
The Content and the Form in Amīr Khusraw's

Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān¹

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Abstract

Modern scholars approach Amīr Khusraw's Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān as either a historical maṣnavī that relates Delhi Sultanate conquests or as a romantic maṣnavī that combines the love story between the crown prince and a Hindu princess with tragedy resulting from their fate. While the content of the Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān is well known, the form of the text and its implications for reading both history and romance remains unexplored. Reading the form inverts the historic and romantic division of the text. It reveals the historical elements as romantic panegyric created by Khusraw in praise of the Delhi Sultanate and the romance as a source-based historical biography.

In the autumn of 1314, Prince Khizr Khān summoned Amīr Khusraw and requested the poet to compose a work on the prince's courtship and marriage to a Hindu princess. Khizr Khān presented a draft of his romance in *hindī* to Khusraw, who read the work and used it as the basis for his Persian text. The request probably appealed to Khusraw on a number of levels. Khizr Khān and Amīr Khusraw both followed the Delhi Sufi Nizām al-dīn 'Awliyā', suggesting that they knew each other outside of the royal court and shared similar views. Khusraw spent a quarter century before this meeting in the Delhi Sultanate court where he wrote a series of poems that pleased and praised Delhi sultans. Since the reigning sultan, 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī (r. 1296–1316), designated Khizr Khān as his heir-apparent, writing a poem for the prince would ensure Khusraw's place in the future sultan's court. Lastly, it provided Khusraw with an opportunity to combine two forms of *maṣnavī* (narrative poetry) in one text, the historical *maṣnavī* that praised Delhi sultans with the romantic *maṣnavī* such as Nizāmī Ganjavī's *Khamṣa* that Khusraw rewrote a decade earlier.²

¹A Fulbright-Hays DDRA fellowship in India and England from 2000–2002 and a Research Council/Summer Research Fellowship from the University of Missouri in 2008 funded research for this article. I translated the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* with Professor A.W. Azhar Delhvi and Sadique Hussain at Jawaharlal Nehru University from 2000–2001. These translations represent a combined effort, although any error is my own. I would also like to thank Blain Auer and Manan Ahmed for commenting on an earlier draft of this article. I am using a version of Steingass' transliteration system that represents letters as they sound in Classical Persian (Khizr Khān instead of Khizr Khān, *zīkr* instead of *dhīkr*) and minimizes overlap with Sanskrit, Hindi, and Urdu. The Persian alphabet in transliteration is: *alif*, b, p, t, ṣ, j, ch, ḥ, kh, d, z, r, z, zh, s, sh, ṣ, ṣ, ṣ, z, z, *ayn* ('), gh, f, q, k, g, l, m, n, *vav*, h, *ye*. *Alif* is transliterated as a/i/u, *vav* by v/ū/ō/aw, and *ye* by ī/ay/ē. The letter *hamza* is transliterated (') and *izāfa* as –i.

²The standard text is *Duval Rani Khazir Khān* (Delhi, 1988), (ed.) Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (Delhi, 1988) based upon the critical edition of manuscripts published as *Duval Rānī-yi Khaḍīr Khān*, ed. Rashīd Aḥmad Sālim Anṣārī (Aligarh, 1336/1917). Previous studies and partial translations of the text include K.A. Nizami, Introduction to

Informally discussing the *Duval Rānī va Khiz̄r Khān* over the last decade, I have noticed a tendency of referring to the text in two parts: the historical and the romantic. The first third of the text is the historical part containing narrative on the reign of the Delhi sultans and their conquests. The remaining two-thirds of the text, the romantic part, narrates Khiz̄r Khān's courtship and marriage to Deval Rānī according to the tradition of romantic *magnavī*. Reading the form, the structure of the text, rather than the content inverts these historical and literary divisions. The historical part becomes a panegyric invented by Khusraw, while the romantic part describing courtship and marriage is biography based upon a textual source, Khiz̄r Khān's *dībācha*.

This article examines the form rather than the content in order to analyze how Khusraw differentiates his created verses from the versified *dībācha* of Khiz̄r Khān. A complete translation of the *Duval Rānī va Khiz̄r Khān* does not exist and summaries by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami as well as Paul Losensky and Sunil Sharma focus on the romance in the latter half of the text.³ These summaries begin with Deval Rānī's capture and her first meeting with Khiz̄r Khān before describing the couple's courtship, marriage, and demise upon Khiz̄r Khān's execution. While this article contains a considerable number of translated passages from the first third of the text, the objective is an analysis of the text's form rather than a translation or summary.

The First Part of the Text

Amīr Khusraw opened the *Duval Rānī va Khiz̄r Khān* with an epigraph on love followed by a standard preface found in many Persian works.

These pages of love, in which their every letter moves like the curls of Layla and the chains of Majnūn, and in which their every word is like Shīrīn in breaking the hardhearted like the axe of Farhād, is known by the name *Duval Rānī va Khiz̄r Khān*.⁴

The epigraph refers to an Arabic tale about the lovers Layla and Majnūn and a Persian tale about Shīrīn and Farhād. Nizāmī Ganjavī incorporated these stories into his *Khamsa*, which Amīr Khusraw reworked from 1298 to 1302. The opening words of the *Duval Rānī va Khiz̄r Khān*, therefore, connect Khiz̄r Khān and Deval Rānī to the traditions of these lovers. The preface, spanning 193 verses, conforms to an established pattern that includes Praises to Allah (*ḥamd*), the Prophet Muḥammad (*na'at*), and the Companions of the Prophet (*manqabat*). Persian authors generally followed this standard preface with praises to the poet's patron, but Khusraw used the preface to praise his Sufi master and his royal patron.⁵

Duval Rani Khazir Khan, pp. 1–82 and Paul E. Losensky and Sunil Sharma (ed.), *In the Bazaar of Love: The Selected Poetry of Amīr Khusraw* (New Delhi, 2011), pp. 117–130. Books and articles on Amīr Khusraw's life and works include Paul Losensky and Sunil Sharma (ed.), Introduction to *In the Bazaar of Love*, pp. xi–liii; Alyssa Gabbay, *Islamic Tolerance: Amīr Khusraw and Pluralism* (Abingdon and New York, 2010); Sunil Sharma, *Amīr Khusraw: The Poet of Sultans and Sufis* (Oxford, 2005), and Mohammad Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amīr Khusraw: Thesis Submitted for the PhD Degree of the London University in 1929* (1935; reprint, Lahore, 1962).

³Nizami, Introduction to *Duval Rani Khazir Khan*, pp. 31–37; Losensky and Sharma, *In the Bazaar of Love*, pp. 117–130.

⁴DR 1.2–4.

⁵On the interaction between Sufi communities and the sultan's court, see Blain Auer, *Symbols of Authority in Medieval Islam: History, Religion and Muslim Legitimacy in the Delhi Sultanate* (London and New York, 2011), pp.

Khusraw belonged to the spiritual community of Sufi Nizām al-dīn 'Awliyā' and the royal court of Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī. Khusraw negotiated his allegiance to these two polities by linking praises to Nizām al-dīn 'Awliyā' as a continuation of the preface on the Prophet and the Companions.

Praises to that *shaykh* who is an example of the pious mirror
with a nature that is exactly the same as Muhammad.

Now after the preface in praise of the Prophet,
there should be a discourse in remembrance of the Sufi master [*pīr*].
Nizām al-dīn is the right and happiest name of him.
He is the *nizām* [ruler] who seized the religion of truth.
For his address read the two points (*nuqtā*) exactly.
He knows the marks of the wisdom of the prophets.
The name of Muḥammad and the sign of Muḥammad,
is evident in him like the *he* [letter ḥ] and *mīm* [letter m] in Aḥmad.⁶

Khusraw praised Nizām al-dīn for another seventeen verses before turning to a longer section dedicated to Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī. Just as Khusraw linked Nizām al-dīn to spiritual authority, he similarly connected 'Alā' al-dīn to regal authority.

Praises to 'Alā' al-dīn inscribed as the worthy caliph for
the religion of Allah and Muḥammad (Peace be Upon Him).

The ocean-like heart swelled with waves
such that jewels were thrown to the height of heaven.
The heavens were drowned to such an extent with these jewels
that the sky could not differentiate between the jewels and the stars.
This wave of pearls made a path on the sky
scattered by me on the door of the shah.
That shah, who is the Alexander of the known world,
has a heart like Alexander's mirror.⁷
He is the Pride of the Faith ('*alā'ī dīn va dunyā*), the King of the World,
the Power of the Deputy of God.

104–134; Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya*, 2nd edition. (New Delhi, 2007), pp. 110–134, 183–190; Carl W Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center*, 2nd edition. (New Delhi, 2004), pp. 5–61; Sunil Kumar, "Assertions of Authority: A Study of the Discursive Statements of Two Sultans of Delhi", in *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture: Indian and French Studies*, (ed.) Muzaffar Alam, Françoise 'Nalini' Delvoye, and Marc Gaborieau (New Delhi, 2000), pp. 37–65; Simon Digby, "The Sufi Shaykh and the Sultan: A Conflict of Claims to Authority in Medieval India", *Iran* 28 (1990), pp. 71–81; Simon Digby, "The Sufi Shaykh as a Source of Authority in Medieval India", *Puruṣārtha: Islam et Société en Asie Du Sud* (1986), pp. 57–77.

⁶DR 15.3–8.

⁷Alexander the Great possessed a mirror that allowed him to view what was occurring throughout his kingdom.

Muḥammad Shāh who is like a hundred Khusraws and Jamshīds.
bears the seal (*khatam*) through the *miim* [letter m] of his name.⁸

Amīr Khusraw linked Sultan ‘Alā’ al-dīn to pre-Islamic Iranian rulers who became symbols of kingship such as Jamshīd and Khusraw, but also to Alexander the Great through ‘Alā’ al-dīn’s title as Second Alexander (*sikandar al-ṣ̄āni*) found in texts and inscriptions.⁹ While Khusraw referred to ‘Alā’ al-dīn as the caliph (*khalīfa*) in the section heading, he used *khalīfa* as a title instead of an attempt to claim ‘Alā’ al-dīn as the caliph.¹⁰ Khusraw continued to praise ‘Alā’ al-dīn for an additional thirty-eight verses, about twice the number of verses as Nizām al-dīn, before turning to a lengthy section on moral advice.

Khusraw wrote over 442 verses, thirty pages of printed text, containing panegyric and moral advice. The first forty-four verses of this section praise ‘Alā’ al-dīn in the same style as the previously quoted passage. Khusraw cautiously offered his moral advice.

With boldness, I move away from convention
to make several points in the tradition of the well-wisher.
You know the work that goes into running a kingdom
and that it becomes blessed with fortune through instruction.
You possess insight through your wisdom and learning.
You possess treasure through divine inspiration.
When the ruler is inspired by divine decree,
advising the ruler is a kind of fault.
So this address is for him
who throws rose water in the garden.
It is not wisdom to put gold in the mines,
to cast a jewel into the sea of pearls,
to build a room in the decorated house,
to shine dim light in the full light of the sun,
but the shah who reflects on good fortune
will certainly understand this well-wishing.¹¹

Khusraw displayed a great degree of caution in offering his views on the sultan’s duties and the role of good fortune. At other times, he became rather blunt and critical.

Extinguish the flame [of rebellion] through the work of others.
The wise man does not use the sword in sleep.
The human being is not like the leek’s leaf
that once cut, arises again anew.
If you do not like dust on your rose,

⁸DR 16.14–17.5.

⁹KF 5, 67, 100, 161; Stan Goron and J. P. Goenka, *Coins of the Indian Sultanates: Covering the Area of Present-day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh* (Delhi, 2001), p. 37; Sunil Kumar, “Assertions of Authority”, pp. 45–46.

¹⁰‘Alā’ al-dīn’s son and eventual successor, Quṭb al-dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, did attempt to claim the position of caliph, as discussed by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Royalty in Medieval India* (New Delhi, 1997), pp. 21–25 and Blain Auer, *Symbols of Authority in Medieval Islam*, pp. 119–121.

¹¹DR 21.13–22.5.

do not destroy the garden of another.
 If your foot is injured by the rose petal,
 do not put a thorn on the path tread by others.¹²

Khusraw included another admonition a dozen verses later, writing “You are a mote of dust from the earth, that imagines itself in a dream as a mountain”.¹³

Khusraw inserted his first story (*ḥikāyat*) into this long narrative on moral advice.

The Mouse's Tale

(An Allegory)

There once was a mouse that dreamed he was a camel.
 He was happy in heart and mind.
 He was happy on account of his sound sleep
 and [as a camel] he roamed here and there in happiness.
 Suddenly a heavy burden was put on the camel.
 It was a troublesome burden of 100 *manns*.
 The miserable mouse became helpless under that burden
 and on account of that misery, it killed the camel [dream].
 It is good to interpret these sweet dreams
 so that the wrong meaning does not make an impression.¹⁴

Poets could celebrate or slander the achievements, character, and generosity of their patrons. Khusraw spent a significant number of verses, approximately a tenth of the entire text, praising and critiquing the sultan through a series of lessons on just rule and moral life. He may have mitigated any fallout through a strategic use of the text. As mentioned above, Khusraw blurred the line between the preface to the prophets and introduction of the patron in order to acknowledge both Nizām al-dīn and ‘Alā’ al-dīn at the beginning of the text. The verses offering moral advice occur in a similar liminal zone, following panegyric to Sultan ‘Alā’ al-dīn, but preceding Khusraw’s introduction of the text’s patron and ‘Alā’ al-dīn’s son, Prince Khizr Khān. These verses, therefore, could critique the sultan or instruct the young prince in a fashion similar to the Mirrors for Princes literature.¹⁵

Manan Ahmed offered another interpretation by shifting the focus from Amīr Khusraw to Khizr Khān. Instead of praising the reigning Sultan ‘Alā’ al-dīn and securing future patronage from the heir-apparent Prince Khizr Khān, these passages could show Khizr Khān reinventing his political genealogy. The romantic tale of *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* would—and based on manuscript copies did—have a wide circulation and readership. The theme of a romance culminating in Hindu-Muslim union signals a move away from the decades of conquest initiated by previous Delhi sultans including his own father. Such a shift in

¹²DR 24.14–25.1.

¹³DR 26.2.

¹⁴DR 26.5–10. The weight of a *mann* varies over time and throughout the Muslim world.

¹⁵Another example of blurring the lines between genres can be found in Manan Ahmed, “The long thirteenth century of the *Chachnama*”, *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 49 (2012), pp. 459–491. A discussion of the Mirrors for Princes tradition occurs in Julie Scott Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 180–236; Reuben Levy, *An Introduction to Persian Literature* (New York and London, 1969), pp. 44–63; Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht, 1956), pp. 661–662 and 617–634.

policy, if it had occurred, would have aligned Khizr Khān with others who advocated for a Hindu–Muslim union such as Nizām al-dīn ‘Awliyā’, the spiritual mentor for both Khizr Khān and Amīr Khusraw. This reading makes the Mouse’s Tale both a rebuke of Sultan ‘Alā’ al-dīn’s policies and moral advice for the prince who would be king.

Regardless of the intention behind the Mouse’s Tale, Khusraw introduced Khizr Khān and Deval Rānī with descriptions about life, language, and customs in India. This passage plays a key role in understanding the structure of the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān*. As noted earlier, Khizr Khān approached Khusraw about composing a text describing his courtship and marriage to the Hindu princess Deval Rānī.

Easily from the son of the king
 did I accept this task without hesitation.
 I gained a high position through his employment
 and I returned with [Khizr Khān’s] *dībācha* in hand.
 After that I narrated this meaning
 in black letters and black secrets.
 Having read it from beginning to end,
 there were more Hindī names in it [than Persian].
 It often appeared inelegant in its imagery,
 so I grafted fine silk onto its coarse cloth.
 Yet, while this graft was necessary,
 will the wise man think it is a defect?
 If I appear to knowingly make an error, keep silent,
 because the word of *hindī* is no less than Persian.¹⁶

This passage indicates that Khizr Khān already composed a draft (the *dībācha*) of his courtship and marriage to Deval Rānī in *hindī*, most likely a reference to both the Hindavī language and the text’s poetic style.¹⁷ Khusraw returned, presumably to his home, with the booklet in hand (*namūdām raj’at ān dībācha bar dast*), where he transformed Khizr Khān’s *dībācha* into a Persian narrative poem (*magnavī*), grafting his (Persian) silk onto Khizr Khān’s (Hindavī) course cloth.¹⁸ Another passage, a couple pages later, confirms this interpretation.

I have produced a few scattered waves.
 I now return to that original [booklet].
 Deval Rānī, who is in this era is
 as unique as the peacock of Hindustan.
 According to the customs of Hindavī, her mother and father
 initially called her by the name of Dēval Dī.¹⁹

¹⁶DR 41.11–17.

¹⁷Blain Auer noted in a previous draft of this article that this is a classic case of *imlā’*. Comments by Auer and Ahmed (above) indicate that more work needs to be done on the poet–patron relationship within the text.

¹⁸Khusraw’s use of the word *hindī* is a bit unusual and he uses the more common *hindavī* in the next passage. For a study of Hindavī romances, including some references to the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān*, see Aditya Behl, *Love’s Subtle Magic: An Indian Islamic Literary Tradition, 1379–1545* (New York, 2012).

¹⁹DR 44.7–9. Deval Dī probably refers to the Sanskrit name Devalla Devī. Naycandra Sūri’s Sanskrit work, the *Hammīra Mahākāvya*, states that Hammīra Cauhān of Ranthanbōr, whom Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khaljī defeated in 1301, also had a daughter by the name of Devalla Devī. A Persian reader would read the word *dvī* as *duval*, the

These verses introduce Deval Rānī for the first time in the text. Subsequent verses continue this introduction, although they also change her Hindavī name from Deval to Dadal, only to revert back to Deval (Pers., Duval, “fortunes”) later in the text.

When the *dēv* [Karn Rā'ī] called out the name of that fairy,
 it cast an incantation that protected [her] from her demon (*dīv*).
 I mention the manner of this false custom
 in order to elevate Hindī tradition from Hinduness.
 This is one reason I broke from practice
 and changed Dēval to Dadal.
 Dadal sounds like the collection (*jam*) of kingdoms.
 The name is even greater than the collection of those kingdoms.
 Since the queen (*rānī*) is the master of riches and desires,
 I write her name as Dadal Rānī.
 When the name 'Khān' is connected to the name of the beloved,
 it is as if heaven came into the shadow of their two standards.
 The discourse in this book is for lovers
 known throughout time as Dadal Rānī-Khizr Khān.²⁰

Although it may seem counter intuitive to a modern audience, the introduction of the beloved Deval Rānī, who was captured during the second Gujarat campaign, also served as a transition to the Delhi Sultans and their campaigns across India.

The most historical part of the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* describes the Delhi sultans and their victories throughout India. 'Iṣāmī traced the ideological and military origins of the Delhi and Bahmanid Sultanates back to Maḥmūd Ghaznavī (d. 1030), while Ziyā' al-dīn Baranī referred to the Delhi sultans as the “children of Maḥmūd” (*farzandān-i maḥmūd*).²¹ Khusraw also linked Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn to Maḥmūd in the *Khazā'in al-Futūḥ*,²² but credited the Ghurid dynasty with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān*.

Who from Ghazna brings out the sword
 of Mu'izz al-dīn Muḥammad Gawhar-i Sām?
 The ghazi [went forth] from that sultan without hesitation
 for the propagation of Islam across Hindustan.
 The throne of Delhi was established by him.
 May the foundation of his throne last forever.
 Like the [black] mountain from which that shah's sword came,
 that [sword] clears that blackness from the face of Hindustan.
 Thousands of heart-warming thanks came from the gods (*yazdān*).

plural of *dawlat* (fortune, good luck). In an attempt to follow both the Persian and Indic traditions, I refer to the text as *Duval Rānī* and the historical person as Deval Rānī.

²⁰DR 44.10–16.

²¹Iṣāmī: FS 30–34; *Futūḥ's Salāṭīn or Shāh Nāmāh-i Hind of 'Iṣāmī*, tr. Agha Mahdi Husain (Bombay, 1967), pp. 67–71, 79–81; Richard H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 96–99, 190–191. Ziyā' al-dīn Baranī: FJ: 10, 25, 64, 82, 95, 114, etc.; Nilanjan Sarkar, “‘The Voice of Maḥmūd’: The Hero in Ziyā Baranī's *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī*”, *Medieval History Journal*, 2 (2006), pp. 327–356.

²²KF 14, 46–49.

The repayment of this act [will be] rewarded one day.
 Whatever the ghazi-shah founded
 flourished though the sultan's [slave,] Quṭb al-dīn.
 Bravo to the slave who, with an order from his master,
 made this ancient country pious through Islam.
 He struck the king of Kanauj with that very sword.
 He caused [the king] to drown in the fiery waves of its water.
 As if he cast his shirt with the water of the Ganges into the Nile,
 he received one thousand and four hundred elephants from him.
 When that Quṭb set like the sun in the west,
 the umbrella of Shams al-dīn arose in the east.²³

Two additional examples should convey the general tone of this versified history on the Delhi sultans.

Khusraw penned a fair number of verses on the reign of Sultan Raḏiyya. Sultan Shams al-dīn Iltutmish, mentioned in the last line of the previous passage, ruled from 1210–1236. His son, Rukn al-dīn Firūz Shāh (r. 1236), became the next Delhi sultan for a brief six-month reign characterised by numerous pleasures and a powerful mother. Khusraw disapprovingly summarised this brief reign by writing, “While the son ruled over the kingdom for six months, he died like an eight-month old child”.²⁴ Iltutmish's daughter, Raḏiyya (r. 1236–40), ascended the Delhi throne upon her brother's death.

After that, when there were less worthy sons,
 the well-wishers supported the daughter.
 Raḏiyya was that daughter. Admirable qualities were her throne.
 She adorned the throne from a secretive place.
 That moon was like the sunshine in the cloud
 when the lightning-like sword would flash from purdah.
 When the sword was sheathed, it became useless.
 [and] numerous rebellions unsuccessfully arose.
 That shah cut her veil with the burden of kingship.
 Her face appeared from purdah like the sunshine.
 She ruled with the power of a female lion,
 so the brave ones [amirs] accepted her.
 In the third year, her hand and fist were so powerful
 that some finger remained on each pursuit of hers.
 In the fourth year, when she strayed from her duties,
 the pen of fortune passed from her as well.
 It flowed from God's command and after that
 the coin's bezel [appeared on] Bahrām Shāh.²⁵

Khusraw wrote about twice as many verses on Sultan Raḏiyya as any other sultan of the Shamsid line, including Sultan Shams al-dīn Iltutmish. She ranks third in the total number

²³DR 47.14–48.10.

²⁴DR 48.16.

²⁵DR 49.1–9.

of verses about a former Delhi sultan, surpassed only by Ghiyāsh al-dīn Balban and Jalāl al-dīn Khaljī.

The longest passage about any former sultan described Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī's predecessor and uncle, Jalāl al-dīn Fīrūz Shāh Khaljī (r. 1290–1296). Amīr Khusraw served in Jalāl al-dīn's royal court and wrote a short narrative poem, *Miftāḥ al-Futūḥ* (*The Key to Victories*) in 1296 commemorating the sultan's rule. Khusraw composed thirty-seven verses in the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* praising Sultan Jalāl al-dīn Khaljī and emphasising his victories, justice, and generosity.

For seven years he was the shah of the world.
 Kindness was evident; justice was hidden.
 What can I say? So much have I seen of his justice
 that it should be described by pen and mouth.
 He is like a boat that knows the nine oceans;
 I am like a drop lost in the nine oceans.
 As mentioned, he shows mercy upon the world.
 May [God's] invisible mercy be upon him at all time.
 May forgiveness be his throne instead of the crown.
 May the tree of paradise [shade] his head instead of the [royal] parasol.
 When the age of that kingdom finally came to pass,
 it became another's time for the crown of kingship.²⁶

Khusraw mentioned neither Jalāl al-dīn Khaljī's death nor the role that his nephew and successor, Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī, played in a regicide-cum-parricide.

Khusraw closed this section with another description of 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī, focusing on 'Alā' al-dīn's achievements before he became sultan. He began with 'Alā' al-dīn's campaign against Dēōgīr on the Deccan Plateau, which 'Alā' al-dīn embarked upon while governor of Kara. Once again, Khusraw skipped over Sultan Jalāl al-dīn's death as well as the coronation of Jalāl al-dīn's young son as the next sultan. The closest Khusraw came to mentioning a succession crisis occurs in the verse, "Two pearls were worthy for the shah's crown: one from the rain, and one from the fish's ear".²⁷ The pearl conceived as a drop of rain represents 'Alā' al-dīn, who descended from the heavens, but who also descended from Shihāb (meteor, bright flame) al-dīn Mas'ūd Khaljī.²⁸ Khusraw, however, presented a fairly lengthy description of 'Alā' al-dīn's march toward Delhi after Jalāl al-dīn's murder and included 'Alā' al-dīn's stratagem of winning the populace over by showering gold and jewels obtained from his Dēōgīr victory upon the gathering crowds.²⁹

Khusraw finished this section of the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* with general statements on the welfare of the Delhi Sultanate. Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī's reign signalled such era of peace and justice that even the animals lived in harmony. The Mongols interrupted this tranquility. Khusraw rarely missed an opportunity to disparage the Mongols, and the remaining sixty-five verses of this section describe the Mongol campaigns in India. He finished his

²⁶DR 53.2–7.

²⁷DR 54.4.

²⁸This wordplay extends over four verses: DR 54.3–6.

²⁹DR 55.8–56.5.

description with the following verses on the defeat of the Mongol generals Taybū, Iqbāl, and Köpek:

The Tātār's blood flowed from the flood of the sword,
 from the wide desert to the narrow passes.
 The fugitives were like miserable dogs
 pursued by the lion-like ghazis of the faith.
 They swung the sword at them
 [striking] both Taybū and Iqbāl with the fire of battle.
 The spoils (of war) used to be brought before them;
 in a flash, the spoils were their own heads.
 The army of the faithful came like the sea.
 The sea's wave crashed upon Köpek's head.
 A male falcon flew from that quick army toward Köpek
 [and] snatched him, like a partridge, from that place.
 The dog trainer, having tied a collar [to Köpek],
 went before that king of the world.
 The victories, arising through God's help,
 freed the Mongol through the rope.³⁰
 Afterwards, there was no power in the flooded Oxus
 that could snatch even a single peacock from Hindustan.³¹

The passage concludes with ten verses describing Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn once again restoring peace and tranquility after the Mongol attacks.

The Second Part of the Text

The second part of the text usually begins with capture of the Hindu princess, Deval Rānī, and her first meeting with Khizr Khān. K.A. Nizami's introduction as well as Paul Losensky and Sunil Sharma's synopsis of the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* both begin at this point.³² This choice is based on the content rather than the form. The meeting of the lovers marks the beginning of their romance, culminates in their marriage and ends tragically with their imprisonment and Khizr Khān's execution. While cultural historians may seek information on customs, festivals and marriages a bit further into the text, they generally focus on the third chapter of Amīr Khusraw's later *Nuh Sipihr (Nine Heavens)*.³³ An alternate reading emerges by focusing on the form rather than the content.

The form of the text changes with the introduction of *ghazal* passages. Beginning about a third into the text, Khusraw began to write sections of narrative verse (*maṣnavī*) followed by two sections of romantic verse, "A *ghazal* from the lover's mouth" and "A response from the

³⁰I believe the expression "freed the Mongols through the rope" is a reference to the Mongols' execution by hanging. Their bodies were later hung in display from the Delhi ramparts as recorded by Khusraw, *KF* 44–46.

³¹*DR* 62.7–15.

³²Nizami, Introduction to *Duval Rani Khazir Khān*, pp. 31–37; Losensky and Sharma, *Bazaar of Love*, pp. 117–130.

³³Alyssa Gabbay, *Islamic Tolerance*, pp. 66–85. R. Nath and Faiyaz Gwaliari, *India as Seen by Amir Khusrau* (Jaipur, 1981); Wahid Mirza, *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, pp. 181–189.

beloved's lip." Khusraw previously broke the *maṣnavī* narrative in the first sixty-two pages of text with stories (*ḥikāyat*) such as the Mouse's Tale, but never used *ghazal* in the first third of the text. The use of *maṣnavī* and *ghazal* provides important markers on how to read the *Duval Rānī va Khiḡr Khān*.

Maṣnavī and *ghazal* are two distinct styles of poetic composition in Persian literature. Khusraw wrote most of the *Duval Rānī va Khiḡr Khān* as *maṣnavī*, a form of narrative poetry that many commonly—and erroneously—refer to as epic poetry. Persian meter divides each couplet (*bayt*) into two hemistiches or half-verses (*miṣrā'*). The *Duval Rānī va Khiḡr Khān* follows the hexametric meter (*ḥazaj-i musaddas-i mahzūf*) consisting of metrically short and long syllables.³⁴ The *maṣnavī* and *ghazal* both contain hemistiches, but the end-rhymes differ. End-rhyme in the *maṣnavī* follows the pattern AA/BB/CC/DD . . . , while the *ghazal* follows a pattern of AA/BA/CA/DA . . .³⁵ This shows a fundamental difference between *maṣnavī* and *ghazal*: end-rhyme occurs in each hemistich for the *maṣnavī*, but in each couplet for the *ghazal*. Hemistiches in the *ghazal* do not need to rhyme with each other with the exception of the first hemistich, which ends with the same end-rhyme as the rest of the poem. The AA/BA/CA/DA end-rhyme in the *ghazal* is one of its most distinctive features. The *ghazal* includes one other common practice, not found in *maṣnavī*, in which the poet incorporates his penname (*takhalus*) in the final verse.

Khusraw clearly knew the difference between both styles of poetry as demonstrated by his collection of nearly two thousand *ghazal* poems;³⁶ yet, he consistently labelled sections of the *Duval Rānī va Khiḡr Khān* as *ghazal* while writing the verses in *maṣnavī* form. The sections labelled as *ghazal* follow the *maṣnavī* end-rhyme scheme of AA/BB/CC/DD instead of the *ghazal* end-rhyme of AA/BA/CA/DA. Khusraw composed these *ghazal* passages in the same hexametric meter (*ḥazaj-i musaddas-i mahzūf*) as the rest of the *maṣnavī*. The *ghazal* verses in the *Duval Rānī va Khiḡr Khān* generally contain fifteen to twenty verses. However, each section of *ghazal* contains two *ghazal* poems, one from the lover and another from the beloved. This pushes the *ghazal* to thirty or forty total verses, a length more common in shorter *maṣnavī* poetry.

Manuscript copies of the *Duval Rānī va Khiḡr Khān* confirm this as an intentional mislabelling rather than scribal error. Maulānā Rashīd Aḥmad Sālīm Anṣārī, who compiled the first edition of the text reprinted later by K.A. Nizami, uniformly titled these passages as "A *ghazal* from the lover's tongue" (*ghazal az zabān-i 'āshiq*) and "A response from the beloved's lip" (*pāsukh az lab-i ma'shawq*). The fourth oldest manuscript of the *Duval Rānī va Khiḡr Khān*, the British Library manuscript Add. 21104 copied in 1517, also uses these headings as well as manuscripts copied in 1526–27, 1574, and 1599.³⁷ Manuscripts from the

³⁴A longer explanation of Persian meter may be found in Wheeler M. Thackston, *A Millennium of Classical Persian Poetry* (Bethesda, 1994), pp. xiii–xx; Finn Thiesen, *A Manual of Classical Persian Prosody* (Wiesbaden, 1982) and Heinrich Ferdinand Blochmann, *Prosody of the Persians according to Saifī, Jami, and Other Writers*, (Calcutta, 1872).

³⁵A description of Persian end-rhyme may be found in Thackston, *Millenium of Classical Persian*, pp. xxiv–xxv and Blochmann, *Prosody of the Persians*, pp. 75–86.

³⁶*Kulliyāt-i Ghazaliyāt-i Khusraw*, 4 vols., (ed.) Sayyid Vazīr al-Ḥasan 'Ābīdī (Lahore, 1975).

³⁷This footnote and the next two footnotes do not provide a critical apparatus, but rather a few examples that reflect the manuscript as a whole. British Library ms. Add. 21104 (copied April 1517): folios 827b, 828a, 837a, 837b, 842a, 842b. British Library ms. IO Islamic 1951/ Ethé 1188 (copied 1526–27): 657b, 658a, 663b, 664a, 670a, 670b.

modern period frequently attach *gūyad* to the end of the phrase, such as “A *ghazal* composed from the lover’s mouth” (*ghazal az zabān-i ‘āshiq gūyad*).³⁸ Other variations occur, but the manuscripts retain the word *ghazal* in the section titles.³⁹ Although textual variants exist between manuscripts, none of the variants in these twelve manuscripts drop the term *ghazal*. The presence of *ghazal*, in the earliest known copies of the text, suggests that Khusraw himself chose the term rather than a later copyist. Since Khusraw clearly knew the difference between *ghazal* and *maṣnavī*, it seems that he intentionally mislabelled these verses as *ghazal*.

The alternating *maṣnavī* and *ghazal* passages begin in a section where Khusraw explicitly states that he is now following the *dībācha* presented to him by Khizr Khān.

A story in which the shah’s sword removes the image of the infidel across Hindustan and relates, in many ways, Khizr Khan’s *dībācha* of love that was the soul of souls.⁴⁰

Khusraw unfortunately provided few details about the *dībācha*—whether it was an outline or a complete text, whether it was written in verse or in prose. The first reference to the *dībācha* occurs when Khusraw recalled meeting Khizr Khān and being asked to compose the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān*. Khusraw wrote, “I returned [from meeting Khizr Khān] with that *dībācha* in hand” (*namūdam raj‘at ān dībācha bar dast*) and a few lines later, “It often appeared inelegant in its imagery, so I grafted fine silk onto its course cloth”.⁴¹ Khusraw did note that the *dībācha* was written in Hindi (*hindī*), which he rewrote into Persian (*pārsī*) with a few Hindi loanwords. I concur with Nizami that if Khizr Khān, the text’s patron and heir-apparent to the Delhi throne, handed Khusraw a *dībācha*, then Khusraw would use this text as a framework in composing the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān*.⁴² This explains why Khusraw intentionally mislabels verses as *ghazal*. Khusraw follows Khizr Khān’s *dībācha* and rewrites the text in romantic *maṣnavī* form, but marks his invented verses, which are mostly romantic interpretations of Khizr Khān’s narrative, as *ghazal* in spite of the verses also being in *maṣnavī* form.

British Library ms. Or. 335 (copied 1574): 103b, 104a, 111a, 112a, 116a, 117a. British Library ms. IO Islamic 412/ Ethé 1187 (copied 22 Sept. 1599): 655b, 656a, 661b, 662a, 668a, 668b. Bodleian ms. Ouseley Add. 128 (copied Jan. 1604): 41a, 42b, 57a, 567b, 61a, 62b. British Library ms. IO Islamic 188/ Ethé 1216 (copied 27 Feb. 1806) contains a title *ghazal az zabān-i hikāyat-i ‘āshiq* (fol. 47a), although other folios (32b, 33a, 37b, 38a, 47b, 52b, 53b, 62a, 63a, 67a, 68b) appear to follow the standard form.

³⁸Bodleian ms. Pers. D. 55 (copied Sept. 1578): folios 13a, 14b, 15b, 15b, 19a, 19a, 21a, 21b. British Library ms. Harleian 414 (copied 17th century): 35b, 36a, 44a, 45a, 49b, 50b. This manuscript seems far more recent than the 17th century and contains a number of descriptive titles invented by the copyist (e.g., *dar bāgh-i hindūstān* on fol. 19b and *dar fath-i hindūstān* on fol. 26a). British Library ms. IO Islamic 2796/ Ethé 1215 (no date, Ethé dates the manuscript to the mid-17th century) appends *gūyad* on 40a, 41a, 46b, 47b, 61b, 62a. Bodleian ms. Elliot 124 (15 Feb. 1654) contains some titles that append *gūyad* (fol. 37b, 38b), while other section titles do not (44a, 44b, 54a).

³⁹Bodeian ms. Ouseley 145 (undated) simplifies the title to “A *ghazal* from the tongue of the lover/beloved” (fol. 52a, 52b, 75a but is missing a response from the beloved, 96a, 108b). A few pages in this manuscript also append *khvāb* (dream) to the phrase producing “A dream from the beloved’s tongue” (81a, 88a, 96b). British Library ms. Add. 7754 (dated early 16th century) shows the most variation with titles such as “A response from the beloved’s tongue” (fol. 27b, 31b, 61a, 73b, 86b), “A *ghazal* from the beloved’s tongue” (104b, 127b), and “A dream of the beloved from the lover’s tongue” (41a, presumably 60a and 114a which drop the word *khvāb*, ‘dream’).

⁴⁰DR 63.11–12.

⁴¹DR 41.12 and 41.15.

⁴²Nizami, Introduction to *Duval Rani Khazir Khān*, p. 39.

This section of text mostly recounts Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī's victories and corresponds to similar passages from Khusraw's prose description in the *Khazā'in al-Futūḥ*. The section begins with a narration of Dēōgīr/Dēvgīri's conquest by ['Alī] Garhāsp, Khizr Khān's father, who later took the regal name 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī. Khusraw included a reference to the Somnāth raid of 1299,⁴³ he then proceeded to a long description of Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn's victory over Ranthanbōr and Chitōr (renamed as Khizrābād and bestowed upon Khizr Khān). The Delhi Sultanate army defeated Malwa and subjugated Dēōgīr for a second time before campaigning against Māndū and Samāna. Malik Kāfūr's southern campaigns began with the conquest of Telingana and Arangal, followed by the army's victories against the Hoysalas and Ma'bar, the Pāṇḍyas, and finally the dismantling of the golden Hindu temple.⁴⁴

Khusraw closed the section with a second introduction of Khizr Khān. Although untested in battle, Khizr Khān inherited Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn's victories and reign.

Still his sword of victories is concealed.

Still his one rose is yet to blossom from the hundreds.

Still his triumphant sword is in the scabbard.

Still his hopeful musk is unripened.

Still his sunshine is rising.

Still his water [of life] is increasing.

Still his morning of kingship is veiled.

Still his sight is drowsy.

Still his fortune is born in ornament.

Still his time is spent in counsel.

Still his fortune is a work in progress.

Still his fresh plum-tree is growing.

Still the breeze reaches his flower.

Still does heaven sew his clothes.

Still are the victories from God before him.

Still are his glad tidings beyond measure.⁴⁵

⁴³Delhi Sultanate historians previously believed the Delhi Sultanate conquered Gujarat in this 1299 campaign. Such a view can be found in Saran Lal, *History of the Khaljis* (New Delhi, 1980), pp. 67–71 and Banarasi Prasad Saksena "Alauddin Khaljī", in *Comprehensive History of India*, vol. 5, (ed.) Mohammad Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (Delhi, 1970), pp. 335, 400. Historians now believe the 1299 campaign was a raid, with the annexation occurring in a second campaign between 1305–1310 (when the Sultanate army also captured Deval Rānī). This latter view can be found in Satish Chandra Misra, *The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat: A History of Gujarat from 1298 to 1442* (New York, 1963), pp. 64–66; Z. A. Desai, "A Persian Inscription of Karna Deva Vaghela of Gujarat", *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* 1975, 13–20; Peter Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 195–197; Elizabeth Lambourn, "A Collection of Merits Gathered from Different Sources: The Islamic Marble Carving and Architecture of Cambay in Gujarat Between 1200 and 1350 AD." PhD dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies (London, 1999), pp. 47–50.

⁴⁴Ranthanbōr (*DR* 65.1–66.10), Chitōr (*DR* 66.11–67.11), Malwa (*DR* 67.12–68.7), Māndū and Samāna (*DR* 68.8–69.9), Telingana and Arangal (*DR* 69.10–70.14), Hoysalas and Ma'bar (*DR* 70.15–71.14), Pāṇḍyas (*DR* 71.15–73.3), and the golden Hindu temple (*DR* 73.5–9).

⁴⁵*DR* 74.6–13.

Since Khusraw already introduced Khizr Khān and Deval Rānī (*DR* 44.7–16) as discussed above, I believe that Khusraw invented the first introduction, and that this second introduction came from Khizr Khān's draft (*dībācha*).

These verses on conquest are followed by the first *ghazal* verses. The *ghazal* verses excerpted below, as in other *ghazal* passages, function a number of ways within the text. At first glance, the verses provide a break in the *maṣnavī* narrative with interludes of love poetry, such as the Mouse's Tale discussed earlier.

A *ghazal* from the Lover's Tongue

O Fortune! Favour me for just a moment.
 Don't bring difficulties to me.
 Graft in this manner:
 Graft the beloved to the friend.
 Remove the veil from the moon's cheek,
 bringing Eid to me like the night of Qur'ānic revelation.
 The memory of the beloved is in my heart.
 My life is like the earth beneath his feet.
 That upright cypress is in my vision
 keeping my eyes open day and night.
 I am the shah who, like a line of decorations,
 prevents the wind from rubbing its feet upon earth.⁴⁶
 A response from the beloved's lip
 You are aware that without you, what remains in my heart?
 What is this burning produced in my chest from our separation?
 My blood began to boil a little at the end,
 so I took a little wine in the glass.
 If the hard stone [heart] receives a wound,
 it immediately cries out.
 You are this stone, bringing problems into my life.
 I took a hundred blows of separation and remain silent.
 The warrior reaps with the sharp sword.
 The sorrow in the liver comes from that sword.
 You know that you are unable to snatch
 the sewn fruit except through the soul's reaping.⁴⁷

These verses, as well as other *ghazal* passages throughout the text, summarise the preceding section (on 'Alā' al-dīn's conquests) and foreshadow the next section (the conquest of Gujarat and capture of Deval Rānī). Khusraw also utilises these *ghazal* verses as a means of inserting his own voice and poetry into Khizr Khān's *dībācha*.

Khusraw returned to the narrative on Khizr Khān and Deval Rānī, perhaps unsurprisingly, with the theme of conquest and the capture of Kanval Dī. Focusing on the Gujarat raid of 1299, Khusraw again described the Delhi Sultanate victory at the Somnāth temple.⁴⁸

⁴⁶*DR* 75.9–76.1, excerpted from a total of 22 *ghazal* verses.

⁴⁷*DR* 77.2–76.8, excerpted from a total of 20 *ghazal* verses.

⁴⁸*DR* 80.10–81.5.

Although this is Khusraw's third passage on Somnāth within the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān*, it is the first passage to mention the Gujarati king Karn Rā'ī (Hind. *karaṇ* or *karan* from Skt., *kaṃṇa*).⁴⁹ Karn Rā'ī fled from the advancing Delhi Sultanate army, but the army captured both the king's treasure and elephants along with his wife, Kanval Dī (Hind. from Skt., *kamala-dēvī*), and her attendants. Kanval Dī entered the Delhi Sultanate harem where she came to love Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn, according to Khusraw, but missed the daughter that she bore with Karn Rā'ī. She raised the subject of her daughter a few years later when Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn began contemplating a marriage for Khizr Khan. The sultan agreed that Kanval Dī's daughter would make an excellent wife and ordered a new campaign to conquer Gujarat and capture the princess.

Another set of *ghazals*, excerpted below, show more of a relation between each other and the *maṣnavī* text.

A *ghazal* from the lover's tongue

Whose face is this that makes my eyes bright?
 What smell is this that makes the assembly like a garden?
 This face can't be the moon of heaven.
 A garden does not have this type of scent.
 I see the face that gave life to the soul,
 but gave the promise of slavery to the heart.
 A pious love is born in myself from that glance
 and your blessed face will remain in me.
 O Beloved, you give life to my soul!
 Whoever lives gets life from you; not from the soul. I am such a person.⁵⁰

A response from the beloved's lip

See what kinds of things the creator gave to me at my creation?
 How many happy rivers he has opened for me.
 First of all, he spoils me with kindness.
 Through love, he gives glad tidings to the crown.
 You see what kind of happy fortune I have?
 The head of my auspicious tree strikes the moon.
 That breeze blew in from the green garden
 so that this bright soul has become refreshed.
 Uprooting the rose, like me, from the delicate branch
 he puts it in the treasury of hopes.
 Now, I myself have the confidence of (his) favour,
 since that flower-stem became drunk from my scent.
 My heart bears witness on this:
 the remainder of life will not be without fortunes.⁵¹

⁴⁹Scholars generally transliterate the name KRN as *karan*. The name KRN in the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān*, however, is scanned as a single overlong syllable, *kaṃṇ*, throughout the text (DR 80.14, 84.5, 85.11, 86.11, 87.1, 92.15, 96.13).

⁵⁰DR 88.2–7, excerpted from a total of 21 *ghazal* verses.

⁵¹DR 89.9–90.1, excerpted from a total of 20 *ghazal* verses.

Once again, the *ghazal* passages break the *masnavī* narrative with a romantic interlude and provide an interpretation of the previous (*masnavī*) narrative. The “Response from the beloved’s lip” ends almost a dozen verses later with a set of verses that transition to the next topic.

I am a drunk lion with the eyes of a *hindūstānī* deer.
 With one glance I will defeat Turkistan.
 I reached out to the hope [of the lover].
 In every direction I sent a speedy arrow.
 I made my heart into a lush meadow.
 I am preparing my hunt for the lion.
 In his attack and vengefulness,
 the hunt of my life will one day become my prey.
 The hunt for the soul will be the hunt for Khizr Khān,
 who will have life everlasting like Khizr.⁵²

These verses also foreshadow the next section of text in which Khizr Khān and Deval Rānī meet for the first time. Since Nizami as well as Losensky and Sharma have summarised text, I will provide a synopsis of the remaining story.⁵³

Khizr Khān and Deval Rānī quickly fell in love but went through a series of trials before being married. Khizr Khān’s mother decided that the prince should marry the daughter of Alp Khān, her brother and the governor of Gujarat. The cancellation of the wedding did not diminish Khizr Khān and Deval Rānī’s love and they continued to meet clandestinely. The queen, learning of their continued love, briefly thought about sending Deval Rānī out of the royal palace, but Khizr Khān became so distraught that she changed her mind. Khusraw wrote pages about the meeting between Khizr Khān and Deval Rānī. Khusraw infused one passage, in which they secretly met in a garden, with Hindustani images of native customs, plants and animals. These passages bear a striking similarity to the well-known third chapter of Amīr Khusraw’s *Nuh Siplhr (Nine Heavens)* completed in 1318.⁵⁴ Khusraw vividly described the festivities and celebrations surrounding Khizr Khān’s wedding to Alp Khān’s daughter. A dejected Deval Rānī sent a series of messages to Khizr Khān in which her suffering parallels Khizr Khān earlier lamentations about their separation. Khizr Khān assuaged her with a description of his own suffering. The queen eventually relented and Khizr Khān married Deval Rānī. Khusraw described all of these events using alternating sections of *masnavī* and *ghazal* verse.

Khusraw wrote about the wedding between Khizr Khān and Deval Rānī in surprisingly few verses. One would expect the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* to culminate with their marriage, but Khusraw only gave a brief description of their ceremony. Perhaps he concluded the original text with a description of the wedding but dropped the conclusion when he rewrote

⁵²DR 90.10–14.

⁵³Nizami, Introduction to *Duval Rani Khazir Khān*, pp. 31–37; Losensky and Sharma, *Bazaar of Love*, pp. 117–130.

⁵⁴For example, compare DR 41.17–42.13 with NS 166.7–167.4, 179.11–181.10; DR 43.15–44.2 with NS 152.11–18.

the ending on Khizr Khān imprisonment and execution a few years later. Alternatively, Khizr Khān's second marriage may have lacked the festivities of his first marriage and Khusraw may have accurately conveyed the wedding's subdued tone. Regardless, this section marks the end of the original version of the text.

Khusraw wrote a new ending to the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* sometime after 1320 on the deaths of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī and Khizr Khān. Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn became ill soon after Khizr Khān's marriage to Deval Rānī. Khizr Khān vowed to conduct a pilgrimage if the sultan should recover. When the sultan's condition improved, Khizr Khān left Delhi. Malik Kāfūr, the general who successfully led the victories in southern India, began to poison the sultan's ear and possibly his body. Khizr Khān misjudged both the sultan's condition and Kāfūr's plot. Using the sultan's deteriorating condition, Kāfūr ordered Khizr Khān's arrest and imprisoned Khizr Khān and his brothers, accompanied by Deval Rānī, in the Gwalior fort. He eventually sent a slave to blind the princes, an act that eliminated their ability to rule. Alp Khān, meanwhile, arrived in Delhi and attempted to intervene on his son-in-law's behalf but was quickly killed by the palace guards. Malik Kāfūr's power behind the throne ended a few months later when the palace guards murdered him and reinstated the Khaljī line. Another of 'Alā' al-Dīn's sons, ruling as Sultan Quṭb al-dīn Mubārak Shāh, ascended the throne and quickly ordered the execution of Khizr Khān and his brothers. Khusraw wrote that Deval Rānī mourned for Khizr Khān, but failed to relate her fate after Khizr Khān's death. Although Khusraw added a new conclusion to the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* years later, he continued to use alternating passages of *masnavī* and *ghazal* found in the latter half of the text.

Conclusion

Reading the form over the content challenges the traditional division of the historical and the literary in the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān*. A reading of the text based on content leads to the traditional division between history and literature. The first third of the text on Nizām al-dīn 'Awliyā', 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī, the Delhi sultans and their victories (as well as the amended conclusion) relates historical information, while the remainder of the text provides a story of romance. Reading the form inverts the historical and romantic sections of the text. The first third of the text becomes literary panegyric created by Khusraw in praise of his patrons and the Delhi Sultanate. The remainder of the text describing the romance between Khizr Khān and Deval Rānī is biography using Khizr Khān's *dībācha* as a historical source. Khusraw textually marks where he begins following Khizr Khān's *dībācha* in a section heading; furthermore, he (mis)labels verses as *ghazal* in order to mark his invented composition from Khizr Khān's *dībācha* outline.

This explains why *ghazal* passages do not appear in the earlier sections of the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān*. Khusraw did not mark his invented passages in the earlier part of the text because invention was implicit in panegyric. The first part of the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* contains Khusraw's panegyric praising Nizām al-dīn 'Awliyā', Sultan 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī, the previous Delhi Sultans and their conquests. This first part also includes Khusraw recounting Khizr Khān's request to rework the Hindi *dībācha* into a Persian poem, the first introduction about Khizr Khān as well as the first introduction of Deval Rānī, and Khusraw's playful

reworking of her name into *duval* and *dadal*. The section ends with Khusraw's narrative on the Delhi Sultanate victories over the Mongols. While these verses may provide historical information, they are ultimately a form of historical panegyric.

The conjecture that Khusraw marks his invented verses as *ghazal* also explains why the *ghazal* passages continue when Khusraw adds a new ending to the text. The original text ended on page 254 and the new ending begins on page 257 (line 1) of Nizami's/Anṣārī's printed text.⁵⁵ Khusraw wrote this new ending sometime in the 1320s after the Khaljī dynasty collapsed; yet, he continued writing *ghazals* from the lover and beloved even though he no longer followed Khizr Khān's *dībācha*. Khusraw once again inserted the *ghazal* label in order to distinguish factual narrative on Khizr Khān's imprisonment, blinding, and execution from his invented verses of these events.

Alternate interpretations emerge depending on whether one reads the text as history or historiography. Peter Hardy, who remains the dominant voice in Delhi Sultanate historiography, regarded Amīr Khusraw as a poet rather than a historian. "Throughout a long life [Amīr Khusraw] wrote, judging in terms of bulk alone, more works of imagination than of fact ('fact' here conceived as 'what human beings have actually done') . . . He wrote not in order that man should know what man has done . . . but that he should be diverted and amused".⁵⁶ Hardy's comments stem from reading the content of the text, the bulk of which celebrates the romance and union between Khizr Khān and Deval Rānī. Amīr Khusraw clearly wrote with an aesthetic aim to elicit an affective and emotive response from his reader. The beginning of the text contains affective elements through moral guidance and didactic tales such as the Mouse's Tale. Khusraw's *ghazal* passages, in particular, attempt to evoke an emotive response on love similar to the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī Ganjavī (d. 1209). Approaching the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* as history leads to the conclusion that "Amīr Khusraw did not write history—he wrote poetry".⁵⁷

I agree with Hardy that Amīr Khusraw utilised a series of aesthetics aimed foremost at producing an affective or emotive response; however, I do not agree that these aesthetics negate or undermine the text as history. Amīr Khusraw could have composed his romance based on a legendary couple, as Nizāmī Ganjavī did in his *Khamsa*, but chose instead to write a *Khamsa*-like romance based on a living couple.⁵⁸ Khusraw, contrary to Hardy, chose fact rather than imagination. Khusraw not only utilised a textual source, Khizr Khān's *dībācha*, he also demarcated his invented verses by labelling them as *ghazal* although they occur in *masnavī* form. This indicates a fidelity to the source text and an attempt to report Khizr Khān's courtship and romance as (to use Hardy's phrasing) "what Khizr Khān has actually done". The revised conclusion on Khizr Khān's imprisonment, blinding and execution reinforces Khusraw's attempt to report these events "the way it actually was" (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*). Reading the form rather than the content in the *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān* blurs

⁵⁵ Wahid Mirza, *Life and Works of Amir Khusraw*, p. 178 based on British Library ms. IO Islamic 1215.

⁵⁶ Peter Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India: Studies in Indo-Muslim Historical Writing*, Revised edition (New Delhi, 1997), pp. 69, 92.

⁵⁷ Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, p. 93.

⁵⁸ This point made and explored further by Losensky and Sharma, *In the Bazaar of Love*, pp. xlvi–lii. See also Wahid Mirza, *Life and Works of Amir Khusraw*, pp. 190–203.

the line between literature and history, aesthetics and fact, and demonstrates how both may exist in a single text. bednarm@missouri.edu

Abbreviations

- DR Amīr Khusraw, *Duval Rānī va Khizr Khān*, (ed.) K. A. Nizami (Delhi, 1988).
FJ Ziyā' al-dīn Baranī, *Fatāwā-yi Jahāndārī*, (ed.) Afsar Saleem Khan (Lahore, 1972).
FS 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn*, (ed.) A. S Usha (Madras, 1948).
KF Amīr Khusraw, *Khazā'in al-Futūḥ*, (ed.) Mohammad Wahid Mirza (Calcutta, 1953).
NS Amīr Khusraw, *Nuh Sipīhr*, (ed.) Mohammad Wahid Mirza (Oxford, 1950).

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