Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib

Wisdom of Royal Glory

(Kutadgu Bilig)

A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes

Translated, with an Introduction and Notes by

Robert Dankoff

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TÜRK DİLLERİ KÜTÜPHANESİ

Robert Dankoff is associate professor in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago.

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Preface

TÜRK DİLLERİ KÜTÜPHANESİ

It is widely appreciated that after the Arabs and the Persians, the Turks produced the third major body of literature within the framework of Islam. Yet this literature is hardly known in America and Europe, and is likely to remain unknown unless it is translated. Recently, English renderings of some of the Turkish classics, such as the *Book of Dede Korkut,* have made these works available to a larger audience. The present volume has this aim in view.

Wisdom of Royal Glory, though written long ago (AD 1069) and far away (Kashghar in Central Asia), in a tongue that is strange even to most present-day Turks, in a form of didactic verse that is doubtless alien to modern taste and outfitted with a scaffolding of royal courts and allegorical plots, is yet not at all an exotic or inaccessible work. Its major theme—the conflict between individual conscience and communal obligation—is a universal and a contemporary one.

The introduction to the translation attempts to situate the work in its historical and cultural context. My personal interest in *Kutadgu Bilig* goes back some fifteen years, when as a graduate student I became interested in the whole phenomenon of what Paul Wittek called *Türkentum und Islam*. My preoccupation with the Karakhanid texts (i.e. the present work and the monumental dictionary of al-Kāshgharī) was the result of my desire to get at the roots of the Turkish-Islamic symbiosis.

Of the many teachers, colleagues, and friends who have supported this effort with their counsel and encouragement over the years, I am especially grateful to Richard Chambers, Larry Clark, Talat Halman, William Hickman, Halil Inalcik, Geoffrey Lewis, Omeljan Pritsak, Franz Rosenthal, Osman Sertkaya, Şinasi Tekin, and Andreas Tietze.

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All references to the original text, including numbers in the margin of the translation, are to line number of Arat's critical edition (see *KB* in the list of abbreviations). Throughout I have substituted the form *Kutadgu* for the more cumbersome, and technically more correct, *Ḳutaḏġu*.

R.D.

Chicago, August 1982

Abbreviations

A	*Kutadgu Bilig Tıpkıbasım: Viyana Nüshası*. Istanbul, 1942.
B	*Kutadgu Bilig Tıpkıbasım: Fergana Nüshası*. Istanbul, 1942.
C	*Kutadgu Bilig Tıpkıbasım: Mısır Nüshası*. Istanbul, 1943.
BSOS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (London).
BEO	*Bulletin d'études orientales* (Damascus).
DLT	*Divanü Lûgat-it-türk Tıpkıbasımı*. Ankara, 1941.
DTS	V. M. Nadelaev, et al. *Drevnet'urkskij Slovar'*. Leningrad, 1969.
ED	G. Clauson. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford, 1972.
EI[1]	*Encyclopedia of Islam*.
EI[2]	*Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition.
GAL	C. Brockelmann. *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*. I, II (2d ed., Leiden, 1943–49); S I, II (Supplementband, Leiden, 1937–42).
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
JTS	*Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları*.
KB	R. R. Arat, ed. *Kutadgu Bilig I: Metin*. Istanbul, 1947.
Tezcan	S. Tezcan. "Kutadgu Bilig Dizini Üzerine." *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* 45/2 (Sa. 178), 1981. Pp. 23–78.
UAJ	*Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*.
WB	W. Radloff. *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*. 4 vols. St. Petersburg, 1893–1911.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

Introduction

TÜRK DİLLERİ KÜTÜPHANESİ

Characterization of the Work

Kutadgu Bilig is the oldest monument of Islamic Turkish literature. A long didactic poem in the mirror-for-princes tradition, it consists mainly of dialogues set within a frame story. The language of the work is technically referred to as Karakhanid, or Middle Turkish. It is substantially the same language as that of the Turkish inscriptions on stone, mainly found in the Orkhon region of Mongolia and dating from the eighth century; of the huge translation literature in Uighur Turkish, mainly of Buddhist content; and of the later efflorescence of eastern Turkish Islamic literature known as Chaghatay.

As the first major literary work in the 900-year-long history of Turkish Islam, *Kutadgu Bilig* has a significance analogous to that of the *Divine Comedy* or, closer to our theme, to that of the *Shāh-nāmeh*. In the latter work, completed in 1010, Firdawsi had managed to fit the Iranian tradition into a New Persian dress that suited Islamic sensibilities. Yūsuf, the author of *Kutadgu Bilig,* was undoubtedly influenced by Firdawsi in his choice of verse pattern (the Arabo-Persian *mutaqārib* meter—see below, under "Text and Translation") and in his tendency to the epic style. More than this, Yūsuf attempted, with some measure of success, to do for the Turkish tradition what Firdawsi had done for the Iranian: that is, to establish its place alongside the Arab tradition within the larger frame of Islamic culture. The method and result were different, however. Firdawsi translated the Iranian epic into an Islamic Persian form. Yūsuf took as his starting point, not the Turkish traditions of legend and saga (which also existed), but rather the Irano-Islamic ideals of statecraft which he found in Arabic and Persian literature. His aim was to make a new home for these ideals as part of an Inner Asian Turkish literary heritage. Stated otherwise, he aimed to show that the Turkish traditions of royalty and wisdom were comparable or superior to their Arab and Iranian counterparts, and were equally compatible with Islam. One way he accomplished this was to cite, as authorities for the wisdom sayings scattered through the text, various Turkish princes (Khan of the Turks, Beg of Ötüken, Beg of the Ili Valley, etc.) and various Turkish poets (all unnamed).

The Turkish word for such wisdom sayings was *bilig;* and the other word in the title embodies *ḳut,* the word for "fortune" or "the charisma of rule." Thus the title means "The Wisdom that Conduces to Royal Glory or Fortune." Yūsuf's intent was to provide his patron a mirror of court life, in order to guide his conduct in an age full of opportunity and uncertainty, and thus to ensure the success of his rule. In doing this,

Yūsuf provides for us a mirror of the political and cultural life of the Central Asian Turks at the outset of their Islamic career.

The Karakhanids and Turkish Culture

The Karakhanid Turks converted to Islam in the middle of the tenth century. They ruled in Central Asia and, after 999, in Transoxania. Their two chief cities in Central Asia were Kashghar (in the present Sinkiang province of China) and Balasaghun (now in the Kirgiz SSR, precise location uncertain). In 1069 or 1070, Yūsuf, originally from Balasaghun, presented *Kutadgu Bilig* to the reigning prince of Kashghar, Tavghach Bughra Khan.[1] As a reward he was made Privy Chamberlain (Khāṣṣ Ḥājib), and he is also known by this title.

By the eleventh century, three ethnically Turkish dynasties—the Karakhanids, the Ghaznavids, and the Seljuks—had assumed the dominant position in the political life of Islam, having wrested authority away from the Iranian dynasties of the Samanids and the Buyids.

Politically, it was the Seljuks who were eventually to triumph in the central Islamic lands, leaving the Ghaznavids their empire in Afghanistan and India, and reducing the Karakhanids to a weak and divided Central Asian state, to be engulfed in the twelfth century by the heathen Karakhitay.

Culturally, it was the Karakhanids who played a role for the Muslim Turks similar to that of the Samanids for the Muslim Iranians a century before. The Ghaznavids and the Seljuks, on the other hand, both patronized Iranian and not Turkish culture. It was under the Ghaznavids, for example, that Firdawsi completed the *Shāh-nāmeh* originally begun under the Samanids.

The Karakhanids were a confederation of tribes, including especially the Karluk and the Chigil, led by their Khaqans, who preserved the Inner Asian traditions of tribal aristocracy and nobility of rule.[2] In this they differed from the Seljuks, who began their career as a band of freebooters, and the Ghaznavids, who started out as slaves. The Karakhanids traced their ancestry to the legendary hero Alp Er Tonga, whom they identified with the archenemy of Iran, Afrāsiyāb (see *KB* 276–80). They cultivated the Turkish language, and also continued to employ what they called the "Turkish" script—what we now call the Uighur script. Maḥmūd al-Kāshghari, the great lexicographer of the Turkish dialects, records many of the distinctive tribal, folk, and court traditions of the Karakhanids in his work, which is contemporary with the *Kutadgu Bilig*.[3] Taken together, the works of Maḥmūd al-Kāshghari and of Yūsuf of Balasaghun represent the establishment of a Turko-Islamic literary culture, the one in the areas of linguistic scholarship and the recording of national lore, the other in the areas of royal wisdom and the synthesis of Inner Asian tradition with Islamic religious values. But, perhaps because of the declining political

fortunes and waning prestige of the Karakhanids after the eleventh century, these works did not serve as the basis for the elaboration of that culture. No Turkish Firdawsi came along to celebrate the pre-Islamic exploits of Alp Er Tonga. It is true, judging by the three extant MS copies, that *Kutadgu Bilig* did enjoy a certain vogue as late as the Timurid period. But it never served as the basis for an elaboration, or even an imitation; in contrast, say, to the Persian *Qābūs-nāmeh,* which was translated into Ottoman Turkish no less than five times in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[4] When the Ottomans and the Timurids did create an imposing Turko-Islamic culture, it was on different foundations than those provided by these Karakhanid monuments.

The Major Structure of the Work

Yūsuf informs us at the beginning of the work (lines 353–58) that it is based on four abstract principles, each of which is represented by one of the four major characters. These are as follows:

Name	*Occupation*	*Principle*
Rising Sun (Tk. Kün Toġdı, lit. "the sun has risen")	king	Justice
Full Moon (Tk. Ay Toldı, lit. "the moon is full")	vizier	Fortune
Highly Praised (Tk. Ögdülmiş, lit. "praised")	sage	Intellect (or Wisdom)
Wide Awake (Tk. Oḍġurmış, lit. "awakened")	ascetic	Man's Last End

The first half of the work presents the relations among the first three of these characters, and deals with the traditional mirror-for-princes themes, mainly of Iranian inspiration. The second half centers on the opposing character of Wide Awake and introduces religious themes relating to Sufism, or Islamic mysticism. The following sections of this Introduction provide background and source analysis to the more important ideas in *Kutadgu Bilig*. These are followed by a short literary analysis and interpretation, where the reader will find a more extended outline of the work's contents.

Mirrors for Princes: A Survey up to the Eleventh Century

Given the delicate political situation of the Karakhanids in the second half of the eleventh century, it is appropriate that the major literary monument of the day should be a mirror for princes. "Mirror for princes" is

the name given in Western European tradition to a kind of literature that is in fact a universal genre. It can be defined most broadly as "advice on how to rule." It is to be distinguished from other genres which, however, it overlaps: on the one hand, instruction in etiquette; on the other hand, political philosophy. It belongs to the broad category of oral and written "Wisdom"; and *Kutadgu Bilig* is, as indicated above, an attempt to combine two different wisdom traditions: the Turkish Inner Asian, and the Irano-Islamic.[5]

We find mirrors for princes wherever there is a tradition of autocratic state organization. There are examples from the ancient Near East, from China, India, the Islamic Near East, from the ancient Greek tyrannies, and from medieval Europe. The prevalence of the genre is due to the function of such a literature in an autocratic society: it embodies a conservative tradition; it ensures smooth transition of rulership; it is especially useful during times of crisis in the state—for example, a change of dynasty, an outside threat, or inner disintegration.

A remarkable thing about mirrors for princes is their uniformity, irrespective of time and place. The common form is one of direct address, either by a vizier or other adviser to his ruler, or by a ruler himself to his heir. And the major tendency in this literature is always this-worldly. Other-worldly concerns take second place to the temporal goals of stability, prosperity, and prestige. The theme of realpolitik is present from the very beginning, well before Machiavelli brought it to its logical conclusion.

As a typical example, consider the following:

> Do not be evil, for patience is good; make your lasting monument in the love of you. . . .
>
> Make your magnates great, that they may execute your laws. . . . Great is the great one whose great ones are great; valiant is a king who owns an entourage; and august is he who is rich in magnates.
>
> Speak truth in your house so that the magnates who are on earth may respect you, for a sovereign's renown lies in straightforwardness; it is the front room of a house that inspires the back room with respect.
>
> Do justice, that you may live long upon earth. . . . Beware of punishing wrongfully; do not kill, for it will not profit you, but punish with beatings and with imprisonment, for thus this land will be set in order. . . .

This is actually one of the earliest known examples of the genre; it is the instruction of an Egyptian pharaoh to his son, and dates from the twenty-second century BC.[6]

In the ancient Near East, advice to rulers covered many topics: how to organize the court; the relationship with other courts and the treatment

of ambassadors; the dispensing of justice; the need for wise and loyal counselors; controlling the military; relations with the various classes and ranks in society; cultivating a reputation for generosity; good speech and table manners; advice on choosing a wife and organizing the household. This literature always keeps in view an awareness of the inconstancy of fortune; and therefore it includes advice on how to act in a subordinate rank, and on the various ways of making a living. All these themes are common to later mirrors, both in the near and farther East, and in the West.

Although the practical, temporal goals are in the forefront, spiritual, other-worldly motives are also present. For one of the major thrusts of this literature is to promote what may be called the Royal Ideology; and this ideology has a religious foundation. A Babylonian proverb states: "Man is the shadow of a god, a slave is the shadow of a man; but the king is like the very image of a god."[7] The imagery of sun and shadow is universal. The sovereign is both the shadow of God on earth and the shade (or protection—cf. *KB* 451) of his subjects. And he is the sun as well, dispensing light, which means that he creates order from chaos and establishes rule over the earth by means of justice.[8] In Babylonia, the gods chose Hammurabi, as he tells us in his Code, "to make legislation appear in the land, to destroy the evil and the wicked, so that the strong should not harm the weak, so that I should appear like the sun to the black-headed people and make light the land, and create well-being for mankind."[9] In Egypt too, kingly rule is likened to the sunrise; and King David's last words, as recorded in the book of Samuel (II, 23:3–4) are: "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds."[10]

The Old Testament also provides the locus classicus for the opposite tendency: a demotion of the king's position, since sovereignty belongs to God alone. (A conception which was later influential in Islam, as well as the medieval church.) Samuel (I, 8) warns the elders of Israel who clamor for a king, saying: a king will take your sons for his armies and your daughters for his servants; he will appropriate your fields and crops, tax you to the hilt, and impose forced labor on you. This is a type of mirror for princes in reverse: it is what a king should not do!

The classical Near Eastern ideology of kingship[11] is found with the first world empire, the Achaemenid or Persian empire, established by Cyrus in the sixth century BC. (There is a reflection of this in the Bible also; we find in the book of Ezra [1:2] the text of the decree allowing the Jews to return, beginning: "Thus says Cyrus, king of Persia: All the kingdoms of earth has the Lord God of heaven given unto me.") According to the classical ideology, the king's person is holy and inviolable. His divine descent is reflected in his birth legend and in the imagery surrounding

him: he is "brother of Sun and Moon, his name is among the stars." His divine status on earth is reflected in court ceremonial and the insignia of royalty. The king is the cosmic ruler, lord of the seven climes, and sovereign of the age. He is the peaceful Sun-king or the warlike Moon-king. He is the protector of peace and prosperity, and the bringer of happiness and wealth. His element is Fire; and his symbol is the fire-nimbus or aura, the aureole of Glory, which is identified with his Luck or Charisma, the Royal Fortune. As long as the aura is present, the realm prospers; if it is absent, the realm suffers.[12]

Some of the ancient Greeks were favorably impressed by the Persian imperial system, most notably Xenophon, in the fourth century BC, who wrote an entire book in which he tried to explain to the Greeks the success of the Persian polity under Cyrus (*Cyropaedia,* "The Education of Cyrus"). Earlier, there is an unusual example of the mirror genre in Herodotus (I, 96 ff.) in connection with the description of the rise of the Medes to world power as prelude to the Persians under Cyrus. Herodotus explains the king's power in rational and sociological terms. The Median king Deioces first got a reputation for justice among his own people; then he maneuvered to get himself appointed king. He proceeded to build his palace and establish his private guard; instituted court ceremonial; and administered justice from his new capital. He also sent out spies and secured a base of power for military operations, by which he expanded his kingdom through systematic conquest.

As for the native Greek school, the most influential political thinkers were Isocrates, also fourth-century, who in a treatise addressed to king Nicocles of Cyprus urged the tyrant to be just on rational grounds; and of course Plato, who developed the ideal conception of justice as social harmony. Alexander the Great tried to combine the Persian and the Greek traditions, and himself became a model for later rulers. Finally in Plutarch (first century AD) we find, in his "Discourse to an Unlearned Prince," what is perhaps the earliest reflection in Western literature of the classical Near Eastern conception: the good prince is the image of God; just as God placed the sun and the moon in the skies as symbols of His power and glory, so the prince, the vicar of God, is resplendent on earth.[13]

Let us summarize the three major strands in ancient political thought that are taken up in later mirrors; and, in particular, how the king in each of these traditions relates to Fortune and to Justice.

First, in Persia, where the Near Eastern royal ideology crystallizes, the king is the very embodiment of both Justice and Fortune. He dispenses justice as the sun dispenses light; and the Fortune of his realm is symbolized by his aureole of glory.

Second, in Greece, Justice is conceived of as social harmony, and is maintained by a just king; while the king, like everyone else, is subject to the caprices of Fortune, which is a force outside his control. Typically,

these conceptions are embodied in allegorical images, which are common in Western literature and art. Justice is represented by the goddess Dike (or else Themis) who is shown holding a sword and sitting on a three-legged stool; while Fortune is represented by the goddess Tyxe, who is represented as blind and sitting on a ball.[14]

Finally, there is the theocratic tradition, represented by Judaism and its monotheistic descendants, Christianity and Islam. The king is subject to God's will, which in effect replaces Fortune;[15] and the king is just if he rules according to God's will.

All of these strands come together in the Sasanian state and, following it, in the Islamic imperial tradition. The dominant theme in medieval Near Eastern politics, both pre-Islamic and Islamic, is the effort to combine religious orthodoxy with social unity under a rightful dynasty. The Sasanians, ruling from the third to the seventh centuries, saw themselves as heirs to the Achaemenids, while at the same time they attempted to establish Zoroastrianism as the state religion. Their ideology received classical expression in a document, preserved only in a much later Islamic work, known as the "Letter of Tansar."[16] Tansar was chief priest or religious counselor to Ardashir, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty. His famous letter is addressed to a rebellious king and consists of a justification of Ardashir's rule: The king of kings has restored society to its just order; he has reestablished the tradition of the ancients, which is Equity or Justice, as opposed to the tradition of the moderns, which is Violence or Injustice; his counselors and informers are trustworthy, obedient, learned, and pious; he upholds right religion. For all these reasons, the princes of the realm should subordinate themselves to him; for "Church and State were born of one womb, joined together and never to be sundered."

The most famous Sasanian ruler was Khusrau I Anushirvan, known as "the Just," who ruled in the sixth century (see *KB* 290–91 and note). For Muslims Khusrau became the model of a just ruler; and his vizier, known as Bozorgmihr, the model of a wise vizier. Bozorgmihr figures prominently in a work known as the *Pandnāmag* ("Book of Counsel"), which is known from a ninth century Pahlavi version.[17] It was also translated into Arabic (included in the *Jāvidān Khirad*)[18] and was versified by Muslim authors, notably Firdawsi in the *Shāh-nāmeh*. The *Pandnāmag* consists of moral and religious maxims, but in the form of a dialogue: the king proposes questions to Bozorgmihr, who responds at length. For example:

> Khusrau asked: ". . . does one become powerful through one's own efforts or by the effect of Fortune which delivers to kings their crown and throne?" He answered: "Fortune and innate ability form a pair; they act conjointly, like the body and soul. The body is visible and the soul hidden. The body is only a

> frame in which is based a man's actions, if Fortune which watches over him is on the rise; but effort alone will not make one powerful if Fortune does not help."[19]

It was shown by Noeldeke that Bozorgmihr is a legendary figure, modeled after the Babylonian sage Ahiqar, whose romance was immensely popular throughout the Near East; and it was Christensen's opinion that the name Bozorgmihr is a corruption of Burzoe, the historical vizier of Khusrau the Just.[20] This Burzoe is famous for his introduction into Persia of the Indian royal tradition, as represented by two items: the game of chess; and the book called *Kalīla wa Dimna,* a translation of the Indian *Panchatantra.* This book is a popular reflection of the Indian tradition of practical politics,[21] and consists of dialogues among various animals set within a frame story.

In the middle of the eighth century Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ, the famous vizier to the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr, translated *Kalīla wa Dimna* as well as other middle Persian works into Arabic. Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ also wrote original tracts of Adab (or "etiquette"), directed toward the bureaucratic class of the Abbasid state, and reflecting the Sasanian royal ideology.[22] Further Sasanian material was incorporated into such ninth-century Adab works as Ibn Qutayba's *Kitāb al-Sultān* ("Book of Government," the first part of his *ᶜUyūn al-Akhbār*);[23] and the *Kitāb al-Tāj* ("Book of the Crown"), attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ,[24] and into such tenth-century translations of Iranian Andarz as the *Jāvidān Khirad.*[25] At the same time, princes or high officials began to write epistles *(risāla)* or testaments *(waṣiyya),* recording their political experience and counsel.[26] In the eleventh century the mirror for princes emerged as an independent literary genre in the Muslim world, first in Arabic,[27] then in Persian.[28]

Kutadgu Bilig fits into this movement. It draws extensively from this Perso-Islamic tradition, though there is an attempt, as indicated above, to harmonize this with a native Turkish one. For example, in listing the traits of various animals that should characterize the army commander (lines 2309–16), Yūsuf perhaps draws on a living Turkish oral tradition; but he certainly draws as well on this tradition as it had become incorporated into Arabic Adab, as well as on an analogous tradition drawn from Iranian Andarz.[29] Judging from the large number of Persian calques in the language of *Kutadgu Bilig* (discussed below), it is probable that its immediate model was a Persian mirror for princes. If so, no trace of such a model has come down to us.

The earliest full-blown Persian mirror is the *Qābūs-nāmeh,* written in 1082 by the prince of the Ziyarid dynasty of northern Iran, shortly before the Ziyarid realm was swallowed up by the Seljuks. In it the prince counsels his son on court etiquette; on such matters as chess, love, polo, purchasing slaves, buying horses, and rearing children; also on how to

be a merchant, a physician, an astrologer, a poet, a courtier, a king, a farmer, and a sufi. It is largely secular in its orientation.[30]

The second of the classical Persian mirrors is the *Siyāset-nāmeh* or "Book of Government," written about 1090 by Niẓām al-Mulk, the famous vizier to the Seljuk sultans. It is in the nature of an administrative handbook, containing specific proposals on how the realm should be governed. The author's concern is to maintain the Seljuk empire, especially against internal dissension and weakness; and to promote orthodoxy and stability.[31]

Finally to this group belongs the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* ("Book of Counsel for Kings") by the great al-Ghazāli, written shortly before his death in 1111. Al-Ghazāli's concern is more theoretical: to establish the ethical and religious basis of the sultanate. The main theme is that just sovereignty and right religion are twins, born of the same womb, and cannot be separated. In confirmation, al-Ghazāli quotes a panoply of authorities which is strikingly similar to those cited by the realpolitiker Niẓām al-Mulk. In addition to the Prophets and the Muslim rulers of old, both authors appeal to the pre-Islamic kings and sages of Greece and Iran, Alexander, Khusrau the Just, and others.[32]

Kutadgu Bilig, although it predates these three Persian mirrors, and although it is arguably superior to them in its breadth of vision, its originality of form, and its literary quality, was practically forgotten, while the Persian mirrors continued to be read and to be imitated. While the late eleventh century was the highpoint in Islamic mirror writing, the genre remained popular, both in Arabic and in Persian, and later on in Turkish as well.[33]

Appeals to Authority

As we just noted, the appeal to authority is characteristic of Islamic mirrors for princes. In the case of *Kutadgu Bilig* these authorities are almost invariably drawn from the Turkish Inner Asian background. We find the Khaqan (line 3126), the Khan of the Turks (3817), the Buyruq of the Turks (1163), the Buyruq of the counselor (? Öge Buyruqı; 2941), the Beg of Ötüken (1962, 2682), the Beg of Yaghma (1758, 4947), the Beg of the Three Camps (1594), the Khan of the Three Camps (2966, 3815, 5569), the Beg of the Ili (1779), the Chief of the Ili (841, 1629, 2319), the Irkin of the Ili (4752), the Sir Tengi of the Ili (2696), the Yavghu of Böke (? Böke Yavghusı; 5043, 5523), the Chigil (3491), the Kök Ayuq (2644), and Tonga Alp Er (5861). Only the last of these can be related to a historical or legendary tradition; the rest are apparently simply titles, sometimes attached to geographical or tribal names: the Ili river valley, the Ötüken (i.e., Tannu-ola?) mountain range, the tribes of Yaghma, Chigil, etc. Others are even more general, like the Beg of Begs (893), the Beg of the

people (6138), the Beg of the Realm and the City (216), the Beg of the Great City (5354), etc.

There is no discernible pattern to the citing of these authorities. The wisdom attributed to any one is usually of such a vague or general nature that it could just as well be attributed to any other, or to the standard Wise Sage who is in fact cited the most often; although wisdom relating to trade is sometimes put in the mouth of the Chief of the Merchants (2745, 3002, 5754). There is also little if anything to distinguish the wisdom attributed to the above authorities from that embodied in what are called proverbs (110, 1623, 3514) or Turkish proverbs (273, 319, 880, 1798, 1826). The same holds true for the scattered quatrains attributed to various anonymous poets. Except for their gnomic character, and their peculiar rhyme scheme, there are no other characteristics which distinguish them from the surrounding text. The reason is clear. All of this material, quatrains, proverbs, and wisdom sayings alike, was composed by Yūsuf himself, using the Perso-Islamic wisdom and ethics tradition as his model.

Among the appeals to authority we do find one citation of an Arabic saying (5809), also one pretending to quote the Iranian Sage (3265). In the introductory portions of the work, in fact, Yūsuf forthrightly acknowledges his debt. At the beginning of the chapter "On the Virtue and Benefit of Wisdom and Intellect," which is little more than a litany of proverbial wisdom, he mentions as model Nūshirvān the Just (line 290). And in the preceding chapter he mixes an encomium on Turkish royal glory (exemplified by Alp Er Tonga = Afrāsiyāb) with praise for the Iranian royal tradition as it is embodied in literature (276–82). The two key words in the title substantiate this debt: *bilig,* like Ar. *hikma,* means both Wisdom and wisdom saying, corresponding to Pers. *khirad* and *andarz* (*bilig* is found in hendiadys with *ḥikmet* in line 2698); while *ḳut,* corresponding to Pers. *farr,* is found throughout the work alongside its synonym *devlet* (Ar. *dawla*).

Persian Calques

The clearest indication of Yūsuf's debt to the Perso-Islamic tradition is his language. Here I refer, not to loan words (such as *ḥikmet, devlet,* etc.) which are actually very few in number, but to the semantic value attached to the Turkish vocabulary, pointing clearly to loan translations or calques on Persian (occasionally with an Arabic antecedent). A large number of such calques are listed in Appendix 4.

These usages (for example, "long hand" indicating authority or tyranny) were probably no less unidiomatic in eleventh-century Turkish than they are in twentieth-century English; and for this reason I have preferred to leave the literal rendering stand in my translation, since this better conveys the effect the original must have had on its audience.

Similarly, from our point of view, the language of a work like *Kutadgu Bilig* is overloaded with clichés. Thus death is a "horseman" (*atçı:* 6035, 6055–56; *köçütçi:* 3788, 6112); sickness is "Death's vanguard"; hospitality is always indicated by "bread and salt"; food and clothing by "throat and shoulder"; a man who is content with his lot is "full-eyed" while one who is covetous and greedy is "hungry-eyed"; "red cheeks" mean health and prosperity, "yellow cheeks," illness; an "open brow" cheerfulness, a "knit brow," anxiety; etc. These clichés also depend on corresponding Persian expressions. For the most part I have refrained from paraphrasing, and left these too in their literal form.

Very interesting is the value attached to the concept "world." On the one hand, World means Realm, the territory which any prince controls (e.g. line 2034: *ajun = él*). This accords with the Near Eastern royal ideology and, specifically, with Persian usage. Thus "world-conqueror" (281: *ajun tutġu,* 284 *cihan tutġu,* 445 *ajun tutmış er,* etc.) translates Persian *jahān-gīr*. On the other hand, World is a synonym of Fortune (e.g., 2759: *dünya = devlet;* 6122–34: *ajun = dünya = devlet = ḳut*). It thus shares in the ambiguous valuation of Fortune, now positive, now negative. "World" also has the negative connotations of Ar. *dunyā* as opposed to *āxira* and to *dīn* (see below, under "Analysis and Interpretation of the Work," p. 32).

A final group of terms clearly reflects the Iranian statecraft tradition. The terms may be headed by Gate, which means the ruler's court (cf. Pers. *dar*). Then the ruler's authority is envisioned as encompassing three pairs of opposed concepts. These are:

1. The inner court (Pers. *andarūn*) and the outer court (Pers. *bīrūn*). The former refers to the prince's private affairs, his harem, bodyguard, palace staff; while the latter refers to the public affairs of state, the military, and the bureaucracy. The corresponding Turkish terms are *iç—taş* (425, 1645, 2500, 2552, 5495); also *ev içre—taştın* (5848); *iç élde—taşırtın* (5547; cf. 3115).[34]

2. The subjects and the realm (Pers. *raᶜiyyet* vs. *valāyet, mulk;* Tk. *boḍun* vs. *él*). The distinction here is between the populace and the territory. The two are often paired, indicating the sum total of the prince's responsibility. If he supplies justice and security, then the people grow rich, and the land thrives (e.g. 1039).

3. The common people and the military (Pers. *raᶜiyyet, mardom* vs. *laškar, sipāh;* Tk. *boḍun* vs. *er at*). This is the basic division of society, the former including all those who pay taxes, the latter all those who do not (therefore courtiers and nobles of various sorts as well as the military proper). The subjects form the basis of the wealth of the kingdom, and the prince in return is obligated to provide them with justice; the troops, on the other hand, form the bulwark of defense, as well as the spearhead of conquest, and the prince must provide them with cash to assure their

support (e.g. 2133 ff.). When Highly Praised instructs Wide Awake in how to deal with the various classes of society, he first discusses the nobles or "military" (chapter 48), then the commoners (chapter 49), before proceeding to the various occupations and social groups.[35]

Greek Wisdom

While the wisdom imparted in *Kutadgu Bilig* has a predominantly Iranian source, there is a Greek component as well. It is sometimes hard to distinguish between these. Thus, the need for providing the military with cash and the commoners with justice is also found in Islamic literature as a counsel attributed to Aristotle.[36] Another idea ascribed to Aristotle by the Arabs, which is also echoed in *Kutadgu Bilig* (2452), is that "a man without intelligence is like a statue without spirit."[37]

We have seen that the allegorical depictions of Justice and Fortune (620–835) have Greek prototypes. Bombaci demonstrated that the descriptions derive from Hellenistic depictions of the goddesses Dike and Tyxe (see above, "Mirrors for Prince," text at note 14), but he was unable to suggest what Yūsuf's immediate source might have been. With regard to Fortune, at any rate, it might have been an Arabic translation of the description of a well-known painting attributed to Cebes, a disciple of Socrates.[38] More likely, Yūsuf found the full-blown allegory in some Arabic or Persian treatise that is at present unknown to us.

Greek wisdom had long before found a place (modest in comparison with Iranian *andarz*) in Arabic Adab or polite culture, and Yūsuf was undoubtedly familiar with it in this form. The question arises whether he was also familiar with Greek philosophy in the form of Arab Falsafah. Otto Alberts made an exaggerated claim in this regard, viz. that he was a pupil of the great Ibn Sīna (d. 1037).[39] Alberts's analysis is most unconvincing. The learning—ethical, political, psychological, and theological—that is reflected in *Kutadgu Bilig* is the standard unsophisticated kind typical of Adab and the mirror-for-princes tradition. The only doctrine that might be considered at all philosophical is the distinction between the faculties of wisdom *(bilig)* and intellect *(uḳuş)*, wisdom being learned and intellect being inborn (1677 f., 1815 f.). According to Alberts[40] this corresponds to Ibn Sīna's distinction between theoretical reason, which knows good from evil, and practical reason, which chooses the good. Even Alberts admitted, however, that we do not find the distinction in this simple-minded form in Ibn Sīna's own writings; and he failed to note that the philosophers did not consider the first to be learned, the second innate, which is the substance of Yūsuf's doctrine (Yūsuf hardly distinguishes them from the point of view of function).

A much closer analogue to Yūsuf's teaching is to be found in the work of al-Māwardi (d. 1058).[41] According to al-Māwardi, intellect *(al-ᶜaql)* is of two types: innate *(ġarīzī)* and acquired *(muktasab)*. Innate intellect is

what distinguishes man from the other animals (cf. *KB* 1843). As to acquired intellect, it grows through experience and learning, theoretically without limit (cf. *KB* 1827). If the Qur'ān was revealed as a warning to those who are "alive" (*ḥayy*—Q. 36:70), this means those who are "intelligent" (*ʿāqil*—cf. *KB* 1839). According to a Hadith, intellect is "a light in the heart which distinguishes the true from the false" (cf. *KB* 288). While some say intellect is located in the heart, others say it is in the brain (cf. *KB* 1836: the brain).

I do not mean to suggest that Yūsuf derived this particular psychological doctrine from al-Māwardi and not from Ibn Sīna; only that the learning reflected in *Kutadgu Bilig* accords more with the standard, Sunni, Adab-style literature than it does with Falsafah.[42]

Buddhism?

If the Hellenic influence on *Kutadgu Bilig* was quite limited, and certainly mediated through Arabic literature, the same can be said for influence from the East; although some exaggerated claims have been made in this regard as well. Early scholarship on the work suffered from the happenstance that the first manuscript to be discovered and printed was the so-called Vienna MS, which is in Uighur script.[43] It is in fact the latest of the three extant MSS: and it reflects a revival of Uighur script among the Timurids in the fifteenth century. But the notion became current that *Kutadgu Bilig* represented "Uighur" literature—one ingenuous critic went so far as to call it "the national epic of the Uighurs."[44] And serious scholars have found reflected in it Confucian or Buddhist doctrines. In particular, Saadet Çağatay has proposed that the figure of Wide Awake, the ascetic and world-renouncer, represents Buddhism; and that the debate between Wide Awake and Highly Praised represents the conflict between Buddhism and Islam, a conflict that was going on at both the political level and the level of what may be termed "subversive asceticism," which somehow threatened the Karakhanid state.[45]

The best argument in favor of this hypothesis is that the names of the two opposing figures—Wide Awake (lit. "Awakened," Tk. Oḍġurmış) and Highly Praised (lit. "Praised," Tk. Ögdülmiş) are translations respectively of the names Buddha and Muḥammad. From this the conclusion follows that Wide Awake "represents" Buddhism and Highly Praised "represents" Islam.[46] There are several fallacies in this line of argument:

1. Like the other proper names in *Kutadgu Bilig,* these are highly charged allegorical names, and are not meant to hint at historical figures (see below, "Analysis and Interpretation of the Work," p. 30). Yūsuf himself tells us what the figures represent: Highly Praised stands for intellect (no doubt a play on words is intended with *ög* "mind"), and Wide Awake stands for the Last End—i.e. the consciousness wakened to religious responsibility and directed toward the hereafter (see discussion below).

If the name of Wide Awake translates anything, it can only be Ar. Yaqẓān, which had been used earlier as an allegorical name by Ibn Sīna in his symbolic fable entitled "Alive son of Awake" *(Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān).*

2. Highly Praised by no means comes off as the winner of the debate; quite the contrary, as we shall see (below, "Analysis and Interpretation of the Work," text at note 101). It is hardly possible to think that Yūsuf should incorporate a Buddhist ethic so favorably into a work suffused with Islamic learning; or that a figure representing the Prophet of Islam should fare so poorly (see note 42 to the Introduction). Indeed, the debate between the statesman Highly Praised and the ascetic Wide Awake is better understood in light of an ancient conflict within Islam itself (see discussion below, under "Solitude versus Society").

3. While granting that Wide Awake has become a Muslim, Çağatay holds that nevertheless he represents those who are secretly partisans of their former religion, and that this shows that the ascetics of Islam at this period had not separated from Buddhism.[47] This line of reasoning depends on the highly questionable assumption (favored by such earlier scholars as Goldziher) that the ascetic and mystical movement within Islam was due to the alien influence of Buddhism. It also fails to separate the question of the possible influence of Buddhism on some of the early Sufi masters (notably Ibrāhim ibn Adham) and the question of an ongoing influence among the Turks of Central Asia in the eleventh century. Although the latter is not impossible, it is at best unproved; and it would be circular reasoning to argue for it on the basis of the figure of Wide Awake in *Kutadgu Bilig*.[48]

There is nothing particularly Buddhist about the doctrine of world renunciation. It is prominent in Islam as well (see discussion below), and is even part of the stock wisdom attributed to both the Greeks and the Iranians in Arabic Adab literature.[49]

If the extreme claim of direct Buddhist influence in the *Kutadgu Bilig* is to be rejected, the more modest claim of indirect influence may still be maintained in connection with the literary theme of "ascetic versus prince," as mediated by Arabic versions of the Barlaam and Josephat romance.[50] The aspect of the Buddha legend that appealed most to the popular imagination was that of a king's son, raised in royal luxury, giving up his princely station to seek his salvation as a religious hero. In its literary form, the legend was livened with dialogues and debates setting out the opposing ideals of kingship and religious quest, meanwhile touching on themes common to the mirror-for-princes tradition. Thus, in the *Buddhacarita* (third century AD) we find the following:

> Lord of men, when Time binds and drags away the king, neither relations nor friends nor sovereignty will follow you; all will

> depart, afflicted and helpless. Your deeds alone will accompany you like a shadow. . . . Therefore guard your kingdom according to the Law, if you desire Paradise and a good reputation. For there is no kingdom at all in Paradise for the king who in his delusion misapplies the Law.[51]

Based on Indian texts related to the *Buddha-carita,* a version of the Buddha legend (with specific Buddhist content omitted) was popular in a Manichaean version in Central Asia; and a related version, probably in a Pahlavi recension, was translated into Arabic in the eighth century, as the *Book of Balawhar and Būdhasaf.* This original Arabic recension is lost, as is the metrical version by Abān al-Lāḥiqi (d. 815); but several later versions are extant.[52] From Arabic, the legend passed into Georgian, Greek, and Hebrew and, via the Greek, into Latin, Armenian, and Old Slavonic, as the romance of Barlaam and Josephat (Josephat even became a saint of the Christian church). In the Muslim world, the book was popular in Manichaean *(zindīq)* and Ismaili circles, and perhaps for this reason was unpopular in Sunni circles (it is hardly referred to in books on *zuhd* "renunciation" and *dhamm al-dunyā* "blame of the World").[53] The theme, however, entered into the mainstream of Sufi literature, in the story of the prince of Balkh, Ibrāhim ibn Adham; and is even found in the Arabian Nights.[54] The mirror-for-princes association is still evident in the Arabic versions, as in the following excerpt quoted by Ibn Bābūya (d. 991):

> Oh king! Why do you leave your kingdom and neglect your subjects? . . . Don't you know that the highest rewards are for those who do good to people and the highest good is the obedience to the community and to your people? . . . Don't you know that the best worship is good deeds and the most important deed is to occupy yourself with the government of the people? And you, oh king, are just with your subjects, assuming their welfare by your government, and you will get your reward according to the measure of the good which you have done. . . . And if you wished for their ruin, you have brought upon you more sin than the reward which you have achieved in looking after yourself. . . . Beware, oh king, that you throw off your princely garments which are the means to the glory of this world and of the afterworld![55]

It can hardly be doubted that as a literary theme, the conflict between the statesman Highly Praised and the ascetic Wide Awake, in the second half of *Kutadgu Bilig,* is partially modeled after the theme of ascetic versus prince, popular in Arabic literature, and based originally on the Buddha legend.

Qur'ān and Hadith

Kutadgu Bilig is suffused with Islamic learning. Yet there is no direct reference to any Islamic source. This is in line with Yūsuf's aim and methods in the work as a whole. We saw above (under "Characterization of the Work") that he was attempting to make a new home for the Irano-Islamic traditions and ideals as part of an Inner Asian Turkish literary heritage; and (under "Appeals to Authority") that in his appeals to authority, characteristic of Islamic mirrors for princes, he almost exclusively cited various Turkish princes as well as unnamed Turkish poets. Similarly, the display of Islamic learning in Turkish, without any direct reference to its source, tends to demonstrate that the Turks, as well as the Arabs and the Iranians, are in possession of the truths of the religious sciences, just as they are in possession of the truths of political wisdom. On the other hand, since the book was written for a Turkish audience, it must be assumed that the reader would immediately recognize the Islamic basis of these truths. In this source analysis it is our task to sift these references and assign them to their likely sources.

Quotations from or allusions to the Qur'ān are identified in the text (see notes 1–5, 29, 40, 42, 44, 53, 77, 91, 92, 103, 114, 133, 149, 162, 175, 179, 199, to the translation).

The identification of hadiths, or sayings which in Islamic sources are generally attributed to the Prophet, is a trickier business, since many such sayings may also be attributed to other authorities (ʿAli, former prophets, etc.), or else are of the nature of proverbs. Nevertheless, most Muslims would probably recognize most of the following lines in *Kutadgu Bilig* as referring to hadiths or other Islamic traditions given here:

> 3240, 3666: on seeking one's livelihood. "Seeking one's livelihood *(ṭalab al-ḥalal)* is a duty incumbent on every Muslim."[56]
>
> 3975f.: on the positive value of wealth. "How good is goodly *(ṣāliḥ)* wealth to the goodly man."[57]
>
> 3344: the carnal soul is an enemy. "The worst enemy is your carnal soul *(nafs)* which is between your sides."[58]
>
> 3928f.: on helping others. "The best man is he who is the most useful to other people."[59] "The believer gets along with others; there is no good in the man who does not get along with others, and the best man is the one most useful to others."[60]
>
> 4201–6, 4224–28: "Love for the sake of God; hate for the sake of God."[61]
>
> 4486f.: on marrying. "A woman may be married for four things: her money, her birth, her beauty, and her religion. Get thou a religious woman (otherwise) may thy hands be rubbed in dirt!"[62] "When a man marries a woman for her money or her beauty,

he is deprived of both her beauty and her money, but when a man marries a woman for her religion, God provides him with her money and beauty as well.''[63]

4548: on neighbors. ''First the neighbor then the house, first the water then the land.'' *(al-jār ṯumma al-dār)*[64]

4991, 5490: on friendship. ''The Muslim is a brother to the Muslim.''[65]

4733f.: the world is a field. ''This world is the seedbed for the other world'' *(al-dunyā mazraᶜat al-āxira)*.[66]

4809: the world is a prison. ''This world is a prison for the believer.''[67]

5982: on sickness. ''Do not curse it (fever), for it refines away sin as fire refines iron.''[68]

4373, 6001–3, 6021, 6038: on dreams. ''The dream is fulfilled according to its interpretation'' *(al-ru'yā ᶜalā mā tuᶜabbaru)*.[69]

5311f.: the world and religion are divergent paths. ''This world and the other world are like the East and the West: the farther you move away from one, the closer you move toward the other.''[70] ''This world and the other world are enemies at variance, and roads that diverge. If you love this world, you hate the next. They are like the East and the West: the closer you are to one, the farther you are from the other.''[71]

6314f.: on death as an admonition. ''Death is sufficient as an admonisher'' *(kafā bi-l-mawt wāᶜiẓan)*.[72]

Sufism

Several of the ideas put forward in the work by the figure of Wide Awake are drawn directly from Sufi literature. Thus:

3386–87: marriage is like a ship. Ibrāhim ibn Adham: ''When a man marries he embarks on a ship, and when a child is born he suffers shipwreck.''[73]

3540f., etc.: the world is a bride/a hag. Yaḥyā ibn Muᶜāḏ: ''The world is a bride. . . .''[74]

3600: the carnal soul is like a restive horse.[75]

4754f. (attributed to the Irkin of Ila!): on serving a prince. Sufyān al-Thawri: ''Do not keep company with the Sulṭān. If you are obedient, he will overburden you; and if you are disobedient, he will kill you.''[76]

4786f.: mutual love of God and man. Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmi: ''At the beginning I was mistaken in four respects. I concerned

> myself to remember God, to know Him, to love Him, and to seek Him, and when I had come to the end, I saw that He had remembered me before I remembered Him, that His knowledge of me had preceded my knowledge of Him, His love towards me had existed before my love to Him, and He had sought me before I sought Him.''[77]

Even Highly Praised, in the course of his debate with Wide Awake, quotes standard Sufi doctrine:

> 3671: on fear and hope. ''Fear and hope are the two wings of action without which flying is impossible.''[78]

The figure of Wide Awake, living secluded on a mountain and pursuing religious devotions, is drawn on the model of the early Sufi masters. According to al-Sarrāj,[79] the Sufis

> are those who for the sake of God have turned aside from all that might distract them from Him and have preferred Him above all else. . . . For His sake they have deserted their native lands and forsaken their brethren and abandoned their kindred, and for Him have cut themselves off from all ties and fled from the face of mankind, seeking intimacy with Him and alienation from all else. . . . They are content with little in the way of worldly goods and are satisfied with the very minimum of food to keep them alive, and limit themselves to the least that is necessary in the way of clothing and bedding. They choose poverty rather than riches, embracing want and avoiding plenty, preferring hunger to satisfaction and little to much. They renounce dignity and honour and rank, and show compassion upon mankind, and humility towards small and great.

And in the verse cited by al-Kalābāḏi:

> They do not quarrel over this world's pleasure—
> Honours, and children, rich and costly gowns,
> All greed and appetite! they do not treasure
> The life of ease and joy that dwells in towns.
>
> Facing the far and faint horizon yonder
> They seek the Infinite, with purpose strong:
> They ever tread where desert runnels wander,
> And high on towering mountain-tops they throng![80]

Not all the Sufis approved of this seclusion. So when Highly Praised tries to persuade Wide Awake to live in society, he can again draw on a standard Sufi teaching. Thus, it was related of Sari al-Saqaṭi:

> One day a man came from Mount Lokam to visit him. . . . ''Shaikh So-and-so from Mount Lokam greets you,'' he said. ''He dwells in the mountain,'' commented Sari. ''So his efforts

> amount to nothing. A man ought to be able to live in the midst of the market and be so preoccupied with God, that not for a single instant is he absent from God."[81]

Wide Awake's alienation from his "brother" Highly Praised is prefigured in another anecdote (cited again according to the later version of ʿAṭṭār):

> Yahye-e Moʿadh [Yaḥyā ibn Muʿāḏ] had a brother who went to Mecca and took up residence near the Kaaba. From there he wrote a letter to Yahya.
>
> "Three things I desired. Two have been realized. Now one remains. . . . I desired that I might pass my last years in the noblest place on earth. Now I have come to the Sacred Territory, which is the noblest of all places. My second desire was to have a servant to wait on me and make ready my ablution water. God has given me a seemly servant-girl. My third desire is to see you before I die. Pray to God that he may vouchsafe this desire."
>
> Yahya replied to his brother as follows.
>
> "As for your saying that you desired the best place on earth, be yourself the best of men, then live in whatever place you wish. A place is noble by reason of its inhabitants, not vice versa.
>
> "Then as for your saying that you desired a sevant and have now got one, if you were really a true and chivalrous man, you would never have made God's servant your own servant, detaining her from serving God and diverting her to serve yourself. You should yourself be a servant. You desire to be a master, but mastership is an attribute of God. Servanthood is an attribute of man. . . . When God's servant desires a station proper to God, he makes himself a Pharaoh.
>
> "Finally, as to your saying that you desire to see me, if you were truly aware of God, you would never remember me. So associate with God, that no memory of your brother ever comes into your mind. There one must be ready to sacrifice one's son; how much more a brother! If you have found Him, what am I to you? And if you have not found Him, what profit will you gain from me?"[82]

The issue of whether to serve God or the prince, which bulks so large in Wide Awake's arguments (3747f., 4745f.), was a lively one for some of the early Sufis as well. In general the Sufis enlarged on the common Islamic theme of the purity of devotion to God as opposed to the taint of involving oneself in worldly affairs. The scene in *Kutadgu Bilig* (ch. 70), when Wide Awake finally comes to the king's court, in the middle of the night, and gives his counsel, is reminiscent of the following famous incident recounted in Sufi literature.[83]

Hārūn al-Rashīd one night summons his favorite vizier and says, "Take me to a man this night who will reveal me to myself. My heart is grown weary of pomp and pride." The vizier takes him to Fuḍayl ibn ʿIyāḍ. They knock at his door. When Fuḍayl learns it is the caliph, he says, "What business has he with me, and what have I to do with him?" The vizier counters, "Is it not a duty to obey those in authority?" "Do not disturb me," cries Fuḍayl; but they go in anyway. The caliph gropes in the dark, and when their hands meet, Fuḍayl remarks, "How smooth and soft this palm is, if only it could escape from Hell-fire!" Hārūn seeks good counsel, and Fuḍayl admonishes him, among other things, to

> fear God, and obey His command. And be watchful and prudent; for on the Resurrection Day God will question you concerning every single Muslim and He will exact justice from you in respect of everyone. If one night an old woman has gone to sleep in a house without provisions, she will pluck your shirt on the Day and will give evidence against you.

Before leaving, Hārūn offers him a purse of a thousand dinars, which Fuḍayl spurns: "The counsels I have spoken to you have yielded no profit. . . . I call you to salvation, and you cast me into temptation." As he leaves the house, Hārūn remarks that Fuḍayl is "in truth a king of men. His arrogance is extreme, and the world is very contemptible in his eyes."

Wide Awake, similarly, warns the king that if a single one of his subjects goes to bed hungry at night, God will hold him to account for it (5165); although along with such sermonizing he intersperses typical mirror-for-princes themes (do justice and assure a lengthy rule, 5170–73; be generous or you will get a bad name, 5220; do not drink or fornicate, for these destroy a king's court, 5263).

Wide Awake states his aim to be devotion to God. He uses the Arabic term *ṭāʿat* "obedience" as well as the Turkish *tapùg* "service" (e.g. 3339; Ar. *xidma,* also *ʿibāda, ʿamal*). He sounds the Sufi themes of trust in God and satisfaction with one's lot (cf. Ar. *tawakkul, riḍā*); remembrance (cf. Ar. *ḏikr*); and purification (Tk. *süzül-,* 3522–24, 3632, 3752, 4795; cf. Ar. *ṣafwa*). His aim is to join his heart to God (4778 f.). As a means to this end he has adopted a life of poverty (Ar. *faqr*), renunciation (Ar. *zuhd*), and solitude (Ar. *xalwa, ʿuzla*). He is an ascetic (here the Arabic term *zāhid* is used: 3441, 3563, 3915, 3929, 3976, 5106). At one point he counts himself among the saints (Ar. *abdāl,* 3563). He is vigilant in his struggle with the lower self or carnal desire (here too we find the Arabic terms *nafs, havā,* along with the Turkish *et öz:* 3344–46, 3635–44, etc.). He lives isolated on a mountain, eats only barley gruel or millet bran, and wears a cloak of wool (4767; cf. Ar. *ṣūf!*).

In the language of renunciation, the object is usually specified as "the world" (Ar. *dunyā*, less frequently Tk. *ajun*), sometimes as worldly goods (Tk. *neŋ* "things") or as society (Tk. *uluş kend* "the city"). The commonest verb used is "to put aside" (*ḳoḍ-*, reflecting Ar. *taraka:* 3327, 3347, 3441, 3563, 3592, 3652, 4732, 4737, 4798, 4805, 5115, 6050, 6154, 6334). We also find "to turn one's face" (*yüz evür-:* 3148, 3203), "to be separate" *öŋin bol-:* 3348), "to give up" (*tüŋül-:* 4792), "to be cut off" (*üzül-:* 4797), "to be distant" (*yıra-:* 3327, 3350, 3552, 4806), and "to flee" (*ḳaç-:* 3502, 3695, 4797, 6050, 6334).

Opposed to all this is the concept of associating with other men, expressed by the term "to mix" (*ḳatıl-*, also *ḳarıl-*, reflecting Arabic *xālaṭa:* 3340, 3363 f., 3405, 3502, 3922, 3994, 4686, 5750). We also find the phrase "to enter society" (*kişiler ara kir-:* 3366); and Highly Praised speaks of "the religious merit to be found in society" (*kişiler araki muyan:* 3499).

Of Wide Awake it is repeatedly stressed that he lives absolutely alone (*yalŋuz:* 3204, 3328–30, 3349, 3359 f., 3423, 3437). The positive value in this is that it frees him from all worldly distractions. In fact the key to the character of Wide Awake is his constant vigiliance against anything that might distract from his religious purpose. If devotion to God, leading to the heart's union, is Wide Awake's aim, and renunciation is the means, the existential symbol of his condition is waking or wakefulness.

The Sufi background to this doctrine as well is clear. Sleeplessness was one of the boasts of the early Sufis generally.[84] One of them said, "Whenever I doze awhile, I hear a voice calling me and saying, 'Sleepest thou to Me? If thou sleepest to Me, verily, I will strike thee with a whip!'"[85] And Shibli said, "God looked upon me and said, 'He who sleeps is heedless, and he who is heedless is veiled.' "[86] According to al-Hujwīri, repentance *(tawbat),* which is the first station of pilgrims on the way to the Truth, "has its origin in the stern prohibitions of God and in the heart's being aroused from the slumber of heedlessness."[87] And according to ʿAbdallah al-Anṣāri (d. 1089), who systematized the Sufi path into one hundred stages, the very first of these stages is "awaking" *(yaqaẓa).*[88] This does not mean waking up from physical sleep; it is a symbolic wakening from the slumber of heedlessness or neglect of one's religious duties (Ar. *ġafla).*

Wakefulness is a key element in the value structure of *Kutadgu Bilig* as a whole, and is not confined to the character of Wide Awake. When King Rising Sun is first introduced, for example, and his virtues are recounted—wisdom, justice, bravery, etc.—among them we find wakefulness *(oḍuġluḳ)* and alertness *(saḳlıḳ),* which, beside being beneficial for princely rule and long life, "is also a matter of religion *(şeriʿat)*"! (446). Here, typically for the mirror-for-princes genre, religion, far from supplying the basic values, plays a secondary role; it comes in almost as an after thought, and merely to back up a value that is established on other,

practical, grounds. It is as a worldly quality that vigilance is desirous in a prince; and as such it is stressed again and again (1452, 1956, 2016, 2024, etc.).

A different tune, but using the same notes, is sounded by the vizier, Full Moon, while giving admonition on his deathbed to his son Highly Praised: "Awake *(oḍunġıl)* and do tomorrow's work, for heedlessness *(osallıḳ)* destroyed me" (1208–9). Similarly, when Highly Praised conceives the intention of repenting and taking up the dervish path himself, he says that in serving men rather than God he has spent his life in vanity and in the "sleep of neglect" (5632, 5690, 5693). The figure of Wide Awake typifies this religious consciousness (e.g. 4908, 6075, 6159, etc.).

According to a hadith, "men are asleep, and when they die, they awake."[89] And it is Qur'ānic doctrine (Q. 29:64), echoed again and again in Sufi thought,[90] that true life is the afterlife, and belongs to those who are "dead" to this world. Again, according to the Qur'ān (Q. 28:83): "That is the Last Abode *(al-āxira);* We appoint it for those who desire not exorbitance in the earth, nor corruption. The issue ultimate *(al-ᶜāqiba)* is to the god-fearing" (Arberry's translation). Yūsuf tells us (357) that Wide Awake personifies *ᶜaḳibet,* this ultimate issue, the Last End, the Hereafter. He knows what is ultimately best for a man's soul, and he counsels the king from this point of view. He is thus at the opposite pole from Highly Praised, the personification of this-worldly wisdom, who knows what is best for the world's governance. Their debate, which takes up most of the second part of *Kutadgu Bilig,* reflects what a contemporary scholar has called the "unmistakable tension in Islam between the claims of history and those of eternity."[91] The immediate literary background of the debate, however, is to be sought once again in Sufi literature.

Solitude versus Society

The unsociability of many of the early pietists provoked a long-lasting debate in Islam over the best way of living a full religious life, whether alone or in the company of one's fellow Muslims. We find repercussions of this debate within Sufi literature itself. The Sufis had a lively awareness of the dangers of the solitary life;[92] but most of them adopted it and approved of it, at least for a part of their career. The issue, as it was generally posed, was between withdrawal from the world (Ar. *ᶜuzla;* also *xalwa, waḥda, tark al-dunyā,* etc.) and "mixing" (Ar. *muxālaṭa*).

Here is chapter 8, "On withdrawal from the world" *(Fī al-ᶜuzla)*, from the "Testaments" of al-Muḥāsibi:

> And I warn you, my brothers, against mixing with other men *(muxālaṭat al-nās).* For every transgression, and all burdens and cares, come from mixing with them, and associating with them. But you do not perceive that; only those realize it who

> are abstemious and examine their own consciences *(ahl al-wara^{c} wa-l-muḥāsaba)*. We are not the sort who will escape with our religion safe and sound, if we keep company with the satans of men and of jinn—and we are like them!—goading one another with words of vanity and deception. Nay, associate with two men only: he who helps you to piety and the fear of God, and he who succors you in your worldly concerns. And if God combine for you religious help and worldly succor in the form of one man, then hold fast to him, and avoid anyone else. For all of them are harmful to religion, except he who helps to piety.
>
> Nay, the greatest safety is in avoiding others altogether *(mujānabat al-nās)*, and in this is the most abundant merit; it far outweights your fears. Thus we have been told: that worship is one part silence and nine parts the avoidance of other men; and thus do I advise you, if you can accept it. But those who can accept it are few. And the endurance of isolation is difficult. It is a grace of God, which He gives to whom He wills—may God prosper you and bring you to every good by His mercy! Nay, depart from other men with your hearts, but join with them for well-being and for fulfilling the obligations of Muslims.[93]

In the *Risāla* of al-Qushayri there is a *Bāb al-xalwa wa-l-^{c}uzla* in which the sayings of the Sufi masters on the subject are gathered. At the end of the chapter al-Qushayri cites the following:

> When God desires to transport a servant (i.e. a man) from the ignominy of disobedience to the nobility of obedience, He keeps him company when he is alone, and enriches him with the wealth of contentment, and causes him to see his own imperfections. Whoever has been granted this has been granted the good of this world and of the next.[94]

It is in al-Ghazāli's "Book of the Etiquette of Solitude" *(Kitāb Ādāb al-^{c}Uzla*, book 16 of the *Iḥyā' ^{c}Ulūm al-Dīn)*, that we find a sustained and systematic treatment of the entire subject.[95]

Al-Ghazāli begins his discussion by listing the Sufi masters who preferred *^{c}uzla* (solitude, withdrawal from the world) over *muxālaṭa* ("mixing"). And he says that most of the "followers" (including al-Shāfi^{c}i and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal) approved of *muxālaṭa*, the multiplying of acquaintances and companions, associating with other believers in mutual love, and helping them in matters of religion. He then discusses the authorities, especially hadiths, which the two sides appeal to. Among the sayings and anecdotes in favor of *^{c}uzla* is the following: "Mālik ibn Anas used to attend funerals and visit the sick and pay his respects to his fellows; then he stopped doing these things one by one, until he abandoned them all,

and he used to say 'It is impossible for a man to keep giving excuses.' '' Al-Ghazāli cites such hadiths as this: ''Whoever departs from the community by a span puts off the lasso of Islam from his neck''; but he interprets this as referring to the community of belief and allegiance to the imam. And: ''Whoever cuts off relations with his fellows for more than three days will enter the Fire''; which he interprets as referring to anger with people which a man persists in so that he does not talk to them or greet them or have anything to do with them. And the hadith concerning a man who went to the mountains to practice his devotions, and was brought to the Prophet, who said, ''None of you should do this; to be patient in one of the settlements *(mawāṭin)* of Islam is better for you than worshipping alone for forty years''; but al-Ghazāli interprets this as referring to the man's abandoning of the jihad despite its urgency at the beginning of Islam. Also the hadith: ''Satan is the wolf of mankind like the wolf of sheep who takes the one that strays or wanders off; avoid the mountain gulleys, and stick to the communities and the mosques''; according to al-Ghazāli this refers to one who withdraws from society before having complete religious knowledge. And the same for the traditions about Abraham, the Men of the Cave, and the Prophet himself, who broke relations *(iʿtizāl, hijra)* with their respective peoples: these all concern the breaking of relations with infidels after despairing of their conversion; none of these can be used as an argument against *ʿuzla*.

On the other side we have, for example, the hadith to the effect that ʿAbdallah ibn ʿĀmir asked the Prophet, ''What is salvation?'' and the Prophet said, ''Stick to your house and hold your tongue and weep for your sin''; but, al-Ghazāli says, he did not command *all* his companions to do this, but only ʿAbdallah ibn ʿĀmir, because he knew, through the light of prophecy, that for this man, sticking to his house was more suitable and safer than mixing with others. ''The safety of many individuals,'' al-Ghazāli argues, ''lies in *ʿuzla* not in *muxālaṭa*, just as his safety may lie in his sitting at home rather than going on the jihad, but that does not mean it is better to quit the jihad altogether.'' (''Safety'' means the safety of one's religion; cf. *KB* 3338.) Similarly, the hadith, ''God loves the man whose piety is hidden'' (cf. *KB* 3919–20) refers to the preference of obscurity over fame—''How many a hermit living in solitude is known to all the people, and how many an obscure 'mixer' has no renown at all!''—but this is an objection to something that has no relation to *ʿuzla* per se.

The bulk of al-Ghazāli's treatment consists in a full discussion of the pros and cons of *ʿuzla*. First he deals with the advantages of *ʿuzla*, under six headings (the first two are ''religious'' *dīni*, the others ''worldly'' *dunyawi*):

1. Being free of distraction for devotion to worship and contemplation. ''Only the power of prophecy allows one to com-

bine the mixing with others openly and devotion to God in secret''—though some of the saints have nearly attained this rank. But the majority of men require the help of solitude to achieve it.

2. Escaping from those sins to which ''mixing'' conduces: slander and gossip, hypocrisy, failure to command the good and forbid the evil (because of the dangers this involves), and the bad habits arising from worldly pursuits and bad company.

3. Escaping from contention and strife. Hadith: ''There will come a time when a man's religion will not be safe unless he flees with it from village to village and from mountain peak to mountain peak and from burrow to burrow, like a fox that is hunted.'' This will be when a man cannot make a living unless he disobeys God; and at that time celibacy will be permitted. According to al-Ghazāli, celibacy, in this context, implies *ʿuzla*.

4. Escaping from the evil of others. Al-Ghazāli cites the saying of Abu'l-dardā': ''Men were once leaves without thorns, today they are thorns without leaves,'' and remarks that if this was so in his time (at the end of the first century of Islam) it cannot be doubted that later times are even worse.

5. Cutting off covetousness, of others for you and of you for others.

6. Escaping from the dull-witted and the foolish.

The advantages of *muxālaṭa*, on the other hand, are seven:

1. Instruction and learning. If someone already has religious knowledge, if he is an *ʿālim*, then the situation of the present day, according to al-Ghazāli, does indeed require him to withdraw from the world if he wishes to keep his religion sound. But ''there is no good in the *ʿuzla* of the illiterate and the ignorant.'' And the acquiring of learning is possible only for those who ''mix.'' But scholars who seek worldly gain and prestige through their scholarship are advised to abandon the world.

2. Being of benefit to others and enjoying their benefit. He mentions earning money in order to give alms, and gaining merit by ministering to the needs of the Muslims. As long as these are one's aims, and as long as one lives within the limits of the Law, then ''mixing'' is better; but this is assuming that one's withdrawal would consist of nothing but supererogatory praying and bodily exercises. If, however, one's withdrawal means that his spiritual exercises open the way to continual remembrance and contemplation of God, then this is a superior state.

3. The disciplining of one's own character and that of others. However, ''one who spends all his life disciplining himself is like one who trains a horse all its life but never rides it.''

4. Companionship. He cites Ibn ʿAbbās: "Were it not for the fear of the whispering of Satan I would not associate with others" *(lawlā maxāfat al-waswās lam ujālis).*

5. Gaining and giving religious merit *(ṯawāb)* (cf. *KB* 3236 f.) through attending funerals and visiting the sick and being present at the rites of the two great festivals and at the Friday communal prayer, etc. Al-Ghazāli says that one must weigh the merit of such "mixing" against the disadvantages that he has mentioned, and choose accordingly. There was a group of early Muslims, such as Mālik (see above), who did abandon these things and who left their houses only for the Friday prayer and to visit graveyards; "and some of them even left inhabited towns *(amṣār)* altogether and withdrew to the summits of mountains, in order to devote themselves to worship and to escape distractions."

6. Humility. "For there are those who choose *ʿuzla* out of pride . . . or out of fear that their faults will be apparent if they 'mix' and people will not believe in their austerities *(zuhd)* and their devotions. . . . The way to recognize this sort is that they love to be visited but not to visit, and they rejoice when the common folk or sultans gather at their door or in their path and kiss their hand to get the blessing. . . ."

7. Experience. "There is no value to the *ʿuzla* of one whose character has not been tried and tested by vicissitudes."

Al-Ghazāli's conclusion is that one cannot make an absolute judgment concerning *ʿuzla:* the advantages or disadvantages differ according to individual temperament and circumstances.

Although the weight of argument seems to favor the second position, al-Ghazāli very fair-mindedly concludes that the choice of life styles has to be determined on an individual basis. At any rate, the solitary life, so full of dangers and drawbacks to the uninitiated, is definitely not suitable for the vast majority of men; although in its ideal form of real communion with God, it is much to be desired.

It is no accident that this book of Ghazāli's *Iḥyā'* is structured almost as a debate. If we look at the arguments on each side, we find that all of the six points in favor of solitude are negative, while the seven points in favor of mixing are all positive; but in each of the latter cases, Ghazāli shows how the argument might be turned around in favor of the truly learned and pious man, one who has already acquired these benefits and who then chooses to embark on the life of solitary devotion. Certainly, Ghazāli's treatment of the subject reflects actual discussions that took place among Muslim intellectuals, and bears witness to the wealth of earlier literature on the subject. It is the nearest parallel in Islamic literature to the debate between Wide Awake and Highly Praised in *Kutadgu Bilig*.[96] The similarities between the arguments and conclusions are strik-

ing. It might also be noted that among the Persian mirrors for princes, it is Ghazāli's *Book of Counsel for Kings* that most closely resembles *Kutadgu Bilig* in tone and in moral content.

Analysis and Interpretation of the Work

Yūsuf's originality did not consist merely in adapting Turkish language and Turkish royal traditions to the genre of Islamic mirrors for princes. He also made a highly original contribution to that genre. He dramatized the issues in the form of dialogues set within a frame story; he gave the main characters significant allegorical names; and he attempted, quite successfully, to incorporate Sufi asceticism as an opposing, and ultimately complementary, ideal to the prevailing community and statecraft ethics. (In this last point he may be considered a precursor of al-Ghazāli.)

The work divides naturally into two parts, the fulcrum occurring at line 3120, toward the end of chapter 38.

The first part is in the traditional mirror-for-princes mould, and centers on the characters of the king, Rising Sun, and the vizier, Full Moon. In the opening chapters, Yūsuf sings the praises of God, the Prophet, and the Prophet's companions. Then (chap. 4) there is an ode to spring conjoined with an encomium of the poet's patron—a traditional feature of Islamic eulogistic poetry[97]—and a discourse on the heavenly bodies (chap. 5). Along with some short sections on the merits of wisdom, intellect, speech, and virtue, the author presents his apology (chap. 8), explains the title of the book (chap. 11), and introduces the king, Rising Sun (Chap. 12, line 405).

The king longs for a good vizier, and his trusty chamberlain presents to him Full Moon, a young man of many virtues who has come to the court from far away in order to serve the king because of the king's reputation for justice. There now occur (chaps. 15–18) two scenes in the nature of *tableaux vivants,* in which Full Moon demonstrates that he is "Fortune," and the king demonstrates that he is "Justice." Some conversations follow concerning uprightness and virtue, and the benefits of speech. Finally the king appoints Full Moon as vizier (line 1036). Then (chap. 20) Full Moon himself suffers an unkind turn of furtune. He falls subject to an illness which cannot be cured, despite all the efforts of the physicians (lines 1057 f.).

We are now (chap. 21) introduced to Highly Praised, Full Moon's young son. The father admonishes the boy, and also writes a testamentary letter to the king (chap. 23), in the course of which he commends his son to the king's care (lines 1484 f.). After Full Moon's death, the king adopts Highly Praised (line 1552). Some time later the king, missing Full Moon, recalls Highly Praised, and summons him into his presence. After sounding him out with tests of his wit, he decides to foster the lad; and Highly Praised soon becomes chief counselor to the king. He is especially eloquent

on the subject of wisdom and intellect, and in his portrayal of Intellect (chap. 27) seems to be describing himself.

The remainder of the first part is given over to the standard mirror-for-princes topics. In response to the king's queries, Highly Praised describes the qualities and duties of the various courtiers (chaps. 28–37): prince, vizier, commander, chamberlain, gatekeeper, envoy, secretary, treasurer, cook, and cupbearer. Finally (chap. 38) he explains the obligations of the prince toward his subjects. Since the king follows Highly Praised's counsels, and administers the realm with justice, the country prospers and the people are rich and happy (3102–8).

The second part of the work introduces a new theme: the conflict between the political ideals of the community and the religious conscience of the individual. This conflict is dramatized in the form of a debate between Highly Praised and his "brother" Wide Awake.

The king, while more than satisfied with Highly Praised, longs for one more excellent counselor, and asks Highly Praised to recommend one of his kinsmen. Highly Praised knows of such a one, "a hundred times more virtuous than himself" (line 3150), named Wide Awake. But the man is a recluse, living alone on a mountain, and Highly Praised is not sure he would come to serve at court. The king sends Highly Praised to fetch him, accompanied by a letter (chap. 39), and makes clear that it is a command (line 3277).

Highly Praised carries out his mission. But Wide Awake is reluctant to abandon his contemplative life of religious devotion for the active life of state affairs. In the course of the debate, he rails against the world's faults (chap. 42) and insists upon the need for devoting one's life to God and seeking one's bliss in the next world. Highly Praised counters this (chap. 43) with the argument that the other world is won through this world, and that Wide Awake must devote himself to good deeds in order to gain religious merit. After considering the matter, Wide Awake eventually refuses to obey, explaining his position, at the other's insistence, in a letter to the king (chap. 44).

Displeased that his will has been thwarted and still suffering an inordinate desire to avail himself of the holy man's services, the king sends off Highly Praised a second time, armed with a letter that is couched in stronger language than the first (chap. 45). This time Wide Awake pleads that he is ignorant in the ways of the world, and especially in royal custom and protocol. And so Highly Praised instructs him at some length (chaps. 47–61) on the proper manner of serving the prince and of conducting oneself with the various classes of society: courtiers and commoners, scholars, physicians, diviners, dream interpreters, astrologers, poets, farmers, merchants, stockbreeders, craftsmen, and beggars. To this he adds other typically mirror-for-princes topics (chaps. 62–66): choosing a wife and raising children, managing the household, and behaving as host and as guest. After this long digression on the proprieties of life in society,

Wide Awake is still adamant (chap. 67), insisting that he cannot serve both God and the king.

At this point (line 4874), Highly Praised has a change of heart; and when he returns to the court and reports the conversation, the king too realizes the superiority of Wide Awake's position and the injustice of his own. But though he has abandoned the plan to make Wide Awake serve him, he still harbors the desire to see the holy man at least once. So Highly Praised goes to him a third time, this time without a letter (chap. 68). When Wide Awake hears the request, he agrees immediately; for "a Muslim is a brother to his Muslim brother, and visiting is proper" (line 4991). He comes to the court, but warily, at night; and assures his own safety by having the king greet him first before he returns the greeting (chap. 70). Though Wide Awake disclaims his own virtue and piety, the king insists that he give him his counsel. This he does (chap. 71), stressing religious matters (though not exclusively), and then returns to his mountain, leaving Highly Praised to reconcile the king's qualms about raising troops and to explain the duties of the prince and the mutual obligations of ruler and subjects (chap. 72).

The king governs well, and the realm prospers. Highly Praised, however, is feeling his age, and conceives the intention to repent his past life and to purify his soul in preparation for death (chap. 73). But first he goes to Wide Awake to consult with him about it. Though lauding his good intention, Wide Awake counsels Highly Praised to resume his station at court, on the grounds of the great benefit to the state that he is providing, and of his obligation to the king who adopted and raised him when his own father died (chaps. 74–75). Highly Praised cheerfully accepts this advice. Returning to court, he devotes himself to state affairs, while extracting from the king a promise not to heed any slanders against him (lines 5871 f.).

In the final episode of the work, Wide Awake, on his deathbed, sends for his "brother" Highly Praised. The latter says that sickness is atonement for one's sins, and berates the former for expecting death. But Wide Awake has had a portentous dream, which he relates (chap. 78) after listening to the wise statesman's disquisition on dream interpretation. While Highly Praised pedantically tries to force an auspicious meaning onto the dream, Wide Awake demurs, insisting that it is a sign from God that he should prepare for death (chaps. 79–80). After returning home, Highly Praised learns of Wide Awake's death from the latter's disciple, named Testament (chap. 82). Wide Awake has left behind his worldly possessions, consisting of a staff and a bowl.[98] Highly Praised offers one of these to the king, as a memorial; and the king chooses the staff (chap. 85, line 6325).

The book ends with some reflections on the corruption of time (lines 6451 f.), and a final ode in which the author sounds once again the themes of wisdom and of turning away from the world toward God (6605–45).

On the allegorical level, the "plot" of the work can be interpreted as follows. Justice, to be exercised properly, requires Fortune, Wisdom, and "the End"—what al-Ghazāli calls "knowledge of the last breath"[99] or what we might call "Religion." King Rising Sun, who stands for Justice, first enjoys the services of Full Moon, or Fortune. But it is Fortune's nature to be unreliable: Full Moon dies. Next the king finds Highly Praised, or Wisdom (more strictly: Intellect) who turns out to be his most steadfast servant. Still the king is unsatisfied: he also desires the counsel of Wide Awake, or "the End." But worldly and otherworldly concerns are not easily reconcilable. And at the end, Wide Awake too goes to his reward, leaving "Justice" with "Wisdom" alone left to help him administer the realm.

Besides the four main characters, there are three minor ones, also provided with significant names.

When Full Moon arrives at the capital, he is first helped by a man named Much Desired (Tk. Küsemiş: line 502). He seems to reflect nothing more than Full Moon's desire to serve the king. Much Desired carries out this function by introducing him to the king's chamberlain, whose name is Manly (Tk. Ersig: line 505). The chamberlain performs his duty properly. Recognizing Full Moon's excellent qualities, and knowing that the king is seeking such a man, he arranges an audience, and all goes well.

Far more significant is the third minor character, Wide Awake's disciple, Testament (Tk. Ḳumaru). "Disciple" translates Ar. *murīd* (line 6286), the specific term for the disciple of a Shaikh on the Sufi path. Unfortunately, the text is defective at this point in the work, and there are indications that the author left it incomplete (see note 190 to the translation). But the significance of the name is clear: Wide Awake has left behind as a testament, someone to perpetuate the religious values which he represented.

The Turkish word *ḳumaru* has a broad range of meaning, covering the English terms "legacy, inheritance, testament, memorial"; and it is the equivalent of Arabic *waṣiyya*.[100] When Full Moon dies he gives alms of gold and silver to the poor, and "many testamentary memorials *(ḳumaru)*" to his friends (or kinsmen; line 1150, also 1517). His dying discourse of admonition to his son he calls "a testament *(ḳumaru)*" (1341); and he also bequeaths a "testamentary letter" *(ḳumaru bitig)* to the king (chap. 23). Of course he also leaves behind his son Highly Praised, whom he calls "my life's blood" (lit. "my liver's fire," *baġrım otı,* line 1482), and whom he commends to God *(bayatḳa tutuzdum,* 1483) and to the king's care.

As for Wide Awake, he too leaves behind his words of admonition *(kereklig tutuzdum saŋga barça söz,* 6184); and his staff and bowl as a "memorial testament" *(ḳumaru,* 6322; *vaṣiyyet,* 6321), of which the king takes the staff "that it be a source of good fortune *(ḳutaḍsu)* to me"; as well as Testament, his disciple.

What is prized here is the legacy of wisdom and virtue, whether embodied in words or in tangible objects (or, in the case of Highly Praised and of Testament, in persons). The author, similarly, leaves behind *Kutadgu Bilig* as an eternal legacy (113, 6506).

As a high court official, disillusioned in his old age with the world and the times (see the three odes at the end of the work), and leaning toward the solitary life (6570 f.), Yūsuf suffered within himself the conflicts which he portrayed in his work, so that in the course of writing a mirror for princes he broke the traditional boundaries of that genre. Especially in the second part, in the confrontation and reconciliation of the statesman Highly Praised and the Sufi ascetic Wide Awake, he achieved a dramatic portrayal quite unique in Islamic literature.

The Sufi and the statesman stand at opposite poles in classical Islam, and their confrontation is rich in dramatic possibilities. It has to be admitted that *Kutadgu Bilig* hardly realizes the category of drama—even less so than a Platonic dialogue. It is too static, too formal. On the other hand, the dramatic tension of the situation, despite the dry allegorical overlay, is clearly there beneath the surface: the imperious demand of the king to be served, against the pious ascetic's wish to serve only God; the brother's longing that his brother rejoin his kin and share his virtues with the community, against the friend-of-God's longing to share his life with God alone; the demands of society to fulfill communal and familial obligations, against the demands of the spiritual self to renounce worldly ties and to concentrate one's being on the afterlife.

Built upon these opposing human types are opposing world views. To Highly Praised, that God made the good things of this world permissible (Ar. *ḥalāl*) means that we *ought* to enjoy them; that God imposed laws regulating interpersonal affairs means that we *ought* to live a communal life in order to carry out these impositions fully; that God created heaven *and* hell means that He intended man to face the peril of sin and to face up to the duty of right living in the presence of temptation. Also—although this is not made explicit—that men need one another, that man is a political animal, means that living alone is unwise, unhealthy, and ultimately unhuman.

To Wide Awake, on the other hand, God made this world the testing-ground for the next, a prison for the sons of Adam; but also the stage on which man has the opportunity to purify himself and thereby to earn a place of honor after he dies—and, possibly, to draw close to his Creator in this life. All else is vanity.

In *Kutadgu Bilig* the conflict is resolved in a satisfactory way within the terms of the dialogue. The ascetic urges the statesman not to renounce his obligations to the king and to the people; while the statesman accepts that the ascetic is answering a higher calling. Wide Awake, far from being a danger to the world's governance (as some scholars have interpreted his role in the work), provides a leaven of otherworldly goals and ideals,

without which the ruler's life would be vain. The ultimate reconciliation of the "brothers," in the king's presence, demonstrates one of the deep-rooted themes of the Irano-Islamic statecraft tradition: that just sovereignty and right religion are twins, born of the same womb, and cannot be separated (see above, "Mirrors for Princes," pp. 7, 9).

In the typical Islamic division of human concerns between *dīn* ("religion") and *dunyā* ("the world"), *dīn* replaces *āxira* ("the otherworld, the hereafter") which in the Qur'ān is opposed to *dunyā*. With the demotion of *dunyā* in Islam (Qur'ān 2:86/80, 87:16), and with the identification of *dunyā* with *dawla* ("temporal rule, royal authority and the imperial fortune")—an identification that was perhaps facilitated by the multivalency of the corresponding Persian word, *jahān*—there was a concomitant tendency to demote *dawla*. Historically this occurred when Muslim pietists turned away from the Umayyad dynasty in the seventh and eighth centuries as illegitimate rulers. A significant function, then, of the mirror-for-princes literature in Islam was to raise the moral stature of *dawla* to its original high position, as the "twin-brother" of *dīn*. In the eleventh century, when the Caliph no longer had any political authority, and the Sultan had no religious sanction for his rule, Sunni authors like al-Ghazāli and Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib found it important to reconcile *dīn* with *dawla/dunyā*.

The outstanding characteristic of *Kutadgu Bilig* is the interweaving of temporal, political, and social themes, drawn mainly from the mirror-for-princes tradition, with spiritual themes connected with the salvation of the individual soul, drawn mainly from the Sufi-ascetic tradition. Even Wide Awake, who insists that religion and the world are irreconcilable (5311 f.; see above under "Qur'ān and Hadith," p. 17), is not averse to mixing worldly wisdom along with his doomsday preaching (see above under "Sufism," p. 20). And even the king, the "world-conqueror," bemoans the emptiness of mundane existence, and has words of praise for the ascetic life (6379–86).

Although Wide Awake wins the debate,[101] Highly Praised is the hero of the story. The king, while he accepts Wide Awake's counsel, does not thereby abdicate; on the contrary, he continues to rule. And Highly Praised continues to serve him until the end of their lives, so that the realm prospers and the people enjoy good fortune (6424)—and the author breaks in to say that this sort of man is not a man at all but an angel (6426).

The upshot is that, though there is debate and conflict, neither side disavows the other. Wide Awake recognizes worldly wisdom in its place, just as the king and Highly Praised recognize the religious values that Wide Awake represents. As Yūsuf states at the end of the work (6498), "Here is the path of Religion *and* the path of the World." Religion and the World may be in conflict, but in the final analysis one needs them both, and *Kutadgu Bilig* is intended to prepare the prince to succeed in

both endeavors ("both worlds"). Still, the lesson of Wide Awake's death, like that of Full Moon before him, is clear. The prince cannot depend on Religion to run his realm, any more than he could depend on Fortune. Justice and Wisdom are the pillars of the state.

Text and Translation

The translation is based on Rahmeti Arat's critical edition of the text.[102] This in turn was based on the three extant manuscripts, which have been published in facsimile.[103] In Appendix 3 I list all the alternate readings I have adopted which make a difference in terms of the meaning of the text.[104] Quite a few verses, which Arat includes in his edition but which must be considered spurious, are translated in the notes to the text.

The Cairo MS (designated C) includes toward the end of the work (6521–6604) two odes not found in the other MSS. These are undoubtedly the work of Yūsuf, but they do not relate directly to *Kutadgu Bilig,* and so are consigned in the present translation to Appendix 1. A third ode, at the very end (6605–45), is found in the Vienna MS as well (designated A). [The Fergana MS (designated B) unfortunately breaks off at line 6232, well before the end of the poem.] This third ode resumes the wisdom and antiworld themes of the work, as well as referring to its composition (6623 f.), and so is included in the present translation in the body of the text.

The three odes considered together are distinguished from the rest of the text by several characteristics:

1. Rhyme. They follow the *qaṣīdah* form of monorhyme rather than the *maṣnavi* form of rhymed couplets.

2. Meter. The first two odes, but not the third, employ the acatalectic variety of *mutaqārib* rather than the catalectic variety found in the main text. Thus:

Main Text and Third Ode ∪−−∪−−∪−−∪−

First Two Odes ∪−−∪−−∪−−∪−−

3. Morphology and lexicon. Certain features are not found in the main text: the cohortative in *-ayı* rather than *-ayın,* most notably in the rhyme position of Ode II:[105] the phrase *keyik taġı* (6570, 6617), here translated "wild mustangs" (but note *taġı* at 5375); the word *köpek* for "dog" (6601, translated "cur") rather than *it* (e.g. 5379, 6194, 6364–66, usually a hunting dog).

On the other hand, several features are common to the odes and to the main text, including the bulk of the vocabulary and other linguistic features, and the sentiments expressed. A "lament on his old age" (the topic of Ode I) is also found toward the end of the introductory chapters of the work (lines 363–75); another is put in the mouth of Full Moon on his deathbed (1098 f.); and another in the mouth of Highly Praised when he

forms the intention to repent his past life (5637–43). A "complaint on the times" (the topic of Ode II) is found at the end of the main narrative just before the conclusion (6451–94).

Thus, there is no reason to doubt that these two odes are by Yūsuf himself. It is impossible to state, however, whether he intended them to be included in the text of *Kutadgu Bilig,* or whether the copyist of the Cairo MS (or of its prototype) was alone responsible for that decision.

Two other additions to the text are definitely by later authors, and so are consigned to Appendix 2. These are the Verse Prologue (77 lines), written perhaps a century after *Kutadgu Bilig,* and the Prose Prologue, which is a summary of the Verse Prologue. (In the extant MSS, the Prose Prologue comes first, then the Verse Prologue [omitted in MS B]; then the list of chapter headings; and finally the text of the work.)

The author of the Verse Prologue understood the work to be a mirror for princes in the traditional sense. The principle that Wide Awake represents is said to be Contentment (line 66: *ḳanāᶜat ve ᶜafyet;* 71; *ḳanāᶜat*). This must depend on a misreading of line 357 in the text, where Yūsuf specifies that Wide Awake stands for Man's Last End *(ᶜāḳibet).* Even here, one of the MSS (B) has Well-being *(ᶜāfiyet).* Similarly, the author of the Verse Prologue must have read *ᶜāfiyet,* then expanded it to the hendiadys *ḳanāᶜat ve ᶜāfyet* (shortened for the meter). The Prose Prologue retains only *ḳanāᶜat* (line 30).

Another, less serious, alteration appears in the name of the author's patron, given in the text (line 88) as Tavġaç Uluġ Buġra Khan. The Verse Prologue (line 60) has Tavġaç ḳara Buġra Khanlar Khanı; the Prose Prologue (line 25) simply Tavġaç Buġra Khan.

The author of the Verse Prologue also added the Arabic or Persian equivalents of Turkish abstract nouns for the three other principles represented by the other major characters (lines 64 f.). It might be noted, finally, that in two verses (70, 77) of the Verse Prologue there is a weakness in the meter.

"A translator is to be like his author; it is not his business to excel him," said Dr. Johnson. I have mainly aimed at coherence and readability. The logic of prose is not the same as that of verse; and the virtues of modern English prose are even less those of medieval Turkish verse. Thus, while not omitting anything germane to the meaning that Yūsuf was trying to convey, I have not hesitated to omit inconsequential line-fillers; to transpose words and phrases and, occasionally, entire lines; to abbreviate where Yūsuf is wordy and to expand where Yūsuf is obscure. In doing so, I have eschewed pedantic parentheses and brackets, which would only serve to distract the reader from the sense. It would serve no useful purpose, for example, if the translation of line 2715 looked like this: "When the sword drips (red) with blood, the prince conquers territory; and when the pen drips black (with ink), he acquires gold (lit. gold

comes).'' The text implies the additional elements, and my judgment was that the reader should have what is implied rather than possibly be left in the dark. Similarly, we read several times that man's final lot of the world is two pieces of cloth; at line 1238, where this comes up first, I add, without apology (i.e. parentheses), ''for his shroud.''

In rendering the quatrains into verse I mainly aimed to distinguish them from the surrounding text, although in the original they are distinguished only by the rhyme scheme (uniformly *aaba*). I have necessarily taken rather greater liberties in the translation of these quatrains, though striving always to remain true to the original.

In cases where the meaning of Yūsuf's verse depends on word play, this is indicated in the body of the translation. Otherwise, word plays are indicated in the notes to the translation.[106] Explanatory notes are kept to a minimum, consisting mainly of Qur'ānic references and other points which would be familiar to every Muslim reader though possibly obscure to a Westerner.



IN THE NAME OF GOD THE MERCIFUL
THE COMPASSIONATE

1. In praise of God, may He be exalted

I begin my discourse with the name of God, Creator, Nourisher, Pardoner. Countless praises to the Almighty One, Who does not pass away. He created the brown earth and blue sky, sun and moon and all creatures, night and day and the seasons. All these He brought into existence through His will, saying once "Be!" and they were.[1] All things that come into being are dependent on Him; He alone depends on no one and has no associate. Almighty, independent, eternal God! You alone this name befits. Greatness and glory belong to You. You have no counterpart and no equal. You are One and no other one shares in Your unity. You are the first and the last, Your oneness has no admixture of plurality, and Your power extends to all things.

Without doubt You are the One, sempiternal and everlasting, without taint of plurality or of division. You are the certain Truth, knowing the inside and the outside; You are far from my eyes, close to my heart.[2] Your existence is manifest as sun and moon, though my mind cannot encompass Your nature. Your unity has nothing in common with anything: You created everything; all things belong to You; and all perish except for You, the Living One. Created things bear witness to the existence of the Creator, for things that come into being manifest duality and thus bear witness to unity.

There is nothing like Him or resembling Him, and the mind of His creatures cannot encompass His nature. He does not walk or lie down. He does not sleep, but is ever wakeful. He does not assume the likeness of any bodily form. He is neither before or behind, right nor left, His place is not above or below or in the middle. He has no place for He created space and without Him no place would be—you may be sure of this!

You are too lofty for the mind to encompass but are close to the inmost heart. All form and shape bear witness to You. You created the myriads of living beings, the mountains, plains, and seas, the hills and hollows. You adorned the blue sky with countless stars and illumined the dark night with bright daylight. All things that breathe, those that fly in the air and those that walk on the ground, receive their sustenance from You. All things from the Throne above to the dust below are dependent on You, O Lord!

O you who believe in the One: praise Him with your tongue. Once your heart is without doubt, keep your mind at rest. Do not concern yourself with His qualities and quiddities. Guard your heart, be confident of His existence, and you will have peace of mind. Restrain yourself. Do not go into "How?" and "Wherefore?"—He is without how and wherefore. Know this, and be silent.

My Lord, You who are independent: take pity on this dependent slave and pardon his sins. You are my refuge and hope. Hold my hand in this

my needy state. Raise me up along with Your beloved apostle, and make him my intercessor on the day of judgment. Upon his four companions also convey uninterrupted greetings: show forth their faces on that terrible day, and let them intercede for me with comely speech. I cannot praise You as You deserve—You praise Yourself, and let my words be done!

TÜRK DİLLERİ KÜTÜPHANESİ

2. In praise of the Prophet, peace be upon him

34 The merciful Lord sent His beloved messenger, the choicest and finest of men. He was a lamp to all creatures in the night of darkness.[3] His light has spread so far that it even shines on you. It was he who called unto you from God, and thus, my brave one, you entered upon the straight path. He ransomed his own father and mother, his sole desire being to show the way to his community. He did not eat by day, nor did he sleep at night, but untiringly labored for you and pleaded to God on your behalf, asking nothing for himself. Therefore praise him now and pray that God be pleased with him. All his care was for his community, their comfort and their salvation. More solicitous than father and mother, he constantly prayed to God on their behalf.

42 He was God's mercy upon His creation.[4] His character was pure, his actions upright; he was forbearing and humble, modest, compassionate, and generous. Precious was he on the brown earth and in the blue sky, and God bestowed upon him great honor. He was ahead of all the chiefs, and came behind all the prophets as their seal.[5] Now I have bound my heart to his way (i.e., Sunna) and lovingly follow his word (i.e., hadith). God, guard my heart. Raise me up with Your beloved messenger. Show me his face like unto the full moon and make him my intercessor on the day of resurrection.

3. In praise of the four companions

49 His four companions in whose company he rejoiced—these were his constant advisers. Two were fathers-in-law, two sons-in-law, together the finest and choicest of men.[6] First of all was ʿAtīḳ (Abū Bakr): he believed in God and straightened his heart and tongue; he ransomed all—wealth, body, soul—seeking only the Prophet's pleasure. Then there was Fārūq (ʿUmar), best of men: his tongue and heart were one; he was the foundation and the pillar of the true Religion; he raised the veil from the face of the holy Law. After him came ʿUthmān: modest and pure, choice among

men and most generous: he ransomed wealth and self; and the Prophet gave him his two daughters. Finally there was ʿAli, brave and manly and clever: his hand was liberal and his heart was alert; wise and pious was he; he achieved a great name.

These were the foundations of the Faith and the Law. These carried 59
the burden of the infidels and the hypocrites. The four companions seem to me like the four natural elements: when these are in harmony, then life is sound. Convey greetings uninterrupted to them from me, O Lord, make them ever pleased with me, and make them my intercessors on the great Day.

4. Ode to spring and praise of Uluġ Buġra Khan

A zephyr came wafting from the east and opened the way of paradise 63
to the world-adorner. The brown earth filled with musk as the camphor melted away. Earth desired to array herself in finery. Bright Spring once again drew Fortune's bow, as balmy breezes banished stodgy Winter. Sol came back to his starting-place, from the tail of the Fish to the nose of the Ram.[7] The withered trees decked themselves in green with ornaments of purple and scarlet, yellow, blue, and red. Brown earth wrapped a veil of green silk over her face; the Cathay caravan spread out its Chinese wares. Hill and dale became overspread, every ridge and hollow bedecked with blue and scarlet. Countless kinds of flowers opened with a smile, and the world filled with the fragrance of musk and camphor. Zephyr sprang up carrying the scent of cloves, and all the world was suffused with musk.

Now ducks and geese, swans and wild swallows cover the sky, cackling 72
and swirling up and down, some taking off as others alight, some swimming as others sip the water. Kökiş and crane[8] cry out in the sky with echoing calls, soaring and fluttering in formation like a train of camels. The quail calls out to his mate with harmonious voice, as a pure maiden calls him to whom she has pledged her heart. The partridge sings with a wild laugh, his mouth blood-red and his brow pitch-black. The black chumġuḳ[9] warbles with his coral beak, his voice like that of a well-bred girl. And in the flower garden the nightingale sings a thousand melodies, night and day reciting Hebrew psalms. Roebuck and doe gambol over the blossoms, while stag and deer roll frolicking on the grass.

Heaven knit his brow, his eye scattered tears; the flowers smoothed 80
their brows and laughed and cheered.[10] The World herself approached and spoke to me: "Have you not seen the Khaqan's face? Open now your eyes if you were sleeping, and hearken to my words if before you heard

me not. For ten thousand years I was a mournful widow, but now I have doffed my widow's weeds and donned a gown of white ermine, adorning myself as a bride, for the great Khaqan has become my lord. I offer myself, if he desires; my soul be his ransom."

86 The cloud thundered, beating the kettledrum; lightning flashed, brandishing the Khaqan's sword. The one, brought out from its scabbard, is held forth to conquer the realm; with the other his fame and repute spread throughout the world. The mighty Tavġach Buġra Khan has conquered the world—may his name resound in glory, may both the worlds be his!

O glory of religion and victor of government, O crown of the community and executor of the holy law: God has granted all your desires, may He favor you yet with his aid and support. O beauty of the world and adornment of nobility, O light of rule and halter of fickle fortune: Fate has favored you with a realm and bestowed on you a throne, may God grant that you maintain this throne with good fortune attending.

93 When the Khaqan assumed the throne, the World breathed easy and began to shower him with kingly gifts. Birds descended out of the lofty ether, some from the Raja of India and others sent by Caesar, vying with pride and joy in praising him and calling out his name. Flowers covered mountain and valley, hollow and ridge, with green and blue, so many ornaments scattered over the ground, some offering their service with fragrant scent or opening the gate with lovely face, some stretching forth their hands with incense or sprinkling musk and filling the world with fragrance, some bearing a thousand kingly gifts from the east, others offering their service from the west. Fortune herself came and stood at the gate ready to serve.

101 Thus did the World array herself for service, while the enemy, with bent neck, removed himself from view. The Khaqan's repute and fame went out in the world, so that any eye unable to see him went sleepless. The world was at peace, law and order prevailed, he raised his name aloft with justice.

If you wish to see the form of generosity, come and gaze upon the Khaqan's countenance. If you would see faithfulness personified, look at his face, for his nature is wholly faithful. If you seek profit without loss, come hither and serve him with sincere love. Come, look upon him, if you wish to see one who is humble and forbearing, clement and kind. May the world never be deprived of your presence, O one of excellent birth and noble character! God granted you Fortune, O glorious majesty! therefore call on His name with a thousand expressions of gratitude.

110 It is an ancient saying and has come down in the proverb: the father's place and name are left to the son.[11]

Now, when thousands of hands hold forth choice and precious gifts, let "Wisdom of Royal Glory" *(Kutadgu Bilig)* be my gift. Their offerings come and go, but mine remains forever. Whatever the world gathers

together is used up and comes to an end, but words when they are written down remain and circulate throughout the world. Now the Khaqan's name has been recorded in a book and shall remain forever, O glorious majesty!

Lord, increase his Fortune and fulfill his desire; be his help and support 116
in all his enterprises. Keep his friends safe and sound and remove his enemies; keep him full of joy and empty of care. May the rain continue to fall, that the flowers may open and the withered trees again let down their tresses. May the sphere of heaven favor him ever turning. And may his enemy be laid low. Until the brown earth turns to red copper, and flowers shoot forth green from out of the fire, may his glorious majesty live on with a thousand tokens of Fortune, and the pupils of the blind be pierced with his refulgence. May God favor him with His aid to accomplish his desires. May he enjoy a secure and prosperous reign, and live a life long as Loqmān's.[12]

5. On the seven planets and the twelve constellations[13]

I began my discourse with the name of God my Lord, Creator, Nour- 124
isher, Pardoner. He created the universe according to His will, and made the sun and moon shine upon the world. He created the sphere of Heaven ever revolving, and the firmament ever turning. The blue sky He created, with the stars upon it, and black night and bright day He brought into being. Of these stars in the sky some are standard-bearers (*lit.* ornaments), others scouts, and others vanguards. Some serve as lamps for men, others as guides when they lose their way. Some are higher and others lower, some brighter and others dimmer.

Highest of these marches Saturn: he stays in one house (i.e., zodiacal 131
constellation) for two years and eight months. After him comes Jupiter: he remains in one house for twelve months. Third is Mars: he marches with haughty chest, and wherever he glances the greenery turns dry. Sol comes fourth: he illumines the earth when he draws near and they gaze on one another. Fifth, Venus shows forth her lovely countenance: when she looks lovingly, then do you rejoice.[14] Then comes Mercury, the wish-fulfiller: to whomever he draws nigh he joins to his desire. Lowest of these marches Luna: when she and Sol look face to face, then she is full.

Apart from these there are twelve signs of the zodiac. Some occupy 138
two houses (i.e., lunar mansions), some are hardly broad enough for one. The Ram is the star of spring. Then comes the Bull. The Twins march stabbing (?) along with the Crab. See then the Lion and his neighbor the Ear of Wheat (Virgo). After them are the Scales, and the Scorpion, com-

panion of the Bow (Sagittarius). Finally comes the Kid, the Bucket, and the Fish: when these rise, the sky is bright.[15]

142 Know that three are spring stars and three summer, three autumn and three winter. Three are fire and three water, three wind and three earth. Though formerly they were hostile to one another, now the world has become harmonious. Foe was sent after foe and the quarrel was stopped. Enemies that were implacable have settled their quarrel; the foes that refused to see one another have quenched their rancor. God who brings order from chaos himself arranged it thus, bringing peace and order among them.[16]

6. That man's chief glory is wisdom and intellect

148 When God created man He chose him and distinguished him, granting him virtue and wisdom, mind and understanding, a heart and the power of speech, modesty and refinement of manners. Because He gave him wisdom, man has grown great this day, and because He gave him intellect, all knotty problems are resolved. When God grants a man wisdom and intellect, that man stretches forth his hand to many goods.

Know that wisdom and intellect are noble things and they ennoble the chosen servant (i.e., man). This saying has come down as witness to that fact—listen, and be silent! Wherever there is intellect, there is greatness, and whoever has wisdom achieves nobility. The intelligent man understands, and the wise man knows, and thus they attain their desire.

156 Wisdom proclaims its own meaning thus: when a man knows wisdom, then illness stays far from him.[17] The foolish man is full of ills, and if illness is not treated, the patient dies. Go then, fool, seek remedy for your ills; and you, glorious sage, prescribe the fool's remedy!

Intellect is a leading rein: if a man leads by it, he achieves his goal and enjoys countless desires. A man of intellect provides a multitude of benefits and a man of wisdom is very precious. With intellect a man accomplishes all his affairs, and with wisdom he preserves from spoil his allotted time.

7. On the tongue: its merit and demerit, its benefit and harm

162 The tongue is interpreter to intellect and to wisdom. Know that an eloquent tongue causes a man to shine. It is the tongue that brings a man

esteem, so that he finds fortune, and it is the tongue that brings a man dishonor so that he loses his head. The tongue is a lion crouching on the threshold—householder, take care, or it will bite off your head!

Listen to a man who has suffered because of his tongue, make his 165
speech your companion, and apply it to your own affair: Let me cut out my tongue—it is what ruined me—only let them not cut off my head! Guard your speech lest you lose your head, and guard your tongue lest you break your teeth. The sage has laid down for the tongue these ripe words of wisdom, so guard your head, you who have a tongue! If you would be safe and sound, let not your tongue bring forth unseemly words. When a man speaks knowledgeably, his words are counted as wisdom, while the words of the ignorant devour his own head.

I see no great profit in verbosity, nor do I find advantage in repetition. 171
Use speech sparingly, for a single word may untie the knots caused by ten thousand others. A man may rise to be king by means of speech, but too many words may cast down his head as a shadow to the ground. If he talks too much, Wisdom says that he chatters, but if he talks not at all, it says that he is tongue-tied. Since this is so, practice eloquence, which raises a man's estate. Hold your tongue and you will hold on to your head. Shorten your speech and you will lengthen your life.

Many are the profits derived from the tongue, many too are the losses. 177
The tongue gets now praises, now curses. Speak knowledgeably, therefore, and your words will be an eye to the blind. The blind, that is the ignorant. Go then, fool, and get a share of knowledge from the wise!

What is born dies, but words remain as a sign, so speak good words and you will be immortal. If a man has two things, he does not grow old: one is good deeds, the other good words. Though a man must die, his words remain behind, and though his soul departs his name stays. Keep your deeds and words good then, O sage, if you seek undying life.

I speak these words and give this counsel to you, O brave one, as to 186
my own son—and my son is below me, not on a level! If I bequeath to you gold and silver, do not consider that to be equal to these words. Apply silver to affairs and it will be used up, but apply my words and you will gain silver. Words are one man's legacy to another. So hold to the legacy of my words, and the profit therefrom will be a hundredfold.[18]

8. The author's apology

My desire in uttering this discourse, O sage, was to speak to those 192
who come after me. Intellect itself came forward and said, "Take care! for if you speak in error, it will be to your own loss. The people have an

evil tongue and they will talk about you; men are envious by nature and they will devour your flesh." But when I considered the matter, the burden seemed light, and I said to myself, "Let your words pour forth!" Now if you ask me why, I will tell you. Listen to my words, O manly hero!

197 The name Man *(yal͡nguḳ)* was given because of Error *(yan͡gluḳ)*, and error was laid down because of man. Show me one unerring man and I will show you ten thousand who have erred. Also there are many ignorant and foolish men but few who are wise and intelligent, and between the wise man and the fool there is a standing quarrel. There are numerous differences among men, but the main source of inequality is the degree of wisdom. Now it is to the wise that I have dedicated this discourse. I have no converse with fools; but I am at your service, O wise one! With these words I shamefacedly offer to you my apology. He who speaks is bound to err and stray; it is up to the intelligent when they hear to correct and straighten.

206 Words have leading-reins and, like camels' noses, go where they are led. Though many a man may mouth wisdom, it is the man who knows it who is truly precious to me. The profit of wisdom is all good things—with wisdom, as the proverb goes, "he found the road to heaven." Then speak all your words wisely, and know that wisdom alone makes men great.

210 Speech (i.e., God's) descended from blue heaven to brown earth, and it is by means of speech that man ennobles his soul. Man's heart is like a bottomless sea and wisdom is the pearl that lies at the bottom: if he fails to bring the pearl up out of the sea it could just as well be a pebble as a pearl. Gold that lies in brown earth's bosom is only ore, but when it is extracted it becomes the ornament of princes. As long as the wise man does not bring out wisdom upon his tongue, his wisdom may lie hidden for years and shed no light. Fine things indeed are wisdom and intellect: put them to work, if you possess them, and you will soar to heaven!

216 A prince of mature mind spoke as follows: To conquer the world, a man requires intellect; and to subjugate the people, a good mind and stout heart. It is by means of intellect that the world-conqueror conquers and by means of wisdom that the people's governor governs. Since the time that Adam descended to the world it has been men of intellect who instituted law, and in every age the highest positions have always gone to the wise. The criminal is hanged[19] by force of intellect, and civil turmoil is suppressed by means of wisdom. If you cannot control these two by using reason, however, then lay wisdom aside and put your hand to the sword; for even wise rulers and sage princes must use the sword to deal with fools.

224 In sum, a man requires intellect to grasp the world and wisdom to subdue the people—if he combines these two, he is the perfect man and

will enjoy all of the world's blessings. If it is the boon of both worlds that you seek, the prescription is goodness; and if you wish to find good, go and do good—a word to the wise is sufficient! Man does not live forever, only his good name does: if you name remains, then you have achieved immortality.

9. In praise of doing good and on the benefits thereof

If your hand is long over the people (i.e., if you are in a position of 230
authority), do only good in deed and word. Youth is fleeting and life is on the wing; your soul will soon pass from this dreamlike world. So make life your capital and goodness the profit thereof, and tomorrow you will have fine food and dress. Hear what the good man says: A creature that walks and breathes must die in the end. See how many men were born and walked in the world a while, then died. Prince or slave, good or bad, their souls all passed away, though their names remained as a trace. Now, good chief, high position has passed to you in turn. Therefore do only good.

The living die in the end and make the earth their bed, but if a man 237
dies and he is good, his name lives on. Indeed, two sorts of names remain behind in the world and stay current on men's tongues, one good and one bad. The bad is remembered for a curse, the good for praise. Decide for yourself which one you want, O pure one, for if you are good your name will be lauded, if bad, reviled. Why did Ẓaḥḥāk the wicked become accursed, and why did Farīdūn, blessed by Fortune, find praise?[20] The one was good and people praised him, the other bad and they cursed him. Is a curse what you desire, or praise? Choose one—be good or bad—and do not repent your choice tomorrow!

One experienced in affairs of state put it thus: Through his good name 245
a man gets praises, but he who dies with an evil name gets curses. I have experienced this with many an evildoer: his power waned and was broken in a day. And I have witnessed the deed of many a wicked one: it could not prevail. Evil is a burning fire which scorches its own path and leaves no passage.

See those who went before us, whether commoners or rulers: whichever 250
man gained wisdom, he became lord of the age. If the world's prince has wisdom, he is the best of mankind and he institutes good laws. The one who gets a good name today is foremost, the head of all good men. And a sage prince, if he is close to wisdom, keeps wise men close to himself. He carries out with care the tasks he sets his hand to; he rules the people

applying wisdom to their affairs; he puts his realm in good order so that the common folk become rich, and he in turn makes their wealth a fortress for himself. Thus he gains a name for generosity—and when the generous man dies, you may recite his name among the living! Knowing that he shall die, he makes a monument for himself: he leaves his name inscribed in a book for the living. Then those who read it come to know him and to imitate him, and in this way goodness continues to flow from him.

260 What is there in the world more precious than wisdom? To call a man a fool is an ugly curse. Hear the words of one advanced in years and wise in the ways of the world: If a fool has a seat in the place of honor, that place is reckoned the courtyard, while if a wise man has a seat in the courtyard, then the courtyard is superior to the seat of honor. For all honor is due to the wise, be his place in the world the seat of honor or be it the courtyard gate.

265 Two sorts of noble men there are, one the prince, the other the sage, head of mankind. All beside them are like cattle. Now tell me plainly which group you belong to: choose the first or the second, and avoid the third! The first grasps the sword and governs the people; the second grasps the pen and clears a beaten track. From them good laws have been passed down, a legacy to be held aloft. Indeed, words of counsel are a legacy from the dead to the living, and whoever holds to the legacy of counsel profits therefrom a hundredfold.

271 The ignorant man is manifestly blind. O eyeless one! take wisdom as your share of sight.

Speech, manifold, is a man's adornment—let my tongue sing the praises of the man of fine speech. The following Turkish proverb has come down illustrating this point: The adornment of the intellect is the tongue, and the adornment of the tongue is speech; the adornment of a man is his face, and the adornment of the face is the eyes. A man speaks with his tongue, and if his speech is fair his face is bright with honor.

276 If you observe well you will notice that the Turkish princes are the finest in the world. And among these Turkish princes the one of outstanding fame and glory was Tonga Alp Er. He was the choicest of men, distinguished by great wisdom and virtues manifold. What a choice and manly man he was, a clever man indeed—he devoured this world entire! The Iranians call him Afrāsiyāb, the same who seized and pillaged their realm.[21]

281 The world-conqueror requires great virtue indeed, and mind and wisdom, in order to rule. The Iranians have written this all down in books—and who could understand it if it were not written down? A brave and stout-hearted man—and it is the brave man who unties the tightest knots—spoke well when he said: A thousand virtues are required for the world-conqueror, and a lion is needed to bring down the wild ass. With these

virtues the world-ruler clears away the fog and grasps the realm; he wields the sword and lops off the neck of his foe; he governs his territory and his people with law and justice.

10. On the virtue and benefit of wisdom and intellect

It was my desire in this discourse, O sage, to speak of these two 287
faculties. Intellect is like a lamp in a dark night, while wisdom is light itself that has made you bright. Through intellect a man rises in esteem and through wisdom he grows great—it is these two that make him noble. If you do not believe me, then observe Nūshīn Ravān:[22] he brightened the world with the eye of intellect, he established justice and the people prospered, he made a good name for himself in that propitious age.

Thus have the sayings of the wise come down to me: 292

To be far from hell he is hellishness itself.[23]

Observe the small child: he gradually attains to reason, but until he comes of age the pen does not move. Then observe the man of reason: when he grows old he begins to dodder, and just as reason departs, so the pen comes to rest.

No surety is given for a madman, and no sentence of death if he commits homicide.

It is foolish to ask why, and no share comes to the fool.

Honor and esteem are all for the intelligent. The ignorant is a mere 297
handful of clay.[24] Any man may don a cloak of honor, but true nobility belongs to the man of wisdom and intellect.[25] Whoever possesses intellect is nobly born, and whoever possesses wisdom has attained the level of princes. The son of man raised his hand over the brown earth and brought wisdom to bear on all things. It is only because of intellect that a man is rightly called noble, and it is only through wisdom that a prince can govern well. Countless kinds of virtuous and praiseworthy deeds are only praised because they are performed with intellect.

Do not despise little intellect, for its benefit is large. Do not despise 305
little wisdom, for it is precious to a man. The sage has said—and you ought to heed him—that four things, though little, are not to be despised. One is fire; another is the enemy; a third is illness, which is the snare of life; and a fourth is wisdom. You ought not hold these four in contempt, for their place of honor is lofty. Each one may result either in much profit or much loss, like a debt that is owed or a debt that is due.

Wisdom is like alchemy: it accumulates wealth, which is then stored in its palace, the intellect.

311 Musk and wisdom are of the same sort: neither one can be kept hidden. If you try to hide musk, its scent gives it away; and if you conceal wisdom, it nevertheless continues to regulate your tongue.

Wisdom is a type of wealth that cannot turn to poverty and cannot fall prey to theft or fraud.

Together with intellect, wisdom is a hobble that restrains a man from running after unseemly things.[26] A man will keep his favorite horse hobbled and will keep in check the mount he requires. The hobbled can graze as it needs but cannot run away; the fettered can move at will but cannot stray.

317 Intellect is a good friend who is bound to you by oath, and wisdom is a brother to you, very loyal. To the ignoramus, his own "wisdom" and his own deeds are enemies: even if he has no others, these two are enough trouble for him. The following Turkish proverb has come down illustrating this truth—read it and take it to heart: To the man of intellect, intelligence is a sufficient companion; to the man of ignorance, a curse is a sufficient name. His own wisdom suffices the wise for food and dress; his own deeds are evil companion for the fool.

322 Good man of intellect, put off anger. Princely man of wisdom, give not way to annoyance, and you will get a good name. If you rush into an affair while one of these is present, you will surely ruin your life. He who gets angry always regrets his deeds, and he who gets annoyed at a task always errs. Rather a man must be calm and collected, and a prince must be stable and steady so that his sun and his moon will rise. Self-control and moderation are required along with reason and good sense in order to distinguish among men and to conduct business. Only with close regard to the fitting and the unseemly, and with careful examination into the required and the unnecessary, can one make the correct choices and decisions and keep a sharp eye over all one's affairs. Then all one's undertakings are soundly considered and well done—and it is a wise man who eats his food well done! Such a man will accomplish his desire, and his affairs will be well arranged in both the worlds.

332 Bad temper and irritability, on the other hand, always bring a man to rack and ruin. A certain sage had the following to say about this—heed his words, they will redden your cheeks! Annoyance overcomes good sense and wrath displaces reason. Thus bad temper makes the wise man commit follies and the moderate man act shamefully.

336 Hear what a wise man says—the words of the wise are dear as one's soul. These things are bad for a man—if he does them his body will rot! One is telling lies. Another is going back on one's word. A third is drinking wine for enjoyment—the man who does this is indubitably doomed. Another is stubbornness: the stubborn man enjoys no bliss. Still another is impure and immodest behavior, which raises smoke in people's houses.

Finally come anger and bad temper, with a foul tongue that makes other men groan when it begins to curse. Now if a single individual unites all these traits in his person, then Fate will not favor him and Blessed Fortune will turn away from him.

Go then and do good, excellent man, for the deeds of the good always 345
prosper. A gentleman, who through trial attained success and set his hand over the realm, has said: A good man never grows old however long he lives, and a bad man never succeeds however much he tries. Remorse ages the wicked though his years be few, while the good lives on without regrets though his years be many. The good man gains his desire anew each day, but the bad man's troubles daily increase by a thousand.

11. On the title of the book and on his own old age

I have named the book "Wisdom of Royal Glory" *(Kutadgu Bilig)*— 350
may it bring Fortune *(ḳut)* to the reader and guide his way. I have uttered my discourse and composed my book. It will be a true guide, that you may grasp both the worlds and be blessed with Fortune.

First I speak of the king, Rising Sun—I shall explain this name, gentle reader! Then I speak of Full Moon—the sun of blessed Fortune receives its light from him! "Rising Sun" stands for Justice and "Full Moon" for Fortune. Then I speak of Highly Praised—he is the personification of Intellect, which raises a man's estate. Finally I speak of Wide Awake—he represents the Last End. Upon these four things have I based my discourse. It will become clear as you read it, so keep your eyes sharp!

You who revel in your youth, heed what I say, do not let my words 359
go to waste, and strive lest you stray from the straight way. Do not dissipate your youth. Consider it as something precious, and gain the profit thereof, for it passes quickly, and life also flees however firmly you may grasp it. Waste not your youth while you possess its strength, but spend it in obedience and service to God.

How I regret the loss of my youth and wish it back! But there is no 363
profit in regret. By the time a man passes forty, youth has bid him farewell. Now my fiftieth year has come upon me, turning my raven's hair to swan's, and sixty[27] calls me from the other side—if it is not death lying in ambush, then I will go over. By the time a man has counted sixty years of life, its sweetness has departed from him, his summer has turned to winter. What Thirty has amassed, Fifty takes away: what then shall I do when Sixty stretches forth its hand? And you, Fifty, what have I ever done to you that you harbor such malice against me?

370 In youth whatever I did was sweet, now age has turned whatever I eat to poison. My body was like an arrow, my heart the bow; now my body is bent like a bow and my heart must be made the arrow. All that youth amassed for me, age has come and taken away—it will also come to you!

Come, releaser, release me from my bonds,[28] for I am the prisoner of years and months. My legs, though fetterless, are numb and cannot take a step. My eyes that used to see are now dim and dark. The fire in my belly is quenched, the flavor gone, the name of Youth flown far away. Awake, O graybeard! Prepare now for death and mourn your days gone by. Those days were spent in vain, so with your days that remain seek to gain forgiveness.

378 O my Lord, independent, eternal, and ever-living! You brought these countless creatures into being, only to die. Hear my prayer and spare my life a while longer. I have begun this discourse seeking strength from You: give me strength that I may finish it too, O Lord.

Cease not, my tongue, to praise the Creator! He kept me far from all that is unseemly. He chose my heart, created it and enlightened it, then kept it secure on the straight path. I was straying in the dark and He lit up my night. I was sunk in the darkness and He made my sun rise. I was lost and running and He showed me the way. Had He not watched over me I would have burned in the Fire. He chose me and raised me up, he removed me from the path of those who go astray.[29] He adorned my heart with radiance and my tongue with Witness. He gave me heart and eyes, reason, intellect and wisdom. He opened my mouth and set my tongue in motion.[30]

388 The Way (i.e., Sunna) of the beloved Prophet is my guide. May that very Prophet be my intercessor.

All of this was my Lord's favor, with which He honored an undutiful servant like myself. Now, though I live on for many months and years, how shall I pay this debt of gratitude? You know my inability, O God! I frankly admit my total dependence upon You. I cannot begin to thank You adequately; therefore may You, in secret, thank Yourself on my behalf!

393 Keep me on the straight path, and do not strip me of this garment of Faith. When my soul leaves my body, cut off my final breath with the formula of Witness on my lips, and when I am left alone beneath the black earth, provide me there of Your bountiful mercy. An unworthy slave am I. My sins are legion—pardon them with Your grace, O Sublime! Take pity on all the believers, let them witness today the eternal presence of tomorrow.

12. Beginning of the discourse: on King Rising Sun

The intellect expounds to you, and wisdom makes you know, the character of wayward World. This ancient crone may act like a young maid, but when you look she is very old. Sometimes she seems a lovely girl, and rouses your desire; but when you reach out to her, she refuses to give you her hand. Love her and she flees you like a deer, flee her and she clings to your leg. You will see her now running after you decked in her finery, now with head to the ground as though she did not see you: suddenly she turns to face you, but no matter how long she plays the coquette, she never gives herself to you. Many the husband she has caused to age though she herself ages not. Many the prince she has brought to silence while her own talk never ceases.

Once there was a most sagacious prince who had reigned for many years. His name was Rising Sun, and his royal glory was world renowned. A man of upright character and pleasant demeanor, with an honest tongue and rich eyes and heart. A wise and intelligent prince, and an alert one: he was fire against the wicked and retribution against the foe. Bold and proud he was; and his righteous nature raised him daily in esteem. This is the sort of prince he was: wisely he lived, and upright he walked. He maintained the polity with moral purpose and with manly virtue befitting. Thus have the poet's words come down—read them and your inward eye shall open:

> The measure of a man is his manliness;
> Humanity requires moral purpose too.
> Acquire these two qualities in equal measure:
> The vile and the wicked will flee from you.

With such qualities did King Rising Sun illumine the world as the sun and the moon. To his court he summoned the possessors of intellect, and he raised in honor the masters of wisdom. All the excellent men of the kingdom and all the wise and the noble foregathered at his gate. Although he conducted the affairs of state himself, he constantly sought out choice individuals who would be his aides when he undertook an affair and who could carry it through when he rested.

One day he was much distraught, and, after taking his seat, he spoke as follows:

"Princely rule and command is a big job and causes many headaches. Rare is the man of intellect who can dispose of such numerous tasks. I cannot carry out all the business of state by myself. I need a man who can undertake important affairs on my behalf. An outstanding man, foremost in intellect and in wisdom, one who is loyal and true, honest and upright, whose tongue and heart are in accord, and who can see to my

affairs both interior and exterior (i.e., both private and public). Hear what a tried and mature man once said on this subject: The prince requires aides and wise statesmen, people who know their job, for if a man does his job with knowledge he will succeed. The prince will not suffer difficulties if he has many helpers, but all his affairs will thrive, and the law of the land will not decay. One needs aides in every job—how much more so in the job of princely rule."

431 The king sought a helper but failed to find one, and so had to conduct all affairs with his own hands. Daily he encountered difficulties, and though he sought contentment, misery was his lot. This was the mature judgment of one who was himself fortune-blessed: Though a man desire pleasure, he must ever suffer pain; though he seek joy, grief will be his companion. The greater a man grows, the bigger are his headaches; and the bigger a man's head, the larger the hat he must wear.

436 The king kept eyes and ears on the entire realm. All closed doors were opened to him. The unseemly he stifled with his own hand, and the wicked he banished from his kingdom. He governed with such care and foresight that his royal glory grew apace and rose on high. One needs to practice care in every situation—how much more so in princely office. Carefulness and wakefulness are the most beneficial qualities in ensuring longevity of rule. Thus spoke the poet, providing a foundation of wise counsel:

Vigilance is a quality praised of men;
How many died with carelessness their pretext.
Be careful then, awake from heedless sleep,
You'll gain the good of this world and the next.

444 Indeed it is the secure man who is the most neglectful, and when the enemy attacks, it is he who is killed first. Hear the words of a world-conqueror, one who being ever alert overcame the foe: You must be vigilant if you would rule a realm; but vigilance is also a matter of religion. The negligent one is deceived while he sleeps the slumber of neglect. Therefore, grim sovereign, be ever wakeful and alert!

448 Now the king's vigilance was of benefit to the realm, and thus life in the land grew pleasant. He put his kingdom in good order and the people grew rich. The wolf drank together with the sheep in that time. His friends praised him joyfully, his enemies hearing bent their necks. Some came to seek refuge in his shadow, some to kiss his royal threshold. Hearken to a man of wakeful heart—his words are so many colorful flowers: An excellent thing is royalty; it reddens the cheeks, so long as its possessor walks upright. A good thing is princely rule, but better even is justice, which the prince must put into effect. How fortunate a time for the people is his reign, so long as their ruler is virtuous and righteous. What happy fortune is a man's good name, which endows him with eternal glory. How auspicious he is, as a prince and as a man, if he governs his realm with humanity. Now this king's goodness extended over the entire kingdom,

while his reputation spread throughout the world. Benedictions multiplied in the realm as his prestige and his glory grew apace. When the people of the world heard, they sought him out and came flocking round him. He girded the world entire with the belt of Glory. The wolf walked together with the lamb.

13. Full Moon comes to serve King Rising Sun

There was a man of wit named Full Moon who, hearing of the king's 462
fame, resolved to serve him. He was a young man, of quiet demeanor, intelligent, and wise of heart. His face was of dazzling beauty, his speech was soft, charm poured from his tongue. The master of every virtue, he walked holding excellence by the hand. Taking stock of himself, he said:

"Today I am foremost in virtue in all the realm. Why then dally I here to no purpose? Let me go to the king and offer my service, let my virtues be of benefit to him. Thus he will reward me, and my anxieties will vanish. They say that he is a wise and gentle prince and that he seeks out men of quality. It is the intelligent man who knows the value of intellect, and when a wise man sells wisdom the man of wisdom buys; as the poet said:

The price of wisdom
Is known to the wise,
The jewel of wisdom
Only fools despise."[31]

So Full Moon made ready his horse and apparel and weapons, and all 474
the necessary provisions, and setting out in the direction of the king, he said:

"Now I will leave this place and direct my course toward royal service. There away from home I will surely need money, for if my hand is narrow my cheek will be yellow.[32] I will no doubt need gold and silver if I am going to accomplish anything. A man of sea-deep wisdom once remarked that he who enters upon royal service requires two things. The first is good health so that he may serve constantly and cheerfully. The second is gold so that he may get things accomplished. After that, his service will be acceptable, and no door will remain closed to him."

So he brought with him gold and silver and other wealth, thinking it 485
would serve him in good stead if he was in trouble. Then he departed and traveled in stages until he reached his heart's desire, the residence of the king. Entering the city, he sought lodging; and finding none, the world narrowed upon him. In his distress he resorted to the public inn, where he spent that night, forbearing. Listen to what one of great sagacity said on this subject: A newcomer in a place and unknown, alone in a crowd

of strangers, is in a very difficult spot. The unknown man is like the blind man: do not blame him if he loses his way. The man who arrives in a land where he has never been gets tongue-tied like a bride. Take pity on strangers then, O sage one, and treat your guests well, giving them food and drink. Then your eyes will shine and your report will spread abroad. In every place a man needs to have acquaintances, for many an affair cannot go well without them.

498 Full Moon went along in this way. The anxiety of being a stranger yellowed his cheeks. But gradually he struck up acquaintances; he rented a house, and began to cheer up. He was agreeable to everyone, and kept an open countenance toward great and small alike. With one distinguished man he became particularly intimate. Much Desired was his name, and goodness was his occupation. To him Full Moon opened his heart, telling who he was and what he wished, why he had come from so far away, and indeed, all that he felt.

505 Now the king had a privy chamberlain whose name was Manly. He was the king's confidant. Much Desired went to him one day and, after carefully laying a foundation for his speech, began to set forth his friend's petition. The chamberlain earnestly inquired who the man was and what he sought, and Much Desired responded in full detail. The chamberlain said:

"Let him come to me first for an interview. Then I shall inform the king and arrange a day and a time for an audience."

511 Much Desired returned to his friend and declared:

"Rise, Full Moon, for your sun has risen! Go now, introduce yourself to the chamberlain, tell him what you desire. Let him get to know you and hear your petition from your own mouth; for although I have related your words, you can represent yourself better than I can. A well-spoken man, with tongue and heart in accord, put it this way: It is true that another may utter your words, but no one can be truer to your interests than yourself. However intimate with you another man may be, can anyone be more loyal than yourself? So if you wish someone who is true to you, you will not find anyone truer than yourself.

519 Full Moon donned the proper attire and went with Much Desired. Arriving at the gate, they dismounted and entered. The chamberlain's man came out to meet them. Much Desired went in to see him first, then returned to get his friend and together they were ushered into the chamberlain's presence. The latter received him and gave him the seat of honor, then spoke to him warmly, saying:

"How do you fare? Are you comfortable in your lodging? Have you any acquaintances or kinsmen here, or anyone to look after you? And have you enough to eat and drink?"

He went on to inquire as follows:

"What is your profession? And what is your desire?"

Full Moon replied:

"O fortunate chamberlain! I heard the name of King Rising Sun. From afar I learned of his fame, his sagacity, and his wisdom, and I conceived the desire to serve him. It is for this purpose that I have come to his gate. This is my petition; if the chamberlain sees fit, may he present it to the king.

The chamberlain liked the looks of Full Moon and praised him greatly, 530
noticing that his appearance and his manner were agreeable, and that his tongue was skilled. And he was pleased to think that he had found someone suitable to serve the king. In short, he loved the man; and the loved one's fault is the pinnacle of virtue. As one so loved once said: When a man is loved, his every blemish seems perfection, but when he is not loved, his every perfection seems vainglory. And witness the following verse:

Purblind love! Each crooked line
In the lover's eye is straight,
The loved one's empty parts are full,
His wicked ways are right.

He replied to Full Moon: 538

"Be not hasty. First let me tell the king who you are, and what your petition is. Then when he meets you in person he will hold you in proper esteem. Leave everything to me."

He said many fine things, and girt his loins to carry out the task.

This is how the best of men behave, those who bear the people's burden. As a perspicuous statesman once remarked: The man who attains to high estate should always deal justly with the subjects. He whose hand is long over the people should behave with propriety and forbearance, and he whose word holds sway over them should keep his tongue sweet and his heart humble. Fortune is fickle: she builds up and breaks down. How unstable she is: when she is bored, she flees. Then do not depend on Fortune, but do what is right. For she comes and goes, she is here today and gone tomorrow. You who are Fortune's master: if you wish Fortune to be constant, then constantly desire the good. And when you attain high office and the position of prince, keep humility at hand, for you may be brought low.

Again the chamberlain said: 553

"Go now, live in good cheer, for you have tied on Fortune's belt. And be not hasty, for affairs are hostage to their time: when the right moment comes, this closed door will open. A wise man has said, and his words are precious as brocade: What is done hastily ends up tardy and causes regret. Every affair has its proper time, so wait for it, do not hasten it, O sage!"

Full Moon listened to all he said, and answered thus:

"I shall be patient, for now the chamberlain has seen me and heard my suit. What time he sees fit to summon me, I shall come."

He rose and left, went home, and took off his formal attire.

562 Recognizing that Full Moon was an exceptional man, the chamberlain said:

"Never have I seen such a one for intellect and wisdom and all excellent qualities. Such men are rare—it is because of their rarity that virgins *(ḳız)* are called rare *(ḳız)*. Now whatever is rare is precious, and one may expend much effort seeking what is precious and yet not find it. Also the king has need of such men, and whatever the king requires the kingdom requires as well. A virtuous man is of benefit to all, and it is by means of virtue that a man attains his desire."

568 When the time came to speak with the king about Full Moon, the chamberlain fully recounted his nobility of character, the excellence of his qualities, and his wisdom that accorded with his intellect. When the king heard he said:

"Where is he? Bring him hither, let me see him. This is just the sort of man I have been looking for to assume the burden of royal affairs. All my other desires I had gained; my sole remaining need was for a man like this. Go Manly, my hero, and summon him to my presence."

574 The chamberlain went out to the gate and sent a page, who ran to deliver the message. Full Moon donned his outfit in a cheerful mood, mounted his horse, and rode to the gate. When he dismounted, the chamberlain came out to meet him, invited him within, and had him sit in the place of honor. Full Moon took his seat with proper etiquette. Entering the royal presence, the chamberlain stood before the king and submitted the man's credentials.[33] The king said:

"Summon him hither, let him appear before me for an interview."

The chamberlain came out and said:

"Rise, Full Moon, and enter the royal presence. Now Fortune has girt you with her belt."

14. Full Moon presents himself before King Rising Sun

581 He entered and bowed. The king's heart was cheered when he saw him. Full Moon began the conversation, speaking sweetly and with charm. The king asked him his name and where he came from. He answered with calm and dignity, for this is the way of intellect; stupid people, on the other hand, are like so many animals. You should speak slowly when you have important business; as the poet says:

Be hot and hasty and you'll get
Regret and sorrow;

Be calm and cool and you'll become
A prince tomorrow.

He said:

"Glorious king! The name of 'slave' is pleasant when it is combined with royal service. My name is Slave and Servant, my place is the Royal Gate, my deeds are Right and Service. I have directed my steps toward you along a lengthy road and have this day reached my goal. This is my petition: scorn me not, but keep me near to serve you."

The king rejoiced upon hearing these words, for he felt that he had 593
found what he was looking for. Deciding to try him, he said:

"Now I have seen you, Full Moon, and am pleased with your appearance and your manner. Serve me now with timely loyalty. Be forward in your service and be near to me. Let reward from me and service from you be forthcoming, for where service is, there Fortune opens her gate. So begrudge not your service from this day forth: a prince will requite his servants their due."

Full Moon kissed the ground and said:

"When the king's eye brightens, Fortune bestows a hand. I left my home and came to you a long way in order to serve. May God give me strength to perform this service, may He keep me from failing in my duty toward you."

He took his leave and went out to the gate with a cheerful heart. Hear 601
now the words of a man who rose in fortune and gained his goal: When princes smile on a man, then his mind and heart are enlivened, and he is justly proud. When they look on a man with bright countenance, then that man's eyes brighten and his words become fitting. When they keep a man near to themselves, then he does everything with confident assurance.[34] The prince is Fortune, and when a man is near to Fortune he wins his desires and all his affairs prosper.

From that moment on Full Moon performed his service without slack. 607
Rising early, keeping vigil day and night, he served with constant loyalty. He began to come and go before the king, and the king began to look kindly upon him. Day by day his service increased, and the king showered some new honor upon him every day. For the prince will honor a slave for his service, and raise him to high station when his service is effective. The slave in fact can himself become a prince; but he can accomplish nothing unless his service is acceptable. Hear what a wise man spoke with subtle speech:

The lowly servant, steady and straight,
Does the seat of honor find,
While that unseemly fawning toad
To the courtyard is confined.

Full Moon daily proffered his service, and the king showered him with 616
gifts. His status in the court rose apace. He became empty of care and

full of cheer. Full Moon found it very sweet to serve, and the king favored him with rewards of substance. The king tried him in every sort of task and found total satisfaction.

15. Full Moon tells the king that he is Fortune

620 One day the king was sitting alone. He summoned Full Moon, who entered cheerfully and stood before him. The king motioned him to be seated next to him. Full Moon took out a ball and sat down on it, using it as a cushion. The king inquired about various points of wisdom, and Full Moon answered with a ready tongue. The king was cheerful, his face was bright. Seeing this Full Moon shut his eyes. Suddenly the king fell silent. Full Moon kept his eyes closed. When the king began to question him again, Full Moon knit his face in a frown as he answered. The king examined him in every respect, and finding him to be of sound mind and perfect wisdom, consoled himself with this, and regarded him with love.

629 All at once Full Moon turned his face away. Now the king went black with rage. He said:

"What an evil thing is haste! This time the fault was my own for confiding in another man. That one was wise indeed who said that things done in haste are rued years after. For what is done in haste is like food that is undercooked and causes sickness when it is eaten. Haste is the head of every ill-begotten act, deliberation the companion of every deed well done. This was haste: that I made you my intimate before I knew who you were and before I tested your service. Princes ought first to make their servants serve them, and only then grant them favors. First they must test them and allow them to mature, later they may raise them to a position of honor."

637 Full Moon said:

"Why are you angry, O glorious king! Tell me how I may have sinned, since I do not know, then hear my excuse. If I was wrong then punish me, for the power is yours. If not, then do not darken your face against me. Hear what Intellect recites in this regard:

The wayward servant should be called
And questioned on his fault:
If guilty, punished; but consoled
With countless gifts if not."

643 Angry still, the king said:

"Regard yourself well, foolish one, and remember your place! Whence comes this impertinence? I thought you would be dutiful to me, and serviceable, but as yet I have gotten from you neither service nor profit.

Yet I honored you and favored you. I gave you a position, but you have abused it. First you took out a ball as a cushion to sit on. What kind of seat is that? Then, to my amazement, you shut your eyes while we were conversing. When I overlooked it and went on talking, you turned your face away. Tell me why! Have you never been admonished to guard yourself in the presence of princes? Has your father or mother never said to you, 'My son, do not put yourself on a level with your prince'? Or has your superior officer never commended to you this piece of wisdom: 'Do not disrespect your prince, but keep your head'? Princes are fire, and if you get close to fire you are likely to get burned. They are a blazing conflagration that is calamity to approach. And if disrespected, they will tear your head off and suck your blood, so regard them with awe, or else they will make you fear them by force."

16. Full Moon describes Fortune to the king

Full Moon smiled and said:

657 "I understand now, and will explain these acts, which I performed consciously, for my coming here today was to make you comprehend my nature. First you offered me a place to sit, but I refused it. This was to demonstrate that I have no place. To confirm this I put a ball on the ground. This was to demonstrate my likeness: just as a ball has no firm place but rolls this way and that, so I, Fortune, am ever turning. When you regarded me lovingly, I shut my eyes. This was to demonstrate my nature: today I, Fortune, am like a blind man, grasping hold of whoever attaches himself to me. We conversed some more, but when you looked at me with love I hid my face. This was as if to say, Behold, my nature is inconstant, put not your trust in me.

667 "Hear this Turkish proverb, which an experienced graybeard uttered: Depend not on hollow Fortune, nor trust in her, O man of fortune and fame! She stands not still but, like flowing water or a commanding tongue, restlessly roams the world. Fortune is unsteady, she keeps no faith; she walks, then flies off; her foot is slippery."

The king said:

"I understand your explanation, and I accept your excuse. But your tongue has spoken with boastful pride. Now tell me what your virtues are."

Full Moon said:

673 "My virtues are many, if a man be fated to enjoy them. My manner is easy, I am young. The way to every prince and noble is through me. My features are fine, my habits refined. I cause the hand to reach its goal.

Wherever I am, all desires walk with me and join me. Pleasure is mine, pain flees from me. Happiness is mine, sadness loses its way to me. He who bends his neck to me will gain his wish, but he who is stiff-necked against me will die a stubborn death. The would-be striker is himself struck down, the would-be presser is himself oppressed. This is as the poet says:

Bow your head to Fortune
Or wrestle with grief and care.
The man with Fortune blessed
Has a thousand goods to share."

The king said:

"I have learned your virtues. Now let me know your faults."

684 Full Moon replied:

"I have no faults, though people find fault with me in that I am inconstant; but they do me wrong, for this inconstancy of mine is no fault in me, since it is my constant nature always to seek out novelty. Whatever is old becomes a bore, and then it is unbearable. When there is something new, what need is there for the old? When there is something good, what need for the bad? New things have all the spice of life, and a man will suffer bitter hardships to gain sweet pleasures. It is because of this trait of mine that people curse me as 'fickle' and blame me for the fault signified by this name. But the brave bard bore clear witness to what I say:

Whatever comes to be is bound to cease,
Whatever the Creator wills, He brings to pass.
What you call life is transient as the wind:
It ever flees, it cannot be held fast.

Trust not in Fortune then, for I come and go again, I give and take away. What a fine thing Fortune is, my lamb, were it not for this fickleness. If Fortune did not come and leave again, one's bright day would never turn to night."

697 The king asked:

"Does this inconstancy of yours ever give way to constancy?"

Full Moon answered:

"I am like the wild deer, difficult to capture. And one who seeks and finds me loses me straight away. Only if he knows how to hold me fast, then I cannot escape."

The king said:

"What sort of fetter will hold you fast?"

702 Full Moon replied:

"There are several fetters. Let me indicate them to you. He who captures me must be gentle, humble, and soft-spoken. He must never lose his temper, and must keep far from evil influence. With equals he must

moderate his conduct and not squander his wealth. Toward superiors he must be subservient, toward inferiors sweet-spoken. He must neither wax so proud that he trample down other people, nor be so compliant that he let himself be bullied by his juniors. He must not indulge in wine or sport, or squander his wealth in idle pursuits, but must keep his conduct and character upright. These are the fetters of wayward Fortune, this the way to keep Luck from fleeing away. Witness the following, wherein the poet adds his charm to what I have said:

Hobble Fortune's knee,
She is fleet as the wild deer;
You have no second chance,
Hold her fast when she comes near."

The king said: 714

"Now I understand you, O Fortune. Although I love you dearly, you are growing bored with me. Were it not for your inconstant character, what a fine thing your coming would be! But you are fickle and faithless by nature, although you pretend to be faithful. More indulgent than one's own mother and father, you smile on him you cradle in your palm. Then your entire manner changes, you turn away pretending not to see him. First you gather to yourself, then throw all to the winds. First you invite a man inside, then slam the door in his face!"

Full Moon replied: 720

"Glorious king! I have fully explained my virtues and my faults. I have said that he who captures me and wishes to hold me tight must put a halter on me, else I will run off like a wild deer and he cannot overtake me. The words of an ancient and experienced man are wisdom's leaven—listen: If you know not how to hold on to Fortune when she comes, she will surely leave. If you know not how to profit from what she gives you, she will take it back. Hold fast to fickle Fortune when you win her, else you will lose her just as fast."[35]

The king said:

"Now that I have learned both your faults and your virtues, explain to me the meaning of your name."

Full Moon said: 730

"With this name a sage has likened my character to the moon, which is small when it first rises. Daily it grows larger and rises higher in the sky until, when it is full, it sheds its light over the world, and all creation is illuminated. But when it reaches its zenith of perfection, it begins to wane and to lose its beauty. Its light diminishes, then disappears. Afterward it rises again, later and later in the day, until it is full once more. This is how I myself am: sometimes I am present, sometimes absent. When I turn my face toward a man, no matter how lowly he may be, he grows in beauty, wealth, position, and reputation. When I leave him, his splendor departs, his gathered goods are scattered, he returns to his former

state. Thus it has come down in the poet's words, which serve the ignorant as an eye:

Fortune comes as the new moon
Waxing with her master's name;
Bind not your heart to crazy Luck:
She fills, only to wane.

742 "Let me tell you one more likeness. The moon is unstable, its abode is ever changing. First it is in the constellation of Cancer. Then this house revolves, and it also turns. Whatever house it enters, it quickly leaves, and because it leaves quickly, it tears down its former lodging. This is how I am: sometimes I am ascending, sometimes descending. I come and go, I steadily advance, and tour the world with no fixed abode. Because of this likeness a wise man with subtle speech gave me the name Full Moon.

"Now have I explained both the virtues and the faults of myself, Fortune, both the disease and its remedy. I have spoken frankly. If you wish to release me now, then do so, and if you wish to retain me, then do so."

751 The king replied:

"Now that I have heard what you have to say, I find your speech to be enlightening and yourself to be fitting. I was looking for one like you, and God granted my wish, O chief of men. To whomever God grants his wish, the proper response is gratitude; therefore from this day on I shall give thanks unstinting. Hear what a wise man says about this, one who himself is gone but who left it to us in writing: You who prosper, express your gratitude, for God increases His favors to the man who is grateful for them. Such a one, forgetting himself, turns not his face from God as long as he can give thanks. Be abundantly grateful then for even a little good. And if His favors to you are many, recognize their worth. To the grateful man, one favor is multiplied tenfold, and his house is filled with wealth."

760 The king gave Full Moon glowing praise, telling him to remain day and night in his presence. He gave him much wealth besides, honoring him with gold and silver. And he consulted with him often, seeking his wise counsel. As for Full Moon, pleased with this honor which he found, he proved honest and loyal in his service. The king continued to test him a while and found him to be the most excellent of all his servants.

17. King Rising Sun demonstrates Justice to Full Moon

765 One day the king was sitting alone, having dismissed the court, and, feeling bored, he summoned Full Moon, who entered and folded his arms.

The king rose and stood silently for a moment, then with a glance motioned him to be seated. Full Moon sat down quietly and kept his eyes lowered. His conscience was clear. Glancing furtively at the king, he noticed that he had knit his brow and put on a stern face. The king then set down a three-legged stool made of silver and sat upon it. In his hand he took a large knife, with wormwood on the left side and sugar on the right. Watching this, Full Moon was filled with anxiety, and held his breath.

After a while the king raised his head and said: 774

"Speak! Why do you remain silent like a dumb man, seeing that you find me here alone?"

Full Moon answered:

"I dared not speak, glorious king. Seeing your manner today so changed, I was afraid. A man of ready wit laid it down as a maxim that subjects should not approach their prince in his season of wrath. Another sage spoke well too when he said: When the prince is angry he is poison, stay far from him then or he will do you harm. In like vein the poet says:

To wait on the prince while in his rage
Is to court humiliation;
Then he is a lion out of the cage:
Prepare for decapitation!"

The king said: 785

"Tell me now, why were you dumbfounded?"

Full Moon said:

"The reason is this. First, what sort of seat is this of yours, a silver stool? Second, what is this knife in your hand? And third, what is the meaning of the sugar on the right side and the wormwood on the left? When I saw these things, I thought you must be angry. I lost my wits and was struck dumb with fear."

18. King Rising Sun describes himself as Justice

The king said: 792

"I understand your question and will impart the explanation. When I called you here the other day and honored you with a seat, you demonstrated wondrous things in a way that was bewildering. Seeing that you persisted, I was angry, but you reproached me; and when I vented my wrath, you let your words pour forth. "Know that I am Fortune," you said; "I have done this to instruct you." And you went on to interpret your actions in detail. I accepted your excuse then and honored you, befitting your virtue.

"Today I am demonstrating to you my own nature and virtues. Know 799
then that I am Justice, and these are my characteristics. As for my sitting

on this stool: it has three legs, and nothing with three legs ever wavers but all three stand level. If one of the three were ever to waver, the other two would throw down the one sitting on it. Everything with three legs is straight and even, while if there are four, one must be uneven. When something is even, it is stable; and when a thing is stable, it works well. But when something wavers, it is crooked; and crooked things produce bad results. If a thing wavers, it cannot stand but falls down; if it is straight, it cannot fall but stands firm. Know that my nature is unwavering and straight. When the straight becomes crooked, that is the Day of Straightening!

809 "It is on the basis of right alone that I settle a case, without regard to whether a man is a prince or a slave. This dagger in my hand is the Cutter, O noble one: I cut the case as if with a knife, and I do not make the plaintiff wait. The sugar is for the wronged party to eat, who comes to the gate to receive my judgment. Such a man goes away sweetened as with sugar, with a smooth brow and full of cheer. The wormwood is for the wrongdoer to drink, who flees from what is right. When such a man comes to me to dispute, I hand down judgment, and it is bitter for him as though he were drinking wormwood. My knitted brow and stern face are likewise for the wrongdoer. It makes no difference whether he is my own flesh and blood or a transient stranger: in making judgment I make no distinction, but cut the same in either case. For justice is the foundation-stone of sovereignty, and where the prince is just, there is life and prosperity. A man of great wit put it thus:

The root and base of princely rule
Are justice and equity.
Happy the realm when it enjoys
Righteous sovereignty."

823 Full Moon said:

"Tell me, glorious king, why the king's name is Rising Sun."

The king replied:

"A sage gave me this name in likeness to my character. The sun, you see, never wanes but is always full, its brightness is constant and excellent. That is how I am too: full of justice, and with no deficiency. Second, when the sun rises, it sheds its light on all creation without being in any way diminished thereby. This justice of mine is likewise undiminishing; my deeds and words are for all creatures unvarying and constant. Third, when the sun rises and warms the earth, myriad flowers bloom. Similarly, when my law extends over a land, that land prospers, though it be stones and rock. The rising sun does not say "This is clean" or "That is unclean," but sheds its light upon all and is not depleted thereby. My action is the same: each and every one receives his share from me. Finally, the sun's abode is stable, its foundation firm: the constellation of the sun is Leo; its house never moves and so it never falls to ruin. My nature is uniform: I never change to something other than light."

Full Moon said: 836

"May the king's authority prevail in the realm and may his name spread abroad! I have traveled a long way and suffered toil and trouble in order that I may serve you because of your character and your virtues. Tell me now, in what manner should I serve in order to please you? For if one's service is not in accordance with the prince's pleasure,[36] then it is unsuitable, no matter how great an effort it costs. The Chief of the Ili, who himself rose through service to glorious heights, recommended that he who serves hold fast to the way his master loves. Perform your service according to the prince's pleasure and you will find Fortune's gate open to you. He who knows how to serve will attain the place of honor, while he who does not know will be removed to the courtyard. When a slave makes his master love him, the way is thereby opened to honor and esteem."

The king said: 846

"You are right. So guard yourself and seek to please me. Now let me enumerate those who are unworthy to serve and with whom you should have nothing to do. First is the liar, and after him the wrongdoer. Then come the greedy, the immature, the hasty, and the immodest. Also there are the man of ill temper and the man given to anger, the one who extends his hand to wine and the one who stints his hand from charity. I tell you frankly that these sorts of people do not please me, and that if you wish to please me you must not adopt any of their qualities. Then you will become closer to me each day and gain greater honors and rewards."

Full Moon said: 854

"Now tell me the characteristics of the one who is worthy."

The king answered:

"The worthy man is he whose beneficence extends to all the people as their share, who does not lend out his favors as a loan, who seeks only the welfare of others, never of himself, and who never claims a return for his acts of goodness."

Full Moon said:

"I see. But explain to me the nature of uprightness wherewith a man's day is made bright. What is the basis of righteousness, and what is that they call the straight path?"

The king said: 862

"The straight and upright man is he whose tongue and heart are one, whose outside and inside are the same. What he conceives in his heart he holds in his palm, and he can walk abroad without shame. Righteous conduct is a necessary condition for a man to rise in Fortune. In fact it is another name for humanity. A man is not a maid, but humanity is rare; a man is not ermine, but righteousness is seldom found.[37] This is as the poet said:

While many men walk standing up
An upright man is a rarity;

While many men are human beings
How many practice humanity?"[38]

870 Full Moon said:

"Now expound for me this conundrum, glorious king. Can a good man become bad, and can the bad follow the trace of the good?"

The king answered:

"Good men are of two sorts, and only one of them truly holds to the good way. The first is good by heredity: he walks ever straight and true. The second is only good by imitation: if he keeps bad company, he turns bad himself. The bad are also of two sorts, and you should not consider them equal. One is bad by heredity: his stain will not wash out until he dies. The other is bad by imitation: if he keeps good company, he straightens out by this influence. From the man good by birth you may always expect good, and benefit accrues from him to the people of the world; but there is no remedy for the man bad by birth: he is a calamity to the world and a tribulation to its people. This is as the Turkish proverb has it: If good character enters a man with his mother's milk, it does not depart until death takes hold. A trait that emerges from one's natural humor cannot be destroyed except with death. A virtue born in the womb dies only in the grave. Not so for a man virtuous by imitation: when he keeps bad company, his conduct becomes as evil as his companions', but when he keeps good company, he finds the way to all good things.

886 "There is another reason to consider whether good and evil influence rub off by mere propinquity. If the prince is virtuous, the people will also be on their good behavior; and if he makes virtuous men his intimates, then even the wicked will do their jobs well. But when unvirtuous men become powerful at court, they begin to lord it over the realm; and when the wicked become prominent, the good are lost from view; whereas, when the good have the upper hand, the wicked depart. As long as the prince is good by virtue of his royal glory, the subjects all are virtuous in turn; and as long as he is not evil, the wicked of the realm never redden their cheeks with joy. It is an excellent law the prince of princes has proclaimed, that the proper punishment for the wicked is prison and the whip! If the leader is good, all his agents share in his goodness. If the prince is virtuous, his people grow wealthy and the world prospers."

896 Full Moon spoke again:

"What the king has deigned to speak is true. Men know this good to be good, and believe it should be performed because it is to their benefit. All mankind love and desire it. But how can they attain it?"

899 The king said:

"A rare and excellent thing is the good, something that excellent men always strive for. Whatever is choice and dear is also difficult to achieve. Wickedness, on the other hand, is cheap, and to do evil is easy. If a material is cheap, it is put on the floor; but silk brocade is precious and

so it is put in the seat of honor. The good is like an incline, difficult to ascend, while the bad is a decline, easy to descend. Intellect itself has recited the following in this regard:

Goodness is a mountain steep:
Not every man can climb it;
What's dear is difficult to get:
Not every fool can find it.''[39]

Full Moon said: 907

''O glorious king! The name of Good is praised so much. Has it any fault at all that can be known and uttered?''

The king replied:

''The good is ever praised, while among the wicked this 'fault' is cited: that men live in close society, and if there were no evil, they would not find any good to be done. The wicked despise good men as being weak and oppressed, and thus prevent their sun from shining. But he who desires the good does good, without regard to weakness and oppression; while he who desires only the pleasure of today does evil, and tomorrow suffers grief.

''Hear what one says who desires the good: Make goodness your com- 914
panion by always doing good. The good will cause you no loss today, and tomorrow, believe my words, it will be to your profit; while evil, although it seem to profit you today, will be to your loss tomorrow in that world—understand this well! Good is on the right and evil on the left: the left is the place of hell; the right, of paradise.[40] No matter how happy the wicked are today, tomorrow they shall suffer pain and regret; and no matter how oppressed the good are today, tomorrow in that world their affair will prosper. Know this for a fact, Full Moon! that if I die with a good name, I shall have no cause for repentance.

''How well that upright man spoke, his tongue laying a sound foundation 921
of counsel, when he said: Although the wicked despise you, O Good, still I desire you. Tell me, O Good, who can get his fill of you? Come to me, I hunger for you. However despised the good man may be, I am satisfied to be his companion. If princely rule were offered me along with evil, I would refuse it—I leave such princely rule to you! I see that man's nature inclines to evil, his pleasure is short, and long his repentance. As the poet says:

What good man repents for goodness' sake?
The wicked man repents against his will.
Ill-doing returns regret and sorrow:
Do well, therefore, and spite the ill.

''How is it possible to praise an evil man or to desire an evil companion? 930
The deeds of the wicked are all shamefulness and faithlessness and vanity, O venerable one! Misfortune and grief and wailing with remorse are the returns of wickedness, O youth! How can one fail to love a good man

and to praise a good companion? From the good man come generosity and humanity and benefit; he is the best of companions, his deed the best of deeds. If your friend is good, you may ask him what you wish; and you need a good friend to help you find the way. Joy and blessing, contentment and self-respect: these are the returns of goodness.

"Understand these words, Full Moon! Now I have answered your questions."

939 Full Moon kissed the ground and stood up, saying:

"O blessed Fortune! O goodly Justice! You have acquired the sovereignty of the present world. May your life be long, may your head be ever happy and healthy, may your princely magnitude never be impaired, may you live in ease and smile with joy; may you hold sway over many a realm, and may the foundation of your princedom be made firm by the strength of your sovereignty; may what you desire flow freely and never dry up; may Fortune hold to your gate and never grow old; may joy come crowding upon you, may grief join your enemies to melt away and die.

945 "You are worthy to be served, and Fortune opens her gate when the worthy one is served. Hear what a loyal and well-rewarded royal servent has said on this subject: Do not become a servant! But if you do, serve one who is worthy of it, for the worthy master knows his servant's due. Do not serve! But if you do, serve one who is generous, for the house of a generous man is gold, and silver is his gate. Never serve a miser, or your life will be for nought, for the miser is grudging even to himself—do you think he will share his wealth with others?"

951 When Full Moon finished speaking, he rose and took his leave, and headed home full of joy. From that time on he performed his service without slack. He kept the night watch, and was up with the day. He served with love and loyalty. The king made him daily more intimate with his affairs. Time passed in this way, and Full Moon's cheeks were reddened by his service.

19. Full Moon explains to the King the virtues of the tongue and the benefits of speech

955 One day the king summoned Full Moon to his presence and motioned him to be seated. Full Moon took his seat sedately and quietly, fixed his eyes on the floor, and held his tongue. The king said:

"Full Moon! Speak! Why are you silent? What is the matter?"

Full Moon then said:

"Prince of princes! A slave loses his senses when he sees his master's face. What cause have I to speak before the king commands me, and

before he inquires, what have I to offer? A wise man has said: Be not insolent, nor speak before you are bid to. If someone seeks you out and summons you, let him begin the conversation. The man who speaks in the presence of princes before he is bid to is properly called an ox, or else a madman. Your tongue will cut your long life short—keep a tight rein on it if you wish to stay safe and sound. Only the self-controlled man lives in peace and security. Hear what such a man recited:

The red tongue is the black head's foe:
Many a head has it devoured.
Hold your tongue if you would keep your head;
Before the tongue the head's a coward."

The king said: 968

"I understand what you say perfectly well; but as long as a man is alive, it is impossible for him not to speak at all. Except, of course, for two sorts of people—the mute and the fool. The mute cannot speak because his tongue is tied; the fool cannot conceal his words, and therefore ought to keep his mouth shut. But when the wise man speaks, he keeps his tongue under control, and his words are like water to the earth, causing blessings to spring up wherever he lets them flow. The words of the wise and the water of a clear-flowing spring are never lacking. Wise men are like marshy soil: wherever one steps, water oozes out. But fools' hearts are like a sandy waste: though a river flow into it, it does not fill up and vegetation cannot take root."

Full Moon spoke again: 976

"Surely the king realizes that the tongue can cause such harm as to mean a loss of life. Of course, as long as a man is alive he cannot conceal what he has to say; but he ought to keep his mouth shut until he is bid to speak. Consider, O king, that questioning is male and answering is female: the female takes one male as her husband, but she may give birth to two male children."

The king said:

"That is true. Now I have another thing to ask. You have expounded the harm that the tongue can cause; now tell me whether it can also bring benefit. If you remain silent out of fear for the tongue's harm, then all your beneficial words will be left fallow."

Full Moon replied: 984

"The benefits of speech are many—how can my tongue recount them all? Idle talk issues from the mouths of fools and the wise rightly call the foolish 'cattle.' It is common folk whose speech is idle and unseemly, and it is this kind of speech that devours the black head.[41] If a man speaks idly, how much harm his words can bring? But if he knows how to speak properly, his words are beneficial. When common folk fill their bellies, they lie down like cattle. They fatten their bodies, and take pleasure in idle talk. Eat your fill, lie down at will—that is the way cattle behave!

990 "The wise, on the other hand, let their bodies grow thin and fatten their souls, taking pleasure in wisdom. The body's share enters through the throat, while the soul's share is sound speech and enters through the ear. Controlling these two things—the tongue and the throat—is the hallmark of wisdom, and reddens a man's cheeks. There is much need for wise men who guard their throats and tongues: their benefit is a flowing river."

The king said:

"This is clear. Now explain to me the source and the shares of speech. Where does it come from and where does it go? What ought to be spoken and what left unspoken? Tell me what the sages say about this."

Full Moon replied:

"The source of speech is the inmost heart. The shares of speech are ten: only one of these ought to be spoken, and the other nine held back, for they are rotten to the core."

1000 Again the king spoke:

"How much profit is there in speech and how much loss?"

Full Moon said:

"Its profit is great. It can raise a slave to greatness if he uses it correctly. Through the benefit of speech, he who is on the brown earth rises into the blue sky and assumes a place of honor; while one who does not know how to speak well, if he is already in the heights, can fall back to the ground."

Again he asked:

"What is much speech and what little?"

Full Moon said:

"Much speech is that which is spoken unbid and which tires the listener; little is that which provides a proper response to what is asked. As the poet said:

Consider well and then respond;
Be not prolix—that is uncouth.
Listen much, speak to the point,
And string your words with pearls of truth."

1010 The king said:

"I understand. Now tell me to whose speech one ought to listen, and to whom one ought to address one's own speech."

Full Moon said:

"One ought to listen to the wise, then speak to the ignorant; hear the speech of superiors, and report it to inferiors; hearken to many words, and utter few—thus have the sages instructed me. A man does not become wise by speaking much; but by listening much the wise man gains the seat of honor. A man can learn even if he is mute; but if he is deaf he has no access to wisdom."

1017 The king spoke once again:

"Finally, tell me this: is it better to speak or to remain silent?"

Full Moon replied:

"If one fails to speak altogether, then wisdom is left in the dark. It is not meet to curse the tongue, for it has many praiseworthy qualities as well as faults. All the countless crowds of living things bear witness to the one God. He created myriads of creatures, and all sing God's praises with their tongues.[42]

"Two organs—the tongue and the heart—distinguish man's body; and 1023
He created both for the sake of speech that is straight and true. If a man's words are straight, he will reap great profit from them; if they are bent, he will be cursed in this life and burned in the next. So let your tongue bring forth your words if they are straight; but if they are crooked, then keep them hidden.

"When a man fails to speak altogether, people call him 'dumb,' but if he talks too much, they call him 'chatterbox.' And the chatterer is the meanest of men, while the noblest is the generous giver."

The king rejoiced in what he had heard. He lifted his eyes to heaven 1029
and raised his hands in gratitude and praise of God, saying:

"My Lord, merciful and sublime. You have granted every favor to me, Your undutiful and sinful servant, and bestowed upon me contentment, good fortune, and numerous blessings. I have achieved all my desires. How shall I pay my debt of gratitude? May You pay it to Yourself, O Forbearing!"

Having spoken, the king flung open his treasury and dispensed much 1034
wealth, the due of the poor. The king honored Full Moon with gifts from his hand and praise from his tongue. He invested him with the seal and title of the vizierate, together with its standard and drum, and a suit of armor. He made his hand extend over the entire realm. His enemies bowed their necks and withdrew. Full Moon disposed of all the affairs of state, turning opportunity into a source of pride. The subjects became rich and the land prospered. The people's tongues showered benedictions upon the king, for they were relieved of all their cares. Lamb and wolf walked together. And as the realm continued to thrive and justice to be administered, the king's Fortune daily rose. Thus for a while did he bask in the royal glory. His land and his subjects were all harmonious. New towns and villages sprang up within the realm. The royal treasury was filled with gold and silver. The king was happy and content, his name and authority spread throughout the world.

20. On the inconstancy of Fortune

Just when Full Moon had gained all of his desires, hollow Fortune 1045
aged and overturned his supports. Well spoke the sage who said: Just

when happiness is complete, you can't find anything to eat. Even better is this word of wisdom: Just when happiness is found, your term of life comes around. Or consider the saying of the philosopher, whose speech is an eye for the ignorant:

What comes down must go up, what rises fall,
What is bright darken, what moves come to rest;
All things await their own perfection:
Whatever is perfect must decline at last.

1051 Full Moon had realized all his wishes. Now his life was used up and his good would remain behind. His moon that was full now began to wane, his summer that was bright now turned to grim winter. The natural humors that were in harmony now quarreled within him: one of them became dominant and oppressed the other three. His natural constitution became altered, his nourishment seemed raw, his heart was heavy, his humor corrupt, and his strength diminished. His body that was straight as a young willow shoot now became bent over. A heavy sickness visited him and dragged him to the ground. Taking to his bed, he lay moaning in distress.

1057 The physicians assembled, they examined his pulse, and each stated what he thought the ailment to be. One said the sanguinary humor was dominant and the patient must be bled. Another said he was constipated and must be given a purgative. A third made up a cold potion mixed with rosewater, and a fourth gave him a dose of legitimate liquor. Not a medicine remained that they did not administer, whatever they thought might work they gave him, but it was no use. Day by day his illness grew while his strength declined and his consciousness dimmed. A God-fearing man, who is the head of mankind, had this to say: Give Shalītha or Theriac, Mithridate or ground Churni;[43] hire a physician, or call a diviner; no medicine will be of use to one who is to die. Be not heedless then while you are alive, for though now you live surely you shall die.

1067 Hearing that sickness which is Death's vanguard had laid its hand upon Full Moon, the king came to inquire about his condition, and seeing him bedridden said:

"Now how are you faring? What is this illness? And how are you sleeping?"

1070 Full Moon answered:

"Glorious king! A sickness has taken hold of me for which there is no cure. My moon was full and now is on the wane; my nature was choice and now this choice is gone; my sun which used to rise in joy is now about to set, my night will not be bright again. Now Life which I depended on has taken his leave, and wayward World has turned her face from me. Joy and happiness are left behind, sorrow and care now are my companions. I part from you this day, moaning I go, with sorrow and remorse. In this connection a wise sovereign once said: What a good thing Fortune

were did it come and never leave but trot according to your wish. What a fine thing to be a prince if death did not take hold. What a splendid thing the day of youth would be if old age never came and one could walk upright forever!''

The king said: 1080

''Leave off such talk, Full Moon. This illness is not for you alone. Everyone, look you, falls ill and then recovers. Why let unseemly words on your tongue, why spoil the soundness of your heart? I used to find comfort in your company, but now your words are changed, as though you wish to defy me. God will make you well. So do not speak this way, branding my heart with fire.''

Full Moon replied: 1085

''For this sickness, O glorious king, there is no cure, so seek not the medicine. Whoever is born must die, as what goes up must come down, and for every incline there is a decline, for every height a depth, for joy a care and for the bitter, sweet. I have told you that my nature is fickle and inconstant: you should not have fastened your heart to me. Doubt not that I am parting, and believe not one who says that a thing born will not die. Nor curse me as untrustworthy: it is the world that is not to be trusted for it will let you down; nor reproach me as faithless: more faithless than I is the world to you. Be not yourself heedless, for you will surely die after me. And do not rely on the world if you can help it. You honored me, O king, while I failed in my duty toward you. It is not my wish to die. But today I can no longer frequent your court. I depart stubborn and unwilling, but there is nowhere to escape, no way to hold on to life.

''I was not, then He created me and nourished me. I was a small child 1097
and He made me big; I was bare-faced and He caused my beard to grow; I was a black raven and now He has made me a swan flecked with white. My body was straight as an arrow and now is bent over, my life is finished, my time has come around. Hear these cheek-reddening words, spoken by one of wide-flung wisdom: When a man's head becomes swan-white he should make his heart white as the swan. When his body, straight as a sapling, becomes bent over, he should put his heart straight, for his time is nigh. When his black hair and beard turn white, he should prepare for the ambusher, Death. This is as the poet says:

Death writes a white message
Upon your raven hair:
'Much you've devoured, now I
Will devour you. Beware!' ''

The king said: 1107

''You must be patient, Full Moon. Illness is a ransom for your sins on the morrow. If everyone who became ill died, no one would be left to eat his daily bread. God will cure you of this ailment, so trouble not your heart, but lie in ease.''

The king raised his hands and loosened his tongue in supplication, praying to God for a cure. With brow knit in care he took his leave, and returned to the palace with downcast heart. Many alms he distributed among the poor in hopes that this would be of some benefit. But if silver were of use against death a man could make silver the ransom for his soul; and if men could give a ransom against death, kings would be the first to redeem themselves.

1115 Full Moon's sickness grew worse. He lost all hope, and washed his hands of life. Repenting, he cried:

"Alas! I have gloried vainly in beauty, I have wasted my youth and spent my life in heedlessness. A fugitive was I: now Death has captured me and leads me away. What use are these words? In my greed I gathered the goods of this world; now these are left behind while I go on with nothing. My hand was tyrannical, my tongue overweening. Now death has gripped my arm and cut off my breath."

1121 Thus did he repent and weep, but it profited him nothing against death. How needy is the son of Adam! He never can appropriate Life's day according to his wish. Once he gains his desire he loses his life, and as long as he is alive he cannot gain his desire. When he gets but a tiny good he forgets himself and in his bragging lords it over blue heaven. Having risen to a position of honor, he waxes proud; but when death strikes, he comes to his senses and dies repenting. When his belly is full, he prances like a camel stallion; but when he is hungry, he will even eat poison. He wastes away with discontent, but with contentment he gets bored; and if he finds someone to love him, he scorns him in return.

1128 Continuing to repent, Full Moon sighed and said:

"I have lost the Straight Path. Why did I hoard up gold and silver and not give to the poor their share? Why did I abandon good companions and curse innocent people? If only I had sent ahead all my good deeds,[44] then surely on the morrow they would profit me. But what profit in my repenting today? Death has taken hold, he cuts off my words with my voice.

1133 "Hearken now to a sharp-eyed man, one full of compassion yet straight-speaking: Death is a gate for all who draw breath. All who walk must enter this gate. What is this life, and what death; whence do I come, and whither is my path? Why was I born, only to die; why have I laughed, only to mourn? What is harder than death in this world? All who were born die with this thought; as the poet says:

Death is a sea
Without bottom or shore.
To think upon death
Is to think sweet thoughts no more.

1141 "He who knows that he is mortal and yet is heedless: this thought will not help him when death takes hold. He who takes comfort in his pleasures

and is heedless: his strength will fail him, although he come to his senses when death takes hold. The greedy man, insatiable for wealth: he cannot put his affairs aright, though he repent when the hour strikes. The prideful man, who puts his faith in fickle fortune: he will split his heart when he is underground. The man who laughs, taking comfort in his joys: he should prepare to weep and to wail. Hear, mortal one, these words of intellect, and put them to the proof:

Cease your wicked ways today
And gain tomorrow's bliss;
Do good and you'll obtain the good
Of that world and of this."

Though his repentence was of no use in this world, Full Moon still 1149
repented, with much weeping. To the poor he gave alms of gold and silver, and many testamentary memorials to his friends. Then he raised his eyes to heaven and said:

"O my Lord! I know no god but You. You created me, You nourished me and raised me up. I know that all this was due to Your grace. I used to worship You: now death has taken hold and cut short my words. There is nowhere I can escape, and all my learning has left me. May Your mercy now take me by the hand. Many shameful and wicked deeds have I committed: pardon them in Your kindness, O Sublime! Alas, my life is passed in vain and I have wasted my days, this kingdom—alas!"

He fell silent and remained sunk in thought a while. Then seeing his son, his eyes once again flowed with tears.

21. Full Moon gives counsel to his son Highly Praised

For Full Moon had a young son, noble of character and comely of 1158
appearance, whose name was Highly Praised. He called him to come near, and embracing him with streaming eyes, said:

"Now I am departing, my son. I leave to you my place and my wealth. You were the light of my eyes. Stay well, for I am leaving you."

The Buyruḳ of the Turks spoke well when he said: Verily son and daughter are the light of one's seeing eyes. But care for son and daughter is a bottomless sea. They make a father's ruddy countenance grow pale. How can a man sleep if he has a wife and children? For the sake of son and daughter he consumes his own flesh, while they do not name the name of their father.[45]

Full Moon continued: 1167

"Listen well, my son, and forget not my words, but take them to heart. Look at me. I was your father and my name was Full Moon. Now that Full Moon's life has become full, he moans with repentance, but that is of no avail. Sweet is this life, and bitter death. Now that death is ready for me, where can I flee?

1171 "The World beguiled me, called to me lovingly, and I gave her my heart. I depended on her, but she soon grew tired of me and proved unfaithful. Fortune aged, and the World betrayed me—heed what I say and do not let her beguile you!

"I left my duty undone and, following my desires, did what I ought not do. Now life has passed like the wind and I howl in vain, with bitter regrets. Not money nor bribes will help my affairs to prosper, and I have no one today to act as my intercessor.

1177 "Hear what a man says who awakened to the full awareness of death: The sage's wisdom left him at the sight of death and the man of intellect lost his mind. What a rapacious thing is Death's talon, how merciless when it strikes! Death the pillager of plush palaces; Death the sunderer of all societies; as the poet has it:

Nought in this world that can't be out-tricked,
No ill for which a cure can't be found,
Save death—for that no trick and no cure,
No way for that to be gotten around."

1184 The son listened to his father's words, then looked up and said:

"Father, I have a question to ask. You have lived long in this world and acquired wisdom and virtue, have gained knowledge through questioning and listening and experience through observation. Now then, wise sire, if a cure for death exists, you should apply it; but if there is no remedy for it and no expedient against it, you should give away all your wealth and treasure. Let your wealth be ransom for your head. Then you will get well, and again get gold and silver.

"A full-eyed man and chief of the generous, one who paid the due of bread and salt, used to say: Spread your wealth; give food and drink to the needy; spend your money before it spends you. While a man has health he lacks not for wealth; while the falcon has life it lacks not for prey. As long as a man is alive and has a sound head and body, his desire is near at hand."

1195 Full Moon replied:

"Listen to me, my son, and give up this notion. Gold and silver cannot profit against death, nor can wisdom and intelligence prevent it. Could the world's wealth prevent death, the world's princes would not have died. Doctors and sages have not been saved by their art or their science. Could medicine profit against death, the physician would live on perpetually. If death played favorites, the noble prophets would have been left alive. Indeed, is there anyone born that is not to die? This world is but

an inn, and he who alights therein soon passes on. It is like the devouring dragon: the more it eats, the hungrier it grows."

Highly Praised listened attentively. Then he said: 1203

"Father, having well understood that death would arrive, why did you spend your life heedlessly, and why do you now wail and reproach yourself? Why did you hoard up wealth that would be left behind, rather than share with others the superfluity? Any mortal who lives without regarding these matters is bound to reproach himself and repent; but, father, though you weep and wail and knock your head against the ground, what profit is there in remorse today?"

Full Moon said: 1208

"Yes, my pretty son, see me now and take a lesson. Awake, and do tomorrow's work, for heedlessness destroyed me and I repent it. As many men as are born, all are to die. No matter how long one man holds out, in the end he is snatched away willy-nilly. We mortals are all hostages to Time, and when our time comes we cannot move one step. This is as the poet says:

A time and a term to everything,
A limit to your breath.
Life passes as years and months and days:
Next moment brings your death."

Full Moon continued: 1215

"Consider my state now that I am leaving you, my son, and take heed. I part full of anxiety for you. Now you will be left without me, still so young. What will become of you after I am gone? I have no other worry but this. When a father takes pains to bring up his son correctly, then the son learns proper behavior. As long as he keeps a tight rein, the son will turn out well, and both parents will get joy from him; but if he fails to keep a tight rein, the son will be spoiled, and the parents will despair. The only remedy is discipline, and it is a wise father who knows how to apply it.

"Hear this rearer of children, full of years and experience: Pamper son 1222
and daughter and you will live to weep and worry over them. If a father spoils his son when he is little, the son is not to blame, for the father has betrayed his trust. If a child turns out bad, it is the fault of the father, who has squandered his rightful share. But if the father disciplines him, and instructs him in good manners, the child will be happy when he grows up. Discipline your son then, you who sired him, and those who come after you will not laugh at you. Instruct son and daughter in wisdom and virtue; then they will be well behaved."

Highly Praised replied: 1229

"I burn with grief, seeing you suffer, father, and I do not wish to remain alive after you die. Would that the one and merciful Lord would give me your soul and not leave me to grieve. But if He does not grant this, and death does come, surely it was thus written from eternity. Why then this

wailing and sorrowing? God's decree has come, therefore leave off weeping. Do you lament over the gifts of World and Fortune that you will leave behind? Many are those before you who devoured the world: all had to abandon it and, groaning, depart. You too were aware that the treacherous world would betray you, but you did not heed. Though the whole world be allotted to a single man, his final lot of the world is two pieces of cloth for his shroud.

1239 "If you are repenting your life, then well might you weep and never dry your tears. Your day is spent and will not return, your night is nigh no matter what you do.

"If you are anxious for my sake, you should rejoice and not give way to sorrow. You were brought into being and all things that come into being must pass away; only the Creator remains. You were my father, exceeding merciful and generous: but the Creator is even more merciful than you. He created you and gave you good fortune. Do you think He will fail to give the same to me? From Him the mean receive nobility, and greatness comes to the small should He but grant it. This wise saying has been quoted to illustrate the point—and the sayings of the wise are the eyes of the witless:

He, Almighty and Sublime,
To the mighty ones He grants their might.
He, a Refuge to the lowly
And to the great, a lofty Height."

1249 Full Moon listened, then fixed his eyes on heaven, raised his hands, and thanked God profusely for giving so much intelligence to his son. Then he said:

"Now my heart is at ease, my son; may you live in good fortune through God's grace. Well and truly spoken are these wise sayings—sharpen your eyes and extract their meaning! When God gives a man wisdom and intellect his hand attains to all his desires. When a man's character is virtuous and his manner genial, both his day and his night are bright. Good deeds are capital invested, and all goods and blessings are the return."

1256 Again Full Moon raised his hands and gave multitudes of praise to God, saying:

"My Lord, Who created all things and provide countless creatures with their sustenance: You created me also, and You raised me in the ranks of Fortune, though I am but Your sinful and undutiful servant; You preserved me until this moment, granting all my desires, so that I have enjoyed the blessings of this world. Now Your decree has reached me, and I am parting. Behold my only son whom I leave behind. I am the father, and now the father dies; You my Lord are the Living One. Grant him good fortune. Keep him nigh to contentment and far from calamity. Be his Redeemer in both the worlds. Guard him from evil and join him to good. Do not let him go hungry or naked."

He prayed from his heart—may prayer and benediction ever stave off calamity! 1265

Hear the words of a pious man, the chief of men: When God provides His servant with His care and support, he finds good fortune in both the worlds; when God visits His grace upon a man, he gains his wish and attains to every blessing. Thus spoke the wise bard:

Guarded by God he got
God's blessings as his fare;
Firm in faith he shut
The gate to grief and care.

Full Moon spoke once again, saying: 1273

"Awake, my son! Remember death and meditate on it continually. Trust not in life for it passes like the wind. Be not heedless of the next world for you soon will migrate from this. I have entrusted you to God: He will watch over you and nourish you, if He will. Behold, I part from you today, with weeping and remorse and deep in thought.[46] Now I shall tell you how to act after I am gone—heed what I say, according to your understanding."

22. Full Moon's admonition to his son Highly Praised

"Keep heart and tongue straight in service to God. Be not heedless in the performance of Tomorrow's work. Know that all, good and bad, is God's decree. Have faith in God and execute His service faithfully. Desire from Him whatever you need, for no power will accrue to you unless from Him. Honor each and every one of His commands and God will give you honor today and tomorrow. Do not stray from the straight path. Keep you heart and tongue little, do not puff up your speech. 1278

"I have lived here a while and now I am parting. Look well and reflect on what the World has done to me. Do not throw yourself in the Fire for the sake of this world. Do not oppress people or appropriate their goods. I knew how to garner wealth but was unable to eat the fruit thereof, and now that my day is passed there is no profit in my repentance. I leave all my goods to you—they are a burden to myself—that you may eat happily therefrom and lie down in contentment and peace. This gathered wealth will suffice you if you preserve it, and will redden your cheeks in both the worlds; but if you dissipate it, it will yellow your cheeks, and so much again will not suffice. 1283

"Practice honesty and rectitude, for in these happiness resides. It was a righteous man, the sort who enjoys the benefits of both worlds, who said: He who would pass his days in happiness should seek the remedy 1289

in righteousness. If wealth is your object the wealthy find their share in uprightness. And if you desire status and esteem then keep the straight path open before you. If a man is right-acting and well-behaved his day will be bright in both the worlds."

1295 Full Moon went on to say:

"Listen my son. Shield yourself from hell with good works. Flee far from the bad and all good things will come to you, sitting or standing. Do not consort with wicked friends, they will bring you loss: wickedness is a serpent: look out or it will bite you![47] Do not confide in a two-faced man or your secret will be spread abroad. Do not let a slanderer near your house, for he will broadcast to the realm whatever he sees and learns. Rather keep as your retainers experienced and trustworthy men; from them you will gain countless blessings.

1301 "Listen well to all that is spoken, but be not hasty to believe it. And do not reveal your own heart's secret, but keep it well guarded and concealed. Do not envy others, nor indulge in backbiting—these two bring only grief. Do not let your women run loose but keep your gate shut tight. All the troubles that visit a man are due to women. Do not let your wife go out of the house and do not let a stranger come in. Test the man well before you let him mingle with your household. Do not worry about money, but say that you will have enough money so long as you do good. This in conformity with the following verse:

So long as it is the good a man desires
What need he wealth?—he'll get what he requires.
What need indeed have the wicked and the greedy?
Whatever they possess they still are needy.

1309 "Flee far from the immodest man, and praise the modest a thousand times. Be not hasty in any undertaking, hold yourself back, for it is the patient who reach their goal. In whatever matter that arises, practice eloquence, and your fortunes will be on the rise. Guard your tongue, your eye, and your throat; eat only what is permitted, and little of that. If the people are rebellious stay away from them, and do not get mixed up in civil disorders. Do not let speech that is appropriate to princes be current on your tongue, except in a good cause, my lamb! Do not inflict harm yourself or desire that harm befall others. Do the good, overcome your own desires.

1316 "Whatever you undertake, consider what the issue will be, for if you fail to reckon the expense, it will turn out to be a loss. When anger comes control yourself—those who are patient today will be happy tomorrow. A forbearing man has said that he who is patient repairs what is broken, reaches his goal, and captures the white falcon.[48] When distress and sorrow visit a man, if he bears it patiently, contentment will come back to him: and though Fortune flag and its gate be closed, his affairs will prosper once again. Bear up then, for fortitude is the habit of true men. With patience, as the proverb goes, a man 'finds the road to heaven.'

"Do not forget death, be ready for it; and do not forget yourself, but 1323
reflect on your origins. Guard your tongue when you mingle in a crowd and guard your eyes when you visit people's homes. Regulate your expenses according to your income. Speak only what is appropriate; and never utter a falsehood, for a man demeans himself when he lies. Cement family ties. Be cheerful toward superiors and inferiors alike. Feed the needy and be liberal with bread and salt. Draw a veil over the faults of others.

"Be tough in God's service while you preserve yourself from sin. Then, 1329
should Fortune favor you, do not wax proud, but continue to do good and avoid evil. Do not rely on the World, for it is fleeting; do not put your trust in Fortune, for it quickly ages; do not lean on Life, for it passes like a dream; do not depend on hollow Fortune, for it flies off like a bird. Do not spend your life in vain, but practice virtue and earn what you require within the passing day.

"Avoid drink and fornication. Blessed Fortune flees from these two 1334
habits; they open for a man the road to penury. One with much experience in these matters put it this way:

If you would not put on the cloak of poverty
Beware of fornication and of drink:
The one makes Fortune spit in your face and flee,
The other drowns you in the sinners' sink."

Full Moon ended his discourse, saying: 1339

"These are words you will need, my son, do not forget them. Now I am finished. If you obey me and hold fast to what I have said, you will not lack for happiness. The discourse I have made is called a 'testament': do not forget it, but inscribe it on your heart."

23. Full Moon writes a testamentary letter to King Rising Sun

He called for a pen-box and some paper, and began to write: 1342

"In the name of God my Lord, Creator, Nourisher, Pardoner. He created these countless creatures and He provides them their sustenance, leaving not a single one go hungry. He wreaks his will over all and Himself has no need of help or support. Whatever he desires He calls into being and all He has made exist by His will. He created these countless tribes for death: all that live must die, but there is no death for Him, the Living.

"May God convey from me greetings uninterrupted upon His beloved 1348
messenger, and again upon his companions every one.

"Glorious king! may you live long, may your princely name hold sway over many a realm!

"Full Moon was my name and my life was full. Now the moon has waned, and I am dying. Death's vanguard[49] has come and holds me firmly in its grasp. I have nowhere to escape. The taste of life is gone.

1353 "You treated me with much kindness and compassion; I could not serve you worthily, and behold, I am departing. In return for this kindness, therefore, I have written you this Testamentary Letter. Know that I have been a companion in your worldly affairs and have carried out the business of state with justice. Now, out of an excess of loyal feeling, I have written down my counsel and testament, and I leave it for you to peruse. Loyalty is the head of humanity, so hearken to the words of a loyal man and hold to his counsels, for they will be to you as game in Fortune's hunt. The loyal man is the trustworthy one: heed his statement and it will increase your status. Behold, O king, I am loyal to you: apply my words to your affairs, O manly hero!

1361 "Death greets me. The acts of worship I have performed are missing now. All the evils I have committed are turned to remorse, but repentance now profits me nothing. The gold and silver I have stored up are left behind: the only share left to me is that I must account for them. I wail in remorse, but to no avail. I have no other hope than my Lord's mercy.

1365 "Powerless I part today, and tomorrow you will surely follow. Awaken then, O king, come to your senses, and put your affair in order before death takes hold. Practice virtue in place of oppression and violence. Strive with hand and tongue to make the people love you. Get a good name while you are in good health, and as long as you have wealth share it out and feed the needy. Truly spoke this man who in his youth awoke and whose eyes were sharp:

Prepare for death before it comes round,
Perform God's service while you're safe and sound.
Remorse will not profit when death takes hold
No matter how much you wail underground.[50]

1372 "Strive after I am gone, O king, not to waste your days but to spend them in God's service. Let World and Fortune not beguile you. Seek justice in all your affairs, administer the law equitably among the people, and the Day of Justice will be a good day for you. Do not for the sake of this world throw yourself into the Fire: cut the neck of desire and spite your carnal self. You are master of the World: do not be her slave. Leave her a widow before she abandons you. Do not raise your heart aloft and wax too proud; rather despair of the World, for she is not to be trusted. Keep good men nearby, and stay far from bad or their harm will visit you. Do not feed the faithless and do not entrust your affairs to the greedy. Be tough in serving God and refrain from sin, for only service will redound to your credit hereafter.

1381 "Be ever mindful of death: there is no weapon against it; it attacks suddenly as though from an ambush. Though you flee far death catches

up with you at last, and though you linger long death reaches you in the end. So keep your heart alive and awake to the immanence of death, for no matter how late you prolong your life, your final bed is the earth. Where is one who escaped from death, where one who outstripped his appointed time?

"Wisdom has well likened the son of Adam to a caravan. He has no 1385
fixed halting place. When the child is conceived of his father's loins he dwells for a few months peacefully in his mother's womb. And when he is born of his mother, and gets a name, he is like a traveller mounted on the horse of Time:[51] each day a step, each night a step, it advances him toward death, hollowing his cheeks. The world is one caravan-stop, your grave is another, and when this halting-stage is raised, the afterworld is the caravan-stop. In that world two roads await you—which of them will you follow, I wonder? If your road goes to the right, then your affairs are in order, but if it goes to the left then wail and beat your head![52]

"The world, glorious king, is a field in which a man reaps the crop that 1393
he has sown. Whatever he plants in the ground comes up again. Whatever he gives away he receives back intact. Do not seize the property of others, nor shed their blood: the soul when it emerges will howl at these two sins. This life passes without a trace, like a dream; whether you are a prince or a slave, it goes never to return. Where now are your days that have passed and become like a dream? And the days that remain are only remorse. As one said who wakened and then repented:

Your life you passed in a dreamy waking;
What profit did you get?
Your days you spent in pleasure-seeking;
Now nothing but regret.

"Be not too careless of life then, but consider that life is very close to 1401
death. Be not stingy, king, but generous, for generosity's name is immortal. And be not too dependent on troops and treasures, for gold and silver and many warriors will not profit you in the end.

"Do not sacrifice your own soul for others' sake. Spare yourself, do not get burned in the Fire unwillingly. The world's princes before you left the world—see where they lie in their graves! Death awaits you as well, O resplendent sun: he is only biding his time.

"Hear one who speaks to you having learned the world's shortcomings. The things of this world are like bitter water which does not quench your thirst—nay, not even moisten your gums—no matter how much you drink. This world, O hero, is like a shadow which flees if you chase it and clings to you if you flee from it. The affairs of this world are like a mirage which a man loses when he reaches out to grasp it.[53]

"Strive to be good, O king, for the people are good in the measure that 1411
their ruler is. The people are like sheep and their ruler, their shepherd. The shepherd must have compassion for his flock. A pack of hungry

wolves are gathered at the gate—guard your sheep well, O king!

1414 "Bad temper destroys princely rule, therefore restrain your anger. And do not speak harshly to people, for a harsh tongue is like a burning flame. Be calm and steady, gentle and forbearing, and stretch out your hand toward every good.

"A long road lies ahead, and the man of intellect makes adequate provisions for the journey. Do not deck out your palace, glorious king, for earth's black folds have been prepared as your dwelling; and this palace of yours, so lofty and spacious and arrayed in splendor, will be left behind while you lie moaning in your dark and earthern house. Though you lay up a tremendous store of gold and silver, your final allotment is two pieces of cloth; as the poet said:

Heap you up wealth to devour after?
Now you are heedless of the answer,
But as soon as all your wishes are filled
You will succumb to the cancer.

1424 "Do not console yourself in your pleasure and pride, O prince, for they will fade away like sleep. And do not waste your life for the sake of this world, for it is fleeting and will cause you unwilled misery. Your body that is pampered with silks and brocades is to be covered by black earth. Your body that enjoys the company of concubines is to lie flat and hidden in black earth's bosom. You will dismount this unswaying ambling courser and mount in sorrow the saddleless horse of wood. Considering these things make ready for death now, lest tomorrow you suffer remorse in black earth's folds.

1430 "In every enterprise ask God for success, and know that He will surely grant you the strength. Accept contentedly whatever comes of good or bad. Bend your neck to God's decree, and straighten your tongue.

"If you desire the mastery of both worlds, it were better to avoid these five activities: do not mingle in what is forbidden; do not commit injustice; do not shed blood; do not seek revenge; do not indulge in drink and fornication. These things spell the ruin of princely rule. And if you desire everlasting kingdom, then do justice and remove injustice from the people. For today you are the people's head, O king, so mind them well and keep vigilant watch over them. The king carries a heavy burden on his neck—take care then, gentle one!

1438 "The man who indulges his appetites is a prisoner of passion. Do not fall captive, but if you do, ransom yourself. The life you have spent has passed like the wind; how much longer will the life that is left provide you an opportunity? Then waste not your remaining days but cleanse yourself of fault and sin. Be cognizant that this world is not one to keep faith, and in this realm of transience store up provisions for that realm of permanence. A pious man once said: This world is an inn, and you are

as it were a caravan: how many days does the caravan stop at the inn?[54] This is a caravanserai, a place of earnings: whatever you gain here, consign it there. Send ahead the baggage train, for you will soon resume the journey. Take with you what you need, and what you do not need leave behind.

"Behold, I am departing. Look on me! awake! and strive to leave behind 1446
a good name for yourself. Hear what one said who gave admonition as he lay dying:

> The dying instructs the living with his tongue;
> Hearken, then, and take his words to heart:
> 'Awake,' says he, 'be vigilant while you live;
> For I was heedless. Now in remorse I part.'

"If you would maintain for long your princely station, O king, there 1450
are certain things you must do and others you must avoid doing. Strive to do justice and to avoid injustice—in this way you serve God and embrace His gate. Second, be not heedless but ever vigilant and wakeful, lest you be visited with a terrible retribution. When either passion or wrath overcome you, do not conduct any important business, but clench your teeth and be patient. If you guard against these few things, then the realm will be protected, your princely station will be long and will provide opportunity for success.

"Hold all good men in honor and high esteem; do not hold on to wicked 1455
men, but drive them from your courtyard.

"Establish justice and good laws. Then your day will be bright and Fortune will fasten its belt to you. Listen to what a man renowned for wisdom said, and take a portion of his words for yourself: Lay down good law, O lawgiver, for he who lays down bad law has died while he lives.[55] And do not lay down bad law, O sage ruler, for then you cannot enjoy the worlds' blessings.[56] He who leaves a legacy of good law thereby plants his name firm and upright.

"Watch over yourself, O king, be ever mindful of your origins, and do 1462
not stray. Do not adopt evil ways or you will howl in both the worlds. Your arm is long over the people and close to them, but life is short and passes with a sigh; the world is fleeting, and death approaches nigh. Consider my case and be admonished by it today while you are yet alive, or you will rue it tomorrow. When a man dies he leaves a testament behind: behold my testament to you, O knowing one! You loved me, O king, and so I have left my testament to you as a fruitful legacy. Hold to this my discourse that I bequeath to you, it will profit you a hundredfold. Behold, the words I have written down are true: forget not my words, and remember me.

"Death is the final return. However long you may forestall, it comes 1471
unfailing in the end to snatch away the living soul. Prepare then to meet

the Caller, and make provisions for a long journey, cognizant that there is nowhere to escape. Listen to a man of mature mind, who before he died grasped the nature of death:

Each man in turn rises to death's rank;
Prepare then for the worst:
Though proudly you tie on a silver belt,
With death this too will burst.[57]

1478 "Now I have paid your due, O king, and have accomplished your claim of loyalty. May God assist you toward every good, and Fortune attend you in all you eat and drink and wear. May you live many years in good health, and enjoy a long and prosperous reign. This discourse is a token of my loyalty. Stay well, my fine-faced one! Now I depart, O king, but my son, my life's blood, remains behind. I have entrusted him to God Who, if He will, shall guard him in the midst of the burning fire. My request from you is this: watch over him, do not banish him from your presence to go the way of idle wastrels.

1485 "For everything God provides a cause which determines its share of good or bad. Now the cause of a son or daughter is the mother or father who determines whether the child's character will be sound or corrupt. Today I, his father, am dying, and he, my son, is left an orphan at a tender age. If then there is any claim this servant has upon you, may you be the cause in my place, and call him to the good path. Do not lose sight of him. Instruct him in wisdom and virtue that he may find a place in the realm. Let him be well trained so that he will acquire proper habits and be useful for royal service. Keep a tight rein on him, do not let him go idle and free, for a boy who is held in check will find good fortune when he is an adult. An experienced graybeard has said: Instruct your child in wisdom while he is young and he will be successful; and do not spare your son or daughter, let them taste the whip, for the whip is a fine instructor. Whatever a child learns in youth he does not forget in old age but retains until he dies."

* * *

1496 He finished the letter, rolled and tied it, then handed it to his son, saying:

"Take this letter, my son, do not lose it, and convey it to the king. It is my testament. May he read it and hold to my advice; may he prepare for death and put his affairs in order."[58]

Again he embraced his son and kissed him, while he wept with streaming tears. Finally he said:

1501 "My son, now you have witnessed the manner of my parting. Do not forget this moment, be ever mindful of it, for it will surely come to you as well. I have imparted to you the necessary instructions. Remember my words, and pray for me. If the king seeks you out in good time, do not disappoint him, but serve him diligently. Do not be idle and run loose,

but be straight and good in word and deed. Go to bed late at night and get up early, for early to rise makes one's fortunes to rise. Hold God's commands in high esteem. Serve the king with a warm heart. Flee from the wicked and walk the straightened way. Guard your tongue and you will live secure; guard your soul and you will grow old in good health."

He left off speaking and wept, embracing his son. Once again he cried 1510
with remorse:

"Faithless World! Why do you treat me so cruelly? Now this body, nourished on your blessings, this face once so comely, shall enter the black earth. I part today needy and naked as the day I was born. Hear the cry of a man who dies repentant:

Nourished on sugar, now food for worms;
From the womb emerged, now returned to the womb.
Alas for youth, and for life, alas!
Lamenting and rueful I enter the tomb."

Full Moon finally ceased his laments and gathered his wits. He distrib- 1517
uted his wealth in alms as a memorial, then asked his near ones to absolve him, and directed his soul toward heaven. With eyes raised and hands held high he uttered the witness formula. Then his tongue was still. His bright soul was sundered, his day grew dark, and his breath was cut off with God's name on his lips. The pure soul sought a lofty refuge and flew off, leaving the empty frame behind. The soul was gone, as though he had never been born, but his name remained in the world as a sign.

Hearken to one of straightened heart who woke from the slumber of 1523
neglect: The pure soul dwells in the body just as the body dwells in the house: the frame is left empty when the soul flies off, and only God knows where it goes. If it soars upward, O glorious Fortune! its place is lofty; but if it goes downward it is bound for disaster. One of these two is its inevitable lot, and it lives on, long, undying, eternal.

How vulnerable a creature is man: now he walks and breathes, now 1528
his name is lost and his repute cut off. Where does he come from and where does he go? Where does he walk and stop? Is there any who understands this? What say the sages about it? Only God understands this, omniscient and omnipotent! Now he eats and drinks, living inconspicuously; now before one's very eyes he vanishes and is gone. Very short-lived is man, but long-planning and big-mouthed. Seeing that he is so frail, how does he raise his shoulders so haughtily? Finding himself in this world that lasts but two days, why does he throw out his chest like a mountain of rock?

Hear the words of one who awoke to death's truth and set out on the 1536
straight way: O grim and unrivalled Death! Were I to take up a thousand arms against you it would be no use. You catch up with everyone, none escapes your clutches. You are bitter[59] to good and bad alike. Were it not better to let the wise live on in glory and only kill the foolish and the

shameless? But they are struck down equally, neither good nor bad is left behind, both great and small return to dust. However long a man lives, when death comes he cannot find a crossing to safety.

1542 Well spoke that wise statesman who said: What a fine thing it would be if a man did not die! This death has brought me misery; and death it is that will destroy me root and branch. But it is not to be wondered at: he who is born must die and return to black earth. Alas for mankind, but not for man; alas for righteousness, but not for men! That is the habit of this ancient hag[60]—take it this way or take it that.

24. King Rising Sun summons Highly Praised

1548 The king completed the period of mourning for Full Moon. Then he summoned the latter's son, to give him counsel and kind advice thus:

"Do not grieve too much, my son, for sorrow must finally give way to joy. Nor has this sorrow come to you alone, for I too have grieved and sorrowed long. Do not oppress your heart. Look to me for consolation, and hasten to service. If your own father has died, then I shall be a father to you and you a son to me."

Highly Praised kissed the ground and said:

"May the king live long and be gratified in his reign. I was born and bred to be your slave and servant. Pray God make my soul ransom for the king, just as my father's soul was ransom for him."

1556 He took out his father's letter and presented it with a quiet and dignified mien. The king took the letter, opened it and read it. When he understood the contents, he said:

"Alas, O wise and loyal one, chief of men! You have left my gate lacking and your own place empty. Alive you gave me my due of service, and even while dying you worked and worried on my behalf. But I was unable to repay your due—may God Himself make good this debt! May He bestow on you a thousand joys in glory, to the measure of the joy I have had from you this day."

The king fell silent, while the tears poured from his eyes. The other man rose and went home, embracing grief. He remained with the door shut for several days, his heart downcast and his brow knit in grief.

1564 Full Moon's son performed his funeral feast,[61] and gave alms of silver coins and silken stuffs. He too had completed the period of mourning for his father. He held to his father's counsel, taking good men as his companions, and walking upright, so that his good fortune daily grew apace and his day was bright. Thus spoke a man of knowledge and experience:

Fortune blesses him day after day
Who follows the advice of his father,
And he gains a profit a thousandfold
Who gives joy to both father and mother.

The king worked hard all this while, each day administering good laws. Thus the realm prospered and the subjects, grown rich, poured benediction on their sovereign.

One day the king was sitting alone. He laid down the document he was reading and pondered for a long time. It seemed as though his mind was tied in knots and he could not find a solution to his problem. He looked for someone to consult with about it, but he found no one. Recalling Full Moon, he cried: 1572

"Alas! he was a man among men, the ornament of my gate, and a good companion as well. Whatever state affairs he dealt with turned out to the people's benefit. Now his place is empty, and my affairs are waning. Where is the man who will restore to the full what is on the wane?"

Then he recalled Highly Praised, and he said to himself: 1577

"Full Moon, when he died, entrusted his son to my care, and here it seems that I have forgotten him. If the father is dead, the son is yet alive. I have lost the one, now I shall adopt the other."

He acted immediately and sent a man to summon Highly Praised.

25. Highly Praised presents himself before King Rising Sun

Highly Praised entered and cheerfully stood before the king for an interview. As soon as the king saw him he called him and asked: 1581

"How has Time been treating you since your father died? Has he given you joy or sorrow? And how have you been passing your days? Are you walking the straight or the crooked path?"

Highly Praised responded thus: 1585

"Time has knit his brow and treated me harshly, since I have remained far from the king and outside of his service. For some time now I have not seen the king's countenance, and so I have been going my way with care and sadness. But today the king recalled me to his presence, and now Fortune has fastened her belt to me. Full of hope, I obeyed the king's command. Now my day is fine and my eyes are bright."

The king inquired of him all sorts of wise advice, and Highly Praised responded with a ready tongue.

26. Highly Praised enters the service of King Rising Sun

1591 The king said:

"Henceforward serve me always my son, and do not oppress your heart. Your father gave me service in exceeding measure, and since I was unable to repay him, it has remained upon me as a debt. Now I must pay this due to you, lest people speak ill of me.

1594 "The Prince of the Three Camps offered these words as the ripe fruit of his wisdom: When a person expends effort on your behalf do not, like a corpse, be mindless of that effort. And always counter human deeds with your own humanity, O noble man! Though he does you but one or two good turns, return him many. The man who fails to recognize another's labor on his behalf is a total ox, O chief of state. So return his kindness with your own humanity, and do not let yourself be called an ox. It is because of humanity that a man is named 'human,' and it is through humanity that a man raises his name."

1601 Highly Praised kissed the ground and said:

"Verily, when the king's eyes shine upon me, then have I gained success. I am your servant and slave, you are my master and prince; and it is the great prince who honors his slave. Now hold me in honor or despise me as you will—I have made my soul your ransom."

Calmly he rose and came out to the gate, then walked awhile until he reached home.

Thenceforward Highly Praised girt on his belt of courtly rank. Standing in the courtyard, he performed service unstintingly. He served at night and did not stir at dawn; he took his dinner there, and kept the night watch. As his service found favor with the king, Fortune gave him a hand and opened to him the door.

1608 Hear the saying of a servant who through his service mounted Fortune's steed: If you seek the prince's pleasure then perform all of his business according to his desire. A slave who fails to do a deed according to his master's satisfaction has only himself to blame if he becomes the object of his master's wrath. When a slave performs a service displeasing to the prince then all his life of service has gone for nought.

The king kept Highly Praised close to himself, and explained the execution of each affair according to royal custom.

1613 Again one day the king was sitting distraught and saying to himself:

"Alas that I have lost that man! A crowd of courtiers are assembled at the gate, but where is the choice man who is fitting to execute my business? All my affairs are in disorder, and no one knows how to repair them. Where is the loyal man to whom I may entrust them? One who gained knowledge of good and ill through much experience has said: You

may achieve all your objectives and still not find a man according to your desire. Walking bodies and black heads are legion, and they call themselves men; but a trustworthy man is not to be found. I need a person who is not only suitable to execute royal business but who will also be beneficial to my subjects. Just as the poet says:

Of the many suitors in the court
I see not one who suits the station;
A crowd of black-heads, but not a one
Who benefits the nation."

Again the king spoke: 1623

"A man of good breed leaves a good brood; a man of good seed sows a good crop, as the proverb has it. Now this man, Full Moon's son, is a cutting from that one's stock. Since the father is gone, his station has remained empty, and I see now that the son is most suited to fill it. He has great potential: his only fault is his youth; but I will foster him and make a man of him, so that the potential will turn to benefit and profit. Well spoke the glorious chief of the Ili who said: When a prince extends his hand to a man and fosters him, that man follows in the prince's footsteps to become a great man like him. If the prince keeps him near to himself, that man's desires are near to fulfillment; and if the prince smiles upon him, the troops set their face toward him and gather round his standard."

The king continued: 1633

"Now my only recourse is to foster this youth and to make a man of him. In this way I shall have paid his father's due and also shown him humanity and compassion. Full Moon's service was great, and this is the humane and manly way to repay it. By 'humane' I mean 'good': it is good to feed the hungry and to clothe the naked. The noble man does not forget the good, and the well-bred man does not waver in his heart. Heed the words of the ancient graybeard, and do not forget them, my lamb: Do good continually, for the good man does not grow old or decay: his life is very long and his name is incorruptible."

The king honored Highly Praised, instructing him in royal affairs and 1641
imparting the bad with the good. As the king raised him in rank and favor, the firmament smiled upon him and inclined in his direction. He observed the institutions of royalty and the protocols of court. Thus all the doors to his desires opened to him through his service. His shortcomings turned into virtues; his word held sway; and whenever the king arose he opened his eyes upon him.

The king said: 1645

"Now all my affairs, both internal and external, will go aright. This man clearly had potential, and for this reason I fostered him and favored him. Now he has become a man to my heart's desire. And he will surely develop still further as he matures. While still young a boy displays clear

signs that he will grow to be a manly falcon. This is as the poet says:

A mark or sign in everything
Betrays what it will be:
The bud in flower presages
The ripened fruit of the tree."

1652 Highly Praised proffered his service day and night without swerving. Any unseemly traits he removed from himself, so that for every kind of job he could be useful. Thus the king was delivered of his cares, and the people were relieved of their burdens while their gains increased.

One day the king summoned Highly Praised in order to sound him out. He said:

"Listen, my son. I am going to ask you some questions, so pay attention.

"First, tell me what things are beneficial to a man."

Highly Praised answered:

1658 "O prince, O residence of wisdom and best of men! That which benefits a man in both the worlds is good character; second, modesty; and third, uprightness—with these three things he wins the sun of Fortune. If his character is good, all the people love him. If his behavior is upright, he rises to the seat of honor. As for modesty, it is that which restrains him from every improper act—and immodesty is a most improper ill.[62] Also, the man whose character is pure and straight wins good fortune in both the worlds. And he finds happiness who unites in himself all three: uprightness, modesty, and good character."

1665 The king said:

"And what things are bad and harmful for a man?"

Highly Praised answered:

"May the king's wisdom bear on this question! Three things profit a man nought and only do him harm, O noble ruler. One is stubbornness; another is telling lies; the third is miserliness—the miser is the meanest of men! These three together are the way of the ignorant. The stubborn man behaves shamefully, and all his deeds go awry as surely as the sun rises. As for the one who gets a reputation as a liar, his name becomes a byword among the people. And who is there more vile than the miser, who garners wealth but does not consume it, and whose goods are left behind?

1673 "Hear what Wisdom says about miserliness, O tight-fisted one! You were able to hoard your gold but not to eat the fruit thereof. Why did you pile it up and not give away a single coin? You gathered the world as your repast but failed to eat: now the Devourer is ready, so prepare his meal.

"He who has the three former things wins good fortune, but he who has the latter things loses his good name."

1677 Again the king spoke:

"Now tell me this. Is a wise man born thus, or does he learn wisdom as he matures?"

Highly Praised answered:

"Glorious king! There are two names for this virtue: wisdom, and intelligence. Man is born without wisdom and learns it gradually; then, once he has acquired it, all his affairs prosper and he rises to the seat of honor. Intelligence, on the other hand, is not learned; rather, it is mixed into a man's natural humor when God brings him forth. But all the virtues except intelligence are learned, and when they are, then wisdom is attained."

The king was pleased with these answers, and he said: 1684

"I have found what I was seeking. Though I lost the father, behold! the son has followed a good path and has taken the father's place.[63] I perceive that this Highly Praised is a loyal man and one who carries out his duties responsibly. May he therefore find a ready reward from me this day. It was an outstanding man indeed who uttered this verse:

Return the man of humane deeds
Humanity in kind;
Repay the faithful with good faith,
The due to humankind."

The king raised him daily in esteem, so that his name and fame filled 1692 the realm entire, his mark and sign loomed large among the people, and his repute spread in the world with their benedictions. A great man did he become, both among his peers and in the company of princes. He kept heart and tongue small, and remained genial and on good terms with everyone, as the days and months went by. His heart he kept humble, his tongue sweet. In this way he brought the people to love him both outwardly and inwardly, and acquired a host of friends. Know that friends are like another back: if a man has many friends his back rests against a mountain cliff; and a man who has a strong backing is firmly rooted in Fortune.

How fitting for Fortune too is a humble heart; how handsome the wise 1700 man when he is gentle. The sage spoke well—and you will prosper if you heed his words!—who said: When Fortune comes and favors a man he can keep her smile constant by practicing humility. For Fortune is like a caravan-horse, and only the man of lowly heart can keep her staked down. How goodly and comely the humble man is, his deeds ever prosper; how bitter[64] the man who is haughty and proud, his station daily lowers. Fortune indeed befits all upon whom she smiles, but she more especially befits the man of intellect; as in the following verse:

Though Fortune favor fools once or twice,
She mainly favors the wise;
Though now and then on a fool she alight,
To the wise she fastens tight.

It is possible for the fool to grow great by Fortune, but the wise will gain greater name and reputation. For Fortune never stays long with a fool; as witness this saying:

A worthy man good fortune graces
While honor he embraces,
But ill it sits upon the wicked
Who but abuse and kick it.

1716 The king tested Highly Praised and found that all his deeds were based on rectitude. Now he would honor him and raise him in esteem, now frown on him and hold him in disgrace. During his season of honor, Highly Praised never abused others; and during his season of dishonor, he never slackened his service. He became a trusty rope for the king, who gave over the treasury into his hands, and thus placed a great load of trust on his neck—may my soul be ransom for one who bears such a load! And because Highly Praised carried out his duties with great rectitude, the king daily held him nearer to himself. He indeed administered all his affairs with rare discrimination. He kept registered account of all the property at his disposal, and he kept watch over himself, not coveting any of it. He served constantly, and swerved not a hair's breadth.

1724 Hear the words of a mature and—rarest of creatures!—a sound and honest man: Dear indeed are gold and silver, but even more precious is a man who restrains himself. The man who is not corrupted by silver wins this world entire through Fortune's favor. Consider this advice which the man of wisdom gave: if you find an honest man, apply him like a salve to your eyes! Even better is what Intellect itself proclaims: to give up one's soul for a loyal man is not too much. They may call a man "upright," but where is one who acts uprightly on the day he is called to fulfill his trust? Where among men indeed is the perfect one? He must be sought out, and if his deeds are upright, then call him "a man."[65] Where is he among men who ought to be praised? It is the generous who deserves praises and the miserly who deserves curses.

1732 Adam's sons are well described as needy, for they spend the whole day gathering wealth and still cannot get enough to satisfy them. Some never stop running but roam the world around, others ransom their own souls and dive into the sea; some dig up mountains and bore through rocks, others fathom the earth on foot; some cross rivers and mountain passes, others dig into the ground to drink water from wells; some join the ranks to be struck with sword and battle-axe, while others grow old as hostages in the fortress. There are those who steal and swindle, plunder and rob, oppress, murder, and cripple. So much hardship is endured for the sake of one's throat and back. They gather wealth but do not consume it, and when they die endure unwilled agony. All these are the deeds of fools, men who are wholly like cattle; while the wise and the God-fearing, when their time arrives, consume their meal entire.

1741 A man of calm and of intellect, who carefully observed all that live and breathe, once said: Whether you stay at home or roam the world, whatever is fated for you will reach you. Then keep heart and tongue upright, O sage, and you will not lack for food in its due season. If riches and

worldly goods are what you seek, you will find them through uprightness; and if you would find the other world as well, seek it through straight dealing and sound conduct. Well spoke one of ripe mind, who grasped the world with rectitude:

To gain the wealth of this world,
Be straight in soul and speech;
If you are straight in heart and tongue,
The next world is in your reach.

How well one's day passes when one walks upright! Observe this well, O king, and conduct all your affairs with rectitude, honesty, and humanity.

His Fortune daily raised Highly Praised in dignity. His word held sway 1751
over the people, and he also listened to their petitions. The king tried and examined him in every kind of task, and always found that he acquitted himself honorably.

Hearken now to the sage counselor, O ignorant one, understand, and 1754
bend your neck! It is the prince's duty to examine well his servant's conduct and to exact obedience from him by testing his mettle. If he performs his tasks suitably, then the prince should open to him the road of honor and allow him to grow in rank, for in this way the prince's own name grows great. Well spoke the learned prince of Yaghma who said: O prince! entrust royal affairs to one who knows how to accomplish them, who is worthy, upright, and straight-dealing. If a prince gives a task to someone unsuitable for it, then he himself is unworthy, not the other man. When God decides to raise a man in Fortune, He gives him worthy and sound agents. But when He decides to lower someone He has raised up, He gives him lackluster agents: the ignorant leads, the wicked follow, and all his affairs go down in ruin or go up in smoke.

The king honored Highly Praised, entrusting him with the bulk of gov- 1764
ernment affairs, so that his hand held sway and his word was authoritative over the entire realm. He also bestowed upon him titles and seals, horses and trappings and robes. Thus his Fortune grew perfect. The king issued many a goodly decree, making him second only to himself. The military leaders at court, great and small, brought him royal gifts and made their lives ransom. And all the bureau workers presented themselves before him, offering their service along with material gifts.

Highly Praised maintained protocol, paying due regard to each of his 1770
underlings. Injustice and oppression he removed from the people, and all unworthy actions from himself. The state was well ordered, the realm prospered, the king was at peace, since the foundation of his rule was firm. His well-wishers multiplied, while his enemies abandoned the realm, leaving the air clear of dust. The king was delivered of his cares. He found comfort, peace, and happiness, and life was sweet.

All these are the benefits derived from wisdom, virtue, and intelligence. 1775
Indeed, how can one refrain from praising men of intellect and despising companions of foolishness? The wise man's deeds are all well-measured,

but the ignorant man's deeds are all haphazard.[66] How appropriate it is that Fortune favor the wise and the virtuous. As the prince of Ili has said:

When royal glory favors a fool,
The realm suffers calamity;
When a man of intellect is prince,
There peace reigns and security.[67]

1782 The king was at peace, his day was bright. Fixing his eyes on heaven and raising his hands, he gave thanks and praise to God saying:

"My Lord, You have granted me wisdom and authority: keep my heart fixed upon justice; and give me the strength to accomplish all good acts and to bear the burden of those who are under my hand."

He dispersed much wealth as alms to the needy and straightened his heart to God, to the exclusion of all others. Thus he lived contented for many days and months, while all the commoners of the realm grew rich.

Behold the manner of the choicest of mankind! Alas that such men as he must die! Happy the people that has a prince like this; and wise the prince who seeks his people's welfare.[68] When good men die, alas! they turn to dust, but their names remain behind.

* * *

1791 One day, when the king was sitting alone, he summoned Highly Praised and addressed him thus:

"Listen now, Highly Praised. When your father died you were still too young to have profited from his care. Usually the young are directed to the right way by the old. But your father died too soon to instruct you in wisdom and virtue. Nor did you get a hand from me in this regard. How is it then that so many virtues are gathered in your person? Explain this to me."

1796 Highly Praised replied:

"May the king live long in health and power!

"To whomever God grants His favor as his portion, that one accomplishes his desire and achieves good repute. In illustration of this truth, an experienced graybeard quoted the following Turkish proverb: By God's grace a man grows great, by God's favor he achieves his goal and his affairs prosper. What the Creator decrees, the created cannot prevent, though brown earth and blue sky united their forces to spite it. A man's every deed requires God's support. Only through that can a man gain his object.

1802 "Know too, O king, that in the measure the child pleases his father, so the father's blessing reaches his child. Now my father blessed me with his benediction, and it is through that prayer that I have risen to this position. Then too, almighty God made the king a cause that I was not deprived of training in virtue and wisdom. For the king did extend his hand and foster me. Then Heaven looked kindly upon me, and I ascended.

1806 "Whenever a prince smiles on a man and fosters him, that man's desires crowd upon him, and he cannot help but attain them. A man's heart is a

garden, and the water that makes it green is the prince's beneficent word. When the garden is sufficiently watered, there spring forth flowers with a myriad fragrances. When the master's command is issued with kindly speech, the servant's brow is clear and his heart is elated. But when the command is issued with a harsh tongue, the greening flowers quickly wither.

"In sum, the servant must ever seek God's favor—only thus will the door be opened. As the poet said:

Through grace of God his way is straight,
Wisdom to him now opens her gate;
Fortune's sun shines daily brighter,
And he though once small now is great."

Again the king spoke, saying: 1815

"O Highly Praised! As for those who know wisdom, how do they acquire it? Do they become wise through learning, or is this an innate quality with which they are born?"

Highly Praised replied:

"Let me set forth the principles of this matter.

"If, when God brings a man forth into the world, He gives him a good mind, the child starts out with sound capital to invest. Then day by day his wealth increases, his mind matures, and he learns whatever he requires, until he gains wisdom. Finally, as a wise counselor, his profit fills the realm. If however God does not give him a sound mind at birth, he cannot thereafter win any of his desires.

"There is another condition. If a boy desires wisdom, he must set his 1822
hand to the task when he is still young. If he learns wisdom when he is a small boy, then he will gain his desire when he grows up.

"Wisdom, like virtue and good manners, is learned, but intellect grows out of one's inborn nature. The following Turkish proverb has been quoted to illustrate this truth—read it yourself and derive profit therefrom: The more a man learns, the greater he grows in wisdom; but greater learning does not develop the intellect. The faculty of intellect is rather a gift from God. If it enters as part of one's innate disposition, then its signs soon appear, and its possessor eventually gains a thousand goods as his share. The man endowed with intellect is the chief of mankind, for that faculty is the head of the host of virtues. As for the man who lacks intellect—it is better not to call him a 'man,' and certainly not to pay credence to anything he says."

The king said: 1832

"I follow what you have said to this point, but I still wish to ask you something about this matter. You have distinguished intellect from wisdom, but you have not specified what sort of thing it is. What exactly is intellect and where does it reside? Where does it arise from, and, once arisen, where does it go?"

Highly Praised answered: 1835

"A rare and precious thing for a man is intellect. Its seat is up high, in the brain—it is just because it is so dear a thing that it resides in the head. It is truly a hobble[69] for a man, straightening his behavior and measuring his deeds. God the Compassionate chose His servant and hobbled his actions and his speech with the faculty of intellect. He who lacks this faculty is counted as dead while he who has it is alive—to such a degree does intellect distinguish mankind. For the human body is merely a house, dark as night, while intellect is a lamp which makes it bright.

1841 "It is out of intellect that all good things proceed, and it is through wisdom that a man achieves greatness. With both together a man ennobles himself and he follows the straight path. What is greater than wisdom? That it is which distinguishes man from beast. In this wise, Intellect itself cites the following verse:

Man through wisdom lifts his hand
Above the beasts of the land.
Learn what wisdom has to teach
And thus dignify your speech."

1847 Again the king spoke:

"I have one more thing to ask you on this subject, my handsome one. Give me a description of Intellect. How does it appear? What is it called? Describe for me its face and form, its character and conduct. What are its age and its rank, its stature and its disposition?"

27. Highly Praised gives the king a description of Intellect

1850 Highly Praised replied:

"Intellect is upright in character and honorably proud in disposition, lovely of face and form, and young in years. It provides a passage to all good things. It is calm and clear and peaceful in its conduct, and compassionate toward all living things. When it extends to a man its hand he prospers, and when it speaks to a man he is rightly guided. It regards all men with warm feeling, and all men love it in return, for from it they derive only benefit.

"It is sharp-eyed and farsighted. It strengthens the foundation of whatever thing it touches. With a single touch it strains and purifies whatever is muddy and murky, and it unties the tightest knots with a single glance. It looks right and left, forward and behind, and knows the proper time for every deed. It overtakes whatever flees and catches whatever flies. It mends what is broken and repairs what is in ruins.

1859 "He who lacks it cries out with regret: 'O Intellect! I suffer exceedingly,

for I have gotten no share of you, and without you a man's heart is dead. You are a lamp, an eye for the blind, a soul for the dead body, a word for the stammering tongue.'

"He who possesses it says: 'O my friend! what a good companion are you who make all my affairs go right. Indeed you always act right for you have no left side. You are sound and honest and need never resort to tricks.'

"These are the marks of intelligence in a man. First, his behavior and 1864
speech are moral and upright, from month to month and year to year. Then he is sedate and dignified, patient and forbearing. When he sees a job to be done, he goes about it calmly. Finally he is young of years, though in conduct he is mature, and nobles and counselors are beholden to him. As it says in the verse:

By nature Intellect's a charming lad,
By conduct he is grave and staid.
Though humble and gentle, lofty his aim:
When you find him, follow and obey him."

Greatly pleased at these words, the king exclaimed: 1872

"O wakened one, whose speech is Reason and Wisdom! God granted me all of His blessings—surely you also are His gift to me. This task of princely rule is a heavy burden, and he who can bear it attains the good.[70] Now that you have taken the burden on your own shoulders, affairs are running smoothly. You allow me to rest, while taking on the heavy tasks yourself. God grant you success in your endeavors, and grant me the strength to pay your due threefold.

"I realize that the kind of service you perform springs only from loyalty 1878
and your desire for my welfare. The perfect loyal servant is he who lays aside his own advantage for the sake of his master's, and who lets his master live in peace. Happy the prince, and perfect in his Fortune, who has a loyal servant to administer his affairs. Proud and calm the prince may stand as long as the servant performs according to his wish. That servant who takes on himself his master's burdens and headaches thus opens for his master the road to his desires. Therefore, when a prince does find a servant like this, he should consider him a gift from God. Indeed, most of the world's princes before us have died while this desire was yet unattained."

Now all the people basked in the king's glory and showered benedictions 1886
upon him. When those of distant realms heard of him, they too desired to see his face. Thus passed the years and months and days: he ordered his realm well, and ruled with justice.

One day the king summoned Highly Praised and said:

"I will ask you some questions, and you tell me what you know.

"When a man considers his own body, and his seven limbs,[71] he finds that each part has its proper pleasure and proper share. Now, what is the

proper pleasure of the heart, and what of the eyes? And what is my proper share of these two pleasures?''

Highly Praised answered:

''When the heart desires something, and attains it, that is its pleasure; and when the eye sees the face of a loved one, that is its pleasure.''

1894 The king said:

''Tell me, Highly Praised, what is the sign that a person loves you. Everyone claims to love, but what is the proof of this claim?''

Highly Praised answered:

''You can tell that he loves you when you look into his face. For everything that the eye regards is veiled, but there is no veil covering the heart. Therefore look into the lover's heart if you would know whether he truly loves or not. There are signs in the lover's face, and you may recognize these when his eye meets yours. As the poet says:

Through a glance or through a word,
His feelings surmise;
That he loves or does not love,
Gather from his eyes.''

1903 The king said:

''Now I have something very important to ask. Please consider it carefully before you reply.''

Highly Praised said:

''Glorious king! It is by means of wisdom that princes have gained great repute. The prince himself is the royal residence of wisdom—what need has he for the words of an ignorant slave? To ask questions is easy; the difficult thing is to answer them. I am sure the king's wisdom will provide the correct answer. But the king has taken the easy part. Do not throw the difficult part to me, O brave hero!''

1909 The king said:

''On the contrary, it is the questioner who is the needy one, since his own ignorance has forced him to ask someone else. This being so, you ought to rejoice and answer my query (since you are able to do so).''

Highly Praised responded:

''O goodly Justice! it is better to listen than to speak. The speaker expends himself and grows weak, while the listener is comfortable and grows fat. An experienced sage has remarked that rather than speaking, it is important to listen and to understand. A man becomes wise through listening, but through speaking he may lose his head. Listening provides pleasure to the ear, but there is no profit in too much speaking. Words left unspoken are purest gold, but as soon as they emerge on the tongue, they turn to copper.''

1917 The king said:

''You speak truly. Now you have girt on Fortune's belt.''

Highly Praised said:

"It is better, glorious king, that I keep the name of slave. It is the slave's duty to expend his own soul that his master may be comfortable—assuming, of course, that his mind is adequate to the task. So let me say what I know, and let the king listen and pardon whatever faults appear."

28. The qualifications of a prince

The king said: 1921

"Now this is what I had to ask. God created mankind, some great, some small, some with a bad name, some a good; there are wise and foolish, poor and rich, intelligent and ignorant, wicked and virtuous.

"Of what sort should be the prince, who is at the head of all these? How should he conduct his affairs so that his realm will prosper, his people grow rich, and his name be glorified when he passes on; so that he will lay up treasure of silver and precious stuffs; that he may crush the neck of the foe, and remove civil strife; so that he can muster troops effectively, and dispense justice equitably; so that his name will spread abroad, and his Glory daily increase; that he may live contented and enjoy a long reign, and, when his life is cut off, enjoy the next world too?"

Highly Praised replied: 1930

"This is a difficult question indeed. Only princes know what it is to be a prince. Law and custom and protocol derive from them. They are born for princely rule, and they study how to do it well. When God gives someone princely rule He gives him the mind and heart corresponding to the task. When God wishes to create a prince, He first gives him the proper character and mentality, wing and feather both. Rule is the business of princes, and only royal persons know how to perform it. The king knows this business better than I: his father was a prince, and so is he."

The king said: 1937

"Your words are true, and fragrant as musk. Still, the man who performs a task simply performs it, while one who observes knows its virtues and defects. I am the performer, you the observer; and the performer can learn something from the observer. Now God has given you a good mind, and you have grown intelligent and sage. Also you have served me since you were very young, and have learned by observation what good government is. You understand the essence of every matter. And you have been loyal to me, both in word and deed. A man can ask advice of one who is loyal to him, for the loyal one will ransom his soul for that man. I can trust in your answer because of your loyalty. Speak then out of your loyalty, for loyalty is the head of humanity; as the poet says:

Praise the man who is true to you,
Keep him close to your heart;
If you find a loyal man,
Never let him part.''[72]

1948 Highly Praised answered:

''May the king live long in health and power!

''The first requirement for being a prince is noble birth; (then he will be) a marksman brave, hardy and strong, with a solid heart. If the father is a prince, then the son is born a prince, just like his father before him.

''Then he must be intelligent and wise, generous and virtuous. With wisdom the prince must rule the people, and with intellect govern the realm. In fact the words for 'wisdom' *(bilig)* and 'prince' *(beg)* are connected: take away the *l* from *bilig* and this leaves *beg*.[73] He needs to have a good mind because he will have many foes. A sage experienced in this regard has said:

Wise and wakeful a prince must be
To ward off all calamity;
Of myriad virtues, of vices few,
To hold his name and keep his hue.

1958 ''All of Adam's sons are of noble parentage, but the choicest of all are the wise. One who comes from good seed will be wellborn, and so will rise to the place of honor. Favored of heaven is princely rule: it wants purity, and along with purity it wants vigilance in the realm. The choicest of the people must be a marksman, brave; he must be bold to deal with mighty matters. Hear the mature words spoken by the Prince of Ötüken on this subject: The prince of the people must be the choicest among them, his heart and tongue upright, his character outstanding; wise and generous, with full eye and heart; his hand extended toward every good; modest, graceful, and even-tempered. Such a one is fit to be prince, and from him will come good seed in turn.

1967 ''A man must undertake a task with wisdom, and apply intellect as well, if that task is to succeed. It is only by means of wisdom that princes keep the people in check. Where wisdom is lacking, their minds are unsuited to the task. When a prince errs, O glorious king, his rule becomes sick and requires treatment. But the only medicine is knowledge and wisdom. So use intellect to treat the sickness, O virtuous one! Only a prince who is intelligent and sage can cure this illness. Such a ruler has a good place in both the worlds. And the person who gains both worlds is the very epitome of Fortune. As the poet says:

The man endowed with brains will have
The Luck of both worlds as his share;
He'll live a happy life down here
And have a place of honor There.

"The prince must be straight-dealing and upright; then his day will pass 1977
in joy. When God gives a man good character and good conduct, the world pours its favors upon him. He can enjoy them himself, or share them with others. It is God who favors His slave with Fortune so that his character is good and his conduct sound. Thus endowed, with virtues by the thousand, he disperses the fog and grasps the realm. What a fine thing is good character: it is a man's food and dress. But when God gives a man an unruly character, then Time's arrow harasses him. And if a prince is so endowed, then all his actions are contrary, and his joy turns to care.

"The prince must be God-fearing and devout. The one of pure seed 1985
must needs practice purity. The pious man has a fearful heart, and the prince with a fearful heart governs equitably, while if the prince is not pious and pure his deeds are all unclean and uneven.

"A quiet temper is the prince's ornament. Calm dignity is the tether by which his rule is bound.

"The prince requires a good mind if he is to undertake affairs and bring 1989
them to a successful end. But mindless men must be kept away from affairs of state. Just as the eye is useless without the heart, so the heart is helpless without the mind. Hear the words of one whose heart is tried and true:

> While a man possesses intellect
> Let praise for him endure;
> What seems bad in him is good,
> What seems unripe, mature.[74]

What a fine thing a good mind is. The man with a good mind *(ög)* is rightly called 'Counselor' *(öge)*.

"Know that haste is evil in anyone; and when it appears in a prince, 1996
his face turns grey with shame. Rashness and quick temper are sure signs of folly. Things done in haste are undercooked; food and drink consumed in haste cause sickness. Prefer to be slow and steady in every action. The only exception is serving God: for that you may rush!

"He should be full-eyed, modest, and forbearing, also open and frank in word and deed. A greedy-eyed man is insatiable: the food of this world is not enough for him. Greed is a sickness for which there is no remedy; the diviner of this world cannot cure it. When a hungry man eats and drinks, he is satisfied; but the greedy man stops being hungry only when he dies. The greedy-eyed person never gets rich: he is still greedy and needy, though he has gained the entire world.

"The prince should also be modest, for a modest character never wanes, 2005
but is full. When a man has modesty and purity, his hand never reaches out for what is improper. To whomever God gives modesty and water-of-eye (tears), He also gives Fortune and water-of-face (honor). It is

modesty that holds one back from all that is improper, and joins one to all that is good. What a fine thing is modesty, an adornment to a man! It is the tether which binds him to all good things.

2010 "He should have a truthful tongue and an honest heart, if he is to be beneficial to the people, and his sun of good fortune is to rise. There is no hope for the prince who has a treacherous heart, and no benefit from him for the people. If he is not straightforward in his heart, his tongue, and his deeds, then Fortune has no way to him and will flee that realm. Despair for a prince who breaks his word: his life is vanity and regret.

2014 "The prince should be wakeful and alert; if he is negligent, he will suffer the consequences. There are two bonds which hold the state together. One is wakefulness; the other is justice, the root of government. If the prince is wakeful, he keeps guard over his realm and crushes the foe's neck and tramples upon him. And if the prince dispenses justice, he keeps his realm in good order and causes its sun to shine. These are the two bonds of rulership: as long as they are perfect, princely state endures. And a stalwart champion said: With wakefulness the prince defeats his enemy and increases his territory, with neglectfulness the foundation of princely rule is undermined. Be wakeful then, O prince, watch over all your realm, wrench the neck of your foe and deal justly with your subjects. Then you will live in peace.

2023 "There are two things which undermine princely rule, and cause the ruler to stray from the straight path. One is injustice, the other is negligence. With these two the prince may ruin his realm. For if you wish to crush your foe, you must keep your ears and eyes alert. With wakefulness the prince pierces his enemy, with negligence he breaks the bond of rule. The careless prince cannot carry out his affairs or enjoy his rule securely. The careful man is always ready, lying in ambush for the neglectful. And if the enemy were not neglectful, who could defeat him? As long as the prince is wakeful, no hand can touch his realm without being thwarted with wise devices. As for the one who is unjust, he cannot enjoy his rule, nor can the people bear his injustice. A wise man has said that unjust rulers never rule for long. Injustice is a blazing fire which burns whatever it comes near. And justice is water that brings forth blessing wherever it flows. The prince who desires to enjoy a long rule must promote justice and protect his people. With justice the territory will increase and the realm will thrive; with injustice the territory will diminish and the realm will fall to ruin. Many a royal court has been ruined by an unjust ruler, who himself grew weak and died of hunger in the end. As long as a prince keeps a steadfast heart and promotes justice, his rule will not collapse but long will stand upright.

2037 "Worst of all, glorious king, is for the prince to get a name for dishonesty. He should be truthful in word and sincere in deed. Then the people will trust in him and share in his Fortune. A dishonest man is treacherous,

committing acts unsuited to the people in his charge. Here is how a trusty man has put it:

The man with a lying tongue
Is a treacherous-hearted brute.
'Trust not the liar'—this advice
Is of bitter years the fruit.

"The prince should be brave and bold and steadfast against the foe. 2043
As army commander he must be courageous so that cowardly troops take heart from him. For when a brave man commands the cowardly, they all become brave. Witness the following verse:

A dog is leonine
If he gets a lion's head;
Give the dog's head to the lion,
He becomes canine instead.

"The prince should be generous, yet keep a humble heart and quiet 2049
demeanor. It is through generosity that the prince acquires a good name, and it is through his name and fame that the world becomes secure. He then attracts troops who crowd about his standard, and with these he attains his goal. Hear how a successful warrior has put it: O brave one! strike, take, and give to your men. Be generous, give gifts, entertain with food and drink. And when you lack, then strike, take, and give again. The valiant man never lacks for wealth. The swooping falcon never lacks for prey. As long as a man has sword and battleaxe, bow and arrow—and a strong heart!—he has nothing to fear.

"What need for a prince to hoard up treasure? Wherever he has ready 2056
troops, there treasure is at hand. Troops are needed to maintain the state, and wealth is needed to pay the troops; a prosperous people is needed to attain this wealth, and for the people to be prosperous, you must maintain justice. If any one of these is lacking, all four are left behind; and when this occurs, princely rule disintegrates.

"In order to maintain his good repute, the prince should keep these five things far from him: haste, stinginess, quick temper, an unruly character, and a lying tongue. If he stays far from these his name will not go bad and his command will be effective. Worst of all is an unruly disposition. As the poet says:

The unruly man
Gives himself much woe;
The stubborn man's a captive,
Foe to friend and friend to foe.

"One who would rule over many lands should do these three: with his 2068
right hand wield a ready sword; with his left hand give out his gathered goods; and with his tongue speak sugar-sweet. Then prince and slave, great and small alike, will offer him their necks.

"These things, O king, are what a prince requires in order to be loved

by the people and raised in their esteem: a smiling face, a sweet tongue, a pure soul, and deeds befitting these; a humble heart and an open hand, and compassion befitting these. Such as he will know every virtue and keep far from every vice. He is the choicest of the people, flawless and complete. The world's people are all his slaves, and their prince attains all his desire of the world.

2077 "But a frowning face, a rough tongue, and a haughty mien: these make him incorrigible and despised. Immodesty, haste, and frivolity: these are the manners of commoners. The prince should keep such manners far from himself, for if they come near he will be sullied. White is the color of nobles, black of commoners and slaves. Distinguish well between these! He who would be a noble prince must hold to noble virtues. He may have the name of 'prince,' but if his character is black, he will be called 'ignoble' among the common people.[75]

2083 "The prince should be handsome and trim, and of middle stature. A fine appearance makes him loved and trusted by the people when they see him. His manliness then will be a hard blow to the enemy; while his beauty will bring tears of love to the eye. As for stature, if he is too tall, wisdom will not praise him, while if too short, he will not be graceful and refined. It were best for him to be of middle height. An aged and experienced man has said:

The man short of stature
Is short-tempered and mean;
The middling man is moderate
And seeks the mean.

2091 "The prince should not drink or fornicate. Fortune flees from these two activities. While princes of the world enjoy sweet wine, their lands and subjects suffer bitter ills. When the ruler of the world gives himself up to sport, he ruins his land, and turns himself into a beggar. If he dissipates his rule during his reign, then he cannot recover it, though he hunt it down with hawks. Hear what a wise and abstemious man has said on this: Do not drink, for the wine-bibber is a slave to his throat, and by drinking opens the way to poverty. When a commoner drinks, his wealth turns to wind. When the prince drinks, how can the state endure?

2098 "Wine is an enemy, the tavern-keeper a highway-robber, the drinker a brawler. When a man gets drunk he goes mad, and a madman's deeds cannot go right. Hear what a chaste-tongued man has said, and apply his words, you who are slave to your throat! How many a deed that should be done is left undone when wine is drunk. How many a deed that should not be done comes to pass when a man is drunk.

2103 "If a prince indulges in wine and sport, when will he set his mind on the business of state? Fornication spells the ruin of princely rule: wherever it is found, Fortune flees. For Fortune is pure, it seeks out purity and supports the pure. When the prince becomes a drinker, vile and corrupt,

then all his subjects follow him to drink. It is up to princes to set aright their subjects' improper acts: if the prince himself does what is improper, who is to guide *him?* Only water can clean out filth; if water itself is filthy, what can make *it* clean? When a person is sick, it is the physician who gives the medicine; but who can treat the physician's sickness? Therefore princes must keep their actions pure and straight, for the prince's way makes straight the way of the people. Whatever customs the prince adopts, the people follow his example. Witness this charming verse:

Whatever way the master walks,
The slave walks with a similar gait;
If the master's way is straight and good,
The slave's is good and straight.

"He should not be haughty and proud-hearted, for pride leads astray 2115
from the straight way. Princes become great by virtue of Fortune, and must keep their hearts humble if they are to maintain this lot. A virtuous sage has expressed this as follows: When a prince puffs himself up he is bound to be humbled, my son. Pride has never raised a man to heaven, though humility has kept him from ruin. Pride does not benefit a man, but only makes his heart cold; while a humble heart in fact raises a man's estate. Despair then of the prince who is haughty and proud. While the prince's heart should be lowly, it should also be open, and ready to forgive those who have sinned. Then his troops will love him, and his followers will be loyal and obedient.

"The prince requires both moral purpose and fitting manliness. Thus 2124
he will get a good name, gain his desire, and be successful in the hunt. A man who lacks moral purpose is as good as dead: his lot in either world is lost. Along with moral purpose the prince needs authority as well as the quality of leadership necessary to enforce it. For it is by means of authority that he sets his realm in order, and puts aright the actions of his subjects. Witness this verse which proves the point:

Authority is an adornment
Of the governor's gate;
With it he cleanses civil strife
And sets his province straight.

"The cement of the state, that which holds its foundation firm, consists 2132
of two fundamental things. One is justice, which is the share of all the subjects; the other is silver, which is the share of the military. With justice the subjects will live happily, and with silver the military will obey cheerfully. As long as these two classes are happy with their prince, he will be content, and his realm and court will prosper. When the prince stops administering justice and no longer guarantees his subjects security, then he has set a fire among them, and has undermined the foundation of his rule. And when the prince no longer inspires the love of his troops, from that moment on the sword stays in the scabbard. A prince maintains his

power only by the sword; without the sword he cannot keep down his own realm. Sword and battleaxe are guardians of the land. It is by the sword that a ruler gains control of his land in the first place. Hear the words of this warlike emperor: A careless eater can eat poison, so take care, O noble one, and keep sword and battleaxe your guardians. The prince with a sword as guardian will enjoy contentment. While he brandishes the sword, the enemy will not move; but when the sword stays in the scabbard, his contentment will vanish. Therefore, O prince, keep happy the one who wields your sword. Then you shall ever live happy and carefree."

2146 Highly Praised continued:

"O glorious king! The business of state is great and difficult. It is a weighty thing to rule, full of hardship and headache. There is little joy in it, and much care. Few are those who praise it, and many who curse. Wherever you look, there is fear; and if you look for happiness from it, there is little to be found. Few are its lovers, many those who despise it; for there is too much strife in it, and too little pleasure. Everywhere it inspires lack of confidence, and where there is no confidence, there is distress. Everything it undertakes is full of risk, and when there is risk in a thing, the taste goes out of it. Listen to these words of wisdom, strung like pearls:

The king's head is like a tower,
His neck is like a thread,
His rule is risky, like a sword
Suspended over his head.

2156 "This is the way of princely rule. Some find satisfaction in it, others disillusionment. If you wish to enjoy both this world and the next, then pay attention to these things: Keep heart and tongue upright. Take refuge in God and obey His command. Be satisfied with whatever comes from the Lord, for servitude to Him is the basis of contentment. Have compassion for all creatures. Always do what is right and what benefits the people, and put down what is wrong and what does them harm. Then this world is yours, you may eat and sleep without anxiety as long as you live; and when your life is cut off, you may be of good hope that God will requite your goodness with a good road.

2164 "The virtues that pertain to princes are these, as I have explained to the king. Any man who possesses these virtues deserves the name of 'prince' and a high position in the state. The perfect prince is the head of his people, and from him every virtue is expected. A clever man summed it up this way: The prince should be intelligent, wise, and just; also cunning and courageous to gain good repute. He must be generous and forbearing, modest and pure; kindly and protective, full-eyed, patient, and humble; sparing and forgiving, and quiet-mannered. He must be a paragon of virtue among men, and deal justly with the people. Whatever realm has a prince

such as this, its people's ills are gone, for Fortune's sun has risen on that land. Alas that men such as this must die!

"This that I have offered you, O king, is the extent of what I know."

The king said: 2175

"You have spoken well and true.

"Now I have another question to propose. Answer me openly. Once such a virtue-filled prince is found, of what sort should his vizier be, O excellent one? How can he best fill the treasury with gold and silver, and promote the state's prosperity and growth? How can he best direct the government and administer its laws? How can he stay on good terms with the military? How should he act in order that the people live in peace and security, and the prince acquire a name for goodness?"

29. Highly Praised explains the qualifications of a vizier

Highly Praised responded: 2181

"For the prince, O king, the vizier is the hand by which he wields his authority. The prince cannot do without the vizier, and if the vizier is good, the prince can sleep in peace. It is the vizier who bears the prince's burdens, it is he who plants firmly the root of princely rule. Therefore he must be outstanding among men, mature of mind and stout in heart, great of intellect and profound in wisdom, that he may deal effectively with every matter, and redden the prince's cheeks.

"He ought to be of noble birth, also pious and upright, passing each 2186
day with rectitude. Being a vizier is a big job, for which one needs an exceptional man, one of sound and choice character, who is both intelligent and wise, both sensible and sensitive. A man of intellect sows good seed: wherever it falls, it grows, and does not wither. And he ought to be God-fearing and pious, for then the subjects will feel secure from him. A pious man is balm and medicine to all troubled souls; he acts with prudence, stays far from impropriety, and takes up affairs at their proper time. It is the vizier who by his words and deeds wields power in the realm as the prince's deputy. It is not meet, therefore, that he be base-born, for the base are impure. Rather he should be nobly born, for then he will be true. Hear these words, uttered by the legitimate head of state:

The nobly born knows propriety;
He serves the people with loyalty.
The base-born only lies and cheats,
Although he serves dainties and sweets.

2199 "He ought to be modest, full-eyed, and content. The full-eyed man is not greedy for wealth; the hungry-eyed man is not satiated though he devour the world entire. The modest man is the choicest of mankind, the immodest is the vilest. When a man is modest, he is capable of any task, and with modesty he shuts the door to shame. The immodest man is of all men the basest, his tongue incapable of uttering an honest word. Hear what a modest and forbearing man, and one loyal to you, advises: keep far, far from an immodest man. Immodest, too, is a defiant eye. The shameless man's face, you see, is bone without flesh. The shameless man's very soul is cracked, and cannot be made whole. But if a man has modesty, then his face is bright with the water of honor, and his eyes sparkle with the water of self-respect.

2208 "He ought to be handsome of face, and well-kempt in appearance, while in manner he must be straightforward and also genial. Thus he will pay the people their due, and provide them benefit for many a month and year. If he, the chief minister, is not straight, then all the prince's affairs will go awry. But when the minister is straight and sound, the prince can rely on him and can entrust him with affairs. Beauty in a man's appearance implies beauty of character, and beauty of character and conduct means that the realm will be filled with his benefit. As the tried and discriminating poet said:

Outward form bears witness to inward,
The in corresponds to the out;
The man who is comely of features
Is comely of soul, without doubt.

Also, if the vizier is neat and well-groomed, he will make a good impression, and then his affairs will go well.

2218 "He ought to be clever at keeping accounts, also knowledgeable in drawing up the various sorts of documents. All the vizier's work depends on accounts. If a minister does not know accounting, his job is bound to fail. It is through careful counting that a man keeps account of his affairs, and chooses the right year and month, the right day, the right moment. It is called 'counting,' in fact, because it consists of keeping account of things and calling them to account. Truly, accounting is a very clever business,[76] and if a man is not clever at it, his affairs will not prosper.

2223 "As for the art of writing, it is this whereby a man sets down what he has learned, and so knows what he has done. Writing is a sign of intelligence. Also it sharpens the wits. If Adam's sons did not know how to write, how would they know how to reckon years and months and days? If the wise did not register things in written form, how could they have devised the various methods of reckoning and accounting? Before God created the world, He brought Pen and Tablet into being.[77] An angel writes down whatever a person does, and the Lord questions him about it on the morrow.

"He ought to be humble of heart, and soft-spoken, for that is the way 2229
to win people's love, and the man who is well-loved gives comfort to his friends. It was such a one who said: How good is humility in a man. For the people love the lowly-hearted and hate the hard-hearted, and so the lowly of heart long enjoy greatness, while the hard of heart never attain it.

"In sum, the vizierate requires a man of sound character, one who is 2234
lettered and has his wits about him; whose tongue and heart are one and whose conduct is upright; who is modest, compassionate, honest, full-eyed, and alert; who knows his business and discriminates the proper man from the ne'er-do-well; who is dutiful, devoted, self-effacing, and trustworthy. The king may certainly entrust the vizierate in a man who combines these virtues in perfect measure. And if such a man does become vizier, both prince and people will live in peace, the king's business will be carried out perfectly according to his will, the realm will thrive and the people grow rich.

"If the vizier is evil or unsuitable to the realm, then its people suffer 2241
ruin, rich and poor alike; while if the vizier is good, the people benefit therefrom, and the people's benefit is sweet to the king. Listen to one whose heart and breast were filled with Wisdom's light: When the prince is good in heart and tongue, his ministers hold to the path of justice; but when he himself is oppressive and evil, his ministers destroy any good trace. So long as the prince is virtuous one can expect no harm to fall from his agents; and as long as he himself does not fall on evil ways, he does not allow evil men to approach him. For wherever evil exists, there bad men lurk. Go then, O good one, and seek out good companions! The good and the bad never suit one another, just as the straight never comes to grips with the crooked; black night cannot be kin to bright day, and blue water cannot be neighbors with red fire. If you wish to learn about someone whom you do not know, examine his acquaintances. Everything mingles with its own kind. Therefore stay straight, and mingle not with the crooked! This verse bears witness to what I say—read it and lay it to heart:

'Birds of a feather flock together'
—Each creature knows its kind
'A man is known by his company'
—The cruel mix not with the kind.

"Now the vizier is the constant counselor to the prince. And one's 2256
counselor is one's own counterpart. So do not take an evil associate, for his bad conduct will prove unbearable. A prince who has good retainers acquires a good name, and the business of state goes well; one with bad retainers gets a bad name, and the business of state goes ill.

"When the vizier is of this sort, O king, he lets the prince live in contentment and the common people sleep in peace. Then the prince's

desires are all fulfilled; his business prospers whatever it may be; his realm thrives and his people grow rich; his treasury is plentiful and his years are blessed. Then his name remains eternally fresh, and his throne remains sound, though he himself grow old and worn. He has tasted of this world and shall taste of the next. Forever shall he live in glory."

2265 The king said:

"You have given excellent advice.

"Now tell me about the army commander. What sort of man should he be in order that he may carry out the prince's policy by leading his troops, and do so successfully and unerringly? Who will make a good commander, who will break through the battle-line and rout the enemy?"

30. Highly Praised explains the qualifications of an army commander

2269 Highly Praised replied:

"May the king ever have the upper hand over his enemy! For the prince a commander is indispensable, so that the intractable foe may not sleep in peace. For this task a tough man is needed, one full of sang-froid and inured to hardship and danger. It is no small thing to command an army, to order the ranks and to break the foe. It requires a choice man indeed, one wakeful and alert who will not suffer requital for any act of negligence; a generous man and a brave marksman, though humble in heart; one liberal with bread and salt, yet quiet and steady in his conduct.

2275 "Open-handed must the commander be if he is to gather around him the choicest troops. He must freely share with them all of his belongings: then he'll have a crowd of loyal comrades-at-arms. For himself, he must be contented with a horse, a suit of armor, and a weapon, and that his name and reputation spread abroad. He must not pile up wealth 'for my wife and children,' nor hoard up silver 'for my orchards and estates.' Rather, all his desire should be this: with sword in hand to strike, to take, to give, and to increase his fame. So long as he provides food and drink, horses and trappings, slave-girls and pages, then manly men will muster to his standard. They will ransom their souls for his sake, and lie down for him on the mountain cliffs.

2282 "He must be stout-hearted and tough-minded. The weak of heart are the companions of women: they have no place fighting the enemy, for they only corrupt the troops and set the men against one another. In battle he must be brave and cool, and when the enemy attacks he must stand firm. Death keeps its appointment, to be sure; but a brave man will not

die before his appointed time. It is the one who forgets death that strikes down his foe. As a valiant man once said:

Man born of woman is not to die
Before his fated span.
Though you be naked, strike the foe,
Fearless, like a man!

"He should have a well-developed sense of shame. Then he will be 2290
quick to engage the enemy and not put off his revenge. Out of shame a man will rout his foes, while it is the shameless one who flees first in battle. Out of shame even the coward performs heroic deeds, while with pride a man only puts his life in jeopardy. It is the brave man who is modest, and the modest man, when he dies, dies fighting!

"He should be good-natured and humble-hearted, for it is this sort that 2294
wins people's love. A forbearing man warms the hearts of his troops, but one who is foul-mouthed and quick-tempered alienates the men. The commander who holds his heart aloft will surely get a dressing-down from the enemy. For the haughty man is bound to commit an indiscretion, and either be ruined as a result, or die an untimely death.

"Valiant and manly he should be, also neat-looking and in good trim: then he will win repute. The man who is imposing in the eyes of the wicked makes them fear him, while the one who is well-disposed toward the meek makes them love him.

"Military affairs are closely connected to government authority, and it 2300
is the commander's duty to promote that authority. When discipline is maintained the army has a head, and when the army has a head the troops are well-provided.[78] If the army is without a head, then hobble it or it will go to ruin, O king—may you live long! Wicked men require restraint and discipline, while good men require honor and esteem. To the good all good things are due. One must seek to content them and not load them down with burdens. And all men yearn for a good man, gladly becoming his slaves when they find him. As the poet said:

All free men are the good man's slaves;
Follow the straight path and mend your ways.
With the humane man one should always agree:
Thus man is the basis of humanity.

"When the commander goes out against the enemy, he should display 2309
the following characteristics: In battle he must have the heart of a lion and the wrist of a leopard. He must be obstinate as a boar and strong as a wolf, ferocious as a bear and malicious as a yak. He must be a schemer, like the red fox, and must seek his vengeance like a male camel with his herd. He must be alert as a magpie and far-sighted as a raven on the cliff. He must maintain his fury, like a lion. And he must be sleepless at night, like the owl. It is these traits that make the right kind of man to smite the enemy and to carry out his vengeance.

2317 "He should be liberal with bread and salt, also providing horses, armor, and weapons. Food and drink, bread and salt—these are the balm of life, with these a man gains reputation. So be open-handed with them, O blessed with Glory! The Chief of Ili Valley has said: If fame and life are your desire, feed bread and salt. For the warriors will repay the debt of bread and salt to their benefactor if he is trustworthy and generous. If high rank is your desire, distribute food and drink. And if long life is your desire, you'll find it by keeping a well-stocked table.

2323 "As for the cavalry commander, these are the characteristics he requires to achieve success: First he should be truthful and sincere, for if a high-ranking individual is a liar, the people will not trust him. Second he should be generous and open-handed, for the troops must have their share and will not flock to the standard of one who is niggardly. Third he should be valiant and courageous, for a coward malingers when he sees the enemy. Fourth he should be a schemer, practicing craft and trickery, for even a lion howls at the sight of a cunning man. Finally he should be obstinate in breaking through the enemy's ranks and keen in inspiring his own troops. A commander who displays these virtues will smite the foe and shatter their fame. Such a one will always prevail. When he sets out against the enemy, they must keep vigil both night and day, banishing sleep.

2332 "Not a large army is required, but choice troops and sound weapons. A numerous army lacks a head (i.e., discipline), and an army without a head is without a heart (i.e., courage). A battle-tried warrior has estimated that an army of over twelve thousand troops is too big. Another brave and doughty soldier laid down as his testament that four thousand is the perfect number. When a numerous army wavers, it becomes turbulent and insubordinate, and cannot be set aright. A renowned and valiant warrior put it this way:

Look not for numbers in your troops
But soldiers choice and weapons sure.
Few and disciplined are the best;
Many a large troop did not endure.

2341 "When the commander advances toward the enemy, he should keep close to himself men who are good fighters. Let him carefully pick vanguards and night raiders, and keep his eyes and ears (i.e., scouts) posted at a distance. If his raiders go out and meet a large enemy van, they should rejoin the main army for the attack. He must hold the troops in tight formation and keep the royal escort in good order, not allowing any man to fall behind or to run ahead. He must know where to set camp and how to preserve the ranks of the royal train. He must post guards, making sure they are awake and vigilant; also keep close watch on the conduct of the standard-bearers, and not let any of the fighters stand to one side.

He should find a well-fortified place to set up camp. And he should not send off his men on distant missions, but keep them close together. He has to be constantly on the alert, for if he is negligent but once, an attacking force will catch him up.

"As he approaches the enemy, let him take his vanguard and find a 2349
camping-ground with good grazing and water. Then he must monitor his troops carefully, making sure that no informer goes over to the other side, lest the enemy learn the size of his army. His first task, indeed, is to capture an enemy informer and to learn their condition. If he estimates correctly, and acts accordingly, he will strike the foeman's neck and cut off his head. It is alertness especially that gives success in warfare. The army of an alert prince has a dragon as its guide, it is mounted on lions, with swords as whips. There are two weapons that are bound to defeat the foe. The first is craft and cunning: with these you make the enemy's face yellow.[79] The second is alertness and wakefulness: with these you gain the upper hand. It is the wakeful one, without a doubt, who requites his enemy.

"If your enemy's force is greater than your own, wait for the right 2359
time, do not rush into battle. And if the opportunity to make peace arises, then do so; if not, then put on your armor, gird your loins, and fight! Try to catch the enemy unawares by attacking at night, for then how can he know whether you are many or few? But if you are unable to overcome, then send a messenger to sue for peace. Use guile and talk peace, save yourself, do not rush into battle. But if the enemy is adamant, and persists with his intention to do battle, then do not put off the matter any further: muster your ranks, distribute the gear, rally your men, challenge the foe and fight. Procrastinate no longer then or the enemy will gather his wits and see for himself the size of your army. As an experienced fighter once remarked:

The eye that sees learns to despise.
The unseen foe is most notorious.
Though naked, fight. Don't hesitate,
For if you do he'll be victorious.

"Have some of the ranks lie in ambush. Have the archers dismount, 2370
with yourself in the front line. And let grizzled, manly warriors be in the lead, for such are both battle-hardened and obedient. Younger men of lesser rank may be very keen for battle, but as soon as you turn your back, their ardor is extinguished. So put trusty men in the van and in the rear, and some also in the wings, both left and right. Then, as they approach the opposing force, let them meet them head on and raise a shout. They should let fly their arrows while yet at some distance; as they draw closer, attack with their spears; and when they engage in the fray, use sword and battle-axe, grab hold the collar, fight tooth and nail! Stand

firm, never show your back to the enemy. Pierce him through, or else die fighting. It is the steadfast soldier who smites his foe; as a valiant warrior once said:

The bride rejoices in the nights of the wedding feast,
The brave in the days of fighting,
Like a falcon who swoops down and draws blood,
Upon his prey alighting.

2382 "When a brave man sees his foe, he raises dust on his tracks; he rushes to engage him, and does not give others a turn. When he sees a file of soldiers, he becomes a lion: he routs them, or kills them, or else dies fighting. When a champion sees his enemy, he reddens his cheeks. And in the fray he is dyed both red and brown: horse, harness and armor become scarlet red, while his fury-reddened cheeks turn dusky green.

2386 "If the enemy attacks, do not turn your back. Stand firm and his attack will be broken. If he moves, move after him; push on, march forward, do not stand still. And if he flees, try to take some captives, for when some of their warriors are captured the routed host will return for them, and then you may overcome them. But do not pursue him too far, for then he may counterattack, and you will be caught. When the enemy is desperate, he comes face to face with death, and who can oppose him then? In this situation you must act with care, my son, or else despair. The careless man dies walking, while the careful man reaches his goal. An experienced man has told me this: If the enemy flees, be satisfied, do not pursue him; the pursuer is bound to get stung. Once you have routed the enemy, he cannot re-form his ranks; once a fire has been quenched, it cannot be revived. But when people are desperate they seek death, and the soldier who seeks death will die killing others.

2398 "Any soldier who performs a valiant deed ought to be rewarded right away so that he reddens his cheeks. And anyone who captures a man should receive praise and gifts, so that his heart swells with pride. Even the wicked does good when he is praised; so if the good is praised, will he lag behind? When you praise a man he can capture a lion with his bare hands; when you praise a horse he can overtake a bird on the wing.

2402 "See to the care of the wounded and to the ransoming of captive soldiers. Bear up the dead with honor, and give what is due to their orphans. The troops will rejoice when they see you doing this, and willingly give up their souls when it is time to meet the enemy. Warm words, a cheerful face, a liberal hand: these three become a man well. Free-born men will gladly serve one with these qualities and sacrifice themselves for his happiness. The poet has truly said:

Throw not away your silver and gold
To buy up a flock of slaves.
Free men flock to the man of free hand,
Of warm words, and of smiling face.

"If the commander acts in this fashion, the troops will excel, ransoming their souls to the extent of the gold he gives them. For they are slaves to these three things. The prince who has found a commander of this description can rely on him, for he will bring all his ventures to a successful outcome. Now I have explained what sort of man ought to be vizier, and what sort commander of the armed forces. If the prince follows my advice, he can be confident in his choice, and so he will attain his desire."

Highly Praised continued:

"O glorious king! These two offices are equally important. Each has its emblem: that of the vizier is the pen, that of the commander the sword. These two are the bond and the tether of the state. When these two are joined together, who can sunder them?

"The choicest and most excellent of all the prince's subjects must occupy these offices; and if they rebel, he must have their heads removed! If they serve well their benefit is great indeed, but if they rebel their harm extends throughout the realm. Just as the prince himself should be the most outstanding of men, so these two servants should be the most excellent of his subjects. Then profit will accrue from them to the realm, and this profit will be sweet to the prince. A wise statesman has remarked—and his words are food for thought—that the ruler takes control of his realm by the sword, and keeps it under control by the pen. If he captures by the sword, he becomes king straight away; but without the pen, his hand cannot control it. Although a realm may be captured by the sword, it cannot be maintained from year to year through force. But when a kingdom is maintained through the pen, then all the subjects attain their desire and their proper share.

"This, O king, is the limit of my knowledge on this subject. I offer it to you in answer of your query."

The king said:

"I understand your counsel. Now tell me the qualifications for the grand chamberlain. He holds sway over the court stewards, and he must be prepared to ransom himself out of loyalty to the prince. What qualities must he have, that the prince may trust him both with his person and with his realm, and that the people may give him their benediction? Speak freely on this point, and enlighten me."

31. Highly Praised explains the qualifications of a grand chamberlain

Highly Praised replied:

"May the king live a thousand years in peace!

"The grand chamberlain must first of all be truthful and sincere. Along with this, he must be of sound religious faith. Then he must be nobly-born and refined in manner: only then will he prove of benefit to the people and cause their sun and moon to rise. A man of good stock will be a good man and one who desires good for the people. It is from a good man that one expects goodness to flow, in the way of food and drink, mounts and dress. And it is the man of refined manner who weighs his words, so that his deeds are faultless.

2441 "He should be full-eyed, modest and pure, clever and worldly-wise. The full-eyed man does not take bribes to carry out his duty. If the chamberlain takes bribes, the prince becomes a laughing-stock. Bribes are ruinous to successful affairs; they render raw what has been carefully brought to maturity. If he is modest and pure and even-tempered, then good will flow from him in word and deed. The modest man refrains from wicked acts, avoids unseemly conduct, and does not mistreat others. The pure man deserves and receives the favors of Fortune.

2447 "If he is clever, he will not be hard-pressed over money; and if he is wise, he will not err in his duty. It is the wise who get their proper share. The great sage spoke well who said: Wisdom is required to perform the prince's business. As for the man who lacks wisdom, he is good for nothing—consider him a corpse, for he is not truly alive! With wisdom a man's repute increases, he rises in men's esteem, and all his affairs go well. The witless man is a hollow, lacquered statue; the wise man's place is higher than the heavens.

2453 "He must also be intelligent and alert. With alertness a man retains his color, and with intellect he provides much benefit. Intellect has a share in all that is good; but the stupid man is a tree without fruit—and what can a hungry person do with a fruitless tree? The intelligent one enjoys the favors of both the worlds, and acquires a noble name. It is the man of intellect and of wisdom who is the truly human, choice of mankind, and chief of the people.

2458 "He should be handsome of appearance, and keep neat and trim—a falcon, with manly voice and clear speech. His handsome appearance will make him loved, and his manly bearing makes him fit to enter and leave the royal presence. A man who is manly and well-kempt has dignity, and with dignity a man wins respect.

"At the same time he should be devout, a religious man, chaste and pure. Then his character and conduct will be spotless. Such a man never shirks the performance of his duty. A pious man is the best of men, for he undergoes hardship for the sake of others.

2464 "The chamberlain always has his face toward people, and therefore his face should be comely to behold. When a person sees such a beautiful face, his eyes moisten, his heart dilates with joy, his soul gains nourishment. Wisdom cites the following verse in this connection:

It is propitious when your eyes
Upon fair beauty gaze.
The eyes revive as with cooling water
When they see a handsome face.

"He should have a sound mind and a quiet demeanor. The man with 2469
a sound mind does not forget his word, while the mindless one cannot keep his word. Lacking a good mind, a man can neither recognize his friend nor do his job. A man with a mind does everything right; a man without one is an empty mold.

"He should have a humble and a quiet heart, full of compassion toward 2473
the poor and toward widows and orphans. And he should be skillful and knowledgeable about royal custom. It is skillful men who produce all the beautiful objects in the world. Humble of heart and lowly before all; soft-spoken, and with words sweeter than sugar; a cheerful face and smiling eyes; virtuous and humane conduct—all these qualities should be his. A humble man once said: Keep your heart lowly, man of unsteady luck! Fortune favors the man of humble heart. Creatures flock to the man of smiling mien and warm speech. And people respond warmly to a man with these qualities, becoming his slaves and his captives.

"He should be patient and self-restrained, guarding his eye and holding 2480
his tongue. His ears must be alert, his mind broad, his manner even-tempered, his tongue and heart in accord. He should also have complete knowledge of etiquette, be able to write well, and execute all of his duties with wisdom. The grand chamberlain has to be master of all these virtues at once in order to keep a ruddy face. Among the royal offices, this is the most delicate one, if you consider the matter carefully. These are the requirements for one to be called chamberlain, whose duty is to be at the head of people and guide their steps in the royal procession. The poet has put it together in a verse as follows:

To be a chamberlain, ten things are required:
An eye sharp, an ear keen, a heart broad,
Beauty, stature, tongue and wit, mind and wisdom,
And character to all these in accord.

"May the king enjoy a lengthy life! The grand chamberlain is an eye 2489
for the prince, by which he sees. It is a delicate office to administer the rules and customs and ceremonies of the court. If the grand chamberlain arranges matters correctly, he opens the way and the door. Some words of wisdom have come down on this subject—hear them, and take them to heart: The office of chamberlain is a most important one, and only an excellent man can perform it successfully. For the chamberlain is intercessor between the prince and all others both great and small. He deals with the treasurer and secretary and other ministers; with tailor and cobbler and other craftsmen; and with foreign ambassadors, arranging their comings and goings, the exchange of gifts and the permission to depart,

seeing to their food and lodging, and treating both those with gifts and those without.

2497 "When it is the time of the royal procession, he must be at the head, and he must not commit faux-pas in matters of protocol and ceremony. Whether the indigent or widows or orphans present him with petitions, he must listen to one and all and present them to the prince. And when the prince sits in justice,[80] it is he who controls access of the petitioners. He must be very strict. If he sees any unseemly person whether within or without the court, he must give him warning, restrain him, or remove him altogether. These are the various tasks allotted to the grand chamberlain: clearly he must be capable of them. For the responsibility of carrying out this royal office lies wholly with him: if it is corrupt or deficient, then he is to blame.

2503 "Keep careful watch over your chamberlains, O king, and pay special attention to the following points. First, the chamberlain must never divulge the prince's words. Second, he should make his intellect the tether to his passions. Third, he must restrain himself when he witnesses something and not speak about everything he sees. Finally, he should perform all of his duties without taking bribes, and should allow those to approach the prince who would otherwise lack access.

2507 "If two things are found in a man, O king, do not give him office, do not let him wield power. One is falsehood on his tongue when he speaks. The other is crookedness of character, which makes him stray from the path. Let no one with these two traits come near you, O king!

"Aside from this there are three things required in a servant which, if he fails to attend to them, he will devour his own head. One is that he should keep to himself whatever he overhears. Another is that if he sees anything improper, he should quickly shut his eyes. And the third is that he should always be upright in his own conduct. Then he will pass his days contented.

2513 "Hearken to this wise advice: If you wish to keep your head, do not divulge the words of princes, and do not offend against the state. An offense against the state deprives the subject of his head, just as an offensive word crushes the speaker's teeth. Many an incompetent man have I seen who committed lese majesty and had his head removed as the result. And many a word have I heard that the tongue spoke, revealing the heart's secret and thereby wounding the lip. Thus the sage has said, that he who cannot control himself devours his own head!

2519 "It is incumbent upon the chamberlain to guard himself, both his eyes when he is present in audience, and his words when he presents petitions. He himself should not enter the prince's presence at the wrong time, nor present a petition before he is asked. A perspicacious courtier opened the road of good sense with this verse:

Wait until the time is ripe,
Then seize the opportunity:

At that time speak, if you are bid,
Show your worth, and let the princes see.

"These are all the virtues required of the grand chamberlain if he is to 2524
exercise his authority capably. And this, O king, is the sum of my knowledge on the subject. I have presented it to you, in accordance with your request."

The king said:

"And I have heard your words and understood them. Now tell me what sort of man is needed for the office of gatekeeper."

32. Highly Praised explains the qualifications of a gatekeeper

Highly Praised replied: 2528

"May you live in health and peace O king, O master of propriety!

"The gatekeeper must be very loyal and obedient, in body and in soul. He must be present at the gate to see dark night brighten and to see bright day dim. And he must perform his duty with refined manners and with due observance of court ceremony.

"He should be generous as well, liberal with bread and salt and silver 2532
and gold, in order to gather a retinue of troops. He must be the first to take up the watch at night, and must show every man his proper place. If strangers and foreigners appear, he must interrogate them, and allow those who are most promising to approach the royal presence. When he leaves, he should appoint a guard at the palace gate; then that day's duty is complete. And he should rise early to take charge of the gate himself. Nor should he let the sentries move from their stations at night or at dawn.

"At the time of the royal procession, he should enter and present himself 2537
at the head of all his retinue. When he goes to present himself, he should not stand long, and should leave someone behind to man the gate. Then when the troops enter, and present themselves in formation, he must take note of any improprieties. After the procession is over, the gatekeeper enters once again as spokesman for the troops, presenting their petitions and demands. He should be a support to any hard-pressed man, and convey gifts from the prince, whether gold and silver, a title, or an appointment. Who is the steadfast servant, loyal and loving, and who the undutiful one, the vain strutter? Who is the proper and the useful, and who has potential for future benefit? All these he must present to the prince, distinguishing clearly among them and promoting the worthy. Also, it is he who must go out and announce the auspicious decree, and thus, with cunning words, warm the hearts of the troops.

2547 "It is his duty to arrange the proper place for everyone in the court, whether seated or standing. No place should be left empty. He must receive foreign visitors, and entertain their comrades and squires. When the feasting table is brought in, he must examine it and remove any improprieties; and when they bring in drink, he must supervise and let no one touch it on the way. It is up to him, when the feasting table appears in court, to distribute the portions equitably, for that is an adornment of his prince. He must know how many vessels to bring for each dish, and leave no one hungry, either within or without the court. Two things increase the fame of princes: their banner in the courtyard and their feast-table in the place of honor. And two things are adornments of the prince's Gate, increasing his good name and opening the way to Fortune. One is a grand chamberlain who is a free noble man. The other is a worthy keeper of his gate and court. With these two men the royal gate is well ordered, and the royal name spreads far and wide.

2557 "It is his duty, furthermore, to supervise the cupbearer, bedmaker, cook, and standard-bearer; also the falconer, quiver-bearer, and archers: they must be kept ready at the gate each day. When he goes home he should take his retinue with him, feed them well, and give them something from his own property, letting no one go empty-handed. For himself, a single horse and garment and weapon are sufficient. Let him give away all the rest!

2562 "When a foreign visitor comes to offer his service, he must receive him, furnish him with a house and a servant, provide his board, and give him a place, a horse, and a dress for his appearance at court. Also he must inquire after the condition of the troops, whether they are hungry or full, whether their dress is sound or threadbare, and whether there is any hard-pressed and short of funds. He must relieve their distress and render their due. And if a man fails to appear at court for a while, he should investigate the matter. If the man is sick, then he should inquire after his health; but if the man is malingering, then he should bring him into line.

2568 "Performance of these duties constitutes loyalty to the prince and obedience to his wish. Hear what a man said who was honored by his prince for loyal service: The servant's obligation is loyalty, and loyalty implies obedience. The service of a faithful and devoted slave daily strengthens the foundation of princely rule. To be loyal means not to want one's own advantage, but each day to pursue what is good and beneficial to the prince. If a weed is useful I am its slave; if a flower is harmful I cut it out by the root. A loyal servant is higher in value than an ungrateful and good-for-nothing son. If your own brother is useless, abandon him; if another man is beneficial, take him as a brother and enjoy his benefit.

2576 "He should be soft-spoken and honey-tongued, humble of heart, and cheerful of face. For a frowning face and a bitter tongue chill people's affections, and the effect lodges in their hearts for life; as the poet said:

He who with his tongue makes his curses felt
Plants a flame in the heart, causes bones to melt.
The whip's wounds heal quickly and soon are gone,
The tongue's wounds heal not, but linger on.

"Whether the prince is riding out to war or to the hunt, to play polo 2581
or to tour the country, the gatekeeper has to take every precaution lest calamity occur through impropriety. For the baneful effect of error generally befalls the prince while he is riding, either in the hunt or in battle. It is his duty, then, to remove from harm's way anyone unreliable, and to take cautionary measures against anyone suspicious. As the prince's personal escort he should appoint men who are above suspicion, honest, loving, and loyal. The commander meanwhile has to keep the ranks of the royal escort in good order, holding back the spirited ones and urging the laggers ahead. He must not allow inferiors to mingle with superiors, nor those who ride on the outside to join the bodyguard. As royal escort they must observe the same formation as when they are standing or seated in court.

"This is the way, O generous sovereign, that the gatekeeper demon- 2589
strates his loyalty. If he fulfills these qualifications, then he will perform his duty, and may eat the prince's bread. I have said what I have to say. If the king desires the proper man, let him choose wisely."

The king said:

"I understand clearly what you have told me. Now speak again with measured words, and impart to me some wisdom, O word-master. You doubtless know that world-rulers send envoys from realm to realm. What sort of man is required to serve as envoy, so the prince may depend on him and send him off to traverse the land?"

33. Highly Praised tells the king the qualifications of an envoy

Highly Praised answered: 2596

"Let the king consider this matter carefully. The envoy ought to be the choicest of mankind, wise, intelligent and courageous. For God chose the very best of His servants to be His envoys. And by means of an envoy many fine things may be accomplished. So the envoy must be intelligent, steady, and wise, and a good interpreter of words. Words are his business: he has to know them inside and out; then matters arranged by him will succeed. A wise and excellent world-ruler has said: The best of men is the intelligent, the greatest is the wise. In whatever matter, when intellect precedes, that matter succeeds. Of this I have had much experience! Whatever affair a wise man sets his hand to, he reins it in and brings it

under control. If a man applies intellect and wisdom at the beginning of an undertaking, it will go well in the end.

2607 "He should be loyal, content in eye and heart, reliable, sincere, and upright. The loyal servant who truly loves his prince is the one who desires his prince's benefit. If you find such a one, keep him close to your heart. Indeed, the loyal servant is like one's own liver[81]—nearer than the liver: like one's own heart's blood!

2611 "As for the greedy-eyed man: he has no self control and so is unfit for the office of envoy. The full-eyed man, though poor, is counted rich; and the patient man succeeds in all he undertakes. But the greedy man is an evil covetor, and the covetous man is rightly named 'beggar.' Hear the words of a full-eyed man, who is chief of the rich: If greediness makes a man poor, the world's plenty cannot make him rich; and if covetousness makes a man its slave, only death can free him. Another piece of wisdom handed down on this topic: If you would be truly rich, then desire richness of heart. Even a slave, if he is full-eyed, is a prince. And to be a slave is better than to be a greedy prince. Any prince who is greedy is truly poor, while a slave who is full-eyed is a veritable prince, for he is rich of heart.

2621 "He should be modest, quiet-mannered, and discreet, but also worldly-wise. Without modesty a man is ignoble and vile, with modesty he is whole and sound. A quiet-mannered man is called 'forbearing,' and one whose conduct is discreet wins people's love. But it is by his wit and his wisdom that a man wins success in all his endeavors. This is as the poet said:

The clever man attains his goal.
So do your job with cleverness
And intellect and wisdom too:
Then all your days will Fortune bless.

2628 "As a mark of ready wit, he should know how to draw up all sorts of documents; how to read and write; and how to listen. Knowing all these virtues well, he may prove his wisdom and redden his cheeks. He should be not only well-read and well-spoken, but also well versed in poetry, and himself able to compose. He ought further to have some knowledge of astrology and medicine, and the interpretation of dreams; also arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, and cadaster. Then he should be able to play backgammon and chess, well enough to make his rivals howl. He should excel in polo and in archery, also in fowling and in hunting. Finally, he must know all tongues when he opens his mouth to speak, and know all scripts when he takes pen to hand.

2637 "These many virtues are required for the envoy to achieve his goal. If he is quick-witted and alert, his prince will gain the advantage and thus retain his hue. But if he is hollow and vain, his prince's luster will surely be tarnished. The man sent as envoy must be very virtuous, excelling his adversaries in every kind of negotiation. Whatever kinds of virtue they

pretend to, he must outdo them, and thus keep their respect. And whatever sorts of men he converses with, he must be able to understand what they say and to keep their deliberations confident. When the envoy is master of all these virtues, his prince's name grows great in the land. As the knowledgeable Kök Ayuḳ has said: If a man has virtue his name advances, if he lacks virtue he grows old with no name. With virtue a man surpasses other men, and with many virtues he soars on high. When a man stretches forth his hand with virtue, the lofty mountains bow their heads to the ground.

"He should be able quickly to grasp what people say and to be ready 2648
with the proper answer. So he must not drink wine but rather must keep in control of himself. The self-controlled man has Fortune's favor to reinforce him. If a wise man drinks, his wits depart, and if a witless man gets drunk, nothing can stop him. Wine is an enemy to wisdom and to intellect. Its true name is 'quarrel and trouble.' Many a wise and intelligent man has ruined himself by sticking his head into wine. And many a man both modest and discreet has committed shameful acts under the influence. Alas that for the sake of impure wine a man should give up his modesty and his mind. The man who drinks loses Fortune's favor. Then he is justly named a fool. When wine goes into the stomach, it brings forth words on the tongue, and these words return to burn the soul. Consider the following verse, and the in and out of the matter will be made clear:

The man who drinks opens his heart,[82]
Revealing its secret in an instant.
The sage who drinks becomes a fool
Or foolish as an infant.

"He must have a good mind and a skilled tongue. Then he will retain 2660
in his memory what others have said, and through his own speech he will be effective and his affairs will succeed. He should be handsome of appearance, neat and trim, and of good stature. And he should be valiant and high-minded—these two qualities are the measure of a man's worth. Finally, he should be soft-spoken and honey-tongued, for the great and the small alike soften at sweet words. The envoy's job consists in so much speech: if his words are right, he will reach his goal.

"Should His Majesty find a man such as this, then he may give him 2667
the title of envoy and send him on any mission, whether to distant strangers or nearby relations."

The king said:

"I understand. Now tell me this. Give me your counsel, and I shall pay you its due. What sort of person should the secretary be, the one whom the prince entrusts with his correspondence?"

34. Highly Praised explains the qualifications of a royal secretary

2672 Highly Praised replied:

"This is also a matter to which the king must pay close attention.[83] For no matter how wise the prince himself may be, he needs a secretary to write down his orders. Thus he cannot help revealing his secrets, and the secretary must keep them to himself, be they many or few. This requires sincerity and honesty, and these in turn require sound religion.

2677 "Now if the secretary fails in this regard, and publishes the prince's secrets, he only burns himself. It is true that the prince has to confide in two men, his secretary and his vizier. But once they are privy to his intentions, they must bear the consequences of their own indiscretions. If they fail to keep his secrets, they only bring ruin on themselves. Well spoke the Beg of Ötüken in his testament when he said: O confidant of princes, hold firmly to your secrets, for if you reveal them your head will soon depart. Your mouth is like a cave, and when a secret emerges from it, it is like the cold wind of dawn: it has been let loose in the world, everyone has become aware of it, and it cannot be recovered. From your mouth both fire and water proceed: one is constructive, the other destructive. Vain speech burns like fire—do not let it out, lest you burn yourself! Good speech is like flowing water—wherever it flows, flowers grow. O wise one, you who have the name of man: keep your heart's secret, you who are my heart's support. In the poet's words:

Hold your tongue, keep your secret fast:
Reveal it once and you'll repent.
The red tongue is the black head's mortal foe:
Guard your tongue and you'll live content.

2693 "The secretary furthermore ought to have a store of wisdom and knowledge, to be skilled in penmanship, and to excel in elegant expression. When a document is finely penned it gladdens the heart of the beholder and makes him wish to read it. And when the style matches the handwriting, the words are so many eloquent tongues.

"The Sir Tengi of the Ili had the following to say concerning the value of writing: all fine words must be written down, lest they be forgotten. If not for the prevalence of writing among men, how would you have learned these words of wisdom? Who would relate to us of bygone times? How could we verify oral evidence? And how would people be able to send messages from one country to another?

2702 "Writing, furthermore, is necessary for princes to carry out the affairs of state. Indeed, three sorts of men are indispensable to the prince: a wise counselor to confide in; a skilled secretary to take down his words; and a courageous, manly fighter to protect him against enemies and wolves.

It is highly beneficial to consult with such a sage as the first. As for the second, all the business of the realm is conducted through written documents; and it is the sensible prince who uses such documents to control the state revenues. As for the third, a manly warrior who wields the sword will crush the foe's neck and trample him down. The prince who gathers to himself these three sorts of men will attain his objective. Beside for these three, there is only the broad herd of men who follow them like camel foals.

"A realm may be won by the sword, but it is run by the pen, and kept 2711
in order by means of wisdom. All three are required in order to pacify the world. With wisdom and intellect the prince rules and conducts the affairs of state; with sword he wins new lands and peoples; with pen he orders the realm and builds up the treasury. When the sword drips red with blood, the prince conquers territory; and when the pen drips black with ink, he acquires gold. These are the two that hold the state together—so it was in bygone times, and so shall it ever be! These are two great virtues, O prince, and wise rulers hold fast to them both. In this wise the poet spoke:

It is a virtue to know wisdom
And a plus to wield the sword:
The sword it is that conquers
And the pen that reaps reward.

"The secretary must be full of eye, not greedy; and loyal and true, not 2721
seeking his own advantage. The full-eyed man does not covet wealth, nor is he beguiled by it if he acquires it. But the covetous man is captive to his own desires. The greedy deserves pity, for he is truly a slave: no matter if he is a prince, he is still the most ignoble of men. The secretary who is greedy uses his skill to bad ends. In writing with greed, he spoils the writing. If he sees silver or gold he is beguiled, and either devours his master's head or loses his own. The loyal servant, on the other hand, makes the prince's threshold a cushion for his head, and is ever attendant at the royal gate. For he desires the benefit of his prince and gives over to him both wealth and self, body and soul.

"He must not drink but must remain pure in his conduct and completely 2729
remove any unbecoming traits. When the secretary drinks, his wits flee from him, and then he makes errors in draftsmanship.

"Morning and evening the secretary must be in the courtyard ready to carry out his duty.

"Choose these two among men, and give them these two offices: a secretary with clear hand, and an envoy with a measured tongue. For whenever wrath is kindled, be it among near ones or among strangers, it is due to one of these two. While if affairs turn out right, it is also because of them. Also, if the first one bungles the words with his hand, then the other can make them good with his tongue.

2737 "Such a man, O king, deserves to be made secretary. Give him the authority. For on him you may rely, and from him you may expect humanity.

"This is the extent of my knowledge on the subject. I have offered it to the king, and my job is done."

The king said:

"I understand. Now tell me about the treasurer, with whom the prince entrusts his gold and silver. What sort of man should he be, that he may carry out his appointed office with success?"

35. Highly Praised explains the qualifications of a treasurer

2743 Highly Praised answered:

"O glorious king! Precious indeed are silver and gold, a balm to the soul. The one entrusted with their care must be honest and upright so that your heart will not be racked with suspicion. Hear the words of the chief of the merchants, one who roamed the world and gained much wealth: A precious thing is one's own soul, but even more precious are silver and gold. Silver consoles the inconsolable heart, and bends the man who will not bend. If a person sees silver and his heart is *not* overcome with desire for it, he is worthy to be called an angel. Many a tough man was softened at the sight of gold, and many a rough-spoken man became soft-spoken.

2750 "He must be full of eye and sound of character. Then his fortunes will daily grow more fortunate. His eye should be full so that he can see much money and not desire it. And he should have the fear of God in his soul, so that he clearly distinguishes the permitted from the forbidden and the suitable from the unseemly. A full-eyed man will not use your property to his own advantage. A sound and honest man will not prefer himself to others. One who is accustomed from childhood to see gold and silver will not develop much greediness for these things. And one who fears God will hold fast and sure to the path of uprightness. For uprightness is capital invested, and all good things are the profit thereof. Reaping this profit, one enjoys eternal bliss. When a man is upright his day is bright with virtue, his good fortune everlasting. One loyal man put the matter this way—hear his words, O world's foundation, and apply them to affairs:

With heart and tongue straight
And character sound,
Live safe and content:
Good fortune you've found.

"Loyal he must be, also wakeful and alert, and quick-witted to carry 2761
out a thousand tasks. And he must be modest in mind and heart. Keep immodest men far from you. Modesty restrains people from unseemly acts, and a sense of shame reforms the conduct of people who are corrupt.

"He must not drink wine but must practice self-restraint. The man who restrains himself is Fortune's favorite. If he drinks, he will be too liberal with your money, scattering it about freely without receiving the equivalent. It is better for the treasurer to be rather niggardly and to keep close watch over your money. The loyal servant will be the faithful one and will make his master rich. Hold on to the loyal one, for he is the choicest of men.

"As long as the treasurer is vigilant, affairs won't go awry. He will 2769
maintain accounts in good order and not get himself burned. The man with a good mind is not forgetful. He acts with forethought and deliberation, and so is not prone to err. But the witless man is forgetful, and the foolish treasurer will bring ruin on himself. So he has to be quick-witted in order to perform all sorts of calculations. If he is not, how can he make any distinctions?

"He must be an expert scribe, thoroughly versed in penmanship, for 2773
accounts are lost unless they are preserved in writing. Let him mark down all incomes and expenditures, clearly and in detail, by the year, the month, and the day. In truth, keeping track of accounts is only possible with writing. That it is which opens the door and clears the way. It is part of an official's duty to keep account of his office. As a loyal servant once exclaimed: Trust not your heart, my son, but write things down! For it is impossible to keep track of affairs by heart. When a word is written down, it is permanent; but when it is neglected, it is lost. A neglectful official will howl with anguish when he is called to account. He who knows the various types of writing can record his affairs and so perform his office. But he who is negligent in keeping accounts will howl and bang his head when he is brought to the reckoning.

"Furthermore, he should be well acquainted with arithmetic, and when 2782
he has mastered that he may proceed to study geometry.[84] You should know that the latter is a subtle science, by means of which even heaven and earth can be reckoned. The sage bard has said—and his words are food for thought:

> Profound indeed is the calculation of geometry:
> Even philosophers get dizzy on it.
> It splits the seven-layered sky like a grain
> And parts plains and mountains at a glance.[85]

"He must possess wisdom and intellect, and be straight in his dealings. 2788
It is the intelligent who are expert at their jobs, and the wise who are upright in their conduct. Their day is bright; but the witless and the foolish lack self-control and fail in their efforts. The treasurer carries out his

duties within the palace, and anyone in this position must keep careful watch over himself. He must keep tongue and heart straight, and conduct sound, so that the fire's flames cannot reach him, nay, not even the smoke. He must guard eye and tongue, and with his mind tether his passions and desires. Whatever the eye sees, the heart desires. And who can restrain the heart? It is the ruler over the seven limbs,[86] and when the ruler leads the subjects follow in good order. So guard well, O manly one, your heart and your eyes. Wisely spoke the sage who said:

The body and the seven limbs obey the heart.
With the heart a man bears a heavy weight;
Without it he's but a painted statue:
His claims to wisdom dissipate.

2799 "He ought to be close-fisted rather than open-handed. Then the treasury won't be squandered. Liberality is a fine thing in its place, but not with another man's property! Also he has to know the ways of the merchants, otherwise he cannot make a profit. He should know all the wares for sale, understand what is cheap and what dear, and be able to evaluate merchandise at its true worth so that he is not cheated and does not incur a loss. In the matter of loans he should be flexible, greeting great and small with sweet words. But when he borrows he must pay back promptly, so that others will readily lend to him when he asks them. As long as he is flexible in transactions and his conduct is upright, he will not lack for funds when he needs them.

2807 "When the prince gives gifts to his knights, it is his duty to convey them, and not with a sour face.[87] For when a bureaucrat holds back the gifts, the knights become embittered and begin to cast aspersions on the prince. Hear the words of the chief of the generous and take them to heart, you tight-fisted one! If you wish to make yourself hated, then hold back what you have promised. When you do not plan to give something, do not promise it, but once you have promised it then do not stint it. For when the prince goes back on his word, the public trust is lost, and when this happens the public finances go to ruin.

2813 "He must be alert and prompt, not dilatory and procrastinating. Often there comes to petition the prince one of his servants who is distressed by narrow means, and when the prince hears of it he orders him to be sent a gift. Then if the treasurer puts off giving him the money, the hard-pressed servant will despair. But if he finds speedy relief, even a slight amount will please him; so help the man in distress, my tiger! As the hoary sage once said:

Your petitioner repays with his soul
When you relieve his want;
Timely relief, though but a speck,
Appears an elephant.

"When you find a man like this, O king—one who is wise and intelligent, 2821
modest and pure—it is fitting that you entrust him with the treasury, rely on him, and pay him his due."

The king said:

"You have enlightened me. Tell me now about the chief cook, in charge of cup and table. What kind of man ought he to be, that the prince may eat of his hand without suspicion, entrusting him with his life? For it is a hard thing indeed to eat and drink at the hand of someone you suspect. Explain this to me clearly so that I will know, O manly tiger!"

36. Highly Praised explains the qualifications of a chief cook

Highly Praised answered: 2828

"This office, O king, requires an immaculate person, choice among men, upright and honest. Appoint such a one to the office of preparing your food and drink. Look for someone whole and sincere, loyal and devoted, and modest as well. A man with these qualities will ransom body and soul for his prince.

"Most dangers to the prince come via the throat. Now who can keep track of the cook while he is doing his job? The prince has to guard himself everywhere, but especially he must open the eye of vigilance while he is eating and drinking. Any ruler of men has a thousand enemies. They are like a net spread before him. So if the cook is not sound, reliable, and mature, the prince will incur danger when he dines.

"He ought to be an aged and veteran servant, devoted to pleasing his 2836
master, and prompt in serving him his food. If his service has been long, and his effort great, then his master will trust him and reward him. Hear these well-measured words, the mark of intellect: Whenever much labor is invested in a thing it becomes loved and desired; just as a thing for which one gives up life is precious as one's very soul. Sigh not for loss of life but for loss of labor: it is the evil man who does not give his life for the sake of effort.[88] A man may lose his life without remorse; but if his labor has gone for nought, he will regret it bitterly for many years.

"He should be full of eye and rich of heart, clean of body and fair of 2843
face as the moon. And he should be pious and practice the religious law. On such a man you may rely implicitly. Princes themselves are clean by nature, so if their food is not clean, how can they eat it, my lamb? But if the cook is clean, he will prepare clean food, and when food and drink are clean they are eaten with pleasure. The hungry-eyed man acts greedily

toward food—he need but touch the broth to spoil it. The man greedy of eye is raw in conduct, and this rawness is an illness unbefitting a man. So always hire men who are well cooked, tried and mature. At the same time, always keep on your guard; for however many sound and reliable men you have at your service, know that you are sounder and more reliable than they. The following counsel has been cited in this regard:

Most loyal of your subjects is your own eye:
Let it watch over you.
Most precious of your treasures is your own soul:
Keep it good and true.

2854 "Besides being well tried in conduct, with tongue and heart in accord, he should be comely in appearance, of goodly stature, and clean-shaven. A handsome man has a clean appearance to the eye; if he looks unclean, the food he serves sticks in the throat. Cleanliness is next to godliness, and purity achieves a good name for a man. In fact all men desire purity. When food and drink are pure, people have an appetite for them. So keep impure ones away from your food. The unclean man does a dirty job.

2859 "Sound and straight in his habits should he be. A man who is not upright cannot keep his conduct in line. If the cook is crooked, all his scullions will be so too. And if such a crowd of raw food-grabbers are in the kitchen, how can the prince's table remain unsullied? But a man who is straight and honorable attains all his desires. As a straight-acting man once remarked: When a man walks upright his day is bright with Fortune. But where treachery gets a foothold, all benefit and profit flee far away. When a treacherous man stretches forth his hand, the sea itself sinks into the ground.

2867 "He should be loyal and devoted to his master's welfare; also modest and restrained, intelligent and wise; serving meals promptly, carrying out his duties according to royal protocol, and keeping his eyes straight ahead when he comes in and goes out; performing his office with wisdom and intellect, restraining himself from error and his eyes from what is not his business. If he is faithful to the prince and seeks his reputation therein, he will share in the prince's eternal name. Wise men desire a good name: they are the trustworthy, and from them you may expect humanity. They are men among men; as the sage has said:

The wise man and the faithful
Will stake his life for you.
The wicked and the faithless
Will always be untrue.

2877 "This is what I have to say, O king. Hire a man with these qualifications to be in charge of your table and cup, and you will dine thenceforth without suspicion."

The king said:

"I understand. Now inform me about the cupbearer. What qualities ought he to have, so that the prince may trust him and drink from his hand?"

37. Highly Praised explains the qualifications of a cupbearer

Highly Praised answered: 2883

"This too must be considered carefully, O king! Certainly he should be well-bred and tried in years; one who has mastered his own heart and straightened his path; also loyal and sincere, full in eye and heart, and in his conduct, as the saying goes, straight as an arrow. Only a man like that is suitable to bear the cup, and capable of performing the office.

"It is the cupbearer who administers all sorts of medicaments, mixing 2887
digestives, electuaries, or laxatives, to be eaten, licked, or sipped. It is at his hand that fruit, fresh or dried, and also sweet wine find passage to the throat. And it is via the throat that all dangers reach the prince. The cook and the cupbearer together are responsible for what enters the prince's throat. Woe to him when he consumes or imbibes if those two are not reliable! So guard your throat, and be moderate in what you eat. The sage physician has said: To guard the throat is beneficial to the head, and eating moderately ensures that the food will be tasty. Many a man I have seen who failed to guard his throat, and so brought harm to his head and ruin to his years. It is via the throat that a man acquires all banes and ills, and also via the throat that he ingests all drugs and cures.

"He ought to possess wisdom and intellect. Then his humanity will be 2896
apparent: he will not mingle with the wicked, and will be honest and true. If an arrow shaft is not straight it is burned, and if a man is not true he ends up a captive. Be you just and true, O manly prince, and perform your office! For I know nought of good that is outside of truth.

"Furthermore the cupbearer should be most fastidious. Then he will 2900
carry out his duties with upright heart and mind, and allow no one unseemly and immodest to come near. With his own hand he will mix the wine, then seal it shut. Any medicaments to be eaten or drunk, any fruit whether fresh or dried, rose-water or rose-honey—all are to be mixed and prepared by his own hand so that he may control the purity of the resulting liquor. He must guard the cup with love and devotion, and thus pay the prince's due. All the effort that a servant puts thereby into his master's service redounds to his own benefit. For any thing is valuable in proportion to the labor that goes into it; as the poet says:

A thing endowed with human effort
Is rooted in the soul and does not perish.
An investment of labor's an investment of life
Worthy to love and cherish.

2911 "If such an immaculate man is found, he deserves to be appointed cupbearer, for his service and his beauty will brighten the heart.

"As for his apprentices, they ought to be beardless boys with faces like full moons and bodies like saplings, thin-waisted and broad-shouldered, with black hair and white complexions and red cheeks—in short, like statues! Then they should be outfitted with garments of green and blue and red and yellow silk so they will have a suitable appearance as they offer the trays. It is important too that the cupbearer be beardless to guard the drink from any hairs or specks. It is most unseemly when a hair is discovered in the cup, and bad taste to let one fall into food or drink. A wise adviser said on this subject: If the cupbearer is clean and handsome, my lamb, then the drink he proffers will be wholesome. It is most suitable when one is offered something at the hand of a handsome and well-mannered person, for then the eye receives the soul's share. This has been expressed in the following verse:

The Saki, so fine and elegant,
With charm fairly bursting:
His face is food to the fasting,
Unquenching drink to the thirsting.

2925 "Such are the qualities to be sought in the chief cupbearer and his minions. When such a one is found, the prince may make him his intimate and trust him thoroughly.

"For these four offices, O king—envoy, secretary, cupbearer, and cook—seek out only the choicest of men, who are loyal, full-eyed and modest. Select each one carefully and do not rue it on the morrow if he turns out unsuitable. If the envoy or secretary is raw, the harm he does affects the realm, O clever one; and if the cook or cupbearer is raw, his harm touches your very soul and the foundation of your life. Therefore choose these four with the greatest care, O king, then commend them to their duties."

2933 Highly Praised continued:

"Glorious king! The great name of prince corresponds to the greatness of his office. Now this great office brings with it great headaches. If these are not endured, princely rule must be abandoned. One royal counselor expressed it in this wise, and with his counsel poured a heap of pearls before his prince: Strive not for contentment, O prince, but bear the burden of hard work. Indeed, hard work and contentment are bedfellows: for when the prince strives hard to manage the realm, the people thrive in peace, and when the people prosper the prince's desires are fulfilled. So rejoice not over much if you enjoy contentment now, for soon will come hardship, contentment's counterpart.

"Finally, O manly tiger: no matter how faithful and true your cupbearer and cook may be, no one is more loyal to yourself than yourself. An august statesman has expressed it in this verse—write it down so you won't forget it: 2939

I have never found, though long I searched,
A friend to myself than myself more secure.
Guard yourself, keep yourself sound and true;
If yourself departs, nevermore seek the cure.

"I have answered your questions, glorious king, and have prescribed the cure and the remedy. It is with servants like these that the prince waxes great, crushes his foe, and spreads abroad his name and fame. Now I have something else to impart. If the king will deign to listen I shall utter it, otherwise I shall keep silent." 2944

The king said:

"Nay, tell me, O sage, for all your words are worthy to be heard: you are a very sea of wisdom and a flowing river of intellect."

Highly Praised said: 2950

"Rather, it is from the king, O king, that all wisdom flows to the realm!

"I have presented the proper path of the servant, and explained how the slave should serve his master. But the master must also know how to reward his slave so that he will serve him long and true. Just as the prince has rights over his subjects, so his subjects have rights over him. As long as his servants pay the prince his due, he must pay their due according to their service. For a servant only serves in order to gain a living, and if his own worldly needs are not met, he suffers an injustice."

The king said:

"Come, tell me clearly and in detail what the rights of the servant are."

38. Highly Praised explains to the king the rights of the servants over the prince

Highly Praised said: 2957

"The servant has claims on his master even before he begins his service. First of these is that the master must provide food and drink, and see to the material requirements of his servant. For service is effort and hard work. If the master realizes this, he makes the service into high ground.[89]

"The servant sacrifices himself body and soul on his master's behalf. Hot or cold, hungry or filled, barefoot or naked; bearing the blows of sword and axe and arrow; going in front or behind, to the right or the left—all these hardships he suffers in order that his master may be content. In the face of the enemy he is a firm weapon, going in front, seeking life

for his lord and death for himself. Thus he joins night to day in seeking the prince's welfare and causing himself to suffer.

2965 "In return for this service the prince must pay him his due and treat him with kindness and consideration. The illustrious Khan of the Three Camps has said: You who are prince and chief of the people! Treat your servants well and raise them up. It is through his servants that the prince's hand holds sway and the ruler commands the realm. No matter how great and highborn a prince may be, it is only through his servants that he achieves a great name. Humanity consists in manly virtue, O king, and this virtue should be a man's guiding habit. This means to recognize a person's effort on one's behalf, and to award him his due share. A servant stands at the gate in hope; if the prince makes him despair, then manly virtue departs.

2973 "The prince must be aware of his servant's quality and take note of his beneficial and his baneful aspects. He must then award him according to the benefits he has provided. Compare your man with your beast, O prince, and do not treat him more basely than it. You have to fill the beast's belly first—only then can you expect to benefit by it. If the prince is generous in payment and kind in word, the servant will ransom himself for his sake and love him truly, enduring hardship on his behalf. The sage bard spoke in this wise:

In gratitude for a kindness done
He returns the kindness ten to one,
And for the sake of what his benefactor gave
He makes himself his slave.

2982 "The prince must give good reward for service, clothing the naked and feeding the hungry. What kind of prince fails to remove the taint of poverty from his slave? Hear the ancient sage—his words are the young man's eyes: If one man expends effort on another's behalf, the other should compensate with humanity. A man who is not considerate of another's effort does not deserve the name of man, for he is like a beast.

2987 "Two sorts of servant wait upon their master's pleasure, one slave, one free. The slave is powerless: if he fails to perform his service, he gets a whipping from his master. The free man puts himself in the position of a slave: his service must be acknowledged and his effort redeemed. All free men are the good man's slaves, and to them he should open freely the path of kindness. It is not proper to treat a free man like a slave. Rather, treat a free man like a free man, and a slave like a slave.

"The prince's gate is the gate of happiness. Holding fast to that gate brings benefit to the soul. If the servant becomes rich, the master gains a good name, which then through benediction becomes immortal.

2994 "O king! The likeness of a prince in relation to his servant is that of a great merchant who provides capital to his partner. The latter takes the money and roams with it from land to land. Then when the appointed

time is up, and the profit has accumulated, the partners meet and each receives his share. In like manner, the servant is a partner in his master's affairs. The prince provides worldly goods, along with kind words; the servant sacrifices body and soul, wielding the sword on his behalf; and the profit therefrom is in the form of realms and cities and towns. By striking the neck of the foe he builds up treasure, which provides his leisure and his pleasure. All this is like the profit on capital. So hold in good stead him who profits you, my prince. The chief of the merchants, who roamed the world seeking his own profit, has put it this way: A useful slave is nearer than a son, while a useless son is an enemy. Every living creature seeks his own profit, and without a profit the hunter would grow old at home.

"Men and horses are wings and feathers to the prince, and without 3005
wings a bird cannot fly. A ruler's strength is made manifest through his troops. It is with his troops that he cuts the Gordian knot. When manly men muster to the prince's standard, he becomes lord of the favorable conjunction; just as one in whom virtues are gathered attains all his desires. The world-ruler requires myriad virtues. When he possesses them, then he may devour the world! Learn wisdom, my son, and do not despise virtue. For virtue, like the white falcon, brings good fortune. The hoary-headed ancient one sang thus:

Honor Wisdom, for Wisdom
Honor to you brings.
Value Virtue, for Fortune
Is borne on Virtue's wings."

The king was pleased with this discourse, and said: 3015

"O wise and noble one! Well have you established the foundation of humanity and demonstrated the way of the faithful.

"Now I have become the people's sultan, and my hand and tongue hold sway. I do not rejoice because I have attained princely power, nor seek my own happiness because I have been granted life. My desire is rather that all those who submit to my rule should grow rich and strong at my hand. Princes rejoice in what will benefit their subjects in the future. Enough for me now in return are the people's benediction. All this gold and silver I have accumulated in my treasury only that I may deal it out among my troops. Thus they will pray on my behalf, and God will spread my name abroad. My sole desire is that those who serve me now and those who remain after I am gone shall prosper. When I depart this world my subjects will live on—may they continue to serve me even then through their benediction!"

Highly Praised responded: 3025

"The king has understood this matter well. What else can mortal man wish for but to leave behind a good name? Also, if a man desires this world he must deal out silver, and if he desires the next world this again

is his ransom. Deal out your gold and silver then, O king, and whatever realm you desire, your hand will grasp. A ruler sage laid a foundation for royalty when he said: The prince must spend his wealth to hire many troops, then he can capture whatever enemy's realm he wishes. What need has he of treasures? He requires troops! It is not necessary for the prince to be wealthy, but for the people to be satiated. So long as a prince has troops his realm will not suffer loss, while if he lacks troops he will not rule for long. And so long as his troops are pleased with the prince, he will find whatever realm he desires ready for conquest.

3034 "The prince who is open-handed will gain a place of honor in both the worlds. It was a wise man who said that a prince cannot govern if he is miserly. These two are incompatible: virtuous men all flee from a miser, while they flock to embrace a generous man. In fact, niggardliness is royalty's enemy, for in any land the miserly prince rouses dissension against him.

3039 "Two things, gold and the sword, are what hold the realm together. It is through generosity that the prince guards his realm and waxes great. And it is by means of brave warriors wielding lightning-like blades of iron that the aggressor's veins are pierced.[90] If the prince rubs hands with gold, he can overturn a realm with his tongue alone, and never lift a sword! It is by means of these two that he must govern. It is by means of these two that a man grows great, O king.

3044 "Gold is what relaxes knitted brows and restores affairs that have broken down. Silver is to be found wherever there is a sword; and wherever there is silver, there is the sword directed. Scatter silver, O prince, and good men will muster to your standard, but hoard silver and the sword-girded knights will scatter. Brave swordsmen are hostages to silver, and gathered gold is ransom for their swords. The miserly prince hoards his wealth to stock his treasury; the generous prince strikes with the sword and takes. This is ever the way of the world: to curse the miser and to praise the generous."

3050 Highly Praised left off speaking, kissed the ground, and delivered a prayer of benediction for the king and of praise to God. Pleased with what he heard, the king also raised his hands in prayer, and said:

"Merciful Lord, my trust and my refuge in straightened circumstances: I have no other support but You; You are my reliance and my hope. Is there any good which You have not done for me, or any desire which You have not fulfilled? Truly, how can I, being dependent, serve You Who are independent? I entreat You for help and for strength. Support me, and keep me on the straight path.

3057 "Greatest of all the goods which You have granted is this Highly Praised, who is my heart's support. You gave him to me as a gift; I give You for him a hundred thousand thanks. In my service he sacrifices body and soul, thus adding benediction to my passing years. Grant me now the

strength to pay him his due, so that he shall join his heart with mine in mutual joy.''

The king continued: 3061

''O Highly Praised, upon whom the wise and the intelligent shower their praises! Should any seek a wise man, you are the paragon of wisdom; and should any seek an intelligent one, you are the perfection of intellect. Also you are trustworthy and loyal, sound and pure, and you have restrained your hand with justice. There is no act of service which you have left undone. Indeed, your services have outstripped my benefactions. You surely deserve a goodly recompense from me. Let me pay your due, may you live long. And just as my heart has found joy in you, my son, so may God grant you joy!''

The king fell silent. His servant kissed the ground, then cheerfully rose 3067 to leave, mounted his horse and went home. He continued unswervingly to offer fitting service day and night. Fortune's gate opened wide. He had his wits gathered about him and grew deep in wisdom. Favored by Heaven, his hand held sway. Hear the words of one renowned throughout the land as Fortune's favorite: When Fortune comes to keep a man company, it raises his head to the sky and showers him with wealth, enlivens his heart and reddens his cheeks. And a graybeard spoke as follows—listen well my manly tiger:

If a man has Fortune, his hand is long;
Now wise are his words, and right is his wrong.
The philosopher, if he lacks for wealth,
Though eloquent once, now tied is his tongue.

Such is the custom of the World, such the repute of fickle Fate. When 3077 she turns her face toward an ignoble man his face acquires the luster of nobility, and when she opens her eyes upon a little man he becomes big. Whomever Fortune lights upon she straightens within and without, grants all his wishes and spreads his name abroad. But when she departs she takes away what she has brought, and lowers to the ground the head that she has raised.

You who have heart and intellect, you who are mindful and wakeful: 3082 love not the World, for the retribution will strike! What need have you for this vale of darkness? Speed on to the pure and eternal land. This world is a prison: lift your heart from it and seek the lofty palace, there to abide in peace. Hearken to one whose heart is pure and straight: O you of noble ambition! Seek that excellent world, and your Fortune will be full. Put aside this fleeting world and desire that lasting one. If you abandon not this world it will abandon you. It is treacherous, this world: the more you betray it the more it will favor you. You who have strayed from the way, you whose head is turning: love not the world, for its foundation is quicksand. He who sinks into quicksand must despair of rising again. Save yourself from the quicksand, pull yourself up; ransom

yourself through servitude to God: turn to Him now, and He will grant your wish. Now turn your tongue around and leave speech behind!

3093 The king straightened his heart from that time forth, and constantly lay down good law for his subjects. The people lived contented, the thin grew fat, his friends flourished, and his enemies grew weak. He passed his days in serenity, while his name and fame spread throughout the world. Thus for a while did he live and walk: the wolf lay down with the lamb.

3097 One day while the king was seated on his throne he summoned Highly Praised and questioned him about conditions thus:

"Tell me how the days are passing, O Highly Praised! Are the poor more numerous in the land, or the rich? What evils are abroad in the realm? What is the people's condition? Speak openly, conceal nothing from me. What words are current on the people's tongues? Do they curse me more, or praise me? Are my faults greater, or my virtues? Tell me, that I may effect the cure."

3102 Highly Praised replied:

"All have attained their desire, O king, and the world prospers in the shadow of the king's glory. Care is short and joy is long. The people are rich and dwell in contentment. Towns and villages deck themselves, hearts flutter, and the people pass their days and nights rejoicing. All tongues sing your praise unceasing, all breaths breathe your benediction. Justice is like water and injustice like a consuming fire: you have poured forth clear water and quenched the fire. You administer the law with justice. Therefore the world prospers, and not a single wrongdoer is to be seen in the realm.

3109 "Injustice proceeds from three causes, O king. The first is when the ruler is neglectful, the second when he is weak, the third when he is greedy and gnaws on the people's liver. You are none of these three—whence then can wrongdoing appear in the realm? O pure and just prince! God gave you wisdom and virtue and favored you with all good things. The people are replete, and secure in their food and their dress. Therefore give thanks to God, serve Him, and live a while in contentment. Whatever of wrong or ill may befall outside, behold, your servant is ready to deal with it."

3116 Greatly rejoicing, the king raised his hands in gratitude and praise of God, saying:

"Merciful Lord! You are great. You have bestowed honor in the land to this lowly slave and have granted me every good. Now gratitude for this has become a burden on my neck. How can I thank You sufficiently? May You Yourself discharge this debt of mine!"

3120 Again the king spoke:

"My dear Highly Praised, it was by the grace of God that I found you, and now you are become the cause of every good, dispenser of justice

and restrainer of injustice. Every good comes from God, of course; but in giving you he gave ten shares of goodness. However much a prince may exert himself, he cannot long prosper if he lacks servants to promote his affairs. For the prince is confined to the inside, the court. He needs loyal servants on the outside to be his eyes and his words. Now you are my eye, my tongue, my hand, by which I have gained a good name.

"Hear what the world-conquering Khaqan has said: The prince who 3126
finds a loyal servant should value him more than gold and silver. The prince who finds an honest man to serve him can live in peace and good fortune. The choicest of servants is the loyal—who can find such a one? And if such a choice and loyal one cannot be found in the world, how can humanity's promise be fulfilled?

"My one regret is that you alone, Highly Praised, have been bequeathed 3131
to me from your father. Were there another one like yourself, sooner or later he would have followed you here. I have only you, O upright one, and if I lose you where can I find another? It is your uniqueness that disturbs me. If only you had a companion, one who would share in the burden of your labors, and at the same time add a share to my benedictions. Consider now whether among your kinsmen there is not one who will follow in your path."

Highly Praised answered: 3137

"May the king ever live in prosperity and happiness and peace; may he ever attain his desire; and may his heart never be weighed down because of my labors. For me work and pleasure walk side by side—the more I work, the happier I am! Still, should the king seek another man who will be of benefit to the realm, he is only heeding what a sage has said on the subject: that a realm with many helpers will prosper, and its prince, grown great, will eat and sleep cheerfully. For when there are many clever and useful men in the realm, they do the prince's business and let him rest.

"Among my kinsmen there is in fact one of this sort. He is very wise 3145
and virtuous, pious and wakeful. He lends color and luster to whatever he undertakes. A most upright man, his hand is set upon every good. His name is Wide Awake.

"However, he has turned his face from this world and has withdrawn to a mountain in order to straighten his heart. He busies himself with devotion to God, with which he cures the disease of sin. He is a hundred times more virtuous than myself, an outstanding person, the choicest of mankind. If that brother of mine were here with me, his wisdom would promote every affair of state. Then the king could rest with an easy heart and, the world in his grasp, live contented."

The king said: 3153

"That is exactly my wish, to find one in whom my heart will have confidence and repose. Now, my clever one, how will you go about this

task and bring him hither? How shall we summon him, and who shall we send as the summoner? Is a letter better, or an oral message? You do whatever you deem right."

3157 Highly Praised responded thus:

"I have explained to the king that I have a brother, but I cannot tell whether he will come or not. If he does come, good, he will have honored your command. But if he does not, he will be in a position of failing to honor it. I wonder then if the king will be angry, and if that righteous one will reproach me."

3161 The king said:

"I only asked you for information, and you told me what you know. Now summon him. If he comes, well and good. If not, how can you be reproached if he disobeys me? You praised his virtues: for the sake of those virtues I want the man. You told me he was wise: for that wisdom I desire him, and to spite vain desires. Only men of wisdom and intellect are truly men. The rest are all cattle. Only the wise and the intelligent know how to carry out affairs; as the poet says:

Wisdom resolves the tightest knots:
For wisdom ever yearn.
Apply your knowledge to affairs,
And never cease to learn.

3170 "It is not to me alone that he will be useful, but to you as well he will be both a benefit and a joy. For a man has need of brothers, and if he has no brothers he has to acquire friends. Well spoke the statesman who said: He who has brothers is stronger than others. A man with brothers has great fame, a man with friends has a great name. If you have no brothers, then acquire friends; if your friends are good, then they are brothers!"

3175 Highly Praised replied:

"If his majesty truly desires him, I propose the following plan. With the king's permission, let me go and summon him myself. Let me open communications, and choose my own words according to my lights. Meanwhile, let the king also write a letter in his own hand. When he reads the king's command, he will believe me. He will not hesitate, or say that it was my own idea. For the king's written decree is something quite different from any words that proceed from my mouth. A noble man has said: The prince's command hunts down the subject's heart. Another wise saying is this: The prince's word unties the knotted heart. Furthermore, when the prince speaks warmly, his servant remembers it the length of his days; and when the prince's tongue is soft and sweet, the people, both great and small, love him."

The king said:

"If you think this is the right plan, go and prepare for the journey. Meanwhile, I'll write a letter that will be a net to snare him."

39. King Rising Sun writes a letter to Wide Awake

He called for pen and paper, and wrote this letter in furtherance of his plan, beginning: 3187

"In the name of God, Creator, Nourisher, Pardoner.

"I write the name of God, for this name is a remedy for every ill. To God I render praise upon praise, a thousandfold. To Him there is no passing away. He calls into being everything that moves, according to His will. He also provides its sustenance and maintains its life. The Lawgiver, omnipotent and just: His power extends to all of His creatures. He created the blue sky and the bright sun, black night and the moon, and years and months to a reckoning.[91] And He created the firmament of heaven, ever revolving by his decree. Before creation He destined what was to be; therefore bend your neck to destiny, and obey His decree. Whatever He wills, that He does;[92] whatever He says, that comes to be.

"Greetings from the king. May this letter find you in good health. May 3197 you bear Time's burden easily.

"I have heard of your good character: that your like is not to be found in this age; that God granted goodness and virtue, knowledge, wisdom, and intelligence as your share. When I heard that your nature was thus, I conceived the desire to see your face. Now I have sent your brother Highly Praised to convey my message.

"You are lost to brother and to kinsman. You have turned your face 3203 from men and from cities, retreating alone to a mountain in order to devote yourself to worship. Now this devotion has lasted too long. What have your brothers done to you that you have turned your face from them? If oppression and injustice have befallen you, come here and tell me your troubles and your cares. I will give you justice in return for injustice. Then you may live in this land contentedly.

"A brother provides benefits to his brother, and men find pleasure in 3208 this fellowship. A brother must cooperate with his kinsmen, and a friend must associate with his comrades. Consider, that when men agree to be partners in some business, they all enjoy a profit. Similarly, the poet says:

Brown earth and blue water made a pact:
Between them a thousand flowers bloom.
Friends who walk and work together
Are like brothers born of a single womb.

"Why have you gone off elsewhere to worship? You ought to worship 3214 in the city, for that is the path of religion. In the city, religious duties are many and blessed, but where you are it is impossible to carry them out fully. Besides, your first duty is to acquire knowledge, and only then should you devote yourself to worship, for worship without knowledge has no profit. Only two sorts of men deserve to be called human: the one

who teaches and the one who learns. All besides these two are like cattle. Now tell me which you are: choose one of these two, and flee from any third. If you have already acquired perfect knowledge, then put it to work by teaching; if not, then first acquire knowledge, and only then set your hand to devotions. As one who approached God's service through knowledge has said: Knowledge is the seal on the gate of hell. There is countless merit to worship with knowledge, but he who worships without knowledge acquires no merit at all. Indeed, the sleep of a wise man is greater in religious merit than the worship of a fool.

3226 "In the city, as I mentioned, religious duties are many, while in that place you cannot perform even half of them. First of all you have prayer, and second, fasting. Beside these two, what does your worship amount to? Show me, tell me! You call yourself an ascetic, but what this name means for you is a famine of worship, and if you deceive yourself with this name, your devotions are simply worthless. One ought to worship, of course, but not flaunt one's worship; and if one's devotions are many, one ought to belittle them. When a good man worships, he hides it from people's admiration by shutting the door. Thus the poet says:

The true man conceals himself among men;
A hundred years he worships and calls it few.
Serve God in hiding, let others not see:
This is the secret I reveal to you.

3236 "Come back and worship in the city. In this way the door to all good deeds will open. You will be useful to people, helping those in need, commiserating with your brothers and cementing family ties, succoring many an orphan and widow, aiding the blind and the lame and the crippled. You will be able to perform the obligatory Friday communal prayer, 'the pilgrimage of the poor.' And by acquiring of the world what is permitted, you will be able to give alms to the poor and lend them your support. The works that I have recounted are all religious duties, by performing which you provide comfort and security. But by living alone you have put all these aside. You stick to prayer and fasting, but these give benefit to yourself alone, and he who seeks only his own benefit is heartless.

3244 "Well spoke that choice and selfless man who said: The good man is he who puts aside his own advantage and strives for the welfare of others. A man ought to be compassionate, sweet of heart,[93] and just-dealing toward good and bad alike. While a man lives, he should be of use to others, and a useless man should die when he is born. The useful man is the good man, and the good man is the fulfillment of mankind.

3249 "The slave of God who relies on his worship alone cannot find the way to God's pleasure. If you desire what pleases God, then desire what pleases the Muslims. God has no need of your service to Him. Therefore perform your proper servitude, and seek to win a good name. Whoever has the name of slave, his job is to serve—a slave who does not serve

has that name only metaphorically. Be constant in your service, then, for this is true servitude. As the wise sage has warned:

Worship and obey,
But never say,
'My service is complete,'
Until the final day.

"Wide Awake! If I summon you now, do not think that I desire benefit 3257
for myself. All the advantage is yours if you come, and if you do not, it is no loss to me. Rather, I summon you for the sake of the people: it is their benefit you will destroy by not coming. Hearken then to my words, and if they are true, get up from there and come here. Stay with me and aid me in my endeavors. Be a support to the poor, and with your wealth perform good deeds. Thus you will gain religious merit, and I will gain a good name. In this way almighty God will grant us both the worlds.

"Lead me to the good by practicing your own goodness, for a man 3263
straightens his path by following a good man's example. And if you are the cause of my attaining the good, God will requite you in good measure, O brave one! The renowned Iranian sage has said: When the prince is good, his people share in his glory and reap the benefit. Do not pray that you yourself be good, rather pray that your prince be good, for the prince's virtue is the people's profit. When a subject is good it redounds to himself alone, but when the prince is good then all the people see the sun.

" 'Man,' they say; but who is a man? It is he who benefits others and 3269
brings their affair into good order. Everyone loves a good man; where is one?—tell me, that I may praise him! The good man is he who benefits the people so that they find pleasure in life. Be compassionate to the people, and you will be the head of all the good.

"Here ends my letter and my greeting. I have dried my pen. As for the remainder of my message, your brother will convey it to you by word of mouth. Farewell, O moon-faced one!"

* * *

He rolled up the letter, tied and sealed it, and handed it over to Highly 3275
Praised, saying:

"Go. Speak to him with well-chosen words. But be firm. Bring him to me. Do not come back empty-handed. A wise man said that one should employ a clever envoy and entrust him with one's message. Now I have told you what I want to say. Therefore choose yourself whatever words are fitting, and do what needs to be done."

Highly Praised, who was raised in good manners, accepted the com- 3281
mand and rose to leave. He proceeded home on his horse. After dismounting, he removed his collar and his belt. With drooping head, Sol came back to earth and the World, her bright complexion now blackened with soot, let down her forelock, and covered her face completely with

her lovelocks. He rose to perform his ablutions and the bedtime prayer, then called for bedding and lay down to sleep a little.

3286 Waking with a start, he raised his head: the twilight resembled a Negro with soot-covered face. He got up, performed the ablution and the dawn prayer, then prayed quietly and counted his beads. He waited a while longer. Dawn raised her silky shield, and the world became bright as a smiling face.

40. Highly Praised goes to see Wide Awake[94]

3289 He saddled his horse and set off toward his brother. As he approached, he dismounted and proceeded on foot. He tapped on the door with his hand. Wide Awake arose, abandoning his devotions, opened the door and stepped out. When he saw his brother, they embraced, kissed each other's face and eyes, and inquired after each other's health. Then Wide Awake took Highly Praised's hand, led him inside, and seated him. He was very pleased to see his brother, and thanked God profusely.

3295 What a happy thing it is to be joined again to a long-departed friend, to renew old acquaintance and ties of fraternity. What a lovely thing it is for brothers to join their hearts in mutual love. As the poet says:

When absent kin are seen again,
Joy is long and care is short.
Happy those who, once separate,
Are joined again no more to part.

3302 Wide Awake asked about their kinsmen, and Highly Praised informed him of their health. Then Wide Awake said:

"Now tell me, what has happened? Why have you come? I heard that you are at the king's court, and that you are benefiting the people with your wisdom. Why then did you set down the people's burden, which you assumed, and come here?"

3306 Highly Praised replied:

"My soul longed for you, my fine-faced one. I came in order to see you, to unravel the knot of care and anxiety. Now that I am here I have found peace. It has been long since I saw you last, but I have not found the time to visit. Now the time has come, and here I am; thank God for bringing us together. While there is life there is hope, O gentle lamb! A man who experienced much of life and did not lose hope once said: While a man has life he may invest it, and reap his desire as the gain.[95] While two yet live they may seek and find one another. Therefore desire life above all other goals, for life is the basis on which those goals may be

attained. Now at last God has granted my desire, and I have been rejoined to you while we are yet alive and well.

"I have something else to tell you as well, if you will listen."

41. Wide Awake debates with Highly Praised

Wide Awake said: 3318

"Let me say this first: may God grant you a good name, and religious merit ten thousandfold, for carrying out the duty of cementing family ties.

"Now tell me without delay what else you have to say."

Highly Praised said:

"Now that I have seen you, my eye is bright. When a man travels a road that leads to his desire he suffers no hardship; as the poet said:

My longing bears me forward without fear.
Now as I approach my goal,
My steps obeying my will, the far seems near.
I see the face! Peace pervades my soul."[96]

Highly Praised continued: 3326

"I am worried about you, and cannot hold my tongue. You have removed yourself from the society of men, abandoning your kin and leaving the city behind. You have neither friend nor acquaintance. It is a heavy burden you have assumed, living alone, going naked and hungry, in a weakened state. All your brothers' hearts are fluttering out of anxiety for your sake and longing to see you. No son of Adam can manage by himself. I am afraid that, living alone here as you do, you will become sick. This concern and anxiety have not let me rest at home. God did not create hell for you, nor did He lay down all of this punishment for you. Why then do you torture yourself like this? Explain it to me."

Wide Awake replied: 3334

"I will try to answer your question, for your words are full of compassion and brotherly feeling. If a man's brother does not share his cares, how can a stranger be expected to do so? So I will tell you why I left my brethren and came to live in this place.

"In this I saw the safety of my religion. Here I saw the salvation of 3338
my soul. Therefore I came to live here alone and to devote myself to God's service. He who mingles in the affairs of this world cannot perform the business of the next. He who does not close the door completely to creatures cannot serve the Creator. One has to break the neck of the carnal soul for the spiritual soul to find pleasure in worship. A pious man has said that one who desires worldly pleasures is unable to carry out religious duties. The carnal soul is a great enemy that leads the worshiper

astray. He who gives way to pleasure becomes its captive, and he who lets the carnal soul attain its wish becomes its slave. Let not pleasure overcome you, but cut it with intellect; and if the carnal soul raises its head, overcome it with wisdom.

3347 "This is the reason that I have abandoned the city and taken refuge here, assuming this heavy burden. While I am apart from men, I do not use idle words or a slandering tongue. You say, my brother, that I am alone; but the remembrance of God is company enough for me. And my being far from kinsmen means that I have not burdened them with my being hungry or full. As for breaking people's hearts: the heart is a fragile thing and hard to look after; if it breaks, God's justice will suffice as the offending party's adversary. Although people get no profit or benefit from me, they also get no loss or harm. But all profit and loss, all good and evil, come from God and are according to His decree. All things, from the Throne above to the dust below, are alike dependent on God.

3355 "What there is among men of profit or of loss is well known to you, O famous one. Now you ask what profit there is in serving God. This service is true servitude, which opens the door to the servant. It is for this reason that man is called God's servant: that he serve Him night and day, though the mountains be reduced to waymarks,[97] though almighty God approve or disapprove, though people give it the name of service or do not.

3359 "Nor does any harm come to me from this solitude of mine. Rather, through this I have found health of my body and of my religion alike. Hear the words of the poet, and regard their inward meaning not their outward form:

Walk alone, perfect man, all company shun.
What harm can the hermit do to the sun?
The parrot learned to speak on his own,
And the hermit performs his worship alone.

3363 "You say that to associate with men is praiseworthy; but how can that be so? Consider, my brother, that I have been cut off from my devotions ever since you arrived here today. If I have incurred so much loss by associating with you alone, do not make matters worse by forcing me to reenter society; for in that case, when shall I have any time to worship God?"

3367 Highly Praised responded:

"I have heard you out. Now listen to me; do not turn your face away.

"All that you have said may be so, but in truth it is only a pretext. While a man is alive, he has to make himself useful to his fellow man if he wishes to maintain his standing and his reputation. Indeed, what sign is there that he is alive, unless people see some good from him? Furthermore a man has to marry and have children. To call a man sonless is an ugly curse. A paragon once said that a wife is the remedy against

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cutting-off of seed. One who dies childless voices his regrets, saying: 'Get sons and daughters, you who come after me!' If he goes as a father, leaving a son behind, you can only call him 'living';[98] but if he dies sonless, then his seed is cut off, his name is lost in the world, and his place is empty."

Wide Awake said: 3376

"Yes, but it can be quite otherwise. If your child is good, then it is as you say; but if he is bad, he will make you howl while you live and will forget you as soon as you die; he will make your name into a curse, and even strangers will revile you. Children are enemies, and who needs an enemy? It is better if you live your life without them. What gain can one expect from an enemy? Rather, the very name of enemy bears witness to loss.[99] One of deep wisdom expressed it in this pithy saying: that the child's name constantly haunts the parent.[100] Likewise, the poet said:

For your children's sake you wear yourself thin.
Do they acknowledge your pains?
You will choke and leave your ill-gotten wealth,
While they devour your gains.

"Consider also, that the man who marries has boarded a ship and gone 3386
out to sea: when the children are born, the ship is wrecked—and who can stay alive in the water? A father is to be pitied, for his food is poison. A bad child never names his parents' names after they die. How can one expect loyalty from progeny such as this? Rather their nature is evil and treachery. Truly, a father suffers every sort of trouble, and like an elephant, bears loads of hardship.

"Again, you said one ought to have companions and friends. That is 3392
all very well, but it is a heavy responsibility you would burden me with. The sage firm in wisdom spoke well who said: Man's heart is a fragile thing and hard to look after. It is like glass—so guard it well, my son, lest it break. The heart is a sensitive organ, and this is the test: it melts readily in the heat, and as quickly freezes in the cold. When a friend's heart is broken, he becomes a secret enemy, and wherever one has an enemy one has a thousand quarrels. If you have an enemy, your life loses its flavor. Whatever place he may be found in is inconvenient for you. Also, however small he may be, you must consider him big, my brave hero. To the elephant a fly can be a tremendous foe, if it bites him and makes him jump. Listen to one whose entire life was spent fighting the foe:

Say not, 'What fear? My enemy is small.'
Neglect him not whatever his size.
If a man is kind to you, befriend him,
But a foe, however small, despise!"

Highly Praised replied: 3403

"Listen, and take my words to heart.

"God created this world with wisdom, placing food and drink therein, and making them permissible for man.[101]

"(Just as it is proper to partake of the world, so it is proper) to mingle with other men, choosing good companions; for one who has good men as friends will himself perform good deeds. You ought to mix with people if it is to their benefit, and know that if you are useful to them you are benefiting yourself as well. But he who lives alone, in the wilderness, benefits nobody, O generous one. Being of no use to others, he is as good as dead. So be of use then, do not be dead, O manly and renowned!

3409 "Also if a man has many friends, his name spreads abroad and his affairs prosper. Then he attains his desire in this world, and has good hopes for the next as well. When trouble and care afflict him, they sacrifice themselves on his behalf; and when he is happy they too rejoice. His virtues they broadcast to one and all, while his faults, should they see any, they cover and keep hidden.

3413 "As for enemies, they make a man alert. Also they inform the land of his virtues and his vices. If a man had no enemies, how would his manly virtues, his name and his lineage, be known in the land? The man of many virtues will have many enemies as well. Any man of noble character and birth is bound to have detractors among the broad run of men. A good man may have enemies, it is true, and a bad man not; but a bad man is in fact dead. If a man has a crowd of enemies, you may be sure that he has more virtues than most. Also, the way a man's reputation grows is through successful dealing with adversaries: without enemies his name would never arise. A man of virtue, who attained his desire, quoted the following in this connection:

What sort of man has not a thousand foes
To shout his name a thousand times a day?
What sort of wolf runs away to hide
Hearing a thousand dogs bark and bay?

3423 "You say that, living alone, you do not talk idly or speak ill of other people. But who is there for you to talk about, seeing that there are no other people? The real man is he who lives among men but guards his tongue, and so wins the place of honor. To harsh words he gives a soft reply, and to bitter words a sweet answer. He bears the burdens of others, and does not load his own on someone else. Though they be untrue to him, he is uncomplaining and true to them in turn. All rancor and bitterness he removes from his heart; and whatever is in his mind he speaks with his tongue.

3429 "A man renowned for virtue has said: Do not speak harshly, for harsh words cause the heart to grieve for years. Praise the one who curses you, for then he will be ashamed, and you will be counted as forbearing. Be true to the one who is untrue to you, for bad faith is the way of the wicked, while good faith is the way of the true man. Strive to cement ties with

kin who are cut off from you. Forgive those who trespass against you, for that is the path of religion. Should a slave, male or female, commit a sin, pardon it, for thus you will add to your store of pious merit. This is true manhood. So bear the burden like a man, and walk with patience, awaiting death.

"Today you have entered your cell alone. What good do you find there, 3437
O gentle one? Your eyes behold no joys and no blessings. You have not acquired silver or jewels, gold or copper. You have no palaces and estates, no horses and trappings, no sons and daughters. You do not even have authority over others, such that you might restrain your hand and thus gain a name for clemency. What have you ever owned, that you have now given up? What madman has called you an ascetic? Only the man who has much, but puts it aside and is content with little, has attained the rank of ascetic. Anyone who seeks and does not find is perforce an ascetic, for he has no other recourse than patience. The real man is he who finds what he seeks a thousand times over, then turns his face from it manfully. He feeds others, gives alms to the poor, and worships God in his heart. If the world comes to him he does not bind his heart to it, and if it leaves him he does not grieve or knit his brow. Though he has the power to seize his desire, he stays his hand and reins in his heart and his tongue. This is as in the following verse:

The true man is he who has the power
And shows restraint.
The one who owns much but controls himself—
He is the saint."

Wide Awake said: 3451

"Now tell me truly, what is it that you desire, O moon-faced one? Whatever I say you rebuke and criticize. Therefore tell me plainly what it is that you want from me."

Highly Praised replied:

"I did come here for a purpose. The king, Rising Sun, has heard of you. He has conceived a strong desire to see you, and has sent me to summon you and to conduct you to his court. No matter how difficult it may be, you must go and have an audience with him.

"This king is a most excellent sultan. He is kindly to the people, and 3458
loved by them. Whoever sees his face shares in his glory and finds Fortune in both worlds. A statesman of ripe intellect has said, that a just and law-giving prince is the very embodiment of Fortune, sharing his glory with all those who come in contact with him. If a prince gets a name for justice, then one must go to him, for one will find Fortune with him. Justice and law are the pillars of heaven: if the law decayed, heaven would not stand up; and if there were no just princes alive, God would destroy the seven-tiered earth. One who sees a just prince's face is blessed with Fortune: he attains religious merit, and redeems his sins!

"You know that today I have become a person of consequence, and the reason is that the king was my support. Also God gave me wisdom and intellect, and granted me success in every good enterprise, so that I bear the people's burden and bring them benefit. Now the king wants you as well, that we may join hands and thus resolve the knottiest problems. He sent me to summon you to his presence. Do not send me back alone, O manly hero!

"Also the king has sent you a letter, written by his own hand. You may read what he has to say."

He took out the letter and handed it over. Wide Awake opened it and read it. He thought for a long time, then he said:

"The king offers many words of wisdom. He invites me to come, and cites all the positive reasons. This is an important matter. Tell me what you would advise me to do."

Highly Praised said:

"The king cannot move his tongue without mentioning your name, and once he starts speaking of you, he cannot stop. Now he is looking forward to seeing you. When a man longs for someone, that person's name is ever on his lips. The lover's heart is filled with images of the beloved; as the poet said:

He loved her in his heart:
Wherever he looked he saw her face;
He desired her in his heart:
Whatever he said he spoke her name."

Wide Awake said:

"You are my loyal brother and kinsman. Therefore pay a brother's due, and advise me what is proper. I consult with you since you have knowledge of these matters. And it matters not whether you consider yourself a brother or a friend: the two are of the same stripe; and you are loyal and true to me. I am counting on you to tell me what to do."

Highly Praised replied:

"Do not ask me, O fortunate one! The king sent me only to summon you on his behalf; why then do you consult with me about it? I have nothing to say except: Let us go!—why should I say otherwise? To have you together with me at court will be of great benefit to me. But—as the wise Chigil used to say—you do not consult with one who seeks his own benefit, for he may only consider his own advantage, and tell you to do something that is improper or disadvantageous to yourself. And even though you must ask someone's advice in a matter, you still have to do what your heart is satisfied with. You are the one most loyal to yourself, and you know what is the best advice for you. Don't count on anyone else!

"I came here to fetch you, so my advice is simply: Go. This much is clear, that the good to be done and the merit to be gained by living among

men are not to be found here. I have told you the advantages of living in the city. Now choose! You know that I have spoken what I believe; and God knows that I wish your well-being.

"You flee from men, but what have they done to you? Mingle with men 3502
and undertake their affairs. Minister to the weal of the Muslims and commiserate with their woe. Then God will give you a foremost place in paradise. As long as you have a sound character, and keep heart and tongue upright, wherever you live you will live with Fortune. Though you ought not live separate from people, while living among them you ought not to regard their faults; just look after yourself. A similar idea was expressed in this verse—read it, O sage, and act accordingly:

Walk where you will, but walk with truth;
Seek not high birth, seek virtue in you.
The good man never forgets himself:
Wherever he walks, his way is true.

Furthermore, goodness is never out of place, and it always repays the doer with happiness and more good. Be constant in goodness, therefore, and you may live where you will without fear."

42. Wide Awake recounts the world's faults to Highly Praised

Wide Awake said: 3512

"Now hear what I have to say.

"You are much enamored of this world, and all its faults appear to you as virtues. But this is no wonder since as the proverb has it, 'Whatever is loved loses its faults.' Another lover expressed the matter in even stronger terms when he said that the faults of the beloved are his chief virtues. The fact that you take the world's faults as virtues indicates clearly that you love the world too well. Now, just as you have praised the world to me, I shall recount its faults to you.

"When Adam sinned, God made this world a prison as the punishment. 3520
Whatever you desire in prison can only be fulfilled in paradise. It was in paradise that Adam ate the grain and so this world was made the abode in which man may cleanse himself of sin.[102] When God chooses one of His servants, He does not give him the things of this world, but makes his path pure. For this world's Fortune is not a good thing at all: it estranges one from God, and is the ruin of religion.

"That madman who claimed to be a god desired the world and became 3526
carrion for dogs.[103] If a man gets wealthy he lords it over the people, but with poverty comes lowliness of heart. Man is born naked, and naked he

departs. Why then gather the world, only to abandon it? Why deceive yourself, O mortal, who are but a two-day guest in the world? You know that life is but a prelude to death, and death is ready, waiting for his cue. The world opens one door, but death too has a door, and when that door opens all creatures enter. Will you throw yourself into the fire with your eyes open, for the sake of two days' pleasure?

3533 "Fickle World is faithless, her fortune ever turning. Whatever she gives she quickly takes away.[104] One man she takes as her husband, then she calls forth a different husband every day. The world, look you, is like a shadow: if you follow it it flees, if you flee it follows you. This is as the poet says:

Who can catch this fleeting world?
But flee from it, it catches you.
It thirsts for vengeance on your faith:
Eat it, it eats your faith up too.

3540 "The World displays herself to you like a bride decked in her finery, causing the heart to flutter. But when you give her your heart, she turns into a shriveled hag, clinging to your collar and sleeve, screaming day and night. Fickle and perfidious in nature, she stays not with one husband for three months at a time. If a man binds his heart to her, alas! life is made worthless for him. The days of your life are very precious, and if you spend them on vanity you cannot store up any capital. For consider that life is the capital invested in every good return, and so do not dissipate it, O brave one.

3546 "The things of this world are of three kinds: permitted, doubtful, and forbidden. For the permitted there is a reckoning; for the forbidden a punishment. As for the doubtful: beware of it!

"The World first makes you love her, then drives you out. First she lulls you with pleasure, then tires of you and drops you. She fattens you with joy, then emaciates you with sorrow. Indeed, the end of all bliss is care, and the end of a care-ridden life is bliss. If the branch is enjoyment, the root is suffering; if hardship comes at the head, easy circumstance comes at the heel.

3552 "A pious and vigilant man has said: Keep your distance, World! do not bring on the requital. Your wealth is poverty, and whoever is poor to you is actually rich. Though a man may devour you, you devour his flesh in the end, wreaking your vengeance upon him within the black earth. Whatever you build is soon destroyed, whatever you gather together is scattered.

3556 "This world departs a little each day, and that world comes closer and closer. Awake! The man of sense gives not his heart to what departs but readies his soul for what is coming. One who sees others dying all around him cannot console himself for long. The traveler does not build his house on the road, and the nomad does not leave his goods in the tent. This

world is an inn and you are its guest: do not hope to abide very long in the inn. The goods of this world are not really good, for they pervert the character of their owner. The saints have made an exchange for their worldly goods;[105] the ascetics have renounced their worldly capital.

"The world is like a hidden trapper, and its goods are like pieces of 3564
grain scattered as bait. Man is heedless, his eye is greedy. How can he fail to fall in the trap? Hear what a chaste and abstemious man had to say:

The trapper displays the bait and hides;
It makes the heart flutter, like a decked-out bride.
Impatient and heedless, you taste the grain:
Then your foot gets caught, O greedy-eyed!

"Though you pile up the entire world and enjoy good fortune for a thousand years, what profits it? Your final resting-place is a hole in the black earth. Then your past life will appear to you as a dream, and you will get the requital for your past deeds. On that day, if you repent, it will be no use. Whatever you have done, the years and months and days will bear witness.

"Three are the pleasures of this world, and all three are on the same 3573
level. One is food and drink, the second is women, and the third is to live in good health. Of these only the last can be considered necessary. And all the pleasure derived from these three is not worth their inevitable return.

"The return of food and drink is bad when it comes out, my brother. This pleasure of yours consists in putting three fingers in the throat,[106] and beyond that, in filling the belly. Then, if the food is not digested properly, the humor becomes corrupt, and you fall ill. Illness, for a man, is Death's vanguard. And there is no pleasure in death, O heedful one!

"Then there is the pleasure of women, for which the return is to wash 3581
with cold water.[107] After that comes sons and daughters, and to bear sons and daughters is a heavy burden indeed. Women and children cut off a man's strength; as the poet says:

Pleasing it is to dally with women,
But harsh the return: a splash of cold water.
Tasty at first, but tasteless at last:
The sweet turns to bitter.

"Finally there is the pleasure of being alive and healthy. But the world is a road of pain and suffering; and though the day of life be sweet, death gives it a bitter aftertaste. These three are all the pleasures of this world, and you have heard their consequences, gentle friend.

"Three are your enemies. The world is one, and the carnal soul is 3589
another—these two have spread their net—and the third is Satan, who robs your faith: may God avert the harm of these three! Wickedest of these, and most insidious, is the carnal soul. For you can dispel the Devil

by mentioning God's name, and you can keep the world away by giving it up. But how can you put aside the carnal self? Until death comes, it is constantly with you.

3594 "The sage spoke well who said: My carnal self troubles and tortures me. First it makes me laugh, then it makes me cry. I obey its whim as I roam the world, and as I lie down to rest, now hungry, now full. When I satisfy one desire, it demands another, and when I satisfy that one too, it becomes a total tyrant. By myself I cannot overcome this carnal self—merciful God, may You overcome it!

3599 "This carnal soul has an evil inclination, and when it gets fat, it is even worse. If a broad-backed horse puts on flesh, it raves and strays; it throws his master to the ground and runs away. Or if a hunting dog gets fat, it no longer heeds its master and no longer goes on the hunt. Or else the carnal soul is like a willful child who runs off to seek his pleasure when his belly is full. For when the belly is full, the carnal soul is lazy; so if you want it to behave, do not satisfy its desire.

3605 "Three days in all is the whole journey of life, and beyond that, so many daytime and nighttime halts. One is tomorrow, and one passed yesterday; as for today, will life last until the morrow? And whatever life there might be beyond that, do not consider it life. The company of women, meanwhile, only serves to put out the fire of manhood for an hour, and to do this a man will embrace an ugly woman as well as a beautiful one. The pleasure of the throat, similarly, only serves to fill the belly, and when that is done, the best thing is to stop eating. As long as it fills the belly, it does not matter whether it is barley or sweetmeats: it stays and increases until the entrance is blocked. Whether a man eats sugar and sweets, or barley and millet, if he goes to sleep full, he will be hungry again in the morning. Hear what a pious dervish said, one poor in things yet rich in his heart and eyes:

You feasted on the world's fine fare,
While I got by with millet and bran;
Both of us went to bed full at night,
Both of us passed our allotted span.

3616 "However much you may gather of the world, you are mortal and your final allotment is two sheets of cloth. Rich and poor are equal in the grave. For two days of evanescent pleasure, why deceive yourself that you will live forever? As greedy as you are to gather the world, Death is greedy to get hold of you. In one day life will escape from your grasp, while death cuts you off at the root. Anyone now alive will surely die, though he know not the day and the hour. When young he hopes to live till he has a beard, and when his beard grows he hopes to see it turn white; but once his beard is white, death is at hand, and no weapon will profit him against it.

3624 "Do not throw yourself into the Fire for the sake of the world. The goods of this world are like bitter water: whatever you drink cannot

quench your thirst, nor even moisten your gums. And a man's soul is like dry sand: even a river cannot fill his greedy eye. And this world is like a mirage that floats before the eyes: when you try to catch it, it slips away.

"The carnal self pursues pleasure and shuns duty. Invisible, it gives its enemy no quarter. Do not surrender to it, then, nor let it have its way. Its sole desire is levity. Its pleasure spells sorrow.

"Your life that is past is irretrievably gone, and how much you have 3630
left is uncertain. Do not waste this day that you find yourself alive, but hasten to serve God, and make yourself ready for death. Listen to one who awoke and extricated himself from the mire of heedlessness:

You have passed through the night;
Will you last through the day?
From the past to what will pass
Is one stage of the way.

"For some time now I have been living here, devoting time and effort 3635
to breaking the thigh[108] of my carnal soul. Now you call me to the city; but if my carnal soul makes me its captive there, where will I find my redeemer? For it is a dangerous foe indeed, and its nets and traps are spread everywhere. Be firm then, hold back, do not let it follow after its desire; for the man of intellect does not give the carnal soul its share. A man who trampled on the neck of desire and learned to control himself has said: Do not let yourself be captive to your carnal self, for then it will seek your religion as ransom. One who follows after pleasure and falls captive to his carnal self cannot be called either intelligent or wise. One who always gives his carnal self its share and lets passion and desire rule him can only be called senseless and foolish.

"This is the way of the world. Now I have recounted all of its faults, so understand!"

43. Highly Praised tells Wide Awake that the next world is won through this world

Highly Praised responded and said: 3646

"I have listened to your speech, O fortunate one.[109] That is the way of the world, it is true. But do not make the road of life so bitter for yourself. Do not force this wide world into such a narrow mold. God will have mercy on His erring servant. Although His punishment is terrible, His compassion is great. That compassion is a precious thing for the sinner. Fear His wrath, but hope for His mercy, and serve Him as befits a servant.

"Were every man to leave the city and go off to a mountain, assuming 3652
such a heavy burden of devotion, then the world would fall to ruin and Adam's seed would be cut off. God created two abodes for us His crea-

tures, paradise and hell. Now if every man sought this world alone, day and night, neglecting the service of God completely, then indeed paradise would remain empty. But God gave man two each of eyes and ears, one for attending to this world, one for the next; and two hands, one to grasp this world and one the next; also two feet, one to walk this way and one to walk that.[110] God brought both the worlds into being; so when you have found the first, then hasten to seek the second. And almighty God created all the sons of man to be hungry and full. All require food for the throat and clothing for the back, for no one alive can get along without these. Therefore acquire of the world what is permitted, then take from what you have and give it to the poor. Thus your throat will not be baggage for others to bear.[111]

3668 "Walk always in the fear of God's justice and in the hope of His mercy. Know that the path of servitude is between these two, and do not stray from the path. One who used to dispense pearls of wisdom once said:

Make your wings of Hope and Fear,
Take your way between that and this.
Make God's will your servitude:
Fly to His palace, live in bliss.

He who flies with hope and fear as his two wings will surely find the way to heaven. Do not despair, saying 'My sins are many.' Rely on prayer and do not slacken in God's service: that is the proper attitude for one of God's servants. Regard His command as most valuable, and yourself as least valuable; thus you yourself will gain in worth. Know that you are poor in service and rich in sins; that you are the worst of men although you seem the best in what you say and do.

3679 "Now I have told you what I know. Apply what I say and tomorrow it will bear fruit. Or, if you do not accept what I say, answer and let me return, my manly one. Our conversation, though long, has been fruitless, and it would serve no useful purpose to drag it out further."

3682 Wide Awake held his head in his hands and thought for a long time. Then he looked up and said:

"You have gone to much trouble to come here, my brother, and I am sure you have spoken with my best interest in mind. May God bestow merit on you for being anxious on my account. I have given your proposal due consideration, and it does not seem right for me. My heart recoils from it, and any action the heart is dissatisfied with is undertaken at risk. What a fine word of wisdom that pure-hearted man laid down who said: Whatever you wish to undertake, first consult your own heart, only then other people; and if your heart is not pleased with it, then stay away from it. There is no one more loyal to yourself than you. So leave alone whatever your heart does not accept, for there will be no profit in it, O live-hearted one!

3692 "So you see, I cannot do what you propose, for my heart recoils from

it. Please accept my apology, and leave me be. Besides, I have no virtues which would be of benefit to the king, whether in my actions or my words. I have come here to flee the world; how then can I go back? I have devoted myself to the service of God; would it be proper then to serve a man? Now leave me to my God, and I shall pray for your welfare.

"If we should wish to meet again, do not come here, rather I shall go 3698
to you. Let the trouble be mine; you live in peace, continue to serve the king and to benefit the people. A man loyal to kin and duty bound once said, that when your heart rouses you to seek someone, that one is nearer than you think; for when you set out with a firm goal in mind, you will not tire or tarry on the way until you reach it. Another man, famed for his faithfulness and well-loved by kith and kin, quoted this verse:

Look in your heart for faith to kin:
If close to your heart, the far one is near.
From east to west is a single leap
If your journey's goal is the one near and dear."

Highly Praised replied: 3707

"If that is what you wish, my brother, do not wound your heart, for I am not going to force you. Stay well, I have done speaking. But the king summoned you by a letter in his own hand. Therefore, if you do not go yourself, at least answer his letter, or I shall return with a yellow face. Besides your oral message, let me convey your written answer as well."

44. Wide Awake sends a letter to the king

Wide Awake agreed. he called for pen and paper, and began thus: 3713

"In the name of God, Creator, Nourisher, Pardoner.

"With my tongue I give praise upon praise to God, from month to month and year to year. He created brown earth and blue sky, sun and moon, darkness and light, rich and poor. He brought into being living creatures without number, nor does He let any one go hungry. He is the one Lord, creator of all duality. His unity has no admixture of number. Without doubt He, the One, exists, without how and wherefore—keep any form or likeness far from your heart!

"Glory and majesty belong to Him alone, the mighty, the powerful, the 3721
transcendent. Countless servants did He create, bestowing honor upon those He willed. He made the sun to shed light upon this dark domed house of clay. He brought into being the blue sky, raising it aloft and adorning it with sun and moon and stars. Below, brown earth and blue water; above, pure air and fire; hot and cold, dry and moist: these did He bring into harmony and apportion to His creatures. He created according

to His will, nor did He require any aid or support. If He wills, He honors an undutiful servant; and if He wills, he dishonors another so that his service is vain. Whatever He wills, He says 'Be!' and it is;[112] whatever He decrees, He puts into effect.

"I render countless greetings to His beloved apostle, the best of guides onto the straight path.

3731 "To the king I have written this letter, a humble supplicator. Greetings and health! The king wrote most graciously, giving me much good counsel and good command. Reading his letter brightened my eye. Also he promised me many good things, honors and gifts, food and clothing. Men who desire these things roam the world in search of them. If such an undutiful one as I were offered these rewards, how could I not be happy at this good fortune and pleasure?

3737 "There are certain drawbacks, however, such that if I went to serve you, harm would certainly result. One is that I know nothing about serving kings. If I tried, I would surely fail, and you would not be pleased. For I have no experience of royal custom and protocol, and a courtier without such breeding is not a fitting servant.

"Another is that I have forsworn this world, knowing that it is faithless and would forswear me if I did not do so first. I have bound my soul and taken refuge in God—may He preserve my religion and faith!

3742 "What I have will suffice me for my throat and my shoulders. What need have I for more? It would only be a burden. My Lord will not make me lack for food and clothing. He brought me into being and has sustained me until now; surely He will sustain me henceforth, O prince of this world! To you He has given the world unsparing; to me will He not also give, the Lord and Bestower?

"All good and evil, all poverty and wealth, I know to be from God, O noble and generous one! I cling to God's Gate and I render service there, for that is the true Court where all creatures shall be gathered. What would I gain by going to your gate and spending my life in your service? Both of us are the servants of God, and in this station we are of equal rank. It is unfitting—nay, dishonorable—for one servant to serve another. A high-minded man ought rather to straighten his heart for the service of God. As one with a heart thus purified has said:

Serve not one who is hungry then full.
Why set up an idol to pray?
Serve the one God, serve Him well and true:
You'll find the gate open night and day.

3755 "O king! If you fulfill these four wishes, then I will serve you humbly. Give me life without death, keep me young without aging, make me rich without poverty, grant me health without sickness. Accomplish these four things, and I will ransom my soul and be your ready slave. But if you are unable to provide me with these, then in what way are you superior?

"I said that I have sufficient food and dress, and that if I require more, 3761
my Lord will provide me. As for honor or disgrace, they too are from God, and life and death as well. Any man of intellect who recognizes this cannot act otherwise, O chief of rulers! And you, noble prince, cannot possibly care for me as God cares; rather I shall have to watch over you at night, while He watches over me! I shall get no food before you are full, while He feeds me first Who Himself needs no food. Nor do I require an intercessor with Him when I am in need, for He hears my petition though my tongue is silent. There is no gatekeeper and no chamberlain to prevent my access to Him, nor any prideful man to do me violence. And if I sin against you, you will not forgive me; but my Lord will forgive, though I sin a thousand times.

"Hear the prayer of a sinful servant who revealed his innermost heart: 3770
My Lord, true, faithful and merciful! I have found no one more compassionate than You. You grant my wish when I am in need, and support me when I am helpless and weak. You are the cure for my ills and the resolution of my cares, the refuge when I am woeful and the consolation when I am desolate. All my well-being, all my happiness and joy, lie in pleasing You, O great One. Though I have sinned greatly against You, this sin is little in Your mercy. Forgive my sin, for that is no loss to You; and do not punish me, for that is no gain to You. Although my sins are many, it is proper for you to practice mercy. If you punish me, I am worthy of it; and if you forgive, that is worthy of You. You know that I know that You are my one Lord; I know that You know that I acknowledge Your oneness. I am shameful in my sin, and my soul cries out in its shame; You are forbearing in Your mercy, and all forbearance derives from You. To You I have pledged this dear soul of mine: give back the pledge, for the soul cannot redeem itself!

"This world is fleeting, O king, and life slips away with every passing 3782
day. Upon what do you rely and base your hopes? In what do you find pleasure and solace? Father is gone, and friends, and brothers. Mother is gone, and sons and daughters. Where are they? Though now you live, doubt not that you too are mortal, and one day, like them, you shall cover yourself with earth. Awake from the slumber of heedlessness, O king, and leave a good name behind. Though you have wasted the day just past, do not waste the night that is approaching. The horseman is coming to bear you away: prepare for the journey, lay up provisions during this fleeting day.

"Since now I see so clearly that things are so, how can I possibly 3789
benefit you? I have withdrawn my heart from this faithless world and have taken refuge with my faithful Lord. Leave me to myself, O king, and let me pray for you here. What use can I be to you? Only you can help yourself! I have renounced mankind; do you do so as well, for from the likes of man there is no profit for either me or you.

3794 "Now I will spend my remaining days in devotion, seeking only to please my God. What I have is sufficient. Any more would be excess. For this world's foundation is sinking sand, and life passes like the wind. Though now I have awakened, still I burn with regrets. I have enough for my throat and my shoulders: the world may perish, it has no further benefit for me. A man who is content with what he has, has found the Fortune of princes; such a man spoke well when he said:

The share that I am given
Of clothing and of food
Suffices me to live on.
My lot is from my Lord.

3802 "Moreover, if you are summoning me with the idea that I might prove useful to you, know that I have neither the knowledge nor the training to be of use in state affairs. My brother will do the job of a thousand men like myself. And if you say that I am virtuous, know that if you yourself are virtuous it will serve you better.[113] Also, men famed for every sort of skill are already gathered about you in the thousands. But what use can you expect from me? And if my service will be useless, my coming there will be fruitless.

"I beg you to excuse me. Leave me be, and do not be angry with me. Whatever else I have to say, my brother has heard and will convey the report."

* * *

3811 He finished the letter, rolled it up and tied it, then handed it over to his brother, saying:

"I put down in writing what I wished to say. Also you have heard my words. Now report them to the king. Let him hear them from your mouth, and let him remove his hand and leave me alone. A messenger's job is only to deliver the message[114] and wait for an answer; you have heard my answer, now convey it, my noble one. The Khan of the Three Camps has said that there is no fault in the messenger, so long as he does not mince his words but delivers the message whole as it was entrusted to him. And the Khan of the Turks has put it even better: Do not punish the messenger for the message; he deserves neither punishment nor death so long as he truly reports what he heard; rather a messenger, as the ambassador of peace, is inviolable, and if he transmits the message that was entrusted him, then praise and reward are his due."

3821 Highly Praised said:

"I have heard your words, and I shall deliver the letter you have written in response to the king's request. But I doubt, my brother, that the king will leave you alone. If you do not go now, he will surely send me back to summon you again."

3826 Wide Awake replied:

"Do not say this, my brother, or you will wound my heart. I will not leave this place, therefore do not trouble yourself to come here again. It

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is bad to seek a thing that cannot be found, and it is dishonorable to promise a thing that cannot be fulfilled. A man well-versed in good and evil once said:

Try not to get what you cannot have by asking;
Try not to find what you have no hope to gain;
Try not to walk where you cannot reach on foot:
The reward for your trouble will be misery and pain.''

Wide Awake concluded, saying:

''Go now, my brave boy, and do not come back.''

Highly Praised arose and took his leave. His brother commended his 3833
message to him, and saw him off. He mounted his horse and returned home. When he arrived he dismounted and lay down to rest. Sol came back to earth and hid his face, the Sky donned a sable vestment, the World rubbed her face with coal; eyes began to droop, and wake ones went to sleep. Highly Praised called for bedding and lay down. When he raised his head again, fiery rays were branching up from the east; the world became bright once more, like a bride revealing her face; Dawn's shield rose up, and the World's countenance was white as pearl.

He left the house and went to the palace, where he sought entry and 3841
appeared in audience. The first thing the king asked was about Wide Awake:

''Tell me, man of ripe wisdom, how your interview went. What came of your mission? Will your friend come?''

Highly Praised first gave over the letter, which the king opened and read carefully. His face flushed at first, then turned pale; again he smiled, then he moped and frowned. Finally he said:

''Your brother answers harshly. I sent him silk and he sewed thorns on it. But his words are not to blame, for he speaks the truth: true words are harsh, and he proclaims them clearly. Now tell me his spoken message as you heard it and understood it.''

He reported what had occurred in the interview, recounting the root 3849
and matter of his speech. Then he said:

''We discussed many things, and whenever he made a point I responded according to my lights. But whatever I said he had an answer for it. And however much I insisted, he simply closed his eyes and refused to come.''

The king heard him out, and acknowledged the wisdom of his words. Still in his heart he longed for Wide Awake, and a heart roused with longing causes a man suffering. Well spoke that chief of men who said: When the heart takes a man captive, it renders him powerless. The heart is a prince, the soul is its slave: wherever the prince goes the slave follows. When the heart longs for a thing and does not attain it, then it can find no comfort.

Again the king spoke: 3858

''O Highly Praised. Your brother is the perfect man. Would that I had never heard his words and had not known of his character and his wisdom.

But I did hear of him, and he is lodged in my heart. Now be firm, insist that he obey. It would be unseemly if I were thwarted in my desire in my own kingdom."

3862 Highly Praised replied:

"O king, virtuous prince and choice among the people. I told my brother this when I left. I said that you would not give up but would send me back to fetch him, and that therefore he ought to respect your command and go at once. But he left me no hope that he would ever go, even if forced, and he told me not to come back."

3866 The king said:

"I understand your reply, but it is not acceptable. Do not avoid your duty! What kind of ruler would I be if my wish went unfulfilled and if none of my commands were carried out. The sign of greatness is exactly that one's desire is achieved. If the heart desires a thing, the only remedy is to provide it. Now this desire has become a sickness in me, and if it is not treated, I might as well die. As the poet said:

For every ill there is a cure:
Find the right physician!
For heart-sickness fulfill the wish:
That is the prescription."

3875 Highly Praised replied:

"It is true, glorious king, that there is nought in this world for which a remedy cannot be found. May the king live long in peace and health, may my soul be his ransom! I replied hastily before, and though I may regret it for years to come, it will not profit me today. A man of intellect once said: Guard your tongue, O brave one. Words unspoken give much benefit, spoken words give cause for regret. Words unspoken are your slave, as soon as you utter them you become their slave. Think first, then speak slowly and deliberately, for a hasty tongue will cause you sorrow.

3882 "I had no suspicion that Wide Awake would not come when summoned. He is a man of ripe wisdom. If the king desires him once, I desire him a thousand[115] times, for he will be useful to me ten times a day. This is exactly my wish, that he join his hand to mine, that I may serve you better. However firm I was in my insistence, he was just as firm in his refusal. Now let me go back and speak to him again, and let the king write another letter so that he will read it and believe me."

The king said:

"I already wrote one letter, and his answer was hard as stone and hail. Why should I write another one? You be the message in place of a letter, O clever one."

3890 Highly Praised answered:

"However that may be, do write a letter, glorious king. For even though the messenger be honest and convincing, unless he bears a letter the recipient will not trust him. A document bears witness against one who denies a claim, and where there is a witness there is no trickery."

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The king said:

"If this is your desire, I will write a letter and thus open communications. But do not rely on the letter. Be firm yourself. Summon him here with whatever words you choose, but bring him by hook or by crook."

45. King Rising Sun sends a second letter to Wide Awake

The king called for pen and paper and began thus: 3896

"In the name of God, Creator, Nourisher, Pardoner.

"I render a thousand praises to God almighty, Who visits His eternal decree upon the straight and the crooked. He is one, pure and without admixture. What is not, He causes to be be, and what is, He causes to be not. Acknowledge His oneness, praise Him with your tongue, believe in Him in your heart, and serve him steadily with straight heart and tongue. Whatever He wills, He says 'Be' and it is. He provides sustenance for every living thing, and He also determines death, the counterpart to life. All honor and disgrace are according to His decree. He opens the way to great and small alike. No man knows His will. He puts His decree into effect, and there is no one who can prevent it.

"May God convey countless greetings to His beloved apostle who 3905
guides onto the straight path, and to all of his companions.

"Salutations from the king, O one of perfect intellect. I write this letter inquiring how you fare, and I send your brother desiring you to come hither. You refused before to come and meet with me. Instead you wrote an answer to my letter, and your brother transmitted your oral message. That I have read, and this I have understood. Now give ear, do not run away! I sent you a message sweet as sugar, your answer came to me bitter as poison. Now listen once again, and take my words to heart, O man of compassion.

"You sought the name of ascetic, and you have acquired that name in 3915
your mountain retreat. Now your fame is spread abroad, and your name has become a great sign among the people. All your devotions have been for the sake of this name. Do not throw your portion to the winds! Once the people become sightseers of your austerities, the foundation of your asceticism collapses. Devotion to God should be hidden, not broadcast. God conceals among His servants the servant most beloved to Him, and the people do not know him or speak of him.[116] Therefore come back to live in the city and mingle with men so that they will *not* know you. Acquire of the world what is permitted in order to support yourself, then feed the hungry and clothe the naked. The virtuous man who partakes of the world's goods will find food and dress in both the worlds. Hear these

words, you who would not come here, spoken by a sage pure of heart and big of turban:

Use with virtue this world's goods:
Of that world's joys you'll have a share;
But fail to use the goods you gain:
At reckoning a heavy load you'll bear.

3928 "Make yourself useful to God's servants, O sage, for only he is called a man who is of use to mankind. I summon you here, O ascetic, for the sake of the Muslims. Come and benefit them, make yourself useful to men, for a useless man is a corpse among the living. The real man is not one who desires his own welfare but one who seeks the welfare of the community; just as the generous man is not one who gives up what he owns but one who sacrifices body and soul for others; and the compassionate man is not one who only keeps himself from harm but one who secures the well-being of others.[117] They call a man good, but who is the truly good man? It is he who provides a remedy for the ills of other men.

3936 "You who are pure of heart and great of wisdom, consider well what I say, and if you see that my words are true, then overcome your whim and come here to live.

"I will not be longwinded; a word to the wise is sufficient. I hope you will not answer the command of wisdom and intellect with insolence and disobedience. Whatever else I have to say I have entrusted to your brother, and he will convey it."

* * *

3941 He finished writing. A cool breeze dried the ink. He rolled up the letter tight, sealed it, and handed it over to Highly Praised, saying:

"Give him this, and also tell him what you know. Be firm in your summons, do whatever is necessary to bring him to the city, and when he comes here I shall give him whatever he desires."

3946 Highly Praised accepted the mission and took his leave. When he came home, he dined and rested. The Roman maid hid her face in the ground and Earth took on a Negro countenance; the brooding eagle covered the sky and filled the world with its plumage. He called for bedding and lay down, pondering what to say when he saw his brother. After sleeping a little he awoke, while the night was still dark as a burned-out coal. Sleep had fled. He got up, as black night lifted its skirt and Sol raised his head from the ground, parting his teeth like a bright face smiling. He performed the ablution and the dawn prayer, and lingered to pray quietly. Then he had a boy quickly prepare his horse, and he left the house cheerfully.

3956 As he drew near he dismounted some ways off, out of consideration for his brother, and proceeded on foot. He tapped on the door. Wide Awake arose, abandoning his devotions, opened the door, and hastened out to greet his brother. Kissing him and taking him by the hand, he brought him into the house and had him sit in the place of honor. Then he said:

"Why did you trouble yourself, my brother? Surely you have not come here again for nothing. I gave you my final answer before, so why are you disturbing me still? An experienced adviser who knew how to tell good people from bad once said:

You can tell a man's worth in a single glance,
And with one word you can tell what he wants.
If you cannot distinguish copper from gold,
It's enough to rub it on the touchstone once."

Highly Praised said: 3965

"Do not be angry with me, brother, do not wound your heart. When a servant opens his eyes he sees only his master, and whatever his master says to do he does. I conveyed your letter to the king, also your oral message, and he sends you this answer."

He handed over the king's letter. Wide Awake opened it and read it, remained thinking a while, and then said:

"Tell me, my brother. What is it that ails you? And why does your master persecute me so?"

46. Highly Praised and Wide Awake debate a second time

Highly Praised replied: 3971

"Listen to what I say, brother, and know that the king only wishes you well and is seeking the best way. You already know all the good and bad aspects of your pursuing your devotions here, and you will recall what I said about the many advantages of living in the city. It is no evil to acquire the Fortune of this world and to get a great name. If you renounce the world and become an ascetic, you may well acquire merit and goodness from this. But one cannot say that the good things of the world are bad, so long as, while enjoying them, one also gives to others and reddens their cheeks. A paragon of the generous used to say that wealth is the guide to every good and the cure for every ill, the means by which to attain wisdom and every desirable thing, the very prop on which one may rise to heaven. You need wealth if you wish to go on the pilgrimage, and you must provide yourself if you wish to engage in the holy war. Without wealth, in fact, a man's hand falls short of every good deed.

"Why do you renounce these goods? Why do you reject this counsel? 3984
How is it that you rely on devotion alone? A man who says 'My service is complete' is actually bankrupt. One may devote oneself to God's service and yet fail to find God, for the servant's path is a perilous one. Many a man has trodden the road of service for years, and then, when his soul departed, he lost the way; and many an undutiful servant, when he breathed

his last, found the way straight before him. I know that pleasing God lies in serving Him and obeying Him. But how can one know in exactly what obedience consists? Rather he who obeys *all* of God's commands is more likely to attain His reward.

"Consider now whether what I say is true, and if it is, then acknowledge it, O straight of heart. Be not captive to your whim, but straighten your heart, live in society with men, and walk in peace."

3995 Wide Awake replied:

"You have disturbed my composure, brother, and turned my food to poison.

"Assume that I heeded your words, that I went to the king and began to serve him. For royal service one must first know royal custom, the proper way to act and to speak, how to enter and to leave, when and where to sit and to stand. A servant who does not know these things troubles himself for nothing. One well-experienced in these matters summarized the requirements in three heads, thus:

If you wish to serve the prince,
Keep your words and deeds upright,
Guard your tongue, know protocol:
Then your prospects will be bright.

Now I have been living far from society and do not know proper manners and speech. How then can I offer to serve your master? This gate is closed to me. So why do you keep trying to overcome my objections and force me to serve the king?"

4005 Highly Praised answered:

"But this is not a very good objection, because in your case the king will waive protocol, so you may sit or stand as you wish."

Wide Awake replied:

"Nor is this a very good counterargument. It would not be seemly, for you or for me, were I to go to the king ignorant of royal custom. Princes have been established for the purpose of maintaining the state, keeping the subjects in good order, and cleansing the world. Governing the realm and the people is the business of princes, and this they accomplish according to justice and royal custom. By means of these they keep their hand extended, and execute their decisions and decrees. A wise statesman put it well when he said: The ruler must have a sound mind and a strong heart to grasp the realm and subdue the people. After these two conditions are met, he must also have servants who know royal custom, so that he may build up his strength and defeat his foes. Since this is so, it would not be seemly for us to break with royal custom."

4017 Highly Praised said:

"Once food is prepared, it is not hard to swallow, my brother. Look, I know royal protocol, let me teach it to you. For a man can learn what he does not know, and thereby may gain his desire. Thus said the clear-minded sage—and only a half-wit would dispute him:

Though man is born dumb,
He learns to speak as he grows to size.
Though man is born ignorant,
He can also learn to be wise."

Wide Awake said: 4023

"If this is your wish, I have no other. How you are disturbing me today! Well, what sort of thing is this service of yours? I will listen, but will I understand what you say, and will my heart accept it? Go ahead now, tell me what royal custom is, and recount one by one the rules of protocol."

Highly Praised responded: 4027

"Perfect! You have spoken well, and I take your words as a good omen. Before, you were far from the path of intellect, but now you have laid a foundation for the truth. I will instruct you now, learn well what I say and let this knot be untied. If you are ready to learn, make no more excuses, and do not interrupt."

47. Highly Praised tells Wide Awake the proper manner of serving the prince

"Those who serve royalty are of two sorts: he who enters upon service 4031
in his youth, and he who begins as an adult. Both may prosper in their position, but of the two the first is by far the better, I mean the one who subdues his passion to serve while young. So whatever I tell you today it is as though I were speaking to a child. When speech is hidden it comes out raw, and whatever is raw has a sickness at its root. If you wish speech to be well done, you must cook it well. If you desire wholeness you must make yourself whole. And if a man would open the gate to service, he should begin to serve while he is yet a boy, learning ceremony and protocol, studying the proper way to enter and to leave, and adjusting his conduct to the norm. Rising early, and keeping heart and tongue lowly, he must be prompt in his service and ready to carry out any mission, with sharp eyes and ears, while guarding his tongue in the presence of superiors.

"When such a youth performs good service, he secures intimate access 4042
to his prince and may go in and out, presenting petitions according to royal custom. Let him begin with a low rank, and follow this course: then the prince will choose whatever occupation is most suitable. If he is clever and honest, then he is fit to present petitions, and will quickly rise in fortune. If he is a stalwart marksman, he will be made an archer; if of upright character, keeper of the seal; if he is polite and handsome, cupbearer; if he knows how to write and keep accounts, treasurer; if he has

a good mind, secretary. Whatever position he is assigned, he must serve in it respectfully and to the best of his abilities. One who gained his desire through dutiful service said:

In the royal presence, face to face,
Be modest and humble, know your place;
Check your tongue, guard your eyes,
Straighten your conduct, be wary and wise.

4053 "With proper service, all your affairs will prosper, and virtuous companions will befriend you. So whatever good you may desire for yourself, first submit to service; then your face will be bright.

"When you are in the prince's presence, keep your eyes to the ground and your ears to the place of honor. Stand with your legs straight, and your arms folded in respect, the right hand above the left. When you enter at the gate, step with your right foot first. And when you are addressed, pay attention. While presenting your petition, hold your hand out straight, bow with both knees, and be polite. Do not look back, or right or left. Maintain a humble bearing, and mind closely what is said. When he asks you what the petition is, present it truthfully; and when he gives an answer, carry out the command faithfully.

4061 "Do not drink wine, do not run fast and loose, flee from whatever is evil or unseemly. Pretend that you have not heard what you have overheard, nor seen what you have chanced to see. When servants behave in this manner, their affairs will prosper and their fortune increase daily. Some will be assigned to head the cavalry or the royal stud, some to be army commander, others to be chamberlain or royal secretary. Having arrived at this stage and carried out their duties well, they may be promoted to the highest rank and attain their utmost desire. Those of ripe intelligence will be given the office of Counselor.[118] Some may be awarded such titles as Kök Ayuḳ, Inanç Beg, Çaġrı Beg, Kül Erkin, or Çavlı Beg; others may become Yavġu or Yuġruş or Él Begi, or gain the unequaled title of Er Ögi.[119] A servant may reach as high as these ranks of honor, but may not go beyond.

4071 "When the prince raises one of his servants to such a rank, he has paid him his due in a praiseworthy manner. Now the servant proves of greatest utility, and the prince's wish also is fulfilled. But when an immodest and ignoble man attains to high office, the result is great loss. The sage spoke well who said: Raise not the rank of the unworthy. Even better is this piece of wise advice: Do not grant power to the foolish and the ignorant, O prince, for they corrupt wisdom and lead your subjects to ruin. Raise an ignoramus to high office, and he will be the first to sin against you. Give power to a fool and he will eat your head, O head of state! Rather, it is the prince's duty to raise his servant in station according to his degree of wisdom, testing his character well and then promoting him as suits his understanding. And it is the servant's duty to be loyal and compassionate to his master; then the prince may properly reward him.[120]

"One who promoted royal custom spoke as follows: No matter how 4082
big a servant grows, his name is yet 'servant.' No matter how small a prince may be, his name is yet 'prince.' And 'prince' is better than 'servant.' Therefore do not despise your prince, you who have grown big through royal favor, but hold him in respect. And never vie with the prince, nor divulge his secret councils. For he is Glory and Glory's hand is long. He is burning fire, and will get you burned. He is the Fortune of the age, and one must acquiesce in Fortune. And an experienced man, who reached his goal through service, cited this verse:

Though Luck smile through your prince's eye,
Rejoice not, keep ambition down.
On your position do not rely,
For he who smiled can turn and frown.

Big or small, famous or obscure, a servant is still a servant and should not stray from the servant's path but be unwavering in his service. Though the prince make you his intimate, never forget who you are, and continue to walk upright. However well he treats you, be circumspect, always regard him with fear, and never consider yourself his equal.

"Princes are now fire, now water. Now they make you laugh, now 4096
weep. With these three things do not be too close a neighbor: burning fire, flowing water, and the fame of princes. Consider that a prince is like a mighty lion: if you approach respectfully, he is soft as silk; but if you approach contemptuously, he flares up, cuts off your head, pierces your veins, and sucks your blood!

"Do not go near your prince in his season of wrath, or else prepare to 4100
be disgraced. Speak when he addresses you and enter when he summons. Then you will abide in security and honor. If you hear too much, make as though you had not heard; and what you see with your eyes put out of your mind. This is what a self-restrained man has said, one who entered at the right time to present his petitions:

When he bids you to enter, that is honor;
When he bids you to leave, that's a slap in the face.
Guard your eyes, keep yourself in check:
The self-restrained man avoids disgrace.

"From these three things—royal airs, lying words, and greedy ways— 4106
keep as far as you can, for their end is destruction. And do not slander anyone, but speak the truth without hiding anything. Keep yourself pure, for princes are pure and love pure things. When you enter the palace, be circumspect. Honor those who honor you. Do not put on a haughty mien. Do not enter swinging your arms. Do not stand with someone holding his hand. When you sit down, know your place. Behave properly, do not walk over people. Do not shout or spit—these show immodesty and poor taste. Do not cross your legs or slump to one side. Do not laugh too loud, do not pick your nails, and do not straddle your thighs. Such conduct brings disrespect and takes away good fortune.

4116 "When your superior addresses you, listen to him without interrupting. Then speak the truth, for that will redden your cheeks. But do not talk more than is appropriate to your station. If you are drunk, then refrain altogether from entering the palace, for a drunken man is immodest and unseemly.

"In these three matters guard yourself well or else you will lose your head: First, keep fast the secret councils of your prince and guard them as your own soul. Second, keep steady at the time of civil disorder and do not rebel against the state. Third, maintain your virtue within the palace and do not indulge in unseemly behavior. If a man commits an indiscretion in any one of these three matters, no matter how big he is, he will get his head removed.

4124 "When you arrive on foot, O well-mannered one, do not present yourself at the wrong time. And when you take your seat, find the proper row. Then as soon as you are summoned, stand up and go in. Do not drag out your speech when the prince questions you, O manly tiger: present what you know, and be brief.

"Should the prince invite you to dine, you must learn the proper manners of dining. Begin with the Basmala, O sage, and eat with your right hand. Eat only what is in front of you, do not reach over to food that is in front of someone else. Do not draw out your knife or strip your bone. Do not reach out food or call out to other people. You should neither eat too fast, like a glutton,[121] nor too daintily, like a woman. And you must eat the prince's food, no matter how full you may be. For the prince's table is the head of honor.

4134 "Whatever office you may be assigned, perform it loyally, and it will brighten your eyes. Well spoke that man of wisdom—adopt his words and you'll be repaid in gold!—who said: If princely station overtakes you, then perform your duties with wisdom, O famous one. And if you become Yavġu, unequaled, keep faithful to your Lord no matter how much power is in your hands. Or if you are raised to the dignity of army commander, be generous and stay alert, O manly tiger. If you are cavalry officer, or officer of ten tents, let your hand release its wealth and grasp the sword or the bow. If instead you become vizier, and your hand is long, do not promote evil customs, but be pure and forbearing. Should the prince make you counselor, then use your wits[122] and show him the correct course when he is in error. If you get to be Kök Ayuḳ, keep close check on your conduct, for you have bound on Fortune's belt. Whether you are chief of the armed forces or governor of a province, hold yourself upright and keep your eyes and ears sharp. Should you become chamberlain, do not take bribes, but hear the plea of the poor, the widow, and the orphan. If you are made treasurer, stay honest and upright, and if secretary, keep fast the secret councils of state.

4147 "These are the titled royal servants. The rest are subordinate to them. There are such offices as those of bedmaker, falconer, and cook. You

should keep away from service such as this, for it offers few rewards and many hardships. Since you desire to be always honored, give due honor to others as you rise in rank. Tender to your superiors their proper esteem and you too shall acquire the glory of greatness. The aged bard has said:

To honor the great is a custom, meet:
When a great man comes in, rise to your feet.
Show due respect to your superior,
And he will not treat you as an inferior.''

Highly Praised concluded thus: 4155

''Now I have told you the way of a prince and of a servant, and you have learned what it means to serve. If your service is acceptable, Fortune will open the gate. This is the sort of service that is beneficial to others. Know this, and join yourself to the prince.''

Wide Awake said:

''I understand, good man. Now tell me this. If I go to the city to serve the king, on the day I present myself at his court, how shall I recognize my peers? For it is with them that I must live, O brother. And surely I shall have to mix with the nobles and knights. What is the proper way to behave with them?''

48. How to conduct oneself with nobles

Highly Praised replied: 4165

''This is important for you to know, my brother, and I will instruct you. For you will be living with them as your friends and companions, and so you must learn to get on with them or else your life will be unpleasant. A man who arranged court affairs and served according to royal custom once said: If you desire intimacy with the prince, seek intimacy with his courtiers. If you wish to achieve high rank, stay on good terms with the nobles. And however close you may be to the ruler, be sure to keep on good standing with the knights.

''There are in all three classes of courtiers, and you have to get along 4174
with each. First are your superiors. Serve them well and you will share in their glory. They are the ones you must respect, and their words obey. Then they will look kindly upon you. Well spoke that wise sage—and sages' words are not to be despised—who said:

Glory attaches to the small
From service of the great.
When nobles command, run to obey:
You'll rise to high estate.

The great ones are Fortune itself. Therefore serve them if you would be fortunate, for Fortune is hostage to Service.

4181 "Second are your peers. If you alienate them, they will be enemies; if you befriend them, companions. They are your equals, and you should mix and mingle with them, offering friendship in return for friendship.

"Third are your inferiors. With them one must be both bitter and sweet. Be firm toward them, but not oppressive. Do not address them with levity, but restrain your tongue. If they serve you, reward them, and if they stray, punish. Do not let them wander at will, but be continuously informed of their activities.

"Be sociable and acquire friends. All tongues praise the man with many friends. And do not make enemies unwittingly. The man with enemies never finds contentment. No matter how few they may be, the harm they cause is great. I would never say that in enemies there is advantage.[123] Hear, man of wakened heart, the words of one who suffered the retribution of his foes:

A thousand friends are no better than one;
One enemy causes a thousand woes.
However skillful a man may be,
He cannot get benefit from his foes.

4192 "Your comrades will be happy if you treat them as they treat you. Take your friends from among your peers, you and they being of a single stripe. And never take a wicked companion, for he will lead you astray. If you want to acquire a good name then do not mix with the wicked. I have observed that all creatures walk with their own kind. Men and cattle, birds and beasts: all know their respective flocks. An aged and experienced man once said: I saw a starling flying among the ḳaḳ,[124] but when I looked at their type they both were black! The yuġaḳ[125] never mixes with the swan. Black bird (eagle) always keeps its distance from white bird (falcon). Each bird knows its counterpart and flocks together with it. You too should distinguish among people and choose your counterpart.

4201 "Friendship is of two sorts. One is to take a friend for the sake of God. In this there is nothing amiss. The other is to take a friend for your own advantage. This sort of friendship cannot be maintained, even by force. When you adopt a friend for the sake of God, then bear his burden without complaining. Do not expect reward for this in the present life. Be patient—God will give you the reward hereafter! But should you have a friend for this world's sake, cut off his friendship now.

"Listen to one who had much experience of friends, both beneficial and otherwise: Test your friend in benefit and in harm, and if his friendship remains true, then hold him fast. To find out his true mind, try him with angry words and frowning looks. And to find out if he truly loves you, ask him for something he holds dear. If in these two cases his brow remains unruffled, then hold this man equal to your own dear soul.

4212 "As for the slanderer, stay far from him, for on his tongue is a burning fire. From slander arises the world's quarrels and strifes. So it is better to cut off the slanderer's head, O manly and generous one! And the

sponger too, do not become his intimate, for he will surely become your enemy. If this beggar gets what he wants from you, he will start calling you 'brother.' But if he does not, then he will run away and pretend he never met you. Rather, take friends from those who do not expect anything from you. This sort is dependable, and will not cause you trouble. Friends should benefit a man in good times and in bad, in joy and in grief. If you would have many who love you, be open-handed with bread and salt and cheerful in manner; for people respond warmly to these two traits, and will stand by you in good times and bad. This wisdom is reflected in the following verse:

Feed others bread and salt,
Speak sweetly and with a smile.
These two bind men to you:
There is nothing more worthwhile.

"Enemies also are of two sorts; and if a man has enemies there is a 4224
net spread to catch him. One is an enemy for the sake of God: he is the infidel, an enemy forever. The other is an enemy for your own advantage or harm: this enmity a man nurses for spite or revenge. As for the enemy infidel, fight him unyieldingly, and ransom your life for this fight. But as for the enemy for the sake of advantage or harm—give him your advantage, O generous one, and resolve your differences! When you work to your foeman's profit, he becomes your near friend and turns his harm into benefit. Therefore try to make your foe your friend, and you will live safe and secure. Know that there is no profit in enemies, and do not concern yourself with profitless affairs. Just carry out your duty and avoid making enemies, for a man with enemies has a thousand quarrels to contend with.

"Take good and choice men as your friends, for if you have an evil 4233
companion you will regret it later. To find who the best ones are, know that they are of two sorts. One is the man of noble birth and outstanding qualities. Befriend him if you find him, O choice of men! The other is the man who is pious and God-fearing. From him comes true humanity. Take these two as your friends, and you will get from them a good return.

"But stay away from the one who has a bad reputation, for such a man 4238
has a black (i.e., vulgar) character. You who are of a white (i.e., noble) character, do not come near the black, for the black will stain the white. What good advice is this that a wise counselor has given: Mix not with the bad, good man, or you'll become bad like him. Approach not the evil or your name will become evil and your fullness eclipsed. Walk not near a wicked man or he will grab you by the collar! Many a man have I seen with a good reputation whose life was ruined by mixing in bad company. Many a good man has come to nought for the sake of an evil companion.

"The prince's house is called palace *(ḳarşı)* because those within stand 4246
opposed *(ḳarşı)*. There is always jealousy at court, and wherever there is jealousy, there are fights and quarrels. Your superiors are jealous of their

position and treat you with contempt. Your peers are jealous lest some virtue of yours be noticed. And your inferiors are simply jealous of your better fortune. It is for this reason that the palace is a place opposed, and when two stand opposed, one must die. Therefore be firm, O sun of my heart, and envy no one, but walk upright. Envy is a disease, and its cure is long. It feeds on itself, causing its victim to waste away. But everything, good and bad, is God's decree, and what God gives envy cannot take away. So what use is it to envy another person? It only ends in sickness.

4256 "Do good to all then, as far as you are able, and do not doubt that good will come to you in return. If someone is happy, then rejoice with him, if sad, then share his grief. Thus you will acquire a good name and all will hasten to love you. Then my brother, no matter how many friends you have, try not to make enemies. If you do have an enemy, however, then do not be careless, but keep the net ready to snare him. One who prevailed over his own enemies put it this way:

Do not try your foe when he is too big.
Do not stand too close to him, take care!
Defend yourself with an iron shield,
When *he* is careless, catch him in the snare.

4264 "As for your friend, bear his burden and do not break his heart. Mark my words: if your friend turns hostile, he will sap your very soul, not only your gathered goods. For he, your former friend, knows you inside and out, so he may go after your property or else make your soul eat wind. Therefore guard your friend as you guard yourself. For it is easy to make a friend, but hard to keep him; and it is easy to make an enemy, but hard to pacify him. If you do have enemies, guard your own body and soul, for few are those with enemies who escape them.

4271 "There are two sorts of men to keep away from, for their company leads to discord. One is the slanderer; the other is the two-faced sponger. Again, do not take a wine-bibber as your friend, for he will not prove loyal, but will put a wound in your heart. Nor should you give your heart to one who seeks his own benefit, for you may be sure that if he does not get some advantage from you, he will turn hostile toward you.

4275 "If you wish to preserve friendship, do not ask for favors. If you wish to live contented, do not envy others. If you would make your enemy your servant, offer him abundant gold and honor his beard. If you would estrange an intimate, speak harshly to him and do not give him what he asks. If you wish long life, be liberal with bread and salt. If you want all men to love you, make your heart and tongue one and your words sweet. And give others their due respect if you want them to respect you. If you desire to be rich, be contented with your lot. If you desire men to praise you, keep your conduct virtuous and your demeanor cheerful. This is true nobility in a man, which you may learn from his actions. Humaneness to others is the sign of humanity. As the poet said:

Good deeds, straight words,
And the heart's sincerity:
These three bear witness
to a man's nobility.

"You who are of pure and noble birth: do not mix with the wicked, for 4289
they will rob your face of its luster (honor). Hear what a man of intellect said, one who followed the just and fled the evil: The root of all contention and strife is wickedness, my son. So do not mix with the wicked, but stay clear of them. And do not come near the bad-tempered, for when they lose their temper they demolish all claims of friendship. Do not divulge your heart's secret or you will be undone. If you wish friendship to be constant, then put away all covetousness, and live sagely. If you want your cheeks to be ever red, then be upright and live contented. If you want your life and your influence to be long, keep your hand short. If you want your face to maintain its luster, do not allow your tongue to lie. Wherever Fortune raises her head submit to her. Do not wrangle with Fortune, but reconcile yourself to her, or else she will turn your food to poison.

"If you wish your speech to be influential, then speak when asked, and 4300
let your words be straight and true. Do not talk idly, and do not speak ill of anyone. Do not follow up slander, and do not be spiteful. Speech is a wind that pains the heart, and a man whose heart you have hurt will try to bring you low. Do not be insolent to your superiors, nor talk harshly when you should give a simple answer.

"Hold the great in honor and esteem, and some of their glory will rub 4304
off on you. As for your peers, come and go with them, mix and mingle on equal terms. Honor them if they honor you, and if they belittle you, then belittle them by absenting yourself from their company. However they behave, do you behave in turn. If they speak sweetly, let your own tongue be sweet. Be good to the good and return evil for evil. Thus pronounced one who governed his folk by royal custom:

If he says 'you' to you say 'you' to him;
Answer even better than he spoke.
If he says 'thou' to you say 'thou' to him;
Go not below the echo of a rock.

"This is the way to behave with nobles. Here is the remedy and the 4312
cure. So take my words to heart."

Wide Awake said:

"I understand. Now tell me this, my handsome one! When I enter the city today, I shall have to mix with the common people. How shall I behave with them?"

Highly Praised replied:

"It is important for you to know this also, and I will tell you."

49. How to conduct oneself with commoners[126]

4320 "Commoners are quite different, both in their mentality and their character. They have no manners at all, no code of etiquette governing their relationships. Still, one cannot do without them. Therefore talk kindly to them, but do not become too intimate. The manners of commoners are black,[127] so take care that you do not blacken yourself. By nature they are insubordinate and wild, and all their actions accord with these qualities. They only know how to fill their bellies, and have no other care but their throats. One who traveled much and had experience of vulgar manners once said: Commoners care solely for their bellies, and all their strivings are for the sake of their throats. How many people have perished for their throats, and now below black earth they eat fire in requital. Once a vulgar man fills his belly, his tongue loses its head, and if you do not keep control over him, he will lord it over you.

4330 "Therefore, my brother, associate with them and give them food and drink continually, speak softly to them and give them what they ask for. For he who gives is the true beneficiary. And be patient, do not talk too much, for words spoken rashly have little luster. A man who knew much wisdom and moderated his speech quoted this verse:

Let not every word get out on your tongue;
Speak only from necessity.
I saw a wise man who, though he spoke little,
Repented his loquacity."

50. Associating with descendants of the Prophet

4336 "Besides for the nobles and the prince's servants, you will have to mix with other people as well, my brother.

"One group is the descendants of the Prophet. Treat them with due reverence and you will be blessed with fortune. Love them with all your heart, and constantly favor them with alms. They are the 'People of the House,' kinsmen to the beloved Prophet, and you should love his kinfolk for his sake. So do not question their inner motives or examine their character and their origin, as long as they do not utter anything improper."

51. Associating with scholars and Ulema

4341 "Another group is the Ulema. Their learning enlightens the way for the people. So love them sincerely, respect their pronouncements, and learn

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their sciences, or at least a part of them. They are the ones who distinguish right from wrong, who hold to the way that is straight and pure. As far as possible learn their doctrines, give them alms, and guard your tongue in their presence. For they are the pillar of true faith, and their learning is the foundation of the sacred law. If not for scholars and sages in this world, food would not sprout in the ground. Their learning is a lamp for the people, and as long as the lamp is bright one does not stray from the path at night.

"Give them a share of your wealth, accompanied by sweet words. Feed 4348
them hospitably and serve them cheerfully. Be reserved in their presence, do not indulge in slander and backbiting, for their flesh is poison.[128] Rather, give them to eat of your bread and salt, treat them with reverence and esteem, heed their teachings, and do not speak ill of them or attribute to them wicked deeds. For you have need of their knowledge to serve as your guide to the path of righteousness. They are like the ram which leads the flock of sheep onto the straight path. Associate with them, therefore, and establish good relations. Then you will be fortunate in both the worlds."

52. Associating with physicians

"There are several other groups besides, each having its own brand of 4355
wisdom and learning.

"One is the physicians. They provide treatment for all aches and ills. This group is indispensable to you also, for without them none of life's attending ills can be cured. While a man is alive he is subject to sickness and requires proper treatment and medicine. For a man, sickness is the companion of death, and death is the counterpart of life. So hold these physicians in good stead, and pay them their due, for they are necessary."

53. Associating with diviners

"After them come the diviners. They treat those ills which are caused 4361
by a devil or a demon. You ought to be on good terms with them as well, in case you need them to utter a spell against an illness of that sort. So treat them kindly if you wish to profit from them. The physician does not like the diviner's spells, and the diviner turns his back on the physician. So take the medicine the one prescribes to cure your sickness, and grasp the amulet the other incants to drive away the devils."

54. Associating with dream interpreters

4366 "Another science is that of dreams. Whenever a man sleeps he dreams, and if the interpreter knows how to explain his dream favorably, it will turn out according to what he says. If the dream is auspicious, well and good; if inauspicious, the dreamer must give alms to the poor as a prophylactic measure. You should know that the merciful God, desiring His servant's welfare, gives signs in dreams, and has instituted the science of their interpretation. If the dream is good, then he may rejoice. But if he sees evil, then let him take refuge in the Lord and, giving alms to the poor, pray that God avert the evil from him. 'The outcome follows the explanation.' Therefore, O interpreter, be subtle in your examination of the dream, and explain it favorably. Interpreters such as these are expert in their craft, wise, compassionate, and good. Treat them kindly, my brother. Consider them your own brothers or friends."

55. Associating with astrologers

4376 "After this come the astrologers. Theirs is a very subtle method. The calculation of years and months and days is with them, and this is a necessary calculation, O noble one. If you wish to learn it yourself, first study geometry; then the gate of reckoning will be opened. Learn multiplication and division, sums and fractions—they are the perfect test for a well-trained mind.[129] Learn to double and to halve and to take the square root. Master addition and subtraction and apply them to land survey; then consider the seven heavens as a speck of dust. If you need still more, study algebra, then knock on Euclid's gate. Be they worldly matters or otherworldly, all are distinguished and grasped by a reckoning. If the reckoning is amiss, both worldly and otherworldly matters go afoul.

4385 "Also, if you plan to undertake a certain business, you have first to determine the proper time. For there are lucky days and months and also unlucky ones. So inquire of the astrologer, and choose one that is lucky. That aged sage spoke well who said: Inquire of one who knows, and act accordingly. One who begins his enterprise with knowledge will gain his desire in the end, no matter what it may be. In every undertaking, knowledge first is helpful; if knowledge lags behind, the enterprise will not succeed. So inquire of the astrologers first. But do not be quick to rely on everything they say: God is the best Knower, and you should rely on Him alone. As for the astrologers, treat them kindly, do not abuse them with your tongue, nor wound their hearts."

56. Associating with poets

"Then come the poets, the word-assemblers, eulogists and satirists of men. Their tongues are sharper than swords, their thoughts subtler than a hair. To comprehend both the subtleties and the profundities of speech you must listen well to their words. For they dive into the sea with their hearts, and bring up pearls and gems. When they praise a man, his praise spreads abroad, and when they lampoon him, his name is permanently damaged. So hold them in good stead, my brother, and try not to get entangled in their tongues. If you wish to be praised, make them love you, that is all there is to it. Give them whatever they desire. In this way you will buy yourself off from their tongues." 4392

57. Associating with cultivators

"Another class are the tillers of the soil. They too are necessary, my calf. Establish good relations with them and you will live without anxiety in the matter of your throat. Everyone alive derives benefit from them, to each comes the taste of food and drink. All who draw breath, all who get hungry and full, are dependent on them so long as they live. Surely you too have need of them, if the business of your throat is to go well. So stay on good terms with them, O brother. Then your throat will stay pure, and your food will be ritually clean. 4400

"A chaste and God-fearing man has said: If you wish to hold to the straight and narrow, then make your throat pure. If you wish to be pious, give your throat and back only what is permitted as their share. If you would be rich and not poor, do not fornicate. And if you would acquire honor, do not mix with evildoers. Wickedness it is that corrupts one's roots and turns over the traces of good. What fortune you may find flees from it, what fire you put out it rekindles. And a man of clean habits put it well when he said: 4406

Approach not evil, nor hover around:
Where evil is, there is dishonor found.
At evil's inn, Fortune does not rest,
Or if so, only as a one-night guest.

"Cultivators are open-handed, dispensing generously what God has given. Every living creature gets its share of nourishment: the one that walks has its food, the one that flies, its prey. So be on good terms with the cultivators, speak kindly to them, and look cheerfully upon them." 4416

58. Associating with merchants

4419 "Then come the merchants. They never rest from trading and seeking a profit. They roam the world for a living, while they keep mind and heart devoted to God. Associate with them as they come and go, do business with them, and give them what they require. For they have acquired all the choice and beautiful and desirable things of the world. They travel round from east to west, bringing you whatever you may wish. They provide all sorts of silken stuffs, and all the world's rare and wondrous things, O discriminating and generous one! If there were no merchants roaming the world, when could you ever wear a black sable lining? If the China caravan ceased to raise dust on the roads,[130] how could these countless kinds of silks arrive? If the merchants did not travel the world around, who could ever see a string of pearls? Were I to enumerate the many items of the sort, my discourse would be too long.

4429 "Such are the merchants. So consort with them, leave the door open. Treat them kindly and you may be sure that your good name will travel far. For these are they who spread one's name abroad, be it good or bad. And if they favor you with some rare item, reciprocate in just measure, and they will be happy. For in matters of profit and loss they have a very fine sense, so pay attention to this when you deal with them. Hear a man who has roamed the world and seen and suffered much: If you would spread your name abroad, be sure to treat travelers hospitably. If you desire good repute, then give merchants good recompense. If you want a good name, my son, continually favor the traveler and the merchant caravan. Deal with merchants in this manner and you will enjoy contentment and good repute."

59. Associating with stockbreeders

4439 "After this come the cattlebreeders, the masters of all livestock. They are simple and honest men, without folds and corners, and they put no burden on other people. They provide us with food and clothing; horses for the army and pack-animals for transport; koumiss and milk, wool and butter, yoghurt and cheese; also carpets and felts—take a little of each for your home. They are a useful class of men and you should treat them well, my calf! Associate with them, give them food and drink, and deal justly with them. Pay them what they ask, and take what you need, for they are an upright lot and do not practice guile.

4446 "But do not look for wisdom and good manners among them, for they are free and easy in their habits, O refined one! So restrain yourself when

you associate with them, for they are an unmannerly and impudent lot. Speak kindly to them, but not too familiarly, for they are despicable and ignorant bumpkins. An experienced lawgiver once said: Do not get too intimate with an uneducated man, for he is sure to do something improper. Even better is this wise advice:

Fools are a shameful breed:
Stay far from them, that is best.
Let wise men be your friends,
And your life will be Fortune-blessed.

"This is the nature of cattlebreeders. So be guided by my words and you will get your share."

60. Associating with craftsmen

"Another class are the master craftsmen, who make a living by exer- 4456
cising their trades. They too are useful to you, so hold them in good stead. The blacksmiths, bootmakers, and wood-turners,[131] the lacquerers and painters, and the bow-and-arrow makers—from these are derived all the wonderful manufactures of the world. To enumerate them all would be too long; a word to the wise is sufficient. Associate with them, make them your friends, and you will live a happy life. If they do some work for you, pay their wages promptly, and give them liberally of food and drink, lest you earn a bad name among the people. A man with a wise and compassionate heart has said: Seek not life alone, but also a good name; for you will die soon, but your name will remain behind. As long as you have a good name, life is pleasant, but if your name is bad, you are better off dead. This life is the capital invested,[132] so desire a good name, and do not do evil, but make your name immortal through doing good."

61. Associating with the poor

"After them come the poor. To them you should give alms. Then they 4469
will pray for you, my brother, and their benediction is a worthy thing. Do not expect a material recompense from them. God will give the recompense—a goodly Dwelling![133]

"These are the various groups in the realm that you will have dealings with. Deal justly and kindly with them, and all men will hold you dear.

Thus you will gain the blessing of both the worlds, you will earn a good name, and your fame will spread far."

62. How to choose a wife[134]

4475 "If you desire to marry, seek a good woman, and keep your eyes sharp. She should be of good stock in both family lines, also modest, devout, and chaste. Marry a virgin if you can, one who is untouched and who has seen no man's face but yours. Then she will love you, having known no one but yourself, and she will not bring with her any unbecoming habits. If you are going to marry, choose a wife below yourself in status. Do not marry a woman of nobler stock or you will end up her captive. A man of broad experience and ripe judgment coined the following in this connection:

Choose one below yourself,
Nor seek beauty in a wife;
Find one who has virtue:
She will brighten your life.

4483 "O pious man of men! Do not marry; but if you do, choose a wife of equal standing to yourself.[135] And do not look for beauty of face or form, but good character. If her character is good, she will be perfect. But if you choose on the basis of looks alone, your ruddy countenance will turn sallow.

4486 "When a man decides to marry, O chief of men, he must base his choice on one of four things. The first chooses a rich wife, following his greedy soul. The second desires a beautiful one, following his carnal eye. The third seeks one of noble stock, following his pride and desire for high status. The fourth desires a woman who is God-fearing and devout, and as soon as he finds such a one, he marries her. Give ear now, and I will tell you which of these is best. You who chose a wife for wealth: do not become her captive; for when her heart is set on something, she will lengthen her tongue and not let you rest until you get it for her. You who chose a wife for beauty: do not become a laughing stock; for every man loves beauty in his wife, but only God can be the guardian of a woman who possesses it. You who chose a wife for nobility and status: do not cheapen yourself by mixing with highborn stock; for their tongues are very long, and you will be a woman's slave. But you, prince of men, who chose a wife for her piety: if you found such a woman, then you have found all four of these together!

4498 "So if you find a good and God-fearing woman, do not hesitate to marry her, my good man. Then if riches are your desire, she will save your

money, make you wealthy, and redden your cheeks. As long as her character is upright, her beauty will show through; for the wise man knows that a woman's true beauty resides in her character. And if she is devout and chaste, then she is highborn. All three of those are gathered in this one point, O noble one. So if you are wise, you will choose a God-fearing wife, for then you will have all four of these qualities together. When you find a woman of this sort, O manly one, do not waste the opportunity, but go ahead and marry her."

63. How to raise children

"If you have moonlike children, raise them in your own home, do not 4504
give them to others to bring up. Hire a good and pure wetnurse. Then the children will grow up pure and live contented. Educate both sons and daughters in wisdom and good manners, for these will profit them in both the worlds. Take a wife for your son, give your daughter to a husband, then live without care, O fortunate one! Teach your son all the virtues, for knowing these he will save his wealth. Do not let your son wander freely, or he will be good for nothing and will run fast and loose. And do not keep your daughter too long at home unmarried, or you will die full of regrets though you be free of ailments.

"Let me speak frankly about daughters, my friend. The best is if they 4511
are not born at all, or else do not survive. And if one is born, better for her the bosom of mother earth; if she dwells in a house, better that it should neighbor the camp of the dead. Keep women indoors at all times, for a woman's inside is not like her outside. And do not bring strangers in the house, nor let your women out, for the roving eye that sees her on the street will want to possess her. What the eye does not see, the heart does not desire; but what the eye sees, the heart desires. So guard your eye, my son, and your heart will not desire. And as long as your heart does not long for a thing, you will not end up its captive.

"Do not let women mingle with men while eating and drinking, for once 4517
you do, they will go beyond the limit. And do not let women out of the house, for once they are out they will lose the straight path. A woman is basically flesh, and flesh must be preserved. If it is not preserved, it begins to smell, and then there is no cure for it. So treat women with respect, and give them what they ask for; but lock the door of your house, and keep other men away. There is no constancy with these creatures, and there never has been. Wherever their eye looks their heart follows. A tree raised up with inconstancy gives poison fruit: do not hunger after it. How many stalwart and manly men have been cut off at the root because

of women. Many a man with ruddy cheeks and honor-lustered face has turned to earth because of women. Thousands of world-renowned and valiant men have been buried alive by women. Indeed, how is one to guard women at all? May God Who guards all keep guard over them!''

64. How to deal with underlings

4527 ''Again, treat your servants and underlings well. Give them enough to eat, and make up what is deficient in their dress. Task them only according to their strength, do not give them too much hardship to bear. God will make you answer for your treatment of them, He will be their adversary against you. They too are God's servants. So do not oppress them, or you will have hell to pay. You are their superior, and to the small the great is both bitter and sweet. Keep your heart little if you are big, my son, for humility befits the great. Thus the wise bard pronounced:

You who play the prince's part:
Rule your tongue, humble your heart;
Forget not yourself, nor go astray;
To Fortune's coming close not the way.

4536 ''Keep your house and hall clean and pure, then Fortune will come to visit you, O open-handed one! Keep a ready supply of food and drink, of bread and salt, and you will enjoy good fortune and a good name. And keep your expenses in proportion to your income. Make loans freely and be easy in collecting them: thus your way will always be open. But if you yourself are in need, do not bother people about it. Those who love you will listen politely but will not come to your support; while those who do not love you will only laugh at your expense. As a result you will fall in your friends' esteem, and your heart will be wounded.

4543 ''Associate, then, with good men only, and live as a man among men. Do not invest in shared property or partnership ventures, or your ruddy cheeks will turn pale with remorse. Do not live in a house near the main road or you will suffer the consequences. And do not take as your neighbor a prince, a fortress, or a flooding river. There is no profit to be derived from the neighborhood of these three, while the loss that can come from them has no equal. When you are looking for a house, first inquire about the neighbor; and when you are looking for land to buy, first inquire about the water. As long as you do not associate with wicked people, you may walk securely; as long as you behave correctly, you may gallop like a noble steed.

4550 ''Be contented with your lot and you may justly be called 'prince.'

Keep worldly cares and plans short-termed and you will live happily. Do not forget death, and you will waken; do not forget your Lord, and your eyes will open. Guard your tongue and you will not get into trouble. Do not pass the time idly and you will not suffer regrets. Do not wax proud or you will be despised, do not be niggardly or you will be cursed. A man both humble and humane once said: If you would get a good name, be as generous as you can. If you would make free men your slaves, be liberal in your favors. If you would have your head reach the sky, conduct all your affairs with wisdom and foresight. If you would have your name spread abroad, hold travelers in good stead. If you would be happy, stop being heedless. If you would render service to God, close the door on your carnal self and do not give it what it covets. If you would attain to every good, restrain your desires and passions. That pious man spoke well, O wild one, who said these words—apply them to your own case:

Pander not to your carnal soul:
Give it its will, it eats your head in addition.
Treat it well, it treats you ill;
Treat it ill, it bows its head in submission."

Highly Praised concluded, saying: 4565

"These are the ways of the common people, my brother. You have heard my explanations, and if you understand, then you have no more to say."

Wide Awake replied:

"I perfectly understand all that you have told me. Now I have something else to ask. When I take up the society of men, I shall have to come and go cheerfully in their company. Doubtless they will invite me to feasts, also come to mine when I invite them. What is the proper way to behave at table, and the correct way to entertain others? Explain this as well, and let me share in your knowledge."

65. The etiquette of going to feasts[136]

Highly Praised answered: 4573

"This too is necessary to know, my brother. All sorts of people may invite you, and there are many different types of celebrations. There is one for a wedding, another for a circumcision, still another for the birth of a son. Peers and friends may issue the invitation, or kith and kin; your superiors or your inferiors. Then there is the funeral feast, in commemoration of one departed.[137] Or else a man who receives a title of rank may give a feast for all and sundry. Whenever you are invited to one of these occasions, weigh carefully whether to go or not. Should your peers or

your kinsmen invite you, then join their celebration and pay due regard to their guests, be the fare rich or poor. And if a close neighbor, or a friend in God, prepares a feast for your sake, go out of consideration for him, enjoy yourself and give him joy.

4584 "If, however, there is a feast different from these, it is better not to go, lest your own heart be wounded. Your place to sit and stand may be contrary to protocol and you will be upset, O noble one. Or else there may be a drunken brawl, and then you will suffer indigestion. Do not cheapen yourself willy-nilly for the sake of filling up on food and drink. As a sober and self-restrained man once said: Guard your gullet, do not for its sake become the vilest of men, a captive slave. How many a respectable man I have seen who was humbled to dust because he could not control his throat. How many a one grown great in the land fell captive to his throat and was arrayed in earth. And many a rich one too went bankrupt for the same cause, then fed on penury. So fall not captive to your throat, great-throated one, for nothing can ransom you!

4594 "Whatever sort of celebration you may attend, you will dine with good manners if you are wise. An ill-bred person, stupid and ungainly, is bewildered when he sees a man of good breeding. It is correct to wait for your superior to put forth his hand to eat before you do. Then serve yourself with your right hand. Pronounce the name of God: then your food will increase and you will grow rich. Do not reach out to take a morsel in front of someone else, but eat what is before you. Do not draw your knife at table or strip a bone. Do not eat greedily or messily. No matter how replete one may be, he must still eat, my brother; so give him food according to his capacity.[138] When you are eating, take small bites, and do not blow on the food to cool it. Do not wipe your hands on the tablecloth. In general, reform your own behavior rather than spoiling things for others. Follow the rules of etiquette. Ill-mannered people cause others harm. The chief of protocol well said: If a man observes the proprieties, he rises to the seat of honor.[139] Everything has its forms and customs and rules. As long as a man practices decorum, his face is bright. But if he fails to observe the norms and codes of society, his affairs will never prosper.

4607 "Put forth your hand then, and partake of the meal, for this will please your host. If someone goes to the trouble of preparing a feast in your honor, do not make his efforts go for nought, thus wounding his heart. A heart-wakened man spoke to the point when he said: Man's heart is fragile as glass, so handle it with care or it will break. When the heart is mishandled, the ties of friendship are cut and mutual benefit turns to estrangement. So if you wish to keep on intimate terms with someone, preserve his heart, for when it breaks you may despair of his fondness.

4613 "Eat with moderation. A rare and wise man told me this. He who overeats finds that his food his raw, and he who eats raw food is plagued

with illness. Now illness enters through the throat, so guard that member, and eat and drink little. When a man is seized with illness, he grows weak; and if he does not treat it, death comes on apace. That sage physician spoke well—who said doctors' prescriptions are bad?—when he said:

Consider that sickness is Death's neighbor
Or Death's vanguard, bringing strife,
Or, to vary the image, Death's envoy
Announcing an end to life

"Adam's son, if he claims to be human, should be able to distinguish 4620
hot and cold. He must understand the body's natural constitution, eat what agrees with it and refrain from what does not. If the hot element is dominant, drink something cold; if the cold is dominant, balance it with something hot. If you are young, and it is springtime, take things that are cold by nature, they will cool your blood. If you are past forty, and it is autumn, regulate your humor with something hot. And if you are sixty, and the season is winter, take hot things only, nothing cold. When the dry and the cold are ascendant, prepare the hot and the wet, for these two will offset those. While if wet and cold predominate and do you harm, oppose them with hot and dry. If your humor is cold, then overcome it with hot; if hot, then continually eat and drink cold. But if your humor is evenly balanced, take equal shares of hot and cold. Thus you will keep your natural constitution in just proportion, and your life will pass in health and tranquillity. Hearken to the words of the physician, my lamb:

The bodily humors I recount:
Red blood, white phlegm, yellow bile and black.
They are enemies each to each:
When one advances drive it back.

"In order to keep one's natural humors in balance one must eat only 4634
what agrees, and this requires the exercise of intellect. This, my son, is what distinguishes man from beast. So heed these words of the wise graybeard, and do not remain a savage:[140] If a man reaches forty and does not know his own natural humor, then he is wholly a beast, albeit he may speak. Any man who does not learn by experience; any who fails to correct his conduct by judging past results; in short any who has grown old but not wise, cannot be considered human; he is rightly called an animal.

"The physicians put it in a nutshell: he who eats little stays healthy 4641
and cheerful. If you want to live free of illness, swallow the medicine known as 'little.' If you want to live a long and happy life, chew the flesh known as 'tongue'!"

66. The etiquette of inviting to feasts

4644 "If you decide to hold a dinner party yourself, do so by all means, but prepare the affair properly. Have cups and serving-cloths cleaned. Purify house and hall, and set out the furnishings. Choose food and drink that is wholesome, tasty, and clean, so your guests may eat to their hearts' content. Remember that if you do not hold a feast you will be faulted once, but if you do you will be faulted a hundred times. So prepare the food and drink thoroughly. Then your guests will come and fill up, and leave you unblemished.

"Invite your friends and relatives, both near and distant, all of them—respect their right! Then those who come will come, and those who do not will not be offended. It is a bad business to incur a person's wrath over an affair of the throat: he will nurse a grudge to the end of his days. So be sure to provide everyone with food and drink, and if someone comes late, be sure to feed him too.

4653 "While your guest is eating, give him to drink as well. And when he has had one drink, have another ready. Wherever there is food there should be drink, and the two must be balanced correctly, for food taken without drink has a toxic effect. If you will you may give him *fuḳāᶜ* (a sweet beverage)[141] or *mīzāb* (table-water?), or else *jülengbin* (conserve of roses) or *jülāb* (rose-water julep). As to what you may offer besides these, do not ask me, ask someone else!

"When the nobles have finished their meal, then entertain those of lower rank. Give food and drink to everyone, do not let any go away hungry and cursing. After they have eaten and drunk their fill, serve sweetmeats, along with fruit, dried and fresh, also *simiş* (nuts?). If it is within your means, give them cuttings of silk brocade, and other kinds of 'tooth-rent,' so that no contention may arise. And when the feasting and drinking is over, hold no one back, open the door if they wish to leave.

4663 "Of those who invite to feasts there are four sorts, my calf, and of those who attend the feasts of others there are also four. One goes whenever he is invited and partakes of whatever is offered but, never reciprocating, dines alone when he is home. Another attends the parties of his friends and invites them to his own in turn. A third neither goes when invited nor invites himself—consider such a one rather dead than alive, and do not associate with him! One, finally, does not attend the feasts of others but does invite people to his own and slaughters generously. Of these four the last is the best and the one which our sages have praised the most.

4671 "Whether you indulge in feast-going or do not, guard your throat, eat moderately, and you will stay healthy. The man who eats too much be-

comes disease-ridden, yellow-complexioned, and quarrelsome, and gets a bad name. In this wise spoke the wide-minded physician, knower of natural humors:

Sickness enters via the throat.
It ages prematurely,
And makes your face grow pale and wan;
So guard your throat securely.

"Such is the etiquette of feasting and drinking, whether one plays the host oneself or answers the invitation of others.

"Enough for now! I have spoken much, and you have listened well. 4677
This is the way and manner of the world, O near and true one, light of my heart! Consider my words and strive to understand them, if you desire to enter the society of man."

67. Wide Awake tells Highly Praised that he has renounced the world and accepted his lot

Wide Awake responded as follows: 4680

"I have listened patiently, now hear my answer.

"Those who learn well what you have said will surely attain their desire in this world. But does man live by bread alone? This must be considered first, O wise one. If a man takes such pains to gain the world, and then enjoys it for so short a time, what is it worth? If a man spends his life running after the world, then his true business, which is obedience and service to God, goes by the board. See how much service was left undone since you came to see me today! If so much loss has come from associating with just one person, how shall I make up the service lost when I go back to the city, and all my talk and all my business is with people? The door will be closed to me in that direction.

"I am no longer young. All my life has been spent in contemplation 4689
and devotion to God. Would it be fitting for me now to regress and follow after vanity? One whose words of wisdom flowed like a river said the following: Perform the business of old age in your youth, for when you are old you will not have the strength. And hasten to serve God while you are still young, for you cannot do it properly in old age. Spend your youthful energy on doing good, for when you are old this fire will die out. What a goodly time is youth, to take for oneself a share from every good thing; and how unseemly it is for an old man to follow after vanity and do the deeds of the young!

4697 "The things of this world are for the purpose of life, but when life ends, then the need for things ends too; and when your breath is cut off, you must leave your gathered goods behind. Assume that I did as you say, served the king and came to know perfectly the manners of courtiers and subjects. To what end? Finally you must die, and all that will be left you are two pieces of cloth. So much suffering of heat and cold is only for these two desires, O manly Muslim: first to make yourself big with the wealth of the world, second to have your word hold sway in the realm. These two were good indeed if, once I acquired them, they remained forever; but Death has taken from me any pleasure in these two. Then what need have I of the world, O wise one?

4705 "The sign of a fortunate man is that he increases in goodness day by day; of an unfortunate one, that he leaves people cold, and as he ages his character corrupts; as the poet said:

The man by Fortune blessed, as he grows older,
So grows his goodness with an equal measure;
The man by Fortune cursed, as he grows older,
Pursues with growing fondness his own pleasure.

4710 "Where now is he who sought to hold onto the world and built himself an iron fortress (Shaddād)? Where is he, that shameless dog, who gained the world, then mounted an eagle to scale blue heaven (Nimrod)? Where is he who, shamefully, claimed to be a god, and then God sent him down to the bottom of the sea (Pharaoh)? Where is the one who gathered the goods of the world and then was gathered with his goods down into the ground (Korah)? And where the one who went from east to west, the realm-destroyer and prince of the world (Alexander)? Where now is he whose staff became a serpent, he for whom the sea's waters split that he might cross (Moses)? Where is he who once held sway over the fairies and the birds and over mankind (Solomon)? Where is he who once brought others back to life (Jesus)? He too became death's prisoner at last. And where is that one chosen above all men (Muḥammad Muṣṭafā)? The world that once was full of his grace now is empty.[142]

4719 "All these whom I have recounted, death has taken away. Will it then leave you alone, O pure one? This is the way of the world—take it this way or take it that. Look now how many men have entered brown earth's bosom, and yet it is not full. Were you to open black earth's folds, how many splendid ones you would see lying there and groaning, how many princes turned to dust and sages wasting in their graves. I cannot distinguish between prince and slave, my eye cannot choose between poor and rich. None is so mighty that disease does not strike him, and he goes to his grave, his blood turned cold. All of these have made the earth their bed. Will you then be left alive, or will I?

4727 "Man is a traveler who walks and sojourns a while. He cannot make his dwelling on the high road. All desires I have put away from me: God

suffices me as a support.[143] It is greed that makes a man a slave, and I have laid aside all greed, my eye is full. Hearken to one who renounced this wayward world:

All greediness removed I from my eye,
And then was filled my soul;
All worldly things I gladly put aside,
And then I found my goal.

"This world is like a field: whatever you sow therein will sprout to- 4733
morrow. If you sow good, goodness will sprout, and good will be your food and dress; if you sow evil, evil will sprout, and tomorrow that evil will be a burden on your neck. As long as I embrace my desire today, I shall surely not gain tomorrow's bliss. Put down the world before it puts you down, give up the world before it gives you up. What need have you of *this* world? Renounce it, ever seek *that* world, and there live in eternal bliss. Even better is that you not desire either world but desire the Lord of both. Then what need have you of this world *or* of that? Once you find the Creator, the creation is yours as well. Therefore fear not any creature, nor desire anything, but fear your Creator, and take Him as your support.

"Ought I to give up service to the Lord Creator, and take up service 4745
to a creature? There are only two possibilities for one who serves another human: either his service is acceptable, or it is not. If it is not, then all his efforts are vain and his life is wasted. If it is, and his master raises his position, then he is no longer master over himself: he has to run about, hungry or filled, and when his master goes to bed he has to look after his affairs. What profit or pleasure is there in this kind of service? As the Irkin of Ili once remarked: It is hard to please a prince, and easy to offend him. If you serve him well, you cannot be master over yourself, and if your service is unsuitable you soon fall from his esteem. Do not rely on your position then, O long-suffering servant, for in the end you are expendable. As soon as you think your master is pleased, he will shout at you and curse you; as soon as you think he is relaxed, he will flare up and glare at you. You can never know all his quirks or foresee all his reactions.

"Nothing is stable in this world, my son; it is like a wind or a shadow, 4758
or like a mirage—try to grasp it and there is nothing there.[144] Inconstant Fortune comes to every man in turn and quickly grows old. I have no need of this world, nor of Fortune's feverish spell. The remembrance of my Lord suffices for my happiness, and I find sufficient solace in His decree. Beloved to me is what my Lord has loved, hateful to me is the devil, whom He has made His enemy. From Him is my desire, for Him my hope; He is my refuge and my support.

"As for food and clothing: if I have sheep's-wool and barley-meal, then 4765
I have the whole world, my brother. Hear the words of a pious saint who passed his life in a cave:

Sweeter than sugar, it seems to me,
And finer than brocade
Are millet bran and a woolen cloak;
Of these my stock is made.

You ought to eat only enough to fill the belly, though your food be but barley and millet. Eat to live, brother, do not live to eat, like an ox. Too much food is bad for the natural humor; rich and tasty foods, whether sweet or sour, cause indigestion, and bring you in the end to a noisome pit. The same for silks and brocades: a simple garment to cover your body is sufficient. If a man fills his belly once, he can go two days without eating; and if he has one garment to cover his shoulders, he can go two years without a new one. Is it worth making myself a slave to another man for the sake of these two?

4776 "All things from the Throne above to the dust below are alike dependent. God alone is perfect and without dependence, yet He is mindful of the dependent, and is merciful, forbearing. I have joined my heart to the one God. Him alone do I desire. His being is evident to my heart, and my tongue sings in measured phrases. I confess His existence, and I seek him constantly though where He should be sought I am unaware. I long for my Lord without sleeping. I find signs of him, though He is invisible. The longing lover never sleeps. He searches continuously, although he cannot reach his goal. He never lies down to rest, and never turns back saying 'I sought but did not find.' What will the unresting seeker fail to find? And who will find what he seeks if he lies down to rest?

4786 "He sought me first of all, out of love; now hasten I to be His lover. He desired me first, from eternity; now am I become one who desires perfectly. How could I not love such a Lord, how could I fail to seek until I find? He succors me in my need and ransoms me in my distress. He sought me first of all, He chose me; therefore have I joined my heart to Him and become His seeker. He created me and nourished me until now; I have renounced all creatures and taken refuge in Him, for He will protect me from all. When I am left alone, the remembrance of my Lord is enough, and the mention of my Lord's name is sufficient for my speech. He is my refuge and my support, He the one Lord Who provides for me when I am hungry and when I am filled. Hear the words of a purified man, one who was on good terms with his God:

My heart's secret I reveal to You,
With desire and longing I fly to You,
My Lord my refuge and my support:
All things renouncing I flee to You.

4798 "This world determines your place in that world. You will never gain that if you do not give up this. By turning away from this, that comes into your reach. But if you hold tight to the perishing world, how will you attain the everlasting? The world is perilous, its nectar is poison;

therefore seek that food and drink which is pure. Renounce the present world's desires altogether, and you will find a good place in the hereafter. Let me tell you this truth, O Highly Praised: Four things there are that a man must renounce or he cannot properly do four other things. Unless a man renounce the business of this world altogether, he cannot perform the business of that world; unless he stay far from other men, he cannot devote himself to God; unless he break the neck of carnal desire, he cannot enter on the straight path; and unless he remove all worldly things from his heart, he cannot love God truly.

"This world is a prison for a Muslim. Do not seek happiness in a prison. 4809
Straighten your heart and be firm, do not give your carnal self its share; then you will enter on the straight way. Do not spend idly the passing day, for you cannot regain the night when it passes. A day wasted is later regretted, and a life tossed away cannot be found again.

"You whose wisdom is wide as the sea, hearken to one who is lofty 4813
of heart though humble of spirit: A man about to journey from one town to another should send his baggage ahead; then his affairs will prosper and his profits will brighten his eye. Whether you send your baggage ahead or not, you will have to make the journey in the end, therefore be not neglectful. Whether you are a prince or a slave, you will not remain here long, for death is on its way. Whether you live a thousand years or but eighteen, you are to die, so leave behind a good name as a trace. Whether you are rich or poor, the passing years and months and days eat up your life. Though you are so great and famous that your head touches the sky, soon your resting-place will be under the black earth. If a man wastes his time while he is alive, he is no better than an ox, indeed he has thrown himself into the Fire. If a man wastes his years while he is healthy, it is an ugly life he has led.

"Do not worry about me, my brother, but worry about yourself, and 4823
shed a tear. This world is a snare—do not get caught in it, or it will hold you fast. Though Fortune has visited you today and follows your wish, do not depend on it, for it will soon depart. And do not be careless of death, or think it will be long in coming: it will come upon you as from an ambush, when you least expect it. Death has trampled many a carefree man, it has scattered many a company. The wakeful-hearted poet stated the matter thus:

What profit all your arms and your troops?
Death disbands all bands and groups.
Raise your 'I' to the skies, your 'I' will not keep:
Think on death, and your eyes will weep.

"Be not careless then, for life surely departs, and time passes never to 4831
return. Gloat not in pleasure or your day of life will be vainly spent. Keep no faith in Fortune for it is wayward and wanton. The one who boasts of his nobility will also fall prey to death, and the one who brags of his

greatness will also be overcome. Many a town and village has death destroyed, many a house and palace has it laid low. How many once living, now dead and buried, lie waiting for us to come. Open your eyes and look at them: can you discern between prince and slave? Greatness is not advantage against death, and he who would flee it can find no crossing. It took away the noble prophets; can others then ward it off with weapons or with drugs?

4839 "This fickle and faithless, wicked world! Whatever it brings forth soon passes away. Whether good or evil, crooked or straight; whether hungry or filled, rich or poor—it has no favorite. Neither its joys nor its sorrows last long. Why then all this sound and fury? One broad of mind and moderate in his habits spoke well who said:

A little good comes, man forgets that he dies;
He raises his words to the skies
And puffs up his breast; then death cuts him to size,
Pricks his breast and scatters his eyes.

Thus I say to you, O generous one, from the bottom of my heart: he who recognizes what the world is like will not let it touch him.

4848 "Now I have lost my youth, the musk has fled, and my head is covered with camphor. Surely it is time to prepare for death. Now contentment is gone, and anxiously I wonder what my lot after death shall be. How could I go and serve the king while this care preoccupies my soul? Nor would the king gain any advantage from my presence. And if he wants me to be with him for the sake of the hereafter, let him think that I am there, and so may he walk upright.

4854 "Almighty God called forth Adam's sons for one of two ends: either to be disgraced in hell or to be honored in paradise. If honor is what you desire, then He has laid down the path; but He has also left clear the path of disgrace. It is up to God's servant to perform perfect service: then he shall gain God's favor, and the road to all good things will lie open before him. Such is my advice to you, dear friend: heed my words well, and they will be more beneficial to you than myself. If the hereafter is what you seek, then here is the way; if this world is what you want, then you known perfectly well how to attain it without my advice. For Fortune has smiled upon you, and will surely grant whatever you wish. What further benefit could you possibly gain from me?

4865 "Let the king leave me to God, and I will pray for him. If it is wisdom that he seeks of me, then you have heard what I know: tell him what I have told you. Apply my advice to your own affairs and it will redden your cheeks. As the poet says:

Heed my counsel here and now,
Plant it in your mind with care,
Neglect it not, and you will see
It bear fruit then and there.

Beg the king's pardon on my behalf and apply whatever remedy is fitting. You incurred much hardship in going back and forth; may God requite you, may your day be bright. My brother, do not have a heavy heart on my account, and do not exclude me from your affection."

Highly Praised said: 4874

"I have weighed your words well in my mind, and I have nothing to reply. Now I understand that yours is the straight way and all other ways are crooked. Yours is the truth, mine is a game—I have left the game and bow to the truth. Now I will take my leave. Stay well, O well-omened in both the worlds! May God show you favor and give you strength, my brother. Do not forget me in your prayers, do not exclude me from your heart. Pray that God waken me and open my heart."

The conversation ended; he rose and took his leave, mounted his horse, 4881 and headed home. When he arrived, he dismounted and went inside to rest a while. He ate and drank, then pondered a long time on his brother's words. Sol tied a black veil over his face, Earth was filled with the dust of dusk, the Roman maid let her locks flow loose on her face and covered the world with the blackness of her hair, the sky put on a wholly Negro countenance, the flying creatures rested and the walking creatures came to a halt. He performed his ablution and the bedtime prayer, then called for bedding and lay down. After sleeping a little he awoke. Mars had declined from the zenith. Looking again he saw that the Pleiades had set and the Scorpion was rising opposite in the east. He lay down once more but could not sleep: his eyes, like a watchman's, refused to close. For a while he lay awake, thinking. The Sky's complexion took on a camphor hue, the air was crepuscular as though sprayed with perfume; then Dawn arose spreading out its branches from the ground; Sol rose up in majesty, his nine orange-colored standards marching in front,[145] and banished the dust of twilight from the earth. Highly Praised arose and performed his ablution and the dawn prayer, along with his daily litany, while Dawn's shield blazed red at the horizon. Then he went straight to the palace.

When the king was informed of his arrival, he gave him leave to enter. 4896 Highly Praised came in and folded his arms in respect. The king motioned him to be seated, and he passed to his proper place according to his rank and dignity. After a while the king began to question him, thus:

"Tell me now, O excellent man. What says your brother? How did your mission turn out? Will your friend come?"

Highly Praised replied, informing the king of all that had passed between 4900 them. The king thought to himself a while. His heart was pained and his eyes flowed with tears. Finally he said:

"Your brother's response was proper and true. This day we have done an injustice both to ourselves and to him. This world is fleeting, what life remains is uncertain; the everlasting world is surely coming, whether for bliss or for torture it will not tarry long: happy he who there finds bliss,

for his is a good place and he has found a goodly companion. Your brother is totally awake: for us to summon him was most absurd. As for us, our souls are captive to desire and we pass our day in vanity.

4910 "Hear this goodly counsel of one whose heart was alive: The carnal self is an enemy of old, and if you let it gain the upper hand it will certainly exact its ancient grudge. When the carnal self thrives, then the heart dies, and when the heart dies, obedience to God is left behind, my son. Today our hearts must be dead, for our carnal selves have gotten such a thick neck! This day of Fortune has brought us power and greatness, but it will not stay long. Its pleasures are few, its tribulations many; many too are the headaches and the curses. That sage ripe of years and tried in the world spoke well who said:

The greater you grow,
The more your head will ache;
No pleasure without
A thousand sorrows in its wake."

4919 The king continued:

"My dear Highly Praised, in desiring your brother to come here my hope was only that he direct me toward good. I wonder if my heart will survive the disappointment. He adamantly refused to come and to see the faces of his friends and family again. But everything he said was just, and it would not be right to prevail on him now. Also you are weary from traveling there and speaking to him. Let us wait then, O generous one, and see what time and circumstances will bring.

4925 "The future, good friend, is wrapped in the darkness of night, and only the morrow's shining sun will reveal it. Time's bow is strung: it lets loose now benefit, now harm. While you live, therefore, leave your affairs to God's decree and they will unfold when their time comes. If you find no reward in what you are doing, O wise one, then put it aside for a while. This is the way of the World: pursue her and she runs away, abandon her and she comes after you. So we will wait a while and test him. It may be that in the course of time he will desire us. He will do what he considers best for himself."

When the king finished speaking, Highly Praised rose and went out quietly.

Several days passed after this conversation, while the king pondered the matter and examined it from every angle.

68. King Rising Sun sends for Wide Awake a third time

One day the king called for Highly Praised and said: 4934

"Here is a task for you. Your brother refused my summons and thwarted my desire. Now I have given up that wish. Yet there is one thing I still desire, and that is once to see his face. I will go to him, or let him come to me, for a visit only. Let him meet with me to give me his counsel, then let him return to continue his devotions. That way he will suffer no loss, but I will profit, and all disturbance will be cleansed from my heart."

Highly Praised replied:

"A sound and exemplary request, O blessed of Fortune! This task will be done if the king desires it. Give me leave to go and convey the request. You need not go yourself. But do write a letter, so that when that excellent one reads it, he will believe me and not hesitate to come."

The king said: 4945

"What need for a letter when you yourself more faithfully bear the message? Remember what the prince of Yaghma said on this subject:

What need is there for writing
When a true envoy is found?
What need is there for art
When nature is so sound?

This is not such a weighty or fearful matter. There is no need for writing or for artful words. I trust you—you be the letter, O wise one! Ask him to come, let him meet with me and then go back immediately. I will not restrain him, he may come and go freely. This is your mission: invite him gently, not forcefully. If he does not wish to come here, I will go there to visit him."

Highly Praised said: 4955

"With God's support your wish will be fulfilled. I shall eagerly undertake this task. May the king stay safe and sound, may God grant his every wish."

He took his leave and rode home, entered, and undressed. The world's 4958
flushed countenance turned a golden yellow, Sol rubbed saffron on his face, the sky took on an azure hue and then turned pale as a lover's brow, and the world's complexion changed to that of the tawny Abyssinian. He had dinner, performed his ablution and prayer, then called for bedding and lay down to sleep a little. The yellow nightingale began to warble, and he awoke with a start.[146] Sleep had fled, the night was very long. He lay wishing for day to come. Finally the Sky tore his black shroud, baring his chest and revealing his bright face. The sun rose smiling like a girl and lit up the world, flattering the mountains, both the sun-kissed and the

shaded slopes.[147] He got up, washed and dressed, and performed the ritual prayer, interpreting the day as auspicious. Then mounting his horse, along with a servant-boy, he proceeded cheerfully toward his brother. As he approached his dwelling, he dismounted and walked quietly to his door. He knocked gently, and his brother came out immediately.

4973 When Wide Awake saw Highly Praised he said:

"Brother, you are prolonging the affair. Why do you keep troubling yourself, why do you persist in this disagreement? Now come inside and tell me why you have returned."

4976 The two brothers went inside. The ascetic knit his brow, and the visitor said:

"Hear my words before you frown.

"I reported to the king faithfully and completely what you said. He heard it all and weighed it well. Now he is leaving you alone, my brother. But he has a different request, and he has sent me to convey it to you. So do not put me to shame, O brave one! Everything has its proper proportions; as the poet expressed it:

All things have a limit
Within which they are sound;
Keep within the limit,
Do not transgress the bound.

4986 "The king has put aside his earlier request. He now invites you only for a visit. Go meet with him, or else let him come here to you, that he may once see your face. There is no loss to you in this, my brother, therefore grant it for my sake, O stony-hearted one. For the king is a most excellent sultan and well-beloved to the poor and the unfortunate."

4990 Wide Awake replied:

"This is a more reasonable request, and I accede to it, my heart-fellow. For a Muslim is a brother to his Muslim brother, and visiting is proper. I will go visit him today. If I refused to go before, it was because he was seeking his own advantage from me. Now that he has renounced that purpose, and has taken to the path of righteousness, I too shall enter on that path. I will go; he need not trouble himself to come to me. For he is the king and sovereign of the people, and all honor and respect are due to him, that he may maintain deed and word upright, and may cleanse the realm of every trace of evil. As the poet said:

You must obey the prince's word
As all must, young or old,
Although he be a Hindu born
And a slave for silver sold.

5001 "Now I will honor the king's command. Go back and tell the king that I am coming to visit him. I shall go when the day-bright world puts on its evening shroud, for if the people see me during the day they will speak

ill of me and thus throw themselves into the Fire because of me. Go home now and wait for me; do not go to bed. I will come there first and we will procede from there."

Highly Praised was pleased and said: 5007

"Very good. I will go now to give the king your answer: he will be glad to hear it! And you come afterward at the appointed time, as you promised."

With this they arose, in agreement now, and went out smiling. Highly Praised commended his brother once more, saying:

"Do not go back on your word, my heart-fellow. When Sol returns to earth and hides his face, when the World binds her countenance in a veil of coal, I shall await you at my house: come to me there, and I will see to it that the affair is carried out properly."

He mounted and rode directly to the court, where he dismounted and 5014 entered, and asked leave to appear before the king. When he had conveyed the message, the king rejoiced and said smiling:

"This matter has finally turned out well, as long as he does what you say he will. Now tell me, when is he coming, and where shall I meet him?"

Highly Praised answered:

"At night, when the world's bright countenance darkens, he is coming to my house; then he will come to you whenever you say."

The king said: 5020

"May God requite you for your trouble. This was the remedy for my ill and has made my heart rejoice. You wait at home and let me know when he comes; then I shall send someone with the formal summons, and you bring him to me that I may visit with him and see his face. Thus that sage's words will be fulfilled who said:

While you nurse a desire,
It cannot be dismissed;
But once it is attained,
Let it go, it won't be missed."

Highly Praised signified his obedience and took his leave. Coming home, 5027 he went inside to rest. Sol descended to earth and hid his face while a mist arose and veiled all things; the World put on widow's weeds and knit her brow; the sky faded and turned black as the devil's face. All things that move now rested and closed their eyes, all creatures now fell silent.

69. Wide Awake comes to Highly Praised

5031 Wide Awake arose and came quietly. Highly Praised went out to meet him; they greeted each other with a handshake and went inside. He gave him food and drink, and meanwhile sent to inform the king, who returned an answer with a formal summons.

70. King Rising Sun meets with Wide Awake

5035 Together they rose and went to the court. The king stood up and came forward to receive them. He spoke the greeting formula first, the ascetic returned the greeting, and they shook hands. Full of smiles and cheer, the king asked his welfare, then gave him a seat next to himself and treated him with great honor and kindness. He said:

"O Wide Awake, you have incurred much trouble by coming here on foot."

5040 Wide Awake replied:

"Now that I see you, I have forgotten the trouble. Besides, I came of my own free will, and when a person walks toward a goal that he desires, he reaches it quickly and is not left tired on the way. Hear what the Yavġu of Böke, famed for wisdom, said on this point: To walk according to one's heart's desire is to find the far place near, while to walk against one's will is to find the near place far. I came to you willingly, O king, so it was no trouble. When one seeks a person out of love, one finds him near at hand though he be far away."

5050 The king said:

"Then let me ask you this, first of all.[148] Surely you know that is a great blessing to open proceedings by being first with the greeting.[149] Why then did you forego this blessing and this merit?"

5054 Wide Awake answered:

"I did this knowingly. For the greeting *(selām)* is a surety of protection *(selāmet)* and a safe-conduct; as the poet says:

He who says 'Selām ʿaleyk'
Thereby grants security;
He who says "ʿaleyk selām'
Accepts it as a surety.

It is incumbent on the great to go first when greeting the small.[150] Then the small are safe from the evil of the great and can hope for good from them. How could any evil come to the king from me? I am small, and what harm can come from the small? But the king has a long hand over

all his subjects, and when he frowns in displeasure, he can do with them as he likes. That is the reason why a commoner does not greet a prince, O one of perfect knowledge!

"You first summoned me here out of a desire that I enter your service, 5066
and I refused, since I have no faith in this deceitful world. Now you have put that aside and summoned me for a visit only, so this night I have come. I was still somewhat fearful that you would go back to your original request, but you granted me safe-conduct through your greeting. Now I know that I can trust you completely, and that only good will come to me from you."

The king said: 5072

"It is bad indeed for a prince to go back on his word. One who breaks a promise, and one who is given to lying and anger, ought never to enjoy power over others. He is not worthy to rule whose tongue is false or whose hand is empty. Better yet is this word of wisdom: When a man retreats from his word, Fortune retreats from him. The worst of men is the liar, and the man who breaks his promise is the worst of the worst. Well spoke that straight-speaking man—may God give him his wage—who said:

Call not that prince a man
Who breaks his promise given,
For he is no true man:
He plays the part of women."

Wide Awake replied: 5081

"The king has found the means to gain all good qualities. May God, O king, continue to foster these good traits in you. For princes are the choicest of men, so they must keep their deeds and words as choice as themselves. A wise man laid it down as a principle that when the prince is good the people prosper. And another, whose white head bespoke long experience of the world, spoke as follows: Hold to good deeds, you who hold the world in fee, for Fortune comes and goes. Be firm and steady and earn a good name, for Fortune is faithless and will be a stranger again. Commit no wrong, you whose hand is long, but only good in word and deed; for the sovereignty you now enjoy can turn its back on you, but virtue never turns its back, my brave one. Bear the people's burden well today, thus earning good recompense tomorrow; for this day's life is wind, and perfidious Fortune will sweep you away."

The king said: 5092

"Open the way, O wise one! Know that this is the very reason I was so insistent in wanting you here: to give me such counsel and advice that my hand may attain the good. I have people here in plenty, 'throat baggage,'[151] but no one who is honest and loyal. A prince may find all that he seeks and desires and still not find a man he can rely on. A crowd

of courtiers are assembled at the gate, yet there is no useful man among them. Read this verse, generous one, if you would grasp my meaning:

Men so-called there are aplenty:
One useful man there is not.
A thousand men are good for nothing:
One good man is worth the lot.''

5101 The king continued:

''O Wide Awake, you are one who has gained all of God's favor, and your character is perfect, suiting your name. May God grant your every wish. Now share with me some of what God has given you, that my heart may live and my carnal soul may die.''

5104 Wide Awake replied:

''You see my outer form and judge it praiseworthy, O prince, but if you knew what was inside you would banish me with a thousand curses. True, they call me an ascetic, but what this name means for me is a famine of worship. This name has become my ruin, and because of this name my carnal soul has become my ruler. I have decked out my shop for men to see, but in the shop there is no profit, no sign of a sale. Regard not a man's outer form, O king, but look at what is concealed within. No matter how fine a melon looks on the surface and how good it smells, if the inside has no flavor it is better to toss it out! As one of wakeful heart once said, rather than paint the outer form, you should the inner self adorn. Everything is supported by its inside: if there is nothing inside, the outside collapses.''

5114 The king said:

''Your inside and outside are in accord, O pure one. And you have lightened your load by renouncing the world; but I am attached to it and so my load is heavy. How can I undertake to serve God while this world's business occupies me so much? Do give me counsel and advice for me to follow—may your words bring good fortune and my soul be purified.''

5118 Wide Awake responded:

''May you attain to every good, O prince. As for me, know that none of God's servants is worse than myself. Then what benefit can my advice provide you? Yet have I not lost hope in my Lord, for He is the Pardoner of sins. Hear the supplication of a repentant sinner:

I am Your servant:
Sinning, I stray;
You are my Refuge:
Pardon, I pray.''

5126 The king replied:

''O wakeful one, your character is an adornment to your noble form. It is because you know your own sinfulness that you are become, though unwillingly, a paragon among men. You have cleansed your heart and

tongue, and thereby your soul is pure. Advise me, for your words will be beneficial indeed. God has granted you every virtue—please open this path of virtue for me as well. Counsel me now, good man, and haply tomorrow God will give you recompense."

71. Wide Awake gives counsel to the king

Wide Awake said: 5132

"God grant the king achieve all his desires.

"This hollow and unsteady, ancient World! Many the husband she has caused to age though she herself ages not. Many the prince like yourself she has loved and left behind—she is ready to leave you as well! Bind not your heart to her, but give her up, for she will not be true.

"What need for words of admonition from me? Time's admonition is 5136
enough for you, O still-living one! Where now are the world-conquerors who were before you? Where have they gone? Where is their power? Consider it well, for the day draws nigh for you to go where they have gone. Sovereignty now has come to you in turn, and it shall not stay long, so order your affair accordingly. What profited them yesterday, do that today, and tomorrow you will taste the reward. What they repented of when they died, keep far from that, and seek the good. Well spoke the learned sage—his words are pearls and rubies—when he said: You who watch men die shall not remain alive; therefore cease your uncouth habits and prepare for death. You who know mortality, yet behave heedlessly, this life shall pass, so take your proper share. You who live recklessly, a slave to desire: death is coming to take you, do not be caught by surprise.

"Consider well, that all your days gone by have faded like a dream. If 5146
you did good, you have provided yourself with everlasting benefit; but if you spent your life in vanity, then rest not night or day, but lament and repent. Wishing will not make life go on forever, nor will the strength of youth ever be restored. Do not dissipate then the time allotted you, but prepare to die, and hasten to serve God.

"Consider, O king, that your father was prince before you. He wielded 5151
his authority in the realm, possessing treasure and retinue and troops, and he lived awhile having attained his desire. At last death took him away, and all his great renown did not profit him. But in parting this world, your father imparted to you good counsel, and a father's counsel is sugar and candy to the son who follows it. A like sentiment was expressed in this verse:

What time your father passed away
You might have heard him say:

'Death found me, you too it will find;
Leave your good name behind.'

The death of father and mother serves as an admonition to son and daughter. Death did not spare them; shall it spare you then when your time has come? The world betrayed them and turned against them; shall it remain faithful and subservient to you?

5161 "Consider your life dear, and spend it on essentials. Scatter wealth to others and store up religious merit for yourself. Consume only as much as you need for the passing day. Soon time will cause you to pass on, so make provision for that journey. You have taken on the people's burdens. Stay awake! Beware! A crowd of hungry wolves is gathered around you. Guard your flock well, brave ruler. If a single one of your subjects goes to bed hungry at night, God will hold you to account for it. Open your eyes!

5166 "Today, O king, you blaze like a lamp, but your light is only for others. As your years reach their term and your life comes to an end, what profit will these others be to you? Do not throw yourself into the Fire for others' sake, do not burn yourself willy-nilly while you have eyes to see. When death arrives and opens the door, all this pomp and glory of princely rule will be left behind. Be upright therefore, and govern on the basis of justice; then your rule will stand long and firm. What excellent and exemplary wisdom that one laid down who said: If you would secure the foundation of princely rule, establish law and hold to the path of rectitude and justice; if you would grasp the other world as well, again hold to righteousness—that is all I have to say!

5174 "You who boast, 'I am prince': do not puff up your heart, for World and Fortune are fickle and untrustworthy—better to give them up! This palace and throne, O king, this regal residence is but an inn placed for your alighting. Those who came before sojourned here and passed on. They did not settle in the halting-place but continued on their journey. Now that you have reached this stage, send ahead your baggage-train. Do not stop today to decorate this palace, for the passing years and months and days will not leave you behind. Clearly your future resting place is the grave—decorate *it* with good deeds, O man of renown. You may well say today that this palace is yours, but if you consider the matter you will see that it actually is not. The palace itself would more truly speak if it addressed you thus:

You say of this, 'It's mine, it's mine!'
But how can you say 'It's thine, it's thine!'
When another is ready to say, 'Get out!'
Then he too will shout, 'It's mine, it's mine!'

5185 "This world is a prison, O prince of this world, and in a prison there is nought but pain and sorrow. Do not hope for too much happiness in a prison: Paradise is the source of happiness and bliss. Do not consider this

fleeting pleasure as pleasure, nor call this passing joy joy. What kind of happy fortune is this that abides not, but flees, and scatters with it all your gathered goods? Leave the things of this world and face toward that, make that your abode of everlasting life. Seek the bliss and the glory and the desires that are everlasting. If it is eternal bliss you seek, this is gained through suffering.

"Consider how many blessings you enjoy through God's favor. He 5191
made your hand wield power over a multitude of creatures. He granted your wish and made your word hold sway. He made dependent on you so many of those who are His servants and have bodies like your own. For all this, O king, you ought to show gratitude this day by practicing kindness and gentleness toward God's creatures. He planted you here for justice, therefore continue to be just. Use your intellect in the execution of all your affairs. Keep your spiritual heart alive, do not fall prey to carnal passion. Be compassionate toward all of your subjects. Deal justly with great and small alike. If the people's conduct gets out of line, do not condone it; reform it, and keep it under strict control.

"Hearken to one whose wisdom was as the sea, then act wisely and 5199
redden your cheeks: Today if you wish that all men be good, be good yourself, O chief of the realm. If you would cleanse the realm of corruption, first cleanse yourself, and then your subjects will be cleansed. The prince is the head: where the head goes all the subject members follow. If the people stray, it is up to the prince to straighten them; but if the prince goes wrong, who is there to put him right? Straighten your own conduct then, and you may be sure that the people's conduct will straighten itself.

"If you wish to promote what is proper, simply stay away from what 5205
is improper. Do not mingle with the wicked and the corrupt: these two brand a man with shame. If you do not wish evil consequences, simply do not do evil deeds. Do not wallow in pleasure or drink wine: these two are a sea which has no crossing.

"Keep your character upstanding and your conduct clean. Let intellect be your guide and wisdom be your counselor. Keep heart and tongue straight and highmindedness constant. Do not forget yourself lest you stray from the path. Do not lift up your heart in pride, nor puff your chest to boast of your numerous retinue and great army. How many a haughty and prideful man has death covered over with dust. That one whose wise counsel bears good fruit if it is followed spoke well when he said:

You who pride yourself on pomp
And say, 'What treasures and troops have I!'
Can you rely on your own strength
When you have no recourse against a fly?

"Restrain your temper: when anger overcomes you, pretend you are 5216
tongue-tied. No profit can be gotten from hasty business, so do not hurry

to perform any act—except for acts of religion. If you are about to give a reward, hand it over speedily; but if you are about to wield the whip in punishment, then go slow. In action and in speech, be not rash and ill-considered; rather be patient—it is the patient man who deserves to be called forbearing.[152] Be open-handed, spread largesse and food among the people, for princes who are miserly get a bad name. Refrain from speaking harshly, for nothing cools men's hearts quicker than harsh words; rather meet everyone with sweet speech, a cheerful face, and an open brow.

5223 "You excel among the people, therefore keep your conduct excellent, your tongue and heart upright. When commoners are good, it is for their own sake alone; but when the prince is good, the benefit extends throughout the realm. If the prince is bad, however, then the wicked are strengthened, and all trace of good is destroyed. Do not get a name for evil yourself; also restrain evil in others. And do not show favor to the wicked, for wickedness is a poison, and he who consumes poison cannot consume the fruits of life. Rather keep near you men of intellect; follow the counsel of the wise and pay them their due. Join to your retinue sound and honest and upright men of good name, and give them tasks to perform.

5231 "This beguiling World is wayward and fickle. Be wary and wakeful, for her path is slippery. She decks herself in finery to steal your heart, but once you give that to her she turns her back and steals away. Forget not death, nor make long-term plans, O glorious majesty, lest you be caught by death unawares. Do not stay sunk in heedless sleep, nor drunk with royal power, gentle king. Take no satisfaction in today's pleasure; consider the matter well, then seek tomorrow's pleasure, the true bliss which is long-lasting. Walk in goodness now, and then you shall walk amidst eternal blessings. One who gained honor in the land for wisdom expressed it thus:

Flee from God, you'll have as your share
Disgrace and torture hard to bear;
Seek God, you'll have glory without cease.
In His mercy is our peace.

5241 "Today, O king, you are like a physician, while the people are patients dependent on you. Some suffer wrongdoing and oppression, others poverty and anxiety; some are hungry or naked, others groan in agony or grief. The medicine for all these ills is found with you: be their healer, apply the remedy. But if you fail to cure them, you are the bane of their lives. God will question you concerning them tomorrow, so prepare your acquittal today.

5247 "Life passes quickly. Your reign will soon be over. What you need to acquire is a good name. This world is a field, O king: what the hand sows therein, the same will it gather up. Go and do good, sow for yourself a goodly crop, and you will reap a harvest of eternal good. A ruler wise in

the ways of royalty once exclaimed: You who are a great lord over the people: keep heart and tongue small, the ransom for your soul. You who are the head and the upper hand: let wisdom precede your every deed; it is out of wisdom that all comely deeds proceed. This world is perishing and nought remains behind: perform then a good that will not be lost or perish. He who is born must die and leave the world at last. Only his name remains, be it good or bad. Do not mingle with the wicked, for they will burn you. But if your name is good, then a good trace is left behind.

"Stay vigilant and wakeful, O king. The heedless dozer will be roused 5257
by retribution's knock. Wakefulness is the basis of worldly rule, and also the ground for otherworldly gains. But the slumber of heedlessness will make you lose the kingdom of both the worlds.

"Do not make enemies and do not spill blood: because of these two sins, your soul will writhe when it emerges. Guard yourself strictly, do not indulge in forbidden things, or your place will be deep in hell. Have compassion on all men and seek the harm of none. Do not stray from the path. Do not drink wine and do not mingle with fornicators: these two bring ruin on palace and court and citadel.

"Mortal man leaves only his name behind as a trace. One's name is 5264
left over, be it fair or foul, while one's handful of life is completely used up. This world lulls you with its pleasures. Do not be lulled to sleep in the cradle of heedlessness. A man in this sleep neglects his true calling: if not for this neglect he would be an angel, always performing God's service; as the poet states:

> The soul, in pleasure's slumber deep,
> Salvation ignored.
> From this insouciant, reckless sleep,
> Save me, O Lord!

"Keep a sharp eye and a keen ear on your realm, but let your compassion 5272
flow to every corner. In the end you are subject to God's interrogation, which is a snare for sinners. A pious man once exclaimed: you that roam untethered, vainglorious among men: God's reckoning is nigh, make ready your acquittal. You that go at will, foolishly hither and yon: one day God will call you to account for your comings and your goings. You who follow vanity, eating and drinking: prepare for the accounting, look to find a way out. All men are subject to God's questioning. If you know a place to escape, flee there—but where?

"The sword and the whip are at your disposal, O king: use them to 5279
punish evildoers. As long as they do not leave off their evil deeds, do not leave off their punishment, but have them flogged.[153] The king who himself is evil will destroy the realm; there being no one to restrain him, he will go astray. As for the good, reward them with kindness and esteem, and all the people will become good in turn, O renowned one!

5284 "Be on your guard, do not wallow in pleasures and amusements, for your days are numbered. Govern your realm on the basis of justice: it is by means of just law alone that princely rule remains erect. Strive as far as your power reaches, and ask forgiveness when you fall short. Hear the words of a ruler whose reputation for justice was far-flung in the land:

To your power's limit strive, O prince,
To govern with equity and right;
If you're remiss, seek pardon of God,
Repeating your penance day and night.

5290 "Whatever wealth you gain, give away as alms. Do not lay up a great treasure of gold and silver, for it will be left behind after you die, and your children will wield it to evil purpose. Try to use up your wealth while you are living, thus saving yourself from having to account for what you left behind, and at the same time storing up religious merit for yourself. Well spoke that chief of men who said:

When you part this world, O noble prince,
Leave not behind your treasure,
For you'll be called to account, while others
Use it for their pleasure.

Empty yourself of worldly riches and fill yourself with religious merit. Do not bind your heart to perfidious World, she will betray you in the end. O head of men! send this headship ahead of you, secure your position in the hereafter. You plan too far ahead, O man of greedy eye. Give away all your wealth before death takes you away. This wealth will not profit you then; it will be left behind, and not afford you the slightest comfort.

5301 "Eat little and pray much, O king. Speak little and study every virtue. Continually look after the needy, the widow, and the orphan: as long as they are protected, your government is sound. Keep far from you the slanderer and the calumniator: know that such men cause much loss and are therefore your enemies.[154] And do not give power into the hands of the greedy, for they will surely ruin your well-ordered state. Do only good and God will preserve you from hell. Strive to make your tomorrow always better than your today. Most fittingly spoke a wise and gentle man, even writing down his words to guide your acts:

Tomorrow you shall answer for today.
So for the morrow's sake
Leave off your sleep of heedlessness this day,[155]
Open your eyes! Awake!

5311 "The way of religion and the way of the world[156] diverge and follow separate paths. It is very hard to unite the two, for they hardly come together. When one draws near, the other runs away. He who tries to follow both at once must go astray. The world is a storm of wind and rain, which rages a while and suddenly subsides. Fortune comes piling goods at your gate, but when you tie your heart to them she gives the

pile to someone else. Say you are rich and you will soon be poor; say you are honored and you will soon be groveling in the dust. The world's satiety is hunger, its pleasures and joys are sorrows.

"Treat your carnal soul as a dangerous enemy, O king. Do not feed its 5318
desires. It is the worst sort of enemy, for it repays good with evil. If you are true to it, it responds by being untrue to you, while if you are untrue to it, it will be true to you. Despise your carnal soul and your spiritual soul will be honored. Then Wisdom will be your Beg, and Intellect will be your Khan.

"The world is one enemy, your carnal soul is another. These two have spread their net to catch you. As for life and Fortune: do not rely on them, or raise your hopes. Grandeur and nobility—all this is fleeting. Fortune's fire will soon go out. Listen, O nobly born, for there is much profit in a loyal man's advice:

Raise not your shoulders, nor puff your chest
In pride of princely station.
Leave vile world to the banished here;
There blessings will be your ration.

"O king! Seek three choice men to fill these three offices: for the cadi- 5328
ship one pure and pious and devout, one who will spread his benefit to the people; for the deputyship one trustworthy and sound, under whom the people will find peace and good fortune; for the vizierate one of outstanding character, since whatever reaches the people is funneled through him. If the holders of these three offices are upright, then the people will be content and their day bright; your realm will prosper, and your subjects, grown rich, will shower their benedictions upon you. But if they are ill-suited to their jobs, then all the affairs of the realm will fall out ill. As the poet stated:

The vizier is he who guides the steed of state,
Who governs the realm and orders the prince's gate;
If he allows the leading rein to slacken,
None of the stately caravan will go straight.

"This world is like a table spread. How much can a man eat while he 5338
lives? The generation who came before us satiated themselves and now lie dead. They are like a great camp, lying and waiting. They call out to us, and we shall follow them for sure. Then there is the generation now in the womb, who will partake of the table after we are gone. These are waiting for us to leave, just as those are waiting for us to arrive.[157] Today it is our turn to dine at this table. How long do you suppose it will provide our sustenance? Those already dead call out, 'Come over here,' while those in the womb drive us away and cry, 'Get up!' One drives out, the other calls out. Who can live content between the two?

"Be not heedless then, O king, nor plan too far ahead, for you have 5346
not too long to stay. Indulge not in forbidden pleasures which blacken

the heart. Resolve rather to purify your heart, and take your portion from what is permitted. The chief of the pure ones has said: He who partakes only of what is permitted sins not against God, but provides against the morrow. He whose throat and shoulders are clean[158] is thoroughly cleansed of sin. Therefore cleanse your throat if you desire purity, and a river of benefit will flow to you.

5353 "Of course you should not seek your own benefit, but the people's, for your benefit lies in theirs. A prince of mature mind cited the following in this connection:

The people bask in their prince's glory:
Through him they gain satiety and health.
He is a sea whose bed is strewn with pearls:
Those who plunge in the sea emerge with wealth.

Indeed, the prince is a mountain, rich in veins of gold and silver and ready to be mined. He must share his benevolent riches with an open hand, that the people of the world may be satiated. Shed your radiance like the sun, O monarch sage. Let the people gain from you their sustenance. God has loaded this great trust upon your neck: guard the trust well, for He will question you about it.

5361 "Look how much wealth you have gathered to yourself, O king. Not all the jewels in the sea are enough for you, nor all the pearls on the sea bed. You store up in your treasury gold and silver extracted from brown earth's bosom, precious stones dug out of the mountain folds—all this and more does not suffice you, O pure one! You garner the grain that springs up over brown earth, and cram it into your storehouses. The things that fly in the air and walk on the ground, even the fish in the sea—none escapes you, O severe one! World-roaming caravans bring you silks and brocades, furs and sables; these, along with linen and muslin and cloth-of-gold of Byzantium—the marvels of the world—cannot fill up your treasury. Your stables are filled with coursers and Arabians, flat-backs and thoroughbreds. But can a greedy eye ever be filled? Thousands of choice she-camels are gathered for you, herds of horses in the steppes and mules in the stables. Flocks of sheep graze on the hills and the plateaus, while slaveboys and slavegirls stand at your service. Great herds of yak ranging the northern slopes, oxen and cattle grazing in the plains, wild sheep and goats leaping on the cliffs—none escapes you, O manly dragon! Gazelle and maral deer provide your daily fare. Male and female wild ass, also the grey mountain-goat, are captured and brought to you. Nor do wolf and fox escape you, lion and bear and wild boar, but all are slaughtered equally in the beat. Not swan and pelican, crane and yuġaḳ, not bustard and yügdik, toḍlıç and ḳaḳ,[159] nor all the eagle's brood soaring in the sky can pass you by, O gray wolf! Your falcons let the flying things fly no more, your panthers and hounds no more let the walking things

walk. The fathered is left fatherless and alone, the mothered motherless and orphaned.

"So much of the world, O puissant tiger, cannot be used up by yourself 5381
alone; but you yourself will be used up! All the world's goods you have accumulated for your throat and your back; but when you die you will leave it all behind. What profit in the end is your gathered wealth? Death will gather up your soul and cut off your root. All this, if you consider it, is only greed; and how can souls which are starved with greed ever be satiated? Hear the words of a full-eyed man—'Fullness of eye is the head of wealth': Even if a greedy-eyed man gained the entire world, he still could not be called rich. Rather call him poor, for the poor is the one whose eye is greedy no matter how much he already owns. Pity the greedy, O full-hearted one, for he profits not a whit from all his wealth. The man who is satisfied with what he has lives in Fortune; the greedy-eyed man will not be satisfied until his eye is filled with black earth's dust.

"Now I have told you what I know and understand, and you have 5391
listened, O king. If you heed it well your heart's eye will open. Hold to my discourse and you will reap its profit tomorrow. Otherwise the morrow will bring you a heavy burden. The advice of a man of intellect is captured in this verse:

Consume my counsel bit by bit,
Therefrom much profit you'll acquire;
But if you know not how to eat,
Go take your meal from the burning fire!"

When the king heard these words he wept and said: 5397

"O chosen one, best of men! You now are happy, heart-wakened one, while to me now this princely office has become a punishment. Now my eyes are opened and I realize that I have hurled myself into the Fire. I was straying from righteousness; now you have directed me onto the straight path. Pray for me now, O Wide Awake. May God show me his favor."

Wide Awake responded:

"May God grant you His favor as you desire, O king!

"Strive to overcome passion with intellect, for he who lets passion 5403
overcome him spends his life for nought. Your carnal self is in all things disobedient to you and will cause your downfall. This world is a most ancient and bitter hag. Many the prince like yourself she has espoused, then made to grow old and pass away. Think you she will leave you long alive? They departed and left their throne to you. Do not you then spend your allotted days for nought, but see to what you ought. Wake from your forgetfulness of death, doubt not that it will soon be upon you. And guard against forgetfulness of self, be mindful of your origin. He has strayed far who forgets these two. In the words of one who knew himself and made his passion captive to his intellect:

Forget not death, the grave's a desolate spot;
Forget not yourself, nor this counsel ignore:
From semen sprung, say not: 'I am a man!'
See men's bitter end and say 'I' no more.[160]

5414 "Death lies in ambush, unseen. Suddenly he will step out and meet you; he will not be unmindful of your path. Had life no other tortures, it were enough to consider this: that after death you will suffer decay in black earth's folds; and then to consider what tortures lie beyond. Once an intelligent man realizes this state of affairs, how can he eat and sleep in peace?

5419 "Hear this word of wisdom which a highminded man laid down: Aspire to the heights with a lofty heart. Put the world down, give it up. This world is a prison cell filled with vipers: abandon it, betake yourself to the bright true world. The pure soul's bodily mold only serves to stop up the gaps of black earth. A dungeon is this world, a gloomy pit, filled with trials and tortures. What peace can you hope for in a dungeon? On what can you rest your heart and mind? What need you this mirage? Abandon the handful of dank soil, seek out the land that is lofty and everlasting. Raise yourself up out of the mist and dust and dirt, open your eyes to see the pure and eternal realm. Though you lived a thousand years, death is bound to overtake you, O my Sun. The more of the world you gain, the more headaches you will have; and no matter how long you live, you cannot attain all that you wish. Hearken to one whose heart Time's arrow wounded:

Even in a thousand years
You'll not find all that you require.
There is no end to things until
You put an end to your desire.

5433 "The profit of a discourse lies not in its lengthiness, nor in the admiration or the awe it arouses in its listeners. The profit lies rather in its being put to good use and straightening the soul. I have spoken long and you have listened, now put my words to use and gain the profit therefrom. I could not restrain my tongue—even now it is not that I lack words but that my words lack luster. May God grant you success and guide your hand to every good, O king; may He bestow your desire and protect you; and may you not forget me in your prayers."

5439 He finished speaking and rose to leave. The king bade him stay awhile. He ordered food to be served and urged him to partake. Wide Awake put forth his hand, ate and drank a little, then drew back his hand and ate no more. He mentioned God's name in gratitude, then rose and said goodbye. The king stood up and returned the greeting, then accompanied him outside to see him off. Shaking hands, they bade one another farewell. The king stayed behind, saddened, as Wide Awake started toward the mountain. Highly Praised accompanied him a short while, then kissed his hand,

and the two brothers said farewell. He returned home with a heavy heart, and from sadness spent a sleepless night.

Sol raised his head in the east and the world was filled with the color 5449
of the swan. Sol puffed out his chest, the world shone like an angel's face, the air was filled with sprinkled camphor. He rose quickly, rolled up his bed, performed his ablutions and prayers with an even heart, then dressed, mounted, and rode to the palace. Dismounting, he entered the inner court. The king summoned him, and he appeared before him.

First the king inquired about Wide Awake, how long he had stayed and 5455
when he had left. Then he said:

"My dear Highly Praised! Now my food has turned to bitter poison. How can I go on living after today? My shoulders are bowed down and I can no longer hold them high. What need have I now for princely office, for bearing the people's burden? Anxiety and sorrow have cut my heart to the root.

"A ruler cannot govern without troops. And to acquire troops he needs 5459
wealth, for if he lacks wealth men will not flock to his standard. An army commander who spent his life in his monarch's service quoted the following in this connection:

Through troops and treasury
The prince with glory is crowned.
He holds the world in fee
When he these two has found.

So to gather troops one must spend a great deal of money. But to get money one cannot help but resort to violence. I have only one back and one throat. Why should I have to shoulder so many people's burdens."[161]

72. Highly Praised tells the king how to govern the realm

Highly Praised replied: 5467

"May the king make provision for all contingencies! Let no unseemly or wicked word on your tongue, for God would be displeased at that, O riverlike in wisdom. You did not seek this princely office or acquire it by force. Rather, God granted it to you by His grace. He honored you thereby, and you ought to thank Him for it. Offer to God your service with a straightened heart and a purified soul, and to the people administer the law with compassion. Overcome your passion by means of intellect and crush your carnal self by means of wisdom; as the poet said:

Fall not under Passion's sway:
That is Religion's thief!

Cut off his hand, or break his neck:
Then you will have relief.

5476 "How have you become powerless, O king? You have the authority and the power to accomplish every good. Why sorrow thus grievously? Why embitter your life? You already have much treasure and many troops. You also have wisdom and intellect to guide you. Make the troops happy by distributing the treasure among them, then demand of them a thousand favors in return. As one doughty general once said: Give silver and gold, you'll defeat the foe! If you would always have the upper hand, first satisfy your troops, give them praise and encouragement, then ask them to carry out your wish and bend the enemy's neck. Keep the mass of your troops happy for a year and they will give up for you their own dear souls on a day.

5484 "Crush the infidel foe with your armies, seeking strength and support from God. One who dies while fighting the infidel is not dead but alive.[162] So direct all your weapons and troops against the infidel. Burn his house and hall, break his idol, and put a mosque and Muslim congregation in their place. Take captive his son and daughter, his male and female slaves. What wealth you take there, add to your own treasury. Open a way for Islam. Spread abroad the Sharīʿah. Thus you will gain a fair name and a good reward. But do not march against another Muslim, O king. His adversary is God alone. Muslims are brothers to one another: do not quarrel with your brother, keep on good terms with him always.

"To the people give a law that will keep them secure. Then they will give you their benediction. God in turn will grant you His good pleasure. Thus both worlds will be yours, O brave one."

5493 The king said:

"Fair spoken. Even so do I wish to act. But where is the friend who will undertake this with me? *You* must help me to accomplish it. We have first to bring the realm into order, to cleanse the people of corruption, and to ensure that things go smoothly both within and without the court. We must win over well-wishers with gifts and banish ill-wishers with firmness. The first order of business is to organize the state, and to cleanse the shops inside and out. By establishing justice we shall bring the people into line and remove all impurities from the realm. But where is tranquillity? I cannot carry out all this realm-ordering business. The work is piled up and my eyes have no rest."

5500 Highly Praised replied:

"You must not put off any of your duties, O prince, for your life is passing. If you fail to do one job today, tomorrow there will be another, your work will pile up and be left undone.[163] Rather you must daily and continually clarify and carry out the business of state. Then the people, and you as well, will gain tranquillity on the morrow.

"While not being evil yourself, apply evil to the wicked, and thus cleanse your realm of all evil. Be upright yourself, conduct yourself with

rectitude: then the wicked and the crooked will be straightened and their conduct reformed.[164] Hear what a righteous man exclaimed:

> The straight is bent awry in company with the crooked;
> The upright's day grows dim in the shadow of the wicked.
> Stoop not to evil ends, stand tall with truth and right,
> And meet the Straightener on the Day that is straight and bright.[165]

"You have no recourse against acquiring troops, O king. It is by means 5512
of troops that the prince cleanses the realm of turbulence. You have to gather troops then, and favor them with gifts, enriching the poor and feeding the hungry. For men remain in service only so long as they have hope of reward: cut off this hope, and they leave.

"Now there are various kinds of servants, O king. Choose them care- 5515
fully, lest they stray from their appointed tasks. One desires honor: you must keep his honor unimpaired and satisfy his thirst for glory. Another desires wealth: reward him well and he will ransom his soul. A third desires both wealth and honor, also honorific titles and robes, in order that his word will hold sway. If he is a brave warrior and marksman, give him silver; then he shall wield his sword and win you towns and cities. If he has wisdom and intellect and virtue, then give him honor and wealth both, and make his hand long. If he is wicked and vicious, however, do not raise him up, nor give him any authority in the realm, or he will make you groan. Do not favor the proud wrongdoer, for he will turn your medicinal herbs into poisonous weeds.

"The Yavġu of Böke has said: When the ignoble man grows rich, he 5523
ceases to bow his head. Do not enrich the wicked, O noble one, for wealth will only corrupt him. Narrowness of means, on the other hand, corrupts even the good! When a good man suffers want, his character goes bad to the measure of his wonted good. Therefore treat the wicked with contempt and you will straighten his conduct, but treat the good with respect and he will maintain his right behavior.

"Keep near you men who are loyal and keep far men who are immodest. 5528
Discriminate carefully between those who are useful and those who are useless, O wise sage. And distinguish well-wishers from ill-wishers, making yourself an object of love to your friends and a devouring flame to your foes. As for those who seek not your happiness, keep them far removed, do not let others love them and do not give them offices to perform. Conjoin not the trustworthy with the treacherous, nor keep together the suitable with the unseemly.

"Never entrust one task to two people, or each will depend on the 5533
other and the task will be left undone. Assign tasks to those who know how to perform them, for if someone is unable to carry out the duty entrusted to him, he will be distressed and disappointed. Do not give a job to someone simply because he happens to be in your service; rather

take into your service men who will be of genuine use to you. Always seek what is beneficial to the realm and to yourself, rather than being overly concerned for your servant's welfare, lest out of consideration for him you inadvertently ruin yourself. Remove useless men from your service. As for those who are of use and benefit, give them appropriate jobs and provide them with honor and reward.

5540 "These are the duties you must perform, O king. When you carry them out, then your realm will be well-ordered; you will be saved hereafter and your good name and report will be left behind; the people will grow rich, the realm and the court will prosper, and you may lay up as big a treasury as you please. In the words of one most loyal and well-spoken:

That people thrives whose prince is good,
Their sun rises with his;
The subjects' wealth is the ruler's wealth:
You may choose that or this.

5546 "Cleanse your towns and villages of thieves. Secure the roads for travelers and caravans. Remove oppressors from the capital and brigands from the countryside. Reform evildoers with punishment, for dealing evil to the wicked is appropriate. The bad must be confined in sacks or pits in order that the good may walk freely, O stern heart!

5550 "Furthermore, your subjects fall into several classes. You must distinguish carefully among them to ensure that good relations are maintained among all.

"One is the class of Ulema. They bring a man good fortune. Treat them honorably, do whatever they say; keep to the path of the Sharīʿah and bend your neck. Fail not, sage ruler, to give this class of men their due. Always provide them with food and drink lest they fall into want. Leave their hearts tranquil and secure, that they may practice their teachings and the ignorant may benefit from their instructions.

"Then come the public censors.[166] They must have a strong arm, O noble one. For it is their job to keep a close rein on fornicators and ne'er-do-wells, and to keep the mosques and congregations full.

"After them comes your own retinue of servants. If you fail to keep them in check they will rise against you. They will not bear your burden, but you must bear theirs.

5559 "Finally there are the commoners: treat them with justice. They too fall into three classes. Distinguish these carefully, and do not oppress any one or the whole realm will suffer disaster. First are the wealthy—they are the powerful men of the people; second are the middle class—they cannot do the job of the wealthy; third are the poor—they must be protected above all. Never load the middle class with the burden of the wealthy, or the middle class will all be ruined. And never load the poor with the burden of the middle class, or the poor will starve and their root be cut off. But if the poor are protected, they will join the middle class;

and if the middle class are left alone a while, they will become wealthy. If your poor become middle-class and your middle-class become rich, all your realm will be full of wealth, the land will thrive, and the people will be content; then their prayers for you will multiply.

"The Khan of the Three Camps has said: Seek a good name, O mortal 5569
one. If a man has a good name when his soul departs, his name will not be cut off but will be remembered in people's prayers. Although dead, such a man gains new life and is reborn. As long as you have achieved good renown, it matters not whether you are above the ground or beneath it. Mortal man requires a good name, so that when he dies his name remains immortal.

"Your subjects have three claims upon you—oppress them not, and 5574
pay their due! The first is that you keep the coinage pure and protect the standard, O man of great wisdom. The second is that you give the people just laws and not allow them to do violence to one another. The third is that you maintain the roads in security, thoroughly cleansing them of highwaymen and brigands. Once you have paid your subjects their due, generous monarch, then you are in a position to demand your own due of them.

"You have three claims upon your subjects, that you may require of them. Open your ears! The first is that they respect your command and carry it out quickly, whatever it may be. The second is that they not hold back the Treasury-due, but pay their taxes on time, O open-handed one. The third is that they bear arms against your enemies and bear love toward your friends.

"In this way prince and subjects are paid their mutual claims and both 5583
follow their proper course. Thus the people gain the benefit of their prince, while the prince gains tranquillity and promotes his reputation. Clearly this is your royal glory, O king, assuring you a portion in both the worlds. Then the Ulema may stand and share their wisdom with the people. The public censor, again, will have a strong hand and, making the rounds of the community, will restrain evildoers. The merchants will preserve their trusts, the artisans continue to impart their skills, the farmers work hard cultivating their fields, the stockbreeders multiply their livestock.

"Now this leaves the troops. They are your servants, who ride out 5591
against the enemy in battle or against the wolf in the hunt. See to it that they are not burdened with other duties. Content them with favors and gifts, honor and reward them according to their usefulness, award their services with wealth and rank. Let them wield their weapons against the enemy and the wolf, befriending your kinsmen and slaughtering your foes. Then all your friends will be clearly revealed, your affairs will be clarified and well ordered; yours will be the benefit of both the worlds, and God's pleasure will be your share.

"Behold, this is justice, therefore be just! Be just, and justice will 5597
convey you to your desire. Be righteous, and you will gain God's love;

do not do other than right out of spite for any creature. Witness this verse, O heart-enlightened:

Stable and firm for justice' sake is heaven;
The plants grow tall because the earth is even.
Don't waver, keep equanimity in your heart:
In both worlds you shall gain your just desert.

5602 "Now I have offered you all that I know, O king, both the inside and the outside. May my words prove useful to you in both the worlds, helping you to achieve contentment for this and a good name for that. All the things of this world must be left behind, so get a good name, for you are otherwise mortal. In this wise does Wisdom herself proclaim the following verse.

All living things die.
By leaving a good name, surely I
To that degree
Shall gain some share of immortality."

5609 Listening to this discourse, the king rejoiced exceedingly, his heart and eyes brightened, once again he found joy in life. Then he showered Highly Praised with praises, saying:

"You have spoken well and wisely. God grant that I may act from this day forward according to your prescription. Since the Lord has given me a helper like yourself, I have good hopes that He shall grant my other wishes, if He will. May God fulfill all of your desires, as you have fulfilled all of mine, well-omened one. And may you continue henceforth to be my loyal aide, O near of heart! I have complete faith in you, my fine-faced one, so do not hide from me anything you wish to say. What is the sun to me? You are my shining sun, in you I see my faults. How well spoke that man of sincerity, joining his heart to his tongue, who said: When your heart has confidence in a person, take him as your mirror, keep him in front of you that you may see yourself in him. A loyal man may serve one as a mirror: by regarding him one may straighten one's own habits and character. If your heart is sure of a man then keep him near you as your confidant.[167] One ought to ask a trusted man for advice, and then follow what he says."

5622 Highly Praised cheerfully confirmed the king's words. He was greatly pleased. The king fell silent. Highly Praised rose quietly and went out.

From this time forward the king laid aside tranquillity and assumed all the burdens of governing the realm. All the wicked he removed from his presence, while the good he kept nearby, giving them access to himself. The realm was cleansed of impurities. The people were orderly, their tongues quiet for days and months and years. As the realm prospered, people took pleasure in life, and all smiled with contentment.

5628 Also the king honored Highly Praised, entrusting him with all affairs. So Highly Praised went on for a while. But soon he began to seethe with

anxiety and care. He examined his own character and conduct, and concluded that he had wasted his life and his youth. Gradually the eye of his heart opened to the light. He conceived the desire to radically purify his heart.

73. Highly Praised regrets his past life and intends to repent

He said to himself: 5632

"I have spent my life in heedlessness and vanity. Now life's strength is gone from me. My hand has discarded what it once gathered and now holds only a staff."

He repented, saying:

"Alas! my day of life is at an end, my night is darkening. I devoured my blessings like an ox, and like an ox I passed my life in ignorance."

Again he said: 5636

"I have spent my days in heedlessness and vanity. Now the strength of youth is gone from me, I burn and yearn for youth to return. Life is used up. Death is nigh, there is no recourse against it, no road by which to pass through it. My hair is thin as a falcon's plumage, my beard dry as the summer grass. My teeth were thirty-two white pearls; now the string has snapped and they have scattered one by one. My eyes were wont to survey the sun-kissed earth; darkened now, they cannot see a nearby man. Formerly my ears could hear from afar; today I must communicate with hand gestures. My head that once was black as a raven now is white as a swan. The years have caught up with me.[168] It is time that I turn to God and beg forgiveness for my sins. Let me now put aside all that is unseemly and cleanse my heart of all that is impure."

He formed the intention to repent, taking refuge in God and seeking 5647 absolution for his sin. Then he bethought himself, and said:

"Let me not be hasty, for there is harm in haste. I ought first to seek advice in this matter and make sure that I discard anything unseemly. Consultation must precede an undertaking for it to be conducted wisely, otherwise remorse will follow. A well-spoken man once said: Consultation is the medicine prescribed for every action proposed. Consult with a near one and your undertaking will prosper, fail to consult and you will rue the day. Now I shall go to my brother and seek his counsel on this matter. If he says it is right, then I will go ahead; but if he says it is wrong, I will let it be. Often a man cannot know what is best for himself. In that case he ought to ask someone else. If a man consults, his wisdom broadens,[169]

and once wisdom enters the proceeding, the goal is soon attained; as the poet says:

Take not as your friend
One who does not consult.
Consult before acting
Or regret the result.''

5661 The following morning, after rising and making his ablutions, he mounted and came to the court, where he entered and desired access. The king gave him a seat and showed him honor. He petitioned thus:

''Today I would like to go to my brother, in secret. With your permission I shall go to visit him and quickly return.''

The king said:

''Go, you of perfect wisdom, and convey my greeting. Tell him not to forget me in his prayers, when he joins his inmost heart to God. May he ask remission of my sins in his prayers: haply the Generous One will pardon them.''

With a word of affirmation, Highly Praised rose to take his leave. He came home and dismounted. He relaxed his brow. The world's complexion took on a golden hue as Sol turned ruby to saffron; the Sky knit his brow, darkened his face, and sewed up all men's eyes. After performing the ritual prayer he lay down and dozed, then for a while he brooded.[170] Finally he called for bedding, lay down, and had a long sleep. He woke with a start. He could not close his eyes again but lay awake thinking, sunk in melancholy.

5675 As he lay watching, Black Bird rose in the east like a flame rising from the ground. Then Gleamer shone along with Stallion, the Twins ranged next to them. Finally the Bird of Dawn soared up to the sky and warbled as though reciting a Hebrew psalm.[171] Sol lifted his head and gazed toward the east, Dawn branched upward out of the earth, Sky's face turned to fire and flame; World brightened as though smiling at a loved one, sorrows shortened and joys lengthened.

5681 He rose again, performed ablutions and prayers, then mounted and ambled off toward the mountains. When he arrived, he dismounted and knocked quietly at the door. His brother left his devotions to open the door. Highly Praised pronounced the greeting, Wide Awake responded, and they went indoors holding each other's hand. Wide Awake spoke first, saying:

''Tell me why you have come, my brother. Not a month has passed since we last met. You seem dejected, and your face is pale. What is wrong? Tell me what is the matter.''

Highly Praised replied:

''Time has shot its arrow and wounded my heart. Now if Time enlightens my heart with good counsel, though it is dead it shall come back to life. Heedlessness of self put my heart to sleep, but Time's counsel can waken it.

"With my heart's eye I weighed and measured my life, and I was 5691
shocked to see that I had strayed from the path. The end is nigh and my burden is heavy. The time is come that I turn away from sin. I spent my life serving men, leaving aside the service of God in my sleep of neglect. The world offered itself while life slipped away; now life has run out and the world is left behind. It was for life's sake that I sought the world, but what use is this shameless world now that life is gone? This day of mine is passing and I know not if I shall find the coming night.[172] I had better prepare for the morrow now if I wish my affair to prosper then; as the poet said:

Remorseful am I for the life that is past;
These last days, my friend, how long shall they last?
In vanity was spent my day of youth, alas!
May the night that is coming not vainly pass.

"The wise say that if you prepare today, and do not neglect God's 5702
service, then tomorrow it will go well with you. Here I have been eating and drinking like an ox that grazes at will: it is time to make myself go hungry and thirsty. I have fattened myself on worldly goods: it is time to make myself thin. Long have I been lying around at pleasure: it is time to get up on my feet. Many men have I made my adversaries: now let me contrive to make them my friends. Many have I lorded over with hand and tongue: now let my tongue ask their pardon. Many others have I trampled upon cruelly: now let me trample on my self.

"Shameless and rebellious, mired in sin, I tried to flee from before my 5710
Lord. Let me turn back today, let me repent and seek my Lord's forgiveness.[173] Pay heed to this counsel, O hard-hearted one, spoken by a man of profound learning: Before you die repent, restrain your self, for regrets will be no use when death grasps you by the collar. Awake from your heedlessness, be mindful of death while you are young, hold life as precious and render God's service while you have the strength, for it will be too hard when you are old and no use when you die.

"I have come to you now to take counsel in this matter. Tell me what is right, my brave and loyal brother."

74. Wide Awake counsels Highly Praised

Wide Awake replied: 5721

"Hear my words, brother and heart-fellow! May God requite you for your good intention, may He brighten your eyes.

"If a man renders good intention in his heart, his affairs will prosper 5732
in the world. Goodness is the reward of him whose intention is good: even if he does not perform the act, he gets the religious merit for it![174]

5723 "In this matter, wisdom is of several kinds. Let me start with this, and if you agree that it is right, then act accordingly.

"Today it is better for you to remain there, just as it is better for me to remain here. For you are rendering much benefit to the realm. If this benefit is destroyed, there will be curses in its place. The king made your hand long over the realm. By your clement exercise of this power you have achieved a good name. The people are content, the realm is prosperous. Your subjects' tongues never cease their benedictions. The useful man is mankind's head; as one such man exclaimed:

He who is no use to men
Is bitter fruit on the human tree.
The sweetness of a useful man
Pervades humanity.

5734 "Now security and justice reign supreme. Both the king and the people are happy with you. Now good laws are firmly established, while the wicked have disappeared from the realm, abandoning their plots and schemes. But if you abandon your duty and come to live with me, all this will be destroyed, and you will be sorry. The laws will be turned upside down. The institutions of government will crumble. A wicked one will take your place, who will torment the people, draw the king onto an evil path, and allow free reign to wrongdoers. And God will hold you responsible for this! For the divine interrogation is a reality, as important as your good name. Just as you should not do evil yourself, so you should not undermine the law or do anything that would favor evildoers. Hearken to the words of a righteous man, and heed his advice:

Favor not the wicked,
And lawlessness abjure;
Practice right and justice:
Thus both the worlds procure.

5745 "To you God has imparted His favor, allowing you to attain every good. Why then should you wish to destroy these goods? It will only bring you harm, live-hearted one. What good do you seek by coming here, abandoning your own advantage and letting the benefit of the realm go to ruin?

"I said that it is better for me to remain here. Let me tell you why, my fine-faced one. I do not look with favor on World and Fortune. I do not give my heart to desire and pleasure. I have quit the company of men, and I know not how to conform to society or how to behave in the company of princes. This world's wealth I have renounced, and I have nothing to do with mankind, whether good or bad. Knowing my state, were I to leave my devotions and go over there, it would be disastrous. A man who has never seen gold and silver, and who suddenly finds himself amidst wealth, can only bring reproaches on himself.

5754 "Hear what the chief of the merchants says, one who roamed the world with the China caravan: When a man who is used to poverty suddenly

comes into wealth, he gives up his good habits and quits the path of righteousness. When a poor unfortunate suddenly finds Fortune, his character becomes corrupt and he brings calamity on the land. When a powerless man is given free reign in the realm, he vaunts both hand and tongue over the people.

"You now have devoured World and Fortune entire, yet at the same 5759
time you repress your passions and control your desires. Your eye is full and your heart is at rest. Together with the king you tread the path of good. All these favors God bestowed upon you. It is He Who reddened your cheeks!"

75. Justice for justice, humanity for humanity

"This is one consideration. Now let me tell you another. Is it concealed 5762
from you, or have you forgotten? What advantage do you see in the action you have proposed? You must know, dear one, that in this world all praise is due to the faithful man. And it is the law and custom since the world began that to treat others with humanity is the sign of being human. One good deed deserves another; indeed, the return for one kindness should be ten like it.[175] Furthermore, the realm can expect to enjoy benefit from one whose parenthood on his father's side was pure, but the people suffer calamity from one whose mother conceived him of furtive and obscure semen. Now see to the king's welfare. For all the goods that you have found, your food and dress, your virtue and wisdom and intellect, have come to you because the king opened the gate.[176] Have you forgotten all these favors? Do they not deserve to be repaid, live-hearted one?

"Be not angry with me if I have spoken harshly, brother. True words 5773
come harsh to the ear and bitter to the heart; but once they take root, they bear sweet fruit. Likewise the poet said:

Truth is bitter food
And difficult to eat;
Swallow the bitter pill,
For it shall make you sweet.

"You were a callow youth with sallow cheeks when your father died. 5779
The king adopted and raised you, so that now you are reckoned a man. Then Fortune's gate was opened, and from the king you received slaves and servant girls, mares and stallions, lands and estates. All the goods of the world are at your disposal, while your name and fame have spread throughout the realm. Is it fitting, then, that in return for all of this you should turn your face away from him like an enemy? If now, when you are of such use to him, you run away and keep aloof, you will leave him with an aching heart. Seeing that the king has treated you so well, must

you not repay his kindness? Then people will sing your praises whenever they see you, and you will get a name in the land for faithfulness. The best of men has said, that humanity is the mark of being human. Practice humanity then, O man, and earn the reputation of being a real human being.

5790 "The king has shown you a thousand favors. Now you must requite him well; for he who returns a favor is preeminent among men. When you were young and fresh, without learning and without shame, he supported you, he raised you up in Fortune. Now you must sacrifice body and soul, doing his work day and night without rest. That is the best return to his favors, and for that God in turn will requite you well. As the poet said:

Labor for him whose food you eat,
Then your fare is honest, won by fidelity.
Ransom your head for the giver of bread and salt,
Repaying thus the due of hospitality.

5798 "Now that you have attained your every desire, and entered on a good path, repay his kindness by being of good use to him today. You have covered yourself with brocades, furs, and fine linens, such that the eye of the envier is dazzled. Now cover the king with a good name so that the enemy will melt away at the sight of him, and the foreigner will bend his neck. The world's bounty is at your disposal. Your neck and shoulders are grown as big as a bull's. Use this power of yours to carry out your sovereign's work. Then benedictions for your longevity will increase. Much wealth have you amassed, you are rich in the world's goods, you mount highbred coursers and Arabian steeds. Put this wealth to use, sacrifice it on the king's behalf. Let his wishes be fulfilled and his cheeks be reddened, let him mount the throne in peace this day, let his enemies bow from a distance and kiss the ground before him. He has made your hand and tongue hold sway in the realm, such that his well-wishers and ill-wishers both look to you. Now bring it about, my friend, that benedictions shall increase for your own good fortune and long life. By doing good in this way, a noble man assures that his name will remain forever in the world. As the Arabic saying has it:

A man's deeds are witness
To his nobility;
His character bespeaks
A noble ancestry.

5812 "And should the king turn away from his own good conduct, it is up to you, O pure in conduct, to instruct him in wisdom and turn him back.

"The king is the fountainhead of all things good. Do not give up this good by removing yourself from his service.

"You have confided in me and asked my counsel. Now I have told you what I know. Weigh my words well, compare them with what you know to be true, and your course will be clear."

Highly Praised was pleased and said: 5816

"This is the proper way, O head of humankind! You have spoken well today, my brother. Now my problem is resolved, and what was obscure in my mind is clear. I give up this wish—may God support me, may He keep my heart straight and my deeds upright. And may you too help me with your prayers. Do not forget me! I commend you to God."

He fell silent and rose to his feet, bidding his brother farewell, then 5822 mounted and returned home. He dismounted, went in, ate and drank, and rested a while. The world let down her forelock over her bright face, the Sky donned widow's weeds, Sol loosened as it were his plaited tresses and the dome's interior took on the shade of squirrel and sable. He called for bedding and lay down to rest awhile and enjoy the sweet serenity of sleep. When he woke and raised his head, he saw that the sky shone bright as a maiden's flashing smile. Sol lifted his head, revealing his face anew. The world on all sides assumed the coloring of the white falcon. Highly Praised arose quickly, performed his ablution and the dawn prayer, and had a taste of food, then mounted and rode again to the palace, where he was immediately ushered into the king's presence.

The king questioned him about Wide Awake, saying: 5831

"Is that mature one content and well? What does he say? Does he remember me in his prayers? For prayer is a safe-conduct which God provides against disaster. Through prayer a man finds goodness and paradise eternal. Without the blessing of prayer in the world, wicked earth would go straight down to hell."

Highly Praised answered: 5835

"The king has uttered words true and wise.

"My brother, living there alone and needy, this day seeks our blessing through his prayers. Who can be more heedless than we? For we commit sin, while he prays on our behalf. With utmost compassion and sincerity and without interruption he prays for the king this day. Who can be more compassionate than he? For he has set aside his own troubles and seeks our welfare. Who can be more heedless than we, O king? Our allotted time has gone for nought, our hand has fallen short. We fatten our bodies with worldly pleasures and loll about in comfort, but the body must die in the end and be devoured by snakes and vermin. When the soul departs there is nothing but remorse; as the poet has it:

Entertain yourself: you're but a guest.
Fatten your body: food for worm and snake.
As a dream passes, so this life shall pass:
Each passing day bears witness—then awake!"

The king replied: 5846

"Tell me, O sage, how one should conduct oneself and guard oneself. There is no one more loyal to me than you are. I trust you completely. Here am I, heedlessly lying inside the palace, while all my affairs of government go on outside. O man of perfect wisdom! you are my eyes

and my ears. Look and listen. Should anything unseemly appear, do not let it go, but correct it. If you require any help from me, tell me, and I shall provide the remedy. Seek to please me, and do not waste my time with the internal problems of my courtiers and troops. Keep the hand of oppression from the people's back. Let the ignorant and the wicked die out, and the wise remain in their place. Then my people will grow rich, my realm will thrive, and I will render thanks for it."

5854 Highly Praised responded:

"May God prosper you O prince, O best of men! This is my own desire exactly: that God open a straight and goodly way; that the king live in happiness and good fortune, while all the hardship and the headache come to me. Now I have ransomed myself for you—may you live in peace and tranquillity, O noble ruler.

5858 "I have one request to make of you today—please consider it carefully. You know that when the prince keeps a man close to himself, people always criticize that man, both for qualities he possesses and those he does not. No matter how favorably you hold me in your esteem, when slanderers begin to talk you will begin to frown.

"Tonga Alp Er has said: Man's heart is flesh, it goes bad and starts to smell unless it is well preserved. No matter how incorruptible a man may be, and how deaf to slander, once the slanderer gets his ear he cannot maintain his equanimity. However intelligent and vigilant the prince may be, a false accuser, if allowed near, can still wreak havoc on the realm.

5865 "To be sure, the heart is a prince, and the body his captive slave. But when the prince listens to words he may respond coolly or warmly. For the body's humors are four in number, all hostile to one another. One may cause to laugh while another may raise a hue and cry. While one makes haste another desires calm, while one is cheerful another is given to weeping. At one moment man is sorrowful and melancholy; the next moment he is smiling and gay. This is what I fear, glorious king: that some dog of a slanderer will accuse me falsely, and that as a result your heart will grow heavy with despair, you will turn away your face, and all my service will go for nought.

5871 "Hear my request and my petition: if someone does accuse me of ill conduct, question me about it, investigate the matter to its root and cross-examine me, then quickly execute whatever appears right to you. If someone slanders me in your presence, listen well to what he says, then through interrogation try to get to the root and to distinguish the true from the false. A chief of men well said: listen to each word, but do not make a place in your heart for each. Even better is this wise counsel—apply it to affairs, O noble one: Hear each and every word, then accept what fits the case and toss away the rest; listen to the testimony, search out the false and the true, then adopt the true and punish the false. The world is corrupted by false men; therefore take only those who are straight and true, you whose hand is long!"

The king replied: 5879

"Most meet is your request, and approved according to your wish. Almighty God granted you humanity, and your heart and tongue are upright, as are your character and name. How could any bad trait emerge from you, seeing that good character entered into you with your mother's milk? Anyone who speaks ill of you is as much my enemy as he is yours. How then could I heed anything he says, be it much or little? If a man failed to distinguish good from bad and straight from crooked, how could he become a great ruler and a powerful prince? And if some benighted king constantly brought to trial his tried and proven men, how could he maintain his kingdom? How could a lawgiver ever accomplish his desire if he were unable to discriminate between false and true?

"You are a veritable gift of God to me this day. Through you all the 5888
knottiest problems have been resolved. You have performed your duty with extreme loyalty, and have more than repaid the due of bread and salt. Now you deserve proper recompense from me, so that you may keep yourself alive and well. One whose fame for virtue and rectitude was far-flung once said:

The true man treats other men
Humanely and kind;
This kind of man gave humanity
The name of mankind."

Highly Praised answered: 5894

"May the king live contentedly and govern wisely. May God grant you the good of both the worlds. May your hopes and wishes come crowding about you. May the firmament of Heaven smile on you and turn in your favor. May Time follow you and serve your wishes. May you ever live in good health and good fortune, O straight of heart, humble and sincere! All good things have come to me from you, honor and wealth, food and clothing. Behold! I have girt on tightly the belt of service. May God grant you His favor, O deep of wisdom."

Highly Praised went on as follows: 5900

"Glorious king, God has spread your good name throughout the world. Strive to maintain it and, since God granted you Fortune, keep a virtuous heart.

"If you would be a prince renowned forever, four things are required. First is to have a straight tongue and honest speech. Second is to administer justice in the realm in accordance with your royal glory. Third is to be open-handed and compassionate toward the people. Fourth is to be brave and strong, to bend the foeman's neck and deal sternly with his affair. The prince who is remiss in any of these four lays his realm open to decline.

"This now is the root and basis of princely rule. This is the path that the good prince follows—you follow it also, do not overturn the traces. This is the rank that those who came before you have achieved. Any

prince who leaves this path, and cleaves to another, destroys his own rule and forfeits his proper share.

5910 "Three sorts of men you ought to hold in honor—mind what I tell you, O king! One is the warrior, strong and courageous: he brings countless benefits to the kingdom with his sword. Another is the statesman, sage and wise: he is useful to consult with, and knows how to order the affairs of state. The third is the secretary, clever and skilled: he keeps account of income and expenditure, and thus keeps the treasury filled. Choose these carefully and favor them with rewards and honors in accordance with the benefits they provide. Then all your affairs will continue to prosper, your realm will grow and your territory increase, your name and repute will be good, and the people of the world will desire to see your face.

5917 "Well spoke that sage who remarked, that the man with a good name does not die when he dies. What a good thing is a good name, which does not depart the world when its owner departs. As long as he has died with a good name, say that he is yet alive, no matter how long he has lain rotting in black earth's folds. Seek not life, seek a good name, for as long as you have that you are alive and smiling.

5921 "Tell me, O sage, what is life, and what is good? Good is uprightness, in truth, and this is life, if you see it right. He whose actions are good is truly alive, and he whose actions are evil has died a living death. The world passes, but the effects of good character and good conduct do not pass. Though wayward World turn her face from you, O lamb, it is still incumbent on you to be good. Do not depend on the World, O king, but realize that she will not be faithful. To the World, life is a game of hazard: ask for her foot, she gives you her head! Do not get involved in her game if you can avoid it, O noble one, for if you do, your neck will be tied. Thus wrote the poet:

Why stake your life
On a loaded pack?
Do God's will
Or risk your neck![177]

5932 "Now I have imparted to you, O king, all that I know, both the outer form and the inner substance. Follow my advice if you will. But if you do not believe me, surely you will see the result for yourself."

The king said:

"I ask God to prosper me in my enterprise, and I straighten my heart thereunto. If God will, He will assist me. And if ever there is something hidden from me, then do you reveal it. Be ever industrious in your supervision of the affairs of the 'outside.' Be wakeful and vigilant, keep a sharp eye and ear. Do whatever is in your power, without relying on me, and I will help you to accomplish what you cannot do alone."

5938 The king fell silent. Highly Praised rose and went out quietly and sedately,

mounted, and went home. He dismounted, went inside, and undressed. At night he lay down, in the morning he again mounted, rode to the palace, dismounted, and entered. Highly Praised exerted himself from that time forth. He was ever on his feet and dealing with state affairs. The people were tranquil and the world prosperous, the king was content, his realm was filled with benedictions and his name was ever mentioned and remembered.

What a fine thing is good law, the foundation of princely rule. With a 5944
ruler such as this the people and all the realm are happy, and with a people obedient and upright, the prince's day is bright. A prince receives authority to rule from God, but he is a good ruler only insofar as his people are good. If the people do evil, the prince will do evil in turn, for only through the exercise of evil measures can wickedness be restrained. If the people straighten their conduct, the prince will straighten his, and then, practicing clemency, he will purify the realm.[178]

Many a day and month passed in this way. The world was arrayed in finery and the people became rich. All dust and smoke were cleared away, all knotty issues were resolved, all muddiness and impurities were filtered out. The king again gave thanks to God, and praise upon praise.

76. Wide Awake falls ill and summons Highly Praised

One evening, as Highly Praised was ready to retire and had just put 5953
his head on the pillow, a loud voice called out at the door. He quickly sent to see who it was. The servant-boy reported:

"It is a man with a message seeking entrance."

He said:

"Go ask him what his message is and who he is."

The boy went back and asked the man who he was, where he came from, and what he wanted. The messenger said:

"Wide Awake sent me. I have a message for his brother. Let me see him!"

He went inside and reported this to Highly Praised, who rose imme- 5959
diately and had the man brought in. The messenger entered and greeted Highly Praised. The latter asked him where he came from and what he wanted. He said:

"Wide Awake sent me to fetch you. His heart has grown heavy and he lies in pain. Go to see him, for you are his nearest of kin."

Highly Praised said:

"First come in and eat something, then we will go together."

The messenger refused, saying:

"Your brother's condition is too serious. The way is straight before him. I will go ahead and you follow at your leisure."

5967 He turned from the door and hurried off. Highly Praised stood perplexed, wringing his hands. He went back into the house much worried and lay down again, but sleep would not come. The night seemed like a year. Although he closed his eyes, sleep flew from them. He rose once more, then sat for a while, until the dawn began to break in the east. The nightingale warbled in the flower garden. He listened with longing, his heart fluttered. Then he mounted and rode to his brother. When he arrived, he dismounted and went inside. He saw his brother lying stretched out, using his cloak as a cover and its sleeves as a pillow. He kissed his hands and face, and said:

"What is the matter, my brother? Seeing you like this, my heart is sore."

5976 He answered:

"O brother, my path lies straight before me, death's vanguard has seized me and soon I shall depart. I wished to see your face one last time, and so I summoned you here. Forgive me for disturbing you."

Highly Praised said:

"Dear soul! While a man lives he is subject to illness and disease. Do not oppress your heart. Restrain your tongue. Illness is nothing but atonement for sin. Hear a wise man's words—it is wisdom like this that clears the dust from the heart:

Who is sinless? Tell me this!
Illness is atonement for one's sins.
Fever is like the refiner's fire:
The soul thus refined, salvation wins.

5983 "All men sin, some more, some less. Rare indeed are the sinless in this world. You will regain your health, and at the same time you will be cleansed of sin and acquire religious merit. Why then do you let such unseemly words loose on your tongue? How do you know that you are dying?"

Wide Awake replied:

"God has revealed my death in a dream. It is for this reason I am sure that I am dying. When God decrees good or evil for a man, He manifests it to him in his sleep at night."

Highly Praised said:

"These words also are not seemly. If everyone who became ill died, there would be no one left alive on earth. While a man lives he is bound to get ill, but not every illness ends in death.

"Furthermore, if a man sees a dream in his sleep, he should leave the explanation to skilled interpreters."

77. Highly Praised tells Wide Awake how to interpret dreams

"Before interpreting a dream you must know the science of dreams. 5993
Even then, you must be very cautious, for there are many sorts of interpretation and you have to know them all. Never tell your dream to one who is ignorant of this science; ask only one who knows, and do not delay. The interpretation of the dream you have at night is one thing, that of the dream you have during the day is quite another.

"There are several conditions to this science that must be understood 5997
well beforehand. A dream must not be interpreted according to one's own heart's desire. Nor must it be told to just anyone. Also, not all dreams are to be interpreted in the same way, for there are many kinds of interpretation. If you interpret your own dream, which you should not do, then do so knowingly, employing 'analogy' and 'conceit.' When a man has a dream, it is fulfilled according to the manner of its interpretation, and if he interprets it without knowing how, he loses all its value. Hear what the poet says—it will redden your cheeks:

Know well the principles and the rules
And don't divulge your dream to fools.
'The outcome follows the explanation'
So give it a wholesome interpretation.

"Many dreams come according to what one eats and drinks. If you eat 6005
something that disagrees with you, you will have a disagreeable dream.

"Others come according to the season of the year, and which of the humors is predominant. If it is spring, and a very young man sees in his dream all red things and the brown earth, it is a sure sign that the sanguinary humor is predominant, and he needs to be bled. If it is summer, and a young man dreams of yellow and orange, or of saffron and ground corn, then the yellow bile is predominant and he should be given Persian manna as a purgative. If a mature man, in autumn, sees a black mountain, or a well, or any hole, then the black bile is predominant and he should be administered a potion that will clear his brain. And if an old man, in winter, dreams of running water or of ice and snow and hail, then his phlegm is predominant and he should be given hot food and drink as remedy.

"Another type is 'jumbled dreams,'[179] for which there is no interpre- 6015
tation. Again, if a man dreams of something he was thinking about when he went to sleep, the dream has no special significance.

"Then there is the dream that is from the devil (wet dream). One who has such a dream must perform the ablution.

"Also if a man sees his own profession in a dream there is no interpretation.

6019 "You must understand all of this well and discriminate carefully in explaining dreams. Hear what the master of interpreters said about this:

'The outcome follows the explanation':
Do not interpret it ignorantly;
See joy in a dream, the answer is sorrow,
See sorrow, interpret it joyfully.

"Again, one does not interpret the same way to all classes of people. This has to be carefully considered. The interpretation of commoners' dreams is one thing, that of princes is something quite different.

"If you see pleasure and amusement and dancing in your dream, then you may suspect that sorrow and suffering will come. If you see sorrow and weeping, on the other hand, then a thousand joys and pleasures are in store for you.

"There is also the type of dream whose interpretation pertains to someone else and whose benefit is not yours at all.

6028 "Finally, the interpretation must correspond to the physiognomy of the dreamer, and the interpreter has to apply his intelligence in order to perceive this. One and the same dream can be wholesome for one person and unwholesome for another. All this must be known thoroughly, my brother, before embarking on the interpretation.

"Now tell me what your dream was, and I shall interpret it with careful discrimination."

78. Wide Awake tells his dream to Highly Praised

6032 Wide Awake said:

"I will tell you. Listen carefully.

"I saw a ladder with fifty rungs rising before me, high and broad. I climbed it rung by rung, counting them until I reached the top. There a horseman gave me water and I drank it all until I was full. Then I soared upward and disappeared in the sky."

79. Highly Praised interprets Wide Awake's dream

6037 Highly Praised said:

"This is indeed a fine and most auspicious dream! Why do you put an evil construction on it? For as you know, a dream falls out according to the way it is interpreted.

"In dreams, upward movement always signifies honor,[180] and the higher one ascends, the greater esteem and good fortune will one attain. Just as one climbs a ladder, so will one's Fortune be raised, and one's name will spread abroad for greatness and nobility. Witness the following saying, pronounced by an interpreter of yore:

A ladder spells glory in a dream.
Number the rungs as you mount:
Wealth honor and fortune are in store,
Corresponding to your count.

"As for your drinking water from a bowl, this indicates long life for you and your lineage. Finally, your soaring up into the sky signifies that God will grant whatever you desire."

80. Wide Awake interprets the dream differently

Wide Awake said: 6047

"This is not the correct interpretation, my friend. Had you been the one to dream this dream, its interpretation would be as you have said. For your ambition is wholly directed toward this world, and he who seeks this world will find this world. But I have put aside the world and have withdrawn to this spot, bearing hardship. Now listen, and I will give you the correct interpretation.

"The high ladder that I saw with many rungs signifies my life, O brother, and my rising to the top indicates that I have come to the end of my years. At the head of the ladder a horseman came and gave me water, which I took and drank: that is the horseman who makes children fatherless, that is the horseman who tears asunder all that has been joined together and allows nothing living to remain alive.

"That I drank up all the water you interpret as life and length of years. 6057
The water indeed stands for life, just as you say. Had I drunk half of it, then half my life would yet remain. But I drank it completely, which indicates that I have completed my life's course—may you stay sound and healthy! This fundamental doctrine was uttered by a most intelligent sage thus:

Drink half a bowl of water in your dream:
Half your life is spent, the rest is due.
Drink up the bowl of water in your dream:
Your life is up, your grave is dug for you.

"As for my soaring upward and disappearing in the blue sky, this 6064
signifies that my soul now purified has left behind this mold of flesh and returned to that place from which there is no return.

"God has thus made manifest to me that I am to prepare for death. This is the way the dream must be interpreted, O noble one, although you have explained it differently in order to gladden my heart. Death is nigh, there is no remedy!

6069 "Look you now, O live of heart! Death has raised mounds on the plots of black earth. How many a proud and vaunting prince has death thrust into the ground. Take heed while you yet live! How many a treasure gathered with violent hand has death scattered clean. There is no wonder in this: man is born to die, and all that draws breath is doomed to death. The wonder is that man, forgetting that his body is mortal, should put words on his tongue. How heedless he is, who knowing that he shall die, still cannot shake off his sleep of heedlessness.

6076 "Death is a reality. There is no other crossing. But what shall be my condition after death? This is what concerns me, my friend: that after I die, God may order my affair. Thus have I passed my day content with my lot, both pain and pleasure are past, and my night has become bright. I held back my hand and did not accumulate wealth. I did not give over my heart to pleasure and whim. To this day did I reckon my life, trying to lighten my soul of its burden of sin. Hear this word of wisdom, propounded by a loyal counselor:

Neglect not, endure, lighten your load,
Be straightened, for thin as a hair is the road;
Order your life, sleep not today,
Your troubles will pass when you cross on the way."

6084 He went on as follows:

"My pure and loving brother! I am departing, and you shall follow soon. Let me say a few words to you. Do not forget them when I am gone. They are my gift of love to you while I live, and they shall remain behind after I die."

81. Wide Awake gives advice to Highly Praised

6087 "This is my counsel: Do not be heedless, my brother, nor spend your life in wickedness and vanity. Do not stray from the straight path, the path that will lead you to your goal. Have compassion toward every living creature. Worship God with heart and tongue as one. Be short with worldly plans and long with divine service. Be slow in haste and forbearing in anger. Be mindful of death, make provision for your going. Be mindful of self, realize where you came from. Do not clamor after the world with blind greediness, for it will be left behind, while you wail with remorse. Accept what God decrees, bear with whatever comes; and if destiny

allows be of benefit to the people. Keep your speech whole and straight, for shame is the lot of liars. Keep your face cheerful, your words warm, your manner kindly. Then Fate and Fortune will smile on you.

"Be open-handed and lowly-hearted. Give others to eat of your bread 6096
and salt. Do not reveal a man's fault but conceal it and consider it absent. Repress your passions, restrain wrath when it arises and hold back your carnal self when it tends toward the crooked path. Seek the people's benefit but not your own, bear the burden of the realm and do not load it on someone else. Make your wealth a ransom for your soul. Then the people will love you, O wise one. The choice man seeks the happiness of others and ransoms his own dear soul for their sake. Well spoke that wise and thoughtful one who said: The choicest of mankind is he who is loyal and beneficial to others. Two sorts of men deserve the name of humanity: one the loyal, and one the generous. Even better is this, spoken by intellect itself: They say 'generous,' but who is the generous? He is generous who ransoms his soul and pays others their due. He is not generous who gives alms of silver. Generous is he who makes his soul a ransom for the people. When the open-handed man lets his wealth flow over the people, they gather to him in streams.[181] Two things make up the world's name and fame: wealth and honor. The one who finds these two may live a thousand years, until at last his state is altered when death takes hold.

"As long as subjects serve, the prince can raise himself in glory. As 6110
long as there is a stirrup, one can hold the bridle tight. Such is the way of the world and Fortune: subjects cannot easily rise in rank, and when they do, their prince has grown old![182]

"You will migrate, and your horse is migratory: the horsedriver Death 6112
will come at last. He who migrates does not build a palace, he who travels does not abide for years or months on the road. Consider, brother, that you have already passed over this road. Do not be too full of cheer, nor make your brow too smooth. This world is fleeting and death is sure, although the day be not known. Death's talon is ready to grasp you unawares. This world is food, and he who devours this food—you pronounce his name, for I do not dare! Do not give way to desire, but restrain your passions. Do not speak ill of others, but hold your tongue. Hear these words, O wake-hearted one, act accordingly, and escape the retribution:

Sweet is the pleasure of the day,
But hard will fall the requital of the morrow.
For every sweet a bitter aftertaste,
For every rise a fall, for every height a hollow.

"The World is very like a girl—do not let her deceive you. Many a one 6122
like you has she given up to the wind, many a kinglike husband has she outlived. Now she has opened her eyes to you and given you her hand.

Do not be heedless then. Whatever she has given she will surely take away, whatever she has gathered she will surely scatter. However much she makes you laugh, she will make you weep in the end. Whatever she puts together she soon turns into ruins. Full of shame and treachery she is, a fire with little light and much smoke. She decks herself out for a man, but when you give her your heart she binds your feet. First she nourishes with sugar, then administers the poison. Such is the way of wayward Fortune, O sage!

6130 "O master of Fortune, hear the words of a God-fearing man, and ponder: Guard your heart, man of even temper! Give it not over to the treacherous world that shall be left behind.[183] Do not attach yourself to Fortune, fickle and faithless and ever changing. The day of the world is as a shadow which stays not in a single place. Hold this world cheap and hold your religion dear: then your religion will raise your worth. Do not give way to pleasure, but remember God and worship Him. Do not let Fortune intoxicate you, my brother, for when you become sober your eyes will surely fill with tears. A prince of great experience and maturity of mind once said: When Fortune intoxicates a man, his heart writhes and splits in the brown earth. When a man is drunk with his own superiority, he suffers the punishment afterward in black earth's folds. Intoxication with youth or wealth or Fortune is worse than intoxication with wine. For the wine drinker comes to his senses when he wakes from his drunken stupor, but the Fortune-intoxicated man does not sober up until death takes hold.

6144 "Your name is 'servant'[184] so do not act like a prince but perform your service. Your day of life will not last long, your fame for greatness will not travel far. Though you live a thousand years, you are bound to die, and your body now joined limb to limb is bound to be dismembered. This is as the poet says:

Although you have drunk the water of life
And all your wishes found,
Though your hand grasp the sun and your head touch
the sky,
Your feet are on the ground.

6150 "Let me be frank, my brother; why should I hide the truth from you? How is it that I do not love the things of the world, its various blessings, its harmonious ways? I have renounced all its pleasures and its joys. Wayward World has closed the door upon me. This world puts man at a distance from God, and does not permit him to perform the divine work. For fear of this, the wise renounce this world and roam the earth, bearing hardship. Some wander in the mountains, making a cave their home, eating roots and drinking rain water. Some wander in the deserts, wasting away with care and fear toward God. Some put sackcloth on their hunched back, others roam the land scattering tears from their eyes. Some eat no food but fast and waste away, others do not sleep at night but stay standing

on their feet. This is the way that 'wakened' men behave—but we still sleep the sleep of neglect!

"Now be on your guard, my brother, for the world is yours and you 6160
are at the head. Overcome desire by means of intellect, and break the neck of your carnal soul. This is the sign of a true man, the mark of true intellect. For while those two are dominant, a man perishes perforce, and if he becomes their captive he suffers despite himself.

"Though I part today, you shall follow on this road. Come doing good. Do not mingle with wicked men, for they bring disaster in both the worlds. One mature of heart, who ordered his affair before he died, has said: You whose heart is stout for evil as a camel stallion's: refrain from the evil, for it feeds on poison. You who saunter proudly among the people: death is nigh upon you, so apply the remedy. You who say 'I': drive away that 'I' and prepare for death, for it is threatening you. O greedy-eyed one, slave to the world: Death is greedy for you and and will catch you up."

He went on thus: 6170

"My brother, I am departing in sorrow. For two things especially do I grieve today. One is that I leave unperformed some of God's service. The other is that now remembrance of my Lord is gone from my tongue. When today or tomorrow my eyes are closed, my soul will have need of your benediction. Do not forget me in your prayer, O brother, for you will soon come after me. Now you see what state I am in: let it be a lesson for you, and apply the remedy. Just as death has come to take me away, so it shall come for you when I am gone. Be ready then! Today I part in sorrow, and God alone knows when we might meet again. A dying man once said, as he wailed and struck his head on the ground:

Death has made the sweet things bitter,
My tears flow in regret and sorrow.
Two roads await the dying man:
Which way, I wonder, shall I follow?"

Again he spoke: 6180

"My dear brother, do not grieve and torment yourself for my sake, nor wail for me when I die. Restrain yourself, bear up, and pray to God. Refrain from too much mourning, for God determined this affair. Go now, return home, and do not constrict your heart with grief. I have imparted to you all that is necessary as my last testament. Do not forget my words, O straight of heart! And convey my final greeting to the king."

Highly Praised rose and said: 6186

"How can I go and leave you now? How will you manage alone with this grave illness?"

Wide Awake replied:

"Go now, my son, and do not worry about me. Remembrance of my Lord is sufficient comfort for me. God will order my affair. He will not abandon me. All goes well with one whom God fosters and holds in good

stead. A man of great insight spoke well and true who said: If God favors a man with help and care, then Fortune smiles on him, and both the worlds are his; but if God abandons him, he may just as well be a dog or a gray wolf.

"Go then, brother, stay well, and do not weep."

6196 Highly Praised rose and embraced Wide Awake. With tears streaming to the ground he kissed him, then went out, still weeping, mounted his horse, and came home. He dismounted and went inside, his brow knit in grief and his heart burdened with care.

6199 What a frail creature is man! All is a source of care to him, while his contentment is short-lived. If he once gains his desire, he laughs; then care and anxiety return and he weeps. When he is joined to the one he loves he smiles and rejoices, but as soon as he is parted he weeps and grieves. What is harder in the world than parting? The sorrows of separation are as deep as the sea. As long as the loved one lives, to be sure, if you are parted you may still seek him out and be joined to him once again. The hardest parting of all is death: against death there is no remedy and no weapon. Any other separation may be either near or far, but the separation of death is very far indeed. As the poet said:

Though you weep at your loved one's parting,
While there is life you may still hope
For reunion, but if there is death
Nothing is left but to weep and mope.

6210 Highly Praised ate and drank, and rested a while, then rose to perform his prayers. Sol sank to the ground and hid his face, while the Sky revolved following his tracks. He called for bedding and lay down, but he could not sleep. His eyes would not close for worry and care. He rose and went out to the courtyard. The tears rolled down his face. The World's complexion was that of the tawny Abbyssinian. He went back inside and lay down, bearing his sorrow for a while. The Byzantine maiden hid her face in the ground and the World took on a wholly Negro countenance. Still sleep did not come. He got up and looked again: the Pleiades had declined from the zenith, and night was approaching its end. He fixed his eyes on the heavens and gazed long and steady. The night stayed dark, daylight would not come. Again he lay down, and this time he slept a little. When he awoke he looked up at the turquoise sky. Black Bird rose in the east and went up toward the zenith, blazing like an enemy's fire-signal; the Seven (Ursa Major) raised their head again, while Gleamer and Stallion lowered theirs;[185] the Twins bowed their head to the ground, while Sol raised up his and disclosed his bright face. Highly Praised rose, washed and combed, performed the dawn prayer, and recited his daily litany. The World's complexion took on a golden hue, her cheeks reddened like a flame. He dressed quickly, mounted his horse, and hurried

back to the palace, where he dismounted and entered straight away. When the king summoned him, he gathered his wits and came into his presence.

The king saw that Highly Praised was downcast, and said: 6226

"What is the matter? You seem worried, O quiet one. What burden do you carry in your heart today? I see a sign of it in your knitted brow. Why have you dyed yellow your cheeks that are usually so red? How has the world altered your circumstances? Yet Fortune has not turned her face from you; wayward World smiles on you still; the heavenly sphere now turns in your favor; sun and moon rise, and Time proceeds, according to your desire, O tiger![186] Nor have I frowned upon you, but smile cheerfully as ever. Who then has caused you this anxiety and sorrow? What can be the matter? What time is this for grief, my son? Tell me, O quiet one, for how can I be happy when I see you sad and troubled?"

In reply, Highly Praised related his brother's illness, how he had gone 6236 to see him and what advice and counsel he had given him. The king was sorely grieved, the tears rolled down his face. He said:

"Alas for that good man! May God grant his life, and spare his flesh and blood."

Again he said:

"But what is his condition? How could you bring yourself to leave him there? Who is looking after him? How can he lie there all alone and unnursed? Why did you not have patience and stay with him a while? To whom did you entrust his welfare?"

Highly Praised answered: 6243

"I tried to reason with him, but he sent me away and would not listen."

The king said:[187]

"God will protect him; He will cure him and bring him back to his feet, if He will. His mind and heart are conjoined to God; therefore God will not treat him as nought, my son. If a man turns his face from all the world and takes refuge in the Lord Creator, the One God will surely protect him and will grant him his desire and a goodly name. This was expressed in the following verse:

Withdraw from all, seek refuge in God,
Heart and tongue purify, and conduct straighten:
Then God will grant all that you desire.
Fall in rank behind God, and battle Satan!"

The king continued: 6252

"Do not give way to anxiety and grief, O Highly Praised, for that man is the head of the good, and God will surely bring his affair in order if he should die. Also, we are bound to suffer the same fate tomorrow, O sage. What shall our own lives be worth then? Alas for our wasted youth, for our evil hearts and thoughts and limbs![188] Our past life is today become like a dream: as surely as it has passed, so surely will the requital

come. Do not then waste your life that is left, nor give your heart to passion and desire. Whatever you do, you are bound to die in the end, and then there will be a thousand things to repent of.

6259 "From this day forth, you stand on the 'outside' and deal compassionately with the people's grievances. Strive thus to save me, together with yourself, and God will open to us a good road as recompense. One who had a compassionate heart once said: If a man is good, God gives him a good recompense. So be of good cheer. But if a man is evil, he only harms himself, for he shall have an evil recompense. Do evil if you wish an evil return, and know that it will make you wail hereafter."

6265 Highly Praised replied:

"As long as the king continues to give good counsel such as this, his law will ever be good for the people, and God will keep his rule standing. May the king live long in Glory and in Fortune. And may I be his ransom, body and soul. To mortal man nothing is more valuable than a good name—may almighty God keep his name alive! Death is ready to strike, so do not spend your life lolling in slumber. Thus spoke the tongue of wisdom, indicating the road of piety:

Crouching in ambush and unseen,
Death strikes a man unawares
Whenever the forewritten moment comes,
And be he cruel or fair."

The king said:

"I will strive to govern justly from this day forth—may God grant me His assistance!"

6274 He fell silent, and Highly Praised arose and went out. He was patient for a few days, though full of anxiety for his brother, and pale and thin from worry. Finally he could bear it no longer. When he next appeared before the king, he requested permission to visit his brother again and determine whether he was still alive. The king agreed, saying:

"It is meet that you go, and fitting that kinsmen maintain the bonds between them. Go, inquire his welfare from me also, find out how he is, and comfort him."

Highly Praised went home to rest a while. He ate and drank a little, then took a horse and started out toward his brother, full of care. When he drew near, he dismounted and walked to the door. He called out, asking leave to enter.

82. Testament tells Highly Praised of Wide Awake's death[189]

His brother's disciple, Testament, came out and greeted him, weeping. 6286
He said:

"Brother, may God requite you. Do not let your heart be overly grieved. Your brother has quit this world and passed on. May you live long and tranquil. Be restrained in your mourning. For those who live death is the only exit. All who are born must die, princes and slaves, even prophets. Death is ready for us, there is no device or weapon against it."

When Highly Praised heard this, he mourned loudly, beating his breast and letting the tears flow from his eyes.

83. Testament consoles Highly Praised

Testament tried to restrain him saying:

6293

"Bear up! Accept God's decree with your heart and mind and tongue. Death comes to every man on his appointed day. He has died, now do you prepare for death. Why do you weep and wail, my son? Who has struck you down or caused you harm? God gave him his soul and now has taken it back. He has parted from us and shall not return this way; and soon it shall be our turn to go that way."

He continued:

"Go now, visit your brother's grave and then return."

84. Highly Praised mourns for Wide Awake

He rose and went to see his brother's grave. Embracing it as his tears 6299
gushed forth, he said:

"Arise and look at me, O my brother, let me see your face that my ardent yearning may subside. I came to see you: why have you concealed your face? O heart of my heart and soul of my soul! How can I go on living without you? Was it in a dream that I saw you last? You disappeared before my very eyes, and now I have lost you."[190]

85. The King consoles Highly Praised

6304 When the king heard the news, he came from the palace to console Highly Praised. He tried to hearten him, saying:

"Come to your senses, Highly Praised,[191] and with your prayers help to bring his affair into order. May God have mercy on Wide Awake and forgive him his sins. May you gain religious merit for this grief. May God be pleased with you, and may you gain safety from hell. You have shut the door and blocked the way, you have hid your face and held back your voice. That is unseemly behavior coming from you, for an intelligent man does not act in this manner. Tell me, who has done you wrong? Who is angry at you, or nurses a grudge against you? God's decree was visited upon your brother; now be concerned with the straightening of your own conduct. Why this crying and wailing? This is not proper behavior—leave off! What is born must die, just as what goes up comes down, what moves comes to rest, and what gives takes back again.

6314 "Let your brother's death be an admonition to you. Bear it patiently, earn religious merit thereby, let it be as sugar candy. Those left alive ought to be admonished by seeing those who die. Consider the lesson of the dead. It is as if they say: 'Death took us, we have parted, soon it will take you.' A like sentiment was expressed in this verse—read it and take it to heart:

The dead, though they be silent, still
Their admonition is eloquent:
'Look at me, your turn is next,
Mend your ways e'er your life is spent' "

6320 The king then inquired about Wide Awake's death. Highly Praised told him what he had seen, and what Wide Awake had left behind as a testament. Taking the bowl and the staff, he presented them to the king, saying:

"These are what my brother left to me: they were his worldly possessions, and all that remains. Let the king take one of these two as a memorial, that it may be a source of good fortune today and of benefit tomorrow."

The king took the staff in his hand and said:

"May this memorial be a source of good fortune to me. You take the bowl, that you may recall your brother's soul whenever you should wish to see his face."

Highly Praised took the bowl. His heart grieved, and the tears rolled down his cheeks.

6328 The king said:

"Look you now: this is a sufficient lesson for one who ponders and reflects. Thus did he live, then his life came to an end, and this is what

remains. Hear the words of a most worthy man, one who used his intellect to accomplish his affairs: No matter how much of the world's wealth you possess, it is not too much: and no matter how little you possess, it is enough. This world has a thousand faults for every virtue. A man passes on, just as he uses up his worldly goods. What profit in great wealth after you are dead? Those you leave behind will devour it and get the pleasure of it, not yourself.

"Your brother abandoned the things of the world. He donned sackcloth 6334
and ate barleymeal, sufficient for his station. Thus did he keep himself alive. And he did not leave wealth behind to be devoured by others. By dint of striving day and night he lightened his load, and the world's hardships passed him by. He set his affair in order, and so this day he was delivered. But what of our affair? This knot remains unraveled!"

Thus did the king give a thousand words of sound advice and conso- 6338
lation. Then he rose and returned to the palace, grieving sorely. Highly Praised mourned for several days. Finally his brow relaxed, he forgot his grief and sorrow, he ate and drank and smiled once again. That wise statesman spoke well who said:

Though captive now to sorrow and despair
And weeping, you shall smile again one day.
Good and ill both pass, though they last long:
Since time began, that is this world's way."

Thus Highly Praised passed his sorrow and took up his service again, carrying out the affairs of state night and day with steadfast will.

One day the king summoned Highly Praised and questioned him thus: 6347

"What is the state of the realm and the people? How do their days pass? You are my eyes and ears, and it is my wish that you deal with all of my affairs. In the several days of your mourning you were unable to carry out your duties. I wonder how matters are faring now?"

Highly Praised answered:

"The state of the people is good, O prince, and their benedictions ever increase.[192]

"The tongue, the throat, the eyes, and the fire of passion—these things 6352
can destroy one's obedience to God. But the one who restrains his throat, speaks little, averts his sight as far as possible from unseemly things, and keeps control over his passions and desires, also restraining himself when overcome with anger—he is the man of intellect and wisdom. The man of intellect achieves his goal. His speech is praiseworthy, his deeds are upright: He approaches not what is unseemly, and shuts his eyes to what is improper."

The king said:

"Your words are comely and beneficial."[193]

(Highly Praised replied:) 6359

"Faithless and shameless is this carnal self. Do not keep faith with what

is unfaithful. Restrain yourself. The more you love and pamper your carnal soul, the more harm it will cause you in return. An excellent man provided remedy against the perfidious flesh when he said:

One day the traitor's true traits will appear.
Show good faith, and expect betrayal.
Hold a man in good stead, then hold him in fear:
One day he will make you wail.

6364 "Three things, O king, are bad when they are fat: your dog, your bird, and your carnal self. Keep them hungry, for only then will they be submissive. If you do not ration your falcon, it will not seize its prey. If your dog is fat and full, it will not hunt down its game. And if your carnal self is satiated it becomes refractory like a camel stallion. If your falcon refuses to hunt, it is as profitless to you as a duck. If your dog leaves its game, it is as useless to you as a weasel.[194] And if your carnal self gets a thick neck like a camel stallion, it will drag you wailing to the Fire.

6370 "The poor man, lacking food, may yet be happy.[195] If he is content with his lot, his heart is rich. As long as he covers his back and fills his belly, he can perform God's service and put his affair in order. But high estate and good fortune draw a man toward pride and away from his proper work. Pride alienates the servant from his Lord. The man of sense does not follow this path. The rich man dies along with the poor, and both are left in black earth's bosom with but two sheets of cloth. But the poor man when he dies is delivered of his sorrows, whereas the rich man leaves his wealth behind and carries along his burden of sin. This was expressed in the following verse:

Man of woes, to you death is joy;
Man of joy, to you death is sorrow.
For the poor, death is release from toil,
For the rich, a reckoning on the morrow."

6379 Again the king spoke:

"This world teems with snakes that bite and scorpions that sting. Little that is wholesome does it offer to eat, and much that is poisonous; few things that are worthy of praise, and many worthy of blame. The man of wisdom finds little to hunger for, and the man of intellect not much worth stretching his hand to grasp. To the fool, this world is a paradise. He lives his life in comfort, and without care. But to the man of sense it is full of thorns which prick his foot whenever he takes a step, and full of poisons which cut off his strength if he swallows them. For this reason the ascetic has fled from it, leaving son and daughter behind, and the pious has renounced it to devote himself to worship. But we are caught in it today—may God preserve us in this trial!"

6387 Highly Praised replied:

"Your words are perfectly sound, and accord with the teachings of intellect. For the world's disposition, if you observe carefully, is that of

a ravenous dragon, which fattens you up only to dine on your flesh. It is awesome indeed to ponder the way of the world. Adam and Eve alighted thereon to scatter their seed, and from that time to this, what a motley crop of men has risen up, O prince of princes! Some are born to be sages, or stalwart marksmen. Some stand proud as the bare rocky cliff. Some are intelligent and wise, others stupid or witless or lazy. Some have been born as prophets, those mild messengers who call us to the right way by God's command. Some lived short lives, others long. Some by virtue of grandiloquence rose to high position. Others opposed the Lord who created them and strung their bows against Him as an enemy. Here is a cautionary tale which you should read and heed:

Be a sage if you will, or devour the world
And live for a thousand years:
In the end you will die and lie underground
Pining with groans and tears.

"How many wise and virtuous men have arisen who sought for life 6401
everlasting and could not find it. See how they lie today in black earth's bosom as though they were never born. What a variety of people has emerged: earth has chewed them up and swallowed them all. They abandoned their palaces and their mansions to deck themselves in brown earth, where they now lie waiting. Will they awaken? Not a voice, not a breath. How do they fare? No one knows. Today they are all in need of grace. Their hands can reach neither food nor dress. There they lie, groaning and repentant, yearning for grace with a thousand wishes. But to us today, God has granted this day: we must not waste this opportunity. Pray, O goodly Justice, that God will favor us from this day forth with grace and goodness."

Highly Praised concluded with this royal eulogy: 6410

"May you live long, O wise prince! May the world be never deprived of your presence. May God never cut off your seed. Whatever wish you conceive, may God open the gate and grant your wish completely, O generous one! And may you enjoy a long and happy life, O man of even temper! Alas that men like you must die and be laid in the black earth for their bones to rot. What can we do? That is how God made the world. But though men like you may die, O chief of rulers, they are not considered dead. You will always have a share in the life of the virtuous. Whether you die young or live to a ripe old age, your good name has already spread far and wide. May your well-wishers multiply, your enemies disperse, and your territory increase!"

He ceased talking, kissed the ground, rose and went out, mounted and 6420
headed home. Arriving, he dismounted, went inside, ate and drank, and lay down to rest a while. The next day early he resumed his duties, giving orders and seeing to affairs. He kept heart and tongue straight and walked upright. All things crooked became straightened. The world prospered.

Goods and repute and prayer increased. His day was bright with Fortune, and he daily basked in the people's benediction.

6424 Now they are gone, but their good name remains, and its fragrance will never be lost. Listen now: people like this are more angelic than human. If they in their time were men, what would you call the men of today? And if we are human beings, surely they must be called angels? Hearken to the story of their words and deeds and goodly influence, for it is conducive to Fortune and royal glory.

6430 Those with wisdom and intellect understand full well that man is mortal and world is left behind. Therefore, the time allotted to us must not be spent frivolously but in the service of God. Nothing else is worthwhile. What greater counsel than this can there be? You can see, O great one, that those before you have died, all their mansions and palaces were left behind and no one to keep them. How many a royal residence, how many a solid fortress has Death destroyed and turned to black earth. How many a city and town, how many orchards and gardens Death has left empty, O living one! Palaces and residences are left clean for you to take and hold, thinking that you will keep them forever.

6437 Where now is that world-conqueror, master of many hosts? He has left his troops behind and himself returned to black earth. Where is that greedy conqueror who thought his own realm too small? Many a realm he overwhelmed but did not live to rule. Where is he who took by force the land of others? Now he takes up one fathom of ground where he lies groaning. Where is he who spilled the blood of Muslims?[196] He has entered the earth now, all his power gone. Where is he who trod on other men? He now is trodden, black earth's companion. And where is he who struggled for the sake of the world? Now the world is left behind, and he has died against his will. Where is he who would not give up his wealth while he lived? He took with him two sheets of cloth, and indeed he needs nothing else. Where is he who desired much land? Now black earth is his bed, and his claims are settled.

6445 Such is the world's way: observe it well, and the gate of understanding will open. Its pleasures are toil, its joys care, its precious things are worthless, its comforts misery. Therefore bear whatever comes without complaint, for pleasure and pain pass alike. One who bore adversity with patience lay down this word of wisdom:

When hard times come, be patient:
Easy times are nigh.
When good times come, be thankful:
The good will multiply.

* * *

6451 Behold now the times, O sage: how everything has changed! The wise are held in disrespect, the intelligent are dumb. The wicked have multiplied in the land while the peace-loving are downtrodden.[197] Those who

disregard the daily prayers, and bathe their heads in wine, now wield authority and are considered strong and manly. Now the fornicator is called "a real man" while he who refrains from drink is dubbed "a miser" and he who prays and fasts "a hypocrite."

Permitted food has disappeared, only its name remains; forbidden food 6457
is open plunder: those who devour it are insatiable, and their hearts are covered with filth. Does anyone now call forbidden food by its proper name and leave it alone, preferring the permitted? Where indeed is anyone who can be called pious and upright? But there is a day of straightening when his sun will be bright. Now hearts are darkened over with the forbidden, and the permitted is nowhere to be found; as the poet said:

Loathesome things have blackened my heart.
I use not my mind for a single part
In a hundred. My body is passion's slave.
I worship not God, though His worship I crave.

Behold how the world's habit is changed! Men's hearts are at variance 6465
with their tongues. Good faith is departed, and treachery is rampant. A trustworthy man cannot be found. Brothers are strangers to their kinfolk, and friends have abandoned their friends. The young lack manners, the old wisdom; the shameless have become legion, the modest lost from view. Now relationships are formed for the sake of money alone, and there is no one who performs his duty for the sake of right and trust. The name of trust still exists but no one left to honor it. Words of counsel still exist, but no one left to adopt them. Where is the man who commands the good and forbids the evil? Merchants do away with their trusts and craftsmen squander their skills. The wise no longer dare to utter the truth. Women have lost their modesty and no longer cover their faces. All straight dealing is gone, and crookedness has taken its place. There is none left who is honest-to-God. All have become slaves to Mammon; they bow their heads to anyone who has silver. Formerly congregations were large and the mosques too few; now there are more than enough mosques and too few people inside. Hear these words of the pious bard and take them to heart, O chief of the virtuous:

Where is the man who walks upright?
Where is the friend for the sake of God?[198]
The world is rotten through and through:
Where is one who thinks this odd?

Now the Muslims have grown quarrelsome, and they devour one 6481
another's flesh,[199] while the infidels repose in peace and security. The property of Muslims has become open plunder. No one discriminates between the forbidden and the permitted. The voice of fornicators keeps one awake at night, while the voice of the Qur'ān reciters is still. Hearts are hardened, and tongues softened. Truth is gone in essence, only its scent remains behind. Sons lord it over their fathers: the son is prince,

the father his slave. Now life is short and ambition is long. Greed has increased and contentment diminished. There is none to pity the poor and the widow and the orphan. The world is turned upside-down, but no one deems it odd. Well spoke that worldly-wise and open-handed sage who said:

Time is in ruins. Customs decay.
The good follow the bad astray.
The world grows more and more corrupt,
Year by year and day by day.

6491 No longer do children respect their parents. The name "old man" has become a curse. All the old laws and customs have been perverted. Black and white now have become the same.

All these are signs and harbingers of the Great Day. May almighty God preserve our faith, and remove from us these disorders, calamities, and evils!

* * *

6495 I finished writing this discourse in the year 462 (20 Oct. 1069–8 Oct. 1070). Whatever topic my mind encompassed I set down here, that you who read and understand may have a share. And I have briefly expounded the various modes of proper conduct, so you may gain a firm foundation for your life. Here is the path of Religion and the path of the World. Stray not from this path or you will howl in hell. If it is this world you desire, here is the way; and if you desire the next world, this is the path you must follow. Perform your duty as God's servant, and He will give you strength. Follow this way or that, do not seek a third.

6501 My Lord, You knew well what my purpose was when I began this discourse. I did not seek name and fame for myself. Rather, my desire was to benefit others, be they kin or strangers. It also occurred to me that those who read it might recall me in their prayers. This indeed was my hope: that the reader would recite a benediction for me.

Now my tongue has spoken and my hand has written. But hand and tongue are mortal. Behold, this book is a token of my hand and my tongue. Now I bequeath it to you, O wise and pure! Do not forget me, living reader, when I give up this world and lie down in my bed of earth.

* * *

6508 Lord eternal and independent. You are most great. Have mercy on this dependent servant.

I am a fugitive slave. My sins are many. Forgive them, my Lord!

I am a slave and Slave is my name. You are my Lord and my clement Master. Perform Your Lordship!

I am your slave. You are my Lord, O Forgiving One! Have mercy on me and forgive my sins.

Forgive all the believers from East to West, O Pure One!

I am shameful. You are clement. Forgive my shameful deeds, O Knowing One!

From musk comes a pleasant fragrance; from filth an impure stench.

You are my only Hope. Never will I despair of You, O my Hope!

I am your undutiful and unfaithful slave. You are my faithful Lord. Keep faith with me!

I know that from unfaithfulness only treachery proceeds; and good faith from faithfulness.

Have mercy on all the believers. Forgive my sins for their sake.

Convey from me countless greetings to the Prophet, the best of guides onto the straight path.

And to his four companions convey greetings continual, O my God! 6520

* * *
* * *

The author of the book, the Grand Chamberlain Yūsuf, gives counsel to himself

Learn wisdom and earn the seat of honor. Wisdom is a mighty fortress. 6605 The heart and tongue are fitting for nothing without wisdom; with wisdom they fit everything, like water. However much wisdom you possess, still seek to gain more; for the wise man attains his desire by inquiry. If you say "I know," then you are far from knowledge, and among the wise you will be counted as foolish. Wisdom is a sea without bottom or shore: how much water can the swallow remove by sipping? Your head may swim with so much knowledge; but if you know not yourself, then you are far from yourself. Learn wisdom, and become a man by raising your soul aloft; otherwise be called "beast" and remove yourself from mankind. The wise man's brow is ever knit in thought, the fool is ever merry and smiling. How can the sage for his worry be merry?[200] But the fool can go roll in the dust like a stag. The man who has wisdom is hobbled and cannot run at will like the one who lacks it. If, O wise one, you can hobble the fool, then twist his hobbles tight![201]

Now I have stretched forth my hand in search of wisdom, and I have 6616 strung word to word like well-spaced pearls. I found Turkish speech to be a wild mustang. Grasping her gently, I drew her near. I caressed her and won her love. She gave me her heart, although from time to time she would shy away and be refractory. Just as I took her in my hands, so did I follow in her tracks. Then her sweet fragrance began to spread.

The truth alone have I spoken. He who can endure words of truth, though they be harsh and bitter, is the true man of intellect. I only hope that my words do not weigh too heavily on the reader, and I beg his indulgence if I have expatiated at too great length. Speech other than the

truth does not deserve the name of "speech." The difference between truth and falsehood is the same as white and black.

6623 I uttered this discourse in the year 462 (1069–70). In all it took me eighteen months to compose. I selected my words well, picking and choosing and gathering together. Now that I have finished the book and rolled it up, I present it to you like a carpet of multicolored and sweet-smelling flowers. When a writer completes a discourse, it ceases not to flow, but passes among the springs. Yūsuf! Utter words essential and true, and conceal what is unnecessary lest it cause harm. You have spoken much: may your speech not lose its luster. Too many words become distasteful and tedious.

6629 Fickle and unsteady is this faithless world. The man of intellect keeps far from it. Now you have attached yourself firmly to this world: strive to sever your heart from it. Trust not in the world, but take refuge in God the most Trustworthy, and sincerely beg His help.[202] Many a people has fickle World let go. How many have strayed from the straight way. For you now she has decked herself in finery and smiles seductively. Do not love her! Do not be so lighthearted! How many world-devouring princes has death taken hold of, and they departed looking helplessly about them. Alas for my days! My youth is spent in vain. This life is used up. I am griefstricken and repentent. Though one live a thousand years, one must die in the end. Though he gather the whole world, he must leave it behind.

6637 In You alone, O God, I seek refuge. Watch over me, and waken me from this sleep of neglect. I am your shameless slave, my sins are many. Clemency comes from You. I sinned against You and fled from before You. Today I have come to seek refuge and beg mercy. Look, O needy soul, what you used to rely upon! Straighten now your path and righten your conduct. You will find the place of honor in both the worlds. This world is wholly void of happiness: leave it, look toward that other world. Restrain your tongue. Control your throat. Do not sleep too much. Close your eyes and stop your ears. Then live in peace.

6644 Have mercy, O Lord, on all the believers. Raise them up perfectly out of your abundant grace. And convey from me countless greetings upon our Prophet and upon his four companions.

Appendix 1: The Two Odes

Ode I. On old age and the loss of youth

My youth, like a fleeting cloud, is spent. My life, like a passing wind, is 6521
used up. My youth, alas! I could not hold you, but let you go too soon. Return to me now, let me take you in my hand. I have made you a bed of silk brocade. Woe, for youth has fled! But where? I could not find it, no matter how long I searched. But I learned that nothing is as good as youth, to give taste to life and joy to the soul. Now the pleasure of youth is lost. I have let it slip through my fingers. There would be no harm in age had I lived upright in my youth. But alas, I spent my life for vanity!

How I regret your loss, O youth. Now all my beauty is fled. My com- 6528
plexion was ruddy as the Judas-flower. Today I have sown seeds of saffron on my cheeks. My musk-black head now is blanketed with camphor. My face that was like the full moon is on the wane. I was like bright spring, decked with flowers. Now autumn has come, and all the blossoms have withered. Tall as a birch was I, and straight as an arrow. Now, like a bow, I am bowed and bent.

How I have squandered my life in pleasure-seeking. Now from my eyes 6533
flow tears blood-stained with remorse. My life if spent, my youth lost, my day is muddied, my body collapsed. In eating and drinking I behaved like an ox. In indulging my appetites I raised clouds of dust. In hunting birds and game I took pleasure and joy.[203] Bestriding many a noble steed, I made it paw the ground and fly like a bird. To friends I was like their own dear soul, while foes I made to buck like untrained colts.

How many men I have abused and cursed, how many innocent and 6538
miserable souls I have visited with violence and oppression. I puffed my chest, like a man who smites his foe. I was stout-hearted and proud, like a mountain of rock. Now I have awakened as from a drunken sleep. Seeing that I strayed from the path, I am ashamed before God. I served man and did not serve God. Like a runaway slave I roamed the world. Like a rabid wolf I ran after my desires, and made the world to groan. Making others my captives, I took their money by force. How many have I tormented! Now I am mired in shame. What excuse shall I have when my Lord questions me, saying "What did you do there?" I dissipated my life, taking comfort in the passing day. What could be more crazy and perverse? Just as the pleasure has passed, so too the pain would have passed. But my days and months are wasted, and I am crushed with regrets.

6547 Suppose that I was Caesar or Chosroes, or like Shaddād of ʿĀd I built a paradise; that I conquered the whole world like Alexander, or lived a life as long and as full as Noah's; that I was Ḥaydar with his lightning sword, or world-renowned Rustam; that I rose into the sky like Jesus, or established justice on earth like Nūshīn Ravān; that I owned the treasury of Korah, or had an iron city constructed like the People of the Ditch.[204] What would it profit me? The final return is into the ground. The whole world I leave behind, taking with me but two sheets of cloth. Naked I came, and naked I shall enter the earth. Why then have I become so enamored of the world? This fleeting world passes like the wind; but I, heedless, have let it crush me. Where are the good deeds that would profit my life? Where is the field of seed-crops that I tilled in my youth? Whatever I sowed I shall reap in the end. Whatever I reap I have cultivated myself.

6557 So I have squandered my youth and am old. Now come to the point—why this deluge of words? Lie not long asleep at night, but wake, worship your Lord, weep without cease! I am crushed with sin. Why did I fatten myself with dainties, only to become food for worms and beetles? Awake, slumbering soul, weep without cease and worship God! Else I am ruined. Old age presses and youth has flown. All taste in life is gone. My road is straight before me. So many men this ancient World has beguiled. Which am I? How have I let myself adore it so? Awaken me, O my Lord! Banish me not from Your presence, for I have cleansed my heart. You alone are my forgiving Lord. Have mercy on me. I can no longer recall my sins.

Ode II. On the corruption of time and the treachery of friends

6565 Let me rise and go, let me roam the world, to see if I can find an honest man. Now humanity has become a rarity. And though I have gained all my other desires, I have yet to find a true man and look him in the face. Of loyalty there is a dearth, while treachery fills the world. Has anyone any good faith left, that I may beg him for a little?

If I could find an honest and a generous man, I would bear him on my shoulders and press him to my eyes. But since I cannot find an honest man, let me go and live with the wild mustangs. Let me subsist on roots and rainwater, let me lie at night on the sand dunes and wear clothes of sack. Let me run in the wilderness with the wild beasts, lost to the world and far from men. Or else, let me wholly abandon my earthly nature, and flow like the river or rise like the whirlwind.

6574 I am distressed, my Lord, having fallen among faithless men. Where is one loyal, to whom I may sacrifice my soul? Humanity has disappeared, only the name is left. Tell me where it has gone, that I may follow it. I sought but found no faithful man in this world. Why should I attach my heart to one unfaithful? Whoever I held close like my own eye turned out

an enemy like the devil himself. And what can I do with the devil? Whenever I offered sincere love I got treachery in return. Whom then can I love?

Formerly a person's heart and tongue were witnesses to his character. 6579
Now hearts and tongues are two-faced; so whom can I trust? Is there anyone today whom I can take as my friend, to whom I may open my heart and bare my troubles? For now I am troubled, and would gladly tell someone a little. But from friends I have no good hopes, and kin act like strangers. How then can I bare myself? If trust depends on oath, where is he who will take that oath, that I may call him a man?

Is there any now who pays the due of bread and salt? Let me regale him with gold and silver and jewels. Where is a true neighbor, who will share my joys and sorrows? Let me move out of my home and give to him all I own. Who will serve me as my trusty companion? Let me make him my master and be his slave. But such a man I cannot find. I am sad and lonely, I waste away with care when I would smile with cheer.

How have people become so corrupt, abandoning law and custom? 6588
What times have I befallen, what place do I inhabit? Or have I gone mad, and do I rave? Tell me what I have said, so that I might understand. Perhaps the black bile is predominant in me, and my brain is disheveled. Does the world appear thus to my eyes alone? Then let me take a pill! Do such people torment me alone? Or is it I who am perverted and need return to normalcy?

Where now, alas, are those who left in the world a name for faithfulness, 6592
that I might praise them. How happy would I be today to see the laws and customs and manners that are their legacy. Would they were here to command law and custom anew! Then I would drive away the wicked, and let the virtuous pass to the seat of honor. But all the good are gone and have taken law and custom with them. Where can they be found? Only the dregs of humanity are left. If these walking bodies be men, were they then angels? Now they are gone and I am left with these. How then should I conduct my life?

Enough, there is no end to my words. Now I will go and let you speak! 6598
Here I have found nothing better for myself than to abandon society and live far removed from men. Let them not hear my name or see my form, and if they seek me let them not find me. They sting like scorpions, suck blood like flies, and yelp like dogs—which should I strike first? Now I writhe and groan, having fallen among shameless folk. Ruefully, night and day, how shall I bear this torment? May treachery's oppression not reach me, may I be delivered from the wicked and the faithless. Give me sustenance, my God! Let me witness the face of our beloved Prophet, and the faces of his four companions.

Appendix 2: The Two Prologues

VERSE PROLOGUE

1 First of all is God, one and mighty. To Him is due praise upon praise. Lord of greatness, mighty and exalted; Creator, powerful and perfect; Lord of heaven and earth; He provides sustenance to all creatures; therefore do eat and be of good cheer. To all beings He gives sustenance without stint. He feeds all, but does not himself consume. Never does He leave any creature hungry, but feeds all of their number and gives them to drink. Whatever He desires comes to be, Whomever He wishes He makes great.[205]

Greetings upon the chosen messenger, and again greetings upon his companions. He is Muḥammad the Prophet, the head of created things, the brow on the eye of all beings.

9 This book is indeed sublime, a sea of wisdom to the wise. It is adorned with wise sayings most precious—be grateful then, and seek contentment!—words of the sages for one and all, strung together like pearls. The kings of the East and the princes of Māchīn, men of wisdom and of intellect, the best of this world, all have taken this book to heart, and have secreted it in their treasuries. It is left as an inheritance from generation to generation. They do not give it to others, but adopt it themselves. It gives much profit and no loss at all. Many Turks do not understand the meaning of this. He who hears the book expounded knows it straightaway; he who reads or writes cannot understand. The sayings in this book guide a man's hands and eyes, so that his affairs prosper in both the worlds. All the sages of Chīn and of Māchīn have proclaimed its excellence. The Turks and the Chinese together have no book like it in this eastern realm, nay, in the world. The wise know the value of the book, and the foolish—what can you expect from them? So do not give the book to just anyone. Even if he is your friend, you cannot be sure. Though the ignoramus will not appreciate it, the man of intellect will comprehend it and preserve it.

23 It was during the reign of Buġra Khan, and in the Khan's tongue, that this was composed. Who has written its like in former times? And who shall write one so excellent in times to come? Where is the man who can perform such a task? If one there be, then I shall praise him!

Every town and city, every court and palace, has called this book by a different name. The sages of each realm gave it a title according to the rule and custom of that realm. The people of Chīn call it "Etiquette of

Kings''; those of Māchīn, ''Companion of Kingdoms.'' The nobles of this eastern realm rightly named it ''Adornment of Princes.'' The people of Iran call it ''Book of Kings'' *(Shāhnāmeh);* those of Turan, ''Wisdom of Royal Glory'' *(Kutadgu Bilig).* Many names in many tongues this book has acquired in all the lands. May God have mercy on his noble and virtuous servants who each gave it a different title.

You who are pleased with this book, and who admire what is composed 34
in this tongue of the Turks, pay heed! This book is suitable to all and sundry, but more especially to kings. The sages relate who ought to hold sway over the realms; how the king's preserve and private affairs should be ordered; the arrangement and conditions of sovereignty; the reason for the ruin or the prosperity of one's territory, and whether one's reign will remain or depart; how to muster troops and how to find campsites and campaign routes. All this you will find set out clearly and distinctly in the book.

Also he who holds firm sway over the kingdom must entrust his affairs 40
to suitable men. He needs to find retainers who are intelligent and virtuous, then reward them as the moon might reward a lamp. The people, furthermore, have claims upon their sovereign, as the sovereign has claims upon the people: the subjects have to defend the king, and he has to secure their bodies and souls.

This book also tells what battles the king should fight, how he should 44
draw up his army during battle, and what stratagems he should employ in order to rout the enemy. Further, it instructs the king how he should conduct himself, in order that his subjects follow him on the straight way. The people love this sort of king. Strangers hasten to see his face, they come to serve him and to bask in his royal glory. He brings some near and others he drives away. Some he retains as his intimates, while others, who are unlucky or evil, he sends far off. One's head he removes as a sign of his authority; another he restores to favor as a mark of his insight. He is intelligent and wise, courageous and heroic. He fills the treasury, then empties it again. He has great power over his subjects, and he finds satisfaction in all his affairs.

I leave to you these few words as a testament. Do not forget to say a benediction for me.

The author of this book was an excellent man. Adorned with so many 54
virtues and marks of intellect, he lived a happy life. Sincere he was, honorable, and abstinent, also pious, wise, and sinless. His this-worldly residence was the land of Quz Ordu (i.e., Balasaghun). Being of noble origin, his tongue was eloquent. He went out of the land of his birth, composed the book in faultless verse, and completed it in the land of Kāshghar. He then read it before the king, Tavġach Ḳara Buġra, Khan of Khans. That one honored him with many a robe of honor, paying respect to his pen and to his intellect. He awarded him the title of Privy

Chamberlain (Khāṣṣ Ḥājib) and retained him as his intimate. For this reason people hold him in honor and rightly call him Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib.

64 In explanation of this book: It is based on these four noble principles: Justice, Fortune, Wisdom, Contentment. Each of these is given a different name. Justice is called "King Rising Sun" and has the rank of sovereign. Fortune is called "Full Moon" and occupies the position of vizier. Wisdom is named "Highly Praised" and is the vizier's son. Contentment is called "Wide Awake" and is the vizier's kinsman. The teachings of the book revolve around these four.

73 In Arabic and in Persian there are many books, but in our tongue this is the sum of intellect. The wise man knows its worth, and the man of intellect knows the value of wisdom.

These Turkish verses I have strung together for you. When you read them do not forget to pray for me. Now I am taking leave of this world. Open your eyes, pay heed, and learn many a lesson! My Lord, grant mercy, and provide all believers with the divine Vision hereafter.

Prose Prologue

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

1 Praise upon praise be to God, mighty and exalted, Lord of greatness and all-powerful Sovereign, Creator of heaven and earth and Provider to all creatures. "God does what He wills and decrees whatsoever He desires."[206] And countless greetings be upon Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, the best of creation and choicest of prophets, and upon his noble companions, may God be pleased with them altogether.

8 This book is exceedingly precious. It is adorned with the proverbs of the sages of Chīn and the poems of the learned of Māchīn. But he who reads its contents and makes known its verses surpasses the book in excellence. The sages of Chīn and of Māchīn have all agreed, that in the eastern realm and in all the lands of Turkestan, in the tongue of Buġra Khan and in the language of the Turks, no one has ever composed a book finer than this. Whatever sovereigns this book has reached, and whatever climes, the wise and learned of those lands have accepted it because of its utmost excellence and its boundless beauty. And each one has given it a name and a title. The people of Chīn call it "Etiquette of Kings"; and the counselors of the king of Māchīn call it "Rule of the Kingdom"; the people of the East call it "Adornment of Princes"; the people of Iran call it 'Shāhnāmeh of the Turks"; others call it "Book of Counsel for Kings"; and the people of Turan call it "Wisdom of Royal Glory" *(Kutadgu Bilig)*.

23 The author of this book was a pious and abstinent man from Balasaghun. He completed it in the land of Kāshghar, and presented it to the king of the East, Tavġach Buġra Khan. King Buġra Khan honored him, raised him in rank, and gave him the office of Privy Chamberlain. For that reason

his name and fame have spread abroad, and he is known as Yūsuf, Grand Privy Chamberlain (Yūsuf Uluġ Khāṣṣ Ḥājib).

This book is built upon four great foundations: Justice, Fortune, Wis- 29
dom, Contentment. Each of these is given a Turkish name. Justice is called "King Rising Sun" and occupies the position of sovereign. Fortune is called "Full Moon" and he is the vizier. Wisdom is named "Highly Praised" and is the vizier's son. Contentment is called "Wide Awake" and is the vizier's brother. They have debates and dialogues among themselves.

May the reader's heart be light, may he remember the author in his benediction.

Appendix 3: Readings Different from Arat's Edition (by line number)

23b. bir: yér.
50b. iki: yégi.
86b. tuġı: tiġi.
94a. esir: eṣir (Ar. aṭīr).
121b. yalınsunı: telinsüni.
161a. işle: işler.
161b. bekle: bekler.
171b. tulmadım: bulmadım (cf. *ED* 491).
207a. bilip: bilig (?).
249b. ötülgen: ütülgen (cf. *ED* 57).
257b. uḳı: oḳı.
337b. bilse . . . ılıḳar: ḳılsa . . . alıḳar (cf. *ED* 138).
447a. er teger köz: arsıḳar kör.
456b. bardı: bérdi.
464b. tüz: tuz (cf. *DLT* 42:3).
505b. ayı: atı.
552b. örüng̃: özüng̃.
554a. tapuġ: tutuġ.
595b. kapuġda asunġıl: tapuġda aşunġıl (cf. 3064).
618b. yarı: barı.
662b. yolunur: tezginür.
757b. ḳılsa: bilse.
795b. serildim . . . tügüldi yüzüng̃: sarıldım . . . töküldi sözüng̃ (cf. 195).
812a. bir: yér.
856b. öng̃ı: ong̃ı.
857b. külük: kölük.
885b. yula: yol-a.
911b. yorıp: yerip.
1038a. sordı: süzdi (cf. 421, etc.)
1049b. tunar: tüner.
1058b. ekçek: igçil (cf. *ED* 629).
1125b. uḍlur: oḍlur (cf. 1142).
1286b. bük: şük (cf. 2937).
1390b. tüşün: tüş tün (cf. 3605).
1408b. tili: eng̃i (cf. 3625).
1424b. uḍıtġay: uḍınġa (cf. *ED* 62).
1474a. yarı: yéri (cf. 1096, etc.).
1485b. ülep: ulap.
1500b. bürnü: barnu.
1528b. yatar eti: yiter atı (cf. 1676, 3375, 6425; Tezcan 71).
1532a. bir ıçar: yér içer (cf. Tezcan 35, 40–41).
1538b. torı: turı.
1541a. ölümke . . . boldaçı: ölümtin . . . buldaçı (cf. 4837).
1544a. erej: erinç.
1601. ilig . . . boldı ig: ilel . . . buldum el.
1610b. serilse: sarılsa (cf. *ED* 851).
1642b. yumıttı törü: emitti naru (berü?).
1646a. yüleki: boluġı (cf. 1628: boluġluġ).
1669b. tili: yolı.
1715b. iter: teper.
1723. küḍezdi özin neng̃ke suḳlanmadı / tapundı bu ḳılça ḳıyıḳ ḳılmadı.
1734a. tüpür: toplur.
1774a. yetildi: tatıdı (cf. 4169, 5627).
1819a. teng̃eḍür: neng̃eḍür.
1996a. beling̃: biling̃ (cf. 2961).
2012b. ḳutḳa bolmaz: ḳut tapulmaz (?).
2016b. örkledi: ikledi (irkledi?, cf. 2708).
2018b. ḳılur: turur.
2112b. tüz: tuz (see 464 above).
2115a. kör: kür.
2159b. tapı: tüpi.
2285b. tiringü: tirengü.
2302a. boşang̃: tuşang̃.
2311b. azġır: azġın (cf. *ED* 283).
2316b. uçı: öçi.
2354a. sözi: süsi.
2370b. tuşrup: tüşrüp.
2465a. yüz: köz (thus B and C; not noted by Arat).
2497a. aġzında: uġrında (cf. 2537).
2506a. olmasa: almasa (cf. *ED* 234).
2807b. yüzde çıġ: yüz açıġ.
2923b. tüz: tuz (see 464 above).
3042a. bertse: türtse.
3160a. sırılġaymu: sarılġaymu.
3213b. ḳa ḳadaşḳa: ḳap ḳadaş ḳa.
3272b. kişi: başı.
3283b. ḳızardı: ḳarardı.
3348b. ʿaybeṭ: gibeṭ.
3350b. toḍurmadım: tüḍürmedim.

3357b. ulanulsa: ula bolsa (?).
3469b. beglik: beklig (cf. 436, etc.).
3472b. tunup: tutup.
3526a. kişide khạşı: kişi télvesi.
3526b. ol it saḳışı: uşol it esi.
3544b. munı: müni.
3552b. tegürgey: tegürme.
3603b. teṅgi: tiki (?).
3631b. itingil: anuṅgıl (cf. 5150).
3656a. tamuġ: turuġ (cf. 1521).
3656b. ḳalmaġay: ḳalġay.
3667b. boġuz: yavuz (?).
3736b. yaşıġ: tatıġ.
3789b. baruġay: yaraġay.
3844b. ḳorup: körüp.
3920b. tanumaz: bilümez.
3973b. açġay ḳapuġ: ésiz ḳamuġ.
3976a. ʿuḳbi ḳolsa ay . . . bulur: dünyanı ḳodsa . . . bolur.
4016a. ursamız: üzsemiz.
4017b. batar: yutar (tatar?).
4068b. tigin beg: kül erkin (cf. *ED* 225, 483).
4120a. beg: bek.
4139b. tarġu: yazġu.
4150a. tilese: tileseṅg.
4206b. seşiş: se séş.
4229b. kitgey: ḳılġay.
4334b. öyü: körü.
4389b. kinilse: kénikse (cf. *ED* 731).
4417a. öṅgi: oṅgı.
4442b. erej: azar (cf. *ED* 289).
4505b. ḳarıġ: fariġ.
4585a. yarım: yazım (cf. 2497).
4611b. yıradı kesildi: kesildi yıradı.
4623b. isitür: isetür (üşütür?).
4675b. yişin: ışın (cf. 3286).
4907a. erej: ereş.
4907b. bolur . . . iz: bulur . . . éş.
5081b. boldı: buldı.
5180a. kör: gür.
5186b. ornı: aṣlı.
5190a. ḳod: ḳut.
5286a. küçi: küçüṅg.
5452a. töşektin turup: töşekin türüp.
5527a. könitgey: köninge.
5620a. baḳın: yaḳin (cf. 605).
5629b. irildi: tirildi.
5659b. kişike ḳatılma yıraş: ḳişini adaş tutma éş.
5763b. ötrü: utru.
5768b. ilke: khaḷḳ-ḳa.
5799a. ḥarir: khaz baz.
5971b. öṅgdürdi ya: öṅgdürdi-e.
5972b. yalṅgudı: yelgüdi (cf. 3104, 3329, 3540, 3567).
6025b. kezig: sezig.
6029a. beklig bolur: beklik bulur.
6063b. ḳırım: ḳarım (cf. *ED* 660).
6114b. tutma: ḳılma.
6126a. bir kün: akhır.
6151b. yüz: tüz.
6284b. yutup: yüḍüp.
6424a. eḍgü: eḍ kü (cf. 618).
6454b. kör: kür.
6534b. çeliledim: çalpıladım (cf. 1400 [C]; *DTS* 137; *ED* 418 [çalpaḳ, etc.]).
6555b. tiriglikte: yigitlikte.
6569a. ceḥalıġ: veḥalıġ.
6615b. bura: büre (cf. *ED* 335).
6625b. tura: türe (cf. 3811).

Verse Prologue: 57a. bu teṅgi: munuṅgki.

Appendix 4: Persian Calques

Group I: parts of the body
Group II: other (alphabetical)
Order: Turkish (plus one or more line reference)
Literal meaning
Persian (or Arabic) original
Connotation of the idiom

I

Hand.

elig bér- (598, 1607, 1784, 4075, 5521, 5305) ~ el bér- (1439, 1454) "to give a hand" dast dādan "to be favorable (Fortune, opportunity, etc.)"

elig bul- (890, 1489, 2330, 4261, 5081, 5758) ~ el bul- (1601) "to find a hand" dast yāftan "to succeed, find an opportunity"

elig kötür- "to raise the hand" dast bar dāštan 1. (3063) "to desist"; 2. (1110) "to supplicate"; 3. (302, 1493, 1845) "to succeed"

elig ur- (251, 255, 1630, 1805, 1853) "to strike the hand" dast zadan "to set one's hand to, to gain authority over, to embark on, to undertake"

elig sun- (281, 346), elig tegür- (365, 1368, 3221) "to put forth the hand" dast andāxtan "to set one's hand to, to enable"

elig tut- (29–30, 350, 4541) "to hold the hand" dast giriftan "to support, intercede"

elig uzat- (5520, 5758), elig uza- (889), elgi uzun (546, 5878) "to lengthen the hand" dast dirāz kardan "to lord it over, oppress"

elig ḳısġa tut- (4296, 6079) "to shorten the hand" dast kūtāh kardan "to be just, refrain from wielding one's authority"

elig asraḳı (1785, 4527) "below the hand" zīr dast "servant, underling"

elig tarlıḳı (4540, 5525) "narrowness of hand" tang dastī "narrowness of means, penury"; cf. elig taru- (477)

üsteng͡ elig (5252, 5481) "upper hand" zabar dast, dast-i bālā; Ar. al-yad al-ʿulyā "upper hand, power"

öng͡dün elig yorıt- (5467) "to put the hand in front" dast-i pīš giriftan, pīšdastī kardan "to anticipate"

Foot.

aḍaḳ tik- (4208) "to press the foot" pāy fišurdan "to persist"

Head.

baş bürün- (4665) "to wrap the head" sar pīčīdan "to defy, disobey"

baş kötür- (545, 890, 3346, 6396) "to raise the head" sar buland kardan "to rise, attain a better position"

baş yé- "to eat the head" sar xūrdan 1. (2156, 2510) "to be disillusioned"; 2. (170, 2514) "to bring about one's own death"

Eye.

köz tik- (769, 956) "to sew the eye" čašm dūxtan "to stare"

köz yarut- (598, 624, 6262) "to brighten the eye" čašm rūšan kardan "to cheer"

Tongue.

til aç- (1184) "to open the tongue" zabān gušūdan "to begin talking"

til beḍüt- (4492, 4496) "to lengthen the tongue" zabān dirāz kardan; Ar. ṭāwala al-lisān "to be insolent, abusive"

Tooth.

tiş teri (4661) "hire for the teeth" dandān muzd "dinner gifts given to guests" (cf. *Qābūs-nāmeh,* ed. S. Nafīsi, Tehran, n.d., 51:24; trans. R. Levy, *A Mirror for Princes* [New York, 1951], p. 64)

Neck.

boyun bér- (4992) "to give the neck" gardan nihādan "to submit"

Face.

yüz ur- (951, 1632, 1707, 2309, 3282, 6420) "to set the face" rū āvardan "to proceed to, resort to, turn to"

yüz ḳıl- (1200, 4841) "to do the face" rū kardan "to look with favor"

yüz suvı (275) "water of face" āb rū "honor"

açuḳ yüz (500) "open face" gušāde rū "pleasant, agreeable"

al yüz (3709) "yellow face," boz yüz (1996) "grey face" zard rū "shame-faced"

Heart.

köŋgül açıl- (601) "for the heart to open" dil bāz šudan "to be light-hearted, carefree"

köŋgül ba- (5135, 5297), köŋgül ula- (6576) "to join the heart" dil bastan "to become attached to"

köŋgül bér- (1171, 5749) "to give the heart" dil dādan "to fall in love"

köŋgül bert- (6181, 6327), köŋgül baş ḳıl- (6287) "to wound the heart" dil āzurdan "to grieve"

köŋgül tar ḳıl- (6183) "to make the heart narrow" dil tang kardan "to grieve"

köŋgül tut- (1167) "to take the heart" bi-dil giriftan "to take to heart"

köŋgül ur- (6304, 6338) "to set the heart" dil nihādan "to hearten, console"

köŋgül yarut- (769) "to brighten the heart" dil rūšan kardan "to have a clear conscience"

köŋgli oḍuġ (452, 5112, 5393) "wake-hearted" bīdār dil "spiritually aware"

köŋgli tirig (5746) "live-hearted" zinde dil "lively, spirited"

II

Base.

ul ur- (4028) "to set the base" bunyād nihādan, asās nihādan "to lay the foundation"

Belt.

ḳur ba- (542, 1605) "to bind the belt" kamar bastan "to gird the loins"

Color.

boḍuġ (1957) "color" rang "luster"

Come/go.

kel- bar- (1095) "to come and go" raft u āmad, āmad u šud "to frequent"; cf. kir- çıḳ- (609)

Cover.

örtügün (3919, 5663) "covered" pūšīde "hidden, in secret"

Cut.

kes- (809, 811) "to cut" burīdan; Ar. qaṭaʿa "to decide, settle"

Desire.

tilek sür- (6535, 6614), et öz arzu sür- (1438, 3628) "to drive one's desire" havas rāndan "to indulge in one's desires or passions"

Earth.

yér bol- (4590) "to become earth" xāk šudan "to humble oneself"

Empty.

ornı ḳuruġ ḳaldı (1576) "his place is empty" jāyaš xālī ast "we miss him"

Flesh.

et yé- (194, 1166, 6481) "to eat one's flesh" Ar. akala laḥm "to slander, backbite." Cf. eti aġu (4349) "their flesh is poison." (This is based on Qur'ān 49:12. Cf. Asad ibn Mūsā, *Kitāb az-Zuhd,* ed. R. G. Khoury [Wiesbaden, 1976], p. 64: a man punished in hell is condemned to eat his own flesh because "he used to eat the flesh of others by indulging in slander and calumny.")

Front.

utru tut- (175, 1188, 1311, 4011, 5618, 5763) "to hold in front" pīš giriftan "to set oneself to, undertake, choose"

utru ur- (6322) "to set in front" pīš nihādan "to put forth, present"

Hope.

saḳınç ḳısġa tut- (4550, 5233, 6090) "to keep one's hope short" Ar. qiṣar al-amal "not to plan too far ahead"

saḳınç uza- (6486), saḳınçı uzun (1533), uzun saḳın- (5299) "for one's hope to be long" Ar. ṭūl al-amal "worldly ambition." (This is based on Qur'ān 15:3. Cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* Kitāb al-Riqāq, Bāb fī l-amal wa-ṭūlihi; E. Kohlberg, ed., *Jawāmiᶜ Ādāb al-Ṣūfiyya and ᶜUyūb al-Nafs wa-Mudāwātuhā by . . . al-Sulamī* [Jerusalem, 1976], Intro. p. 8 [mention of a *Kitāb qiṣar al-amal* by Ibn Abi'l-Dunyā], Ar. text pp. 6, 79, 96; al-Ghazāli, *Iḥyā',* bk. 40 [Kitāb dhikr al-mawt wa-mā baᶜdahu] Bāb: fī ṭūl al-amal wa-faḍīlat qiṣar al-amal [Cairo, n.d., vol. 4:452f].)

Knot.

tügün yaz- (150, 172, 283) "to loosen the knot" girih gušādan "to resolve the difficulty"

Measure.

ḳarıla- (1734, 2595) "to measure (in cubits)" paymūdan "to traverse, travel"

Name.

at oḳı- (2066) "to recite the name" nām xʷāndan "to name, call"

Near.

yaḳınlıḳ ula- (3237, 3299, 3319, 3433, 3700, 5034, 6281) "to join nearness" Ar. waṣala al-raḥim "to cement kinship ties"

Out.

taş ḳıl- (5813) "to make outside" bīrūn kardan "to dismiss, expel"

Poor.

çıġay (3613) "poor" darvīš; Ar. faqīr "dervish"

Pour.

tök- (5982) "to pour" rīxtan; Ar. ṣabba "to cast, refine (metal)"

Power.

erk bér- (4952) "to give power" qudrat dādan, ixtiyār dādan "to empower, authorize"

Road.

yol bér- (5625), yol ḳıl- (766, 5960) "to give the road" rāh dādan "to admit, allow to enter"; cf. yol ḳol- (5662, 5955) "to desire access"

yol (2485, 2497, 2537, 2540) "road" Ar. mawkib "royal procession" (cf. Hilāl al-Ṣābī', *Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfa,* ed. M. ᶜAwād, [Baghdad 1383/1964], 99, 107–8, 117; trans. E. A. Salem, [Beirut 1977], 59, 63, 68)

Root.

kök kes- (5991), kök üz- (5383) "to cut the root" az bun kandan, az bīx kandan "to root out, destroy"

Salt.
tuz (464, 2923) "salt" namak; Ar. malāḥa "charm"
Self.
öz tut- (558, 588, 4447, 4588) "to hold oneself" xuddārī kardan "to be self-controlled, to refrain"
Sell.
sat- (2641) "to sell" furūxtan "to make a show of"
Total.
tükel (4379) "total, complete" jumle "sums, addition"
Will.
bayat tilese (5935) "if God wills" Ar. in šā'a allāh "if God wills"
Wind.
yél yé- (4267) "to eat wind" bād xūrdan "to be interrupted"
yélke bér- (6123) "to give to the wind" bi-bād dādan "to destroy"

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. W. Barthold, "The Bughra Khan mentioned in the Qudatqu Bilik," *BSOS* 3 (1923–25): 151–58.

2. *EI*², "Ilek-khāns" (Bosworth); O. Pritsak, "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden," *ZDMG* 101 (1951), 270–300.

3. *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk).* An English edition of Kāshghari's work is in the course of publication (Part I: Duxbury, Mass., 1982).

4. See E. Birnbaum, "A Lifemanship Manual: The Earliest Turkish Version of the *Ḳābūsnāme?*" *Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1977): 3f.; *The Book of Advice,* ed. E. Birnbaum (Duxbury, Mass., 1981).

5. R. Dankoff, "Inner Asian Wisdom Traditions in the Pre-Mongol Period," *JAOS* 101/1 (1981): 87–95.

6. W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (Yale University Press, 1973), 182–83, "The Teaching for Merikare."

7. J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1955), 426; dated to the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.).

8. On king = sun, cf. A. M. Hocart, *Kings and Councillors* (Cairo, 1926; new ed. Chicago, 1970), 85, 96, 139f., 151, 207, 279.

9. 1.32–48; cited in H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), 308.

10. Frankfort, 57, 150–51, 344.

11. G. Widengren, "The Sacral Kingship of Iran," in *The Sacral Kingship,* Studies in the History of Religions . . . Numen, Suppl. 4 (Leiden, 1959), 242–57. Cf. R. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (New York: Mentor, 1966), 120; W. Knauth, *Das altiranische Fürstenideal* (Wiesbaden, 1975), passim.

12. Greek *aura* corresponds to Akkadian *melammu,* Old Persian *xvarena* (new Persian *farr*), Aramaic *gadda de malka* (see A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia,* Chicago, 1964, pp. 98, 181ff.; Frye, 64). *Ḳut* is the Turkish equivalent: see A. Bombaci, "Qutlugh Bolzun!" *UAJ* 36 (1965): 284–91; 38 (1966): 13–43.

13. Paraphrase as cited in L. K. Born, *The Education of a Christian Prince . . . Erasmus* (New York, 1936), 72.

14. See literature cited in A. Bombaci, "Kutadgu Bilig Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar," in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı* (Istanbul, 1953), 72. Cf. Shakespeare's jocular description in *Henry V,* 3.6:29ff.: "Fortune is painted blind, with a muffler afore her eyes, to signify to you that Fortune is blind; and she is painted also with a wheel, to signify to you, which is the moral of it, that she is turning, and inconstant, and mutability, and variation: and her foot, look you, is fixed upon a spherical stone, which rolls, and rolls, and rolls: in good truth, the poet makes a most excellent description of it: Fortune is an excellent moral." The additional element of the wheel, the commonest symbol of Fortune in the West, is apparently an invention of Boethius (6th cent.); it is not found as such in the Near East, though it is similar to the turning of the sphere of the universe, representing Fortune or Fate in Islam (cf. Ar. *dawr, dahr, dawla, falak, dunyā;* Pers. *charx;* etc.).

15. On this point, see S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 200 ff. A typical example is a tenth-century Fatimid mirror embodied in the "Pillars of Islam" by the Qāḍi al-Nuʿmān (G. Salinger in *Muslim World* 46 [1956], 26–27): "or do you hope for some change of fortune which would remove you from His power to that of someone else? . . . There is nothing that more easily causes the revocation of God's favors and provokes more quickly His opposition than obstinacy in oppression."

16. M. Boyce, *The Letter of Tansar,* Rome Oriental Series, 38 (Rome, 1968).

17. A. Christensen, "La légende du sage Buzurǰmihr," *Acta Orientalia . . . Norvegica* 8 (1930): 97–98.

18. Miskawaih (d. 1030), *al-Ḥikma al-Khālida [Jāvidān Khirad],* ed. ʿA. Badawi (Cairo, 1952).

19. Firdawsi, *Shāh-nāmeh,* ed. Mohl, 4:364ff., according to Christensen, 120–21; *Jāvidān Khirad,* 33.

20. Christensen, 104 f.

21. The most notable work in this tradition is the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, written for the founder of the Maurya dynasty in 321 B.C. The Mauryas were the first centralized political and military power in India; and their power represents the stabilizing of society after the chaos resulting from Alexander's invasions and the establishment of Hellenic rule in the northwest. The *Arthashastra,* in turn, displays Hellenic influence, and also Persian influence, especially in the exaltation of royal power and in the elaboration of a complex bureaucracy.

22. In a celebrated treatise, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ urged the caliph to establish a uniform religious code in his realm and a uniform system of education for his army; this program was not really carried out until the eleventh century when the Seljuks attempted to force the sway of their dynasty over the entire Muslim world under the banner of Sunni orthodoxy. See Goitein, *Studies,* 149–67. Translation: Ch. Pellat, *"Conseilleur" du calife* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1976).

23. Translation: J. Horovitz, *Islamic Culture* 4 (1930): 171–98, 331–62, 487–530; 5 (1931): 1–27, 194–224.

24. Translation: Ch. Pellat, *Le livre de la couronne* (Paris, 1944).

25. See note 18 above; also W. B. Henning, "Eine arabische Version mittelpersischer Weisheitsschriften," *ZDMG* 106 (1956): 73–77. Trans. M. S. Khan, "The Jawidan Khirad of Miskawaih," *Islamic Culture* 35 (1961): 238–43.

26. Examples of this genre: C. E. Bosworth, "An Early Arabic Mirror for Princes: Ṭāhir Dhū l-Yamīnain's Epistle to his Son ʿAbdallāh (206/821)," *JNES* 29 (1970): 25–41; M. Nazim, "The Pand-Nāmah of Subuktigīn," *JRAS,* 1933, 605–28.

27. Al-Māwardi, *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk,* written 450/1085; unpublished (see *GAL* 1:483).

28. G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel* (Leipzig, 1932; repr. New York, 1968); A. H. Dawood, "A Comparative Study of Arabic and Persian Mirrors from the Second to the Sixth Century A.H." (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1965); E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge, 1968), 62–83; H. Busse, "Fürstenspiegel und Fürstenethik im Islam," *Bustan* 9/1 (1968): 12–19; A. K. S. Lambton, "Islamic Mirrors for Princes," *La Persia nel medioevo* (Rome, 1971), 419–42 [Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, quaderno 160].

29. See R. Dankoff, "Animal Traits in the Army Commander," *JTS* 1 (1977): 95–112.

30. Translation: R. Levy, *A Mirror for Princes* (New York, 1951).

31. Translation: H. Darke, *The Book of Government* (London, 1960; 2d ed. 1978).

32. Translation: F. R. Bagley, *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings* 1964).

33. See note 28 above; also A. K. S. Lambton, "Justice in the Persian Theory of Kingship," *Studia Islamica* 17 (1962): 91–119. Two examples: A. Tietze, *Mustafa Ali's Counsel for Sultans of 1581,* part 1 1979); W. L. Wright, *Ottoman Statecraft: The Book of Counsel for V Governors* [Sarı Mehmed Pasha, *Nesaih ül-vüzera ve'l-ümera,* c. 1720] (P 1935).

34. Related to this is the distinction between the "seat of honor" the "courtyard" *(él),* respectively the noble and the ignoble parts of the c dwelling (262–63, 614, 844, 2253). See discussion in my "Inner Asian Traditions in the pre-Mongol period," *JAOS* 101/1 (1981), 91–92.

35. For a fuller discussion of these topics, see H. İnalcik, "Kutac de Türk ve İran siyaset nazariye ve gelenekleri," in *Reşid Rahmeti* (Ankara, 1966), 259–71. According to İnalcik, in the Turkish tradition, does not simply dispense justice, which depends on his own magnani Iranian concept), but also is bound by customary law *(törü),* an object rules. It is questionable whether this distinction exists in *Kutadgu Bil törü* is a synonym of *könilik* and means simply "justice" (e.g. 355, 800, "circle of equity" discussed by İnalcik, p. 263], etc.). Also, the ruler ha power to lay down good laws or bad (1456–61). See further: M. Grignas monarchie karakhanide de Kachgar et les relations de dépendance pe dans le 'Ḳutaḍğu Bilig' . . . ," *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 20 (19 626.

36. He wrote to Alexander: "Make yourself beloved to your elite l of generosity and to your commoners by means of justice." D. Guta *Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation* (New Haven, Conn., 1975), p

37. F. Rosenthal, *Four essays on Art and Literature in Islam* (Leid p. 10. Cf. p. 16: the notion that beauty of appearance and beauty of cha together, ascribed to Plato (cf. *KB* 2216). Note also: [Aristotle:] "he wl family and no children has no name and no progeny" (Gutas, 187; cf. *I*

38. F. Rosenthal, "The Symbolism of the *Tabula Cebetis* accordir l-Faraj ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib," in *Recherches d'Islamologie . . . Anawati et . .* . . . (Louvain, 1977), 281.

39. O. Alberts, "Der Dichter des in uigurisch-türkischem Dialect benen Kudatku bilik . . . ein Schüler des Avicenna," *Archiv für Gesch Philosophie,* n.s. 7 (1901): 319–36.

40. Ibid, 328.

41. *Adab al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn,* ed. M. Al-Šaqā (Cairo, 1393/1973),

42. I have now abandoned the idea, which I argued formerly, that of Highly Praised represents the law-giving wisdom of the philosophe wisdom that according to the Muslim neo-Platonists (notably al-Fārābi Sīnā) had found perfect embodiment in the Prophet himself; and that this the name Highly Praised (Ögdülmiş), apparently a translation of the n ḥammad. (*Ög-* is "to praise," but there must also be a play on words with *ög* "mind.") Yūsuf states only that Highly Praised stands for intell The idea that he "represents" Muḥammad has been put forward by S. ("Kutadgu Bilig'de Ögdülmiş," *Türk Kültürü* 98, Aralık 1970, 107). F senthal writes (private letter dated 29 January 1978): "I do not doubt tha praised' would be possible as a translation of Muḥammad or Aḥmad, b my doubts as to whether it would be possible to assign to the Prophet Mu a comparatively minor role in the scheme of things, even if he should be c of in the sense of philosophers as philosopher-king. I think it would requ

heterodox sectarians to put Muḥammad in the place he seems to occupy in the *KB*."

43. H. Vambéry, *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik* (Leipzig, 1870); W. Radloff, *Kudatku Bilik. Facsimile der uigurischen Handschrift der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien* (St. Petersburg, 1890); W. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik des Jusuf Chass-Hadschib aus Bälasagun.* Teil I: Der Text in Transcription. Teil II: Text und Übersetzung nach den Handschriften von Wien und Kairo (St. Petersburg, 1891, 1910).

44. R. Devereux, "Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib and the Kutadgu Bilig," *Muslim World* 51 (1961): 299.

45. S. Çağatay, "Kutadgu Bilig'de Odgurmış'ın Kişiliği," *TDAY-Belleten,* 1967, 39–49. Cf. Devereux, 303; Bombaci, *Köprülü Armağanı,* p. 75; I. Kafesoğlu, "Kutadgu Bilig ve Kültür Tarihimizdeki Yeri," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1 (1970): 11.

46. I have tried to state the argument in its most cogent form. Çağatay herself states ("Ögdülmiş," 107) that the equation Ögdülmiş = Muḥammad was suggested to her by Professor Benzing, only after her article on Odgurmış was published; and although she accepts the suggestion, she has reservations about it, since there is still the problem of Highly Praised's "pessimism" toward the end when he seeks Wide Awake's advice with regard to his intention to "repent." Çağatay's argument is based on a view of Islam that is totally this-world oriented, seeing otherworldliness as alien to the true Islamic spirit.

47. "Odgurmış," 46.

48. What is perhaps the most far-fetched of Çağatay's ideas is the suggestion (ibid., 45) that the name of Wide Awake's disciple Ḳumaru ("Testament") reflects Kun gah vo, the Tibetan equivalent of Ananda, the disciple of the Buddha. She fails to explain how Yūsuf or his audience might have had knowledge of this fact; and fails to discern that this name has an allegorical meaning and must be understood in the context of the structure of the work as a whole (see below, under "Analysis and Interpretation of the Work," p. 30).

49. For example, it is counseled by Bozorgmihr according to the *Jāvidān Khirad,* 29. Note also: [Socrates:] "Your days are three" (Gutas, 115; cf. *KB* 3605f.). In Langland's *Piers the Ploughman,* Lady Holy Church admonishes Will in his first vision thus (trans. J. F. Goodrich, Penguin Books, 1959, 33): "Put no trust in your body, for its promptings come from the World, and the world is a liar out to betray you. And the Flesh and the Devil are in league to pursue your soul, and speak evil things to your heart. I give you good counsel that you may be watchful." (Cf. *KB* 3589–90.)

50. See *EI*², article "Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf" (D. M. Lang).

51. Quoted in D. M. Lang, *The Wisdom of Balahvar: A Christian legend of the Buddha* (New York, 1957), 19.

52. E. Rehatsek, trans., "The Book of the King's Son and the Ascetic," *JRAS,* 1890, 119–55; D. Gimaret, *Le livre de Bilawhar et Būḏāsf selon la version arabe ismaélienne* (Geneva-Paris, 1971).

53. D. Gimaret, "Traces et paralleles du Kitāb Bilawhar wa Būḏāsf dans la tradition arabe," *BEO* 24 (1971): 132. According to Gimaret, the esotericism lies not in the content but in the tone or atmosphere—the story of pious men who suffer persecution and martyrdom, a sage who in a hostile environment and disguised appears to communicate his doctrine to the prince whom he sees at night in great secrecy, etc.

54. The story of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his ascetic son (Night 401; Burton trans. 5:111f.); the story of the "Lord of the Cloud" and the devout king (Night 473; Burton trans. 5:274f.).

55. S. M. Stern and Sofie Walzer, *Three Unknown Buddhist St Arabic Version* (University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 22–23.

56. Badīᶜ al-zamān Furūzānfarr, *Aḥādīth-i Mathnawī* (Tehran, 7, 168; M. Shaybāni (d. 804), *Kitāb al-Kasb,* cited in Goitein, *Studies*

57. Furūzānfarr, 11.

58. Furūzānfarr, 9; al-Sulami, *Kitāb Ādāb al-Ṣuḥba* (ed. M. J. rusalem, 1954), 45; al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Lumaᶜ fi l-Taṣawwuf* (ed. R. A. London, 1914, repr. 1963), 12; cited in A. Schimmel, *Mystical Dim Islam* (University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 112.

59. Al-Makki, *Qūt al-Qulūb* (Cairo, 1351/1932), 3:38; Kaikāvus ib *Qābūs-nāmeh* (Tehran, n.d.), ed. Saᶜīd Nafīsi, 146 = Levy, *A Mirror f* 194.

60. Furūzānfarr, 179.

61. I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies,* ed. S. M. Stern, 2 (London, 197

62. A. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam* (Oxford, 1924), 124; *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* (trans. R. A. Nicholson, London, 1911, 1936, repr.

63. Al-Ghazāli, *Kitāb Ādāb al-Nikāḥ* (book 16 of *Iḥyā' ᶜUlūm al-* n.d.), 2:38.

64. A well-known proverb, sometimes quoted as a hadith.

65. *Al-Ghazali on the Duties of Brotherhood* (trans. M. Hollanc 1975), 46, 51. (Also cf. Qur'ān, 49:9).

66. Furūzānfarr, 112, 203–5; Schimmel, 107.

67. Furūzānfarr, 11; al-Sulami, *ᶜUyūb al-nafs wa-mudāwātuhā,* e berg (Jerusalem, 1976), 91.

68. Furūzānfarr, 108.

69. M. J. Kister, "The interpretation of dreams: An unknown of Ibn Qutayba's 'ᶜIbārat al-Ru'yā'," *Israel Oriental Studies* 4 (1974):

70. Abu Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdi, *Kitāb al-Imtāᶜ wa-l-Mu'ānasa* (ed and A. al-Zayn, Beirut, 3 vols., n.d.), 1:15.

71. Furūzānfarr, 121 (attributed to ᶜAli).

72. Al-Ghazāli, *Kitāb Dhikr al-Mawt wa-mā baᶜdahu* (book 4 *ᶜUlūm al-Dīn;* Cairo, n.d.), 4:450.

73. Schimmel, 37, citing al-Sarrāj, 199; cf. ᶜAṭṭār, *Muslim Saints a* (trans. A. J. Arberry, London and Boston, 1966), 71.

74. Al-Sarrāj, 39, 1.14. See Schimmel, 428; and the hadith (F 186): "The world on the day of resurrection appears as a hag." See als *Book of Counsel for Kings,* 34.

75. Schimmel, 112–13. (Also A. Schimmel, "Nur ein störres *Orbe Religionum: Festschrift Geo Widengren,* Leiden, 1972.)

76. *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings,* 87.

77. M. Smith, *Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and M* (London, 1931), 237–38. Cf. Schimmel, 39–40: "Rābiᶜa had meditate Koranic statement that God's love precedes man's love: 'He loves the love Him' (Sura 5:59)."

78. Schimmel, 127, citing al-Sarrāj, 62.

79. Al-Sarrāj, 3, 11. The translation is that of M. Smith, *Studie*

80. *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs,* trans. A. J. Arberry (Cambridge,

81. *Muslim Saints and Mystics,* 167.

82. Ibid., 181.

83. Ibid., 57–60. Cf. al-Hujwīri, *Kashf,* 98–100; *Ghazālī's Book for Kings,* 20.

84. See e.g. M. Smith, *Studies,* 132, 139, 162.

85. *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs,* 157.

86. Al-Hujwīri, *Kashf,* 351; cf. *Muslim Saints and Mystics,* 281–82.

87. *Kashf,* 295; cf. Schimmel, 107.

88. *Kitāb manāzil al-sā'irīn,* ed. Beaurecueil (Cairo, 1962); cf. Arberry in *The Cambridge History of Islam* (Cambridge, 1970), 2:618.

89. Schimmel, 382; Furūzānfarr, 81.

90. A. J. Arberry, *Sufism* (Harper Torchbook, 1970), 40–41.

91. F. Peters, *Allah's Commonwealth* (New York, 1973), 413.

92. See e.g. the warnings against it in al-Sarrāj, 417ff.

93. *Al-Waṣāyā,* ed. ᶜAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad ᶜAṭā (Cairo, n.d.), 65. Al-Muḥāsibi died in 243/857.

94. *Al-Risāla al-Qushayrīya,* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1385/1965), 1:276.

95. (Cairo, 1387/1967), 3:282–311.

96. For a later reflection of the issue in Islamic culture, see D. Margoliouth, trans., "Devil's Delusion of Ibn al-Jauzi: Account of the way wherein the devil deludes ascetics and devotees" (section 9 of *Talbīs Iblīs*), *Islamic Culture* 10 (1936): 339f.

97. See R. Dankoff, "On nature in Karakhanid literature," *JTS* 4 (1980): 27–35.

98. The staff (Ar. *ᶜaṣā*) and leathern water-bowl (Ar. *rakwa*) were requisite for the wandering dervish; see Schimmel, 235.

99. *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings,* 38.

100. Note hadith: "When a son of Adam dies, his activity ceases, except for three things; a permanent bequest, and knowledge by which men are benefited, and pious sons who invoke blessings on him after his death" (J. Stephenson, *The First Book of the Ḥadīqatu'l-Ḥaqīqat . . . Sanā'ī,* Calcutta 1910, p. xxx).

101. This is quite clear (see 5397f.); Bombaci is wrong then when he states (*Köprülü Armağanı,* 73) that "after a vehement debate there is no indication as to which side is right." Nor is Bombaci correct in saying that the opposition involved is between "faith" and "works"—these are theological categories which do not apply here. Rather, as we have seen, the opposition is between solitary devotion (*ᶜuzla*) and social commitment (*muxālaṭa*); or, on another level, between Religion and the World.

102. *Kutadgu Bilig I:* Metin (Istanbul, 1947). Note also Arat's translation into modern Turkish: *Kutadgu Bilig II: Tercüme* (Ankara, 1959). Second edition: *Çeviri* (Ankara, 1974).

103. *Kutadgu Bilig Tıpkıbasım:* Viyana Nüshası (Istanbul, 1942), Fergana Nüshası (1942), Mısır Nüshası (1943).

104. For further discussion, see R. Dankoff, "Textual problems in Kutadgu Bilig," *JTS* 3 (1979): 89–99.

105. MS B occasionally has *-ayı* (e.g. 3759, 3996). Beside *-ayın* we also find *-ay* (eg. 560[B], 1033, 2033[B and C], 4172[B and C].

106. Two frequent word plays are not indicated: on *ilig* "king," *elig* "hand" (e.g. 598, 1607, 2181, 2269, 2757, 2789, etc.), and *köni* "upright, just," *küni* "his day, his sun" (2186, 2512, 2757, 2789, etc.).

The Translation

1. Cf. Qur'ān 2:117, 3:47, 59, etc.

2. Play on words: *ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* "certain Truth" (cf. Qur'ān 56:95, 69:51), *yaḳın* "close."

3. Cf. Qur'ān 33:46/44.

4. Cf. Qur'ān 21:107.

5. Cf. Qur'ān 33:40.

6. The Prophet married ʿĀ'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr, and Ḥafṣ of ʿUmar. ʿUthmān married the Prophet's daughters Ruqaiya and Umı and ʿAlī his daughter Fāṭima.

7. The sun is in Pisces from February 19 to March 20, and in March 21 to April 19.

8. Clauson suggests "the blue-grey crane" (*ED* 714).

9. According to Kāshġari, a white-footed crow; Clauson suggest (*ED* 423).

10. Line 81 (A only): "At this season the World looks upon he sures with joy and pride."

11. Line 111 (A only): "The father's place is left and his name a they be augmented (?) a thousandfold."

12. Loqmān: a pre-Islamic Arabian sage proverbial for longevit

13. Cf. translation of this chapter by G. Clauson in "Early Tur nomical Terms," *UAJ* 35 (1964): 355–56.

14. Play on words: *sevit* "Venus," *sevük* "lovely."

15. Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces are prominent in the night the summer months.

16. Line 147 (B only): "Now I shall turn to man and speak o which is wisdom and intellect."

17. Play on words: *bilig* "wisdom," *bil-* "to know," *ig* "illness

18. Line 191 (B only; cf. 204): "Do not knit your brow today, v I shamefacedly offer my apology."

19. Or possibly, "Corrupt men are weeded out," reading *eslür* (

20. In the *Shāh-nāmeh* Farīdūn inherits the royal glory *(farr)* and defeats the evil usurper Ẓaḥḥāk.

21. Afrāsiyāb is commander of Turan and chief foe of Iran in *nāmeh*. Kāshġari records an elegy for Alp Er Tonga *(sic)* whom he als with Afrāsiyāb, founder of the royal Khāqān dynasty.

22. The Sassanian ruler Khusrau I (531–79). See *EI*² "Anūsha *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings* (trans. F. R. C. Bagley, Oxfor 55: "The king of that epoch was Anūshīrvān, who surpassed the kin been before him in justice, equity and (ability to enforce) discipline Prophet] was proud of his epoch, and said: 'I was born in the time king.' "

23. Evil means are required to overcome evil. Cf. 5505, 5548, 893, etc.

24. Line 298 (A only): "Well spoke the man who said: he who lac and wisdom achieves nothing of greatness."

25. Line 300 (A only): "If a man has intellect he is nobly-born, is, and if a man has wisdom he does princely deeds, whatever he doe

26. In the background is Ar. *ʿaql* "intellect, reason," from the as *ʿiqāl*, *ʿuqla* "hobble."

27. B has "fifty."

28. Translation conjectural. Arat does not translate *çergüçi* a Clauson suggests "mourner" and "mourn" or the like (*ED* 429). Radlof "releaser" and "release" (*WB* 3:1972); thus also *DTS* 144, 155. Tezca *çez-*.

29. Cf. Qur'ān 1:4–7/3–6.

30. B has "my hand wrote" instead of "set my tongue in motic

31. Lines 472–73. The MSS are at variance; the translation give

32. Line 478 (A only): "Being a stranger is a very hard task, in the best of men can go astray."

33. This sentence is in A only (line 578).

34. Plays on words: *yaru-* "to brighten," *yara-* "to be fitting"; *yaḳın* "near," *yaḳīnlıḳ* "confident assurance."

35. Lines 726–27 (C only): "The man blessed with Fortune must be wary. He must stay far from everything improper. He must be pure in heart, and walk upright. Only in this way can Fortune be fastened down."

36. Play on words: *tapuġ* "service," *tapı* "pleasure."

37. Play on words: *ḳız* "maid; rare"; *az* "ermine; seldom found."

38. The second couplet of the quatrain translates literally: "Men are not rare (or maids), humanity is rare. Intellect praises true and upright men."

39. There is an elaborate word-play in lines 900–906 built on *aġ-* "to ascend," *aġış* "incline," *aġır* "dear; difficult," *aġı çuz* "silk brocade," *uçuz* "cheap; easy."

40. Cf. Qur'ān 56:8–9, 90:17–20.

41. Play on words: *ḳara* "black; common, vulgar."

42. Cf. Qur'ān 17:44, 29:41, etc.

43. Shalītha is "an electuary used as a remedy for the paralysis of the tongue or mouth" (R. A. Nicholson, trans., *Kashf al-Maḥjúb*, London, 1959, 8). Churni is "a laxative compounded by the doctors of the Turks" (*DLT* 218).

44. Cf. Qur'ān 89:24.

45. Play on words: *ata-* "to name," *ata* "father."

46. Or, "and with admonition," reading *ötün* with B.

47. At this point the MSS have two couplets out of place and equivalent to lines 1334–35: "Avoid drink and fornication, or you will be deprived of good fortune and your face will be very bitter (i.e., ugly, hateful). Blessed Fortune flees from these two habits. They open for a man the road to penury."

48. I.e., the "bird of fortune" (cf. 2764, 3010).

49. I.e., sickness (cf. 1067).

50. According to Islamic belief, the sinner suffers torment in the grave even before the resurrection and last judgment.

51. Play on words: *at* "name; horse."

52. See note 40.

53. Mirage and shadow: cf. Qur'ān 24:39–40.

54. A and C have an additional line here: "This domed house of clay (reading *titigsig bu börk ev;* cf. 3723) is long of care, it is bound for ruin, the world does not remain."

55. Play on words: *törü* "law," *turu* "while he lives."

56. Line 1460 (A only): "He who lays down bad law in his own lifetime leaves behind a bad name when he is gone."

57. Play on words: *ḳur* "rank; belt."

58. Line 1499 (A and C only): "Then he sighed, looking at his son, and said: Understand this well and cleave to the straight way."

59. Or, "you are a trap," reading *tor-ı* with Arat; I prefer *turı* "bitter," meaning "hateful" (cf. 1706, 4553; note 47).

60. I.e., the World (cf. 4720, etc.).

61. *Yoġ*: "name for the meal prepared for those who have returned from burying the dead; up to three or seven days" (*DLT* 506).

62. Play on words: *teŋgsizig* "improper act" (with accusative ending), *teŋ-siz ig* "improper ill."

63. Line 1686, which comes at this point, appears to relate rather to the prayer introduced at line 1782: "Now it is incumbent to express great gratitude to God, and to establish justice among the people as their rightful share."

64. See note 59.

65. Play on words: *értegü* "he must be sought out," *er tégü* "call him a man."

66. Translation of *telgülüg* (here, "haphazard") is conjectural.

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67. This quatrain is in A only. B and C have a variant of 17
68. Or, "and happy the prince whose people seek his welfa
69. See note 26.
70. Line 1875 (A only): "He who desires the good bears a
he who bears a heavy burden wishes to reach his goal."
71. The seven limbs (Pers. *haft andām*) are the head, bre
hands, and two feet.
72. Play on words: *baġırsaḳ* "loyal," *baġır* "heart" (lit. "liv
train literally translates: "The man of intellect much praised the lo
men are precious to a man. If you find a loyal man, keep him on yo
have wisdom and intellect instructed me."
73. This word game works in Arabic script, which does not sho
74. Play on words: *Ög* "mind, intellect; mature," *ög-* "to pr
75. See note 41.
76. Play on words: *saḳış* "accounting," *saḳ iş* "clever busin
77. According to the interpretation of Qur'ān 68:1 and 85:22.
78. Or, possibly, "orderly" (Tezcan 31).
79. Play on words: *al* "cunning; yellow."
80. Lit., "at the time of Maẓālim"—the secular courts "for t
wrong" presided over by the sultan or his deputy, as distinct from
courts presided over by the cadi.
81. See note 72.
82. Play on words: *iç-* "to drink," *iç* "heart" (lit. "insides")
83. Line 2673 (A only): Highly Praised represented as follov
let me expound this matter as far as I comprehend it."
84. "Arithmetic" translates *elig saḳışı,* which corresponds to
yad "digital computation." "Geometry" translates *hendese saḳışı* ir
is perhaps a contamination from Ar. *ḥisāb al-hind* "calculation by
Indian numerals." See *EI*², "ḥisāb al-ʿaḳd" and "ʿilm al-ḥisāb."
85. The text is problematic. The translation follows Arat's rec
but is very uncertain. Cf. *DTS* 12 (following C): "It splits the seven
like a stream (but) cannot distinguish the calculation of years and mo
can, 58, suggests reading *biçim* (*ED* 295: *bıçım*) instead of *seçim,* in
the last line would mean: "and divides the earth and the hills like a
86. See note 71.
87. Play on words: *açıġ* "gift; sour."
88. Play on words: *ésiz* "sigh; evil." The translation is uncerta
89. Translation uncertain; "high ground" is conjectural for *yiş* (s
Tezcan, 75, suggests reading *tiş* and translates: "If princes appreciat
sharpen (the desire for) service." (But *tiş kıl-* "to make tooth" should
on P. *dandān kardan* "to forbid, prevent; to turn away from; to stra
press" [Steingass].)
90. Play on words: *temür* "iron," *tamur* "vein."
91. Cf. Qur'ān 55:5/4.
92. Cf. Qur'ān 3:40/35, 22:18, etc.
93. Play on words: *baġırsaḳ* "compassionate," *baġır* "heart" (li
94. This chapter heading is not found in MSS.
95. C only (line 3313).
96. The translation is freer than usual and partly conjectural.
97. The interpretation of this passage is uncertain.
98. Play on words: *ata* "father," *ata-* "call."
99. Evidently a play on words is intended: *yaġı* "enemy," *yas*
100. Interpretation uncertain.
101. It appears that one or more verses have here dropped from

102. Play on words: *evin* "grain," *ev-in* "abode" (plus possessive and accusative endings). According to Islamic belief, the "forbidden fruit" was wheat. In A and C line 3523 appears here: "What God hates, the devil loves—the more so, what he loved and cast out (i.e., Adam - ?)." Line 3522 is also missing in B.

103. The reference is to Pharaoh; see Qur'ān 26:29/28, 28:38; cf. line 4712.

104. Line 3534 (A only): "She distinguishes not between slave and prince, between the vile and the excellent."

105. Play on words: *ebdal* "saints," *bedel* "exchange."

106. Eating with three fingers of the right hand is a *sunnah* of the Prophet.

107. Ablutions are required after sexual relations to restore a state of ritual purity, according to Islamic law.

108. The word translated "thigh" *(but)* is perhaps the word meaning "idol" (cf. line 3753).

109. Line 3647 (A only): "Now hear my reply, which is measured according to wisdom and intellect."

110. Lines 3660–61 appear here out of place: "Well spoke the sage of great renown and liberal hand: You who are God's servant, intelligent and wakeful, take care, be mindful, for the retribution will strike!"

111. "Throat baggage": an idiom implying dependence on another for one's food.

112. See note 1.

113. Line 3806 (A only): "Rather than grabbing a thousand virtuous men by the foot, grab yourself once by the collar and keep it sound."

114 Cf. Qur'ān 5:92/93, 99.

115. A and C have "ten" instead of "a thousand."

116. Line 3921 (A only): "Even he does not know whether he is God's enemy or friend."

117. Line 3934 (B only): "They call a man good, but where is the truly good man? Tell me that, O wise sage."

118. Play on words: *ög* "intelligence," *ögä* "counselor." Cf. *DLT* 35.

119. The exact nature of these ranks and titles is unknown. Kök Ayuḳ was cited as an authority at line 2644 and is mentioned again at line 4142; according to Kāshġari it is a title assumed by village chieftains and chiefs of the Turkmen. The titulature following presumably reflects a hierarchy, with Er Ögi at the top. "Unequaled" (also at 4137) translates *teŋsiz,* which G. Doerfer, following O. Pritsak, conjectured was a misreading of *tügsin,* the title of a commoner in the third rank below the king, according to Kāshġari; this was rejected by Clauson (*ED* 487), accepted by Tezcan, 63 (who reads *teksin*).

120. Play on words: *açı-* "to be compassionate," *açın-* "to reward."

121. A has *tecik* "Persian" for *teşi* "glutton."

122. See note 118.

123. This actually contradicts lines 3413–22 (above, chap. 41).

124. Ḳaḳ: an unidentified bird, mentioned again at line 5377.

125. Yuġaḳ: a water bird, mentioned again at line 5377. It is found in *DLT* associated with the duck (verse at 118:15 = 452:4).

126. The English wording in the following sections (chaps. 49–61) occasionally reflects that of Z. Eglar and P. J. Magnarella, "A View of Social Classes in the Eleventh Century Karakhanid State," *Anthropos* 66 (1971): 232–38.

127. Play on words: *ḳara* "commoners; black."

128. See note 199.

129. Play on words: *tükel* "sums; perfect; well-trained."

130. Or possibly, "If the China caravan were blocked" (thus *ED* 464).

131. Or "tanners" (Arat); or "potters" (Tezcan, 49).

132. The meaning will be clearer if this is compared with line 3545 (above, chap. 42).

133. Cf. Qur'ān 76:8–22.

134. For this and the following chapter, cf. R. Devereux, "Eleventh Century Muslim Views on Women, Marriage, Love and Sex," *Central Asiatic Journal* 11 (1966): 134–40.

135. See *EI*², art. "kafā'a."

136. For this and the following chapter, cf. R. Devereux, "Chefs, Stewards and Dining Protocol in Eleventh Century Central Asia," *Muslim World* 56 (1966): 111–16; also see M. M. Ahsan, *Social Life under the Abbasids* (London 1979), 157–64.

137. See note 61.

138. The interpretation of these lines (4599–4600) is partly conjectural.

139. Play on words: *törü* "proprieties," *tör* "seat of honor."

140. Play on words: *ḳal-* "remain," *ḳal* "savage."

141. "The special drink recommended after meals was called *fuqqāᶜ*. It was made from white sugar, honey or treacle, mixed with rosewater and musk, and was cooled with ice." M. M. Ahsan, *Social Life under the Abbasids* (London 1979), 111.

142. The identifications are found in MS A. Shaddād was the son of ᶜĀd according to the commentaries on Qur'ān 89:6–7. The story of Nimrod is elaborated in commentaries on Qur'ān 21:70 and 16:26. The others are all mentioned in the Qur'ān (Alexander the Great as Dhu'l-Qarnain: 18:83f.). Also see note 103.

143. Cf. Qur'ān 4:81, 132, 171; 33:3, 48.

144. See note 53.

145. According to Kāshġari, the nine silken standards of a king or Khan are orange in color (*DLT* 498, s.v. *tūġ*).

146. Line 4964 (A only): "For a while he lay awake listening and marveling at that sweet voice."

147. Line 4968 (A only): "It rose and revealed its face and lit up the world, both the slopes and the valleys."

148. Line 5051 (A only): "You came to me now of your own free will. How is it then that this occurred, my brave one?"

149. This is based on Qur'ān 24:27, 61/60. Also, protocol required the subject, in audience with the king, to speak first; cf. lines 582, 774, 957 (above, chaps. 14, 17, 19).

150. Line 5061 (A only): "When the small follow the command of the great, they are assured of life and security."

151. See note 111.

152. For the virtue of forbearance, see *EI*², art. "ḥilm."

153. Line 5281 (A only; in the text, before 5280): "If evildoers do not reform after being flogged, take all possible measures against them."

154. See note 99.

155. Play on words: *unıt-* "leave off" (lit. "forget"), *u-nı* "sleep" (with accusative ending).

156. Literally, "The *d* of *dīn* (religion) and the *d* of *dunyā* (world)."

157. This line (5342) is in A only.

158. I.e., whose food and dress comply with what is permissible *(ḥalāl)* according to the religious law.

159. For some of these unidentified birds, see notes 124–25.

160. The translation, somewhat freer than usual and partly conjectural, attempts to imitate the word-play in the original on *menî* "semen" and *men* "I"

(also in the background is Pers. *mān* "I," *māni* "I-ness"). Possibly the word repeated in the rhyme position of 5412, *yurtung* (lit. "your deserted campsite") ought to be *yurnung* ("your patch") or *burnung* ("your chief affair [lit. nose]").

161. Line 5466 (A only): "No matter how poor one may be, he cannot long go hungry. Death takes its toll of every living thing."

162 Cf. Qur'ān 3:169/166.

163. Line 5503 (A only): "So do not put off today's job for tomorrow, for when tomorrow comes it will be left undone."

164. Lines 5507–8 (A only): "Until the perverse are bound tight, their deeds will not be put right. Let not the wicked near you or you will suffer the consequence, but live ever vigilant among the upright."

165. In the background are Arabic *mustaqīm* "straight" and *qiyāmah* "resurrection," both from the root *qwm* "to stand up."

166. Muḥtesib. See *EI*², art. "ḥisba."

167. Play on words: *yaḳin* "sure," *yaḳın* "near."

168. Line 5644 (A only): "Today I must turn to God and weep aloud for my sins."

169. Play on words: *kéngeş-* "consult," *kéngü-* "broaden."

170. Line 5672 (A only): "He slept for a while then for a while was awake. He got up, deep in thought. The dust rose."

171. According to Kāshġari (*DLT* 167) "Black Bird" *(ḳara ḳuş)*, which otherwise means "eagle," is the name given to Jupiter: "it rises, according to them, at dawn" (but there must be some confusion with one of the heliacal planets, Mercury or Venus). "Gleamer" and "Stallion" are probably Procyon and Sirius, according to Clauson (see article cited in note 13). "Bird of Dawn" is Arat's rendering of *sügiç*, otherwise unattested; if not a star, it is probably the nightingale (cf. line 78—above, chap 4).

172. Line 5697, an inexact doublet of line 5639, out of place here (omitted in A): "My hair is dry as the summer grass, my beard is thin as a falcon's plumage."

173. Line 5712 (A only): "Let me render service before death takes hold, for then it will be too late."

174. I have put lines 5732–33 between 5722 and 5723, where they seem to fit better. For "intention" see *EI*¹, art. "nīya."

175. Cf. Qur'ān 6:160/161.

176. Line 5771 (C only): "He gave you titles and high rank. He opened for you the gate to goodness."

177. The quatrain literally translates: "This world's affair is a game. What need for this game? Do not get involved in it. Perform God's command, which is your proper servitude. If you do not do so, hold your neck ready."

178. Play on words: *tüz-* "to straighten," *tüzün* "practicing clemency."

179. Ar. *aḍġāṯ aḥlām*, a phrase found in Qur'ān 12:44, 21:5.

180. Play on words: *aġış* "upward movement," *aġırlıḳ*, "honor."

181. Play on words: *aḳı* "open-handed," *aḳıt-* "let flow," *aḳ-a* "in streams."

182. Alternately this line (6111) could be interpreted thus: "The world, Fortune, and rank are not soon found, and when they are found, they soon (reading *terk* with A instead of *beg*) grow old."

183. B and C have here line 6132: "Well spoke that choice man, full of wisdom and intellect, who said:"

184. In the Islamic conception, man is God's servant (Ar. *ʿabd*). Cf. 3749, 4745, etc.

185. On Black Bird, Gleamer, and Stallion, see note 171.

186. MS. B breaks off at this point.

187. Lines 6245–6303 (from here to the end of chap. 84) are found in A only.

188. Play on words: *ésiz* "alas; evil."

189. The headings for chaps. 82–85 were supplied by Arat, except for 84 which in the original (A only) comes after line 6287.

190. "The sections that must have followed line 6303 are missing. These include: the end of Highly Praised's visit at Wide Awake's grave; further conversation with his brother's disciple; receiving his brother's testament and the bowl and staff which he left behind; his return home; and the king's being informed of the situation" (translation of Arat's editorial note, p. 624). Lines 6304–51 are found in C only.

191. Play on words: *öglen* "come to your senses," *ögdülmiş* "Highly Praised."

192. MS. C breaks off at this point, resuming at line 6401. There is thus a gap in the text. Lines 6352–6400 are found in A only.

193. The text is defective at this point.

194. *As*, normally "ermine" (thus, "as harmful as a stoat"?), may also mean "weasel" (*ED* 240); or perhaps read *es* "carrion."

195. Play on words: *meñg-i* "food" (plus possessive ending), *meñgilig* "happy."

196. Play on words: *ḳanı* "where," *ḳan-ı* "blood" (plus possessive ending).

197. Play on words: *yavlaḳ* "wicked," *yavaş* "peace-loving."

198. See lines 4202f (above, chap. 48).

199. An idiom for backbiting; cf. Qur'ān 49:12.

200. Play on words: *ḳaḍġu* "worry," *ḳatġura-* "be merry."

201. See note 26.

202. MS. C breaks off at this point.

203. Play on words: *av* "game," avın- "to take pleasure."

204. The "paradise" of Shaddād is Iram of the Pillars, associated with the people of ʿĀd in Qur'ān 89:5–6. Ḥaydar is ʿAlī, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law and the third caliph. Rustam is an Iranian hero who figures prominently in the *Shāh-nāmeh*. For Nūshīn Ravān, see note 22. The "People of the Ditch" are the Aṣḥāb al-Rass mentioned in Qur'ān 25:38/40, 50:12.

205. Cf. Qur'ān 6:83, 12:76.

206. Cf. Qur'ān 14:27/32, 5:1.