The Mughal Aviary

Women's Writings in Pre-Modern India

Sabiha Huq

Series in Literary Studies

VERNON PRESS

Copyright © 2022 by the author.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of Vernon Art and Science Inc.
www.vernonpress.com

In the Americas:
Vernon Press
1000 N West Street, Suite 1200,
Wilmington, Delaware 19801
United States

In the rest of the world:
Vernon Press
C/Sancti Espiritu 17,
Malaga, 29006
Spain

Series in Literary Studies

Library of Congress Control Number: 2021950202

ISBN: 978-1-62273-852-6

Product and company names mentioned in this work are the trademarks of their respective owners. While every care has been taken in preparing this work, neither the authors nor Vernon Art and Science Inc. may be held responsible for any loss or damage caused or alleged to be caused directly or indirectly by the information contained in it.

Every effort has been made to trace all copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publisher will be pleased to include any necessary credits in any subsequent reprint or edition.

Cover design by Vernon Press.

Cover image: *The Quintessential Woman* (2019, oil on canvas) by Abu Kalam Shamsuddin, Bangladesh

I am no muse

I am a maker

If you love me, be my accomplice…

This book is dedicated to all women writers
whose memory has been erased from the annals of history

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements vii

Introduction xi

1 The Mughal Aviary and Women In/Out 1

2 Humayun's Biographer Gulbadan Begam: A Quiet Observer of the Aviary 23

3 Jahanara's Hagiographies: The Mind of a Matriarch 61

4 Dissenting Songbird in the Aviary: The Poetry of Zeb-un-Nissa 103

5 The Plaintive Songbird beyond the Aviary: Habba Khatoon's Lol 135

6 Where to Conclude? 159

Bibliography 167

Index 175

Acknowledgements

The Mughal Aviary is a labor of love. The book was conceived of at a stage in 2019 when my life unfolded untracked avenues both in literary and personal domains. Kathryn Lasky's fictional diary of Princess Jahanara Begam[1] came to me as a sudden delight; alongside the pleasure of reading into the past, Jahanara's sharp comments on Noor Jahan in the book made me apprehensive of the politics of representation that have put the pre-modern period in India in a state of confusion today. "There goes another of those Orientalist texts!", I said to myself. Lasky visualized the Mughal *harem* as a domestic space where women exercised all kinds of pleasure experiments without much thoughts on self and subjecthood. Several other fictional works on the Mughal women by Ruchir Gupta, Ira Mukhoty and Subhadra Sengupta gradually revealed to me how women become the object of exoticized representation if they are considered 'Others' where time, gender and religion become deciding factors. I am indebted to these authors for initiating my earliest thoughts.

While digging into the history of the Mughal women, I simultaneously learned about their literary merits and their politico-social turbulences. An avid reader of world literature as I am, I could sense the distinctive nature of these pre-modern women's writings in India. My understanding of the Mughal princesses' lives initiated the aviary metaphor, and I coincidentally discovered the existence of Habba Khatoon within that framework. S. N. Wakhlu's fictional biography of Khatoon enlightened me. To that connection, I came across films and media productions too, the existence of which created the possibility of a cultural study of the time through the existing documents on these women. Vernon Press's call for book proposal was an opportune moment, as this motivated the work with all the urgency of research and necessary communications. I would like to thank Vernon Press and many beautiful people like James McGovern, Argiris Legatos, Javier Rodriguez, Victoria Echegaray and Ellisa Anslow for their patience with my many queries and demands.

Professor Sonia Nishat Amin of Dhaka University and Srideep Mukherjee of Netaji Subhas Open University in Kolkata have been instrumental in the making of the book. Among ourselves, we shared initial ideas, conceptualized the structure, and re-read drafts with critical insight. The perspectives of a historian and a literature scholar, though not fundamentally different, complement each other in

[1] Lasky uses 'Begum' in her book, but here the modernized version 'Begam' has been used. Only in quotes the older version has been retained.

numerous ways. The book is about women's literary contributions, and much of the work demands a lot of historical reading and deeper understanding into the women's issues, both of which needed someone like Professor Amin, a renowned historian, and the author of *The World of Muslim Women in Colonial Bengal, 1876-1939*, to affirm that the book is a timely contribution to Indology and women's writings. I am grateful to her for the general introduction she has written. Srideep commented and helped in copy editing, without which I could never have made it this way. I have no words to express my gratitude to him.

I must mention Professor Sunil Sharma of Boston University, who has been incredibly generous in sharing with me the draft of his translation of *Risala-i-Sahibiya*. Without his help, my book would not have come this far. I am also indebted to Afshan Bokhari for her responses to my e-mails and her writings on Jahanara that enlightened this study.

I must acknowledge my debt to the anonymous peer reviewer of the manuscript; whose constructive suggestions helped me find lacunae in my first draft. I have tried to address the gaps as per my abilities, and the rest lies to the reader's judgment.

This book is blessed by scholars and colleagues across the globe. Several senior scholars including Fakrul Alam and Syed Manzoorul Islam from Bangladesh, my mentors, have encouraged the work. They have read and suggested important edits. I do not have words to thank them enough. Syed Foyez Ahmed helped me connect with Nadeem Jahangir Bhat of the University of Kashmir, and I am truly thankful to Foyez for the efforts he made to connect me to people and collect books for me. In the same breath, I express my gratitude to Nadeem Bhat for his suggestion on the translation of Kashmiri poetry, the useful links, and documents he sent me. Critical essays on the writings of pre-modern Indian women are scarce. Debamitra Kar sent me her Bangla article on Zeb-un-Nissa and she also read my chapter on Zeb-un-Nissa thoroughly. I am indebted to her.

Shariful Islam of Dhaka University helped me access a few rare books in the confined section of the Central Library of Dhaka University; thanks are due to Sharif and the librarian for their generous support. For the pandemic I could not visit the libraries in India and UK; but as books were necessary, my colleagues A B M Monirul Huq and Firoz Mahmud Ahsan, who have been staying in Hong Kong for their PhD research, took the pain of borrowing books from their library, and scanning and sending those whenever I demanded. I am indebted to these two young scholars. M Rezaul Haque of St John's University in Queens, New York, also sent a vital book borrowed from the library of his institution for my reference. I thank him from the core of my heart. My sister and mentor, Professor Fayeza Hasanat of Central Florida University, must be acknowledged for her guidance and last-minute support preparing the indexes.

My institution granted me a sabbatical leave for writing the book. The extensive research travels planned between the months of April-June 2020 had to be shelved because of COVID-19 that spread around the world in March, but I acknowledge the gracious gesture of Khulna University, Bangladesh, and the colleagues who wished me luck for the success of my project.

My parents and children have been a constant source of support and inspiration. My children's questions on why I was working on this project helped me understand my passion for women of the past with literary talent that also served as a soul searching. I once again realized the uncertainties of women's fate as writers, and for women how difficult it was and still is, to make space in the publication industry. My little daughter Shanita needs to be acknowledged because she was the one who kept faith in me. She would repeatedly remind me of the mammoth task of completing this manuscript, since she needed me to write a children's story book for her after I am done with it. I hope when Shanita will grow into a fine young woman, she will read the book and come to know of these Indian women writers. I wish she and all other girls get all those that they rightfully deserve in life.

Sabiha Huq

Introduction

> Notions of "loss" and "exclusion", for instance – lost women writers, lost classics, exclusion from the canon – are always underwritten by a dream of wholeness or completeness.
>
> – (Tharu and Lalita, 1991, 23)[1]

Women of the Mughal Age in India (1526-1707/1858)[2] have been the subject of a sensuous, demeaning and damaging fantasy, originating in but not always confined to, the West, and comprising part of what is known as the Orientalist Gaze. Among the irrevocable harm this has wreaked on the destiny of the 'Oriental' races, is the adverse effect on the medieval/precolonial historiography of the region. Denigration of the colonized was a common epistemological tool of all colonial powers in the play of domination and control. Proving that 'native' peoples were debased, and immoral, a condition manifest in the oppression of their women, enabled the colonizing power to assume what Gauri Viswanathan terms the 'Masks of Conquest' (Viswanathan, 2014). This provided the basis for the hegemonic accompaniment to the brutal, military subjugation of subject races. For the colonist's notorious "civilizing mission" to hold water, there had to be a people that 'needed' civilization. As one British civil servant put it – "The natives must either be kept down by a sense of our power or they must willingly submit from a conviction that we are wiser, more just, more humane and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could have" (Farish, 1938, cited in Tharu and Lalita, 1991, 9)[3]

A key feature in the negative representation of oriental women (from the upper and middle strata of society) was the concept of the *harem*[4] as the sole site where women's lives were lived. The harem was the eroticized domestic terrain where men went for pleasure, rest, and recuperation. It is a pity that

---

[1]Source: *Women Writing in India: 600 BC to Early Twentieth Century* by Susie J Tharu and K. Lalita, Feminist Press. CUNY, 1991. Pg. 23.

[2] The Mughal Empire in India, according to some historians, ended with Aurangzeb who reigned till 1707; though the Mughal progeny was officially in power till 1858.

[3] Minute of J. Farish, 28.8.1938. Cited in Susie Tharu and K. Lalita (eds) *Women Writing in India*, ref. note 1.

[4] *Harem* or haram is usually the domestic part of a Muslim household where a man's wives, concubines, and female servants live. In the western Orientalist iconography, it is a world of sexual subjugation where women are portrayed in lascivious and evocative poses that have influenced many paintings, literary works, stage productions and films.

what became popular among Europeans at the time were pictures of women reclining in languorous, eroticized poses inside the imagined harems. We could have had instead the "Portrait of a young lady"- reading from a book in front of her in a garden, recently identified as Jahanara and attributed to the painter Lalchand (c. 1631-3, Losty and Roy, 2013, 132). However, the matter of the orientalist gaze is complicated by the fact that women's activities were considered inferior and unworthy of being recorded by the *indigenous* population of *contemporary* times as well. As such, their lives had to bear the double burden of being erased from the historical record and remaining unrepresented, save in patriarchal terms and being denied the opportunity to record it for themselves. Thus, women were excluded from the process of knowledge production both by the colonial power and their own indigenous contemporaries.

What amazes us more is that even today, the practice of erasing women from history and/or the trope of mythologizing them continues. This is evinced from the plentiful crop of fictionalized accounts on Mughal women in bookstores to the present day. But soon, there was a change in the air, especially in academia, due in part to diligent efforts of 20th-century feminist activists and scholars. The winds of change dictated that it was time to come out of the fog and take a sober look at the activities of these 'other/oriental' women of the harem and set the record straight. What greatly facilitated this process was the move to discover and compile women's writings. As Tharu and Lalita inform, "By the 1970s three major book-length studies that set up women's writing as a new disciplinary field had appeared" (Tharu and Lalita, 1991, 16). These were: *Literary Women* by Ellen Moers (1976), *A Literature of Their Own* by Elaine Showalter (1977)[5] and *The Mad Woman in the Attic* by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar (1979). Tharu and Lalita in a groundbreaking work hails the movement: "Feminist criticism has actually shaped a new discipline and in the process created, as the object of its study, a new field: women's writing" (Tharu and Lalita, 1991, 22). Following Elaine Showalter, one of the terms used for this new discipline as pointed out in Tharu and Lalita is *Gynocritics*. They note further that this plays a crucial role in the new scholarship "concerned with woman as the producer of textual meaning with the history, themes, genres and structures of literature by women" (Tharu and Lalita, 1991, 18). It is however worth noting that while the two volumes edited by Tharu and Lalita cover an extensive span of time from 600 BC to the early twentieth century, they hardly include any of the texts by the Mughal women discussed in Sabiha Huq's work. Extracts from Gulbadan's *Humayun-Nama* has been given a short space in the book, and the other three are not mentioned at all. This is an omission that not only needs

[5] Sources: Elaine Showalter's *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Bronte to Lessing,* Princeton: PUP, 1977 and *The New Feminist Criticism,* London Virago, 1986.

redressal, but also poses an intriguing question in the domain of gynocriticism, the politics of which merits interrogation, as a perusal of Huq's book will testify.

Sabiha Huq's *The Mughal Aviary: Women's Writings in Pre-Modern India* (henceforth *The Mughal Aviary*) seeks to set the record straight by – a) a discussion of past actions of women contained in almost forgotten and unevaluated writings by them, b) restoring to whatever extent possible, the rightful place to women who had played a role in the production of meaning by chronicling contemporary times and interpreting them through their own lens. Being out of the empire's vortex or at the margins so to say, they were able to do this without the usual constraints of fear, favor, power, or privilege. However, as women of the Mughal royal family or members of the aristocracy (a minority within a minority), there were other compelling constraints within which they lived and worked. The workings of power equations in the case of the authors discussed by Huq assume seminal importance in this context.

At the very outset, *The Mughal Aviary* challenges existing patriarchal use of language by replacing certain words, the most obvious of them being aviary for harem. An aviary is a large enclosure for keeping birds in human habitats. Unlike a cage, it allows birds a more extended living space where they can fly, though such flight is of a qualified kind and not limitless as in nature. Often trees and shrubberies are planted to simulate natural surroundings. This makes the term an inherently loaded one, where it becomes a far cry from the assumptions of harem and turns our eyes to the activities of the women rather than the activities conjured by the male imagination. (The word harem is a part of the English language now and divested of its sensuous implications, it was used to refer to "the separate quarter of a Muslim household reserved for wives, concubines, and female servants"). Most prevalent in Arab countries, Persia, Turkey and Mughal India, its function was to preserve the modesty and protection of women in well to do Muslim households. As the remaining part of the title suggests, Huq's objective in undertaking this work is twofold. She wishes to discover the seeds strewn in women's writings from the 15th to the 16th centuries C.E. that later gave birth to the phenomenon of modernity in defining selfhood. In other words, hers is a quest for the selfhood that predates modernity – the premodern self. In South Asia, the Modern Period starts around the mid-18th century with the decline of the Mughal Empire and the coming of the Europeans, unlike the west where the onset of the Renaissance in the 14th century ushered in a 300-year long process of modernization. In India, this liminal stage was reached around the middle of the 18th century, when the political, economic, and social contours of India began to change drastically. Any period prior to that is termed pre-modern by scholars engaged with South Asia.

Huq recreates the Mughal aviary by discussing four authors writing over a period of about 200 years starting with Gulbadan Begam and ending with Habba Khatoon. Some of their texts already exist in translation, but it would not be an exaggeration to say they are overlooked and find no place in the canon. To Huq goes the credit of (a) bringing to center-stage from an obscure periphery, the literary output of these nearly forgotten women; and, (b) throwing into sharp relief the unique, extraordinary nature of these writings by analyzing their *contents*. The author's contribution is thus two-fold.

The first text discussed is by Gulbadan Begam (1523-1603), the youngest daughter of Emperor Babur – founder of the Mughal dynasty in India. She (the Rose-body Princess) wrote a biography of her half-brother, Emperor Humayun, who succeeded Babur. The second text is by Princess Jahanara (1614-1681), also known as the Sufi princess, the eldest daughter of Emperor Shah Jahan, the fifth and one of the most remarkable Mughal emperors. Jahanara wrote the biographies of two Sufi saints – Moinuddin Chishti of the Chishti order in India and Mullah Shah Badakhshi, her guide and mentor. The third writer Huq dwells on, is about Zeb-un-Nissa (1638-1702), eldest daughter of Aurangzeb, sixth Mughal ruler of India. She was a poet who wrote under the pseudonym of 'Makhfi'. While the first three belong to the *zenana*[6] of the royal court and their literary output exists as discursive records from a position of gendered subalternity, the case of the fourth writer Habba Khatoon (1554-1609) is an interesting example of a lady not born into the royal family, but aristocratic in character and lifestyle. Famously known as the 'Nightingale of Kashmir', she was an extraordinary poet of passion and longing.

I

After an introductory chapter where the author depicts the historical and social context in which the four women lived and worked, Huq presents the first of the writers under discussion in the chapter titled "Humayun's Biographer Gulbadan Begam: A Quiet Observer of the Mughal Aviary." Princess Gulbadan Begam wrote the *Humayun-Nama*, an account of the life and reign of her half-brother Humayun, second Mughal Emperor of India, at the request of her nephew Emperor Akbar the Great. It is highly significant that Akbar had great regard and trust in the character and *intellect* of his much-loved aunt Gulbadan, to the extent that he requested her to write the biography of his predecessor and father Humayun. This was meant to provide the basis and background to his own biography *Akbarnama* (Book of Akbar) soon to be

[6] *Zenana* (in India and Iran) in Persian means the part of a household that is reserved for women.

commissioned to his illustrious court scholar and historian Abul Fazl. Akbar asked his aunt to write whatever she remembered of the reigns of Humayun, knowing full well, in her he had an astute, impartial, and erudite first-hand witness to the tumultuous and tragic events surrounding the life of the second Mughal ruler.

Gulbadan borrowed the style of the *Baburnama*[7], the autobiography of Emperor Babur and wrote in simple yet elegant Persian following the literary genre of the Nama much in favor then in the Perso-Arabic-Turkic world she inhabited. Unlike some of her contemporaries, Gulbadan penned a factual account of what she saw and remembered. She chronicled the trials and tribulations, wars, triumphs, and losses of Humayun; but the book is also replete with pictures of domestic activities, life in encampments and on the road. For one thing, the Mughals (their women included) were an itinerant lot, traveling from place to place for purposes of warfare, empire-building and administration. So much for the idea of the harem and Mughal ladies' lives therein!

Though ostensibly a biography, Gulbadan inserts parts of her own life into the *Humayun-Nama*. From the book, we get to know of her marriage and subsequent life in Kabul, Lahore, Agra and Mecca. Educated, pious, cultured and loved, she was a keen observer of war and diplomacy. It is a pity that in subsequent times, the book which Akbar had commissioned so that it could be a guide for Abul Fazl, was lost for generations and sank into obscurity. A battered copy now rests in the British Library and was translated into English by Annette Akroyd Beveridge in 1901. According to the historian of medieval India Dr. Rieu, it was one of the most remarkable manuscripts in the possession of Colonel Hamilton, a collector of 1000 manuscripts!

The neglect accorded the text is lamentable given the fact that the *Humayun-Nama* must have served as a primary source for the *Akbarnama* by Abul Fazl. This brings us back to the point that (male) authors who produced the canon and were entrusted with the production of knowledge, chose to obfuscate the work of women authors, even though they might have drawn heavily from such texts.

Huq's third Chapter "Jahanara's Hagiographies: The Mind of a Matriarch" discusses the work of Princess Jahanara Begam, daughter of Emperor Shah Jahan. She has been immortalized later not so much by her own treatises but by Abanindranath Tagore's painting 'The Passing of Shah Jahan'. In the famous

---

[7] *Baburnama* is the title for the English translation published by Penguin Classics series. However, the hardcover version published by Penguin Random House has *The Babur Nama* as its title.

painting, the emperor is shown on his death bed with his daughter, companion, and caretaker, Jahanara who had accepted confinement along with her father at the order of Aurangzeb, grieving at his feet.

Jahanara has been the subject of several fictionalized narratives, as the author rightly states at the beginning of the chapter. This favorite daughter of Shah Jahan, his constant companion, caregiver and advisor after his consort Mumtaz Mahal died, has constantly captivated the popular imagination in contemporary and later times. Huq mentions in Chapter 3,

> Jahanara Begam is, perhaps, the most striking of all the Mughal princesses. This statement stands not on speculations; the plethora of fictional writings on this royal woman confirms the fact that her captivating persona became the subject of imagination for writers of later generations. There are at least half a dozen historical novels written on Jahanara's life in recent times, most of which focus on her participation in harem politics; some concentrate on her charismatic leadership with respect to the strong patriarchy of the Mughal empire; and the rest capitalize on her supposed romantic liaisons with men. (87)

These writings as well as rumors about Jahanara's incestuous relation with her father, point to the fact that the power, learning and capability, of extraordinary women in history have been subjected to the lurid (male) imagination till their lives become erased from history, and what is more lamentable, misrepresented. For as Huq points out in the chapter,

> …It remains a question why all of Jahanara's fictional biographies voyeuristically dote on a speculated life of romance instead of dwelling upon the specifics of a life that she actually led. Is it so because our subversive taste in reading is not satiated with a purely mystic and ordinary life of a woman? Sometimes it becomes difficult to discover the 'real' Jahanara from the palimpsest that her persona has become in these writings. She is a victim of fictional romance without which historical fiction or fictional biography can hardly thrive in today's publication industry where the search for novelty gets obsessive to the point of inaccuracy. (97-98)

On the contrary, Jahanara's life and work testify to the radical roles women could and did play in two patriarchal domains considered the sole preserve of men: religion and scholarship (the pulpit and academy in modern feminist parlance). Women were expected to be religious in the sense of observance of the rules and regulations set down; they could, if they were fortunate enough and belonged to the upper class, write. But the domains of shaping religious practice, writing commentaries or hagiographies, i.e., the act of defining reality through epistemological means and media (texts), were deemed forbidden

territory. Yet it is in these spheres that Jahanara chose to leave her imprint. As Huq adequately enunciates in the chapter, Jahanara had a spiritual bent of mind and began her search for God from an early age. Encouraged by crown Prince Dara Shikoh her brother, when she was in her thirties, she set out on the mystical journey of seeking God as a Sufi. Her first entry was as a follower of the Chishtiyah Order established by the late Saint Moinuddin Chishti who died in Ajmer, India in 1236 long before Jahanara was born. She then became a disciple of her lifelong mentor and guide Mullah Shah Badakhshi of the Qadiriya Order. Her mentor Mullah Shah had great admiration for Saint Rabi'a Basri of Baghdad, one of the very few female saints acknowledged in Islam.

According to Huq, "Mullah Shah was very impressed with Jahanara's progress in the Sufi line and would have nominated her his successor in the Qadiriya, but the rules of the order did not allow a woman to be a leader in the path" (106). The chapter also describes Jahanara's life in Mullah Shah's *khanka* or seminary in Kashmir where she stayed for a vital six months, her significant position in the fold and her subsequent recounting of the lives of two Sufi Saints. Her praxis was in itself a radical departure for women who were enjoined to pray and observe the rituals of purity rather than be active describers/definers of religious reality.

It must be borne in mind that at the time the Princess was writing the biographies, the Mughal Empire was undergoing a process of northward expansion. Much like the eastward expansion of Aryans in the *Mahabharata*, Jahanara's *Sahibiya* depicts the eastward expansion of the Mughals, e.g., the Annexation of Kashmir. The Mughal empire, like its other Asian (Ottoman, Safavid) and European counterparts, sought legitimization through the tenets of religion –enunciated in a right to kingship divinely bestowed. The Mughals cleverly and strategically deployed the forces of military prowess and spiritual and scriptural power to reinforce the foundations of empire. The Sufi Order tracing a lineage back to the holy Prophet of Islam was especially instrumental in this project. It provided the bond between the Creator, the Prophet, the King and the Commoner. The author of *The Mughal Aviary*, meticulously shows the connections between the two biographies of Gulbadan Begam and Jahanara Begam by highlighting the complex 'interactions' between the princesses' works and statist objectives. In the case of the latter, the political objectives are more pronounced in her two biographies *Munis-al-Arwah*, and *Risala-i-Sahibiya,* the biographies of Moinuddin Chishti and Mullah Shah Badakshi respectively. Here Huq echoes the contention of historian Afshan Bokhari who wrote a seminal book on Jahanara and her life and times. After acknowledging the religious nature of Jahanara's career, Bokhari studies the biographer's oeuvre against the background of the politics of Empire building. In her groundbreaking book (2015) *Imperial Women in Mughal India: The Piety and Patronage of Jahanara*

Begam and an essay "Masculine Modes of Female Subjectivity: The Case of Jahanara Begam", (in Malhotra and Lambert-Hurley, 2015) Bokhari highlights Jahanara's participation in and promotion of the imperial agenda of the Mughal dynasty in its heyday (under Shah Jahan). In the essay which presents her arguments in the book Bokhari contends "Mughals propagated imperial ideology through sustained patronage of history writing and utilized historiography as a means to legitimize and sustain empire" (Bokhari in Malhotra and Lambert-Hurley, 2015, 177).

It is easy to gauge that the women biographers who also acted as historians, were part and parcel of this ideology maintenance. What amazes us is that two women were chosen and (chose) to be part of this important historical project. As Bokhari states that Jahanara was not allowed to marry, she was also deprived of the advantages of a matrimonial alliance with a royal or noble family. She was not even strengthened by a line of dynastic reproduction. Thus, the primary and probably the only means for "projecting" or "perpetuating" her authority was through "concepts of kingship" in the sacred and secular milieu. Bokhari comments, "Jahanara's imperial "semantics" to convey her subjectivity and objectify her persona are her Sufi treatises, *Munis*, an anthology of Sufi saints, and the autobiographical *Risalah*…" (Bokhari in Malhotra and Lambert-Hurley, 2015, 184). Thus, the Sufi treatises of Jahanara are her contribution to the male agenda of the Mughal empire and she legitimized her position by participating in the historical texts of sovereignty (and her buildings). Hers was a mission to uphold the Mughals as the champions of Islam (manifest in the imperial India of the Mughals through Sufi Islam).

Sabiha Huq adds Gulbadan to the cause as well. Both biographers operated under the shadow of a towering father/brother/ mentor figure. Both women enjoyed a high degree of respect, intellectual trust and power, but in the end, they had to live according to the patriarchal dictates of the day. They were in an enclosure, true, but they chose the kind of enclosure it would be and exercised very considerable agency within its parameters. For both Jahanara and Gulbadan – their engagement with Sufism was part of a personal and imperial agenda. Huq examines the conflict between the "authorial subject position and a rigid regulatory frame" which she likens to a Mughal Panopticon or "a broad aviary that allowed qualified freedom" as she mentioned in her proposition.

How much of the two biographies, are "palimpsestic"? That is how much did the princesses write in their own life experiences/selves into biographies of an emperor and a saint, in an age that discouraged women's reading themselves? Through biographies it is safe to assume sometimes the boundaries between narration and self-narration, are blurred. As Malhotra and Lambert-Hurley point out in the 'Introduction' to their book *Fashioning a Self*, biographical elements are found woven in and out (Malhotra and Lambert-Hurley 2015,

Introduction). And if individuality, a sense of the self and subjectivity are ingredients of pre-modern selfhood, then these women were certainly in possession of traits that can be termed pre-modern. In discussing these texts, Huq brings to the forefront the rich tradition of biographical and autobiographical writing in the medieval 'Orient'. A careful perusal of her book leads the reader to locate the women writers in the male autobiographical and biographical literary canon of the time, and thus restore them to their rightful place. In doing so Huq also helps to disprove another Orientalist myth: autobiographical writing of depiction of self is a recent *western* phenomenon.

A sweeping glance at contemporary centers of imperial power in, for instance, Western Asia (Ottoman and Safavid empires) or Europe (France, Germany, England etc.) and royal families that ruled there, reveal that the 15th and 16th centuries witnessed some aristocratic women taking up the pen. In England, the Elizabethan age was in full swing when Gulbadan was penning her *Humayun-Nama*, but we hear of few biographies and histories. Venice-born Christine de Pizan of France (1364-1430) was an exception, however. She was an extraordinary scholar and writer of the medieval Europe who transcended her age and went down in history as a prolific writer on socio-historical and "feminist" issues. For, in actuality, one had to wait a few hundred years till the 18th century to get a writer like Mary Wollstonecraft who has been hailed as the originator of a genre. Although there were many writers in early modern times in Europe, it was the 15th century that saw an efflorescence of women writers. However, unlike the writers described in *The Mughal Aviary*, they were not of the royal family, nor commissioned to write historical biographies. Viewed from this perspective alone, the women writers discussed in the first half of Huq's book provide new material to rethink history and the position of women in pre-modern India.

II

Chapters 4 and 5 dwell on two Mughal women who made a name as poets. In chapter 4, "Dissenting Songbird in the Aviary: The Poetry of Zeb-un-Nissa", the author discusses the tragic, turbulent life of the worthy successor of Jahanara's intellectual and artistic legacy, her talented and erudite niece Zeb-un-Nissa (1638-1702). Born 34 years after Jahanara to the last of the "great" Mughals, the orthodox Sunni emperor Aurangzeb, Zeb-un-Nissa was chosen by Bengal's greatest Renaissance novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterjee to be the heroine of his novel *Durgesh Nandini*. But the mythologizing can be traced far back in time. As Huq quotes Jadunath Sarkar in her chapter,

> The India of the Mughals attracted the attention of post-renaissance Europeans, and its bazars thronged with men of every description from beyond the Mediterranean: traders, travelers, and free-lance adventurers,

> who roamed with eyes and ears wide open to inform themselves about everything odious. For, the East was "mysterious" and its institutions "barbarous". With a frankly dehumanized attitude, it was not surprising if scandals concerning lives of Mughal ladies found free entry into their writings. Nor could Zeb-un-Nissa be an exception. A sordid episode of her carnal romance with Aqil Khan Razi and his death inside a hot cauldron with burning fire under it, gained wider currency and was eagerly picked up by the vulgar populace. Nothing could be more absurd. 'Aqil Khan lived long as an imperial servant and died a natural death. It was too late when a modern historian took stock of facts and data and wrote his vehement denunciation. (Jadunath Sarkar quoted in Chapter 3; Hadi, 1995, 639)

Little is known about this beautiful and accomplished woman who was the darling of her father's eyes, but fell from grace on account of her non-conformist lifestyle and passion for the poetic vocation. Though Aurangzeb who was an Orthodox adherent of Sunni Islam, did not much like the poet's calling, he initially listened to the counsel of Zeb-un-Nissa's eminent mentors and invited poets and scholars from Persia and Kashmir to congregate in literary circles where his daughter could cultivate her talent. Zeb-un-Nissa spent a large part of her handsome allowance on her libraries, manuscripts and scholarly projects. Adept in Persian, Arabic and Urdu, she had many Arabic and Sanskrit texts translated into Persian. This last action depicts a multicultural bent of mind (for Sanskrit was the language of the Hindu scriptures) and denotes a liberal, secular mode of thinking.

But Zeb-un-Nissa fell out of the emperor's favor in later years and spent the greater part of her life as his royal prisoner. Huq summarizes the various versions of her life - her girlhood and youth; her education and accomplishments, passion for poetry, the rumored love affairs, the displeasure of the monarch, her abiding commitment to the Muse of Poetry, and fall from grace on account of her refusal to conform to patriarchal norms of marriage, wifehood and domesticity, and perhaps the rigid tenets of Sunni Islam as well. Like her illustrious predecessors, Zeb-un-Nissa had great trust placed upon her by the most powerful man in the realm – the emperor, only to be reduced to the state of a royal prisoner in later years. Nonetheless, here we have time and again the cases of princesses who were advisors to the monarch on matters of the state and chroniclers and artist-scholars.

Zeb-un-Nissa was undoubtedly a challenger; she was close to power but spent most of her adult life in imprisonment because she did not learn to submit to patriarchy. Once adored by her orthodox father, as mentioned above, Zeb-un-Nissa's imprisonment and banishment from the public sphere could be read as tragic were it not for the fact that nothing could stop her pen. Her

verses or Ruba'i translated by Paul Smith are published in a volume titled *Makhfi the Princess Sufi Poet Zeb-un-Nissa: A selection of Poems from her Divan* by New Humanity Books in 2012. The author of the *Aviary* describes her poetry, its pathos and passion bordering on sexuality. She was a thinker and poet before her times. A few hundred years had passed since the quiet and gentle observer Gulbadan Begam had taken up the pen. Zeb-un-Nissa did not cloak her passion as religious sentiment and spiritual utterances. They were candid admissions of a woman's response to love, its pangs, and bodily and emotional manifestations.

Zeb-un-Nissa's poetry is reminiscent of European women poets of the 15th and 16th centuries. A few of the notable women writers (poets, novelist, essayist) included Veronica Franco (1546-1591) the Venetian Courtesan whose poetry was an expression of love, desire and sexuality; the 16th century Parisienne Marguerite de Briet who wrote a novel on the dangers of love not tempered by reason; and Louis Labe, a commoner, who wrote poems about the debate between Love and Madness. Zeb-un-Nissa's poetry is redolent with similar themes.

It will not be out of context to draw a comparison here between the Mughal princesses Jahanara and Zeb-un-Nissa and their contemporaries in England; the poet, playwright and translator – Aphra Behn (1640-1689) and Margaret Cavendish (1623-1673) – poet, scientist, philosopher and playwright. Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne came from the aristocracy though Behn rose from obscurity. While Zeb-un-Nissa was penning verses in her gilded prison (after enjoying a life of unusual liberty), Aphra Behn was writing plays for the London stage in the 1670s, the height of the English Renaissance. This points to Europe in general, and England in particular, that had ushered in the age when women writers grew in numbers, gained popularity and were beginning to gain acceptance into the literary fold. It is significant that Aphra Behn (like Christine de Pizan, centuries before her) earned money through writing, something women in India had to wait for some more centuries to even visualize. Cavendish's work was remarkable in that they ranged from poetry, plays, to essays on natural philosophy and social and political issues. The London of Aphra Behn and Margaret Lucas Cavendish experienced a different socio-economic and political reality from the one in the Delhi of Jahanara and Zeb-un-Nissa. England was already witnessing the rise of its middle class, which was a forerunner to the modern middle class or bourgeoisie created by the Industrial Revolution. Conversely, India sadly was just about to enter in 50 years' time its age of decline and colonization by the English exploitative power. This, if anything marks the economic and socio-cultural differences between Renaissance or Restoration England and Mughal India, and this difference did

not really keep its mark on the women's intellectual sphere, if judged from an Occidental perspective.

The last chapter before the conclusion is an account of the life and work of poet Habba Khatoon (1554-1609), known as the Nightingale of Kashmir. Chronologically she is a contemporary of Gulbadan Begam, but her position outside of the Mughal fold makes her inclusion a unique aspect of Huq's work. Habba's rise and fall took place in the 'Paradise of India'- Kashmir, hence technically beyond the central theatre of the Mughal empire, nevertheless an important province in its northward expansion during the lifetime of Habba Khatoon – "The point behind including Khatoon in this selection is to underscore the evidence that on or off royalty, Indian women especially from the Muslim aristocracy, were developing a literary sense during the 16th and 17th centuries" as Huq points out in chapter 5.

Huq recreates the enigmatic life of Habba from the scant sources available. The poet's life reads like a fairy tale. The author traces the various versions of Habba's origins, beauty, education, rise from obscurity in a failed first marriage to becoming the royal consort while pursuing her literary path throughout. Her modest birth and an unhappy first marriage paved the way for her writing as she uttered her first songs; in that sense, fictionalized art becomes a mirror for the self. Parts of her life read like a fairy tale, the most significant being Habba's meeting the King of Kashmir Yusuf Shah on the banks of the river, their subsequent attachment, and its culmination in marriage. S. N. Wakhlu, Habba's biographer, narrates her happy conjugal life with Yusuf Shah Chak as his Queen consort, which however was short lived as Akbar's army marched northwards and her husband was caught in the tentacles of war, captured, separated, and exiled. This, according to Huq propelled her to the pinnacle of her poetic calling.

The Mughal empire infringed upon and dismantled not just her public position but also her personal life, as she found herself desolate a second time when she was torn from her loving husband. She had to leave the palace, and she chose to live, according to S. N. Wakhlu, at Panda Chok, in a small cottage on the bank of Jhelum. Khatoon was offered an opportunity to reunite with her husband in secret, but she refused to do that for Yusuf's safety. Her biographer states that she burned all written copies of her poetry and renounced worldly life. Finally, she breathed her last in 1605 at Panda Chok.

The chapter presents excerpts from her poetry to a literary readership mostly unfamiliar with Habba's exquisite work. Romanticism, sensuousness, audacity, secularism, are articulated through her timeless verses. The love theme is no longer camouflaged or expressed in spiritual, mystic terms – the longing and desire of a disciple for a union with God. Huq reads a 'feminist' voice in this –as

the poet emerges a true harbinger of a modern consciousness. Referring to Khatoon's lines,

> "I read the Koran in one attempt
> I didn't make a single mistake
> But I could not read the text of love
> What will you gain from my death?"

Huq writes in chapter 5, "The woman who dared to ask her creator this audacious question was not built in a day, nor was she moulded from one single form". S. L. Sadhu's book *Haba Khatoon* in the "Makers of Indian Literature" series published by Sahitya Akademi from India is a dedicated English text on her life and poetry. Habba's poetry has been translated by Mattoo, and Huq relies upon this version for its lucidity and simplicity. Huq exemplifies how Sadhu as a male translator connects the poet's emotion with her husband Aziz Lone, whereas there is no mention of a proper in a particular poem that Sadhu translated. On the other hand, Matto has provided a lexically more authentic translation that also preserves the expression of female sexuality that was the feature of Habba's poetry. Such minute observation leads the present author to a strong point to bestow a "feminist" voice to Habba.

It is ironic that Gulbadan Begam was watching over the expanse of the empire known as Kashmir while sitting among the women of the Mughal zenana in Delhi, enjoying the love and trust of the mighty Emperor Akbar. The aviary was extended to the boundaries of Kashmir, but on its northward journey following the turbulent line of imperial expansion, the aviary had indeed become less airy and more oppressive.

Sabiha Huq's *The Mughal Aviary* seeks to restore balance to not just the literary canon, but also Orientalist and male-centric historiography by initiating an excavation and discussion of overlooked texts. Susie Tharu and K. Lalita articulated the matter very succinctly,

> If we ask the questions… who has lost these writers, or rather to what cause have they been lost, several answers suggest themselves. At one level, they are lost to feminists today, lost to a tradition of women's writing, lost to literary studies, lost to the reader's experience. But more significantly, they are missing from another more deeply embedded cultural institution. […] These writers, the unstated argument is, are lost to the select company of great (male) writers whose works were charged with the task of providing post-Enlightenment society in general, and the nation in particular, with its ethical capital. (Tharu and Lalita, 1993, 24)

These words from Tharu and Lalita provide a befitting mainframe to justify Sabiha Huq's conceptualization of *The Mughal Aviary* as we stand at the

threshold of the third decade of this 21st century. As a scholar of history, I understand the challenges involved in extricating strangulated portions of historical perception from any grand narrative. It goes without saying that the present monograph attempts to resurrect through cultural documents a gyno-history that is avowedly liminal. This liminality inheres in not just the perception of aristocratic Mughal/ Muslim women within the given time frames, it is also perceptible in later historiography as the preceding sections have pointed out. I have no qualms in saying that these preliminary thoughts had first traversed my mind when the author broached her topic about a year back. As the manuscript stands, I am happy she has lived up to its possibilities within understandable constraints of the time that have restricted the amount of research she had initially planned. In my understanding, it is not just a happy coincidence that here is an enterprising female academic from Bangladesh casting a literary-historical glance on pre-modern women writers. It is rather my belief that Huq's insistent questions on the position of women within Islamic cultures in South Asia at large have encouraged her to take up this detailed study which is located within a rich period of South Asian history and fills a void in the contemporary historiography on the time. The task of writing this 'Introduction' has been a pleasurable one and I look forward to much discussion on this book once it sees the light of day.

Sonia Nishat Amin

University of Dhaka
Author of *The World of Muslim Women in Colonial Bengal, 1876-1939*,
Brill Academic Publishers Inc., 1996

PAGES MISSING

FROM THIS FREE SAMPLE

Bibliography

Abu-l-Fazl. *The Akbarnama*. Translated by H. Beveridge. Kolkata: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1907. https://www.indianculture.gov.in/flipbook/83536. Accessed on 12 November 2020.

Ahmed, Suneela. "Mythology: Khawaja Khizr of the Indus". https://www.dawn.com/news/1527475, 12 Jan 2020. Accessed on 2 October, 2020.

Alam, Muzaffar. "The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics". In *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 317-349. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Ali, M. Athar. *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*. New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1970.

Andaya, Barbara Watson. *The Flaming Womb: Repositioning Women in Early Modern Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.

Andrea, Bernadette. *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Angelou, Maya. *And Still I Rise*. New York: Random House, 1978.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006.

Arif, Ayash (dir.). Habba Khatoon. Drama Serial in Doordarshan India, 2017. Prasar Bharati Archives. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IrviItoa2ak. Accessed on 12 June 2020.

Aurangzebe. *Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri or Letters of Aurangzebe*. Translated by Jamshid H. Bilimoria. Bombay: Cherag Printing Press, 1908.

Banerjee, Pompa. Burning Women: Widows, Witches, and Early Modern European Travelers in India. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. Translated by H. M. Parshley. London: Vintage, 1997.

Begam, Gulbadan. *The History of Humayun: Humayun-Nama*. Translated by Annette S. Beveridge. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 2018.

Beveridge, Annette S. "Introduction". In *The History of Humayun: Humayun-Nama*. Translated by Annette S. Beveridge. pp. 1-79. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 2018.

Beveridge, Annette S. "Appendices". In *The History of Humayun: Humayun-Nama*. Translated by Annette S. Beveridge. pp. 203-324. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 2018.

Bhattacharya, Sudip. *Unseen Enemy: The English, Disease, and Medicine in Colonial Bengal, 1617-1847*. United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

Blake, Stephen P. *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India* 1639-1739. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Bokhari, Afshan. "The "Light" of the Timuria: Jahan Ara Begum's Patronage, Piety, and Poetry in 17th-century Mughal India". 2008. https://cpbuse1.wpmucdn.com/sites.suffolk.edu/dist/f/335/files/2011/12/The- %E2%80%9CLight%E2%80%9D-of-the-Timuria-page-1.pdf. Accessed on 13 August 2020.

Bokhari, Afshan. "Gendered Landscapes: Jahan Ara Begum's (1614-1681) Patronage, Piety and Self-Representation in 17th C Mughal India." PhD Dissertation submitted at University of Vienna, 2009. http://othes.univie.ac.at/3290/1/2009-01-090503884.pdf. Accessed 13 August 2020.

Bokhari, Afshan. "Imperial Transgressions and Spiritual Investitures: A Begam's "Ascension" in Seventeenth Century Mughal India". In *Journal of Persianate Studies* 4, 2011. pp. 86- 108. https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/sites.suffolk.edu/dist/f/335/files/2011/12/Imperial-Transgressions-and-Spiritual-Investitures-page-1.pdf. Accessed on 13 August 2020.

Bokhari, Afshan. *Imperial Women in Mughal India: The Piety and Patronage of Jahanara Begum*. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2013.

Bokhari, Afshan. "Masculine Modes of Female Subjectivity: The Case of Jahanara Begam". In *Speaking of the Self: Gender, Performance, and Autobiography in South Asia*. Eds. Anshu Malhotra and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015.

Bose, Sugata and Ayesha Jalal. *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, and Political Economy,* Second edition. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

Butenschon, Andrea. *The Life of a Mogul Princess Jahanara Begum, Daughter of Shahjahan*. Delhi: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Chakrabarti, Pratik. *Medicine and Empire: 1600-1960*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Chandra, Satish. *Medieval India: From Sultanat to the Mughals- Mughal Empire 1526-1748*. New Delhi: Haranand Publications, 2007.

Chatterjee, Kumkum. *The Cultures of History in Early Modern India: Persianization and Mughal Culture in Bengal*. Kindle edition. India: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Chaudhury, Sushil. *Companies, Commerce and Merchants: Bengal in the Pre-Colonial Era*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Cixous, Helene. "The Laugh of the Medusa" (1975). Translated by Keith Kohen and Paula Cohen. In *Critical Theory: A Reader for Literary and Cultural Studies*. Edited by Robert Dale Parker (ed.). Oxford University Press, 2012. pp. 242-257.

Crawford, Dirom G. *A History of the Indian Medical Service 1600-1913*. London: W. Thacker, 1913.

Cuffel, Alexandra and Brian Britt. *Religion, Gender, and Culture in the Pre-Modern World*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Dale, Stephen F. "The Poetry and Autobiography of the *Babur-Nama*". In *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 55, No. 3, (1996), pp. 635-664. USA: Association for Asian Studies, 1996.

Dale, Stephen F. *Babur: Timurid Prince and Mughal Emperor, 1483-1530*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Dalrymple, William. *City of Djinns: A Year in Delhi*. NY: Penguin Books Limited, 2004.

Das, Kabir. *The Songs of Kabir from the Adi Granth*. Translated by Nirmal Das. Albany: SUNY Press, 1991.

Demers, Patricia. *Women's Writing in English: Early Modern England*. University of Toronto Press, 2005.

Dhawan. Ayushi. *European Doctors Caught between the Two Worlds: On the Reception of South and East Asian Medicine in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1800*. PhD Dissertation submitted at Leiden University, 2017.

Dowd, Michelle M. and Julie A. Eckerle. *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*. England and USA: Ashgate Publishing, 2007.

Dowd, Michelle M. *Women's Work in Early Modern Literature and Culture*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Dubrow, Heather and Frances E. Dolan. "The Term Early Modern". In PMLA, 109(5), 1994. pp. 1025-1027.

Dumas, Alexandre. *Queen Margot; Or, Marguerite de Valois*. USA: Pohl Press, 2014.

Edwards, Stephen M. and Herbert Leonard. O. Garrett. *Mughal Rule in India*. Delhi: Asian Publications Services, 1979.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson: Miscellanies* [Vol. 11], https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/emerson/4957107.0011.001/1:26?rgn=div1;view=fulltext.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *Society and Solitude*. In *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson,* Volume VII. Edited by Ronald A. Bosco and Douglas Emory Wilson. Harvard University Press, 2008.

Eraly, Abraham. *Emperors of the Peacock Throne: The Saga of the Great Mughals*. New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2000.

Eraly, Abraham. *The Mughal World: Life in India's Last Golden Age*. New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2007.

Fabian, Johannes. *Memory Against Culture: Arguments and Reminders*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007.

Fazl, Abul. *Ain i Akbari*. Translated by Colonel H. S. Jarrett. Vol III. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society, 1978.

Fazl, Abul. *Akbarnama*. Translated by H. Beveridge. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1902. https://www.indianculture.gov.in/rarebooks/akbarnama-abu-l-fazl-history-reign-akbar- including-account-his-predecessors-vol 1,2,3. Accessed on 2 October 2020.

Findly, Ellison Banks. *Nur Jahan: Empress of Mughal India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Foster, William. "Gabriel Boughton and the Grant of Trading Privileges to the English in Bengal." In *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, pp 247-257.

Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1963.

Gandhi, Supriya. *The Emperor who Never Was: Dara Shukoh in Mughal India*. Harvard University Press, 2020.

Gashtili, Paria. "Is an "Islamic Feminism" Possible?: Gender Politics in the Contemporary Islamic Republic of Iran". In Philosophical Topics, 41 (2), pp. 121-140. USA: University of Arkansas Press, 2013.

Godden, Rumer. *Gulbadan: Portrait of a Rose Princess at the Mughal Court*. New York: The Viking Press, 1981.

Greenberg, Mitchell. "The Concept of "Early Modern"". In *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Spring 2013), pp. 75-79. USA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Greville, Fulke. *The Tragedy of Mustapha*. EEBO Editions. MI: ProQuest, 2010.

Gupta, Ruchir. *The Mughal Intrigues: Mistress of the Throne*. New Delhi: Srishti Publishers and Distributors, 2014.

Gupta, Ruchir. *The Hidden One: The Untold Story of Aurangzeb's Daughter*. Mumbai: Leadstart Publishing, 2019.

Gupta, Subhadra S. *The Teenage Diary of Jahanara*. New Delhi: Speaking Tiger Publishing Pvt Ltd, 2019.

Habib, Irfan M. "Medieval Period". In *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*. Vol 24, (1961), pp. 350-357. New Delhi: Indian History Congress, 1961.

Hadi, Nabi. *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*. India: Abhinav Publications, 1995.

Hallaj, Mansur. *I am the Truth (Anal Haqq): Diwan of Mansur Al-Hallaj*. Translations and introduction by Paul Smith. Australia: New Humanity Books, Book Heaven, 2016.

Hansen, Waldemar. *The Peacock Throne: The Drama of Mogul India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarasi Das Publishers, 1986.

Harris, Jonathan Gil. *The First Firangis: Remarkable Stories of Heroes, Healers, Charlatans, Courtesans, & Other Foreigners Who Became Indian*. New Delhi: Aleph Books, 2015.

Irvine, William. *The Later Mughals 1707–1739*. Edited by Jadunath Sarkar. Lahore: Sang-i- Meel, 2007.

Jahanara. *The Master of Pure Souls*. Translated by Dr. Valiur Rahman and Dr. Mohammed Adil. Jaipur: Hamari Taquat Publication, 2015.

Jahanara. *Risala-i-Sahibiya*. Translated by Sunil Sharma. Unpublished translation, 2020.

Kar. Debamitra. "Zebunnissa: Itihash o Naribad" [Zeb-un-Nissa: History and Feminism]. In *Bhorai*, January issue, 2011.

Kaviraj, Sudipta. "Modernity and Politics in India". In *Daedalus*, Vol 129, No 1, 2000. pp 137- 162.

Khan, Inayat. *The Shah Jahan Nama of Inayat Khan: An Abridged History of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, compiled by his Royal Librarian: the nineteenth-century manuscript translation of A.R. Fuller*. Translated by A. R. Fuller, W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Kochhar, Rajesh. "The Truth behind the Legend: European Doctors in Pre-Colonial India." *Journal of Bioscience*, 24 (1999), pp 259-268.

Krynicki, Annie Krieger. *Captive Princess: Zebunissa Daughter of Emperor Aurangzeb*. Translated by Enjum Hamid. Oxford University Press, 2005.

Kumin, Beat. *The European World, 1500-1800: An Introduction to Early Modern History*. London and New York: Routledge, 2018.

Lal, Kishori S. *The Mughal Harem*. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1988.

Lal, Mohal (Ed.). *Encyclopaedia of India Literature*. Vol. 5. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi. 2001.

Lal, Ruby. "Historicizing the Harem: The Challenge of a Princess's Memoir". In *Feminist Studies*, 30 (3), 2004, pp. 590-616. Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20458986.

Lal, Ruby. *Domesticity and Power in Early Mughal World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Lal, Ruby. *Empress: The Astonishing Reign of Nur Jahan*. New Delhi: Penguin Viking, 2018.

Larson, Catherine R. *Early Modern Women in Conversation*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Lasky, Kathryn. *Princess of Princesses of India 1627*. New York: Scholastic Inc, 2002.

Le Guin, Ursula K. *Tehanu: The Last Book of Earthsea*. New York: Atheneum Books, 2001.

Loomba, Ania and Ritty A. Lukose (Eds.). *South Asian Feminisms*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012.

Losty, Jeremiah P. and Malini Roy. *Mughal India: Art, Culture and Empire*. London: British Library, 2013.

Malhotra, Anshu and Siobhan Lambert-Hurley (Eds.). *Speaking of the Self: Gender, Performance, and Autobiography in South Asia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015.

Manucci, Niccolao. *Storia do Mogur, or Mogul India* (1653-1708). Translated by William Irvine. Indian text series, vol. I. London: John Murray, 1907.

Marlowe, Christopher. *Tamburlaine the Great*. J J Cunningham et al. (Eds.). Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.

Marsden, Jean I. "Parsing Early Modernity". In *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 2013. pp. 69-71.

Marshall, Dara N. *Mughals in India, A Bibliographical Survey* I, Bombay: *Manuscripts*, 1967.

Mattoo, Neerja. *The Mystic and the Lyric: Four Women Poets from Kashmir*. New Delhi: Zubaan, 2019.

Mehta, Jaswant L. *Advanced Study in the History of Modern India* 1707-1813. Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 2005.

Misra. Rekha. *Women in Mughal India: 1526-1748 A.D.* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967.

Mukhoty, Ira. *Heroines*. New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2017.

Mukhoty, Ira. *Daughters of the Sun: Empresses, Queens and Begums of the Mughal Empire*. New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2018.

Nath, Ram. *Private Life of the Mughals of India (1526-1803 A.D.)*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications Pvt Ltd., 2013.

Nath, Ram and Ajay Nath (Eds.). *Monuments of Delhi: Architectural and Historical*. Ajmer and Jaipur: The Heritage, 2018.

Nath, Renuka. *Notable Mughal and Hindu Women in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1990.

Nicoll, Fergus. *Shah-Jahan: The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Emperor*. New Delhi: Penguin India, 2018.

O'Hanlon, Rosalind. "Kingdom, Household and Body: History, Gender and Imperial Service under Akbar". In *Modern Asian Studies*, 41(5), (2007), pp. 889-923. doi: 10.1017/S0026749X06002654. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Parker, Charles H. and Jerry H. Bentley (Eds.). *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007.

Parker, Charles H. *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age, 1400-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Peirce, Leslie P. *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Pocock, John Greville A. "Perceptions of Modernity in Early Modern Historical Thinking". In *Intellectual History Review*, 17:1, 79-92, DOI: 10.1080/17496970601 140246, 2007.

Raychaudhuri, Tapan. *Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir: An Introductory Study in Social History*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1969.

Rezaei, Saman and Ali Salami. *Translating Hafiz: Challenges and Strategies*. Peter Lang, 2019.

Ribner, Irving. *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare*. London and NY: Routledge, 1965.

Rowe, John C. *At Emerson's Tomb: The Politics of Classic American Literature*. NY: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Roy, Tirthankar. *The East India Company: The World's Most Powerful Corporation*. New Delhi: Allen Lane, 2012.

Sadhu, Shyam L. *Haba Khatoon*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1983.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Salzman, Paul. *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Sarkar, Jadunath. "Jahanara: the Indian Antigone". In *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*. London. 1989. pp. 99-107.

Sarkar, Jadunath. *Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays*. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1917.

Sarkar, Jadunath. *History of Aurangzib*, Vol 1. Calcutta: M.C. Sarkar & Sons, 1912.

Sarkar, Jadunath. *History of Aurangzib*, Vol 2. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920.

Scott, Hamish (Ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History 1350-1750*, Vol II, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Sehran, Sohil. "Delhi: Jahanara's tomb in Nizamuddin remains unloved." https://www.hindustantimes.com/delhi/delhi-jahanara-s-tomb-in-nizamuddin-remains- unloved/story-84StZ7b3w21mv5lhWJnJ5L.html. Accessed on 14 October 2020.

Sengupta, Subhadra. *The Teenage Diary of Jahanara*. New Delhi: Talking Cub, 2019.

Shakespeare, William. *The Arden Shakespeare: Complete Works*. Eds. Richard Proudfoot et al. London, New Delhi, NY, Sydney: Bloomsbury.

Sharma, Sunil. *The Mughal Arcadia: Persian Literature in an Indian Court*. Harvard University Press, 2017.

Sharma, Sunita. "The Exponential Role of the Women Protagonists in the Formative Years of Babur – linkages Revisited". In *Proceedings of the India History Congress,* Vol 73, 2012. pp 358-366.

Showalter, Elaine. *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Bronte to Lessing.* Princeton: PUP, 1977.

Showalter, Elaine. *The New Feminist Criticism.* London: Virago, 1986.

Singh, Jyotsna G. "Boundary Crossings in the Islamic World: Princess Gulbadan as Traveler, Biographer, and Witness to History, 1523–1603". In *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* vol. 7, pp 358-366, 2012. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44156225. Accessed on 27 June 2020.

Smith, Paul. "Life and Times and Poetry of Makhfi…Princess Zeb-un-Niss". In *Makhfi the Princess Sufi Poet Zeb-un-Nissa: A selection of Poems from her Divan.* pp. 7-28. Victoria: New Humanity Books- Book Heaven, 2012.

Strauss, Valerie. "Who is the most educated English queen?" In *The Washington Post.* April 29, 2011. https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/post/who-is-the-most- educated-english-queen/011/04/28/AF78i49E_blog.html. Accessed on 24 April 2020.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. "Hearing Voices: Vignettes of Early Modernity in South Asia, 1400- 1750". In *Daedalus,* Vol. 127, No. 3, 1998. pp. 75-104.

Stuart, Charles. *The History of Bengal from the First Mohammedan Invasion until the Virtual Conquest of that Country by the English A.D. 1757.* Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Sundaresan, Indu. *The Feast of Roses.* New York: Washington Square Press, 2003.

Sundaresan, Indu. *The Shadow Princess.* New York: Atria Books, 2010.

Tharu, Susie J. and K. Lalita. *Women Writing in India: 600 BC to Early Twentieth Century.* CUNY: Feminist Press, 1991.

Thunberg, Charles P. *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia, performed between the years 1770 and 1779.* 3rd ed Vol. III. London: Gale Ecco, 2018.

Tirmizi, Sayyid A. I. *Edicts from the Mughal Harem.* Delhi: Mohammad Ahmad for Idarah-i- Adabiyat-I, 2009.

Truschke, Audrey. *Aurangzeb: The Life and Legacy of India's Most Controversial King.* California: Stanford University Press, 2017.

Turner, Catherine. "Women's Travel Writing 1750-1830". In *The History of British Women's Writing, 1750-1830.* Vol 5, Labbe, Jacqueline M. (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. pp. 47-62.

Venuti, Lawrence. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation.* New York: Routledge, 1995.

Verma, Chob Singh. *Mughal Romances.* Agra: Y K Publishers, 1996.

Viswanathan, Gauri. *Masks of Conquest.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

Wakhlu, Som Nath. *Habba Khatoon: The Nightingale of Kashmir.* Kashmir: South Asia Publications, 1994.

Waldemar Hansen, *The Peacock Throne: The Drama of Mogul India.* Delhi: Motilal Banarasi Das Publishers, 1986.

Walsh, Declan. *The Nine Lives of Pakistan: Dispatches form a Divided Nation.* Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020.

Wani, Ashraf. “Sectional President's Address: Akbar and Kashmir”. In *Proceedings of the Indian History* Congress, Vol. 73 (2012), pp. 184-204.

Zeb-un-Nissa. *The Diwan of Zeb-un-Nissa: The First Fifty Ghazals Rendered from the Persian.* Translated by Magan Lal and Jessie Duncan Westbrook. London. John Murray, 1913. Reproduced by Hardpress publishing.

Zeb-un-Nissa. *Makhfi: The Princess Sufi Poet Zeb-un-Nissa.* Translated and edited by Paul Smith. Australia: New Humanity Books, 2012.

“In Right Wing Politics, Inevitably New Figures Emerge That are even more Extreme.” T*he Wire.* Interview with Arjun Appadurai on August 5, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Td3BJyVkXiQ

Index

A

Adil, Mohammed, 15, 72, 74, 75, 170
Aghacha, 25
Agrippa, Heinrich Cornelius, 5
Ahmad of Jam, 49
Ahmed, Habibuddin, 144
Ain-i-Akbari, 23, 169
Ajayameru, 81
Ajmer, xvii,75, 79, 81, 96, 171
Akbar, Jalaluddin, xiv, xv, xxii, xxiii, 1, 9, 10, 14, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 39, 45, 48, 49, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 70, 71, 87, 88, 91, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 130, 138, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 156, 163, 164, 165, 172, 174
Akbarnama, xiv, xvi, 1, 23, 143, 161, 167, 169
Akbar, Sultan Muhammad, 113
Alam, Muzaffar, 9, 168
Alamgir, 106
Alexander, 131
Ali, Muhammad, 42
Amin, Sonia Nishat, vi, vii, xi, xxiv, 42
Amuli, Talib, 70
Ana Sagar Lake, 81
Andrea, Bernadette, 11, 12, 14, 62, 63, 167
Angelou, Maya, 159, 167
Appadurai, Arjun, 159, 167
Aqiqa, 28, 46
Arnimal, 136, 149
Arsh e Muallah, 82
Article 370, 8, 136
Aurangzeb, xi, xiii, xvi, xix, xx, 17, 46, 51, 62,63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 84, 92, 94, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 122, 123, 130, 132, 133, 165, 167, 170
Aurangzeb Road, 65
Autotopographical, 1
Aviary, xiii, xiv, xvii, xviii, xix, xxi, xxiii, 1, 8, 14, 16, 17, 18, 23, 35, 37, 40, 43, 45, 46, 50, 93, 103, 110, 135, 145, 149, 155, 156, 163, 164,
Ayodhya, 59

B

Babur, xiv, xv, 9, 16, 17, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 70, 77, 87, 89, 93, 168, 173
Babur Nama, xv, 9, 25, 29, 88, 168
Badakhshi, Mullah Shah, xiv, xvii, 1, 67, 69, 72, 73, 74, 81, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 147, 163
Badakhshan, 25
Bagh, Anguri, Shalimar, Hayat Baksh, Mahtab, 63
Bagh-i-Babur, 160
Bagh, Qara, 52
Bagh, Ram, 41
Bahadur, Tegh, 65

Bai, Mira, 127, 128, 133
Bajaur, 25
Bakhsh, Muhammad Kam, 106
Bakhtiyar, Bakhtiar, Sayyid Muhammad, 84
Baksh, Muhammad Murad, 69
Baqi, Mir, 59
Bayaz, Ustad, 107
Bedil, 104
Begam, Jahanara, vii, viii, xii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, xxi, 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 26, 34, 43, 46, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 113, 114, 116, 117, 129, 139, 147, 160, 163, 164, 165, 168, 170
Begam, Dildar, 25, 26, 46, 51, 56, 57
Begam, Gulbadan, xii, xiv, xv, xvii, xviii, xix, xxi, xxii, xxiii, 1, 10, 11, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 76, 88, 89, 91, 93, 95, 103, 139, 145, 156, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 167, 169, 173
Begam, Gulbarg, 44, 45
Begam, Gulchihra, 25
Begam, Gulrang, 25
Begam, Hamida Banu, 1, 26, 45, 48, 49, 50, 60
Begam, Khanzada, 32, 34, 40, 44, 49, 50, 51, 56, 93, 164
Begam, Mah, 57
Begam, Mah Chuchak, 51
Begam, Maham, 25, 26, 28, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 55, 57, 61
Begam, Mihr Angez, 56
Behn, Aphra, xxi
Behraaz, 107
Bengali Renaissance, 4
Beveridge, Annette Akroyd, xv, 15, 16, 25, 30, 31, 37, 38, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, 48, 51, 54, 56, 167, 169
Bhira, Bhera, 35, 53
Bigotry, 94, 165
Blake, Stephen P., 9, 167
Bokhari, Afshan, vii, viii, 1, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 30, 75, 77, 78, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 94, 95, 96, 116, 167, 168
Boughton, Gabriel, 66, 67, 72, 102, 169
Brahmaputra, 5
Buddhism, 13, 117, 143
Butenschon, Andrea, 63, 168
Butler, Judith, 17, 168

C

Cary, Elizabeth Tanfield, 162
Cavendish, Margaret Lucas, xxi, 18, 162
Chak, Yusuf Shah, xxii, 25, 136, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 155
Champanir, Champaner, 45
Charikaran, 52
Chatterjee, Bankim Chandra, xix
Chatterjee, Kumkum, 162, 168
Chauhan, Prithwiraj, 81
Chausa, 46, 49, 51
Chirag-Dehlavi, Nasiruddin Mahmud, 85
Chishti, Khwaja Moinuddin, xiv, xvii, 15, 17, 60, 69, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87
Chishtiyah, xvii, 62, 72, 76, 83, 85, 87, 98, 139
Christine de Pizan, xix, xxi
Civilizing mission, xi

Cixous, Hélène, 2, 118, 168
Coleridge, S. T., 11, 67

D

Dale, Stephen F., 9, 168
Daulatabad, 106
Das, Nirmal, 122, 168
Diwan-i-Aam, 95
Diwan-i- Makhfi, 115, 116, 119
Donne, John, 5
Dumas, Alexandre, 103, 169

E

Écriture féminine, 2
Elizabeth I, 4, 29, 64, 66, 138, 151
Elizabethan Age, xix
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 61, 169

F

Fantasy, xi, 2, 67
Faqira, 86, 89, 101
Farish, J., xi
Fazl, Abul, xv, 1, 23, 27, 31, 49, 54, 55, 143, 144, 145, 161, 164, 167, 169
Fazl, Nagul, 27
Findly, Ellison Bank, 10, 169
Firdaus-makani, 30, 31
Flirting Bazaar, 64
Fort William College, 4
Franco, Veronica, xxi
Friedan, Betty, 163, 169

G

Ganj-i-Shakar, Ganjesakar, Farid al-Din Masud, 85
Gaur, 28, 45, 48
Gazi, Rustum, 107
Ghakkar, Adam, 53
Gibbon, Edward, 3
Gilani, Abdul Qadir, 62
Girri, Maheish, 65
Godden, Rumer, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 48, 54, 60, 169
Greville, Fulke, 20, 170
Gupta, Ruchir, vii, 67, 91, 99, 102, 115, 117,
Gurez, 18, 138
Gynocritics, gynocriticism, xii

H

Habib, Irfan, 3, 4, 12, 170
Hadith, 92
Hafiz, Hafez, poet, 104, 107, 116, 117, 118, 124, 125, 172
Hafiz, 106, 107
Hallaj, Husayn Mansur, 118, 119, 170
Haqiqa, 92
Harem, vi, xi, xii, xiii, xv, xvi, 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 25, 26, 28, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 50, 51, 55, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 69, 70, 88, 93, 97, 98, 101, 104, 107, 110, 114, 118, 123, 133, 136, 146, 163, 170, 171, 172, 173
Harun at Nisapur, 78
Haruni, Uthman, 78, 79, 83, 84
Hindal, Abu-n-Nasir Muhammad,10, 25, 31,
34, 37, 42, 44, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58
Horace, 151
Huma, Homa, 131
Humayun, xiv, 16, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60
Humayun-Nama, xii, xiv, xv, xix, 15, 16, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29,

30, 31, 32, 33, 38, 54, 59, 88, 89, 161, 163, 167
Humayun Road, 65

I

Ibrahim, Hadhrat, 77, 78

J

Jabarut, *Malakut*, *Lahoot*, 92
Jaffrey, Dr Yunus, 75
Jainism, 13
Jamshid, 131
Jannat-ashyani, 30
Julaikha, Zuleikha, 131

K

Kabir, 122, 148, 168
Kabul, xv, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 41, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 69, 91, 97, 114, 160
Kalima, 79
Kamran, Mirza, 28, 29, 35, 38, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 144
Kar, Debamitra, viii, 118, 125, 170
Kashani, Kalim, 104
Kashmiri, Ghani, 104, 107
Khaki, Baba Daud, 146
Khan, Genghis, Chingiz, 26, 38
Khan, Khizr Khwaja, 28, 48, 53, 60
Khan, Kubla, 11
Khan, Naimatullah, 107
Khan, Sher, 28
Khan, Shir, 47, 53, 59
Khanam, Sati-al-Nisa, 70
Khatoon, Habba, vii, xiv, xxii, xxiii, 1, 7, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 127, 128, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 163, 164, 165, 167, 172, 173
Khayyam, Omar, 64, 116,
Kilan, Khwaja, 36, 38
Kulab, 51
Kulabi, 16
Kumaon, 5
Kunduz, 25, 51
Kush-ab, 53
Krynicki, Annie Krieger, 113, 114, 115, 170

L

Lal, Ruby, 8, 14, 37, 66, 171
Lalchand, xii
Lalded, 126, 127, 128, 133, 141, 147, 148, 149, 156
Lalleswari, 141
Lalita, K, xi, xii, xxiii, 16, 173
Lal, Magan, 15, 114, 174
Lambert-Hurley, Siobhan, xviii, 13, 168, 171
Lamghanat, 52
Lanyer, Aemilia, 162
Lapel, 1
Lasky, Kathryn, vii, 64, 65, 66, 171
Le Guin, Ursula K., 135, 171
Lodi, Ibrahim, Sultan, 29, 36, 39
Lol, 135, 148, 149
Loomba, Ania, 105, 171
Losty and Roy, xii, 171

M

Ma a'zam a-sha'ni, 93
Magun, 69
Mahabharata, xvii, 156
Makhfi, xiv, xxi, 17, 104, 108, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 121, 129, 173, 174

Malhotra, Anshu, xviii, 13, 168, 171
Manley, Delarivier, 12
Manucci, Niccolao, 66, 113, 115, 171
Mansingh Road, Shahjahan Road, Humayun Road, Prithviraj Road, 65
Maqtaa, 119
Marguerite de Briet, xxi
Mariam, Hafiza, 106, 107
Marlowe, Christopher, 5, 20, 171
Mary I, Queen, 4
Mattoo, Neerja, xxiii, 127, 128, 135, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 171
Mawarau-n-Nahr, 34
Maywa-jan, 43
Milwat, 29
Mir, Shah, 143, 148
Miran-shahi, Sulaiman Mirza, 16, 56
Mirza, Bayasanghar, 32
Mirza, Haider Dughlat, 144
Mirza, Khan, 16, 56
Mirza, Najabat Khan, 68, 71
Mirza, Sulaiman, 35, 51, 57
Misra, Rekha, 9
Miyabai, 107
Mohamdoo, 141
Monis-ul-Roh, 115
Mughal, vi, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 123, 124, 126, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 143, 144,145, 146, 147, 149, 155, 156, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169
Muhammad, Sayyid, 54, 84
Muhr Uzak, 69
Mujar e Manjil, 82
Mukhoty, Ira, vii, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 74, 171
Mumtaz Mahal, xvi, 16, 62, 68, 69, 70
Munis, Munis-ul-Arwah, xvii, xviii, 69, 70, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 81, 89, 91, 101

N

Nagori, Hadhrat Sheikh Hamiduddin Sufi, 84
Naqshabandi, 87
Nath, Renuka, 10, 171
Navaratnas, 23
Nawa Kot, 115
Nawaz, Khwaja Gharib, 75, 78
Neolithic, 4
Nur Jahan, 10, 11, 16, 61, 64, 169, 171

O

O'Hanlon, Rosalind, 10, 172
Orientalist Gaze, xi, 14

P

Padshah, Padishah, 19, 34, 44, 46, 61, 69
Pal, Ajay, 81, 82
Panda Chok, xxii, 147
Peirce, Leslie P., 10, 55, 56, 172

Philips, Katherine, 162
Pir, 87, 88, 94, 125
Pir Panjal Range, 143
Pir, Zinda, 120
Pocock, J.G.A., 3, 172
Pre-Modern, vii, viii, xiii, xix, xxiv, 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 52, 56, 57, 60, 62, 69, 85, 102, 129, 132, 135, 161, 168
Puran, 99
Purdah, 26, 56, 65

Q

Qaba, 77, 120, 121, 122, 165
Qadiriya, xvii, 3, 62, 68, 69, 72, 74, 81, 98, 100
Qandahar, 16, 25, 32, 35, 50, 51, 56
Qasim, Khwaja, 39, 40
Quibchaq, Sultan Wais Kulabi, 52
Qutb Minar, 84

R

Rabi'a Basri, Rabi'a , xvii, 74, 90
Rahaman,Valiur, 15, 72, 74, 75, 170
Ramarajya, 137
Rast-i-Kashmiri, 142, 148, 165
Raychaudhuri,Tapan, 9, 172
Razi, Aqil Khan, xx, 107, 110, 111, 115
Roushanara, 62, 64, 68, 69
Roy, Ram Mohan, 4
Rumuz E Bekhudi, 136, 137
Rustom, Rostam, 129, 131

S

Sadhu, Shyam Lal, xxiii, 122, 135, 138, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 172
Sa'di, Shaikh, 87
Safinat-ul-Aulia, 77
Sahibiya, *Risala-i-Sahibiya*, viii, xvii, 15, 21, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 78, 81, 85, 86, 89, 90, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 165, 170
Sahib-qiran, 38
Sahitya Akademi, xxiii, 149
Showalter, Elaine, xii, 173
Said, Edward, 12, 19
Sajastan, 77, 79
Salami, Ali, 125, 172
Samarqand, 32, 34, 78
Sarfi, Shaikh Yakub, 146
Sarkar, Jadunath, xix, xx, 70, 106, 111, 115, 170, 171, 172
Sayab, Nasir Ali, 107
Sazsi, Hadhrat Khwaja Moinuddin Hasan, 76
Shadi djinn, 82
Shah, Muhammad Azam, 106
Shah, Yaqub, 145, 146, 147
Shahjahanabad, 9, 65, 72, 167
Shakespeare, William, 5, 20, 138, 172
Shariat, 92
Sharma, Sunil, viii, 15, 72, 74, 75, 90, 101, 170
Shikoh, Dara, xvii, 10, 34, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 77, 71, 81, 88, 92, 95, 97, 100, 103, 109, 112, 118, 122, 165
Shikoh, Sulaiman, 109
Shir Khan, 46, 47, 53, 59
Shirin-Farhad, 126
Shuja, Shah, 69
Sidney, Mary, 162
Sikandra, 114, 160
Smith, Paul, xxi, 15, 108, 109, 110, 111, 117, 118, 119, 123, 124, 126, 170, 173, 174
Subalternity, xiv, 17
Sufi, ix, xiii, xiv, xv, xix, 17, 19, 22, 34, 58, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84,

85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 104, 107, 108, 110, 112, 117, 118, 120, 123, 126, 131, 132, 133, 139, 142, 144, 146, 148, 156, 160, 163, 164, 165
Sufism, 62, 67, 68, 74, 80, 83, 84, 87, 88, 102, 118, 120, 130, 165
Sufi ideology, Jabarut, Malakut, Lahoot, 92
Sultan, Qasim, 40
Sundaresan, Indu, 67, 68, 173
Sunni, xix, xx, 19, 36, 58, 60, 62, 87, 92, 93, 98, 119, 133, 165
Swat, 25
Swayamvara, 109

T

Tabrizi, Saa'eb, 104
Tagore, Abanindranath, xv
Tai, Hatim, 131
Tamerlane, Timur, 6, 26, 87, 123
Tahmas, Shah, 58
Tariqat, 92
Tarkalankar, Madan Mohan, 4
Terrible Elephant, 48, 49
Tharu, Susie J., xi, xii, xxiii, 16, 173
The Feminine Mystique, 163
The Laugh of the Medusa, 2, 168
The Passing of Shah Jahan, xv
The pleasure principle, 9
Timurid, 6, 19, 20, 26, 27, 37, 38, 40, 44, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 72, 77, 81, 87, 88, 96, 98, 99, 168
Tirmizi, S. A. I., 1, 5, 6, 16, 173
Transoxania, 34
Trope, xii, 18, 81, 102, 125, 129, 161
Truschke, Audrey, 165, 173
Tsang, Hiuen, 5
Tyndale, William, 122

U

Udaipuri Mahal, 106
Ullah, Shams Wali, 107
Umarkot, 49
Uthman-i-Haruni, Uthman Haruni, 78, 79, 83, 84
Uzbegs, 33, 35, 58

V

Vahdat, 93
Venuti, Lawrence, 15, 173
Verma, Chob Singh, 71, 173
Vidyasagar, Ishwar Chandra, 4
Viswanathan, Gauri, xi, 173

W

Wahdat al-Wujud, 93
Wakhlu, S. N., vii, xxii, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 156, 173
Wellesley, Lord, 4
Westbrook, Jessie Duncan, 15, 108, 112, 113, 115, 119, 123, 125, 129, 174
Wollstonecraft, Mary, xix
Wroth, Mary, 12, 162

Y

Yousufzai, Malik Mansur, 34

Z

Zaina Bridge, 155
Zeb-un-Nissa, viii, xiv, xix, xx, xxi, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 35, 46, 51, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125,

126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 139, 160, 163, 164, 165, 170, 173, 174
Zenana, xiv, xxiii, 16, 17, 18, 24, 26, 44, 46, 96, 103, 145
Zinat-un-Nissa, 106
Zubdat-un-Nissa, 106
Zulaikha, 131