Indian Lovers in Arabic and Persian Guise:
Āzād Bilgrāmī's Depiction of *Nāyikas*[†]

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Abstract: This article investigates the systematic presentation of the different types of lovers proposed by the late Mughal author Ghulām ʿAlī 'Āzād' Bilgrāmī (d. 1786) in *The Coral Rosary of Indian Traditions*, written in Arabic in 1763–64, and translated into Persian the following year under the title *Gazelles of India*. While clearly employing standard Indic categories of nāyikas found in Braj tradition, Āzād illustrated them by quoting specimens of Arabic poetry, both classical and of his own composition, substituting examples of Persian poetry in the Persian translation. Āzād also introduced his own categories of lovers as well. When considered in the context of Āzād's other writings and the traditions of Hindi poetry cultivated by Muslim scholars from his ancestral home, Bilgram, this remarkable literary production demonstrates an unexpected extension of Indian love poetry through the medium of Arabic and Persian.

Although love may be considered universal, local interpretations of it may be defined in very particular fashions. Not many cultures can match the systematic exposition of the different kinds of lovers found in the Indian *nāyika-bheda* tradition. With roots going back to early Sanskrit texts such as the *Nātyaśāstra,* this kind of classification of lovers has been remarkably popular for centuries, with definitive literary works emerging in Sanskrit and Hindi in the 16th century, such as the *Rasamañjarī* of Bhānudatta and the *Rasikapriyā* of Keshavdās.[1] It is less well known that this distinctively Indian approach to love and poetry was also pursued in Persian and Arabic by writers from courtly Mughal circles, alongside compositions in the literary form of Hindi called Braj or Brajbasha (often referred to in Persian as *bhāka*). The most remarkable of these compositions is the subject of this analysis.

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In a distinctive Arabic treatise entitled *The Coral Rosary of Indian Traditions* (written in 1763–64), Ghulām `Alī 'Āzād' Bilgrāmī (d. 1786) provided a snapshot of his concept of the world, seen from the perspective of a cultivated Indian Muslim.[2] Āzād was a member of a learned family from the qasbah of Bilgram in present-day UP, whose family served the Mughal empire in various administrative positions; he spent a number of years studying Arabic literature and hadith in Arabia, and then returned to the Deccan, where he wrote an immense amount of Arabic poetry and compiled three anthologies of Persian poetry.[3] The work under discussion is a composite text that Āzād wrote separately in four parts, later combined together. The first part is devoted to the *hadith* statements of the Prophet Muhammad regarding the sanctity of India as the place where Adam landed on Earth after his expulsion from Paradise.[4] The second part is a biographical dictionary containing accounts of forty-five Indian Muslim scholars who wrote in Arabic, ranging from the eighth century to the author's own day.[5] The third part is concerned with rhetorical figures from Indian literature, illustrated with specimens of Arabic poetry. The fourth part focuses on the categories of lovers found in Indian literature, again illustrated by Arabic verses, including both classical poems and verses of the author's own composition. Āzād subsequently translated the third and fourth parts into Persian in abridged form, under the title *Gazelles of India* (*Ghizlān al-Hind*), substituting examples of Persian poetry to complete this comparative study of Arabic, Persian, and Indic rhetoric and poetics.[6]

Āzād was by no means the first Muslim author to be interested in these Indian descriptions of lovers. Not long after the emergence of full-fledged treatises on nayikas in Hindi in the 16th century, it appears that rulers of the Mughal period, such as Abu al-Hasan Tana Shah of Golconda, and Shah Jahan himself, became interested in this literature and commissioned new works on the subject in Sanskrit and Brajbhasha, such as the *Sundarasringara* of Sundar Das and the *Srngaramanjari* of Akbar Shah. The latter text, originally written in Telugu, was translated into Sanskrit and Brajbhasha by Chintamani Tripathi. Akbar's prime minister and biographer, Abu al-Fazl, included a brief but thoughtful discussion of the nayikas in Persian (including a translation of a favourite verse from Bhanudatta) in his survey of Indian culture in the *A'in-i Akbari*.[7] A more extensive elaboration of this tradition was found in the wide-ranging 17th-century Persian encyclopaedia of Indian culture and Braj literature called *The Bounty of India* (*Tuḥfat al-Hind*), commissioned around 1675 by one of Aurangzeb's sons and written by Mirzā Khān ibn Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad. This treatise contains a detailed discussion of lovers, under the heading of the Hindi term *sringara-rasa*.[8] Because of the close association of Braj poetry with the musical tradition, nayikas were also discussed by Faqirullah in his Persian treatise on Indian music, *Rag Darpan*, composed in 1666.[9] But no other literary production of this kind by Mughal authors compares in scope with the fourth part of Āzād's *Coral Rosary*, which takes up over two

hundred pages in the printed Arabic edition, and a more compressed fifty pages in the abridged Persian translation.

The classification system contained in Āzād's Arabic treatise is complex (see chart). The fourth part of this work contains five chapters. The first chapter treats the types of female lovers according to well-known Indian systems. This includes six main divisions (virtue, age, complaint, excitedness, cleverness, and arrogance) followed by a miscellaneous category, containing a total of thirty-three different types. The Arabic text proper does not include the Hindi terminology, although the manuscripts often list them as marginal notations (in Arabic script). The Persian translation, however, deliberately states the Hindi equivalents for all but six, spelling them according to the rules of Arabic grammar; this nod to the Hindi tradition may be an indication of greater bilinguality between Hindi and Persian. The second chapter offers nine additional types of female lovers discovered by Āzād, at least one of which, the Arab or bedouin girl (*al-aʿrābiyya* or *al-badawiyya*) explicitly invokes an Arabic precedent. The third chapter consists of a lengthy Arabic ode on lovers composed by Āzād (*al-qaṣīda al-ghizlāniyya*), illustrating most of the previously articulated categories of Indian lovers in thirty-seven lines, interrupted by numerous lexical and explanatory comments. The fourth chapter is devoted to the classification of male lovers, though Āzād finds the Indian material is decidedly less attractive here, satisfying himself with enumerating the two categories of the monogamous and polygamous lovers (*mustafrid* and *mustakthir*), corresponding to the Hindi terms *anukūla*, 'faithful', and *dakṣiṇa*, 'gallant', or 'adroit'. He omits two others he does not deign to describe because of their 'lack of beauty'; presumably the two omitted categories of husbands are *dhṛṣṭa*, 'brazen', and *śaṭha*, 'deceptive'.[10] While the Indian tradition emphasised the 'male gaze' on women and was for the most part satisfied with cursory attention to male lovers, Āzād innovatively expands this brief catalogue by adding no fewer than thirty new types of male lovers. The additions in part reflect the categories of female lovers (i.e. in six cases), but others are derived from an Arabic treatise on love by an important author of the Mamluk period, Ibn Abi Hajala (d. 1375).[11] The fifth chapter consists of another lengthy ode on passion in thirty-five lines (*al-qaṣīda al-hayamāniyya*), containing descriptions of male lovers, again with numerous interpolated comments. The Persian translation contains essentially the same material (with the exception of the two Arabic odes), arranged in four sections: the Indian female lovers, the additional female lovers discovered by Āzād, the two categories of monogamous and polygamous male lovers, and the newly invented types of male lovers, although all of this is illustrated by Persian verses instead of Arabic. The Persian version closes with an autobiographical notice of the author.

Āzād introduces this catalogue of lovers (pp. 323–7) with Islamic references, beginning the treatise with a slightly truncated version of a prophetic hadith: 'From

your world, perfume and women have been made desirable to me' (more commonly, this hadith includes as a third desirable thing, 'prayer, the delight of my eyes', but that religious reference is omitted here). Āzād joins this justification with his earlier discussion of Adam's descent from Paradise to earth, landing on India, which then became the source of all perfumes. He then praises the Indians for the 'shining art and sublime explanation' that they have devoted to women, acknowledging that they have outdone the Arabs in this respect (the Persian text goes farther in calling this a divine inspiration, *ilhām*). He further maintains that Indian love poetry is distinctive in offering the perspective of the woman, a trait that he links to the religious duty of the Indian woman to join her deceased husband's funeral pyre as a sati or virtuous wife. Indeed, he finds this kind of devotion reminiscent of Zulaykha, whom the Qur'an depicts as hopelessly in love with Joseph. Yet this divinely arranged love can be mutual, so that both man and woman are lover and beloved. Shifting to another 'national characteristic', and repeating a trope already affirmed by Abu al-Fazl,[12] Āzād maintains that the Indians and Arabs focus their love poetry on women, while the Persians and Turks aim instead at young men, a predilection that he condemns by citing the Qur'anic story of Lot. The Indians, he claims, are unacquainted with such tendencies, reserving their discussion for the husband and wife known as nayaka and nayika. Āzād's stereotypical claim that Arabic and Indian literature are devoid of homoerotic themes obviously needs to be taken with a grain of salt; just in terms of Arabic literature, it is ironic that one of Āzād's sources, Ibn Abī Ḥajala, devoted a chapter in one of his works to love between bearded old men, though this is commonly censored in modern editions.

After a lengthy digression (pp. 327–31) on the four different kinds of love (by hearing, by dream, by a picture, and by sight),[13] Āzād pauses to recount (pp. 331–8) seven different types of love relationship: male lover and female beloved, and the reverse; male lover and female friend, and the reverse; female friend and female lover, and the reverse; and female friend and female friend. Each of these types is illustrated by extensive quotations of Arabic poems by famous authors including Āzād.

Eventually, Āzād turns to the categories of female lovers from the Indian tradition.

> I name each division with a clear name, and I define it with a comprehensive and final definition. I set forth examples by which the eyes of the literati are refreshed and sayings by which the dispositions of the elegant are excited. The examples that I refer to myself in this essay are mostly from my own compositions, and a few of them are [translated] from the poetry of the Indians. But the meaning that is derived from their poems I announce in its place, to distinguish my own property from what is borrowed, and to distinguish my children from the child of others. (p. 338)

The point here is that Āzād will primarily explain the Indian tradition in his own terms.

After this bold declaration, Āzād makes an uncharacteristically modest claim about the possibility of translation:

> And by the power of God (glory be to him), the sweetness that may be produced for palates from the poems collected according to the categories of women in the language of India is not produced in the language of the Arabs. The only cause for this is the character of the language, and it is obvious that the translation of the character from one language to another is beyond human capacity; the only capacity is for the explanation of scientific principles.

And with this bald apology, Āzād proceeds to present the categories of lovers with poetic illustrations.

It is worth pausing a moment to consider this stricture on the limits of translation. When one considers major translation movements of the past, it is indeed the case that 'scientific' subjects—ranging from mathematics and medicine to magic and theology—have been the main target of attention. Belles-lettres has rarely been rendered from Greek into Arabic. While the noted Arab translator Hunayn ibn Isḥaq was said to have known the poetry of Homer, no significant traces survive of any Arabic version of the Iliad or the Odyssey before modern Arab authors took up the task in the 20th century. Āzād's strategy here is similar to the curious case of Aristotle's *Poetics*, where examples of Greek drama were replaced with Arabic poetry, causing the commentator Ibn Rushd to identify comedy with panegyric and tragedy with satire.[14] In both instances, the translator did not attempt to translate poetic specimens from the source text, but substituted instead standard pieces from the Arabic poetic repertoire.

One or two examples will suffice to demonstrate Āzād's approach to the different types of nayikas. The virtuous woman (al-ṣāliḥa), defined as only inclined towards her husband, modest, and seeking his satisfaction, is portrayed first by a hadith in which the Prophet describes the ideal obedient wife. This is followed by the instance of Umm Rabāb, who married the Prophet's grandson Husayn. After his martyrdom, she announced that she would not marry again, and she died of grief. Āzād then adduces eight quotations of poetry; some are anonymous, but others are by the pre-Islamic poet al-A`sha (d. 625), the Andalusian anthologist Ibn `Abd Rabbihi (d. 940),[15] and Āzād himself. A sample from Ibn `Abd Rabbihi:

> No, I've never seen or heard anyone like her,
>   a pearl that turns to ruby from bashfulness.

Or from Āzād:

> I called out names at night, but she refused,

> preserving her chastity from the suspicion of a lie.
> She never appeared to nocturnal eyes,
> so all the people are certain she's a flower.[16]

In the Persian text, this category is illustrated by no less than ten separate verses by the great Safavid-Mughal poet Ṣā'ib, such as:

> That shyness that we saw from that rosy face--
> it's tough that it entered our dream unveiled.

Then follow verses by eleven other Indo-Persian poets, including one by Āzād's Hindu pupil, Lakshmīi Narāyan 'Shafiq' Aurangābādī:

> Modesty ever seals the jewelbox of your mouth;
> I think it's hard for you to speak to a lover![17]

All these verses are simply cited, with no further elaboration, as obvious illustrations of the category of lover under consideration.

Given Āzād's determination to explain Indian lovers mainly by Arabic and Persian poetry, it is striking that he occasionally admits to having translated a number of verses from 'the Indian language' into Arabic.[18] While the original Hindi poems are not quoted, the way they are cited in translation raises interesting questions about Āzād's relation to Hindi literature. He generally introduces each such verse only as 'my composition, from (or in) Indian poetry', leaving it unclear whether he was simply translating or whether he had also written the original Hindi poem.[19] On one occasion, however, he relates, 'During the time of writing this book, my uncle, the prayer direction of my hopes, Sayyid Muhammad (may his shadow lengthen), wrote to me from Bilgram while I was in Aurangabad. It was a Hindi poem, and he tasked me with rendering its meaning from the Indian language into Arabic. So I composed the following verses.'[20] This brief remark indicates that engagement with Hindi poetry, and its transformation into Arabic, was a literary habit among at least some members of the Mughal cultural elite, even if such bilingual relations were much more common between Hindi and Persian.

Another of Āzād's verses recalls a famous Persian poem of Amir Khusraw (d. 1325), which itself recreates the longing of the Indian woman for her absent lover during the rainy season. Āzād writes,

> The cloud comes, and my love is not present;
> who do I have to bring my friend to me?
> Tears rain down, reddened, from my eye,
> until the tender cloud weeps over me.[21]

While Khusraw's poem goes:

> The cloud rains, and I am apart from my love.
> how can I make my heart part from its owner on this day?
> The cloud, the rain, I, and my love are standing in farewell;
> I cry apart, the cloud's apart, my love's apart.
> The eye is bleeding because of you, pupil of my eye;
> be a man, don't be apart from the bloody eye.[22]

This juxtaposition of Āzād's Arabic verse with a famous Persian line from his illustrious predecessor suggests a need to consider Indo-Arabic literature in its inter-textual connections both with Indo-Persian and with the relevant Indic equivalents. But several major questions remain.

Who was Āzād's audience? It is difficult to be certain, but the technical difficulty of reading the highly ornate Arabic of this work suggests a limited circulation, and a similar conclusion might be drawn from the three manuscripts used by the editor (one autograph, one copied by a student of Āzād's; all three from Indian libraries). A fuller inventory indicates eighteen manuscript copies of the Arabic text in Indian and Pakistani libraries, plus three in Europe.[23] At least one manuscript found its way to Cairo, and then the text was published in a lithograph edition from Bombay in 1884; it would be interesting to know what the readership was.[24] Surprisingly, the first two sections of *Ṣubḥat al-marjān* (on references to India in prophetic hadith, and on the lives of Arabic scholars of India) were translated into Persian in 1869, under the patronage of 'Mahārāj Īsarī Parshād' (or Ishwari Prasad Narayan Singh, r. 1835–89), the Raja of Benares.[25] Perhaps this translation indicates an interest in Āzād's work among a Persian-knowing Hindu elite, who sought access in this way to the overtly Islamic portions of his text. Āzād's own Persian translation of sections three and four, *Ghizlan al-Hind*, seems to be fairly widely distributed; there are at least ten copies in Indian libraries, four in Iran, several more in Pakistan and Bangladesh, plus additional manuscripts in European libraries.[26]

Ostensibly, the original Arabic work is aimed at an audience that knows nothing of India, since hardly any Indic terms are provided in the text—yet copyists seem to have added the names for the various categories of nayikas in the margins, indicating a de facto readership that was quite knowledgeable. The Persian translation is more explicit about including these terms within the text of the fourth section (although Indic terminology is almost entirely missing from the third section, on rhetorical figures, in both the Arabic and Persian versions). Probably Āzād had in mind readers like his uncle Sayyid Muhammad, who were capable of understanding the multiple layers of meaning implicated between an implied but unspoken Indian literary tradition and the Arabic and Persian poems that were proposed as its exemplars.

Another question is the nature of Āzād's connection with *nāyika-bheda* litera-
ture. There are several possibilities. Was he exposed to this through reading
Sanskrit or Braj treatises on the subject?[27] Would it have been possible to
obtain a relatively complete view of the subject through oral sources? As we
shall see below, Āzād himself observed performance and discussion of these
Indian genres of poetry at a Muslim court. Was he also following earlier Persian
accounts of the nayika tradition? None of this is indicated in the Arabic text,
although closer study of his Arabic versions of Indian poetry may yield some clues.

Fortunately there is external evidence to indicate Āzād's thorough acquaintance
with Braj poetry. He came from a long line of scholars in Bilgram, many of whom
were deeply immersed in Hindi literature. One such was `Abd al-Wāḥid Bilgrāmī
(1509–1608), a prolific author of Persian Sufi texts who also wrote a Persian trea-
tise called *Ḥaqā'iq-i Hindī* (*Indian Realities*, written in 1566–67) that defended the use
of Krishna bhakti poems in Sufi music sessions.[28] Of him the conservative Mughal
historian Badā'ūnī optimistically remarked, 'He used formerly to indulge in ec-
static exercises and sing ecstatic songs in Hindi and fall into trances, but he is now
past all this.'[29] Āzād further detailed his own knowledge of Hindi poetry in his
biographical anthology of Indo-Persian poets and poets of Hindi, *Sarv-i Āzād* (*The
Free Cypress/Āzād's Cypress*), composed in 1752–53; this is the second volume of
Ma'āthir al-kirām tārīkh-i Bilgrām (*Traditions of the Eminent, A History of Bilgram*),
which was devoted to the saints and scholars of Bilgram. In *Sarv-i Āzād*, he gives
accounts of eight poets of Hindi from the town of Bilgram (two of whom were also
known as Persian poets), including an extensive excerpt from the *Rasprabodh* of
Sayyid Ghulām Nabī Bilgrāmī, whose pen-name in Hindi was 'Raslīn'.[30] Another of
the Hindi poets listed here was Āzād's maternal grandfather, `Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī,
with whom he studied religious and literary texts for two years.[31] Āzād's attention
to Hindi poetry in a Persian biographical anthology was not uncommon at the
time; at least a dozen other Persian *tazkiras*, either partially or wholly dedicated to
Hindi poetry, were produced in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.[32] Āzād
portrays literary discussions taking place in the assemblies of local Mughal ad-
ministrators debating figures of speech in Hindi poetry.[33] He describes how his
grandfather `Abd al-Jalil secured an appointment for a Brahmin poet from Bilgram
at the court of Husayn `Ali Khan.[34] In short, Āzād came from an environment in
which Hindi was fully integrated into a literary continuum alongside Persian and
Arabic.[35]

As Āzād stated in introducing the Hindi poets of Bilgram:

> Part Two, on the rhyme-masters of Hindi – may God reward them with the best
> of prizes! This ignorant one is familiar with the languages of Arabic, Persian,
> and Hindi, and from each tavern I have measured a cup according to my cap-
> acity. I have spent lifetimes in the practice of Arabic and Persian poetry, and I
> have cherished the fresh blooms of meaning in the embrace of thought. But I
> have not happened to practice Hindi poetry as much, and the opportunity to

master the greenery of this realm has not occurred. But to the ear the call of India's parrots has an encompassing pleasure, and to the taste this rose bower has a plentiful share of the sugar-seller's flavor.

 The creators of meaning in Arabic and Persian spill blood from the vein of thought, and they convey the style of subtle imagination to the highest of levels. The fable reciters of Hindi have also made no little progress in this valley, but in the art of *nāyika bheda* they have taken a magical step forward. One who uses both Persian and Hindi, and who has a perfect acquaintance with white and black, will confirm the truth of this poor man's poetry, and will adorn the register of this humble one's claim with the seal of witnessing. The versifiers of the Hindi language have displayed exceptional glory in Bilgram, and have increased the freshness and exuberance of intellects with the fragrances of fresh aloes. For this reason the section on this particular group has been written, and the aromatic scents have been conveyed to the hand of the connoisseurs of perfume.[36]

Indeed, it seems clear that Āzād was already playing with ways to link India to Islamic religious themes in the conclusion to *Sarv-i Āzād*, some eleven years before writing *Ṣubḥat al-marjān*, when he drew on works of hadith to argue that the paradisal vocabulary of the Qur'an may come from the Indian language.[37]

 Āzād's relationship with the existing nayika tradition is complicated by his willingness to engage in creative revision and expansion of the categories of lovers. This is seen in the additional six categories he slips into the list of female lovers in Chapter 1, the nine new categories he introduces in Chapter 2, and the nearly thirty new categories of male lovers (unprecedented in the Hindi sources) that he either establishes as parallels of the females or else incorporates from Arabic sources. Indeed, he urges others to be equally creative: 'Let whoever wishes add to this, for the field is wide, and the garden is fertile.' He finds further scriptural warrant for considering the different types of lover, by citing a well-known hadith that describes the diverse relationships that eleven different women had with their husbands.[38] In this respect, Āzād resembled Hindi poets such as Kesavdas and Cintamani, whom Allison Busch describes as 'assessing the continuing viability of . . . classificatory distinctions, reconfiguring them as necessary, and occasionally proposing new ones'.[39] One might consider this Indo-Arabic production as a parallel to the emerging Hindi riti tradition, which was at the time 'a fledgling branch of vernacular knowledge as it began to put forward increasingly strong claims to a separate existence from Sanskrit'.[40] Āzād makes no obvious gestures here either towards devotional bhakti or Sufi interpretations in his approach to love poetry, citing in his Arabic version only classical poetry and Islamic scriptures. There is probably more of a Sufi flavour in the Persian translation, simply because of the pervasive Sufi imagery found in Indo-Persian poetry.

 Much more remains to be said about this formidable literary production on the types of lovers. Yet at the very least it should now be acknowledged that the

nāyika-bheda tradition can be understood in a new dimension through this intertextual exploration in the medium of Arabic and Persian.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 Bhānudatta, "*Bouquet of Rasa*" & "*River of Rasa*," ed. and trans. Sheldon Pollock, Clay Sanskrit Library (New York: NYU Press, 2009); K. P. Bahadur, trans., *The Rasikapriyā of Keshavadāsa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972).

2 Ghulām 'Alī Āzād al-Bilgrāmī, *Subḥat al-marjān fī āthār Hindūstān*, ed. Muḥammad Faḍl al-Raḥmān al-Nadwī al-Siwānī (2 vols., Aligarh: Jami'at 'Aligarh al-Islamiyya, 1976-80).

3 Shawkat Toorawa, "Āzād Bilgrāmī," in *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography 1350-1850*, ed. Joseph E. Lowry and Devin J. Stewart (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 2:91-97.

4 An abridged translation of this section is available in Carl W. Ernst, "India as a Sacred Islamic Land," in *Religions of India in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., Princeton Readings in Religions, 1 (Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 556-64.

5 This section is discussed in Carl W. Ernst, "Reconfiguring South Asian Islam: The 18th and 19th centuries," *Comparative Islamic Studies* 5/2 (2009 [published in 2011]), pp. 247-272.

6 Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Ghazālān [sic] al-Hind: muṭāla'a-i taṭbīqī-i balāghat-i hindī va pārsī* (*Ghazelles of India: A Comparative Study of Indian and Persian Rhetoric*), ed. Sīrūs Shamīsa (Tehran: Sada-yi Mu'asir, 1382/2004). The title *Ghizlān al-Hind* (misspelled in this edition) is a chronogram for the year of the book's composition (1178/1764-5). See also Sunil Sharma, "Translating Gender: Āzād Bilgrāmī on the Poetics of the Love Lyric and Cultural Synthesis," *The Translator* 15/1 (2009), pp. 87-103.

7 Abū al-Fazl ibn Mubārak, *The Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ed. H. Blochmann, Biblioteca Indica, N.S. 168 (Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press, 1869), 2:131-34; ibid., trans. H. S. Jarrett, ed. Jadunath Sarkar (2nd ed., Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society, 1948; reprint ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1977-1978), 3:256-58.

8 Mīrzā Khān ibn Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Tuḥfat al-Hind*, ed. Nūr al-Ḥasan Ansārī, Zabān o Adabiyyāt-i Fārsī, 39 (Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1354/1975), 1:297-321. On this text see Allison Busch, "Hidden in Plain View: Brajbhasha Poets at the Mughal Court," *Modern Asian Studies* 44/2 (2010), pp. 267–309, citing p. 297.

9 Faqīrullāh, *Tarjamah-yi Mān katohal, va Risalah-yi Rāg Darpan*, ed. Shahab Sarmadee (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1996).

10 Bhanudatta, pp. 92-93.

11 Beatrice Gruendler, "Ibn Abi Hajalah," in Lowry and Stewart, pp. 118-126. Bilgrāmī is citing this author's text *Bustān al-sulṭān* (*The King's Garden*), but it does not appear

to be extant; cf. Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabische Litteratur* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943), 2:12, Supplementband 2:5.

12 *A'in-i Akbari*, trans. Jarrett, 3:256.

13 Compare *Rasikapriyā*, chapter 4.

14 The ironies of this translational dilemma were famously explored by Jorge Luis Borges in his short story, "Averroes' Search," in *Labyrinths: Selected Stories & Other Writings*, ed. Donal A. Yates & James E. Irby (New York: New Directions Books, 1964), pp. 148-55.

15 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *The Unique Necklace (Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd)*, Great Books of Islamic Civilization, trans. Issa J. Boullata (3 vols., Reading, UK: Garnet Pub., 2006-12). This publication represents a small fraction of the complete Arabic work.

16 *Ṣubḥat al-marjān*, 2:338-40.

17 *Ghizlān al-Hind*, pp. 118-121.

18 *Ṣubḥat al-marjān*, 2:359, 362, 364-5, 366-7 (three poems), 372, 385, 423.

19 While some Urdu writings have been attributed to Bilgrāmī, their authenticity is doubtful (*Ṣubḥat al-marjān*, Introduction, 1:15-16).

20 *Ṣubḥat al-marjān*, 2:372.

21 *Ṣubḥat al-marjān*, 2:386.

22 Yamīn al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan Khusraw, *Kulliyyāt-i ghazaliyyāt-i Khusraw*, ed. Iqbāl Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Lahore: Packages Ltd., 1972), 1:1, lines 1, 2, 5.

23 Sayyid Ḥasan ʿAbbās, *Aḥwāl o āthār-i Sayyid Ghulām-ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī* (Tehran: Bunyād-i Mawqūfāt-i Duktur Maḥmūd Afshār Yazdī, 1384/2006), pp. 277-9.

24 Brockelmann, Supplementband 2:600-1, citing Cairo[2] 5:419; Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād al-Bilgrāmī, *Ṣubḥat al-marjān fī āthār Hindūstān* (Bombay: Malik al-Kitab, 1303/1886), available online at <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nnc1.cu58898506>.

25 Catalogue of Arabic & Persian Manuscripts in Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, Vol. VIII (Patna: Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 1994), pp. 7-8, no. 652.

26 The printed edition of *Ghizlān al-Hind* edited by Shamīsa is based on copies from Dhaka and Tehran (p. 20). Additional copies are described by Sayyid Ḥasan ʿAbbās, "*Ghizlan al-Hind*-i Mir Ghulam-ʿAli Āzād Bilgrāmī," *Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī* 9/1-2 (1373/ 1995), pp. 189-95 <http://www.ensani.ir/storage/Files/20101027155730-107.pdf>. See also C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey* (London: Luzac & Company, Ltd., 1972), 1:862, and ʿAbbās, *Aḥwāl o āthār,* pp. 340-1.

27 As was doubtless the case with Abu al-Fazl; see Allison Busch, *Braj beyond Braj: Classical Hindi in the Mughal World*, IIC Occasional Publication 12 (New Delhi: India International Centre, 2009), p. 8.

28 Heidi Pauwels, "A Sufi listening to Hindi religious poetry: Mir Abdul Wahid Bilgrāmī's Haqayaq-i Hindi," rewrite of student paper originally written in 1992 and submitted as field exam towards degree of Ph.D. at UW, Seattle, 2011 <http://hdl.handle.net/1773/19592>; Francesca Orsini, "'Krishna is the Truth of Man': Mir ʿAbdul Wahid Bilgrāmī's *Haqāʾiq-i Hindī* (Indian Truths) and the circulation of *dhrupad* and *bishnupad*," in Allison Busch and Thomas de Bruijn, eds., *Culture and Circulation* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming) <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/8578/1/ Krishna_is_the_Truth_of_Man.pdf>. This text has now been published in a critical edition; see ʿAbd al-Wahid Bilgrāmī, *Ḥaqāyiq-i hindī*, ed. Muḥammad Iḥtishām al-Din (Aligarh: Center for Persian Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, 2010). Another

manuscript of this work is said to be found in the shrine of Shah Barakat Allah (or Barkatullah) in Marehra (near Aligarh); the latter, a poet in both Braj and Persian, was a descendant of Āzād's grandfather, ʿAbd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī.

29 ʿAbd al-Qadir ibn Mulukshah al-Badaʾuni, *Muntakhab al-tawarikh*, trans., 3:106-7.

30 Ghulām ʿAlī Āzad Bilgrāmī, *Maʾāthir al-kirām mawsūm bi-Sarv-i Āzād* (Hyderabad: Kutub Khāna Āsafiyya, 1913), pp. 352-407 <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101062276348;page=root;seq=1;view=2up;size=100;orient=0;num=1>; Sayyid Ghulām Nabī Raslīn Bilgrāmī, *Ras Prabodh* (Rampur: Rampur Reza Library, 2001), a facsimile of the nastaʿliq manuscript with devanagari transcription.

31 *Sarv-i Āzād*, pp. 369-71.

32 Storey, *Persian Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 851, 852, 853, 867, 868 (two), 873, 876 (three), 877, 880, 882 (two), 883, 884.

33 Allison Busch, *Poetry of Kings: The Classical Hindi Literature of Mughal India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 154-5, quoting *Maʾathir al-kiram* (i.e., *Sarv-i Āzād*), pp. 364-5.

34 *Sarv-i Āzād,* p. 370.

35 Shailesh Zaidi, *Bilgrām ke musalmān hindī kavi* (Varanasi: Nagari Pracharini Sabha, 1969); Francesca Orsini, "How to do Multilingual Literary History? Lessons from Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century North India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 49/2 (2012), pp. 225-46.

36 *Sarv-i Āzād*, pp. 351-2.

37 Ibid., p. 406.

38 *Subḥat al-marjān*, 2:420. This is the hadith of Umm Zaraʿ, from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, book 31, chapter 14, no. 5998 <http://theonlyquran.com/hadith/Sahih-Muslim/?volume=31&chapter=14>.

39 Allison Busch, "The Anxiety of Innovation: The Practice of Literary Science in the Hindi/Riti Tradition," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24/2 (2004), pp. 45-59, citing p. 54.

40 Ibid., p. 56.

Chart. Contents of Chapters 1, 2, and 4 of Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Subḥat al-marjān fī āthār Hindūstān*, Book 4 (Arabic)/*Ghizlān al-Hind* (Persian).

Chapter 1. On the types of female lovers (*ghizlān*)

Section	Arabic term	Subsets	More subsets	Persian spelling	Standard hindi	Arabic	Persian
A. According to virtue or depravity	1. *al-ṣāliḥa* (virtuous)			*sākiyā*	*svakiya, svīya* (one's own wife)	337	118
	2. *al-ṭāliḥa* (depraved)	a. *al-baytiyya* (mistress)		*parkiyā*	*parakiyā* (another's wife)	341	121
			1. *al-mukhtafiyya* (hidden)	*guptā*	*gupta* (hidden)	341	121
			2. *al-mutasattara* (concealed)	*lachchhtā*	*lakshitā* (discovered/found out)	345	121
			3. *al-muʿallana* (naked)	*kulatā*	*kulaṭā* (harlot)	345	121
		b. *al-sūqiyya* (prostitute)		*sāmānyā*	*sāmānyā* (courtesan)	347	123
B. According to age	1. *al-ṣaghīra* (young)			*mugdahā*	*mugdhā* (virgin)	348	124
	2. *al-ghāfila* (heedless)			*aggiyāt jūbnān*	*ajñāta yauvanā* (heedless of her own youth).	348	124
		a. *al-mutaraqqiyya fil-ḥusn* (exceedingly beautiful)				351	126
		b. *al-ghayr al-mutazayyana* (unadorned)				352	127
		c. *al-bākira* (virginal)				--	127
		d. *al-thayyiba* (divorced)				--	127
		e. *al-nāfira ʿan al-jimāʿ* (averse to intercourse)				353	128
	3. *al-khabīra* (knowing)			*giyāt jūbnān*	*jñātā yauvanā* (knowing youth)	356	128
	4. *al-mutawassita* (adolescent)			*maddhyā*	*madhyā* (in between)	356	129
	5. *al-kabīra* (mature)			*parūdahā*	*prauṛha* (mature)	359	130
C. Defined by the complainer	1. *al-shākiyya* (complainer)			*ghanḍitā*	*khaṇḍitā* (enraged over a lover's infidelity)	362	131
		a. *al-rāmiza* (hinting)		*dhīrā*	*dhīrā* (constant in the expression of anger)	362	131
		b. *al-muṣarriḥa* (blatant)		*adhirā*	*adhīrā* (lashing out in anger)	365	132

(continued)

Chart. Continued

Section	Arabic term	Subsets	More subsets	Persian spelling	Standard hindi	Arabic	Persian
D. Defined by the excited one	1. al-muṭaraba (excited)			asārikā, absārikā	abhisārikā (eagerly goes out to meet her lover)	367	133
		a. al-munāhīra (by day)				368	133
		b. al-tāriqa (by night)		syām asārikā	syām abhisārikā (eager in the dark)	369	133
E. Defined by the clever one	1. al-fāṭina qawlan (clever in speech)			bachan bidugdahā	bacan vidagdhā (artful in speech)	374	134
	2. al-fāṭina fiʿlan (clever in deed)			kiryā bidugdahā	kriyā vidagdhā (artful in action)	--	134
F. Defined by the arrogant one	1. al-mustakbira (arrogant)			rūp garbatā	rūp garvitā (proud of beauty)	379	137
		a. al-mustakbira bi-ḥusnihā (arrogant about her beauty)				379	137
		b. al-mustakbira bi-muwaddat al-ḥubb (arrogant with the affection of love)		pēm garbatā	pēm garvitā (proud of love)	380	138
G. Miscellaneous	1. al-ḥāṣira (preventer)			kachap pankā, kahachchat patikā	gacchyata patikā (tries to prevent husband from leaving)	380	138
	2. al-mutarajjiyya (hopeful)			bāsak sajjayā	vāsaka-sajjā (decorates the bed and waits for her lover to come)	385	139
	3. al-maljūra (abandoned)			barahini	virahini (woman alone)	385	–
	4. al-nādima (regretful)			kalhantaritā	kalahantarita (quarreling)	386	139
	5. al-mughtarra (deceived)					388	--

Chapter 2. On the types of female lovers (*ghizlān*) discovered by the author

Arabic term	Arabic	Persian
1. *al-zā'irat fil-rū'yā* (visiting in a dream)	390	141
2. *al-nāfira 'an al-shīb* (averse to old age)	391	142
3. *al-'ā'ida* (returning to nurse the sick lover)	394	142
4. *al-ghayrī* (jealous)	396	142
5. *al-khā'ifa min al-wushāt* (fearful of informants)	398	142
6. *al-muṣghiyya lil-wushāt* (attentive to informants)	398	143
7. *al-mukhallifa al-wa'da* (breaking the promise)	400	143
8. *al-a'rābiyya* or *al-badawiyya* (bedouin, nomadic)	405	143
9. *al-mursila* (messenger)	407	144

Chapter 4. On the types of male lovers

Arabic term	Persian spelling	Standard hindi	Arabic	Persian
1. *al-mustafrid* (monogamous)	*anukūl*	*anukūla*	421	147
2. *al-mustakthir* (polygamous)	*dachchin*	*dakṣiṇa*	422	148
3. *al-'afīf* (chaste)			423	149
4. *al-fāṭin* (clever)[a]			431	150
5. *al-ṭāriq* (unexpected visitor)				152
6. *al-wāṣil* (attaining union)			437	152
7. *al-mahjūr* (abandoned)[a]			441	153
8. *al-muwaḍḍi'* (bidding farewell) or *al-jāzi' min al-widā'* (concerned about farewell)			447	155
9. *al-sāmir bil-layl* (telling night stories)			453	156
10. *al-muta'ādhī bil-riqba* (offended by observation)			461	158
11. *al-muta'ādhī bil-wushāt* (offended by informants)			462	–
12. *al-rāḍī 'an jūr al-ḥabīb* (pleased with the lover's oppression)			–	156
13. *al-shākī min jūr al-ḥabīb* (complaining of the lover's oppression)[a]			467	157
14. *al-shākī min 'aynayhi* (complaining with his eyes)			467	157
15. *al-ghayūr* (jealous)[a]			473	159
16. *al-mughtabiṭ* (rejoicing)			478	–
17. *al-'ā'id* (returning to nurse the sick lover)[a]			478	–
18. *al-mutarajjī* (hopeful)[a]			479	–
19. *al-mas'ūl 'an ḥālihi* (asked about his state)			480	–
20. *al-mā'il ilā ashbāh al-ḥabīb* (inclined toward those who resemble the beloved)			481	–
21. *al-mu'aQQim li-āthār al-ḥabīb* (praising traces of the beloved)			483	–
22. *al-bākī 'alā al-aṭlāl wal-āthār* (weeping over ruins and traces)			487	–
23. *ṣāḥib ḥadīth al-nasīm* (teller of the breeze's story)			507	162
24. *ṣāḥib ḥadīth al-qalb* (teller of the heart's story)			513	160
25. *ṣāḥib ḥadīth al-ṭayf* (teller of the phantom's story)			518	–
26. *al-shātim* (scolder)			521	–
27. *al-dhākir li-ayyām al-ḥummā* (recalling days of fever)			525	–
28. *al-shā'ib al-muta'assif 'alā al-shabāb* (old man regretting youth)			528	–
29. *al-nādhir* (avower, who swears an oath in love)			531	–
30. *al-mūṣī* (testator, leaving post-mortem orders to a lover)			531	–
31. *al-mutakallim ba'd al-mawt* (speaking after death)			532	–

[a]Terms paralleling those in Chapter 1.