XXVI.

MAS'UD-I-SA'D-I-SALMAN

BY MÍRZÁ MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABDU'L-WAHHÁB OF QAZWÍN.

Translated by E. G. BROWNE.

THE following critical study of a Persian poet who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries of the Christian era, and who, though highly esteemed by his contemporaries, is little known in Europe, is from the pen of my accomplished friend MÍRZÁ MUḤAMMAD of Qazwín, a Persian scholar of rare attainments in his own and the Arabic languages, and of still rarer critical acumen, who is now engaged in preparing a critical edition, with notes, of the *Chahár Maqála*, which, when ready, will be published by the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. In the course of his work he had occasion to collect materials too extensive to be incorporated in the notes on that text, and amongst them the following study, compiled from numerous manuscript sources. This I make no excuse for presenting in English dress to the readers of the *Journal*, for from such careful monographs must the Literary History of Persia be ultimately built up, and at present they are, alas! all too few. We have Bacher's admirable monograph on Nidhámí of Ganja, Khanikof's on Kháqání, Zhukovski's on Anwari, Ethé's on Náṣir-i-Khusraw, Rúdákí, Kisá'í, etc., and a few others, but very much still remains to be accomplished ere the biographies of even the first-class poets of Persia can be written, for the *Tadhkiras*, or Biographies, on which we are in most cases obliged to rely at present, are either (like the *Lubábu'l-Albáb* of 'Awfí) jejune to the last degree, or (like Dawlatsháh) utterly uncritical and unworthy of confidence. Only after they have

been controlled by the statements and indications scattered through the works of the poet himself, and by those of his contemporaries and immediate successors, can they be accepted as even approximately correct. With these brief introductory remarks, I stand aside and leave Mirzá Muḥammad to speak for himself.

(Translation of Mirzá Muḥammad's Article.)

One of the great poets of the second half of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries of the *hijra*, whose works, unlike those of too many others, have fortunately not been lost, is Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán,¹ of whose verses about twelve or thirteen thousand are actually extant. This eminent poet is especially conspicuous for his success in two branches of the Art of Poetry, namely, panegyric and threnody. In the latter category may be included the poems wherein he laments his condition during the periods of imprisonment and detention which he underwent. These are known as *Habsiyyát*, or "Prison-Poems." In panegyric he has many rivals, some of whom, such as 'Unsurí, Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rúni, and Anwarí, may even have excelled him; but in the second category he stands alone and unrivalled. "In Prison-Poems," says that accomplished scholar Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát² in his *Hadd'iqu's-Sihr* ("Gardens of Magic"), "no poet in the Persian language approaches Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, either in beauty of ideas or grace of expression."

Little is known of the biography of this eminent poet, and the *tadhkira*-writers, relying on the weakest evidence,

¹ I.e. Mas'úd, the son of Sa'd, the son of Salmán (*Mas'úd ibn Sa'd ibn Salmán*), the affiliation being expressed in the Persian fashion by the *idfát*. Thus we find indifferently "Maḥmúd-i-Subuktigin" and "Maḥmúd ibn Subuktigin," "Abú 'Alí-i-Siná" (Avicenna) and "Abú 'Alí ibn Siná," and so on. In Persian works of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era, such as the *History of Bayhaqí*, the *Qabús-náma*, the *Lubábu'l-Albáb*, the *Jawámi'u'l-Hikáyat*, the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá* of 'Attár, etc., this Persian usage is almost universal, the Arabic *ibn* being but rarely employed.

² These words are given as from the *Hadd'iqu's-Sihr* by Ghulám 'Alí Azád in his *Subḥatu'l-Marján fi Athári Hindústan*, but are not to be found in the copy of the former work which I have consulted, but which is, perhaps, defective.

advance the most conflicting statements and the most brief and dubious data as to his birth-place, the time at which he flourished, the period of his imprisonment, and other circumstances connected with his life; so that, after reading all these accounts, and subjecting the result to careful comparison and critical examination, all that can be deduced therefrom as to his circumstances, his native place, and other details about his life, could be condensed into less than two lines. And although his *Diwán* has always been accessible, and is neither rare nor unobtainable, while the *ipsissima verba* of the poet outweigh in authority the statements of any biographer, no one has hitherto attentively examined his *Diwán* with a view to deducing therefrom correct and indubitable data. The only other comparatively ancient and trustworthy sources for his biography which we possess are two passages on which are based all the assertions of the later *tadhkira*-writers. One of these consists of a few lines which Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí has inserted in his *Chahár Maqála*¹ as to the cause of his imprisonment; the other is the scanty notice of him given by 'Awfí in his *Lubábu'l-Albáb*,² which is itself not devoid of errors, as will appear in due course. The other *tadhkira*-writers have merely taken the statements of these two biographers, and copied them from one another with many additions, omissions, and confusions, as has been done, for example, in the *Haft Iqlm*, the *Riyádu'sh-Shu'ará*, the *tadhkira* of Taqí Káshí, the *Átash-kada*, the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, the *Bazm-ará*, and the *May-khána*, all of which may, indeed, be reckoned as one book, since he who has read one of them is practically in the position of him who has read them all. Some others, like Dawlatsháh,³ have added fictions of their own fashioning, seeking thereby to fill gaps in the biography; and of all these Dawlatsháh is, in my

¹ See the lithographed Tihrán edition, pp. 95 *et seqq.*, and pp. 72-75 of the *tirage-à-part* of Browne's translation of the work published in the *J.R.A.S.* for July and October, 1899.

² See vol. ii of Browne's edition of the *Lubábu'l-Albáb*, pp. 246-252.

³ See Browne's edition of Dawlatsháh, pp. 47-49.

opinion, the most expert in such fabrication and fictions. In short, it seemed best to me to disregard the worthless statements of the *tadhkira*-writers, and to confine my attention and base my dissertation only on this poet's *Diván*,¹ accepting as authentic only such particulars as could be gleaned from this, and entirely disregarding and rejecting everything else.

I. *His general Circumstances.*

It appears from the *Diván* of Mas'úd that all his family were scholars and men of learning, talent, and eminence, as he says in one of his *qasidas* :—

شکرو ممت خدای عالم را که مرا داد از هنر چندان
که همه مردمان همی گویند بهمه گیتی آشکار و نهان
سعد مسعود را همان دادست از براعت که سعد را سلمان

“ *Praise and thanksgiving to the Lord of the Universe who hath vouchsafed to me so much talent,
That all men say, in public and in private, throughout the world,
'Sa'd hath transmitted to Mas'úd that genius wherewith Salmán endowed him.'* ”

And in another passage he says :—

گرچه اسلاف من بزرگانند هر یک اندر هنریکی استاد
نسبت از خویشان کنم چو گهر نه چو خاکسترم کز آتش زاد

¹ The sources which I have used for reference, and whence I have extracted the verses here and hereinafter cited from the poems of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, are two manuscripts of the *Diván* in the British Museum bearing the class-marks Egerton 701 and Add. 7,793 (see Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 548-9), besides the selections given by Taqí Káshí in his *tadhkira*, those given by Ridá-qulí Khán in his *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥá*, and the Tíhrán lithographed edition, which is the most complete, though some *qasidas* not contained in it are to be found in the four sources first mentioned.

*"Although my ancestors were great men, each one a master in Art,
I, like the pearl, make my pedigree from myself: I am not like the ashes which are born of fire."*¹

In yet another passage he says:—

اگر رئیس نیم یا امید زاده نیم
ستوده نسبت و اعلم زدوده فضلاست

*"Although I am neither a chief among men nor the son of a noble,
My honourable pedigree and origin is of a stock of scholars."*

And other similar passages might be cited.

In truth he was himself one of the most eminent poets and men of letters, and a mere perusal of his *Diván* is sufficient to make clear what power he possessed in overcoming verbal difficulties and wedding words to rare ideas. Indeed, it were hardly too much to say that he is the glory of all who use the Persian tongue, seeing that he exalted the rank of that language from earth to heaven. It appears, in short, that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán was one of those rare beings who are only produced every few centuries, and who combine the noblest qualities and intellectual gifts with the rarest mundane talents. Besides his literary skill and poetic genius, he was one of the bravest men and most doughty knights of his time; while in generous appreciation and liberal treatment of his fellow-poets and others who came to visit him he was equally conspicuous; and he was, moreover, eminent amongst the nobles, statesmen, and ministers of his time. 'Awfí, apologizing for placing him in the chapter of his work which treats of the poets of Ghazna and Lahore instead of amongst the *Amirs* and nobles, says (vol. ii, p. 246, l. 14): "He ought properly

¹ *I.e.* I am like the pearl, which is esteemed for its own intrinsic value; not like the ashes, which, though born of (*i.e.* produced by) fire, the noblest element, are in themselves worthless.

to have been placed in the chapter treating of public men who wrote verse, but since his verses exceed those of any other poet, therefore he has been placed amongst the poets of this class." He also says of him: "He wrought doughty deeds in India, and in reward for a single quatrain or fragment would give caravan-loads of wealth to such as sought his bounty." But the best description of his virtues is contained in the following verses occurring in a *qaṣida* of Mukhtārī¹:—

مخدوم سخن پروران مجلس سر دفتر خوان گستران میدان
طبعش بسخن ده هزار دریا دستش بسخا صد هزار چندان
خورشیدی و ماهی بصدر مجلس بهرامی و تیری برزم و دیوان
هم صاحب عباد روزگاری هم رستم زال زری بدستان

"*Master of rhetoricians in the assembly, exemplar amongst those who spread bounteous tables in public ;*

His genius in verse [abundant as] ten thousand oceans ; his hand in giving a hundred thousand times as prodigal ;

A Sun and a Moon [is he] in the chief seat of the banqueting-hall ; a Mars and a Mercury [is he] in the battle-field and the council-chamber ;

Alike the Ṣāhib [Isma'il ibn] 'Abbād² of his age, and a Rustam son of Golden Zāl in renown."

It may also be gathered from his poems that he was bilingual, using Persian and Arabic with equal facility:—

¹ *I.e.* 'Uthmān Mukhtārī of Ghazna, who in turn has been praised by Sanā'ī in a well-known *qaṣida* beginning:—

نشود پیش دو خورشید و دو مه تازی و تیر
گر برد لمعه از خاطر مختاری تیر

² The Ṣāhib Isma'il b. 'Abbād, the celebrated minister of the Buwayhids Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla and Fakhru'd-Dawla, a most notable scholar and patron of learning. He was born in A.D. 936 and died in A.D. 995.

زبانِ دولتِ عالی به بنده داد پیام
 که ای تُرا دو زبانِ پارسی و تازی رام

*"The tongue of lofty Fortune conveyed a message to me, saying :
 'O thou to whom two languages, Persian and Arabic, are
 subject!'"*

And in another *qaṣida* he says :—

منم کاندِ عرب و اندر عجم کس نباشد چون من از چیره زبانی
 بدین هر دو زبان در هر دو میدان بگردونم رسیده کامرانی
 گرافند مشکلی در نظم و در نشر ز من خواهد زمانه ترجمانی
 سجود آرد به پیشِ خاطر من روانِ رودگی و ابن هانی

*"I am he like unto whom is none in eloquence amongst the
 Arabs or the Persians ;
 In these two tongues in both fields has my success reached to
 heaven.
 From me this age seeks assistance in interpretation if any
 difficulty chances in verse or prose.
 Before my genius prostrate themselves the spirits of Rūdaki
 and [Abū Nuwās] ibn Hānī."*

In another passage he says :—

کس از بیپاری و تازی امتحان کردی
 مرا مبارز میدانِ امتحان شدمی

*"Should one prove me in Persian and Arabic, I should stand
 the champion and victor in the field of proof."*

And in another passage he says :—

تا بتازی و پارسی طبعم بسر هر زبانت بستوده است
*"Until my genius hath set thy praises on every tongue in Arabic
 and Persian."*

We come now to the assertion of the *tadhkira*-writers (all of whom ultimately rely on 'Awfī) that Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān had three *Divāns*, one Persian, one Arabic, and one Hindustānī. As for the first, it actually exists, while as for the second, there is practically no doubt that he composed verses in Arabic, as appears, first from his own explicit declarations in the verses above cited, and secondly from the fact that Rashīd-u'd-Dīn Waṭwāṭ cites in evidence many of his Arabic verses in the *Ḥadā'iqi's-Sihr* ("Gardens of Magic"). But as regards the alleged *Divān* in Hindustānī, the case is much more doubtful, and, indeed, it may be conjectured almost certainly that such *Divān* never existed. I do not make this assertion on the ground that he was not a native of India, and that no one who was not a native of India could compose poetry in Hindustānī, as 'Alī-qulī Khān Wāliḥ of Dāghistān pretends in his *Riyāḍu'sh-Shu'arā* ("Gardens of the Poets"),¹ for, as will be shown, he was actually born at Lahore; but I make it on the ground, first, that this is a mere statement supported by no evidence beyond 'Awfī's words, which have been repeated by all his successors, and that we must not therefore infer from its recurrence that the alleged fact was notorious and a matter of common knowledge, or suppose that the single statement of 'Awfī suffices to establish a proposition unsupported by any independent evidence; and secondly that as Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān boasts in at least ten different passages in his *qaṣīdas* that he is master of two languages, Arabic and Persian, it is strange that (if the fact were as asserted) he should not add the Hindustānī language and boast that he was the master of three languages. Nor can it be contended that he omitted all mention of Hindustānī out of humility or dislike of ostentation, for in poems of this class, wherein the poet's intention is to glorify himself and vaunt his talents,

¹ The passage in the *Riyāḍu'sh-Shu'arā* occurs on fol. 407b of the British Museum manuscript, Add. 16,729. The fact that Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, like so many Persian poets of this period, composed verses in Arabic as well as Persian is sufficient to demonstrate the absurdity of Wāliḥ's contention: for no one will pretend either that Arabic was Mas'ūd's native language, or that it is an easier language than Hindustānī.

such qualities would be entirely out of place, besides which it would be absurd for anyone to boast of knowing two languages while concealing the fact that he was acquainted with a third. Such action could be ascribed by sensible persons, not to humility, but only to simplicity or inadvertence.

Other matters connected with particular features of the poet's life may be best discussed under separate headings, such as: Where was he born? When did he flourish? Moreover, his life falls into several periods, to wit, *first*, a period of happiness and well-being; *second*, a period of imprisonment and captivity, which involves a discussion as to the place and period of his imprisonment, and the charge on which he was imprisoned; *third*, another period of happiness at the close of his career, during which he lived a secluded life, abandoning all connection with government service, and incidentally composed poems in praise of Bahrámsáh. Lastly, we have to speak of the other great poets who were his contemporaries.

II. *His Birth-place and Origin.*

The birth-place of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, as is explicitly stated in his poems, was neither Hamadán, nor Jurján, nor Ghazna (as is variously asserted by the *tadhkira*-writers), but Lahore,¹ as we shall shortly prove by the citation of sundry verses from his poetry.

From several passages in his poems it appears that his father, Sa'd-i-Salmán, had been for sixty years in the service of the kings of Ghazna, and had acquired possession of many farms and estates in Lahore and other parts of India. After his death, these lands were unjustly taken from Mas'úd by certain governors and other functionaries. Mas'úd came

¹ I have met with no writer who has noticed this point and described our poet as "of Lahore" except Ghulám 'Alí Khán Azád in his *Subhatu'l-Marján fi Áthari Hindustán*. According to Mr. N. Bland (*Journal Asiatique* for 1853, série v, vol. 2, p. 356) the same statement is made in the *Khizána-i-ámira*, but this assertion I have been unable to verify, as the British Museum manuscript is defective.

to Ghazna to demand redress, but there his enemies brought against him accusations (the nature of which will be presently discussed) which caused him to fall under suspicion, so that he was imprisoned by order of Sultán Dhahíru'd-Dawla Rāḍiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím b. Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd of Ghazna, though he had left behind him in India an old mother, a son, a daughter, two sisters, and some thirty or forty kinsmen and relatives, who, distressed and lacking means of livelihood, awaited his release for long years with weeping and lamentation. In a *qaṣida* which he composed in praise of Sultán Ibráhím he says, after eulogizing him and lamenting his own condition in prison :—

شصت سال تمام خدمت کرد پدر بنده سعد بن سلمان
 گه باطراف بودی از عُمّال گه بدرگاه بودی از اعیان
 دختری خُرد دارم و پسری با دو خواهر بیوم هندستان
 دختر از اشگ دیده نابینا پسر از روزگار سرگردان
 سی چهل تن ز خویش و از پیوند بسته در راحت تو جان و روان
 همه خواهان ملک و دولت تو در سعادت ز ایزد شُبْحان
 ای رهاننده خلق را ز بلا زین بلا بنده را تو باز رهان
 بآمید آمدم بحضرت شاه راه زد بر امید من حرمان

“For full sixty years did my father Sa'd-i-Salmán serve [your House],

Now as an administrator in the provinces, now as a noble of the Court.

I have a little daughter and a son, besides two sisters, in the land of India ;

The daughter blind with weeping, the son dazed by ill fortune.
 Also some thirty or forty relatives and kinsfolk, whose souls
 and spirits are bound up with thy well-being,

All praying God Almighty that thy rule and dominion may be happy.

O thou who deliverest mankind from affliction, deliver thy servant from this affliction !

I came in hope to the King's Court,¹ but I was robbed on the way thither by disappointment !”

In another *qaṣida* (the remaining verses of which will be cited further on) he says, in praise of Sultān 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, after describing his sufferings during the days of his imprisonment in the reign of Sultān Ibráhím, and how that Prince at length granted him a pardon :—

عفو سلطان نامدار رضی بر شب من فگند نورِ قمر
التفاتِ عنایتش برداشت بارِ رنج از تن من مُضطَر
سوی مولد کشید هوش مرا یوبهٔ دختر و هوای پسر
چون بهندوستان شدم ساکن بر ضیاع و عقارِ پیرِ پدر
بنده بو نصر برگماشت مرا بعمل همچو نائبان دگر آلتِ

“The pardon of the renowned Sultān Raḍi threw moonlight on my night ;

His attentive kindness removed the burden of grief from the body of me the afflicted.

Longing for my daughter and craving for my son drew my thoughts towards my birth-place.

¹ By the word *ḥaḍrat* (حضرت) Ghaznín is here meant, for *ḥaḍrat* in the language of the old writers means the capital or metropolis. Thus the Arab historians always make use of this term in speaking of Baghdad, while ath-Tha'alibí, who was contemporary with the Sámánids, always speaks of Bukhárá as “*ḥaḍrat*” in his *Yatimat'u'd-Dahr*. So Mas'úd-i-Sa'd constantly employs it in speaking of Ghaznín, e.g. in the *qaṣida* beginning :—

ز شاه بینم دلهای اهل حضرت شاد
هزار رحمت بر شاه و اهل حضرت باد
من این نشاط که دیدم ز خلق در غزنین
بدیدم خواهم تا روز چند در بغداد

When I was established in India over the farms and estates of my old father,

Thy servant Bū Naṣr appointed me to office just as he appointed other deputies."

In another *qasida* in praise of "the favourite of the King of the East," by which expression is apparently meant 'Alī the favourite (*Khāṣṣ*) of Sultān Ibrāhīm, he says:—

ای خاصه شاه شرق فریاد چرخم بگشده می ز بیداد

"Help, O favourite of the King of the East! Fate is killing me with her injustice!"

And after a few more verses he continues:—

درویشی و نیستی ز لوهوور برگند و بحضرت فرستاد
نان پاره خویشان بجستم از شاه ظهیر دولت و داد
این رنگ بجز عدو نیامیخت این بختان جز حسود نهاد
از بهر خدای دست من گیر کز پای تن من اندر افتاد

"Poverty and want drove me forth from Lahore and sent me to the capital (Ghaznī).

I sought for myself justice and some means of livelihood from King Dhahīrū'd-Dawla.¹

None but an enemy hath contrived this stratagem, none but an envier hath put forward this calumny.

For God's sake take my hand (i.e. help me), for my body is fallen from its feet!"

In another *qasida* in praise of 'Alī Khāṣṣ (or 'Alī the favourite, to whom reference is made above) he says, after describing his condition in prison:—

¹ By "Sultān Radī" and "Dhahīrū'd-Dawla" is meant Sultān Ibrāhīm of Ghazna, to whom these titles belonged. In histories, as well as in 'Awfi's *Lubābu'l-Albāb* and *Jawdmī'u'l-Hikāyat*, he is generally called "Sultān Radī," without other name or title, from which it appears that it was by this title that he was generally known.

اگر نبودی تیمارِ آن ضعیفہٴ زال
 کہ چشمہاش چو ابرست و اشک چو باران
 خدای داند اگر غم نہاد می بردل
 کہ حالِ گیتی ہرگز نہ دیدہ ام یکسان
 ولیک زالی دارم کہ در کنار مرا
 چو جان شیرین پرورد و مرد کرد و کلان
 نہ بست ہرگز اورا خیال و نندیشید
 کہ من بقلعہٴ سو مانم او بہندستان

“ *Were it not for my anxiety for that poor old woman, whose eyes are like the clouds and whose tears are like the rain, God knows whether I would lay such grief on my heart, for never have I seen the state of the world abiding in one condition !*

But I have an aged mother, who nursed me in her bosom like her dear life, and brought me up to man's estate :

Never did she dream or imagine that I should lie in the Castle of Sû while she dwelt in India.”

In another *qasida* he says :—

وسید عید و من از روی حورِ دلبر دور
 چگونه باشم بی روی آن بہشتی حور
 مرا کہ گوید کای دوست عید فترخ باد
 نگارِ من بہ لہاوور و من بہ نیشاپور
 چہ یادِ شہر لہاوور و یارِ خویش کنم
 نبود کس کہ شد از شہر و یارِ خویش نفور
 مرا بہ است بہر حالی و بہر وجہی
 جمالِ حضرتِ غزنین ز شہر لہاوور

"The festal time is come, and I am far from the face of that charming houri ;

How can I exist without the face of that houri of Paradise ?

Who shall say to me, ' O friend, a happy festival to thee !'

When my sweetheart is at Lahore while I am in Nishápur ?

Why do I recall the city of Lahore and my friends ?

[Because] no one can be indifferent to his friends and his native land.

Yet, in any case and in every way, to me

The beauty of the Court of Ghaznín is better than the city of Lahore."

In another *qaṣida* entirely addressed to Lahore, wherein he grieves and pines for the days passed in this his native town, he says :—

ای لاهور و یحک بی من چگونه

بی آفتاب تابان روشن چگونه

تا این عزیز فرزند از تو جدا شده است

با درد او بنوحه و شیون چگونه

تو مرغزار بودی و من شیر مرغزار

با من چگونه بودی بی من چگونه آخ

" O Lahore, wel-a-way, how farest thou without me ? How canst thou be bright without the luminous Sun ?

Since this dear son of thine was parted from thee, how farest thou in grieving for him with groanings and lamentations ?

Thou wert the thicket, and I the lion of that thicket : how wert thou with me, and how art thou [now] without me ?"

In another poem, after complaining of his imprisonment, he makes the following request of some great man :—

کارِ اطلاقِ من چو بسته بماند که همی ایزدش نه بگشاید

مر مرا حاجتی همی باشد و ز دلم خارش همی زاید

مخملی باید از خداوندم که ازو بوی لوهوور آید
که همی ز آرزوی لوهوور جان و دل در تنم همی ناید

*"Since the question of my release has now been tangled, so that
God Himself cannot unloose it,
I have an urgent need, and a craving arises in my heart :
I want from my lord some velvet to remind me of Lahore
[literally, from which emanates the fragrance of Lahore],
For, through longing for Lahore, heart and soul faint within
me."*

In another passage, whilst complaining of the filth of his prison, and indicating the comfort which he enjoyed in his own country, he says :—

گرمابه سه داشتم بلاهور وین نزد همه کسی عیان است
امروز سه سال شد که مویم مانندۀ موی کافران است
بر تارک و گوش و گردن من گوئی نهد ترگران است

*"I had three baths at Lahore, a fact patent to everyone ;
To-day it is three years that my hair is like the hair of the
unbelievers ;
On the crown of my head and over my ears and neck
You would say it is moist and matted felt [which falls]."*

In another passage wherein, after describing his prison, he expresses his longing for his country, he says :—

از زمانه نکرده ام گلۀ ' تاکه دانسته ام که مجبور است
مر مرا گاه گاه رنج کند ' همه ام یوبۀ لوهوور است

*"I have not uttered one complaint against Fortune, since
I know that she acts under compulsion :
The only thing which troubles me from time to time is my
longing for Lahore."*

In the following quatrain also, composed in prison, he thus speaks of his longing for his country:—

دانی تو که با بندِ گرانم یا رب ' دانی که ضعیف و ناتوانم یا رب
شد در غمِ لوهو روانم یا رب ' یا رب که در آرزوی آنم یا رب

*"Thou knowest that I lie in grievous bonds, O Lord!
Thou knowest that I am weak and feeble, O Lord!
My spirit goes out in longing for Lahore, O Lord!
O Lord, how I crave for it, O Lord!"*

I think that these passages suffice to establish my contention. So the following verse from a *qaṣida* in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm:—

بهیچ نوع گناهی دگر نمیدانم
مرا جز اینکه درین شهر مولد و منشاست

"I in no wise recall any crime which I have committed save that I was born and bred in this city"—

which Rieu in his *Persian Catalogue* (p. 548) assumes to refer to Ghazna, without doubt refers in reality to Lahore, firstly, in the light of the explicit statements contained in the verses already cited, and secondly, because all the *qaṣidas* composed by Mas'ūd in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd were composed in India at the time when Sayfu'd-Dawla was viceroy of that country, and our poet was attached to his court. And the following verse from the same *qaṣida*:—

اگر بریشان سحرِ حلال بر خوانم
جز این نگویند آخر که کودک و برناست

"Even though I should recite unto them 'lawful magic,' they will say nothing but 'He is a mere lad and a stripling'"—

is also a clear proof that this *qaṣida* was composed in India, since the period of his childhood and youth was spent in India, and only at a later date did he come to Ghaznín and suffer what he suffered.

So, again, in the case of the verse—

گردل بطمع بستم شعر است بضاعت
 ورا حمتی کردم اصل از همدان است

“If I suffered my heart to be covetous, poetry was the merchandise
 [I coveted],

And if I committed a foolish action, the origin was from
 Hamadán”—

which occurs in a well-known *qaṣida*, in praise of Thiqatū'l-Mulk Ṭāhir b. 'Alī b. Mushkán, beginning:—

طاهر ثقة الملك سپهر است و جهان است
 نه راست بگفتم که نه این است نه آن است

“Ṭāhir Thiqatū'l-Mulk is the heaven and the earth; nay,
 I speak untruly, he is neither this nor that”—

what he means is that his family was originally of Hamadán; not that he was born there,¹ as some of the *tadhkira*-writers, ignoring the verses which explicitly declare him to have been a native of Lahore in India, have supposed. So when 'Awfī says (vol. ii, p. 246), “Although his birth-place was Hamadán,” etc., he is evidently in error, the source of this error being the couplet quoted above. Indeed, I am practically certain that Mas'úd's father Sa'd was also born in India, for it is unlikely that one who had served the kings of Ghazna for sixty years and administered their provinces should have been a foreigner and a fugitive from a distant country. Apparently one of our poet's ancestors emigrated from Hamadán and settled in Lahore, confirmation of which assumption is afforded by the line—

¹ Although the compound *hama-dán* means “all-knowing,” the inhabitants of the city of Hamadán have the reputation of being extremely stupid, as appears in the following well-known verses generally ascribed to the celebrated Badī'u'z-Zamán al-Hamadání, though Ibn Khallikán (vol. i, p. 113 of de Slane's translation) ascribes them to another author:—“*Hamadán is my native place; I must allow it that honour; but it is the vilest of cities. Its children are, for ugliness, like old men; and its old men, for reason, like children.*”

که بنده زاده این دولتیم بهفت تبار'

occurring in some verses cited on p. 729 *infra*. As for Dawlatsháh's statement that Mas'úd was a native of Jurján, there is absolutely no evidence in support of it; though, indeed, not the slightest weight or credit can be accorded to the unsupported assertions of this writer.

III. *The Period at which he flourished.*

In the *Diván* of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán poems are found in praise of five Sultáns of the House of Ghazna, *viz.*: (1) Sultán Abu'l-Mudhaffar Dhahíru'd-Dawla Raḍiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím b. Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd b. Subuktigín, who reigned forty-two years, from A.H. 450 to A.H. 492 (= A.D. 1058-1099); (2) Sultán 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Mas'úd b. Ibráhím (A.H. 492-508 = A.D. 1099-1114); (3) 'Adudu'd-Dawla Shírzád b. Mas'úd b. Ibráhím (A.H. 508-509 = A.D. 1114-1115); (4) Abu'l-Mulúk Arslánsháh b. Mas'úd b. Ibráhím (A.H. 509-511 = A.D. 1115-1117); (5) Sultán-i-Ghází Yamínu'd-Dawla Bahrámsháh b. Mas'úd b. Ibráhím (A.H. 511-552 = A.D. 1117-1157, according to the most correct statements).¹ Now since Sultán Ibráhím and Bahrámsháh both reigned for a long while, it is clearly impossible that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán can have flourished from the beginning of the reign of the former until the end of the reign of the latter, since this represents a period of more

¹ Mas'úd's *Diván* contains poems in praise of a certain Khusraw Malik, and at first sight it might be supposed that Khusraw Malik the last King of Ghazna is intended. But if we consider the date of Mas'úd's death (A.H. 515 = A.D. 1121-2) and that of Khusraw Malik (A.H. 587 = A.D. 1191), this idea will be instantly dispelled. Moreover, this Khusraw Malik is the son of Malik Arslán, as Mas'úd says in a *qaṣída* wherein he sings his praises:—

بقای دولتِ عالی که در جهان شرف

“باغ ملک جو خسرو ملک نشاند نهال

هلال ملک است این پادشاه زاده و باد

“بر اوجِ شاهِی ایمن ز هر کسوف و زوال

than a century. Fortunately, however, I have found in his poems two explicit and two implicit indications as to the beginning and end of his career, which clearly define the period of his life, as I shall now set forth in detail.

As was shown in a preceding section of this article, Mas'ud-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán was born and bred in India; and inasmuch as the affairs of India, and the conquests and campaigns effected in that country, were committed by Sultán Ibráhím to the care of Sayfu'd-Dawla 'Izzu'l-Milla Abu'l-Qásim Maḥmúd *Sani'u Amiri'l-Mu'minin*,¹ the most talented and capable of the sons of Sultán Ibráhím, and, apparently, the heir designate to his throne, therefore Mas'ud-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán attached himself to this prince as courtier and panegyrist, and became one of the special favourites and privileged intimates of his court. Moreover, as is well known, after many conquests and countless feats of courage and doughty deeds had been wrought by Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd, his father, desirous of rewarding him for his brave achievements, conferred upon him in the year A.H. 469 (= A.D. 1076-7), as explicitly stated by Mas'ud-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, the viceroyalty of all India, increased his rank and degree, and sent to him from Ghaznín gorgeous

¹ All these titles were official, not mere laudatory epithets. Those of '*Izzu'l-Milla* and '*Sani'u Amiri'l-Mu'minin*' were conferred on him from the metropolis of Baghdad by one or other of the Caliphs al-Qá'im or al-Muqtadí bi-amri'lláh, and for each one Mas'ud composed a *qasida* to congratulate Maḥmúd. Both these *qasidas* occur in his *Diwán*. In one he says:—

ای ترا خوانده صنیع خود امیر المؤمنین
 همچنین با دا جلالت بر زیادت همچنین
 سیف دولت مر ترا زین پیشتر بوده لقب
 عزّمت را بر افزون کرد امیر المؤمنین

And in another place he says:—

صنیع خویش خواند امیر المؤمنین اورا
 شده امکان او افزون که بادش بر فزون امکان

robes of honour, horses, bejewelled arms, and the like. Congratulatory poems on this event were composed by the poets, amongst whom Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán composed a splendid *qasida* beginning :—

چو روی چرخ شد از صبح چون صحنهٔ سیم
 ز قصرِ شاه مرا مژده داد بادِ نسیم
 که عزّ مِلّت محمود سیفِ دولت را
 ابوالمظفر سلطان معظم ابراهیم
 فزود رتبت و حشمت بدولت عالی
 چو کرد مملکت هند را بدو تسلیم
 بنام فرّخ او کرد خطبه در همه هند
 نهاد بر سر اقبالش از شرف دیهیم
 یکی ستام مُرّصع بگوهَرِ الوان
 علی جوادِ کَلّجَم جنح لیل بهیم
 خُجسته بادا بر شاه خلعت سلطان
 بکامکاری بر تخت ملک باد مُقیم

“ *When the face of heaven was [made] by the morning like
 a sheet of silver,
 The zephyr-breeze gave me good tidings from the palace of
 the King,
 Namely, that the mighty Emperor Abu'l-Mudhaffar Ibráhim
 had conferred
 On 'Izzu'l-Milla Sayfu'd-Dawla Mahmúd
 Increase of rank and state by his lofty fortune,
 In that he had committed to his care the Kingdom of India.
 In his auspicious name hath he caused the Khutba to be said
 throughout all India ;
 On his fortunate head hath he placed a diadem for honour.
 [Moreover, he hath given him] a bridle set with jewels of
 divers kinds*

On a noble horse, like the star in the darkest portion of the night.

May the Sultán's investiture of honour be auspicious to the viceroy,

And may he long sit triumphant on the throne of empire !”

Some lines further on he says :—

منجمان همه گفتند کاین دلیل کند
 بحکم زیجر بَدَّانِی که هست در تقویم
 که دیر و زود خطیبان کنند بر منبر
 بنام سیفِ دول خطبهای هفت اقلیم
 بسال پنجه ازین پیش گفت بو رجحان
 دران کتاب که کرده است نام او تفهیم
 که پادشاهی صاحب قران شود بجهان
 چو سالِ هجرت بگذشت تی و سین و سه جیم

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“*All the astronomers say that this proves, according to the tables of Battānī¹ which are to be found in the almanacs, That sooner or later the preachers will pronounce in the pulpits of the seven climes their khuṭbas in the name of Sayfu'd-Dawla.*

Fifty years ago Abū Rayḥān [al-Bīrūnī] said in the book which he entitled ‘Tafhīm,’²

That a King who shall be lord of a conjunction shall appear in the world when 469 years have passed from the Flight.”

I have not been able to find this prediction of Abū Rayḥān [al-Bīrūnī] in the British Museum manuscript of the *Tafhīm*,²

¹ I.e. Muḥammad b. Jābir b. Sinān aṣ-Ṣābī al-Ḥarrānī al-Battānī, who died in A.H. 317 (= A.D. 929), the well-known astronomer and mathematician. In this verse *al-Battānī* has been shortened to *al-Batānī* to suit the metre.

² Add. 7,697, a very fine old MS. dated A.H. 685 (= A.D. 1286). See Rieu's *Catalogue*, pp. 451-452.

but it would appear that the object of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán was to strengthen and support his statement by advancing it on the authority of no less a man than al-Bírúní (whose fame had spread through East and West, and who, moreover, was specially connected with the House of Ghazna, since he composed many of his works in that city, and dedicated them to princes of this Royal House), and not to lay any particular stress on the *Tafhim*, which is an elementary treatise on Astronomy, not such a work as would be likely to contain predictions as to the future. And since the *Tafhim* was composed in the year A.H. 420 (= A.D. 1029), fifty years all but one year had elapsed from that time to the time when Sayfu'd-Dawla was appointed viceroy of India, i.e. A.H. 469 (= A.D. 1076-7). The expression "fifty years ago," then, is literal, not metaphorical.

Another date likewise can be deduced, though it is not directly mentioned, from one of his *qaṣidas*; and this indirectly-expressed date refers to a period two or three years antecedent to that mentioned above. The verse in question occurs in a *qaṣida* in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd, beginning :—

مگر مشاطۀ بستان شدند باد و سحاب

که این به بستش پیرایه و آن گشاد نقاب

"*Have the wind and the cloud become the tire-women of the garden,*

That the latter hath decked it with ornaments, and the former hath removed its veil ?"

and runs as follows :—

خجسته بادت نوروز و این چنین نوروز

هزار جفت شده با مه رجب دریاب

"*A happy New Year to you ! May you see a thousand such New Year's Days fall in the month of Rajab !*"

Now the New Year's Day only fell in the month of Rajab in the three years A.H. 465, 466, and 467 (= A.D. 1073-1075);¹ consequently our poet must have composed this *qaṣida* in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd in one of these three years. From all this it follows that Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān's first appearance must have been in or after the year A.H. 465.

For determining the end of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān's period, he himself likewise supplies one explicit date, to wit, that of the coronation of Arslānshāh b. Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm, giving the year, the month, and the day, as follows:—

بعونِ ایزد شش روز رفته از شَوّال
 برآمد از فلکِ دولت آفتابِ کمال
 چهارشنبه بود و چهارگوشهٔ تخت
 گرفت نصرت و تأیید و دولت و اقبال
 گذشته پانصد و نه سال تازی از هجرت
 زهی مبارک ماه و زهی مبارک سال
 جهان بعدل بیاراست آن بزرگ ملک
 که دین و دولت ازو یافته است قُرو جمال
 ابوالملوک ملک ارسلان بن مسعود
 که بحر کوه و قارست و کوه بحر نوال

“By the help of God, when six days had elapsed of the month
 of Shawwāl,

The Sun of Perfection arose in the Heaven of Empire.

It was a Wednesday when the four corners of the Throne

Received victory and help and empire and fortune.

¹ That is, having regard to the fact that this *qaṣida* is in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd; for the New Year's Day (March 21, the Vernal Equinox) fell in the month of Rajab in the years A.H. 421-423 (= A.D. 1030-1032), and again in the years A.H. 498-500 (= A.D. 1105-1107); but in the former cycle he was probably yet unborn, while in the second he was probably dead, or at least dethroned and despoiled, while Mas'ūd, after he had been imprisoned on account of Sayfu'd-Dawla in A.H. 480 (= A.D. 1087-8), never again mentioned his name.

*Five hundred and nine years of the Arabs had passed since
the Flight :¹*

O fortunate month and O fortunate year !

That great King adorned the world with his justice,

From whom Church and State received glory and beauty.

Abu'l-Mulúk, King Arslán ibn Mas'úd,

*Who is the ocean of the mountain of dignity, and the mountain
of the ocean of bounty !"*

Yet another date can be deduced from certain of his *qaṣidas*, which date, though not explicitly mentioned, certainly falls at least three years after the date above mentioned, *i.e.* in A.H. 509 (= A.D. 1116). The *qaṣidas* in question are those which he composed in praise of Bahrámsháh, so that he certainly lived for at least three years longer, *i.e.* till A.H. 511, which was the year of Bahrámsháh's accession, though how much longer he may have survived we do not certainly know. 'Alí-qulí Khán Dághistání in his *Riyáḍu'sh-Shu'ará*, Ghulám 'Alí Khán "Ázád" in his *Subḥatu'l-Marján*, and Ridá-qulí Khán in his *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá* all assert, on the authority of the *Chahár Maqála*, that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán survived until A.H. 515 (= A.D. 1121-2),² and this conjecture is so probable and reasonable that its truth may almost be assumed. But Taqí Káshí and other biographers place his death in the year A.H. 525 (= A.D. 1131), which, though possible, is less probable. In my opinion it appears, on the whole, most likely that he died in A.H. 515.

Having now determined, as far as possible, the date of Mas'úd's first appearance as a poet, and the year of his death, we shall endeavour to determine, so far as possible, the year of his birth, as deducible from his own verses.

In a *qaṣida* in praise of Sultán 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán says, after complaining of his imprisonment and captivity :—

¹ This date, Wednesday, Shawwál 6, A.H. 509, is equivalent to Wednesday, February 22, A.D. 1116.

² This passage, though it must have existed in their copies, is not to be found in either of the two manuscripts of the British Museum, nor in the lithographed edition published at Tihrán, nor in a transcript of the Constantinople MS. made for Professor Browne.

شصت دوتا کرد مرا همچو شست

سال بدین جای رسید از شمار

"Sixty [years] have bent me like a hook: to this point have the years come in computation."

And in another *qaṣida*, in praise of the same personage, he says, without any mention of or reference to his imprisonment:—

شصت و دو سالگی ز تن من ببرد زور

زان پس که بود در همه میدان مرا مجال

"Sixty-two years have sapped the strength of my body, after I had enjoyed a free course in every field."

From this last verse we may infer that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd was 62 years of age in one of the years of the reign of Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, i.e. between A.H. 492 and 508 (= A.D. 1099-1115); and since in the *qaṣida* wherein this verse occurs he makes no allusion to, or complaint of, his imprisonment, it is evident that at the time when he composed it, he was no longer in prison; for, from an examination of his other prison-poems, it appears certain that it was impossible for him to compose a *qaṣida* in prison without making long complaint of his imprisonment and misfortunes. Remember also, from what has preceded this,¹ that in the year A.H. 467 at latest he composed a *qaṣida* in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd beginning:—

مگر مشاطة بستان شدند باد و سحاب

که این به بستش پیرایه و آن گشاد نقاب

From a comparison of these three things the following conclusion results.

If we suppose that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán composed the *qaṣida* in which he describes himself as being 62 years of

¹ See pp. 714-715, *supra*.

age in the last year of the reign of Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, *i.e.* in A.H. 508 (= A.D. 1114–1115), then his birth would fall in the year (508–62 =) A.H. 446 (= A.D. 1054–5), and his age at the time when he celebrated the praises of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd in A.H. 467 (= A.D. 1074–5) would have been 21, which supposition, though not impossible, is very improbable, to wit, that a poet only 21 years of age should produce so splendid a poem, and should already be one of the poets and courtiers of so great a prince. But if we assume that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd composed the above-mentioned *qaṣida* in the third year¹ of the reign of Sulṭán Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, *i.e.* in A.H. 494 (= A.D. 1100–1101), then the poet's birth would fall in the year (494–62 =) A.H. 432 (= A.D. 1040–1041), and his age at the time when he sung the praises of Sayfu'd-Dawla in A.H. 467 would have been 35 years, which hypothesis is both plausible and probable, though possibility is no proof of actuality. But at any rate the birth of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd necessarily and certainly falls between the years A.H. 432 and 446 (= A.D. 1040 and 1054), or, in other words, its possible range covers fourteen years, a period, in truth, somewhat spacious, and not sufficiently precise to satisfy the enquiring mind.

Fortunately, however, we have another indication which considerably limits and narrows this period, to wit, the assertion of Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd was imprisoned for eight more years after the accession of Sulṭán Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, whence it follows that his release from prison must have taken place in A.H. 500 (= A.D. 1106–1107), which was the eighth year of this Sulṭán's reign. So now we are entitled to say that since Mas'úd-i-Sa'd was in prison when he was 60 years of age (as shown by the first verse), and was not in prison when he was 62 years of age (as shown by the second verse), therefore his release from prison must have taken place either in his 60th, his 61st, or his 62nd

¹ This is the earliest possible date: for we cannot assume that he composed the *qaṣida* in which he describes himself as being 62 years of age in the first year of the reign of Mas'úd, since the other *qaṣida* in which he describes himself as being 60 years of age is in praise of the same monarch. He must, therefore, have been at most 63 years of age in the third year of Mas'úd's reign.

year. And one who in the year A.H. 500 (= 1106-7) was either 60, or 61, or 62 must necessarily have been born in A.H. 440, or 439, or 438 (= A.D. 1046-1049). And since his death, according to the most probable conjecture, took place in the year A.H. 515 (= A.D. 1121-2), his age when he died must have been 75, 76, or 77 years.

IV. *The different Periods of Mas'ud's life.*

(a) *First Period : Period of Happiness*

(A.H. 440-480 = A.D. 1048-1088).

The first period of Mas'ud's life, a period of happiness, extended from A.H. 440-480 (= A.D. 1048-1088), namely, from the beginning of his life until he was sent to prison. During this period he resided chiefly in Lahore and other parts of India, and occasionally in Ghaznín, and was attached to the court of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd, viceroy of India, being at the same time one of his favourite courtiers and principal military commanders, and taking active part in most of his conquests and expeditions, so that his valorous exploits were famous. Just as in poetry he was, in his own words, "the Rúdakí and the [Abú Nuwás] ibn Hání of his time," so also, on the field of battle, was he reckoned the Rustam and the 'Antara of his age, while his prodigal liberality clearly appears from the panegyrics composed on him by contemporary poets. He himself often refers to his courage in battle, as in the following *qaṣida* which he composed in prison :—

تا مرا بود برولايت دست ' بودم ايزد پرست و شاه پرست
 امر شهرا و حكم التهر ' نه بدادم بهيچ وقت از دست
 دل بغزوه بشغل داشتمی ' دشمنان را از ان همی دل خست
 چون بكفار می نهادم روی ' بس كس از تيغ من همی به نرست
 بيكى حمله من افستادی ' جل دشمن ز شش هزار نشست

مگر از زخم تیغ من آهن ' حلقه گشت و ز زخم تیغ بجست
آمد اکنون دو پای من بگرفت ' خویشتن در حمایتم پیوست

"So long as I had a hand in the government, I was loyal to
God and to the King.

At no time did I forsake the King's order or God's command.
I occupied my mind with warfare [against the infidels]; the
hearts of the foe were wearied therewith.

When I turned my face towards the heathen, many were they
who escaped not from my sword.

At one charge of mine from six thousand saddles fell the greater
number of the foemen.

But it would seem that by the blows of my sword the iron,
recoiling from the sword-blows, has become a ring,

And has now come, and, coiling round my feet [as a fetter],
has cast itself under my protection."

So in another prison-poem he says:—

نه ز من جُست هیچ شیرو پلنگ
نه ز من رست هیچ بیشه و غار
گه مرا باد بود زیر عنان
گه مرا ابر بود جُفت مهار
سرکشان را ز من سبک شد دل
دسته‌ها را ز من گران شد بار
گُند شد مرگ را ز من دندان
تیز شد رزم را ز من بازار
باز نشناخت هیچ وقت همی
دشمنم روز روشن از شب تار
آن همه شد کنون مرا سُنجی است
بر سر کوه در میانۀ غار

"From me no lion or leopard hath escaped; against me no thicket or cave is secure:

Now the wind was beneath my reins; now the cloud accompanied my [camel's] halter.

The hearts of the valiant grew light (i.e. faint) because of me; hands were heavy through me (i.e. through my liberality).

Death's teeth were blunted by reason of me; War's market was made brisk by me.

Ne'er could my enemy distinguish the bright day from the dark night.

All this is now gone by, and I have but a prison-cell in the midst of a cavern on a mountain-top."

And many similar verses are to be found in his *Diwán*. To this period belong all the *qaṣidas* which he composed in praise of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd to celebrate his victories, campaigns, and doughty deeds in India, and to congratulate him on the titles, investitures of honour, and promotions which were sent to him from Ghaznín and Baghdad. It is strange that in the histories no mention is made of the life or great deeds of Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd, so that, did we not possess the panegyric poems of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd and Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī, they would be entirely forgotten, and no record of them would remain.

وَتَرَى ثَنَاءَ الرَّوْذَكِيِّ مُخْلَدًا ' مِّنْ كُلِّ مَا جَمَعْتَ بَنُو سَامَانَ

"Of all that the House of Sámán achieved, thou seest only the praise of Rūdaki immortalised."

(b) *Second Period: Period of Imprisonment*

(A.H. 480-500 = A.D. 1088-1107).

After Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán had remained for some while thus prosperous and happy in the service of Sayfu'd-Dawla, ill-luck overtook him, and his good fortune was changed to adversity. He came from India to Ghaznín to demand justice against certain persons who had robbed him of his

farms and estates, but on his arrival there fell under suspicion, and, by order of Sultán Ibráhím b. Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd, was cast into prison, where he remained for ten whole years, of which seven were passed in the Castles of Sú and Dahak, and three in the Castle of Náý. After the lapse of these ten years, Sultán Ibráhím, on the intercession of Abu'l-Qásim-i-Kháṣṣ, pardoned him and released him from prison. He then returned to India, and was again placed in possession of his father's farms and estates. At this juncture Sultán Ibráhím died, and his son, Sultán Mas'úd, reigned in his stead. The new king conferred the viceroyalty of India on his son Amír 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Shírzáḍ b. Mas'úd, and Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí, the deputy-governor and commander-in-chief of Shírzáḍ, appointed Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán to the government of Chálandar, which was apparently one of the dependencies of Lahore. Shortly afterwards Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí fell into disgrace, and Mas'úd-i-Sa'd, being one of his *protégés*, was also dismissed from the government of Chálandar, and imprisoned in the fortress of Maranj, where he was again confined for a period of eight or nine years, until at length he was released at the instance of Thiqatu'l-Mulk Ṭáhir b. 'Alí b. Mushkán.

We shall now proceed to treat in detail of the matters summarized above, and shall cite in chronological order such of his poems as afford indications of them.

The First Imprisonment.

This, as has been already mentioned, lasted ten years, of which the first seven were passed in the Castles of Sú and Dahak, and the last three in the Castle of Náý,¹ as he himself explicitly says:—

¹ Nidhámí-i-'Arúḍí says (p. 74 of the *tirage-à-part* of Browne's translation) that Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán was imprisoned for twelve years in the reign of Sultán Ibráhím, and both he and 'Awfí appear to imply that the whole of this period was passed in the Castle of Náý. Both of these propositions are false, and the inference is contradicted by the poet's own words, as will shortly appear. The other *tadhkirah*-writers have followed these two authors in both errors, as was to be expected. The second error, namely that his whole period of imprisonment was spent at Náý, arises from the rare opportunity for a word-play

هفت سالم بکوفت سو و دهک ' پس از آنم سه سال قلعه نای

"*Sû and Dahak broke my spirit for seven years, and thereafter, for three years, the Castle of Nây.*"

During this period he sought to secure the good offices and obtain the intercession of all the nobles, ministers and courtiers of Sultân Ibrâhîm, such as 'Alî Khâṣṣ and his son Muḥammad Khâṣṣ, Abu'r - Rushd Rashîd Khâṣṣ, Bihrûz b. Aḥmad the *wazîr* and his son Muḥammad b. Bihrûz, and 'Abdu'l - Ḥamîd b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu's - Ṣamad the *wazîr*, composing several *qaṣîdas* in praise of each, and describing his sufferings in prison. He even addressed direct appeals for pardon and pity to Sultân Ibrâhîm himself, sending him pathetic poems wherein he mingles with praises of that monarch pitiful descriptions of his captivity; but all was of no avail, for he was merely transferred from harsh to harsher prison and from grievous to more grievous bonds, until at last, after ten years, he was pardoned and released by Sultân Ibrâhîm on the intercession of Abu'l-Qâsim Khâṣṣ. All his prison-poems wherein he praises the above-mentioned ministers and nobles, and in which he mentions the names of the Castles of Sû, Dahak or Nây,¹ were composed in the reign of Sultân Ibrâhîm and belong to this first period of captivity.

In a *qaṣîda* in praise of 'Alî Khâṣṣ, one of the favourite nobles at the court of Sultân Ibrâhîm, he states that the poem was composed during his imprisonment in the Castle of Sû, and that during his previous imprisonment in the

which the name afforded the poet, since Nây, as a common noun, means "flute," "trumpet," and "throat." Of this opportunity he takes full advantage, and indulges in all manner of puns, amphibologies, and similar figures, so that the name became familiar to all; while the names of Sû and Dahak, not lending themselves to such treatment, are seldom mentioned in his poems, and have therefore remained comparatively unknown.

¹ I have not been able to determine the positions of Sû and Nây, which appear to have been two insignificant castles, possessing neither importance nor celebrity sufficient to cause the old geographers to mention them. Dahak, however, is one of the stations on the road between Zaranj, the capital of Sistân, and Bust, which is within the confines of Zâbulistân, that is, of the kingdom of Ghazna. See de Goeje's *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, Iṣṭakhrî, pp. 249-250; Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 305; Muqaddasî, p. 350.

Castle of Dahak he had been more comfortable and better treated, and that 'Alī Khaṣṣ, whenever he passed by Dahak, had been wont to show him some favour and kindness; but that now, since he had been confined in the Castle of Sú, he was utterly wretched and destitute, and entirely cut off from his friends and kinsmen. Some verses of this *qaṣīda* have been already cited to prove the place of his birth:—

برین حصار مرا با ستاره باشد راز،
 چشمِ خویش همی بینم احتراق و قران،
 دگر نه از من کس را همی بیاید یاد،
 که هست یا نه مسعود سعد بن سلمان،
 نشسته بودم در کج خانه بدهک،
 بدولت تو مرا بود سیم و جامه و نسان،
 چو بر حصار گذشتی خجسته رایت تو،
 شدی دهادم بر من مبرّت و احسان،
 کنون نگویم کا حسان تو ز من بپرید،
 که چون حساب کنم بر شود ز عقد بنان،
 بدولت تو مرا نیست اندۀ نفقات،
 ز خلعت تو مرا نیست جامۀ خلقان،
 و لیک گشت مرا طبع این هوای عفن،
 ز حیر گشتم از این مردمان بی سامان،
 اگر نبودی تیمار آن ضعیفۀ زال،
 که چشمهایش چو ابراست و اشک چون باران،
 خدای داند اگر غم نهاده می بردل،
 که حال گیتی هرگز ندیده ام یکسان.

ولیک زالی دارم که در کنار مرا
 چو جان شیرین پرورد و مرد کرد و کلان
 نبست هرگز اورا خیال و نندیشید
 که من بقلعه سو مانم او بهندستان

"On this citadel I hold converse with the stars : I see with my own eyes their combustions and conjunctions.

No longer does anyone remember me, [or care] whether Mas'ūd the son of Sa'd the son of Salmán exists or not.

I used to dwell in a cell at Dahak, where, by thy good fortune, I had money and clothes and bread,

And when thy fortunate standard passed by the fortress, charity and kindness used continually to be vouchsafed to me.

I do not say now that thy kindnesses have been cut off from me, for, when I enumerate them, they are beyond the computation of dactylometry.

By thy good fortune, I need not be anxious about my expenses ; by the garments wherewith thou clothest me, I am saved from wearing rags and tatters.

But the quality of this foul atmosphere is killing me, and I am sick of these ungentle companions.

Were it not for my anxiety," etc. (See, for the translation of the four concluding couplets, p. 705, *supra*.)

In another *qaṣida* in praise of Muḥammad Khāṣṣ (one of the favourites of Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of the above-mentioned 'Alī Khāṣṣ, on whom, after the death of his father, the office of Khāṣṣ or Khāṣṣa was conferred),¹ Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán

¹ Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd has a *qaṣida* lamenting the death of 'Alī Khāṣṣ, and another praising and congratulating Muḥammad b. 'Alī Khāṣṣ b. Khāṣṣ, one hemistich of which runs as follows :—

شد خاص پادشا پسرِ خاصِ پادشا

"The son of the King's Khāṣṣ (page in waiting) hath become the King's Khāṣṣ."

In the same *qaṣida* he also alludes to the name of Sultān Ibrāhīm, so that it appears that 'Alī Khāṣṣ died during his reign, and that he conferred the father's office on the son Muḥammad. It is not certain what were the functions of

says that he had been in prison for more than nine years, whence it is evident that at the time he composed it he was imprisoned in the castle of Náy :—

فزون است نه سال تا من کنون ' نه با دوستانم نه با دودمان
مرا جای کوه است و اندوه کوه ' تنم در میان دو کوه کلال

"It is now more than nine¹ years since I am neither with my friends nor with my family ;

My place is in a mountain and my grief is as a mountain, so that my body lies between two great mountains."

In another *qaṣida* in praise of Sultán Ibráhím he says that he has languished in prison for nearly ten years, which is the longest period mentioned by him in his poems in connection with his first imprisonment. After singing the praises of Sultán Ibráhím, he says :—

بزرگوار خدایا چو قرب ده سال است '
که می بکاهد جان من از غم و تیمار '
یکی برحمت بر جان و بر تنم بخشای '
که من نه درخور بندم شما نه اهل حصار '

"O great lord, since it is nearly ten years that my soul is wasted away by grief and care,

Take pity for once in mercy on my soul and body, for I deserve not bonds, O King, nor am I one who ought to be interned."

If we compare these verses with those already cited (p. 723, *supra*) : "*Sú and Dahak broke my spirit for seven years, and thereafter, for three years, the Castle of Náy,*" it appears certain that the tenth year to which they allude was the last

a "*Khāṣṣ*" or "*Khāṣṣa*"; they must have corresponded approximately to those of a page in waiting (*pish-khidmat-i-makhṣūs*), or lord of the bedchamber (*Amin-i-Ḥuḍūr*), or lord high chamberlain (*Hājibū'd-Dawla*), or the like.

¹ Thus in the two British Museum manuscripts, but the lithographed Tīhrán edition reads "ten years," which is evidently an error.

of his first imprisonment, which consequently endured ten years.

In another *qaṣida* in praise of Abu'l-Qásim, the *Kháṣṣa* of Sultán Ibráhím,¹ he tenders him his thanks for delivering

¹ In this *qaṣida*, some of the verses of which are cited in the text, the poet makes no mention of Sultán Ibráhím indicating that Abu'l-Qásim was his *Kháṣṣa* (chamberlain, or page in waiting), but in another *qaṣida*, wherein he laments the death of this same Abu'l-Qásim-i-Kháṣṣa, he explicitly mentions the name of Sultán Ibráhím. From this last *qaṣida* it also appears that Abu'l-Qásim predeceased him. The poem in question begins:—

گمان بری که وفا داردت سپهر مگر
تو این گمان میر اندر وقاحتش بنگر

“Perhaps thou dost imagine that Fortune will deal faithfully with thee: think not thus: look at its insolence.”

After some verses of admonition and philosophical resignation he says:—

اگر ز عبرت خواهی که صورتی بینی
بمرگ حاتم سلطان روزگار نگر
عماد دولت ابو القاسم آنکه حشمت او
نهاد خواست جهان را همی نهاد دگر

“If thou desirest to see a warning picture, look at the death of the favourite chamberlain of the Sultán of the Age,

‘Imdád-i-Dawla Abu'l-Qásim, whose high state would have introduced a fresh order into the world.”

And at the conclusion of the poem he says:—

نبود چون تو و نشكفت ز آنکه چون تو نبود
که پرورنده تو بود شاه دین پرور
ظهیر دولت و دین بو المظفر ابراهیم
که دین و دولت ازو یافتند زینت و فر
سپهر دان بدو جمله ملک تا جاوید
خدای ملک برو وقف کرد تا محشر

“There hath not been and hath not flourished anyone like thee, for there was none whose patron was, like thine, the Royal Defender of the Faith *Dhahirü'd-Dawla wa'd-Din Abu'l-Muḥaffar Ibráhím*, by whom Church and State were adorned and glorified.

Fortune hath given him all Empire till Eternity; God hath endowed him with dominion until the Day of Resurrection.”

him from his "last imprisonment" (which, however, was, unfortunately, not his last, since he was destined to spend many a long day thereafter in captivity in the fortress of Maranj). This *qaṣida* he composed in the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm after his release from the Castle of Náy, and it begins thus:—

روزِ نوروز و ماهِ فروردین ' آمدند ای عجب ز خلدِ برین '
 باد فرخنده بر عمیدِ اجل ' خاصهٔ پادشاهِ روی زمین '
 عمدهٔ دین و ملک ابو القاسم ' که بیاراست روی ملکِ بدین '

"*New Year's Day and the month of Farwardin have come,
 O wonderful! from highest Paradise:
 May it be lucky to the glorious minister, the chamberlain of
 the King of the face of the earth,
 Abu'l-Qāsim, the mainstay of Church and State, who hath
 adorned the face of the kingdom with religion.*"

After the panegyric he says:—

گر بتو نیستی قوی دلِ من ' چکدی زهرهٔ من مسکین '
 از تو بودی همهٔ تعهدِ من ' گاهِ محنتِ بحصنهای حصین '
 جان تو دادی مرا پس از ایزد ' اندرین حبس و بند باز پسین '
 بخدائی که صنع و حکمت او ' تابد از گردشِ شعور و سنین '
 که بباقی عمر یک لحظه ' رو نتابم ز خدمتِ پس ازین '

"*Were my heart not strengthened by thee, the courage of poor
 me would ebb away.*

*From thee came all the sympathy which I received in the time
 of my affliction in impregnable fortresses.*

*After God, it was thou who didst give me life in this last
 imprisonment and bondage.*

*[I swear] by that God whose wisdom and creative power shine
 from the revolution of the months and years,*

*That henceforth, for the remainder of my life, I will not turn
 aside my face from thy service."*

Now as to the cause of Mas'úd's first imprisonment. Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí says (p. 72 of E. G. Browne's translation of the *Chahár Maqála*) that it was maliciously reported to Sultán Ibráhím that his son Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd intended to go to 'Iráq to Maliksháh; that the King's jealousy was aroused thereat, and so worked on him that he suddenly caused his son to be arrested, bound, and interned in a fortress, besides arresting and interning his courtiers in various fortresses, and amongst them Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán in the Castle of Náý. In a prison-poem addressed to Sultán Ibráhím he says:—

چو کلک و نیزه اگر راست نیستم دل و تن
چو کلک و نیزه مرا باد بر میان ز تار
چرا ز دولتِ عالی تو به پیچم روی
که بنده زادهٔ این دولتِ بهفت تبار
همی نبینم خود را گناهی و جرمی
مگر سعایت و تلبیس دشمن مکار

"If I be not upright in heart and body, like the pen and the spear,
May my waist wear, like the pen and the spear, the zone [of bondage].
Why should I avert my face from thy noble dynasty, since
I am born of ancestors who for seven generations have served this dynasty.
I see no fault nor crime in myself, but only the deceitful slanders of insidious enemies."

From several of his *qaṣidas* it appears that the accusation made against him by his enemies was that he was "thinking of Khurásán." Thus he says in a prison-poem in praise of the Wazír 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu's-Ṣamad:—

‘در خراسان چو من کجا یابی ‘ که بهر فضل فخر گیهان است
 ‘ورنه دشمن همی کجا گوید ‘ که در اندیشه خراسان است
 ‘گرازین نوع در دلم گشته است ‘ نزد من دیو به ز یزدان است

“ *Where in Khurásán shalt thou find one like me, who in every accomplishment is the Pride of the World?*

If not, how doth mine enemy say, ‘he is thinking of Khurásán’?

If such a thought has ever entered my mind, then a demon in my eyes is better than God!”

In another prison-poem, written during his second imprisonment, he says:—

‘گه خسته آفت لهاورم ‘ گه بسته تهمت خراسانم

“ *Now I am sick with longing for Lahore : now I am in bonds on account of accusations concerning Khurásán.*”

Now what is meant by his “thinking of Khurásán” is apparently, as Nidhámí-i-‘Arúdí explains, that he intended to attach himself to the service of Maliksháh, or something of this sort. Apparently this accusation was not pure calumny, nor entirely devoid of truth. We may conjecture, from the vehement insistence of Sultán Ibráhím on the imprisonment of Mas’úd, notwithstanding all his pathetic and affecting appeals in verse, and from the refusal of the Sultán to listen to the intercession of any one of the *wazírs* and nobles on his behalf, and other hints, that Mas’úd-i-Sa’d-i-Salmán was in some degree culpable. Yet even were it so, whether his fault was of such magnitude that he should have been kept for ten years in prison and in bonds is another matter. And it is strange that in one *qaṣída* composed in the heroic vein, apparently in praise of Sayfu’d-Dawla Maḥmúd, and beginning:—

‘چو عزم کاری کردم مرا که دارد باز

رسد بفرجام آن کارکش کنم آغاز

“ *When I am resolved on anything, who can hold me back ?
That affair which I take in hand is brought to a successful
issue,*”

he says, a few lines further on :—

نمیگذار خسرو ز پیش خویش مرا
که در هوای خراسان یکی کنم پرواز
“ *The King will not suffer me to leave his presence that I may
take one flight in the air of Khurásán.*”

What does this verse mean ? If it means just what his enemies said of him, that he was “thinking of Khurásán,” how then does he say in another place (see p. 730 *supra*) :—

ورنه دشمن همی کجا گوید که در اندیشه خراسان است
گرازین نوع در دلم گشته است نزل من دیو به زیزدان است

How, again, can he say, confirming his saying with an oath :—

والله که چو گرگت یوسفم و آلتۀ بر خیره همی نهند بُهتنام
“ *By God, I am [innocent] as the Wolf of Joseph¹: By God,
Maliciously do they asperse me with calumny !*”

God alone knoweth what is hidden in men's hearts !

Now as to the date of this first imprisonment, Nidhámí-i-Arúdí says : “In the year A.H. 572 (= A.D. 1176-7),” etc.² In this date, besides the obvious error in the hundreds, noticed by the authors of the *Riyádu'sh - Shu'ará* and the

¹ The expression “Wolf of Joseph,” i.e. the wolf whom Joseph's brethren charged with devouring him, is commonly used by the Persians to denote an innocent person who is suspected because appearances are against him, e.g. in the verse :—

گرگ دهن آلوده و یوسف ندیده
“ *A wolf with blood-stained mouth who has not torn Joseph.*”

² See p. 72 of the separate reprint of Browne's translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, and n. 1 at foot of same. It is curious that this error of “572” for “472” occurs in all available copies of the book.

Subḥatu'l-Marjān, and by Professor Browne (*loc. cit.*),¹ the tens and units are also wrong, as proved by Nidhāmī's own words: "Sultān Ibrāhīm departed from this world, leaving that noble man in prison . . . so that, by reason of his relation to Sayfu'd-Dawla, he remained imprisoned for twelve years in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm." Now this monarch died in A.H. 492 (= A.D. 1098-9),¹ and if Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd was imprisoned for twelve years in his reign, it is evident that the beginning of his captivity must be placed in A.H. 480 (= A.D. 1087-8), not in A.H. 472 (= A.D. 1079-1080). The date A.H. 480, then, is what should stand in the text of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī, though in fact it is uncertain in what year he was imprisoned, seeing that every single figure in the date given by Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī is wrong, so that little reliance can be placed even on its emendation. Disregarding the above date (A.H. 472), we may, it is true, place the date of his imprisonment twelve years before the death of Sultān Ibrāhīm, *i.e.* in A.H. 480, but as Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī is in error both as to its duration (which was really ten, not twelve years), and as to Sultān Ibrāhīm's having died leaving him in prison (for he was pardoned and released from prison by that monarch), therefore the date A.H. 480 deduced from these two assertions cannot be regarded as trustworthy. Indeed, little reliance can, in general, be placed on the chronological data furnished by Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī.²

¹ The *Haft Iqlīm* and *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahā*, however, putting the event after its proper time, write "five hundred . . .," though they place the death of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd in A.H. 515 (= A.D. 1121-2).

² Should anyone be inclined to wonder how Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī, who was contemporary with Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salman, could commit so many errors in dealing with one single question, we answer that if the objector will consider how many gross errors and extraordinary mistakes, almost defying correction, he perpetrates in the concluding portion of this very story in speaking of Shihābu'd-Dīn Qutalmush and Sultān Muḥammad at the Gate of Hamadān, in regard to matters which he professes to have heard with his own ears, he will be overcome with astonishment, and will recognize the fact that one who can make such mistakes in matters of which he professes to have been orally informed, may well be excused for any mistakes concerning contemporary events of which he had not such direct accounts. This, indeed, is the way of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī: so long as he speaks of matters of common knowledge, he is very sound and sensible, but directly he enters into any historical question, he makes slips, and

Taking into view all these considerations and weighing the statements of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī with what is explicitly or implicitly stated in the *Divān*, it appears to me that the beginning of Mas'ūd's first imprisonment was subsequent to the year A.H. 480 (A.D. 1087-8), and his release from this imprisonment a little before A.H. 492 (= A.D. 1098-9).

Interval between the two Imprisonments.

After Sultān Ibrāhīm had forgiven Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān and he had been released from prison, he twice visited India, the land of his birth, to look after his farms and estates, and to gladden his eyes with a sight of his son, his daughter, his relations, and his friends, after a separation of ten years. Shortly after this, Sultān Ibrāhīm died, and Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm reigned in his stead, and conferred the viceroyalty of India on his son and successor Amīr 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Shīrẓād. Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān became one of this Prince's courtiers and intimates. Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī, Shīrẓād's deputy-governor and commander-in-chief, showed him special favour, and conferred on him the government of Chālandar, one of the dependencies of Lahore. We shall now proceed to substantiate these statements by citations from his poems.

In a *qaṣida* in praise of Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, Mas'ūd gives some particulars as to his former imprisonments, in the course of which he explicitly declares that Sultān Radī, i.e. Sultān Ibrāhīm, had granted him a pardon.¹ This *qaṣida* he composed during the time when he was governor of Chālandar on behalf of Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī.² Addressing Sultān Mas'ūd, he says :—

commits incessant errors in continuous succession. This is a very curious fact, and I fail to understand the cause of all these blunders, whereof the strangest concern facts which he professes to have heard at first hand, and relates as matters of which he had direct knowledge. It is precisely in such matters that he commits the grossest errors.

¹ Another proof of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī's error in stating that Sultān Ibrāhīm died leaving him in prison.

² Some verses from this *qaṣida* have been already cited on p. 703, *supra*.

ملکا حالِ خویش خواهم گفت ،
 نیک دانم که آیدت باور ،
 در جهان هیچ گوش نشنید است ،
 آنچه دید است چشم من ز غیر ،
 سالها بوده ام چنانکه بود ،
 بچه شیر خواره بی مادر ،
 گه بزاری نشسته ام گریان ،
 جایهائی ز سمج مظلوم تر ،
 گه بساحتی کشیده ام نالان ،
 بندهائی گران تر از لنگر ،
 بر سرِ کوههای بی فریاد ،
 شد جوانی من هببا و هدر ،
 شعر من باده شد بهر محفل ،
 ذکر من تازه شد بهر محضر ،
 عفو سلطان نامدار رضی ،
 بر شب من فگند نور قمر ،
 التفاتِ عنایتش برداشت ،
 بار زنج از تن من مضطر ،
 اصطناعِ رعایتش دریافت ،
 روزگار مرا بحسن نظر ،
 سوی مواد کشید هوش مرا ،
 یوبه دختر و هوای پسر ،
 چون بهندوستان شدم ساکن ،
 بر ضیاع و عقار پیر پدر ،

بنده بو نصر برگماشت مرا
 بعمل همچو نایبان دگر
 من شنیدم که میر ماضی را
 بنده بوده والی لوکر
 پس شگفتی نباشد ار باشد
 مادحت قهرمان چالندر
 تا رساند بجشن هر نظمی
 نقش کرده ز مدح یک دفتر
 سازد از طبع درجهای ثنا
 قیمتی تر ز درجهای درر
 لیکن از بس که دید شعبدها
 گام ننهد همی مگر بحذر
 ترسد از عاقبت که دانسته است
 عادت و عرف گنبد اخضر

"O King, I will declare my condition; I know well that thou wilt believe me.

No ear in the world hath heard of such vicissitudes as my eyes have seen.

For years I have been as is an unweaned babe without its mother.

At one time I have sat weeping in misery in places darker than a prison cell;

At another time in durance I have borne with lamentations fetters heavier than an anchor.

On the tops of pitiless mountains my youth hath been wasted and frittered away.

My poetry was as wine in every assembly, my fame was celebrated in every gathering.

*The pardon of the renowned monarch Radī hath cast moonlight
on my night.*

*His gracious regards have removed the burden of trouble from
my afflicted body.*

*His kindly care hath, by its beneficent regard, brought succour
to my fortune.*

*Longing for my daughter and affection for my son have drawn
my spirit towards my native land.*

*When I took up my abode in India on the farms and estates
of my old father,*

*Your servant Bū Naṣr appointed me to office like other
deputies.*

*I have heard that the late Amīr had a servant who was
governor of Lūkār,*

*Wherefore it is not wonderful if thy panegyrist be the Warden
of Chálandar,*

*So that he may send to thy banquet every poem, a volume
inscribed with thy praises,*

*And may produce by his genius caskets of praise more precious
than caskets of pearls.*

*Yet, having experienced so many of [Fortune's] tricks, he will
not take one single step save with caution,*

*Fearing the final outcome, because he has learned the way and
custom of the green vault [of heaven]."*

At this same period, while governor of Chálandar, was composed his well-known *mathnawī* poem in praise of the courtiers and boon-companions of the Amīr 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Shīrẓád b. Mas'úd, amongst whom he himself was included, which begins:—

برشكال ای بهارهندستان ' ای مجات از بلای تابستان

*"O Season of the Rains, O Spring of India, O Deliverance
from the affliction of Summer!"*

In a portion of this describing his own condition he says:—

من که مسعود سعد سلمانم ' کمتر و پستتر از ندیمانم
 شاه بی موجبی عزیزم کرد ' وز همه بندگان پدید آورد

"I who am Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salman am less and lower than
 the [other] courtiers;
 The Prince honoured me without cause, and made me prominent
 amongst his servants."

By "the Prince"¹ is meant Amír Shīrzáḍ. A few lines
 further on he says, alluding to his weariness and heaviness
 of heart:—

لا جرم چون چنین گراهمانم ' ناخوش و ناترنگ و نادانم
 رفتم اینک بسوی چالندر ' تا کی آیم بشهر بار دگر

"Naturally, since I am so heavy of heart, so unattractive, dull,
 and ignorant,
 Behold, I have gone to Chálandar; how long shall it be ere
 I come again to the city?"

It also appears from this *mathnawī* that the Amír 'Aḍuḍ-d-
 Dawla Shīrzáḍ was viceroy of India during the earlier part
 of the reign of his father, Sultán Mas'ūd, as is also explicitly
 stated in the *Ṭabaqát-i-Nāṣiri*, and that Abú Naṣr-i-Fārsí
 was his deputy, agent, and commander-in-chief. Thus, for
 instance, he says in a section [of this poem] consecrated to
 Abú Naṣr:—

¹ The word *Shāh* in the usage of the older Persian writers is equivalent to
 "Prince" at the present day, that is to say, it was applied both to the King
 and to the more important of his sons who were in the direct succession to the
 throne. This usage is common in the ancient and medieval writers. In this
mathnawī the poet generally speaks of Shīrzáḍ as *Shāh*, although his father
 Mas'ūd, whom he also alludes to as *Shāh*, was alive. So likewise in his other
qaṣidas he applies the title of *Shāh* both to Sayfu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd and to his
 father Sultán Ibrāhīm. At the present day the word *Shāh* is exclusively applied
 to the reigning monarch, never to princes even of the highest rank, nor to the
 Crown Prince himself.

خواجه بو نصر پارسى كه جهان ' هيچ همتا نداردش زمهان '
 شاهرا بوده ناييب كارى ' كرده شغل سپاه سالارى '
 سر همت بلند باد بدو ' شادمان شاه شيرزاد بدو '

*"Khawāja Bū Naṣr of Pārs, whose equal amongst great men
 the world does not possess ;*

*He is the Prince's deputy in the business of the State,
 exercising the functions of commander-in-chief.*

*May the head of high emprise be exalted by him, and may
 Prince Shīrśād rejoice in him !"*

From a previously cited *qaṣida* it appears that it was Abú Naṣr who appointed Mas'úd-i-Sa'd to the government of Chálandar. Apparently it happened that after some while, in consequence of malicious insinuations made by Abu'l-Faraj (seemingly not him called *Rūnī*), Abú Naṣr-i-Fārsí fell under the displeasure of Sulṭán Mas'úd, as our poet says in a fragment beginning :—

بو الفرج شرم نامدت كه بجهد ' بچنين حبس و بندم افكندى '

*"O Abu'l-Faraj, art thou not ashamed of having, by thy
 [malicious] efforts, cast me into such imprisonment and
 bondage ?"*

which he addresses in reproach to Abu'l-Faraj :—

ويانچنين قوتى تراست كه تو ' پارسى را كنى شكاوندى '

*"And such power hast thou that thou overthrowest [by thy
 calumnies]¹ him of Pārs."*

After Abú Naṣr of Pārs had fallen into disgrace, every one of his adherents was overtaken by some punishment or misfortune, and amongst them was Mas'úd-i-Sa'd, who was

¹ The word *Shikāwandī* means literally tunneling or mining, but here it is used metaphorically in the sense of traducing and slandering.

imprisoned for eight years in the fortress of Maranj,¹ as Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí says: "And the duration of the imprisonment which he suffered in the reign of Sultán Mas'úd by reason of his relations with Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí was eight years."²

Now the interval separating the end of the reign of Sultán Ibráhím from the beginning of the reign of Mas'úd was of brief duration, and though we have no hint which might serve to determine its extent, yet, since Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí makes no mention of it, treating the second imprisonment as an extension of the first, it would appear to have been very short. Moreover, Mas'úd-i-Sa'd, in many passages of his poetry, hints at the brief duration of this interval, during which he was invested with the government of Chálandar and other state employment; and in one passage in praise of Sultán Mas'úd (erroneously printed "Maḥmúd") he says:—

آتشِ شغلِ من مجسّته هنوز دودِ عزلِ من برآمد از وزن

"Ere the fire of my appointment was yet well alight, the smoke of my dismissal arose from the window."

In another passage in praise of Thiqaṭu'l-Mulk he says:—

وداع کرد مرا دولت نکرده سلام فراقِ جُست ز من پیش از آنکه بود وصال

"Fortune bade me farewell almost before she had greeted me :
She sought separation from me ere union had taken place."

¹ Maranj, or Marang, is the name of a castle in India (*Burhán-i-Qáfi*), of which I have been unable to discover any further particulars.

² The death of Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí took place in the reign of Malik Arslán, as Mas'úd-i-Sa'd says in a *qaṣida* in his praise:—

بو نصرِ فارسی ملکا جان بتو سپرد

"O King, Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí surrendered up his life to thee."

His death must therefore have taken place between the years A.H. 509 and 511 (= A.D. 1115–1118), which was the period of the reign of Malik Arslán. For further biographical particulars concerning Abú Naṣr-i-Fársí, see the *Lubábu'l-Albáb* of Muḥammad 'Awfí, ed. Browne, vol. i, p. 71.

And in yet another passage he says:—

یکچند کشیده داشت بختِ بد ‘ در محنت و در بلای الوانم ‘
چون پیرهن عمل بپوشیدم ‘ بگرفت قضای بد گریبانم ‘

“*For some while evil fortune kept me on the stretch in all manner of sorrow and affliction ;*

When I invested myself with office as with a shirt, bad luck seized me by the collar.”

(To be continued.)