

Index

- Aaron, 162, 173, 181
 Abān al-Lāhiqī (d. ca. 200/815), 41
 Abaqā (r. 663–680/1265–1282), 43
 ‘Abbasa, 165
 ‘Abbāsids, 23, 35–36, 40, 83–84, 164
 and Barmakids, 168
 ‘Abd Allāh b. Zubayr (2–77/624–692), 55
 ‘Abd al-Hamīd Muḥarrir Ghaznavī (b. ca. 690/1291), 103–4, 134
 on the *barīd*, 149
 on viziers, 162, 164, 172–74, 182
 ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 343–50/954–61), 23
 ‘Abd al-Malik ‘Iṣāmī (b. ca. 711/1310–1311), xvii, 18, 44, 146, 150, 170
 ‘Abd al-Rashīd b. Maḥmūd (r. c. 440–443/1049–1052), 172
 ‘Abd al-Razzāq, 172
 ‘Abd al-Samad (ca. 923–1008/1517–1600), 192–93
 ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm Zanjānī (d. ca. 655/1257), 162
 Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥalīmī (338–403/949–50–1012–3), 75
 Abū ‘Alī Bal‘amī (d. ca. 363/974), 28
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Narshakī, 7
 Abū Bakr Siddiq, 50, 139, 163
 Abū Bakr al-Turṭūshī (ca. 451–520/1059–1126), 140, 177
 Abū al-Fazl Bayhaqī (385–470/995–1077), 57, 193–94
 Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. al-Azraq al-Kirmānī (fl. ca. 185/800), 165
 Abū Ḥanīfa (80–150/699–767), 49
 Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. ca. 282/895), 28, 58
 Abū ‘Inān Fāris (r. 749–759/1348–1358), 69
 Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭabarī (224–310/839–923), 42, 45, 55–56, 93, 165
 Abū Jalīl Yazdī, 167
 Abū Manṣūr Daqīqī (fl. 4th/10th century), 24
 Abū Manṣūr al-Tha‘ālibī (350–429/961–1038), 171
 Abū al-Ma‘ālī Naṣr Allāh Munshī, 87
 Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh
 b. Muḥammad Lābarī, 167
 Abū Muḥammad ‘Ubayd Allāh
 b. Muḥammad al-Aṭharī, 166
 Abū Naṣr Āḥmad al-Qubāvī, 32
 Abū al-Qāsim Ḥasan Āḥmad ‘Unṣūrī (d. c. 431/1039–1040), 51
 Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad Ṭāfiī, 166
 Abū Zayd al-Ṣirāfī (fl. ca. 303/916), 96
 Ādāb al-harb wa-l-shajā‘a or *The Etiquette of War and Valor* (Fakhr-i Mudabbir), 41, 129–30, 138
 al-Ādāb al-kabīr or *The Great Manners*, 40
 Adam, 86, 114–15
 Adina mosque, 20
 ‘adl see justice (‘adl)
 administrative system, Persian model of, 12–13, 15, 23, 103, 190–91
 avoiding war, 106–7
 military administration, 118
 providing for the needy, 145–47
 viziers, 37–41, 161–87
 Aḍūd al-Dawla (r. 380–388/990–998), 21
 advice literature, 33
 on Barmakid family, 164
 mirror for princes, 38–42, 122–23
 Mūllā Firūz, xvi
 Afghanistan, 23, 29, 83–84, 164
 Afrāsiyāb, 17–18, 61–62

- Afsaruddin, Asma, 46
 afterlife (*ākhirat*), 71, 129
 ‘*afv* (forgiveness), 137–47, 174
Ahd Ardashir or The Testament of Ardashir, 130
ahkām al-bughāh (rules of rebellion), 157–59
 Ahmad Ayāz, 182
 Ahmād b. Ḥasan Maymandī (d. 424/1032), 172
 Ahmād Isfara’īnī, 172
 Ahmadnagar, 9
Ahsan al-takāṣīm fī ma’rifat al-aqālīm or *The Best Division for the Knowledge of the Climes* (al-Muqaddasī), 139
Ā’īnahā-yi Sikandarī (Amīr Khusraw), 22
 Ajmer, Rajasthan, 47
Akhbār al-Barāmīka wa-fadā’ iluhum or *Reports of the Barmakids and Their Virtues* (al-Kirmānī), 165
Akhbār-i Barmakiyān or *Reports of the Barmakids* (Baranī), 165–67, 169
Akhbār al-Śin wa-l Hind or *Accounts of China and India* (al-Sīrāfī), 96
akhlāq (ethics, morals), 33
 ‘Alā’ al-Dawla (r. 398–433/1008–1041), 34
 ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Bahman Shāh (r. 748–759/1347–1358), 18, 44
 ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Juwaynī (623–681/1226–1283), 43
 ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay Qubād (r. 616–634/1219–1237), 17
 ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khaljī, 30
 ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh (r. 695–715/1296–1316), 14, 67, 107, 146, 153–54, 156
 emulates Alexander, 65–66, 178–80
 injustice of, 127
 viziers of, 181–82
 ‘Alā’ al-Mulk, 178–80
 Alam, Muzaffar, 32
 Alexander the Great, 19, 21–22, 40, 57, 62–69, 112, 163
Alexander of the Age (Sikandar al-zamān), 66
 and Aristotle, 186
 conquest of India, 97–100
 conquest of Persia, 62–65
 as inspiration to later kings, 179, 189
 “Second Alexander” (*Sikandar-i thānī*), 65–66
 Alexandria, 66–67, 72, 75
 ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 21
 ‘Alī b. Hāmid Küftī, 82
 ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān Huŷvīrī (d. ca. 465/1072), 29
 Ali, Daud, 175
 Allsen, Thomas, 115
 Alptegin (d. 352/963), 23–24
 Altekār, A. S., 78
 Amanat, Abbas, 29
 Amin, Shahid, 4
 Amīr Hasan (655–737/1275–1336), 141
 Amīr Khusraw (651–725/1253–1325), 16, 30, 65, 67, 89, 93
A’īnahā-yi Iskandarī, 22, 68, 97–100, 101, 132
 ‘Ashīqa or *The Beloved*, 19
 on hunting, 116, 118
Khazā’īn al-futūh or *Treasures of Victories*, 107, 154
Maṭla’ al-anwār or *The Dawn of Lights*, 130–31
Nub sīphr or *The Nine Spheres*, 106
Qirān al-sa’dayn or *Conjunction of the Two Auspicious Planets*, 136
 Amīr Timūr, 168
amīr-i ākhūr (commander of the cavalry), 114
amīr-i hājib (chief chamberlain), 117
amīr-i shikārān (commander of the hunts), 118
 ‘āmm (“commoners”), 137
amr (authority, command), 46, 76, 136–37
 Anatolia, 17, 110, 194
 Antioch, 75
 Antiochus III (r. 222–187 BCE), 73
 Arab culture and *Shu’ubiyyah* movement, 28–29
 Arabic language used on coins, 83
 overlaps with Persian, 15–16, 26–27, 84, 106, 162–63
 and prophets, 51

- Arabs, as viewed by medieval scholars, 60
 archery *see* hunting and kingship
 architectural legacies
 Bahmanids, 18
 Ghaznavid and Ghurid dynasties, 2, 33
 Ardashīr I (r. 226–241 CE), 58, 73–75,
 118, 129–30, 133, 156, 163
 Aristotle, 40, 67, 100, 112, 163, 186
 ‘āriż (head of military administration),
 118
 Arjomand, Said, 152
 Arsacid dynasty, 72
 art, 192–93
 Arthaśāstra, 87
 ‘arz-i mamālik (military administration
 of the kingdom), 118
 Asadi Tūsī (d. ca. 473/1080), 60
 Āṣaf, 163, 182
 Asher, Catherine, 147
 ‘Ashiqā or *The Beloved*, 19
 Ashk (also Arsaces I), 72
 Ashkanian dynasty, 72–73
 Ashokan pillar, 72
 astrolabe, 71–72
 astrology (*nūjūm*), 71
 astronomy, 71–72
 authority, interpretations of, 13–16, 46,
 76, 136–37
 Avicenna *see* Ibn Sīnā (370–428/
 980–1037)
 Awadh, 188
 ‘Awfī *see* Muhammad Sadid al-Dīn
 ‘Awfī (fl. 618/1221)
 ‘Ayn al-Mulk b. Māhrū (d. after 772/
 1370), 182–85
 ‘Ayn al-Mulk Multānī, 181–82
 Azadeh, 120
 Babel, tower of, 61
 Babylon, 61
 Badaun, 150
 Badr-i Chachī, xvii
 bādshāh *see* shāh, title of
 Baghdad, 35
 Bahādur Shāh II (r. 1253–1274/
 1837–1857), 188
 Bahman, 18
 Bahmanids, 18–19, 44
 Bahmannāma, 18
 Bahrām Aytegīn al-Sultānī, 66
 Bahrām Gūr, xvi, 21, 40, 85, 91–93,
 96, 118–20, 143–45, *see also*
 Bahrām V (r. 420–438)
 Bahrām Shāh (r. 511–545/1117–1150,
 ca. 547–552/1152–1157), 32, 42,
 50, 87, 175
 Bahrām V (r. 420–438), 21, *see also*
 Bahrām Gūr
 Balaban *see* Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balaban
 (r. 664–686/1266–1287)
 Balkh, 41, 61, 164
 barīd (anti-corruption officer), 149–50
 Barmakids, 40–41, 163
 battles, 4
 battle formations, 113
 with demons, 90–102
 emphasis on in historical texts, 103
 Gaugamela, 62–64
 Qadisiyyah, 73
 Tarain, 47, 78
 Thatta, 185–87
 Baybars I (r. 658–76/1260–77), 66
 bayt al-ḥikma (House of Wisdom), 35
 Bengal, 6, 19, 80, 104–5, 136
 Bhīmadēva (r. ca. 921–960), 82
 Bidar, 9
 Bidbā, 100
 Bihar, 66
 Bijapur, 9
 Bilgetegīn (d. 364/974–975), 50
 Bilqis, the Queen of Sheba, 109
 al-Bīrūnī (362–ca.440/973–ca.1048),
 21, 23, 34, 82
 Bombacci, Alessio, 33
 Bosworth, Clifford, 2–3
 Boyce, Mary, 25
 Brahmans, 89, 95
 Br̥hatśaṅkhītā (Varāhamihirā), 71
 British colonialism, India, xiii–xvi,
 188–89
 Bukhara, 7, 23, 34
 Burzoy, 100
 Būstān or *The Garden* (Sa‘dī), 192–93
 Buyids, 20–21
 Buzurjmihr, 40, 57, 87, 109, 163–64,
 170–71, 182
 Cain and Abel, 52
 Cairo, 149, 168

- caliphs, 45, 53–55, 73, 124, 139, 149, 163
 capital punishment, 156–57, *see also* punishment and justice
 cavalry, 113–14
Chachnâma ('Alî b. Hâmid Kûfî), 82, 87
Chahâr maqâla or *The Four Discourses* (Nizâmî 'Arûzî), 108
 Chalukya, 5, 85
 Chandella, 5
 Chatterji, Suniti Kumar, 86
 Chauhans, 77–79
 Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 48
 Chin, Tamara, 10
 Chinese cosmopolitanism, 10
 Chingiz Khân, 136
 Christianity, 57–58
 civilizing motifs, 59–61
 class and social hierarchy, 131–37
 classical antiquity, rediscovery of, 36–37
 clocks, 69–71
 cloth trade, 7
 coins
 featuring *'adl* (justice), 121
 Goddess Lakshmi-type coin, 79–80
 Horseman-type coin, 76–84
 of Iltutmish, 105
 Constantinople, 75
 corruption, guarding against, 148–50
 cosmopolis, 9–11
 cosmopolitanism, 10–11
 court rituals, Delhi, 183–84
 Ctesiphon, 18, 20, 61, 73
- dabîr* (secretary), 108–9
dabîr-i mamâlik (chief secretary of the empire), 181
Dalâ'il-i Firuz Shâhî or *The Proofs of Firuz Shâh*, 72
 Dallal, Ahmad, 36
 Damascus, 69
 Daniel, Elton, 38
Dânishnâma-i 'Alâ'i or *The Book of Knowledge for 'Alâ'* (Ibn Sînâ), 34
 Dârâ (Darius III), 62–64
 Dari, 30
 Darius I (r. 522–486), 62, 64, 72
 Darius III, or Dârâ (r. 336–331 BCE), 62
- darvîshî* (renunciation, voluntary poverty), 53
Dastûr al-albâb fi 'ilm al-hisâb or *The Foundation for Understanding the Knowledge of Record-keeping* (Ghaznavî), 103, 149
 David, 46, 163
 Dawlatabad, 46
 Daybul, 6, 93
 death penalty, 157
 Deccan, the, 18, 44, 46, 106
 Delhi Sultanate, 11–12, 14, 16, 18, 28, 33, 35, 43, 48–49, 73
 'Alâ' al-Dîn Muhammâd Shâh, 178–80
 avoiding war, 105–7
 and Barmakids, 168–71
 coins of, 76–82
 and image of Alexander, 65–67
 and justice, 121–25
 on *maslahat* (general good), 150–54
mazâlim (court of grievances), 148–49
 on social order, 133–37
 demons (*dîv*), 59–61, 90–102, *see also jinn* (malevolent spirits)
 Deval Rânî, 19
 Dhar, 182
dhimmi (protected people), 14, 153
 Dhû al-Qarnayn, 22, 64
 Digby, Simon, 114
dîn (religion), 52–54, 155
 diplomacy, 102–11
dîv (demons), 59–61, 90–102
dîvân (government office), 15, 45
dîvân-i inshâ' (Ministry of Correspondence), 181
dîvân-i qazâ' (Ministry of Justice), 184
dîvân-i risâlat (Ministry of Religious Affairs), 181, 184
dîvân-i vizârat (Ministry of Finances), 181
dîvân-i 'arz (Ministry of Military Affairs), 184
 diving-bell, 67, 100
 Duhšâlâ, 86
 Duncan, Jonathan, xiv
duniyâ (world), 53
duniyâvî (worldly), 71
 Duryodhana, 86

- Eaton, Richard, 9–10, 20, 80, 104, 106
 economic policies, 146–47
 Elphinstone, Mountstuart, xiv
 emissaries, skills of, 109–11
 Enoch (Idrīs), 58
- Fadl, Khaled Abou El, 157–58
 Fakhr-i Mudabbir (ca. 552–626/
 1157–1236), 5, 17, 41–42,
 108–10, 139, 165, 171
Ādāb al-harb or *The Etiquette of
 War and Valor*, 46, 51–52, 103,
 111, 113, 129–30, 138
 on Alexander’s conquest of Persia,
 62–64
 on Bahrām Gūr, 143–45
 on hunting, 114–16
 on Jamshīd, 54
 on Khusraw I, 57, 140, 142
 on kings providing for the needy,
 145–46
Shajara-yi ansāb, 46, 48–51, 49
 on viziers, 162–63, 172, 176
- Fakhr-i Qavvās (fl. 699/1300), 30
 famine, 183
 Farāmarz, 94–96
Farāmarznāma, 94–95
 Farghana, 75
Farhang-i Qavvās or *Qavvās’s
 Dictionary* (Fakhr-i Qavvās), 30
- Farīdūn, xv, 1, 46, 60, 85, 90, 189
 Farrukhī, 31
 Farrukhzād b. Mas‘ūd (r. 443–451/
 1052–1059), 172
 Faruqi, Shamsur Rahman, 31
Fatāvá-yi jahāndārī or *Edicts of World
 Rule* (Barānī), 42
Favā id al-fu‘ad or *Morals of the Heart*
 (Amīr Ḥasan), 141
 Fez, 69
 Firdawṣī (329–410 or 416/940–1019 or
 1025), xiii, 27
 on Alexander, 97–98
 on Bahrām Gūr, 118
 on Buzurjmehr, 171
Shāhnāma, 24–26, 28, 57, 91–93,
 170, 193–94
 Firūz Aytegīn al-Sultānī, 66
 Firūz Shāh (r. 752–789/1351–1387),
 19–20, 41, 69, 104–5
 and Barmakids, 168
- emulates Alexander, 69–72
 as hunter king, 117
 kindness of, 142
 views on shari‘a, 159
 viziers of, 182–87
- Firūz Shāh (r. 800–825/1397–1422),
 18
 Flood, Finbarr, 4, 81, 83
 forgiveness (*‘afv*), 137–47, 174
 Für, King of Hind, 98
Futūḥ al-salātīn or *Victories of the
 Sultans* (Isāmī), 44, 106
Futūḥāt-i Firūz Shāhī or *Victories of
 Firūz Shāh*, 159
- Gāhadavāla rulers, 79–81
 games, 109
 of horsemanship, 115
 of strategy, 109
 Garshāspnāma, 60
 Gaugamela, battle of, 62–64
 Gayumart, first Persian king, 13, 43,
 52–56, 71
 Geertz, Clifford, 8
 genealogies and kingship, 47–62, 74
 generosity (*sakhāvat*), 117, 168
 George III, king of England, xiii
Georgenāma (Mūllā Firūz), xiii–xvi
 al-Ghazālī (450–505/1058–1111),
 150–51, 155
 Ghāzān Khān (r. 694–713/1295–1304),
 44
 Ghazna, 23–24, 50, 97
 Ghaznavids, 1–5, 12, 23–24, 31, 33,
 35, 38, 50
 coins, 78
 viziers, 172
 Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balaban (r. 664–686/
 1266–1287), 16–17, 80, 91, 106,
 111, 113, 138–40
 as hunter king, 116–18
 Ghiyāth al-Dīn ‘Iwaz (r. 609/610–624/
 1213–1227), 105
 ghulāms (slaves), 24
*Ghurāt akhbār mulūk al-furs wa
 siyārīhim* or *First (as in best)
 Reports on the Kings of Persia and
 their Customs*, 33, 171
 Ghurids, 1–5, 11–12, 30, 35, 47, 81
 coins, 76–79
 genealogies, 49–50

- gifting, in diplomacy, 110–11
 Gog and Magog, 65
 Goitein, S. D., 162
 Golconda, 9
 Govindacandra (r. ca. 1114–1155), 79
 Govindarāja, 91
 Greek, 27, 34–35, 40
 Gurjara-Pratihāra, 5
 Gujarat, 6–7, 182
 Gulbarga, 44
Gulistān or The Rose Garden (Sa‘dī), 185
 Gushtasp, 163
 Gushtāsp, 62
 Gutas, Dimitri, 35
 Gwalior, 175
 Habib, Irfan, 78, 127, 134, 146
 Habib, Muhammad, 82
 hadith, 50, 75–76, 112, 123
 on capital punishment, 157
 on principle of intention, 143
 on viziers, 173
Haft paykar or The Seven Portraits (Nizāmī Ganjavī), 118, 120
 Hajjāj b. Yūsuf (41–95/661–714), 41
 al-Hākim II (r. 741–753/1341–1352), 149
 Ham, son of Noah, 86
 al-Hāmadhāni (358–398/968–1008), 32
 Ḥamīd al-Dīn Abu Bakr ‘Umar
 b. Muhammad, known as Ḥamīdī (559/1164), 32
 Hanaway, William, 109
 Hardy, Peter, 11
 al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), 32
 Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809), 41, 165
 Hasan Nizāmī, 135
Tāj al-ma‘āṣir or Crown of Great Affairs, 1, 33, 116
Hasht bibisht or The Eight Paradises (Amīr Khusraw), 118, 120
hayapati (“Lord of the Horses”), 47, 81
 hereditary kingship, 135
 Hilāl al-Ṣābī, 21
 Hillenbrand, Robert, 2–3
ḥilm (clemency), 138
 Hind, 61
 Hindavī literature, 72
 Hindu Shahi coinage, 23, 78, 82–83
 “Hindu–Muslim” conflict narratives, 3–6
 “Hindustan”, 47, 97
 historians and Persian kingship, 42–44, 164
 justice issues, 128
 Hodgson, Marshall, 7–9
 Hodgson, William, 188
 horseman motif, 76, 80–83
 horsemanship, 113–14
 Hoving, Thomas, 193
Hudūd al-‘Ālam or The Frontiers of the World (372/982), 34, 95
 Hülegü (r. 654–663/1256–1265), 43, 116–17
 Humāy, the Queen of Persia, 62
 hunting and kingship, 114–20
 Husayn b. ‘Alī (d. 61/680), 21, 41, 55
 Husayn, Altāf, xv
 Hūshang, 52, 56–57, 60
Husraw i kawādān ud rēdag-ē or Khusraw Son of Kawad and the Page, 33
 Ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī, 69
 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (703–770/1304–1369), 131, 147–48
 Ibn Hassūl (ca. 450/1058), 21
 Ibn Hayyān (377–469/987–988–1076), 140
 Ibn Muqaffa‘ (ca. 102–139/720–756), 35, 87, 176
al-Ādāb al-kabīr or The Great Manners, 40
 Ibn Sīnā (370–428/980–1037), 33
 Ibn Taymiyya (661–728/1263–1328), 158
 Ibrāhīm (r. 451–492/1059–1099), 87, 111
 idolatry, 94
 Idrīs, 58
 Ilkhanids, 43
 Iltutmish, 80, 85, 147, 180
 Ilyās Shāh (r. 740–817/1339–1414), 19, 105
 Imām Qaffāl, 168
 impartiality (*musāvāt*), 124–25, 142–43, 150

- India, historical geography of, 5–7
 “Indian style” (*sabk-i hindī*) of Persian, 31
 infidelity (*kufr*), 3–4, 59–60, 93–95, 139
Inshā’-yi Māhrū, 183
 intention, principle of (*niyat*), 138, 143–44
 inventions
 Alexander’s mirror, 66–67
 diving-bell, 67
iqtā’ (administrative land grant), 185
 \bar{I} raj, 61
 Iran, 29, 45, 61
 Parthian dynasty, 72
 Iranian singers, 85
 Iṣbahbad, 84
 Isfahan, 34
 Isfandiyār, 18
ishrāf-i mamālik-i mamlakat (Ministry of Imperial Revenue), 183
Iskandarnāma or *Book of Alexander* (Nizāmī Ganjavī), 22
 Islamicate, 8, 11
 Islamization and Persianization
 intertwined, 21–24, 37, 42–44, 190
 coin motifs, 76–77
 death penalty and shari‘a, 157–60
 genealogies, 48–62
 interpretations of authority, 13–16
 on justice, 121–29
 on kingly qualities, 139–40, 143–45
 Ismā‘il b. Aḥmad (r. 279–295/892–907), 23
 ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay Kāvūs (r. 608–616/1211–1220), 17
 ‘izzat (honor), 112
 Jackson, Peter, 104
 Ja‘far b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī (150–187/767–803), 165–66
jahāndārī (world rule, governance), 53, 107, 112–13, 121, 179–80
 Jahāngīr (r. 1014–1037/1605–1627), 20–21
jahāngīrī (conquest), 107, 112, 179–80
 Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī’s (r. 689–695/1290–1296), 53
Jāmi‘ al-tawārikh or *The Compendium of Histories* (Rashīd al-Dīn), 43
 Jamshīd, xvi, 1, 13, 15–16, 18, 46, 54, 71, 90
 and Islam, 57
 justice of, 122
 King George compared to, xv
 as a kingly role model, 138–39, 142, 156–57, 189
 legends of, 58–59, 112–13, 192–93
 maṣālim (court of grievances) of, 148
jamshidī (kingship), 53
Javāmi‘ al-ḥikāyāt va lavāmi‘ al-rivāyāt or *Compendium of Edifying Tales and Illuminating Traditions* ('Awfi), 42, 181
 Jayacandra (r. ca. 1170–1194), 80
 Jayānaka, 47
 Jayapāla (r. ca. 960–1001), 82, 95
 Jayasimha Siddharāja (r. ca. 1094–1143), 85
jihād (holy war), 3–4, 23
jinn (malevolent spirits), 59
jītal coins, 77
jizya (taxes), 14
 justice ('*adl*), 26, 37, 44, 48, 85, 90, 112–13, 121–31, 190–91
 and anti-corruption, 147–50
 of Bahrām Gūr, 143–45
 balancing kingship and shari‘a, 13–14, 150–60, 194
 on coins, 83
 of Hūshang, 56–57
 Khusraw I, 75–76, 139–40
 of Jamshīd, 54
 Kabul, 23, 83–84
 Kabul Shahi, 83
Kalila wa Dimna, 32, 41, 87
 Kanauj, 95–97
karam (compassion, kindness), 137–47
Kārnāmag-i Ardashīr-i Pābagān or *Book of the Deeds of Ardashīr, Son of Pābag*, 74, 133
Kashf al-mahjūb li-arbāb al-kulūb or *The Unveiling of the Veiled for the Masters of Hearts* (Huṣvīrī), 29
 Kashmir, 6
 Katayun, 19
 Kautilya, 87
 Kavād I (r. 488–496 and 498–531), 40
 Kāvūs (d. ca. 537), 189

- Kāvūs ibn Qubād (Kavād I), 39
 Kāvūs Jalāl, xiii
 Kay Kāvūs b. Iskandar b. Qābūs (r. 441– ca. 480/1049– ca. 1087), 38–39, 57, 61, 72, 91
 Kay Khusraw (Kayanid), 16, 57, 61–62, 71, 122
 Kay Khusraw (Seljuq) (r. 588–593/1192–1197 and 601–608/1205–1211), 17
 Kay Qubād (r. 686–689/1287–1290), 16, 61, 121, 136–37
kay, title of, 61
 Kayanid dynasty, 16–18, 61–62
 Khalaf b. Ahmād (r. 352–393/963–1003), 145–46
 Khaleghi-Motlagh, Djalal, 95
 Khaljī dynasty, 16, 20, 65
 Khambhat, 7, 85
Khamsa or Five Poems (Nizāmī Ganjavī), 22, 92, 119
 Khan, Afsar Umar Salim, 127
 Khān, Sayyid Ahmād, xv
Khān-i Jahān or Khan of the Realm, 182–87
kharāj (taxes), 63
khāṣṣ, pl. *khawāṣṣ* (nobles), 133–36
Khazā' in al-futūḥ or *Treasures of Victories* (Amīr Khusraw), 67, 107
khirad (sense, wisdom), 25–26, 40
 Khiz̄r Khān, 19
 Khurasan, 22
khusravī, 15–16
 Khusraw (son of Jahāngīr) (995–1031/1587–1622), 20
 Khusraw I (r. 531–579), xvi, 16, 18, 33, 39–40, 46, 57–58, 73, 75–76, 104
 and Buzurjmīhr, 87, 109, 170–71
 justice of, 122, 124
 kindness of, 142
 on social hierarchy, 133
 Khusraw II (r. 590–628), 33, 112
 Khusraw Malik (r. 555–582/1160–1186), 16, 47, 87
 Khusraw Parvīz (r. 591–628), 53
 Khusraw Shāh (r. 552–555/1157–1160), 16, 50
Khwādaynāmag, 28
 kindness, as kingly quality, 137–47
 “King of kings” (*shāhanshāh*), 74
 kingship, principles of Persian, 1, 13–14, 24–26, 52–53, *see also justice* ('*adl*)
 historians’ role in, 42–44
 Islamic genealogies of, 51–62
 Islamic views on, 45–47, 57–58, 85, 143–45, 151–60
 and social hierarchy, 131–37
 transculturalism of, 11–15, 22–24
 and viziers, 37–38, 171
 as warriors and hunters, 90–102, 111–20
Kitāb al-akhbār al-ṭiwal or *The Book of Lengthy Reports* (al-Dīnawarī), 28, 58
Kitāb al-bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh or *The Book of the Beginning and History* (al-Maqdisī), 55
Kitāb alif bā' (al-Balawī), 66
Kitāb al-siyāsah al-shar'iyyah or *The Book of Shari'a Governance* (Ibn Taymiyya), 158
Kitāb al-taħħīm li-awā'il ḥisnā 'at al-tanjīm or *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology* (al-Bīrūnī), 34
Kitāb al-Tājī (Hilāl al-Šābī), 21
Kitāb fī ma'rifat al-hiyal al-handasiyya or *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* (al-Jazar), 69
Kitāb fī tahqīq mā lil-Hind min maqūla or *Book of the Verification of What Is Said about India* (Bīrūnī), 34
 Koch, Ebba, 20
kotvāl (city magistrate), 184
ksatriya, 20
kufr (infidelity), 3–4, 59–60, 93–95, 139
kuttāb (officers who write reports), 134
 Lahore, 6, 31, 47, 50
 Lakhnawti, Bengal, 105
 Lakshmi, 79
 Lambton, Ann, 161
 language issues *see also* Persian language; Arabic language
 Arabic and Persian overlaps, 15, 24
 New Persian, 22
 Persian and the colonialists, xiv–xv

- Lawīks, 23
 legendary models of kingship, 13,
 15–17, 24–26, 42–44, 58–62, 74,
 see also Jamshīd
 Alexander, 62–69
 Gayumart, 52–53
 Hūshang, 56–57
 warrior kings, 90–102
 lexicography, 30, 37
 lions, symbolism of, 147–48
 logic (*mantiq*), 89
 “Lord of the Horses” (*hayapati*),
 47, 81
 Luhrāsp, 62
- Ma'āthir-i Maḥmūdī* or *The Illustrious Deeds of Maḥmūd* (Imām Qaffāl), 168
- MacDowell, David, 83
Mahābhārata, 86–87
 Mahalalel (Mahlā'il), 52, 56
 Mahendra Sūrī, 72
 Mahmūd of Ghazna (r. 388–421/
 998–1030), 3–5, 24, 42, 95–96,
 153, 167–68, 172, 194
- Malcolm, John, xiv
 Malik Baq-baq, 150
 Malik Kamāl al-Dīn, 116
 Malik Niẓām al-Dīn, 136
 Malik Shāh I (r. 465–485/1073–1092),
 19, 40, 111
- Malik 'Alā' al-Dīn Kishlī Khān (d. 657/
 1259), 117
- Mamluk dynasty, 114, 127, 149
 al-Ma'rūn (r. 189–218/813–833), 83
 Manṣūr (d. ca. 600/1203), 50
 Manūchihrī, 31
maqāṣid al-shari'a (purposes of Islamic
 law), 151, 155
- Marlow, Louise, 131–33
Marzbānnāma (Marzbān Ibn-Rustam
 Ibn-Sharwīn), 39
- maṣlaḥat* (general good), 150–54
masnawī *see* *Georgenāma* (Müllā Fīrūz)
 Mas'ūd I (r. 421–432/1031–1040), 172
 Mas'ūd III (r. 492–508/1099–1115),
 33, 87, 145
 al-Mas'ūdī, 7
 Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān (b. 438–41/
 1046–1049?, d. 515/1121–2), 31
- Maṭla' al-anvār* or *The Dawn of Lights*
 (Amīr Khusraw), 130–31
- Mawdūd b. Mas'ūd (r. 432–440/
 1041–1048), 172
- mazālim* (court of grievances), 148–49
- Mecca, 84
 Meisami, Julie, 31
 Melville, Charles, 43, 102
 Merv, 73
 Middle Persian *see* Pahlavi literature
 Mihtar Rashīd, 111
 military history, 4
 military preparations, 111–15
 Minhāj-i Sirāj Jūzjānī (b. 589/1193),
 43, 54–57, 74, 85, 105, 175
 on Alexander, 62, 64–65
 on Ashk (Arsaces I), 72
 on Bahrām Gūr, 120
 on battles with demons, 90–93
 on justice, 122, 130, 148
 on Khusraw I, 75–76
- ministers *see* viziers
 mirror (*ā'īma*)
 Alexander's, 66–67
 for princes, 38–42, 122, 128
- Mīrzā Asad Allāh Khān Ghālib
 (1797–1869), 188–90
- Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), 73
 Mongols, 43–44, 59, 100, 106, 116–17,
 127
 invasion of Delhi, 179–80
- Moses, 163, 173, 181
 Mottahedeh, Roy, 29, 190
 Mughals, 20, 188, 193–94
 Mughīth al-Dīn Bayanah, 14, 153–54
 Muḥammad (Prophet), 53–54, 57, 163
 justice of, 123–24
 and Khusraw I, 75–76
- Muḥammad al-Aqsarā'i al-Hanafī
 (d. 749/1348), 114
- Muḥammad Amīn Qazvīnī (fl.
 1029–1061/1620–1650), 20
- Muḥammad 'Awfī (d. ca. 630/1232),
 42, 56, 59, 85, 93
 on the Barmakid family, 167
 on Niẓām al-Mulk, 180–81
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-
 Muqaddasī (ca. 330–381/
 941–991), 96, 139
- Muḥammad b. 'Alī Sa'd al-Junaydī, 42

- Muhammad b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Umar
 Ḥaravī, 166
- Muhammad b. Qāsim, 6
- Muhammad b. Sām *see* Mu‘izz al-Dīn
- Muhammad b. Sām (r. 569–602/
 1173–1206); Muizz al-Dīn
- Muhammad b. Sām
- Muhammad b. Tughluq (r. 724–752/
 1324–1351), 18, 20, 46, 131,
 147–48, 156–57, 168
- Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khaljī, 80
- Muhammad I (r. 495–511/1105–1118),
 19
- Muhammad Sadid al-Dīn ‘Awfi
 (fl. 618/1221), 31
- Mu‘izz al-Dīn Kay Qubād (r. 686–689/
 1287–1290), 16, 61, 121, 136–37
- Mu‘izz al-Dīn Muhammad b. Sām (r.
 569–602/1173–1206), 1, 5, 47–49,
 65, 77–79, 90, 110
- Mujmal al-tavārikh va al-qasaṣ or The
 Compendium of Histories and
 Stories*, 67, 85–87, 167
- Müllā Firuz, xiii–xv
Georgenāma, 189
Pandnāma-yi Müllā Firuz or *The
 Book of Advice of Müllā Firuz*, xvi
- Müllā Rustamjī, xiii
- Multan, 6
- al-Muqtadir (r. 295–320/908–932), 83
- muqṭā’* (*iqtā’* ‘holder), 182
- Murūj al-dhabab wa ma ‘ādin al-jawhar
 or Meadows of Gold and Mines of
 Gems* (al-Mas‘ūdī), 7
- mushrif* (tax inspector), 183
- al-Mustakfī (701–740/1302–1340),
 149
- al-Musta‘sim (r. 640–56/1247–58);
 Musta‘sim (r. 640–656/
 1247–1258), 55
- mustawfi* (accountant-general), 183–84
- al-Muṭahhar b. Tāhir al-Maqdisī
 (fl. 355/966), 55
- al-Mu‘tamid (r. 256–279/870–892);
 Mu‘tamid (r. 256–279/870–892),
 23, 83
- Muzaffarid dynasty, 167
- Nāgarī script, 77
- nā’ib* (deputy), 186
- nā’ib vazīr* (deputy minister), 181–82
- nā’ib-i ‘arz* (deputy of the military
 administration), 181
- Najemy, John, 125
- naṣīḥat* (advice, counsel), 33
- Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar
 Baydāwī, 43
- Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh (r.
 644–664/1246–1266), 54
- Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, or Bughra Khān
 (r. 687–690/1287–1291), 121,
 136–37
- Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubacha (d. 625/1228), 31
- Naṣr Allāh Munshi
Kalila wa Dimna, 87
- New Persian, 22, 24, 26–35, 191
- Nihāyat al-su‘l wa-l ummiyyah fī ‘ilm al-
 furūsiyyah* or *An End to the
 Questioning and Desiring
 concerning the Knowledge of
 Horsemanship* (al-Hanafi), 114
- niyat* (intention, principle of), 138,
 143–44
- Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ (ca. 640 or
 641–725/1243 or 1244–1325),
 141
- Nizām al-Mulk (408–485/1018–1092),
 39–40
 as vizier, 180–81
 on viziers, 163, 178
- Nizām al-tavārikh* or *The Order of
 Histories* (Baydāwī), 43
- Nizāmī ‘Arūzī (fl. 503–555/
 1110–1160), 108
- Nizāmī Ganjavī (c. 535–605/
 1141–1209), 57
Haft paykar or *The Seven Portraits*,
 118, 120
Iskandarnāma or *Book of Alexander*,
 69–71, 97–100
Khamsa or *Five Poems*, 22, 92, 119
- Nizami, K. A., 134
- Noah, 86
- nobles (*khāṣṣ*, pl. *khawāṣṣ*), 133–36
- Nūḥ b. Manṣūr (r. 366–387/976–997),
 27, 34
- Nūḥ b. Naṣr (r. 331–343/943–954), 32
- Oghuz, 50
- Old Persian, 20

- Opwis, Felicitas, 151
 oral histories, 27, 29, 60, 153
 origins, theories of, 86
 Orissa, 105
- pādshāh* see *shāh*, title of
Pādshāhnāma, 20
 Pahlavi literature, 25–27, 33, 35, 100, 130
Pañcatantra or *The Five Books*, 35, 87, 100, 171
pand (advice, counsel), 33
 Pandua, 20
 Parthian dynasty, 72
 Paul, Ludwig, 24
 Payne, Richard, 11
 Perry, John, 30
 Persian
 and the colonialists, xiv–xv
 “Persian cosmopolis”, 9
 Persian language
 cultural influence spreads, xvi–xvii, 1–2, 105–6
 tradition of history writing in, xv
 Persianate cultures, 1–2, 7–12
 clash with Arab culture, 28
 spread through poetry, 31–32
 Persianization, 7, 23, 35, 37–41, 172
 Persophilia, xiv
 Peshawar, 23
 Pharos of Alexandria, 66
 Philip of Macedonia, 62, 64
 Plato, 40
 political theory and shari'a, 150–60
 Pollock, Sheldon, 9
 Porus see *Fūr*, King of Hind
 Pratāprudra (r. 1289–1323), 105–6, 185
 preparations for war, 103, 111–13
 prophets and kings, 50–54, 65
 Pr̥thvīrāj (r. ca. 1178–1192), 47, 77–80
 Pr̥thvīrājavijaya (Jayānaka), 47, 81
 Ptolemy, 34
 punishment and justice, 124–27, *see also* justice ('*adl*)
 and *maṣlaḥat* (general good), 156–60
 Punjab, 23
- qaba* (robe of investiture), 106
 Qābūs b. Wushmagīr b. Ziyār (r. 366–371/977–981 and 388–403/998–1012 or 1013), 38
- Qābūsnāma* or *Book of Qabus* (Kay Kāvūs), 38
 Qadisiyyah, battle of, 73
 Qarakhānids, 17
qāzī (judge), 149, 175
Qirān al-sa'dayn or *Conjunction of the Two Auspicious Planets* (Amīr Khusraw), 136
qīṣāṣ (retaliative justice), 131
 Quran
 “command the right and forbid the wrong”, 153
 on forgiveness, 138, 142
 on justice, 129
 and kingship, 45–46, 60
 and *maṣlaḥat* (general good), 151, 155–56
 references to Alexander in, 64–65
 on Satan, 94
 on viziers, 162, 173, 176
 Quraysh tribe, 55
 Quṭb al-Dīn Aybeg (d. 607/1210), 1, 48–49, 114, 116
 Quṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (r. 716–720/1316–1320), 106, 182
 Quṭb minaret, 65
- Rapoport, Yossef, 127
 Rashīd al-Dīn (ca. 645–718/1247–1318), 43
ra'y (opinion, judgment), 176–78
 Razīyya (r. 634–638/1236–1240), 118, 175, 181
 rebellion, rules on (*alḥkām al-bughāb*), 157–59
 Ricci, Ronit, 10
 Rīḍwān b. al-Sa'ātī, 69
 Rūdakī (d. 329/940–1), 24, 28, 35
 Rum, kingdom of, 62–63, 74
 Rustam, 61, 91, 163
- sabk-i hindī* (“Indian style” of Persian), 31
 Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, 73
 Sa'dī (d. 691/1292)
Būstān or *The Garden*, 192–93
Gulistān or *The Rose Garden*, 185
 Safavids, 20
sakhāvat (generosity), 117, 168
 Salmān al-Fārisī, 45

- Samanids, 12, 20, 22–24, 27
 Samarqand, 22
 Sammā, 185
 Sanskrit, 20, 30, 35, 47, 80–82
 Mahābhārata, 86
 “Sanskrit cosmopolis”, 9–10
 Sasanians, 11, 21, 24, 27–28
 impact on Islamicate cultures, 73–76
 models of kingship, 12–13, 15, 18,
 38–41, 75–76, 118–20, 131–36,
 191
 titles used by Indian rulers, 16
 traditions of knowledge, 35–36
 Satan, 59–60, 94
 Savant, Sarah, 56
 scientific legacies, 35–36
 Alexander, 66–72
 Amīr Khusrav, 89
 Sebuktegīn, 24
 “Second Alexander” (*Sikandar-i thānī*),
 19
 “secretary” (*dabīr*), 108–9
 Seleucid, 73
 Seljuqs of Anatolia, 17, 39
 Sena, 5, 80
 Seth, 52–53
shafaqat (compassion), 138, 141
 Shāfi‘ī, 75, 168
 Shāh Jahān, 20
shāh, title of, 20, 37
shāhanshāh (King of Kings), xv, 20, 74
 Shāh-i Shujā‘ (r. 759–765/1358–1364
 and 767–786/1366–1384), 167
 Shāhnāmas, 17
 of competing courts, xvii
 Firdawsī, 24–26, 28, 57, 91, 96, 120,
 193
 Great Mongol, 100
 Mūllā Firūz’s *Georgenāma*, xiii–xvi
 Shāhnāma-yi Hind or *Book of Kings of*
 India, 44
 Shahr-Banu, 21
Shajara-yi ansāb or *The Tree of*
 Genealogies, 46
 Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (r. 607–633/
 1210–1236), 12, 42–43, 105, 175
 Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh (r. 740–759/
 1339–1358), 19, 66
 Shams Sirāj ‘Afīf (b. 757/1356), 69–71,
 104, 141–42, 183–87
 Shamsids, 6, 43, 54, 82, 191
 Shangal, 91
 Shāpūr I (r. 240–270), 74, 87
 Sharaf al-Dawla, 188
 shari‘a, 14, 131, 149
 and *maṣlaḥat*, 150–54
 principle of intention, 143
 and rule of the king, 13–14, 150–56,
 194
 and *siyāsat* (punishment,
 governance), 151–52, 156–60
 Sharma, Sunil, 31
al-shaytān (Devil), 94
 Sheba, Queen of, 109
Shu‘ab al-īmān or *The Branches of the*
 Faith, 76
Shu‘ubiyya movement, 28–29
 Sikandar Shāh (r. 759–792/
 1358–1390), 19–20, 104
 Sind, 6, 23, 61
 Sindhi, Old, 86
sipahsālār (commander of one hundred
 cavalry), 137
 Sirāj al-Dīn or Sirājī (d. 652/1254, fl.
 1226–1231), 181
Sirāj al-mulūk or *The Lamp of Kings*
 (al-Tūrṭūshī), 140, 177
Sirat-i Firūz Shāhī (Firūz Shāh), 117
 Sircar, Dines Chandra, 78
 Sistan, 83, 145
 Siwana, 116
Siyar al-mulūk or *Virtues of Kings*
 (Nizām al-Mulk), 39–40, 163
siyāsat (punishment, governance),
 130–31
 and shari‘a, 151–52, 156–60
Siyāsatnāma (Nizām al-Mulk), 39
 Siyāvush, 61
 slaves (*ghulams*), 24, 135
 social hierarchy, 131–37
 Socrates, 115
 Solomon, King, 46, 59, 61, 71, 109,
 116, 163, 181
 Alexander compared with, 65
 and viziers, 163, 182
 Sri Lanka, 75, 86
 Sufis, 29, 65, 140–42
 Sulaymān II (r. 593–600/1197–1204),
 80
 “sultan”, origin of, 106

- sunnat* (established tradition), 155
 Syria, 66
 Syriac, 27, 62
ṭabaqāt (“genealogy”) of poets, 32
Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī or *The Nasirean Genealogies of Rulers* (Jūzjānī), 43, 54
- Tabaristan, 38
al-Tadhkira or *The Biography* (Ibn Hamdūn), 148
Tāj al-ma’āṣir or *Crown of Great Affairs* (Ḥasan Nizāmī), 1, 33, 116
Tajārib al-umam or *Experiences of the Peoples of the World* (Miskawayh), 74
 Taq-i Kisra, Ctesiphon, 18, 20
 Tarain, battles of, 47, 78
Ta’rīkh al-Bukhārā or *The History of Bukhara* (al-Narshakī), 7
Ta’rīkh al-rusul wa’l-mulūk or *The History of Prophets and Kings* (Barānī), 28, 33, 42, 45
Tārikh-i Āl-i Barmak or *History of the Barmakid Family*, 41
Tārikh-i Firuz Shāhī (of ‘Afīf), 69
Tārikh-i Firuz Shāhī (of Barānī), 118, 138–39
 Tās-i Ghariyal or “The Great Clock”, 69
 taxes, 14, 63, 84, 97, 118, 121, 173–74
 Thatta, 185–87
 time, study of, 69–71
 Timurids, 193
 Tirhut, 105
 titles from Persian used by Indian rulers, 16–20, 82
 Tor, Deborah, 21
 trade routes, 6–7
 transculturalism
 of Persian kingship, 11–15, 22–24, 77, 80–81, 191–92
 of viziers, 38
 translations, 94, 129, 165, 191–92
 into Arabic, 27, 35–36, 40–41, 62, 73, 86–87, 130, 170
 Arabic to Persian, 32–34, 40, 86
 of *Pañcatantra* or *The Five Books*, 35, 87, 100, 171, 193–94
- Transoxiana, 22, 75
 treaties, 104–6
 Turan, 17, 61
 Turkish ethnicity, 17, 48, 59, 74
 Turkistan, 17, 75
turuşkadanşa (tax), 97
 tyranny, 126–31
- Udağhara, 81
 Ujjain, 182
 Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–44), 45, 73, 139
 Umayyads, 29, 164
‘Umdat al-hisāb or *The Pillar of Arithmetic*, 162
 ‘Unsurī, 31, 82
 Urdu, xv
uṣūl al-fiqh (principles of jurisprudence), 155
- vakil-i dār* (chief of the royal household), 181
valī, 65
 Varāhamihirā, 71
vazīr-i māmālik (vizier of the kingdom), 182
 Victoria, Queen of England, xiii, 189
 viziers, 37–41, 50–51, 161–64, 175–80
 to Barmakid family, 164–70
 to Delhi Sultanate, 180–87
 qualities required of, 170–75
- Wagoner, Phillip, 9
 war, avoiding, 102–11
 Warner, Arthur and Edmond, 25
 wisdom (*khirad*), 25–26, 40
 wonders of the world, 66, 69–71
 world rule (*jahāndārī*), 53
- Yāfit (Japheth), 86
 Yahyā b. Khālid b. Barmak (115 or 119–190/733 or 737–805), 41, 165
Yantrarāja or *The King of Instruments* (Mahendra Sūrī), 72
 Yazdigird III (r. 632–651), 21, 54, 73
 Yazīd (r. 60–64/680–683), 55
 Yusūf b. Muḥammad al-Balawī (526–604/1132–1207), 66

- Zahhak (demon-king), 54, 60–61, 90
Zandana, 7
zavābiṭ (rules issued by the sultan), 152, 154–55
Zīj al-Sindhind or *The Astronomical Handbook of India*, 35
Ziyā’ Barānī (ca. 684–758/1285–1357), 17, 28, 33, 41–42, 52–55, 65, 106–7, 112–13
on Barmakid family, 165–68, 170
Fatāvá-yi jahāndārī or *Edicts of World Rule*, 123–29, 133–38
on hunter kings, 116–18
- on justice, 122–29, 150
on political theory and shari'a, 152–59
on preparations for war, 111–13
on social hierarchy, 133–37
and Sufism, 140–41
Tārikh-i Firuz Shāhī, 121
on viziers, 163–64, 174–79, 181–82
Ziyarids, 38
Zoroastrianism, 59–61, 74
Zubayda (d. 216/831), 165
zulm (oppression, tyranny), 128