

**UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY**

OU_214154

**UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY**

THE
EARLY PERSIAN POETS OF INDIA
(A. H. 421-679)

BY

IQBAL HUSAIN M. A., B. L., PH. D.

*Lecturer in Persian, Patna College and
Sometime Lecturer in Persian,
Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.*

**TEXT FLY WITHIN THE
BOOK ONLY**

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No. 891.51/165E Accession No. 36469

Author Iqbal Husain.

Title Early Persian poets of India.

This book should be returned on or before the date
last marked below. 1937

*Thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the University of Patna.*

THE
EARLY PERSIAN POETS
OF INDIA
(A. H. 421-670)

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE.
Transliteration	vii.
Preface	ix.
I.—Introductory	1.
II.—Nukati	6.
III.—Abu'l-Faraj	11
IV.—Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman	67.
V.—Taj-u'd-Din	147.
VI.—Shihab-u'd-Din	162.
VII.—'Amid-u'd-Din	192.
VIII.—Conclusion	221.
Bibliography	225.
Index	230.

...

TRANSLITERATION.

The following system has been followed in this work :—

ا	a.	ض	dt-
ب	b.	ط	t.
پ	P.	ظ	dh.
ت	t.	ع	i
ث	th.	غ	
ج	jh	ف	f.
چ	di.	ق	a
ح	h.	ک	k.
خ	kh.	گ	g.l
د	d.	ل	L
ذ	d.	م	m.
ر	r.	ن	n.
ز	z.	و	w, u.
ژ	zh.	ه	h.
س	s	و	
ش	sh.	ی	
ص	s.		

PREFACE

Persian poetry produced in India before the advent of the great poet Khusraw has not received its proper share of attention. The importance of this period has not been fully recognised, and writers on the history of Persian literature have up till now done scant justice to the early Indo-Persian poets. There are some valuable monographs on the later Persian poets of India but for the earlier ones we have to go to the old-fashioned *tadkiras*. Unfortunately, these too are not easy of access, for most of them are available to us only in manuscripts.

The literary history of the later period cannot be justly studied without a reference to the past and it is extremely desirable to acquaint ourselves with the lives and works of the early Persian poets of India. Under the fostering care of the Muslim kings these early Indo-Persian poets have played a respectable part in the uplift of Persian literature in India and we must be thankful to them for the splendid heritage they have left us.

In this book I have dealt with a limited period extending from A. H. 421 to A. H. 670.

This is an important period for it saw the birth and development of the Indo-Persian poetry. It is unfortunate that the complete poetical works of only two early Persian poets—Abu'l Faraj-i-Runi and Mas'ud-i-S*ad-i-Salman—have been preserved. The Diwans of other poets have been lost, but we, however, come across extracts from the writings of the other early poets in great many Persian historical and biographical works. The much maligned Persian tadhkira-writers have done a distinct service to Persian poetry of this period by preserving in their works a large number of the verses of these poets.

The materials for this book have been mainly derived from the many manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore. The task was difficult and the obstacles many. The Persian biographers give very meagre information even about the lives of the poets and do not at all throw any light on the influence which had gone to shape their thought and expression. I have tried my best to ascertain many particulars from references in the verses of the poets themselves and have endeavoured to keep the book as free from defects as possible.

How far I have succeeded in attaining my aim must remain for others to judge. Perhaps the reception of the present work may give encouragement enough to lead me to the preparation of another work in which I propose to deal with the Indo-Persian poets from A. H. 670 down to the beginning of the Mughal rule. This work was originally written as a thesis for the Ph. D. degree of the Patna University and turned into a work of considerable bulk. For various reasons I am at present placing before the public its important portions without any modification.

I now take the much wished-for opportunity of expressing my thanks to all whom gratitude is due. One of the first inspiration to write on the Indo-Persian poets came from my professor, Dr. 'Azim-u'd-Din Ahmad. He generously undertook to guide me in my work and I am greatly indebted to him for his advice, guidance and help. I also desire to express my gratitude to Sir Edward Denison Ross, a distinguished authority on the Indo-Persian poets, and to Dr. Hadi Hasan of the Aligarh Muslim University for some very valuable hints and suggestions. I will be failing in my duty, if I do not take

this opportunity to thank Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University and Mr. F. R. Blair, M. A., I. E. S., Director of Public Instruction, Bihar. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha with his great love for Persian literature afforded me every facility in my work. I am under the deepest obligations to him for his constant and ungrudging help. Mr. F R. Blair has watched the progress of my researches in the field of Persian literature with great sympathy. I am deeply indebted to him for his help and encouragement. Lastly, I am thankful to Mr. Wali-u'd-Din Khuda Bakhsh, Librarian, Oriental Public Library, Patna, for his generous loan of many books.

Patna College,
Patna.
July 15, 1937.

}

Iqbal Husain.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The period extending from A. H. 421 to A. H. 670 is an important period in the literary history of India, for it saw the birth and development of Persian poetry in this country. Strangely enough it is just a handful of scholars who know aught about the flowering of a great school of Persian poetry in this age.

The invasions of Sultan Mahmud led to the annexation of the Punjab to the Ghaznawide kingdom. It soon became a Muslim province and many Persians and Turks settled down in the Punjab, and Lahore became their chief political and literary centre. The language of these emigrants was pure Persian, and after they had settled down in various towns of the Punjab they formed a small colony of an aristocracy speaking the purest Persian, uncontaminated by Indian idiom. This cultural tradition remained patent till the time of Amir Khusraw; and is responsible for the purity of diction of

these early poets as distinct from the ornate and Indianized Persian of later writers.

^f The Ghlaznawide Sultans, who had inherited from Mahmud the traditional love of art and literature, created a literary atmosphere in the Punjab. Attracted by the brilliance of their court ambitious scholars and rising poets from Afghanistan, Persia, Khurasan and Transoxiana migrated to the Punjab to settle down there. In a short time Lahore rivalled Ghazni itself as a centre of literary activity, and here was laid the first foundation of the Indo-Persian poetry. The first Indian poet to write in Persian was Nukati, who lived during the reign of Sultan Mahmud's son Sultan Mas'ud. All the subsequent Ghaznawide Sultans were equally great lovers of Persian poetry. The reigns of Sultans Ibrahim, Mas'ud b. Ibrahim, Arslan Shah and Bahram Shah are particularly important for under their patronage the greatest Indian poets of Persian as Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi and Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman, who

have been acknowledged as masters of style and diction.

The passing of the Indian province of the Punjab from the House of Ghazni to that of Ghaur, and the subsequent accession of Sultan Qutb-u'd-Din to the Indian throne destroyed the importance of Lahore as a literary centre. Although Qutb-u'd-Din ascended the Indian throne at Lahore, he went to Delhi in a few days. Henceforth Delhi became the capital of Muslim India, and the venue of the future literary activity of the Indian people. Among the Slave Kings of this period who took interest in Persian poetry were Sultan Iltutmish, his son Rukn-u'd-Dm Firiiz, Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud and Ghiyath-u'd-Din Balban. Sultan Balban's son Prince Muhammad was a youth of promising talents, and evinced great taste in literature. Under the liberal patronage of these kings flourished Taj-u'd-Din, Shihab-u'd-Din, and 'Amid-u'd-Din. These great poets who preceded khusraw, have contributed in no small measure to the evolution of Persian poetry in India.

These early Persian poets of India cultivated Persian poetry with catholic taste and in all their compositions retained the integrity of Persian idiom. They were writers of good and chaste Persian, and were unfamiliar with "the absurd exaggerations, recondite words, vain epithets, far-fetched comparisons and tasteless bombast" of the subsequent florid writers, who have been branded by Browne as the writers of "Baboo Persian". Their style is plain and simple and in all their verses they have shown to their best advantage, their power, their resources, their fertility and their fine artistic instincts. It is extremely necessary for every serious student of Persian literature to acquaint himself with the lives and works of these early Persian poets of India.

In this book I have dealt with the lives and works of these poets and have shown the part played by them in the keeping up of a great poetical, tradition in Persian. Under the patronage of some of the Ghaznawide and Slave

Kings of India, they have produced works of real beauty and have left a deep impress upon Persian literature in general. Their lives and achievements have afforded me an interesting field of research and my greatest pleasure lies in the fact that in this work I have painted them as they are, without leaving out their scars and wrinkles.

CHAPTER II.

NUKATI OF LAHORE.

The earliest traces of a growth of Persian literature in India can be found as early as the beginning of the 5th century A. H. It was, as I have said before, in the congenial atmosphere of the Punjab that it first took its root, shot up, and expanded. The munificence of the Ghaznawide Sultans led to the growth and spread of an indigenous literature in Persian in India. Under their fostering care and patronage there arose from amongst the emigrants a large number of local poets in Lahore. The earliest among them was Nukati of Lahore.

We know very little about this poet and the biographers do not throw any light on his life and work. 'Awfi* is the earliest authority who makes a mention of this poet and all the subsequent "tadkira"-writers have merely copied his

•Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. 11, pp. 57-58.

account. 'Awfi in his *Lubab-u'l-Albab* describes him amongst the poets of "أل سبكتکین". His full name according to 'Awfi was A b d - u'llah-Ruzbah b. 'Abd-u'llah Alnukati. He was a native of Lahore. Amin Ahmad Razi* and Taqi Auhadi† corroborate 'Awfi's account. All these accounts of the poet are very meagre and vague and do not help us in any way in building up his biography. Taqi Auhadi states that he is reckoned amongst the contemporaries of Sultan Mas'ud b. Ibrahim. This statement seems to me wholly erroneous, for 'Awfi gives one of his "qasklas" which is composed in praise of a much earlier sovereign, Sultan Mas'ud Shahid.

Now let us ascertain who was this Ghazna-wide Sultan who was known as Sultan Mas'ud Shahid. Certainly he was not Mas'ud b. Ibrahim, with whom Taqi Auhadi confuses him. 'Awfi‡ in his *Lubab-u'l-Albab* makes a mention

* Haft Iqlim, fol. 103b.

† 'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin, fol. 257a.

‡ *Lubab-u'l-Albab*, vol. 11, p. 28.*

of Sultan Mas'ud with all his laudatory titles of Amir Shahid Dhahir-u'd-Dawlah Mujir-u'l-Millat Abu S'ad Mas'ud b. Mahmud. It thus becomes clear that the Sultan under whom Nukati flourished was no other than Sultan Mas'ud b. Mahmud and not Mas'ud b. Ibrahim. After his last despairing effort to withstand his growingly powerful enemies near Merw in A. D. 1040, which ended in utter rout, Mas'ud in a panic prepared to fly to India before the terror of a Seljuq invasion. As he crossed the Indus, the prince was seized by mutineers, and after a brief captivity in the fort of Kiri was done to death in A. D. 1040. That is the reason why this Prince is remembered with the title of "Shahid" or martyr.

Having found out the period during which he flourished let us turn our attention to the poet's verses. 'Awfi * says that he was such a great poet that it is very difficult to describe all his poetic attainments. This does not surely appear to me as a critical estimate of the poet's

*Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. 11., p. 57.

ability. It is customary with the Persian biographers, when they cannot find sufficient material to construct the biography of a poet, to close it with a wholly vague and hyperbolic estimate of his poetic attainments.

The only specimens of Nukati's verses which have been preserved by 'Awfi are a "qasida," a "qit'a" and two verses. These are not sufficient for one to form much idea as to his poetic style and his art but they show that he is not extravagant in his use of images and words. The far-fetched images, the hazarded meanings and the over-fanciful way of putting thoughts do not appear in his verses. Since they are the earliest specimens of Persian verse-making in India I quote below his "qasida*" composed in praise of Sultan Mas'ud b. Mahmud.

دوی آن ترک نه دویست و بر او نه برست
 که برین نار بجارست و بران گل بهرست
 بطراز قد و خورخی زلفین دراز
 دستشهر همه خوبان طراز و خورست

* Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. 11, pp. 57-58.

ور بهجائی مه و خورشید بود یار مرا
 اندرین معلی هم جای حدیث و نظریست
 ماهکی سرو قد سیم تن و لاله رخست
 ماه کی نوش لب و ناز بدو چهره دوست
 مهر او را دل ما مستقرست این به عجب
 آن شگفتست کجا مستقر او مقرر است
 وان عجب تر که طلسموست هوا را که همی
 بلبله سوزد اگر او را چو سقر مستقرست
 وان طلسمی که هوا زو بدل اندر می سوخت
 دوستی خسرو شهر اوژن بهروز گریست
 ملک عادل مسعود خداوند ملوک
 که بفضل از ملکان بهشت و پیشترست

Being the first in the field Nukati must have exercised a good deal of influence over his contemporaries and his successors. It is really a pity that so few of his verses are known to us.

Having done with the earliest Persian poet of India, we shall, in the next two chapters, deal with the two most celebrated Persian poets who were born and brought up in India. Their elegant verses have been praised by all, and being accomplished poets they occupied conspicuous positions under the Ghaznawide Sultans.

CHAPTER III.

ABU'L-FARAJ OF RUN.

The distinction of being the first great Indian poet who wrote verses in Persian unquestionably belongs to Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi. His full name according to 'Awfl* was Abu'l-Faraj b. Mas'ud-u'l-Runi. He was born and brought up in Lahore. This statement of 'Awfi, who is the earliest writer to give a notice of the poet has been challenged by the biographers of more recent date. Lutf ' Ali† in his Atashkadah confuses the poet's native town Run with Runah, a village in Dasht-i-Khawaran, while Rida Qui! khan‡ states that lie belonged to Runah, a village in the district of Nishapur. The authors of the Tarikh Firishtah§ and Riyad-u\sh-Shu'ara|| mention him as a native of Sistan.

* Lubab-u'1-Albab, vol. 11., p. 241.

† Atashkadah, p, 122,

‡Majm'a-ul-Fusaha, vol. 1., p. 70.

§ Tarikh Firishtah, p. 49.

|| Riyad-u'sh-Shu'ara, fol. 4b.

These mistakes are apparently due to a confusion with an earlier poet of the same name, Abu'l-Faraj, whose patron was Abu 'All Simjur, one of the victims of Sultan Mahmud's inordinate ambition. The notices which these biographers devote to our poet are singularly jejune and lacking in precise information. Their statement as to the poet's place of origin is demonstrably incorrect and confused. To take one instance only I quote below a few lines from the *Tarikh-i-Firishtah** to show how its author confuses Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rumith with Abu'l-Faraj-i-Sagzi :—

”استاد ابوالفرج معاصر سلطان ابراهيم بود سمنگانی الاصل است و بعضی غزنوی نیز گفته اند و عسکری شاکرد اوست و در زمان دولت ابو علی سمنجوری که او از امروانی سامانیه بود ظهور یافت و مداح آن خاندان بود و مردی بغایت معتشم و صاحبجاه بود و از آل سمنجور بدو انعام و اکرام بی اندازه عائد شدی“

This Abu'l-Faraj of Sistan whose pupil 'Unsuri was, occupied an exalted position in the

**Tarikh-i-Firishtah*, p. 49.

court of Abu'Ali the governor of Khurasan under the Samanides* and is said to have died in A. D. 1002f. This is but one example of the confusion created by some of the biographers, and we need not multiply instances which are worse still. The birth-place of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi was neither Sistan, nor Ghazna, nor Khurasan, but Run, a village near Lahore, as I shall presently prove with reference to more reliable authorities. Of the older works from which information might be expected, the *rhahar Maqalah* does not give any biographical details about him. It only enumerates him amongst the distinguished poets of the GhaznawideJ period. The oldest work which consecrates a notice to the poet is the *Lubab-ivl-Albab*. 'Awfl explicitly states that the poet was born and brought up in Run in the district of Lahore§. The *Rahat-u's-Sudur*||, an unique History of the

* *Halt Iqlm*, fol. 89b.

† *suhufIbrahim*, fol. 16a.

‡ *Chahar Maqalah*, p. 28.

§ *Lubab-u'l-Albab*, vol. 11, p. 241.

|| *Rahat-u's-Sudur*, p. 57.

Seljuqs fully supports this statement of 'Awfi. His *nisbah* according to Badauni* is derived from Run, an ancient village, now ruined, in the district of Lahore ; and the author of the Haft Iqlim† mentions him among the distinguished inhabitants of Lahore. The authors of the Mir'at-u'l-'Alam ‡ and the Majm'a-u'n-Nafa'is§ also support this statement of Badauni. The Farhang-i-Jahangiri|| and the Burhan Qat'i¶ call Run a town of Hindustan and the birth-place of Abu'l-Faraj. This is sufficient to prove how unfounded is the contention of the biographers who dispute the assertion of 'Awfi as to the birth-place and origin of the poet.

The materials for Abu'l-Faraj's biography are far less copious than we could wish, and of his birth and early life we know practically nothing.

* Muntakha-u't-Tawarikh, vol. 1., p. 37.

† Haft Iqlim fol. 102a.

‡ Mir'at-u'l-'Alam, fols. 439b-440a.

§ Majma-u-Nafa'is, fol. 3b.

|| Farhang-i-Jahangiri, fol. 294b.

¶ Burhan Qat'i, p. 370.

At present no data are available for determining accurately when he was born; All the biographers though they give him a place in their works, unfortunately omit to mention the date of his birth. He seems to have lived through the greater portion of the fifth century A. H. under Sultan Ibrahim Ghaznawi and his son and successor Sultan Mas'ud 111 to both of whom he has addressed a large number of his panegyrics. Sultan Ibrahim succeeded his brother Farrukhzad in A. H. 450 or A. H. 451, and died according to Ibn-u'lAthir* and the author of the Raudat-u's-Safa† in A. H. 481. According to the authors of the Nidham-u't-Tawarikh, a manual of History in Persian, the Tarikh Gruzidah ‡and the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri§sultan Ibrahim died in A. H. 492. The date as given by Ibn-u'l-Athir and others does not seem to be correct, for there is a coin of Sultan Ibrahim in

*Kamil, vol. X, p. 110

†Raudat-u's-Safa, vol. IV., p. 43.

‡TarikhGuzldah, p. 404.

§ Tabaqati-Nasiri fol. 122a.

the British Museum* which on the obverse exhibits the name of Caliph Al-Mustadhhir Billah, as contemporary with Ibrahim and this Caliph did not ascend his own pontifical throne till A. H. 487. It is clear from this that Sultan Ibrahim lived and ruled subsequent to this epoch. If we adopt the latter and more probable date for the accession of Sultan Mas'ud to the throne, the statement of the Suhuf Ibrahim† that Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi died in A. H. 489, becomes necessarily incorrect, for he addresses Sultan Mas'ud b. Ibrahim in several poems as the reigning sovereign. The author of the Mir'at-ul-'Alam‡ says that Abu'l-Faraj died in A. H. 482. This date also does not seem to be correct to me, for the same reason. The statement of the author of the Nishtar-i-'Ishq§ that Abu'l-Faraj was alive till A. H. 490 seems to be more near the truth. It seems reasonable and probable that Abul-Faraj was alive till after A. H. 492.

* Catalogue of Coins (Lane-Poole), vol. IX, p. 241.

†Suhuf Ibrahim, fol. 16b.

‡Mir'at-u'l-'Alam, fol. 440a.

§Nishtar-i-'Ishq, fol. 32b.

Concerning the particulars of Abu'l-Faraj's life little information is to be gleaned from the biographers. However, if we cannot fill in the details the main outlines are clear enough. Abu'l-Faraj seems to have been a poet of considerable repute. The titles of “*افضل النضا*” and “*أستاذ*” with which he is always remembered by his biographers are significant and bear an eloquent testimony to his deep learning and great accomplishment. The great artistic beauty of his verses shows that the evaluation of his greatness by these biographers was not a wrong one.

The authors of the *HaftIqlim*,* the *Riyad-u'sh-Shu'ara*† the *'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin*‡, the *Maj'a-u'l-Fusaha*§, the *Atashkadah*|| and many other biographers state that in consequence of malicious insinuations made by Abu'l-Faraj,

* *Halt Iqlim*, fol. 278a.

† *Riyad-u'sh-Shu'ara*, fol. 4b.

‡ *'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqi*, fol. 664a.

§ *Majm'a-ul-Fusaha* vol. 1., pp. 515 and 540.

|| *Atashkadah*, p. 147.

Mas'ud-i-Sad-i-Salman fell under the displeasure of Sultan Mas'ud and was cast into prison. This story in my opinion is an invention of the later biographers and has nothing to do with fact. The source of this story is a "qit'a*," to be found in Mas'ud's Diwan. I quote below some of the relevant verses:—

[این قطعه بر سبیل گله به ابوالفرج نصر دستم نوشته شد]

ابوالفرج شرم نامدت که بجهد
 بچوین حبس و بخدم افکندی
 تا من اکلوس ز غم همی گریم
 تو بشادی ز دور مهتلفندی
 شد فراموش کز برای تو باز
 من چه کردم ز نهک یهوندی
 مر ترا هیچ باب نامد از آنکه
 نو زده سال بوده ام بلندی
 ز آن خداوند من که از همه نوع
 داشت بر تو بسی خداوندی
 گشته او را یقین که تو شده
 با همه دشمنان می سوگندی

*Mas'ud.i-Sads Diwan, p. 255.

چون نهالوت بر چمن بيشاند
تا تو او را ز بهنج بر گندي
ويچنهن قوتی تراست که تو
پارسی را کفی شکاوندی
و آنچه کردی تو اندرین معنی
نکند ساحر دماوندی
کردهای تو نا پسندیده است
تا تو زین کردها چه بر بگندی

In the concluding verse of this "qit'a" Mas'ud threatens the perpetrator of this evil deed that he would soon reap the harvest of what he had sown. He says :—

زود خواهی درود بی شپهت
بر تغمی که خود پراگندی

This second imprisonment of Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman during the reign of Sultan Mas'ud was due to his association with Abu-Nasr-i-Farsi and had also greatly to do with the administration of chalandaras he himself says in a "qasida" addressed to* Muhammad Khatib!, one of his friends and commissioner of Quzdar.

چوبلگریم هممدون پس از قضای خدای

بلی ما همه قزدار بود و چالقدر*

It will be too much to suppose that Abu-Nasr-i-Farsi, who occupied the exalted post of deputy-governor and commander-in-chief under Shirzad, fell under the displeasure of Sultan Mas'u and was punished simply through the insinuations of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Riim. There must have been some political reasons behind the downfall of Abu-Nasr-i-Parsi. It looks absurd that Sultan Mas'ud who was well known for his sagacity would have disgraced Abu-Nasr and sent his adherents to prison simply on account of the malicious insinuations made by Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi. It was certainly beyond the powers of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi who enjoyed no political powers at the court to do any harm to Abu-Nasr-i-Farsi who was a great favourite of the king and a privileged intimate of the court. Mas'u-i-S'ad, was Abu'l-Faraj's favourite pupil,

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan p. 75.

and they always remained on the best of terms as appears from an examination of the Diwans of the two. Even in his "prison-poems" Mas'ud expressed his regret at the absence of Abu'l-Faraj and a longing to see him. He says :—*

بوالفرج ای خواجه آزاد مرد
 هجر وصال تو مرا خیره کرد
 دید ز سختی تن و جان آنچه دید
 خورد ز تلخی دل و جان آنچه خورد
 ای به بلندی سخن شاعران
 هرگز مانند تو نا دیده مرد
 روی توام از همه چیز آرزوست
 خسته همی جوید درمان درد

It seems quite impossible that Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rani would have been instrumental in sending a pupil so devoted to him to prison.

Let us now ascertain the exact person who in the "qit'a" quoted above is reported to have brought about the downfall of Abu-Nasr-i-Parsi

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan p. 54.

and also through his mischievous effort sent Mas'ud-i-S'ad to prison. The earliest authorities, Nidhami 'Arudi and 'Awfi, do not make any mention of it. Amin Ahmad Razi is the first biographer who introduces this story. He writes:—*

مسعود بابوالفرج رونى معاصر بوده و ابتدای بهمن الجانیون
نهال انتقاد و مصادقت نهایت متکس را داشته چنانچه
ازین دو بهمت مفهوم می گردد

ای خواجه بوالفرج نکلی یاد من
ناشاد گردد این دل ناشاد من

چون هر معبودی هبوطی و هر شغلی عزلی در پی دارد
بعد از چند وقت که مسعود به نکس مبدل گردیده باهت
را از ابوالفرج دانسته چنانچه درین اشعار اشارتی بدان
گرفته می گوید:—

بوالفرج شرم نامدب که ز خبث
بچلن حبس و بدم افکندی

The other "tadkira"—writers merely relying on the author of the Haft Iqlim attribute this evil deed to Abul-Faraj-i-Runi The most pertinent

* Halt Iqlim, fol. 278a.

question which now arises is what was it that led the author of the Haft Iqlim to suppose that Mas'ud-i-S'ad was sent to prison for the second time, through the efforts of Abu'lFaraj-i Runi. The above quoted " qit'a " which is the source of error occurs in Mas'ud's Diwan just below another "qit'a" which is in praise of Abu'l-Faraj, the poet, beginning with :—*

ای خواجه بوالفرج نه کنی یاد من
تا شاد گردد این دل ناشاد من

It seems to me practically certain that Amin Ahmad Razi possessed a copy of Mas'ud's Diwan in which the following rubric, which is available in the lithographed edition, was missing :—

Since there are two more " qit'a " connected with Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi both immediately preceding this "qit'a," the author of the Haft Iqlim was led to believe that it was also addressed to Abir-l-Faraj-i-Runi. The verses of the first "qit'a" prove that Mas'ud was on the very best of terms with

*Mas'ud-i-S'ads Diwan, p. 254-

Abul-Faraj-i-Runi, while from the second it appears that Abu'l-Faraj who is spoken of in this " qit'a " was an enemy of Mas'ud. Without much consideration Amin Ahmad Razi came to the conclusion that both these " qit'a " were addressed to the same person viz. Abul-Faraj-i-Runi. As one of these " qit'as " is couched in the friendliest of terms, while the other savours of enmity, it became very easy for the author of the Haft Iqlim start romancing that in the beginning there existed a great friendship between Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi and Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman, which later on turned into enmity and Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi became the cause of Mas'ud's misfortune. This story was handed down to the later biographers and the legend finally received the stamp of authority from Rida Quli Khan's statement that this "qit'a" was addressed to Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi, though the statement is not followed by any evidence at all.

The rubric in the lithographed edition of Mas'ud's Diwan clearly states that the poem is »

addressed to one Abu'lFaraj-i-Nasr b. Rustam- This Abu'l-Faraj-i-Nasr b. Rustam was the governor of Lahore to whom Mas'ud has addressed several "qasidas." As Mas'ud's imprisonment was due to political causes it seems probable that Abu'l-Faraj-i-Nasr b. Rustam would have brought this about. Perhaps the following threat conveyed in the last verse of the above quoted " qita " by Mas'ud.

زود خواهی درود بی شبهت
بر نظمی که خود پراگندی

was fulfilled after sometime, for I find the following verses in a '• qasida'* addressed by Mas'ud to Abu'l-Faraj-i-Nasr b. Rustam.

ای کهله در زمانه فدار خیره ساز
بر خیره تهره کرده بما بر تو روزگار
بر بندگان اگر یستیز است کار تو
بر خواجه عهد چرائی ستیزه کار
بر نصر دستم از چه ستمگار گشته
در اُمهتری نبود ستمگر بهیچکار

* Mas'ad-i-S'ads Diwan p. 101.

آن ابوالفرج که داد جهان را ز غم فرج
اکتون هم از جهان تو برآردی همی دمار

Mirza Muhammad Khan says "that he (Abu'l-Faraj of Mas'ud's " qit'a ") cannot be identified with Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi as the authors of many "tadkiras" have supposed"*. He also doubts that Abu'l-Faraj-i-Nasr b. Rustam, the governor of Lahore, is intended. He says that from an elegy composed by Mas'ud-i-S'ad on the death of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Nasr-i-Rustam it appears that he died in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim. Mirza Muhammad Khan does not quote any verse from this elegy, and I have not been able to trace out this elegy in the lithographed edition of Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan. To me it seems practically certain that Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi was not at all connected with Mas'ud's second imprisonment and as stated in the lithographed edition of Mas'ud's Diwan it was Abu'l-Faraj-i-Nasr b. Rustam who brought

* Monograph on Mas'ud-i-S'ad, p. 62.

about the downfall of Abu-Nasr of Pars, which led to the dismissal and imprisonment of all his *protege**, amongst whom was Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman.

The chief patrons of Abu'lFaraj-i-Runi were Sultan Ibrahim and Sultan Mas'tid and to them his panegyrics are mostly addressed. He also addressed his poems to princes of the royal house and nobles of the court. Some of his patrons are not well known and require biographical notices. The kings, princes and noblemen to whom the poems are addressed are :—

(1) Sultan Ibrahim.—The titles on coins issued during Sultan Ibrahim's long reign are many and very high-sounding. Simplest is Ibrahim b. Mas'ud. Another is Abu-Mudhaffar Ibrahim. Others are Sultan-u'l-'Adham ; IJhahir-u'd-Dawlah ; Nasir-u'd-Dawlah ; IJhahir-ul-Millat and Qahir-u'l-Muluk, Saiyid-u's-Salatin On the death of Farrukhzad, in A. H. 450, he ascended the throne. According to the author

of the Habib-u's-Siyar,* he was a prince of such piety and devotion that he joined together Rajab, Sh'aban and Ramadan, and fasted three months in the year. Sultan Ibrahim entered into a reconciliation with the Seljuqians, and it was agreed that neither party should entertain designs against the other's kingdom ; Sultan Malik Shah Seljuqi giving his own daughter in marriage to Ibrahim's son Mas'ud. According to the Tarikh Guzidah† and the Tabaqat Nasiri‡ Sultan Ibrahim died in A. H. 492. According to the Kamil§ and the Raudat-u's-Safa || he died in A. H. 481. One of his coins prove that he was alive till A. H. 487, and the greatest probability is that Sultan Ibrahim died in A. H. 492. According to the Tarikh Firishtah,¶[

* Habib-u's-Siyar, vol. II., Juz. IV., p. 32.

† Tarikh Guzidah, p. 404.

‡ Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, fol. 122a.

§ Kamil, vol. X., p. 110.

|| Raudat-u's-Safa, vol. IV., p. 43.

¶ Tarikh Firishtah, p. 49.

Sultan Ibrahim had 36 sons and 40 daughters. He gave his daughters in marriage to learned and religious men.

(2) Sultan Mas'ud b. Ibrahim.—He was the great-grand-son of Sultan Mahmud. According to Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi and Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman he bore the surname of 'Ala-u'd-Dawlah, Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi in one of his "qasidas" in praise of this monarch styles him as follows :—

ملائی دولت بو سعد روی لشکر حق
سنائی ملت مسعود پشت مهد انام*

Mas'ud-i-Sa'd† also tags the same title on to his name. He says :—

خسرو عالم ملای دولت مسعود
آنکه بانصاف پادشاه جهان است

Mas'ud-i-S'ad, who has written a large number of "qasidas" in his praise always styles him

* Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 82.

†Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 23.

with no title other than that of 'Ala-u'd-Dawlah. According to the Raudat-us-Safa * his surname was Jalal-u'd-Dawlah. The Tabaqati-Nasiri † styles him as 'Ala-u'd-Din. In view of the testimony of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi and Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman it is certain that Sultan Mas'ud bore the surname of 'Alfi-u'd-Dawlah. He is remembered by the same surname of 'Ala-u'd-Dawlah by the author of the Tarikh Firishtah ‡ The title of Jalal-u'd-Dawlah is not to be found on any of his coins. The titles which appear on the coins of Sultan Mas'ud are very various. They are Abu S'ad ; Sultan-u'l-'Adham; Sultan 'Adil ; 'Ala-u'd-Dawlat-wa-Sana-u'l-Millat ; Dhahir-u'l-Imam ; Nidham-u'd-Din ; Mawla-u's Salatin. According to the Tarikh Pirishtah Mas'ud was of a benevolent and generous disposition. He revised the ancient laws and regulations of the state, abrogated such as he

* Raudat-u's-Safa, vol IV., p. 43.

† Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, fol. 122b.

‡ Tarikh Firishtah, p. 49.

thought objectionable and substituted others founded on more humane and enlightened principles. All the historians agree that he died in A. H. 508.

(3) Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud.—He was a son of Sultan Ibrahim and was decidedly the most talented and capable of his sons. The conquest and campaigns in India were entrusted by Sultan Ibrahim to this prince. Praising him for his great valour Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi* says :—

دوان دستم اگر با ذره بتدرب شود
گریز خواهد از او چون کبوتر از مغراب

Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi and Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman describe his many conquests and countless feats of courage in India. Referring to his doughty deeds Abu'l-Faraj † says :—

شاهان سر افراز نهادند بدو دوی
دایان قوی دای سپردند بدو مال
بتدربى است که موج سپهش گرد برانگیزفت
از قلعه دودابه و از لشکر جهپال

* Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 15.

† Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 77.

Saif-u'd-Dawlah's conquests greatly strengthened the Islamic power in India as Abu'l-Faraj * says :—

ز آن پس که این دیار بر اسلام هشت ماه
دارلغوار بودی دارلغوار شد
بادان رحمت است ملک بر قبار شرک
گایدون هوای ملک بدو بی قبار شد

Sultan Ibrahim desirous of rewarding Saif-u'd-Dawlah for his Indian conquests conferred upon him the viceroyalty of India. Both Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi and Masud-i-S'ad-i-Salman composed congratulatory poems on this occasion. Abu'lFaraj's "qasida" does not give any date of this auspicious event but Mas'ud-i-S'ad f in his poem explicitly states that this event took place in A. H. 469. Hesavs :—

که پادشاهی صاحبقران شود بجهان
چو سال هجرت بگذشت تاوسه و سه جدم

From a "qasida" of Mas'ud ‡ in praise of this

* Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 36.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 125.

‡ Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 188.

prince it appears that the Caliph had also conferred upon him the official titles of 'Izzu'l-Milla and Sani-u-Amirul-Mu'minin.

Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman who was a favourite poet of Saif-u'd-Dawlah and accompanied him on many occasions on his military expeditions gives better descriptions of his conquests than Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi.

The Chahar Maqalah * states that " in the year A. H. 572 [A. H. 480?] it was maliciously reported to Sultan Ibrahim that his son Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud intended to go to 'Iraq to Malikshah ; that the king's jealousy was roused thereat, and so worked on him that he suddenly caused his son to be arrested, bound and interned in a fortress' Thus was cut short the successful career of one of the most talented

* Chahar Maqalah, p. 44.

princes among the Ghaznawides. It is really strange that the historians do not mention anything about the life and deeds of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud, and had we not possessed the "qasidas" of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi and Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman he would have been entirely forgotten.

(4) Khwajah Mansur b. Sa'id b. Ahmad b. Hasan Maymandi, was the grandson of Shams-ul-Kufat Abu'l-Qasim Ahmad b. Hasan Maymandi, the famous minister of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi and his son Sultan Mas'ad. His uncle 'Abd'ur Razzaq b. Ahmad, the son of the famous Maymandi, was a minister during the reign of Sultan Mawdud. In a "qaslia"* by Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi in praise of* this nobleman there occurs the following verse : —

چرخى كه جهانوست از او اختر جدش
صدر يكه شكوهى است ازو بالهش عم را

From this verse it is clear that his grandfather and uncle were distinguished noblemen,

* Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 10.

and they were no other persons than Shams-u'l Kufat Ahmad and 'Abdu'r Razzaq. 'Awfi * has wrongly mentioned Mas'ud for Said and Ahmad u'l-Hasan for Ahmad b. Hasan and describes him as Khwajah Mansar b. Mas'ud b. Ahmad u'l Hasan u'l Maymandi. Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Saiman rightly describes him as the son of Said. Praising him for his great statesmanship Mas'ud† says:—

منصور بن سعید که از شرم رای تو
خودشید و ماه روی کشد در حجاب تو

It appears from Abu'l-Faraj's "qasidas" that Mansar was a powerful minister. The poems in his praise by Mas'ud-i-S'ad clearly prove that he was much in the confidence of Sultan Mas'ud. Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman has addressed a number of "qasidas" seeking his intercession for his release from the second imprisonment. Mukhtari of Ghazna has also composed "qasidas" in his praise.

*Lubab-ul-[#]Albab, vol. II., p. 244.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 195.

(5) Thiqat-u'l-Mulk Tahir b. 'AH b. Mushkan was the Wazir of Sultan Mas'ud b. Ibrahim. According to Awfi* " he filled the chief seat of the Ministerial Office with much distinction". He is not mentioned in the Athar-u'l-Wuzara or the Dastur-u'l-Wuzara. In the poems of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi his name and title appear as Thiqat-u'l-Mulk Tahir b. Ali In one of his "qasidas" Abu'l-Faraj † says :—

عماد دولت و دین طاهر علی که دلش
یسار دارد بهی از یسار آتش و آب

In another "qasida" he says J :—

نقته الملك خاص و خازن شاه
خواجه طاهر علیک عهد الله

From this verse it appears that he was the king's confidential secretary and treasurer before he became a Wazir. According to Nidhami-i-Arudi§ it appears that he was the

*Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol., II p. 246.

†Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 16.

‡Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 108.

gChahar Maqalah, p. 45.

grandson of Mushkan. This Mushkan was the father of Abu-Nasr Mansur, who was the secretary to Sultan Mahmud and his son Mas'ud. Sana'i, Mukhtari and Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman have also composed poems in his praise. It was at the intercession of this minister that Mas'ud-i-S'ad was released from his second imprisonment.

(6) Qiwan-u'l-Mulk Nidham-u'd-Din Abu Nasr-i-Haibat-ullah Farsi was a courtier of Sultan Ibrahim and his son Sultan Mas'ud. After the death of Sultan Ibrahim when Mas'ud became king, he conferred the viceroyalty of India, on his son and successor Amir Shirzad. Abu Nasr* who enjoyed the greatest confidence of the king was made the deputy-governor and commander-in-chief, to help Shirzad in his administration of India. After a short period he fell under the displeasure of Sultan Mas'ud and was disgraced. All his adherents were dismissed from their posts and were punished. According to 'Awfi,*

*Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol., I, p. 71.

he built a great Khanqah at Lahore. Abu Nasr-i-Farsi died in the reign of Arslan Shah, the son of Sultan Mas'ud. Mas'ud-i-S'ad† in a "qasida" in praise of Arslan Shah says :—

بو نصر پارسی ملکا جان بتو سپرد

زیرا سزای مجلس مالی جز آن نداشت

From this verse it is evident that his death must have taken place between the years A. H. 509-511, which was the period of Arslan Shah's reign.

(7) Khwajah Abu S'ad Babu, more properly, 'Imad-u'd-Dawlah Abu S'ad to whom Abu'l-Faraj has addressed several "qasidas" seems to have been one of the leading men of his time. He is not mentioned in any historical work, and it is only through the panegyrics of Abu'l Faraj-i-Runi and Mas'M-i-S'ad-i-Salman that his name has been preserved, He flourished during the reign of Sultan Mas'ud and bore the king's

†Mas'ud-i-S'ads Diwan, p. 40.

Kunyat. Abu'l-Faraj* says:—

کثرت شهید یار و نام رسول
عرض او را همی عطا باشد

In another "qasida" in his praise Abu'l Faraj† says :—

سعادت بهشکارش در مساکین
سلامت پاسبانیش در مراحل
موافق در همه احوال با او
جمال صدر دیوان رسائل

From the last couplet it appears that he held the very high post of "صدر دیوان رسائل", which post corresponds to the post of foreign secretary of the present day.

(8) Abu'l-Qasim-i-Khassa was one of the favourite courtiers of Sultan Ibrahim and was his Khassa. It is not certain what were the functions of Khas or Khassa. Perhaps they corresponded to those of a page-in-waiting or lord high Chamberlain or something of the kind.

*Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 34,

†Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, pp. 72-73.

Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman has also addressed "qasidas" to him.

(0) Abu-Rushd Rashid Khass was another Khassa of Saltan Ibrahim. Paying tribute to his greatness* Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi says:—

نامر حق جمال ملت و ملک
صدر دنیا رشید روشن رای

Mas'ud-i-S'ad also composed "qasidas" in his praise. The following verse of one of his "qasidas" makes it clear that he bore the title of 'Umdat-u'l-Mulk.†

عمدة مملکت رشید که ملک
زو به فروخت چون ز مهر جهان

The lines below prove that he was a great general ‡ and flourished during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim.

و ایستاد من معجزة تو داری و بس
شاد باش ای سپهبد سلطان

*Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 121.

†Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 164,

‡Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 165.

بادشاه بوالمظفر ابراهيم
که نهاد چو او هزار قران

(10) 'Abdu'l-Hamid b. Ahmad b. 'Abdu's-ttamad was the "Wazir" of Sultan Ibrahim during the latter part of his reign.* He was a great favourite of the king and was held by him in great honour, as Abu'l-Faraj says† :—

عهد ملک آنکس که چشم ملک
بدو نگرد الا به احترام

Mas'ud-i-S'ad has also composed "qasidas" in his praise. From one of these "qasidas" it appears that he was a descendant of the House of 'Abbas‡:—

خواجہ عہد/الحمد بن احمد
مفخر گوهر بنی عباس

(11) Muhammad b. Bihruz enjoyed the greatest confidence of Sultan Ibrahim. He was the son of Bihruz b. Ahmad, the famous "Wazir."

*Tarikh Firishtah, p. 49.

†Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 80.

‡Mas'ud-i-Sad's Diwan, p. 105.

He was himself a famous courtier of Sultan Ibrahim and enjoyed great reputation for his generosity. Abu'l-Faraj* says :—

به‌دری که مه‌غ رزق به‌جودش مظهر گشت
صدری که سطح ملک برانش معداست
آزاده که در خور صدراست و باله‌ش است
فرزاد که لائق گاه است و مسنداست

About him Mas'ud-i-S'ad† says :—

توئی که چشم وزارت چو تو ندید وزیر
توئی که لفظ کفایت چو تو نداد نشان

(12) Abu Halim-i-Zarir-I-Shaybani seems to have been one of the great generals of Sultan Mas'ud b. Ibrahim. From Abul-Faraj's "qasidas" it appears that he took an active part in the Indian campaigns. Abu'l-Faraj‡ says :—

آنکه بفراخت شرع را گردن
آنکه بفزود ملک را بازار
آنکه آسوب تیغ او برسود
از لب سند تا بدریا بار

*Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan. p. 30.

†Mas'ud i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 157.

‡Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 49.

Celebrating Abu-Halim's superiority * over the other generals of the world Abu'l-Faraj says :—

Perhaps no other form of Persian poetry has been more criticized by the modern writers than the "qasida". According to one of these critics a "qasida", however perfect structurally, can seldom arouse much enthusiasm save in the heart of him whose praises it celebrates. As caustic is the remark of another critic who declares that rhetoric in verse rather than true poetry has been the achievement of all the "qasida"-writers, who frankly wrote for monetary reward. I myself shared the views of these critics, but a greater insight into this kind of poetry made me see the artistic beauty of the "qasida" form of verse. It is no doubt true

*Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 48.

that in old days, the hollow insincerity and the comparative insecurity of a court poet's life required him to show himself equal to every occasion, however trifling, to flatter his patron. He must congratulate the royal eye which first detected the new moon of Id, and likewise it was his duty to condole the king on the death of his horse. If it fluttered the vanity of his patron his mouth was sometimes filled with gold or pearls as the reward of his successful poem. This made him imagine that he could earn an honest living by writing poetry; but let us not suppose that all that he wrote is devoid of finer qualities of poetry. We must also remember that all the "qasidas" are not panegyrics, many of them being religious and philosophical. The style of quite a good number of "qasidas" of more recent date are sometimes obscure, artificial, and even pedantic, but in the classical style they bear no trace of these modern weaknesses. The "qasidas".in classical style show a wonderful command over the

resources of the language. At times the language becomes coarse, but the verses never lack high aims and noble execution. Instead of far-fetched and unintelligible conceits, the classical "qasida"-writers, as is proved by the verses of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi and Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman, preferred to draw illustrations from common objects and familiar things. The unconventional similes and metaphors do not in any way lessen the fire, passion and the great sublimity of their "qasidas." The court poet in those days fulfilled to a certain extent the functions proper to the journalist in modern times, and the kings and statesmen of the middle ages patronised poets as their modern successors patronise the printing press. The panegyrics of the poets created a public opinion in favour of the poet's patron and passed his name from mouth to mouth, and if he was wise and discriminating in his selection a fraction of the poets' immortality also fell to his share.

Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi was essentially a "qasida"-writer and his "qasidas" which display both originality and grace are the best examples of the classical "qasidas". Amongst the classical "qasida"-writers he occupies a very distinguished position and has given a lead in "qasida"-writing to the greatest poets who came after him. He also wrote a number of "ruba'is" and a few "ghazals". I could not appreciate any of the ghazals in his Diwan, but some of his "ruba'is" seem to me specialty distinguished and bear the impress of a great individuality..

All the contemporary poets recognised Abu'l-Faraj as their master. He did not owe his skill in the art of verse making to any poet, but in due course he presented to the world his brilliant pupil, Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman, who is the glory of all who use the Persian tongue, Mas'ud-i-S'ad always expressed his deep debt of gratitude which he owed to his master. He says :—

In another "qit'a" addressed to Abu'l-Faraj, Mas'ud-i-S'ad pays a great tribute to his master's poetic skill. Some of the verses of this "qit'a"* are as follows :—

خاطر خواجه بوالفرج بدرست
 گوهر نظم و نثر را کان گشت
 ذهن باریک بطن دور اندیش
 سخن او بدید و حیران گشت
 رونق و زیب شعر عالی او
 حسن اسلام و نور ایمان گشت
 راه تاریک مانده روشن شد
 کار دشوار بوده آسان گشت
 معجز خامه اش چو پهدا شد
 جادویهای خلق پنهان گشت
 خاطر من چو گفته او دید
 از همه گفتهها پشیمان گشت
 من چه گویم که آنچه او گفته است
 شرف سعد و فخر سلمان گشت

All the biographers of Abu'l-Faraj acknowledge his pre-eminence and recognise him as a

*Mas'ud-i-S'ad's DIwan, p. 254.

great master of style in "qasida"-writing. I have no intention of mentioning all of them, but shall here refer to a few only, so as to give a general idea of his greatness, Nidhami-i-'Arudi* enumerates him amongst the distinguished poets of the Ghaznwide period, 'Awfi† says that Anwari, "the prophet" among the "qasida"-writers, strove to imitate his style and constantly read his Diwan. This statement is corroborated by the Tarikh Gruzidah,‡ the Haft Jqlim§ the Majma'-u'l-Fusaha || and the Atashkadah.¶ According to the Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha he possessed a vigorous style, which Anwari imitated, while the author of the Atashkadah says that if any proof is needed to show his greatness it is enough to say that Anwari followed him in

*Chahar Maqalah, p. 28.

†Lubab-u'l-Albab, Vol. II. p. 241.

‡Tarikh Guzidah, p. 815.

§Haft Iql'im, fol. 102a.

¶Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha, Vol. I., p. 70.

¶ Atashkadah, p. 122.

"qasida"-writing and imitated his style. 'Awfi* quotes the following verse from a fragment of Anwari to show that he constantly consulted Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan:

باد معلومش که من بنده بشعر بوالفرج
تا بدیدستم ولو می داشتستم بس تمام

This " qit'a " has been quoted in the Haft Iqlim† and is also to be found in Anwaris Diwan‡. The "qit'a " runs as follows :—

زندگانی مجلس عالی در اقبال تمام
چون ابدی ملتقی باد و چو دولت بر دوام
آرزومندی بخدمت پیش ازان دارد دلم
کاندرین خدمت بشروح آن توان کردن قیام
هست امهد بصلح و لطف حق اسم
کاتصالی باشدم با مجلس شاهی بکام
باد معلومش که من خادم بشعر بوالفرج
تا بدیدستم ولو می داشتستم بس تمام
شعر چند الحق بدست آورده ام قهصاصی
قطع از صدر و زید و نکته از خاص و عام

*Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. II, p. 241.

†Haft Iqlim, fol, 102b.

‡Anwarl's Diwan, p. 271.

چون بدان راضی نه‌بودستم طلب می‌کردم ام
 در سفرگاه مسهر و در حضورگاه مقام
 دی همی معنی مگر بر لفظ من خادم برفت
 با دیم‌الدین که هست اندر کرم فخرکرام
 گفت من دارم یکی از انتخاب شعر او
 نستخف بمس بی‌نظیر و شیوه بمس با نظام
 هزم آن دارم که روزی چند بنویسم که نه‌ست
 شعر او مرغی که آسان اندرون افتد بدام
 لیکن از بی‌کافعی بهمتی نه‌کردستم سواد
 هست آمیهم که این خدمت چو بگذارد بدام
 حالی او درخانه داد نهک و بد یکدیگر
 نزد من خادم فرستد یا بهمت یا بوام
 از سر گستاخی رفت این سخن با آن بزرگ
 تا بدین بی‌خردگی معذور دارد والسلام

In another Anwari* has said :—

از متانت خهل اقبال چو شعر بوالفرج
 در عذوبت مشرب ههشت چو نظم فرخی

According to 'Awfi† there is to be found in one of Anwaris‡ " qasidas " beginning :—

*Anwari's Diwan. p. 754.

†Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. II., p. 241.

‡ Anwaris Diwan, pp. 387 and 388.

و یحک ای صورت ماصور نه بافی نه سرائی
بل بهشتی که بدنیات فرستاده خدائی

a verse, which is but a mere copy of one of the verses of Abu'l-Faraj. 'Awfi does not give either the verse of Anwari or Abul-Faraj-i-Runi. However, in Anwari's "qasida" referred to above, there occurs the following verse:—

گفته با جماع زوار حدیث در تو
مرحبا بمکلف خواجه فردوسی و در آی

It is a very close imitation of a verse of Abu'l-Faraj*:—

بسم الله بل ایدان صریح درت
مرحبا مرحبا در آی در آی

This hemistich† "مرحبا مرحبا در آی در آی" occurs in more than one place in Anwari's Diwan. The presence of such verses in Anwari's Diwan is a definite proof that he was greatly influenced by Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi's -verses. The charge of plagiarism which has" been brought

* Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 121.

†Anwaris Diwan, p. 411.

against him by some of the biographers* cannot be substantiated.

'Urfi's intolerable conceit and arrogance prevented him from acknowledging the superiority of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi. The following verses which are an example of 'Urfi's conceit, prove that he regarded Abu'l-Faraj at least equal to the other great Persian poets viz. S'adi, Anwari and Khaqani who have all been disparaged by him. 'Urfi says:—

Faiz appreciated and imitated the style of Abul-Faraj-i-Runi, as he himself says :—

*A1-Mu'ajjam, p. 438.

Undoubtedly Abu'l-Faraj. was one of the greatest " qasida "-writers of the classical school. Although he was an Indian he was followed and imitated by many poets of Persia and all of them have praised him highly. The great " qasida "-writers of the late twelfth century, Anwari, Khaqani and Dhahir Faryabi are regarded by the general consent of of their countrymen amongst the greatest masters of verse whom Persia has produced. These great " qasida "-writers of the later Seljuq period were much influenced by the " qasidas " of Abul-Faraj-i-Rani. Anwari, "the prophet" among them, unequivocally declares that he especially admired the verses of Abu'l-Faraj and imitated his style.

Fortunately for us Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan exists in many libraries, and numerous selections from it are* contained in the biographies and anthologies in which he is mentioned. The

Diwan is now available in a printed edition, published at Tihiran.

According to the authors of the 'Urfat-u'l-'Ashiqin,* the Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha† the Nishtar 'Ishqt‡and the Suhuf Ibrahim§ his Diwan is said to have contained over two thousand verses, but they all agree that this cannot be the total output of his entire literary efforts. I am certain that neither the MSS of his Diwan nor its printed edition contain all his verses. The period of Abu'l-Faraj's literary activity extended over a fairly long time, but much of what he wrote during this period seems to have been lost, through the vicissitudes of time. Shams-i-Qays in his Al-Mu'ajjam quotes the following verses of Abu'l-Faraj, which are not to be met with in his Diwan :

*'Urafat-ulAshiqin, fol. 15b.

† Majma-u'lFusaha, vol. I., p. 70.

‡ Nishtar 'Ishq, fol, 32A.

§ Suhuf Ibrahim, fol. 16b

من در جهان هر دو بساطش بوسه داد
و آن دهد بوسه بساطش کز در تمکین بود*
(۲)

از خواب گران فتنه سبک بر نکند سر
تا دیده حزم تو بود روشن و بهدار†

'Awfi quotes these other verses of Abu'l-Faraj which are not found in the printed edition of his Diwan :—

(1)
نعل اسپ تو هلاست و ستامش کوکب اسب
افتابست او و اسپش اسمانها را مدار
آسمانی پر کواکب بر زمین هرگز که دید
کافتاب او یکی باشد هلال او چهار‡
(۲)

مال دادن جز بحق اسراف دان
اینگ از قرآن بخوان لاتسرفوا
از برای دین همه دنیا بده
لن تلقوا البر حتی تنفقوا§

* Al Mu'ajjam, p. 328.

† Al Mu'ajjam, p. 439.

‡ Lubab-ul-f-Albab, vol. I I, p. 241.

§ Lubab-u't-Albab, vol. II., p. 245.

All these verses clearly indicate that the present Diwan of Abul-Faraj-i-Runi does not contain all his poetical output.

Abu'l-Faraj was a great poet and as I have said above one of the greatest "qasida"-writers of the old school. All those who came after him imitated his style but none could equal him. He created a supple and graceful style of his own and soon became well-known for his polished art. Of his eminence as a poet the author of the Nishtar 'Ishq* rightly remarks :—

”درفن شعر از معاصران خویش گوئی فصاحت برده
صاحب تلاش عالمست و رنگین طراز نازک خیالی در
اقسام شاعری طبع رسا داشت“

In his own lifetime he gained such a great charity that all class

3r low sought the pleasure of his company.

Ahmad Razi† gives such a vivid descrip-

*NishtarIshq, fol. 31b.

†HaftlQlim, fol. 102a.

tion of his qualities that I feel tempted to reproduce it below : -

”ابوالفرج رونى از اكمل شعراء است حق سبحانه و
 تعالى وى را قبول عامه بخشوده بود كه صغیر و كهبر
 خواستار او بوده چنانكى غاشیه صحبتش بر مى داشتند و
 لىواى صحبتش مى افراشتند در شاعرى نسيبتى داشته كه
 همه كس شعر او را پسندیده و هيچكس انگشت قدح بران
 ننگذاشته “

His verses are full of sweetness and simplicity, and being unlaboured are free from artificiality. They never fall short in strength (matanat), poetic imagination and eloquence. The similes are not so subtle and ingenious, as those of Dhahir Faryabi or Khaqani, but are much more impressive.

The "qasidas" of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi deserve special study not only on account of their own merit, but also for the profound influence, which, as already indicated, they exercised over his contemporaries and successors. A comparison of his "qasidas" with those of the subsequent writers will conclusively prove that

the obscure, artificial and pedantic style in "qasidas" was a matter of later invention. I quote here some of his verses* which besides giving a sample of his style, may interest many readers :—

بگردون نور اختر . مهفرستم
 بدریا در و علیر مهفرستم
 بشردوس بریں سرو و صلویر
 بر طوبی بلویر مهفرستم
 بجزم حور کانبجا روح ساقی است
 بتتفه شاع عیبر مهفرستم
 بتخوستان ز نادانی و شوخی
 متاع قلد و شکر مهفرستم
 چه می گویم خلاب پارگینی است
 که سوی آب کوثر مهفرستم
 فلط گفتم ز ذره کدتر است این
 که زی خودشهد انور مهفرستم
 سوی یاقوت و لعل از دیش گاوی
 فروغ مهره خد مهفرستم
 فراهم کرده را مفلسانه
 بر . طبع توانگر مهفرستم

* Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, p. 84.

هر مندا به تحفه پدش خدمت
 سنگهای متبر میفرستم
 هزاران کاروان شوق هر دم
 پهبانی همچو شکر میفرستم
 اگر بادی برد در صحبت او
 دو صد آه معطر میفرستم
 سخن نودت فرستادم بکثر حال
 قران هم زی بهیچر میفرستم
 بچونین حضرتی چونین سنگها
 اگر چه نیست درخور میفرستم
 چو نظمی نویسم شائسته تو
 سخن زین روی ایتر میفرستم

The language which Abu'l-Faraj uses is of an almost studied simplicity, and it is this simplicity which gives such an astonishing force and strength to his "qasidas". His many melodious poems are remarkable for grace and fluency of language, and for a felicity of diction possessed by none of the earlier poets.

Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi, Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman and Saiyid Muhammad Nasir have each a

"qasida" with the refrain "abash u ab " (fire and water) and the letter "ra " with a preceding fatha ("-ar") as the rhyme. The " qasida"* of Abu'l-Faraj is in praise of Abu-Nasr-i-Parsi and begins :

قبول یافت ز هر هفت اختر آتش و آب
وجه گشت بهر هفت کشور آتش و آب

The " qasidas "† of Mas'ud-i-S'ad and Saiyid Muhammad Nasir are both in praise of Sultan Mas'ud b. Ibrahim. The text of Mas'ud-i-S'ad's " qasida " is to be found in his Diwan, while the "qasida" of Saiyid Muhammad Nasir‡ can be read in 'Awfi's Lubab-u'l-Albab. Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rani seems to have preceded these poets in making use of this rhyme and refrain which was afterwards imitated by others. Abu'l-Faraj's " qasida " is a fairly striking specimen of classical " qasida " and shows his skill in the successful manipulation of difficult rhymes and awkward refrains. The similes are original and

* Abu'l-Faraj's Diwan, pp. 17-19.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, pp. 12-13.

‡ Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. II, pp. 267-69.

striking and throughout the "qasida " he maintains an easy and natural flow of words and ideas,

I quote one of Abu'l-Faraj's well-known " qasidas " in which he extols the virtues and valour of Sultan Ibrahim. This is a fine example of classical " qasida " and shows his mastery of language. The rythmic beauty of the poem is equally striking :—

[در مدح سلطان ابراهیم]

سهر دولت و دین افتاب هفت اقلم
 ابراهیم مظفر شاه مظفر ابراهیم
 کشمید رأیت منصور سوی لوهاور
 بطالع که نوا کند بدو تقویم
 قضا ز هیبت او دیده حال شرع قوی
 قدر بعشمت او کرده کار شرک سقیم
 غبار لشکر او بسته راه باد بزان
 شهاب صولت او خسته جان دیو رجم
 بروز عدلش مهزانیهای ظلم سبک
 بعون دانش یتهارهای دهر سلیم

کلون بجوشد خون خزانهای کهن
 کلون بجهدد مسمار ملک های قدیم
 نه بحر گردد با عزم او بعیره مجبور
 نه کوه باشد با حلم او بوعده لایتم
 نشاط شاهان بهیمنی نهاده روی بغم
 اسعد رایان یابی نهاده پشت به بوم
 سهه کند بکشد خدنگ دیده روز
 چنانکه نوک قلم در شتاب حلقه میم
 فرو خورد حشرات زمانه نوزده او
 چنانکه جادوی جادوان عتای کلیم
 ز نمل خفگی روی زمین که ناورد
 پشهزه یابد بر شیه پشت ماهی شوم
 خهال تیغ وی اندر میان پشت پدر
 عدوی دولت و دین را میان زند بدو نهم
 نعوذ بالله از آن آب رنگ آتش فعل
 که باد زخم دهد زو بخاک رنگ اذیم
 به برق ماند و کس برق را ندیده سکون
 به باد ماند و کس باد را ندیده جسم
 بگاه صلح سیکروح تر ز حلم شجاع
 بروز حزب گرانمایه تر ز خشم حلم
 اسیر بوده او بی نفس چو سنگ صدف
 یتم کرده او بی عقب چو در یتم

اگر شهیده بود عقل خصم او نه شکست
 بلی شهیده بود عقل در دماغ سلیم
 وگر کبیره بهالاید از نفس چه موجب
 بلی کبیره بهالاید از عذاب الهی
 زهی به بازوی شمشیر کامکار ترا
 نظیر نفس عزیز و شهیده فضل عدیم
 دهد همی فلک از تو بطمع نشاط
 برد همی ملک از خلق تو بخلد نسیم
 توئی که مایه دهی ملک را به تیغ و به دای
 توئی که سحر کنی از را به زر و سیم
 زمین بمهر تو رادی کند به آب زلال
 هوا ز خشم تو حامل شود به باد عقیم
 همیشه تا بود از اختلاف در عالم
 کشف حد لطیف و لیم حد کریم
 بچنگ خیر تو موقوف باد هشت بهشت
 بزیر امر تو مضبوط باد هفت اقلیم

Persian poets seldom excel in all forms of verse. This is not the case with Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi, for he wrote a good number of "ruba'is" and they are as good as his "qasidas". A large number of Persian poets have tried their wit at "ruba'i"-writing, but the most prominent among

them are Aba Sa'id b. Abi'l-Khayr and 'Umar Khayyam. Aba Sa'id b. Abi'l Khayr was the first to popularise the " ruba'i " as a vehicle of religious, mystic and philosophical thought. He died in A. D. 1049. The other poet who immortalised himself by his quatrains was 'Umar Khayyam. The date ordinarily given for his decease is A. D. 1123-24. A little before Umar flourished Abu'l-Paraj-i-Runi, who died after A. D. 1092. Abu'l-Faraj's style in " ruba'is " is exfcra-ordinarily flexible and his touch light and melodious. His '• ruba'is " possess considerable force and fire and uncommon sweetness. It is just possible that Abu'l-Fara/j's verses may have influenced 'Umar Khayyam in the composition of his " ruba'is." These specimens selected at random, display most of the salient peculiarities of his thought and diction.

(o

تا یک نفس از حیات باقی است مرا
 در سر هوس شراب و ساقی است مرا
 کاری که من اختیار کردم این بود
 باقی همه کار انقادی است مرا

(۲)

از درد فراقیت ای بلب شکر ناب
نی روز مرا قرار و نی در شب خواب
چشم و دل من ز هجرت ای گد خوشاب
صحرای پر آتش است و دریای پر آب
(۳)

چون است که عشق اول از تن خیزد
زو بر دل و تن هزار شهون خیزد
آدی بخورد زنگ همی آهن را
هرچند که زنگ هم از آهن خیزد
(۴)

سرمست بکوی دوست بگذشتم دوش
برداشته چون شیفگان جوش و خروش
آمد خرد و مرا فرو گفت بگوش
کای عاشق تهمت زده بگذر خاموش
(۵)

تا باز ترا بدیده ام زار ترم
دیدار ترا ز جان خریدار ترم
تو خفته چو ظالمان خوش و من همه شب
از دیده مظلومان بهدار ترم
(۶)

ای دل مخور اندیشه فدای پهبشی
نزدیک مشو بنغم ز دور اندیشی

با عقل مگر تا توانی خویشی
کز لهر ترا عقل دهد درویشی
(۷)

شبهای دراز تو به آرام و نیاز
خوش خفته و خواب با تو گشته دمساز
مسکین من به دل چه بشبهای دراز
چون چشم فلک تپاندم چشم قراز
(۸)

در ظلمت شبهای فراق ای دایر
بیهی که چگونه میبزم عمر بسر
ضائع نشود ریختن خون جگر
کاخر بدمد صبح امید چاکر
(۹)

از هر که دهد بلند شتودن باید
یا هر که بود رفتی نمودن باید
به کاشتن و نهک فزودن باید
زیرا که پس از کشت درودن باید

From the "ruba'is" quoted above, it is apparent that 'Umar was not the first to express these reflections in his immortal verses. They were embodied in the beautiful "ruba'is" of Abul-Faraj-i-Rum before him.

CHAPTER IV

Mas'udi-S'ad-i Salman of Lahore.

Leaving Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi, we must now pass on to his pupil—Mas'u-i-S'ad-i-Salman, of whom something has been said in the last chapter. This poet, so little 'known to us, was one of the greatest poets of his day and was highly esteemed by his contemporaries. He is mentioned i'fr the Chahar Maqalah,* the Lubab-ul-Albab,† the Tadkirat-ush-Shu'ara,‡ the Haft Iqlim;§ the Riyad-u'sh-Shu'ara.¶ the Atashkadah,¶ the Majm'a-ul-Fusaha,/ the 'Urafat-ul-'Ashiqin,\$

*Chahar Maqalah, pp. 45-46.

†Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. II., pp. 246-252.

‡Tadkirat-u'sh-Shu'ara, pp. 47-49.

§Haft Iqlim, fols. 277b-280a.

||Riyad-u'sh-Shu'ara, fols. 372b-373b.

¶Atashkadah, pp. 147-152.

|Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha, vol. I., pp. 514-541.

\$Urafat-ulAshiqin, fols. 663b-667a.

the Khizana-i-'Amirah,* the Grul-i-R'ana† and many other "tadkiras." There also exists a monograph on this poet by Mirza Muhammad Khan of Qazwin, an English translation of which by Browne was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.‡ It has also been published separately as a pamphlet of 90 pages.

The Chahar Maqalah inserts a few lines as to the cause of his imprisonment. The Lubab-u'l-Albab gives a scanty notice of this poet. The other "tadkira"-writers have given the most conflicting statements as to his birth-place and other circumstances connected with his life. Many facts concerning his life can, however, be gathered from his own Diwan. We must therefore accept only those statements of the "tadkira"-writers which can be ascertained from the poet's own verses.

* Khizana-i-'Amirah, pp. 14-21.

† Gul-i-R'ana, fols. 214b-215b.

‡ J. R. A. S., 1905 (pp. 693-740), 1906 (pp. 11-51).

Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman belonged to a talented and eminent family, and vaunting his superiority over his ancestors he says :—*

گرچه اسلاف من بزرگانند
 هر یک اندر هنر همه استاد
 نسبت از خویشتن کلم چو گهر
 نه چو خاکسترم کز آنکس زاد

Besides being a great poet, Mas'ud was an eminent nobleman and knight of his day. His liberality towards his fellow-poets was very well-known. In reward for a single quatrain or fragment he used to give caravan-loads of wealth.† 'Awfi, apologizing for placing him in the chapter of his work which treats of the poets of Ghazna and Lahore, instead of amongst the nobles says : " He ought properly 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

*Mas'ud-i-Sad's Diwan, p. 55.

†Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. II, p. 246.

‡Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. II., p. 246.

on account of his wealth (is remembered by the title of Amir by most of the "tadkira"-writers. He also took part in the political activities of his day and had the misfortune to undergo imprisonments on this account;

The poet's name was Mas'ud, and he was the son of Sad and a grandson of Salman. According to 'AWfi, he bore the title of S'ad-u-d-Dawlah,* Mas'ud's family[†] was originally of Hamadan, as he explicitly declares:—[†]

گر دل بطمع بنستم شعر است بضاعت
وز احققی کردم اصل از همدانست

One of the poet's ancestors must have emigrated from Hamadan and entered into the service of the Ghaznawides. Mas'ud's ancestors seem to have served the Ghaznawides for many generations, for he himself says —[‡]

چرا ز دولت عالی تو به پیچم دوی
که بنده زاده این دولتیم بهشت تبار

* Lubab-ul-Albab", vol., I I , p. 246.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p, 30,

‡ Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan p.85

Mas'ud's father S'ad was in the service- of the kings of Ghazna for at least, fifty, years, as an administrator and as a nobleman. † Referring to his father's services to the House of Ghazna, Mas'ud says :—*

شصت سال تمام خدمت کرد
 پدر بنده سعد بن سلمان
 که باطراف بودی از عمال
 که بدرگاه بودی از عیان

It, however, seems to me curious why Mas'ud in the following verses curtails the period of his father's service to fifty years.f

نه سعد سلمان پنجاه سال خدمت کرد
 بدست کرد برنج این همه ضیاع و عقار

It is immaterial for my purpose to discuss for how many years the poet's father actually served the House of Ghazna, but it shows how cautiously we should accept - even the *ipsissima verba* of the poet.

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 150.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ads Diwan, p. 85.; .

The "tadkira"-writers differ very much as to his birth-place. The Chahar Maqalah* does not mention it. The Lubab-u'l-Albab† states that he was a native of Hamadan. 'Awfi further remarks that "in historical works he is considered a poet of Ghazna." Dawlat Shah‡ in his Tadldrat-u'sh-Shu'ara says that he belonged to Jurjan. Dawalat Shah who is so expert in fabricating fictitious accounts gives details practically of his own making and states that Mas'ud flourished under Minuchihr b. Qabus. The whole account as given by him seems to me most unauthentic and ought to be disregarded. Amin Ahmad Razi,§ in his Haft Iqlim, relying on 'Awfi's statement and the following verse :—

گر دل بطمع بستم شعراست بغامت
ور احمقی کردم اصل از همدانست

*Chahar Maqalah, p. 46.

† Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. II., p. 246.

‡ Tadkirat-u'sh-Shu'ara, p. 47.

§ Haft Iqlim, fol. 277b.

supports 'Awfi that Mas'ud was bora in Hamadan. Perhaps the above quoted verse also formed 'Awfi's source of error. Mas'ud says that his “ اصل ” origin was of Hamadan. It seems that the poet means merely that his family was of Hamadan, and both 'Awfi and Amin Ahmad Razi have been misled by this statement. 'AliQuli Khan in his Riyad-u'sh-Shua'ra* says that Mas'ud's place of origin was Hamadan, but he lived in Lahore for a very long time. The author of the Atashkadah† states that according to one version Mas'ud belonged to Hamadan, while according to another he belonged to Jurjan. Evidently, the author of the Atashkadah had before him the works of 'Awfi and Dawlat Shah. Rida Quli Khan.‡ in spite of his attainments as a historian, states that Mas'ud's family was from Hamadai'y but he grew up in Jurjan. By making this

* Riyad-u'sh'arfi, fol. 372b.

† Atashkadah, p. 147.

‡ Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha, vol. L, p. 515.

statement Rida Quli Khan only tries to bridge the gulf between 'Awfis and Dawlat Shah's accounts. Thus we see that all these writers repeat the statements of 'Awfi or Dawlat Shah, both of whom have erred in this particular point. The- eminent Indian scholar Ghulam 'Ali Khan was the first to describe the poet as coming from Lahore in his *Sabhat-u'l-Marjan fi Athari Hindustan**. He made the same statement in his *Khizana-i-'Amkah*†. Mirza Muhammad Khan could not verify, this assertion as the *British Museum MS.* of the *khizana-i-Amirah* is defective. This statement is to be found in the Cawnpore lithographed edition of this work, and I also find it in the *Bankipore MS.* Badi-u'z-Zaman of Khurasan,- one of Persia's most critical writers and an eminent; poet of the present day { opines that Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman belonged to Lahore,, for in , many of his verses he speaks of Lahore with the greatest love and

**Sabhat-u'l-Marjan*, p, 26.

†*Khizana-i-'Amirah*, p. 15.

affection. His remark which is so important in this connection I give below in original:—*

”متشاه و مولد مسعود همان شهر لاهور و اظهار مدح و
اشتیاق مسعود بدان ولایت بهترین دلیل است“

We find that most of the "tadkira"-writers assert that the poet's birth-place was Hamadan or Jurjan. The reason for ascribing a Persian origin to the poet is plain enough. The racial prejudice of these Persian writers does not allow them to acknowledge that a poet whose artistic achievement in the Persian tongue was so great, was, an Indian. They have done the same, with many an eminent Persian poet of India, and, where for obvious reasons, it has been very difficult to ascribe a Persian origin to them, they feel satisfied by passing a disparaging remark about their literary skill and poetic genius.

Having examined the "statements of the "tadkira'-writers let us turn our attention to the

poet's own Diwan to find out what he himself says about his place of birth, for the poet's own words outweigh in authority the statements of any biographer.

Mas'ud's father S'ad, as we have already seen, was for at least fifty 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. Mas'ud was born in Lahore and as stated by Lachhmi Narayan* received his education from the divines of Lahore. Mirza Muhammad Khan† feels practically certain that Mas'ud's father S'ad was also born in India, for it is unlikely that one who had served the king's of Ghazna for sixty years and administered their provinces, should have been a foreigner and a fugitive from a distant country. It is proved beyond all doubt that our poet was born in Lahore, and his own verses prove it.

* Gul-i-R'ana, fol. 214b.

† Monograph, p. 19.

In the following verse,* Mas'ud calls Lahore his own town :—

چو یاد شهر لہاور و یار خویش گم
نبود کس کہ شد از شهر و یار خویش نفور

In one of his " qasidas "f in praise of Sultan 'Ala'-u'd-Dawlah Mas'ud b. Ibrahim, he refers to Lahore as his birth-place :—

سوی مولد کشید هوش مرا
یوبی دختر و هوائی پسر
چون بہلدوستان شدم ساکن
بر ضیاع و عقار پیر پدر
بندہ بو مصر بر گماشت مرا
بعلل ہنچو نائیان دگر

Mas'ud had a special love for his native town and wrote a " qasida " addressed entirely to Lahore. He bewails his separation from Lahore and describes himself as its ' dear son.' Some of the verses of his " qasida "‡ run thus :—

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p 97.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 84.‡ Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, pp. 203-4.

ای لاهور ویتحک بنی من چگونه
 بی افتاب روشن روشن چگونه
 ناکه عزیز فرزند از تو جدا شد است
 با درد او بنوحه و شهنش چگونه
 از دوستان ناصح مشق جدا شدی
 با دشمنان ناکس دین چگونه

In the following quatrain* composed in prison, he speaks of his longing for Lahore :—

دانی تو که با بند گرانم یارب
 دانی که ضعیف و ناتوانم یارب
 شد در هم لاهور روانم یارب
 یارب که در آرزوی آنم یا رب

The following verses† are characteristic of his devotion to his native town :—

مکملی باید از خداوندم
 که ازو بوی لاهور آید
 که همی ز آرزوی لاهور
 جان و دل در تلم همی ناید

In another " qasida‡ he expresses his longing for his country :—

*Mas'u-di-S'ad's Diwan, p. 296.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 258.

‡ Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 23.

از . . . زمانه . . . نکرده . . . ام گله
 تا بدانسته ام که مسجدور است
 مر . . . گاه . . . رنج کلد
 همه ام یوئه لهاوور است
 دانند ایزد که سختی نزدیک است
 دل بگو گر تنم ز تو دور است

After reading all these verses, . we may naturally ask, why Mas'ud in this poems so much pines and longs for Lahore. The answer is quite obvious. ,Lahore .washis native city, and all his near and dear ones were to be found there. Evidently, there was no one in Hamadan or Jurjan, for whom the poet could pine in the prison. In Lahore he had a big family, for he himself says* :—

دختر خورد دارم و پسری
 با دو خواهر بیوم هندوستان
 سی چهل تن ز خویش و از پهنند
 بسته در راحت تو جان و روان

* Mas'u-id-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 150.

The poet's mother was also in Lahore. He says:—*

ولیک زالی دارم که در کنار مرا
چو جان شیرین پرورد و مرد کرد کلان
نه بست هرگز او را خیال نندیشید
که من بقلعه سو مانم او بهندوستان

Pining for his wife on an 'Id day Mas'ud says that she also lived in Lahore.†

مرا که گوید گوی دوست عهد فرج باد
نگار من بلهاور و من به نیشاپور

All these verses conclusively prove that the whole family of the poet was permanently residing in Lahore, and that they had long ago broken off their connection with Hamadan. There cannot be found any verse in Mas'ud's Diwan to prove that he had any relatives in Hamadan. In the light of the explicit statements contained in the verses already cited, the verse‡

*Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 169.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 97.

‡ Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 29.

بهیچ نوع گداهی دیگر نمی دانم
مرا جز اینکه ازین شهر مولد و مدشاست

undoubtedly refers to Lahore. The "qasida," in which this verse occurs is in praise of Saif-ud-Dawlah Mahmud, and like all the other "qasidas" in his praise, must have, been composed during the period of his viceroyalty in India. The poets of the day who were envious of Mas'ud's ability tried to belittle his compositions. They could not tolerate that a young poet, especially one who was of Indian origin, should produce such beautiful poems. In the entire "qasula," in which the above verse occurs, Mas'ud complains of this attitude and draws the attention of Saif-ud-Dawlah Mahmud to it. From what I have stated it is quite clear that Mas'ud belonged to Lahore, and it is erroneous to believe that he belonged either to Hamadan or Jurjan.

Having determined the place of his origin let us ascertain the period of Mas'ud's life. Mas'ud's Diwan contains poems in praise of

five Ghaznawide Sultans, viz. Sultan Ibrahim ;(2) Mas'ud b. Ibrahim ; (3) Shirzad; (4) Arslan Shah; (5) Bahrain Shah. These Sultans reigned in succession from A. H. 450 to A. H. 552, which covers a period of 102 years. It is impossible that Mas'ud can have flourished from the beginning of the reign of Sultan Ibrahim down to the end of Bahram Shah's reign. The biographers do not state when, Mas'ud was born and a, great deal of controversy has arisen as to the date of his death. 'Ali Quli Khan Daghistani in his *Riyad-u'sh Shu'ara*,* Ghulam 'Ali Khan in his *Subhat-ul-Marjan*† and Khizana-i-'Amirah‡ and Rida Quli Khan§ in his *Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha*, assert on the authority of the *Chahar Maqalah* (though no such statement is to be found in any existing copy of this work) that Mas'ud was alive until A. H. 515. Relying on this state-

**Riyad-u'sh Shu'ara*, fol. 372b.

† *Sabhat-u'l-Marjan-fi-Athari-Hindustan*, p. 27.

‡ *Khizana-i-Amirah*, p. 15.

^*Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha*, vol. I., p. 515.

raent Mirza Muhammad Khan* has gone a step farther and says, " in my opinion it appears, on the whole, most likely that he died in A. H. 515." This date of his death as given by Mirza Muhammad Khan, viz. A. H. 515, does not seem to be probable for two reasons. Firstly, ' All Qui! Khan and others only say that he was alive till A. H. 515. Secondly, there is no direct evidence to prove that he died in A. H. 515. On the contrary his verses prove that he was alive long after A. H. 515. The more probable date of his death, to which Sprenger† adheres, on the authority of Taqi Kashi is A. H. 525. Bah ram came to the throne in A. H. 512 and sometime must have elapsed before the poet came to the court, for I do not find in Mas'ud's Diwan any poem welcoming the new king to the throne. The absence of such a poem proves the poet's absence from the court when Bahrain ascended the throne. There is however, a

*Monograph, p. 26.

† Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, vol XXII, p. 244

" tarj'i " in praise of the king. Its component verses prove that it must have been composed on the occasion of the spring festival, sometime after the accession of Bahram to the throne, when the turmoil arising out of the reign of Arslan Shah had subsided for the poet praises the Sultan in these terms :f

سر در کشید فتنه و روی جهان ندید
تا شد زدوده خنجر تو پاستبان ملک

Mas'ud in a " qasida " addressed to Bahram Shah refers to his miserable condition, *a year or two ago* and contrasts it with the comforts which he *now* enjoys. He says: ‡

پهرار و یار بنده ز جان نا امید بود
وامسال حال بنده چو پهرار و یار نهست

The words " پهرار و یار " should not be construed too literally, for they have been here used only for the purpose of alliteration and rhyme. In the absence of a poem welcoming Bahram to

* Mas'ud i-S'ad's Diwan, pp. 239-40.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ads Diwan, p. 240.

‡ Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 39,

the throne, in Mas'ud's Diwan, combined with the fact that the poet enjoyed no great favour during the reign of Arslan Shah it appears to me very doubtful that Mas'ud all at once became one of the most favoured intimates of Bahrain Shah's court as soon as he ascended the throne. It must have taken sometime for him to have attained to the high position to which the poet alludes in the following verse :—*

کس را چنانکه امروز این بلده نداشت
جاء و منزل و مرتبت و کار و بار نداشت

The statement of Mirza Muhammad Khan† that this "qasida" was composed in the first year of the reign of Bahram Shah, seems to me not well considered. In my opinion this "qasida" must have been composed long after A. H. 515. Evidently, this poem was composed after the king had crushed all his enemies, for the poet thanks God for the supremacy which Bahram Shah now enjoyed:

*Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 40.

†Monograph, p 65.

منت خدایرا که زمانه بکام ماست
و امروز دوز دولت ما را فجار نهست

Most probably this poem was composed after the king had finished his second Indian campaign of subding Muhammad Bhylim, for the poet says that Bahram is the undisputed king of the day :—

آن شهریار شهرکشای ملوک بقد
کامروز مثل او بجهان شهریار نهست

The historical works do not mention in which year Muhammad Bhylim was defeated for the second time. He was first defeated in A. H. 512,* and the subsequent events which followed prove that at least many long years must have elapsed between the first and second campaigns of Bahram in India. To me it seems certain that Mas'ud-i-S'ad had become the court poet of Bahram Shah not earlier than A. H. 515, and from his "qasidas" in praise of Bahram Shah it can be deduced that he was alive in A.H. 515.

Most of Mas'ud's " qasidas " in praise of Bahram Shah depict him as a sovereign whose dominion was free from all troubles and who had no cause of dread from his enemies. This position the king enjoyed considerably long after A. EL 515. Biographers* state that towards the end of his life Mas'ud, like so many other panegyrists, renounced the life of Court, became a hermit and in this state he lived for sometime. If we accept that Mas'ud became the court-poet of Bahram Shah in A. H. 512, and also adopt A. H. 515 as the date of the poet's death, it seems quite impossible that Mas'ud-i-S'ad could have gone through so much and written such a great deal in the very short period of about two years and a half. All these facts lend support to my view that Mas'ud was alive in A. H. 515 and as Sprenger says died in A. H. 525.

We have found out the date of Mas'ud's death, let us now endeavour to determine the

*Tadkirat.u'sh-Shu'ara, p. 47.

year of his birth, as deduced from his own verses. There is in the poet's Diwan a " qasida " in praise of Saif-ud-Dawlah Mahmud in which occur the following verses :—*

اگر بر ایشان سحر حلال بر خوانم
جز این نگویند آخر که کودک و برناست
نه کودکی و ز پیری آنچه فخر و عار آید
چنین نگویند آنکس که عاقل و دانا است
هزار پیر شناسم که مشرک و گبر است
هزار کودک دانم که ازهدالزهد است

These verses ' make it clear that at the time when he celebrated the praises of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud, Mas'ud was of a very young age, in as much as he was styled a " کودک " and a " برنا " In other words the poet was considerably less than twenty-five, during the period of Saif-u'd-Dawlah's viceroyalty in India viz. A. H. 467—A. H. 480. The verses indicate that the above mentioned " qasida " was composed during the earlier period of the poet's connexion with Saif-u'd-Dawlah's court. If we

*Mas'ad-i-S'ad's Diwan, p 29.

suppose that this " qasida " was composed in A. H. 467 and the poet was then 21 years of age, then the birth of Mas'ud-i-S'ad would fall in A. H. 446. Mas'ud-i-S'ad in one of his " qasidas " adressed to Sultan Mas'ud says :—*

شصت و دو سالگی ز تن بهرود زور
زاں پس که بود در همه میدان مراد مچال

From this verse it is apparent that Mas'ud-i-S'ad was 62 years of age sometime during the reign of Mas'ud b. Ibrahim viz. between A. H. 492 and A. H. 508. If we suppose that Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman composed this " qasida " in A. H. 508, the last year of Mas'ud's reign, then his birth would fall in A. H. 446, and his age at the time when he celebrated the praises of Saif-u'd-Dawlah in A. H. 467, would have been 21 years. In my opinion it appears, on the whole, most likely that he was b6rn in about A. H. 446. And since his death took place in the year A. H. 525, his age when he died must have been about 79 years, a year less than what the

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan p. 177.

astrologers had foretold during his lifetime. He himself says :—*

مرا منجم هشتاد سال عمر نهاد
 ز عمر دوستی اسعد من بر آن افزود

Mas'ud passed a happy life from his birth down to A. H. 480, when he was sent to prison. He passed most of his time in his native city of Lahore. It is not known how he attached himself to the court of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud, the viceroy of India. The prince must have been attracted by the great qualities of the poet which he shewed at an early age. It seems certain that due to his ability in poetry and warfare he became one of the favourite courtiers of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud.

Let us try to find out in which year Masud-i-S'ad first came to the court of Saif-u'd Dawlah Mahmud. In his Diwan there is to be found a "qasida"t in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud, beginning:—

*Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 256.

+ Mas'ud-S'ad's Diwan, p 20.

مگر مشاطہ نستان شدند باد و سحاب
 کہ این بہ بستہں بہرایہ و آن کشاد نہاب

In this " qasida " the poet some lines farther on says :—

خجستہ بادت نوروز و ایستادن نوروز
 ہزار جفت شدہ با مہ و جب دریاب

Mirza Muhammad Khan* asserts that the New Year's Day (March 21, the Vernal Equinox) only fell in the month of Rajab in the three years viz. A. H. 465, 466 and 467; consequently our poet must have composed this " qasida " in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud in one of these three years. From ail this it follows that Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman's first appearance must have been in or about the year A. H. 465. He continued to flourish at the court till the year A. H. 480. When Saif-u'd-Dawlah was made the viceroy of all India Mas'ud-i-S'ad composed a congratulatory "qasida "f beginning :—

* Monograph* p. 25.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 125.

چو روی چرخ شد از صبح چون صدفه سیم
 ز قصر شاه مرا مژده داد باد نسیم

In this splendid "qasida"* Mas'ud-i-S'ad explicitly states that this auspicious event took place in A. H. 469 :

یسال یلجه ازین پوهی گفت یو دیهان
 در آن کتاب که کرد است نام او تفهیم
 که پادشاهی صاحبقران شود بجهان
 چو سال هجرت بگذشت تاوسون و سه جهیم

For eleven years more Mas'ud-i-S'ad remained prosperous and happy in the service of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud. At last ill-luck overtook him and in A. H. 480, and under the orders of Sultan Ibrahim he was sent to prison.

The days which Mas'ud passed at the court of Saif-u*d-Dawlah may be regarded the happiest period of his life. During this period Mas'ud wrote many "qasidas" in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah. These "qasidas" are of much historical value, for they give details of many conquests and countless feats of prowess wrought by Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud. In

*Mas'ad-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 125.

historical works no mention is made of the life and work of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud. However, Mas'ud's "qasidas" fortunately throw much light on many particulars connected with his life. Mas'ud-i-S'ad in a "qasida"* in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah gives a vivid description of the fall of the fort of Agra. This "qasida"^y begins with the following verse :—

ایا نسیم سحر فتحنامہا بودار
بہر ولایت از آن فتحنامہا بسہار

It is full of historical value, for the poet was an eye witness to the fall of the fort. The poet describes how the "fort of Agra was built right on the sands like a hill, and the battlements of it were like hillocks. No calamity had ever befallen its fortifications, and Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud was in search of such a large virgin fortress as this which no king or chief had yet taken. The Amir of Agra, Jaipal, proclaimed his allegiance to Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud, but he remained bent upon holy wars, did not

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 87.

accept any of his terms and attacked the fortress. The troops of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud made an assault together, and dragon-like swords defended the ramparts." The poet saw Saif-u'd Dawlah Mahmud "plunging into the middle of the light like a male lion, with a man-devouring scimeter in hand." At last, from the warriors within the fort arose the shout of "Victory to our Sovereign Lord Mahmud." Thus we see that the "qasidas" of Mas'ud-i S'ad have immortalised the name of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud, otherwise he would have been entirely forgotten.

As I have said above Mas'ud passed a happy life until A. H. 480 in the service of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud. His good fortune now changed into adversity. He came from India to Ghazni to demand justice against certain persons, but was cast into prison through the stratagem of an enemy as he says*:

*Mas'ud-i-S'ads Diwan, p. 48.

داد ۱۰ نکرده ام گناهی
 آنکس که خلاص خواهم داد
 درویشی و نیستی ز لوهو
 برکند و بجزوتم فرستاد
 نان پاره خویشتم بجزوتم
 از شاه ظهیر دولت و داد
 این رنگ بجزو شدو نیاموخت
 این بهتان جز حسود ندهاد
 از بهر خدائی دست من گیر
 کز پای تن من اندر افتاد

. What was this "stratagem" and what was this "calumny" to which the poet here refers. From many of his "qasidas" it appears that the accusation made against him by his enemies was that he was dreaming of going to Khurasan, as he himself says :—*

ورنه دشمن همی کجا گوید
 که در اندیشه خراسانست

In another poem, written during, his second imprisonment Mas'ud says :— f

*Mas'ud-i-Sad's Diwan, p. 28.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 136.

که خسته آفت لہاوورم
 کہ بسے تہمت خداسانم

In one of his "ruba'is* he say's :— ,

در بند تو ای شاه ملکشہ باید
 تا بند تو پای تاجداری سایہ
 آنکس کہ ز پشت سعد سلمان آید
 گر مار شود ملک ترا نگزاید

Nidhami-i-'Arudi giving the cause of Mas'ud's first imprisonment explains what the poet meant by “اندیشہ خداسان” ; and what was the magnitude of the poet's fault, which Mas'ud always described as a mere accusation devoid of all truth. Nidhami-i-'Arudi§ says that: -

در شہور سنہ اثنین و سبعین و اربعمایہ [خمسایہ ؟]
 صاحب فرضی قصہ سلطان ابراہیم برداشت کہ پسر او
 سوف الدولہ امیر محمود نہمت آن دارد کہ بجانب عراق بروہ
 بخدمت ملکشاہ سلطان را غیرت کرد و چنان ساخت کہ او
 را ناگاہ بگرفت و بدست و بحصار فرستاد و ندیمان او را بند
 کردند و بحصارها فرستاد از جملہ یکی مسعود سعد سلمان
 بود و او را بوجہرستان بقلہ سائی فرستادند

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 300.'

† Chahar Maqalah, pp. 44-45.

From the prison Mas'ud-i-S'ad challenged the correctness of the charge against him that he was in league with the king's enemies, but we may conjecture from the vehement insistence of Sultan Ibrahim in keeping Mas'ud in prison inspite of the intercession of his ministers and nobles, that the charge against the poet was true to some extent.

Now as to the date of Mas'ud's first imprisonment, Nidhami-i-'Arudi says that this happened in the year A. H. 572, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim and that Mas'ud remained in prison for 12 years and that Sultan Ibrahim departed from this world, leaving Mas'ud in prison. I quote below the relevant passage from the Chahar Maqalah*:

”از دنیاهات برفت و آن آزاد مرد را در زندان بگذاشت
و مدت حبس او بسبب قربت شیخ الدوله دوازده سال
بود“

The date A. H. 572 has obviously been wrongly transcribed in the Chahar Maqalah,

* Chahar Maqalah, p. 45.

and I entirely agree with the remark of Mirza Muhammad* that the date A. H. 480 is what should stand in the text of Nidhami-i-'Arudi. We have no reason to disagree with the other statements of Nidhami-i-'Arudi, who was contemporary with Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman. Nidhami-i-'Arudi, who may have committed errors in dealing with some other contemporary events has not committed any mistake in stating that Mas'ud during his first imprisonment remained in captivity for 12 years, and was not released until after the death of Sultan Ibrahim.

If Mas'ud went to prison in A. H. 480, as stated by Nidhami-i-'Arudi and remained there for 12 years, then he must have been released in A. H. 492. In other words, he was released by Sultan Mas'ud after the death of Sultan Ibrahim. Apart from the testimony of the author of the Chahar Maqalah I feel certain that Mas'ud was not released from prison during the lifetime of Sultan Ibrahim, for I do not find

* Monograph, p. 42.

in Mas'ud's Diwan any "qasida" in praise of Sultan Ibrahim, giving thanks to the king for delivering him from prison. I fail to understand why Mas'ud-i-Sad, who addressed "qasidas" to sundry people on most unimportant occasions, should have omitted to compose a "qasida" in praise of Sultan Ibrahim, thanking the Sultan for the pardon granted to him. He would have composed such a poem out of gratitude to the king, and also to gain his gracious and kindly solicitude. The fact is that he was not released during the lifetime of Sultan Ibrahim and when he was granted pardon during the reign of Sultan Mas'ud he composed a thanksgiving •'qasida" in his honour, wherein he has also given some particulars of his first imprisonment. This long "qasida"*¹ begins with the following verse :—

پادشاه بزرگ دین یدور
شهریار کریم حق گستر

*Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 82.

In this "qasida" the presence of some verses leads Mirza Muhammad Khan to conjecture that Mas'ud was released from his first imprisonment during the lifetime of Sultan Ibrahim. These verses run as follows :—

عفو سلطان نامدار دخی
 بر شب من فگند زور قوم
 التفتات عدايتش بود اشت
 بار زنج از تن من مضطر

By "سلطان دخی" Mirza Muhammad Khan means Sultan Ibrahim. Though Sultan Ibrahim might have been wrongly remembered with the title of Sultan Radi in some of the lesser known works on history, here 'دخی' has been used only as an adjective and does not refer to Sultan Ibrahim. The numerous coins of Sultan Ibrahim do not bear any such title.

Let us now see for how many years Mas'ud remained incarcerated during his first imprisonment. Mirza Muhammad Khan says "the tenth year was the last of his first imprison-

merit."* Let us see what Mas'ud himself says about the period of his first imprisonment. In a "qasida"† in praise of Saltan Ibrahim, he remarks that he has wasted his soul in prison for nearly ten years :

بزرگوار خدایا چو قرب ده سالست
که می بکاهد جان من از هم و تهمار

In another "qasida"‡ in praise of Muhammad Khass, Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman says that he had been in prison for more than ten years :—

فزونست ده سال تا من کفون
نه با دوستانم نه با دودمان
مرز جای کوه است و اندوه کوه
تلم در میان دو کوه کلان

It is clear from these verses that Mas'ud was in prison even after the tenth year, and might have been released from prison after the twelfth year, as stated by Nidhami-i-'Arudi. The *British Museum MS.* of Mas'ud's Diwan on

* Monograph, pp. 36-37.

† Mas'ud-i-Sad's Diwan, p. 85.

‡ Mas'ud-i-S'ad's DiwSn, p. 163.

which Mirza Muhammad Khan relies, reads *nine years* which is obviously an error.

Nidhami-i-'Arudi makes a mention of only one prison viz. the castle of Nay, and omits to mention the names of two other castles viz. Su and Dahak where Mas'ud passed his time before going to the castle of Nay. Mas'ud himself says:—*

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

It is not known who was instrumental in delivering Mas'ud-i-S'ad from his first imprisonment. Mirza Muhammadf quotes a few verses from a *qasida*" composed in praise of Abu'l Qasim Khass, and concludes from these verses that Abu'l Qasim Khass got him released from his 'last imprisonment' Mas'ud says :—†

گر بتو نهستی قوی دل من
چکدی زمره من مسکین

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 222.

† Monograph, p. 38

‡ Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 191.

از تو بودی همه نعمت من
 که محنت بهمنهای حصن
 جان تو دادی مرا پس از ایزد
 اندرین حبس و بند باز یسمن

The words "اندرین حبس" clearly indicate that Mas'ud was still in prison, for how then could he say "in this imprisonment and last bondage." The truth is that in this "qasida," Mas'ud-i-S'ad thanks Abu'l-Qasim khass for all the help rendered to him "in this imprisonment" and the "last bondage." By "this imprisonment" Mas'ud means his imprisonment in the castle Nay, and by the "last bondage" he means his days passed in the castles of Su and Dahak. Mas'ud solicits for further favours in the following verse :*

بنده خویش را معونت کن
 ای جهان را شده بعدل معین

Thus we find that these verses were not composed after Mas'ud's release from prison, but

• Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 191,

were written while he was still imprisoned in the castle of Nay.

From the prison Mas'ud addressed pathetic appeals to Sultan Ibrahim and to all his nobles, ministers and courtiers, such as 'Ali Khass, Muhammad Khass, 'Abdu'r-Rushd Rashid Khass, Bihruz b. Ahmad, Muhammad b. Bihruz, and 'Abdu'l Hamid b. Ahmad b. 'Abdu's Samad, the "wazir". These appeals are pitiful descriptions of the poet's captivity mingled with praise of the Sultan and his nobles. But these descriptions of his sufferings in prison did not serve any useful purpose, and he was not pardoned and released by Sultan Ibrahim.

In A. H. 492 when Sultan Mas'ud b. Ibrahim came to the throne the poet was released from prison after twelve years. Mas'ud came to India, the land of his birth to look after his farms and estates and gladdened his eyes with the sight of his son, daughter, his wife and all his dear relations.

Sultan Mas'ud had now conferred the vice-royalty of India on his son Amir Shirzad. Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman became one of the courtiers of the prince and through the help of Abu-Nasr-i-Farsi, Shirzad's deputy-governor and commander-in-chief, he became the Warden of Chalandar. Mas'ud in the following verses* describes how he got this post, but he complains that he does not possess all the necessary paraphernalia required for this exalted office :

چون بهندوستان شدم ساکن
 بر ضمایح و عقار پھر پدر
 بده ہو نصر بر گماشت مرا
 بعمل هیچو نائوبان دگر
 نایبی نیستم چنانکه مرا
 سازی و آلتی بود در خور
 مردکی چند هست بمس لیره
 اسپکی چند هست بمس لاغر
 گاه طہلی زنم بزیر گلہم
 گاه توفی کشم بزیر سپر

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 84.

که جهم همچو رنگ بر کهسار
 که خرم همچو مار در کردار
 اینهمه هست و شغلای عمل
 سخت با نظم و رونق است اندر
 حشمت عالی علای تو
 در جهان خود همی کشد لشکر

Mas'ud perhaps did not like Chalandar, for alluding to his weariness and heaviness of heart, he says :—*

لاجرم چون چندی گرانجام
 ناخوش و ناترنگ و نادانم
 رفتم اینک بسوی چالندر
 ناکسی آیم بشهر بار دگر

Mas'ud was not destined to remain in the employment of the state for long. Bewailing his own life in one of his poems he says : — f

* Masud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 245.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 136.

It so happened that after some time, in consequence of malicious insinuations made by Abu'l* Faraj Nasr b. Rustam, Abu-Nasr-i-Farsi fell under the displeasure of Sultan Mas'ud, as Mas'ud-i-S'ad says in a fragment* beginning :—

بوالفرج شرم نامدت که بجهد
بچندین حبس و بندم افکندی

A few lines further on he reproaches Abu'l-Faraj for overthrowing Abu-Nasr of Pars.† He says :—

وینچندین قوتی تراست که تو
پارسی . را کلی شکاوندی

' After Abu-Nasr-i-Parsi had incurred the displeasure of Sultan Mas'ud, all his adherents were punished either by dismissal, arrest, or imprisonment. Mas'ud-i-S'ad who was one of them was also arrested and imprisoned in the fortress of Maranj for eight years, as Nidhamli-i-'ArudiJ says, " and the duration of the im-

*Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 255.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 255.

‡Chahar Maqalah, p. 45.

prisonment which he suffered in the reign of Sultan Mas'ud by reason of his relations with Abu-Nasr-i-Farsi was eight years." This statement is corroborated by Mas'ud's own verses. In the fragment in which Mas'ud reproaches Abu'l-Faraj for sending him to prison he says:—*

مر ترا هیچ پاک نامد از آنکه
نوزده سال بوده ام بلمدی

This verse implies that Mas'ud had already been in prison for nineteen years and at the time when he wrote this "qit'a" he was still in prison. This verse also supports Nidhami-i-'Arudi's statement that Mas'ud in his first imprisonment 'which started during Sultan Ibrahim's reign remained in prison for 12 years. If he had not been imprisoned for 12 years during Ibrahim's reign and about eight years during Mas'ud's reign he (could not have said that he had been in prison for "nineteen years."

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 255.

Mas'ud has a " qasida " in praise of Malik Arslan in which* he says:—

من بنده سال سوزده متجوس سائده ام
چاره كنده ام ز مديت در حبس و در حصار

This does not tally with the statement of Nidhami-i-'Arudi and is also contradicted by the verse containing " nineteen years." The word " thirteen " in the " qasida " of Malik Arslan is a mistake and ought to be " nineteen." Thus the entire period of Mas'fid's imprisonment was twenty years, viz. 12 years during his first imprisonment and 8 years in the reign of Sultan Mas'ud. 'Ali Qui! Khan† and Rida Qui! lihanj have misread the word " (eight) as " (twenty) in the Chabar Maqalah and wrongly state that in all, Mas'ud remained in prison for thirty-two years.

Mas'ud, as stated by Nidhami-i-'Arudi§, was released from prison the second time during

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 95.

† Riyad-u'sh-Shu'ara, fol. 372b.

‡ Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha, vol. I, p. 515.

§ Chabar Maqalah, p. 45.

the reign of Sultan Mas'ad through the intercession of Thiqat-u'l-Mulk Tahir b. 'Ali. The following "ruba'i":*

چرخم چو بخواست کشت بی هیچ گمان
چاه تو بزدگانیم کرد صمان
گویم همه شب ز شام تا صبحدهمان
ای دولت طاهر علی باقی مان

confirms the statement of Nidhami-i-'Arudi that Tahir b. 'Ali was instrumental in getting Mas'ud released from prison. The following "ruba'i"† composed in praise of Tahir b. 'Ali is full of genuine gratitude:

در خدمت طاهر علی یارم جان
کز خدمت طاهر علی دارم جان
هر صبحدهمی روان نهم بد کف دست
در خدمت طاهر علی آرام جان

After his release from prison Mas'ud-i-S'ad tried to gain the favour of Sultan Mas'ud by writing "qasidas" in his praise. In this attempt he was successful to some extent as he

*Mas'ad-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 308.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 307.

himself says in a " qasida " addressed to Sultan Mas'ud:

هرگز بدست حرم ایشاه مرا
 نامد بدل که کردم از یلگونه محترم
 نه نه چه مدحت افسر حشمت بود هنر
 کز مدح گویی تو شود از خلق محترم

After the death of Sulatn Mas'ud Shirzad came to the throne, bat he reigned only for a year. He was succeeded by Malik Arslan who reigned for two years. Although Mas'ad has addressed " qasidas " to Malik Arslan he seems to have enjoyed no great favour of the king. In the reign of Bahram Shah who succeeded Malik Arslan, Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman, became a favourite courtier of the king. Bahram Shah was a great patron of poets and Mas'ud in his old age enjoyed a little tranquility and happiness at the court of this royal and generous patron. DawlatShah† says that at the close of his life Masud-i-S'ad abandoned the life of a court

*Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 131.

† Tadmirat-u'sh-Shu'ara, p. 47.

poet, and indeed it is likely enough for Mas'ud in a fragment after alluding to his former days says :*

جدا گشتم از درگه پادشاه
بدان درگهم پیش ازین ره نبود
گرفتم کنون درگه ایزدی
کزین به مرا هیچ درگه نبود

There is to be found another fragment in Mas'ud's Diwan, which he seems to have composed at the close of his life, when he became a hermit. This fragment begins :—†

چون بدیدم بدیدهٔ تکهٔ بقی
که چهران منزل فداست کنون

In this fragment occur the following verses :—

آزوبانی که مدح شاهان گفت
مادح حضوت خداست کنون
!هیچ بر نوای خوش نعمت
بلبل بانغ مصطفاست کنون

*Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 57.

†Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 271.

a hermit at the end of his life, says,* " It is implied in the two verses of the fragment in question that the writer, abandoning the praise of kings, had devoted his talents to the praise and glorification of God and to the celebration of the virtues of the Prophet and his family; whereas no such poems are to be found in the existing manuscripts of Mas'ad's Diwan. In all probability this fragment is really by Sanai, whose poems it greatly resembles in style." This remark of Mirza Muhammad Khan that the fragment is by Sana'i is unjustifiable. This fragment is exactly in the same style as the one beginning :—†

درینا جوانی و آنروزگار
که از دنج پوری تن آگه نبود

All the poems which he writes on his ownself "حسب الحال" are in the same style, and to me it seems practically certain that the fragment in question was really composed by Mas'ud. That

* Monograph, p. 69.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 57.

Mas'ud became a Sufi is also proved by the verses quoted above. In this poem Mas'ud says that he parted from the king's Court, and "attached himself to the Court of God." The statement is symbolical. By "attaching himself to the Court of God" Mas'ud simply means that he became a devotee of God, and not that he actually became a poet of God's Court. Similarly when he says that he became a "ساجد" of God, the Prophet and his family, he only means that he spent his time in the glorification of God, the Prophet and his family. It does not imply that he must have composed "qasidas" in praise of God, the Prophet and his family. It is just possible that he might have composed religious "qasidas", which for some reason have not found their way into Mas'ad's Diwan. It has never been a new thing for the poets to abandon the Court at the close of their life. In old age many Court panegyrists have renounced the life of the Court and have retired into pious seclusion. Dhahir of Faryab, one of the greatest panegyrists, did the

same. The long imprisonments of Mas'ud **and** the grievous hardships which' he suffered at Fortune's hand, naturally prepared the **way** for such a change. Even during his first imprisonment he showed his religious trend of mind by getting the Holy Quran by heart. He himself says :—*

نه تن من ز بند و نچود است
 نه دل من ز بد هراسانست
 تکیه بر حسن عهد بنوالفتح است
 شادی از حفظ و نظم قرآنست

Thus we find that the statement of Dawlat Shah that Mas'ud became a hermit at the close of his life seems to be quite correct.

Having now completed the biography of Masud-i-S'ad let us turn our attention to his attainments as a poet. 'Awfi† states that he was one of the wonders of his time and had three Diwans, one Persian, one Arabic and one Hin-

*Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 28.

† Lubfib.u't-Aibab, vol. II.,p. 246.

dustani. As for his Persian Diwan it fortunately still exists, and is an unexplored treasure-house of Persian poetry, which would yield to the diligent seeker a rich store of gems. His Arabic and Hindustani Diwans do not exist now. It can not be denied that his Arabic Diwan once existed for lie himself says that he wrote Persian and Arabic with equal facility :—*

In another "qasida'f he boasts :—

Rashid-u'd-Din Watwat in the Hada'-i-qu's-SihrJ quotes some of Mas'ud's Arabic verses. Mas'ud's Hindustani Diwan cannot be traced, but in view of the testimony of 'Awfi, who is a very early authority, we have no reason to doubt that such a Diwan once did exist. Khusraw§ though

* Mas'ud-i-S'ads Diwan, p. 134.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 213.

‡ Hada'-i-qu's-Sihr, pp. 30 and 41.

§ Ghurrah-u'l-Kamal, (Introduction), fol. 79b.

vaunting his superiority over Mas'ud-i-S'ad acknowledges that he had three Diwans, one Arabic, one Persian and one Hindustani. It seems to me very probable that Mas'ud's Hindustani Diwan was still extant during Khusraw's time, and his Hindustani verses must have served as models to Khusraw. It is really unfortunate that his Hindustani poems have not been preserved. Mas'ud has used Hindustani words in some of his Persian poems. In his "qasida"* on Prince Saif-u'd-Dawlah on the capture of Agra, there occurs the following verse :—

چو دهد از ابر بغرید کوس مستمودی
بر آمد از پس دیوار حصن مارا مار

Elliot† translates “ مارا مار ” as “ Strike, strike,” and says that “ this is the first use of a Hindustani phrase in a Persian author.” Among many Hindustani phrases which Mas'ud uses is “برشکال” The word “برشکال” is a compound Hindi phrase

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 89.

† The History of India, vol. IV., p. 524.

(برش + کال), meaning the rainy season. The presence of these Hindustani phrases in Mas'ud's Diwan proves that being born and brought up in India, he was naturally familiar with the Indian tongue. No wonder that he composed verses in Hindustani. As regards his Hindustani Diwan, Mirza Muhammad* says that "it may be conjectured almost certainly that such a Diwan never existed" and supporting this assertion says that "as Mas'fid-i-S'ad-i-Salman boasts in at least ten different passages in his *'qasidas" that he is master of two languages, Arabic and Persian, it is strange that he should not add the Hindustani language and boast that he was the master of three languages.' The reason why Mas'ud-i-S'ad has omitted all mention of Hindustani is quite plain. Arabic was the language of the religion, Persian was the language of the Court, and what was Hindustani V It was the language of the conquered people. The knowledge of the language of • the despised

* Monograph, p. 10.

subject race would not have brought much glory to Mas'ud-i-S'ad, and, therefore, he does not boast that he was also a master of Hindustani. It also seems very probable that his Hindustani verses were not of such a high order as his Arabic and Persian verses were and naturally Mas'ud felt diffident in styling himself a master of Hindustani.

Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman is one of those rare beings who are produced after centuries, and without doubt, he is one of the greatest poets of the fifth and sixth centuries of the *hijra*. He was essentially a pupil of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi in poetry, as he himself acknowledges it in the following verses :*

ای خواجہ بوالفرج نکلی یاد من
تا شاد گردد این دل ناشاد من
نازم بدانکہ هستم شاگرد تو
شادم بدانکہ هستی استاد من

Although Mas'ud was a pupil of an Indian poet, he was not unfamiliar with the style of the

*Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, pp. 254-55.

eminent Persian " qasida "-writers who preceded him. He successfully composed " qasidas " in their style. At a young age, as a panegyrist of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud, he composed an eloquent " qasida "* in his praise beginning :—

About the great peculiarity of this "qasida'" Mas'ud himself says :—

This "qasida" was written in the style of Labibi, as Mas'ud himself says :—

Labibi was the chief panegyrist of Amir Abu-Mudhaffar Yusuf, the third son of Subuktigin, and has been mentioned by 'Awfi.† Mas'ud was also familiar with 'Unsuri's verses, as is clear

*Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 29.

†Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol., II., pp. 40-41.

from the following verse, occurring in a "qasida"* in praise of Sultan Masud :

جز این چه دانم گفتن که عنصری گوید
چلهن نماید شمشیر خسروان آثار

Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salmans high rank as a poet, his originality, his rare genius, fecund and resourceful, are admitted by all critics, Persian and non-Persian. In his own days he had no rivals even amongst the poets of Persia. He has been the source of inspiration to some of the greatest poets of Persia who came after him, and Khusraw† rightly points out that Kamal-u'd-Din Ismail, who is called the "Creator of Ideas," Mu'izzi, the poet-laureate of Sanjar and Dhahir-u'd-Din of Nishapur were the imitators of Mas'ud's style. The following verse in which Adib Sabir‡, while lauding his own genius, alludes to Mas'ud's poetry :—

* Mas'udi-sadsDiwan, p81.

† Ghurrah-u'l-Kamal, fol. 72b (Introduction).

‡ Relying on Dawlat Shah, Browne (Lit. His., vol., II., p. 325,) attributes this verse to Falaki of Shirwan, but Hadi Hasan (Falaki-i-Shirwani, p. 62.) is of opinion that this couplet is not by Falaki-i-Shirwanl but by Adib Sabir, and is one of the 37 couplets of an ode contained in the Diwan of Adib Sabir (Brit. Mus. Or. 327, fols. 27-28a).

گر این طرز سخن در شامری مسعود را بودی
 بجان صد آفرین کردی روان سعد سلماش

Dawlat Shah says that* "men of letters and poets of distinction, have a high opinion of his verse." All the contemporary poets, even Sana'i and Mu'izzi acknowledged the pre-eminence of Mas'ud-i-S'ad and recognised him, as their master. Sana'i had a special admiration for Mas'ud's poetical genius. In the following verse, quoted by the author of the Haft Iqlim,† Sana'i pays a very high tribute to Mas'ud's poetry. Sana'i says :—

ای عمودی که باز غزنون را
 صورت و شهرت گلستان کرد
 آنچه با جان خلق خلق تو کرد
 با چمن ابرهای نویسان کرد
 آنچه در گوش شعر تو داندی
 در صدف قطره‌های یاران کرد
 چه دماه گویمت که خود هلاکت

* Tadkirat-u-Shu'ara, p. 47.

† Haft Iqlim, fol. 278a.

مر ترا پيشواى گهوان كرد
 با تن و جان تو دماء خداى
 آنچه با خضر آب جهوان كرد

From the other verses of this " qit'a " which is not to be found in the printed edition of Sana'is Diwan, but which according to Mirza Muhammad Khan* is found in the *British Museum MS.* of it, it appears that Sana'i at one time made a collection of the poems of Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman, which he arranged in the form of a Diwan. Through mistake he incorporated in this Diwan, some verses of other poets. When Thiqat-u'l-Mulk Tahir b. 'Ali drew Sana'is attention to his mistake, he composed and sent to Mas'ud-i-S'ad this distinguished " qit'a " making apologies for his inadvertence. If any proof is needed to show Mas'ud's greatness it is enough to say that Sana'i regarded him as " the leader of poets of the world." Mu'izz " one of the sweetest singers and most graceful wits in

* Monograph, p. 86.

Persia in a remarkably fine poem, quoted by Taqi-u'd-Din Kashi and cited by Mirza Muhammad* lavishes great praise on the artistry of Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman. Mu'izzi says :—

شریف خاطر مسعود سعد سلمان را
 مستخر است سخن چون پری سلیمان را
 نسیم وحده که نو حلقه دهد هر روز
 ز کارگاه سخن بارگاه سلطان را
 حکایت خردش روشنی دهد دل را
 روایت سخنش تازگی دهد جان را
 ز شادی ادب و عقل او بدار سلام
 همه سلامت و سعادت سعد و سلمان را
 اگر دلیل بزرگی است فضل پس نه عجب
 که او دلیل بزرگی است فضل یزدان را

در مجلس بزرگان خالی مهاد هرگز
 پیرایه بزرگی مسعود سعد سلمان

In anot :— آن شاعر ستودور کز نظم او نکو تر

کس در جهان گامی نشنود بعد قران

Indeed there cannot be a greater praise than to say that after the verses of the Quran, the poetry of Mas'ud is the most beautiful.

Rashidi of Samarqand, who was a great poet of his time and whom 'Awfi* extols for his poetic ability, acknowledged the pre-eminence of Mas'ud. Rashidi in a "qasida" quoted by 'Awfi,† pays a glowing tribute to Mas'ud's poetic genius and describes him as the 'crown of poets'. He says :—

دسود شعر تو ای تاج شاعران بر من
چو نو شکفته گل اندر بهار گرد چمن

The following verses of this "qasida" which are in the same strain prove what a great regard he had for Mas'ud's poetic ability :

سپاه علم ترا هست صد هزار علم
درخت فن ترا هست صد هزار فن
تو آن بزرگ وزیری که از بلافت تست
بلند فرق معانی و راست قد سخن
چه ساحرست که کار کلمک تو که کند
ز مشک تبت بر سویم یخته در عدن

*Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. II, p. 176.

† Lubab-u'l-Albab, vol. II., p. 177.

It appears from one of Mas'ud "qasida"* addressed to Rashidi that Mas'ud used to encourage this poet by offering monetary rewards to him for his beautiful poetic compositions. This financial assistance he could not render from prison. Apologizing for sending him only a poem in return for the one which Rashidi had sent he says†

بشعر قلها بهذیر عذر من کامروز
زمانه سبکت جزونست و بخت بس توسن

This compensation in kind was far greater than the payment in cash which Rashidi used to receive before, for Mas'ud has lavished much praise on his verses.

Rashidi was another contemporary poet who acknowledges Mas'ud's greatness. No account of Rashidi is to be found anywhere. According to the author of the Chahar Maqalah‡ he was a

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 170.

† Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 170.

‡ Chahar Maqalah, p. 28

distinguished poet of the House of Ghazua. The following verses by Mas'ud-i-S'ad-Salman prove that he was one of the Court poets of Sultan Ibrahim :—

خدایگانا امروز را شدی را
بفر دولت سلطان ابوالظفر
رسید شعر بشعری و شد بگوئی
چو جود کف تو اشعار او مشهر

Rashidi was greatly opposed to Mas'ud-i-S'ad but he brought this haughty poet to his knees by the real superiority of his workmanship. In a "qasida" addressed to Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud he alludes to this :—

خدایگانا دانی که بنده تو چه کرد
بشهر غزنه با شاعران چهره زبان
هر آن قصیده که گفتی را شدی یکماه
جواب گفتم به زان بدیه هم زبان
اگر نه بوم تو بودی شها بحق خدای
که راشدی را بفکند می ز نام و زبان

We must remember that this must have happened when Mas'ud was young, for the "qasida"

is addressed to Saif-u'd-Dawlah. It is to Mas'ud's credit that even in his youth he could excel the veteran poets of his day.

•Uthman Mukhtari of Ghazna composed many "qasidas" in praise of Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman. Mukhtari was such a great poet that even Sanai pays tribute to his ability by addressing a beautiful "qasida" to him. The following verses clearly prove that Mas'ud was held in high esteem by this poet, and that he occupied a very high rank amongst the contemporary poets for the grace and elegance of his verses. Here are some verses of Mukhtari:—*

بر اهل سخن تنگ مانند مهدان
 وز جای بشد پای هر سخندان
 هر طبع که بر سحر بود قادر
 از عجز چو مستحور گشت حهران
 خاطر نبرد پی همی به معنی
 فکرت بکشد سر همی ز فرمان
 چون جزو بکل باز شد معنی
 زی خاطر مسعود سعد سلمان

*Majm'a-ul-Fusaha, vol. I., p. 605.

ابر هوش ناپدید گوشه
 بعد سکنش ناپدید پایان
 هر بهت کم اندیشه تر ز شعرت
 شد نادره تر تصفیه خراسان
 اشعار ترا در جهان گرفتار
 باعد اثر خاتم سلیمان

From what I have shown above it is evident that although Mas'ud-i-S'ad was an Indian he was recognised as the leader of thought and style even by the greatest poets of Persian origin.

Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman is especially famous for his panegyrics and threnodies. The latter class includes all his poems wherein he laments his condition during the various imprisonments which he underwent. These poems are known as "habsiyyat" or "prison-poems". In panegyric he could not excel his master Abu'l-Farai-i-Runi, but in 'habsiyyat' he stands alone and unrivalled. Watwat greatly appreciated Mas'ud's "prison-poems." "In prison-poems,"

says Rashid-u'd-Bin Watwat,* "no poet in the Persian language approaches Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman, either in beauty of ideas or grace of expression'."

Before dealing with Mas'ud's "prison-poems" let us turn our attention to his panegyrics. In this category may be included all the poems which he wrote out of prison in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud, Sultan Ibrahim, Mas'ud, shirzad, Arslan Shah, Bahram Shah and many nobles of the court. These poems contain many allusions to the poet's life and times. They are also of historical value, for they throw light upon the Ghaznawide period. The name of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud has been preserved to a very great extent through the "qasidas" of Mas'ud-i-S'ad. Elliot in his History of India† has given translations of some of the "qasidas" which record many contemporary events*

*Hada'-qu's-Sihr, p. 82.

†History of India, vol. IV., pp. 518-527.

Mas'ud's panegyrics have a wonderful ease, and flow, which many of the subsequent poets like Kamal of Isfahan, have imitated. Although he uses a few archaic words, his artistic mastery over the language, and his metaphors and similes have a charm and reality which do not exist in the works of the poets of the later period who by their frivolous conceits, puns and with their inordinate figurative touches have disfigured the fair face of Persian poetry. Mas'ud-i-S'ad had an insight into Metaphysics and Mathematics and in his similes, as pointed out by Badi-u'z-Zaman*, he makes use of the knowledge of these subjects. His productive and rich style, with his wonderful command of the language is more than could be expected from a poet of his age. The panegyrics are attractive chiefly for their freedom from fatuous and abortive exaggerations, for the poet's flight of imagination and for the remarkable felicity of expression and naturalness of his similes and

*Sukhan-wa-Sukhanwaran, p. 216.

metaphors ; consistency and fulness in his descriptions with faithful representation of the subject. His puns and figures of speech are more spontaneous, graceful and dignified in character than those of his contemporaries.

'*Mas'ud's panegyrics may be divided into two groups viz., (1) those which he composed before his first imprisonment and (2) those which he composed after his release from his imprisonments. There is a distinct difference between these two groups of his panegyrics. Those which he wrote before going to prison are full of gaiety and enthusiasm. I quote below the "tashbib" of a "qasida" composed in praise of Saif-u'd-Dawlah Mahmud, which is specially remarkable for fine metaphors and comparisons. It shows what great powers Mas'ud possessed of , writing fine poetry even in his younger days:—

مگر مشاطة بستان شدند باد و سحاب
که این به بستی پودایه و آن کشاد نقاب

بدر و گوهر آراسته پدید آمد
 چو نو عروسی در کله از مهان حجاب
 بر آمد بکردار عاشق و عشا
 کشیده دامن و افراخته سر از اعجاب
 کهی لالی باشد همی و گه کافور
 کهی حواصل پوشد هوا و گه سنجاب
 ز چرخ گردان دولاب وار آب روان
 بنگاه و بی گه آری چنین بود دولاب
 گل مورد خندان و دیده بکشاده
 دو طبع مختلفش داده فعل باد و سحاب
 بسان دوست که بباد وصال یار عزیز
 پس از فراق دراز و پس از غنا و عذاب
 بیوی نافر آهوست سبیل بویا
 بدوی رنگ نذرو است لاله سهراب
 از آن خجسته و شاه اسیر غم هر دو شدند
 یکی چو دیده چرخ و یکی چو چنگ عقاب
 ز شاخ خویش سمن تافت چون ستاره روز
 ز باغ همچو شب از روز شد رملده غراب
 هزار دستان با فاخته گمان بردند
 که گشت باران در جام لاله باده ناب
 چو گفت بلبل بانگ نماز قلحچہ گل
 بسان مستان بکشد چشم خویش از خواب

به پیش لاله بلغشه سجود کرد چو دید
 که هر دو بزرگی از لاله شد یکی مصدرب
 مگر که بود دم چیرنهل باد صها
 که همچو مسمی مریم بزاد گل از تراب
 کنون مگر دم مسمی است بوی گل بسهر
 که زنده گشت ازو خاطر ابواللهاب

Quite different from them are the panegyrics which he composed after his release from his first and second imprisonments. There is to be found in them a melancholy and insistent pessimism. The prison life crushed Mas'ud in every way. He was vexed by the spite of his prejudiced foes and the slanders of malevolent detractors. Naturally his gloom and sadness have found expression even in his panegyric poems. Mas'ud himself says :—

بر سر کوههای بی فریاد
 شد جوانی من هبا و هدر

Mas'ud's hopelessness and despondency changed his entire view on life. On account of his disillusionment he could not check himself from

giving the following views on the life of man.
He says:—*

خویش را در جهان علم کردن
هست بر خویشتن ستم کردن
تن به تهمار در هوس بستن
دل باندیشه جای قم کردن
خشمگین بودن و ز خشم خدای
بر تن بهفرد دقم کردن
دوستان را و زبردستان را
بدل آورد متهم کردن
دست نداشتی زدن درگار
قامت راستی بضم کردن
دل و جان را همه طعام و شراب
نغمه و لحن زیر و بم کردن
از حرام و حلال جاهل واد
روز و شب خواسته بهم کردن
یاد نا کردن از سوال و جواب
خانه پر زد و پر درم کردن
لقمه لقمه ز آتش دوزخ
اندوین مردوی شکم کردن

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, pp. 172-73.

عمر ناپائدار چون شمشاد
 در پرستیدن صنم کردن
 ای برادر نگو زگر بوجود
 سازد اندیشه عدم کردن
 تن و جان در خصوصیتند و سزد
 عقل را در میان حکم کردن
 گوش بر لاله بده بعجز چو نهست
 عادت هوچکس کرم کردن
 یا نصیبتی که داری از دوزی
 ممکنست نیست هوچ ضم کردن
 نهست از عقل گر بهندیشی
 نکهت بر تیغ و بر قلم کردن
 همه چاره کلی و نتوانی
 چاره این شمرده دم کردن
 نهست مسعود سعد باب خورد
 دل ز کار جهان دژم کردن
 هرچه دانی بگوئی از آنکه زبانت
 خشک باشد بوقت نم کردن

The tendency to create subtleties in the use of figures of speech and exhaust skill at artificial devices, which is such a striking feature of the

later period, is nowhere visible in his panegyrics. His panegyrics are always well-written, though at times they express the melancholy depression of an oppressed mind. The striking fluidity of his panegyrics is surely due to his great command of the language. In all his panegyrics Mas'ud shows an exquisite mastery over style and naturalness of similes and metaphors.

Having dealt with Mas'uds panegyrics, let us come to the original and pathetic "habsiyyats" which he wrote while imprisoned in various castles. These poems are his pathetic and affecting appeals in verse mingled with praises of Sultans and courtiers. Of these poems Nidhami-i-'Arudi* says, that whenever he read them, his skin would creep and his eyes fill with tears at their eloquence and pathos. In these poems Mas'ud laments his condition in prison. In the prison he was denied even the

* Chahar Maqalah, p. 45.

most ordinary comforts of human life, as he himself says :—*

گرمایه سه داشتم بلوهور
 وین نزد همه کس مهان است
 امروز سه سال شد که مویم
 ماندند موی کافرانست
 بر تارک و گوش و گردن من
 گوئی نمد تر گرانست

In these poems he longs for the days passed *in* his own town and expresses his yearning to return to his native city. He alludes to his weariness and heaviness of heart and long to see his little daughter, wife, mother and other relatives from whom he has been separated. Such original' and pathetic verses are bound to have effect on all who read them, for *they* portray the inward sentiments of a helpless man, entirely cut off from the outside world and all his near and dear ones. These poems are written in the most perfect style. I quote

*Masud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 254.

below one of these poems which is so touching and pathetic. It begins:—*

از کرده خویشکن پشیمانم
جز توبه ده دگر نمیدانم
کارم همه بخت بد به پیمچانم
در کام زبان همی چه پیمچانم
این چرخ بکام من نمی گردد
بر خهوه سخن همی چه گردانم

He continues in this vein and a few verses further on he says :—

تا زاده ام ای شگفت معجزم
تا مرگ مگر که وقف زندانم
یکچند کشته ده داشت بخت بد
در محنت و در بلاي الوانم
چون بپهرن عمل بهوشده ام
بگرفت قضائی بد گریبانم
بر بیهوده باز مبتلا گشتم
آورد قضا بسج ویرانم
بر مغز من ای سهر هر ساعت
چندین چه زنی که من نه ستانم

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, p. 136.

در خون چه کشی تلم نه زویدم
 در تف چه بری دلم نه بهکانم
 حمله چه کنی که کلد شمشیرم
 پویه چه دهی که تلگ سهدانم
 دو دو که بایستاد شهیدم
 بس بس که فروگسست خفتانم
 سبحان الله مرا نگوید کس
 تا من چه سزای بقدر سلطانم
 والله که چو گرگ یوسفم والله
 بر خهرا همی نهاند بهتانم
 گر هرگز ذره کثری باشد
 در من نه ز پشت سعد سلمانم

And in the concluding verses he says :—

از قصه خویش اندکی گفتم
 گرچه سخن است بس فراوانم
 بهوسته چو ابر و شمع مهگیرم
 وین بهمت چو حرز و مدح مهتوانم
 فریاد و سهدم ای مسلمان
 از بهر خدائی اگر مسلمانم

In the following "prison-poem" Mas'ud describes his utmost destitution and misery in prison with supreme elegance. He says :—*

* Mas'ud-i-S'ad's Diwan, pp. 124-25.

تهر و تهغ ست هر دل و جگرم
 غم تهمار دختر و یسرم
 که بدینسان گذاردم شب و روز
 غم تهمار مادر و پدرم
 جگرم یاره است و دل خسته
 از غم و درد آندل و جگرم
 نه خهر میرسد مرا زیشان
 نه بدیشان همی رسد زخیرم
 باز گشتم اسهر قلعه نای
 سود کم کرد با قضا اخدرم
 از بلندی حصن و تللی کوه
 سلقطع گشت از زمین نظرم
 من چو خواهم که آسمان بهلم
 سر فرود آرم و زمین زنگرم
 از شمعنی دست و تلگی جای
 نهست ممکن که پهرهن پدرم
 از غم و درد چون گل نرگس
 روز و شب با سرشک و با سهم
 یا ز دیده ستاره می بارم
 یا بدیده ستاره می شمرم
 در دل من شد است بقدر صبا
 من چگونه ز دیده ادر شمرم

قشت لاله ز خون دیده زخم
 شد . بتفشه ز زخم دست بوم
 همه احوال من دگر گون شد
 راست گوئی سکندرو دگوم
 آب صافی شد است خون دلم
 خون قهره شد است آب سرم
 ای جهان سختی تو چند کشم
 وی فلک عشوه تو چند خرم
 بستد از من زمانه هر چه بداد
 دایم با زمانه سر بوم

The above verses clearly demonstrate Masu'd's supreme mastery in composing this kind of poetry. Mas'ud's " prison-poems" are more attractive than the " habsiyyat " of Khaqani, for they do not glitter with expressions hard to interpret. They are also free from grammatical artifices which so often mar Khaqani's verses, and which leave the reader cold.

Mas'ud-i-S'ad was essentially a " qasida "-writer, and it is on this form of verse that his reputation rests, but his Diwan also contains a

number of odes, a large number of quatrains and a "mathnawi". Mas'ud's "ghazals" are not distinguished in any way, but they serve as good specimens of early "ghazal"-writing. I have not been able to appreciate Mas'ud's "rubais."

While governor of Chalandar Mas'ud composed his beautiful "mathnawi" in praise of the courtiers and companions of Amir Shirzad, amongst whom he himself was. I give below some of the opening verses of; this "mathnawi." These verses are especially striking for they very accurately give the description of the rainy season in India. The "mathnawi" begins :—[#]

بیشکال ای بهار هندوستان
ای نجات از بلی تابستان
دادی از اتهمه بشارتها
باز دستم از آن حرارتها
هر سو از ابر لشکری داری
در امارت مگر سر داری

بادهای تو مهنگها دارند
 مهنگهای تو تهنگها دارند
 رعدهای تو کوسها کوبند
 چرخ گوئی همی که بکشو بلند
 طبع و حال هوا دگر کردی
 دشتها را همه شمر کردی
 سبزهها را طراوتی دادی
 عمرها را حلاوتی دادی
 راغ را گل زمردین کردی
 باغ را شاخ بسدین کردی
 ای شغفتی نکو نگار گری
 رنگ طبعی نکو بکار بری
 تو بدین حمله که افکندی
 بهیخ خشکی ز خاک بر کفندی
 تهر بگذشت ناگهان بر ما
 مهزوم گشت لشکر گرما
 تو ما زیر جامهای تنگ
 گشت تازه ز بادهای خلک
 اینست راحت که رنج گرما نهست
 پس ازین جز امید سرما نهست
 چهذا ابرهای پر نم تو
 خرما سبزههای خرم تو

صدف و مشرت کنوں توان کردن
 منی شادی کنوں توان خوردن
 که ز گرمی خنجر نگردد جان
 بشود همچو چوب خشک دهان
 جام باده بجوشد اندر کف
 چون سر دیگ بر نهاد کف
 گرچه دور افتد ز چشم برم
 من بوم اندرو همی نگرم

Badi-u'z-Zaman* makes the following ungenerous remark on Mas'ud's "mathnawi":—

”پست اشعارش یعنی مثلثویات که اگر نمی ساخت
 بهتر بود“

Any ;just reader who goes through Mas'Ud'a "mathnawi" with attention will see how unjustifiable is this remark of the critic.

In old days it was necessary for those who aspired to poetical honours at the Court to possess considerable powers of improvisation. Mas'ud possessed enormous wit and extraordinary power of composing poems on the spur of the moment, whenever occasion arose. Of the

* Sukhan-wa-Sukhanwaran, p. 214.

several instances the following "ruba'i" is one. He composed it at the Court of Bahram Shah.*

همواره رخ نگاه ما تو است نه گای
 این دوی رخ نگار نه دوست نه گل
 ما را رخ دوست باید ای دوست نه گل
 زیرا گل چشم ما رخ دوست نه گل

The poet's impromptu was a flash of genius, and the whole Court was amazed at his wonderful feat. Under the orders of Bahrain Shah Mas'ud's mouth was filled with gold by way of reward.

Such was Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman, one of the greatest of Persian poet's and the following verse is but a modest confession of his great ability:

من آنکس که گه نظم هیچ گوینده
 بلفظ و معنی من چون ندارد استقلال

*Khizana-i-'Amirah, p. 14.

CHAPTER V.

Taj u'd-Din of Delhi.

The period extending from the end of Bahrain Shah's reign down to the accession of Sultan Iltutmish to the throne is a barren period in the literary history of this country. This period which extends over sixty years (A. H. 547-607) witnessed some of the greatest political changes in India. The power of the Ghaznawides was completely destroyed, Muhammad Ghauri led a series of successful campaigns in India, and at length as a result of these efforts in A. H. 602, India came to have a Muslim king of its own, ruling not from an outside capital, but in India itself, Delhi became the capital of India and Qutb-u'd-Din became its first Muslim Ruler. He was a cultured man. His love of learning was so great that even during the period of turmoil he found time to encourage literature. During

his time flourished an eminent poet—Baha-u'd-Din of Aush. He was a foreigner and is thus excluded from our purview. It was in the reign of Sultan Iltutmish that we first find an Indian becoming famous for his verses in Persian.

Malik Taj-u'd-Din, the administrator poet, is a dominant figure during the reigns of Sultan Iltutmish and his son Sultan Rukn-u'd-Din. The author of the *Tuhfat-u'l-Kiram**, the *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*†, the *'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin*‡, the *Tarikh Firishtah*§, the *Gul-i-R'ana*¶ and the *Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha*¶, all designate him with the title of which literally means an atom. The authors of the *Tuhfat-u'l-Kiram*, and the *'Urafet-u'l-'Ashiqin*, state that as he was short of stature and thin, he was called " " but Lachhrl Narayan

**Tuhfat-u'l-Kiram*, fol. 280a.

† *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, p. 67.

‡*Urafat-u'l'Ashiqin*, fols. 160a-161b.

§*Tarikh Firishtah*, p. 66.

¶ *Gul-i-R'ana*, fol. 66b.

¶*Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha*, vol. I., p. 176.

in his Gul-i-R'ana says that he was given this nickname to distinguish him from another man of the same name, popularly known as Taj-u'd-Din, the tali. We thus see that Briggs* is entirely mistaken when he describes him as Tajood-Deen Zoobery. Taqi Kashi† also states that Taj-u'd-Din was popularly called “تاجی”,

All his biographers state that he was born and brought up in Delhi, which instead of Lahore, had then become the chief seat of literary activities. Taj-u'd-Din rose to be the Secretary of StateJ “*دبیر مملکت*”, a post of considerable responsibility under the king. He had much influence over the king and was his constant companion.§ He wrote many “qasidas” in his praise. “Abd-ul Qadir Badauni|| states :—

* History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, vol. I, p. 211,

† Khulasat-ul-Ash'ar, fol. 374b.

‡ Muntakhab-u Tawarikh, p. 67.

§ Tuhfat.u'l-Kiram, fol. 280a.

¶ Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, p. 66.

”در سنه ست و عشرين و ستماية (۶۲۹) رسولان عرب از
مصر برای او خلعت و القاب آوردند و ازین شادی قهها
در شهر بستند و جشنها ساختند“

The author of the *Tarikh Firishtah** more accurately says that an embassy from Arabia, bringing with it royal robes from the Caliph, arrived at Delhi. These historians do not mention the name of the Caliph. It was Abu-J'afar ManSur-al-Mustansir, the father of the last 'Abbasid Caliph, who sent an embassy of State to invest Iltutmish with the robe of office as the recognised sovereign of India. The seal was set on his career of unvaried success and thenceforth the king inscribed upon his coins not only the proud legend "The mighty Sultan, Sun of the Empire and the Faith, Conquest-laden Iltutmish," but also "Aid of the Commander of the Faithful" Nasir-Amir-u'l-Mu'minin. The author of the *Tarikh Firishtah*† says that the king assumed the royal robes with joy, and

* *Tarikh Firishtah*, p. 66.

† *Tarikh Firishtah*, p. 65.

made a great festival, distributing rich presents. A congratulatory poem on this auspicious occasion was composed by Taj-u'd-Din. The poem of Taj-u'd-Din besides being a specimen of "qasida"-writing of those days is of great historical value, for it definitely states that the investitures of honour were sent to Sultan Iltutmish from al-Mustansir, the 'Abbasid Caliph of the time. The text of the "qasida", as based on Taqi Kashi†, is given below :—

ناصرالاسلام مستنصر که طوق طامته
 ز آسمان در گردن اهل زمین آورده اند
 شادی مامست در شهر اینکه بهر شهر یار
 خلعت خاص امیرالمومنین آورده اند
 خلعت یارب چگونه چون عروس آراسته
 راست بر بالای شاه راستمن آورده اند
 مرکبی کاند در روانی آب را مانند روان
 یا مگر باد صبا را زیر زین آورده اند
 قصه کوتاه کن براقست آنکه پایهی را شکل
 از سر زلف دراز حور علی آورده اند

مرکبی زین سالی مبارک خلعت میمون چله
 از برای ظل یزدان شمش دیس آورده اند
 شاه شمش الدین و دنیا آنکه روز دزم و بزم
 آفرین بروی ز عالم آفرین آورده اند
 حامی آفتاب التیمی که مزم و حزم او
 گرد بر گرد جهان حصن حصن آورده اند
 تاج بخش خسروان صاحبقران مهد آنک
 تخت را با بخت میمون قرین آورده اند
 چتر دارش زیر چرخ اخضر گردون نثار
 از کواکب بهکراں در تمین آورده اند
 هجو دای پیر او نزدیک ارباب خود
 هر زمانی آیت فتح میمون آورده اند
 طهنت پاکش ز آب خضر معجون کرده اند
 خاک دزم از خون خصمانش معجون آورده اند
 دست در پهباشی شهران نر زد در وفا
 سروران زمین روی بر پائش جهنم آورده اند
 پهی درگاهش کمر فغفور و قهصر بسته اند
 بهر در پاشش زر از جان نگین آورده اند
 با پیمیش بحدو کی آورده زدن لاف بیسار
 چون بیسار اهل عالم زان پیمین آورده اند
 نفع و ضرر بدسگال و نهنگواهی را بهم
 در سر زنهور زهر و انگبین آورده اند

ای شهنشاهی که رای هند و خاقان و خطا
 بر سر حکمت سر از رای برین آورده اند
 بهیضه ملک ترا از امن پنداری مگو
 جای زیر شهر روح الامین آورده اند
 از نهیب فر اعلام فلک فرسای گشت
 نعره کاندلر تن شهر مرین آورده اند
 نقره خلک چرخ با زرین ستامت نوبتی است
 لاجرم داغ هلاک بر سرین آورده اند
 تا مثال ملک از طغرای تو زینت گرفت
 نامه فتح تو حلقاً بعد حلق آورده اند
 تیر تو مرقعست کز سهدی عقاب فتله را
 راست چون داغ کمان گوشه نشین آورده اند
 خسرو از رشک صورتها که بر ایوان تست
 چمن در ابروی نکو رویان چمن آورده اند
 صحن درگاهت بغزیت گلستانی شد ازو
 خار خاری در دل خلد برین آورده اند
 شهر را از شهی جهت در زر و زیور بسته اند
 قله را سر بر سپهر هفتمین آورده اند
 چرخ را با آنکه دارد قرص خود اندر کنار
 درمیان خوان حسرت ریژه چمن آورده اند
 الطرب کز چنگ قم در پرده تقدیر حق
 خشم را ده و نواهای حزین آورده اند

بر سماع خسروانی جام مئی می نوش از آنک
 نیست مئی از کوثر ماء معین آورده اند
 در بقای چشم بی مثلث که روح دولتست
 روح را در جسم خلق عالمین آورده اند
 تا ز نیکی و بدی در عالم کون و فساد
 در دل احباب و اعدا مهر و کین آورده اند

The above "qasida" is a fine specimen of elegance, and is noteworthy for a singular combination of beauty of language and melody. It also shows that the tendency to indulge in rhetorical effects and artificial devices, had not yet started in India. The "tashbib" is short yet pithy.

Taj-u'd-Din accompanied the king in many battles. In A. H. 629, when Sultan Iltutmish went to besiege the fort of Gwalior, which had, during the short reign of Aram, again fallen into the hands of the Hindus, Taj-u'd-Din accompanied the king on this expedition; and was present at the capture of the fort, which fell after a siege of a year. He commemorated*

* Tarikh Firishtah, p. 66.

the date of this successful event in the following verses :—

هر قلعه كه سلطان سلاطین بگرفت
 از صوب خدا و نصرت دین بگرفت
 آن قلعه گالهور و آن حصن حصین
 در ستیلا سنه ثلثین بگرفت

These lines were carved on a stone over one of the gateways and were still to be seen in the early 19th century, when Briggs translated the *Tarikh Firishtah*. In a foot-note* he says "the stone and the lines are still to be seen." The Director-General of Archaeology in India upon my request made an enquiry from the Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State, and informed me that this inscription which recorded the conquest of the Fort of Gwalior is no longer on any of the Gateways of the Fort. It is a wonder how this interesting epigraph has disappeared in the course of a few hundred years.

* History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, vol. I, p. 211.

Among his contemporaries no one could surpass Taj-u'd-Din in his literary accomplishments.* He was also a great poet. The author of the Gul-i-R'ana† describes him as "the nightingale of India." As a Court-poet he constantly wrote "qasidas" in praise of Sultan Iltutmish and his son. In A. H. 633, when Sultan Iltutmish died and his son Rukn-u'd-Din ascended the throne, nobles made their offerings, and swore allegiance, while the poets of the age vied with each other in his praise. Taj-u'd-Din also welcomed the new king to the throne of Delhi in a long panegyric, of which the following verses have been quoted in the Tarikh Firishtah:‡

مہارک باد ملک جاودانی
 ملک را خاصہ در مہد جوانی
 یمین الدولہ دکن الدین کہ آمد
 درش از یمین چون دکن یمانی

*'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin, fol. 160a.

*Gul-i-R'ana, fol. 66b.

‡ Tarikh Firishtah, p. 67.

The above verses have also been quoted in the Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* and the 'Urafat-ul-'AshiqinJ. This "qasida" was much appreciated by the king and the people. Taj-u'd-Din along with other poets was highly rewarded† for it. It is really unfortunate that the whole "qasida" is not quoted in any book. It would have shown how far panegyric-writing of this kind "تهنیت" had then developed in India.

Taqi Auhadi§ also cites some of his verses, which show that far-fetched comparisons were still not in vogue in India. The poets still derived their similes from common objects and familiar things. The following verses may serve as a specimen:

چه زلفست آن به بهی بر روی جانان
 کزو کردن پریشانی پریشان
 بمهر و ماه مهتواهد کند جنگ
 دخی پوشیده است از زلف خفتان

* Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, p. 69.

† 'Urafat-ul-'Ashiqin, fol 160b.

‡ Tarikh Firishtah, p. 67.

§ 'Urafat-u Ashiqm, fol. 160b.

خوشا رنجبا خوشا درد! خوشا عشق
 کسی کو را نباشد نهست انسان
 چو شمشیرش بکشدده خصم گرید
 بلی از برق یهدا گشت باران
 کلد مهرش نبات اللعش را جمع
 کلد قهرش ثریا را پریشان
 هر آنکو برخلافی دم بر آرد
 نفس گردد بمنغز اندرش پهلان
 بود بی مدح تو تیغ معانی
 چو مصراق فقهراں کلد دندان

Besides the king, Taj-u'd-Din addressed panegyrics to nobles and ministers. The following verses are taken from a "qasida"* which he addressed to the chief minister :—

ای صاحبی که چون اثر رحمت 'خدای
 باران جود تو 'بزمین و زمین رسد
 برخاک آستان تو چون بگذرد صبا
 اندر مشام چرخ نسیم سمن رسد
 از جنس حادثات ز تاثیر دست نست
 هر مطر گر شکوفه بصحن چمن رسد

*Urafat-u-Ashiqin, fol. 160b-161a.

در فصل نوبهار ز تائهر دست تست
 بهر سر مدو همه تهنه بمن رسد
 گرچه فرشته روی و از تاب چشم تست
 هر شعله کز فلک بسوی اهرمن رسد
 از فر دای روشن گیتی فروز تست
 از تهرگی هر آنچه بروی سمن رسد
 موسی صفت مشهوری و هارون صفت وزیر
 زان قوم را ز سعی تو سلوی و من رسد
 ستم ستغن بمدح تو سنجیده جو بجو
 لیکن زر از ترازو جودت بمن رسد

Taj-u'd-Din was himself comfortably off, and it should not be construed that love of money prompted him to address these laudatory panegyrics to the nobles of the Court. It was customary in those days to address such poems to kings and ministers in which the poets extolled the virtue of their patrons. The approbation of the kings and ministers raised the dignity of the poets, increased their popularity and at times also proved a source of income to them.

Subtlety of music and power to condense a lot of thoughts in a few words with dramatic

and picturesque effect characterise Taj-u'd-Din's poems. They are extremely simple and have a natural flow in them.

Both Taqi Auhadi* and Rida Quli Khan† have by mistake attributed some of Anwari's verses to Taj-u'd-Din. In the biographical sketch of Taj-u'd-Din they quote a "qasida" and declare it to be that of Taj-u'd-Din. The "qasida" begins as follows :—

افزود باز دونتی هر مرغزار گل
چون زیر یافت ناله هر مرغزار گل

This "qasida" is really a composition of Anwari and is to be found in his Diwan‡. This mistake shows that the verses of Taj-u'd-Din and Anwari are so similar in form, metre, style and diction that even such judicious biographers as Taqi Auhadi and Rida Quli Khan were misled to regard the verses of one for those of the other. It also proves the great quality of Taj-u'd-Din's verses.

*Urafatul-Ashiqin fol. 160b.

†Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha, vol. L, p. 176.

‡Anwari's Diwan, pp. 263-64.

The date of Taj-u'd-Din's death is not known. We once hear of him in the reign of Ghiyath-u'd-Din*, who succeeded Nasir-uM-Din, and the probability is that his death took place after A.H. 664 during the reign of this king. Muhammad b. Qiwan in his commentary on the Makhzan-i-Asrar† (composed A. H. 795) states that Taj-u'd-Din was thrown under the feet of an elephant and trampled to death.

*'Urafat-u'l-Ashiqin, fol. 160b.

† Oriental College Magazine,, November 1929, p. 7.

CHAPTER VI.

Shibab-u'd-Din of Badaun.

Shibli* has said that time has effaced the name of Shihab-u'd-Din Mihmarah, and we do not know anything about him. To construct the biography of such a forgotten man is not an easy task, especially when one has to do it with the aid of the Persian biographical works, which invariably tend to become encomiastic when dealing with a great poet. Shihab fills a place apart from the contemporary poets as a group. He is to be remembered not as one of the Court-poets, who flocked to the throne of that young and convivial monarch, Rukn-u'd-Din Firuz, singing his praises, but as a creator of new style in "qasida."

The poet's name was Shihab-u'd-Din. He was a son of Jamal-u'd-Din† and was a native of Badaun as the great poet Amir Khusraw says :—

* *Sh'ir-ul-Ajam*, vol. II., p. 145.

† *'Urafat-ul-Ashiqin*, fol. 351a.

در بڊاؤن مہمرا سرمست برخمزد ز خواب
 بشلود گر نغمہ مرفان دہلی زمین نوا

This verse has been quoted with slight variations in the Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, the Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha†, the Majma-u'n-Nafai's‡the Gul-i-Rana§ and the 'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin||. Thca authors of the MaKhzan-u'l-Ghara'ib¶ and the Suhuf-i-Ibrahim / also state that he belonged to Badaun. 'Abd-ul Qadir Badauni in his Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh after lavishing a good deal of praise upon him, states that he felt it his duty as a townsman of Shihab to place before the public some of his forgotten verses. He says\$:—

" I have thought it incumbent upon me to include a few odes from that eminent author as

*Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, p. 70.

† Majm'a-u'l-Fusaha, vol. 1., p. 304.

‡Majm'a-u'n-Nafais, fol. p. 230a.

§ Gul-i-R'ana, lol. 131a.

||Urafat.ul-'Ashiqin, fol. 351a.

¶ Makhzan-u'Ghara'ib, fol. 388a.

| Suhuf-i-Ibrahim, fols. 463b-464a.

\$ Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, p. 71.

a benediction and blessing, in this composition of mine, and to leave a memorial for his friends, and to establish my own connection with the master, and to display upon the dais of evidence the excellencies of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citizenship."

The above remark of 'Abd-u'l Qadir, who belonged to Badaun, proves that Shihab was also a native of the same town. Shihab's love for Badaun also proves that it was his native place. He requested the king for the grant of some land in the vicinity of Badaun, although it was a desert-looking place, infested with wild beasts. He says:—

پهل بخشا در بداون بایدم ویرانه
گرچه جای گرگ و کُرگ و شیر باشد این دیار

Shihab was one of the greatest scholars of his day, and Khusraw in the Introduction to his Ghurratt-u'l-Kamal* describes him as the "nightingale of the garden of knowledge.'" In the

*Ghurratul-Kamal (Introduction), fol. 64b.

concluding portion of his *Hasht Bihisht** Khusraw lavishes a good deal of praise on Shihab for his varied accomplishments in many branches of arts and science. In these verses Khusraw acknowledges his deep debt of gratitude to Shihab, who gave him lessons in verse-making and helped him in many ways. He makes the following admission :—

نور دل چوں بعالم افکنده
سایه بر کار من هم افکنده
من بدو عرض کرده نامه خویش
او باصلاح رانده خامه خویش
دید هر نکته را رقم برقم
رنج بر خود نهاد و ملت هم
شمع من یافته خدا از وی
مس من گشت کیمیا از وی

It is to the credit of Shihab's poetic skill and ability that he could produce such a great pupil as Khusraw, who by his great genius, as rightly observed by the author of the *Muntakhab-u't-*

* *Hasht Bihisht*, pp. 225-27.

Tawarikh* eclipsed all the former poets of India.

Shihab was a poet of great gifts and is ranked as the foremost poet of his time. At the Court on account of his great learning he enjoyed the special favour of the king. He refused to flatter or fawn on the great and unlike other Court-poets never employed mean and despicable methods to extort money. Taqi Auhadi† states that as late as his own time he was regarded as a great master of poetry, and at Lahore he collected about three thousand of his verses. In his 'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin describing his greatness Taqi Auhadi‡ pays him the following glowing tribute :—

” در شعر وی صنایع و بدائع بسمار و فصاحت و بلاغت
 بهشمار ست و در اکثر قصائد التزامات مشکله فریده مکرر
 نموده و نهایت قدرت بصدد ظهور رسانیده “

* Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, p. 71.

† 'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin, tol. 351a.

‡ 'Urafat-ul-'Ashiqin, tol. 351a.

The author of the Makhzan-u'l-Ghara'ib* states that his verses are like pearls. He says :—

“طبعی موزون و شعری چون گد مکنون داشت”

Shihab did not imitate the old models of the "qasidas", but there is unmistakeable evidence to show that the poet tried to improve the general trend of "qasida"-writing. He may be deemed the creator of a new style in "qasida" poetry. Up till his time panegyrics of kings and their ministers had been the chief output of all the "qasida"-writers of India. Go through the Diwans of Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi and Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman from beginning to end, observe minutely the whole range of poems written by the Indian poets who flourished before Shihab and you will not be able to discover a single "qasida" in praise of God or the Holy Prophet. It was Shihab who first introduced, a tinge of mysticism in his "qasidas". Since the following "qasida" is the first specimen of this kind of poetry in India, I quote it below in its entirety,

* Makhzan-u'l-Ghara'ib, fol. 388a.

as a typical specimen of Sbihab's poetry. This "qasida" although not free from rhetorical adornment, proves Shihab's exuberant genius. It is written in the grand style cultivated by Court-poet and is entirely of a mystical character. We can easily notice that he had a real sympathy with fervid mysticism in which he found consolation for the intolerable burdens of this earthly life. He says :—*

الغم بلوح هستی همه هیچ در نشانی
 ببقائى قهر قائم ز وجود خویشی قانی
 صف آخر ایستاده بامهد به نشانی
 ز تحریک آرمیده بصفات بی نشانی
 صفت الف ندارم که الف کوی ندارد
 همه نقی من کز آمد ز صحنه معانی
 دم بلبل است و گل خوش من به نظر چو سوسن
 چو الف زبان ندارم چه کلم بدۀ زبانی
 چو بگهرم آرمیده چه دوم پسی دویده
 چو نه بهنم آشکارا چه دوم ده نهانی
 فلک از زمین بصلت نشاسم ارچه هستم
 چو فلک بظهور کردی چو زمین بقا دوانی

*'Urafat-ul.-AshiqIn, fol. 352b.

نه چو آبم از طراوت نه چو آتشم ز رفعت
 نه چو بادم از لطافت نه چو خاکم از گرانی
 نه ازین چهار طبعم ز بخار پار گهلم
 فضلات پاره گیتی زده لاف پار گانی
 خردم چو تن گرفته صفت خطا ستانی
 طعمم چو کوه بسته کمر عطا ستانی
 شد وقف راه حرم ز حقیقت آیتی نه
 زده زحمت مثالب ده رحمت مثنائی
 طبعم فریفت زانسان که بهرد از نهادم
 حرکات خمس خواری برکات مشر خوانی
 گهرم چو جسم خالی ز تفکر و تذکر
 بصرم چو شمع سائل بغوانی و افغانی
 سخن ابدار خواهم ز زبان همچو تیغم
 قلم نمود دهره ز پی دوان ستانی
 سخن آب شد که آنش شد ازین حدیث آری
 بود این همه کم آبی ز هوای بهی نانی
 منم آن خسی کم از کم که بجهت نهرزم
 وگرم جوی بدانی نغری برایگانی
 معجب ای شهاب از تو که ز سلطنت درین راه
 نه امهر هشت خانه نه سوار هفت خوانی
 نه فرشته نه شیطان ز کدام کار گاهی
 نه مقوم و نه مسافر ز کدام آستانی

دل و عقل سر کشیده ز گزند گور خانه
 بر سینه نهاده بهرند گور خانی
 ز هوس بروی عشرت شده مست لا ابالی
 ز هوا براه تهمت زده گام کامرانی
 در عقل نیک بسته هم ناز لاله عارض
 در دیده خون کشاده پی جام اردوانی
 صفن هوا مثالی زمن زمین نظیری
 گهر مرض بقائی صدف نهی دهانی
 بدم چو برق سوزان بد و نهک را فسونی
 ز دل چو سنگ خارا تر و خشک را فسانی
 ز هوس بطمح گردان چو فلک بلفشیلدی
 ز صبا بصرص پویان چو صبا بملاتوانی
 هم هفت و چار در دل زده مردم از دعوت
 در صد هزار جهلت بادای یکدوگانی
 چو زمین کثیف دایم سطحیت پناه گردون
 نرسی بسهر ملکی ز مقام پاسهانی
 تو خود از سر بطالت نرسیده یکزمان هم
 ز نقصه زمانه بغریه زمانی
 ز صلاح اهل دل ها خبریت باد یکره
 که درین دو کون باری بفساد داستانی
 کژی از دل تو زائد چو تکبر از سفاهت
 بدی از تن تو خنود چو تهور از غوانی

نم کوڑه دپائی دم کوڑه جفائی
 گل روضه هوائی گل حوضه روانی
 بهصور جان گدازی مگر از تف تموزی
 بقصده برق ریزی مگر از دم خزانى
 تو بشمبه طفل طالب همه همه نقش باطل
 ز خمال کرد پهرت ضم دهر در جوانى
 هوس است شعر و بهوش چو سراب ز آب خالى
 نفس است رنج و ذوقش به از آب زندگانی
 هوسست چو جمع گردد شود آن خمال بازی
 نفست چو نظم یابد بود آن گهر فشانی
 هوس خمال تا کی نفسی گهر فشان کن
 بئغای آنکه اول خردش ندید ثانی
 شه تخت کن محمد که سراق شرف زد
 بسوی در مهمن ز سرای امهانی
 بشری ملک لطافت فلک زمين تواضع
 چو فلک بهاک جسمی چو ملک بهاک جانی
 گهری که بود جائی بخوانه الهی
 قمری که تافت نورش ز سپهر جاودانی
 گهری که قهرتی تر ز وجود او نپاید
 بدالات عناصر ز محوط آسمانی
 قمری که هر سحرکه چو شب سناه گشتی
 ز خجالت مقلدش رخ کوکب یمانی

شکوین زبان رسولی که بود نجات امت
 بعقیده زبانهای ز عقیده زبانی
 گهرین بهان فصاحتی که فصاحت بهانه
 چو مسهرگان کند خون دل گنج شایگانی
 ز جمال عارضی کم رخ آفتاب شرقی
 ز قوام قامتی خم قد سرو بوستانی
 بحساب بر گرفته ده مالک الرقابی
 بکلام بر کشاده در صاحب القرائی
 جفایات شوق باطن بمکاشفت کشیده
 ز بسط کایداتهای بمحیط لامکانی
 بلوید دوست جانهای شده مست بر امهدی
 پسر ابو قحافه زده قحاف دوستگانی
 ربطی بنا فکنده سخنانی قضای حق را
 شده از پی سهاست عروش بعدل بانی
 قدم سهوم درین ده ز پوهی نهاده مردی
 که نزد فرور راهی بمتاع این جهانی
 شده دکن چار مهنی علی آنکه بد که کهن
 ز شعاع ذوالفقارش رخ مهر زمفرانی
 ملکا بحق یاران که مرا بهارئی خود
 ز بلائی یار نادان همه مهر واهانی
 ز من آنکه این قصیده طلبیده باد جانهای
 چو قصیده ام مزین بهجواهر معانی

TRANSLATION.

I am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign. My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of others, my own existence is transitory.

I stand at the end of the row in the hope of obtaining a better position, having rested from all movement with the attributes of insignificance.

I have not the attributes of Alif, for Alif has no crookedness. All my writing has become crooked on the page of desire.

There is the song of the nightingale, the rose is happy ; while I am careless like the lily. Like Alif I have no tongue, what have I to do with, ten tongues ?

Since I can seize it while thus at rest, why should I pursue ? Since I cannot see openly how can I follow a hidden path ?

By stratagem, I can recognise no distinction* between earth and heaven, although I am like-

the heaven in my whirling, and like the earth stationary.

I am not like water in freshness, nor like fire in sublimity, nor like the wind in sweetness, nor like the earth in heaviness.

I am not made out of these four elements. I am composed of the effluvia of the kennel. The refuse of the sewer water has boasted of piety.

My wisdom, as though incarnate, seems to have taken to praise my faults; my avarice, huge as mountain, has girded its loins for taking presents.

I am become fixed in the was of avarice, not a sign of truth remains in me. The oppression of my vices has overwhelmed the mercies of the Sacred Book.

My greediness has so deceived me that the five sensual appetites have taken away from my heart with disgrace the blessings of the readings of the *'ashars*.

My inner nature as well as my body is devoid of meditation and recollection. My eye like my

ear is inclined to the singing women and their songs.

I desire brilliant speeches to fall from my tongue which is like a well-tempered sword. My pen has made me bent like a sickle in the pursuit of my daily bread.

My speech has failed me because its glory was in the relation of this story. Yes ! all this loss of honour was owing to inordinate desire for bread.

I am that mean one, less than the least, who am not worth a groat, if you think me worth a barleycorn, you will not buy me for nothing.

Oh Shihab! it is strange that you in this road of kingly affairs are neither the Amir of the Bight Squares nor the Knight of the Seven Places.

You are not an angel, nor are you a devil, from what workshop are you? You are not a sojourner nor yet a traveller, from what court are you ?

Your heart and intellect are careless of the

tortures of the grave, you have dressed yourself
in Gurkhani silk.

You have become utterly regardless from
lust, owing to desire for license, from urgent
desire, by means of false accusation you have
planted the foot of success.

Sorrow for the tulip-cheeked beloved has
shut fast the door of your wisdom. The vein of
your eye has shed blood from desire for the cup
of red wine.

You are corrupt like the wind, you stand
paralysed like the earth. You are a pearl of
transitory existence, a shell empty-mouthed.

With breath like the burning lightning you are
the enchanter of bad and good: with heart like
a flint, you are the whet-stone of dry and moist.

Naturally with desire you revolve like the
sky in its figure-designing, from your youth
hasting with greed, you are like a child in
weakness.

You carry the sorrow of the seven heavens
and the four elements in your heart, and every

moment from pride you are put to a hundred thousand devices in the performance of one genuflection.

You are coarse as the earth, and yet your speech is always of the moon in the heavens ; you will not reach the dignity of a king from the station of a doorkeeper.

You yourself, owing to frivolity have not attained even 'for a moment, freeing yourself from the imperfections of the world, to the religious duties at stated times.

iFrom the advice of the holy men may you foe informed at least once, that in these two worlds at any rate you are famous for creating dissensions.

Perversity springs from your heart as pride springs from, foolishness. Evil arises from your body as rashness does from youth.

You are the moisture of the gullet of hypocrisy, the blast of the forge of tyranny, you are the flower of the garden of inordinate desire, and the mud which befouls the reservoir of the soul

When present you melt the soul, perctearae
 you spring from the heat of Tamuz; in your
 ode you scatter snow, perchance you are of the
 breath of autum.

You like a child seek throughout your life
 after vain images; from your fancifulness the
 sorrows of time have made you old in your youth.

Poetry is but a desire, and its metre is like
 the mirage which is void of water. This b r e a t h
 of life is grief to me, but its savour is better
 than the water of life.

When your desire becomes collected that
 fancy becomes enjoyment, when your breaking
 is harmoaious, it becomes a scatter of pearls.

How long this desire of the imagination?
 Make one breath pearl-scattering in praise of
 that man whose equal wisdom has not seen even
 from the beginning.

The King of the throne of " K U N " is
 Muhammad who pitched the tent of dignity
 by the side of the door of the Protector *from
 the house of Ummahanl.

He was a mortal of angelic beauty, a sky with the lowliness of earth. Like the sky he was pure in body, like the Angels he was pure in soul.

He was a pearl whose place was in the treasury of God, and he was a moon whose brightness shone forth from the sky of eternity.

He was such a pearl that nothing of more value than his nature was ever produced by the medium of the elements from the sea of heaven.

He was such a moon that in every early morning the face of the star of Yaman became black as coal from shame at his cornelian-like lips.

So sweet tongued a prophet that the salvation of his disciples comes by faith in his words, from the eloquence of his utterances.

So eloquent in pearl-like speech that the beauty of his utterance makes the heart's blood like the hidden wealth of the mine, a royal treasure.

The brightness of the eastern sun is shamed by the beauty of his face, and the stature of the cypress of the garden is bowed before the perfect uprightness of his form.

By his accountantship he has adopted the way of absolute monarchy ; and by his eloquence he has opened the door of auspicious government.

The attraction of secret desire, by revelation has drawn him from the expanse of the natural world to the ocean of spiritual existence.

By the good tidings of his friend, his heart became intoxicated, with the hope of a meeting. The son of Abu Qahafah has drunk from the cup of his friendship.

His speeches have founded a fortress for the decrees of God. 'Umar by his justice became the builder of it, by right government.

One, third in order, has placed the footstep in this way; whose path to the enjoyment of this world was not obstructed by pride.

His fourth pillar was 'Ali who at the time of battle made the face of the sun pale from the glitter of his sword.

Oh, King! I entreat you by your friends deliver me during the whole of my life by your aid from the calamity of foolish friends.

He who demanded from me this "qasida", may his life like my "qasida" be ornamented with the jewels of meaning.

Shibab's greatness unlike that of the other Court poets was curiously original. As the writer of the artificial "qasidas" (قصائد مصنوع) he is to be remembered for his great originality and skill. He was the first poet in India to write such "qasidas", and they served as useful models for his great pupil Amir Khusraw. Khusraw has imitated some of his artificial "qasidas" and has also tried to improve upon them. Taqi Kashi* places his artificial "qasidas" side by side with those of the Persian masters like Hakim Abu 'Ali Jubbai and others. Writing about the peculiarities of his artificial "qasidas" the author of the Majma'-u'n-Nafa'is† states :—

* Khulasat-ul-Ash'ar, fols. 288b-299b.

† Majma'-u'n-Nafa'is, fol. 230a.

”در هر قصیده طرز خاصی دارد بعضی بتذوق الفا
و غیرها بعضی بالتزام شعر و کرم و یلنگ و قدرت او از آنها
معلوم می شود“

Perhaps these "qasidas" do not make any appeal to our taste and may even seem wearisome to modern readers, but they delighted and inspired the poet's contemporaries. On account of their evident originality, beauty and the reputation which they have enjoyed for several centuries, they deserve our special consideration. It required but the remarkable talent, concentration and imagination of Shihab to produce such "qasidas". In spite of all the artificiality it is to his credit that by a kind of magic he seems to have invested his verses with grandeur and dignity. He surprises his readers by a new trick in each "qasida" and convinces them of his own mental powers. They are specimens of his marvellous ingenuity.

'Abd-u'l Qadir in his Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh and Taqi Auhadi in his 'Urafat-ul-Ashiqin have quoted a large number of Shihab's

from such a "qasida" as specimen* The chief artifice in this "qasida" consists in using in all its verses only those words which do not contain "الف", The poet, however, could not avoid the use of "الف" in the name of the noWe in whose praise this "qasida" is written. The component verses of the "qasida"* are a» follows:—

ذهی چو مهر بچون و کرم شده مشهور
 علوی قدر تو برتر ز گلبد معصور
 نسیم خلق تو در حد شش جهت موصوف
 بلند حثیت تو در بزم نه فلک مشهور
 معیوض علم و خرد هم بهاد دین کز تو
 حدیث خلق حسن گشت در زمین مذکور
 نسیم طبع تو بر حرف عدلت موصوف
 معیوض کف تو بر فوض مکرمت مقصور
 ز قدر تست معظم نموده مسند ملک
 ز فر تست مقدس شده تجلی طور
 مطهر حکم تو در شرق و غرب ترک و عرب
 دهن عدل تو در بحر و بر و حوش و طور

چو بحر و گنج بهر خطه چود تو موصوف
 چو بخت و عقل بهر بقعه سعی تو مشکور
 تو بی نظیر بعدلی و کس نه بیلد نهز
 عدیل مدل تو هرگز مگر بروز نشور

The biographers do not mention in whose praise this panegyric was composed. From one of the verses of this "qasida" it is clear that it was composed in praise of one Baha-u'd-Din Hasan. Baha-u'd-Din Hasan was one of the great nobles of Sultan Rukn-u'd-Din's court. He was one of the leading chiefs who took a prominent part in the installation of Sultana Radiya to the throne. This "qasida" seems to have been composed in praise of this nobleman.

Another artificial "qasida" composed by Shihab in praise of Sultan Rukn-u'd-Din Firuz also seems to me singularly striking. Here the diction is harsh the rhymes uncertain, and numbers unpleasing. What beauty there is, we must seek in the artifice which consists in using four words **فیل**، **شیر**، **کرگ**، **گرگ** in each verse. This "qasida" has been quoted at

length in the Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh and the 'Urafat-u'l-'Ash.iqin.* I quote below some of its component verses : —

هر زمان این یهر گرگ شهر خوی طفل خوار
آن کند با من که پهل و گرگ وقت کار زار
آسمان پهلگون مالد تدم را گرگ سان
روزگار شهروش صبرم رباید گرگ وار
زور کوکم نی و با من تند پهل آسمان
شهر مردی میکند چون کهنه گرگ روزگار
پهل با گرگ آن نکرد و گرگ با مهبی آن نکرد
شهر چرخ از جور با این شخص چون موی نزار
حکمت گرگست و زور گرگ با شهر فلک
زان همیشه بر دل من درد بارد پیل بار

رکن دنیا شاه پهل افکن بگرز شهر سر
کز سمند گرگ پویهی کار بر کرگست زار
دیدم گرگ فلک از شهر گززش رنگ رنگ
کوه گرگ زمین از پای پهلای غار غار
پهل پیکر گززش از کرگان کند همیشه تهی
گرگ پویه خلگهی از شهران ستانند مرفزار

* 'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin, fol. 352b.

از سر ژویمن شهر گرز آو بر کرگ و یهل
 آن رسد کز نهغ دوئمن تن بهجان گورگسار
 ای ز شهر گرز کرگ انداز یهل آسای تو
 گور بر گدگمن بسان چله بیژن تلک و تار
 عکس نهغ پهلگوننت گوزند بر شهر و کرگ
 دیده چون عذاب کورگانی کلد شانرا چون نار
 باد شهر رایجت بر خاک عالم چون وزد
 کرگ مست از یهل و کرگ از مهی خواهد زیلهار
 چون تو گرز یهل پهلر گر گزای بهنگند
 شهر دندان کرگ ناخن زهره کرگ و مهره مار
 کرگ حمله کرگ پیوه شهر زهره یهل تن
 رخص تست ای بل فلامت همچو دستم صد هزار

یهل بخشا در بداون بایدم ویرانه
 گرچه جای کرگ و کرگ و شهر باشد این دیار
 ناکه شهر و یهل باشد در مهابت همقدم
 ناکه کرگ و کرگ باشد در کتابت یک شعار
 خصم کرگ افسوننت ای کرگ افکن و یهل استند
 بلد پوهی شهر دهلیزت خاک خوار
 همچو شهر و یهل و کرگ و کرگ در گرما بها
 دشمنان بهجان شده بر آخر سنگمن قطار

TRANSLATION.

Every moment this old wolf lion-hearted infant-eating does with me that which the elephant and rhinoceros do at the time of contest.

The elephant-like sky wears away my body as does the rhinoceros; the time like a lion takes away my patience like a wolf.

I have not the strength of the rhinoceros, and the sky is like a fierce elephant towards me. It displays the boldness of a lion like the old wolf of the time.

The elephant did not so treat the rhinoceros, nor did the wolf so treat the sheep, as the lion-like heaven treated this being who is thin 'AS hair from oppression.

The Lion of the sky has the craft of the wolf and the strength of the rhinoceros. For this cause he heaps pain continually on my heart like the load of an elephant.

The pillar of the world, the elephant-conquering king with the lion-headed mace,, by whose wolf-swift horse the rhinoceros is fiercely attacked.

, The eye of t

colours from his lion-like mace, the hump of the rhinoceros of earth is trodden into hollows by the foot of his elephant.

His elephantine club empties the forest of rhinoceros, his wolf-swift horse seizes the meadow from the lions.

From the point of his javelin, and lion-headed mace, that happens to the rhinoceros and elephant which happened to the life of Gurgsar from the sword of the brazen-bodied one.

Oh thou from whose lion-headed mace, rhinoceros-destroyer elephant-crusher, the tomb becomes narrow and dark for Q-urgin like the pit of Bizhan.

The reflection of thy elephant-coloured, sword if it falls upon lion and rhinoceros makes their

eyes which are like the jujubes of Gurjau to become like the pomegranate.

If the breeze of your lion-standard blows upon the dust of the world the maddened rhinoceros will seek shelter from the elephant, and the wolf from the sheep.

, When thou brandishest thy elephantine mace, the lion casts away its teeth, the wolf its claws, the rhinoceros its gall bladder, and the snake its head-stone.

Rhinoceros-like in attack, wolf-like in gait, lion-like in bravery, elephant-like in body is thy steed. Oh hero! hundreds of thousands like Rustam are thy slaves.

Elephant-bestower, I desire a desert place in Badaun, even though these regions are the abodes of the wolf and the rhinoceros and the lion.

As long as the lion and the elephant are co-partners in awe, and the wolf and the rhinoceros are like in writing, so long may your wolf-crafty enemy, oh rhinoceros-destroyer and

elephant-like in strength, be humbled in the dust before the lion of your portico.

May your enemies bereft of life become like the lions and elephants and wolves and rhinoceros at the end of the stony line in the public baths.

There are many other "qasidas" of Shihab in which he has made use of certain artifices with much skill and success. The most conspicuous is a "qasida" in praise of God and the Holy Prophet. In this "qasida" he has very skilfully used either "مور" or "موی"* in each hemistich. No less is another artificial "qasida"† composed in praise of the Prophet, in which he has made use of the same artifice with great ability. All these "qasidas" demonstrate this linguistic attainments and rhetorical ingenuities. Undoubtedly he was a great force in the field of Persian poetry of his time, and on account of his evident originality and unsurpassing skill in

*Urafaul-'Ashiqin, fol. 351b.

† 'Urafat-ul-'Ashiqin, fol. 351a.

" qasida "-writing deserves to be remembered by us.

The biographers do not mention the date of Shihab's death. In his Introduction to the Ghurraṭ-u'l-Kamal*, Kh us raw makes the following statement: —

”مولانا شهاب الدین مہمدہ و مولانا بہادر الدین بخاری کہ
ہر یکی بستان علم را بلہلی بودہ اند“

The Introduction to the Ghurraṭ-u'l-Kamal was written in A. H. 695. This statement of Khusraw clearly proves that Shihab-u'd-Din must have died earlier than A. H. 695.

*Ghurraṭ-ul-Kamal (Introduction), fol, 64b.

CHAPTER VII.

'Amid-u'd-Din of Sanam.

For ten years after the death of Iltutmish in A. H. 633, India suffered from the weakness and depravity of his successors. During this short time as many as live kings sat on the throne of Delhi, and naturally during this period of disturbance Persian poetry did not greatly flourish in this country. Sultan Rukn-u'd-Din Firuz, was a patron of poets but he sat on the throne hardly for seven months. This handsome, generous, soft-hearted young monarch as a prince showed much patronage to the poets, and his premature death proved a source of great loss to Persian poetry in India. The literary activity of the Indian people was revived to some extent in A.H. 644, when Sultan Nasir-u'd-Din Mahmud came to the throne. The author of the *Tarikh Firishta** observes that when he

**Tarikh Firishta*, p. 71.

ascended the throne, he became the patron of learning. The poets of the age vied with one another for the prize at his coronation. In the Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* we find the following "qasida" composed in praise of Sultan Nasir-u'd-Din Mahmud by 'Amid :—

چو برداود نگارم چنگ بقدد زخمه بر ناخن
 زند ناهید را صد زخم غیرت بر جگر ناخن
 ز رشک او ناهید را تمپ گیرد آن ساعت
 کبودش گردد از تائیر آن تمپ سر بسر ناخن
 حفا بر ناخن خونین شمر کز وقت رگ جستن
 ز چنگ خشک نی ناگه بجست و کرد تر ناخن
 بهازی ناخن من گر لببت را خست ازین مشکن
 که بهر چاشنی دارند که در شکر ناخن
 سر ناخن چو غمزه تمز داد ای جان که چنگی را
 بر انگشتان نباشد جز به تهزی معتبر ناخن
 بهاورده بلطف از مهر دلداری که با رویت
 دروس ماه خون دل ز رشک آورده در ناخن

*Muntakhabru't-Tawarikh, pp. 96-99.

مئی چون خون خرگوشم بهاد مجلس شاهی
 که قهر او بکند از پنجۀ شهران نر ناخن
 شهنشۀ ناصر دنیا و دین مستمود کز عدلش
 بمقتار افکند تهمو ز باز تهمو تر ناخن
 ز جور چرخ کار خصصی آمد در ضرر شاید
 که از حجام نا استاد باشد در ضرر ناخن
 سوز کز هیبت شاهین عدلش در گریز اکنون
 چو پر ناخن بهندازد عقاب نبیشتگر ناخن
 برای آنکه پهی قدوش از غیبت سری خار
 فلک هر ماه زان بنماید از چرم قمر ناخن
 بجلب ملیرین گرد سمدش کرد در تافه
 شده بهقدر چون گردی که باشد زیر هر ناخن
 خدنگی کوئی انگشتتست بر دست ظفر نورا
 ز روی صورت آمد برگ بهد جان شکر ناخن
 چو انگشتی که گر خواهد بحکم نهوۀ هندی
 نشانند در ضمیر آهن و قلب حاجر ناخن
 نهاده تمغ قهرش بر رخ دشمن چنان دافی
 که می ماند بروی مادر از سوز پسر ناخن

بکهن جان خصم بد نژادش تیز کرده بهن
 گرازان قضا دندان و شهران قدر ناخن
 مدویت کی شود چون تو بخنجر کی رسد گرچه
 چو خنجر میزند پودا که آن گاهی گهر ناخن
 خیالش گر زنده کو نهد انگشت بر حرمت
 بدست او هیا گردد سر انگشت هدر ناخن
 پناه روی عالم شد دم تیغ تو خوش نبود
 پس پشت سر انگشتان اگر نبود سهر ناخن
 حسود از ناخن جرات اگر کهن تو مهنازد
 مگر مسکین نمی داند که باشد زهر گر ناخن
 شها مگذار تا از بهر چنگ روزگار من
 زند بر همدگر هر لحظه چرخ کینه و ناخن
 ردیف ناخن آوردم درین شعریکه سحر آمد
 بلی در سحر کار آید بسان موی سر ناخن

TRANSLATION.

When my loved one takes the lute, and binds
 the plectrum on her fingernail, her nail strikes
 Nahid with a hundred wounds in the heart
 though envy.

Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nahid at that instant. Her nail becomes altogether blue from the effect of that fever.

Consider the *henna* on her nails to be like blood, which at the time of the springing of the strings from the harp dry as a reed, has spurted forth and made the nail moist.

If in play my nail has scratched your lip, do not be vexed at that, because now and then they dip the nail into sugar by way of tasting it.

Keep the point of your nail as sharp as a glance my love, for the harp has no confidence in the fingers save for the sharpness of their nails.

Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness, because compared with thy face, the bride of the moon has brought blood to its nails through envy.

Give me wine red as the blood of a hare at the remembrance of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the **paws** of the male lions.

Shahanshah Nasir-i-Dunya wa-Din Mahmud,
by whose equity the partridge with its beak has
torn off the claws of the swift-flying hawk.

By the fate-like oppression of his enemy he
has fallen in danger of rain, just as one's nail
is in danger in the hands of an unskilled barber.

Prom the dread of the falcon of his equity it
behoves that they should take to flight when
the eagle with lancet-like talons casts his
feathers and talons (through fear).

For this reason that in the presence of his
power, the sky scratches his head for envy, and
each month, because of that power, displays the
body of the moon in the shape of a nail paring
(crescent).

Compared with the perfumed dust raised by
his charger the dust-like grains of the musk-bag
have become valueless as the dust which is found
under every nail.

You would say his arrow is a finger from the
hand of victory because it appears as though

his nail were like a willow-leaf-bladed soul-destroying spear.

A finger which if he so wills it, like an Indian spear embeds its nail in the mind of iron and the heart of separation.

The sword of his wrath has imprinted such a scar on the cheek of his enemy as remains on the cheek of the mother from the anger of the infant.

Grudging the life of his evil-disposed enemies, lo ! the boars of Fate have sharpened their tusks, and the lion of Destiny their claws.

How can thy enemy be at all like thee, how can he approach thy dagger, whereas when he brandishes his dagger it becomes at that moment like a finger nail.

If his pride so misleads him that he finds fault with you, the tip of his finger becomes as dust in his hand and his nail as nothing.

The edge of thy sword protects the face of the world, if there had not been the nail as a shield behind the back of the finger tip it had **not been well.**

If the envier of the nail of thy bravery bears
a grudge against thee, perchance poor fellow
it is because he does not know that the nail is
poisonous.

Oh king, do not desert me, so long as the
spiteful heaven strikes every moment one nail
upon another by way of producing the notes of
my fate.

I have brought in the word nail (nakhun) as
"radif" in this poem which is like a charm.
Verily it is as useful in magic, as the hair of the
head or the tip of the nail.

'Amid is the last of those glorious Indian
poets who flourished before Khusraw. His full
name was Khwajah 'Amid-u'd-Din and he bore
the title of Fakhr-u'l-Mulk*. Taqi Auhadi†
wrongly gives his date of birth as A. H. 655.

•'Urafat-ul-'Ashiqin, fol. 464b.

† 'Urafst-u'l-'Ashiqin, fol. 464b.

He was born in A. H. 601, as is evident from his own verses quoted in the Muntakhab-a't-Tawarikh* :—

یارب اگرچه بهش ازین بود مرا دل و جگر
 خسته دلبر چهل بسته گلرخ یمک
 در سرنون و دال عمر از پس خا و نون وها
 شکر که مرغ همدم دست بجهد ازین شرک

He was born in Sanam†, and it was on account of him that the name of this place is still remembered.

According to the author of the Gul-i-R'ana‡, Sanam was a small town of the dependency of Sindh. He states :—

” سنم قصه ایست از توابع سهند “

In the historical works we find a mention of

*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, pp. 108-109.

† 'Urafat-ul-Ashiqin, fol. 464b.

‡ Gul-i-R'ana, fol. 166b.

Sanam. From the *Tarikh Firishtah** it appears that this town was situated in one of the districts of the frontier provinces. On the demise of Shir Khan (in the reign of Ghyath-u'd-Din Balban) Sanam and Samana were granted to Amir Timur Khan. Sometime after, the king made over Samana to his son Kara Khan. It was in this town that 'Amid was brought up and educated. 'Amid enjoyed the greatest patronage†, under Taj-u'l-Mulk Prince Muhammad, the most talented son of Ghyath-u'd-Din Balban. He was a youth of great promise and showed much taste for literature. When he became the viceroy of the frontier provinces on the accession of 'Ghyath-u'd-Din Balban to the throne he showed great favours to 'Amid. From a poet of the Court 'Amid was raised to the post of the controller of all the states of Hindustan‡ He discharged

* *Tarikh Firishtah*, p. 78,

† *Gul-i-R'ana*, fol. 166b.

‡ *'Urafat-ul-Ashiqin*, fol. 464b.

his duties honestly, and the king in recognition of his good services conferred upon him the title of Fakhr-u'l-Mulk. He was, however, on account of some defalcation in the state's account, dismissed from his post and put into prison.* In one of his "qasidas", quoted in the Muntakhab-u't-Tawankh,† bewailing his own misfortune he tried to exonerate himself from all charges and states that he discharged his duties to the best of his ability and honesty :—

همدمانم هر یکی در شغل و من در بید حبس
 حاش لله زین سختن تلها گداز من کرده ام
 کار بر عکس است ورنه خود که روز بد کشد
 شغل اشرافی که من بر وجه احسن کرده ام

In the course of this imprisonment he composed ‡ the "qasida" with the *radif* of "بید". The entire "qasida" has been quoted by 'Abdu'l-Qadir§. The royal wrath was pacified, and the poet was released from the prison.

* 'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin, fol. 464b.

† Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, pp. 123-27.

‡ 'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin, fol. 464b.

§ Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, pp. 109-113.

While in the service of Prince Muhammad, 'Amid amassed a large fortune. Taqi Auhadi states that besides being a great poet 'Amid patronised a number of poets. He encouraged Khusraw* and Mir Hasan in the cultivation of Persian poetry. The exact date of 'Amid's death is not known, but he seems to have predeceased his patron, " the martyr prince ". In A. H. 683, this popular and promising prince Muhammad met his death at the hands of the Mongols, and every one was sadly affected by his death. Amir Khusraw and Mir Hasan along with others wrote long elegies over his death. We do not find any elegy composed by 'Amid commemorating this unfortunate event. Surely 'Amid was dead at that time, otherwise he must have composed an elegy on the death of his greatest patron. The statement of the author of the *Atashkadah*† that 'Amid died at the age of 54 is wholly erroneous.

*'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin, fol. 464b.

† *Atashkadah*, p. 152.

'Amid was a man of great learning and well-versed in the art of poetry. 'Abdu'l-Qadir Badauni in his *Muntakhab-a't-Tawarikh** remembers him with the lofty title of “*ملك الملوك الكلام*”. Taqi Auhadi† pays the following tribute to his knowledge and poetic ability:—

“عمودالدین یکی از آماظم حکما و افاضل قدما است
عمود اقلهم سخاوری و حدود زمان معلی پروری افتاب
جهانگیر کمال مهر سپهر قدر و جلال نور فطرتش یلجه
در یلجه خورشید افکنده و علو فکرش سر بر سه سپهر اثر
نهاده در صنائع و بدائع معانی بهانهی سحر پرداز و در
معانی و رزانت سخاندانی دهش صاحب اعجاز است”

About his undoubted talents the author of the *Atashkadah*‡ makes the following statement:—

“عمودالدین از آماظم و افاضل قدماست و در مراسم
سخن پردازی مهارت تمام داشته”

In short all the biographers are unanimous in their praise for 'Amid's poetic ability and literary genius.

**Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, p. 96.

† *'Urafat-u'l-'Ashiqin*, fol. 464a.

‡ *Atashkadah*, p. 152.

'Amid was a poet of great talent and originality. He went far beyond the down-trodden field of "qasida"-writing and wrote many "ghazals". Some of his "ghazals" contain graceful verses and attain a high degree of excellence. He enriched the Persian poetry by writing "ghazals", for until his time very few of the Indian poets had tried their wit at "ghazal"-writing. His "ghazals" partake of the nature of "qasidas", but are extremely flowing and melodious. They are usually the work of simple imagination. In "ghazal" it may be noted that 'Amid's characteristic feature is the simplicity of diction combined with a natural flow which makes his poetry smooth and musical. 'Amid generally sticks to one main idea in his "ghazals" throughout. For instance, when he talks of the beauty of the be loved, the same trend of thought pervades his whole "ghazal". The following which is a fine specimen of his "ghazal", has been quoted by Rida Quli! Khan :—*

دوی تو پهرایه صحن چمن
 موی تو سرمایۀ مشک ختن
 بسته گیسو تو صد دین و دل
 خسته بادام تو صد جان و تن
 طره طرار تو عاشق فریب
 فمزه خونخوار تو لشکر شکن
 فتله رفقار تو کبک دوی
 واله رخسار تو هر مرد و زن
 درگاه خلده لب لعل شکست
 رونق بهجاده و در عدن
 زلف تو بر دوی تو کوهی که هست
 سهل پر خم زده بر نسترن
 نرگس جادوی تو هنگام ناز
 آفت جان و دل مجروح من
 بنده خاک در تو شد ممد
 آنهی غم در دل و جان من

Another "ghazal" will suffice for the purpose of illustration. It has been quoted by Taqi Auhadi:—*

گر ندهی قتل را بر لب در یار یار
 بر دلم از غم مله خیره پیکار یار

*'Urafat-ul-Ashiqin, fol. 464b.

تا گل رویت شگفت هر نفس از رنگ تو
 در جگر و دل شکست لعبت فوخار خار
 در خم هر تار مو زلف تو دارد شبی
 روز دلم کرده چون شب ازان تار تار
 دوش به بازار عشق شد دل و در هر قدم
 کشته چشم تو دید بر سر بازار زار
 حور من از خامگی حور و مهار نوست
 همچو کس را مباد همچو تو مهار یار
 داری شفای دلت چون کرم خسروی
 یک نفس این خسته را مستدم این راز دار

'Amid was also a satirist. He is one of the few older Persian poets who wrote satires. Unlike the other satirists his language is not coarse. The following is a fine piece of irony, which shows both the originality and fluency of the poet. The author of the *Atashkadah** quoting one of his satires makes the following remark:—

”این چند بیت از قطعه که در هزل نوشته شد ازوست
 بد نگفت“

This "qit'a" which has also been quoted by Taqi Auhadi† runs as follows:—

* *Atashkadah*, p. 153.

† *Urafat-u'l-Aishiqin*, fol. 465b.

خواجه بفرزود و لیکن ز ورم
 گشت مشغول و لیکن بشکم
 مهزبان بود و لیکن پرباط
 نانم آورد و لیکن بدرم
 سر بر آورد و لیکن بفضول
 دل نهی کرد و لیکن ز کرم
 بس حریص است و لیکن بتحرام
 بس جواد است و لیکن بچرم
 درش بکشد و لیکن از بخل
 لب فرو بست و لیکن ز کرم
 خواجه رنجور و لیکن بنجور
 خواجه مشغول و لیکن بشکم
 دولتش باد و لیکن نه برا
 نعمتش باد و لیکن شده کم
 جاودان باد و لیکن بسفر
 سالها باد و لیکن بسقم

Having dealt with 'Amid's "ghazals" and satires let us pass onto his "qasidas". Some of his "qasidas" are most eloquent. The sentiments are throughout natural and sublime, the images are for the most part striking and just,

the diction at once elegant and animated ; and the versification is everywhere equally smooth and flowing. For the purpose of illustration I give below the "tashbib" of one of his "qasidas", quoted by Taqi Auhadi :*

دارم چنانائی نو بنو زین چرخ ناخوش منظری
 کوری کهودی کج روی عاتل کشی دون پردوی
 در سوچ دبیای سخن هستم اسود و ممتحن
 این کشتی مقصود من یارب ندارد لنگری
 کرد این سهر دون لقب بر من همه دوزم چو شب
 هرگز نهردم نزد لب بی خون دل یک سافری
 رخت اسهدم برده شد جانم ز رنج آزوده شد
 شام طرب پژمرده شد بی آب چون نهلفری
 برد از من خسته چکر گردون بغارت ستم و زر
 من ماندم و نقد هدر بی اسب و بی اسبه خری
 دستم ز چور دهر دون زیر زنج گشته ستون
 دل در برم ز اندیشه خون غمگساری یآوری
 برخیز بر عزم سفر زین جای ناخوش در گذر
 کاندر تلور شیشه گر قیمت ندارد جوهری

*'Urafat-ulAshiqin, fol. 465b-466a.

The entire "qasida" is in the same strain and is remarkable for its graceful style. At the end the poet vaunts that none of his contemporaries could compose verses, so elegant. He says :—

مثل حمید تر سخن نابد در دوران در زمن
نه در سوادهان و یمن نه در سمرقند و هروی

'Amid's claim to distinction rests on the fact that he was the first poet in India, to write the species of poem, entitled "munadhara" or *strife-poem*. AsadiofTus was the first Persian poet to develop and perfect this kind of poem. He is known to have composed fine "munadharat" one of which "*Night and Day*"¹ has been quoted "*Sword and Pen*". Taqi Auhadi gives another of his *strife-poems* between * "*Hemp and Wine*." This poem has remained unrivalled in India, and claims our attention. This poem equals, if

* Khulasat-ul-Ashar, fol. 348b-34 b.

† 'Urafat-ul-Ashiqin, fols. 465a.

not excels Asadis "munadharat" Some of its component verses are as follows :—

دی در میان بادۀ صافی مزاج و بنگ
 در مصدر دماغ من افتاد شور و جنگ
 بکشاد می زبان که منم دختر عنب
 صافی تن و نشاط فزای معنی رنگ
 تا من سر از دریچۀ خیم بر نمی کشم
 نائست خون گرفته و خون خشک و دچنگ
 گر در دهان زنگ ز من قطره چکید
 بر روی شهر رنگ تفاوت کند ز رنگ
 در موشکی ضعیف ز من جرعه چشد
 نشکفت اگر ز پلجه خراشد رخ پلنگ
 مسک ز من برائحه گزاف من زرد
 بخشد گهر بدامن و لولو به سنگ و سنگ
 خاصیت من این و تو ای بنگ خشک مغز
 ذکر خواص خویش بمن گوی بید رنگ
 بنگ سبک سر از سر هدایت زبان کشاد
 گای نود غفلت تو یکی شکر و شرنگ
 من «صوفی» ز خانقۀ کیمای عقل
 بر داسلم زلف حکیمان بطبع چنگ
 و ز قوت تخیل من هر زمان کلد
 سطر حلال در صفت تو خطا و سنگ

از تو یکی پنهان و صد مصیبت خمار
 از من طلب علاج دل ناتوان و تنگ
 لانتقوبی الصلوة بر اوراق نقش هست
 ام الطمعیات است هر آنکه از تو رنگ
 می گفت ملکر آیکه بمنصوص نهستی
 نام تو بر صحنه نهاد ز زیر سنگ
 من در دهان شهر در آیم صبا صفت
 تو برکنی ز دوبهک سست پای لنگ
 وانکه به بهر خرمم غوطه خورد
 اندوه عمرها نهد اندر دم نهنگ
 من لعل با طراوت و تو سحر بی نمک
 نامم شراب صافی و نام تو خشک بنگ

In the coarse of the imprisonment which 'Amid underwent he wrote many "qasidas" bewailing his own misfortune. I give below some verses from one of his "habsiyyats" to show 'Amid's power of introducing original and creative ideas. The whole of the poem is written in a graceful and felicitous style, and is one of his worthiest productions. The verses have considerable force and fire in them. Strength; purity and naturalness are great achievements

of 'Amid's diction, And are ever at his command is all these verses. For beauty feeling and grace I do not feel any diffidence in placing it on the same level as the "habsiyyat" of Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman or Khaqani. The verses run as follows:—*

ملکه چون سهمرخ در یک گوشه مسکن کرده ام
 ماورای مرکز خاکی نشوین کرده ام
 نلگ هر مرفی درین بوم از چه معنی مهکشم
 رفقه ام ملقا صفت در کوه مسکن کرده ام
 مرغ همت تا نگرود خرمن سفلی گزای
 خرمن چرخش ز انجم پر ز اذن کرده ام
 مه چه خرمن مهزود چون دانه نماید بکس
 من بجو سلگ مروت چلد خرمن کرده ام
 نو عروس بکر معنی را بلور معرفت
 در شهبستان خرد چون روز روشن کرده ام
 سهر اجرام سهر از جدو تقویم کن
 نزد زیم ناطقه یک یک مهزهن کرده ام
 در اکام چار حلقه کان شعام مقصریست
 بس زیادهها که من بر نفس تو سن کرده ام

* Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh, pp. 123-127.

طوطی جان را که قالب گلشن مستوحش است
هر نفس دستان سرای سبز گلشن کرده ام
در بسی من اهل حکمت را کزان رفعت بلود
من ددان صد گونه ده چون مرد یک من کرده ام
گنج حکمت را قصور من چراغ افروز شد
در فتهای تا ز نور عقل روغن کرده ام
گوهر اسرار معنی شد چنان حاصل که من
خاطر از گنجینه اسرار مخزن کرده ام
شاهباز قدرت حق از کعبه زد پنجه
زان کموتر وار در یک گوشه مسکن کرده ام
ده درین یک برج بی روزن نمودندم ولی
من بهمت ده بدون از هفت روزن کرده ام
این نه بس آهنگر آوردم نوید بخت بد
گفته بر گردن از خونی بگردن کرده ام
مسند خورشید زرین تخت می زبید مرا
حال را من تکیه بر کرسی آهن کرده ام
در گریبان سر فرو برد اژدهای هفت سر
تا من این بار دوسر در زیر دامن کرده ام
بلد بهژن میکلدم عرض در چاه ستم
نی مژه دیدم و نی جزم بهژن کرده ام
صبر بازوی نهمن دارد از روی قهاس
قوت مخلص بهازوی نهمن کرده ام

ناوک چرخ ستمگر بگذرد روشن ز پشت
 گرچه روی صدر را از سینه جوشن کرده ام
 تن غذا خواهست در بند غم و من راتجس
 شربت از خون و کیاب از دل معین کرده ام
 دوستی با حرص کردم چون عهد از از خون
 زان قناعت را بدوی خویش دشمن کرده ام
 یارب از نخل کرم برگ و نوای من بده
 مرغ جان را چون بتوحیدت نوازن کرده ام
 آفتاب معرفت در سینه ام تابنده دار
 چون گهرهای یقیس را سیند معدن کرده ام

TRANSLATION.

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner
 like the Simurgh I- have made my nest beyond
 the axis of earthly sphere

Why do I bear the shame of every bird in
 this ill-omened land? I have gone like the
 'Anqa and have made my resting place in the
 mountains.

Until the bird of my ambition swoops down
 upon the harvest of the lower world, I have made

the harvest field of the sky full of grain-like stars.

Why does the moon display the halo-harvest when it does not shew a single grain, to any one, whereas I with one single grain of manliness have bound many a sheaf.

By the light of the knowledge of God, I have made the newly wedded virgin bride of reality to shine in the chamber of wisdom with the brilliancy of the day.

The course of the heavenly bodies in the columns of the almanac of the Creation, I have proved one by one by comparison with the astronomical tables of intellect.

In the bridle of four rings, that is the trappings of the four elements, great is the training which I have given the unruly steed of my passions.

I have made the parrot of my soul, whose cage is the form of this uncouth body which is

—like a midden, every moment to rival the nightingale of the verdant garden.

In many an art for which the scientists had no taste I have made as great progress, hundred fold as they are, as a man who follows but one art.

My intellect has served to light the lamp of the treasure of science, I have made my skill the oil which supplies the light to the wick.

The jewel of the secret of reality has been acquired in such a perfect way that I have mademy mind, the store-houseof the treasury •of secret knowledge.

The falcon of the Divine indignation smote me with its talons from its hiding-place, so that I took refuge in a corner like the pigeon.

They would have shewn me the way (and have bidden me walk) in this solitary window-less *tower* had not my ambition carried me for beyond the seren windows (*of the sky*).

This was not all.; the good tidings of my bad fortune, brought to me the blacksmith, to whom I said—Strike off my head in return for the blood which is upon my head.

The splendour and comfort of the golden-throned sun is my desert whereas I am resting upon a hard iron prison seat.

The seven-headed dragon (the sky) hides its-head (in astonishment) to see that I have brought this two-headed serpent (night and day) under my skirt.

They determine for me an imprisonment like that of Bizhan in the well of tyranny. I have not seen Manizha nor have I committed the crime of Bizhan.

Patience has the strength of Rustam, as one may say, I have entrusted the strength necessary for my release to the arm of Rustam-like patience.

The shaft of the tryannical heavens passed through and through from the back, although I

had armed ray breast with the cuirass of patience.

My body longs for food in the, captivity of sorrow, and I have prepared for its support my blood as its drink, and my heart as its meat.

have made friends with Avarice, like 'Amid from the lust for blood, and for that reason I have made contentment my enemy.

Oh Lord, give me my sustenance from the date-tree of thy favour, I have made the bird of my heart to sing the praises of thy Unity.

Keep thou the Sun of Divine knowledge shining within my heart, for I have made my heart the mine of the jewels of true belief.

In concluding the account of 'Amid I feel greatly justified in regarding him as one of the greatest classical Persian poets of India. He was certainly one of the most talented and versatile genius of his time. His poetic style, whether simple or sumptuous, abstract or full of images, luminous or lacklusture, is always flexible of texture. His great success in numerous

realms of Persian poetry deserves our enthusiastic admiration. Indeed he was a worthy predecessor of Khusraw.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION.

Gibbon in his autobiography speaks of the feeling of loneliness that came over him as if he had parted from a constant and pleasant companion when he had written the last sentence of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. I feel the same reluctance and regret at parting from this humbler friend. My time has passed pleasantly in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, my mind thrown back to those early days in the company of poets, full of a great simplicity and beauty.

Unfortunately there have been things that have taken the edge off this pleasure. Names of books and chapter headings in Persian have ever been notorious for their romantic suggestiveness often yielding doubtful or valueless results to the hardy adventurer. Historians too are often not above this journalistic stunt; and

I have often waded through pages of some ill-written manuscript, thoroughly persuaded by the chapter heading that I could come across some great mine of information, drawing a blank. Often the "tadkira"-writers get confused about the names of poets and throw the reader in a veritable maze. The historians and biographers are hopelessly inadequate and often rambling. So it is impossible now to build up anything final and thoroughly adequate on these slender materials. I have tried to do my best to get the most out of meagre details. More puzzling is the task of unravelling the tangle these writers in their carelessness so often create. Here too I have done all I could to create cosmos out of chaos. How far I have succeeded will be best judged by my readers. I hope knowing my difficulties they will be indulgent towards my short-comings. It is an illmannered child, however that turns against its mother. If I have been sometimes severe towards these writers I could not help it. But my criticism cannot

blind me to the debt of gratitude I owe to them. Without them my work would have been impossible.

The reader of these early* Indian poets is sure to discover one thing. They are no more imitators, no weak saplings, but full growth trees, with all the strength of maturity. The ^f* qasidas " of Abul-Faraj-i-Runi have not been surpassed for their classical simplicity and dignity. The greatest of the Persian " qasida"-writers, Anwari is but a follower of his. The "habsiyyat" of Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman still remain incomparably the best poems in that genre. Even when they are juggling with words, as does Shihab-u'd-Din Mihmarah in his " qasidas " they do it better than others. The "munadharat" of 'Amid-u'd-Din are not a whit inferior to those of Asadi of Tus. If the reader thinks I have succeeded in establishing these claims I shall consider my work to have borne fruit.

This work brings us to the fringe of the age stridden by the the towering figure of Amir

khusraw. He stands as a sharp dividing line between the “مفتد مبین” and “مفتو سطلین” in poetry, and is himself great enough to deserve an absolutely independent treatment. I could not have ended this work except where it does end if I was to retain a sense of unity of the theme. If life permits and the little troubles that make up the sum total of life I shall try to survey the subsequent periods as well. As it is I hope I have not bungled the task I had set myself. In the pleasure I have felt in writing this work and the approval of the reader lies the greater part of my reward.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- Abu'l-Faraj-i-Runi. Diwan. Tihran, A.D. 1925.
- Ahmad 'Ali Hashrmi. Makhzan-u'1-Ghara'ib (comp. A. H. 1218). Bankipore MS. No. 713.
- Amin Ahmad Razi. Haft Iqlim (comp. A.H. 1028). Bankipore MS. No. 636.
- Anwari. Diwan. Lucknow, A.D. 1897.
- 'Awfi. Lubab-u'1-Albab (comp. 7th cent. A.H.) Vol. I., Ed. Browne and Mirza Muhammad. London, A. D. 1906.
- 'Awfi. Lubab-u'1-Albab, Vol. II., Ed. Browne. London, A.D. 1903.
- 'Ali Ibrahim Khan Khalil. Suhuf Ibrahim (comp. A. H. 1205). Bankipore MS. No. 708.
- 'Ali Quli Khan Walih. Riyad-u'sh-Shu'ara (comp. A.H. 1161). Bankipore MS. No. 693.
- Shir Qani. Tuhfat-u'l-Kiram (comp. A. H. 1181). Bankipore MS. No. 479.

- Badi-u'z-Zaman.** Sukhan wa Sukhanwaran. Tihran, A.D. 1928.
- Muhammad Baqa.** Mir'at-u'l-'Alam (comp. A. H. 1078). Bankipore MS. No, 477.
- John Briggp.** The History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, Vol. London, A.D. 1829.
- Muhammad Husain Burhan.** Burhan Qat'i (comp. A. H. 1062). Calcutta, A. D. 1834.
- DawlatShah.** Tadkirat-u'sh-Shu'ara (comp. A. H. 892). Ed Browne. London, A. D. 1901.
- Elliot.** The History of India. Vol. IV., London, A. D. 1872.
- Ghulam 'Ali Khan.** Khizana-i-'Amirah (comp. A. H. 1176). Cawnpore, A. D. 1900.
- Ghulam 'Ali Khan.** Subhat-u'l-Marjan fi Athar-i-Hindtistari (comp. A.H. 1177). Bombay, A. D. 1885.
- Hamd-u'llah Mustawfi.** Tarikh Guzidah (comp. London, A. D. 1910

