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Dynamic cultural patterns of medieval India: A study of Persian literature during the early centuries of Delhi Sultanate

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Abstract

The arrival of Muslims during the 11th to 12th centuries AD marked the beginning of a new era in the Indian sub-continent known as the "Medieval Age." This period witnessed significant transformations in the spheres of administration, society, language, literature, and art, which were widely influenced by central Asian traditions. The Turkish Sultans of the early century adopted Persian as their official language, which acquired prominence in all aspects of learning and communication. In order to facilitate an intimate relationship with the monarchy, the majority of Indian scholars imbibed this language. Even Central Asian scholars, poets, historians, and theologians had been summoned to Delhi; hence, Hindustan emerged as a center of Persian language and literary practice. Throughout the Delhi Sultanate, huge numbers of prose, poetry, historical texts, and manuscripts were composed in Persian. The emigrant scholars of the 13th century produced their works both in the form of prose and verse, which extend our understanding of history and culture. Evidence of Persian translations of Arabic classics appeared in large numbers. Simultaneously, the 13th-century Diwans, composed by scholars and poets under the patronage of Sultans and regional rulers, are rich in quality as well as variety. Examples of 14th-century Farhang literature (lexicography) have a historic dimension that proliferated our knowledge of Delhi aristocratic culture.

Keywords: Persian, sultanate, Delhi, awfi, farhang

Introduction

Composition of Emigre Intellectuals in 13th Century

Some of the emigre scholars and men of letters who arrived from the neighboring countries in India after the foundation of the Sultanate in the beginning of the 13th century AD had already distinguished themselves for their talent in their own countries. They, presumably attracted either by the munificence provided by the early Turkish Sultans or driven by Mongol irruption in central Asia, settled down in different parts of north India. The work produced by them under the patronage of the Sultans in India reveals that their authors were gifted writers, thinkers, and poets with great clan, imagination, and originality of thought. Sadid Ud Din Muhammad Awfi was one of them. He was born in Bukhara sometime during the latter half of the 12th century into a family of scholars who occupied important positions in Transoxiana. Having completed his education in Bukhara, he set out in the tradition of Muslim scholars for further enlightenment. He acquired mastery over Hadith (the tradition of the prophet) and Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence); simultaneously, his works reveal that he also took an interest in the study of secular sciences such as history, geography, and poetry. He was both an eloquent orator and a prolific writer. He played an important role in the cultural life of the Sultanate during its early phase.

His works were composed in verse as well as prose; among them, three have survived the ravages of time and are considered the early classics of the Persian language. One was the 'Lubab-ul-Albab', an anthology cum tazkira of early Persian poets, and another was the Jawami-ul-Hikayat-wa Lawami-ul-Riwayat. During medieval times, the Jawami-ul-Hikayat was almost a coveted possession for the ulema, sufis, historians, and members of the ruling elite. Historical tradition contained in the work about the prophet of Islam, his successor, i.e., the Caliphs, early Sufi saints of Islam, and political and social institutions developed in different Islamic lands made it a reference book soon after its publication. Besides, the force of his style and the intellectual architecture that the work exhibits may be regarded as original contributions to Islamic literature, at least in the historical as well as scholarly imagination of the author.

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The internal evidence appearing in the *Jawami-ul-Hikayat* leaves us in no doubt that Awfi came to India from the Middle East in a ship and landed at Cambay, the principal seaport in Gujrat, then ruled over by the Hindu Raja, sometime in early 1220 AD. The autobiographical piece of information is also important as it reveals the scientific curiosity possessed by our author. During the voyage, he came across the magnetic compass, and with its help, he could not know the direction of Qibla when it had become dark due to a stormy disturbance in the sea. In Cambay, Awfi was amazed to find a flourishing community of Muslim traders engaged in oversea trade between India, China, and the Middle Eastern countries. The traders enjoyed full religious freedom there.

Lubab ul Albab of Sadid ud din Muhammed Awfi

As regards the notes of Muhammad Awfi's Persian translation of Qazi al Tanukhis Arabic classic *Kitab-ul-Faraj-bad-ul Shidda* that had been completed in Cambay, Samarqandi tells us that he had gone to Cambay at the instance of Sultan Qubacha on a business mission and stayed there with his old friend Qazi Muhammed Awfi. It is essential to note that the Persian translation was completed and released by Awfi earlier than the *Lubab ul Albab*, for it was ready to be dedicated and presented to the reigning Sultan on his arrival at the royal court in Uchh or Multan. Before Awfi's arrival in India, the process of transferring religious as well as scientific knowledge from Arabic works into Persian had already started in Delhi. These early translation works cast an interesting light on the development of a reading intelligence for books in Persian prose. All this had led to a new organization of knowledge. We are, however, concerned with analyzing the historical material we find in Awfi's work on life and conditions during the first decade of the 13th century. The *Lubab ul Albab* was written in an ornate and highly florid language, bristling with rhetoric and rhymed sentences. Stripped of the ornamental phrases, it, however, yields interesting pieces of information that are helpful in reconstructing the history of the development of Indo-Muslim culture during the starting phases of the Delhi Sultanate. The preface of that translation is brief, containing praise for Qubacha, saying that his court had become a cynosure for the oppressed people of the world. At the end of the work, we find Samarqandi's comprehensive note on the achievements of Sultan Qubacha. It is important in so far as it furnishes additional information about two successive invasions of Multan by Mongols. In the beginning, Samarqandi states that he joined Muhammed Awfi in Cambay. Where he had been sent by Sultan Qubacha in connection with some state business. Awfi, his friend, acted in Cambay as Qazi. He said in praise of the Sultan that people, both Muslims and non-Muslims, rich and poor, chiefs and nobles, were respectful towards him for his noble qualities.

The rebellion by the Khalji against the Sultan of Delhi in Bengal in 1229-30 is the last event that Awfi mentions in detail. Hitherto, Minhaj al-Juzjani's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* was the only source of information on this event. But the details furnished by him are brief and laconic. Our author supplements the information and helps us fill the gaps in our understanding of the political development in eastern India after the annexation of Bengal to the Sultan of Delhi in 1226. We are informed by Awfi that Balka Khalji, who held no important position in Bengal prior to its conquest by

Prince Nasir ud Din Mahmud, was favored by Sultan Iltutmish and allowed to rule over a vast territory as a vassal with the royal title of Daulat Shah. The latter continued to acknowledge Iltutmish's suzerainty until 1229, the year when the crown prince and the viceroy of western territories, Nasir ud Din Mahmud, fell ill and passed away. On his death, Daulat Shah Khalji declared his independence from the center. He had become so powerful that Iltutmish was forced to march towards Gaur in 1230.

There were uncountable themes in Awfi's accounts, which should be concise here. Now, in addition to his socio-religious and political description, I am alluding to an interesting depiction of Awfi's observation about the magnetic compass. The compiler of the book says: "Once I was on a voyage through the sea, when all of a sudden a storm burst. It became dark and cloudy, and the waves were violent. The people, seized with panic, started clamoring. Much disturbed, the captain lost direction. However, he quickly brought out a hollow piece of iron, resembling a fish in shape, and put it in a dish full of water. The instrument revolved and became fixed in the direction of Qibla. As a result, the captain knew the correct direction. Being amazed, I made an inquiry about it, and he told me, "This is the lode tine; when it is placed in the dish, it revolves, owing to its magnetic properties, and becomes fixed to be so. God alone knows the truth" (Khuda Bakhsh library, Patna, MS. ff.452b).

Historical Dimensions of 13th century Persian Translation of Arabic Classic

The emergence of Persian-knowing intelligentsia in the Sultanate during its early phase went a long way toward helping the progress of the Persian language and the growth of its literature on various themes and subjects. In the beginning, the dearth of Arabic-speaking Muslims led the Sultans and the members of the ruling elite to get the Arabic classics on religion and statecraft translated into Persian for the benefit of Persian-speaking immigrants from central Asia. So far, the Persian language has generally served as a vehicle for expression in poetry, but now in India, owing to the translations of Arabic classics, it has developed into a language both of science and religious philosophy. The efforts made by the emigrant scholars in this regard under the patronage of the rulers of the Sultanate made India the pioneer because the scholars in Iran and central Asia took up this sort of work long afterward.

We may begin our historical analysis of the historical dimension of these works with the Persian translation of Arabic work, *Fath-i-Biladi Hind-wa Fath-i-Sind*, better known as *Chachnama*, relating to the early history of Sind and its Arab conquest under Muhammad bin Qasim al Thaqafi. The translator was Ali bin Hamid bin Abu Bakr Kufi, a man of Arab origin who completed it in 1216. Unlike an Arabic prose writer, the translator seems to have taken to a literary style, investing it with a romantic content in a truly Persian tradition. Apparently, the Arabic text of the *Chachnama* seems to have been compiled during the 9th century on the basis of Arab histories and local traditions of Sind. Much of the information contained in the translation about the socio-political condition obtaining in Sind and South Western Punjab on the eve of Arab conquest is of immense importance. For the guidance of the Sultan Nasir ud din Qubacha and the members of the ruling elite, the translator is careful enough not to omit those details which bring into greater relief the need for a Muslim ruler not to

interfere with the social system of the Hindus in India. For example, Muhammad bin Qasim is said to have sanctioned the privilege of high caste and the degradation of the low ones. The Brahmans was given full religious freedom and appointed to important position in the administration of Sind whereas the Jats were kept as they were under Dahir. The Sultan of Delhi seem to have followed the same policy during their period.

It is also worth mentioning that there is a great deal of touching up of original Arabic text by Al-Kufi, reflecting the political traditions in Sind vis-à-vis the relation between the Sultan and hereditary chief. Al-Kufi's purpose in alluding to Rais, Thakurs and Rangas was to appraise Sultan Nasir ud din Qubacha of the need to foster cordial relations with the local potentates for they constituted an important element in Indian polity. He implies that a victorious ruler should regard his victory over the chiefs as a prelude to a settlement and not to their annihilation.

Like Qubacha and his Wazir, Sultan Iltutmish and his Wazir, Nizam ul Mulk Junaidi also encouraged the emigrant scholars to render Arabic classic into Persian. In Delhi the first important Arabic work to be translated was Al-Biruni's famous book on Tib (Greek system of medicine), Kitab ul Saidna. The translator Abu Bakr bin Ali Bin Usman al Kasani seems to have arrived in India, sometime in the beginning of the reign of Sultan Shams ud din Iltutmish. According to him, he was driven away from his ancestral place by the hot wind of calamity. In India he was attracted by the generosity of the reigning "King Sultan -i - Muazzam, Shahinshah al Azam, lord of Arabia and Azam, the shadow of God on the living beings, Shams ul Duniya wal din Abul Fath Iltutmish" and settled down in Hazrat i Delhi. We decided to study the conditions and found the metropolis rich in wealth and full of people of learning and talent, in fact it had turned into a Centre of culture. Every one of them who had been attracted by Sultan's generosity was constrained to come here. The ashraf from Khurasan and Mavraulnahr who were driven away by the vicissitude of circumstance in their own lands got refuge under the patronage of the Sultan. Every one of them is full of praise for the Sultan for his generosity and love for justice.

Describing the qualities of the reigning Sultan, Al-Kasani tells us that one of the signs of his royalty was the late Sultan Qutub-ud-din Aibak perceived at very first glance they superb intelligence, modesty, faithfulness, perseverance and undaunted courage poses see by fortunate Majlis-i Ali. Thereafter, the Sultan favored him and utilized his service in meeting difficult situation from time to time. Another sign of divine mercy on him is that everyone who harbored ill will towards him was doomed to failure. Every one of his enemies met disaster.

As for the next al Kasani, did not simply translate the Arabic terms into Persian but also added much fresh material, regarding the location and particulars of certain materials as well as the view of the authorities on their nature. All this is not found in the Arabic text. Likewise, the use of Hindi equivalents along with Persian terms for certain medicines is indicative of the fact that the process of cultural fusion had started in the Sultanate of Delhi since its very beginning. The reference of Kashmiri fruits, particularly apple tends to point to the existing inland trade between the Hindu kingdom of Himalaya and the Sultanate.

The translation of Imam Ghazali's famous work on religious sciences Ihya-ul- Ulum-id-Din from Arabic into Persian by

an emigrant scholar Majd-ud-din Abul Maali Muaiyid bin Muhammed Jajrami also deserves to be mentioned. The work in Arabic commended immense prestige as it had countered the influence of the teachings of rationalist philosophers and revived the interest of the educated Muslims in the traditional Islamic sciences in the Islamic countries. In view of the impotence and the need of the emerging Persian knowing intelligentsia in India, Nizam-ul Mulk Junaidi, the Wazir of Sultan Iltutmish asked Jajrami to take up its transformation for the diffusion of Islamic learning in the Sultan. The translator writes in the introduction to his translation that he was engaged in teaching and instructing people in religious science for quite some time in Lahore. His classes were attended even by scholars.

Likewise, the translation of Awarif ul Maarif by Qasim Daud Khatib, sometime between the years 1243-45 is also an important contribution to early Persian literature, made in India during the 13th century. This Suhrawardi had gained worldwide popularity just after his publication. The leading Chisti, Suhrawardi and Firdausi Sufi saints in India during the 13th studied and explained it to their murids and also tried to live according to it. Undoubtedly the translator had Sufi learning, his works shows that he also possessed profound knowledge of Islamic theological sciences. The explanation of theological and mystic problems bear testimony to his erudition in religious science. The text is also interspersed with verses composed by Qasim Daud Khatib but they may be set aside as mere versification devoid of any literary charms worth-considering. But it is an important contribution to early Persian prose literature in so far as its straight forward but idiomatic style is concerned. To conclude, it may be emphasized that these early Persian translations of Arabic classics made under the patronage of the Turkish Sultan have historical and intellectual dimensions.

13th Century Diwans of the Persian Poets

The Persian poets who attached themselves to the Delhi court during this early period were generally the men of high culture and deep learning. The brief reference to them, scattered in medieval literature give us some idea about their scholarly attainment. Many of them appear to have compiled their diwan and work of prose on various subjects but most of them are not extant. Only a few work, both in verse and prose have survived the ravages of time; and they are of immense value. They not only reveal the quality and merit of the poets or scholars but also shed important light on the life and culture of the age.

Amongst the diwans of the Persian poets of the early Turkish period, only that of Jamal-ud-din Hansawi was available. Recently Dr. Nazir Ahmed has discovered and published along with a critical introduction and copious notes, the diwans of Saiyid Siraj ud din, known as Siraj Khurasani and Amid Lowiki Sunami. In these pages an effort has been made to discuss the life and times of the poets, to evaluate the literary worth of their diwans, and also analyze the historical material contained therein.

A good poet always enjoyed a unique position in the medieval society. Because the kings and noble could catch the imagination of the world and pass into proverb as a result of excellent qasida, extolling their qualities and achievements. It was only a poet who could do unashamed propaganda without any hesitation or difficulty. The literary

charm of the verses of the poet always raised the prestige of his patron. For this reason, it was always desirable for the ruler, princes and other members of the ruling classes to employ poets of talent and ability. The 13th century poets, Siraji Khurasani, Jamal ud din Hansvi and Amid Sunami who were men of high culture and learning, could easily gain the favour of different princes and grandees. Their qasidas in praise of their patron are marked by freshness of thought and style. Undoubtedly, these diwans form an important part of the Persian literature, produced in India during the early 13th century. Siraji originally hailed from Khurasan and was a Sunni Saiyid. He had full command over his Khurasani Persian and was fully conscious of this:

This humble Siraji involves blessing upon thee and signs thy praises. His words are like those of Khurasani origin.

Since all the medieval tazkiras contain confused details about the life and times of Siraji, it is somewhat difficult to say much about his early life. Prof. Nazir Ahmed, however, has been able to sift correct data and reconstruct the history of his times on the basis of the poets own diwan and qasidas of his contemporaries. The Sultan of Makran was quite generous in his patronage to the men of learning, therefore he was relieved of worries of livelihood and could devote his literary works. For the erudition and excellence in composing good poetry, he was raised to the position of the chief poet of Makran court and was fortunate enough in being noticed by Muhammed Awafi for his skill in poetry, praises Siraji in one of his Qasidas, composed in praise of Sultan Tajuddin Abul Makarim he says

**Siraji din is among the descendants of the prophet.
He excels in piety and is chief of the poets**

Though no date can be suggested about the arrival of Siraji from Herat in India, his qasidas in praise of Malik Izz ud din Bakhtiyar, son of Ahmed and prince Nasir ud din, Mahmud, the eldest son of Sultan Iltutmish reveal that he had settled in Delhi during the early period of Iltutmish's reign. Since Malik Izz ud din Bakhtiyar died in 1219, according to the epitaph, Siraji must have arrived in Delhi earlier. Patronized by the Sultan, the princess and nobles for composing beautiful qasidas Siraji seems to have become a well-off man within a short time.

In context of diwan poetry we must have to expound Amir Khusrau who had been literary genius of this century.

If there is heaven on earth, its here, its here, its here

Abul Hasan Yaminuddin, known as "Amir Khusrau" was the greatest mystic poet of India. His father Amir Saifuddin Mahmud Shamsi was a native of Kesh today known as Shahr-e-Sabz, a city in Uzbekistan.ⁱⁱⁱ During the invasion of Chingiz Khan he came to India and settled at Patiyali. He got employment in the court of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish and held high military rank. Amir Khusrau was born in the year 1253 at Patiyali. It is narrated when he was born his father wrapped him in cloth and took him to a saint for blessings, as soon as the saint saw the child he exclaimed "O, Amir! You have brought a child to me who would surpass even Khaqani. Amir Khusrau lost his father when he was eight years of age. After the death of his father came under the care of his maternal grandfather Imadul Mulk who was one of the foremost nobles and had a dominating position in the court of Sultan Ghayasuddin Balban. He was a great patron of poets, writers and scholars

used to assemble in his court. Khusrau could get a chance to sit in their assembly where he made a tremendous progress towards his literary pursuit, but the most interesting feature of his life is this that he was a born poet. He endowed extraordinary passion for poetry from very childhood. Khusrau showed literary promise at an early age, and, after spending some time at the provincial court of Oudh, became attached at first to Prince Bughra Khan, the governor of Samana and later of Bengal, and subsequently to Prince Muhammad, the heir-designate of Balban, who maintained a magnificent court at Multan. The prince lost his life in a skirmish with the Mongols in 1285, and the poet went to Delhi. Balban's successor, Kaiqubad, was Khusrau's first royal patron. In all, seven rulers were to be his patrons, but it is doubtful whether he was greatly concerned by the kaleidoscopic changes of royalty. Khusrau wrote poems relating to contemporary events. Qiran-us-Saadain, completed in 1289, gives an account of the historic meeting of Bughra Khan and Kaiqubad on the banks of the river Sarju, and contains an interesting description of the Delhi of those days. Miftah-ul-Futuh (1291) is a versified account of the exploits of Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalji; in Ashiq (1315) is an account of the romance of the Gujarati princess Deval Devi and Prince Khizr Khan, son of Ala-ud-din Khalji. The latter's conquests are the subject matter of Khazainul-Futuh (1311), an ornate prose work, while Nuh Sipihr, completed in 1318, celebrates the reign of Qutb-uddin Mubarak Shah. In this book Amir Khusrau challenged the poets of Iran and sang of his native land, its hoary past, its love of learning, its flowers, and its fair, intelligent people. Tughlaq Nama describes the successful expedition of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq against the usurper Khusrau Khan. Khusrau was also among the earliest writers of Hindi poetry, and though the origins of the Hindi poems attributed to him are doubtful, he referred to his Hindi verses in the introduction to one of his Persian diwans. He also played a major role in the development of Indian music, as noted below. Amir Khusrau as representative of Indian Culture Amir Khusro was a mystic and a spiritual disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi. Having come under the influence of this great Sufi saint, he had acquired a liberal out-look on religious and social matters. Like his preceptor he could not bring himself to differentiate between the Muslims and the Hindus. It seems at heart he was opposed to the official policy of suppression of the Hindus and denigration of their faith. Khusro was a true representative of Indo-Muslim culture. To celebrate the unity in diversity of Indian culture and heritage, The beginning of India's composite culture can be traced to Amir Khusrau's efforts. Our history bears testimony to the fact that it was the result of Amir Khusro's preachings of other Sufi and saints that the basis and the shape of the government of the Sultanate became broader in the 14th century and thereafter. It is not surprising, that we find among his admirer both Hindus and Muslim.^v Socio – Culture history in the writing of Amir Khusro Khusrau's all literary works reflect the spirit of the time and the tendencies at work. Literature is the mirror of the society which gives detail accounts of the social and cultural life of that time. Khusrau's literary works reflect the people and represent the pictures of their social life and cultural activities. They give the vivid description of life and condition from birth to death. Amir Khusrau was not a historian but he was well versed in prevailing traditions of the historiography and has written about half dozen of

historical books including prose chronicle and Mathnavis. He was more a poet than a historian. When he writes history, he keeps restrain over muse of poetry and does not sacrifice facts for fancy. In India, he was a pioneer in this field and we can certainly indebted to him for the valuable historical data he left for us. Amir Khusrau was fully equipped with the knowledge, the experience, the narrative excellence and the ability to speak on unpalatable facts in concealed and suggestive manner. He passed the mystic insight and poetic fancy which helped him to bring home to his readers that facts were stronger than fictions. If the function of the historian is to be enlighten and illuminate by throwing fresh and adding the existing stock of knowledge of the past, the wealth of solid factual information furnished by Amir Khusrau, particularly in Miftan, Khazain, and Tughlaq nama entitled him to be called a historian. vi Amir Khusrau a matchless Linguistic As a linguist and a poet he was peerless. He gave a new turn to the development of the various dialects spoken in and around Delhi, dialects which long after him combined together in order to become one language called Hindi. Khusrau besides being a scholar in Persian his intellectual curiosity led him to pick up Sanskrit and the local language of the North. Amir Khusrau wrote for the masses. In a poem entitled Ashiqa, Amir Khusrau pays a glowing tribute to the Hindi language and speaks of its rich qualities. The language in which Khusrau wrote it is learnt he himself described as Hindvi, which bears close resemblance with Khari Boli and even present-day Hindi. It was a mixed language born as a result of the intermingling of the Muslims and the Hindus. This improvised tongue became a kind of lingua Indica for the royal court in Delhi and all those who came under its influence. Khusrau was keen to bring the Hindus and the Muslims closer and for doing so he thought of a common language for both of them. Khusrau was the first to write in Hindvi or Khari Boli. He started versifying in this language as early as 12580 A.D. when Balban was the Sultan of Delhi. It is learnt, Khari Boli was then struggling for the status of a dialect. Khush's poetry gave it more than that. Although universally recognized as the architect of Khari Boli, Amir Khusrau was a court poet to as many as seven of them. He is said to have written over seventy books of which only about twenty-five are extant. He wrote poetry primarily in Persian, but also in Hindavi. A vocabulary in verse, the Khaliq Bari, containing Arabic, Persian and Hindavi terms is often attributed to him. Amir Khusro: the Royal poet Khusrau was a prolific classical poet associated with the royal courts of more than seven rulers of the Delhi Sultanate. He is much popular because of many playful riddles, songs and legends attributed to him. Through his enormous literary output and the legendary folk personality, Khusrau represents one of the first Indian personages with a true multi-cultural or pluralistic identity. Amir Khusrau was the author of a Khamsa which emulated that of the earlier poet of Persian epics Nezami Ganjavi. His work was considered to be one of the great classics of Persian poetry in India. Khusrau also wrote, composed Suhaag geet, bhanne, mukhda, sehre, ghodi, mehndi geet and so on. All of them had Hindi as the base language. We do have different weather conditions in India and to highlight the beauty of the different weather, Khusrau also wrote Barkha Ritu Geets. The spring season is called 'Basant Ritu' and has a commemoration of thousands of years of Indian music and spring is celebrated with great enthusiasm here. In contrast to Raag Basant, Hazrat Amir

Khusrau created a new Raaga called 'Raag Bahaar'. Ashq Rey Aamad Abr-O-Bahaar Saaqiya Gul Barejo Bada Biyaar Amir Khusrau knew Sanskrit fairly well and it has always seemed to me that his designating the reader as having the tab'-e vaqqad (a temperament that is knowing, intelligent, bright, and fiery) is influenced by Abhinavagupta's theory of the sahridaya reader. In Abhinavagupta's formulation, "a sahridaya has the competence analogous to that of the poet to see, to hear, to feel, to participate, to experience." More than Persian forms, the Sufis favoured the indigenous forms in writing Hindi poetry.

Ghazals of Amir Khusrau

The basic form is git, 'song'. Gits are in mystical Hindi poetry as important as are the ghazals in Persian and Urdu. Git is metrically very free, lyrical poem. No uniform rhyme scheme is applied in the git, and the first line of the poem serves as a refrain throughout the poem. The most common short form is doha or dohra, a couplet. Both lines have thirteen syllables and the same rhyming word. Dohas are in the Chishti sama` used much in the same way as the ruba`is and individual verses from masnavis and ghazals, as introductory or inserted verses. Dohas often paint a lyrical miniature, like the verse Khusrau is said to have written after the death of his master, Khwaja Nizamuddin:

The fair beauty sleeps in the bed, hairs fallen to her face Khusro, go home, evening has set in every direction

A mystic puts his emphasis on the development of self. He develops his personality by its development. The mystic experience or religious experience plays a key role in the development of self and personality. But a mystical experience or consciousness is absolutely different from the experience of an ordinary being. For Khusrau, Mystic this universe has been established on love. God, the absolute beauty is the ultimate cause of all love. Love is of three kinds: The divine love, the spiritual love, and the natural love.

Your beauty, by the fire of youth Brings forth smoke from the lovers' hearts The next verse is also attributed to Khusrau and it has his nom de plume, which in Hindi is called chap. O Khusrau, river of love flows in the opposite direction: Who rose from it, drowned; who drowned, he got across

It is also common enough to describe the beauty of the beloved, or the radiant face of the beloved, as "fire, fiery, flame", and so on. Khusrau uses both metaphors as belonging to the domain of fact, rather than that of the imagination. He says:

They say, Khusrau, what are you weeping at? I am the turtledove of my own spring. As we have seen, Living on without the beloved, and even eating and drinking, are distasteful and in fact undesirable activities for the lover.

Yet life has to go on, and here Khusrau's protagonist justifies a drink of water:

I never watered my heart with water That was to my desire,
Each drop of water that I drank Without you was a sword

The Fourteenth Century Historiography

Many scholars seem to have written the 14th century histories of the Khalji and the Tughlaq Sultans. Ziauddin Barani mentions the official history of Sultan Alauddin Khalji's reign by Kabiruddin, son of Tajuddin Iraqi but it is

now extant. Amir Khusrau also compiled the *Khazainul Futuh*, devoted to the achievements of Alauddin Khalji. Khusrau also composed five historical *masnavis* (poems) in each of which historical events are described (in verse). It may, however, be recalled that neither Ziauddin Barani nor modern scholar, Peter Hardy regards Khusrau as a historian. They consider Khusrau's works as literary pieces rather than a historical work. Of the surviving 14th century works, Isami's *Futuh us Salatin* (1350), Ziauddin Barani's *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi* (1357), anonymous *Sirat-I Firuzshahi* (1370-71) and Shams Siraj Afif's *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi* (c.1400) are important historical works. A few of these 14th century historical works need to be analysed separately.

Political Thought of Ziauddin Barani in Fatwa-i-Jahandari and Tarikh I Firozshahi

Zia-ud-Din Barani (1285-1360) a scholar, of South Asia is renowned for writing on the history and politics of the Sultans of Delhi. His *Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi* is a dependable source of history from the later times of Ghiasuddin Balban to the early years of Feroze Shah Tughluq to whom the book is dedicated. Along with the historical accounts of the period, Barani discusses the Muslim political problems including the implementation of Islamic laws in the newly established Muslim State in India. But this is mainly a book on history and not a political treatise like his work — the *Fatawai-Jahandari* in which he advised the Sultans and the Kings, through the mouth of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, his ideal ruler, as to how an effective system of government could be established by implementing the Islamic Shari'ah. Like all the other medieval writers Barani's political philosophy revolves around the personality of the king who is advised in various ways to implant his philosophy. For him the king is very important. King's dominance over all the affairs of the state is ensured by suggesting various methods. According to Barani, the king should implement Islamic Shari'ah in all walks of life objectively. Barani's detailed twenty-four advices distinct him as a prominent philosopher of South Asia. His political work is a valuable treatise as compared to Nizamul Mulk Tusi's *Siyasat Nama*, Kaiquas's *Qabus Nama*, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's *Adabul-Harb*, Syed Ali Hamdani's *Zakhiratul-Mulu*, Nuru-ud-din Khaqani's *Akhlaq-i-Jahangiri*, and Muhammad Baqir Najm-us-Sani's *Muizza-ti-Jahangiri*. In many respects Barani's work provides "additional information" in comparison to the aforesaid works. The basic objective before Barani is implementation of Islamic Shari'ah. He has raised a number of issues in this respect, of which some can be criticized and some praised. For him Islamic Shari'ah has no dogmatic value. It has to achieve an ideal which, according to him, is the dominance of good values over those of evil forces. In his interpretation of Islamic political philosophy, evil forces cannot completely be destroyed from any society. God has purposely created bad characters for a tussle between with the good. He desires that the king should evolve such a system of administration, army, intelligence and judicially that persons of high integrity and character should act as vehicles of good forces against the evil forces. For him the tussle between right and wrong is a continuing phenomenon upto the Day of Judgement. Shari'ah is to be adjusted with the local situation of every society without compromising on the fundamentals of Islam. For instance, in the world in which Sultan Mahmud, his ideal king, or his successors

lived they could not afford to lead a simple life. They could not afford to live in a simple house like ordinary people. If they do so the people will not respect them and consequently none will accept their authority. So, Barani advised the king to live pompous life and they should behave as a unique personality. This is necessary because with the honour of this personality, the honour and integrity of Islam is deeply related. Despite this relaxation, the king is not allowed by Barani to adopt evils and vices. His character should generally be moulded according to the ideals of Islam. He is required to be honest, straightforward and farsighted. A person with of bad character is not acceptable to Barani as a good ruler. If the king is of bad character, he will be considered a representative of Satan. In addition to having a good character, a king is suggested to act in conduct of his responsibilities with certain methods and policies suggested by Barani. The king is requested to accept Islamic Shari'ah from the core of his heart and also to try to evolve his policies for peace and war in consultation with his administrators, advisers and commanders. Even the rules and regulations regarding his officers and ministers should be evolved after consulting the relevant men of knowledge and experience. Accepting Barani kingship should be oriented to act within the bounds of Islamic Shari'ah, for the economic prosperity of the people. A particular care is required to be taken to provide basic essentials of life at the lowest possible rates. Like a practical philosopher, Barani lay down guidelines which would serve as a basis on which a king could evolve various institutions, such as the judiciary and army. How a welfare state can be established? These are the questions which Barani has extensively dilated on these points in *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*.

Isami's Narrative

The *Futuh-us Salatin* of Isami is a versified history of the Muslim rulers of India. It begins with the account of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna's reign (999-1030 A.D.) and comes to a close with that of the foundation of the Bahmani Sultanate in the Deccan by Alauddin Bahaman Shah, a rebel against Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, in 1350. Though much is not known about the author, yet it may be added that his ancestors served the Delhi court since the time of Sultan Iltutmish. Ziauddin Barani includes one of the Isami family in the list of the leading nobles of Sultan Balban. Isami, himself was brought up by his grandfather, Izuddin Isami, a retired noble. he was still in his teens when his family was forcibly shifted to Daulatabad in 1327. His grandfather died on the way and the young Isami was filled with hatred against Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. The hostility towards Sultan Mohammad Tughluq is quite evident in his account and needs to be treated with caution. The early part of Isami's narrative is based on popular legends and oral traditions which

had reached to him through the time. His account of the early Sultans of India is also based on popular tales with historical facts available to him through earlier works. But the details of historical events from the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji are much more authentic and can be of corroborative and supplementary importance. In this part Isami supplements the information contained in Barani's *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi* about the siege operations conducted by the military commanders of the Delhi Sultanate in different regions during the Khalji and the Tughluq period. Isami's

description of the foundation of Daulatabad by Muhammad bin Tughluq as the second most important city and his account of socio-economic growth of Delhi under Alauddin Khalji and other cities is graphic and insightful. Barani has precedence on Isami only in his analysis of cause and effect, connected with historical events.

Conclusion

Following the above aspects one thing must be regarded that although Persian was a dominated language under the Sultanate of Delhi which had wider influenced on literature, history and culture of this period. But despite being in prominent position the ordinary peoples and indigenous inhabitants had largely been deprived from this royal courtly language. For at least 500 years it had generated a rich culture of Asia.

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