

**Amir Khosrow, the Father of Indo-Persian Poetry
in the Indian Subcontinent
(A Comparative Study with Rudaki)**

DISSERTATION

**Submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the award of the Degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By:

Nahid Morshedlou

Under the Supervision of

Dr. Syed Akhtar Husain



**Center for Persian and Central Asian Studies
School of Languages, Literature and Cultural Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067**

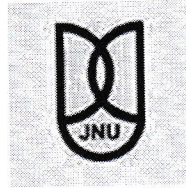
2016

Dedicated to:

My father to whom I owe everything

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi-110067



Center for Persian & Central Asian Studies
School of Languages, Literature & Cultural Studies

30th December 2016

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled "Amir Khosrow the Father of Indo-Persian Poetry in the Indian Subcontinent: A comparative study with Rudaki" submitted by me for the award of the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY to Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University/Institution.

NAHID MORSHEDLOU

(Research Scholar)

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Dr. Syed Akhtar Husain
Assistant Professor
Centre of Persian &
Central Asian Studies
SLL&CS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi- 110067



Prof. Ainul Hasan

(Chairperson)

Chairperson
Centre for Persian & Central Asian Studies
SLL & CS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067



Contents

Introduction

An overview of the study

- Early New Persian
- First Persian poetry theory
- The Samanids
- Abu Abdollah Jafar ibn Moḥammad Rudaki
- Persian language and literature in the Indian Subcontinent
- Amir Khosrow of Delhi

The purpose of the study

Review on literature

Sources

The Scope of the study

Chapter 1: Persian Language and Literature in Indian Subcontinent

The Early Years of Persian in Indian subcontinent

Ghaznavids in Indian subcontinent

Ghorids in Indian subcontinent

Delhi Sultanate

- **Slave (Mamluk) Dynasty**
- Qutbuddin Aibak
- Nasiruddin Qabacha
- Shamsuddin Iltutmish
- Ghiyasuddin Balban
- **Khilji Dynasty**
- Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji
- Alauddin Khilji
- **Tughlaq Dynasty**
- Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq
- Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq

Chapter 2: Persian Poetry before Amir Khosrow in Indian Subcontinent

Ghaznavids poetry

- Mohammad ibn Osman Otbi Kateb
- Abu Abdullah Ruzbeh Lahori Nokti
- Masud Razi
- Abul-Faraj Runi
- Khajeh Salman Lahori
- Masud Sad-i Salman
- Ata ibn Yaqub Kateb Lahori
- Abu Roshd Rashid Lahori Mohtaaj
- Khajeh Mohammad Rashid Lahori
- Sadat ibn Masud Sad-i Salman
- Sheikh Hamiduddin Hakem Lahori
- Abu Jafar Mohamad ibn Ishaq Lahori
- Jamaluddin ibn Yusef Lahori
- Jamaluddin Abu Bakr ibn Mosaed Khosravi
- Ziauddin Abdur Rafe Abol Fotoh Heravi
- Nasrullah ibn Abdol Hamid Lahori

Poetry during the Ghorids

- Allauddin Ghori
- Fakhruddin Mobarak shah Marvrudi
- Safiuddin Mahmud
- Hamiduddin Masud ibn Sad Shali Kobi
- Kamaluddin Hasani Hajeb
- Zahiruddin Tajol Kottab Sarakhsi
- Tajuddin Tamran Shah

Persian Poetry during the Delhi Sultanate

- Bahauddin Ushi
- Ali ibn Hamid Kofi
- Fazli Multani
- Ziauddin Sanjari
- Mohammad Aufi
- Minhaj Siraj
- Moayyed Jajarmi
- Fakhre Modabber
- Amir Ruhani
- Shahabuddin Mehmareh
- Amid Sonaam Loviki

- Shamsuddin Ardakani
- Badr-i Chachi

Chapter 3: Amir Khosrow the Father of Persian Poetry in Indian Subcontinent

Amir Khosrow: A Biographical Sketch

- Story of his birth
- Similar story about Molana Jalaluddin Mohamad Balkhi
- Imadul Mulk
- The first step in the field of poetry
- Khaje Ezuddin and his examination

Amir Khosrow as a courtier

- Malik Chahju
- Bughra Khan
- Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban
- Prince Muhammad Khan
- Muizzuddin Kaiqubad
- Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji
- Alauddin Khilji
- Qutb ud din Mubarak Shah Khilji
- Ghiyasuddin Tughluq
- Sultan Mohammad Tuqlugh

Amir Khosrow's works

- Tuhfatus Sighar
- Vasat-ul Hayat
- Qiran-us Sa'dain
- Miftah-oI Fotuh:
- Ghurrat-ul Kamal
- Khamsa
- Khazaen- ul Futuh
- Khizr Khan wa Deval Rani
- Baqiya Naqiya
- Noh Sepehr
- Tughlaq Nama
- Afzal-ul-Fawaid, Ijaz-e-Khusravi
- Jawahir-e Khusrovi
- Nihayat-ul Kamal

Amir Khosrow and music

Amir Khosrow's contribution to Indo-Persian literature

- Poetic meters in Amir Khosrow's works

- Mufta' ilun/Mafā' ilun/Mufta' ilun/Mafā' ilun
- Mufta' ilun fā' ilun Mufta' ilun fā' ilun
- Mozare
- Hazaj
- Ramal
- Mojtas
- Rajaz
- Saree
- Monsareh
- Motaqareb
- Khafeef
- Baseet
- Kamel

Amir Khosrow through the lens of authorities

- Shaikh Abdul-Haq Muhaddis Dahlavi:
- Abdul Rahman Jami
- Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi
- According to Ziauddin Barani
- Shibli Nomani
- Ghalib of Delhi
- Iqbal of Lahore

Amir Khosrow the Father of Persian Poetry in Indian Subcontinent

Amir Khosrow was the first poet who is famous for plurality of poems (*Kesrat-i Asha'ar*).

Amir Khosrow was the first who tried his hands in all forms of poetry.

- Amir Khosrow and lyric:
- Amir Khosrow and ode:

- Amir Khosrow and quatrain:
- Amir Khosrow and epic/ Masnavi

The trend which Amir Khosrow set in Persian poetry:

- Nezami Ganjavi
- Amir Khosrow of Delhi
- Khwaju Kermani
- 'Imad Faqih Kirmani
- Amir Hoseini Heravi
- Darvish Ashraf Maraghehei
- Katebi Torshizi
- Shah Daei Shirazi
- Abdur Rahman Jami
- Maktabi Shirazi
- 'Abd ul Allah Hatefi Kharjerdi
- Zamiri Esfahani
- Urfi Shirazi
- Sheykh Yaqoub Sarfi
- Faizi of Deccan
- Mohammad Nargesi
- Mir Mohammad Esmaeil Khan Abjadi
- Mulla Ashraf: He
- Binesh Kashmiri
- Mulla Bahauddin Baha
- Mirza Mohammad Sadeq Nami Isfahani
- Amir 'Ali-Shir Nava'i
- Zulali Khansari

Amir Khosrow and Macaronic

Chapter 4: Amir Khosrow and Rudaki

Rudaki: Pioneer of Early Persian poetry in Iran

Amir Khosrow: A founder of a new trend in Persian poetry in India

Amir Khosrow and Rudaki

Amir Khosrow and Rudaki through the lens of authorities:

- Unsuri
- Nizami 'Aruzi
- Rashidi Samarqandi:
- Amir Khosrow of Delhi
- Hafez

- Shaikh Abdul-Haque Muhaddith Dehlawi
- Jami in Baharistan
- Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi
- Shibli Nom'mani
- Ghalib of Delhi
- Iqbal of Lahore

Rudaki's role in promoting Persian poetry

- Forms and Meters

Similarities between Amir Khosrow and Rudaki

- They both were originally from Samarqand
- Both were court poets
- Amir Khosrow, Rudaki and orders
- Amir Khosrow, Rudaki and their poetic styles
- Plurality of poems (Kasrat-e Asha'ar)
- Amir Khosrow, Rudaki and their poetic forms
- Lyrics, form and theme
- Similarity between lyrics of Rudaki and Amir Khosrow
- Philosophical thoughts
- Epic
- Amir Khosrow and Rudaki as a musician

Poetic meters used by both Rudaki and Amir Khosrow

- Ramal
- Khafif
- Motaqarib
- Rajaz
- Hazaj
- Mojtas
- Sare
- Monsareh
- Mozare

Some notes about most popular meters used by Rudaki and Amir Khosrow

Conclusion

Amir Khosrow, Rudaki of India

Acknowledgements

Many scholars, friends and my family members have supported me in my academic endeavors. I deem it necessary to acknowledge my debt which I owe to them. First I owe a sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Syed Akhtar Husain for guiding me in my academic and research pursuit from the beginning to the end. I am equally beholden to all professors and friends who helped me to prepare the present work. I am grateful to Dr. Mahood Alam, Mr. Nadeem Akhatr, Mr. Mohammad Kazim and Ms. Shafaq Matloob for helping me to edit my work. I deeply believe in without their co-operation this research would have been a distant reality. I would like to thank all the faculty and staff of the Centre of Persian and Central Asian Studieis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for their support and cooperation. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my debt and gratitude which I owe to my parents especially my father and my brothers Kayvan and Mehdi for their support and good wishes for me to carry out this research work in India.

New Delhi- India

The 30th of December 2016

Introduction

An overview of the study

Iran was conquered by the Arabs in 634_{A.D} and Arabic language which was a sign of knowledge for Iranian scholars, was used as the language of science and learning by them. Later Iranian scholars outshone the Arabs in developing Arabic language and gradually they forgot their ancient languages and used Arabic for formal speech and writing books. Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi attested to the Arab domination over Iran in these words:

« چون ملک اکاسره عجم به دست عرب افتاد و آن قوم مبارک بدین اسلام و ظاهر کردن شریعت می کوشیدند و راه و رسم عجم را می پوشیده اند می شاید که منع شعر نیز کرده باشند و یا از جهت فترات شعر مجهول شده باشد و در زمان بنی امیه و خلفای بنی عباس خود حکام این دیار عرب بوده اند و شعر و انشاء و امثله به زبان عرب بوده.»¹

During the early centuries of Islam in Iran, a lot of movements formed against Arabs and their successors such as campaign of Babak Khoramdin, movement of Maziyar Ibn Gharan, Afshin Kheizar, etc. although none of these movements could reach to their goals but the rule of caliphs became weak and vulnerable in Iran. In addition of them, the non-Muslims who had accepted Jaziyah (the money given to the state by non-Muslims for the protection of their lives and properties) tried to keep their religion, language and culture in vogue. They never forgot the past glories of Iran and tried to keep alive their ancient civilization. Later, Taherids established semi- independent government and Saffarids

¹ . Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, *Tazkirat ul- Sho'arā*, Tashih: Mohammad Abbaasi, Tehran, Ketab Frushi Barani, 1337, p.26

instituted the first independent government in Iran after Islam. They could able to achieve partial victories but in the field of language and literature, only Taherids preferred to obey the orders of the Caliph of Islam and used only Arabic. The plight of Persian is clearly described by Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi below:

« امیر عبدالله بن ظاهر که به روزگار خلفای عباسی امیر خراسان بود حکم کرد که در قلمرو من هر جا که از تصانیف عجم و مغان کتابی باشد جمله را بسوزانند ، ازین جهت تا روزگار آل سامان اشعار عجم را ندیده اند و اگر احیانا نیز شعر گفته باشند مدون نکرده اند.»^۲

Early New Persian: in the early Islamic period of Iranian history local languages were used for daily conversations. Farsi was one of them. Farsi or Early New Persian (ENP)³ was spoken language of south east of Iran, Sistan. After the Arab conquest of Iran, ENP was brought to the east of Iran and other places of the Great Iran by the armies, merchants and others. Gradually ENP used as the language of communication and it was more effective for the spread of Islam among the people of these areas than Arabic. It replaced the local languages such as Soghdi, Kharazmi and other Persian dialects; and finally it became the language of literature and culture in the Great Iran.

First Persian poetry theory: In the field of poetry, during two centuries of Islamic period in Iran, scholars did not find any poetry in Persian in their surveys. There is some fragmentary information available about the earliest poets in Persian.⁴ There was poetry before Islam in Iran but it was different from the

² . Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit., p.30

³ . <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persian-language-1-early-new-persian>

⁴ . Shafi'i-Kadkani, Moḥammad-Reżā, *Persian Literature from the Time of Jāmi to the Present Day*. 2. *The Safavid Period*, in *History of Persian Literature from the Beginning of the Islamic Period to the Present Day*, ed. G. Morrison, Leiden and Cologne, 1981, p.15

current poetry⁵. According to a well-known theory⁶, the first Persian poet was Bahram Gūr. This has been established by Muhammad Afī and Dr. Zabihollah Safa:

« اول کسی که شعر پارسی گفت بهرام گور بود . در آن وقت که از ملک مر ویرا
انزعاجی افتاد از راه ضرورت به بادیه رفت و نشو و نماء او در میان اعراب اتفاق
افتاد... او را شعر تازیست بغایت بلیغ ... و وقتی آن پادشاه در مقام نشاط و موقف
انبساط این چند کلمه موزون بلفظ راند :

منم آن شیر گله منم آن پیل یله نام من بهرام گور کنیتم بوجبله

پس اول کسی که سخن پارسی را منظوم گفت او بود. »^۷

According to *Tarikh-i Sistan*, there is another story about the first Persian poet. The author narrated when Ya'qub ibn Layth-e Saffari attained victory against the Arab caliph, one of Iranian poets, Mohammad Ibn Wasif began to compose the first Persian poetry:

« پس شعرا او را شعر گفتندی بتازی... چون شعر برخواندند او عالم نبود و
درنیافت . محمد بن وصیف حاضر بود و دبیر رسایل او بود و ادب نیکو دانست و بدان
روزگار نامه پارسی نبود . پس یعقوب گفت چیزی که من اندر نیامم چرا باید گفت؟
محمد وصیف پس شعر پارسی گفتن گرفت و اول شعر پارسی اندر عجم او گفت و پیش
از او کسی نگفته بود. »^۸

Mohammad Ibn Vasif has composed more verses in Persian than one:

کار قضا بود و ترا عیب نیست	کوشش بنده سبب از بخشش است
بنده درمانده بیچاره کیست	بود و نبود از صفت ایزدست
کار جهان اول و آخر یکیست	اول مخلوق چه باشد زوال

⁵ . Sarhang Khwāja 'Abd-al-Rašid, *Tazkira-ye šo'ara-ye Punjāb*, Karachi, 1967, p.8

⁶ . Afī. Mohammad, *Tazkira-ye Lobabol Albab*, Tashih-e Edward Brown, Leiden, 1906, vol.1, p. 19-20

⁷ Safa. Zabihollah, *Tarikh-e Adabiyat dar Iran*, Tehran, Ferdows, 1371, Vol.1, pp. 169-170

⁸ . *Tarikh-i Sistan*, Tashih-e Mohammad Taqi Bahar, Tehran, Moein, 1381, p. 209

In *Tazkiratul- Sho'arā*, there is a story about the first quatrain in Persian poetry which has composed by Ibn Ya'qub Ibn Layth-e Saffari:

« حکایت کنند که یعقوب بن لیث صفار ، که در دیار عجم اول کسی که برخلفای بنی عباس خروج کرد او بود ، پسری داشت کوچک و او را بغایت دوست می داشت روز عید آن کودک با کودکان دیگر جوز می انداخت ، امیر به سر کوی رسید و به تماشای فرزند ساعتی بایستاد . فرزندش جوز بینداخت و هفت جوز به گو افتاد و یکی بیرون جست . امیرزاده ناامید شد پس از لمحہ ای آن جوز نیز بر سبیل رجع القهقری به جانب گو غلطان شد ، امیرزاده مسرور گشت و از غایت ابتهاج بر زبانش گذشت ... غلطان غلطان همی رود تا لب گو ... امیریعقوب را این کلام به مذاق خوش آمد ، ندما و وزرا را حاضر گردانید و گفت که این شعر خوب هست و این از جنس شعرست ، و ابودلف عجلی و ابن الکعب باتفاق به تحقیق و تقطیع مشغول شدند این مصراع را نوعی از هزج یافتند ، مصراع دیگر به تقطیع موافق آن بدین مصراع افزودند و یک بیت دیگر موافق آن ضم کردند و دوبیتی نام کردند و چندگاهی دوبیتی می گفتند تا آن که فضلا لفظ دوبیتی نیکو ندیدند گفتند که این چهارمصراع است رباعی نیز می شاید گفتن و چندگاه اهالی فضایل برباعی مشغول بودند و خوش خوش باصناف سخنوری مشغول شدند ، گل بود به سبزه نیز آراسته شد»¹⁰

The Samanids: The Samanid period was the most brilliant phase of Iranian civilization. The Samanids were Iranian rulers who ruled from 819_{A.D} to 999_{A.D}. Four brothers were rulers of the Samanids dynasty. The Samanids promoted the arts, giving rise to the advancement of science and literature, and thus attracted scholars such as Rudaki, Ferdowsi, and Avicenna, etc¹¹.

« امیر وفی ابوالفوارس نصر بن احمد بن اسماعیل سامانی پادشاهی عادل هنرمند و هنرپرور بوده ، ماوراءالنهر و خراسان را مستخلص ساخت و سی سال بعدل و داد

⁹ .Safa. Zabihollah, op.cit., p. 168

¹⁰ .Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit., P.36

¹¹ . https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samanid_Empire

بنشر ایادی و قهر اعدای روزگار گذرانید و آخر بدست غلامان خود بسعدت شهادت
استسعاد یافت در شهور سنه احدی و ثلاثین و ثلاثمانه.»^{۱۲}

The Samanid period was the most important period in the history of Persian literature and language which was inauguration by Rudaki and concluded by Ferdowsi:

ای زبان پارسی افسون‌گری هرچه گویم از تو، زان، افزون‌تری
این صدای توست کاندر گوش ماست می شناسم من ، صدایی آشناست
بانگ او وابانگی از فرهنگ تست این صدای پای پیش آهنگ تست
در تک آور پای و سر در پیش نه تک روان را در قفای خویش نه
نکته پردازی فرح اندیش باش قهرمان داستان خویش باش
می شتابد مرکب چالاک تو من عنان بر بسته بر فتراک تو
دست چون یازم تو را با پای لنگ اندکی آهسته تر ، لختی درنگ
یادم آمد کز زمان کودکی می شنیدم از تو نام رودکی
آن‌که می‌گفت: از گذشت روزگار رهنماتر نیست هیچ آموزگار
رودکی آن پیش‌وای چامه‌ها پارسی‌گوی بزرگ نامه‌ها
تا سرود او بوی جوی مولیان یاد یار غمگسار مهربان
چنگ را بگرفت و آهنگی نواخت تا که شه، ساز سفر آماده ساخت
زی بخارا خنگ راند از بادخیز در رکاب‌اش مهتران همراه نیز
بازتاب طبع گوهر بار او وین یکی مشت است از خروار او
رودکی چون از جهان بر بست رخت بار دیگر بارور شد این درخت
شاخه‌ای از نو دمید از آن کشن موج‌زن شد باز، دریای سخن
بهر امواج هنر گوهر بزاد اوستاد توس از مادر بزاد
روستازادی و دهگان‌زاده‌ای وز تبار برتران، آزاده‌ای

¹² . Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit., p.29

پرتوی از روزن امید بود در دل تاریک شب، خورشید بود

باغ پر بار سخن زو تازه شد نام ایران هم بلند آوازه شد

« دکتر حسین خطیبی »

The Samanids, who were interested in the progress of Persian language and literature, started their movement from Samarqand and then they went to Bukhara, where they accorded official status to Persian language. At that time Samarqand and Bukhara were two big cities in Transoxiana (Mā warā' ul-Nahr) and both of them were centers of attraction for poets and writers.

In the Samanid period ENP continued to flourish and famous poets such as Abu Shakur Balkhi, Shahid Balkhi, Rabe'eh Bent-i Kab Ghozdari etc. composed some brilliant poems. They put new Persian poetry on parallel lines with Arabic poetry. After a lapse of two hundred years ENP surfaced in Iran with new literary expressions and traditions. For example in the early period there occur small poems in the form of delicate vignettes, charming in their simplicity¹³ and ode (qasidah) was the main form of poetry.¹⁴

Abu Abdollah Jafar ibn Moḥammad Rudaki (d. 940 AD): Rudaki, the most famous poet in Samanid period, was from Samarqand and he went to Bukhara in his young age. He was a pioneer of Persian poetry who composed poetry during the Samanid period of Iranian history. In addition poetry, he was a musician who could play harp and sing extempore Persian lyrics during the Sāmānid ruler Naṣr II (914_{A.D.}–943_{A.D.}) in Bukhara. His poetry became a literary model for all the poets who lived during and after him and thus he earned the title of *Adam-ul Shoara* or Father of

¹³ . Shafī'i-Kadkani. Moḥammad-Rezā, op.cit., p.15

¹⁴ . Ibid, p.15

Persian poetry in Iran which was eclipsed by two hundred years of the Arab rule. According to the author of *Tazkira-ye Natayej ul Afkar*, the first poet, who had *Diwan*, was Rudaki. Although there were some poets who composed Persian poetry before Rudaki but none of them had a *Diwan* to their credit.

« بالجمله ، تا حدود ثلث مائة هجرى جماعتى قليل اندک اندک شعر گفته اند ؛ اما کسی به تدوین نپرداخته . تا این که در عهد سلاطین سامانیه استاد ابوالحسن رودکی سمرقندی صدر آرای ایوان شاعری گشته ، دیوان شعر ترتیب داد و غالب اهتمام قدما در مدایح و نصایح بوده . »¹⁵

Rudaki instituted the poetic tradition of Persian literature. He also versified translation of *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*, from Arabic to Early New Persian. All the poets of Iran from the beginning to this date acknowledged his greatness and mastery over Persian literature in Iran and abroad.

Persian language and literature in the Indian Subcontinent: Beyond the boundaries of the Great Iran, Persian language and literature entered into the Indian subcontinent following the campaign of Mahmud of Ghazni and subsequently became the administrative language at the imperial courts of India. After the Ghaznavid invasion, Persian language and literature continued to flourish under the patronage of Turk and Afghan rulers of India. In due course of history, Persian became the language of literature, science and culture during the Sultanate period in India. The Delhi Sultanate consisted of five dynasties that established their dominion in India from 1206_{AD} to 1526_{AD}. It began with the Slave dynasty and ended with the arrival of Babur in 1526_{AD}. During the Sultanate period, Mongol invasions in Iran, forced poets, writes,

¹⁵ . Gomapoy. Mohammad Ghodratoolah, *Tazkira-ye Natayej ul Afkar*, Tashih-e Yusef Beig Babapur, Majmae Zakhayer-e Islami, Qom, 1387, Vol.1, p. 36

Sufis, etc. to immigrate to India. This led to the diffusion of Persian language, literature, culture and science from Iran into India. As a result from the thirteenth century onwards, India became one of the most important centers of Persian language and literature after Iran.

Development and expansion of Persian language in India inspired many Indian poets, writers and great Sufis to express their thoughts and feelings in Persian language. They wrote thousands of precious and valuable works in the field of literature, Sufism, philosophy, history, etc. But the crowning glory of the time and place was Amir Khosrow of Delhi.

Amir Khosrow of Delhi (d.1325_{A.D})

Amir Khosrow was born in 1230_{AD}. He was originally from Tash, a city in south part of Samarqand that was famous as Qubatul Khazra. Amir Khosrow's father migrated from there to India during the reign of Iltutmish. Amir Khosrow was born and brought up in India. He began his career as a courtier and a poet during the reign of Sultan Balban, Jalaluddin Khilji, Alauddin Khilji and Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. Although he was a court poet, but he was also a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulya, the famous Sufi saint of the Chisti Order in Delhi. Amir Khosrow was a prolific and versatile poet. He emerged as the Father of Indo-Persian literature. His poetry consisted of variety of forms – lyric (ghazal), ode (qasida), quatrain (rubai) and epic (masnavi). His compositions show the great lyrical merit of his poetry.

Amir Khosrow has written several epics (masnavis) which have great historical and literary value: *Qiran-us Sa'dain*, *Miftah-o-I Fotuh*, *Khizr Khan wa Deval Rani*, *Noh Sepehr*, *Tughlaq Nama* and

Khazaen- ul Futuh. Five literary masterpieces composed by him are *Matla-ul Anwar*, *Shirin wa Khosrow*, *Laila wa Majnun*, *Ayeene Eskandari* and *Hasht Behesht*. His five Diwans include *Tuhfat-us Sighar*, *Vasat-ul Hayat*, *Ghurrat-ul Kamal*, *Baqiya Naqiya* and *Nihayat-ul Kamal*.

The purpose of the study

The back drop of emergence of Persian in Iran and India offers similarities. The Arabs came to Iran and brought literary traditions to the country. The Persian speaking Turks, Afghans and Persians came to India and Persianised the literary scenario of the Indian Subcontinent. This research is a study about the most prominent literary similarities between Early New Persian poetry in Iran and the India Subcontinent by focusing on Rudaki and Amir Khosrow, their places in society and their literary domains.

Rudaki was the great poet in Iran in the 10th century A.D. His works which included the *Diwan* and two epics: the *Kalilah wa Dimnah* and the *Sindbad nama* shaped and determined the course of development of Persian literature in Iran. His fame reached out of Iran and earned popularity in the entire region which is central and south Asia of today. After the Indo-Iran contact in 11th century A.D., Persian entered into India. As Rudaki was the pioneer to bring all forms of Persian poetry into the literary world of Persia, Amir Khosrow was the poet who played pioneering role to fully develop forms of Persian poetry in India.

Amir Khosrow was one of the few Indo-Persian poets whose works have been read and admired beyond the boundaries of India. His works represent the beginning of a new trend in Indo-Persian

literature and the influence of Indian culture on Persian writings in India. He inspired many other Indians to begin writing poetry in Persian in the Indian sub-continent. He was a multifaceted personality and an acknowledged master of Persian poetry in India and Iran. His contributions to Indo-Persian literature are rich and tremendous and thus earned him a very high hierarchy in the annals of Indo-Persian poetry. All the literary and social achievements of Khosrow enabled him to emerge as the **Father of Persian poetry in the Indian Sub-continent**. Rudaki was to the Greater Khorasan what Khosrow was to the Greater India. Hence, the former was called شاعر خراسان or the Poet of Khorasan and the latter was regarded as طوطی هند or the Nightingale of India. There is ample scope to put both Rudaki and Khosrow on the same pedestal to map the developments of Persian and Indo-Persian literature in Iran and in India.

Review on literature

There are numerous research papers written on Amir Khosrow and Rudaki. Scholars of Indo- Persian literature have worked on Amir Khosrow and Rudaki separately. Most researches have focused on Rudaki and Amir Khosrow's poetical style. Many books and articles have been written about them and their works but most studies have focused on their style and their moral teachings. Examples of research about them are: *Yad-e- Yaar-e- Mehrban* (Ali Dehbashi) *Rudaki Saraamad-e-Shaeraan-e- Farsi* (Manuchehr Akbari) *Rudaki wa Sokhanvaran-e- ham roozgarash* (Ahmadov, Mirza Molla), *Father of Persian Verse: Rudaki and His Poetry* (Sassan Tabatabai), *Amir Khusraw, the poet of sultans and Sufis* (Sunil Sharma), *Amir Khusrav as a Genius* (Syed Sabahuddin Abdul

Rehman), *Life and Works of Amir Khusrav*(Mohammad Wahid Mirza), *Hazrat Amir Khusrav of Delhi*(Mohammad Habib), *Amir Khusrav*(Sayed Ghulam Samnani), *Ameer Khusro, the Great Indian*(R.K.Das), *Amir Khosro, Tootiye Hend*(Mohammad Hosein Mashayekh Faridani), *Naghshe Amir Khosro dar Tahavvol Farhange Mousighaei Hend* (Mahsa Pakravan), *Shere Farsi dar Hendoostan Pish az Asre Amir Khosro Dehlavi* (Mohammad Wahid Mirza), etc.

Other studies include comparisons between him and Nezami Ganjavi, which dealt with the nuances of their respective *Khamsasa*: *Manshoore Akhlaghi- Armani dar khamse Amir Khosro Dehlavi* (Mohammad Hosein Karami), *Moghayeseye Dehlavi* (Esmat Esmaeili), *Jaygahe Nezami dar Masnavi soraei va Shenakhti az Moghalledan Mashhoore vey* (Mohammad Taghi Kholousi),

Indian and foreigner scholars only have done some research about Amir Khosrow's Hindi works like: S.A. Kh, P.Panchal, B.Tivari. Some of them seldom have referred to Amir Khosrow's Persian poems like: Shibli Nomani and others. Some researchers have had a glance on Amir Khosrow's works under medieval literary trend like: G.Elif, N.Golboof, A.Krimski and Y.Ripka. Some research is based on Sabke Hindi in Persian literature like: A.Bolirof, N. Priagarina, S.Shamisa. Some scholars have had an aesthetic glance on the works of Khosrow like: *Moghayeseh Khamsa Amir Khosrow Dehlavi ba Khamsa Nezami*: A. Bertels, *Pazireshe Nofooze Hendi Dar Masnavi Hasht Behesht*: A.Estarikov, *Porsesh az Esalate Aasare Hendi Zabaane Shaer*: A. Shamatav, etc.

Sources

The primary source materials for this research work were biographical dictionaries of poets (*Tazkirats*), historical books and Amir Khosrow's works: *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*: Zia-ud-din Barani, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*: Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Astarabadi, *Tazkirat ul shoara*: Dawlatshah-i- Samarqandi, *Majma'ul Fusahā*: Rezā Qoli Khān Hedāyat, *Riyādhul Ārefin*: Rezā Qoli Khān Hedāyat, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī*:Abul-Fazl Bayhaqi, *Fihrest-e Tarājom-e Ma'āser ul Kalām*, *Almo'jam*: Shams-i- Gheis-i- Rāzi, *Makhzan ul Gharāib*: Sheykh Ahmad Ali Khan Hashimi Sindilwi, *Riyādh ul shoara*: Aligholi Ebn Mohammad Ali Valeh Daghestani, *Hesar-i-Nay*: Soheili Khansari, *Tazkirah Sho'ray-i- Punjab*: Sarhang Khajeh Abdu l Rashid, *Tarikh-i- Sistan*, *Lobab ul Albab*: Mohammad Afi, *Tabaghat-i- Naseri*: Menhaj-i- Seraj, *Tazkireh-ye Natayej al-Afkar*: Mohammad Ghodratolah Gomapoy, *Iran-i- Saghir*: Abdu l Hamid Erfani, *Ain-i-Akbari*: Abu al-Fazal ibn Mubarak Allami, *Taj-ul-Maasir*: Hasan Nizami, *Haft Iqlim*: Amin Ahmad Razi, *Siyar ul Auliya*: Amir Khurd, *Safine Khoshgoo* , *Mirat-ul-Khayal*: Shaikh Ibn Ali Ahmad Shir Khan-i- Lodi, *Baharistan*: Jami, *Sher-ul-ajam*: Alma Shibli Nomani, *majma ul nafais*: Siraj-ud-Din Ali Khan Arzu, *Qiran-us Sa'dain* is the story of the quarrel and reconciliation between Sultan Kaiqobad and his father BughraKhan. *Miftah-oIFotuh* deals with the military successes of Sultan Jalauddin Khilji. *Khizr Khan wa Deval Rani* is the love story between Khizr Khan, the eldest son of sultan Alauddin Khilji and Deval Rani, daughter of the Raja of Gujarat. *Noh Sepehr* is a poetical description of Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Khilji's reign. *Tughlaq Nama* describes how Sultan GhiyasuddinTughluq rises to power. *Khazaen- ulFutuh* gives

an account of Alauddin Khilji's conquests in the South. His Khamsa are: *Matla-ul Anwar*, *Shirin and Khosrow*, *Laila and Majnun*, *AyeeneEskandari* and *HashtBehesht*. His five *Diwans* are including *Tuhfat-us Sighar*, *Vasal-ul Hayat*, *Ghurrat-ul Kamal*, *BaqiyaNaqiya* and *Nihayat-ul Kamal*. And also Rudaki's works: *Diwan* and two epics the *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* and the *Sindbad nama*. Along with them, other books and articles which have been written about Amir Khosrow and Rudaki have been read in this research work.

The Scope of the study

The scope and objective of the research is immense as it will attempt to span the entire Sultanate and later periods of time when the growth and development of Persian literature took place in the Indian subcontinent on lines with the Samanid period of history in Iran. Scholars of Indo- Persian literature have worked extensively on Amir Khosrow's works and his poetical style. There are, however, no substantial studies regarding the comparison between Rudaki and Amir Khosrow as the Fathers of Persian and Indo-Persian poetry. In this research, I will focus on Amir Khosrow's place as the Father of Persian poetry in India, vis a vis Rudaki in Iran.

The present research work is different from the existing works in this area, as it is a comparison between the personae and poetry of Rudaki and Amir Khosrow. It is an attempt to cover their works, style and the power of words in literature. I have tried to bring out the points of comparison between the thoughts of Rudaki and Amir Khosrow as clearly as possible through their works, their style and their place as the Fathers of Persian poetry in Iran and in the Indian

sub-continent. Domain of our research in Indian Subcontinent is Lahore, Delhi, Punjab, Multan, and Kashmir.

I argued that Amir Khosrow is the Father of Persian poetry in the subcontinent. He was the first who touched upon every form of poetry- ode (qasida), lyric (ghazal), quatrain (rubaei) and epic (masnavi). He was the first Indian who composed the *Khamsa*. Using simple language, he was able to construct lyrical verses filled with a deep meaning, rich vocabulary and original concepts. He was the first Indian poet who wrote macaronic poetry (molamma/ mixed language poetry) which were a combination of Urdu/ Hindavi and Persian.

This research has answered the following problems: The new trends were brought to Persian poetry by Rudaki in Iran and Amir Khosrow in the Indian subcontinent. Amir Khosrow constituted unique structure of language in poetry vis a vis Rudaki. Khosrow thus became the Father of Indo-Persian poetry, in Indian subcontinent as Rudaki is being regarded as the *Adam ul Shoara* and the Father of Persian poetry in Iran. I have penned four chapters in this research including an introduction and a conclusion.

The first chapter is about the back ground of Persian language and literature in India in 14th century A.D. This chapter responds to the elements of Persian language and literature when it entered into India. It also deals with the kings and rulers who supported Persian poetry in Indian subcontinent.

Chapter two is about poets who have composed Persian poetry before Amir Khosrow. This is an attempt to show the level of

Persian poetry prior to the time of Amir Khosrow. It also refers to poets who had *Diwan* before Amir Khosrow.

Chapter three is related to Amir Khosrow, the Father of Persian Poetry in Indian subcontinent. In this chapter I discussed about the reason which credited Amir Khosrow as the Father of Persian poetry in Indian subcontinent. I have also explained about the poets who were under influence of Amir Khosrow.

Chapter four is a comparison between Amir Khosrow and Rudaki. This chapter has focused on two great poets of Iran and Indian-subcontinent, Rudaki and Amir Khosrow.

Chapter 1

Persian Language and Literature in Indian Subcontinent

The Early Years of Persian in Indian Subcontinent

Seven hundred years ago, Persian language and literature entered into Indian subcontinent with the advent of the Muslims in the country. The early history of Persian language and literature in Indian subcontinent is shrouded in mystery. Some of scholars had said when Muḥammad Ibn Qāsim marched to India; Iranian soldiers in his army had already brought Persian language into India. They also believed that the march of Mahmud of Ghazni into India as the main factor for the spread of Persian language and literature in India. In fact the most important and visible traces of Persian poetry in Indian Subcontinent returns to the Ghaznavid dynasty and the Indo-Iran contact began in 11th century A.D.

“Persian language and literature as the language of the Ghaznavid court, gradually achieved the status of the most prestigious language of an increasingly large region, whose subjects were mostly Indian and the rulers predominantly Turkish.”¹⁶

It was obvious that the date of entry of Persian language into the Indian subcontinent precisely would be some time before Mahmud of Ghazni and his successors. But standard development of the language took place since Mahmud of Ghazni arrived in Indian subcontinent. In Ghaznavid period around thirty two¹⁷ rulers ruled in India whose language was Persian. They encouraged people to

16 . <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/india-xiv-persian-literature-in-india>

17 . Anushe. Hasan, *Danesh Nameh Adab Farsi dar Hind*, Vezarat-e Farhang wa Ershed-e Islami, Tehran, Vol.4, p. foreword

learn Persian, especially to compose their poems in Persian. Tilak Ibn Jay Sean Hajam, Sondar Nat and thousands displaced army and other agents without any doubt spoke and wrote in Persian at that time.¹⁸ Tilak ibn Jay, personal secretary of Khwaja Ahmad Hassan Maymandi, was living in the Ghaznavid court. He knew Persian very well because language skills of Persian were necessary for interpreters and secretaries at that time.

Lahore, Multan, Uche and Kashmir were most famous places for Persian in the early years of the history of Persian language in Indian subcontinent. Lahore, the capital of the Ghaznavids in Indian subcontinent, was the first center of Persian language and literature. It was famous as Little Ghazni or the second Isfahan.¹⁹ In the Ghaznavid period, too many people such as scholars, poets, writes, etc. migrated from the Great Iran into Lahore. Some great poets of Lahore were: Abu Abdullah Nokti, Abdol Faraj Runi, Masud Sad-i Salman, Serajuddin ibn Menhaj Lahori, Abu Jafar Mohammad ibn Ishaque Alvashi, Hamiduddin Masud ibn Shali Kubi, Seqattuddin Yousef ibn Mohammad Darbandi, Ziauddin ibn Abol Fotouh Heravi, Ahmad Lahori, Hamiduddin Lahori, Mollad Lahori, Molla Shiri Lahori.

Kashmir was another center of Persian learning. Persian poetry was from ninth A.H. onwards there.²⁰ Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi, Mola Ashraf Bolbol, Mulla Hamid Shah Abadi, etc. were famous poets of Kashmir. Uche was the first center of Sufism in India²¹.

18. Syed 'Abdullah, *Adabiyat-i farsi dar miyan-i hindovan*, Entesharat Adabi wa Tarikhi-ye Moqafat-e Dr. Afshar, Tehran, 1371, p. 24

19 . Ibid, p.7

20 .Erfani. *Khawaja Abd ulhamid, Iran-e Saghir*, Ibn Sina, Tehran, 1335, p.34

21 . Chaudary. Shahid, *Sair-e Tasavvof wa Irfan az Iran be Shebhe Qarreh Hend was sahm-e Arefan-e Tabrizi dar An.* <http://journals.tabrizu.ac.ir/article/>

Ghaznavids in Indian Subcontinent

According to ancient sources like *Tarikh-i Masudi*, Persian language entered into India first by the Muslim army who came to India and by Yaqub Laith when he was a ruler there²². But Persian language and literature continued to flourish in this country after the campaign of Mahmud of Ghazni in Indian subcontinent.

Amir Sabuktigin, Mahmud's father was the first Ghaznavid who came to India:

« پدر سلطان محمود غزنوی – پس از بهرام گور که هیچ یکی از ملوک بهندوستان نیامد – او در سال سه صد و شصت و هفت هجری لشکر بر هند کشید و آویزش ها کرده بغزنین بازگشت . »²³

In the early Eleventh century, Mahmud of Ghazni launched seventeen expeditions into South Asia.²⁴ He “continued his father's raids into the plains of India”²⁵. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni “captured parts of North India and obtained formal recognition of Ghazni's sovereignty from the Abbasid Caliph, al-Qadir Billah.”²⁶ According to historical evidence, the development of Persian poetry in India began from Lahore, the capital of Ghaznavids. Sayf al-Dawla Mahmud of Ghazni was the most famous ruler of Ghazni dynasty who formed the kingdom of Ghaznavid in India and achieved remarkable conquests and victories. He brought a further consolidation for Ghaznavid dynasty in India. Lahore saw pomp and prosperity at his time. Mahmud's interest in literature and Persian poetry led the majority of scholars, writers and poets to come to Lahore and receive his patronage.

22 . Zahur uddin Ahmad, *Tarikh-e Adab-e Farsi dar Pakistan*, Motarjem: Shahid Chowdary, Pajuheshgah-e Olum-e Insani was Motaleat-e Farhangi, Tehran, Vol.1, 1385, p20

23 . Shaikh Abu al-Fazal ibn Mubarak, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Kalkatte, 1867, Vol.3, P.159

24.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_conquests_on_the_Indian_subcontinent#Ghaznavid_Period

25 . iranicaonline.org/articles/ghaznavids

26.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_conquests_on_the_Indian_subcontinent#Ghaznavid_Period

Gradually favorable conditions of Ghaznavid's court paved the way to promote Persian poetry in Lahore. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni's son, Masud I continued his father's legacy in India.²⁷ He was famous as a patron of Persian poets. Poets began to write odes in his praise which still exist:

که برین نار بیارست و بر آن گل ببرست	روی آن ترک نه روئیت و بر او نه برست
رستخیز همین خوبان طراز و خزرست	بطرازی قد و فرخیزی زلفین دراز
اندرین معنی هم جای حدیث و نظر است	گر بجای مه و خورشید بود یار مرا
آن شگفتست کجا ، مستقر او سقرست	مهر او را دل ما مستقر است ، این نه عجب
بنسوزد اگر او را چو سقر مستقرست	و آن عجب تر که طلسمیست هوا را که همی
که به فضل از ملکان بیشتر و بیشترست	ملک عادل مسعود ، خداوند ملوک

« ابو عبدالله روزبه نکتی »

Mawdud Ibn Masud and his sons, Farrokhzad and Ebrahim continued their raids into India. "Ebrāhīm and his three sons, Šīrzād, Malek Arslān or Arslānšāh, and Bahrāmšāh, ruled successively."²⁸ Shirzad, son of Sultan Masud bin Ibrahim became viceroy of Lahore in 1099 A.D. "The level of literary creativity was just as high under Ebrāhīm and his successors up to Bahrāmšāh, with such poets as Abu'l-Faraj Rūnī, Sanā'ī, Ali Fathi, Mahmud Varraq 'Oṭmān Moḳtārī, Mas'ūd-e Sa'd-e Salmān, and Sayyed Ḥasan Ġaznavī."²⁹ Bahram Shah was an active champion who made myriad of raids into India, and "his exploits there were hummed by his court panegyrist, the poet Sayyed Ḥasan Ġaznavī."³⁰ Bahram Shah went to India after he lost in a battle at

27 . <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ghaznavids>

28 . Ibid.

29 . Ibid.

30 . Ibid.

the hands Alauddin of Ghor.³¹ He had a consuming passion for Persian literature. His love for Persian literature was a reason for lots of poets and writers to gather in his court.

The line of the Ghaznavids continued for some thirty years more, briefly under Bahram Shah's son Khosrow Shah, and then, with a greater duration, under the latter's son Khosrow Malek.³² On the basis of *Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India*, Khosrow Shah of Ghazni was the first ruler in Punjab. He ruled there and his capital was Lahore. Khosrow Shah and his son Khosrow Malek gave incentives to scholars and poets to compose their poems in Persian and this was an important reason for the progress and the rise of Persian literature in Lahore. The court of Khosrow Malek, the last king of Ghaznavids in India, "had an array of fine poets, none of whose dīvāns has unfortunately survived."³³

« چون پدر گرامی را روزگار به سر آمد او سریر آرای شد – درین هنگام علاءالدین حسین غوری که بجهان سوز مشهور است غزنین خراب کرده بهندوستان آمد – سلطان غیاث الدین سام و سلطان شهاب الدین برادرزاده های علاءالدین حسین که غزنین و آن حدود بایشان داده بود بنیرنگ سازی خسروشاه را از ملک هندوستان بدست آورده بزندان برنشانند و در آن جا روزگار او سپری شد و دولت محمودیان بانجام رسید – و برخی چنان نگاشته اند که خسروشاه در دارالسلطنت لاهور بر اورنگ فرماندهی آمد – چون درگذشت پسرش خسرو ملک جانشین شد و غوریان خسرو ملک را بدست آورده زندانی گردانیدند چندان که زندگی بسر آمد . »³⁴

31 . Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit., p.85-86

32 . iranicaonline.org/articles/ghaznavids

33 . Ibid.

34 . Shaikh Abu al-Fazal ibn Mubarak, op.cit., p.159

Ghorids in Indian Subcontinent

The Ghorids were a medieval Muslim dynasty of Iranian origin in Khorasan that was centered in Ghor³⁵. Muezz uddin Sam of Ghor captured India and forced Khosrow Malek, the last king of Ghaznavids to surrender himself to the Ghorid court. Muezz uddin Sam's period was a time for Sufism and poetic movements in India to flourish. In this period, Multan and Delhi was the center of Persian language and literature. Some great scholars lived at that time such as Ghazi Hamid uddin Balkhi, Nazoki Maraghe-i, Badi uddin Sistani, etc. Alauddin of Ghor sat on the throne after Muezz uddin. He was a poet as well. Mohammad Aufi talked about his *Diwan* in the chapter of kings as Poets:

« سلطان علاءالدین ملکی قادر بود و پادشاهی قاهر... او را اشعار پادشاهانه است و لطایف ملکانه و شعر او مدون است و دیوان او و دیوان سلطان اتسز در یک جلد در کتابخانه سرد و آبدار سمرقند مطالعه افتادست ... اشعار او از غایت لطافت شهرتی دارد در اطراف بلاد هند و دیار غزنی.»³⁶

Ghayasuddin Mohammad Sam of Ghor was a supportive person. Lots of scholars and poets were in his court such as Sadid uddin Ali Omar Ghaznavi, Rashid Shahab, Rokn uddin Hamzeh, Mobarak Shah Marvroudi, etc.

« و حق تعالی ... حضرت او را از افاضل علما و اکابر فضلا و جماهیر حکما و مشاهیر بلغا آراسته کرده ، و درگاه با جاه او جهان پناه شده بود و ... از کل مذاهب مفتدایان هر فریق جمع بودند و شعرای بی نظیر حاضر و ملوک کلام نظم و نثر در سلک خدمت بارگاه او منتظم .»³⁷

35 . empires.findthedata.com

36 . Aufi. Mohammad, op.cit., pp.38-39

37 . Minhaj-i Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Anjoman-i Tarikh-i Afghanistan, Kabul, 1342, Vol.1, P.361

Delhi Sultanate

In due course of history, Persian language became the language of literature, science and culture during the Sultanate period in India. The Delhi Sultanate consisted of Persianate dynasties that established their dominion in India from 1206_{A.D.} to 1526_{A.D.} The Delhi Sultanate is a term used to cover five short-lived dynasties. It began with the Slave dynasty and ended with the arrival of Babur in 1526_{A.D.} The five dynasties were: The Slave (Mamluk) dynasty, The Khilji dynasty, The Tughlaq dynasty, The Sayyid dynasty and The Lodi dynasty.

During the Sultanate period, Mongol invasions in Iran forced poets, writers, Sufis, etc. to immigrate to India. This led to the diffusion of Persian language and literature, culture and science from Iran into India. As a result from the thirteenth century onwards, India became one of the most important centers of Persian language and literature. Development and expansion of Persian language in India inspired many Indian poets, writers and great Sufis to express their thoughts and feelings in Persian language. They wrote thousands of precious and valuable works in the field of literature, Sufism, philosophy, history etc.

The Delhi Sultanate literature began with the rise of Persian speaking people around the throne of the Sultanate of Delhi which naturally resulted in the spread of the Persian language in various parts of India. It was the official language and soon literary works in the language began to appear. Initially Persian literature dealt with topics which were familiar to those from Persia.

Slave (Mamluk) Dynasty

When Sultan Muezz uddin Mohammad Ibn Sam of Ghor died, he did not have any successors. After his death, four slaves of his

ruled in the regions: Taj-ud-Din Yildoz in the regions of Ghazni, Naser-ud-Din Qabacha in Sind, Mohammad Bin Bakhtiyar in Bengal, and Qutb uddin Aibak in Delhi.

« می گویند هنگام حیات یکی از درباریان مقرب موضوع {جانشینی} را با سلطان به میان گذاشته بود اما او به کمال بی اعتنایی جواب داده بود : "پادشاهان دیگر ممکن است یک پسر یا دو داشته باشند ؛ من بیشتر از هزار پسر دارم . باین حساب که غلامان ترک من بعد از من وارث سلطنت من خواهند بود و نام مرا در خطبه حفظ خواهند کرد . »^{۳۸}

Qutbuddin Aibak (1206 A.D.): He was founder of the Slave dynasty in India. He shifted the capital from Lahore to Delhi in 602 A.H./1206 A.D.

« از بندگان سلطان معزالدین است - بمردانگی و دادمردی نامور بود - سلطان مرزباتی دهلی را بدو بازگذاشت - در ولایت هند دست بردهای نمایان کرد و شگرف کارها ازو پدید آمد . »^{۳۹}

He was fluent in Persian and Arabic. He paid heed to literature and literary persons. He was famous as Lakh Bakhsh. Bahauddin Ushi has said about him:

ای بخشش تو به لک به جهان آورده کان را کف تو کار بجان آورده
از شرم کف تو خون گرفته دل کان پس لعل بهانه در میان آورده^{۴۰}

One of the greatest literary scholars of his court was Shaikh Sadruddin Hasan Nizami who wrote his famous book, *Tajul Maasir* at Aibak's request. In the Mamluk period, most of cities such as Multan, Uche, Ajudahen, Haansi, Siyaam and Sialkot became the center of Persian language and literature.⁴¹ Some of great poets at Aibak's time were: Jamaluddin Mohammad, Ruknoddin Samarqandi, Bahauddin Ushi, etc.

38 . Mir Husain Shah, Saltanat-e Delhi, Aryana Journal, sal-e Nozdahom, Shomareh Sheshom,1340

39 . Shaikh Abu al-Fazal ibn Mubarak, op.cit., P.160

40 . Minhaj-i Siraj, op.cit., P.416

41 . Modarresi. Fatemeh, *Peyvand-e Zaban-e Farsi va Hend dar Ayene-ye Zaman*,

<http://persianacademy.ir/UserFiles/File/NF/09/NF-09-09.pdf>

Nasiruddin Qabacha: He ruled over Sind and Multan from 1206_{A.D.}- 1228_{A.D.}. He was a very gracious and hospitable person. In 1217_{A.D.}, when Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish marched to Sind, Nasiruddin had to leave Uche and went to Hisar-i Bhakkar. Sultan Iltutmish captured Hisar-i Bhakkar and Nasiruddin decided to commit suicide. He drowned himself in the river Sind and died.

« در سنه ۶۲۵ سلطان شمس الدين التتمش که او نیز از ممالیک غوریه و مؤسس سلسله سلاطین شمسیه دهلی است به قصد محاربه با ناصرالدین قباچه به سند لشکر کشید و اچه را محاصره نمود ناصرالدین قباچه بواسطه مال بینی و دور اندیشی که داشت اموال و خزائن و حشم خود را به حصن بگر فرستاد و خود نیز در حصن بگر متحصن گردید . شمس الدين التتمش به محاصره اچه مشغول شد و وزیر خود نظام الملک جنیدی را به محاصره حصن بگر فرستاد در ماه جمادی الاولی اچه و در ماه جمادی الآخره حصن بگر مفتوح گردید ناصرالدین قباچه از حصار بگر در قلعه رفت خزائن و اموال خود را با پسرش علاءالدین بهرامشاه به خدمت التتمش فرستاد و التماس عفو نمود التتمش فرمان داد که خود به خدمت آید ناصرالدین قباچه ننگ این مذلت را بر خود نپسندیده و مرگ را بر چنین حیات ترجیح داده در شب شنبه ۱۹ جمادی الآخره سنه ۶۲۵ از قلعه بگر خود را در رود سند انداخت و شعله حیات خود را به آب منطفی ساخت. »^{۴۲}

Nasiruddin Qabacha was one of those rulers who loved Persian language and literature. He tried to promote it. Some great writers and poets were in his court such as Mohamamd Aufi, Minhaj-i Siraj, etc. According to the travelogue Ibn Battuta important People at the court of Naser-ud-Din were: Mohammad Kateb Balkhi, Ziauddin Sejzi, Fazli Bukharai, etc.

Shamsuddin Iltutmish (1211_{AD}): He was one of the successors of Qutbuddin Aibak. He defeated the other three rulers, Tajuddin Yildoz in the regions of Ghazni, Nasiruddin Qabacha in Sind, and Mohammad Bin Bakhtiyar in Bengal. He continued to rule with

42 . Aufi. Mohammad, op.cit., p. ک

power in all over parts of India. At the time of Sultan Shamsuddin, Chengis Khan attacked the Great Iran and many scholars and renowned poets had to flee to Delhi where it was a safe haven for the learned people of Central Asia.

« در عهد سلطان شمس الدین از خوف قتل و نکال چنگیزخان ملعون مغل ملوک و امرای نامدار که سال ها سری و سروری کرده بودند و وزرا و معارف بسیار به درگاه سلطان شمس الدین پیوستند و از وجود آنچنان ملوک که نوادر ملوک بودند و از حضور آن چنان وزرا و معارف که در شرف حریت و اصالت و فضایل و هنرمندی و خردمندی در ربع مسکون نظیر خود نداشتند درگاه سلطان شمس الدین درگاه محمودی و سنجری شده بود و اعتبار تمام گرفته .»^{۴۳}

Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish was a Sufi devotee and highly regarded the saints of his period. Important people during the reign of Iltutmish were Naseri, Amir Rohani, Hakim Tartari, Tajaddin Reza, Tajaddin Bukhari, Seraje Khorasani, Mohammad Momen (His work is *Risalah-i- Irfan*), Molana Borhanuddin Bazzaz, Imam Raziuddin Saghani (His work is *Masharegh-ol Anvar*), Fakhre Modabber and Moayyed Jajarmi.

Ghiyasuddin Balban: He was the greatest Sultan of the Slave dynasty. "He was not one of those overnight successes. He had risen to power the hard way – by dint of work, will power and some astute politics."⁴⁴ His original name was Baha-ud-Din. He belonged to "The Forty" (Chahelgan), the famous band of Turkish slaves of Iltutmish. He had the title of Zil-ul-llah, or the Shadow of God.

« سلطان غیاث الدین بلبن از غلامان شمس الدین است – از توران بهندوستان آوردند – لختی خطاب الغ خانی داشت – سپس بفرمان دهی رسید.^{۴۵} » در شهر

43 . Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-I Firuz Shahi*, Bengal, 1862, p.27

44 . indiasite.com/delhi/history/balban.html

45 . Shaikh Abu al-Fazal ibn Mubarak, op.cit., p.160

سنه ۶۶۲ اثنی و ستین و ستماه سلطان غیاث الدین بلبن که بنده از بندگان شمسی بود و در میان بندگان ترک چهل گانی آزاد شده بر تختگاه دهلی جلوس فرمود.^{۴۶}

Sultan Balban loved Poetry, music and fine arts. Poets, writers and scholars were encouraged by him. Architecture, sculpture and painting highly progressed at his time.⁴⁷ Sultan was fascinated by Persian literature and culture. His court was designed after the Iranian courts:

« سلطان بلبن صفت مجلس ها و جشن ها مانند سلطان سنجر و سلطان محمد خوارزمشاه که سکندر ثانی بود از ملوک همنشین سلطان شمس الدین بسیار شنیده بود و در دل گرفته و آراستن مجالس جشن از بساط های منقش و جامه و خانهای ملون و اوانی زر و نقره و پرده های زربفت و نخلبندی های متنوع و فواکه گوناگون و اطعمه و شربت و تنبول بسیار مبالغه فرمودی ... و در مجالس جشن سرودها گفتندی و شعرا مدایح ادا کردند و چند روز حکایت آراستگی جشن او مردمان به یکدیگر گفتندی و تعجب کردند. »^{۴۸}

His son, Prince Alauddin Mohammad was a patron of poetry. Amir Khosrow, who was in his court, has praised him. According to *Nozhat-ul Khavater*, Prince Mohammad had invited Sa'di of Shiraz to Multan. Important people of the reign of Ghiyasuddin Balban were: Molana Borhanuddin Mahmood Balkhi, Sheikh Serajuddin Abu Bakr Sejzi, Mahmud Khatat, Ezzuddin Alavi, Molana Sharafuddin Valvajeji, Shamsuddin Khaarazmi, Ghazi Rafiuddin Kazerooni, and Ghazi Jalaluddin Kashani.

Khilji Dynasty

Khilji dynasty which extended Islamic government to the Deccan and Gujarat came to be regarded as the second dynasty of the Delhi Sultanate. Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji, Alauddin Khilji and Muizuddin Qaiqubad were the famous rulers of Khilji dynasty.

46 . Ziauddin Barani, op.cit., p.25

47 . Ghavim, Amir Khosrow Dehlavi, Tehran, 1342, p.16

48 . Ziauddin Barani, op.cit., p.32

Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji: Jalaluddin's fame had gone out of India. Lots of poets and scholars such as Amir Khosrow of Delhi, Tajuddin Iraqi, Khwaja Hasan of Delhi, Mu'yyed Jajarmi, etc. came to his court. At this time Urdu formed as a language.

«تاج‌الدین عراقی و امیرخسرو و خواجه حسن و مؤید جاجرمی و مؤید دیوانه و امیرارسلان کلامی و اختیارالدین باغی و باقی خطیب در سلک ندما|ی جلال‌الدین فیروزشاه‌خلجی] انتظام داشتند و هر یک در علم اشعار و تاریخ‌دانی ممتاز بودند ... و امیرخسرو هر روز در مجلس غزل‌های تازه آوردی و به انعام و التفات بهره‌مند شد.»^{۴۹}

Alauddin Khilji: He had high fascination for Persian language. Delhi was a center of literary people, poets and writers at his time. Persian language reached to the high degree of its development.

«سلطان علاء‌الدین محمد ملک هند با امیرخسرو عنایات مبذول می‌داشته و امیرخسرو به درجه امارت رسیده و در ملازمت و اشتغال انواع فضایل را احیا کرد. امیرخسرو را در مدح سلطان علاء‌الدین محمد و اولاد کرام او قصاید و تصانیف است و چون نسیم عالم تحقیق بریاض امید او وزید عالم ناکس را در نظر همت خسی دید ، بارها از ملازمت استعفا خواستی و سلطان علاء‌الدین ابا نمودی آخرالامر بکلی از ملازمت مخلوق مخلوع شد و به خدمت اهل حق مشغول گشت.»^{۵۰}

Important persons of the reign of Alauddin Khilji Period were: Ghazi Mohiuddin Kashi, Molana Vajihuddin Razi, Molana Najibuddin Savi, Molana Shams Kazironi, and Molana Eftekharuddin Razi.

Tughlaq Dynasty

Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq: He founded the third dynasty of the Sultanate period. His father, Tughlaq Khan was at Balban's service. There are many sources such as *Safarnama of Ibn Battuta* has provided information about his reign. Ibn Battutah was a

49 . Hindu Shah Astarabadi. Mohammad Qasim, *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Anjoman-i Asar wa Mafakhir Farhangi, Tehran, 1388, Vol.1, p. 108

50 . Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit., p.180

traveller from Morocco, visited India during Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq's reign.

Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq was a Qazi. He was brave and righteous person, and supported scholars and poets. He could manage to establish peace in their reign in a short time.⁵¹ Amir Khosrow was in his court and composed *Tughlaq Nama* at that time.

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq: He was son of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, who sat on the throne after his father. During his rule, Tughlaq royal dynasty reached a peak power. Sultan Muhammad was the first king who was connected to the Abbasid Caliph in Egypt and took an order and robe (Khalat) from the Caliph of Islam⁵². He was an ambitious and aggressive person who made all attempts to achieve his goals. He was proficient in Arabic and Persian poetry. He had skill in calligraphy as well.⁵³

«درپادشاهی او- من اوله الی آخره- عظاما وکبرا وهنروران وکشتی شکستگان به امید عواطف و مراحم او از عراق وخراسان و ماوراءالنهر وترکستان و روم و عربستان به هندوستان می آمدند و زیاده از آنچه تصور کرده بودندنوازشها می یافتند ... درتقریر، فصیح و شیرین کلام و بی نظیر بود و مکاتبات و مراسلات فارسی و عربی بر بدیهه چنان نوشتی که دبیران و منشیان در آن حیران ماندندی و بی نهایت خط را خوش نوشتی که استادان قبول داشتندی ... در علم تاریخ ماهر بود ... داستان شاهنامه و ابومسلم و امیر حمزه بر سر زبان داشت ... شعر فارسی به غایت نیکوگفتی و شعر قدما را خوب فهمیدی ... قتلغ خان را - که پیش او مصحف و بعضی از کتب فارسی خوانده بود و خط از او آموخته - شغل وکیل داری ارزانی داشت.»⁵⁴

Important people of Mohammad Tughlagh reign were: Emaduddin Semenani, Mobarak Shah Samarqandi, Shahabuddin Kazironi, Emaadul Mulk Khorasani, Shaikh Shahabuddin Khorasani, Afifuddin Kashi, Amir Amiran Kermani, Amir Ali Tabrizi, etc.

51 . Ziauddin Barani, op.cit., pp. 426-442

52 . Hindu Shah Astarabadi. Mohammad Qasim, op.cit., pp.138-139

53 . Ziauddin Barani, op.cit., p.463

54 . Hindu Shah Astarabadi. Mohammad Qasim, op.cit., p. 139

Chapter 2

Persian Poetry

Before

Amir Khosrow

in the Indian Subcontinent

Ghaznavids poetry

Mohammad ibn Osman Otbi Kateb: He was a historian and a poet in Mahmud's court. He accompanied Mahmud in all the battles in India. He has recorded Mahmud's wars in details in his book. He probably had lived in Punjab⁵⁵. Mohammad Aufi has recorded some of his poems in *Tazkira-ye Lobab-ol Albab*⁵⁶:

ای دوست ، عاشق از بر تو زار می رود دل پر ز رنج و حسرت و تیمار می رود
بی یار و دل منم ، خنک آن کس که در جهان با دل همی خرامد و با یار می رود
خوبی همه به مجلس تو آید ای عجب آری سزا به نزد سزاوار می رود

حلقه حلقه مشک دارد بر کنار ارغوان توده توده لاله کارد بر کنار ضیمران
تیره گشت از خد او ماه دو هفته بر فلک تیره گشت از خد او سرو سهی در بوستان
گه سخن گوید به مجلس چون عطارد بی دهان گه کمر بندد به میدان همچو جوزا بی میان
جز ز نخدانش شنیدستی ز سیم ساده گوی غیر زلفش دیده ای از مشک سوده سولجان⁵⁷

These lines have attributed to another poet. But it is in his name in the *Tazkira* Darvish Hosein-i Nuri Kashani.⁵⁸

Abu Abdullah Ruzbeh Lahori Nokti: He was a poet in the reign of Masud ibn Mahmud of Ghazni. Schimmel has mentioned him as the first poet who composed Persian poetry in India

⁵⁵ . Sarhang Khwāja 'Abd-al-Rašid, op.cit., p.410

⁵⁶ . Aufi. Mohammad, op.cit., Vol 2, p.287

⁵⁷ . Hedayat. Reza Qoli Khan, *Majmaul Fosaha*, Entesharat-e Amir Kabir, Tehran, 1381, Vol.1, p.485

⁵⁸ . Ibid

subcontinent.⁵⁹ He has composed some odes, fragments and quatrains. His poems were lyrical and rhythmic.

« ابو عبدالله روزبه بن عبدالله النکتی اللوهوری – تخلصش : نکتی ... تقریر نکت
نکتی کاری دراز است ، چه نکات لطیف او از حد و عد افزونست و نقود شعر او
لطیف و موزون . »⁶⁰

Some of his poetry from *Lobabol Albab*⁶¹:

بزرگس بنگری چون جام زرین بزیر جام زرین چشمه چشمه
تو گونی چشم معشوقست مخمور ز ناز و نیکونی گشته کرشمه

His fragment in the explanation of Manjaniq:

چه چیزست آن که یکسو نردبانست دگر سوی راست همچون پای شیطان
سر زانو بسان فرضه ی تیر ازو آویخته خرطوم پیلان
دو پشک آهنین بینی مر او را زده آن پشک را بر پای دیوان
بر آن خرطوم وی صد زلف بینی همه برتافته چون زلف جانان
چو عشاقش بدو انبوه گردند بگیرد هر یکی یک زلف را زان
بیندازد یکی سندان محکم شود هر کس ز بیم و هول لرزان

Masud Razi: He was another well-known poet in the court of Masud ibn Mahmud of Ghazni. According to *Tarikh e Baihaqi*, he was exiled to India where he lived till the end of his life:

« امیر رضی الله عنه به جشن مهرگان نشست ، روز سه شنبه بیست و هفتم
ذوالحجه و بسیار هدیه و نثار آوردند و شعرا را هیچ نفرمود و بر مسعود رازی
خشم گرفت و فرمود تا او را به هندوستان فرستند که گفتند که او قصیده گفته است
و سلطان را در آن نصیحت ها کرده و در آن قصیده ، این دو بیت بود:

مخالفتان تو موران بودند و مار شدند برآر زود ز موران مار گشته دمار

⁵⁹ . Schimmel. Annemarie, *Islamic Literatures of India*, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1973, p. 66

⁶⁰ . Aufi. Mohammad, op.cit., Vol 2, p.290

⁶¹ . Ibid.

مده زمانشان و زین بیش و روزگار مبر که اژدها شود از روزگار یابد مار
این مسکین سخت نیکو نصیحتی کرد هر چند فضول بود و شعرا را با ملوکان این
نرسد. »

آن زلف نگر بر رخ آن در یتیم چون بنگری چونانک از غالیه جیم
وان خال بر آن عارض چون ماه شیم همچون نقطی ز مشک بر تخته ی سیم^{۶۲}

His Quatrains in description of apple:

زنخدان های ترکانست گویی فراز شاخ بر آن سیب خندان
مغاکى در میان هر یک آنک چون آن چاهی که باشد بر زنخدان^{۶۳}

His Quatrains in description of pomegranate:

چو حقه بسدین پر گوهر سرخ ببین آویخته از شاخه ی مرجان
کفیده چون دهان شیر و دانش بدو در همچنان خون آلوده دندان^{۶۴}

His Quatrains:

ای دل برنده هر چه توانی همی کنی میدان فراخ یافته گو زن حالا
عشق تو را وفاز تو بیش است زان که تو از من جدا شدی و نشد عشق تو جدا^{۶۵}

Abul-Faraj Runi: He was a founder of Islamic poetry in India. He spent most of his time in Lahore. He was famous because of his odes in praise of poems for Ibrahim Ibn Masud.

Masud-e Sad counted his poems in the apex of poetry:

بوالفرج ، ای خواجه آزاد مرد هجر و وصال تو مرا خیره کرد
ای ، به بلندی، سخن شاعران هرگز ، مانند تو ، نادیده مرد

Anvari, a famous Persian poet of odes has admired Runi:

⁶². Aufi. Mohammad, op.cit. p.

⁶³. Ibid.

⁶⁴. Ibid.

⁶⁵. Ibid.

در متانت خیل اقبال چو شعر بوالفرج وز عذوبت مشرب عیشت چو نظم فرخی

Abul Faraj's *Diwan* includes odes, fifty seven Quatrains, eighteen fragments and three lyrics. He has composed odes more than other forms. Some of them are very short in comparison with his other odes. Most of his odes begin with praise. Some of them are without *Tashbib*. Amir Khosrow also has these types of odes.

Runi is a follower of Epicurean philosophy; pleasure as the chief goal in life. Neither past nor future, now is an important moment. He would not be sad because of past or future:

ای دل مخور اندیشه فردا پیشی نزدیک مشو به غم ز دور اندیشی
با عقل مگیر تا توانی خویشی کز لہو تو را عقل دهد درویشی

تا یک نفس از حیات باقیست مرا در سر هوس شراب و ساقیست مرا
کاری کہ من اختیار کردم این بود باقی همه کار اتفاقیست مرا

Runi has lots of exaggerations in his odes. He raises the earth to the sky or put a saint man in a superior position to the angels. Sometimes he has raised the king's character as much as an angel:

کہ شخصی است یارب کہ روح القدس نیایی فزون از کمالش کمال

Runi also has composed quatrains. In his quatrains, there are no sophistication and perfection which we see in his odes:

در عشق تو خوشدلی ز من بیزار است رو شاد نشین کہ بر مرادت کار است
تو کشتن من می طلبی وین سہلست من وصل تو می جویم و این دشوار است⁶⁶

سورتی کند رو ، یک آیت را کرد باید همی بسی تکرار

⁶⁶ . Hashemi, Ahmad Ali. *Tazkira Makhzan ul Gharab*, Lahore, 1970, pp.34-35

آخر نام تست ، اول آن ای نکو سیرت نکو کردار

آخر نام تو ترا بدهاد اول نام تو چو من بسیار^{۶۷}

Khajeh Salman Lahori: He was the father of Masud Sad-i Salman. He was one of the nobles in the Ghaznavid court. When Majdud Ibn Masud became the ruler of India, Khajeh Salman went to Lahore with him⁶⁸.

گر بگذاری مراد گر بنوازی از کوی تو نگذرم بیازی بازی

چون باد به پایت اندر آیم به مثل گر چو خاکم ز در برون اندازی^{۶۹}

Masud Sa'd Salman: He was a poet in Mahmud ibn Ibrahim's court. His odes and fragments are full of new and pleasant themes. His odes were in praise of kings and rulers, the Unity, asceticism and abandonment of the world. He gave up composing odes in the last years of his life. Amir Muizzi, Sanai, etc. have praised Masud in their odes. Most of the master poets have imitated him and have composed some poems by way of *Tazmin* of Masud's poetry. Masud himself had imitated Rudaki, Shahid Balkhi, Labibi and Manuchehri.

Mohammad Afi has said he had three *Diwans*, one Arabic, Farsi and Hindavi. Dowlatshah Samarqandi also has said that he had composed Arabic poems. But we do not have any Arabic poems except some lines in his name in *Hadayaqus Sehr* by Rashid Vatvat-i Samarqandi.

منم کاندرا عجم و اندر عرب کس نبیند چون من از چیره زبانی

گرافند مشکلی در نظم و در نثر زمن خواهد زمانه ترجمانی

⁶⁷ . Shams Qais Razi, *Almojam Fi Maeir-e Ashar-i Ajam*, Mohammad Qazvini, Tehran, Zavvar, 1360

⁶⁸ . Valeh Daghestani. Aligholi Ebn Mohammad Ali, *Tazkira-ye Riyaz ul-sho'ara*, Pajuheshgah-e Olum-e Enسانی wa Motaleat-e Farhangi, Tehran, 1390, vol.1, p. 221

⁶⁹ . Soheili Khansari. Ahmad, Hesar-e Nay, *Ketab Forushi Islamiye*, p.31

بدین هر دوزبان درهر دومیدان بگردونم رسیده کامرانی

Masud Sa'd's fame is because of his *Habsiyat*:

نالم ز دل چو نای من اندر حصار نای پستی گرفت همت من زین بلندجای
آرد هوای نای مرا ناله‌های زار جز ناله‌های زار چه آرد هوای نای؟
گردون به درد و رنج مرا کشته بود اگر پیوند عمر من نشدی نظم جانفزای
نظمی به کامم اندر چون باده لطیف خطی به دستم اندر چون زلف دلربای
امروز پست گشت مرا همت بلند زنگار غم گرفت مرا طبع غم زدای
از رنج تن تمام نیارم نهاد پی وز درد دل تمام نیارم کشید وای
گویم صبور گردم، بر جای نیست دل گویم برسرم باشم، هموار نیست رای

He was an ode composer. His odes were more than other forms of poetry. His style in odes was like poets who were before him; he did not exaggerate in his odes. His odes are not in Iraqi style; the rhythm is short except three or four odes. Most of his odes have *Radif* را and ن. The odes which have *Radif* are not many. His odes do not have *Tashbib* and if they have *Tashbib*, it is very short.

He has done some creativity in poetry as well. For example he has one ode in praise of Saif uddola Mahmud which does not use letter ب and م; it means there is not a single word in this ode that upper lips touched lower lips. His language in his odes is very simple without any *Ambiguity*. He has composed some odes in *Tarkib band* and *Mosaddas* forms as well. In his quatrains, there are three subjects; *Habsiyeh*, *Madhiye*, *Eshqeyeh*.

Masud-i-Sad-i-Salman was the earliest star to shine in the galaxy of Indo-Persian poetry. He admired the Indian weather cycles,

particularly, the raining season.⁷⁰ Masud-e-Sad-i-Salman was perhaps the first Indian poet of Persian of the later Ghaznavids who wrote a poem on the type of what is now called باره ماسه.⁷¹ This poem has its desired effect because the poem was subsequently initiated by the later poets and even was adopted in Indian language.

Masud Sa'd's life is very similar to Amir Khosrow. He had lived in the time of six kings of Ghaznavid dynasty. As Amir Khosrow was an Indian who knew Persian well, Masud Sad was an Indian by birth who knew Persian well as well. Masud has composed some Macaronic poetry (mixed language poetry) as Khosrow had. But Khosrow's Macaronic poetries are in Persian and Hindavi.

Ata ibn Yaqub Kateb Lahori: He has died in 1085 A.D. He lived during the time of Ibrahim Ghaznavid (Ruled from 1058 A.D to 1098 A.D.) He was a contemporary of Masud Sad-i Salman.

« العمید الاجل ، افضل العصر ، ابوالعلاء عطا بن یعقوب الکاتب ، المعروف بناکوس
رحمه الله عليه که برین بساط جهان یکی از عطایای سپهر گردان بود ، عمیدی بر
ولایت فضل والی و گوش و گردن معانی از لالی معالی او خالی... و او را دو
دیوانست و هر دو مقبول فضلی عرب و عجم و متمنی اصحاب و ارباب هم و در
دیوان تازی او یک قصیده است که در نعت سید المرسلین و خاتم النبیین ... پرداخته
است. در سنه احدی و تسعین و اربعه مآنه داعی حق را اجابت فرمود و بسرای
آخرت نقل کرد . عمید عطا به هندوستان شهر بند فرستاده بودند . بسبب تقلد شغلی
که کرده بود و از آن معزول شده . وقت معزول شدن این قصیده را انشا کرد:

به هند او فتادم چو آدم ز جنت بتاویل و تلبیس و بهتان منکر

نه گندم چشیده نه آورده عصیان نه من قول ابلیس را کرده باور

بلای من آمد همه دانش من چو روباه را موی و طاؤس را پر

⁷⁰ . Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, New Delhi, 1995, p 20

⁷¹ Schimmel. Annemarie, op.cit., p.87

دو ماه شغل راندم چو کشتی بخشکی نه سال ماندم بدريا چو لنگر

گهی باز دارد چو مشکم بنافاه گهی خوش بسوزد چو عودم به مجمر»⁷²

When Sultan Ibrahim reached India, Ata was in prison in Lahore. He stayed six years there and died as he was still in prison. Nizam uddin Abu Nasr-e Farsi built his tomb in Lahore.⁷³

آنکه آدم را برون افگند از خلد نعیم صد هزاران خلق را افگند در قعر جحیم
آدم او را خورد و گندم خلق را زان سان بخورد کاو دو نیم و عالمی را کرد او از غم دو نیم
آنمه نامش خوار بار و زیر بارش خلق خوار خرد چون دندان مار و کرده شهری چون سلیم
آن زمرد بوده و خورشید او را کرده زر زر همه گشته صدف آگنده بر در یتیم
آن صدف ها پر سنان و هر یکی با نیزه تا نیارد هیچ کس گشتن بگرد آن حریم

اندر سفرم خیالت ای دلبر من تا روز بدی به هر شبی غمخور من
بیداری را گماشتی بر سر من تا باز خیال تو نیاید بر من

Abu Roshd Rashid Lahori Mohtaj: He was a close companion of Ibrahim of Ghazni. According to historical books, Mohtaj and his son, Shahab-ud din Mohammad both were famous poets of their time. Abul Faraj Runi has said about him:

بو رشد رشید ای کمال ملک ای دست تو ذات کمال ملک
تخویف تو رایان هند را افگنده به جبال ملک

Masud Sa'd Salman has said about his son:

پسر محتاج ای من شده محتاج به تو از پی آن که همه خلق به محتاج تو است

⁷² . Aufi. Mohammad, op.cit., p.71

⁷³ . Sarhang K̄wāja 'Abd-al-Rašid, op.cit., p. 246

Khajeh Mohammad Rashid Lahori: He was in Khosrow Malek's court. Aufi has written about him in his book, *Lobab- ol Albab*:

« المولى الاجل الكبير ، شهاب الدوله و الدين محمد بن رشيد الرئيس از افضل آن ديار بود . با جاهى عريض و فضلى مستفيض و طبع زاینده و خاطرى در ذکا چون ذکا تابنده و خطى چون در منثور و شعرى چون عقد منظوم و از شيخ الاسلام ذكى المله و الدين شنيدم كه : دوش بنزدیک او قدرى گل و نرگس فرستاد . فى البديهه اين دو بيت گفت :

شاخى چند نرگس رعنا گلکى چند تازه چيده

آن همه دیده های بی چهره وین همه چهره های بی دیده

لطافت این سخن و طراوت این لفظ بر حسن بیان و لطف طبع آن یگانه جهان ...
صادقست»^{۷۴}

ساقیا در ده قدح بر لذت دیدار گل و ز طرب رخسار خود بفروز چون رخسار گل
ساقیا چون حق گل را جز بمی نتوان گذارد گل نمود از پرده رخ ، می ده ، مخواه آزار گل
مدح سلطان گوی تا لذت دهد بر دست تو باده مشکین درین ایام عنبر بار گل
بر سریر ملک تا بگرفت در کف تیغ و جام کند شد دندان فتنه تیز شد بازار گل^{۷۵}

ای دیده در خزان ز خجالت بهار چشم دارم ز حسرت تو چو ابر بهار چشم
بی دیدن جمال تو ای نور چشم من ندهد حیات زیب و نیاید بکار چشم
روز کرم گذشت و کرم را ببوستان اندر میان سبزه کشد انتظار چشم^{۷۶}

Sa'dat ibn Masud Sad-i Salman: He was Masud Sa'd's son. He was living during the reign of Bahram Shah of Ghazni:

همزاد رخ نگار ما ، بوست نه گل زین روی رخ نگار نیکوست نه گل

⁷⁴ Aufi. Mohammad, op.cit., p.90

⁷⁵ . Sarhang Kwāja 'Abd-al-Rašid, op.cit, p. 145-146

⁷⁶ . Aufi. Mohammad, op.cit., p.92

ما را رخ دوست باید ای دوست نه گل زیرا گل چشم ما رخ اوست نه گل^{۷۷}

آن قوم که ایشان ره احرار سپردند احوال جهان باطل و بازیچه شمردند

محنت زدگان را به کرم دست گرفتند چون دست گرفتند بران پای فشردند

ایشان همه رفتند و جهان جمله به مشتی زین ناکس نامردم نامرد سپردند

قومی همه نوکیسه و نو کاسه که از بخل نام کرم از نامه هستی بسترند

ز آن قوم که ما دیدیم امروز کسی نیست گویی که به یکباره همه پاک بمرند

این نیز عجب تر که هم از بخت بد ما با خود همه چیزی چو برفتند ببرند^{۷۸}

Sheikh Hamid-ud din Hakem Lahori: His title was *Sultan-ul Tarekin*. His great grandfather was a king in Makran. His *Diwan* was titled as *Golzar-e Hakemi*⁷⁹:

رخ خود جانب جانانه کردم شراب شوق در پیمانه کردم

خرامیدی چو مستان اندران راه ز حال غیر نی از خویش آگاه

چو مستان اندران ره می خرامید سراپا محو شوق آن صاحب دید

چو مجنون در هوای عشق لیلی به ملتان در رسید آن محو مولا

عالمی تازه شد بوقت بهار چه کنم بی جمال تو چه کنم

وقت نقش و نگار بستان است ابر چون چشم نیک گریان است

چو عروسان به جلوه اندر گل کرد بلبلی ز عشق گل غلغل

هست نرگس چو چشم مرغوبان سرخ گل همچو لعل محبوبان

سبزه سبز چون خط خوبان چه کنم بی جمال تو چه کنم

⁷⁷ . Sarhang K̄wāja 'Abd-al-Rašid, op.cit, p. 183

⁷⁸ . Zahur uddin Ahmad, op.cit, pp.48-49

⁷⁹ . Sarhang K̄wāja 'Abd-al-Rašid, op.cit, p.113

Abu Jafar Mohamad ibn Ishaq Lahori: His nickname was Alvashi. He was a poet in Khosrow Malek's Court.

« اشعار او شعار بلاغت دارد و در لوهور از خواجه ادیب شرف الدین احمد دماوندی شنیدم که وقتی : نجیب الملک ، شرف الخواص ، ابوظاهر المطهر او را امتحان کرد که قصیده ای بگوی که در هر بیت چهار جنس لازم بود چنانکه چهار طبع در یک بیت بسیار آورده اند . اجناس دیگر در هر بیتی چهار جنس ایراد کنی ، این قصیده که عنوان نامه فصاحت و برهان دفتر بلاغتست در مدح او بدین ترتیب گفت: ای پاک هم چو آب چو خاکم مدار خوار

لطفی بکن چو باد و سوز این تنم چو نار

داری قبای رومی و روی تو ششتریست

و اندام نرمتر ز خز و بز هزار بار

چشمت بسان نرگس و عارض چو نسترن

رخسار هم چو لاله و لب چون گل انار

کبکی به گاه رفتن و طوطی گه سخن

چرغی به گاه حمله و بازی گه شکار»⁸⁰

Jamal-ud din ibn Yusef Lahori: He lived during the time of Khosrow Malek. He was mentioned him as Seqat-ud din ibn Yusef Mohammad Lahori.

« الامیر العمید ثقه الدین جمال الفلاسفه بن یوسف مجد دربندی بفور فضایل مشهور و بصنوف محامد مذکور و کمال براعت و تقدم او را بر اصحاب صناعت مخصوص و قصر فضل و بزرگی او را بنیان مرصوص . در دولت خسرو ملک آسایش ها دید و مناصب خطیر را متقلد شد . آخر الامر چون دید که گل دولت دنیا بی زحمت خار نیست و مل لذت او بی محنت خمار نی ، دست از اشغال سلطانی باز کشید و پای در دامن قناعت آورد ...»⁸¹

چون گردبادم از دل { و } با چشم پر نمم در عین رنج دایم و خوف دمامم

⁸⁰ . Afi. Mohammad, op.cit., p. 231

⁸¹ Ibid, p.106

حیران و دل شکسته و رنجور و ناتوان بر اوج موج همم و مهجور در همم
 گویم که در همم ز هموم بلا و لیک در هم نه ام ز محنت دینار و در همم
 مبرم نه ام و لیکن در هجر روزگار موقوف حادثات قضاها مبرم
 کم می کنم بنزد کسی اختلاف از آنک در کنج بین احزان چون کنج بر همم
 پارار بصیر بودم امسال اعیم دی گر فصیح بودم امروز ابکم
 از من همی چه خواهد چرخ ستیزه کار کز تیر نائباش چون قوس پرچم
 نی من عزیز مصرم و نی قیصرم نه خان نی کسری و قبادم و نی سام و رستم
 در ملک حق تعالی بر روی این زمین یک بنده ضعیفم و کمتر ز هر کم
 اقدام دهر دانی بر من ز بهر چیست داند که در طریق صیانت مقدم

جانا جفا مکن که جفا را نه در خوریم آن به که در زمانه وفا را بیوریم
 تا کی برای وصل تو دل در فنا نهیم تا کی ز دست هجر تو خون جگر خوریم
 در ما چه دیده ای که همی ننگری تو بیش بگذار تا بروی تو یکبار بنگریم
 جرمی دگر نداریم آخر چه شد که ما بر درگه مراد تو چون حلقه بر دریم
 در وصل تو ز لطف زبانت عاجزیم در هجر از سرشک نهانی توانگریم
 از خود روا مدار که در راه عشق تو بی رهبر وصال درآیم و بگذریم
 ظلم فراق از ما کوتاه کن ار نه ما این مظلمت بحضرت صدر جهان بریم

Jamal-ud din Abu Bakr ibn Mosaed Khosravi: He was in Khosrow Malek's Court. Aufi called him as Iftekharul Shoara⁸²:

تا چند پیش غمت دل سپر کنیم در عشق نام خویش بگیتی سمر کنیم
 از بیم ناوک مژه و تیر غمرهات گاهی کمان ز پشت گه از دل سپر کنیم
 هر ساعتی ز موج فراق ببحر غم خانه ز آب دیده بسان شمر کنیم
 دل ها ز یاد آتش غم خشک شد بتا تا ز آب دیده خاک قدمهات تر کنیم

⁸² Aufi. Mohammad, op.cit., p.407

در آرزوی سوسن بستان روی تو از ابر غم دو چشم بسان مطر کنیم
 گه از هوای لعل تو از دیده دُر کشیم گه برامید سیم تو از چهره زر کنیم
 بر جان ما مبند کمر ای کشاده عهد چون ما ز جان بخدمتت ای مه کمر کنیم
 تا روی خوب تو که کمالست در جمال در پیش ماست کی سخن مختصر کنیم
 سوگندها خوریم که بودیم در بهشت چون در میان کوی تو جانا گذر کنیم
 از فر ماه روی تو چون بدر شد هلال تا وصف روی خوب ترا با قمر کنیم
 در حقه عقیق اگر دُر نهی سزاست زیرا که ما بجزع ز عشقت گهر کنیم
 گفتی بطنز دوش که رویار نو گزین آن روز خود مباد که یاد دگر کنیم
 تا تاج روزگار شویم ای پسر ز فخر خاک درت چو دیده همی تاج سر کنیم

Zia-ud din Abd-ol Rafe Abol Fotoh Heravi: He was a poet and a physician in Khosrow Malek's court. The exchange of Islamic knowledge, arts, sciences and medical sciences between the Indian subcontinent and Iran began with Abu Rayhan al-Biruni's trip to India.⁸³ Zia-ud din was Khosrow Malek's personal physician. One of his odes has a beautiful usage of "sleeves" which is seldom used by any poet of Indo-Persian literature:

«قصیده ای ... بامتحان ردیف آستین گفته است و پیش از وی هیچ کس که سر از
 گریبان فضل بر کرده است دامن سخن چنین قصیده نپرداخته ...»⁸⁴

جانا مپوش بر گل رخسار آستین وز خون مرا مخواه چون گلنار آستین
 گلنارگون شدست ز خون دو چشم من از عشق آن دو نرگس خون خوار آستین
 خواهی که تا قفاه مه آسمان دری بنمای روی چون مه و بر دار آستین
 زلف معنبر تو حجاب رخت بس است خیره مپوش بر گل رخسار آستین
 هرچند کآتش رخ تو هست بی گزند با این همه ز حزم نگه دار آستین
 ناگه مباد چون دل پرتاب من شود در آتش رخ تو گرفتار آستین

⁸³ . Vaseti, *Tarikh-e Ravabet-e Pezeshki-e Iran va Pakistan*, pp. 9-12

⁸⁴ . Aafi. Mohammad, op.cit., p. 330

دامن کشان تو میروی از کبر و می کنم پر خون من از دو دیده خون بار آستین
 درج دهان تنگ کشانی چو در سماع در گیرد از لب تو بخروار آستین
 بوسد بعشق زهره زهرا تراستان در رقص بر زنی چو تو هموار آستین
 پر در شد از تو دامن آخر زمان چنانک پر زر ز جود خواجه احرار آستین
 والا نظام دین که ز بهر نثار او گلبن کند پر از گل و دینار آستین
 هر روز وقت صبح فشانند چو مخلصان بر آستانش گنبد دوار آستین
 شد جیب بحر و دامن کانهای تهی ز نقد تا گشت با کفش بسخا یار آستین
 هر کو ببندگیش مقرر نیست مقبلان بر روی او ز نند بانکار آستین
 ای آنکه پیش پای تو هر مرد سرفراز در گردن افگند بستغفار آستین
 وقتی خوشست و چهره کشایان نو بهار دارند پر ز نعمت فرخار آستین
 آراست همچو لعبت فرخار در چمن هر شاخ گل که داشت پر از خار آستین
 از مشکبار لاله و کافور گون سمن شد باغ را چو طبله عطار آستین
 از عکس جام باده تو گوئی که برگ گل بوسیده دست ساقی و خمار آستین
 پر مشک کرد لاله نعمان کش قبا پر زر و سیم نرگس عیار آستین
 کرد از برای خدمت بزم عروس وار گلزار پر ز لؤلؤ شهوار آستین
 چون روی همچو ماه ترا دید بامداد افشانند بر جمال تو گلزار آستین
 تا چرخ نیلگون سلب باغ را کند دامن ز لاجورد و ز زنگار آستین
 بادا قباء عمر ترا از بقا تنه وز عصمت خدای جهاندار آستین
 بر جامه حسود تو از فقر و اضطرار بی بود باد دامن و بی تار آستین

ای دل بیار مژده که جانان همی رسد وی دیده جای ساز که مهمان همی رسد
 وی تن اگر چه کار تو از غم بجان رسید جان را فرست پیش که جانان همی رسد
 کار نشاط و لهوز سر تازع کن کنون چون رنجهاء هجر بپایان همی رسد

ایام درد و محنت و شدت همه گذشت هنگام روح و راحت و درمان همی رسد
 چون بلبان نوا زن اندر بهار فضل کان تازه گل بصحن گلستان همی رسد
 ز آن بس که ابر چشم تو بگریست بر رخت امروز بر رخت گل خندان همی رسد
 آری عجب مدار که از آب ابر چشم در باغ و دشت لاله نعمان همی رسد
 چونانک روح و راحت و شادی بجان خلق از فر ظل رایت سلطان همی رسد
 شاهی که پیش خدمت او هر که خسروست از بهر فخر از بن دندان همی رسد
 از بهر زیب و زینت و تاج و سریر اوست هر گوهری نفیس که از کان همی رسد
 وز یمن جود دست و نثار قدوم او در جوف بحر لؤلؤ و مرجان همی رسد
 از دولت و یعادت ذات شریف اوست هر تحفه کز طبایع و ارکان همی رسد
 از کوس همچو رعد و ز تیغ چون برق او بر فرق خصم آفت طوفان همی رسد
 بر کشتهاء خشک امید جهانیان فیض کفش همیشه چون باران همی رسد^{۸۵}

Nasrullah ibn Abd-ol Hamid Lahori: He was a special courtier in the court of Khosrow Malek⁸⁶. He was able to speak in Persian and Arabic. Afu has said about him that:

« بر هر دو زبان قادر بود و در هر دو میدان در سواری ماهر . تازی و پارسی او را ملکه ... طالع او منحوس شد و از جور زمانه مقید و محبوس گشت و خسرو ملک او را حبس فرمود و در حبس این رباعی گفت و بخدمت او فرستاد:

ای شاه مکن آنکه پیرسند از تو روزی که تو دانی که نترسند از تو

خرسند نه ای بملک و دولت ز خدای من چو باشم ببند خرسند از تو

در وقت وداع جان این بیت بر زبان راند:

از مسند عز اگر چه ناگه رفتیم حمد لله که نیک آگه رفتیم

رفتند و شدند و نیز آیند و روند ما نیز توکلت علی الله رفتیم^{۸۷}

⁸⁵ . Afu. Mohammd, op.cit., p. 330

⁸⁶ . Sarhang K̄wāja 'Abd-al-Rašid, op.cit, p.398

⁸⁷ . Afu. Mohammd, op.cit,p. 86

Poetry during the Ghorids

Allauddin Ghor: Mohammad Aufi has dealt with the *Diwan* of Allauddin Ghor in the chapter of the poetry of the kings:

« سلطان علاءالدین ملکی قادر بود و پادشاهی قاهر... او را اشعار پادشاهانه است و لطایف ملکانه و شعر او مدون است و دیوان او و دیوان سلطان اتسز در یک جلد در کتابخانه سرد و آبدار سمرقند مطالعه افتادست ... اشعار او از غایت لطافت شهرتی دارد در اطراف بلاد هند و دیار غزنی.»⁸⁸

His following odes contain a fair amount of his biographical details:

چراغ دوده عباسیانم	جهان داند که من شاه جهانم
اجل یاریگر نوک سنانم	علاءالدین حسین بین الحسینم
که باقی باد ملک خاندانم	که بادا موج زن گرد سپاهم
بهر کشور شهی دیگر نشانم	همه عالم بگردم چون سکندر
یکی باید زمین و آسمانم	چو بر گلگون دولت بر نشینم
بتیغ تیز جوی خون برانم	بدان بودم که هم از اوج غزنین
شفاعت می کند بخت جوانم	ولیکن گنده پیرانند و طفلان
که بادا جانشان پیوند جانم ⁸⁹	ببخشیدم بدیشان جان ایشان

Fakhruddin Mobarak Shah Marvrudi: He has died in 1205A.D. He was one of the rulers of Ghorid dynasty rulers. He had an epic about Chorid's ancestors. The epic is in *Moteqareb* metre.

«... فخرالدین مبارکشاه برپای خاست و این رباعی می گفت ، سلطان عزیزمت شکار فسخ کرد و بعشرت مشغول شد ، و آن رباعی اینست ،
بیت :

⁸⁸ Aufi, Mohamm, op.cit., pp.38-39

⁸⁹ Ibid.

اندر می و معشوق و نگار آویزی به زان باشد که در شکار آویزی

آهوی بهشتی چو بدام تو درست اندر بز کوهی به چه کار آویزی؟»^{۹۰}

Safiuddin Mahmud: He was a minster in the court of Ghayasuddin Sam.

« خواجه صفی الدین (محمود) از سران وزراء درگاه بود و در ظرافت و طراوت آیتی و طبع نظم داشت و شعر نیکو گفتی ، برپای خاست و روی بر زمین نهاد و در جواب رسول این بیت از مطرب بخواست :

آن روز که ما رایت کین افزایش وز دشمن مملکت جهان پردازیم

شیری ز دهانه گر نماید دندان دندانش بگرز در دهان اندازیم

سلطان غیاث الدین طاب ثراه بغایت خوش طبع گشت و او را بانعام وافر و تشریفات گرانمایه مخصوص گردانید . »^{۹۱}

Hamiduddin Masud ibn Sad Shali Kobi:

« از احرار خطه لوهور بود و در طبع زکی و شعر وی قرین عنصری و رودکی.»^{۹۲}

حبذا ملک همایون تو کآب چشمش بی گمان دارد خاصیت آب حیوان

هست اسرار نهان در دل او بسیاری تا نیری سرش پیدا نکند سر نهان

دو زبان باشد نام و درین شکی نیست نیست نام چه گر هست مر او را دو زبان

Kamaluddin Hasani Hajeb:

« آن حاجبی با پیشانی که نور دیده فضل و غره روی معانی بود عرصه فضایل او را فساحتی و بیان زبان او را فصاحتی هر چه ظاهرتر بود در دولت سلطان شهید تغمده الله برحمته ... و لطایف اشعار او فراوانست درعه ... و وقتی ضیاءالدین عبدالرافع بن فتح الهروی که جهان فضل و آسمان هنر بود بنزدیک او قطعه ای فرستاد و او بجواب آن قطعه این ابیات انشا کرد:

افضل مشرق ضیاء دین که ز خامه تیر فلک را گهر نثار فرستد

سوی عروسان بکر لفظ و معانی خاطر او طوق و گوشوار فرستد

عقل ز ادراک هر چه عاجز ماند زود بدان طبع هوشیار فرستد

⁹⁰ . Minhaj-i Siraj, op.cit, P.365

⁹¹ Ibid, P.366

⁹² . Aafi. Mohammad,op.cit., p.411

اختر خیزد بجای گوهر از سنگ نور ضمیر ار بکوهسار فرستد
 عرصه میدان فضل را مهمانا توسن گردون چنو سوار فرستد
 خلق خوش او سوی مشام افاضل نفخت گلہاء نوبہار فرستد
 نامہ بختش نهند نام چو حالی شعر تر خویش یادگار فرستد
 غایت اخلاق خوب اوست و گرنی مدح چنو کس بمن چه کار فرستد»^{۹۳}

Zahiruddin Tajol Kottab Sarakhsi: He was living during the Ghurid period. He had some correspondence and debate (monazara) with Malek Tajaddin Tamran Shah, a ruler in India. His poetic style reminds us of Iraj Mirza.

« السيد الاجل ظهيرالدين تاج المتاب السرخسى ... مدت ها ديوان انشاء سلطان
 شهيد به رسم او بود. »^{۹۴}

یک ذره چو نیست در منت بستگنی منمای دل ریش مرا خستگنی
 کم کن ز جفا و جور چندانک دلم خو باز کند از تو به آهستگنی

اگر سفیہی با تو طریق جور سپرد جفات گفت و بیازردت از جنون و عتہ
 به عاقبت نظری کن به عاقبت میری مقابله چه کنی مر سفیہ را به سفہ

Tajuddin Tamran Shah: He was one of Indian princes who were a ruler in Tamran. He was a poet and a patron of poets.

« شاهزاده و گوهر آزاده هم نسبتی عالی و هم کرمی متوالی
 داشت و با علو نسب و سمو حسب شعری که شعری شعار آن
 سزیدی و نثره نثار آن شایستی خال جمال کمال او آمده بود و
 اشعار آبدار او بسیار است. »^{۹۵}

لرزان تم از باد ستیز غم تست سوزان دلم از آتش تیز غم تست
 مگذار بتا که خاک خواری گیرد صحرای دلم که آب خیز غم تست

⁹³ Aufi. Mohammad, op.cit., p. 120

⁹⁴ Ibid, p.137

⁹⁵ . Auf. Mohammad, op.cit., p. 80

آیا بینم بخدمت یاری در خود را بشروع خوشترین کاری در
یکبار دگر نشسته با هم دو بدو بی هیچ سوم بچار دیواری در

هرگز چو منی عاشق و مدهوش که دید آزاد چون بنده حلقه در گوش که دید
با دل گفتم دمی فراموشش کن دل گفت دلی ز جان فراموش که دید

هر روز چنین شهانه کاری میکن بر چهره ایام نگاری میکن
بر تخت بخورمی شرابی میخور در باغ بخوشدلی شکاری میکن

Persian Poetry during the Delhi Sultanate

Baha- ud din Ushi: He was an articulate preacher, an old man with a young spirit and an eloquent speaker. He always used to say:

ای بهاء اوشی تو بهاء اوشی

Although he had composed fluent poetry but his prose was better than his poetry. All scholars of that time had said that no body was more fluent writer than he was.

« مذکری خوش گوی و پیری جوان طبع و فصیحی لطیفه پرداز بود. پیوسته در مخاطبه ی خود گفتی "ای بهاء اوشی تو بهاء اوشی." و هرچند نظم او مطبوع و رایق و لیکن نثر او بر نظم فایق است و جمله افاضل عصر انصاف داده اند که از وی بدیهه گوی تر کس پای بر بالای منبر ننهاده است ، شنیدم که وقتی بر بالاء منبر از بینی او خون روان شد برفور گفت: " آری تیغ است تیغ خون ریز بود. »^{۹۶}

Aufi also has mentioned that I heard from Kamal Moqerri Samarqandi when Bahauddin came back from India and reached to Ush, he could get the place of Sheikh-ol Eslam in Ush.

⁹⁶ Aufi. Mohammad, op.cit., p. 89

Bahauddin has composed poems. Some of his poems as Aufo has mentioned in his book *Lobabol Albab*:

سر کلکت که چنگل بازست بچه برداشت از آشیان غراب

از نی کوکنار سیمینت ماند فتنه برون و شب در خواب

ای قطب آسمان که ز سهم و ز باس تو در روز رزم رستم خونخوار بشکند

از شرم فیض قلزم موج کف تو در وقت بزم بحر گهربار بشکند

قطبی و آفتاب ز نور نو وام خواست گر رد کنی ز تو دل آن یار بشکند

ور قدر تو بگرد فلک برنیامدی هم کار و بار گنبد دوار بشکند

ناهید گر نگوید مدح تو در نوا زخمه اش بوقت زخم بر اوتار بشکند

بی بوی خلق تو نتواند صبا به عمد کز جعد زلف یار یکی تار بشکند

بر هر که بوی خلق تو روزی گذر کند او آرزوی نافه تاتار بشکند

اسرار روزگار به مهرست و رای تو هر روز مهر نامه اسرار بشکند

تو مرکزی و چرخ چو پرگار گرد تو یکسر اگر شود ز تو پرکار بشکند

خاری که پای بی زره خصم تو نخست دست زمانه خود سر آن خار بشکند

در گرد صیت تو نرسد خوشرو صبا سیار تیز رونه ز طیار بشکند

بازار ظلم اگر بشود گرم در جهان از عدل تو ستم را بازار بشکند

از نشکند ردیف نکردم ز بهر آن تا یاد شعر طره بهنچار بشکند

بادا حیات ذات تو جفت ثبات و عز تا آنگهی که طاق نگونسار بشکند

آسیب زمانه چون برویم بر زد سنگی به میانه ی سبویم بر زد

مشکم ببها بخواست نفروختمش بستند ز من و سیم برویم بر زد

Ali ibn Hamid Kofi: He lived in the time of Naseruddin Qabache.

He lived in Uche, Sind. He translated the book on the history of the

conquests of Muhammad bin Qasim, from Arabic to Persian and named it *Fath Nama Sind* or "*Chach nama*".

Fazli Multani: He lived during the time of Nasir-ud-Din. He was distinguished scholar and eloquent speaker of his time. Aufo has mentioned some of his poems in his *Tazkirah*:

ای ظفر همدم ترا از بخت برنا آمده نامه ی تایید تو انا فتحنا آمده
ناصر دین خسرو دنیا قباچه شاه شرق ای مه چتر تو بر گردون مینا آمده
از پی اعلاء دین نصر من الله در ازل بر سر منصور شاهی تو طغرا آمده
حلیه ی خط ز القاب تو زینت یافته چهره سکه ز انساب تو زیبا آمده
منظر قصرت ز کیوان در گذشته از علو مسند قدرت بر از عرش معلا آمده

کردی سیهم ز آن شب گیسو که تراست نیکوست رخت و لیک بدخو که تراست
در پهلو تیر مژده مردم کش احسنت زهی کمان ابرو که تراست

آغاز نهاد فتنه بازش چکنم چون داشته ام محرم رازش چکنم
بسیار ز خشم دست بر دست زدم کوتاه نشد دست درازش چکنم

هر لاله که چشم کوهساری بودست صد قطره ز خون تاجداری بودست
مسپر به قدم سبزه بستان گستاخ کآن وسمه ی ابروی نگاری بودست

These lines remind us of the Quatrains of Khayyam

Ziauddin Sanjari: He was in the regime of Nasiruddin Qabache and Qutboddin Aibak. His poetry reminds us of Manuchehri's odes.

تا نسیم خوش مزاج طره ی صحن مینا رنگ بستان کن...
خیل لاله کز کمین گاه بهار آمد پدید بر بساط باغ آنک با زمانه در و غاست
ابر خلقان خرقة را بر چارسوی شش جهت پیرهن عشاق وار از آرزوی گل قباست
از گل سوری پدید آمد مگر سور چمن ارغنون پرداز سوری عندلیب خوش نواست
گرچه از طفلان نو عهدست پر آغوش باغ قد خوشبوی بنفشه از غم پیری دوتاست
خواب نرگس گریه بست از تازه روئی نسترن دیده ی عاشق فریبش بی سهر یارب چراست

Mohammad Aufo: He was a courtier of Naser-ud-Din and Iltutmish and Minhaj Siraj were two poets who were not considered as poets. They are famous as historians and biographers. But if we

look at their poems, we can see poetic feelings in their poems. For example, when Aufo asks money, he says:

هر چند که بر بساط شطرنج هنر امروز شهیم پیاده می باید رفت

جهان به دست تو حسنت چو باز داد وفا کن جفا مکن که همیشه جهان چنین نمی ماند

با باغ چو در میان نهد گل خرده بینند ز لاله زنده دل مرده

گل گر چه به اول آب آتش ببرد آتش بینی باخر آبش برده

این نقش بهارست قرارش نبود دیر آن دولت خواجه ست که بس دیر قرار است

مردم دیده نگر چون روح در خور آمده بارها از زیر موج اشک بر سر آمده

دوربینی بین که چون نزدیک گردونم بدو چون عروس شادمان در در و گوهر آمده

آن بهشتی لعبت میمون لقا را روز و شب منزل و مأوی نگر در آب کوثر آمده

چون مشعبد هندوی زنگی مزاجست او ببین دست لعبت هر زمان از رنگ دیگر آمده

Minhaj Siraj: He was a historian of the sixth century and early seventh century. First he was in Nasir-ud-Din's court. He wrote his book, *Tabaghat-e Nasri* in Uche. In his confession, on the first day of the besieged Uche, he came out and attached himself to the royal court of Altutmish. He has composed poetry in both Arabic and Persian. His poems are:

تا کی بلور اشک مرا چرخ زمردی بر کهربای روی دهد لون بسدی

آهم چو دود عود قماریست بی عجب ای آب دیده گر تو گلاب مصعدی

سیمرغ نیستم من و این که نه کوه قاف طوطی و حبس خوش نبود تا بسرمدی

Moayyed Jajarmi: He was living at Iltutmish time. He translated *Ehya-ul-ulum* of Ghazzali and dedicated it to Iltutmish.

Fakhre Modabber: Mohammad Mansur Mobarak Shah Fakhr-i Modabber was the grandson of Abol Faraj, a courtier in Ibrahim ibn Masud Gaznavi's court. Mobarak Shah Fakhr-e Modabber was a great writer and his famous book is *Adab-ul-Harb wa Shoja't*. He was living with respect in the court of these king and rulers:

Khosrow Malek (the last king of Ghaznavid dynasty), Moezzuddin Mohammad Sam-e-Ghori, Qutb al-Din Aybak (the first constituent of the Mamluks in India) and Shams al-Din Iltutmish (a mighty king of Delhi). He spent his life in Lahore and Delhi and only once he traveled to Ghazni to prepare references for his book, *Bahr –ul Ansab*.

Amir Ruhani: He was originally from Samarqand. He had acquired mastery in various branches of knowledge. Early in life he was in the company of Bahram Shah Ghaznavi and then he went to Khwarazm Shah's court. After Moghol invasion, he went to Delhi and lived at Iltutmish's court. He composed eloquent odes for Iltutmish:

مرد باید که به دنیا نکند میل دو چیز تا دل او ز ملازمت به سلامت باشد
زن نخواهد اگرش دختر قیصر دهند وام نستاند اگر وعده قیامت باشد

The author of *Sobh-e-Sadegh* has said Sultan Iltutmish, governor of Delhi, captured Ranthanbor in 1235A.D. and when he went to Mandu and compelled it, Hakim Rohani Samarqandi entered into the Sultan service. He read an ode for Sultan and took a wealthy Seleh (money). The ode begins with this line:

خبر به اهل سما برد جبرئیل امین ز فتحنامه سلطان عصر شمس الدین

Shahabuddin Mehmareh: He was a poet in Ruknoddin Firoz Shah's period. Ruknoddin was Iltutmish's son. Fakhrol Molk Amid Nunaki, a gifted poet at that time, praised Shahab and confessed his mastery. Amir Khosrow Dehlavi has imitated some of his poetry. In fact he became famous because of Amir Khosrow's adaption.

Amid Sonaam Loviki: His name was Fazl-ol-lah and his pen name was Amid. His motherland was Sonam in Punjab. He was living in Balban's time. And Balban gave him the title of *Fakhr-ol-Molk*. He was famous for odes. Most of his poems have been

mentioned as an example in some dictionaries. Somebody has gathered all these lines in a *Diwan*. So he has fifty five odes, six lyrics, three tarkibband, two towshih, one quatrain and some single lines in the *Diwan*. The themes of his odes are about praise of God, the Prophet, kings and rulers. There are some Sufistic and didactic themes as well. Abdol Qader Badaoni has named him *Zire-ye Molk-e Molook-e Kalaam* and Taqi Ohadi has called him *Shoaraay-e Hokamaa*. His odes show that his power and command on language and expressions was good. He has used different *Radifs* for creating different themes. He has used most of figures of speech such as metaphor, simile, metonymy, stichomythia, acrostic, crossed rhyme, double rhyme and alliteration. He has some difficult rhymes which look like a puzzel. It seems he wants to show his power and command on language. According to Prof. Nazir Ahmad there are almost one hundred words which Husain Inju has used them in his dictionary, *Farhang-e Jahangiri* from Amidi's poetry.

Shamsuddin Ardakani: He was in Sultan Mohammad's court. He composed an ode in the praise of king in twenty seven lines. It has been said that Sultan Mohammad gave him 1000 Dinars for each line. Ibn Batutah has written about some of scholars who received a precious *Khelat* like Shamsuddin Ardakani who composed twenty seven lines in Persian in satire of Sultan, and the Sultan gave him one Dinar for each line.⁹⁷

Badr-e Chachi: He came to Delhi during the time of Mohammad Bin Tughlaq time. He composed qasideh in praise of Mohammad Bin Tughlaq. He composed odes in praise of the Sultan and

⁹⁷ .Safi, Ghasem, *Bahaare Adab* (Tarikh-i zaban wa Adabiyat-i farsi dar shebhe gharre hind wa pakistan), Tehran.Amir Kabir. 1354, p.51

gathered information of important events of his time in a book, the *Shah Nameh*.⁹⁸

« بدر چاچی که در پایان عمر به هند خرامید و مضمول فراوان عنایات و رعایت سلطان محمد تغلق شاه گردید و به فخر زمان مخاطب گشت دیوانش بین الجمهور مشهور است . طور خاصی دارد و تشبیه و کنایات به کار می برد. »⁹⁹

⁹⁸ . Safi, Ghasem, *Bahaare Adab*, op.cit., p. 51

⁹⁹ . Sarv-e Aazad, *Fehrest-e Taraajom-e Masir-ol Kalam*, Daftar-e Sani, , p.16

Chapter 3

Amir Khosrow

The Father of Indo- Persian Poetry

In

Indian Sub- continent

Amir Khosrow: A Biographical Sketch

Amir Khosrow of Delhi had a multifaceted personality. He was at a time a poet, a courtier, a critic and a musician. His forefathers migrated from Tash to India where he was born in 1253_{A.D} and died in 1325_{A.D}. His father's language was Farsi¹⁰⁰ and his mother's tongue was said to be Hindi. According to an author he was born in a Turkish speaking family¹⁰¹. So, it is believed that he must have learnt Farsi out of his home. Tash, a city in south of Samarqand, was famous as Ghobattolkhazra.¹⁰² Amir Khosrow's father migrated from there to India during Iltutmish's time.

« مخزن کمالات صوری و معنوی ، ابوالحسن یمین الدین امیرخسرو دهلوی که اصلش از هزاره بلخ است ؛ پدر بزرگوارش امیرسیف الدین که از عماید قبیلہ لاجین بوده ، در عهد چنگیزخان سری به هند کشید ... و در قصبہ پتیالی که از توابع دارالخلافت دہلی است ، طرح اقامت انداختہ ، دختر عمادالملک را کہ از امرای نامدار بود ، بہ حیالہ نکاح درآورد و امیرخسرو از بطن وی در سنہ احدی و خمسین و ستمآہ متولد گشتہ . »^{۱۰۳}

« مشہور بہ دهلوی ، لقب مبارکش یمین الدین ، از امرای لاجین است کہ ترکان نواحی بلخ اند ... در عهد چنگیزخانی جلای وطن شدہ بودند. بعضی گویند از شہر تاش بودہ کہ در هزارہ لاجین است. بہ ہرحال او بہ لاجین شہرت دارد . »^{۱۰۴}

« گویند از هزارہ لاجین است کہ در حدود پای مرغ و قرشی می نشستہ اند. در فترات چنگیزخان آن مردم از ماوراءالنہر گریختہ بہ دیار ہند افتادہ بدہلی مقام گرفتہ اند. »^{۱۰۵}

Story of his birth: Sayed Muhammad Ibn Mubarak Kirmani, well-known as Ameer Khord was a contemporary of Amir Khosrow. In his book *Siyar-ul-Auliya* he has narrated a story according to which

¹⁰⁰ . Nizamuddin Auliya's mother language was Farsi.

¹⁰¹ . Karami. Mohammad Husain, *Naghsh wa Jaygah-e Amir Khosrow dar Sher-e Farsi*, Portal Pajuhesh gah-e Olum-i Insani wa Motaleat-i Farhangi.

¹⁰² . Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit, pp.179-180

¹⁰³ . Gopamovi, Mohammad, op.cit., p.265

¹⁰⁴ . Bandarebne Das, *Safine-ye Khoshgu*, Ketab Khaneh Majlis, Tehran, 1390, pp. 213-214

¹⁰⁵ . Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit, pp.179-180

when Amir Khosrow was born his father covered him in a cloth and took him to a Majzub who was living in their neighborhood. When the Majzub saw the child, he said that they had brought someone who would be two steps ahead of Khaqani.

« پدرش وی را در جامه پیچیده ، پیش مجذوبی که به قرب جوار سکونت داشت ، برد . مجذوب به مجرد ملاحظه فرمود : « آوردی شخصی را که دو قدم از خاقانی پیش تواند رفت . »^{۱۰۶}

Some biographers such as Amin Ahmad Razi in *Haft Iqlim* and Shaikh Abdul-Haq Muhadis Dahlavi in *Akhbarul-Akhyar*¹⁰⁷ have mentioned the same story in the said books.

Although Amir Khosrow has followed Khaqani in some odes but in fact, Amir Khosrow could neither come closer to Khaqani in odes nor could he go ahead of Khaqani. I think these stories have been narrated only to show the greatness of the two extraordinary personalities of Persian literature.

Similar story about Molana Jalaluddin Mohamad Balkhi: The story narrated by Ameer Khord and others is very similar to the story of great Iranian Sufi poet, Jalaluddin Mohamad Balkhi when he was 10 years old. Dowlatshah Samarqandi in his *Tazkirat-ul Shoara* has narrated that when Molana's father migrated from Balkh to the Asia Minor, the ten year old Molana was also with him. On their way they stopped for a while in Nishapur to meet Fariduddin Attar, a great Sufi at that time. He gave Molana his book, *Asrar Nama* and said to his father:

« زود باشد این فرزند تو آتش در جان همه سوخته گان عالم زند.»

¹⁰⁶ . Gopamovi, Mohammad, op.cit, p.265

¹⁰⁷ . Shaikh Abdul-Haq Muhaddis Dahlavi, *Akhbarul Akhyar*, Aleem Asharaf Khan, Anjoman-e Asar wa Mafakhir-e Frahang, chap-e Aval, 1383 p.19

The real motive behind narrating such stories is to take them out from the shadow of the greats who were living before them. The prediction about them shows that they did not emulate their predecessors. It was in their destiny.

Imadul Mulk: Amir Khosrow was born in Patilai and after the death of his father, his grandfather Imadul Mulk who was a reputed person of Delhi, took him into his custody. Khosrow studied all the branches of knowledge prevalent at that time viz. Arabic, literature, theology, Sufism, astronomy etc.¹⁰⁸

The first step in the field of poetry: Khosrow started composing poetry from the tender age of sixteen. He compiled his first Diwan of Persian poetry entitled *Tohfah ol sikhari*, when he was twenty. His pen name (Takhallus) was Sultani.

« دوازده ساله بودم که در فنون شاعری مهارت داشتم ... که در دوازده سالگی
از دواوین اساتید بزرگ مانند انوری و سنایی گلچین میکردم و در جواب آنها
شعر میسرودم. »¹⁰⁹

Khajeh Ezuddin and his examination: There is a well-known story about his talent in poetry: One of the famous scholars of Delhi, Khajeh Ez ud din, in order to test poetic skill of Khosrow gave a book to him for reading. Khosrow read it pleasingly well and impressed all present there with his melodious tone. Khajeh Ez ud din put Khosrow to another test by giving him four words (Mooy (hair), Beyzeh (testicle), Tir (arrow) and Kharbozeh (melon) not close to each other in meaning to make a couplet:

« یکی از علمای مشهور دهلی به نام خواجه عزالدین او را امتحان کرد و کتاب
شعری به دست او داد که بخواند . خسرو آن اشعار را چنان درست و شمرده و با

¹⁰⁸ . Shebli No'mani, *She'r ol Ajam*, op.cit., p. 201

¹⁰⁹ . *Tohfah ol Sighar*, Dibache,

لحن خوش و گیرا خواند که همه حاضران تحت تأثیر قرار گرفتند . وقتی خواجه
عزالدین شنید که او شعر می گوید برای این که بداند طبع او تا چه پایه است ، چهار
کلمه بی ارتباط موی ، بیضه ، تیر و خربزه را به او داد و ازو خواست همه را در
یک رباعی بگنجاند و خسرو فی المجلس این رباعی را ساخت :

هر موی که در زلف زیبا صنم است

صد بیضه عنبرین بدان موی ضم است

چون تیر مدان راست دلش را زیرا

چون خربزه داندانش میان شکم است

این رباعی موجب اعجاب فوق العاده خواجه عزالدین گشت و از قوت طبع خسرو
مطمئن گردید و در همان مجلس به مناسبت انتساب پدرش به ایلتمش تخلص "
سلطانی " را برای او برگزید و او را آن وقت دهساله بود.»

Amir Khosrow as a courtier

After the death of Emad ul Molk, Amir Khosrow was associated with court life and remained attached to court to the rest of his life. He served seven kings and rulers including Malik Chahju, Bughra Khan, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban, Prince Muhammad Khan, Muizzuddin Kaiqubad, Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji, Ruknuddin Ebrahim, Alauddin Khilji, Shahabuddin Omar Khan Khilji, Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah Khilji, Ghiyasddin Tughluq and Sultan Mohammad Tuqlugh. Khosrow has eulogized the benevolence of all of his patrons in his works.

Malik Chahju: He was Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban's nephew. Amir Khosrow was at his service for two years. Amir left Malik Chahju's court after Bughra Khan, Sultan Blaban's son, invited him to his court.

Bughra Khan: he was the governor of Samana in the East of Punjab. Amir Khosrow accepted his invitation and went to his court. When Bughra Khan went to Bengal, Amir Khosrow first decided to accompany him but because of his deep passion to Delhi, he did not stay in Bengal and came back to Delhi.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban: Ghiyasuddin Balban was a great Sultan of India. He was a kind, just and generous ruler. He ruled over the Delhi Sultanate for 20 years. He had assembled poets, writers, scholars and poets to his court. Poetry, literature, music and fine arts were his favorite subjects. During his reign there was a considerable progress in the fields of art, architecture, sculpture and painting¹¹⁰.

« القصه سلطان بلبن در مدت بست سال عصر بادشاهی خود وقار بادشاهی و داب و اداب بادشاهی و حرمت و حشمت بادشاهی را چنان محافظت نمود که بران مزید صورت نتوان بست و از مبالغتی که در محافظت اداب مراعات نمودی هیچ کلامی از فراشان و طشت داران و خواجه سرایان و بندگان که محرم مجلس خلوت او بودند و حق قدم بندگی و چاکری داشتند او را بی کلاه و موزه و یکتا و بارانی ندیدند و در ایام خانی و عصر بادشاهی که از مدت چهل سال بود هیچ رئیس و بازاری و مفرد و لئیمی و سفله و مطربی و مسخره را با خود هم سخن نکرد و حرکتی و سکنی و قولی و فعلی با محرمان و نامحرمان ازو در وجود نیامد که بنوعی موجب وهن بادشاهی او گردد و در مدت بادشاهی نا او با کسی مزاح کرد نه دیگران در پیش او مزاح کردند و نه او در مجلس به قهقهه خندید و نه دیگران در پیش او قهقهه خندیدند.»¹¹¹

Prince Muhammad Khan: He was Ghiyasuddin Balban's son. Prince Muhammad was a scholar and a poet as well. He was inclined to poetry and took special interest in composing poetry. He was the governor of Sind and was living in Multan. When he was in Delhi, he invited Amir Khosrow to Multan. Amir Khosrow

¹¹⁰.Ghavim, op.cit., pp.15-17

¹¹¹.Barani. Ziauddin, op.cit., p.33

and Amir Hasan Dehlavi both accompanied Prince Muhammad. They stayed with him for five years. At that time Multan was the cradle of science and literature in India and had gathered around it a great number of scholars, sufis and great teachers¹¹².

Muizzuddin Kaiqubad: He gave Amir Khosrow the title of *The King of Poets*. He also ordered Amir Khosrow to compose *Qiran-us Sa'dain*.

Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji: He bestowed Khosrow with the title of *Amir Khosrow*.

Alauddin Khilji: Amir Khosrow carried same job and title during Alauddin's time. He wrote *Khizr Khan wa Deval Rani*, *Khazaen-ul Futuh*, *Ghurrat-ul Kamal*, *Ijaz-e-Khosravi* and *Khamsa* during his reign.

« سلطان علاءالدین محمد ملک هند با امیرخسرو عنایات مبذول می داشته و امیرخسرو به درجه امارت رسیده و در ملازمت و اشتغال انواع فضایل را احیا کرد ... و امیرخسرو را در مدح سلطان علاءالدین محمد و اولاد کرام او قصاید و تصانیف است و چون نسیم عالم تحقیق بریاض امید او وزید عالم ناکس را در نظر همت خسی دید ، بارها از ملازمت استعفا خواستی و سلطان علاءالدین ابا نمودی آخر الامر بکلی از ملازمت مخلوق مخلوع شد و به خدمت اهل حق مشغول گشت.»^{۱۱۳}

Qutb ud din Mubarak Shah Khilji: Amir Khosrow composed *Noh Sepehr* during his reign.

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq: "He founded the third dynasty of the Sultanate period. He was an experienced warrior, statesman and an able administrator. He liberalized various harsh measures imposed

¹¹² . their names has mentioned in Nuzhat ul Khavater by Abdul Hai

¹¹³ . Dowlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit., p. 180

by Alauddin Khalji and restored peace and order in the kingdom. He built the fortified city of Tughluq Abad in Delhi.”¹¹⁴

Sultan Mohammad Tuqlugh: Besides being a great ruler, he was a great scholar better known for his generosity and munificence. Lots of Iranian especially from Khorasan¹¹⁵ migrated to India when he came to the power.

« پادشاهی مجاهد و غازی و دانشمند دوست و شاعر پرور بود و تا دیار قنوج بگشود و شعرای خراسان از صیت جلال و آوازه نوال او به هند رفته به مدایح او و آل و احفاد کرامش قصاید و تصانیف پرداختند و از اکرام نام او زله ها ساختند.»¹¹⁶

Muhammad Ibn Battuta, a Moroccan traveler and scholar, came to India during Sultan Mohammad Tuqlugh's time. He has given a valuable description of the reign of Sultan Mohammad Tuqlugh in his travelogue:

« در عهد این پادشاه به کسانی که از یمن ، خراسان و فارس با شنیدن شهره جود و سخاوت او به هندوستان می آمدند مقامات بلندی می بخشید و آن ها را بر شهروندان مملکت ترجیح می داد . این بطوطه چند تن از علما را نام می برد که سلطان به آن ها خلعت گرانبها بخشید از جمله به شمس الدین اندکانی که در مدح سلطان قصیده ای در ۲۷ بیت به فارسی نوشت ، در ازای هر بیت یک هزار دینار داد . در عصر محمد تغلق ، شاعر معروف بدرچاچی به دهلی آمد و تا چندین سال در همین دیار بود . در مدح محمد تغلق قصیده گفت و وقایع مهم او را در مثنوی ای به نام شاهنامه آورده است.»¹¹⁷

Sultan Mohammad Tuqlugh was the last of the kings served by Amir Khosrow. According to some sources¹¹⁸, when Amir Khosrow was accompanying Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq in a trip to Bengaleh, he heard about the death of his Pir, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya. Amir Khosrow immediately left for Delhi. It

¹¹⁴ . <http://www.cssforum.com.pk/css-optional-subjects/group-iv/history-pakistan-india/24734-delhi-sultanate.html>

¹¹⁵ . Amiri. Kioumars, *Zaban wa Adab-e Farsi dar Hend*, Shoray-e Gostaresh-I Zaban-e Farsi, Tehran, 1374, p.13

¹¹⁶ . Dowlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit., pp.185-186

¹¹⁷ . Bahar-e Adab, p.51

¹¹⁸ . Riyaz-ul Arefin, p. 102-103

is well known that when Khosrow reached Delhi, he donated all his wealth to the poors and six months after the death of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya he too left for his heavenly abode. Amir Khosrow lived for around 72years and his tomb is next to Dargah Nizamuddin in Delhi.

Amir Khosrow's works

Tuhfatus Sighar: composed by Amir Khosrow when he was twenty.

Vasat-ul Hayat: composed between the years 1284_{A.D.}-1285_{A.D.} when Khosrow was thirty one year old.

Qiran-us Sa'dain: composed in 1289_{A.D.} when Khosrow was thirty six years old.

Miftah-oI Fotuh: composed in 1291_{A.D.} when Khosrow was thirty eight years old.

Ghurrat-ul Kamal: composed in 1293_{A.D.} when Khosrow was forty years old. This book reminds *literary life* by Kaldrig.¹¹⁹

Khamsa: Matla-ul Anwar, Shirin wa Khosrow, Laila wa Majnun: composed in 1298_{A.D.} Ayeene Eskandari: composed in 1299_{A.D.}

Hasht Behesht: composed in 1301_{A.D.}

Khazaen- ul Futuh: composed in 1311_{A.D.}

Khizr Khan wa Deval Rani: composed in 1315_{A.D.} when Khosrow was sixty two years old.

¹¹⁹ . Zarrin Kub. Abdul Husain, *Amir Khosrow Dehlavi*, Portal Jam-I Olum Insani

Baqiya Naqiya composed in 1315_{A.D.} when Khosrow was sixty two year old.

Noh Sepehr: composed in 1318_{A.D.} when Khosrow was sixty five years old.

Tughlaq Nama: Perhaps in 1325_{A.D.} after his returning from Bengal.

Afzal-ul-Fawaid, Ijaz-e-Khusravi: composed in 1319_{A.D.} when Khosrow was sixty six year old

Jawahir-e Khusrovi: Sic?

Nihayat-ul Kamal: Amir Khosrow has composed it in the last years of his life.

Amir Khosrow and Music

Eversince the establishment of Muslim rule in northern India music was accorded special place along with poetry in the courts. Ghiyas ud din Balban, who had modelled his court on his Iranian counterparts, had gathered some singers and poets at his palace¹²⁰. Alauddin Khilji was another ruler of Delhi who expressed his interest in Hindi music and brought musicians from South India at his court.

Besides poetry Amir Khosrow was a great exponent of music as well. He is regarded as the *Father of Qawwali* (the music form of the Sufis in the Indian subcontinent) in India. He invented Sitaar, a musical instrument combining Iranian Tanbour and Indian Vita has

¹²⁰ . Ziauddin Barani, op.cit, p. 84

been used in the court and in the Nizamuddin Auliya's monastery as well.

Amir Khosrow was well-known as the master of music in the history of Indian music and the eighth Nayyak (Composer) in the world of music.¹²¹ According to Shibli Nomani, nobody could reach to Nayyak position after Khosrow.¹²² Even Mian Tansin, last great musician of India could not take Nayyak title. The invention of some musical notes and pitch are attributed to him¹²³. Moreover, Amir Khosrow had a pleasant voice too.¹²⁴ Nayyak Gupal, Khosrow's contemporary in the field of music, and having 1200 students in music, has praised Amir Khosrow's talent in music.¹²⁵ The proficiency in music and poetry takes the poetry of Khosrow to an altogether new level. For example Khosrow with his proficiency in poetry and music could create pleasant songs with using numbers:

ای زده ناوکم به جان یک دو سه چار و پنج و شش کشته چو بنده هر زمان یک دو سه چار و پنج و شش

Amir Khosrow is credited with introducing some new tunes in Indian music by combining Hindi melodies with Persian rhythms¹²⁶. Some scholars believe that he reformed Indian music with his innovative ideas. Sabahuddin Abdurahman says:

« مردان مذهبی اسلام موسیقی را حرام می دانستند ولی آلات موسیقی ساخت
امیر خسرو به زندگی فرهنگی دربار شاهی غنا بخشید و در عین حال به گردهم آیی
های معنوی در خانقاه خواجه نظام الدین اولیا روحی تازه دمید . »¹²⁷

¹²¹ . Kay Manish. Abbas, *Amir Khosrow Dehlavi wa Mousighi Diwanash*, Pajuheshgah-i Olum-i Insani wa Motaliat Farhangi, Portal Jam-i Olum-i Insani

¹²² . shibli Nomani, *Sher-ul-Ajam*, Motarjim: Fakhr-i Daei, Donyay-e kitab, Tehran, 1368, Vol.2, p.99

¹²³ . Kay Manish. Abbas, op.cit.

¹²⁴ . <http://www./my.tahoor.com/fa/Article/View/115497>. *Negahi be Zendegi wa Ahvalat-e Amir Khosrow Dehlavi*,

¹²⁵ . Kay Manish. Abbas, op.cit.

¹²⁶ . Sabahuddin Abdurahman, *Setayesh-i Zadgah dar Asar-i Amir Khosrow*, Pajuheshgah-i Olum-i Insani wa Motaliat Farhangi, Portal Jam-i Olum-i Insani

¹²⁷ . Ibid.

Taal: Amir Khosrow says:

دهل زن دهل زد به تحسین او که دین دین او دین او دین او

According to music experts, the above line signifies Taal, the rhythmic pattern of any composition in Indian classical music which is related with the "foot" of classical poetry, or usul in the theory of music. Serajuddin Ali Khan Arzu in his book *Majma ul Nafais* talks about it in the following words:

« در صورتی که مصراع دوم را خواننده از سر گیرند اصول سواری که در وقت سواری سلاطین و امرای هندوستان نوازند ، پیدا می شود و آن دو متصل دارد و دو منفصل منفرج و این بر کسی که واقف باشد از علم اصول و ادوار به اندک توجه به ظهور می پیوندد. ^{۱۲۸}»

To make his Persian poetry melodious, Amir Khosrow tried to choose rhythms which were more consistent with the content of his poetry. This was not a conscious choice. He did it with his musical mind which helped him to get the best words from his brain onto the paper. Melodious rhythms used in his poetry show the influence of music on his poetry. The metre Mafā'elun Mafā'elun Mafā'elun Mafā'elun (Rajaz Mosamman Matviy Makhboon) creates melody in the following way:

هر سحری به کوی تو شعله وای خود کشم چند به سینه خلق را داغ جفای خود کشم

Or another metre starting with Mufta'ilun Fā'ilun Mufta'ilun Fā'ilun (Monsareh-e Mosamman-e Matvi-e Makshoof) makes an exciting rhythm because of specific setting of short and long syllables in poetry. It can be gauged from the following verses:

وه که اگر روی تو در نظر آید مرا عیش ز خورشید و مه روی نماید مرا

¹²⁸. Sirajuddin Ali Khan Arzu, *Majma ul Nafais*, Anjoman-i Asar wa Mafakher Farhangi, Tehran, 1385, p403

ای به بدی کرده باز چشم بدآموز را بین به کمینگاه چرخ ناوک دلدوز را

Amir Khosrow was a great musician and a great poet as well. He reached highest position in music too but he prefers poetry over music:

مناظره مطرب با امیر خسرو

مطربی می گفت خسرو را که ای گنج سخن	علم موسیقی ز علم شعر نیکوتر بود
زان که آن علمی است کز دقت نیاید در قلم	لیک این علمی است کاندر کاغذ و دفتر بود
پاسخش دادم که من در هر دو معنی کاملم	هر دو را سنجیده بر وزنی که آن بهتر بود
فرق می گویم میان هر دو معقول و درست	تا دهد انصاف کز هر دو دانشور بود
نظم را کردم سه دفتر ور به تحریر آمدی	علم موسیقی سه دفتر بودی ار باور بود
نظم را علمی تصور کن به نفس خود تمام	کو نه محتاج اصول و صوت خنیاگر بود
گر کسی بی زیر و بم نظمی فروخواند رواست	نی به معنی هیچ نقصان ، نی به لفظ اندر بود
ور کند مطرب بسی هان و هون هون درسرود	چون سخن نبود همه بی معنی و ابتر بود
نای زن را بین که صوتی دارد و گفتار نی	لاجرم محتاج در قول کسی دیگر بود
پس درین صورت ضرورت صاحب صوت و سماع	از برای شعر محتاج سخن پرور بود
نظم را حاصل عروسی دان و نغمه زیورش	نیست عیبی گر عروس خوب بی زیور بود

Amir Khosrow's contribution to the Indo-Persian Poetry

Indian Poets were under the influence of Persian poetry in Iran before Amir Khosrow. It was Amir Khosrow who brought a new trend in Persian poetry which was later imitated by the poets in the Indian subcontinent. He composed poetry in at least three languages; Persian, Arabic and Hindi but most of his writings in

Hindi are lost.¹²⁹ Using simple language he was able to construct lyrical verses containing deep meaning.

« القصه معانی خاص و نازکی های امیر خسرو و کلام پرشور دلسوز او آتش در
نهاد خاکیان می زند و بنیاد صبر عاشقان برمی کند. »^{۱۳۰}

Amir Khosrow of Delhi, who played pioneering role to fully develop Persian poetry, was a multifaceted personality; a writer, a critic¹³¹, a Sufi¹³², a musician, a courtier, a historian¹³³, and a poet. He was a prolific and versatile poet. He has composed around half million verses including lyrics, odes, quatrains and epics. He was the first poet in the Indian Subcontinent who tried his hand in every form of poetry. He was the first Indian who composed the Khamsa. His poetry evokes unique imagery which shows the great lyrical talent of him. Amir Khosrow used literary devices and techniques in his works. In *Ijaz-e Khosrawi* he has discussed some of new literary devices and techniques.

Poetic meters in Amir Khosrow's works

Amir Khosrow has chosen some meters which is consistent with the content of his poetry. He has made frequent use of some meters in his poetry which are totally fascinating:

Mufta‘ilun/Mafā‘ilun/Mufta‘ilun/Mafā‘ilun (Rajaz Mosaman Matvi Makhbun): This meter is fast and rhythmic one.

هر سحری به کوی تو شعله وای خود کشم چند به سینه خلق را داغ جفای خود کشم

¹²⁹ . *Essay on Persian literature*, p. 5

¹³⁰ . Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit., p.240

¹³¹ . Abbasi. Habibullah, *Butiqay-i Amir Khosrow*, Pajuheshgah-i Olum-i Insani wa Motaliat Farhangi, Portal Jam-i Olum-i Insani

¹³² . He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, the famous Sufi saint of the Chisti order, and had a high place through his eyes.

¹³³ . Sabahuddin Abdurrahman, op.cit.

The other meter which has been repeatedly used by Khosrow is **Mufta'ilun fā'ilun Mufta'ilun fā'ilun** (Monsareh Mosaman Matvi Makshuf): This meter is a combination of long and short syllables.

ای به بدی کرده باز چشم بدآموز را بین به کمینگاه چرخ ناوک دلدوز را

ای رخ زیبایی تو آینه سینه ها روی ترا در خیال زین نمط آینه ها

وہ کہ اگر روی تو در نظر آید مرا عیش ز خورشید و مہ روی نماید مرا

A comparative analysis of poetic meters shows frequent use of a particular metre by a particular poet. This is related to literary issues dominant over literature apart from poet's taste. (ذوق شاعران). Amir Khosrow has used more these poetic meters in his works:

- **Mozare**

Maf'ulo Fa'ilātun Maf'ulo Fa'ilātun

مفعول فاعلاتن مفعول فاعلاتن (بحر مضارع مثنیٰ اُخرب)

Maf'ulo Fa'ilāto Mafa'ilun Fa'ilun

مفعول فاعلات مفاعیل فاعلن (بحر مضارع مثنیٰ اُخرب مکفوف محذوف)

- **Hazaj**

Mafā'īlun Mafā'īlun Mafā'īlun Mafā'īlun

مفاعیلن مفاعیلن مفاعیلن مفاعیلن (بحر هزج مثنیٰ سالم)

Mafulo Mafā'īlun Mafulo Mafā'īlun

مفعول مفاعیلن مفعول مفاعیلن (بحر هزج مثنیٰ اُخرب)

Mafā'īlun Mafā'īlun fa'ulon

مفاعیلن مفاعیلن فعولن (بحر هزج مسدس محذوف . وزن دوبیتی)

- **Ramal**

Fā'ilātun Fā'ilātun Fā'ilun

فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلن (بحر رمل مسدس محذوف. وزن مثنوى)

Fa'alātun Fa'alātun Fa'alātun Fa'alātun

فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن (بحر رمل مثنى مخبون)

Fā'ilātun Fā'ilātun Fā'ilātun Fā'ilun

فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلن (بحر رمل مثنى محذوف)

Fa'alātun Fa'alātun Fa'alun

فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلن (بحر رمل مسدس مخبون محذوف)

Fa'alātun Fa'alātun Fa'alātun Fa'alun

فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلن (بحر رمل مثنى مخبون محذوف)

Fa'alāto Fā'ilātun Fa'alāto Fā'ilātun

فعلات فاعلاتن فعلات فاعلاتن (بحر رمل مثنى مشكول)

- **Mojtas**

Mafa'ilun Fa'alātun Mafa'ilun Fa'alātun

مفاعلن فاعلاتن مفاعلن فاعلاتن (بحر مجتث مثنى سالم)

Mafa'ilun Fa'alātun Mafa'ilun Fa'alun

مفاعلن فاعلاتن مفاعلن فاعلن (بحر مجتث مثنى مخبون محذوف)

- **Rajaz**

Mustaf'ilun Mustaf'ilun Mustaf'ilun Mustaf'ilun

مستفعلن مستفعلن مستفعلن مستفعلن (بحر رجز مثنى سالم)

Mufta'ilun Maf'ilun Mufta'ilun Maf'ilun

مفتعلن مفاعلن مفتعلن مفاعلن (بحر رجز مثنى مطوى مخبون)

- **Saree**

Mufta'ilun Mufta'ilun Fā'ilun

مفتعلن مفتعلن فاعلن (بحر سريع مطوى مكشوف)

- **Monsareh**

Mufta'ilun Fā'ilun Mufta'ilun Fā'ilun

مفتعلن فاعلن مفتعلن فاعلن (بحر منسرح مطوى مكشوف)

Mufta'ilun Fā'ilāt Mufta'ilun Fa'

مفتعلن فاعلات مفتعلن فع (بحر منسرح مثنى مطوی منحور)

- **Motaqareb**

Fa'ūlun Fa'ūlun Fa'ūlun Fa'ūlun

فعولن فعولن فعولن فعولن (بحر متقارب مثنى سالم)

Fa'ūlun Fa'ūlun Fa'ūlun Fa'al

فعولن فعولن فعولن فعل (بحر متقارب مثنى محذوف . وزن شاهنامه)

- **Khafeef**

Fā'ilātun Mafa'ilun Fa'alun

فعلاتن مفاعلن فعلن (بحر خفيف مسدس مخبون)

- **Baset**

Mustaf'ilun Fā'ilun Mustaf'ilun Fā'ilun

مستفعلن فاعلن مستفعلن فاعلن

- **Kamel**

Mutafā'ilun Mutafā'ilun Mutafā'ilun

متفاعلن متفاعلن متفاعلن

Amir Khosrow through the lens of authorities

Amir Khosrow's greatness has been accepted by great poets and writers of both India and Iran.

- **Shaikh Abdul-Haq Muhaddis Dahlavi:** He extols Khosrow's poetry in the following words in Akhbar ul-Akhyar:

« وی سلطان الشعرا و برهان الفضلاست ... در وادی سخن و کثرت آن یگانه عالم است و نقاوه نوع بنی آدم است و آنچه او را از مضامین و معانی در اطوار سخن و انواع آن و صنایع و بدایع آن دست داد ، هیچ کس را از شعرای متقدمین و متأخرین نداده . در طرز سخن بر فرموده شیخ خود رفته است که فرموده : سخن بر طرز

اصفهانیان بگو . بالجمله وی عالمی است از عوالم خداوندی که در این باب نایت ندارد . با وجود وفور فضایل ، موصوف بود به صفات تصوف و احوال مشایخ . اگر تعلق به پادشاهان داشت و با ملوک و امرا به عنوان خوش طبعی و ظرافت مخالط بود ، اما توجه دل او نه به آن جانب بود و این معنی را از برکات آثارش توان دانست . چه در دل های اهل معصیت برکت کمتر توان یافت و آثار ایشان در قبول دل ها و جذب خواطر نبود . «^{۱۳۴}

Shaykh Abdul-Haq declares Khosrow as a Sufi poet:

« نقل است که وی هر شب در وقت تهجد هفت سی پاره قرآن می خواندی . روزی شیخ از او پرسید : ترک حال و دلمشغولی هایت چیست ؟ عرض کرد که مخدوم چندگاه باشد که به وقت آخر شب گریه مستولی می شود . فرمود : الحمدالله که اندکی ظاهر شدن گرفت . «^{۱۳۵}

• **Abdul Rahman Jami:** In Abdul Rahman Jami's opinion Amir Khosrow of Delhi was an exceptional poet of Persian literature

جامی از خسرو همی گیرد طریق سوز و درد طور او نبود خیالات محال انگیخت

Khosrow took Persian poetry to a new level and perfected this art. He followed Khaqani in Qasida but he could never reach his level. However, he surpassed Khaqani in Ghazals. Almost all the commentators of literature have acknowledged his mastery in Lyrics which has familiar concepts of love and divinity. It was Khosrow who successfully imitated the quintet or khamasa of Nizami.

« امیرخسرو دهلوی در شعر مستثنی است . قصیده و غزل و مثنوی ورزیده و همه به کمال رسانید . تتبع خاقانی می کند هر چند در قصیده به وی نرسیده اما غزل را از وی گذرانیده ... و خمسه نظامی به از وی کسی در جواب نگفته . «^{۱۳۶}

Love seemed to be the centre of Khosrow's poetry. Therefore, his heart brimmed with the tender feelings of love and divinity marked by spirituality and ecstasy.

¹³⁴ . Shaikh Abdul-Haq Muhaddis Dahlavi, op.cit., pp. 192-193

¹³⁵ . Ibid, p. 193

¹³⁶ . Jami. Abdul Rahman, *Baharistan*, p.601

«وی را از مشرب و محبت ، چاشنی تمام بوده است ، چنان چه در سخنان وی ظاهر است و صاحب سماع و وجد و حال بوده است.»^{۱۳۷}

- **Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi** says:

« ذکر صاحب القران بین الاقران و خاتم الکلام فی آخر الزمان در دریای معنوی امیرخسرو دهلوی اعلی الله درجته »^{۱۳۸}

- According to **Ziauddin Barani**:

« او نویسنده یی همه فن حریف است و نه در میان پیشینیان و نه در نسل های آینده تا روز قیامت نمی توان همتای وی را یافت . »^{۱۳۹}

- **Shibli Nomani** believes:

Amir Khosrow gave voque a significant extent. Khaqani composed odes more than hundred of which are in difficult *Radifs*. It must be mentioned here that barring Khosrow no other poet could imitate Khaqani so successfully.

« ما در سابق گفتیم که موجد واقعه گویی شیخ سعدی است و امیرخسرو آن را وسعتی به سزا داده است^{۱۴۰} ... خاقانی قصیده های چند صد بیتی گفته ... در ردیف های مشکل و دشوار قصیده های مبسوط و مهمی گفته و نکات و دقایقی که از ممیزات کلام اوست ... در این قسمت بخصوص هم کسی همپایه او نیست مگر امیرخسرو از وی تقلید نمود و در اکثر موارد هم کامیاب شده است.^{۱۴۱} »

- **Ghalib of Delhi** praises Khusro in the following verse:

غالب! مرے کلام میں کیوں کر مزہ نہ ہو

پیتا ہوں دھو کے خسرو شیریں سخن کے پانو

- **Iqbal of Lahore** has the following words of appreciation for poetry:

خسرو شیرین زبان ، رنگین بیان نغمہ هایش از ضمیر «کن فکان»

¹³⁷ . Jami. Abdu l Rahman, *Nafahat ul Uns*,

¹³⁸ . Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit., p. 265

¹³⁹ Sabahuddin Abdurrahman, op.cit.

¹⁴⁰ . shibli Nomani, op.cit., Vol. 3, p.16

¹⁴¹ . Ibid, Vol.5, p.9

فطرتش روشن مثال ماهتاب گشت از بهر سفارت انتخاب
چنگ را پیش قلندر چون نواخت از نوانی شیشه ی جانش گداخت
شوکتی کو پخته چون کهسار بود قیمت یک نغمه ی گفتار بود

Amir Khosrow the Father of Persian Poetry in Indian subcontinent

Amir Khosrow was a great medieval personality of India whose contribution to Indo-Persian literature is rich and tremendous. He was known by different titles: king of the realm of theme (صاحبقران), a courtier of the eloquence of speech (خسرو قلمرو معانی), the king of poets and the proof of wisdom (سلطان), (سواد اعظم سخندانى). (الشعرا وبرهان الفضلا).

Amir Khosrow was indeed the father of Persian literature in India. He is an acknowledged master of Persian poetry in India and Iran. He earned a very high reputation in the annals of Indo-Persian poetry. The following points is sufficient for the justification of his talent in the field of poetry:

➤ **Amir Khosrow was the first poet who is famous for plurality of poems (*Kesrat-i Asha'ar*).**

According to scholars Amir Khosrow was the first and perhaps the only poet to attain such a huge popularity in the Indian subcontinent. Ziauddin Barani in his book, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* says that the number of books written by Amir Khosrow is sufficient enough to create a library. Amin Ahmad Razi in his biographical encyclopedia *Haft iqlīm* and Jami in *Nafahatul Uns* have mentioned Amir Khosrow's works to ninety nine (99) in

numbers. The author of *Khazinatul Asfiya* mentions Khosrow's works more than ninety nine (99) volumes. Amir Khosrow himself declares his verses around four hundred thousands to five hundred thousands in numbers. Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi mentions Amir Khosrow's verses as five hundred thousands in *Tazkiratul Shoa'ra*.¹⁴²

« دیوان امیرخسرو را فضلا جمع نتوانستند کرد ، چه از روی انصاف تأمل نمودند که بحر در ظرف و علم لدنی در حرف نگنجد و سلطان سعید بایسنقرخان سعی و جهد بسیار نمود و در جمع آوردن سخنان امیرخسرو و همانا یکصد و بیست هزار بیت جمع نموده و بعد از آن دو هزار بیت از غزلیات خسرو جایی یافته که در دیوان او نبوده ، دانسته است که جمع نمودن این اشعار امری متعذرالوصول و آرزویی متعسرالوصول است ، ترک نموده است و امیرخسرو در یکی از رسایل خود بیان فرموده که اشعار من از پانصد هزار بیت کمتر است و از چهارصد هزار بیت بیشتر»^{۱۴۳}

➤ **Amir khosrow was the first who tried his hands in all forms of poetry.**

Amir Khosrow has written his poetry in seven forms: 1. Lyric (Ghazal) 2.Epic (Masnavi) 3.Ode (Qasida) 4.Fragment (Qita) 5.Quatrains (Rubai) 6.Couplets (Do beiti) 7. The composition of clause (Tarkib band)

« امیرخسرو دهلوی در شعر مستثنی است . قصیده و غزل و مثنوی ورزیده و همه به کمال رسانید.»^{۱۴۴}

Amir Khosrow and his lyric:

Amir Khosrow created some new themes in his lyrics under the influence of Indian culture and Braj Bhasha which was a predominant literary language of India before Hindustani.

¹⁴² . Kay Manish. Abbas, op.cit.,

¹⁴³ . Dawlat Shah-i.Samarqandi, op.cit., p. 240

¹⁴⁴ . Jami. Abdur Rahman, *Baharistan*, op.cit., p.601

زحالِ مسکین مکن تغافلِ دُرّائے نیناں بنائے بتیاں
 کہ تابِ ہجرانِ ندارم اے جاں نہ لے ہو کابے لگائے چھتیاں
 شبانِ ہجرانِ دراز چوں زلف و روزِ وصلت چوں عمرِ کوتاہ
 سکھی! پیا کو جو میں نہ دیکھوں تو کیسے کاٹوں اندھیری رتیاں
 یکایک از دل دو چشمِ جادو بصدِ فریبم ببردِ تسکین
 کسے پڑی ہے جو جا سناوے پیارے پی کو ہماری بتیاں
 چوں شمعِ سوزاں، چوں ذرہ حیراں، ہمیشہ گریاں، بہ عشقِ آن ما
 نہ نیند نیناں، نہ انگِ چیناں، نہ آپ آویں، نہ بھجیں پتیاں
 بحقِ روزِ وصالِ دلبر کہ دادِ ما را غریب خسرو
 سپیت من کے ورائے راکھوں جو جائے پاؤں پیا کی کھتیاں

Abdur Rahman Jami comments on Khosrow's lyrics in the following words:

« ... تتبع خاقانی می کند ہرچند در قصیدہ بہ وی نرسیدہ اما غزل را
 از وی گذرانیدہ و غزل های او بہ واسطہ معانی آشنا کہ ارباب عشق
 و محبت برحسب ذوق و وجدان خود آن را درمی یابند ، مقبول ہمہ
 کس افتادہ است . »^{۱۴۵}

ازین سبب من و جانان و خواب در سایہ	بہ باغ سایہ ابرست و آب در سایہ
چہ خفتہ ای کہ رسید آفتاب در سایہ	بہ سایہ خفتہ بدم دی کہ یارم آمد و گفت
کہ سوختہ رود از ماہتاب در سایہ	مہ منی و دل از روی تو بہ خط زان رفت
بہ گلشنی کہ درو باشد آب در سایہ	کنون چو باد بیاید پیش از صبح
چو خفتہ باشم مست و خراب در سایہ	بہ بانگ چنگ مگر ساقیم کند بیدار
روانہ کردہ میی چون گلاب در سایہ	بہ بوستان منم امروز مجلسی و گلی
دگر صراحی و نقل و شراب در سایہ	در آفتاب ہمین ساقی است از رخ خویش

¹⁴⁵ . Jami. Abdur Rahman, *Baharistan*, op.cit, p.601

Delbar Tashmatov has divided Amir Khosrow's lyrics in four parts: love-spiritual lyrics, spiritual-philosophical lyrics, social-eulogium lyrics and wasukht. Amir Khosrow's use of lyric form which until then was not commonly used in India is very important. Some scholars believe that the lyrics of Amir Khosrow are a fine blend of Sufism/Hinduism and eulogy.¹⁴⁶

Amir Khosrow modelled himself on Khaqani and Sadi in lyrics. Love is predominant theme in his lyrics. The love pangs between beloved and lover, distress and suffering in love, and philosophical musings (a wise old preacher, appreciates the time and moment at hand and enjoys every moment of it. Amir Khosrow's romantic lyrics are rich in sensory imagery (تصاویر حسی) when he composes:

لعل لبث به چاشنی از انگبین به است	رشک رخت به نازکی از یاسمین به است
وه فرق در میان تو و آفتاب چیست	دید آسمان به سوی تو و گفت این به است
در باغ سرو راست بسی دیده ام، ولی	چیزی که سرور است همین راستین به است
بی شمع خویش روشنی خانه بایدم	آتش درون زنید که روشن چنین به است
ماییم سر زده قلمی کز پی خطش	نامه سیاه پیرهنی کاغذین به است
از آب تیغ، شسته شود هر گنه که هست	بر جرم عشق غمزه آن نازنین به است
ای شوخ تا تو در دل من جای کرده ای	این است دوزخی که ز خلد برین به است
یک تلخی آرزوست من تلخ عیش را	آلوده لبث، که ز صد انگبین به است
گفتی تنت نگون و دلت خونست، خسروا	ما را همین نگینه بر انگشترین به است

His philosophical musings are full of Epicurean philosophy:

¹⁴⁶ . Tashmatov, Delbar, *Nigahi be Surat wa Sirat-i Ashar-i Amir Khosrow Dehlavi*, Portal Jame Olum-i Insani

چراغ عیش برافروز از شراب که زود شود ز دست تو رغبت چون روغن بلسان

Some of his lyrics are full of mystical symbols and divinity. Amir Khosrow was the first poet who composed mystical poetry in India. Abu Ali Qalandar, who was well known in mystical epics, was a contemporary of Amir Khosrow.

« غزل های او به واسطه معانی آشنا که ارباب عشق و محبت
برحسب ذوق و وجدان خود آن را درمی یابند ، مقبول همه کس
افتاده است . »^{۱۴۷}

ز عارض، طره بالا کن که کار خلق در هم شد علم پرکش که بر خوبانت سلطانی مسلم شد
فگندی برقع از روی و زیعقوبان بشد دیده گذشتی بر سر بازار و حسن یوسفان کم شد
دلَم می خواستی پاره، عفاک الله چنان دیدی مرا می خواستی رسوا، بحمدالله که آن هم شد
که داند خاک من دور از سر کویت کجا افتد؟ خوش آن سرها که راه تو خاک نعل ادهم شد
ترا دادم دل و تن خال را و جان دو چشمت را من و عشقت کنون، کز سوی خویشم سینه بیغم شد
گریبان گیری، ای زاهد، چه فرمایی رقیبان را؟ کز و در عهد حسنش دامن صحبت فراهم شد
برون افتاد چون نامحرمان از پرده دل جان از آنگه کاندترین پرده خیال دوست محرم شد
عنائش گیر و مگذار، ای رقیب، از خانه بیرونش که از دمه‌های سرد عاشقان در تاب و در هم شد
زبان گر تیشه فرهاد گردد پندگویان را چه غم، چون در دل خسرو بنای دوست محکم شد

Khosrow was well aware of Indian traditions and cultures and has amply reflected it in many of his poetic compositions. Regarding Sati system he expresses his feelings in the following way:

خسروا در عشق بازی کم ز هندو زن مباحش کز برای مرده سوزد زنده جان خویش را

چون زن هندو کسی در عاشقی دیوانه نیست سوختن بر شمع مرده کار هر پروانه نیست

¹⁴⁷ . Jami. Abdur Rahman, *Baharistan*, op.cit, p.601

Amir Khosrow is supposed to have introduced Wasukht; a poetic theme in Indian subcontinent. Use of simple language, reduction of literary techniques and devices and love as a symbol of suffering and persecution and hard moments in life are the main elements of Wasukht.

یار دل برداشت وز رنج دل ما غم نداشت زهره ام کرد آب و تیمار من در هم نداشت
 گریه ها کردم که خون شد سنگ خارا را جگر سنگدل یارم که چشمش قطره زان نم نداشت
 ماجرای درد خود بر روی او صد بار پیش یک به یک گفتیم و او را ذره ای زان غم نداشت
 دی برون رفتم فغانها کردم و بگریستم بود او در خواب مستی و غم عالم نداشت
 دوش بیخود بوده ام در بستر غم تا به چاشت همچنان می سوخت شمع و دیده من دم نداشت
 ای که گویی خوشدلی، یارب، همین در عهد ما گشت پنهان یا کسی خود از بنی آدم نداشت
 صبر خود یکبارگی زانگونه از ما برگذشت هیچ گه گویی که با ما آشنایی هم نداشت
 دیر زی، ای عشق کز اقبال تو پاینده بود این متاع انده و غم، هیچ چیزی کم نداشت
 این دل خسرو که از عشق جوانان پخته شد همچنان خون ماند کز شیرین لبی مرهم نداشت

Amir Khosrow's poetry is marked by the abundant use of wide range of literary devices and techniques such as Simile, Metaphor, Personification, Hyperbole (مبالغه), Allusion (تلمیح), symmetry (مراعات نظیر), and paronomasia (جناس) in his lyrics.

Amir Khosrow and his ode:

« خاقانی قصیده های چند صد بیتی گفته ... در ردیف های مشکل و دشوار و دقیقی که از ممیزات کلام اوست... و در این قسمت بخصوص هم کسی همپایه او نیست مگر امیر خسرو از وی تقلید نمود و در اکثر موارد هم کامیاب شده است. »^{۱۴۸}

The panegyrics of Amir Khosrow contain apart from eulogy moral and philosophical themes.

¹⁴⁸ . Shibli Nomani, op.cit., Vol. 5, p.9

خوش خلعتی است جسم ولی استوار نیست خوش حالتی است عمر ولی پایدار نیست
 خوش منزلی است عرصه روی زمین دریغ کانجا مجال عیش و مقام قرار نیست
 دل در جهان میند که کس را ازین عروس جز آب دیده خون جگر در کنار نیست
 غره مشوز جاه مجازی به اعتبار کاین جاه را به نزد خدا اعتبار نیست
 زنهار اختیار مکن بهر منزلی کانجا بدست هیچکس اختیار نیست

Amir Khosrow and his quatrains:

Hakim Omar Khayam was renowned for his quatrains. His quatrains possess the talks regarding wine, the unstable nature of this world and seeking of forgiveness etc. Abu Sa'id AbulKhayr, Sarmad Kashani and Baba Afzal Kashi were famous for quatrains. Their quatrans have spirituality and morality as predominant themes but Amir Khosrow's quatrains are more about philosophy, love and eulogy:

هر چند که از قضا بلا می آید وز قوس فلک تیر جفا می آید
 در کنج جفا نشسته و منتظرم تا بار دگر چه از خدا می آید

Amir Khosrow has one hundred twenty five (125) quatrains. Fourty (40) of them deals with the concept of morality. Remaining quatrains hover around the basic theme of love, beauty, wine, eulogy and history.¹⁴⁹ Khosrow's poetic art is at its peak in his love quatrains. In these quatrains, his language is like his lyrics; charming and smooth:

هر روز به غمزه قصد جانم چه کنی سرگشته و رسوای جهانم چه کنی
 یکشب اگر مست بیایم تنها دانم چه کنم اگر ندانم چه کنی

¹⁴⁹ . Syed Wahid Ashraf, *Robaeiyyat-e Amir Khosrow*, Portal Jam-i Olum Insani

In some of his quatrains he has criticized religious people for blindfollowing:

تا عقل تو بر نفس مقدم نشود اسلام تو پیش ما مسلم نشود
دندان طمع که باد حرص است درو تا برنکنی در دسرت کم نشود

Amir Khosrow and his epic:

He started a new trend in the genre of epic.

« مثنوی ، و آن این که هر بیتش با بیت دیگر متفق الوزن مختلف القافیه
بود و آن را شعرای عجم بر هفت وزن مشهور قرار داده اند و حضرت
امیرخسرو دهلوی – قدس سره – دو وزن دیگر بر آن افزوده ، یکی از
بحر تقارب مثنی ، چون :

تو این مثنویات سبع ار بدانی شود بر تو منکشف سبع المثنائی

که در هر مصراع تکرار فعولن چهار بار است . دوم از بحر سریع مسدس
، چون :

آمده این هفت گل تازه تر تازه کن رونق گلزار هنر

که در هر مصرع لفظ مفتعلن سه بار مکرر می شود . «^{۱۵۰}

Khosrow's epics have Indian themes e.g. in *Deval Rani wa Khizir Khan* he describes marriage ceremony in Indian traditions. Furthermore, he also names various flowers such as *čampā*, *jūhī*, *gulāb*, *dhak*. In his epic *Noh Sepehr* he gives useful information about India and Indian languages. Regarding Sanskrit he says:

این است زبانی به صفت در دُری کم از عربی و برتر از دُر دَری

Amir Khosrow was the first person to successfully emulate Nezami in the composition of *Khamseh*. Poets imitating Nezami's *Khamasa* either in Iran or India do not even come closer to Amir Khosrow.

¹⁵⁰ . Gomapoy. Mohammad Ghodratalah, op.cit., pp.337-38

Amir Hashemi Kermani, a contemporary of Jami, composed *Mazhar ul Asar* in imitation of *Makhzan ul Asrar* of Nizami. He praises Khosrow in the following couplets:

چون ز قضا لایحه نو رسید	کوکبه ی نوبت خسرو رسید
خامه بر آورد به فکر جواب	ماند قلم بر ورق آفتاب
خامه خسرو چو گهر بار شد	نامه او مطلع انوار شد
کرد در آن نامه تکلف بسی	گفت جوابی که نگوید کسی
بزم سخن را به سخن ساز کرد	بر همه کس راه سخن باز کرد

Amir Khosrow composed his *Khamsa* hundered years after Nizami. Jami believes nobody imitated *Khamsa* better than Amir Khosrow:

« خمسه نظامی به از وی کسی در جواب نگفته و در آن مثنوی ها دیگر دارد همه مطبوع و مصنوع »

رسانید گنج سخن را به پنج	ز ویرانه گنجه شد گنج سنج
وزان بازوی فکرتش رنجه شد	چو خسرو بدان پنجه هم پنجه شد

As compared to the *Khamsa* of Nezami Ganjavi, Amir Khosrow's epics have deeper psychological thoughts and more romantic in the images of heroes.

Khosrow imitated *Khamsa* and he was the first person who attracted the attention of others to Nezami's *Khamsa*. It seems Nezami and his status in poetry especially epic owes a lot to Khosrow's imitation. Amir Khosrow composed his *Khamsa* about hundered years after Nezami's *Khamsa*.

The trend which Amir Khorsrow set in Persian poetry:

The Khamsa of Nizami along with its various imitations which made a trend in Persian poetry by Kosrow, is given in the following lines:

- Nezami Ganjavi: Nezami's *Khamsa* are *Makhzan ul-Asrar*, *Khosrow wa Shirin*, *Layli wa Majnun*, *Haft Paikar* and *Eskandar Nama*.

Makhzan ul-Asrar (1174_{A.D.}), 2260 lines, Sare meter, twenty parts about morality, wisdom and mysticism:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ هست کلید در گنج حکیم

Khosrow wa Shirin (1180_{A.D.}), 6500 lines, Hazaj Mosadas Mahzuf, a well-known narration of lovers Shirin and Khosrow Parviz.

خداوندا در توفیق بگشای نظامی را ره تحقیق بنمای

Layli wa Majnun (1192_{A.D.}), 4700 lines, Hazaj Mosadas Akhrab Maghbuz Mahzuf, a narration of eternal lovers Layla and Majnoon.

ای نام تو بهترین سرآغاز بی نام تو نامه کی کنم باز

Haft Paikar/ Bahram Nama (1196_{A.D.}), 5136 lines, Khafif Mosadas Makhbun Mahzuf

ای جهان دیده بود خویش از تو هیچ بودی نبوده پیش از تو

Eskandar Nama (1203_{A.D.}), 10500 lines, Moteqarib Mosaman Mahzuf

خدایا جهان پادشاهی تو راست ز ما خدمت آید خدائی تو راست

- Amir Khosrow of Delhi: Khosrow's *Khamsa* are: *Matlaul-Anwar*, *Shirin wa Khosrow*, *Majnun wa Laila*, *Hasht-Bahisht* and *Aina Sikandari*.

Matlaul Anwar (1298_{A.D.}), 3310 lines, Sare meter, twenty parts about unity, purification and civility

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ خطبه قدس است به ملک قدیم

Shirin wa Khosrow (1298_{A.D.}), 4124 lines, Hazaj Mosadas Mahzof.

خداوندا دلم را چشم بگشای به معراج یقینم راه بنمای

Majnun wa Laila (1298_{A.D.}), 2660 lines, Maf'ulo Mafa'ilo Fa'ulon

ای داده به دل خزینه راز عقل از تو شده خزینه پرداز

Hasht-Bahisht (1301_{A.D.}), 3352 lines, Khafif Mosadas Makhbun Mahzof

ای گشاینده خزاین جود نقش پیوند کارگاه وجود

Aina-Sikandari (1299_{A.D.}), 4450 lines, Moteqareb Mosaman Mahzof

سرم خاک مستان فرخنده پی که شویند نقش خرد را به می

- Khwaju Kermani: Khwaju's *Khamsa* are: *Rowzat-ul-anwār*, *Homāy wa Homāyun*, *Gol wa Nowruz*, *Kamāl-nāma* and *Gowhar-nāma*.

Rowzat-ul-anwār (1342_{A.D.}), 2000 lines, Sare meter, twenty parts about morality, mysticism and society

زینت الروضه فی الاول بسم اله صمد المفضل

Homāy wa Homāyun (1331_{A.D.}), 4407 lines, Moteqarib Mosaman Mahzof

به نام خداوند بالا و پست که از هستیش هست شد هرچه هست

*Gol wa Nowruz*_(1341_{A.D}), 5302 lines, Hazaj Mosadas Mahzuf

به نام نقشبند صفحه خاک عذار افروز مهرویان افلاک

Kamāl-nāma(1343_{A.D}), 1849 lines, Hazaj Mosadas Mahzuf

بسم من لا اله الا هو صنع لفظی و زین معناه

Gowhar-nāma(1345_{A.D}), 1022 lines, Hazaj Mosadas Mahzuf

به نام نام بخش نامداران گدای درگه او شهریاران

• 'Imad Faqih Kirmani: He lived around 1291_{A.D} to 1370_{A.D}. His *Khamsa* are: *Mounis ul Asrar*, *Mohabbat Nama*, *Sohbat Nama*, *Dah Nama* and *Tariqat Nama*.

• Amir Hoseini Heravi: He was from Ghor. Jami introduces him as the knower of external and internal sciences¹⁵¹ (عالم به علوم¹⁵¹) (ظاهری و باطنی).

« اسمش حسین بن عالم بن ابی الحسن حسین غوری مشهور به میرحسینی سادات که تاریخ تولد او معلوم نیست... امیر حسینی در ... هرات در جوار ضریح سید عبداللح بن معاویه بن عبدالله بن جعفر طیار (رض) دفن است و طبق گفته صاحب مزارات هرات حسینی در ۱۶ شوال سال ۷۱۸ ه.ق وفات کرده است . پدر امیر حسینی ، سید عالم مرد فاضلی بوده که هدایت در مجمع الفصحا او را امیرالملک می داند و استاد فکری سلجوقی می گوید که مزار سید عالم در قریه گریوه اسفور غور است . امیر حسینی معاصر سلطان غیاث الدین کرت بوده و با تعداد زیادی از شعرا و عرفا از جمله ، حسام هروی ، حسن سنجری ، شیخ عراقی و شیخ محمود شبستری مثنوی معروف گلشن راز را در حل ۱۵ یا ۱۷ پرسش غامض تصوفی و عرفانی امیر حسینی سادات تألیف کرده است که تا اکنون چهل شرح بر آن نوشته شده که سی شرح آن موجود است . چهار یا پنج نظیره سازی بر گلشن راز صورت گرفته است . و علامه اقبال لاهوری نیز در کتاب " زبور عجم "

¹⁵¹ . Jami. Abdul Rahman. Nafah ul Ons, p.605

خود به نام گلشن راز جدید به سوالات امیرحسینی مطابق به فلسفه خودی خویش
پاسخ داده است. ۱۰۲

His *Khamsa* are: *Nozhat ul Arwah*, *Tarab wa Majalis*, *Zad ul Mosafreen*, *Kanz ul Romuz* and *See Nama*.

Nozhat ul Arwah

Tarab wa Majalis

Zad ul Mosafreen: 1200 lines, Eighth parts, Hazaj-e Mosaddas-e Akhrab-e Maghbooz-e Mahzooof

Kanz ul Romuz: 950 lines, Ramal Mosaddas-e Mahzooof.

See Nama, 1200 lines, Hazaj-e Mosaddas-e Mahzooof.

• Darvish Ashraf Maraghehei: Ashraf's *Khamsa* are: *Manhaj ul Abrar*, *Ryaz ul Ashegheen*, *Hekayat-e Layla wa Majnun*, *Haft Orang* and *Zafar Nama*

Manhaj ul Abrar (1428_{A.D.}), Sare meter

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ هست سر آغاز کتاب کریم

Ryaz ul Ashegheen (1438_{A.D.}), Hazaj Mosadas Mahzof

خداوندا ره بهبود بنمای نقاب از چهره مقصود بگشای

Hekayat-e Layla wa Majnun (1432_{A.D.}), Hazaj Mosadas Mahzof

ای دل ز تو دیده روشنایی وز تو به تو کرده آشنایی

Haft Orang/ Eshgh Nama (1432_{A.D.}), Ramal Mosadas Mahzof

ای زمین گستر و زبان آرای وی جهان پرور و جهان پیرای

Zafar Nama (1444_{A.D.}), Moteqarib Mosaman Mahzof

¹⁵². Tazkarat ul Shoaray-e Ghore, p.8

- Katebi Torshizi: He died in 1435_{A.D.} His *Khamsa* are: *Gulshan-e Abrar, Bahram wa Golandam, Hosn wa Eshgh, Nazer wa Manzoor, Moheb wa Mahboob* and *Majma ul Bahrein*
- Shah Daei Shirazi: He lived around 15th century. His *Khamsa* include: *Moshahede, Ganj-e Rawan, Chehel Sabah, Chahar Chaman, Cheshme Zindigani, ishgh Nama* and *Taj Nama*.
- Abdur Rahman Jami: He was famous Sufi poet of 15th century. His *Khamsa* are: *Silsilat ul zahab, Yusof wa Zulaikhā, Sabhat ul Abrār, Salaman wa Absāl, Tohfāt ul Ahrār, Layli wa Majnun* and *Kheradnāma-i Eskandari*.
- Maktabi Shirazi: He lived during 15th – 16th century. His *Khamsa* are not complete. He composed one epic on the style of *Makhzan ul Asrar* and *Layla wa Majnun*. He wrote *Layla wa Majnun* in 1489_{A.D.} in 2160 lines.
- 'Abd ul Allah Hatefi Kharjerdi: He was Abdul Rahman Jami's nephew. He lived during 1454_{A.D.} to 1520_{A.D.} His *Khamsa* are: *Layla wa Majnun, Shirin wa Khosrow, Haft Manzar, Zafar Nama* and *ShahanShah Nama*.
- Zamiri Esfahani: He died in 1565_{A.D.} He had large number of poems. So he was appropriately called Khosrow, the second. He composed *Mashoogh-i La yazal* in Khosrow's imitation. Taghi uddin Kashi has narrated a story about Zamiri's title in his book, *Kholasat ul Ashar wa Zubdat ul Afkar*:

« روزی در مجلس شاه تهماسب سخن از امیر خسرو دهلوی می رفت . شاه اشاره به وی (ضمیری) کرد و گفت : ما نیز خسرو نادره گویی داریم . از آن پس او را خسرو ثانی خواندند. »^{۱۵۳}

¹⁵³ . Safa. Zabihul lah, op.cit., vol 5, p.698

Zamiri's *Khamsa* are: *Jannat ul Akhyar*, *Naz wa Niyaz*, *Bahar wa Khazan*, *Layla wa Majnun*, *Wamaq wa Azra* and *Eskandar Nama*.

- Urfi Shirazi: He died in 1590_{A.D.} His *Khamsa* are not completed. He could only compose *Majma ul Abkar* and *Farhad wa shirin*.

- Sheykh Yaqoub Sarfi: He lived during 1521_{A.D.} to 1594_{A.D.} in Kashmir. He was popular as Jami, the second. He was the first to compose *Khamsa* in Kashmir. His *Khamsa* are: *Maslak ul Akhyar*, *Wamaq wa Azra*, *Layla wa Majnun*, *Maghazi ul Nabi* and *Maghamat-i Morshed*.

*Maslak ul Akhyar*_(1585_{A.D.}), 4053 lines, twenty majles of his Shaikh Husain Kharazmi:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ سر خط منشور عطاي عميم

Wamaq wa Azra (1585_{A.D.}), 3604 lines, Hazaj Mosadas Mahzuf

خداوندا حجاب از پيش بگشاي به مشتاقان جمال خویش بنماي

*Layla wa Majnun*_(1589_{A.D.}), 2604 lines, Hazaj Mosadas Akhrab Maqbuz Mahzu

در خاتمه‌ي سخن طرازي تاريخ تو « شرح عشق بازي »

Maghaziun Nabi (1591_{A.D.}), 3380 lines, Moteqarib Mosaman Mahzuf

خدايا خدايي مسلم تراست خداوندي هر دو عالم تراست

تويي آفريننده‌ي كايئات تو قيوم كونين و قايم به ذات

*Maghamat-e Morshed*_(1591_{A.D.}), 3500 lines, Moteqarib Mosaman Mahzuf

سال تاريخ ختم اين نامه خواستم تا نويسدش خامه

گفت با بنده طبع نادره گو از «مقامات راه پیر» بجو

- Faizi of Deccan: He lived during 1547_{A.D} to 1630_{A.D}. He was brother of Abul Fazl, Akbar's historian. His *Khamsa* are: *Markaz ul-Advar*, *Sulaiman wa Bilqis*, *Nal wa Daman*, *Haft Kishvar* and *Akbar Nama*.

- Mohammad Nargesi (died: 1632_{A.D}): He was a Persian poet from Yugoslavia. His *Khamsa* are: *Nahalistan wa Sa'adat*, *Mashq ul Oshaq*, *Ghanun-i Rashar*, *Ghazve Moslima* and *Eksir-e Dowlat*.

مکتوب جانفزای تو آمد به سوی من چون خوانده گشت بر دل سوزان نهادمش
از ترس آن که تف دل من بسوزدش فی الحال بر دو دیده گریان نهادمش
از خوف آن که آب دو چشمم بشویدش از دیده برگرفتم و بر جان نهادمش

- Mir Mohammad Esmaeil Khan Abjadi: He was Indian poet in 18th century. He lived after Jami. His *Khamsa* are: *Zobdat ul Afkār*, *Rāgheb wa Marghūb*, *Haft jawahar*, *Mavaddat Nāma*, *Anvar Nāma* and *Mo'azzam Nāma*.

Zobdat ul Afkār: 1300 lines, about morality and mysticism.

Rāgheb wa Marghūb: 3000 lines, it is about the love between prince Ragheb from Yemen and princess Marghub from China.

Haft jawhar: it is about Bahram Gur.

Mavaddat Nāma: 3500 lines, it is about the love between king Homayoun from Khozestan and Princess Lal Parvar from Badakhshan.

Anvār Nāma: 7000 lines, Moteqareb meter.

- Mulla Ashraf: He was from Kashmir. His composition *Reza Nama* is an epic with 10000 lines.

- Binesh Kashmiri: His *Khamsa* are: *Binesh-e Absar*, *Shour-e Khayal*, *Gol Dasta*, *Reshte- Gohar* and *Ganj-e Ravan*.

Binesh-e Absar:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ گل بن برجسته ی باغ نعیم

Shour-e Khayal:

خداوندا ز شور دل خرابم نمک پرورده چون مرغ کبابم

Gol Dasta:

گلدسته ی بوستان توحید حمداست به چشم صاحب دید

Reshte- Gohar:

نتوان یافت در خزینه شاه «رشته ی گوهر» ی چو بسم الله

Ganj-e Ravan:

به نامی که عالم گلستان اوست به گنج روان فلک شان اوست

- Mulla Bahauddin Baha: He was from Kashmir around 18th century. His *Khamsa* are: *Rishi Nama*, *Sultani Nama*, *Ghosiye*, *Naqshbandiye* and *Chashtiye*.

Rishi Nama: 4000 lines, it is about Mashayekh of Kashmir.

Sultani Nama: 3600 lines, it is about Sultan ul Arefin Hamza Makhdumi.

Ghosiye: 5500 lines, it is about followers of Qaderiye order.

Naqshbandiye: it is about the nobles of Naqshbandiye order.

Chishti-i: it is about Sufi men and Chishti order.

- Mirza Mohammad Sadeq Nami Isfahani: He lived during 18th century. His *Khamsa* are: *Dorj-e Gohar*, *Khosrow wa Shirin*, *Layla wa Majnun*, *Wamaq wa Azra* and *Yousef wa Zalikha*.
- Amir 'Ali-Shir Nava'i: His *Khamsa* are: *Hayrat-ol Abrar*, *Farhad Wa Shirin*, *Layli Wa Majnun*, *Sab'ai Sayyareh* and *Sadd-I Iskandari*
- Zulali Khansari: He lived during 17th century. His *Khamsa* are: *Azar wa Samandar*, *Hosn-e Galou Souz*, *Mahmou wa Ayaz*, *Sholei Didar*, *Zarreh wa Khorshid*, *Soleyman Nama* and *Mey Khana*.

➤ **Amir Khosrow and his Macaronic poetry**

Rikhta: This form of poetry has mixed words of Persian and Hindi. Amir Khosrow was the first to compose poetry in this form after him Aaberoy-e Gualiyari and Aram Ray Prem Nath carried this tradition forward.

ز حالِ مسکینِ مکن تغافلِ دُرّائے نیناں بنائے بتیاں

کہ تابِ ہجرانِ ندارم اے جان نہ لے ہو کابے لگائے چھتیاں

شبانِ ہجرانِ دراز چوں زلف و روزِ وصلت چوں عمرِ کوتاہ

سکھی! پیا کو جو میں نہ دیکھوں تو کیسے کاٹوں اندھیری رتیاں

یکایک از دل دو چشمِ جادو بصدِ فریبم ببردِ تسکین

کسے پڑی ہے جو جا سناوے پیارے پی کو ہماری بتیاں

چوں شمعِ سوزاں، چوں ذرہ حیران، ہمیشہ گریاں، بہ عشقِ آن ما

نہ نیندِ نیناں، نہ انگِ چیناں، نہ آپ آویں، نہ بھجیں پتیاں

بحقِ روزِ وصالِ دلبر کہ دادِ ما را غریب خسرو

سپیت من کے ورائے راکھوں جو جائے پاؤں پیا کی کھتیاں

Chapter 4

Comparison Between

Amir Khosrow

And

Rudaki

The history of Persian poetry in Iran and India offers similarities. In the early Islamic era in Iran, Persian poetry resurfaced on the literary scene of Iran providing ample scope for literary expressions. The new Iranian rulers and their Turkish successors took pride in patronizing literature. Encouraged by the munificence of the ruling dynasty the poets attached themselves to their court in the hope of becoming a handsomely-endowed court poet.¹⁵⁴

Rudaki: Pioneer of Early Persian poetry in Iran

Abu Abdullah Jafar ibn Mohammad Rudaki was one of the pioneers of Iran who tried to lay a strong foundation of Persian poetry on which a splendid structure of Persian poetry could be built. He composed poetry during the Samanid and Ghaznavid periods of Iranian history. Before Rudaki there was not a single outstanding poetic tradition existed in Iran. Rudaki, who was a court poet during the Sāmānid ruler Naṣr II (914_{A.D.}–943_{A.D.}) in Bukhara, brought a new trend in Persian poetry and enriched Persian poetry to the extent that he deserved the title of *father of Persian poetry*. Rudaki constituted poetic traditions in Persian literature. He created a new way in the field of Persian poetry providing a background for poets from Tus, Shervan, Herat and Shiraz, to name a few, to tread on the beautiful path of Persian poetry.

Persian poetry in Indian subcontinent

India, a closed neighbour of great Iran encountered with the same phenomenon of Persian poetry. Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion into India gave a chance to Persian poetry which continued to flourish

¹⁵⁴ . Morrison, op.cit. p.6

under the patronage of Turks and Afghan rulers of India. Nonetheless, Persian attained the status of the language of literature, science and culture during the Sultanate period in India.

In due course of history, following Mongol invasions of Iran, a great number of poets, writers, sufis, nobles, artists, etc. were forced to leave Iran and take refuge in India and made this land one of the most important centers of Persian language and literature from thirteenth century onwards. The migrants settled in different places in India and produced hundreds and thousands valuable books in prose and poetry in the form of manuscripts. The intermingling of Persian speaking people with the local residents created interest amongst the locals to learn Persian. Not only that they started composing poetry thereby causing further development and expansion of Persian studies in the subcontinent. They produced thousands of precious and valuable works on a wide range of subjects including language, literature, Sufism, philosophy, history, astronomy, astrology, logic, arts and science to name but a few.

Amir Khosrow: Founder of a new trend in Persian poetry in India

Amir Khosrow of Delhi was one of the brightest stars in the literary firmament of Persian literature in India. He was a prolific and versatile poet and writer. His works represent the beginning of a new trend in the arena Indo-Persian literature and his contributions to it are rich and profound. His singular contributions to Persian poetry earned him an esteemed position in the annals of Indo-Persian poetry. Amir Khosrow inspired many other Indians to

begin writing poetry in Persian and influenced many great Iranian poets as well. His reception brought some great poets like Faizi, Bedil, Ghalib and Iqbal to the world literature.

Amir Khosrow and Rudaki

Amir Khosrow of Delhi, who was a court poet and a disciple of great Sufi, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, played a pioneering role in the development of Persian poetry in the subcontinent, Rudaki did it in Iran. What Khosrow was to India, Rudaki was to Iran. It is evident from the research that Khosrow inherited Rudaki's poetic traditions.

Amir Khosrow and Rudaki through the lens of authorities:

Rudaki's greatness has emphasised by later poets such as Onori, Amir Khosrow of Delhi, Hafez etc.

'Unsuri says:

غزل رودکی وارنیکو بود غزلهای من رودکی وارنیکست

اگرچه بکوشم به باریک و همبدینپردهاندر مرار اهنیکست

Nizami 'Aruzi:

ای آنکه طعن کردی در شعر رودکی این طعن کردن تو ز جهل است و کودکیست

کان کس که شعر داند داند که در جهان صاحب قران شاعری استاد رودکیست^{۱۵۵}

Rashidi Samarqandi:

گر سری یابد به عالم کس به نیکو شاعری رودکی را بر سر آن شاعران زبید سری

شعر او را برشمردم سیزده ره صد هزار هم فزون آید لگر چونان که باید بشمری^{۱۵۶}

¹⁵⁵ . Nizami 'Aruzi, *Chahar Maqaleh*, Entesharat Jami, Tehran, 1383, p. 12

¹⁵⁶ . Dekhoda. Ali Akbar, *Loghat Nama*

Amir Khosrow of Delhi:

به صیت حسن گرفت آن بت سمرقندی چو کشور دل من خطه ی بخارا را

Hafez:

خیز تا خاطر بدان ترک سمرقندی دهیم کز نسیمش بوی جوی مولیان آید همی

Amir Khosrow's greatness has been accepted by great poets and writers of posterity not only in India but in Iran too.

Shaikh Abdul-Haque Muhaddith Dehlawi in *Akhhbār ul-Akhyār*:

« وی سلطان الشعرا و برهان الفضلاست ... در وادی سخن و کثرت آن
یگانه عالم است و نقاوه نوع بنی آدم است و آنچه او را از مضامین و
معانی در اطوار سخن و انواع آن و صنایع و بدایع آن دست داد ، هیچ
کس را از شعرای متقدمین و متأخرین نداده .»¹⁵⁷

Jami in *Baharistan*:

« امیرخسرو دهلوی در شعر مستثنی است . قصیده و غزل و
مثنوی ورزیده و همه به کمال رسانید. تتبع خاقانی می کند
هرچند در قصیده به وی نرسیده اما غزل را از وی گذرانیده
... و خمسه نظامی به از وی کسی در جواب نگفته . »

جامی از خسرو همی گیرد طریق سوز و درد طور او نبود خیالات محال انگیختن

Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi:

« ذکر صاحب القران بین الاقران و خاتم الکلام فی آخر الزمان در دریای معنوی امیرخسرو دهلوی
اعلی الله درجته »¹⁵⁸

Ghalib of Delhi:

غالب! مرے کلام میں کیوں کر مزہ نہ ہو

¹⁵⁷ . Shaikh Abdul-Haq Muhaddith Dahlawi, op.cit., pp. 192-193

¹⁵⁸ . Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, op.cit., p. 265

پیتا ہوں دھو کے خسرو شیریں سخن کے پانو

Shibli Nom'mani:

« ما در سابق گفتیم که موجد واقعه گویی شیخ سعدی است و امیر خسرو آن را وسعتی به سزا داده است^{۱۵۹} ... خاقانی قصیده های چند صد بیتی گفته ... در ردیف های مشکل و دشوار قصیده های مبسوط و مهمی گفته و نکات و دقایقی که از ممیزات کلام اوست ... در این قسمت بخصوص هم کسی همپایه او نیست مگر امیر خسرو از وی تقلید نمود و در اکثر موارد هم کامیاب شده است. »^{۱۶۰}

Iqbal of Lahore:

خسرو شیرین زبان ، رنگین بیان نغمه هایش از ضمیر «کن فکان»
فطرتش روشن مثال ماهتاب گشت از بهر سفارت انتخاب
چنگ را پیش قلندر چون نواخت از نوانی شیشه ی جانش گداخت
شوکتی کو پخته چون کهسار بود قیمت یک نغمه ی گفتار بود

Rudaki's role in promoting Persian poetry:

Abu Abdullah Ja'far ibn Mohammad Rudaki, who was a great poet during the Samanid and Ghaznavid periods of Iran, was the first to have a *Diwan* (poetic collection). He brought a new poetic tradition in Persian poetry which prevented conformity of Arabic poetry. He was a perfect representative of Samanid and fourth-century poetic tradition.¹⁶¹

Forms and Meters

Rudaki introduced new forms and meters in Persian poetry. He touched upon variety poetic forms such as ode, sonnet, epic, lyric and quatrain and came out victorious in all of them.

¹⁵⁹ . Shibli Nomani, op.cit., Vol. 3, p.16

¹⁶⁰ . Ibid, Vol.5, p.9

¹⁶¹ . Shafi Kadkani. Mohammad Reza, *Mousiqi Sher*, Entesharat Agah, Tehran, 1379, p. 64

He was a pioneering composer for odes. The earliest forms of odes which include *Tashbib* and *Takhallus* have been composed by Rudaki. He is well-known as inventor of quatrain too. There is a beautiful story which has narrated by Shams-i Qais Rāzī. He leads the emergence of quatrains to Samanids time and says:

« روزی از ایام اعیاد، رودکی، بر سبیل تماشا در بعض از متنزهات غزنین بر می‌گشت. طایفه ای اهل طبع را دید گرد ملعبه جمعی کودکان ایستاده و دیده به نظاره گوز بازی [=گردو بازی] کودکی نهاده، قدم در نهاد و سر به میان ایشان برآورد. کودکی دید ده پانزده ساله در گوز بازی اسجاع متوازن و متوازی می‌گفت. گردکانی چند از کف به گوی می‌انداخت، تا یکباری در انداختن گردکانی از گو، گوز بیرون افتاد و به قهقرا هم به جایگاه باز غلطید ... کودک از سر دکای طبع و صفای قریحت گفت: « غلتان غلتان همی‌رود تا بن گو » شاعر را این کلمات وزنی مقبول و نظمی مطبوع آمد. به قوانین عروض مراجعت کرد و آن را از مفترعات [=شاخه‌های] بحر هزج بیرون آورد. سپس بر این وزن، شعری گفت در دوبیت، بیتی مصرع و بیتی مقفی و چون اصل این وزن ساخته کودکی بود نیک موزون و تر و تازه، آن را ترانه نام نهاد. »^{۱۶۲}

Rudaki is regarded as pioneer of the *Khorasani style* (*Sabk-e Khorasani/Torkestani*). He composed more than 1000,000 (one millions) verses. Epicurean philosophy and seizing the opportunity, which later became the main theme of the Khayyam and Hafez poetry, are clearly seen in Rudaki's thought for the first time¹⁶³.

کار همه راست، آن چنان که بیاید حال شادایست، شاد باشی، شاید
 انده و اندیشه را دراز چه داری؟ دولت خود همان کند که بیاید
 رای وزیران ترا به کار نیابد هر چه صوابست بخت خود فرماید
 چرخ نیارد بدیل تو ز خلاق و آن که ترا زاد نیز چون تو نزاید
 ایزد هرگز دری نبندد بر تو تا صد دگر به بهتری نگشاید

¹⁶² . Shams-i Qais Rāzī, *Almo'jam-o-fi-Ma'a'ir-e Ash'ar-el-Ajam*, Ferdowsi, Tehran, 1373, pp.112-113

¹⁶³ . Shah Vari. Ahmad, *Saheb Geran-e Sokhan-i Parsi*, Elmi, Tehran, 1386, p. 74

Similarities between Amir Khosrow and Rudaki

Amir Khosrow and Rudaki were two important poets of Persian poetry that their places are at the apex of Persian literature of India and Iran. Amir Khosrow as a great personality of medieval India played a similar role in the subcontinent what Rudaki in played in Iran. Rudaki and Khosrow both are on parallel lines to map the developments of Persian and Indo-Persian literature in Iran and India. They were poets, courtiers, musicians, artists and moreover they had great impact on course of literary developments in both the counties.

The poetry of Rudaki is full of spirit of love and romance like Khosrow; both enjoy the company of thier beloved. Every thought of the beloved is very dear to Rudaki as every moment of the beloved is precious to Khosrow.

هر باد که از سوی بخارا به من آید با بوی گل و مشک و نسیم سمن آید
بر هر زن و هر مرد کجا پروزد آن باد گویی مگر آن باد همی از ختن آید

The concept of skepticism in Rudaki and Amir Khosrow's poetry is based on Al-Nazam's and Imam Fakhr al Razi's thoughts. Imam Fakhr al Razi (1149_{A.D.} – 1209_{A.D.}) lived at the court of Muizzuddin Mohammad ibn Saam Ghori. He was a follower of Al-Nazam who says: *Doubt was the first absolute requirement of knowledge.*

They both were originally from Samarqand: Rudaki was from Rudak, a village near Samarqand and Amir Khosrow's father migrated to India from Tash, a city in south of Samarqand.

Both were court poets: Amir Khosrow like Rudaki enjoyed the patronage of several kings seen many dynasties. Rudaki was a court poet and a companion during the Sāmānid ruler Naṣr II (914–

943) in Bukhara. He was the leader of the poetic Pleiades at the Samanid court for about fifty years¹⁶⁴. The Samanid period was the most brilliant period in the Iranian history and Bokhara where Rudaki lived there was the largest center of knowledge, science and civilization at that time. Some scholars has named the Samanid Period as the the *Iranian Renaissance*. Amir Khosrow enjoyed the patronage of seven kings and rulers of Delhi Sultanate. He has praised all of them in his works. Persian language became the language of literature, science and culture during the Sultanate period in India. Delhi Sultanate constituted the Persianate dynasties established their dominion in India from 1206 A.D. to 1526 A.D.

Amir Khosrow, Rudaki and orders: Both Amir Khosrow and Rudaki were followers of specific ideological groups. Rudaki was related to Isma'eli sect and Amir Khosrow was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulya, the famous Sufi saint of the Chishti orders.

Amir Khosrow, Rudaki and their poetic styles: They both brought a new trend in poetry in their respective land in Iran and India. If Rudaki introduced *Sabk-e Khorasani* in Iran, Amir Khosrow was the first poet to lay the foundation of *Sabk-e Hindi* (Indian style of Persian poetry) in India.

Plurality of poems (Kasrat-e Asha'ar): It has been said that both Rudaki and Khosrow have composed about half million verses.

Rashidi Samarqandi has said about Rudaki:

شعر او را برشمردم سیزده ره صد هزار هم فزون آید لگر چونان که باید بشمردی

¹⁶⁴ . *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol.4, part-2. p. 372

Ziauddin Barani has a claimed about Amir Khosrow. He has written that number of books written by Amir Khosrow is as equal as a library. Amin Ahmad Razi and Jami have said that Amir Khosrow's works were around ninety nine (99) volumes. Amir Khosrow counted his works between 400,000 and 500,000. Dowlatshah Samarqandi has said in *Tazkerat us Sho'ra* that he has composed 5,00,000 verses. May be the facts regarding the magnitude of the vast number of Persian couplets of Rudaki and Khosrow be fictitious, but the point is why this fiction is related to these two poets only. The point itself affirms their position in Persian poetry.

Amir Khosrow, Rudaki and their poetic forms: Amir Khosrow like Rudaki was the first poet who touched upon almost all forms of poetry- ode, lyric, quatrain and epic. By using simple language they were able to construct lyrical verses filled with a deep meaning, rich vocabulary and original concepts.

« حضرت امیر خسرو دهلوی - قدس سره - در جمیع اقسام نظم به شیرین کلامی
گوی سبقت از میدان بلاغت ریوده . »^{۱۶۵}

Lyrics, form and theme: In Iran, Rudaki is regarded as star of lyric poetry i.e. *Taghazzol*. Even Unsuri, the great poet of Mahmud's court, named Rudaki *Ustaad-e Ghazal*. In one of his couplets Unsori expressed his wish to compose poetry like Rudaki:

غزل رودکی وار نیکو بود غزل های من رودکی وار نیست
اگرچه بکوشم به باریک وهم بدین پرده اندر مرا بار نیست

¹⁶⁵. Gomapoy. Mohammad Ghodratalah, op.cit., p. 36

Rudaki was master of lyric of his time. On one hand he was a poet and was musician on the other. He mixed both poetry and music to compose great lyrical poems:

بی روی تو خورشید جهان سوز میاد
هم بی تو چراغ عالم افروز میاد
با وصل تو کس چو من بد آموز میاد
روزی که ترا نبینم آن روز میاد

جایی که گذرگاه دل محزونست
آن جا دو هزار نیزه بالا خونست
لیلی صفتان ز حال ما بی خبرند
مجنون داند که حال مجنون چونست؟

بر عشق توام، نه صبر پیدا است، نه دل
بی روی توام، نه عقل بر جاست، نه دل

این غم، که مر است کوه قافست، نه غم
این دل، که تراست، سنگ خارا است، نه دل

با آن که دلم از غم هجرت خونست
شادی به غم توام ز غم افزونست

اندیشه کنم هر شب و گویم: یا رب
هجرائش چنیست، وصالش چونست؟

Amir Khosrow also used lyric form to its perfection before any poet in Indian-subcontinent. He mixed the Indian theme with Persian language:

عاشقی را که غم دوست به از جان نبود عاشق جان بود او، عاشق جانان نبود
مردن از دوستی، ای دوست، زهندو آموز زنده در آتش سوزان شدن آسان نبود
بی بلا نیست مرادی که نه حج پیش در است که به ره زحمت دریا و بیابان نبود
زهر کش از کف ساقی تو، اگر می خواری کیست کش تشنگی چشمه حیوان نبود
ای که عاشق نه ای، ار دم دهدت غمزه زنی دل نبندی که نکو روی مسلمان نبود

جان فدای نظری شد مشمر سهل، ای دوست کارزویی که به جانی خری، ارزان نبود
 رفتی و ماند خیال تو، ولی خرسندم ماندنش گر ز پی مهرهی جان نبود
 چند پرسى که چرا خلق به رویم حیرانست؟ این حکایت ز کسی پرس که حیران نبود
 خسروا، بلبلی آخر، به قفس هم خوش باش دور گردونست، همه باغ و گلستان نبود

Masud Sad and Abul Faraj Rumi, two great poets before Amir Khosrow, were famous because of their odes. Delbar Tashmatov, a research scholar of Amir Khosrow, has divided Amir Khosrow's lyrics into four types: 1) lyrical 2) philosophical 3) courtesy and social 4) *wasookht*. This classification shows that Amir Khosrow's lyrics include all concepts and theme.

Similarity between lyrics of Rudaki and Amir Khosrow:

Rudaki:

زهی فزوده جمال تو زیب و آرا را شکسته سنبل تو مشک سارا را
 قسم به آن دل آهن خورم مه از سختی هزار طرح نهادست سنگ خارا را
 که از تو هیچ مروت طمع نمی دارم که کس ندیده ز سنگین دلان مدارا را
 هزاربار خدا را شفیع می آرم ولی چه سود چو تو نشنوی خدارا را
 چو رودکی به غلامی اگر قبول کنی به بندگی نپسندد هزار دارا را

Amir Khosrow:

تو بیخته بر لاله مشک سارا را شکسته رونق خورشید عالم آرا را
 اگر ز روی تو شمع هدایتی نبود ز تیرگی که برون آورد نصارا را
 به صیت حسن گرفت آن بت سمرقندی چو کشور دل من خطه بخارا را
 به روز کشتن از آن غمزه مهلتی جستم ولی ندید ز قاتل کسی مدارا را
 بیار ساقی از آن آب آتشین که فلک به باد داد چو جمشید خاک دارا را

ز ذوق شکر شیرین و ماتم فرهاد ز دیده می رود اینک سرشک خارا را

دو بوسه از لب او خسروا خدا را کن بود که بشنود آن سنگدل خدا را را

Philosophical thoughts:

Rudaki:

شاد زی با سیه چشمان شاد که جهان نیست جز فسانه و باد

Amkir Khosrow says:

چراغ عیش برافروز از شراب که زود شود ز دست تو رغبت چون روغن بلسان

There are some similarities in other composition of them too. The duos were once away from their beloved cities. Rudaki was far from Bokhara and Khosrow from Delhi. However, the common emotions are found in ther poetry.

بوی جوی مولیان آید همی یاد یار مهربان آید همی

ریگ آموی و درشتی راه او زیر پایم پرنیان آید همی

آب جیحون از نشاط روی دوست خنگ ما را تا میان آید همی

ای بخارا شاد باش و دیر زی میر زی تو شادمان آید همی

میر ماه است و بخارا آسمان ماه سوی آسمان آید همی

میر سرو است و بخارا بوستان سرو سوی بوستان آید همی

Amir Khosrow laments to return to Delhi:

من ز پی شرم خداوند خویش رفته ز جای خود و پیوند خویش

مادر من پیرزن سبحة دست مانده به دهلی ز فراقم به رنج

روز و شب از دوری من بی قرار سوخته ی داغ من خام کار

حال خود و نامه ی امیدوار باز نمودم به خداوندگار

داد اجازت به رضای تمام تا نهم اندر ره مقصود گام

شوق کشان کرد گریبان من گریه زده دست به دامان من
 قطع کنان راه چو پیکان تیز بلکه چو تیر آمد اندر گریز
 یک مه کامل بکشیدم عنان راه چنین بود و کشش آن چنان
 مرغ خزان دیده به بستان رسید تشنه به سرچشمه ی حیوان رسید
 مرده دل از حال پریشان خویش زنده شد از دیدن خویشان خویش

Epic: If Persian poetry is reviewed from third and fourth centuries up to present day, it can be seen that the greatest masterpieces of Persian poetry have been produced in epic form. This form is clearly seen in story format to explain the worthy attitudes about life and existence. Early works of Rudaki is composed in this form the epic *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* was the biggest of his works but unfortunately most of it were lost and only few survived today.

تا جهان بود از سر مردم فراز کس نبود از راز دانش بی نیاز
 مردمان بخرد اندر هر زمان راز دانش را به هر گونه زبان
 گرد کردند و گرامی داشتند تا به سنگ اندر همی بنگاشتند
 دانش اندر دل چراغ روشنست وز همه بد بر تن تو جوشنست

Rudaki used epic form for composing stories. Addition to *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*, he had four epics to his credit. These are in composed in different meters: one in *Moteqarib* (فعولن فعولن فعولن فعولن), second in *Khafif* (فاعلاتن مفاعلتن مفاعلتن مفاعلتن), third in *Hazaj* (مفاعیل مفاعیلن مفاعیلن مفاعیلن) and fourth in *Saree* (فاعلات مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن).

Amir Khosrow was also well-known poet for his epic poems. He composed several epics which have great literary and historical values: *Qiran-us Sa'dain*, *Miftah-ul Fotuh*, *Khizr Khan wa Deval Rani*, *Noh Sepehr*, *Tughlaq Nama* and *Khazaen- ul Futuh*. Five literary masterpieces composed by him are *Matla-ul Anwar*, *Shirin*

wa Khosrow, Laila wa Majnun, Ayeene Eskandari and Hasht Behesht.

He has followed Nizami Ganjavi in epic. He has composed the first and the best *Khamsa*, after Nizami. Jami has emphasized it throughout his book:

«*خمسہ نظامی راکسی بہ ازوی جواب نداده است.*»

Whether Khosrow has been imitated Nizami well or not is another discussion, however, it must be noted that by imitating himself on the quintet of Nizami, Khosrow added to the popularity of Nizami. By imitating Nizami Khusro means to encourage others, both Indian and Iranian, to bring out *Khamsa* like Nizami. Amir Hashmi Kermani, who was a contemporary of Jami, has rightly written in his epic *Mazhar ul Aasaar*:

چون ز قضا لایحہ ی نو رسید	کوکبہ ی نوبت خسرو رسید
خامہ بر آورد بہ فکر جواب	ماند قلم بر ورق آفتاب
خامہ ی خسرو چو گوہر بار شد	نامہ ی او مطلع انوار شد
کرد در آن نامہ تکلف بسی	گفت جوابی کہ نگوید کسی
بزم سخن را بہ سخن ساز کرد	بر ہمہ کس راہ سخن باز کرد
فہم رموزش نکند ہر کسی	زان کہ معانی است بسی در بسی
دور قدح طی شد و ساقی نماند	در خم دوران می باقی نماند
چون می خسرو بہ تمامی رسید	دور می عشق بہ جامی رسید

It must be mentioned here that before Khosrow no one had imitated the *Khamsa* of Nizami even in Iran. The writer of *Tazkareh-e Khazan e Aamereh* also has said that before Amir Khosrow no one wrote a *Khamsa* on the style of Nizami. Khajo Kermani was the

second after Khosrow. It was Khosrow who paved the way for the posterity.

Amir Khosrow and Rudaki as musicians:

Rudaki and Amir Khosrow both was Musician. Amir Khosrow has regarded as the "*Father of Qawwali*", the music form of the Sufis in the Indian subcontinent. He invented *Setaar*, a new musical instrument which was a combination of Iranian *Tanbour* and Indian *Vita*. *Setaar* was used by both the poets; in the court Nasr bin Ahmad by the former and in the Nizamuddin Auliya's monastery by the later. It has been attributed to Amir Khosrow a pleasant voice.¹⁶⁶ He has invented some musical notes and pitch¹⁶⁷. Rudaki also was a musician and he was reciting his poems by playing harp. In the well-known beautiful story about influence of his poetry, the story has referred to playing harp by him.

« چنین آورده‌اند که نصر بن احمد که واسطه عقد آل سامان بود و اوج دولت آن خاندان ایام ملک او بود... خزاین آراسته و [با] لشکر جزار و بندگان فرمانبردار بدارالملک بخارا مقام کردی و تابستان به سمرقند رفتی... مگر یک سال نوبت هری (هرات) بود به فصل بهار... نصر بن احمد روی به هری نهاد... لشکرگاه بزد و بهارگاه بود و شمال روان شد... آنجا لشکر برآسود و هوا خوش بود و باد سرد و نان فراخ و میوه‌ها بسیار... امیر نصر بن احمد گفت: تابستان کجا رویم که از این خوشتر مقامگاه نباشد مهرگان برویم و چون مهرگان درآمد گفت: مهرگان هری بخوریم و برویم همچنین فصلی به فصلی همی‌انداخت تا چهار سال برین برآمد... پس سران لشکر و مهتران ملک به نزدیک استاد ابو عبدالله الرودکی رفتند و از ندماء پادشاه هیچکس محتشم‌تر از او نبود، گفتند پنجهزار دینار ترا خدمت کنیم اگر صنعتی بکنی که پادشاه از این خاک حرکت کند که دل‌های ما آرزوی فرزند همی‌برد و جان ما از اشتیاق بخارا همی‌برآید، رودکی قبول کرد که نبض امیر بگرفته بود و مزاج او بشناخته داشت که به نثر با او درنگیرد، روی به نظم آورد و قصیده بگفت که به وقتی که امیر صبح کرده بود درآمد و به جای خویشتن بنشست و چون مطربان فرو داشتند او چنگ برگرفت و در پرده عشاق این قصیده آغاز کرد:

¹⁶⁶ . Negahi be Zendegi wa Ahvalat-e Amir Khosrow Dehlavi

¹⁶⁷ . Amir Khosrow Dehlavi wa Mousiqi-e Diwan ou

بوی جوی مولیان آید همی یاد یار مهربان آید همی
پس فروتر شود و گوید :

ریگ آموی و درشتی راه او زیر پایم پرنیان آید همی
آب جیحون از نشاط روی دوست خنگ ما را تا میان آید همی
ای بخارا شاد باش و دیر زی میر زی تو شادمان آید همی
میر ماه هست و بخارا آسمان ماه سوی آسمان آید همی
میر سرو است و بخارا بوستان سرو سوی بوستان آید همی
چون رودکی بدین بیت رسید امیر چنان منفعّل گشت که از تخت فرود آمد و
بی‌موزه (بی‌کفش) پای در رکاب خنگ نوبتی برآورد و روی به بخارا نهاد چنانکه
رانین و موزه تا دو فرسنگ در پی امیر بردند به برونه و آنجا در پای و عنان تا
بخارا هیچ بازنگرفت.^{۱۶۸}

In this story, the burden is on the shoulders of music and text together. Both text and music impressed Samanid king. Amir Khosrow also was a musician. He invented Setaar. His poetry shows his mastery in music. For example Khosrow with his proficiency in poetry and music could create pleasant songs by using numbers:

ای زده ناوکم به جان یک دو سه چار و پنج و شش کشته چو بنده هر زمان یک دو سه چار و پنج و شش

Amir Khosrow has chosen some meters which is consistent with the content of his poetry. Some pleasant and useful Persian poetry meters which have been used in his lyrics are totally fascinating:

هر سحری به کوی تو شعله وای خود کشم چند به سینه خلق را داغ جفای خود کشم

Mufta'elun Mafā'elun Mufta'elun Mafā'elun (*Rajaz-e Mosamman-e Matvi-e Makhboon*): This meter is one of the fast and rhythmic meters.

The other meter which has been used by Khosrow is Mufta'elun fā'elun Mufta'elun fā'elun (*Monsareh-e Mosamman-e Matvi-e Makshoof*). This meter is a combination of long and short syllables.

¹⁶⁸ . Nizami Arouzi, op.cit., pp. 52-53

ای به بدی کرده باز چشم بدآموز را بین به کمینگاه چرخ ناوک دلدوز را

ای رخ زیبای تو آینه سینه ها روی ترا در خیال زین نمط آینه ها

وه که اگر روی تو در نظر آید مرا عیش ز خورشید و مه روی نماید مرا

Use of poetic meters by Rudaki and Amir Khosrow:

Amir Khusrow has used these poetic meters in his works:

- Baseet (1 lyric)

Mustaf' ilun Fā' ilun Mustaf' ilun Fā' ilun

- Khafeef (12 lyrics, 2 odes, 4 fragments and 2 epics)

Fā' ilātun Mustaf' ilun Fā' ilātun

- Rajaz (147 lyrics, 1 ode and 1 epic)

Mustaf' ilun Mustaf' ilun Mustaf' ilun

- Ramal (548 lyrics, 8 odes, 5 fragments and 2 epics)

Fā' ilātun Fā' ilātun Fā' ilun

- Saree (16 lyrics, 2 odes and 3 epics)

Mustaf' ilun Mustaf' ilun Fā' ilun

- Kaamel (1 lyrics)

Mutafā' ilun Mutafā' ilun Mutafā' ilun

- Motaqaareb (39 lyrics, 1 ode and 3 epics)

Fa' ūlun Fa' ūlun Fa' ūlun Fa' ūlun

- Mojtas (264 lyrics, 13 odes and 2 fragments)

Mustaf' ilun Fā' ilātun

- Mozaare (629 lyrics, 7 odes and 3 fragments)
- Monsareh (46 lyrics, 2 odes and 1 tarkib-band)

Mustaf' ilun Fā' ilat Mufta' ilun

- Hazaj (563 lyrics, 9 odes, 6 fragments, 8 epics and 155 quatrains)

Mafā' ilun Mafā' ilun

Poetic meters used by both Rudaki and Amir Khosrow:

Ramal

- Fā' ilātun Fā' ilātun Fā' ilun (*Ramal-e Mosaddas-e Mahzuf*).
This meter is Masnavi-e Manavi's meter.
- Fā' ilātun Fā' ilātun Fā' ilātun Fā' ilun (*Ramal-e Mosamman-e Mahzuf*).
- Fa' alātun Fa' alātun Fa' alun (*Ramal-e Mosaddas-e Makhbun-e Mahzuf*).
- Fa' alātun Fa' alātun Fa' alātun Fa' alun (*Ramal-e Mosamman-e Makhboon-e Mahzoof*).

Khafif

- Fa' alātun Mafāelun Fa' alun (*Khafif Mosaddas-e Makhbun*)

Motaqarib

- Fa' ūlun Fa' ūlun Fa' ūlun Fa' al (*Motaqareb-e Mosamman-e Mahzuf*). This is Shahnameh Ferdowsi's meter.
- Fa' ūlun Fa' ūlun Fa' ūlun Fa' ūlun (*Motaqareb-e Mosamman salem*).

Rajaz

- Mustaf' ilun Mustaf' ilun Mustaf' ilun Mustaf' ilun (*Rajaz-e Mosamman-e Salem*)

Hazaj

- Mafā'īlun Mafā'īlun Fa'ūlun (*Hazaj-e Mosaddas-e Mahzuf*).
This is Couplet's meter.
- Mafā'īlun Mafā'īlun Mafā'īlun Mafā'īlun (*Hazaj-e Mosamman-e Salem*).
- Maf'ulo Mafā'īlun Maf'ulo Mafā'īlun (*Hazaj-e Mosamman Akhrab*).

Mojtas

- Mafā'elun Fa'alātun Mafā'elun Fa'alātun (*Mojtas-e Mosamman-e Salem*).
- Mafā'elun Fa'alātun Mafā'elun Fa'alun (*Mojtas-e Mosamman-e Makhbun-e Mahzuf*).

Sare

- Mufta'īlun Mufta'īlun Fā'īlun (*Saree-e Matvi-e Makshuf*).

Monsareh

- Mufta'īlun Fā'īlun Mufta'īlun Fā'īlun (*Monsareh-e Mosamman-e Matvi-e Makshoof*).
- Mufta'īlun Fā'ilat Mufta'īlun Fa' (*Monsareh-e Mosamman-e Matvi-e Manhoor*).

Mozare

- Maf'ulo Fā'elātun Maf'ulo Fā'elātun (*Mozare Mosamman-e Akhrab*).
- Maf'ulo Fā'elāto Mafā'ilo Fā'elun (*Mozare Mosamman-e Akhrab-e Makfuf-e Mahzuf*).

Some notes about most popular meters used by Rudaki and Amir Khosrow:

Mafā'īlun Mafā'īlun Fa'ūlun (*Hazaj-e Mosaddas-e Mahzuf*), Couplet's meter is the most applied meter by Amir Khosrow. However this meter in the poetry of Rudkai is the 9th meter. And the first meter in the poetry of Rudkai is **Fā'īlātun Fā'īlātun Fā'īlun** (*Ramal-e Mosaddas-e Mahzuf*). This meter is *Masnavi-e Manavi*'s meter. It is the 11th meter of Amir Khosrow. The point, that is evident that both the poets have given priority to the meters of *Mosaddas* and *Mahzuf*.

Maf'ulo Mafā'elun Fa'ūlun (*Hazaj-e Mosaddas-e Akhrab-e Maqbuz-e Mahzuf*) is the second most used meter of Amir Khosrow but this meter was not a favorite of Rudaki. It is the 18th meter in Rudaki's poetry. The second most used meter of Rudaki is **Fa'alātun Mafāelun Fa'alun** (*Khafif Mosaddas-e Makhbun*) which is the 5th most used meter by Amir Khosrow.

Mufta'īlun Fā'īlun Mufta'īlun Fā'īlun (*Monsareh-e Mosamman-e Matvi-e Makshuf*) is the third most used meter of Khosrow's poetry. It is the eleventh meter, used by Rudaki. The third most used meter of Rudaki is **Mufta'īlun Fā'īlato Mufta'īlun Fa'** (*Monsareh-e Mosamman-e Matvi-e Manhur*). Amir Khosrow didn't pay attention to this meter and this became twenty fifth meter of Khosrow's poems.

Fa'ūlun Fa'ūlun Fa'ūlun Fa'al (*Motaqaareb-e Mosamman-e Mahzuf*), *Shahnameh Ferdowsi's* meter, is the fourth most used meter of Khosrow and hold sixth position in the poms of Rudaki.

The fourth meter of Rudaki is **Mafā‘elun Fa‘alātun Mafā‘elun Fa‘alun** (*Mojtas-e Mosamman-e Makhboon-e Mahzuf*) which is the ninth meter used by Amir Khosrow.

While comparing the meters used by Rudaki and Amir Khosrow, it can say that among thirty most popular meters of Persian poetry, there are twenty two meters which has been used by both Rudaki and Amir Khosrow. Two meters, *Fa‘alātun Maf‘ilun Fa‘alātun Maf‘ilun* (Gharib Mosaman Makhbun) and *Maf‘ilo Maf‘ilo Maf‘ilo fa‘ulun* have been used only by Rudaki and there are three meters, *Fa‘alātun Fa‘alātun Fa‘alātun Fa‘alātun* (Ramal Mosaman Makhbun), *Fa‘alāto Fa‘ilātun Fa‘alāto Fa‘ilātun* (Ramal Mosaman Mashkul) and *Mustaf‘ilun fa Mustaf‘ilun fa* (Moteqarib Mosaman aslam) have been used by Amir Khosrow only. Three meters, *Fa‘ilātun Fa‘ilātun Fa‘ilātun Fa‘ilātun* (Ramal Mosaman Salem), *Mustaf‘ilun fa‘alun Mustaf‘ilun fa‘alun* (Basit Mosaman Makhbun) and *Mufta‘ilun Mufta‘ilun Mufta‘ilun Mufta‘ilun* (Rajaz Mosaman Matvi) have not been used by both Rudaki and Amir Khosrow

There are few meters which belong to a time after Rudaki. So they have not been used by Rudaki such as *Fa‘alātun Fa‘alātun Fa‘alātun Fa‘alātun* (Ramal Mosaman Makhbun). This meter has been used for the first time by Nasir Khosrow. *Fa‘alāto Fa‘ilātun Fa‘alāto Fa‘ilātun* (Ramal Mosaman Mashkul) first time has been used by Abu Said Abol Khair. *Mustaf‘ilun fa Mustaf‘ilun fa* (Moteqarib Mosaman aslam) has been used by Iraqi and poets of the Indian subcontinent welcomed to it. *Maf‘ilun Mafā‘elun Maf‘ilun Mafā‘elun* (Hazaj Mosaman Matvi Makhbun) most

probably has been used by Khaqani for the first time and poets had paid attention to it in Indian subcontinent.

Some meters came to the end before Amir Khosrow's time. So there are not used by Amir Khosrow and other poets of the Indian subcontinent. *Maf'iloMaf'ilo Maf'ilo fa'ulun* most probably has been used by Rumi for the last time. *fa'ulun Mafā'elun fa'ulun Mafā'elun* has not been used after Uhadi. *Maf'ulo Fa'ilāto Maf'ilun* (Mozare Mosada Akhrab Makfuf) has been used only till Khaqani's time. *Maf'ulo Maf'ilo Fa'ilātun* or *Maf'ulo Maf'ilo Fa'ilun* had come to the end by Anvari.

Conclusion

To conclude, in due course of history Ghaznavids were most notably as the patrons of Persian poets and poetry. Mahmud of Ghazni tried to patronize Persian language and literature in Lahore at his time. He had a consuming passion for Persian literature. His attention to Persian literature and poems was a cause for attracting lots of poets and writers in his court. The level of literary creativity was as high under Ebrāhīm and his successors up to Bahrāmshāh, with such poets as Abu'l-Faraj Rūnī, Sanā'ī, 'Otmān Moqtārī, Mas'ūd-e Sa'd-e Salmān, and Sayyed Ḥasan Ġaznavī. Poets in Bahram Shah's time were Abdul Wasey Jebelli, Shaikh Sanai, Osman Mokhtari, Ali Fathi and Mahmud Varraq". On the basis of *Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India*, volume 1, and biographical dictionaries of poets (*taḍkera-ye šo'arā*), the court of Ḳosrow Malek, son of Khosrow Shah had an array of fine poets, none of whose *dīvāns* has unfortunately survived, and the translator into elegant Persian prose of Ebn Moqaffa's *Kalīla wa Demna*, namely Abu'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr-Allāh b. Moḥammad, served the sultan for a while as his chief secretary.

Before Amir Khosrow poetic form mostly quatrains, masnavi and fragment. But it is obvious there were not complete forms of poetry during pre Khosrow period. Odes were not very long. Odes began without *Tashbib*. Epics were not in a story format. Meters were not complete. Descriptive poetry was very less in use. Similies and metaphors were simple as the Khorasani style was popular in Indian subcontinent before Amir Khosrow. Poetry before Amir Khosrow did not consist of variety of forms. Only early lyrics, odes and quatrains were common. There were not epic

or storytelling traditions. They all followed Iranian poetry traditions and nobody was well-known as a creator of a specific trend in literature. Only Masud Sa'd was famous because of some of his odes, i.e. Habsiyyat. Amir Khosrow was the first who initiated poetry using the Sabk e Hindi (Indian Literary Style). Some new style happened only in Amir Khosrow's poetry such as creation of a pleasant rhythm with numbers and meters, because he was a musician and a poet as well. Odes were in eulogy and for expression of love. There was no any visible trace of Sufism/Hinduism in poetry. Abu Ali Qalandar, who was well known in mystical epics, was a contemporary of Amir Khosrow. Philosophical musings (a wise old preacher, appreciate the time and moments and enjoy every moment of life) and Epicureanism philosophy were not seen in early Persian poetry in Indian Subcontinent. *Wasookht* poetry which was love as a symbol of suffering and persecution and hard moments in life also began with Amir Khosrow in Indian Subcontinent. Philosophical quatrains were not before Amir Khosrow. Quatrains had concepts of only eulogy, love and morality. In some quatrains Amir Khosrow was the first who had criticized imitation without thinking in religion. Macaronic poetry (mixed-language poetry)/ Molamma'/ Rikhteh (mixed Persian and Hindi) has not found before Amir Khosrow. He was the first one and after him we have Aberoo-ye Gwaliori and Aram Ray Pram Naat, as the famous composer of Rikhteh. Indian poets followed Iranian meters in poetry. Amir Khosrow was the first who sometimes brought rhyme at the middle of the line (Vazn-e Dowri) to enrich the music of his poetry. He set the trend of composing *Khamsa* in Persian poetry.

Amir Khosrow, Rudaki of India

If Hasan of Delhi is regarded as Sa'di of India, Amir Khosrow may be considered as Rudaki of India. He inherited Rudaki's poetic traditions. Khosrow like Rudaki tried his hands in almost all forms of Persian poetry in India. He was an exponent of music like Rudaki. Khosrow's works represent the beginning of a new trend in Indo-Persian literature in Indian- subcontinent. Amir Khosrow and Rudaki were two great poets and assume their places respectively at the apex of Persian literature of India and Iran. Rudaki and Khosrow both are on parallel lines to map the developments of Persian and Indo-Persian literature in Iran and India. They were poets, courtiers, musicians, artists and they had a great impact on course of literary developments in Iran and India.

Finally, it may be concluded that what Rudaki was to the Greater Khorasan, Khosrow was to the Greater India. Hence, the former was called شاعر خراسان or the *Poet of Khorasan* and the latter was regarded as طوطی هند or the *Nightingale of India*. Considering the remarkable contributions of Amir Khosrow to Persian literature, it may be safely concluded that he is rightly accorded a place of pride in the literary heritage of the Persian poetic tradition of the Indian-subcontinent.

Bibliography

Books:

- 1- Abbasi. Habibullah, *Butiqay-i Amir Khosrow*, Pajuheshgah-i Olum-i Insani wa Motaliat Farhangi, Portal Jam-i Olum-i Insani
- 2- Abidi, S.A.H. *The Influence of Hindi on Indo-Persian Literature in the Reign of Shah-Jahan*. Indo-Iranica 13/2, 1960
- 3- Ahmadov, Mirza Molla. *Rudaki wa Sokhanvaran-e- ham roozgarash*. Tehran. Ruzgar. 1387
- 4- Akbari, Manouchehr. *Rudaki Saraamad-e-Shaeraan-e- Farsi*. Tehran. Khaane Ketab. 1387
- 5- Amiri. Kioumars, *Zaban wa Adab-e Farsi dar Hend*, Shoray-e Gostaresh-I Zaban-e Farsi, Tehran, 1374
- 6- Anushe.Hasan, *Danesh Nameh Adab Farsi dar Hind*, Vezarat-e Farhang wa Ershed-e Islami, Vol.4, Tehran,
- 7- Aufi. Mohammad, *Tazkira-ye Lobabol Albab*, Tashih-e Edward Brown, Leiden, 1906
- 8- Badauni, Abdolghader ibn moluk shah. *Montakhab-ol-Tavarikh*. Tashih-i Ahmad Ali Molavi. Anjomane asar o mafakhere farhangi. Tehran. 1380
- 9- Bahadur, K.P... *A Hisory of Indian Civilization*. New Delhi. 1980
- 10- Bandarebne Das, *Safine-ye Khoshgu*, Ketab Khaneh Majlis, Tehran, 1390
- 11- Bashiri, Iraj. *Amir Khusrau Dihlavi*. 2001
- 12- Chand, Tara. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*. Ahmadabad. 1976
- 13- Dawlat Shah-i Samarqandi, *Tazkirat ul- Sho'arā*, Tashih: Mohammad Abbaasi, Tehran, Ketab Frushi Barani
- 14- Dehbashi, Ali. *Yad-e- Yar-e- Mehrban*. Tehran. Seday-e- Moaser. Capp-e- dovvom. 1387
- 15- Dehkhoda. Ali Akbar, *Loghat Nama*
- 16- Ekram, Mohammad Akram. *Asarosh Shoara*.
- 17- Ekram, Mohammad Akram. *Armaghane Paak*.
- 18- Erfani. Khaja Abdul Hamid, *Iran-e Saghir*, Ibn Sina, Tehran, 1335
- 19- Ershadi, Farhang. *Mohajerat-e Tarikhi-e Iiraniyan be Hend*, Entesharate motaleat va tahghighate farhangi, Tehran, 1365
- 20- E.G. Browne. *Literary History of Persia*. 1998
- 21- Fakhr ul Zamani Ghazvini. Mull Abdu l Nabi, *Tazkira Meykhana*
- 22- Gabbay, Alyssa. *Islamic Tolerance: Amir Khusraw and Pluralism*. New York. Routledge. 2010
- 23- Ghavim, *Amir Khosrow Dehlavi*, Tehran, 1342
- 24- Golchin-e Ma'āni. Ahmad, *Tāriq-e taḍkerahā-ye fārsi*, Tehran, 1348
- 25- Gomapoy. Mohammad Ghodratoolah, *Tazkira-ye Natayej ul Afkar*, Tashih-e Yusef Beig Babapur, Majmae Zakhayer-e Islami, Qom, Vol.1, 1387
- 26- Ghosi, Mohammad. *Golzar Abrar*. Khodabakhsh orientel publication.

- 27- G. N. Devy. *Indian Literary Criticism: Theory and Interpretation*. Orient Longman, 2002
- 28- Hashemi, Ahmad Ali. *Tazkareh Makhzanul- Gharab*. Lahore. 1970
- 29- Hedayat. Reza Qoli Khan, *Majmaul Fosaha*, Entesharat-e Amir Kabir, Tehran, Vol., 1381
- 30- Hindu Shah Astarabadi. Mohammad Qasim, *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Anjoman-i Asar wa Mafakhir Farhangi, Tehran, Vol, 1388
- 31- H. I. Sadarangani, *Persian Poets of Sind*, Karachi, 1956.
- 32- Idem. *Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan: A Critical Survey of the Growth of Persian Language and Literature in India*. Allahabad. 1941.
- 33- Jafari, Younes. *Armaghan-i- Adabi*. Bonyade Moqafat-i Afshar.
- 34- Jami. Abdul Rahman, Baharistan
- 35- Karami. Mohammad Husain, *Naghsh wa Jaygah-e Amir Khosrow dar Sher-e Farsi*, Portal Pajuhesh gah-e Olum-i Insani wa Motaleat-i Farhangi
- 36- Kay Manish. Abbas, *Amir Khosrow Dehlavi wa Mousighi Diwanash*, Pajuheshgah-i Olum-i Insani wa Motaliat Farhangi, Portal Jam-i Olum-i Insani
- 37- Khan Lodi. Shir Ali Khan, *Tazkira Miratul Khayal*
- 38- Khayyam Poor, A. *Farhange Sokhanvaran*. Tehran. Talaye. 1372.
- 39- Kheir Abadi, Ahmad Ali. *Qasre Arefan*. Lahor. 1965
- 40- Lahori, Gholam Sarvar. *Khazinato asfiya*. Kanpour.
- 41- Latif, Syed Abdul. *An Outline of the Cultural History of India*. Institute of Indo-Middle East Cultural Studies
- 42- Mahmud, Fayaz. *Tarikhe Adabiyate Farsi dar Shebhe Gharre Hend*
- 43- Mallah. Husain Ali, *Hafiz wa Mousighi*
- 44- Mastour. Mowlana Abdu l Hay, Nozhat ul Khavahir
- 45- Mohammad, Habib. Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi. 1979
- 46- Minhaj-i Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Anjoman-i Tarikh-i Afghanistan, Kabul, Vol.1, 1342
- 47- Mir Husain Shah, *Saltanat-e Delhi*, Aryana Journal, sal-e Nozdahom, Shomareh Sheshom, 1340
- 48- Mohaddes Dehlavi. Akhbar ul Akhyar, Aleem Ashraf Khan, Anjoman-e Asar wa Mafakhir-e Farhangi, 1383
- 49- Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, New Delhi, 1995
- 50- Naghavi, Shahriyar. *Tajaliyate Zaban Va farhang Iran dar Hend*. Zavar. Tehran. 1376
- 51- Naseh, Mohammad Mahdi. Ganje shaygaan. Nashre Cheshmeh. Mashhad. 1382
- 52- Nizami 'Aruzi, *Chahar Maqaleh*, Entesharat Jami, Tehran, 1383
- 53- Pir Hasan Shah, *Trikh-e Kashmir*,
- 54- Paul Losensky and Sunil Sharma. *In the Bazaar of Love: Selected Poetry of Amir Khusrau*. New Delhi: Penguin. 2011
- 55- Radfar. Ab ul Ghasim, Rudaki an Saher-e Tire Chashm-e Roshanbin, Moassesey-e Tahghighat wa gostareh-e Olum-e Ensani, Chap Avval, 1387
- 56- Razi, Amin Ahmad. Haft Eghlim. Nobahar. Tehran. 1340

- 57- R.M. Chopra. *The Rise, Growth and Decline of Indo-Persian Literature*. Iran Culture House. Kolkata. 2nd Ed. 2013.
- 58- Reno, Louis. *Adabiyate Hend*. Siroos Zakaria. Bozorgmehr. 1370
- 59- Rypka, Jan. *History of Iranian Literature*. Reidel Publishing Company
- 60- S, Abdur Rahman. *Glimpses of Indo-Persian Literatur, Indo-Iranica 10/2. 1957*
- 61- Sabahuddin Abdurrahman, *Setayesh-i Zadgah dar Asar-i Amir Khosrow*, Pajuheshgah-i Olum-i Insani wa Motaliat Farhangi, Portal Jam-i Olum-i Insani
- 62- Safa. Zabihollah, *Tarikh-e Adabiyat dar Iran*, Vol.1, Tehran, Ferdows, 1371
- 63- Safi, Ghasem, *Bahaare Adab* (Tarikh-i zaban wa Adabiyat-i farsi dar shebhe gharre hind wa pakistan), Tehran. Amir Kabir
- 64- Sarhang K̄hwāja ‘Abd-al-Rašid, *Tazkira-ye šo‘ara-ye Punjāb*, Karachi, 1967
- 65- Sarv-e Aazad, *Fehrest-e Taraajom-e Masir-ol Kalam*, Daftar-e Sani
- 66- Schimmel. Annemarie, *Islamic Literatures of India*, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1973
- 67- Schimmel, A. *Amīr košrow Dehlawī*. Encyclopaedia Iranica. Online Edition. 2007
- 68- Shafi Kadkani. Mohammad Reza, *Mousiqi Sher*, Entesharat Agah, Tehran, 1379
- 69- Shafi ‘i-Kadkani. Moḥammad-Rezā, *Persian Literature from the Time of Jāmi to the Present Day. 2. The Safavid Period, in History of Persian Literature from the Beginning of the Islamic Period to the Present Day*, ed. G. Morrison, Leiden and Cologne, 1981
- 70- Shah Vari. Ahmad, *Saheb Geran-e Sokhan-i Parsi*, Elmi, Tehran, 1386
- 71- Shaikh Abdul-Haq Muhaddis Dahlavi, *Akhbarul Akhyar*, Aleem Ashraf Khan, Anjoman-e Asar wa Mafakhir-e Frahangi, 1383
- 72- Shaikh Abul-Fazal ibn Mubarak, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Kalkatte, Vol.3, 1867
- 73- Shams Qais Razi, *Almojam Fi Maeir-e Ashar-i Ajam*, Mohammad Qazvini, Tehran, Zavvar, 1360
- 74- Shamisa. Siroos, *Ashnaye ba Arouz wa Qafiye*
- 75- Sharma, Sunil. *Amir Khusraw: The Poet of Sufis and Sultans*. Oxford: Oneworld. 2005.
- 76- shibli Nomani, *Sher-ul-Ajam*, Motarjim: Fakhr-i Daei, Donyay-e kitab, Tehran, 1368
- 77- Sirajuddin Ali Khan Arzu, *Majma ul Nafais*, Anjoman-i Asar wa Mafakher Farhangi, Tehran, 1385
- 78- Soheili Khansari. Ahmad, *Hesar-e Nay*, Ketab Forushi Islamiye
- 79- Syed ‘Abdullah, *Adabiyat-i farsi dar miyan-i hindovan*, Entesharat Adabi wa Tarikhi-ye Moqufat-e Dr. Afshar, Tehran, 1371
- 80- Syed Wahid Ashraf, *Robaeiyyat-e Amir Khosrow*, Portal Jam-i Olum Insani
- 81- Tabatabai, Sasan. *Father of Persian Verse: Rudaki and His Poetry*, Amsterdam University Press, Feb 15, 2011

- 82- Tafhimi, Sajidollah. *Negahi Koutah Bar Tarikhche-ye Zaban va Adabyyat-e Farsi Dar Shebhe Gharreh*. Ali Mohammad Moazzeni. Eslam Abad. Mrakaze Tahghighate Farsiye Iran va Pakestan. 1372
- 83- Tashmatov.Delbar, *Nigahi be Surat wa Sirat-i Ashar-i Amir Khosrow Dehlavi*, Portal Jame Olum-i Insani
- 84- Valeh Daghestani.Aligholi Ebn Mohammad Ali, *Tazkira-ye Riyaz ul-sho 'ara*, Pajuheshgah-e Olum-e Ensani wa Motaleat-e Farhangi, Tehran, Vol.1, 1390
- 85- Vaseti, *Tarikh-e Ravabet-e Pezeshki-e Iran va Pakistan*, pp. 9-12
- 86- Zahur uddin Ahmad, *Tarikh-e Adab-e Farsi dar Pakistan*, Motarjem: Shahid Chowdary, Pajuheshgah-e Olum-e Insani was Motaleat-e Farhangi, Tehran, Vol.1, 1385
- 87- Zarrin Kub. Abdul Husain, *Amir Khosrow Dehlavi*, Portal Jam-I Olum Insani
- 88- Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-I Firuz Shahi*, Bengal, 1862
- 89-, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol.4, part-2
- 90-, *Tarikh-i Sistan*, Tashih-e Mohammad Taqi Bahar, Tehran, Moein, 1381

Online Documents

- 91- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samanid_Empire
- 92- <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persian-language-1-early-new-persian>
- 93- <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/india-xiv-persian-literature-in-india>
- 94- [http://journals.tabrizu.ac.ir/article/Chaudary. Shahid, *Sair-e Tasavvof wa Irfan az Iran be Shebhe Qarreh Hend*,](http://journals.tabrizu.ac.ir/article/Chaudary.Shahid.Sair-e.Tasavvof.wa.Irfan.az.Iran.be.Shebhe.Qarreh.Hend)
- 95- [#Ghaznavid_Period](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_conquests_on_the_Indian_subcontinent)
- 96- <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ghaznavids>
- 97- <http://www.empires.findthedata.com>
- 98- [http://www.persianacademy.ir/UserFiles/File/NF/09/NF-Modarresi. Fatemeh, Peyvand-e Zaban-e Farsi va Hend dar Ayene-ye Zaman, 09-09.pdf](http://www.persianacademy.ir/UserFiles/File/NF/09/NF-Modarresi.Fatemeh.Peyvand-e.Zaban-e.Farsi.va.Hend.dar.Ayene-ye.Zaman.09-09.pdf)
- 99- <http://www.indiasite.com/delhi/history/balban.html>
- 100- <http://www.cssforum.com.pk/css-optional-subjects/group-iv/history-pakistan-india/24734-delhi-sultanate.html>
- 101- [http://www. /my.tahoor.com/fa/Article/View/115497](http://www.my.tahoor.com/fa/Article/View/115497). *Negahi be Zendegi wa Ahvalat-e Amir Khosrow Dehlavi*,