

Permanent Black Monographs: The 'Opus 1' Series

---

*Persian Poetry  
at the Indian Frontier*

Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân  
of Lahore

SUNIL SHARMA

*Published by*

PERMANENT BLACK

D-28 Oxford Apartments, 11, I.P. Extension,  
Delhi 110092

*Distributed by*

ORIENT LONGMAN LTD

Bangalore Bhubaneshwar Calcutta Chennai  
Ernakulam Guwahati Hyderabad Lucknow  
Mumbai New Delhi Patna

© PERMANENT BLACK 2000

ISBN 81 7824 009 2

First published 2000



Typeset in Adobe Garamond  
by Guru Typograph Technology, New Delhi 110045  
Printed by Pauls Press, New Delhi 110020



## Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>Transliteration and Abbreviations</i>	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
1. POETRY AT THE FRONTIER OF EMPIRE	6
A. At the Frontiers of Islam: The Poetics of <i>Ghazâ</i>	7
B. Lahore: The Second Ghaznavid City	14
C. The Life of Mas'ûd Sa'd	18
D. Mas'ûd Sa'd and Ghaznavid Poetry	26
2. POETS IN EXILE FROM PRIVILEGED SPACES	33
A. The Perils of Being a Court Poet	33
B. The Poetic Memory of Ghazna and Sultan Mahmûd	39
C. Manipulation of History in a Qasida by Mas'ûd Sa'd	43
D. Poets Complaining of <i>Ghurbat</i>	47
E. Mas'ûd Sa'd between Ghazna and Lahore	56
3. PRACTICING POETRY IN PRISON	68
A. The Genre of Prison Poetry ( <i>Habsîyât</i> )	68
B. Varieties of <i>Habsîyât</i>	73

C. The Physical State of Being Imprisoned	81
D. The Prisoner's Lament	86
E. Mas'ûd Sa'd's Use of His Name	102
4. 'NEW' GENRES AND POETIC FORMS	107
A. <i>Shahrâshûb</i> : A Catalogue of Youths	107
B. <i>Bârahmâsâs</i> in Persian?	116
C. <i>Mustazâd</i> : A Choral Poem	123
D. <i>Ghazal</i> : A Nascent Poetic Form	126
E. The Poet on the Craft of Poetry	127
5. THE RECEPTION OF MAS'ÛD SA'D	136
A. Mas'ûd Sa'd among his Contemporaries	136
B. Mas'ûd Sa'd in Iran	150
C. Mas'ûd Sa'd in India	157
<i>Appendix: Persian Text of Poems Cited</i>	165
<i>Bibliography</i>	186
<i>Index</i>	201



## Acknowledgements

This book originated as my doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago. For every aspect of its existence, I owe a great debt to my distinguished teachers: Professor Heshmat Moayyad, who first suggested that I work on Mas'ûd Sa'd; Professors John R. Perry and C.M. Naim, both exacting and patient critics of my work. Over the course of several years, each has taught me to read, understand, translate and appreciate literary texts in Persian, Tajik and Urdu. I would also like to express my gratitude to Professors John E. Woods, Wadad Kadi and Li Guo who have been supportive in many ways connected with this work. Frank Lewis, Carla Petievich and Yaseen Noorani, who have been friends and mentors, offered timely and thoughtful advice. In Iran, Professors Mahdî Nûriyân and Muhammad Rizâ Shafî'î-Kadkanî took time to read and discuss Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry with me; the latter's presence in Cambridge this year was a blessing for me while preparing the Persian text of the Appendix. In India, Muzaffar Alam went out of his way to generously share his ideas with me, and along with his family, he has always been a wonderful host and friend. Shamsur Rahman Faruqi and Professor Nazir Ahmad also deserve my thanks for imparting some of their views on this topic to me. At various times and venues, Julie Meisami, J.T.P. De Bruijn, Jerome Clinton, Mahmud Omidasalar, Paul Losensky, A.L.F.A. Beelaert, Walter Andrews, Hope

x / *Acknowledgements*

Mayo and Ayesha Jalal have been willing reference sources for bibliographical and critical queries. Anuradha Roy and Rukun Advani at Permanent Black in New Delhi have been extremely efficient and accommodating in their dealings with me. I have also had the benefit of feedback from Sara Yildiz, Amanda Hamilton, Aditya Adarkar, Judith Pfeiffer, Akbar Hyder, Shafique Virani, Matthew Smith, Nargis Virani, Qamar al-Huda, Ben Mazer and Osman Osmani. Thanks are also due to Sugata Bose and Alka Patel for their comments at a seminar this year at Tufts University and to the editorial staff of *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* where a section of Chapter Two was published. There are other friends, scholars, colleagues and family members, too numerous to name, who have offered all manner of assistance from technical support to moral encouragement; I would like to acknowledge their silent contributions here. In the end, the errors and deficiencies in this work are my sole responsibility.

*Massachusetts 2000*



*Transliteration and  
Abbreviations*

There is no single system of transliterating Persian that satisfies everybody. In an effort to reflect the classical pronunciation of the language and opt for a standardized system, even though it differs from the pronunciation of Persian in Iran today, I have used a simplified form of the Library of Congress transliteration system (only long vowels are marked; the various consonants, s, t and z are not distinguished).

Due to the frequency of their use, I have not italicized the word *qasida*.

All dates are given in the Common Era system.

The following abbreviations have been used:

*EI* = *Encyclopedia Iranica*

*EP* = *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed.

Q = *Qasida*

Q<sub>t</sub> = *Qit'ah*



## *Introduction*

This book is a study of the poetry of the Persian poet Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân (d. 1121), born in Lahore but whose roots were in Hamadan in Iran. Mas'ûd Sa'd was a professional court poet at the Ghaznavid courts of Lahore and Ghazna. Primarily a panegyrist for the Ghaznavid rulers and administrators, he also wrote poetry for eighteen years about his sufferings as a prisoner and an exile. Mas'ûd Sa'd's early career was spent at the Ghaznavid court in Lahore, which was at the frontier of the world of Persian poetry, and this location, along with his sojourn in prison, was an impetus to his poetic creativity and innovation. It is tempting to view Mas'ûd Sa'd as a poet whose vast body of poetic output was influenced entirely by his exotic and foreign (medieval) Indian locale, but the situation is complicated by the various anxieties that consumed the poet. Living at the meeting point of two cultures, Indian and Iranian, he was anxious about being a Persian poet in a location peripheral to the centre of Iranian culture, and was very conscious of the tradition of Persian poetry. At the same time he was not unaffected by his Indian milieu. This resulted in a career driven by one chief consideration: how to innovatively utilize and expand the literary tradition of Persian poetry that he inherited in order to gain access to and recognition in courtly circles from which he was absent.

Writing at a time when *ghazâ* or *jihâd* was the driving force of the Ghaznavids in India, the careers of professional poets located at frontier cities like Lahore were primarily dedicated to extolling this cause, in addition to maintaining Iranian courtly values associated with the festivals of *nawrûz* and *mihragân*. The chief vehicle of this martial and courtly poetry was the Persian victory ode, the *qasida*. The victory *qasida* was developed at the court of Sultan Mahmûd (d. 1030) in the hands of poets like ‘Unsurî and Farrukhî, and continued to be a viable poetic form throughout the later Ghaznavid period.

The court poetry of this period is so much linked with the historical process of the rise and fall of the Ghaznavids that unfortunately it has more often been viewed as source material for historians than as the product of creative individuals. In the case of Mas‘ûd Sa‘d, his *divân* has been carefully mined for dates of conquests of Indian cities and the establishment of a chronology of the Ghaznavid rulers, but has rarely been critically examined. Given the particular interplay of history and autobiography in this poet’s *divân*, Masud Sad’s poetry particularly needs to be contextualized against the background of a complex nexus of political, social and personal histories that contributed to the multiple levels of alienation in the poet’s work. This is the subject matter of Chapter One.

Exile from spaces where the practice of poetry is privileged, i.e., courts and literary centres, is the primary, and chronologically earliest form of alienation in Mas‘ûd Sa‘d’s poetry and is examined in Chapter Two. Removed from Ghazna—the seat of culture and Mecca for poets—in the initial stages of his career, Mas‘ûd Sa‘d found refuge in language and takes up the theme of the journey, a common component of the *qasida*, and uses it in multifarious ways. His poet persona repeatedly makes the ritualistic journey in the early *qasidas* written in Lahore, usually leaving a heartbroken beloved behind in India and always ending up in the sultan’s court in Ghazna. Due to the coincidental fact of his first patron being named Mahmûd, his feeling of alienation was translated into a complex form of nostalgia for the poetic Arcadia of Sultan Mahmûd; Mas‘ûd Sa‘d wanted to be a second poet laureate, as ‘Unsurî had been, to the namesake of the great king,

and used his poetic virtuosity to exploit the possibilities of the *qasida* form to this end. His alienation in this respect fits into the larger mood of his times, and his voice is one among many, others being Nâsir Khusraw and Sanâ‘î, who composed poetry of protest in exile.

A second level of alienation is found in Mas‘ûd Sa‘d’s *habsîyât*, the body of poetry that he produced during his eighteen years of imprisonment. In the third chapter, the formation of this genre and the full extent of the poetics deployed in it by Mas‘ûd Sa‘d are studied. Conceptualized as a discrete body of poetry by medieval Persian literary historians and classified as a sub-genre of lyric poetry, the *habsîyât* are a test-case for working out issues of the origins and development of literary genres in classical Persian poetry. It was with the *habsîyât* that Mas‘ûd Sa‘d moved on from working solely with the *qasida* form to exploring other poetic forms such as the *qit‘ah*, *rubâ‘î*, and *tarkîbband*. It was also as a prisoner and exile, while faced with the danger of being forgotten by the court, that Mas‘ûd Sa‘d began to fully exploit the use of his pen as a *takhallus* in his poems, for which he has not been properly credited before now. In his poetry, the *takhallus* is not merely a poetic signature appended to a poem—perhaps as an act of copyright—but an expression of his individuality and a reminder to the world of his ability to practice poetry in a non-courtly setting. The *habsîyât* remain the primary form of innovation in Mas‘ûd Sa‘d’s *divân* since no subsequent Persian poet matched these poems in their sheer volume or the range of their poetics.

In Chapter Four, I study Mas‘ûd Sa‘d’s generic and formal experiments and innovations that date from his post-prison period. These so-called new forms and genres such as the *mustazâd* are the result of generic hybridization and the canonization of informal poetic forms that were not usually included in the *divâns* of poets. A problematic area in his *divân* has been the *shabrâshûb* and *bârahmâsâ* genres of poetry which have been thought to be inspired by his Indian environment. Having failed to find exact models in Indic literatures for these genres, I have chosen to explain their development within the context of Mas‘ûd Sa‘d’s received literary tradition and as a result of his attempts to vary the traditional modes of composing panegyric and

occasional poetry. However, I do believe that his Indian environment acted as an inspiration for the poet to branch out in new directions. Moving on to the poet's own views on this subject, I have interpreted his frequent boasts about the qualities of innovation or originality and versatility in all forms in the broadest terms but within the parameters of his poetics. Innovation for him signified a wide variety of things: his command over two or more languages, introduction of new images, topoi and genres, and his virtuosity in all the poetic forms and genres that he utilized.

The final form of alienation, explored in Chapter Five, is connected with the reception of his work in Iran and India during the last millennium. For a poet whose life and career straddled two adjacent cultures, the resulting effacement of his actual persona over time, in combination with a garbled biographical tradition, has resulted in a schizophrenic view of him: one, as a panegyrist who glorified *ghazâ*, and the other, as a prisoner who wrote soulful and personal poetry about life in a medieval prison. In Iran, his prisoner persona has been kept alive in poetic memory from the time of literary historians like Nizâmî 'Arûzî and 'Awfî in the twelfth century, to the twentieth century in the works of poets who have been imprisoned, such as *Malik al-shu'arâ* Bahâr, and even those who have not, such as Rahî Mu'ayyirî. Whereas in India, the emphasis has been on his place in the canons of three separate literary traditions: Indo-Persian, Hindi and Urdu. Based on a chance statement by 'Awfî that Mas'ûd Sa'd wrote poetry in Hindû'î, probably a designation for the vernacular used in North India in the Ghaznavid period, he has been the site of contestation between the literary histories of Hindi and Urdu. Thus, the construction of canons on nationalistic or communal lines have often resulted in Mas'ûd Sa'd being denied his proper place in the annals of Persian literature, contributing a metaphorical level of alienation to the study of his poetry.

My approach in sorting out the widely differing, and at times competing, literary traditions and histories dealing with Mas'ûd Sa'd is through an engagement with the recent body of criticism on him by the Iranian scholars Mahdî Nûrîyân and Sîrûs Shamîsâ, and the general studies of Ghaznavid poetry by Julie S. Meisami, J.T.P. De Bruijn

and Frank Lewis, while being anchored in the poetry itself. This work also hopes to raise a number of larger abstract issues in classical Persian literature, such as the indigenous conceptions of genre and originality, the problems of marginality and canonization, which can all be further elucidated by expanding the established canons of poets who are read and studied to include lesser-heard, but nevertheless, significant voices from the periphery.



Chapter One  
*Poetry at the Frontier of  
Empire*

Let Germanicus know that I shall dedicate my talent—however much remains—to his service. Being a poet himself, he may take it kindly, or anyway not despise the gift. Had his name been anything else, he might have prospered as one of us, would have outshone us all, but he had more urgent and vital duty to furnish the themes for other poets' paeans. I have no doubt he still finds time to pick up the pen now and again, to keep his hand and tongue alive and in touch with his feelings. Apollo, whose hand is equally skilled with the strings of his lyre and bow, favours Germanicus, scholar and prince, with a doubled blessing. And for my part, I have had to learn new tricks, have become a soldier-poet, buckle myself into armor, and take my turn on watch, my eyes peeled for shaggy Coralli and savage Getae, but hoping to be relieved of this duty. If Rome remains closed to me, maybe someplace less distant can be found where I could sit at a desk and at peace praise his deeds of war.

—Ovid<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ovid's Poetry of Exile*, tr. David R. Slavitt (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 205–6.

A. *At the Frontiers of Islam: The Poetics  
of Ghazâ*

Frontier societies, i.e., societies at the periphery of one cultural complex and adjacent to another, have a special significance in the history of the spread of Islamic culture, having served as outposts in a continuously expanding and dynamic socio-political phenomenon.<sup>2</sup> J.F. Richards writes about South Asia:

Muslim expansion into South Asia is one of the most important and prolonged instances of cultural encounter to be found in world history. Beginning as early as the fourth decade of the seventh Christian century, this process has not yet ended—as the recent political history of South Asia testifies. Indeed, the extended interaction between two radically different civilizations, Islamic and Hindu/Buddhist, is comparable to the similar encounter of Muslim and Christian civilizations. European and Middle Eastern historians have long recognized the complexity, severity and intensity of the clash between the two civilizations. The concept of the frontier, a zone of military, political and cultural interaction, existing through long periods of time, and moving across space has greatly stimulated and assisted historians and other scholars. However, those scholars concerned with Indo-Muslim history have been much less aware of a parallel frontier on the eastern flank of expanding Islam. Often, if they have noticed the existence of a military/political frontier in the Sultanate period, they have ignored the continuity of this phenomenon from the seventh to the twelfth

<sup>2</sup> The term 'frontier' although not often used in the field of literature, is the focus of an independent branch of historical studies. For an introduction to this concept, see Robert I. Burns, 'The Significance of the Frontier,' in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (London: Clarendon Press, 1989), 307–30. David Harry Miller, discussing the imperial Roman frontier with its 'barbarians' in the north, makes a relevant point, 'When a militaristic society is expanding, it will tend to see its frontier-zone as amorphous, with an ongoing potential for further expansion outward, whereas, once that society comes to think of itself as having reached some limit, or, comes even to see itself as shrinking it will tend to see its frontier as a defensive line,' 'Frontier Societies and the Transition Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,' in *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, ed. Ralph W. Mathisen and Hagith S. Sivan (London: Variorum, 1996), 161, footnote 15.



centuries AD. The time depth, the continuity, and the cultural significance of this enormous human encounter have been thus underrated.<sup>3</sup>

Not all frontier societies in Islamdom were similar; cultural contacts between Muslims and non-Muslims differed to a great extent depending on the degree and nature of interaction,<sup>4</sup> but nonetheless there were some common elements in all such societies. A community based on the spirit of warfare against infidels (*ghazâ*) gave rise to a frontier society where many disparate cultural elements would have come into contact with each other. Such a complex process of conquest and dissemination of hitherto alien cultural elements had a significant influence in the realm of the production of literature, both at the court and popular levels. The description of literary activity in Spain, which was the Western frontier of Islamdom, can equally be applied to eleventh-century Indian society in the Panjab:

When the conquerors set foot on Spanish soil, at the end of the 1st/beginning of the 8th century, Arabic literature was still only represented, in the East, by the Kur‘ân and the religious sciences, as yet in their infancy, and by a lively poetic muse. It is therefore probable that the Arab warriors, who were poets to a greater or lesser degree, respected the old tradition, but probably confined their literary activity to the composition of a few poems designed to extol their tribe, celebrate their military exploits, lament their dead, or bewail their exile from their homeland, in the same way as their fellow-Muslims sent to conquer other parts of the world.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> ‘The Islamic Frontier in the East: Expansion into South Asia,’ *South Asia* 4 (Oct. 1974), 91. Also see Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204–1760* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), 286.

<sup>4</sup> In the case of Anatolia, which was another frontier of Islam and where a Persianate Turkish culture encountered the Byzantines, a different cultural process was at work. Marshall G.S. Hodgson writes about the differences between Anatolia and India, ‘We know a great deal less about the frontier with India than about the frontier with Europe, though for Islamicate civilization in the long run the passage into India was the more important of the two . . . India was culturally far more alien to the Irano-Semitic traditions than was the Hellenic Mediterranean. The frontier was less famous and fewer *ghâzîs* went thither,’ *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 2: 275.

<sup>5</sup> *EP*, ‘Arabiyya, Appendix: Arabic Literature in Spain.’ Another area which

The nature and quality of literary production was connected to the extent of interaction and assimilation of Muslims with other cultures, and also the degree of alienation they felt in those cultures. So far there has been no study of this kind of literary phenomenon for societies whose literatures can be called Persianate in their orientation. Frank Lewis’s description of the cross-cultural interaction in Ghazna, an important centre of Persian culture at this time, is even more applicable to the Panjab:

Although the Ghaznavids managed to bring the area of eastern Afghanistan solidly into the Perso-Islamic cultural sphere, which, from the 5th/11th century became increasingly a unified elite culture, the substratum of popular culture remained free to draw on native elements, and the history of Iranian philosophy and letters demonstrate that traces of the Zoroastrian, Manichaean and Buddhist cultures continued to surface throughout the period.<sup>6</sup>

Courtly works, which were commissioned to broadcast the expansion activities of the conquerors, differed from popular literature, which dealt with more immediate subjects. Concerning the literary activity

---

offers many points of comparison with India is Caucasia, where the interplay of Islam and Christendom can be seen in the literary output of the poets active there; for a description of these *ghâzî* communities, see Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, tr. P. van Popta-Hope (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1968), 201–3; ‘Abdulhusayn Zarrinkûb, *Pîr-i Ganjah dar justujû-yi Nâkojââbâd* (Tehran: Sukhan, 1372/1993), 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Reading, Writing, and Recitation: Sana‘i and the Origins of the Persian Ghazal* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1995), 116–17. Miller’s comments on the Roman frontier are also relevant here, ‘[C]ross-cultural interaction led simply to the development of an exploitation-based, hierarchialized and militarized social system—which was recognizably the product of the non-Roman cultures that had been forced to change in that way. Non-Roman Europe, both before and after Roman intrusion, was a group of cultures among whom hard-and-fast breaks between cultures and communities were non-existent—differences were graduated progressions over distance. Militarization and seigneurialization, therefore, took similar forms across the spectrum and, when peoples from diverse origins within that spectrum met, assimilation remained relatively easy despite imperial rhetoric denigrating the so-called aliens,’ ‘Frontier Societies,’ 169–70.

in Anatolia, another important frontier in Islamdom, Yorgos Dedes writes:

As far as Anatolia is concerned, whatever the metaphor or neologism one chooses to describe the cultural experience of the Muslim Turks in the region, whether transplantation, osmosis, diffusion, or acculturation, the most widespread and on-going process was one of translation. Over the course of the next four centuries, the emerging Turkish literati themselves realized the importance of translation. Authoritative Islamic culture was written and required book-learning, therefore translation of books was a praised and prized achievement in any field.<sup>7</sup>

In the realm of popular literature, Dedes goes on to cite the names of texts that deal with conquest themes in the form of religious folk-epic, such as the *Battalname*, *Danishmendname*, and *Saltuqname*. Interestingly enough, no such popular epic seems to have survived from the Ghaznavid frontier society. The *Shahrîyâr-nâmah*, the exploits of Shahrîyâr, the great-grandson of Rostam, that was formerly attributed to Mukhtârî (d. ca. 1149–50) and deals with the *jihâd* activities of the Ghaznavids in India, has been shown to be apocryphal.<sup>8</sup> On the side of the conquered, there was a whole range of ‘anti-Muslim epics’ in Indian vernaculars, such as the *Prithvî Râj Râso*, which glorify resistance to Islam.<sup>9</sup> According to J.F. Richards, ‘The Hindu epic of defeat serves as an unconnected, but parallel form to the Muslim genre of victory . . .’<sup>10</sup> Aziz Ahmad links the later ‘epics of conquest’ written on the Muslim side by poets such as Amîr Khusraw (d. 1325) and ‘Isâmî (d. 1327) as growing out of the Ghaznavid victory qasidas,<sup>11</sup> which often combined epic elements with panegyric poetry.

<sup>7</sup> *Battalname* (Cambridge: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1996), 1: 35; also see Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, 2: 273.

<sup>8</sup> *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ‘Mukhtârî,’ Julie. S. Meisami. Meisami dates the work to the Mughal period in India.

<sup>9</sup> See Aziz Ahmad, ‘Epic and Counter-Epic in Medieval India,’ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1962), 470–6.

<sup>10</sup> ‘The Islamic Frontier in the East,’ 101.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Epic and Counter-Epic,’ 470.

At the level of court poetry patronized by the Ghaznavid sultans, increasing contacts with India resulted in the expansion of the traditional repertoire of genres and images. However, the lack of much of the literary output of the early Ghaznavid poets in India prevents one from making broad judgments about the extent and nature of the production of such poetry. The surviving *divâns* of two poets of Lahore, Abû al-Faraj Rûnî (d. after 1102) and Mas‘ûd Sa‘d (d. 1121), portray a society similar in terms of the sentiments of religious zeal and exile being important sources of inspiration for creative activity. The work of such poets in the service of empire immortalized their patrons even as the incorporation of their poems in the material culture of the period ensured their own renown. The palace at Ghazna was adorned with verses of the court poets Mas‘ûd Sa‘d and Mukhtârî who chiefly wrote panegyric poetry.<sup>12</sup> The courtly ethos that underscored all aspects of the court poet’s life is summed up by Mas‘ûd Sa‘d in this line from a qasida dedicated to his patron Prince Mahmûd:

I know two things as the essence of my pleasure and repose:  
one, union with a beauty, and the other, praise of the prince. (Q154)<sup>13</sup>

Poets wrote on amorous themes and described the valour of their patrons, and oftentimes the two modes, lyrical and panegyric/epic, are skilfully interwoven in a single qasida.

In fact, the victory qasida, or *fathnâmah*, was the predominant genre of poetry among Ghaznavid court poets.<sup>14</sup> The qasida of the

<sup>12</sup> Alessio Bombaci, *The Kufic Inscription in Persian Verses in the Court of the Royal Palace of Mas‘ûd III at Ghazna* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966), 33. He states that ‘the Yaminid sovereigns of Ghazna were distinguished by their sound training in Islamic culture and Persian literature,’ 41. The connection of Ghaznavid architecture to the material results of *ghazâ* is also a point of interest, 32.

<sup>13</sup> All quotations from Mas‘ûd Sa‘d are from Mahdî Nûrîyân’s edition of the collected poetry of the poet, *Divân-i ash‘âr-i Mas‘ûd-i Sa‘d* (Esfahan: Kamâl, 1364/1985), unless otherwise indicated. All translations are this author’s. See Appendix for Persian text of poems cited.

<sup>14</sup> See Mas‘ûd Sa‘d’s statement, Henceforth I will compose victory poetry/for the market for it is thriving (Q109).

early Ghaznavid poet, Farrukhî, on the momentous occasion of the conquest of the rich temple-city of Somnath in India served as a model for many subsequent poets who commemorated in verse every major victory of their patrons. Sultan Mahmûd's poet laureate, 'Unsurî, was perhaps an even more influential model for these poets, as can be seen in the frequent references Mas'ûd Sa'd makes to him. Structurally, the poetics of *ghazâ* can be situated within the boundaries of the conventional panegyric qasida. Although much of this poetry becomes repetitive and tedious, each poet used his virtuosity to describe in ever more unusual and exaggerated terms all the accoutrements and attributes of his patron that made his victory possible, i.e., his sword, horse, army, courage. Abû al-Faraj Rûnî and Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân, who were actually living in the land of the infidels and not writing from afar, were inspired by their environment to engage in all sorts of verbal play using established images and tropes. For instance, here Mas'ûd Sa'd addresses Sultan Shîrzâd in an extremely rhetorical manner:

The troop-breaking, lion-hunting king Shîrzâd  
cleansed the soul of infidelity with his Hindu sword. (Q79)

The Hindu sword (i.e., of Indian steel), a clichéd image by this time, necessarily figures in martial poems and here it becomes the instrument to conquer the very people who gave their name to it. In a poem addressed to Prince Mahmûd, whom he frequently calls *amîr-i ghâzî*, the poet again uses the image without the cultural epithet for the sword, at the same time displaying more detailed knowledge of Hindu cultural practices:

The Brahman whose pride is his sacred thread,  
out of fear of your sword will rip it off his body. (Q111)

The abundance of such elaborate rhetorical devices in his poems shows that already these must have become stock expressions of praise and do not have any newness to them.

A victory qasida that may have been Mas'ûd Sa'd's innovation in terms of its rhyme word, *fath* (victory), is addressed to Sultan Mas'ûd:

This is a journey of victory, as you return from this journey,  
the kings of the world call it the 'journey of victory.'  
May you have a hundred victories, and a hundred years hence  
in India every moment let them see the effects of victory . . .  
I will versify all of it and at every occasion a narrator  
will recite the stories of victory at your bedside. (Q47)

Here, the poet has created an ingenious poem with a difficult rhyme word, and the repetition of the word *fath* in each line almost turns it into an anthem. In addition, where the sultan's glorious deeds are mentioned, the poet's mention of his own skill and purpose is not distant.

Iran and India are demarcated in the *divân* of Mas'ûd Sa'd in a way that leaves no doubt that the poet situates himself in India, representing himself as the cultural heir of Iran. The poet is less conscious of the mingling of diverse cultural elements in the frontier areas than of the differences which separated the two cultural complexes,<sup>15</sup> keeping alive the spirit of conquest. India was a land that had to be made an extension of the Iranian world, as indicated in this hortatory line:

May you establish a thousand forts like Iran in India;  
may you capture a thousand kings like [the Sasanian] Kasra from  
posterity. (Q17)

Although Lahore in India was his birthplace and he expresses his attachment to it in tender terms in many poems, Ghazna and the Iranian world was the cultural *qiblah* for him as it was for other poets of this period; the tension between the two especially informs his exile poetry as will be shown later. In essence, Mas'ûd Sa'd belonged to both worlds and to neither, and we shall see how his feelings about his location inform his poetry.

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of the geographical region of 'Iranshahr' as conceptualized in pre-modern sources, see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, 'Fragile Frontiers: The Diminishing Domains of Qajar Iran,' in *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (May 1997), 205–9. The author's comments on the shortcomings of the theoretical discourse on nationalism and mapping spaces are supported by the poetic sources of the Ghaznavid period.

## B. Lahore: The Second Ghaznavid City

When Mahmūd founded Lahore-Lahanūr,  
He laid the foundation of a *Kaāba*, which was the desire of the heart,  
When I considered for the year of foundation,  
Forthwith reason said, 'Mahmūd is the founder.'<sup>16</sup>

The western boundaries of the Ghaznavid empire, expanded to include most of the Iranian lands during the reign of this dynasty's greatest ruler, Sultan Mahmūd (r. 998–1030), and then shrank within a short span of time under his successor Sultan Mas'ūd (r. 1030–40). The defeat of the Ghaznavids at the hands of the Seljuqs at Dandānqān in 1040 significantly changed the orientation of the empire.<sup>17</sup> The march eastwards into India, which had been a primary preoccupation of Sultan Mahmūd, became even more intensified over time and proved to be of permanent historical significance. Muslim rule had already been established in Sindh and the southern Panjab before the advent of the Ghaznavids into the subcontinent, with an Ismaili dynasty based in Multan by the end of the tenth century.<sup>18</sup> Although Sultan Mahmūd took Multan early, in 1005–6, it was only towards the end of his reign that he sought to have a permanent and organized Ghaznavid military and administrative presence in Panjab, based in Lahore, the 'centre of the Muslim *ghāzīs* in India.'<sup>19</sup> According to Bosworth, the chief presence in Lahore was 'the volunteer element of the army, the *ghāzīs* or *mutatawwi'a*. The successes of the early Ghaznavids attracted plunder-seeking adventurers to their standards, above all for the Indian

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Syad Muhammad Latif's *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities, With an Account of Its Modern Institutions, Inhabitants, Their Trade, Customs, &c.* (Lahore: Oriental Publishers, 1981), 353.

<sup>17</sup> See C.E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay, The Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India, 1040–1186* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1977), 6–9.

<sup>18</sup> See André Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 1: 109–92.

<sup>19</sup> C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994–1040* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963), 76.

campaigns.<sup>20</sup> After him, each successive ruler, for economic and ideological reasons, turned his attention to India at the cost of the Western areas of the kingdom.<sup>21</sup> It was due to the *ghazā* campaigns of these rulers, alongside the efforts of Sufis, that north Indian Islam at this early period came to have a culturally and politically Persianate orientation.

The mythical stories about the pre-Islamic origins of Lahore do not provide any actual historical information about the city before the arrival of Muslims. The city is only mentioned for the first time in early Arab and Persian sources as a small town whose population was comprised entirely of Hindus until the Ghaznavids entered the region when it came into prominence.<sup>22</sup> Just before becoming a Ghaznavid possession, Lahore was part of the Hindushahi kingdom which was based at Waihind, near Peshawar. In 405/1014 the Hindushahi ruler, Trilochanapal, was defeated by Sultan Mahmūd and withdrew to Eastern Panjab; Lahore then passed into the hands of the Ghaznavids.

Many forms of the city's name are found in historical sources, including in the *divān* of Mas'ūd Sa'd.<sup>23</sup> Lahore began to be known as 'little Ghazna' due to its growing importance for the dynasty. It remained the second city of the Ghaznavids, although it appears that, as the Ghurids rose to power in the western part of the empire and increasingly threatened the position of the Ghaznavid house, it gained

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>21</sup> When Sultan Mahmūd passed away, Mas'ūd, who was engaged in a battle of succession with his brother, received a letter from his aunt, Hurra-yi Khuttalī, in which 'she describes Ghazna with its face towards India, as the heart (*asl*) of the empire,' *ibid.*, 235.

<sup>22</sup> Lahore is first described in the anonymous treatise *Hudūd al-'ālam* in 372/982 as having no Muslims living there. All the early references to Lahore have been brought together in Muhammad Baqir's *Lahore, Past and Present: Being an Account of Lahore Compiled from Original Sources* (Delhi: B.R. Publishing, 1985), 1–24. There appears to be some confusion in the early sources about Lahore being a city or a province; it is referred to as both, although the Ghaznavid sources only refer to it as a city. Also see Latif, *Lahore*, 1–12.

<sup>23</sup> The various forms were recorded in the dictionary, *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, completed by Jamāl al-Dīn Husayn Injū in 1017/1608. Muhammad Baqir brings together the variations, *Ibid.*, 13–14.

in importance. Lahore became the refuge for the last sultan, Khusraw Malik, and his court, when in 1186 the Ghurid 'Alâ al-Dîn *Jahânsûz* burnt Ghazna and proceeded to Lahore, which too passed into the possession of the Ghurids. Thus, there was a gradual eastward spread of Persianate courtly culture and the frontier was always changing its parameters.

There is scarcely any information concerning the composition of the cultural and religious elites of Lahore at this time.<sup>24</sup> An important person in the history of Persian Sufism, Abû al-Hasan al-Hujvîrî *Dâtâ Ganjbakhsh*, had moved to Lahore towards the end of his life and died there in 1071. He presumably wrote his treatise on mysticism, *Kashf al-Mahjûb*, in Lahore.<sup>25</sup> About a second, more powerful person, Abdul Ghani writes:

Another striking personality, whose arrival and stay at Lâhore during the reign of Sultân Ibrâhîm gave a great incentive to Persian taste and learning in the Punjâb, was Abû Nasr Fârsî, better known as *adîb* (an adept in literature). He founded a University at Lâhore called *Khâneqâh-e Abû Nasr* or, according to 'Aufî, *Khâneqâh-e 'Amd*, which remained for centuries, under different designations, the centre of Persian and Arabic cultures in the East.<sup>26</sup>

Abû Nasr-i Pârsî was an influential personality in this frontier city, and a major patron of Mas'ûd Sa'd and other contemporary poets. Historians of Persian literature have all spoken of an active literary scene in Lahore at this time, chiefly based on the testimony of 'Awfî, the writer

<sup>24</sup> For a survey of the general situation, see Muhammad Ikram, *Âb-i Kausar* (Lahore: Idârah-i Saqâfat-i Islâmîyah, 1992), 55–86.

<sup>25</sup> It is not clear why Hujvîrî actually left Ghazna for Lahore. In *The Kashf al-Mahjûb*, he only mentions being inconvenienced because he had left his library behind, 'I could not possibly set down more than this . . . my books having been left at Ghazna—may God guard it!—while I myself had become a captive among uncongenial folk . . . in the district of Lahâwur,' tr. Reynold A. Nicholson (Delhi: Taj, 1991), 91. Abdur Rashid states that the Sufi came to Lahore 'under orders from his *Pir*', *Life and Teachings of Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhs* (Lahore: Central Urdu Development Board, 1967), 23.

<sup>26</sup> *Pre-Mughal Persian Poetry in Hindustan* (Allahabad: Allahabad Law Journal Press, 1941), 193–4.

of a biographical dictionary of early Persian poets. J.T.P. De Bruijn calls the poets working in Lahore the 'second school of Ghaznavid poetry',<sup>27</sup> which, he adds, is not a stylistic designation, rather, from the point of view of innovation, their work is regarded as being distinctive from that produced at other Persianate courts. The full implications and validity of this claim are examined below.

The earliest poet of Lahore was Abû 'Abdullâh Rûzbih Nukatî, panegyrist to Sultan Mas'ûd I, but his poetry has not survived except for some excerpts in the earliest biographical dictionary of Persian literature.<sup>28</sup> Apart from Mas'ûd Sa'd, the only poet who is known to have been active at the Lahore court at this time and whose *divân* is extant is Abû al-Faraj Rûnî. Rûnî was a slightly older contemporary of Mas'ûd Sa'd's and spent his entire life in the service of the Ghaznavids in Lahore. Poets like Sanâ'î and Mukhtârî were late contemporaries of Mas'ûd Sa'd, and although their works are extant, they do not seem to have ever been to Lahore. The poets whose activities have been recorded by 'Awfî were affiliated with the last Ghaznavid rulers over the course of half a century until the Ghurids wiped out this remarkable dynasty. In any case, hardly any of the literary works from this period have survived. The court of Bahrâmshâh, Mas'ûd Sa'd's last patron, appears to have been just as vigorous in the production of poetry as some of the earlier monarchs'.<sup>29</sup> Among the many works produced here was the translation in Persian prose of Ibn Muqaffa's *Kalîla wa Dimna* by Munshî Nasrullâh. Significantly, this important work on statecraft had its origins in Indian tales, and its retelling in this milieu suggests that, after a presence of over a century in the subcontinent, the Ghaznavids were making efforts to legitimize their rule by commissioning such a text.

<sup>27</sup> *Of Piety and Poetry: The Interaction of Religion and Literature in the Life and Works of Hakîm Sana'î of Ghazna* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1983), 151.

<sup>28</sup> 'Awfî, *Lubâb al-albâb*, ed. E.G. Browne (Tehran: Fakhr-i Râzî, 1982), 544–5.

<sup>29</sup> 'Awfî, *ibid.*, 382–6; Bosworth, *Later Ghaznavids*, 109–10. For poets under the last ruler, Khusraw Malik (r. 1160–86), see Bosworth, *ibid.*, 127–8; 'Awfî, 96–108, 324–34, 405–13.

As a literary centre, Lahore was a provincial shadow of the central Ghazna court, and from Mas'ūd Sa'd's *divân* it is clear that an ambitious fledgling poet merely considered it a starting-point in his career. In fact, even as the Ghaznavid empire increasingly had an Eastern orientation, Lahore neither wholly replaced Ghazna nor rivalled it in a major way. Additionally, being situated at the frontier it was neither wholly part of the central Iranian cultural complex, nor yet separated from the latter to become an Indo-Persian centre. Only with the end of the Ghaznavid house did the centre of literary production become established first at Uchh in Sindh and then in Delhi, with the patronage of independent Indian dynasties. The first extant history of Persian literature was to be written by an exile himself, 'Awfi, who fled Khurasan around 1218 due to the advent of the Mongols and arrived at the court of Nâsir al-Dîn Qabâchah at Uchh.

### C. *The Life of Mas'ūd Sa'd*

Traditional biographical dictionaries (*tazkirahs*) were the only secondary literature on Mas'ūd Sa'd's life and work until the first semi-critical evaluation of his *divân*, was written chiefly in order to formulate a chronology of the poet's biography, by the Iranian scholar in exile, Mîrzâ Muhammad 'Abdulahâb Qazvînî. Published in 1905 in an English translation by E.G. Browne,<sup>30</sup> the original Persian appears not to be extant. There were numerous manuscripts and a nineteenth century lithographed edition of the poet's *divân* until 1939, when the first critical edition by Rashîd Yâsimî was published. Using more manuscripts than Yâsemî had access to, the *divân* was edited again in 1985 by Mahdî Nûrîyân.<sup>31</sup> Since then, the discovery of additional manuscripts of the poet's works has prompted Nûrîyân to work on a revised edition of the *divân*. There have not been any major studies of this poet, and in light of the second edition of the *divân* and its editor's research into the life of the poet, a biographical sketch of the poet

<sup>30</sup> 'Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmân,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1905), 693–740, (1906), 11–51.

<sup>31</sup> See the review of Nûrîyân's edition by Muhammad Mahyâr in *Âyandah* 51 (1368/1989), 349–51.

would not be out of place here. In the case of Mas'ūd Sa'd, perhaps more than that of any other Persian poet, his biography is inextricably linked to his poetry and in fact much of his work does not make sense without the necessary historical contextualization. Attempting to avoid the pitfalls of purely factual biographical criticism, I will focus on the autobiographical aspect of his *divân* to facilitate understanding of the self-representation of the poet in terms of his various personas and the spaces which they inhabit.

Mas'ūd Sa'd's ancestral city was Hamadan. His father, Sa'd-i Salmân had come to Lahore as an accountant (*mustawfi*) in the entourage of Prince Majdûd, who had been sent by Sultan Mahmûd to garrison the frontier city in 1035–36.<sup>32</sup> In the poet's own words:

Didn't Sa'd-i Salmân serve for fifty years?  
He worked hard to acquire this property and estate. (Q91)

and elsewhere:

My father, Sa'd son of Salmân  
served for a total of sixty years:  
sometimes as a functionary in the retinue,  
at other times, as a nobleman. (Q217)<sup>33</sup>

The poet was born around the years 1046–49 in Lahore where he spent his childhood and youth.<sup>34</sup> In 1058–59 when Sultan Ibrâhîm became sultan and made peace with the Seljuqs, he once again concentrated on directing the efforts of Ghaznavid forces towards the conquest of India. According to Ghaznavid practice, his eldest son, Mahmûd Sayf

<sup>32</sup> Bayhaqî, *Târikh-i Bayhaqî*, ed. Ghanî and Fayyâz (Tehran: Khvâjû, 1370/1991), 501.

<sup>33</sup> Apparently his father had a good standing in the community even after all those years. In one line he says, 'A man who is descended from Sa'd Salmân/even if he becomes poison he will not harm your property' (R113); also when he invokes his own name in a poem, it is always connected with that of his father: he is Mas'ūd son of Sa'd son of Salmân.

<sup>34</sup> Qazvînî disproves the various claims in *tazkirahs* for the poet's true birth-place, e.g., 'Awfi claims he was born in Hamadan, Dawlatshâh says it was Gurgan.'

al-Dawlah, was appointed the viceroy of these territories and charged with carrying out campaigns into the land of the infidels. In 1076–77 Prince Mahmûd was rewarded for his victories with the title of *Sani' amîr al-mu'minîn* (Protégé of the commander of the believers) by the caliph. In his first appearance on the scene of Ghaznavid history, Mas'ûd Sa'd would have been a young aspiring poet, who composed a qasida to mark this important occasion. He declares:

When morning made heaven's visage like a silver leaf,  
the zephyr from the king's palace gave me good tidings:  
'Abû al-Muzaffar, the just sultan Ibrâhîm,  
by exalted fortune, raised the position and pomp  
of the pride of the state, Mahmûd Sayf al-Dawlah,  
when he delivered the Indian dominions to him.  
All of India read the *khutbah* in his glorious name,  
and placed the diadem of nobility on his fortunate head.' (Q209)

The poet had already composed a qasida to the prince but perhaps did not enter his service until the latter came to Lahore.<sup>35</sup> He is a poet of the city of Lahore and was greatly attached to it, as is attested by the famous qasida he wrote to it in exile, and in this *rubâ'î* to the river Ravi:

O Ravi, if paradise is to be found, it is you,  
if there is a kingdom fully equipped, it is you,  
water in which is the lofty heaven is you,  
a spring in which there are a thousand rivers is you. (R391)

In these lines from a *qit'ah* he indicates his material situation in Lahore:

I had three baths in Lahore  
which was known to everybody.  
Today it is three years that my hair  
has been like the hair of the infidels.<sup>36</sup> (Qt19)

Thus, from all accounts, Mas'ûd Sa'd was a courtier and a poet and an established member of the early Iranian aristocracy based in India.

The most shadowy and obscure aspect of Mas'ûd Sa'd's life is the

<sup>35</sup> Qazvîni, 'Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân,' 714–15.

<sup>36</sup> This reference is probably to the matted hair of Hindu ascetics.

matter over which he fell from favour and was exiled. The details of this affair are closely connected to his relationship with his first patron, Prince Mahmûd. Following Nizâmî 'Arûzî's story in the *Chahâr maq-âlah*, subsequent pre-modern and modern sources have tended to repeat the story that it was Prince Mahmûd who was apprehended for planning to go over to the rival court of Saljuq Malikshâh; he was disgraced and removed from office by his father, Sultan Ibrâhîm, and with him his whole entourage, including our poet. Relying on the poet's own words, Qazvîni wrote that Mas'ûd Sa'd came to Ghazna 'to demand justice against certain persons who had robbed him of his farms and estates, but on his arrival there fell under suspicion, and . . . was cast into prison.'<sup>37</sup> However, Mahdî Nûrîyân has sought to explain the circumstances of this matter in a manner that is supported by Mas'ûd Sa'd's own version of the story, which provides a more complicated yet plausible explanation for this shadowy period of the poet's life.<sup>38</sup>

Nûrîyân's thesis, which is the most plausible explanation of the events, is that the poet fell out of favour with Prince Mahmûd himself, and the latter's problems with the sultan and his removal from office are a separate set of events. The trouble started on an official visit to the capital Ghazna, when Mas'ûd Sa'd came into contact with the court poet Râshidî, and in a poetic context defeated him. In the poet's own words:

My lord, you know what your slave did  
in Ghazna with the glib poets.  
For every qasida that Râshidî took a month to compose  
my replies were better than them, and all extempore.  
If I didn't fear you, O prince! by God  
I would have deprived Râshidî of honour and a living . . .  
When they saw how the king honoured me  
by giving me position and rank close to himself,  
they slandered me before him  
with a hundred thousand deceptions, tricks and ruses. (Q219)

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 721–2.

<sup>38</sup> 'Mas'ûd Sa'd va gunâh-i âzadagî,' *Hastî* (1372/1993), 149–67.

Upon returning to Lahore, the poet repeatedly boasted of his triumph over Râshidî. The slander of jealous rivals, perhaps the partisans of Râshidî, turned Prince Mahmûd against Mas'ûd Sa'd, and the poet faced a multitude of problems in his professional and personal life. He complains of this to the prince:

In no way did they see another crime  
except that this city is the place of my birth and origin.  
If I recite licit magic to them,  
they only say, After all he is a young child. (Q26)

There is the implication here that he, as a provincial poet, must be conscious of his lower position with respect to the poets of the capital city. In addition to casting aspersions about his standing as a poet, the prince's troops raided his home:

I became transfixed and stunned when I saw myself surrounded  
by a horde of bareheaded Daylamites,  
faces glowing with rage and twisted with hatred;  
it seems they brought on a paralytic wind and a pain . . .  
Those insatiable dogs tore my house to pieces,  
those sharp-hoofed asses turned my place into a dunghill.  
Due to their severity, not a bit of silver was left to pawn,  
nor my wits remained about me from their shouting. (Q276)

His property and belongings were confiscated. When he asked for permission to perform the *hajj*, his request was denied.

The matter concerning the *hajj* has further twists. Mas'ûd Sa'd harboured the hope of going over to the court of the Saljuqs in Khurasan, who had over time surpassed the Ghaznavids in pomp and glory, especially in the patronage of poets.<sup>39</sup> The pilgrimage plan of the poet may

<sup>39</sup> Several similarities in the lives of Mas'ûd Sa'd and the later poet Khâqânî exist, most notably the prevention of the poets' going over to rival courts, and their subsequent imprisonment. Nûrîyân draws attention to this fact in his article, 161. For the details of Khâqânî's plan to go to Khurasan, see Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, 205. Rypka writes, 'Khâqânî lived constantly under the delusion that he was being unjustly treated and was therefore ever in search of something better,' 206.

indeed have been a pretext for leaving the Ghaznavid domains. But Prince Mahmûd did not give him permission to leave Lahore. In the end, the poet resorted to seeking redress, from Sultan Ibrâhîm himself at Ghazna, for all the injustices he had suffered at the hands of his patron. However, this move ended up working against him, and the sultan, who had already been turned against the poet, had the perfect excuse to punish him officially. Based on a *qit'ah* it has been surmised that the senior poet Abû al-Faraj Rûnî had a hand in this matter, but it seems more likely that another Abû al-Faraj was involved in this affair.<sup>40</sup> The poet Abû al-Faraj was not at Ghazna and there is no indication that there was any rivalry between them.

In his early poems, Mas'ûd Sa'd frequently mentions going on a journey, sometimes specifically mentioning Khurasan as his destination, and it is quite probable that the poet had ambitious plans for furthering his career which got him into trouble. He portrays his dilemma in these terms:

Sometimes I am wounded by the calamity of Lahore;  
sometimes I am chained by the calumny of Khurasan. (Q204)

However, he reassures Prince Mahmûd that he will be faithful:

I am not like the deer who grazes on another's land  
and places its perfumed muskbag in another's country.  
I am like the royal falcon who even in captivity  
brings the prey before you when it is set free. (Q135)

Later, from prison he attempts to justify the suspicion of his enemies, yet clear himself of all blame:

Where would you find one like him in Khurasan?  
For in every excellence he is the pride of the world.  
Otherwise why would his enemies repeatedly say,  
'He is thinking of Khurasan.'

<sup>40</sup> It is clear that the poet's oft-cited *qit'ah* (151) beginning, 'Bû al-Faraj, are you not ashamed at your machinations/that got me thrown into such a prison?', does not refer to the court poet, Abû al-Faraj Rûnî, with whom the poet had an amicable relationship. This Bû al-Faraj has not been identified.



If such ideas have entered my head,  
for me a demon is better than God. (Q33)

Mas'ūd Sa'd spent the next ten years, from 1088–98/99, in three successive remote Ghaznavid fortresses, Dahak, Sū, and Nây.<sup>41</sup> In an effort to gain the clemency of his patrons he wrote a body of work in the *habsiyât* (prison poetry) genre, which would ultimately be responsible for gaining him fame amongst his contemporaries and with posterity. His release coincided with the death of Sultan Ibrâhîm; the new sultan Mas'ūd III, as was the custom, appointed his son Prince 'Azud al-Dawlah Shîrzâd as the viceroy of India. Mas'ūd Sa'd entered this prince's service, and was especially favoured by the deputy-governor, Abû Nasr-i Pârsî, who patronized many poets of the time. Abû Nasr-i Pârsî had the poet appointed to the governorship of Jallandar, East Panjab, where he wrote his only *masnavî*, describing an evening of revelry and expressing his nostalgia at being away from Lahore. Unfortunately, the poet did not occupy this post for long; in the wake of the disgrace of Abû Nasr-i Pârsî, all his dependents were put in prison, and until 1106–7, Mas'ūd Sa'd spent the next seven years in the prison of Maranj.<sup>42</sup> During this time, he wrote more *habsiyât* poetry, having become quite adept at this genre. After his release, obtained through the intermediacy of a highly-positioned patron, Siqat al-Mulk, he spent the last fifteen years of his life at Ghazna, serving four consecutive

<sup>41</sup> Qazvîni writes, 'I have not been able to determine the positions of Sū and Nây, which appear to have been two insignificant castles, possessing neither importance nor celebrity sufficient to cause the old geographers to mention them. Dahak, however, is one of the stations on the road between Zaranj, the capital of Sistân, and Bust, which is within the confines of Zâbulistân, that is, of the kingdom of Ghazna,' 'Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmân,' 723. The Afghan scholar, Muhammad Ibrâhîm 'Âlamshâhî, made an excursion to the fortress of Nây and describes the route and locale in his article 'Qal'ah-yi Nây' in *Âryânâ* 9/11 (1331/1952), 5–14, *passim*. A few years later, 'Abd al-Hay Habîbî identified and described all three fortresses as being in present-day Afghanistan, 'Mahâbis-i Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmân' in *Yaghmâ* 21 (1347/1968), 678–86.

<sup>42</sup> Qazvîni writes, 'Maranj or Marang is the name of a castle in India, according to the *Burhân-i-Qâti*,' but I have been unable to find any mention of it elsewhere,' *ibid.*, 11.

sultans as librarian and panegyrist, finally having gained the position and respect that he had longed for all his life. In a poem addressed to Sultan Mas'ūd, he thanks him for being made librarian:

You chose him to be the treasurer of the books,  
may your kingly resolve be firmly established. (Q48)

In a qasida addressed to Sultan Bahrâmshâh, Mas'ūd Sa'd looks back at his eventful life sanguinely:

Last year and the year before, I had no hopes for my life,  
but this year my condition is not like that of last year and the  
year before.  
Today, no one has the rank, position and office  
as I your slave rightly have. (Q38)

In total, Mas'ūd Sa'd served as panegyrist for the following five Ghaznavid monarchs apart from his first and chief patron, Prince Mahmûd:

Sultan Ibrâhîm	r. 1058–99 (1089–99) <sup>43</sup>
Sultan Mas'ūd III	r. 1099–1114 (1100–7)
Sultan Shîrzâd	r. 1114–15
Sultan Arsalânshâh	r. 1115–17
Sultan Bahrâmshâh	r. 1117–57

The poet died in 1121–22, the fourth year of Sultan Bahrâmshâh's reign.<sup>44</sup> As far as we know, there are no elegies for the poet's death that survive. Not much is known of Mas'ūd Sa'd's progeny aside from the information found in *tazkirahs* that his son, Sa'âdat, was a poet under Bahrâmshâh.<sup>45</sup> Another son, Sâlih, had passed away during the poet's lifetime, on which occasion the poet composed an elegy.

Mas'ūd Sa'd's professional career was largely spent between court and prison: the former a public space that centred around the patron,

<sup>43</sup> Dates in parentheses indicate Mas'ūd Sa'd's years in prison.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 716–19.

<sup>45</sup> Zabîhullâh Safâ, *Târîkh-i adabiyât dar Êrân* (Tehran: Ibn-i Sînâ, 1336/1957), 2: 491.

and the latter a private and isolated space where the focus became the poet's own self. Although vastly different, these spaces are linked together because of court politics and historical circumstance. The interplay of spatial conceptions such as court *vs.* prison, Ghazna *vs.* Lahore, Iran *vs.* India, as well as metaphoric spaces such as centre *vs.* periphery, are persistent and important themes with which the poet engages throughout his work, and that would particularly haunt him in prison.

#### D. Mas'ûd Sa'd and Ghaznavid Poetry

Evaluating the poetry of Mas'ûd Sa'd, Nûrîyân's statement that prison turned a mediocre panegyrist into a poet of the first order is supported by the quality of the poetry in his *divân*. The early body of non-*habsiyât* poetry in Mas'ûd Sa'd's *divân* is almost exclusively panegyric, and despite its superiority from a technical point of view, it would not particularly stand out from the works of other court poets of the period like Mu'izzî and Abû al-Faraj Rûnî. Apart from certain modifications in the qasida and a few poems in non-traditional genres, this poetry is not remarkable without its historical context. In any case, it is difficult to form an overall opinion of the quality of poetry in this period, especially comparing Mas'ûd Sa'd to his contemporaries, given the small body of late Ghaznavid poetry extant today. However, in comparison with the *divâns* of the triad of early Ghaznavid poets from a couple of generations ago, 'Unsurî, Farrukhî, and Manûchihri, one can see in the later poet a shift to a different poetics: the imagery, themes for the *nasîb*, even genres, have changed or are in the process of changing, probably in response to shifting tastes on the part of the audience and as a response to a different cultural milieu in which the poets found themselves.

De Bruijn's suggestion that Mas'ûd Sa'd's location in India was responsible for the unusual quality of his work can also be applied to this changing poetics. Concerning the Ghaznavid poets of Lahore, he says:

An explanation of the greater freedom which these poets allowed themselves with regard to literary traditions, can only be given by speculation. The contacts with a foreign culture, which were open especially to the

poets working in Hindûstân, may have inspired some new forms; this is even likely in the case of Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân . . . the opportunities for innovation may have increased so much because the poets were less subject to the control of literary critics among their audience. The new developments of this period which had a lasting effect on the history of Persian poetical style would, in that case, have resulted from the growing provincialism of Ghaznavid culture as a whole.<sup>46</sup>

As discussed above, the encounter of two cultures is a complex process, and in this case the precise nature of the 'contacts' between them cannot be pinpointed; also, given the paucity of extant works, it would be rash to claim something 'new' as exclusively Mas'ûd Sa'd's innovation. Since the circulation of poetry at this time was not impaired by political or geographical boundaries, there was never any lack of 'control of literary critics' even in the most remote areas. However, the poet's own testimony bespeaks the fact that something 'new' was happening and he was at the centre of such innovations. What precisely is this 'innovation' and where is it in Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry? There does not seem to be a consensus on this subject, but innovation here can be understood as a departure from established trends and the introduction of new poetic forms into the existing repertoire as a response to new situations facing the poet. There is also the gradual shift of focus from the patron onto the poet himself in his poems. In the tradition of boasting about one's poetic skills (*fakhr*), Mas'ûd Sa'd writes in a poem:

<sup>46</sup> *Of Piety and Poetry*, 151. De Bruijn also refers to this period as '[t]he renaissance of Ghaznavid poetry,' 150, suggesting a revival of the 'first' Ghaznavid school of poetry at the courts of Sultans Mahmûd and Mas'ûd I. In any case, the designations of schools of literary style are often merely convenient designations of group poets living in a particular region, and break down upon closer analysis. Rypka's comments on the 'Azerbaijan school' bear similarity to the situation in Lahore; his comment on Khâqânî's poetry, 'Such a *divân* could only have been composed in Transcaucasia, where the two religions [Islam and Christianity] met and intermingled,' 202–3, is applicable to Mas'ûd Sa'd if Hinduism is substituted for Christianity. Both poets worked in different frontier situations and have been celebrated for their difficult but distinguished styles.

Among the skilled masters I am [proficient] in every art  
although today my name is included amongst all the poets. (Q25)

The word *anvâ* does not seem to be used in a precise way here, as it is used today in the meaning of genres and poetic forms, and also seems to be unattested elsewhere at this period. Mas'ûd Sa'd seems to be using it in its broadest sense here. In the following line, he boasts of the rare quality of his verses using the same term as in the previous line:

No one knows today, what [power] of expression and pen  
I have inside me in all forms/genres. (Q35)

In the following line, he boasts of his ability to be adaptable and prolific:

I compose a thousand *divâns* and in each one  
I fashion a thousand panegyrics like a hundred thousand gems. (Q91)

At the same time, there is the suggestion that one who can compose multiple *divâns* must be extraordinary in his poetic skills. In all of these claims, above and beyond the requisite boasting of a professional poet, there is a plea for his 'newness' or 'differentness' to be recognized and acknowledged by his audience.

Mas'ûd Sa'd's claim of being adept at various forms can be interpreted in several ways. Abdul Ghani writes about the versatility of Mas'ûd Sa'd in utilizing the various poetic forms that he inherited and others that he was the first to employ:

[I]t may be noted that he has made an important departure from the established practice in the sphere of panegyric poetry which was, up till his time, limited to *qasîdah*. Very few poets, indeed, had before him used any other form of metrical composition as a vehicle for praise. But Mas'ûd extended its bounds by using freely all types of poetry for the purpose. The forms which were commonly employed by him to supersede *qasîdah* were *musaddas*, *ghazal* and *qit'a*.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Pre-Mughal Persian*, 209; also see Muhammad Riyâz, 'Ibtikârât-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd Salmân,' *Mâhnâmah-yi Hilâl* 6/7 (1349/1970), 49–52.

He is the first poet to have used the greatest variety of poetic forms and genres and perhaps was the first to have included a couple of them, such as the *mustazâd* and *shahrâshûb*, in his collected works. The vast majority of poems in his *divân* are in the form of *qasidas*. The other poetic forms comprise a very small portion of the poet's corpus, although parts of his oeuvre may not have been preserved for posterity. The poems in the non-*qasida* forms, except for the *qit'ah* and *rubâ'î*, appear to be literary experiments on the poet's part. In addition to the multifarious poetic forms that the poet dexterously employed, there is the claim of his writing in two languages: Persian and Arabic, and the later attribution of having also written in the local Hindi language. In his *habsiyât* poetry, he utilizes the skill of combining various modes, praise and complaint, in a variety of forms. As will be examined later, ultimately, 'innovation' refers to all of these skills and cannot be restricted to a particular genre or device that was privileged by the poet. The historian of Persian literature Zabîhullâh Safâ writes that every poet of this period was to a certain degree fascinated by the quality of innovation (*ibtikâr*) while still working within the parameters of the inherited traditions.<sup>48</sup> This topic will be discussed in more detail below, after a survey of the formal and generic achievements of Mas'ûd Sa'd.

Since the *qasida* was the reigning form at this time and the form favoured by Mas'ûd Sa'd, it would be worthwhile to consider its strong links to the Persian courtly tradition of the period. Bausani states that Mas'ûd Sa'd was an imitator of the three earlier Persian poets, Rudakî, 'Unsurî and Manûchihri.<sup>49</sup> The inherited Arabic conventions of the exordium (*nasîb*) of this form and its particular imagery had been skillfully modified by Persian poets in the early Ghaznavid period, so

<sup>48</sup> Safâ, *Târikh-i adabiyât*, '[A]ll [poets], in their own words, were innovators under the influence of new intellectual forces, a sign of the manifestation of stylistic changes in the poetry of their period,' 2: 335, and 'The subject of innovation in poetry certainly took up the attention and interest of poets, some of whom make clear references to it,' 2: 336.

<sup>49</sup> *La Letteratura Persiana* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1968), 221.

that it could present itself as a flexible medium of praise and self-expression that allowed a great degree of generic mixing.<sup>50</sup> With regard to the origins of the Persian qasida, Julie S. Meisami writes:

The early Persian court qasida thus emerges as an analogue of the Persian court, like it absorbing into itself both the macrocosm of the world-garden and the microcosm of the private world of the self, to become a poetic microcosm whose formal divisions and the varied genres it is able to incorporate, making it the ideal vehicle for conveying the many facets of the world of the court. The circumstances of the Persian qasida's genesis and its status as poetic microcosm continue to inform and shape it even when the form itself is adapted to different ends . . .<sup>51</sup>

Particularly in this period, it was a flexible form for voicing protest as well as bestowing praise, with its audience, whether courtly or not, the ultimate arbiter of its acceptance and popularity. Thus, utilizing it for his *habsîyât* poetry, Mas'ûd Sa'd expressed himself in a variety of ways without transgressing its generic requirements. In his special situation of imprisonment, writing in isolation and in the face of oblivion, the qasida was the ideal vehicle for this poet; as Frank Lewis concludes:

<sup>50</sup> Applicable here are the comments of Julie Meisami in her discussion of the particular virtuosity of Manûchihri in combining various elements in his qasidas, 'What world is this? Not merely a hybrid world in which disparate conventions are yoked together, but a world in which the aspiring court poet must constantly struggle and outdo his rivals, prove himself with poetic *tours de force*, and further, 'Manûchihri's admixture of Arabic and Persian elements is both deliberate and contrived. Designed to testify to the poet's erudition as much as to his talent, the world to which his poems refer is less that of the court itself than of the poetic tradition; it is a world whose primary referent is texts. This is true even of those qasidas that employ more explicitly 'Persian' material, such as the numerous variations on Rudaki's 'grape-sacrifice' motif . . . which, rather than representing an actual ritual survival are, like the Arab/Persian hybrids, highly mannered literary exercises,' 'Poetic Microcosms: The Persian Qasida to the End of the Twelfth Century,' in *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, ed. Stefan Sperl and Christopher Shackle (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 157, 160.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 163–4.

The *qasîdeh*, then, though it shares a 'cycle of themes' with the *ghazal*, is perhaps better thought of as an epic genre, one in which, in Frye's 'presentation,' the poet faces his audience, declaiming an 'extended oratorical form' in a direct address or at least a 'mimesis of direct address.'<sup>52</sup>

Thus, he was able to constantly engage his courtly audience and build a case for himself as an injured party. Meisami's further remarks on the polysemic nature of this form can be applied here:

Poets were active in court life, involved in its politics and intrigues, and their panegyrics reveal this involvement. In addition to obvious topical allusions, for example those found in victory poems, other more subtle and oblique references reflect and address contemporary issues, and often contain criticisms of specific actions or policies as well as more general ethical admonitions. In short, any panegyric *qasîda* holds the potential for multiple meaning, for the inscription of a subtext (or texts) whose message may complement or subvert that of the surface text, a strategy to which the *qasîda*'s structural and rhetorical conventions lend themselves with infinite flexibility. As might be expected, such complexities of meaning most often involve not only the ideals of kingship presented in the ritual surface text, but the problematic inherent in the relation between these ideals and historical realities; the dialogue thus generated is particularly characteristic of early Ghaznavid panegyric.<sup>53</sup>

There is a continuation of this in the late Ghaznavid poets too, even as their world expanded and they began to include new images and forms.

In Mas'ûd Sa'd's early work dedicated to Prince Mahmûd, the victory qasida is the favourite mode of panegyric, as would befit a young poet embarking on a career at court. The style of the qasidas of this period is characterized as being intellectual, with a preponderance of Arabic and technical words and concepts. Another characteristic is that the inclusion of the *nasîb* is more the exception than the rule with the two poets of Lahore. Although Mas'ûd Sa'd continued to exploit

<sup>52</sup> *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, 11–12.

<sup>53</sup> 'Ghaznavid Panegyrics: Some Political Implications,' *Iran* 28 (1990), 32.

the qasida form when he was imprisoned in exile, he increasingly began to write more *qit'abs* or even poems that are technically qasidas, but in the singularity of subject and absence of a recipient's name, are much like a *qit'ab*. There is also an increased and ultimately exclusive focus on himself as a poet. His constant references to his own versatility and virtuosity appear to exceed the requisite boast (*fakhr*) of panegyric poets.

The contextualization of Mas'ûd Sa'd's work against the historical and social background sketched above, as well as within the courtly tradition of the qasida form with all its generic implications, provides my entry into examining the three levels of alienation in his *divân*. The readings that situate him as a poet at the cultural and literary crossroads are explored in the following chapters under the headings of exile, prison, and literary reception and canonization.



## *Chapter Two* *Poets in Exile from Privileged Spaces*

Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home; its essential sadness can never be surmounted. And while it is true that literature and history contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile's life, these are no more than efforts to overcome the crippling sorrow of estrangement.

—Edward Said<sup>1</sup>

### *A. The Perils of Being a Court Poet*

Mas'ûd Sa'd's plaintive voice from exile must be considered in the context of the lives and poetic production of Persian poets in the eleventh and twelfth centuries CE, who were either banished, imprisoned or underwent physical or mental suffering. The position of the professional poet at Persian courts was a prominently respectable and coveted one that offered a poet financial benefits and a legitimate forum to practice his craft.<sup>2</sup> However, there was also a negative side to this calling: when a poet fell out of favour, both his private and professional

<sup>1</sup> 'Reflections on Exile,' *Granta* 13 (1984), 159.

<sup>2</sup> For the office and functions of a court poet at this time, and the complex institution of literary patronage in Persian courts, the historical documentation and

lives were affected drastically. Exile and/or prison, i.e., curtailing of his prestige and removal from his sphere of activity, were the most common forms of punishment that he suffered. For poets in such strained circumstances, poetry was the one available medium to express their dissatisfaction and complain about their lot. The existence of such a body of poetry has prompted Jan Rypka to exaggeratedly characterize this precarious situation as a social reality in the twelfth century among the Seljuq court poets:

From the social point of view the poets no longer stood on so high a pedestal as they had done previously. They faced each new day with fear, for the vast Seljuq empire was gradually disintegrating into states of varying sizes. Jealous of one another and easily bought for money, the poets were not treated with any great tenderness by the rulers, and thus it is common to find them languishing in prison or wandering from one court to another.<sup>3</sup>

Whether this was a new social phenomenon is questionable since the career of a court poet must never have been completely devoid of problems, and his relationship with his patron was more often than not

---

various views are set forth in a series of recent writings on the subject: especially Jerome W. Clinton, *The Divan of Manûchibrî Dâmghânî: A Critical Study* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1972), 1–21; J.T.P. De Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 155–60; Julie S. Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 9–14, 43–7; and most recently Frank Lewis, *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, 140–71. In these discussions, the issues have been chiefly the ritual aspect and didactic nature of court poetry, or the economics of such relationships. Patronage was a dynamic institution that had a dialogic relationship with the political and social currents of the time. The normative descriptions of the relationship between poet and patron as set down in mirrors for princes and other handbooks must be considered carefully as these were not adhered to in many instances.

<sup>3</sup> 'Poets and Prose Writers of the Late Saljuq and Mongol Periods,' *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. J.A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 5: 551. A positive aspect of this situation is the point made by Heshmat Moayyad that the 'the Seljuks did serve the cause of Iranian culture by carrying Persian poetry into many new territories and creating new centers for its cultivation', 'Lyric Poetry' in *Persian Literature*, ed. E. Yarshater (New York: Bibliotheca

dependent on the latter's fortunes. Kay Kâ'ûs, the Ziyarid prince and eleventh-century author of the Persian mirror for princes, *Qâbusnâmah*, advises his son regarding the sensitive nature of being in a ruler's service:

If it happens that you are one of those in the service of kings, even if the king makes you close to him, do not be proud of it, flee intimacy (*nazdikî*) with him . . . do not seek employment with a prince whose fortunes have reached their apex since he is then near his downfall . . . and always fear the anger of the king.<sup>4</sup>

The author then goes on to quote a line from the poet Qamarî Gurgânî, 'Composing poetry for you is dangerous for me/Bringing forth a pearl from the sea's bottom involves danger.'<sup>5</sup> The poet Nizâmî Ganjavî (d. 1209) also cautions his son about the double-edged nature of this profession: 'Do not get involved with poetry and poetics/for the best of it is the most mendacious.'<sup>6</sup>

The decline perceived by Rypka in the grandeur and security associated with a court poet's profession is generally viewed in connection with a long-term trend of political and religious crises in the Iranian lands during this time.<sup>7</sup> One of the earliest references to a general decline in literary activity is a remark by the historian Bayhaqî (d. 1077) who notes in passing, while narrating an anecdote about a poet: 'The

---

Persica, 1988), 135. Although J.T.P. De Bruijn concurs with the view of a decline in the conditions for production of court poetry, he sees a 'renaissance of Ghaznavid poetry' (the 'first flowering' having taken place under Sultan Mahmûd) in the reigns of Sultans Ibrâhîm and Bahrâmshâh, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 148–9. However, he concedes that the paucity of texts available from this period makes it difficult to form any conclusive judgment about the history of this poetry.

<sup>4</sup> *Qâbusnâmah*, ed. Ghulâmusayn Yûsufî (Tehran: Bungâh-i Tarjumah va Nashr-i Kitâb, 1345/1966), 198, 201–2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>6</sup> *Laylî va Majnûn-i Nizâmî Ganjavî*, ed. Barât Zanjânî (Tehran: Dânishgâh-i Tihârân, 1374/1995), 26.

<sup>7</sup> For a summary of the ways in which political turbulence, in particular the larger impact of the repeated Central Asian Turkic invasions, affected the literary scene, see Zabîhullâh Safâ, *Târîkh-i adabîyât dar Êrân*, 2: 117–30.

market for learning, literature and poetry is sluggish (*kâsidgûnah*) and devoid of connoisseurs (*sâhib*) of these arts.<sup>8</sup> Bayhaqî had made a living as a secretary in the Ghaznavid bureaucratic machinery at the height of its power, and was writing this towards the end of his career. As will be discussed, this crisis for poets, rather than being merely a result of political shifts, was a response to changing patterns of patronage, as had been established by Sultan Mahmûd in the early days of the Ghaznavid and Seljuq periods. Julie S. Meisami dates this shift to a later period:

Until the Mongol catastrophe, which altered patterns of patronage and literary taste as radically as it did other aspects of Iranian life, the court poet enjoyed considerable privilege and influence in return for ensuring his patron's repute by means of his eloquent verses.<sup>9</sup>

However, evidence shows that changes in preference for certain genres and themes were already occurring in the Ghaznavid period, and the loss of power of the Ghaznavids had begun to affect the patterns of courtly patronage.

Despite the limited number of sources for the lives of poets of this period, it appears that discussing the plight of poets who were treated shabbily or ended their lives in tragic circumstances because of their patrons' neglect or displeasure was a common preoccupation among writers of mirrors for princes or of biographical dictionaries. Such an awareness and concern on the part of the literary establishment of the

<sup>8</sup> *Târîkh-i Bayhaqî*, 275. According to De Bruijn, one has to be cautious in drawing conclusions from the larger picture which appears bleak: 'The decline of scholarship at Ghazna, from the middle of the 5th/11th century onwards, must not be equated with a return to barbarism. The presence of leading social groups with solid family traditions, like officialdom and the Islamic clergy, was a guarantee of certain standards of learning even if the stimulus to new creative efforts was lacking'; *Of Piety and Poetry*, 53. This can be seen in the new directions, in terms of the nature of their literary output, new audiences and sources of patronage, that poets like Nâsir Khusraw and Sanâ'î took. *Khâniqâhs* increasingly became rivals for the performance of poetry, Heshmat Moayyad, 'Lyric Poetry,' 135.

<sup>9</sup> *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 11.

time for poets who suffered can be seen in several writings of this period:<sup>10</sup> the harsh treatment of Firdawsî (d. 1019–20) and Mas'ûd Sa'd at the hands of their patrons were recorded in dramatically sympathetic tones for the first time in Nizâmî 'Arûzî's *Chahâr maqâlah* in the twelfth century;<sup>11</sup> Mukhtârî also wrote about the plight of his contemporary and colleague, Mas'ûd Sa'd, in a dedicatory qasida that was meant to arouse sympathy for both of them. The literary memory regarding these poets' experiences was more often than not inspired by a concern to safeguard their own positions and provide guidelines for their patrons on how not to behave towards them. Firdawsî's unpleasant brush with his potential patron, Sultan Mahmûd, grew into a legend over the years in the form of a satire that was falsely attributed to the poet, already known to Nizâmî 'Arûzî and included in all later manuscripts of the *Shâhnâmah*.<sup>12</sup> Although, ironically, Firdawsî was

<sup>10</sup> This support system was part of the poetic establishment of the time as described by Frank Lewis, 'It seems clear that Persian poets of the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries were highly conscious of the poetry being written by their contemporaries and immediate predecessors . . . This sociopolitical nexus encouraged repetition and allusion to the works of other poets, whether such comparison was done by way of self-aggrandizement, paying homage, or simply catering to the audience's taste,' 'The Rise and Fall of a Persian Refrain,' in *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian Poetry*, ed. Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 211.

<sup>11</sup> Edited by Muhammad Qazvînî and Muhammad Mu'in (Tehran: Zavvâr, 1333/1954).

<sup>12</sup> The earliest and basic work on this satire is by Hafiz Mahmud Khan Shairani in a series of Urdu articles, which have been translated into Persian by 'Abd al-Hay Habîbî as *Chahâr maqâlah bar Firdawsî va Shâhnâmah* (Kabul: Bayhaqî, 1355/1976), 37–110; A. Shapur Shahbazi in his *Ferdowsî: A Critical Biography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1991) has sifted through the various legends concerning Ferdowsî's relations with Sultan Mahmûd, 2–3, 74–81, including the satire, 83–103. Shahbazi concludes about the satire, 'However impressive, the Satire is a forgery which contradicts Ferdowsî's own testimony. The poet had praised Mahmûd as 'beyond reproach and slight' in such irrevocable terms that to attribute so revengeful a satire to Ferdowsî amounts to disgracing him by attributing to him the double standard of ignobility of some court flatterers who uttered vile words when unsatisfactorily rewarded,' 101. Frank Lewis writes, 'Mahmûd's

not attached to any court, for subsequent court poets he became the classic example of a great poet who had been grossly wronged. His alleged satire ends with an ominous warning to Sultan Mahmûd that would voice the concern of all court poets:

I composed these lines in order that  
the king learn a lesson from them,  
and henceforth he may know what is poetry  
and ponder the advice of the ancient past,  
so that he may not harrass poets any more,  
and safeguard his own honour.  
A poet who is offended composes satire;  
satire endures until the day of resurrection.  
I cry out in the court of the pure God,  
sprinkling earth over my head,  
saying, O God! Burn his soul in hell!  
Gladden the heart of this deserving slave.<sup>13</sup>

Another way that poets dealt with their situations was by railing against fate (*rûzgâr*) and society, and denouncing the profession of panegyrist. Beginning with Nâsir Khusraw (d. ca. 1072), who like Firdawsî was also not attached to any court, this form of protest gradually became a popular trope, a trend that culminated in the work of the Seljuq poet Anvarî (d. 1164–65) who ‘raises his voice against certain stupidities prevailing among the rank and file, against fawning and irregularities in the social order, turns his satire even against women,

---

failure to recognize and liberally reward the crowning glory of Iranian literature appears, in hindsight (like the refusal of Decca records to sign the Beatles), an outrageous failure of sense and sensibility,’ *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, 154–5; also see Annemarie Schimmel, *A Two-Coloured Brocade: The Imagery of Persian Poetry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 130–1. The fifteenth-century poet Jâmî says, ‘The pomp of Mahmûd does not remain in the world/except the story that he did not appreciate Firdawsî’, *Bahâristân*, ed. Ismâ‘îl Hâkimî (Tehran: Itilâ‘ât, 1374/1995), 95.

<sup>13</sup> See the edition by Turner Macan, *Shah Nameh: An Heroic Poem, Containing the History of Persia from Kioomurs to Yesdejird* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1829), Introduction, 66.

perverse passions and the blindness of fate.’<sup>14</sup> The tendency to blame fate for one’s misfortunes is at least as old as Arabic poetry, if not older,<sup>15</sup> and perhaps became popular with the Persian poets of this period due to the increased awareness and influence of Abbasid poetry among them. In this period poets recognize this inherited trope as a convenient medium for the expression of personal grievances and utilize it in creative ways to the point where it becomes a cliché in the rhetorical device of *hasb-i hâl*, description of one’s condition, which became a commonly included part of the Persian *qasida*.

Thus, the negative side of the status of court poet and the dangers entailed to it were accepted conditions of that position. It was two non-court poets, Firdawsî and Nâsir Khusraw, who provided the impetus for much of the discourse on this subject in this period, and the inherited devices that were the stock-in-trade of poets (*hasb-i hâl*, complaining about the caprices of fate, nostalgia for the past) were taken up and put to use systematically by those poets who were exiled or imprisoned.

### B. The Poetic Memory of Ghazna and Sultan Mahmûd

The defeat of the Ghaznavids by the Seljuqs at the battle of Dandânqân in 1039 marked the end of the early and ‘great’ phase of this dynasty. The reigns of the two great Ghaznavid monarchs, Sultan Mahmûd (r. 998–1030) and his son Sultan Mas‘ûd (r. 1030–40), would be recorded in poetic memory as not just the apex of political power but a ‘golden age’ of literary activity, with Sultan Mahmûd revered as the patron *par excellence* of his times. Sultan Mahmûd was primarily responsible for making Ghazna a worthy successor of Bukhara, capital of the Samanid dynasty,<sup>16</sup> in terms of being the literary centre and providing a competitively healthy and profitable atmosphere for the

<sup>14</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, 199.

<sup>15</sup> De Bruijn states that the fatalism found in early Persian poetry ‘has its roots in pre-Islamic’ traditions, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 153; also see Stefan Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 22–4, for the power of fate versus the power of the ruler.

<sup>16</sup> Tha‘âlabi’s description of Samanid Bukhara as ‘the Focus of Splendour, the



production of court poetry in Persian. Having gained fame for his conquests of the Iranian lands, and especially making inroads into India, Sultan Mahmûd made a conscious effort to gather intellectuals, poets, and men of learning.<sup>17</sup> The ‘zenith’ of this dynasty had witnessed an unprecedented flourishing of literary activity and production.

The office of *Malik al-shu‘arâ* (King of Poets) was first created by Sultan Mahmûd, and ‘Unsurî was the first poet to hold it; this institution became a significant factor in the valorization of poets and poetry at the Ghaznavid court. The pattern of patronage that Sultan Mahmûd established took a firm hold and subsequent courts such as the Timurid court in fifteenth-century Herat, the Mughal court in sixteenth/seventeenth-century India, and the Qajar court in nineteenth-century

---

Shrine of Empire, the Meeting place of the most unique intellects of the Age, the Horizon of the literary stars of the World, and the Fair of the greatest scholars of the Period,’ *Yatimat al-dabr*, quoted by E.G. Browne in *Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902–24) 1: 365, is indicative of the importance of a strong cultural centre for the institutional patronage of learning and literature. In Bosworth’s view, ‘Since the Ghaznavid empire depended so much on the Sâ mânid inheritance for its political structure, it is not surprising that literary, cultural and artistic trends under Mahmûd also followed the patterns established in the eastern Iranian world by the Sâ mânids. It was the court of Bukhârâ which gave material backing for the literary florescence of New Persian, whilst at the same time remaining a great centre for the traditional Arabic theological, legal and philological sciences,’ ‘The Development of Persian Culture Under the Early Ghaznavids,’ in *Iran* 6 (1968), 37; also see his *The Ghaznavids* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1963), 131–4, for the courts of Mahmûd and Mas‘ûd as ‘brilliant cultural centres’; Clinton, *The Divan of Manûchihri Dâmghânî*, 4–5; and Giti Fallâh Rastgâr, ‘Adâb va rusûm va tashrîfât-i darbâr-i Ghaznah az khilâl-i *Târikh-i Bayhaqî*,’ in *Yâdnâmah-i Abû al-Fazl Bayhaqî* (Mashhad: Dâni-shgâh-i Mashhad, 1350/1971), 412–67.

<sup>17</sup> For an example of how new cultural centres emerge, see Carla Petievich’s *Assembly of Rivals: Delhi, Lucknow and the Urdu Ghazal* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1992). Particularly, the account of the rise of Lucknow and its active promotion by potential patrons to outdo the level of patronage that Delhi had offered before it lost its central position, 26–8. Especially relevant is her point about a city’s efforts to attain political legitimacy by becoming the ‘new standard-bearer’ of culture, 29.

Tehran would model themselves on it in establishing the position of *Malik al-shu‘arâ*.<sup>18</sup> ‘Unsurî says in a qasida to Sultan Mahmûd’s vizier, Khâjah Abû al-Qâsim Ahmad Maymandî:

From the sages who have gathered at your court,  
You are making Ghazna just like Greece.<sup>19</sup>

and in a qasida to Sultan Mahmûd he says:

No one else in the world besides him  
placed a thousand *misqâls* in the scales of poets.<sup>20</sup>

He then adds that if one believed Rûdakî was generously rewarded for his poetry one should witness Sultan Mahmûd’s generosity! ‘Unsurî was remunerated so generously by the Sultan that Khâqânî would say over a century later in a poem whose very rhyme is the poet’s name:

With ten couplets for one victory in India,  
‘Unsurî earned a hundred bags of gold and slaves.  
‘Unsurî, I have heard, lined his pots with silver,  
and had his cutlery made of gold.  
If he were alive in this age of stinginess,  
‘Unsurî would have made his pot of straw.<sup>21</sup>

In the end, with a mixture of envy and cynicism, Khâqânî asserts his own superiority in the poem by declaring that ‘Unsurî did not have to live in the harsh world that was his own lot. He feels that ‘Unsurî had it too easy and was spoiled by Sultan Mahmûd, and the value of his poetry is mediocre; meanwhile, good poetry is produced even in adverse circumstances.

The triad of Ghaznavid historians, ‘Utbî, Gardîzî, and Bayhaqî, as well as the Seljuq statesman Nizâm al-Mulk, all contributed to the

<sup>18</sup> The symbolic prestige of this title can be appreciated by the fact that it was in use by the Qajar court even in their declining years.

<sup>19</sup> *Dîvân-i Ustâd ‘Unsurî Balkhî*, ed. Muhammad Dabîr-Sîyâqî (Tehran: Sanâ‘î, 1363/1984), 288.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>21</sup> *Dîvân-i Khâqânî Shîrvânî*, ed. Jahângîr Mansûr (Tehran: Nigâh, 1375/1996), 707.

aggrandizement of the image of the monarch.<sup>22</sup> The above-quoted author of *Qâbûsnâmah* ended up in the service of Mahmûd and recalled him in respectful terms conducive to the positive image he was later to acquire, particularly in mirrors for princes,<sup>23</sup> with the Ghaznavid administration becoming the model for other subsequent polities. The popular image of Sultan Mahmûd according to C. Edmund Bosworth was of 'a great fighter for the faith and as the despotic ruler of an immense empire, which came to the forefront in literature and legend after his death.'<sup>24</sup> Among courtly circles, he was celebrated as a Maecenas who set the standards of appreciation for poetry and generous remuneration of poets;<sup>25</sup> at the same time, the alternate memory

<sup>22</sup> Bosworth, *Later Ghaznavids*, 75. In *The Ghaznavids*, Bosworth says, 'Many of Mahmûd's admirers, especially those amongst Indian Muslim scholars, have stressed his role as a munificent patron of the arts and as the creator of a Muslim culture on the eastern fringe of the Islamic world, by whose influence Muslim religion and civilization passed to the Indian peninsula. Mahmûd has thus become the first hero of Indian Islam,' 131. As an example of this see Muhammad Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultân Mahmûd of Ghazna* (Cambridge: University Press, 1931), 157–9, for a traditional treatment of Sultan Mahmûd's role as a grand patron. Sultan Mahmûd was even included in the first *tazkirah* of Persian poets, 'Awfi's *Lubâb al-albâb*, where he extolls the monarch both as a patron and as an amateur poet of sorts, 74–5. Mahmûd is also glorified in exaggerated terms in Dawlatshâh's *Tazkirat al-shu'arâ*, ed. E.G. Browne (Tehran: Khâvar, 1366/1987) in the entry for the poet 'Onsorî, 36–9.

<sup>23</sup> Clinton, *The Divan of Manûchihri Dâmghânî*, 29–30. Especially in two fourteenth-century Indo-Persian texts his role as *ghâzî* is important: the mirror for princes by Ziyâ al-Dîn Baranî, *Fatâvâ-yi Jahândârî* and the *masnavî* by 'Isâmî, *Futûh al-salâtîn*.

<sup>24</sup> 'Mahmud of Ghazna in Contemporary Eyes and in Later Persian Literature,' *Iran* 4 (1966), 89. The author sketches the role of the poet 'Attâr in building the legendary picture of Sultan Mahmûd that would endure for many centuries, chiefly in mystical literature. This Sufi appropriation of Sultan Mahmûd may have been a move to counter his popularity in court poetry and utilize him for more didactic purposes.

<sup>25</sup> Actually, the epithet Maecenas is not wholly inappropriate for Sultan Mahmûd; compare the description of the Roman patron's role to that of his Ghaznavid counterpart: 'What Maecenas had to work on was the fact that the situation of these [Augustan] poets (a situation of sudden comparative, if genteel, poverty) could readily be seen by them to be the direct result of the social and political evils

of him as an unappreciative and cruel patron who failed to reward Firdawsî for his efforts in composing the *Shâhnâmah*, the primary book on Iranian kingship, prevailed. Firdawsî's failure to gain entry at court has also been explained as a result of jealousy and exclusiveness on the part of the poets in office.<sup>26</sup> Since the city was the centre of civilized life and site of the court,<sup>27</sup> it became the focal point for poets who strove to pursue a career at court. Neophyte poets made for Ghazna and strove to penetrate the courtly circles in order to gain recognition for their work; their efforts could either be abetted or hindered by established poets. When the established poets were out of favour, they were often banished from the city and were rejected from the social complex that provided both an appreciative audience and support system; from banishment and rejection they wrote about their loss and nostalgia for the centre of culture, as in the case of Mas'ûd Sa'd throughout his early career.

### C. Manipulation of History in a Qasida by Mas'ûd Sa'd

Mas'ûd Sa'd's exploitation of the fact that his first patron was named Mahmûd, namesake of the great Sultan Mahmûd, was an attempt to recreate the golden age of the early eleventh century. Prince Mahmûd

that had to be the prime concern of anyone who aspired to, or held, power', Gordon Williams, 'Phases in Political Patronage of Literature in Rome,' in *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome*, ed. Barbara K. Gold (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 14.

<sup>26</sup> Shahbazi, *Ferdowsî*, 94. This symbolic moment has been recorded by artists in a miniature in the Houghton *Shâhnâmah*, where Firdawsî is standing apart from the coterie of Sultan Mahmûd's court poets, reproduced in Stuart C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501–1576* (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, 1979), 42–3.

<sup>27</sup> Farrukhî's elegy on the death of Sultan Mahmûd begins with a description of the gloom the event has cast on Ghazna, *Dîvân-i Hakîm Farrukhî Sîstânî*, ed. Muhammad Dabîr-Sîyâqî (Tehran: Zavvâr, 1371/1992), 90–3, and regarding poets he says, 'The demand for poets was high with you/You have gone and the market right away collapsed'; also see Bosworth's article, 'Farrukhî's Elegy on Mahmûd of Ghazna,' *Iran* 29 (1991), 43–9.

was given the title *Sayfal-Dawlah* (Sword of Fortune) like his great ancestor;<sup>28</sup> and secondly, he was praised by both Mas'ūd Sa'd and Abū al-Faraj Rūnī for his activities of *ghazā* in India, just as Sultan Mahmūd had been panegyricized by his court poets for his religious zeal.<sup>29</sup> In a long victory qasida (Q89) for the Prince, Mas'ūd Sa'd calculatedly uses coincidences of name and event to evoke a particular nostalgia for the age of Sultan Mahmūd.

The poet begins by asking the breeze (*nasīm*) to take this victory poem (*fathnāmah*) and spread the word of the Indian military successes of Prince Mahmūd in Iran. He goes on to narrate the story of his patron's campaign into India to capture the Agra fort. When the prince's troops are besieging Agra, the ruler of the city, Prince Jaypāl, has a frightening dream in which he sees himself sitting on a high place surrounded by lions and snakes. Then he sees a green meadow and an impressive personage sitting on a golden throne.<sup>30</sup> He wakes up and realizes that the person is Prince Mahmūd and immediately runs out, surrenders and offers obeisance to his enemy. Prince Mahmūd tells him that he has come to plunder the fort and his troops proceed to do that. To authenticate the story, the poet says that he was there himself (*dādam bā khvud*) to witness the pillaging. After a lengthy description of the attack, the poet describes the victorious moment:

Inside the fort a roar arose from the *ghāzīs*:  
May the king Sultan Mahmūd enjoy the kingdom! . . .  
In India your sword showed the result of victory;  
'Thus swords of kings show their effect.'

<sup>28</sup> Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna*, 36.

<sup>29</sup> Mu'izzī, poet laureate of the Seljuqs, dedicated two qasidas to the Ghaznavid Sultan, Bahrāmshāh, in which he emphasizes the king's descent from the sultans Mahmūd and Mas'ūd to the point that it appears these are the only credentials the current sultan can be proud of, *Dīvān*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-yi Islāmīyah, 1318/1940) 66, 288.

<sup>30</sup> G.E. von Grunebaum, 'The Cultural Function of the Dream as Illustrated by Classical Islam,' in *The Dream and Human Societies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), discusses dreams of political prophecy, 18–19. Also relevant to dreams in historical narratives is Sholeh A. Quinn, 'The Dreams of Shaykh

The last line is the rhetorical device, *tazmīn*, where the poet works a line from another poet's poem into his own. Here, the line is from a victory poem written by the the 'King of Poets' of Sultan Mahmūd, 'Unsurī'.<sup>31</sup>

Several elements within it make this poem a multi-layered text: the exploitation of literary tropes, the coincidence of the names of the legendary ancestor of the poet's patron and that of the patron himself, and the occasion of a victory over the *kāfir* Hindus. It is not clear whether there was a ruler named Jaypāl during this time; Jaypāl was the name of the Hindushahi king that Sultan Mahmūd defeated in 1001 near Peshawar before he gained a foothold in the subcontinent.<sup>32</sup> In the poetry of this period, Jaypāl (or often Chaypāl) is used to denote a stock Hindu king, just as the Khâqân is always the name for the ruler of China. Thus, the poem as a historical document is an extremely problematic matter.<sup>33</sup> Writing about nostalgia, Susan Bennett remarks, 'memory, like nostalgia, might resemble only superficially the past which it is said to represent.'<sup>34</sup> Mas'ūd Sa'd is deliberately creating a confusion of historical facts: the temporal obfuscation would make the audience believe that the setting for the poem was equally the heyday of Sultan Mahmūd's time or that of Mas'ūd Sa'd's own. When he

---

Safī al-Dīn and Safavid Historical Writing,' in *Iranian Studies* 29 (1996), 127–47.

<sup>31</sup> *Dīvān*, 73.

<sup>32</sup> Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna*, 87–8. Sultan Mahmūd had once before fought with Jaypāl along with his father Sebuktegin, 36. There is not much information about the Hindūshāhī dynasty based in Waihind (near Peshawar); the scattered references from historical sources have been brought together by Nazim, 194–206.

<sup>33</sup> For a brief analysis and literal translation of this qasida, see Nazir Ahmad's article, 'A Reference to the Agra Fort in an 11th Century Persian Codex,' *Indo-Iranica* 41 (1988), 1–23. Ahmad believes that this second Jaypāl was the actual ruler of Agra at this time although no other source confirms this fact; a contemporary historian Ibn al-Athīr has a different name for the ruler, 23; in addition, it is not clear who actually conquered Agra or when, 21.

<sup>34</sup> Susan Bennett, *Performing Nostalgia: Shifting Shakespeare and the Contemporary Past* (London: Routledge, 1996), 8.

declares that he had witnessed the event, he is implying that ‘Unsurî had never been on a campaign; he himself (Mas‘ûd) is no mere effete poet but also a man of action. By including the *tazmîn* on ‘Unsurî’s line, he is equating himself with that great poet laureate and casting his relationship with his patron in the light of the relationship between Sultan Mahmûd and ‘Unsurî. This qasida is indicative of Mas‘ûd Sa‘d’s complex relationship to his first patron, who was a descendant of the great Sultan, and of his own ambition concerning their future together.<sup>35</sup> Underlying these sentiments is the sense of loss, of not being at Ghazna and—at another level—of not having been a poet during the heyday of the Ghaznavids. Paul Connerton writes about the ritualistic importance of such texts, ‘We preserve versions of the past by representing it to ourselves in words and images. Commemorative ceremonies are pre-eminent instances of this. They keep the past in mind by a depictive representation of past events’;<sup>36</sup> the recitation of such a panegyric poem would not only have suited the poet’s purposes but have instilled family pride in the heart of his patron. Mas‘ûd Sa‘d’s nostalgia was not random or pure flattery but a deliberate recreation and reinvention of the recent past using a description reminiscent of the epic mode. Nostalgia, in which Sultan Mahmûd and ‘Unsurî set the standards for the ideal patron-poet relationship, was one of the few resources available to this poet who lived too late in time.

Thus, the changes in the patronage system caused by the shrinking power and prestige of the Ghaznavids after their defeat that resulted in the loss of a literary and intellectual centre, allowed poets to respond to their alienation in a variety of interesting ways and by using different generic forms available to them that would set long-lasting precedents in the history of Persian literature. Besides ‘Unsurî, poets like Mas‘ûd Sa‘d looked to the writings of the exiled poet, Nâsir Khusraw, who had been spurned by society.

<sup>35</sup> For a discussion of the use of panegyrics by poets for political purposes and their ‘oblique’ meanings, see Julie S. Meisami, ‘Ghaznavid Panegyrics: Some Political Implications,’ *Iran* 28 (1990), 31–44.

<sup>36</sup> Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 72.

#### D. *Poets Complaining of Ghurbat*

Call me no more,  
As heretofore,  
The musick of a Feast;  
Since now (alas)  
The mirth, that was  
In me, is dead or ceast.  
Before I went  
To banishment  
Into the loathed West;  
I co’d rehearse  
A Lyrick verse,  
And speak it with the best.  
But time (Ai me)  
Has laid, I see  
My Organ fast asleep;  
And turn’d my voice  
Into the noise  
Of those that sit and weep.

—Robert Herrick, ‘Lachrimae in Mirth, turn’d  
to mourning,’ from *Hesperides* (1648)

*Ghurbat* (exile, alienation) is an emotionally charged word used by poets like Nâsir Khusraw and Sanâ’î to describe their conditions, the same word being used today by Iranians away from their homeland. The use of language and manipulation of their own situations by poets resembles the phenomenon of modern-day migrancy as described by Iain Chambers: ‘[It] involves a movement in which neither the points of departure nor those of arrival are immutable or certain. It calls for a dwelling in language, in histories, in identities that are constantly subject to mutation.’<sup>37</sup> Similarly, for the pre-modern poet, in the words of Giuseppe Mazzotta: ‘Exile . . . is not merely a perspective from which he acknowledges the storms brooding over history and nostalgically relives the pastoral order of the city. It is also the very

<sup>37</sup> Iain Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (London: Routledge, 1994), 5.

condition of the text, its most profound metaphor.<sup>38</sup> Since poets were frequently unsettled physically, they had nothing but their memories and their poetic craft to sustain them. In the individual poem, according to Julie Meisami, “nostalgia’ constitutes a poetic topos which, like any other, lends itself to manipulation. It is also a powerful rhetorical means used both to establish the poet’s persona and to set the scene for the remainder of the *qasîda*.<sup>39</sup>

Nâsir Khusraw was the earliest poet to live in exile whose poetry is extant. In fact, he wrote a substantial body of work that speaks of an exile’s profound frustration and alienation. He is said to have been an employee in the bureaucratic system of the Ghaznavids, and witnessed the passing of the ‘golden age.’ Khurasan then was not only the battleground for struggles between rulers but also between the factions of the rival Abbasid and Fatimid caliphates. There was a continuation of the Ghaznavid policy of persecution of the Ismailis who, backed by the Fatimids, were actively involved with clandestine propagation of their faith. All this added to the unstable condition of the age:

In an age of political and religious strife no doubt a certain number of philosophers and men of noble spirit were charged with intellectual treason and put to death or tortured; Nâsir’s bitter complaints about the ill quality of the age should be read in this grim light.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Dante, *Poet of the Desert: History and Allegory in the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 145.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Places in the Past: The Poetics/Politics of Nostalgia,’ *Edebiyat* 8 (1998), 90.

<sup>40</sup> Peter Lamborn Wilson and Gholam Reza Aavani, *Nâsir-i Khusraw: Forty Poems from the Divan* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977), 2. In any case, he is more often viewed and studied exclusively as an Ismaili poet, and important literary aspects of his work such as style and influence have been virtually ignored. Exceptions are Ghulâmusayn Yûsufî’s ‘Az tab’îdgâh,’ in *Chashmah-yi rawshan* (Tehran: ‘Ilmî, 1994), 75–90, a rare study that concentrates on Nâsir Khusraw as a poet in exile rather than as a religious propagandist; see also his ‘Nâsir Khusraw, muntaqidî ijtimâ’î,’ in *Yâdnâmab-yi Nâsir Khusraw* (Mashhad: Dânishgâh-i Firdawsî, 2535/1976), 619–40, and in the same volume, Gîtî Fallâh Râstgâr, ‘Azâdandîshî dar shî’r-i Nâsir Khusraw,’ 423–36; also see Valîullâh Zafarî, *Habsiyah dar adab-i Fârsî az âghâz-i shî’r-i Fârsî tâ pâyan-i Zandiyah* (Tehran: Amîr Kabîr, 1364/1985), 108–12, 264–7; Reuben Levy, *An*

After his eventful visit to Fatimid Cairo and supposed conversion to Ismailism, he returned to Balkh in 1052 and began to preach actively in Khurasan. Escaping the threatening atmosphere there, he fled to and spent the second half of his life in Yumgan, in the remote region of Badakhshan. From there he wrote poems for the Shiite imams, the Fatimids, and for the Amir of Badakhshan, whose identity has remained unknown;<sup>41</sup> he often addressed the people of Khurasan, in tones of anger and loneliness, lamenting his treatment at the hands of his countrymen. In the following section from a *qasida* he recalls his past life:

O omnipotent Lord! I complain to you,  
of the people of Khurasan, great and small.  
What did I do that my kinsmen and strangers  
all, in a panic, have fled from me? . . .  
I am that same Nâsir of whom  
no assembly of nobles and no vazir’s seat of honour was empty;  
In respect, no one called me by name,  
My sobriquets were ‘Man of Letters’ and ‘Scholar’.  
I was literature’s strong arm,  
through me the eye of authorship was bright.<sup>42</sup>

Nâsir Khusraw lays the blame for his tragic state on the entire province of Khurasan, whose inhabitants have failed to accord him the honour and respect that is his due. He employs spatial contrasts to emphasize his position of isolation: the entire populace of the large province of Khurasan has forsaken him now;<sup>43</sup> formerly he was a part of the assemblies of the nobles, which were tightly-knit, exclusive spaces. The word

*Introduction to Persian Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 135–46.

<sup>41</sup> Jalâl Matîni, ‘Nâsir Khusraw va madîhahsarâ’î,’ *Yâdnâmab-yi Nâsir Khusraw*, 473, shows that the poet did not give up writing panegyrics but turned away from his previous audience among the nobles of Khurasan.

<sup>42</sup> *Dîvân-i Nâsir Khusraw*, ed. Hasan Taqîzâdah (Tehran: Nigâh, 1373/1994), 238.

<sup>43</sup> See Gîtî Fallâh Râstgâr, ‘Azâdandîshî,’ 427–9, for a full picture of Nâsir Khusraw’s allusion to Khurasan and the state it was in; also discussed by Yûsufî, ‘Az tab’îdgâh,’ 80–3; and Julie Meisami, ‘Places in the Past,’ 84–7.

*khâli* (empty), describing the assemblies without the poet's presence, is frequently employed by exiled poets of this period to conjure the state of the social and intellectual life in their hometowns without them. Khurasan has changed for the worse not just because of political and religious crises but because of his banishment:

The land of Khurasan which was the abode of literature  
has now become a mine of ignoble devils.  
Balkh was the home of wisdom and now  
Its home is desolate and its fortune reversed.<sup>44</sup>

This is due to the fact that he was the support of literature (*adab*) itself, which is not powerful (*qavî*) anymore because of his absence.

Although the poet's larger purpose in criticizing society is to rouse the masses into becoming true believers,<sup>45</sup> he is also interested in making his situation known to as many people as possible. His poetry is tinged with religious and didactic overtones at one level, and at another level it is the protest of an individual exiled from his homeland. Payman Vahabzade's category of 'exile poetry', which he contrasts with 'emigration poetry' and 'the poetry of immigrants,' is a useful one here; he says, 'One of the most interesting facets of exile poetry lies in the fact that its underlying ideas are always *oppositional*.'<sup>46</sup> Nâsir

<sup>44</sup> *Dîvân*, 157.

<sup>45</sup> For the didactic aspects of Nâsir Khusraw's poetry, see Yûsufî, 'Nâsir Khusraw, muntaqidî ijtimâ'î,' 631–5; and his 'Az tab'idgâh,' 79, for the mixture of generic conventions in his poems. Nâsir Khusraw's intended audience for his taunting and vituperative attacks on the people of Khurasan and pathetic addresses to the land, can perhaps be better explained by Alexander Dalzell's remark on the purpose of didactic poetry, in which the poet speaks 'over the head of the formal addressee to a wider audience, whose identity has to be reconstructed from the text of the poem,' *The Criticism of Didactic Poetry: Essays on Lucretius, Virgil, and Ovid* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 27. The question of Nâsir Khusraw's audience is indeed a complicated one. His poems appear to be texts 'which parade themselves as oppositional and independent of patronage,' M.D. Jardine, "New Historicism for Old: New Conservatism for Old?: The Politics of Patronage in the Renaissance," in *Patronage, Politics and Literary Traditions in England*, ed. Cedric Brown (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 308.

<sup>46</sup> 'Space Identity, and Bilingual Poetry: Rethinking Iranian 'Emigration Poetry',' in *The Literary Review* 40 (1996), 43. The author adds that conflict with

Khusraw was opposed to the literary and religious establishment, which he saw infused with ignorance and stupidity, and by his careful use of imagery he depicts himself as taking up the whole of this society by himself.

Nâsir Khusraw is not always so scathing in addressing his homeland; at times he reveals a gentler aspect of his nature when he writes about the land that has rejected him:

O Wind! Greet Khurasan for me:  
the learned and wise, not the ignorant rabble.  
Bring me news of them when you have given them  
accurate news regarding my condition.  
Tell them that the world has bent my cypress,  
This is the deceitful doing of the world.  
Beware that its pact and agreement does not deceive you,  
For it does not abide by any pact or agreement . . .  
Don't you see, in the hands of riff-raff, like an ass-mill,  
how much Khurasan has gone through?  
Why are you deceived by the Turkish rule?  
Remember the majesty and glory of Mahmûd of Zavulistan.<sup>47</sup>

The apostrophe to the breeze or wind was often employed by poets writing in this vein; using the breeze as the *qâsid* (messenger) to the poet's distant homeland<sup>48</sup> allowed them to emphasize their loneliness

the current Iranian government is a form of exile poetry, and a successor of the poetry of protest of the '60s and '70s. The whole issue of this journal entitled 'Exiles and Explorers' illustrates the nature of modern-day exile literature in Persian and is of interest for comparing the human side of experiences of alienation a thousand years apart.

<sup>47</sup> *Dîvân*, 58. See also the beginning of Q237 for the same use of wind as *qâsid*.

<sup>48</sup> The use of the breeze *al-sabâ* in the Arabic qasida is discussed in Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd: The Poetics of Nostalgia in the Classical Arabic Nasib* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 123–34. This device would become quite common in Persian lyric poetry, and poets do not always specify the kind of breeze or wind. In a variation on the breeze as messenger, Mas'ûd Sa'd substitutes the rain cloud, as in this qasida to Khâjah Maymandî: 'Take care! when you pass Ghazna/strew pearls over that land./I give you a message: tell them/of this despondent and homesick one' (Q286). This substitution may have its source in

at there not being a messenger at hand, and at the same time to avoid addressing anybody in particular. In this poem, he has entirely reversed his technique: the people of Khurasan are actually quite innocent of any negligence; the blame for his misfortunes is laid at the door of the heavenly powers. His own experience should be a lesson to them of the cruel workings of fate. The reference to Sultan Mahmūd (who was a Turk too) is particularly effective here given his image in society.

At other times, he personifies *ghurbat* as in the following poem:

The scorpion of exile has afflicted my heart,  
it seems that it found no one else but lowly me on this earth.  
When I regard my condition closely,  
bile rises to my head out of grief.  
I ask why did the high, ignorant, unjust heavens make me  
the target of fate's arrow.  
If a man's importance lies in perfection and virtue,  
Then why did it so humiliate insignificant me?<sup>49</sup>

This device too allows the poet to air his grievances without pointing fingers at specific individuals. Although Mas'ūd Sa'd does not use the word *ghurbat*, Sanâ'i (d. 1131) does in the expression *dîv-i ghurbat* (demon of exile) while conjuring up the horrors of being exiled. This word also allows Nâsir Khusraw to engage in skilful alliteration and wordplay:

O exile! The water of exile robbed you of your youth,  
from the sorrow of exile the raven flies over your head.  
The dust of exile cannot be washed from the eyes of an exile,  
even if you wash yourself daily with rose water.<sup>50</sup>

his Indian environment. For purposes of comparative poetics, see the fifth century Sanskrit poet Kâlidâsa's poem *Meghadûta* (The Cloud Messenger) where an exile asks a cloud to carry a message to his wife, *The Cloud Messenger*, tr. Franklin and Eleanor Egerton (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968). Khâqânî uses the sun as messenger in his *Tuhfat al-'Irâqayn*, see A.L.F.A. Beelaert's excellent discussion of this topos in *A Cure for the Grieving: Studies on the Poetry of the 12th-Century Persian Poet Khâqânî Širwânî* (Leiden, 1996), 36–50.

<sup>49</sup> *Dîvân*, 56.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

The raven (*ghurâb al-bayn*), an inauspicious bird, is particularly connected with exile in classical Arabic poetry, and comes from the same lexical root as exile. In another poem, Nâsir Khusraw describes exile as his sole companion, but one who is his enemy:

O God! What does 'exile' want from me?  
For day and night it has attached itself to me.  
Exile has struck up a friendship with me,  
it has made me an enemy of friendship.  
Anyone who fled from an enemy saved himself,  
but to flee from this enemy is not salvation.  
Exile is a taxing enemy, since it wants nothing  
from you but your country, city and home . . .  
You have not experienced what I did in exile,  
under its pestle, the mortar has made me into collyrium.  
Exile is the mortar of men of learning,  
from the man of learning, learning itself is oil.<sup>51</sup>

Depicting the mentally debilitating effects of life in exile, particularly the separation from one's homeland, he nevertheless says that exile is a necessary experience for sifting out learned people from the ignorant. All the ramifications of Sanâ'i's experience of exile can be better understood in the light of Nâsir Khusraw's experience since both used their poetry for religious propaganda, although their lives ended in very different circumstances.<sup>52</sup> The *Kârnâmah-yi Balkh*,<sup>53</sup> a *masnavî* that

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 407.

<sup>52</sup> De Bruijn notes the need for a comparative study of Nâsir Khusraw and Sanâ'i's poetry but regrets that such a study 'can only be envisaged when the philological investigation of the works of both poets has proceeded much further than at the present stage,' 185. This is no reason to exclude him from the present study where his description and protest of his state, rather than his religious poetry, is the object of study. See also Clinton who states that Nâsir Khusraw's 'anti-court' *qasidas* 'found few imitators in the centuries immediately after his death', *EP*, 'Madih, Madh, 2. In Persian.'

<sup>53</sup> See De Bruijn for a detailed analysis of the contents of this work and a piecing together of the social history of Ghazna at that time, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 39–56, 194–6. This scholar interprets Sanâ'i's departure from Ghazna as a 'symptom of the long-term development in Sanâ'i's career, namely the change from the profane

Sanâ'î wrote just after he mysteriously left Ghazna for Balkh sometime between 1109 and 1114, is a unique combination of satire and *hasb-i hâl*, and marks a new stage in his new career as preacher. From his new abode in Balkh he asks the familiar messenger, the wind, to take a message for him to Ghazna:

O fortunate painter without a brush,  
Free messenger without a letter,  
For better or for worse, destiny  
has made you the courier  
If you wish to go on a heavenly journey,  
The earth of Ghazna is better for you than a crown.  
Go from Balkh to Ghazna,  
That in itself will guide you to lofty places.  
The earth of Ghazna is the loftiest sphere,  
Heaven and Ghazna are equal in form.<sup>54</sup>

Sanâ'î paints a positive picture of Ghazna in the opening lines but extends it to the physical city itself, not to the people. Continuing with this metaphor, most of the poem is taken up by a description of the Ghaznavid sultan, princes, officials, the military body, clergy, scholars, poets, ending with a personal account of his arduous journey from Ghazna to Balkh and a panegyric on his new patron. Few personages are spared the poet's biting invective, and the poet has shown that at each level of society (except the sultan) there is corruption, ineptitude and ignorance. There is nothing there to keep him, except emotional ties to his homeland. Sanâ'î instructs the wind to bear news about himself:

Give my greetings to high and low,  
one by one, when you reach there . . .

to the religious use of poetry,' 58. Frank Lewis's interpretation, that it was Sanâ'î's failure to penetrate the upper echelons of the Ghaznavid courtly circles that led him to concentrate on a new section of society as his audience, *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, 125, much better explains his ambiguous relationship towards his hometown.

<sup>54</sup> *Masnavihâ-yi Hakim Sanâ'î*, ed. M. Mudarris-Razavî (Tehran: Dânishgâh-i Tihân, 1348/1969), 142–3.

[Tell them:] Don't go far from the city gates,  
lest you become emasculated like me.  
A man is powerful in his own city,  
the pupil is good in the centre of the eye . . .  
Dust is pleasing when it is still,  
when it rises, it is a calamity for the eye  
One cannot find a new fortune in every city,  
the Provider in every country is the same.  
Consider travelling and home to be nonsense,  
Only God's grace knows the outcome of affairs.<sup>55</sup>

Sanâ'î didactic purpose is evident, although he did not follow his own advice. He has an ambivalent attitude towards his hometown: he is able to roundly criticize many aspects of its society, yet he is concerned about his image in its inhabitants' eyes, revealing an attitude mixed with homesickness and bitterness. Seeing himself as the victim of the demon of exile (*dîv-i ghurbat*), he is essentially accusing his city of birth of not appreciating his true worth.

There are echoes of resentment against the city of Ghazna in Mas'ûd Sa'd's contemporary, Mukhtârî, who was at the Ghaznavid court but for a time also wandered from court to court in search of patronage. He wrote a qasida in honour of Mas'ûd Sa'd in which he speaks from an insider's point of view:

The arena has become small for poets,  
every poet has been jostled from his place.  
Every temperament that had control over magic,  
is stunned in frustration, as if bewitched.<sup>56</sup>

After praising the qualities of his senior colleague, he turns to the role of Ghazna in this situation:

I am aware that you [Mas'ûd Sa'd] have experienced  
much from the people of Ghazna.  
Of the gems and silk of words and meaning,  
all praise is entirely unadorned and naked,

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 172–3.

<sup>56</sup> *Dîvân-i Hakim Mukhtârî Ghaznavî*, ed. R. Humâyûn Farrukh (Tehran: Ilmî, 1336/1957), 304.



since they see the pained hearts of poets,  
but do not see the way to cure them.<sup>57</sup>

Without the poets as adornment, the city is unclothed and in a shameful state. The blame lies with the people who have allowed this to happen to their city. He goes on to describe his own condition:

Why should I not compose my poetry?  
I, who am an ignorant rhymster and a hack.  
    Isolated in the middle of the city,  
    I am more lonely than in the desert.  
Of my shirt, robe, and skirt,  
they have made a collar, chains, and prison.

In contrast to the others, Mukhtârî is alone right in the middle of the city, immured in his own clothes. He is consciously placing his own negative experiences in the context of the ignominy that Mas'ûd Sa'd had to tolerate at the hands of the unappreciative people of Ghazna. Displacement from the central locus of their lives, whether home or the milieu of poetic production, empowered Nâsir Khusraw, Sanâ'î, and Mukhtârî to speak about their feelings and experiences drawing on traditions and tropes that were familiar to them, at the same time creating new contexts for the literature of exile.<sup>58</sup> Mukhtârî seems to be speaking for all poets when he says that he will keep composing his poetry no matter what adversities he faces.

#### E. Mas'ûd Sa'd between Ghazna and Lahore

Even nostalgia is relative given the vicissitudes of time and space: when Mas'ûd Sa'd was in Lahore he longed to be in Ghazna, but when he found himself in an even more provincial town, Lahore did not appear

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 308.

<sup>58</sup> The Arabic precedents for '[t]he topos of 'longing for the homeland', are found in the Bedouin milieu,' Gustav E. von Grunebaum's 'Aspects of Arabic Urban Literature Mostly in Ninth and Tenth Centuries,' *Islamic Studies* (1969), 296. See Jaroslav Stetkevych, *Zephyrs of Najd*, 180–201, for the poetics of nostalgia in the Arabic *nasīb*; also see Julie Meisami's insightful response to this book, 'Places in the Past,' 63–106. In the Persian qasida it is the exceptional poet who

so unappealing. During his short stint as the governor of Jallandar, East Panjab, he wrote a *masnavî*, which is a valuable document in its description of an intimate courtly gathering, with its proper hierarchy, in Lahore. Sanâ'î was probably influenced by this work when he wrote his *Kârnâmah-yi Balkh*, though apart from the structural features of *shahrâshûb* that they share,<sup>59</sup> the works are quite different in their purport. In this work Mas'ûd expresses his frank longing for his hometown, Lahore, although he was not banished or in disgrace at this time. The poem is a panegyric in the form of a list of the attendants at a typical assembly of his patron 'Azud al-Dawlah Shîrzâd ibn Mas'ûd ibn Ibrâhîm (viceroy in India, 1099–1114/15), describing the qualities of each and poking gentle fun at some of them, but not reviling them like Sanâ'î. He assigns himself the appropriate place in this hierarchy, coming after the nobles, secretary and physician, but before the performers (musicians, singers, and dancer).<sup>60</sup> About himself he says:

I, Mas'ud-i Sa'd-i Salmân,  
am more lowly than the companions.  
    Without cause the king favoured me  
    and raised me over all the slaves . . .

utilizes the abandoned campsite theme. There is not a single instance in Mas'ûd Sa'd's *divân* of such 'Arabic' qasidas as found in the works of Manûchihri and Mu'izzî. The theme of the journey was a popular one and was used in a special way by Mas'ûd Sa'd as described below. For the Arabic-type qasida in Persian, see Julie S. Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 56–60. For a detailed analysis of the uniquely Arabic genre and subgenres of nostalgia and longing, *hînan ilâ l-awtân*, see Wadad Kadi's article, 'Expressions of Alienation in Early Arabic Literature,' in *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature: Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth (Beirut: F. Steiner, 1999). Relevant to the cases of Nâsir Khusraw and Sanâ'î is her comment, 'the factor that leads one to depart from home is escaping ignominy and debasement at home and seeking dignity and honour abroad,' 13.

<sup>59</sup> For this *masnavî* as an example of the genre of *shahrâshûb*, see the discussion in chapter four.

<sup>60</sup> His placement is reminiscent of Nizâmî 'Arûzî's recommendation of four figures in a prince's entourage: secretary (*dabîr*), physician (*tabîb*), poet (*shâ'ir*), and astrologer (*munajjim*). The last is missing in Mas'ûd Sa'd's assembly.

Now that I have left for Jallandar,  
 When may I come again to the city,  
 So that my sorrows are lessened and  
 I again witness the king's exalted assembly?<sup>61</sup>

The admixture of self-deprecation and wistfulness hints that he was not suffering terribly in his short absence from Lahore; social prospects probably appeared bleak there and he recalls the opulent and lively entertainment at the Lahore court. At the end of the *masnavî* Mas'ûd Sa'd again praises the prince and emphasizes the proper position of the poet in such assemblies:

Indeed, that poet is audacious  
 who composes lengthy verses.  
 Since fate has kept me far away  
 from that paradisaical assembly,  
 I have no other choice but  
 to uplift my spirits in this manner.<sup>62</sup>

Out of nostalgia, he has recreated in verse a typical gathering, which he compares to paradise, and by emphasizing his own place in it he legitimizes his position as a court poet. Exaggerating his isolation, he declares that writing poetry is the only occupation available to him,<sup>63</sup> a point he would frequently make in his prison poetry, as when he boasts:

No place is devoid of my name,  
 Whether it be city or desert. (Q36)

<sup>61</sup> *Divân*, 801–2.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 817.

<sup>63</sup> The same rhetorical device was used by the Roman poet Ovid who was exiled by the Emperor Augustus around 8 CE: 'There is also a more defiant, aggressive strategy in the poetics of exile, in which Ovid asserts that it was his talent which enabled him to endure the rigors of exile,' Betty Rose Nagle, *The Poetics of Exile: Program and Polemic in the Tristia and Epistulae ex Ponto of Ovid* (Brussels: Latomus, 1980), 173. Such an assertion on the part of the exiled poet serves to increase his merit in the eyes of his audience. Gareth D. Williams also writes about Ovid's manipulation of his situation, 'But while Ovid's objective might seem to the credulous reader, whether ancient or modern, to be the simple expression of sincere

Being away from the centre of poetic activity caused an anxiety in the poet; but he implies that even in the desert, away from the court milieu, his poetry is appreciated. He uses the same spatial imagery (city/desert; *khâlî*) that Nâsir Khusraw had employed before him to contrast his present situation with the past and exaggerate his loneliness.

Mas'ûd Sa'd had the distinguished honour of being a court poet right from the start of his career, a position that Nâsir Khusraw did not have and one that Sanâ'î strove for but did not achieve until the end of his life. In the early stages of Mas'ûd Sa'd's professional career, being a boon companion in the entourage of Prince Mahmûd in Lahore was everything that a provincial poet could aspire to be. However, for an ambitious person, being a poet in the provinces was not equal to the honour of residing and working at the central court in Ghazna, and he repeatedly boasts of his superiority over the poets at the Ghazna court. Lahore, especially since it was outside the territory of greater Persia, was no more than a training ground for an ambitious poet; besides, as the boon companion of the crown prince, Mas'ûd Sa'd must certainly have indulged in hopes of following his young patron to the capital when he became king one day. The frequent references to Ghazna in Mas'ûd's poems of the early period speak of the fascination that the capital city held over him, and the scanty biographical information suggests that a rift had occurred with his first patron, Prince Mahmûd, over his ambitions to move to the capital.

A favourite motif that Mas'ûd Sa'd employs in his panegyrics for Prince Mahmûd is the erotic *nasib*, in which the reaction of the poet's beloved to his decision to leave India and go on a trip is described in the following vein:

When (s)he saw my travelling plans were fixed,  
 the edges of his/her mouth became moist with weeping.

grief and hardship, the more sophisticated reader will find a different Ovid—an exile who creates an 'unreal' picture of his circumstances in exile by manipulating his 'facts' to creative advantage. This Ovid is no different to the pre-exilic poet who displayed his powers of artistic invention and capability at every turn; and within the exilic shadow of the creative artist that he once was,' *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 49.

Continually crying and saying, Don't break our pact,  
 don't hurt me and hasten on your trip.  
 Where can you go from Mahmûd's command  
 for he is the companion of the fortune bestower.  
 Will you abandon the court of the prince of the world?  
 Do you seek separation from the nobles and friends?  
 I answered saying, It is not the time to tarry.  
 This is advisable for my career—and yet it was not advisable—  
 What work do I have in the land of India?  
 For the King of the world is feverish for me. (Q17)

He then undertakes the customary perilous journey and arrives in the presence of his patron Prince Mahmûd, whom he assures he could never conceive of leaving. The pact between lover and beloved here is analogous to the one between patron and poet, but he dares to break it by suggesting that the sultan himself is anxious to have him at the court at Ghazna. However, when he arrives at the court it is not the sultan who is there but his patron, the prince. The erotic *nasīb*, with the dialectic interaction between the beloved and poet, offers the poet a suitable medium for negotiating his own relationship to his patron. Julie Meisami has suggested that '[t]he love situation evokes unspoken parallels on the level of courtly conduct, while implicitly subjecting this conduct to examination and criticism; it also provides a means of alluding to the poet's specific circumstances in an effective but veiled manner.'<sup>64</sup> The poet seems to be suggesting to the patron that both their careers could be furthered at the capital, and that when the prince becomes sultan he should not forget his poet.

In another qasida to Prince Mahmûd when he is in Barsapur<sup>65</sup> in India, he addresses his beloved in Lahore:

When I think of Lahore and my beloved—  
 nobody [ever] detested their city and beloved.

<sup>64</sup> *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 74. For an analysis of this motif being used to a different end by Anvarî, 72–6.

<sup>65</sup> I have been unable to identify this place; the alternate reading in the Yâsimî edition is Nishâpûr, which cannot be correct given the historical circumstances of the poet's life.

In any case, the glory of Ghazna  
 is better for me than Lahore.  
 Indeed, for me better than union with that beauty  
 is the presence of the court of the victorious king. (Q147)

Here the poet is stating his position in clear terms to his patron. Behind his assertion that Lahore is not good enough for him anymore is the reality that he has his sights set on Ghazna. In a different twist to this motif, in Q42, it is the beloved who is going to Ghazna with the poet persuading the beloved to take him along. Interestingly enough there is no *mamdûh* mentioned in this short qasida; but the erotic *nasīb* and the journey motif such as is only found in his early qasidas indicate that the poem may have been written for Prince Mahmûd.<sup>66</sup> Separation from his patron is an issue that the poet tries to deal with and rationalize in these preludes, with the prospects in Ghazna always looking more attractive.

After his affiliation with Prince Mahmûd came to an end, Mas'ûd Sa'd sought to dispossess himself of any professional associations with India and the Lahore court. In a poem in which he goes over the whole affair that led him to prison, he confesses:

I was afraid and turned my back on my homeland,  
 saying to myself, It's [just] me and my ill luck.  
 I harboured many hopes,  
 Alas! so many hopes. (Q189)

In another prison qasida (Q228) addressed to Muhammad Bihrûz, a vizier at the Ghazna court, he says that he so much desires to be in his patron's presence and be in his service that he no longer desires to see India. This idea is repeated in another long panegyric addressed to Siqat al-Mulk, who helped him procure his release from prison:

By God, if an atom of desire for India  
 has remained in my heart!

<sup>66</sup> Farrukhî in his erotic *nasibs* also frequently uses this motif: the poet's beloved is sad because he is leaving Ghazna, *Divân*, 386; or the poet is leaving for Ghazna, 295.

After all, what have I to do with Lahore,  
amongst that race of hapless ones? (Q236)

The road between Lahore and Ghazna, fraught with the obstacles and dangers that are the stock ingredients of the perilous journey of the *nasīb*, became a symbolic path for Mas'ūd Sa'd that would lead him to salvation and success. He describes this metaphoric road in vivid terms in a qasida addressed to a boon companion of Sultan Ibrāhīm, Abū al-Rushd Rashīd:

I have traversed a path from whose depths and desolation  
the accursed devil continually reaches from hell.  
Rarely could prey escape its narrow thicket,  
hardly could a royal falcon perch on its heights.  
God is my witness that my absence from your service  
only made me dejected and depressed.  
Having taken up the reins of fortune,  
desire for your assembly drew me to Ghazna. (Q260)

In a veiled allusion to the circumstances surrounding his falling-out with Prince Mahmūd, he suggests that the only way open to him was to take the dangerous road to Ghazna. Caught between the two worlds, he says in despair at one point:

Sometimes I am wounded by the calamity of Lahore;  
Sometimes I am chained by the calumny of Khurasan. (Q204)

The poet's early career was dominated by this vacillation; the two geographical entities pulled him in different directions. Ultimately, these lines from a qasida written from his days in Jallandar betrays Mas'ūd Sa'd's ambivalent attitude:

The useless world is a filthy ass,  
the relentless heaven is a rabid dog.  
The land of Jallandar is my pasture,  
the snake and my goat are in a dangerous pit . . .  
I wish that every year  
I might be in two desired places,  
that for two seasons in these two glorious cities,  
my absence be changed to presence.

For dearer to me than rose water and ambergris  
are the water of Ghazna and the dust of Lahore. (Q150)

Lahore still has the dominant emotional hold on him and Ghazna continues to have its appeal. All that is known of the outcome of this struggle in the poet's mind is that he did not make it to Ghazna at this time but ended up in prison twice, and his first patron, Prince Mahmūd, disappeared from the annals of history. Lahore was not mentioned again after his days of prison and exile were behind him and he was a court poet in Ghazna.

One of the most poignant poems in the entire *divān* of Mas'ūd Sa'd is Q280, written from prison as an apostrophe to his hometown Lahore, rather than the capital Ghazna:

O Lahore! How do you fare without me?  
How are you illuminated without your bright sun?  
The garden of my poetic talent adorned you—  
how do you fare without tulips, violets and lilies?  
Suddenly your dear child was separated from you:  
how do you fare in your mourning and lamentation for him?  
There are two chains heavy as a body on my feet,  
having become lifeless how are you without a body?  
There is no message from me and and you don't say in good faith,  
'Trapped like Bīzhan<sup>67</sup> in a fortress, how are you?'

The rest of the poem has the city addressing the poet, expressing the concern and nostalgia that the latter feels for the former. In its melancholy state, Lahore is portrayed as a city bereft of such positive elements as the sun, flowers and the poet himself. By asking a series of rhetorical questions the poet is expressing a feigned disbelief at how the city could even operate without him. Should not the whole network of civilization have broken down without his presence? A city without a garden, and in this case Mas'ūd Sa'd's garden of poetic talent (*bāgh-i tab'-i nazm*), is in ruins (*vīrān*, as he calls it later in the poem). The apostrophe to one's hometown immediately calls to mind one of the

<sup>67</sup> Bīzhan is a young hero in the *Shāhnāmāh* who was trapped in a pit by the evil King Afrāsīyāb.

best-known poems in the history of Persian literature, Rûdaki's paean to Bukhara that was written to rouse feelings of nostalgia in his patron, Amîr Nasr II (r. 913–42), when they had been away from home for an extended period of time:

The fragrance of the Muliyan stream  
 makes one remember the dear beloved.  
 O Bukhara! Rejoice and live long,  
 the prince is joyfully coming to you.  
 The prince is a moon and Bukhara the sky,  
 the moon is coming to the sky.  
 The prince is a cypress and Bukhara a garden,  
 the cypress is coming to the garden.<sup>68</sup>

Bukhara is addressed in terms of a beloved, albeit in happier tones than Lahore is by her poet since the lover is returning to his beloved. Actually, it was Nâsir Khusraw who had preceded Mas'ûd Sa'd in making such apostrophes a part of exile poetry, as when he addresses Khurasan:

Who can ask Khurasan for this lowly, depressed exile,  
 'How are you without me?'  
 The same as I saw at *nawrûz*?  
 Send news if you are the same.<sup>69</sup>

The rhetorical question again implies that the city must be devastated by the poet's absence, but behind it is a sincere emotion. In a *rubâ'î* addressed to God, Mas'ûd Sa'd longs only for his beloved hometown in pathetic tones:

O Lord! Do you know I am in heavy chains?  
 O Lord! Do you know that I am weak and helpless?  
 O Lord! My soul has departed in sorrow for Lahore:  
 O Lord! I long for it! O Lord! (R20)

<sup>68</sup> This poem survives as the occasion of an anecdote in the work of Nizâmî 'Arûzî, *Chahâr maqâlah*, 49–54. The version given here is the popular one established through usage and memory. For the alternate, perhaps more accurate reading, see *Divân-i Rûdaki* (Tehran: Nâhîd, 1374/1995), ed. J. Mansûr, 157.

<sup>69</sup> *Divân*, 371.

In another prison poem, it is Lahore that understands his suffering and pain, not the people of the city:

I hope when I see you  
 to sprinkle these pearls on your face . . .  
 I know you hold my poetry dear,  
 you consider them precious, I know.  
 You know what sorts of suffering I endure  
 to get my verse and prose to you.<sup>70</sup> (Q201)

The personification of Lahore as a beloved suggests that no human is willing to understand his plight. This is a deliberate rhetorical device because the people, especially the patrons, cannot be separated from the city; Mas'ûd Sa'd's cry to Lahore may be a device to help him procure a pardon, but like Nâsir Khusraw before him, and Sanâ'î after him, Mas'ûd Sa'd positions himself in a relationship with his homeland that is depicted as beneficial to both sides: the places that have rejected them now possess a literary vacuum as a result of their absence, but at the same time the poets' outpourings of grief and resentment show how much they long for the lost spaces. In Mas'ûd Sa'd's case, there is a dual sense of loss: being situated in provincial Lahore whereas the great poets are in Ghazna, and at times even longing for Lahore when faced with a worse situation. The common factor in the experience of these three major poets of that period is the fact that their nostalgia for lost spaces is not so much a generic legacy as happens in the Arabic qasida (although there is some exploitation of the conventions of that form), but a reality for the poets. The poets' memories of the cultural milieus they functioned in, even when they are compared to

<sup>70</sup> Compare these lines from a poem by Ovid:

From the Black Sea, I, Ovid's letter, reach you,  
 Tired by the road, tired as I crossed the brine.  
 Weeping he said, 'See, as *you* can, Rome's city;  
 Alas, much happier your lot than mine!'

*Ovid: Sorrows of an Exile: Tristia*, tr. A.D. Melville (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 97. In order to evoke sympathy, both poets hint at the remoteness of their locations.

the Arcadian Ghazna of Sultan Mahmûd, are a response to the actual socio-economic circumstances of urban life in which they practiced their craft. The poetry of Nâsir Khusraw and Sanâ'î, notwithstanding its religious dimensions, is channelled into voices protesting the establishment that is responsible for the political, social, economic and spiritual ruin of their times. In the case of Mas'ûd Sa'd, the protest is from the inside: his is the personal voice of an aggrieved member of the establishment itself. Although exclusively a poet of panegyrics, sometimes while in prison his sorrow makes him take on a Nâsir Khusrawesque tone of utter contempt for society; it is questionable whether Mas'ûd Sa'd was aware of Nâsir Khusraw's poetry, despite the point of similarities in their poetics of exile.<sup>71</sup> In the following poem, Mas'ûd Sa'd envisions a city that is doomed:

I see a people lost on their paths,  
 in their ignorance the times [are] upon them like a dark night.  
     Indeed, they perceive a path [of salvation] in my poetry,  
     but in the light of stars they only see the path's darkness.  
 I see a people in the sleep of ignorance:  
 useless to themselves and to knowledge.  
     Asleep like the scorpion, busy in their corners,  
     they have equally absurd thoughts . . .  
 I see a city without wisdom or intelligence,  
 rearing its head with the turban of arrogance. (Q90)

This gloomy picture is not intended to be just Lahore or Ghazna but the whole world in which the poets functioned. Even people who feign sympathy and generosity are not to be trusted:

What do I want from the people of this age, since they all  
 resemble [jaded] mares in their natures and temperaments.  
     Beware! Don't be deceived by their pity,  
     look well for they are all petty and numerous.  
 Don't seek warmth from them even if they are all suns,  
 don't seek gems from them even if they are all mines. (Q76)

<sup>71</sup> The two Iranian scholars, Muhammad Rizâ Shafî'-Kadkanî and Mahdî Nûrîyân, in private discussions with the author have expressed doubt that

When flattery and pathos did not work, there was no recourse for the poet but to take on this ominous view of a society which is so steeped in a morass of ignorance that it does not appreciate the poet's worth, a point that poets of this period repeatedly made.

---

Mas'ûd Sa'd would have been familiar with Nâsir Khusraw's works. It is possible that given similar personal circumstances poets can independently react in similar ways. Comparative work between Nâsir Khusraw and Sanâ'î will shed light on this problem, since Mas'ûd Sa'd would have been an intermediary between the two poets.



### Chapter Three

## Practicing Poetry in Prison

Much of the influential literature of Judeo-Christian civilization was composed under conditions of incarceration or involuntary exile. Indeed, the Bible itself is a product of both prison and exile, and the Platonic dialogues, notably the *Crito*, the *Apology* and the *Phaedo* are centred around the trial, imprisonment and execution of Socrates . . . But it would be simplistic merely to classify the writing that owes something to imprisonment, centrality of prison writing as a part of our literature, philosophy and anthropology. Such a system of classification would not help much in telling us how it is important or in what ways it might be read.<sup>1</sup>

#### A. The Genre of Prison Poetry (Habsîyât)

The first reference to Mas'ûd Sa'd's body of prison poetry as the distinct category of *habsîyât* is found in the twelfth century. Nizâmî 'Arûzî, in the section on poets in his *Chahâr maqâlah*, while describing the circumstances in which Mas'ûd Sa'd's poems were written, says, 'Discerning people know what degree the *habsîyât* of Mas'ûd have reached in loftiness and what rank they have in eloquence.'<sup>2</sup> What precisely does Nizâmî 'Arûzî mean by this term? If he uses it to designate

a genre, how were generic categories conceptualized at that time? The use of thematic designations for poems (*khamrîyât*, *zuhdîyât*, etc.) was a common classification device in classical Arabic literature, although it was less frequently used in Persian, but this reflects the problem of how such categories changed over time without being reflected in the manuscripts of *divâns*. In Mas'ûd Sa'd's *divân*, the *habsîyât* take the pride of place, and for modern readers at least, they are distinct enough from the rest of his work to merit being classed in a single genre.

The problem of sorting out the complicated schemata that have been proposed for various terms for genres and fixed forms in pre-modern Persian poetry is compounded by the looseness of English terms themselves.<sup>3</sup> For my purposes, I follow Tzvetan Todorov's explanation of the function of genres which is particularly appropriate for studying the *habsîyât*: 'Genres communicate indirectly with the society where they are operative through their institutionalization . . . Genres are the meeting place between general poetics and event-based literary history.'<sup>4</sup> Of course, this is not necessarily how traditional Persian literary critics classified poetry; for them, the poem was defined both by its form and rhetorical elements. The *qasida*, the privileged form in classical literature, is usually classified under three categories:

1. according to its rhyme
2. according to the subject of the *nasîb* (or *taghazzul*)
3. by the main topic of the poem, e.g., *madhîyah* (panegyric), *bahârîyah* (spring poem), etc.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed survey of the problems of genres and fixed forms and the nomenclature as established by Persianists, see Frank Lewis, *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, 1–14. In Persian, Sîrûs Shamîsâ's study, *Anvâ'-i adabî* (Tehran: Fir-daws, 1374/1996), is a valuable study that begins to study genres in classical Persian poetry from a critical point of view.

<sup>4</sup> *Genres in Discourse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), tr. Catherine Porter, 19–20.

<sup>5</sup> Rizvân Sharî'at, *Farhang-i istilâhât-i adabî* (Tehran: Hîrmand, 1370/1991), 124–5. The author also sheds light on the question of what is the appropriate length of various poetic forms, 'Increasing the number of *bayts* and the length of the *qasida* depends on the importance of the subject and the power of the poet.'

<sup>1</sup> Ioan Davies, *Writers in Prison* (Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Chahâr maqâlah*, 71.

But there is no provision for the fact that a single poem can have elements of all three types and thus defy categorization, as happens frequently.

According to one scholar, ‘One of the main strategies in generic innovation in Arabo-Persian is the manipulation of topoi associated with one genre in the context of another.’<sup>6</sup> Thus, ‘[t]he semiotic expectations which each genre or separate topos generated may help us to understand how one topos bleeds into the next to create a complex spectrum of meaning . . .’<sup>7</sup> This view is supported by another contemporary of Mas‘ūd Sa‘d, Rashīd Vatvât, who quotes in his handbook of poetry from one of Mas‘ūd Sa‘d’s *habsîyât* poems in connection with the rhetorical device *al-kalâm al-jâmi*: ‘This device is [used] when poets incorporate in their verses expressions of wisdom, advice, or complaint.’ His Arabic examples are from Mutanabbî; and for Persian he quotes two lines by Mas‘ūd Sa‘d:

By God, look at this fortune and life:  
until I die the prison will be my home.  
In sorrow my heart became splintered like a comb’s teeth<sup>8</sup>  
when I saw a strand of white hair in my comb.

Vatvât continues:

Most of the poems of Mas‘ūd Sa‘d Salmân are *kalâm-i jâmi*, especially those which he composed in prison, and none among the Persian poets can match him in style—either in beauty of meaning nor subtlety of words.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Julie S. Meisami, personal communication. For a relevant study of the way genres were conceptualized by classical writers, see Francis Cairns’ *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1972). Cairns’ approach to poems in terms of identifying topoi that can be combined and manipulated to a certain extent provides a useful approach to analyzing classical Persian poems.

<sup>7</sup> Lewis, *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, 36.

<sup>8</sup> I have taken this line from Nûrîyân’s edition, Qt128; as cited here, the original did not make sense.

<sup>9</sup> *Hadâyiḡ al-sihr fi daḡâ’iq al-sh’ir*, ed. M.-N. Osmanov (Moscow: Nauka, 1985), 316–18.

*Kalâm-i jâmi*, then, is one of the identifying topoi of the *habsîyât* genre; some others are *hasb-i hâl*, *vasf* (exphrasis), *madh* (panegyric), *du‘â* (prayer) and *fakhr* (boast). *Hasb-i hâl*, a description of one’s condition, often of one’s abject state, is closely related to *kalâm-i jâmi* and is the term often used by Mas‘ūd Sa‘d to describe autobiographical elements in his poems. In his detailed study of the *habsîyât* genre in classical Persian poetry, Valiullâh Zafarî says that *hasb-i hâl*, *shikvâh* (complaint) and *pûzish* (entreaty) are sub-categories of *habsîyât*.<sup>10</sup> A.L.F.A. Beelaert explains that ‘*habsîya* is part of a larger group of texts in which complaints are expressed . . . This *shikâyat* partly corresponds to what Persian medieval literary critics call *kalâm-i gami*, which is not a term for a genre (genre not being a subject these critics talk about), but for a figure of speech.’<sup>11</sup>

Contemporary Persian scholars have applied other specialized criteria to this genre. Sîrûs Shamîsâ classifies *habsîyât* with other thematic genres such as *shahrâshûb*, *marîyah* and *sâqînâmâh*, and considers them all subgenres of lyric poetry (*shi‘r-i ghanâ‘î*) because the poet expresses his emotions in them.<sup>12</sup> Muhammad Ja‘far Mahjûb also states that only a poet who is actually imprisoned can be the author of *habsîyât* in the true sense,<sup>13</sup> thus providing a meeting place for a poet’s life and his poetics. The manipulation of certain topoi contextualized against his personal life makes Mas‘ūd Sa‘d a prominent *habsîyât* poet.

One of the aims of the poet in the *habsîyât* poems was to procure the attention of patrons who would be in a position to either rescind

<sup>10</sup> *Habsîyah dar adab-i Fârsî*, 18.

<sup>11</sup> *A Cure for the Grieving*, 35. In addition, the author says about this genre, ‘Such poems are to be found in nearly all Persian dîwâns, or—for earlier poets—in *tadkîras*, and are headed—in the editions, but often also in old manuscripts—*shikâyat-i rûzegâr*. In dîwâns those poems are sometimes grouped together, and anthologies can have a separate chapter for complaints . . .’

<sup>12</sup> *Anvâ‘-i adabî*, 232. Heshmat Moayyad also defines lyric poetry not as synonymous with the ghazal but also encompassing other poetic forms, ‘Lyric Poetry,’ 121.

<sup>13</sup> *Sabb-i Khurâsânî* (Tehran: Sâzmân-i Tarbîyat-i Mu‘allim, 1345/1966), 656.



his punishment (i.e., the sultan) or intercede on his behalf (various persons at court). Thus, there are few such poems without a panegyric component. Due to the constant line of communication between the Ghazna court and Mas'ūd Sa'd, wherever he happened to be imprisoned, the qasida functioned for his purpose in its original form as an epistolary poem. Since it was necessary for him not to be forgotten by the court, his poems served as a constant reminder of his continued existence as a poet. That these poems were read aloud at court in the poet's absence is supported by the fact that in two poems (Q229 and Q237) he mentions a professional declaimer (*râvî*) by the name of Abû al-Fath.<sup>14</sup> A larger goal of the poet was to permanently record his story in the annals of literary history, an aspect of his poetry that often he tends to valorize over the panegyric. Thus, the qasidas and *qit'abs* that have no dedicatee or panegyric component in them are among the most arresting and lyrical poems in Mas'ūd Sa'd's work.

There was already a body of prison poetry in Arabic literature that would have provided models that Mas'ūd Sa'd may have used in composing his own poems, although the category *habsîyât* does not seem to have been employed by Arabic poets for prison poems in general. The *rûmîyât* of the Abbasid poet Abû Firâs Hamdânî (d. 968),<sup>15</sup> written while he was a captive of the Byzantines, were probably known to Mas'ūd Sa'd. Although the former's poetic output is quite modest, given the popularity of the Abbasid poetry among the Ghaznavid poets it seems likely that it exerted some degree of influence on Mas'ūd Sa'd's work.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> In Q237, he entrusts the spring breeze to carry his message to the *râvî*, who would then recite it. The multiple intermediaries, i.e., the actual but unmentioned messenger, the emblematic breeze, the *râvî*, dramatically increase the distance between the poet and the intended audience.

<sup>15</sup> For a general treatment of this poet, see Abdullah El Tayib, 'Abû Firâs al-Hamdânî,' in *Abbasid Belles Lettres*, ed. Julia Ashtiany et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 315–27.

<sup>16</sup> A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958), comments on the influence of Abû Firâs on Mas'ūd Sa'd, 12; Ghulâm 'Alî Karîmî in his study, 'Mas'ūd Sa'd va Abû Firâs Hamdânî,' *Ma'ârif-i Islâmî* 23 (1354/1975), 111–38, compares specific tropes and images that are found in the

### B. Varieties of Habsîyât

Mas'ūd Sa'd's poetic virtuosity can be partially understood by the fact that he employed numerous available poetic forms to express himself in prison. In addition to the qasida and *qit'ab*, his *habsîyât* poems are also found in the *rubâ'î*, *tarkibband*, *ghazal* and *musammat* forms, although there is only one poem each in the last three forms. Fulfilling the formal requirements for each, Mas'ūd Sa'd's use of certain topoi like *hasb-i hâl* or *shikâyat* makes these poems part of the *habsîyât* genre. What criteria (audience, occasion, current tastes) dictated the choice of forms for the poet? How did the different poetic forms with their particular thematic and formal requirements lend themselves to being utilized for the poet's purposes? These questions will be answered by looking at examples of each form.

The qasida form, given its primacy in this period and its function as a public poem, became the chief vehicle for *habsîyât* poetry, largely due to the fact that the inherited structure of this form was capable of being exploited by the poet for conveying the complex nature of his experience. De Bruijn comments on this:

The structure of the panegyric *kasîda* offered the possibility to take the theme as the subject of the prologue . . . More often, however, a section especially devoted to an account of the poet's condition (*hasb-i hâl*) was added to the panegyric address of the patron . . . There are also several non-panegyric *kasîdas* among the *habsîyât* of Mas'ūd . . . Sometimes the characteristic *habsîyya* motifs only occur incidentally in poems dealing mainly with other themes.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, Mas'ūd Sa'd's early *habsîyât* poems make use of the inherited conventions of the polythematic qasida, with each section of the poem

poems of both poets and convincingly demonstrates that there must have been some degree of familiarity on the part of our poet with his predecessor's work. A more detailed comparison would be illuminating but is out of the scope of this study. Another comparative work, but which does not mention Mas'ūd Sa'd's poetry, is R. Mahmûd Ghânim's, *Fann al-habsîyyât bayn Abî Firâs al-Hamdânî wa al-Khâqânî* (Cairo: Dâr al-Zahrâ, 1412/1991).

<sup>17</sup> *Habsîyya*, EP, Suppl.

being put to the poet's service. The *nasīb* is an indispensable tool of the poet, as its traditional function has been to get the attention of the audience. He no longer employs the erotic *nasībs* that were standard in his early qasidas to Prince Mahmūd; descriptions of the night sky, catalogues of constellations or birds, and riddles, become his favourite themes now. Quite often, the poet dispenses with the *nasīb* and jumps right into the *madh*, a general characteristic of the qasidas of this period. Finally, the urgency of the poet's situation compels him to make the *hasb-i hâl* itself the *nasīb*, which eventually results in the creation of poems that are entirely *hasb-i hâl* without any panegyric element.

Approximately one third of the total qasidas in the poet's *divân* belong to the *habsiyât* genre. Most are dedicated to Ghaznavid courtiers, while a few, usually laments in the form of apostrophes, are topical and have no dedicatees and could be considered *qit'abs*. The *madh* section in the qasida gives the poet the opportunity not only to panegyricize his *mamdûh* but also to remind the patron of their relationship, implicitly seeking assistance from him and intercession. A complex nexus of relationships emerges from Mas'ûd Sa'd's addresses to his dedicatees, dependent on the respective position and power of each patron. It is in these lines that we see an ongoing negotiation between poet and patron, bringing out the reciprocity involved in these relationships. In this line he reminds 'Alî Khâss, a favourite of Sultan Ibrâhîm, of the profitability of the poet-patron relationship:

Many times I have obtained my price from you:  
I was expensive, don't sell me cheaply. (Q215)

The poet shrewdly advises his patron that it would be senseless to get rid of him since he has a great deal invested in him. But he himself is not able to be present before his patron, therefore it is imperative that he be represented in the best possible way, and nothing or no one can perform that task better than his poem:

In your assembly, this poem is such a good agent for me  
that there is no need for another. (Q133)

This boast is completely contrary to his usual requests to friends to intercede on his behalf, and is merely a conceit. He is confident about

his talents and assures 'Alî Khâss that he cannot be forgotten by his patrons:

I know that you have not forgotten me  
because you remember me by my panegyrics. (Q60)

The irony here is that his anxiety stems precisely from the fear of his poems being forgotten. His characterization of the beneficial effects of the poet-patron relationship is carried a step further when, in addressing Mansûr ibn Sa'îd, he says that his regard for his patron prevents melancholy from overwhelming him:

Is it surprising that my entire brain is affection for you?  
How can melancholy overcome it! (Q5)

Usually the heart is the seat of affection, not the brain; the intellectualization of their relationship downplays the emotional value of the utterance. Whereas in most cases he constantly complains about being beset by melancholy, here he boasts that he is immune to it because of the secure nature of their relationship. In another place, he addresses his learned patron Siqat al-Mulk:

If no state has a man like you  
in wisdom and ingenuity,  
then why is one like me who is peerless  
afflicted with imprisonment like this? (Q68)

The relationship of patron-poet is a complementary one, so what benefit can accrue to a patron when his poet is languishing in prison, where his panegyricizing powers would certainly diminish? A simple and most logical argument is that he is of no use to anyone in the prison and so he should be freed by the sultan:

What use am I in prison and what is my worth  
since today I see no one but the warden.  
Tomorrow if I am abetted by your fortune  
your rank will give me succour. (Q299)

Sometimes he carries this argument to an extreme, adopting the pose that even the prison is acceptable to him because it was decreed to him by the sultan; here he tells Sultan Ibrâhîm:

I am content with this prison and suffering  
and will not disavow my fate.

Let no dear one think that in the world,  
like a snake I am in the throes of need.

If the sultan has imprisoned me  
I am not ashamed of his prison.

Anyone whom a king imprisons  
feels prouder than the [whole] world.

I am in the prison of a king  
who is the only one deserving kingship. (Q287)

He rarely employs this argument, and the grandiose tone befits the rank of the addressee of the poem. His usual wont is to claim to be innocent, as in this series of protestations:

Faultless and innocent, I am imprisoned;  
for no rhyme or reason, I am detained. (Q189)

I don't know any crime or sin of mine,  
except for the backbiting and guile of my devious enemy. (Q91)

If I knew why I am fettered; I despair of  
God who is undescrivable. (Q25)

Deflecting the blame to a third party or cause allows him to remain in the good graces of the sultan:

I have no fear of death's onslaught;  
I have no embarrassment of the king's prison.  
All my sorrows and cares come  
from the demands of debtors. (Q191)

This magnanimity on the poet's part, graciously covering up any errors or injustices on the sultan's side, allows the latter to save face while it is an occasion for the poet to reaffirm their pact of friendship and fidelity. To Tâhir 'Alî he says that he has lost control of himself without the patron's proximity:

I am a slave distanced from your assembly,  
I only eulogize and pray for you.

From the distance and not seeing your beauty  
my head feels as if I have a hangover. (Q272)

Here, he uses a startling image to describe the rupture in the poet-patron relationship that he has experienced by being in prison:

For years I have been like  
a suckling baby without its mother. (Q148)

Another subtle way that he describes the imbalance in the state of affairs is by applying the same metaphor to the patron and to himself, but infusing it with different attributes in each case. In a qasida addressed to Mansûr ibn Sa'îd, the poet praises him for his steadfastness:

He is a mountain of steadfastness and a fire of loftiness,  
a chastising wind and limpid water. (Q10)

and then in the *hasb-i hâl* section of the same poem he says of himself:

Like a cloud I speak of myself and am unheard;  
I am not like a mountain that my words will echo.

While the patron is compared to the four elements, the poet himself is an insubstantial cloud. But in the end, as he informs Sultan Mas'ûd, he will fulfil his responsibilities dutifully wherever he is:

In your service, from now on, like a pen and inkwell  
I will gird my waist with my life and open my mouth in praise. (Q184)

Using the phrase *bandagî*, which implies both being in service and being in chains, allows his words to have a double-edged meaning. In another place, this sentiment is expressed more directly:

What claim can I make of being in your service?  
Praise of you is witness to that. (Q67)

At times, having reached the opposite end of the spectrum of confidence, he says in resignation:

From someone like me in such a place,  
who can want anything but prayer and praise? (Q1)

These exchanges demonstrate how the qasida provides a vehicle for dialogue with the sultan, the courtiers, and the poet's peers, in short, with anyone who was connected with his life as a professional poet and was powerful enough to help him. Not surprisingly, there survive no poems or communications of any sort to family members or non-professional friends.

From the names of the dedicatees, a large number of the qasidas can be dated to one of the two periods of imprisonment that Mas'ûd Sa'd underwent; however, there is a substantial body of work that cannot be dated, especially the non-qasida poems. By the time of his second extended period of imprisonment in Maranj, Mas'ûd Sa'd had become adept at writing prison poetry and had developed a particular poetics for describing his experience. These qasidas, chiefly dedicated to Siqat al-Mulk, Abû Nasr-i Pârsî and Sultan Mas'ûd, are longer and appear to be the work of a mature poet. After his first stint in prison, he must have gained some recognition for his prison poetry; he had reached the midpoint of his career. The *habsîyât* in the non-qasida forms appear to be chiefly from his early years in prison, when he was a young experimental poet.

In the fifty or so *qit'abs* in Mas'ûd Sa'd's *divân* that can be classified as *habsîyât*, the formal characteristics of having an unrhymed opening line (*matlâ'*) and the length of the poem are the only distinguishing criteria. Often, the *qit'abs* are as long as qasidas and vice versa. Also, why should the qasidas that have no panegyric element and are purely topical not be classified as *qit'ab*? The blurring of the distinction between these two forms is a general characteristic of the poetry of this period,<sup>18</sup> although it is not certain how the poets themselves negotiated these formal differences. From some of the *qit'abs* it appears that they were drafts that were later worked into full-fledged qasidas.<sup>19</sup> For the most

<sup>18</sup> Mahjûb, *Sabk-i Khurâsânî*, 584.

<sup>19</sup> See Jerome W. Clinton for a discussion of this problem in the *divân* of Manuchehrî, *The Divan of Manûchihri Dâmghânî*, 62–3. The *qit'ab* may not have been popular among the early Ghaznavid poets, or perhaps such poems were not preserved in their collected works as the case of the ghazal indicates. In both editions of Mas'ûd Sa'd's *divâns*, Qt35 (3 lines) is part of the *nasib* of Q73; this could

part, the definition of the *qit'ab* as a topical poem seems to apply here too. The *habsîyah qit'abs* are mainly apostrophes to inanimate objects that are tangibly connected to his imprisonment, such as his cell window, or to abstract ideas like fate or *buzurgî* (greatness). His frequent references in these poems to his white hair contrast with his other favourite trope, the darkness of the night:

I did not have a strand of white hair  
when fate put me in prison.  
I underwent so much torment and grief  
that not a single hair of mine remained black. (Qt57)

Often, the *qit'abs* are pithy and moralistic witticisms that approach the spirit of *rubâ'îs* but are different in form, such as the following:

They say that fortune and misfortune  
are present in every story.  
You see two bricks  
baked together in a kiln.  
One is honourably placed at the top of a minaret,  
another at the bottom of a latrine-pit. (Qt130)<sup>20</sup>

Describing the unnatural fragmentation of his life, he says he has experienced life as both kinds of bricks. The entire *qit'ab* can also be a conceit, many such are found embedded in qasidas, and need not stand as individual poems. In this case, he puts his tears to good use:

If [the tears] which my eyes rained on my body  
had remained where they were,  
my body would be a coiled chain  
strung out with pearls. (Qt53)

be the result of careless copying of an early manuscript, or equally, evidence for the ways in which poets wrote poems using various forms. For a general discussion on this poetic form, see Husayn Khâliqî Râd's *Qit'ab va qit'absarâ'î dar shî'r-i Fârsî* (Tehran: Intishârât-i 'Ilmî va Farhangî, 1375/1996), 7–17.

<sup>20</sup> I have chosen Yâsimî's text of this poem over Nûrîyân's; the latter version appears to be incorrect.

The qasidas are full of such images. The problem of *qit'abs* and qasidas is related to the larger question of the compilation of an individual poet's *divân* and the role of the scribe and editor in the transmission of the text.<sup>21</sup> The few surviving manuscripts of Mas'ûd Sa'd's *divân* date from two later periods, the Safavid and then the Qajar, and must have undergone changes in selection and arrangement over time. Especially with early Persian poetry, the non-canonical forms had less of a chance of being copied and safeguarded for posterity, as will be further discussed in the next chapter.

The *rubâ'î* also provided a vehicle for the poet's voice from prison.<sup>22</sup> Some of these appear to be written for private consumption, as the following, in which he touches upon a topic he dared not broach in his qasidas: blaming the sultan for his miseries:

O King! Be afraid of them who will question you  
in the place where no one fears you:  
'Are you not happy with kingship from God?'  
Then how can I be happy with your fetters? (R342)<sup>23</sup>

Other *rubâ'îs* address the same subjects that he was obsessed with in prison, such as fate, loneliness, despair and the physical space of his prisons. Some of these poems are elegies for friends and relatives who have passed away and are his sole outlet for the private expression of grief.

His *tarkîbband* 4 written as an elegy on the death of one of Sultan

<sup>21</sup> For a detailed discussion of this topic, see the third chapter of Frank Lewis's *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, esp. 270–5.

<sup>22</sup> For the *rubâ'î* as a form for not exclusively 'romantic' or 'quasi-mystical' subjects, see Jerome W. Clinton, *The Divan of Manûchihri Dâmghânî*, 59. For a study of the early history of this form, see Elwell Sutton's, 'The 'Rubâ'î' in Early Persian Literature,' in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. R.N. Frye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 4: 633–57. He writes, 'In contrast to the more substantial *qasida* and *ghazal*, it was usually a vehicle for improvisation, and contemporary accounts suggest that, as still today, many well-known *rubâ'îyât* originated as impromptu thoughts thrown out at random during informal literary or religious gatherings . . . The subject matter of the *rubâ'î*, in contrast to its form is virtually unrestricted . . .', 640–1, and for Mas'ûd Sa'd and the *rubâ'î*, 649–50.

<sup>23</sup> A slightly different version of this is also attributed to the poet's contemporary, Munshî Nasrullâh, see chapter 5.

Ibrâhîm's ministers, Rashîd al-Dîn, does double duty as a *habsîyât* poem merely by the existence of the last line where he says:

You are not my sun if I am not  
afflicted by chains and imprisonment.

Several *habsîyât* poems describe the poet's bereavement but are not technically *marîyâhs*. *Qit'ah* 26 is a *habsîyât* poem that is a double elegy for his own son Sâlih and his friend Râshidî's son, Râshid. *Musammât* 2, discussed below, is reminiscent of the powerful poems of Manuchihrî in this form, and is a tour de force of utilizing the characteristics of a poetic form in the service of the *habsîyât* genre.

### C. The Physical State of Being Imprisoned

The most frequent words that Mas'ûd Sa'd uses to describe the physical space he is confined in are *habs* and *zindân*, respectively the Arabic and Persian words for prison, as well as the Persian *sumj*, by which he specifically means his cell. What prison conditions were like in eleventh century Ghaznavid society can only be explained within the terms of the poet's own *divân* since there are no independent sources that describe such institutions.<sup>24</sup> Also, when comparisons are made between pre-modern and modern poets of *habsîyât* poetry, one must remember that beyond the human expression of loneliness and despair such as are shared by exiles and prisoners universally, classical poets were working within the parameters of a strictly controlled tradition of the use of images, metaphors, etc., and had a different agenda in their poetry. In the case of Mas'ûd Sa'd, how far can his statements about his wretched day-to-day life be accepted as an accurate representation of medieval prisons? Keeping in mind that the poet spent his forties in prison, and that he was in his late fifties when he was again

<sup>24</sup> Irene Schneider's entry, *sidjn*, in *EP*, and her article, 'Imprisonment in Pre-Classical and Classical Islamic Law,' *Islamic Law and Society* 2 (1995), 157–73, discuss the legal and doctrinal aspects of prisons. What is relevant here is a quotation from the Hanafi jurist al-Sarakhsî (d. 1096), a contemporary of Mas'ûd Sa'd, 'A prisoner should, therefore, be detained in an uncomfortable place without a bed and without any company,' 168. Mas'ûd Sa'd's situation appears to share aspects of exile as well as prison.

imprisoned,<sup>25</sup> the negative aspects of prison life may seem like clichéd tropes. But these were probably harsh realities for a senior poet from the upper echelons of the society of his time.

Darkness, loneliness, and despair are the most frequent complaints of the poet. His helplessness in the face of powerful but intangible enemies like fate often makes him feel completely vulnerable, as when he writes to a patron, Tâhir 'Alî:

Know well that your imprisoned and enchained slave  
has become a wingless eagle and clawless lion. (Q171)

The lion and eagle, symbols of royal iconography in their free state, here suggest a state of emasculation, which he refers to directly in Q237, where he calls himself a *shâ'ir-i mukhannas* (emasculated poet).<sup>26</sup> In this *rubâ'î* he uses an unusual image:

Today I am like a snake in a basket;  
the world resounds with my fame.  
[Even] if every hair of mine becomes a fetter,  
I will not complain about my fate. (R363)

The snake basket alludes to the narrowness of the prison, of which he also repeatedly complains:

How can I repose in a prison?  
It is too cramped to sleep in.

<sup>25</sup> In Qt29 he commemorates his 52nd birthday; in Qt30, his 56th. In Q100 he mentions being sixty; in Q170 he says he is sixty two. Browne, however, does not consider the latter to be a prison poem although there is a lengthy *hasb-i hâl* section in it, 717.

<sup>26</sup> Compare Antonio Gramsci's statement about feeling powerless in prison: 'You are not faced abruptly with an instant's choice on which to gamble, a choice in which you have to evaluate the alternatives in a flash and cannot postpone your decision. Here postponement is continual, and your decision has to be continually renewed. This is why you can say that something has changed. There is not even the choice between living for a day as a lion, or a hundred years as a sheep. you don't even live as a lion for a minute, far from it; you live like something far lower than that,' quoted in Ioan Davies, *Writers in Prison*, 147.

God! Shall I ever see a place  
stretching out before my eyes? (R301)<sup>27</sup>

His back is bent due to the confined space, where the window is merely an opening to the sky:

Friends, in that narrow prison  
day and night I am bent over.  
Who in the world ever had a house  
with a stone roof and a brick door?!  
in which the windows are such that  
I see half of every star.  
Through this narrow opening I look out  
on the heavens like a one-eyed man. (Q292)

There is also some indication that the poet was chained and his movements restricted:

Now in this Maranj with the door closed,  
sitting on my chains like a hen on its eggs,  
I move around on my hands and knees,  
I sleep like a chain upside down or standing . . .  
I want a stew but there is no fire—  
there is only a pallid face like saffron. (Q237)

There are no luxuries at all to be had in prison, and he longs for even a piece of bread:

I swear that in this prison  
I have nothing but a piece of burlap.  
If I find some whey bread  
it could rightly be called a sweetmeat. (Q68)

Here he goes into specifics of daily life in prison:

Look how a person lives in prison:  
his carpet is of husks and his garb a shawl.

<sup>27</sup> Nûrîyân has *ridan* (to defecate) here instead of *dîdan* which is possibly a typographical error.

The wretch who owns nothing but sackcloth  
 snuggles into it from fear of cold.  
 I, my slave boy and girl, are satisfied that  
 every third day we are given a *man* of sheep's fat.  
 Since I have not seen brass or copper utensils  
 out of necessity I make do with earthenware. (Q171)

The slaves mentioned here probably waited on him but do not count as company since he complains of not having anyone to interact with, as when he describes the desolate situation in the prison at Dahak:

This stinking air has killed my temperament,  
 I lament because of these hapless people.  
 There is no one intelligent to converse with,  
 nor people from whom one can hear anything. (Q215)

Prison has no physical comforts to speak of:

My bed is snow and my pillow ice,  
 dust and ice are above and below me.  
 Like a crow I perch on a mountain,  
 within a yard or two is my toilet and kitchen. (R293)

Here he describes a grim exchange between himself and his warden, albeit in an ironic tone:

If I get food every week, not every day,  
 my hands are a bowl, my knee a table.  
 If ever I ask the warden, 'What do you have?'  
 He says, 'Don't eat anything for it is the month of Ramazân.'  
 I tell him, 'I'm ill, get me something to eat and drink.'  
 He laughs and says, 'That is the whole issue.'  
 Although your abject slave is imprisoned  
 he cannot survive without food, for he is a living being.  
 I am unfortunate that with so much wealth and riches  
 today my entire refrain is about food. (Q35)

In addition, the hands that should have been used for writing are being used for more mundane but urgent purposes:

One hand is a flyswatter and the other a scratcher,  
 at night for mosquitoes, and for flies during the day. (Q20)

As far as his writing is concerned, he claims that he has no writing instruments:

To write I use the dust as my notebook;  
 my finger, as a pen, produces forms on it. (Q5)

Even if this is an exaggeration on the part of the poet, he could not have had a ready supply of writing materials. In the end, what sustains him is practicing his craft and getting his product to his audience somehow:

My virtues are known to all  
 although I am hidden from all eyes . . .  
 I am not deprived of any luxury in prison:  
 even my bread lies on a pan . . .  
 Do you know what I suffer  
 to get poetry and prose to you? (Q201)

Even if these accounts are taken with a grain of salt, they paint a horrendous picture of prison life in the pre-modern period. However, being the skilful poet he was, these physical descriptions of prison are but a small part of his *habsiyât*, the greater consisting of metaphorical descriptions of the full range of his experiences as a prisoner.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Gareth D. Williams offers an insightful study of Ovid's melancholy state in exile and the ancient medical literature on melancholy and depression in *The Curse of Exile: A Study of Ovid's Ibis* (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1996), 112–33. He writes, 'Of course, the psychological approach adopted in what follows is designed to illustrate certain aspects only of an artistically contrived condition; the symptoms of melancholy and mania discussed below relate only to Ovid's projected persona, and in no sense are they meant to describe the extra-poetical 'reality' of his exilic circumstances—even if that 'reality' were deemed to be recoverable from the poetic evidence,' 115. However, whether Mas'ûd Sa'd's condition was similarly contrived is questionable; Williams' quotation from the seventeenth-century Robert Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* applies equally to the Persian poet's condition too: '[S]uch as have spent their time jovially, peradventure in all honest recreations, in good company, in some great family or populous City, and are upon a sudden confined to a desert Country

## D. The Prisoner's Lament

Zafarī's study on the *habsīyât* genre is mainly composed of lists of motifs and images recurring in the works of various poets; these are expressions of despair and hopelessness alternating with optimism and hope, laments against the vagaries of fate and the onslaught of old age, depression, etc. These lists are useful in studying the poetics of the *habsīyât* genre and for understanding how Mas'ūd Sa'd utilizes the topoi that have been identified with this genre in order to express himself in effective new ways. In comparison with his corpus of non-*habsīyât* poems, Zafarī finds the language of the *habsīyât* poems to be simpler, devoid of excessive rhetorical devices and outlandish rhymes.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, this discrepancy in the two bodies of poems often gives the impression that there are two separate styles, even two different poets, under consideration. In the traditional classification of literary styles in Persian, Mas'ūd Sa'd's style is a transitional one from the earlier Ghaznavid *sabk-i Khurāsānī* to the nascent *sabk-i Irāqī*;<sup>30</sup> especially with the *habsīyât* he is straining to escape from the prison of classifications and make new space for himself in literary history.

The poetics of space are an important ingredient of the *habsīyât*,

---

Cottage far off, restricted of their liberty, and barred from their ordinary associates: solitariness is very irksome to such, most tedious, and a sudden cause of great inconvenience,' 116.

<sup>29</sup> *Habsīyah*, 260–1. Zafarī sees the simplicity of language mirrored in the honest and truthful subject matter of the *habsīyât* as well, where there is not much panegyric content. Also compare Ioan Davies' remarks about prison writing in general, 'Prison requires that we rethink *all* of our experiences and *all* of the language that we are accustomed to use to give meaning to them' and 'Every prison writer writes against the grain of the dominant language that provided the rules of enclosure,' *Writers in Prison*, 161, 162.

<sup>30</sup> Sīrūs Shamīsā, *Zindānī-i Nāy* (Tehran: Firdaws, 1374/1995), 28, 44–5. Also, see scattered references in Mahjūb, especially 656–9. Also for a survey of the stylistic aspects of this poet's work, see Muhammad Rizā Shafī'ī Kadkanī's chapter in his monumental study, *Suvar-i khiyāl dar shi'r-i Fārsī*, 3rd ed. (Tehran: Āgāh, 1366/1987), 595–612. He dismisses all of Mas'ūd Sa'd's non-*habsīyah* poetry as unworthy of distinction.

through which Mas'ūd Sa'd attempts to come to terms with the contrasting environments of his past and present lives. His description of the new space he is inhabiting and working in is dramatically different from the 'felicitous space' of his former life at court and home. He manipulates his nostalgia for urban life and its pursuits to emphasize the isolation he finds himself in. The sole connection between the two worlds is his poetry, a constant reminder of a talent that has not suffered even in adverse circumstances.

These words of the poet addressed to Siqat al-Mulk are indicative of the poet's negotiations with the spaces that make up his world:

This condition is obvious to me since  
to the intellect the world's state is not hidden.  
No place is empty of an occupant  
for the occupant is not separable from his place. (Q300)

Even when he is absent, the poet inhabits the places that were his haunts, especially those that were the sites for the performance of his poetry. Here, in a qasida with multiple dedicatees, he provides a mini-catalogue of the places which made up his public life:

Prayers for me are in every mosque and assembly,  
regrets for me are in every party and gathering. (Q140)

Of these places, one, *majlis*, is specifically connected with the performance of his poetry while the other, *mahzar*, bears testimony to his name even in his absence:

My poetry is remembered in every assembly,  
I'm always mentioned in every gathering. (Q148)

Presumably, even in his absence these locales are not devoid of his traces. In the following, he exaggeratedly expands the sphere of the influence exerted by his name and poetry to include the entire world:

No place is devoid of mention of me,  
be it a city or a desert. (Q36)

The two binary opposites, *shahr* and *bīyābān*, are made to share the



common feature of resounding with the name of Mas'ûd Sa'd. At times, the entire world, usually indifferent to his lonely suffering, becomes sympathetic and grieves for him:

Sorrow for my imprisonment  
is in every city.  
The story of my condition  
is in every place. (Q283)

The story of his suffering as contained in his poetry has swept across the world because he was already a famous poet.

In the first six strophes of his *musammat* 2, he creates an exquisite scene of a party in a sylvan setting, and then in the next two strophes abruptly shifts to a description of his own depressed state of mind. The effect on the reader is jolting, a reaction the poet must have hoped for from his audience. The jarring difference between the world that he inhabited in the past and the space he is occupying in the present is nowhere portrayed more vividly in his work. In the next strophe, he reaffirms his relationship with his patron by addressing himself:

Your talent is a sea full of pearls, O Mas'ûd Sa'd!  
Nurture it with the sun of your intellect, O Mas'ûd Sa'd!  
Fashion good poetry like pearls, O Mas'ûd Sa'd!  
Go, praise the master fittingly, O Mas'ûd Sa'd!  
Concentrate on your thoughts in the whole world, O Mas'ûd Sa'd—  
as long as there is a great man like the renowned lord Mansûr.

In the entire world, there is nothing more important for the poet than to be mindful of his own poetic genius.

When it comes to the places of his incarceration, the poet becomes the victim of mental oppression brought about by the narrow and dark cells of the remote and forbidding fortresses. He personifies these places as some fiendish enemy or cruel tyrant who has it in for him. In one of his best-known poems, a panegyric to Muhammad 'Alî, son of 'Alî Khâss, Mas'ûd plays on the name of the fortress where he is imprisoned:

I am like the tuneless pipe because of this wretched Nay;  
no one saw any happiness from this wretched Nay. (Q8)

Punning on the word *nây* which is both pipe and the name of the fortress, he finds that here his muse has dried up and rendered him out of tune with respect to poetry. In Q279, without a *mamdûh*, he again plays on the name of the fortress and attempts to reconcile himself to his incarceration:

I lament from my heart like a flute, in the fortress of Nay;  
this lofty place has sunk my spirits.  
The air of Nay makes me weep bitterly  
but what else can the melody of the flute do?  
Heaven would have killed me in my sorrow and pain,  
if poetry had not become the saviour of my life.  
No, no! Nay has elevated my position;  
the world knows that Nay is the mother of the kingdom.<sup>31</sup>  
Like a king my head is raised above the heavens.  
I reach out to Venus and rest my foot on the moon.  
Now I shed precious pearls from my eyes,  
now I saunter in a delightful garden.  
Poetry is on my palate like a fine wine,  
words are in my hand like bewitching tresses.

The poet's location allows him to contrast his depressed state with the loftiness of the fortress, but also makes him feel closer to the heavens than to earth. Poetry is a consolation for him here; its imaginative power allows him to saunter in an imaginary garden. Mas'ûd Sa'd's relationship with Nay is almost obsessive, and in a series of *rubâ'îs* (45, 149, 341, 346, 389, 396, 403, 408, 410), it becomes a substitute for his real oppressors whom he could not openly blame for his condition. In an ironical mode in this *rubâ'î*, rarely to be found in his qasidas, Mas'ûd Sa'd addresses the fortress of Nay and gives it a benediction that is unusual for a desolate ruin:

O fortress of Nay, you are the mother of the kingdom,  
they know that you are the mine of the kingdom's gem,  
today you are the sheath for the dagger of the kingdom,  
may you thrive since you are at the gates of the kingdom. (R403)

<sup>31</sup> Nay was the most important Ghaznavid prison, and housed royal prisoners, Shamîsâ, *Zindâni-i Nây*, 366.

Of course, Nay is only honoured in this way because it has the privilege of holding him. In R396, he even claims that by being in Nay he can outlament the reed pipe. Anticipating Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî's mystical representation of the reed pipe as the symbol for separation, in Q134 he refers again to its wail, in a poem with the *nasîb* appropriately dealing with the separation motif:

Without you, my eye does not desire riches,  
without you, my hand does not take the goblet.  
The reed's wail and the plectrum's song  
become *harâm* for me in your absence.  
Distance from your assembly will make rusty  
the shining dagger of my mind.  
Separation from you will make  
my dagger-sharp mind rust.

*Falak* (heaven) and *nazm* (poetry) are his companions: the former is the cause of his misery; the latter is his consoler. Then, in describing poetry like a goblet on his lips and the physical writing of his poems as a beloved's tresses, he invokes a courtly setting from which he is absent. He explicitly speaks of separation in physical terms: *dûrî-i bazm-i tû* (distance from your gathering) and *dar firâq u havâ-yi majlis-i tû* (in separation and longing for your assembly). In the *nasîb* of this *qasida*, where his beloved describes the hardships of his imminent journey to deter him from leaving, prison has made its way into the catalogue of places:

At times, you will tarry in prisons,  
at times, you will fly over plains.

His time in prison is part of the requisite journey that a lover must undertake which will eventually take him to his beloved, in this case, his patron Rashîd. In the prison of Maranj, he is also able to pun on the name of the fortress, as in this elegiac *rubâ'î*, where he expresses his grief privately:

In the prison of Maranj with these chains,  
Sâlih, how can I be alone without you?

Sometimes I cry lapfuls of blood over your death,  
sometimes I tear my clothes to shreds in pain. (R12)

Alternately, he is telling himself, *dar habs ma-ranj* (Do not grieve in this prison), doubly linking his grief with the place he is inhabiting.

We have seen that the high location of the fortresses he was imprisoned in made the poet acutely aware of the liminality of his position by being closer to the heavens. The sky, which in its personification as fate is responsible for his miseries, in an absurd way also represents the freedom that he is deprived of. Here, he creates a conceit using the sky:

The affairs of the world are limited to  
the prison and fetters of this weak body!  
Even in chains and prison I am not secure  
until they have ten watchmen around me.  
All ten are seated at the door and on the roof of my cell,  
saying to each other incessantly,  
'Rise and see lest by magic  
he fly off into the sky through a crack in the window.  
Be watchful for he is a trickster  
and will make a bridge from sunlight and a ladder from the wind' . . .  
My warden says, 'If you go on the roof,  
straw will fall into your eye from the milky way.'<sup>32</sup> (Q237)

In this elaborate fantasy of escape, the sky could be his helper but in reality is not. The poet is not blind to the physical beauties of the night sky as in this striking *nasîb*:

Last night my two eyes were  
fixed on the verdant dome.  
The sky had the colour of ink,  
the air had the colour of rust.  
It was a tent studded with rare pearls,  
a curtain full of shining gems.  
I saw a mirror the colour of a sack,  
very lofty and fittingly wide.  
I also kept seeing various shapes  
that took form from the stars. (Q1)

<sup>32</sup> The word for straw, *kâb*, is part of the compound *kabhkashân* (milky way).

Shamîsâ believes that the sobriquet *shâ'ir-i shab* (night poet), which is usually applied to Manūchihri because of the stunning descriptions of the night in his *nasîbs*, can be more aptly applied to Mas'ûd Sa'd.<sup>33</sup> The wide expanse of the sky contrasts with the narrowness of the poet's prison; deprived of other natural beauty such as gardens and streams, his gaze turns upwards. He is not an amateur in these matters; the poet's impressive knowledge of the constellations can perhaps be explained in his own words:

If it hadn't been for the old man Bahrâmî  
 what would my condition have been in this prison!  
 At times he describes to me the movement of the constellations,  
 at times the secrets of the royal firmament.  
 From him I learned the astronomical science,  
 geometry and the forms of the earth and space.  
 I've become such that I can confidently calculate  
 the movement of the sky for every moment. (Q215)

It is likely that the existence of Bahrâmî is not merely a poetic fabrication: Mas'ûd Sa'd appears well-versed in the basic elements of astronomy. In one of his particularly innovative poems, Q214, he provides a catalogue, a device he is quite fond of, of the constellations with a short description of the injustice each one has heaped upon him. It begins:

These twelve constellations have so afflicted me  
 that I have experienced a different blow from each one.

In Q122, in numerous lines he uses the word *akhtar* in multiple ways. If it is the stars that control his destiny, then sometimes it is the synecdochal heaven or fate (*falak*, *rûzgâr*, *charkh*, *gardûn*, *bakht*) that, as a personified entity, is actively malignant towards him. In Q292, he develops a personal relationship with it:

<sup>33</sup> *Zindâni-i Nay*, *ibid.*, 35–42. According to this critic, Manūchihri's description of the night and his knowledge of the constellations is superficial, while Mas'ûd Sa'd displays both a complex relationship with the night, with which he had a deeper acquaintance, and personal experience with astronomy.

Every moment, a mother gives birth  
 to my [new] affliction, the daughter of fate . . .  
 If my body is a shield against misfortune's arrow  
 then its tongue is like a dagger.  
 The world does not have a better son than I;  
 why am I hidden like a bad daughter?

Here, he is also suggesting that the pact of a filial bond has been violated: he has been a good son but has not been recognized for it. Fate's blows to him are not only metaphorical but also physical; in a series of *rubâ'îs*, he mentions fate's cowardly and cruel *modus operandi* (118, 134, 144, 153, 236), frequently using a form of the verb *zadan* ('to strike') as the refrain.

This short *qasida*, quoted in full, addresses the full range of concerns that are pressing upon the poet in prison, from the demise of his poetic talent to his anguished mental state:

It seems that wondrously my poetry has become  
 a seed that I strew on the ground.  
 It keeps growing and sprouts branches  
 and I don't pick [even] a grain from it.  
 I fear the annihilation of my poetry  
 since my poetry is nearing its end.  
 My ambition is like the sun although  
 my body is insubstantial like a shadow.  
 My skin weighs heavily upon my body,  
 how can I hold up my garments?  
 Fate placed me on a fire;  
 how long can I be patient? I am not a brahman.  
 Every moment with my hand of patience  
 I bring down the [proud] neck of my desires.  
 At times in an assembly I am such  
 that I forget myself.  
 Other times, alone, I grow weary of myself  
 as if I were in the midst of an assembly.  
 My heart has become like a fire-temple,  
 fearing it I don't breathe even for a moment,

until from the heat of my dragonlike heart  
my mouth fills with fire.

I do not bow my head to the lowly  
for I am the servant of the bountiful creator.

I don't want favours from anyone  
since I am a magnanimous person.

If my eyesight wants light from the sun

I will gouge my eyes out.

O evil-wisher of mine!

You rejoice because I am being tested.

Although you are powerful, you are not yourself;  
although I am powerless, I am not I. (Q205)

The primary concern in this poem is with the drying up of his talent, expressed skilfully through the employment of a plant metaphor. Moving to the *hasb-i hâl*, Ma'sûd Sa'd exploits all the possibilities provided by light and fire imagery. Either referring to the practice of yogis walking on hot coals or of Hindus cremating widows with their husbands' bodies, he attributes the quality of *sabr* (patience) to a brahman, which he is not, although in the very next line he says that he possesses the same quality. Perhaps he is implying here that he is being treated in a way that no Muslim should be. Continuing with the fire imagery, he likens his heart to both a fire-temple and a dragon, from whose clutches he emerges as a cool cypress in a garden. Instead of supplicating his patron at the end of the poem, he pontificates on their reversal of roles, mocking fate. The lack of a patron's name, and the poet's assertion of being independent, emphasize his loneliness and mark a nadir in his perpetual state of despair. Although elaborately crafted, this poem has a ring of sincere simplicity to it that is the mark of poems that have no addressees.

Among the sources for the metaphors utilized by Persian poets in classical Persian are Persian folklore and Islamic legend. In this still nascent period of this literature's history, the legendary characters that poets chose to compare themselves with appear novel and fresh. In his incarceration, Mas'ûd Sa'd compares himself to certain well-known characters who also underwent the same experience. The *Shâhnâmâh*

was the primary text for the poet to draw upon, and he picks Bîzhan, who had been trapped in a pit by King Afrâsiyâb:

Like Bîzhan I am suffering in the throes of calamity,  
the world is dark to me like Bîzhan's pit. (Q238)

If he is like Bîzhan, then the dedicatees of the qasida, Prince Mahmûd and Sultan Ibrâhîm, stand in for the Turanian king Afrâsiyâb since they are responsible for his situation (although he does not mention this fact). He again invokes Bîzhan when he addresses Lahore:

There is no message from me and you don't say in good faith  
'Trapped like Bîzhan in a fortress, how are you?' (Q280)

By comparing himself to one of the tragic heroes of the Persian epic, the poet exaggerates and glorifies the degree of his plight. His isolation and harsh surroundings bring to his mind the tribulations of the quintessential lover and tragic hero of Persian legend, Farhâd:

Without uttering Shîrîn's name  
I am cast on a mountain like Farhâd. (Q60)

But Mas'ûd Sa'd's suffering is meaningless because there is no Shîrîn to inspire him. He even believes that his story can rival that of another pair of lovers from the romance, *Vâmiq u 'Azrâ*, versified by 'Unsurî a few decades earlier under Sultan Mahmûd:

Know my state of affairs and my story for they are  
much more amazing than that of Vâmiq and 'Azrâ. (Q26)

Here he compares himself to Alexander and Khizr, alluding to the Islamic version of the story of the two searching for the water of immortality in the darkness:

Like Khizr and Alexander, I am  
constantly making my way to every land. (Qt37)

He does not say whether he is going to succeed like Khizr or fail like Alexander. As a verbal craftsman and artist, he invokes two mythical figures to model himself upon. In Q140 (131 lines, the longest in his *divân*, with multiple dedications):

Like Âzar the sculptor and Mani the painter  
 I experience blight and suffering in prison.  
     Since they worship my words  
     like Mani's pictures and Âzar's idols,  
 the world has no better virtuous son—  
 then why do they hide me like a bad daughter?

With Âzar and Mânî, the greatest artists, the poet is in the very best company, as when he invokes the spirits of his great predecessors in Persian and Arabic poetry:

I am he than whom in Arabia and Persia  
 there is no one more smooth-tongued.  
     If there is a difficulty in poetry or prose  
     the world asks for me as an interpreter.  
 In both these languages, in both arenas  
 my victory has reached the heavens.  
     The spirits of Rûdakî and [Abû Nuwâs] ibn Hânî  
     prostrate themselves before my intellect . . .  
 One day I will emerge from prison and chains  
 like a pearl from the sea or gold from a mine. (Qt139)

Rûdakî, the father of Persian poetry, and Abû Nuwâs, the Abbasid Arabic poet, have recognized his talent, as will the world someday. Ultimately, he becomes one with the object of his profession and with salvation; in a qasida of 38 lines whose radîf is—*ân qalam* he compares himself to a pen:

In this prison, my nature  
 is a pale body like a bamboo pen.  
     Today I am wounded and crying,  
     lamenting bitterly like a pen.  
 The jewelbox of pearls of my conscience was opened  
 by the probing point of my pearl-strewing pen.  
     If the fear of the pen has made me abject  
     it also brings me security, the pen. (Q199)<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> In Q137, discussed in chapter five, he compares his pen to Jesus.

Returning to the reed that laments its separation from its homeland, Mas'ûd Sa'd has become his pen and fulfils the dual function of lamenting for a lost homeland and writing poetry to console himself. This is an impressive testament to the power of the pen, an object that transcends its physical similarities with the poet's life and merges into his very being. It is by concentrating on the positive aspects of prison, i.e., the opportunities it affords for writing, that he is able to sustain himself:

The more trouble fate gives me  
 the more civility I display towards it. (Q165)

The word *farhang* connotes more than civility: it also implies culture and learning, qualities that are all absent in his uncouth surroundings. Their absence, though, is in direct proportion with the increase of his skills:

Why should I be ungrateful to this fortress?  
 Since [in it] my learning and prowess have increased. (Q167)

There is also a connection between the ebbing of his bodily powers and the increase of his poetic capabilities:

Although my body is debilitated by continual suffering,  
 my perfect poetry comes out more powerful. (Q170)

Suffering has helped him develop as a poet:

As my position decreases, learning increases,  
 as my affairs are blocked, poetry is released. (Q82)

and again:

From the fire in my heart  
 and the tears in my eyes,  
 it is no surprise  
 that my learning and ingenuity increase. (Q10)

There are times when even the thought of his poetry traversing the world is not enough to fortify him and he begins to doubt his own sanity:

What if assemblies are devoid of me?  
 The world is full of my works.  
 What if I cannot leave my chains?  
 My poems travel the world . . .  
 Virtue is not a fault in anyone;  
 it is the inverted dome of heaven that aggrieves me . . .  
 Am I an absolute madman? I don't know—  
 no one says that I have my wits about me. (Q188)

At such times, poetry, his solace and sole companion, becomes an anathema and he swears he is done with it:

I have done with poetry  
 so no one can say that I spout nonsense.  
 I repent of being a poet because  
 poetry is unpleasant to me in both worlds.  
 This world was a torture for me—  
 Woe! The terror of that dreadful judgement day! Woe! (Q277)

Mas'ūd Sa'd relinquishes his claim to be a panegyric poet and, in a mystical turn of mind, prepares for the next world. He makes this point even more poignantly in this line from a poem about writing panegyric poetry:

Poetry is the essence of life and why should I reduce my life?  
 Don't think that like the moth I am my own enemy. (Q200)

He scorns the moth that burns itself in the flame of the candle out of love.

The poet has a partiality for winged creatures, specifically birds, not the least because he is much like a caged one.<sup>35</sup> He tells Siqat al-Mulk that at one time he was a singing bird in his garden:

Like a nightingale, I sang your praises  
 until fate put me in a nest. (Q237)

He euphemistically refers to his prison as a nest. The assembly of the patron is the garden where he belongs, and reciting poetry his occupation, as he says to Sultan Ibrāhīm:

<sup>35</sup> His dark cell also makes him liken himself to a bat (*kbaffāsh*) (Q251).

I am in the garden of panegyric of your qualities,  
 I sing like a dove in the garden. (Q246)

The fetters that restrain him in his prison ironically become a necklace of friendship in this poem:

Although I am far from your exalted assembly,  
 because of this unruly fate,  
 I sing your praises with  
 the necklace of friendship around my neck. (Q242)

There is an ironic allusion to his chains in prison as well as to the dove's necklace which binds it forever with the beloved.<sup>36</sup> Recalling the well-known rhyme of Rūdakī in this poem,<sup>37</sup> the poet reiterates:

Praise for you, like the ring of a dove, is around my neck,  
 each hour I continually coo like a dove. (Q297)

He finds things in common with other birds too:

What wonder if I weep bitterly like the dove?  
 What surprise if like the partridge the mountain is my  
 dwelling? (Q244)

and again:

Out of fear of you I am like a ringed dove and from praise  
 I am like a dove whose breath is all melody and song. (Q25)

But it is to the royal falcon and the parrot that he feels closest out of all the birds that he mentions:

I am a skilful falcon not a pigeon of love,  
 I am a poetic parrot not a melodious nightingale. (Q204)

The parrot is associated with poets in India and is a particularly appropriate epithet for Mas'ūd Sa'd. But here he even feels the burden of being a falcon:

<sup>36</sup> Annemarie Schimmel, *A Two-Coloured Brocade: The Imagery of Persian Poetry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 185.

<sup>37</sup> Manūchihri also has a qasida with this refrain *-ad kunad hamī*, no. 70.

With both feet chained and both eyes sealed  
how long can I be patient—I am not a falcon. (Q195)

Even the glory and respect that are bestowed upon a falcon are not sufficient, as he ironically reminds the sultan who did not allow him to leave Khurasan:

Although the falcon is chained for the sake of honour,  
since the word is ‘chained’ the falcon does not desire honour. (Q155)

The poet is playing on the multiple meanings of the word *bâz*, which means ‘open’ and ‘free’ as well as ‘falcon.’

In the following *nasīb* he utilizes the familiar figure of the raven (*ghurâb*) in a dizzying array of metaphors and roles:

When that raven informed me of the departure of my friend  
the world became pitch black like a raven.  
Like the raven hearing the sound of bow and arrow,  
I jumped up suddenly from my place of slumber.  
My voice crying was like the raven’s in my throat,  
my questions could not be distinguished from my replies.  
Blood has made my eyes like the raven’s, and my heart  
in agitation became a hanging raven.  
I was frightened like a raven because  
like it I made my dwelling in this ruined place.  
If my day is black like the raven then why  
like the raven am I not hurrying away?  
In the morning when I lamented over parting like the raven,  
I learnt from my heavy chains how to move like the raven.  
When its voice reaches me from the cypress’ branches,  
the world looks black like its wing, as seen through my tears.  
I say, ‘Why do you cry out? You are not like me in chains.  
Go on, fly off and find the beloved.’ (Q20)

The appearance of the raven, a frequent figure in classical poetry, alerts the reader to a setting where lovers must soon separate. In a melancholy tone, the poet portrays a by now hackneyed scene in the qasida, but by using the raven’s attributes in multiple ways he infuses the poem with

a novel quality. In Q302, perhaps addressed to ‘Alî Khâss,<sup>38</sup> the poet opens with an address to the nightingale:

Sing, melodious nightingale,  
may you not run out of tunes.  
[Other] birds have two or three standard songs,  
you are always singing new ditties.  
If love has made you sing like me  
may you not find escape from suffering and sorrow!  
I have seen many birds fine to behold,  
but they can only spout nonsense.  
All show wheat but sell barley,<sup>39</sup>  
you sell wheat but show millet . . .  
Birds sleep at night but you don’t sleep;  
are you imprisoned in the fortress of Nay like me?

Ostensibly addressing the bird and likening it to himself, the poet begins to boast of his own virtues. He expresses the concern that the ever-singing bulbul may be silenced by its indigent conditions, and describes the pain and suffering it goes through in separation from its beloved. This poem is a dismissal of all the neophyte poets of his time and an assertion of his own superiority; his claim to be innovative distinguishes him from the other poets who are mere charlatans. In the next chapter, the centrality of this concept in his set of poetics is discussed in detail. After personifying separation (*firâq*) and asking it to be his messenger, he explicitly declares to his patron:

All these poets who come to you  
are yokels when it comes to knowledge.  
This sort always comes to you  
to beg and steal.  
Doesn’t your heart think of me,  
don’t you ask some days, where is he?  
A poet’s talent is a burning lamp;  
it will flare up when you add oil to it,

<sup>38</sup> Tawfiq Subhânî, *Guzîdah-yi ash’âr-i Mas’ûd-i Sa’d-i Salmân* (Tehran: Nashr-i Qatrah, 1374/1995), 141.

<sup>39</sup> A fixed Persian expression for false pretense and deceitfulness.

when the oil is low it will become dim;  
it is oil that bestows brightness.

In this vilification of the entire breed of new poets, Mas'ûd Sa'd is attempting to preserve his position at court. His analogy of the lamp that needs oil regularly is a bold complaint regarding the negligence he feels he has suffered at the hands of his patron, but at the same time, a testament to the interdependent nature of the poet-patron relationship.

#### E. *Mas'ûd Sa'd's Use of his Name*

Self-portraits are written after the writer has already fallen into a formless and disoriented space, created by a loss of certainty . . . A mimesis without illusions and a chancy attempt to return home, self-portrayal is an odyssey towards a submerged Ithaca.<sup>40</sup>

Although narrating the story of his suffering is the underlying goal of the *habsîyât* poetry, Mas'ûd Sa'd strikes a pose of being beaten into silence by his sufferings:

Henceforth I won't describe my state and suffering,  
for the mustang has been tamed by pain, sorrow and grief. (Q179)

By no means desisting from this practice, he finds subtler means to insert himself into the memory of his audience. Rather than effacing his personality, the poet's often makes his own persona as much the focus of a poem as is its dedicatee, especially by the use of his name (*takhallus*). Meisami writes that in the ghazal, '[t]he ultimate function of the *takhallus* (as might be guessed from its derivation) may be seen as analogous to its role in the *qasîdah*: it places the poet (rather than the patron) at the pinnacle of praise.'<sup>41</sup> Although most discussions of this

<sup>40</sup> Michel Beaujour, *Poetics of the Literary Self-Portrait*, tr. Yara Milos (New York: New York University, 1991), 335.

<sup>41</sup> *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 262. She adds that this phenomenon 'has been linked to an increased concern with problems of authorship (and of individual creativity) seen also in the poet's self-naming in romance . . . and *qasîdah*,' 263. The two detailed studies of the *takhallus* are: Sayyid 'Abdullâh's essay, 'Takhallus kî rasm aur us kî târîkh' in *Mabâhis* (Lahore: Majlis-i Taraqqî-i Adab, 1965), 169–99 (The article is in Urdu but surveys the history of the *takhallus* from

topic concern the *ghazal* form, in Mas'ûd Sa'd's case it is the *qasida* in which the *takhallus* has this function. All too often he ends up subverting and even erasing the personality of the patron from the poem. The use of his name is found in about ten percent of his poetry, and chiefly in the *habsîyât*, irrespective of the poetic form he utilized. This practice, albeit seen on a limited scale in his pre-*habsîyât* work, suggests that it may already have been a common one, but in the *habsîyât* it becomes a paramount device the poet uses to ensure the currency of his name and guard himself against oblivion. Sayyid 'Abdullâh has written that a poet's *takhallus* is supposed to encapsulate his personality,<sup>42</sup> and in Mas'ûd Sa'd's case his own name is his *takhallus* because he is fighting to keep his memory alive with his audience.

From poems of Rûdakî in the Samanid period, and a poem of Farukhî, who was active half a century before Mas'ûd Sa'd, it can be surmised that the *takhallus* must have been a frequent practice amongst poets. Sanâ'î, the younger contemporary of Mas'ûd Sa'd, also regularly used his name in his *ghazals*, 'to gain fame and win a spot at the court of the patrons for whose soirées his songs were composed.'<sup>43</sup> The use of the *takhallus* may have begun with the inclusion of the patron's name in the *gurîzgâh* part of the *qasida*. Around this time it was not uncommon for poets to include both their patron's name and their own.<sup>44</sup> Since one of Mas'ûd Sa'd's patrons was also his namesake, he may have become aware of the multiple possibilities for using his *takhallus*. Whether it was a convention that Mas'ûd Sa'd inherited or one that he made popular himself, it suited the poet's designs to use such

the beginnings of Persian poetry to twentieth-century Urdu poetry); and for its later history in the Persian ghazal, Paul Losensky's 'Linguistic and Rhetorical Aspects of the Signature Verse (*Takhallus*) in the Persian *Ghazal*,' *Edebiyat* 8 (1998), 239–71.

<sup>42</sup> *Mabâhis*, *ibid.*, 171.

<sup>43</sup> Frank Lewis, *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, 98. It is not known how far Mas'ûd Sa'd influenced Sanâ'î in the use of the *takhallus*. Of course, the former is not a primarily a ghazal poet, for whom the *takhallus* becomes a formal requirement.

<sup>44</sup> Julie Meisami, 'Persona and Generic Conventions in Medieval Persian Lyric,' *Comparative Criticism* 12 (1990), 129.



a device as would particularize his poems and make his name a substitute for his own physical presence.

A central concern of the poet during his incarceration is his own identity, as in this poem without a dedication:

Who am I? What do I have? How much? Who am I? What am I?  
Every moment fate sends me some tribulation. (Q283)

Michel Beaujour has discussed the motivation behind this questioning of the self by the author in a literary self-portrait:

The self-portrait goes beyond this anxiety and such beliefs, no matter how confused they may be, for self-portrayal is bound to corrode and leave behind 'Who am I?' the earnest, rather lumpish, and subordinate question of a slave desperately yearning for emancipation, searching for roots, and attempting to turn his former abasement into dignity: it is the question of someone querulously soliciting power.<sup>45</sup>

While seeking his lost identity, there are moments when he resignedly accepts the status quo, as in the opening lines of two poems:

I, Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân, am  
hostage to your generosity. (Q202)

Although he is being subservient, his own name takes primacy over that of the patron's, and by beginning the poem in this way he does not have to make the audience wait for clues as to its authorship. Here again he says:

I, Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân, am  
remorseful of what I have said. (Q203)

Similarly, in two *rubâ'îs*, 198 and 199, he begins with *Mas'ûd kih hast Sa'd-i Salmân pidarash* (Mas'ûd whose father is Sa'd son of Salmân), asserting his identity as the scion of two personages who, like him, were faithful servants of the Ghaznavid house.

The instances in which the poet separates himself from his poetic persona and addresses himself as another usually involve the giving of

<sup>45</sup> *Poetics of the Literary Self-Portrait*, 337.

advice. In this line, the last of a qasida, the poet in the persona of a wise man addresses an epigram to Mas'ûd Sa'd the victim:

Mas'ûd Sa'd, fate is merit's enemy;  
show no mercy to this crazed fate. (Q279)

He again uses a hortatory tone as if to console the wretched prisoner:

Don't despair of fate, Mas'ûd,  
[even] if it harrasses you mightily. (Q63)

In Q275, discussed above, the poet ends a poem that is entirely a detailed description of his physical and mental state with the line:

Mas'ûd Sa'd, you utter so much nonsense—  
what is the use of it?

Coming at the end of a detailed and poignant description of his own life, this self-address is allowed by the separation of the two personas enacted by the use of the *takhallus*. Elsewhere, in a more sanguine tone he advises himself to be wise and spurn the world:

If you are the wise Mas'ûd Sa'd  
don't consider this world worth a fig. (Q291)

Unlike later poets, he rarely engages in punning upon the meaning of his name; the following is one of the rare instances:

I came into being from nothingness due to your generosity;  
in your fortune I reached my goal.  
I wasn't happy, I became happy because of you,  
I was so imprisoned [by you] that I became envied [for it]! (R224)

The third line can also be read as: 'I was not Mas'ûd, I became Mas'ûd because of you.' The creation of his prisoner persona is his patron's work. By having his patrons talk about him in his absence, he manages to insert his name in a qasida in a novel way. In this unusual poem, he puts these words into Siqat al-Mulk's mouth:

Indeed, in his heart, like other good slaves  
Mas'ûd Sa'd served me for many years . . .

who then addresses the heavens on the poet's behalf:

Mas'ûd Sa'd has been my slave for thirty years,  
know this much, you [fate] too are my slave. (Q237)

His entire purpose behind using his name is summed up in lines which he addresses to 'Alî Khâss:

Listen to the tale of a lowly person's state of affairs,  
weigh him with your mind for the intellect is justice's balance . . .  
My suffering was all from hope and eulogy/Mahmûd—  
may both be cruelly killed in the arena.  
Otherwise no one will know  
whether Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân lives or not. (Q215)

Using a pun in the second line, he equally attributes his suffering to his poetry as to his first patron, Prince Mahmûd. Ultimately, he is inscribing his identity on his poems so that they are inseparable in the mind of his audience. For a poet in prison 'who seeks to preserve himself and others from the obscurity to which the law and the condescension of Letters has sentenced him or her and to overcome the many damnations to which he or she is subject,'<sup>46</sup> to assert his individuality and stamp his work with his name becomes a necessary act.

<sup>46</sup> Davies, *Writers in Prison*, 9.



## Chapter Four 'New' Genres and Poetic Forms

The story of Alexander has become an old legend,  
recite something novel, for the new has its own charm.

—Farrukhî, writing about the conquest of Somnath<sup>1</sup>

### A. Shahrâshûb: *A Catalogue of Youths*

In Mas'ûd Sa'd's *divân* is found the first extant poem written in the genre that later came to be called *shahrâshûb* (disturber of the city). This work does not precisely conform to the definition of this poetic genre as it developed and was practiced in later periods, but rather, represents a nascent form of what was to become an established genre of classical Persian poetry. Mas'ûd Sa'd's *shahrâshûb* is a catalogue composed of short poems in the *qit'ab* form, whose primary theme is punning on the physical or professional attributes of a wide variety of boys, such as a butcher boy, a Christian boy, a curly-haired boy, etc., without any other structurally unifying device to hold the poems together. In fact, the *qit'abs* are of variable length and in different metres and there is nothing to suggest that they were even conceived as a collective poetic work. There has been much scholarly debate about the exact definition of this poetic genre, but at the same time there has been

<sup>1</sup> *Divân*, 66.

no satisfactory treatment of the subject. It is generally agreed that it originated as a form of satire written on the negative aspects of a city.<sup>2</sup> A more specific form of this genre, *shabrangîz*, i.e., a catalogue of different boys occupied in various professions, also came to be called *shabrâshûb* since both words mean the same thing. Therefore, whereas in the related Persianate traditions of Ottoman Turkish the word for the catalogue of boys is *sehrengîz*, and in Urdu the word for a satire on the decline of a city is *shabrâshob*, in classical Persian literature the latter word came to be used for both sorts of poems, and was replaced by even more exaggerated terms like *falakâshûb*, *jahânâshûb*, etc., in the post-Timurid period. In short, much of the problem associated with the history of this genre is related to its nomenclature in different literary traditions. Mas'ûd Sa'd's poem is of the 'catalogue of boys' variety and is not called by any specific name by him or any near-contemporary literary historian or poet.<sup>3</sup>

One of the earliest studies on this genre was by Sayyid 'Abdullâh, whose work attempts to arrive at an understanding of the Persian origins of the Urdu genre of this name. He suggests that Mas'ûd Sa'd may have been influenced by Indian genres (*Hindî asarât*) but does not offer any more details.<sup>4</sup> Although Mas'ûd Sa'd's location at the meeting-point of two cultures naturally gives rise to such an assumption, and

<sup>2</sup> E.J.W. Gibb wrote that this form of poetry was the invention of the Ottoman poet Mesihî who wrote a *shabrangîz* on the youths of Edirne in 1510 CE; Gibb claims that 'both subject and treatment are his own conception, he had no Persian model, for there is no similar poem in Persian literature,' *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ed. E.G. Browne (London: Luzac, 1965), 2: 232. However, this genre has a long history in Persian literature and goes back at least to Mas'ûd Sa'd.

<sup>3</sup> For a summary of this vast topic, see Sîrûs Shamîsâ's *Anvâ'-i adabî*, 228–30. Ahmad Gulchîn Ma'ânî's introduction to the chronologically arranged anthology of *shabrâshûbs* is a general discussion of both kinds of poems in this genre, *Shabrâshûb dar shî'r-i Fârsî* (Tehran: Amîr Kabîr, 1346/1967). Muhammad Ja'far Mahjûb's essay appended to his canonical *Sabk-i Khurâsânî* also explores the problems related to this genre, 677–99.

<sup>4</sup> *Mabâhis*, 277. Gulchîn Ma'ânî disagrees with Abdullâh that this genre is of Indian origin, *Shabrâshûb*, 1–2. Mahjûb's views are generally in accord with Abdullâh because he sees the preponderance of such works in the Safavid-Mughal

there are other unique poetic genres in his oeuvre to support this claim, no evidence exists that such a form existed either in Indian vernacular literatures or in classical Sanskrit. Sanskrit (and other Indic) poets commonly depicted aspects of the city and urban life in their poetry (which the *shabrâshûb* poems did eventually) but these have an entirely different aesthetic and generic function within the tradition they occur in.<sup>5</sup> Given the precedents for stray poems of the *shabrâshûb* kind by Persian poets of the Samanid period, there does not seem to be any basis for a 'foreign' origin for this genre. It is more likely that Mas'ûd Sa'd's poem was not originally a single work but a collection of verses on *shabrâshûb* themes that were collected together and presented as a discrete work by compilers of the poet's *divân* in the Safavid or Qajar periods.<sup>6</sup>

Mas'ûd Sa'd's *shabrâshûb* consists of ninety-six *qit'abs* of lengths ranging from two to nine *bayts*. Since there is no dedication to a patron in any of the poems, the cycle of poems cannot be dated. The boys described in Mas'ûd Sa'd's work are not exclusively of the professional class, as they are in later poems, but also include other categories of boys, i.e., those of a particular group: non-Muslim boys or boys with

periods and the genre's continuation in Urdu poetry, *Sabk-i Khurâsânî*, 685–6. However, the Urdu tradition of *shabrâshob* is not the same as the one under discussion but its mirror opposite; the Ottoman Turkish tradition of this genre is more faithful to the Persian. For the Ottoman Turkish *sehrengîz*, see J. Stewart-Robinson's 'A Neglected Ottoman Poem: The Sehrengîz,' in *Studies in Near Eastern Culture and History: In Memory of Ernest T. Abdel-Massih*, ed. James A. Bellamy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies, 1990), 201–11. For the Urdu genre, also see Carla R. Petievich's 'Poetry of the Declining Mughals: The Shahr Âshob' in *Journal of South Asian Literature* 15 (1990), 99–110.

<sup>5</sup> For a brief but insightful introduction to this topic, see A.K. Ramanujan's 'Toward an Anthology of City Images,' in *Urban India: Society, Space and Image* (Chapel Hill: Duke University, 1971), 224–44.

<sup>6</sup> Even the Timurid poet Mîr 'Alî Shîr Navâ'î, unaware of the origins of the genre, in his *Majâlis al-nafâ'is*, put forward the view that the Timurid poet Sayfî of Bukhara was the originator of this genre, quoted in Gulchîn Ma'ânî, *Shabrâshûb*, 226; Rypka, *History*, 508.

a certain physical attribute.<sup>7</sup> This wide range of types can become restricted to professionals when the genre became more strictly defined in the Timurid age and later. Gibb appropriately describes the contents of the Ottoman versions of these poems, which are exactly applicable to the Persian:

[I]t is very rare indeed that they contain anything in any way personal or individual . . . Though humorous, these verses are always complimentary in tone; the boys are always spoken of in flattering terms. The humour again is never coarse; it consists chiefly in the whimsical association of ideas, the starting-point for which . . . is usually the name or calling of the lad . . .<sup>8</sup>

By the time that Mas'ûd Sa'd was writing, there was already a tradition of such verses on craftsmen. Among the earliest Persian poets, Rûdakî has a poem on a merchant, Kisâ'î Marvazî has one about a launderer and one about a poet/artist, and Labîbî authored one about a pistachio-seller.<sup>9</sup> Mahsatî, whose dates are uncertain but who was perhaps a contemporary of our poet, became notorious among the literati for the salacious nature of her verses in this genre. This evidence, albeit meager, suggests that even courtly poets indulged in penning light verses of this kind which were perhaps not considered grand enough

<sup>7</sup> For the subject of love of boys in Persian(ate) poetry, see C.M. Naim, 'The Theme of Homosexual (Pederastic) Love in Pre-Modern Urdu Poetry,' in *Studies in the Urdu Gazal and Prose Fiction*, ed. Muhammad Umar Memon (Madison: South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, 1979), 120–42; Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 245–52.

<sup>8</sup> *History of Ottoman Poetry*, 2: 235.

<sup>9</sup> Fritz Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatî: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des persischen Vierzeilers* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1963), 94–5. C.E. Bosworth mentions an Abû Hanifâ Panjdihî, perhaps identical with a poet mentioned by Bayhaqî, who wrote a verse in Arabic on a handsome shoemaker, *The Later Ghaznavids*, 174. Ahmad Gulchîn Ma'ânî mentions him and a couple of other poets writing in Arabic, *Shahrâshûb*, 7. Browne notices similarities between certain verses of Mahsatî and the later Arabic poet Ibn al-Fârid, *A Literary History of Persia*, 2: 503. Apart from these stray verses in Arabic, there are no precedents for this genre in Arabic literature.

to be included in their *divâns*, except in the case of Mas'ûd Sa'd, who, in fact, has partly become known due to this genre.

Almost all of Mas'ûd Sa'd's poems are addressed directly to the beloved, and the description of his beauty is connected with some aspect of his profession or characteristics. The first verse in his work is about an ambergris-seller (*'ambarfurûsh*):

Beloved! Your two tresses are ambergris and you an elixir-seller,  
I am ever in need of your ambergris.  
Separation from you has left me crazed and wandering,  
By God! Help me, my friend.  
Caress my body with your ambergris tresses because  
pure ambergris is the cure for the crazed.<sup>10</sup>

The profession takes up the beloved's attention and at the same time leaves the poet/lover in a maddened state because he is in need of the product the beloved possesses. The characterization of the poet is similar to that of the *ghazal* world except for the specific nature of the profession of the beloved mentioned here. This trope does not extend to the non-professional boys, and in a couple of instances, the poet's tone is gently mocking, as when he describes a cross-eyed boy (*ahval*):

Your two locks are like the crescent moon,  
your two cheeks are like the finest musk.  
Your black eyes are crossed and  
everyone likes a cock-eyed one with black eyes.  
Once again you have coupled with another,  
you mistook someone else for me.  
If there is no hope of union for me [and]  
I am not a mate for you, consider me an exceptional friend.  
It is no surprise that you see one as two,  
A cross-eyed always sees one as two.<sup>11</sup>

Although it is the boy's physical characteristic that prevents their union, the poet is not in dire need of that quality. Here, the beauty of

<sup>10</sup> *Divân*, 915.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 924–5.

the beloved is not disparaged and the poet is gentle in his address to the boy. The general aspects of this poetry are commonly that of love lyrics, but some of the more specific characteristics of the beloved and the imagery used in the *ghazal* later on, such as the hunter, the Christian boy, *sâqî*, etc, are also found here. Grief or suffering is not always present and most of the time the tone is light-hearted and free of complexities of meaning or emotion, such as in the following verse on the *sâqî*:

Pleasure, joy, happiness, and amusement are all mine,  
since that *hûrî*-faced one became my *sâqî*.  
Wine is Venus and his face the moon in luminosity,  
both lights make my assembly brilliant.  
Since there is a conjunction of the two in one place,  
Pleasure, joy, happiness, and amusement are all called for.<sup>12</sup>

This is more in the vein of the *sâqînâmah* poem, since the wine-server is not withholding his services from the poet and the poet is in an ecstatic mood rather than dejected with rejection. The poet/lover perceives his object of desire exclusively in terms of what he does for a living (or a peculiar characteristic) and his love is connected with that aspect of the beloved. Beyond that, the youths are all the same. The poet is on the receiving end, or wishes to be, of the beloved's services and is not actively involved in amorous activity with the boys. The infatuation that is the bond between the two parties is the transaction of love, just as the boy has his profession. Such poems addressed to generic youths are thematically and generically related to the convention of addressing boys in various forms of early Persian lyric poetry, such as *ghazals* and *sâqînâmahs*. In fact, the word *shabrâshûb* is used by classical poets as a synonym for the typical beloved, the earliest occurrence being in a poem by the twelfth-century poet Khâqânî; descriptions of the disheveled, rowdy beloved found in poems of Sanâ'î and Hâfiz also fit into the complex of this topos.

The socio-historical value of such verses is emphasized by all scholars who have written about this poetry. The poems provide information on different professions and crafts in various cities at various times

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 919.

in history. Although the poetry is not meant to be a realistic description of professions or crafts, a catalogue of all their titles would be a useful source of information. Mas'ûd Sa'd has a verse about a boy with red teeth (*yâr-i 'aqîqîn dandân*), undoubtedly from chewing *pân*, the betel-leaf, a common Indian practice that stains the teeth red:

You have made my face yellow with sorrow and grief;  
You have made your teeth red, o betel-bodied one.  
Since your pearly teeth have become carnelian (red),  
My onyx eyes have become rubies (red).<sup>13</sup>

This is the earliest instance in Persian poetry of this image, and such a beloved is even found in the *nasîb* of Q288, challenging the traditional description of the beloved (*kardah bi-tanbûl la'l sî u dû marjân*! Having made the thirty-two pearls red with *pân*). Thus, the early *shabrâshûb* poems can also be seen as verbal exercises for varying the typology of the young beloved depicted in the *qasida* or *ghazal*.

In his work, Gulchîn Ma'ânî also includes as a *shabrâshûb* parts of the only *masnavî* that Mas'ûd Sa'd wrote while he was serving as governor of Jalandar. The *masnavî*, as discussed in chapter two, is conceptually similar to the *shabrâshûb* in that it is a catalogue of the courtiers surrounding the Ghaznavid viceroy in Lahore. After mentioning the amirs, Mas'ûd Sa'd mentions several professionals in the retinue of a prince, including himself in his role as court poet, who formed part of the viceroy's entourage. These include various entertainers: musicians, dancers, and singers. The description of these does not conform to that of the *shabrâshûb* poems, although there are structural connections in the types of professionals mentioned. This one *masnavî* in the *dîvân* of Mas'ûd Sa'd is also something of an anomaly since this genre was usually reserved for epic or didactic poems. In the hands of this poet, it is essentially a panegyric poem although its satirical or *shabrâshûb* qualities are quite prominent.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 929.

<sup>14</sup> Mahjûb, Muhammad Ja'far. 'Masnavîsarâ'î dar zabân-i Fârsî tâ pâyân-i qarn-i panjum-i Hijrî.' *Nashriyah-i Dânishkadab-i Adabiyât-i Tabriz* 15 (1342/1963), 282-4.

Unfortunately, we do not have many clues as to the use of this genre in the society of the time. Were these poems recited orally for entertainment or were they meant for private reading? Although there may not be clear answers to these questions, we can attempt to put this poetry in the context of the society of the time, chiefly in the case of Mas'ûd Sa'd's *shabrâshûb*. The Samanid and Ghaznavid periods were the fledgling years for Persian poetry and the 'Persian poet derived his subjects from a world different from that of the Arab poet . . . inspired by his own geographical and cultural background.'<sup>15</sup> The descriptions of craftsmen have led some scholars to link them to the whole complex of qualities which can be loosely called *javânmardî* or *futuwwat*. These qualities were fostered by urban young men of the time who were craftsmen and frequently had links to Sufi orders.<sup>16</sup> In the *Qâbûsnâmah*, a work from about the exact time that Mas'ûd Sa'd was writing, while discussing knight-errantry (*'ayyârî/javânmardî*), sufis and the codes of craftsmen, the author, Kay Kâvûs, instructs his son in addressing a sufi in a *dûbaytî* which sheds interesting light on the subject:

I am a Sufi, [and] you are incomparable among beauties;  
everyone knows—old and young, man and woman—  
that your rosy lips are candy in sweetness,  
and sweets should be a Sufi's business.<sup>17</sup>

This poem has structural and thematic resemblances to *shabrâshûb* verses, pointing to the intertextual nature of classical Persian poetry. Mahjûb has suggested that display of poetic skill was the force behind *shabrâshûb* poetry, and considers this an aspect of the innovativeness of the late Ghaznavid poets.<sup>18</sup> A courtly entertainment could be the context for such verses; the description of courtly parties of the time would support such a view:

<sup>15</sup> Heshmat Moayyad, 'Lyric Poetry,' 122.

<sup>16</sup> Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 2: 126–8. Mehdi Keyvani's *Artisans and Guild Life in the Later Safavid Period: Contributions to the Social-Economic History of Persia* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1982) is a non-literary study that takes into consideration *shabrâshûb* poems of the period and mines them for factual information on the kinds of professions existing at that time, 197–204.

<sup>17</sup> *Qâbûsnâmah*, 257.

<sup>18</sup> *Sabk-i Khurâsânî*, 681.

The drinking of wine served to create the right mood for other things like music, singing and dancing, or games like chess and backgammon, usually combined with gambling. There was much bawdy conversation and flirting with the boys who served the guests as cup bearers, or musicians and dancers.<sup>19</sup>

The last section of Mas'ûd Sa'd's *shabrâshûb* is entitled *shakar-i shâhî* (sugar for the king) and it does not ostensibly refer to any particular professional or type of boy:

Do not be surprised that you are adorned with sweetness;  
Kings are always adorned, and you are a king.  
I am going to steal a kiss from you because  
It is the custom to take something sweet from kings.<sup>20</sup>

It is possible that the poet is referring to a bridegroom, who is often called *shâh*,<sup>21</sup> or to a prince who could be the beloved *par excellence* for the poet. The Ghaznavid viceroy in Lahore was also referred to as *shâh*, as attested by Mas'ûd Sa'd. This verse is strategically placed at the end of a rich tapestry of the various inhabitants of a city, completing the miniature city that the poet has constructed in his poem. This can be structurally and conceptually compared to Mas'ûd Sa'd's *masnavî*, in which he recreates the court of the viceroy with a section devoted to all the individuals in his entourage. Later *shabrâshûbs* are much clearer in their context than this one.

The history of this genre after our poet is shadowy. Except for some spurious poems attributed to Amîr Khusraw,<sup>22</sup> it is not until the late Timurid period that it emerges as a full-fledged genre in other poetic forms such as *ghazal* and *masnavî*. Following the model that Tzvetan Todorov proposes for the evolution of literary genres from speech acts by way of a certain number of transformations and amplifications,<sup>23</sup> the *shabrâshûb* can be seen as developing from an earlier stage of being intended for an oral entertainment context to becoming a unified and

<sup>19</sup> De Bruijn, *Of Poetry and Poetry*, 157.

<sup>20</sup> *Dîvân*, 935.

<sup>21</sup> This suggestion was made by Mahdi Nûrîyân in a private discussion.

<sup>22</sup> Gulchîn Ma'ânî, *Shabrâshûb*, 21–5.

<sup>23</sup> *Genres in Discourse*, 13–26.

elaborate courtly genre combining various generic traditions, inspired by the fondness of Timurid and Safavid poets for innovation. This genre provides an interesting case study of how a subgenre of lyric poetry evolved and came to be defined in the tradition of classical Persian poetry. The development and transformation of this genre in Ottoman Turkish and Urdu traditions also points to its dynamism, but unless other early examples of *shahrâshûb* are unearthed, we may never know more about its early history. However, Mas'ûd Sa'd's fondness for and use of unconventional genres and poetic forms and the sheer number of poems does support the idea that he would have conceived of the *shahrâshûb* poems as a single piece of work.

#### B. Bârahmâsâs in Persian?

This cycle of poems, which is an instance of a generic hapax legomenon in the *divân* of Mas'ûd Sa'd and perhaps in the history of Persian literature, is in effect the well-worn panegyric poetry in a new guise. There is nothing about the content of these poems that is remarkable from the point of view of language or meaning, although they are not the worst examples of panegyric poetry in this poet's *divân*. It is precisely their unusual form that is noteworthy, especially in light of the fact that there are other unorthodox forms and genres that Mas'ûd Sa'd utilized. As with the *shahrâshûb*, scholars have suggested a vernacular and/or oral origin for these poems, connected to his Indian environment.<sup>24</sup> Unlike the genre of *shahrâshûb* which has no counterparts in Indic literary traditions, these poems actually have a corresponding genre in North Indian vernacular literatures, the *bârahmâsâ*. The *bârahmâsâ*, comprised of multifarious forms, appeared early in vernacular literatures of North India and '[i]ts special characteristic is that it follows the twelve months of the year, one stanza being devoted to each.'<sup>25</sup> In her study on this genre, Charlotte Vaudeville cites D.

<sup>24</sup> Annemarie Schimmel suggests this in her survey of Indo-Persian literature, *Islamic Literatures of India* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), 11. Although the genre is commonly found in vernacular literatures, such as Sindhi, Panjabi and Bengali, she concedes that it is rare in Persian.

<sup>25</sup> *Bârahmâsâ in Indian Literatures: Songs of the Twelve Months in Indo-Aryan Literatures* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986), 3.

Zbavitel for the classification of the kinds of *bârahmâsâs* that have been recorded:

- a. The religious *bârahmâsâ*
- b. The farmer's *bârahmâsâ*
- c. The narrative *bârahmâsâ*
- d. The *viraha-bârahmâsâ*, concerned with the sufferings of a wife separated from her husband during the twelve months of the year.
- e. The trial of chastity *bârahmâsâ*<sup>26</sup>

Essentially, the months (and in Mas'ûd Sa'd's case also the days of the week and the days of the month) are an organizing device for a catalogue of any kind of subject, from festivals to emotions. Mas'ûd Sa'd's fondness for the catalogue in all forms has already been noted and his poems are a sub-genre of panegyric poetry with the calendar as organizing device. That he was actually inspired by vernacular forms while composing his poems is an intriguing possibility, although there is not much evidence for this. The poet may have borrowed the organizing device of the months from the vernacular literature around him and filled it out with the language and imagery of the Persian courtly tradition.

There are three cycle of poems of this genre in the poet's *divân*: *mâhhâ-yi Fârsî* (the Persian months), *rûzhâ-yi mâh* (the days of the month), and *rûzhâ-yi haftâh* (days of the week).<sup>27</sup> The first and third of the above are well-known names that are still current, but the middle cycle, that lists the Persian names for each day of the month, would have been arcane even in the poet's time, allowing the poet to display his knowledge. Writing about the catalogue in medieval European literature, Harry E. Wedeck says that '[it] is a means of ransacking the most obscure items for the avowed purpose of astounding the reader by the extensiveness of the poet's knowledge.'<sup>28</sup> Mas'ûd Sa'd has a

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>27</sup> These titles are from manuscripts of the poet's *divân* from the Qajar period and have been retained by both editors, Yâsimî and Nûriyân.

<sup>28</sup> 'The Catalogue in Late and Medieval Latin Poetry,' *Medievalia et Humanistica* 13 (1960), 6.

persistent fondness for this device and it is used by him across genres in his work.

Apart from the exile poetry that they both wrote, a further comparison can be made between the Roman poet Ovid and Mas'ûd Sa'd. One of Ovid's lesser known works is the *Fasti*, a poem divided into twelve parts corresponding with the twelve months of the Roman calendar. Under each month, Ovid describes the festivals associated with the days of that month, combining myth and history with an aim to panegyricize Ceasar Augustus. Geraldine Herbert-Brown, in her recent study on this work, comes to the following conclusion:

While Ovid's literary heritage and environment certainly influenced his choice of genre and the idea of setting Roman themes to an Alexandrian tone, no extant literary predecessor really explains why an elegist should decide to structure a poem on something as large and divisive as a twelve-month calendar. No elegist had attempted such a mammoth task before. Ovid was indeed breaking new ground in poetry.<sup>29</sup>

Similarly with Mas'ûd Sa'd, the inspiration behind the poem was the desire to produce something novel for the usual purpose of eulogy. The audience's attention is drawn to the form of a poem and its contents appear less trite.

In the twelve, thirty, and seven poems within the three works in this genre, the poet almost always mentions the name of his patron, Sultan Malik Arsalân, in brief panegyric statements. The poems in the *mâhbâ* are seven *bayts* each and five *bayts* in both the *rûzhâ* poems. They are in the *qasida* (or *ghazal* without the poet's signature but the patron's name) form, but all poems even within the same cycle are in different

<sup>29</sup> *Ovid and the Fasti: An Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 14. This study does not deal with the nagging problem of generic 'newness' but offers some useful insights into the connection between literature and art, 'Ovid would have observed that where the artist did have free rein was in the area of ornamentation, that the richness of that ornamentation had never been seen before and was not constrained by a specific code . . . The poet must have realized that the non-narrative Roman calendar provided an admirable, unifying framework for exploiting the same 'episodic' and decorative approach of Augustan art, unified by the overall design of the building question,' 29.

metres. The *mâhbâ* cycle begins with Farvardîn, the first month in the calendar, marking the advent of spring and a new year, and thus sets the convivial tone of the occasion:

O king, choose serenity and enjoy happiness,  
the month of Farvardîn brings tidings of good fortune.  
Saying that the kingdom of the seven climes  
will be in your command due to the lofty heaven,  
such is the decree of fate, O exalted lord!  
that you will be ruler of the land until the day of Resurrection.  
Now the Byzantine, now the king of China,  
send tribute in obeisance to you.  
You are Abû al-Mulûk Arsalân son of Mas'ûd,  
crown and throne, kingdom and seal are all proud of you.  
Forever plant the sapling of justice in your kingdom's garden;  
ever pluck the sweets of fortune from the branches of justice;  
ever hear the sound of luck in your exalted ear;  
ever see a happy face with your fortunate eye.<sup>30</sup>

The opening poem, marking the beginning of the Persian year, sets the scene for a year-long celebration. The next month opens with an invitation to drink wine, now not addressed to the sultan specifically but to an unnamed courtier or beloved:

Urdîbihisht has made the world a paradise  
O beloved, wine is sanctioned in paradise.  
Lo! repose merrily and ask for wine,  
for being without wine is unseemly.<sup>31</sup>

The repetition of key words, *may* (wine) and *zisht* (unseemly), along with the alliteration between *may* and *mâh*, accentuates the lyrical quality, as appropriate for a celebratory poem. After a brief description of a spring scene, the poem ends with more praise of the sultan. The theme of wine-drinking and merriment continues through the next nine poems until the poet reaches the last month of the year:

<sup>30</sup> *Dîvân*, 939.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 940.



The month of Sipandurmaz is the last of the year  
and the last month [in the life] of the malevolent.<sup>32</sup>

and ends with a benediction upon the sultan:

May the constellations of the year be auspicious  
for the sultan of the world King Arsalân.

Such a poem would have been presented to the sultan on the occasion of *nawrûz*, for which the poet would have been richly rewarded, especially given the novelty of poetic form he utilized. The numerous qasidas written by earlier Ghaznavid poets to mark the occasion testify to the importance of this festival at court, and although Sultan Malik Arsalân ruled for less than three years, most of the poems dedicated to him are of this nature, i.e., festive and in unusual forms or metres.<sup>33</sup>

The *Rûzhâ-yi Furs* is a similar work with thirty poems corresponding to the thirty days of the Zoroastrian calendar.<sup>34</sup> Each poem consists of five *bayts* (except for the third one for *Urdîbihishtrûz*, which has four) and includes a reference to Sultan Malik Arsalân. In the first poem, *Ûrmazdrûz*, the poet exhorts his addressee, i.e., the *sâqî*, to bring a goblet of wine to create a festive assembly for the sultan:

Today is Ûrmazd, o wine-imbibing beloved  
rise and refresh us with a goblet of wine.  
O Ûrmazd-faced one on this day of Ûrmazd  
give me the wine which makes me merry like Ûrmazd  
so we can be happy and repose contentedly  
in the joyful assembly of Sultan Abû al-Mulûk  
Malik Arsalân—the ornament of kings—there is  
no crowned king like him.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 943–4.

<sup>33</sup> In this regard, also see the poem by Adîb al-Mamâlik listing the days of the week and month in French, a language and culture that captured the interest of the literary elite in the Qajar period, *Dîvân-i Kâmil*, ed. Vahîd Dastgardî (Tehran: Furûghî, 1353/1974), 749.

<sup>34</sup> For more information on the history of calendars in Iran, see *Elr*, 'Calendars.' The relevant article for Mas'ûd Sa'd's poems is by Antonio Panairo on the Zoroastrian calendar.

May his bounty and fortune be plentiful in the world  
as long as there is the bounty of autumn and delights of spring.<sup>35</sup>

In the next poem, *Bahmanrûz*, in an amorous vein, the poet invites the beloved for loveplay for in this kingdom the justice of Sultan Malik Arsalân has made people happy. Then the poet moves on to each successive day, calling for wine-drinking or music. At times, as in *Murdâ-drûz*, the content is entirely panegyric with no references to wine or the beloved. In a single instance, in *Tîrrûz*, he makes a reference to himself:

O beauty whose arrows are aloft on the day of Tîr,  
rise and give me wine with a high melody.  
Sing of love in the mode of love,  
call forth the delightful melodies of nature;  
listen to poems of renown from me,  
praising the victorious king.<sup>36</sup>

Occasionally, as in the above poem, he does not mention the sultan's name, perhaps due to metrical exigencies. In the last poem of the cycle, using a poetic convention he hints at a possible source for his information:

On [the day of] Anîrân I have heard from the old  
one must drink wine in a heavy goblet.<sup>37</sup>

With the *Rûzhâ-yi haftab*, each poem, consisting of seven *bayts*, begins with a reference to the corresponding constellation.<sup>38</sup> Then it moves to brief praise of the beloved's beauty and the familiar exhortation to drink wine and ends with praise of Sultan Malik Arsalân, as in this first poem of the series:

<sup>35</sup> *Dîvân*, 944.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 947–8.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 953.

<sup>38</sup> This arrangement calls to mind Nizâmî's *masnavî*, *Haft paykar*, which also connects the constellations to the days of the week. For further information on the symbolism of this, see Julie S. Meisami's introduction to her translation of this text, *Haft Paykar: A Medieval Persian Romance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), xxiv–xxxii.

It is Sunday and this day is connected to the sun.  
 In the sun give me some fine wine  
 O sunny one, give me wine that  
 in its brightness bespeaks the sun.  
 In memory of a king, when I drink,  
 wine becomes the elixir of life in my hands.  
 Sultan Abû al-Mulûk Malik Arsalân whose title  
 from heaven is Crown of the Kings of the World.  
 O sun! the world is bright because of you,  
 until the sun shines you [too] shine like the sun.<sup>39</sup>

The address to a beloved who fulfills the role of *sâqî* and the dedication to kings of yore are reminiscent of the proto-*sâqînâmahs* that eventually became an independent genre in the hands of Hâfiz Shîrâzî (d. 1389).<sup>40</sup> Connected with royal assemblies and the topic of kingship, the earliest such verse appears to be a couplet from a lost *masnavî* of Fakhr al-Dîn Gurgânî in the *mutaqârib* metre:

Saqi, bring that liquid, fiery and bright,  
 that removes the heart's rust and the soul's darkness.

The cupbearer was an institution of ancient Iranian origins, as James R. Russell writes:

The cupbearer appears thus to have enjoyed special access to the Achaemenid monarch, who usually feasted on the other side of a curtain from his company . . . The scope of the cupbearer's influence appears to have been considerable in view of the fact that it was customary for the king to consider

<sup>39</sup> *Dîvân*, 953–4.

<sup>40</sup> See Gulchîn Ma'ânî's *Tazkirah-yi paymânah* (Mashhad: Dânishgâh-i Mashhad, 1359/1980) for a discussion of this genre and an anthology of poems. This work is actually an appendix (*zayl*) to a pre-modern work, 'Abd al-Nabî Qazvîni's *Tazkirah-yi maykhânâh*. Like the *shabrâshûb*, this genre has a complex and long history that provides a rich example of how genres originate and are transformed over time. Also see Mahjûb's 'Sâqînâmah-Mughannînâmah,' *Sukhan* 11 (1339/1960), 69–79.

petitions when slightly inebriated, so that the verdict might be favourable; the Sasanians continued this practice.<sup>41</sup>

Therefore, the connection of the cupbearer with the old courtly culture of Iran was never lost, and the Ghaznavids were especially mindful of being heirs to this tradition.<sup>42</sup> *Sâqî* is but one of the epithets used by the early Persian poets for the beloved, others being *turk*, *sanam*, *nigâr*, *pisar*, etc., as was seen in the last section. Thus, these poems of Mas'ûd Sa'd, in a language very atypical of panegyrics in the *qasida* form, utilize the topos of wine and the cupbearer to celebrate the institution of kingship and continue the practices of Persian courtly culture. Taking this view into consideration, the poems seem less anomalous and exotic and may arguably constitute the result of a natural but innovative transformation and regrouping of existing tropes and topoi in classical Persian poetry.

### C. Mustazâd: A Choral Poem

The earliest extant example of this poetic form in Persian is a poem found in Mas'ûd Sa'd's *dîvân*, and even after him it was not a very popular form, 'presumably because of its unorthodox character,' according to Munibur Rahman. In Rahman's words, this form can be defined as 'a poem based upon the pattern of the *ghazal* or the *rubâ'î*, in which each hemistich is followed by a short metrical line. This short line is metrically related to the principal hemistich, and usually comprises the first and last feet to the metre employed in the latter.'<sup>43</sup> It was probably a poem performed in an oral context, perhaps with a

<sup>41</sup> 'Cupbearer', *EI*; also, for details of the Ghaznavid celebration of *nawrîz* and wine poetry, see William L. Hanaway's insightful article, 'Blood and Wine: Sacrifice and Celebration in Manûchîhrî's Wine Poetry,' in *Iran* 26 (1988), 69–80.

<sup>42</sup> See Sîrûs Shamîsâ's comments on this, *Zindânî-i Nây*, 103–4. He also suggests that Mas'ûd Sad most likely received his information on the Zoroastrian calendar from Bîrûnî.

<sup>43</sup> *EP*, 'Mustazâd.'

chorus.<sup>44</sup> There is a *mustazâd*-like poem attributed to the Sufi master Abû Sa'îd-i Abû al-Khayr, who lived slightly before Mas'ûd Sa'd:

A message arrived from my friend, 'Set matters in order—  
This is the way.  
Bring forth your heart's love and remove obstacles from the path—  
This is the way.'<sup>45</sup>

Although there is no precise dating of these lines, given the fact that they are attributed to a Sufi poet, it is probable that they would have been used in an oral context. Later, other mystical poets like 'Attâr, Ibn Husâm, and then Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî also utilized this poetic form. Given Mas'ûd Sa'd's interest in non-conventional poetic forms, especially for the sake of expanding his repertoire, it may not be incorrect to conclude that he was the first to adapt this already existing poetic form for panegyric and include it in his *divân*.

Mas'ûd Sa'd's *mustazâd* is a panegyric for his patron, Sultan Mas'ûd:

O victorious sultan, your justice in the world / has become manifest.  
O king Mas'ûd you are the renowned sun / in the world.  
Your seat is heaven's apex; due to your looks and mind / the world a garden.  
Like the azure sword turning to shedding blood / becomes your ally,  
In your hand reposes lighter than a rose / a heavy mace.  
On a swift lion, lightning becomes a soft cloud / under your reins.  
It [your mount] is a mountain turning into a wind / under your thigh.  
Before your lofty throne in obedience fortune / has girded its waist.  
No one has heard of your like; as just as you was not / Anûshîrvân.  
A king like you—in any period— / there never was.  
In panegyricizing you 'May you endure' / became a formula.  
The arrival of happy spring has made the world / full of rose gardens.  
From the hand of every beauty comelier than spring / take a goblet.  
In honour and joy may you rule on the world's throne / until eternity.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> This last suggestion was made by Mahdî Nûrîyân, personal communication.

<sup>45</sup> Mahjûb, *Sabk-i Khurâsânî*, 608. M. Shafî'i-Kadkanî suggests that this poem has been transmitted incorrectly and is not a *mustazâd*, which would then make Mas'ûd Sa'd the innovator of this form.

<sup>46</sup> *Divân*, 783. There appears to be an error in the order of the middle portion of lines 12 and 13 in Nûrîyân's edition, which I have indicated by brackets.

Here, the sentences are not complete without the *mustazâd* line. This is the difference from later poems where the lines without the *mustazâd* part make complete sentences and are not of the same rhyme.<sup>47</sup> The poem has a majestic tone and its direct address of the sultan instead of the beloved as in the *rûzbâ* poems suggests it is intended for recitation at a formal occasion, such as *nawrûz*. The nature of this form seems almost to require a shorter poem since the rhythmic movement is extended by the extra line; also, instead of pairs of half-lines there is one complete line that is connected by enjambment. Written in the same spirit as the poems discussed in the previous section but in a more stately tone, it would appear that once again Mas'ûd Sa'd has come up with a novel way of presenting the stock panegyric images of the *qasida* form in an oral context.

#### D. Ghazal: A Nascent Poetic Form

The story of the rise and development of the Persian *ghazal*, the most enduring and popular poetic form in Persian literature, has been a favourite subject with scholars of classical Persian literature. It was Sanâ'î, Mas'ûd Sa'd's younger contemporary, who was responsible for the popularization of the *ghazal* as well as contributing the largely Sufi stock of images that became requisite for this poetic form.<sup>48</sup> Mas'ûd Sa'd, writing on the eve of these developments in the *ghazal*, also wrote poems in this form, although the small number of his *ghazals* attests to the fact that it was not a favoured genre at this time, at least among court poets.

Not surprisingly, Mas'ûd Sa'd's use of the *ghazal* is for panegyric purposes. Out of twenty-two *ghazals* in his *divân*, one is in the *habs-îyah* genre, one is a *munâzirah*, eight are purely laudatory, and the rest generically amorous suggesting that they might have been rough drafts for the *nasîb* portion of a *qasida*. The *ghazals* that are dedicated to Sultan Mas'ûd mention the patron's name in or close to the last line,

<sup>47</sup> Shamîsâ, *Zindânî-i Nây*, 81; Mahjûb, *Sabk-i Khurâsânî*, 611.

<sup>48</sup> Julie S. Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 237–98; specifically for Sanâ'î's role in the development of this form, see, Frank Lewis, *Reading, Writing and Recitation*.

indicating that the *takhallus* was not entirely separated from the patron's name at this point. Only the *habsīyah* G13, mentioned in the last chapter, gives the poet's name explicitly spelled out in the last line and is quoted in full here:

O ruby wine be the solace of the soul,  
 be obedient to the disposition of nobles.  
     Fate has wounded me, be my balm;  
     I am pained by fortune, be my cure.  
 Without you the crystal goblet is a lifeless form,  
 Be the life of the pure body of the goblet.  
     A dearth of affection has dried my heart,  
     rain down beneficially upon my heart.  
 If you have suffered imprisonment like me,  
 be my prisonmate and companion in chains.  
     Night's star is revealed in you,  
     no one tells you to hide yourself.  
 I write a letter in happiness,  
 be the address at the head of it.  
     You are the offspring of the shining sun,  
     be the envoy of the shining sun.  
 If there is no candle, be a bright candle  
 in front of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmân.

This love lyric is one of the most charming poems by Mas'ūd Sa'd. Constructed in the form of an apostrophe to wine, it is tender in tone as if addressed to a beloved. In this poem, the poet asks succour for all his sufferings, including that of being imprisoned, if this declaration is a literal one.

Another exceptional poem, Ghazal 16, entitled *Az zabân-i pâdshâh*, is entirely a speech in the voice of Sultan Malik Arsalân himself.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Qr105 is also in the same vein and can actually be considered a *ghazal* too. Compare this to Sanâ'i's *ghazal* which is the statement of Iblîs, no. 129, translated by F. Lewis, *ibid.*, 354–5. Also see Mas'ūd Sa'd's Q226 in the unusual metre *bahr-i munsarih-i murabba'-i matvî*, L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian Metres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 4.4.07, dedicated to Malik Arsalân.

Some of the more innovative poems in the poet's oeuvre, especially those that break away from traditional forms, were written in the last period of his life and are all dedicated to Sultan Malik Arsalân, including the *mustazâd*. Perhaps this period is significant as the apex of creative activity of our poet's life and/or it reflects the tastes and demands of this patron.<sup>50</sup> Also, a poet who had experienced the worst aspects of being a professional poet must have been disillusioned by traditional panegyrics and might have turned to new ways of performing the same task.

### E. *The Poet on the Craft of Poetry*

[Poetic writing is] an alchemy which gives a doubtful argument the authority of proof, and turns proof back into a doubtful argument; makes contemptible material into something original and of great value; inverts essences, transforms natures, so that the claims of alchemy are justified and the dreams of the elixir come true—except that this alchemy is spiritual, clothed in imagination and intellect, of body and matter.

—al-Jurjâni, *Asrâr al-Balâgha*<sup>51</sup>

Now that all the poetic forms and genres employed by Mas'ūd Sa'd have been examined, it is possible to glean the poet's views on the art of poetry and his perception of his own poems. Often, it is difficult to separate the exaggerated boasting of poets, since it is a convention of the *qasida*, from their disingenuous statements expressing their ideas about the theoretical aspect of poetry. The concept of being innovative as a poet has previously been mentioned in chapter one; it is a central idea in various literary traditions, but oftentimes it does not designate

<sup>50</sup> For Malik Arsalân see Bosworth's *The Later Ghaznavids*, 90–8. Although he ruled for only three years, he was in his twenties at this time, and given the variety of poems addressed to him by Mas'ūd Sa'd as well as by Mukhtârî it would appear that he was somewhat of a literary connoisseur and Maecenas.

<sup>51</sup> Quoted in Adonis' *An Introduction to Arab Poetics*, tr. Catherine Cobham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 53.

any specific quality.<sup>52</sup> In writing about the significance of the term 'originality' in eighteenth-century English literature, W. Jackson Bate remarks:

It was an 'open' term, capable of suggesting not only creativity, invention, or mere priority but also essentialism (getting back to the fundamental), vigour, purity, and above all freedom of the spirit. As such it transcended most of the particular qualities that could be latched on to it, qualities that, if taken singly as exclusive ends, could so easily conflict with each other (priority versus essentialism, for instance, or primitive simplicity versus the creative intelligence of an Isaac Newton). Add to this the social appeal of the concept of 'originality': its association with the individual's 'identity' (a word that was now increasing in connotative importance) as contrasted with the more repressive and dehumanizing aspects of organized life.<sup>53</sup>

This idea informs almost all of Mas'ûd Sa'd's statements on the craft of poetry, to an extent that would perhaps only be found in the works of the later poet Nizâmî Ganjavî.<sup>54</sup> The various ways in which this Ghaznavid poet can be viewed as being innovative or original in his poetry can be summarized under the following categories, which he refers to himself:

<sup>52</sup> See Paul E. Losensky's illuminating study, *Welcoming Figbani: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1998) for an examination of the concept of 'newness' (*tâzahgû'î*) and originality in Safavid and Mughal Persian poetry, 193–220. By this period, the tradition of Persian poetry was several centuries old and had a heavy burden of the past to bear.

<sup>53</sup> *The Burden of the Past and the English Poet* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970), 104.

<sup>54</sup> See Jalâl Khâliqî-Mutlaq's article on Nizâmî's views on the art of poetry, 'Az gil-i shî'r tâ gul-i shî'r.' *Îrânsbinâsi* 3: 3 (1993), 199–212. For a broader discussion on Islamic poetry as *sibr-i halâl* (licit magic) see Johann Christoph Bürgel's *The Feather of Simorgh* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), particularly his emphasis on the poets' reliance on their *tab'* (inborn nature) and *san'a* (acquired art) rather than inspiration, 55. In 'Esthetics by Implication: What Metaphors of Craft Tell us about the "Unity" of the Persian Qasida' in *Edebiyat* 4 (1979), 73–96, Jerome Clinton examines two such metaphors in Farrukhî and Nâsir Khusraw as a way of exemplifying the theoretical ideas of the medieval Persian critic, Shams al-Qays.

1. His claim to have written both prose and poetry, although nothing in the former form survives. He is known for a prose rendering of the *Shâhnâmâh*, a claim which is probably false.<sup>55</sup> Both this attribution and that of poetry in Hindî can be traced to 'Awfî, an unreliable source on the whole. However, it is entirely possible that such a prose text was written by Mas'ûd Sa'd, as were written by other poets, but is not extant. No other prose work by him survives or is mentioned by any literary historian. In his own words:

In Persian or Arabic, in prose or verse,  
there is no sign of a poet or interpreter like me. (Q237)

2. His claim to be a proficient bilingual poet, of which there is ample evidence. Apart from a few lines of Arabic scattered in his Persian *dîvân*, there is no surviving poetry of his in Arabic.<sup>56</sup> After 'Awfî, there arose a tradition that celebrates him as a trilingual poet, with an additional *dîvân* in Hindavi; this is a complex issue that will be examined in the fifth chapter under the rubric of his reception in India.

3. His use of various poetic genres, especially those seen in this chapter, some of which he may have been the first to employ seriously in the service of panegyric verse, is probably the strongest evidence for originality. As he himself boastfully admits:

Be just, o lord of truth! Does anybody have  
my tongue, pen and imagination!  
Among the skilled masters I am [proficient] in every art  
although today my name is included amongst all the poets. (Q25)

One critic believes that the increased popularity of the *qit'ah* form in this period is a result of this poet's continual striving for innovation

<sup>55</sup> De Blois, *Persian Literature* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1994), 5/ 2: 152–3. The cause of misattribution may have been the fact that an early contemporary of Mas'ûd Sa'd, 'Alî ibn Ahmad, wrote such a work, *Ikhtiyârât-i Shâhnâmâh* or *Kitâb-i intikhâb-i Shâhnâmâh*, for the Seljuq Malikshâh. Also see Mahmud Omidsalar, 'Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân va *Shâhnâmâh*-i Firdawsî,' *Gulistân* 3 (1999), 99–112.

<sup>56</sup> For a discussion of his Arabic poetry, the few lines in the Persian *dîvân* as well as eight lines quoted by Vatvât, see Sîrûs Shamîsâ, *Zindânî-i Nay*, 125–9.

and variation.<sup>57</sup> In the field of classical Western literature, Cairns has written about the manipulation of various poetic elements to achieve originality and innovation:

Originality in generic composition can be treated under four categories, which together cover the whole field: first, the novelty which consists in introducing into a generic pattern topoi and notions not hitherto associated with it; second, the individual writer's own choice, combination and arrangement of the standard topoi of a particular genre; third, his alterations and modifications of single topoi; and fourth, the employment by a writer of the major generic sophistications which are potentially applicable to all genres.<sup>58</sup>

All these characteristics are to be found in the poetry of Mas'ûd Sa'd as discussed above.

4. His extensive body of work in the genre of *habsîyât*, never before utilized in Persian literature to the same degree, for which he became recognized as a great poet and remains popular to this day.

The list above is not exhaustive, and any such list would be different, depending on the interpretation of the poet's words. As readers of his poetry in the twentieth century, with a long but still incomplete history of the practice of Persian literature as our research tool, it is precisely the 'newness' and 'originality' of his work that strikes us. Criticizing the so-called innovative poets of our time, Khusraw Farshîdvard writes that 'innovation (*naw'âvarî*) must not be mistaken for new [verbal] tricks and showing off, rather it must be recognized as the result of in-depth reflection and study of the past artistic accomplishments and is the work of talented and profound individuals.'<sup>59</sup> He goes on to

<sup>57</sup> Husayn Khâliqî Râd, *Qit'ab*, 12.

<sup>58</sup> Cairns, *Generic Composition*, 99.

<sup>59</sup> 'Naw'âvarî va sunnatgarâ'î' in *Dar bârah-yi adabîyât va naqd-i adabî*, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Amîr Kabîr, 1373/1994), 159. Farshîdvard emphasizes the fact that true literary innovation must be firmly tied to tradition. He goes on to list nine kinds of innovation found in Persian poets, all of which could be applied to the poet under study. This chapter is an important contribution to the discussion of this subject in both classical and modern Persian literature.

praise Mas'ûd Sa'd as an innovative poet of his time. Punning on *naw'* (genre, form) and *naw* (novel), Mas'ûd Sa'd tells himself that compared to the trite poems of the other poets, he is capable of producing something new in his works:

[Other] birds have two or three standard songs,  
You are always singing new ditties. (Q302)

He is quick to dismiss the poets of his time as hacks. In another typical claim of originality, he self-referentially utilizes images of writing and composition:

My verses are such that in the technique of their composition,  
not a word is borrowed and no idea repeated;  
my soul composes them and my intellect polishes them,  
heaven declaims them and the world listens to them. (Q2)

This is clearly a hyperbolic statement, since no poet could dare to break away from tradition so completely as to eschew the practices of borrowing and repetition. 'No author felt inferior or unoriginal because he used, adapted, and modified themes and images inherited from tradition and sanctioned by antiquity . . . To work within a given tradition and adopt its devices is perfectly compatible with emotional power and artistic value.'<sup>60</sup> In contrast, Mas'ûd Sa'd is carried away and this statement is actually an example of rhetorical devices such as alliteration and personification, to the point that he does not accept agency for his creation at all. Eventually, poetry becomes subservient to him, as in these lines:

From the many erudite refrains and virginal ideas  
poetry sometimes is compressed in my talent. (Q176)

I am such a one that when his voice reaches poetry's ear,  
soul begins to flow in the body of eloquence. (Q237)

The process of poetic inspiration and production is skilfully reversed here. He also attributes his work to his disposition (*nihâd*) and links

<sup>60</sup> René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature*, new rev. ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), 259.

meaning and content together as a final product of the elements of fire and water. He reiterates this notion occasionally substituting the Arabic *tab'* for *nihâd*:

The product of my talent is this poem in which  
you will find a thousand subtle expressions of fire and water. (Q16)

The refrain of the poem also provides an occasion to liken his poetry to the elements:

I composed panegyre with the genius that you see—  
its words and meanings depict fire and water in a notebook. (Q15)

His poetry has the qualities of two opposite elements:

If anyone deserves to be proud of their poetry and prose  
it is I, because today my poetry and prose are my own.  
My poetry and prose never decrease  
for my poetry and prose are pearls and my talent a sea.  
My talent is flowing water but  
its abundance and power are like fire and air. (Q26)

Although this poem is a response (*tazmîn*) on one by Labîbî, an older poet, Mas'ûd Sa'd singles himself out as one possessed of exceptional talent. Farshîdvard points out that these lines exemplify the chief criterion of aesthetics as prized by critics of the period: eloquence (*ravânî*, *fasâhat*).<sup>61</sup> Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry has the qualities of the diametrically opposite elements of fire and water, the former in its quality of fluidity and the latter in its forcefulness.

On a more practical level, he makes a reference to the profession of panegyric poetry and its implications for being a creative artist:

Don't compare my poetry to that of others  
since it is likening a fine golden ruby to straw . . .  
A noble person who seeks a good name in poetry  
should not slavishly accept payment from people . . .  
My verses are like arrows from my talent's quiver  
for one of them keeps my bow stretched taut. (Q8)

<sup>61</sup> *Dar bârah-yi adabîyât*, 305.

For a poet whose professional life was intimately linked to the glorification of war and conquest, martial imagery is an appropriate metaphor for him to employ to strengthen the impact of his qasidas. Instead of *being* weapons, here his personified poems wield them:

My poetry has a sharp sword  
my skill has a wide field . . .  
I have made a point that is an [entire] work  
I have composed a poem that is a collection.  
Every moment an ever new skill  
is the guest of my disposition . . .  
Beware you not tell me when I recite poetry  
that this is a verbose prostitute.<sup>62</sup> (Q36)

In the following lines, he dwells on the idea of multiplicity, explaining this concept by analogy to another type of craftsman: the jeweller. He claims that each *divân* of his is studded with his poems, thus representing a dazzling image of infinite gems.

I compose a thousand *divâns* and in each one  
I fashion a thousand panegyrics like a hundred thousand gems. (Q91)

Since the poet did not compose a thousand *divâns*, in an exaggerated fashion he is likening the result of his endeavour to that of shining gems that reflect each other in infinite ways.

I have not been two-tongued, nor has there been  
anyone like me, one body with a two-tongued pen.  
In my poetry there are a hundred meanings in ten fine  
points—my poetry makes one poem an [entire] collection.<sup>63</sup> (Q229)

The result is that his poems become the touchstone for poetry itself:

Be convinced Mas'ûd that this poetry of yours  
has become a [measuring] stone in the scale of weights. (Q167)

<sup>62</sup> Compare this image to the one of Sanâ'î's poem as a bride, Lewis, *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, 163–4.

<sup>63</sup> Yâsimî's ed. has 'ten *divâns*' here.

This is not an ordinary boast: in addressing himself in such a fashion Mas'ûd Sa'd is claiming a niche for himself in the tradition of classical poetry, much in the same way that Hâfiz would do almost three centuries later in this *maqta'* of his well-known *Turk-i Shîrâzî* poem:

Hâfiz, you have composed a *ghazal* and pierced a pearl; come  
and recite it,  
for heaven will strew  
the necklace of the Pleiades on your poem.<sup>64</sup>

Mas'ûd Sa'd utilized the *qasida* form which allowed more space for exploration of this subject than the restricted parameters of the *ghazal*. He does not mince words here when he declares himself to be unique:

I am he like whom in poetry no poet  
is distinguished in words or meaning,  
Sometimes in prose my words are precious pearls,  
sometimes in verse my genius manifest lawful magic. (Q172)

He falls back on the traditional idea of poetry being licit magic for which he is the agent.<sup>65</sup>

Mas'ûd Sa'd does not seem to suffer the anxiety that later poets would concerning the burden of the tradition of Persian poetry behind him.<sup>66</sup> Perhaps this is partly because this tradition was still in its nascent form and its memory did not have the weight to overwhelm the poet with the sheer bulk of its achievement; to a greater extent, he is convinced of his own excellence with respect to other poets. In his world, as the evidence of *tazmîn* verses indicates, two poets of the past were paramount as models: Rûdakî and 'Unsurî, both court poets whose legacy was powerful for centuries after they lived. The latter's

<sup>64</sup> For other usages of the term, '*iqd-i surayâ*, see 'Afifi's *Farhangnâmah-yi shî'rî*, 1802–3.

<sup>65</sup> Bürgel, *Feather of Simorgh*, 53–88.

<sup>66</sup> Contrast this with the case of the later *sabk-i Hindî* poets, who 'were acutely aware of the collective and individual achievement of their predecessors . . . [and] had to reevaluate, reform, and recreate the tradition in order to do it justice,' Paul Losensky, *Welcoming Fighânî*, 212.

hold on court poets of the period has been examined in chapter two; there are other poets too, some of whom are mere names to us now, who played a significant role in the poet's fashioning of his poetics. 'Unsurî is evoked twice (Q87 and Q89) in victory *qasidas*. Rûdakî and Abû Nuwâs are mentioned in Qt139 as bowing to our poet. Among Arab poets, Mas'ûd Sa'd also mentions Hassân and Sajjân in passing. Of his near contemporaries, he invokes Akhtarî, Râshidî, Rashîdî, 'Atâ-yi Ya'qûb, Ghazâ'irî, Labîbî and Mu'ayyad. Of course, there are numerous cases where no poet is mentioned explicitly but a contemporary reader would have been clued in to the presence of the unnamed voice. Mas'ûd Sa'd is more occupied with declaiming his own position of superiority and originality than with the qualities of his contemporaries. Having looked at the precursors and models of Mas'ûd Sa'd, the question that follows is how his contemporaries perceived him and how posterity received him, issues to be taken up in the next chapter.





## Chapter Five

### *The Reception of Mas'ûd Sa'd*

While other branches of literary studies are tied to the grand narratives and to the concomitant, singular coherence that comes from the coincidence of a language with a polity and with a culture, the guiding and sought-for coherence of this [Western] philological enterprise lies outside those parameters in defiance of the boundaries of given languages and nations, even of conventional periods . . . 'Real' linguistic unity and its necessary state of fixedness is a transparently Edenic notion (and in its rare achievement is death itself), but in the midst of exile, in the most contingent and fleeting of vernaculars, in life itself, superb poetry is born and bred.<sup>1</sup>

#### A. *Mas'ûd Sa'd among his Contemporaries*

There is sufficient evidence to indicate that Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry was read in his own lifetime and continued to be read for at least a century after his death. During the poet's life, there was already a group of his admirers who created a nexus of texts of their poems, dominated by the personality and work of Mas'ûd Sa'd, that would determine the

<sup>1</sup> Maria Rosa Menocal, *Shards of Love: Exile and the Origins of the Lyric* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1984), 119.

reception of the poet after his death. In the post-prison last years of his life at Ghazna, his impact as an established court poet is attested by the poetical account of two younger contemporaries, Mukhtârî and Sanâ'î, both of whom paid homage to him in different ways.<sup>2</sup> The two younger poets had experienced exile and frustration at not being properly recognized, and for them Mas'ûd Sa'd was the model of the poet who had seen great rewards at the end of his period of suffering. Mukhtârî views Mas'ûd Sa'd as a kindred spirit, as seen in the poem discussed in chapter two; as for Sanâ'î, at the request of their mutual patron, Siqat al-Mulk, he paid Mas'ûd Sa'd the compliment of collating his *divân*,<sup>3</sup> in which he erroneously included poems by other poets. He apologizes to Mas'ûd Sa'd for his mistake in these lines, as translated by Frank Lewis:

When this, your servant, saw that your sayings  
turned the infidels all to believers,  
He gathered together each of your verses  
just as 'Osmân collected the Scripture;  
When he saw the whole world desirous of your poetry,  
his reason, parading around his poetic sensibility,  
Gathered all your poems together  
and made them available in a *Divân*.  
He filled up his quires with the shapes of letters  
according to what was reasonable and pleasant.  
Since your words, like a surging sea,  
freely cast their gems and pearls on all the world,

<sup>2</sup> 'Awfi quotes two other contemporary poets, Hakîm Rûhî, *Lubâb*, 652–6, and Rashîdî Samarqandî, 663–8, who mention Mas'ûd Sa'd in their poems. To the latter, Mas'ûd Sa'd addressed Q244 in which he acknowledges his debt to him.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis, *Reading, Writing and Recitation*, 132–6; Qazvîni, 'Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân,' 46–9. Lewis points out that 'The fact that Mas'ûd Sa'd himself, who would have been about sixty-five years of age at the time, was not busy preserving his own work, but instead let this task fall to a younger and not very well-known poet who was apparently not personally close to him, may be indicative of the continuing primacy of the performance tradition over the process of written transmission,' 132–3.

He made it like a jewelbox filled with pearls,  
and set over it as guard the inability of thieves (to imitate it).

Later, when Mas'ûd Sa'd discovered the errors in the *divân*, and especially the inclusion of poems not by himself, he says (in Sanâ'î's words):

Tâher relayed this fact to my lord [i.e., Mas'ûd Sa'd];  
my lord brought up an objection and proved it:  
He said, 'Well, Sanâ'î, in his ignorance, collected  
the vulgarities of a hod carrier with Scripture;  
He strung pearls and marbles on a single string  
and then spilled the beads.  
Like any ignoramus, he imprisoned a demon  
in the same place as an angel.'

As a result, Sanâ'î is mortified and explains himself in the following manner:

When Sir Tâher relayed this to your servant,  
I was so embarrassed, words could never describe!  
But I entreat you to forgive me, for the miracle  
of your verses had dumbfounded me.  
For, hoping to pass themselves off as yours  
the verse of whatever poet fabricated them.  
In the strong desire to reveal itself,  
hid itself in their midst.  
How would I know about him who, in order to sell,  
posed as the peer of Hassân?  
So having composed a poem which turned out well,  
he branded it with the name of Mas'ûd-e Sa'd-e Salmân.<sup>4</sup>

This anecdote is informative about the culture of the circulation and readership of poetry in the Ghaznavid period. Sanâ'î's copying of Mas'ûd Sa'd's *divân* ensured the fact that it would be read, and at the same time was an opportunity for him to attach his name to the fame of an already established poet, not just by passing off his poem as the

<sup>4</sup> Lewis, *ibid.*, 134–6.

work of another poet but by possibly fabricating an anecdote connecting him with that poet. In this act of selecting the text of Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry to copy, Sanâ'î is assisting in, to use Manfred Naumann's term, the process of 'social mode of reception.' In this chapter, while discussing the issues attending the reception of Mas'ûd Sa'd in subsequent periods, I follow Naumann's view that:

It is not therefore literature or works 'in themselves' to which the reader establishes a relation in reading them. It is works, rather, which out of the potential stock of produced works have been selected, propagated, and evaluated by social institutions, according to ideological, aesthetic, economic, or other viewpoints, and whose road to the reader has additionally been cleared by measures of the most varied sort . . . By his individual decision to choose a particular work from among those selected, the reader at the same time constitutes a social relationship.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, anecdotes like the one quoted above and direct references to the poet in the works of others are valuable pieces of evidence for documenting this process. For about a century or so, the aesthetic judgments that were established stayed in place and Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry was a touchstone by which poetry was measured. As seen earlier, Rashîd Vatvât's manual on poetics from the twelfth century, *Hadâ'iq al-sihr fî daqâ'iq al-shi'r*, includes copious examples of his Persian poetry. However, what would endure over a longer period of time was not this aspect of him but the story of his imprisonment, which was a result of hagiographic efforts on the part of literary historians.

The poet laureate of the rival Seljuqs, Mu'izzî, addresses Mas'ûd Sa'd in admiring tones in a poem:

Poetry is in thrall to, like Solomon's fairies,  
the intellect of Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân.  
From [his] poetry's loom, the unique fabric  
daily gives new silk to the court of the sultan.

<sup>5</sup> 'Literary Production and Reception,' in *New Literary History* 8 (1976), tr. Peter Heath, 119.

Accounts of his wisdom brighten the heart,  
 recitation of his poetry rejuvenates the soul.  
 From joy at his learning, in the abode of peace  
 Sa'd and Salmân are at peace and happy.  
 If the proof of greatness is wisdom then it is no surprise  
 that he is the great proof of God's wisdom.<sup>6</sup>

These encomiastic statements also shed light on the validity of the obsessive anxiety concerning the fate of his poetry that Mas'ûd Sa'd expresses in his prison poetry. For a poet of this stature, who was venerated by a poet laureate, with no common experience of exile to create a bond of empathy between them, incarceration for years was indeed detrimental to his career as well as to his future. The work of many pre-modern poets has been lost to oblivion even though during their lifetimes they enjoyed great success. Ironically enough, it was his prison poetry that ensured him the reputation he enjoyed with posterity. In the end, Mas'ûd Sa'd's campaign of broadcasting his story was successful, and the story would become a myth over time. Mu'izzî also paid a compliment to Mas'ûd Sa'd when he utilized the *radîf, âtash u âb*, which was first made popular by the latter and became a literary fad around this time.<sup>7</sup>

The author of the Arabic *Maqâmât*, Abû Muhammad al-Qâsim al-Harîri (d. 1122), Mas'ûd Sa'd's exact contemporary, lauds the virtues of the Ghaznavid poet's work in a poem:

Poetry like fragrant buds growing lush  
 with whom raindrops have engaged in love-play;  
 like the zephyr that has spread  
 fragrance on the expanse of the earth;

<sup>6</sup> *Divân*, 790; there are two more *qit'abs* in which Mu'izzî effusively praises Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry, 791, 794.

<sup>7</sup> Frank Lewis, 'The Rise and Fall of a Persian Refrain,' 204–8. A detailed study of the reception of Mas'ûd Sa'd, in terms of imitation by later poets is a rich and yet unexplored topic, but not within the scope of this study. Here I only mention briefly some well-known poems that are imitations of Mas'ûd Sa'd's works. See Paul Losensky, *Welcoming Fighânî*, for the complex problem of imitation in the works of Safavid and Mughal poets, esp. 250–313.

like the pleasant scent of fragrant herbs and friends;  
 like wine making the rounds and brilliant flowers;  
 like stars of the night and pearls on a string;  
 like an enviable life and complete power,  
 of the noble Mas'ûd Sa'd who  
 has cheered Harîrî in the land of Egypt.<sup>8</sup>

It is assumed that Harîrî is passing judgment on Mas'ûd Sa'd's Arabic poetry, but it is entirely possible that being a native of Basra the former would have understood and been able to appreciate the poet's Persian work too. Although Mas'ûd Sa'd's output in Arabic is almost entirely lost, thus limiting the study of its impact on Arabic poetry of the period, this poem is a testimony to the likelihood that there was a line of contact in that direction too. It is quite possible that this poem and story is a fabrication, like many others about the personality and life of Mas'ûd Sa'd.

Mas'ûd Sa'd remained an active court poet until his death, an event which put an end to poets addressing him directly in their poems, but his poetry continued to be circulated and read sufficiently for it to be quoted, imitated and gradually become canonized. It was mentioned in an earlier chapter that a slightly altered form of one of Mas'ûd Sa'd's *rubâ'îs* is also attributed to Abû al-Ma'âlî Nasrullâh Munshî, an influential man of letters at Sultan Bahrâmshâh's court. He must have known Mas'ûd Sa'd in his early days at court, since the poet served for four years under this sultan before he passed away. Under Khusraw Malik (r. 1160–86), the last Ghaznavid sultan, Nasrullâh Munshî was imprisoned and is purported to have written this *rubâ'î*, as related by 'Awfî:

O King! Don't commit acts lest they question you  
 on the day [of resurrection] when no one fears you:  
 'Are you not happy with kingdom and fortune from God?'  
 Then how can I be happy with fetters?<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Shamîsâ, *Zindân-i Nay*, 125–6. This poem was first discovered by Mujtabâ Mînuvî in an Arabic text, *Badâ'i' al-milh*, and published in 'Shî'r-i Harîrî dar bârah-yi Mas'ûd Sa'd,' *Majallah-yi Dânishkadab-yi Adabîyât* 5/4 (1337/1958), 10–11. As far as I am aware, the authenticity of this poem has not been questioned.

<sup>9</sup> Zafarî, *Habsîyah*, 64–6.

He is obviously familiar with the following *rubâ'i* of Mas'ûd Sa'd, since they are essentially the same except for some alterations:

O King! Be afraid of them who will question you  
in the place where no one fears you:  
'Are you not happy with kingship from God?'  
Then how can I be happy with your fetters? (R342)

Nasrullâh Munshî is justly known for his rendition of the *Kalîla wa Dimna* into Persian prose, in 1141 CE. The poets most cited in the *Kalîla wa Dimna* are Mas'ûd Sa'd and Sanâ'î in Persian, and Buhturî in Arabic. In one instance, a line of Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry is juxtaposed with lines from the poetry of Abû Firâs Hamdânî, his counterpart *habsîyât* poet in the Arabic canon, indicating that medieval audiences read these poets together. Among the varied topics discussed in this mirror for princes, exile and incarceration figure quite prominently, and when Dimna is imprisoned by the king, there is an appropriate quotation from Mas'ûd Sa'd.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the state of imprisonment came to be naturally associated with the name of Mas'ûd Sa'd, even after the fact.

At the other end of the world of Persian poetry, which was another frontier of Islam and a breeding-ground for innovative poets, two Caucasian poets, Khâqânî and Falakî, also experienced imprisonment and, like Mas'ûd Sa'd, wrote poems about this experience (although it bears repeating that no imprisoned Persian poet until Bahâr in the twentieth century would write anything more than a poem or two while incarcerated). Naumann's premise that '[t]he reception of a literary work is not, in fact, the outcome of a knowing that could be separated off from the experience itself'<sup>11</sup> is applicable in the case of these imprisoned poets essentially rewriting Mas'ûd Sa'd's prison poetry for their own situations. Writing poetry in prison, these poets internalized the experiences transmitted through the work of the earlier poet. The personal life and literary career of Khâqânî bear remarkable similarities to those of Mas'ûd Sa'd's: incarcerated while trying to go to the Seljuq court, Khâqânî imitated the practice of writing poetry in prison from

<sup>10</sup> *Kalîla wa Dimnâ*, ed. M. Dânishpazhûh (Tehran: Hîrmand, 1374/1995), 107.

<sup>11</sup> 'Literary Production and Reception,' 118.

the example of his great predecessor and wrote five qasidas in the *habsîyât* genre. One of them is in fact his most famous poem, the *qasîdah-yi tarsâ'iyah*, in which he utilizes Christian imagery in a most original and innovative way.<sup>12</sup> It has not previously been noticed that Mas'ûd Sa'd has a *habsîyah* qasida in which he describes his pen, using Christian motifs:

You could say it is Jesus son of Mary  
who as a baby became known for speaking.  
When they took it from water and soil,  
it had a mother but no father . . .  
It rejuvenates every dead meaning—  
behold its wondrous power and success!  
How amazing! look how the pen  
forms a cross with the fingers.  
Like Jesus they mean to kill it,  
since they lop its head off every hour.  
But when it is crucified on the fingers  
its position and rank are exalted.  
It reaches that lofty heaven because  
beyond that there is no path for the soul.  
Since its actions are of a Christian,  
why do its traces seem Manichean? (Q137)

Since Khâqânî had read Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry, especially his *habsîyât*, it is possible that Mas'ûd Sa'd's poem was partly an inspiration for his qasida. In comparison, Mas'ûd Sa'd's poem is short and quite unambitious in the extent and complexity of the Christian images it employs, none of which are foreign to the general repertoire of the classical Persian poet, whereas Khâqânî's poem is complex and reveals his knowledge of the subtleties of the practice of Christianity.<sup>13</sup> Prison was not

<sup>12</sup> For the background and commentary on this qasida, see V. Minorsky's article, 'Khâqânî and Andronicus Comnenus,' in *Bulletin of the School for Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1944), 550–78.

<sup>13</sup> The following is Beelaert's summation of Khâqânî's style, 'Each of the qasîdâs is a highly individual work, in which the conventions of the genre are transformed to such an extent that a feeling of *déjà-lu* almost never occurs. Frequently, philosophically ambitious, always intellectually demanding, they display a richness

the only bond they shared; like other poets of the time, Khâqânî had to contend with the negative aspects of a poetic career, and sometimes a figure like Mas'ûd Sa'd, who ended up being successful and prosperous, is not seen in the most positive light in Khâqânî's poetry. In the following *qit'ah*, in the course of brooding over the action of an imitator who probably caused him some grief by stealing his poem, Khâqânî mentions the relationship of Mas'ûd Sa'd to 'Unsurî:

Khâqânî, don't be depressed by this trivial matter,  
for every imitator of your poetry is your enemy.  
Although you are broken-hearted by the blow of ignominy,  
how will you repair your broken heart?  
In the absence of a just man there is no difference between knowledge  
and ignorance—  
when you don't see an old Zâl in Sistan or in Bust.  
Is Mas'ûd Sa'd not a distinguished poet in your eyes?  
Everyone who searched his poetry found a flowing treasure.  
He wrote in 'Unsurî's style and is 'Unsurî's enemy,  
for in his qasidas he has pointed jibes [at 'Unsurî].  
Fire comes from iron and it makes iron liquid,  
iron comes from rock and it weakens the rock.  
A rebellious son grabs his father's beard at the start,  
a wicked stallion attacks his mother's hand first.  
Alas! there is no cure for the workings of fate,  
for a styer has grown in the eye of our times.<sup>14</sup>

Khâqânî's relationship to Mas'ûd Sa'd is equivalent to that of Mas'ûd Sa'd's to 'Unsurî. Although Khâqânî's references to Mas'ûd Sa'd's jibes at 'Unsurî are not clear to the modern reader, he seems to be saying that in order to become a great poet one must start by imitating a master, becoming independent and alienating oneself from the former

---

in imagery nobody in his age was to surpass. Even more than other classical Persian poets he was a mannerist, in the sense that he was always playing the intertextual game, and emulation of other poets was a powerful incentive for him,' *A Cure for the Grieving*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Dîvân*, 618.

in the process. He himself has followed Mas'ûd Sa'd stylistically but wished to be recognized for himself, as he certainly has been over the centuries.

Another poet at the court of the Sharvânshâhs, Falakî (d. before 1181–82), most of whose poetic output has been lost, pays homage to Mas'ûd Sa'd in these lines which have survived:

If Mas'ûd had had my poetic style,  
Sa'd Salmân's soul would have blessed it a hundred times.<sup>15</sup>

At the same time, Falakî is also invoking Mu'izzî, who had utilized this rhyme earlier in homage to Mas'ûd Sa'd. Falakî was also in prison for a while and there is one extant *habsîyah* poem by him; although he does not mention Mas'ûd Sa'd in it, his influence can be seen throughout it:

I have no problem-solver for my affairs.  
What can I do? Fate is not with me.  
Being patient and waiting is killing me, yet  
there is no solution but to be patient and wait.<sup>16</sup>

There are five poems in Mas'ûd Sa'd's *dîvân* with this rhyme, including a long *habsîyah* qasida that begins:

My heart is frightened by oblivion,  
my body is worried about its health. (Q36)

and also the well-known commentary on the state of affairs of his time:

No one feels sorrow for the state,  
Islam is not being adhered to. (Q37)

<sup>15</sup> *Dîvân-i Hakîm Najm al-Dîn Muhammad Falakî Sharvânî*, ed. Shahâb Tâhirî (Tehran: Ibn-I Sinâ, 1345/1966), 112. The *dîvân*, composed of fragments gathered from different sources, was first edited by Hadi Hasan (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1929); Hadi's short study on this poet, *Falaki-i-Shirwani: His Times, Life, and Works* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1929), is a good source for the poet's life as well as the history of the Sharvanshahs.

<sup>16</sup> *Dîvân*, *ibid.*, 23–4.

Either of the above could have been the model for Falakî although it is difficult to speak much of influence of other poets on him given the absence of his *divân*.

A poet of immense stature of this period, Anvarî (d. ca. 1190), active at the Seljuq court, describes in a *qit'ah* the sorry state of affairs of the world without his patron:

In the offerings of an auction for salvation,  
the battle with the carnal soul became equal to the soul.  
My body has become the fortress of Nay, and in it  
my soul has become Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân.<sup>17</sup>

The mystical imagery is quite unusual for Anvarî but the metaphor in the second *bayt* is strikingly beautiful. This is one of the earliest pieces of evidence illustrating the transformation of the image of Mas'ûd Sa'd from that of a great poet to that of a suffering human being. Even the two Caucasian poets, despite their own experiences of incarceration, could only view Mas'ûd Sa'd as a model and kindred spirit—they do not actually describe his incarcerated persona. But from then on, it was this image that would endure and find a place in the poetry of other poets. This phenomenon was partly caused by the passage of time, and partly by the role of Mas'ûd Sa'd's biographers.

A few decades after the poet's death, in his *Chahâr maqâlah*, Nizâmî 'Arûzî included an anecdote concerning the reason Mas'ûd Sa'd was imprisoned. Due to the wide readership that this text has enjoyed over the centuries, it is almost entirely responsible for the subsequent image of Mas'ûd Sa'd as a poet languishing in prison. Here is the anecdote:

In the year 572 [actually 472] a malicious person carried the tale to Sultan Ibrâhîm that his son, Sayf al-Dawlah Amîr Mahmûd, intended to go into the service of Malikshâh [the Seljuq] in Iraq. The king became jealous and had him suddenly arrested, bound and sent to a fortress. His boon

<sup>17</sup> *Dîvân-i Anvarî*, ed. M.T. Mudarris-Razavî (Tehran: Intishârât-i 'Ilmî va Farhangî, 1372/1993), 1044. For a comparison of the relative merits of Mas'ûd Sa'd and Anvarî, see Shamîsâ, *Zindânî-i Nây*, 88–9.

companions were bound and sent to the fortress, among them was Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân, who was sent to the fortress of Nay in Vajiristan. He sent a *dûbaytî* to the sultan from the fortress of Nay:

O king! Malikshâh should be imprisoned  
so that your chains can chafe a king's feet.  
He who is from the lineage of Sa'd-i Salmân  
will not harm your kingdom even if it become poisonous.

'Alî Khâss brought this *dûbaytî* to the sultan, [but] it had no effect on him. Discerning people know what degree the *habsîyât* of Mas'ûd have reached in loftiness and what rank they have in eloquence. When I read his poems, my hair stands on end and I start weeping. They read all these poems to the king; he heard them but was not touched at all, and departed from the world leaving that noble man to languish in prison. His period of incarceration was twenty years due to his closeness to Sayf al-Dawlah, and in the time of Sultan Mas'ûd-i Ibrâhîm, due to his closeness to Abû Nasr-i Pârsî, it was eight years. He created so many excellent qasidas and precious gems that it is unheard of. After eight years Siqat al-Mulk Tâhir 'Alî Mushkân got him freed. Thus that noble man spent his entire life during their [the sultans'] reigns in prison and this ignominy will remain on that House [of Ghazna]. I am at a loss as to what to attribute this situation: to obstinacy, misguided judgment, hardheartedness or malice? In short, it is not praiseworthy and I have not seen any wise man praise this dynasty for this paranoid act. I heard the King of the World Ghiyâs al-Dunyâ va al-Dîn Muhammad ibn Malikshâh at the gates of Hamadan during the incident of Amîr Shahâb al-Dîn Qutulmush Alp Ghâzî, who was his brother-in-law, say, 'To keep an enemy in prison is malice for two reasons; either he is good or bad; if he is good, to keep him in prison is a crime; if he is evil, to let an evil man live is a crime too.' In short, Mas'ûd's trials came to an end and that ignominy will remain until [the day of] Resurrection.<sup>18</sup>

Although not quite the 'true' version of the events of Mas'ûd Sa'd's life, this is a remarkable commentary on the power wielded by unjust

<sup>18</sup> *Chahâr maqâlah*, 70–2.

patrons over poets, and, as seen earlier, evidence of the reception of our poet's body of *habsîyât*.

Around this time too, Mas'ûd Sa'd's name became inscribed in the narrative of Persian poetry itself. As the so-called great age of court poetry was ending, the Eastern world of Persian poetry was again shaken up, this time by the Mongol invasion, which was to indirectly provide the impetus for the history of Persian literature to be recorded. 'Awfi, who traveled around in Khorasan and Central Asia in a time of turmoil, eventually found himself at the provincial court of Sultan Nâsir al-Dîn Qabâchah in Uchh, Sind. Here, in ca. 1221, he wrote the *Lubâb al-albâb*, the first extant *tazkirah* of Persian poets.<sup>19</sup> Having lost his books and papers, it was in exile and in a politically unstable period that he began to write the history of this relatively recent literary tradition. Being the earliest writer of such a dictionary in Persian, he still remains the authority on the biographies of the early Persian poets and the literary history of that period. Placing him among the poets of the house of the Seljuqs and Ghaznavids, 'Awfi writes about Mas'ûd Sa'd:

Mas'ûd Sa'd, who was a rare gem of his age and a learned man among the people, at times flew on the wings of fortune in the heights of the majestic sky and at times was clipped of his wings in the ups and downs of the world; at times like the *nay* (sugarcane) he sweetened the palate of the world's soul with wisdom and at times in the fortress of Nay he swallowed the bitter poison of events. He performed noble gestes in the land of India and spent his life in honour and prosperity . . . and although his birthplace was Hamadan

<sup>19</sup> For details on his life, see Mumtaz Ali Khan, *Some Important Persian Prose Writings of the Thirteenth Century ad in India* (Aligarh: Department of Persian, Aligarh Muslim University, 1970), 87–102. The author discusses the idiosyncratic nature of the dictionary and the omission of poets like Asadî Tûsî, Nâsir Khusraw, 'Umar Khayyâm and Falakî Sharvânî, but this fact reflects the literary preferences as well as the availability of the poets' works at that time and place. So far there has been no critical evaluation of the *tazkirah* genre, other than Ahmad Gulchîn Ma'ânî's survey, *Târikh-I tazkirahhâ-yi Fârsî*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Tehran: Kitâbkhânah-yi Islâmî, 1363/1984). A systematic study of these would illuminate the process of shifting of tastes and aesthetics over the centuries as well as clarify issues of canonization in Persian literature.

everyone knows that his affairs prospered in the Eastern land and he became known among the accomplished men of his time; and in history books they know him as the poet of this country. For this reason he is mentioned in this class, and he has the right to be mentioned in the class of ministers, since his poetry is more than all the poets and he has three *divâns*: one in Arabic, one in Persian, and one in Hindu'i; so he is included in this class, and whatever of his poetry has been heard is masterfully pleasant . . .<sup>20</sup>

This is followed by selections from eight poems, none of which are among Mas'ûd Sa'd's best or most representative. Scant in biographical details, this account is nevertheless a useful indicator of the extent of knowledge writers had about this poet nearly a century after his death.

The second *tazkirah* was written almost two hundred and fifty years after 'Awfi's, by Dawlatshâh at the Timurid court in Herat in 1487, when there was a massive effort to copy manuscripts and preserve the literary tradition of Persian.<sup>21</sup> Apparently Dawlatshâh did not use 'Awfi as his source, and his biography of Mas'ûd Sa'd is such a fabrication that one cannot help but be amazed by a man of letters passing off fiction as biography. He writes:

He is Jurjani and his *divân* has a great reputation in 'Irâq-i 'Ajam, Tabaristan and Dar al-Marz. He was [living] in the time of Amir 'Unsur al-Ma'âlî Manuchihr ibn Qâbûs and is a man of learning. He also has many Arabic poems, and towards the end of his life he gave up panegyricizing princes and nobles and composed qasidas about unity and gnosticism that consist of *zuhdiyyât* and asceticism. The learned ones and great men swear by him, as Falakî Sharvânî says in his autobiography, mentioning Mas'ûd's poetry:

If Mas'ûd had had my poetic style,  
Sa'd Salmân's soul would have blessed it a hundred times.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Lubâb al-albâb*, 733.

<sup>21</sup> For the Timurid court and its literature, see Maria Eva Subtelny's *The Poetic Circle at the Court of the Timurid Sultan Husain Baiqara, and its Political Significance* (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1979).

<sup>22</sup> *Tazkirat al-shu'arâ*, 39.

He then cites the only poem by Mas'ûd Sa'd in a Sufi vein, a *qit'ah* (143) that begins:

When I saw with a discerning eye  
that the world now is a nihilistic abode . . .

The rest of the entry is devoted to the story of the above-mentioned alleged patron of Mas'ûd Sa'd and not to the poet himself.

The three biographical sketches quoted above would inform all the later accounts of the poet, garbled as Dawlatshâh's version is and unreliable as 'Awfi's data are. The most significant contribution from 'Awfi's account to the hagiographic narrative of Mas'ûd Sa'd is that he wrote poetry in three languages; it will be seen below how this careless bit of information has contributed to serious issues of canonization of the poet in modern India.

#### B. *Mas'ûd Sa'd in Iran*

From the Timurid until the Qajar period, in the entire intervening reign of the Safavids, Mas'ûd Sa'd does not appear to have had a direct impact on poets writing in Persian. Trying to gauge his influence is a difficult process since this was the age when the *ghazal* form had become predominant, as opposed to the *qasida* which was the form privileged by Mas'ûd Sa'd, and the poetics of Persian poetry had been in a subtle but continual process of evolution.<sup>23</sup> Ghaznavid poetry must have appeared dated to the readers in this period and was not considered fashionable enough to imitate. Judging from the surviving manuscripts of Mas'ûd Sa'd's *divân*, which are all from the Safavid, Mughal or Qajar periods,<sup>24</sup> it can safely be concluded that although he was known and his *divân* copied, he was not admired in the way that Khâqânî and Anvarî were in India. Only from the eighteenth century

<sup>23</sup> When one begins such an investigation, it is possible to see influences across poetic forms, such as in the instance of Hâfiz. See Muhammad Mu'in, 'Difâ' az dû gûyandah-yi buzurg (tazmîn-i yak bayt),' *Jilvâh* 2 (1325/1946), 35–9; Nûrî-yân, 'Shi'r-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd dar divân-i Hâfiz,' *Âyandah* 12 (1365/1986), 192–4.

<sup>24</sup> For a list of manuscripts of his *divan*, see De Blois, *Persian Literature*, 5/2: 414–15. Mahdî Nûrîyân has informed me that since then some additional manuscripts of the poet have surfaced in Turkey and Russia.

onwards, when poets in Iran, weary of the *sabk-i Hindî*, turned back to read and imitate the old *sabk-i Khurâsânî* poetry, especially the Ghaznavid panegyrists, did Mas'ûd Sa'd come back into circulation;<sup>25</sup> the *qasida* form was (ab)used again as panegyric poetry flourished at the Qajar court. This is when his impact seems to have been felt most strongly; his *divân* was copied several times, and later lithographed in 1879 in Tehran. In a poem complaining about the times, Qa'ânî (d. 1854) invokes not one but two poets who lived and suffered eight hundred years before him:

When the earth works witchcraft and heaven plays tricks,  
the mind becomes disturbed and the brain confused . . .  
Sometimes it contrives against Nâsir Khusraw  
so that he is imprisoned in Yumgan in Badakhshan.  
At other times it strives against Mas'ûd Sa'd  
so that it installs him in a Lahore prison.<sup>26</sup>

This is a reference to the prisoner persona of Mas'ûd Sa'd (and Nâsir Khusraw as his contemporary) after a lapse of many centuries, with a deliberate intent to evoke a bygone age. The Qajar poet Na'im wrote a *qasida*, translated and discussed briefly by Browne,<sup>27</sup> explicating the doctrines of the Bahai faith in a rhyme adopted from a poem of Mas'ûd Sa'd. Another Qajar poet, Samâ'î, wrote a *qasida* for the last Shi'ite imam borrowing a well-known refrain from Mas'ûd Sa'd's poem.<sup>28</sup> In the realm of prose, the Qajar man of letters, Rizâ Qulî Khân Hidâyat, dedicated forty pages to Mas'ûd Sa'd in his voluminous *tazkirah*, *Majma' al-fusahâ*, his narrative derived from those of the triad of biographers of Mas'ûd Sa'd discussed above.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See the excellent study of the *bâzgasht* movement by the contemporary poet and scholar Shams Langarûdî, *Maktab-i bâzgasht* (Tehran, 1372/1993), for the complex historical and literary process of this shift in aesthetics in eighteenth-century Iran, esp. 19–79.

<sup>26</sup> *Divân-i Hakîm Qa'ânî*, ed. M.J. Mahjûb (Tehran: Amîr Kabîr, 1336/1957), 181.

<sup>27</sup> *Literary History of Persia*, 4:198–220.

<sup>28</sup> Nâ'inî's *Tazkirah-i madînat al-adab* (Tehran: Majlis, 1376/1997), B: 76–7.

<sup>29</sup> Ed. Mazâhir Musaffâ (Tehran: Mûsavî, 1340/1961), 1191–1239.



In the twentieth century, the greatest impact of Mas'ûd Sa'd can be seen on the so-called last classical Persian poet, *Malik al-shu'arâ* Muhammad Taqî Bahâr (d. 1951),<sup>30</sup> perhaps not so much in any direct influence of rhyme or imagery but in the shared experience of prison, which inspired both poets to produce poetry of the first order. Bahâr had an extremely charged political career, being actively involved with the Democratic Party. As a result, he spent short periods of time in the prisons of both the Qajars and the Pahlavis, as was customary for reformists and intellectuals of the time.<sup>31</sup> Bahâr's body of *habsîyât* poetry comprises poems in several genres, including a *masnavî*, *Kârnâmah-yi zindân*, that describes prison life in modern-day Tehran. In terms of prison poetics, Bahâr's poetry is not classical at all but quite modern, reflecting the literary currents of the period he lived in.<sup>32</sup> In the poem entitled *Ba's al-shikvâ*, written in 1918 to protest the closing of all the newspapers of Tehran, Bahâr not only incorporates a refrain of Mas'ûd Sa'd but also compares himself explicitly to the Ghaznavid poet; he invokes the two masters of the Ghaznavid age as Qa'ânî did:

My crime is that at every step  
I have been disappointed like the son of Sa'd Salmân.  
I am hidden from this group; you could say  
I am Nâsir [Khusraw] and Tehran is my Yumgân.<sup>33</sup>

This *radîf* is also a take on the three *qasâ'id-i nûnîyah* of Mas'ûd Sa'd, all written in prison. As with Qa'ânî, Mas'ûd Sa'd and Nâsir Khusraw are invoked together, their poetry of suffering having lumped them into a single category in the eyes of the moderns. Bahâr also wrote the only imitation, to my knowledge, of Mas'ûd Sa'd's most famous and

<sup>30</sup> See Kâmyâr 'Âbidî, *Bih yâd-i mihan* (Tehran: Nashr-i Sâlis, 1376/1997), 231.

<sup>31</sup> For a short overview of Bahâr's life, see M.B. Lorainé's article in *EÎr*.

<sup>32</sup> For Bahâr and the emergence of modern poetry, see Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry: Scenarios of Poetic Modernity in Iran* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 104–36.

<sup>33</sup> *Dîvân-i ash'âr-i shâdravân Muhammad Taqî Bahâr Malik al-shu'arâ* (Tehran: Amîr Kabîr, 1344/1965), 324–5.

appealing poem, the apostrophe to Lahore, discussed in chapter two. Bahâr's poem begins:

Woe! O wide expanse of Tehran, how are you?  
Under the flag of Iran's leader, how are you?<sup>34</sup>

However, in an ironic twist that marks the dawn of Iranian modernity, Bahâr depicts Tehran as the pathetic victim of a corrupt and cruel taskmaster in contrast to Mas'ûd Sa'd's beloved, loving and nourishing hometown. No two poets could have been so different stylistically, yet there is much that they share in terms of their prison life and their exploitation of this experience. The fundamental philosophical difference between them is that whereas Bahâr is constantly challenging the political and social order of his times and reviles those in power who are responsible for his imprisonment, Mas'ûd Sa'd never blamed anything but fate for his situation, and only sought to regain his position among the ruling elite.

The modern Iranian poet, Rahî Mu'ayyirî, whose poetry is informed by classical themes, especially in the *ghazal* form,<sup>35</sup> wrote the following poem in 1968, just before his death:

#### THE PRISONER OF NAY

O Poet! Compose poetry lofty like stars, for  
not every word raises the poet to heaven.

A person becomes immortal through his timeless poetry—  
no more fantasies of the darkness and the water of life!

If literature didn't exist, the poet's name wouldn't last;  
Badakhshan is famous for its abundant rubies, after all.

Poetry doesn't have an effect until,  
with fiery eloquence, you put your heart and soul into it.

Sing a poem of Mas'ûd [Sa'd] so you can clearly see  
the traces of hot tears and burning sighs.

Prince of the vast realm of poetry,  
who raised his lofty pavilion to heaven,

<sup>34</sup> *Dîvân*, 687–8.

<sup>35</sup> Yûsuff's essay, 'Ghubârî dar biyâbân,' in *Chashmah-yi rawshan*, 509–19, is a useful overview of this poet's work.

when his lips recited metrical words

the nightingales did not dare to sing their songs.

A jealous rival caused him to be put in chains—  
strangely, Solomon was imprisoned by a demon!  
Many a night in the terrible prison, out of frustration  
he rent his collar like the break of day.

Many a night like the twilight he dyed  
his sleeves and skirt with the tears of his eyes and heart.  
The many pearls that rained from his talent's treasure  
adorned his prison cell like a treasure-house.

Calamity did not leave any traces of dust on his skirt;  
can the whirlwind trouble a mountain's foundation?  
Every time that fate made to kill him,  
it caused him to compose a poem and live on.

With his resolve he wrested away fate's hand  
and exhausted the moving firmament in battle.  
Lahore is proud of him—and rightly so—  
as Zabulistan is proud of Zâl's son [Rustam].

Hail to that musk-laden pen that  
penned that *divân* which is the envy of Khutan.  
Bravo! to the lyrics of Mas'ûd and his winsome poems!  
that rejuvenate the soul like aged wine.

He is indeed the pride of the realm of poetry—  
a rose-garden is adorned by the new spring.

I will call you heaven, lofty Lahore,  
since you nurtured that bright sun.

Mas'ûd made your name famous  
as the master of all poets [Firdawsî] made Khurasan.  
Instead of kohl, Rahî lovingly applies to his eyes  
the dust of Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân's grave.<sup>36</sup>

This is a touching tribute from a modern poet to a classical one, and although Rahî was never in prison himself, he was thoroughly in touch with the spirit of pre-modern poetry. The text is replete with classical touches, from the rhyme itself, earlier utilized by both Mu'izzî and Falakî in honour of Mas'ûd Sa'd, to a reference to Farrukhî's opening

<sup>36</sup> *Bârân-i subhgâhî* (Tehran: Sukhan, 1378/1999), 279–82.

line in the Somnath qasida eschewing the story of Alexander (here indirectly alluded to in line two). By mentioning Lahore, he is not merely alluding to Mas'ûd Sa'd's birthplace but also to the latter's well-known qasida addressed to it. Above all, Rahî is making a statement about the relevance of poetry: there is a universal quality in poetry all the way from classical times to our own; it mentally rejuvenates the reader and thus extends its own lifespan and currency. Mas'ûd Sa'd is also the subject of this *rubâ'î* by Rahî. It has the rhyme word 'Lahore' and permanently links the poet's name with that city:

Mas'ûd who obtained glory due to Lahore  
shines like the light of dawn due to Lahore.  
The leader of poets in Arabic and Persian,  
whether [he is] from Hamadan or from Lahore.<sup>37</sup>

In our own times, Shabgîr Pûlâdvand, a young Afghani poet living in exile writes touchingly about the political and social upheavels in his homeland. In a poem about despair and isolation, he invokes Mas'ûd Sa'd:

My sleep  
is the disturbed sleep of a prisoner  
in Nay, a fortress that wears out the soul,  
of the patience of 'Mas'ûd Sa'd'.<sup>38</sup>

Even though a thousand years apart, both poets suffered in and loved the same land. It is the shared experience of exile and sorrow that links modern poets such as Bahâr and Shabgîr to Mas'ûd Sa'd, while Rahî was taken by the classical poet's story as others had been before him.

In *Amîr Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân Hamadânî*,<sup>39</sup> a text that is part-fiction and part-history, 'Alî Qavîm told Mas'ûd Sa'd's story by quoting from his poetry; this work was first serialized in the literary journal *Armaghân* and then published as a book. Anthologies of Persian

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 330.

<sup>38</sup> *Dar ufûq-I fâjî'ah* (Reinhausen, 1997).

<sup>39</sup> *Armaghân*, v. 24–5, *passim*; and published separately as a monograph (Tehran: Fardîn, 1949).

poetry like *Bihisht-i sukhan*, edited by the poet Mahdî Hamîdî, and *Ganj-i sukhan*, edited by the eminent scholar Zabîhullâh Safâ, have included small selections of Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry. Selected poems of his have constantly been published in the twentieth century, from a high school textbook in 1940 to a recent collection edited by the scholar Sîrûs Shamîsâ with a detailed introduction. Both editors of the *dîvân*, Rashîd Yâsimî and Mahdî Nûrîyân, have also published selections of his work.<sup>40</sup>

Muhammad Qazvîni's article, translated by E.G. Browne in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, was the first scholarly study of the poet and the basis for all subsequent articles or notices about Mas'ûd Sa'd. But Browne, defining the parameters of Persian literature in terms of modern geographic boundaries, did not give more than two pages to Mas'ûd Sa'd in his monumental literary history of Iran. The very opening of his work seeks to justify his position:

This book, as its title implies, is a history, not of the different dynasties which have ruled in Persia and of the kings who composed those dynasties, but of the Persian people. It is, moreover, the history of that people written from a particular point of view—the literary. In other words, it is an attempt to portray the subjective—that is to say, the religious, intellectual, and aesthetic—characteristics of the Persians as manifested in their own writings, or sometimes, when these fail, in those of their own neighbours. It is not, however, precisely a history of Persian Literature; since, on the one hand, it will exclude from consideration the writings of those who, while using the Persian language as the vehicle of their thought, were not of Persian race; and, on the other hand, it will include what has been written by Persians who chose as their medium of expression some language other than their mother-tongue. India, for example, has produced an extensive literature of which the language is Persian, but which is not a reflex of the Persian mind, and the same holds good in lesser degree of several branches of the Turkish race, but with this literature we are in no wise concerned.<sup>41</sup>

Is Mas'ûd Sa'd to be exiled once again, this time from the canon of

<sup>40</sup> For a list of all selections, see Bibliography.

<sup>41</sup> Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 1: 3.

Persian literature? Although they may be popular among readers, poets writing at the margins of national boundaries do not have a secure position in canons constructed on nationalistic lines that were never stable anyway in the pre-modern period. This view raises many thorny issues of canonization and national literatures that will be discussed in the following section under the rubric of Mas'ûd Sa'd as an 'Indian' poet.<sup>42</sup>

### C. *Mas'ûd Sa'd in India*

One indication that Mas'ûd Sa'd did not fare as well in India as in Iran is that there are hardly any manuscripts of the poet's work in Indian collections, although the movements of such literary artifacts in the colonial period can give a distorted picture of reading habits and literary tastes. This claim is supported by the fact that his *dîvân* was never lithographed, published or edited in India, which is unusual for a poet now considered a major figure in the Indo-Persian canon. The roots of this may go back to the Mughal and Safavid period, when his reception was at a nadir and he was relegated to being anthologized in biographical dictionaries. The *bâzgasht* movement that rediscovered the Ghaznavid poets was a purely Iranian phenomenon and marks the division of what was heretofore one literary tradition in Iran and India. In India, Persian poetry continued in the *sabk-i Hindî* style, privileging the *ghazal* form over others, and when poets did look to the older classical poets as models, they paid attention to the more difficult poets like Khâqânî and Anvarî. Beginning in the eighteenth century, Persian texts did not travel between Iran and India as freely as they had before, a fact that can be inferred from Rizâ Qulî Khân Hidâyât's *tazkirah*, which does not include any Indian poet of the period. With the increased use of Urdu for poetry, it became necessary to create a classical tradition for it, and thus began the emergence of the 'Indo-Persian'

<sup>42</sup> I follow Jan Gorak's definition of a canon as 'a coherent body of art, a body of texts larger than the sum of its parts' instead of 'a servant of larger ideological forces or . . . an assembly of texts invested with the authority of tradition,' *The Making of the Modern Canon: Genesis and Crisis of a Literary Idea* (London: Athlone, 1991), 259–60.

literary consciousness and its split from its Iranian other.<sup>43</sup> Around this time, biographical dictionaries became narrowed by region and locality rather than sweeping and all-inclusive, providing groundwork for the nationalistic canons that would be established in the twentieth century.<sup>44</sup>

In an event fraught with irony, in the mid-seventeenth century when Indian courts had become the centres for production of court poetry, the Iranian poet Kalīm (d. 1650), who would go on to become the Mughal poet laureate at Shah Jahan's court in Delhi, was imprisoned on his arrival in India in the fort of Shahdarak (Deccan), on the charge of being a spy. While in prison he wrote two *habsīyah* poems in the *qit'ah* form, one of which is in imitation of the famous Christian qasida by Khâqânî:

O lofty ranked one, do you never ask why  
fate harrasses me mercilessly?

and:

I will recite aloud the story of my grievances against fate—  
perhaps my cry will reach the court of Navvâb Khân.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> On the related problem of why 'sometime in the early nineteenth century, users of (Indian) Persian, and Urdu, lost their self-confidence and began to privilege all Indo-Persian writers against the other two', see Shamsur Rahman Faruqi's insightful article, 'Unprivileged Power: The Strange Case of Persian (and Urdu) in Nineteenth-Century India,' in *The Annual of Urdu Studies* 13 (1998), 3–30. Faruqi writes, 'This paper states a problem, but it makes no attempt to present a solution'; the whole question of Persian in India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries needs critical reexamination. Also of interest, especially for the Iranians *vs.* Indians issue of the eighteenth century, see Muzaffar Alam's 'The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics,' *Modern Asian Studies* 32 (1998), 317–49; and Mohammad Tavakoli-Targhi's 'Orientalism's Genesis Amnesia,' *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 16 (1996), 1–14.

<sup>44</sup> Like Gulchîn Ma'ânî's larger work mentioned above, 'Alî Rizâ Naqavî's *Tazkirah-nivîsî-i Fârsî dar Hind va Pâkistân* (Tehran: 'Ilmî, 1964) is a useful descriptive list of biographical dictionaries but provides no critical evaluation of the genre.

<sup>45</sup> *Divân-i Abû Tâlib Kalīm Hamadânî*, ed. Muhammad Qahramân (Mashhad: Âstân-i Quds-i Razavî, 1369/1990), 103, 106.

Through the intermediary of Khâqânî, the genealogy of the rhymes and images of Kalīm's two poems go back to Mas'ûd Sa'd. The reason this incident is significant is that once again a Persian poet was incarcerated in India, this time at the end, rather than at the beginning, of an important era in Persian literary history. Writing *habsīyat* became an established practice in India, and poets like the Mughal emperor Shâh 'Âlam Âftâb<sup>46</sup> and Ghâlib Dihlavî<sup>47</sup> both wrote a few prison poems, although it is doubtful that they had read Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry.

Since Mas'ûd Sa'd was born and lived in India, it has been suggested that the origins of the ornate and rhetorical Indian style of Persian poetry, *sabk-i Hindî*, prevalent in India during the Mughal period, be sought in the works of our poet. In the words of Aziz Ahmad:

[E]lements, which are the components of this highly symbolical, fanciful and complex style, can be traced as early as the beginning of the eleventh century in certain poems of Abû-'Abd-Allâh Rûzbih an-Nakatî. Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân, writing in Ghaznavid Lahore, has two distinct styles. One of these is the simple, straightforward 'Khurâsânî', but the other one is closer to the later intellectualized 'Indian style' in its efforts to create difficulties of expression for itself.<sup>48</sup>

Although Mas'ûd Sa'd does have two distinct styles, his difficult non-*habsīyah* poetic diction is the language of the panegyric qasida and therefore not to be taken as a proto-*sabk-i Hindî* style, the favoured poetic form of which was in any case the *ghazal*. Mas'ûd Sa'd's

<sup>46</sup> Mîrzâ 'Alî Lutf, *Tazkira-yi Gulshan-i Hind* (Lucknow: U.P. Urdû Akâdemî, 1986), 10–12. The last Mughal emperor, Bahâdur Shâh Zafar also wrote Urdu poetry in exile which contains *habsīyat* images.

<sup>47</sup> *Divân-i Ghâlib Dihlavî*, ed. Muhsin Kiyânî (Tehran: Rawzanah, 1376/1997), 293–5, 452–5.

<sup>48</sup> *An Intellectual History of Islam in India* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1969), 77; Bahâr holds the opposite and more convincing view that both Abû al-Faraj Rûnî and Mas'ûd Sa'd share stylistic qualities with the earlier Ghaznavid poets, 'Ravâbit-i farhangî- Irân va Hind,' in *Bahâr va adab-i Fârsî*, 135. In his opinion, Amîr Khusraw is the first Indian poet of Persian. Scholars also cannot resist the temptation of assigning schools based on the regions in which poets lived.

work must be placed in the context of his own literary milieu, as Waris Kirmani suggests:

Early Indo-Persian poetry, however, is free from the display of craftsmanship. Abul Faraj Rûni, Mas'ûd Salmân and many other poets belonging to the pre-Sultanate and Sultanate period followed the style and also echoed the feelings which were introduced by the great poets of Mahmûd's court at Ghaznî.<sup>49</sup>

It seems that the act of writing the history of literature has not remained unaffected by political history:

The history of literature, in its own history, has been inseparable from the emergence of the modern nation-state around 1800 and the subsequent proliferation of nationalities-in-formation through collective scholarly and public practices that have produced national selves capable of being aware of their own, newly defined, shared accomplishments and heritages.<sup>50</sup>

Thus, whether it be Browne writing the literary history of Iran rather than the history of Persian literature, or scholars looking for a unifying thread in a region's literature, certain poets are left out or have a role created for them retrospectively. In anthologies of Indo-Persian poetry, the modern-day *tazkirahs*, Abû al-Faraj Rûnî is usually the first name, followed by Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân. In Muhammad Ikram's *Armaghân-i Pâk*, compiled to honour the Shah and Shahbanu in 1954, and in the more recent anthology of Indo-Persian poets by Waris Kirmani, *Dreams Forgotten*, the first name on the list is Abu al-Faraj Rûnî, followed by Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân.<sup>51</sup> As long as claims for separate literary schools and influences are not made, there is of course nothing terrible in compiling anthologies of regional poets. But what

<sup>49</sup> *Dreams Forgotten: An Anthology of Indo-Persian Poetry* (Aligarh: Department of Persian, Aligarh Muslim University, 1984), 8.

<sup>50</sup> Jonathan Arac, 'What is the History of Literature?' in *The Uses of Literary History*, ed. Marshall Brown (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 33.

<sup>51</sup> Also see *Persian Literature in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent* by Ghulam Mustafa Khan (Lahore: Barque, 1972), which, since it is an anthology of both poetry and prose, begins with Hujvîrî.

of poets who do not fall into certain neat categories or whose complete works are not extant? The question is further complicated by the issues of the languages the poet chose to use; with Mas'ûd Sa'd, this is a most thorny problem with few satisfactory solutions.

In the twentieth century, Mas'ûd Sa'd has become the site of contestation between two competing literary histories, Urdu and Hindi.<sup>52</sup> Many *tazkirah* writers have repeated 'Awfî's statement that Mas'ûd Sa'd had *divâns* in three languages: Persian, Arabic and Hindû'î; Even Amîr Khusraw repeats this statement but it does not appear that he had actually seen or heard the Hindû'î poems.<sup>53</sup> Since not a single line of Mas'ûd Sa'd's poetry in Hindû'î (or Hindavi or Panjabi, i.e., a North Indian vernacular of the region of Lahore) survives in a written or oral source, this problem has inspired much debate and led to problems with including him in the canons of modern Hindi and Urdu, both heirs to the Hindû'î of Mas'ûd Sa'd's time. Two European orientalist, A. Sprenger and N. Bland, separately addressed this question in 1853 and came to the conclusion that, given the fact that Mas'ûd Sa'd was born in India, it was entirely possible for him to have written poetry in a vernacular. Sprenger confidently asserts that '[t]he very name of 'Dywan' which is given to Mas'ûd's collection of Hindustâny poetry is a guarantee, that it did not consist of Slokas, Kabits, and Dohrâs, but of Mathnawies, Qaçydas and Ghazals written in the Persian character.'<sup>54</sup> He adds that 'surrounded by Hindû slave women as the Mohammadan nobles of Indian courts always were, it is not unlikely that the language of India was his mother-tongue.' Sprenger is projecting his observations of the Indo-Muslim culture of his time onto

<sup>52</sup> For the appropriation of Mas'ûd Sa'd in the canon of modern Hindi literature, see R.S. McGregor, *Hindi Literature from Its Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1984), 8–9, 11. For Urdu, see Shamsur Rahman Faruqi's forthcoming article, 'Aspects of Early Urdu Literary Culture.'

<sup>53</sup> *Dibâchah-yi Ghurrat al-kamâl*, ed. Syed Ali Haidar (Patna: Institute of P.G. Studies and Research in Arabic and Persian Learning, 1988), 97–8.

<sup>54</sup> 'Early Hindustany Poetry,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 5 (1953), 413. Following the various accounts of the poet's life in *tazkirahs*, Sprenger's version is quite garbled.

the Ghaznavid period, about which we do not have much information. In his piece on the poet, N. Bland was responding to an article by the scholar Garcin de Tassy in which the latter discusses the role of the Persian poet Sa'dî Shîrâzî as the first poet of Hindustani. Bland's analysis of the rather confusing and conflicting facts concerning Mas'ûd Sa'd is sounder than Sprenger's, and he convincingly argues that many Persian poets, especially in Ottoman Turkey and India, were bilingual or trilingual and composed poetry in all the languages that they knew.<sup>55</sup>

In the linguistically complicated and problematic history of the languages that go by the names of Hindûî, Hindavi, Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu, the Persian poet Amîr Khusraw Dihlavî has been assigned a major place mostly on the basis of the orally-transmitted, and to a large extent apocryphal, poetic compositions in these languages which have attributed to him. Amîr Khusraw's position is remarkably similar to that of Mas'ûd Sa'd: both were of non-Indic stock but born in India (Amîr Khusraw's mother was Indian), and both are supposed to have contributed to the development of the vernacular language of North Indian Muslims and Hindus.<sup>56</sup> As to the question of whether Mas'ûd Sa'd composed any poetic works in Indian vernaculars, it is entirely possible that he did, but given the complete lack of supporting evidence, with the exception of one statement made by the unreliable biographer 'Awfî, to whom all similar subsequent statements can be traced, I consider this a moot question.<sup>57</sup> Though the fact is that there

<sup>55</sup> 'Lettre à Garcin de Tassy, sur Mas'oud, poète Persan et Hindouï,' *Journal Asiatique* 5e série, tome 2 (Sept.–Oct. 1853), 356–69. For the baffling question of Sa'dî as the first poet of Hindi, see Garcin de Tassy, 'Observation,' *Journal Asiatique* 5e série, tome 2 (Sept.–Oct. 1853), 369–71; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 2: 522–3.

<sup>56</sup> For a traditional comparison of Mas'ûd Sa'd and Amîr Khusraw, see Sayyid Hâshmi Faridâbâdî, 'Mas'ûd Sa'd aur Amîr Khusraw,' *Oriental College Magazine* (1964), 84–97.

<sup>57</sup> Compare Qazvîni's conclusion: 'Nor can it be contended that he omitted all mention of Hindustânî out of humility or dislike of ostentation, for in poems of this class, wherein the poet's intention is to glorify himself and vaunt his talents, such qualities would be entirely out of place, besides which it would be absurd for

was such poetry produced by Muslim poets: a remarkable example is a work from Panjab or Rajasthan in Apabhramśâ<sup>58</sup> called *Sandēśarāsaka* by Abdurrahmân, an approximate contemporary of Mas'ûd Sa'd.<sup>59</sup> This work is in the *bârahmâsâ* genre discussed in chapter four. The existence of such a work leads McGregor to conclude:

We may discount the biographers' references to a Hindi dîvân as such, and think rather of composition of occasional verses or poems by Mas'ûd, of which he may not have taken great account, just as Amîr Khusrau (c. 1300) speaks non-committally of his own 'few Hindi compositions' (*cand nazm-i hindî*). To judge from Mas'ûd's Persian poetry the 'Hindi' poetry which he composed is likely to have included some making use of the Indian theme of the changing seasons (*bârahmâsâ*), against which the emotions of the individuals can be described.<sup>60</sup>

As has been suggested above, Mas'ûd Sa'd's relation to India is a complex one. There is no denying the fact that he was influenced by his Indian milieu, given the existence of such images as a *pân*-eating beloved and a monsoon cloud. However, these few significant features do not characterize the nature of the entire body of his poetry. Assigning him to a particular stylistic school or national canon would be doing a disservice to his poetry, which ranges across many styles and

---

anyone to boast of knowing two languages while concealing the fact that he was acquainted with a third. Such action could be ascribed by sensible persons, not to humility, but only to simplicity or inadvertence,' 'Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân,' 700–1, to De Blois' response, '[T]his argument overlooks the fact that in Ghaznavid India Arabic and Persian were prestige languages, while the native tongues were not. It would seem most likely that Mas'ûd, as the scion of a family long-established—as he himself states—in Lahore, did know the local language and it is thus not impossible that he might have composed the odd poem in it,' *Persian Literature*, 414.

<sup>58</sup> A late form of Middle Indo-Aryan that precedes the appearance of the Indic vernaculars.

<sup>59</sup> McGregor, *Hindi Literature*, 5; the text was edited by the Jain monk, Jina Vijaya Muni (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1945). However, the identity of this author and the form of his name are not without their own set of problems.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

genres. He is simply a Persian poet who must be reckoned a significant force in the history of the development of this poetry's tradition. There have been other poets active on the periphery of the Persian world, such as Khâqânî and Mawlânâ Rûmî, who borrowed from the cultures they lived in while belonging in the literary tradition of the language they wrote in. It is important to take the larger view of reading and appreciating literature and not be mired by baseless speculations:

One reason literature remains important is that it counteracts, on the one hand, the impersonality and instability of public memory and, on the other, the determinism and fundamentalism of a collective memory based on identity politics. Literature creates an institution of its own, more personal and focused than public memory yet less monologic than the memorializing fables common to ethnic or nationalist affirmation.<sup>61</sup>

This is precisely why situating Mas'ûd Sa'd at the crossroads of two cultural complexes allows us to avoid the trap of limiting our vision when we read his work. In the assessment of the quality of his work (and each age and individual has used a distinct set of aesthetic criteria) his voice has reemerged louder and perhaps with more appeal in our complex world, and it is hoped that this trend will continue as we approach the millennium of his birth.



## Appendix

### CHAPTER 1

دو چیز دانم اصل نشاط و راحت خویش یکی وصال نگار و یکی ثنا ی امیر (11)

پس ازین شعر فتح گویم از آنک تیز شد فتحنامه را بازار (11)

شه مصاف شکن شیرزاد شیرشکر که جان کفر بپولاد هندوی پالود (12)

برهمنی که به زنار بود نازش او ز بیم تیغ تو میگسلد ز تن زنار (12)

هست این سفر فتح چو آبی ز سفر باز شاهان جهان نام کنندش سفر فتح  
صد فتح کنی بی شک و صد سال ازین پس در هند بهر لحظه ببینند اثر فتح  
من جمله کنم نظم و بهر وقت محدث یک سال ببالین تو خواند سمر فتح (13)

هزار قصر چو ایران بنا کنی در هند هزار شاه چو کسری بگیری از اعقاب (13)

محمود بنا کرد چو لاهور لهانور در هند یکی کعبه ی مقصود بنا کرد  
اندیشه چو کردم پی تاریخ بنایش فی الفور خرد گفت که محمود بنا کرد (14)

نه سعد سلمان پنجاه سال خدمت کرد بدست کرد برنج اینهمه ضیاع و عقار (19)

شصت سال تمام خدمت کرد پدر بنده سعد بن سلمان  
به اطراف بودی از عمال گه بدرگاه بودی از اعیان (19)

<sup>61</sup> Geoffrey H. Hartman, 'Public Memory and Its Discontents,' in *The Uses of Literary History*, 85.

اورا به خازنی کتب کردی اختیار کت را ی خسروانه قوی اختیار باد (25)

پیرار و پار بنده ز جان ناامید بود و امسال حال بنده چو پیرار و پار نیست  
کس را چنانکه امروز این بنده تو راست جاه و محل و مرتبت و کار و بار نیست (25)

از بزرگان هنر در همه انواع منم گرچه امروز مرا نام ز جمع شعراست (28)

در من امروز همی هیچ ندانند کانون سخن را چه بیان و چه بنانست (28)

هزار دیوان سازم بنظم و در هر یک هزار مدح طرازم چو صد هزار نگار  
(28, 133)

## CHAPTER 2

پیش تو مارا سخن گفتن خطر کردن بود بی خطر کردن بر آرند از بن دریا گهر (35)

در شعر مپیچ و در فن او چون اکذب اوست احسن او (35)

از آن گفتم این بیتها ی بلند که تا شاه گیرد از این کار پند  
کزین پس بداند چه باشد سخن بیاندیشد از پند پیر کهن  
دگر شاعران را نیازارد او همان حرمت خود نگه دارد او  
که شاعر چو رنجد بگوید هجا بماند هجا تا قیامت بجا  
بنام بدرگاه یزدان پاک فشاننده بر سر پراکنده خاک  
که یارب روانش به آتش بسوز دل بنده مستحق بر فروز (38)

برفت شوکت محمود و در زمانه نماند جز این فسانه که نشناخت قدر فردوسی (38)

از خردمندان که بر درگاه تو گرد آمدند تربت حضذح ظت همی چون تربت یونان کنی (41)

هزار مثقال اندر ترازوی شعرا کسی جز او نهاد اندرین جهان یکسر (41)

به ده بیت صد بدره و برده یافت ز یک فتح هندوستان عنصری  
شنیدم که از نقره زد دیگدان ز زر ساخت آحذظت خوان عنصری  
اگر زنده ماندی در این دور بخل خسک ساختی دیگدان عنصری (41)  
عرا را بتو بازار برافروخته بود رفتی و با تو بیکبار شکست آن بازار (43)

مردی که ز پشت سعد سلمان زاید گر زهر شود ملک ترا نگزاید (19)

چو روی چرخ شد از صبح چون صحیفه سیم ز قصر شاه مرا مژده داد باز نسیم  
که عزدولت محمود سیف دولت را ابو المظفر سلطان عادل ابراهیم  
فزود حشمت و رتبت بدولت عالی چو کرد مملکت هند را بدو تسلیم  
بنام فرخ او خطبه کرد در همه هند نهاد بر سر اقبالش از شرف دیهیم (20)

ای راوه اگر بهشت پیداست تویی چیزی که در او ملک مهیاست تویی  
آبی که در او سپهر والاست تویی جویی که در او هزار دریاست تویی (20)

گرامبه سه داشتم به لوهور وین نزد همه کسی عیانست  
امروز سه سال شد که مویم مانده مو ی کافرانست (20)

خدایگانا دانی که بنده تو چه کرد به شهر غزنین با شاعران چیره زبان  
هر آن قصیده که گفتیش راشد ی یک ماه جواب گفتم به زان بدیهه هم بزمان  
اگر نه بیم تو بودی شها بحق خدای که راشد ی را بفکنند می ز نام و ز نان  
چو پایگاهم دیدند نزد شاهنشاه که داشتم بر او جاه و رتبت و امکان (21)

به هیچ وجه گناهی دگر نمیدانند جز آنکه مارا زین شهر مولد و منشاست  
اگر بر ایشان سحر حلال بر خوانم جز این نگویند آخر که کودک و برناست (22)

سست پای و خیره سرگشتم چو دیدم گرد خویش خاکپای دیلمان سر برهنه یک گله  
رویها تابان ز خشم اندامها پیچان ز بغض گویی آوردند باد لقوه و درد خله  
خانه من زان سگان گو شکم شد پارگین حجره من زان خران تیزسم شد مزبله  
خرده بی سیم نماند از حبل ایشان بر گره ذره بی مغزم نماند از بانگ ایشان در کله  
(22)

که خسته آفت لهاورم که بسته تهمت خراسانم (23, 62)

نیم چو آهو کز کشوری دگر بچرد نهاد معطر نافه به کشور دیگر (22)

بو الفرج شرم نایح حظت که بجهد در چنین حبس و بندم افکندی (23)

در خراسان چو او کجا یابی که به هر فضل فخر کیهانست  
ورنه دشمن چرا همی گوید که در اندیشه خراسانست  
گر ازین نوع در سرم گشته ست نزد من دیو به ز یزدانست (4-23)



خدمت من بناکسان و کسان چون رسیدی تو یک بیک برسان  
از در شهر زاستر مشوید تا چو من خیر خیره غر نشوید  
مرد در شهر خویش با نیروست دیده هم بر میان چشم نکوست  
خاک در ساکنی پسندیدست چون بجمید آفت دیده ست  
نه بهر شهر تازه تر فلکیست رازق هرچه کشوراست یکیست  
سفر و خانه ژاژ دان و هوس کار لطف خدا ی داند و بس (5-54)

بر اهل سخن تنگ گشت میدان وز جای بشد پای هر سخن دان  
هر طبع که بر سحر بود قادر از عجز چو مسحور گشت حیران (55)

دانم که ز احوال اهل حضذحظت دانسته‌یی و دیده‌یی فراوان  
کز گوهر و دیبا ی لفظ و معنی نعت همه بی زیور است و عریان  
زیرا دل پردرد شاعران را بینند و نبینند راه درمان (6-55)

ویحک سخن خود چرا نگویم من بی خبر ژاژخا ی کزخوان  
کاز بیکی اندر میان شهری تنهاترم از آنکه در بیابان  
از پیرهن و جیب و دامن من کردند مرا طوق بند و زندان (56)

من که مسعود سعد سلمانم کمتر و پستر از ندیمانم  
شاه بی موجهی عزیزم کرد وز همه بندگان پدید آورد  
رفتم اینک به سوی چالندر تا کی آیم به شهر بار دگر  
رنج بر خویشتن کنم کوتاه باز بینم رفیع مجلس شاه (8-57)

شاعر آری چنین بود گستاخ که بگوید سخن به نظم فراخ  
چون از آن مجلس بهشت آیین دورم افکند روزگار چنین  
من دگر چاره ای ندانم کرد دل بدین نوع خوش توانم کرد (58)

نیست خالی ز ذکر من جایی گرچه شهریست یا بیابانیست (87, 58)

چو دید عزم مرا بر سفر درست شده فرو گرفت به لؤلؤ کناره عتاب  
همی گریست و همی گفت عهد من مشکن مسوز جانم و در رفتن سفر مشتاب  
کجا توانی رفتن ز امر محمودی که اوست همبر تقدیر ایزد وهاب  
فرو گذاری درگاه شهریار جهان فراق جویی از اولیا و از احباب  
جواب دادم و گفتم که روز بودن نیست صواب شغل من این است و هم نبود صواب  
چه کار باشدم اندر دیار هندستان که هست بر من شاهنشاه جهان در تاب (60-59)

چو یاد شهر لهاور و یار خویش کنم نبود کس که شد از شهر و یار خویش نفور  
مرا به است به هر حالی و به هر وجهی جمال حضذحظت غزنین ز شهر لوهاور  
بلی به است به از وصل آن نگار مرا جناب حضذحظت درگاه خسرو منصور (1-60)

ز غازیان بحصار اندرون بر آمد بانگ ز ملک خسرو محمود باد بر خوردار  
نمود در هند آثار فتح شمشیدحظت چنین نماید شمشیر خسروان آثار (44)

بنالم به تو ای علیم قدیر ز اهل خراسان صغیر و کبیر  
چه کردم که از من رمیده شدند همه خویش و بیگانه بر خیر خیر  
همان ناصر من که خالی نبود ز من مجلس میر و صدر وزیر  
به نامم نخواندی کس از بس شرف ادبیم لقب بود و فاضل دبیر  
ادب را به من بود بازو قوی به من بود چشم کتابت قریر (49)

خاک خراسان چو بود جای ادب معدن دیوان ناکس اکنون شد  
حکمت را خانه بود بلخ و کنون خانه‌ش ویران و بخت وارون شد (50)

سلام کن ز من ای باد مر خراسان را مر اهل فضل و خرد را نه عام و نادان را  
خبر بیاور از ایشان به من چو داده بوی ز حال من به حقیقت خبر مر ایشان را  
بگویشان که جهان سرو من چو چنبر کرد به مکر خویش و خود اینست کار کیهان را  
نگر که تان نکند غره عهد و پیماننش که او وفا نکند هیچ عهد و پیمان را  
نگه کنید که در دست این و آن چو خراس به چند گونه بدیدید مر خراسان را  
به ملک ترک چرا غره اید یاد کنید جلال و عرحظت محمود زاولستان را (51)

زنهار چون بغزنین بگذشتی لؤلؤ بدان دیار پراکندی  
پیغام میدهم بگو زنهار ازین حزین تنگدل بند ی (51)

آزرده کرد کزدم غربت جگر مرا گویی زبون نیافت بگیتی مگر مرا  
در حال خویشتن چو همی ژرف بنگرم صفرا همی برآید ز انده به سر مرا  
گویم چرا نشانه تیر زمانه کرد چرخ بلند جاهل بیدادگر مرا  
گر در کمال فضل بود مرد را خطر چون خوار و زار کرد پس این بی خطر مرا (52)

ای غریب آب غریبی ز تو بر بود شباب وز غم غربت از سذحظت بپرید غراب  
گرد غربت نشود شسته ز دیدار غریب گرچه هر روز سر و روی شوید به گلاب (52)

غریبی می چه خواهد یارب از من که با من روز و شب بسته است دامن  
غریبی دوستی با من گرفته است مرا از دوستی گشت است دشمن  
ز دشمن رست هر کو جست لیکن از این دشمن بجستن نیست رستن  
غریبی دشمنی صعب است کز تو نخواهد جز زمین و شهر و مسکن  
ندیده است آنکه من دیدم ز غربت به زیر دسته سرمه ی کرده هاون  
غریبی هاون مردان علم است ز مرد علم خود علم است روغن (53)

ویحک ای نقشبند بی‌خامه قاصد رایگان بی‌نامه  
فلک از بهر ناخوشی و خوشی کرده بر نام تو خریطه کشی  
گر ترا آرزوی معراج است خاک غزنین ترا به از تاج است  
برو از بلخ تا سوی غزنین خود ره دهد بعلیین  
خاک غزنین رفیعتر فلکیست عرش و غزنین به نقش هر دو یکیست (54)

ترسیدم و پشت بر وطن کردم گفتم من و طالع نگوینسارم  
بسیار امید بود در طبعم ای وای امیدهای بسیارم (61)

در دل من بایزد ار ماندست ذره‌یی از هوا ی هندستان  
چکنم من به لوهوور آخر نزد آن قوم بی سر و سامان (2-61)

رهی گذاشته ام کز نهیب وحشت او بسوی دوزخ یازد همیشه دیو لعین  
ز تنگ بیشه او کم برون شدی نخجیر به تند پشته او بد بر آمدی شاهین  
گواه بر من یزدان که هجر خدمت تو مرا نداشت زمانی مگر نژند و حزین  
عنان بخت گرفته هوا ی مجلس تو همی کشید مرا تا بحضرت غزنین (62)

دهر بی منفعت خریست پلید چرخ بی عافیت سگیست عقور  
بوم چالندرست مرتع من مار و رنگم درین ثقاب و ثغور  
آرزو باشدم که هر سالی باشم اندر دو بقعه منظور  
بدو فصل اندرین دو شهر جلیل غیبت من بدل شود به حضور  
که مرا خوشتر از گلاب و عبیر آب غزنین و خاک لوهوور (3-62)

ای لوهوور و یحک بی من چگونه ای بی آفتاب روشن روشن چگونه ای  
ای باغ طبع نظم من آراسته ترا بی لاله و بنفشه و سوسن چگونه ای  
ناگه عزیز فرزند از تو جدا شدست با درد او بنوحه و شیون چگونه ای  
بر پای من دو بند گرانست چون تنی بیجان شده تو اکنون بی تن چگونه ای  
نفرستیم پیام و نگویی بحسن عهد کاندل حصار بسته چو بیژن چگونه ای (95, 63)

بوی جو ی مولیان آید همی یاد یار مهربان آید همی  
ای بخارا شاد باش و دیر زی میر زی تو شادمان آید همی  
میر ماهست و بخارا آسمان ماه سوی آسمان آید همی  
میر سرو است و بخارا بوستان سرو سوی بوستان آید همی (64)

که پرسد زین غریب خوار محزون خراسان را که بی من حال تو چون  
همیدونی چو من دیدم به نوروز خبر بفرست اگر هستی همیدون (64)

دانی تو که با بند گرانم یا رب دانی که ضعیف و ناتوانم یا رب  
شد در غم لوهوور روانم یا رب یا رب که در آرزوی آنم یا رب (64)

ارجو که چو دیدار تو ببینم بر روی تو زین گوهران فشانم  
دانم سخن من عزیز داری داری سخن من عزیز دانم  
دانی تو که چه مایه رنج بینم تا نظمی و نثری بتو رسانم (65)

یک فوج همی بینم گم کرده ره خویش و ایام بر ایشان ز جهالت چو شب تار  
هنجار همی بینند از شعر من آری بینند ز انجم به شب تار ی هنجار  
یک فوج همی بینم در خواب جهالت بیکار بر خویش و بر دانش بیکار  
چون کژدم خفته شده در بیغله مشغول بینند خیالاتی در بیهده هموار  
یک شهر همی بینم بی دانش و بی عقل افراخته از کبر سر و ساخته دستار  
(66)

ز اهل عصر چه خواهم که اهل عصر همه بخوی و طبع ستوران ماده را مانند  
مگر به رحمت ایشان فریفته نشوی نکو نگر که همه اندک و فراوانند  
مخواه تابش ایشان اگر همه مهرند مجوی گوهر ایشان اگر همه کاند (66)

### CHAPTER 3

تبارک الله این بخت و زندگانی بین که تا بمیرم زندان بود مرا خانه  
چو شانه شد جگرم شاخ شاخ از آنده آن که موی دیدم شاخی سپید در شانه (70)

بهای خویش ز تو چند بار یافته ام گران خریدی مفروش مرا ارزان (74)

به مجلس تو ز من نایب این قصیده بسست که هیچ حاجت ناید به نایب دیگر (74)

دانم بر تو نیم فراموش زیرا که به مدح هستیم یاد (75)

شگفت از آن که همه مغز من محبت توست چگونه داند غالب شدن بر او سودا (75)

ور چو تو مرد هیچ دولت را نیز در دانش و دها باشد  
پس چرا چون منی که بی مثلم به چنین حبس مبتلا باشد (75)

در حبس چه آید ز من و من بیچه ارزم کامروز نمی بینم جز زندان بانی  
فردا اگر از دولت تو یاری یابم جاه تو مرا بدهد دستی و توانی (75)

من بدین حبس و رنج خرسندم این قضا را نکردم انکاری  
تا عزیزی ز نبینم بجهان در بلا ی نیاز چون خوار ی  
گر مرا کرد پادشه محبوس نیست بر من ز حبس او عاری  
بر جهانی کند سرفراز ی آنکه بندش کند جهاندار ی  
مر مرا حبس خسروست که نیست خسروی را چنو سزاوار ی (76)

بی زلت و بی گناه محبوسم بی علت و بی سبب گرفتارم (76)

همی ندانم خود را گناهی و جرمی مگر سعایت و تلبیس دشمن مکار (76)

در سمجی چون توانم آرامیدن کز تنگی آن نمیتوان خسییدن  
یا رب که همی بچشم خواهم دیدن جائی که در او فراخ بتوان دیدن (3-82)

در آن تنگ زندانم ای دوستان که هشتم شب و روز چون چنبری  
کرا باشد اندر جهان خانه‌یی ز سنگیش بامی ز خشتی در ی  
درو روزنی هست چندان کز او یکی نیمه بینم ز هر اختر ی  
وزین تنگ منفذ همی بنگرم بروی فلک راست چون اعور ی (83)

اکنون درین مرنجم در سمج بسته در بر بند خود نشسته چو بر بیضه ماکیان  
رفتن مرا ز بند بزائوست یا به دست خفتن چو حلقه‌هاش نگونست یا ستان  
سکباجم آرزو کند و نیست آتشی جز چهره بزرگ ی مانند زعفران (83)

به خدا ی ار مرا درین زندان جز یکی پاره بوریا باشد  
نان کشکین اگر بیابم هیچ راست گویی زلیبیا باشد (83)

نگاه کن که چگونه زید کسی در حبس که فرش و جامه او از بلال باشد و شال  
غلامکی که جوالیست آنچه او دارد ز بیم سرما هر شب فرو شد ی بجوال  
من و غلام و کنیزک بدان شده قانع که هر سه روز همی یافتیم یک من گال  
چو من ندیدم رویینه و برنجینه ز بس ضرر قانع شدم همی بسفال (4-83)

ولیک کشت مرا طبع این هوا ی عفن زحیر گشتم ازین مردمان بی سامان  
نه زیرکیست که با او سخن توان گفتن نه مردمیست که چیز ی ازو شنید توان (84)

من بستر برف و بالش یخ دارم خاکستر و یخ پیشگه و یخ دارم  
چون زاغ همه نشست بر شخ دارم در یکدو گز آب‌ریز و مطبخ دارم (84)

گر خردنیی یابم هر هفته نه هر روز از دست مرا کاسه و از زانو خوانست  
ور هیچ به زندانبان گویم که چه دار ی گوید که مخور هیچ که ماه رمضانست  
گویمش که بیمارم رو شربت و نان آر خنده زند و گوید خود کار در آنست  
هر چند که محبوس‌ست این بنده مسکین بی نان نزدیک نیز که بنده حیوانست  
بدبخت کسی‌ام که به چندان زر و نعمت امروز همه قصه من قصه نانست (84)

یک دست من مذبذبه و یک دست من محک شب از برای پشه و روز از پی ذباب (85)

نیشتنی را خاکستر است دفتر من چو خامه نقش و ی انگشت من کند پیدا (85)

پیداست هنرها ی من بگیتی گر چندین از دیده‌ها نهانم  
در حبس آرایش نخیزد از من بر تابه به ماندست نیز نانم  
دانی تو که چه مایه رنج بینم تا نظمی و نثری بتو رسانم (85)

گر بدانم که چرا بسته شدم بیزارم از خدایی که همه وصفش بی چون و چراست (76)

نیست از حمله اجل باکم نیست از حبس پادشا عارم  
از تقاضا ی وام‌خواهانست همه اندوه و رنج و تیمارم (76)

من بنده از صدر دور مانده بر مدح و دعا اختصار کرده  
از دور ی و نا دیدن جمالت نهمار سرم را خمار کرده (7-76)

سالها بوده ام چنانکه بود بچه شیرخواره بی مادر (77)

کوه است با رزانت و نار است با علو باد است با سیاست و آب است با صفا (77)

من ناشنیده گویم از خویشتن چو ابر چون کوه نیستم که بود لفظ من صدا (77)

در بندگیت ازین پس چون کلک و چون بندم میان بجان و گشایم بمدح فم (77)

من چه دعوی بندگیت کنم مدحت تو بر آن گوا باشد (77)

از چو من کس در این چنین جایی چه بود نیز جز دعا و ثنا (77)

تاری از موی من سپید نبود چون بزندان مرا فلک بنشانند  
ماندم اندر بلا و غم چندان که یکی موی من سیاه نماند (79)

گویند که نیک‌بخت و بدبخت هست از همه چیز در میانه  
یک جای دو خشت پخته بینی پخته به تنور در آشنانه  
این بر شرف مناره افتاد و آن در بن چاه آبخانه (79)

گر بماند ی چنانکه اول بود آنچه بر تن ز دیدگان بارید  
تافته رشته ایستی تن من در کشیده همه به مروارید (79)

ای شاه بترس از آنکه پرسند از تو جایی که تو دانی که نترسند از تو  
خرسند نیی به پادشاهی ز خدا ی پس چون باشم ببند خرسند از تو (142, 80)

مهر من نیستی اگر نه امی خسته بند و بسته زندان (81)

بدان درست که در حبس و بند بنده تو عقاب بی پر گشته است و شیر بی چنگال (82)

امروز منم چو ماری اندر سله‌یی ز آوازه من درین جهان ولوله‌یی  
بر من هر موی اگر شود سلسله‌یی از چرخ فلک نکردم گله‌یی (82)

مقصود شد مصالح کار جهانیان بر حبس و بند این تن رنجور ناتوان در حبس و بند نیز ندارندم استوار تا گرد من نگرده ده تن نگاهبان هر ده نشسته بر در و بر بام سمج من با یکدیگر دمام گویند هر زمان خیزید و بنگرید نباید بجادویی او از شکاف روزن پرد بر آسمان همین برجهید زود که حیلنگریست او کز آفتاب پل کند از باد نردبان گوید نگاهبانم گر بر شو ی بام در چشم کاهت افتد از راه کهکشانش (91)

دوش در رو ی گنبد خضرا مانده بود این دو چشم من عمدا لون انقاس داشت پشت زمین رنگ زنگار داشت رو ی هوا کله‌یی بود پر ز در یتیم پرده‌یی پر ز لولوی لالا آینه رنگ عیبه‌یی دیدم راست بالاش در خور پهنا مختلف شکلها همی دیدم کامد از اختران همی پیدا (91)

اگر نبود ی بیچاره پیر بهرامی چگونه بودی حال من اندرین زندان گهی صفت کندم حالها ی گردش چرخ گهی بیان دهم رازها ی چرخ کیان مرا ز صحبت او شد درست علم نجوم حساب هندسه و هیعظت زمین و مکان چنان شدم که بگویم نه بر گمان بیقین که چند باشد یک لحظه چرخ را دوران (92)

ازین دوازده برجم رسید کار بجان که رنج دیدم از هر یکی به دیگر سان (92)

بلا ی مرا دختر روزگار بزاید همی هر زمان مادری تن ار شد سپر پیش تیر بلا پس اورا زبانست چون خنجر ی زمانه ندارد به از من پسر نهانم چه دارد چو بد دختری (93)

تخم گشت ای عجب مگر سخنم که پراکنده بر زمین فکنم او بروید همی و شاخ زند من از او دانه‌یی همی نچنم از فنا ی سخن همی ترسم که بغایت همی رسد سخنم آفتابست همتم گرچند عرضی گشت همچو سایه تنم بار گشتست پوست بر تن من چون توانم کشید پیرهنم روزگارم نشانند بر آتش صبر تا کی کنم نه برهنم هر زمانی بدست صبر همی گردن آرزو فرو شکم گاه در انجمن چنان باشم که فرامش شود ز خویشتم گاه تنها ز خود شوم طیره گوئی اندر میان انجمنم همچو آتشکده شده‌ست دلم من از آن بیم دم همی نزنم تا ز تف دل اژدها کردار پر ز آتش همی شود دهنم سر به پیش خسان فرو نارم که من از کبر سرو در چمنم منت هیچکس نخواهم از آنک بنده کردگار ذو المنتم گر ز خورشید روشنی خواهد دیدگانم ز چشمها بکنم ای که بدخواه روزگار منی شادمانی بدانچه ممتحنم تو اگرچه توانگری نه تویی من اگرچند مفلسم نه منم (4-93)

وین حال عیان است مرا زانکه بر عقل احوال جهان نیست نهانی چو عیانی تا هیچ تهی نیست مکانی ز مکینی چونانکه جدا نیست مکینی ز مکانی (87)

دعا ی ماست بهر مسجد و بهر مجلس دریغ ماست بهر محفل و بهر محضر (87)

شعر من یاد شد بهر مجلس ذکر من تازه شد بهر محضر (87)

از حبس من بهر شهر اکنون مصیبتیست وز حال من بهر جا اکنون روایتی (88)

طبع تو بحرست وز گوهر پر ای مسعود سعد  
ز آفتاب را ی خویشش پرور ای مسعود سعد  
خوب نظمی ساز همچون گوهر ای مسعود سعد  
رو ثنایی بر بصاحب در خور ای مسعود سعد  
در همه عالم به فکذحظت بنگر ای مسعود سعد  
تا بزرگی چون عمید نامور منصور هست (88)

چون نا ی بینوایم از این نا ی بینوا شادی ندید هیچکس از نا ی بینوا (88)

نالم ز دل چو نا ی من اندر حصار نا ی پستی گرفت همت من زین بلند جا ی آرد هوا ی نا ی مرا ناله‌ها ی زار جز ناله‌ها ی زار چه آرد هوا ی نا ی گردون بدرد و رنج مرا کشته بود اگر پیوند عمر من نشد ی نظم جانفزا ی نی نی ز حصن نا ی بیفزود جاه من داند جهان که مادر ملکست حصن نا ی من چون ملوک سر ز فلک بر گذاشته ز ی زهره برده دست و بمه بر نهاده پا ی از دیدگاه پاشم درها ی قیمتی وز طبع گه خرامم در باغ دلگشا ی نظمی به کامم اندر چون باده لطیف خطی بدستم اندر چون زلف دلربا ی (89)

ای قلعه نا ی مادر ملک تویی دانند که کان گوهر ملک تویی امروز نیام خنجر ملک تویی آبادان بادی که بر در ملک تویی (89)

دیده بی تو نخواهدم نعمت دست بی تو نگیردم ساغر  
بر من از فرقت حرام شود ناله نا ی و نغمه مزمر  
دوری بزم تو بخواهد برد ز آتش طبع من فروغ و شرر  
زنگ خواهد زد از جدایی تو خاطر آبدار چون خنجر (90)

گاه در حبس‌ها بداری پای گاه در دشت‌ها بر آری پر (90)

در حبس مرنج با چنین آهن‌ها صالح بی تو چگونه باشم تنها  
که خون گریم به مرگ تو دامن‌ها که پاره کنم ز درد پیراهن‌ها (1-90)

بسان بیژن در مانده‌ام به بند بلا جهان به من بر تاریک چون چه بیژن (95)

نابرده به لفظ نام شیرین در کوه فتاده‌ام چو فرهاد (95)

تو حال و قصه من دان که حال و قصه من بسی شگفت‌تر از حال وامق و عذراست  
(95)

چون خضر و سکندر مرا همیدون تازنده سو ی هر دیار دارد (95)

بسان آزر و مانی بتگر و نقاش بلا و محنت بینم همی به زندان در  
از آنکه می‌پرسند گفته‌ها ی مرا بسان صو مانی و لعبت آزر  
زمانه را پسر ی در هنر ز من به نیست چرا نهان کندم همچو بدهنر دختر (96)

منم کندر عرب و اندر عجم کس نبیند چون من از چیره زبانی  
گر افتد مشکلی در نظم و در نثر ز من خواهد زمانه ترجمانی  
بدین هر دو زبان در هر دو میدان به گردونم رسیده کامرانی  
سجود آرد به پیش خاطر من روان رودکی و ابن هانی  
برون آیم ز حبس و بند روزی چو در بحر ی و چون زر کانی (96)

هست جنس من اندرین زندان تن زرد چو خیزران قلم  
منم امروز خسته و گریان زار ناله کنان بسان قلم  
درج در ضمیر من بگشاد نوک پویان درفشان قلم  
گر ز بیم قلم فرو شده‌ام هم بر آرد مرا امان قلم (96)

هرچه بیشم دهد فلک مالش بیش یابد ز من همی فرهنگ (97)

چرا ناسپاسی کم زین حصار چو در من بیفزود فرهنگ و هنگ (97)

ورچه تنم ضعیف شد از رنج هر زمان آید همی قویترم این شعر با کمال (97)

جاهم چو بکاهد خرد فزاید کارم چو ببندد سخن گشاید (97)

از آتش دل من از آب دیدگان نشگفت اگر فزون شوم دانش و دها (97)

صدرها گر ز من تهیست چه شد چو جهان پر شدست ز آثارم  
ور ببندم نمیتوانم رفت میروود در زمانه اشعارم  
هیچکس را هنر گاهی نیست رنجه زین گنبد نگونسارم  
محض دیوانه‌ام ندانم من کس نگوید همی که هشیارم (98)

بر گرفتم دل از وسیلت شعر تا نگوید کسی که ژاژ مخا ی  
توبه کردم ز شعر از آنکه ز شعر بدم آید همی بهر دو سرا ی  
این سرایم عذاب بوده بود و ای از آن هول روز محشر و ای (98)

سخن نتیجه جانست جان چرا کاهم گمان مبر که چو پروانه دشمن جانم (98)

چو بلبان نوا ی ثناهای تو زدم تا کرد روزگار مرا اندر آشیان (98)

بر صفا حظت تو ام باغ ثنا می‌سرایم چو فاخته بچمن (99)

گرچه دورم ز مجلس سامیت من ازین بخت و دولت توسن  
می‌سرایم ثنا و مدحت تو طوق مهدحظت فکنده در گردن (99)

مدحت چو طوق قمری بر گردن منست هر ساعت چو قمری گویا کند همی (99)

چو فاخته نه عجب گر همی بگریم زار چو کبک نشگفت ار کوه باشدم مسکن (99)

گرچه دورم ز مجلس سامیت من ازین بخت و دولت توسن  
می‌سرایم ثنا و مدحت تو طوق مهدحظت فکنده در گردن (99)

شاهین هنرم نه فاخته مهرم طوطی سخنم نه بلبل الحانم (99)

بسته دو پای و دوخته دو دیده تا کی بوم صبور که نه بازم (100)

اگرچه از پی عزست پای باز به بند چو نام بندست آن عز همی نخواهد باز (100)

چون از فراق دوست خبر دادم آن غراب رنگ غراب داشت زمانه سیاه ناب  
چونان که از نشیمن بر بانگ تیر و زه بجهد غراب ناگه جستم ز جای خواب  
از گریه چون غرابم آواز در گلو پیدا نبود هیچ سؤال من از جواب  
از خون دو چشم من چو دو چشم غراب و دل آویخته غرابی گشته ز اضطراب  
بودم حدور همچو غرابی برای آنک همچون غراب جای گرفتم درین خراب  
گر روز من سیه چو غراب است پس چرا مانده غراب ندانم همی شتاب  
برهجر چون غراب خروشان شدم بروز آموختم ز بند گران رفتن غراب  
چون بانگ او به گوش من آید ز شاخ سرو گیتی شود چو پرش در چشم من ز آب  
گویم چرا خروشی نه چون منی به بند بر خیزد و بر پر و برو و دوست را بیاب  
(100)

## CHAPTER 4

فسانه گشت و کهن شد حدیث اسکندر سخن نو آر که نو را حلاوتیست دگر (107)

دو زلف تو صنما عنبر و تو عطار ی به عنبر تو همی حاجت اوفتد مارا  
مرا فراق تو دیوانه کرد و سرگردان ز بهر ایزد دریاب مر مرا یارا  
بمال بر تن من زلف عنبریت که هست علاج مردم دیوانه عنبر سارا (111)

ای دو زلفت چو ماه در آخر و ای رخانت چو مشک در اول  
احول اکحلی و متفقد خلق در حسن احول اکحل  
شده بار دگر کسی هم جفت کرده با دیگری مرا تو بدل  
گر مرا نیستی امید وصال نمی جفت یاردان بمثل  
یک دو بینی همه و این نه شگفت یک دو بیند همی بچشم احول (111)

عیش و نشاط و شادی و لهوست مر مرا تا ساقی من آن بت حوری لقا کند  
زهره ست و ماه باده و رویش بروشنی زان هر دو نور مجلس ما پر ضیا کند  
آری چو ماه و زهره به یک جا قران کنند عیش و نشاط و شادی و لهو اقتضا کند  
(112)

زرد کردی رخم به انده و غم لعل کردی دهان تنبول تن  
در دندانن تا عقیق شدست لعل گشته ست جزع دیده من (113)

من صوفیم ای روی تو از خوبان فرد هر کس داند پیر و جوان و زن و مرد  
حلواست لب سرخ تو از شیرینی حلوا در کار صوفیان باید کرد (114)

نشگفت گر آراسته ای تو به ملاحظ شاهان همه آراسته باشند و تو شاهی  
یک بوسه بخوایم سندن من ز تو زیراک رسم است ز شاهان سندن شکر شاهی  
(115)

خدایگانا رامش گزین و شادی بین که مژده از بخت ماه فروردین  
همی چه گوید گوید که ملک هفت اقلیم بحکم و امر تو خواهد شدن ز چرخ برین  
چنان نهاد ز قسمت خدا ی عز و جل که تا بحشر تو باشی خدایگان زمین  
خراج و ساو فرستد ترا بطوع و بطبع گهیت مالک روم و گهیت مالک چین  
ابو الملوک ملک ارسلان مسعودی که نازد از تو همی تاج و تخت و ملک و نگین  
بباغ ملک همیشه نهال عدل نشان ز شاخ عدل همیشه نجات دولت چین  
بگوش جاه همیشه ندا ی بخت شنو بچشم دولت همواره روی شادی بین (119)

بهشت است گیتی ز اردیبهشت حلال آمد ای مه می اندر بهشت  
بشادی نشین هین و می خواه می که بی می نشستنت زشت زشت (119)

نوا گوی بلبل که بس خوش نوایی مبادا ترا زین نوا بینوایی  
نواهای مرغان دو سه نوع باشد تو هر دم زدن با نوائی نوایی  
گر از عشق گویا شدستی تو چون من مباد از رنج و انده رهایی  
بسی مرغ دیدم به دیدار نیکو ندانند ایشان بجز ژاژخایی  
همه جو فروشان گندم نمایند تو گندم فروشی و ارزن نمایی  
بخسبند مرغان و تو شب نخسبی مگر همچو من بسته در حصن نایی (101)

ازین شاعرانی که آیند ز ی تو ولیکن بعلم و خرد روستایی  
بیایند این قوم ز ی تو همیشه ز بهر گدایی و کالا ربایی  
ز من بنده بر دل تو یاد ی نیاری نیرسی نگویی که روزی کجایی  
چراغیست افروخته طبع شاعر ضو آنکه فزاید که روغن فزایی  
چو کم گشت روغنش تاریک سوزد به تقدیر روغن دهد روشنایی (102)

نگویم از پس این حسب حال و محنت خویش که شد بدرد و غم و رنج طبع توسن رام  
(102)

من کیستم چه دارم چندم کیم چیم کم هر زمان رساند گردون نکایتی (104)

من که مسعود سعد سلمانم در کف جود تو گروگانم (104)

من که مسعود سعد سلمانم ز آنچه گفتم همه پشیمانم (104)

مسعود سعد دشمن فضلست روزگار این روزگار شیفته را فضل کم نما ی (105)

از فلک تنگدل مشو مسعود گر فراوان ترا بیازارد (105)

مسعود سعد چند لیبی ژاژ چه فایده ز ژاژ لیبیده (105)

گر تو مسعود سعد با خردی این جهان را به خس نینگاری (105)

من در عدم از جود تو موجود شدم در دولت تو بر سر مقصود شدم  
مسعود نبودم از تو مسعود شدم در حبس چنان شدم که محسود شدم (105)

آری بدل که همچو دگر بندگان نیک مسعود سعد خدمت من کرد سالیان (105)

مسعود سعد بنده سی ساله من ست تو نیز بنده منی این قدر را بدان (106)

یکی حکایت بشنو ز حسب حال رهی به عقل سنج که عقلست عدل را میزان  
بلا ی من همه بود از رجا و از محمود که کشته بادا هر دو بزجر در میدان  
وگر نه از من کس را همی نیاید یاد که هست یا نه مسعود سعد بن سلمان (106)

سپندارمذ ماه آخر ز سال که گشت آخرین ماه هر بدسگال (120)

ز سلطان گیتی ملک ارسلان شود طالع سال فرخنده‌فال (120)

امروز اورمزد دست ای یار می‌گسار بر خیز و تازگی کن و آن جام باده آر  
ای اورمزد روی بده روز اورمزد آن می که شادمان کندم اورمزدوار  
تا بر نشاط مجلس سلطان ابو الملوک باشیم شادمان و نشینیم شادخوار  
آن زینت ملوک ملک ارسلان که ملک هرگز چو او نبیند یک شاه تاجدار  
اندر زمانه نعمت و دولت فرونش باد تا نعمت خزان بود و لدحظت بهار (120-1)

ای نگار تیر بالا روز تیر خیز جام باده ده بر لحن زیر  
عاشقی در پرده عشاق گوئی راه‌های طبع خواه دلپذیر  
شعرهای شهره از من دار گوش در ثنای شهریار شهرگیر (121)

انیران ز پیران شنیدم چنان که می خورد باید برطل گران (121)

یکشنبه است و دارد نسبت به آفتاب بر روی آفتاب بمن ده شراب ناب  
ای آفتاب روی بده باده‌یی که آن در روشنی حکایت گوید ز آفتاب  
بر یاد خسروی که چو می یاد او خورم آب حی‌حظت گردد در دست من شراب  
سلطان ابو الملوک ملک ارسلان که هست او را ز چرخ تاج ملوک جهان خطاب  
ای آفتاب ملک جهان از تو نورمند تا تابد آفتاب تو چون آفتاب تاب (122)

بیا ساقی آر آب آتش فروغ که از دل برد زنگ و از جان وروغ (122)

از دوست پیام آمد که آراسته کن کار این است شریعت  
مهر دل پیش آر و فضول از ره بردار این است طریقت (124)

ای کامگار سلطان انصاف تو بگهیان گشته عیان  
مسعود شهریار ی خورشید نامداری اندر جهان  
ای اوج چرخ جای گیتی ز روی و رایت چون بوستان  
چون تیغ آسمانگون گردد بخوردن خون همدانستان  
باشد بدست اندر از گل بسی سبکتر گرز گران  
بر تیز تک هزبری برقی که گردد ابری زیر عنان  
کوهی که باد گردد چون گرد باد گردد در زیر ران  
پیش رفیع تختت از طوع و طبع بختت بسته میان  
کس چون تو ناشنوده عادل چو تو نبوده نوشینروان  
در هیچ روزگاری کس چون تو شهریار ی ندهد نشان  
در شکر و مدحت تو پاینده دولت تو شد همزبان  
آمد بهار خرم شد عرسه‌های عالم پر گلستان  
از دست هر نگاری نیکوتر از بهاری باده‌ستان  
در عز و ناز و شادی بر تخت ملک بادی تا جاودان (124)

ای می لعل راحت جان باش طبع آزاده را بفرمان باش  
روزگارم بیخست مرحم شو دردمندم ز چرخ درمان باش  
بی تو بیجان تنی است جام بلور تن پاکیزه جام را جان باش  
دل از قحط مهر خشک شده ست بر دل سودمند باران باش  
گر تو زندان کشیده‌ای چون من مر مرا یار بند و زندان باش  
اختر شب شد آشکار بتو کس نگوید ترا که پنهان باش  
نامه‌یی مینویسم از شادی بر سر آن نبسته عنوان باش  
بچه آفتاب تابانی نایب آفتاب تابان باش  
شمع اگر نیست تو چو روشن شمع پیش مسعود سعد سلمان باش (126)

در پارسی و تازی و در نظم و نثر کس چون من نشان نیارد گویا و ترجمان (129)

هیچکس را هست انصاف ده ای حاکم حق این زبان و قلم و فکذحظت خاطر که مراست  
از بزرگان هنر در همه انواع منم گرچه امروز مرا نام ز جمع شعراست (129)

نواهای مرغان دو سه نوع باشد تو هر دم زدن با نواهی نوایی (131)

اشعار من آن است که در صنعت نظمش نه لفظ معار است و نه معنی مثنی  
انشا کندش روح و منقح کندش عقل گردون کند املا و زمانه کند اصفا (131)

ز بس قوافی جزل و ز بس معانی بکر که گاه نظم شود گرد طبع من مجمل (131)

آتم که بانگ من چو بگوش سخن رسد اندر تن فصاحت گردد روان روان (131)

نتیجه‌یست ز طبع این قصیده و اندر وی لطیف معنی یابی هزار از آتش و آب  
(132)

بدیع مدحی گفتم بدان نهاد که هست ز لفظ و معنی آن نقش دفتر آتش و آب  
(132)

بنظم و نثر کسی را گر افتخار سزاست مرا سزاست که امروز نظم و نثر مراست  
بهیچ وقت مرا نظم و نثر کم نشود که نظم و نثر در است و طبع من دریاست  
بلفظ آب روان است طبع من لیکن به گاه قحظت و کذحظت چو آتشت و هواست  
(132)

نظم مرا چو نظم دگر کس میدان از آنک یا قحظت زرد نیکو ماند بکهربا  
آزاده را که جوید نام نکو به شعر چون بندگان ز خلق نباید ستد بها  
ابیحظت من چو تیر است از شست طبع من زیرا یکی کشیده کمانم ز انحنای (132)

شریف‌خاطر مسعود سعد سلمان را مسخر است سخن چون پر ی سلیمان را  
 نسبیج وحده که نو حله‌ای دهد هر روز ز کارگاه سخن بارگاه سلطان را  
 ز شادی ادب و عقل او بدار سلام همه سلامت و سعادت سعد سلمان را  
 اگر دلیل بزرگیست فضل پس نه عجب که او دلیل بزرگیست فضل یزدان را  
 (139-40)

کلام کنور الربی فاح غضا و قد غالته شایب قطر  
 و ریح الشمال جذحظت ثم جذحظت علی صفحۃ الارض اذیال عطر  
 و عرف الخزامی و عرف الندامی و تدوار خمر و أنوار جمر  
 و نجم اللیالی و نظم اللالی و مغبوط عمر و مضبوط امر  
 لمسعود سعد سری المعالی سلا بالحریری فی أرض مصر. (140-1)

ای شاه مکن آنچه بپرسند از تو روزی که بدانی که نترسند از تو  
 خرسند نبی بملک و دولت ز خدا ی من چون باشم ببند خرسند از تو (141)

تو گفتی که عیسی بن مریم ست که از کودکی شد به گفتن سمر  
 چو برداشتندش ز آب و ز گل یکی مادری بود بس بی پدر  
 همه معنی مرده زنده کند عجب قد و کامگاری نگر  
 شگفتی نگه کن که کلکش همی چلیپا نماید به انگشت بر  
 چو عیسی به کشتنش دارند قصد که هر ساعت او را ببرند سر  
 ولیکن چو بر دار انگشت شد فزون گردش قدر و جاه و خطر  
 بر آن آسمان بزرگی شود که ره نیست جان را از آن پیشتر  
 چو دین مسیح است کردار او چرا مانوی ماند از وی اثر (143)

خاقانیا ز دل سبکی سر گران مباش کو هر که زاده سخن توست خصم توست  
 گرچه دلت شکست ز مثنی شکسته نام بر خویشتن شکسته دل چون کنی درست  
 چون منصفی نیابی چه معرفت چه جهل چون زال زر نبینی چه سیستان چه بست  
 مسعود سعد نه سوی تو شاعر ی است فحل کاندلر سخنش گنج روان یافت هر که جست  
 بر طرز عنصری رود و خصم عنصری است کندر قصیده‌هاش زند طعنه‌ها ی چست  
 آتش ز آهن آمد و زو گشت آهن آب آهن ز خار زاده و ز او گشت خار سست  
 فرزند عاق ریش پدر گیرد ابتدا فحل نپهره دست مادر برد نخست  
 حیف است این ز گردش ایام چاره نیست کاین ناخنه بدیده ایام ما برست  
 (144)

گر این طرز سخن در شاعر ی مسعود سعد را بود ی  
 بجان صد آفرین کردی روان سعد سلمانش (145)

هیچکس چاره ساز کارم نیست چه کنم بخت سازگارم نیست  
 کشته صبر و انظارم و باز چاره جز صبر و انظارم نیست (145)

سخنم را رانده شمشیرست هنرم را فراخ میدانست  
 نکته‌ای رانده که تألیفست قطع‌ای گفته‌ام که دیوانیست  
 بر طبع من از هنر نو هر زمانی عزیز مهمانیست  
 تا نگوئی چو شعر بر خوانم کین چه بسیار گوئی کشانیست (133)

نبوده‌ام دو زبان هرگز و نبود چو من به خامه دو زبان یک تن اندرین میدان  
 بود بنظمم در ده لطیفه صد معنی بود ز گفته من یک قصیده یک دیوان  
 (133)

یقین دان تو مسعود کاین شعر تو یکی سنگ شد در ترازوی سنگ (133)

غزل گفتمی و در سفتی بیا و خوش بخوان حافظ که بر نظم تو افشاند فلک عقد ثریا را  
 (134)

من آن کسم که بشعر اندر ایچ گوینده بلفظ و معنی چون من ندارد استقلال  
 گهی بنثر فشانم ز لفظ در ثمین گهی بنظم نمایم ز طبع سحر حلال (134)

## CHAPTER 5

چون بدید این رهی که گفته تو کافران را همی مسلمان کرد  
 جمع کرد این رهیت شعر ترا چون نبی را گزیده عثمان کرد  
 چون ولوع جهان بشعر تو دید عقل او گرد طبع جولان کرد  
 شعرها را بجمله در دیوان چون فراهم نهاد دیوان کرد  
 دفتر خویش را ز نقش حروف قایل عقل و قایل جان کرد  
 تا چو دریا ی موج زن سخت در جهان درو گوهر ارزان کرد  
 چون یکی درج ساخت پر گوهر عجز دزدان برو نگهبان کرد  
 طاهر این حال پیش خواجه بگفت خواجه یک نکته گفت و برهان کرد  
 گفت آری سنائی از سر جهل با نبی جمع ژاژ طیان کرد  
 در و خر مهره در یکی رشته جمع کرد آنگهی پریشان کرد  
 دیو را با فرشته در یک جای چون همه ابلهان بزندان کرد  
 خواجه طاهر چو این بگفت رهیت خجلی شد که وصف نتوان کرد  
 لیک معذور دار از آنک مرا معجز شعر ۳۰ حظت حیران کرد  
 زانک بهر جواز شعر ترا شعر هر شاعری که دستان کرد  
 بهر عشق پدید کردن خویش خویشتن در میانه پنهان کرد  
 من چه دانم که از برای فروخت آنک خود را نظیر حسان کرد  
 پس چو شعر ی بگفت و نیک آمد داغ مسعود سعد سلمان کرد (8-137)



مسعود که یافت عز و جاه از لاهور  
تأیید چو نور صبحگاه از لاهور  
سالار سخنوران بتازی و دری ست  
خواه از همدان باشد خواه از لاهور (155)

خواب من  
خواب بر آشفته زندانیست  
در حصار ی به روان سایی نا ی  
بر شکیبایی مسعود سعد (155)

فلکقدرا نمیپرسی که گردون چرا آزد ما را بی محابا (158)

حدیث شکوه گردون بلند خواهیم کرد مگر بدرگه نواب خان رسد فریاد  
(158)

دل از نیستی چو ترسان نیست تنم از عافیت هراسان نیست (145)  
هیچکس را غم ولایت نیست کار اسلام را رعایت نیست (145)  
در مقام ۳ حظت من یزید خلاص ۲۰۰ حظت احمر برابر جان گشت  
قلعه نا ی گشت شخص و درو جان چو مسعود سعد سلمان گشت (146)  
چون بدیدم بدیده تحقیق که جهان منزل فناست کنون (150)

دهر چون نیرنگ سازد چرخ چون دستان کند مغز را آشفته سازد عقل را حیران کند  
که بکین ناصر خسرو فرو بندد کمر تا مر اورا در بدخشان محبس از یمگان کند  
که سعایتها کند در باره مسعود سعد تا مر اورا در لاهور سکنه در زندان کند (151)

اینست گناه من که در هر گام ناکام چو پور سعد سلمانم  
پنهانم از این گروه خود گویی من ناصرم و ری است یمگانم (152)

هان ای فراخ عرصه تهران چه گونه ای زیر درفش قائد ایران چه گونه ای  
(153)

زندانی حصار نا ی  
سخنورا سخنی ساز کن ستاره شکوه که هر سخن نه به گردون برد سخنندان را  
ز جاودانه سخن جاودانه ماند مرد مخوان فسانه ۳ حظت و آب حیوان را  
اگر نبود ادب نامی از ادیب نبود ز فیض لعل بود شهرتی بدخشان را  
سخن اثر نکند تا بدان نیامیزی چو آتشین نفسان پاره دل و جان را  
بخوان چکامه مسعود تا عیان بینی نشان اشک فروزان و آه سوزان را  
امیر کشور پهناور سخنندانی که بر فراخت به کیوان بلند ایوان را  
چو لب به گفته موزون همی گشود نبود مجال نغمه سرایی هزارستان را  
ز کینه تو ز ی حاسد به حبس و بند افتاد عجب که دیو به زندان کند سلیمان را  
بسا شبا که به زندان سهمگین چون صبح همی درید ز بی طاقتی گریبان را  
بسا شبا که همی کرد چون شفق رنگین ز خون دیده و دل آستین و دامان را  
ز بس گهر که فروریخت از خزانه طبع چو گنج خانه بیاراست کنج زندان را  
غبار حادثه بر دامنش اثر نگذاشت ز گرد باد چه غم کوه سخت بنیان را  
به هر زمان که فلک کرد عزم کشتن او سرود نظمی و پیوند عمر کرد آن را  
به پایمردی همت بتافت دست سپهر ستوه کرد به ناورد چرخ گردان را  
بدو بنازد لاهور وین عجب نبود به پور زال بود فخر زابلستان را  
دروود باد بر آن کلک مشکبار درود که ساخت رشک ختن آن خجسته دیوان را  
زهی ترانه مسعود و نظم دلکش او که چون شراب کهن تازه می کند جان را  
شکوه ملک معانی از او بود آری ز نو بهار بود زیب و فر گلستان را  
سپهر خوانمت ای لاهور گردون قدر که پروراندی آن آفتاب رخشان را  
بلند نام چنان کرد مر تو را مسعود که اوستاد سخن گستران خراسان را  
رهی به دیده کشد جای سره از سر شوق غبار تربت مسعود سعد سلمان را  
(153-4)



## Bibliography

### EDITIONS

- Divân-i Amîr Mas'ûd ibn Sa'd-i Salmân*, Tehran, 1292/1879 [Lithograph].
- Divân-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân*, ed. Rashîd Yâsimî, Tehran: Tab'-i Kitâb, 1318/1939.
- Divân-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd*, ed. Mahdî Nurîyân, 2v., Esfahan: Kamâl, 1364/1985.

### SELECTIONS

- Ash'âr-i guzîdah-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân barâ-yi dabîristân*, ed. Rashîd Yâsimî, Tehran: Tâbân, 1319/1940.
- Barguzîdah-i ash'âr-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân*, ed. Ismâ'îl Hâkimî, Tehran: Amîr Kabîr, 1348/1969.
- Guzîdah-i ash'âr-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân az matn-i tashîh shudâh*, ed. Mahdî Nurîyân, Esfahan: Kamâl, 1362/1983.
- Guzîdah-i ash'âr-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân bâ sharh-i lughât va tarkîbât*, ed. Husayn Lîsân, Tehran: Intishârât-i 'Ilmî va Farhangî, 1364/1985.
- Guzîdah-i ash'âr-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân*, ed. Tawfiq Subhânî, Tehran: Nashr-i Qatrah, 1370/1991.
- Ash'âr-i guzîdah-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân*, ed. Mahmûd Ravâ'î, Tehran: 'Ilmî, 1373/1994.

- Guzîdah-i ash'âr-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân*, ed. Tawfiq Subhânî, 4th expanded edn, Tehran: Nashr-i Qatrah, 1374/1995.
- Zindân-i Nây: guzîdah-i ash'âr-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd*, ed. Sîrus Shamîsâ, Tehran: Sukhan, 1375/1996.

### OTHER LITERATURE

- 'Abdullâh, Sayyid, *Mabâhis*, Lahore: Majlis-i Taraqqî-yi Adab, 1965.
- Abduloev, A. and S. Sadiev, *Adabiyoti Forsu Tojik dar Nimai Duyyumi Asri XI va Avvali Asri XII*, Dushanbe: Nashriyoti Donish, 1986.
- 'Âbidî, Kâmyâr, *Bi-yâd-i mîhan*, Tehran: Nashr-i Sâlis, 1376/1997.
- Adîb al-Mamâlik, *Divân-i kâmil*, ed. Vahîd Dastgardî, Tehran: Furûghî, 1353/1974.
- 'Afiî, Rahîm, *Farhangnâmah-yi shi'rî*, Tehran: Surûsh, 1372/1993.
- Ahmad, Aziz, 'Epic and Counter-Epic in Medieval India,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1962), 470–6.
- Alam, Muzaffar, 'The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics,' *Modern Asian Studies* 32 (1998), 317–49.
- 'Âlamshâhî, Muhammad Ibrâhîm, 'Qal'ah-yi Nây,' *Âryânâ* 9/11 (1331/1952), 5–14; 9/12: 19–27; 10/1: 10–12; 10/2: 11–17.
- Anvarî, *Divân-i Anvarî*, ed. Muhammad Taqî Mudarris Razavî, Tehran: Intishârât-i 'Ilmî va Farhangî, 1372/1993.
- Arac, Jonathan, 'What is the History of Literature?' *The Uses of Literary History*, ed. Marshall Brown, Durham: Duke University Press, 1995, 23–33.
- Arberry, A.J., *Classical Persian Poetry*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958.
- 'Awfî, *Lubâb al-albâb*, eds E.G. Browne and Mîrzâ Muhammad Qazvînî, Tehran: Fakhr-i Râzî, 1361/1982, reprint.
- Âyatî, 'Abd al-Muhammad, *Shukûh-i qasîdah*, Tehran: Âmûzish-i Inqilâb-i Islâmî, 1364/1985.
- Aziz, Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969.
- Bahâr, Muhammad Taqî, *Divân-i ash'âr-i shâdravân Muhammad Taqî Malik al-shu'arâ*, Tehran: Amîr Kabîr, 1344/1965.
- , *Bahâr va adab-i Fârsî: majmû'ah-yi yaksad maqâlah*, ed. Muhammad Gulbun, Tehran: Kitâbhâ-yi Jîbî, 1371/1992.

- , *Shahr-i shi'r-i Bahâr*, ed. Muhammad 'Alî Sipânî, Tehran: 'Ilmî, 1374/1995.
- Baqir, Muhammad, *Lahore: Past and Present: Being an Account of Lahore Compiled from Original Sources*, Delhi: B.R. Publishing, 1985, reprint.
- Bate, W. Jackson, *The Burden of the Past and the English Poet*, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Bausani, Alessandro and Antonio Pagliaro, *La Letteratura Persiana*, Firenze: Sansoni, 1968.
- Bayhaqî, *Târîkh-i Bayhaqî*, eds Q. Ghanî and 'Alî Akbar Fayyâz, Tehran: Khvâjû, 1370/1991.
- Beaujour, Michel, *Poetics of the Literary Self-Portrait*, tr. Yara Milos, New York: New York University Press, 1991.
- Beelaert, A.L.F.A., *A Cure for the Grieving: Studies on the Poetry of the 12th-Century Persian Court Poet Khâqânî Širwânî*, Leiden: Privately published, 1996.
- Bennet, Susan, *Performing Nostalgia: Shifting Shakespeare and the Contemporary Past*, London: Routledge, 1996.
- Bernhardt, Ursula, *Die Funktion der Kataloge in Ovids Exilpoesie*, New York: Olms, 1986.
- Bland, N., 'Lettre à M. Garcin de Tassy sur Mas'oud,' *Journal Asiatique* 5e série, tome 2 (1853), 356–69.
- Bombaci, Alessio, *The Kufic Inscription in Persian Verses in the Court of the Royal Palace of Mas'ud III at Ghazna*, Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966.
- Bosworth, C.E., 'The Development of Persian Culture Under the Early Ghaznavids,' *Iran* 6 (1968), 33–44.
- , 'Farrukhî's Elegy on Mahmûd of Ghazna,' *Iran* 29 (1991), 43–9.
- , *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1963.
- , *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendor and Decay*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1977.
- , 'Mahmud of Ghazna in Contemporary Eyes and in Later Persian Literature,' *Iran* 4 (1996), 85–92.
- Browne, E.G., *The Literary History of Persia*, 4v., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902–24.

- , *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914.
- Bürgel, Christoph, *The Feather of Simorgh*, New York: New York University Press, 1988.
- Burns, Robert I, 'The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages,' *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, 307–30.
- Cairns, Francis, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1972.
- Carnochan, W.B., *Confinement and Flight: An Essay on English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Chambers, Iain, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*, London: Routledge, 1994.
- Clinton, Jerome W., *The Divan of Manûchibrî Dâmghânî: A Critical Study*, Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1972.
- , 'Esthetics by Implication: What Metaphors of Craft Tell us about the 'Unity' of the Persian Qasida,' *Edebiyat* 4 (1979), 73–96.
- , 'Madîh, Madh, 2, in Persian,' *EP*.
- , 'Mas'ûd Sa'd,' *EP*.
- Connerton, Paul, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Dalzell, Alexander, *The Criticism of Didactic Poetry: Essays on Lucretius, Virgil, and Ovid*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Davies, Ioan, *Writers in Prison*, Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- Dawlatshâh Samarqandî, *Tazkirat al-shu'arâ*, ed. E.G. Browne, Tehran: Khâvar, 1366/1987, reprint.
- De Blois, François, *Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey*, vol. 5, part 2, London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1994.
- De Bruijn, J.T.P., 'Habsiyya,' *EP*, Supplement.
- , *Of Piety and Poetry: the Interaction of Religion and Literature in the Life and Works of Hakîm Sanâ'î of Ghazna*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983.
- Dedes, Yorgos, *Battalname*, 2v., Cambridge: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1996.
- De Tassy, Garcin, 'Observation,' *Journal Asiatique* 5e série, tome 2 (Sept.–Oct. 1853), 369–71.

- Eaton, Richard, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204–1760*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- El Tayib, Abdullah, 'Abû Firâs al-Hamdânî,' *Abbasid Belles Lettres*, ed. Julia Ashtiany et al. Cambridge: University Press, 1990.
- Elwell-Sutton, L.P., *The Persian Metres*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- , 'The 'Rubâ'î in Early Persian Literature,' *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, ed. R.N. Frye, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, 633–57.
- Falakî Sharvânî, *Dîvân-i Hakîm Najm al-Dîn Muhammad Falakî Sharvânî*, ed. Shahâb Tâhirî, Tehran: Ibn-i Sînâ, 1345/1966.
- Fallâh Râstgâr, Gîtî, 'Adâb va rusûm va tashrîfât-i darbâr-i Ghaznah az khilâl-i *Târikh-i Bayhaqî*,' *Yâdnâmah-yi Abû al-Fazl Bayhaqî*, Mashhad: Dânishgâh-i Mashhad, 1350/1971, 412–67.
- , 'Âzâdshinâsî dar shî'r-i Nâsir Khusraw,' *Yâdnâmah-yi Nâsir Khusraw*, Mashhad: Dânishgâh-i Firdawsî, 2535/1976, 423–36.
- Farîdâbâdî, Sayyid Hâshimî, 'Mas'ûd Sa'd aur Amîr Khusrau,' *Oriental College Magazine* 40/3–4 (1964), 89–97.
- Farrukhî, *Dîvân-i Hakîm Farrukhî Sîstânî*, ed. Muhammad Dabîr-Siyâqî, Tehran: Zavvâr, 1371/1992.
- Farshîdvard, Khusraw, *Dar bârah-yi adabiyât va naqd-i adabî*, 2nd ed., 2v., Tehran: Amîr Kabîr, 1373/1994.
- , 'Nigâhî bih ash'âr-i Mas'ûd Sa'd,' *Gawhar* 6 (1357/1978), 135–40, 208–14.
- Faruqî, Shamsur Rahman, 'Unprivileged Power: The Strange Case of Persian (and Urdu) in Nineteenth-Century India,' *The Annual of Urdu Studies* 13 (1998), 3–30.
- Firdawsî, *Shah Nameh: An Heroic Poem, Containing the History of Persia from Kioomurs to Yesdejird*, ed. Turner Macan, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1829.
- Fox, John, *The Lyrical Poetry of Charles d'Orléans*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Furûzânfar, Badî' al-Zamân, 'Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân-i Lâhûrî,' *Sukhan va sukhanvarân*, 2nd ed., Tehran: Khvârazmî, 1350/1971, 207–13.
- Ganguly, D.C., 'The Historical Value of Dîvân-i-Salmân,' *Islamic Culture* 16 (1942), 423–8.

- Ghâlib Dihlavî, *Dîvân-i Ghâlib Dihlavî*, ed. Muhsin Kiyânî, Tehran: Rawzanah, 1376/1997.
- Ghani, Abdul, *Pre-Mughal Persian Poetry in Hindustan*, Allahabad: Allahabad Law Journal Press, 1941.
- Ghânim, R. Mahmûd, *Fann al-habsiyât bayn Abî Firâs al-Hamdânî wa al-Khâqânî*, Cairo: Dâr al-Zahrâ, 1412/1991.
- Gibb, E.J.W., *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6v., ed. E.G. Browne, London: Luzac, 1965.
- Glünz, Michael, 'Poetic Tradition and Social Change: The Persian Qasida in Post-Mongol Iran,' *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, ed. Stefan Sperl and Christopher Shackle, 2v., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996, 183–252.
- Gorak, Jan, *The Making of the Modern Canon: Genesis and Crisis of a Literary Idea*, London: Athlone, 1991.
- Gulchîn Ma'ânî, Ahmad, *Shahrâshûb dar shî'r-i Fârsî*, Tehran: Amîr Kabîr, 1346/1967.
- , *Târikh-i tazkirahhâ-yi Fârsî*, 2nd ed., Tehran: Kitâbkhânah-yi Islâmî, 1363/1984.
- , *Tazkirah-yi paymânah*, Mashhad: Dânishgâh-i Mashhad, 1359/1980.
- Habîbî, 'Abd al-Hay, 'Mahâbis-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân,' *Yaghmâ* 21 (1347/1968), 678–86.
- Hadi Hasan, *Falaki-i-Shirwani: His Times, Life, and Works*, London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1929.
- Hâfiz, *Dîvân-i Hâfiz-i Shîrâzî*, ed. Husayn Pazhmân, Tehran: Birûkhîm, 1318/1939.
- Hamîdî, Ja'far, 'Chahâr zindân-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân,' *Sîmurgh* 1:4 (1369/1990), 44–7.
- Hamîdî, Mahdî, *Bihisht-i sukhan*, Tehran: Pîrûz, 1338/1959.
- Hanaway, William L., 'Blood and Wine: Sacrifice and Celebration in Manûchîhrî's Wine Poetry,' *Iran* 26 (1988), 69–80.
- Hartman, Geoffrey H., 'Public Memory and its Discontents,' *The Uses of Literary History*, ed. Marshall Brown, Durham: Duke University Press, 1995, 73–91.
- Herbert-Brown, Geraldine, *Ovid and the Fasti: An Historical Study*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

- Hodgson, Marshall G.S., *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 2: The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- al-Hujvîrî, 'Alî ibn 'Usmân, *The Kashf al-Mahjub: The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism*, tr. Reynold A. Nicholson, Delhi: Taj, 1991, reprint.
- Husain, Iqbal, *The Early Persian Poets of India (ab 421–670)*, Patna: Patna University, 1937.
- Ikram, Muhammad, *Âb-i kawsar*, Lahore: Idârah-i Saqâfat-i Islâmîya, 1992.
- Imâmî, Nasrullâh, *Marsîyahsarâ'î dar adabiyât-i Fârsî-i Îrân*, Tehran: Daftar-i Markazî-i Jihâd-i Dânishgâhî, 1369/1990.
- 'Isâmî, *Futûh al-salâtîn*, ed. A.S. Usha, Madras: University of Madras, 1948.
- , *Futûh's salâtîn or Shâhnâmah-i Hind*, tr. Agha Mahdi Husain, New York: Asia Publishing House, 1967–77.
- Jâmî, *Bahâristân*, ed. Ismâ'il Hâkimî, Tehran: Ittilâ'ât, 1374/1995.
- Jardine, M.D., *Patronage, Politics and Literary Traditions in England*, ed. Cedric Brown, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991.
- , *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature: Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth (Beirut: F. Steiner, 1999).
- Kâlidâsa, *The Cloud Messenger*, tr. Franklin and Eleanor Egerton, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968.
- Kalîm, *Dîvân-i Abû Tâlib Kalîm Hamadânî*, ed. M. Qahramân, Mashhad: Âstân-i Quds-i Razavî, 1369/1990.
- Karîmî, Ghulâm, 'Mas'ûd-i Sa'd va Abû Firâs Hamdânî,' *Ma'ârif-i Islâmî* 23 (1354/1975), 111–38.
- Karimi-Hakkak, Ahmad, *Recasting Persian Poetry: Scenarios of Poetic Modernity in Iran*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995.
- Kashani-Sabet, Firoozeh, 'Fragile Frontiers: The Diminishing Domains of Qajar Iran,' *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (1997), 205–9.
- Kaykâvûs ibn Iskandar, 'Unsur al-Ma'âlî, *Qâbûsnâmah*, ed. G. Yûsufî, Tehran: Bungâh-i Tarjumah va Nashr-i Kitâb, 1345/1966.
- Keyvani, Mehdi, *Artisans and Guild Life in the Later Safavid Period:*

- Contributions to the Social-Economic History of Persia*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1982.
- Khâliqî-Mutlaq, Jalâl, 'Az gil-i shî'r tâ gul-i shî'r,' *Îrânshinâsî* 3 (1993), 199–212.
- Khâliqî Râd, Husayn, *Qit'ah va qit'absarâ'î dar shî'r-i Fârsî*, Tehran: Intishârât-i 'Ilmî va Farhangî, 1375/1996.
- Khan, 'Alî Maqbûl, *Lâhaur kâ dabistân-i shâ'irî*, Lahore: Maqbûl Akademî, 1992.
- Khan, Ghulam Mustafa, *Persian Literature in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent*, Lahore: Barque, 1972.
- Khan, Mumtaz Ali, *Some Important Persian Prose Writings of the Thirteenth Century ad in India*, Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, 1970.
- Khâqânî, *Dîvân-i Khâqânî Shîrvânî*, ed. Jahangîr Mansûr, Tehran: Nigâh, 1375/1996.
- Khvânsârî, Ahmad S., *Hisâr-i Nây*, Tehran: Kitâbfurûshî-yi Islâmîyah, n.d. (Also published in *Armaghân* 19 (1317), 113–23 145–55, 234–40, 315–27, 433–6, 497–502, 577–86; 20 (1318), 123–8, 137).
- Kirmani, Waris, *Dreams Forgotten: An Anthology of Indo-Persian Poetry*, Aligarh: Department of Persian, Aligarh University, 1984.
- Langarûdî, Shams, *Maktab-i bâzgasht*, Tehran, 1372/1993.
- Latif, Syad Muhammad, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities, With an Account of its Modern Institutions, Inhabitants, their Trade, Customs, &c*, Lahore: Oriental Publishers, 1981, reprint.
- Levy, Reuben, *An Introduction to Persian Literature*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.
- Lewis, Franklin D., *Reading, Writing and Recitation: Sanâ'î and the Origins of the Persian Ghazal*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1995.
- , 'The Rise and Fall of a Persian Refrain: The *Radîf 'Âtash u Âb*,' *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian Poetry*, ed. Suzanne Pinckney Steckevych, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994, 199–226.
- Lorraine, M.B. 'Bahâr, Mohammad-Taqî Malek al-šo'arâ,' *EIr*.
- Losensky, Paul, 'Linguistic and Rhetorical Aspects of the Signature Verse (*Takhallus*) in the Persian Ghazal,' *Edebiyat* 8 (1998), 239–71.
- , *Welcoming Fighânî: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal*, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1998.

- Lutf, Mîrzâ 'Alî, *Tazkirah-yi Gulshan-i Hind*, Lucknow: U.P. Urdû Akâdemî, 1986.
- Mahjûb, Muhammad Ja'far, 'Masnavîsarâ'î dar zabân-i Fârsî tâ pâyân-I qarn-i panjum-i hijrî,' *Nashriyah-i Dânishkadah-i Adabiyât-i Tabrîz* 15 (1342/1963), 188–213, 261–85.
- , *Sabk-i Khurâsâni dar shî'r-i Fârsi*, Tehran: Sâzmân-i Tarbiyat-i Mu'allim va Tahqîqât-i Tarbiyatî, 1345/1966.
- , 'Sâqînâmah-Mughanninâmah,' *Sukhan* 11 (1960), 69–79.
- Mahyâr, Muhammad, 'Dîvân-i Mas'ûd Sa'd' [Review of Mahdî Nûrîyân's edition], *Âyandah* 15 (1368/1989), 349–55.
- , *Farhang-i lughât va kinâyât-i Dîvân-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân*, Tehran: Anjuman-i Âsâr va Mafâkhir-i Farhangî, 1377/1998.
- Manuchihri Dâmghânî, *Dîvân-i Manûchihri Dâmghânî*, ed. Muhammad Dabîr-Sîyâqî, Tehran: Zavvâr, 1370/1991.
- Matîni, Jalâl, 'Nâsir Khusraw va madîhahsarâ'î,' *Yâdnâmah-yi Nâsir Khusraw*, Mashhad: Dânishgâh-i Firdawsî, 2535/1976, 466–92.
- Mâyil Haravî, Rizâ, 'Afsânahhâ va qissahhâ dar bârah-yi Hakîm Nâsir Khusraw Qubâdiyânî-yi Balkhî,' *Yâdnâmah-yi Nâsir Khusraw*, Mashhad: Dânishgâh-i Firdawsî, 2535/1976, 451–64.
- Mazzotta, Giuseppe, *Dante, Poet of the Desert: History and Allegory in the Divine Comedy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- McGregor, R.S., *Hindi Literature from its Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984.
- Meier, Fritz, *Die schöne Mahsatî: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des persischen Vierzeilers*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1963.
- Meisami, Julie S., 'Ghaznavid Panegyrics: Some Political Implications,' *Iran* 28 (1990), 31–44.
- , *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- , 'Mukhtârî,' *EP*.
- , 'Persona and Generic Conventions in Medieval Persian Lyric,' *Comparative Criticism* 12 (1990), 125–51.
- , 'Places in the Past: The Poetics/Politics of Nostalgia,' *Edebiyat* 8 (1998), 63–106.
- , 'Poetic Microcosms: The Persian Qasida to the End of the Twelfth Century,' *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, eds Stefan Sperl and Christopher Shackle, 2v., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996, 137–82.

- Menocal, Maria Rosa, *Shards of Love: Exile and the Origins of the Lyric*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1994.
- Miller, David Harry, 'Frontier Societies and the Transition Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,' *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Ralph W. Mathisen and Hagith S. Sivan, London: Variorum 1996, 158–74.
- Mîner, Earl, *Comparative Poetics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Minorsky, V., 'Khâqânî and Andronicus Comnenus,' *Bulletin of the School for Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1944), 550–78.
- Mînuvî, Mujtabâ, 'Shî'r-i Harîrî dar bârah-yi Mas'ûd-i Sa'd,' *Majallah-yi Dânishkadah-yi Adabiyât* 5/4 (1337/1958), 10–11.
- Moayyad, Heshmat, 'Lyric Poetry,' *Persian Literature*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, New York: Bibliotheca Persica, 1988.
- , 'Târîkh-i adabiyât-i Fârsî: murûrî bar savâbiq va nazarî dar bârah-yi in funûn,' *Îrânshinâsî* 3 (1991), 367–74.
- Mu'in, Muhammad, 'Difâ' az dû gûyandah-yi buzurg (tazmîn-i yak bayt),' *Jilvah* 2 (1325/1946), 35–9.
- Mu'izzî, *Dîvân*, ed. 'Abbâs Iqbâl, Tehran: Kitâbfurûshî-yi Islâmîyah, 1318/1940.
- Mukhtârî Ghaznavî, *Dîvân-i Hakîm Mukhtârî-yi Ghaznavî: gûyandah-yi nâmdâr-i qarn-i panjum-i hijrî*, ed. Ruknuddîn Humâyûn Farrukh, Tehran: 'Ilmî, 1336/1957.
- Munibur Rahman, 'Mustazâd,' *EP*.
- Naeem Uddin, *Hindustân men Fârsî adab (Dihlî saltanat se qabl)*, New Delhi, 1985.
- , 'Masud-i-Sad-i-Salman and His Life,' *Indo-Iranica* 49 (1996), 46–66.
- Nagle, Betty Rose, *The Poetics of Exile: Program and Polemic in the Tristia and Epistulae ex Ponto of Ovid*, Brussels: Latomus, 1980.
- Naim, C.M., 'The Theme of Homosexual (Pederastic) Love in Pre-Modern Urdu Poetry,' *Studies in the Urdu Gazal and Prose Fiction*, ed. Muhammad Umar Memon, Madison: South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, 1979, 120–42.
- Nâ'inî, Muhammad 'Alî Musâhibî, *Tazkirah-i madînat al-adab*, Tehran: Majlis-i Shûrâ-yi Islâmî, 1376/1997.

- Naqavî, 'Alî Rizâ, *Tazkirahnavîsî-i Fârsî dar Hind va Pâkistân*, Tehran: 'Ilmî, 1964.
- Nâsir-i Khusraw, *Dîvân-i Nâsir-i Khusraw*, ed. Hasan Taqîzâdah, Tehrân: Nigâh, 1373/1994.
- , *Nasir-i Khusraw, Forty Poems from the Divan*, tr. with introductions and notes by Peter Lamborn Wilson & Gholam Reza Aavani, Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977.
- Nasrullâh Munshî, *Kalîla wa Dimna*, ed. Manûchihir Dânishpazhûh, Tehran: Hîrmand, 1374/1995.
- Naumann, Manfred, 'Literary Production and Reception,' tr. Peter Heath, *New Literary History* 8 (1976), 107–26.
- Nazim, Mahmud, *The Life and Times of Sultân Mahmûd of Ghazna*, Cambridge: University Press, 1931.
- Nazir Ahmad, 'A Reference to the Agra Fort in an 11th Century Persian Codex,' *Indo-Iranica* 41 (1988), 1–23.
- Nizâmî 'Arûzî, *Chahâr maqâlah*, eds Muhammad Qazvînî and Muhammad Mu'în, Tehran: Zavvâr, 1333/1954.
- Nizâmî Ganjavî, *Haft Paykar: A Medieval Persian Romance*, tr. and introd. by Julie S. Meisami, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- , *Laylî va Majnûn-i Nizâmî Ganjavî*, ed. Barât Zanjânî, Tehran: Dânishgâh-i Tihân, 1374/1995.
- Nûrîyân, Mahdî, 'Mas'ûd-i Sa'd va gunâh-i âzâdî,' *Hastî* (1372), 149–67.
- , 'Shî'r-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd dar dîvân-i Hâfiz,' *Âyandah* 12 (1365/1986), 192–4.
- Omidzalar, Mahmud, 'Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân va *Shâhnâmah*-i Firdawsî,' *Gulistân* 3 (1999), 99–112.
- Ovid, *Ovid's Poetry of Exile*, tr. David R. Slavitt, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- , *Ovid: Sorrows of an Exile*, tr. A.D. Melville, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Perry, John R. 'The Waning of Indo-Persian Lexicography: Examples from Some Rare Books and Manuscripts of the Subcontinent,' *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in Honour of Iraj Afshar*, ed. Kambiz Eslami, Princeton: Zagros, 1998, 329–40.
- Petievich, Carla, *Assembly of Rivals: Delhi, Lucknow and the Urdu Ghazal*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1992.

- , 'Poetry of the Declining Mughals: The Shahr Âshob,' *Journal of South Asian Literature* 15 (1990), 99–110.
- Preminger, Alex et al., eds, *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.
- Pûlâdîyân, Shabgîr, *Dar ufuq-i fâji'ab*, Reinhausen, 1997.
- Qa'ânî, *Dîvân-i Hakîm Qa'ânî*, ed. M.J. Mahjûb, Tehran: Amîr Kabîr, 1336/1957.
- Qavîm, 'Alî, *Amîr Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân Hamadânî*, Tehran: Fardîn, 1330/1951. (Also published in *Armaghân* 24 (1328/1949), 389–92, 461–8; 25 (1329/1950), 9–16, 57–64, 111–17, 208–16, 255–7, 297–300, 361–6, 393–6, 447–50).
- Qazvînî, Mîrzâ Muhammad, 'Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân,' tr. E.G. Browne, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1905), 693–740; (1906), 11–51.
- Quinn, Sholeh, 'The Dreams of Shaykh Safî al-Dîn and Safavid Historical Writing,' *Iranian Studies* 29 (1996), 127–47.
- Rahî Mu'ayyirî, Muhammad Husayn, *Bârân-i subhgâhî*, Tehran: Sukhan, 1378/1999.
- Rahnamây Khurramî, Zulfaqâr, 'Khastah-yi âfat-i Lahâvûr,' *Adabistân* 23 (1370/1991), 58–61.
- Rashid, Sh. Abdur, *Life and Teachings of Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhs (Shaikh Abul Hasan Ali bin Usman al-Hujwiri al-Jullabi al-Ghaznawi)*, Lahore: Central Urdu Development Board, 1967.
- Richards, J.F., 'The Islamic Frontier in the East: Expansion into South Asia,' *South Asia* 4 (Oct. 1974), 91–109.
- Riyâz, Muhammad, 'Ibtikârât-i Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân,' *Mâhnâmah-yi Hilâl* 6/7 (1349/1970), 49–52.
- Rizâ Qulî Khân Hidâyat, *Majma' al-fusahâ*, ed. Mazâhir Musaffâ, 6v., Tehran: Mûsavî, 1340/1961.
- Rûdakî, *Dîvân-i Rûdakî*, ed. Jahângîr Mansûr, Tehran: Nâhîd, 1374/1995.
- Rûnî, Abû al-Faraj, *Dîvân*, ed. Mahmûd Mahdavi Dâmgânî, Mashhad: Bâstân, 1347/1968.
- Russell, James R., 'Cupbearer,' *Er*.
- Rypka, Jan et al., *History of Iranian Literature*, tr. P. van Popta-Hope, Dordrecht: Reidel, 1968.

- , 'Poets and Prose Writers of the Late Saljuq and Mongol Periods,' *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, ed. J.A. Boyle, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968, 550–625.
- Safâ, Zabîhullâh, *Târikh-i adabîyât dar Îrân*, 2v., Az miyânah-yi qarn-i panjum tâ âghâz-i qarn-i haftum-i hijrî, Tehran: Ibn-i Sînâ, 1336/1957.
- Said, Edward, 'Reflections on Exile,' *Granta* 13 (1984), 159–72.
- Sanâ'î, *Dîvân-i Hakîm Abû al-Majd Majdûd ibn Âdam Sanâ'î-yi Ganjavî*, ed. M.T. Mudarris-Razavî, 2nd ed., Tehran: Sanâ'î, 1362/1983.
- , *Masnavîhâ-yi Hakîm Sanâ'î*, ed. M.T. Mudarris-Razavî, Tehran: Dânishgâh-i Tîhrân, 1348/1969.
- Schimmel, Annemarie, *Islamic Literatures of India*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973.
- , *Make a Shield from Wisdom: Selected Verses from Nâsir-i Khusraw's Dîvân*, London: Kegan Paul, 1993.
- , *A Two-Coloured Brocade: The Imagery of Persian Poetry*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Schneider, Irene, 'Imprisonment in Pre-Classical and Classical Islamic Law,' *Islamic Law and Society* 2 (1995), 157–73.
- , 'Sidjn,' *EP*.
- Schoeler, Gregor, *Arabische Naturdichtung: die Zahrîyât, Rabî'yât und Raudîyât von ihren Anfängen bis as-Sanaubarî*, Beirut: Franz Steiner, 1974.
- Shafî'î-Kadkanî, Muhammad Rizâ, *Suvar-i khiyâl dar shî'r-i Fârsî*, 3rd ed., Tehran: Âgâh, 1366/1987.
- Shahbazi, A. Shapur, *Ferdowsî: A Critical Biography*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1991.
- Shairani, Hafiz Mahmud Khan, *Chahâr maqâlah bar Firdawsî va Shâhnâmâh*, tr. 'Abd al-Hay Habîbî, Kabul: Bayhaqî, 1355/1976.
- Shamîsâ, Sirus, *Anvâ'-i adabî*, Tehran: Firdaws, 1374/1995.
- Sharî'at, Rizvân, *Farhang-i istilâhât-i adabî*, Tehran: Firdaws, 1370/1991.
- Sperl, Stefan, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Sprenger, A., 'Early Hindûstâny Poetry,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 5 (Sept.–Oct. 1853), 412–14.

- Stetkevych, Jaroslav, *The Zephyrs of Najd: The Poetics of Nostalgia in the Classical Arabic Nasib*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Stewart-Robinson, J., 'A Neglected Ottoman Poem: The Şehrengîz,' in *Studies in Near Eastern Culture and History: In Memory of Ernest T. Abdel-Massih*, ed. James A. Bellamy, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies, 1990, 201–11.
- Subtelny, Maria Eva, *The Poetic Circle at the Court of the Timurid Husain Baiqara, and its Political Significance*, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1979.
- Tavakoli-Targhi, Mohamed, 'Orientalism's Genesis Amnesia,' *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 16 (1996), 1–14.
- Todorov, Tzvetan, *Introduction to Poetics*, tr. Richard Howard. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- , *Genres in Discourse*, tr. Catherine Porter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson, *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History and Other Essays*, New York: Henry Holt, 1994.
- 'Unsurî, *Dîvân-i Ustâd 'Unsurî-yi Balkhî*, ed. Muhammad Dabîr- Sîyâqî, Tehran: Sanâ'î, 1363/1984.
- Vahabzadeh, Payman, 'Space Identity, and Bilingual Poetry: Rethinking Iranian "Emigration Poetry."' *The Literary Review* 40 (1996), 42–58.
- Vatvât, Rashîd al-Dîn, *Hadâ'iq al-sîhr fî daqâ'iq al-shî'r*, ed. M.-N. Osmanov, Moscow: Nauka, 1985.
- Vaudeville, Charlotte, *Bârahmâsâ in Indian Literatures: Songs of the Twelve Months in Indo-Aryan Literatures*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986.
- Vazînpûr, Nâdir, *Madh: dâgh-i nang bar simâ-yi adab-i Fârsî*, Tehran: Mu'în, 1374/1995.
- Von Grunebaum, Gustave E., 'Aspects of Arabic Urban Literature Mostly in Ninth and Tenth Centuries,' *Islamic Studies* 8 (1969), 281–300.
- , 'The Cultural Function of the Dream as Illustrated by Classical Islam,' *The Dream and Human Societies*, eds G.E. Von Grunebaum



- and Roger Caillois, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966, 3–21.
- Wedek, Harry E., 'The Catalogue in Late and Medieval Latin Poetry,' *Medievalia et Humanistica* 13 (1960), 3–16.
- Welch, Stuart C., *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501–76*, Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, 1979.
- Wellek, René and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature*, New rev. ed., San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984.
- Williams, Gareth D., *The Curse of Exile: A Study of Ovid's Ibis*, Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1996.
- , *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Williams, Gordon, 'Phases in Political Patronage of Literature in Rome,' *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome*, ed. Barbara Gold, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982, 3–27.
- Wink, André, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, vol. 1. Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam, 7th–11th centuries, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990.
- Yazdânî, Khvâja Hamîd, *Fârsî shâ'irî men tanz o mazâh (az âghâz tâ Hâfiz)*, Lahore: Nigârishât, 1989.
- Yûsufî, Ghulâmhusayn, *Chashmah-yi rawshan*, Tehran: 'Ilmî, 1373/1994.
- , 'Nâsir Khusraw, muntaqidî ijtimâ'î,' *Yâdnâmah-yi Nâsir Khusraw*, Mashhad: Dânishgâh-i Firdawsî, 2535/1976, 619–40.
- Zafarî, Valîullâh, *Habsîyah dar adab-i Fârsî az âghâz-i shî'r-i Fârsî tâ pâ-yân-i Zandîyah*, Tehran: Amîr Kabîr, 1364/1985.
- Zaidî, Nazir Hasan, 'Mas'ud Sa'd Salman,' *Journal of the Regional Cultural Institute* 3 (Summer and Fall 1970), 125–34.
- Zarrînkûb, 'Abd al-Husayn, 'Mas'ûd-i Sa'd shâ'ir-i zindânî,' *Bâ kârvân-i bullah*, Tehran: Âryâ, 1343/1964, 83–95.
- , *Pîr-i Ganjah dar justujû-yi Nâkojââbâd*, Tehran: Sukhan, 1372/1993.



## Index

- Abbasids, 48  
 'Abdullâh, Sayyid, 102–3, 108  
 Abdurrahmân, 163  
 Abû al-Fath, 72  
 Abû Firâs Hamdânî, 72, 142  
 Abû Hanîfâ Panjdihî, 110  
 Abû Nasr-i Pârsî, 16, 24, 78, 147  
 Abû Nuwâs, 96, 135  
 Abû Sa'îd-i Abû al-Khayr, 124  
 Achaemenids, 122  
 Adîb al-Mamâlik, 120  
 Afghanistan, 9, 24, 155  
 Afrâsiyâb, 95  
 Agra, 44  
 Ahmad, Aziz, 10, 159  
 Ahmad, Nazîr, 45  
 Akhtarî, 135  
 'Alâ al-Dîn *Jahânsûz*, 16  
 Alexander, 95, 107, 155  
 'Ali ibn Ahmad, 129  
 'Alî Khâss, 74–5, 88, 101, 106, 147  
 Amîr Khusraw, 10, 115, 159, 162, 163
- Amîr Mas'ûd Sa'd-i Salmân Hamadânî*, 155  
 Anatolia, 10  
 Anvarî, 38, 60, 146, 150, 157  
 Apabhramsâ, 163  
*Apology*, 68  
 Arabic literature, 8, 39, 51, 56–7, 65, 110, 114  
*Armaghân*, 155  
*Armaghân-i Pâk*, 160  
 Arsalânshâh, 25, 118–22, 126–7  
 Asadî Tûsî, 148  
*Asrâr al-Balâgha*, 127  
 'Atâ-yi Ya'qûb, 135  
 'Attâr, 124  
 Augustus, 118  
 'Awfî, 4, 16, 17, 18, 42, 129, 141, 148–9, 150, 161, 162  
 Âzar, 96  
 Azerbaijan, 27
- Badâ'i' al-milh*, 141  
 Badakhshan, 49, 151

- Bahâdur Shâh Zafar, 159  
 Bahais, 151  
 Bahâr, *Malik al-shu'arâ*, 4, 142, 152–3, 155, 159  
 Bahrâmî, 92  
 Bahrâmshâh, 17, 25, 44, 141  
 Balkh, 49, 54  
*bârahmâsâ*, 3, 116–23, 163  
 Baranî, Ziyâ al-Dîn, 42  
 Barsapur, 60  
*Ba's al-shikvâ*, 152  
 Bate, W. Jackson, 128  
*Battalname*, 10  
 Bausani, 29  
 Bayhaqî, 35–6, 41, 110  
*bâzgasht* movement, 151, 157  
 Beaujour, Michel, 104  
 Beelaert, A.L.F.A., 71, 143–4  
 Bennett, Susan, 45  
*Bihisht-i sukhan*, 156  
 Bîhrûz, Muhammad, 61  
 Bîrûnî, 123  
 Bîzhân, 63, 95  
 Bland, N., 162  
 Bombaci, Alessio, 11  
 Bosworth, C.E., 40, 42  
 Browne, E.G., 18, 40, 156  
 Buddhist culture, 7, 9  
 Buhturî, 142  
 Bukhara, 39–40, 64  
 Bust, 24, 144  
 Byzantines, 72, 119  
  
 Cairns, Francis, 130  
 Cairo, 49  
 catalogue (literary device), 92, 108, 117–18  
 Caucasia, 9, 142, 146  
*Chahâr maqâlah*, 21, 37, 68, 146  
 Chambers, Ian, 47  
 Chaypâl, see Jaypâl  
 China, 45, 119  
 Christians, 7, 27, 112, 143  
 Clinton, Jerome, 53  
*Crito*, 68  
 Connerton, Paul, 46  
  
 Dahak, 24, 84  
 Dandânqân, 14, 39  
*Danishmendname*, 10  
 Dâr al-Marz, 149  
 Davies, Ioan, 68, 86  
 Dawlatshâh, 42, 149–50  
 De Blois, François, 163  
 De Bruijn, J.T.P., 4, 17, 26–7, 35, 36, 53, 73  
 De Tassy, Garcin, 162  
 Deccan, 158  
 Dedes, Yorgos, 10  
 Delhi, 18, 40, 158  
*Dreams Forgotten*, 160  
*du'â*, 71  
*dûbayrî*, 147  
  
 Edirne, 108  
  
*fakhr*, 27, 71  
 Fakhr al-Dîn Gurgânî, 122  
*falakâshûb*, 108  
 Falakî, 142, 145–6, 148, 149, 154  
 Farhâd, 95  
*Farhang-i Jahângîrî*, 15  
 Farukhî, 12, 26, 43, 61, 103, 107, 154  
 Farshîdvard, Khusraw, 130–2  
 Faruqi, Shamsur Rahman, 158  
*Fasti*, 118  
*Fatâvâ-yi Jahândârî*, 42

- fathnâmah*, 11–13, 44, also see qasida  
 Fatimids, 48, 49  
 Firdawsî, 37–9, 43, 154  
*Futûh al-salâtîn*, 42  
*futuuvvat*, 114  
  
*Ganj-i sukhan*, 156  
 Gardîzî, 41  
 Ghâlib, 159  
 Ghani, Abdul, 28  
*ghazâ*, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14–15, 42, 44  
 Ghazâ'irî, 135  
*ghazal*, 28, 31, 73, 78, 80, 102, 111–13, 115, 118, 123, 125–7, 134, 150, 153, 157, 158  
*ghâzî*, see *ghazâ*  
 Ghazna, 1, 2, 9, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 39, 41, 46, 51, 54–6, 59, 61–3, 65–6, 72, 137, 147, 160  
 Ghaznavids, 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 14–15, 16, 17, 18, 22–3, 25, 26–7, 36, 39, 42, 48, 74, 81, 113, 115, 123, 148  
*ghurâb al-bayn*, 53, 100  
*ghurbat*, 47, 52, 55  
 Ghurids, 15–16, 17  
 Gibb, E.J.W., 108, 110  
 Gorak, Jan, 157  
 Gramsci, Antonio, 82  
 Greece, 41  
 Gurgan, 19  
*gurîzgâh*, 103  
  
*habsîyât*, 3, 24, 29, 30, 68–81, 85–7, 102–3, 125–6, 130, 142–3, 145, 147, 148, 152, 158  
*Hadâ'iq al-sibr fi daqâ'iq al-shi'r*, 139  
 Hâfiz, 112, 122, 134  
*Hafi paykar*, 121  
 Hakîm Rûhî, 137  
 Hamadan, 1, 19, 155  
 Hamîdî, Mahdî, 156  
 al-Harîrî, Abû Muhammad al-Qâsim, 140–1  
 Hasan, Hadi, 145  
*hasb-i hâl*, 39, 54, 71, 73, 74, 77, 82, 94  
 Hassân, 135  
 Herat, 40, 149  
 Herbert-Brown, Geraldine, 118  
 Herrick, Robert, 47  
 Hidâyat, Rizâ Qulî Khân, 151, 157  
*hinan ilâ l-awtân*, 57  
 Hindavî, 129, 161, 162  
 Hindî, 4, 29, 129, 163  
 Hindû'î, 4, 161, 162  
 Hindus, 7, 10, 15, 27, 45, 94, 162  
 Hindushahis, 15, 45  
 Hindustani, 162  
 Hodgson, Marshall G.S., 8  
*Hudûd al-'âlam*, 15  
 al-Hujvîrî, Abû al-Hasan, 16, 160  
 Hurra-yi Khuttalî, 15  
  
 Iblîs, 126  
 Ibn al-Athîr, 45  
 Ibn al-Fârid, 110  
 Ibn Husâm, 124  
 Ibn Muqaffa', 17  
 Ibrâhîm, Sultan, 19, 21, 24, 25, 62, 74, 80–1, 95, 146–7  
*ibtikâr*, 29  
*Ikhtiyârât-i Shâbnâmah*, 129  
 Ikram, Muhammad, 160  
 India, 1–2, 4, 8, 13, 14–15, 26, 42, 44, 59, 60, 150, 156, 157–64

- Indo-Persian, 4, 157, 160  
 Injû, Jamâl al-Dîn Husayn, 15  
 Iran, 1, 4, 13, 26, 50–1, 150–7  
 'Irâq-i 'Ajam, 149  
 'Isâmî, 10, 42  
 Islam, see Muslims  
 Ismailis, 14, 48
- jahânâshûb*, 108  
 Jallandar, 24, 57–8, 62  
 Jâmi, 38  
*javânwardî*, 114  
 Jaypâl, 44–5  
 Jesus, 143  
*jihad*, see *ghazâ*  
*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 156  
 Judeo-Christian civilization, 68  
 al-Jurjânî, 127
- Kadi, Wadad, 57  
*al-kalâm al-jâmi'*, 70–1  
 Kâlidâsa, 52  
*Kalîla wa Dimna*, 17, 142  
 Kalîm, 158–9  
*Kârnâmah-yi Balkh*, 53, 57  
*Kârnâmah-yi zindân*, 152  
*Kashf al-Mahjûb*, 16  
 Kay Kâ'ûs, 35, 114  
*khamrîyât*, 69  
*khâniqâhs*, 36  
 Khâqânî, 22, 27, 41, 52, 112, 142–4, 150, 157, 158, 159, 164  
 Khizr, 95  
 Khurasan, 18, 22, 23, 48, 49–52, 62, 64, 100, 148, 154  
 Khusraw Malik, 16, 141  
 Khutan, 154  
 Kirmani, Waris, 160
- Kisâ'î, 110  
*Kitâb-i intikhâb-i Shâhnâmah*, 129
- Labîbî, 110, 132, 135  
 Lahore, 1, 13, 14–18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 31, 56–67, 113, 115, 151, 153, 154, 155, 159, 163  
 Lewis, Frank, 5, 30–1, 37–8, 54, 70, 137  
 Losensky, Paul, 103, 128, 134, 140  
*Lubâb al-albâb*, 42, 148  
 Lucknow, 40
- madh*, 71, 74  
 Maecenas, 42–3, 127  
 Mahjûb, Muhammad Ja'far, 71, 114  
 Mahmûd, Sayf al-Dawlah, 2, 11, 12, 19–22, 25, 31, 42–3, 59–63, 74, 95, 106, 146–7  
 Mahmûd, Sultan, 2, 12, 14, 15, 19, 27, 36–46, 51, 66, 95, 160  
 Mahsatî, 110  
*Majâlis al-nafâ'is*, 109  
 Majdûd, 19  
*Majma' al-fusahâ*, 151  
 Malik Arsalân, see Arsalânshâh  
*Malik al-shu'arâ*, office of, 40–1  
 Malikshâh, 21, 129, 146–7  
 Mânî, 96  
 Manichaeen culture, 9, 143  
 Mansûr ibn Sa'îd, 75, 77  
 Manûchihrî, 26, 29, 30, 57, 81, 92  
*Maqâmât*, 140  
 Maranj, 24, 78, 83, 90–1  
*marsîyah*, 71, 81  
 Mary, 143  
*masnavî*, 24, 53, 57–8, 113, 115, 122, 152  
 Mas'ûd I, 14, 17, 27, 39

- Mas'ûd III, 24, 25, 77, 78, 119, 124, 125  
 Mas'ûd Sa'd Salmân,  
 Arabic poetry of, 29, 129, 141, 149, 161, 163  
 autobiographical elements in his poetry, 2, 19, 71, 102–6  
 birth, 1, 19  
 death, 25  
*divân*, 2, 3, 11, 13, 15, 18–19, 26, 28–9, 32, 63, 69, 80, 81, 95, 107, 113, 123, 124, 125, 129, 133, 137–8, 145, 150, 151, 154, 157, 161  
 exile, 13, 21, 33, 63  
 family members of, 25, 81  
 fate, 39, 90, 92, 105, 106  
 and the *hajj*, 22  
 Hindi poetry of, 29, 149, 161–3  
 Hindus, knowledge of, 12, 94, 113  
 imprisonment of, 1, 3, 21, 24, 25–6, 63, 72, 75–8, 81–5  
 India vs. Iran, in poetry of, 1, 13, 26  
 influence of Indic literature on, 1, 108–9, 116, 163–4  
 innovation in poetry, 1, 4, 27–9, 92, 101, 105, 123–5, 128–35  
 as librarian, 25  
 nostalgia of, 43–6, 57–67, 87  
 patrons, relationship with, 74–8  
 poetry, views on, 98, 127–35  
 reception of, 4, 55–6, 136–64  
 Maymandî, Khâjah Abû al-Qâsim  
 Ahmad, 41, 51  
 Mazzotta, 47–8  
 McGregor, R.S., 163  
*Meghadûta*, 52
- Meisami, Julie S., 4, 30–1, 36, 48, 56–7, 60, 102  
 Menocal, Maria Rosa, 136  
 Mesîhî, 108  
*mihragân*, 2  
 Miller, David Harry, 7, 9  
 Mînuvî, Mujtabâ, 141  
 Mîr 'Alî Shîr Navâ'î, 109  
 Moayyad, Heshmat, 34–5, 36, 71  
 Mongols, 36, 148  
 Mu'ayyad, 135  
 Mughals, 40, 128  
 Muhammad 'Alî, 88  
 Mu'izzî, 26, 44, 57, 139, 140, 145, 154  
 Mukhtârî, 10, 11, 17, 37, 55–6, 127, 137  
 Multan, 14  
*munâzirah*, 125  
*musaddas*, 28  
*musammât*, 73, 81, 88  
 Muslims, 7–10, 27, 42, 94, 161–2  
*mustazâd*, 3, 29, 123–5, 127  
*mutatawwi'a*, 14  
 Mutanabbî, 70
- Na'im, 151  
 Nakatî, see Nukatî  
*nasib*, 26, 29, 31, 56–7, 59–62, 69, 74, 78, 90–2, 100, 113, 125  
*nasim*, 44  
 Nâsir al-Dîn Qabâchah, 18, 148  
 Nâsir Khusraw, 3, 36, 38–9, 46, 47–53, 59, 64–6, 148, 151, 152  
 Nasr II, Amir, 64  
 Nasrullâh Munshî, 17, 141–2  
 Naumann, Manfred, 139, 142  
 Navvâb Khân, 158  
*nawrûz*, 2, 64, 120, 123, 125

- Nây, 24, 88–90, 101, 146–7, 148, 153, 155  
 Newton, Isaac, 128  
 Nishapur, 60  
 Nizâm al-Mulk, 41  
 Nizâmî ‘Arûzî, 4, 21, 37, 57, 68, 146  
 Nizâmî Ganjavî, 35, 121, 128  
 Nukatî, ‘Abdullâh, Rûzbih, 17, 159  
 Nûriyân, Mahdî, 4, 18, 26, 66, 115, 124, 150, 156  
  
 Ottomans, 108–10, 116, 162  
 Ovid, 6, 58–9, 65, 85, 118  
  
 Pahlavis, 152, 160  
*pân*, 113, 163  
 Panjab, 8, 9, 14, 24, 57, 163  
 Panjabi, 161  
 Peshawar, 15  
*Phaedo*, 68  
 Petievich, Carla, 40, 109  
*Prithvî Râj Râso*, 10  
 Pûlâdvand, Shabgîr, 155  
  
 Qa’ânî, 151, 152  
*Qâbûsnâmah*, 35, 42, 114  
 Qajars, 40–1, 80, 109, 150–2  
 Qamarî Gurgânî, 35  
 qasida, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 26, 28–32, 48, 55, 61, 62, 65, 69–70, 72, 73–4, 78–80, 93, 96, 102–3, 105, 151  
 Qavîm, ‘Alî, 155  
 Qazvîni, Mîrzâ Muhammad  
 ‘Abdulahâb, 18, 21, 24, 156, 162  
*qit‘ab*, 3, 20, 23, 28–9, 32, 72, 73, 74, 78–80, 107, 109, 140, 150, 158  
*radîf*, 140, 152  
 Rahî Mu‘ayyirî, 4, 153–5  
 Rahman, Munibur, 123  
 Rajasthan, 163  
 Ramazân, 84  
 Rashîd, son of Râshidî, 81, 90  
 Rashîd, Abû al-Rushd, 62  
 Rashîd al-Dîn, 81  
 Rashidî, 135, 137  
 Râshidî, 21–2, 135  
*râvî*, 72  
 Ravi river, 20  
 Richards, J.F., 7, 10  
 Rome, 9  
*rubâ‘î*, 3, 64, 73, 79, 80, 82, 89–90, 93, 104, 123, 141–2, 155  
 Rûdakî, 29, 41, 64, 96, 99, 103, 110, 134, 135  
 Rûmî, Jalâl al-Dîn, 90, 124, 164  
 Rûnî, Abû al-Faraj, 11, 12, 17, 23, 26, 44, 159, 160  
 Russell, James R., 122  
 Rustam, 10, 154  
 Rypka, Jan, 34, 35  
  
 Sa‘âdat, 25  
*sabâ*, 51  
*sabk-i Hindî*, 134, 151, 157, 159  
*sabk-i Irâqî*, 86  
*sabk-i Khurâsânî*, 86, 151  
 Sa‘d-i Salmân, 19, 104, 140, 147, 149, 152, 154  
 Sa‘dî, 162  
 Safâ, Zabihullâh, 29, 156  
 Safavids, 80, 109, 116, 128  
 Said, Edward, 33  
 Sajjân, 135  
 Sâlih, 25, 81, 90  
 Salmân, 140

- Saltuqname*, 10  
 Samâ‘î, 151  
 Sasanians, 39–40, 114  
 Sanâ‘î, 3, 17, 36, 47, 52–6, 57, 65–6, 112, 125, 126, 133, 137–8, 142  
*Sandēsārāsaka*, 162  
 Sanskrit poetry, 109  
*sâqînâmah*, 71, 112, 122  
 al-Sarakhsî, 81  
 Sasanians, 123  
 Sayfî, 109  
 Schimmel, Annemarie, 116  
*sehrengiz*, see *shahrâshûb*  
 Seljuqs, 14, 19, 22, 34, 44, 139, 148  
 Shafî‘î-Kadkanî, Muhammad Rizâ, 66, 86, 124  
 Shâh ‘Âlam Âftâb, 159  
 Shâh Jahân, 158  
 Shahâb al-Dîn Qutulmush Alp Ghâzi, 147  
 Shahbazi, A. Shapur, 37  
 Shahdarak, 158  
*Shâhnâmah*, 37, 43, 94, 129  
*shahrangîz*, see *shahrâshûb*  
*shahrâshob*, see *shahrâshûb*  
*shahrâshûb*, 3, 29, 57, 71, 107–16, 122  
*Shahrîyâr-nâmah*, 10  
 Shamîsâ, Sîrûs, 4, 71, 92, 123, 156  
 Sharî‘at, Rizvân, 69  
 Sharvânshâhs, 145  
 Shiite imams, 49, 151  
 Shîrîn, 95  
 Shîrzâd, ‘Azud al-Dawlah, 24, 25, 57  
*sibr-i halâl*, 128  
 Sindh, 14, 18, 148  
 Siqat al-Mulk, Tâhir ‘Alî, 24, 61, 75, 76, 78, 82, 87, 98, 105, 137, 147  
 Sistan, 24  
 Socrates, 68  
 Solomon, 139, 154  
 Somnath, 12  
 Spain, 8  
 Sprenger, A., 161, 162  
 Sû, 24  
 Sufism, 42, 114, 124, 125, 150  
 Sutton, Elwell, 80  
  
 Tabaristan, 149  
*taghazzul*, see *nasîb*  
 Tâhir ‘Alî, see Siqat al-Mulk  
*takhallus*, 3, 102–6, 126  
*tarkibband*, 3, 73, 80  
*tâzahgû‘î*, 128  
*tazkirah*, 18, 148, 151, 157–8, 160, 161  
*Tazkirat al-shu‘arâ*, 42  
*tazmîn*, 45, 46, 132, 134  
 Tehran, 41, 151, 152, 153  
 Tha‘âlabî, 39–40  
 Timurids, 40, 108, 109, 110, 116, 149, 150  
 Todorov, Tzvetan, 69, 115  
 Trilochanapal, 15  
*Tuhfat al-‘Irâqayn*, 52  
 Turks, 10, 51, 52  
  
 Uchh, 18, 148  
 ‘Umar Khayyâm, 148  
 ‘Unsur al-Ma‘âlî Manûchihr ibn Qâbûs, 149  
 ‘Unsurî, 26, 29, 40, 41, 45, 46, 95, 134, 135, 144  
 Urdu, 4, 108–9, 116, 157, 158, 159, 161  
 ‘Utbi, 41

208 / *Index*

Vahabzade, Payman, 50–1

Vajiristan, 147

*Vâmiq u 'Azrâ*, 95

*vasf*, 71

Varvât, Rashîd al-Dîn, 70–1, 139

Vaudeville, Charlotte, 116

Waihind, 15

Wedeck, Harry E., 117

Williams, Gareth, 85

Yâsimî, Rashîd, 18, 156

Yumgan, 49, 151, 152

*Yatimat al-dabr*, 40

Zabulistan, 24, 51

Zafarî, Valîullâh, 71, 86

Zâl, 144, 154

Zaranj, 24

Zbavitel, D., 116–17

Ziyarids, 35

Zoroastrian calendar, 120, 123

Zoroastrian culture, 9

*zuhdiyyât*, 69, 149