

Affectionate Response to the Indian Environment

Syed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman

Abdul Hassan Yamin al-Din Khusrau, 650-725 A.H. (1252-1324 A.D.) has been admired as a wonderful being,¹ a strange phenomenon for all times,² a gem of the mine of beliefs and river of gnosis,³ a man of such colorful personality and comprehensive ability, as even the fertile soil of Persia has not produced in a thousand years,⁴ a highly esteemed and enormously productive poet,⁵ an extraordinary genius for poetry with an almost supernatural energy and indefatigable capacity for work⁶, Tilmiz-ur-Rahman (a pupil of God),⁷ a poet, who could write *qasidas* and *ghazals* with the same rapidity as our modern journalists write their daily editorials,⁸ a scholar of encyclopedic knowledge and inventive talent, who could write extraordinarily voluminous work like *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* in five volumes consisting of 1179 pages a true disciple of his spiritual guide Khwaja Nizam al-Din Auliya, who was proud of the burning love which the Turk had for God in his heart, a picturesque and boon companion for all his contemporary royal masters, and a skilled musician of enviable caliber who introduced many innovations in Indian music.

Poetic hyperbole apart, Khusrau was indeed a great genius. There was yet another trait which gave him a still wider dimension. He was a prince patriot, a great lover of his homeland integration. Ancestrally he was a Lachine Turk, but he had an inborn love for India and adoration for everything Indian. His life and works make it abundantly clear that only a few could excel him in the profuseness of national feelings and sublimity of patriotic sentiments.

¹ *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, by Zia al-Din Barni, p. 359

² *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, by Zia al-Din Barni, p. 359

³ *Tadhkirat-ush-Shuara* by Daulat Shah Samarqandi, p. 238

⁴ *Shir-ul-Ajam* by Maulana Shibli Nomani, Vol. II, p. 132, 133

⁵ *A History of Persian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 106, 108 by E.G. Browne.

⁶ *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, by Dr. A.W.Mirza, p.140

⁷ *Amir Khusrau* by Dr. Tara Chand published by Khusrau Academy, Delhi.

⁸ *Life of Amir Khusrau* by Prof. M. Habeeb, p. 2 published by Khusrau Academy, Delhi.

He was born in Patiali in the district of Etah in Uttar Pradesh, but after his father's death he settled in Delhi, where he lived for sixty years till his death. In his early days, he enjoyed prosperous life with his maternal grandfather Imad-ul-Mulk, who was an influential noble of the courts of Mamluk Sultans of Delhi. After the latter's death he, at the age of twenty, became a companion of Sultan Ghiyas al-Din Balban's nephew Ala al-Din Kishli Khan and later on joined the Sultan's son Prince Bughra Khan in Samana.

Attachment for Delhi

In 1280 A.D. the prince went along with his father to Lakhnauti. Khusrau had to accompany his patron. For the first time in Lakhnauti he felt the agony and anguish at the separation from Delhi which, instead of Patiali, had become his dear and sweet home. In the distant land of Bengal he enjoyed the company and cordiality of his affectionate friends like Shams-al-Din Dabir and Qadi Athir etc. The Prince also was very kind and considerate to him. But Khusrau could not feel at home there and pined for Delhi. When he ultimately got permission to return to Delhi, his joy was unbounded. He later wrote that as he came out of Lakhnauti he felt as if Joseph had come out of his prison cell, and on reaching Delhi he likened his feelings to that of Joseph when he came back to Egypt.⁹

After his return from Bengal, he basked under the warmth of the patronage of Sultan Ghiyas al-Din Balban's another son. Prince Muhammad Sultan, who took him to Multan. The Prince had a superb literary and poetic taste, so his court, according to Firishtah, had become the envy of the garden of paradise.¹⁰ He bestowed upon Khusrau all princely favors, but the latter always painfully felt the separation from Delhi. He recollected Delhi to be the arch of Islam, the *qibla* of the kings of the seven realms, the twin-sister of the blessed heaven, and a tract of paradise on the surface of the earth. In a long letter, written in an exotic flavor of style to a contemporary noble Ikhtiyar al-Din, he bemoaned romantically that he missed the loftily palaces of Delhi raising their heads to the sky and overshadowing the sun itself, nor could he see the green fields of Delhi bedecked with roses, nor could he enjoy its springs which, according to his opinion, was brighter than the eyes, nor their running water, which he said was like milk flowing through sugar nor its gardens, where he reveled in looking at rose-cheeked beauties bright as the pearls of their earrings, not its melodies arising out of *ud* and *rubab*

⁹ Ghurratu'l-Kamal, Dibacha, Mss, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh.

¹⁰ Tarikh-i-Firuz Shah, Vol.II, p. 402.

which according to him intoxicated the trees and rendered the fountains drowsy.¹¹ His annual visit to Delhi did however relieve much of his agony and pangs of separation from his beloved home.

Hatred Against Foreign Aggressors

His love for Delhi was indeed intense, but his patriotism encompassed the whole country. When Multan was invaded by Mongol raiders, he grew highly worried at his foreign aggression on his homeland. In the beginning his patron Prince Muhammad Sultan warded off these raids successfully. So he wrote pleasingly that the Indian troops fought against the enemy by standing in the battlefield like the mount of Caucasus,¹² and yet in another verse he said that the bold Indian cavaliers caused even lions tremble.¹³ When the Mongol invaders were valiantly repulsed, he felt glad that the infidels could not inflict loss on India on account of the heroic swordsmanship of Indian soldiers.¹⁴ In 1285 A.D. the Mongols made still more barbarous raids on Multan. Khusrau considered it a heavenly calamity, a day of judgment, a deluge of disaster or mischief for the entire country.¹⁵ In depicting the heroic fight of the Indian army, he gave full vent to his usual hyperbolic fancy. He wrote that with the march of Indian troops there was consternation even among the stars of the sky, tremors of earthquake were felt in the entire world, the sun was clouded with their dust, the sky began to shed tears, the day grew dark, the flames came out of their glittering swords, and the soil was about to be reddened with the blood of the fighting soldiers, etc. While adulating Indian soldiers as bold, valiant and manful like Rustum, he in outright hatred against the aggressors of India, condemned them as man-eaters, cat-eyed, faithless, shameless, ugly, having movement like monkeys and features like dogs. He never felt tired in depicting their ignoble features. He wrote that their heads, which were as even as eggs, had the wings of owls on them; their faces were broad like shields; their eyes seemed pierced in their heads; water ran from their flat noses, which looked like frogs swimming in water; they ate rats and they ran after food like dogs; bad smells came out of their bodies, and persons sitting besides them could not help vomiting,

¹¹ Extract of this letter has been taken from Life and Works of Amir Khusrau by Dr. A.W. Mirza, p.51

¹² Wasat-ul-Hayat, Aligarh edition, p.105

راست کرده لشکرے چوں کوه قاف رخس بیروں راند بر عزم مصارف

¹³ Ibid, p.105

جنیش تیزی سواران دلیر لرزه می افگند در اندام شیر

¹⁴ Extract of this letter has been taken from Life and Works of Amir Khusrau by Dr. A.W. Mirza, p.51

¹⁵ Ibid, p.105

جنیش تیزی سواران دلیر لرزه می افگند در اندام شیر

etc.¹⁶ Khusrau had not soft corner for those whom he considered enemies either of his motherland or of the crown. He always used harsh words and phrases for them but once they became loyal to the crown, he wooed them with open arms and displayed a great sense of religious, political and social toleration. During the fight against the Mongols he was captured and his beloved patron Prince Muhammad Sultan was killed. He mourned the Prince's martyrdom in an elegy which is considered to be a masterpiece in the art of pathetic versification. Many of his friends were slaughtered in this battle, and he bewailed their losses and separation with tears which seemed actually to be streaked with the blood of his heart.¹⁷ This also provides a glimpse of his sincere and deep affection for his friends.

After being released by the Mongol raiders, Khusrau came to Delhi, where, after some time, he was invited by a noble of Sultan Balban's court, Amir Hatim Khan, to join his company. He entered into the nobleman's service but when the nobleman set out for Oudh, Khusrau actually burst into tears; as he was leaving Delhi, he wept and remained wailing with the march of the retinue.¹⁸ He lived in Ayodhya for two years. He found the city charming like a garden. In a letter to one of his friends he called its ground the ornament of the earth. He was glad to find here flowers, wine, grapes, limes, pomegranates, oranges and other fruits in abundance. He saw here the pretty scene of *mulhari champa, juhi and kewra*. He felt delighted to smell all sorts of perfumes viz., sandal, aloe-wood, ambergris, musk, camphor and cloves etc. In his usual flight of imagination he called the textile manufacture of this place namely *jhambartali* and *bihari* a pleasant gift of spring tide which sat as lightly on the body as moonlight on tulips or a dewdrop on morning roses.¹⁹ He found the people courteous, faithful and generous. Here he received many tray-full of gold from his patron Amir Hatim Khan, but in spite of lively environment and lavish patronage, he could not help longing for Delhi, his mother and friends he had left behind. When he got leave to come back to Delhi, he, according to his own words, traversed the way like a swift dart or like a flying arrow and reached the city happy like the moon of Id. Here he smiled like a rose, and felt himself like a bird, which after experiencing the rigors of autumn comes

¹⁶ Wasat-ul-Hayat, Aligarh edition, p.106, 107 etc.

¹⁷ Wasat-ul-Hayat, Aligarh edition, p.168

حیف باشد مردمان در چشم و ما از چشم دور
دوستان رفتند غیرے را چه گیرم در کنار
دیگراں راچوں توان دیدن بجائے دوستان
چون کشم بر قامت ہر کس قبائے دوستان

بر عزم سفر عنان کشادم خوننا بہ ز دیدگان کشادم

درگریہ ہمی شدم بر کوچ بالشکر شاہ کوچ بر کوچ

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Letter addressed to Tajuddin Zahid, quoted in Life and Works of Amir Khusrau by Dr. A.W. Mirza, p.72

back to a spring tide garden or a thirsty man reaches the Fountain of Life. After seeing his mother and friends he found himself restored to life.²⁰

In Oudh he had witnessed the historic meeting of Bughra Khan, the Governor of Bengal with his son Khaiqubad, the Sultan of Delhi. The latter had great faith in the poetic acumen of Khusrau so he asked to commemorate it in verse. Khusrau found this task quite according to his taste. He was by this time author of two *diwans*, Tuhfat-us-Sighar and Wasat-ul-Hayat, which had established his reputation of being a high class writer of erotic and eloquent verses in *ghazals* and *qasidas*. He had composed some *masnavis* also, but he had yet to write a long *masnavi* to give evidence of his still greater command in poetic art. He was a great admirer of Nizami Ganjavi's *masnavis*, but so long he felt unnerved in writing anything after his model. When Sultan Kaiqubad asked him to undertake the task of versifying his historic meeting with his father in Oudh, he felt an urge to accumulate all his poetic talents and then composed Qiranu's-Sadain after the model of Nizami's Makhzan-ul-Asrar. It was finished in six months in 1289 A.D. and consists of 3,944 verses.

Khusrau was himself an eye-witness to the meeting of the father and the son, so according to Prof. Go well, he was able to throw himself into the scene and we have thus an interesting mixture of epic and lyric elements, each portion of the action being represented from objective and subjective point of view.²¹

Besides this, we have in it an invaluable treasure of Khusrau's unlimited amount of admiration and adoration for everything which was in his beloved city, Delhi. We learn from him that the reputation of the faith and justice of Delhi had spread far and wide and so it was a garden of Eden,²² in its qualities and characteristics it was an orchard of paradise.²³ We find his exaggerated admiration for Delhi in verses in which he did not hesitate to write that after hearing about this garden, even Meccan begins to take round of Delhi; Medina gets deaf by listening to its reputation.²⁴ Due to its characteristics it has become the qubbat-ul-Islam.²⁵

²⁰ Qiranu's-Sadain, p. 222, Aligarh edition Ghurratu'l-Kamal Dibacha.

²¹ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of 1860, quoted in History of India by Sir H.Elliot, Vol. III, p. 524

²² Qiranu's-Sadain p.25

حضرت دہلی کنف دین و داد

جنت عدن است کہ آباد باد

²³ Ibid, p.29

است جو ذات ارم اندر صفات

حرسہا اللہ عن المحادثات

²⁴ Ibid, p.29

He felt proud to note that the houses of the people of Delhi were well kept and well furnished and they looked like the corners of paradise.²⁶ The residents of the houses spent ample amount of money in decorating and adorning them. They themselves were well-mannered like angels, well-tempered and warm-hearted like the residents of paradise;²⁷ they were matchless in industry, knowledge, literature, music and in the art of manufacturing bows and arrows.²⁸

Khusrau loved everything Indian. He was ecstatic in his praise of the simple-hearted and sweet faced beauties of Delhi. He liked the climate of Delhi and India also, so he wrote that if any one tasted once the water of this country, he would never like to drink the water of Khurasan.²⁹ He felt delighted to find that in Delhi flowers were seen blooming in every part of the year and its land looked full of silver and gold due to them; here green verdure was as good as of paradise;³⁰ here fruits of India and Khurasan were always found in abundance some fruits which were available here were not to be had in Khurasan.³¹ He liked the melons of Delhi

شہر نبی را بسر او قسم ²⁵ Ibid, p.29	مکہ شود طایف ہندوستان شہر خدا گشتہ ز صیتش اصم	گر شنود قصہ ادین بوستان
قبہ اسلام شدہ درجہاں ²⁶ Ibid, p.29	بستہ او قبہ ہفت آسمان	
	گشتہ بہ صنعت زر بے صرفہ صرف	گوشہ ہر خانہ بہشتیے شگرف
²⁷ Qiranu's-Sadain p.33 ²⁸ Ibid, p.33-34	خوش دل و خوش خومی چو اہل بہشتہ	مردم او جملہ فرشتہ سرشت
²⁹ 29. Ibid, p.36 کردند مرا خراب و سرست	زین ہندوگان شوخ و سادہ این مغ بچگان تاک زادہ	خورشید پرست شد مسلمان
³⁰ Ibid, p.34 گشت دل از آب خراسانش سرد ہر کہ درین ملک دے آب خورد		
³¹ Ibid, p. 34	زانچہ نہ خوردہ بخراسان کسے	میوہ زبندو زخراسان بسے

very much, so he said that this was preferable to all fruits of paradise and this was as sweet as sugar.³²

The poet's pen got still livelier when he described the architectural grandeur of the city. He observed that the Muslims of Delhi considered its Jama Masjid, having nine domes, as good as Ka'ba. According to him, Qutub Minar, the upper storey of which was made of gold, served as a stair to reach the seventh sky and it acted also as a pillar to sustain the domes of the sky.³³ His graphic description of Shamsi Haud, build by Sultan Shams al-Din-Iltutmish is worthy of being studied for getting its accurate structural information. We know from him that it flowed between two hillocks; its water was so clean and transparent that the particles of sand sparkled even in the night from its lowest depth; its water did not go deep because of its stony ground; its waves struck a hillock; its sweet water was drunk in every house. Many canals had been dug out from the river Jamuna up to this reservoir. In the midst of it there was a platform, on which was constructed a building. The fowls and fishes of the reservoir presented a beautiful spectacle. Here people gathered together to enjoy its pleasant sight.³⁴ Khusrau described this reservoir in his *Khazain-ul-Futuh* also, in which he wrote that the building in the centre was like bubble on the surface of the sea and the dome together with the tank looked like an egg of the ostrich half in water and half out of it.³⁵

Khusrau has not failed to give a vivid picture of the pomp and grandeur of royal palaces of Delhi in which we can relish his poetic fancy also. The new palace of Kilokhari was built by Sultan Kaiqubad on the western bank of Jamuna at the distance of three miles from old Delhi. Khusrau called this palace a paradise on the door of which hung the branch of Tuba (a tree in paradise). According to him it was so high that its height served as a cloud for the sun; its shadows fell on the river; the lower portion of the palace was built of bricks; it had the plaster of lime which looked transparent like glass; the upper part was built of while stone; on one side, it had the river, the running water of which looked like the mirror of a new bride; on the other side there was a garden, the branches of which hung inside the palace.³⁶

³² Ibid, p.109

³³ Ibid, p.30,31

³⁴ *Qiranu's-Sadain*, p. 32-33

³⁵ *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, Persian text, p.34, English translation by Prof. M.Habib, p.20

³⁶ *Qiranu's-Sadain*, pp.54-56

Sultan Kaiqubad celebrated the festival of Nauroz (New Year's day) inside this palace. In portraying the revelry of this celebration, Khusrau entertains us with his poetic imageries, which are invested at the same time with a charm of singular mode of versified expression. His delineation was that the palace was richly decorated on the occasion. Its parapets were made attractive with the curtains of velvet and brocaded silk hanging on the nine arches of the palace. The venue of the celebration was a majestic pavilion, having five parasols, four of which were black, white, red and green and the fifth one was loaded with flowers. The black parasol had an engraved artistry of extraordinary quality along with hanging pearls which looked like showers of rain pouring forth from dark clouds. The white parasol was circular, the roofs, the doors and pillars of which were embedded with gold. It was adorned with dazzling gems. The red parasol besides having various species of pearls was decorated with quartz. The green parasol was covered with green velvet over crown with a green shadowy tree laden with fruits. The parasol of flowers was bedecked with myriads of blossoms and flowers. On the left and right sides of the court red and black flags moved in the air. On either side there stood one thousand caparisoned horses. The horses on the right side wore black apparels, while the horses on the left side had red apparels on them. Behind them were arrayed the long rows of elephants which looked like a fort of iron. In the midst of the court there was built an artificial garden of gold and jewels. The fruits of these artificial branches appeared as if they were just to drop. The birds were shown sitting on them in such a way as if they were just to fly. Many trees were made of wax. Charming vases of flowers were also placed here and there. They looked like a garden in which besides green grasses, tulips, roses and willows were shown blooming. The entire court was decorated with embroidered cloths also. Curtains of velvet and silken cloths, having species of quartz of beautiful violet, purple or blue shade hung on door in such a manner as the stones of the wall also seemed to be transformed into jewels with the glitter and lustre of quartz. The floor also was covered with pearls and gold. When the King sat on the throne, his crown shed its own lustre. His long coat was interwoven with high workmanship of gold. The knots of precious gems hung in his crown, long coat and belt in such a way as the lustre of belt spread to his waist. The glitter of his long coat overtook his neck and the glamour of his crown overshadowed his head. As soon as the King arrived there to celebrate the festival, the royal body-guards moved here and there and the chamberlain got the rows in order. Swordsmen were ordered to stand on right and left side. The atmosphere of the court was scented with Chinese musk.³⁷

³⁷ Qiranu's-Sadain, pp.73-83

Khusrau described the meeting of Sultan Kaiqubad with his father Bughra Khan in Oudh with the same ardor of his poetic-passion. He gave elaborate details of the gifts which were exchanged from both sides. They included aloe, cloves, musk, ambergris, camphor, sandal, gold, jewels, pearls, quartz, horses, camels, swords, daggers, bows, slaves brought from Tartar and Khutan, brocaded and silken costumes etc. Khusrau was greatly surprised by seeing some specimens of the Indian textile, so he appreciated them by writing that they were so fine that body looked transparent of costumes made of such cloths were put on, and some of its varieties could be wrapped in a nail.³⁸

He has given a graphic description of the royal banquet given on this occasion which helps us to know some of the cultural refinements of those days. He informs us that there were more than one thousand kinds of cooked victuals and drinks on the tables. The syrup of the rose was used for change of morsels. Varieties of sweet dished were beyond enumeration. *Nan turnk, tanuri, kak* and *sambosa* were a few varieties among the breads. Numerous kinds of *pilaos* were also served, one of which was prepared with dates and grapes. Roasted meats of goats, rams and deer were in abundance and among the fowls partridges, quails and tihoo were also there.³⁹

Praise for Indian Men of Letters

Khusrau compiled his second collection of verses entitled Ghurratu'l-Kamal in 689 A.H. (1290 A.D.). In its preface, he once more gave expression of his excessive patriotic feelings by trying to claim that the literary luminaries of India, specially of Delhi, were superior to the learned men of the world. In support of this he argued that whenever the citizen of Arabia, Khurasan and Turkey came to India, they spoke their own language and they composed verses in the same tongue. But when an Indian, specially a citizen of Delhi, went anywhere, he could compose verses in the language of that place. Citizen of India, without even visiting Arabia, could compose verses in Arabic, the purity and grace of which excelled an Arab poet. There was a large number of Tajiks and Turks who had received education exclusively in India, but their graceful speeches were worthy of being envied at even by the purists of Khurasan. Khusrau contended that Iran is no doubt the home of Persian language, but so far as its purity was concerned it existed in Transoxania only. He claimed that in India it was as good as it was in Iran. He cast aspersion

³⁸ Qiranu's-Sadain, p.132

گَز تَتَكِي تَن بِنَمَايِد تَمَام جَا مِه بِنَدِي كِه نَدَانَد نَام
بَا ز كَشَايِي ش بِپُوشَد جِهَان مَانَدِه بِه بِپِچِيدِه بِه نَاخِن نِهَان

³⁹ Qiranu's-Sadain, pp.183-85

on the citizen of Khurasan by writing that they did not pronounce words accurately. چه and کجا were pronounced by them as چی and کجو . He felt proud in saying that in India Indians spoke Persian just as they wrote it. He decried the pronunciation of the people of Azerbaijan who while speaking کرده concluded with کن. Similarly he underrated the pronunciation of the people of Siestan who made superfluous addition of سین along with verb, so in speaking کرده and گفته they said and کرده سین, گفته سین, Khusrau boasted of the superiority of India by writing that whenever learned men and purists came here from outside, the Indians laughed at them because they could speak quite like them and write Persian free from all errors and flaws.⁴⁰

Ghurratu'l-Kamal has in its collection a masnavi called Miftahul-Futuh in which Khusrau recorded his admiration of the fortress of Jhain. He was wonderstruck to find that it looked as high as the sky; it was engraved with hard stones; it was a paradise of the Hindus; its engraving were very attractive; art of the famous painter Mani dwindled into insignificance before them; hundreds of statues were seen here, the like of which was very difficult to prepare even from the wax; the plaster of the walls looked transparent like mirrors; if Farhad had dreamt of such a palace, he would have forgotten the sweet memories of Shirin; its plasters were made of scrubbed sandal; its woods were of pure aloe-wood; in its garden there were many temples which had the engraving and artistry of gold and silver.⁴¹

Amir Khusrau's sense of patriotism grew still more exuberant at the time of compiling his masnavi Dewal Rani Khizr Khan in 715 A.H. (1315 A.D.) which describes the love episode of Alauddin Khalji's son and the daughter of Raja Karan, the ruler of Gujarat. The story is purely Indian in nature; here Khusrau deals with a lot of Indian themes and elements, which shows that by this time his patriotic sentiments had grown wider and deeper so it did not remain confined to Delhi only but he had been grasping extraordinary amount of love for everything which was Indian also.

Sanskrit Language Eulogized

While mentioning Sanskrit, he remarked that it was in no way inferior to Persian. It had preference over all other languages except Arabic.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ghurratu'l-Kamal, Dibacha.

⁴¹ Miftahul-Futah, pp. 35-36

⁴² Dewal Rani Khizr Khan, Aligarh edition p.41-42

Persian had borrowed a large number of Arabic words but Arabic has no foreign word. Similarly Sanskrit had not borrowed words from other languages. As regards Sanskrit grammar he was of opinion that it was like the Arabic one.⁴³ 43

He admired an Indian textile fabric, namely Deogiri, by writing that it looked like the sun or the moon or the shadow. He liked much the national fruit of India, the mangoes. He did not feel pleased with those who gave preference to figs over mangoes. He argued that it was just like a blind woman calling Basrah better than Syria.⁴⁴

Admiration for Indian Flowers and Beauties

Khusrau has mentioned all the Indian flowers which were then available. The names of some of these flowers, according to him, were : *Sausan (iris)*, *Saman (Jasmine)*, *Rainan (sweet-basil)*, *gul-i-surkh (red rose)*, *gul-i-kuza*, *gul-i-sufaid (white rose)*, *kiura (screw pine)*, *sipar gham*, *sadburg*, *nastran*, *dauna*, *karan*, *nilofar*, *dhak*, *champa*, *juhi*, *sewti*, *gulab rose*, *baila and mulsari* etc. Khusrau makes us believe that *banaisha*, *yasman* and *nastran* were brought to India from Iran, otherwise all other flowers were purely Indian. He has versified these flowers in a singularly charming way of his poetic expression.⁴⁵ For example about *gul-i-kuza* he observed that in it there is cleanliness of water, but the water itself has begged its freshness from it.⁴⁶ As regards bail he said that it has broad forehead and in one flower of its there are seven flowers.⁴⁷ About *juhi* he wrote that its fragrance is heart-bewitching, so it is a vision for lovers and all hearts.⁴⁸ It is interesting to know from him that the garments of beloveds were perfumed with *kiura*, the fragrance of which remained fresh even after two years and even if the customs got old and torn out the perfume persisted in them.⁴⁹ Khusrau called *champa* the king

<p>⁴³ Ibid, p.41-43 ⁴⁴ Ibid, p.42-43 ⁴⁵ Ibid, p.126-133 ⁴⁶ Ibid, p.129 ⁴⁷ Ibid, p.130 ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ Ibid, p.130</p>	<p>نه لفظ بنديست از پارسی کم که بر جمله ابانها کامرانست</p> <p>لطافت آب ازو در یوزه کرده به یک گل هفت گل برهم نهاده</p> <p>دو ساله خشک و بویش هم چنان تر</p>	<p>غلط کردم گر زدالتش زنی دم بجز تازی که میر بر زبانست</p> <p>به تری آب رادر کوزه کرده ازین سوبیل پیشانی کشاده</p> <p>ایویش حله خوبان معطر</p>
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of flowers, the scent of which, according to him, was like wine laden with musk; it was delicate like the jasmine-bodied beloved and its color was pale like the face of a lover; the oil extracted out of them was more affective for head than musk.⁵⁰ He admired *mulsari* by saying that its leaves were small and delicate but they were liked by all hearts; its flowers decorated the necks of the beloved.⁵¹ He called *dauna* the sweet basil of India,⁵² the smell of which was much likeable.

He liked *karna* much because its smell made houses and lanes fragrant.⁵³ He applauded *sewti* by remarking that a wasp sacrifices its life in love of it, and even when it dies it does not like to be away from it; and all the beautiful ones are in search of it like lovers; it is really a beloved among the beloveds.⁵⁴ He finishes this chorus of praise by observing that Indian flowers are better than all the flowers of the world; the paradise only is likely to have possessed such flowers. If Rome and Syria had such flowers they would have trumpeted out their glory all over the world.

Amir Khusrau believed that like the Indian flowers, Indian beauties were worthy of being given preference to the beauties of Egypt, Rum, Qandhar, Samarqand, Khita, Khutan, Khalakh and other parts of the world. His plausible and fanciful arguments were that the beauties of Yaghma and Khalakh could not compete with Indian beauties, because the former ones had sharp-sightedness and sour visages. The beauties of Khurasan were not doubt attractive because of their

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.130

دریده جامه بویش نه فته	پر آن جامه که ازوے بوگرفته
که بویش مشکبار آمد چوملها ولے رنگش جو روے عاشقان زرد که سراز مشک ترگیرد اثرها به روغن و برگش خرد دہاریک	دگر آن راے چنپہ شاه گلها چو معشوق سمن برناز پرورد

⁵¹ Ibid, p.132

بہر حبیب و بدلها نیک نزدیک شده در گردن خوباں حمایل	بہ ہسیت چیسٹ و برگش خرد و باریک بہ سویش بسکہ و لها گشته فایل
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⁵² Ibid, p.132

ز تر بویش در خود پسداست	دگردونہ کہ آن ریحاں ہندست
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⁵³ Ibid, p.133

معطر گردد ازیک خانہ گوئی نہ عشق بویی او جان دادہ زنبورنہ گشتہ بعد مردن نیز ازو دور	دگر نہ کہ چون زوجست بویی نہ عشق بویی او جان دادہ زنبورنہ گشتہ بعد مردن نیز ازو دور
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⁵⁴ Ibid, p.133

کہ معشوقیت نزد خوبروپان	خوبانش عاشق دار جویان
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red and white color, but they were just like their flowers i.e. they had color but no fragrance. The beauties of Russia and Rum had no humility and submission in them; they were cold and white like a block of ice; the beauties of Tartar had no smile on their lips; the beauties of Khutan lacked salt. The beauties of Smarqand and Bukhara had no sweetness in them. The silvered-bodied beauties did not possess a sagacity and agility. Khusrau found everything in dark and wheat colored beauties of India which he did not perceive in international beauties. This is simply an evidence of the intensity and poignancy of his patriotic feelings.⁵⁵

Indian Marriage Ceremonies

In Deval Rani Khizr Khan, there is a graphic description of Prince Khizar Khan's marriage ceremonies which helps us to know how the Turks were being influenced by the Indian sociological and social elements in their environment. Khusrau felt highly delighted in giving all the details of this marriage. He informed his readers that the preparation of the marriage. He informed his readers that the preparation of the marriage began three months ahead. Palaces and city of Delhi were tastefully decorated. Pavilions were constructed here and there on which brocaded curtains were hung; walls were engraved; silken carpets were spread on special routes; different kinds of drums were beaten; acrobats displayed their tricks on ropes; magicians showed their magic by swallowing a sword and passing a knife through their noses; they transformed themselves at times into fairies and at other times into demons; masterly performance were shown in music by beating *change*, *barbat*, *tambura*, *kadoo* and *teen tal* etc. Dancing girls entertained the audience by giving an exhibition of their superb excellence in dance and music. According to Khusrau, their eye-brows could make the breasts afflicted; their gracefulness robbed off a man's life; when they moved eye-lashes, young men got restless; when they laughed, the soul seemed to depart from body; their mole looked like a pearl; their eye-brows were like bows; their curls appeared like the darkness of the evening; their knots of tresses were like buds and their chins were like apples; coins were sprinkled on spectators through *marjanique*; marriage procession started at the time when astrologers described it auspicious; the bridegroom rode on a horse; he was followed by rows of elephants which had golden litters on their backs; soldiers held naked swords and daggers in their hands as if they were warding off the evil-eyes; quartz and pearls were showered on bridegroom; when he reached the bride's house he was seated on the valuable carpet; the nobles sat on either side according to their ranks; the sermon of nuptial was read in auspicious moments after which pearls were showered on audience and precious gifts were distributed among them; the bridegroom went inside the bride's

⁵⁵ Dewal Rani Khizr Khan, pp.133-134

house after some parts of the night passed-off; he was seated on a bejeweled and brocaded carpet; jewels and pearls were once more showered on him; after this the bride was brought before him to give her glimpses to him.⁵⁶

In Dewal Rani Khizr Khan Khusrau has also described a Hindu devotee worshipping fire. When he was asked why did he worship it and sacrifice his life at its alter, his answer was that the fire enlightened in his heart the hope of union and in perishing into it he earned perennial life. Amir Khusrau advises his readers to have respect for this sublime emotion and high sense of devotion.⁵⁷

Khusrau's overwhelming sense of love for Delhi and India reached its climax when he compiled his masnavi Nuh-Siphir for Qutub-ud-din Mubarak Shah Khalji in 718 A.H. (1318 A.D.). While mentioning Delhi in this, he gave it preference to Baghdad, Egypt, Khita, Khurasan, Tabriz, Tirmiz, Bukhara, and Khwrzim and then in rapturous delight exclaimed that the heavens had ordained that Hindustan be better than all the countries of the earth.⁵⁸

Patriotic Emotions

In singing the sonorous songs of the greatness of India in the third Sipihr of this *masnavi*, he could not help the torrents of his patriotic emotions growing into full spate. He claimed that what India possessed in philosophy, wisdom, knowledge and art were something quite different from what other countries had.⁵⁹ He wrote emphatically that he loved, of course, India very much, simply because it was his birth place, it was his refuge and it was his motherland; the Holy Prophet has said love of motherland is a part of faith.⁶⁰ He then called India a paradise on earth, which he substantiated by arguing that (1) Adam landed here from heaven; (2) It is here that the bird of paradise, i.e., peacock is seen; (3) Even the serpent came here from the garden of the sky; (4) When Adam left India, he was deprived of the blessings of paradise; (5) All the paraphernalia of luxury and merriment including the scents and perfumes could be available here. In Rum and Ray flowers remained blooming for two or three years, but the land of India was

⁵⁶ Dewal Rani Khizr Khan, pp.154-169

⁵⁷ Ibid, p.195-196

⁵⁸ Nih-Siphir, Bombay edition, p.148-149

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Ibid, p.95

از ان جمله ہندوستان برتر آمد ملک گفت ہر چہ از زمین کشور آمد
وانچہ کہ در بند معانیست دگر حکمت و دانایی و علم و ہنر
ہست مرا مولد و ماوی و وطن آنست یکے کین زمین از دور زمین
حب وطن هست ز ایمان بہ یقین دین ز رسول آمدہ کای زمرہ دین

always fragrant with flowers blossoming throughout the year; (6) India was a paradise due to its excessive amenities of life; (7) The Muslims considered this world a prison house but to them India was a paradise.⁶¹

He thought the climate of India better than that of Khurasan and other parts of the world and gave the following ten reasons in proof of it. (1) Its cold did not inflict any harm. (2) The summer of India was better than the winter of Khurasan where people died of cold. (3) In India people did not make provision for much clothes in winter because they were not afraid of its cold. (4) In India flowers and wine were seen in abundance throughout the year. (5) Here flowers always looked attractive. (6) Here flowers give fragrance even when they get day. (7) Here mangoes, plantains, cardamoms, camphor's and cloves were produced. (8) Here fruits of Khurasan were produced but in Khurasan fruits of Indian could not be cultivated. (9) Here plantains and betel-leaves were quite strange. (10) Betel-leaf was not to be found in any other part of the world.⁶² In his Qiranu's-Sadain he admired betel-leaf by writing that it is excellent; it renders the breath agreeable, it strengthens the gum and makes the hungry satisfied and the satisfied hungry.⁶³

The above igneous arguments may not be convincing and look puerile and medieval in approach, but not even modern reader can fail to find in between these lines the sincerity and sublimity of the patriotic feelings of the poet.

Affectionate Feelings for Hindu Learning and Religion

Khusrau also greatly admired the knowledge and learning of the Hindus, during the course of which he pleaded that the concealed wisdom and learned ideas in India were beyond calculation. Greece was famous for its achievement in philosophy, but India also was not devoid of it. Here logic, astronomy and dogmatic theology could be studied easily. Hindus did not of course know jurisprudence but their knowledge in physics, mathematics and astronomy were worthy of consideration.⁶⁴

Some aspects of Hinduism also cast its spell on the mind and heart of Khusrau. His co-religionists were believers in unity of God. So he tried to convince them by proving that the Hindus also believed in oneness of God. They did not follow his religion but most of their beliefs were similar to his religious ideas.

⁶¹ Ibid, p.151-157

⁶² Nuh-Siphir, p. 158-161

⁶³ Qiranu's-Sadain, p.94

⁶⁴ Nuh-Siphir, p. 161-163

They also had the conviction that God is One, He is Eternal, He is the Inventor, He is the Creator, He is the giver of livelihood, He is Omnipotent.⁶⁵

Khusrau did not like to compare Hinduism with Islam but by making comparison with all other religions of the world, he considered it better than all of them, for which he offered the following reasons; the dualists believed that there were two Gods but the Hindus believed in oneness of God. The Christians think that Christ was the son of God but the Hindus did not accept this view. The anthropomorphist believed that God had physique, the Hindus did not subscribe to such a view. The star worshippers believed that there were seven gods but the Hindus were free from such a belief. The likeness similarized God with possibility, but the Hindus were opposed to it. The fire worshippers thought light and darkness as two gods, but the Hindus had no such conception. They worship stones, animals and trees but the spirit of their sincerity in worshipping them is worthy of being respected. They believed that all these things have been created by one Creator. They do not disobey this Creator. They worship them only because their ancestors have been worshipping them.⁶⁶ One of Khusrau's following verses is worthy of being greatly relished :

India's Superiority Over Other Countries

In extolling the greatness of India he had put forth a lot of arguments to prove that it was better than all the countries of the world : (1) Here learning was more widespread than in other parts of the world. (2) A citizen of India could easily learn thy languages of the world, but an inhabitant of other country could not speak Sanskrit. (3) Scholars of other countries came here from time to time to learn knowledge but no Indian tried to go anywhere in quest of learning. (4) Numerical system and specially ciphers are purely the innovations of India. (5) Kalila Dimna was written here. (6) The game of chess was invented here. (7) Indian music enkindled fire in heart. (8) Indian mathematics, Kalila Dimna got widely popular throughout the world. (9) The enviable progress made by Indian music was incomparable. It hypnotized even the wild deer of the desert. (10) It was here that the wizard-poet Khusrau was born".⁶⁷

Indian Languages

In describing the different languages spoken in India, he mentioned Hindi, Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Kubri, Dhor Samundri, Tilangi, Gujri, Mabari, Gori,

⁶⁵ Nuh-Siphir, p. 164

⁶⁶ Nuh-Siphir, p. 164-166

⁶⁷ Ibid, p.166-172

Bengali, Avadhi and Sanskrit along with Persian and Arabic. About Sanskrit he once more tried to make his readers believe that in quality it was lesser than Arabic but it was superior than Persian. It was no less sweet than Persian.⁶⁸

Khusrau seems of have been greatly enamored of Hindi. He was once contemptuously referred to by one of his contemporary poets, 'Ubaid as a poet of Indian origin and his aspiration to equal Nizami Ganjavi in writing a *masnavi* was ridiculed as stew cooked in Nizami's pot and a foolish self-conceit'. Khusrau did not feel ashamed of being and Indian, so he retorted that he was an Indian Turk, could reply in Hindi and had no Egyptian sugar to talk of Arabic.⁶⁹

In another verse he says "I am the parquet of India, question me in Hindi that I may talk sweetly."⁷⁰ In order to show his proficiency in this language he composed a large number of Hindi couplets, quibbles, enigmas, punning verses, *ghazals* with mixed vocabularies of Hindi and Persian, *dohas* and songs which are still sung in sonorous voices by womenfolk. There is no doubt that a large number of Hindi verses have been wrongly ascribed to Khusrau. Yet his contribution to Hindi poetry cannot be ignored even by a modern writer of history of Hindi literature. It was he who made popular the use of Persian rhymes in Hindi poetry and showed the way for a synthesis of Persian and Hindi. Again, it was he who strove to liberate Hindi from Prakrit and Apbhraṅsa influence and used for the first time a simple and popular form of Hindi which led ultimately to the growth of a new language called Urdu.

Indian Faunas and Magicians

Khusraus had great attachment for Indian faunas also. In admiring some of the species he remarked that; (1) Indian parrots could speak like men. (2) Shark i.e., magpie of India was not to be found in Iran and Arabia. It also could speck like a man. (3) Indian crows could betoken the future events. (4) Indian sparrows were picturesque in their movements, flights and voices. (5) There were several kinds of other animals also which had strange features. (6) Indian peacocks looked as attractive and beautiful as a bride. (7) Peacocks do not pair in ordinary manner but the she-peacock swallows the fluid from the eyes of he-peacocks, after which she lays eggs. (8) Indian cranes could perform strange tricks after receiving training etc. Khusrau referred to five other animals also. (a) He described an

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.178-181

⁶⁹

ترک ہندوستان نیم من ہندوی گویم جواب شکر مصری ندارم کز عرب گویم سخن

⁷⁰

زمن ہندوی پرس نا نغزگویم چومن طوطی ہندم راست پرسی

animal which looked like an antelope but howled like a jackal. (b) Here horses could trot to music. (c) Here a goat could stand on a lean wood by placing all its four hoofs on it, after which it could perform balancing feats. (d) Here monkeys were so wise that they could be called in imperfect man. (e) Here elephants are no doubt four-legged animals, but they could act like men. Khusrau wrote that he had himself learnt the lore of birds and beasts so well that he could understand their speech and he could experience how gods tell things about men through them.⁷¹

Khusrau felt highly pleased in describing the art of Indian magician. He believed that in India a man dying of snake poison could be restored to life; the span of a man's life could be extended; the soul of a man could be transferred to the body of another man; the blood of a man could be transfused to another man's body; a yogi could live for two hundred years by practicing the exercise of slow breathing, and rain could be stopped falling from the clouds etc.⁷²

Khusrau was very much impressed by the sense of devotion which an Indian had for his master and an Indian woman had for her husband.

According to him a Hindu could sacrifice his life for the idol he worshipped and for the master he served. A Hindu wife immolated herself on the pyre of her husband. Khusrau liked very much these devotions, so he wrote that if his religion permitted this, many of his co-religionists would have died eagerly in that manner.⁷³

Different Sections of Indian Society

In his *masnavi* Nuh-Siphir he felt an urge to admonish the rulers of his motherland whom he wished to be ideal ones. While giving several pieces of advice to the ruler he wrote that he must obey the commandments of God; he must strictly adhere to his own views and must faithfully act upon what he says; he must perform everything with full firmness and determination; he must not be negligent in his duties; he must be very just, so that oppression and injustice might have no room in his kingdom; he must take care to keep high and low contended, so that the rich and the poor may remain equally happy.⁷⁴

Khusrau wanted different sections of Indian society to be well governed in their conduct. He gave some pieces of advice to the nobles of his days also : they

⁷¹ Nuh-Siphir, p. 181-191

⁷² Nuh-Siphir, p. 181-191

⁷³ Ibid, p.194-195

⁷⁴ Ibid, p.191-194

must first remain faithful to God and then to their royal master; they could be loyal to their worldly master only when they were true to God.

His advice to the soldiers was : they must be religious minded; they must not fight a battle for the sake of either ravaging tracts of land or earning fame; they must not destroy the crops of the farmers; they must not let their horses eat what the cultivators produce by the sweat of hard labor. Khusrau had laid code of conduct for Indian youth also : they must speak the truth; they must be well-tempered and well-wishers for all; their nobleness of character lies in simply madness; they must make honesty as their motto of life, which will help to make them religious minded; embezzlement brings forth miseries; envy and miserliness are great evils.⁷⁵

City of Devagiri Admired

Khusrau did not get tired of paying glowing tributes to India till the last days of his life. His last collection of verses is his *Nihayatul-Kamal*. In one of his *qasida* he called Devagiri a wonderful and auspicious city and then wrote that by hearing the fame of Devagiri Egypt had dipped its garments into river Nile and Baghdad had rent itself asunder into two pieces and its breezes came out of paradise, the perfume of which made all its flowers fragrant. In admiring the fruits of Devagiri he observed that the plantains of this place looked curved like the new moon and they were pleasant like the festival of Id; the mangoes of this place were highly delicious, they were the golden shells of milk and honey and when they were sucked they made the mouth sugar candy water. He admired the textile fabrics of this place by writing that if they were compared with the skin of the moon removed by executioner star, it might excel in its fineness with the latter; one hundred yards of it could pass through the eye of a needle and yet a point of a steel needle could pierce through it without difficulty; it was so transparent and light that it looked as if one was wearing no dress at all but had only smeared body with pure water.⁷⁶ He applauded the music of this place by making use of the same ardor of his poetic passion, so he remarked that when change was played here its sweetness made even Venus lament and the melodies arising out of this city could make the dead ones alive.⁷⁷

Passionate Love for Indian Music

Khusrau had a great admiration for Indian music also, and exultingly claimed that no music of any other country could surpass it. With his passionate

⁷⁵ Nuh-Siphir, p.258-265

⁷⁶ *Nihayatul-Kamal*, Qaisarya Press edition, p.50-52

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 52

love for India, he was not expected to ignore the thrill and magic of Indian music for which he felt an instinctive love. While his co-religionists were interested in sound and sensation of Persian music, he tried to break the barrier between the two schools by bringing them closer. By the amazing vitality of his genius he introduced a new tone in Indian music by interlinking some of its *purbi*, *gauri*, *kangli* and a Persian rag into *sazgari* and then he intermixed *khatrag* and *shahnaz* into *zilaf*. His *ushshaq* is a mixture of *sarang*, *basant*, *nawa* and again his *muwafiq* is a combination of *turi*, *malwa*, *dugah* and *hussaini*.⁷⁸ Abdul Hameed Lahori in his *Badshah Namah* writes that prior to Khusrau, in India only *geet*, *chhand*, *dhurpad* and *astit* were sung, but Khusrau made many innovations. They are (1) *qaul*, in which Persian and Arabic verses were sung on one to four *tals*. (2) In another innovation Persian verses were sung along with *tarana* on one *tal*. It was probably *qalbana*. (3) In *tarana* there was no verse, but it was sung on one *tal*. (4) *Khiyal* is also Khusrau's innovations.⁷⁹ Some scholars of the art of the music are of opinion that *Khiyal* was innovated by Hussain Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur but Dr. Suniti Mutatkar, formerly Director of Indian music, All India Radio, contends that *Khiyal* emerged from the *chalanat bols* of *qawwali* and as *qawwali* is Amir Khusrau's innovation, so the origin of *Khiyal* also must be attributed to him. A very interesting story is narrated about Khusrau's ingenious adaptability of catching a new rag and mixing it with Persian one. Naik Gopal was a very famous musician in his time. He hailed from the south but came to Delhi and enjoyed Ala al-Din Khalji's patronage. He was highly respected by his two thousand disciples who did not let him walk on ground, so they carried him from one place to another in a palanquin. He once gave demonstration of his art in the royal court. Khusrau listened to it by hiding himself behind the royal throne. He picked up Gopal Naik's technique and when he sang the Iranian rag *qual* in Gopal Naik's style, the latter got highly surprised and said that it was simply a plagiarism, though he himself could not help repudiating it.⁸⁰ Most of the songs sung by women in marriage ceremonies, along with *bahar rag*, *rang*, *sarang*, *rag sarang*, *holi khamach*, and *basant* are ascribed to Khusrau and are still sung in different parts of India. It is popularly believed that *sitar*, *dholak* of *qawwali* and *qawwali* itself were innovated by him.⁸¹ In the introduction of Ghurratu'l-Kamal, he writes that he could have

⁷⁸ Rag Darpan by Faqirullah Ms preserved in Shibli Academy Library, Azamgarh.

⁷⁹ *Badshah Namah*, Vol.II p. 5-6.

⁸⁰ *Mirat-ul-Khiyal*, by Sher Khan Lodhi, p.442-443, Rag Darpan Ms.

⁸¹ . For further details vide my book *Hindustan Ke Musalmanon Ke Abad Ke Tamadduni Jalway*, p. 526-531.

written three volumes on music but he did not do so. He learnt the art of music to enkindle in his heart the fire of the love for God, but he experienced it in the pious assembly of Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya, so he did not devote his time in writing on music. There is however a chapter on music in his Ijaz-i-Khusravi, which only the expert of this art can fairly understand and grasp it (Vol. I. P. 275-290).

Khusrau's affectionate response to the Indian environment not only delights the fancy by its general brilliancy and spirit, but moves all the tender and nobler feelings with a deep and powerful imprint. His abundance of appreciation of everything which was Indian may obviously look as simply an overwrought effusion of poetic ardor. He however deserves our admiration not only for his remarkable gift of touching nothing that he could not adorn, but also an impressive intellectual force and effective example for opening a vista of the catholicity of patriotic feelings and nobility of national sentiments. He was a devout follower of Islam. His devotion to his religion is still unchallengeable. He was nevertheless a prince patriot with an undiminished glory to catch and reflect various aspects of Indian life. His life is an inspiring message for all of us that the rigor and orthodoxy of religion, if followed and practiced in right earnest, can be no barrier to the cultivation and absorption of spirit of love and adoration for the country of our birth as well as mutual toleration and respect for the brighter aspects of the culture and religion of our fellow countrymen.