



EVOLUTION OF LITERARY HINDAVI UPTO 1740

DISSERTATION

**SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF**

Master of Philosophy

IN

HISTORY

By

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2011



DS4150



Dedicated to

My Parents

&

Brother

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Certificate

This is to certify that **Ms. Sobiya Riaz** has completed her research work under my supervision. This Dissertation prepared by her on **Evolution of Literary Hindavi upto 1740** is her original research work and is fit for submission for the award of **M. Phil Degree in History**.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It is immensely pleasurable moment to have an opportunity to express my thankfulness to all those who have helped me in completion of my work. First and foremost, all thanks to Almighty Allah for providing me an opportunity, determination and of course a patience to complete this research work. I bow down To Him in Gratitude with all humility from the depth of my heart.

I sincerely thank to my Supervisor Dr. Ruquiya Hussain Kazim for her cooperation, despite her hectic engagements.

I owe my sincere thank to Chairman Prof. Tariq Ahmad, my special thanks to Dr. Sayyid Ali Nadim Rezvi, from his hectic engagements, he help me in every possible way, it gives me immense pleasure to express my deep sense of gratitude that this dissertation has seen the light of the day.

I must acknowledge Dr. Abdus Samad Jeelani my Persian instructor and all the other teachers of the Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History A.M.U, Aligarh who have always been a source of constant support and encouragement.

My friend Seema Khan also deserves thanks for the moral support and help in the completion of present endeavor.

I pay very humble gratitude to my ever loving parents and my brother Zuhaib Khan for their love and affection which made me able to stand and helped me to learn each and every aspect of my life.

Words fail in expressing regards to my friends Bashir Ahmad Sheikh, Anie, Sadique, Farzana Apa, Salim bhai, Mumtaz bhai, Nikhat Apa, Aslam Bhai, Ansal, Rakhi, Sanjeeda, Hina, Ambika, Monika, Samreen, Farhat, Saba, Tariq, Shaukat, Naiyyar Bhai, Javed bhai for their support and encouraged me for perusing my studies sincerely from time to time. I express my profound thanks to the staff of my seminar library.

SOBIYA RIAZ.

CHAPTER – I

CHAPTER - I

THE BEGINNINGS:

THE ROOTS OF HINDI / HINDAVI IN THE EARLY PERSIAN / ARAB / GREEKS TRAVELLER'S WRITINGS

This chapter is an attempt to understand two great moments of transformation in culture and power in pre-modern India. The first occurred around the beginning of the Common Era, when Sanskrit was reinvented as a code for literary and political expression.¹

The second moment occurred around the beginning of the second millennium, when local speech forms (*Hindavi/Hindi*) were newly dignified as literary languages and to began to challenge Sanskrit in the field of both poetry and polity, and in the end replaced it.²

¹ Sheldon Pollock, *The languages of the Gods in the world of men: Sanskrit, Culture, and power in premodern India*, Delhi, 2006, p. 1

² Ibid.

(Hindi is an Arabic word of Persian origin, meaning anything related to ‘Hind’. Persians used this word to refer to people, or language, or things found in the region of Sindh in particular or in India in general³).

(The word Hind originated in the ancient Iranian substitution of ‘h’ for ‘s’ giving ‘Hindu’ for the *vedic* word ‘*Sindhu*’, and was thus simply derived from the Iranian form of the name for Sindh.⁴)

This we can show by the study of *Chach- Namah*, the first history of *Sindh*, *Chach- Namah* (712-14) gives the history of the time when the Arabs conquered *Sindh*. By the study of *Chach- Namah*, we find the use of the words ‘*Hind*’ and ‘*Hindustan*’ throughout this work.

Regarding the use of the word Hind, there is also a description about Mohammad Alafi, an Arab who fought with the king of Ramal, which says that, “The Alafi therefore taking five hundred Arabs as well as warriors of Hind with him, made a nocturnal attack”.⁵

There are other instances for the use of the word Hind. Like when “a letter was written to Abu Musa Ash-ari, the governor of Iraq from the capital of the *Khalifahs* requiring him to write a report about what passed in Iraq and

³ Shreesh chaudhary, *foreigners and foreign languages in India-A sociolinguistic history*, Cambridge University Press, India, New Delhi, 2009, p. 179.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.38.

in the country of Hind”.⁶ The use of the word ‘Hind’ and ‘Hindustan’ shows clearly the Iranian influence over the Arabs, which they already had in their hand for over sixty years. The word ‘Hindustan’ was thus fashioned by the Arabs due to usual early Iranian tradition of adding the suffix- stan to geographical names.⁷

As early as the first century A.D., Iranian began to use the suffix-*stan* to indicate a country or a region hence *Sakastan*, appeared in the Mathura Lion Capital inscription.⁸ The word ‘*Sarvasa Satastana*’⁹ meaning whole *Sakastan*,¹⁰ is written on the inscription. This ‘*Sakastana*’, denotes the land of the *Saka* King, whose name have not been recorded.¹¹

The *Chachnama* also gives names like *Mihran* for the Indus and *Brahmanbad* for the capital city of Sind, where in *Brahmanbad* the suffix-*abad*, shows the Iranian impact over their languages.¹²

⁶ Ibid., p. 52.

⁷ Shreesh chaudhary, *Foreigners and Foreign languages in India- A socio- linguistic History*, Cambridge University Press India, New Delhi, 2009, p.136.

⁸ Sten Know (ed.) *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*, vol. II, part I, Kharoshthi Inscriptions, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1969, p. 47.

⁹ Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 49.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 47.

¹² Irfan Habib, *Medieval India, The study of a civilization*, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 2007, p. 36.

At another place in *Chach- Namah*, while describing the condition of the country it is given that “In those days, the country of Hindustan was in flourishing condition and was under a Rana and Kanuj was under the rule of Sahiras, son of Rasil”¹³

We come across interesting reference for the use of the word Hindustan in the *Chach-Namah* in the description of the war between Agham Luhana of Brahmanabad and Chach. It has been given that ‘for a period of one year this war was on between them. During this period the king of Hindustan that is Kaunj was Satban, son of Rasal Rai’¹⁴. The word Hindustan has been also given where there is a description given about the appointment of Mohammad as an agent. It has been given that when “Muha- ah’s life came to its end. Hajjaj son of Yusuf sent Muhammad son of Harun to Hindustan”¹⁵. Apart from the use of the word Hindustan, the word ‘Hind’ has been also used. In *Chachnama* there has been given an account about an astrologer, which said that “There was an astrologer out of the wise man of Hind, who was perfectly acquainted with many sciences”¹⁶.

¹³ Ali Bin Hamid Bin Abi Bakr Kufi, *chachnama*, Vol. I , Idarah Tarikh, Islamabad, 1983, p.35.

¹⁴ Ibid., p.29.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.64.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 38.

The *Chachnama* also brings up words in the local language like *Kar-miti* (*Khari Mitti*) and the meaning given as Salty earth, while describing a place on the eastern bank of the river *Mihran*, where Dahar, son of Chach asked the man “Where is Jahin Budh?” The man replied “At Karmiti”.¹⁷

The *Chachnama* uses the word ‘*Hindavi*’ to demonstrate the languages of the time, while describing Dahar’s preparation for war when Dahar was going for a war and took up his shield on his white elephant, and taking with him four thousand men armed cap-a-pie and bearing swords and iron shield and half lances with iron handles called Sel in the *hindavi* language.¹⁸

The use of this word *hindavi* shows that at that time the spoken language was known by this name. *Chachnama* also uses Hindi words like ‘*Thakur*’ meaning a Rajput chief.¹⁹ In *Chachnama* we also find words like ‘*Hindis of Debal*’²⁰. But here this word ‘*Hindi*’ is not used for any language but for the inhabitants of the fort of *Debal*. By the study of *Chachnama* we can find out that upto this time of Arab invasion (712-14) the country was addressed as *Hind* or *Hindustan* & the language spoken here as *hindavi*.

¹⁷ *Chachnama*, op. cit., p. 79.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

There were many travelers who wrote in Arabic who use the terms Hind and Hindustan to denote the country like Ibn Haq Abraham who while discussing the geography remarks “So for the country of Sindh and adjoining countries are concern we have put these in same shape in a single context. Therefore some of these are the country of Sindh and other Hind, Makran, Turan and the country of Budha. And its entire east was the sea of Persia and it was west to kirman country that was just opposite to the Sijistan or it is also called as some of the regions or parts of Sijistan. And in the north of it, there was the country of Hindustan to which he named as Sindh”²¹.

Ahmad-bin-Yaqub in his *Kitab-al-Buldan* while discussing agriculture writes, “about the Indian pollen grains (*baliyan*), These pollen grains (*baliyan*) are of different types, and the best of these was the yellow colour in which there was found deep red colour and when anybody keep this in his/her hand he rubbed it with his hands, there one felt a smell like the smell of an apple. And the original shape of it, looks like a grass. To which Indian (Sindh) soil cultivates. And it is said that these pollen grains (Baliyan) are cultivated in few vallies of the Sindh (Hindustan), similarly as that of the other crops are cultivated and them dried and reaped down and then stored²².

²¹ Abn-Al Haq abraham, Mohd. al-Faris, *Kitab almasalik wal Mumalik*, Qaira Misr, 1961, p. 102.

²² Ahmad Bin Yaqub waza, *Kitabul Buldan, Nadaf Hadarya*, Iraq 1907, p. 121.

In the above passage we find the term Sindh is used for India and there is no any other term used for Hindustan instead of Sindh. There was also a traveller Al- Sharif-Al- Idrisi, who belonged to Hammudid dynasty, which at one time ruled in Malaga and Algeras in Southern Spain. He has given the description of India from 800-1150 A.D.²³

Al- Idrisi, while giving an account the death of a king in the town of Nahrwara, (Anhilwara or Gujrat) states that a herald announced some words in the Indian languages about the King which in Arabic means “People this is your King, who is now no more and doesn’t possess any part of his Kingdom and not able to ward off any injury to his body”.²⁴ Here Al-Idrisi has given the name Hindi to the Language of India²⁵.

It is clear here that the announcement made by the herald to make common people understand was in some language (Hindi) other than Arabic which was not easy for the masses to understand.

As far as Greeks are concerned they pronounce ‘I’ for ‘S’ and so they used to call river ‘Sindh’ by the name ‘Indus’,²⁶ and from this Indus the word India and Indian have been derived.²⁷

²³ Al-Sharif, Al-Idrisi, Al-Qusum ularbi, *Wasaf Alhind wa majaja war aha min ul-balled*, Al-Jamia, Islamia Aligarh, 1954, pp. 21-22.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 61.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 22.

²⁶ Pandit Ramgovind Trivedi, *Rigveda*, (trans.) Indian Press Publication, Prayag, 1954, p. 51.

²⁷ Ibid.

India had always been a attraction for the outsiders i.e. traders, trespassers, adventurers, invaders etc. due to its rich culture, soothing climate, beauty, natural resources etc. One of them was Mahmud of Ghazni, who invaded India seventeen times; the last invasion was in 1027 A.D. on Somnath.²⁸ During this time he brought with him Abu- Rihan Alberuni, a mathematician scholar as a prisoner,²⁹ who composed his substantial Arabic work *Kitab-al-Hind* (1035 A.D) in Punjab.³⁰ In his work Al- Beruni apart from other aspects of India has given information about Indian languages also. He has discussed that Indians differ from Arabs and from other nations in every feature especially in the language. He has marked Sanskrit as a difficult language and said that it is not easy to learn this language as this language has an enormous range,³¹ apart from this cultivated language there was also a neglected vernacular one which is used only by the common people.³²

Al - Beruni has not given any name for the vernacular language but his account clearly shows that apart from the use of a cultivated language, there was also some dialect used by the common people.

²⁸ Prof. Mohammad Habib, *Politics and Society during the early medieval period*, Vol-II, (ed.), Prof. K.A.Nizami , New age printing press, New Delhi, 1981, p. 46.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 69.

³⁰ Irfan Habib, *Medieval India, The study of a civilization*.op. cit., p.21.

³¹ Dr. Edward.C.Sachau, (transl.) *Al- Beruni's India*, Delhi 1910, Vol. I, pp. 17- 18.

³² Ibid.

Another great early Indian Persian poet was Masud Sad Salman (d.1121) who was a versatile and prolific poet and said to have composed three divans (collections of verse) one each in Persian, Arabic and *Hindavi*, but unfortunately his Arabic and *hindavi divans* are lost.³³

We are also come to know of the composition of a *hindavi* and Arabic during by Salman from Muhammad Afi's work *Lubab al-Lubab* (The essence of Wisdom),³⁴ where while writing about Masud-Sad Salman, Afi has written:

“*yake batazi , wa yake wa parsi wa yake ba hindavi*”³⁵

There were three Diwans written by Masud-Sad-Salman, one in Arabic, second in Persian and third one in *Hindavi*.

The reason why Mas'ud Sad Salman's *hindavi diwan* did not survive may be because he did not make any efforts to preserve his *hindavi* writing as he did not consider them worth preserving as *hindavi* still had not become a respectable literary language by his time.³⁶

³³ Muzaffar Alam, *The culture and politics of Persian in precolonial Hindustan*, (ed.) Sheldon Pollock, *Literary Cultures in History*, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 136, 137.

³⁴ Shamsur Rahman Farooqui, *Along History of Urdu Literary Culture*, Part I. (ed.), Sheldon Pollock, *Literary Cultures in History*, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 819.

³⁵ Mohammad Afi, *Lubab-ul-Lubab*, (ed.) Mohammad Abbasi, Cambridge, 1903, p. 733.

³⁶ Ibid.

Thus we find that not much have been done during this time. We have come across the earliest reference of the word '*hindavi*' to refer the Indian languages in *Chachnama*. Besides this we have come to know about a *hindavi diwan* of Masud Sad Salman, but it is not extent and we have only found references about it.

CHAPTER – II

CHAPTER - II

TOWARDS A LITERARY LANGUAGE – THE DEVELOPMENT IN SULTANATE PERIOD

A new era and a new culture had begun to take root ¹ with the establishment of the first Mohammadan ruling house in Delhi in A.D 1192, by Shihabuddin Mohammad bin Sam.² This was the time when some sufis like Baba Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar and Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri began to use *hindavi*.³ Baba Faridudin Ganj-i-Shakar(1175-1265A.D) created a new tradition in *hindavi* writing. Although in quality Baba Farid's *hindavi* poetry is very little, yet it has special significance in terms of importance. By introducing Persian words alongside *hindavi* he made a profitable innovation.⁴ These sufis for the propagation of their teachings

¹ Dr. Zaheer Fatehpuri, *The influence of Amir Khusrau on the development of Indo-Aryan languages*, (ed.) in Amir Khusrau, critical studies, united printers Lahore, 1975, p. 95.

² Amrit Rai, *A House divided Hindi/ Hindavi*, Oxford university press, 1884, p.116

³ Ibid., p.119.

⁴ Dr. Zaheer Fatehpuri, *The influence of Amir Khusrau on the development of Indo-Aryan languages*, op. cit., p. 95.

and ideas used the language i.e. *hindavi* which was easy for the common people to understand. Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar composed verses in local dialect of the time i.e. *hindavi*, to make people understand easily.

تن دھونے سے دل جو ہوتا پوک
پیش دو اصفیا کے ہوتے غوک⁵

tan dhone se dil jo hota pok (Pāk)
paish do asfiya ke hote ghoq

Here the words *tan*, *dhone*, *dil*, *hota*, are all words from the local languages, as they are not Persian.

ٹوپي ليندي باوري ديندي كھري لانج
چوہا کڈہ نما نوی کچھی بندھتی چھج⁶

topi lendi bāwri dendi keiri lanj

chūha kadha numa nuwi pachhi bandhi chhaj

Here words like *topi*, *lendi*, *chūha*, *chhaj* all are again words from the local language. The Sufis also used local languages, i.e. *hindavi* to communicate with the people to make them understand easily,⁷ but *hindavi* gained the status of a literary language under Amir Khusrau.⁸

⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Life and Times of Farid-ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Idara-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1973, p. 85.

⁶ Ibid, p. 86.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Amrit Rai, *A House divided Hindi/ Hindavi*, op. cit., p.119.

The sacred Indian land had always produced people with originality in their thinking, which had carved their ideas, thinking and ideologies in such a way that they become immortal and reached the zenith of glory, and Amir Khusrau was one of them.

Abul Hasan Yaminuddin Khusrau or Amir Khusrau was born in Patiala in 652 A.H. (1254 A.D).⁹ Many historians consider Khusrau as the first great poet of *hindavi*. He wrote between the thirteenth- fourteenth centuries. Those days people wrote either in Persian or Arabic or Sanskrit, but Amir Khusrau choose to write in a new language combining words from Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit along with the words from the dialects of that time.¹⁰ He is known widely as the “Paroquet of India”, *Tuti-i-Hind* and considered as the first to employ consciously the indigenous language (*hindavi*) for any literary purpose.¹¹

Amir Khusrau in his *masnavi* ‘*Nuh Siphir*’ (The Nine Skies) had given some information about *hindavi*. The *masnavi* was written to celebrate the glories of Mubarak Shah Khalji and is divided into nine parts of unequal

⁹ Prof. Mohammad Habib, *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, New Delhi, 2004, p.6.

¹⁰ Shreesh chaudhary, *Foreigners and Foreign languages in India,-A sociolinguistic history*, Cambridge university Press, India, New Delhi, 2009, p. 193.

¹¹ Ram babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Ram Narayanlal publisher, 1927, p. 10.

lengths each being named a '*Siphr*' peculiar to one of the nine heavenly bodies.¹²

The third '*Siphr*' of *masnavi* is most interesting. It contains information about Indian climate, flowers, birds, animals, religions, sciences and language.¹³

In this *Siphir* he has given accounts about Arabi, Persian etc, but we are concerned here with *hindavi* language. Amir Khusrau has given information that in *India from ages the language used by common people is hindavi*.¹⁴

In the same *Siphir* he has given that with the arrival of Ghuris and Turks, who used to speak Persian, now the same language was learnt by people in India.

Regarding Arabi he said that it holds a unique place as it is the language of the Holy Quran.¹⁵

Amir Khusrau has given a list of dialects. He has given *Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Kabari, Dhur-Samundri, Tilangi, Gujan, Ma bari, Gouri, Bengali,*

¹² Mohd. Wahid Mirza. *The life and works of Amir Khusrau*, Punjab university press Lahore, 1962, p. 183.

¹³ Ibid., p. 182.

¹⁴ Hazrat Amir Khusrau Dehlavi, *Nuh Siphir (masnavi) (ed.) Mohammad Wahid Mirza*, Baptist Mission press, Calcutta 1368 A.H./1948. A.D. p. 178.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 178.

and *Oudhi* and that of *Delhi* and its environs. Then he say that all these are '*hindavi*', which have been current in and around Delhi since very old times which were used by the common people. It is a language containing different colors.¹⁶

Mohammad Wahid Mirza in translating the passage related to languages had made a slip while considering only the dialect of Delhi as *hindavi*, while Professor Irfan Habib has translated the passage in the same way what Amir Khusrau has given that "All these (dialect) are *hindavi* which from old times are in popular use in every aspect of life."

According to Amir Khusrau apart from these languages there is another language in use solely by the Brahmins, known as Sanskrit in view from very old times. It was not used by the common people as it was considered as the sacred little language. Even all Brahmins do not have full knowledge of this difficult speech form as it was having very rigid grammatical rules.¹⁷

He again says about Sanskrit that it is inferior to Arabic but superior to Dari.¹⁸ Amir Khusrau had also used *hindavi* words like '*Chautara* (Embankment)' in his *Khazain-ul- Futuh*.¹⁹

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 179.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 179-180.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 180.

He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulyia. When he heard the news of his master's death, he went to his grave and recited the following verse in *hindavi*: -

گوری سووے سچ پر مکھ پر دارے کھیس
چلو خسرو گھر اپنے رین بھئی سب دیس²⁰

(gori sowe saij par much par dāre kes

Chal khusrau ghar āpne rain bhyi sab des)

The fair one lies on the couch with her black tresses scattered on her face; O Khusrau, come home now, for night has fallen all over the world.²¹

There is no doubt in saying that he knew *hindavi*. He was born in India which had been his ancestors land for generations as his mother was of Indian origin.²²

Amir Khusrau himself had used the term *hindavi* in different aspects. In the third *Siphr* of his *masanavi* 'Nuh Siphr', he had given a list of twelve

¹⁹ Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi, *Khazainul-Futuh (Treasury of Victory)*, (edi.) Mohammad Wahid Mirza, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1953, p. 31.

²⁰ Khaliq ahmad Nizami, *The life and times of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p. 97.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Mohd. Wahid Mirza, *Life and works of Amir Khusrau*, op. cit., p. 227.

languages of Hindustan and used the word '*hindavi*' for each of them.²³ In the *masnavi* '*Daval Rani Khizr Khan*', Amir Khusrau had used the word *hindavi* to mean Sanskrit, but finally he considered *hindavi* as that old language which gave birth to the present day Hindi and Urdu.²⁴

Amir Khusrau was a man of genius, who lived to see the reigns of more than seven kings²⁵ but the twenty years of Alauddin's reign coincided with the most productive period of Khusrau's life, when he completed his five romantic *masnavis*-*Matla-ul Anwar*, *Shirin Khusrau*, *Majnu Laila*, *Ain-i- Sikandari* and *Hasht Bihist* , which are collectively known as *Panj Ganj*.²⁶

Amir Khusrau had acquired mastery over many Indian languages particularly *hindavi*, Punjabi and Sanskrit.²⁷

He had a deep love for the country of Hindustan as it was his maternal home land, where he had brought up in the Hindi atmosphere.²⁸

As *hindavi* was his mother tongue he knew it as he knew the back of his hand.²⁹

²³ Ibid., p. 75.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Dr. Mohammad Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁶ Prof. Mohammad Habib, *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, New Delhi, 2004, p. 24.

²⁷ Dr. Zaheer Fatehpuri, *The Influence of Amir Khusrau on the development of Indo-Aryan Languages* (ed.) Amir Khusrau Critical studies, Lahore, 1975, p. 107.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 107.

Amir Khusrau was the first poet of *hindavi* who expressed his artistic thoughts in the simplest language and made experiments in his mother tongue as were to have far reaching effects.³⁰

Khusrau was fully dedicated towards his works and he shows this through his sincere expression of his emotions in his *masnavis* and prose. Besides Persian he used *hindavi*, as it could best express the beauty of his country Hindustan.³¹ Another reason for the interest of Khusrau in *hindavi* was due to the close bond he was sharing with the great sufi of the time Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya.³²

This close relationship between the two had a deep and pleasant influence on *hindavi* poetry. Khusrau's *hindavi* poetry received nourishment from the fact that *hindavi* was the basis of the *Qawwali* and which the *Qawwals* had made famous.³³

Khusrau spent a large part of his life in Delhi and as Delhi was his maternal homeland and it was quit natural that his domestic atmosphere was influenced by *Khari Boli* (a dialect spoken in and around Delhi) and *Braj Bhasha* (a dialect spoken in an around Braj region, which means Mathura.)³⁴

²⁹ Ibid., p. 110.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., p. 107.

³² Ibid., p. 108.

³³ Ibid., p. 109.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 110.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nahru praised Khusrau in his '*Discovery of India*,' by saying that, 'Amir Khusrau was the poet of the first rank in Persian, but his fame in India rests on his popular songs written in ordinary dialect in Hindi/hindavi.'³⁵

He did not choose the literary languages (Persian) of that time which would have been understood only by a small educated section of people.³⁶

Khusrau was a great representative of the Indo- Muslim culture of the time. In medieval Indian History, his all round personality stands out prominently. He is the representative of the whole epoch, so rich in its cultural potentialities.⁸⁴

Amir Khusrau knew *hindavi* better than Arabic and he also preferred the former over the latter. He was also proud of his Indian origin; as is clear by this statement in *Ghurratul Kamal*.

ترک هندوستانیم من ہندوی گویم جواب
شکر مصری ندارم کز عرب گویم سخن³⁷

*(Turk hindustāniyam man hindavi goyam jawab
shaker misri nadāram kaz arab goyam sukhan)*

³⁵ Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, *Discovery of India*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1948, pp. 244-45.

³⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Yusuf Hussain, *Glimpses of medieval Indian Culture*, British press, Bombay, 1957, p. 104.

³⁷ Amir Khusrau, *Debacha-Ghurratul Kamal*, Qaisar Barui Kutubkhana Nizamiya, Delhi, p.31.

I am an Indian Turk and I can reply to you in *hindavi*, I have no Egyptian sugar to talk of Arabia and Arabic. It shows clearly that Khusrau knew *hindavi* better than Arabic and he was very fond of it.

He goes to say in *Ghurratul Kamal*:-

چومن طوطی ہندم راست پرسی
38 زمن ہندوی پرسی تانغذ گویم

(*chū man tuti Hindam rāst pursi
zaman hindavi pursi ta naghaz goyam*)

As I am in fact the parrot of India question me in *hindavi* that I may talk sweetly.

Whether Khusrau wrote any *hindavi* poetry has recently been the subject of controversy.³⁹

He speaks about his own work in his *Ghurratul Kamal*, where he informs:

*Juzw-i-chand nazm-i-hindavi
kardah shuda ast einjaham badkari*⁴⁰

³⁸ Ibid., p. 66.

³⁹ Mohd. Wahid Mirza, *The life and works of Amir Khusrau*, op. cit., p. 227.

⁴⁰ Op.cit., p. 31.

By this statement of Khusrau we can make out that he has not written much of *hindavi* poetry in comparison to his Persian works as here he is referring to:

“Juzw-i-chand nazm-i-hindavi”

Khusrau seems to have very little regard for his own *hindavi* verses, he probably scribbled the verses on bits of paper and scattered them among his friends and thought no more about them, it was to him a mere pastime.⁴¹ Khusrau did not make any effort to preserve his *hindavi* poetry probably because his was the time when Persian was the language of administration and was considered the language of elites.⁴²

Though *hindavi* was there but it was in its formative stage and faraway from position attend by Persian which was considered as the literary language par excellence.⁴³

The poets and scholars of this age some times paid attention towards *hindavi*. Khusrau had used *hindavi* for his verses and couplets but he never paid attention towards collecting them, and the *hindavi* works which are ascribed to him, have come down to us through oral traditions.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Mohd. Wahid Mirza, *The life and works of Amir Khusrau*, op. cit., p. 229.

⁴² Dr. Shujat Ali, *Amir Khusrau aur unki Hindi shayari*, oriental publishing house, Lucknow, 1969, p. 77.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.78.

There are some critics who are very much doubtful about the genuineness of Khusrau's *hindavi* verses. According to Prof. Gyan Chand Jain, one can say that Khusrau definitely composed verses in Hindi but as he says " we are not in a perfectly happy position to identify which compositions are genuine, only the Hindi words and phrases occurring in Persian lines are definitely his."⁴⁵

A work which has been ascribed to Khusrau, but about which grave doubts have been raised, is *Khaliq-i-Bari*. This *masnavi* is an admixture of Persian, Arabi and *hindavi* words containing enigmas, puns and quibbles especially meant for the common people to enjoy.⁴⁶

The work is a small one in its present form but said to have been originally written in several volumes.⁴⁷

The authorship of this work has been the subject of controversy. Mohammad Amin Abbasi Chairaiyakoti and Rashid Ahmad Salim has given following arguments in favour of *Khaliq-i-Bari* being a work of Amir Khusrau:⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Syed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman, *Amir Khusrau as a Genius*, Idara-i- Adabiyat Delhi, 1982, p. 70.

⁴⁶ M. Rahman. *A Harbinger of Hindu- Muslim culture (ed.) Memorial Volume, Amir Khusrau*, New Delhi, 1975, p.17.

⁴⁷ Mohd. Wahid Mirza, *The life and works of Amir Khusrau*, op. cit., p. 231.

⁴⁸ Shujat Ali, *Amir Khusrau aur un ki Hindi shayari*, op. cit. p. 278.

1. The verses in *Khaliq-i-Bari* are so eloquent that can definitely be ascribed to a man of versatile genius, like Khusrau. ⁴⁹
2. It contains some words like ‘*jital*’, which were prevalent in Khusrau’s time but unfamiliar to later writers. ⁵⁰
3. In the end of this *masanavi*, the name of Khusrau’ comes so aptly and naturally that it leaves no doubt about the authorship of this work. ⁵¹

Professor Masud Hasan Rizvi also agreed that *Khaliq-i-Bari* is the composition of Amir Khusrau. ⁵²

In an article published in 1931 A.D, regarding the *Allah-Khudai*, which had been written in imitations of the *Khaliq-i-Bari* the author in the opening verse; seeks help from the soul of Khusrau as well as from his master Nizamuddin Auliya. ⁵³

The opening lines of *Allah Khudai* are:

بہر مرغ سغن نہادم دام مردے خواستم ز روح نظام
 شاید از لطف رحمت باری روح خسرو نماید یاری ⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 78.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Mumtaz Husain, *Amir Khusrau Dehlavi*, Hayat aur Shayari National committee, Maktubat Jamia Ltd, New Delhi, 1976, p. 349.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

*(bahar margh saghan nihādam dām, marde khuastam za rūh nizam
shayad az lafz rehmat bari, rūh khusrau wa numayad yari)*

Dr. Wahid Mirza also agrees to the Masud Hasan Rizvi and Mohammad Amin Abbasi.⁵⁵

Shujat Ali also agrees to Wahid Mirza, Amin Abbasi and Masood Hasan Rizvi and says that '*Khaliq-i-Bari* is undoubtedly a creation of Khusrau, there may be parts of it which are later composition tacked on to the genuine ones'.⁵⁶

Mahmood Shirani in his *Punjab mein Urdu* (1928 A.D.) on the other hand does not agree on ascribing the authorship of *Khaliq-i-bari* to Amir Khusrau and was of the view that "It is shameful to ascribe a work like *Khaliq-i-Bari*, which is full of repetitions, corrupt in arrangements, and of no literary values to a poet like Amir Khusrau."⁵⁷

If we look at the text of *Khaliq-i-Bari* we get some interesting information in our regard. To give an example:-

⁵⁵ Mohammad Wahid Mirza, *life and works of Amir Khusrau*, op.cit. p. 230.

⁵⁶ Shujat Ali, *Amir Khusrau aur un ki hindi shayari*, op.cit., p.79.

⁵⁷ Mohammad Wahid Mirza, *Life and works of Amir Khusrau*, op.cit., p. 232.

مشک کافور ست کستوری کیو
 ع ع ه ه
 ہندوی آند شادی وسرور
 ع ف ہ
 اسپ گھوڑا فیل ہاتھی شیر سیہ
 ف ہ ع ہ ف ہ⁵⁸

(*mushak kāfur sat kastūrī kapūr*

hindavi anand shadi wa sarūr

asp ghoda fēl hāthi sher sih)

Amir Khusrau has given that *Mushak* and *Kafur* are Arabi words which in *hindavi* mean Kasturi and Kapur. Persian words ‘*shadi*’ and Arabi word *sarur* means ‘*anand*’ in *hindavi*. In the same way Persian ‘*asp*’, Arabi ‘*feel*’ (fi:l), Persian ‘*ser*’ is ‘*ghoda*’, ‘*haanti*’ and ‘*singh*’ in *hindavi*. He has also given information about different names of arms.

خنجر و شمشیر صمصام ست تیغ
 ف ف ع ف
 ہندی کھانڈا کھادی آن منغ
 ہ ف ہ ف⁵⁹

⁵⁸ . Amir Khusrau, *Khaliq-i-Bari (ed.) Shamsuddin Ejaz Munshi Nawal Kishore, Hazrat Ganj Lucknow, 1887, p.3.* [Here ع denotes Arabi words ہ denotes *Hindavi* or Hindi words and ف denotes Persian (Farsi) words].

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

(khanjar wa shamshir samsām sat tegh

hindavi khāndā kahāvi ān manegh)

Persian words *khanjar*, *shamshir*, *tegh*, and Arabi *samsam*, they all are different names for the swords, and the *khanda*, of *hindavi* is known as *manegh* (unidentified) in Persian.

ارض دهرتی فارسی شبد زمین
ع ه ف
کوه در ہندی پہاڑ آمد یقین⁶⁰
ف ہ

(arz dharti farsi shabd zamīn

koh dar hindi pahad āmad yaqeen)

Land in Hindi is *dharti*, which in Arabic is known as *arz* and ‘*zameen*’ in Persian, ‘*koh*’ which is a Persian term for hill known as ‘*pahar*’ in Hindi.

کاه ہیزم گھاس کاٹھی جایی
ف ف ہ ہ
اینٹ مائی خشت و گل پہچانی⁶¹
ہ ہ ف ف

(kāh hizum ghans kāthi jānye

eent māti khasht wa gil pehchanīye)

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Consider Persian words ‘kah’ and ‘hizum’ as ‘ghans’ and ‘Kathi’ in hindavi and words like ‘eent’ (brick), ‘mati’ (soil) in Persian known as ‘khasht’ and ‘gil’.

سنگ	پاتھر	جانی	برکن	اوٹھا
ف	ہ		ف	ہ
اسپ	میران	ہندوی	گھوڑا	چلا
ف	ف		ہ	ہ ⁶²

*(Sang pāthar janye barkan uthāo
asp mīrān hindavi ghoda chalao)*

Persian ‘sang’ in hindavi means ‘patthar’ and Persian ‘asp mirān’ in hindavi means ‘ghodā chalāo’ (ride the horse).

موش	چوہا	گرہ	بلی	مار	ناگ
ف	ہ	ف	ہ	ف	ہ
سوزن	ورشتہ	ہندی	سوئی	تاگ	
ف	ف		ہ	ہ	ہ ⁶³

*(mūsh chūha garba garba billi mār nāg
sūzan wa rashta hindavi suii-taga)*

Persian ‘mush’, ‘garbā’ and ‘maar’ in hindi means chuha (rat), billi (cat), naag (snake). Persian ‘suzan-wa-rashtāh’ means ‘suii-tāgā’ (needle and thread) in Hindi.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

امید آس باشد نامید ہی نراس
 ف ف ہ ف ہ
 چرخ و فلک سپھر بود آسمان اکاس
 ف ع ف ف ہ 64

*(ummīd ās bashad na-ummedi hi nirās
 charkh wa falak siph r būd aasman aakas*

Persian ‘*ummid*’ and ‘*na-ummedi*’ in hindi are ‘*aas*’ and ‘*niras*’ and in the same way ‘*charakh*’, ‘*sifar*’, ‘*asman*’ (persian) and ‘*falak*’ (arabi) are known as ‘*aakash*’ in hindi.

دودھ کاجل سرمہ انجن قیمت مول
 ف ہ ف ہ ع ہ
 چاکر سیوک بندہ چیرا قول سو بول
 ف ہ ف ہ ع ہ 65

*(dodāh kājal surma anjan qeemat mol
 chākar saivak bandāh chera qaul so bol)*

Persian ‘*dodāh*’ and ‘*surmā*’ means ‘*kājal*’ and *anjan* in hindi, arabi ‘*qeemat*’ is ‘*mol*’ in hindi and persian words like ‘*chākar*’, ‘*bandāh*’ and ‘*qaul*’ in hindi means ‘*saivak*’, ‘*chera*’ and ‘*bol*’ respectively.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

⁶⁵ Ibid., P. 7.

نمک ملح ہی لون شیرین میٹھا
 ف ع ہ ف ہ
 ہندی زبان بدمزہ ہست سیٹھا
 66 ہ ف

*(namak malah hi lon shirin meetha
 hindi zaban badmazah hast seetha)*

Persian word 'namak' and arabi 'malah' in hindi are 'lon' (salt). Persian words *shirin* and '*badmazah*' in hindi are *meetha* and '*seetha*' respectively.

Amir Khusrau had given preference to *hindavi* over his Paternal languages

Turki and Persian:-

اثبات گفت ہند بہ حجت کہ راج است
 بر پارسی و ترکی از الفاظ خوش گوار
 67

*(asbāt guft hind be hājat ke rahaj ast
 bar parsi wa turki az alfaz khush gawar)*

Besides the controversy related to the compilation and authorship of *Khaliq-i-Bari*, there is no doubt in saying that Khasrau used *hindavi* for his worth.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

⁶⁷ Gopi Chand Narang, *Amir Khusrau ka Hindavi Kalam*, photo offset printer, Delhi, 1987. p. 31.

As he was a great poet of *hindavi*, so it is very natural to find *hindavi* words, phrases etc in his Persian Verses like⁶⁹:-

آری آری ہمہ بیاری ری آری
70 آری ماری کہ برہ ماری ماری

(*āri āri hmā beyāri ri āri*

māri māri birah ke māri āri)

(Here words like ‘*mari*’ and ‘*birah*’ are *hindavi*.)

Khusrau is not disinclined to use *hindavi* words in his persian *divans*, which were arranged and systematized by Khusrau himself and therefore, their authenticity is beyond doubts.⁷¹

Mehmood Shirani, informs us that Amir Khusrau in his *Qiran-us-Sadain* (1289 A.D) has used *hindavi* words such as:

*cautarā, evaz, pāyak, pag, bālā, kewara, bel, etc.*⁷²

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 36.

⁶⁹ Syed Shahbuddin Abdur Rahman, *Amir Khusrau as genius*, Idarah-i- Adabiyat-i- Dehli, Dehli, 1982, p. 69.

⁷⁰ Amir Khusrau, *Debacha-Ghurrat-ul- Kamal*, Qaisar Barai Kutubkhana, Nizamiya Delhi, p. 63.

⁷¹ Amrit Rai, *A House divided Hindi / Hindavi*, op.cit. p. 140.

⁷² Ibid.

Khusrau's fame rest on his Persian poetry but the strange fact is that he was more attached to *hindavi* this is why he did not hesitate to use *hindavi* words and proverbs in his Persian poetry.⁷³

گفتم ضما بہای زلفت چہ بود
فریاد برآورد کہ ”دور دور مکتے“⁷⁴

(guftam zma bahai za laft che būd

faryād baraward ke ‘dūrdūr mue)

In the same way the following expression is a version of the *hindavi* proverbs “there is no oil in these seeds.”⁷⁵

خالے برخش دیدم وگفتم کہ تل ست
گفتا کہ برو نیست دریں تل تیلے⁷⁶

(khale barkhash dedam wa guftam ke til sat

Gufta ke bar wa nīst darin til tele)

He pioneered the use of *hindavi* meters in his poetry. He laid stress on the words and rhythms of folk literature in his songs like he had used the metres of a well known folk poem ‘*Alha Udāl*’ in one of his songs.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 115.

⁷⁴ Hafiz Mehmud Khan Shirani, *Rajab mein Urdu*, Maktaba-i-Kuliya, Basharat ganj, Lucknow Sarfaraz Kaumi, 1960, p. 185.

⁷⁵ Op. cit., p. 115.

⁷⁶ Amir Khusrau Dehlavi, *Jawahar-i-Khusravi* (ed.) Rashid Ahmad Salim, Majmua-i-Rasail, Institute Press, Aligarh, 1917, p. 5.

سونی سچ ڈراون لاگے
برہ اگن موہے ڈمن ڈس جائے⁷⁷

(*suni sēj darāwan lāge*

birāh agan muhe daman das jaye)

Khusrau had also used *hindavi* words along with persian in his works like 'chuna', 'supari', 'mar mar', 'maash', 'mung', ' rui', 'jauo', 'ayee', 'bira', 'jolaha', 'nayaka', 'til', 'piyaz', 'deomandla' etc.⁷⁸

Amir Khusrau had used a lot of local words along with persian in his persian verses for instance:-

(a)

از ہر دو لبت قند و شکر می ریزد
ہر گاہ بہ گوئی کہ ” دہی لہو دہی“⁷⁹

(*az har do labt qand wa shakar mī rezd*

har gāh be goye ke 'dahi lai hu dahi')

Here '*laihu*', is Braj. Khusrau had spent his childhood in Patiali in Etah district which is the region of Braj dialect, so most probably the use of this word (*laihu*) is due to the environment in which he lived in his younger age.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁸ Prof. S.H. Askari, *Amir Khusrau as a Historian*, Patna, 1988, p. 67.

⁷⁹ Hafiz Mahmood Shirani, *Punjab mein Urdu*, op.cit., p. 182.

(b)

با او گفتم کہ ہند واز چیت بگو
ہر موے نطش کہ ”مورے باپا“⁸⁰

(*ba au guftam ke hind wa-āz chīst bagoo
har moe khatash ke ‘more bapā*)

‘morey’ is *Brij* and ‘bāpā’ (father) is spoken through out the areas where Hindi is spoken today.

(c)

تنبولی من چو مجلسِ بادہ کنم
آینہ دل ز زنگِ غم سادہ کنم
یک لحظہ اگر بمن سپاری دل خود
از نقلِ تو برگِ عیش آمادہ کنم⁸¹

(*tambuli man chu majlis badāh kanam
aayena dil za zange gam sādah kanam
yak lihaza agar baman supari dil khud
az naqle tu barge aish āmdāh kamam*)

In this couplet ‘tambuli’ and ‘supari’ both are *hindavi*.

Amir Khusrau in his last historical *masnavi Tughlaqnama* which he wrote in the admiration of one of his patron Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq,⁸² had used many *hindavi* words in his persian verses , some of them are listed below:-

⁸⁰ Amir Khusraw Dehlavi, *Jawahari-i-Khusravi*, (ed.) Rashad Ahmad Salim. op. cit., p. 11.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 31.

(a)

چو بکشا دند سیر لبے خطارا
بہ زاری گفت ”ہے ہے تیر مارا“⁸³

*(chu baksh dand sere labe khatarah
be zari gaft 'hey tīr mārā)*

Here “hey hey tir mara” is not Persian.

(b)

شد از مومن بگردوں بانگِ تکبیر
زگبر آواز ”ناراین“ ہو اگیر⁸⁴

*(shad az momin bagardun bange takbir
Zakbar 'narayan' ho ager)*

These all are the words of *hindavi* used by Amir Khusrau, the gem of prose and poetry in his Persian works. But apart from this we also find references of Amir Khusrau’s *hindavi* verses in the works of people closer to Khusrau time like Mullah Vajhi in his work *Sab Ras*, relates a *doha* to Amir Khusrau.⁸⁵

(a)

پنکھا ہو کر میں ڈلی ساقی تیرا چاؤ
منجہ جلتی جنم گیا تیرے لکھن باؤ⁸⁶

⁸² Prof. Mohammad Habib, *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, op. cit., p. 41.

⁸³ Gopi chand Narang, *Amir Khusrau ka Hindavi Kalam*, op. cit., p. 41.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

⁸⁶ Mullah Vajhi, *Sab Ras*, (ed.) Maulvi Abdul Haq Saheb, Karachi, Pakistan, 1902, p. 302.

*(Pankha ho kar main dali saqi tera chau
munjh jalti janam gaya tere lekhan baon)*

Masud Husain Khan and Gopi Chand Narang read the word 'Sāti' in the first lines 'Saqi', but Amrit Rai agree to Gyan Chand and prefer 'Sāti to Sāqi'⁸⁷

We find another couplet of *hindvi* which can be attributed to Amir Khusrau in *Chamanistan-i- Shuara* of Lakshmi Narayan Shafiq (around 1797 A.D) which is as follows:-

خسرو ایسی پیت کر جیسے ہندو جوے
پوت پرے کا رنے جل جل کو نکلا ہوے⁸⁸

*(khusrau aisi pait kar jaisē hindu joe
pūt parāye kār ne jal jal koela hoye)*

In this couplet 'aaisi,' 'jaisey', 'parae,' 'jal-jal' all are the elements of khariboli.

The following doha in *Jawahar-i-Khusravi* is also ascribed to Amir Khusrau:-

خسرو رین سوہاگ کی جاگی پی کے سنگ
تن میرومن پیو کو روؤ بھے اک رنگ⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Amrit Rai, *A House Divided. Hindi / Hindavi*, op.cit, p. 141.

⁸⁸ Gopi Chand Narang *Amir Khusrau Ka Hindavi Kalam*, op.cit. p. 40.

*(khusrau rain suhāg ki jāgi pī ke sang
tan meo man peyo ko ro bhaye ek rang)*

On this Dr. Wahid Mirza says that ‘there is no evidence to prove that this *doha* is not of Amir Khusrau.’⁹⁰

‘*jagī, pī* and ‘*ke*’ are words of *khari boli* and in the second line ‘*mero*’, ‘*pīuko*’, are words of Brajbhasha.’⁹¹

We find another reference to Amir Khusrau in the work of Abdul Basit Amethvi (around 1789 A.D) titled ‘*Minarut –i- Zawal*’, where he had given a verse and attributes it to Amir Khusrau, which is as follows:-

تگفتم کہ دریں خانہ ماموں تو مانم
گفتا کہ دریں خانہ بلائے ست ممانی⁹²

*(tagaftam ke dareen khānā mamu tu mānam
gufta ke dareen khānā balai sat mumani)*

Here ‘*mamun*’ and ‘*mumani*’ are the words which still today are spoken in the Hindi speaking areas.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 43.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Gopi Chand Narang, *Amir Khusrau ka Hindavi Kalam*, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

Some pieces of *hindavi* have also come with in the Persian verses of Amir Khusrau for instance:-

- (a) “سکھی پیا کو جو میں نے دیکھوں تو کیسے کاٹوں” اندھیری رتیاں
(b) “ماری ماری برہ کی ماری آری”⁹³

(a) *Sakhī pīya ko jo main na dekhon to kaise katun andherī ratīyan*

(b) *māri māri birāh māri āri*

As regards the other works which are immensely popular but at the same time not fully trusted as genuine Khusrau includes *mukris*, and *do-sakhuna* and a few riddles, which also contain many examples of use of *hindavi* term.⁹⁴

These are superlative pieces of light literature and excellent linguistic specimens, if we can be sure of their purity. They have achieved a phenomenal popularity but since the original text was nowhere recorded and all this material has been orally transmitted from generation to generation, its worth as linguistic evidence is doubtful.⁹⁵

⁹³ Ibid., p. 48.

⁹⁴ Amit Rai, *A House divided Hindi/Hindavi*, op.ict. p. 140-142.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 140.

The mere fact that for hundreds of years millions of people have associated these riddles and *mukris* with Khusrau lends them a measure of credibility.⁹⁶

The general view regarding the *keh-mukarnis*, *do-sakhuma* and riddles of Amir Khusrau is this, that a large portion to them had been added by other and made them famous in the name of Khusrau.⁹⁷

The riddles related to smoking pipe (*Huqqa*), Lattice (*Chilman*) and gun (*Banduq*) are definitely not Khusrau's work as during his time neither smoking pipe nor gun and Lattice were there.⁹⁸

Shamsullah Qadri in his book *Urdu-e-Qadim* (1935 A.D.) gives the information that in the manuscript collections of kings of Oudh there were two volumes containing Amir Khusrau's riddles who were around two hundred in number and also a collection of his miscellaneous verses, comprising his Persian mixed *ghazals* and *mukris*,⁹⁹

Mahmood Shirani in *Punjab mein Urdu* and Mohammad Amin Abbasi, in *Jawahar-i-Khusravi* presents more such material and agreed to the view

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 142.

⁹⁷ Shujat Ali, *Amir Khusrau aur un ki-Hindi Shaiyari*, op.cit. p. 80.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Gopi Chand Narang, *Amir Khusrau Ka Hindavi Kalam*, op.cit, p. 50.

that these riddles *do-sakhuna* and *Kehmukris* are Khusrau's composition though some of them had not written by Khurau but added to his name.¹⁰⁰

The *Pahelis* (riddles) ascribed to Khusrau are of two types '*Bujh Paheli*' and '*Unbujh Paheli*'. The '*Unbujh Paheli*' are those, where the answer is not to be found within the riddles itself.¹⁰¹ Let us give some examples of these riddles which contain *hindavi* terms. For example:

Ek ra:ja: ki anokhi: rani:

One king of strange queen

Niche se vah pi:ve pa:ni:

Below from she drinks water

- *Diya:ki batti:*

- (wick of lamp)¹⁰²

Other examples of *Unbujh Pahelis* are:-

(a)

اندر چلمن باہر چلمن بیچ کلیجہ دھڑکے
امیر خسرو یوں کہیں وہ دو دو انگل سرکے¹⁰³

(andar chilman bāhar chilman beech kaleja dhadke

amir khusrau yun kahe wa do do angul sarke)

(Scissor)

¹⁰⁰ Amit, Rai *A House divided, Hindi Hindavi*, op.cit., p. 142.

¹⁰¹ Amir Khusrau Dehlavi, *Jawahar-i-Khusravi*, Rashid Ahmad Salim, p. 3.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 146.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 61.

(b)

دو نر میں ہے ایک ہی ناری
چٹ پٹ بوجھے بوجھے ہلکا بھاری
کھات بچن نہیں کہتی ہے
اور چٹیا کر میں رہتی ہے ¹⁰⁴

(a balance)

*(do nar mein hai ek hi nār
chat pat bujhe halka bhari
khat bachan nahin kehti hai
aur chutya kar mein rehti hai)*

(c)

چرن تو انبر اور ہیں اور بھویں کے ماہوں سیس
¹⁰⁵ نینا اپنے موند کر کرے سور کی ریس
*(charan to ambar aur hai bhu ke maho sis
Naina apne mond kr kare sūr ki rais)*

(Bat)

(d)

نبی رنگیلی شرم کی بات
بے موسم آئی برسات
یہی اچنبھا مجھ کو آئے
¹⁰⁶ خوشی کے دن کیوں روتی جائے

(Bride)

¹⁰⁴ Gopi Chand Narang, *Amir Khusrau ka Hindavi Kalam*, op. cit., p.180.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 173.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 179.

*(bani rangili sharam ki bāt
be mausam ayi barsat
yahi achambha mujh ko aye
kushi ke din kyun roti jaye*

(e)

برہ کا مارا گیا چمن میں
عشق چھنا ہے سیاہ برن میں¹⁰⁷

(black-bee)

*(birāh ka māra gaya chaman mein
Ishq chhana hai seyah barān mein)*

In all these enigmas (*paheli*) we find that the answer is not within the context but only a hint is given.

For instance we can take another *Unbujh paheli*:

دین دنا وہ اُوے جاوے
یہی جنم سے کام بنائے
بوجھ فکر سے اتنی بات
کس پر بندھے دن اور رات¹⁰⁸

(Sun)

“It comes and goes everyday,

This is the work assigned to it since the time of its birth,

If you can then guess its name

on which days and nights are fixed”

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 174.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 182.

Another style of Amir Khusrau is *bujh Paheli* or solved riddles depend on word play, and where the answer is given with in the context of the riddle.¹⁰⁹

Bis:so ka: sir Ka:t diya:

Twenty of head cut off

Na: ma: ra: na: khu:n kiya:

(answer- *Na: khu:n*)¹¹⁰

Some other Bujh pahelis are:-

(a)

برسا برس وہ دیس میں اُوے
منھ سے منھ لگا رس پیاوے
وا خاطر میں خرچے دام
اے سکھی ساجن ناسکھی آم¹¹¹

(Mango)

*(barsā baras woh des mein aawe
munh se munh laga ras piyave
ya khatir main kharche dām
ae sakhi sajan na sakhi aam*

¹⁰⁹ Ved Prakash Vatuk, *Amir Khusrau and Indian riddle tradition*, the journal of American folk lore, vol. 82, April- June 1969, p. 144.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 145.

¹¹¹ Amir Khusrau Dehlavi, *Jawahar-e-Khusravi* (edi.) Rashid Ahmad Salim, op.cit. p. 67.

(b)

بن ٹھن کے سنگار کرے
دھر منھ ہر پیار کرے
پیار سے موپے دیت ہے جان
اے سکھی سا جن نا سکھی پان¹¹²

(Betel-Leaf)

*(ban than ke singar kare
dhar munh har pyar kare
pyar se mo pe det hai jaan
ae sakhi sajan na sakhi paan)*

Neither the bujh nor the unbujh paheli has a fixed opening or closing formula. Some of them may begin with the words ‘A woman.....’, ‘A man.....’, ‘An animal.....’, ‘A three.....’, and so on. Many of them may begin with “ I tell you a riddle.....,” or ‘ A riddle is.....,’ closing formulas also vary.¹¹³ In some riddle simple a direction has been given “Solve my riddle.....”, some others praise the solver i.e., “ only a learned man can solve this riddle.”¹¹⁴

Another important invention made by Khusrau was *do Sakhuna*. It is like a negative statement describing the absence of something.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 69.

¹¹³ Ved Prakash Vatuk, op.cit., p. 146.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

Ana: r kyo na cakka:

Pomegranate why not tasted?

Vaz: ir kyo na rakkha:

Minister why not kept?

Why was the pomegranate not tasted?

It had no seeds.

Why was the minister not kept?

He was not intelligent. ¹¹⁵

Another important work done by Amir Khusrau was *dhakosla*, like a short poem but appears to be meaningless.

khi: r paka: i: jatan se

carkha: diya: jal:y

a: ya: kutta: kha: gaya:

tu: baithi: dhol baja:y

la: pa: ni: pila:

(O! Rice pudding was cooked with care,

Spinning wheel was burnt as fuel,

A dog came and ate it up,

Now you sit and play your drum,

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p.147.

Bring me a drink of water) ¹¹⁶

So we find that there is no fixed formula for the Khusrau's riddles, and perhaps he had written these riddles not for the literary purpose but for the sake of giving the reader some enjoyment. ¹¹⁷

While discussing the *hindavi* poems of Amir Khusrau, it should be kept in mind that it is not the 'standard Hindi' or 'standard Urdu' of today, but it means that old languages which in the thirteenth century A.D., was the form of old *Braj Bhasha* and *Khari Boli* and acquired the status of a new standard language. ¹¹⁸

Apart from Amir Khusrau, during the time of Delhi Sultanate Sufis also played a very substantial role in the growth and development of *hindavi*, Sufis wanted to bring all sections of society together.

The house of Sufis was opened for all. People from all sections of society come to them. There was no distinction between the elite and the common. ¹¹⁹ Sufis considered it very important that in order to reach to the hearts of the people and to discourse with them easily there should be a

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p.148.

¹¹⁷ Dr. Wahid Mirza, *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, op.cit., p. 229.

¹¹⁸ Gopi Chand Narang, *Amir Khusrau ka Hindavi Kalam*, op. cit., p.74.

¹¹⁹ Maulvi Abdul Haq, *Urdu ki Ibtidai nashv-wa-numa mein Sufiya-i-Kiram Ka Kam*, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, New Delhi, 2008, p. 4.

general or a common language (*hindavi*).¹²⁰ It was a definite policy of Sufis, from the very beginning, to employ the *Hindavi* language for preaching their message of love and equality of men in the sight of God.¹²¹

We get genuine specimens of their linguistic assimilation and this is evident by numerous Hindustani words like *khat, bhat, thakkar (Thakur), Chhapper, dola, langoti, palki, kartar, roop, dhakka, chuna, supari* etc.¹²²

Hindavi expressions and exclamations occasionally occur in the *Malfuzat* and *Maktubat*. Some mystic literature makes references to the conversation which went on in *hindavi*.¹²³

Khair-ul-Majalis by Hamid Qalandar was a significant work containing discourses by Sheikh Nasir-ud-Din Chiragh-i-Dehlavi, but there is a lack of dates in this work.¹²⁴

We can give here a few instances for the use of *hindavi*. In *Khair-ul-Majalis* a story about Sufi Bodhan has been given that the Sufi was very fond of worshipping.¹²⁵ One day some scholars came to him and Sufi asked them '*whether Namaz has been offered in Heaven or not*'?

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Yusuf Hussain, *Glimpses of medieval Indian Culture*, op. cit., p. 105.

¹²² A. Rashid, *Society and Culture in medieval India (1206-1556 A.D.)*, Calcutta, 1969, p. 196.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 197.

¹²⁴ Saiyed Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol.1, Munshiram Manoharlal publisher, reprint, 1986, pp. 6-7.

¹²⁵ Hamid Ali Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*, (ed.) Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Aligarh, 1959, p. 158.

Scholars replied, “Heaven is the place full of luxuries and there is no place for prayers they are meant only for the World.” Hearing this Sufi replied in *hindavi* that “if prayers are not performed in the Heaven then I have nothing to do with it”.¹²⁶ Regarding this in *Khair-ul-Majalis* it is given that Sufi Bodhan replied in *hindavi*, but what he said, it is not given there. At another place , there is an interesting story related to Sheikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-i- Delhi, where Sheikh was relating a story to his disciple and the story was like:-¹²⁷

In the time of Moses, there was a person who was worshipping an idol continuously for the past four hundred years. One day he was struck down with fever he fell down at the feet of the idol and said in *hindavi*.¹²⁸

تو میرا گسائین تون میرا کرتار
 مجہ اس تاپ تھین چھڈا¹²⁹

*(tu mera gusain tu mera kartār
 mujh is tāp then chhuda)*

(You are my Lord and Master, let me get rid of this fever)

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 123.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

Some other *hindavi* expressions have been mentioned by Hamid Qalander for instance Rashid Banadat (Pandit) a merchant was busy in his shop. The slave girl brought him his meal from his house which was near by and requested him to have his meal, then he said to her in *hindavi*:-

¹³⁰ رہ رہ

(*Rah Rah*, meaning wait a little)

On the occasion of the *Dastarbandi* ceremony of Hazrat Nizamud-din-Auliya, Ali Maula exclaimed in *hindavi*:-¹³¹

ارے مولانا ! یہ بڑا ہوس¹³²

(*are maulana! Ye badhā hos*)

(oh Maulana , he will be a great man)

Maulana also said in *hindavi*:-

جو منڈسا باندھی سو پائن نہ پسری¹³³

(*jo munda sa bandhi so pān na pasri*)

(One who has turban bound on his head can not stoop low)

In *Siyar-ul-Auliya* we find another expression in *hindavi*. The story goes when Sheikh Jamaluddin died and his maid servant *Madar-i-Momina*

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 93.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 191.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

(mother of the believers) presented Sheikh Burhanuddin (son of Sheikh Jamaluddin) in front of Baba Farid and Baba Farid named him as the next religious head, to which *Madar-i-Momina* exclaimed in *hindavi*:-¹³⁴

خواجه برهان الدین بالا ہے ¹³⁵

((khwaja burhan aldin bālā hai))

(Khuaja Burhanuddin is a child and not capable of taking the responsibility)

To this Baba Farid again replied in *hindavi*:-

پونو کا چاند اوہی بالا ہوتا ہے ¹³⁶

(puno ka chand ohi bālā hota hai)

(i.e, the full moon is also minor)

Other Sufis of the period who employed *hindavi* are Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri, Sheikh Sharfuddin bu ‘ Ali Qalander, Sheikh Sharfuddin Yahya Manairi, Sheikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi.¹³⁷

Hazrat Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri(1193A.D-1274 A.D), himself has narrated an incident in *Surur-us-Sudur* which is as:-

¹³⁴ *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, Chiranjilal Sirah Al Aziz, Delhi, 1885, p.122

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Yusuf Hussain, *Glipses of Medieval Indian Culture*, op. cit., pp. 105-106.

Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri said, once he went to *Jaddah* where he stopped at a place to eat something there a man asked the Sheikh in *hindavi*, “ how are you and from where you have come”? ¹³⁸

It shows that during the time there was a tradition of speaking *hindavi* by the Sufis and as it was a language easily understood by everyone, so the Sufis were using it for their educational as well as religious preachings. ¹³⁹

Another prominent Sufi of that time was Hazrat bu Ali Qalandar (d.1323 A.D).¹⁴⁰

Here is an interesting incident related to Bu Ali Qalander. Bu Ali was a divine and majestic person. Alauddin Khalji killed his uncle Jalaluddin khalji and occupied the throne and to hide this guilt of his he tried to please all his people by giving them gifts.¹⁴¹

Some of the nobles of Alauddin told him that “it is very important to please Bu Ali Qalander as if he would be annoyed then it would create problems for you.”¹⁴² So for pleasing Bu Ali, Amir Khusrau was sent and Khusrau succeeded in pleasing him by singing and playing the music.

¹³⁸ *Urdu ki Ibtadai Nashwa Numa mein Sufiane kiram ka kam*, op. cit., p. 9.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁴² Ibid.

Bu Ali also replied with some of his conversation, hearing that Khusrau's eyes were filled with tears. To this Bu Ali asked in *hindavi*:-

143 تو کا کچھ سمجھ دا ہے

(*tu kā kuch samajh da hai*)

(tu ka kuch Samajh da hai)

The use of *hindavi* for conversation by Bu Ali shows that during his time *hindavi* was freely used by Sufis for conversation.

There is also a famous Couplet by Bu Ali Qalander in *hindavi*:-

تجن سکارے جائیں گے اور نین میں گے روے
144 بدھا ایسی رین کو بھور کدھی نہ ہوے

(*sajan sakāre jayenge aur nain mere ge roye*)

(*budhna aise rain ko bhor kadhi na hoye*)

In this couplet 'sajan', 'nain', 'mere,' 'roye,' 'aaisi', 'rain', 'bhor', 'hoye,' all are the words from the local dialect (*hindavi*).

Sheikh Burhanuddin Bajan another famous Sufi (1388A.D-1506A.D) was a deciple of Sheikh Aziazullah.

He also used to recite couplets in *hindavi* for instance we can give here one of them:

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

یوں باجن باجے رے اسرار چھابے
 مندل من میں دھمکے رباب رنگ میں جھمکے
 صوفی ان پر ٹھمکے
¹⁴⁵ یوں باجن باجے رے اسرار چھابے

(yun bajan baje re, isrār chhaje
 mandal man mein dhamke, rabab rang mein dhamke
 sufi un par thumke
 yun bahan baje re israr chhaje)

In this couplet ‘baje,’ ‘rey,’ ‘chhaje,’ ‘mandal’, ‘man’, ‘dhamka’, ‘jhamke’, ‘thumke’, all are again *hindavi* words.

Another prominent sufi was Sheikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi(1455-1538A.D) a deciple of Sheikh Ahmad Abdul Haq Chishti Sabri. Abdul Quddus Gangohi was a poet of *hindavi* and wrote with the pen name of ‘Alakh Das.’¹⁴⁶

One of his couplet is:-

یہ جگ ناہیں باج پی بوجھ برہم گیان
 سو پانی سو بلیلا سوئی سرور جان
 اکی او ہوا کی ماس اکی سرور اکی ہانس
¹⁴⁷ گر مگھ بوجھ برہم گیان تین تر لوک ایک کے جان

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

*(ye jug nāhi bāj pee bujh barham gyan
so pani so bulbula soi sarwar juan
eki oo ho eki māas eki sarvar eki hans
gurmukh bujh barham gyan teen trilok ek ke jaan)*

From all these examples we get a clear specimen that the mystic saints (Sufis) were using *hindavi* in their conversation as well as they were using the same language in their couplets.

This language had gained more popularity in the reigns of Sutan Bahlol and Sultan Sikandar, which is evident from the contemporary literature such as that of the great religious reformers Guru Nanak (1469-1539 A.D) the founder of the Sikh religious and the famous poet Kabir (1440-1518 A.D)¹⁴⁸

Their strategy was as same as that of the Sufis as both of them aimed at reaching the ordinary people.¹⁴⁹

It is because of this reason they employed the all Indian medium available, i.e. the *hindavi*, with which the people seemed to have been familiar all over the country.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ M.A. Ghani, *A History of Persian Language and Literature of the Mughal Court*, (Babur – Akbar, Part – I, Indian Press, Allahabad, 1929, p. 69.

¹⁴⁹ Yusuf Hussain, *Glimpses of medieval Indian Culture*, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

They waged a war against the orthodoxy and meaningless ritualism in the Hindi and Punjabi speaking regions of Northern India.¹⁵¹ They expressed their mystical experience in local dialect (*hindavi*) in a lyrical form.¹⁵²

Kabir adopted a language which was more simple throughout as could be seen in his poems which stand high for their Sufistic and moral teachings. Near all his poetry is in plain spoken language of the people and not in the literary tongue.¹⁵³

The *hindavi* verses called *Sakhis*, *Dohas* and doctrinal poems, jointly known as *Ramaini* form the majority of Kabir's poems.¹⁵⁴ One specimen of Kabir's language is:-

بڑا ہو ا تو کیا ہوا
جیسے پیڑ کھجور
پنچھی کو چھایا نہیں
پھل لاگے اتی دور¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Syed Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol.1, op. cit., pp. 372-373.

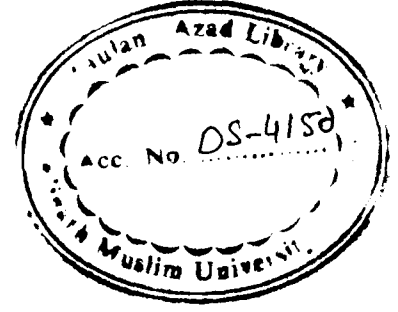
¹⁵² Ibid., p. 373.

¹⁵³ M.a. Ghani, *A history of Persian Language and literature at Mughal Court*, Part 1, op.cit., p. 71.

¹⁵⁴ Dr. Zahir Fateh Puri, *The influence of Amir Khusrau on the development of Indo-Aryan Languages*, op.cit., p. 105.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 101.

(*badā hua to kya hua*
Jaise pēd khajūr
Panchhī ko chhāyā nahin
Phal lāge aati duur)



Guru Nanak used the same medium for composing verses:-

اس دامینو کیسے بھروسہ
آیا آیا اند آیا
یہ سنسار رین دا سپنا
کہیں دیکھا کہیں ناہیں دکھایا¹⁵⁶

(*is da mainu kaise bharosa*
āyā āyā na āyā
ye sansār rain da sapna
kahin dekha kahin nahin dikhaya)

We also find references to *hindavi* words in the contemporary literature of that time (Sultanate period).

In 1227 A.D. Minhaj-us-siraj came to India and he had written his book *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. In this work of Minhaj we find reference to the word 'Hindi' or *Hindavi*.

At one place, it is mentioned that in the language of Hindus (*hindui*) the word *Bihar* (*Vihara*) means 'Madarsa'.¹⁵⁷ Here it is clear that the 'language

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 117.

of hindus' (Hindui or *hindavi*) is not used for the Sanskrit language, as upto this time Sanskrit was no more used by the people, but was only confined to the literary purpose, and there was some language other than Sanskrit, used by the masses. We also find another reference from Minhaj who while describing about a river said that 'It is known as (*Dary-i-Begmati*), but when it enters into the Hindustan, it becomes *Samandar* in Hindi language'.¹⁵⁸

So here we find that upto the time of Minhaj-us-Siraj the term Hindi/*Hindavi* was used to imply the language of Hindustan.

Besides Minhanj, another traveler who came to India during the Sultanate period was Ibn-i-Batuta, who arrived in the country in 1333 A.D.¹⁵⁹

He was a resident of Tanja (Tanzania), where pure Arabic was current, and no influence of Hindi or Persian could have worked.¹⁶⁰

But when he came to the country of Hindustan and interacted with the people here, he learnt many words of the indigenous language, which he

¹⁵⁷ Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tabqat-i-Masini*, Afghanistan, 1964, p.753.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 757.

¹⁵⁹ Mahdi Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Batuta (India, Maldiv Islands and Ceylon)* Sadhana Press, Baroda, 1953, p. 1.

¹⁶⁰ M.a. Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, part 1, op. cit., p. 62.

also employed in his account. Some of them are:¹⁶¹ *samūsa*, *ambā*, *gusa īn*,
mandī, *kishrī* (*khichri*), *jākar* (*chākar*)¹⁶²

From these words we can make out that at that time Persian and *hindavi* words got mixed together and were so profusely current on the lips of the people at large that even a foreigner could not escape using them.¹⁶³

After Minhaj-us-Siraj and Ibn-i-Batuta, Isami had also used many *hindavi* words in his work.

Isami in his *Futuh-us-Salatin* has used the word ‘*charkha*’ while discussing about Razia when she succeeded her father Iltutmish.¹⁶⁴

It is given in *Futuh-us-Salatin* that ‘It is better for women to occupy herself with *Charkha* since attainment of high position is not for her, as it makes her intoxicated.’¹⁶⁵

Isami has also used the word ‘*Hindi drums*’¹⁶⁶ but here by *Hindi drums* he does not mean any language but the drums made in Hind.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁶⁴ Isami Khwaja Abdul Mulk, *Futuhus Salatin*, Madras, 1948, p. 134.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 112.

At another place Isami, while discussing about Rai Hammir, informs that “Rai ordered his ‘Hindi Secretary’ to write a reply to Ulugh Khan”.¹⁶⁷

Here Isami had used the word ‘*Hindi Secretary*’, but it is not used for the language and denotes here the secretary of Rai *Hammir* whose origin is Indian.

Isami had also used the word ‘*Rawat-i-arz*’,¹⁶⁸ where *Rawat* is a Hindi word and *Rawat-i-arz* signifies high military officer.

At another place Isami had used the word ‘Hindi’ to signify the language.

Isami while discussing about “*Al-mutis*”, who used to expose their daughter, informs that they were called ‘*Boras*’ in *hindavi*.¹⁶⁹

Another very important contemporary literature is *Chandayan* (1379 A.D.) of Maulana Daud of Jaunpur.¹⁷⁰

About *Chandyan*, Badauni in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* had written that ‘In the year 722 A.H. (1370 A.D), Vazier Khan-i-Jahan died, and his son Juna Shah obtained the title and the book *Chandaban* which is a *masnavi* in the *Hindui* language relating the loves of lurak and chanda,

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 282.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p.121.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 301.

¹⁷⁰ Amrit Rai, *A House Divided, Hindi / Hindavi*, op.cit. p. 149.

a lover and his mistress, a very graphic work and was put in to verse in his honour by Maulana daud, As the book is very famous in this country, it does not need words of praise.”¹⁷¹

We can have look at the language of *chandayan*, through the following lines, where lorak is describing his conditions, when he is not with his friends and parents:.¹⁷²

माता पिता बधु नहि धाई । संग न साथी मीत न भाई ।

ऊहँ बनखँड कोइ पास न आवा । कोई मरत मुरत नीर चुवाता।¹⁷³

(mātā pita bandhu nāhi dhayi, sang na sāthi mīt na bhai,

uho bankhand koi pās na āwā koi marat murat nīr, chuwātā)

Apart from Chandayan, another contemporary work of substance is *Masalik ul Absar fi Mumalik-ul Amsar* by Shahabuddin Al Umari.

In this work Shahabuddin while discussing about Mohammad Bin Tughlaq (1325-1351 A.D), informs that Sultan was a man of fine taste.¹⁷⁴

He has one thousand poets of three languages. Arabic, Persian & *Hindavi*, and he pay to all of them and presents are given to them.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Abdul Qadir. Ibn-i-Muluk Shah Baduani. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, vol. I, (ed.) Maulvi Ahmad Ali Saheb, Calcutta, 1868, p. 250.

¹⁷² Maulana Daud, *Chandayan*, (ed.) Vishwanath Prasad Agra University, Agra, 1962, p. 43.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Shahabuddin Al Umari, *Masalik ul Absar fi Mumalik – ul Amsar*, Eng. tr. by Otto Spies, Abdur Rashid, S. Moinnul Haq, Aligarh, 1943, p. 32.

It is very clear here that Sultan Mohammad-Bin-Tughlaq was very fond of Arabic and Persian as well as of hindi (or *hindavi*), as he was paying to all them. This is a remarkable testimony to the patronage of hindi (or *hindavi*) poets by Muslim rulers.

Shahabuddin, while discussing about the people of Delhi says that ‘people of Delhi were intelligent and composed verse in Persian as well as in Hindi’.¹⁷⁶

This makes it very clear that Hindi (or *hindavi*) was given equal status as that of Persian as people who were sagacious were composing verses in it.

Another work of literary eminence, written during the time of Delhi Sultanate is Mahamud Shādiābādi’s *Miftahu’l Fuzalā*, written in 1469 A.D. in Malwa.¹⁷⁷

Mahmud Shādiābādi had concentrated on words of common use (*hindavi*) and given them along with their Persian words, some of them are listed below:

“*Tirbīd*” – a kind of medicine used in dysentery & in *hindavi* known as *Nasūt*.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 60.

¹⁷⁷ Abdus Samad Jilani, *Sher Va Abade-Faridas duara-i-Khiljiyan Malwa*, 2005, Aligarh, p. 104.

“*Khārzehrāh*” – a name of a tree in Persian but people of Hind class it *Kanēr* in *hindavi*.¹⁷⁹

“*Jāk / Jāz*” – Known as *Phitkari* in *hindavi*.¹⁸⁰

“*Raasu*” – a kind of animal, enemy of Snake and known as ‘*Nevla*’ in *hindavi*.¹⁸¹

“*Parphan*” – known as *long* in *hindavi*.¹⁸²

“*Pangan*” – Known as *Thal* or *Thali* in *hindavi*.¹⁸³

From all this it becomes quit apparent that the sultanate period saw the germination and growth of an ‘Indian language’, which by the 14th century was resulting in works like those of Mulla Daud. Initially there was only use of stray ‘*hindavi*’ words which then went on to give shape to more concrete texts. By the period when *Miftah-ul-Fuzala* was compiled the language had developed to such an extent that Shadiabadi was forced to give *hindavi* equivalents of the Persian words. Naturally this could be so only when there was a large literary clientele for the same.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 105.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 109.

¹⁸² Ibid., 110.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

CHAPTER – III

CHAPTER – III

HINDAVI DURING THE 16TH & 17TH CENTURIES: DEVELOPMENT OF BRAJ, AWADHI AND PUNJABI

As has been noticed in the previous chapter, by the end of the fifteenth century, *hindavi* had developed into some sort of a ‘literary’ language in which not only poets composed verses, but lexicographers were forced to include its words in their lexicons and dictionaries.

Sixteenth century saw the development of separate literatures of major dialects like *Awadhi* and *Braj*, as well as Punjabi. All three can be classified linguistically as *hindavi*.¹ With the development of a new script under the patronage of Guru Nanak’s successor, Guru Angad, the *Gurmukhi*, the Punjabi started developing. Braj, on the other hand a dialect spoken and understood in and around the Agra-Mathura region. Awadhi, developed further east.

¹ See Christopher King, *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi movement in the nineteenth century north India*, Delhi, 1994; Ramchandra Shukla, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas*, Vanarasi, 1929 (reprint 1994).

In Awadhi were composed verses of popular characters like the *dohas* of Kabir and the *Padmavat* malik Muhammad Jaisi (c.1540). Tulsidas' *Ramcharitmanas* was also written in the same dialect. Surdas (c.1550) on the other hand wrote in Braj. So did Akbar's courtier Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan (Rahim).

The development and florescence of these dialects is attested to be Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari* when he writes; like Amir Khusrau before him:

“In the large expanse of Hindustan they speak in many tongues. These distinctions [of speech] which do not prevent mutual comprehension are countless. These [languages] that are mutually incomprehensible are [those of] *Delhi, Bengal, Multan, Marwar, Gujarat, Telingana, Marhat (Maharashtra), Karnataka, Afghan of Shal* (which is between *Sind, Kabul and Qandahar*), *Baluchistan and Kashmir*”.²

According to Abul Fazl all these were *hindavi* or Indian languages and they were of two kinds: (a) some which were ‘mutually comprehensible’ and (b) others which were ‘mutually incomprehensible’.³

² Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, ed. H. Blockmann, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1867,77, Vol-II, p. 15.

³ For a discussion on this see Irfan Habib, “Hindi / Hindwi in Medieval Times, pp. 105-104, Aspect of Evolution and Recognition of Language” in Ishrat Alam & S Ejaz Husain, *The varied facets of History, Essay in Honour of Anirudha Ray*, New Delhi, 2011, pp. 105-13.

Babar on his entry into Hindustan was quite a stranger to the language of the Indians, yet he could not wholly escape the influence of the spoken languages of the country.⁴ *Hindavi* influenced him so much that he learnt a number of *hindavi* words and freely used them in his memoirs. For example he uses words like:

ہاتھی - پانی - روتی - مور - سیاہی - چمگادڑ - گھریال - آملہ -
جامن - توتا - راجہ - پنکھا - امرت پھل - دولی - پان - کیلا⁵

He also used *hindavi* verbs in a Turkish metrical composition in his *diwan*.⁶

مجکانہ ہوا کچھہ ہوس مانک موتی
فقر اہلیغہ بس بولغوسیدرپانی وروتی⁷

After the victory of Babur in Panipat against Ibrahim Lodhi, a man recited the following verse before Babur in *hindavi*.⁸

نوسی اوپر تھا بتیسا، پانی پت میں بہارت دیسا،
اتھیں رجب سکروار، بابر جیتا براہیم ہارا

⁴ M.A. Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, (Babar-Akbar) part 1. Indian Press, Allahabad 1929. p 59.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, British press, Bombay, 1957, p. 109.

⁷ *Babarnama*, cf. M.A. Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, (Babar-Akbar) part I, op.cit., p. 59.

⁸ Op.cit., p. 109.

(*Nausi upar the battisa, Panipat mein Bharat desa, Athain Rajab Sukkarwar. Babar jita Brahim hara*).

(Nine hundred, thirty-two years were above it,

At Panipat – the land of Bharat.

Eight Rajab, Friday,

Babar won, Ibrahim vanquished.)¹⁰

The greater part of Humayun's reign was unsettled and chequered with misfortunes and exiles. The extent of progress made by *hindavi* in his reign is hardly ascertainable due to scantiness of material.¹¹

An evidence of the same is to be found in the pages of *Mirat-i-Sikandari* in the talk of a parrot which was captured by Humayun in his fight with Sultan Bahadur Gujrat better known as Bahadur Shah, at the advice of his general Rumi Khan.¹²

Bahadur Shah had a favourite bird-a *tuti*, which repeated whatever it heard. It was brought to open court a long with Rumi Khan and the emperor

⁹ Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, or. B.M. 197, f.63 (b) see M.A. Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, (Babar-Akbar)*, op.cit., p. 61.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ M.A. Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, (Babar-Akbar)* part-II, op.cit., p. 11.

¹² See *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, MS. F.107 (a) cf. M.A. Ghani, *History of Persian Language, and literature*, op.cit., pp. 114-116.

welcomed the unfaithful general. When Humayun said ‘*Welcome Rumi Khan*’, the bird hearing his name screamed aloud:

پہت پاپی رومی خان نمک حرام پہت پاپی نمک حرام¹³

(phit pāpi rumi khan namak harām, phīt pāpi namak harām!)

(Tut Rūmī Khān, sinner, untrue to salt, tut sinner, untrue to salt.)¹⁴

This speech of the bird as Ghani opines, is a combination of hindavi and Persian. This is perhaps the best example of hindavi that could be traced to the reign of Humayun and show how people used to talk in their every day life.¹⁵

The appearance of a renowned scholars of *hindavi*, Malik Mohammad Jaisi and Manjhan during the reign of Sher Shah marks a new era in the history of Muslim lore in India.¹⁶ Jaise was a provincial sufi belonging to *Chisti* order and compiled *padmavat* in a dialect of *hindavi* in 1542 A.D. Manjhan was an awadhi poet who wrote the famous *madhumalati*:¹⁷

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ M.A. Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, (Babar-Akbar) part II, op.cit., p. 119.

¹⁷ See Shantanu Phukan, “Through throats where many rivers meet” : The ecology of Hindi in the world of Persian (ed.) the *Indian Economics and Social History Review*, SAGE Publication, New Delhi, 2001. p. 34. For Manjhan see Aditya Behl and Simon Weightman (tr.) *Madhumalati: An Indian Sufi Romance*, Oxford, 2000.

The works of Jaisi, Just like the Chandayana of Daud (1379 A.D) did not go unnoticed by the indigenous scholars, many non-Sufi glosses and adaptations testify to their popularity.¹⁸

This work is a notable departure from the old customary traditions of mixing *hindavi* with Persian, as it was composed in the Awadhi dialect almost to the exclusion of Persian vocabulary.¹⁹

Padmavat is a tragic love story between a north Indian Prince and Sri Lankan Princess Padmavati.²⁰

We can take following lines as a specimen of Jaisi's language:

नगमती पदुमावति रानी । दुवौ महासंत सती बखानी ।
दुवौ आए चढिइ खाट बईठी । औ सिवलोक परा तिन्ह डीठी ॥²¹

*(nāgmati padumavati rāni, duwo mahāsant bakhānī,
duwo aae chadhī khāt baithī, au sivilōk prā tinh dīthi)*

(Nāgmati and Pādmavati were two queens of the king famous for their chastity. After the death of king they both decided not to fell at the feet of

¹⁸ Stuart Mc. Gregor, *Progress of Hindi : Part I*, (ed.) Sheldon Pollocks, *literary culture in History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, p. 945; Pollock, *The languages of the Gods in the world of men; Sanskrit, Culture and Power in pre-modern India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi 2006, p. 493.

¹⁹ M.A. Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, (Babar-Akbar)* part II, op.cit., p. 120.

²⁰ Shantanu Phukan, "Through throats where many rivers meet" : *The ecology of Hindi in the world of Persian*, op.cit., p. 34.

²¹ Malik Mohammad Jayasi, *Padmavat*, (ed.) Vasudev Sharan Agrawal, Sahitya Sadan Jhansi, 2002, p. 810.

the enemy so they decided to burn themselves on the pyre of their husband.)

Akbar had a glorified personality. Above religious orthodoxy, revolts, caste narrowness, the world view him as the creator of a new epoch.²²

Known for the policy of *Sulh-i-kul* or peace with all, his benevolence was the reason that along with Muslims many Hindu poets were also present at his court.²³ Some of them are Dursa, Kumbhandas, Surdas, Chandrabhan, Manohar and Raja Todarmal.²⁴

During the reign of Akbar noticeable shifts occurred in the North Indian language. This was the time when the dialect of Brajhasa began to supersede that of Awadhi. Both the languages are not hugely dissimilar. They both can be classified as *hindavi*.²⁵

²² Saryu Prasad Agarwal, *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, Lucknow, 2000, p. 9.

²³ Abul Fazl while listing the poets in Akbar's Court lists a number of non-Muslim poets who presumably were writing in *hindavi*. See S. Ali Nadeem Rezavi, "Representation of Middle Class Professional in Mughal Visual Arts" in Alam and Husain (ed.), *The varied facets of History, essay in Honour of Anirudha Ray*, New Delhi, 2011, pp. 163-164.

²⁴ Saryu Prasad Agrawal, *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, op.cit. , p. 24.

²⁵ Allison Busch, *Hidden in plain view. Brajhasa poets at the Mughal court*, Cambridge University Press, U.S.A. 2010, p. 273. See also Irfan Habib, "*Hindi/Hindavi in Medieval Times*", op.cit, pp. 105-114.

Brajbhasha poets favoured short *Muktak* (free standing) poems, usually on devotional or royal themes.²⁶ Akbar was interested in *hindavi* (Brajbhasha) due to the reason that mother of Akbar's son Jahangir (Jodha Bai) was Rajput.²⁷

Important members of Akbar's administration such as Todar Mal and Man Singh were patrons of *Vaishnava* institutions. The new type of song and poetry emerging from these places would have been natural subject of imperial interest.²⁸ Though Persian was the language of Court,²⁹ and was a medium to show Mughal rootedness in a cosmopolitan Islamic world, but Brajbhasha was chosen as a means of engaging with the local and this was a political and cultural choice.³⁰

The poets of Akbar's court can be divided into two groups. The first category includes those poets who were permanent at the court and some of them were also royal officials, such as Raja Prithviraj, Surdas, Manohar, Raja Todarmal, Narhari, Brahma, Tansen, Gang and Rahim.³¹

²⁶ Ibid., p. 273.

²⁷ For Braj couplets attributed to the Mughal Emperors, including Akbar, see Nagendra (ed.), *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas*, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 281-87.

²⁸ also see: Busch, "*Hidden in Plain view*", op.cit., p. 10.

²⁹ Saryu Prasad Agarwal, *Akbari Darbār Ke Hindi Kavi*, op.cit., p. 29.

³⁰ Allison Busch, "*Hidden in Plain View*", op.cit., pp. 274-275.

³¹ Saryu Prasad Agarwal, *Akbari Darbār Ke Hindi Kavi*, op.cit., p. 32.

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The second category includes those poets who used to make routinely rounds to Mughal court but were not permanent, some of them worth mentioning are:- Karnesh, Chandrabhan, Vyas, Kumbhandas, Durasa Ji, and Hol Rai. This second category of poets were also important during the reign of Akbar despite of the fact that they were not permanent as they were also composing poems in Brajhasha. Among these Karnesh was an important one. It is considered that he used to go to Akbar's court accompanied with Narhari. To view his language we can take the following lines, where Narhari scolded the cashier of Akbar for not giving him amount which was awarded to the poet by the emperor.³²

खात है हराम दाम करत हराम काम घट घट तिलही के अपयश छाकेगें
दोजखहूँ जैहें तब काटि काटि खै हैं खोपरी को गूदो कागटोंटलि उड़ावेंगे ॥³³

*(Khāt hai harām dām karat harām kām ghat ghat tilhī ke apyash chhākenge,
Dozakh ho jaihain tab kātī kātī khe khoprī ko gūdo kāgtontali udawenge.)*

Another poet of this category was Vyas. He was among the poets who used to make routinely rounds at the court, a specimen of his language is:-³⁴

गाऊं राग सभा साहन साह की जाको अकबर नाऊ,
जे नर नरेन्द्र इन्द्र समान चक्री वकीसी होत,
क्बहु नहि निरखत अष्टसिद्ध पाऊ,
एक एक संगीत प्रति लक्ष लक्षण करे औ,

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 36.

एक निरत काली खंजरी समान गाऊं बजाऊ,
थ्वनवत व्यास कोड जानत नाही,
जलाल्दीन—मुहम्मद को देन आशीर्वाद नित आंऊ ॥³⁵

*(gaun rāg sābha sāhan sāh ki jāko Akbar nao,
Je nar Narendra Indra samān chakrī vakīsī hot,
Kabho nahin nirghat ashtsidh pāō,
ek ek sangīt pratī lachh lachhan kre au,
ek nirat kālī kanjarī samān gāūn bajaōn,
thanvat byas kod Jānat nāhi,
Jalaluddin ko den ashirwād nit āōn.)*

Chandrabhan, another poet, also included in this category of poets. He used to go to Akbar's court along with his teachers, which he had specified in the following lines.³⁶

शाह अकबर को यश कीरत गाऊं रिझाऊ सकल सृष्टि के मन श्रवणन,
चंद्रभान कहे गुरु के प्रसाद ते सभा में नित जाऊ आनन्द मनन ॥³⁷
*(Shah Akbar ko yash kīrat gāōn rijhaon sakal srishtī ke man sharavnan,
chandrabhān kahe guru ke prasād te sabhā mein nit jaon anand manna)*

These were some poets who occasionally met with Akbar but were not so popular.

Apart from these, there were some personalities in Akbar's court, who are famous in history and are still known as reputed poets of Brajbhasha and

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

Narhari was one of them. Narhari, before appearing at the court of Akbar was present at the court of Akbar's father Humayun.³⁸

Narhari, also attracted the patronage of Islam Shah Sur, and later became a court poet of Akbar.³⁹

Akbar had full faith in the favourite poet of his father Humayun. We can take the following lines as the specimen of Narhari's language:⁴⁰

फनतति जय षरभरहिं ज लधि उछछलहि छडिकृमु
उडि रज परिहरि भुअन भए सुर सकल संभु समु
निसु दिन बिछुरहि चक्र कवल सकुचहिं रवि झपहि
धूम समुझि अरि नपति भभरि भज्जहि तव कपहि
न्चहिं मऊर नरहरि निरषि सो द्वरंग अनबन बरन
छलु चलत अकबर साहि को सो गिरि बन धन अकरन सरन ॥⁴¹

*(fantatī jay sharbharhī ja ladhī uchhchhalhī chhadikramu,
udi raj parihari bhuan bhye sur sakal sambhū samu,
nisū din bichhurahī chakr kawal sakuchahī ravī jhamphī,
dhūm samujhī ari napti bhabhri bhajjahī tav kampahī,
nachhi maoor Narhari nirshi so dwarang anban baran,
chhalu chalat Akbar sāhi ko so giri ban dhan akran saran.)*

³⁸ Ibid., p. 54.

³⁹ Allison Busch, "Hidden in plain view", op.cit., p. 275.

⁴⁰ Saryu Prasad Agarwal, *Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, op. cit., p. 74.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Akbar was tremendously fond of music, especially *dhrupad* songs composed in Brajbhasha, and his famous court musician Tansen was expert in this work.⁴²

Tansen was the best among the court musicians of Akbar. He was very impressed by Akbar and in one of his couplets he had considered emperor equal to the sun:-

इत भान उत साह अकबर दो दरस जो देखे सोई होत पवित्र
इन्दै राजनि मंद सुख के वर पावे गुप्त आनंद
वे तिमिरहरण ए दुख भंजन ताकि सों है फरियत साह दिनों मकरन्द
वह सहस किरण प्रकाश कीनो अति बुध श्रेष्ठ गया घर जगबन्द
तानसेन कहे कहां लौं अस्तुत करै कारने हार विकार दुखदन्द।⁴³

*(it bhān ut sāh Akbar do daras jo dekhe soē hot pavitra,
Inde rajnī mand such ke war pave gupt anand,
we timir haran ae dukh bhanjan tāki so hai fariyat sāh dino makrand,
woh sahas kiran prakāsh kīno ati budh shreshta gayā ghar jagband,
Tansen kahe kahān lo astute kare kārne hār vikār dukhdand)*

After Tansen Raja Todarmal, Akbar's revenue administrator is also credited with writing Braj poetry.⁴⁴ Before going to Akbar's court, he worked for Sher Shah Suri.⁴⁵

⁴² Allison Busch, "*Hidden in plain view*", op.cit., p. 275.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 109.

⁴⁴ Allison Busch, "*Hidden in plain view*", op.cit., p. 275.

⁴⁵ Mohammad Hasan, *Hindi Adabki Tarikh*, Delhi, 1980, p. 122.

Todarmal, who was the revenue minister of Akbar ordered that all accounts should be kept in *hindavi*.⁴⁶

All accounts hitherto were kept in the same language, and the administrators who knew Persian alone were at a disadvantage as they could not understand and check them without the help of an interpreter. As a result, the heads of the departments began to learn the language of the financials and the financiers began to familiarize themselves with the language of the court.⁴⁷

Todarmal is not important only for the works he had done in the revenue department of Akbar, but his place is significant as he promoted the non-Muslims to learn Persian. He made Persian the language of the offices at the time when Brajbhasha was gaining momentum.⁴⁸

Apart from being an administrator, Todarmal was also a poet, but no separate work related to him is found.⁴⁹ The meters which can be attributed to him are found mainly in the form of *Kavita*, and are mainly related to morality and ethics.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ram Babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Ram Narainlal Publisher, Allahbad, 1927, p. 11.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 122.

⁴⁹ Saryu Prasad Agarwal, *Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, op. cit., p. 52.

⁵⁰ Mohammad Hasan, *Hindi Abab Ki Tarikh*, op.cit., p. 122.

One of the famous *Kavita* of Raja Todarmal is:-

जार को विचार कहां, गनिका को लाज कहा,
गदहा को पान कहां, अँधेरे को आरसी।
निगुनी को गुन कहां दान काह दरिद्र को,
सेवा कहां सूम की, अरँडन की डारसी।।
मदपी को सुचि का, साँच कहा लपट को,
नीच को बचन कहां स्यार की पुकार सी।
टोडर सुकवि ऐसे हठी तो न टारे टरै,
भावै कहौ सूधी बात भाव कहौ फारसी।।⁵¹

*(Jār ko vichār kahan, ganika ko lāj kahan,
Gadhā ko pān kahan, andhere ko ārsi,
nigunī ko gun kahan, dān kahan dridra ko,
sewa kahan sūm kī, arandan ki darsī,
madpi ko suchī ka, sanch kahan lapat ko,
nīch ko bachan kahan, syār ki pukār si,
Todar sukavi aisi hathi to no tare taren,
Bhāve kaho sudhi bāt bhao kaho farsi).*

After Raja Todarmal, another important figure who contributed to Brajbhasha poetry was Akbar's courtier Birbal, who is also known to have had a literary temperament. Birbal is popularly remembered as one of the "navaratna" (nine jewels) of Akbar's court.⁵²

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 312.

⁵² Allison Busch, "Hidden in plain view", op.cit., p. 276.

Akbar awarded him the title of Kavirāy (king of poets)⁵³ some of the Braj verses of Birbal have also survived and are said to bear the *Chhāp* (poetic signature) of 'Brahma'⁵⁴

Akbar awarded him a *jagir* in Punjab near Nagarkot later on conferred on him the title of '*Raja*'⁵⁵ We do not find any independent work which can be ascribed to Birbal, but there are many poems which are sung till date in his name. For example, one of the verses popularly attributed to him includes:⁵⁶

पूत कपूत कुलच्छनि नारि, लगक परोसि, लजायन सारो ।
बंध कुबुद्धि, पुरोहित लँपट, काकर चोट, अतीत धुतारो ।
साहब सूम अड़ाक तुरंग, किसान कठोर, दिवान नकारो ।⁵⁷
*(pūt kapūt kulachchhanī nāri, lagak parosi, lajāyan sāro,
bandh kūbūdhī, purohit lampat, kākar chor, atīt dhutāro,
sāhab sūm adak turang, kisān kathor, diwān nakāro,)*

But most important poet of Akbar's court was Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khana*, the son of Bairam Khan.⁵⁸

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Saryu Prasad Agarwal, *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, op.cit., p. 84.

⁵⁶ Mohammad Hasan, *Hindi Adab Ki Tarikh*, op.cit., p. 123.

⁵⁷ Ibid.. p. 312.

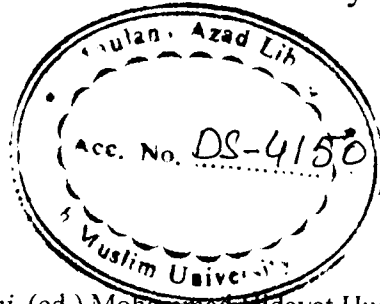
⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 123.

Abdur Rahim was born in 1556 A.D.⁵⁹ Akbar gave him the title of Khan-i-Khana in 1584 A.D.⁶⁰ His young age was spent at the court of Akbar, while in his old age he was at the court of Jahangir.⁶¹ He was well acquainted with Arabi, Persian, Turkish, Sanskrit and Hindi.⁶² Under him was established a full-fledged atelier of scholars, poets, versifiers and he had full command over all the dialects of *hindavi* i.e. Brajbhasha, Awadhi and Khariboli and he wrote didactic poetry of high order. Works of Rahim can be divided into three groups. The first group constitutes his *Dohawali*, where the language of *dohas* is Braj.⁶³ One of his *dohas* is as follows:-

कहि रहीम संपति सगे, बनत बहुत बहुरौत ।
विपत कसौटी जे कसे, सी ही साँचे गीत ।।⁶⁴

*(kahi Rahim sampati sage, banat bahūrot,
vipat kasauti je kase, sīhī sāche geet.)*

In this *doha* Rahim explains that ‘everyone is your friend when you are rich and well, but your true friend is one who stands with you, when you are in difficulties’.



⁵⁹ Abdul Baqi Nihawandi, *Ma'sir-i-Rahimi*, (ed.) Mohammad Hidayat Hussain, Calcutta, Asiatic Society, vol.-I, 1925, p.50

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 134.

⁶¹ Ibid.,

⁶² Dr. Samar Bahadur Singh, *Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana*, Sahitya Sadan Jhansip. 233.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 237.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 237.

‘कुटिलन संग रहीम कहि, साधु बचते नाहिं, ।
ज्यों नैना सेना करें, उरंगज उमेठे जाहिं ॥’⁶⁵

*(Kutilan sang Rahim kahī, sadhu bachte nāhi,
jyo naina sena karen, urangaj umethe jāhi)*

Rahim was writing at the time when Ram Bhakti was at its zenith and to show his feeling Rahim also composed *dohas*, attributed to Lord Rama.⁶⁶

“राम नाम जान्यो नहि, जान्यो सदा उपाधि ।
कहि रहीम तिहिं आपनी, जनम गँवायो वादि ॥”⁶⁷

*(Rām nām jānyo nāhī, jānyo sadā upādhi,
kahī Rahim tīhī āpni janam gawāyo wādi.)*

Rahim spent his old age at the court of Jahangir where he witnessed his adverse times and he expressed this in his following *doha*:

खरच बढयो उद्यम घय्यो, नृपति निठर मन कौन ।
कहु रहीम कैसे जिए, थोरे जल की मौन ॥⁶⁸

*(kharach badhyo udham ghayyo, nrapati nithar man kaun,
kaho Rahim kaise jiye, thore jal ki mōn).*

Another work of Rahim is ‘*Nagar Shobha*’. This work is different from his ‘*Dohawali*’ in the sense that the subject matter of ‘*Nagar Shobha*’ is the description of ladies from different sections of society of that time.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 238.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 240.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 241.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 242.

At one place in ‘*Nagar Shobha*’, while describing about a Brahmani, Rahim says:-

उत्तम जाती ब्राह्मणी, देखत चित्त लुभाय ।
परम पाप पल में हरत, परसत वाके दाय ॥⁷⁰
(*uttam jāti brāhmani, dekhat chitt lubhaye,*
Param pāp pal mein harat, parsat wāke dāye).

By these lines, Rahim tried to show the qualities of a Brahman woman by saying that “immaculate, counterer of sins, pure like river Ganga and very attractive, a brahmani in medieval Indian society is worth to get respect”.

The second category of Rahim’s work includes *Barvai Naika Bheda*. It is a work written in Awadhi dialect.⁷¹ ‘*Barvai Naika Bheda*’ is a work of *Shringār Ras*.⁷² The third category consist of his work. ‘*Madnashtak*’⁷³

Madnashtak is a work of poetry and is an incredible admixture of Sanskrit, Persian, Brajbhasha and Khariboli.⁷⁴ which means that Rahim had full command over all these languages.

One instance from his ‘*Madnashtak*’ is:-

शरथ निशि निशीथे, चाँद की रोशनाई ।
सघन वन निकुंजे, कान्ह वंशी बजाई ॥
रति, पति, सुत निद्रा, साइयाँ छोड़ भागी ।
मदन—शिरसि भूयः क्या बला आन लागी ॥⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 243.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 245.

⁷² Ibid., p. 250

⁷³ Ibid., p. 250

⁷⁴ Ibid.

*(Sharath nishi nishithe, chānd ki roshnayī,
saghan van nikunje, kānhā vāshī bajāyī,
rati, pati, sut, nindra, saiyān chhod bhagi,
madan shirsi bhuyā kya balā ān lāgi).*

Another famous work of Rahim is ‘*Khet Kautuk Jāt Kam*’ based on astronomy.⁷⁶ This work is written in Persian mixed with Sanskrit.⁷⁷

A specimen of the language of ‘*Khet Kautak-Jat Kam*’ is

करोम्यब्दुल रहीमोडहं खुदाताला प्रसादतः ।
पारसीयपदैर्युक्त खैटकौतुकजातबम⁷⁸

*(Karomyā Abdul Rahimodāhan khudātālā prasādatā,
Parsipaderyukta khētkautukjātkam).*

Apart from Brajbhasha Rahim also worked for the prosperity and development of Awadhi. For instance we can take following lines composed by Rahim, where along with Brajbhasha, Awadhi is also used with efficiency.⁷⁹

“चूनत फूल गुलाबत, डार कटील ।
टुटिगौ चन्द आंगिअवा, फटु पट नील” ।।⁸⁰

*(chūnat phūl gulābat, dār katīl,
Tutigou chand āngiawā, phatū pat nīl).*

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 253.

⁷⁶ Dr. Saryu Prasad Agarwal, *Akbari Darbar ke Hindi Kavi*, op.cit., p. 170.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 276-277.

⁸⁰ Ibid., P. 277.

Rahim had full command over pure Awadhi and it can be proved by the following lines:-

“जस मदमतिल हथिया, हुमकत जाय ।
चितवति छैल तरुनिआ, मुहु मुसकाय ।।⁸¹
*(Jas madamtil hathīya humkat jae,
Chitwati chhel tarūnīya, mūhū muskāī).*

Besides Rahim, a major poet with clear associations to the Mughal Court during Akbar’s period is Gang.⁸² He was a friend of Abdur Rahim Khan Khana.⁸³ His famous prose, work is ‘*Chand chhand, Barnan Ki Mahima.*⁸⁴ There is no separate independent work is found which can be ascribed to Gang.⁸⁵

Another poet of Akbar’s reign who worked a lot in the Brajbhasha, but was not a member of the Mughal court was Surdas. He was born in 1478 A.D. in a Brahmin family.⁸⁶

Akbar is said to have known one *pada* of Surdas through the great singer Tansen and allegedly expressed his desire to meet him but Surdas denied.⁸⁷

⁸¹ Ibid., P. 278.

⁸² Allison Busch, *Hidden in plain view*: op. cit., p. 276.

⁸³ Mohammad Hasan, “*Hindi Adab Ki Tarikh*”, op. cit., p. 126.

⁸⁴ Dr. Saryu Prasad Agarwal, *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, op. cit., p. 161.

⁸⁵ Op. cit., p. 127.

⁸⁶ O. P. Ralhan, *Surdas, The Blind Saint*, Mehra offset Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 15.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 33

According to a folklore, once Akbar himself decided to go and meet Surdas himself. The saint greeted him respectfully and sang in his presence a long song called 'Sur Pacheisi'.⁸⁸

An example of Surdas's Brajbhasha is:

नाहिन रहौ मन मैं ठौर
नंद नंदन अछत कैसे अनिये उर और
चलत चलत कैसे जागत सुपन सोवत राति
हृदय ते वह मदनमूरति छिन न इत उत जाति।⁸⁹

*(nāhin raho man mein thōr,
nand nandan achhat kaise anīye ur aur,
chalat chalat kaise jagat supan sowat rāti,
hriday tai woh madanmūrtī chin na it ut jāti).*

As we know, Surdas wrote about Krishna in prolific style. He wrote many inspiring songs about the early life of Lord Krishna as well as love of Krishna & Radha. His most popular work is *Sur Sagar*.⁹⁰

Another important poet of Akbar's time was Tulsidas. He spent most of his time at Banaras and produced twenty five works of high standard. The most outstanding work of Tulsidas was *Ramcharit Manas* popularly known as *Ramayan*.⁹¹ Tulsidas divided this epic into seven books each of which

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Dr. Saryu Prasad Agarwal, *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, op. cit., p. 35.

⁹⁰ S.C. Ray Chaudhary, *Social, Cultural and economic history of India (medieval age)* p. 145.

⁹¹ Ibid., P. 144.

deals with one phase of Lord Rama's life.⁹² The other important works of Tulsī Das include *Ram Gitawali*, *Vinay Patrika*, *Parwati Mangal*, *Janki Mangal* and *Dohawali*.⁹³

Along with Brajhasha, Tulsidas also used Awadhi in his composition.⁹⁴

For the specimen of his language we can take the following lines:

सीस गूंग गिरिजा अधंग भूपन भुजंग बर ।
मुंड माल विधु भाल डमरू कपाल कर ।
लसत ललित कर कमल माल पहिरावत ।
काम फंद जनु चंदहि बूनज फदावत ।
चामर पताक वितान तोरन कलस दीपावलि बनी ।।⁹⁵

*(sīs gung girija adhang bhūpan bhujang bar,
mund māl vidhu bhāl damrū kapāl kar,
lasat lalit kar kamal māl pahirāvat,
kāam fand janu chandhī bunaj fadavat,
chāmar patāk vitān toran kalas dipawali bani).*

Here माल for माला, गंगा for गंगा and पताक for पताका are Awadhi.

One important thing is that during the period of Akbar the literary activities were not confined to the court and nobles alone. *Hindavi* was becoming popular with the general masses and a large number of poets

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., P. 145.

⁹⁴ Dr. Devkinandan Shrivastava, *Tulsidas Ki Bhasha*, Hindi Sahitya Press, Lucknow, pp. 221-222.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

were found in almost all parts of the country⁹⁶ Dadu (1433-1603 A.D) was one of them. He was born at Ahmadabad.⁹⁷ He was opposed to idol worship and caste distinctions.⁹⁸

He expressed his ideas which are contained in the *Granth* known as *Dadu Ram Ki Bani*.⁹⁹

दादू सतगर सौं सहजै मिल्या, लीया कंठि लगाई ।
दया भई दयाल की, तब दीपक दिया जलाइ ॥¹⁰⁰
(Dabu satgar so sehje milya, liya kanthī lagāyī,
Dayā bhayī dayāl ki, tab deepak diya jalāyī).

Dadu when met emperor Akbar recited the following lines:

अकबर साह बुलाईया । गुरु दादू कौं आप ।
साच झुठ ब्यौरो हवौ । तब रहौ नावं प्रताप ।¹⁰¹
(Akbar sāh bulāiya, guru Dadu ko āp,
sāch jhūt byuro hawo, tab raho nāwam pratāp).

Other poets which were there at the time of Akbar but not connected to his courts, yet important for their literary contribution are Eknath and Maluk Das.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ S.C. Ray Chaudhary, *Social Cultural and Economic History of India (medieval age)* op. cit., p. 145.

⁹⁷ Amrit, Rai, *A House Divided, Hindi/Hindavi*, Oxford University Press, 1884, p. 165.

⁹⁸ Op. cit., p. 95.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Amrit Rai, *A House Divided, Hindi/Hindavi*, op. cit., p. 166.

¹⁰¹ Shihabuddin Iraqi, *The Sarbangi of Rajjardas*, Aligarh, 1985, p. 247.

Akbar is himself said to have composed certain verses in *hindavi*.¹⁰³ One such alleged composition is as follows:

जाको जस है जगत में जगत सराहै जाहि
ताको जीवन सफल है कहत अकब्बर साहि ।।¹⁰⁴
*(jāko jas hai jagat mein jagat sarahe jāhī,
Tāko jīwan safal hai kahat Akbar sāhī).*

Abul Fazl in his *Akbarnama* has clearly mentioned that Akbar used to compose poetry in *hindavi* language.

The inspired nature of His majesty is strongly drawn to the composing of *hindavi* and Persian poetry and is critical and hairsplitting in the niceties of poetic diction.¹⁰⁵

When the emperor himself was so much interested in *hindavi* poetry then it was natural for the courtiers and the common people to be inclined towards *hindavi* poetry.¹⁰⁶

Akbar had also set up a special department for translations which definitely went on to bring about fusion of the indigenous and the Persian cultures and to provide a common literature to the people.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 170.

¹⁰³ S.C. Ray Chaudhary, *Social, Cultural and Economic History of India (medieval Age)*, op. cit., p. 145.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. Saryu Prasad Agarwal, *Akbari Darbar Ke Hindi Kavi*, op. cit., p. 30.

¹⁰⁵ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Akbar and Religion*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1989, p. 22.

¹⁰⁶ Op. cit., p. 31.

Mahabharata, which is an old book was translated into Persian by Naqib Khan with the help of Pundits and was given the name of *Razamnama*.¹⁰⁸

In the same way *Ramayana*, which is a religious books of Hindus was translated into Persian on the order of His Majesty Akbar by Mullah Qadir Baduani and Sheikh Sultan Thneshwari.¹⁰⁹

Another important book which was translated into Persian was *Lilawati*, a Sanskrit treatise on mathematics by Shaikh Abul Fazl and Faizi.¹¹⁰

Faizi also translated the famous love story of *Nal-Daman* into Persian.¹¹¹

Rajtarangini, famous work written in Sanskrit on the history of Kashmir was translated by Maulana Sheri and Abul Fazl is credited with the translation of *Panchtantra*.¹¹²

It is recorded by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* that books of *hindavi*, Persian, Arabic and Greek were presented before Akbar and the emperor used to go through them by listening to them through his scholar.¹¹³

Abdul Qadir Baduani in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* recorded that Akbar checked translation of *Hindavi* and Sanskrit and the emperor once

¹⁰⁷ R.C. Ray Chaudhary, *Social, Cultural and Economic History of India*, op. cit, p. 140.

¹⁰⁸ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Volume I, Nawal Kishore Lucknow, 1882, p. 76.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 78.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 79.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 74.

questioned Badauni for his inaccurate translation of some Sanskrit words.¹¹⁴

The shows clearly that the emperor's linguistic equipment was not inadequate.

Badauni also tells as that he translated with the assistance of Hindu *pundits*, thirty two stories from '*hindavi*' language into Persian, on the order of the emperor Akbar and named it as '*Name-i-Khirad Afza*'.¹¹⁵

We find that throughout the time of Akbar, translations were being done from Sanskrit to Persian and also from *hindavi* to Persian.

It is evident from these translations that the scholars and historians of Akbar's time were well acquainted with Sanskrit, Persian, Arabi, and *hindavi*.

We can say that Akbar made valuable contribution in the direction of providing a common culture to his people.¹¹⁶

Like his father Akbar, Jahangir was not only an intellectual but also had a great taste for literature.

¹¹⁴ Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Akbar and Religion*, op. cit., p. 22.

¹¹⁵ Abdul Qadir Ibn-i-Muluk Shah Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Volume I, (ed.) Maulvi Ahmad Ali Saheb, Calcutta, 1869, p. 67.

¹¹⁶ S.C. Ray Chaudhary, *Social, Cultural and Economic History of India*, op. cit., p. 140.

He accorded patronage to men of learning and his court was adorned with many literary figures such as Nasiri of Nishapur, Ghiyas Beg, Naqib Khan, Mutamid Khan, Niyamat-Ullah and Abdul Haq Dehlavi.¹¹⁷

But one thing which Jahangir did not continue after his father was the department of Translation.¹¹⁸ However, like Akbar the reign of Jahangir is marked by many poets of Brajbhasha, Awadhi and other indigenous dialects, who flourished as the emperor was a great patron of scholars.¹¹⁹

Some eminent *hindavi* literary figures who adorned his court were Jadrup Gosain, Rai Manoharlal, Bishan Das but most outstanding of them was Kesavadas who composed many poetic works.¹²⁰

Kesavdas Mishra (1556-1617 A.D) was initially in the court of Inderjit Singh, brother of Ram Singh, the King of Orchha, which was a small principality in Bundelkhand.¹²¹

He belonged to a family of learned Sanskrit *pandits*. Although he to since his childhood learning Sanskrit, its grammar and principles yet he chose to take up a new career as a vernacular writer.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri or Memoirs of Jahangir*, (trns.)Alexandar Roders (ed.) Henry Beveridge, New Delhi, 1909-1914, p. 125.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 146.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Mohammad Hasan, *Hindi Adab Ki Tarikh*, Delhi, 1980, p. 125

¹²² Ibid.

Kesavdas is famous in *hindavi* literary circle as one of the progenitors of the Brajbhasha *riti* tradition.¹²³ He expanded Brajbhasha's horizons from an idiom mostly considered suitable for composing lyric poetry about Krishna to one that could encompass a range of more worldly and erudite themes and genres.¹²⁴

It was in large measure a series of literary transplantations from Sanskrit that initially enabled this vernacularizing process, and these are prominent in the poet's best known works, the *Rasikpriya* (Hand book for poetry connoisseurs, 1591 A.D), *Kavipriya* (Hand book for poets, 1601 A.D) and *Ramchadrika* (Moonlight of Ramachandra, 1601 A.D), the first Brajbhashtra experiment with the *mahakavya* (courtly epic) style.¹²⁵

In the course of his thirty year career as a writer Kesavdas composed three works of historical poetry.¹²⁶

- (a) The *Ratnabavani* – The *Ratnabavani* is a short narrative poem containing fifty two verses. It highlights the valour of Orchha prince Ratnasena in warding off the forces of the Mughal Emperor Akbar.¹²⁷

¹²³ Allison Busch, *Literary Response to the Mughal emporium: The Historical Poems of Kesavdas*, South Asia Research Volume, 25, No. 1, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 2005, p. 31.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 32

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

(b) *Virsimdev Carit* (Deeds of Bir Singh Deo, 1607 A.D.).

It is a lengthy chronicle of the life of Ratnasena's brother, Bir Singh Bundela. The *Virsimdev Carit* is partly a family history, partly a detailed record of contemporary politics partly a treatise on statecraft.¹²⁸ The carit is a monumental work, extending over 33 cantos.¹²⁹

Kesavdas last work, the *Jahangirjas Candrika* (Moonlight of the fame of Jahangir, 16112 A.D). Written towards the end of his life, is a collection of ornate praise written in order to honour and glorify the emperor Jahangir.¹³⁰

It is a collection of 200 verses in panegyric (*prasasti*) style.¹³¹ The introduction contains a series of *Prastis* to Bairam Khan (Akbar's regent), Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan (Bairam Khan's son) and Iraj Shah Nawaz Khan (Bairam Khan's grandson).¹³²

A specimen of Kesava's verses in *hindavi* may be:

जौ हौं कहौं रहिए तौ प्रभुता प्रगार होति,
चलत कहौं तौ हितहानि नाहि बहनो ।
'भावै सो करहु' तौ उदासभाव प्राननाथ ।
'साथ लै चलहु कैसे लोकलाज बहनो ॥¹³³

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 38

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 45.

¹³² Allison Busch, "*Hidden in Plain View*", op. cit., p. 279.

¹³³ Mohammad Hasan, *Hindi Abad Ki Tarikh*, op. cit., p. 312.

*(jo ho kaho rahiye to prabhūtā pragār hoti,
chalat kaho to hithāni naāhin behno,
bhave so karhū to udās bhao prān nath,
sath le chalhu kaise lōklāj behno)*

Another couplet attributed to Kesava is:

केसव केसनि अस करी कैरिहु जस न कराहि ।
चँद्र बदनि मृग लोचनी "बाबा" कहि कहि जाहि ॥¹³⁴
*kesava kesnī as karī kairihū jas na karāhi,
chandrā badani mrag lochnī bābā kahī kahī jāhi*

Besides Kesava, emperor Jahangir himself was a great lover of learning.

He himself possessed a command over Persian and also knew Turkish.¹³⁵

He wrote his own autobiography entitled *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir*, or *Jahangirnama* in which he revealed his daily life with freshness and candour.¹³⁶

Jahangir himself in his memoir used the term 'hindi' (*hindavi*) many times.

At one place Jahangir had mentioned that "while marching on Friday, I traveled 4 ½ Kos and get down at the station of *Pakka*."¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ S.C. Raychaudhary, *Social Cultural and Economic History of India*, op. cit., p. 121.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 140

¹³⁷ Jahagir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or memoirs of Jahangir*, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

Jahangir had than classified that why this place is called '*Pakka*'. He had given that 'the Saray here is made up of burnt bricks, and in the Hindi language, what is ripe, is called '*Pakka*'.¹³⁸

At another place the emperor had mentioned that 'on Tuesday, I halted at *Kala-Pani*, and this *Kala-Pani* in Hindi means black water.'

Then he again says that 'there is a mountain pass (a *kotal*) at this place called *Mārgallā*.¹³⁹

In Hindi *mār* means 'to beat' and *gallā* is 'caravan', and therefore the name means the place of the plundering of the caravan.¹⁴⁰

Jahangir then gives an account about his arrival at Baba Hasan Abdal, where he said that one kos to the east of this station there is a waterfall, then the emperor had mentioned that 'until how I had never thrown a sufra net, for fishing, and which is Hindi is known as '*bhanwar Jal*'.¹⁴¹

The emperor had also given information about Prince Daniyal, that he was found of *hindavi* songs, and would occasionally compose verses with correct idiom.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 99

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 36.

Jahangir in his *Tuzuk*, clearly treats Panjabi as a form or a dialect of Hindi. He treats Panjabi, as the language spoken on the southern border of Kashmir and was totally different from Kashmir. To him Punjabi was a form of *hindavi*.¹⁴³

There is also a work written during the reign of Shahajahan, entitled ‘*Zakhiratul-Khwanin*’ by Shaikh Farid Bhakkhari, which gives us history of the nobles from Akbar to Shahjahan.

In this work Shaikh Farid had used many *hindavi* words, some of them are:

*chāran, sukhpal, , chaukhandi, Bal Sundar (name of Akbar’s elephant), dhakka, sati, jāp, chhagat (Jug) bābā, , thāna, pankha, katherā, dāk-chauki and kachehri.*¹⁴⁴

At another places he had used *hindavi* proverbs like:

(a) اگ لگنتی جھونپڑہ جو نکلے سولا بہہ¹⁴⁵

(*Āg Lagāti Jhonpāri, jo nīklē so Lābh*)

[Whatever comes out from the house on fire is gain.]

بدی باپ سے ہوت ہیں بدی باپ کے پوت¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 200.

¹⁴⁴ Sheikh Farid Bhakkhari, *Dhakhiratul Khwanin*, Volume I, (ed.) Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1961, pp. 108, 111, 112, 119, 120, 129, 130, 132, 138, 181, 198, 200,

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 241.

(Bade bāp se hot hain bade bāp ke pot)

(Great men have great off-Spring.)

Remarkable works were also done during the time of Shah Jahan (1627-1658).¹⁴⁷ One of the most important of this period is *Bikat Kahani* written by Mohammad Afzal which is a long narrative poem composed in 1636 A.D.¹⁴⁸

This poem of Afzal belongs to a well-known style of pre-modern Indian poetry called the *Bārahmāsā*, or the 12-Months cycle.¹⁴⁹ It presents the sentiments of a lover separated from the beloved.

The *Bārahmāsā* unfolds the sufferings of the lover, called the *Nayika*, a woman grieving for a male lover, who in her laments addresses her female companions.¹⁵⁰

The *Bārahmāsā* also unfolds the sentiments of the female lover against the detailed background of changing seasons.¹⁵¹

In *Bikat Kahani*, Afzal had shown the feelings of lover in all the twelve months.

¹⁴⁷ Khurshidul Islam and Ralph Russels, *Three Mughal Poets, Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan* Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 14.

¹⁴⁸ Shantanu Phukan, *“Through throats where many rivers meet” : The ecology of Hindi in the world of Persian*, op.cit., p. 34.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 38.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 39.

This long poem starts with the following lines:

سنو سکاھیو! بکٹ میری کہانی، بھئی ہوں عشق کے غم سوں دیوانی
مجھ کون بھوک، نا نیند راتا برہ کے درد سوں سینہ پر اتا¹⁵²

(*suno sakhī, bikat meri kahani,* *bhyi hūn ishaq keg ham su diwāni,*
mujh ko na bhūk, nind nā rātā, *birāh ke dard su sīna pirāta*)

In the following lines the *Nayika* is addressing her female companions and asking them to listen to her said story. The *Nayika* here saying that ‘she is madly in love, she does not feel like to eat anything and her nights are now without sleep.’ She again says that ‘her heart is full of grief after her lover had departed from her.’

In *Bikat Kahani* Afzal introduces us to the lover’s sorrow during the months of *Sāvan*, or July-August when the monsoon is at its height, and thus the laments of the lonely *nāyikā* presumeably at their shrillest.¹⁵³ In the following lines the *nāyikā* is expressing her grief during the season of *Sāvan*:

رسیدہ بر سرم ہنگام برسات
سجن پردیس ہیں ہیہات! ہیہات!!¹⁵⁴

(*rasidāh barsam hangām barsāt,*
sajan pardes hai hihāt! hihāt !!)

¹⁵² Mohammad Afzal, *Bikat Kahani*, (ed.) Dr. Nurul Hasan Hashmi and Dr. Masud Husain Khan, Sarfaraz Press, Lucknow, 1980, p. 31.

¹⁵³ Shantanu Phukan, ‘Through throats where many rivers meet’ : *The ecology of Hindi in the world of Persian*, op.cit., p. 39.

¹⁵⁴ Op.cit., p. 37.

Here the *nāyika* is again saying that ‘the rainy season has arrived but this does not bring happiness as her lover is not with her’.

Afzal had used a special female speech, for example Afzal’s *Nayika*, frequently prefaces her laments with the vocative ‘rī’, used exclusively by women while addressing other women, for example, when *Nayika* says;¹⁵⁵

*Khīrad gum Kardā, majnūn ho rahi ri*¹⁵⁶

Meaning-losing my wits, I became a second Majnun¹⁵⁷

Another very substantial work written in Brajbhasha during the mughal rule was *Ardh Kathanak*.

This was a remarkable work written during the hey day of the mughal rule in 1641 A.D.¹⁵⁸ *Ardh Kathanak* is the first ever, autobiography in *hindavi*.¹⁵⁹

The writer Banarsidas named it *Ardh Kathanak* as he thought he had lived only half the total span of life allotted to men, which according to an ancient Jain tradition is 110 years.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Banarasidas, *Ardhkathanak, Half a tale*, (tans) Mukund Lath, Rajasthan Prakrit Bharat, Sansthan, Jaipur, 1981, introduction, p. 2.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

Banarasidas had chosen verse medium for his narration. In the *Ardhkathanak*, his language has an easy colloquial flow and an informal tenor of narration.¹⁶¹ He started his narration in the following way:

मध्यदेस की बोली बोलि । गर्भित बात कहौ हिय खोलि ॥
भारतू पूरब-दसा-चरित्र । सुनहु कान धरि मेरे मित्र ॥¹⁶²

(Madhyādes ki bolī boli, garbhit bāt kohō hiy kholi,

Bhārtū purab-dasa-charitra, sunhū kān dhari mere mitr.)

[I will narrate my story in the common language of middle India (madhyadesa), freely revealing all that lies concealed. And though I will speak to you of my virtues; I will also disclose my sins and follies].¹⁶³

This process appears to have accelerated in the later Mughal period. Muhammad Shah came to the throne in 1719 and retained his position till 1748.¹⁶⁴ His was the reign which saw emergence of poets like Abru, Arzu, Mazhar, Sauda, and Hatim.¹⁶⁵

Abru (1692-1747),¹⁶⁶ was the poetical name of Shah Najamuddin of Delhi alias Shah Mubarak, who flourished during the reign of Mohammad

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Banarasidas, *Ardhkathanak*, op. cit., Nagari text, p. 224.

¹⁶³ Banarasidas, *Ardhkathanak*, op. cit., p. 224, translation, p.2.

¹⁶⁴ T. Grahmae Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1932, p. 38.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., P. 44.

Shah.¹⁶⁷ He was the author of the *diwan Hindavi*/Hindi verses, but was lost at the time of mutiny. He also wrote a *masnavi*, called *Muaazai Araish-i-Mashuq*.¹⁶⁸

He is one of the *hindavi* poets. He was excessively fond of similes and double meanings.¹⁶⁹

Arzu (1689-1756 A.D) whose real name was Sirajuddin Ali Khan, was also known as Khan Saheb.¹⁷⁰ He is the author of several works among which is a Persian *Diwan* consisting of 30,000 couplets, commentaries on *Sikandarnama*, lexicons in Persian (*Siraj-ul-Lughat*) and in Hindustani (*Gharaib-ul-Lughat*), treatise of rhetoric and eloquence called *Mohibat-i-Uzma*.¹⁷¹

Mazhar (1698-1781 A.D),¹⁷² was the greatest of Delhi poets before Sauda.¹⁷³ He was one of the most celebrative of *hindavi* poets¹⁷⁴ His works form a landmark in the history of literature as he refined and clarified the language.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁷ Ram Babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Ram Narain lal Publisher, Allahabad, 1927, p. 46.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid, p. 49.

¹⁷³ T. Grahme Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature*, op. cit., p. 46.

¹⁷⁴ Op. cit.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 50.

He has left a *diwan* in Persian of about 1,000 couplets, which he selected from his older *diwan* of about 20,000 couplets, an incomplete *diwan* in *hindavi* and an anthology of his selected pieces from Persian poets called *Kharita-i-Jawahir*.¹⁷⁶

Mohammad Rafi Sauda (1713-80 A.D), popularly known as Sauda, was formerly considered as the greatest of poets.¹⁷⁷

He was born and brought up in Delhi, but from 1757 to about 1770 he lived at Farrukhabad.¹⁷⁸

Sauda poetic works may be divided as follows:-

- (a) Over 40 odes, a majority of them in Praise of nawabs.
- (b) Nearly 100 elegies with an average of 100 lines each
- (c) A large number of lyrics, containing perhaps 10,000 lines in all.¹⁷⁹

To view Sauda's language we can take following lines:-

ہے فیض سے کس کے شجران کا بار دار
اس واسطے کیا ہے تخلص امیدوار¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ T. Grahme Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature*, op. cit., p. 46.

¹⁷⁸ Khursidul Isalm and Ralph Russell, *Three Mughal Poets, Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan*, Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 37.38.

¹⁷⁹ Op. cit., P. 47.

*Hai faiz se kis ke shajr ān ka bār dār,
is wāste kya hai takhallus umīdwār*

(Someone has made him fruit full: need he tell us

Why he has made Umedvār his takhallus ?)¹⁸¹

Thus we see that starting from mere use of certain words in the *Babarnama*, to great works of literary value, the vernaculars like Braj, Punjabi and Awadhi kept on developing in the Mughal court. All these ‘vernacular’ dialects were forms of the ‘*hindavi*’ which was later to concretise into the modern Urdu and Hindi of independent India. Secondly as we have seen process was not confined only to the court, but had also percolated down to the non-court popular culture. That is why a modern scholar is constrained to use the term “Hidden in Plain View” for the proponents of this language.

¹⁸⁰ Khursidul Isalm and Ralph Russell, *Three Mughal Poets, Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan*, op. cit., p. 39.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER – IV

CHAPTER –IV

LITERARY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE DACCAN: THE EMERGENCE OF DAKHINI IN BIJAPUR AND GOLKUNDA

At the end of thirteenth century A.D. When Sultan Allauddin khalji began to harass Deogiri and Warangal with the intention of plundering them.¹

Later Mohammad Bin Tughlaq, 1327 A.D ordered the transfer of his capital from Delhi to Deogiri (Daulatabad).²

Mohammad Bin Tughlaq due to his extortionate revenue policies, and was taking some steps which were not liked by his revenue officers (*Amirs*)³. This led his Amirs to revolt against him and declares their independence under Ala-ud-Din Bahman Shah.⁴

Therefore the first Muslim dynasty in Deccan was established (around 1347A.D), with its capital first at Gulbarga and later at Bidar.⁵

¹ Ruth Laila Schmidth, *Dakhini Urdu – History and Structure*, Bahri Publications, New Delhi, 1981, P. 2.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Nasiruddin Hashmi, *Deccan mein Urdu*, Lucknow, 1963, p. 9.

The official language of Bahamanid court was Persian but nationalist sentiments on the part of the Deccanis may have facilitated the acceptance of *Dakhini*.⁶

Dakhini in fact is the language developed due to the migration of Muslims to the Deccan. When the Muslims migrated to Deccan they took with them this language, which was then in the early stage of developed,⁷ which later on development on new lines and acquired the name of *Dakhini*.⁸

(a) BIJAPUR

When the Bahamani kingdom began disintegrating at the end of the fifteenth Century, each of its five provincial divisions, the most important of which was the province of Bijapur, in the South Western portion of the Kingdom, declared its independence from Bahmani authority and rulers over the Bijapur plateau from 1490A.D to 1686 A.D under the Adil Shahi dynasty.⁹ The court of Bijapur was noted for its lavish patronage of literature.¹⁰ The Adil Shah King of Bijapur was a great patron of art and poetry.

⁶ Ruth Laila Schmidh, *Dakhin Urdu- History and structure*, op. cit., p. 2.

⁷ Ibid., p. 4

⁸ *Deccan mein Urdu*, op. cit., p. 9

⁹ Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur (1300-1700 A.D) Social rules of sufis in medieval India*, printon University press, New Jersey, 1978, p. 40

¹⁰ Ram Babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Ram Narainlal Publisher, Allahabad, 1927, p. 39.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II(1558-1627A.D) of Bijapur was a great patron of music and poetry and was himself a gifted musician and poet¹¹ and had great taste for the company of literary men.¹²

He was known as “*Jagat Guru*” on account of his mastery over Indian music.¹³ Ibrahim Adil Shah II, himself had composed one of the landmarks of *Dakhini* literature, the *Kitab-i-Nauras*, a collection of songs and commentary on the nine sentiments (rasa) oh Hindu aesthetics.¹⁴ Here is a specimen of *Kitab-i-Nauras*:-

Kou cāhe mātanga tikhār kou ratan māl
Koū bhojan wāsā kou dhamān dhawatar
Ibrahīm cāhe ātam bidyā dāna dharma
*Saiyad Muhammad kī duhāī karīm kartāt.*¹⁵

Although the Sultan’s grasp of Persian was imperfect, his knowledge of Sanskrit was considerable as judged by the extent of Sanskrit vocabulary in *Kitab-i-Nauras*,¹⁶ for instance we can take the following lines:-

Liyō subh nāma srī Sarsutī ko
*Tab pāyo jas navaras saras ranga.*¹⁷

¹¹ Amrit Rai, *A House divided, Hindi/Hindavi*, oxford university press, 1884, p. 218

¹² Ram Babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, op. cit., p. 39.

¹³ Yusuf Hussain, *Glimses of medieval Indian culture*, British press, Bombay, 1957, p. 107

¹⁴ Richard Maxwell Faton, *Sufis of Bijapur (1300-1700A.D)* op. cit., p. 98

¹⁵ Amrit Roy, *A House divided, Hindi/Hindavi*, op. cit., p. 218.

¹⁶ Op. cit., p. 98.

¹⁷ Op. cit., p. 218.

Moreover the *Kitab-i-Nauras* does not open with the traditional Muslim invocation, the *bism Allah*, but with a hymn of praise to the deity *Ganapati*, whose name is generally invoked at the commencement of Hindu literary works.¹⁸ He also made *Dakhini* his court language in place of Persian. Under Ali Adil Shah II, the famous poet of this period, Mullah Nusrati(d.1674A.D) flourished at Bijapur.¹⁹

He wrote a long *masnavi* entitled *Alinamah*, a historical account of the reign of Ali Adil Shah II, containing an eulogy of the sovereign under whom he lived.²⁰

He is the first poet in the Dakhini who has written panegyric of a King.²¹ His other composition in Dakhini is a *masnavi* called *Gulshan-i-Ishq*.(garden of love).²² This is the story celebrating the love of Kunwar Manohar, son of Suraj Bhanu and Madhu Malti.²³

Here are a few lines from his famous work, *Gulshan-i-Ishq* (written 1658A.D)²⁴

Khile the sawag hor dhature ke phul,

*Rahe the adik seda ke birakh jhul.*²⁵

¹⁸ Ibid., p.100.

¹⁹ *Glimpses of medieval Indian Culture*, op. cit., p. 108.

²⁰ Ram Babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, op. cit, P. 40.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Op. cit., p.220.

Another poet of Adil Shah II was Abdul, who composed *Ibrahimnama* for his patron.²⁶ In Deccan during the reign of Ali Adil Shah II, *Dakhini* developed in a similar way as did its close relative, north Indian *hindavi*.²⁷ Persian continued to be employed by court poets and historians, but the example of Ibrahim II, set the cultural tone of the kingdom.²⁸

The Sultan had a through command of Marathi and *Dakhini*, but had only an imperfect grasps of Persian.²⁹

Dakhini was accepted by all ranging from rich to poor from scholars to common men. Even the Sufis also adopted it as the language of their religious teachings.³⁰ Father of Khwaja Banda Nawaz Gerudaraz (d.1353 A.D), wrote with the pen name of Shah Raja or Syed Raja in *Dakhini*

Khwaja Banda Nawaz Gerudaraz (1343 A.D.– 1447 A.D), was a disciple of Hazrat Nasiruddin Chiragh-e-Dehli.³¹

When he went to Deccan via Gujarat after the death of Nasiruddin Chiragh-i-Delhi is 1398 A.D; many disciples of Nasiruddin accompanied him.³²

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur, (1300-1700 A.D)*, op. cit, P. 91.

²⁷ Sufis of Bijapur(1300-1700A.D), op. cit., p.91.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 93.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 94.

³⁰ Nasiruddin Hashmi, *Deccan mein Urdu*, op. cit., p. 10.

³¹ Ibid, p. 10.

It was the routine of Gesodaraz to teach his disciples everyday after ‘*Namaz-i-Zuhr*’ and those who did not understand Persian he taught them in *Dakhini* (known as *hindavi* in Northern India)³³

There are few lines of a poem by Gesodaraz in *Dakhini*:-

پانی میں نمک ڈال مزہ دیکھنا اُسے
جب گھل گیا نمک تو نمک بولنا کسے
یوں کھولے خودی اپنی ساتھ محمد
34 جب گھل گئی خودی تو خدا بن نہ کوئی دسے
(*Pani mein namak dāt mazāh dekhna use,*
Jab ghul gya namak to namak bolna kise,
Yur ghule khudi apni sāth Muhammad,
Jab ghul gyi khudi to khuda ban na koi dase)

Another important Sufi was Shah Miranji Shams-al-Ushshaq (d.1499)³⁵.

He was an exponent of chishti doctrine in Bijapur³⁶.

The coming of Shah Miranji Shams-al-Ushshaq to Bijapur revived in the Deccan the moribund chishti tradition that had lingered on in Gulbarga after the death of Hazrat Gesodaraz.³⁷

³² Maulvi Abdul Haq, *Urdu Ki Ibtadi Nashwa Numa mein Sufiane Kiram Ka Kam*. Anjum Taraqqi, New Delhi, 2008, p. 15.

³³ Ibid., p. 15.

³⁴ Nasiruddin Hashmi, *Deccan mein Urdu*, op.cit., p. 10.

³⁵ Sufis of Bijapur(1300-1700A.D) op. cit., p.136

³⁶ Maulvi Abdul Haq, *Urdu Naswa nama mein Sufiane Kiram ka kam*, op. cit., p. 34.

³⁷ Op. cit., p. 136.

Shah Miranji is known as the first important Sufi writer of Bijapur. He wrote *Khushnama* and *Khushnagaz*.³⁸

Here are a few lines from his work *Khushnama*:-

**“nā mūj lode pāta pitambar nā zarī singhār
Phātī tūtī kambalī niki kalmā japanhār.”³⁹**

He had also written one of the longest poems known as *Shahadat-ul-Haqiqat* in lucid and simple language and avoided the use of Arabic and Persian words.⁴⁰

An example from his *Shahdat-ul-Haqiqat*:-

ہے عربی بول کرے
اور فارسی بہتیرے
یہ ہندی بولوں سب
اس ارتوں کے سبب⁴¹

**(aī arbī bōl kare,
aur fārsī bhoutere
ye hindi bolo sab,
is artōn ke sabab)**

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 136-137.

³⁹ S.C.Ray Chaudhary, *Social, Cultural and Economic History of India (medieval age)*, Surjeet Publications, New Delhi, 1978, p. 158.

⁴⁰ *A House Divided Hindi/Hindavi*, op. cit., p.191.

⁴¹ *Urdu ki Nashwanama mein Sufianekiram ka kam*, op. cit., p. 36.

Mohammad Nusrat wrote *Gulshan-i-Ishq*, *Alinama* and *Tarikh-i-Sikandari* which are works of great imagination and clarity. These works were appreciated by Adil Shah and he honoured their authors.

Syed Miran Hashmi wrote *Yusuf Zulaikha*, Shah Aminuddin Ala wrote *Muhiba Nama* and *Rumuz-us-Satikin* dealing with the spiritual love and unity of God.

An important Sufi of Bijapur was Burhan al-Din Janam (d. 1597), son of Shah Miranji Shams-al-Ushashaq (d.1499), who was the most important exponent of Chishti doctrine in Bijapur.⁴²

We can give here a specimen of *Dakhini* used by Burhan-al-din-Janam:

کوی کہیں سب عشق تمام
عشق کے آنکھیں کیا ہی فہام
عشق لیا ہے سب پھر باس
عشق تھے سگلا بھوک بلاس⁴³

(koi kahe sab ishaq tamām

ishq ki ānkhen kya hai fahām

ishq liya hai sab phir bās

ishq the saglā bhuk bilās).

⁴² Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur (1300 to 1700 A.D)* op. cit., p. 136.

⁴³ Maulvi Abdul Haq, *Urdu Ki Ibtadi Nashwa Numa mein Sufiane Kiram Ka Kam*, op.cit., p. 46.

Shah Miranji and his successors did not write exclusively in Persian, but rather established the *Dakhini* language as a recognized medium of Sufi literature.⁴⁴ There were several reasons why Shah-Miranji and his successors established and used *Dakhini* as a literary medium.⁴⁵ Firstly they used *Dakhini* as it was the dialect of Deccani Muslims.⁴⁶ Secondly, *Dakhini* was evidently the only vernacular with which both Muslims and Hindus were familiar and it could reach out to more people than could the elite Persian language.⁴⁷ The *Dakhini* language was well suited for conveying local symbols and familiar imagery of the Deccan.⁴⁸

The writings of Shah Miranji himself were composed in *Dakhini*, which included *Khush-nama* and *Khush Naghz*. His son Burhan al-Din Janam composed over a dozen works, and he invariably used *Dakhini* for his verses and either *Dakhini* or Persian for his prose.⁴⁹

The Sufis of Bijapur must therefore be given credit for the standardization of an evolving vernacular.⁵⁰

Sufis in Bijapur also composed folk literature in large number consisting of short poems in vernacular idiom, *Dakhini*.⁵¹

⁴⁴ Op. cit., p. 137.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 139.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.141.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 142.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 141.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 143.

The bulk of the poetry written by Sufis was sung by village women as they did various household works. The most common types included the *chakki-nama*, so called as it was sung while grinding food grains at the grindstone or *chakki*, & the *charkha-nama*, sung while spinning thread at the spinning wheel or *charkha*.⁵²

Other types of such folk poetry included *Lori-nama* or lullaby, the *shadi-nama* or wedding song; the *suhagan-nama* or married women's song.

Most of these poetic forms appealed to women⁵³ especially. As, in the villages of the Deccan it was the women who for centuries spun the cotton into thread, ground the *Juwar* into meal and rocked the children to sleep. Each of these activities involved a steady movement of hands; which the singing of songs composed in a regular meter could easily assist and this is especially true for the *chakki-nama* and the *charkhanama*⁵⁴

(b) GOLCUNDA

Besides, Bijapur, Golkunda also patronized *Dakhini* language.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 157.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ S.C.Chaudhary, *Social, Culture and Economic History of India (medieval age)*, op. cit., p. 158.

Golconda was the intellectual resort of literary men.⁵⁶ The kingdom of Golconda was found in 1518 A.D. and attained great heights of prosperity under Sultan Quli Qutb Shah II(1581-1611A.D), who was the son of Ibrahim Qutb Shah.⁵⁷

Sultan Quli Qutb Shah of Golkunda declared his independence early in the sixteen century.⁵⁸ The Qutb Shahi rulers of Golkunda not only patronized learning, but wrote poetry themselves.⁵⁹ Sultan Mohammad Quli Qutub Shah of Qutb Shahi dynasty was also a prominent writer of *Dakhini*. He composed *ghazal*, *qasida*, and *masanavi*, in this language.⁶⁰

He was the fourth king of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, and reigned in Golkunda from 1581 to 1611 A.D.⁶¹ Scholars and religious leaders flocked to his court. The king led the way in learning and poetry; he was a prolific writer in both Persian and *Dakhini*. His works were collected shortly after his death by his nephew and successor, Mohammad Qutb Shah.⁶² (1611-1625 A.D)⁶³

⁵⁶ Ram Babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, op. cit, P. 34.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Rut Laila Schmidt, *Dakhini Urdu*, op. cit., p. 5.

⁵⁹ Yusuf Hussain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian culture*, op. cit., p.107.

⁶⁰ S.C Chaudhary, op. cit., p.159.

⁶¹ T. Grahem Bailey, *A History of Urdu literature*, oxford university Press, Mysore, 1932, p. 20.

⁶² Ibid., p. 20.

⁶³ Ram Babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, op. cit, P. 36.

Sultan Mohammad Qutb Shah was born in Golconda in 1591 A.D. and was married to the daughter of Quli Qutb Shah. He was a brilliant writer of verse and composed poetry both in Persian and *Dakhini*.⁶⁴

Muhammad Qutb Shah was succeeded by his nephew, Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah (1625-1674 A.D)⁶⁵

Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah also patronized many poets and one of them was Wajahi, the author of *Qutb Mushtari*.⁶⁶

Qutb Mushtari (1609A.D), a poem written by Wajahi is a romantic fairy story related to the adventures of the prince of Golkunda. He dreamt of an unknown princess, fell in love with her and set out in search of her. Finally he found her and married her.⁶⁷

In 1634 A.D, he wrote an important prose religious story called *Sab Ras*. Sufi teachings are presented here in narrative form. It is the first literary prose in the *Dakhini* language.⁶⁸ Besides Wajahi, another poet of Golkunda worth mentioning is Ghawwasi.

Ghawwasi, was the author of two works. The first is a romance called *Saif-ul-Muluk wa Badiul Jamal*(written in 1625A.D).⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., P. 37.

⁶⁶ Yusuf Hussain ,op. cit., p. 107.

⁶⁷ T.Grahame Bailey, op. cit., p. 107.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 22.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

It is a love story of *Saif-ul-Muluk*, the son of king of Egypt and *Badi-ul-Jamal*, the princess of China.⁷⁰ The popular romance is probably adopted from the Persian version of one of Arabian Nights tales.⁷¹

The prologue contains poems in praise of God, Muhammad the Prophet, the fourth Caliph, Saints and the reigning king of Golconda.⁷²

A specimen of the language used by Ghawwasi in his *Saif-ul-Muluk* is:-

*“Na āsī nīda mūj āj is rayan me
Ke saltī biraha kī kankari nayan me
Anjhu tutate dekhat palakā the mere
Sitare talmalate hai gagan me”.*⁷³

This poem consists of 14,000 lines.⁷⁴

Another poem of Gawwasi is written in 1639 A.D was *Tuti Nama*, the tales of a parrot, a poetical translation of Ziya-ud-Din’s Persian work of the same name⁷⁵. After Wajahi and Ghawwasi, another poet of prominence in Golkunda was Ibn-i-Nishati.⁷⁶ Ibn-i-Nishati flourished during the reign of Sultan Abudllah Qub Shah (1626-1674 A.,D).⁷⁷ Son

⁷⁰ Ram Babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, op. cit, p. 37.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., pp. 38-39.

⁷³ Amrit Rai, op. cit., p. 217.

⁷⁴ op. cit., p.24

⁷⁵ Ibid.,

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 25.

⁷⁷ Ram Babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, op. cit, p. 37.

of Mohammad Qutb Shah⁷⁸ He wrote *Phul Ban* in 1655 A.D ,it is a romance, 3,500 lines in length.⁷⁹ *Phulban* (garden), is a fairy tale of love and adventure and is named after its heroine.⁸⁰

Both, in the literary as well as the historians' fields, it is valued.⁸¹

It is mainly a translation of a Persian work, *Basalin*, written during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq (early fourteenth century) by Ahmad Zubairi.⁸²

As was the tradition of the time, this poem of romance begins with the praise of God and the saints. When the story is completed the author laments the death of some of his poet predecessors.⁸³

Abul Hasan Qutb Shah (1674-1687 A.D), was the last king of Golconda. He was man of culture and a patron of scholars and poets.⁸⁴ His literary name was *Tanashah*. He was the son-in-law of Abdullah Qutb Shah, after whose demise he succeeded to the throne.⁸⁵

⁷⁸ Ibid .

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid .

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 39.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

At his court flourished many poets and one of them was Tabai, who wrote a *Masnavi* entitled *Qissai-Bahram Gulbadan*, a fairy story adopted from Persian.⁸⁶

Now let us take a look that how *Dakhini* differ from the north Indian language i.e. *hindavi*.

Though the syntax of *Dakhini* remained the same as that of *hindavi*, and though *Dakhini* was also written in the Perso-Arabic script, its content differed from *hindavi* in at least three aspects.⁸⁷ First, it retained much of the old Punjabi that is not found in the language used in North India.⁸⁸ Second the *Dakhini* contained more Sanskrit words (probably loan words of Telugu and Kanadda) in comparison to the North Indian language.⁸⁹ For instance we can take the following lines composed by Sheikh Bahauddin Barani, a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir.⁹⁰

“ina naina kā yahī bisekha

Haū tujh dekhū tū mujh dekha.”⁹¹

Here ‘*nainan*,’ *bisekha*, are Sanskrit words.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur(1300-1700)* op. cit., p. 92.

⁸⁸ Ibid .

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Amrit Ray, op. cit., p. 200.

⁹¹ Ibid.

Thirdly *Dakhini* tended to use much less Arabic and Persian vocabulary than the North Indian language.⁹²

Thus we see that hindavi became popular in Deccan by the name of *Dakhini*. Like North India *Dakhini* got the status of the language of common people. The kingdom of Bijapur and Golconda were like resorts of literary men like Ghawwasi, Ibn-i-Nishati, Wajahi and Abdul who worked for the development of *Dakhini*.

⁹² *Sufis of Bijapur(1300-1700)*, op. cit., p. 92.

CHAPTER – V

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF REKHTA

After the advent of the Mughals on the stage of Indian history, the *hindavi* language acquired greater flexibility and range.¹ Though *hindavi* started developing from the time of Amir Khusrau but the pace was much quickened in the time of Akbar.² He himself had poetic talents and the nobles at his court imitated him and worked a lot for the development of the *hindavi*.³ This tradition of Akbar was continued by his son Jahangir and later by Aurangzeb.⁴

The *Hindavi* of Aurangzeb's period was known as *Rekhta*.⁵

Rekhta is a Persian word meaning 'poured'⁶

The word *rekhta* had no literary significance in Persia but in India it was used for the literary language, i.e. the language of poetry where there was

¹ Yusuf Hussain, *Glimpses of medieval Indian Culture*, British Press, Bombay, 1957, p. 108.

² Ram Babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allahabad, 1927, p. 41.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Yusuf Hussain, *Glimpses of medieval Indian culture*, op. cit, p. 108.

⁶ T. Grahame Bailey, *A History of Urdu literature*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1932, p. 3

an admixture of the Indian words (*hindavi*) with Persian.⁷ Thus the language was called *rekhta* as it consisted of *hindavi* vocabulary into which *Arabic* and *Persian* words had been poured. Sometime the *hindavi* language was itself also referred to as *rekhta*.⁸

In fact the word *rekhta* was introduced by Amir Khusrau (1223-1325 A.D) as a musical term to mean a harmonizing of *Hindavi* words with *Persian* words.⁹ A very famous *rekhta ghazal* attributed to Khusrau Combining *persian* and *hindavi* is:

*ze hāl-i-miskī makun taghāful durāya nainā banāya batiyā cū tāb-i-hijrā
na dāram jā na lewa kāhe lagāya chatiyā yakāyak az dil do cashm-i-jādū
basad farebam baburd taskī kise parī hai ki jā suhāwe piyare pī se
hamārī batiyā.*¹⁰

The Mughals led to the propagation of *hindavi* all over the country and finally to its standardization when the synthetic character of this language acquired complete form and greater content and power.¹¹

The term *rekhta* was coined by the scholars to distinguish the literary language they were using from the conversational one.¹²

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., P. 4.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Amrit Rai, *A House Divided, Hindi/ Hindavi*, Oxford University Press, 1884, pp. 141-142.

¹¹ Yusuf Hussain, *Glimpses of medieval Indian Culture*, op cit. p. 112.

¹² Ram Babu Saxena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, op. cit, p. 7

The scholars were even scorning to use the word ‘*Zaban-i-Urdu*’ for their literary language as ‘*Zaban-i-Urdu*’ was the term used for the conversational language of the rough uncultured armies.¹³

The famous poets of this period who wrote in *rekhta* are Chandar Bhan Brahman, Mirza Abdul Ghani Kashmiri, Mirza Bedil and J’afar Zatalli.¹⁴

Here are a few examples of the languages of Chandar Bhan Brahman, Ghani and Bedil:-

Chandar Bhan Brahman

*Khuda ne kis Shahar andar haman ko laidala hai,¹⁵
na dilber hai, na saqi hai, na shisha hai, na piyala hai.*

Ghani

*dil yun khilyale zulf men phirta hai n’ara zan,¹⁶
tarik shab men jaise koi pasban phire.*

Bedil

*jab dil ke astan par ‘ishq ankar pukara,
parde se yar bola, Bedil Kahan hai ham hain.¹⁷*

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Yusuf Hussain, *Glimpses of medieval Indian Culture*, op. cit, p. 112.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

We find elements of *rekhta* in the language of these poets as along with Persian they had used *Hindavi* words as ‘*lai*’, ‘*dāla*’, ‘*shishā*’, ‘*hai*’, ‘*phirta*’, ‘*jaise*’, ‘*kai*’, ‘*ankar*’, ‘*pukārā*’ ‘*bolā*’, ‘*kahān*’ etc. but this language gained a new status under Jafar Zatalli.

Mir Muhammad Jafar, who gave to himself the unlikely and self-mocking pen name of Zatalli, meaning ‘babblers of nonsense’, was a phenomenon in many ways.¹⁸

Besides being the first writer with an uninhibited love for words, he was the first *hindavi* satirist, the first humorist, the first social and political satirist, a writer of obscene and bawdy prose and verse and the first *hindavi* writer in Northern India.¹⁹ He did all this entirely on his own.²⁰

About Zatalli’s life almost nothing is known, except that he was from Narnaul, a small town some miles away from Delhi in modern day Haryana and was from a good family of Sayyids.²¹

The date of his birth is not known but can be determined tentatively as 1658.²²

¹⁸ Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, “*Burning Rage, Icy Scorn : The Poetry of Jafar Zatalli*” (Lecture delivered at University of Texas, Austin), 2008, p. 1

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Jafar Zatalli, *Zatalnama-Kulliyat-i-Jafar Zatalli*, (ed.) Rashid Hasan Khan, Anjuman-Tarakki Urdu, New Delhi, 2008, p. 12

Jafar at some time or other was employed at the court of Kam Baksh, fourth son of Aurangzeb,²³ Jafar was also employed at the Deccan expedition under Kam Baksh but when he composed an satire on Kam Baksh, the prince made him to leave the work.²⁴

Later on jafar felt ashamed on what he had composed as the Prince did not punish him severely.²⁵

Jafar was feeling guilty, which he had expressed in his following verse:-

از لفظِ بے معنی خود، وزلافِ لا یعنی خود
 محتاجی از ہر خشک وتر، کہ جعفر اب کیسی بنی
 باناز و نعمت بودہ، سر بر فلک فرسودہ
 اکنون کجا آں باروبر، کہ جعفر اب کیسی بنی²⁶

az lafze be māni khud, wo zlafe la yānī khud

mauhtājī az har khūshk wa tar, ke jāfar ab kaisī banī

ba nāz wa nēmat būdah, sar bar falak farsūdah

aknū kūjā ān bārobar, ke jafar ab kaisī bāni

²² Ibid., See also, Shamsur Rehman Faruqi, *Burning Rage*, “Ice Scorn: The Poetry of Jafar Zatalli”, op. cit, p. 3.

²³ Ibid., p. 13.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

²⁵ Jafar Zatalli, *Zatalnama*, *Kulliyat-i-Jafar Zatalli*, op.cit., p. 14.

²⁶ Ibid.

Jafar feared none, he wrote whatever he feels. He was a very outspoken person and used rough and intrepid language.²⁷ Jafar was very fond of Aurangzeb and he had praised Alamgir in his poem ‘*Dar Tārīf-i-Arangzeb*:-

زہے دھاک اورنگ شاہ بلی
 در اقلیم دکھن پڑی کھلبلی
 دریں پیر سالی و ضعف بدن
²⁸ مچائی دھما چوکڑی در دکھن

zahe dahake-i-Aurang shah bali

dar aqleem dakkhin padi khalbali

darīn pair sali wa zauf-e-badan

machai dhama chaukdi dar dakkhin

It is a ‘*Qasida*’ for Aurangzeb, where emperor had made *dhama chaukri*, in Deccan, as written by Jafar Zatalli despite his old age and weak body.²⁹ Here words like ‘*bali*’, ‘*dhak*’, *khal bali*’ ‘*dhamachaukri*’ are all *Hindavi*, used along with Persian, and this is called *rekhta*.

Though Jafar had great respect for Aurangzeb, he did not like his sons and he accused them of making the Deccan expedition difficult.³⁰ His

²⁷ Ibid., p.17.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 125.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 21.

poem ‘*Darbar-i-Dilāwari*’ is also worth mentioning, where he had made fun of hollow structure of administration.³¹

من آں رسمِ وقتِ رویں تم
کہ دہ پاڑ از مشّتِ خود بشکنم
کنم روزن اندر چپاتی بہ تیر
بر ارمِ دمار از سرِ مورِ پیر³²

man ān rasme waqt royēn tanam

ked deh papad az mashte khūd bāshknam

kunam rozan andar chapātī bat air

bar ārām damār az sare more pair

After the death of Aurangzeb Jafar wrote ‘*Marsiyā Aurangzeb Alamgir*’, where he had expressed his grief at the death of emperor.

بنالِ اے عندلیبِ گلشنِ ہوش
بکنِ الحانِ خور از غمِ فراموش
سیہ گنِ چہرہ طیب و طرب را
زبان کو تہ بکن، بر بند لب را³³

banāl āyē andleeb gulshan-i-hosh

bakun alhāne khur az gham farāmosh

sīyah kun chehrah taib wa tarab ra

zaban ko ta bakūn, barband lab ra

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., p. 137.

According to the royal tradition, after the death of Aurangzeb, the four sons of the emperor waged war of succession against each other and this was also portrayed by Jafar Zatalli, which is as follows:-

رکت کے آنسوؤں دل روتا ہے
نہ میٹھی نیند کوئی سوتا ہے
صدائے توپ و بندوق ہر سو
34 بہ سر اسباب و صندوق ہر سو

rakt ke ānshun dil rotā hai
nā meethi nīnd koi sota hai
sadae tōp wa bandūq ast har sū
ba sar asbāb wa sandūq ast har sū

In the end of Mohammad Muazzam, with the title of Bahadur Shah sat on the throne.

While discussing the time of Muhammad Muazzam, Jafar writes:-

تر بوز و خربزه نہ رسد گرترا بہ دست
یک سبز پھانک کھیرۃ بالم غنیمت است
گرشیوۃ گرائی و خواری طلب کنی
35 پس نوکری شاہ معظم غنیمت است

tarbūz wa kharbuzāh na rasīd gar tra be dast,
yak sabz phanke khīrtah balam ghanīmat ast
gar shewah garayī wa khuwari talab kani
pesh naukari shahe Muazzam ghanīmat ast

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 17-18.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 18

Jafar Zatalli also wrote a satire on Khan-e-Jahan Zafar Jang, a leading nobleman in Aurangzeb's administration.³⁶

Before the satire he wrote an introductory note for Khan-e-Jahan, which is as follows:-

Khan-i-Jahan, who ran away from the expedition to Sansi, halted at Mathura and devastated the roads and paths, and desolate the whole world, seized a copy of the *Quran* owned by this humble one, and gave neither reward for my poem in his praise nor he priced me for my copy of the Noble *Quran*. Doubtless I then wrote the following satire to give him fame.³⁷

Then begins the satire composed by Mir which destroyed the dignity of Khan-i-Jahan for ever

Here are few lines:-

خانِ جہاں اتم بھلے بگاڑی، تھکی داڑھی پھٹے منہ
سنسی اوپرگری سواری، تھکی داڑھی پھٹے پھٹے منہ³⁸

khan-e-jahan tum bhale bigādi, thukki dādi fitthe munh

sansi ūpar girī sawārī, thukki dādi fitthe munh

(Khan-e-Jahan, how well you bungeld!

Spit in you beard, your face damned and cursed.

³⁶ Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, "Burning Rage, Icy Scorn: The Poetry of Jafar Zatalli", op. cit, p. 6.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Jafar Zatalli, *Zatalnama, Kulliyat-i-Jafar Zatalli*, op. cit, pp. 152-152.

So wretched, so abject, have you no shame?

In every home they curse you and spit at you,

Spit in your beard, your face damned and cursed)

In this satire Jafar had expressed his anger for Khan-e-Jahan as he had retreated himself from the battle field.

Mir Jafar Zatalli had also written an obscene satire against Ismatunnisa Begum, a grand daughter of Mamur Khan, a prominent noble at Aurangzeb's court.³⁹

Next person who fell into Jafar's hands was Sabha Chand who was known for his sanctimonious ways, and also for corruption.⁴⁰

Jafar had not spared him and wrote a satire against Sabha Chand attacking him for his corrupt nature and lack of honesty.⁴¹

سبھا چند جی اتم بڑے ڈھینگ ہو
کہ گڑ پنٹھ، اور بیل کے سینگ ہو
کہیں سینگ انکالے کھڑ کھڑ کرو
42 کہیں پنکھ پھیلانے پھڑ پھڑ کرو

sabha chand ji tum bade dhīng ho

ki gadpankh, aur baīl ke sing ho

kahin sīng udkaē khad khad karo

kahin pankh phailae phad phad karo

³⁹ Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, "Burning Rage, Icy Scorn: The Poetry of Jafar Zatalli", op. cit., p.5.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.5.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Jafar Zatalli, *Zatalnama, Kulliyat-i-Jafar Zatalli*, op. cit., p. 164.

(sabhā chand jī tum bade dhīng (very fatty and fool) ho,
 ke gadpankh (a bird having very big wings) aur bail ke sīngh,
 kahin sīng udkāye khad-khad karo kahin pankh phaelāye phad-phad karo.)
 Apart from writing satires on others Jafar had also written two poems
 where he had depicted conditions of his own life.

In one poem hamed ‘*Hasbe-Hāl Khud goft*’ he had given a picture of
 his life after he was dismissed from the service of Prince Kam-
 Baksh.⁴³

تنہا شدی اندر سفر، کہ جعفر اب کیسی بنی!
 اُفتادی اندر بحر و بر، کہ جعفر اب کیسی بنی!
 از ہجو آں سلطانِ خود، کردی پریشان جانِ خود
 در ماندہ بے بال و پر، کہ جعفر اب کیسی بنی!⁴⁴

tanhai shudi andar safar, ke jāfar ab kaisī banī,
uftadī andar bahr-o-bar, ke jāfar ab kaisī banī,
az hajwe ān sultan-i-khud, kardi pareshān jān-i-khud,
darmānda be bāl wa par, ke jāfar ab kaisī banī.

(Travelling all alone, say now, Jafar, how to cope:

You’ve been cast away in land and sea, say now Jafar how to cope?

⁴³ Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, “*Burning Rage*”, op cit., p.8.

⁴⁴ Op. cit., p. 147.

You have mocked and satirized your sultan, your sultan, Fallen behind,
shorn of wing and feather, say now, Jafar, how to cope?)⁴⁵

Another remarkable poem where perhaps Jafar had expressed his own
condition is :

گُلّ رگا دیوار کو، کہ جعفر اب کیا کیجئے
خطرہ ہوا آٹار کو، کہ جعفر اب کیا کیجئے⁴⁶

gullar laga dīwār ko, ke jāfar ab kya kijīye,

khatrāh hua asār ko, ke jāfar ab kya kijīye.

(Barren Saline attacks the walls

Say Jafar, what's to be done now?

The foundations are at risk

Say, what's to be done now)⁴⁷

It seems that Jafar had written this poem in his old age, as he is using the
words *jo ban chalā rūs kar*, meaning the 'the displeased young age has
gone':-

جو بن چلا ہے روس کر، گھر بار سارا موس کر⁴⁸

Jo ban chalā hai rūs kar, ghar bār sārā nūs kar,

In the next line Jafar is saying that '*shobhā nahin singhār ko*' meaning
that 'now ornamentation does not look graceful':-

⁴⁵ Op. cit., p. 8.

⁴⁶ Jafar Zatalli, *Zatahnama, Kulliyat-i-Jafar Zatalli*, op. cit., p. 224.

⁴⁷ Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, "*Burning Rage*", op. cit., p. 9.

⁴⁸ Op. cit., p. 225.

شوبھا نہیں سنگار کو ، کہ جعفر اب کیا کیجئے⁴⁹

shobhā nahin singār ko, ke jāfar ab kya kijiye

A whole lot of *hindavi* words along with *persian*, such as 'joban', *chalā*', *ghar-bār*', *shobhā*', *singhār*'.

Hence, this is what we call *rekhta* of Jafar.

Jafar perhaps executed at the order of mughal emperor Farrukh Siyar (reigning 1712-1719)⁵⁰

Jafar had composed a foul mouthed Sikkah on the crowning of Farrukh Siyar, which angered the emperor and as a result Jafar was executed at the order of the Mughal emperor.⁵¹

The sikkah which ended Jafar's life is as follows:-

سکہ زد بر گند و موٹھ و مٹر
بادشاہ تسم کش فرخ سیر⁵²

sikka zad bar gund wa moth wa matar

badshahetasmā kush farrūkh siyār

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., p. 15.

Jafar Zatali is known more for his obscene poetry but he was a master in combining *arabic, persian and hindavi* words. He was creative and inventive. At the same time he also had command over the use of *prakrit* based words in his compositions.⁵³ Jafar was the person who chose '*rekhta*' mode for his composition and successfully made it popular.

Besides Jafar another prominent figure, who helped in the further development of *rekhta* was Shamsuddin Wali (1668-1744).⁵⁴ Famously known as *Baba-e-Rekhta* or Father of *Rekhta*.⁵⁵

Wali was born at Aurangabad. He visited Delhi in 1700, when he came in contact with Shah Sadullah Gulshan, a famous poet and Sufi of that time.⁵⁶

The Sufi advised wali to introduce the *Persian* style and *Persian* subjects into *rekhta*, which the wali had hitherto followed, and after a few years compiled a *diwan*.⁵⁷

He went to Delhi in 1722 A.D. with his *diwan*. Wali's *Diwan* created a revolution in the poetry of Northern India.⁵⁸

His verses became so popular that people began to sing them in the *bazaar*.⁵⁹

⁵³ Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, "*Burning Rage*" op. cit., p. 10.

⁵⁴ Yusuf Hussain, *Glimpses of medieval Indian Culture*, op. cit., p. 112.

⁵⁵ T. Grahame Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature*, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵⁶ Op. cit., p. 34.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ T. Grahame Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature*, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Wali's poetry was sweet and subtle with a strong emotional appeal, written in a pure and simple style.⁶⁰

کہاں ہے وہ گلزار باغ و فار کہ ہے شاہ جس کی سدا دلبری
کرے جگ میں شرمندہ خورشید کو
اگر برین پہنے لباسِ زری⁶¹

*kahān hai wo gulzār bāgh wafā ke hai shāh jis ki sāda dilbari
kare jag mein sharmindāh khursheed ko
agar bar mein pehney lības-e-zari*

This poem of Wali is steeped in love, as here the poet is searching for his beloved and using the words like '*Gulzār bāgh wafā*', for her

(Wali also employed *hindavi* words in his Persian poetry like Jafar:)

تجھ برہ کے غنیم گھرا ہے ملک دل
آرام نہیں ہو جیو کہ کشور کو ایک تیل
نینان تر یہ ملک کون تو لین ملک سول مل
ہمت کون مار صبر کون کرنے نیٹ نجل⁶²

*tūjh birāh ke ghanīm ghira bai mulk dil,
ārām nahin hai jīu ke kishwar ko ēk til,
nainān tar ye mulk kaun tu lēn mulk sōl mil,
hīmmat kaun mar sabr kaun karne nipat khājāl,*

⁶⁰ Yusuf Hussain, *Glimpses of medieval Indian culture*, op. cit., p. 113.

⁶¹ Shah Walicullah, *Diwan-i-Wali*, (ed.) Munshi Naval Kishore, Lucknow, 1878, p. 198.

⁶² Ibid., p. 188.

In the following verse Wali had used *hindavi* words like 'tujh', 'birāh', 'nainan' and 'nahin'.

Let us now take other developments which were taking place during this period.

Let us take *Tuhfat-ul-Hind*, as a crucial piece of evidence.⁶³

Tuhfatul Hind (A gift from India, 1675 A.D.) was composed at the request of Azam Shah, a son of Aurangzeb by Mirza Khan.⁶⁴ This work is a good illustration of the contact between the Brajbhasha and Persian literary traditions.⁶⁵

Mirza Khan had given the name 'bhākā' to the vernacular language of the people.⁶⁶ He had also given information about Brajbhasha grammar.⁶⁷

Mirza Khan had given many *hindavi* words along with their Persian words, some of them are:

(a) *Hindavi* word bond (بوند) in Persian means Qatrāh (قطره)⁶⁸

(b) bhanwrāh (بھوزا) in Persian in zambūr Siyāh (زنبورسیاہ)⁶⁹

⁶³ Amrit Rai, *A House Divided, Hindi/Hindavi*, Oxford University Press, 1884, p. 224.

⁶⁴ Stuart Mc. Gregor, *Progress of Hindi: Part I* (ed.) in Sheldon Pollock, *Literary cultures in History; Re constructions from South Asia*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, p. 942.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Mirza Khan Ibn Fakhr-ud-din Mohammad, *Tuhfatul-Hind*, (ed.) Nurul Hasan Ansari, Iran, 1950, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Op.cit., p. 943.

⁶⁸ Op.cit., p. 7.

(c) Persian word for thāl (تھال) is tabaq (طبق)⁷⁰

(d) *Hindavi ghar* (گھر) in Persian is khāhāh (خانہ)⁷¹

In the end, Mirza Khan had given a glossary of Sanskrit words with their equivalent words in Persian, arranged alphabetically⁷², i.e. starting from Alif (الف) and goes on like ب ، پ ،.....

Here are just a few of them:

Persian	Sanskrit/Hindi
(الف) (ا)	
بھترین	اتم
73 معنی	ارتھ
(ب)	
شیر	باگ
74 معشوق	بالم
(پ)	
پدر	پتا
75 پسر	پتر
(ت)	
ستارہ	تارا
76 طبق	تھال

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 8.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., p. 519.

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 512-519.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 540-542.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 567- 568.

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 583-585.

The words used in *Tahfatul Hind* seems to be words of common usage,⁷⁷ for instance:

*aksharā, arthā,*⁷⁸ *pāras,*⁷⁹ *tāndavā, trisulā,*⁸⁰ *rāja, radhikā,*⁸¹ *kisān, kavyā,*⁸² *lāj,*⁸³ *maina,*⁸⁴ *chameli, champā,*⁸⁵ *dhol,*⁸⁶ etc.

All these words are given in *Tuhfatul Hind* along with their Persian meanings.

In naming *Tuhfat-ul-Hind* Mirza Khan may have hoped that its readers or users would take the work in the spirit of its title, as a 'gift', confirming, as it were, their involvement in the wider mixed modern culture of north India.⁸⁷

Further advances were made in the study of *hindavi*, by Tek Chand Bahar, who in his dictionary, *Bahar-i-Ajam* (1740 A.D) had given a whole lot of *hindavi* words,⁸⁸ and a few of them are:

⁷⁷ Amrit Rai, *A House Divided, Hindi/ Hindavi*, op.cit., p. 224.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 542.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 585.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 626.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 667.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 711.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 641.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 603.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 612.

⁸⁷ Stuart Mc. Gregor, *Progress of Hindi: Part I*, (ed.) Sheldon Pollock *literary cultures in History*, op.cit, p. 994.

⁸⁸ Tek Chand Bahar, *Bahar-i-Ajam*, (ed.) Maulvi Hadi Ali, Munshi Naval Kishore Lucknow, 1916, pp.1-2.

shīshā-	شیشہ	89
geet	- گیت	90
mahūrat	- مہرت	91
kursi	- کرسی	92
virān Nagar	- ویدان نگر	93
chau-guna	چگونہ	94
man	من	95
tan	تن	96

From the above discussion it becomes apparent that it was from the reign of Aurangzeb onwards that in North India, especially in the Delhi-Agra region the *hindavi* now started emerging as a language of the literatures. At the time when Wali came to the Delhi Court, the *hindavi* which was known was a language of speech in which the poets generally hesitated to compare. They spoke the language but carried on the compose verses in

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 10.

⁹² Ibid., p. 14.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 15.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 27.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

the traditional Persian. It was only after Wali's *diwan* came to be introduced that the hesitancy of the North India poets was broken and they started composing *hindavi* and *rekhta* verses.

Zatalli on the other hand was one of the first literateur of the newly emerging language which later on was to be known as 'Urdu' if written in Arabic script or Hindi if copied in *devanagari*.

CONCLUSION

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The earliest reference regarding the use of the word '*hindavi*', to refer to any Indian language is found in *Chachnama* i.e., the early history of the Arab conquest of Sindh.

When the Arabs conquered Sindh, they started calling it 'Hind' as their inability to pronounce 's'. Thus they gave 's' for 'h' and began to use 'Hind' for 'Sindh' and used the term '*hindavi*' for the languages of hind.

Up to pre-Sultanate period we do not find much about '*hindavi*' we only find references about a '*hindavi*' diwan of Masud Sad Salman, a poet of Lahore in the *Lubab-al-Lubab*, (1222 A.D) of Mohammad Aufi.

With the establishment of Delhi Sultanate, a new era and a new culture began to take root. This was the time which witnessed the growth of '*hindavi*' especially in the writings of Amir Khusrau, the poet laureate. Amir Khusrau in his *masnavi* '*Nuh Siphir*' has given a list of twelve dialects. A *Sindhi*, *Lahori*, *Kashmiri*, *Kabari*, *Dhur-samundri*, *Tilangi*, *Gujari*, *Ma'bari*, *Gauri*, *Bengali* and *Oudhi* and that of Delhi and its environs, and considers all of them as '*hindavi*'.

So, it is clear that Amir Khusrau does not use 'hindavi' word for a single language but for all these dialects.

He has distinguished 'hindavi' from Sanskrit and Persian and considered it as the language of the common people. This is the reason why he had used 'hindavi' in his Persian works. Amir Khusrau is also known for his riddles, *mukris*, *keh-mukarnis*, *do-sakhuna* and *dhakosala*. Though there is a controversy whether they were written by Khusrau, we can not deny them throughout, as for hundreds of years millions of people have associated them with Khusrau, which lends them a measure of credibility. Scholars like Mehmood Shirani and Mohammad Amin Abbasi agreed that these are Khusrau's composition though some of them had not been written by Khusrau but added to his name. Besides Amir Khusrau, during the time of Delhi Sultante, Sufis also worked for the development of *hindavi*. The policy of Sufis was to reach more and more people and they thought that it was not possible with the use of Persian language as the number of people who could follow it, were few.

So, the Sufis considered 'hindavi' quite fit for the propagation of their teachings and ideas. We have come across, a significant work *Khair-ul-Majalis* by Hamid Qalandar containing the discourses by Sheikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-i-Dehlavi.

This is a substantial work where we have found many sayings in ‘*hindavi*’ language. We have also come across *hindavi* discourses in *Siyar-ul-Auliya*. By going through both these sources, we can easily understand that Sufis used ‘*hindavi*’ for conversation as well as for their teachings.

The prominent Sufis of Delhi Sultanate were Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri, Sheikh Sharfuddin bu Ali Qalandar, Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya, and Sheikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi.

Besides Amir Khusrau and the Sufis, Bhagat poets like Kabir and Nanak also used the same language. The strategy of Bhagat poets was same as that of Sufis. They expressed their mystical experience in *hindavi* in a lyrical form.

The Delhi Sultanate witnessed the growth of this language ‘*hindavi*’ which resulted in works like those of *Chandayan* by Mulla Daud. So, we have found that *hindavi* developed from a mere use of stray words to works of literary eminence like *Chandayan* and also *Miftah-ul Fuzala* where Mehmood Shadiabi is compelled to give ‘*hindavi*’ words along with their Persian equivalents, and this could be so only when ‘*hindavi*’ had attained an important position.

So, we have found that by the end of the 15th century, *hindavi*, had developed into a kind of literary language.

Coming down to the Mughal period, we have come across a list of eleven dialects by Abul Fazl in Ain-i-Akbari, which we have discussed earlier. Abul Fazl calls all these as '*hindavi*' or Indian language.

This was the period when vernaculars like Brajbhasha (spoken in the region east of Delhi), Punjabi (spoken in region west of Delhi), kept on developing. All these vernacular dialects were forms of '*hindavi*'

Therefore there was a growth of these vernaculars under the Mughals.

Babur had used many *hindavi* words in his Baburnama but Akbar was the first mughal emperor who patronized many Braj and Awadhi poets like Tulsidas, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khan, Surdas, Gang etc.

Under Akbar translations were also done from Sanskrit to Persian, which shows that scholars of Akbar's time as well as the emperor himself had adequate knowledge of these language.

Jahangir like his father was a man of learning. He accorded patronage to men of learning and his court was adorned by literary figures like Ghiyas Beg, Naqib Khan, Mutamid Khan etc. Some eminent *hindavi* literary figures who adorned his court were Jadrup Gosain and Bishan Das but most outstanding of them was Kesavadas, who composed many works

like Rasikpriya, Kavipriya etc. Jahangir himself wrote Jahangirnama and used many *hindavi* words in his work.

During the time of Shah Jahan also we have found works of literary importance for example *Zakhiratul Khwanin*, which contained many *hindavi* words as well as proverbs.

Another remarkable works done during the time of ShahJahan is Bikat Kahani by Mohammad Afzal. This poem is based on a well know style of pre-modern Indian poetry called *Baramasa*, and presented the sentiments of a lover separated from the beloved.

Another remarkable work written in Brajbhasha in the hey day of Mughal rule is *Ardh kathanak* by Banarasidas. It is the first ever auto-biography in *hindavi*.

This process seems to have accelerated in the later mughal period, which saw emergences of poets like Abru, Arzu, Mazhar, Sauda etc. Thus we find that during the time of mughal rule great works of literary value were done in vernaculars like Braj, Punjabi & Awadhi.

When '*hindavi*' went to the *Deccan* it began to be called by the name Dakhini.

In Deccan '*hindavi*' in the form of Dakhini was accepted as the language of the masses in the king doms of Bijapur and Golconda.

The kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda witnessed the emergence of Dakhini poets like Mulla Nusrati who wrote *Alinama*, *Gulshan-i-Ishq*, Shah Miranji who wrote *Khushnama* and *Khushnagaz*. Mulla Vajahi who wrote *Qutub Mushtasi & Sabras Ghawwasi* who wrote *Saif-ul-Muluk Badiul Jamal* and Ibn-i-Nishati who wrote *Phulban*.

One thing worth noticing here is that though the eminent literary figures were using, this language ‘*hindavi*’ or Dakhini (as it was known in Deccan) for their speech, yet they were quite hesitant to use it for their works as they considered it as a rough speech of commoners. It was from the reign of Aurangzeb onwards, that we find that this uncertainty of literatures broken by the writings of Jafar Zatalli, who chose this language for his literary works.

The language of Jafar Zatalli’s writings came to be known as ‘*rekhta*’ i.e, mixed or poured.

Both ‘*hindavi*’ and ‘*rekhta*’ of Jafar are the same. This process of development of *hindavi* or *rekhta* accelerated by the writings of Wali Aurangabadi.

We have found that it was during the time of Jafar and Wali that *hindavi* was not used for different dialects or for the languages of Hindustan but now it began to be used in literature freely. One thing worth mentioning

here is that though '*hindavi*' was accepted as a language of literature, it never attained the status of the language of the court either in Sultanate period or in Mughal period but while concluding we can not say that the status of '*hindavi*' was the same as it was in earlier times i.e., the language of the common people, if it was true then it would not be possible that a poet like Ghalib would chose to write in this very language.

In the end we can say that '*hindavi*' is the mother language of modern day 'Urdu', if written in arabic script and 'Hindi' if written in devanagari script.

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