

**MONOGRAPH ON  
A CRITICAL AND COMPARATIVE  
STUDY OF  
AMIR KHUSRAU'S AINA-A-SIKANDER**

*Written by:*  
**PROF. MARIA BILQUIS**

*Foreword by:*  
**DR. W.H. SIDDIQI**

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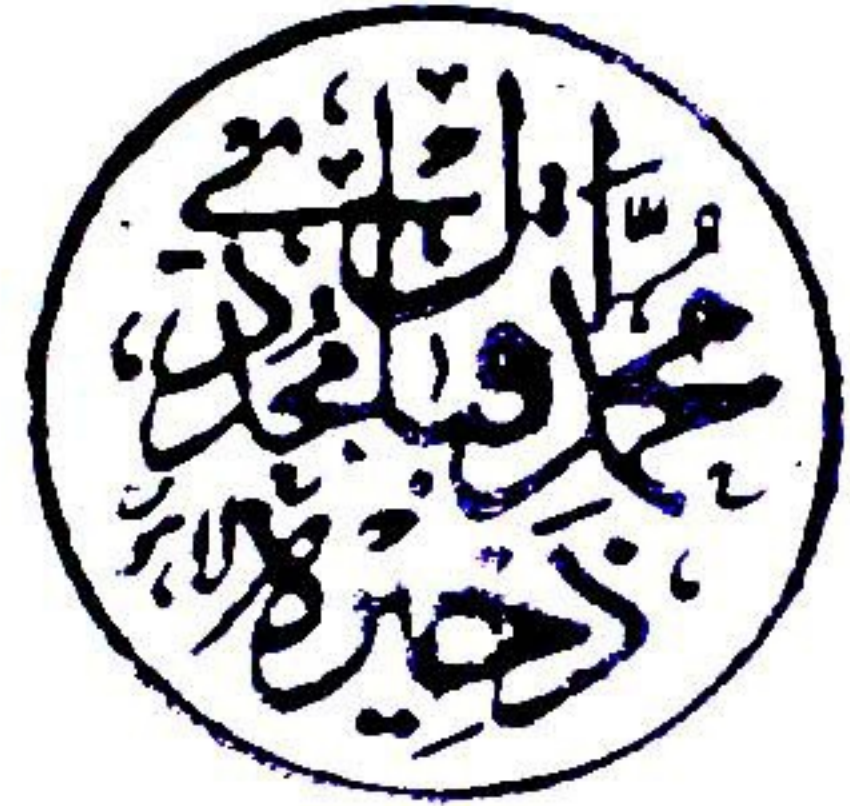






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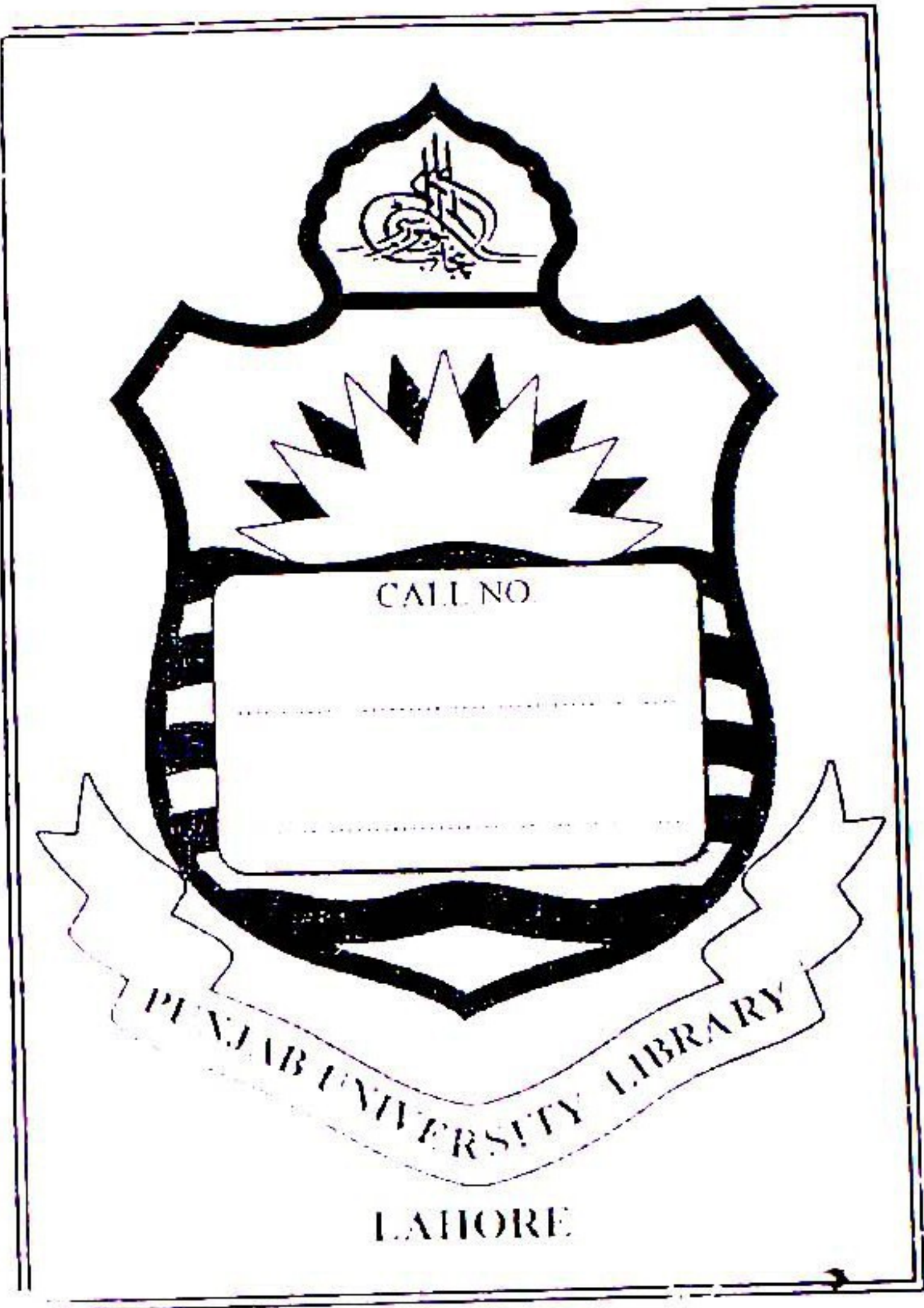
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جو 2014ء میں پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری کو  
ہدیہ کیا گیا۔

**Dedicated to my mother  
Mrs. Sakina Khatoon**







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## Foreword

The book of Prof. Maria Bilquis makes a critical and comparative study of Amir Khusrau's Aina-i-Sikanderi, which is the fourth poem in Khusrau's "Khamsa", composed in the metric style of the Sikander Nama of Nizami Ganjavi. Khusrau has delineated some of the events and exploits of Alexander's adventures which were elaborately and coherently described by Nizami about a century before.

The classical Khamsa of Nizami consists of five masnawis (poems), which are composed with thoughtful expressions and rare diction of Persian poetry of Iran. These masnawis have become internationally popular and loved by the scholars of Persian language and literature. Nizami's Khamsa and its style has been followed by several later Persian poets. Amir Khusrau is perhaps the earliest Indian Persian poet to have produced the same designating as Khamsa-i-Khusrau following the scheme and style of the Khamsa of Nizami with great care and precession. He completed his Khamsa within a brief period of over two years in AH 699 (AD 1299-1300). The Rampur Raza Library has a very rare illustrated manuscript copied in AH 855 (AD 1451) most probably at Herat in the Timurid style of Bihzad school, which has been studied by Prof. Maria Bilquis for the preparation of her book 'A Critical and Comparative Study of Amir Khusrau's Aina-i-Sikanderi.' I have included two illustrations of this Khamsa-i-Khusrau in this book for the larger interest of the readers.

The author has critically examined and compared the Khamsa of Amir Khusrau with that of the celebrated poet



Nizami of Ganja. The book presents the most intensive study of the Khamsa of Khusrau with specific reference to the work of Nizami whose style and diction, according to the author, is far superior than that of Khusrau.

Beginning with praise of Allah, the Prophet (PUH), Hazrat Nizamud-Din Auliya and the Sultan Alaud-Din Khalji in whose time he had composed the Khamsa and objects to the assertion made by Nizami that Alexander was a Prophet. Khusrau treats Alexander as a saint (Wali). After mentioning the achievements of Alexander, Khusrau describes his innovations such as astrolabe; the looking glass and tents made of cotton cloth instead of hide and gives the construction of the famous mirror of Alexander.

Khusrau concludes his Khamsa with a long and finely composed epilogue in which he describes his own achievements, laments the passage of time and appeals the readers of his work not to overlook the merit of his composition. It is hoped that the book will receive attention of Persian scholars in India and abroad.

I thank His Excellency Shri Vishnu Kant Shastri, Governor of Uttar Pradesh, Chairman, Rampur Raza Library Board and its members and the Publication Committee of the Library for allowing the publication by the Rampur Raza Library. Thanks are also due to the Secretary, Government of India Department of Culture for providing sufficient funds for the publication programme of the Library.

Rang Mahal  
Qila Rampur  
24.1.2004

Dr. W.H. SIDDIQI  
Former Director  
Archaeological Survey of India  
Officer On Special Duty  
Rampur Raza Library  
Rampur



## PREFACE

Amir Khusrau (b. AH 653), the greatest Persian poet of India, was considered the first to produce a replica to Nizami's *Khamisa* under a definite plan. No doubt, it was a courageous attempt but Khusrau had full faith in his eloquence and command in Persian. The proof lies in the fact that the following five Masnawis (*Khamisa*) were completed within a short period of over two years only:

1. *Matla'ul Anwar*, in the metre of Nizami's *Makhzanul Asrar*.
2. *Shirin wa Khusrau*, on the model of Nizami's *Khusrau wa Shirin*.
3. *Majnun wa Laila*, parallel to Nizami's *Laila wa Majnun*.
4. *Aina-i-sikanderi*, in the meter of Nizami's *Sikander Nama*.
5. *Hasht Bihisht*, on the model of *Haft Paikar* of Nizami.

Being the earliest attempt by a recognized master, a critical study of Amir Khusrau's *Khamisa* was long over due. As far as my knowledge goes no scholar is known to have filled this long left gap. The importance of the work prompted me to take up the assignment but the exhaustive study of all the five poems of the '*Khamisa*' would have been a stupendous task and I did not find myself capable of undertaking it. That is why I proposed to continue my study to the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* alone. The plan was accepted by Prof. J. A. Boyle of



Manchester University (U.K.), and the work was completed under his guidance as part of my Post-Doctoral work during my stay in U.K.

The monograph is divided into five chapters:

Chapter I is devoted to Khusrau's plan of writing *Khamsa*, the motive behind Nizami's imitation; Khusrau's limitations, success and failure; opinions about his achievements.

In Chapter II, after a brief survey of the legend of Alexander as prevalent in eastern land, a critical study of the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* is taken up under these heads:

- (a) The title of the book, the date of its composition and the lines contained in it, the circumstances under which it was written, the poet's limitations, etc.
- (b) Literary value of the poem.
- (c) Demerits of the Masnawi.

Chapter III deals with a comparative study of the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* with Nizami's *Sikander Nama* and Firdausi's *Shah Nama* wherein the details of the story and literary merits are discussed.

Chapter IV deals with the conclusion.

Chapter V comprises bibliography, etc.

The present monograph is yet another of revealing the versatile and multifaceted personality that Amir Khusrau was. It is now left to the scholars of Persian literature to decide as how far I have been able to achieve the goal of presenting a comparative study of Khusrau's *Aina-i-Sikanderi*.



I am deeply indebted to (late) Professor J. A. Boyle for his helpful suggestions and discussions.

My greatest thanks must go to my father, Padmashree Professor Nazir Ahmad, who have been of much help in writing this book.

My sincere thanks are due to Dr. W.H. Siddiqi, O.S.D., Rampur Raza Library for very kindly agreeing to write a foreword.

Finally, I thank my husband Professor Kabir-ud-Din for his help and encouragement and Rampur Raza Library for accepting publication of the book.

January, 15, 2004

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Study of  
Amir Khusrau’s *Aina-i-Sikanderi*”**

**PROF. MARIA BILQUIS  
Women’s College  
Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh**







## CHAPTER- I

### INTRODUCTORY

#### 'Khusrau's plan of writing Khamsa'

Nizami's Khamsa contains five poems all of which have been produced with such industry and care and have been enriched with such wealth of original similes and metaphors, picturesque phrases and forceful expressions as have few parallels in the whole realm of Persian poetical literature. These poems have earned wide reputation in the Islamic land resulting in the production of considerable number of parallel poems not only in Persian and Turkish but even in some of the other languages including Urdu.

Amir Khusrau is the earliest poet to write a replica of Nizami's Khamsa, and though fully conscious of the stupendousness of the task and of his misgivings about his own capabilities, his fiery nature urged him to undertake the task which was completed within a short period of two to three years as detailed below:

1. *The Matla'ul Anwar* written on the model of the



*Makhzanul Asrar*<sup>1</sup> contains 3310 lines and was completed within a very short period of two weeks in AH 698.<sup>2</sup>

2. The *Shirin wa Khusrau* in the metre of Nizami's *Khusrau*<sup>3</sup> *wa Shirin* contains 4124 lines and was written in Rajab AH 698.<sup>4</sup>
3. The *Majnun wa Laila* parallel to Nizami's *Laila wa Majnun*<sup>5</sup> contains 2660 lines and was composed the same year<sup>6</sup>.



- 
- (1) It was composed in AH 571. Its metre is Bahre Saree' Mutawwa Mauquf (بحر سریع مطوی موقوف) and it contains 2260 lines.
- (2)
- |  |   |
|--|---|
| بیت خزینه ز صد و بست و پنج<br>سی صد و ده بر شمر و سه هزار<br>شد بدو هفت این مه کامل تمام<br>از پس ششصد نود و هشت بود<br>(Matla'ul Anwar, Lucknow, p. 205). | بیت خزینه است درو پرز گنج<br>ور همه بیت آوری اندر شمار<br>از اثر اختر گردون خرام<br>سال که از چرخ کهن گشت بود |
|--|---|
- (3) It was composed in AH 586 in هزج مسدس مقصور metre and contains 6500 lines.
- (4)
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| ز هجرت ششصد و هشت و نود سال<br>چهار الف و چهار است و صد و بیست<br>(Shirin wa Khusrau, Aligarh, p. 284) | در آغاز رجب شد فرخ این فال<br>و گر برسی که بتیش راعدد چیست |
|--|--|
- (5) It was written in AH 588 in Hajaze Musaddas Akhrabe Maqbooz (هزج مسدس) metre, and it contains 4500 lines.
- (6)
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| مجنون لیلی بعکس اول<br>سالش نود ست و ششصد و هشت<br>جمله دو هزار و ششصد و شصت<br>(Majnun wa Laila, Aligarh, p. 172) | نامش که ز غیب شد مسجل<br>تاریخ ز هجرت آنکه بگذشت<br>بتیش بشمار راستی هست |
|--|--|



4. The *Aina-i-Sikanderi* which is on the model of the *Sikander Nama*<sup>1</sup> contains 4450 lines and was completed in AH 699.<sup>2</sup>
5. The last poem, the *Hasht Bihisht* parallel to Nizami's *Haft Paikar*<sup>3</sup> contains 3352 lines and was composed in AH 701.<sup>4</sup>

Though all the five poems were dedicated to the ruling monarch Alaud-Din Khalji (696-705), it is not certain that the plan was executed at the instance of the said monarch or any of his courtiers. Similarly one may

---

(1) It contains two parts, part-I is called *Sharaf Nama* which contains 6800 lines, part-II *Iqbal Nama* of *Khiraad Nama* comprises 3680 verses. The date of completion of the *Sikander Nama* is AH 599 and it is in Mutaqarib Musamman Maqsur (متقارب مثنی مفسود) metre. It may be noted that in Nizami's *Khamsa* this poem is the last one, while Amir Khusrau has himself stated the *Aina-i-Iskanderi* to be the fourth one (see the text, p. 27), and the *Hasht Bihisht* text, pp. 23-24. The latter has been called the fifth poem) Due to this confusion Dr. Moharramov regards *Aina-i-Iskanderi* as the last work (see, *Life, Times and Works of Amir Khusrau Dehlavi*, p. 115).

(2) در این دم که پایان این پیکر است      ز تاریخ هفصد یکی کمتر است  
گر آری همه بتیش اندر عدد      چهار الف و پنجه شد و چار صد  
(*Aina-i-Sikanderi*, Aligarh, pp.289-90)

(3) It contains 5130 lines in مخبون مقطوع metre and was composed in AH 593.

(4) همه بتیش بگاہ عرض شمار      سه صد و پنجه و دو سو سه هزار  
سال هجرش یکی و هفصد بود      کین بنابر سه بچرخ کبود  
(*Hasht Bihisht*, Aligarh, p. 220).



not completely agree with Daulatshah<sup>1</sup> that Khusrau started the work at the suggestion of his spiritual master, Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia (d.725). Perhaps it was due to his inner urge to compete with the great master of the art and thereby win a name (which he actually did).

Amir Khusrau, though possessed great talents, recognised the extraordinary merit of his predecessor not only in his *Khamsa* but even in his other works. In the *Qiran us-Sa'dain*, written much earlier than the *Khamsa*, Khusrau says:

»

وز دراو سربسر آفاق پر	نظم نظامی به لطافت چو دُر
خام بود پختن سود ای خام	پخته ازوشد چومعانی تمام
سربنهی اول و آنگاه پای	یه که درین جنبش طبع آزمای
بشنو واز دور دعای بگو	مثنوی او راست ثنای بگو
پختگیش هم ز نظامی طلب	سوز سخن رانه نجامی طلب

Similarly in his famous *Dibacha-i-Ghurratul Kamal* he calls himself an imitator of Nizami in *Masnawi* writing.

In almost all the five poems of the series, Khusrau pays glowing tributes to the genius of Nizami. For example, in the *Shirin wa Khusrau*<sup>2</sup> he says:

(1) تذکره در نشاه, p. 340.

(2) pp. 283-84



چنان درخمسہ داد اندیشہ را راد  
 دلم دیراست کین سود ابر داشت  
 نظامی کآب حیوان ریخت از حرف  
 ولی ترسیدم از گل خندہ باغ  
 فراغ دل مرا از صدیکی بود  
 چو بازار تمنا گرم تر گشت  
 میان دربستم و جستم بزاری  
 بدین ابجدکہ طفلان را کند شاد  
 گرت شیرین نخوانی بار بدهست  
 گرم فرصت دهد لطف خداوند  
 گشاد او پنج گنج از گنجہ خویش  
 فرد گویم بشیرین تر زبانی  
 کہ تا گوید مرا عقل گرامی  
 نخست از پردہ آن صبح سورم  
 پس از کلکم چکید این شربت نو  
 بقارا گر تھی ناید خزینہ  
 سہ گنج دیگر افشانم ز سینہ

کہ در سبع شدادش بست بنیاد  
 کہ گل چینم زباغی کو گذر داشت  
 ہمہ عمرش دران سرمایہ شد صرف  
 کہ دانم رقص کبک از جستن زاغ  
 ہوس بسیار و فرصت اندکی بود  
 دل از آرم بی آرم تر گشت  
 زبازوی توکل دستیاری  
 مثال بستم از تعلیم استاد  
 وگر جان نیست باری کالبدہست  
 کنم حلوائ اورا تازہ زین قند  
 بدان پنج آزمایم پنجہ خویش  
 بعرض داستانی داستانی داستانی  
 زہی شائستہ فرزند نظامی  
 نموداز مطلع الانوار نورم  
 کہ نامش کردہ شد شیرین و خسرو  
 سہ گنج دیگر افشانم ز سینہ

Obviously the assignment was completed and Khusrau conspicuously succeeded in composing the rest three.



In *Majnun Wa Laila* (third poem) Amir Khusrau claims that he did not follow the great master blindly but tried to enrich his notions and associated them with new situation. Thus his poems should be regarded as a reorientation of Nizami's experiences. He was pleaded in a very difficult situation and it was satisfying that he surmounted the difficulties and produced attractive poems. Thus in a low strain he pleads his superiority in some respects. The relevant lines are quoted below:<sup>1</sup>

ورنیست منش حیات دادم	زنده است بمعنی اوستادم
کز نکته دهان عالمی شست	احسنت زهی سخنور چست
باقی نگذاشت بهرماهیچ	میداد چو نظم نامه راپیچ
محتاج ستائش کسی نیست	آن بحرکه بر لبش خسی نیست
کز هیچ کنم چنین نگاری	انصاف مراسزا ست باری
نهاد زیک روشش برون پای	او زانهمه فکر گوهر آمای
ننمود مگر به مثنوی جهد	صد طرز سخن چوشکر و شهد
چون یک فتنه بود شدیگانه	او بود بیک فنی نشانه
بودست درین متاع درخورد	آن گنج نشان و گنجه پرورد
وز شغل زمانه دست شسته	و آنکه ز جهان فراغ جسته
کاری نه دگر مگر همین کار	باری نه بدل مگر همین بار
خاطر زهر التفات خالی	کوشش همه در سخن سگالی

(1) *Majnun wa Laila*, pp. 169-171.



مسکین من مستمند بیهوش از سوختگی چو دیگ در جوش  
شب تا سحر از صبح تا شام در گوشه غم نگیرم آرام الخ

In the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* he again repeats that he had been placed in a difficult position because Nizami had selected the best and the choicest episodes and left only the insignificant ones. The relevant verses are:<sup>1</sup>

هنر پرور گنجه گویای پیش که گنج هنر داشت ز اندازه بیش  
نظر چون برین جام صہبا گذاشت ستد جام صافی و درد بر ما گذاشت  
من ارچہ بدان می گران سرشوم کجا با حریفان برابر شوم  
چو گوہر ہمہ سفت گوہر پذیر من از مہرہ سفتن ندانم گزیر

In the last *Masnawi* viz. *Hasht Bihisht*<sup>2</sup> Khusrau again extols the merits of Nizami and refers to his imitating the *Haft Paikar*:

ابنِ ورق را چنان کنم تحریر کہ نیابیش در زمانہ نظیر  
وز طریقِ سخن سرای کهن ہرچہ دیدم دقیقہ های سخن  
کنم اول بحر فہای غریب نکتہ های کتاب را ترتیب  
دل پاک منش بہ مستوری ساخت دستور من بدستوری  
حقہ بکشادم و شکر دیدم چاشنی را نمونہ برچیدم

(1) *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, pp. 27-28

(2) pp. 24-25.



Amir Khusrau's poems are a very successful attempt of Nizami's imitation. Though the basic structure of all the poems is common, yet Amir Khusrau has made some additions and alterations in order to suit the new situation. 'All the poems of both the Khamsas besides the *Makhzanul Asrar* or the *Matla'ul Anwar* have their own individual heroes and main characters', remarks Dr. Moharramov, 'but all of them the common and symbolic hero is the man and the problem of his fate, feelings, and freedom are left in them'. One may not completely agree with the Soviet scholar who find him more progressive than Nizami and hence preferable. But it is certain that Khusrau is not merely an imitator but original and creative.

The first poem of the Khamsa namely the *Matla'ul Anwar* is divided, like the *Makhzan ul Asrar* into twenty *Maqalas* besides the introductory part dealing with hymns, praise of the Prophet and of the ruling monarch and of the spiritual guide. Amir Khusrau has written three *Munajats* and against Nizami's two; however, he has only three *Na'ts*, while Nizami has four. Nizami's other introductory topics are:



توصیف شب و شناختن دل برتری سخن منظوم از منشور، فضیلت سخن

خلوت اول درپروش دل و خلوت دوم در عشرت شبانه

followed by two *Khalwats* such as Amir Khusrau he left the problems of speech and poetry and purification of heart but has included a discussion on problems of *تعبد*, a description of morning, and praise of Hazrat Nizamud-Din Aulia under three *Khalwats*. Then follows the twenty *Maqalas* each followed by a single anecdote in both the poems. In order to have some idea about the contents of two poems a list of the *Maqalas* from both are given below:

#### Nizami

- ۱- در آفرینش آدم
- ۲- در عدل و انصاف
- ۳- در حوادث عالم
- ۴- در رعایت از رعیت
- ۵- در وصف پیری
- ۶- در اعتبار موجودات
- ۷- در فضیلت آدمی
- ۸- در بیان آفرینش
- ۹- در ترك لذات دنیاوی

#### Khusrau

- ۱- در علوی درجت آدمی
- ۲- در ستایش علم
- ۳- در بیان کلام
- ۴- در بیان ابنیه خمسۀ مسلمانی
- ۵- در ستایش تقوی
- ۶- در بیان صوفیان صافی نوش
- ۷- در بیان نفس مطمئنہ
- ۸- در صفت عشق
- ۹- در بیان رفقای صادق و مخلص



۱۰. در حرمت و رحمت ذوی الارحام      در نمودار آخرالزمان  
 ۱۱. در بیان فضیلت سخاوت      در بیوفائی دنیا  
 ۱۲. در بیان شهیدان مغفرت نوش      در وداع منزل خاک  
 ۱۳. در اندرز شاهان      در نکوهش جهان  
 ۱۴. در ستایش دیانت و نکوهش خیانت      در نکوهش غفلت  
 ۱۵. در ملامت موزیان      در نکوهش رشک بران  
 ۱۶. در سیرت مردمان خوب      در چابک روی  
 ۱۷. در بیان جوانی و جوانان      در پرستش و تجرید  
 ۱۸. در بیان راه نجات      در نکوهش دو رویان  
 ۱۹. در شکایت گردون      در استقبال آخرت  
 ۲۰. در نصیحت فرزند      در نکوهش انبای عصر

Obviously, though Khusrau's topics of narration are different from Nizami's, yet the former is greatly indebted to the latter. Some of the problems which Khurasu has dealt with here, have been described by Nizami in the introductory section of the poem. However, in the second narration, Khusrau speaks of the incomparable role science plays in removing ignorance and its contribution to the progress of society. He compares knowledge<sup>1</sup> and science with a suny-day and ignorance with darkness.

(1) *Matla'ul Anwar*, p. 54.



از مدد علم فراغیت نه      در شب تاریک چراغیت نه  
آنکه چراغیش نباشد براه      در شب تاریک در افتده بچاه

In the third *Maqala*, Khusrau praises speech and speaks of its force. The distinguishing feature of man being speech and thought, he should use them in the right manner. If words are not properly used it is better not to use them at all. Silence is better than using words improperly. Khusrau compares word with a sword. The seventh *Maqala* deals with a contended soul. The eighth *Maqala* treats of 'love', a topic on which Nizami has expressed his views in the introductory part. The ninth *Maqala* deals with friend and friendship. Khusrau advises to be on guard against the insincere fellows. Everyone who smiles to your face and greets you may not necessarily be a friend. A man in need is a friend indeed<sup>1</sup>:

میل کسی کن که وفایت کند      جان سپر تیر بلایت کند  
جان که ازوبه بجهان یار نیست      هیچ نیرزد چو وفادار نیست

In this section he is more similar to *Nasir-i-Khusrau*, who in his *Sa'adat Nama* proceeds in a like manner.

In the tenth *Maqala* the poet advises to show respect to relatives especially to mothers. Services which a mother renders are irrepayable<sup>2</sup>:

(1) *Matla'ul Anwar*, p. 113.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 118.



يك شبه رنج تو كه مادر كشيد      بار دو جهانش نتوان بر كشيد

The eleventh *Maqala* deals with benevolence and the benevolent, while the 13th contains pieces of advice and counsels to the king and monarch who are advised to be just and kind. The 15th narration is about the denunciation of oppressors and a defence of the weak and the oppressed. The 16th is meant for a discussion on virtues of good men. In the 17th narration Khusrau advises youth to utilise his potentialities for the good of society. He exhorts young men to work hard and acquire knowledge<sup>1</sup>:

هر كه چراغى بجوانى نسوخت      خانه به پيريش ببايد فروخت  
راه مخوف است مخسپ اى جوان      خيزكه بگذشت زيل كاروان

In the 18th chapter laziness and inaction have been denounced. The poet exhorts all to make the best use of life<sup>2</sup>:

سهل مبین گنبد فیروزه را      قدر بدان فرصت هر روزه را  
روس تو شب شد طلب نورکن      پرده غفلت زر نظر دورکن  
بربصر افتد ز تغافل نقاب      بسته شود دیده بنیاز خواب

(1) *Matla'ul Anwar*, p. 174.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 178.



In the 19th narration Khusrau criticises the social order of the day, though the title suggests that he was complaining against the high-handedness of the revolving dome. The last narration is a collection of counsels to his minor daughter called Masturah. This narration is very significant for it throws light on the conditions prevailing in those days. The poet advises his daughter to do away with outer show<sup>1</sup>:

روی ز گگلگونه باطل بشوی      کوش که بی غازه شوی سرخ روی  
ز آئینه و شانه رها کن هوس      آئینه تورخ شوی است و بس

Khusrau asks her to be a strict purdah observer, for not observing purdah is full of risks<sup>2</sup>:

پرده نشین کافت خود پیش دید      از پی بی پردگی خویش دید  
طعنه نخواهی نمود از همدمان      پرده نشین باش زنا محرمان

However, it reveals that even in those days there was a tendency in casting of veil. But Khusrau is very strict when he says<sup>3</sup>:

گر نه کنی مقنعه دام مگس      مقنعه تو دام فرشته است و بس  
مقنعه پاک نهفته سران      ابره سردبر کله سروران  
هر که بجز جفت حلالیت بود      رخ منما گر همه خالت بود  
روی بتاب از مه و خورشید هم      تان بود سایه تو همقدم

(1) *Matla'ul Anwar*, p. 194.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, p.195.



From the perusal of the chapters of *Makhzanul Asrar* and the *Matla'ul Anwar* it would be clear that the latter is based on the former but it is not a blind imitation. Amir Khusrau has tried to be original and has succeeded in his attempts. In the 1st narration Nizami speaks about Adam but Khusrau devotes it to the exposition of man's dignity. He speaks about the duties and privileges of a man. In the second *Maqala* Nizami exhorts kings to rule with justice. He defends the cause of the oppressed and raises his voice against oppressions and tyranny. Khusrau concurs with Nizami with his idea of justice and calls upon the sovereigns to rule over the country and the people honestly and justly. Nizami is of the opinion that a sovereign who is not a man of intelligence, and who does not possess knowledge is not fit for the high office. Amir Khusrau adds that a sovereign who keeps his people in oppression and in poverty is not worthy of the crown.

The second poem is the *Shirin wa Khusrau* which is modelled after Nizami's *Khusrau wa Shirin*. The structure and metre of the two are the same. The plot of the story is almost identical, though Amir Khusrau has made some alterations here and there. The story may be summarised as follows:

Khusrau Parwez is the son of Hormuzd and grandson of Nausherwan, the just. He occupies the Sasanian throne after killing his father Hormuzd. The young sovereign's



constant companion Shapur, while relating wonders of the world, shows Shirin's picture to him. The young prince at once starts on a hunting excursion to Armenia (Irman), where Shirin's father's sister Mahin Bano was the ruler. Perchance Shirin meets Khusrau in the hunting ground and invites him to the court. Khusrau accepts the offer but the marriage of the two could not be finalised. Thereafter Khusrau proceeds to the court of the Emperor of Rome where latter gets his daughter Maryam married to the Sasanian monarch. The king then returns to Iran and busies himself in discharging the affairs of the state. But even then he is not free from Shirin's thought which resulted in the death of his Roman wife, Maryam. Then Khusrau makes a journey for the second time to the land of Armenia to seek the hand of Shirin. But this time again he fails in his efforts. During all these days Shapur is busy in diverting his master's attention from Shirin and at last succeeds in arranging the marriage of Khusrau with Shakar, the daughter of the ruler of Isfahan. Hearing this episode Shirin become restless and passes her days in travels and hunting. One day in her sojourn to Besitun she comes accross Farhad and latter falls in love with her. Shirin puts forward the condition of digging the milk canal. On hearing this Khusrau grows so restless as to



start communication with Shirin. One day she sees Farhad in disguise and dissuades him from the 'impossible task'. But Farhad become more adamant. At last Khusrau sends a cheif to him who conveys to Farhad the false news of Shirin's death resulting in the instantaneous suicide of the canaldigger'. Shirin was much perturbed by Farhad's death and ultimately she succeeds in avenging the death of the lover by effecting the murder of Khusrau's wife Shakar in Isfahan. Thereafter Khusrau Parwez goes to Qasar-i-Shirin but Shirin shuts the door of the palace and goes on the roof and has a dialogue with the monarch. Here the two singers Barbad on behalf of Khusrau and Nakisa on behalf of Shirin are introduced. This meeting resulted in the marriage of Shirin with Khusrau and both return to Iran. Ultimately Khusrau is put to death by his son Sheruya and as soon as Shirin is informed of it she commits suicide and both are buried in the same tomb.

This plot is common to both the poems. Nizami is one of the earliest master who depicts the image of a bright women in Mahin Bano, who rules over her country with intelligence and wisdom. He depicts the character of Khusrau Parwez in detail. Khusrau's youth and age are contradictory. Young Khusrau is indifferent to his people and always engaged in enjoyments to merrimakings. He



takes love as a pleasure. His jealousy with Farhad had instigated him to such an extent that he had almost decided to kill him. However, he is gradually transformed into a clever and just ruler. In Nizami's image Shirin possesses all the virtues of womanhood. She is also represented as a ruler, a passionate lover as well as a symbol of dignity and honour.

Amir Khusrau keeps the same structure of the plot but he effects some minor changes here and there so as to suit to his description. As against Nizami, Amir Khusrau refrains from introducing Khusrau Parwez as a young ruler. On the contrary he describes him as a capable and clever sovereign from the very outset free from the blemishes of an inexperienced youth. Amir Khusrau does not find any justification in providing counsels to the rulers and kings while Nizami appeals them to be good and just. This may be due to the fact that Amir Khusrau was attached to Alaud-Din-Khalji who was a stern ruler. He has also made some changes in Nizami's image of Shirin. According to khusrau, feelings of jealousy and revenge are very strong in her. Amir Khusrau's image of Farhad is a little different from Nizami's. According to the latter Farhad is a true lover and a talented architect who has studied in China together with Shapur. But Khusrau's



Farhad is the son of the king of China and the heir apparent. He is so devoted to his profession that he abandons the idea of ruling the country. 'His arms are his treasures and his sweats are the pearls'. He was afraid neither of a thief nor of a guide because he lived with his labour'. But his father gets angry with him and he is deprived of the throne and banished. But Farhad is not sorry for all this. He was proud of his skill in architecture.

In respect of the career of Shakar, Amir Khusrau has gone ahead of his predecessor Nizami. The latter has referred her to have died a natural death. Amir Khusrau shows her to be murdered in a conspiracy hatched by Shirin. Here Khusrau relates the event with vigour and force. Shakar is not bitter even when she was on the point of death. Instead of indicating anger and wrath she blesses the murderer and makes her will for Khusrau Parwez. The poet says:

و صیت بیش ازینم نیست باتو	که چون دور افتدار ازمن راه تاتو
زمن باشرط تعلیمی که دانی	زمین بوسی و بر خسرو رسانی
بمالی زیرپایش دیده نمناک	بگوئی آسمان را قصه خاک
که مارفتیم باجان پر امید	ترا جان تازه باد و عمر جاوید
چونوشی باده باشیرین به تمییز	بریزی جرعه برخاک شکر نیز



چو بنشینی بروی دوستان شاد      فرامش گشتگان راهم کنی یاد  
 چو آئی بر سر خاکم خرامان      غبارہ راہ بنشانی بدامان  
 کہ گر خونم بگیرد دامن را      بگیرد خاک ہم پیرا منت را

The verses further indicate that Shakar clearly sees the hand of Shirin in her murder. And it is natural that she is circastic in her address to Khusrau. In the fifth line poet refers to the custom prevalent among the drunkards to throw some drops of wine while drinking on the ground.

Khusrau has related the old romance in a highly artistic style in which he falls hardly short of Nizami. According to Dr. Wahid Mirza in some places he proves himself to be a greater dramatist and more skilful painter of character. His poem no doubt lacks that finish and polish which repeated retouching could ensure. The concluding part of the poem is quite original and instructive.

The third poem of the *Khamsa-i-Nizami* is *Laila wa Majnun* while in Khusrau's it is *Majnun-wa-Laila*. Nizami has borrowed the theme of this romantic *Masnawi* from Arabic and has composed it so masterly that only few poems may approach it in force of diction and depiction of emotion. And in none of his own love stories the lovers' sorrows are portrayed so forcefully as in the *Laila wa Majnun*. Amir Khusrau has done full justice to his



imitation of this *Masnawi*, and it is accepted at all hands that the Indian bard is at his best in this poem. Even Maulana Shibli<sup>1</sup>, who does not approve of Amir Khusrau's efforts in respect of some poems, is of the view that Amir Khusrau's *Majnun wa Laila* reaches the proximity of Nizami's poem in poetic excellence. I shall quote parallel passages from both the poems so that one may be able to form some idea about the achievements of each of them<sup>2</sup>:

*Khusrau*

*Nizami*

کاین نامہ کہ هست چون نگاری	کاین نامہ کہ هست چون پرندی
ہاز دل شدہ بہ بی قراری	از غمزدہ بدرد مندی
یعنی زمن ستم رسیدہ	ای یار قدیم عہد چونی؟
نزدیک تو ای زمن بریدہ	وای مہدی ہفت مہد چونی؟
ای عاشق دور ماندہ چونی؟	ای خازن گنج آشنائی
وی شمع ز نور ماندہ چونی؟	عشق از تو گرفتہ روشنائی
چونست سرت با بالش خاک؟	ای خون تو دادہ کویہ را رنگ
خوی از رخ تو کہ می کند پاک؟	ساکن شدہ چون عقیق در سنگ
از من بکہ می بری حکایت؟	ای چشمہ خضر در سیاهی
با خود چہ می کنی شکایت؟	پروانہ شمع صہبگاہی

(1) Sherul Ajam, Vol. II, p. 142

(2) Nizami's *Laila wa Majnun*, pp. 187-188 and Khusrau's *Majnun wa Laila*, pp. 87-88.



ای از تو فتاده در جهان شور	روزت و انم که شب نشان است
گوری دوسه کرده مونس گور	شبهای فراق برچستان است؟
ای زخمگه ملامت من	گریه به ره که می کنی ساز؟
هم قافله قیامت من	دیده برخ که می کنی باز؟
ای رحم نکرده برتن خویش	درگوش که ناله می رسانی؟
و آتش زده بر خرمن خویش	درپای که قطره می چکانی؟
ای دل بوفای من نهاده	همدرد تو زین غم نهان کیست؟
در معرض گفتگو فتاده	غمناک تراز تو جهان کیت؟
من دل بوفای تو سپرده	جایت به کدام خاکدان است؟
تو سرزو فای من نبرده	رویت به کدام آستان است؟
چون بخت تو در فراقم از تو	زنجیر بر کدام کوئی؟
جفت توام ارچه طاقم از تو	مجنون کدام خوبروی؟
پشت توبه بستر ذلیلان	جانست که هزار داغ دارد
چون است به سایه مغیلان	تسکین به کدام باغ دارد

Both the verses have been selected from Laila's letter to Majnun and it may be noted that though Khusrau has based his narration on Nizami, he has excelled in depicting pathos of a sweetheart who is separated from his lover.



Amir Khusrau's poem written in an elegantly simple style is the finest poem of his *Khamsa* and has proved himself to be a great student of the psychology of love and emotion.

Amir khusrau has effected some changes in the plot. He has dropped a few episodes included by Nizami and added some new ones. Ibn-Salam's marriage with Laila which forms the basis of several events of Nizami's poem is left-out by Amir Khusrau, who prefers to include a section on Majnun's marriage with the daughter of Nophul. The wedding ceremony, Majnun's escape, Majnun's desire that his eyes be picked out by the crow in the battlefield lying among the corpses, Majnun's throwing himself into Laila's grave and his sudden death and his burial in the same grave are some of the few new episodes.

Although both Nizami and Khusrau attempted to create classic specimen of true love symbolised in the love story of *Laila wa Majnun*, Soviet critic finds in them ample examples of weaknesses of feudal society and the natural urge of man to be free. The following line from Nizami and Khusrau may refer to the social inequality of the feudal age:

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گرکار بخواست خلق بودی      ناخواسته گرنیاز مودی  
گرکار بدست خویش بودی      کار همه خلق بیش بودی

The critic may find ample lines in these poems which may be interpreted to depict the problems of the ruler and the ruled, the society and the age. But to my mind neither Nizami nor Khusrau aimed at it. Such ideas were beyond their comprehension.

Amir Khusrau' fourth poem entitled *Aina-i-Sikanderi* (composed in AH 699 in the Mutaqarib metre in which were written Firdausi's *Shahnama* and Nizami's *Sikander Nama*) delineates a few events about Alexander's adventures which were firstly related by Firdausi in the 4th century and subsequently depicted more elaborately and coherently by Nizami two centuries later. Amir Khusrau obviously modelled his poem on Nizami's *Sikander Nama* but selected those events which were either left out or were treated casually by his predecessor. This self-imposed limitation may be due to his consciousness that it would not be possible for him to produce a work of Nizami's standard. However, the events included in the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* are as follows:

1. Alexander's invasion on China.
2. Khaqan's defeat, his capture and release.



3. Alexander's invasion on Gog and Magog and the construction of the great wall of Alexander (Sadd-i-Sikanderi).
4. The destruction of the fire-temples of the Zoroastrians.
5. Invasion on Greece and meeting with Plato.
6. Alexander's sea-adventures.
7. Alexander's letter to his son describing sea adventures.
8. Return from these adventures.
9. His death and burial.

Without mentioning the birth of Alexander, Khusrau starts with his accession to the throne of Macedonia on Philip's death. After fully establishing himself, the conqueror decides to embark upon his adventures abroad. He starts his career by invading Zang and then Iran. In Iran, after completely destroying the fire-temple, he attacked Istakhr or Persepolis, the capital of the Achamenians (550-330 BC). Here Khusrau seems to have missed the point for Alexander's invasion on Iran started with his invasion of Persepolis, and the destruction of the fire-temples took place at the same site. So there is no point to describe these events separately. Thereafter Alexander invaded the land of Barda and captured its



female ruler Naushaba. Then he turned to the Arabs. He went to Yemen, crossed the Maghrib sea and arrived at Mecca where he performed the holy pilgrimage. At this stage our poet seems to have committed an error in putting Yemen to the side of Barda, and not across the Maghrib sea towards Mecca. It may also be noted that here his accounts completely differ from the *Sikander Nama* which puts the invasion on Barda subsequent to his sojourn in Arabia. However, from Mecca, Alexander went to Aden and then proceeded to Kirman on his way to India. In India he subdued its two rulers Kid and Porus. At this stage Amir Khusrau's accounts differ from the *Sikander Nama* according to which after performing his pilgrimage to Mecca, Alexander invaded Barda and captured its ruler Naushaba. Then he turned to Iran for the second time. He travelled through various cities and towns such as Alburz, Darband, Sarir, the cave of Kaikhusrau, Ray and Khurasan. And it was through Khurasan that Alexander invaded India. In other words in addition to the different sequence of events, Khusrau forgets to refer to the invader's second sojourn in Iran (except Kirman which is not mentioned by Nizami) on his way to India.

It would not be out of place to mention that *Shah*



*Nama-i-Firdausi* has a different version. According to it after defeating Darius in Iran, Alexander went straight to India. Then he visited the holy Mecca and proceeded to Egypt, then to Andulasia where he waged war with its ruler called Qidafa and defeated him. Thereafter he started his campaign against the Brahmins (perhaps not in India) and lastly went to the Western Ocean (*Darya-i-Khawar*), from where he turned his attention to Abyssinia, Narm Payan and the city of women. Lastly he went in search of the Nectar (آب حیات) wherefrom he turned to the land of the eastern region (باختر).

The Muslims historians place Alexander's conquest of India subsequent to his invasion on China as against the narration in the *Shah Nama*, *Sikander Nama* and even the *Aina-i-Sikanderi*. For example Gardezi in his *Zainul Akhbar* (p.282) states that Alexander first subdued the Persian empire, then went to Transoxiana and captured it; and from there he proceeded to the land of Chin and Machin. Lastly the conqueror went to India and conquered the whole of it.

Now returning to Khusrau we find that the Greek hero marches to China from India where he defeats, captures and finally releases its rulers called



Khaqan-i-Chin. After settling the affairs of China, Alexander turned to the land of the Turks and went to the extreme end. From there he went downwards and founded the city of Samarqand. Then the conqueror proceeded to Khwarazm and the land of Khazir, and founded the other town Bulghar. After this he marched to the land of Qifchaq and lastly to Alan and Russia. It was here that Alexander decided to go in search of Nectar from which expedition he returned unsuccessfully. Lastly he campaigned against the territory of Gog and Magog and constructed the well known brass-wall called *Sadd-i-Sikanderi*.

The course of Alexander's march through the lands of the east as given by Amir Khusrau generally agrees with what is given by Nizami in the *Sikander Nama* except in respect of the following points:

1. The *Sikander Nama* does not mention the founding of Samarqand.
2. The site and the circumstances in which the city of Bulghar was founded have been differently narrated by Nizami.
3. The construction of the Great Wall has been left out by Nizami.

It may be noted that among the adventures of



Alexander the last item is of utmost importance because it is on account of this fact that Alexander has been indentified with Zul-Qarnain of the Quran, a fact which has been so highlighted by the Muslim historions and which, though missing from Greek accounts, finds mention in a book called *Christian Legend Concerning Alexander*. This book is the only non-Muslim source which depicts Alexander campaign against Huns identified as Gog and Magog and the conquerer 'having horn's a synonym for the Arabic terms.

Although one may not be quite sure about the source of Amir Khusrau's episode of Gog and Magog, his borrowing it from Firdausi may not be ruled out.

It may be mentioned that Nizami locates the Nectar in the vicinity of the North Pole. Khusrau does not specifically mention the actual site of the 'Water of life' but his locating it beyond Russia may indicate his general agreement with Nizami, while Firdausi locates it in the 'land of the West' beyond Abyssinia and the 'Darya-i-Maghrib' where from Alexander marched to the land of the East.

Amir Khusrau's concluding accounts about Alenxander's adventures relate to the conqueror's return to Rome and his sea-adventures and his final return to his



nativfe land and his death. This part of the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* is based on Nizami's account who has made the sea-adventures of this great conqueror the theme of the second part of his *Sikander Nama* called *Sikender Nama-i-Bahri* or *Iqbal Nama*. Obviously Khusrau could have done no better than to summarised the whole event, in less than a hundred verses so elaborately narrated by Nizami in many thousand lines;

Nizami describes Alexander as a wise ruler. He wages war against evil forces and establishes peace, justice and ensures prosperity. He treats the conquered people with honour. He respects the religion and religious institutions and no act of oppression is permitted in the subdued countries. Darius is represented as a cruel ruler and in his defeat ends the period of tyranny and oppression. In Naushaba, we have a brave, wise and just ruler. The following lines represents her true character:

اگرچه زنم زن سیر نیستم      ز حال جهان بیخبر نیستم  
منم شیر نرگر توئی شیر مرد      چه ماده چه نر شیر وقت نبرد

Lastly Nizami describes Alexander as a divine messenger who is ordained to execute the will of God on the earth.

Amir Khusrau presents Alexander as a champion of



justice whose object in waging so many wars was to establish peace and justice and remove oppression and tyranny. Therefore when he conquered a country he showed the utmost respect to the people, their religion and customs and traditions. He destroys the temples of the fire-worshippers because these were the symbols of men worshipping things of their own creation. A noble creature like man should bow down before the Creator alone.

Amir Khusrau attached great value to human life. A knight was to kill a prisoner. His wife dissuades him from doing so. She argues that if he sets him free he will be reckoned as a just man:

مگو مرد صد کستم اندر نبرد      یکی زنده کن تات خوانند مرد

Khusrau has been less successful in this poem in rising up to the level of Nizami. Khusrau's passages dealing with heroic deeds lack that vigour which Nizami's poem has so abundantly, and the whole poem wants unity and continuity. It is in general dull and uninspiring.

The last poem of the *Khamsa-i-Khusrau* is the *Hasht Bihisht* which was modelled on Nizami's *Haft Paikar*. Khusrau's poem composed in 701 contains 3352 verses as against Nizami's 5130 lines finished exactly 108 years earlier. Both the poems are in the *خفیف مسدس مخبون*



metre, and relate the story of the Sassanian monarch called Bahram Gur (بهرام گور).

Nizami based this poem on the number 'seven' as its title, the *Haft Paikar* (seven images) shows. By the seven images are meant seven pictures of seven beautiful girls painted on the walls of the halls of a palace in Yemen. Bahram, while a prince, happened to see these pictures during his stay in Yemen with Munzar b. Numan, the king of Hira and falls in love with the girls. When he was crowned as a king of Iran he asks their parents for the hands of these seven girls, one of them being of Sassanian blood and the other six being of the royal families of six countries and for them the king constructed seven towers and gets their pictures painted in seven colours, each with colour belonging to one of the seven planets. On each day of the week, each of which belongs to one of the seven stars, he goes to one of the seven towers that bears the colour of that star where one of the seven girls, clad and adorned in the relevant colour. The king passes one full day in enjoyment there and the girl entertains him with a sweet story. Thus the king hear seven interesting stories in a week which Nizami relates to his readers.

Nizami kept his presentation of the story in harmony with the planetary background. As the story needed the



emotional element of love and the introduction of woman as manifestation of love, Nizami's imagination created the seven girls and found it more suggestive to have them from seven climes. Bahram, the hero of the story, was to build seven towers for the seven girls and associate each one with one of the seven planets, giving it the colour allotted to the star concerned, and also making each lady to choose her own tower on the day of the week belonging to the star of that tower, and have a merry party with the lady who was its mistress, thus giving a tinge of universal interest to his romance.

Amir Khusrau followed in the footsteps of Nizami but changed its title into *Hasht Bihisth* (Eight Paradises) for which he gives the justification in these lines:

از لعبت فسانه سرای	گویم افسانه های طبع فزای
دورمستی و بلکه دارد خواب	هر فسانه صراحی ز شراب
حور و کوثر درو تمام کنم	هر یکی را بهشت نام کنم
هشتم آن کاندرو بود هر هفت	هفت باشد بهشت و گوهر هفت
نام این هشت خانه هشت بهشت	پس نویسم ز کلك مشك سرشت



He refers to his imitation in these lines<sup>1</sup>:

حقه بگشتم و شکر دیدم	چاشنی را نمونه برچیدم
جرعه را که عقل چیدا زوی	همه ریزم درین قرابه می
آن نمودار هفت پیکر او	وین بر آیین هفت زیور او
و آن بهر کنبدی به مجلس و جام	عیش خوبان و عشرت بهرام
یک بیک را نمونه بر سازم	نردنو بر بساط نو بازم
نمط رنگهای گنبد نیز	ساز دیگر بر آرم از تمیز
رنگی آرم که بوی هم باشد	و آنچه نان رنگ و بوی کم باشد
هر مثالی به عنبر افشانی	صندلی و بنفش و ریحانی
وانکه زردست و زعفرانی فام	کنمش رنگ زعفرانی نام
آنکه باشد سیاه رنگین نیز	خوانمش عنبرین و مشکین نیز
و آنکه سرخ و سپید پنداری	اینست کافوری آنست گلناری

Amir Khusrau has as usual and shortened the story by cutting short more than a dozen topics incorporated in Nizami's *Masnawi*. Khusrau has refrained from narrating the events of Bahram's early career including the circumstances in which he obtained the throne of Iran described in details by Nizami in more than a dozen

(1) *Hasht Bihisht*, p. 25.



chapters. Amir Khusrau has done the same thing in respects of the personalities in other *Masnawis* such as Khusrau Parwez and Alexander. Similarly the instances of Bahram's justice, the prisoner's complaints and the assassination of the unscrupulous vazir named Rast Raushan all have been left out by Amir Khusrau. Again the latter has excluded the account of Bahram's expedition against the Khaqan-i-Chin. The stories incorporated in the *Hasht Bihisht* are not borrowed from the *Haft Paikar* but they are quite interesting and original. Amir Khusrau introduced some change in the character of Dilaram who is described to be gifted with talents in music.

Amir Khusrau regarded this poem the best of all the four. After mentioning the names of all the five poems in the chronological order the poet explains why he prefers the *Hasht Bihisht* to his other poems<sup>1</sup>:

وین زمان کز جواهر انجم      می نگاری صحیفه پنجم  
 کوش کین خط حنان نگاری چست      که فزون آید از چهارنخست  
 که اولین نکته گرچه چست بود      آخرین بهتر از نخست بود  
 مرد هر پیشه را که بیش کند      زان نکوتر بود که بیش کند

(1) *Hasht Bihisht*, pp. 23-24.



حرف طفلان زیرک از که و مه پنجشنبه بهه آمد از شنبه  
 کرسی کش درود گر سازد هرچه پستر لطیف سازد

One may not agree to the views of the poet but to him the last *Masnawi* was the best.

I would not enter into the discussion of the comparative merit of the two poems and would only refer to the interesting discussion on the subject in long introduction to the *Hasht Bihisht* edited by the late Maulana Sulaiman Ashraf of Aligarh. However, two parallel passages quoted from the beginning of the poems would give the general idea about the style of the both:

*Khusrau* (p.56)

*Nizami* (p.32)

گنج پیامای این خزانه پر	گوهر آمای گنج خانه راز
از خزانه چنین گشاید در	گنج گوهر چنین گشای باز
کافتاب جمال بهرامی	کاسمان راترازوی دوسراست
چون شد از تور دو جهان نامی	دریکی سنگ و دریکی گهر است
پدرش رخت زندگانی بست	گاه آید چو گوهر از سنگی
اوبجای پدر به تخت نشست	گاه لعلی چو کهر بارنگی
سرموئی کجی زدهر نخاست	گوهر و سنگ شد به نسبت تام
جز سدی کو بشانه گرد در است	نسبت یزد گرد بابهرام



Amir Khusrau's *Khamisa* is the most popular of his all poems and by the common consent it is the best of all *Khamisas* as written in imitation of Nizami's. Even some competent critic have gone to the extent of preferred it to the original in some respects.

It is surprising that within very short time of the completion of the *Khamisa* its reputation reached far and wide. One of the most convincing proof of its wide popularity is provided by a manuscript of three poems of the *Khamisa* transcribed by Hafiz of Shiraz in AH 756.

This manuscript is preserved<sup>1</sup> in the Tashkent and the colophons at the end of the *Shirin wa Khusrau* gives the name of the *Katib* and the date of transcription as follows:

كتبه الفقير محمد بن محمد الملقب به شمس الحافظ احسن الله

احواله فى الثالث عشر جمادى الاول سنة ست و خمسين و سبعمائة

At the end of the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* and the *Hasht Bihisht* the *Shirazi nisbat* of the scribe is also available such as:

كتبه الفقير اضعف خلق الله تعالى محمد بن محمد الملقب به

شمس الحافظ الشيرازى احسن الله احواله فى الرابع و عشرين

صفر ..... سنة ست و خمسين و سبعمائة.

(1) See *Lughat Nama* (letter H) under Hafiz Shirazi



کتبه الفقير اضعف خلق الله محمد بن محمد بن محمد الملقب  
بالشمس الحافظ الشيرازي..... في يوم الاثنين سادس عشر شهر ربيع  
الاول خر سنه ست و خمسين و سبعمائة الهجرية.

Though some scholars have doubts about the identification of the said scribe with the eminent poet Hafiz Shiazi yet it is almost certain that the transcription was made at Shiraz in AH 756 which evidently proves the popularity of the *Khamsa* in Iran. Of the two other poems of the *Khamsa* in the said manuscript the *Matla'ul Anwar* was transcribed on 12th Jumadiul Awwal, AH 756 by one Ahmad b. Wali b. Abdullah Shirazi. But the name of the scribe of the *Laila wa Majnun* is not given.

Jami and Navai were great admirers of Khusrau's *Khamsa*. The former has expressed his opinion many a time. For example he says:

رسایند گنج سخن رابه پنج	زویرانه گنج شد گنج سنج
وزان بازوی فکر تش رنجه شد	چو خسرو بدان پنجه هم پنجه شد
زرش ساخت لیکن زرده دهی	کفش بودزان گونه گوهر تهی

Again he says:

رونق نظمش یه نظامی رسان	رشحه ازان باده بجامی رسان
جرعه از جامگه خسروش	بیت چو خاک است بریزاز نوش



قافیه آنجا که نظامی سزا است      برگذر قافیه جامی سزا است  
بر سر خسرو که بلند اختر است      از کف درویش گلی در خورا است

In the Introduction of the *Tuhfatul Ahrar* Jami again refers to the virtues of Amir Khusrau's *Matla'ul Anwar* in these words:

چه قدر آن دارد که در سلك جواهر شاهوار مخزن الاسرار  
حکیم گرامی شیخ نظامی انتظامش دهند یا در جنب جام  
ز رنگار مطلع الانوار مورد بدایع لفظی و معنوی امیر خسرو  
دهلوی نامش برند، چه آن در جودت الفاظ و سلاست عبارت  
بمنزله است که فصیح زبانان عجم در بیان اوصاف آن اعجمی  
اندو این در وقت معانی و الطافت اشارات بمتابۀ که نادره  
گویان عالم در معرض جواب آن معترف به ابکمی۔

Navai recalls Amir Khusrau together with Nizami and Jami respectfully declaring that he follows his literary style.

Amir Hashimi Kirmani extolls the poetic virtues of Khusrau alongwith Nizami and Jami in his poem entitled *Mazharul Asrar* composed on the model of Nizami's *Makhzanul Asrar*. The relevant verses are as follows:

چونز قضا له لائحه نور سید      کوکبه نوبت خسرو رسید  
خامه بر آورد بفکر جواب      ماند قلم بر ورق آفتاب



خامۀ خسرو چو گهر بار شد	نامۀ او مطلع الانوار شد
کرد دران نامہ تکلف بستی	گفت جوابی کہ چه گوید کسی
بزم سخن را بہ سخن ساز کرد	برہمہ کس راہ سخن باز کرد
فہم رموزش نکیند ہر کسی	زانکہ معانیست بسی در بسی
زبدہ اسرار حقائق ہمہ	محض اشارات دقایق ہمہ
گفتہ او در نظر نکتہ دان	می دہد از علم لادنی نشان
آنچہ درین مایدہ افگندہ شور	سربسر از قوت طبع است وزور
این می صاف از قدح دیگر است	مستی اورا فرح دیگر است
ہست درین بزم گہ دلفروز	نوبت ہراہل دلی پنج روز
دور قدح طی شدہ ساقی نماند	درخم دوران می باقی نماند
چون می خسرو بہ تمامی رسید	دور می عشق بجامی رسید

Earlier while praising Nizami he mentions Khusrau and Jami thus:

شرح کمالات نظامی کنم	پیروی خسرو و جامی کنم
آنچہ تو ان گفت نظامی ربود	باقی آن خسرو و جامی ربود
خواستہم از روح نظامی مدد	وز نفس خسرو و جامی مدد

Maktabi Shirazi has words of praise for Nizami and Khusrau in these verses:

ہر چند کہ خسرو و نظامی	داوند دو خانہ را تمامی
من کین نمطہ یگانہ کردم	نقاشی آن دو کانہ کردم



این دور که برشته کردم از نو از گنج نظامیاست و خسرو

The Indian scholar and writer Dara Shikoh has shown great admiration for Khusrau in the *Safinatul Aulia*:

”امیر خسرو در شعر چنان قادر بوند که مطلع الانوار را.....  
در دو هفته تمام کرده اند و در اشعار ایشان یکه بیتهاست که کم  
کسی به آن خوبی گفته باشد، مضمون های تازه عالی  
در اشعار امیر آن قدر است که اگر همه را جمع کنند از تصانیف  
بعضی زیاده می شود.“

These observations adequately prove Amir Khusrau's poetic excellence and the wide popularity of his *Khamsa* which is, by the common consent, the best of all *Khamsas* written in imitation of Nizami but certainly inferior to the original. But according to the testimony of Daulatshah in his *Tazkiratush-Shu'ara*, Bayasanghar Mirza held Amir Khusrau's *Khamsa* even superior to Nizami, while the other Prince Ulugh Beg held the reverse view. Daulatshah observes<sup>1</sup>:

امیرزاده بایسنغر خمسۀ خواجه خسرو را بر خمسۀ شیخ  
نظامی تفضیل دادی و خاقان مقفور الغ بیگ گورگان قبول  
نکردی و معتقد شیخ نظامی بودی، و مابین این دو شهزاده

(1) p. 340.



فاضل بکرات جهت این دعوی تعصب دست داده بیت بیت  
خمستین را باهم مقابله کرده اند۔

Daulatshah has also informed us the Bayasanghar Mirza has great interest in Khusrau's poetical works with the result that he managed to collect one hundred twenty thousand verses of Khusrau's composition.

It may be noted that of the two princes of house of Timur, Bayasanghar Mirza was a significant literary figure of his age, while Ulugh Beg was a scientist. Thus the former's opinion about Amir Khusrau's *Khamsa*, though may not the acceptable view, is quite weighty.

Among the modern critics Shibli Naumani has judged the value of Khusrau's *Khamsa* as a just critic. He says<sup>1</sup>: 'Though of all the *Khamsas* written in imitation of Nizami's, Khusrau's *Khamsa* is perhaps the best, yet the fact remains that some of his (Khusrau's) poems may not fairly compare with the earlier master's poems. The *Matla'ul Anwar* has obvious weaknesses, the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* suffers from weakness and dullness and the poet was himself conscious to it. *Majnun wa Laila* no doubt represents his taste, and though the poet, out of humility,

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(1) Shairul-Ajam, Vol. II, pp. 142-147.



regards himself nothing before Nizami, his poem no doubt reaches the proximity of Nizami's poem in poetic excellence. His last *Masnawi*, the *Hasht Bihisht* exhibits the poet's maturity of thought and touches the highest point in *پُرکاری*, its most outstanding feature being *کمال* *واقعه نگاری*.

Dr. Wahid Mirza after weighing all the points both for and against has summed up in a convincing manner as follows:<sup>1</sup>

'One would hardly concern with those of Khusrau's critics who described his *Khamisa* as trash, or on the other hand with such enthusiasts as have claimed that a single verse in it outweighs in merits the whole *Khamisa* of Nizami. More sensible critics like Jami and Navai in the old days and Shibli in modern times have judged Khusrau's replica rightly: 'it is, as they say, the best imitation of Nizami's work, but considered as a whole, it falls short of the original. Yet, when we say an imitation we refer only to its form for Khusrau has not abandoned his originality. He adheres scrupulously to the metres used by Nizami and is faithful to the broad outlines of the romances, yet he takes considerable liberty with the

(1) The Life and Work of Amir Khusrau, pp. 191-92.

(2) See the Haft Asman, pp. 67-68.



smaller details and, what is more, is never guilty of plagiarism (سرقه). There are parts of his *Khamsa* which are as fine, if not finer than any found in that of Nizami, and Khusrau often shows himself to be a greater artist in the grouping and delineation of events. It is only in the wealth of beautiful similes and metaphors as well as in polished and elegant phraseology that Nizami excels his imitator, and the fame that the *Matla'ul Anwar* acquired both in India and Transoxiana was due as much to its intrinsic merit as to the long established prestige of its composer, although the poem was *completed in a short span of a fortnight's time*'.



## CHAPTER - II

**A Critical Study of Amir Khusrau's  
*Aina-i-Sikanderi***

Alexander's name and exploits had been very popular both in the East and the West. The perpetuation of his fame through ages and amongst so many people is due to the innumerable translations and recensions of a work known as the *Alexander Romance*<sup>1</sup> compiled in Alexandria about AD 300. Two Latin translations were made of the Greek text of the *Alexander Romance*, one in the beginning of the fourth century and the other in the tenth century<sup>2</sup>, and these two versions are the main sources of what was written about Alexander in medieval Europe. In Asia, the development of Romance was affected by the so-called *Christian Legend Concerning Alexander*, a work which does not appear to have been known in the West, and of which the Syriac text was

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(1) *Alexander Romance* or Pseudo-Callisthenes- the name is a misnomer. The first editor of the Greek text so overrated one of his manuscripts, in which the work is attributed to Callisthenes, "that he put the name Pseudo-Callisthenes on the title page, Pseudo-Callisthenes has remained a ghost word ever since." See J.A. Boyle, *The Alexander Legend in Central Asia*, Folklore, Vol. 85, Winter 1974, p. 226, note. 3

(2) See George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 24-58.



discovered and published only in a comparatively recent time<sup>1</sup>. It is found at the end of the manuscript for a Syriac version of the Romance made not much later than the seventh century from a a lost Pahlavi (Middle Persian) text.<sup>2</sup>

From the Greek version of the Alexander Romance there was made an early (fifth century) translation into Armenian which is still extant and was recently translated into English<sup>3</sup>. A Pahlavi translation made during the first half of the seventh century has not survived; it formed, however, the basis of a nearly contemporary Syriac version<sup>4</sup> which, in turn, was translated into Arabic, and to this Arabic text, itself unfortunately lost, are to be traced back all the innumerable versions of the Romance in various Islamic languages from Ottoman Turkish to Malay<sup>5</sup>. An Ethiopian version, apart from some Christian

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- (1) E. A. Wallis Budge (ed. & trans), *The History of Alexander*, being the Syriac Version of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* (Cambridge, 1889), pp. 144-58.
  - (2) See Budge (trans), *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia* (London, 1933), pp. xviii-xix.
  - (3) The Greek version of the story was translated by Adolf Ausfelde, *Dergriechische Alexanderroman* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 83-4. The Greek text has not been translated in English. For an English translation of the Armenian version, see Albert M. Wolohojian (translation), *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes* (New York and London, 1969).
  - (4) E. A. Wallis Budge (translation), *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia*, (London, 1933), pp. 2-213.
  - (5) See Budge (translation), *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia*, (London, 1933), pp. xx-xxii



interpolations, appears to provide a very faithful rendering of the lost Arabic Original.<sup>1</sup> Finally, there was recently discovered, amongst the Turfan texts preserved in Berlin, a fragment of a Mongolian version of the Alexander Romance made during the first half of the 14th century from some Islamic text, perhaps, the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* of Amir Khusrau.

In the Greek text of the Alexander Romance the story of Alexander begins with Nectanebes, the last of the Pharaohs, seeking refuge, not as in historical fact in Ethiopia, but in Macedonia where, in the guise of a magician, he enters the service of Philip's wife Olympius and, assuming the form of the Egyptian god Ammon, becomes the real father of Alexander. As his first campaign, the young conqueror is made to lead an expedition to Sicily and Italy where he receives the submission of the Romans. He then crosses into Africa, is hailed in the temple of Ammon as god's son, found Alexandria and then marches into Asia to attack Darius. The campaign is carried upto Alexander's first victory over Darius when he decides to return to Macedonia and to resume war against the Persian only after the pacifications

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(1) Budge (translation), *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia*, (London, 1933).



of Greece, the remainder follows more or less the historical course. Darius, defeated at Arbela, is murdered by rebellious subjects and Alexander captures the murderers and puts them to death. At this point the author inserts the first of the three letters filled with genuine folklore that had gathered round the name of Alexander: the first letter, addressed to that his mother Olympius, tells of his journey to the ends of the world and, in particular, to the Land of Darkness. We return to history with his Indian campaign, in which he defeats king Porus in single combat then follows an account of Alexander's discussions with the Brahmins. The second letter is inserted here: addressed to his teacher Aristotle, it describes the marvellous of India and in a longer version, preserved in the Syriac text, concludes with an account of his journey across Central Asia to China. We now come to the episode relating Alexander's visit to Queen of Ethiopia whom he approaches masquerading as his own ambassador; then the conqueror enters into correspondence with the female nation of the Amazons. The author then causes his hero to return to Babylon, and here follows, the third letter in which Alexander writes to his mother of a fabulous visit to the Pillars of Hercules. The account of his last days is based on a political pamphlet of 321 BC, the cause



of his death is not malaria but a poison despatched from Macedonia by Antipater. After recounting the transport of his body to its final burial in Alexandria, the work concludes with a list of all the cities founded by and named after Alexander. His name is preserved to this day in Alexandria itself and in Alexandretta (Irkenderun in Turkey), but Merv, Termez, Khojand, Leninabad once also bore the name of Alexandria.

The Islamic versions of the adventures of Alexander are based, stated earlier, on the Syriac translation of a lost Pahlavi text which contains an account, absent from all the recensions of the Greek original, of an expedition undertaken by Alexander across Central Asia to China. This lengthy episode is obviously based on a Greek text and may once have been an integral part of the Romance. The lost Arabic version had also incorporated the whole of the work known as the *Christian Legend concerning Alexander*, of which the Syriac text compiled in the 6th century is available in a published form. It tells the story of how Alexander went-forth to the ends of the world, and made a gate of iron, and shut it in the face of the north wind, that the Huns might not come-forth to spoil the countries. These Huns were identified with Gog and



Magog and Alexander is depicted as having horns on his head. About the construction of the gate of brass, it is related that Alexander commanded and fetched three thousand smiths, workers in iron, and three thousand men, workers in brass. And they put down brass and iron, kneaded it as a man kneads when he works clay. Then they brought it and made a gate, the length of which was twelve cubits and the breadth eight cubits. And he made a lower threshold from mountain to mountain, the length of which was twelve cubits; and he hammered it into the rocks of the mountains, and it was fixed in with brass and iron.

There is also a metrical version of the *Christian Legend* by a Syrian poet Jacob of Sarugh (d. AD 521).<sup>1</sup> It refers the Huns simply as Gog and Magog and interpolates from the *Alexander Romance* the story of Alexander's visit to the land of Darkness.

The land of Darkness was not purely mythical country; it is a name given to the sub-arctic region of what is now the Russia. When entering it, Alexander orders his followers to take with them she-asses that were suckling

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(1) See J. A. Boyle, *The Alexander Legend in Central Asia*, folklore, vol. 85, Winter 1974, p. 226 note 17.



foals. The story passed onto Rashid-ud-Din's version of the Legend of Oghuz.<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo too speaks of a province called *Darkness* far to the north of King Conchi's Kingdom (what is now central Kazakhstan) where the sun, the moon and the stars never appear but it is always as dark as with us in the twilight<sup>2</sup>. From this and other Arabic versions have sprung versions in the different Islamic languages.

From above details it is quite clear the the Episode of Alexander is a curious admixture of history, myth and fiction and that these parts are so interwoven together in the fabric of the story that it is not an easy thing to separate history from fiction and mythology. One of the most curious problem is the identification of Alexander with Zulqarnain mentioned in the Quran, which, though absent from all the recensions of the the Greek original, was inserted in the Christian Legend earlier than 6th century. In short, the Alexander Romance needs a thorough research to be undertaken exclusively by such profound scholars as having wide knowledge of various languages and of different civilizations.

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(1) See Carl John (translation), *Die Gesechichte der Oguzen des Rashid-ad-Din*, (Vienna, 1969), p. 26.

(2) J. A. Boyle, *The Alexander Legend in Central Asia*, folklore, vol. 85, Winter 1974, p. 224.



## *The Title, The Date of Composition of the Poem, etc.*

The title of the poem, the date of its composition and the number of lines it contains, all have been explicitly written by Khusrau himself in the concluding part of the poem. He states that human beings are mortals and each and everyone has to die one day or the other and thus he would fall into oblivion. It is better that one should leave behind a good name as his memorial. It was this desire that he composed the poem and left for posterity to remember him. The verses are:<sup>1</sup>

من اینجاکنم نقد خود را عیار	خود آنجا بیامرزد آمرزگار
چو رحمت شود نامه شوی گناه	چه باشد به دریا دو حرف سیاه
جوانی شد و پیری آغاز شد	دریغاکه این نیز خواهد گذشت
کشیدم زلال خضر زین سواد	که تا چون بمیرم رسم بر مراد
خوش آن کس که چون برگ ره کرد ساز	به میراث بگذشت عمر دراز
نماند بسی نام بی مایگان	که نتوان زدن سکه زائیگان

(1) Aina-e-Sikanderi, p. 289.



همه کس پی خفتن افسانه خواست  
 چه هشیار و بیدار و فرزانه  
 بر آن کس بود زندگانی حرام  
 نمرده آن کسی کز جهان نام برد  
 ربودن بنام از جهان، گوی را  
 چو دیدم که ترک جهان گفتنی است  
 خیالی در این نامه کردم نگار  
 مگراز تماشای این بوستان  
 شنینده چون خفت افسانه خاست  
 که او خفت و ماند از وی افسانه  
 که اورنماند پس از مرگ نام  
 که مرد نکو نام هرگز نمرده  
 میسر نشد جز سخنگوی را  
 مرا نیز چون دیگران خفتی است  
 که ماند زمن در جهان یادگار  
 درودی رسد بر من از دوستان

The title of the book is<sup>1</sup> mention in this verse:

مرا این نامه راز اتفاق صواب شد آئینه های سکندر خطاب

The poem, though entitled as *آئینه های سکندر* has been commonly mentioned by the title of *Aina-i-Sikandari*. The Title *آئینه های سکندری* again appears in the epilogue of this Arabic sentence:<sup>2</sup>

ولقبه قلبی آئینیهای سکندری

Number of lines it contains and the date of its composition, AH 699, are contained in these verses:<sup>3</sup>

(1) *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, p. 289-90.

(2) It is given by Dr. Wahid Mirza, see *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, p. 200, Note 1.

(3) *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, pp. 289-90.



در این دم که پایان این پیکر است      ز تاریخ هفصد یکی کمتر است  
گر آری همه بیتش اندر عدد      چهار الف و پنجه شد و چار صد

The term هفصد stands for هفتصد; the letter ت has been dropped to fit in the metre. The deduction of one from 700 would give the exact date, i.e., AH 699. The number of total verses are 4450. The word پنجه a short form of پنجاه, come before چهار صد simply because it would thus fit in the rhyme. However, the poem printed at Aligarh in 1917 contains only 4411 lines. the missing 39 lines could not be traced by the editor Maulana Muhammed Said Ahmad Faruqi.

The *Masnawi* is written in the Mutaqarib Musamman (متقارب مثنی) metre which scans as follows:

فعولن فعولن فعولن فعول      فعولن فعولن فعولن فعول

As stated earlier Khusrau emphasised on selected events even at the cost of disturbing the unity and continuity of the poem. Khusrau did it intentionally because he was quite conscious that it would be impossible to compete with Nizami if he attempted to base his poem on those events as have been already so coherently presented by Nizami in his two parts of



*Sikander Nama*. He has explained his point of view at many places. In the beginning he states:

زدانا هر آن در که ناسفته ماند      فشاند بنوعی که دانم فشاند  
 هنر پرور گنجہ گویای پیش      کہ گنج ہزدانش زاندازہ بیش  
 نظر چو برین جام صہبا گذاشت      ستد صافی و دُرد برما گذاشت  
 من ارچہ ازان می گران ترشوم      کجا باحریفان برابر شوم  
 چو کردم بہ سنجیدن اندیشہ چست      چہ ناباور افسانہ و چہ درست  
 چو گوہر فمہ سفت گوہر پذیر      من از مہرہ سفتن نہ دانم گریز  
 ترا ہر چہ دردی نماید محال      گنہ بر کسی نہ کہ بست این خیال  
 و گر ہر چہ ناگفتہ مانداز نخست      کنون یک بیک گفت خواہم درست  
 و گر نہ لطافت ندارد بسی      کہ مرگفتہ را باز گوید کسی

While in the beginning of the anecdote of Yajuj and Majuj he composes these verses by way of excuse<sup>1</sup>:

سخنگوی پیشینہ جادوی پیش      کہ جادوگری کرد زاندازہ بیش  
 بشرحیکہ پست این ورق راطراز      ازین پیش بیرون نیفگندراز  
 چون زین نکتہ راہ معانی گشاد      نم از چشمہ زندگانی کشاد  
 ازین چشمہ برما سیاہی گذاشت      گہر بستدو گوش ماہی گذاشت  
 چون گذاشت اومی بہ شیشہ درون      من از شیشہ شویم چہ آید برون

(1) *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, p. 108.



In the epilogue he again refers to the same facts:<sup>1</sup>

وگربازگیری تو پیوند خویش مرا خود عزیز ایست مرزند خویش  
 پسرگرچه کوراست لذین ازین نه دور بچشم پدر شب چراغ است ونور  
 سزاگرچه آواز خرخنده را بودارغنون گوش خربنده را  
 بروباد بخشایش دادگر که برمن به بخشش گمارد نظر  
 هنر جوی در عیب جوئی مکوش ترانیز عیب است برکود بیوش

As stated earlier all the five poems of *Khamsa* are dedicated to Alaud Din Khalji but there is no evidence to show that the work was undertaken at the behest of the Sultan. The poet has indulged in praise of his *Murshid* (مرشد), Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia as in his other poems and the chapter precedes one in praise of the ruling monarch.

### Characteristics of the Aina-i-Sikanderi

The *Aina-i-Sikanderi* is a replica of Nizami's *Sikander Nama* written in the same metre. Though Khusrau is faithful to the broad outlines of Nizami's poem, he 'takes considerable<sup>2</sup> liberty with the smaller details and is never guilty of plagiarism'. In some poems of the *Khamsa*

(1) *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, pp. 290-91.

(2) Wahid Mirza, *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, Lahore, 1962, p. 192.



Khusrau shows himself 'to be a greater artist in grouping and delineation of events'<sup>1</sup> But this is not true in respect of the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* in which the events at times seems to be disjointed part of a complete whole. Now I shall make an attempt to examine the chief characteristics of the *Masnawi*.

1. The *Aina-i-Sikanderi* has a tinge of Islamic views. The author being a devoted Muslim should have began with Hamd (حمد) and Na'ts and the praises of his *murshid* (مرشد) Nizamuddin Aulia.

But even in the body of the poem this aspect is noticeable to a careful reader. For example, the author gives no place to reason in matters of faith and Shra'. According to him reason and intellect lead to astray. He proceeds with the assertion that it is reason which stands in the path of Shra'. It is better to get rid of it by drinking a cup of wine for drinking is a pardonable sin but the "inauspicious wisdom will lead you to hell. Knowledge and intellect are nothing but mischief and it is in this respect that one should prefer the state of drunkenness and madness to them." I may quote some lines in original:

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(1) Wahid Mirza, *Life and Workds of Amir Khusrau*, Lahore 1962, p.192.



خردنیست آن بل جنون است و صرع      که اندیشه را باز دراد ز شرع  
 خرد کز یکی جرعه گرد و زبون      زاد ریای معنی که آید برون  
 سرم خاک مستان فرخنده پی      که شویند نقش خرد را به می  
 خرد را مکش تا بجای عنان      که گرد و زبانت دلت را سنان  
 چه کار آید آن عقل چاره سگال      که ابن صد خلل یا بدازیک خیال  
 اگر می گنه باشد از روی کار      گنه را بیا مرزد آمرز گار  
 ولیکن ببین صنعت عقل سوم      کت از بهر دوزخ کند نخل موم  
 چه فتنه است فرهنگ و فرزانیگی      خوشا وقت مستی و دیوانگی

Amir Khusrau holds philosophy a negation of religion. He regards those who make an attempt to know the Divine reality by means of their physical wisdom, away from the true path of faith. It is in this respect that those who are busy in solving the intricate problems of nature with the process of reason, effect, matter and form are imperfect and deficient. So a philosopher's view should be rejected outright and if needed be he should be punished. The sphere of Divinity is beyond their comprehension. This has been discussed under various chapters and I shall quote a few relevant verses from one of them:



بسی ناتمامان که از خوی خام	زمعلول و علت برآرند نام
بدست هوس بازده عنان	که ماده چنین است صورت چنان
گراثبات کلی بقول حکیم	گه انکار جزئی بعلم قدیم
گه در طبیعی طبیعت گشای	گهی در ریاضی ریاضت نمای
ولی چون سخن درالهی فتاد	خیال خرد در تباهی فتاد
چون زین درکند فلسفی نکته راست	قفازن که گردن زدن رار و است
چه ابله کسی کاندیرین نه حجیب	خورد زین نمطهای رنگین فریب
کسی کوندانست رازجهان	جهان افرین راچه داندنهان
چه پنداری ای ابله تراه رای	که گنجد در اندیشه و تو خدای
چه صانع بود در صفات کمال	چه مصنوع راگنجد اندر خیال
چوهژده هزار اندیرین ره گم ست	چه اندازه یک دل مردم است
کسی را که سررشته آمد بدست	لبش برسرخن مهر جاوید بست

Khusrau believes that all actions take their origin from God; the effect of heaven and stars in shaping man's destiny is nought. These helpless creatures have nothing to do with the fate of human beings. A few lines will illustrate this point:<sup>1</sup>

دروغ است کین و هم کوتاه بین      فلک رانهد کارساز زمین

(1) p.2



زمین و فلک چو منت بنده اند \_\_\_ به تسلیم خدمت سرافگنده اند  
 ۱ ازین هرزه هم به که پیچی عنان که عنصر چنین کردو انجم چنان  
 سخن زین زبونان چه گوید کسی که هستد عاجز ترا ز مابسی

Man is bound by the fetters of predestination.  
 Khusrau follows Ashairi school in his belief that man is not free to choose according to his own sweet will. A few lines<sup>2</sup> to illustrate this point are quoted below:

به هستی جوراهم تو دادی نخست ز من هرچه خیزد به تقدیر تست  
 چو خودبستی این رقعہ بردامنم عتاب از چه گرد به پیراهنم

In most of his works Khusrau has exhibited a secular outlook; but in this *Masnawi* he seems to be a champion of Islam denouncing the tenets of both the Brahmanism and Zoroastranism. For the latter there may be an excuse in the sense that the poet had to describe the invasion of Alexander on Zoroastrians and as such he had to find out an excuse for such invasion. But there was no occasion for accusing the faith of Brahmanism. A few lines<sup>3</sup> are quoted below:

دوقوم اندکز چشم کوتاه بین بخورشید و آتش شده راه بین  
 مغ و برهن کین دور راشد صواب پرسشیدن آتش و آفتاب  
 بهردو ترا نیست حاجت گداز که اوسوزش خویش خود کرد ساز

(1) p. 170.

(2) p. 4.

(3) pp. 165-166.



برهنم همش در پرستش فروخت که فرجام از و دوزخی گشت سوخت

At one place a warrior is stated to have addressed his enemy like a Muslim by uttering the words<sup>1</sup> : بسم الله

كسانيكه هتسندا زين فن بلاف در آيند بسم الله اينك مصاف

Khizr and Ilyas are two prophets who guide the misguided to the right path. In the poem, Alexander has been guided by them in his Sea-Voyage. A few lines<sup>2</sup> will substantiate it:

چپ و راستش خضر و الياس هم پس و پش ارسطوبلينا س هم  
ز عمري كزين گونه اندك بود حنان خواندم از قصه شان او

While Alexander has been shown as the defender of true faith, his condition of truce with the enemy, namely acceptance of faith or agreeing to give Jizia is exactly the same as that of the defenders<sup>3</sup> of Islam:

چون زان گونه شد مردم ازهر بلاد که يادين پذيرفت يا جزيه داد

II. Another feature of the poem is that in respect of the facts of the story Amir Khusrau tries to prove his individuality. The plot is no doubt borrowed from Nizami, Amir Khusrau finds occasions to differ from the former on one pretext or the other. About the episode of

(1) p. 65.

(2) p. 252.

(3) p. 173.



Khaqan-i-Chin, Khusrau's account differs a little for which he puts forward the argument<sup>1</sup>:

دگرگونه خواندم من این راز را      دگرگون زدم لا بد این ساز را  
وگر نه لطافت ندارد بسی      که مرگفته را باز گوید کسی

There is a divergence of opinion about Alexander's status also. According to some he was a prophet but others hold him a *Wali*. However, when it was looked into, it was settled that he was only a *Wali* (a friend of God) and not His apostle. This is the reason of him being gifted with *اعجاز* (Miracles) and not with *کرامات* and *کشف* lines<sup>2</sup> are given below:

گروهی زدند از ولایت درش      گروهی بنشستند پیغمبرش  
به تحقیق چون کرده شد باز جست      درستی شدش نرو ولایت درست  
شگفتی که دانا برو باز بست      گر اعجاز نبود کرامات هست  
گرافتد به پیغمبری داوری      ز ندسکه زا اعجاز پیغمبری  
وگر قصه با اولیا سرزند      ز کشف و کرامت سر برزبر

Khusrau again differs from those who fix Alexander's age at 30. According to him he had lived for more than 500 years. The lines<sup>3</sup> are quoted below:

دروغ است که کان بادشه را بذات      نویسنده سی سال گوید حیات

(1) p. 47

(2) p. 28.

(3) p. 47



ز عمری کزین گونه اندک بود      درو فتح آفاق در بَشک بود  
چنان خواندم از قصه<sup>۱</sup> شان او      که پانصدفزون بود جولان او

Again, respecting the meaning of Astrolab and its invention Khusrau makes a little investigation and composes such verses<sup>1</sup>:

بیونانی اصطر ترازو بود      که در سکه<sup>۱</sup> عدل ساز او بود  
و گرمعینم باز پرسی زلاب      بوده هم به گفتار روم آفتاب  
چون این نامها شد به پیوند راست      بترکیب موزون صطرلاب خاست  
پس آن کو مراد صطرلاب چست      ترازوی خورشید باشد درست  
دگر کارد انان دران داوری      دگرگون نمودند نام آوری  
یکی گفت لاب است نام حکیم      که اوساخت این پیکر مستقیم  
اگر چش بر اسکندر انداختند      ولی پیش از اسکندرش ساختند  
دگر گفت لابی کش این نور بود      ارسطوی فرزانه را پود بود  
دگر گفت دیدم بتاریخ عام      که شد پور ادریس را لاب نام  
ازان بهره کو داشت ندر سپهر      بر آراست زین سال ترازوی مهر  
براین گونه این ماجرا را که هست      کند هر کسی بر کسی باز بست  
به تحقیق چون کرده شد باز جست      درستی شدش هم زرسطو درست

(1) p. 148



Again, Amir Khusrau has referred to the different opinions of the historians about Alexander's death and burial:<sup>1</sup>

وگرگونه فرمود پیرکهن      ز آرامگاه سکندر سخن  
مراگفت اوباور افتادوبس      که از دیده زد برشیده نفس

III. Another noticeable feature of the *Masnawi* is that it supplies useful information in respect of custom, beliefs, points of cultural and historical importance etc.

1) These are some of the implements of warfare mentioned in the *Masnawi*:

خنجر گوسپین (p.198) 'هندی آبدار (p.49)  
بیکان، زره، ژوپین، حشت (p.63)، کوس روئنه (p.64)  
'پلانگینه پوشی (p.65) 'پولاد هندی (p.67)، سنان (p.68)  
'شمشیر، نیزه (p.66)، درع، حذنگ پولاد چین، سپر (p.72)  
تیر، ناچخ، قلاب، قلابی الماس گون، رمح، کمند، تیغ،  
ترکش، کمان، گرز، پلارک، برگستوان، دورباش، خنجر، (pp.74-82)

The Indian sword was small تیغ يك مشت while the arrow made in China was long measuring nine مشت<sup>2</sup>:

توازن تیرنه مشت ترکان مپر      بدین تیغ يك مشت هندی نگر  
وگرنه بدین هندی آبدار      برآرم ز ترکان چینی دمار

The نیزه was made from the willow tree:<sup>3</sup>

یکی نیزه بید برگ سپید      سنان برسرش رسته چون برگ بید



2) These are some of the names of the clothes mentioned in the poem: (p.96) سیفور, (pp.73,94) قزاگندی, (p.135) قصب, (p.81) حریر, (p.12) اکسون, (p.12,96) دیبا, (pp.12,96) ازرق

A royal robe is mentioned in which wharp and whoop were not discernable:<sup>1</sup>

گرامی یکی جامه شاهوار      که نی پود او بود پیدانه تار

3) The following musical instruments are mentioned in the *Masnawi*:

چکاوک، رود، رباب (p.120)، بربط، (p.131)، چنگ، ارغنون (p.132)

The poet refers to a general apathy towards learning and scholarship<sup>2</sup>:

بشهر این مثل شهره عالم است      که هرکش هنربیش روزی کم است  
مرا صد فغان زین هنرهای خام      که نزد خرد هست عیب تام

Musk was used in writing<sup>3</sup>:

طراز هنر قصه خام را      نبشتن بمشک است دشنام را

The amulet put round the neck of children was regarded as a protection against effect of evil spirit. It was also tied round the arms:

4 خرناتوان گر بود مردنش      به بندند تعویذ درگردنش  
5 شده مشکبوغنچه درزیر پوست      چو تعویذ مشکین ببازوی دوست

Children used to play with reeds as if they are riding a horse<sup>6</sup>:

(1) p. 94    (2) p. 26    (3) p. 28    (4) p. 129    (5) p. 25 (6)    pp. 33, 63



بلازین بناوک برانداخته چو طفلان زنی بارگی ساخته

ببازیگری کودکان رابراه نئی زرد بهتر زعود سیاه

Money was kept in knot (گره) tied in loincloth and sari:

<sup>1</sup> کسی رابنقد دغل رای نیست سفالینه رادرگه جای نیست

The camel is proverbial for its malice and ferocity. This is why the Prophet of Islam has sought<sup>2</sup> divine protection from it. The same has a reference in this poem:

شتر ارچه مست است دلکش تراست سرود خوش و رقص ازان خوشتر است

ولی کش بخون رهنمونی بود تو خون کن بقهرش که خونی بود

It was customary to put on black clothes in mourning:

<sup>3</sup> براوت تاخت چینی سواری چوپیل زده جامه درماتم خود به نیل

قزاگندی ازرق کشیده به تن که هم جوشنش بودی وهم کفن

<sup>4</sup> نشتند گریان براهل رحیل زدندا اندران سوگ جامه به نیل

Rome was reputed for glass cutting work:

<sup>5</sup> نشتند میناگدازان روم که بی آتش از سنگ سازندموم

بدانسان کارستو اشارت نمود زجاجه بر آتش فشاندند زود

Three نوبت were introduced by Alexander, Sanjar

(1) p. 38

(2) The tradition is: اللهم اني اعوذ بك من شرّ الاعيين السيل والبعير الصئول

' O Allah I seek Thy protection from two binds: one the surging flood water and the other the charging camel (All Hizbul Azam).

(3) p. 73 (4) p. 179 (5) p. 228



introduced five as is evident by these lines:

چوبنیاد نوبت سکندر نهاد      سه ازوی شدو پنج سنجر نهاد<sup>1</sup>  
 بماند انیک از چرخ گردش نمای      سه و پنج شان در سپنجی سرای

The curtain (سراپرده) and tent used to be made from the wolf and tiger skins from the time of Jamshed; but Alexander made it from cloth:

سراپرده و خیمه از گاه حجم<sup>2</sup>      زگرگینه بودو پلنگینه هم  
 از ان رختها کز پی عام ساخت      همه ساز آن راهم از جام ساخت  
 ز فرهنگ آن خسرو روم وزنگ      بدل شد بکرباس چرم پلنگ

One may find an echo of rope made from coconut tree in the poem:

پس از جوزبندی گستادند پوست<sup>3</sup>      کشیدند ازو آنچه مقبول اوست  
 رسنهای صندوق کردند ساز      که یک ماهه ره بود هر یک دراز

An important point is that Amir Khusrau, though very fond of introducing Indian elements in his poem, unusually refrains from speaking about India and its specialities. It is, perhaps, because he must have rightly thought that a poem dealing with Alexander's episodes reference to Indian element would not fit in. However, at one place he has mentioned the fully of drinking water

(6) pp. 174-75.

(2) p. 229.

(3) p. 150.



with both the hands joined together in preference over any cup or tumbler.

زبس ابلهی هندوان کلال      بدست آب نوشند باصد سفال  
(p.32)

One case of simile of an Indian elephant with its forehead besmeared with vermilion is available in this poem:

شداز زنگ سرخی سر کوهسار      چوپیشانی پیل شنگرف وار  
(p.72)

IV. The characterisation in the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* is not so important because the poet had not to depict the character of so many personalities. The only significant character permitting the story is that of Alexander who is the hero of the plot. The qualities of the hero emphasised by the poet may be summed up as follows:

1. He was a Roman against the common belief of being a Greek. This is why he wages war against the Greeks on the ground that the Greek philosophers held heretical views.

2. He was a great warrior and conqueror who conquered most parts of the known world starting from Rome to China and India in the east and to Russia in the north, Arabia in the south besides the exploration of the ocean. He subdued the rulers of India and China and after subjugating the Russians and Germans he went to Yajuj



whom he quelled after a grim struggle and then constructed the Great Wall of brass and stopped the inroads of Yajuj into the lands of the neighbours. He also destroyed the fire-temples of the fire worshippers and lastly he invaded Greece and compelled Plato to attach himself to the suite of the King. Then Alexander starts on his sea-voyage accompanied by Khizr and Ilyas. He descends into the depths of the sea and sees the mysteries of the ocean.

Alexander has been described as the inventor of the Astrolab, tents made of cotton cloth and the constructor of the famous Alexander's mirror.

3. Alexander has been depicted by Khusrau as a champion of religion. The conqueror is described to have undertaken the campaign against the Zorostrians called fire-worshippers simply because they were not the followers of the true faith. A few lines will substantiate the point:

بجز پختن و سوختن هیچ کار	نباید ازین جوهر تابدار
برندش به معبودی خویش نام	چه واجب کند کابلهی چند خام
که مردم خودش کشت و خود زنده کرد	چه باید پرستیدن آن رابدرد
که خورشید حق رانه پوشم به میغ	مرا ایزد از بهر آن داد تیغ



برآنم که در آذر آبادگان  
چرا باید این رسم مغ زادگان  
که باهیز بد زیردستی کند  
به گمراهی آتش پرستی کند

(p. 165)

Alexander's campaign against Greece was aimed at destroying this citadel of infidelity in the garb of philosophy and reason. The upholders of the cause of faith and righteousness would never tolerate the heiretical beliefs of the Greeks, and prompted by this, Alexander ordered his men to attack Greece.

A few lines from this section will illustrate the point:

طرازنده قصه روم و روس  
چینن بست پیرایه این عروس  
که چون شد سکندر به الهام غیب  
زهر جنس مردم رقم شوی عیب  
همه گمراهان را بران سان که خواست  
به شمشیر حجت همی کرد راست  
چون زان گونه شد مردم ازهر بلاد  
که یادین پزیرفت یا جزیه داد  
حمایت سوی نیک رایان گرفت  
به خنجر ره کژ گرایان گرفت

(p.173)

خبرداشت که آن ملت ناسپاس  
زینزدان اندارند دردل هراس  
به گستاخ گوئی سبان کرده باز  
که مارا کلیدی راست برگنج راز  
به نزدیک شان فیلوسوف کهن  
نکو ترز پیغمبری درسخن  
پیام آوری رازکار آگهان  
روان کردنزدیک آن گمراهان  
بدوگفت تا باز گوید درست  
که باید خیال کژ از سینه شست



بدین حنیفی گرایش کند      خدا را بدین ره نمایش کند  
 نشانند سه فلسفی برسنان      زمعلول و علت بتابدعنان  
 درین ده نباشد کژ اندیش را      سزا بیدن اندیشه خویش را  
 (p. 174)

4) Alexander has been shown as just ruler, a kind hearted soldier and fighter who showed utmost kindness to his defeated enemy. When the army of the Khaqan-i-Chin alongwith the ruler was captured, the conqueror ordered that no one should be harassed or terrorised. Their possession should not be touched or tampered with. A full list of captured property be prepared and if there be any thing missing, it should be replaced from the royal treasury. The Khaqan was treated with honour and respect and was granted his own throne. A few lines will reveal the true character of Alexander as a noble man. The king while addressing the Khaqan says:

بدوگفت کایمن شدائ تاجدار      که رام توشد گردش روزگار  
 اگرناگه از دور این سبز طاق      گرفتار شد اخترت درمحاق  
 مر و خور که نوریست پیوستِ شان      گرفتاری عاقبت هست شان  
 دگرروشنان راکه بینی جمال      هم ایمن نینداز هبوط و زوال  
 (p.98)



چومن چین گشادم زابروی کین      مبارک زسربادت اقلیم چین  
 بگفت این و فرمود کارندپیش      سلبهای شاهانه زاندازه بیش  
 (p. 99)

The Khaqan moved by this treatment expresses his sense of greatfullness in this way:

نباشد چوتو شاه درمهروکین      بکوشش چنان وبه بخشش چنین  
 کجا خسروی جز تو باشد چنان      که کوشد به جان بخشی دوستان  
 رهی کز تو دربندگی شاد گشت      کنون بنده ترگشت کازاد گشت  
 (p. 101)

The other notable character is Khaqan-i-Chin who has been depicted as a great king and a defender of his territory. When he received the message of Alexander, though advised not to wage war with such a conqueror, he could not surrender. The army was alerted and with good preparation he went to the battlefiel. After a number of soldiers from both sides were killed, Alexander and the Khaqan entered into a dual and the latter was captured after a grim battle. But as seen earlier Alexander treated him very kindly and returned the captured throne to him. The Khaqan was much moved by the treatment out to him with the result that he openly and without reservation expressed his obligation to Alexander. Some lines have



been quoted above. A few more will reveal the sense of his gratitude:

سپهدرا چین زان نوا زندگی      زسریافت سرمایۀ زندگی  
چنان گشت شرمنده ز احسان خاص      کزان بندگی خوش بنودش خلاص  
فراوان دران راحتش بود رنج      چه از بار منت چه از بار گنج

(p.100)

ز بس کاندران داوری شاد شد      دلش صید دگشت ارتن آزاد شد  
ز بخشاشیس و بخشش بی شمار      زبانش زیپوزش نمی کرد کار  
بصد شرمناکی و خجلت گری      به غلطید بر نطع اسکندری  
چنانم گلوبستی از طوق خاص      که تاروز محشر نیابم خلاص

Another character which demands a brief mention is the female Chinese warrior Kanifu. She was a good fighter and killed many Roman soldiers. At last, she had to fight with Alexander and was defeated and captured. She was a girl of such an excellent beauty and refined manners as to capture Alexander's heart who ultimately married her. She was to marry one who would defeat her in a dual and a number of seekers had to suffer a humiliating defeat at her hands. But when she herself had sustained a defeat at the hands of Alexander, she had no choice but to marry him.



The warrior-maid was very much conscious of her beauty and feminine qualities and this is fully borne out by the verses she sang in the assembly of Alexander. At this stage Khusrau seems to be at his best and has produced elegant verses. It is worthwhile to quote a few lines in which Kanifu compares herself with Alexander:

سکندر که کرد آب حیوان هوس	نظیر منش بود مقصود بس
چو در روشنی چون منی رانید	بتاریکی آب حیوان دوید
مگر شاه زلف مرا در نیافت	که در عین ظلمات چندان شتافت
جو در خولت من نهانی رسید	بسرچشمه زندگانی رسید
گر انداز داو شیرو آهوبه تیر	من آن آهوم کو بود شیر گیر
گرا و هست کیخسرو جام جوی	مراجان گیتی نمای است روی
گراز مجلس اوسمن می دمد	مرا لاله و گل زتن می دمد
گرا و پیل بنده بخم کمند	من از تار موئی کنم پیل بند
گرا و گیتی از لشکر آرد بدام	خیالم به تنها بگیرد تمام
گرا و رنگ و چین راستد بی درنگ	بهر موئی من هست صد چین و رنگ
گرا و باز خواهد ز شاهان خراج	من از سروران سرستانم نه تاج
گرا و گنج ز ریخته دارد تمام	مرا نیز گنجی ست از سیم خام
گرا و قبال و دولت و رایا و رند	مرا هر دو چون کمترین چاکرند
کمان وی ارصد شکار افکند	بیک ابروی من صد هزار افکند



کمندوی ارصید بندد مدام من آنم که صیاد گیرد تمام

(pp. 136,37)

Another character demanding mention is of Plato. He has been depicted as the leader of a group of philosophers of Greece who held philosophy superior to prophethood. As they could divulge the secrets of nature, they need not have an apostle of God<sup>1</sup>. This prompted the defender of religion (Alexander) to wage war against them. But he could not conquer the mountaneous terrain and to retreat. However, he consulted Khizr who told him the secrets of opening gates of flood to wash off the whole territory of Greece alongwith its inhabitants by way of punishment for their heretical views<sup>2</sup>. The plan when executed proved to

(1) pp. 174-75

نکو ترز پیغمبری در سخن  
شده پخته کاراندران کارخام  
به پرسیدن کس ندارد نیاز  
که ما بر سر خویش پیغمبریم

(2) pp. 179-80

دران داوری از خضر رای جست  
به پرسنده گفت آنچ خواهش نمود  
کمرهای کوه است و دریای روم  
که یونیان است دروی درنگ  
شود آتش فتنه از آب پست  
شود بر سر کوه کشتی روان

به نزدیک شان فیلسوف کهن  
سری بودشان را فلاتون بنام  
دل ما که گشت ست دانای راز  
چه محتاج پیغمبر دیگریم

چون رایش در دل نیامد درست  
از آنجا که دانائی خضر بود  
پس پشت کهسار این مرزوبوم  
سه فرسنگ باشد سطبری سنگ  
که آن را بهنجار بتوان شکست  
زسیلی که بر کوه ریزد توان



be a deluge which washed away all the Greek residents<sup>1</sup>. However, only three sages viz. Plato, Kharqil and Farfilgus were saved from the calamity.

Subsequent upon this deluge Plato renounced his earlier belief and became a true believer. He started to pray God day and night and was given the title of Hakim-i-Ilahi, the divine sage. When Alexander heard of him, he approached him and wished to take him to Rome. But Plato did not agree. Thereupon, the Emperor himself chose to stay with him. The sage was not even agreeable to this alternative but, at last, he had no choice but to accompany him. On his arrival to Rome he was entrusted with the office of Wazir alongwith Aristotle.

Plato's reply to Alexander's message shows the sage in him:

زاندیشه دادش فلاطون جواب	که زره ندارد سر آفتاب
من اینجا که گشتم ز دل توشه گیر	ز غوغای عالم شدم گوشه گیر

(1) pp.180-81

کمربست بر عزم کوه افگنی	بپولاد سختی و خارا کنی
بجای که شد خضر شان رهنمای	کشادند بازوی زور آرمای
ز نیروی دریا دران سنگلاخ	ره سیل شد، همچو دریافراخ
درافتاد سپلاب دریایکوه	خروشنده شد موج دریاستوه
چنان در جهان موج آتش گرفت	اجل دامن فیلسوفان گرفت
نماند اندران غرق طوفانیان	نشانی زیونان و یونانیان



که تا چون زدانش گرفتم دری      نکوبم بخواهش دردیگری  
 چو همت بود بر درم پرده دار      سکندر نیابد درین پرده بار  
 چو درویش بادشاه جوید نشست      عنان از سلامت ببايد گسست  
 چو بار سلیمان هوس کرد مور      شود کشته در زیر پای ستور

(p.191)

However, when Alexander went to the sage, he found him a saintly person clad in rough clothes holding his tongue from unnecessary talk. He had grown weak and feeble.

نگه کرد در کنج آن تنگنای      فرشته و شی دید مردم نمای  
 گلیمی در آورده در گرد و دوش      خزیده چو دوباہ پشمینه پوش  
 کسی کنجش اندر سفالینه جم      کلید زبان در دهان کرده گم  
 مبراشده دل زغم خوردنش      مصفا شده تن ز کم خوردنش  
 رگو اندر تنش رونما از صفا      نماینده چون رشته در کهربا

(p.192)

Despite the forceful arrogant of Alexander, the sage went on seeking excuse on the pretext that he had grown old and weak and would not be able to shoulder upon the burden of the state:

نگویم بدستوریم شادکن      که دستوریم بخش و آزادکن



شبنم روز شد، روز من شب کنون      عنان چون سپارم بمرکب کنون  
 چو مشکم ولایت بکا فورداد      زطبعت گنون نافه نتوان کشاد  
 چه فرمائی آشوب عالم مرا      چه بردل نهی عالم غم مرا  
 دلی راکه گشت آشنائی نیاز      چه خوانی درین شهر بیگانه باز  
 بسی کرده ام بیزش این خاک را      برش نیست جز خارو خاشاک را  
 چوبشتاختم رازگروں تمام      بدین پختگی چون شوم باز خام  
 (pp.195-97)

However, ultimately Plato had to agree and the chapter closes on pieces of Counsels given by Plato to the Emperor which may be summed up as follows:

A king should always depend on God and be always at guard from evil deeds.

نخست آنچه فرض است برشهریار      همان شد کز ایزد بود ترس کار  
 به هر شادمانی و تیمارها      به یزدان حوالت کندکارها  
 چو دادت خدا آنچه داری بدست      خدارا برست و مشو خود پرست  
 (p.200)

A king should take care of the weaker section of the society especially Darwishes who avoid going to the rich for fulfilment of their requirements.

توئی گرچه شاهنشہ روم وزنگ      مگر تاننداری زدرویش ننگ  
 که گرچه چو گل ژنده پیراهن است      ولی بوی او از دگرگلشن است



مدد زان گدا جوی در نیک و بد      که از پادشاهان نجوید مدد

Plato's counsel regarding drinking of wine is quite interesting. He is not in favour of total prohibition. But one should prescribe a limit and should never cross that limit. Drinking with moderation is not harmful for a ruler. A few lines are quoted for illustration:

نگویم که خمخانه رابندکن      به نان پارۀ معدۀ خرسندکن  
کس این خودنگوید به شاه جهان      که مطلق بشوزین حوالت دهان  
ولیکن چنان خورگرت در خورد      که تومی خوری نی ترامی خورد  
(p.202)

A just king is required to make the proper use of his time which should not be wasted even in sleep. One should sleep for such time as is essential. The rest of the time is meant for the welfare of the subjects.

توبیدار باش آشکار و نهان      که از پاسد آباد حسپد جهان  
بخسپ و بخواب جوانی مخسپ      وگر خود توان تاتوانی مخسپ  
(p.203)

A ruler should always depend on wise counsels of the well-wishers and should act accordingly. He should trust on God and treat with subdued enemy with respect:

چو خواهی که کم گردی اندیشه مند      زادنیشۀ زیرکان گیر بند



مکش سرزرای که بخرد زند      که پیل حرون برصفت خورزند  
 توکل زپش است لشکر زپس      فرس ریز و نیزه بدنبال بس  
 چوقادری شدی چیره راریز خون      مزن دشنه بر بستگان زبون

A just ruler is required to be considerate in respect of his army which defends the territory and even his status. If his treatment with the low and humble is of respect and honour, he should not be afraid of anything:

سپهدار باید خداوند تخت      که بی برگ برکنده باشد درخت  
 شهی کونداند سپه پروری      فرو افتد از پای سروری

(P.205)

زلشکر بود زور شاهنشهان      که يك تن تنها نه گیرد جهان  
 مشوسخت گیراز خداده      که گردو غلام تو آزاده

A true king is one who takes care of the poor and destitute. The king should be contented and should not necessarily go on extending his<sup>1</sup> territory. There should be limit for everything. As the world is transitory Plato strikes a note that one who possesses everything is not really superior to these who possesses nothing:

(1) This is contrary to what Sa'di has said in the *Gulistan*: contentment is virtue for a derwesh but a advice for a king.



اگر بادشاه کام عالم گرفت      وگربی نوابهره کم گرفت  
چواز بهر فردا نبردند ساز      جهان دیده نادیده گشتند باز

(p.206)

V. One of the requirements of a *Masnawi* which is a descriptive poetry is that it should be a good model of "واقعه نگاری". This quality has been appropriately defined and illustrated by the eminent critic Maulana Shibli Naumani in appraisal of the *Shah-Nama* as follows<sup>1</sup>:

"The real perfection of poetry lies in واقعه نگاری and in portraying human sentiments successfully. In respect of both of these Firdausi is ahead of all the poets. Whatever, events he desires to narrate he collect all their details and studies and analyses the conditions and the circumstances in which they occur. Then he combines them all in a way so as to present their actual picture. Other poets either do not regard it essential to take note of insignificant details or if they think it necessary, they do not possess talent for appreciation of nature and are incapable of taking note of minute details. Even if they perceive, they having no command over language fail to describe the event as to produce the real effect. Thus they describe them either

(1) Shibli, *Sha'ru'l Ajam*, Azamgarh, 1962, vol. I pp. 136-37.



differently or take the help of similes and metaphors. One may well see that Firdausi never uses "metaphors, he, no doubt, uses similes but only simple and perceivable; similarly he avoids *majaz*." This is not because he is deficient in them. The reason is that he is fully aware of the fact that their usage" puts veils on the face of reality" resulting in withholding the appearance of the ingredients of beauty. Take an example. He wants to describe that the Khaqan of China is riding on an elephant. Rustam threw a nassoo and having got him entagled threw down from the eldphant. The verses are:

چوا ز دست رستم رها شد کمند      سرشهر یار اندر آمد به بند  
زپیل اندر آور دوز دبر زمین      به بستند بازوی خاقان چین

(The nassoo when set free from Rustam's hand entangled the head of the ruler who was thrown on the ground from the elephant. Thereupon, the arms of the Khaqan of China were tied.)

Nizami has described the same event thus:

کمند عدو بند را شهر یار      بینداخت چون چنبر روزگار

(The ruler threw the enemy catching nassoo which resembled the circle of time) undoubtedly, the word" عدو بند" has made the construction elegant and the simile of چنبر روزگار has added to the beauty (of the line); but



their usage has resulted in diverting the attention from the actual fact to outward appearance (construction and simile). Firdausi rarely utilises similes and metaphors etc., in describing events or sentiments."

Khusrau, though, not so perfect in *واقعه نگاری* as is Firdausi, has successfully narrated events. The main point of difference is that Khusrau like Nizami relies on similes and metaphors. A few examples are examined below:

پراز آتش و بادش آب و گلی	برون آمد از میمنه پردلی
بزیر ابلقی تند چون روزگار	ببر جوشنی سبز چون نوبهار
حریرش بر سرچو پیر سروش	حمائل در افگنده تیغی بدوش
جوان شیری از نیستان خاسته	کمان بسته و ترکش آراسته
در آمد به میدان فرزانیگی	چو آشفته دیوی به دیوانگی
خداوند خود راستایش نمود	خدارا چو دردل نیایش نمود

(p. 66)

(A gallant soldier came from the right wing, smart like wind and furious like fire; he had put on green shield resembling spring season and had rode on a black and white horse resembling time in swiftness. A sword was hanging on his shoulder and he had tied a silken cloth appearing like the feathers of an angle. Equipped with the bow and arrow the young warrior looked like a young lion

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coming from the reed beds. He came to the battlefield like a ferocious devil who had gone mad. And after remembering Almighty God in his heart he started praising his master.)

Another instance of *واقعه نگاری* is presented by the following verses in which the poet has attempted to give the real picture of the booty in the battle with Khaqan-i-Chin. Without the simile the poet has attempted to portraite the events in an attractive manner:

زمین خیز چبن چیز های غریب	که در اهد قوت و جان رانصیب
ز سیفور و دیبا و خز و حریر	ز کافور و عنبر ز مشک و عبیر
گران مایه های ز غایت برون	بدیدار زیبا به قیمت فزون
ز سرمایه چندان در آمد ببار	که در یابد آن را مهندس شمار
جداگانه گنجینه شاه چین	که خم شد ازان بار پشت زمین
به گنج سکندر فروریختند	دو عالم بیکدمگر آمیختند

(p. 96)

Another example is provided by these verses:

دو لشکر به خونریز باز آمدند	به تدبیر در حیلہ ساز آمدند
یکی خسته را مرهم ریش کرد	یکی نوحه بر مرده خویش کرد
یکی شب زاندیشه غایت گذاشت	یکی در ره غائبان چشم داشت
یکی پرسش خسته را پی فشرد	یکی زنده باز آمد اما بمرد

(p.81)



Many other instances of good *واقعه نگاری* may be found from the *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, and some of these will be quoted while referring to poet's success in depicting the events of battlefield and of assembly.

VI. The *Aina-i-Sikanderi* is an epic *Masnawi*. But its heroic passages lack that vigour and force which Firdausi and Nizami's poems have so abundantly. However, one may come across some passages which may serve as good example of fine poetry and would justify that Khusrau was a creative artist. I shall quote a few lines:

به گردون شد از نای زرین خروش	بهدریای لشکر در افتاد جوش
هزارهز در آمد بهر دو سپاه	روارو بر آمد بخورشید و ماه
علم سرزعیوق برترکشید	سنان چشم سیاره را برکشید
بیابان همه بیشه شیر گشت	جهانی پُراز تیرو شمشیر گشت
زلرز زمین زیر قلب روان	در اندام گاو آرد گشت استخوان
غبار زمین کله بر ماه گشت	نفس رادرون گلو راه بست
چنان گشت روی هوا گردناک	که سیاره گم کرد خود را بخاک
زموج سلاح و زگرد زمین	گلین آسمان شد زمین آهنین
یلان بند بر بست بر آب تیغ	که بی بند عالم نگیرد چومیغ
رسیده ز تیغ آبشان تا کمر	همان آب بدخواه راتا بسر



بدریای آهن جهان گشت غرق  
 زژوپین و پیکان سبزدو سپید  
 هوا پُرمیغ و زمین پُرز برق  
 جهان گشت برسوسن و برگ و بید  
 شده پُرصدا گنبد لاجورد  
 تزلزل درافگنده درکوه دشت  
 خرامیدان باد بایان بگشت

(p.63)

The poet continues to describe the preparation of the armies with force and vigour:

عرق کردن توسنان درشتاب  
 شراره که زد نعل هنگام رو  
 زطوفان آتش روان کرد آب  
 ستاره برون ریخت از ماه نو  
 نمانده امان زیر پیروزه کاخ  
 آجل را شده دستگاهی فراخ  
 گره بر گره دست پیکان زنان  
 زهر سوسنانه‌های خارا گزار  
 زره برززه پشت روئین تنان  
 فرو بسته راه سلامت بخار  
 چنان کز ته برگ نیلوفر آب  
 ز تیروسپر تیغ رخشان بیتاب  
 رسیدند در جلوه گاه مصاف  
 دولشکر نگویم که دو کوه قاف

(pp. 63-64)

The final preparation of both the armies have been narrated in these verses:

سری میمنه در صف رومیان  
 قباداز سوی میسره گرم پوی  
 زریوند گسلی کمر بر میان  
 بر آورده یکرویه تیغ دوروی  
 دوال ملک در یزک پیشرو  
 دوال عنان کرده در خون گرو



بیرواز خیل فرنگ از جناح      بساقه شده خون مصری مباح  
 بقلب اندر اسکندر نامدار      شده گردش از خست آهن حصار  
 صف چینان نیز بر عزم کین      بجوش آمده همچو دریای چین  
 یزک دارپیش تاتاریان      بخون تشنه چون چشم فرغاریان  
 سوی راستان کرد غفور خاست      امیر ختن سوی چپ گشت راست  
 قراخان بساقه شده سخت ساق      تبت رابه سوی جناح اتفاق  
 به قلب اندرون شاه توران گروه      بگردش صفی بسته ترکان چوکوه  
 چو گشت از دو جانب صف آراسه      سلامت شد از راه برخاسته

(pp.63-64)

Similarly the poem under consideration contains a considerable number of passages in which Khusrau has successfully narrated the events of feasts. As the poet is rightly considered to be a poet who had excelled in romantic *Masnawi* and in ghazal or lyrical poetry, the romantic passages occurring in the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* are superb. The verses in which the female warrior Kanifu has boasted about her excellance, quoted earlier, may serve as good example of romanticism. Some other instances are given below:

بهشتی وشی رشک غلمان و حور      که دروی نظر خیره گشتی ز نور  
 فریبنده بازی گری چون پری      پری رادوشش داده درد لبری



زرنجیر زلف سمن سای خویش  
 بناگوشش از برگ گل تازه تر  
 چو باغ شکفته به فصل بهار  
 غزالی زهر غمزه شیر افگنی  
 سر انداز چشمی گو ترکان مست  
 زهر خنده شوری انگیخته  
 دهن تنگ و لبهای یاقوت رنگ  
 سکندرنگه کرد چون سوی او  
 تماشای او دید و بی خویش گشت  
 گهاز بیخودی لعل خندان گزید  
 عجب ماند ازان داوری تابدیر  
 خود افگندز زنجیر دریای خویش  
 رُخ از مشتری عالی آوازه تر  
 پُراز لاله و سوسن و سیب و نار  
 ازین شوخ چشمی و چشمک زنی  
 زهر غمزه دور باشی بدست  
 زهرموی جانی در آویخته  
 جهان نمک در نمکدان تنگ  
 فروشد به نظاره روی او  
 کش از بیش دیدن هوس بیش گشت  
 گه انگشت حیرت بندان گزید  
 که آهو چگونه شد آن شرزه سیر

(pp.81-82)

A few verses in which Khusrau has described the holding of feast by Alexander would show how successfully he has depicted the event:

ز بادبھاری هوا مشکبوی  
 شده جلوه گرنازنینان باغ  
 بساط گل از سبزه گلشن شده  
 به لاله زفردوس جام آمده  
 عروس جهان ز آب گل شسته روی  
 رخ آراسته هریکی چو چراغ  
 چراغ گل از باد روشن شده  
 ز رضوان به گلبن سلام آمده



چو تعویذ مشکین به بازوی دوست	شده مشکبو غنچه درزیر پوست
گره دردل غنچه محکم زده	بنفشه سرزلف راخم زده
نظاره کنان چشم نرگس زدور	گشاده گل لعل جلاباب نور
شده پاره پاره سرا پای گل	زبس تری اندام زیبای گل
به صحرا برون آمده دوستان	شده سرخ گل مفرش بوستان
همی کرد هر دم تقاضای نوش	بنرون کرده سوسن زبان خموش
مراغه همی کرد برگل نسیم	هوا برسر سبزه می ریخت سیم
چون مقراض زرین بقطع حریر	بهر چشمه منقار ببط آب گیر
بهر نغمه گلبن سرانداخته	بهر شاخ مرغ ارغنون ساخته
مغنی ترنم فراموش کرد	ازان نغمه کو غارت هوش کرد
تمنای می خوارگان کرد تیز	غزل خوان بلبل صبح خیز
سبک گشت درخاستن پای سرو	ز آواز دراج و رقص تدرو
کبوتر معلق زنان در هوا	زنالیدن قمری خوش نوا

(pp. 129-30)

After giving the description of the flowers and birds in gardens the poet turns towards the description of the herds of beloveds who were to participate in the feast:

گلستان پراز سرو آزاد گشت	ز خوبان زمین جنت آباد گشت
برخساره خون کرده گل راجگر	صنوبر قدانی چو گلنار تر



بناگوش شان پُر زیا قوت و دُر      دهان لبان نیز از آن مایه پُر  
 لبی پرمی و دُر خوی انگیخته      گلاب و شکر باهم آمیخته  
 همه ناز پرور دو نازک خرام      مه نیمه و آفتاب تمام  
 زبیداری فتنه خونخوار تر      ز خواب جوانی ستمگار تر  
 مسلسل بسی دل به گیسوی شان      معلق جهانی بهرموی شان  
 نهفته به معجز گل خویش را      نظر بسته چشم بداندیش را  
 خرامان و خوش پیش شه آمدند      چوپروین به مهمان مه آمدند  
 جهان سوزی از مه شب افروز تر      ز خورشید رویش جهان سوز تر  
 بیک طره صد شهر برهم زده      بیک غمزه بر ملک عالم زده  
 در آمد خرامیده باهمسران      چومه در صف مشتری بیکران

(pp.131-32)

VII. The description of nature called in Persian *منظر نگاری* is one of the common topics of descriptive poetry. Khusrau too has at time written verses of this type. But his narration is dominated by his flight of imagination resulting in making the description imaginary. As in the case of *واقعه نگاری* similes and mataphors tend to loose the real charm of the description so is the case with the depiction of nature. We have seen earlier that Khusrau's description of garden, its flowers and birds, though quite



interesting, loses some of its charm because of frequent use of figures of speech. However, I shall reproduce here few verses in which the poet has described the day and night scene. This may be noted that in these descriptions the main emphasis is on creating charming similes and metaphors so as to match his poem with Nizami's noted for their "wealth of beautiful similes and metaphors and elegant and polished phraseology."

The following verses depict breaking of the day scene:

چو درگنبد آمد براق سپهر      بهر ای زرین بیاراست چهر  
چنان حورد شب‌دیز ظلمات دم      که نعلش نیفتاد و مسمار هم

(p.63)

چو اسکندر صبح بر شد بلند      در انداخت بر کنگر مه کمند  
شداز رنگ سرخی سرکوه‌سار      چو پیشانی پیل شنگرف وار

(p.72)

دگر روز کاشقر برون تاخت مهر      یک اسپه روان شد بروی سپهر  
کمان مه نوکه شد جفت تیر      کشیدن نیاراست گردون پیر

(pp.75-76)

چو زنگی شب دید روی سیاه      در آئینه عالم آرای ماه



زد آئینه ماه را بر زمین      بخندید ناگاه صبح از کمین

(p. 91)

A careful study of the verses would at once show that the poet has cultivated his wit in producing charming similes but they fail to produce the real effect which a true description of nature is expected to do.

The following verses selected from different places describe the night scene. But here too the main emphasis is on similes and metaphors and not on producing the real effect of the description of nature:

سپر چون بر آب او فگند آفتاب      بر آورد مه ناچرخ خود ز آب

شب تیره در صحن ز نگار گون      چو هندوی ناچرخ زن آمد برون

(p. 74)

چو قلاب سیم از کمین زد هلال      بخون غرق شد ترک چینی جمال

شهاب از سرنیزه دیوسوز      شد آتش فگن در سلیمان روز

(p. 75)

چو خورشید برقع بر خساره کرد      فلک سرمه در چشم سیاره کرد

کشید آسامن بهرمان کبود      حریر معنبر بپوشید زود

(p. 81)



چو شمسی خورشید شد در نیام      برون تاخت او هم سپهدار شام  
ز شب سایه بر چرخ والا رسید      علم زیر شد سایه بالا رسید

(pp. 68-69)

VIII. One of the noticeable feature of *Aina-i-Sikanderi* is that the poet has introduced ethical element in it. A complete chapter dealing with pieces of counsels given to his son abounds in moral lessons. It is evident in some of the anecdotes as well as in some of the verses following any grim battle of some other grave incident. Such verses are simple and chaste, free from figurative language.

He gives these pieces of advice to his son:

نخواهی دل از فتنه در کشمکش	لگام از سرنفس سرکش بکش
هر آن دل که بانفس یاری کند	فرشته است گوسگ سواری کند
رهی رو که در نیکنامی کشد	خیالی میزکآن به خامی کشد
مریز از خود آن قهره سیل بار	که شد غرق در روی چوتوصد هزار
مپندار کآن چند قطره نم است	که هر قطره گرداب رنج و غم است
بهرکاری از راستی کن شمار	که هم رسته گردی وهم رستگار
بودگرچه مردم بسی کژخرام	هم آخر شود راستان را غلام
اگر چند باشد کمان سخت گیر	تواضع کند عاقبت پیش تیر
بهرفن که فرمایش آری بجای	جهت را نگه دار سوی خدای



مزن در کمانهای ابروگره  
 به نعمت کسان را سرافکنده کن  
 نخواهی که زیرافتی از جای خویش  
 گدائی که هست از هنر بهره ور  
 ترا آن هنر جست باید بذات  
 کزین سان کمانی نیززد به زه  
 بدین خواجگی خلق را بنده کن  
 از اندازه بیرون منه پای خویش  
 به از پادشاه زاده بی هنر  
 که بخشی پس از مرگ آب حیات  
 (pp.35-39)

The counsels which Plato to Alexander are worthy of an Emperor like Alexander<sup>1</sup> A few lines are given below:

تو بیدار باش آشکار و نهان  
 مکن هرچه عالم خورد غم ز تو  
 چنان خسپ روزی که خسپی بسی  
 حکیم آن سخن را بهره زه نگفت  
 اگر شحنه شهر خفتند خراب  
 که از پاست آباد خسپد جهان  
 تو در خواب و بیدار عالم بتو  
 که خواب پریشان نه بیند کسی  
 که شد فتنه بیدار چون شاه خفت  
 بیک گوشمالش بر آور ز خواب  
 (pp.203-204)

These verses would show as how one should behave with the vanquished:

چون دشمن زبون گردد احسان کنند  
 چو مجرم بخواری شود عزز خواه  
 بقدرت جوان مردی جان کنند  
 برحمت کشند آستین برگناه

(1) Counsels covering pp. 200-206



کرم کن چو دست تو بالاتراست      بخشایش از خشم والا تراست

(p. 87)

After a fierce battle these two lines are added by Khusrau:

جهان را چنین فتنه باهرسری است      که رنج دگر راحت دیگری است  
بطه از بیم چون سازد آواز را      نوای چکاوک بود باز را

IX. Another distinctive feature of the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* is the element of *Saqi Nama* introduced by the poet in this *Masnawi*. The *Saqi Nama* is a new form of verse in the *Masnawi* form written in *Mutaqarib* metre. The credit of its origin goes to Nizami who has, in his *Sikander Nama*, addressed in a few verses to the *Saqi* or *Mutrib* (مطرب) at the end of some *Dastans*. But he did not give any separate title to these verses. Perhaps the earliest *Saqi Nama* under a separate title was written by Khwaju<sup>1</sup> of Kirman (d.753) and by Hafiz of Shiraz (d.792). Thereafter, it became a popular form and a good number of poets of the 10th and 11th centuries produced significant *Saqi Namas*.

The famous Persian prose writer Zuhuri who had flourished in the Deccan under Ibrahim Adil Shah II

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(1) Khwaju's poem is contained in his *Masnawi: Humaye Humayun* where the title is در نکوهش روزگار but Haji Khaleefa (Kashfuz-Zunun, Constantinople, 1310, V. 2, p.18) calls it *Saqi Nama*.



(988-1037), had completed his *Saqi Nama* in Ahmadnagar which comprises about 4500 verses.

Amir Khusrau's contribution to this form is very significant. In the close imitation of Nizami he introduced some verses addressed to the cup-bearer and the musician at the end of some chapters of the *Aina-i-Sikanderi*. His continuation of this feature might have inspired the subsequent poets not only to continue the tradition but to develop it into a separate form.

Mulla Abdun-Nabi-Fakhruzzamani (d. after 1041) collected verses of over eighty *Saqi Nama*<sup>1</sup> writers and having added the biography of each poet compiled a Tazkira under the title of *Maykhana* at Patna in AH 1028.

As Nizami and Khusrau had only written scattered verses of the nature of *Saqi Nama*, the aforesaid Fakhruzzamani collected the verses of each of<sup>2</sup> them under the title of *Saqi Nama* in his *Maykhana*.

Amir Khusrau's verses about Saqi and Mutrib are very chaste, simple and fluent. A few lines are quoted as illustration:

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(1) The Lahore edition contains notices of seventyone poets but the Iranian edition has fourteen notices more.

(2) Nizam's poems contains 176 lines and Khusrau's 95.



بیاتابشادی و فرخندگی  
 بهم صحبتان دوستانی دهیم  
 اگر باز کاویم بنیاد را  
 چو غم را کرانه پدیدار نیست  
 کسانی که رخت از جهان برده اند  
 همه کس طلبگار عمر بدوبس  
 بقارا چوتنگ است جای درنگ  
 چو خواهی غم و شادمانی گذاشت  
 بمی تازه گردان دل ریش را  
 بیاساقی آن جام شادی فزای  
 بمن ده که راحت به جانم دهد  
 بیامطرب آن بربط خوش نوا  
 بزن تاچو بر بایداز مغزهوش  
 بیاساقی آن چشمه زندگی  
 مراده که من خضر پنهانیم  
 بیامطربن آن نغمه زن درسرود  
 برآورده بدان گونه بانگ رباب  
 بر آریم باهم دمی زندگی  
 نشینیم و داد جوانی دهیم  
 بنا بر غم است آدمی زاد را  
 به از شاد بودن دگر کار نیست  
 همه در غم زیستن مرده اند  
 کسی را بمردن نیاید هوس  
 چه داریم بیهوده دل نیرتنگ  
 جهان خوش گذارا رتوانی گذاشت  
 رهاکن حسابی کم و بیش را  
 که بنیاد غم را در آرد ز پای  
 زخونبانه دهرامانم دهد  
 که بی مغزیش مغز را شدوا  
 بدل جان نوریز دا ز راه گوش  
 که یابد ازو عمر پایندگی  
 ثناگوی اسکندر ثانیم  
 کز و آب جیحون در آید برود  
 که اسکندر خفته خیزد ز خواب

(1) In the *Maykhana*, Lahore 1926, p. 66, the *Saqi Nama* begins with this line; but in the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* it is on page 125 while the 10th to 13th lines are on page 56 and 14th to 17th lines are on page 20.



X. A special feature of the *Masnawi* is that the poet instead of supplying particular heading to a *Dastan*, has explained the purport in one or more sentences in elegant prose full of artifices. If all these instances are collected together it would provide good specimens of his prose style which is basically different from his style in poetry generally not so intricate and involved. A few instances are given below:

این مرآت صفاکه نمودار آئینه سکندری است به مصفلة نام  
خالق صور مسقل گرداینده شده تاچون به مواجھ صادق و عکس نما  
رسد صورت حال او موجه روی نماید، انشاء الله المصوّر۔ (p.1)

نعت آفتابی که صبح صادق "والشمس وضحی" از جبهه میمون و  
جمال نموده ماهی که نورساطع "والقمر اذا تلهها" از غره روز افزون او  
کمال یافت (p.6)

گفتار در مرتبه که هیچ حیوان سرنگون ساز جز مردم سرافراز  
بلند آثار به کنگرسین سخن نرسد و سبب گروکردن گوهری چند که  
از سلك نظامی یتیم مانده بود ولختی از گلهای طیب خویش که از  
حال نهی تا محل نهی وهنیه مانده است بر روی آب آوردن و گردن  
محالات این قصه را که بیشتری ضبط عشق و تاریخ است بعقل عقلی  
معقول لامکان کردن۔ (pp.20-21)



داستان اول در آغاز روشنی آئینه های اسکندری و فرستادن  
 سکندر لشکر چون ابرو باران و سنانها چون قطره های آب بریولا  
 بوشان خاقان زدن و جملگی آئینه های چین را تیره و تاریک گرید  
 ایندن۔ (p. 44)

گفتار اندر مرتب شدن این سفینه بحر درون برهنمونی معلم  
 همت و بباد قبول راون کردن و عزت نجات طلب نمودن و برگشتن  
 عمر درسودای این بحور بادباین ندامت ازدوم حسرت برکشیدن و  
 قدری از کرانه گرفتن حوالی و خله کردن حواری و درماندن از  
 آب و کنار بر آشنا چون خاشاک بحراز آب در کنار ریختن والواخ  
 شکسته و حرف نادرست ابن سفینه بر امید مرحمت در چشمهای  
 انصاف مستتر گردانیدن (p.279)

Amir Khusrau's object in introducing this element  
 was to give this poem a good look.



## THE LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC VALUES OF THE POEM.

The poem abounds in examples of **اسلوب بدیع** which lies in effecting some minor change in style which would give a new meaning to the line. Some examples are examined below:

بدہ گز قبا گرچہ گنجد تنش      نگنجد بہ عالم دل روشنش  
جہانی ست او در قبای نہان      دل روشنش خود جہان در جہان

(p. 15)

The idea is that outwardly he is just like an ordinary man but inwardly he is such that the whole world would not confine him. This idea has been described in these words: His body may be wrapped in a few yards of cloth but in respect of his inward robe he is a world in himself while his bright heart is a combination of many worlds.

بدین گونه از شام تا صبحگاہ      بزر آہنین کرد پشت سپاہ

(p. 56)

The word **آہنین** has added to the beauty of line. The distribution of money among the people would naturally result in strengthening the army.



عرق کردن توسنان درشتاب      زطوفان آتش روان کرد آب  
(p. 63)

The sweat flowing from the swift running horses has been called current of water flow from a flood of fire.

سکندر که دید آنچنان دست برد      چو آتش بر فروخت چون یخ فشرد  
(p. 68)

The state of anger followed by consternation has been called enraging of fire and squeezing of snow.

سراسر شده روی صحرای چین      زبس نقش بیجان چو دیبای چین

Many soldiers were killed in the battlefield and their bodies were scattered here and there. This has been described in this, that the surface of the Chinese valley looked like a carpet with prints of lifeless objects.

هراسندگان رادران رستخیز      شد از سیل خون بسته راه گریز  
(p. 79)

The defeated soldiers could not runaway from the battlefield for obvious reasons. But the poet accounts it for the flood caused by the blood of the killed soldiers.

ز غلطیدن کشتگان در مصاف      شده پشته بر پشته چون کوه قاف  
(p. 79)

A huge number of soldiers were killed in the battle. The dead bodies were piled up and presented the appearance of the Causasus mountains.



دویدند فوج دلیران روم      چو طوفان آتش بتاراج موم

(p. 80)

The charge of the Roman soldiers against the weak Chinese army proved so effective as a flood of fire against an ordinary wax.

عجب ماندازان داوری تابدیر      که آهو چگونه شد آن شرزه شیر

(p.82)

The warrior turning into a charming girl has been called a furious lion becoming a deer.

زبس کاندران داوری شادشد      دلش صد گشت ارتن آزاد شد

(p.100)

The Khaqan who was set free and shown respect and honour has been called a free man outwardly but whose heart was captured by his benefactor.

رهی کز تو در بندگی شادگشت      کنون بنده تر گشت کا آزاد گشت

(p.101)

He was so pleased in his service that he would not like to be set free. To him getting freedom was more a source of displeasure than being in bondage.

چو بر عرصهٔ روشنی دست یافت      به تاریکی آب حیوان شتافت

(p.108)

After taking possession of the land of enlightenment Alexander's going in search of unattainable Nectar has been called hastening into darkness.



بساط گل از سبزه گلشن شده چراغ گل از بادروشن شده  
(p.129)

The blossoming of buds into flowers under the breeze has been called the burning of the candle of flower by the wind. از کان برون آرد الماس را (p.191)

Taking Plato to Rome has been called as taking out diamond from mine. به برج عطارد روان شد چوماه

Proceeding of Balinas to Plato has been described as the moon entering into the orbit of the planet Mercury.

خوش آوازی ارغنون و رباب به مستان همی داد داروی خواب  
(p.132)

The musical instruments has the same effect as the sleeping pills.

طلب کرد گوهر ز گوهر فروش (p. 82)

His seeking his pedigree was like asking for pearl from a jeweller.

کسی کنجش اندر سفالینه خُم کلید زبان درد هان کرد گم  
(p.193)

Plato sitting silently in the dark cave had been called one who has lost the key of tongue in his mouth.

چنان گشت روی هوا گرد ناک که سیاره گم کرد خود را بخاک  
(p.63)



The star not visible due to the dusty atmosphere has been called to be lost in dust.

These may be multiplied by a careful study of the *Masnawi*.

Another feature of the poem is that it is full of charming similies and metaphors. A considerable number of verses containing such elements have been already quoted above. However, a few examples are further examined here:

شراره که زد نعل هنگام رو ستاره برون ریخت از ماه نو

(p. 63)

The horse shoe has been compared with the new moon and the sparks coming out when the shoe strikes against hard ground has been called a star.

بزیر سپر تیغ رخشان بتاب چنان کز ته برگ نیوفر آب

(p.64)

The brilliant sword under the shield looked like water under the leaf of the water lily.

سلیمانیش بین چو خنجر کشید فرورفته خورشید را بر کشید

(p. 78)

The drawing of dagger has been compared with the sun.



شده مشکبو غنچه درزیر پوست چو تعویذ و مشکین به بازوی دوست  
(p.129)

The comparison of unopened bud with musky amulet tied round the arm of a friend is quite interesting.

چومستکم ولایت به کافورداد ز طبیعت کنون نافه نتوان گشاد  
(p.196)

Musk stands for the young age and camphor for the old. The comparison with freshness and cheerfulness of nature is also quite charming.

سنان درد دل سخت شیرآن مست چوالماس بد کاندرا آهن نشست  
(p.178)

The piercing of spear-head through the "hard" heart of the fighters is like a diamond fixing in an iron.

نگاری به صدرنگ چون نو بهار خیالی به صد نقش چون روزگار  
(p.153)

The comparison of beloved dressed in multicoloured clothes with the spring season is not rare. But the comparison of variety of thoughts appearing and soon disappearing in the mind with "time" is certainly a charming and rare simile.



چو زلفم زنج را بچوگان سپرد      ببازی زخورشید و مه گوی برد  
 زسیمم نگر غبغب انگیخته      هلالی زخورشید آویخته

(p.135)

The chin with the curly locks serving as polo-stick defeated the sun and the moon in the polo game i.e. appeared more brilliant than these brilliant objects. The comparison of dimple raised from the face with new moon hanging from the sun is quite original and charming.

چون شانه زخم زلف آشفته را      برقس آورم فتنه خفته را

(p.134)

The combing of the curly locks amounts to rouse the slumbering tumult.

همه ناز پروردو نازك خرام      نه نیمه و آفتاب تمام

(p.131)

The proud beloveds with their gentle gait have been well compared with the full moon and the sun. The figure of speech تضاد adds to its beauty.

زبیداری فتنه خونخوار تر      زخواب جوانی ستمگار تر

(p.131)

The comparison of the destructive qualities of the beloveds with a tumult which is in occurrence and that of



their slumbering state with tyranny is new and original. Besides the beautiful similes, the charming تضاد used in بیداری and خفته has added to the beauty of expression.

بهر بازی از نرگس پر خمار      حذنگ افگنان فرشته شکار

(p.131)

Narcissus stands for eye, the sight has been compared with arrow capable of hunting the angels.

خرامان و خوش پیش شه آمدند      چوپروین به مهمان مه آمدند

(p. 131)

The arrival of the herds of the beloveds resembles the approaching of Pleiades to the moon. (It is to be noted that پروین is one of the 28 statrons of moon).

چوبکر فلک در عماری نشست      شب تیره در پرده داری نشست

عروسان شب زیور آراستند      فلک رابه گوهر بر آراستند

(p.116)

The setting sun is a virgin sitting in canopied litter and had his face concealed the darkness of night. The stars are the brides, and the heavens are decorated with their jewels.

چوقلاب سیم از کمین زد هلال      بخون غرق شد ترک چینی جمال

شهاب از سر نیزه دیو سوز      شد آتش فگن در سلیمان روز

(p.75)



These lines present charming similes. The new moon having the silvery hook came out from ambush and caused the sun to be smeared with blood, the referance being to the setting sun and the brilliant redness covering the Westerly horizon. The shooting stars coming from the point of devil-burning dagger are directed against the sun called the Soloman of the day.

سپر چون بر آب اوفگند آفتاب بر آوردمه ناچخ خودز آب  
شب تیره در صحن زنگار گون چو هندوی ناچخ زن آمد برون

The setting sun has been stated to be throwing its shield in water (surface of the sky); The rising moon has been compared with spear and the dark night with Hindu soldiers fighting with spear in a reddish field.

چون شب پرچم خویش در خون کشید زمین طاس خورشید بیرون کشید

The night has been compared with a soldier having its banner drenched in blood; the sun with a dish which the earth was compelled to withdraw.

The examples may be multiplied. But one thing which should not escape our notice that these similes are generally not so simple and natural as to produce direct effect. Creation of subtleties in them does defeat the very purpose for which they are used. But in the east people



were fond of such imaginary description. This is why their literatures are full of such elements. However, this does not appeal at all the modern mind. Khusrau was much interested in literary artifices and his *Risalul Ijaz*, a collection of five treatises written between AH 682 and AH 791, is meant to give specimens of elegant prose and to explain the use of various artifices that, according to eastern ideals, add a zest and flavour to all compositions, prose or poetic, and was undertaken by the poet to demonstrate his prowess in the field of Persian prose. The third Risala is completely devoted to explain and illustrate the literal and verbal artifices. Some of which were his own innovation. While the fourth illustrates the use of the intellectual artifices called *Iham* and *Khayal*, an innovation of the author himself. In the *Dibacha-i-Ghurratul Kamal* he had discussed the significance of artifices and his own interest in them and some of his own innovation. The artifices which Khusrau liked most were اشتقاق and تجنیس, ایہام.

But it is unusual that despite his much interest in artifices, he confines himself to his prose writing only, though, according to him, they add a flavour to poetic



writings as well.

The *Aina-i-Sikanderi* like his other poems does not abound in poetical artifices. The illustrates quoted earlier would show his main interest in similes and metaphors. The other artifices abundantly found in this *Masnawi* are *مراعاة النظير* and *تلميح*, then come *تجنيس* and *تضاد*. Since almost every line and perhaps every third line contain *مراعاة النظير* and *تلميح* respectively it would be a futile effort to examine them. However some examples of *سياقته الاعداد* and *لف و نشر*, *ايهام*, *تضاد*, *تجنيس* are given below. It may however be added that instances of other Persian artifices too may be selected from the poem. But these may not be too many.

### Examples of *تجنيس*

زهر	and	زهرة	p.63	جنگ	and	چنگ	p.131
كوس	and	كاس	p.64	گنج	and	کنج	p.26
قرار	and	بيقرار	p.75	زنگ	and	زنگ	p.45
ناف	and	نيفه	p.131	رنگ	and	زنگ	p.45
كثر	and	كثر	p.75	چين <sup>1</sup>	and	چين	p.99

<sup>1</sup> p. 99 چون من چين گشادم ز ابروی کين مبارک ز سر بادت اقليم چين

p 48 چو لشکر در آمد بصرای چين پراز چين شد از نعل اسپان زمين



**Examples of حسن تعلیل**

بطاعت گه شاه باصد نشاط      زمین بوسه همچو نقش بساط  
(p.132)

**Example of ایهام**

بدنبال او چینی گرم کین      زگرمی به ابرو درآورده چین  
(p.66)

نگیرد کسی خورده برناتمام      که از آتش ایمن بود عود خام  
(p.24)

برین گونه تا سیزده پیل مست      بزخم کژک راست درخون نشست  
(p.75)

**Example of تضاد**

پیر and جوان : کژ and راست : صلح and جنگ  
خام and پخته : راحت and رنج : درنگی and شتابی  
پس and پیش : آسانی and دشواری : نهان and آشکار  
شیر and شهد : زن and مرد : خالی and پُر  
زبردست and زبردست : بیداری and خواب : روز and شب  
پود and تار : بیدار and خفته : بد and نیک  
غم and شادی : زمین and آسمان : تر and خشک  
ناکامی and پیروزی : آب and آتش : خام and پخته  
حلال and حرام : دوست and دشمن : پُر and تهی



**Example of Alliteration**

هم از مردی مرد مردانه مرد

(p.70)

نبرد آزمای دگر حمله برد

**Examples of لف و نشر**

درون بین که این زهر و آن شکر است

ولی هیزم است این و آن شاخ قند

(p. 25)

برون حنظل از سیب رنگین تراست

نی و نیشکر هر دو دارند بند

جهان گشت پُرسوسن و برگ بید

(p. 63)

ز ژو پین و پیکان سبز و سپید

گلین آسمان شد زمین آهنین

(p. 63)

زموج سلاح وزگرد زمین

بیابان نیستان و گلزار بود

(p. 63)

ز تیرو سپرها که بر کار بود

**Example of سیاقته الاعداد**

یکی رادو کرد و دورا چار کرد

(p.79)

بهرسو که شمشیر او کار کرد

یکی صد کند زور بازوی مرد

(p.83)

بران دست بردی که گاه نبرد



طریقی کزودر نظر داشتم      یکی مر از صد بهره برداشتم  
(p.83)

### Examples of سجع

گره برگره دست پیکان زنان      زره برزره پشت روئین تنان  
(p.63)

گرامی کن گوهر آدمی      گرامی تر جوهر آدمی  
(p.21)

Khusrau was very fond of using idiomatic language. And if an attempt is made to collect all the idioms used by this poet in his works, it would be a separate volume. Even the idioms contained in the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* would be quite considerable. I shall quote here only those used in the first few pages of the *Masnawi*.

راه گم کردن - در باز کردن - در اندیشه گنجیدن، در بستن، سوختن،  
اندر شمار آمدن، دیده دوختن، برو آب زدن، گره بستن، از خواب  
در آوردن، قلم راندن، دم زدن، نامه های سید چک شدن، از حکم  
سرگشتن، خاک از پا برداشتن، چاه دوزخ انپاشتن، در کار راه  
بودن، سمند بیرون جهانیدن (p.6)



در چیزی بار بودن، طفیلی خور بودن، پی گسلیدن، سکه  
پرکار کردن، کارساز نهادن، کمر بستن، از توافقتادن، درمشت  
بودن، ره کشودن، غبار ره بودن، راه دادن، دم زدن، از عدل  
بیرون شدن، (p.9)

از کسی خاستن - بر شدن، در رکاب کشیدن، بردامن رقعہ بستن،  
عنان در کشیدن، زبان دادن، شربت تازه یافتن، درسر آوردن،  
مغز از چیزی تافتن (p.5)

Alongwith the idioms, Khusrau has occasionally  
made use of proverbs some of which are quoted below:

گرہ مفلس و توشہ دان پُر زدر	شکم خالی و دل زگنجینہ پُر
(p.13)	(p.13)
کسی کز حلاوت ندارد خبر	ہلیلہ نہد نام خرما ی تر
(p.25)	(p.25)
بشہر این مثل شہرہ عالم است	کہ ہرکش ہنر بیش روزی کم است
(p.26)	(p.26)
طیبی چہ خوش گفت در خاک بلخ	کہ آب حیات است داروی تلخ
(p.51)	(p.51)
بدوگفت کای پیر شوریدہ بغز	خلابی ندیدہ مکن پای لغز
(p.52)	(p.52)



- توانگر رهن بود سهمناک  
تهی کیسه را از گره بر چه باک  
(p.24)
- چو در عالم دل مرا یار نیست  
که خفاش را با ضیا کار نیست  
(p.26)
- کسی را به نقد غل رای نیست  
سفالینه را در گره جای نیست  
(p.38)
- گدای که هست از هنر بهره ور  
به از بادشازاده بی هنر  
(p.39)
- نمرد آن کسی، کز جهان، نام برد  
که مردنکو نام هرگز نمرد  
(p.289)
- کسی را که دل شد بمر دی دلیل  
اگر پشه باشد خورد خون پیل  
(p.57)
- بسی مرد و نامرد یابی بجنگ  
که همسایه موش باشد پلنگ  
(p.56)
- بهنجار کن ساز هر بیشه  
که ناید فن سوزن از تیشه  
(p.59)
- جهان را چنین فتنه باهر سری است  
که رنج یکی راحت دیگری است  
(p.75)



چه خوش گفت دانا که دیرینه بود      که کس روزی کس نیا در بود  
(p.85)

اگر چند کوشد نگهبان باغ      خورد عاقبت میوه کنجشک و زاغ  
(p.85)

بسا چوزه کرباز بودش خلاص      به مهمانی گربه شب گشت خاص  
(p.85)

It may be noted that a considerable verses of the *Masnawi* are so simple and suggestive that they may serve as proverbs. I shall quote a few of them:

بدین تو سنی مرکب هولناک      عنانش مده تانیفتی بخاک  
(p.35)

هر آن دل که بانفس یاری کند      فرشته است کوسگ سواری کند  
(p.35)

بجای مران توسن خانه را      که ویران کند کشت بیگانه را  
(p.36)

دهش کان زابروی پرچین بود      بود زهر اگر شهد شیرین بود  
(p.37)

دهل وارت افغان بیهوده چند      میان خالی و بانگ نام بلند  
(p.37)

چو آب از لب دیگ جوشد برون      بخاکستر اندر فتد سرنگون  
(p.37)



- نخواهی که زیر آفتی از جای خویش  
از اندازه بیرون منه پای خویش  
(p.37)
- حلال آن کسی را دهد بر که وی  
بکشت هنر آب ریزد خوی  
(p.38)
- مکن ترش رو گرچه تلخ است پند  
که تلخی بود طفل را سودمند  
(p.39)
- نه هر بای در خورد گاهی بود  
نه هر سزای کلاهی بود  
(p.41)
- سزای بزرگی نه شد هر یکی  
بجز مردم امانه هر مرد کی  
(p.41)
- همه جانور سرنگون شد بساز  
بجز آدمی کو بود سرفراز  
(p.41)
- سراز گوهر خود شود تاج ور  
که طائوس را تاج روید ز سر  
(p.41)
- اگر مار را مهره تاج سراسست  
ولی مهره آدمی گوهر است  
(p.41)
- چه خوش گفت دانا که دیرینه بود  
که کس روزی کس نیارد بود  
(p.85)
- اگر چند کوشد نگهبان باغ  
خورد عاقبت میوه گنجشک و زاغ  
(p.85)
- بسا چوزه کرباس بودش خلاص  
به مهمانی گربه شب گشت خاص  
(p.85)



Examples of similar lines may be multiplied. Thus it may be safely claimed that through *Masnawi*, Khusrau has made valuable contribution to Persian language and even to literature, This claim may be substantiated by a list of words and phraseology collected from some pages of the poem under consideration:

تسلیم خدمت. عمل دان گیتی. گنج آماده. جهان در جهان، پرکار  
حکمت، پیک او هام (p.2)

نوردان بساط. شکسته پناه. هوس شاخ شاخ (pp.3-7)

عمارت پذیر. گوهر آمای. طفیلی خور. شماطین زن. یزک بریزک.  
میانجی (p.7)

دیباچه غیب. توقیع لاریب. حمایت نشین. ملک دار (p.8)

ره آورد. خر رشید و ماه درم ریز (p.10)

کنکر کبریا. گران سنگی، گنجدان شگرف. ابروی کمان (p.12)

آدمی زاده. قیمت کار. غربال فکر. خشک آفرینی. زخم محکم.  
هنگامه گیر (pp.21-25)

دوستگانی (p.26) چاره سگال، نخل موم. رایگان. سلاح و سلب (p.31)

نشاط مفرح. اشتلم. کج خرام. سرافگنده (pp.33-36)

کز اندیش. جنیبت، خونی، آسوده حال، مه تابماهی (pp.42-44)

جرعه ریز. کامه دوستان. طائوس هندو. دولت تیز بین. نواحی



شناس قاف تاقاف۔ بسرجد۔ بختیار۔ نمودار۔ قلم ران۔ زینہاری۔  
اندیشہ ناک۔ کشور نشین۔ گلشن لالہ زار۔ ہندی آبدار۔ (pp.45-49)  
ناف خاک۔ کاز آما۔ بشرطیکہ۔ شاہ نوخاستہ۔ ہم سنگی۔ برگ مہمان  
نوازی (pp.50-51)

حریف آزمائی۔ دل آہن آسا۔ رُخ چون زریر، ہم نشست (p.52)  
سخت رای۔ دورباش۔ آئندہ (ایلچی)۔ جمال راز (ایلچی)۔  
نموداری (Gift)۔ داوری (معاملہ) (p.53)

سیلاب طوفان۔ خصم آزمائی۔ چترعباسی۔ چون مہ  
درانجمن (pp.54-55)

پولاد سنج۔ فال فتح۔ خونابہ دہر۔ خارسنان۔ گل فتح (pp.56-57)  
غلیواز۔ آب بیگانہ۔ خرماندہ۔ خلخال۔ دست برد۔ تیزگام (p.58)  
بی سنگی۔ زخم ریز۔ پست وزن۔ جوش پناہ۔ درّی دُری (p.59)

شبذیز ظلمات نعل۔ صطرب لاب سیخ۔ دریای لشکر۔ ہزاہز۔  
روا رو (p.62)

چشم سپاہ۔ اندام گاو۔ کلہ برماہ۔ گردناک موج سلاح آب تیغ۔  
دریای آہن۔ ہیونان گیتی نورد۔ بادپایان۔ چاشنی کمان۔  
چاشنی گیر جان۔ خشت زہر آبگون۔ خارا گزار (p.63)



تشنه خون- پلنگینه پوش- یزک دار- کوس روئینه کاس-  
نفرزه (p.64)

سوزان درخش ساقه- داروگیر- نیزه هشت بند- هرزده پیچ کمند  
نهنگی بدست- زورناک- ازدهای بزیر- هدیه لم یکن- عنان  
در عنان (p.65)

هفت جوش- مرد کوب- نخلی زموم- کینه توز- تهی گاه-  
شمشیر خورشید (pp.67-68)

بنگه- شبدیز ظلمات- کوشش (جنگ) پردل (p.69)

کله تابه نعل، سپهر کبود- بساط دلیری- نطع شطرنج (p.70)

نطع نیلوفری- بساط وفا- گوشه گیر- خیره چنگ- رنگی برنگ-  
اسکندر صبح- صندوق پیل (pp.71-72)

پولاد چین- نمودار دعوی- روئین تن- خارا شگاف- نیفه کوه-  
قزاگندی ازرق (p.73)

ناچخ مه- صحن زنگارگون- طاس خورشید- کران تا کران- کوه  
روان- قلابی الماس گون (p.74)

زخم کژ- راست باز- کژ باز- قلاب سیم- سلیمان روز- مہرا شقر-  
یک اسپه- کمان مه نو (p.75)



چارسو. عنان نبرد. خواهش گری. خسروانی درخت (pp.76-77)  
تیزاب تیغ. طراق سر. مشبك. آواز زاغ کمان. شاخ شاخ.

مهمان گور (pp.78-79)

روزبیگاہ مطرح بی خلاص. کارگاہ خراس (p.80)

برقع رخسار خورشید. سرمه در چشم سیاره. بهرمان کبود.  
حریر معنبر. پوشش ابرفام بهشتی وش. فریبندہ بازیگر. دوشش  
داده. زنجیر زلف سمن سا (p.81)

غزالی شیر افگن. جهان نمک. نمکدان تنگ. لعل خندان. شمع  
خوبان چین. آفتاب زمین زحمتہ دور باش. بساط دعا.  
سرونو خاسته. پیکان چوں موی. خارا شگاف (pp.82-83)

دلیرانگنی. شیر افگنی. چالش گری. آسیب نیمخوابه. فرخنده  
بختی. ماه ناکاسته (p.84)

کدبانوئی. از بارگہ سوی خرگہ. جادوگری. آہنگ رامش.  
بساط هوس (pp.85-86)

زنگی شب. آئینہ ماه. لعب گاہ. خرگاہ خواب (pp.91-95)

روشنان. پیغولہ. ستونہ. کدیور. گزارش گر (pp.98-103, 104-107)  
نفس دوزخ سرشت. نرخ صدجان پشیز. نواحی نشین.  
کوتاہ چشمی (pp.111-113)



بكر قلك. گلهای سیارگان. عروسان شب. (p.116-117)

بریان سرخ. حلوائی زرد. فتنه خفته. فتنه بیدار (pp.118-119)

سرمایه سنج. بنیاد سنجی. اسکندر صبح. درازادراز (pp.121,122)

جلباب نور. مراغه. اشاقان کار (pp.129-130)

Now it would be worthwhile to add a note about the use of some particular words in this *Masnawi*.

1. The word سلامت is an abstract noun as is used in Sa'di's following:

بدریادر منافع بیشمار است وگرخواهی سلامت برکنار است

But in modern Persian it is used as adjective while the abstract noun سلامت has been formed by adding ی to it. Incidentally in Urdu too سلامت is adjective and سلامتی a noun. Khusrau has used the word سلامت both as noun and as an adjective. But the سلامتی is completely missing from his poem. I shall quote the instances of سلامت used as a noun سلامتی:

سلامت بود گرجهانی جهی (p.38)

فرو بسته راه سلامت بخار (p.63)

سلامت شد از راه برخاسته (p.64)

سلامت دهر مزد انجام کار (p.59)

سلامت شد از چار سو درگریز (p.76)



عناش از سلامت ببايد گسست (p.191)

کنند آنچه باشد سلامت دران (p.231)

This is the case of سلامت used as adjective:

سلامت به ساحل نيایدکسی (p.154)

2. The word جادو in Persian is an equivalent of the English word "magician" and for magic the Persian word is جادوئی. But subsequently the Persian equivalent of magician was جادوگر and of magic جادوگری. Khusrau has used the word جادو for magician but for magic instead of جادوئی, جادوگری, though, the common noun جاگور is not available in this *Masnawi*:

بر آهنگ رامش طلب کرد چنگ هجادوگری دربر آوردتنگ

(p.86)

In the first of the following lines both جادو and جادوگری are used:

سخنگوئی پیشینه جادوی پیش که جادوگری کرد زاندازه بیش

(p. 108)

هرآن جادوی کا مداندر شمار به شاگردی منشد استاد کار

(p. 135)

But it should be kept in mind that the word جادو should have been in use for the existence of the word جادوگری pre supposes it.

3. In some cases تشدید has been used in place of



تخفیف, such تری in place of تری as in these lines:

بر آن شد که در تری آرد شتاب تماشا کند قعر دریا در آب  
ز تری و خشکی ز حکمش بکار نه تنها منم بل چومن صد هزار

4. Some words used in an usual meaning: such as سیاره instead of ستاره meaning. (بخت) fate.

که تا این زمان ز آسمان بلند نیامد به سیاره من گزند  
(p. 50)

5. The word رایگان in Persian means "gratis" and Amir Khusrau has used it in the same sense; but in the following lines the word رایگان رفتن is intended to mean to be wasted as is used in Urdu:

دریغا که وقت از میان می رود خیال چینن رایگان می رود

But in the following lines it is used in the usual sense:

ترا رایگان می دهد روزگار چنین صنایعش چون گذاری به کار  
(p.31)

هم از شعله نعمت پزی رایگان هم از دود غماز همسایگان  
(p.163)

بخر رخت کاسد زبی مایگان که کالا بدست آوری رایگان  
(p.290)

5. At least one word آدمی is used as آدمین for purposes of rhyme in the following line:



دونوبت گرفتن سراسر زمین نه باشد در اندازۀ آدمین  
(p.224)

Similarly the word شگفت has been changed in شگیف  
to suit the rhyme:

دلم کز دو صد گنج دارد شگیف خشک آفرینش نتوان فریفت  
(p.24)

A careful reader of *Aina-i-Sikanderi* would at once come to the conclusion that Amir Khusrau, like any other poet, has certain limitations. These are evident in respect of the following points:

1. There is a lack of unity and continuity<sup>1</sup> in the whole poem. This is due to the fact that Khusrau choose to compose selected topics and not to give the coherent account of the complete story and this has been fully explained by the poet in the introductory part. But whatever the reasons be for this limitations it has resulted in diminishing the value of the poem.

2. A few rhymes have been so often repeated that one grows fatigued with them. One such case is that of داوری in these lines:

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(1) Life and Works of Amir Khusrau, p. 201



- سکندر بجندیدازان داوری  
داران نکته دیداز فلک یاوری  
(p.53)
- چو دستت سبک نیست در داوری  
کند تیغ تو خصم رایاوری  
(p.59)
- سکندر بر آشفت زان داوری  
که گیم گشتش ازیاوران یاوری  
(p.70)
- دلت کز خریدیافت نام آوری  
چه بیند صواب اندرین داوری  
(p.50)
- زمین دور بودی گر آن داوری  
تراکی شدی بامن این یاوری  
(p.99)
- زبون گشت شه اندراخ داوری  
باندیشه جست از خرد یاوری  
(p.118)
- دگرکاردانان دران داوری  
نام آوری دگرگون نمودند  
(p.148)
- ولیکن سکندر درین داوری  
بشان دگریافت نام آوری  
(p.154)
- چوبازور مندان فتد داوری  
گریزندگی به زور آوری  
(p.176)
- کنونم که هنگام عزر آوری است  
همان پیشه گیرم نه از داوری است  
(p.196)
- بهرکارازان کس طلب یاوری  
که دارد نهان باخدا داوری  
(p.201)



توهم چو بزرگی درین داوری زتونیند میخواستهم این یاوری  
(p.217)

Another instance is of **میغ**, **تیغ** and **دریغ** in these line:

یلان بند بر بست بر آب تیغ که بی بند عالم نگیرد چومیغ  
(p.63)

بگرمی بر آهیخت چون برق تیغ که برق از نفس آب گشتی چومیغ  
(p.70)

همی خورد بر جان رومی دریغ بگردش درآمد چو بارنده میغ  
(p.74)

زبانان تیروز تیزاب تیغ بچاهای گل رخنه شد بی دریغ  
(p.78)

سکندر به فرمود تابیدریغ سلاح افگنان رانرا تند تیغ  
(p.94)

علم برده رکوه بر اوج میغ زابرسیه آب داده به تیغ  
(p.112)

مرا کایزد از بهر آن داد تیغ که خورشید حق رانیو شم به میغ  
(p.164)

سکندر گراز دستگاه چومیغ بکوه افگنی راند بر سنگ تیغ  
(p.176)

در آن موبمو پیچش بی دریغ دو صف همچو دندان شانه به تیغ  
(p.178)



سزد کز درون چو دریاؤ میغ زتشنه نداری زلالی دریغ  
(p.198)

سزد کز دل و چشم چون برق و میغ دعائی ندارند از ما دریغ  
(p.238)

همه کس همی بود گریان چو میغ دریغی که بودست جای دریغ  
(p.275)

Instances of similar rhymes may be picked up from the poem. But these are not many.

3. About the Zoroastrianism Khusrau has scanty and defective knowledge. He has used the combination of *زندو پارزند* in a very general term. The lines in which these words occur are as follows:

ز آتش فروزان پارزند و زند روایت چنین می کنند هوشمند  
(p.162)

سپرده عنان موبدی چندرا گرفته بکف زندو پارندرا  
(p.165)

سوادسیه نامه چندازو سیه روئی زندو پارندازو  
(p.165)

بسوزند ناموس پارندوزند کشانید ز نارهارا زبند  
(p.167)



## CHAPTER III

**The *Aina-i-Sikanderi* as compared with the  
*Sikander Nama* and the *Shah Nama***

It is accepted on all hands that Amir Khusrau, though a poet of versatile genius, could not a master piece poem parallel to Nizami's *Sikander Nama*. But to be just to Khusrau it is also an undeniable truth that of all the poems composed on the model of *Sikander Nama*, the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* is the best.

Shibli Naumani is perhaps the first modern critic who has passed judgement about the comparative merit of the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* and *Sikandar Nama*. He prefers the latter in the following remark<sup>1</sup>:

"No doubt of all the Khamsa poem written on the model of Nizami's Khamsa, Amir Khusrau's is the best; but the truth is that most of his poems in the Khamsa have nothing to compare with Nizami's parallel poems. The *Matla-ul-Anwar* is evidently weak and defective while the

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(1) Sha'ul Ajam, Azamgarh, third print, part II, pp. 157-158



*Aina-i-Sikandari* is tasteless and weak. It appears that the poet was not quite satisfied with them as he says in the *Aina-i-Sikanderi*<sup>1</sup> :

دگر باز گیری تو پیوند خویش      مرا خود عزیز است فرزند خویش  
 سزد گرچه آواز خر، خنده را      بود ارغنون گوش خر بنده را  
 برو باد بخشایش داد گر      که بر من به بخشش گمارد نظر  
 هنر جوی و عیب جوئی مکوش      ترانیز عیبی است بر خود پیوش

(You may show indifference to it; but, being my creation, it is dear to me;

Although the braying of a donkey would cause laughter, it would present a sweet sound to the ass-owner;

May God shower His mercy on one who looks on me with kindness;

Seek virtue, and do not attempt to find fault; you too have defects, you should conceal them.)

One may not fully agree with Shibli but there is no

(1) These lines are taken from the concluding part of the *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, see pp. 290-291. Some other relevant lines are these:

پسرگرچه کوراست ازین خانه دور      بچشم پدر شب چراغ است و نور  
 چو آید به نظاره این عروش      بکابین احسان کند فرق بوس  
 جهان راست نور نظر زین سواد      دروهر که احوال بود کور باد



doubt that the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* is not so sublime as is the *Sikander Nama* and this is fully borne out by the extraordinary popularity and reputation the latter has earned.

But as we have seen earlier, Amir Khusrau has certain limitation for example:

1. He was not interested in epic *Masnawis*.
2. He was not merely a poet but a courtier being most of the time preoccupied with court business.
3. He was not gifted with such talents as are needed to produce a master piece epic.
4. The story had been completely exhausted by Nizami; so there remained nothing original left for Khusrau.

And the poet has himself referred to them in the following verses<sup>1</sup>:

هنر پرور گنجہ گویای پیش	کہ گنج هنر داشت ز اندیشہ پیش
نظر چون برین جام صہبا گماشت	ستد صافی و درد بر ما گذاشت
من ارچہ بدان می گران ز سر شوم	کجا با حریفان برابر شوم
طراز هنر قصہ خام را	نبشتن بہ مشک است دشنام را
چو گوہر ہمہ سفت گوہر پذیر	من ارمہرہ سفتن ندانم گزیر

(pp. 27-28)

(1) pp. 27-28.



(The skilful artist of Ganj, the old master who possessed such a huge treasure of art as no one would ever conceive of, when cast his eyes on this goblet of wine, drank off all that was pure and left the sediments for me;

Although I became intoxicated with that wine, I cannot compete with other fellow drunkards;

Displaying of ornamentation of art in respect of weak theme amounts to writing abuse with musk;

When the jeweller had all the pearls bored, no alternative was left to me but to bore the shell.)

However, in the following pages an attempt is being made to give a comparative study of the two aforesaid *Masnawis*.

Both the *Sikander Nama* and *Aina-i-Sikanderi* have common features. They are full of interesting depiction of human sentiments, good description of nature and natural objects, successful recording of minute details of various events (واقعه نگاری) and attractive similes and metaphors, etc. But with regard to all these points Nizami's *Sikander Nama* is superior in respect of intensity and vigour. One of the factors responsible for low key in Khusrau's poem is that the poet was not quite serious about his *Khamsa*, for all the five *Masnawis* were written within a short period of over two years. And it was not an spontaneous action. The



poet was pressed to compose the *Masnawis* with a view to competing with Nizami. His field of interest was Ghazal and romantic poetry. Under such circumstances how could he produce a successful epic poem?

A detailed discussion of the comparative values of the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* and *Sikander Nama* is given below. It may be noted that the former falls short of the latter in respect of some points.

I. *Nizami's Sikander Nama* has a coherent theme. He has depicted Alexander as a conqueror, as a philosopher and as a prophet. And in all these respects Nizami's presentation is convincing and forceful. He has successfully portrayed the character of his hero who was gifted with sublime qualities. But Amir Khusrau's poem suffers much in this regard, the most glaring drawback being lack of coherence of the theme. His *Masnawi* contains some disjointed accounts of Alexander on which his presentation is not so attractive. There are reasons for doing so but his leaving some of the best part of the story like the episode of Darius has left the account at times tasteless and insipid.

II. In the depiction of human sentiments Nizami has few parallels amongst the Persian poets. In this respect at times he gets ahead of great Firdausi whose *Shah Nama*



reigns supreme in the whole realm of Persian poetry.

Firdausi while depicting human sentiments has preferred the simple and ordinary aspect of human feelings. As against this Nizami expressed subtle, delicate and sublime aspects of human sentiments. Amir Khusrau does not compare favourably either with Firdausi or with Nizami. An example is cited below:

Darius got wounded and fell down on the ground. Alexander went to him for consolation. Darius was overwhelmed with grief and had, therefore, expressed to him his sentiments in very sorrowful words. In the *Shah Nama*, Alexander is stated to have expressed regret and spoken ordinary words of consolation in such a way as could be done by a man of average intelligence. But Nizami's approach is unique. He has described such delicate and tender feelings as would normally occur to a man of high understanding. Darius was an Emperor of a vast Empire and was also in great distress. The fact that he was treacherously murdered by his own men had filled his mind with fresh agony and distress. But he was also conscious of the fact that he was a mighty ruler. This consciousness caused him to give vent to his feelings in a sublime and dignified manner. He does not bemoan like an ordinary soldier. His words of lamentations are



indicative of his dignity and exaltations. His sighs speak of the sounds of battle, his lamenting sigh is full of wrath and anger and strikes terror. To quote, the original Persian verses<sup>1</sup> are :

ز موکب روان هیچ کس را ندید	چو در موکب قلب دارا رسید
کلاه کیانی شده سر نگون	تن مر زبان دید در خاک و خون
ز روئین دژ افتاد اسفند یار	به بازوی بهمن بر آسود مار
ز باد خزان گشته تاراج غم	بهار فریدون و گلزار جم
در آمد ببالین آن پیل زور	سکندر فرود آمد از پشت بور
ز درع کیانی گره کرد باز	به بالین گه خسته آمد فراز
شب تیره بر روز رخشان نهاد	سر خسته را بر سر ران نهاد
به سوز جگر آه از دل کشید	چو دارا برویش نگه کرد و دید
که بگذار تا سر نهم من بخواب	چنین داد دارا به خسرو جواب
چراغ مرا روشنائی نماید	رها کن که در من رهایی نماید
تو مشکن که مارا جهان خود شکست	سر سروران را رها کن ز دست
چنان شاه را در چنین بندگی	مبین سرو را در سر افگندگی
به آمرز ایزدی یاد کن	درین بندم از رحمت آزاد کن
که گردون گردان بر آرد نفیر	مگر دان سر خفته را از سریر

(1) Sharaf Nama (First part of Sikander Nama is called Sharaf Nama) pp. 215-216.



توای پهلوان کامدی سوی من      نگهدار پهلوز پهلوی من  
 که با آن که پهلو دریدم چو میغ      همی آید از پهلوم بوی تیغ  
 چه دستی که با ما درازی کنی      به تاج کیان دست بازی کنی  
 نگهدار دستت که داراست این      نه پنهان چوروز آشکاراست این  
 زمین را منم تاج تارک نشین      مجنبان مراتانه جنبد زمین

Amir Khusrau has wisely left out this incident for he was quite sure that it would be senseless to describe the event which has been marvellously described by Nizami whose description has surpassed even Firdausi's account of the episode. Amir Khusrau's poem contains no other description which may favourably compare with Nizami's description of the aforesaid event.

III. Another point in which Nizami stands superior is his description of nature. His description is, however, quite different from those western poets who are called the poets of nature. Nizami is a poet of east and his description is of oriental nature. He does not confine himself to the description of the natural objects alone. He takes into account the effect of nature in man. He describes how a man is influenced by spring season. The lover goes to a garden, plays with flowers, sits besides the



tank plucks buds and throws them on the ground; spreads beds of jasmine near the tank. The beloved is sitting by his side; she throws the ring of curly locks around the lover's neck. And free from all worldly things he addresses the the birds of the garden and sings in the accompaniments of their tunes. To quote Nizami<sup>1</sup>:

گُل آمد در باغ را باز کن	بیا باغبان خرمی باز کن
بیارای بستان به چینی پرند	نظامی به باغ آمد از شهر بند
سر نرگس مست برکش ز خواب	ز جعد بنفشه برانگیز تاب
ز گام گل سرخ دردم عبیر	لب غنچه را کایدش بوی شیر
که روشن به شستن شود لا جورد	ز سیمای سبزه فروشوی گرد
بر افروخته هر گلی چون چراغ	درختان شگفتند در طرف باغ
که پرواز پارینه را سازده	بمرغ زبان بسته آوازده
بر آورد برقص این دل تنگ را	سراینده کن ناله چنگ را
در افکن برین گردن آن طوق باز	سرزلف معشوق را طوق ساز
بر افشان به بالای سر و بلند	ریا حین سیراب را دسته بند

(1) Sharaf Nama, pp 75-76.



بر آن سیمگون سگه نو بهار  
درم ریز کن بر لب جوئبار  
به پیرامن برکه آبگیر  
ز سوسن در افکن بساط حریر

Amir Khusrau has successfully depicted the scene of the garden; but he mainly confines to the description of natural objects by employing similes and metaphors. A few verses are quoted below:

رخ آراسته هر یکی چون چراغ	شده جلوه گر نازنینان باغ <sup>۱</sup>
ز رضوان به گلبن سلام آمده	به لاله ز فردوس جام آمده
گره در دل غنچه محکم زده	بنفشه سر زلف را خم زده
مراغه همی کرد بر گل نسیم	هوا بر سر سبزه می ریخت نسیم
عروس جهان ز آب گل شسته رو	ز باد بهاری هوا مشک بو
چراغ گل از باغ روشن شده	بساط گل از سبزه گلشن شده
چو تعویذ مشکین ببازوی دوست	شده مشکبو غنچه در زیر پوست
نظاره کنان چشم نرگس ز دور	گشاده گل لعل جلباب نور
همی کرد هر دم تقاضای نوش	برون کرده سوسن زبان خموش

(1) *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, pp. 129-30.



It may be noted that both Nizami and Khusrau have depicted the evening scenes. Both have employed beautiful similes and metaphors but Nizami's treatment in respect of intensity and depth is preferable. A few examples from both the *Masnawis* are quoted below<sup>1</sup>:

Nizami	Khusrau
که چون شاه چین زین برابرش نهاد	چو زنگی شب دید روی سیاه
فلک نعل زنگی بر آتش نهاد	در آئینه عالم آرای ماه
سپهر از کمین مهره بیرون جهانند	زد آئینه ماه را در زمین
بهاره ز کف مهره بیرون فشاند	بخندید ناگاه صبح از کمین
چو گیتی در روشنی باز کرد	چو در گنبد آمد براق سپهر
جهان بازی دیگر آغاز کرد	بهرای زرین بیاراست چهر
بآتش بدل گشت مشتم شرار	چنان خورد شب‌دیز ظلمات دم
کلیجه شد آن سیم گاورس وار	که نعلش بیفتاد و مسمار هم
چو گلنار گون کسوت آفتاب	چو بکر فلک در عماری نشست
کبودی گرفت از خم نیل ناب	شب تیره در پرده داری نشست
نگهبان این مار پیکر درفش	عروسان شب زیور آراستند

(1) *Amā-i-Sikanderi*, introduction, p.33.



زر اندود بر پر نیانی بنفش	فلك را بگوهر بر آراستند
چو گوهر بر آمود زنگی بتاج	چو قلاب سیم از کمین زد هلال
شه چین فرود آمد از تخت عاج	بخون غرق شد ترك چینی جمال
مه روشن از تیره شب تافته	شهاب از سر نیزه دیو سوز
چو آئینه روشنی یافتہ	شد آتش فگن در سلیمان روز
چو یاقوت خورشید را دزد برد	چو خورشید برقع به رخساره کرد
بیاقوت جستن جهان پی فشرده	فلك سرمه در چشم سیاره کرد
بذردی گرفتند مهتاب را	کشید آسمان بهرمان کبود
که این برد آن جوهر ناب را	حریر معنبر بیوشید زود

IV. As has been stated Khusrau was an effective ghazal writer and very successful in romantic *Masnawi*. Even in other poems where there is some romantic element Khusrau seems to be at his best. In the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* the poet in his imitation of Nizami's *Sikander Nama* has introduced the pride song (فخریه) by the Chinese damsel in the banquet held by Alexander. This part of the poem is very sublime. The poet at times surpasses Nizami in eloquence. And has really shown extraordinary skill and art. The fluence and force of the verse are worth noticing. Some lines from the two poems



will substantiate the point :

### Nizami

<sup>1</sup> بفرمان شه چنگ را ساز کرد  
 در درج گوهر ز لب باز کرد  
 که از شادی امشب جهان را نوی است  
 همه شادی از دولت خسروی است  
 بهنگام گل خوش بود روزگار  
 بخندد جهان چو بخندد بهار  
 چو خورشید روشن بر آید باوج  
 ز روشن جهان برزند نور موج  
 صبا چو در آید بدیباگری  
 زمین روی آرد هوا ششتری  
 گل سرخ چون کله بندد به باغ  
 فروزد زهر غنچه صد چراغ  
 سکندر چو پیروزی آرد به چنگ  
 نه زیبا بود آئینه زیر زنگ  
 چو خسرو از می شود جام گیر

### Khusrau

<sup>2</sup> جهان سوزی از مه شب افروز تر  
 ز خورشید رویش جهان سوز تر  
 بیک طره صد شهر برهم زده  
 بیک غمزه بر ملک عالم زده  
 در آمد خرامنده با همسران  
 چومه در صف مشتری پیکران  
 بر آئین خوبان ز شوخی و ناز  
 سرودی بر آورد عاشق نواز  
 کسی را که من باشم اندر کمند  
 چه حاجت به بالای سروی بلند  
 بیک غمزه بر پارسابان ز نم  
 بدیگره آشنایان ز نم  
 مشعبد که داند جهان سوختن  
 ز من بایدهش بازی آموختن  
 چو شانه ز نم زلف آشفته را

(1) *Sharaf Nama*, pp. 286-296.

(2) *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, pp. 131-138.



برقص آورم فتنه خفته را  
پری گرچه باشد دل آویزتر  
نباشد ز من آفت انگیزتر  
بهار از کند عالمی مشکبوی  
دو عالم کنم من بیک تاروی  
بغمزه ز کوهی بر آرم تفریر  
و گر موشود موشگافم به تیر  
گل از رخ و رویم گلستان شود  
می از دست من آب حیوان شود  
سکندر که کرد آب حیوان هوس  
نظیر منش بود مقصود و بس  
چو در روشنی چومنی را نه دید  
بتاریکی آب حیوان خزید

چرا جام خالی بود بر سریر  
ملك گرز جمشید بالاتر است  
رخ من ز خورشید والاتر است  
شه ارشد فریدون زرینه کفش  
بفتحش منم کاویانی درفش  
شه ارکیقباد بلند افسر است  
مرا افسر از مشک و از عنبر است  
شه ارهست کاوس فیروزه تاج  
زمین بایدهش خواستن تخت عاج  
شه ارچون سلیمان شود دیوبند  
مرا در جهان هست دیوانه چند  
شه ارزانکه عالم گرفت ای شگفت  
من آن را گرفتم که عالم گرفت

This beautiful account in both the *Masnawis* continues further; but space and time do not permit to quote more lines.

V. The description of the battle has been effective given by Khusrau but, as has been referred earlier, it is not so vivid and graphic as Nizami's. The latter has portrayed a fascinating pen-picture of preparation of armies, the



arrival of the warriors, the blowing of trumpets, the fighting scene, the weapons the tricks of the warriors, the heroic songs, penetration of arrows, action of the bow, the destruction caused by the lancest and the dagger etc., with many other details. Some lines from both the poets are quoted below for illustration:

## Nizami

کمندی من از زلف بر سازمش  
 نترسم بگردن در اندازمش  
 گراو را کمندی بود ماه گیر  
 مرا هم کمندی بود شاه گیر  
 گراو ناوک اندازد از زور دست  
 مرا غمزه ناوک انداز هست  
 گر او قصد شمشیر بازی کند  
 زبانم به شمشیری بازی کند  
 گر او لختی از زر بر آرد بدوش  
 دو لختی است زلفین من گرد گوش  
 گر او را یکی طوق بر مرکب است  
 مرا بین که دو طوق بر غبغب است  
 رسیدند لشکر بجای مصاف

## Khusrau

چو باز آمد آن می به پیمانه یافت  
 به ویرانه گم کرده در خانه یافت  
 منه نام آن چشمه این جوی را  
 چه نسبت بمن آل سیه روی را  
 مگر شاه زلف مرا در نیافت  
 که در عین ظلمات چندان شتافت  
 چو در خلوت من نهانی رسید  
 بسر چشمه زندگانی رسید  
 گراز چشم راجع شد او را برات  
 من اندر دهان دارم آب حیات  
 گر اندازد او شیرو آهو به تیر  
 من آن آهوم کو بود شیر گیر  
 بگردون شد از نای زرین خروش



دوپرکار بستند چون کوه قاف  
 یزک بر یزک سو بسو در شتاب  
 نه در دل سکونت و در دیده خواب  
 در آمد به غریدن آواز کوس  
 فلک بردهان دهل داد بوس  
 ز غریدن کوس خالی دماغ  
 زمین لرزه افتاد در کوبه و راغ  
 چنان آمد از نای ترکی خروش  
 که از نای ترکان بر آورد جوش  
 بر آورد خر مهره آواز شیر  
 دماغ از دم گاو دم گشت سیر  
 ز سیم چقاچق که آمد ز تیر  
 کفن گشت در زیر جوشن حریر  
 روارو بر آمد ز راه نبرد  
 هزارهز در آمد به مردان مرد  
 به جنبش در آمد دو دریای خون  
 شد از موج آتش زمین لاله گون  
 زمین گفتی از یک دگر بر درید

بدریای لشکر در افتاد جوش  
 هزارهز در آمد بهر دو سپاه  
 روارو بر آمد بخورشید و ماه  
 چنان گشت روی هوا گرد ناک  
 که سیاره گم کرد خورا به خاک  
 ز موج سلاح و ز گرد زمین  
 گلین آسمان شد زمین آهنین  
 سپاه از ره موج میزد به اوج  
 چو دریا که بادش در آرد به موج  
 بدریای آهن جهان گشت غرق  
 هوا پرز میغ و زمین پرز برق  
 ز ژوین و پیکان سبز و سپید  
 جهان گشت پرسوسن و برگ بید  
 ز بانگ هونان گیتی نورد  
 شده پر صدا گنبد لاجورد  
 نمانده امان زیر پیروزه کاخ  
 اجل را شده دستگاهی فراخ  
 گره بر گره دست پیکان زنان



زره بر زره پشت روئین تنان	سرافیل صور قیامت دمید
زهر سو سنانهای خارا گذار	سپاه از دو جانب صف آراسته
فروبسته راه سلامت بخار	زمین آسمان وار برخاسته
زتیر و سپرها که پرکار بود	رسم ستوران دران پهن دشت
بیابان نیتان و گلزار بود	زمین شش شد و آسمان گشت هشت

## VI. Similes and Metaphors

Persian poetry is characterised by the abundance use of similes and metaphors. Amir Khusrau could not be an exception to this practice. He was so much interested in poetic artifices etc., that he had written chapters on it and had discussed in the *Ijaz-i-Khusrawi* the new figures that he had introduced by him. He has also referred to new types of similes and metaphors. But it is very interesting that his poetry is not a true representative of his chief interest in the art, for his poetic compositions are not overburdened by this element. He uses mostly simple similes drawn from natural objects. But, at times, we come across compound and subtle similes. But it is not his chief characteristic so far as the *Ain-i-Sikanderi* is concerned. However, a few examples are examined below:

بگردون شد از نای زرین خروش    بدریای لشکر در افتاد جوش



The army has been compared with a surging ocean.

غبارہ زمین کله بر ماہ بست    نفس را درون گلو راہ بست

The dust rising in the battlefield has been compared with a curtain which had covered the face of the moon. It also created difficulties in breathing.

بدریای آهن جهان گشت غرق    هوا پُر ز میغ و زمین پُر ز برق

The abundance of war implements and weapons presented the picture of an ocean of iron in which the world was submerged.

در چرخ را ماہ قفل ز راست    کلیدوی انگشت پیغمبر است

This refers to the miracle of the moon by the Prophet of Islam by pointing his finger towards the moon which has been compared to golden locks on the door of the sky and the finger of the Prophet (peace be upon him) the key to open.

حجاب خیال از میان بر گرفت    نظارہ بہ نور نہان بر گرفت

Imagination has been compared with a veil that conceals the face of reality.

خرامان شوای خانہ گنج ریز    بُدر سفتن الماس را دار تیز

The "ideas" have been compared with treasure, the point of pen with diamond<sup>1</sup> and the words having been

1 Khusrau could have anticipated that six centuries after the point of pen were made of diamond.



written with the point of pen with bored pearls.

بگاہ عطا ز آن کف بحر جوش      زر صامت از ریختن در خروش  
عجب صامتی بین کہ فریاد کرد      عجب تر کہ فریاد از داد کرد

The hand of the generous king has been compared with a raging sea, and the sound produced by the falling coins with crying and sighing indicating the complaint against the justice and generosity of the Sultan.

ز ژو پین و پیکان سبز و سپید      جهان گشت پرسوسن و برگ بید

Lancet has been compared with lily and the point of spear with a willow-leaf. It may be noted that **برگ بید** itself is a kind of spear the head of which resembles the leaf of willow.

عرق کردن تو سنان در شتاب      ز طوفان آتش روان کرد آب

The heat caused by the swift running of steel and the sweat being produced there by, have been compared with a tempest of fire, producing water. This is an example of a compound simile.

شرارہ کہ زد نعل ہنگام او      ستارہ برون ریخت از ماہ نو

The sparks produced by the shoes of running horses, while striking against the hard ground or stones, have been compared with stars coming out of the new moon a good compound simile.



بزیر سپر تیغ رخشان بتاب چنان کز تہ برگ نیلوفر آب

The flash of the sword shining from beneath of the shield resembled the appearance of water from beneath the leaves of the water lily.

دو لشکر نگویم کہ دو کوه قاف رسیدند در جلوه گاہ مصاف

The two formidable armies have been compared with two Caucasus mountains. It may be noted that while comparing the armies with the fabulous mountains, the poet has, in his view, the imaginary idea associated with this mountain that it surrounds the world and binds the horizon on all sides.

چو زنگی شب دید روی سیاه در آئینہ عالم آرای ماہ  
زد آئینہ ماہ را بر زمین بختید ناگاہ صبح از کمین

The night has been compared with a negro who, having been enraged with seeing its face in the mirror of the moon, threw it on ground, causing the morning, lying in wait to laugh.

چو در گنبد آمد براق سپہر بہر ای زرین بیاراست چہر

The sun has been compared with the celebrated *Buraq* on which the Prophet went from Mecca to Jerusalem, and the rays with little gold ball with which trappings are adorned. It may be noted that the sun is called *براق چہارم فلک*.



چنان خورد شبديز ظلمات دم      كه نعلش بيفتاد و مسمار هم

Darkness has been compared with a black dusty horse called شبديز resembling night, which was so overawed and disturbed by the appearance of the *Buraq* (of the sun) that it ran away in utter astonishment.

عروسان شب زيور آراستند      فلک را به گوهر بر آراستند

Stars have been called the brides of the night which adorned the sky.

چو قلاب سيم از كمين زد هلال      بخون غرق شد ترك چيني جمال

This is a good simile. The new moon has been compared with the silver-hook which hunted the beautiful Turk (the sun) and caused it to drench in blood (causing the twilight).

شهاب از سر نيزه ديوسوز      شد آتش فگن در سليمان روز

The day has been compared with Solomon being attacked by the shooting stars a fine idea has been expressed in the line. The shooting stars are meant to repel the demons; but here they are used against Prophet Solomon whom a whole world, including the demons, served.

چو خورشيد برقع به رخساره كرد      فلک سرمه در چشم سياره كرد



The sun setting in the west has been compared with a woman putting a veil on her face. The shining of the stars was the result of applying collyrium to their eyes by the sky.

کشید آسمان بهرمان کبود حریر معنبر بپوشید زود

The sky resembling blue ruby put on black garment on the approach of the night. The darkness of the night has been compared with black silken garment.

در آمد خرامیده با همسران چومه در صف مشتری پیکران

The Chinese damsel's arrival in the assembly along with her companions was like the arrival of the moon in the assembly of planet Jupiter.

به لاله ز فردوس جام آمده ز رضوان به گلبن سلام آمده

The tulip flower has been compared with a cup of paradise.

هوا بر سر سبزه می ریخت سیم مراغه همی کرد برگل نسیم

The petals of the white flowers fallen on the grass have been compared with silver being scattered over the meadows.

شد از رنگ سرخی سر کوهسار چو پیشانی پیل شنگرف وار

The mountain peak under the effect of the red colour looked like an elephant whose forehead be besmeared



with vermilion (powder).

This brief description will give some idea about the nature of similes and metaphors used by Amir Khusrau in his *Aina-i-Sikanderi*. It may be noted that Amir Khusrau was a great exponent of the use of similes, and has created new system of *tashbih* as he himself refers in the *Dibacha-i-Ghurrat-ul-Kamal*.

تشبیهات نو بسیار است، این مجمل جمله را تحمل نتواند  
کرد، اما دو سه نظیر برای یاد کردن گرد شده.

"New similes are many; but it could not confine the description of all of them. However, two or three are quoted by way of illustration." Then he quotes these examples:

ز انتظار دو ماهی ساق تو صد چشم      بزیر هر مو دارم چو دام ماهی گیر  
مژه های کژ دل آویزت      کژهای دکان قصاب است  
زهی خرامش آن نازنین عیاری      کبوتری به نشاط آمده است پنداری

As Amir Khusrau was fully conversant with Hindi poetry also, especially the poetry of *Brij* which is so rich in chaste similes, it is no wonder if Amir Khusrau was inspired to employ similes drawn from Indian scene. The last line quoted above seems to have an Indian trail. In Persian poetry beloved's gait is compared with that of



portridge. But Amir's comparison of beloved's gait with that of a pigeon seems to be under local influence.

However, it is quite interesting that despite the fact that Amir Khusrau was much interested in the use of similes and metaphors, most of his poems, specially the *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, are a true representative of his taste. It may be noted that all the headings are in prose in the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* fully represent Amir's taste as the language is very figurative with abundance of similes and metaphors. The fact seems to be that Amir's prose writings are highly artificial full of all kinds of artifices known to Persian masters including quite a long number of his own innovations.<sup>1</sup>

Nizami was a greater artist than Khusrau and it is once more proved by the use of attractive similes and metaphors he has employed in the *Sikander Nama*.

چو یاقوت خورشید را در زد برد      به یاقوت جستن جهان پی فشرد  
به دزدی گرفتند مهتاب را      که این برد آن گوهر ناب را

The lines are a good example of the poet's creative imagination. Though comparison of sun with ruby

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1. His prose treatises called *Rasail-i-Ijaz-i-Khusrawi* bear a testimony to it.



presents very common simile, yet the way in which the idea has been expanded is marvellous. The ruby (sun) was stolen; the world set at searching it; at last, the moon was caught hold of as a thief. As the moon rises after the sunset, the former has been called as a thief.

که چون آتش روز روشن گذشت      پُر از دود شد گنبد تیز گشت  
شب از ماه بر بست پیرایه      شگفتی بود نور در سایه

When the fire of the day was extinguished, the whole firmament was filled with cloud. The night put on the ornaments of moon which became source of astonishment in so much as light appears in darkness.

دگر روز کاین ساقی صبح خیز      ز می کرد بر خاک یا قوت زیر

The early *Saqi* is none but the sun and the 'می' is the sunshine.

چو خورشید بر زد سر از گنج نیل      فروشست گردون قبارا ز نیل

The azure sky has been called *گنج نیل* out of which the sun rises its head. The second hemistich is a good example of poetic imagination.

چو در برقع کوه رفت آفتاب      سر روز روشن فروشد بخواب

The mountain has been called the veil which has concealed the face of the moon.

شب تیره چون ازدهای سیاه      ز ماهی بر آورد سرسوی ماه



سیہ کرد بر شیروان راہ را      فروبر چون از دہا ماہ را

The dreary night has well been compared with black and dreadful dragons. Both the lines are fine example of poetic imagination.

سپاہ سحر چو علم بر کشید      جہان حرف شب را قلم در کشید

The rising sun alongwith its paraphernalia has been called the army of the moon. The night has been beautifully compared with black letters which were removed on the arrival of the morning force. The line is a combination of good simile and fine poetic imagination.

چو سلطان شب چتر بر سر گرفت      سواد جہان راہ عنبر گرفت

ستارہ چنان گنجی از زر فشاند      کہ مہد زمین گاو بر گنج راند

The night has been called a ruler having a black canopy whose coronation filled the whole world with ambergris (darkness); the stars sprinkled so much gold that the earth was filled with treasures to its depth.

کہ چون شاہ چین صبح را بار داد      عروس عدن دُربہ دینار داد

چون شب در سر آورد کحلی<sup>۱</sup> پرند      سرمہ در آمد بہ مشکین کمند

In the first line the damsel of Aden is night, the pearl

1. Farrukhi Sistani's (فرخی سیستانی) opening line of a Qasida:

چون پرند نیلگون بر روی پوشد مرغ زار      پرنیان ہفت رنگ اندر سر آرد کوهسار



is star and the dinar is the sun; the darkness pervading the night is a black silken garment with it is covered.

In Persian poetry similes and metaphors are often used to increase the force of the idea contained. Sometimes, through them, the ideas are personified and thus the effect is enhanced. Nizami's poetry is full of such similes. The following line can be quoted as an example:

نسب نامه دولت کيقباد ورق بر ورق هر سوی برد باد

This is composed to indicate the situation when Darius was wounded and fell on the ground. Darius was the last ruler of the Achamenians on whose death the rule of the dynasty came to an end. In the said Darius has been called the *Nasab Nama* (line of pedigree) of the family of Kaiqubad (Kiyani<sup>1</sup> dynasty). He represented the whole family insomuch as in him was ingrained the grandeur of the individual rulers like Kaikaus, Kaikhusrau, Kailarasp, etc. Thus, in his death all the pages of the book of genealogy of the Kiyanians were scattered away by the wind. This really is a fine and attractive simile.

The same idea has been expressed in an another line:

بهار فریدون و گلزار جم ز باد خزان گشت تاراج غم

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1. Kiyani dynasty is taken as synonymous with the Acaemanian dynasty.



Darius represented the grandeur (spring) of Feridun and the dignity (rose garden) of Jam in whose death the whole garden has withered away.

Alexander's placing the head of dying Darius on his thigh has been described in terms of a fine simile: In doing so Alexander placed the dreary night on the brilliant day.

سرخسته را بر سر ران نهاد شب تیره بر روز رخشان نهاد

On Alexander's haughty reply to Darius, the latter says:

از آن ابر عاصی چنان ریزم آب که نار دد گر دست بر آفتاب

The sinner-cloud (Alexander) would be so squeezed as it would not be able to cover the face of the sun (Darius). Alexander's smartness swiftness in attacking a Negro has been expressed by a simile in these lines. Alexander has been compared with the sun and his enemy with the earth insomuch as the enemy has been subdued as the earth is being covered by the reflection of the sun.

به کبک دری چون در آید عقاب چگونه جهد بر زمین آفتاب

ازان تیز تر خسرو پیلتن به تندی در آمد به آن اهرمن

The lip has been compared with the tied ruby; the buds blossoming in the season have been called the coin of the spring.



به پاسخ نمودن زن هوشمند      زیاقوت سر بسته بگشاد بند  
ازان سیمگون سکه نو بهار      درم ریز کن بر لب جوئبار

The snow covering the leaves of plane tree appeared like jasmine in the hand of plane tree.

ز باریدن ابر کافور بار      سمن رسته از دستها چنار

The nooses with continuous coils and twists' resembled a dragon with opened mouth ready to devour treasure.

کمند ازدهای مسلسل شکنج      دهن باز کرده بتاراج گنج

The abundance of bloodshed has been called the Tigris of blood; the sun has been compared with waterlily, which is stated to have thrown its boat into the water (the sun again being compared with a boat); usually it is called *Zauraq-i-Zarrin*.

در آن دجله خون بلند آفتاب      چو نیلوفر افگند زورق در آب

The wide wound caused by the sword has been compared with a cave and the sword with a dragon.

ز شمشیر برگشته جای نبود      که در غاروی ازدهای نبود

The blood collected in the ditch caused the earth to grow as red as red sulphur. *کبریت احمر* or *گوگرد احمر* (the philosophers' stone) is rarely found, hence very valuable; the word *آتشین* in relation with *گوگرد* is appropriately used.



ز بس خون که گرد آمد اندر مفاک چوگر گرد سرخ آتشین گشت خاک

The arrow is being compared with a crocodile which is ever in flight in search of its prey. The bow has been used as an ambush for the crocodile of the arrow. The figure Tajnis in زمین, کمان, and زمان, has added to the beauty of the line. The use of double *Qafiya* is also significant.

نهنگ خدنگ از کمین کمان نیا سود بریک زمن یک زمان

The above discussion may fully bear out that in respect of similes and metaphors Amir Khusrau's *Aina-i-Sikanderi* is inferior to *Nizami's Sikander Nama*.

In respect of poetic imagination Nizami is again a little superior to Amir Khusrau. Both the poets have praised their respective masters and have tried to utilize their poetic imagination in its full. The parallel lines are quoted below:

Nizami	Khusrau
اعلم برکش ای آفتاب بلند	خرامان شوای خامه گنج ریز <sup>2</sup>
خرامان شوای ابر مشکین کمند	بدر سفتن الماس را دار تیز
بنال ای دل رعد چون کوس شاه	بهر حرفی آرایشی ساز کن

(1) *Sharaf Nama*, p. 58

(2) *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, p. 14.



بهر نکته گوش فلک باز کن      بخندای لب برق چون صبحگاه  
 سخن را چنان پایه برکش باه      بیار ای هوا قطره ناب را  
 که بوسد به جرأت کف پای شاه      بگیرای صدف دُر کن آن آب را  
 شہی کا سمان بر درش گاہ بار      بر آ ای دُر از قعر دریای خویش  
 ز پروین و جوز افشاند نثار      بتاج سر شاه کن جای خویش

The idea that the king's crown is studded with jewel has been so well described by Nizami as may have few parallels in the whole realm of Persian poetry. By his flight of imagination the poet has shown that the whole world exists only to enhance the King's exaltation. Not only this, the poet being attached to the Sultan, finds the whole nature at his command. This is why he orders the sun, the cloud, the thunder, the flashes, the lightning, and the wind to get themselves busy in producing pearls for the crown of the king. The mode of expression, the diction, the composition and the force have all been appropriately combined together that nothing better could ever be expected. Amir Khusrau was fully aware of his weak points in composing parallel to these lines. He has therefore adopted a separate method to praise the king. He asks his pen to start writing verses in his praise and create subtlety in his discourse so that it may soar high and may



be able to kiss the feet of the patron. There is nothing original in the description. The poet may have in view the following lines from Zahir of Faryab:

نه کرسی فلک نهد اندیشه زیر پای تا بوسد رکاب قزل ارسلان<sup>1</sup>

In short, Amir Khusrau's verses do not compare favourably with Nizami's.

In respect of another feature Nizami's *Sikander Nama* is superior not only to Amir Khusrau's *Aina-i-Sikanderi* but even to Firdausi's *Shah Nama* and that is in respect of his forceful and vigorous diction (زور کلام). This special feature is natural consequence of the selection of appropriate word and phrases and their arrangement and composition. The secret of Nizami's success lies in the fact that as against Firdausi he has occasionally sought the assistance of Arabic words and phrases which have added vigour to his style and diction. One or two examples would suffice:

Nizami says:

اساسی که در آسمان وز می است	به اندازه فکرت آدمی است
شود فکرت اندازه را رهْمون	سراز حد اندازه نارد برون
بهر پایۀ دست چندان رسد	که آن پایه را حد به پایان رسد

(1) Sadi has objected to this sort of praise in this line:

چه حاجت که نه کرسی آسمان نهی زیر پای قزل ارسلان



چو پایان پذیر وحد کائنات      نماند در اندیشه دیگر جهات  
نیندیشد اندیشه افزون ازین      که هستی نه بلکه بیرون ازین

A similar idea has expressed in these lines.<sup>1</sup>

چنان بر کشید و بستی نگار      که به زان نیارد خرد در شمار  
چنان بستی این طاق نیلوفری      که اندیشه را نیست زو برتری  
چنان آفریدی زمین و زمان      همان گردش انجم و آسمان  
که چندانکه اندیشه گردد بلند      سر خود برون ناورد زین کمند

Firdausi expressed this idea in the following lines as a scholar gifted critical acumen would atonce make the difference in respect of vigour and force:<sup>2</sup>

نیابد بدو نیز اندیشه راه      که او برتر از نام و از جایگاه  
سخن هر چه زین گوهران بگذرد      نیابد بدو راه جان و خرد  
ازین پرده برتر سخن گاه نیست      به هستیش اندیشه را راه نیست

But one may not be misundestood that Nizami's success lies in his use of Arabic words alone for if had it been the case of Amir Khusrau who has used Arabic words and phrases more abundantly than Nizami, would have not lagged behind the latter in respect of forceful diction. Khusrau says:<sup>3</sup>

(1) *Sharaf Nama*, pp. 2-3.

(2) *Shah Nama*, vol. 1 pp. 1-2.

(3) *Ibid.*



نه چون من به مقدار بیش و کمی      که گنجی در اندیشه آدمی  
 ز تویی خبر عقل و دانش تباه      تصور بکام تو گم کرده راه  
 کمالت سخن را ورق سوخته      کم و بیش را دیده بر دوخته  
 فلک را تو بستی گره در جهات      توراندی قلم بر خط کائنات  
 ز صنع تو کاری بهر کاره گاه      غلط را نه در کار گاه تو راه

Nizami's force in style and diction has great impact on the subsequent poets and writers. Among the Indian *savants* Abul Fazal and Urfi seem to have been influenced by Nizami's style. It is on this account that Mulla Tughra of Mashhad has gone so far as to say that Abul Fazal has rendered the *Sikander Nama* into Persian prose. And in this remark the only feature that is aimed at is the forceful diction of the *Sikander Nama*.

Amongst the five poems of Nizami, the most significant is the *Sikander Nama* whose diction and style have served as a model for the later writers. This diction has to a certain extent been the cause of the intricacy of the style of *Sikander Nama*. This is fully borne out by a number of notes and keys written to this *Masnawi*. In this respect the *Sikander Nama* falls short of Firdausi's *Shah Nama*. Amir Khusrau is also not so intricate as Nizami. But Amir's simpler diction does not come upto the



standard of Firdausi's.

I shall quote two parallel instances from *Aina-i-Sikanderi* and *Sikander Nama* which would at once show the comparative position in respect of poetic imagination and forceful diction of both the masters.

### (1) Praise of the Prophet

Nizami says.

رساننده حجت استوار	افرستاده خاص پروردگار
بآرایش نام او نقش بست	محمد کازل تا ابد هر چه هست
فروع همه آفرینش بدوست	چراغی که پروانه بینیش بدوست
شفاعت گر روز بیم و امید	ضمان دار عالم سیه تا سپید
زمینی به اصل آسمانی به فرع	درختی سهی سایه در باغ شرع
ز چشم جهان روشنی بود دور	چراغی که تا نیفروخت نور
سپیدی بر چشم شما سیان	سیاهی ده خال عباسیان
تن از آب حیوان سیه پوش تر	لب از باد عیسی پر از نوش تر
زمین بر فلک پنج نوبت زنش	فلک بر زمین چار طاق افگنش
مر انگشت کش گشته ز انگشت او	ستون خرد مسند پشت او
بیک دست گوهر بیک دست تیغ	حیطی چه گویم چو بارنده میغ

(1) *Sharaf Nama*, pp. 14-17.



بگوهر جهان را بیاراسته  
 اگر شحنة تیغ بر سر برد  
 کلید کرم بوده در بند کار  
 فراغی بدو دعوت تنگ را  
 تهی دست سلطان درویش پوش  
 به تیغ از جهان داد دین خواسته  
 سر تیغ او تاج و افسر برد  
 گشاده بدو قفل چند حصار  
 گواهی بر اعجاز او سنگ را  
 غلامی خسرو پادشاهی فروش

Khusrau says:

رسول قوی حجت آشکار  
 محمد شه لا جور دی سریر  
 ز دروازۀ شرع رایت فراز  
 به مهمانی پیشگاه الست  
 خدای که هستی پدیدار کرد  
 سپهری که بینی چورخشنده باغ  
 ز باغ رخس هست بستان گلی  
 سماطین زن مسندش هر زمان  
 کرم بین کز احسان امت پناه  
 ز بردست را گوهر افکن به تیغ  
 زمین را کفش کیسه بردار خود  
 بحکمت درست و به حکم استوار  
 کز و گشت هستی عمارت پذیر  
 ز گنج فلک گوهر آمای راز  
 طفیلی خورخوان او هر که هست  
 ز بهروی این سگه پرکار کرد  
 ز نوروی افروخت چندین چراغ  
 دران باغ روح الامین بلبل  
 یزک بر یزک لشکر آسمان  
 گنه ما کنیم او بود عذر خواه  
 نوازش گرزیر دستان چو میغ  
 جهان را تنش کیمیای وجود

(1) *Aina-i-Sikanderi*, pp. 6-8.



میانجی به آمرزش کرد گار	بحضرت کمر بسته بر عزم کار
که رحمت بر آن ابر رحمت فشان	وجودش ز دریای رحمت نشان
سیاه و سپید جهان ز آن او	همه لوح محفوظ در شان او
بر آورده نه خیمه زین یک طناب	فرو هشته منشوری از مشکتاب
مر از داغ داران انگشت او	حمایت نشین چرخ در مشت او
ازل تا ابد یک تماشا گهش	زمین و فلک یک غبار رهش

## (2) The Anecdote of Alexander and the Chinese Damsel

Most of the verses from both the *Masnawis* have already been quoted. A few verses of Nizami are given below:

نه زیبا بود آئینه زیر زنگ	سکندر چو پیروزی آرد بچنگ
چرا جام خالی بود در سریر	چو کیخسرو از می شود جام گیر
رخ من ز خورشید زیبا تر است	ملك گرز جمشید بالا تر است

Amir Khusrau says:

نظیر منش بود مقصود و بس	سکندر که کرد آب حیوان هوس
که در عین ظلمات خندان شتافت	مگر شاه زلف مرا در نیافت
بسر چشمه زندگانی رسید	چو در خلوت من نهانی رسید

Amir Khusrau being best at romantic poetry, this part of his *Aina-i-Sikanderi* very well compares with *Sikander Nama*.



Justly speaking Nizami's description, full of vigour and strength, is unique in Persian literature. But it goes to the credit of Amir Khusrau that he made a laudable attempt in competing with such a great master.

One point that should not escape out of notice is that *Aina-i-Sikanderi* has no pathetic account of which it loses some of its charm. As against this the *Sikander Nama* contains the account of the battle of Alexander with Darius and the killing of the latter. It is one of the most fascinating part of *Sikander Nama*, and it would not be out of place to quote a few lines; though the whole anecdote has been masterly handled by Nizami:<sup>1</sup>

بدو گفت برخیز ازین خون و خاک	فرو بسته چشم آن تن خوابناک
که شد در جگر پهلویم ناپدید	سپهرم بدان گونه پهلودرید
سکندر منم چاکر شهریار	سکندر بنالید که ای تاجدار
نه آلوده خون شدی پیکرت	نخواهم که بر خاک بودی سرت
که تا سینه در موج خون آمدم	دریغاً بدریا کنون آمدم
چرا پی نگردم درین راه گم	چرا مرکبم را نیفتاد سُم
نه روزی بدین روز را دیدمی	مگر ناله شاه نشیند می

(1) *Sharaf Nama*, pp. 214-218.



دریغاکه از نسل اسفند یار  
 چه بودی که مرگ آشکارا شدی  
 چرخ خون نه گریم بر آن تاج و تخت  
 مباد آن گلستان که سالار او  
 نفیر از جهانی که دارا کش است  
 نهران پرور و آشکارا کش است

همین بود و بس ملک را یادگار  
 سکندر هم آغوش دارا شدی  
 که دارنده را برادر افکند رخت  
 بدین خستگی باشد از خار او

Firdausi has also given the account of the episode of Alexander and Darius including the pathetic scene of Darius's death. But this account does not contain Alexander's lamentations on the death of Darius. The poet, however, refers to the dialogue between Alexander and Darius who had previously exchanged letters. Some relevant verses are quoted below:<sup>1</sup>

سکندر ز اسپ اندر آمد چو باد  
 نگره کرد تا خسته گوینده هست  
 ز سر بر گرفت افسر خسرویش  
 ز دیده ببارید بروی سر شک  
 بدو گفت کاین بر دو آسان شود  
 تو بر خیز و در مهد زرین نشین

سر مرد خسته بران بر نهاد  
 بمالید بر چهر او هر دو دست  
 گشاد از بر آن جوشن پهلویش  
 تن خسته را دید دور از پزشک  
 دل بدسگالت هراسان شود  
 و گر هست نیروت بر زین نشین

(1) *Shah Nama*, v. 6, pp. 1801-1806.



چو بشنید دارا به آواز گفت  
 برانم که از پاک دادار خویش  
 یکی آنکه گفتی که ایران تراست  
 بمن مرگ نزدیکتر زانکه تخت  
 برین است فرجام چرخ بلند  
 به مردی نگر تانه گوئی که من  
 به اندر زمن سر بسر گوش دار  
 سکندر چنین داد پاسخ بدوی  
 پذیرفتم این پندو اندرز تو  
 که این نیکوئی ها بجای آورم  
 جهاندار دست سکندر گرفت  
 کف دست او بر دهان بر نهاد  
 سپردم ترا جای و رفتم بخاک  
 بگفت این و جانش برآمد زتن  
 سکندر همه جامه ها کرده چاک  
 یکی دخمه کردش به آئین اوی  
 که همواره با تو خرد باد جفت  
 بیابی تو پاداش گفتار خویش  
 سروتاج تخت دلیران تراست  
 بپرداخت ، تخت از نگون گشته بخت  
 خرامش همه رنج و سودش گزند  
 فزونم ازین نامدار انجمن  
 پذیرنده باش و بدل هوش دار  
 که ای نیک دل خسرو راست گوی  
 فزون زین نباشم بدین مرز تو  
 خرد را بدین رهنمای آورم  
 بزاری خروشیدن اندر گرفت  
 بدو گفت یزدان پناه تو باد  
 روان را سپردم به یزدان پاک  
 بروزار گرینان شدند انجمن  
 بتاج کیان بر پراگند خاک  
 بر آن سان بد فره و دین اوی

A comparison of the above lines with those of Nizami fully establish the following facts:

(1) Nizami's diction is forceful.



(2) Nizami's language is a little figurative.

(3) Nizami's verses are pathetic and hence fascinating and attractive.

(4) Firdausi's lines are natural and spontaneous free from the creation of the flight of poetic imagination called *مضمون آفرینی* and *خیال بندی*, the special feature of the poetry of the latter poets.

(5) His language is little archaic free from Arabic element.

### ***Saqi Nama***

Nizami has added a few verses at the beginning of most of the anecdotes. In the *Sikander Nama*, dealing with saqi (cup bearer) or the mughanni (musician) requesting them to give wine or sing music so as to relieve him of the worldly worries. Khusrau following his foot-steps, has done likewise. Mulla Abdun-Nabi Fakhruzzamani while compiling his book entitled *Maikhana* in AH 1028/1699 at Patna collected all such verses from both the *Sikander Nama* and *Aina-i-Sikanderi* and gave them the title of *Saqi Nama*. Thus Nizami is the first to introduce this form of verse to Persian poetry which subsequently became so popular that a poet contemporary with the compiler of *Maikhana*, called Zuhuri composed a *Saqi Nama*



comprising four thousand and five hundred verses. Amir Khusrau is the second poet who has composed scattered verses on the *saqi* and *mughanni* in the *Mutaqarib* metre, in the form of a *Masnawi* the specific feature of the *Saqi-Nama*. It was through Nizami that this form got introduction to Persian and later on to some other languages including Urdu and Hindi.

Nizami's verses are very simple, chaste, fluent and charming. But naturally the subject matter is very limited. Amir Khusrau too has produced sweet verses and it may be said with full confidence that he has very successfully imitated Nizami in this respect. The following few verses are quoted to substantiate the above point:

Nizami	Khusrau
<sup>1</sup> بیاتاز بیدار سویم دست	<sup>2</sup> بیاتابشادی و فرخندگی
که بیداد نتوان زبیدا درست	بر آریم باهم دمی زندگی
چه بندیم دل در جهان سال و ماه	بهم صحبتان دوستگانی دهیم
که هم دیو خانه است هم غول راه	نشینیم و داد جوانی دهیم
چه باید نهادن برین خاک دل	اگر باز کاویم بنیاد را
کز و گنج قارون فروشد به گل	بنا بر غم است آدمی زاد را

(1) *Maikhana*, Lahore edition, pp. 16-26.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 67-71.



چو غم را کرانه پدیدار نیست  
 به از شاد بودن دگر کار نیست  
 کسانیکه رخت از جهان برده اند  
 همه در غم زیستن مرده اند  
 به می تازه گردان دل ریش را  
 رهاکن حساب کم و بیش را  
 بیاساقی آن جام شادی فزای  
 که بنیاد غم را در آرد زپای  
 بمن ده که راحت بجانم دهد  
 ز خونبابة دهر امانم دهد  
 بیامطرب آن بر ربط خوش نوا  
 که بی مغزیش مغز را شد دوتا  
 بزن تا چو بر باید از مغز هوش  
 بدل جان نوریزد از راه گوش  
 بیاساقی آن چشمه زندگی  
 که یابد از و عمر پاینده گی  
 مراده که من خضر پنهانیم  
 ثناگوی اسکندر ثانیم  
 از آن گنج کآورده قارون بدست  
 سر انجام در خاک بین چون نشست  
 بیاساقی از من مرا دور کن  
 جهان از می لعل پر نور کن  
 بسازای مغنی نوای بلند  
 باوار این ارغنون دل پسند  
 بیاباغبان خر می ساز کن  
 گل آمد بر باغ را باز کن  
 نظامی بشهر آمد از شهر بند  
 بیارای بستان چینی پرند  
 ز جعد بنفشه برانگیز تاب  
 سر نرگس مست برگش ز خواب  
 بیاساقی که آن می که ناز آورد  
 جوانی دهد عمر باز آورد  
 بیاساقی از می نشان ده مرا  
 از آ. داروی بیهوشان ده مرا  
 کزان داروی تلخ بیهش شوم  
 مگر خویشتن را فرامش کنم



بیاساقتی اندر قدح پی به پی      مغانی بیار اول صبح جام  
 بعاشق نوازی فروریزی      بزن زحمه پخته بر عود خام  
 مئی کو به عشق آشنائی دهد      بیاساقتی آن ارغوانی شراب  
 ز تشویش خویشم رهائی دهد      بمن ده که تا مست گردم خراب

Now I shall proceed to give a brief comparison of *Aina-i-Sikanderi* with the *Shah Nama*. The two differ in respect of the following points:

1. *The Shah Nama* gives a coherent account of the adventure of Alexander as against few astray incidents of the *Aina-i-Sikanderi*.

2. Firdausi gives a different line of pedigree of Alexander connecting him with Iran in order to satisfy his national sentiments. According to him, he was the son of Darab who had married the daughter of Philip. The daughter was later sent to Rome where Alexander was born to her. When Philip died, Alexander was crowned as the king of Rome who subsequently subjugated Iran and in doing so he got the throne of his forefathers. The *Shah Nama* refers to this fact in following lines. Alexander addresses Darius:<sup>1</sup>

چنان چون ز پیران شنیدیم دوش      دلم گشت پر خون و لب پر خروش  
 که هر دوزیک بیخ و پیراهنیم      به بیشی چرا تخمها برکنیم

(1) See *Shah Nama* (Nafisi edition), vol. VI, p. 1801.



3. The *Shah Nama's* language is archaic and is also free from Arabic elements.

4. Khusrau's language is figurative. He often employs similes and metaphors which are not so simple and natural.

5. Khusrau has used Arabic words abundantly on which account his diction is quite different from Firdausi's.

6. Firdausi's poem is perfect specimen of epic Persian poetry full of heroic deeds of different personages in the *Shah Nama*. In this respect *Aina-i-Sikanderi* falls short of the episode of Alexander as available in the *Shah Nama*.

7. Firdausi being the greatest artist has drawn the pen-portrait of various heroes very natural and spontaneous.

8. In *واقعه نگاری* *Shah Nama* is much superior and *Aina-i-Sikanderi* has nothing to compare with the former.

9. In the episode of Alexander, Firdausi has been concise and brief.

10. The romantic element in the episode has been casually introduced by Firdausi.

In short, Firdausi's account of the adventure of Alexander is much superior to the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* in poetic art.



## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

We have discussed the literary and historical values of Amir Khusrau's *Aina-i-Sikanderi* which was composed on the model of Nizami's *Sikander Nama*. It has been concluded that it falls short of the *Sikander Nama* in many respects. This is why it could not become so popular as the *Sikander Nama* which had been continued to be imitated even until the 16th and 17th centuries. There may be various reasons for this state of affairs:

(1) Amir Khusrau was least gifted with the talent of an epic poet, his main field being the lyrical and romantic poetry. And is accepted on all hands that he is the best at Ghazals and in romantic *Masnawi*, specially the *Majnun-Laila*. The best critic of Persian poetry, viz. Shibli Naumani has truly remarked that his *Laila Majnun* is a match to Nizam's *Masnawi* and if there lies any difference in position, it is so minor that it cannot be easily understood. And it is quite out of humility that Amir has



remarked:

می داد چو نظم نامه را پیچ باقی نگذاشت بهر ما هیچ

(When he Nizami had composed his *Masnawi*, he left nothing for us).

(2) Amir Khusrau belonged to the pre-Mughal period which was quite unfit for epic writing and this is why no epic poem had been produced during the long period of over many centuries. Thus even if Amir Khusrau may have a liking and interest for such poetry, he would have not succeeded very much.

(3) Amir Khusrau had not a liking for Khamsa poems as such; he has composed the poem under a certain pressure, perhaps to please his master as well as to prove that he had a command to write all sort of poetry. And he has creditably succeeded in his endeavour for he had completed all the five poems within a very short period of over two years. And it is also known that he was not free to devote all these 28 months in writing poetry.

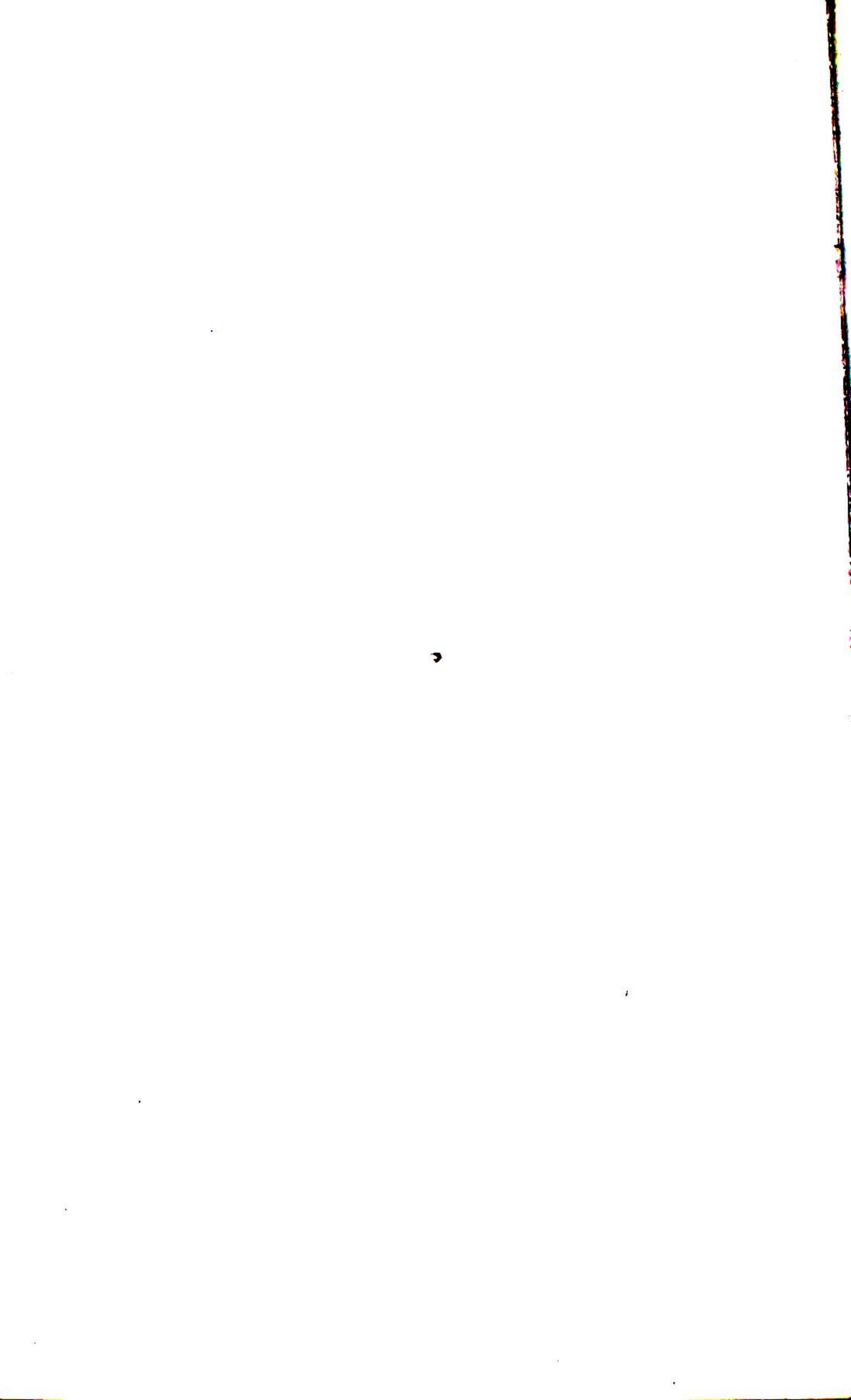
(4) Amir Khusrau was aware of the adventure of Alexander as described in the *Shah Nama* but he proposed not to make his model for the simple reason that *Shah Nama's* account was not so popular as Nizami's *Sikander*



*Nama*, though he has rejected the theory of Iranian lineage as given in the *Shah-Nama*.

(5) It is a fact that Amir Khusrau's poem does not show the least impact of the social, religious, economic or even political conditions available in his days. But in this respect he is not to blame. The poets of the east in general and Persian poets in particular have been quite indifferent to such conditions of their own time. And this was due to many factors, the most significant being the system of administration prevailing in those days. Under autocratic rule which was obtained during the long period of Muslim domination, it was too much to expect of a poet to refer to social and political conditions quite contrary to the wishes of the ruler of the time. This is why not only the *Aina-i-Sikanderi* but even the most popular *Sikander Nama* is free from this defect.







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