

ART. III.—*The Sources of Dawlatshāh ; with some Remarks on the Materials available for a Literary History of Persia, and an Excursus on Bārbad and Rūdagī.* By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

AT the International Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in September, 1897, I had the honour of submitting to my fellow-students there assembled a scheme for the publication of a series of Persian historical and biographical texts, to be inaugurated by a critical edition of Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'arā*, or "Lives of the Persian Poets." The carrying out of this scheme was made conditional on the promise of so much support as should ensure the sale (at a price less by one-third than that at which the volume would subsequently be sold to non-subscribers) of at least 200 copies. It is a matter of some disappointment to me that during the year which has elapsed since this announcement was made the number of subscribers has hardly reached the quarter of this modest minimum; in spite of which discouraging fact I have resolved to proceed with an undertaking of the necessity of which I am more than ever convinced. The arrangements for publication are completed: the texts will be printed by Messrs. Brill at Leyden with the Beyrout types (adapted to the Persian usage by the addition of the four supplementary letters required by that language); and Messrs. Brill and Luzac will act as joint publishers. It is hoped that the first volume of the series may be ready in time to be laid before the Congress of Orientalists which will meet at Rome next October.

§ I. THE SOURCES OF DAWLATSHĀH.

Dawlatshāh has not thought fit to save his readers the trouble of finding out for themselves from what sources he drew his information by including in his preface, as does the excellent author of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*, a list of the books which he used in compiling his work. Such a list, however, I have constructed for my own use. In all he makes mention of 140 books (apart from *divāns*, *kulliyāt*, and the like), but many of these are, of course, poetical works composed by the subjects of his memoirs, and not more than forty can be regarded as 'sources.' Of these, again, many are only referred to incidentally, while in some cases it is doubtful whether Dawlatshāh had any direct knowledge of their contents. In the following list, an asterisk is prefixed to those books of which I shall have something more to say.

- (1) The *Āthārū'l-bāqīya* of *al-Birūnī* († A.D. 1048), which Sachau has edited (Leipzig, 1878) and translated into German (Leipzig, 1878) and English (London, 1879). Once cited.
- (2) The *Ihyā'u'l-'ulūm* of *al-Ghazzālī* († A.D. 1111), printed at Cairo (A.H. 1278, 1282, 1306), Lucknow (A.H. 1281), etc. Once cited.
- (3) The *Akhbāru't-Tiwāl* of *Dīnavarī* († circ. A.D. 895), edited by Guirgass (Leyden, 1888). Once cited.
- (4) The Geography of *al-Istakhrī* († circ. A.D. 940), edited by De Goeje. Once cited.
- (5) The *Tāju'sh-Shuyūkh*, a Persian work of which Hājī Khalfa knows nothing but the title. Once cited.
- (6) The *Tārīkh-i-Istidhārī*, by which Dawlatshāh apparently means the *Istidhāru'l-akhbār* of *Qādī Aḥmad Dāmghānī* (one of the sources of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*), another of the books mentioned by Hājī Khalfa of which he seems not to have had personal knowledge. Twice cited.

- (7) A history of the Saljūqs variously cited by Dawlatshāh as *Tārīkh-i-Āl-i-Saljūq*, *Tārīkh-i-Saljūq*, and *Tārīkh-i-Sa'ājiqa*, with a vagueness which renders identification impossible.
- (8) The *Tārīkh-i-Banākīti* (composed A.D. 1317), an abridgement of Rashīdu'd-Dīn's great history, common enough in manuscript, but never published in its entirety. Cited five times.
- (9) The *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaqī* (composed *circ.* A.D. 1060), edited by Morley and Nassau Lees (Calcutta, 1862) and utilized by Kazimirski in the introduction to his edition of Minūchihri's *Dīvān* (Paris, 1886). Once cited.
- (10) The *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, more correctly entitled the *Jāmi'u't-Tawārīkh*, completed by the talented and unfortunate minister *Rashīdu'd-Dīn Faḍlu'llāh* (the patron and master of Ḥamdu'llāh Qazvīnī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*) in A.D. 1310, eight years before his execution. An edition of this most important work is, I believe, being prepared by M. Zotenberg. Twice cited.
- (11) The *Tārīkh-i-Ṭabarī*. The author of the Arabic original (at length rendered accessible to Orientalists in the Leyden edition by the heroic labours of De Goeje and his collaborators) died A.D. 923; and the Persian translation, which was probably used by Dawlatshāh, was made forty years later by Bal'amī. Once cited.
- (12) The *Tārīkh-i-'Abdu'r-Razzāq*, properly entitled *Maṭla'i-sa'dayn wa Majma'i-bahrayn of Kamālu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Razzāq* († A.D. 1482). Once cited.
- *(13) The *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*, or "Select History," of the worthy *Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfī* of Qazwīn, to whom we are also indebted for the geographical work entitled *Nuzhatu'l-Qulūb* (of which a portion has been published by the lamented M. Schefer in the supplement to the *Siyāsat-nāma*, Paris, 1897, pp. 141-233), and the very rare metrical chronicle entitled

Dhāfar-nāma (Rieu's *Suppl. to Pers. Cat.*, pp. 172–174). The *Guzīda* was composed in A.D. 1330; and a perusal of it, which I have just completed, has convinced me that it is one of the best manuals of history in Persian, and has decided me to make it the second or third volume of my series of texts. It is cited by Dawlatshāh five times.

- (14) The *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā* of *Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Attār* (killed A.D. 1230). Several particularly good and ancient MSS. of this important *Biography of Saints* exist in London, Berlin, etc., but, so far as I know, no edition. Twice cited.
- * (15) The *Tarjumānu'l-Balāghat* by the poet *Farrukhī* († A.D. 1077–8), mentioned by *Hājī Khalfa* (No. 2,894), but of which, to the best of my knowledge, no copy is known to exist. Twice cited.
- (16) A work once cited as *Tawārīkh-i-Malikshāhī* with a vagueness which precludes identification.
- (17) The *Jawāhiru'l-Asvār* of *Sheykh Ādharī*, composed in A.D. 1436–7, described at p. 43 of Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*. Cited eight times.
- (18) The *Jahān-Kushāy* of *Juwaynī*, completed in A.D. 1260. Cited five times.
- * (19) The *Chahār Maqāla* ("Four Discourses") of the poet *Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī* of Samarqand, completed about A.D. 1160. Two MSS. of this valuable work (of which the portion referring to *Firdawsī*, whose tomb the author visited in A.D. 1116–7, has been published and translated by *Ethé* in vol. *xlvi* of the *Z.D.M.G.*, pp. 89–94) are in the British Museum, and it is from them, not from the lithographed edition published at *Ṭīhrān* in A.H. 1305 (see Rieu's *Pers. Suppl.*, pp. 244–5), that I have drawn the facts to which I shall presently refer. Cited thrice.
- (20) The *Hadā'iqu's-sihr* ("Gardens of Magic"), a well-known work on Rhetoric and the Poetic Art by the poet *Rashīdu'd-Dīn Waṭwāṭ* († A.D. 1182–3) lithographed in *Ṭīhrān*, A.H. 1302. It was written

- (Rieu, *Pers. Suppl.*, p. 122) in order to supersede the *Tarjumānu'l-Balāghat* mentioned above. Cited six times.
- (21) The well-known history of *Hamza of Iṣfahān* (circ. A.D. 960) partly edited by Gottwaldt (1836, 1844) and Rasmussen (1817). Once cited.
- (22) The *Dhakhīra-i-Khwārazmshāhī*, a medical Encyclopaedia compiled in A.D. 1136-7 by *Zaynu'd-Dīn Abū Ibrāhīm Isma'īl al-Jurjānī*.
- (23) The well-known *Rawḍatu's-Safā* of *Mirkhwānd* († A.D. 1497), a contemporary of our author. Once cited, but only in the lithographed Bombay edition.
- (24) The *Siyāsat-nāma* (also called by Dawlatshāh, as well as by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*, *Siyaru'l-Mulūk*) of that great statesman the *Nidhāmu'l-Mulūk* (assassinated in A.D. 1092); edited (Paris, 1891) and translated (1893) by the lamented M. Schefer. Another MS., of which the existence was apparently unknown to the learned editor, but which has in many obscure passages supplied me with valuable corrections and emendations, exists in the Library of King's College, Cambridge, No. 219 of the Pote collection. Once cited.
- (25) A history of the Prophet, of the identity of which I am uncertain, once referred to by Dawlatshāh as *Sharafu'n-Nabī*.
- (26) The *Suvaru'l-Aqālīm*. Several geographical works so entitled are known, but none, I think, by *Abū Sulaymān Zakariyyā* of *Kūfa*, to whom Dawlatshāh ascribes its authorship. Cited five times.
- (27) The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of *Jūzjānī*, completed in A.D. 1260, published in part in the *Bibl. Ind.* series (Calcutta, 1864). Twice cited. Dawlatshāh also alludes twice to a *Maqāmāt-i-Nāṣirī*, by which title he probably intends the same work.
- (28) The *Dhafar-nāma* of *Sharafu'd-Dīn Yazdī*, composed in A.D. 1425, published in the *Bibl. Ind.* series (1887-8). Thrice cited.

- (29) The *Qābūs-nāma* of Kay-Kā'ūs b. Sikandar b. Qābūs b. Washmgīr, composed in A.D. 1082-3. See *Leyden Cat.*, vol. iv, p. 207, and Pertsch's *Berlin Cat.*, pp. 302-3. The Persian text (of which I possess a MS. lacking chs. xlii-xliv and part of xli) is much rarer than the Turkish version. Once cited.
- (30) The *Kitābu ādābi'l-'Arab wa'l-Furs* of Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. *Miskawayh* († A.D. 1030). See *Leyden Cat.*, vol. iv, pp. 191-2. Once cited.
- (31) The *Kitābu'l-Mamālik wa'l-Masālik*. It is not certain whether the work of *Ibn Khurdādhbih* (edited, with French translation, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1865 by Barbier de Meynard, and again in the *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* by De Goeje), composed about A.D. 870, or one of the other similar works bearing the same title is intended. See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, vol. i, p. 423, from which it appears to me very probable that under this title Dawlatshāh really refers to Ḥāfidh Abrū's geography, compiled for Shāh-rukh about A.D. 1417.
- * (32) The *Manāqibu'sh-Shu'arā* of Abū Tāhir al-Khātūnī. This work, which appears to be lost, is mentioned by Hājī Khalfa (No. 13,026), who states that it was written in Persian. The author is mentioned in 'Imādu'd-Dīn's recension of al-Bundārī's *History of the Saljūqs* in several places (ed. Houtsma, Leyden, 1889, pp. 89, 105-8, 110, and 113), and Arabic renderings of some of his Persian verses are given. One of his Persian verses is also cited in Asadī's *Lughat-i-Furs* (ed. Horn, Berlin, 1897, p. 31, s.v. غند, and p. 23), where his *nisba* is given as al-*Hānūtī* instead of al-*Khātūnī*. He flourished, apparently, about the end of the eleventh century. His *Biographies of the Poets*, therefore, is at least half a century older than the *Chahār Maqāla* (No. 19 supra), and a century older than al-'Awfī's *Lubābu'l-Albāb*, the oldest extant Persian work of this character, of which I shall have occasion to speak presently.

Its recovery, therefore, would be of the greatest

- possible importance for the early history of Persian literature. Twice cited.
- (33) The *Nuzhatu'l-Qulūb* of *Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfī* of Qazvīn. See No. 13 supra. Once cited.
- (34) The *Naṣīhat-nāma* of the *Nidhāmu'l-Mulk* († A.D. 1092). It is evident from the single citation that the spurious work, variously known as the *Waṣāyā* and the *Naṣā'ih*, purporting to have been written by the great minister for his son Fakhru'l-Mulk, but in reality composed (see Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, vol. ii, p. 446) in the fifteenth century of our era, is meant. It is responsible for the now famous legend about 'Umar-i-Khayyām, *Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh*, and the *Nidhāmu'l-Mulk*.
- (35) The *Nidhāmu't-Tawārīkh* of *al-Bayḍāwī* (better known as the author of the celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān) who died about A.D. 1310. MSS. of this meagre and jejune record exist in the British Museum and elsewhere. Thrice cited.
- (36) The *Nafahātu'l-Uns* (Lives of Ṣūfī saints) of *Jāmī* († A.D. 1492), who was contemporary with our author, edited by Nassau Lees (Calcutta, 1859).
- (37) The *Nigāristān* of *Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Juvaynī*, a work modelled on the *Gulistān* of *Sa'dī*, and composed in A.D. 1334-5.

The above list contains, I think, the titles of all the historical, geographical, and biographical works explicitly mentioned by Dawlatshāh. Of the oldest extant Biography of Persian Poets, the *Lubābu'l-Albāb* of *al-'Aufī* (composed about A.D. 1220) he seems to have had no knowledge, or at least he makes no mention of it; but, having regard to his references to Abū Ṭāhir al-Khātūnī's *Manāqibu'sh-Shu'arā* (which, as we learn from Hājī Khalfa, was written in Persian), we cannot acquit him of insincerity in the claim to have opened out a new field of literary activity which he puts forward in his preface in the following words:—

“Finally I retired, in grief, regret, sorrow, and distraction, into the cell of failure, and took up my abode in the corner

of seclusion; but weariness at the futility of my life overcame my spirit, when [verse] ‘*The unseen voice of Reason thus did cry*’—

[Couplet] ‘*Sit not idle ; o’er the paper urge the pen :
If thou can’st not, trim the reed for better men !*’

“When the treasury of ideals was thus disclosed, I perceived that the Pen was the Dragon which guarded that Treasure; and, conspiring with the double-tongued Reed, I cried, ‘O Key to the Coffers of Knowledge, I take counsel with thee as to what writing shall result from the labour of my fingers and thy teeth!’ The Pen, in its rasping accents, answered as follows—

[Couplet] ‘*What was worthy of the saying, said and said
again hath been ;
On the fields and plains of knowledge naught
remains for you to glean.*’

‘Devout and dispassionate divines have compiled exhaustive biographies and manuals, and have opened the doors of hagiology to all mankind. His Holiness Shaykh ‘Aṭṭār (may his resting-place be rendered fragrant by the brightest of sweet flowers!) has produced his masterly *Memoirs of the Saints*. Learned historians have written volumes on the history and gests of mighty monarchs. So likewise in the sciences of topography and the principles of political economy accomplished scholars have strenuously exerted themselves to do what was needful, and have left of themselves worthy memorials.

[Couplet] ‘*All that now remains untreated, all that’s still
to do on earth,
Is to write the poets’ lives and strive to fix the
poets’ worth.*’

‘For men of learning, notwithstanding their skill and attainments, have not condescended to take this trouble; while other persons have not been favoured by opportunity, or, perhaps, have lacked the necessary attainments. In

short, not a creature amongst the men of letters has recorded the history, biography, and circumstances of this class. If, therefore, you can produce a worthy volume on this subject, it will assuredly be a work of utility.'

"So when I, the broken in spirit, heard from the custodian of the treasure-house of ideas these suggestions, I perceived that this quarry had indeed hitherto escaped the nets of the huntsmen of this craft, and that this door had remained shut in the faces of all seekers. Therefore I made a compilation of the notes which I had taken at odd times during my life, and of the sheaves which I had gleaned from the harvests of men of honourable repute, from accredited histories, the *divāns* of past masters, the poems of the ancients and moderns, miscellanies, books of anecdotes, and the like, of whatever bore reference to the history, gests, and circumstances of the great poets, who are well known by their works or their reputation and remembered throughout the climes of the world; introducing also into this my Memoir, as occasion offered, somewhat of the histories of the great kings, from the beginning of the Muḥammadan era until our own time, in whose reigns illustrious poets have flourished; and further incorporating in my book so much as I was able, according to the measure of my power and capacity, of the compositions of the most eminent writers, and of entertaining anecdotes concerning the great poets, besides sundry data for a critical knowledge of topography."

§ II. THE MATERIALS FOR A LITERARY HISTORY OF PERSIA.

This monstrous pretension on the part of Dawlatshāh (who avowedly made use of Abū Ṭāhir al-Khātūnī's lost *Biography of Poets*, as well as of the immensely interesting second section of Nidhāmī al-'Arūdī as-Samarqandī's *Four Discourses*, entitled "On the nature of Verse and the Poetic Art," and the generally brief, but original and suggestive, notices of Persian poets—about ninety in number—contained

in ch. v, § 6, of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzāda*) naturally caused me to consider what really were the most ancient and trustworthy sources whence a fuller knowledge of the early literary history of Persia might be derived, and whether the valuable researches of Dr. Ethé and the brilliant generalizations of the late Professor Darmesteter really represented the final limits attainable in this direction. Now Dr. Ethé's results were largely drawn from the Berlin Codex of al-'Awfī's *Lubābu'l-Albāb* (described at pp. 596-7 of Pertsch's *Berlin Cat. of Pers. MSS.*), which for a long time I believed to be unique, at any rate in Europe. This year, however, the *Hand-list of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts* in the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* was privately printed; and to the extraordinary generosity of Lord Crawford of Balcarres and the courtesy of his Librarian, Mr. Edmond, I am indebted not only for a copy of this work, but for the loan of the priceless manuscript of al-'Awfī's *Lubāb*, described at p. 226 of the same and numbered 308. This proves to be the identical manuscript (formerly belonging to John Bardoe Elliot, Esq., of the Suddur Court of Calcutta) described by Bland in that classical account of "the earliest Persian Biography of Poets," which was read before our Society on February 17, 1846, and is printed in Vol. IX of our Journal, pp. 111-126. The author, Nūru'd-Dīn or Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Awfī (see, besides Bland, Sprenger and Pertsch, Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 749-751, s.v. *Jāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt*) lived at Dihli in the reign of Īltatmish (A.D. 1210-1235), but had travelled in Persia, especially Khurāsān, and was very well informed. His *Lubāb* may fairly be regarded as the *Kitābu'l-Aghānī* of Persia, and, as it unquestionably ought to be printed, I am now engaged in transcribing it, so that it may form the second or third volume of the Persian Text Series. It contains notices of 122 royal and noble personages who occasionally condescended to write verse, and of about 163 poets by profession, of whom thirty belong to the Ṭāhirī, Ṣaffārī, and Sāmānī periods; twenty-nine to the Ghaznavī period; and fifty to the Saljūq period; while

some fifty-four are, roughly speaking, the author's contemporaries. As to its character, Bland well observes (*loc. cit.*, p. 114), "the biographical notices are of comparatively little value, but the merit of the work consists in its having preserved some hundreds of beautiful *Casīdahs*, *Ghazals*, and other poetry nowhere else to be met with in an entire state, and without curtailment."

Now at the beginning of the section, immediately following the Table of Contents, al-'Awfī makes (though with better reason) the same claim that Dawlatshāh advanced 275 years later to have produced the first Biography of Persian poets. He says:—"Although this boldness and impertinence was beyond the scope of this humble personage [the author], that he should be able to render service to the Royal Library by strewing comfits [culled] from the sweetmeat-scatterers of genius, or to sprinkle the rose-water of poesy from the tavern of meditation on the sleeve-cuffs of the servants of this Dynasty, yet hath he applied himself to this task, relying on the generosity of his master. For although several works and sundry treatises on this subject have undoubtedly been written on the Classes [*Ṭabaqāt*] of Arabic poets (such as the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Salām, and of Ibn Qutayba, and of Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz, and the *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* composed by Abū Manṣūr ath-Tha'ālībī, and the *Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr* written by the Ṭāju'r-Ru'asā al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Bākhazī, and the *Zaynatu'z-Zamān* compiled by Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Andakhūd), yet no work has been seen and no manual has come under observation which treats of the Classes of Persian Poets."

From this we may infer that the *Manāqibu'sh-Shu'arā* of Abū Ṭāhir al-Khātūnī was unknown to al-'Awfī; neither does he make any mention of the *Chahār Maqāla* (which, moreover, valuable as it is for the early history of the Persian poets, would hardly come under the title *Ṭabaqāt*) in the short notice (Bland MS., pp. 436-7) which he consecrates to *Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī* of Samarqand. The Arabic works which he mentions do, however, suggest

a new and, as I am convinced, a very fruitful line of

enquiry to him who makes the earliest period of the post-Sāsānian literary history of Persia the object of his study.

Of the six Arabic works enumerated by al-'Awfī, the *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* of Abū Maṣṣūr ath-Tha'ālībī of Nīshāpūr (d. A.D. 1038, but was engaged on the *Yatīma* as early as A.D. 994) is the best known, and to it only have I at present had access, in the printed Damascus edition of A.H. 1302. Of the others, the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Qutayba of Dīnavar (d. A.D. 883-4) exists in the Vienna Library (Flügel's *Cat.*, vol. ii, pp. 325-6); the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz (killed A.D. 908) and of Muḥammad Ibn Salām al-Jummi (d. A.D. 845-6)¹ are mentioned by Hājī Khalfa (vol. iv, pp. 144-5), but I know of no existing copies; the *Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr* of al-Bākhari (d. A.D. 1075), a supplement to the *Yatīma*, exists in numerous MSS. (see Wüstenfeld's *Geschichtschreiber d. Araber*, No. 211, pp. 70-71); while of the *Zaynatu's-Zamān* and its author al-Andakhūdī I can find no notice whatever.

Now if we understand the term 'Literary History' not in that narrow sense which takes cognizance only of what is written in a particular language, but in the wider and truer sense which Jusserand gives to it in his *Literary History of the English People* (London, 1895), namely, the manifestation in literature of the mind of a nation, or in other words its subjective history, then we shall readily see that, contrary to what is often expressed or implied, there is in fact no break in the Literary History of Persia since Sāsānian times, but at most a change in the vehicle or medium of expression. Thus understood, a complete Literary History of the Persians would have to consider documents in not less than five different languages, ranging over a period of at least 2550 years, to wit:—

(1) *The Avesta*, to the earliest portions of which we may for the present (following the very clearly expressed

¹ See, however, Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Lit.* (Weimar, 1897), p. 105, n. 3. The writer in question is here called Abu 'Abdu'llāh Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Jumhī, and it is stated that his *Ṭabaqātu'sh-Shu'arā* was largely used by the author of the *Kitābu'l-Aghānī*.

reasonings of Dr. A. V. Williams Jackson in his article in vol. xvii of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* "on the date of Zoroaster") assign a date not anterior to the middle of the seventh century B.C.

(2) *The Old Persian inscriptions* of the Achaemenians, which lie between the middle of the sixth and the middle of the fourth centuries B.C.

(3) *The Pahlavī literature*, belonging mainly to the Sāsānian period (A.D. 226–640), of which the earliest important monument is probably the inscription of Shāpūr I (A.D. 241–272) at Hāji-ābād near Ištakhr, while amongst the latest are the curious *Gujastak Abālīsh* (*ou Abālāg*), *relation d'une conférence théologique présidée par le Calife Māmoun* (ed. Barthelemy, Paris, 1887), which obviously cannot have been written earlier than A.D. 813, the date of al-Ma'mūn's accession to the Caliphate; the *Epistle of Manushchihar* dated A.D. 881; the *Bundahishn* "finally edited in the latter part of the ninth century" (West); the *Dīnkard* "first compiled early in the ninth century," etc. West, indeed, in his admirable article on "the extent, language, and age of Pahlavi literature" (*Sitzungsbericht. d. philos.-philol. Classe d. Königl. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, May 5, 1888), says (p. 438) "that nearly half the Pahlavī literature extant must have been compiled during the ninth century; much of it, no doubt, from older materials." It thus appears that, even when we leave out of consideration the Arabic literature of Persian authorship, modern (i.e. post-Muhammadan) Persian literature had begun before Pahlavī literature had ceased.

(4) *The Arabic literature* (both prose and verse) *composed by Persians*. It has long been recognized, even by the Arabs themselves, how important was the contribution made to what I may call "the Culture of the Caliphate" in almost every branch of science and art by Persians like Sībawayhi and Kisā'i (in grammar), Zamakhsharī and Baydāwī (in exegesis), Ṭabarī, Ibn Qutayba, Dīnawarī, Ḥamza, Balādhurī, and Birūnī (in history), Rāzī, Avicenna, and Ghazzālī (in philosophy and medicine), 'Umar al-Khayyām

and Naṣīru'd-Dīn Ṭūsī (in astronomy and mathematics), and, most noteworthy, perhaps, of all, Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', the converted Magian and erudite Pahlavī scholar, whose Arabic style was nevertheless so good that his verses are cited with approval by competent judges, his *Katīla and Dimna* is still read and admired wherever Arabic is understood, and he himself is even mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn in his Prolegomena (ed. Beyrout, 1879, p. 527) as one of ten Arabic writers who are to be taken as models of eloquence. But I am thinking at present more particularly of the court-chroniclers and court-poets, mostly of purely Persian extraction, who were attached to the Persian dynasties of the Houses of Layth, Sāmān, Ziyār, Būya, etc., but who nevertheless made Arabic (which, almost till the Monghol invasion and final extinction of the Caliphate in the thirteenth century, remained the language of science, diplomacy, and polite conversation throughout the Muhammadan world) the vehicle of their records and their eulogies, or, when occasion arose, of their satires. It is on these men and the circumstances of their life that works like the *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* throw so abundant a light.

(5) Lastly comes *Persian literature* as commonly understood, a literature covering a period of a thousand years, during which the language has changed so little that a Persian of to-day experiences less difficulty in understanding the poems of Rūdagi or Firdawsī than does an Englishman in understanding Shakespeare.

Having said so much as to the general lines on which, as it appears to me, Persian Literary History should be studied, I will conclude this section by recapitulating the chief sources to which I shall hereafter have occasion to refer, and the abbreviations by which I shall designate them.

I. Arabic Sources.

- (1) The *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* (referred to as *Yatīma*) of Abū Maṣṣūr ath-Tha'ālibī († A.D. 1038), Damascus edition of A.H. 1302. The first volume deals mainly with

the poets of Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor, including Sayfu'd-Dawla, Abū Firās, the Ḥamdānids of Mosul and Aleppo, Mutanabbī, Nāmī, Nāshī, Zāhī, Babaghā, Sābī, Sirrī, etc. The *second* volume deals with the poets patronized by the Būyid dynasty (in Baṣra, Baghdad, and the rest of 'Irāq). The *third* volume includes the poets patronized by the Ṣāhib Abu'l-Qāsim Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād, and those of Isfahān, al-Jabal, Fārs, Ahwāz, and Gurgān, and ends with an account of the Ziyārid Prince Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qābūs b. Washmgīr, who has been already mentioned (p. 42 *supra*) in connection with the Persian *Qābūs-nāma*. The *fourth* volume contains the Sāmānid poets, and those of Khwārazm, Khurāsān, and Nīshāpūr.

- (2) The *Ātharu'l-Bilād* of al-Qazwīnī († A.D. 1283-4), Wüstenfeld's ed. (Göttingen, 1848), referred to as *Qazwīnī*. This discursive work contains notices of a considerable number of Persian poets, and cites a good many Persian verses. Unfortunately it has no index; a defect which it has cost me a good deal of time to supply in my own copy. The Persian poets mentioned in it are as follows: *Anvarī* (p. 242), *'Asjadī* (p. 278), *Awhadu'd-Dīn Kirmānī* (p. 164), *Balahbad* (= Bārbad), the minstrel of Khusraw Parvīz, of whom I shall have something to say presently (pp. 156, 295), *Fakhrī-i-Gurgānī* (p. 351), *Farrukhī* (p. 278), *Firdawsī* (pp. 135, 278), *Jalāl-i-Khūrī* (p. 243), *Khāqānī* (pp. 272, 404), *al-Khātūnī* [Abū Ṭāhir] (p. 259), *Mujīr-i-Baylaqānī* (p. 345, cf. p. 338), *Nidhāmī of Ganja* (pp. 351-2), *Abū Sa'īd b. Abī'l-Khayr* (pp. 241-2), *Sanā'ī* (p. 287), *Shams-i-Ṭabasī* (p. 272), *'Umar-i-Khayyām* (p. 318), *'Unsurī* (p. 278), and *Waṭwāt* (pp. 223-4).
- (3) The *Nihāyatu'l-Irab fī akhbāri 'l-Furs wa'l-'Arab* (Burckhart MS. in Cambridge University Library marked Qq. 225), referred to as *Nihāyat*. A perusal of this rare and interesting work disposes me to

think that it is dismissed with too little respect by Professor Noeldeke (*Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, pp. 475-6). That the alleged circumstances of its composition are false can hardly be doubted; but it does not necessarily follow that the very ample narrative of Sāsānian history, which purports to be drawn from Ibnu'l-Muqaffa's lost *Siyaru'l-Mulūk* (the Arabic translation of the famous *Khudhā'ī-nāma* or "Book of Kings"), is unworthy of attention. At some future period I hope to devote a separate article to this very curious work, but in the meantime I will only say that it is clear to me that the author, whoever he was, had a knowledge of Persian, and was singularly well-informed as to the legends of Ancient Persia, and that one passage, if I correctly understand it, would seem to imply that the Ziyārid dynasty (A.D. 928-1042) had not ceased to exist when he wrote. As regards his knowledge of Persian, I may instance an alleged superscription from a coin of Khumānī (daughter and wife of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār), which he gives as follows (f. 48b):—

بخر [= بخور] بانو [یانو. MS.] جهان هزار سال نوروز و مهرجان

and translates—

گلی ایهتا الملكة الدنيا الف عام يمضى من نيروز و مهرجان

i.e.: "Eat [or enjoy], O Queen, the world for a thousand years which pass from Nawrūz [the great spring festival of the New Year] and Mihrjān [the great autumn festival]." Also the following detail (omitted by Ṭabarī and Dīnavarī) of the shooting of Masrūq, the son of Abraha, by Wahriz the Persian (Dīn., p. 65; Noeldeke's *Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, p. 233):—"Now the Persians were wont to inscribe on their arrows [one of] three names, the name of 'the King,' and the name of 'the Man,' and the name of 'the Woman.' And Wahriz [MS. وهرزن,

Wahzan] drew forth an arrow and glanced at it, and behold, thereon was 'Zanān,' the name of women. So, auguring ill from it, he replaced it and drew forth another, and behold, it was like the first, on it was the name of the woman. And he drew forth a third, and it happened so again. Then he thought within himself and said, 'Zanān—the interpretation thereof can only be *zan ān*' (which, being interpreted, means—*اَضْرِبْ ذَاكَ*, 'shoot this!'); and he augured well from it in this sense."

II. *Persian Sources.*

- (1) The *Lubābu'l-Albāb* of al-'Awfī, Elliot MS. (see pp. 46–7 *supra*), referred to as 'Awfī. This very rare and important work dates, as already remarked, from the beginning of the thirteenth century.
- (2) The *Chahār Maqāla* (composed about A.D. 1160) of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdi of Samarqand, cited from the notes (partly transcript, partly abstract) which I made in December, 1897, from the British Museum MSS. Or. 3507 and Or. 2955 (chiefly the former). It is referred to by its full title. It has been hitherto known chiefly by the notices of Firdawsī (published by Ethé, see p. 40 *supra*, and utilized by Noeldeke in his *Iranische Nationalepos*, Strassburg, 1896) and of 'Umar-i-Khayyām (with whom the author was personally acquainted) which it contains; but the whole of this second section, dealing with "the Nature of Verse and the Poetic Art," is remarkable alike for the interest of its matter and the excellence of its style, and ought to be published, or at least translated, without delay.
- (3) The *Tārikh-i-Guzīda* of Hamdu'llāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn, composed in A.D. 1329–30, and in particular the sixth and last section of Ch. v, which treats of the poets of the Arabs and the Persians. The MS.

which I have chiefly used is one belonging to my friend Mr. Guy le Strange. It is itself modern, but offers on the whole a very correct text, and has been collated throughout with an ancient MS. at Shirāz, which has supplied many important additions and corrections.

- (4) The *Lughat-i-Furs* of Asadī (*circ.* A.D. 1066), edited from the unique Vatican MS. (dated A.H. 733 = A.D. 1332) by Dr. Horn (Berlin, 1897), and reviewed by me at pp. 153-5 of the J.R.A.S. for January, 1898. The importance of this book, not only as a lexicon, but as an anthology, is in no wise exaggerated by the learned editor. Indeed, it is little short of a revelation to find the nephew of the great Firdawsī, so long regarded as almost the father of Persian poetry, quoting the verses of so great a number (78) of poets whose very names had, in many cases, been previously unknown to us.

§ III. BĀRBAD AND RŪDAGĪ, THE MINSTRELS OF THE HOUSES OF SĀSĀN AND SĀMĀN.

The statements contained in the Persian *tadhkiras* as to "the first person who composed Persian verse" are, as has been generally recognized, unworthy of much attention. Most of them are mentioned by Kazimirski (*Menoutchehri*, pp. 6-9) and Blochmann (*Prosody of the Persians*, pp. 2-3). Two only, so far as I know, refer the origin of Persian poetry to Sāsānian times. One of these (given on the authority of Abū Ṭāhir al-Khātūnī by Dawlatshāh, but not by 'Awfī) cites a verse which purports to have been deciphered from the Qaṣr-i-Shīrīn (Kazimirski, *loc. cit.*, p. 7), and which is presumably supposed to date from the time of Khusraw Parvīz (A.D. 590-627); the other (given both by 'Awfī and Dawlatshāh) cites the well-known couplet ascribed to Bahrām Gūr (A.D. 420-438) and his mistress Dīlārām. 'Awfī further assures us that the King in

question had composed a quantity of very fine Arabic poetry, which had been collected and arranged in *divān* form; and that he himself had seen and read a copy of this *divān*, which belonged to the "Bridge-end Library of the Little Market of Bukhārā," and from which he quotes some verses.

There is, however, another older tradition which tells of a poet or minstrel at the court of Khusraw Parvīz named *Bārbad* (باربد) or (by Qazwīnī) *Balahbad* (بلاهبد).¹ The question has arisen in my mind whether the difference between these two forms of the name may not be more easily explained by a misreading of the *Pahlavī* rather than the *Arabic* script, since in Pahlavī R and L on the one hand, and Ā and H on the other, are represented by the same character, and we have merely to assume a transposition of the two letters.² This personage is referred to in the *Chahār Maqāla*, 'Awfī, Qazwīnī, and the *Guzīda*.

(1) 'Awfī, after speaking of Bahrām Gūr's alleged poetical activity, says (p. 23) :—

و در عهد پرویز نوا خسروانی که آنرا باربد در صورت آورده است
بسیارست فاما از وزن شعرو قافیت و مراعات نظایر آن دورست
بدان سبب تعرض بیان آن کرده نیامد

¹ Since this was written, my attention has been called by Professor Bevan to older accounts of this personage, and other forms of his name. The account given by Qazwīnī occurs in a fuller and more correct form in Yāqūt († A.D. 1229), ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. iii, pp. 250 et seqq. (where the minstrel is called بهلبد, *Bahlabadh*, var. بهلمند, *Bahlaband*), and vol. iv, pp. 112 et seqq. (also بهلمند); and, while following Qazwīnī, I have corrected his defective text by Yāqūt. See also the compendium of al-Hamadhānī's *Kitābu'l-Buldān* (composed A.D. 903), ed. De Goeje (vol. v of *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*), and Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), p. 237, s.v. *Pahlapet*, and the passages in the *Aghānī* of Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī († A.D. 957) there cited.

² Even the assumption of transposition is not necessary in the form *Bahlabadh* given by Yāqūt. This form in the Pahlavī character would be identical with *Bārbad*.

“And in the reign of Parvīz the royal melodies composed by Bārbad were many, but they are remote from verse-metre, rhyme, and the observance of poetical congruities, for which reason we have not concerned ourselves to discuss them.”

(2) The *Chahār Maqāla*, after describing the effect which two couplets by Ḥaṇṭala of Bādghīs,¹ the panegyrist of Ya'qūb b. Layth (d. A.D. 878), produced on Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'llāh of Kbujiṣtān (killed A.D. 882),² so that, being then but an ass-herd (خربنده), he rose to be Amīr of Khurāsān, continues as follows (f. 12b):—

و در عرب و عجم امثال این بسیارست امّا برین یکی اختصار
 کردیم ' پس پادشاه را از شاعر نیک چاره نیست که بقا اسم اورا
 ترتیب کند و ذکر او [در] دواوین و دفاتر مثبت گرداند زیرا که
 چون پادشاه با مری که ناگزیرست مأمور شود از لشکر و گنج و خزینۀ
 او آثار نماند و نام او بسبب شعر شاعر جاودانه بماند ' شریف
 مجلدی گرگانی گوید —

از آن چندان نعیم این جهانی ' که ماند از آل ساسان و آل سامان
 ثنای رودکی ماندست و مدحش ' نوا' بارید ماندست و دستان '

“Many similar instances are to be found amongst both the Arabs and Persians, but we have restricted ourselves to the mention of this one. A king, therefore, cannot dispense with a good poet, who shall conduce to the immortality of his name, and shall record his renown in *dīvāns* and books. For when the King receives that command which none can escape, no trace will remain of his army, his treasure, and

¹ See Ethé's *Rūdagi's Vorläufer und Zeitgenossen: ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der ältesten Denkmäler Neupersischer Poesie*, p. 40, where the two couplets in question are cited at the end of the notice consecrated to Ḥaṇṭala.

² See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr. Hist. et Lit. de la Perse*, p. 197, s.v. *خمستان* and *ad calc.*

his store; but by means of the poet's verse shall his name endure for ever. Sharīf-i-Mujallidī of Gurgān says:—

*'Of all that worldly wealth which was left by the House of Sāsān and the House of Sāmān
There remains only the praise and eulogy of Rūdagī and the song and legend of Bārbad.'*"

(3) The *Guzīda*, after describing (p. 61) the splendour and luxury of Khusraw Parvīz, continues thus:—

و باربد مطرب که تا غایت مثل او در آن علم [در عالم] *var.*
نبوده اورا جهت بزم پرویز سبید و شصت نواست هر روزی یکی
میگفت و استادان موسیقی را قول او حجت باشد و همه خوشه
چین خرمن اویند

"And as for Bārbad the minstrel, the like of whom in that science hath not till now appeared, he had for the banquets of Parvīz three hundred and sixty melodies, one of which he used to sing each day; and his words are a final appeal with the masters of music, all of whom are but gleaners from his harvest-field."

(4) *Qazwīnī* is more detailed, and in three different passages speaks of Balahbad [= Bārbad] the minstrel. First, under the article *Fārs* (pp. 154-6), he says:—

"The Persians imagine that amongst them [i.e., as it would appear, the old Kings of Persia, of whose greatness he has just been speaking] there existed ten persons, each unrivalled in his own order, even in Persia." These ten are Farīdūn, Alexander, Nūshīrvān, Bahrām Gūr, Rustam, Jāmāsp, Buzurjmīhr, Balahbad, the sculptor whose art immortalized on the rocks of Bī-sutūn the form of Shabdīz, the favourite horse of Khusraw Parvīz, and, lastly, Shīrīn's unfortunate lover Farhād. Of Balahbad he says:—

"And the eighth of them was Balahbad the minstrel, who excelled all mankind in minstrelsy, and he was minstrel to Kisrā Abarwīz; and when anyone desired to lay any

matter before Kistrā, yet feared his anger, he communicated it to Balahbad, and gave him gifts to compose a poem on the matter and thereto an air, and to sing it before Kistrā, who thereby was informed of the matter.”

Again, in describing the sculptures and bas-reliefs of Bī-sutūn, he says (p. 230):—

“Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī says:¹ ‘On the face of the Mountain of Bī-sutūn is a portico cut out from the rock, in the midst of which is the figure of Kistrā’s horse Shabdīz, with [Kistrā] Abarwīz mounted upon it. And on the wall of the portico is the portrait of Shīrīn and her attendants, said to have been executed by Fuṭrus,² the son of Sinimmār,³ and Sinimmār was he who built Khawarnaq outside Hīra. Now the cause of this [i.e. the sculpturing of these portraits] was that Shabdīz was the most intelligent of quadrupeds, the greatest in bodily strength, the most remarkable in disposition, and the most enduring in a long gallop. So long as his saddle was on him, he would neither make water nor void excrement; and so long as his bridle was on him, he would neither snort nor foam [with his mouth]. He had been presented to Abarwīz by the King of India. Now it happened that he [Shabdīz] sickened, and his sickness waxed sore; and Kistrā said, “Whoever brings me tidings of his death, him will I slay.” So when [Shabdīz] died, the Master of the Horse feared lest he should be questioned about him, and be compelled to give tidings of his death. So he came to Balahbad, Kistrā’s minstrel, and asked him to make it known to Kistrā in a song. Now Balahbad was the most skilful of men in minstrelsy, and he did this. And when Kistrā hearkened to it, he divined its purport, and said, “Woe unto thee! Shabdīz is dead!” And [Balahbad] said, “It is the King that sayeth it.” And Kistrā said, “Well done! How

¹ See *Yāqūt*, vol. iii, pp. 250 et seqq.

² Other forms are *Faṭṭūs* (Hamadhānī and Yāqūt), *Qaṭṭūs*, and even *Qanṭūs*.

³ See Noeldeke’s *Gesch. d. Arab. u. Pers. zur Zeit d. Sasanid.*, pp. 80 et seqq.; and Ṭabarī, i, 2, p. 822. The form Sinimmār (not Sinnimār) is proved correct by verses there cited.

cleverly hast thou saved thyself and saved another!" And he [i.e. the King] grieved bitterly for him. Then he ordered Fuṭrus the son of Sinimmār to make a portrait of him, which he executed in the finest manner, in such wise that it was scarcely possible to distinguish between the two [i.e. the portrait and the original], save by the [presence or absence of the] movements of life in their forms.'"¹

On the next page (231) Qazwīnī quotes some Arabic verses by Khālīd al-Fayyād (d. *circ.* A.D. 718)² which give substantially the same legend:—

*“And King Kisrā, the Shāhanshāh, him also an arrow,
feathered from the wing of Death, overtook,
What time his pleasure was Shabdīz, whom he used to ride, and
the coy embraces of Shīrīn, and brocades and perfumes.
He swore an oath by the Fire (most binding was it in its
strength) that whosoever first should bring him tidings
of the death of Shabdīz should be crucified.
Until, when one morning Shabdīz lay low in death (and never
was a steed like him amongst men),
Four strings wailed over him with a lament in the Persian
tongue wherein was an incitement to emotion.
And the Herbed³ set the chords vibrating, and bursts of passion
were kindled by reason of the witchery of his left hand,
And he cried, ‘[Shabdīz] is dead!’ They said, ‘Thou hast
declared it!’ So perjury was committed by him while
he was beside himself.
Had it not been for Balahbad,⁴ while the strings sang his
[Shabdīz’s] threnody, the Marzubāns⁵ would have been
unable to announce the death of Shabdīz.*

¹ This sentence is rendered unintelligible in Qazwīnī by the omission of several words which I have supplied from Yāqūt (vol. iii, p. 251), who is confirmed by Hamadhānī.

² See Rieu’s *Arabic Cat.*, p. 260; *Arabie Suppl.*, p. 650.

³ Yāqūt (iii, 252) has the variant **البهلبد**, which, however, is incompatible with the metre.

⁴ Yāqūt has **بَهْلَبَد** Bahalbadh.

⁵ Read for **المزاريب** (in Qazwīnī), **المزاريب** (Yāqūt).

Fate was cruel and pitiless to them, and nothing more could be seen of them but the trifles [wherewith they diverted themselves].”

Balahbad is again mentioned by Qazwīnī under the article *Qaṣr-i-Shīrīn* (pp. 295-7), where he says :—“Kisrā Abarwīz had three things which no king before or after him hath had, his wife Shīrīn, his minstrel Balahbad, and his horse Shabdīz.” A little further on, after describing the magnificent park which Khusraw Parvīz caused to be laid out for his delectation near Qinnasrīn, he continues :—

“And when it was finished, the King [Parvīz] inspected it, and it pleased him well, and he ordered the architects to be rewarded with wealth. And one day he said to Shīrīn, ‘Ask me a favour.’ She said, ‘I desire that thou should’st build for me a castle in this garden, the like of which none within thy realm hath possessed; and that thou should’st place therein a channel lined with stone wherein wine shall flow.’ To this he consented; but he forgot [his promise], and Shīrīn dared not remind him of it. So she said to Balahbad, ‘Remind him of my request in a song, and thou shalt have my farm which is at Iṣfahān.’ To this he agreed; and he composed a poem on this subject and set it to music. And when Kisrā heard it, he said to him, ‘Thou hast reminded me of Shīrīn’s wish,’ and he ordered the castle to be built and the watercourse to be made. So it was built in the handsomest and most solid style. And Shīrīn was faithful in her promise to Balahbad in respect to the farm, and thither he removed his family; and he has descendants at Iṣfahān who trace their pedigree to him.”¹

Bārbad is also mentioned in several passages in *Nidhāmī* of Ganja’s *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*, together with the harper Nakīsā (نکيسا). The vocalization of the second syllable is proved by the line (Ṭīhrān lith. ed. of A.H. 1301, p. 104)—

طلب فرمود کردن باربدرا ‘وزودرمان طلب شد کار خودرا’

¹ Cf. Yāqūt, iv, pp. 112 et seqq.

“He bade them summon *Bārbad*, and from him sought a remedy for his affair.”

Hence it is clear that the *Burhān-i-Jāmi‘* is in error in pointing the second syllable with the vowel *u*. Both vocalizations are given by the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi‘*. The *Anjuman-ārā-yi-Nāṣiri‘* of that accomplished scholar Riḍā-qulī Khān “Lālā-bāshī,” poetically surnamed *Hidāyat*, has the following notice:—

“*Bārbad* was the name of a man, a native of the town of Jahrum in Fārs, who held the office of chamberlain under Khusraw Parvīz. It was for this reason that he was called *Bār-bad*, that is, ‘Chief of the Audience-hall’ (بزرگت بار), for by his means men obtained access to the presence of Parvīz. He had the greatest skill in the modes of music, and at Khusraw’s banquets he and *Nakīsā* [the harper] conduced to the enjoyment [of the guests].”

So much for the legendary *Bārbad*. It will be seen that he is represented as a minstrel rather than a poet; he is not a mere musician like his comrade *Nakīsā*, but essentially a singer, an improvisatore, who, in the form of ballads, brings to the King’s notice what it is desired that he should know. ‘*Awfī*, as we have seen, refuses to regard his ballads as poetry, alleging that they lacked “metre, rhyme, and the observance of poetical congruities,” but *Qazwīnī*, on the other hand, describes his improvisations as “verse” (شعر). Perhaps they most closely resembled the *taṣnīfs* of modern Persia—ballads, generally with a refrain, referring to current events, passing from mouth to mouth, but seldom or never committed to writing, having both rhyme and metre, but of a very simple kind.¹

Now it seems to me that there exists a very striking analogy between *Bārbad* the Sāsānian minstrel and *Rūdagī* the Sāmānian poet, to illustrate which I shall quote the version given in the *Chahār Maqāla* of the well-known tale which tells how the latter, by the charm of his verse, succeeded in prevailing upon Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sāmānid

¹ See my *Year among the Persians*, p. 283.

Prince (A.D. 913–942) to tear himself from the charms of Herāt and return to Bukhārā. Before doing so, however, I wish to direct attention to a notice of the poet which I have met with in an Arabic MS. in the Cambridge University Library bearing the class-mark Qq. 33, and entitled *Ghāyatu'l-wasā'il ila ma'rifati'l-awā'il* ("The supreme means for a knowledge of beginnings"). The notice in question occurs on f. 178*b*, and runs as follows:—

أول من قال الشعر الجيد بالفارسية أبو عبد الله جعفر بن محمد
بن حكيم بن عبد الرحمن بن آدم الرّودكى الشاعر المليح القبول
السائر الشعر المشهور ديوانه في العجم وكان مقدّمًا في الشعر في زمانه
بالفارسية على أقرانه، وكان أبو الفضل البلعمي الوزير يقول ليس
للرّودكى في العرب والعجم نظير

"The first to compose good poetry in Persian was Abū 'Abdu'llah Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. Ādam *ar-Rawdhakī*, a poet eloquent of utterance, whose verse is widely current and whose *dīvān* is well known in Persia. In his day he excelled all his compeers in composing verse in Persian. Abu'l-Faḍl al-Bal'amī the Vazīr used to say, 'Rawdhakī has no equal amongst the Arabs or the Persians.'"

This notice is rather important on account of the vocalization of the poet's name which it indicates; and it merits some attention, since the work (hitherto, I believe, unknown) in which it occurs is of considerable antiquity, being dedicated to the Atābek Shihābu'd-Dīn Ṭughril Beg, who fell from power in A.H. 629 (A.D. 1231–2) and died in A.H. 631 (A.D. 1233).¹ Its author is Isma'īl Hibatu'llāh b. Abi'r-Riḍā al-Mawṣili. The MS. itself is dated A.H. 1074, but professes to have been transcribed from an ancient original dated A.H. 306 (*sic*), probably a mistake for 806.

To return to the *Chahār Maqāla*, the author, Nidhāmī-i-'Arūḍī of Samarqand, when in his native town in A.H. 504

¹ See De Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikān, vol. iv, pp. 424, 432, and 433.

(A.D. 1110-1111), not more than 170 years after Rūdagi's death, met the Dihqān Abū Rijā Aḥmad b. 'Abdu's-Ṣamad al-'Ābidī, and learned from him some particulars concerning Rūdagi which are incorporated in the following narrative (f. 14a):—

“Now in the service of Kings naught is better than improvisation, for by improvisation the King's temper is cheered, assemblies are rendered brilliant, and the poet himself attains his object. Such favours as Rūdagi obtained from the House of Sāmān by his improvisations and by virtue of his verse none hath experienced.

“*Anecdote.*—They relate thus, that Naṣr b. Aḥmad, who was the central point of the Sāmānid group, whose fortunes reached their zenith during the days of his rule, was most plenteously equipped with every means of enjoyment and material of splendour—well-filled treasures, an efficient army, and loyal servants. In winter he used to reside at the capital, Bukhārā, while in summer he used to go to Samarqand, or some other of the cities of Khurāsān. Now one year it was the turn of Herāt. He spent the spring at Bādghīs, where are the most charming pasture-grounds of Khurāsān and 'Irāq, for there are nearly a thousand water-courses abounding in water and pasture, any one of which would suffice for an army.

“When the beasts had well eaten, and had recovered their strength and condition, and were fit for warfare or to take the field, Naṣr b. Aḥmad turned his face towards Herāt, but halted outside the city of Marghazār-i-Sapīd and there pitched his camp. Cool breezes from the north were stirring, and the fruit was ripening in the districts of Mālin and Karūkh¹—fruit such as can be obtained in but few places, and nowhere so cheaply. There the army rested. The climate was charming, the breeze cool, bread plentiful, fruit abundant, and fragrant scents filled the air, so that the soldiers enjoyed their life to the full during the spring and summer.

¹ See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, pp. 487, 511-512, according to which the former is distant from Herāt two parasangs, the latter ten.

“When Mihrjān [the autumnal equinox] arrived, and the juice of the grape came into season, and the eglantine, basil and yellow rocket were in bloom, they did full justice to the charms of autumn, and took their fill of the pleasures of that season. Mihrjān was protracted, for the cold did not wax severe, and the grapes proved to be of exceptional sweetness. For in the district of Herāt one hundred and twenty different varieties of the grape occur, each sweeter and more delicious than the other; and amongst them are in particular two kinds which are not to be found in any other region of the inhabited world, one called *Parniyān* and the other *Gulchīdī*, tight-skinned, slender-stalked,¹ and luscious. . . . A cluster of *Gulchīdī* grapes sometimes attains a weight of five maunds; they are black as pitch and sweet as sugar, nor can one eat many for the sweetness that is in them. [And besides these there were] all sorts of other delicious fruits.

“So Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad saw Mihrjān and its fruits, and was mightily pleased therewith. Then the narcissus began to bloom, and the raisins were plucked and picked in Mālin, and hung up on lines, and packed in chests; and the Amīr with his army moved into the two groups of hamlets called Ghūra and Darwāz. There he saw mansions each one of which was like highest paradise, having before it a garden or pleasure-ground with a northern aspect. There they passed the winter, while the Mandarin oranges began to arrive from Sīstān and the sweet oranges from

¹ *Tang-takas*. Bahrāmī of Sarakhs, the father of Mu‘izzī the Saljūq poet-laureate, says, describing the black grape of this or a similar kind (*Anjuman-ārā-yi-Nāṣirī*, s.v. *takas*):—

آن خوشه بین چنانکه یکی خیگت پر نمید
 سر بسته و نبرده بر او دست هیچ کس
 برگونه سیاهئی چشم است غرب او
 هم بر مثال مردمک چشم ازو تکس

Takas really appears to mean the core which forms the continuation of the stalk, or the point marking the end of the same externally after the grape is plucked. In the latter sense its smallness is a criterion of the slenderness of the stalk, and therefore I have translated it as above.

Māzandarān; and so they passed the winter in the most agreeable manner.

“When [the second] spring came, [the Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad] sent the horses to Bādghīs, and moved his camp to Mālīn [to a spot] between two streams. And when summer came, the fruits again ripened; and when Mihrjān came he said, ‘Let us enjoy Mihrjān at Herāt’; and so from season to season he continued to procrastinate until four years had passed in this way. For it was then the heyday of the Sāmānian prosperity, and the land was flourishing, the kingdom unmenaced by foes, the army loyal, fortune favourable, and heaven auspicious; yet withal [the Amīr’s attendants] grew weary, and desire for home arose [within their hearts], while they saw the King stationary, the air of Herāt in his head and the love of Herāt in his heart; and in the course of conversation he would express his preference of Herāt to the Garden of Eden, and would place it above the spring-tide of Beauty.

“So they perceived that he intended to remain there for that summer also. Then the captains of the army and courtiers of the King went to Abū ‘Abdu’llāh Rūdagi, than whom there was none more honoured of the King’s intimates, and none whose words found so ready an acceptance. And they said to him, ‘We will offer thee five thousand dīnārs if thou wilt contrive some artifice whereby the King may be induced to depart hence, for our hearts are dying for desire of our wives and children, and our souls are like to leave us for longing after Bukhārā.’ Rūdagi agreed; and, since he had felt the Amīr’s pulse and understood his temper, he perceived that prose would not affect him, and so applied himself to verse. He therefore composed a *qaṣīda*; and, when the Amīr had taken his morning cup, came in, and did obeisance, and sat down in his place; and, when the musicians ceased, he took up the harp, and, playing the ‘Lovers’ air,’ began this *qaṣīda*:—¹

¹ These verses, which vary slightly in different traditions, are very well known. They are included in the extracts in Dr. Forbes’ *Persian Grammar*, and are cited at p. 3 of Blochmann’s *Prosody of the Persians*.

‘ بوی جوی مولیان آید همی ’ بوی یار مهربان آید همی

‘ *The Jū-yi-Mūliyān we call to mind,*

We long for those dear friends long left behind.’

“Then he strikes a lower key, and sings:—

‘ ریگت آمو و درشتی راه او ’ زیر پایم پرنیان آید همی

‘ آب چیکون از نشاط روی دوست ’ خنگت مارا تا سمان آید همی

‘ ای بخارا شاد باش و دیرزی ’ میرزی تو شادمان آید همی

‘ میر ماهست و بخارا آسمان ’ ماه سوی آسمان آید همی

‘ میر سروسست و بخارا بوستان ’ سرو سوی بوستان آید همی

‘ *The sands of Oxus, toilsome though they be,*

Beneath my feet were soft as silk to me.

Glad at the friends’ return, the Oxus deep

Up to our girths in laughing waves shall leap.

Long live Bukhārā ! Be thou of good cheer !

Joyous towards thee hasteth our Amīr !

The Moon’s the Prince, Bukhārā is the Sky ;

O Sky, the Moon shall light thee by and bye !

Bukhārā is the Mead, the Cypress he ;

Receive at last, O Mead, thy Cypress-tree !’

“When Rūdagi reached this verse, the Amīr was so much affected that he descended from his throne, bestrode the horse of the sentinel on duty, and set off for Bukhārā [in such haste that] they carried his riding-boots after him for two parasangs as far as Burūna, where he put them on ; neither did he draw rein anywhere till [he reached] Bukhārā, and Rūdagi received the double of that five thousand dīnārs from the army.

“[When I was] at Samarqand in the year A.H. 504 [A.D. 1110–1111], I heard from the Dihqān Abū Rijā Aḥmad b. ‘Abdu’ṣ-Ṣamad al-‘Ābidī as follows: ‘My grandfather, the Dihqān Abū Rijā, related that on this occasion when Rūdagi reached Samarqand, he had four hundred

camels laden with his wealth.' And indeed that great man was worthy of this splendid equipment, for no one has yet produced a successful imitation of that *qaṣīda*, nor found means of surmounting the difficulties [which the subject of it presents] with triumph. Thus the Poet-laureate Mu'izzī was one of the sweetest singers and most graceful wits in Persia, and his poetry reaches the highest level in freshness and sweetness, and excels in fluency and charm. Zaynu'l-Mulk Abū Sa'd [b.] Hindū b. Muḥammad b. Hindū [?] of Iṣfahān¹ requested him to compose an imitation of this *qaṣīda*, and Mu'izzī, unable to plead his inability so to do, wrote:—

روستم از مازندران آید همی ' زین ملک از اصفهان آید همی
' *Rustam is coming from Māzandarān; Zayn-i-Mulk is coming from Iṣfahān.*'

"All wise men will perceive how great is the difference between this poetry and that; for who can sing with such sweetness as does Rūdagī when he says:—

آفرین و مدح سود آید همی ' گر بگنج اندر زیان آید همی
' *Eulogy and praise are an advantage, even though the treasury sustain loss.*'

"For in this couplet are seven admirable touches of art, *first*, [the verse is] appropriate (مطابق); *secondly*, it is marked by antithesis (متضاد); *thirdly*, it has a refrain (مرتف); *fourthly*, it contains an enunciation of equivalence (بیان مساوات); *fifthly*, it has sweetness (عذوبت); *sixthly*, style (فصاحت); *seventhly*, energy (جزالت). Every master of the craft, who has deeply considered the poetic art, will admit, after a little reflection, that I am right."

I have given this rather lengthy citation from the *Chahār Maqāla* partly to make known one of the most ancient notices of him who is generally regarded as practically the father of

¹ See Houtsma's *Recueil des textes relatifs à l' Histoire des Seldjoucides*, vol. ii, pp. 93, 101, 105.

Persian poetry, and thus to supplement the notices contained in 'Awfī's and other *tadhkiras* made known by Dr. Ethé; partly to give some idea of the excellent, concise, telling style of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī of Samarqand—a style which, unfortunately, is but too rare in Persian prose, especially in later days; partly to contrast this appreciation of Rūdagi's genius with the opinion of Dawlatshāh, who flourished at a time and place where literary taste was profoundly vitiated (as witness the senseless rhodomontade of such books as the *Anvār-i-Suhaylī*); but chiefly to emphasize the remarkable parallelism which exists between the perfectly historical Rūdagi and the half-legendary Bārbad. Both, it will be observed, have the same special virtue in the eyes of their contemporaries; through the medium of their skilful verse, accompanied, as it would appear, in both cases by music, they are able to bring to the notice of their wilful and dangerous masters matters to which others dare not direct their attention. Is it not possible that an older tradition thus survived from Sāsānian times to the period of what may be called the Persian Renaissance, and that the gradual loss of this tradition accounts for the inability of later critics to comprehend the beauty in Rūdagi's verse, which their predecessors had recognized? For here is Dawlatshāh's judgment of the same verses:—

“This poem [of Rūdagi's] is too long to be cited in its entirety in this place. It is said that it so delighted the King's heart that he mounted his horse and set out for Bukhārā without even stopping to put on his boots. To men of sense this appears astonishing, for the verses are extremely simple, entirely devoid of rhetorical artifices and embellishments, and lacking in strength; and if in these days anyone were to produce such a poem in the presence of kings or nobles, it would meet with the reprobation of all. It is, however, probable that as Master Rūdagi possessed the completest knowledge of harmony and music [attainable] in that country, he may have composed some tune or air, and produced this poem of his in the form of a song with

musical accompaniment, and that it was in this way that it obtained so favourable a reception. In short, we must not lightly esteem Master Rūdagi merely on account of this poem, for assuredly he was expert in all manner of arts and accomplishments, and has produced good poetry of several kinds, both *mathnavīs* and *qaṣīdas*, for he was a man of great distinction, and admired by high and low."

In future articles I hope to deal more fully with some of the sources enumerated in this paper, especially the *Chahār Maqāla*, the section of the *Guzīda* treating of Persian poets, the Arabic compositions of Persian poets so abundantly illustrated in the *Yatīma*, and, last but not least, the curious and problematical *Nihāyatū'l-Irab*. But for the present I must refrain, seeing that my article has already exceeded the limits assigned to it. In conclusion I desire to express my gratitude to my friend and colleague Professor Bevan for his kindness in revising the proofs of this article, and for calling my attention to the notices of Bārbad, Bahlabadh, or Balahbadh, given by Yāqūt and al-Hamadhānī.