

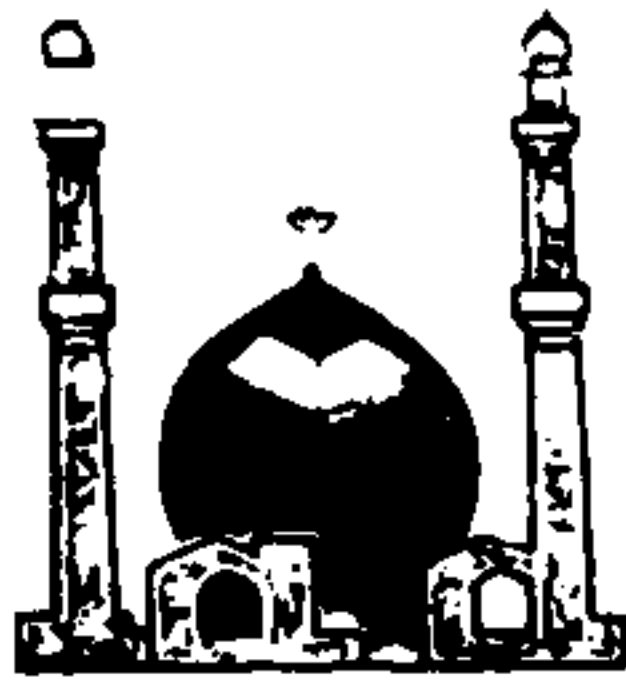
Influence of Islam on Hindi Literature

Dr. Syed Asad Ali



INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON HINDI LITERATURE

Dr. SYED ASAD ALI



Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli
5803, Sadar Bazar, Delhi

135698

© Dr. Syed Asad Ali

First Published 2000

Price: Rs. 350/-

•

Published by Mohammad Ahmad for Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli,
5803 Sadar Bazar, Delhi and Printed at Jayyed Press, Ballimaran, Delhi

Laser Composing by
S.A. Compu-typeset, Ballimaran, Delhi-110006

To my daughter Samina,
a genius of a different order.

CONTENT

Foreword XIII

Preface XV

**Chapter I A Literary and Cultural Perspective
in the Context of Hindi Literature** 1

Sanskriti (Culture), Bhakti, Muslim Culture, Literary Perspectives of Muslim Culture, India at the advent of Muslims, Muhammad Bin Qasim to Aurangzeb from Literary Point of View: Muhammad Bin Qasim, Mahmood Ghaznavi, Masud Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ghorī— *The Sultanat Period*
The Slave Dynasty Aibek, Altamash, Naasirddin Mahmood, Balban, Khiljis

Jalaluddin Khilji, Alauddin Khilji, The Tughlaqs: Ghyasuddin Tughlaq, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, Feroze Shah Tughlaq, The Lodhis: Sikandar Lodhi, *Other Muslim Kingdoms*: Kashmir, Bengal, The Bahmanis, The Adil Shahis, The Qutub Shahis, The Walajaahis of Arcot, *The Great Mughals*: Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, Mughal Women of Excellence: Gulbadan Bano Begum, Nur Jahan, Jahan Ara, Zebunnisa, A Summing up.

**Chapter II Islam and Sufism as Reflected
in Hindi Literature** 59

Islam, Islam in India, Momin, Muslim, Qur'an and Hadees, Allah, *Sifaat-e-Ilahi* (Attributes of Allah), Creation of Man, Creation of universe, *Arsh* (The Highest Heaven), Brevity of earthly life, Jinn, Angels Jibrail (Gabriel), Israel, Israfil, Mikail (Michael), Azazil (Lucifer), *Rasool Nabi*, The Prophets Aadam

(Adam), Nuh (Noah), Ibrahim (Abraham), Yusuf (Joseph), Yunus (Jonah), Moosa (Moses), Isa (Jesus), Khizr., Muhammad, The Wisely Guided Caliphs: Abu Bakar, Umar, Usman, Ali, Islamic Faith: *Tauheed* (Monotheism), *Qayamat* (Resurrection), *As-Siraat* (The Bridge), *Jaza'-Saza* (Requittal and Retribution), *Jannat* (Paradise), *Jahannum* (Hell), *Halaal-Haraam* (Permitted and Prohibited), *Masawaat* (Equality) and *Ikhwaan* (Brotherhood), *Imaan* (Faith), *Kalima* (The Proclamation of Faith), *Salwaat-Namaaz* (Prayer), *Sajdah* (Prostration), *Darud* (Special Invocation), *Tasbih* (Counting of Beads), *Musallah* (Prayer Mat), *Masjid* (Mosque), *Saum-Roza* (Ramazaan Fasting), *Hajj* (Pilgrimage to K'ba at Makkah), *Zam Zam* (Water fount near Ka'ba), *Tasawwuf* (Islamic Mysticism), *Shaikh* (Spiritual Guide), *Wali* (Enlightened soul), *Qalander* (Mendicant), *Dervesh* (Ascetic), *Faqir* (God-reliant Recluse), *Dargah* (Abode of Sufis), *Noor-e-Ilahi* (Divine Light), *Noor-e-Muhammad*, *Ishq* (Love Irrational), *Pir-o-Murshad* (Spiritual Guide), *Four Stages of Tasawwuf*, *Shariat* (The Religious Way), *Tariqat* (Mystical Path), *Muarifat* (Gnosis), *Haqiqat* (The Truth), *Sufi Practices*, *Tauba* (Repentance), *Nafs* (Evil Propensities of Self), *Zikr* (Liturgy), *Tark* (Severing Worldly Ties), *Ijz* (Humility), *Tawakkal* (Content Event)

Chapter III Muslim Culture as Reflected in Hindi Literature

136

1. Depiction of Court Environment and Items of Warfare

Sultan (the King), *Mahal* (Palace), *Darbaar* (Royal Court), *Darbaan* (Sentry), *Ghulaam* (Slave), *Naqeeb* (Herald), *Vazir* (Minister), *Qazi* (Judge), *Diwaan* (Prime Minister), Warfare and Weapons, *Dushman* (Enemy), *Kooch Muqaam* (Lifting of Camp), *Bairak* (Victory Flag), *Fauj* (Troops), Arab Steed, *Jahaaz*

(Ship), *Zirah Baktar* (Armour), *Siphar* (Shield), *Teer* (Arrow), *Tarkash* (Quiver), *Naizah* (Lance), *Tegh-Shamsheer* (Scimitar-Sword), *Barood* (Gun Powder), *Fateelah* (Wick), *Tope* (Cannon),

2. Administrative and Mercantile Vocabulary

Jagir (Fief), Market and Shop, *Dalaal* (Broker), *Maal-Nafa* (Capital and Profit), *Baraamad* (Recovery), *Baqi Talab Bedaaq* (Balance Cleared), Professor and Professional, *Julaha* (Weaver), *Bazaaz* (Clothier), *Darzi* (Tailor), *Jauhari* (Jeweller), *Najjaar* (Carpenter), *Rangrez* (Dyer), *Baazigar* (Juggler), *Qasai* (Butcher), Coinage and Currency,

3. The Arts: Architecture

Masjid (Mosque), *Mahal* (Palace), Music, Arabic-Sanskrit Music Terminology, Musical Instruments: (i) Parchment-surfaced Instruments: *Daff* (Tambourine), *Chang*, *Nishaan* (Metal Drum), *Damaama* (Kettle Drum), (ii) Stringed Instruments: *Rabaab*, (iii) Air-filled Instruments: *Shehnai* (Flageolet),

4. Language and Literature

Scribes' Artefacts, Hindi Compositions in the Mould of Persian Poetry, Kabir, Jayisi, Tulsidas,

5. Hindi Historiography

Chapter IV Impact of Islamic Tradition on Forms of Hindi Poetry

195

Early Forms in Sanskrit and Apbharansh, Arab-Persian Poetical Forms in Muslims Culture, *Ilme-e-Urooz* (Poesy), *Qafia-Radeef* (Rhyme and Double Rhyme), *Takhalus* (Pen Name), *Ghazal* (Sonnet), *Masnavi* (Turko-Persian Epic),

Elements of *Masnvi*: *Hamd* (Poem in Praise of God), *Na't* (Poem in Praise of the Holy Prophet), *Manqabat*

(Poem in Praise of the Caliphs and Celebrated Saints), *Madha* (Poem in Praise of the Contemporary Ruler), *Tazkirah* (Poem in Praise of the Mentor or Benefactor), *Wajah-i-Tasneef* (Composition Explaining the Reasons for Writing the Work), *Qaseedah* (Epistle), *Forms of Qaseedah: Khitaabia Tamheedia, Qaseedah-i-Natamaam, Elements of Qaseedah: Matla* (Exordium), *Tamheed, Tashbeeb, Takhlees-Mukhallus* (Turning to the Real Subject), *Husn-e-Talab* (The Plea), *Duayiah* (Prayer), Other Forms: *Lughaz Cheestan* (Enigma), *Kahmukarni* (Conundrum), *Nisbat* (Comparison), *Binbujhi Paheli* (Quibbles), *Zulisaani* (Bilingual or Multi-lingual), *Mustazaad, Alif-Naamah* (Alphabetical Composition), *Qita* (Stanza), *Rekhta, Lavani, Jhoolna,*

Chapter V	Embellishment and Adornment (Alankaran) under Muslim Influence	219
------------------	---	------------

(A) Embellishment of Language

1. Use of Names of Celebrities of Islamic Tradition as Analogies and Similies:

Zulqarnain (Alexander), Sulaiman (Solomon), Umar, Haatim, Ali, Yusuf,

2. Use of Tradittonal Arab-Persian Words

Teer (Arrow), *Kamaan* (Bow), *Zanjeer* (Chain), *Baadbaan* (Sail), *Naqeeb* (Herald), *Bairak* (Victory Flag), *Gulbadan-Maahroop* (Feminine Grace), *Ghulail* (Pellet Bow), *Tarkush* (Quiver), *Qasaab* (Butcher),

3. Use of New Expressions as Similes After the Advent of Muslims

Maqtool (Black Silk), *Mashak* (Leather Bag for Water), *Surahi* (Earthen Picther), *Habshi* (Abyssynian), *Gule Lala* (Iranian Flower), *Nargis* (Eye-Like Flower), *Chaugaan* (Polo), *Ameen* (Custodian), *Taazi* (Arab Steed),

4. Use of Antithetical Expressions under Muslim Influence

5. *Muhaware* (Idioms), *Sarapa Bayaani* (Descriptions of Persons from Head to Toe), *Zarbul Amsaal* (Aphorisms),

6. Arab-Persian Prefixes and Suffixes

7. Arabic and Persian Abundant Hindi Poetry

Kabir, Surdas, Tulsidas, Guru Nanak, Raidas, Narhari, Malukdas,

(B) Embellishment of Common Life as Depicted by Hindi Poets

1. Food Habits, Meat Preparations, *Kabaab*, Vegetables, Fruits,

2. Dresses: Men's Dresses, *Pajaama*, Ladies' Apparels, Other Materials, Cloth for Funeral,

3. Ornaments, Cosmetics, Festivals, *Nauroz*,

4. *Sanskaars* (Rituals) *Uqd-Nikah* (Muslim Marriage Ceremony),

5. Relaxations and Recreations, Hunting, *Shatranj* (Chess), *Chauguan* (Polo).

Epilogue	253
Bibliography	266
Index	273

Foreword

It gives me great pleasure to see Dr. Syed Asad Ali's thesis in print. He has, in the essay, discussed the consequences of the impact of Islam and Muslim culture on Hindi literature from a refreshingly new point of view. Dr. Asad Ali, besides being a scholar of Urdu and Hindi, is also well versed in Arabic and Persian. He has a knack of assessing and examining literary trends in Hindi literature in the perspective of a broad historical back ground. In the present thesis, he has taken great pains to investigate the changes and developments in the Hindi literature under the impact of the Muslim culture. And with the passage of time, these became so inseparable and enduring parts of the literature that no critic well versed only in the Hindi tradition could grasp them.

Dr. Asad Ali's discerning eye has clearly seen that instead of superficial churning out of words, if one dives deeper one does find that the process of bringing about unity amongst men has been continuous. The Indian culture is by no means stagnant. The unique capacity of give-and-take which characterises a living culture has always been there. There is no sphere, be it social, cultural, religious or literary, where it has not borrowed from or contributed to the great Muslim culture. The best and the richest part of the Hindi literature is a shared contribution of Hindu and Muslim moves.

Dr. Asad Ali's thesis casts a new light on the Hindi literature. It is quite natural that all scholars may not subscribe to Dr. Asad Ali's viewpoint, but that does not detract him from the importance of his thesis. It stimulates new ideas, prompts casting a new glance at many conventional concepts and gives a fresh vision of discerning the all-embracing Indian ethos. This by itself is no mean achievement.

On the occasion of the publication of this thesis, I congratulate Dr. Syed Asad Ali and offer him my blessings. I wish him a long and healthy life. May God give him enough strength to continue his literary pursuits more vigorously.

HAZARI PRASAD DWIVEDI

Preface

India has been a centre of culture and civilisation right since ancient times. As a result of the advent of Muslim culture and civilisation, Indian culture underwent manifold changes. The political, economic, religious, spiritual and aesthetic aspects of the country were influenced through this contact in one form or the other. Languages and poetry in general and Hindi literature in particular were greatly influenced. If one were to assess various aspects and forms in which these elements influenced Hindi literature, one would realise that the influence was of an abiding nature. Despite the need for it, no research in this subject was so far undertaken in Hindi.

On finding me interested in this theme, eminent historian, Dr. Tara Chand and Acharya Hazari Prasad Dwivedi inspired me to take up this research. Further, I saw my task as contributing to reinforcing national integration and unity, bringing back to new generation the fact of all-round exchange of influences between Hindus and the Muslims for many, many centuries.

The thesis is divided into Six parts. Chapter I deals with the Literary and Cultural perspective in the context of Hindi literature, in the light of the basic tenets and concepts of Islam and Muslim culture, before proceeding to discuss their impact on Hindi literature. It is common knowledge that from Muhammad Bin Qasim (712-715) to Aurangzeb (1658-1707), the official language of Muslim empires or kingdoms was Arabic for some time and Persian for most of the period. However, Hindi, the common language of the people, enjoyed the favour and patronage of Muslim royal courts. Out of their fondness for Hindi and through their patronage of the Hindi poets and writers, the Muslims contributed to the growth and development of Hindi itself. In due course, Hindi language and literature imbibed the impact and influence of Arabic and Persian. The nature and extent of this impact and influence have been discussed in detail.

Chapter II relates to Islam and Sufism as reflected in Hindi literature. It discusses how the poets depicted customs peculiar to Muslims and the beliefs of Muslim *sufi* saints. In keeping with this, I have elaborated on the principles and ideology of Islam and sufism, both of which were discussed amongst Hindi poets of the time. These include conceptual connotations of Islamic terms, such as "Islam", "*Momin*", "Qur'an", and "*Hadees*" (Traditions) that the Hindi poets used in their verses. Similarly concepts, such as "*Halaal*", "*Haraam*", "*Jaza*", "*Saza*", "*Jahannum*", "*Imaan*" etc. that frequently occur in the Hindi poetry of the time have been illustrated with numerous examples. The extent to which the poets of the *Bhakti* period were acquainted with the practical side of Islam when they used words, such as "*Azaan*", "*Namaaz*", "*Kalima*", "*Sajda*", "*Darood*", "*Roza*", "*Hajj*", etc has also been pointed out. As a consequence of the influence of Muslim culture, the Hindi poets also widely used the common terms of Sufism, such as "*Shariat*", "*Tariqat*", "*Haqeeqat*", "*Ma'fifat*", along with "*Nafs*", "*Zikr*", "*Tasawwuf*" etc.

Chapter III describes the effects of Muslim civilisation of various aspects of life in the country. The Hindi poets use words, such as "*Sultan*", "*Haakim*", "*Darbaar*", "*Darbaan*", "*Ghulaam*", "*Wazier*", "*Qazi*", "*Fauj*" etc while dealing with political and administrative life at the time. In respect of economic life, they use "*Baazaar*" and the Perso-Arabic names of trades, professions and occupations. Under the heading "Literature", are mentioned various literary genre acquired through contact with the Muslims and how their expression conformed to that found in Arabic and Persian poetry. Music and related facets resulting from contact with the Muslim are enumerated under the discussion on Arts. Similarly with Architecture and History.

Chapter IV discusses various forms of poetry, identifying first the forms that existed before the advent of Muslims and later the ones that came in through contact with Muslim culture, such as "*Ghazal*", "*Masnawi*", "*Hamd*", "*Na't*", "*Manqabat*", "*Qaseedah*", "*Do-sukhna*", "*Qata*", "*Rekhta*", "*Alif nama*", "*Lavani*" and "*Jhoolna*". Also mentioned are the Arab-Persian meters used by the Hindi poets. This Chapter gives an insight into the impact of Arabic and Persian literature on the Hindi literature.

Chapter V deals with aspects of embellishment of expression and diction in poetry. My revered guide and teacher, Acharya Hazari prasad Dwivedi held his own views on the subject and advised me to split the Chapter into two parts. Accordingly, the first part concerns with the diction while the second with embellishment and ornamentation of living styles. Under the former are discussed similes, analogies and metaphors that owe their usage the direct impact of Muslim culture. Several Arabic and Persian idioms and proverbs adopted by the Hindi poets to adorn their poetry have been cited. Under the heading "Perso-Arabic Abundant Poetry", Arabic and Persian words, prefixes and suffixes freely employed by the Hindi poets have been pointed out.

The influence and impact of Islam and Muslim civilisation in embellishing living styles, as seen in the works of the Hindi poets of the time, has been rather pervasive. There was an increase in the varieties of foods, beverages and other culinary items and even the method of preparing various food items improved greatly. The same goes for draperies and jewellery. The Muslim impact is also discernible in fairs, festivals and festivities. More so in respect of indoor and outdoor recreations.

In a way the arrival of Muslims was auspicious for the country, as the entrenched political, economic, social and cultural exploitation in the society was reduced to a great extent and the Indian masses and their literature were pulled out of their stereotype. These many processes have been highlighted in this Chapter.

Chapter VI is the Epilogue sums up the overall impact of Islam and Muslim culture on Hindi literature and proves how profoundly the Muslim impact enriched the Hindi literature.

The present thesis was completed under the guidance of my revered teacher and guide, Acharya Hazari Prasad Dwivedi. I am deeply indebted to the well known historian, Dr. Tara Chand who was kind enough to have introduced me to Acharyaji and also gave me the benefit of much valued advice from time to time. The present English version is a revised and enlarged edition of my earlier Hindi and Urdu versions.

The guidance of my benefactor Wasim A. Saeed, the author of monumental work "Major Events of Medieval India" and his rich library has helped me a lot. I have no words to express my feelings but even then I thank him from the core of my heart.

I must also express my gratitude to my friend, Prof. Hameeduddin Mahmood. In spite of our differences of opinion in general approach, he was kind enough to thoroughly revise and enrich the present English version from the point of view of language and the arrangement of the subject matter, especially regarding Islam; and drew my attention to some debatable points, besides making many useful suggestions.

My sincere thanks are to my friend Mohammad Ahmad Saheb a missionary of Islamic Culture and a publisher of outstanding books of History and Culture. Thanks to Abdur Rab Saheb, director of a laser composing unit (S.A. CompuTypest), for a careful look on this book.

But how on earth could I express my thanks to my life partner, guide and friend Majida Khatoon, known in Hindi world as "Dr. Majida Asad", whose love and sincerity provided me ample encouragement in completing the task I had set for myself

A large part of the contents of this thesis and the conclusions in various Chapters are based exclusively on my study and research. If some errors have, however, crept in, these may please be treated as human and I should be obliged if these are duly pointed out.

Dr. SYED ASAD ALI

C-105, East End Apartments,
Dehli 110096 INDIA

I

A LITERARY AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE IN THE CONTEXT OF HINDI LITERATURE

Sanskriti (Culture)

Sanskriti, derived from the root “*Kri*”, means reformed and refined. Its equivalent in English is “Culture”. According to anthropologist, E.B. Tyler “Culture is a complex entity, comprising knowledge, values, rules, laws, practices, conventions, along with a combination of capabilities and habits obtainable to man as a social being”. In sum, culture is social heritage. Though *Sanskriti* is a nominal form of “*sanskar*”, its meaning embraces a wide range of political, economic, social, religious and spiritual activity of a human group within a defined space and defined time.

F.C. Davar believes “Culture often follows the flag of conquest”. True, but only to limited extent. When conquerors merge with the local milieu, as did the Muslims, the result is not an imposed culture as in post Columbus America, but an osmosis, yielding a new synthesis and a new inflorescence. That is what happened in the twelve centuries from Muhammad Bin Qasim’s conquest of Sindh and Multan in 712 to 1799 when the last major ruler Tipu Sultan attained martyrdom.

A major offshoot of Muslim rule in the medieval period was the birth of *Bhakti* movement, though *Bhakti* has existed at all times in all civilisations as a form of devotion to God.

The Sanskrit word “*Bhakti*” is derived from the root, “*Bhaj*”, which means adoration of God. We find worship of Shiva “seated in meditation” in the Indus Valley civilisation. We find “*Bhakti*” in *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Puranas* and the great epics. In litera-

ture, *Bhakti* is a blanket term for various kinds of spiritual experiences, as found in the *Sagun* poetry (seeking a personal god) in *Shivite* or *Vaishnavite* ways, or in the *Nirgun* poetry (seeking impersonal God). These embrace a large variety of trends, such as dualists, monotheists, monists and qualified monists. The *Bhakti* tradition emphasised that ultimate reality is One, without *guna* (attributes) or *rupa* (form).

The Medieval Bhakti Movements is distinguished by a different attitude. It stressed upon the essentially monotheistic character of the idea of God and the superiority of the path of devotion over ritualistic sacrifices and textual knowledge and meaningless recitations. This was due to the new stimulus provided by Islam: surrender to the will of God of all men. The word Islam means surrender and the Muslim is verily a *Prapanna*.

Muslim Culture

At the outset, it should be clarified that Islam has one culture but many civilisations. That one culture sprouts from the holy Qur'an and the doctrines of Islam and *Shariah* it expounds. This culture is common in all Muslim lands from Morocco and Senegal on the Atlantic to the Philippines in the Pacific, from Gobi desert to Maldives along the Equator.

Ram Dhari Singh "*Dinkar*" recalls: "Only 80 years after the advent of Islam, its banner had reached the Indian frontiers on the one hand and started fluttering in the Atlantic Ocean as well. The light of Islam spread throughout Iraq, Iran and West Asia on the eve of the 7th century and by the year 712 AD, the province of Sindh fell to the Muslim rulers. This was the year when Spain also came under the Muslim rule. And before the end of the first century *Hijri*, the Muslims established their supremacy in the world".

Says Jawaharlal Nehru in his "The Discovery of India" (P. 228): "The culture that the Arabs carried with them to distant countries was itself changing and developing. It bore the strong impress of the new ideas of Islam and yet to call it Islamic civilization is confusing and probably incorrect. I think it will be more appropriate to call it Muslim culture". Nehru adds: "With their capital at Damascus, they soon left their simple ways of living and developed

a more sophisticated civilisation. Byzantine influences came to them but most of all when they moved to Baghdad, the tradition of old Iran affected them and they developed the Arab-Persian civilisation which became dominant over all the vast areas they controlled". From the outset the Muslim culture tended to be non-exclusive and came into contact freely with other cultures and assimilated their best elements. After conquering other lands and establishing control over them, the fusion of the Islamic society with the cultural heritage of the conquered people gave birth to new composite cultures and civilisations. These became various components and facets of what we now call the Muslim culture.

Literary Perspective of Muslim culture

The model in the fields of literature, arts and sciences presented to the world by the ancient Indians finds few parallels in the world. *Rig Veda* is regarded as the oldest scripture in the world. It greatly influenced the later inflorescence of Sanskrit literature. During their Caliphate at Damascus and Baghdad, the Arabs came in close contact with Sanskrit literature. It was only natural that Muslim *sufis*, traders, travellers and rulers became aware of proto-Hindi literature as it then existed. Author Mehmood Sherani rightly remarks that Hindi literature, right since its earliest stage, had been in touch with Muslim poets and rulers, especially during the *Bhakti* and *Reeti* eras. This was significant, as it resulted in considerable exchange between Hindi and Persian literatures.

Before analysing the influence of the contact the Muslims had with Hindi literature, it would be useful to briefly discuss Islam's view of literature and poetry. The holy Qur'an is the fountainhead of Islamic faith, its philosophy and literature. The art of poetry was indeed highly developed in pre-Islamic Arabia. But in terms of expression, elegance and diction, the Qur'an, revealed in Arabic prose, excelled all existing then existing in Arabic prose and poetry. Openly and specifically the Qur'an held out a challenge to the pagan Arabs to produce singly or together a single passage comparable to any verse of the Qur'an in any way—excellence of language and diction, rhythm and depth of meaning, or even lyricism. The tonal and rhythmic grace of recitation of the Qur'an makes it clear why the Qura'nic challenge could never be met by

the pagan Arabs who were so proud of their linguistic excellence that they called the rest of the world "*ajam*" (mute).

The attitude of Muslim culture towards poetry is exemplified by the view point offered in the last few verses of *Surah "Ash-Shuera"* (Chapter 26). It condemns lustful wandering of chaotic thinking of poets without commitment to humanism and mankind. However, Islam commends poetry that dwells on the glories of God and His creation and that elevates human mind and soul. There is ample evidence in *Ahadees* (saying of the holy prophet) and quotes from the *Sahaabis* (companion of the holy prophets) of prizes having been given for fine pieces of poetry. Two such instances are oft-quoted. One is the Qur'anic exhortation: "To acquire knowledge is the duty of every Muslim man and Muslim woman". The other is the prophet's recommendation to travel as far as China, then the farthest land, in search of knowledge. (Here, it must be pointed out that both in India and China, all knowledge then existed in verse form.) The fourth caliph, Hazrat Ali bin Abi Talib (656-661) is stated to have been an eminent poet in his own right. The great Imams of Islamic history, such as Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Sha'fi, Imam Ghazali (1058-1111) et al have contributed greatly to the spread of Islam through their *sufi* poetry. Also significant has been the role of great *sufi* poets of Persian, such as Jalal-ud-Din Rumi (d. 1273), Hakeem Sanai (d. 1050) and Shaikh Sa'di (1184-1291). Indeed, the world "*Masnavi*" of Maulana Rumi is called "Qur'an in Pahlavi (Persian) language."

Islam is characterised by personal freedom, equality, total absence of caste system and respect for life. Islam strictly forbids suicide. Muslims made a name for themselves as mariners, navigators, explorers and inveterate travellers who then reached the four corners of the known world and wrote about these distant lands and the peoples who inhabited them, which proves their ability to interact with other peoples without any fetters and blinkers.

The Muslim advent in India coincided with a period of decline and chaos which was more than political in nature. It was total: economic, societal, civilisational, religious and spiritual. The worst of it was the fossilisation of Indian society under the disabling grip of the rigid casteism.

India at the Advent of Muslims

Though Arab maritime contact with India predates the advent of Islam in Arabia, their overland political contact with India dates from the 8th century AD. The empire of Harshvardhan (606-647) disintegrated and India had slipped into anarchy with tiny kingdoms ruled by Rajput chieftains lusting for each other's blood, for such petty reasons as a supposed breach of the dynastic tradition or an imagined slur. Royal weddings were a perpetual excuse for settling scores. The Hindu society was caste-bound and ritual ridden. To say nothing of political or social consciousness, the masses were bereft even of genuine religious feelings. T.M.P. Mahadevan, quoting from Shankaracharya's commentary on "*Brahmasutra*" says:

"India in Shankara's time was politically divided and socially disordered. There were a number of kingdoms having little in common and competing with one another for supremacy. Hate begot hatred, and peace was sacrificed at the altar of selfishness and greed. There were literalists and ritualists, nihilists and iconoclasts who were out to destroy all that was sacred and old. Conflict was rife among the (various) schools of philosophy, and hostility among the different religious sects abounded. Both the learned and the laity seemed to have had forgotten the basic *Vedic* teachings that 'the Real Is One'."

In such an age of crises and confusion, Sankara was born in a village called Kaladi on the banks of Periyar in Kerala, some 10 km. from the present town of Alwaye.

Politically, pre-Muslim India was feudally particularistic, each small tribe cherished its own autonomy. Buddhism had already decayed, and had gradually merged with *Siva* and *Shakti* cults of Hinduism. Ultimately it was displaced by Puranic Hinduism. When Rajput kingdoms were overrun by Muslims, the Hindu society was thoroughly enfeebled. Politically, it put an end to imperialism based on loose confederation of practically autonomous principalities. In India, Muslims came across a civilisation that was in many respects, a complete antithesis of Islam. The Hindus had highly speculative and contemplative arts but under the caste system life had little to offer materially or spiritually to the lower classes who constituted the vast majority of the population of India.

Caste dominated every aspect and phase of human life, such as profession to adopt, knowledge to acquire and even the place to reside. Prof. Dinesh Chandra Sen, a scholar of eminence, sums up the condition of the Hindu society in those days in the following words: The Power of Brahmins had become oppressive. The rules of caste (system) became more and more stringent as Kulinism was stereotyped. While better ideals in religion were upheld by the high castes—the Brahmins, the gap between man and man was widened by caste restrictions. The lower strata of society, which was in majority, groaned under the autocracy of the higher caste, who shut the portals of learning against the inferior classes. These were also debarred from having any access to a higher life. The religion of the new school (Puranic) became the monopoly of the Brahmins, as if it were the commodity of the market place. Islam was a stranger to all this. In India, Islam played a humanitarian and liberating role partly by offering within its fold complete equality and an opportunity for social, economic, intellectual and spiritual development to the millions who were leading a sub-human existence". It was during this time that the *Sufis* of Islam, who excelled the Hindu priesthood and monks in active piety, energy, knowledge and foresight, began proselytising on a wide scale not so much by force as by favour of their faith and their exemplary character. They lived and preached among the low class Hindus, then as ever, in rural areas, became a source of additional strength to the Muslim governments.

The Muslim domination wiped out the many centres of independent authority and restored central authority. Seeing the Muslims getting the better of Hindu resistance everywhere, the people lost all hopes in local Hindu rulers and chieftains. According to "A Study of Official Documents, *Farmans*, Plates and Inscriptions of Rajasthan dating 1150-1750" conducted by Ramchander of Allahabad University, Rajasthan, among all the Hindi-speaking areas, received the maximum influence of Muslim culture and languages. The Rajputs were in closer contact with Muslim invaders and rulers and their number in services was the largest. Their contacts with Muslims were long and varied

The so called Arab conquest of Sind was actually made by Persian soldiers of Muhammad Bin Qasim who was born and brought up in Makran along the Persian coast adjoining India. During the

reign of the second Caliph, Umar Farooq (634-645) earliest attempts had been made to capture the northern ports. After Persia and the Persian region of Makran were incorporated into the Arab empire, Hajjaj Bin Yusuf, the Governor of Iraq during the Caliphate of Waleed bin Abdul Malik, sent an expedition in 712 to conquer and annex Sind. The expedition was led by a brilliant 17 years old commander, Muhammad Bin Qasim. Overcoming all odds, Muhammad Bin Qasim defeated the Hindu rulers of Sind. He overran the entire Sind Valley and went on to annex Multan. These areas remained part of the Arab empire over the next three centuries.

Small settlements of Muslims had cropped up at Dabul, Somnath, Bharuch, Khambhat, Sinjan and Chaul. Most of the Hindu rulers elsewhere welcomed the Muslims with open arms and showed great hospitality towards them. Subsequently, Turk rulers, Subuktagin and later Mahmood Ghaznavi undertook annual forays from the northwest. By 13th century, Muslims conquest of North India was complete. The Muslims had run their armies from Punjab to Assam and from Kashmir to the Vindhya. Malik Kafur, the Abyssinian general of Alauddin Khilji had reached as far south as Kanya Kumari. The Muslim who came to India made it their permanent home and never looked back to where they came from. They lived surrounded by the Hindu multitudes. A state of perennial hostility was inconceivable. Islam did not permit exclusivity. Mutual interaction was inevitable. It led to mutual understanding. Many among the newcomers were Muslim ascetics and wandering *derveshes*, imbued with love for mankind. They took abodes in various places and began spreading the message of Sufism, of universal love.

Muhammad Bin Qasim to Aurangzeb (from Literary Point of View)

After capturing Dabul, Nirun and Brahmanabad, Muhammad Bin Qasim organised the administration of Sind and appointed local governors in Rawar, Sehwan, Nirun and Dhabya. A descendant of the second Caliph, Umar, was advisor to Muhammad Bin Qasim. His full name was Shaikh Shihabuddin Farooqi bin Abdul Aziz bin Umar. He was administrator and a *sufi* of high merit. His

two sons also became governor of Sehwan successively. Their family continued to rule Sehwan until the time of Mahmood Ghaznavi. Because of their matrimonial alliances, the family became almost Sindhi. In later years, the Mir of Khairpur started conferring *jagirs* to the Farooqi clan. With Shihabdino, grandfather of Sachal Sarmast (Abdul Wahab), the Farooqi family became a political. They resigned from the services and became ascetics.

Arab rule produced men of note in Sindh and Multan, some of whom achieved fame and distinction in Damascus and Baghdad. A number of other scholars and poets connected with Sindh is also mentioned in Arabic anthologies. Abu Ma'shar Sindhi (b. 787) was an authority on *Ahadees* and *Seerat* (life and teachings of the holy prophet). He was so eminent that when he died, the reigning Caliph led the funeral prayer for him. Imam Auz'ai (707-773) was an authority on the history of *fiqah* (Islamic Jurisprudence). The most eminent Arabic poet of Sindhi origin was Abu Ata Sindhi. Taken to Syria as a captive in his childhood, he earned his release by writing a *qaseedah*. Imam Abu Hanifa, founder of the Hanafis school of Islamic law, was born in Iraq but his clan is said to have migrated from Sindh. Several leading Sindhi families have been of Arab origin.

Sindh became the link through which the fruits of Indo-Arab learning were transmitted between India and the Arab world. The earliest Indo-Arab contact is datable to the time of the second Caliph, Hazrat Umar (634-645). The mentor of the renowned *sufi*, Bayazid of Bustam had a Sindhi Muslim as his spiritual teacher. Bayazid once said: "I learned the science of annihilation (*Ilm-e-Fana*) and Unitarianism (*Tawheed*) from Abu Ali (of Sindh) and Abu Ali learned the lesson of Islamic Unitarianism from me". The close association of Sindh with Sufism has survived to this day.

An other *sufi* saint, Abu Hifs, Rabi bin Sahib-al-Asadi-al-Basri came to settle down in Sindh, where he died in 728. Ibn Hauqal says he heard Arabic spoken in Sindh, besides Sindhi. The conquerors were liberal towards the people they ruled and allowed local customs and institutions to continue. They employed local officials. Written accounts of local officers and courtiers in Sindh and Multan are available. With *sufi* saints and Arab traders growing

in numbers, the interaction with local people, intensified.

The first ever translation of the holy Qur'an appeared, sometime in 886 A.D. in Sindhi language. It was done by an Arab linguist of Mansura with the help of a local Sindhi scholar.

About Muhammad bin Qasim, it is enough to say here that he respected local Pandits. He was meticulous, methodical and possessed political sagacity and military skills greater than could be expected at his age, for he was only 17. Arab rule in Sindh and Multan brought Islam to northwest India in an extensive and organised way through the *sufis*. In the course of time, it resulted in the adoption of Arabic script for the Sindhi language, set a liberal pattern for dealing with the Hindus and facilitated fruitful intellectual contact between Baghdad and the subcontinent.

Before we end this short account, it is necessary to point out that Sindh of Muhammad bin Qasim's period (712-715) was bigger than present-day Pakistan. In the west, it was up to Makran, in the south it included Gujarat, in the north it extended into the Punjab, and in the east it spread up to Malwa and Rajputana. "*History of Sindh*" by Saiyed Masoom Bhakri and "*Chach Nama*" by Muhammad bin Ali Kufi give details about the Muslim rulers of Sindh after Muhammad bin Qasim.

The Ghaznavi occupation of Lahore and Multan further enhanced this process. To this period belonged poet Masud Sa'd Salman (1048-1121/22) and *sufi* saint Ali Hujweri, better known as Data Ganj Bakhsh (1009-1072), who penned "*Kashful Mahjub*", a Persian work on Sufism.

Mahmood Ghaznavi (998-1031)

It is reasonable to assume that Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi would not have marched into far territories if he did not know about them sufficiently. Lahore, his outpost in India, became the outpost of the Muslim influence.

Sufis and erudite scholars of Arabic, Persian, Turki and Muslim theology came in larger numbers into India to escape Mongol trepidations in Central Asia. There were also men of medicines, artisans and skilled craftsmen. Even before Delhi *Saltanat* was

established in the first decade of the 13th century, there were sizable Muslim settlements in Ajmer, Qannauj and Badayun. The advent of the *Ghaznavids* and *Ghoris* foreshadowed the emergence of the *Saltanat*.

Sultan Mahmood was the first great Turk to leave his mark on India. His capital at Ghaznah was the cradle of a civilisation that was marked by great achievements in arts, sciences and culture. He had set up an academy in Ghaznah from where knowledge and pioneering discoveries radiated to four corners of Central Asia, even West Asia. At this academy were such epochal men as Alberuni, Ansuri, Farrukhi and Firdausi who received fabulous rewards for their scholarships. Many of these scholars accompanied Mahmood into India and devoted their entire lives to an in-depth study of local arts, cultures and philosophy. Alberuni's "*Kitabul Hind*" is an encyclopaedic work of monumental scholarship. It introduced the best of Indian achievements to the world of Islam and later to Europe.

"*Tabqaat-e-Naasiri*" records a number of Hindus who accompanied Mahmood back to Ghaznah and served under him in different department of his vast kingdom. This included army too. They battled side by side with Ghaznavis against Muslims who had fought with each other for the control of Turkistan. With their help Mahmood was able to curb internal rebellion. The story narrated by the historian Muhammad Aufo throws light upon the intimate relations between the Hindu princes of Khambhat and the Muslim traders. Muslim merchants had been attacked by local Hindus. Prince Sidh Raj (1094-1143) held an inquiry, punished the trouble-makers and gave money to Muslims to build the mosque. Some Hindu *rajas* also seem to have had employed Muslims mercenaries. The ruler of Somnath, for instance, had a number of Muslim officers. The *Kasbatis* of Ahmadabad trace their descent from the Khorasanis employed by the Vaghela chiefs. Sultan Mahmood had 10,000 Hindus who fought for him in Central India. Jagnath and Tilak were among Mahmood's Hindu commanders. Historian Baihaqi gives an account of the Hindu officers and men in the armies of Sultan Mahmood.

According to "*Tabqaat-e-Naasiri*", Tilak was the son of

barber Jaisen but possessed a good personality and eloquent tongue. Well versed in Sanskrit and Persian, Tilak was also an excellent calligrapher. He became a lieutenant of Khwaja Ahmad Hasan Maimandi, the influential *wazir* of Sultan Mahmood and his successors. The Khwaja made Tilak his secretary and interpreter with the Hindus.

Rising to the status of the Sultan's commander, he had been conferred the privilege of "*Naubat*" and "*Naqqara*" (kettle drum) played at his palace. It was an honour reserved only for the highest noble. Besides, Tilak, the other Hindu dignitaries of Mahmood's court included Sunder Bijay Rai, Nair Nath and others. It may be added that on the Sultan's specific command Mahmood's Hindu general Tilak quelled the rebellion of the Turk general Ahmad Niyaltagin, whose severed head was sent to the Sultan by Tilak. It is also an historical fact that Sultan Mahmood never forced anyone to convert to Islam.

According to Gibbon, Sultan Mahmood "had a large number of Hindu officer (two *das-hazaari* generals) and troops, who were certainly not expected to abandon the religion of their forefathers". The Sultan waged wars even more tenaciously against the Muslim rulers of Persia and Central Asia where he sought to extend his empire. The terror of Mahmood Ghaznavi in religious context pertains really to the severe punishment he inflicted upon the Qaramati Muslims of *Karamiyya* sect who were actually deviates and harmed the mankind. Gibbon further says: "Mahmood was one of the best rulers the world had ever had. A fearless soldier, an able commander, a just king and a strong ruler who respected the learned. He was certainly not a cruel person. During thirty years of his ceaseless warfare, he never suffered a defeat" ("*History of Medieval India*", Vol. III).

Historian Ishwari Prasad admires the Sultan's numerous qualities and refers to his love of learning. Mahmood himself was a great scholar, could recite the Holy Qur'an by heart, and had men of distinction collected at his court. Alberuni (973-1048) was a multifaceted genius: a master of theology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, historiography and a redoubtable scholar of Sanskrit. Utebi was another historian of great merit. Faarabi was a

philosopher along with Asjadi, Farrukhi and Firdausi of "*Shah Namah*" fame also belonged to Mahmood court. The annual expenditure the Sultan paid for the advancement of learning was four dinars. The Ghaznah university was a beacon of light in that age. According to the historian Abul Qasim Farishta, men of learning and scholarship at Mahmood's court far outnumbered those at any other royal court in that time. Mahmood's love of Hindi is borne by historical facts. Annexing Punjab in 1021, Mahmood placed the province under his favourite slave Ayaaz. Then he attacked Raja Nanda of Kalinjar in 1022. Raja Nanda presented Mahmood an eulogy in Hindi. Mahmood was so pleased that he returned the conquered fort and also gave the Raja fourteen other forts as reward. Such appreciation of Hindi poetry, historians observe, is rare in world history.

Another Persian poet who figures in the history of old Hindi (*Apbharansh*) poetry is Khwaja Masood Saad Salman (1048-1121-22) Amir Khusrow mentions Salman's Hindi works.

According to Dr. Hardev Bahri, the earliest Sufi poet-saint to arrive in the Hindi region was Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. He was Iranian by birth. He came to India when he was eighteen and died here at ninety years of age. Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti (1146-1236) settled at Ajmer, the capital city of Rai Pithora, some twenty five years before Shahabuddin Ghori led his first attack in Rajputana in 1192. The Hindu chief venerated the Khwaja. Hundreds of people trekked everyday to the Khwaja who started the *Chishtia silsila* (lineage of *sufis* saints). (The other *sufi* lineages are: *Silsila Qadria*, *Silsila Naqshbandia* and *Silsila Suharwardia*).

The Khwaja's hold on the imagination of Indian people and their reverence for him can be witnessed everyday at his *dargah* (*mausoleum*) at Ajmer. The Khwaja spread the message of Islam to countless people. Prof. M. Mujeeb says: "We now know that a *Sufi* Abdur Rahman had settled in Ajmer even before Shaikh Moinuddin Chishti, and he was first to write in Hindi." In my view, it is the first work of *Apbharansh* (old Hindi) and is titled, "*Sandesh Rasak*" of Addhaman, i.e., Abdur Rahman.

Abdur Rahman originally belonged to Multan. His "*Sandesh Rasak*" is a fascinating "*mahakavya*" (epic long poem) of two

hundred sixteen *Padas* (couplets). It depicts the pangs of separation of a young woman. After Muslim Hindi-Persian poet Masood Saad Salman, "*Sandesh Rasak*" is the first *Apbharansh* work of poetry. It was probably written in 11th century. Abdur Rahman, in his *mahakavya*, describes Multan as big centre of Hindus pilgrimage. The story of "*Sandesh Rasak*" is tender. A Jaisalmer damsel wants to send a message to her husband gone away on some expedition. She opens her heart in the message. As the messenger prepares to leave, her husband returns and the story ends on an happy note.

Abdur Rahman can rightly be regarded as the precursor of *Sufi* poetry in Hindi, with later poets such as Qutban, Manjhan, Usman and Malik Muhammad Jaisi. These great poets used chaste *Avadhi* in their poetry. At the time of Muhammad Ghori's invasion, *Apbharansh* was the most widely understood language.

As a lover of learning and patron of knowledge, Mahmood Ghaznavi admired *Sanskrit*, he had a Hindu Pandit at his court, gave expression to his love for India by having *Sanskrit* inscribed on his coins. Mahmood's successor, Masood, too was a great patron of knowledge, learning and literature. He too had eminent men at his court, such as Masud Razi (d. 1077). The statue of the Hindus stabilised during Masud's reign. Barely fifty days after his father Mahmood's death, Masud dispatched Sewand Rai, an Hindu chief with a predominantly Hindu cavalry, in the pursuit of the noble who had sided with his brother in the battle for succession. In the battle of Kerman, Hindus formed full one-half of the cavalry, with two thousand Hindus, and one thousand each of Turks and Kurd Arabs.

The one hundred and fifty one years Ghaznavi rule therefore left an indelible mark on Indian history and culture, especially in starting a new epoch of poetry in *Apbharansh*. It was later to flower in the great poetic age of the Hindi *sufi* poetry.

During the Ghaznavi rule Punjab became a crucible of culture, receiving Muslim influence and transmitting the Hindu ethos to the stream of poets and men of letters who were pouring in. In this period major Persian poets started using Hindustani words in their poetry. This unceasing interaction grew and went on growing. Narpati Nalha and Chand Bardai, who were court poets of Rajput

kings, also began to use Perso-Arabic words in their writings. The annexation of the Punjab played a big role in this, politically, culturally and linguistically. Of the many *sufi* saints who came into India during the Ghaznavi rule (1024-1175), some notable ones are:

Shaikh Ali bin Usman Al-Hujweri (1009-1072), popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh. He was a native of Ghaznah. After travelling extensively in Muslim lands, he came to Lahore where he died in 469 AH (1072). He wrote a treatise of sufism, "*Kashful Mahjoob*". An other *sufi* were Shaikh Ismail Bukhari (d. 1028). Abu Nasr Farsi (d. 1077), and his son Abul Farj Runi.

Fareeduddin Attar (1229) is the celebrated, author of "*Mantiqaatut-Taaer*" and "*Tazkiratul Aulia*". He visited India during the Ghaznavi Rule.

If Sultan Mahmood had been a fanatic, he would not have supported Alberuni's lifelong studies in Indian arts, culture and philosophy. It was Mahmood's patronage of Firdausi that made it possible for the poet to create a masterpiece that for eternity became the standard bearer of Persian literature. It is historically established that the Hindu nobility of Punjab held positions of honour and trust in the court of Sultan Mahmood and his successor Sultan Masood. Farishta says Ghaznah looked more like an Indian city, with large numbers of Hindu craftsmen, artisans traders and soldiers of the Sultan. It does not require much imagination to conclude that during this period, more than any other earlier, Persian came to cast its spell on Indian men of letters since the Hindu nobility took to learning Persian.

Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori (1174-1206)

After the Ghaznavis, rose Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori (1174-1206). He conquered again the territories that had become independent after the Ghaznavi's. Taking over Multan, Unch, Karachi, Lahore, Bhatinda, Qannauj, Benares, Bayana, Gwalior, Ajmer and finally Delhi in 1193, Ghori appointed his slave Qutbuddin Aibek as the Governor of the conquered territories and himself returned to Afghanistan. Aibek annexed the forts of Hansi, Meerut, Koil (Aligarh), Gujarat, Bundel Khand and Rohil Khand.

Muhammad Ghorī was destined to spend his entire life in warfare and could not devote himself to literary arts. He was a constructive genius equal in calibre to Sultan Mahmood in his determination and singleness of purpose. With persistence and resourcefulness, he overcame all his reverses. In a way, he can be seen as the founder of the Muslim empire in India. He was free from prejudice and had supported Hindu rajas in many a battle. In his war against the Muslim kingdoms on the frontier, the Hindu raja of Jammu had sided with Ghorī, according to Hindu historians. The Raja of Kannauj was his ally in the second battle of Tarain. After his victories, Ghorī treated royal Hindu families with consideration.

After defeating Prithviraj, Ghorī entrusted the governance of Ajmer to Prithviraj's son. Only after he rebelled against Ghorī, did the Sultan re-occupied Ajmer and placed it under a Muslim governor. His Indian coins carried the text in Hindi script.

Poet Chandra Bardai's epic, "Prithviraj Raso", in *Katha 19* (*Madho Bhatt Katha*) indicates that this distinguished bard belonged to Sultan Ghorī's court. He had come in the court of Prithviraj to gather information about the Chauhan king. Raso has Muslim characters, such as Shahabuddin and others and indicates Muslim's contact with Hindi. Ghorī honoured and patronised men of letters. All Turks, including Ghorī, loved Hindustan. Amir Khusrow, originally a Turk, takes pride in to "*Hazrat-e-Dehli*" (Holy Delhi). He called Delhi "the second heaven" and a "great centre of justice". He does not accord the same position to Bukhara, Nishapur or Samarqand from where his forefathers had come to India. In today's context, Amir Khusrow can be called on Ultra-nationalist who believed that everything—flowers, fruits and women of India to be superior to the rest in the world. As Dr. Tarachand says: "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the extent of Muslim influence over Indian life in all departments".

The *Saltanat* Period (1206-1526)

Upon the death of Sultan Shahabuddin Ghorī, his favourite slave and Governor of Ghorī's Indian territories declared himself independent in 1206 and thus laid the foundation of what is called Saltanat-e-Dehli. Its first ruling dynasty is called the slave Dynasty.

They were all Turks, hence loved Hindustan more than they ever loved the lands from where their forefathers had come. The Slave Dynasty was succeeded by the Khilji Dynasty who were Seljuk Turks and had come into India via Afghanistan. Their successors, the Tughlaqs were a mixture of Turk, Tatar and Indian blood. The Syeds after them claimed Arab descent. The last dynasty of the *Sultanat* Period was of the Lodhis, who were Pathans. They all opted for Persian as the language of the royal court; because they had become the symbol of Muslim culture.

The Slave Dynasty (1206-1290)

Qutbuddin Aibek (1206-1210)

The first independent Muslim king of India was originally a slave and was followed over the next ninety years by successors who were either slaves or descendants of slaves. In his early life, Qutbuddin Aibek had been sold to the *Qazi* of Nishapur (Iran) who, impressed by his ability, gave him high education. After the *Qazi*'s death, Aibek was sold again to Shahabuddin Ghori under whom he served with distinction and in the course of time was appointed Viceroy of Ghori's Indian dominions. Upon Ghori's death in 1206, Aibek was crowned as an independent king at Lahore.

Aibek had mastered Arabic, Turkish (*Turki*) and Persian besides various arts. As Ghori's Viceroy, he added Bihar and Bengal to the Ghori kingdom. He respected *sufis* and patronised men of letters. Aibek died an untimely death due to an accident while playing polo in 1210. Aibek's son, Aaraam Shah proved to be a worthless ruler, and the *Ameers* (nobles) chose Aibek's son-in-law, Shamsuddin Altamash, a slave of Aibek and governor of Badayun at the time, as the Sultan of Delhi.

Shamsuddin Altamash (1210-1236)

Altamash was Aibek's son-in-law. Altamash changed the capital from Lahore to Delhi. A learned man himself, Altamash had great respect for scholars. He was accepted for the same reason by the *sufis* of the time. Noted historian Nuruddin Muhammad Aufo belonged to his court. Altamash provided high training and education to his son Naasiruddin Mahmood and daughter Razia (who

later succeeded him). Razia was an "*Haafiz*" (who had learned the Holy Qur'an by heart), and could recite with perfect Arabic intonation. She was a patron of men of letters.

Altamash founded schools for civil servants that were later revived by Feroze Shah Tughlaq. Altamash' outlook, temperament and political philosophy were reflected in his administration. He was fortunate in receiving competent assistance and guidance from able associates, such as his prime-minister, "*Nizamul Mulk*" Kamaaluddin Muhammad Junaidi. Junaidi was a man of culture, patron of learning and a distinguished statesman of strong views. He was a minister at the court of the Caliph in Baghdad for thirty years. Altamash invited him to India and appointed him his prime minister.

Poet and historian Muhammad Aufo has dedicated his outstanding work, "*Jawame-ul-Hikayaat*" to Junaidi and praised his wisdom, statesmanship skill in warfare and generosity.

Altamash had great regard for the Chishti saint, Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaaki (whose grave exists in Mehrauli in South Delhi). Khwaja Bakhtiar Kaaki came from Ush near Baghdad and died in 1235. The unique masonry tower, Qutb Minar in Mehrauli, was built by Altamash in honour of the saint in 1231-1232, and not to commemorate Qutbuddin Aibek, as is popularly believed even today. *Sufi* scholar Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria, alias Bahau Haq, of Multan was also a contemporary of Altamash. "*Aadaabul Mulook wal Kifayaatul Mumaalik*", a classic on the art of governance and warfare, was written at the behest of Altamash. To Altamash goes the credit of recovering the lands the Turks had lost in the intervening period.

During the twenty six years rule, Altamash patronised men of letters, *sufis*, sculptors and artists. Altamash and Balban are the greatest of the slave kings.

Naasiruddin Mahmood (1246-1266)

The *Saltanat* suffered grievously from the civil war that raged unabated for ten years after the death of Altamash, until the *Amirs* chose Naasiruddin Mahmood the king of Delhi. Sultan

Naasiruddin Mahmood was a man of God who earned his living by sewing caps and copying the holy Qur'an. He left the real governance to the care of his able prime minister, Ghayaasuddin Balban.

Sultan Naasiruddin Mahmood was a patron of Persian literature. "*Tabqaat-e-Naasiri*", the history of his period, was written by Siraj who dedicated his work to the pious king. Minhaj-us-Siraj, the most important historian of the slave dynasty, was the chief justice of Naasiruddin Mahmood. It is of great interest to us that Sultan Naasiruddin Mahmood got the *Mahabharat* translated into Bengali.

The Sultan offered a grant of four villages to the *sufi* saint, Baba Shaikh Fareeduddin Ganj-i Shakar. The saint declined to accept the offer made through the Sultan's able prime minister, Balban (who later succeeded him).

Baba Fareed was born in a village in Multan. After proper education, he toured several Muslim lands and met seers such as Shaikh Shahabuddin Suharwardy and Shaikh Fariduddin Attar. He returned to settle down at Ajodhan. Besides being a *Sufi* saint of high status, Baba Farid is also the first successful poet of Punjabi language. Balban respected Baba Farid and offered his daughter in marriage to him.

Ghyasuddin Balban (1266-1286)

Ghyasuddin Balban was a slave of Altamash and his eldest son Muhammad. Both Balban and Muhammad were veritable scholars. Historian Ziauddin Barni says Balban never sat to a meal without the *ulemas* (religious scholars) and other men of learning and carried on discourses with them. Often he would visit the saints at their abodes. Indian and foreign scholars crowded Balban's court. Balban had been most influential prime minister of Sultan Naasiruddin Mahmood for twenty years and as Sultan himself ruled for another twenty years. He defended India against Mongol forages. During the period of Muhammad, Amir Khusrow, who saw the reigns of several kings, had compiled an anthology containing twenty thousand couplets by eminent poet. Qurra Khan Bughra, another son of Sultan Naasiruddin Mahmood used to have a galaxy of performing artists in his *darbar*. They included musicians, danc-

ers, painters, actors (mime Artists) and *daastango*, (story tellers), an art introduced by Muslims. Bughra sent emissaries twice to Shiraz to request the great poet Shaikh Sa'di to come to India but the poet declined on account of old age and rigours of travel. The great poet advised the Prince to be content with Amir Khusrow. Such was the eminence of Khusrow.

Amir Khusrow is respected by Hindus and Muslims alike. His *habul geet* and other literary creations are popular to this date. He was a statesman, poet, musician, musicologist, aesthete, lexicographer, *sufi*, *yogi*, and an innovator in performing arts.

By now the intermingling between Hindus and Muslims had reached a mature stage. Hindus freely used in their poetry concepts such as "*taweez*" (amulet and *masawat* equality). Muslims had adopted several Hindu customs (the process gained momentum during the Khilji period when Sultan Alauddin Khilji's son Khizar Khan was married to a Rajput princess Deol Rani according to *Rajput* customs).

During Balban's reign flourished many notable saints and *sufis*, such as Baba Fareed, Shaikh Badruddin, Arif Ghaznavi and Khwaja Bakhtiar Kaaki. Khwaja Bakhtiar Kaaki's poetry is available. An epigraph in Sanskrit eulogises Balban's administrative qualities is available. Balban's reign saw the peak of Mongol threat to India. He faced the Mongol threat both by diplomacy and force of his fire-weapons. He had scores of emigre princes from Central Asia in court. Muslim migration from Central Asia peaked in Balban's time. The large force of artisans and craftsmen created a new industrial epoch in Indian history and made India the Golden Bird in the eyes of Europe then coming out of its sequestered existence. The hordes of incomers began to absorb Indian influences and Indians began to study Persian even more avidly. Naturally Hindi began to absorb the Persian influence to even greater extent.

Among the *derveshes* who lived in Balban's time may be mentioned Salar Masud Ghazi, popularly known as Ghazi Mian, who lived at Bahraich. He was the son of a sister of Sultan Naasiruddin Mahmood. The other one was the better known Shah Madar who lived at Manakpur.

Badayun was an important centre of Sufism. *Sufi* saints Shaikh Wajeehuddin, Khwaja Ali Bukhari and Shaikh Fatahullah lived and died there.

Balban transformed Altamash loosely knit, decentralised and para-democratic state into an highly centralised government under complete control of an autocratic king. Balban was very tersely meticulous about royal dignity and was highly conscious of his kingly rights and privileges. He was ruthless in dealing with brigands and initiated stiff measures that ensured travel safety between Delhi and Bengal and other parts of the country for nearly the next hundred years.

Balban's rule is politically momentous for Indian history and is also marked by maturing of the process of synthesis of Hindu and Muslim cultures and development of Hindi into a literary language

Khilji Dynasty (1290-1320)

The Khilji dynasty was established by Jalaluddin Feroze Khilji after the Slave Dynasty breathed its last. He was an able commander. He was also a lover of literature. Besides the peerless Amir Khusrow— who continued to serve a succession of Delhi rulers, the Khilji court was adorned by such other literary luminaries as Tajuddin Iraqi, Khwaja Hasan, Muvayyad Divana, Amir Arsalan Quli, Ikhtiaruddin Yaghi, and Baqi Khateer. They were also great wits of their time... Jalaluddin Feroze Khilji bestowed on Amir Khusrow the title of "*Aarizul Mulk*" and rewarded him with one thousand two hundred tankhas, the currency of the time, Khusrow was also made in charge of the royal library. Jalaluddin's nephew, Alauddin, the governor of Kara and Avadh, captured Devgiri which episode was later to be a major literary theme. Jalaluddin married his daughter to his nephew Alauddin.

Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316)

A great conqueror and administrator, Alauddin continued the *Saltanat* tradition of patronage of arts and literature. He respected scholars, such as Maulana Kohrami, Khwaja Hasan and Qazi Mugheesuddin. During Alauddin's period there was a rapid

spurt in construction activity, such as public baths, schools, mosques, forts and mausolea, according to historian Farishta.

According to another historian Ziauddin Barni, forty six scholars in politics, poetics and Islamic studies of far superior talent than those at Bukhara, Samarqand, Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus, Isfahan and Tabrez, graced his court. *Sufi* saint Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia and Siraj Husain (Makhdum Sirajuddin) belonged to this period. The Hindi poetry of Hazrat Nizamuddin is available. He had a library of his own. Amir Khusrow was his beloved disciple. The marvellous Hindi epic, "*Padmavat*" was inspired by Alauddin without whose character the epic would have remained wishy-washy. Alauddin himself had great regard for Shaikh Bahauddin who performed the "*Namaaz-e-Janaza*" (prayer before burial) of the great *sufi* saint, Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia (1237-1325). Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria Multani (1182-1266) had a disciple, Shaikh Sadruddin Aarif. Aarif's successor was Shaikh Ruknuddin, a scholar and great *Sufi*. Alauddin had great respect for Shaikh Ruknuddin.

It was Alauddin's conquest of Gujarat and Deccan that introduced Hindi language in Peninsular India. The Hindi poets of the time, such as Qutbun, Manjhan and Malik Muhammad Jayisi wrote reputed epics in Hindi which were almost invariably typically Hindu in theme and content. These love stories were allegorical and spoke of love of God, as the Infinite Being, in consonance with the Islamic concept of *Tauheed*. It may be noted that these Muslim *sufis* wrote their works in chaste Avadhi (Gramen Avadhi). These epics, numbering over a dozen, are a valuable part of the Hindi literature. According to Maha Pandit Rahul Sankrityayana, Jajjal wrote "*Hamir Raso*", an epic of high literary merit. Jajjal was a minister in the court of Hamir. It tells the story of Rana Hamir of Ranthambor, and his epic struggle against Alauddin Khilji. Another *Raso* of a later period was written by a Muslim, Niamat Khan Jaan. It is called "*Kayam Raso*" and is the account of the Kayam dynasty of Gujarat.

Tughlaq Dynasty (1320-1413)

The Tughlaq Dynasty was started by Ghyasuddin Muhammad Tughlaq who ruled from 1320 to 1325. His father was a Turk slave of Balban and had married a Jat woman. For his role in the

campaigns against the Mongols, Ghyasuddin Tughlaq had earned the honorific of Ghazi Malik. He was made the governor of Dipalpur, from where he was summoned to the throne of Delhi. Like Ghyasuddin Balban, Ghyasuddin Tughlaq too was an able administrator and was succeeded by two great kings of immortal fame and renown, namely Muhammad bin Tughlaq and Feroze Shah Tughlaq.

Muhammad Bin Tughlaq (1325-1351)

One of the most remarkable kings of world history, Sultan Muhammad is rightly regarded as having been ahead of his time by many centuries. What he was not? A prominent scholar, a polyglot, a rare calligraphist, an *Haafiz* of the Holy Qur'an, an skilled physician, a great philosopher, an exceptional astronomer, expert mathematician and an exponent of Greek philosophy. But he has been a puzzle to the historians. According to "*Masaalikul Absaar fil Mumaalik-wal-Ansaar*" by Abul Abbas Ahmed, there were one thousand poets and one thousand two hundred physicians in Sultan Muhammad's court. Two hundred men of letters and academics shared dinners with him every night and discussed national and international developments and exchanged views on high academic matters. Sultan Muhammad could also recite, besides the Holy Qur'an, the entire volume of "*Hadaaya*", a learned work on *Hanafi Fiqh*, the jurisprudence of *Hanafi* sect of Islam.

The Moroccan traveller and Sultan's Chief Qazi, Ibn Batuta mentions Nasiruddin, Abdul Aziz, Shamsuddin, Azauddin, Mujajjaduddin, and Burhanuddin among the scholars attached to the court of Sultan Muhammad. The Sultan had great faith in *Yogis* who performed rare feats, such as levitation and breath control, and treated them with utmost respect. He employed Hindus for various jobs liberally. They kept accounts in their own languages. All government records were kept in Hindi. Persian was the language of the royal court, the *harem*, military camps and higher bureaucracy. Hindus rushed to learn Persian to improve their rank in these services.

Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq was the first ruler to commission the writing of the history of the city of Delhi from *Vedic* times to his own period. His decision to shift his capital, though it did not work then, to Daulatabad in Deccan, was guided by his perception

135698

of the strategic threat to Delhi from the marauding Mongols who had ravaged nearly half the known world, especially Central Asia. To contain the crisis of metal currency, Sultan Muhammad conceived of leather currency. He naturally paid the price of being ahead of his time.

Feroze Tughlaq (1351-1388)

Sultan Feroze is easily the greatest builder in Indian History before Shah Jahan of the Mughal dynasty, Feroze was a cousin of Sultan Muhammad and was born of a Rajput mother, a princess of Bhatti clan of Rajputs. Feroze was also the world's first conservationist who went to great lengths in preserving the Hindu heritage of India. In doing that, he invented the world's first trailer for the safe transportation of two Ashoka obelisks from far distances. He got them erected at prominent places in Delhi for all to see. He not only repaired old *madrasahs* but also set up new ones. In major Indian cities one still finds localities called *madrasahs*. He invented a unique composite course design for the training of civil servants. Taimur who invaded India during the reign of his successor Mahmood was so much impressed by this course that he adopted and implemented it in his empire.

Feroze strove steadfastly for the uplift of his subjects. He granted lands for the upkeep of *madrasahs*. Feroze was deeply interested in Sanskrit language. He himself was a great scholar of Arabic and Persian literature. At his behest a number of highly scholastic works in Sanskrit were translated into Persian. "*Kitaab-e-Feroze Shahi*" was a treatise on physics. It is a notable fact of the Muslim rule that right from Muhammad bin Qasim and Mahmood Ghaznavi, all succeeding rulers took keen interest in Sanskrit and Hindi. After conquering Nagarkote in 1361, Feroze took possession of the valuable Sanskrit library in the fort. He ordered Izuddin Khalid Khan to compile a seminal work on philosophy, divinity and omens based on a Sanskrit classic. It is called "*Dalayat-e-Ferozeshahi*" (Arguments of Feroze Shah).

Feroze' autobiography, "*Futuhāt-e-Feroze Shahi*" is well known. He built three palaces. At Angoori Mahal, he received scholars and artists. Besides a wooden palace, he also had a palace built

for the common people. His respect for ancient monuments was matched by his regard and patronage of Hindi poets and Sanskrit scholars. Ratna Shekhar was his favourite poet. During his time *Sufi* poet Mullah Dawood wrote an allegorical romance, "*Chandayan*" in Hindi. It describes Feroze coronation. Sufi Shaikh Jalaluddin Bukhari, also called Makhdoom-e-Jahaaniyaan, (served by all mankind) and scholars, such as Tatar Khan and Shaikh Qutubuddin Munawwar were the contemporaries of Feroze Shah.

By now Persian and Arabic had become important parts of Islamic culture. Jawaharlal Nehru in his "*Discovery of India*" (p. 126) says: "Persian was the language of the elite across the vast stretches of Asia." Iranian art and culture spread from Constantinople in the west to the fringe of Gobi desert. Persians had liberally received Arabic, Pushtu, Turani, Turki and even Hindustani vocabularies. Voluntary conversions of Central Asian tribes gave further boost to the spread of Persian influence. Rawlinson calls Feroze Shah "the best of the Muslim rulers of Delhi previous to Akbar" while contemporary historians have described the happy conditions of life during his reign.

At one time, indeed, no man was considered learned in India, unless he was conversant with Persian.

Syed Dynasty (1414-1451)

After the Tughlaqs, the Syed dynasty came to power (1414-1451). Intrigue and chaos characterised the thirty eight years of rule of four Syed kings.

Lodhi Dynasty (1451-1526)

An able commander Bahlul Lodhi of Afghan descent snatched power from the Syeds and set up his Lodhi dynasty.

Energetic, ambitious and vigilant, Bahlul Lodhi missed no opportunity to extend his dominions. He subdued the Hindu chiefs of Mewat and the Doab and captured Jaunpur in 1479. Bahlul also captured Dholpur and Gwalior whose rulers had been virtually independent though occasionally paying tribute to the Sharqi kings. Bahlul died in 1489 and was succeeded by his able son, Sikandar, who consolidated the gains made by his father.

Sikandar Lodhi (1489-1517)

Undisputedly the greatest ruler of the Lodhi dynasty was Sultan Sikandar Lodhi. He himself was a poet and took keen interest in setting up new *madrasahs* and reviving the old ones that had fallen on bad days. He shifted his capital to Agra, foreseeing Mughal threat to his kingdom. It was during his period that the Hindus took to learning Persian in a very big way. And thus got to know Muslim culture even more closely. The *Farmaans* issued during the Lodhi rules used to be both in Persian and Nagari, testifying to Lodhi Sultan's love of Hindi.

During Sikandar Lodhi's time Hindu calendarists adopted a number of technical terms from the Muslims. The Tajik horoscopy, *Zaich*, was adopted by the Hindus. They also adopted the Muslim system of calculating longitudes and latitudes. Sikandar Lodhi wrote poetry under the pen name of "*Gul Rukhi*" and patronised Hindi poets. It is during his time that we come across a Hindu poet of Persian language. His name was Brahman, according to historian Abdul Qadir Badayuni. Brahman was so proficient in Arabic and Persian that he was appointed to teach Arabic and Persian to Muslims.

The Sultan made proficiency in Persian a must for higher services. The Kayasthas took the best advantage of this opportunity. They were also the earliest beneficiaries of the education system for the training of civil servants, which Feroze Shah Tughlaq had introduced during his reign. Benefiting from Sanskrit works in higher medicine a new treatise was compiled by his *Wazir* Mian Bhowa under the title, "*Ma'dan-ush-Shifa* or "*Tibb-e-Sikandari*" (The System of Medicine of Sikandar Lodhi). The Hindus' fond of adoption of Persian became a turning point in Indian culture and Indo-Persian literature. In this period also, the centre stage was held by Amir Khusrow who wrote poetry in Persian, Turki and Hindi. It was his genius that caused the development of Indian vernaculars which later came to be called *Khadi Boli Hindi*.

During Sultan Sikandar's time, the first *Sufi* saint of *Qadria Silsila* came to India. He was Syed Muhammad Ghaus Gilani (d. 1517). He was an Iranian, born at Halab. His activity centred around Unch, Multan and west Punjab. Sultan Sikandar respected him greatly.

Also during Sultan Sikandar's time, Maulana Rafiuddin Muhaddis Shirazi arrived in Delhi from Iran. Other theologians, scholars and *sufis* respected by the Sultan include Shaikh Abdullah Talnabbi of Multan, and Shaikh Azizullah of Delhi, both of whom taught at Agra for a number of years. Sikandar's teacher Jamali (d. 1535) was a poet, mystic, traveller and biographer.

When Sultan Sikandar tried to raze an old temple and stop pilgrims from gathering at Kurukshetra (when he was Governor there), the *Ulemas* opposed the Sultan and called his act "*un-Islamic*". Malik-ul-Ulema Qazi Shahabuddin, the chief Qazi, issued a *fatwa* (religious edict) that declared that interference in others' religion was against the *Shariah* of Islam.

Sikandar is often unjustly accused of practising religious bigotry while the fact of the matter is that it was during his reign that Vrindavan began to take shape, as a centre of Hindu revival, near Mathura in Uttar Pradesh. Under Chaitanya's inspiration, the first pilgrims camped there in 1509. Two of Chaitanya's disciples, Rupa and Sanatana, settled at Vrindavan in 1517. The temples ascribed to 1511 still stand there. The saint poet Kabir lived in Sultan Sikandar's time. According to Dr. Tara Chand the Sultan had profound respect for the saint. Dr. Tara Chand says the Sultan banished him from Benaras for a brief period to protect him from the wrath of the *Maulvis* and the *Pandit* who took umbrage upon Kabir's teachings. Dr. Tara Chand's detailed account negates the false notion that the Sultan tyrannised Kabir. On the contrary, he harassed Kabir's pursuers. Sikandar became instrumental in stimulating Muslims to write poetry in Hindi and in speeding up translation of many Sanskrit books into Persian, dealing with mathematics, medicine, astronomy and *Yoga*.

The fame of Amir Khusrow, Masood, Qutb Ali, Akram Muhammad Shah and Malik Muhammad Jayisi bears testimony to this fact. This paved the way for the great flowering of the Hindi poetry during the Mughal rule that followed the end of Lodhi dynasty in 1526.

Other Muslim Kingdoms

A study of history of literature of India's regional languages, except Tamil, reveals that most of these languages came into their

own during the Muslim rule set up at Delhi and by governors who declared themselves independent whenever the central rule weakened. This is evidence of the patronage accorded to the regional languages in the several Muslim kingdoms that emerged after the decline of the Tughlaqs.

The rise of Muslim kingdoms also helped the spread of Islam and Muslim culture. During the balmy days of the Saltanat, Delhi had emerged as the principal centre of Islamic religion and culture. Mini centres later emerged at Ahmedabad, Jaunpur, Gulbarga, Gaur, Sonar Gaon and Pandua. The regional Muslim kingdoms were destined to play a vital role in the development of regional cultures and regional literatures. The Muslim impact became decisive in these areas and made a significant contribution to linguistic integration of India and cultural synthesis.

Kashmir

Shah Mirza was an eminent *sufi* and adventurer from Swat, now in Pakistan. He entered the service of Raja Singhdeo (Sahadeva) in 1315. Rinchana, a Tibetan marauder overthrew Singhdeo and is said to have converted to Islam under the *sufi* influence. He made Shah Mirza his minister. After Rinchana died, there was confusion and Shah Mirza rose to become the Sultan of Kashmir under the title of Shamsuddin Shah. He loved learned men and honoured them. Shamsuddin became a model ruler. He was succeeded by Sikandar (1394-1416). During Sikandar's reign came Amir Kabir Syed Ali Hamdani. Born in Hamadan, Iran, in 1314, Syed Ali toured several Muslim lands before opting to settle down in Kashmir in 1379, accompanied by a retinue of seven hundred Syeds. Syed Ali was a *sufi* of eminence and distinguished writer in his own right. Among his emigre companions were several missionaries, artisans and skilled carpet weavers.

Well versed in papier mache and gabber crafts. The saint and his companions transformed Kashmir into a land celebrated for its exquisite crafts. It may be added that Ameer Kabeer Syed Ali was also instrumental in converting Sinhabhat to Islam. Sinhabhat a *Brahman*, was a minister of Sikandar, the ruler of valley and upon conversion to Islam, became a great missionary of Islam himself with the zeal of a neo convert.

A later ruler, Bud Shah or Shahi Khan is better known in history as Sultan Zainul Abideen. (1420-1470). He was a linguist reputed for his scholarship in Tibetan and also a musician. Zainul Abideen decreed that there would be no discrimination in his kingdom on grounds of religion. His court abounded in Hindu and Muslim scholars. Musicians from all over India flocked at his court. During his reign Hindus started learning Persian, with the Sapru Pandits leading the trail. They were called "*Sultan Pandits*" because of proximity to the royal court. In course of time Kashmir was Persianised to great extent. He established Persian as the Court language. Historian Farishta mentions a Kashmiri Brahman, Bodi Bhat who had memorised all the sixty thousand verses in Firdausi's Persian epic, "*Shah Namah*" and also rendered it in its entirety in Hindi verses. Sultan Zainul Abideen got *Mahabharata* and Kalhan's "*Rajtarangani*" a Sanskrit history of Kashmir, translated to Persian and other Persian, Arabic books translated into Kashmiri. During his reign not only Hindus and Muslims were integrated into a common kashmiri culture but also a synthesis between arts and sciences was achieved.

Bengal

Muslims appeared in Bengal in the 12th century. Northern Bengal was conquered by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1202. The Muslim conquest of Bengal checkmated Brahminism and liberated the oppressed ancient cults the Brahmins called *Sudras*. Muslim *sufi* saints and rulers spearheaded social reform. Because of the encouragement Bengali language received from the Muslim rulers, it emerged as a literary language. Even its script adopted the embellishments from Qur'anis calligraphy.

Dinesh Chandra (D.C.) Sen's monumental work, "The History and of Bengali Language and Literature" acknowledges Bengali's debt to the patronage by the Muslim rulers. He says: "This elevation of Bengali to a literary status was brought about by several influences of which the *Muhammadan* conquest was undoubtedly one of the foremost" (p. 210). During the rule of Hindu kings, Bengali could scarcely vie with Sanskrit. It were the Muslim rulers who employed scholars to translate *Ramayana* and *Mahabharat* from Sanskrit into Bengali, which Muslims spoke and

could understand. The translation of *Mahabharata* was undertaken at the orders of Naseer Shah who ruled Gaur (Lakhnauti) until 1325. Ghyasuddin Balban's son ruled Bengal under the title of Sultan Naseeruddin Shah from 1286 to 1328.

Vidyapati, called the nightingale of Maithali literature, has dedicated his volume of poetry to Naseer Shah, Raja Kans patronised poet Krittavasa, the translator of *Ramayana*. His court bore strong Muslim influence. His successor embraced Islam. Under the patronage of Sultan Husain Shah, *Bhagwata* was translated from Sanskrit into Bengali. The Sultan conferred upon him the title of "Gunraja Khan". Husain Shah's general, Parangal Khan had another translation of *Mahabharata* made by Kavinder Parameshwar. Parangal's son, Chhotu Khan was also a patron of Bengali language. Alaol, a Muslim, translated Malik Muhammad Jayisi's "*Padmavat*" into Bengali. Muslim rulers liberally patronised translations of Sanskrit and Persian masterpieces into Bengali, and thus enriched the literary storehouse of Bengali language.

Husain Shah had employed Maladhar Basu to translate *Bhagwat Puran* into Bengali, and thus made the great epic available to common Bengali Hindus and Muslims alike. Alauddin Husain Shah had patronised Hindi poet Qutban who composed "*Mrigawati*".

The Bahmanis (1347-1482)

More magnificent than most other regional Muslim kingdoms of the North was the Bahmani empire of Bijapur and later Bidar. The founder of the Bahmani dynasty (1347-1526) Hasan Gangu Bahmani was an Iranian from Bahman. The Bahmanis were not only scholars in their own right but also great patrons of Marathi language and literature, besides other languages of their kingdom. The great Maratha saints, such as Sant Gayaneshwar, Sant Eaknath and Baba Namdev flourished in the Bahmani era.

Hasan Gangu's son and successor, Mahmood Shah (1358-1373) composed poetry and was a scholar of Arabic and Persian.

Sultan Feroze Shah Bahmani (1397-1422) was a polyglot who could read the *Old Testament* in Hebrew. Farishta records that

the Sultan's *Harem* had Arab, Sarkesian, Georgian, Turk, Chinese, Afghan, Bengali, Gujarati, Telangi, Maharashtrian, Rajput and Eurasian ladies with each one of them, he used to speak in her own language. With foreigners too, who appear to have been frequenting Deccan a lot in those days, Sultan Feroze Shah Bahmani used to talk in their respective languages. He would dispatch ships every year to invite scholars from different countries to his kingdom. During his reign in Bidar— his capital Gulbarga, Ilichpur and Daulatabad became famous centres of learning.

The single most important aspect of Bahmani rule was the development of Marathi as a literary language and also as the language used for administrative purposes.

After the collapse of the Bahmani empire, five successor Muslim kingdoms emerged in the Deccan: the Adil Shahis of Bijapur (1490-1686), the Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar (1480-1633), the Imaad Shahis of Berar (1410-1568), the Barid Shahis of Bidar (1580-1609) and the Qutub Shahis of Golconda (1512-1687). Among them the Adil Shahis of Bijapur and the Qutub Shahis of Golconda reached great heights of glory.

The Adil Shahis of Bijapur (1490-1686)

The founder of Adil Shahi dynasty, Ali Adil Shah was a scholar. It was during the Adil Shahi rule and under their tutelage that Maratha peasantry emerged as a fighting force to oppose the Mughal invasions in Deccan. The Adil Shahis represent the mature stage in Marathi's development as an administrative and literary language. During the rule of Ibrahim Adil Shah, state accounts were maintained in Hindi and Marathi, not in Persian. And this was on the orders of Ibrahim Adil Shah himself. For this purpose many Brahmins were appointed in several departments. Ibrahim Adil Shah too was a poet and lover of art and literature. He invited Mullah Zahuri Tabrizi and the great Persian poet Haafiz Shirazi to his kingdom. Haafiz could not undertake the voyage due to inclement weather. Ibrahim Adil Shah's place in Persian literature is secure with his three poetical collections— "*Gulzaar-i-Ibrahimi*", "*Nauroz*" and "*Zeb-e-Nazar*".

The famous historian Muhammad Abul Qasim Farishta was born at Astrabad near Caspian in Iran in 1570. He came to India at the age of twelve along with his father and settled first at Ahmednagar and later at Bijapur. He titled his book of history after Ibrahim Adil Shah. The book, "*Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi*" is a source of history about the Adil Shahi rule.

During the reign of Yusuf Adil Shah many Hindu officers were recruited to the Revenue department. Salik quotes Farishta to point out the great strides in learning because of the patronage of the rulers of Ahmednagar, Golconda, Malwa, Khandesh and other minor Muslim kingdoms besides the glowing city of Bijapur itself.

The Qutb Shahis of Golconda (1512-1687)

The founder of Qutb Shahi dynasty, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah was an Iranian general and also a refined aesthete and veritable poet in Persian and Telugu. He is remembered for his great patronage of Telugu poets. Cultivation of music was a passion with him. In his time no one was considered learned unless he knew Persian. (This was as true for the rest of India). Among a galaxy of poets at his court, mention may be made of Ghulam Ali Azaad and his pupil, Lakshmi Narayan "*Shafeeq*". Qudratullah refers to Shafeeq as the creator of romantic verse. He was a *khatiri* by caste, hailed from Lahore and settled down in Aurangabad. Shafeeq is also famous as the author of "*Nataayejul Afkaar*". Lakshmi Narayan Shafeeq was a gifted poet of Persian. Two of his prose works are important reference works. One, "*Gul-e-Ra'na*" is about Indian poets of Persian origin. The other, "*Shaam-e-Gharibaan*" deals with expatriate Persian poets who settle down in India. (It may be added that the word, "*ghurbat*" in Persian means poor as well as these who live in countries other than their own).

Shafeeq's excellent taste in Persian poetry is signalled by the honorific he received: "the morning star of Persian poetry in Deccan. Quli Qutb Shah and his successors employed Hindus in commanding positions in army and administration, even at the level of prime-ministers.

Quli Qutb Shah spoke Telugu and also wrote poetry in Dakhani and Telugu, besides Persian. He is reputed for being the

first "*Sahib-e-Diwan*" (poet with an anthology) of Urdu language.

His great legacy to India is the well planned city of Hyderabad dominated by the imposing Char Minar built nearly 150 years before the Taj Mahal at Agra.

The Walahjahis of Arcot

Arcot was the seat of the Walahjahis. Attracted by the opulence and munificence of the Walahjahis, celebrities of the time used to make a beeline to Arcot. Nawab Walajah himself invited a scholar, Abdul Ali of Lucknow and benighted him with a title "*Bahrul Uloom*" (Ocean of Knowledge). Lala Makkhan Lal, a Hindu, was Maulana Abdul Ali's disciples. Born at Venkatagiri, this Hindu scholar of Islamic studies was so learned that he could teach the famous work on Arabic grammar, "*Sharah-i-Muallah*" to the students of advance studies in Arabic literature. He was also an outstanding poet and adopted the pen name of "*Khirad*", meaning reason. He was a master in composing chronogram. It is noteworthy that his chronogram, with his name is inscribed at the great Walajahi Mosque built by Walajah I in Madras (Chennai). In sum, it was during the rule of Muslim kingdoms in different regions that the then current *prakrit* and dialects acquired the status of literary languages, such as Sindhi, Punjabi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu and modern Hindi. This was possible because of Muslims' love of knowledge, learning, arts and literature inculcated by Islam right from the start. Another contributory factor was the total identification of Muslims with the local milieu wherever they ruled. Muslim *sufis*, scholars, historians and professionals were themselves great promoters of learning. They spread knowledge and know-how, liberally. They and their languages attracted with local elite and masses alike. They gave what they had and received what they found worthy in local heritage. As we have shown, they never hesitated to create literature in Indian languages. Nor did they spare any effort in translating Sanskrit and other Indian classics into Persian, the language of international scholarship then. The greatest beneficiary of this *Aadaan-Pradaan* (give and take) was Hindi language and poetry. Hindi would never have reached the stage of maturity and development that it did during the Muslim rule without the patronage and wholehearted involvement of Muslim elite and intellectuals.

The Great Mughals

The Mughals are also called Taimuris, because the founder of Mughal dynasty, Babur, was a Chughtai Turk and traced his lineage from Taimur by his father's side and Chingez Khan from mother's. Ameer Taimur ruled a vast empire from his legendary capital, Samarqand, dominating the fabled Silk Route. He aspired to outdo Alexander of Macedonia. With this ambition he overran the territories of Bayazid Sultans in the west and nearly all the neighbouring kingdoms of Central Asia in the east. In 1398, he invaded India via Afghanistan and sounded the death knell of the Tughlaq dynasty by defeating Mahmood Tughlaq (1394-1413). He also took territories as far north as Jammu and Bannu.

Returning home with a huge booty from Hindustan, Taimur transformed his capital Samarqand into one of the greatest centres of civilisation. His reign saw the greatest flowering of arts, sciences, learning and culture, with such immortals as Haafiz Shirazi and Salman Sawji. In his masterly work, "*History of Persian Literature*", Prof. Percy Browne devotes an entire chapter to the contribution of Taimuris.

Taimur enters our narrative in a different way. When he reached Herat in northwest Afghanistan, a *sufi* saint Syed Mir Ali came to see him with his six sons. Impressed by their demeanour, Taimur appointed four of them as governors of Ajmer, Multan, Bakhar and Swistan (now called Sehwan). One line of this Syed family settled down in Sindh. Two great Sindhi *sufi* poets, Shah Abdul Karim and Shah Abdul Latif, belonged to this branch of Syed Mir Ali's lineage. Shah Abdul Latif is said to have been born in Sindh in 1682 during the reign of Aurangzeb.

Muhammad Zaheeruddin Babur (1483-1526-1530)

Babur, meaning lion, opened his eyes in the royal household of Farghana. While in his teens, he was overthrown by his uncle who usurped the throne. For the next 20 years Babur kept on fighting relentlessly to regain his kingdom. When he found firm footing in Kabul, the Taimurian vision of India seized his mind. He had come to know that Ibrahim Lodhi was the Sultan of Delhi. He decided to wrest Hindustan from the hands of the Lodhis. A man

of legendary strength and fabulous courage, Babur crossed the many rivers by swimming across them, while his army came on horse back. Babur challenged the 40,000 strong Lodhi army with his 10,000 troops on the battlefield of Panipat. For the first time in Indian history, Babur used cannons in this battle. The frightened elephants, camels and horses of the Lodhis trampled their own troops and Babur won the battle, known in history as the First Battle of Panipat. The rout of Ibrahim Lodhi wiped out the Delhi Saltanat and Babur set up his own Mughal dynasty.

All the kings of Delhi Saltanat ruled their vast territories under the *sanad* (approval) granted by the Ottoman caliph at Istanbul. Babur, proud of his lineage from Chingez Khan and Taimur, considered himself a superior Turk and without caring to seek the *sanad* from the Ottoman emperor, declared himself emperor. He thus became the first secular ruler of India to rule without obtaining a *sanad* from the Muslim caliph.

In world history Babur is a unique ruler, being an unprecedented combination of an astute general of rare courage and valour, an able administrator, an unrivalled master of scintillating prose, an equally competent poet, a connoisseur of several arts, a patron of painters with an exquisite aesthetic sense, a great builder, and the pioneer of garden architecture and landscape planning in India. Under the Great Mughals, Delhi became the envy of the entire world for many centuries. To Babur goes the credit of introducing miniature painting in India that reached its zenith under Shah Jahan and Jahangir. Babur was among the earliest emperors to write his own biography, *Tuzak-e-Babri* in Turki. It remains one of the masterpieces of literary creations to this day. Its Persian translation, "*Babur Nama*" was illustrated in gold.

Babur loved adventure, outdoor games, hunting, *shikar* and *chaugaan* (polo). He believed in enjoying life's pleasures to the brim. He was also a very just and compassionate ruler, an ideal ruler in fact. He was an open and frank person. His autobiography is notable for its candour, besides its scintillating prose. It is ranked among the best ever written autobiographies.

Babur and all his descendants till the last Mughal emperor

loved mango, which they called "*Fakhrul Samar*" (pride of all fruits) and "*Ashraful Samar*" noblest of all fruits).

In the entire world history, there is no parallel to the fact of Babur down to Aurangzeb from an unbroken chain of six great men and equally great rulers belonging to one and the same dynasty. The Hindi poets of the time spare no words to glorify the Great Mughals. Narhari, a poet in Akbar's court, has eulogised Babur, Humayun, Akbar and poet-statesman Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khaanaan (who was the son of Bairam Khan, Akbar's tutor):

Babar Humayun ghazi sifat karat dou man vach karam atal swami takbar.

Ekan uthapi eike thapat jagat hit anakh jakh ripu phire chahun chakbar.

Guni nirguni Hindu Turuk sakal seve dalpati Narhari ab ek takbar.

*Param praveen Khankhana se vazir jake nyaya hi basat vilsat Shah Akbar.*¹

Narhari's quote above uses Arab-Persian words profusely.

During the Mughal times, excellence in Persian became a passion with the Hindus. It lasted until the mid-19th century, even after the downfall of the Mughals. Among the noted exponents of Persian poetry, mention may be made of Bodi Bhatt of Kashmir, Manohar, Chandrabhan Brahmin and Lakshmi Narayn "Shafeeq."

Babur was a great scholar and critic in Arabic, Persian, and Turki. He maintained contacts with numerous scholars. References to all those are found in his autobiography. Babur also wrote a book on prosody under the title, "*Mafaasal*" Babur was also interested in meteorology and geography. He has written extensively in the mountains of Central Asia. Poems composed by Hindu poets often refer to Babur. The following couplet by an Hindi poet confirms that Ibrahim Lodhi was killed by Babur:

Nau se ooper tha batista, Panipat mein Bharat deesa.

1. *Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, pp. 66-67, 321.

*Athae Rajab shukarwara, Babur jeeta "Brahim haara"*¹

In "*Aakhri Kalam*", Jayisi praises Babur, thus:

*Babar saah chhatarpati raja, Rajpat un kah bidhi saaja.
Muluk Suleman kar ohi deenha, Adal duni "Umar" jas keena.
"Ali" ker jas keenhesi khanda, leenhasi jagat samud bhari danda.
'Bal Hamza' kar jais sambhara, jo wariar utha tehi mara.*²

Jayisi's allusions to "*Mulk-e-Suleman*" (kingdom of Solomon), Caliph Umar and Prophet's companion Hamza and the fourth Caliph Ali were innovations in Hindi poetry of the time.

Narhari's eulogy of Babur uses predominantly Persian idioms and proclaims Babur as an emperor like whom the world had not seem.

He says:

*"Nek bakht dil pak sakhi jawan-mard sher nar.
Awwal Ali Khudai diya bisiyar mulk zar.
Khaliq bahuvesh hukum alia jo aalib.
Daulat Bakht buland jang dushman par ghalib.
Ausaf tura goyad sakal kavi Narhari guftam chuni.
Babar barobar badhshan digar na deedam dar duni.*³

Rightly does Lanepole say: "Babur was an accomplished poet in Persian, the language of high culture, the Latin of Central Asia, and in his native Turki language, he was master of a pure and unaffected style, alike in prose and verse."⁴ All his successor down to the last emperor Bahadurshah Zafar exiled to Myanmar by the British, continued the high literary and aesthete traditions of the founder of the Mughal dynasty. The synthesis of Hindu-Muslim cultures during the Mughal rule reached its zenith and created the composite Hindustani culture. The Mughals created an all-India consciousness called, *Hindustaniyat* (awareness of Indianness). It was in this period, 1526 to 1707 and a few decades later that great-

-
1. *Mughal Badshahon Ki Hindi*, p. 2.
 2. *Jayisi Granthavali (Aakhri Kalam)*, pp. 341-342.
 3. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 333.
 4. *Lane Pole, Babur*, p. 10.

est achievements on manufacturing, building, craftsmanship, trades, skills of various kinds speech, manners, etiquette, etc. were achieved. Says Dr. Tara Chand: "the successors of Babur" so gloriously adorned and so marvellously enriched Indian Life that India might well have to be proud of its heritage, which they in their turn have left behind". How rightly did poet Narhari describe Babur as an emperor" the like of whom the world had never seen.

Naseeruddin Muhammad Humayun (1530-1555-56)

According to historian Farishta, Humayun was a multi-dimensional personality: a mathematician, astronomer, geographer, expert in mathematical modelling and designing wooden palaces, inventing and innovating mechanical devices, besides being a bibliophil. Abul Fazal refers to Humayun's enormous scholarship in his "*Akbar Namah*". Though Humayun's reign was interrupted and relatively short, the progress of Hindi during his reign was by no means small. Among the Persian poets in his court, mentions may be made of Abdul Waheed Bilgrami and Shaikh Gadayi.

Humayun welcomed those Hindi poets to his court who wrote pure Hindi. One of them Chhem Bandijan also wrote a *manqabat* to glorify Hazrat Ali. Narhari was a resident of Rai Bareilly. He first came to the court of Humayun, then served Sher Shah and lived on to remain at the court of Akbar. Narhari records Humayun's bravery and his travails, of which he was an eye witness.

*Main apubal ganj virahi bhuit sangadal digh angaun.
Bahuri ganji Gujrat Bahadur iti Kabul ut Ghor loyaun.
"Narhari" gujrat pathan dal jahan lagu jo nij sor sunao
kahaon.
Imi dhaon jimi singhan gani par as janpatman manjh
Humayun.¹*

Of Humayun's bravery, Narhari says:

*Poorab hadd pachchim pahar, dou khan kiye vidhi jani agaun.
It sumeru ut chadhat lank hai mari tang Narpati sab naun
Hind te khedi pathan khaga var dal dal mali darya bahaon.*

1. *Akabri Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, pp. 319-320.

*Ganjahi bahuri jeeti Dehli-pati imihi dol rajyo sahi Humayun.*¹

Narhari was apparently an objective observer. In his Chanda (verses), we also find praise for Sher Shah.

Among important Persian poets of Humayun's court were: Maulana Muhammad Qasim "*Kahi*". Mir Abdul Latif Qazwini was respected for his scholarship. Humayun himself composed verses abounding in metaphors and subtle concepts. His *Diwaan* (anthology of poems) is available. He was equally at ease in writing *masnavi*, *rubayi* and other metrical compositions.

During his exile in Iran he met many Persian poets, artists and miniature painters whom he invited to India. That is how "*Kahi*" and Qazwini came to his court in India. Humayun's personal friend Jauhar wrote a book of history, "*Tazkiratul Waqyaat*" (An Account of Events). Humayun's period is extensively documented by his scholar sister, Gulbadan Bano Begum in her "*Humayun Namah*". It apparently continued her father Babur's tradition of history in "*Tuzak-e-Babri*" or "*Babur Namah*".

Sher Shah Suri defeated Humayun at Chausa in 1539. In the nocturnal ambush, Humayun leapt into the swollen river to escape. He swam across the river on a water-skin (*mashk*) lent him by a water carrier (*saqqa*), Nizamuddin, whom he placed on his royal throne for a day to express his gratitude. The *saqqa* expressed his own gratitude for his one-day rule to the leather bag, by issuing leather coins. This became a proverb in Hindi: "*Chaam ke daam chalana*", meaning in bad days "*leather*" substitutes for currency. The issuance of leather coins is referred to by Surdas "*Kubja*" as taking advantage of her skin:

(*Udhav*) *Sar par sauti hamarai kubja, chamke daam chalavai.*²

Sher Shah Suri (1540-1545)

The Sur Afghan dynasty ruled from 1540 to 1555. It was founded by Sher Shah who was a *subedar* (governor). Despite his

1. *Akabri Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, pp. 319-320.

2. *Sur Sagar*, p. 3395.

short reign of five years, he left an indelible mark on Indian history. A great commander, statesman and administrator par excellence, Sher Shah accomplished in five years what many could not have in five decades. Rebelling against Humayun, Sher Shah compelled the Mughal to flee India. He was the ruler who first introduced *Rupiah* as India's currency. Today, Rupee is the currency of Pakistan, Nepal and Indonesia. He was also the first ruler to strike coins in Hindi. Having made India their home, the Sur Pathans had adopted Hindi as their language both in the camp and the court. He set up a university-like institution "*Madrasa*" at Narnaul, Patiala district of Punjab, for which purpose he built an huge building. His *farmans* (royal decrees) used to be issued both in *Nagri* script of Hindi and Persian. Within five years, Sher Shah built four national highways totalling 2,400 kms. His survey for these works was so complete that till today the same routes exist. One of the highways linked Rohtas on the banks of Indus to Sonar Gaon near Dhaka. It ran for up to 1,500 kms. Indira Gandhi named it Sher Shah Suri Marg. It was known as Grant Trunk Road during the British regime. The second highway ran from Agra on Yamuna to Burhanpur on Tapti. A third highway linked Agra with Chittorgarh. The fourth highway was between Lahore and Multan. Sher Shah lined these highways with shady trees. And provided *sarais* (inns) at regular intervals, besides providing maned milestones along the routes. Both Hindus and Muslims could stay in these *sarais*. Arrangements for vegetarian food was also there. Brave on the battlefield, Sher Shah was equally kind and just in peace time. He was a connoisseur of arts. He had studied Persian, and poet Shaikh Sa'di's "*Gulistan*", "*Bostan*", "*Sikandar Namah*" and other books on philosophy. He was a master of Arabic. This was in line with the traditions of Muslims right from Muhammad bin Qasim. Todarmal enjoyed Sher Shah's confidence.

Quoting Abdul Ghani, Chandra Bali Pandey writes that Sher Shah wrote poetry in Persian and Hindi under the pen name, "*Fareed*".¹ In "*Padmavat*", Jayisi praises Sher Shah, whom he calls the emperor of the day.

Sersahi Dehli Sultanu, chariu khand tape jas bhanu.
Tahan lagi raj kharak kari leenha, Iskand julkeran jo kinha.

1. *Mughal Badshahhon ki Hindi*, p. 8.

Haath Suleman Keri angooti, jag kahan dan deenh bhari moothi.

Deenh asees Muhammad, karahu jugahi jug raj.

Badshah tum jagat ke, jag tumhar muhtaj.¹

Jayisi's lines refer to Alexander, the ring of Solomon, and episodes relating to Nausherwan the just and Umar, another apostle of justice.

Sher Shah showed great tolerance towards Hindu religion. The poet Narhari pays tribute to Sher Shah's noble qualities, his liberalism, his compassion and great personality.²

Islam Shah (1545-1554)

Sher Shah's son and successor (also known as Aslam Shah or Salim Shah) followed in his great father's footsteps. He was in close contact with scholars like, Shaikh Abul Hasan Kamboh and Makhdoom-ul-Mulk Shaikh Abdullah Sultanpuri. Shaikh Alai is a famous scholar of the period. Chandra Bali Pandey refers to Islam Shah's love of Hindi and his Hindi poetry, as given in *Sangeet-raag kalpadrum*". Islam Shah also patronised Narhari, who in gratitude, prayed for Islam Shah's long life and stability of his rule:

Pratham jampi jagdish kahn karun kavitt rachi namu,

Jas nirmal thir chir jive Chatarpati saahi salaimu.³

Islam Shah an excellent poet in Persian and also tried his hand at writing Hindi poetry. After recovering areas in Bengal, Islam Shah introduced Hindi in East Bengal, now Bangla Desh. Revenue records of Jessore and an inscription at Sylhet bear evidence of this. Hindi remained in use in what is now Bangla Desh for good length of time. In his civil and military administration, Islam Shah appointed both Persian and Hindi "*Waqia Nawees*" diarists).

Karrani Afghans went a step farther. Their revenue minister was an Hindu by the name Srihari. During Dawood Karrani's reign, Srihari was conferred the title of "*Vikramaditya*". Islam Shah also

1. *An Advance History of India*, p. 442.

2, 3. *Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 214, 324, 327, 239.

respected his Hindi poet at his court. His name was Muhammad Farman Ali. Jayisi's "*Padmavat*", "*Akhravat*", "*Aakhri Kalam*" and other Hindi works are a tribute to the Afghan rulers. Swami Haridas and Surdas were the two great Bhakti singers flourished during this period.

Islam Shah died in 1554. After a contested succession, Muhammad Adil Shah became the ruler. He could not prove his worth. The conduct of state affairs was left in the hands of his able Hindu minister, Himu Baqqal. Revolts broke out. The other princes of the Sur family declared their sovereignty. This gave Humayun, who had established himself in Kabul, the opportunity he had been waiting for to reclaim his throne of India. Promptly Humayun invaded India and defeating the reigning Suri king, Sikandar near Sirhind, entered Delhi. This put an end to the short-lived but eventful rule of the Sur dynasty.

Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar (1556-1605)

With Sher Shah the Afghan, putting the Mughal Humayun to flight, the instability of the Mughal rule had become latent, with the powerful indigenous Muslim nobility that had taken firm roots in the power structure since the time of Muhammad bin Qasim. What saved the Mughals a second time was the loyalty of Bairam Khan. Heir apparent Akbar was not by his father's bedside when Humayun breathed his last in Dehli. Humayun had sent Akbar along with Bairam Khan to a campaign, to gain experience in warfare and state affairs. Humayun's brothers had already bothered him enough. Akbar was only 14. He was at Kalanur in Punjab, hundreds of km from Delhi. As soon as the news of Humayun's death reached Bairam Khan, the loyal commander and tutor of Akbar, got a brick platform prepared. That was the throne Emperor-designate Akbar ascended, to accept the salutation and pledge of loyalty by his *ataleeq* (tutor) and commander. Bairam Khan's towering personality provided Akbar, a canopy that sheltered the Mughal dynasty. No surprise then that Bairam's son, Abdur Raheem was declared Khan-e-Khanaan (lord of lords). But Khan-e-Khanaan preferred to survive in history as the humble Hindi poet "Rahim" or "Rahiman" of incomparable literary excellence.

Akbar was the apostle of "*Sulehkul*", total reconciliation, which he had to adopt to pacify the open or hidden supporters of Rana Pratap.

Akbar's rule witnessed Persian taking firm grip on the life, culture and administration. Akbar's revenue minister, Raja Todarmal, who had worked for Sher Shah too, issued orders prohibiting account keeping in Hindi, and declared proficiency in Persian a must for recruitment to clerical posts in government. He also forced all his coreligionists to learn the court language, which they did vigorously. And, in the words of H. Blochmann, "the Hindus almost became the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans". Among the Hindus, Nagar Brahmins and Kayasthas and among others the emigre Zoroastrians began to learn Persian. For Parsis, Persian had an emotional appeal. A class of hereditary Munshis emerged among the Kayasthas of Agra and Avadh. Khattris of Punjab, Delhi and Agra adopted Persian language and culture. A study of the works of Hindu poets from Akbar's time to the time of Muhammad Shah Rangila (during whose reign Iranian Nadir Shah invaded Delhi, plundered the capital and massacred people) shows that Gang, Manohar, Kishan Das, Pushkar, Chintamani, Bihari, Mati Ram, Kalidas Trivedi, Dev, Bhushan, Padmakar, Ghanand and Thakur used more Arab-Persian words than did the Muslim poets, such as Rahim.

Aalam, Ali Muhib Khan, Ghulam Nabi Rasleen et. al. Hindu poets in the courts of Rajasthan, principalities were even more enamoured of Arab-Persian usages. Bhushan who belonged to the court of Shivaji and Chhatrasal had a wider Persian vocabulary than had Bihari, Dev and even Padmakar. One reason may be that Shivaji and Chhatrasal were themselves well versed in Persian. There were others who did not belong to Akbar's court, such as Surdas, Tulsidas, Mati Ram, and Sundar Das. Rahim patronised Tulsidas and Matiram. Tulsidas wrote "*Ramcharit Manas*" under Rahim's patronage. Hindi saint-poet Daadoo Dayal (1544-1603) is said to have had an audience with emperor Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri. Mahmud Shirani says: Muslims' traditional love for poetry found its best moments in the court of Akbar. Once Hindi poet Karnesh Bandijan recited a poem in praise of Akbar. Pleased with it, the emperor wanted the poet to be lavishly rewarded. But the treasurer

sulked. Karnesh then composed another poem lampooning the treasurer, thus:

*Khat hai haram dam karat haram kam ghat ghat tinhi ke
apyash chhvenge.
Dozakh hoon jai hain tabb kati khain khopari ko goodo kag
totani urvaenge.
Kahe "karnesh" ab ghos khat laj nahin, roja-o-nimaj ant
kam nahin ayonge.
Kavin ke mamle mein kare jown khami taun nimak harami
mare kafan na pavenge.¹*

Akbar also granted a monthly pension of 1,000 *rupiah* to Chaturbhuj Das Brahmin,² in addition to lakh *pasav* as reward to poet Dursa Ji³ for a single couplet. Akbar also gave 13 Lakh rupees to the poet Sur Das Madan Mohan, Surdhvaj for the following couplet:

*Yaktam andhiyaro kare shoonya dai punitahi.
Dastam te raksha karo dinmani Akbar Shahi.⁴*

To Surdas Akbar also granted a "maafi" of 13,000 *rupiah*. Rahim granted poet gang 36,000 *rupiah* as reward for the following couplets:

*Chakit bhanwar rahi gaye, Gaman nahin karat kamal ban.
Ahi phani mani nahin lait, Tej nahi bahat pawan ghan.
Hans mansar tajyo, Chakka chakki na milai ati.
Bahu Sundari Padmani, Purush na chahen na karan rati.
Khal-malit sis kavi Gang man, Amit tej ravi rath khasyo.
Khan Khana Bairam suvan, Jabhi krodh kari tang kasyo.⁵*

Rahim's generosity was enjoyed more by the Hindi poets than the Persian ones. References of these events are recorded in "Tozak-e-Jahangiri.

An extraordinary example of Rahim's patronage is the case of poet Asakharan who used the pen name of "Jara". Rahim offered

1. Mishra Bandhu Vinod, part I, p. 324.

2, 3. Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi, pp. 33, 38.

4. Bhaktmal, pp. 753-754 and Asht Chaap aur Vallabh Sampradai, part I, pp. 110-111.

5. Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi, p. 119.

to pay him one lakh *rupiah* for each *doha*. But Jara declined offered to pay him one lakh *rupiah* for each *doha*. But Jara declined and with Rahim's help got the district of Jahazpur granted to Jagmal, younger brother of Maharana Pratap. Some quotes from Jara's poem:

Khankhana nawab ri, Aadam giri dhann.
Mah thukrai mairu giri, Man na rai bhann.
Khankhana nawab ra, Adia bhuj brahamand.
*Poothe to hai Chandipur, Dhaar talai navkhand.*¹

Sheerani observes: "Muslims paid greater attention to the development of India's indigenous languages than did the Hindus and they did it earlier than the Hindus themselves". Much of the literature written in Pushtu, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Punjabi owes a great deal to the Muslims. The same is the case with Braj, Kannauji and Avadhi.

Persian found a second home in India because of the *Saltanat* and Mughal rule. Shibli Nomani in "*Sher-ul-Ajam*" mentions that 51 Iranian poets left home to come to Akbar's court. According to historian Abdul Qadir Badayuni's "*Muntekhabat-ut Tawareekh*", 167 Persian and Hindi poets belonged to Akbar's court.

Faizi (1547-1595) and his brother Abul Fazal were supreme scholars of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit.

Akbar patronised Sanskrit learning. At his instance, many Sanskrit works, such as Bhagwat Geeta, "*Yogvashishtaha*", were translated into Persian. Badayuni completed Persian translation of Ramayan in 1589. His contemporary, Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi prepared Persian translation of *Athara Veda*. Mukammal Khan Gujarati translated a treatise on astronomy under the title, "*Tajak*". Faizi also prepared an abridged translation of *Mahabharat*, besides translating "*Lilavati*", a treatise on mathematics by Bhaskaracharya of the 12th century.

Khan-e-Khana was a versatile personality, a great general who brought Gujarat under the sway of the Mughals, and multilingual poet who created remarkable poetry in Arabic, Persian, Turki, Sanskrit and Hindi, using his pen name, "Rahim" and

1. *Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 142.

"Rahiman". Attracted by Rahim's munificence an Iranian poet, Muhammad Husain Naziri (d. 1612) came from Nishapur to Agra but ultimately settled down in Ahmedabad. Mullah Zahuri (d. 1615) came to India from Khorasan and settled down in Ahmednagar, where he was made "*Malik-us-Shora*" (poet laureate). He had respectfully declined Rahim's invitation to settle in Agra. Another Iranian was Jamaluddin Urfi (d. 1590). Ghazali, a *Sufi* poet, left Iran to escape persecution, migrated to Agra where he remained poet laureate until 1572. Ghazali had first gone to the Deccan.

According to Prof. Syed Abdul Wahab Bukhari's "*Akbari-Darbar*", Raja Manohar was a great Persian poet in Akbar's court. His poetry was much liked in Iran, for its elegance.

Hindustani classical music reached its apogee during Akbar's time, with such legendary exponents as Surdas and Mirza Mian Tansen and Haridas and his disciple, Baiju Bawara. Mirza Tansen was a convert and had been earlier at the court of Raja or Rewa. Tansen's son-in-law, Lal Khan also served Akbar's court.

Because of Akbar's impact on Rajasthan, nearly all Rajput kings began to employ Barots (bardic poets) who created Charni tradition of poetry. Their job was to accompany the Raja in battle and *shikar* campaigns and also to keep the family trees of their patron rulers. Prof. (Rtd.) Ratudan Rodhiya of Rajkot has compiled an annotated manuscripts of Charni poetry of the last 400 years. (Barots are now a separate caste in Gujarat and Rajasthan).

Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir (1605-1627)

Jahangir was taught by celebrated Maulana Mir Kalam Muhaddis and Abdur Rahim Mirza. Jahangir was an expert writer in Turki and Persian. He wrote his autobiography in Turki under the title, "*Tozak-e-Jahangiri*". His style of writing was fresh and charming. Jahangir revived many *madrasahs* and *pathshalas*. He was also a great naturalist who patronised paintings of flora and fauna. A superb aesthete, his role in creating a new epoch of miniature paintings is acknowledged. Learned men, such as Mirza Ghayas Beg, his father-in-law, Naqib Khan Abdul Haq Dehalvi *et al* crowded his court. They were joined by major Persian poets from Iran and Khurasan. Among them were *Malik-ush-Shora* Talib Amuli, Mullah

Naziri of Neshapur and Jamaluddin Urfi Shirazi (already mentioned in Akbar's court), Baba Talib Isfahani, Mullah Hayat Gilani, Mullah Muhammad Sufi Mazandarani, Mir Masoom Kashi.

Notable among Hindi poets of Jahangir's court were Pohkar, Tahir (who wrote "*Koksaar*"), Keshav Mishra and Gang (who had been in Akbar's court too). Jahangir himself composed poetry in Hindi. He had great regard for accomplished *sadhus* and saints. He is said to have walked long distance to meet *maha yogi* Gosani (or Gosain) Jadroop in his cave. There are references to this meeting and the *yogi* accomplishments in "*Tozak-e-Jahangiri*". "*Chitravali*", is a long poem (*Rachna*) written in Jahangir's time by *sufi* poet, Usman of Ghazipur in 1613. Shaikh Nabi's poetic work "*Gyandeep*" also belongs to Jahangir's period. It is dated to 1619 and eulogises Jahangir thus:

*Ek hazar san rahe Chabbisa, Raj Sulhi Ganhu barisa.
Samvat saroh sai chhihantra, Ukte garant kenh anusara.*¹

*Sahi Saleem Chhatrapati choni, Dal ke mar kanwaldal Doni.
Chalat dalat patal ko Raja, Sahsofan phenpati bhaji laja.
Murad din deen-dinpati, Jahangir nit naim.
Kuldeep duti sakal ki, Sahib sai salaim.*²

Mullah Masih of Panipat, a famous Hindi poet and an exponent of Sanskrit grammar, translated Ramayan into Persian under the title, "*Ramayan-e-Masih*". It was reprinted by Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow. Ghawasi translated the Persian classic, "*Tooti Namah*" from Persian into Hindi. Among the Muslim poets who wrote poems in Hindi are Zameer, Mullah Nuri and Shaikh Muhammad bin Shaikh Ma'roof, both of whom are mentioned by Azad Bilgrami. Tahir was a non-*sufi* poet who composed "*Koksaar*" in 1652. Keshav Das' "*Jahangir Jas Chandrika*" praises Jahangir and Rahim. "*Pandit Raj*" Jagannath mentions Jahangir as "*Dilleeshwar*" and "*Jagdeeshwar*". This poet also praises Shah Jahan, Jahangir's son and successor.

Poet Narhari is said to have prayed for a son for Akbar at the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti at Ajmer, revealing how

1. & 2. *Gyandeep: Stanza, 14, 17.*

intimate the relations between Hindus and Muslims were: A quote from Narhari's prayer:

*Sheikh Moindi peer sunhu vinti kare 'Narhari'.
Narhari vinti kya kare Hindu Turuk samait.
Pai Payade jagatu guru janat ho kaihi hait.
Janat ho kaihi hait chaiti uttam jab lijjai.
Uchit putra phalu Baigi Saahi Akbar kahan dijjo.
Chir jeev pitu sahit pahumi rashai kar tarhari.
Shaikh Mondeem peer sunhu vinti karai Narhari.*¹

Narhari's contemporary, Sathura Das praises "*Adl-e-Jahangiri* (justice of Jahangir), thus:

*Tinke peeche bha, Jahangira Karta 'adal' harai sab peera.*²

"*Tozak-e-Jahangiri*" gives many instances of Jahangir's love of Hindi, Hindi poetry and his patronage of it.³ Jahangir's brother Daniyaal was also a lover of Hindi music and could well compose Hindi poetry himself.

Jahangir encouraged writing of history and the same is proved by several books of history of his reign, such as "*Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri*", "*Ma'asir-e-Jahangiri*" and "*Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh*".

Shahbuddin Muhammad Shah Jahan (1627-1658)

The genome of Taimur and Babur seems to have been exceptional. From Babur down to Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last emperor there was a direct line of unbroken succession of male descendants while in the case of most other dynasties of Indian history there often was no heir to the throne. Not only this, at least six Great Mughals, from Babur to Aurangzeb, were extraordinary men personally and also extraordinary rulers historically. Each one had individual distinction, not on just one count but on several counts. Shah Jahan marks the apogee of Mughal greatness. Shah Jahan was a scholar of Turki. Every night he used to set apart time for study. The histories of his reign have been penned by Abdul Hameed Lahori "*Padshah Namah*", Qazwini (another "*Padshah Namah*")

1. *Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 320.

2. *Sant Sahiya ki Saamajik Evam Saanskritik Prishthabhumi*, p. 84.

3. *Mughal Badshahon ki Hindi*, pp. 23-25.

and Inayat Khan (*"Shah Jahan Namah"*). It is also remarkable that right from Muhammad bin Qasim down to Aurangzeb and also in various other kingdoms, there has never been a dearth of contemporary historical accounts of the Muslim rulers and the dynasties. In other words, India's history, from various angles, is well documented from 712 to 1857.

We are concerned here with the information we get about the literary environment of Shah Jahan's period. Among the poets who flourished at the courts of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, the pride of place goes to Naziri, Talib Kalim and Sahib.

Hindi literature attracted Shah Jahan right from his childhood. Jahangir refers to Shah Jahan's Hindi letters in his *"Tozak-e-Jahangiri"*. Shah Jahan patronised not only Hindi poets but also scholars of Sanskrit and masters of music and musicology. *"Pandit Raj"* Jagannath was a great poet in Sanskrit, a rhetorician and also a musician and musicologist of renown. Eulogising Shah Jahan as *"Dilleshwara"* and *"Jagdeeshwara"*, he wrote only *"the Lord of Dehli"* and *"Lord of the World"* (referring to Shah Jahan's title) *"can fulfil all my wishes"*. Shah Jahan conferred on him the honorific of *"Mahakaviraya"*. Panditraj Mahakaviraya Jagannath wrote *"Baara Naghmaat"*, a book on music. Shah Jahan had him weighed in silver coins. This lavish patronage of arts is unparalleled in world history.

Among the other favourite Hindi poets of Shah Jahan's court were: Chintamani, Kavindracharya, Kulpati Mishra and Sunder Rai. Shah Jahan honoured Sunder with the title of Kavi Rai. Shah Jahan's queen, Mumtaz Mahal, was fond of the Hindi poetry of Vanshi Dhar Mishra. Hari Narayan Mishra was a Sanskrit poet of Shah Jahan's court. He praised the emperor in his Sanskrit poem. Munneeshwar Kavi dedicated his book on astronomy to emperor Shah Jahan. Bhagwati Swamin also dedicated his work on poetics to the emperor. So did Vedang Raja. Some examples of the praise showered on Shah Jahan by the Hindi poets of his time are given below:

*Shah Jahan tinke sut raja, Tin phir bahut garib newaj.*¹

Shahjahan sultan chakatta, Bhanu saman Raj ek chatta.¹

This one is from Gang:

*Nav liye ghar te niksiyo kavi Gang kahai "Sahjan" tiharo.
Aike dekhyai hai kalpatru aru kam dudha mani chintati bharo.
Aaj hamari bhai pari puran, aas sabai kabhun nahi varo.*

Lobh gayo sigro chit te ab ye gayo darid chedan varo.²

Sundar Kavi Rai says:

*Nagar Agra basat hai, Jamuna tat subh than.
Tahan badshahi karai, baitho Shah Jahan.
Shah Baro, kavi mukh tanik, kayon gun barne jahi.
Jyon tarai sab gagan ke, moothi main na samai.
Ek chinke gun sahke, barnat sab sansar.
Jeebh thake beetai barkh, taoo na pavai par.
Teen pahar lon ravi chalai, jake daisan mahi.
Jeet lai jagti iti, Shahjahan nar nah.
Kul samudra kahi kiyo, kot teer ko thaon.
Atho disi yon bas kari, jyon keejai ek gaon.
"Shahjahan" taihi gunani koun, deenhai aginat daan.
Tin main 'Sundar Sukavi ko', bahut kiyo samman.
Nag, bhushan, 'mansab diyo, hai hathi serpai.
Pratham diyo kaviraj pad, bahuri mahakavirai.
Vipra Gwalior nagar ko, basi hai kavi raj.
Jaaso sah maya kari, baro Garib Newaj.³*

Technically, this poem of Sundar Kavi Rai is a "Qaseedah" with all its components. It may be noted that the poet describes Shah Jahan as *Gharib Nawaz* (nourisher of the poor).

These many facets of Shah Jahan were outshone by the glory of the monuments he left behind, such as the immortal Taj Mahal, the Red Fort Complex and the Jama Masjid at Delhi.

-
1. *Kavya Roopon ke Moolsrot*, p. 84.
 2. *Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 438.
 3. *Mughal Badshahon ki Hindi*, pp. 32-34.

Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Aalamgir (1658-1707)

Aurangzeb was born at Dohad in Gujarat on 24 October 1618. When he was 14, he killed an elephant with a sword, when it turned wild and attacked the spectators. It may be noted that other princes had run away in panic, leaving Aurangzeb alone on the ground to face the menacing beast. From that moment onward, Aurangzeb became a thorn in the side of other princes aspiring for succession. Shah Jahan, who loved the pleasure-loving, easy-going eldest son, Dara Shikoh and preferred him over other sons to succeed him, became cussed towards Aurangzeb, going to the extent of approving Dara Shikoh's plan to get Aurangzeb murdered in the bitter battle of succession. Being the bravest and the ablest among all his brothers, Aurangzeb emerged victor and became the emperor of India in 1658, placing Shah Jahan into confinement. Poet Sathuradas has documented the triumph of Aurangzeb and his rule according to the Holy Qur'an, thus:

*Shah Jahan Padshah jab mua, Dand des mein chahun dis hua.
Aurangzeb tahi sut-eka, Baith raj tin kiyo viveka.
Shah Jahan sut Aurangzeb, Chale supanth Kuran katha.¹*

Unlike his predecessors, Aurangzeb did not like the history of his reign being written by his courtiers during his lifetime. Still many works of the history of his rule have come down to us, such as "*Aalamgir Namah*", "*Ma'asir-e-Aalamgiri*", "*Naqsh-e-Dilkusha*" by Bhimsen, Ishwar Das' "*Fatuhaat-e-Aalamgiri*" and an account by gossipy historian "*Khafi*" (hidden) Khan under the title, "*Muntakhabatul Lubaab*". All these are in Persian.

According to Bernier's travelogue and "*Taarikh-e-Farrukh Bakhsh*", Aurangzeb set up many new *madrasahs* and granted stipends to promising students. He had himself been taught by great scholars, such as Maulana Abdul Lateef Sultanpuri, Maulana Hashim Gilaani, Alami Sa'dullah (a minister in the court of Shah Jahan) and Maulana Muhiuddin alias Mulla Mohan Behari. Aurangzeb was well versed in Arabic, Turki, Persian and Hindi-Hindustani. He was a superb calligrapher and earned his living by copying

1. *Parichai, Sathuradas, pp. 16-17.*

Qur'an. These copies were also sent to Makkah and Madinah. He was also an *Hafiz* of the Holy Qur'an (reciter of the Qur'an by heart). He despised pomp and show and avoided the company of appeasers. An expert in playing *Sitaar*, he felt music was good in the hands of good men and bad in the hands of the bad ones.

Aurangzeb loved Hindi, patronised Hindi poets, spoke Hindi at home and also composed poetry in Hindi. In one of his love poems written in praise of his beloved Udaipuri Begum, he likens her to Saraswati:

*Tuv gun Ravi udai kino yehi te kahat tumko Bai Udaipuri.
Angianan gun gayan ke alap vistar-sur jot deepak.
Jo to lon Vitha hai duri,
Jab jab gavai tab tab ras samudra lehrain upjanpat.
Aisi Saraswati kaun ki 'puri'.
Jat naman jan Shah Aurangzeb reejh rahai.
Yaa hi tain kahat tumko vitha roop chaturi.¹*

Though he abolished the tradition of having "*Malik-ush-Shora*" (poet laureate), he continued to honour Hindi poets with the title of "*Kavi Rai*". Several Hindi poets wrote panegyrics in Aurangzeb's honour. Kalidas Trivedi (d. 1725) admires Aurangzeb's valour thus:

*Garhan garhi se garhi mahal marhi se mhaari,
Bijapur opio dal mali ujrai mein.
"Kalidas" kopyo beer Aulia Alamgir,
Theer tarwari gahuo puhmi parai main.*

*Garike sujhand aar keenhi padshah tate,
Dakari chamunda Golcunda ki ladai mein.²*

As far his patronage of literature, he once awarded 7,000 rupiahs for a single *rubaayi* (quatrain). Poet Varind was paid ten rupiahs daily as maintenance. He wrote "*Shringar Shiksha*" and "*Bhavapanchashiksha*". He had once accompanied Aurangzeb during a campaign in Bengal.

1. *Brij Sahitya Par Mughal Prabhav*, p. 23.

2. *Shiv Singh Saroj*, p. 28.

Another poet, Chandra Bhan Brahman accompanied Aurangzeb during his *Deccan* campaign. Aurangzeb had honoured him with a "*Saat Hazaari*" *mansab*, the honour of keeping an army of 7,000 horsemen. In his "*Nataayejul Afkaar*", Qudratullah says poet Chandra Bhan Brahman was lavished with honours when Aurangzeb ascended the throne. The emperor chose him for many high positions. Chandra Bhan Brahman has left behind a "*Diwaan*" (anthology) of his Persian poetry. He also wrote poems in Sanskrit, Urdu and Hindi.

Despite his crowded duties as emperor, Aurangzeb held literary seminars thrice a week. Among the scholars, Aurangzeb respected Mullah Jeevan as he would his father. But his highest admiration was for Shaikh Nizam Burhanpuri who compiled "*Fatawa-i-Aalamgiri*", a voluminous compendium of Islamic law prepared at Aurangzeb's court.

At Aurangzeb's instance, Mirza Khan, son of Fakhruddin Muhammad, prepared "*Qawaid-e-Kulliyat-e-Bhaka*", an Hindi grammar for the use of Persian people. Poet Kalidas Trivedi compiled "*Kalidas Hazaara*", which contained the works of 212 Hindi poets between 1425 and 1720. Zameer, an Iranian poet who came to settle down in Delhi during Aurangzeb's time, translated "*Marjatak*", a book on music in Hindi. He also wrote excellent poems in Hindi under the pen name "*Pathi*"

Nagendranath Basu, the editor of "*Sangeet Raag-Kalpadrum*", in part II of this work, lists the works of Aurangzeb and describes him as a "great patron of Hindi literature". Hindi poets Abdul Jaleel, Krishna and Samant occupied exalted positions in Aurangzeb's court. Acharya Chatur Sen sees Aurangzeb as a "lover of Hindi who honoured Hindi poets". In Acharya Chandra Bali Pande's words Aurangzeb was a "benefactor of Hindi" and he adds: "During the Mughal regime, princes were taught Hindi also" Shibli Nomani's remark is worth quoting: "Never before, *Braj Bhasha* flourished as much as it did during Aurangzeb's rule. Muslims poets wrote Hindi poetry and Aurangzeb himself wrote poetry and prose in "*Braj Bhasha*"

Besides Kalidas Trivedi, says Acharya Pandey, Krishna, Samant and other Hindi court poets also praised Aurangzeb as

"*Aulia Aalamgir*". Nagendranath says: "Though Aurangzeb is regarded as an iconoclast and Hindu baiter, a perusal of his compositions refutes the charge and leads one to suspect the bona fides of his denigrators who were heavily biased against him.

Hindi poet Malukdas (1574-1682) was born at Kara in Allahabad. He was a follower of Kabir and decried idolatry and showy rituals. Once he was found repairing a broken drain, using bricks picked up from a crumbling mosque. A rumour soon spread that he intended to demolish the mosque. The matter ultimately came before Aurangzeb through the *subedar*. Impressed by Malukdas' arguments, Aurangzeb waived *jizya* on the area where Malukdas lived. It is said Fateh Khan, who brought Malukdas to emperor became a disciple of 'Malukdas and adopted the name Mir Madhawa.

Three other preceptors also lived in Aurangzeb's time. One of them was Udhodas, the founder of Satnami cult. He was born in Narnaul, Haryana.

The second was Pran Nath a Khatri who founded the Dharni sect and tried to propagate a faith combining Islam and Hinduism. He knew the holy Qur'an and *Hadees*. In his voluminous Gujarati-Hindi work, he tried to show that the Qur'an and the Vedas were not antithetical. Among his other works are "*Qayamat Namah*" (about the Doomsday) and 14 treatises and "*Qulzum Sharief*" or "*Qulzum Swaroop*". The third was a titan, Mirza Abdul Qadir "Bedil", whose fame as a *sufi* poet of extraordinary stature echoed across the entire Central Asia. Bedil was born at Azeemabad (Patna), died in 1720 and lies buried in Delhi opposite the Exhibition Ground and the Matka Peer shrine. Muhammad Yunus, the nephew of Frontier Gandhi Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, got the Bedil shrine landscaped anew in 1972.

Dara Shikoh, elder brother of Aurangzeb, was a well known scholar of Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and Hindi. He was also a *sufi* poet deeply interested in Vedantic thought. Dara enjoyed the company of Brahmins, monks and ascetics. He had become a disciple of Mullah Shah of Kashmir. Dara got the Vedas translated into Persian. He is remembered by his most famous work, "*Majmual Bahrein*", a comparative exposition of Islamic sufism and Hindu religious philosophy. Dara's other translations include *Upanishads*,

"*Sirrul Asraar*" or "*Sirr-e-Akbar*", Bhagwad Gita, Yogavashishta and Ramayana.

Aurangzeb's eldest son, Aazam was known for his love of Hindi poetry and patronised Hindi poet Dev (d. 1674). Dev would often recite his works, "*Bhav Vilas*" and "*Ashtayama*" to Aazam. Another Hindi poet, Nawaz, was a Muslim. Under Aazam's patronage, Nawaz wrote *Shakuntala natak* in both prose and poetry.

Another son of Aurangzeb, Muazzam was married to an Hindu princess. His contemporary, Aalam, a convert to Islam, was the author of "*Aalam Keli*".

Mughal Women of Excellence

Again unique in all the world was the multi-faceted excellence of women of the royal Mughal household. The first to appear in history was Humayun's sister, Gulbadan Bano Begum. Keeping up the tradition of her father, Babur, Gulbadan wrote an extensive account of her brother Humayun's reign (1530-1556), which is the richest source of original information on this period. Gulbadan had inherited her father's literary mastery in writing scintillating prose in Turki and Persian.

Humayun's niece, Sultana Salima was also an accomplished scholar. Jahangir's wife Nur Jahan combined beauty with intelligence. In the entire Indian history, there is no other woman who contributed as much to embellishing the way of living as did Nur Jahan. Iranian by birth, she represented the pinnacle of civilizational graces and accomplishments. And as surely she was a fine poet too. The evidence of her gifted poetry is inscribed as an epitaph on her grave in the Lahore fort built by Jahangir. It says:

*Bar mazaar-e-maa gharibaan, ne chiraaghe, ne gule.
Ne par-e-parwaana sozad, ne sadaa-i-bulbule.*

(On the grave of meek people like ours no lamp shall burn nor shall a flower be placed on the grave of this unfortunate woman. No moth will burn its wings on the lamp nor will cuckoo sing on my deserted resting place).

The greatest and the distinguished woman of the Mughal household was Jahan Ara, most favourite daughter of Shah Jahan

and the most respected elder sister of Aurangzeb. During the times of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, Jahan Ara commanded reverence next only to that for the emperor. Jahan Ara was a devotee of the *sufi* saint, Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia and wished to be buried near his feet. A touching epitaph graces her simple grave in the Hazrat Nizamuddin complex in Delhi. It says:

*"Baghair sabza na poshad kase mazaar ma-ra.
Ke khabarposh-e-gharibaan hameen syaah bas ast".*

(Let nothing but the grass cover my grave, for the lovely grass is the best cover for the grave of poor ones like me).

This is the humility of the most exalted woman of the Mughal dynasty whose humblest wish had the prestige of an imperial decree. Jahan Ara was a *sufi* poet and wrote several "*risaalahs*" (papers) on sufism. She built *sarais* for travellers and spent all her fortune—that was enormous, on charitable works. It is Jahan Ara who built the red stone Jama Masjid opposite the Red Fort in Agra. Shah Jahan copied the same architectural style in building his own Jama Masjid opposite the Red Fort in Delhi. During her lifetime, Jahan Ara was reverentially referred to as "*Padshah Begum*" (a title equal to that of the king).

However, the greatest woman poet of the Mughal household was Aurangzeb's daughter, Zebunnisa. Her poetry, adorned with most refined thought, exquisite imageries and rare sensitivity, has survived to this day. She was born to Aurangzeb's favourite wife Rabia Durrani, who was an Iranian princess with the name Dil Aara Bano, also known as Dilras Bano. The last of the Great Mughals, who never raised monumental edifices during his half-a-century rule, made just one exception. It was to build a mausoleum for Rabia Durrani in Aurangabad. It stands to this day. It is also, tragically, the last great building of the Mughal era. Zebunnisa used the pen name "*Makhfi*" (the concealed one). She was a scholar of Arabic, Turki, Persian and Hindi. "*Diwaan-e-Makhfi*", an anthology of her poems, occupies a respectful place in Indo-Iranian Persian literature.

Once an exuberant poet smuggled his romantic message to her. It said: "If I were to see you in a garden, I'd become a night-

ingale. If I were to behold you in an assembly. I 'd flutter around you like a moth. O, Light of the Assembly, do not display yourself before all, I wish to see you all for myself, clad in one vesture"

Zebunnisa felt offended and reprimanded the poet by composing the following verse:

*"Bulbul as gul baguzarad gar dar-e-chaman binad ma-ra.
But-parasti kai kunad, gar Brahman binad ma-ra.
Darsukhun "makhfi" shudam, manand-e-boo dar barg-e-gul,
Maayel-e-deedan har ke daarad, dar sukhun binad ma-ra.*

(The nightingale would rather leave the rose if it were to see me in the garden. How would the Brahman worship the idol, if he were to cast his eyes upon me? I have concealed myself in words of my verses as does fragrance in the rose petals. He who wishes to see me should better find me in my verses). *"Makhfi"* (her pen name) in the third line is a play on the word. The errant poet apologised profusely.

A Summing Up

The old historians of medieval India, by confining themselves to accounts of wars and conquests, have created an impression that early Muslim rulers were only rough and crude soldiers, with no cultural interests and without well formed views on proper governance. For a long time Western writers propagated the view that Islam spread by the might of the sword. This view has however now been abandoned in responsible circles. Apart from lack of evidence in its favour, the very distribution of Muslim population in India does not support this.

If the spread of Islam in the subcontinent had been due to the might of the Muslim kings, one would naturally expect large Muslim population in areas that remained under Muslim rule for long. However, it is not so. In and around Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Ahmedabad, Ahmednagar and Bijapur, the principal seats of Muslim political power, the percentage of Muslim population is very low indeed. Even in Mysore, where Tipu Sultan is accused of having converted people to Islam by force, Muslims barely number five percent of the total population of the state. On the other hand,

Islam was never a political force in Malabar, the Muslims today number nearly 30 per cent of its population, which is solely due to the peaceful spread of Islam by the pious *Sufis*.

Not a single Muslim ruler can be pointed out among the hundreds who ruled Delhi or in their regional dynastic capitals during the entire period from 712 to 1857, who was not a scholar or a man of letters. All of them had set up systems for multisided grooming of the royal princes and princesses. The best example is of Razia Sultan about whom we have already stated. As a result, scores of Muslims rulers became pioneers in many fields ranging from administration to arts and architecture. The outstanding example is Sher Shah Suri.

Each one of them patronised men of scholarship, culture and arts and the result was the greatest cultural inflorescence in Indian history. The best example is Ameer Khusrow, a personality of epochal dimensions the like of whom is not to be seen in any other land.

By their innate love for indigenous peoples and their arts etc. the Muslim rulers strengthened the cultural edifices in their own areas, leading to the rise of various dialects into literary languages in their own rights. The history of each regional language literature of India reveals the patronage extended by the local Muslims rulers. Barring the connection of religion, the Muslims who came to India were so thoroughly indigenised that politically, culturally and civilisationally, they became Indian Muslims, as distinct from Turki, Arab, Afghan or Iranian Muslims. And they defended their territories against incursions by their coreligionists, from Taimur to Ahmed Shah Abdali. The best example is Aurangzeb who defended his Indian empire by fighting all his life against Pathans, Bijapur, Golconda Muslims and Jat, Rajput and Sikhs non Muslims, none of whom had a clear nationalistic vision.

But for these great and farsighted Muslim rulers, India would have been a patchworks panorama of half a dozen colonial powers of the West controlling various parts of India, as they did in Africa. If there had not been a long, unbroken spell of Muslim rule, the Portuguese, Dutch, French and British invaders would have carried on conversions to such large extent that India would have been a

Christian majority country, as the Philippines became in less than a century of European occupation.

The last great miracle of Muslim rule was that, for preserving their own dynasties, they freely fought against each other in alliances with various hues of non-Muslim rulers, right from the time of Mahmood Ghaznavi to the time of Tipu Sultan. Their non-religious, political and military alliances created a deep seated consciousness of overall Indianness, *Hindustaniyat*. Its best example is the unity with which all Indians spontaneously and unitedly rose against the British during the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny.

It was in the aftermath of the great uprising that the British imperialists regime began manufacturing Indian history to divide Hindus and Muslims. The falsified, fabricated, invented and distorted Indian history could never explain why the Indians rose to as one in the 1857 uprising, if Hindus and Muslims were each other's enemies.

In respect of language and literature, Persian, as official language during the Muslim rule, created a profound and enriching impact on all of Indian languages. Muslims are largely responsible for the development of various dialects developing into one unified *Khadi Boli*, which, as Hindi, is now India's official language.

The enrichment of Hindi language and literature in every manner and in every respect is detailed in the chapters that follow. As a result, the Hindi-Urdu combination now makes these tongues the second largest linguistic group in the world and enables Indians, with its mixed vocabulary to communicate with nearly half the world from the deserts of Mongolia to the shores of Africa and from the Turk lands of Europe to the Malay lands in the Pacific.

The achievements of Indian ethos and thought are embodied in the poetry that developed from 712 to 1857 and, as its result, in the decades thereafter right down to our times. An eloquent embodiment of this is the lyrics of Indian Cinema that dominate the lives of people in 110 countries. Just one word, "*duniya*", that everyone understands wherever Indian films are shown, is really Arabic.

II

ISLAM AND SUFISM AS REFLECTED IN HINDI LITERATURE

We have dealt with the patronage extended by Muslim rulers to knowledge, learning and literature, including Hindi literature and service to Sanskrit learning by way of translations of Sanskrit classics. A shade more important has been the impact of Muslims in the domain of spiritual interaction. The work of the *Sufis* in the spread of Islam and in the realm of Hindi literature has outlasted Muslim rule that ended in mid-19th century, leaving behind monumental evidence.

The culture of India has been likened to a flowing river that is joined and reinforced by several streams. The assimilative tendency of Indian culture is reflected in the Hindi literature, which came into prominence with the advent of Muslims and grew into a national phenomenon under the patronage of Muslim rulers from Kashmir to Gujarat, Gujarat to Bengal and from Bengal to the Deccan.

The Hindi poets remained in close contact with the Muslim courts and benefited from Muslim *sufi* saints and the vast reservoir of Persian poetry, to which they got easy access because of their learning in the official language of the Emperors and Sultan.

The Hindi poets, thanks to the prolonged and extensive contact with Muslims, got well acquainted with Islam and Muslim culture, manners and religion. In the work, which is the first ever study of the extent and nature of the impact of the influence of Islam and Muslims on the Hindi poetry, these themes have been discussed in a schematized manner.

Islam

An Arabic word, Islam means unquestioning surrender to the will of Allah, the one and the only God Muslims know and worship. Islam also means to enter peace.

Islam is unlike any other religion. It is called "*deen*", not "*mazhab*". It is an all-embracing religion that controls every aspect of individual and collective life, from birth till death. Unlike any other religion, Islam is essentially a collective religion.

No other religion enjoins its followers to respect the Rights of Allah (*Huqooq-al-Allah*), and the Rights of Fellow Human-beings (*Huqooq-al-Ibad*). Above all Islam is a religion of Love, love for Allah and love for His creation, animate and inanimate alike.

Dadu Dyal (1544-1603), like his contemporary Narhari, knew this aspect of Islam and wrote:

*Allah Asikan Iman,
Bhist dozakh deen duniya, chikare Rahman.
Meer meeri peer peeri, firistan farman,
Aab atis asar kursi, deedani deewan.
Har do aalam, khalaq khana, Momina Islam.*¹

*Bhay bhuli bhupati sant Islam sangh kah.*²

Islam in India

Islam was not the first religion to enter India from outside. Zoroastrianism (religion of the Parsis), Christianity and Judaism had preceded it. But no other religion took such firm roots and interacted with local people and their several faiths so intensively and extensively and impacted on every aspect of life in India, as did Islam. None, at the same time, received as much from local cultures, as did Islam.

Like the other preceding religions that came to India, Islam also took the sea route. Muslim traders, mariners, explorers, schol-

1. *Dadu Bani*, part- II, p. 166.

2. *Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 328.

ars and *sufi* saints arrived by sea in various coastal regions of India, Kerala and Tamilnadu in particular. They were original *Sunni* Muslims and almost entirely of Arab stock. They settled in coastal areas, intermarried and raised mixed households. Because they were literate, knew accounts keeping, were well versed in maritime and trade affairs and had many other skills, they were immediately given charge of overseas trade matters, accounts keeping and revenue, and similar other duties by the local rulers.

Nearly a century later, Islam arrived in India as a political force, when the Governor of Baghdad of the Muslim Ummaiyad caliphate at Damascus, chose Muhammad Bin Qasim, a lad in his teens, to command the first Muslim military expedition into India via Makran coast, Baluchistan then was probably part of the Iranian empire which Muslim Arabs had already subdued. So Muhammad bin Qasim went on conquering the Sindh Valley as far as the foothills of Shivaliks.

This happened in 712 AD. From there on the Muslim rule never lapsed in the northwest. By the 10th century, it had extended to the plains of Punjab and Haryana. From there on, Muslim conquest extended to entire North India. Then it covered the Peninsular India during the *Saltanat* and Mughal rule. And until 1804, when East India Company captured Delhi on the pretext of helping the beleaguered Mughal emperor, the Muslim chapter of Indian history can be dated as 712 to 1804. It remained nominal rule until 1857, when the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar was exiled to Myanmar, and India came under the British control.

The socio-cultural imprint of Islam on Indian life and society was a reflection of the characteristics of the new religion. With its strong tradition of spiritual and social democracy, Islam presented a contrast to Hinduism wherein caste reigned supreme and spiritual and intellectual endeavour was restricted to the higher caste of Brahmins.

After contact with Islam, the character of the Hindu society began to change, with the growth of a new concept of human and inter-personal relationships. In due course of time, Hindu reformisms tinged with the teachings and impact of Islam surfaced in the

revolutionary movements of Shankara, Nanak and Chaitanya. They denounced the iron-clad caste system and emphasised the importance of good deeds, rather than the birth.

A large number of dialects, similar to one another, then coalesced under the Muslim rule and because of the patronage of Muslim rulers to become the lingua franca of a vast region from Peshawar to Dhaka and from Dhaka to Golconda (Hyderabad). (This now constitutes the Hindi-Urdu region).

The earliest literary form of Hindi was called *Apbharansh*, in which the first literary works appeared during the Muslim rule. Ever since the contact of Hindi poetry and poets with Muslim courts, saints of the *Sufi* cults, and Persian poets remained unbroken.

The expected outcome was an intimate acquaintance with Islam, Muslim practices, beliefs and Islamic terminology, which we find incessantly documented in Hindi poetry. Let us recall these.

Momin

The Arabic word is derived from another Arabic word, *Imaan*, meaning faith. The faithful, who believe in Allah, His prophets, the Revealed books they were given by Allah and the Last Day, are called *Momins*. Though in the holy Qur'an, the word *Momin* refers to all the three branches of the Faith of Ibrahim (Abraham), namely Judaism, Christianity and Islam, in India, *Momin* is generally taken to be a Muslim alone.

So 'Momin' man mein kari jani, Sathe saboori waise aani.¹

So 'Momin' mom dil hoi, Sani ko pahinchane soi.²
Jor na Kare, haraam na khai, So 'Momin' bhist men jai.³

The above lines describe the qualities of a *momin*: a *momin* is kind of heart, has forbearance, has kind heart soft like wax, knows his Creator, does not resort to coercion, nor does he take what is unlawful and forbidden, and so he will abide in the heaven).

1. *Da'ir Bani*, part-1, p. 129.

2, 3. *Ibid.*

Muslim

Muslim is one who has embraced Islam. It is no different from *Momin*, except that the word strictly applies to the followers of Prophet Muhammad. Keeping in view the attributes of a Muslim (or Musalman), Guru Nanak says:

*'Musalman' kahavan muskalu, Ja hoi ta Musalman kahavai.
Awli Auli deenu kari mittha, maskalmana malu musawai.
Hoi Muslim deen muhane, maran jivan ka bharam chukawae.
Rab ki razai manai sir upari, karta mane aapu gawawai.
Tao Nanak sarb jeeaa mohram mati, hoi ta Musalmaan Kahvai.¹*

(It is no easy task to be a Musalman. Yet one must assert the right to be called a Muslim, because the Musalman regards the faith of the Allah as sweet and spends his hard earned money in the cause of Allah).

In another shabad (saying), Guru Nanak says mosque teaches a man to be kind and the *musalla* (prayer-mat) inspires him to be truthful. What is lawful (*halaal*) and what is *haraam* (unlawful, prohibited) can be learned from the Qur'an. By acting upon the sayings of the Prophet, man learns modesty and propriety of conduct. Fasting teaches him to be patient. One becomes a Muslim only when he follows those tenets:

*Mihar maseet sidaku musalla, Haku halalu Kuran.
Saram sunnati, sila roja, hou Musalmaan.
Karani Kaaba sachu peeru, kalama karam niwaj.
Tasbi sa tisu bhawsi, Nanak rakhe laj.²*

(In this *shabad*, *maseet*— mosque, *sidaku*— Truth, *halalu*— Lawful, *Sunnati*— the tradition of the Prophet, *Ka'ba*— the shrine in Makkah, *Kalama*— the profession of faith in One God, *tasbih*— counting of beads, *peer*— the preceptor or saint, and *karam*— Divine kindness are all Muslim concepts.

Maluk Das and Dadu Dayal too knew the Muslim concepts:

Musalman jo rakhai man, sain ka manai farman.

1. Nanak Bani, p. 181.

2. Nanak Bani, p. 179.

*Saaron kaon Sukhdai hoi, Musalman kar jane soe.
Musalman mihir gahi rahai, sab ko sukh, kishi nahi dahe dukh.¹*

*Sab koi saheb bandate, Hindu Musalman.²
Musalman kahe ek khudai, Kabira ko swami ghate rahyo samai.³*

Dadu adopts a unifying approach and calls Hindus and Muslims as the two eyes of the Mother.

*Sab Ham dakhya sodhi kari, Dooja nahin aan.
Sab ghar aikai aatma, Kya Hindu, Musliman.
(Dadu) dono bhai haath pag, dono bhai kaan.
Dono bhai nain hain, Hindu Musalman.⁴*

The Qura'n and Hadees

The Qur'an is the holy book of Islam revealed to Prophet Muhammad (570-632 A.D.). The first revelation was brought to the Prophet by Arch angel *Jibrael* (Gabriel) in the Hira cave near Makkah in 610. The revelations continued until 632, over period of 23 years. The Qur'an consists of 6,640 aayaats (verses) comprising 540 *rukus* compiled into 114 *surahs* (chapters) divided for convenience of recitation into 30 volumes. Qur'an is the word of God which is guaranteed by Allah to remain unchanged till the last day. The holy Qur'an at several places declares it to be the word of Allah given to the Prophet for the well being of entire mankind: "A Book which we have revealed unto thee in order that thou mightst lead mankind out of depths of darkness into light. Thus we sent this down an Arabic Qur'an. We have sent down to thee the Book Truth". (Al-Qur'an: Surah Ibrahim 14 verse 1). In *Guru Granth Sahab*, Guru Nanak is quoted as saying: "In *Kaliyug*, the only authentic book is the Qur'an:

*Kali parvan kateb Kurane pothui pandit rahe puran.
Nanak nao bhaiya Rahman, kari karta tu eko jan.⁵*

-
1. *Dadu Bani*, part I, pp. 128-29.
 2. *Maluk Bani*, p. 37.
 3. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 150.
 4. *Dadu Bani part, I*, p. 223.
 5. *Nanak Vani*, pp. 89, 127, 501.

Sufi saint poet Malik Muhammad Jayisi (1492-1542) in the “*stuti*” part of his magnum opus, “*Padmavat*” refers to the Qur'an as “a revealed book”. Others *Sufi* and non-*Sufi* poets, such as Dadu, Kabir, Rai Das also mention the holy book.

*Jo 'Puran' vidhi pathwa soi padath granth.
Aur jo bhule aavat so suni lagai panth.*¹

“*Hadees*” (plural: *Ahadees*) is called the tradition in English. It is the saying of the holy Prophet. Four massive volumes by separate compilers are considered the most authentic collections of the holy Prophets sayings. *Ahadees* are considered next only to the Qur'an in importance. To follow them is called “*Sunnat*”. *Ahadees* are often used by the Hindi *sufi* saint poets in their poetry. At places, these quotes in their poetry read almost like translations of the Arabic original.

*Pratham jyoti bidhi takar Saaji, Au ti-hi precti Sihiti upraji.*²

Besides *Sufis*, even other poets, such as Maluk Das have quoted *Hadees*:

*Jo pyase ko deve paani, badi bandahgi Muhammad mani.
Jo bhookhke ko annkhuwawe, so sitab sahib ko pave.*³
*Tan man saunj sanwari sab, rakhe biswabees.
So sahib sumirai nahin, Dadu bhani Hadees.*⁴

Allah

Pagan Arabs worshipped Allah, above all other hundreds of gods. But they never made an idol of Allah, whom they considered supreme God. Allah is a unique word. It has no number nor gender nor degree. The Pagan Arabs did not give this name to any other idol god they worshipped. References to Allah frequently occur in Hindi poetry in exactly the same sense as Muslims believe: the Supreme One God. For example:

-
1. Jayisi Granthavali (*Padmavat*), p. 5.
 2. Jayisi Granthavali (*Padmavat*), p. 4.
 3. Maluk Das ki Bani, p. 22.
 4. Dadu Bani, part I, p. 176.

*"Allah ka nam sach hai, alakh hai,
Niranjan hai agam hai, paak hai"*

(Allah is Truth, He is Invisible, Transcendental, Inaccessible, Holy.)

According to Maluk Das, if man forgets Allah, he weeps, and wails, Nanak asks everyone to remember Allah with utmost sincerity and cheerfulness. Dadu upholds His Unity.

*(Dadu) "Alif" ek Allah ka, jo parhi kari jane koi
Kuran kateb ilam sab, parhi kari poore hoi.¹*

Attributes of Allah (*Sifaat-e-Ilahi*)

Other Hindi poets mention Allah with his attributes (*Sifaat-e-Ilahi*):

*Aikai nav Allah ka, padhi haafiz hua,²
Allah alakh niranjan dev.³
Baba Allahu agan aparu,
Paki nai pak yai chach "Parwardigaaru",⁴
Sancha naam Allah ka, soi sati kari jani.⁵*

In the invocation part of their compositions, Sufi poets described the attributes of Allah in terms similar to those used in the Qur'an.

*Jati noor Allah ka, sifati arwah,
Sifati sijda kare, Jati be-parwah.⁶
Saachi teri sifati, saachi salah,
Saachi teri kudrati, sache patishah.⁷*

The Qur'an says:

"Say: If the ocean were ink (with which to write out) the words of my Lord, sooner would the ocean be exhausted than would the words of my Lord, if We added another ocean like it, for its aid".⁸

-
1. Dadu Bani, part I, p. 23.
 2. Dadu Bani, part I, p. 23.
 3. Kabir Granthavali, p. 149.
 4. Nanak Vani, p. 131.
 5. Dadu Bani, p. 129.
 6. Dadu Bani, part I, p. 182.
 7. Nanak Vani, p. 325.
 8. Al-Qur'an: Surah Al-Kahaf (18) Verse. 108-109).

Says Jayisi:

*Ati apar karta kar karna, Varni na koe pave barna.
Saatsaragjan kagad karai, Dharti samud duhoon masi bharai.*

Sab likhani kai likhu sansara, Likhai na jai gati samud apaara.¹

Compare this what the Qur'an says:

"And if all the trees on earth were pens and the oceans (were ink), with seven oceans behind it to add to its (supply), yet would not the words of Allah be exhausted (in the writing); for Allah is exalted in power, full of Wisdom".

(*Al-Qur'an: Surah: Luqman (31): Verse 27*)

The "word" here means the attributes of Allah.

A similar description is available in Jayisi's "*Aakhri Kalaam*":

*Taake astuti keenhi na jae, kaune jeebh main karun barai.
Jagat pataal jo sainte koi, lehni birakh, samud masi hoi.
Lagai likhai sisti mili jai, samud ghatai, pai likhi na jai.²*

The names of many attributes of Allah are collectively called "*Asmaa-i-Hasna*", such as Rab (Pervardigar in Persian), Subhan (holy), Khaliq (Creator), Rahman (the most Gracious), Rahim (the most Merciful), Karim (Bestower), Rahim (the most Merciful), Qadir (Almighty), Razzaq (Sustainer), Sultan (Ruler), Ma'bood (Worthy of Worship), Ghani (free from want) etc.

Hindi poets mention many of these divine names:

Sach sirdan sachai jani ai sachra, Parvardigar.³

Manwan mulla boliyea, surta hai Subhan.⁴

-
1. Jayisi *Granthavali (Padmavat)*, p. 4.
 2. *Aakhri Kalam*, p. 341 and Jayisi *Granthavali, Padmavat*, p. 4.
 3. *Nanak Vani*, p. 378.
 4. *Dadu Bani*, part I, p. 130.

Khaliq si sikasta main tera.¹

Dadu wonders who can fathom the creation of Almighty. Nanak says in *Kaliyug* people do not mutter prayers but remember *Rahman* and Qur'an in the most authentic book in the *Kaliyug*. *Rahman* is all powerful. Only those who are wise are devoted to Him.

*Kali parvanu kateb Kuran, pothi pandit rahe puraan.
Nanak nau bhai Rahman, Kari karta tu eko jaan.²*

Dadu agrees:

Dadu kudrati bahu hairana, kahan ye rakhi rahe Rahimana.³

Maluk Das seeks His mercy (*raham*) and begs to be spare of His *kurham* (wrath). Tansen also invokes His *raham* (mercy).

As mentioned in "*Dabistaan*", Dadu Dayal was a cobbler from Naraina in the Marwar region of Rajasthan. Disregarding his humble position, emperor Akbar gave him audience at Fatehpur Sikri. He spent most of his time in wandering in Rajasthan. During these wanderings and presumably influenced by *Sufis*, Dadu rejected sectarianism. A song of his opens with a loud proclamation of "*Tauheed*", Unity of God.

Alakh Elahi jagatguru, duja nahin koi.

Dadu also says: "I have found God is Unchanging, Immortal, Fearless, Self-existent, Almighty, Unimaginable, Unseen, Infinite and Incomprehensible. All worship in due to Him, and Him alone".

Dadu disowned the six schools of philosophy and declared: "I am not a Hindu, nor a Musalman. I love the Merciful God".

Rai Das made no distinction between Krishna and *Karim*, the Vedas and the Qur'an and denigrated those who differentiated between them:

-
1. *Raidas ke Bani*, p. 29.
 2. *Nanak Bani*, p. 501.
 3. *Dadu Bani*, part II, p. 21.

*Krshna Karim, Ram, Hari, Raghav, jab lag ek na pekha.
Bed, Kateb, Kuran Puranan, Sahaj ek nahin dekha.*¹

Rai Das also recognised Him as “*Qadir*” (the Sovereign). Nanak uses the word thus:

Kadir kudrati lakhi na jai.

A line in Rai Das is a verbatim reiteration of an attribute of Allah as mentioned in the Qur'an:

*Awwal aakhir Ilah, Adam farishta banda.*²

The Qur'an says:

“*Hu-al Awwal, Hual Aakhir*” (He is the Beginning, He is the End).

Creation of Man

Hindu system of beliefs hold that God is possessed of a form and link the creation in father-son, husband-wife, relationship. To subscribe to such an idea would be “*shirk*” (polytheism) in Islam and hence blasphemy. Hindi poets' description of creation of man reflects Qur'anic thinking. Says: Rai Das:

*Napaid to paida kiya, paimaal karat na bar be.*³

In Verse 2 of *Surah Al-Insaan-Ad-Dahar* (76), the Qur'an says: “Verily we created man from a drop of mingled sperm...”.

Maluk Das says:

*Naam hamaara khaak hai, hum khaaki bande.
Khaki ti paida kiya, ati gaafil gande.
Har dam tiske yad kar, jin wajud sanwaara.
Sabai khaak-dar-khaak hai, kuch samajh ganwaara.*⁴

In Islam, all universe, including man, is Allah's creation and Allah becomes neither part of His creation nor creation becomes

-
1. *Raidas ke Bani*, p. 4.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
 4. *Maluk Das Ki Bani*, p. 15.

part of Him; neither does Allah take a human form; nor does He perish. Man was born at His command and is predestined to perish, while Allah never dies, nor is He created by others. In *Surah Al-Ikhlaas* (112), the Qur'an says:

"Say: He is Allah, the One; Allah, the Eternal, the Absolute; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; And there is none like unto Him".

Kabir and Dadu Dayal were aware of the Muslim belief. Dadu says:

*Rao rank sab marenge, jive nahin koi.
Soi kahive jeevata, jo mar jiva hoi.*

(*Dadu Bani*, p. 192)

Creation of Universe

According to Hindu philosophy, universe was created as a part of *Brahma* on the analogy of fire and spark. However the Torah, the Bible and the Qur'an maintain the Allah commanded:

"Kun" (Be) and "Fayakoon" (it was)... .

(*Al-Qur'an. Surah Al-Baqar* (2) Verse 117)

See what the Hindi poets say about creation:

*Aik "shabad" (Kun) kuchh kiya, aisa samrath soi.¹
Hukmai aawa hukmai Jaai, agai peechhe hukmi.²
Pal manh teerath keen sab, bhog bhugat sab deen.
As daata kartar ki nakas bholo lo leen.³*

Jayisi and Shaikh Nabi reiterate the Qur'anic view:

Hai Jehi naad jagat yeh karo.

Arsh

Arsh is a mysterious Qur'anic term that has neither been properly understood nor explained. According to the Qur'anic references at many places, it is the centre of the Cosmos, or the highest

-
1. *Dadu Bani*, part 1, p. 184, 188.
 2. *Nanak Vani*, p. 57.
 3. *Hans Jawahar*, p. 3.
 4. *Anurag Bansuri*, p. 46.

heaven. In common understanding, Arsh is high above and *Farsh* is *Zameen* (earth). The Hindi poets have used Aasman (sky) and *Zameen* (earth) and *Arsh* (highest heaven) and *Farsh* (meaning floor and implying the earth) as contrasts. Says Dadu:

*Apai aap aras ke oopar, jahan rahe Rahman,
Dadu aras khudai ka, Ajravar ka than.¹*

Brevity of Earthly Life

The Qur'an says:

"All that is on earth will perish. But will abide (forever) the Face of thy Lord. Full of Majesty, Bounty and Honour"

(*Al-Quran: Surah: Ar-Rahman, (55), Verses: 26-27*)

In another *Surah*, the Qur'an says:

"Know ye (all) that the life of this world is but play and a pastime, adornment and mutual boasting and multiplying, (in rivalry), among your selves, riches and children.

"Here is a similitude: How rain and growth which it brings forth, delight (the hearts of) the tillers: soon it withers, thou wilt see it grow yellow, then it becomes dry and crumbles away...".

(*Al-Qur'an: Surah Al-Hadeed (57): Verses 20-21*)

Maluk Das also regards the world as "*nacheez*" (nothing worthwhile² and Kabir calls it "*khalak ko chabina*"³)

Rai Das and Maluk Das say:

*Ye duniya nacheez hai iske jo ashiq howe,
Bhulle jat khudai ko, sir dhun dhun rowe.⁴
Tan man dhan nahin aapna, nahin sut au nari,
Bichhurat bar na laagai, jiya dakhu beechari.⁵*

Meera says:

Is dehi ka garab na karna, maati mein mil jasi.⁶

-
1. Dadu Bani, part I, p. 63, 195.
 2. Maluk Das ki Bani, p. 16.
 3. Kabir Granthavali, p. 56.
 4. Rai Das ki Bani, p. 16.
 5. Maluk Bani, p. 21.
 6. Meera, p. 71.

Kabir likens earthly life to a water bubble:

*Yeh tan jal ka budbuda, binsat nahin bar.
Paani kera budbuda aisi hamaari jat,
Ek dina chhip jahiga, taare jyon parbhat.¹*

Jinns

“And He created *jinns* from the fire free of smoke”, says Verse 15 of *Surah Ar-Rahman* (55) of the Qur’an. At other places too there are references to the *jinns* in the Qur’an. Satan is also referred to as *jinn*. References to *jinns* and angels abound in Hindi literature, revealing the poets’ close contact with and understanding of Islam and Muslims:

*Kali andari Nanaka, jinnan da autaru.
Putu jinnura dhi jinnuri jauru jinnan da sikdaru.²*

In another *Surah*, it is mentioned:

“We created man from sounding clay from mud moulded into shape. And the *jinn* race. We had created before, from the fire of a scorching wind”. (*Al-Qur’an: Surah Al-Hajar* (15): Verses 26-27).

Angels

The fact that Hindi poets display an unerring knowledge about the angels mentioned in the Qur’an is the ultimate proof of the impact of Islam.

Jayisi mentions all four great angels named in the Holy Qur’an:

*Kal firistan kare jo hoi, koi na jage, nisi asi hoi,
Jibrail-o-mikaayil-o-Asrafeel-o-Azrayilo.³*

At another place, Nanak says:

*Sidku saboori sadika, sabru tosa malaika.
Deedaru poora paisa, thai nahin khaika.⁴*

1. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 57.

2. *Nanak Vani*, p. 366.

3. *Jayisi Granthavali*, p. 306, 347, 303, 338, 339, 361.

4. *Nanak Vani*, p. 168.

Jayisi gives a detailed account of the *malaika* (angels) in the context of *Qayamat* (Doomsday) in his *Akhravat* and *Akhri Kalam*. Hindi poets have mentioned each one of the four angels.

Arch-Angel Gabriel (*Jibrael*)

Al-Qur'an describes *Jibrael* as "powerful" and "trust holding", who conveys Allah's "*Wahi*" (revelation) to His prophets. He is the most honoured angel in rank. Says:

Muhammad kis ke deen mein, Jibrael kis rah.¹
Hai Jamraj kanan Jibrael hai?²

Izrael

According to the Qur'an, *Izrael* is assigned to wrench the souls out of all living beings on the Doomsday.

Ajrail kanh begi bulavai. Jeev kahan lagi sabai liyave.³

And Nanak says:

Duniya muqaam-e-faani, tehqiq dil daani.
Mam sar muae Izrael giriftah dil haich na daani.⁴

Israfeel

According to the Qur'an, on Allah's command, this angel will blow the trumpet and the collapse of the Universe will commence. He is the one who will, on Allah's command, herald the *Qayamat*, Doomsday. Says Jayisi:

Puni Israfeel ahi farmaye, phooke sab sansar uraye,
Dei mukh sur bhare jo sansa, dole dharti lapat akasa.⁵

Mikaayil (Michael)

On Allah's command, *Mikaayil* brings rain, sustenance and abundance. On the Day of Resurrection too, Allah will command *Mikaayil* to cause rain.

-
1. *Dadu Bani*, Part 1, p. 166.
 2. *Maluk Bani*, p. 27.
 3. *Jayisi Granthavali*, pp. 345-348.
 4. *Nanak Vani*, p. 427.
 5. *Jayisi Granthavali*, p. 345, 346, 347.

*Puni Mikaayil aayasu paye, un bahu bhanti megh barsaye.
Mikaayil puni kahav bulai, barasahu megh prithvi jai.¹*

Azazeel (Lucifer)

Azazeel is better known as *Iblis* (Lucifer), the angel of the highest rank who fell to disgrace for disobeying Allah's command to bow before *Adam*. Because of his learning piety and devotion to Allah, he had been honoured as "*Muallimul Malkut*" (preceptor of angels). He became arrogant. When asked to bow before Man whom Allah created out of clay, *Azazeel* claimed superiority over *Adam* (man) saying: "Thou created me from fire". Allah punished him for his arrogance and exiled him from His presence and declared him to be a permanent enemy of man. The pious men and women are ordered by Allah to keep distance from *Iblis* and to be ever vigilant against his machinations. In *Sufi* literature *Azazeel* is referred to as *Iblis*, *Shaitan* or *Narad*. In "*Aakh ki Burhia*" (The Old Woman of *Aakh* plant), Ameer Kusrow presents a riddle, thus:

Ek burhia Shaitaan ki khala, sir sufaid aur munh hai kaala.²

Sundar Das says: "If you conquer the carnal soul (*Shaitan*), you will never be drowned". Nanak suggests various means to be rid of *Shaitan*'s snares:

*Nafas Shaitaan koon kaid kar apne,
kyu dun mein phir khay gota?³
Sifati sar na janni sada base saitanu.⁴*

Nanak also believes Satan dwells in those who do evil and know not God. He warns people to beware of one who fasts during *Ramazan* and offers five daily prayers and yet entertains *Shaitan*.

*Teeh kari rakhe panji kari sathi, nau saitanu matu kadhi jai
Nanak aakhe rah pe chalna, Malu dhanu kitkoo sanji ahi.⁵*

-
1. *Jayisi Granthavali*, p. 345, 346, 347.
 2. *Khusrow Ki Hindi Kavita*, p. 17.
 3. *Sunder Vilas*, p. 12.
 4. *Nanak Vani*, p. 468.
 5. *Nanak Vani*, p. 126.

Rasool—Nabi

Prophets have been called "*Rasool*" (those sent by Allah) or "*Nabi*" (those who call people to Allah and warn of the Day of Judgement). Because of prolonged Persian influence some Persian words, deviating from original Arabic meaning, such as *Khuda* and *Parvardigar* (for Allah) and *Paighambar* (for prophet) became common currency during the *Saltanat* and Mughal periods when Persian was dominant. Remarkably, Hindi poets have used all these words: *Rasool*, *Paighambar* and *Nabi*. Says Jayisi in "*Aakhri Kalaam*"

Bas subas leu hain jahaan, nanv rasool pukarsi tehan.¹
Sawa laakh paighambar sirjeu, satkhand baikunth sanwareu.²
Nabi naal Paighambar, peero handa than ve.³

The Prophets**Aadam (Adam)**

Jews, Christians and Muslims believe Allah created man from clay and called him *Aadam* (Adam). From Adam descended all mankind. References to Adam are available in Hindi and are in conformity with the Qur'anic view.

Tum kartar jagat ke raja, tum anoop Aadam upraja.⁴

It may be noted that the poet is referring to the Qur'anic concept of man being the deputy (*Khalifa*) of Allah, in the word, "*upraaja*".

Ameer Khusrow refers to the faltering ("*chook*") of Adam in heeding Satan's instigation in Paradise. Allah had commanded Adam and Eve not to approach the forbidden tree. But Adam and Eve did approach the forbidden tree and ate the fruit thereof. For this lapse Allah command Adam, Eve and Satan to leave the Paradise. Says Khusrow:

Chook bhai kuchh wase aisi des chor bhaye pardesi.⁵

Hindi poets describe all those storeis that are mentioned in the Qur'an about Adam.

-
- 1, 2. Jayisi *Granthavali: Aakhri Kalaam*, p. 347, 348, 357.
 3. Dadu Bani, part II, p. 129.
 4. Hans Jawahar, p. 5.
 5. Khusrow *Ki Hindi Kavita (Adam Ki Paheli)*, p. 23.

In *Hans Jawahar*, it is said:

Adam aadi jo purush sanwara, sab sukh deen kahn sardara.¹
Adi pita main aisa jana, ka dukh lai khai mak dana.²

Nuh (Noah)

In *Surah "Nuh"* (17), *Surah "Al-Anbia"* (21) and other chapters (*surahs*) of the holy Qur'an, details about Prophet Nuh and the Great Deluge have been given.

In Hindi, the tale of Nuh is well known. Jai Shankar Prasad's "*Kamayani*" is a fine example, about the great event in the history of mankind, Qasim Shah says:

Tum jal oopar desh basawa, Tum hi oopar shabd uthawa.
Nuh nabi jo bhohit pyaara, Tum khevak parle tab phera.³

Jayisi says:

Nuh kahin jab parlai aawa, Sab jab bod, raheen chadhi nava.⁴

Ibrahim (Abraham)

Surah 14 in the Qur'an is titled: *Ibrahim*, and tentatively describes a part of his life. More references to Prophet Ibrahim are found at many other places in the Qur'an. Because of his devotion to Allah, Ibrahim is also called "*Khaleelullah*" (Friend of Allah). He is second after Nuh among the five most revered prophets. (The others after him are Moses, Jesus and Muhammad).

Major events of Ibrahim's life are quite well known to anyone who knows anything about Islam: his conflict with his idol-making father in the cause of monotheism; his father ordering him into exile; his conflict with the king Nimrod who threw him into burning fire that on Allah's command turned into a flower garden his, being the patriarch of three great people—Jews, Christians and Muslims; and, most importantly his raising the walls of *Ka'ba* at the command of Allah. Since Ibrahim raised the walls of *Ka'ba*, it

1, 2. *Hans Jawahar*, p. 2, 195.

3. *Hans Jawahar*, p. 5.

4. *Jayisi Granthavali, (Aakhri Kalam)*, p. 352.

has remained the centre of pilgrimage. After him and his son Prophet Ismael (Ishmael), their people returned to idolatry. By Divine will Muhammad, descended from *Ismael* and his father Abraham, rebuilt the *Ka'ba* even before he became the Prophet. On regaining the *Ka'ba* of Ibrahim, the apostle of monotheism Prophet Muhammad threw out the 360 idols the Pagan Arab worshipped there. It is to be noted that from Ibrahim to Muhammad (PBUH), the prophethood remained in the House of Ibrahim.

Writing about Prophet Ibrahim, Qasim Shah in "*Hans Jawahar*", (p. 5) refers to him by his epithet, "*Khaleel*", and describes Nimrud's fire becoming the flower garden for Ibrahim:

Jo Khalil puni sharan tumhari, Jarat aag kini phulwari.

The same event is also referred to in "*Madhumalati*" (Stanza 178, p. 150):

Jai garhe sumeren kartara, Bhaya takanah phulwari angara.

Jayisi says:

Ibrahim kah, kas na kahtyon, Baat nahe bin main na rahtyon.

(*Jayisi Granthavali: Aakhri Kalaam*, p. 352)

Yusuf (Joseph)

Prophet *Yusuf* is described in *Surah "Yusuf"* (12) as a matchlessly beautiful person. Son of Yaqub (Prophet Jacob), Yusuf was thrown into a well by his jealous brothers. Rescued from the well by a caravan, he was sold to the Egyptians. He was taken as a slave by a state dignitary whose wife (Zulekha) later fell in love with him and tried to seduce him. Yusuf was proved guileless and rose to become the ruler of Egypt, thus providing the Jews a home in Egypt. Readers will find more details of the love tale about Yusuf and Zulekha in later chapters. Here one quote from "*Hans Jawahar*" (p. 5) will suffice:

Yusuf pare kop andhiyara, Tumhi Misar pat baithare.

(Though you, Yusuf were thrown into a dark well, you became the ruler).

Yunus (Jonah)

Surah Yunus (10) mentions about the travail of Prophet Yunus when he was thrown into the sea and a large fish caught him. He was saved by Allah and repented whereupon Allah relieved him of the poison of the fish.

This is referred to in "*Hans Jawahar*" (p. 5) thus:

Yunus pade meen mukh manha, Tere bhajan sukh taha.

Moosa (Moses)

A descendant of Patriarch Ibrahim, Moosa is the third most revered prophet in the reckoning of Muslims. Prophet Moosa is the most referred to apostle of God in the holy Qur'an. Nearly half of the *surahs* refer to him. A detailed account of his life is however given in *Surah "Ta Ha"* (20). Many things about him are common knowledge to Hindi poets, such as his *asa* (staff) with which he performed all the miracles that overawed and frightened his enemy, the tyrant ruler of Egypt, Pharaoh; his talking with Allah and seeing His light on the mountain Tur; his flight from Egypt and death in the Red Sea of his pursuer, Pharaoh and his people. The chapter "*Exodus*" in the holy Bible deals with this epochal event. Among the numberless references to Prophet Moosa in Hindi literature, ... some are quoted here:

Mahar ka asa' aur tamsa bhi mehar ka.

"*Rai Das Ki Bani*" (p. 31) refers to the staff of Moosa and to the other miracle he was given: his right hand when pressed against his breast inside his coat would shine like the sun. Pharaoh worshipped sun and this miracle of Moosa frightened him.

*Moosa panth nair mukh deena,
Paar bhayo so tum kahn pahina.*

(*Jaiysi Granthavali*, (p. 341) and "*Hans Jawahar*" (p. 5) refers to Moses crossing the Red Sea safely with his people, while their pursuers, the Egyptians led by the tyrant Pharaoh, were drowned in the sea).

Isa (Jeasus)

Muslims' reverence for Isa is next only to that for Prophet Muhammad. The Qur'an likens his birth to that of Adam. *Surah "Aal-e-Imran"* (3) and *Surah "Mariam"* (19) deal in great detail with the life of Hazrat Isa, whose epithet is "*Ruhullah*". However the Qur'an stoutly deneunes the blasphemous belief that Jesus was son of God (Allah). After Moosa, Hazrat Isa is the most frequently mentioned prophet in the Holy Qur'an and is invariable referred to as "*Ibn-e-Mariam*", son of Mary. Jayisi mentions about Isa's miracles and his meeting with Prophet Muhammad on the Day of Judgment. thus:

*Isa kahen ke kas na kahtyon, Jo kuchhu kahe ke uttar pavtyon.
Main muye manus bahut jiyawa, Au banute jioodaan diyawa.
(Jayisi Granthavali, p. 352)*

Khizr

He is nowhere mentioned in the Qur'an by name. However the wise man Prophet Moosa goes out looking for, as mentioned in *Surah "Al-Kahaf"* (18) is believed to be a reference to Khizr. This is by no means confirmed by the Qur'an. But the legend has caught on. He is supposed to guide those who have lost their way.

In Hindi, similar tales are told about *Hanumaan*, *Vibhishan*, *Kripacharya* and *Ashwathaama*. The great Sufi poets of Persian and Hindi claim close relationship with Khwaja Khizar. His figure and attire are described in Hindi poetry as those of a Muslim divine: "*Hans Jawahar*" (pp. 10 and 24.)

*Dete das sagar ke teera, thare Hazrat Khwaja Peera.
Phata saj sheesh par khasa, paon kharaun liye kar aasa.
Harit rang peera hai gata, mano roop bhanu parbhata.
Kaha ke Khwaja Khizir mam nanu, rakhe na thanv jo barane gauv.
Khwaja Khizar jo vimal guru, Sidha amal dai peer.
Pandit bhe dukh manhi man, Baheet lagaan neer.
Chale jo nangh chadhe dai paon,
Khwaja khizar daikhi taihi thaon.*

(Hans Jawahar, p. 10, 24, 198, 199)

Muhammad (Peace be upon him)

It has been asserted in the Qur'an that Muhammad (PBUH) is the last of the Messengers of God (*Khaatim-un-Nabiyeen*).

Whatever information about the Prophet of Islam is available in Hindi literature appears to be literal and straight translation of the verses of the Holy Qur'an. The *sufi* poets refer to him in the prayer part of their masnavis.

Ratan ek vidhane avtara nauv Muhammad jag ujiyaara.
(*Jayisi Granthavali: Aakhri Kalaam*, p. 341)

The word "avtara" here does not mean the prophet was the incarnation of God.

It simply means a messenger of God.

Dadu Dayal refers to Muhammad as the head of the prophets.

Dadu kahan Muhammad meer tha, sab nabiyon sartaj.
So bhi mari maati hua, Amar Allah ka raj.

(*Dadu Bani-I*, p. 210)

In *sufi* perception, the creation owes itself to God's love of Muhammad. They rely on this *hadees*: "I was a hidden treasure. I desired that all people know me, so I created the world". So Jayisi says:

Tab bha puni ankur, sirja deepak nirmala
Racha Muhammad noor, jagat raha ujiyar hui
Ais jo thakur kiya ek daoon, Pahile racha Muhammad naun.
Tehi kai preti beej as Jaama,
Bhaye dui virachhi sant au saamaa.

(*Jayisi Granthavali: Akhravat*, p. 40, 304)

Poet Manjhan refers to a miracle attributed to Prophet Muhammad: the Cleft Moon:

Waki angoori kari kai agya, Chand bhaeehu dui khand.
(*Madhu Malati*, Stanza 7, p. 8)

The Wisely Guided Caliphs

Four persons who were chosen by turn to head the first Islamic republic after the death of the Holy Prophet are called *Khulfaa-i-Rashidin* (the wisely (guided) Caliphs). They were all *Sahaabis* (companions of the Holy Prophet). They functioned as the deputies of the Prophet. The word was later institutionalised to refer to the heads of Muslim empires which themselves were called the Caliphates. The Muslim *Khilafat* lasted until Kamaal Atatürk abolished the institution in 1922.

These four persons, the successors to the Prophet who were, democratically elected by the *Ummah* (the Muslim fraternity) were: Abu Bakr, Umar Farooq, Usman Ghani and Ali bin Abi Talib. They consolidated the theological edifice of Islam, expanded the Muslim empire into a tricontinental political force and established the true rule of *Sunnah*.

In Hindi poetry their just rule is recalled severally:

Ab sunu 'chahun meet' ke baataa, Sat niyau sastar ke daata.¹

'Chari meet' jo Muhammad thaun, Jinahin deen ha jag nirmal naun.²

'Chari meet' chahun dise jag moti, Manjh dipai manu manik jyoti.³

Ahmed sang jo charon yara, Chariu siddha meet kartara.⁴

"Charun Meet", "Chari Meet", "Charun yara" are reference to the four wisely guided Caliphs. "Ahmed" is the other name given the Prophet by his grandfather and guardian, Abdul Muttalib.

Abu Bakr (632-634)

Upon the Holy Prophet's death Abu Bakr was elected the Caliph through "*bait*", handshake as a pledge of loyalty which is more open and decisive method of ascertaining majority support in today's democratic process and leaves no room for ambiguity. Abu Bakr ruled for less than three years, (632-634). But each day of his Caliphate became a landmark in the history of Islam. His first words

-
1. *Madhu Malti*, p. 9.
 2. *Jayisi Granthavali*, (*Padmavat*) p. 5.
 3. *Jayisi Granthavali*, (*Aakhri Kalam*), p. 341.
 4. *Hans Jawahar*, p. 4.

upon accepting his election were: "Obey me as long as I obey the commands of Allah and His prophet". Each judgement he pronounced, each step he took and each action he performed as the head of the Islamic republic either clarified the *Shariat* or strengthened it. Thus the ten years of Prophet Muhammad's rule and about three years of Abu Bakar's reinforced the theological foundation of the Muslim state. His rule, though short, mattered most to the Muslim state and the Law of Allah that Islam proclaimed. Just one example. During the holy prophet time a military expedition had been sanctioned against a tribe that had stopped paying *zakat* (the obligatory tax on rich muslims). Abu Bakar proceeded to implement the Prophet's decision. Umar felt that the Islamic state was still in its infancy and it might be dangerous for its existence to go to war on this point. Abu Bakar replied: "Islam permits no compromise on the basics. My duty is to protect the honour of the God and his Prophet. The future of Islam is in Allah's hands. The campaign was successful and for ever eliminated the scope for tampering with the basics of Islam. Abu Bakar conquered Syria and Iraq. The Muslim state expanded beyond the limits of the Arabian Peninsula. Hindi poets, especially of the *sufi* school, besides others have paid their tribute to Abu Bakar Siddiq. (*Siddiq* means 'truthful' and was the title he had earned by his life of truthfulness to Allah and his Prophet).

Says Manjhan:

*Prathamhi Aba Bakar parvana,
Sat gur bachan mant jiya jana.¹*

Says Jayisi:

Ababakar Siddiq sayane, Pahile sidik deen bad jaane.²

And Qasim Shah:

Abubakar Siddik jo saanche, Pahile prem panth wah ranche.³

1. *Madhumalti*, p. 9.

2. *Jayisi Granthavali: Padmavat*, p. 5.

3. *Hans Jawahar*, p. 4.

Umar Farooq (634-645)

Upon Abu Bakr Siddiq's death, Umar Ibn-el-Khattab Al-Farooq was elected to succeed him. During Umar's rule Egypt and Iran were conquered, extending the frontiers of the Islamic republic from Africa to the borders of India. Umar is known for his administrative pioneering and justice. He wrested Palestine from the Byzantines. When he entered Jerusalem, his slave was on the back of the camel and Umar was holding the rope. The Byzantines were startled at this sight of equality in Islam. Many of the innovations Umar devised became universal practices after him and continue to this day. Among these is the half yearly leave for soldiers on duty at non-family stations.

In Hindi poetry, Manjhan, Jayisi and Qasim Shah pay him their tribute:

*Puni so Umar khitab suhaye,
Bha jag adal (meaning justice), deen jo aaye.¹
Umar khitab deen kar khamba,
Keenha adal jagat tehi thamba.²*

Usman (645-655)

Usman is respected as the collector and compiler of the Holy Qura'n (*Jamaiul Qura'n*). Elected as caliph upon Umar's death, Usman's reign continued until 655. The nascent Islamic republic reached its zenith during his rule.

Hindi poets Manjhan, Jayisi and Qasim Shah recall his efforts at preparing an authentic compilation of Qur'an from scattered documents and ascertaining their authenticity meticulously.

*Teeje thau rau Usmana,
Jaen re bhed Bed (Ved, for Qura'n) ka jaana.³
Puni Usmanan pandit bar guni,
Likha puraan (for Qura'n) jo ayat suni.⁴*

-
1. *Madhumalti*, p. 9.
 2. *Hans Jawahar*, p. 4.
 3. *Madhumalti*, p. 9.
 4. *Jayisi Granthavali*, p. 5.

*Usman pandit as ujiyara,
Likha puraan deeno sansara.¹*

The words "rau" and "pandit" denote Usman as a ruler and a scholar. These liberal Hindi poets had magnanimity which helped them win the hearts of local masses and gave Hindi literature its first and immortal classic, "Padmavat".

Ali Ibn Abi Talib (656-661)

Hazrat Ali was the prophet's cousin and the first child in Arabia to embrace Islam. (Abu Bakr was the first adult to profess Islam.) Ali was known for his valour and intellect. He was elected caliph to succeed Usman in 656 and ruled until 661, when he too was murdered while praying in a mosque in Kufa, where he had shifted the seat of the Caliphate.

Devotion to Ali is not confined to Muslim alone. In Karnataka, there is a sect among the Hindus who celebrate Hazrat Ali and call themselves "Alavi". Manjhan, Jayisi and Qasim have praised Hazrat Ali thus.

*Chauthe Ali singh bahu gani, Dan kharag Jaie sadhi duni.²
Chauthe Ali singh bariyaaro, Saunh na kou raha jujharu.³
Chauthe Ali soor jag bhana, Kafar bhanj sab lok bakhana.⁴*

The Islamic Faith

Besides the details about the lives of Prophets from Adam to Muhammad and the four wisely guided Caliphs, Hindi literature also reveals a close understanding of the Islamic faith. We will deal with this theme in two parts. In the first, we shall explain the basic tenets of Islam and their reflection in Hindi poetry. In the second, we will discuss the Hindi poets' awareness of the practical side of the Muslim religion.

Tauheed (Monotheism)

It is not the same thing as Indian monism. Even the sugges-

-
1. Hans Jawahar, p. 4.
 2. Madhumalti, p. 9.
 3. Jayisi Granthavali, p. 5.
 4. Hans Jawahar, p. 4.

tion of anyone being god incarnate or son or kin of God is repugnant to Islam. The Jews believed *Uzair* (Ezra) to be son of God. The Christians still believe Jesus to be son of God. The Qur'an repudiates both beliefs as "*shirk*" (joining others with One God).

"*Tauheed*" in Islam means absolute and total belief in one God. *Surah "Al-Ikhlaas"* (112) declares:

*"Say : He is Allah, the One;
Allah, the Eternal, Absolute;
He begetteth not, nor is he begotten;
And there is none like unto Him."*

The One and the only God Muslims worship is Allah, which word has neither gender, nor number, nor even degree. There are 99 names which are: His attributes and are absolute again without gender, number or degree. The Qur'an also uses combinations of these 99 names to further define the power and glory of one God, Allah.

Hence, Islam's concept of God, is unlike anything in any other religion which is why Muslims are a community like none other in terms of faith in one God. *Tauheed*, Unity of God, is the most fundamental of all beliefs in Islam. It is uncompromisable. It is impossible for a Muslim to take any one as partner of God. The entire Qur'an is replete with the descriptions of the glory of one God, Allah. We have already quoted a Qur'anic verse that says if all the trees on earth were to become pens and all the water in the seven seas were to be ink and seven more such oceans are to be added to them, these will all get exhausted with one completely enumerating the Glory of Allah.

According to the Qur'an, Allah is the Creator of all universe. He is the creator of everything, animate and inanimate. All life is His creation. He will destroy all He has created and create again. He has the power to do whatever He likes. He only says "be" and it is. He is Hidden and He is the Beginning and He is the End. He is the First and He is the Last. He is Hidden and He is Evident. He is Omnipotent and Omniscient. He is the Most Gracious. He is the Most Wrathful to the sinners and He is the Most Forgiving. Nothing in creation can go against His will. Everything in creation obeys His will. He is the Master of the Day of Judgement. He is the Provider and the Sustainer.

He is the One who is present everywhere. He does not sleep. He is always busy. He never gets tired. (Hence no Sabbath in Islam. The Jews believed that God created the Universe in six days and rested on the seventh. This is refuted by Islam.) He knows the secrets of men's thoughts and their hearts. He is the Seeing and the Hearing. He answers prayers and punishes the sinners. He holds the Sun, the Moon and all the stars in His firm grip. He has ordained them to perform their duties assigned by Him according to a fixed term. He is the Most Just and the Most Kind. No good deed escapes His knowledge nor does it go unrewarded. No evil escapes His notice nor goes unpunished. He gives respite to human beings to see what deeds they do and punishes the evil-doers not only in this world as and when He pleases but also most certainly on the Day of Judgement. Nothing can escape from Him. Even His prophets cannot but do His will. All the angels sing His praise and glorify the most High Allah. There is none to rival His power, His glory, His judgement and His majesty. He guides people to the right path and it is He who also leads the evil-doers into doing evil so that they can be punished on the Day of Judgement. Qur'an emphasises that man has been endowed with reason to discriminate between good and evil. If someone yet refuses to heed reason, he is bound to be punished. In short, nothing in the earth or in all the heavens lies outside His control and domain.

With belief in such an all-pervasive Allah, those of his slaves (*bande*) who obey Him have none to fear but Allah, the Best Protector.

The concept of *Tauheed* has many implications on the destiny of man. The absolute belief in One God unites entire mankind into one community of man, without distinction of gender, caste, colour, race, language, region or any other distinction that in the sight of God is of no consequence. In Verse 13 of Surah "Al-Hujarat" (49), of the Holy Qur'an, Allah makes this clear:

"O mankind, We created you from a single pair, a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other. Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you". In Verse 23 of Surah "Beni Israel" (17) Allah says:

"Thy Lord has decreed that ye worship none but Him".

Hence Islam preached equality and a class-less, caste-less society, for all men are equal in the sight of Allah. There is no relationship in Islam between God and man except that between the Master and the slave (*banda*).

Almost all *sufi* poets have composed *Hamd* (in praise of Allah) in the first part of their *masnavis*. The following stanza by Jayisi reads almost like the translation of *Surah Al-Ikhlās* (112) quoted earlier.

*Alakh aroop awaran so karta.
Na ohi poot, na pita, na mata,
Na ohi kutumb, na koi sang naata.
Jana na kahu, na koi ohi jana,
Jahan lagi sab takar sirjana.
Vai sab kinh jahanan lagi koi,
Vah nahi kinih kahu kari hoi.
Hut pahile aru ab hain soi,
Puni so rahain nahin koi.¹*

The great poet Jayisi sees Allah as "*Alakh*" (Invisible) and "*awraran*" (Indescribable).

Noor Muhammad also says in "*Indravati*" (p. 136):

*Sirjanhar aik hai, kahu jana na soi,
Aap na kahu so janana, wah saman nahin koi.²*

Qasim Shah says in "*Hans Jawahar*":

*Aisa alakh jo ahai akaila, pargat gupat sabhi rang khela,
Wah kartar jo jagat vidhaata, sab mangta, wah sub kar data,
Na wah mat-pita, nahin bhai, Na wake koi kutumb sagai.
Na wah hoi ki hokar bara, Wah kin racha, racha wah sara.³*

Following in their footstep, Kabir, Dadu, Tulsi and others use the same thought in the same terms and language to celebrate the Unity of God. The following quotes from Jayisi and Tulsidas

-
1. Jayisi *Granthavali*, p. 3.
 2. *Indravati*, p. 136.
 3. *Hans Jawahar*, p. 3.

are strikingly similar. Using the words "*Purana*" and "*Ved*" for the Qur'an, Jayisi says:

*Ehi bidhi cheenh hu karhu geyanu, Jas Puran mah likha bakhanu.
Jeeu nahin, pai jiye gusain, kar nahi pe kare sabai.
Jeebh nahin, pai sab kichhu bola, Tan nahin, sab tahar dola.
Shrawan nahin, pai sab kuchhu sauna, Hiya nahin pai sab kuchhu guna.
Nain nahin pai sab kuchhu dekha, Kaun bhanti as Jayi bisekha.
Hai nahin koi takar rupa, Na ohi sun koi ahi anupa.
Na ohi thaon na ohi bin thanvo, Roop rekha binu nirmal nanun.*
(Jayisi Granthavali: Stanza 8, P. 3.)

Now compare with what Tulsi says, knowing that Tulsi belonged to *Sagun Rama Bhakti Cult*:

*Aadi ant kou jasu na pawa, Mati anumani nigam as gawa.
Binu pad chalai, sunai binu kana, Kar binu karam karai bidhi nana.
Aanan rahit sakal ras bhogi, Binu baani bakta bar jogi.
Tan binu paras nayan binu dekha, Grahai ghran binu baas asesha.
Asi sab bhanti alaukik karani, Mahima jasu jai nahin barani.*
(*Ramcharitmanas: Balkhand*, (118) p. 102.)

Some critics have rated Jayisi's "*Padmavat*" so high as to declare it a model for Tulsi. "*Padmavati*", written 34 years before "*Ramcharitmanas*", had become so very popular that Tulsi must have held it as a model for himself. "*Ramcharitmanas*" was also written in *Avadhi*.

Kabir was a saint poet with an independent outlook, and tended to divert his ideology at will. Thus Kabir's Rama no longer remained incarnate. As for Rama, he is not born to Dasrath, nor did he challenge Ravana. Nor was he born from Devaki's womb. As for Krishna he was not fondled by Yashodha, nor was he a playmate of the cowherd. He did not hold aloft the *Gowardhana* (mountain). Nor did he deceived *Bali* by impersonating as *Vamana*. There is no idol of Rama shown as *Vamana*. And hence Rama cannot be found in idols. 'In all this, shows Kabir having been clearly influenced by Islam and Sufism': (*Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 151).

*Ta sahib kai lagae Satha, Dukh sukh maiti rahio anatha.
Nan Jasrath ghari avatari awa, Nan Lanka ka rao sataya.*

*Daivai kookh na avtari awa, Na jasvai lai gode khilava.
Na vo gwalan ke snag phirya, Gobardhan lai na kar dhariya.
Vawan hoi nahin bali chhaliya, Gharni Bed lain ughariya.
Gandak salik Ram na kola, Machh kachh hove jalhi na dola.
Badri Baisy dhyan nahi lava, Parsram hove khatri na santava.
Dwaramati sareer na chhodaa, Jagnath lai pyand ne gada.
(Kabir Granthavali, pp. 184-185)*

Guided by sufi Shaikh Taqi or some other spiritual guide, like Jahan Gasht Shah, Kabir says: the taste of *Tauheed* is a secret.

*Allah alakh na jai lakhiya guru gud deena meetha.
(Kabir Granthavali, p. 203)*

In *Guru Granth Saheb* (*Nanak Vani*, p. 250), Nanak's concept of God is akin to the Qur'anic monotheism. He says his Creator and Lord is One. He causes death and He, none else, gives life.... He does as He pleases.

*Sahibu mera ek hai, Eko hai bhai eko hai.
Aape maare ape chode, Aape le vai dei.
Aape vekhe, aape vigse, Aape nadari karei.
Je kichhu karna so kari, Rahiya avaru na karna jai.
Jaisa varte taise kahiye, Sab teri badiyai.
(Nanak Vani: p. 250)*

All these above lines are almost verbatim renderings of the verses of the Holy Qur'an.

In "Rag Sortha" Mahela I, One of *Nanak Bani*, (p. 392), Nanak says:

*Alakh apar agam agochar na tisu kalu na karma.
Jati ajati ajoni sambhau, na tisu bhau na bharma.
Sache sachiar vitahu kurban.
Na tissu mat-pita, sut bandhup, na tisu kamu na mari.
Akul niranjanu apar paramparu sagli joti tumari.*

Further on Nanak mentions attributes One God as the highest in Heavens, Omnipotent, Free from Want, and Creator of Universe, thus:

*Eko takhatu eko, eko patisahu, sarabi thai be-parvahu.
Tiska keeya tribhuvan saru, oh agamu agochar ekankaru.
(Nanak Vani, p. 712)*

Jayisi and Qasim Shah also call God as "*Khaliq*" (Creator) and "*Qadir*" (Powerful).

***Qayamat* (Resurrection)**

The concept of the doomsday exists in several religions but not with the same clarity as in the religions of the House of Abraham: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In Islam, the Day of Resurrection is dealt with in the most detailed terms. Of the 114 *surahs* (chapters) of the Holy Qur'an, about 85 deal with Resurrection, especially the Makki *surahs*, i.e. these revealed before the Prophet's flight to Madinah in 622. Al-Qur'an enumerates astral, astrophysical, geophysical, physical, geological, botanical, zoological, psychological, civilisational and emotional aspects of the Last Day in a language that is somewhat unusual for the even tenor of the Qur'an. The terror of the Last Day, as revealed by the Qur'an, is the most horrifying, indeed. Nowhere else does the Qur'an use such intimidating language.

After belief in Unity of God, belief in the Day of Judgement is the most important of 'Faith' (*imaan*) of a Muslim. Some sixty different names have been used in the Holy Qur'an for the Day of Requit and Retribution. It is even called "the Hour". (Among the other articles of faith are: belief in the Prophets and in the divine books revealed to them and belief in angels as mentioned in the Qur'an). To deny the Day of Judgement is to repudiate Islam itself.

Civilizationally, the Muslim concept of *Qayamat* has a great impact on the Muslim mind and the Muslims value system. Each Muslim is called upon to account for all his deeds, good or bad, on the "*Yom-e-Faisal*" (the Day of Judgement). So Muslims fear facing Allah on the Day of Judgement. One who is not afraid of this Day, is the one who would commit all evils and would therefore receive the punishment. The harshest punishment is for the men and women who did not believe in Unity of God and *Qayamat*. They will never be released from the bondage and the Fire of Hell.

One of the reasons the prophets are called *Nabi* (callers) is that they forewarn mankind of the Final Hour so that men who want to make their *Aakhirat* (life hereafter) pleasant may believe in One God and the Day of Judgement when Allah will assemble all to

account for their deeds or misdeeds. The Qur'an also says explicitly that all will die on the Doomsday and all will be raised again to face Allah's Judgement.

In simplest terms, *Qayamat* means all creation will cease and only Allah will abide (the First and the Last).

Jayisi gives details of the *Qayamat* in his "*Aakhri Kalaam*", strictly according to the Qur'an and *Ahadees* (the Traditions). "*Aakhri Kalaam*", like Jayisi's magnum opus, "*Padmavat*", is one of the most important works of Hindi literature. In Jayisi "*Granthavali: Jogi Khand*" (p. 55), Ratan Sen a character in the epic, explains to his mother that even hands and feet will bear witness to a man's deeds:

*Gun avgun vidhi puchhab, hoihi lekh au jokh.
Vay bin ub age hoi, karab jagat kar mokh.
Hath, pam, Sarvan au ankhi, a sab uhan bharain mili saakhi.
Soot soot tan bolahin dekhu, kahu kaisi hoihi gati mokhu.*

This description of hands and feet bearing witness on the Day of Judgement is found in the Qur'an.

Guru Granth Saheb also deals with *Qayamat*. Nanak says this world is transient and a day shall come when the Moon, the Sun and the stars will perish and God alone will abide. He will reward good deeds and will punish the evil doers.

*Mukamu kari ghari vaisan nit chalne ki ghokh.
Mukamu ta paru janeeye ja rahe nishchalu lok.
Duniya kaise mukame.*

*Din ravi chale, nisi sasi chale tarike lao paloi.
Mukam ohi ek hai Nanaka sachu bagei.*

(*Nanak Vani, Rag Sri Mahala 1, pp. 159-160*)

Nanak also says: We dwellers of the earth are mortals. The essence of God alone shall endure:

*Hum jer jimi duniya peera masaika raiya,
Mekhari bdisaha afzun khudai. Ek tu hi, ek tu hi.
Asati ek digari kui, ek tui ek tui.*

*Na dadae-dihand admi na sapat zer-e-zamin.
Asat ek digari kui, ek tui ek tui.*

(*Nanak Vani: Var Manjh Shaloka Mahla-1*, p. 187)

Another reference to the Last Day is found in *Guru Granth Saheb*:

*Duniya muqam fani tehqeeq dil nadaani.
Mam sar muye Israel girifta dil hech nadaani.*

(*Guru Granth Saheb*, p. 427)

*Nanaku akhe re mana suniye sikh sahi.
Lekha Rab mangesiya baitha kathi bahi.
Talua pau sani amia baki jina rahi.
Israilu farishta hosi ai tahi.*

(*Nanak Vani*, p. 566)

Confession of sin and seeking pardon of God is a purely Muslim attitude, born of Qur'anic instructions. Owing to centuries of contact with Muslims, Hindi poets are too well aware of the Muslims belief that "*Karaman Katibeen*" are the two angels, one of whom writes down the good deeds a man does and the other the evil deeds. And on the Day of Judgement, this "*Aamaal Namah*" record of deeds is unfolded before God for reward for good deeds done and punishment for the evil deeds. So, they confess their sins and seek divine pardon for them, using Qur'anic terms:

*Ghafil hai banda gunah kare baar-baar.
Kam pare saheb dhon kaisa farmavega.
Aakhir jamaane ko darta hai mera dil.
Jab Jibrail haath gurj liye avega.
Khab si duniya dil ko na kare saat panch.
Kali peli ankhen kar firista dikhlavega.*

(*Malukdas ki Bani*, p. 30)

*Dharam rai jab lekha mangya, baki niksa bhari.
Abki bar bakas bande ko, sab khat karao nabera.*

(*Kabir Granthavali*, p. 122)

*Dadu gunahgar hai, main dekhyā man mahin.
Bhave bande bakasiya, bhave gahi kari mari.*

Pal pal mein gunahi tera, baksu avgun mera.

(*Dadu Bani*, p. 242, 234)

Other Hindi poets use words, such as "*Ya Ghafooru*" (O Pardoner of Sins) "*Ya Tawwabu*" (Accepter of Repentance) "*Ya Raufu*" (O Kind One), "*Ya Muntaqemun*" (O Avenger to Wrongdoers). All these words are Arabic words and mentioned in the Qur'an as "*Sifaat-e- Ilaahi*" (Attributes of Allah).

Sufi poet Jayisi refers to the Qur'anic concept of intercession (*Shafa 't*) by the Holy Prophet on behalf of his *Ummah* (People of Islam):

*Sawa lakh paighambar jete, apne apne paen te te.
Ek Rasool na baithahin chhahan, sabhi dhup lehin sir ma han.
Ghame dukha umat jehi keiri, so ka mane sukh avseri.
Dukhi umat taupua main dukhi, Tehi sukh hoi to puni main sukhi.
Puni karta kai ayasu hoi, umat hankaru lekha mohi dei.
Kahab Rasool ka ayasu pavon, pahile sab dhanni le aaen.*

(*Jayisi Granthavali: Aakhri Kalaam*, pp. 350, 354)

Qasim Shah too refers to this:

*Ant samaya ave parlai, kou na bandhe dheer.
Ahmed cariu sang, Kai lagaven teer.*

(*Hans Jawahar*, p. 4)

Inspired by the concept of intercession among the Muslims, Tulsidas also seeks *Waseela* (channel of intercession) through Hanuman and Sita for Rama's favour and calls Sri Ram "*Garib Nivaj*", an epithet used in the Mughal court for the emperor. It can be rendered in Hindi "*Patit Pavan*")

*Tere nivaje garib nivai birajat bairin ur sale
Jaanat jahaan Hanuman ko nivajyo jan
Sahab subhaay kapi sahab sambhariye
Ram ke gulamani ke kam taru Ramdoot,
Moose din dubare ko takiya tehariye.*
(*Tulsi Granthavali: Kavitaavali: Vinaja Patrika*, pp. 210-212)

It may be pointed out that the concept of intercession is alien to the Vedas and is the result directly of the Islamic thought via Persian poetry.¹

Sagun Bhakt poets like Tulsi Das and Soor Das (devotees of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna) followed into the footsteps of the *sufi* and the Nirgum poets. They described thier heroes, borrowing thoughts, styles and the language of the *sufi* poets. One example is the use of the word, "*Garib Nivaj*", which in Hindi can be rendered as "*Patit Pavan*".

As-Siraat (The Bridge)

Though Al-Qur'an does not specifically mention *As-Sirat*, *Surah Mariam* (19) contains a Verse (71) which says:

"There is not one of you but will pass over it: this is, with thy Lord, a Decree which must be accomplished."

This is believed to refer to "*As-Siraat*", the bridge every man and woman will have to pass before entering the heaven. The sinners shall not be able to pass it and will plunge from there into the purgatory. The sinless will however cross over it to the heaven. In Hindi, it may be called *Vaitarni Ka Pul*. In Persian, it is called *Pul-e-Sirat*, and has been used as such by name in "*Akhravat*" and without it in "*Padmavat*".

*Jatane para sab salari uthavan,
Pul Sarat kar panth raingavon.²
Nasik pulsrat path chala, tahi kar bhaunhen hain, dui pala.³*

*Tees sahasra kos kai pata, as sankar chalil na chanta.
Khande chahi paini bahutai, bar chahi takar patrai.⁴*

Rai Das says:

*Hridaya karim sambhari sabaere,
Age panth khara jhena, khande dhar jaisa hai paina.⁵*

-
1. *Persian Influence on Hindi*, p. 81.
 2. *Jayisi Granthavali: Akhravat: Aakhri Kalaam*, p. 349.
 3. *Ibid.*, *Akhravat*, p. 309.
 4. *Ibid.*, *Padmawat*, p. 66, 349.
 5. *Rai Das Ki Bani*, p. 28, 29.

*Jis upar marag hai tera, pathi panth sanwar savera.
Kya thain kharcha, kya thain khaya,
Chaldar hal diwan bulaya.
Saib tau pai lekha lesi.¹*

Nanak mentions "*Pulsirat*" thus:

*Khande dhar gali ati bhira, lekha lije til jiu pira.²
Walon ki pulsirat kabini na sayah.
Farida kut pawandi ikada na ap sahey.³
Pulsirat ka panth dulhela, sang no sathi, gawaan akela.⁴*

Raskhan compares the path of love with *Pul Sirat*, both being difficult:

*Kamal tantu so hin aru kathin kharag ki dher.
Ati sudho terho bahuri, prem panth anivar.⁵*

Jaza'-Saza (Requital and Retribution)

This is an entirely Islamic concept, not found in the Hindu doctrine. Hindi poets deal with this subject in accordance with Qur'anic exposition. The Last Day is also called "*Yom-el-Hisaab*" (the Day of Reckoning). It is interesting that Hindi poets use Qur'anic terms in dealing with this idea.

The Qur'an repeatedly says that every act of man is recorded by the angels and that every soul would be held accountable for what it has done in this world. The Qur'an also assures that no good deed would be lost with the Lord nor would any bad deed go unpunished. The Qur'an also says Allah is quick in His reckoning (*Sareeh-ul-Hisaab*). Say the Hindi poets.

*Jabai ant kar parlai ayi, Dharami log rahe ne payi.⁶
Hoga hisaab jab mukh se na aave jawab.
Sundar kaht lekha let rai rai ka.⁷*

-
1. *Rai Das ki Bani*, 28, 29.
 2. *Nanak Vani*, p. 626.
 3. *Guru Granth Saheb: Shlok Farid*, Var 2.
 4. *Ibid.*, Rag Sohi (*Ravidas*), Var 2.
 5. *Prem Vatika: Stanza*, 6.
 6. *Jayisi Grantha: Aakhri Kalam*, p. 344.
 7. *Sunder Vilas*, p. 18.

*Julam kun karta hai, dhani suna na darta hai.
Dozakh (hell) kun bharta hai khajana balai ka,
Hoega hisaab ave ga na jawab tab.
Sunder kkahat gunehgar hai khudai ka.¹*

Kabir also affirms that oppression invites retribution.

*Jor kiya so julum hai lei jawab khudai.
Daftar lekha nikse mar muhe muh khai.²
Sahib mera lekha maange, lekha kyun kari dije.³
Dharam raj jab lekha maange, baki nikasi bhari.
Ab ki bar baksie bande kon, bahuri na bhav jal kara.⁴*

Dadu also fear, retribution:

*Dadu gunehgar hani main dekhyā man manhi
Khusi tumhari tyon kare, hum to mani haari.
Bhave banda bakassiya, bhave gahi kari mari.
Dadu jo Sahib lekha liya, to ses kati suli diya.
Mihiri may kari philikiya, to jiye jiye kari jiya.⁵*

So does Tulsi:

To vidhi deihi humahi sajai.⁶

Jannat (Paradise)

The Qur'an promises paradise (*Jannat*) to those who believe in one God, the Last Day, the Prophets and the Divine books and those who do good deeds in this life, including observance of all the tenets of the Faith such as five daily prayers, fasts during *Ramazan*, payment of *Zakat* (if rich) and performance of *Hajj* (if capable of doing so) and abstaining from what has been declared unlawful.

-
1. *Sunder Vilas*, p. 19.
 2. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 192, 202.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
 5. *Dadu Bani-I*, p. 241.
 6. *Ramcharitmanas*, p. 2, 19, 3.

Dadu says:

*Jor na kare haraam na khai,
Se Momin bahist (Paradise) men jai.*¹

The Qur'an mentions *houries* among the many blessings of the heaven. Jayisi, who coined the words "Puraan" and Ved for the Qur'an again coins a new for *houries*: "*Achhari Kavilas*". In Stanzas 47 and 48 of his "*Aakhri Kalaam*", Jayisi mentions "*Kausar*", stream of an extraordinary quality of water the *Momins* will drink in Paradise:

*Ek to amrit, bas kapura, tehi kahn sharab tahura.*²

Kausar is mentioned in the Qur'an.

Jayisi also says:

*Phire tambol, maya se kahab apun lehi khauhu.
Bha parsad, Muhammad uthi bihist mah jahu.*³

The Sufi poets use various names for *Jannat*, such as "*Kavilas*", "*Vaikunth*", "*Bahisht*"⁴ and *Jannat* (both used in Qur'an). Jayisi gives a detailed description of Paradise in accordance with the Qur'an in Stanzas 22-23, 47-49 in his "*Aakhri Kalaam*". Even non-Sufi Hindi poets give similar description revealing their deep knowledge of the Qur'an. In one *shabad*, Nanak gives a metaphorical account of *Jannat* and *Jahannum* (Hell), thus:

*Amalu kari dharti bij Sabado, Kari sach ki ab nit dehi praai.
Hoi Kirsanu imanu Jamai le, Bhistu dojakh (hell) moore ev jani.*⁵

He adds *guru* (teacher) will show the way only when men give up eating dead flesh (dies net mean a slaughtered animal), and that idle talk alone will not do.

1. Dadu Bani-I, p. 129.

2. Jayisi Granthavali, p. 356.

3. Ibid., p. 356.

4. Hans Jawahar, p. 33.

5. Nanak Vani, p. 30, 129.

*Guru pir hami teh bhare, ja murdar na khaye,
Gallen bahist na jaya, chhute sach kamaya.¹
Hak halal bavur bakhana, dil dariyao doho mai lana.
Peer pichhana bahishti soi, Israil na doz thahra.²*

In Dadu's view, the upholder of Truth will find the doors of Paradise flung open for him.

*Chale chalai sanch sanware bat,
Tin kun khule bahist kapat (door).³*

Jayisi refer to kausar mentioned in the Qur'an as the purest and best drink offered to the righteous in the Heaven.

*Kai nirmal kausar anhwave,
Puni jiunh baikunth pathave.
Puni kausar pathas anhawe,
Jahan kaya nirmal sab pawe.*

Dadu gives so much importance to love that he is prepared to give up the heaven and the world:

*Allah asikan iman.
Bihest dozakh deen duniya chekar-e Rehman.
Tan man bhi chhin karun, bhist-dozakh bhi var.*

Jahannum (Hell)

Nowhere in the Qur'an, the word "*Dozakh*" has been used for hell. It was an Iranian invention that came into vogue in Hindi literature via the Persian literature. The word in Qur'an is "*Jahannum*", though words of similar meanings

1, 2, *Guru Grantha Saheb: Rag Gaudi Mahila-I, Var. 2 and Rag Maru Mahala-V.*

3. *Dadu Bani-I, p. 129.*

4. *Ibid., p. 166.*

5. *Ibid., p. 30 (Ye Ki Gal Hai, Badshaho, Chheta Pago Na, Band Aave).*

6. *Jayisi Granthavali, p. 347.*

7. *Dadu Bani, p. 30, 129.*

are also stated. Muslim *sufi* poets have used “*narak*”, *narak kund*” etc. for *Jahannum*.

*Nimikh lagi jo a; puhi nasa,
Ta kahan, narak, mahin basa.¹
Bahutak narak kund mahan girahin.
Bahutak rakat pib mahan parhin.²*

The mention of “*pip*” (pus) in the fire of hell is a Qur’anic idea of punishment to non-believers and sinners. Kabir feared he would be pushed into hell. Rai Das too feared the inferno. Jayisi describes the horrors of hell exactly as mentioned in the Qur’an, Dadu says polytheists will go to hell:

*Jag andha nain na sujhe, jin sirje tahi na bujhe.
Pahan ki puja kare, kari atam ghata.
Nirmal nain na avahi dozag disi jana.³*

Halal-Haraam (Permitted and Prohibited)

What distinguishes Islam from other religions is a clear, well defined concept of *halaal* (permitted) and *haraam* (prohibited) in food drinks and livelihood, besides many things in other spheres of life. The Qur’an specifically forbids as “*haraam*” the eating of flowing or coagulated blood, flesh of animal which has died without due Muslim procedure of slaughtering and the flesh of swine, consumption of intoxicant drinks and drugs, gambling, usury, robbing the property of orphans, under-weighting, lying, backbiting, hypocrisy, etc. The punishment for committing acts that have been termed “*haraam*” are burning in hell fire and drinking of boiling liquid that will burn their entrails.

The following composition of Karnesh, a court poet of Akbar, condemns the “*haraam*” act (corruption) of the royal treasurer.

*Khat hai haraam dam,
karat haram kam ghat ghat tinhin ke apyash chavenge.*

1. *Madhu Malti: Stanza, 127, p. 106.*

2. *Jayisi Granthavali, p. 349.*

3. *Dadu Bani-II, p. 79.*

*Dodzakh hun jaihen tab kati kati khaihen.
khoprpari ko godu kag totani uravenge.'*

(*Mishra Bandhu Vinod*, part I, p. 324)

Among the "*halaal*" things are healthy food and drinks that will cause no physical, mental or spiritual degeneration and pleasures of life that are rightful and socially agreeable. But excessive indulgence in pleasure is frowned upon. Rai Das urges people to make a distinction between *halaal* and *haraam*.

"Raidaas ki ardas suni, kuchh hak-halaal pichhan ve".

(*Raidas Ki Bani*, p. 19)

Dadu and Nanak commend respect for "*halaal*" thing.

Hoi halalu lage haki jai, Nanak dari deedar samai.

(*Nanak Vani*, p. 570)

Kudu boli murdaru khai, Awari no samjhavani.

(*Nanak Vani*, p. 177)

Jor na kare, haraam na khai, so Momin bhist mein jai.

(*Dadu Bani-1*, p. 129)

Masawaat (Equality) and Ikhwan (Brotherhood)

Islam believes in and proclaims the Equality and brotherhood of Mankind. All men the Qur'an declares are the progeny of Adam '*Abul Bashar*' (father of man). Islam does not have even the notion of caste and class. It has no priesthood. It does not permit an intermediary between man and Allah. In the sight of Allah, all are equal regardless of gender, race or colour, and this is repeatedly pointed out in Qur'an and most certainly can be seen anywhere in the world during congregational prayers. At the time of *Hajj*, 30 lakh Muslim men and women from all parts of the world belonging to all races, and all strata-poor or rich, circumambulate the holiest shrine of the *Ka'ba*, all dressed alike, "equal in the sight of their Creator Allah". This sight is not seen anywhere on the face of the Earth. It is a living, ennobling and matchless proof of the Equality and fraternity of Islam. Even in a small *masjid* in a small locality anywhere in the world, one can see men taking their place in the

"saf" (row) wherever they find room to join the prayers. No reservation for the rich, no deprivation for the poor. As the holy Qur'an says:

"Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you".

(Surah al-Hujarat (49), Verse 13)

Viewed with wisdom, the Equality and fraternity of Islam emanates from *Tauheed* (Unity of God), before whom all living beings are slaves (*bande*). In *Surah Al-Anbia* (21): Verse 92, Allah declares:

"Verily this brotherhood of yours is a single brotherhood, and I am your Lord and Cherisher".

Another proof, a dazzling one is to be seen in history the first dynasty that ruled *Dehli Saltanat* (1206-1526) is called Slave Dynasty, because these Sultans were slaves and could yet rise to this position because of the fact of Islamic Equality, which Tulsidas also aspires to:

*Dhut kaho, awdhut kaho, Rajput kaho Jolaha kaho kou.
Kahu ki baiti so baita na byahab, kaho ki jati bigar na sou.
Tulsi sarnam gulam hai Ram ko, jake ruche so kahe kachehu kou.
Mangi ke khaibo, masit ke soibo, laive ko ek na kahe kachehu kou.*

(Tulsi Granthavali-I, Kavitaavali, 106, p. 187)

The above quote of Tulsi Das reveals his aversion to caste inequality. "*Sirnam Gulam*" and "*masit ke soibo*" reflect the classless, castles Muslim society, which Tulsi had come to know closely.

*Ek hi saf main khare ho gai Mehmood wa Ayaz.
Na koi banda raha na koi banda nawaz.*

On page 107 of the *Kavitaavali*, is the famous line of Tulsi that recalls Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi and his slave Ayaaz standing shoulder to shoulder during "*namaaz*" (prayer).

"Sah hi ko goat, goat hot hai gulam ko".

There is no need to cite hundreds of instances of caste inequality and caste discrimination found in the poetry of Kabir,

Dadu, Sunder Das and other Hindi poets who also debunked idolatry, exploitation and dozens of other social evils. We merely want to trace the reflection of the teachings of Islam regarding equality of men, as is reflected in Hindi poetry.

Says the holy Qur'an:

"O people, you are brothers among yourselves and are the sons of Adam, and I am your Lord".

Now read Dadu's views:

*Jati hamari jagadguru pamesur parivar.
Atam bhai jiv sab, ek pet parivar.
Dadu mul bichariye,tau duja kaun ganwar.*

(Dadu Bani-1, p. 86, 223)

In "*Hans Jawahar*" (p. 88), Qasim Shah depicts a wedding feast to show equality in action:

*Bhayo vyah sait subhag, dou dishi bhayo hulas.
Puni samaj bhojan bhaye, baith loag chahun pas.
Baithe loag chhayison jati, jo jehi bhant si tehi pati.
Panti panti se sabai bithava, au sabbko puni hath dhula.
Naua niranjan sumirke, lag sabai jo khaya.*

In the above quote, "*niranjan sumirke*" is like saying: "*Bismillah*" (by the name of Allah) the source of equality is "*Niranjan*" (God) and guests sitting where they like and their hands being washed by the host are reflective of Muslim equality and fraternity.

Rightly the Arabic word for equality (*Masawaat*) is *Ikhwan* (fraternity), such as *Ikhwanul Muslimeen* (the Fraternity of Muslims).

Tulsi also denounces casteism and asserts the idea of family of man:

*Mere jati panti, na chahon kahu ki jati panti.
Mere kou kam ko na, haun kahu ke kam ko.
Sah hi ko goat hot hai gulam ko.*

(Tulsi Granthavali-II: Kavitavali, 107, p. 188)

The *Sufis* always preached equality among men as creatures of the same one God. Some examples of Hindi poets' response to this noble thought are given below:

*Kaha bhayo jo vipra kul janmyo, seva sumiran nahi.
Swapach punit das Parmanand jo hari sanmukh jahi.
Jat got kulnam ganat nahin rank hoi kai rani.¹
Khada rahun darbar tumhare, jyon ghar ka bandazada.²
Nyaro ke ganibo jahan gane garib gulam.³
Riddhi aru siddhi ja ke hath jori age khari.
Sundar kahat take sab hi gulam hain.⁴
Haj kabe haun jaiya age mila khudai.
Balihari ihi priti ko jihi jati baran kul jai.⁵*

***Imaan* (Faith)**

It is a tribute to the religiosity of the people of India that of the hundreds of aspects and concepts of Islam, the word *Imaan* (Faith) caught the fancy of all from the moment the Muslim arrived in India till now. This one word that can be heard in political, commercial and interpersonal relations and in all dealings most forcefully and meaningfully.

Meaning faith it also implies faithfulness and loyalty to one's own faith. By implicating, it also means being worthy of trust.

However, in its religious sense, *Imaan* means faith in Allah, his prophets and books given them and the Last Day. Those who profess this faith are called *Momin* (and hence includes Jews and Christians).

Dadu professes his "*Imaan*" when he says:

*Allah aap imaan hai, Dadu ke dil manhi.
Soi syabati rakhiye, duja koi nahin.⁶*

-
1. *Parmanand Das* (MSS), P. 279.
 2. *Maluk Das Ki Bani*, p. 6.
 3. *Tulsi Granthavali* (Vinay Patrika), p. 417.
 4. *Sunder Vilas*, p. 7.
 5. *Kabir Granthavali*, pp. 198, 199.
 6. *Dadu Bani-I*, p. 60.

Malukdas derides worldliness as robbing one of his "imaan".

*Ai aji imaan tu, kahe ko khove.
Hiya rakhe darbar mein, to pyara hove.¹*

Kabir says if a man is firm in faith, he becomes a true follower:

So Hindu, so Musalman, jiska duras rahe iman.

Maluk and Dadu deride worldliness:

*Bande duniyaa ko din ganwaaya.
So duniya tere sang na lagi, moor ajab kamaya.²
Dadu duniyan sun dil bandhi kari,
Bai the din ganwawai.³*

Kalima (the Proclamation of Faith)

Kalima is an Arabic word and a purely Islamic practice. When a man embraces Islam he proclaims his accepting Islam by reciting the first (and foremost) of the five *Kalimas*. It says, *La-Ilaaha, Il'Allah. Muhammadur Rasool Allah*.

"I bear witness (that) none is worthy of worship, But Allah. I (also) bear witness that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah."

By reciting this *Kalima*, he repudiates for ever the worship of idols and aligns, himself with Muhammad, the last of the Prophets in the Fraternity of Islam. He becomes Muslim, that is, he enters peace. Hindi poets have not only asserted the Unity of God but have also used the words of the *Kalima* thus:

1. *Maluk Das Ki Bani*, p. 16.

2. *Ibid*, p. 25.

3. *Dadu Bani-1*, p. 127.

*Ap alekh Ilahi age, Tanh sijda karai salamaam.
Dadu sab tan tasbi kahen Karim, aisa kar le japam.
Roja ek dur kari duja, kalema ape apam.*

(Dadu Bani-1, p. 63)

In the above composition of Dadu the following words relate to the Islamic faith: *Ilahi* (God), *salaam* (peace), *tasbhi* (beads), *Karim* (the Bestower), *roza* (Ramazan fast), and *Kalima*. The composition itself reflects Islamic doctrines.

At another place, Dadu says:

*Dil darya mein gusal hamaara,
Uju (ablution) kari chitlaun.
Sahib age karun bandagi, ber ber bali jaun.
Dadu pauchun sangi sambhalun sai,
Tan man tau sukh pain.
Prem piyala piv ji deve,
kalima yelaya laun.*

(Dadu Bani-1, p. 130)

To utter the *kalima*, one must purify himself by taking bath or performing ablution. How correctly Dadu knew of the procedure of Muslim prayer. Kabir reminds his reader that in Islam there is no compulsion or coercion. They who ponder the words of *Kalima* and spread out the prayer-mat (*musalla*) for the five daily prayers should know this well, says Kabir.

*Allah Avali din ko Sahib jor nain farmave.
Nivajo soi jo nyayi vichaare Kalima akal hi janai.
Panchahu must musala bichhave tab to din pachhave.*

(Kabir Granathavali, (Appendix 217), pp. 253-254.)

Another Kabir composition reveals that until his time, Muslims were called "Turk".

Kalma parhi bhai Turkani, ajahun phire akeli.

(Kabir Granthavali, p. 124)

Salawat or Namaaz (Prayer)

The five mandatory daily prayers are the second pillar of Islam (*Arakeen-e-Islam*). In Qur'an *namaaz* is called "*salwat*". The word *Namaaz* came to be used for *salwat* after the advent of Islam in Iran. The prayer is given foremost importance in Islam. It is described as bringing peace to the troubled soul and also as a means of walking the path of piety.

Hindi poets knew the *Shariat* well and when dealing with these themes maintained the Qur'anic accuracy in their depictions. Says Baba Farid:

*Farida be-nimaja kuttya ih na bhali rit,
Kab hi chal na aya Panj wakhat msit.*

(*Guru Granth Saheb (Shalok Faridji, Var. 2)*, p. 2196)

*Panji wakhat nivaj gujarahi parahi kateb kuran.
Nanak akhe gor sadei rahiyo pin khan.*

(*Nanak Vani*, p. 27)

Guru Granth in Mala 1, Var. 2 also mentions the funeral services of Muslims.

Notable is Dadu Dayal's composition, "Namaz-Sajda".

*"Haud" hazri dilhi bhitar, gusal hamara saram.
Uju saji Allah ke age, tahan nimaj gujaram.
(Dadu) kaya masit kari panch jamati man ki mula imam.
Ap alekh Ilahi age, tanh sijda kare salamam.
Dadu sab tan tasbi kahai karimam, aisa kar le japam.
Roja ek dur kari duja kalma apaim apam.
(Dadu) athe pahar alah ke age, ik tag rahiba dhyanam.
Apai ah, aras ke upar, jahan rahai Rahmannam.
Athe pahar ibaadati, jeevan maren nibaeni.
Sabih dar sabai khara, Dadu chhari na jai.*

(*Dadu Bani*, Part 1, P. 63)

"*Panch Jamati*" above refers to five daily prayers offered congregationally at a mosque, unlike individual offering of *namaaz* at home.

Here is reaffirmation of faith in *Shariat*.

*Sachi rah shariat, jehi biswas na hoi.
Pauva rakh tehi sirha ni bharam pahunche soi.*

(*Jayisi Granthavali*, p. 322)

Qasim Shah also says:

Kasim khojeo wahi ka, nam nitta jag panch.

(Hans Jawahar, p. 273)

Raidas insists profound faith must accompany any prayer:

Jiske isak asra nahin, kya niwaj, kya puja?

(*Raidas ki Bani*, p. 29)

In the context of their time, Dadu, Maluk Das, Raidas, Kabir and others emphasises love of mankind, humanism and true piety as the basic element of devotion to God of all men and prayer to Him. These sentiments, seemingly dissenting, are found in the following quotes:

*Tauji aur nawaj na janun, na janun dhari roja.
Bang jikar tab hi se bisari, jabse yah dil khoja.
Kahin Maluk ab kaja na karihon, dil he sen dil laga.*

(*Maluk Das ki Bani*, p. 7)

*Niwaj soi jo niyay vichare, Kalima awwal hi jane.
Panchhu musi musalla bichhave tab to deen pichhane.
Mulan bang dei sur jani, ap musala baitha tani.
Apua main ji kare niwaja so mulna sar bathari gaja.*

(*Kabir Granthavali*, p. 169, 245)

*Kya ujju pak kiya muh dhoya, kya masiti sir laya.
Jo dil mein kapat, nivaj gujaranu kya Haj kabai jaya.*

Kabir and others, in the above quotes, reveal they knew ablution and bath are needed before standing for prayers.

Sajdah (Prostration)

There is nothing like the Muslims' prayer (*salwat/namaaz*) in any other religion. Of the five mandatory daily prayers, the shortest

is *Fajr*, the pre-dawn prayer. It consists of two *raka'ats* 'farz' (compulsory) and two of 'Sunnat'. Two *raka'ats* constitute the smallest unit of the *salwat*. In each *raka't*, the faithful stands up and recites some verses from the Qur'an and then bends at his knees, praising Allah before, during and after rising from bending. Then the worshipper prostrates himself, the toes of both feet, both knees, both palms and the forehead touching the ground, and utters the highest praise to Allah: "Glory to my Lord, the Most High". This act of prostration and the recitation of Allah's praise is called *sajdah*. The *sajdah* is offered twice in every *raka't*.

The act of *sajdah* is the most extreme form of submission to Allah. During this act, a worshipper is in contact with nothing else except the earth from which he rose and into which he will be buried.

And while he does this, he recites the highest praise to Allah. "Praise be to Most High Lord". It may also be noted that before each *sajdah* a worshipper orders himself into it, by uttering "*Allah-o-Akbar*" (Allah is the Greatest). Hindi poets were well aware of the nature and significance of *sajdah* as can be gleaned from the following quotes:

Tab Sahib ko sijda kiya, jab sir dharya utari.
Yaun Dadu jivat mare, hire hara ko mari.
Jati noor Allah ka sifaat arwah .
Sifaati sijda kare, jati be-parwah.

(*Dadu Bani-I*, pp. 63, 199, 182)

Maluk Das submits happily.
Kahat Maluk Mehboob piya khub yar.
Sir lagaya jamin mein, sirda karaiya.

(*Maluk Das ki Bani*, p. 29)

***Darud* (Special Invocation)**

This is an exclusively Muslim practice. It involves invoking Allah's benediction for the holy Prophet and his progeny as also for Prophet Abraham and his progeny. This way, every Muslim prays for the welfare of Jews and Christians as well. Nanak knew the spiritual connotation of *Darud*. He says:

*Pir paikambar salak sadak, suhde aur sahid.
Sekh masaik, kaji mula, dar darves rasid.
Barkati tin kau agli par de rahani darud.*

(Nanak Bani, p. 132)

Tasbih (Counting of Beads)

In all eastern religions counting beads reciting the names of the creator, is common. The Hindus and Buddhists call it *japam*. "*Tasbih*" in Arabic means praising Allah or celebrating. His Greatness with every *manka* (bead). Some do it after the prayer and some during leisure and still other almost all the time.

For Hindi saint poets, the Muslims' *tasbih* is a familiar thing. Says Dadu:

Man manke kari tasbi, pherun, tab sahib ke man bhav.

(Dadu Bani, part-I, p. 130)

Musalla (Prayer Mat)

Literally it refers to the mat spread out for prayer. It can even be plain cloth. Those who know Islam and Muslims also use it figuratively. So does Kabir who says only those who offer the five daily prayers know what is *Deen* (Islam).

Panchahu musi musla bichhave, tab tau din pachhane.

(Kabir Granthavali, p. 254)

Masjid (Mosque)

Literally masjid means any place where a Muslim offers *sajdah*. But in community life, masjid is the place where Muslims gather for their congregational prayer.

After 12 frustrating years of preaching Islam, facing torment and torture at the hands of the idol-worshippers of Makkah, Prophet Muhammad was commanded by Allah to migrate. This he did in 622. The year marks the advent of the *Hijri* Era.

Some miles ahead of his destination, *Yeshrab* (now called *Madinatun Nabi*, the City of Holy Prophet), the Prophet sojourned

at a place where he raised with his own sacred hands a small enclosure. That is the first mosque.

Upon arriving in Madinah, the holy Prophet raised a regular but unostentatious mosque, which became the basic space design of all mosques in Islam. Today, *Masjidun Nabi* (the holy Prophet's mosques in Madinah) is a massive and magnificent structure that can accommodate two million worshippers at a time.

Masjid basically is a covered hall and an open courtyard. It is an open place. In a corner, water is provided for ablution and, if the locality can afford, some mats are spread out. On such simple mats, Muslims offer *sajdah* to the Greatest, Mightiest of the Mighty, the Eternal, self existent, the Master of the Day of Judgement and the Master of all creation—Allah.

Hence in popular Indian mind a *masjid* is a place of deep reverence and purity. From *masjid* developed the triple concept of *Masjid-Maktab-Matab* (Light, Learning and Life), representing prayer, learning, and healing).

The *sufis*, the mendicants, *derveshes* and the travellers take shelter for the night in a mosque. Knowing this Tulsidas says:

*Tulsi sarnam gulam hai Ram ko,
Jako ruchai so kahai kachhu ou.
Mangi ke khabo, masit ko soibo,
lebe ko ek na devecko do.*

(*Tulsi Granthavali*, p. 187)

Dadu sees unity of purpose in *masjid* and *dehru* (the place of worship of non-Muslims) thus:

*(Dadu) Hindu log dehure, Musalman masit.
Na tahan Hindu deh duhra, na tahan Turak masit.
Yahu masit Yahu dehura, sat gur diya dikhai.*

(*Dadu Bani-I*, p. 165)

Saum, Roza (Ramazan Fasting)

The word "*Roza*" does not occur anywhere in the Qur'an. This was possibly invented in Iran and became currency in India via Persian poetry.

The Arabic word for fasting is "*saum*". Thus "*namaaz*" and "*roza*" in Arabic would be "*saum-o-salwat*".

Fasting is the third pillar of Islam and is mandatory on all able-bodied adults, except women who are in period. Muslims' firmness in faith and their capability to endure are both the outcome of fasting during *Ramazan*.

However fasting is found among other religions too. In India, it is called "*vrat*". But the Muslim fasting is not the same as *vrat*. The Muslim fasting is physical, mental and spiritual. Between dawn and dusk Muslims do not take any food or drink.

However between dusk and dawn, all *halaal* things are permitted. In Hindi, the *sufi* poets mention *roza* strictly according to the *Shariat*.

*Sanchi rah sariat, jehi biswas na hoi.
Paun rakh tehi sirahi nirbram pahiche soi.*

(*Jayisi Granthavali*, p. 322)

And non-*sufi* poets, such as Guru Nanak, commend the 30-day fasting during *Ramazan* and the five daily prayers:

*Tih kari rakhe panji kari sathi nau, sai tanu matu kari jai.
Nanaku akhe rahi pe chalna malu, duhanu kithu sauji ahi.*

(*Nanak Vani*, p. 126)

Other poets, such as Dadu, Malukdas, Kabir et. al. also commend fasting. Says Kabir:

Roja kiya nimaj gujarai, bang de log sunave.

(*Kabir Granthavali*, p. 133)

Hindu ekadasi chaubis, roja Muslim tis banaye.

(*Bijak*, p. 388)

Hajj (Pilgrimage to Ka'ba at Makkah)

Hajj is Arabic word and refers to the circumambulation of the Ka'ba in Makkah. According to Qur'an, Makkah or Bakkah (as it was known in still older times) had been the centre of pilgrimage in Arabian peninsula from times immemorial. Prophet Abraham

was commanded by Allah to raise the walls of *Ka'ba*, which is proof enough that *Ka'ba* existed even before. But Abraham not only raised the walls of *Ka'ba* but also re-established it as the centre of pilgrimage for his progeny.

While raising the walls of the *Ka'ba*, Prophet Abraham, accompanied by his elder son, Ismael (whose half-brother was younger Ishaq (Issac in the holy Bible), prayed to the Lord that from thereon, the prophethood should continue in his lineage. Allah accepted his prayer, and ended prophethood on Muhammad, the last of his direct lineage. That is why Muhammad calls his religion, "*Deen-e-Ibrahim*", the religion of Abraham, the Patriarch of Jews, Christian and Muslims.

It is also not without significance that *Ka'ba* or *Baitullah*, meaning the House of Allah, was rebuilt by Muhammad even before he was chosen by Allah to be His last Prophet.

In the early days of Islam, Muslims offered prayers facing in the direction of Jerusalem. Then one day, Allah commanded Muhammad in the midst of prayer to turn his face towards *Ka'ba*, the centre for mankind his progenitor Abraham had raised with his own hands. Today, Muslims, wherever they are located, turn their faces in prayer towards *Ka'ba*, making it the heart of Islam.

During *Hajj*, Muslims repeat the rituals performed by Abraham and later by Prophet Muhammad. One of these is offering prayer at *Muqaam-e-Ibrahim*, where the patriarch Abraham had stood to raise the walls of *Ka'ba*. The black stone that Abraham had fixed at a corner in one of the walls of the *Ka'ba* is also kissed because the holy Prophet had kissed it. **It is not worshipped at all.** The holy Qur'an says:

"Remember, We made the House a place of assembly for men and a place of safety (for all); And take you the station of Abraham as a place of prayer. And We covenanted with Abraham and Ismail that they should sanctify My House for these who compass it around".

(*Al-Qur'an: Surah Al-Baqra* (2), Verses 125, 158, 191, 196-203 etc).

Ka'ba is also *Qibla* for Muslims, that is the place in whose direction Muslims turn their faces while praying.

During *Hajj*, now about 30 lakhs of pilgrims from all countries of the world, of all nationalities and races, rich and poor, don the same unsewn cloth and pray like one family of man. Nowhere in the world can one see such Equality and Fraternity. The sight when seen on TV screens is simply awe-inspiring.

Hindi literature abounds in references to *Hajj*, Makkah, *Ka'ba*, *Qibla* etc. The gatherings at the *dargah* (mausolea) of Muslim saints, such as at Ajmer, are also mistaken for pilgrimage. In Islam, there is just one pilgrimage and that is to *Ka'ba* in Makkah. This misperception may have cropped up because non-Muslim Indians had been forbidden from travel beyond India (beyond seven rivers), wherefore they could not witness what the pilgrimage to Makkah really means. However, Hindi poetry mentions *Ka'ba* with certain reverence as the Place of God. Kabir held purity of heart as crucial for a pilgrimage to the House of God:

*Hriday kapat milai kyun sain, kya Haj Kabai jawa.
Haj Kabe whai whai jaya keti bar Kabair.*

(Kabir Granthavali, p. 133)

Says Dadu:

*Har do alam khalaq khana, Momina Islam
"Hajan Haji" kaja kaji, khan tu sultan.*

(Dadu Bani-II, p. 166)

Jayisi, the great *sufi*, depicts Makkah and Madinah metaphorically.

*Gha, ghat jagat barabar jana, jehi manh dharati sarag samana.
Math unch Makka ban thaun, hiya Madina Nabi ka naun,
Sarvan, akhin, nak mukh chari, charihu sewak, lehu vichari.*

(Jayisi Granthavali: Akhravat, p. 310)

Kabir echoes him:

Man kari Makka Kibla kari dehi, bolan har paras guru aihi.

(Kabir Granthavali, p. 240)

Further:

Kahun bhulayo Makka, jai kahun bhulaye Kashi hai.

(Sundar Vilas, p. 82)

Maka bichi musafisrila, Madina Multan w?y.

(*Dadu Bani-II*, p. 139)

***Zam-Zam* (Water fount near *Ka'ba*)**

It is a stream near *Ka'ba*. When Patriarch Abraham left Bibi Hajira and their son, Ismael near *Ka'ba*, to return to Bibi Sarah, his wife in Palestine, baby Ismail lay on the desert sand crying. Mother Hajira ran between the two hillocks, Safa and Marwah, crying for help and looking for water. At that time there was no population around Makkah. At this moment of suffering, Allah commanded a stream to issue from the sand which baby Ismail kicked. That stream is flowing till date. Its water is called *Zam-Zam* and is considered holy and beneficial. Every Muslim pilgrim brings back with him at least a bottle of *Zam-Zam* to be sprinkled on his coffin before burial.

Dadu mentions *Zam-Zam* thus:

Ithan aab Zam-Zama, ithain subhana ve.

Takht khani kangurela, ithain sultan ve.

(*Dadu Bani*, part-II, p. 139.)

***Tasawwuf* (Islamic Mysticism)**

Elements of Sufism, mystic devotion, are found in different religions, though, *Tasawwuf* is essentially an Islamic concept. In Arabic, Persian and Turki, the word *sufi* have a special connotation and is used only for those mystics who have faith in Islam. It is an experience and a way of life that is hard to define precisely. The English word "Mysticism" and the Hindi words "*adhyatmavad*" or "*rhasyavad*" apparently are similar to mysticism, but Islamic mysticism is a thing apart.

According to Prof. R.A. Nicholson the word *sufi* first appeared in Iraq in the 8th century. Alberuni believes it is derived from "*suf*", a rough cloth made of undyed wool. It may also be related to *saaf* or *safa*, signifies purity of heart.

In "*Tazkiratul Aulia*" and "*Nafhatul Uns*", several definitions are given. Abul Hasan Noori says *sufis* are men of pure hearts who bear no grudge against anyone. Hazrat Junaid Baghdadi says

a *sufi* desires, to live for God. Ma'ruf Karkhi says sufism means to hold fast to *Haqq* (Truth). Noori also says a *sufi* has nothing bound to him and he himself is bound to nothing.

The fountainhead of sufism is the Qur'an. Some even say Prophet Muhammad himself was a mystic. Once Dr. B.N. Pande asked Choudhry Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, (then judge of the Federal Court of (united) India and later President of the World Court at Hague). "What is the Qur'anic basis of Sufism?" Sir Zafrullah could not answer. Thereupon, Dr. Pande recited Vers 40 of *Surah An-Noor* (24) of the Qur'an:

"*Allaho Noorus Samaavaat wal Arz*" Allah is the light of the heavens and the Earth).

Thus the original sources of Sufism are the Qur'an, concept of God presented through *Asmaa-i-Hasna* (God's most beautiful names) in the innumerable Verses of the Qur'an, and the life and the message of the Prophet. Sufism is also said to have imbibed other influences, such as Christianity, neo-Platonic philosophy, Hinduism and Buddhism.

Sufi poetry speaks a language of symbolism. Divine inspiration is called "*mai*" (wine). The *khanqah* (monastery) is called "*maikhana*" (tavern). Ecstasy induced by divine inspiration is called *haal* (intoxication) or *masti*. The one who aspires for "*waslul wusul*" (union of unions or divine union) called *rind* (rake). Persian literature is replete with such *sufi* expressions, especially in Hafiz Shirazi whose poetry has cast a spell down the centuries.

Muslim mystics drew their divine inspiration from the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* (the Tradition). The Muslim *sufis* travelled far and wide and finally set up abode in remote places which attracted unending streams of common people of all shades. They, the Muslim *sufi* saints, were immensely revered by the people and by the rulers of the places where they lived. They studied the tales and legends of the places where they lived and reworked them into new poetical works, largely *masnavis* (epics). They sublimated the physical love into divine love and thus created a new ethos in Hindi poetry. Thus, they were the pioneers of a new era in Hindi literature.

It is also a fact that Muslim *sufis*, not rulers, played a greater role in the propagation of Islam through their message of universal love. They were erudite people, well versed in Arabic, Persian or Turki, Sanskrit and *Apbhransh* which they refined into Hindi, raising it to the level of a literary language. They were also the first to return to the dialects and languages of the common people, such as Sindhi, Punjabi, Avadhi and Bengali. Being missionaries, they used these languages as the medium of communication with common masses.

Because of their liberal and democratic thinking they often came into conflict with the dominant political forces that were close to the Imperial courts. If Muslims had been fanatics, *sufis* would not have been able to establish such direct and extensive contact with millions of common people. Nanak, Sunder Das, Dadu etc. have paid rich tributes to the Muslim *sufi* poets:

Sachu miliya tin sofia rakhan kau darbar.

(*Nanak Vani*, p. 104)

Shaikh kahain guru sufi kahai guru ya hit Sundar hot hirane.

(*Sundar Vilas*, p. 161)

Dudhari sanagami sufi darash Kabir.

(*Hans Jawahar*, p. 161)

(Dadu) soi jogi soi jangama, soi sufi, soi Shekh.

(*Dadu Bani-I*, p. 142)

It is time now to explain certain terms peculiar to the world of *sufis*.

***Shaikh* (Spiritual Guide)**

This Arabic word means an old man, head and also an accomplished saints.

Peer Paigambar kiya payana, Shaikh maikh sabai samana.

(*Dadu Bani II*, p. 91)

***Wali* (Enlightened Soul)**

Literally it means a successor or inheritor but has come to be used for enlightened souls with great spiritual powers.

Qalandar (Mendicant)

A Muslim *sufi* who has abandoned the world and lives a carefree life, unmindful of his own wants is the *Qalandar*. Clearly, he reflect the Buddhist Bhikhu ethos.

Says Nanak:

Manu mandaru tanu wase kalandaru, Ghar hi tirath nava.
(*Nanak Vani*, p. 474?)

Darvesh (Ascetic)

The word might have originated in Iraq. A Muslim mystic who has renounced all pleasures of life and leads an ascetic life is called a *Dervesh* in Persian. He lives only to serve Allah, and none else.

Faqir (God-Reliant Recluse)

Though today this word is used for a beggar but originally it is derived from the Arabic word, *Fuqr*, meaning reliance on Allah. A *Faqir* is not a person who has renounced the world but one who relies only on Allah while he busies himself with the self-assumed path of spreading love and preaching humility to make the common people realise that all the gains of this life are merely a passing show and the eternal truth is Allah's own Light. Dadu mentions these several types of *sufis*, thus:

Isak ajab abdal hai, dardvand darves,
Dadu sikka sabar (forbearance) hai, akali 'pi' updes.
Dard diwane bawre, almast fakira.
(*Dadu Bani-I*, p. 142)

Dargah (Abode of Sufis)

In Persian, it means the threshold of a tomb or abode of a *faqir*. Maluk Das recommends that one should deposit his heart in a *dargah*, i.e., pledge loyalty to a *faqir*:

Ai ajij iman tu, kahe ko khovai.
Hiya rakhio dargah mein to pyara hovai.
(*Maluk Das ki Bani*, p. 15)

Noor-e-Ilahi (Divine Light)

We have already quoted the Verse that God is the Light of the heavens and the Earth. The same *Surah*, *An-Noor* (24) further says (Verse 35):

"The parable of His light is as if there is a niche and within it is a lamp; the lamp is enclosed in glass, the glass is, as it were, a brilliant star, lit from the oil of a blessed tree... God doth guide whom He pleases to His light."

In *sufi* terminology, "*Noor*" (light) is interpreted at three different levels. One is the Divine Light of Allah. The other is the life and teachings of Prophet Muhammad. And the third is the light that reflects Allah's glory in every object in this universe. And there are the verses of the holy Qur'an to support them.

In Verse 46 of *Surah Al-Ahzab* (33), Allah says:

"O Prophet, Truly have We sent thee a witness, a bearer of glad tidings, and Warner, and as one who invites (men and women) to God's grace by His leave and as a lamp spreading light. And God guideth not those who do wrong. Their intention is to extinguish God's light by (blowing) their mouth. Believe therefore in God and his apostles and in the light which We have sent down".

The *sufis* regard God as absolute beauty. Being absolute beauty He is worthy of being love. The Qur'an repeatedly emphasises heart as the seat of all knowledge and awareness. If one's heart is pure, the beloved would reside in his heart. All earthly beauty is a reflection of the eternal beauty of God. Through the beauty of this world, you glimpse the eternal beauty of God. Hence, beauty of human person is likened to the beauty of God (as reflected).

There are several instances of Hindi poets referring to *Noor-e-Ilahi* (Divine Light):

*Jati Noor Allah ka, sifaati Arvah.
Sifati sajda karai, jati be-parwah.*

*** * ***

Var par nanhi noor ka, Dadu tej anant.

(*Dadu Bani-I*, p. 51, 182, 148, 26, 240)

Allah ale noor ka, bhari bhari pyala dehu.

(*Dadu Bani-I*, p. 140)

Noor tej anant hai, Dadu sirjanhar.

(*Dadu Bani-I*, p. 26)

Dadu tej anant hai, Allah ale noor.

(*Dadu Bani-I*, p. 51)

Upholding *Tauheed*, Dadu says:

Khand khand nij na bhaya, ikhlas ekai noor.

Jyon the tyon hi tej hai, joti rahi bharpur.

Noor sarikha noor hai, tej sarikha tej.

Tum hi karta, tum hi bharta, tum hi nabh upar tej tapaiho.

(*Akbari Darbar ke Kavi*, pp. 185, 186, 402)

Tansen, Sundardas (*Sundar Villas*, p. 113), *Bulle Shah* (p. 5) have also talked about the Light of God.

Noor-e-Muhammad

Some *sufis* believe, God first created the light of the Prophet and then created the universe to symbolise His love for Muhammad.¹ This viewpoint was given currency of Persian poetry. Jayisi mentions it in the “*stuti*” part of his *masnavi*, “*Padmavat*” (p. 1):

Kinhesi pratham jyoti parkasu, kinhesi tehi pirit Kailasu.

Kinhesi agini, pavan, jal kheha, Kinhesi bahutai rang ureha.

Kinhesi purush ek nirmara, Nam Muhammad puno-kara.

In “*Akhravat*” (p. 303), Jayisi says:

Gagan huta nahin mahi huti hute chand nahin Soor.

Aisai andh kupmahan racha Muhammad noor.

More such examples may be seen in section dealing with *Manqabat* and Muhammad (under Religion). Here we intend to merely point out that following the pattern set by *sufi* Muslim poets, the Hindu saint poets too have described Noor in a similar fashion, adding their own ethos.

1. (a) *Awwal ma khalaqallahu nuri wa ana min-nur Allahu wa kullu shaiyan min-nuri.*

(b) *Kuntu kanzan makhfiyan fa-ahabbatu an aarafa fa khalaqtum.*

***Ishq* (Love Irrational)**

The early *sufis* sought to restrain themselves, fearing Allah and His wrath. Then they realised that God is also the Most Merciful in whom they could seek refuge by following the path of love.

Then woman *sufi* Rabia of Basra in Iraq and Mansur Hallaj expounded the view that the essence of the Divine is love. Hallaj urged the slaves of God to get closer to God. He was drawing inspiration from Verse 165 of Surah Al-Baqra (2) and an *hadees* attributed to Bukhari Muslim. The *sufis* turned around to believe in the doctrine: "*Ishq-hu-al Allah*" (Love is God). They realised love is the real cause of the creation of the universe itself. So they asserted love was a boundless ocean. Some *Sufis* believe that *Ishq* (love irrational), *aashiq* (lover) and *mashooq* (beloved) are one and the something. They saw *aashiq* (lover) as one lost entirely in his love of God. Ibn Arabi claimed Islam has the distinction of being a religion of love, because Prophet Muhammad's epithet is "*Habeebullah*" (Beloved of God). And also because, another attribute of Allah is "*Ya Wadudu*" (O Lover of virtue). This concept also impressed and influenced Hindi poets. *Sufis* also believe that like "*muarifat*" (enlightenment), love too is a gift of God, it cannot be acquired. Linking love and beauty, Al-Ghazali says: "Beauty begets love". (Al-Ghazali the Mystic, p. 109). He implies that love is nothing but the light of God. By this view, love transcended from "love for the human person" to "love for the Eternal Beauty of God". This became the major refrain of the *sufi* poets in their love epics, such as "*Padmavat*". And most certainly, it influenced the non-*sufi* Hindi poets too, who happen to use the words, "*Ishq*" "*Aashiq*" and "*Mashooq*" more often than the Muslim *Sufi* poets. Dadu Dayal surpasses them all. The description of pangs of love we find in Hindi poetry also reflects the influence of Persian poetry.

At this point, it is necessary to discuss how this change of attitude came about in Hindi poetry. So we must refer to the authoritative study by Dr. Shyam Manohar Pandey who has compared the *sufi* and non-*sufi* tradition in Hindi literature.

In the ancient Indian literature the writers go as far back to the Vedic period. In Rig Veda, they find dialogue between Yam-

Yami, the brother-sister duo. Enamoured of her own brother, Yami proposes to him. Then, there are tales about Purukhas and Urvashis, Dushyant and Shakuntala, Nal-Damayanti, Usha-Anirudha and Madhavanal-Kamkandala (See: *Madhya Yugin Premakhyan* by Dr. Shyam Manohar Pandey).

On the basis of his deep study of Vedic, Sanskrit, Jain and *Apbharansh* tales, Dr. Pandey opines that the development of love in these literary works is not logical. Another point is that in Sanskrit classics, such as "*Bhagwat*" the love of *Gopis* is for a "*Saukar*" Krishna. Devotion to Krishna as a personal god in human form. On the other hand, Dr. Pandey points out, love in the epics composed by the *sufi* poets is related to "*Nirakar*" or formless God.

There are good reasons to believe that the *sufi* poets carved their own path. Foremost among these reasons is that Islam abhors renunciation and the factor of "*Nirakar*" (formless God) excludes the possibility of the *sufi* poets having been influenced by the ancient Indian literature in composing their *masnavis*. The sharp attitudinal difference towards life and love makes it difficult to believe that the *sufi* poets needed to derive inspiration from the Indian classics, while the fact remains that they had numberless love *masnavis* on hand in Persian which they knew and had studied. Hence, it is reasonable to hold that the *sufi* poets neither held the ancient Indian classics as a model before them nor were influenced by the ancient Indian attitude towards portraying life and love.

At the same time, it can be proved that non-*sufi* poets of Hindi, following the creations of the *sufis* were positively influenced by the *sufi* tradition. The best example is the influence of Jayisi's "*Padmavat*" on Tulsi's *Ramcharitmanas*, the latter having been written 34 years after the Jayisi classic.

Sufis did borrow the love tales of the Indian milieu but re-fashioned them to depict the transition of "*Ishq-e-majaazi*" (virtual love) into "*Ishq-e-Haqeeqi*" (transcendental love), from the human person to the Divine. This was the gift of *sufi* thinking. This can be best realised by comparing the love tales, such as "*Dhola Maru Raddu*" "*Bisaledev Raso*", "*Lakhansen Padmavati Katha*", "*Madhavanal Kamkandala*" of Ganpati, and Chaturbhuj Das,

"*Madhumalati*", with the love epics created by the *sufi* poets of Hindi. The latter are in the Persian style of writing *masnavis*. These *sufis* believed, God created the world out of His love for Muhammad and therefore this world should be seen as the manifestation of divine love. This approach elevates the soul, there by demolishes all barriers between men. It was a re-enactment of Islam's doctrine of equality and fraternity.

Jayisi says love is a difficult game but whosoever plays it earnestly, he absolves himself in both the worlds.

*Bhale hi prem hai kathan duhela,
Doi jag tara prem jehi khela.
Jo nahiu sees pempath lava,
So prithmi manh kahe ka awa.
Jehin ke hiye prem rang jama,
Ka tehi bhookh nina bisrama.*

(*Jayisi Granthavali*, pp. 40, 58)

Dadu, walking into the footsteps of *sufi* poets Usman, Noor Muhammad and others, also extols the virtues of love:

Prem pahar swarg te uncha.

(*Chitravali*, p. 40)

Kathin prem ka phand, mukut na hoi.

(*Anurag Bainsuri*, p. 16)

*Dadu pati prem ki birla banche koi.
Ved Puran pustak parhe prem bina kya hoi.*

(*Dadu Bani-1*, p. 32)

Dadu declares Love is God.

*Ishq Allah ki jati hai, ishq Allah ka ang.
Ishq Allah maujud hai ishq Allah ka rang.*

(*Dadu Bani-1*, p. 40)

Poets who believe in an intellectual approach to devotion (*Gyan Margi* poets) use "*Ishq*", "*Aashiq*", "*Mashuq*", "*Muhabbat*" etc. for the formless God.

The *sufi* mysticism facilitated the articulation of Bhagwat mysticism. This comes through in the poetry of Meera and Raskhan.

*Sir katao, chedao hiyo, took took kari dehu.*¹

*Janabjhi baji jahan, dil ka dil se mel.*²

Akath kahani prem ki, janat laili khoob.

*Do tanhu jah ek bhai, man milai mehboob.*³

Lost in her love of Krishna, Meera roams in the jungles looking for her beloved, exactly as Rabia of Basra or Majnoon in the Arabic epic.

Hai ri main prem divane, mera dard na jane koi.

*Ghail ki gati ghail jane, jo koi ghail hoi.*⁴

*Dard ki maari ban ban dolu, baid milyo na koi.*⁵

Meera's abandon love recalls Rabia's pangs in love and the state of ecstasy of the *sufis* "*Raqs*" (dance).

Kabhi hamaari gali aawre,

Jiya ki tapan bujhav re, Pyaare Mohan pyaare.

*Ghaayal phirun tadapti, peed jane nahi koi.*⁶

Talpat talpat kal na parat hai, virha van ur lagi ri.

*Virha bhunjug mairo dasao hai kalejo lehri halal jagi ri.*⁷

These pangs of separation (*Viyog paksh*) in Meera are the same as depicted by *sufi* Hindi poets, such as Jayisi etc.

***Pir-o-Murshad* (Spiritual Guide)**

A person who guides a "*saalik*" (new entrant to Sufism) is called *Pir-o-Murshid*. He is a mature person who has realised God through his mystic devotion. "*Siyarul Aulia*" lists the qualities of a *Murshad* as follows:

1. He should have attained spiritual eminence to be able to initiate a *saalik* into Sufism.
2. He should have travelled the path on which he will guide his disciple.

1-3. *Prem Vatika*, pp. 22, 31 and 33.

4-6. *Meera Ka Pad*, pp. 11, 16, 36, 37.

7. *Meera Padavli*, pp. 17-18.

3. He must be generous and sincere.
4. He should not covet anything the disciple (now called *Mureed*) possesses.
5. He must instruct the *mureed* gently but firmly.
6. He must know rules of conduct (*Tareeqat*) for teaching his *mureed*.
7. As far as possible, his instruction must be indirect.
8. He should be able to command positively what has been ordained by the *Shariat*, and
9. He must abstain from doing what has been prohibited by *Shariat* and make his disciple do the same.

Evidence of the great role of the preceptor (*Guru/Murshad*) and the reverence he commanded is amply found in Indian tradition. In the Krishna *Bhakti* cult, the *guru* is placed almost on par with God.

❧

Bhakt, Bhakti Bhagwant, Guru.

The poets of "Ashtachhap (8 Disciples) school, such as Surdas, says the prayer offered to God is the same as that for the *guru*. The belief in reincarnation may have strengthened this trend of thought.

*Hari guru ek roop nrip, jaani,
Yanmey kechu sandeh na aani.*

(*Sur Sagar* 6-5, *Krishah Kirtan*, part 2, p. 105)

In Islam Allah has no incarnation nor do human beings get reincarnated. There is *no ansh-anshi, agni-sphuling. Sambandh* in Islam. In *sufi* tradition, a *saalik* has to seek out a preceptor (*Pir-o-Murshid*) whose every single word is taken as an order. It is said a *saalik* without a preceptor is grabbed by *Shaitan* (devil). That is, he becomes the Devil's Disciple.

Hujvery states that the *Shaikh* (Preceptor) puts *saalik* (*mureed*) on a 3-year probation. In the first year, he is observed in his worldly conduct. In the second year, he performs service to

humanity. In the third and final year of his apprenticeship, the *mureed* is taught how to control his mind and desires and discipline himself.

The preceptor accepts a *mureed* on being satisfied, after the 3-year probation, about the *mureed's* capacity for learning and absorbing the spiritual instructions. The *mureed* must have unquestioning obedience to his preceptor and display implicit faith in him. In the *masnavis* of *sufi* tradition these poets follow the pattern set in Persian *masnavis*, i.e. a prayer portion at the start with *Hamd* (praise for God) *Na't* (praise for the Prophet) *Manqabat* (praise for the Four Wisely Guided Caliphs) and then *Tazkirah* (praise for the preceptor).

In the *masnavis* of Hindi poets, the praise of *Murshad* was meant to help the *mureed* in seeking perfection. The parrot Hiran in Jayisi's "*Padmavat*" (p. 301) is an example:

Guru suva jai panth dikhawa, Bin guru jagat ko nirgun pawa.

Jayisi sees a guru's task as below:

Syed Asraf, pir pyara, jehi mohe panth denh ujyara.

*** * ***

Muhammad tai nichint path jehi sang Murshad Pir.

(Jayisi *Granthavali*, p. 7)

Dadu takes *Shaikhs* and Prophets as *pirs*.

*Dadu Shaikh, mascik, auliya, paighamabar sab pir.*¹

*Dadu sadhai surti ko, so guru pir hamara.*²

Sundar Das says the dust under the feet of *Pir* can help the *mureed* get rid of all greed.

Awwal ustad ke kadam ki khakho,

*Hirs beguzar sab chhod phaina.*³

Malukdas thinks one who feels the pain of others is the real *pir*.

Maluka soai pir hai jo Jane par peer.

(Malukdas *Ki Bani*, p. 32 and 4)

1-2. *Dadu Bani*, part 1, p. 147.

3. *Sunder Vilas*, p. 13.

Dadu believes all saints and *pirs* are mortals and only God is immortal.

*Pir, paighambar, shaikah, masaik, Shiv viranchi, sab dava re.
Kali aaya so koi na rahti, rahsi alakh abheva re.*

(*Dadu Bani-1*, p. 137)

Dadu's attitude above is nearer the *sufi* poets who do not elevate the guru to the level of God. In Dukhharandas' "*Pushpavati*" also one finds a similar strain of thought.

Four Stages of *Tasawwuf*

The *sufis* were not a regimented lot. Because of their liberal thinking, they believed there could be several paths to the realisation of the final goal:

*Vidhna ke marag hein tete, sarag nakhat tan revan jete.
Jai haira tai tanhve pava, bha santosh, samujhi man gawa.*

(*Jayisi Granthavali: Akhravat*, p. 321)

Jayisi believes that Allah is the Nourisher (*Rab*) of all creatures:

*Tehe mah panth kahao bhal gai, jahi duno jag chaj badai.
Jo bhula hoi antahi tehi luta batpar.*

(*Jayisi Granthavali*, p. 321)

In the *sufi* methodology, the *saalik* or *mureed* has to pass through four stages before he is able to reach his goal. These are: *Shariat* (following the religious way), *Tariqat* (proceeding on the mystical path), *Muarifat* (following gnosticism) and *Haqiqat* (knowing the Truth). After passing through these four stages, he is able to cast away the illusion of worldly life and grasp the divine mystery. These stages are mentioned by *sufi* and non-*sufi* poets alike.

*Chahar manzil bayan guftam dast karda bood.
Muqaam che cheese hast dadni sajoon.*

(*Dadu Bani-1*, pp. 55 and 53)

Shariat: (The Religious Way)

In this stage, the *saalik* has to strictly follow the Dos and Dents of the Islamic *Shariat* and the Muslims way of life, offering

five daily prayers, observing fast etc. He does everything on the advice of his preceptor. It may be called "*karam kand*" (ritualism) in Hindi. The *sufi* saints assert *Shariat* as must and say this is the direct method without which the ultimate goal cannot be reached:

*Sanchi rah Shariat, jehi visbas na hoi.
Panv rakh tehi sidi nirbharam pahuche soi.*

(*Jaisi Granthavali*, p. 322)

Even other poets in Hindi literature emphasise upon the religious way through the characters in their stories;

*Sunao Kunwar ek vachan hamara,
dharam panth duhu jag ujiyara.
Jake hirdai dharam ga jagi, so kas parai pap kai aagi.*

(*Madhumalti*, stanza 127, p. 106)

A person comes to grief by losing the path of religion:

Akaram kai ka dharam nasai, gaya dharam puni jeu pachtai.

(*Madhumalti*, stanza 128, p. 107)

Those saint-poets (*Sants*) did not adhere to Islam, they yet emphasised the *Shariat*. Says Nanak:

*Musalmana sifati sariati padi padi karhi beharu.
Bande se ji pavhi vichi bandi vehan kau diedaru.*

(*Nanak Vani*, p. 332)

In Dr. Tarachand's view Dadu Dayal's language is dominated by Muslim cultural ethos and his philosophical thought too is influenced by Islamic *sufis*. Dadu says if a man forsakes the rightful path, the first thing he must do is to return to *Shariat* or the path of religion, because the *Shariat* gives the knowledge to distinguish good from evil and "*halaal*" from "*haraam*":

*Haiwan aalim gumrah gafil, Awwal Sariat pand,
Halaal haraam neki badi, darse danishmand.*

(*Dadu Bani*, part I, p. 54)

Tariqat (Mystical Path)

Having learned to exercise self-control and to curb his evil propensities the *saalik* is now ushered into the second stage: *Tariqat*,

and starts proceeding on the path of mysticism. In this stage, the *saalik* seeks to fully purify his soul. In other words, having completed the ritualistic discipline, he now enters the spiritual domain. This subtle transition is explained thus:

Shariat sar jhukaana hai, Tariqat dil lagaana hai.
Shariat is bowing the head, *Tariqat* is moulding the heart.

Says Jayisi:

Kanhi tariqat Chishti piro, ugharit asraf aoo, jahangiro.
 (Jayisi *Granthavali: Akhravat*, p. 321)

Kabir, having enjoyed the company of Shaikh Taqi and other *sufis*, says:

Turak tariqat janiyo, Hindu Ved Puran.
 (Kabir *Granthavali*, p. 236)

Dadu Dayal, using Persian and Arabic words profusely, describes the *Tariqat*.

***Muarifat* (Gnosis)**

In this stage, the screen of illusion is almost gone and the *saalik* begins to acquire the knowledge of miraculous powers through the inner strength of his soul. This stage may be called the realisation of Truth. Jayisi says *Muarifat* (the third stage) alone leads to the ultimate stage: *Haqiqat*.

Rah haqiqat pare na chuki, pethi muarifat mar buduki.
 (Jayisi *Granthavali*, p. 321)

Dadu sees *Muarifat* as the stage in which a *saalik* learns to delink himself with the world and begins to see God in water, fire, *arsh* and indeed in everything. Says Dadu:

Kul faarigh tark dyuniya, har roj hardam yaad.
Allah alle ishq aashiq, dariune faryad.
Aab aatash arsh kursi, surte subhan.
Sir sifaat karda budan, muarifat makan.

(Dadu Bani-1, p. 54)

Haqiqat (The Truth)

Hujveri says finding the Supreme Truth and seeing His glimpse is the final stage: *Haqiqat*. The *saalik* dips into the fathomless ocean of ultimate truth through intense devotion. In Jayisi's view after reaching the stage of *Haqiqat*, on lapse is possible.

Rah Haqiqat pare na chuki, pethi marphat mar buduki.

Dadu Dayal claims to have reached the stage of *Haqiqat*: "I have seen the Light. I have found my goal. I have got His glimpse".

Haqq haasil noor didam, qarare maqsud.

Deedar-e-yaar arwah aadam, maujood-e-maojud.

Chahar manzil bayan guftam, dast kardah bood.

Peeran mureedan khabar kardah, raahe Ma'bood.

(*Dadu Bani*, part-I, p. 55)

He further says: To those who have attained their ultimate goal, the radiance of God, the Best of the Best, is unbearable for eyes. He is like the nectar to the devotee.

Yeka noor khub-e- khuban didani hairan.

Ajab cheez khurdani piyala mastan.

(*Dadu Bani*-1, pp. 55, 54)

Dadu Dayal was in close contact with *Sufi Mast Qalandar* and fully assimilated their teachings and influence.

Sufi Practices

Having finished the 3-year apprenticeship and completed the four essential stages in his transition, the *saalik*, now *sufi* in his own right; lives by a side of conduct that involves very austere *sufi* practices, such as *tauba* (repentance), *Zikr* Remembrance, *Tark* (severing worldly ties), *Zuhad* (abstinence) *Fuqr* (mendicancy) *Ijz* (humility) *Sabr* (patience), *Tawakkal* (reliance on God), *Riza* (contentment) etc. These have been mentioned at different places in the Qur'an. In books on *tasawwuf*, these are detailed at length. Here we refer to such of the *Sufi* terminology which has found expression in Hindi poetry as a consequence of Muslim influence.

Tauba (Repentance)

Seeking to become perfect, the *Sufis* repeatedly resort to "*tauba*" (repentance) to atone for any minor or minute error of thought or conduct, to awaken their soul to rise above the subconscious. *Tauba* is not just repenting a sin but also a promise not to sin. This is a purely Muslim attitude. The impact of it is quite clear in the poetry of Malukdas and other Hindi poets.

*Kahta Maluk jab toba kar sahib se,
Chhand di kurah jin jare par jata hai.
Kaul se be kaul hua kisi ki na let dua.
Dojakh ke liye dil kaun maua hai?.*

(*Maluk Das ki Bani*, p. 29)

Nafs

In the *sufi* doctrine, the evil propensities in man are attributed to "*Nafs*". A *sufi* is called upon to wage *Jihaad* (crusade) against his "*Nafs*" and tame it. Several Hindi poets, influenced by Islam and Muslim *sufi* poets, refer to "*Nafs*" in identical terms.

*Hai gunehgar bhe guna hi karte hein,
Kaiga mar tab phire rota.
Nafs shaitan kun kaidkar aapne,
Kya duniya mein phire khaya gota.
Hai gunehgar bhi guna karte hain,
Khaiga mar tab phire rota.*

(*Dadu*) "*Nafs*"nav sun mariye, gosmal de pand.

(*Dadu Bani-1*, p. 128)

Zikr (Remembrance)

Zikr or liturgy is remembrance of God. It can be *Zikr-e-Jali* (Loud remembrance) or *Zikr-e-Khafi* (literally means hidden but implies remembering in undertones). *Zikr* is frequently commanded in the Qur'an and *Hadees*. *Sufis* have included *Zikr* in their devotional routine. They chant "*Subhaanallah*" (Praise be to God), "*Allahu*" (Allah, Allah) or "*La Ilaaha Illallah*" (No one is worthy of worship but Allah) and similar other chants to the glory of their beloved Allah. Hindu tradition has also repeatedly emphasised

Japam (recitation of divine names). Interestingly, *sufi* and non-*sufi* poets of Hindi have dealt with *Zikr* in the *sufi* way and terminology.

*Allah tera Zikr phikar karte hain.
Asiqaan mustaaq tere, tars-tars marte hain.
Khalaq khesh digar neest (no Creator other than Allah),
Baithe din marte hain. Daayem darbar tere,
Gair mahal darte hain.*

(*Dadu Bani-II*, p. 167)

And now some examples from Hindi *sufi* poets who did influence the saint poets of Hindi in resorting to *sufi* content in their works.

Noor Muhammad tells his mistress (*Naika*):

*Nisi din sumer Muhammad naun,
Jason mile sarag mein thaun.*

(*Indravati*, p. 96)

Jo bhar janam kare vidhi japa, Binu vohi nam hohi sab lapa.

(*Chitravali*, p. 6)

Uttering Allah's name with devotion and love, Noor Muhammad goes on to say:

*Jab lagi Prem na vyapai, tab lagi swap.
Swap jat jab aawat, padhat "Jap".*

(*Anurag Bansuri*, p. 22)

Sumirat rahao nam kartara, jehi sumire pavai bhavpara.

(*Hans Jawahar*, p. 25)

Nanak says remembering God repeatedly washes off a man's misdeeds:

*Nai maniye durmati gai mati pargati aaiya.
Naun maniye haumai gai sabhi rog gavaiya.*

(*Nanak Vani*, p. 734)

Tark (Severing Worldly Ties)

Sufis believe so long as the worldly desires are not given up, a *sufi* remains far behind his goal. So all the worldly lusts and

desires, such as wealth, luxuries and worldly pleasures, must be given up. Jayisi even recommends a dietetic regimen:

*Chhandahu ghiu au machhari mansu,
Sukhe bhojan karhu garasu.
Doodh, mansu ghiu kar aa aharu,
Roti sani karhu pharharu.
Ahi vidhi kam ghatabahni kaya,
Kam krodh, trisna mad maya.*

(Jayisi Granthavali, p. 328)

The saint-poets (*Sants*) were also attracted to the *sufi* concept of "Tark". Says Dadu:

*Dadu aasik ek Allah ke pharig duniya deen.
Tarik is aujood pe, Dadu pak akeen.*

(Dadu Bani-I, p. 32)

And adds that those who feel satisfied with giving up worldly desires and attachments are the real gainers:

*Kul pharig tarke duniya, har roz har dam yaad.
Allah aale ishq aashiq darune phariyad.*

(Dadu Bani-I, p. 54)

Malukdas is immersed in his thought and desires to be faithful to his faith, having given up all ties with this world.

Note the language and tenor of his "kalaam" (poetry) is that of the *sufi* poets:

*Taon dervesan ka painda nirala hai,
Rahte mahjoob ve to Saheb ki surat par.
Duniya ko Tark mar deen ko sambhaala hai,
Kisi se na karai swal unka kuchh aur aur khyaal.
Phirte almost vajood bhi visaara hai.*

(Maluk Das Ki Bani, p. 27)

Rai Das also sees the advantages of *Tark*:

Dojakh bhist dou samkar janau duhun se Tarak hai bhai.

(Rai Das Ki Bani, p. 4)

Ijz (Humility)

The holy Qur'an teaches *Ijz* (Humility) and forbids men from taking loudly and walking arrogantly on God's earth.

The Persian poet Jami says: Faqirs renounce world for the pleasure of Allah for three reasons: fear of the Day of Judgement, inner peace and attainment of Allah's proximity in heaven. Given below are quotes from Hindi saint-poets who echo the Islamic ethos in this matter. They express the thoughts of Islamic Sufism (*Tasawwuf*) in Persia-Arabic terms:

*Kaliq sikasta main banda tera,
De didaar umedgaar, bekaraar jiv mera.
Awwal Aakhir Allah, Adam pharista banda,
Jiski panaah pir paighambar, main gharib kya ganda.*

(*Rai Das Ki Bani*, p. 29)

Dr. Tarachand has dealt with the theme of humility and mendicancy and its impact on Indian thinking. He points out that Rai Das' hymns clearly reveal this impact as cited above.

Tawakkal (Contentment)

Tawakkal in Arabic means contentment with Allah. It implies reliance on Him and none else. It also implies accepting everything as His pleasure, without murmur or complaint. *Sufis*, who cut themselves away from the world and its snares, have none else but Allah to look to. The holy Qur'an describes *Tawakkal* at many places.

Dr. Hardev Behri is of the view that Surdas' "*Vinay Patrika*" and other devotional compositions (*Vinay Padas*) bear the stamp of Islamic Sufism and reflect the concept of *Tawakkal* that can be likened to *Ish-Pranidhan* or *aatm-samarpan*. But not really. *Tawakkal* goes beyond this. *Tawakkal* holds out hope. God is also "*Ghafoor*" (Forgiver). A sinner who repents is forgiven, while in the Vedic thought every sin is to be punished. The saint poets accepted the Islamic concept of *Tawakkal*.

*Prabhu hon sab patitani ke tikon.
Aur patit sab divas charikai haun tao janmat hi kau.*

(*Sur Sagar*, p. 138-139 and 334)

Haun to patit siromani madhao.

(*Sur Sagar*, part I, p. 139)

In papin tai kyon ubraoge damangir tumhara.

(*Sur Sagar*, part I, p. 334)

Kabhuk tor bharos, jo main na bahun to kora dos.

(*Raidas ki Bani*, p. 10)

Dadu Dayal too finds salvation in *Tawakkal*:

Gunahgar apradhi tera, bhaji kahan ham jahin.

(*Dadu Bani*, part I, p. 234)

Kahe kun baghra bhayo phorat agyani var,

Tere tae rijak tere bai the aai hai.

(*Sundar Vilas*, p. 3)

Aapi kare alakh aparu, hau papi tun bakhsan haru.

(*Nanak Vani*, p. 266)

In *Mahala 5, Rag Gaudi of Sukhmani* in "*Nanak Vani*", Guru Nanak almost defined *Tawakkal*, saying, God alone is the Giver. When He gives, man gets fulfilment and desires no more.

In his monumental work, "*The Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*", Dr. Tara Chand has rightly maintained that the devotional Hindi literature of the medieval period bears the strong impress of Islam.¹

These facts have now led even the Western scholars to admit that the spread of Islam in India has not been by the sword.

"*The position of early Mohammedan dynasties*", says William Crooke, "was too precarious to admit of any general propaganda. Even in the times of early Mughals, the emperors were too much indifferent towards spiritual affairs, too much engrossed in schemes of conquest and administration to undertake the task of conversion in earnest. Their power was, in a large measure, on links with the Rajput princes".

1. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, pp. 51, 65, 82, 114, 179.

The spread of Islam in India was the work of Muslim *sufis*. In the 13th century thousands of Muslim theologians, *sufis* and missionaries migrated to escape Mongol terror.

Sir Edward MacLagan writes in the District Gazetteer of Multan, "In one respect indeed the destruction of Khurasan and Western Iran was to the benefit of this part of India, for it led to the settling of a considerable number of pious and learned men, most of whom no doubt passed on towards *Dehli* but many of whom stayed (On) to bless Multan with their presence".

It was during this time that ground was prepared for extensive acceptance and spread of Islam and promotion of Hindi language and literature.

III

MUSLIM CULTURE AS REFLECTED IN HINDI LITERATURE

Depiction of Court Environment and Items of Warfare

Persian remained the official language in India until 1837, when it was replaced with Urdu. A study of official documents, *Farmaans*, (royal decrees), plates, inscriptions etc. of Rajasthan done by Ramchandra Rai titled, "*Palaeographical and Linguistic Studies of Hindi, 1150-1750*" reveals that in the entire Hindi area, Rajasthan received the maximum impact of Muslim culture and the language of the Muslim court at Delhi. The Rajputs were in close and sustained contact with Muslims and numbered the most in services. Their mutual contacts in war and peace transcended into close marital ties through several centuries. These influences are reflected in the daily life of people of Rajasthan, especially in their language and Hindi poetry.

Sultan, (The King)

There are several Persian and Arabic words for the ruler, such as *Padshah*, *Badshah*, *Shahinshah*, *Sultan* and *Amir*. In earlier Hindi literature the equivalents were, *Nirpa*, *Nirpati*, *Rao*, *Raya*, *Maharao*, *Raja*, *Maharaja*, *Bhuwal*, *Chakravarty* or *Chakravarty Raja* etc. After the advent of Muslims, political and administrative concepts and administrative practices (as embodied in words and terms) came to be adopted in common usages and literary vocabulary ever increasingly in areas that came under Muslim rule. Remarkably some Muslim States of North India retained the native titles, such as *Rau* or *Maharau*. In their *masnavis* Hindi *sufi* poets used various terms as titles of the ruler:

Shair Shah Dehli Sultanu, chari khand tape jas bhanu.

Badsah tum jagat ke, jag tumhara mohtaaj.

(*Jayisi Granthavali*, Padmavat, p. 5)

Babar Sah chhatrapati Raja, Rajpat un kani vidhi saja.

(*Jayisi Granthavali*, Aakhri Kalaam, pp. 300-341)

Non-sufi poets attached to the courts or in public also used similar titles.

Tan hadd Mian Tansen, buddhi hadd balbir.

Sah ko Sah Akbara, Todarmal vazir.

(*Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 437)

The Muslim rulers showed benevolence to their subjects and therefore they were called "*Gharib Nawaz*" (Friends of the Poor). The word caught on so much so that Tulsidas uses it in "*Ramcharitmanas*"

*Ram Gharib Newaz, newazi hai jani hia thauge.*¹

*Tun 'Gharib ko Newaz' hon 'gharib' tero.*²

*Ram Gharib Newaz bhay hon garib ni garib newazi hi.*³

Tulsidas also coined other epithets on the pattern of *Gharib Nawaz*, such as "*Rank Newaz*" "*Vibheshan Newaz*, *Hanuman Newaz*" etc. all of which indicate language embellishment under the impact of the Muslim culture.

Rank ke newaz Raghuraj Raja rajnike.

*Umari daraaj Maharaaj teri chaahiya.*⁴

*Vibhishan Newaji setu saagar taran bho.*⁵

*Janat Jahan Hanuman ko newajio jan.*⁶

"*Umar daraaz*" is Muslim prayer for long life. Tulsidas using "*Gharib Newaz*" for his *Puranic* hero reveals the extent of Muslim impact.

Surdas also uses the same epithet.

-
1. *Tulsi, Geetavali*, p. 5.
 2. *Vinay Patrika of Tulsi*, p. 78.
 3. *Kavitavali*, p. 7, 95.
 4. *Tulsi Granthavali-II*, p. 182.
 5. *Kavitavali*, p. 6, 56.
 6. *Hanuman Bahuk*, p. 20.

*Nai na karat Kahat prabhu hoen sada Garib Newaj.*¹

Taj (crown) and "*sartaj*" for *shrimoni* (chief), *nayak* (leader) or *swamy* (master) are the other words the saint poets have used.

Hatak khalsa dhuja-pataka, chater chanwar Sirtaj.

Surdas Harshat brijvasi, rahyo ghosh Sirtaj.

(*Sur Nirnay*, p. 229, *Ramcharitmanas*, 1-329)

Mahal (Palace)

Indian Muslim rulers did not use the Arabic word "*Qasr*" for palace. They used "*mahal*" which really refers to private apartments. The inner apartments of Muslim palaces were called *Rang Mahal* or *Kunj Mahal*. Apart from the use of the word "*mahal*", the Hindi poets replicate the Muslim royal grandeur to such an extent that saint poets depicted even a simple austere *Brahmin*, Sudama as living in a gilded palace.

*Tahal sahaj 'mahal mahal' jagat charo jug jam so.*²

*Rang Mahal mian ratan singhasan Radha ravan pyaari.*³

The opulence of Muslim courts and ways of royal living provide the model for Hindi poets when they seek to depict life in the days of Sri Krishna. We find "*harem khana*", "*zenan khana*", "*khas khas khana*" (apartment with curtains of *khas*, a fragrant grass that makes passing air pleasant and "*gulab-paashi*" (sprinkling of rose water) mentioned their poetry.

Sital useer grah chirko,

Gulab neer tah baithe piya piyari kaili kart hain.

*Khasa ka kati banyo pichhore chandan bhiji kulah sanvari.*⁴

In this composition, the luxuries of Mughal palace life during summers is paralleled. The word "*kulah*" (headgear of nobles), is clearly a borrowing from Muslim culture.

1. *Sur Sagar-I*, p. 108, 255.

2. *Tulsi Granthavali-II*, *Vinay Patrika*, p. 449.

3. *Kumbhandas*, 377.

4. *Ibid.*, 78.

***Darbaar* (Royal Court)**

Darbaar refers to the royal court of Muslim kings. Tulsidas and Surdas imitate the pomp and grandeur of the court of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna after the manner of Mughal *darbaar*, using also the vocabulary of Muslim court.

*Jati Pati Kou Poochhat nahi shripati ke darbaar.*¹

In dealing with *Danlila*, Surdas has *gopis* telling Krishna that if he did not stop stealing their milk, butter and curd, they would complain to the ruler Kans. Defiantly Krishna tells them to go ahead and call him (Krishna) in his "*huzuri*" (Persian word for audience to pronounce punishment).

*Jai sabe Kansahi guharao hu
Dadhi makhan ghrut let chuday, aajhu huzur bulavahu.*²

***Darbaan* (Sentry)**

Darbaan is Persian for a sentry. Invariably he carries a stick, where fore he is also called "*Chharidar* or *Chobdar*" (*chob* being the Persian equivalent for cane). Out of devotion, Surdas and Nanak wish to be the *darbaan* of the divine abode.

*Pouri-pat tute pare bhage darbaan.*³
Dare sevak darbaun daradau tun janahi.
*Bhakti teri hai renu darada gawahi.*⁴

***Ghulaam* (Slave)**

The Arabic word *Ghulaam* means slave (and also son). In India, it has always meant a slave and used for servants bonded for life. However because of the doctrine of *Masawaat* (equality) a *ghulaam* was treated with equal respect, unlike in the Romans who fed them to hungry lions. The first dynasty of Delhi *Saltanat* was of the slaves who rose to become rulers for 84 years. The slaves were also known for extreme obedience and devotion to their master. Tulsidas out of deep devotion, wishes to be a *ghulaam* of Sri Rama.

-
1. *Sur Sagar*, p. 1-231.
 2. *Ibid*, p. 1513.
 3. *Sur Sagar*, p. 1-40, 9-139.
 4. *Nanak Bani*, p. 306.

Shah hiko got, got hot hai ghulaam ko.¹
Ram bola naam hon ghulaam Ram sahe ko.²

Says Surdas:

Sab kou kahat gulam, Shyam kou sunat sarat hiye.³
Sur hai nand-nand ju ko layo mol ghulaam.⁴

Khawas (Ruler's Personal Attendant)

Surdas uses this word in *Vinay Padas* and depicting the personal attendants of the court of king Kans.

Kahi khawas kon sen de, sir-pavan mang ayo.⁵
Indiradi ki kon chalave Sankar karat khawaasi.⁶

Naqeeb (Herald)

At the time of *darbaar*, a line-up of men used to herald the imminent arrival of the king. They were called "*naqeeb*". Surdas likens cuckoos call as the herald of good tidings:

Bolat pik naqeeb garjani mis manahu phirat duhaai.⁷

The royal attendants addressed the king as "*Huzur*" and received gifts (*bakhshish*) from him. In gratitude, they used to wish long life to the ruler. It is interesting to find Tulsidas praying for long life (*umar daraaz*) to Sri Ram:

Surdas also has prayed for long life.
Umar daraaz Maharaj teri chahiye.⁸
Dadhi makhan ghrut lait chhudai, Aaju Hujur bulavahu.⁹

Vazir (Minister)

Vazir is Arabic for the King's first minister. *Sufi* poets have,

-
1. *Kavitavali*, p. 7, 107.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 7, 100.
 3. *Sur Sagar*, p. 1, 171.
 4. *Sahitya Lahiri*, p. 118.
 5. *Sur Sagar*, p. 2476.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 3089.
 7. *Sri Krishna Geetavali*, p. 32.
 8. *Kavitavali*, p. 7.
 9. *Sur Sagar*, p. 1513.

instead, used in the local equivalent. But saint poets have preferred the word *Vazir*.

Pap ujir kahiyo soi manyo, daram-sudhan lutiyo.
(*Sur Sagar*, pp. 1-64, 41, 144)

Qazi (Judge)

Qazi is an Arabic word. In a Muslim state it was a position of eminence. He was the authority on Islamic jurisprudence and settled disputes in the light of *Shariah*. Now his role is confined to performing "*nikah*" (religious procedure of marriage).

Nanak, Dadu and Surdas have used the word *Qazi* in a variety of ways, mostly in the sense of Muslim orthodoxy:

*Soi kaji jine aapu tajiya, iku namukiya adharo.*¹
*Qazi hoi ke bahai, niyai phairi tasbe kare khudai.*²
*Kazi so jo kay vichare.*³
*Qazi baman (Brahmin) ki gali thaki agadu pade saitani be lalo.*⁴

Diwan (Prime Minister)

Diwan used to be the top official of the king. Sundar Das uses the words "*Kotpal*", "*Shikdar*", besides *Diwan*.

Surdas applies the word to Dhruv. Tulsidas, Raidas, Dadu and Brahm too have used the word *Diwan*. Some examples:

Paji pait kaj kotpal ke aadheen hot,
Kotpal so to Shikdar aage deen hai.
Shikdar Diwan ke peechhe lagyo dole.
*Badshah kahai ya khudai mujhe aur dain.*⁵
*Var par nahi sujhe, lakhan Umar amir.*⁶
*Kere jaan Mir Khan avai dahi cheene.*⁷

1. *Nanak Vani*, p. 562.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 562.

3. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 150.

4. *Nanak Vani*, p. 431.

5. *Sundar Vilas*, p. 8, 35.

6. *Jaiysi Granthavali*, p. 204.

7. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, Danlila Pad*, p. 5.

Umar mir rahai jahan tai, Sab ki banti alange bai.¹
Gath malli hoi umra jhumra, tarbhai daikh peer au umra.²

Ameen, Mustafi, Moharrir, Jasoos
(Collector, Auditor, Clerck, Spy)

These are mentioned in Hindi literature but must be left out for reasons of brevity.

Warfare and Weapons

Warfare, its techniques and technologies were highly developed among Muslims of Arab lands Turkey, Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan. In fact in that age, Muslims were superior to any other people in the world in warfare techniques and technologies, because of which they could spread their rule from Morocco to the Philippines. In conquering India, Arabs were followed by Turks, Afghans and Mughals. Nearly all of them managed to spread themselves at lightning speed, because of their military superiority in arms and warfare techniques. Muslims devised new system of recruitment and training. Before Muslims, troops were not maintained on regular payrolls. Muslims introduced armouries.

All terms associated with these activities became current in local communication and found their way into literature. The concept behind these words were well understood by all. Hindi poets also saw metaphorical meaning in some of these.

Dushman (Enemy)

It is interesting to note that in ancient India, the enemy was called *ripu* and a brave person was called *veer*. "*Dushman*" is a Turkish word for enemy. It became well understood everywhere. It was also used metaphorically, as does Meera:

Sajaniya Dushman hoya bathyia sabne lage kadi.³

Kooch Muqam (Lifting Camp)

It is a Turk military term and means lifting camp. Tulsidas and Kabir have used this expression figuratively, to point out the transience of earthly life:

-
1. *Jaisiy Granthavali*, p. 233.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
 3. *Meera*, p. 69.

*Tulsi jag janiyat nam soch na kooch muqam.*¹

*Kooch muqam jog ke ghar mein, kachu ek divas khatana.*²

Bairak (Victory Flag)

In Turkey, the flag of victory is called *Bairak*. Tulsidas has used this word.

*Deeje bhagati banh barak jyon sabak basai ab kharo.*³

Ghan ghawan, bag panti patosir, bairak tadit sohai.

*Bolat pik naqeeb garjani mis manahu phirti dohai.*⁴

Fauj (Troops)

This is an Arabic word. In Turkey it is "*lashkar*". The word *fauj* was readily adopted in Hindi.

*Fauj wahi so rahe taiyar, ao mouj uhi so magaya ke deeje.*⁵

Top bina fauj kaha, hasti bina howdah jaise drav bina daive.

*Dan dev kar maniye.*⁶

*Kai lakh tum lashkar jode, kaite ghode haathi.*⁷

*Dhaariyo aaie kutukb, lashkar main jan aihdi pathyo.*⁸

Topchi or gunner is a Turkish Word.

Muslim infantry was called "*Pyaadah*". Tulsi has used it thus:

*Tehi pache dou bandhu pyadah.*⁹

The Muslim cavalry was called *Sawar Fauj*. The word "*sawar*" has been used thus:

-
1. Tulsi Granthavali, part-II, p. 449. (*Vinay Patrika*, p. 156.)
 2. Kabir Granthavali, p. 147.
 3. *Vinay Patrika*, Stanza 145.
 4. *Krishan Geetavali*, Stanza 32, *Tulsi Granthavali*, part II, p. 369.
 5. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi (Todarmal)*, p. 53.
 6. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 433.
 7. *Malukdas Ki Bani*, p. 1, 10.
 8. *Sur Sagar*, pp. 1-64.
 9. *Ramcharit Manas*, p. 2, 221, 3.

Ab tum hou turi "aswara", sevak kajjo chaho sanwara.¹

Malukdas says:

Ham hi asw ham hi aswar ham hi das ham hi sardar.²

Arab Steed

The second Caliph, Umar pioneered the procedure for raising pedigree horses which are prized all over the world for their intelligence, stamina, courage and loyalty. Muslim rulers of India preferred Arab steeds for playing *chaugaan* (polo). In battle Arab steeds were invaluable. Jayisi has mentioned about it in his epic.

*Chale panth bisar Sultani, teekh, turang, bank kankani.
Kare, kumait, leel, supait, khing, kurang, beej, dur kete.
Ablakh Arabi lakhi siraji chaughry chal samand bhal tazi.
Kir mij nuqra jarde bhala.³*

Jahaaz (Ship)

Until the dawn of Europe's Ocean Age, Arabs and later Turks and Iranians ruled the sea lanes of the world commerce. They also were major sea powers of the time. Kabir uses the word "jahaaz" figuratively.

Nav jahaz khivaya, sadhu, utre das Kabir.⁴

Countless terms of equestrian sports such as *lagaam* (bridle), *zeen* (saddle) *Chaabuk* (whip) and terms used in seafaring also became popular and were used in Hindi poetry literally and figuratively.

Zirah-Bakter (Armour)

What a tank is today *zirah-bakter* was in medieval times. Arabs, Turks, Iranians and Mughals had great expertise in preparing *zirah-bakter*. The work finds its way into the love epics battle scene. Says Qasim Shah in "Hans Jawahar":

1. *Hans Jawahar*, p. 144.

2. *Maluk Bani*, p. 23.

3. *Jaisi Granthavali*, p. 17, 220, 222.

4. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 114.

Niksi katak jo, bakhtar dare swarg chade tan teeran maare.¹
Bakhtar phod pate bhai para niksi ant rakt bahi dhaara.²

Siphar (Shield)

This is Persian word for shield introduced in India in 712 by the Arab armies invading Sindh. Tulsidas builds up his battle scenes in "*Ramcharitmanas*" (pp. 19) using war and weapons terminology introduced by Muslims : He modifies *siphar* to *sipar*.

Lagati sangi vibheshan heepar sipar ap bhaye hain.³

Teer (Arrow) and Kamaan (Bow)

These Persian words have been used by Hindi poets. A special type of arrow used in hunting was called "*paikaan*" (paikam).

Some examples:

De hi kun teer laage, dehi kun top lagai.
Dehkun kirpan lagai deh hi kun ghav ro.⁴
Machio ghamsan tahan top teer.
Ban chalai mandi balwan keru wani kopi gahki.⁵

Muslims used many types of bows such as "*chachi*", "*Khwarzmi*", "*Ghazanchi*" etc. Tulsidas uses *kaman*:

Jeebh kamaan bachan sar nana.⁶
Jaladh kaman bari daru bhari tadit palita dain.
Garjan aru tadpan manu, gola pahrak main gath lait.⁷

Tarkush (Quiver)

Though there are Hindi words for "*tarkush*", such as "*tooner*", "*nishang*", and "*tron*", Hindi poets have preferred to use the Persian "*tarkush*".

-
1. *Hans Jawahar*, p. 241.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
 3. *Tulsi Granthavali*, part II, *Geetavali*, p. 6-5.
 4. *Sundar Vilas*, p. 83.
 5. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi (Gang)*, p. 228.
 6. *Ramcharitmanas*, p. 2, 41, 1.
 7. *Sur Sagar*, p. 4267.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 1, 64.

Kubuddhi kaman chadhai kop kari budhi tarkash rityo.¹
Kar main dhanush kamar main tarkash,
Savaj ghaire barambar.²
Dhanush tan tarkash se jaat hai sare teer.

Nanak has used names of weapons in spiritual terms:

Tarkash teer, Kamaan sang tegband gun dhaatu.
Baja neja pati sio pargatu karmu tera meri jat.³

Naizah (Lance)

Metal tipped spears were lethal weapons of those days. Muslims used iron tipped wooden lances as well as all-iron lances sharpened to fineness. The latter were made in Iraq and Khurasaan. Nanak, Raskhan and others have used the word *naizah*.

Neja bhala teer kou, kahat anokhi thar.⁴

Tegh/Shamsheer (Scimitar/Sword)

From Muhammad Bin Qasim to Aurangzeb, scores of daggers, scimitars, swords, etc. were in use. Each one was a special purpose weapon using especially cast steels. *Tegh-e-Yemani*, *Tegh-e-Rumi*, *Tegh-e-Sulemani* and *Tegh-e-Shami* were quite admired for their quality. The fighter classes of India adopted 'Tegh' or 'Shamsheer' as part of their nomenclature such as Shamsheer Singh, Tegh Bahadur (10th Sikh Guru) and so on.

Sool Sulako so sahen, teg tan marai.⁵
Kaha su teghband gader rhi kaha satal kavai.⁶
Hoto samser to chinai leto Agro.⁷

Barood (Gun-Powder)

Fire arms did not exist before the advent of Muslims. The terminology of this item of warfare became well known and well

-
1. *Sur Sagar*, p. 64.
 2. *Sunder Vilas*, p. 77.
 3. *Nanak Vani*, p. 106.
 4. *Prem Vatika*, Stanza 29.
 5. *Dadu Bani*, part II, p. 34.
 6. *Nanak Vani*, p. 293.
 7. *Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 447.

adopted during the Muslim period. Prithviraj Rao mentions bullets, cannon balls and cannons. In Hindi *barood* (gun-powder) is called *daaroo*.

Kaal topchi tupak mahi, Daru anya karal.¹
Jalad kaman vari daaru bhari tadil palita dait.²

Faleeta (Wick)

Faleeta is a cotton tape to ignite gun-powder to charge a cannon. This Turko-Arabic word has become a metaphor, at the hands of Hindi Poets:

Paap paleeta kathin guru gola puhimi pal.
Jaladh kaman wari daaru bhare tadit faleeta det
Garjan aru tadpan manu paharak mein gath let.

Kabir likens desires, anger and lust to "*faleeta*" that leads to the fiery outcome.

Kaam krodhth dou bhaya paleeta, tahan jogdni jaagi.³
Prem paleeta surti naali kari, gola gyan chalaya.
Brahm agni le diya paleeta, eke chot dhahya.⁴

Tope (Cannon)

Tufaq or *tufung* is Turkey-Persian word for small cannon. Cannons were used in battle for the first time by Babur in the first battle of Panipat in 1526.

Kaal topchi tupak mahin, daaru anya karal.⁵
Onhi tupak tarit chali onhi hesti chidhai.⁶

Poet Gang of Akbar's court praises the valour of Rahim thus:

Machyo ghamsaan tahan,
Top teer baan chele mandi Balban kirivan.⁷

-
1. *Dohawali*, p. 515.
 2. *Sur Sagar*, p. 4267.
 3. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 85.
 4. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 156.
 5. *Dohawali*, p. 515.
 6. *Nanak Vani*, p. 294.
 7. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 428.

Amir Khusrow has written a riddle about *tope* (cannon).

Administrative and Mercantile Vocabulary

During the Muslim rule, large provinces were divided into “*shik's*”, each one administered by a *shikdar*. The *Deccan suba* (province) was divided into four *shiks* during the rule of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. A group of several villages was called *pargana*. Surdas and other Hindi poets use these terms.

*Brij pargana shikdar mehar tu taki karat nanhai.*¹

Jagir was the term for land granted as a favour to someone. *Milk* an Arabic word, referred to landed property. Surdas and Tulsidas use these words:

*Yah Braj bhumi sakal sur pati son madan millak kari pai.
Bolat pik naqeeb garjani, mis manhu phirat dohai.*²

For tax and revenue, Persian word “*pota*” was used. Land measurement was called *masaahat*, an Arabic word. Auditor was called *Mahaasib*. The book of accounts of income and expenditure was called *varij* from Persian *Avarij*, or *Bahi*. A receipt or paper containing details of accounts was called *farad* from Persian *fard*, or *ruqqa* (Arabic). For *Fraudul* noting Arabic word “*taghayar*” was used.

Hindi poets also used words such as *adal* (justice), *dawa* (claim in Arabic), *zamaanat* (guarantee) or *pratibhuti* etc. Innumerable other words, from the Muslim period continue to be in day-today use even today.

Market and Shops

Market is called *bazaar* in Persian. And *haat* was the term for weekly *bazaar*. Parmanand Das, Tulsidas, Surdas, and others use the word *bazaar*:

*Dasrath uth bazaar padhaare, saree surang basayo.*³
*Bazaar ruchir na banai bartan vastu bin gay paie.*⁴

1. *Sur Sagar*, p. 1, 329.

2. *Krishan Gitavali*, p. 32.

3. *Parmanand Das*, p. 337.

4. *Ramcharitmanas*, Stanza 7, 28.

In Persian, a shop is called "*dukaan*". Malukdas and Kabir use the word in a philosophical way:

*Panch or Pachchees chor looten hin dukaaniya.*¹

*Tahaunan ek dukaan ravchiyo hai nirakar brat raji.*²

Dalal (Broker)

Dalal is an Arabic word for broker or middleman. It has been used thus:

*Kam krodh mad lobh-moh tu sakal dalali dehi.*³

Maal, Nafa, Baraamad (Commodity, Profit, Recovery)

Nafa (profit), *maal* (commodity), *jama* (investment), *asal* (principal) and *mujmi* (cumulative) are all Arabic mercantile terms. Hindi poets use the words in several meaningful ways:

*Tum janati main hum kachu janat, jo jo maal tumharo.*⁴

*Le aaye ho nafa jani ke sabe bastu akari.*⁵

*Char padarth nafa bhaya mohi, baniye kab hun na jayahi.*⁶

*Tahi deeje mool pure, nafo tum kachhu khau.*⁷

*Sabik (previous) jama huti jo jori minjalk tal liyao.*⁸

Talab, Baqi, Bebaq (Call for Account, Balance, Cleared Account)

Malukdas, Surdas and others have used these Arab-Persian words common in mercantile transactions during the period. A bill of exchange or cheque (from Arabic *saq*) is called *hundi* in India. Raja Todarmal has used "*muddat*" (period), "*andaaz*" (estimate), "*sanad*" (certificate), "*daam*" (price), "*zaroori*" (essential), "*hundi*" and "*kori*" (cowries) in couplet; thus:

*Upar likhe niwas sab, rakhe muddat hoi,
Chalan nishan andaz dhan hundi kiya soi.*

-
1. *Malukdas Ki Bani*, p. 26.
 2. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 103.
 3. *Sur Sagar*, p. 1, 310.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 1526.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 3663.
 6. *Malukdas Ki Bani*, p. 8.
 7. *Sur Sagar*, p. 3517.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 1-143.

*Hundi khaye paith likhe paith gaye par paitha.
 Sanad ek daam de rokad khata dedhi.
 Jo hundi sukre nahin jikri likhen banay,
 Hundi kori paith tab dhan de chukaye.¹*

“*Kharch*” is Persian word for expenditure and “*qeemat*” means price. Says Dadu:

Rok na rakhe, jhooth na bhakhe, Dadu kharche khai.²

Paishai, Peshawar (Professions and Professionals)

With the arrival of Muslims from various lands from Morocco at the north western corner of Africa to Turk lands bordering Gobi desert, specifically after the Mongol hoards ravaged Central Asia and Middle East as far as Damascus, thousands of Muslim craftsmen, physicians intellectuals, inventors, tradesmen, artisans, and others flooded into India for security from the Mongols. This was not only one of the history's largest migrations but also the first massive transfer of technology. They introduced all the crafts and trades they knew and diversified the techniques of manufacturing and technology, including the tools. Utilising India's flora and fauna and traditional skills, they refined and invented hundreds of new cottage crafts. That is how by the time of Alauddin Khilji, India became the centre of attraction for Europe. It came to be known as the golden bird. Arab traders carried these vast number of manufacturers to every corner of the known world.

All attendant terminology that went with these new crafts, trades and manufacturers was readily accepted due the absence of alternatives.

The Persian word for vocation is *pesha*. Other words, such as *kaarobaar* and *rozgaar* are also used. For skilled craftsman the Persian words are *hunarmand* or *kaarigar*. All such words entered day-to-day life and are still being used. Dadu thinks God is the greatest *kaarigar*.

Hikmat, hunar, kaarigari Dadu lakhi na jaai.

-
1. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 452.
 2. *Dadu Bani*, part-I, p. 119.

Jantra bajaya sajekari, kaarigar kartar.

(*Dadu Bani*, part-II, p. 187, also *Hans Jawahar*, p. 209)

A worker is called *mazdoor* in Persian, and the one with no fixed wages or a daily wage earner is called *begaar*. Says Tulsi:

Bahut kaal mein keni majoori.

(*Ramcharitmanas*, 1-120-3, *Kavitavali*, 7-67, 7-69)

Julaha (Weaver)

Jola or *Julaha* is Persian for weaver. Kabir was weaver by profession.

Tu Brahmin, main Kaasi ka julaha, chineh na moray gyaana.
Jaati Julaha, naam Kabira.

(*Kabir Granthavali*, pp. 128, 115)

Bazaaz is Arabic for cloth merchant. Using feminine gender, Surdas says

Baithai bazaaz saraaf banik, anaik manhu kubair te.

(*Ramcharitmanas* p. 7, 42)

Bajajni hue jaon nirkhi maini sukh daiven.

(*Sur Sagar*, pp. 349)

Darzi (Tailor)

Travelogues of Hieun Tsang and other Chinese travellers indicate tailoring did not exist in those days. But in the medieval period the sartorial glossary in Hindi literature is drawn almost entirely from Arabic or Persian, such as *darzi* (tailor), *bakhia* (back stitch), *qainchi* (scissors), *nafa* (the channel for cotton waist band), *aasteen* (sleeves), *jeb* (pocket), *teehra* (front band), *astar* (lining), *gaz* (yard), *daaman* (front fall of upper garment), *istari* (press), *paincha* (lower part of trouser) and many such other words. Surdas describes a *darzi's* dilemma about *gopis* pining for Krishna:

Aai darzi gayo bole tako bhayo subhag ang saaji un, vinay keenhe.

(*Sur Sagar*, p. 3401, 3665)

Jion kapda darzi ghai viyotat (measurement)

Kathai kun dadhai kansiyane

(*Sunder Vilas*, p. 7)

*Surdas prabhu tumhare milan binu tanu bhaaye viyout
(measurement) birha birhabhayo darzi.*

(*Sur Sagar*, 1956)

Darzi's wife is called *darzin*. Surdas wishes to be the *darzin* of Sri Krishna:

Apne Gopal ke main baghe rachi leuo.

Darzini haave janum nirikhi nenani sukh deu.

(*Sur Sagar*, 1075, 1696)

***Jauhari* (Jeweller)**

Dealing with treasury matters, Abul Fazal devotes three chapters to jewellery and gems in his "*Aain-e-Akbari*". Chapter 6, deals with determination of purity of gold. Maker-cum-seller of jewellery is called *Jauhari* in Persian. *Saraf*, *kundan*, *nagina*, *meenakaari* etc. are terms that became market vocabulary after the advent of Muslims. The merchant dealing in silver and gold was called *saraf*. Hindi poets of Nirgun era have used some of these terms in a spiritual meaning and context:

He lega jauhari jo maange so dei.

Paaya parikh jauhari Dadu moul apar.

(*Dadu Bani-I*, pp. 117, 59, 60)

Raja Todarmal's description below is of interest:

Hundi likhen na haath se, jama na rakhe bhool.

Ley vyaz (interest) dene nahi soi sarafi bhool.

Jag saraf tako kahe jama samay par dey.

Vyapari so janiya samay pe mudh le.

Pratham Banaras, Agra, Delhi O Gujarat

Aggar ou Ajmer se sikhe saraafi baat.

(*Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, pp. 454, 453)

A carpenter is called *najjar* in Arabic and Persian. Many terms of carpentry borrowed from Muslims, who introduced the craft in India, are still in use, such as *kharaad* (smoothing blade), *buraada* (saw dust), *barma* (hole making device), *darwaza* (door), *khat* (line) *regmaar* (sand paper) *sahul* (plumb) *kursi* (chair) *mez* (table), *takht* (wooden bed), *almaari* (almirah) *daraaz* (drawer) etc.

Surdas asks the carpenter to prepare a sandal cradle, and smoothen it with *kharaad* on the occasion of child Krishna's first birthday:

Palino ati sundar gari lau re badhaiya (carpenter)

Seetal chandan katau, dhari kharaad rang lau.

(*Sur Sagar*, pp. 10-41)

Rangrez (Dyer)

The dyer is called *rangrez* in Persian. A *gopi*, peeved by the multicoloured *pugree* (again a borrowing from Muslim culture), quips whether a female dyer had crossed his (Krishna's) path:

Aisi kaho rangila laala.

Javak son kahan paag rangaayi, rangrezini mili koi bal?

(*Sur Sagar*, 10-41, 2485)

Baazigar (Juggler)

Kartab Baazi, *Jadugari* and *Baazigari* are the amusements that became highly popular during the Muslim rule, because of the royal patronage. These men are called jugglers, acrobats, magicians etc. in English. Kabir says only a disciple knows the tricks of his master juggler. Nirgun poets who celebrated infinite God used similes etc. to present their philosophical ideas:

Baazi ki Baazigar jaane ke bazigar ka chera.

(*Kabir Granthavali*, p. 126)

Bazigar ka bandra (monkey), bhavne taken phere.

(*Dadu Bani-I*, p. 185, part-II, pp. 16, 125)

Malukdas says the most wonderful are the feats of the Supreme *Baazigar* meaning God:

Ajab tamaasa dekha tera, tate udas byaya man mera.

(*Malukdas Ki Bani*, p. 12)

Qasai (Butcher)

The man who slaughters animals and sells meat is called *qasab* or *qasai*. Surdas calls Sridhar Bahman a "*qasai*" because he volunteered to kill Krishna in front of the king Kansa:

Sridhar Bahman karam kasai.

Kayo Kans son bachan (promise) sunai.

(*Sur Sagar*, p. 10-57)

Emperor Akbar had prescribed strict punishment for slaughtering animals prohibited under "*Aain-e-Akbari*" (Part I, pp. 18, 22, 25, 28, 38 and 46). Narhari commends Akbar for this:

Akbar jari parwane (farmaan) kiya maribe ko

Charihon mahipan lakhani baat haksi.

Vyapi gayo hukam Dehli pati ko Hind

bhari vajibi vichari man ati kai karsi.

Jiwan kasaion ko gainko dait bhaiyo

gaien ki maut le kasaienon ko baksi.

(*Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, Narhari*, p. 73)

Coinage and Currency

Several chapters deal with coinage and currency in "*Aain-e-Akbari*", such as *Khazina-i-Jawahiri* (treasury of gems and jewels), *Daruz-Zarab* (mint), *Banwari* etc. Metallurgy and metal casting developed a great deal during the Muslim rule. Coins made of different metals and of different denominations were in circulation. The highest was the "*Ashrafi*" made of pure gold. Properties, such as purity etc. of gold of different carats are also described in "*Aain-e-Akbari*". *Dinār* a gold coin, and *dirham* (diram), made of silver, were the currency during the Arab caliphate. Their weights were quoted in *misqal*. *Zar* is gold in Persian. Figuratively "*zarkharid*" means a man who has pledged himself in return for a few gold coins. Dadu says:

Dadu divaah tera, zarkharid ghar ke hein.¹

Dadu sikka sabar hai, akle peer updesh.

Apahi ratn jawahar manik aap hai pasari.²

In the chapter of *Raghav Chetna* "*Desh Nikala*" Jayisi mentions "*dinaar*" made of gold and likens the beauty of Padmini to the pure gold:

1. *Dadu Bani*, part II, p. 148, 167.

2. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 210.

*Dilli nagar aadi Turkanu, jahan Alauddin Sultanu.
Sone dhare jehi ke taksara, barabani chale dinaar.¹*

"*Tanaka*" was a currency issued by Sikandar Lodhi. It had 40 *daams*. The *daam* was a cooper coin. Surdas has mentioned "*taka*" (derived from *Tanaka* and currently the name of Bangla Desh currency). An ornament of Radha is said to have cost one lakh *takas*, according to her mother, as imagined by Surdas. In *Sur Sagar* (1973, 10-40), Surdas says the midwife who performed the delivery of Sri Krishna was awarded one lakh *takas*

*Ik ik nag sat sat damini ko lakh taka de liyai.
Lakh taka aru jhoomka sari dai (midwife) ko neg.*

This poetic imagination replicates the grandeur of the Mughals. "*Daam*" is also mentioned by Parmanand and Tulsi:

*Viprani dehu gaye aur sono matan rupiah daam.
(Parmanand Das, p. 14)*

*Karam jal kali kaal kathin aadheen susadh it daam ko.
(Tulsidas, Vinay Patrika, p. 355)*

Sher Shah's *rupiah* weighed 11.5 gms of pure silver. *Damdi*, 1/8th of *daam* in value, was also in use. Hindi literature mentions several denominations of then current currency, such as *Zar*, *Dinaar*, *Tanaka*, *Daam damdi* and *Rupiah*. *Khazaana* is the Persian word for treasury. Tulsi uses *daam* and *Khazaana* thus:

*Apni bhalai bhalon kiyyai to bhaloi, na tou.
"Tulsi" ko khulgo khanaana, khote daam ko.
(Kavitavali, p. 7/70)*

Raidas says:

*Dabh chh so sahsar ikkees har din khazaana they jahin be.
(Raidas ki Bani, p. 19)*

A unique chapter in the history of numismatics was written by Nizamuddin *Saqqa*, a water carrier. Panicked by Sher Shah Suri's nocturnal ambush Emperor Humayun jumped into the swol-

1. *Jaiysi Granthvali*, p. 203, 119, 209, 119.

len river during the monsoon. He could have drowned but for Nizamuddin who saved him and took him ashore. In gratitude, Humayun promised him kingdom for a day. Humayun redeemed his pledge and installed Nizamuddin *Saqqa* on the throne for a day. The *saqqa* (water carrier) took advantage of this privilege and issued leather coins, in honour of the leather bag which helped save Humayun and earn kingdom for a day. Surdas uses this episode and refers proverbially to the leather coin in dealing with the Krishna legend. Jealous of an hump-backed woman's (*kubja*) devotion to Krishna, the *Gopis* blamefully complain:

*Sir par sout (the other woman) hamaari kubija
chaam ke daam chalave.*

"*Cham*" (leather coin) is referred to above.

The Arts

Architecture

Architecture is the sublime manifestation of a people's physical, social, civilisational, cultural and spiritual life. It is a measure of its refinement and aesthetic excellence. It is also an embodiment of its beliefs, way of life and also its cherished values. It is an index of a people's response to their geography, sociology and ecology. In material terms, it is the proof of its technical and technological development. Therefore, architecture is the cumulative and ultimate statement by a people about its own journey on the road to development. From Spain to Nigeria, Nigeria to Egypt, Egypt to Turkey, Turkey to the fringe of the *gobi* desert from *gobi* desert to the plains of Hindustan and from Hindustan to the archipelago of the Philippines, thousands of standing edifices bear testimony to the excellence of myriad forms of Muslim architecture in town planning and in building palaces, mosques, and public places and what you have. The grandeur Muslim architecture is literally symbolised by lofty minarets. Its beauty is embodied in arches and domes. Its openness and grace are typified by the vast open courts. Its language of nature is contained in fountain and gardens. Its spiritual elegance is declared by the piety of the colonnades of mosques. All this is not a tall claim. Its evidence across centuries is borne by the Muslim remains of Spain, Central Asia and Hindustan

besides the Arab intercontinental from Morocco to Iraq and in the sand swept grandeur of Iran's noble cities.

The fountainhead of Islamic architecture is the holy Qur'an and the spiritual values it imparts to the believers. Hence, all Muslim architecture begins with the first mosque Prophet Muhammad raised with his own noble hands at Madinatunnabi in Saudi Arabia in 622 AD. Islam has one culture but many civilisations. And the *Ummah*, the Muslim fraternity inhabits every type of land and clime from deserts to dense monsoons woodlands, from snowclad peaks to palmlined shores. Wherever Muslims built their edifices, they responded to local climatic regime and yet imparted them a unique Muslim temper and continuity. Muslim architecture therefore is unified and diversified at the same time: Majestic domes and courtyards, lofty archways, exquisite arches and niches, long corridors, minarets, well laid out gardens and fountain.

In India, Muslim monuments dot every part of the country from Peshawar, now in Pakistan to Dhaka, now in Bangla Desh, from Thatta in Sindh, now in Pakistan, to Madras (Chennai). And the impact of Muslim architecture can be seen in almost every building raised until 1947, in states and regions that had long ceased to be part of the Muslim empires, such as Bhuj in Cutchh, Baroda in Gujarat, Mysore in Karnataka, Madurai, Manora and Chennai in Tamilnadu. For all of them the standard term used is Indo-Islamic architecture, the term denoting the lasting impact of Muslim architecture. Even the British, whose aversion for Muslims was incalculable almost to the point of being a national and civilisational attitude, could not avoid features from Muslim architecture becoming parts the edifices they raised up to 1947. The arch is staging a spectacular comeback in the plush localities of Ahmedabad in Gujarat.

Hindi Sahitay ka Virat Itihās (A Comprehensive History of Hindi Literature) throws much light on the special features of Muslim architecture and states that these edifices area source of pride for India.

With the introduction of Muslim architecture and Muslims' building techniques and the new materials they introduced, came in

an avalanche of new vocabulary in day-to-day use in raising buildings. To mention a few, these are: *raaj* (mason), *mistri* (mason of lower grade), *sahul* (pendulum to secure the plumbline), *qalai* (from Arabic *alqula*), *koni*, *buniyaad* (foundation), *radua* (layers of bricks), *pushta* (buttress), *chaubachcha* (cesspool), *saancha* (mould), *marammat* (repair), *diwaar* (wall), *mehraab* (arch), *baradari* (pavilion with 12 door-opening), *daalaan* (long hall), *burj* (bastion), *ghusl khana* (bathroom), *baawarchi khaana* (kitchen), *pa-khaana* (latrine), *haveli* (mansion), *mahal* (palace), *hauz* (water tank or pool), *makaan* (house), *manzil* (storey), *sheesh mahal* (crystal palace), *teh-khaana* (basement), *zeena* (staircase), *kursi* (plinth), *bala-khaana* (terrace), *diwaankhaana* (drawing-room), *qila* (fort), *maqbara* (mausoleum), *dareecha* (covered window), *baagheecha* (kitchen garden), *baagh* (garden), *maidaan* (plain), *kamaan* (bow), and a good many more.

In town planning, new conceptual words besides some noted above were devised: *mohalla* (locality), *chhatta* (cnustre of houses), *kathra* (colony), *gali* (lane), *koocha* (street), *sadar* (city centre), *muzafaat* (suburbs), *chauraaha* (crossroads), *sehraaha* (intersection of three roads), *do-raaha* (conjunction of two roads) etc. *madrasah* (school), *dawakhaana* (hospital), *Imam-baara* (congregational mourning hall of *Shia* Muslims), also became common as landmarks.

Given below are some chosen examples of the words from Muslim architectural tradition that came into Hindi poetry, such as *kaarigar* (expert mason), *Gach* (mortar), *darwaaza* (door) *dehliz* (threshold), *hunarmand* (a man knowing his craft or trade). Dadu sees the Creator as the greatest *kaarigar*:

Hikmat hunar karigari, Dadu lakhi na jai.

(*Dadu Bani*, part-I, p. 87)

Gach is Persian for mortar, Says Tulsidas:

Nana rang ruchirai gach dhari.

(*Ramcharitmanas*: 7/27/2)

Malukdas has used the Arabic word *hadd* (border/fringe). Hindi poets have also used *dar* or *darwaaza* (door) in many ways:

Kam kiwad dukh sukh darbani paap puni darwaza.

Sat santosh larnai lagai, tore das darwaza.

Dehliz (threshold) has been used as "*dehri*". Surdas uses it in describing Krishna's childhood. Parmanand Das also uses it thus:

Kanchan kot kangoorni ki chavi manahu bethe main.

(*Sur Sagar*, p. 2559)

Rache kangoora rang rang bar.

(*Ramcharitmanas*, 7/27/7)

Masjid (Mosque)

Minaar is a signature of most mosques. Kabir ridicules the *mullah* (cleric) thus:

Mullah minari kya chadhe, Ek masiti dason darwaza.

(*Kabir Granthavali*, pp. 169, 83, 240)

Tulsi dramatises his mendicant life style thus:

Mangike khaibo masiti ko soibo, Lebe ko ek na deveko dou.

(*Tulsi Granthavali, Kavitavali*, pp. 106, 187)

Dadu expresses his devotion to *masiti* (mosque):

Masiti savri manson, tisko kare salaam.

(*Dadu Bani*, part-I, pp. 224, 165)

Mahal (Palace)

Hindi poetry mentions several features of *mahal* (palace);

Bhetri bibi haram (harem) mahal mein, saal miyan ka dera.

(*Kabir Granthavali*, p. 125)

Tahal sahaj jan mahal, mahal jagat charon jug jamso.

(*Vinay Patrika*, p. 157, *Kavitavali*, 7/23)

Mahal, Rang Mahal, Moti Mahal etc. are mentioned by Meera, Surdas, Qasim Shah and others.

Unchay, unchay, mahal banao, beech beech rakho bari.

(*Meera ke Pad*, 20, 30, 99, *Hans Jawahar*, p. 193)

Virhani bethi rang mahal mein, motiyaan ki lad pove.

(*Raidas ki Bani*, p. 29)

The practice of whitewashing a house (*qalai*) was started by Muslims. It is also called *safedi* in Persian. Says Gang:

Hahar haveli suni saratu Samarkandi,

Dhir na dharat dhuni nishanaki.

(*Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, Gang, p. 440)

Aai udhari kanak kali kalai.

(*Sur Sagar*, 3080, 3183)

Music

What type of music prevailed in pre-Aryan North India is not known. After a series of invasions, Aryans finally established themselves in Aryavarta (North India). The four *Vedas* were composed as hymns in metrical poetry that could be recited musically. Among these *Vedas*, *Sam Veda* dealt with music. The Aryan mythology and performing arts tradition created an elaborate system of music as art. It had an intricate grammar.

The learned class, the Brahmins, conjugated dance, music and *sahitya* into an integrated whole. The folk-music remained beyond its pale. It belonged to the groups that had been excluded from the Aryan social organisation.

The Muslims, after finding their feet in a new homeland India, interacted with both the classical and the folk traditions to create the Hindustani Music that now prevails all over North India, and also in areas that came under Muslim rule in the west, south and east. The Muslims had brought with them an accumulated music tradition that was already 600 years old, and had assimilated classical and folk traditions of the vast intercontinental of Islam from Morocco on the Atlantic coast to the fringe of the Gobi desert of Mongolia.

The pre-Islamic idol worshipping Arabs accorded primacy to music in their community life. Their music was lusty, earthy, passionate and erotic. They used to circumbulate Ka'ba, built by the Patriarch Abraham for the worship of One unseen God, utterly

in the nude, clapping and whistling. They had no shame in marrying their mothers and falling in passionate love with their sisters. The Holy Qur'an describes this period temptuously as "*Aiyaame-Jahilia*", the epoch of degeneration. They had set up 360 idols of gods and goddesses, for each of whom there were festivals and orgies. Music played a very important role in them.

In Rome too, music was associated with dalliance, debauchery and orgies, with a touch of sadism added like salt and pepper.

Islam hated this indulgence. Hence an impression grew that the Qur'an has altogether prohibited music. This is not true as we find no specific prohibition of music in the Qur'an. Islam disapproves only that music which inspires bestiality.

Nourished by the scientific temper of Islam, Arab Muslim scientists— Al-Kindi (801-873), Farabi (827-950), Shaikh Bu Ali Sena (Avicenna, 980-1037) took up systematic studies into the science and technology of music as vocal and instrumental art. Thus, was developed Arab musicology, resting on scientific foundations.

A strong impetus in this research was the diction and discipline of the recitation of holy Qur'an as determined by the Holy Prophet during his life time. It was so elaborate indeed that it fixed pronunciations, pauses and intonations, as can be ascertained from various signs one finds in any copy of the Qur'an. The art of *Qir'at* (recitation of holy Qur'an) was so absorbing and impressive that it influenced the recitation of the Holy Bible in Latin in the Christian church, which one can hear during any mass in a church. (This was one of the major influences of Islam on Christianity during the 400 years of hateful Papal Crusades against Islam).

The Arab musicology also influenced the western music of the Iberians, French, Italians and the Slaves. The word "*museeqee*" in several European language is derived from the Arabic word: "*Moseeqi*". It may be of interest to know that the alphabets of English language were organised on the pattern of Arabic *abjad*, such as *abjad*: *aleeph*, *be*, *jeem* and *daal* (a, b, g— later substituted with c, and d), *kaleman*: *kaaf*, *laam*, *mim*, and *nun* (K, L, M and N), *Qarshat*: *qaaf*, *re*, *sheen*, *te* (Q, R, S and T), etc.

Arabs developed several new musical instruments and improved and refined the existing ones in the light of the research by Al-Kindi, Farabi, Ibne-Sina (Avicenna) and others. As they poured forth from Arabian peninsula into other lands westward and eastward, they employed their keen sense of learning and thirst for knowledge into studying various cultures and civilisations with an open, unbiased mind. By the end of the 8th century Arab empire had become tricontinental, spread over Asia, Africa and Europe. No other people before them had spread out so fast and so vast. Arabic became an integral part of several Asian, African and European languages. In Muslim lands from Morocco to Gobi desert and from Hindustan to the Philippines, Arabic became the core of the language of the disparate Muslim peoples.

Arabic also became the unifying strand in the poetry and music of these Muslim peoples. In the discussion of forms of Poetry, especially *masnavi*, we have seen how the grammar of Arabic poetry dominates the grammar of Persian poetry and how it influenced and changed Hindi poetry in terms of metres.

Arab also pioneered religious music as a genre by itself. The *sufis* wedded this devotional music with devotional dance in their *khanqas* (hermitages). It may be noted that not a single instrument or note used in the Arab devotional music inspires bestiality.

Thus, the music tradition the Muslims, Arabs, Turks (actually over half a dozen ethnic groups of them), Afghans, Mughals and Iranians, brought to India was like a mighty river in which had joined streams from different lands. The result was a mind boggling enormity of musical instruments and traditions that Muslims introduced in India and, true to their integrative tradition, welded them all with native traditions that were themselves enormous in variety. It can rightly be claimed that classical Hindustani music has the richest diversity in its constituent elements.

In retrospect, the Muslims' richest contribution to Indian culture, next only to architecture, lies in the realm of music. The *Gharaana* music is the legacy of Muslims. This needs elaboration. The Muslims' fondness for poetry is legendary. And the link between poetry and music is natal. Right from the time of Muhammad

Bin Qasim's conquest of Sindh in 712, till the martyrdom of Tipu Sultan in 1799, the Muslim courts patronised literature and men of letters and music and musicians. Whether it was the seat of the Muslim empire in Delhi or the capitals of provincial kingdoms even so small as the 15th century *Sharqi* kingdom of Jaunpur, a Muslim court was the cradle of poetry and music, access to which was open to all, regardless of creed or colour. In the courts of *Saltanat* kings, Mughal emperors, the *Qutub Shahis*, the *Adil Shahis*, and others, dance too became integral to poetry and music. In the courts of Muhammad Shah Rangila, Wajid Ali Shah, Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, Tana Shah and Ibrahim Adil Shah, the art of dance reached pinnacles of glory and excellence.

After the Mongol menace was totally eliminated by Sultan Shamsuddin Altamash, Sultan Ghayasuddin Balban, Sultan Jalaaluddin Feroze Khilji and Sultan Alauddin Khilji, the Muslim empire of Delhi became so strong and stable that until Aurangzeb's death, except Taimur, forefather of Babur, no one could dare attack India. And the empire founded by Babar was indeed so powerful that till Aurangzeb's death India never faced threat of foreign invasion. On the other hand, Emperor Jahangir was contemplating the conquest of Iran. Babur had left an instruction for his successors to conquer Farghana, his homeland, and make it part of Hindustan. Every Mughal emperor until Aurangzeb made vain bids to cross into Farghana to achieve the will of the founder of the dynasty.

Due to their powerful armies, even splinter Muslim kingdoms that arose every time the Centre was weakened, had long spells of stability which permitted them to indulge in promotion of arts and culture, such as the Sultans of Malwa, Jaunpur, Gujarat, Bengal and the Deccan. The outcome was the flowering of poetry, music, dance and painting, besides other arts.

Each Muslim court boasted musicians of the highest order and who were not merely performers but also inventors.

Thus emerged the various *gharaanaas* of music. The greatest name in this galaxy is that of Amir Khusrow. Even the most austere Muslim ruler of India Aurangzeb was an exponent of *sitaar*.

He believed the art of music in the hands of the exponent was noble and lofty but in the hands of the mean and the degenerate, it could become a curse.

Arabic Sanskrit Music Terminology

According to a journal of *Hindi Sahitya Sammelan*, the following Arabic words/terms are available in Hindustani Sangeet:

Arabic	Sanskrit-Hindi	Meaning
<i>Nida</i>	<i>Naadi</i>	Vocalise
<i>Naad/Nadah</i>	<i>Naad</i>	Voice
<i>Naadi</i>	<i>Naadi</i>	Who sings
<i>Ghina'</i>	<i>Gaana</i>	To sing
<i>Taal</i>	<i>Taar</i>	High pitch
<i>Shaamil</i>	<i>Sammilit</i>	Mingling/Blending
<i>Oud</i>	<i>Avarit</i>	Relapse
<i>Raghib</i>	<i>Raag</i>	Tune ¹

Interaction between Indian classical music and the incoming Muslim music tradition started in the 8th century. In the wake of Muslim conquest Sufis poured into Sindh. They had the traditions of *sufi* music of Iraq and Iran behind them. They began to study the local music traditions. They not only enriched Sindhi language with Sufi literature but also introduced the Sufi music blending Indian and West Asian devotional traditions. They also introduced musical instruments of West Asian type and improvised the local instruments.

The next stage was the advent of the Turk influence from the days of Alaptagin, Subuktagin and Mahmood Ghaznavi. During the Ghaznavi period, the court tradition of music became an important factor. At this stage music traditions of Turks and the musical instruments of Central Asia found their way into Indian music.

1. *Sammelan Patrika*, Pray of Part 45, No. 4, Samvat 1881, pp. 87-89.

By now India's Muslim contact had been nearly 500 years old and besides classical music the folk tradition had also been influenced, largely because of the Sufis.

The third phase was the setting up of the Dehli Saltanat in 1206. The blending of Indian and West Asian music now took two parallel directions: One was the classical music of the courts. This tradition grew continuously from 1206 to the last days of the Mughals in the mid-19th century. A parallel stream was the court music in breakaway provincial kingdoms of Malwa, Gujarat, Jaunpur, Bengal, Deccan and Kashmir. Among these provincial kingdoms, Jaunpur in the 15th century and Avadh in the 18th century reached a high degree of sophistication. Operas were introduced in Avadh and classical dance reached its peak of glory. The second direction of folk music, nurtured in the *khanqas* of the *sufi*, with the *sufi* saints of Delhi, Bihar and Gulbarga and Bidar taking the lead in this phase emerged the towering personality of Amir Khusrow. Even though its main springs dried up during the British rule, the traditions survived and mutated. The best example of this is the *Boul* tradition of Bengal which played a major role in reviving *Vaishnovite* ethos and Krishna *bhakti*. Its foremost figure is Lalan Faqir. It is the best representative of the composite cultural ethos that began to develop in the Khilji period in Bengal. It saw its pinnacle in the music and poetry of Qazi Nazrul Islam (25 May 1899 - 29 August 1976).

Some painstaking research is required to trace the origins of *bhakti* (Shiv Bhakti and Vishnu Bhakti alike) in South India in the contribution of Avvaiyar, Nandanar Thyagaraja, Purandarradasa and the whole Dasa poetry tradition.

According to "*Tamadduni Jalwe*" (Darul Musannafin, Azamgarh, 1963), the conjugation of *Karnataki* and Hindustani traditions began during the reign of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. What is *shehnai* (voice of the king) become *nadeswaram* (voice of *Eeswara*- God). The similarity between *veena* and *raudraveen* and *sitaar* is also intriguing. Husain Shah Shariq, the ruler of Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur was mighty inventor in the field of music. He developed "*dhrupad*" on the lines of "*khayal*", attributed to the musicologist Amir Khusrow *khayal* is Arabic word. It is rendered

in *ek taal*, *do taal*, *tri taal* even *chautaal*. The main theme of *khayal* is *shringar* (eros). Shorter *khayals* are sung in "*drut*" (quick rhythm) and longer *khayals* in "*vi'ambit*" (tarried). A *khayal* by saint Gunda Keshav is quoted below:

*Lagi premlagan ki yaad, Piya bin jiara kekar jiye
Khudaste boo niyaad, Meharbakhsh dayal ajij kun.
Aur na jiyanu Bada, Gunda keso prem deeliyan.
Teri khane jiyadda.*

(*Hindi Ko Marathi Santon Ki Den*, pp. 463-464)

Acharya Vinaymohan Sharma has cited and discussed *ragas* and *raginis* that gained currency during the Muslim era. He also describes the techniques of singing used. A few of these are: *Raag Bhupali*, *Raag Husaini*, *Munda* and "*Lavanis*" (that tell a story). Salik has mentioned two varieties of "*Kanhra*" and ten of "*Sham Kalyan*", besides *Jaunpuri Todi*, *Todi Rasuli*, *Raag Bhupali* etc, as the ones invented by Husain Shah Sharqi. Among the other forms that became popular are: *Ghazal*, *Tarana*, *Rekhta*, *Qual*, *Qalbanae* and *Qawwali* (attributed to Amir Khusrow).

Rahim's "*Madanashtak*", *rekhta* (dedicated to the beloved) style is mentioned:

*Jarad basanwala gul chaman dekhta tha.
Jhuk jhuk matwala gavtan rekhtan tha.*

(*Rahim Ratnavali*, p. 73)

"*Chishtia Bahishtia*" (1655) enumerates the new *raagas* devised by Amir Khusrow, such as "*Saazgari*", "*Aiman*", "*Ushshaaq*", "*Zeelaf*", "*Farghaana*", "*Shahana*", "*Sibeel*", borrowing from various Persian traditions. "*Shahana Sibeel*" is said to be a splendid one. Amir Khusrow's 18 *bahaars* is also notable.

Besides the *sufi* poets of Hindi, the saint poets too, such as Tulsidas Surdas *et al* mentioned several musical instruments of Arab Persian origin. And they mention these as being played during *lilas*, marriages and other ceremonies of Purani heroes, such as Sri Rama and Sri Krishna. *Ashtachaap* poets, such as Parmanand Das, Nand Das, Sunder Das, Cheet Swami, Raidas, describe Lord Krishna's *kridas* (sports) during festivals etc., using *Raag Bhupali*, *Aiman* (Yaman) *Kanhra* in addition to the ancient *raagas*:

Sur saavant Bhupali Aimen karat kanaharon gaan.

(*Sur Sagar*, p. 1013)

"These poets do so even while describing seasons (*ritu varnan*), festivities as temples. They also mention various musical instruments introduced by Muslims, which can be grouped as follows:

Musical Instruments

I. Parchment Surfaces Instruments

To the ancient Indian instruments, such as *auj*, *runj*, *marunj*, *mridang*, *dimdim*, *damaru* and *upang*, the Muslims added *dhol* (from Arabic "*dohal*") *nishaan*, *chang*, *daff*, *damama*, *naqqara* (corrupted to *nagaada* in Hindi) etc. (See "*Miraas-e-Islam*" pp. 502-504 and "*Aain-e-Akbari*" Vol. II, pp. 215-226).

Daff (Tambourine)

Originally an Arab instrument, it was square-shaped to begin with. "*chang*" is its smaller version. Jayisi mentions *daff* and other Arab-Persian instruments while describing the battle scene in "*Padmavat*":

Jantra pa khavaj auo jat baja, sur madar rabaab bhal saza.
Khina benu kamayach gahe, baje amrit tahan gahgahe.
Chang upang naad sur tura, mahuar banai baz bhar pura.
Huduk bazi daff bazi bhamira, auo bajihi bahu jhang manjira.
 (Jayisi *Granthavali*, p. 235)

"Tulsi, Surdas and Krishna *bhakti* poets mention even more varieties of Arab-Persian musical instruments than do the Muslim *sufi* poets of Hindi. Surdas says *gopis* became restless on hearing the sound of Krishna's *daff*:

Daff ki dhuni suni vikal bhai sab.

Kou na rahiti ghar ghunghat vari.

(*Sur Sagar*, p. 3488, 2506, 2822, 2867)

"*Daff* is also used by Tulsidas, Nand Das, Kumbhan Das, Pramanand Das, Chaturbhuj Das, Govind Das, and Cheet Swami in their compositions of Krishna *Bhakti*:

Bajehi mridang daff taal benu

(*Tulsi Granthavali, II Geetavali, p. 7/22*)

Murli chang bajat daf kyaro sang juviti brijnari.

(*Meera Ke Pad, p. 88*)

Chang

This Persian instrument, covered on one side with a parchment, is played with the right hand, as an accompaniment in the rendering of *khayaal*. Jayisi, Surdas, Parmanand Das, Chaturbhuj Das mention it in their poetry:

Chang upang naad sur tura, mahuvar bansi baaj bharpura.

(*Jayisi Granthavali, p. 235*)

"Amrit kundli chang auo avajh aur anek.

Chang lohare anaik hein Tansen ur maan.

(*Bhakti Kaal Aur Muslim Sanskriti, pp. 212-214*)

Nishaan (Metal Drum)

Made of copper, bronze and alloys, this is a type of metallic drum covered with parchment on one side. It was a part of martial music of Turks and Iranians. Tulsidas, Dadu Dayal, Parmanand Das and Surdas mention it in battle scenes as well as in festivals.

Damaama (Kettle Drum)

"*Damaama*" is Arabic and refers to large kettle drums, also known as *naqqaara* or *dhonsa*. It produces mighty sound, when struck with large leather mould or plain sticks. Kabir, Nanak and others mention it along with other Arab-Persian instruments. *Dhol*, now one of the commonest family instruments, is really Arabic, derived from "*dohul*" (tabor). It is covered with parchment on both sides. It is also called *dholak* or *dholna*.

Dhol, damaana, dudbadi, sahnai sangi bheri.

Ausor chaliya bajai kari, hai koi rakha pheri.

(*Kabir Granthavali, p. 16*)

"*Naqqaara*" (corrupted to *nagaada* in Hindi) is an Arabic word for a huge drum well suited for use in battles. Beating of *naqqaara* marks the start of the battle. Khusrow has composed a riddle about it:

Ek nahai ek tapan hara, chal Khusrow kar kooch naqqara.
(*Amir Khusrow Ki Hindi Kavita*, p. 22)

Tabla or Pakhawaj

Tabla is attributed to Amir Khusrow. Says Nanak:

Farmani hai kar khasam pathai, Tablabaaj bichaara sabdi sunaiya.
(*Nanak Bani*, p. 183)

II. Stringed Instruments

The strings are made of brass, steel wires or fine silk and are played with the help of wooden, ivory or steel plectrum, called "mizraab", kinnari barbat, sitaar, rabaab, surmandal, saarangi and pinaak are some of the stringed instruments that became common during the Muslim rule.

Rabaab

According to "Aain-e-Akbari", there are 6, 12 or 16 catgut strings in a rabaab. Though "Hindi Sahitya ka Vrihit Itihaas" credits Alexander having modified this instrument, another European musicologist, H.G. Farmer attributes the invention of rabaab and qanoon to the Arab scientist Al-Faraabi. Jayisi and sufi poets mention rabaab:

Jantra pakhauj auo jatbaja, Sur madar rabaab bhal saja.
(*Jayisi Granthavali*, p. 235)

Both Sitaar and Saarangi are attributed to Khusrow.

III. Percussion/Instruments/Air-filled Instruments

In this group are included flute, shehnai (flageolet), naubat etc. "sur" is Arabic clarion. It is stated in the Qur'an that on doomsday, Allah will command Israfeel to sound the trumpet (sur) and the universe will begin to collapse. In his "Aakhri Kalaam". Jayisi says:

Puni Israfilehi pharmaaye, phoonke sab sansaar uday.
De mukh soor bhare jo sansa, dolei dharti lapat aakaasa.
(*Jayisi Granthavali, Aakhri Kalaam*, pp. 345-346)

Shehnai (Flageolet)

It is made of red sandal wood and is larger than "*nafeeri*". Its equivalent in Karnatic music is *naadeswaram* (voice of *Eswara*, god). Interestingly, Hindi poets mention this as the music played for receiving the bridal couple Sri Rama and Sita, from the bride's place to Ayodhya. They show Krishna's birthday too celebrated with the playing of *shehnai*. In both cases, the impact of the Muslim culture is in evidence:

Bheri nafeeri bajat shehani.

(*Ramcharitmanas*, p. 7/79/5)

Surdas also mentions *nafeeri* along with other instruments, such as *shehnai* and "*roaring*" *naubat* from the "*naqqar khaana*". In Persian, "*roaring naubat*" is a metaphor. Says Persian poet Hafiz Shirazi:

Har kase panj roza naubat ast.

Kabir literally translates it as

Kabira naubat aapni das din leo bajai.

or,

Chari din aapni naubat chale bajai.

All these mean human life is but a few days of celebration. *Ustaad* (maestro) and *saaz* (instruments) are the Persian words commonly used in music vocabulary even today.

"*Sama*" or "*haal*" are sessions of Muslim devotional music, commonly heard at the "*urs*" (death anniversary celebrations) of Muslim *sufi saints* in India. Some say it is not permitted in Islam. Others maintain the Prophet himself had attended such assemblies.

Having lived and preached their messages of love for mankind and devotion to Allah, the *sufis* not only took interest in folk music but also incorporated it in their own devotional form of music. For this purpose, they deviated from the high flown language of the Muslim courts and used simpler tongues and dialects of the common people, as has been seen in several instances above.

Other musical instruments Muslims introduced include: *tasha*, *dafli* (small *daff*), *alghoza*, *dilruba*, *tanbura*, *sarod* etc. We have already mentioned the new forms of music they brought. But we have omitted "*mujra*", a dance-music recital that reached its peak during the later Mughal period and in the courts of Avadh kings. We did so because it belongs to an entirely different and very vast chapter of Muslims' court culture. It has been peculiar to Indian Muslim courts and is not found elsewhere in the Muslim world. It was held routinely every evening and lasted well into the night. It was also held on special occasions, such as anniversaries of coronation or visit of special guests.

From the courts, the *mujra* came down to rich households and soon to the *kothas* where it remained a refined performing art. Like *mushaaera* (poets' gathering), it was a gift of the Muslim culture. The dance performed in *mujra* is generally *kathak*, a classical dance, set to classical music. A new group of performers emerged who were called *mirasis*. They played an important role in preserving the classical dance tradition and classical music too. Special poetry was composed for the ceremonial occasion of the moment.

No research has been done into this. It is a life time's work for any researcher. Suffice it to say, the everlasting Muslim impact in the realm of arts includes architecture, music, poetry, handicraft and the Hindi language itself. The Muslim contribution led to refinement and evolution of existing form and objects and was further enriched by innumerable inventions and innovation.

Compared with Muslim influence, the Western rule made its richest contribution in the world of intellect and culture, while it remained utterly absent in the realm of culture and people's day-to-day life. In other words, Arabs, Turks, Afghans, Mughals and Iranians totally merged with India at all levels. As a result, Indian Muslims, while sharing a common religion and largely a common history, remains unlike Muslims of any other country west or east of India. As a result, also developed a composite culture in every walk of life. This truth remains in evidence in every part of India that remained under Muslim rule for any good length of time.

IV. Language and Literature

Scribes Artefacts

Before the advent of Muslims, a metallic stylus was used for inscribing on dried and processed palm leaves. *Bhoj patras* (fine bark skin of *bhoj*) and *tadpatras* (palm leaves) were used as writing surface. The Muslims introduced *kaagaz* (paper), *qalam* (pen), *roshnayi* (ink), enamelling, faience and damascenning etc. The local people readily learned these processes and manufacture of these items. So words, such as *kaagaz*, *kitaab* (book), *qalam*, *takhti* (small board for writing), *siyahi* (black ink), *sokhta* (blotting paper), *dawaat* (inkpot), *qalamdaan* (inkpot stand) *paarcha* (slip or parchment), *khat* (letter), *lifafa* (cover) or envelop), *imtihaan* (examination) and many more became part of daily speech. Poets made figurative use of some as they felt like. Meera's use of the word *kaagaz* is entirely different from the concept in the Puranic age:

Kagad le udho ji aayo, kahaan rahaya saathi.

Kagadh le Radha bachan bethi bhar aai chhaati.

(Meera Jeevni Aur Kavya, p. 89)

Dadu uses *kitaab* and *kaagaz* in his own way:

Kazi kaja na janahi, kagad hathi kateb.

(Dadu Bani-I, p. 135)

Kaya kateb boliya, likhi rakhu Rahiman.

(Dadu Bani-I, p. 130)

Satar is Arabic for a line of writing on a page. Amir Khusrow has cast a riddle combining "*kitaab*" and "*satar*"

Ek naar chatur kahlaave, moorakh ko na paas bulaave.

Chatur mard jo haath lagaave, khol satar vahe aap dikhaave.

(Khusrow Ki Hindi Kavita, p. 33)

"*Satar*" with slight phonetic variation also means the proverbial fig leaf. Nirgun poets using *kagaz-qalam* etc. contend nothing can sum up the glory of God.

Among the other words added to the vocabulary of the world of writing are: *ruqqa* (receipt or invitation), *masveda* (draft), *lafz*

(word), *jild* (bound volume), *jild-saaz* (binder), *shikanja* (clamp), *pata* (address), *ma'rifat* (c/o) etc. These remain in use even today.

Arabs had an insatiable thirst for knowledge and learning, including learning languages of other lands and peoples. Coupled with the patronage of arts, culture, the Muslim courts right from the 8th century onwards became a centre of literary activities. Arab love for learning was prompted and stimulated by an exhortation of the Holy Prophet: Seek knowledge even if you must travel to China in search of it.

Even before Arab armies began probing the Makran coast of then united India, the Arabs had been sailing to nearly all the ports along what they called "*Muheet-ul-Hind*" (Peninsular India). They came as traders, explorers, navigators and also as missionaries of Islam. These Arabs were a gifted lot. They knew naval warfare, navigation maritime trade practices, accountancy and revenue matters. They were readily employed by coastal *rajas* as naval revenue and accounts officers and also as military advisers. Being well versed in sociology, history and geography, they took lively interest in everything about India. For them, it was a labour of love. India proved a fertile ground for Arab scholarship and spirit of inquiry.

Almost all scholars are agreed that not much is available on pre-Islamic India between the 7th and the 12th century. What they however do not know is that this very period is profusely documented in Arabic works written during the period. Abu Raihaan Alberuni alone wrote 100 books and *risalas* (journals) about India, by any reckoning the largest body of country specific literature ever created by one man. In addition we have scores of other Arab mariners, geographers, anthropologists, men of medicine, philologists, sociologists, traders and travellers who have written voluminous books on India, covering nearly every aspect of India. Some of them and the works they created will be known in the following pages.

At this stage, it is enough to point out that in this period Arabs studied all available works in Sanskrit, the only literary language then in which written manuscripts were available. Arabs translated them at the same pace and with the same zeal, as they did

the Greek and Latin works. This aroused in them a desire to dedicate themselves to Indian studies, the first time in human history that an alien people devoted themselves to studying another country—India. Once the first Arab ruler, Muhammad Bin Qasim, appeared in Sindh, Arab interest in India took on an entirely new dimension. They proceeded from "*discovery of India*" to documentation and interpretation of India. The Arab rule was followed by the Turks of Ghazni. Its foremost figure, Mahmood Ghaznavi, about whom we have mentioned at some length in was a scholar in his own right. He had set up a university in Ghaznah and made it a centre of learning Central Asia. It was under his patronage that Hindi transformed itself from "*Apbharansh*" into the literary Hindi that is known ever since.

Rightly then did Rev (Dr.) S.H. Kelong observe: "Almost from its very origin Hindi has been subjected to foreign influence."¹

When Ghaznavis shifted their capital to Lahore, the process of formation and development of Hindi got speeded up. The great "*trio*" of Abul Farj Runi Masud Sa'd, Salman and Hakeen Sanai shifted to Lahore court. Sanai's "*Hadiqa*" inspired Persian and Hindi poets of later days. Renowned *sufis* had already started their missionary work in several parts of North India, notably, Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti who had taken abode at Ajmer. They had started using Hindi for spreading their message. For this reason, older manuscripts of Hindi poets are found in Persian script. Dr. Parmeshwarilal Gupta former chairman of Patna museum says: "Just 50 years before most Kayastha families had no contact with Devnagri script". In their homes religious books, such as *Ramayana*, *Bhagwad Gita*, *Durga Stuti* were in Persian-Urdu script. In British and French libraries, celebrated Hindi works, such as "*Ramcharitmanas*", "*Sur Sagar*", Keshabdas' "*Rasikpriya*", Bihari's "*Bihari Satsai*" are found in their original manuscript form in Persian script.²

Even *pooja* was conducted in Persian in Kashmir and parts of Uttar Pradesh. The great Hindi epics were all written in Persian script. Not a single manuscript of these works written originally in

-
1. Rev. S.H. Kelong: *A Grammar of Hindi Language*, vol. III, p. 36.
 2. *Chandayan*, pp. 27-28.

Devnagari script before the 17th century has been traced so far. At the India Office Library in London, all old manuscripts of Hindi works are available in Persian script.

It therefore follows that the Hindi poets were well versed in Persian, the official language of Muslim courts. In fact, the saint poets of Hindi use more Persian in their compositions than do the *sufi* poets. Poets Manohar and Chandrabhan Brahman were experts of Persian language. Manohar composed poetry in Persian. (See Chapter I). Nanak describes the Qur'an as "*Puran*".

*Kali parwanu katib Kuranu, pothi pandit rahe puran.
Nank naau bhaya Rehmanu, kar karta tu eko janu.*
(Nanak Bani, p. 501)

Sunder Das feels regular instructions in Persian is needed to master the language:

*Padh ke na betho pas akshar na nabache sake.
Binihi padhe te kaise aabat hai Faarsi (Persian).*
(Sunder Vilas, pp. 8-9)

Ram Naresh Tripathi in his book *Tulsi Aur Unka Kavya*, (p. 250) is of the view that no other poet, old or new, could use Arabic and Persian words so correctly as does Tulsidas in his poetry. Tulsidas knew the *Qur'anic* concept of "*Ain-ul Yaqeen*" (belief as seen) and "*Haqqul Yaqeen*" (belief as truth itself), and versifies it as follows:

*Naam jagat sam janu jag, vastun kere chit bain.
Bindu gaye jimi "Gain" te, rahat "Ain" ko ain.
Aapu "Ain" vichar vidhi sidh vimal mati maan.
Aan vasna bindu sam, Tulsi param praman.*
(Tulsi Sat Sai, pp. 135,136)

Arabic, Persian and Urdu alphabet "*Ain*" (ع) is written without *nuqta* or a *bindu* (dot). When a dot is put, it becomes the next Perso-Arabic alphabet, *Ghain* (غ) Bulleh Shah uses the same letters to explain nihilism:

*Tuk bhujh kaban chap aaya hei.
Ik nukta (dot) mein jo pher pada, tab "Ain, Ghain" ka naam dhara.*

*Jab "mursad" (preceptor) nukta door kiya
tab Aino "Ain" kahaya hai.*

(Sant Vani Sangrah-II, p. 190)

Poet Aalam, who embraced Islam voluntarily, has written a couplet using the Arabic-Persian-Urdu letter, "Qaaf" (ق)

Alak mubaarak tiya badan lahaki pari yon saaf

Khushnaseeb munsii (scribe) madan likhiyo kanch par Qaaf.

(Reeti Kaleen Sahitya Ki Aitihasik Prishtbhumi, p. 113)

Yari Sahab, Bhikha Saheb and others have written "*Alifnaamah*" in imitation of Persian poetry. Each couplet starts with an alphabet and subsequent couplets to proceed in alphabetical order.

Dr. Shivrul Joshi's opinion is a summing up on this score: "It appears that Hindus since the time of Khusrow had started learning Persian language and its literature. So, the Hindi poets' acquaintance with Persian has had a tradition in Persian learning.

Hindi compositions in the mould of Persian poetry

Never an official language, though often used for official purposes by Mahmood Ghaznavi and Sher Shah, Hindi received great patronage, next only to Persian.

Government employed *maulvis* in *maktabs/madrasahs* and *pandits* in *pathshalas*. Better sections preferred *maktabs*. The *maktab* syllabus, *inter alia*, included study of Persian poetry and literature. Dr. P.N. Chopra mentions the following literary works as part of the syllabus: "*Shah Naamah*" by Firdausi, "*Yusuf-Zulekha*" by Jami, "*Sikandar Naamah*" by Nizami, as "*Shireen-Khusrow*", "*Laila-Majnoun*", "*Gulistaan*", and "*Bostaan*" by Shaikh Sa'di and the poetical works of Khusrow, Hafiz Shirazi, Khaqaani, Anwari, Shams Tabriz, Zaher Faryabi, besides "*Makhzanul Asraar*" and "*Qasaaid-e-Badar Chah*".

The non-exclusive system of education the Muslims adopted throughout their rule fostered emotional integration that lasted until 1857. The sustained study of Persian had great impact on the mind

and culture of the people who developed a common way of thinking. A true sense of *Hindustaniyat* (Indian consciousness) was nourished.

Hindi poetry imbibed a deep impression of Islam and Islamic thought. It also absorbed the humanism of the great *sufi* poets of Hind. Given below are illustrations of the above from the poetry of Kabir, Jayisi, and Tulsidas.

Kabir

Sant Kabir (1440-1517) hailed from Manikpur. At Jaunpur, he fell under the spell of a great *sufi*, Shaikh Taqi, which moulded his thought for ever. At Jhusi too he came in contact with Muslim religious divines. Jhusi had 21 *pirs* who read the *khutba* (public address during the Friday congregational prayers) in the name of Allah not the contemporary ruler as was the tradition. He was a *julaaha* (weaver) by profession. He was a contemporary of Sikandar Lodhi (1488-1517). The Delhi Sultan temporarily asked Kabir to leave station to spare him (Kabir) the wrath of orthodox Hindus and Muslims.

Kabir was a genius of a different order. He was a free thinker and an humanist who admired Islam's caste-less society of equality. Throughout his life he fought against caste inequality and narrow prejudices. He abhorred hollow rituals. His was the poetry of *bhakti*, love of One God. He was a great mystic and bore the stamp of Islamic sufism. For the type of poetry he created he had no precedent before him in Hindi poetry. So, he drew inspiration from Fariduddin Attar's "*Pand Naamah*." He might have also heard the poems of Jalaluddin Rumi, Shaikh Sa'di and other Persian poets. For example, he says:

When you came into the world, everyone rejoiced but you cried. So do not conduct yourself in a manner that when you leave this world others would rejoice.

This is a near verbatim translation of a couplet of Shaikh Sa'di. Though Kabir's poetry amounts to an intellectual rebellion, he is no systematic philosopher. He is a *Phakkar* (spontaneous) thinker and poet. His observation of life was very profound and his

understanding of human nature unerring. He was concerned with the purity of heart, not with ritual. Kabir's medium was *doha* 2-line couplets that were wisdom condensed.

In "*Ramaini*", Kabir refers to the influences of Muslim *sufi* saints. His poetry is a living proof of his syntheistic thought, reflecting the philosophy preached by Rumi, Sa'di and other Muslim *sufis*.

The total body of Kabir's work reads like a reworking of great Persian poets.

According to Kabir's and Maulana Rumi's teachings the true faith consists not so much in strict observance of religious rites and influences as in the purification of the heart.

"The K'aba", wrote Rumi "is found not in Mecca, but in man's own heart. And Kabir says "Sheikh, if you lack obedience why are you going to Haj and to K'aba to find God. God is not there. He is in your heart."

The core of Kabir's and Rumi's conception is love for God, rather than servility to him. Man is no slave of God, he is God's friend, *Ya wadoodo* is one of the *sifat-e-Ilahi* that does not cringe before God but loves Him as his equal. I am, oh miracle, in the believers' heart, if you want me consult your heart, it holds both the Majesty of God's throne and his image. Says Rumi. "Listen my friend" Kabir echoes, "Is that my soul that is in my beloved, or it that my beloved that is in my soul"

"I can not discern the soul of my beloved. I do not know what there is in my heart. My beloved or his soul." Criticism of social injustice is manifested in denunciation of religions postulates that sanctified the social frame work of society based on oppression. Kabir and Rumi repudiate religious superiority, be it Hindu or Muslim. Rumi wrote:

"How frequently it occurs that Turks are strangers to each other. How frequently it occurs, that a Turk and Indian are unanimous. Hence, it is not the common language that matters, unanimity is more important than common language."

Two centuries later Kabir says, "Hari lives in the East Allah's dwelling place which is in the West. Look into your heart" to find them both. And there you will find Karim and Rama. Where from did the Hindus and the Muslims come? Who led them along different paths?"

Dr. Tara Chand believes that through his "*Sakhies*" (couplets) in "*Ramaini*" Kabir taught liberalism to both Hindus and Muslims. He thinks Kabir bears strong impact of Rumi, Sa'di, Jili and Badruddin Shaeed. Mansur Hallaj and various Islamic preceptors.

Omar Khayyam (d. 1131) has written a famous quatrain about the potter and the clay:

*Ien koza-garaan ke dast bar gil daarand.
Aql-o-khirad-o-hosh baraan be gumaarand.
Musht-o-lagad-o-tamach ta chand zanand.
Khake ba-dahan-e-shaan che mi pindarand.*¹

Kabir says:

*Maati kahe kumhaar se tu kiya rundhe mohye.
Ek din aisa hoyega main rundhungi toy.*²

(O Potter why do you beat me to shape a pot one day I shall beat you back into clay).

A line from a couplet by Haafiz Shiraazi (d. 1390) became a proverb. It says every man beats his drum for a few days.

*Har kase panj roza naubat ust.*³

Kabir says:

*Kabira naubati apni din das lehu bajai.*⁴
Or,
*Chari din aapni naubat chalai bajai.*⁵

Firdausi (934-1022) says:

-
1. *Tazkara wa Tabsara-e-Rubaiyaat-e-Umar Khayyam*, p. 87.
 2. *Hindi Nav Ratan (Mahatma Kabir Das Ji)*, p. 436.
 3. *Farhang-e-Amsal*, p. 188.
 4. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 16.
 5. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 217.

of life when every time the bell tolls for you to leave the world.

Firdausi:

*Che bandi tu dil bar sarai fasos.
Ke hazma hami aayad adai kos.¹*

Kabir:

*Kbir sareer sarai hain, kya soi sukh chian
Swas nagaara kooch ka bajat hain din rein.²*

Abul-Farj Isfahani (d. 967) says: every man, big or small, has a share of miseries as per his lot. Nor does anyone know what is in store for him.

Abul-Farj:

*Har kas baqadre khaish giraftaar-e-mehnat ast.
Kas ra na dadah and baraat-e-musallami.*

Kabir:

*Raja dukhiya, praja dukhiya, jogi ko dukh doona ri.
Kahe Kabir Suno bhai sadho koi Mandir nahi suna ri.*

Rumi (d. 1273) shut your eyes, lips and ears and stop breathing if you don't see. Him laugh at me.

Rumi says:

*Chashm band, o lab be band, o gosh band.
Gar na bini sirr-e-Haq barmand be khand.*

Kabir:

*Dekh ri dekh tujh mahin tera dhani, dam ko rok didaar pave.
Dam ko rok auru mool ko band-kar chaand sooraj ghar ek aave.*

Shaikh Sa'di's (1184-1291) oft quoted couplet says, receiving love from men is the best pilgrimage and winning hearts of others is worthier than seeing Ka'ba a thousand times.

1. *Kulyat-e Firdausi*, p. 228.

2. *Kavya Sangrah (Kabirdas)*, p. 29

*Dil ba-dast aavar ki hajj-e-akbar ast.
Az hazaraan ka'ba ek dil behtar ast.¹*

Kabir:

Satire Ka'ba ek dil bheetari, jo kari jaane koi.²

Another couplet of Sa'di says:

*Ta mar'd sakhun na gufta baashad,
Aib-o-hunar-ash nahufta baashad.³*

(no one is revealed until he speaks.)

Kabir says:

Boliyaan peeche janiye jo jako vyohaar.⁴

You know the type of person a man is only when he opens his mouth. In respect of *Tasawwuf* too, many of the ideas of Kabir read like translations from Persian poets centuries before him:

Abu Saied ((b. 947 A.D.)

*Dil khasta-o-seena chaak mi baayed shud.
Waah-hasti-e-khaish paak mi baayed shud.
Aan bah ke ba-khud paak shavaim awwal-e-kaar.
Chun aakhire kar khaak mi baayed shud.⁵*

(The veil of life is removed and the drop merges with the ocean, only when one dies).

Kabir:

*Jivan the mar bo bhalo jo mar jaane koi.
Marne pahle je mare kul ajravar hoi.⁶*

This trend of thought is contrary to ancient Indian attitude wherein death was considered avoidable and was shunned. But Kabir subscribes to the *sufi* thinking:

-
1. *Farhang-e-Amsal*, p. 106.
 2. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 130.
 3. *Kulyat-e-Shaikh Sa'adi*, p. 81 and *Zarbul-Amsal*, p. 63.
 4. *Kabir Granthavali (Paad Tippri)*, p. 62.
 5. *Abu Saied, Aaina-e-M'arifat*, p. 130.
 6. *Aina-e- M'arifat*, p. 130.

*Ja marne se jag dare, mere man aanand.*¹

Haafiz Shiraazi says:

*Mabash darpai aazaar va harche k'hwahi kun.
Ke dar shariat-maan ghair az-ien gunah neest.*²

(Do not torment others, for in our *shariat*, this is nothing but a sin.)

Sa'di also says:

*Chiraagh-e-ke be wa zan-e-bar farokht.
Base deeda baashi ke shar-e-ba-sokht.*³

Kabir reflects the essence of both these couplet thus:

*Dur-bal ko na sataayia, jahi moti hai.
Bina jiv ki saans son, loh (iron) bhasam ho jaaye.
Or
Jaise khal lohar ki sans, lait binu praan.
Dukhiya ke jo mukhiya sunehi jad se dehi khoeye.*

These examples prove Kabir's debt to *sufi* literature. He has used over 200 Arabic and Persian words in his "*Bijak*" alone.

Malik Muhammad Jayisi (1492-1542)

Jayisi is the originator of what Hindi scholars today call the epic tradition in Hindi literature. He picked up a piece of Rajasthan history and wove around the scintillating beauty of his heroine Padmavati his epochal composition, "*Padmavat*", the first outstanding epic of Hindi literature. Single handedly, Jayisi fathered a new genre of Hindi *Masnavi* poetry, 34 years before Tulsidas' "*Ramcharitmanas*." The latter was shaped and modelled on the lines of Jayisi's "*Padmavat*".

Jayisi's "*Padmavat*", "*Akhravat*", "*Aakhri Kalaam*" and several other works are indeed trend setting classics in Hindi literature. His Hindi language and diction are of very high order.

-
1. *Hindi Nav Ratan (Mahatma Kabirji)*, p. 437.
 2. *Farhang-e-Amsal*, p. 106.
 3. *Ibid*, p. 73.

Muslim *sufi* poets, such as Jayisi, *Qutban*, *Manjhan*, Uman and Qasim Shah et. al. infused Hindi poetry with the ethos of the great masters of Persian literature, such as Rumi, Hakim Sinai, Nizami Ganjavi and Haafiz. Through the early Muslim *sufi* poets of Hindi, many traditions of Persian poetry took root in Hindi. Jayisi had Arab lineage. His poetry reveals his profound knowledge of Islam and Perso-Arabic literature. In his *masnavi*, and the *masnavis* of other Muslim *sufi* poets, the "*Stuti Khand*" is based on Arab-Persian traditions. "*Padmavat*" is indeed a love story in the Arab-Persian traditions found in the *masnavis* of Rumi, Nizami et. al. In "*Padmavat*", contrary to Sanskrit-Hindi tradition, woman is the beloved and man is the lover.

The structure and technique of "*Padmavat*" are akin to Persian *masnavis* in which several characters are found in each episode and their representation is anchored in symbolism. Through the worldliness of the events and characters, runs deep spiritual symbolism, as it does in Rumi's "*Maulvi Ma'anavi*" and Nizami Ganjavi's "*Khusrow-Shirin*." It is ascension from the physical to the divine, from "*Ishq-e-Majaazi*" to "*Ishq-e-Haqeeqi*".

Indicated below are the similarities "*Padmavat*" has with the Persian epics:

Portions of "*Padmavat*" praising the contemporary ruler, Sher Shah Suri are in the style of a *Qaseedah* (eulogy) and recalls the eulogies of Zaheer Faryabi (d. 12030). (See: "*Diwaan-e-Zaheer Faryabi*, *Qasaid*, pp. 26, 45, 130, 131, 160).

Nizami says no one knows the extent of a woman's viles and cites the example of Naushaaba who, finding resistance to Sikandar (Alexander) futile, accepted his slavery. Jayisi says:

Purush na karahi nari-mati kanchi jas naushaaba keenhi na bhchi.
Para hath Iskandar bairi, so kit chod ke bhai bandri.

(Jayisi *Granthavali*, *Padmavat*, p. 286)

Firdausi (d. 1022) says: says in "*Shah Naamah*":

Ze Summe suturan daaran pahan dasht.
Zami sish shud o aasmaan gasht hasht.

(In the vast battle field trampled by horses' hoofs, there remained only six of this world and the number of heavens became eight, (not seven as Muslims believe.)

Likewise, Jayisi describes how the horses' hoofs of Alauddin's invading armies raised dust that covered seven heavens:

*Sat khand dharti bhai, shat khanda,
upar asht bhaye brahmananda*

(Jayisi Granthavali, Padmavat, p. 226)

A couplet of Haafiz reads:

*Azm-didaare tu daarad janbar lab aamadah.
Baaz gardaad ya bar aayed cheest farmaane shuma.*

(In the eagerness of a glimpse of the beloved, the breath of my life has paused on my lips. What is your command now: should it lapse there or go on?

Similarly, Hiranman, the parrot messenger in "Padmavat" conveys the message of Ratansen, lover of Padmavati:

Dahnu jiu rahai ki niserei, kaha rajayasu hoi.

(Jayisi Granthavali, Padmavat, p. 99)

Jayisi's poetry was the *sangam* (confluence) of Islamic and ancient Indian thought and sentiment.

Tulsidas (1483-1563)

Tulsi's narration of the story of Sri Rama embodies glimpses of the Muslim court life, administration and manners of the day. He uses hundreds of Arabic, Persian and Turki words with rare felicity and competence, aptly and beautifully:

Lagati sangi vibhishan hipar siphar aapu bhaye hain.

(Tulsi Granthavali, Geetavali, p. 330)

Here Tulsidas rhymes Persian "siphar" with Hindi "hipar".

A Persian couplet says:

*Gaahe be-dushnaam khila't dahend.
Va gaahe ba-salaam mi ranjand.*

It means odd are the ways of the rulers. At one time they may reward rebuke with gifts of precious clothes. At another, even salutation may be punished grievously. Just the same thought is contained in the following Tulsi couplet:

*Khije par nij lok diyo, aur righe par dai lank
Andhadhund sarkaar hai, Tulsi bhajon nisaank.*

Shaikh Sa'di (1184-1201) says:

*Abr gar aab-e-zindagi baarad,
hargiz az shaakh-ebaid bar na khuri
(Kuliyaat-e-Shaikh Sa'di, 93, Farhang-e-Amsaal, p. 108)*

(Clouds may give life giving rains but a cane would never bear fruit.)

Resounds Tulsidas:

*Phoole-phare na bait, Jadapi sudha barshahin jalad.
(Tulsi Granthavali, Dohavali, p. 120)*

Says Sa'di:

*Dost ma-shumaar aan ke dar nemaat zanad,
laf yari-o-braadar khwandagi
Dost aan daanam ke geerad dast-e-dost,
dar parishan haal o darmaandagi*

(Consider not a person your friend who is with you in fair weather but the one who stands by you in distress.)

Rahim and Tulsi reiterate the same view in their own way:

*Kahi "Rahim" sampati sage, banat bahut bahu reet.
Bipatti kasauti je dase, so hi saanche meet.*

Tulsidas says:

*Jo na mitra dukh hovin dukhari, tineh vilokat patak bhari.
Nij dukh giri sum raj kari jana, mitra ke dukh raj meru samana.
Jinke asi mati sahaj na aai, ti sath kat hati karat mitai.
Dhiraj dharam mitra aru nari, aapatti kal parakhiya chari.
(Ramcharitmanas, Kishkanda Khand, p. 7, 409, 449)*

Hindi Historiography

The art and science of writing history, called historiography, did not exist in India before the advent of Muslims says Alberuni: "The disinclination of the Hindus to compose history emanates from their religious belief that life is illusory and hence not worth being systematically recorded or transmitted to posterity".

Notes Dr. Tara Chand: Our country showed little interest in writing history. In ancient times, *Puranas* were taken for history in which there was little history and more fables. Of course, *Itihas* as a word existed but it had a different connotation. Descriptions in "*Ramayan*", "*Mahabharata*" and "*Puranas*" were given the name of history. These neither give any idea of the time and the period, in true historical sense, of the events described, nor provide any systematic account of the incidents and persons about whom the description is given.

Puranas contain five subjects: *Sarga*, *pratisarga*, *manvantar*, dynasty and description of dynasty. They also deal with creation and destruction of universe, which has no relation with history as such. Dynasties can be the subject matter of history but the dynasties described in *Puranas* are merely riddles, difficult to comprehend.

Long long after the period of *Puranas*, Kalhan and Sridhar of Kashmir wrote "*Rajtarangini*" which too mostly contains imaginary narrations admixed with some contemporary incidents. This makes Dr. Tara Chand conclude that it seems Sanskrit was devoid of a concept and sense of history. It were Muslims who started writing history, first in Arabic and then in Persian and Turki.

For reconstructing ancient Indian history, one has to rely on travelogues of Chinese pilgrim travellers, epigraphs, early Gracco Roman accounts and archaeological evidence. Utilising some of these materials, Post-Alexandrine Greek historians wrote highly distorted accounts of Indian history, such as Megasthenes saying that Indians have so large ears that they wrap themselves within their ears when they sleep:

The tragic dearth of genuine historical tradition in Sanskrit makes it impossible to give an account of ancient Indian history

with any accuracy of chronology. There is no agreement even on the date of birth of Adi Sankara: In all Puranas, the greatest difficulty lies in distilling genuine history out of a mesh of myths.

Chronologically authenticated history of India becomes available with the advent of Muslims in early 8th century. It is of real significance that while nothing in India is substantially available on Indian history between the 7th and the 12th century, enormous number of historical studies of the very same period are available in Arabic and are preserved in libraries in Europe). Late H.K. Sherwani was told by a professor of Oxford University that it was a matter of profound regret that Indians did not know Arabic to benefit from this rich source of information about a period on which material in India itself was so scarce.)

A legion of Arab scholars, historians, traders, travellers, geographers, anthropologists, sociologists and others have left behind works of great scholarly value not only about India 7th through 13th century but have also reconstructed past Indian history of earlier periods. At this point it will be a matter of great interest to know that the history of Delhi from the time of Pandavas down to his own time was commissioned by Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, in the 14th century. Subsequently several Delhi kings and emperors in their own time had the history of Delhi written. The latest historical accounts of Delhi were written by poet Ghalib and the great reformer and educationist, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Ghalib's history of Delhi was written in Pahalvi archaic Persian. Sir Syed's "*Aasaarus-Sanadeed*", a source book for latter day historians of Delhi, was written in Urdu.

The Phoenicians, Romans, Greeks and Iranians traded with India since ancient days. The Arab maritime contact with India predates Islam. It were the Arabs who gave India its name: "*Al-Hind*" and called Peninsular India "*Muheet-ul-Hind*" the ocean around India as "*Bahr-e-Hind*" and the sea between Arabia and India as "*Bahira-i-Arab*" (Arabian Sea). But for Arabs, Indian ocean might have been named after some 15th century European maritime explorer. The Arabs thus gave India a unique distinction of being the only country after which an ocean was named.

Pre-Islamic Arabs called Malabar (Kerala) as "*Al-Filfil*", the land of spices. They were inveterate navigators. Seafaring and

maritime trade got a fillip with the advent of Islam. According to "*Tohfat-ul-Mujahidin*", some pious Arab and Iranian Muslims had set sail on a devotional voyage to see the Adam's foot in Serenedeep (Sri Lanka). A tropical storm in the Arabian Sea compelled them to disembark at Cranganoor on the Malabar coast. Its ruler Samudari (Zamorin) received them well and impressed by their conduct embraced Islam. He is said to have proceeded on *Hajj* pilgrimage and was lost to the sea in tropical turbulence. India's first mosque came into existence at Cranganoor. It exists even now.

Another Muslim saint to arrive India was Hazrat Tameem Ansari. He was a *Sahaabi* (companion of the Holy Prophet). His grave exists at Kanya Kumari, India's land's end.

In short, from now on, recorded history of India becomes available in literally thousands of historical works dating from early 8th century to the end of the Muslim rule in the 18th century. The history of Asaf Jahi dynasty of the Nizams of Hyderabad up to the 6th Nizam (d. 1912) has been written in Persian in eight volumes by Vitthal, a Telugu Brahmin. The Nizam's dominion breathed its last in 1948. So, it can be said that Muslim history of India is available from 712 to 1912, full 12 centuries.

Due to *atamgopan-pravirti* (self-negation) attitude of giants of ancient Sanskrit literature, it is difficult to determine their period with any accuracy. But after the Hindi poets came in contacts with Muslims, it becomes possible to determine their periods. In other words historiography in Hindi literature began with the advent of Muslims. This is vouched by Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi's great work, "*Hindi Sahitya*", in which under the title, "What is historical poetry?", the modern day titan of Hindi literature says: "In fact, in India, history was never understood in the modern sense of the term. The attitude has been to describe a historical person as a *Puranic* (Legendary) personality".

Rightly, it is said: "History has no existence without the element of time. The Arabs knew this and made every effort to painstakingly determine the year, month, date, even the time of incidents of historical importance. That is how every day of Prophet Muhammad's life, deeds and sayings are documented with precision. His is the first and the only thoroughly documented life.

Acharya Ramchandra Shukla reasons out the Indian indifference to history and geography thus: "Our ancient people were deficient in matters of history and geography. It was considered enough to know something about different parts of the country. Indians had forsaken the desire to know about the outside world for some hundreds of years". This might have been conditioned by the prohibition on travel beyond the seven rivers of India.

On the other hand, Ibne Khurdazadeh's book, "*Kitaabul Masaalik Wal Mumaalik*", written in the third century of the Islamic calendar (10th century A.D) provides detailed information about Sindh and Hind. (Arabs divided India into Sindh and Hind). They regarded the entire eastern region between India and China as Sindh-Hind, Indo-China, now called Southeast Asia.

Another book of the same period, "*Silsila-tut-Tawarikh*" by Sulaiman Tajjar, contains descriptions of Southern and some other parts of India besides Serenedeep (Sri Lanka). It deals with the peoples, their profusion, produce and their culture. An Iranian, Abu Zaid Hasan Sirafi, who often travelled to China and India for trade, had penned a travelogue. Buzurg Bin Shaharyar wrote "*Ajaayebul Hind*" (Wonders of India).

Arab geographer Al-Masudi wrote a book on Indian geography, "*Muravij-uz-Zahab*". Al-Yaqubi wrote a monumental book on world geography, in which he dwelt at length on Indian geography. Ibne Hauqal's work on India became a valuable reference work. Ibne Batuta, the Moroccan traveller who undertook the longest voyages until his time wrote a four volume travelogue. Capping them all are hundred different books and *risaalas* (journals) by Al-Beruni on India alone. No people on earth took as much interest in a country other than their own as did the Arabs about India. It will not be wrong to say that their fascination for India had become an obsession. Not a single aspect of India and the lives of its people was left untouched by the Arab scholars. This is unparalleled in world history.

Add to this plethora of books on India, the literally innumerable books written in India by the *sufi* saints, court historians and non-officials scholars. What you get is a "*makhzan*" (treasure-house) of studies of India in all its hues.

These erudite works help us understand the significance of the poetry of sufi and non-sufi poets of Hindi who had based themselves on Indian folk-lore and popular legends. For instance Muhammad Bin Alikuffi's book, though dealing with the impact of Muhammad Bin Qasim on Sindh, also dwells on other aspects of life in India. Nizamuddin Hasan Bijapuri's "*Tajul Ma'sir*" narrates the *Saltanat* history from Aibak to Naasiruddin Mahmood, Mullah Yahya Bin Sirhindi's "*Tawarikh-e-Mubarak Shahi*" gives the account of 36 *Sultans* of *Dehli Saltanat*, including an earlier account of Sultan Muhammad Ghor's victory over Prithviraj. It gives complete chronology of each ruler and the events during his reign. Ziauddin Barni's "*Tawarikh-e-Ferozeshahi*" describes the events from Balban to Feroze Shah Tughlaq. Qazi Minhajuddin Bin Sirajuddin Jozjani's "*Tabqaat-e-Nasiri*" is a massive work that gives accounts of all major prophets, important caliphs, the dynasty of Amir Sabuktigin, invasion of Chingez Khan, and the Mongols. Amir Khusrow's "*Khazainul Futooh*" describes the first 15 years of Balban's 20 year reign. Khusrow has also penned versified histories, such as "*Qiran-us-Sa'dain*", "*Nuh-e-Siphar*" and "*Tughlaq Naamah*".

Khwaja Nematullah Harvi's "*Makhzan-e-Afghani*" covers the period of Lodhi dynasty and also deals with the reign of the Sur Afghan dynasty. He also mentions Jahangir, his contemporary ruler. Abdullah's "*Tawarikh-e-Dawoodi*" covers the same period of the Lodhi and Sur Afghan kings. The Mughal period is even more elaborately documented. The books mentioned so far are in addition to the ones mentioned in earlier chapters.

If these works of history are carefully studied, it will throw new light on the origin and development of Hindi language and literature and will help project Hindi on an international level.

An interesting aspect of the impact of large numbers of books on history written in Persian and studied by Hindi poets was the emergence of epithetic literature in Hindi, which were more historical than literary, such as Keshav Das' "*Vir Singhdev Charit*" and "*Jahangir Jas Chandrika*". Various Persian and Hindi poets wrote historical literature. They include Jayisi, Amir Khusrow, Chandrabhan Brahman, the author of "*Chahar Chaman*" Bhagwan

Das, the author of "*Shah Jahan Naamah*" and Munshi Sujan Rai, the author of "*Khulasatut Tawarikh*".

In their poetical works, Muslim *sufi* poets of Hindi have mentioned earlier poetical works and poets. They also made laudatory references to the rulers of the time. The Hindi poets at royal courts followed their example. Persian history books and poetical compositions of Persian poets in Persian and Hindi make references to these poets.

Some Hindi poets have also described battles and praised their patrons. Through these reference, it becomes possible to deduce historical data and also to compile information about the poets themselves. This is how it became possible to reconstruct the fact file about great saint poets, such as Kabir Das, Tulsidas, Surdas, Raidas et. al., besides *sufi* poets, such as Jayisi, Amir Khusrow, Qutban, Manjhan, Usman and others.

Muslim *sufi* poets of Hindi have also mentioned the dates and places of their birth, names of their preceptors, their own pen names, and also the time of writing their works, besides referring to other poets and their works. Mullah Abdul Qadir Badayuni, in his "*Muntakhibut Tawarikh*", refers to "*Chandayan*" of Mullah Dawood as having been written in 772 *Hijri* (1395). Confirms Dawood:

Baras sat sai hoi ikyaasi, tihi jah kavi sarseu bhasi.
Sahi Firoz Dilli Sultanu, jouna sahi wazir bakhanu.
Dalamu nagar basai navranga, upar kot tale bahi Ganga.
 (Chandayan, stanza 17, p. 84)

Qutban mentions his "*Mrigawati*" was written during Husain Shah's time 809 A.H. roughly around 1504:

Sun sun chit lai kar kahon baat hun ek.
Aur badho Husain Sah ki aah jagat ki nek.
Inke raj yah rai hum kahe, nau sou jo samvat ahe.

Jayisi wrote his monumental work, "*Padmavat*" and mentions in it the date of its writing. He also mentions the date of writing his "*Aakhri Kalaam*":

*San nau so sattaais aaha, katha arambh bain kavi kaha.
Nauso bars chatees jo bhai, tab yehi katha ka aakhir kaha.
(Jayisi Granthavali, p. 9 Aakhri Kalaam, Stanza 13, p. 343)*

Usman in the 33rd stanza of his "*Chitravali*" and Shaikh Nabi in the 17th stanza of his "*Gyan Deep*" also mentions the date of composition of their works. This practice was followed by *non-sufi* poets also. (For details, see, Dr. Shyam Manohar Pandey's "*Madhya Yogeen Prem Akhyan*, pp. 90-117). Various Hindi poets have described several battles fought during the Muslim period. These yield valuable historical information:

*Nau so upar tha battisa, Panipat mein Bharat deesa
Atthai Rajab Sukurwaara, Babur jeeta, 'Brahim haara.'*

It may be noted that the poet is using Hijri calendar, not the *Saka Samvat* calendar.

Expectedly, the important impact of the historical tradition in literature that began with Muslim rule was also in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Malwa. It gave birth to Charni or Bardic poetry. The Rajas of these regions employed "*Barots*", bardic poets, not only to write their genealogies but also to keep an account of their histories in verse. This practice started during Akbar's reign in the 16th century and continued until the princely states were liquidated after 1947.

Acharya Tirathankara Ratudan Rhodiya has collected over 20,000 manuscripts of Barot poetry of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Malwa. So far he has prepared 35 annotated compilations of this literature dating from the 16th to the 19th century. Interestingly these manuscripts are in Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, Rajasthani and Marathi. It shows that the Mughal tradition of court historians had spread far and wide among the Indian rulers. Acharya Rhodiya's volumes of annotated bardic poetry have been published by the Gujarati Department of Saurashtra University at Kalawad Road, Rajkot.

On the one hand this massive documentation and interpretation reveals the extent of the influence of the Muslim tradition of

1. *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, p. 61.

literary historicity. On the other, these are most valuable sources of history in poetry.

These works would unveil many unknown facets of the history of princely India during the past four centuries. Hence, these poetical works are the primary source for historical research.

These also reveal the influence of Arabic and Persian on several Indian languages, besides Hindi. A close study of these works would reveal the impact of Muslim courts and administration on Princely India.

If English translations of these volumes of *Chaarni* (bardic) poetry as annotated by Acharya Ratudan Rhodiya are brought out, new light would be shed on the little known history of Princely India. Barring less than half a dozen major Princely States, over 550 other princely states have never been exposed to the world and have remained an arena of fantasy and gossip.

These specimens of *Chaarni* poetry are the ultimate proof of the impact of Muslim historiographer on Indian states since the time of Emperor Akbar.

Already Gujarati and Marathi languages, like Punjabi and Sindhi, and Rajasthani dialect bear the strong impress of Persian and to some extent of Arabic. The words and terms used by the *Chaarni* poets will supplement the long list of such words and terms borrowed from Persian. These will also reveal the extent of Muslim influence on the customs and manners of the nobility of the time. These poets could not have been unaware of the epics created by Jayisi and his followers. After all, "*Padmavat*" is about a ruler of Rajasthan and the legend of Padmini is an integral part of Rajasthan's collective memory.

In reconnoitring the impact of the Muslim influence over 12 centuries, Hindi and regional literature serve as basic reference. Such study will indicate phases in the development of these languages. Thus, under the impact of the Muslim influence, a big void in Indian literatures the absence of historicity, has been removed. This is ordinary contribution of Muslims to Indian life and culture.

This chapter, like the others preceding it, conclusively proves that Muslim rule was neither colonial nor was the impact of Muslims on Indian life and culture an imposition. Unless it had percolated unobtrusively and accepted voluntarily, it would not have outlasted the end of the Mughal rule.

As a matter of fact, it is a tribute to the assimilative genius of Indian culture and its perennial evolutionary trend. Muslim impact on India is like skin and flesh. You cannot rip apart the skin to expose the flesh.

IV

IMPACT OF ISLAMIC TRADITION ON FORMS OF HINDI POETRY

Early Forms in Sanskrit

Early period of Hindi poetry is called: *Adi Kaal*, *Veer Gatha Kal* or the period of epics of chivalry. In this phase, Hindi had inherited *Prabandha* and *Nibandha* traditions of Sanskrit poetry. According to Acharya Vishwanath Prasad Mishra, *Prabandha* is a long continuous poem and *Nibandha* is disjointed. The former deals with a single topic while the latter has no such restriction. One of the more practised form in *Nibandha* group is the *Muktak* poetry or free verse in which each *shloka* (two lines) is complete by itself.

When Muslim conquests began, Hindi literature was in the *Adikal* phase. The contact with Muslims redefined the poetry of this period. In respect of *Prabandha* poetry, it led to the creation of long poems on the lines of Persian *masnavis*, best exemplified by Abdur Rehman's "*Sandesh Rasak*" and Malik Muhammad Jayisi's "*Padmavat*". In the *Nibandha* category, the change was far more profound and is best exemplified by Amir Khusrow, who gave a new direction to *muktak* poetry and created a whole range of new poetical forms.

Abul Hasan Amir Khusrow (1255-1324) saw the reign of eleven kings of Dehli Saltanat and served seven of them. He has left behind their accounts in his Persian *masnavis*. Khusrow composed poetry in *ragas* and *raginis*. He continued the tradition *Geeti Kavya*. He developed the technique of modulating *Bhairvi raga* which helped later musical composer. He composed *dohas* (2-line couplets) and invented in Hindi such new forms as *Qaseedah* (eulogy), *Ghazal* (sonnet), *Qita* (stanza, fragment), *Zu-lisani* (bilingual quadruplets) *Mustazaad* (verse with an extra foot appended to

each couplet), *Rubayi* (quatrain), *Musddas* (6-line composition), *Musamman* (octave), *Rekhta* (Arabic and Persian mixed Hindi song), *Alif-naamah* (each line starting with a letter of Persian-Arabic alphabet in alphabetical order) and many others.

Of course, in the realm of epics, Jayisi's lead was indeed epochal. It became a model for Tulsidas "*Ramcharitmanas*". Under the Muslim influences, Hindi poetry began to be written according to *Ilm-e-Urooz* (poesy) of Persian

Poetical Forms in Muslim Culture

Ilm-e-Urooz (Poesy) :

The influence of Muslims worked its way in three areas of poetic metres in Hindi.

First: In Perso-Arabic poetry there is no restriction on the use of metres. In *masnavi* (epic), seven metres are allowed. Hindi poets gave up the metrical constraints of Sanskrit poetry.

Second: Though Arabic belongs to the Semitic family and Persian to the Aryan, these share a certain similarity in the matter of accent and mode of metres. And yet, Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit-Hindi in metrical approaches appear to be identical. What is *Bahre Ramal* in Perso-Arabic poetry is *Hrarigeeti chhand* in Hindi. Similar identity is found in between *mutdarik* and *tribhangi* metres, *mutqrib* and *Bhujangiprayat* and *Bahr-e-Saree* and *chaupai*. As a result of the Muslim influence, certain Hindi poets began using Perso-Arabic metres. Example:

*Kabira ishaq ka mata, dui ko door kar dil se.
Jo chalana rah najuk hai, haman sir both bhari kiya.*

It is *Bahr-e-Hazraj Musamman Saalim*.

The resort to Perso-Arabic metres helped the development of Hindi diacritical metres. *Khadi Boli* has liberally used several such metres *Bahars*. *Rekhta* and *Lavani* metres are also found in Hindi poetry. (See: Acharya Jagannath Prasad Bhanu's "*Chhand Prabhakar*").

Third: In Arabic, Turki, Persian and Urdu poetry, rhyming is basic to poetical composition *qafia* and *radeef*. The rhyming is

achieved through *qafia* and *radeef*. *Qafia* is an Arabic word which means alliteration, terminative alliteration rhyming or terminative rhyming. In a *qafia*-bound couplet a line should terminate in similar sound and similar rhyme. Also, if earlier words and rhymes are alike, the better it is for the poetical cadence of the piece of poetry. A rhythmic poem is easy to memorise. Arab and Persian civilisation had tradition of public recitation of epics, and rhyming helped to do this. Example:

*Kal jo baitha pass ekja main tere humnaam ke,
Rah gaya bus naam sunte hi kaleja thaam ke.*

Here, "*humnaam*" and "*thaam*" are rhythmic (*qafia*). *Radeef* (Arabic) literally means a woman in tow. In a poem, terminative word or words are called *radeef*. It follows that words towards the end of each couplet should be rhythmically repetitive. Example:

*Muflisi sab bahaar khoti hai,
Mard ka etabaar khoti hai.*

Here, "*bahaar*" and "*etabaar*" are *qafia* provide the rhyme and "*khotihai*" provides the quality of *radeef*.

In Arabic, Turki, Persian and Urdu, there is no compulsion to provide *qafia* and *radeef* in a single couplet simultaneously but if both do occur in a couplet its beauty is enhanced. This tendency is not found in Sanskrit literature. A Sanskrit poem generally may not be bound to a rhythmic termination.

The introduction of poetry of *radeef* and *qafia* by Muslims was so well received by the Indian people, that hawkers roaming the streets used to sell their goods by well rhymed compositions. And even today, throughout Mughal India, all political slogans use the rhyming as standard sloganeering

Dr. Hardev Bahri writes: "Rhyming in Sanskrit, *Prakrit* and *Apbharansh* poetry is conspicuous by its absence. The question is how did it appear suddenly in Hindi to become an important feature of Hindi poetry ever since? Naturally this was due to the impact of Arab-Persian poetry". Though terminative rhyming is found in *Apbharansh* since the 6th century and earlier Buddhist *siddhas*, besides in the poetry of Jaideva (11th century) and we find it in

Natya Sastra too, the Arab-Persian terminative rhyming is a thing apart. Since its birth around the time of the Muslim advent in India, the Hindi poets remained in constant touch with Persian poets, *sufis* and Muslim courts and camps, it was but natural for *qafiah* and *radeef* bound Persian poetry should decisively influence poetry composition in the same pattern in Hindi too. This is what Dr. Hardev Bahri has rightly concluded on the basis of his investigation into the introduction of terminative rhyming in Hindi poetry.

***Takhallus* (Pen Name)**

Another Aspect of the impact of Perso-Arabic poetry on Hindi poetry is adoption by Hindi poet's *takhallus* (pen name) in their composition. "*Takhallus*" is like the seal of copyright on a piece of poetical work. Forever, it fixes the identity of its creator on that work. Owing to the absence of the tradition of using *takhallus* in poetry before the arrival of Muslims, it is difficult to fix the authorship of a piece of poetry accurately and with certainty. On the other hand, in Arabic, Turki, Persian and Urdu poetry, the *takhallus* seals the authorship credit and identity of the poet for ever. This has something to do with the tradition of historicity in Muslim culture. In ancient Indian culture, such a thing as *takhallus* would have been considered personal arrogance.

A *takhallus* is a single words, often characteristic of a poet's poetical genius. This way, whenever it is used in a couplet, it also merges with the meaning of the couplet and often enhances its import. It can be a part of the poet's name itself. It can as well be an additional adopted name. Examples: Mir Taqi "*Mir*", where "*Mir*" is part of the poet's own name and also his pen name. "*Zauq's*" real name was Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim (In Hindi, *takhallus* may be called *upnaam*.)

Takhallus is used in the last couplet or in the last line of the last couplet. In a *ghazal*, the last line or couplet is called "*maqta*" or cut-off point, where the composition ends.

Sufi Hindi poets pioneered the use of pen name, after the tradition of the Persian poetry. Malik Muhammad Jayisi adopted "Muhammad" as his pen name. Following this we find other poets after him adopting pen name, such as Nanak, Dadu, Kabir, Tulsi,

Sur, Rahim, Rahiman/Mira, Thakar (Thakur Prasad), Dev (Dev Datt), Bihari (Bihari Lal) Prasad (Jai Shanker Prasad) *et al.*

Arab-Persian Forms

There is a large number of forms of poetry that Muslims introduced and which were accepted and adopted by the Hindi poets and also poets in other languages, such as Sindhi, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Dogri, Gujarati etc.

These new poetical forms will be briefly discussed in the following.

Ghazal (Sonnet)

Ghazal in Arabic means conversing with the beloved. It started with *qaseedah* (epistle) praising the qualities of the expected benefactor in high flown language. At this stage it was called "*taghazzul*" or love element in amatorial poetry. A *ghazal* can have 5, 11, 13, 15 or more couplets, each one independent of the other and complete by itself. Still a single theme may run through it all. The content of a *ghazal* may be anything. In Hindi, Amir Khusrow probably took the lead in composing *ghazals* in Persian and Hindi mixed languages. He was basically Persian poet but he became the foremost pioneer of all times in the realm of Hindi poetry. It is he who developed *Khadi Boli* into a lucid language of literary potential and merit.

Khusrow's lead was followed by several others, such as Kabir, Nanak, Tulsidas, Surdas, Gang, Guru Gobind Singh, Sheetal, Rahim (also Rahiman), In the opinion of Dr. Shakuntala Dubey Khusrow "was responsible for sowing the seeds of *Geeti Kavya* in Hindi".¹ An example of Khusrow's Hindi-Persian *ghazal* that became a popular film song is:

*Ze Haal-e-miskin makun taghaaful dorai naina banaayi
batiyaan,*

*** * ***

Sapit manki durai rakhu, jo jaane paanu piya ki dhatiya.

1. *Kavya Roopan ke Mool Srot Aur Unka Vikas*, p. 17.

Munshi Pyarelal Shauqi was a scholar poet of Jahangir's time. Given below are the *matla* (first) and *maqta* (last) of his *ghazal*. He uses his *takhallus*:

Jin prem ras chakha nahin amrat piya to kiya hua
Jin ishaq mein sar na diya jo jag jiya to kiya hua.
Marag basi sab chhod kar dil tan ke tapi Khilwat pakad
"Shauqi Piyarelal" bin sab se mila to kya hua.

(*Bahrul Fasahat*: p. 28)

In the above couplets, a pure Arabic metere, called *Bahr-e-Rajz*, has been used. Rai "Pandit Raj" Chandrabhan Brahman was the favourite poet of Shah Jahan, used "Brahman" as his *takhallus*. A *matla* and a *maqta* from his *ghazal* reads:

Khuda ne kis shahr ander hamaan ko lai dala hai,
Na dilbar hai, na saaqi hai, na shisha hai, na pyala hai.
"Brahman" waaste ashnan ke phirta hai bagyasi
Na Ganga hai na Jamuna hai, na naddi hai, na naalah hai
 (Khumkhana-i-Javed: Vol. I: p. 574-575)

The above *ghazal* is in Arabic metre called *Bahr-e-Hazaj*. Pratap Narain Mishra, Ayodhya Singh Upadhyaya, Lala Bhagwandas Shamasher and Nirala are some of the better known Hindi *ghazal* poets of modern times.

Masnavi (Persian Epic)

Masnavi, according to Persian tradition, is a long, systematic poem wherein both lines of each couplet end with correspondingly rhymed *qafia* and every couplet has different rhyming sounds, i.e. *radeef*. Derived from Arabic, *masnavi* occupies an important place in Iranian literature. In Hindi, it may be called *Yugmak* or *Dwipadi*, i.e., two-line couplet. The *masnavi* is long poem of double rhymed couplets.

In *Qaseedah* and *Ghazal*, linkage between following couplets remains uncertain. But in a *masnavi*, each line and each couplet are continuous with the previous one. There is also no limit to the length. It can be anywhere between 700 to 7,000 couplets. Firdausi "*Shahnamah*" has 60,000 couplets.

Generally the same metre is used throughout a *masnavi*. The content of a *masnavi* can be in bardic tradition. It may narrate the story of a single hero, or of an event of historical significance or even the story of a nation across the countries. In the course of this narration, the poet may bring in many other things, such as descriptions of seasons and landscape, rites and rituals, The account may be Puranic, contemporary, religious, philosophical or even mystical.

As for metres, a *masnavi* can use seven *bahars* (metres). Persian *masnavis* have well defined conventions for writing *masnavis*. These remained a model for Sufi saint poets of Hindi of the *Nirgun* era, such as Tulsidas in writing "*Ramcharitmanas*". The Tulsi epic was shaped and modelled on the pattern of Jayisi's "*Padmavat*", written 34 years earlier.

Elements of a Masnavi

There are six elements besides the main body that are conventionally adopted while writing a *masnavi*. These are: (1) *Hamd* (poem in praise of God), (2) *Na't* (poem in praise of Prophet Muhammad), (3) *Manqabat* (poem in praise of one or all of the four Wisely Guided Caliphs), (4) *Madhah* (poem in praise of the contemporary ruler), (5) *Tazkirah* (Poem in praise of the poet's preceptor) and 6. *Wajah Tasneef* (Poem setting out the purpose of writing the *masnavi*).

It is not obligatory to have them all and in the same order, though the order is quite sacrosanct. Nor does it imply that these several forms of poetry that go into a *masnavi* as introductory portions can not be written independently. In fact each one of them holds the status of a legitimate genre of poetry in its own right and has been written as such.

The main body of a *masnavi* begins with an introduction to the family of the hero and the heroine of the story. *Masnavi* has no cantos. The events are described under various headings.

Hamd (Poem in Praise of God)

The Arabic word means praising Allah. The couplets written in praise of Allah are called "*Munajaat*".

We find *hamd* in Nizami's *masnavis*, "*Laila-Majnun*" and

"*Khusrow-Shireen*", Amir Khusrow's "*Majnoun-Laila*", Firdausi's "*Shahnamah*" and Jami's "*Yusuf-Zulekha*" etc. This tradition is maintained by *sufi* Hindi poets. The Delhi edition of "*Mrigawati*" begins with "*chaupais*" in praise of Allah and universe. In other copies of this book, this portion is said to be "missing".

In Jayisi's "*Padmavat*", the first ten *chhands* (pp. 1-4) are *hamd*. In his "*Akhravat*" and "*Aakhri Kalaam*", following the Persian *masnavi* tradition, there are *hamds*. A sample:

*Takai astuti kinhi na jai, kon jeebh nain karaun badaai.
Ayasu Iblis hu jou taara, Narad hoi narak ma paara
Maya kare "Muhammad" to pe hoi hi mokh.*

(Jayisi *Granthavali*: p. 304, 339, 341)

Jayisi sings of the glory of Allah and reminds his readers of smallness of man. He describes how tyrants like Phataroah and the arrogance of *Iblees* (Lucifer) perished or lost their eminence. Manjhan in "*Madhumalti*", Usman in "*Chitravali*" and Qasim Shah in "*Hans Jawahar*" have penned *hamd*.

In Hindi literature, Kabir, Nanak, Dadu and others have composed *hamds* as an independent piece of poetry, something resembling "*munajaat*". The language and sentiments expressed in them reveal Muslim influence. Dadu Dayal in his *Shabad* 54 describes the creation of Universe as God's work:

*Allah aasikaan Iman
Bahisht-dozakh deen-duniya, che kar-e-Rahman
Aasikaan deedar Dadu, Noor ka nisaan.*

(Dadu *Bani-II*, pp. 166, 421)

The poet says Allah is Love and nothing counts before the Creator the only Sultan. Allah is the Beginning and Allah is the End. His light prevails everywhere. Nothing is significant when the Master is in sight. When Dadu sees universal light, he says this is the reason why I glorify Him:

*Allah tera jikar-fikar karte hain
Aasikaan mushtaq teretars tars marte hain.*

(Dadu *Bani-II*, pp. 167, 423)

In both parts of Dadu Bani numerous shades of Islamic thought are found.

*Are mera samrath Sahib, re Allah Noor tumhara
Sab disi deve sab disi leve.
Daud aanand hoire Allah.*

(Dadu Bani-II, pp. 47)

Tansen too has composed an *hamd*:

*Paak Muhammad Allah Rasool, teri hi noor zahoor
Jit dekho tit, tu hi viap raho, jal-thal dharti-akaash,
Tansen tuhin Huzur.*

(Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi: p. 394)

Na't (Poem in Praise of the Holy Prophet)

Na't is a poem, independent or as an element of a *masnavi*, written in praise of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). It describes the noble qualities of the Holy Prophet and his grand achievements during his mission for mankind. Such descriptions invariably include reference to the Prophet's ascent to the heavens.

In Turki *masnavis*, *Na't* is found free from other forms of literature. Nizami has followed the Turki tradition. He has written "*Na't-e-Rasool*" in his epic, "*Khusrow-Shirin*". In Amir Khusrow's "*Majnoun-Laila*", there is a *na't* that refers to the Prophet's tryst with Allah.

In Hindi, *sufi* and non-*sufi* poets have written *na't*, which not only shows the Muslim impact but also reveals the extent to which Hindi poetry was transformed under the Muslim influence, Qutban's "*Mrigavati*" and Jayisi "*Padmavat*" also contain *na't*. Some specimens of Jayisi's *na't* compositions are given below:

*Kinhasi purush ek nirmara, Naan Muhammad puno kara
Prathcn jyoti vidhi takar saji, au tehi priti sihisti upraaji.
Sab binub aage hoi, karab jagat kar mokh.*

(Jayisi Granthavali, stanza 11, p. 4)

In "*Aakhri Kalaam*" too Jayisi includes a *na't*,

Ratan ek vidhna avtaara, naav Muhammad jag ujiyaara.

(Jayisi Granthavali, stanza 7, p. 341)

Na't has also been written in Hindi as an independent genre:

Muhammad nabin habib Allah ke mardan.

(*Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, Tensen, p. 194)

Sufi and other poets have also composed *na't* as an independent composition:

*Noor Allah tain, awwal noor Muhammad ko,
Pragatao shubh aai.*

(*Urdu-Hindi-Hindustani*, p. 194)

Syed Ghulam Nabi "*Rasleen*" is famous for his Hindi works, "*Ang Darpan*" and "*Ras Prabodh*". Cited below is a specimen of his *na't*:

*Noor Allah tain, awwal noor Muhammad ko pragatao shubh
Pache bhai tihin lok jahan lagi au sab sirishti jo dishti dekhai
Aadi dalil so antki kahiys "Rasleen" jo bat bhai man pai
Taus Lon ma pave Allah ko kinhi kinhi,
Jo lon Muhammad mein na samaiye*

(*Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani*, p. 1481)

***Manqabat* (Poem in Praise of the Caliphs)**

In this third element of a *masnavi*, the four Wisely Guided Caliphs are praised. They are Abu Bakar, Umar, Usman and Ali, *Manqabat* can also be written independently. Says Jayisi:

*"Chaar meet" jo Muhammad thaun,
Jinhi deenh jag nirmal naun.
Aur jo bhule awat so Suni lage panth.*

(*Jayisi Granthavali*, p. 5)

In his "*Aakhri Kalaam*", Jayisi says in another *manqabat*:

*"Chaar meet chaun disi jagmoti,
Manjh dipe manu nanik jyoti.*

(*Jayisi Granthavali*, p. 341)

Poet Manjhan's *maqabat* reads as below:

*Ab sunu chahun meet ke baataa, sat nayaun sastor ke data.
Pragat karam pai sadhai guput hiyan kartar.*

(*Mudhumalti*, p. 10)

Usman in his *masnavi* "Chitravali", Shaikh Nabi in "Gyan Deep" and Qasim Shah in "Hans Jawahar" have composed *manqabat*. Qasim Shah writes:

*Ahmed Sang charon Yaara, chare sidh meet karta.
Deen deepak chariu yaara, din din hoi jag ujiyaara.*

(*Hans Jawahar*, p. 4)

Influenced by the love epics of the *sufi* poets, non-*sufi* poets also wrote *Manqabat*. One example is "Rasratan" in *Avadhi*. In "Pushpavati", the poet writes a *manqabat* in place of an *hamd* eulogising the formless God besides also praying to *Shiva*, *Ganesh* and *Kali*. But his praise for four friends is contrary to the *manqabat* tradition in which the four companions of the Holy Prophet are eulogised. These friends are like real brothers to the prophet, says the poet, obviously influenced by Islamic tradition imbibed through prolonged Muslim contact. There is no dearth of *manqabat* in Hindi poetry.

One Hindi poet Chhem (Bandijan) has written a *manqabat* in praise of Hazrat Ali, the fourth Caliph. He says:

*Dharni tharni thar tharat darni rach tarni palatthu.
Chem kopi Hazrat Ali jab,
Julfikar (the sword of Ali) kamar kasyo.*

(*Shiv Singh Saroj*, p. 102)

Obviously Chhem knew well about Islamic history so that he refers to Ali's valour in the battle at Badar. Tansen's eulogy of Ali is also worth quoting:

*Hazrat Ali ki Sudrishti bhali mopar
Jo dukh jaya sab tan se bhaj.
Ali Wali marad kufhar daridra haran,
Hazrat Hasan vujrak Imam.
Sansar ko Sahib Husain Syede sahajata
Jainulabdeen deen pran.*

(*Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi, Tansen ke Pad*, p. 364)

***Madha* (Poem in Praise of the Contemporary Ruler)**

The fourth element, praise for contemporary ruler or a great personality of the time, has been in ancient Indian works but not on the lines of the *madha* in a *masnavi*. It is therefore correct to assume that this literary tradition was borrowed from the Muslim tradition in *masnavi* writing. In their love stories Hindi *sufi* poets too have written couplets praising the contemporary ruler. Jayisi praises Sher Shah in "*Padmavat*" (pp. 13-17) and describes his accomplishments. He also narrates certain events, such as Sher Shah becoming the Sultan of Delhi, and praises his justice and charity. In "*Aakhri Kalaam*", Jayisi has praised his contemporary ruler, Babur.

Babur Shah chhatrapati raja, raaj-paat in kenh bidhi saaja.
(Jayisi Granthavali, pp. 241-242)

Manjhan in "*Madhumalti*" (Stanza 10 and 13) praises "Shah Salim" Jahangir:

Sahi Saleem jag bha bhari, jai bhunjibar maindini saari.
(*Madhumalti*, p. 10)

Following the tradition, Qasim Shah has praised Muhammad Shah.

***Tazkirah-e-Murshid* (Poem in Praise of the Mentor or Benefactor)**

This is the penultimate element of a Persian *masnavi*, in which poet pays tribute to his *pir murshid* (preceptor) or spiritual guide or any other person with whom he has deep attachment. It, therefore, indicates the *sufi* school to which poet belongs.

In Hindi love epics, the "*Padmavat*", Jayisi mentions Syed Ashraf as his preceptor thus:

Syed Ashraf pir pyaara, jehin mohi panth deen ujiyaaara.
Ve makhdoom jagat ke, vohi ghar ke band.
(Jayisi Granthavali, pp. 7-8)

Further on, Jayisi gives details about his preceptor in couplets 18-20. In "*Aakhri Kalaam*" (Jayisi Granthavali, p. 342), again pays homage to his *murshid* thus:

*Manik ekrayun ujiyaara, Syed Ashraf pir pyaara
Jahangir chisti nirmara, kul jag mang deepak vidhi dhraara.*

In “*Madhumalti*” (stanza 13-14) Manjhan praises Shaikh Ghous Muhammad as his preceptor. Usman pays tribute to his preceptor Shaikh Nabi in “*Chitravali*”

***Wajah-Tasneef* (Purpose of Writing)**

Persian poets used to add a few couplets to dwell upon the purpose of writing their epic. Like the other traditions introduced into Hindi poetry, this too found its way in. Jayisi gives reasons for writing the epic “*Padmavat*” in couplets 23-24. Manjhan mentions the time of his composing “*Madhumalti*” in couplet 40. Usman and Shaikh Nabi also do like wise.

***Qaseedah* (Epistle)**

Qaseedah is an Arabic word. It refers to a poetical composition in high flown language written for the benefactor in anticipation of a favour (sought in the composition towards the end.) This is the oldest genre in Arabic poetry.

It normally contains excessive praise. It can also heap excessive ridicule. It is suitable for all forms of bardic poetry.

Qaseedah (has two forms: *Khitaabia* and *Tamheedia*)

Khitaabia

In this type, the poet sets out his objective right at the outset. If he wishes to praise his benefactor, he addresses the person and showers praise on him in the first stanza itself. If he wishes to sermonise, he first addresses himself and then begins to unfold the content. In *Khitaabia*, a poet does not resort to a long drawn preface.

Tamheedia

In this type, the poet prefaces the composition and then puts through his objective.

Elements of *Qaseedah*

A *qaseedah* normally has five main parts;

1. *Matla* (exordium)

It is the first line of a couplet whose both feet end in a corresponding sound.

2. *Tamheed* (or *tashbeeb*)

This is the real beginning of a *qaseedah*, in which the poet indulges in self-esteem passionately.

3. *Takhlees/Mukhallus/Gurez* (turning to the real subject)

The admired one is again praised, before he begins to focus on his objective.

4. *Husn-e-Talab* (the plea)

It is a self-submission. The poet refers to his own agony and seeks relief from the admired one.

5. *Duaiya* (prayer)

In this concluding part, the poet prays to God on behalf of his would-be benefactor and uses his pen name in the last couplet when a *qaseedah* is short of anyone of the above elements, it is called "*Qaseedah-i-Na-Tamaam*" (incomplete epistle)

The *qaseedah* form of poetry came in handy for Indian poets to seek favours by writing epistles of the kings for seeking favours. It is amazing that this form travelled as far south as Tamilnadu where the Tamil *qaseedah* is called "*Chitthi Kavya*". Its organisation is like we have explained above.

In Sanskrit there is an unbroken tradition of *stotras* (eulogiums). But its verses are religious in character and the appeal for favour is made to supernatural powers. In *Apbharansh*, the spoken language of the bardic period, we find verses resembling a *qaseedah*. In a *qaseedah*-like style, Tulsidas, in his *Vinay Patrika*, depicts Hanuman seeking Rama's favour through Sita. The style of Hanuman's entreaties with Sita is distinctly like the pleas made in the Mughal courts. The *madha* part in a *masnavi* is clearly a case of incomplete *qaseedah*. We find a *duaiya qaseedah* in Nizami's *masnavi*, "*Laila-Majnun*". It praises the contemporary ruler, Abu Muzaffar.

Nizami has praised Tughril in another *masnavi*, "*Khusrow-Shirin*".

Alauddin has been praised by Amir Khusrow. Almost all love epics in Hindi of that age contain praise of the contemporary ruler. Sher Shah's praise by Jayisi on the lines of Persian poet Farabi (872-950) is a *qaseedah*.

*Sersahi Dehli sultanu, charu khand tapi jas bhanu
Deen asses Muhammad karhu jughi jug raj.
Badshah tum jagat ke, jag tumhara mohtaaj.
Barnau soor bhumu pati, raja.*

(Jayisi *Granthavali*, pp. 5 and 6)

Manjhan in "*Madhumalti*", Usman in "*Chitravali*" and Shaikh Nabi "*Gyan Deep*" have written *qaseedahs* in praise of Jahangir. The couplets of Narhari written in praise of Babur are an example of incomplete *qaseedah*:

*Nek bakht dil paak sakhi jawan-mard sher nar
Babur barobar badshah digar na deedam dar duni.*

(Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, P. 333)

Many poets of *Bhakti* period have eulogised all the Great Mughals. Praising Humyun's patience and charity profusely, Narhari says:

*Purab hadd, pachim pahaad,
Dou shan diya, bidhi jani agaaun.
Gajghi bahuri jitt Dilli pati, imi hidol rachiyo sahi Humayun.*
(Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, Narhari, pp. 225-226)

Gang has praised Shah Jahan while Tansen has praised Akbar in one *qaseedah*. (See, *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 109). Gang seeks grant in a *khitaabia qaseedah* and wishes him well in *duyaiya*. Tulsidas's "*Vinay Patrika*" and Keshavdas' "*Jahangir Jas Chandrika*" are also *qaseedahs*.

Lughaz-Cheestan (Enigma)

Lughaz is an Arabic word that means riddle. In Persian, it is called "*Cheestan*". It exists in many languages of the world in some or the other form. When a well known object is described in an

intriguing manner and the reader is asked to name it, it is called "*Cheestan*", meaning: "what's that?".

This form of embellishment has been frequently used in Hindi poetry. Amir Khusrow was a titan. To him goes the credit of starting many new forms of poetry that became popular in Hindi.

When contact with Muslims began, Hindi was yet in its infancy, with many poetical forms altogether absent. It is no surprise then that *Khadi Boli* not only grew up under the patronage and influence of Muslims but also readily adopted Arab-Persian metres. Amir Khusrow, perhaps for the first time, created many new forms in Hindi poetry, such as *lughaz*, *paheli* (riddles) *mukarnis* (quibbles), *sukhna* (sayings), *do-sukhnas* (homonymous saying in two lines), *nisbat* (comparisons), *dhakoslas* etc. *do-sukhnas* have one foot in Hindi and the other in Persian. It served well the bilingualism of the period.

Amir Khusrow was born to a Turk father and an Indian mother. He gave literary form to several dialects spoken around Delhi. That is how languages and the literatures of these areas bear the stamp of Persian influence. The mixed language Khusrow developed was called *Hindvi*. Persian in fact took such deep roots in India that more lexicons were compiled in India than in Iran. Khusrow pioneered writing of riddles. An example:

Faarsi boli 'aaina', Turki dhundi 'Paina'

Hindi boli Aarsi aae, Khusrow kahe hoi na batai: (Aarsi)
(*Khusrow Ki Hindi Kavita: pp. 19-22*)

As for metres, Khusrow mostly used *mutqarib*. Sometimes he used the briefest form of a word. Dr. Ram Kumar Verma divides Khusrow's riddles into six categories. These are separately dealt with in the following.

***Do-Sukhnas* (Homonymous Verse)**

In this form of poetry, two or more clues are provided but the real answer will be quite the opposite.

Anar kyon na chakka, Vazir kyon na rakha: (answer: daana na tha).

(*Khusrow Ki Hindi Kavita, pp. 21-23*)

“*Daana*” in Persian means the wise one and in Urdu a grain. Only Khusrow’s sharp mind could have created such couplets.

***Kahmukarni* (Conundrum)**

“*Mukri*” is a conundrum. But in a *kah-mukarni* the answer to the question can be unexpected. “*Mukarna*” is a delicate form of speech in which one says something and means the opposite. A damsel asks her *Saheli* (family friend) whether the described one is a lover, she denies and the denial conceals the right answer. Khusrow’s versatile and fertile mind framed innumerable *Kahmukarnis*, such as:

*Mera munh punche, moko pyaar kare,
Garmi lage to biyar kare,
Aisa chahat sun ye haal, ai sakhi saajan na sakhi rookaal.
(Amir Khusrow Ki Hindi Havita, p. 39)*

These *Kahmukarnis* of Khusrow have beautiful alterations. Each line ends in corresponding sound.

***Nisbat* (Comparison)**

“*Nisbat*” is Arabic word and means resemblance. In such a composition two or more look-alikes are used, such as:

Halwai aur dabkai mein kya nisbat hai? (Kanda)

In Persian, *kunda* means blunt and in Hindi *kanda* means onion.

And one goes as follows:

Badshah aur murgh mein kya nisbat hai (Taj).

Badshah means king and murgh means fowl. Both have *taaj* (crown).

***Binboojhi Paheli* (Quibbles)**

These couplets are with queries. The answer is latent in the words:

*Vidhna nain ek barakh banaya, Tirya di aur neer lagaya.
Chook bhai kuch va se aisi desh chod bhayo pardesi (Adam).*

The couplet refers to Adam's expulsion from heaven.

*Ek nar do ko lai baithi, taidi ho ke bil mein paithi.
Jis ke baithe usay suhai, Khusrow uske balbal jaie.*

It is pertinent to recall here that many names of objects in Hindi are the direct import from the Muslim culture.

Zu-lisaani (Bilingual Poetry)

"Zu" in Arabic means two and *lisaan* means language. *Zulisaani* couplet can be read in two or more languages, provided the script is known to the readers. In ancient India combined Sanskrit-*Prakrit* expressions were not uncommon. But Khusrow invented Perso-Arabic and Hindi combinations and did it wonderfully. According to "*Bahrul Fasaahat*" (a dictionary), such compositions have one line in one language and the other in another language. This he could do because he was a polyglot, knowing Turki, Persian, Arabic, Hindi, Sanskrit and a host of dialects prevalent around Delhi. One example:

Trishna ra che me baayad, milap ko kya chahiye? ("Chaah", meaning well).

What does a thirsty one like to get and what a lover need for union. The answer "*Chaah*" has two meanings. One is water well and the other is yearning. The first line is in Persian and the next in Hindi.

In another, it is asked what does a mountain contain and what does a wayfarer wish for? The answer is "*sang*". In Persian it means stone and in Hindi it means company:

Koh che mi daarad, musafir ko kya chahiye? (Sang)

Like Khusrow, Gang also composed bilingual poetry:

*Ek Samai ghar se niksi sakhiyon ke saang su sawaal soorat.
Hosham raft na moonad badast shude dil maast ze deedan soorat.*

(*Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, pp. 445)

Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khanan wrote poetry in Sanskrit, Persian and Hindi under the pen-names of Rahim and Rahiman. An example of his bilingual poetry reads:

*Mi guzrat ien dil ra be dildar
Ek ek sa at ham yun sal hazaar.
Tanha nazar na aayad, dil lachaar.*

(*Rahim Ratnavali*, pp. 70-72)

Emperor Aurangzeb's daughter, Zebunnisa, whose pen name was "*Makhfi*" (the concealed one) wrote beautiful bilingual poetry, as gleaned below:

*Zaibun-nisa jahan mein, dukhtar Alamgir
Nain vilas vilas mein, khas kari tehrir.*

(*Hindi Per Farsi Prabhav*, p. 57)

Mustazaad/Mazeed Ilaih

It has an extra foot or two appended to each line. These must share a common metre. It gets the form of a quatrain. The main feature is that its first line should be complete in itself. In Hindi, such poetical form is called *Kharari* of 32 *matras*. Influenced by the Persian *Mustazaad*. Bhikha Saheb, Nand Das and others have composed *mustazaad*: An example:

*Har shakhs ko talwar ke ghaat utara-jo saamne aaya
Bhav jal katai jabki jape Ram kharari-ya Krishna Murai.
Ai Hari, bandaun tum pad nai
Tua pad pari Hari pap payanidhi
Parak kaun upai.*

Bhikha Saheb wrote as follows:

*Jug baras mas din pahar dhari chhin,
Cheejai karo kirti jam jam.
"Baikha" dhanya jo sagi jagat sukh,
Hariko ras mad peeve, as jan kamkam.*

(*Bhika Sahib Ki Bani*, p. 71)

Nand Das too has composed *mustazaad*:

*Ab hoye rahon Brij Bhoomi ko marag main ki dhoori
Sunoun Nand ladile, kaun ye dharam hai, ulhi ang ang tai.
(Asht Chaap Ke Kavi, Nand Das, pp. 120-121, 125)*

***Alifnaamah* (Alphabetical Poetical Composition)**

Alif is the first letter of Arabic, Turki, Persian and Urdu alphabets. *Namah* means message or letter. It can also be used for titles of books such as "*Babur Naamah*" etc. Arabic and Persian had a tradition of poetry in which each couplet started with an alphabet in succession. It is fun but requires great linguistic skill. In Hindi, it acquired the name of *barah-khari* or *kakhara*, each couplet starting with alphabets of *Nagari* script in succession. It is also called *Varnamala*. Such change of initials followed after a *doha* or a *chaupai*. According to Dr. Shakuntala Dube, Hindi poets and saints derived inspiration for writing *kakhara* from Persian "*Alifnaamah*" which was much in vogue during the *Bhakti* period.

Jayisi's "*Akhravat*", which contains *sufi* teachings, has been composed on the pattern of *Alifnaamah* (See pp. 303-329) are *kakharas*. *Alifnaamah* is on p. 330.

Bhikha Saheb and Yari Sahab have composed poems on the lines of *Alifnaamah*, containing a blend of *tasawwuf* and Indian philosophical thought. Kabir's *Alifnaamah* and *Kakhara* blend Muslim and Hindu philosophy. Guru Nanak has also composed *kakharas* on the lines of Persian *Alifnaamah*. Dharni Das' *Alifnaamah* begins thus:

Alif aap andar basai, Bai batlave door.

(*Dharni Das Ki Bani*, p. 45)

In *Bhika Saheb Ki Bani* (pp. 73-75), we find an *Alifnaamah* and the *Kakhara* inspired, thus:

Binu Hari Kripa na hoi Kakhara gyan ka, (Taik)

Alif-Allah abhaid surti jad mursid deve.

Bai-Baihke nahin door nikathi darsam leve

Ye-yeh tatt hai gyan dhyan tab janam na sohe

Teen ank mein vastu sakal hai faj tam sam iees.

"Bhikha" nam sunn jab deen ho tab bhayo acchar tees.

(*Bhika Sahib Ki Bani*, p. 73-75)

In the above composition, words, such as Allah, *Murshid*, *Aashiq* and many more are from the Muslim context and are the result of prolonged Muslim contact. And now two examples from

Yari Sahab's *Alifnaamah*. In the heading, there is a clear mention of *Alifnaamah* and *Kakhara* has been shown in brackets. It contains many words and concepts drawn from Islamic Sufism.

Alif-Eaik Harinam bichara

*** * ***

Bari-Yai yar se sattai bhakh hu.

(*Yari Sahib Ki Bani*, pp. 9-11)

Now an example of Hindi *Kakhara* using Nagari alphabets to start a couplet:

Bhaji lai hu surti lagai, Kakhara namka (tek)

Ka-kaya main karat kalol, rain din sonh bol.

*** * ***

Yan-eeo guru gulal ji, divo dan samudai.

(*Bhika Sahib Ki Bani*, p. 73)

Qita (Stanza)

This Arab-Persian word means a stanza. This is an independent form of poetry in which alliteration is well taken care of, but the first line is free from such constraints. A bunch of more than one couplet is called a *qita*. All couplets in a *qita* are bound by a running theme. In a *qita*, no *matla* (exordium) is necessary *qita* can be dealing with any idea, concept or theme. Example:

Kal apne murdon se kaha pir-e-mughaanane,

Qimat mein ye maani hai durre nayaab se dah chand.

Zahrab hai us qaum ke haq mein mai afrang,

Jis qaum ke bachche nahin khuddaar-o-hunarmand.

(*Asnaaf-e-Sukhan*, p. 9)

In the above *qita*, the last words of the first and the second foot are not in alliteration but the last ones of the second and fourth foot are. In Hindi too, *qita* was written probably under Persian influence:

Orhan more Ram nam ke, Ramhi khi ke bani jara ho.

Sahasr nam ka karon pasara, din hot sawai ho.

(*Mool Bijak*, p. 31)

In the following *gita*, written in Hindi, alliteration is found in later feet and not in the first, while the subject matter is continuous:

*Karunamai Hari Karuna kari re,
Kripa katach dharan dharie (tek)
Bhaktan ko pratipal karan ko, Charan kanwal hirdai alhasie.
(Bhika Sahib Ki Bani, pp. 26-27)*

Rekhta

Rekhta in Persian means fallen, thrown away or scattered. *Rekhta* is an earlier name for Urdu derived from *rekhtan*, meaning giving a form or bettering shape. Actually, this is a term in masonry.

Rekhta uses the typical feminine language and proverbs. Poems written in this language are called *rekhta*. The word *rekhta* is also used as a musical term for a performance similar to *qawwali*. Amir Khusrow had blended Persian and Hindi in *khayal* and called it *rekhta*. These are written in Persian metres.

Persian and Arabic mixed and Persian and Hindi mixed poetry alike are called *rekhta*. It was generally used for writing *ghazal*. *Rekhta* poetry is also written in *murabba* (quadruplet), *mukhammas* (pentameter) and *musaddas* (hectameter). Mir Taqi "Mir" divides *Rekhta* into four varieties:

1. With one foot in Hindi and the other in Persian;
2. Half-foot in Persian and the other half in Hindi;
3. Having Persian substance; and
4. Having the benefit of Persian grammar.

Early forms of Urdu bear several instances of this.

In Hindi literature, especially among the *nirgun* poets, *rekhta* form of poetry was much in vogue.

Rekhta is also the name of a metre. There are several musical compositions in Kabir's *rekhta*. Nanak's *rekhta* poetry is illustrated below:

*Yak araj guftam paise-e-to da gas kun kartar.
Haqqa kabir kareem tou be-aib parvardigaar.
Duniya mukaam-efaani tehqiq dil dani.
Mam sar muh Azrail girifta dil haich na dani.*

(Nanak Bani, p. 39)

Says Paltodas:

*Khaliq, khalaq khalaq mein khaliq aisa ajab zahoor hai.
Haji Hajj, Hajj mein Haji hajir hal hajura hai
Chun chigun ve subah namuna sabhi mein tuhi chhipana hai
Paltudas hai bhukha aalam sahab bada sayaana hai.*

(Paltudas Ki Bani, pp. 10-11)

Seventeen pieces of Paltudas' *rekhta* are available. Bhika Saheb and Bulle Sahib have composed nine each. This shows *nirgun* poets, who were devotees of formless God, had an integrating outlook. They freely adopted *Alifnaamah*, *rekhta* and *lavani* forms. An example from Rahim:

*Sharad nishi nisheethe chaand hi roshannai,
Saghan ban nikunje kanh bansi bajai.
Truti yug chapla se kundal jhoomte the,
Nasyan kar tamashe mast hoi ve ghoomte the.*

(Rahim Ratnavali, p. 73)

Lavani

Nirgun poets of the medieval period especially and others generally adopted individual attitudes in expressing their devotion to their deity and liberally borrowed influences from the Muslim tradition. They used *Lavani Arab-Persian Meters* abundantly as these were quite suitable for composing tunes sung in the style of *khayal*. For *lavani*, quadruplet or and hexameter are more suitable. In this style, first two vocable are again rhythmic and later two vocable close with a similar tune. Similarly, after every quadruplet two closing feet (hemstitch) line of a verse are added. The rhythm of closing feet of the couplet are similar to the former two feet. The Arab-Persian metre used in *Lavani* are *mutqarib maqbool Aslam* of 16 *rukni* or *Bahr-e Ramal*. Two *lavanis* of Paltudas are available:

*Tum vinay suno maharaj aaj dukh bhari.
Charan par varkhai shish takau dikdari*

Jan cheda tah jai shash dihu bara.

Tum vinay suno.

(*Mahatma Paltudas Ki Bani*, pp. 25-26)

Here is another *lavani* by Tulsi Sahib:

Jug jug mein jivan maran aaj nar daihi.

Bin satgugu ke ddrig jivan sansari.

(*Tulsi Sahib Ki Bani*, *Lavani*)

Piya daraas bina deedar darad dukh bhari.

Pooran pad ko chaldi kiya julmana.

(*Tulsi Sahib Ki Bani*)

Jhoolna

Besides *rekhta*, *lavani*, *barahmasa*, *lachka*, *alifnaama*, *pahara* and many other new forms were utilised by the saint poets. *Jhoolna* is one more in this long list. It emerged from contact between Sanskrit and Arab-Persian streams. Persian metres are used in *Jhoolna*. It is composed in several forms, 32 *matras* and 26 *matras*. A *jhoolna* with 32 *matras* can be sung beautifully. The Arabic metre is *Makhboon* and *Maqtoo* in *Bahr-e-Mutdarik* *Makhboon-Maqtoo* is suitable for it, Yari Sahib's 17 *Jhoolnas* are available. It may be noted that their vocabulary reflects Muslim contact. For example:

Bina bandagi is aalam mein, khana mujhe haraam hai rai.

Kuch jeete bandagi karlai, aakhir ko gor mukaam hai rai.

(*Yari Sahib Ki Ratnavali*, pp. 13-14, 17)

In Part II of *Tulsi's Kavita Vali*, there are four *jhoolnas*. Bulle Shah (Sahib), "*Shabad Sagar*" also contains two *jhoolans*. The ones composed by Garibdas are longer and deal with themes like *yoga* etc, on the pattern set by the *sufi* poets.

Thus, the Muslim influence on Hindi literature has been vast and profound, enriching its form of poetry and content.

V

EMBELLISHMENT AND ADORNMENT (ALANKARAN) UNDER MUSLIM INFLUENCE

In Hindi poetry, "*Alankaran*" (diction or embellishment) means beautification, decoration or adornment of language, expression, diction or even way of living. But, according to Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, embellishment also means, besides diction, creating a an appropriate emotional situation and atmosphere for the given situation or subject matter. It may include arousing emotion and amplifying the qualities of a thing or person described by analogising it with another object: In a picturesque language or using a similar method.

A. Embellishment of Language

Under "embellishment of language", new formative, such as *upmaans* (similes, analogies), proverbs, maxims, prefixes, suffixes and enclitics are used in the Arabic-Persian dominated Hindi poetry.

New Similes and Analogies

Under the prolonged influence of contact with Muslim culture, numerous experiments in decoration of language have been made. Hence new analogies are found. The tendency to coin new *upmaans* (similes and analogies) started with Ameer Khusrow and other *sufi* poets who had an Arab-Persian ambience. These new similes and analogies can be classified as:

- i. Similitude of Muslim religious, historical and literary personalities;
- ii. Presentation of traditional similes in Arab-Persian words;

- iii. Use of new expressions as similes drawn from Muslim culture; and,
- iv. Use of such actions or methods as similes that sometimes run counter to the set tradition.

1. Use of Muslim religious, historical and literary personalities as analogies or similes;

Zulqarnain (Alexander)

Malik Muhammad Jayisi in his "*Padmavat*" (p. 13) has analogised/similised Sher Shah Suri with Zulqarnain (Alexander):

*Tahn lagi raj kharag kari linha, Iskander Julkernain jo kinha.*¹

Sulaiman (Solomon)

Prophet Solomon is famous for his riches and charity. He is similised thus:

*Hath suleman keri auguthi, jag kahn dan dinah bhari muthi.*²

Umar

The second caliph, Umar Farooq is famous for his *adal* (justice). His simlie runs thus:

*Adal jo kinha Umar kai nai, bhai aha sagri duniyai.*³

Haatim

Haatim Tai (Karan) is a legendary nobleman of "Yamen" known for his generosity. Jayisi similises him thus:

*Bali vikram dani bad kahai, Haatim karan tiyagi aahe.*⁴

1. *Padmavat, Stuti Khand*, p.13.

2. *Ibid*, p.13

3. *Ibid*, p. 17.

4. *Ibid*, p. 17.

Ali

Forth Caliph, Ali Bin Abi Taalib is renowned for his valour. Jayisi similises the sword of Babur with that of Hazrat Ali:

*Ali ker jas kinhasi khanda, linhasi jagat samudbhari danda.*¹

Yusuf

According to Hebrew, Christian and Qur'anic accounts, Prophet Yusuf (Joseph) was extraordinarily handsome. Jayisi similises Yusuf's handsomeness thus:

*Barnan karne ko kiya barnu barnuga jaiti bani hai,
Grah teen uchke pade hue jani yeh 'Yusuf sani hai.'*²

Note the Arabic word "saani" meaning another one, like Yusuf.

2. Use of Traditional Arab-Persian Word

Hamza

In Arabic 'Hamza' means lion. Ameer Hamza, the Prophet's uncle, was known for his valour. Jayisi likens his valour to that of a lion.

*Bal Hazma kar jaisa sambhara, jo bariar utha tahi mara.*³

Teer (Arrow)

"Teer" is Persian for arrow. It is used as an analogy, thus:

*Teer ten utir jas kahyo chaein, gun ganti jayo hai.
Tan tarkas se jat hai, a swas sareekhen teer
Durjan badan kaman sam, bachan vibunchat teer
Taral tarni si hai teer si nokadaren.*

(Tulsi-Sat-sai: 120-111)

1. *Aakhri Kalam*, p. 32.

2. *Hindi Par Farsi Prabhav*, p. 137.

3. *Aakhri Kalam*, stanza 8.

Kamaan (Bow)

In Persian, *kamaan* is the word for bow. Several Hindi poets have used *kamaan* as an analogy:

*Bahon kaman soun johan ko,
Sar be dhan pranani nand ko chono.
Tirchi barchi sam marat hai, drig ban kaman sukan lagyo.²
Yeh jako lase mukh chand-saman
Kaman si bohon guman harai.³
Durjan badan kaman sam, bacahn bibhuncaht teer.⁴*

Zanjeer (Chain)

In Persian, *zanjeer* means chain. See how the word has been used in Hindi:

Rasikan ko zanjeer se bala tere bar.⁵

Baadbaan (Sail)

In Arabic and Persian maritime terminology, *baadbaan* means sail. Poet Gang has made a new experiment in using this word:

*Kheibo katach baadbaan ko hot kaisa laj bhari ankhiya
jahajuhu bhari hai.⁶*

Naqeeb (Herald)

In Arabic, *Naqeeb* means herald, who used to proclaim the arrival of the ruler. See Tulsidas' beautiful usage of this word:

Bolat pick naqeeb garjani mis manhu phirat dohai.⁷

1. *Sujan Raskhan*, p. 72.

2. *Ibid*, p. 95.

3. *Ibid*, p. 53.

4. *Tulsi Satsai*, p. 111.

5. *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas (Manohar)*, p. 205.

6. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 446.

7. *Krishan Geetavali*, p. 32.

Bairakh (Victory Flag)

In Arabic, it refers to a flag or standard. It has been used in Hindi thus:

*Ghan ghavan bag panti patosari bairakh tarit sohai.*¹

Gulbadan, Maahroop (Femine Grace)

In Persian, "gul" is flower and "maah" is moon. Qasim Shah uses the Persian construction to describe the beauty of a mistress, in association with the expression, "maahroop", meaning moon-like, thus:

*Mahroop ka dravya bhandara, au gulbadan paar rakhbara.*²

Ghulel (Pellet Bow)

In Persian, a pigeon is called *kabutar* and it is hunted with a *ghulel* (pellet bow). Noted poet Brahm of Akbar's court says:

*Kam kabutar tamas titar gyan gulailn mar girayo.*³

Tarkash (Quiver)

Tarkash in Persian means a quiver, holding arrows. Several Hindi poets have used it as a simile:

*Tan tarkash se jaat hai, shwas saar so teer.*⁴

Qassab (Butcher)

A butcher or meat seller is called *Qasaab* or *qasai*. It is also used to refer to an heartless person. Dadoo uses it uniquely. He calls "Virha", separation from beloved, as being like a *qassab*:

*Virha kasai youn dhari ala manjhe bare bahirai.*⁵

*Sab jam cheli kal kasai, karad liya kand katai.*⁶

1. Krishan Geetavali, p. 32.

2. Hans Jawahar, p. 258.

3. Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, stanza 93, (Appendix).

4. Tulsi Sat Sai, p. 44.

5. Dadoo Bani, part II, p. 47.

6. Ibid, part I, p. 207.

3. Use of new expressions as similies after the advent of Muslim culture

Makhtool

It is a black silk. Raskhan has used this word beautifully:

*Makhtool saman ke gunj chagni mein,
Kisuk ki chabi chhavat hai.¹*

Mashak

It is a Persian term for leather bag carrying water. Rahim has used this word in a lively fashion:

*Sajal nain vake nirkhi chalat prem sar phut.
Lok laj ur ghak te jat mashak si phut.²*

Surahi (Goblet)

It is a long necked earthen pot for keeping cold water. In Persian the beauty of long neck is celebrated. Jayisi use this analogy:

Geev suraahi kai as bhai, amy piyala karan nai.³

Habshi

Abyssinians are referred to as Habshis. Gang uses "the son of an Habshi" in his couplet, thus:

*Chand se anan mein til rajat aisa virajat dant masi ke,
Phulan ki phulbarin mein mano khelat hai larika habisi ke.⁴*

Gul-e-Laala

It is an intensely red or blood coloured flower of Iranian origin. It is used as a simile in "Pushpavati":

Kai janhu phula gul lala tahu tai adhik suran rasala.⁵

1. *Sujan Raskhan*, p. 49.

2. *Rahim Ratnavali*, p. 32.

3. *Jaisy Granthavali (Padmavat)*, p. 214.

4. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 419.

5. *Pushpavati*, p. 64.

Chaugaan (Polo)

Muslims introduced *chaugaan* (horse polo) in India. Hindi poets refer to this game and also use it as a simile:

*Alakh prem chaugaan hieu chakh khel maidan.*¹

Nargis

It is an Iranian flower that resembles the eye. Hence, it is used to describe beautiful eyes. Hindi poets also use it the same way:

*Indu badan nargis nayan sambulvare bar.*²

Amin

In Arabic it refers to the custodian of a trust. Its use in Hindi is seen here:

*Nain amin adharmi kai, bas, jahn ko tahan chaiye.*³

Ta'zi

In Persian, Arab steed is known as Ta'zi. See example of its use in Hindi poetry:

*Man Ta'zi Chetan chadhehayo ki kare lagam,*⁴

*Tan ta'zi asvar liya samser saar,*⁵

*Ghunghat pat kot tute chute drig ta'zi*⁶

4. Use of such actions and practices as analogy that sometimes run counter to the set tradition:

Use of antithetical expressions, practices and norms that did not conform with the local traditions became gradually accepted

1. *Naldaman*, p. 42.

2. *Mishra Bandhu Vinod*, part I, p. 27.

3. *Sur Sagar*, pp. 1-64.

4. *Dadu Dayal Ki Bani*, part I, p. 13.

5. *Sundar Vilas*, p. 113.

6. *Sur Sagar*, p. 650.

under the impact and influence of the Muslims. For instance exposed flesh and blood caused abhorrence to the local people and analogy were never used in Hindi literature. But in Persian literature, lovers routinely shed "tears of blood", their hearts burn like "*kabaab*" (minced and fried meat) in the fire of love, blood drips through their eyes, etc. Acharya Ramchander Shukla says: Though "*Padmavat*" contains certain glimpses of Hindu way of life but the description of the scenes of lovers, separation creates abhorrence, due to Persian influence. But in course of time these similes became popular and are commonly used even now. Examples:

*Varah saragnhi bujhe masu, giri giri parai rakat kai ansu.
Kati kati mansu sarag pirova, rakat ke ansu mansu sab rova.
Khin ek bar mansu as bhunja, khinhi chabai singh as gunja.*
(Jayisi Granthavali Bhumika, Introduction, p. 42)

*Daikhi roop chakhu charama sonh na sakhain nihari.
Rathat ansu bah nainhi palak na jai ughari,*
(Madhumalti, p. 104)

*Rakat ansu jun tute, manu manik har.
Thaun thaun jhar parain, upja ratan angar.*
(Hans Jawahar, p. 205)

*Ragat ansu tas paimai roya, jeru re suna tain hiya karova
Man gahbhar hiyuthau andesh, nain samudra dai ragat hilora.*
(Madhumalti, stanza 218)

*Tute ans rakat bha lunki, kuhke jani kai ban phunki
Dhara rovat ga darak paharu, sunat kuk bha jagat manjharu.*
(Hans Jawahar, p. 204)

Apart from mention of blood and flesh, descriptions of "eyes filled with poison" also is an attitude of Persian poetry:

*Nain sohagaine vish basai adhranh ambrit basu
Nain kathahain jo marein vihisi jiyaahi tasu*
(Madhumalti: Stanza 132)

Swooning or fainting upon hearing the beloved's name is also contrary to Indian tradition but has been used in "*Madhumalti*: Stanza 301.

Suni tor naun para maru chai bishar dasa tahri janu aai

5. **Muhaware (Idioms)**

This is an Arabic word and Sanskrit and Hindi had no equivalent for it. Hindi assimilated Persian idioms and proverbs as embellishments in three ways:

- i. by verbatim adoption;
- ii. by grabslation, and
- iii. by adaptation into Hindi vocabulary.

Certain Persian idioms became so common that they sound being native, such as "*gul khilaana*", literally meaning flowering but as proverb it means showing the real colours or exposing one's real self. There is an enormous variety of idioms borrowed from Persian.

Saraapa Bayaani

In Persian, "*saraapa bayaani*" is an established art of embellishment. It is the art of describing various parts of body, especially of the beloved, in a picturesque language using several kinds of similes and analogies. In Sanskrit and Hindi, it is called "*Nakk-shikh*", nail to head. In Persian, it is "*Sar-ta-Pa*", head to toe.¹

Says Jayisi:

*Kais madhavari sir tapai, chamkhai dasan biju ke nai.*²

Innumerable idioms linked to the eyes have been added to Hindi and these read as verbatim translations of the Persian originals. For instance, "*chashm raseedan*" (seeing with evil eyes) and "*chashm namoodan*" (showing eyes or frowning) have been variously used by Hindi poets:

*Kaun nirasi drishti lagai, lai lai anchal jharari*³

1. *Persian English Dictionary*, p. 671.
2. *Padmavat*, stanza 8, p. 12.
3. *Parmanand Das*, p. 78.

Kahu nisichar drishti lagai anchar jharai¹
Kidhaun kahaun piyari ko, lagi tatki najari,²
Mai morhi dithi na lagai, taten masi binda dayo bhupar³
Tihin jal gajat mahavir sab tarat ankhe nahin marat⁵

Likewise, idioms pertaining to other parts of body, such face, neck, ear, heart, hands etc., have been used in Hindi poetry. (See: *Bhakti Kaleen Hindi Sahitya Par Muslim Sanskriti Ka Prabhaav*, pp. 290-293)

As stated earlier, some Arabic-Persian idioms gained currency in their original form, some others were adopted retaining original Arabic Persian words, while many others were adopted or adapted with a changed connotation. Abundant use of idioms and proverbs in Persian attracted Hindi poets and writers so much that they heavily relied on them for embellishment.

Zarbul Amsaal (Aphorisms)

Aphorisms or adages woven around the customs and practices of Muslim culture too were commonly used.

Nizamuddin Saqqa saved Humayun's life and as reward received kingship for a day. He took advantage of this to issue leather currency, because it was the leather bag (*mashak*) that had saved the Mughal emperor's life and got him the unusual reward. The issuance of leather coins is ironically referred to in this composition:

(Udho) sir par soti hamare kubja, cham ke dam chalave.
(Sur Sagar, 3395)

Shaikh Chilli, in reality a saint whose huge mausoleum stands at Kurukshetra, has somehow been linked with boasts. And Shaikh Chilli has become a proverb for boasting:

2. *Ibid*, p. 61.

3. *Sur Sagar*, p. 752.

4. *Ibid*, pp. 10-92.

5. *Ibid*, pp. 9-112.

Jaise shaikhchilli manirath ko kiyo ghar.

(*Sunder Vilas*, p. 82)

Qazi is a Muslim cleric who performs marriages. In Muslim marriage, the bride and groom's consent alone matters and they can be wedded by a *Qazi* performing "*nikah*". His helpless obligation has become proverbial. Even today, it is said: if the parties are agreed whatelse can a *Qazi* do. See how the Hindi poets of the time used this:

*Soor milai man jahi jahi soun, tako kaha kare Kazi.*¹

*Bhai dou nain jahaj ko panchi, dou bhai raji to kazi kaha kar hai.*²

*Kaho madhup kaisa samahiga, ek miyan do khande.*³

Musk has such fragrance that it spreads all around. It became an adage in Persian poetry to mean that love and the fragrance of musk cannot be kept hidden. Jayisi uses it thus:

*Duraan bakhabar nazdeek, nazdeekan be basar door*⁴

*Niyarahi door phool jas kanta, durhin niyare so jas gud chanta.*⁵

6. Arabic-Persian Prefixes and Suffixes

Owing to increased contact with Muslims, not only idioms, proverbs and grammatical rules but also Arabic-Persian prefixes and suffixes became common currency in Hindi. Hindi being conjunctive, while Persian is analytical, derivative signs in Hindi are suffixed to a word, unlike Persian where these are prefixed. In Hindi, the method of writing is "*hifaazat se*", "*naam se*", "*haqeeqat mein*", "*asal mein*" etc. These are given in Persian with prefixes, such as "*ba-hifazat*", "*ba-naam*", "*dar-haqeeqat*", "*dar-asal*" etc.

Some prefixes, suffixes and other enclitics borrowed from Persian have been extremely useful to Hindi. (See: *Bhakti Kaleen Hindi Sahitya Par Muslim Sanskriti Ka Prabhaav*, pp. 294-296).

1-3 *Sur Sagar*, p. 3147, 3395, 3604.

4. *Farhang-e-Amsal*, p. 134.

5. *Padmavat*, stanza 24.

7. Arabic-Persian Abundant Poetry of Hindi Poets

Being in close and friendly contact with Muslims for centuries, Hindi poets became fully familiar with Arabic-Persian vocabulary and phraseology, which they used liberally. Examples:

Kabir (1398-1518)

*Miyan tumh son boly bani nahin avai
Hum maskeen khudai bande, tumhara jas mani bhave.
Kahai Kabir bhist chitkai, dojakh hi man mana
(Kabir Granthavali, Pad 255, p. 130 81, 148 and 149)*

In discussing Muslim faith, Kabir uses Arabic-Persian words routinely:

*Ved katayib iktara bhai dil ka phikar na jai
Kabir pahah khudai, rah digar dayanesh.
(Kabir Ganthavali, pp. 131, 147-254)*

Surdas (1483-1563)

Surdas' following couplets use the expressions of Muslim administration:

*Hari houn aisa amal kamai
Sabiq jama huti jo jori minjalik tal layio.
Soor nagar chauraahi bharami-bharami ghar ghar ko ju
bhayo.
(Sur Sagar-I, p. 142, 164)*

Tulsidas (1497-1627)

Tulsidas is considered a representative of Indian culture and a symbol of Hindu religion. In comparison with others, he has used more Arabic-Persian words for embellishment:

*Bhai aas sithil jagaanvas dil ki,
Bhai ko na menh moh, choh sie ko na Tulsi.
Kahain main bibhishan ki kachu na sabeel ki,
Laj boh bole ki, nivaje ki sambhar sar.
Sahib na Ram se, balaiya leun sil ki,
(Tulsi Granthavali, part II, p. 165)*

To create rhythm, Tulsi uses the Arabic word, "*sabeel*". Besides, the use of words "*Sahib*" for Ram, "*Sahibi*" for Sita, "*garibnewaaj*", "*vibhushan newaaj*", "*Ram Gulam*", "*Umar Daraaz*", "*Maseet*" (mosque), all revealing his close acquaintance with Muslim culture.

Guru Nanak (1469-1538)

Right since his childhood, Guru Nanak enjoyed the company of Muslim *sufis*. His vocabulary is rich with Arabic 'and' Persian words, a prayer to "*khuda*" (hymn to God) bears the proof:

*Yak araj guftam pase to dargas kun karat.
Hakka Kabir Karim tu be-aib Parvardigar.
Duniya mukame faani tahkeek dil daani
Man sar moi ajrail griftah dil haich na daani
Jan pisar pidar biradar kas nas dastagir
Aakhir biaftam kas na darad ch sabad takbeer
Sab roz gastam dar hava kardem badi khiyal
Gahe na neki kar kardam mam ei chini ahval
Bad-bakht hum chu baseel gaphil be-najar baikar
Nanak begoyad janu tura tere chakaran pa-khak
Nanak jete khudiyar kurai kuri paai.*

(*Nanak Bani*, pp. 773, 179, 427)

How clearly Nanak has enumerated the qualities of a true Muslim.

Dadoo Dayal (1544-1603)

Dadoo too uses Arabic-Persian words and reveals the profound influence of Islam and the *sufi* saint poets. His ideas are in conformity with Muslim Sufism:

Question:

*Maujud khabar mabud khabar, arvah khabar aujud.
Mukam chi cheej hast dadni sajud,*

Answer:

*Nafs galib, Kibr kabis gussh mani aish.
Dui darog hirs hujjat nama neki neest*

*Haiwan alim gumrah gafite, awwal sariat yand
Halal Haram neki badi drise daanishmand.
Arvah mukame hast.*

*Ashikan mastane alam khuradani deedar
Chand dih che kar Dadu, yare ma dildar.*

(*Dadu Bani-I*, pp. 31, 32, 33, 54, 55, 60, 63, 64, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 136, 182, 225, 240, 241).

Poems in Hindi, Sindhi, Punjabi etc. that are found in "*Dadoo Bani-II*", Arabic-Persian vocabulary abounds, as for example:

*Bande hajira hujur be, Allah ale noor ve,
Ashikan rah sidak syabit, taliban bharpoor ve,
Aujoood mein maujud hia, paak Parvardigar,
Mardi marda salikan, sari ashikan sultan
Hujuri hushiar Dadu, inhen go maidan*

(*Dadu Bani-II*, pp. 37-39)

Raidas (1388-1518)

His poetry besides abounding in Persian, also reveals his profound knowledge of Islamic philosophy and literature.

*Khalik sikista main tera,
de didaar umedgar bekarar jib mera.
awwul akhir ilah adam farista banda.
jiski panah peer paigamber mei garib kiya ganda.
tu hajra hajur jok ik, avar nahin hai duja.
jaiska iska asra hahin kiya nivaj kiya pooja.
nalidoz haooj bebakh kamin khi jmatgar tumahara.
dar manda dar jawab na pavai, kah raidas bichara
Ya rama ek tun dana teri adi bhek na.
Raidas' dashi boli sahib dehu ab didaar,*

(*Raidas ki Bani*, p. 16-19,29)

Narhari (1505-1610)

Narhari belonged to Rai Bareilly and served at the courts of Humayun, Sher Shah and Akbar. He also composed devotional poetry. In one couplet he has praised Emperor Akbar and in the other he has eulogised *sufi* saint, Saleem Chisti buried in the Fatehpur Sikri Fort.

*Nek bakht dil paak sakhi javan mard sher nar,
awwal ali Khudai diya tisi par mulkjar.*

*** * ***

*Hasni Husni hukum tuv goyad sumadru daks
Sab dastgir "Narhari" narishi gosalam firyadiras.*

(Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, pp. 325, 329 and 333)

Malukdas (1574-1682)

Has also embellished his poetry with Perso-Arabic expressions:

A piece of Malukdas's poetry is as follows:

*Hai hajoor nahin door, hama-ja bharpoor.
jahira jahan-ja ka jahur pur noor.
be sabuh be namun be chagun ost.
hama ost hama ajost jan-janan dost.
shabo roj jikar fikarhi mein masgool.
tehi dargah bich, parai hain kabool.
saheb hai mera peer kudrat kiya kahhya.
kahta maluk banda, tak panah rahia.*

(Malukdasji ki Bani, p. 20)

A. Embellishment of Emotions and Sentiments (*Bhava Alankara*)

In the context of diction and embellishment of emotions and sentiments we will quote only such expressions borrowed from Persian that have entered Hindi literature in a novel form, such as:

Ze haal-e-miskin makun taghaafu, durai nai na banai batian.

*** * ***

*Sapit man ki durai rakhun jo jana paun piya ki Ghatian
(Khusrow Ki Hindi Kavita, pp. 51-52)*

Poet Alam was originally a Brahmin who embraced Islam voluntarily. A quote from his poetry:

*Alak mubarak tiya badan lahaki pari yon saf,
Khusnasib munsimadan likhyo kanch par qaaf.
(Reeti Kaleen Sahitya Ki Aithihaasik Prishtbhoomi, p. 113)*

In this couplet, Alam is simlising the beautiful curl in the hair lock of his beloved to the Arabic-Persian, Urdu alphabet:

Other examples:

Binve tiy piy pyo piyala, as nahin piu hou matvala.

Kahai kant jo ahe matvala, kahan sambhare peet piyala.

(Hans Jawahar, p. 184)

In Persian poetry, the lover roams the wilderness, crying out the name of his beloved. The Hindi poets too describe the state of dejection of the lovers in separation in a similar vein:

Hai ri main to prem diwani, mera dard na jaane koi

Dard ki maari ban-ban dolun, Ved milyo nahin koi,

Meera ke prabhu peer mita jad, ved savaliya koi.¹

Meera's anguish is reminiscent of the grief of Zulekha and Rabia in Persian epics. In the Persian tradition, seeing garden is joy and desert, mountains and jungle signify wilderness. Acharya Ram Chander Shukla accepts this. Expressions of the pangs of separation in Hindi *sufi* poetry are influenced by Persian traditions, he admits. The hero of "*Madhumalti*" cries out on hearing the name of his beloved, as does Majnoun. He is so lost in his own grief at the separation from his beloved that he cannot recognise himself. The lover in Persian poetry bangs his head in despair. So does the lover of Hindi poetry, as seen in this example:

Jehin ban kabhun na manush ava,

Tehi ben bidhi le kunvar araba.

Piram bhulan na aphu chinaha,

Chet au gayan sabhi hari linah.

(*Madhumalti*, stanzas 180-182)

Hindi literature has also borrowed the Persian tradition of self mortifying hero fainting on hearing the name of his beloved:

Suntih bachan kunvar murchana,

Harau chet chit gavan gvana.

(*Madhumalti*, stanza 108)

1. Meera, p. 83, 103, 107, 93, 26.

Tearing off clothes is another instance of Persian attitude in love which is reflected in "*Madhumalti*". Upon hearing a loud cry in Rajgrih Kamalavati, mother of Kunvaran Amok, tears off her silken clothes:

*Log kutum a sam dhai, Rajgiri suni ror
Dhai suni Kanalavat vykul phiri pator.*

Jayisi's "*Nagmati*" has an excellent example of embellishment. But Gang's use of "*baadbaan*" (instead of potpat for sail), "*Mallah*" (in place of "*Navik*" for sailor) and "*Jahaz*" (instead of "*Pot*" for ship) add to the charm of the couplet:

*Putri mallah jug jane kavi Gang,
jiy ane nahin yahe nam dekhe matvari hai,
Khivo katach baadbaan ko hot kaisa
laj bhari ankhyan jahaz hu te bhari hai.*

(*Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, (Gang) p. 446)

Purdah is a concept in Muslim way of life. While literally, it means a curtain (veil), it also implies hiding oneself or one's own faults. *Purdah* also signifies the modesty of a woman. To rip the curtain is a figurative use of the word, *purdah*. Example:

Sevak ko parda phate, tu smarath sila.

(*Kavitavali*, 1/16)

Narad ko parda na Narad so parikho.

(*Tulsi Granthavali*, part II (*Vinay Patrika*), p. 393)

"*Takia*" means pillow in Arabic. It also implies reliance or support.

Tulsi seeks the support of his Master:

*Mose deen dubra ko takia tihariye
Tahn Tulsi ke kon ko kako Takia-re.¹*

Other poets too have used this word:

Mera takia rahun, kahai sirjanhar,²

1. *Tulsi Granthavali, Vinay Patrika*, p. 33.

2. *Dadu Bani*, part I, p. 61.

*Satiguru sabdi pagharu jaini, guru kai takia sache tani.*¹

In Arabic *farsh* means floor (also the earth) and *arsh* means the highest heaven. Hindi poets have embellished their poetry by using an expression that links *farsh* with *arsh*:

*Kou mariti, kou daun niharati aras paras daura-daura ki²
Hashrat sab gwal-bal, aras-paras karat khayal.*³

Saint poets, such as Kabir, Nanak, Dadoo, Raidas, Malukdas *et. al.*, use Perso-Arabic expressions when dealing with sentiments and ideal of Muslim cultural context and sufism mirroring the composite culture. Surdas and other poets of “*Ashtachhap*” use Persian and Arabic words profusely to paint a life style of sophistication in respect of foods, refreshments and etiquette of the imperial court.

During the Muslim period, *Brij Bhasha*, *Avadhi* and *Khadi Boli* extensively used Arabic-Persian words to improve diction and embellishment, while continuing to use *tadbhav* and colloquial vocabularies. This tendency continues through different poets, such as Kabir, Rahim, down to recent times in Bhartendu Harishchandra and others.

B. Embellishment of common life-as depicted by Hindi poets

1. Food Habits

Before the advent of Muslims, only the upper strata of population used elaborately prepared dishes. The common folks were used to a rather simplistic diet.

Muslims were used to buying variety of cooked foods from stalls in the bazar because the Muslims had no cast system. They were also used to eating at taverns and *sarais*. In addition, they used to prepare at home a large variety of vegetarian and non-vegetarian foods such as *haleem*, *haricot*, *kabaabs*, and different kinds of rice preparations, such as *pulao*, *biryani*, *qubooli*, and unusually wide range of beverages using flowers, aromas and condiments.

1. *Nanak Vani*, p. 757.

2. *Sur Sagar*, p. 2872.

3. *Ibid*, p. 2889.

Muslim society did not have taboos. Anyone could buy food from any stall subject to his paying capacity. Hence, there is no wonder that food items mentioned in Sanskrit books happen to be a far cry from what are described in Hindi literature. Dr. P.N. Chopra cites with proofs the many many new items of foods, fruits, eatables and vegetables were added to the Indian diet as a result of the Muslim contact.

The culinary culture of Muslims had accumulated the food cultures of the large number of races who had converted to Islam. These varieties came from Arab, African, Turkistani, Irani, Afghani and Byzantine sources. Some of these foods are household names in India today, such as *zalabih (jalebi)*, *feerni*, *sharbat*, *falooda*, *qulfi*, *qorma*, *qeema*, *qaliya*, *kabaab*, *kotlai (katli)*, *pulao*, *biryani*, *tahri*, *nihari*, *kulcha*, *sheermaal*, baked food, *halva*, *gulaab jamun*, *roghan-e-josh*, *kofta*, even *besan*.

To depict the glory of the heroes in Hindi epics, the Hindi poets made liberal mention of these foods in their description of feasts. The provider of food (God) is called "*Razzaaq*" in Arabic. And (sustenance) provided by Him is called "*Rizq*". Malukdas uses these words thus:

Nam Bisambar visv jiyave, sanjh, bihan rijaq pahunc hava'

The fine variety of wheatmeal is called "*maida*" in Persian. Dadoo Dayal (and Malukdas) shows preference for "*maida*", thus:

*Madae ke pakvan sab, kathan hoi so hoi.*²

Meat Preparations

In "*Badshah Bhoj (Khand-45 of Padmavat)*", Jayisi describes the rich menu offered by Ratansen to emperor Alauddin. It includes several varieties of *halaal* meat preparations from goat, ram, deer, partridge, fish etc.

*Rai bhog aur kajar-rani, jhinva, rudva daudkhani*³

-
1. *Maluk Das Ki Bani*, p. 2.
 2. *Dadu Bani*, p. 2.
 3. *Jaisy Granthavali*, p. 244.

Jayisi enumerates many meat preparations:

*Nirmal masu ahup baghara, tehi ke ab barnaun prakara,
Katuva batuva mila suvasu, sijha anban baanti garasu.*¹

Kabaab

It is fried lump of minced meat, and has several varieties. Poet Brahm says:

*Kam kabutar tamas titar gyan gulel girae
Pakhand ke par dur kiye aru moh ke asthi nikaas dhaariye
Sanjam kati masalo vichari ke sadhu samaj te tahi hilai
Brahm hutasan seki ke babre vasnav hot kabaab ke kh aya.*²

Nanak was a great saint with *satwik* (purest) instincts. He warns:

*Dagebaji karke duniya loot khai, piye piyate aur kh ai kabaab.*³

(Deceitful men loot people and enjoyed wine and *kabaab*.)

In Persian, "*besan*" is the skinless grammeal used in preparing loaves and other eatables

*Roti ruchir "besan" kari, ajvain sondho milai dhari.*⁴

Vegetables

India is a land of green vegetables and yet, India's vegetarian cuisine was enriched with the introduction of new varieties by Muslims, such as *shaljam/shalgham*, *chuqander* (beetroot) *gaajar* (carrot), *shakarqand* (sweet potato), *kaddu* (pumpkin), *pudina* (mint), *lahsun* (garlic), *kulfa*, *pyaaz* (onion). All these words are of Persian origin. Orthodox *brahimns* would not take some of these. *Tarkari* and *sabzi* are also Persian words. *Tarkari* applies to all parts of a plant that is cooked. In *sur sagar*, Krishna's mother Yashodha is depicted as preparing *Lashkari*.

1. *Jaisy Granthvali*, p. 245.

2. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi "Brahm"*, p. 358.

3. *Nanak Vani, Naseehat Nama, Sunder Gutke*, p. 566.

4. *Sur Sagar*, p. 1213, 1831, 858.

*Mahri karati upar tarkari, joriti sab vidhi niyari-niyari.*¹

Fruits

Surdas and other *Bhakti* poets have described Krishna's breakfast in terms of Persian vocabulary, such as *kharbooza* (melon), *tarbooza* (water melon), both introduced from Iran and Central Asia, *seb* (apple) *anaar* (pomegranate) *naaranji/naarangi* (oranges), *angoor* (grapes), *shareefa* (custard apple), *aaloo bukhara* (plums) etc.

*Choli dhare kharbuza kera siital bas karat ati ghara.*²

*Safri, seb, chuhra, pista, je tarbuza nam.*³

Mewa in Persian means an assortment of dry fruits, such as *badaam* (almonds), *kishmish* (currant), *akhrot* (chestnut), *pista* (pistachio), *kaajoo* (cashew) etc. These used to be brought by Afghan, Iranian traders to bazaars in Lahore, Agra, Delhi etc. Many of these are mentioned in Hindi poetry:

*Pushp, pan, nana, phal, meva, shatras arpan kinho*⁴

*Khuram, khaja gunja mathri pista, dakh badaam,*⁵

*Kharik, dakh, chrironji, kishmish, ujjal gari badaam.*⁶

Muslims readily adopted the local sweetmeats and mastered the preparation of *laddoo*, *peda*, *mohanbhog*, *rasgullah*, *chnadrakala*, *gehwar* etc. They also improvised some of these preparations, besides introducing the varieties they brought with them, such as *halva*, *balooshahi*, *namakpaara*, *shakarapaara*, *jalebi* (zalabih), and countless varieties of *sharbats*. Other sweets, such as *misri*, *sheera*, *balaayi*, are also Persian words. (See *Bhakti Kaleen Hindi Sahitya Par Muslim Sanskriti ka Prabhav*, pp. 312-313)

Dress

Ancient Indian literature and Chinese travelogues by Hieun Tsang and others do not indicate use of either fine cloth or of

1. *Sur Sagar*, p. 1510.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 10-396.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 10-212.

4. *Ibid*, p. 179.

5. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, Raja Aas Karan Ke Pad*, p. 450.

6. *Sur Sagar*, p. 10-212, 810.

stitched apparels. The commonest apparel was a long piece of cloth which men and women both used as *dhoti* or *saari*. Alberuni and Babur have noted that the local climate did not permit multi layered clothing.

The influx of skilled artisans and craftsmen in 13th century from the Muslim lands ravaged by the Mongols accounts for the vast and extensive revolutionising of the art of weaving. Wherever the Muslim rule expanded, these weavers went there and created the fabulous textiles, for which nearly an hundred towns from Lahore to Dhaka and from Dehli to Madurai became justly famous.

Muslims brought weaving skills from Caucasus, Iran, Arabistan, Khurasan, Kashan, Central Asia of today and also from as far as Egypt and Abyssinia. The Muslim dresses also had Arab, Tatar, Turk, Mongol, Iranian and Afghan styles. These regions have tremendous geographic and climatic variations.

While continuing their varied sartorial traditions, Muslims also invented a large variety of dresses wherever they settled to conform with local climate and geography.

These dresses in the Hindi region naturally find mention in the Hindi poetry. *Resham* (silk) was much prized:

*Pachrang resan lagau, hira motini mathau.*¹

As a result of Muslims influence, devotional poets visualised their religious heroes in the apparel of the Muslim courts of the day.

Khaasa is a Muslims' garment. Parmanand Das be decks child Krishna thus:

Pat patambar khaasa jhino jaiso jahin man bhayo.

*** * ***

Pichora khasa kau kati bandhyo.

(*Parmanand Sagar*, pp. 373, 562, 634)

Sunderdas and Qasim Shah also prefer *khasa*. Other common apparel, such as *tansukh*, *tafta*, *tanzeh* etc are also mentioned

1. *Sur Sagar*, p. 108, 1041, 3489.

along with *zari* cloth (interwoven with gold threads). *Kulah* is the word for a special type of cap used by the Muslim noblemen. *Zartari*, *zarkashi* etc were also common during the Muslim period.

*Kulah surang sir tafta ki lal jahguli pit sudes.*¹

*Sundar baran, sir pagia jarkasi.*²

*Nana bidhi singar pag bani zarkasi bago pahiran chand.*³

Muslim apparel mentioned in Hindi poetry can be grouped in three categories: men, women and others.

Men's Dresses

Throughout the Muslim period and as late as the end of the 19th century, going out without a head-wear was considered a sign of lack of culture. There was an immense variety of head-wear that went on changing form the time of Muhammad Bin Qasim to the days of Bahadur Shah Zafar. Some of the head-wear were: *Amaama*, *pugree*, *saafa*, *shamla*, *kulah*, *dastar*. *Amaama*, *shamla*, and *pugree* were generally made of cotton cloth. Other head-wear had elaborate workmanship, including *zari* work. Hindi poets of Krishna *Bhakti* school adorn their lord in brocaded *kulah*. Child Krishna is depicted as sporting a *kulah* with *kalghi* (crown of fowl, peacock)

*Mahar ki kafni, aur kulah bhi mahar ka.*⁴

*Kulahi lasat Sir Syam subhag ati bahu bidhi surang banai.*⁵

*Suthan lai aru set cholna kulah jarkasi ati man bhavat.*⁶

Raskhan lovingly adorns child Krishna with brocaded turban capped with a *kalghi*:

*Banki dhar kalghi sir upar, bansuri tanskahai ras beer ke.*⁷

*Swait jari sir pag, latki rahi kalgai tamin lal.*⁸

-
1. Govind Swami, p. 18.
 2. Tulsi Granthavali, part II, 18, 536.
 3. Parmanand Sagar, p. 245.
 4. Malukdas Ki Bani, p. 30.
 5. Sur Sagar, pp. 10-48.
 6. Govind Swami, p. 51.
 7. Sujan Raskhan, stanza 97.
 8. Chaturbhuj Das, p. 30.

Guluband (muffler) is of Persian origin and is made of cotton, silk or wool. It is worn around the neck. Qasim Shah uses it thus:

*Au gukuband mir singh lina, balak leen sakal tajdina.*¹

Roomaal (handkerchief) is also a Persian word. Ameer Khusrow has written a conundrum about it:

*Aisa chahat sun yah hal, ai sakhi sajan na sakhi roomaal.*²

Pajaama

It is the Muslim's everlasting gift to Indian culture and society. *Pajaama* is Persian and means trouser made of cotton or silk. It is Arabic in origin. From Arabia it came to Iran and spread all over Central Asia and was adapted as trouser in Europe, after the Crusades that left an indelible impact on European culture. We find it mentioned in a riddle framed by Ameer Khusrow:

*Ek nar do ko lai baithi, terhi hoke bil mein pairi.
Jiske baith usai suhai, sukh uska bal bal jai (Pajaama).*³

Pajaama is tied to the waist with a string pushed into the *nafa* (the narrow sewn passage from one end to the other). Guru Nanak uses it metaphorically:

*Kamar bandu santokh ka dhanu joban tera naam.*⁴

Ladies Apparel

With the advent of Muslims, the decorative side of women's apparel underwent great refinement and saw a tremendous variety came into vogue. The intermedia techniques Muslims innovated in dress materials included use of precious metals (Gold and silver as threads), precious stones etc. So, Indian *kanchuki* (bodice) came to be embroidered with jewels, gold and silver threads.; Embroidery itself being a Muslim craft.

1. *Hans Jawahar*, p. 18.

2. *Ameer Khusrow Ki Hindi Kavita*, p. 24, 39.

3. *Ameer Khusrow Ki Hindi Kavita*, p. 24.

4. *Nanak Vani*, p. 106.

*Kasat kanchki band.*¹

*Pahiri kasumbhi katav ki choli chander bandu si thadi sohe.*²

*Kanchiuki sobith kasida sunder.*³

(*Kasida* refers to *kashida-kaari* or embroidery).

Muslims introduced a large variety of bed materials and floor spreads such as *toshak* (mattress), *lihaaf* or *razayi* (quilt), *qaleen* (carpet) *ghaleecha*, *duree*, *chaandni* (milk-white bed spread introduced by Noor Jahan), *takia* (pillow) *chaader* (cloth especially woven and embroidered for use as body cover during summers). *Galeecha* is Turki for thick carpet for floor cover. These articles are mentioned in Hindi poetry of the time, denoting the Muslim impact.

Cloth for Funeral Rites

The dead among the Muslims are draped in a white cloth, called "*kafan*". This word from Muslim culture has assumed symbolic meaning in common usage in Indian life and culture. It has been used in prose and poetry to symbolise the end, the desire for martyrdom or for death, or even as an admonition. Literally, it is the last apparel a person carries to the grave. So, symbolically it is the last possession of man. He can carry nothing else with him to his final resting place. So, *kafan* also means that man can carry with him nothing he acquires by fair or foul means, except a piece of cloth that his survivors provide him. So, all devout Muslims leave behind some money for their last rites including purchase of *kafan*, The cost of land for grave and expenses for his last rites. Emperor Aurangzeb left clear instruction in his will to use only the money he had earned and saved from copying the Holy Qur'an. He never used money from state treasury for his own expenses, as was done by all the Four Caliphs who believed the use of money from State Treasury for personal use was *haraam* (prohibited by the Holy Prophet).

Kafan also symbolically means the garment Muslim Faqirs (mendicants) use to denote that they are ever ready to meet their creator.

1. *Sur Sagar*, p. 2450.

2. *Parmanand Sagar*, p. 369.

3. *Govind Swami*, p. 42.

Poet Karnesh enraged at the reticent treasurer of Akbar, admonished him thus:

*Kavin ke mamale mein kari jon khami, taun nimak harami,
mare kafan na pavenge.¹*

3. Ornaments

Before the advent of Muslims, India had an astounding variety of ornaments from head to toe for women and also for men. These were made of metals as well as beads, animal and marine substances. Apart from descriptions in literature, Indian sculpture and frescoes reveal the mind boggling variety of ornaments in use. Muslim's metallurgical skills came handy for improvising and innovating many ornaments in common use in Arab, Turki, Persian and Caucasian lands, some even from Mongol tradition. The significant Muslim contribution was gem-studded ornaments. They forever changed the concept of jewellery. *Feroza* (*peeroja* in Hindi poetry) and other gems were valued for their quality. Muslims began to cut precious stones into geometric shapes of great variety. Hindi poets use *peeroja*, *nēelam* (sapphire) in their poetry. Muslims devised diamond necklace and called it "*haar*".

*Tika teek tikavali, hira haar hamel.²
Lahi ko lehnga pachrang chunri,
Kanth chara au tabez maniye.³*

Notably, nose ornaments were totally absent in pre-Muslim India. Among the nose ornaments introduced by Muslims are: *nath* (nose ring made of gold), *besar* (gold pearl or diamond studded) and *bulaaq* (large, diamond studded nose ring pierced into the cartilage between the nostrils).

Kati kinkini pag nupur bajai naak, bulaq halari.⁴

1. (a) *Mishrabandhu Vinod*, part 1, p. 324.

(b) *Maluk Vani*, p. 23.

(c) *Sujan Raskhan*, stanza 211.

2. *Cheet Swami*, p. 57.

3. *Tan Sen*, stanza 90.

4. *Sur Sagar*, Appendix 1-11.

Ornaments adorning neck that Muslims introduced include: *Tauq*, which is an Arabic word. It is an heavy silver or gold ornament. It is also called *hansli*. Hindi poets refer to it thus:

Tere galhi tauk pag beri, tu ghar ghar ramuapheri.¹
Bahuta kar kankan, bajuband aite par hai tauki.²

The word *hamayel* is from Arabic and refers to an ornament tied loosely round the neck, with a "*taveez*" (talioman) or a copy of miniature Qur'an embedded in a pendant, is an ornament quite in use in the Muslim period. Hindi poets mention this as '*hamel*':

Tika, teek, tikavali, hira haar, hamel³
Lahi ko lenhnga pachrang chunri kanth
Chara au taveez maniaaye.⁴

Baazuband

A 2-inch wide gold strap studded with gems and diamonds, was a favourite ornament of Persian women. It found its way in Indian life:

Bazuband jatit kar pahchi.⁵

Zanjeer (Chain)

Zanjeer made of gold or silver, was worn round the neck. It could also be tied round feet or waist. Hindi poets bedeck their heroine with *zanjeer*:

Pag jehari janjeer rani karyo.⁶

4. Cosmetics

The ancient Indian civilisation was quite rich in cosmetics. After the advent of Muslims, this was further enriched. Abul Fazal's "*Aain-e-Akbari*" gives a detailed account of it. During Akbar's reign, a separate "*Khushbu Khaana*" (perfumery) was set up under

1. *Kabir Granthavali*, p. 216.
2. *Sur Sagar*, 1540.
3. *Cheet Swami*, p. 57.
4. *Tan Sen*, stanza 90.
5. *Chaturbhuj Das*, p. 206.
6. *Sur Sagar*, p. 1413.

the supervision of one Shaikh Mansoor. Polished metal mirrors (*darpan*) were replaced by Muslims with mercury coated glass mirrors (*aaina*). Muslims also introduced items for decorating eyes and lips. Some of the other additions to cosmetics made by Muslims include: *abir* (flower powder), *gulab* (rose) *gulal* (rose powder), rose water, *itar* (perfumes) *mushk* (musk), *roghan* (oil), *khizaab* (hair dye), *hammam* (bath), *sabun* (soap), *surkhi* (rouge), *shishi* (phial), *surma* (collyrium), *ainak* (spectacle), *chashma* (spectacle for reading), and various types of chemicals for beautification. Amir Khusrow mentions Hindi, Persian and Turki synonyms for mirror in a single couplet:

*Farsi (Persian) boli "aina" Turki dhundi "Paina",
Hindi boli "arai" ai, Khusriw kahe koi na tatai.*¹

Arab made *sabun* (soap) for washing clothes, body and face by mixing soda ash with a large variety of oil, colours and aromatic substances. *Itr* was also extracted from different kinds of flowers and aromatic grasses and was a must item during *Eid* and celebrations. Aromatics as a branch of organic chemistry developed greatly by Arabs. Poet Bihari advises *Gandhi* (perfume vendor) not to waste his precious *itr* on unworthy people:

*Re gandhi, mati andh tu "atar" dikhavat kahi.*²

Gulab (rose) is cultivated in the Middle East. On ceremonial occasions, a silver container with a strainer is used to sprinkle rose water on guests and is called "*gulab-passh*". Raskhan's heroine pining for her beloved, would not cool down even after sprinkling rose water on herself.

Baal gulab ke neer usir so peer na jai hia jin dhare.
(*Sujan Raskhan*, stanza. 80)

Abir (Arabic) is a fragrant pink powder sprinkled on clothes. It is prepared from sandal powder, orange coloured fragrant flowers, and other materials. Then it is soaked in rose water and ground. *Abir* (*gulal*) is commonly used during Holi celebrations.

1. *Khusrow Ki Hindi Kavita*, p. 20.

2. *Bihari Bodhini*, p. 663, 673.

Ghumadyo hai abeer gulal gagan mein, mano phuli sanjh.
(*Nand Das Padavali*, p. 336)

5. Festivals

India had caste based festivals, such as *Rakshabandhan* for *Brahmins*, *Dasehra* for *Kshetriyas*, *Diwali* for *Vaishyas* and *Holi* for *Sudras*. Muslims from Central Asia added *Nauroz* (the spring festival) which came to acquire official status during the Mughal rule. Muslims also introduced *aatish-baazi* (fireworks) to celebration of festivals. By virtue of great social integration, many festivals were jointly celebrated. Hindi poets of time mention festivals and the many activities that go with them. Poet Kumbhandas describes Girdharilal (Sri Krishna) relaxing behind *khus* (fragrant grass) curtains attired in a "*tansukh*" sporting a *zari kulah* with a red tuft (*kalghi*) capping it on one such festive occasion during the summer. He mentions the *kulah* on having been *sandal* soaked.

Swet jari, sar pag latki rahi kalgi tame Lal
*tansukh ko bago ati rajat kundal jhalak tame Lal.*¹

"Zari", "kalghi" and "tansukh" are objects from Muslim culture. The *Holi* celebrations are described using *jhanjh* (cymbals), *jhilly bheri* (trumpet), *mridang* etc along with Persian instruments, such as *nishana*, *daff*, *shehnai*, *rabaab* etc.

One also finds references to Muslim *Eid* (religious festivals) in Hindi poetry of the time:

Eid mubaarak hoe jug-jug nit-nit tumko Meharbaan
(*Emperor Akbar*)

Tansen kahe suno Shah Akbar chachun chak,
Rat karo mardan maha mardan.
(*Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, Tansen Ke Pad*, stanza 142, p. 411)

Nauroz

In Iran and Central Asia, *Nauroz* is celebrated as a spring festival on the first day of the first month *Ferverdeen*, of the 'Fasli Solar Calendar'. It is also mentioned by Hindi poets.

(*Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, p. 32)

1. *Chaturbhuj Das*, p. 30.

6. *Sanskaars* (Rituals)

In Indian way of life *sanskaars* start even before birth and are also performed after death. These are 16 but Manu recognises only 12. Islam is a very simple religion. Yet Muslims have developed elaborate ceremonies to mark births, circumcision, start of learning, betrothal and weddings. These have no basis in Islam and hence vary from one Muslim country to another, except occasions, such as beginning of the learning of the Qur'an and the obligatory wedding feast (*Valima* dinner hosted by the bride groom to signify that the marriage has been consummated).

Scholars believe that betrothal ceremony is not Indian. It came from Iran where it is called "*Khwashtgari*" (seeking the hand of the girl). Qasim Shah described betrothal ceremony thus:

*Bhayo hulas sabai ghar bara,
Bage kiyo mangani (khwashtgari) kar chara.
Bahu (many) pahirav chadav/nishaani,
Baithe meer maha so gyani.*

(*Hans Jawahar*, p. 40, 78 and 106)

Uqd/Nikah (Wedding)

According to Islamic *Shariat* the world over, *Uqd* (Arabic) /*Nikaah* (Persian) is performed by the *Qazi*, after obtaining the consent of the bride and bride-groom to marriage in return for *mehr* (alimony). Parents of either side have no role. Only two witnesses are required. Thus a Muslim marriage is really a love marriage, with the free choice of an adult boy and an adult girl. *Sufi* poets of Hindi have described the performance of the marriage of Padmavati, Chitravali, Pushpavati *et al.*, according to Hindu customs. But the celebration of honeymoon by Ratansen at the residence of Padmavati and his year long stay there is against the Indian tradition. In "*Hans Jawahar*", the marriage is shown as having been performed according to the Muslim tradition:

*Kaji maha jo pandit gyani, baitha nikat dulha ke ani,
Yak bashith "dui sakhi" (two witnesses) aya, saahi ke bachan
sarah mein laye,
Kinh johar jo nere aai, prem ki baat so baith sunai.*

"Gupat bhaid" sab kaha jo kana, kari parnam rat bha bhana¹

Circumcision is an Islamic-Jewish practice in which the foreskin of the male organ is chipped. In India, it is called *khatna*, *sunnat* or *musalmani*. Kabir knew about this custom and asks his detractor:

Jo tu Turak Turkani jaya, tou bhitari khatna kyon na karaya.
(*Kabir Granthavali*, p. 79 and 254)

7. Relaxation and Recreation

India being a pastoral society, a variety of outdoor sports, indoor games preexisted the advent of Muslims. In their turn, Muslims introduced new indoor games for relaxation and recreation. These were drawn from a vast region from North Africa to Central Asia. These also included games for household women and more importantly these were literacy oriented, such as *ganjifa* cards. They brought in many equestrian games too, such as *chaugaan*, elephant fights, *buzkashi*, sword fights etc. Among the indoor games may be mentioned *shatranj* (chess), *pachcheesi*, *batteesi* etc. (in the category of dice games). Over the centuries other varieties were devised and became popular.

To the Nirgun Hindi poets, the universe itself is a game. Hindi poets mention *chaugaan*, *shatranj*, *tamaasha* (from Arabic word for wandering) and the like.

Aje ek aiso adhraj ko tamaso dekhyo
Pannag ke mathe uyo puran punio ki shashi.²
Ye ajab tamasha lal bo.³

Competitive games are called "*baazi*" in Persian. Nanak believes life itself to be a lost gamble (*baazi*):

Bairtha janam gavaiya, baazi hari,
(*Nanak Bani*, p. 279)

Dadu baazi bahut hai, nana rang apar.
(*Dadu Bani-I*, p. 117)

1. *Hans Jawahar*, p. 89, 106.

2. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi (Brahman)*, p. 348.

3. *Maluk Das Ki Bani*, p. 7, (*Dadu Bani*, part II, p. 27.)

Kite-flying

It obviously came with the Muslims because paper making came to India via China then to Arabia, Iran. During the Muslims rule, kite-flying became a major hobby all over Mughal India. Dadu thinks human mind too is like a kite:

Yahu man kagad ki gudi, udi chadi akaash.

(Dadu Dayal Ki Bani-I, p. 97)

The Hindi poets of the time depicted Kirshna flying kites and playing *chaugaan*. Both these indicate the impact of contact with Muslims.

Hunting

This manly sport reached new heights with the Turk and Mughal rulers having keen interest in hunting and *shikar* games, which are frequently depicted in miniature paintings. Persian words related with these sports are found in Hindi poetry.

*Kete kete meer mare kate keite kunp dhade,
khalat shikar jaise mrig mein bagharo.*

Rana hoiya bodhia puraaas hoi saiyaad (prey).

(Gang Ke Chhand, stanza 187)

Poet Brahm uses an Arabic similitude to say that a devotee of God hunts the pigeon of lust but the partridge of greed is killed by the pellet-bow of knowledge:

*Kam kabutar tamas titar gyan gulelan mar giraye,
Kubudhi kamaan chadhai kop kari, budhi tarkas rityo,¹
Sada shikar karat mrig man ko, rahat magan muriyo.²*

Shatranj (Chess)

Alberuni mentions *Chaturang* as a popular Indian game in his time. It may have reached Iran and under Arab-Iranian influence may have evolved into today's chess which in India is played using Persian terminology. Tulsidas and Nanak warn people against staking their lives on the analogy of *shatranj*. Hindi poetry men-

1. *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi (Brahm)*, stanza 93, p. 259.

2. *Sur Sagar*, pp. 1-64.

tions the word *shatranj*. (See: *Bhakti Kalin Hindi Sahitya Par Muslim Sanskriti Ka Prabhaav*, pp. 332-333)

Chaugaan

All Muslim rulers and commanders lionised *chaugaan* as a royal game that sharpens military skills and physical alertness, agility and demanding expert horsemanship. It is said Qutbuddin Aibek, the founder of *Dehli Saltanat*, was so fond of *chaugaan* that he would play this game on moonlit nights too. And he is said to have died playing it. This game of valour and of valiant men has been mentioned at length by Abul Fazl in his "*Ain-e-Akbari*". Akbar was so deeply attached to this game that he made changes and introduced several innovations, such as a lighted ball for playing *chaugaan* at night.

It may be stated that we find no mention of *chaugaan* in ancient Indian literature. Jayisi describes *chaugaan* in the *Gora-Badal* battle scene in his epic, "*Padmavat*". Gora tells Badal that it is the ball and the playground both:

*Chahu disi awai lopat bhanu, ab ihai goi ehiai madanu
Wah chaugaan Turak kas khela, hoi khelar a juron akela
Khailon sonh son, hal jagat manh hoi.*

(*Jayisi Granthavali, Padmavat*, pp. 288-289)

Various poets of Krishna cult depict Krishna playing *chaugaan*, both with young friends and also with small kings. They show mother Yashodha taking care of young Krishna's mace. The 29th canto of "*Ain-e-Akbari*" cites several instances of *chaugaan* playing in three pages. Tulsidas depicts Sri Rama playing *chaugaan*. Both instances establish the impact of the Muslim contact. Parmanand Das describes *chaugaan* being played in *Vrindavan*. Siurdas describes Sri Krishna playing *chaugaan* on horse back in Dwarka. He describes his saddle being studded with jewel. The embellishment too is a mark of Muslim influence.

Of these many descriptions, we quote just two:

Anuj sakha sisu sang lai khelan jai hai chaugaan.

(*Tulsi Granthavali-II, Gitavali*, p. 234, 245)

Thirta na lahai jaise kanduk chaugaan manhi.

(*Sundardas*, p. 57)

Hindi poets have resorted to embellishment in describing several other types of relaxations, recreations and sports.

To sum up this theme, *Rajputs* had been in intimate contact with Muslims even before the setting up of the *Dehli Saltanat*. They were already there in large numbers in Ghazna, the capital of Sultan Mahmood. Throughout the Muslim rule, *Rajputs* outnumbered any other community in the royal armies. Their contacts survived wars and spells of peace to climax into close marital ties. Most government servants used to be *Rajputs* and *Khatris* of Punjab. Even *Aggarwal banias* were also in large number in militia services. Both occupied such high positions as *mansabdars*. These close ties outlived the fall of the Mughals till as late as the end of the 19th century.

Throughout the 11th centuries between the first Muslim conquest by Muhammad Bin Qasim in 712 and the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, Hindi received the highest patronage of Muslim rulers among all the Indian languages. Therefore, lasting impact of Muslim culture on Hindi poetry and language was natural. This impact permeated every aspect of Hindi language and literature, to become inseparable.

Over a millennium, every aspect of Indian life, from governance and administration to culture and customs received the full stamp of the Muslim impact. In the sphere of literature, it is evident in analogy, simile, proverbs, idioms, prefixes, suffixes, the style and content of poetry, attitudes, embellishments, and even forms of poetry.

It was an epoch of profound intellectual, social and cultural miscegenation that fostered what we call the composite culture. Hardly any area of life remained untouched by this all-pervasive phenomenon. We can even say, by way of encapsulating this entire study, that Independent India inherited an Indo-Islamic Culture that strengthened the fabric of national unity.

It is no surprise then that an Indian, any Indian for that matter, does not find himself an outsider in the vast Islamic Intercontinent— from Morocco to Indonesia. This is the legacy of the Muslim rule in India, 712 to 1857. It has, thankfully survived all colonial attempts to tear apart every thread of this mosaic woven over one thousand years.

EPILOGUE

In human societies, there has always been lending and borrowing, thus expanding human knowledge and bringing the humanity together. Greeks, Romans, Iranians and Arabs interacted with each other. So did the Arabs and the Indians. We have also on record the accounts of Arabs and Persians trading with India for long periods. Never has any culture anywhere remained entirely autonomous and unaffected by external influence. On the contrary, culture has constantly moved forward by assimilating diverse influences.

In preceding chapters, we have discussed in detail the impact of Islam and Muslim culture on Hindi literature, in terms of embellishment of the language and various forms of poetry. It has, in the process, documented the evidence of Islam's impact on a wider scale, embracing every walk of life. It is emphasised in early chapters that Muslim culture right from the start remained non-exclusive and freely interacted with the cultures of the lands and peoples the Arabs came in contact with, from Iran to far East.

In India this interaction brought about a closer understanding between incoming Arab, Turk, Afghan, Mughal and Iranian Muslims and the local peoples, leading to the emergence of a composite culture. The starting point of this process of assimilation were the abodes of the *sufis*, where a cross-section of Indian humanity came together to receive the message of love, brotherhood and unity of mankind.

The *sufi* poets, from Masud Saad Salman, Abdul Rahman, Ameer Khusrow, Mulla Daood, Malik Muhammad Jaisy, Dadu Dayal to Noor Muhammad and Sheikh Nasir made a great contribution towards bringing peoples of different persuasions to share a common ethos, as spoken of by Dadu Dayal:

Sab-ham daikhiya shodh kari, duja nahin aan.

Sab ghar ekai aatma, kiya Hindu Muslman.

(Dadu) dono bhai hath pag, dono dhai kaan.

Dono bhai nain hain, Hindu Musalman.

(Dadu Bani, part I, p. 222)

One reason behind the aggregative trend of Hindi literature was that the Muslim rulers, right from Muhammad Bin Qasim down to Aurangzeb, adopted a liberal attitude towards Hindi language, besides patronising other Indian languages. At least half a dozen regional languages owe their rise to literary status to the Muslim ruler. These are: Kashmiri, Punjabi, Sindhi, Marathi, Telugu and Bengali.

It is said if history is the biography of a nation, literature is its autobiography, documenting its soul,— inner life and inspirations. This research work, for the first time, brings between two covers the total range of the impact of Islam and the Muslims on the spiritual, physical, social and civilisational aspects of Indian life, as reflected in Hindi literature, the literature of the largest and the most representative segment of India's population.

It is the Muslims who contributed to making Hindi an all India language by taking it to Gujarat, Maharashtra, the Deccan and Bengal, during their long central and regional rule. It is again the Muslims who raised Hindi from the level of a dialect, *Apbharansh*, to the modernised literary Hindi as we know today. Linguists are of the firm view that before the advent of Muslims in the north, Hindi itself was not yet even conceived. The word Hindi, Hindustan and Hindu are given by Arab-Persian Muslims.

Mutual contact between the rulers and the masses made the emergence of a new spoken tongue-Hindi inevitable. The Muslim *sufis* and rulers picked up the Indian dialect or dialects. The Hindus too took to Persian, partly for establishing contact with the ruling classes and partly for service under Sultans rulers and governors. *Khari Boli* Hindi remained mostly a spoken tongue for quite a long time and then, the result was the coming up of another mode of speech commonly understood by the Hindus and Muslims. This dialect absorbed Persian Arabic-Turkish words. The tongue which

was then called *Hindvi*, *Rekhta* or just Hindustani and Hindi subsequently came to be known as *Khari Boli* Hindi.

This was made possible by three main factors: the missionary zeal of Muslim *sufis* to reach their message to the common man; the Muslim rulers' passionate love for literature, especially poetry; and the patronage lavished by Muslim courts on poets, writers and men of scholarship. Several poets of Hindi and various Indian languages were connected with imperial, provincial or vassal courts, where they lived, thought and wrote together with Arabic-Persian poets and writers.

The time too was opportune. Hindi was in its infancy and needed the shoulders of the more developed Arabic, Turki and Persian languages. On their part, the Muslim rulers needed a common tongue for communication with masses. It may be remembered that the masses had been kept away from Sanskrit for many centuries and their disparate dialects had remained uncultivated without the care of the sophisticated *Brahmins* whose language was Sanskrit. But what really mattered to the fortunes of Hindi was the fact that Muslim rulers went far out in supporting and patronising it. Muslim kings, from Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi (10th century) down to the Adil Shahis of Bijapur (17th century) insisted on keeping accounts and revenue records in Hindi, and also in local languages, such as Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Kannada, Telugu and Bengali.

Another contributory factor was the enormous word power of Arabic, Turki and Persian in administration, various disciplines of sciences and arts, and literature. The linguistic traits of these languages had several virtues that attracted the users of Hindi language. Hindi poets and writers held the enormous literature in these languages as model for themselves. This resulted in the emergence of new forms of poetry, usages, concepts and words.

The symbolic use of words in the formation of phrasal idioms is typical of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. A majority of current Hindi idioms either have a preponderance of Arabic-Persian-Turkish words or read as verbatim translations of Persian idioms, such as "*der aaye, durust aaye*" is a literal rendering of the Persian proverb "*der aayad, durust aayad*".

In Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi's army there were 30,000 Hindu in all ranks, including the command level. Like Jag Nath and Tilak son of a barber Jai Sen, well versed in Persian and Sanskrit. If this was so in the 10th century, one can imagine how much the job opportunity in Muslim kingdoms at the centre and in the regions must have expanded over the next eight centuries. Hindus occupied the highest seat of prime minister or *diwaan* in many Muslim kingdoms.

From the time of Sher Shah Suri (16th century), the Hindus had started studying Persian in a frenzied manner, to enter services and rise in their careers. Akbar's minister, Raja Todarmal made the knowledge of Persian compulsory for entry into public services. With their special skills in several specialised fields the Hindus came to monopolise many branches of public administration. This gave rise to entire families adopting as their surname their monopolistic designations, such as *Inamdars*, *Shikdars*, *Taluqdars*, *Qanoongos*, *Dubhashis*, *Khazanchis*, *Bakhshis* *Munshis* *Ziledars* *Diwaan*, *Razdaan*, *Peshwa* (Minister) *Farnavees* (*Fardnavess*), *Meeras*, *Dar* etc.

You can find scores of such surnames in any telephone directory. It was during the reign of Feroze Shah that *Kayasthas* began to study at *Madrasahs* he had set up for the training of civil servants. And a time came when the *Kayasthas* dominated the Muslim administrations in many kingdoms, besides making great name as poets and writers of Persian, Urdu and Hindi.

The story goes further. Within a short time, the Hindus mastered Arabic and Persian to such an extent that they became teachers of these languages to Muslims themselves. Their mastery of Arabic and Persian languages and grammar was unquestionable. Such instances have been cited in the relevant chapters. But there is one fact which will startle most people today. Writing "*Qita-i-Taarikh*" chronograms is a highly skilled poetical art in Perso Arabic languages requiring great mastery of the language. In this art, each letter of a word is assigned a numerical value. Their sum in a line or part of it gives the date of the event, such as birth, death, coronation, foundation or inauguration etc. On the facade of the great mosque, Vaalajaahi Masjid, in Madras (Chennai), is inscribed

a "*Qit-i-Taarikh*" that has been composed by an Hindu, Lala Makkhan Lal, "Khirad" an outstanding scholar of Arabic and Persian of 18th century). Hindi Poets of *Reetikal* (Scholastic Era) like Keshav Das, Dev, Bihari Lal, Chintamani, Padmaker, Mati Ram, Saiyed Ghulam Nabi Rasleen, Ghanand, Thakur, and numerous other Hindi poets of 17th and 18th centuries have expressed sentiments which are intrinsically influenced by Arab-Persian thoughts, manner, customs and Muslim culture.

Eminent expatriate Indian author and intellectual, late Nirad C. Chaudhry, (d. 1-8-1999) in one of his articles "The Times of India", describes how the Maharaja of Tripura chided a Bengali noble when he started his conversation in Bengali. The Maharaja felt outraged and blurted: "Do you think I am so uncivilised as not to be able to speak in Persian?" India's first newspaper "*Mirat-ul-Akhbar*" brought out by Raja Ram Mohan Ray (d. 1833) was in Persian. Raja Ram Mohan Ray the founder of Brhamo Samaj was a scholar of Persian and Arabic. India's first President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad conversed in Persian with King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan when the latter came on a state visit to India. Indian envoy to Iran, Dr. Tara Chand impressed the Shah of Iran (later deposed) with his fine Persian conversation. When the Shah came on his first state visit to India, Dr. B. Ramkrishna Rao, Chief Minister of Hyderabad State (before its trifurcation), spoke to the royal guest in chaste Persian.

The documents of treaties the British East India Company signed with Afghanistan, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, besides those with Indian rulers, are in Persian. Calcutta's Writers Building, now housing the State Secretariat, was actually the place for the *Munshis* of East India Company, as indicated by its nomenclature. According to Justice V.R. Krishan Iyer, judgments of Kerala High Court until 1901 were in Persian. Rabindranath Tagore's father used to recite to child Tagore the original Persian poetry of Haafiz Shirazi and other Persian poets of Iran, which left their deep imprint on the future Noble laureate's personality and poetry. The ornamentation of Bengali Script has been attributed to Arabic calligraphy. The rise of the Bengali as a literary language is beholden to the patronage of the Muslim kings of Bengal. A Bengali bride is adorned with a crown on her head in imitation of the decoration of a Turk bride.

Muslims also paid great attention to translating the classics of Sanskrit into Arabic, Persian and various Indian languages. It was at the behest of Sultan Naasiruddin Mahmood (1246-1266) that "*Mahabharat*" was first translated into Bengali.

The two epics, "*Mahabharat*" and "*Ramayana*" have been almost routinely translated into Persian and other Indian languages during the rule of many Muslim kings at the centre and in the regions.

The first history of the city of Dehli was commissioned by Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. It covered the many ages of the imperial city starting with the Pandavas up to the Sultan's reign. During the rule of succeeding kings of Dehli new versions of the history of the imperial city were prepared. Ghalib also wrote an history of Dehli in *Pahlavi* language, now almost extinct. The last history of Dehli was written by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in Urdu and it (*Asaar-us-Sanadeed*) remains the source book for present day historians and writers.

Indeed historiography, the art and science of writing history, did not exist in India prior to the advent of Muslims. This was due to the ancient Indian attitude of *Aatm-gopan Prviritty* (loosely translated as self-effacement or self abnegation). Under the Muslim influence and due to the impact of Persian poetry, Hindi poets began to use their name or pen-name. It made possible to date their creations and to develop historical perspective on their works. Except for legends, no firm, factual biographical data is available to us about the great masters of Sanskrit poetry, due to the absence of the tradition of historiography.

Also, learning from the epics created by the Muslim *sufi* poets of Hindi, non-Muslim poets too began describing about their own life, the life styles of kings, their courts and details of the battles they fought. All such descriptions, whether costumes or arms, palace life or its luxuries, sports and games, manners and attitudes, it may be noted, were all depicted after the model of the Mughal court and in Arabic-Persian terminology. Tulsidas' "*Ramcharitmanas*" is no exception to this rule. Poet Govind Swami depicts a Brahmin ascetic (Sudama) living in a gilded palace and

Sri Krishna as playing *chaugaan* and sporting a *kulah* (Turkish cap) with a *kalghi* (plume).

Govindaswamy (P. 164) describes how Sri Krishna used to spend his summer noon, surrounded by *khus* (fragrant grass) mats for cool comfort, with rose water sprinkled on him:

*Sital useer grih chhirko gulaab neer,
Tahan baithe Piya pyari keli karat hain.*

*Sital jhaji banai, sital samagiri dharayi,
Sital paan mukh beera rachai hai.*

*Sital sijjiya bichhai Khas ke parde lagai,
Goving Prabhu tahan chavi nirkhat hai.*

Kumbhandas also refers to *khus* mats:

*Theek dupahari mein khus khaane,
Rachayi ta Madhya baithe Lal Bihari.
Khosa Ko Kati baniyo pichora,
Chandan bhini kulah Sanwari.*

(*Kumbhandas*, p. 87)

Similar Muslim impact is noticeable on the other branches of Hindi poetry. Hindi poets dealt with Islam, Allah, His attributes, Prophets, caliphs, practices of Islam and various aspects of Muslim beliefs and theology etc. often as precisely as a Muslim would do. They have quoted *Ahadees* (sayings of the Prophet) and professed their adherence to them:

*Tan-man sonj-savere sab rakhai beswa bis.
So sahib sumrai nahin Dadu mani 'hadees*

(*Dadu Dayal Ki Bani*, p. 176)

*Jo piyase ko daive pani, badi bandgi Muhammad mani.
Jo bhuke ko ann khavawe, so Sitab Sahib ko pawe.*

(*Maluk Das Ki Bani*, p. 22)

Describing his life of contentment, Tulsidas of *Rambhakti* branch says he lives on dole and sleeps in a mosque:

*Tulsi sarnam Ghulam hai Raam ko,
Jaako ruche so kahai kachhu oou,*

*Maang ke khaibo, masit ko soibe,
Laive ko ek na deve ko doou.*

A major portion of *Prem Margi* branch literature is the creation of Muslim *sufi* poets who used the symbolism of Muslim culture, and dealt with the concepts and practices of Sufism. Influenced by them, non-*sufi* poets like Dadu too dealt with the tenets and teachings of *Tasawwuf*, such as the four stages of *tasawwuf*, namely *Shariat*, *Tariqat*, *Muarifat* and *Haqiqat*, describing them as "*Chahaar Manzil*":

Chahaar manzil bayaan guftam, dast karda bood
(*Dadu Bani*, part I, p. 55)

He and his contemporary poets deal in detail with *sufi* practices, such as *Tauba*, *Tark*, *Nafs*, *Zikr*, *Ijz*, *Tawakkal* etc. These concepts came into Hindi poetry for the first time.

The impact of the *Prem Margi* poets continued in the poetry of *Gyan Margi* poets of *Saguna Bhakti* (anthropomorphism). These poets also painted a kaleidoscope of Muslim culture, social life, economic and mercantile facets of society during the Muslim rule. By now social mixing had become so extensive that nothing of one's culture remained alien or unknown to the other, and they shared each other's ethos and sentiments. Such integration had never occurred in India's past history. A fine example is Tulsidas using the honorific, "*Gharibniwaaz*", "*Rankniwaaz*" (nourisher of the poor), borrowing from the language of the Mughal court for his hero, Sri Rama, in his classic, "*Ramcharitmanas*". He does not use "*Patit Pawan*":

*Rank ke "niwaaz", raghuraj raja rajanke,
Umardaraaj Maharaj teri chaahiye.*
(*Tulsi Granthavali*, part II, p. 182)

In the above couplet, Tulsi is praying for long life of Sri Rama, as Muslim pray for their dear ones. Likewise, several hundred words of common use in Muslim courts and Muslim milieu became popular in Hindi poetry. They not only adopted Arabic-Persian vocabulary but were also profoundly influenced and inspired by the masters of Persian poetry. This influence abounds in

their own poetry. No major poet of Persian was unknown to the Hindi poets and there was no Hindi poet who did not bear the stamp of the Persian masters. We have profusely illustrated this by quoting couplets from the Persian masters and their Hindi followers. Just one example is enough to repeat. Says Haafiz:

Har kase panj roza naubat ust.

Kabir translates this as:

Chaar din apni naubat chalai, bajaai.

Even in mentioning musical instruments in describing Hindu festivals and royal Hindu celebrations, these poets mention a large number of instruments that were introduced during the Muslim period, such as *rabaab*, *daf*, *chang*, *damama*, *nishaan*, *shehnai* etc.

In the realm of music, Husain Shah Sharqi, poet Amir Khusrow and other music loving kings enriched Indian music by introducing several new *ragaas*, *raginis*, styles and forms that did not exist prior to the advent of Muslims (all of which have been described in detail under "the Arts").

As for the new poetical forms, about a dozen new ones were introduced under the influence of Arab-Turki-Persian poetry. These include *masnavi*, *ghazal*, *qaseedah*, *rubaie*, *hamd*, *na't*, *manqabat*, *madha*, *qita*, *rekhta*, *alif-naamah*, *lavani*, *jhoolna*, *zulisaani*, *paheli* (*binbujh paheli*), *kahmukarni*, *cheestaa* etc.

Of greater significance is the fact that the poetry of *radeef* and *qafia* (rhyme and double rhyme) did not exist in Hindi and came into it under the influence of Persian poetry, replacing *maatric* poetry. Even today political sloganeering all over the Hindi belt is geared to *radeef-qafia* bound coinages, which make our political and public protests and demonstrations spicy and colourful. In this *radeef-qafia* bound slogans Indian public life has no parallel in the world.

Bahars, metres of Arabic-Persian poetry, were adopted by the Hindi poets, enhancing musicalisation of Hindi poetical creations. It is also interesting, to note that *Khari Boli* Hindi of pre 1950 has always tended towards a very liberal use of Arabic-Persian

words, and from its earliest stages, generally adopted Arabic-Persian metres.

Another facet of Muslims impact on Hindi poetry was the use of new analogies borrowed from Muslim tradition, some of these going against the established ancient traditions. *Takhallus* (pen-name), is the influence of Arabic-Persian poetry, which Sanskrit, Hindi poets never used before, came into vogue. Kabir, Tulsi, Dadu, Nanak et al. used their pen names in their compositions, reinforcing the historicity of their creations.

Pen names continued to be used till this day by Hindi poets like Jai, Shankar Prasad, Surya Kant Tripathi "Nirala" Sumitra Nandan "Pant" Hari Vansh Rai "Bachchan", Shiv Mangol Singh "Suman", and Gopal Das "Neeraj" etc. This was a watershed in the history of Hindi poetry.

Writers of modern times have used more Persian words and expressions than all the *Brij Bhasha* writers put together. Of these Devki Nandan Khatri, Balkrishan Bhatt, and Premchand are most conspicuous. Raja Shiv Prasad "*Sitara-e-Hindi*" insisted on keeping Hindi style very near to Urdu with Persian vocabularies

In modern times *ghazals* and *rubaie* have been composed by a large number of poets, including Pratap Narayan Mishra, Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay, Lala Bhagwan Din, Surya Kant Tripathi "Narala", Hari Vansh Rai Bachchan, Shamsheer, and Gopal Das Neeraj. The *rubaies* of Nathu Ram Shankar Sharma are very famous and successful.

The use of idiomatic language that abounds in Persian poetry so fascinated the Hindi poets that they adopted it almost as a standard practice.

Departing from traditional view of the creation of Universe and Man, Malukdas echoes Muslim concept when he says Man is a "creature of clay":

*Naam hamaara khaak hai, hum khaaki bande,
khaaki te paida kiya, ati ghaafil gande.*

(*Malukdas Ki Bani*, p. 15)

On the receiving side, Malik Muhammad Jayisi, the pathfinder of Hindi Literature, borrowed expressions from Sanskrit to describe the Qur'an as "*Ved*" and "*Puran*". He coined utterly new expressions borrowed from and rooted entirely in the local context and ethos, such as "*Achhari Kavilas*" for houries. A master of nascent *Avadhi*, Jayisi writes:

*Jo 'Puran' vidhi pathva soi padath granth,
Aur jo bhule aavat so suni laage panth.*

(*Jayisi Granthavali*, p. 5)

Would anyone believe the much maligned Aurangzeb likening his beloved wife to Saraswati? Read his epistle in praise of "*Bai Udaipuri*":

*Tou gun ravi udai kino yahite kahat tumko Bai Udaipuri,
Angianan gun gayan ke alap vistar-sur jot deepak (a raaga)
Jo to lon vitha hai duri.*

Jab-jab gavat tab-tab ras samudra leheren upjavat.

Aisi Saraswati kaun hai "puri"

Jat naman jan Shah Aurangzeb-reejh rahai,

Yaa hi tain kahat tumko roop chaturi.

(*Brij Sahitya Par Mughal Prabhav*, p. 23)

Is this the language of an alien invader? Is it the tenor of a fanatic said to have been the enemy of Hindus? Or, is it the sentiment of a third generation of Mughals to have Rajput blood in his veins? In much the same way, Hindi poetry remains the primary source of social history of its time and a rich source of information next in importance to the authentic historical records.

The reformist moves generated by contact with Islam and Muslims was entirely voluntary and nationwide and this is fully reflected in the poetry of Hindi literature. It is rent with screaming protests against casteism.

Through the works of peerless Amir Khusrow, Hindi literature and Hindustani classical and folk music entered the epoch of their greatest inflorescence. He invented scores of new poetical forms, introduced new musical instruments, devised new *raagas* that made Indian culture a most colourful bouquet.

Born of Turkish mother and Indian father, Khusrow was an ultranationalist and believed that in all the world there were no flowers more fragrant, no women more beautiful, no fruits more tasty, no land more fascinating and no festival more enchanting than those in India. Never before nor ever since has been an Indian so immensely proud of India. He was called "*Tuti-i-Hind*" (singer of India's charms). Khusrow popularly survived in Indian tradition and customs.

In architecture, craftsmanship etc. the vocabulary introduced by Muslims became common currency and this is evident in Hindi poetry, as has been amply illustrated in the relevant chapters.

The greatest achievement of the twelve centuries of Muslim rule in India or its regions is the unification and integration of India, yielding the most abiding and the most precious sentiment of *Hindustaniyat*, Pan-Indianism. Regardless of religion, region, caste or language, every Indian feels and reacts as an Hindustani. Before the advent of Muslims, Indian identity was torn and fractured on caste lines or religion that excluded the *Shudras*. The next city was "*Pradesh*" (foreign land). Small kingdoms prevented dispersal of the Indians across the length and breadth of the country. The perception of one's identity was restricted to the caste he belonged to. The persistence of central Muslim rule from Balkh to Coromandel gave a new vision of political India. The Muslim rulers linked the four corners of India with roads and introduced common administrative norms and terminologies, crafts and currencies and an integrated culture. It was Sher Shah Suri who first issued *Rupiah* as currency. Voluntary internal migrations and intercommunity marital contacts became frequent, wiping out many prejudices and alienations. This ended centuries old segregation and physical and mental isolation. A common language (Hindi) and a common poetry spread through-out the country and secured emotional integration through music and dance, both, of course, firmly rooted in the past traditions.

The long respite from foreign aggression until Aurangzeb's death in 1707 gave India a long spell of security. It is hoped that the present volume which modestly attempts to underline the impact and influence of Islam and Muslim culture on Hindi literature,

will succeed to a measurable extent in promoting understanding and goodwill between Indian peoples and remind them of the close bonds developed over the centuries. A documentation and evaluation of such evidence had not been made earlier and had remained an unexplored field of research.

I am equally certain that this book will provide an heart warming glimpse into the golden and modern period of Hindi literature that, in no small measure, was accelerated by pious Muslim *sufis* and cultured Muslim kings who were friends of literature. I fervently hope this seminal work will be followed by more area-specific research in the contribution of various Muslim *sufi* and non-*sufi* poets of Hindi whose work remains unstudied and untouched but secure in the great libraries of India, Europe and America.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

English

A Grammar of the Hindi Language, Rev. S.H. Kalang.

A Grammar of the Brijbhasha, Mirza Khan, Vishwa Bharti Bookshop, Calcutta.

A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylone, V.A. Smith, Oxford, 1911.

A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Abdul Ghani, Indian Press, Allahabad 1929.

A Litirary History of Arabs, R.A. Nicholson, Combridge Universety Press, 1930.

Alberun's India (two vols.) tr. Dr. Edward Sachau, Leipzig, 1925.

Al Ghazali the Mystic, Margret Smyth.

Amir Khusrow Aur Unki Hindi Rachna Ka Mulyan Kan, Dr. Majida Asad.

A Study of the Philosophical Views of Maluk Das, Sunder Das and Charan Das.

A Survey of the Indian History, K.M. Pannikar, Asia Publishing House, New York 1963.

An Advance History of India, R.C. Majumdar, Macmillan & Co., New York, 1960.

An Introduction to the History of Sufism, Arthur John Arberry, London, 1942.

An Outline of the Cultural History of India, Abdul Latif, the Institute of Indo-Middle East Culture, Hyderabad, 1958.

Anthology of Bengali Language and Literature, Dinesh Chander Sen.

Cambridge History of India, (six vols.), Cambridge.

Contemporary Indian Literature, Sahitya Akoda, New Delhi.

Contribution of Muslims to Sanskrit Learning, Dr. J.B. Chaudhuri Calcutta.

Contribution to the History of Islamic Civilisation, Syed Khuda Baksh.

Discovery of India, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, London Edition.

Dictionary of Islam, Hughes, London, 1885.

Encyclopeadia of Islam, Royal Netherlands Academy, 1953.

Encyclopeadia of Religion and Ethics.

Encyclopeadia of Soual Secences.

Forms and Style in Poetry, W.P. Kar, London.

Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture, Yusuf Husain

Gazetteer of the Provinice of Sindh, Karachi, 1907.

History of Bengali Language and Literature, D.C. Sen, University of Calcutta, 1954.

History of India, Elliot and Dowson.

History of India and Eastern Architecture, J. Fergusson, London, 1876.

History of Sanskrit Literature, London, 1889 Weber, A.

Hajwari's Kashful Mahjub, R.A. Nicholson, London, 1911.

Indian Painting Under the Mughals, Percy Brown, Oxford, 1924.

Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, Tara Chand. The Indian Press,

(Publications) Allahabad, 1963.

Iran and India Through the Ages, F.C. Davar, Asia Publishig House, Bombay, 1962.

Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment, Aziz Ahmad, Oxford, 1964.

Kabir, Bijak, with Commentary, Sitaram Saran Bhagwan Prasad, Nawal Kishore, Press Lucknow.

Kabir, Bijak, Ahmad Shah, English translation.

Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan (1200-1550), Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, Calcutta, 1935.

Literary History of Persia, E.G. Browne, London, 1902.

Medieval India: Social and Economic Conditions, A.Yusuf Ali, London, 1932.

Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning, Jatindra Bimal Chaudhury, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i, Delli, 1981.

Persian Prosody, Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta

Promotion of Learning in India During Mohammaden Rule, N.M. Law, 1916.

Rahim, Sansar Bahadur Singh. N.B.T. New Delhi.

Sankara and His Times, C.N. Krishnswamy Aiyer.

Some Aspects of Society and Culture During the Mughal Age, (1526-1707) Agra, 1955.

Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment, Aziz Ahmad, Oxford, 1964.

Studies in Islamic Mystism, R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1923.

Tazkirat-ul-Auliya, R.A. Nicholson.

Tarikh-i-Firishta, Firishta, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Tarikh-i-Firoze Shahi, Bibliotheca India.

Teachings of Islam, Arnold 1935.

The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi, H.N. Wright, Delhi, 1936.

The Hindustani Language, As Spoken by Men, Falon.

The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians, Sir H.M. Elliot, John Dowson, London.

The Indian Muslims, M. Mujeeb, George Allen & Unwin London, 1967.

The Mystic Philosophy of Muhiuddin ibn al Arabi, A.E. Afif, Cambridge, 1939.

The Persian Mystics (Tr.) Margaret Smith, London, 1932.

The Preaching of Islam, T.W. Arnold, London, 1913.

The Qur'anic Sufism, Dr. Mir Valiuddin, The Academy of Islamic Studies, Hayderabad.

The Spirit of Islam, Sayyid Ameer Ali, London.

The Spirit of Islamic Culture, K. Abdul Wahid, Iqbal Academy, Lahore, 1944.

Hindi

Aadhunik Hindi-Kavya Main Chhand-Yojna Dr. Puttu Lal, Lucknow University Publication.

Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi, Dr. Saryu Prasad Agarwal, Lucknow University Publication.

Amir Kusrow Aur Unki Hindi Rachnaon Ka Mulyankan (MSS) Dr. Majida Asad.

Anurag Bansuri by Noor Muhammad, Edited by Acharya Ramchander Shukla and Chanderbali Panday.

Ashtchaap Ke Kavi Nand Das, Prof. Krishan Dev, Raj Publishers, Jallender, 1958.

Brij Sahitya Par Mughal Prabhav, Acharya Chatursen, Sharda Prakashan, Bhagal Pur, 1955.

Chandayan, Maulana Daud, Edit. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, Hindi Granth Ratnakar, Bombay, 1964.

Chandan Prabhakar, Jagan Nath Prasad Bhanu, Jagannath Printing Press, Bilas Pur, Samwat-2017.

Chitravli, Usman, Nagri Pracharmi Sabha, Kashi.

Dadu Dayal Ki Bani Part I, II, Edited Sudhakar Dwivedi Bailvedur Press, Allahabad, 1963.

Hindi Sahitya, Hazari Prasad Dewivedi.

Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas, Ram Chander Shukla.

Hans Jawahar Bhasha, Qasim Shah, Lucknow.

Indravati by Noor Mohammad, 1906.

Islam Ke Sufi Saadhak (Nicholson) Tr. by Narmadeshwar Chaturvedi Mitra Prakashan, Allahabad.

Jaisi Aur Unka Padmavat, Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, Kashi Pracharni Sabha.

Jaisi Granthavali, Ramchander Shukla, Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Kashi-2017, Vikrami.

Kabir Granthavali, Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay, Kashi, 1978.

Kabir Granthavali, Edited Dr. Shyam Sunder, Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Banaras.

Kabir Vachnavali, Pt. Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay, Kashi Samvat, 1978.

Kavya Darpan, Ram Dahin Mishra's Granth Mala, Patna.

Kavya Roopan Ke Mool Srot Aur Unka Vikas, Dr Sakuntla Dubey, Hindi Pracharak, 1958.

Madhya Yugeen Prem Akhyan, Dr. Shyam Manohar Pandey, Mitra Prakashan, Allahabad.

Maluk Das Ki Bani, Bailvedur Press, Prayag, 1946.

Manjhan Ki Madhumalti, Edit. Mata Prasad Gupta, Mitra Prakashan, Allahabad, 1961.

Mughal Badshahon ki Hindi, Pt. Chander Bali Pandey, Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Kashi, 1997.

Nanak Vani, Dr. Jai Ram Mishra, Mitra Prakashan-2019, Vikrami.

Prem Vatika, Rashkan, Vishwa Nath Prasad Mishra Varanasi, Samvat-2016.

Raheem Ratnavali, Maya Shankar Yagik, Lucknow.

Raidas Ki Bani, Bailvedur Press, Prayag, 1948.

Reeti Kaleen Sahitya Ki Aitihasik Prishtbhumi, Dr. Shiv Lal Joshi, Sahitya Sadan, Dehradun, 1962.

Riti Kavya Ki Bhumika, Dr. Nagender.

Sanskriti Ke Char Adhyay, Ram Dhari Singh Dinkar, Rajpal and Sons Delhi, 1956.

Sant Bani Sangrah, Bailvedur Press, Allahabad.

Sujan Raskhan, Pt. Vishwa Nath Prasad Mishra.

Sur Sagar, Editet Nand Dularey Vajpai, Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Kashi-2021, Vikrami.

Tulsi Granthavali, Ram Chander Shukla, Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Sashi, 2015, Vikrami.

Urdu Hindi Shabd Kosh, Mustafa Khan Maddah, Information Department, U.P.

Urdu

Aab-e-Hayat, Maulana Mohammad Husain Azad.

Aaina-e-Akbari (Urdu), Abul Fazl, Darul Taba Jamia Usmania Hyderabad, 1938.

Aaina-e-Balaghat, Mirza Mohammad Askari, Siddique Book Depot Lucknow.

Aa-ena-e-Ma'rfat, Syed Aijaz Husain, Allahabad, 1932.

Asnafe Sukhan, Mumtaz Rashid.

Al Takashuf Al Muhimmat tul Tassawwuf, Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanwi.

Bahrul Fasahat, Maulvi Najmul Ghani.

Istilah-e-Sufia, Farid Ahmad Samadi.

Gulzar-e-Sakhun, Jagan Nath Prasad Bhanu, Munshi Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

Meeras-e-Islam, Abdul Majeed Salik, Majlis Taraqqi-e-Abad, Lahore.

Quran Aur Tasawwuf, Dr. Mir Vali-ud-Din, Nadvatul Musannifin, Delhi, 1985.

Sukhan-dan-e-Faris, Mohammad Husain Aazad, Mufeed-e-Aam Press, Lahore.

Shair-ul-Ajam, Shibli Nomani, Maarif Press, Aazam Garh, 1954.

Tarikh-e-Adbiyat-e-Iran, Dr. Raza Zada Shafaq, Nadwatul Musannafeen, Delhi.

Urdu Ki Ibtidai Nashv-o-Numa Men Sufia-e-Kiram Ka Hissa, Dr. Abdul Haq, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Urdu Road, Karachi.

Persian

Diwan-e-Zaheer Faryabi, Bakoshish Taqi Banish, Kitab Faroshi Bastan, Chhap Khana Toos Mash'had, 1337, A.H.

Ghayas-ul-Lughat (Persian), Nawal Keshore Press, Lucknow.

Kullyat-e-Shaikh Saadi, Kitab Faroshi Ilmi, Tehran, 1330 A.H.

Lubab-ul-Albab, Muhammad Aufi.

Ma'asir-e-Rahimi, Part II, Abdul Baqi, 1924.

Tazkara wa Tabsara bar Rubaiyat-e-Hakeem Umar Khyyam, Edited Maulvi Hafiz Jalal-ud-Din Ahmad Jaafri, Allahabad, 1918.

INDEX

A

- Aaien-e-Akbari*, 152, 169, 245, 251
Aaram Shah, 16
Aazam, 54
Abdul Hameed Lahori, 48
Abdul Jaleel Bilgrami, 52
Abdul Latif, Shah, 33
Abdul Rahman Samri (Muslim name of Chera Man Perumal Zamurain), 188
Abdul Rahman (Abdharan) (Muslim poet of Apbhransh), 12, 13, 194, 254
Abdul Rahim Khan-e-Khana (Rahiman), 35, 41, 44, 45
Abdul Qadir Badaoni (see Badaoni),
Abu Ali Sindhi, 8
Abu Bakar (Caliph), 81, 82, 203
Abu Hanifa (*Imam*), 4, 8
Abu Hifs Rabbi bin Sahib al-Asadi al-Basari, 8.
Abu Ma'ashar Sindhi, 8
Abu Zaid al-Hasan Sirafi, 189
Abul Fazal Shaikh, 37, 44
Abul Faraj Runi, 14, 174, 180
Abul Hasan Amir Khusrow (see Khusrow),
Abul Hasan Basri,
Abul Hasan al-Nuri, 114
Abul Qasim Farishta (see Firishta),
Acharya Chatur Sen, 52
Adam, 74, 75, 210
Adil Shah (Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur), 30, 31, 41, 163
Ahmad Shah Abdali, 57
Aibek (see Qutbuddin Aibek)
Ajmer, 9, 12, 33, 174
Ahadees (see *Hadees*) 4, 8, 91 260
Akbar (Emperor Jalaluddin Muhammad), 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 68, 154, 208, 232
Akbar Nama, 37
Akhravat, 94, 201
Akhri Kalam, 36, 67, 75, 91, 97, 169, 191, 201, 205
Ali (Ali bin Abi Talib— 4th caliph), 4, 37, 81, 84, 203, 204, 221
Alamgir (see Aurangzeb)
Alamgir Namah, 50
Alam, Shaikh (a couple of Hindi poets), 42, 54, 176
Alauddin Khilji (Sultan), 7, 19, 20, 21, 163, 208, 237
Alberuni (Abu Rehan Mohammad Ibn-e-Ahmed), 10, 11, 13, 114, 173, 186, 189, 240, 250
Alexander the Great, 33, 40, 220
Ali bin Osman Al-Hujwiri Shaikh (Data Ganj Bakhsh), 9, 13, 124

- Alkindi, 161, 162
 Al-Tamash (Shamsuddin, Sultan), 16, 17, 20, 163
 Amir Khusrau (see Khusrow)
 Asjadi, 11
Apbhransh, 13, 62, 116, 121, 174, 207
 Arabs, 6, 8, 13, 61, 142, 162, 254
 Arabic, 9, 136, 141, 173, 196
Ashtchaap (eight Hindi poets), 124, 166, 236
 Askaran (poet Jara), 43
 Attar, Khawaja Farid-uddin, Shaikh, 18, 177
 Afi, Nuruddin Muhammad, 10, 16, 17
 Aurangzeb (Muhiuddin) Muhammad, Aurangzeb (Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgir), 7, 35, 47, 48, 50-54, 146, 163, 212, 255, 264, 265
 Avicenne (see Ibn-e-Sina),
 Ayodhia, 170
 Ayodhia Singh Upadhyay, 199, 263
B
 Baba Fareed-ud-Din Ganj Shakar (see Farid)
 Babar (Zaheeruddin Babur, Emperor), 33, 34, 38, 54, 163
 Bachchan Harivansh Rai, 263
 Badaun, 9, 19
 Badayuni, Mulla Abdul Qadir, 25, 44, 191
 Baghdad, 3, 21, 61
 Bahadur Shah, Abu Zafar (last Mughal King), 241
 Bahlul Lodi, 24
 Bahmani Rulers, 29, 30
 Bairam Khan (father of Ameer Khusrau), 41
 Bakhtiar Kaki Khawaja Qutbuddin, 19
 Balban (Sultan Ghyasuddin), 18, 19, 20, 21, 163, 190
 Bal Krishan Bhatt, 263
 Bali, 88
 Barni Ziauddin, 18, 46, 190
 Bernier, 50
 Bengali (developed to literary language), 18, 29, 116
 Bhagwan Deen (Lala), 263
Bhakti, 1, 2, 165, 177
 Bhika Sahib, 176, 213
 Bihari Lal (poet), 198, 258
 Bodi Bhatt, 35
Bostan, 39
 Brahmins, 5, 61, 138, 160, 256
 Brahman (see Chander Bhan Brahman),
 Brahm (poet), 223, 238, 250
 Brhamo Samaj, 258
 Bu Ali Sina (see Ibn-Sina),
 Buddha, Budhist, Budhism, 5, 28, 196
 Budshah (Shahi Khan of Kashmir), 27, 28
 Bulla Sahib ka Sabad Sagar, 216
 Buzurg bin Shaharyar, 189
 Byzantine, 3, 237
C
 Chand Bardai, 13, 15
Chach Nama, 9
 Chaturbhuja Das, 43

Chander Bali Pandey, 39, 52
 Chander Bhan Brahman, 25, 35,
 52, 175, 190, 199
 Chhem Bandi Jan, 37, 204
 Changhiz Khan, 38, 34, 190
 Chandayan, 24, 191
Chhatrasal, 42
 China, 4, 151, 173, 186, 189,
 239, 250
Chitravali, 46, 201, 204, 208
 Chintamani, 42, 48, 258
 Christians, 60, 76, 85, 108
 Culture, 1, 13

D

Dadu Dayal, 63, 68, 87, 98, 102,
 103, 116, 168, 201, 223, 231,
 254
 Delhi Saltanat, 9, 139, 165, 252
 Deval Rani Khizar Khan,
 Devki Nandan Khatri, 263
 Devotional Era (see *Bhakti
 Kaal*),
 Dinkar (Ram Dhari Singh poet), 2
 Dwivedi, Hazari Prasad, 188,
 219

E

East India Company, 258
 Egypt, 78
 Eve, 75

F

Faizi (poet), 44
 Fareed (see Sher Shah),
 Fareed (Bab Farid-ud-Din Ganj
 Shakar, Shaikh, Khawaj), 18
 Farabi, 11, 161, 162, 169
 Farid-ud-Din Attar, Khawaja,
 14, 177

Farishta (Abul Qasim, Histo-
 rian), 12, 14, 30, 31
Farghana, 33, 163
 Farrukhi, 10, 11
Fatawa-i-Alamgiri, 50, 52
 Feroz Shah (see Tughlaq),
 Firdausi (poet), 10, 11, 14, 176,
 179, 180, 183
Futuh-at-e-Alamgiri, 50, 52
Futuh-at-e-Feroze Shahi, 21
Furqan (see Qur'an),

G

Gang (poet), 42, 147, 198, 208
 Ghalib (Mirza Asadullah Khan),
 187, 259
 Ghanand, 258
 Ghayasuddin Balban (see
 Balban),
 Ghayasuddin Tughlaq, 21, 22
 Ghazni, 10, 12, 13, 174
 Ghazzali, (Imam), 4, 45, 120
 Ghorī (ruler, see Shahabuddin
 Muhammad Ghorī),
 Ghawwasi, 46
 Gosain Jadroop, 46
 Govind Swami, 260
 Gul Badan Bano Begum, 38, 54
Gulistan, 39
 Gul Rukhi (see Sikander Lodhi),
 24, 25
Gul Shan-e-Ibrahimi, 31
 Guru Gobind Singh, 198
 Guru Granth, 92
 Guru Nanak (see Nanak),
Gyan Deep, 46

H

Hafiz Shirazi, 30, 170, 176, 179, 182, 183, 184, 258, 262
 Hajjaj bin Yusuf, 7
 Hakim Sanai, 174, 183
 Hallaj (Husain bin Mansur Hallaj), 120
 Hamir Raso, 21
 Hamza, 36, 221
 Harsha Vardhan, 5
 Hardev Bahri, 133, 196
 Hasan Gangu Bahmani, 29
 Hatim Tai, 220
 Hieuntsang, 151, 239
 Hira (cave in Mecca), 64
 Hindu, 5, 6, 13, 19, 23, 42, 255
 Hindi, 3, 59, 136, 186, 219, 233
Hindustaniat, 58, 177, 194, 265
 Hujweri (see Ali bin Osman al-Hujweri Sheikh),
 Humayun, 37, 41, 155, 156, 228, 232
Humayun Nama, 38
 Husain Shah (of Bengal), 165, 262

I

Ibn Battutah, 9, 22, 189
 Ibn Hauqal, 8, 189
 Ibn Khuldaz Beh, 189
 Ibn Sina (Shaikh Bu Ali Sina, Avicenna), 161
 Ibrahim Lodi, King, 34
 Ibrahim Adil Shah, Sultan, 30, 163
 Iran, 2, 3, 164, 254
 Islam, 2, 4, 5, 7, 11, 56, 59, 60, 61, 69, 84, 85, 161, 162, 177, 254

Imaan, 103, 104

Ishwari Prasad, 11

Islam Shah (Salem Shah, Aslam Shah), 40, 41

J

Jagan Nath Pandit Raj, 48

Jagmal, 43

Jahan Ara (Badshah Begum), 54, 55

Jahangir (Nuruddin Muhammad) 45-47, 163, 205

Jai Shankar Prasad, 76, 198

Jaisy (Malik Muhammad), 26, 29, 40, 65, 73, 79, 132, 182, 190, 201

Jahangir Jas Chandrika, 46, 190

Jalaluddin Rum (see Rumi),

Jalaluddin Feroze Khilji, 20, 163

Jat, 21, 24

Jawahar Lal Nehru (see Nehru),

Jazia (Jizia), 53

Junaid Baghdadi, 114

K

Ka'ba, 160, 178

Kabir, 70, 87, 88, 99, 168, 177, 230

Kabul, 34, 41

Kalhan Pandit, 28

Kalidas Hazara, 52

Kalidas Trivedi, 51, 52

Kalinjar, 12

Kamaal Atatürk, 81

Kamayani, 76

Kans, 139

Karnesh Bandi Jan, 42, 99, 244

Kashf-al-Mahjub, 9, 14

Kashmir, 27, 44, 174, 186, 254

- Kavi Rai, 51
 Kayam Raso, 21
 Keshav Das, 190, 258
 Keshav Mishra, 46
Kitab-e-Feroze Shahi, 23
Kitab-ul-Hind, 10
 Khafi Khan, 50
 Khan Khanan (see Abdul Rahim, Rahiman),
Khari Boli, 25, 195, 198, 209, 219, 236, 255
 Khilafat, 81
 Khilji, 20, 165
 Khirad (Lala, see Makkhan Lal),
 Khizr (Khwaja), 79
 Khorasan, 45, 240
 Khurram (see Shahjahan),
 Khusrow (Abul Hasan Amir Khusrow) 12, 15, 18, 19, 21, 25, 57, 75, 148, 163, 165, 166, 176, 190, 194, 198, 201, 254, 264, 265
 Khwaja Hasan, 20
 Krishna, 88, 138, 139, 153
 Kulpati Mishra, 48
 Kuruk Khetra, 26, 228
 Kutban (see Qutban),

L
 Lahore, 9, 239
 Laila Majnu, 200, 207
 Lakshmi Narayan Shafiq, 31, 35
 Lala Makkhan Lal Khirad (see Makkhan Lal, 32
 Lilavati, 44

M
 Madhumalti, 201, 205, 206, 208, 234, 235
 Mahabharat, 18, 28, 186, 259
 Mahmud of Ghazna, 7, 8, 9-14, 23, 164, 174, 176, 252, 256, 257
Majma-ul-Bahrayn, 53
 Makkhan Lal Khirad (Lala), 32, 258
Malik-ush-Shora, 51
 Makhfi (poetess Zaib-un-Nisa), 56
 Mati Ram, 258
 Malukdas, 53, 65, 68, 71, 132, 149, 153, 233
 Manjhan, 83, 84, 107, 205, 208
 Manohar, 35, 175
 Mansur al-Hallaj (see Hallaj)
 Maruf Karkhi, 115
 Masud Saad Salman (poet) 12, 254
Masnawi, 4, 194, 195
 Masudi, Abul Hasan, 189
 Maulana Abdul Latif Sultanpuri, 50
 Maulana Hashim Gi ani, 50
 Maulana Muhiuddin alias Mohan Bihari, 50
 Mecca, 109
 Medina, 109, 110
 Mehmood Sheerani, 3, 42, 44
 Minhaj-ul-Siraj, 18
 Mira Bai (Poetess), 123, 142, 172, 234
 Moinuddin (Hasan Chishti Sanjari Khawaja of Ajmer) 46, 174
 Mongols, 9, 19, 21, 135, 150, 240, 244
Mrigavati, 29, 202
 Muazzam, 54
 Muhammad^{PBUH} (Prophet), 64, 80, 82, 112, 119, 122, 202

- Muhammad Adil Shah, 41
 Muhammad Ali (Nawab of Arcot), 32
 Muhammad bin Qasim, 1, 7, 23, 41, 48, 61, 146, 163, 174, 190, 241, 252, 255
 Muhammad Ghorī (see Shahabuddin),
 Muhammad bin Tughlaq, 32, 148, 187, 259
 Muhammad bin Bakhtiar Khilji, 28
 Muhammad Jaisy, Malik (see Jaisy),
 Mukammal Khan Gujarati, 44
 Mullah Dawud, 24
 Mullah Nuri, 46
 Mullah Masih Panipati, 46
 Mullah Shah of Kashmir, 53
 Mumtaz Mahal, 48
 Munshi Pyarey Lal Shauqi, 199
 Muslim Culture, 2, 3, 4, 5, 26, 27, 59, 63, 136, 219, 254
 Muslim *Sufis*, 3
 Mysticism (see *Tasawwuf*)
- N**
- Naasiruddin Mehmood, 16, 17, 18, 259
 Nadir Shah, 42
 Nanak (Guru Nanak), 68, 69, 74, 89, 97, 116, 168, 197
Naqsh Bandi Order,
 Nar Hari, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 47, 60, 232
 Naseeruddin Shah, Sultan, 29
 Naziri Muhammad Husain Mulla (Irani poet), 44, 45
 Neeraj Gopal Das, 263
 Nehru (Pandit Jawahar Lal), 2
- Nicholson, 160
 Nirad C. Chaudhry, 258
 Nirala (Surya Kant Tripathi), 199, 263
 Nirgun, 2
 Nisar Shaikh, 254
 Nizami Ganjvi, 183, 202
 Nizamuddin (Saqqā), 155, 156, 228
 Nizamul Mulk (Kamaluddin Muhammad Junaidi), 17
 Noor Jahan, 54
 Noor Muhammad,
- P**
- Padmakar, 258
Padmavat, 21, 29, 88, 201, 202
 Padshah Begam (Jahan Ara), 55
 Panipat, 34
 Parmanand Das, 148, 159, 166, 167, 168
 Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, 174
 Persia, 11, 59
 Persian, 19, 22, 25, 36, 42, 44, 116, 136, 174
 Perumal (last *Cheraman Perumal Zamurin*),
Prapanna, 2
 Prasad (see Jai Shankar Prasad),
 Pratap Narayan Mishra, 199, 263
 Prem Chand, 263
 Prithvi Raj, 15, 147
Puran, 1, 5, 88, 186, 187
Pushkar, 42, 46
- Q**
- Qasim Shah, 83, 93, 102, 144, 183, 201, 204, 248
Qawaid-e-Kulliyat-e-Bhash, 52

- Qiyamat*, 90-94
 Qur'an (Koran), 3, 4, 9, 11, 16, 17, 64, 72, 73, 75, 76, 79, 85, 86, 89, 95, 97, 100, 115, 161, 243, 264
 Quli Qutab Shah Muhammad, 31, 32, 163
 Qulzum Sharif, 53
 Qutban (*sufi* poet Kutban), 13, 21, 29, 183, 191
 Quadratullah, 31
 Qutbuddin Aibak, 14
 Qutb Shah (Dakni poet, patron of culture), 163
R
 Rabia al-Adviya Basri, 120, 123, 234
 Raja Kannauj, 15
 Raja Nanda, 12
 Raja Shiv Prasad (Sitara-e-Hind), 263
 Raja Singh Deo of Kashmir, 27
 Raja of Somnath, 7, 16
 Raja Todar Mal (see Todarmal),
 Rahim (Rahiman, see Abdul Rahim Khankhana),
 Rajender Prasad (President), 258
 Rai Das (disciple of Ramanand), 65, 68, 94, 99, 100, 107, 132, 141, 232, 236
 Rajput, 5, 23, 136, 252
 Raj Tarangni, 186
 Ram Bhakti, 260
 Rama, 88, 139, 170
 Ramayana, 28, 174, 186
 Romaini, 178
 Ramcharitmanas, 42, 88, 121, 174, 200
 Ramdhari Singh Dinkar, 2
 Raskhan (Syed Ibrahim), 241, 246
 Ram Mohan Roy, Raja, 258
 Rana Pratap, 42
 Raslin (Syed Ghulam Nabi), 42, 203, 258
 Raso, 147
 Ratan Sen, 237
 Ratan Shekhar, 24
 Ravi Das (see Rai Das),
 Razia Sultana, 16, 57
Reeti Kaal (Reeti Era), 3, 258
Rig Veda, 3
 Rumi (see Abul Farj),
 Rumi (Rum Maulana Jalaluddin), 4, 179
S
 Saadi (Shaikh, Shirazi), 180, 181, 182
Saam Ved, 160
 Sachal Sarmast (Abdul Wahab), 8
Sahabi, 4
 Sagun School, 2
 Saltanat (period), 15, 61
 Salim Chishti (see Moinuddin),
 Salim (see prince Jahangir),
 Samudri (see Zamorin),
 Sandesh Rasak, 12, 194
 Sangeet Rag Kalpdram, 52
 Sanskrit, 3, 13, 23, 29, 32, 44, 59, 116, 173
Sanskriti, 1
 Sapru (Sultan Pandit), 28
 Saraswati, 51, 264
 Sathru Das, 47
 Sewand Rai, 13
 Shahabuddin Muhammad

- Ghorī, 12, 14, 15, 16, 190
 Shah Abdul Latif, 33
 Shah Farid Ganj Shakar (see Fareed),
 Shah Jahan, 23, 47, 48, 49, 50, 191
 Shah Mirza (Shamsuddin Shah), 27
Shahnama (Firdausi), 11, 28, 176, 199
 Shaikh Bahuddin Zakarya, 17
 Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi, 18
 Shaikh Badruddin, 19
 Shaikh Bahauddin Zakarya, 17
 Shaikh Braham (Ibrahim),
 Shaikh Chilli, 228, 229
 Shaikh Nabi, 46, 204
 Shaikh Ruknuddin, 21
 Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi, 18
 Shaikh Saadi, 180, 181, 182, 185
 Shaikh Sharfuddin Panipati,
 Shaikh Taqi, 177
 Shamsheer (poet) 263
 Shamsuddin Altamash, 16, 17, 163
 Shariat, 2
 Shauq (Munshi Pyarey Lal), 199
 Sheerani (see Mehmud Shirani),
 Sheetal (poet) 198
 Sher Shah Suri, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 405, 220, 257, 265
 Shiraz, 48
 Shivaji, 40
 Shukla Ranchander, 189, 226
 Sikandar Lodi, Sultan Gulrukhi, 24, 25, 26, 177
Sikandar Nama, 39, 176
 Sindh, 1, 61, 145, 174, 177
 Sindhi, 1, 8, 9, 44
 Sinha Bhatt, 27
 Slave Dynasty, 16, 101
 Somnath (ruler had number of Muslim officers) 7, 10
 Sundar Das, 42, 74, 125
 Sudama, 138, 260
 Sufi Order, 62, 129
 Sufism, 114-116
 Sufis, 6, 8, 59, 61, 103, 114, 118
 Sultan Pandits, 28
 Surdas, 38, 41, 43, 45, 102, 116, 140, 167, 230
 Swami Hari Das, 41
 Syed Ahmad Khan, Sir, 187, 259
 Syed Ali, 27
 Syed Ghulam Nabi Raslin (see Rasleen),
 Syed Dynasty, 24
 T
Tabqat-e-Nasiri, 10
 Tahir, 46
 Taigore, Rabinder Nath, 258
 Taj Mahal, 49
 Talib Kalim, 48
 Tansen (Mirza Mian), 45, 208
 Tarachand, Dr., 15, 127, 133, 134, 179, 186, 258
Tasawwuf, 114-116, 126-129, 261
Tauheed, 21, 84, 85-90, 119
Tazkiratul Aulia, 14, 114
 Tegh Bahadur, 146
 Tilak (son of Jai Singh Barbar, Mahmud's General), 10, 11

Tipu Sultan, 1, 56, 163
 Todarmal (Raja), 42, 152, 257
 Tughlaq Gheyasuddin, 21
 Tughlaquh Muhammad Bin, 21, 22
 Tulsidas, 42, 81, 93, 137, 184, 195, 230, 259
 Turk, 13, 58, 142, 237, 254
 Turkish (*Turki*), 45, 116, 142, 143, 156, 186, 196
Tuzak-e-Babri, 34
Tuzak-e-Jahangiri, 45

U

Udaipuri Begam, 51
 Udhodas, 53
 Umar Farooq (caliph), 81, 83, 144, 203, 220
 Umar Khayyam, 179
 Upadhaya (see Ayodhya Singh Upadhayay) 119
Upnishads, 1, 3, 5
 Urdu, 52, 136, 175, 196, 197, 215, 263
 Urfi Syed Jamaluddin Shirazi, 45
Ush, 17
 Usman (*sufi poet*), 192, 201
 Usman, Ghani (caliph), 81, 83, 84

V

Vaishnav, Acharya,
 Vaishnav Bhakti Cult,
 Valajahi Masjid (in Chennai) 32, 257, 258
Valmiki Ramayan (see *Ramayana*),
 Vamana, 88

Vanshi Dhar Mishra, 48
Vedas, 1, 3, 5, 22, 53, 88, 120, 160, 264
 Virind (poet), 51, 251
Vrindavan, 26

Y

Yaqubi, 189
 Yari Sahib, 17, 176, 214
 Yashoda, 251
 Yusuf, 221
 Yusuf Adil Shah, 31
 Yusuf Zulekha, 77, 176, 201

Z

Zafar Bahadur Shah (king), 241
 Zaibun-Nisa Makhfi, 55, 56, 212
 Zainul Abidin, 28
 Zahir Faryabi, 176, 183
 Zahir Shah (Afghanistan deposed king), 258
 Zahuri Tarshizi Mulla, 44
 Zam-Zam, 114
 Zamorin Samri (see Abdul Rehman Samri), 188
 Ziauddin Barni (see Barni),
 Zulekha, 234
 Zulqarnain (Alexander), 220

