the Pahlaví texts, now Chashmah-i-Sabz), a lake among the hills in the neighbourhood of Tūs and Mashad, 163, vi, 373, 392
legend of, vi, 372, 391 seq.
Savalán, mountain in Ázarbājān v, 14
Sáwa, Tūrání hero, i, 49, iii, 224
slain by Rustam, iii, 224
Sáwa, Irání hero, v, 154
left in charge of the Brazen Hohl by Asfandiyár, i, 154
Sáwa, ruler of the Turks, 170; viii, 74, 94 seq., 100 seq., 107, 108, 110 seq., 123, 129, 132, 133, 135, 137, 139, 164, 169, 174, 216, 219, 222, 224, 240
=Chao-wou, viii, 72
attacks Hurmuzd, viii, 92
letter of, to Hurmuzd, viii, 93
prophecy about, viii, 98
Hurmuzd sends Kharrád, son of Barzín, to, viii, 110
hears of Bahram Chúbina's army and blames Kharrád viii, 110
offers of, to Bahram Chúbina, viii, 113 seq., 117 seq.; employs sorcery against the Iráníans, viii, 123
defeated and slain, viii, 126
Sáwa, head of, set on lance, viii, 130
wealth of, sent to Hurmuzd, viii, 133
Sawurg, Indian king, 159, vi, 64, 118
Sayce, Professor, on the Ama-
zons, vi, 71
Scandinavians, vi, 73
found the Russian empire, vi, 19
Scimitar of Salm, iv, 335 seq.
Scotland, vi, 79
vitified forts in, vi, 79
Scribe, scribes, office of, highly esteemed, i, 27 and note; vii, 311; vii, 50
put to death by Hurmuzd, viii, 71, 81 seq.
Scriptures, Zoroastrian. See Zandavasta.
Scylla, Nisus and, story of, vi, 323 note
Scythia, iv, 316
Scythians (Sacae), their relations with the Iránians, i, 17
cars of, with Darius Hys-
tapsis, vi, 11
Seasons, confusion of the, ix, 77
note
Sects, Muhammadan, i, 99
parable of, i, 107
Seleucia (Bih Ardshir q.v.), city on the right bank of the Tigris, opposite to Ctesi-
phon (Taisafín), ii, 80; vi, 254, 291 note, 322; viii, 189, 194, 196
Semiramis, legendary queen of Assyria, historically Sam-
muramat, wife (?) of Samsí Adad king of Assy-
ria (B.C. 824-804), ii, 10; vi, 69, 405 note
legend of, v, 292, 293
Humái and, v, 292, 293
Semitic, the, i, 9
relations of, with the Irán-
ians, i, 9 seq., ix, 65
Seneca the younger, Nero's tutor (B.C. 3—A.D. 65), vii, 279
GENERAL INDEX 363

Seoses (Sūfarai ?), Persian commander-in-chief, temp. Kubād, vi, 187
Sergiopolis, vii, 188
Sergius, Saint and Martyr, viii, 188
patron saint of Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 188, 195
Roman leader in Tabari, viii, 188
Sergius (Sarkash), minstrel, viii, 193
Serpent, serpents, on Zahhāk's shoulders, i, 139
worship and human sacrifice, i, 143
Seven, favourite number in Persian story, vii, 186, 280, Banquets of Nushirwan. See Banquet.
Climes. See Climes.
Courses (Haft Khwan) of Rustam. See Rustam.
Planets. See Planet.
Persian nobles, legend of the vi, 207
transferred to Ardshīr Pāpākān (?), vi, 207
Stages (Haft Khwān) of Asfandiyyār. See Asfandiyyār.
Warriors, Fight of the, i, 143, ii, 25, 82, 107 seq.
Founts, jewel, viii, 392 and forty Shāhs, viii, 395 and note
Severus, Roman Emperor (A.D. 146-211), vi, 322
Hatra besieged by, vi, 322
Shabāhang, Farhād's steed, iii, 313; iv, 8
Bīzhan's steed, iv, 47
Shadbiz, Bahram Gūr's steed, vii, 37, 80
Gīv's steed, iii, 257
Lahrāsp's steed, iv, 323 taken by Gushtāsp, iv, 323
Mihrāb's steed, i, 326
Khusrau Parwiz' steed, viii, 407; ix, 30
Shabrang, Bahram Gūr's steed, vii, 37, 80
Bīzhan's steed, iii, 209, 302, 313; iv, 8, 39, 59, 119, 124
Shādān son of Barzin, one of Firdausi's authorities, i, 67, 69; vii, 382, 423
Shaddād, son of 'Ad, legend of, i, 100
Shādward, treasure, viii, 406 and note
Shaghād, son of Zāl, 157, v, 291
Story of Rustam and, 157, v, 290 seq.
provenance of, v, 260
birth of, v, 263
astrologers' evil prognostic of, v, 264
sent to be brought up at Kābul, v, 264
marries the daughter of the king of Kābul, v, 264
king of Kābul and, plot against Rustam, v, 265 seq.
pretended quartel of, with the king of Kābul, v, 266
goes to Zābul, v, 267
cause of, taken up by Rustam, v, 267
persuades Rustam to go with Zawārā and a small escort to Kābul, v, 268
warns the king of Kābul of Rustam's coming, v, 269
glories over Rustam, v, 271
outwitted and slain by Rustam, v, 272
corpse of, burnt, v, 277
Shāh, accession of, ceremony at, vi, 409
Shāhā, city in Hāmāvārān, ii, 89
Shāhābād, the modern name for the ruins of Gund-i-Shāhpūr in Khūzistān, vi, 295
Shahd, river, ii, 108; iii, 11, 110, 118, 123, 152, 173, 230, 241; vi, 391, 392
Shahd, mountain, iii, 237
Shāhnāma (Bastān-nāma, Khudāi-nāma), i, 39, i, 60; ix, 4 seq., 43, 50, 61, 70
subject-matter of, how preserved, i, 50
origin of, i, 65 seq.
put into writing, i, 66
Prose, compilers of, referred to, viii, 71, 79
probably compiled by Magi, i, 69
referred to, by Firdausī, i, 108, 109; iv, 141 seq.; vi, 196
more than one, i, 29, 60, 67, 69
Dakīkī and. See Dakīkī.
Shāhnāma, Firdausī's, i, 39, 176, 3, 23 seq.; iii, 7, 9, 11, 14, 271, 286; iv, 7, 8, 136 seq., 316, v, 9 seq., 19, 20, 22 seq., 27 seq., 293, 294; vi, 3 and note, 30, 31, 66 seq., 72, 79, 82 seq., 194 seq., 205 seq., 249 seq., 253, 256, 270 note, 294, 301, 307, 310, 325, 329; vii, 5, 150, 184, 185, 215, 217, 317, 381; viii, 3, 41, 42, 71, 72, 74 seq., 187 seq.
161, 192
scene of, i, 3
theme of, i, 8, 47
Baiṣinghar Khān's edition of, i, 23
completion of, Firdausī on, 176; ix, 121
date of completion of, i, 24; ix, 122
length, metre, and language of, i, 47; iv, 8; ix, 122
anomalies of, i, 48
explained, i, 48
divisions and chief characters of, i, 49
machinery of, i, 51
leading motives of, i, 53
cosmogony of, i, 71; iv, 130
imagery of, i, 72
editions of, i, 76
translations of, i, 77, 87
Shāhnāma, principles of the present translation of, i, 77 seq.
certain terms used in, explained, i, 80 seq.
Firdausī on the compilation of, i, 108
historic element in mythical period of, iii, 8 seq.
Greek subject-matter in, vi, 11
derivation of Sikandar given in, vi, 19
historic period of, i, 49; vi, 29
Irān and, analogy between, vi, 193
portion of, corresponding to Kārnāmaka, vi, 196
Kārnāmaka and, compared, vi, 200 seq., 255 seq.
Wisdom-literature in, vii, 278 seq.
Shāhnāma, of Abū-'Alī Muham-
mad, i, 69
Shahra, chief, 165, vii, 92
made king of Tiiran by Bahrām Gūr, vii, 92
Shahrām-Pirūz. See Bādān Pirūz.
Shahrān, ix, 102
pleads with Māhwi for Yaz-
dagird, ix, 102
Shahrān Gurāz, Irānian warrior, speech of, vii, 239
Shahrangurāz (Hurmuzd Shah-
rangurāz, Gurāz q.v.), 175; ix, 59
heads conspiracy against Gurāz; ix, 54
Shahr-Banū-Iram, sister of Giv and wife of Rustam, ii, 4, 384
Shahrbarāz (Gurāz q.v.), Irānian general, vii, 194; ix, 43, 50
revolt of, viii, 195
sons of, viii, 199
rebellion of, ix, 43, 44
alliance of, with Heraclius, ix, 44
Shahr-Barz. See Shahrbarāz.
Shahgir, warrior in Sikandar’s host, vi, 145, 146
takes Khadrâ’s son and daughter-in-law prisoners, vi, 145
Shahgir, captain of the host to Ardshir Papakân, vi, 241
Ardshir’s instructions to, vi, 241
Sháhí, son and daughter-in-law prisoners, vi, 125, 126
Shahgir, captain of the host to Ardshir Papakân, vi, 241
Shahgirz (Shahrbaraz q.v.), ix, 50
Shahrírâz, sister of Jamshid, wife of Zâhak and Faridün, and mother of Saflm and Tûr, i, 99, 142, 164
sept. 177
married to Zâhak, i, 125
sons of, by Faridün, i, 177
Shahrír, Shahrivar, ameshabapenta, i, 88; iii, 280, 328
month and day, i, 88; v, 319; vii, 79
Shahrivarz (Shahrbaraz q.v.), ix, 50
Shahrí, archimage, vi, 329
minister during Shâpûr son of Urmuzd’s minority, vi, 329
Shahryâr, son of Shihîn and Khusrau Parwiz, ix, 39
father of Yâzduâgîrd, ix, 94
Shâhâwî, eldest son of Haftwâd, vi, 237
referred to, vi, 266
helps his father against Ardshir Papakân, vi, 249
executed, vi, 245
Shâhâwî (=Mâhwî), one of Firduâs’s authorities, vii, 382, 394
Shakespeare, quoted, iii, 280; v, 159 note; vii, 383; viii, 147
Shakn, region, iii, 152, 177, 185, 192, 291, 222, 223, 228, 237
Shâm (Syria), ii, 80, 81; vi, 357; viii, 170
Shâm, king of, taken prisoner by Rustam, ii, 97
Shamâsâs, Túránian hero, 142; i, 319; ii, 12, 18
Khazarwán and, invade Kâbulâstân, i, 345, 358
parleyed with by Mîhrâb to gain time, i, 358
flies from Zâl, i, 391
met and defeated by Kâran, i, 391
Shambâhî, daughter of Barzín, vii, 53
married to Bahram Gúr, vii, 53
Shamirán, Túránian hero, iii, 185
comes to aid Pirán, iii, 152
Shamirán, stronghold north of Harât (?), ix, 91, 94
Shammâkh, king of Sûr, iv, 57, 110
Shammâs, legendary founder of Fire-worship, vi, 339 note
Shammâs, Naishzâd’s general, vii, 210, 272
Shamâ, vii, 195, 196
Shangul, king of Hind, temp.
Kâi Khusrau, 149, iii, 101, 172, 185, 198, 205, 210, 217, 251
Shamrvashân, border raids of, vii, 110
Shihâd, brother of, vii, 113
ces decribed, vii, 114
brother of, vii, 113
vaunts his own greatness, vii, 114
wife of, the daughter of the Faghfur, vii, 115
son of, vii, 115
entertains Bahram Gúr, vii, 119
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Range</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shangul</td>
<td>vii, 117</td>
<td>Bahrám Gúr wrestles before, vii, 117 plays at polo, vii, 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrám Gúr</td>
<td>vii, 118</td>
<td>displays his marksmanship before, vii, 118 tries to find out who the Persian envoy (Bahrám Gúr) is, vii, 118 seq. takes counsel with his sages, vii, 126 offers a daughter and great advancement to Bahrám Gúr, vii, 127 marries Sapínúd to Bahrám Gúr, vii, 128 seq. goes to a festival, vii, 134 hears of Bahrám Gúr’s flight vii, 135 reproaches Sapínúd, vii, 135 makes a league with Bahrám Gúr, 137 bids farewell to Sapínúd, vii, 137 makes a new treaty with Bahrám Gúr, vii, 140 entertains with seven other kings by Bahrám Gúr, vii, 140 seq. visits his daughter Sapínúd, vii, 142 farewells Sapínúd, vii, 143 makes Bahrám Gúr his heir, vii, 143 Bahrám Gúr’s parting gifts to, vii, 144 sends Gipsies to Írán, vii, 149 Shapigán, treasury of, i, 61, 62 Shápir, Pishdádian hero, i, 210, 211, 215 slain, i, 352 Shápir, Kaíanian hero, 1 ii, 271, 338, 349; iii, 19, 289, 322, 331; iv, 202 hails Gushtásp as Sháh, iv, 362 Shápir, Ashkánián (Parthian) king, vi, 197, 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shápir, son of Pápak,</td>
<td>vi, 199</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shápir, son of Ardshir Pápakán,</td>
<td>Bahrám Gúr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh (Sapor I)</td>
<td>161, i, 42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                       | vi, 3, 256, 303, 307, 313, 315, 321 seq., vii, 265 compilation of Zandavasta under, i, 62, 63 stories of, in Kárñának, vi, 106, 255 Tabári, vi, 255, 257 crowned in his father’s lifetime, vi, 257 secret birth of, vi, 261 origin of name, vi, 262 note recognised and acknowledged by Ardshir Pápakán, vi, 264 discovers the daughter of Mihrak, vi, 208 seq. summoned and counselled by Ardshir Pápakán, vi, 286 seq. confused with Shápir son of Urmuzd, vi, 294, 321, 324, 327 Reign of, 161, vi, 294 seq. Note on, vi, 294 historical inaccuracies of, vi, 294 wars of, with Rome, vi, 294, 297 Odenathus and, vi, 294 defeats the Rúmans, vi, 297 receives tribute from Caesar, vi, 298 builds cities, vi, 298 bids Bazánúsh build a bridge at Shúshtar, vi, 298 summons and counsels Urmuzd, vi, 299 Shápir, son of Urmuzd, Sháh (Sapor II), 162, 163, i, 374; v, 10 note; vi, 3, 204, 205, 307, 371, 373, 405 (?); vii, 359; viii, 41 provides for uniformity of Zoroastrian doctrine, i, 62 1 May be identical with the above in legend.
Shāpūr, son of Urmuzd, Zoroastrian canon closed under, i, 63
referred to, vi, 318
Reign of, 162, vi, 321 seq.
Note on, vi, 321 seq.
bridge of, at Taisafūn, vi, 321, 329
residences of, vi, 321, 330
confused with Shāpūr, son of Ardshīr, vi, 294, 321, 324, 327
triumphant treaty of, with the Rūmans, vi, 320, 355
cities of, vi, 327, 357
birth of, vi, 328
crowned as an infant, vi, 328
education of, vi, 329
Mālika offers to betray her father's hold to, vi, 331
opens the gate to, vi, 333
sends Mālika to his camp, vi, 333
treatment of Arab captives by, vi, 323, 334
receives the title of Zūl Aḵtāf q.v., vi, 335
returns to Pārs and receives tribute, vi, 335
consults the astrologers, vi, 335
visits Caesar in disguise, vi, 337
entertained by Caesar, vi, 337
denounced by a Persian resident at Caesar's court, vi, 337
arrested, vi, 337
sewed up in an ass's skin and imprisoned, vi, 338
pitted by an Iranian slave-girl, vi, 339
freed from ass's skin by slave-girl, vi, 340
entertained by a gardener, vi, 341 seq.
sends the gardener to the high priest, vi, 344
described by the gardener, vi, 344
Shāpūr, praises the slave-girl, vi, 346
prepares to attack Caesar, vi, 346
sends spies to Taisafūn, vi, 349
sends tidings of his victory over Caesar to the provinces, vi, 348
treatment of Caesar by, vi, 349
invades Rūm, vi, 350
defeats Yānūs, vi, 352
bids Baḵšūnūš come to him, vi, 354
dictates terms of peace, vi, 355
returns to Istākhr, vi, 356
takes Nāsībūn, vi, 356
names and honours the slave-girl, vi, 356
rewards the gardener, vi, 357
keeps Caesar captive, vi, 357
sends Caesar's corpse to Rūm, vi, 357
arranges a disputation between Mānī and the high priest, vi, 358
Mānī executed by, vi, 359
arranges for the succession with his brother Ardshīr, vi, 360 seq.
dies, vi, 362
Shāpūr, son of Shāpūr, Shāh (Sapor III), 163, vi, 3, 251, 360, 371; vii, 171, 186
Ardshīr, son of Urmuzd, resigns the throne to, vi, 364
Reign of, 163, vi, 305 seq.
Note on, vi, 305
death of, vi, 366
Tabarī on, vi, 305
Shāpūr, son of Yazdagird, king of Armenia, vii, 373
Shāpūr of Rai, Kūbak's commander-in-chief, vii, 184, 185; viii, 72
summoned to overthrow Sūfarāi, vii, 191
Shápúr of Raí, conference of, with Kubád, vii, 102
  goes to Shiráz and arrests Súfarai, vii, 193
  conveys Súfarai to Sháh Kubád, vii, 194
Shápúr, Iránián noble, temp. Núshirwán, vii, 304, 333
Shápúr, Iránián warrior, i72, viii, 202, 223, 257, 259, 269, 293, 296
decieved by César’s talisman, vii, 273
Shapúr, father of Pírúz, ix, 80
Shapúr Gírd (Gund-i-Shápúr q.v.) city, vi, 205, 298
Shatt-al-Arab, the combined streams of the Tígris and Euphrates, ix, 67
Sháwarán, Iránián hero, 151, ii, 73, 90, 111, 228, 249, 250, 235, 271, 318 ; iii, 20, 34, 43, 45, 48, 67, 115, 334, iv, 97, 105, 147, 275
Shawwál, the tenth Muhammadan month, vi, 208
Sheep’s heads, Bahram Chúbína and the, vii, 71, 107
omen of, reported to Hurmuzd, viii, 108
Shem, patriarch, vi, 65
Shepherds, Kai Khúsrau brought up by, ii, 328 seq.
Sher-kappí, vii, 322 note
Shibán, vi, 397
Shida (Pashang), son of Afrásiyáb, 152, i, 92 ; iii, 202, 359 ; iv, 10 seq., 15, 135, 150, 158 seq., 209, 222, 287, 290
consulted by his father, iii, 250 seq.
go on embassy to Púladwand, iii, 255
Shida, refuses to interfere in the fight between Rustam and Púladwand, iii, 363
  sent by Afrásiyáb to Khárazm, iv, 11
  defeated by Ashkash, iv, 60, 72
  commands the left wing, iv, 155
  surname of, meaning of, iv, 155 note
  urges Afrásiyáb to attack Kai Khúsrau, iv, 159
  Afrásiyáb’s reply to, iv, 160
  wishes to meet Kai Khúsrau in single combat, iv, 161
  goes on an embassy to Kai Khúsrau, iv, 161
  skirmish of, with Iránián outposts, iv, 164
  welcomed by Kátan, iv, 165
  mail and steed of, iv, 168
  receives Kálikhúsrau’s reply, iv, 170
  returns to Afrásiyáb, iv, 170
  goes to fight Kai Khúsrau, iv, 171
  parley of, with Kai Khúsrau, iv, 172
  challenges Kai Khúsrau to a wrestling-bout, iv, 173
  urged by his interpreter to flee from Kai Khúsrau, iv, 174
  refuses, iv, 174
  wrestles and is overthrown, iv, 175
  Kai Khúsrau instructs Ruh-hám to bury, iv, 179
Shídásp, minister to Táhmúras, i, 127
Shídásp, son of Gushtásp, 155, ii, 3 ; v, 20, 58
  death of, foretold by Jámásp, v, 50
  given command of one wing, v, 55
  slain, v, 58
Shidūsh, Irānian hero, i, 211; ii, 58, 85, 158, 310; iii, 33, 45, 48, 127, 129, 130, 139, 141, 157, 218, 253; iv, 13, 15, 25, 104

with Kāran and Kishwād, pursues Kurākhān, i, 354

put in command of the rear, iv, 92

Kai Khusrau remonstrated with by, and other nobles, for refusing audience, iv, 275

Shīrte, Shīrites, Muhammadan sect, i, 13

origin of, i, 13

Firdausi a, i, 24

Shikhān, Irānian warrior, vi, 395

Shikhān, place, vii, 350

Shingān, region, iii, 228, 238; iv, 95

Shirāz, city in Fārs (Farsistān), 166, i, 230; vi, 198-206, 210; vii, 6, 173, 190, 193, 194

Shirīn, wife of Khusrau Parwiz, 174, 175, vii, 187, 194, 303, 383, 407; ix, 28, 39

enmity of, to Shirīwī, vii, 189, 191, 193

account of, vii, 192

Khusrau and, Persian poem, viii, 192

meaning of, viii, 193

Maryam murdered by, viii, 193, 380

a Christian, viii, 195

warns Khusrau Parwiz against Gurdyā, viii, 304

Khusrau Parwiz and, ix, 7

Story of, 174, viii, 382

married to, viii, 380

gilded chamber given to, viii, 380

hears Kubād proclaimed Shah, viii, 410

informs Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 419

has charge of Shirīwī's horoscope, ix, 19

Shirīn, has charge of Rāja's letter

ix, 17

companions Khusrau Parwiz in prison, ix, 29

reproached and summoned by Shirīwī, ix, 36

makes her Will, ix, 36

goes to Court, ix, 37

justifies herself, ix, 38, 49

exonerated, ix, 38, 41

sons of, ix, 39

unveils to the Court, ix, 39

Shirīwī enamoured of, ix, 39

makes request of Shirīwī, ix, 40, 41

goes home, ix, 49

distributes her wealth, ix, 49

frees her slaves, ix, 41

poisons herself, ix, 42

Shirkan (Shīrvān, district and town west of the Caspian between the Kur river and Darband ?), i, 109

Shirkan, a Zabulī, v, 184

guides Fāhman to Rustam, v, 184

Shirū, son of Gushtasp, i, 155, v, 26

slain, v, 57

Shirūya, son of Bizhān, iv, 360

goes with Zarīr to Rūm, iv, 306

Shīrvān (Shīrvān ?) iii 216.

See Shirkan.

Shirwī, Irānian hero, i, 207, 215

helps to take the Castle of the Alans, i, 223 seq.

conveys the spoil to Fārīdūn, i, 230, 232

Shirwī, Nūshirwān's commander-in-chief, vii, 251

appointed to receive the Rūman tribute, vii, 292

Shirwī (Kubād q.v.), Shah, 174, 175, viii, 188, 190, 371

seq.: ix, 7, 8, 11, 27, 28, 31 seq., 39, 45, 47, 94

Shirīn's enmity to, viii, 189, 191, 193

interment of, viii, 194, 490, 304

released, viii, 196, 415

AA
Shirwā (Kubād), secret and public names of, viii, 372, 416 astrologers consulted at birth of, viii, 372 ill-omened horoscope of, viii, 372; ix, 16 referred to, viii, 373, 390 kept by Shirin, ix, 16 Khusrau Parwiz gives Cæsar’s gifts to, viii, 381 boorishness of, viii, 390 Khusrau Parwiz’ displeasure with, viii, 390 sends to take Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 419 Reign of, 175, ix, 3 Note on, ix, 3 Length of, ix, 42 treatment of Khusrau Parwiz by, ix, 7 writes to Heraclius, ix, 7 Ashād and Khārrād report their interview with Khusrau Parwiz to, ix, 27 reproaches and summons Shirin, ix, 36, 37 falls in love with Shirin, ix, 39 grants Shirin’s requests, ix, 40, 42 poisoned, ix, 42 son of, ix, 42 Shirzād, herald in Nūshirwān’s host, vii, 252 Shirzil, Irānian warrior, viii, 296 Shīz (Takht-i-Sulaimān), seat of the Magi in Azarbāijān, i, 60; viii, 190 Fire-temple at, vii, 5 Khātūn sent to, vii, 5 Shoemaker, Bahrām Gūr and the, 164, vii, 24 Nūshirwān and the, 169, vii, 218, 260 offer of, to advance money to Nūshirwān, viii, 48 rejected, viii, 50, 71 Shu‘ib, Arab chief, 158, vi, 21 attacks Dārāb, vi, 21 defeated and slain, vi, 22 Shūlak, Gushtāsp’s steed (Dakīkī), v, 73 Asfandiyār’s steed (Firdausī), v, 126 Shūrāb (Sura), city on the Euphrates, east of Antioch, vii, 217 place of Gushtāsp’s exile, vii, 254 taken by Nūshirwān, vii, 217, 254 Shūrsān, vi, 379 Shūs (Sūs, Susa), city on the Karkhāh river north west of Shūshtar in Khūzistān, vi, 327 Shūshtar, Shūstār, city on the Dūjāyīl (Kārūn) river in Khūzistān, vi, 199, 295 and note, 299; viii, 381 dam and bridge at, vi, 298, 326 Sicily, vi, 30 Alexander the Great’s legendary visit to, vi, 30 Siege-operations, iii, 246; iv, 208 seq.; vii, 254, 257 Signs, the Twelve (Zodiac), vii, 408 Sigz, man of (Rustam), ii, 100 and note; iii, 183, 209, 218, 221 Sigzian, a native of Sigz, v, 226 and note 228 = Rustam, iii, 209, 225, 227; v, 241 = Zawāra, v, 226, 228 = Farāmarz, v, 228 Sikandar (Iskandar, Alexander the Great, q.v.), Shāh, 158-160, i, 42, 49; ii, 3, 8 seq.; v, 30; vi, 11, 13, 16, 18, 29, 30, 33, 193, 219, 240 and note, 325, 353; viii, 52, 214, 217, 242, 262, 381, 387, 392; ix, 26 paternity of, i, 55 and note
Sikandar, derivation of, in Ta- 
bari, vi, 19
derivation of, in Shāhnāma, 
vi, 19, 20
Birth of, vi, 18, 26
adopted as his heir by Faila-
kūs, vi, 27
counseled by Arastālis, vi, 
35
refuses tribute to Ddrd, vi, 
36
prepares for war with Ddrd, 
vi, 37
invades, and defeats king of, 
Misr, vi, 30, 37
Iran, vi, 30, 37
seq.
visit of, to the camp of Ddrk, 
vi, 38
invited to banquet with 
Dara, vi, 40
takes the golden cups of 
Dara, vi, 40
recognised, vi, 40
escapes, vi, 41
defeats Ddrd, vi, 43, 44, 46
issues proclamation to the 
Irānians, vi, 44, 47
Shāh at Istakhr, vi, 59
Reign of, 158, vi, 60 seq.
Note on, vi, 60 seq.
diagram to illustrate Per-
sian Romance of, vi, 81
inaugural address of, vi, 85
the wife and daughter of 
Ddrd, vi, 33 80, seq.
marrıes Rūshanak, vi, 90
invades Hind, vi, 98
Kaid and, vi, 91, 98
approaches Milād, vi, 61, 98
inquires about the Four 
Wonders of Kaid, vi, 100
Four Wonders and other 
gifts sent by Kaid to, vi, 
103
marries daughter of Kaid, vi 
104
sage of Kaid and, vi, 62, 104
seq.
principle of the cup ex-
plained to, vi, 109
conceals his treasures, vi, 
110 and note
advances to Kammūj, vi, 110
troops of, protest, vi, 113
remonstrates with his troops 
vi, 113
troops of, ask pardon, vi, 
114
war of, with Fūr (Porus), vi, 
67, 110 seq.
hears of Fūr’s elephants, vi, 
115
his device to overcome, vi, 
115
challenges Fūr to single 
combat, vi, 110
slays Fūr, vi, 117
Fūr’s troops submit to, vi, 
118
becomes king of Hind, vi, 
118
Sikandar, sends envoys to Ispa-
hān and to the family of 
Ddrd, and letters to the 
provinces, to announce 
his accession, vi, 57
promises to carry out Ddrd’s 
last wishes, vi, 54
Ddrd bestows Rūshanak 
upon, vi, 55, 86
laments for, and buries, 
Ddrd, vi, 55, 59
executes Ddrd’s murderers, 
vi, 59
hailed as ruler by the Irān-
ians, vi, 59
Sikandar, bestows Hind on Sawurg, vi, 118
visit of, to Mecca and the Kaaba, vi, 64, 67, 119 seq.
ends the rule of the Khuzá' in Arabia, vi, 120
sets up Nasr instead of the Khuzá', vi, 120,
go to Judda, vi, 121
welcomed by king of, vi, 121

stays for a year in, vi, 121
Kaidáfá praised by Kabtún to, vi, 122
Kaidáfá's answer to, vi, 123
assumes the name of Naitkún (Antigonus), vi, 66, 125 seq.
pleads (as Naitkún) for Kaidrásh and his wife, vi, 126

go to Judda, vi, 121
graciously received by Kaidáfá, vi, 128
audiences of, with Kaidáfá, vi, 128 seq.
recognised by Kaidáfá, vi, 129 seq.
delivers his message, as envoy, to Kaidáfá, vi 129, 134
covenant of, with Kaidáfá, vi, 132, 138
warned by Kaidáfá against Tainúsh, vi, 133
insulted by Tainúsh, vi, 134

counsels Kaidáfá about Tainúsh, vi, 135

covenant of, with Tainúsh, vi, 136
Kaidáfá's gifts to, vi, 140
returns with Tainúsh, vi, 141
welcomed by his troops, vi, 141

entertains at a banquet, gives gifts to, and dismisses, Tainúsh, vi, 143
final message of, to Kaidáfá, vi, 143
Brahmans hear of the coming of, and write to, vi, 143

interview of, with the Brahmans, vi, 67, 144 seq.

quits the Brahman, vi, 147
Fish-eaters (Ichthyophagi, q.v.) and, vi, 69, seq., 147, 177

adventure of, with a whale, vi, 71, 147

sees gigantic reeds (bamboos), vi, 71, 148
attacked by snakes, scorpions, and boars, vi, 148
the people of Habash, vi, 149
the Narmájí, vi, 150

adventure of, with a dragon, vi, 71, 151

visits the temple of Dionysus, vi, 71, 152, 166
warned of his death, vi, 152, 161, 166

marches toward Harúm, the City of Women (Amazons q.v.), vi, 153 seq.

encounters snow and frost, vi, 156

encounters great heat, vi, 157

encounters the negroes, vi, 157

reaches and inspects Harúm, vi, 157

marches westward and finds a fair-haired race, vi, 73, 158

hears of the Gloom, q.v., and of the Fount of Life, q.v., and prepares to visit them vi, 158

sets forth with Khísr as guide, vi, 159
Sikandar, Khisr and, part company, vi, 160
fails to find the Fount of Life, vi, 160
interview of, with birds, vi, 160
interview of, with Isrā’il, vi, 78, 164
emerges from the Gloom, vi, 162
matches eastward, vi, 163
hears of Ya’jij and Majīj, vi, 163
barrier of, 160, i, 16; vi, 78, 164
Speaking Tree visited by, vi, 167 seq. See Tree.
reaches “The World’s End,” vi, 168
receives gifts, vi, 169
expedition of, to Chin, vi, 80, 169 seq.
go as his own ambassador to the Faghfir, vi, 170
describes himself, vi, 171
Faghfir’s gifts to, vi, 173
departs with Faghfir’s envoy, vi, 173
identity of, discovered by the envoy, vi, 173
dismisses the envoy with gifts and a message to Faghfir, vi, 174
arrives at Chaghwan, vi, 174
marches to Sind, vi, 175
defeats Bandāwa, chief of the Sindians, vi, 175
marches to Nimrūz, vi, 175
receives gifts from the king of Yaman, vi, 175
meets Gāsh-bistar, vi, 177
carries off the treasures of Kai Khusrav, vi, 178
policy of, for safeguarding Rūm after his decease, vi, 81, 178, 197
adopts the advice of Arastahs, vi, 180
Sikandar, arrives at Bābāl, vi, 180
prodigious birth at, vi, 84, 180
consults the astrologers on, vi, 180
warned of his end, vi, 180
sickens, vi, 181
Will of, vi, 81, 181
grief of the troops for, vi, 183, 184
dies, vi, 183
dispute as to burial of, vi, 184
body of, taken to Iskandariya, vi, 185
sentences of sages over, vi, 82, 83, 185
cities of, vi, 83, 189
Zoroastrian and Sasanian view of, i, 50 and note, 61 seq.; vi, 15 and note, 224, 240; vii, 79 and note
Silk, account of, vi, 204
introduction of, into the West, vi, 204
Silk-worm. See Silk.
Silvia, vestal, v, 293
Simāh Barzin, scribe, Hurmuzd plots against, 170, viii, 85, seq.
Simmas, chief herdsman of Ninus, v, 202
Simurgh, mythical bird, 156, 157, i, 51; iii, 158, 313, 330; v, 117, 132 seq., 160, 249, 248, 255
described, i, 235 and note, 253, 279, 302, 320, v, 132
nest of, on Mount Alburz, i, 241, 244, 250
young of, i, 242, 250, v, 132, 133
finds and brings up the infant Zāl, i, 242
informs Zāl of his parentage, i, 245
gives Zāl one of her feathers, i, 246, 324
their efficacy, i, 246, 324
restores Zāl to Sam, i, 247
Simurgh, referred to, i, 251
succeeds Rúdába, i, 320 seq.
foretells Rustam’s future
greatness, i, 321
slain by Asfandiyár, v, 133
summoned to Rustam’s aid
by Zál, v, 235 seq.
heals Rustam and Rakhsh,
v, 237
instructs Rustam how to
overcome Asfandiyár, v, 237
Sind, the river Indus and the
parts adjacent, i, 113; ii,
285; iii, to note, 117, 185,
210, 238 iv, 95, 71; v,
75, 180, 203, 277; vi, 113;
vii, 110, 112, 390
king of, iii, 185; vi, 113,
entertained by Bahram
Gúr, vii, 140 seq.
kings of, send tribute to
Gushtásp, v, 75
chiefs of, vi, 123
warriors of, vi, 132, 137
Sikandar marches to, vi, 175
Sindbad, the sailor, vi, 71
lands on a whale, vi, 71
Sinde, river, iii, 10 and note
Sindian, Sindians, 160, vii, 126
defeated by Sikandar, vi,
175
Sindukht, wife of Mihráb and
mother of Rúdába, 141, i,
259, 299
Mihráb praises Zál to, i, 260
discovers the loves of Zál
and Rúdába, i, 281
reproaches Rúdába, i, 282
informs Mihráb about Zál
and Rúdába, i, 284
goes with gifts to Sám, i,
300 seq.
well received by Sám, i, 302
invites Sám to visit Kábul,
i, 305
returns to Kábul, i, 306
hears of Zál’s success with
Minúchihr, i, 315
felicitates Rúdába, i, 315
Sindukht, Mihráb and, prepare
to welcome Sám and Zál,
i, 315, 317
entertain Sám and Zál, i,
317 seq.
visit Sám in Sistán, i, 319
Sinjibú, first historical Khán of
the Turks, vii, 317
relations of, with Núshir-
wán, vii, 317
Haitáilians and, vii, 317
Sipahram, Turanian hero, 151;
ii, 228, 229, 388; iv, 26,
103
chosen to fight with Hajír,
iv, 97
slain by Hajír, iv, 104
Sipand (Spenló-dáta, q.v., Spen-
dyad, Sapat, White
Castle), mountain north-
west of Nishápúr, 142, i,
377; ii, 118; v, 30, 116,
117
Malcolm’s identification and
description of, 1, 236
Zál bids Rustam take, i, 329
described, i, 329
taken by Rustam, i, 331
treasures of, i, 331, 332
hold of, destroyed by Zál’s
orders, i, 333
Sipandármad, ameshaspenta,
q.v., vii, 287, 328; v, 18
month, i, 89; iv, 252; ix,
70, 122
day, i, 88, 89, viii, 331
Sipanjáb (Farghana ?), region, i,
375; ii, 241, 342, 344, 345
358; iii, 151
Sipansár, Iranian warrior, viii, 293
Sistán = Nimruz = Zábúhistán,
2
144, 149, 155; i, 319;
ii, 80, 335, 395; iii, 195,
160, 191, 207, 321, 350;
iv, 14, 278; v, 13, 17, 29,
85, 86, 89, 94; 173, 174,
201, 220, 248, 291, 294,
297; vi, 32, 198; vii, 214
former capital of, i, 4
lake of, i, 4; v, 239 note
2 See p. 333 note.
Sístán, origin of name, i, 19
invaded by Shamásás and Khazarwán, i, 158
mourning in, for Rustam, v, 278
invaded by Bahman, v, 284 seq.

Sitír, Persian measure of weight, ii, 184

Sitúh, Turánian hero, v, 80, 87
goes as a spy to Iran and reports to Arjásíp, v, 80, 87

Siyáh Chasm, slave of Farrukhzád, ix, 62
handmaid of Farrukhzád and, ix, 62
imprisoned, ix, 62
released, ix, 62
poisons Farrukhzád, ix, 63

Siyámak, son of Gáiumárt, 139, i, 117, 119
slain by the Black Div, i, 120
lamentations over, i, 120

Siyámak, Turánian hero, 151, iv, 97
chosen to fight with Guráza, iv, 97
slain by Guráza, iv, 100

Siyávakhsh. See Siyáwush.

Siyávashána. See Siyáwush.


Siyáwush cont.
mother of, 144, ii, 3

Story of, 144, ii, 188 seq.
Note on, ii, 188 seq.
good example of Firđausí's method, ii, 188
Prelude to, ii, 191
identical with Cambyses, the father of Cyrus the Great, in legend, ii, 191
adventure of the mother of, ii, 193
destined to misfortune from birth, ii, 196
brought up by Rustam, ii, 196
horoscope of, ii, 196, 205, 234
returns to court, ii, 197
made ruler of Kuhistán, ii, 199
mourns for his mother's death, ii, 199
temptation of, by Súdába, ii, 200 seq.
marches against Afrásiyáb, ii, 225 seq.
demands hostages of Afrásiyáb, ii, 230 seq.
goes over to Afrásiyáb, ii, 258 seq.
plays at polo with Afrásiyáb ii, 294
archery of, ii, 290
marriage of, with Jarira, ii, 208 seq.
marriage of, with Farangis, ii, 270 seq.
entertained by Pirán, ii, 278
builds cities, ii, 278 seq.
consults the astrologers, ii, 282
Siyawush, foretells the future to Pirán, ii, 282 seq.
entertains Pirán, ii, 287
entertains Garsiwâz, ii, 290 seq.
plays at polo with Garsiwâz, ii, 292
challenged by Garsiwâz, ii, 294
overthrows Gurwî and Dâmûr, ii, 295
slandered by Garsiwâz to Afrâsiyâb, ii, 296 seq.
summoned to court by Afrâsiyâb, ii, 300 seq.
betrayed by Garsiwâz, ii, 301 seq.
excuses himself from going to court, ii, 306
passion of, ii, 307 seq.
foretells the future to Farangîs, ii, 310 seq.
charges and turns loose Bihzâd, ii, 312
attacked and taken by Afrâsiyâb, ii, 314
execution of, ii, 320
referred to, iv, 268
Blood of (plant), ii, 321
birth-mark of, iii, 49
mail of, iii, 58, 60, 61, 69, 81, iv, 40 seq., 51
murderer of Afrâsiyâb, iv, 198
garth of Siyawushgird, iv, 238
goods of, viii, 148, 151
Siyawush, Íranian chief, 172; viii, 128, 193, 187, 233
son of =Bahrâm, viii, 247
Siyawush, wild duck, ii, 104
note Siyawushgird, city built by Siyawush, 145, 146, 153; ii, 301, 314, 373; iv, 250, 252
building and description of, ii, 285 seq.
becomes the home of Kai Khusrau, ii, 333
referred to, iv, 238
Skirts, binding together of, in Lattle, iv, 85 and note, 177 and note, 209
Slavs, viii, 191
Smerdis, the false, v, 11; vi, 207
Snakes =Arabs, ix, 91
Snowstorm, iii, 108
Íranian host distressed by, iii, 71, 128; v, 137; vi, 156
paladins of Kai Khusrau lost in, iv, 308 seq.
Sohrab and Rustam, Matthew Arnold's, ii, 118
Sol, planet, viii, 395
Soma. See Homa.
Son of Firdausî, death of, viii, 190
Song, of a div, ii, 31
of Rustam, ii, 51
of Asfandiyâr, v, 129
of the daughter of Barzín, vii, 52
of the daughter of Mâhiyâr, vii, 60, 61, 66
Sophia, Empress, her treatment of Narsas, viii, 76
Sorcerer, a Jewish, brings about the death of Nushîrwan's minister, Mahbûd, vii, 320 seq.
Sorceress, Rustam and a, 143, ii, 50 seq.
Sudâba and a, 144, ii, 214 seq.
Asfandiyâr and a, 156, v, 128 seq.
Sôshyans, the Zoroastrian Messiah, i, 131
Souterrain, ii, 137 iv, 212
Spain (Andalus), vi, 66
Spandât (Spento-dâta, Asfandiyâr), v, 24 seq.
Span-dât-nâmâ (Asfandiyâr-nâmâ), v, 26, 27
Speaking Tree, the, 160. See Tree.
Speech, modes of, viii, 30
Spendyât, mountain. See Spento-dâta.
Spento-dâta (Spand-dât, Asfandiyâr q.v.), v, 12
GENERAL INDEX

Spentó-dáta (Spendyad, Sapad, Sipand q.v.), mountain north-west of Nishápúr, ii, 118; v, 39, 110, 117
Sphinx. See Calamus.
Spica, star, i, 215, 271; viii, 379
Spitama, clan name of Zarduhsht (Zoroaster), i, 236; iv, 15
Spityura, brother of Yima (Jamshid), i, 130
Spring, a, 143
of Sav, q.v., 163
Stages, Spring, Spica, Sphint-s.
Sorbar, mythical serpent, i, 172
Steed, piece in chess. See Horse.
Steeds, iron, Sikanai's, 159, vi, 115
tilled with naphtha, vi, 115
Für's elephants and troops routed by, vi, 116
Stone, the Black. See Black.
Strabo, Greek geographer (born c. 63 B.C.), vi, 68, 81
Strength, handgrip as test of. See Handgrip.
Subuktigin, father of Sultán Mahmúd, account of, i, 20
title of, i, 21
referred to by, i, 100, 114
Súdába, daughter of the king of Hámávarán and wife of Kai Káús, 143-146, ii, 3, 79, 183, 189, 200, seq., 225, 249, 257, 335, 339
description of, ii, 89
marries Kai Káús, ii, 88
imprisoned with Kai Káús by her father, ii, 91
released by Rustam, ii, 97
temptation of Siyáwush by, ii, 200 seq.
slain by Rustam, ii, 340
referred to, v, 174
Súfarai (Sarkhán, Sukhrá, Seoses ?), 166, vii, 179
and note, 171, 173 seq.; viii, 72, 75, 168, 285
appointed minister to the regent Balásh, vii, 164
Súfarai, glorification of, in Íránian tradition, vii, 170
account of, vii, 173, 184, 185
resolves to avenge Píráz, vii, 173
writes to Balásh, vii, 173
marches on Marv, vii, 174
correspondence of, with Khushnawáz, vii, 174
defeats Khushnawáz, vii, 177
gives the spoil to the troops, vii, 177
Khushnawáz sues for peace to, vii, 178
consults his troops, vii, 178
resolves to make peace, vii, 179
replies to Khushnawáz, vii, 179
returns to Írán in triumph, vii, 180
welcomed by Balásh and the chiefs, vii, 181
greatness of, vii, 181, 190
dethrones Balásh and makes Kubád Sháh, vii, 182
proverb concerning, vii, 185
identical with Rizmihr, vii, 185
fall of, vii, 190 seq.
Kubád's letter to, vii, 193
arrest of, vii, 193
property of, confiscated, vii, 194
conveyed to Sháh Kubád, vii, 194
executed, vii, 195
son of, (Rizmih), vii, 196
Súffis, vi, 59 and note
Sughd (Sughdiana, Samarkand), district and city in Turk-ístan between the Oxus and Jaxartes, i, 19; ii, 230, 232, 237, 241, 249, 355; iii, 241; iv, 188, 180, 255; vii, 331, 337, 358, 359
Sughdiana, vi, 72. See Sughd.
Suhrâb, son of Rustam and Tahmînâ daughter of the king of Samangan, 144, ii, 4, 25; iv, 266; v, 204; vi, 325
Story of, 144, ii, 118 seq.
Note on, ii, 118
purely episodic, ii, 118
Sir John Malcolm's version of, ii, 118
Matthew Arnold's version of, i, 118
Prelude to, ii, 119
lament of, for the loss of Gurdafrid, ii, 119, note
questions his mother as to his father, ii, 126
charge of, sired by Rakhsh, ii, 128
Afrasiyâb's plot against, ii, 129
gifts to, ii, 130
invades Írân, ii, 130
takes Hajir prisoner, ii, 131
beguiled by Gurdafrid, ii, 133
described by Gazhdaham, ii, 139
sees from White Castle the Iranian host advancing, ii, 148
seen while feasting by Rustam, ii, 150
hears of the death of Zhanâda
Razm, ii, 151
misled by Hajir, ii, 152 seq.
overthrows the camp-closure of Kâús, ii, 160
challenged by Rustam, ii, 161
Rustam described by, ii, 154, 169
advances of, to Rustam, ii, 160
spares Rustam's life, ii, 170
again encounters Rustam, ii, 172
makes himself known to Rustam, ii, 173
last requests of, to Rustam, ii, 175
mourning for, ii, 182 seq.
Súkhra. See Súfarai.
Súkhta, treasure, viii, 406 and note
Sultán. See Mahmaûd.
Sumai, viii, 195
Sun, on the Nature of the, 139, i, 105
one of the seven planets, i, 72
in astrology, i, 188, 310 and note
total eclipse of, vii, 159
Sunday, viii, 378, 380
Summites, orthodox Muhammadans, i, 13
origin of, i, 13
Súr, city near Ispâhán, 176, iv, 140, 180; ix, 74, 89, 95, 97, 100, 110, 118
Sura. See Shûrâb.
Surkha, son of Afrasiyâb, 146, i, 92; ii, 344 seq.
taken prisoner by Farâmarz, ii, 345
death of, ii, 347
Súrsán (Zib-i-Khusrau, Rûmiya q.v.) city built by Nushirwân, 168, vii, 317, 327, 328
Surúsh, angel, the messenger of Urmuzd, 153, 172, i, 51, 175, 182; ii, 288, 289, 304, 468; iii, 277; iv, 139, 203, 205, 285, 307; v, 170, 253; vi, 199
note, 372; vii, 38; viii, 173
warns Gaiumâr against the Black Dîv, i, 119
bids Gaiumâr avenge Siyâmak, i, 120
visits and instructs Farîdûn, i, 159
counsels Farîdûn about Zahhâk, i, 169
appears to Gûdarz in a dream, ii, 303
referred to, iv, 273
informs Kai Khusrau that his prayer is granted, iv, 281
Surūsh, angel, bids Kai Khusrav appoint Armidasp as his successor, iv, 281
may be assumed to have accompanied Kai Khusrav on his pilgrimage, iv, 130, 303, 308
saves Khusrav Parwiz from Bahram Chūbīna, vii, 180, 200
Surūsh, day, i, 88; vi, 411
Surūsh, astrologer, vi, 372
takes Bahram Gūr's horoscope, vi, 376
Sūsānāk, a miller's daughter, vii, 32 and note
taken to wife by Bahram Gūr, vii, 33
Susiana (Khūšistān q.v.), vi, 295, 324; vii, 184
Svīatoi, island lying off western shore of the Caspian, i, 58
Swat, river in Northern India, vi, 65
Swyamvara, Indian form of marriage, iv, 310
Syāvarshāna (Siyawush, q.v.), ii, 180; iv, 137
Syria (Shām), country, ii, 80; vi, 39; viii, 193
raided by Persians, vii, 41
Syriac, version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, vi, 14, 19, 18, 39, 31 seq., 61, 63, 65, 66, 68, 71, 72, 74, 78 seq.
Christian Legend of Alexander, vi, 14, 15, 74, 78, 84 quoted, vi, 15
metrical version of, vi 15, 78, 84
Syrian, ix, 66

T

Tabāk, Frāmian chief, 161, vi, 202, 225
suspected by Ardshīr Pāpakān, vi, 225
Tabāk, justifies himself, vi 226
Ardshīr Pāpakān and, defeats Bahram, vi, 229
buries Ardawān, vi, 229
advises Ardshīr Pāpakān to marry the daughter of Ardawān, vi, 229
Tabari, Arabic historian (A.D. 838-923), iii, 108; vi, 14 note, 16, 19, 30, 198, 200, 291 note, 310, 313, 315, 321, 326; vii, 3 seq., 150, 150, 160, 170, 174, 185, 186, 217; viii, 73, 75 seq., 188; ix, 4, 59, 61, 64, 66
account of death of Rustam by, v, 291
etymology of Dārāb, v, 297 note
Sāsānians, vi, 14 note
Alexander's battles with Darius, vi, 39
Yājuj and Majūj, vi, 78
rise of Sāsānian dynasty, vi, 198
Ardshīr Pāpakān, vi, 198, 203
genealogies of Pāpak, vi, 200
Worm, vi, 205, 206
Haftwād, vi, 205, 206
length of Ardshīr Pāpakān's reign, vi, 254
Ardawān's daughter, vi, 255
Shāpūr, son of Ardshīr Pāpakān, vi, 255, 257
death of Shāpūr, son of Shāpūr, vi, 305
Bahram, son of Shāpūr, vi, 308
Yazdagird, son of Shāpūr, vi, 371 seq.
Kubād and Nūshirvān's reform of taxation, vii, 183 note, 215
Turks, vii, 317
Persian, vi, 5; viii, 42, 73 seq., 187 seq.; ix, 4, 5, 43, 70
Taimúsh, Fú’s son in law, vi, 133
insults Sikandar, vi, 134
Kaidáfá chides, vi, 135
Kaidáfá and Sikandar consult about, vi, 135
makes a covenant with Sikandar, vi, 136
accompanies Sikandar on his return, vi, 141
Sikandar discovers himself to, vi, 142
asks grace of Sikandar, vi, 142
pardoned by Sikandar, vi, 142
entertained at a banquet, presented with gifts, and dismissed, by Sikandar, vi, 143
Taimush (Theodosius), 163, vi, 372, 380, 404
goes to Yazdagird as ambassador, vi, 380
asked by Bahram Gur to intercede with Yazdagird for him, vi, 389
obtains Bahram Gur’s release, vi, 390, 404
Táfr (Daizan, q.v.), Arab chief, 162, vi, 3, 322, 324, 330 seq.
Taisafun (Ctesiphon, q.v.), 168, 174, vi, 397, vii, 188, 194, 361, 363, viii, 53, 90, 109 note, 118, 173, 175, 180, 182, 229, 241; ix, 9, 16, 90
Ardshir Pápakán goes to, vi, 245
Shápúr’s bridge at, vi, 321, 329
sacked by Táfr, vi, 330
Shápúr sends spies to, vi, 346
Cæsar defeated and taken prisoner by Shápúr at, vi, 347
Núshírwán returns to, vii, 53
Bahram Chúbína marches from province of, viii, 106
Taisaf'un, Khusrau Parwiz imprisoned at viii, 421; ix, 9
Kârbâd visits Khusrau Parwiz at, ix, 20
Tâj, viii, 71
Tâkdis, Throne of, 174, viii, 391
account of, viii, 391
added to by Jâmâsp, vii, 392
Takht (or Tâk)-i-Bûstân, place some four miles north-east of Kirmânsâhâ in the Persian province of Arde- lan and famous for its Sâsânian bas-reliefs, vi, 257; viii, 192
inscription at, vi, 257
Takht-i-Khusrau. See Madâ'in.
Takht-i-Sulaimân (Shîz, q.v.), vii, 189
Talhand, Indian prince, 169, vii, 394, 396 seq.
Story of Gav and, 169, vii, 394, seq.
mother of. See Gav.
birth of, vii, 396
tutor of, vii, 397, 398, 401, 402, 408, 410, 414
rivalry between Gav and, vii, 307 seq.
war between Gav and, vii, 404 seq.
rejects Gav's offer of accommod-ation, vii, 406, 409
death of, foretold, vii, 408, 413, 418
defeated by Gav, vii, 412
accepts Gav's proposal for a decisive battle, vii, 415
defeat and death of, vii, 419
Tâlikân, city and stronghold east of Marv, ii, 228; iv, 95, 255
ceded by Pirâz to the Haita- lians, vii, 150, 160
importance of, vii, 156
Talîmân, Íránian hero, i, 211, 217
meets Kai Khusrau in Sughd vi, 255
Talisman, Caesar's, 172
described, vii, 271, 275
deceives Persian envoys, vii, 272
mastered by Kharrâd, vii, 274
Tamarisk, plant, i, 4; v, 240,
243, 249, 247, 256
branch of, fatal to Asfandiyâr, v, 230 and note
Tammishâ (Küs), town in Eastern Mâzandarân, formerly a seat of Farîdûn's, between Sâriyâh and Astarâbâd, i, 177, 216, 230
Tamûz, viii, 77 note
Tanaïs, river, iv, 315 and note
Tarâk, river (the Attrak, the boundary between Gurgân and Dâhistan, or the Turk flowing into the Jaxartes west of Tâshkand ?), vii, 164, 165, 359
Tarâz, city now in ruins, north-east of Tâshkand near the present town of Aulich-Ata, i, 257, 266; v, 157; vi, 268; vii, 370; ix, 41
Cypress of = Rûdâba, i, 269
Idols of, ii, 123, 206; iii, 248; iv, 218; vii, 370
Tartary, iv, 156
Taurus, constellation, iii, 168; iv, 177; vi, 151; vii, 282
Tausar, high priest under Ar-dshir Pâpâkân, i, 62
letter of, i, 63
Tawâb, Íránian hero, iii, 25
Tawurg, Íránian hero, iv, 188
sent on an expedition by Ahrâsîyâb, iv, 188
defeated by Rustam, iv, 193
Taxation, 167, vii, 224
Findausi's exemption from, i, 35, 39; ix, 121
reform of, by Kubâd, vii, 183
note; 215, 225
Nushirwan, vii, 215, 225 seq.
Taxila, Indian city, vi, 63
situation of, vi, 62
Tazháv, an Iranian deserter to, and son-in-law of Afrásiyáb, 148; iii, 27, 28; sends Kabáda to spy out the Iranian host, iii, 73; paleys with Giv, iii, 75; defeated, iii, 77; flees with Ispanwí, iii, 77; pursued by Bázhan, iii, 77; escapes to Afrásiyáb, iii, 78; attacks Bahrám, iii, 100; taken prisoner by Giv, iii, 102; Temperaments, the four, vii, 381; symbolised in the game of nard, vii, 381.

Tennyson, quoted, v, 281.

Tharthai, river in northern Mesopotamia, vi, 322.

Theodore, brother of Heraclius, vii, 194.

Theodosiopolis, city in Armenia, vii, 187.

Theodosius II. (Tainúsh, q.v.), Eastern Roman Emperor (A.D. 401-450), vi, 372; vii, 187.

Theodosius (Nyátús, q.v.), viii, 189.

Theophanes, Greek Chronicler, account of last days of Khusrau Parwíz by, ix, 6.

Thermódon, river on the southern shores of the Euxine, vi, 72.

Thornbrake town, the world, i, 310.

Thráetaona, i, 171 seq.; ii, 81.

Thrita, i, 171 seq.

Tiber, river, v, 294.

Tibérius II., Eastern Roman Emperor, vii, 212; viii, 42.

Tigris (Arwand), river, vi, 294; 322; viii, 193, 194; ix, 67; small, the, vi, 190 and note lower, vi, 291 note; bridge over, vi, 321.

Tíhrán, city, ii, 28; iii, 109; v, 14, 18.

Tir, genius, iii, 287, 328; month and day, i, 88, viii, 394.

Tirí, eunuch of Gúzihr, vi, 198.

Tírmid, city and fortress north of the Oxus (Jihiún) where the route from Balkh to Samarkand crosses that river, ii, 229, 258; iv, 65; vii, 150, 157, 331.

Tirúdih, village in the neighbourhood of Istakhr (Persepolis), and the birth-place of Ardashir Pápakán, vi, 198.

Tishtar, Sirius, i, 235.

Tobit, Book of, iii, 272.

Toll-house and Ford of Zark, ix, 100 and note, 116.

Tollman, Giv and the, 146; ii, 390.

Gushtásp and the, iv, 324; 332 and note, 334 seq., 344 seq., 351.

Trade-routes, ancient, i, 11, 57.

Traitana, i, 7, 8, 171 seq.

Trajan, Roman Emperor (A.D. 98-117), vi, 322; siege of Hatra by, vi, 322.

Translation, the principles adopted in the present, i, 70 seq.

Translators of the Sháhnáma, list of previous, i, 87.

Treasurer, of Jamshid, 164, vii, 36.

Kai Khusrau, 160, iv, 295; vi, 178.

Síkandír, vi, 110 and note.

Khusrau Parwíz, viii, 499.

Tree, the Speaking, 160, vi, 79.

described, vi, 107 seq.

Síkandír visits, vi, 107, seq.

warns Síkandír of his death, vi, 168, 169.

Triad of evil, Zoroastrian, i, 59 and note.

Tribal, or Part, Kings, the, 160, vi, 180, 203, 204, 225, 252, 253.

origin of, vi, 179, 181, 210 character of their rule vi, 197, 198.

number of, vi, 198.
Tribal, or Part Kings, Ardawán, the chief of, vi, 201
Firdušša-ši, vi, 210

Tribute, Kúm's to Iran, vi, 24; vii, 244, 245, 248, 292, 333; 338, 392; viii, 52, 53

Trita, i, 7, 8, 171 seq.
Tshatrung-Xamak, Pahlavi text, vii, 380, 381

Taghrayl, a species of falcon, vii, 49
described, vii, 48
Bahram Gúr's, vii, 48 seq.

Tukhár, Farúl's counsellor, 147;
iii, 43 seq.
tells Farúl the blazon of the Iránián chiefs, iii, 44
counsels Farúl, iii, 47, 52 seq.

Tukhár, king of Dúhístán, iv, 148
commands with Faríbarz the troops from Khwár, iv, 148
slays a scout from Makríán, iv, 242

Tukhár, Iránián chief, vii, 228
takes letter to Cesar, viii, 203

Tukhár, Iránián general, conspires against Khánrau Parwiz, viii, 414
releases Shirwí, viii, 415
refuses to help Pirúz against Guráz, ix, 48

Tukhára, Iránián warrior, vii, 209
son of, viii, 314

Túmáspá (Táhmásp, g.v.), i, 309

Túr, second son of Farídún and ruler of Túrání, 140, 141,
i, 42, 90 seq., 335, 337, 342, 344, 392; ii, 9, 17, 19,
99, 237, 292, 297, 302, 303, 318, 347, 393, 399; iii,
7, 39, 37, 115, 197, 245, 249; iv, 11, 34, 60, 60, 70,
78, 100, 107, 188, 201, 203, 206, 209, 274, 290; v, 42,
209, 201, 284; vi, 353; vii, 73; viii, 200, 300, 370
note, 378; ix, 103

racial significance of, i, 54

Túr, etymology of, i, 171
naming of, i, 187
horoscope of, i, 188
made ruler over the Turkans and Chin, i, 189
plots with Salán, i, 190
Salán and, demand the abdication of Fráj, i, 191
Fráj visits, i, 198
reception of Fráj by, i, 198, seq.
slay Fráj, i, 201
send Fráj's head to Farídún, i, 202
hear of Minúlchír, i, 208
send an embassy to Farídún, i, 208
receive Farídún's reply, i, 213 seq.
prepare for war, i, 215
parley of, with Khánrau, i, 217
Salán and, worsted by Minúlchír, i, 220
plan a night-surprise, i, 220
worsted, i, 221
slain by Minúlchír, i, 221
head of, sent to Farídún, i, 222

Fire-temple at Bukhárâ built by, iv, 255
daughter of, iv, 304
=Turán, iv, 51, 104
chief of =Húmán, iv, 51
prince of =Shíla, iv, 104

Turán (Túrkistán), the legendary
patrimony of Túr, g.v. and a general name for the non-Iránian regions north
of the Oxus (Jihún), 142, 146, 148, 152, 153, 165;
167; i, 180, 220, 351, 371, ii, 9, 18, 25, 79, 82, 101,
112 and passim; iii, 8, 11,
15, 25, 29 and passim;
iv, 10, 15, 17, 19, 20, and
passim; v, 12, 20 seq., 25,
32, 41, 43, 45, 53, 61, and
passim; vi, 43, 182, 308;
vii, 43, 92, 139, 159, 178;
viii, 118, 123, 130, 242,
Turk, Turks = Kulún, viii, 345

defeated by Yalán-sina, vii, 353

Turkhán, Túranian hero, v, 151

sent with troops to reconnoitre outside the Brazen Hold, v, 151

Turkish, ix, 87

Turkistan (Túran), 147, ii, 19;

iii, 100, 228; iv, 233; v, 55; vi, 179, 278, 280, 307;

vii, 84, 92, 118, 334, 395;

viii, 324, 336, 363, 370, 377, 407

Turkman, Turkmans (Túranians), 148, 155, i, 20, 189, 203, 343, 352, 357; ii,

12, 14, 15, 92, 100 and passim; iii, 30, 63, 81, 93, and passim; iv, 10, 13,

15, 19, 20, 22, 29 and passim; v, 22, 25, 36, 39, 40, 44, 47, 51, 52, 61, 72,

90 seq., 98 seq., 104 seq., 108, 110, 113, 114, 116,

135, 152, 157, 158, 171, 173, 206, 254; vi, 48, 88, 92, 97, 177, 179, 239, 344, 364; viii, 377; ix, 25, 76, 94

slave-boy of Zál meets the damsels of Rúdába, i, 263 seq.

make peace with Zav, i, 371

army of, surrenders to Asfandiyár, v, 72, 113

monarch of = Arjásp, v, 74

led by Kuhram, storm Fákh, burn the Fire-
temple, and slay Zar-
dudsht and the priests, v, 92, 93

take Gushtásp's daughters captive, v, 93

kingdom of, offered by Asfandiyár to Gurgsár in return for faithful service, v, 120

ordered by Arjásp to march out from the Brazen Hold in force to attack the in-
Turkman, Turkmans adj.

seek the aid of the Fróian watch in the Brazen
Hold, v, 155

refused quarter by Aslandiyar, v, 158

language, vi, 147

defeated by Bahram Gún, vii, 99, 91

sue for peace, vii, 91

war of Piruz with, vii, 164

seq.

inroads of, through the

Caucasus, vii, 238

make submission to Nùshirwan, vii, 300

Turk, viii, 87, 88, 94

king = Afrasiyáb, ix, 25

Tús, son of Naudar, Fróian hero, 146-149, 154, 176; i, 90

353, 379; ii, 33, 35, 38

58, 62, 79, 73, 85, 90, 91

127, 138, 142, 148, 177

188, 193, 197, 199, 229

257, 310, 319, 335, 338, 349, 340, 353 seq., 371

383, 394; iii, 11, 18, 19

44, 25, 37 seq., 45 seq., 60

62, 64, 69 seq., 70, 78, 80

82 seq., 108, 111 seq., 132

seq., 139 seq., 145, 149

seq., 154, 155, 159, 161

193, 199, 197, 199, 170

172, 174, 177 seq., 182

183, 187, 209, 211, 213

seq., 225, 228, 239, 232

234, 235, 238, 249, 248

253, 254, 255, 257, 259

295, 273, 277, 280, 294

307, 324, 327, 329; iv, 13

15, 62, 79, 91, 157, 180

191, 224, 229, 227, 242

294, 299, 306 seq.; V, 57

110, 207, 208; viii, 108

Gustaham and, sent by Naudar to conduct the Fróian women to Alburz, i, 351

Tús, Gustaham and, hear of

Naudar's death, i, 364

passed over in the succession

i, 360, 370

character of, i, 369

appointed captain of the

host, ii, 78

taken prisoner in Hamávarán, ii, 90

released by Rustam, ii, 97

goes in search of Ká Káus, ii, 194

engaged in the Fight of the

Seven Warriors, ii, 167

seq.

commanded by Ká Káus to

hang Rustam and Giv, ii, 113

encampment of, described, ii, 153

summons Rustam to fight

Suhráb and helps to

saddle Rakhs, ii, 166

quarrels with Giv over the

future mother of Siyáwush, ii, 194

supersedes Siyáwush, ii, 246

seq.

leads the host home, ii, 258

intercedes for Surkha, ii, 347

worsted in fight by Afrásiyáb, ii, 353

appointed ruler of Chách, ii, 358

returns to Frán, ii, 362

dispute of, with Gádárz over

Ká Khusrav, ii, 400 seq.

advocates the claims of Fariburz, ii, 401

asks pardon of Khusrav, ii, 410

hostility of, to Farúd, iii, 13, 51, 92

marches on Kalát, iii, 10

sends chiefs to attack Farúd, iii, 47 seq.

Bahram's remonstrance with, iii, 51

horse of, slain by Farúd, iii, 50
Tús, resolves to attack Kalát, iii, 62
remorse of, for the death of Farúd, iii, 67
builds a charnel for Farúd, Rivniz, and Zarásp, iii, 68
marches from Kalát, iii, 68
defeats Tazháv, iii, 77
occupies Giravgard, iii, 78
defeated by the Turkmans, iii, 82
deprived of his command, iii, 83
Kai Khúsrau's wrath with, iii, 84, 111, 112
superseded, iii, 86
returns to Kai Khúsrau, iii, 86
disgraced, iii, 86
imprisoned, iii, 87
pardoned, iii, 114
challenges Pirán to battle, iii, 117
joins battle with Pirán, iii, 118, 126
parleys with Húmán, iii, 121
prays to be delivered from the snowstorm, iii, 128
retreats to Mount Hamáwan, iii, 132
makes a night-attack upon Pirán, iii, 139
harangues the host, iii, 141
hears of the approach of succours, iii, 159
takes counsel with the host, iii, 167
arrays the host, iii, 169
chiefs and, take counsel with Rustam, iii, 172
Rustam's wrath with, iii, 234
collects the spoil, iii, 235
worstèd by Púládwand, iii, 257
leads a host to Kházaín, iv, 61
son of = Zarásp, iv, 135
made overseer of the host, iv, 149
Tús, posted on Khúsrau's right, iv, 146
takes part in the siege of Gang-bihisht, iv, 199
ordered to prepare for a night-attack from Afrásiyáb, iv, 224
Kai Khúsrau remonstrated with by, and other nobles, for refusing audience, iv, 275
Gúdarz, and other nobles take counsel, iv, 277
audience of, with Kai Khúsrau, iv, 283 seq.
holds with other chiefs, at the bidding of Kai Khúsrau, an assembly on the plain, iv, 291 seq.
Kai Khúsrau's gifts to, iv, 295, 300
asks for further recognition from Kai Khúsrau, iv, 299
retains the charge of Káwa's flag and receives Khurásán, iv, 300
sets out with Kai Khúsrau on his pilgrimage, iv, 306
rejects to turn back when bidden by Kai Khúsrau, iv, 307
Kai Khúsrau farewells and warns, and his comrades, iv, 308
appears and is sought in vain by, and his comrades, iv, 308
end of, iv, 309
Tús, city, now in ruins, north of Mashad in Khurasán, i, 39; v, 28; vi, 393; ix, 90, 95
birthplace of Firdausi, i, 38, 41, 45
governor of, i, 39
prince of, i, 100, 114
legendary origin of, iii, 14
legend concerning Firdausi's burial at, iii, 191
Tús, city, treasure of Kai Kâiûs called "The Bride" stored at, iv, 205
Sam and the dragon of, v, 202
local legend of, vi, 372, 391 seq.
governor of, ix, 62
Tuwurg, Turâniân hero, ii, 253
Tuwurg, brother of Khân, 173, viii, 394
reports flight of Gurdyâ, viii, 351
sent in pursuit, viii, 351
parleys with Gurdyâ, viii, 352
Twelve Rukhs (Champions), Battle of the. See Rukhs.
Signs (Zodiac), vii, 408
Tyre, city, vi, 30
siege of, vi, 30

U
Ulàd, a div, 143, ii, 28, 59, 61; iv, 296 note; v, 204 note
Rustam and, ii, 52 seq.
made king of Mâzandarân, ii, 76
'Umar, Khalifa (A.D. 634-643), i, 11 seq., 67; ix, 60 seq., 72, 70, 121
founds Basra, ix, 69
sends Hâshim in pursuit of
Yazdagird, ix, 68
Nu'mân to fight Yazdagird, ix, 68
Sa'âd to invade Irân, ix, 72
'Tmân Khayyâm, Persian poet and scientist (died A.D. 1123), v, 39
Umây yâids, Muhammadan dynasty, i, 12, 13
'Uné, daughter of Alexander the Great in the Pseudo-Ca-
listhenes, vi, 77
Ural Mountains, iii, 192
Urmuzl, the Good Principle, i,
5, 50, 110 seq., 236, vi, 82;
iii, 271, 280, 317, 327; iv,
139, 185; v, 15 seq.; vi,
55, 392, 372, 387; vii,
228, 406 and note; viii,
285; ix, 24
Unity of, symbolised in the
game of nard, vii, 384
day, i, 88; iii, 343; vi, 302
and note, 306, 375
Urmuzl, Ashkâniân (Parthian)
king, vi, 197, 210
Urmuzl, son of Shâpûr, Shâh (Hormîsîas 1), 161, 162,
vi, 3, 257, 273, 280, 313,
327
discovery of, by Ardshîr Pâ-
pakân, vi, 257, 271
birth of, vi, 271
counselled by Ardshîr Pâ-
pakân, vi, 280
Shâpûr, vi, 299
Reign of, 162, vi, 301 seq.
Note on, vi, 301
title of, vi, 301
story about, vi, 301
Urmuzl, son of Narsi, Shâh (Hormîsîas 11), 162, vi, 3,
294, 295, 307, 315, 316,
323; vii, 359; viii, 41
Reign of, vi, 318 seq.
Note on, vi, 318
sons of, vi, 318
inaugural address of, vi, 318
pregnant wife of, enthroned,
vi, 320
Urmuzl (Hormîsîas), son of
Urmuzl, Persian Prince, vi,
318, 325
referred to (?), vi, 337
Urmuzl Ardshîr (Ahwâz), city in
Khûzistân, vi, 290 and
note
Urmuzl, Irânian warrior, viii, 296
Uroscopy, vi, 101, 107, 108
Urumiah (Khanjast or Chijast),
lake in Azarbâjân, iv, 130; viii, 105
Afrâsiyâb escapes from Hûm
into, iv, 292 and note
Ustad, Íránian general, vii, 251
commands Núshírwán's right wing, vii, 251
Ustad, Íránian warrior, viii, 296
Ustuktí, Túránian hero, iv, 182
fights with Kai Khusrán, iv, 182

'Utbi, Al, secretary to Sultán Mahmúd, i, 32
'Uthmán, Khalifa, i, 12
Uttarakuri, a legendary people, vi, 74
Uzava (Zav), Sháh, i, 309

V

VALE of heroes, vii, 6
Valerian (Bazánúsh), Roman Emperor (A.D. 253-260), vi, 323 seq.
defeat and capture of, by Shápúr son of Ardshír, vi, 294, 295
memorials of, vi, 205
confused with Odenathus, Julian, and Jovian, vi, 324 seq.
death of, in captivity, vi, 326

Valkash (Vologeses I), Parthian
(Askhánían) king, i, 62, 63
Vandaremainí (Andarímán),
brother of Arjásp, v, 13
Varahrán I (Bahrám son of Urúmaí), Sásánían king, vi, 307
Varahrán II (Bahrám son of Bahrám), Sásánían king, vi, 310
Varahrán III (Bahrám Bahrámi-
yání), Sásánían king, vi, 313, 368
Varahrán IV (Bahrám son of Shápúr), Sásánían king, vi, 313, 368
Varahrán V (Bahrám Gúr), Sásánían king, vii, 3

Vardanes, wars of, with Gotarzés, iii, 10, 11
assassination of, iii, 10, 11
character of, iii, 15
Varengana, the raven, i, 235, 236
Vedas, i, 120, 144, 171, 234, 337.
ii, 8, 11, 25
Vega, star, vii, 245
Vendídád, Násk, vii, 188
reference to Mazdák in, vii, 188
Venerána, the raven, ii, 25
Victory of Victories, The, ix, 69
Vír (Vírs), king of Kirkúm,
temp. Ardshír Pápa-
kán, vi, 205

Volga, river of European Russia,
falling into the Caspian, iv, 316
Vologeses I (Valkash), Parthian
(Askhánían) king (A.D. 51-
77), i, 62, 93
Vologeses II, Parthian (Askh-
ánían king), i, 10
Vologeses (Balásh), king of Kir-
mán, temp. Ardshír Pápá-
kán, vi, 205
Vologeses (Balásh), Sháh, vii, 170
Vonones I, Parthian (Askhánían)
king (A.D. 8-12)
Western sea, the, 160, vi, 158
Whale, mistaken for an island, vi, 71, 117

Whale, Sikandar's adventure with a, vi, 71, 117
Wheeler, James Talboys, quoted, vi, 81
Whip, Bahram Gür's, vii, 47, 54, 93, 94
object of reverence, vii, 47, 54, 93

White Castle (Mount Sipand, q.v.), stronghold northwest of Nishapür, 144, i, 399; ii, 148, 131, 138
Malcolm's identification and description of, 1, 236; v, 30
besieged by Barmân, i, 354
evacuated by Gazhdaham ii, 137

Div, 143. See Div.
Elephant, 146. See Elephant.
Huns (Haitâlians, q.v.), i, 20
Will, of Alexander the Great, vi, 81
provisions of, vi, 81, 181
Kubad, son of Piruz, vii, 210
Wine-drinking, forbidden by Bahram Gür, vii, 23
again permitted, vii, 25
Firdausi's love of. See Firdausí.

Wisa, Turântan hero, uncle of Afrasiyâb, 142, i, 92, 337, 342, 353, 354, 392; ii, 112, 354; iii, 79, 102, 105, 121, 107, 202, 209; iv, 34, 39, 50, 54, 55, 74, 84, 95, 99, 103, 113, 115, 122
pursues Kâran, i, 355
finds Barmân dead, i, 356
defeated by Kâran, i, 357
returns to Afrasiyâb, i, 357
sayings of, iv, 32
Wisagird, city in Turan, 151, iv, 10, 20, 95; vii, 157, 334
Wisdom, praise of, vii, 103
Firdausí's, 139
treated to, vi, 278
— literature, Persian, vii, 278
seq., viii, 3
Molh on, vii, 280
Wisdom, literature, Noldeke on, vii, 281
apportionment of, viii, 202
Witch, 143, 156. See Sorceress.
Wizard-land, vii, 120 and note
Wolf, 154, 156, 165, vii, 121 seq. and note
slain by Bahram Gür, vii, 123
of Fāskūn. See Fāskūn.
Women, City of, 160. See Hariim.
Wonders, 160, iv, 245
the Four, of Kaid, 159. See Kaid.
World, on the making of the, 139
Worm, the, 161, vi, 195, 200, 238 seq.
Story of, 161, vi, 196, 203 seq., 232 seq.
Mohl, Noldeke, and Dar- mester on, vi, 203 seq.
cult of, vi, 235
Ardshir Pāpakān's stratagem against, vi, 242
servants of, vi, 242 seq.
Writing, art of, taught by the divs to Tahmuras, i, 127

X

Xerxes, Persian king (B.C. 485-465), v, 282
Aslandiyār and, v, 282
criffy of, falls, vi, 30

Y

Yājūj and Mājūj (Gog and Magog, q.v.), 160, vi, 79, 163 seq., 211 note
legend of, in the Kurān, vi, 78
Tabari on, vi, 78
described, vi, 103
Ya'kūb bin Lais, Persian chieftain and founder of the Saffāri dynasty, i, 97, 68
Ya'kūb, Arabic historian (died A.D. 891)
Yalān-sfn (Mardānshāh), brother of Bahram Chūbina, viii, 74, 102, 122, 135, 138, 157, 163, 169, 204, 288, 291, 299 seq., 303, 316, 350, 357; ix, 6
goes hunting with Bahram Chūbina, viii, 156
pursues and brings back archscribe viii, 159
speech of, viii, 165, 170
worsted by Khusrau Parwiz, viii, 229
commands the centre, viii, 289
Bahram Chūbina makes, his mandatory, vii, 342
defeats the Turks, viii, 353
negotiates marriage between Gurdya and Gūstaham, viii, 357
Yama. See Yima.
Yaman (Hāmāvārān), southwestern Arabia, 140, 150, 162, i, 181 seq., 266, 286; ii, 80; iv, 146; v, 260; vi, 73, 120, 121, 324, 331, 385, 386, 396, 401; vii, 262; viii, 98
king of = Sarv, 140, i, 178, 179, 182
Yaman, carmelians of, ii, 123; iii, 289
Canopus of, ii, 203; iii, 297; vi, 382
onyx of, vi, 128
striped stuff of, vi, 175
monarch of, vi, 175; viii, 16
gives gifts to Sikandar, vi, 175
=Munzir, vi, 378, 387, 390
Bahram Gür goes to, vi, 378, 390
conquered by Persians, viii, 24 note
curtains of, viii, 148, 151
Yānūs (Julian), brother of Caesar, 162, vi, 324, 329
Yānuš, leads a host against Shāpūr, vi, 351

defeated, vi, 352.

Yasht XXII, metrical paraphrase of, vii, 318

Yātākār-i-Zarirān, Pahlavi text, v, 13, 24, 27 and note; vii, 380.

compared with Dakīṣī's work, v, 24 seq.

resembles Kārnamāk, vii, 105, 196.

Yazates (Izads), the, iii, 286.

Yazd, city in central Persia, vi, 308.

Yazdagird, son of Shāpūr, Shāh (Isdigerd I), 163, 164, vi, 3; vii, 4, 10, 109, 119, 171, 185, 359.

referred to, vi, 369; vii, 74.

Reign of, 163, vii, 371 seq.

Note on, vi, 371 seq.

parentage of, uncertain, vii, 371.

lover of peace like Aknaton of Egypt, vi, 371.

titles of, vii, 371, 372.

Tabari on, vii, 372, 373.

coins of, vi, 373.

evil administration of, vi, 374, 494.

makes search for a governor for his son Bahram Gūr, vi, 379 seq.

Nu'mān and Munzir visit, vi, 377.

puts Bahram Gūr in Munzir's charge, vi, 378.

receives from Munzir a picture of Bahram Gūr shooting, vi, 385.

Bahram Gūr returns to, vi, 386.

gives presents to, and sends a letter by, Nu'mān to Munzir, vi, 387.

disgraces Bahram Gūr, vi, 389.

sends Bahram Gūr back to Munizir, vi, 390.

Yazdagird, consults the astrologers, vi, 390.

death of foretold, vi, 391.

attacked by bleeding of the nose, vi, 390.

death of, vi, 373, 393.

Noldeke on, vii, 373.

corpse of embalmed and taken to Pars, vi, 393.

Yazdagird, son of Bahram Gūr (Isdigerd II), Shāh, 166, vi, 3; vii, 4, 152, 159, 160, 187.

welcomes his father on his return from Hind, vii, 137.

appointed by Bahram Gūr to succeed him, vii, 150.

Reign of, 166, vii, 153 seq.

Note on, vii, 153.

a blank in Shāhnāma, vii, 153.

historically important, vii, 153.

wars of, vii, 153.

fortifies passes in the Caucasus, vii, 153, 187.

title of, vii, 153.

sons of, vii, 153.

appoints Hurmuz to succeed him, vii, 155.

dies, vii, 155.

Yazdagird (Isdigerd III), Shāh, 176, v, 291; vi, 3; viii, 55, 73; ix, 5, 61, 64 seq., 68 seq., 72, 81, 90, 101, 105, 106, 113, 115, 116, 122.

Reign and Era of, 176, ix, 64.

Note on, ix, 64.

taken for safety to Istakhr, ix, 64.

age of, at accession, ix, 65.

difficult position of, ix, 65.

Yazdagird, historical importance of reign of, ix, 65.

flight of, from Ctesiphon, ix, 67.

Hulwān, ix, 68.

last attempt of, to recover his empire, ix, 68.
Youths, two, bid Ardshîr Pâpakân not to tarry in his flight from Ardawân, vi, 201, 222

Youths, two, entertain and counsel Ardshîr Pâpakân in the matter of the Worm, vi, 207, 239 seq.

help Ardshîr Pâpakân to slay the Worm, vi, 242, 244

Yudhishtîra, eldest of the five Pândavas, iv, 138

renunciation of the world, and pilgrimage to heaven

of, compared with that of Kai Khusrav, iv, 138

Yûnân, vi, 95 and note, viii, 258

Faith of, vi, 95

Z

Zâb, lesser, tributary of Tigris, viii, 189

Zâbul, Zâbalistân=Nimruz=


invaded by Shamâsîs and Khazarwan, i, 345, 358

1 Not the same apparently as those above.
Zábul, vintage of, ii, 110
occupied by the Turkmans, i, 10; iii, 14, 30
Gushatasp goes to, v, 83
Moon of Kurdaba, v, 199 and note
called "Babblestead" by
Astambil, v, 216
Bahman's sojourn in, v, 252, 259
pillaged by Bahman, v, 287
Bahman quits, v, 290
Zábuli, a native of Zábul, iii, 188, 201, 257, 329; v, 212
a, made king of Kabul, v, 277
Zád Farruki, suggests Bahram Chúbina to Hurmuzal, v, 99
speech of, viii, 241
Zádsham, king of Tíran and grandfather of Afrasiyábi, 92, 342 seq., 379; iv, 149, 193, 200, 203
offspring of = Afrasiyábi, iv, 178
Zagros, mountain-range in western Iran, viii, 189
Zahhák (Azhi Daháká), son of Mardás, Arab king and Shah, 149, 147; i, 42, 90, 91; ii, 33, 84, 318; iii, 257; iv, 80, 200, 274, 274, 290; v, 12, 180, 203, 204, 204; vi, 15, 45, 172, 200, 240 and note; vii, 185, 199; viii, 218, 230, 241, 377, 391; ix, 25, 65, 193
proponent of idolatry and of the Semitic race, i, 54, 143, 220, 259
one of the Zoroastrian triad of evil, i, 59 and note
referred to by Moses of Chorene, i, 72, 144
Story of, 149, i, 135 seq.
tempted by Iblis, i, 135 seq.
father of, 149
murdered by, i, 137
referred to, vii, 387
Zahhák, becomes king of the
Arabs, i, 137
serpents grow out of the shoulders of, i, 137
Iblis' advice to, i, 139
invades Iran, i, 139
captures and slays Jamshid, i, 140
Reign of, 140, i, 141, seq.
Note on, i, 141, seq.
not destroyed, i, 143
feast in celebration of overthrow of, i, 143
dream of, i, 147
Arnawáz' advice to, concerning, i, 148
takes counsel with the archimages, i, 149
warned by Zirak, i, 149
seeks for Faridun, i, 150
slays Abtin, i, 151, 153
Birmáya, i, 152
burns Faridun's palace, i, 152, 158
Káwa and, Story of, 149, i, 154 seq.
Káwa revolts against, i, 150
Faridun resolves to war with, i, 157
marches against, i, 159
capital of, i, 161
entered by Faridun, i, 161
talisman of, overthrown by Faridun, i, 194
sought for in vain by Faridun, i, 192
minister of, 149, i, 194 seq.
hears from Kundray of Faridun's doings, i, 195
goes to fight with Faridun, i, 195
enters his palace, i, 197
overthrown by Faridun, i, 198
Sunris's counsel to Faridun concerning, i, 198, 199
fettered to Mount Damáwand, i, 199
future final destruction of, i, 173
saying of, n, 173 and note
GENERAL INDEX

Zahhák, an Aryan myth, ix, 65
king of Babylon, ix, 65
an Arab, ix, 65
Zahír, Iranian hero, iv, 148
commands the Bedouins in
Kai Khusrau’s army, iv, 148
Zainig u, Zainigáv, ii, 81
Zairi-vairi (Zariadres, Zarír, q.v.), iv, 316; v, 12
Zál (Dáštán, Dáštán-i-Sám, Dáštán-i-Zand, Zál-i-zai), son
of Sám and father of
Rustam, 141, 142, 153,
154, 156, 157; i, 145, 235,
384, 387; ii, 4, 11 seq.,
18, 19, 21, 33 seq., 49, 58,
61, 62, 69, 77, 140, 168,
199, 180, 182, 227, 228,
271, 286, 299, 318, 319,
338, 362, 371; iii, 8, 17,
18, 21, 22, 35, 121, 132,
138, 141, 147, 190, 202,
221, 245, 269, 274, 279,
283, 307, 321, 322, 325,
328, 331, 347, 351, 354,
355; iv, 13, 147, 222, 251,
277, 319; v, 11, 14, 15,
58, 86, 109, 173 seq., 197,
200, 204, 210, 212, 219
seq., 231, 240 seq., 243,
235, 256, 261, 277 seq.,
281, 283, 290; vi, 79;
vii, 223; ix, 25
various names of, i, 84, 245
and note, 248 and note
born with white hair, i,
240
cast away by Sám, i, 241
found and brought up by
the Simúrgh, i, 242
seen by a caravan, i,
242
informed of his parentage by
the Simúrgh, i, 245
given a feather by the
Simúrgh, i, 246
restored to Sám by the
Simúrgh, i, 247
goes with Sám to court, i,
249
Zál, horoscope of, taken, i, 251
made regent of Zábul by
Sám, i, 253
progress of, in the arts, i, 255
makes a progress through
his realm, i, 256
Rúdába, and, story of, i, 257
seq.
referred to, iii, 285
hears of, and falls in love
with Mihráb’s daughter,
i, 257 seq.
described, i, 260, 268
sees Rúdába’s handmaids,
i, 203
interview of, with Rúdába’s
handmaids, i, 266
invited to visit Rúdába, i,
267, 269
goes to Rúdába, i, 270 seq.
plights his troth to Rúdába,
i, 272
consults the archimages on
the matter of Rúdába, i,
273
writes to Sám, i, 275
go-between of, with Rúdába,
i, 280
sends Sám’s letter to Rú-
díába, i, 280
goes to plead his cause with
Sám, i, 292
bears a letter of appeal from
Sám to Minúchihr, i, 295
well received by Minú-
chihr, i, 306
astrologer’s presage con-
cerning, i, 397
questioned by the arch-
images, i, 308
answers the archimages, i,
309
displays his accomplishment
before Minúchihr, i, 311
returns to Sám, i, 316
goes with Sám to Kábul, i,
317
felicitated by Sám, i, 318
married to Rúdába, i, 318
and Rúdába go to Sístán, i,
319
Zal, left regent of Sistán by Sam, i, 310
summons the Simurgh to succour Rúdába, i, 320
goes with Rustam and Mihráb to meet Sam, i, 324
bids Rustam take Mount Sipand, i, 329
hears of Rustam's success, i, 332
bids Rustam destroy the hold of Mount Sipand, i, 333
informs Sam of Rustam's exploit, i, 334
buries Sam, i, 358
hears from Mihráb that Shamášas and Khazarwán are invading Zábulistán, i, 359
goes to the help of Mihráb, i, 359
shoots arrows into the enemy's camp, i, 359
slays Khazarwán, i, 360
wounds Kulbád, i, 361
puts Shamášas to flight, i, 361
hears of the death of Nándar, i, 364
fights with Afrásiyáb, i, 368
proposes the election of a new Sháh, i, 370
reproached by the Fráns, i, 375
reply of, i, 375
bids Rustam prepare for war, i, 379
gives Sam's mace to Rustam, i, 378
collects horses for Rustam, i, 378
marches against Afrásiyáb, i, 381
urges the Fráns to choose a Sháh, i, 381
sends Rustam to summon Kai Kubád, i, 382
goes to do homage to Kai Khushrau, iii, 17
Zal, witnesses Kai Khushrau's oath to avenge Siyáwush, iii, 22
son of Rustam, iii, 132
meets Giv, iii, 321
sayings of, iii, 310, 351
summoned by the Fráns to remonstrate with Kai Khushrau, iv, 278
sets out for Iran with Rustam and sages, iv, 279
met on arrival by Gúdarz and other chiefs, iv, 282
holds converse with the Fráns, iv, 282
audience of, with Kai Khushrau, iv, 293 seq.
asks pardon of Kai Khushrau, iv, 299
holds, with other chiefs, at the bidding of Kai Khushrau, an assembly on the plain, iv, 291 seq.
Kai Khushrau's gift to, iv, 305
companions of, rewarded by Kai Khushrau, iv, 297
returns thanks, iv, 298
protests against Luhrásp's succession, iv, 301
acknowledges Luhrásp as Sháh, iv, 302
sets out with Kai Khushrau on his pilgrimage, iv, 306
turns back at the bidding of Kai Khushrau, iv, 307
laments the loss of the paladins and returns to Iran, iv, 310
promises fealty to Luhrásp, iv, 311
Rustam and, welcome Gush-tás to Sistán, v, 85
hears of Bahman's approach, v, 182
interview of, with Bahman, v, 183
give Bahman a guide to conduct him to Rustam, v, 184
Zal, Rūdāba and, hidden by
Rustam to prepare to receive Asfandiyar, v, 190
Rustam recounts his interview with Asfandiyar to, v, 196
Rustam and, vilified by Asfandiyar, v, 201
receives a message from Rustam by Zawāra, v, 230
grieves over Rustam's wounds, v, 234
summons the Simurgh to Rustam's aid, v, 235
goes to Rustam and Asfandiyar, v, 247
forebodes Rustam's future, v, 247
father of Shaghād, v, 260, 263
sends Shaghād to be brought up at Kābul, v, 264
laments for Rustam, v, 273
sends Farāmarz against Kābul, v, 274
bids Rūdāba to cease to mourn for Rustam, v, 278
receives and replies to Bahman's hostile message, v, 285
goes to meet Bahman, v, 286
palace of, sacked, v, 286
Bishūtān intercedes for, v, 288
released and returns to his palace, v, 289
Zāl-i-zar (Zāl, q.v.), i, 84, 248 and
note
Zam (now Karkhi), town on the left bank of the Oxus between Amwī (Charjui) and Tirmid, where, there was a crossing-place, ii, 304, 395; iv, 95, 157; vii, 359
=Oxus, ii, 97
Zamyād, Yasht, i, 338
Zamzam, iv, 258 note
Zand, comment, i, 65
Zandavasta, i, 110, 129, 144, 171 seq., 231, 337, 338, 399;
ii, 8, 25 seq., 51, 118, 189, 190; iii, 8; iv, 151, 228, 253, 259, 308; v, 11 seq., 30, 33, 41, 43, 51, 82, 85, 100, 173, 176, 216, 241, 294, 299, 309; vi, 17, 55, 226, 252, 343, 359; vii, 200, 207, 283, 302; viii, 96, 240, 283, 312
traditional origin of, i, 61
discussed, i, 62
language of, i, 63 seq.
meaning of, i, 65
origin of chief characters in, i, 65
diffusion of traditions in, i, 65
extant portions of, i, 70
note
quoted, i, 99, 130, 141, 142, 172, 235, 309; vii, 218, 249
sent by Gushtāsp to every clime, v, 77
burnt by the Turkmans at Balkh, v, 92
passage from, metrically paraphrased, vii, 318
accompanies Siyāwush against Afrāsiyāb, ii, 226
sent on an embassy to Afrāsiyāb, ii, 250 seq.
goes with Rustam to rescue Bizhan, iii, 334
opposes Farsliward, iv, 83
chosen to fight Akhāst, iv, 97
slays Akhāst, iv, 106
Zanga, Kai Khusrav remonstrated with by, and other nobles, for refusing audience, iv, 275
Zangula or Zangula, Fúranian hero, 151, iv, 29
chosen to fight with Furúhil, iv, 97
slain by Furúhil, iv, 101
Zarang, former capital of Sístán, situated some twenty miles from the north-eastern shores of Lake Zirih, i, 4
Zarár, vi, 260
Zarasp, son of Minúchihr, i, 248; iv, 147 (2);
kinded of, 1, go to the temple of Ázargashasp, iv, 270
go to meet Záí and Kus-tam, iv, 282
with Zarir to Rúm, iv, 390
Zarasp or Zarasp, son of Tús, 147, iii, 24, 54, 57, 50, 60, 67, 72, 113, 114; iv, 135
goes against Furúhil, iii, 53
referred to, iii, 155; iv, 149
burial of, iii, 68
Zarasp, treasurer of Kai Khusrav, iv, 260
makes gifts to Ázargashasp, iv, 260
Zarasp, Persian hero, iv, 180, 301
Zarathustra, Zarathushtra. See Zarduhsht.
Zarduhsht (Zarathushtra, Zarathüstra), prophet, law-giver, and evangelist of ancient Frán, 155, i, 53, 110, 235, 239; ii, 8, 9; iv, 274; v, 9 seq., 23 seq., 27, 28, 46, 51, 77, 173, 309, 310, 317, 241, 244, 255; vi, 55, 55, 52, 328; vii, 6, 207, 294, 318;
viii, 67, 213, 368
Zandavasta revealed to, i, 61
title of a line of priest-princes, i, 61
Zarduhsht, account of, i, 62
meaning of, v, 13
legend of, v, 14 seq.
converts Gushtásp, v, 18, 33
success of evangel of, v, 14
plants the Cypress of Kish-már., v, 27, 34
advises Gushtásp not to pay tribute to Arjásp, v, 35
referred to, v, 30, 38, 41
slain at Balkh, v, 92, 93
amulet given to Asfandiyár by, v, 130
religion of, under the Sásá-ni-m empire, vi, 251
galilee of, v, 10; vi, 332 note.
Firuz-âne of, vi, 139
high priest of, converts Sapúmid, vii, 139
saying of, viii, 218, 240
Zarduhsht, high priest, 179, viii, 81
visits Fízíd Gashasp in prison, viii, 82
visit of, reported to Hur-muzd, vii, 83
poisoned by Hur-muzd, viii, 83 seq.
Zariadres (Zari-vairi, Zarir, q.v.), v, 29
legend of, iv, 314 seq.
Zarir (Zariadres, Zari-vairi),
brother of Sháh Gushtásp, 151, 155, i, 42, 6, 3, 3; iv, 315, 316, 318, 347; v, 12, 13, 24 seq., 37, 41 seq., 49 seq., 60 seq., 73, 91, 100, 149, 181, 193, 254, 261
sent by Luhrásp in pursuit of Gushtásp, iv, 320
charger of, iv, 321
returns with Gushtásp, iv, 322
consulted by Luhrásp, iv, 323, 358
advises Luhrásp, iv, 358
goes with other chiefs on a mission to Rúm, iv, 359
reaches Halab, iv, 360

It is not clear which Zarasp is intended.
Zarir entrusts the host to Bahram, iv, 360
go to Caesar’s court, iv, 360
audience with Caesar of, and recognition of Gushtásp by, iv, 360
gives Luhrásp’s answer to Caesar, iv, 361
visited in his camp by Gushtásp, iv, 361
informs Gushtásp of Luhrásp’s abdication in his favour, iv, 362
Love-story of, v, 26, 27
Death-story of, v, 26, 27
converted by Zarudasht, v, 33
answers, in conjunction with Asfandiyár and Jámašp,
Arjásp’s letter, v, 42
death of, foretold by Jámašp, v, 51
receives the standard and the command of the centre from Gushtásp, v, 55
prowess of, v, 61 seq.
slain by Bídírafsh, v, 63
Zarir-náma, v, 26, 27
Zark, town south-east of Marv, ix, 98
canal of, ix, 98
corpse of, ix, 98
death of, ix, 109
recovers from, ix, 109
ford and toll-house of, ix, 100 and note
chief of, ix, 100
hears from miller about Yazdagird, ix, 109
Zarmihr. See Rizmihr.
Zarmúsh, city in Kházistán, vi, 35
Zartusht Bahrán Pazdíhá, author of the Zartusht-náma, v, 18
Zartusht-náma, poem, v, 18
Zav, Shah, 142, 143; i, 90, 91, 381; ii, 11, 30; iv, 283
Reign of, 142; i, 309 seq.
Note on, i, 309
mentioned in the Zandavasta, i, 369
Zarir entrusts the host to Bahram, iv, 360
go to Caesar’s court, iv, 360
audience with Caesar of, and recognition of Gushtásp by, iv, 360
gives Luhrásp’s answer to Caesar, iv, 361
visited in his camp by Gushtásp, iv, 361
informs Gushtásp of Luhrásp’s abdication in his favour, iv, 362
Love-story of, v, 26, 27
Death-story of, v, 26, 27
converted by Zarudasht, v, 33
answers, in conjunction with Asfandiyár and Jámašp,
Arjásp’s letter, v, 42
death of, foretold by Jámašp, v, 51
receives the standard and the command of the centre from Gushtásp, v, 55
prowess of, v, 61 seq.
slain by Bídírafsh, v, 63
Zarir-náma, v, 26, 27
Zark, town south-east of Marv, ix, 98
canal of, ix, 98
corpse of, ix, 98
death of, ix, 109
recovers from, ix, 109
ford and toll-house of, ix, 100 and note
chief of, ix, 100
hears from miller about Yazdagird, ix, 109
Zarmihr. See Rizmihr.
Zarmúsh, city in Kházistán, vi, 35
Zartusht Bahrán Pazdíhá, author of the Zartusht-náma, v, 18
Zartusht-náma, poem, v, 18
Zav, Shah, 142, 143; i, 90, 91, 381; ii, 11, 30; iv, 283
Reign of, 142; i, 309 seq.
Note on, i, 309
mentioned in the Zandavasta, i, 369
Zav, accession of, i, 370
drought and famine in the time of, i, 371
concludes peace with the Turkmans, i, 371
dies, i, 372
Zawára, brother of Rustam, 146, 157, ii, 4, 96, 228, 347, 349; iii, 39, 202, 325, 328; iv, 24, 34; v, 173, 174, 182 seq., 187, 191, 231, 260, 261
engaged in the Fight of the Seven Warriors, ii, 110 seq.
worsted by Alkús, ii, 115
rescued by Rustam, ii, 115
made leader of Rustam’s host, ii, 142
left in charge of Rustam’s host, ii, 161
goes on embassy to Húmnán, ii, 176
safe-conducts Húmnán from Írán, ii, 170, 181, 182
incites Rustam to avenge Siyáwush, ii, 360
given a command, iv, 149
goes with Rustam to the right wing, iv, 180
referred to, v, 186, 228, 291
Farámarz and, sent by Rustam to bid Zál and Radába prepare to receive Asfandiyár, v, 190
brings Rustam’s armour, v, 218
put in charge of the troops, v, 222
goes with Rustam to the Hírmund, v, 222
Rustam’s instructions to, v, 222
provokes the Íránians to combat, v, 225
slays Núsh Azar, v, 227
goes in quest of Rustam, v, 230
takes from Rustam a message for Zál, v, 230
Zawāra, grieves over Rustam’s wounds, v, 234

Zoroastrian, cosmogony, i, 5

view of Buddhism as idolatrous, i, 10

conception of destiny, i, 52

propaganda, i, 58 seq.

tried of evil, i, 59 and note

scriptures. See Zendavesta.

calendar, i, 88

adopted by Darius Hystaspis, i, 59

Zoroastrianism, i, 49; vi, 15, 196, 251, 252, 327, 328; vii, 188, 317

conceptions of, i, 5, 51, 52

original seat of, i, 59 seq., 62

becomes the state religion, i, 59

declines after Alexander’s conquest, i, 60

scriptures of, See Zendavesta.

under the Parthians, i, 60, 63

revival of, i, 63

based on nature-worship, i, 110

existed before Zoroaster, i, 110

under the Sasanian empire, vi, 251

millenia of, vi, 252

Zū’l Aktáf, title of Shāpūr, son of Urnuzd, vi, 323

meaning of, vi, 323

Zuldakar, ii, 337 and note

Zūl-karnain (Sikandar, Alexander the Great), vi, 51

legend of, in Kurān, vi, 78, 84

site of, vi, 79

Zūr. See Gūr.

Zūrān, Nišāhrwān’s chamberlain, 168

envies Mahbud, vii, 319

plots with a Jew against

Mahbud, vii, 320 seq.

makes confession to Nišāhrwān, vii, 324