Narrative Description

The Rose Garden of Love by Nuşratī, composed in 1666 and called a poetic work of "special eminence" by the great twentieth century Urdu scholar Maulānā ‘Abdu’l-Ḥaqq, is part of the Persian/Indian tradition of love romances (mathnawīs) of which the "Collection of Five" (Khamse) by Nizāmī became especially popular also in medieval Muslim India. Indeed, early examples in the Dakhini language, also called "Hinduwī," were recreations of Persian mathnawīs, e.g. Yūsuf and Zuleikhā or the Tutīnāme. They were composed by highly placed court poets such as Āḥmad Qajarātī (fl. 1686) and diplomats such as Āūwāsī (fl. 1650) for a multilingual aristocratic society which loved to be entertained in Persian, Telugu and also in the Southern form of Urdu, i.e. Dakhini. In this society, as Nuṣratī states (bait 776), there was a strong demand for a powerful story in "Hinduwī" apart from the Persian story tradition. However, the purpose of the story which Nuṣratī chose, was not only to entertain, but also to combine an attractive narrative with Sūfī theology. This emphasis, together with the details of a sometimes explicit love story, creates a special balance in the Rose Garden of Love which is different both from the artistic Persian tradition and from the cruder examples of North Indian Sūfī stories of the 16th century. Of the Persian romances only a few incomplete or outdated translations into English exist. Of the North Indian Sūfī stories only Muḥammad Jāyasī’s Padmāvatī was translated at the beginning of the 20th century. None of the mathnawīs in Dakhini are translated.

The text of the Rose Garden of Love consists of 43 cantos, each of 60 to 400 double verses (abyāt) in length. The manuscript on which the translation is being based numbers altogether 4522 abyāt and three short versified colophons. The first 12 cantos follow the example of the Persian mathnawīs and deal with the Unity of God, Prayer, Muḥammad, his ascent to the heavens, ‘Alī, and the patron saint Gūr Darāz. Then follow a praise of Nuṣratī’s king ‘Alī Ṭāḥī Ẓāhīr II (1637-72) and accounts of his own education and how he came to write the poem. All this is couched in a wealth of interesting details, which attest to the author’s faith, learning and courtly elegance.

The following cantos narrate the birth and childhood of the hero Manhar (cantos 13-18) and how in a miraculous way he falls in love with Madmālatī (19-20). He sets out in search of her, first on ship (21-23), then on foot through snow, dark forests and the heat of the desert (24-26). He rescues princess Campāwatī from the prison of a demon (27-28) and she unites him with Madmālatī (29-30). But Madmālatī’s mother surprises the lovers and angrily turns Madmālatī into a parrot (31). The bird is caught by Prince Candersen and brought back to her parents who give her back her human form (32-33). Now
Candersen searches for Manhar and when he finds him, Manhar is mad and completely out of his mind (like Majnūn of the Arabic romance) because of the pain of separation from his beloved (34-35). After the second meeting of the lovers there is a long description of the marriage ceremonies and the nuptial night (36-40). Finally the love story of Candersen and Campāwati is told, their wedding and the return of both couples to the home of their respective husbands (41-42). A chapter on the importance of the book concludes the poem.

This skeleton summary does not do justice to the breadth and depth of the poem. Even the sample text included here is more indicative of the descriptive power of Nusratī than of his depth of faith, which is observable especially in the beginning and at the end of the book. Besides theology and religious traditions, there are extensive passages on court music, astrology, chess and polo, hunting, painting, birds, plants, flowers and gardens, calligraphy, jewelry, military arts, etc. The Indian and Persian art of love and magic permeate the poem. The significance of these aspects of the text are explained in the commentary, a specimen of which is also attached.

The starting point of this project was a question put to me about the identity of an illuminated manuscript in the Philadelphia Museum of Art by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Curator of Indian Art. She expressed to me that it had been impossible for the Museum to find a translator for what I identified as Nusratī’s Gulshan-i ’Išq or the Rose Garden of Love. Thus, this unique manuscript and its 97 miniatures would remain largely inaccessible for the scholarly and educated world.

At her request I looked into the feasibility of a translation and found that no translation of the poem had been done earlier. Only a contaminated and modernized transcript of unknown manuscripts of the text had been published in lithographed form from Haidarābād in 1952(?). Recently, through the graciousness of Mr. Omar Khalidi, I also became aware of the existence of a printed version prepared in 1955 by ‘Abdu’l-Ḥaqq which shares the same characteristics with the Haidarābād transcript.

I traveled to Haidarābād and found about 10 manuscripts of the text readily accessible in public libraries. Moreover, there are at least five more in London and Berlin. This and the existence of stray leaves of lacerated illuminated manuscripts of the text attest to its wide popularity in the 17th and 18th century in the Dekkan.

So I agreed to translate the Philadelphia manuscript under the condition that the whole text should be translated and ultimately published and not bits and pieces in a separate publication of the miniatures. This was established by mutual consent with the
Philadelphia Museum of Art, with the Director, Dr. Stella Kramrisch, and the Head of the Publication Department of the Museum.

In my spare time I worked through a photocopy of the manuscript, which is different from both published editions of the text and from the other manuscripts I have seen. It was a formidable task because of the absence of any previous work, scanty grammatical studies and unreliable and deficient dictionaries. But this preliminary work gave me the material from which I prepared a number of papers and articles which I read at various scholarly gatherings and which are now beginning to be published. This proved to be absolutely necessary for a better understanding of this difficult text which is beset with problems originating from the vernacular vocabulary of the medieval Muslim culture of the Dekkan and because of the wide range of references to the material and intellectual world of medieval Indian Islam.

For this work I was supported by part of a Short Travel Grant from the American Institute for Indian Studies and by about $1800 from the South Asia Regional Studies Department of the University of Pennsylvania for student help, xeroxing and office material.

While working with the manuscript, it became clear to me that although I might be able to produce an understanding of the text in my mind, it is beyond my means to create a fluent, readable English equivalent of the poetic text which would make its publication a major event appropriate to its monumental importance, and, moreover, to give it a literary flavor which will not fade for a long time to come. I asked the advice of Mr. George Marcus, Head of Publications at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and highly experienced editor, who after looking at specimens of translation agreed to collaborate with me.

It is a special privilege and an indication of the general importance of the project that the world renowned specialist of Islamic literature and art Prof. Annemarie Schimmel (Harvard) has agreed to read through the translation and to make suggestions concerning the text and commentary. She will also advise in advance on the appropriate language and tone to be followed in the translation so that it best conveys the spirit of the original poem.

I would also like to consult about the results of my work with somebody intimately knowledgeable about the culture of the Dekkan, who would be able to prevent me from making the mistakes a non-native is always bound to make. I am very happy that a respected scholar such as Mr. Omar Khalidi has consented to read through the translation and give advice when necessary.
The preparations for the translation are now in such a state that I am sure the work can be done in two years. I will prepare the draft in my research time, Mr. Marcus will work on it half time for ten months, and Mr. Khalidi will read through it during a three-month period. The rest of the time will be used to coordinate the work of the collaborators and prepare the final manuscript. Prof. Schimmel will then review the final translation.

The proposed translation will follow line by line and word for word the Philadelphia manuscript, which provides a text copied about eighty years after the poem was composed. I have collected some twelve other manuscripts on microfilm which differ in length and also in wording, but not in the outline of the story. Instead of preparing an critical edition first, I decided to translate this most remarkable of all the manuscripts of the text which I have seen, for it presents a beautiful unity of text and artistic illustrations. The actual possibility of a publication by the Philadelphia Museum of Art of a translation made from this manuscript together with all the miniatures in facsimile makes it necessary to translate primarily the text for which the miniatures were created. A critical edition would generate another text, not fitting to the illustrations and, perhaps, less authentic. I have already started upon this critical edition, but it will be in the Persian script and for a much smaller readership. However, I shall occasionally consult older manuscripts, especially # 126 (755) Salar Jang, Ḥaidarābād of 1687, for the few absolutely corrupted passages in the Philadelphia manuscript and note it duly in the commentary. Thus I shall translate a text that the scribe and painter 'Abdu'l-Nādkar had before his eyes and which inspired him to paint the beautiful miniatures.

It is not my purpose to go into questions of the sources of Nusratī's story. The English scholar S.C.R. Weightman has been working for some years on the relations between the North Indian version of the Manohar story by Manjhan and two shorter Persian poems dealing with the same story. However, in an article in the Bender Festschrift (JAOS, in print), I have offered the theory that many of the Indian Sūfī stories with Hindu characters do not come out of the narrative traditions of the Hindus but that they contain Hindu material welded together and shaped according to the structure of the Islamic Alexander story. I do not think that this complicated and many-dimensional argument should have any place in this translation except in a footnote.

The introduction to the translation will deal with the unique historical circumstances which were responsible for the existence of the Southern Muslim States of medieval India. I shall dwell upon the artistic and aesthetic talents of their rulers who shaped a climate in
which a calligrapher and artist could create an illuminated manuscript, which he called "a Paradise on Earth". I shall explore those experiences that sustain this notion in Nuṣratī’s text and will mention: the world of the well kept gardens, the enjoyments music could offer, the great royal banquets, paintings and the beautifully executed creation of an illuminated manuscript. Further, I shall mention the rows of praying Muslims at ʿĪduʿ-ʿiftār which reminded Nuṣratī of the mysterious lines of writing on the "Protected Tablets" on God’s throne. And finally there is the celebration of conjugal love which, according to the Rose Garden of Love is the most genuine presence of God’s light on earth. In these and other ideas I shall trace Islamic, Hindu, Judeo-Christian and Neoplatonic elements and present an image of medieval man in Muslim India before this background.

I shall also describe my research into the history of this unique manuscript which was created for a highly placed lady of the Ḥaidarābād court and later presented to Ṭīpū Sulṭān. He let it be bound, marked it with his royal seal and added it to his famous library of great books of the Islamic culture. I shall follow the manuscript after the capture of Seringapatam by the British, through Calcutta to England where it is attested at Halleybury, Bath, and London until it was bought by a prominent Philadelphian citizen and art collector.

The translation will be accompanied by an extensive commentary in which the historical, cultural, literary, geographical, botanical, and zoological information the text presents will be discussed in detail. Allusions and references to a wide range of other texts will be traced and discussed when necessary. In fact, the commentary, when read by itself, will present the very world in which the poem was created and in which its author lived. Cross references will guide the reader to parallel passages which will show the whole range of meanings a word can have or the various applications of a concept or a myth. In other places the commentary will show that certain medieval customs or rites are still practiced by Muslims and Hindus in present-day India. In other words, the commentary will not critically dissect the text but seek to reveal its dimensions and depth, of which most of its readers would not be aware, and to put it in a context reaching from the days of Alexander the Great to our present time. I expect the commentary to be approximately one third of the length of the translation.
XXXVII

Together the two happy Kings gave a feast. They celebrated night and day and distributed all sorts of good things.

The heart-warming and sweet old lore I have turned into a joyful tale.

The two kings became overwhelmed with happiness, when they received auspicious omens from the astronomers.

The two kings distributed sweets in thanks, and let the drums beat in the palace.

They called for craftsmen of every trade and put each to work at his own calling.

They erected terraces and laid out flower beds with fountain pools, they framed balustrades from wood and constructed ornamented rooms.

Colorful pavilions rose up proudly, elegant vestibules opened toward the sky.

The delicate curve of their arches were envied by the eyebrows of beauteous maidens.

Accomplished painters prepared the decorations, and made the forms of the three worlds appear.

With each painter went a glider who made Spring come forth everywhere.

They brought into bloom a garden of beauties with cheeks like roses and filled in an assembly of their lovers.

But first they eyed the celestial spheres and courted Saturn's jealousy by painting blackness.

Their color of sandalwood diminished Jupiter their color of the gleaming roads robbed the beauty from the full moon.

The brilliance of Mars was outshone by the red in the parting of the women's hair, their gilding shone like the sun.
Their white paint made Venus seem impure, they nullified the azure of Mercury.

Praised be the elegant conceptions of the painters whose paintings were like reflections in water.

It was as if their brushes held rouge animated with the breath of Jesus.

When they painted with them, Things seemed as if they would come to life.

The houses they painted were of brilliant hues and thrilling to the heart.

The arrangements of the carpets on the floors were like enchanted gardens of flowers.

Tawāsī carpets were colored like the red glow of dawn, carpets studded with jewels outshone the sky.

Widths of silk were spread out everywhere, cushions, pillows, and rugs aroused great envy.

With the vaulted towers touching the sky the beams of the sun became less boastful.

Seeing the trellised windows with censers for agalloch, the Sky became sick at heart.

Shining candles of camphor appeared like the incomparable North Star.

Each string of pearls on the palanquins was like the Milky Way, clusters of chandeliers challenged the Pleiades.

The torches and beautiful crescent lamps were veritable replacements for the sun at night.

The arches were like the eyebrows of beauties, the glass placed there looked like eyes watering from wine.

Jets and fountains shot up in all directions, their spray kept the flowers in bloom.

In between were vessels with fragrant pastes and provisions, beneath them everywhere were stones of ambergris.
In the beds everblooming flowers were planted, their soil was nourished with a special ambergris.

In place of lime, sandalwood powder was spread, so the red of the morning covered the earth.

An elegant gathering collected all around, guests mingled up and down and were finally seated in row after row.

Seeing the famous and lustrous banquet gathering, even the stars began to drool.

Pān, fragrant and delightful, was offered to all, it was dispatched to the beloved without delay.

That shining eyes should meet amorous glances, they had filled their cups more brilliant than the sun.

With each breath they brought death to their rivals and revived the fire of hidden love in the heart.

Joyful musicians sounded sweet rhythms, accomplished women played and sang artfully.

Their beautiful voices attained such force, that they had pierced the veils and exposed the lips of Venus.

Coquettish courtesans with eyes as delicate as paintings caressed their lovers with their abundant beauty.

Although they were but women of the padmini type, they glided in the air as if they were Royal Fairies.

They looked like cypresses from an exquisitely laid out garden but they were endowed with wonderful fruits.

When they swayed to show off their allurements, their bodies bent from the fervent burden of their youth.

Their seductive lips were caskets of enchantment, their words cast spells upon the mind.

Each possessed an abundance of elegance and with each of their artistic gestures they enchanted thousands.

Having donned bells they stood, recapturing their composure
to express meaning and emotions through the magic of their beauty.

They struck drums, the sarmandal and the pakhāwāj, with the palms of their hands
and beat the tāl while intoning alāp.

Adorned with jewels and skillfully they started to dance
enrapt in their art they took wing like fairies.

They played a sweet rāga pregnant with emotion,
the swift moon forgot its destiny and strayed from its round.

The sky forgot to make a circle in its course
and the cascading fire rain of the sun ceased.

The steeds of the wind grew old and lame,
the sharp sword of the fire became dull.

Hearing the beautiful sounds the humā bird
came down to the edge of the earth in order to meet the king.

Each coquettish foot wore anklets bound with bells,
they rushed upon the fairies to wrestle with them.

But with their first challenging call, the Royal Fairies
fell with fright into the water.

With the brilliance of the Spring that captures the mind
the dancers might have stepped on their admirers' head.

They swayed and thrust and hesitated in their passion,
and ripped the modesty of their lovers to bits.

They startled the gāgnūs bird with their singing,
they taught the peacocks how to strut.

Intoxicated lovers would spend a fortune for their jumps,
fish in the water admired their darting.

Their spectacles overwhelmed the minds of the wise,
with their grace, they made the whole assembly dumfounded.

When their faces glowed brighter than the moon,
the eyes of their lovers were bedazzled like a cakor bird.

Their elegance set the eyes of the audience dancing
each heart felt manifold allurements.
Miniature # 71 (23 x 15.5) and medallion "Picture of Prince Manhar and Sūrbal" (6.5 x 5).

When their curls became twisted about their faces, the heart was like a deer and stumbled into this trap.

After this entertainment the hearts were not yet satiated, they brought in a rich meal for enjoyment and satisfaction.

Don't call it travel food for a journey into the world's paradise because each delicacy was, so to say, plucked from the tūbā tree.

Who took one morsel of this repast, tasted endless joy in his mouth.

A colorful flower bed was built from this banquet, a garden of ornate food was in bloom.

Don't say "colored with saffron," it was abounding with saffron. The boiled rice and dāl had the fragrance of lilacs.

Boiled dry rice gave off a fragrance, that sent the jasmine flowers into despair.

Spiced khīrīs pleased the guests, they were like nests of fruits, flowers, and leaves.

Red beets took the place of lotus flowers, meat curries appeared like gardens of narcissus and tulip.

The coriander overpowered the marjoram, and the mint nullified origan.

The crackers took the title of the moonflower, unleavened bread looked like sunflowers.

Pumpkin, gourd and balls of pulse climbed the mounds of rice and dāl like creepers.

There were plates of ghee with vegetables, the eggplants were like the buds of campā flowers fallen on the ground.

A vegetable garden with green dill was presented, there was a whole bed of fenugreek like emeralds.
The horse bean stretched out its impetuous hands,
the shame of the house was garlic, which looked like marigold.

Meat curry swimming in dāl mixed with purslane,
made sport of the saffron roses.

Around a mountain of fried eggplant and stews
there were the harmonious cries of painted quails and partridges.

Oil filled vessels were like deep pools,
in it pieces of fish were floating calmly.

In the glimmering broth
ducks, cocks, hens, and water fowl had made their homes.

Ghee covered the milk-rice like water,
powdered sugar was dusted on it like sand.

Houses of sweetmeats had been finely built,
blocks of sugar and candy were their bricks.

Lime for the mortar was white sugar candy,
from pieces of candy the private apartments were made.

Were the Egyptian sweetmeats not finer than agate?
Their clarity made them seem like eyeglasses.

Clear honey and moist halwa of wheaten flour
seemed to be better than a mortar to harness the Godaverī.

Soft desserts, made of syrup,
served as plaster in six or twelve layers.

Stairs were built from heaps of samosas,
the courtyard floor was laid of pieces of sugar.

In place of latticework there were zalebīs,
cups of various puddings and jellies were plentiful.

Large flat dishes filled with milk formed basins,
in them ladies were floating like ships.

Everywhere four types of sugar were set out:
gum-like, bricks, sticks, and balls.

Heaps of every sort of fruit lay
under the verandas of each pavilion.
The season of the banquet was like Spring, for they were passing around roses in the host’s house.

Whoever turned into the direction of the saffron sherbet, his heart started to laugh and his mouth fell open.

From the harbor of rice and dal proud ships of chicken breast were seized.

When their fate was to be drowned in ghee, floating gourds were attached to them.

From whichever mound of cakes one looked, cascades of ghee flowed into dishes.

Whoever got caught in the green web of the sugary noodles, was submerged in a mess of milk and ghee.

Assembled there was also wine vinegar, cheese associated with it had become like kabāb.

When guests parted their lips to taste this wine, they became restive with renewed appetite.

Those who started toward the houses, scrambled over an abundance of white sugar candy.

Those who attempted to jump into the courtyards, made the well-laid floor crack loudly.

Whoever looked at the beautiful cups was drawn to the great jar full of zalebīs.

When people turned their face from the sweetmeats, and eagerly made their way toward the savory victuals, sticky sugar, sugar bricks, sugar balls, and sugar sticks started to arrive cold and hot.

When the bricks of sweetmeats and candy were eaten, the breathing suspended and air could not find its way out. 

Whoever fell into the net of the candy, got whipped by the hot peppers therein.
the Banquet Assembly” (6 × 5) p. 406
For a long time their hand covered their mouths, 3745
while the sweet and savory were at war with each other.

But where both meet there is a pure essence 3746
which immediately gives forth the cool Water of Life.

For this water Alexander 3747
faced hardship in Zulmāt and wasted his life.

Many Khizrīs moved throughout 3748
and without asking, gave everybody to drink from it.

It is as if from the delight of the hundred thousand bits of sweets 3749
the pen in my hand becomes a sugar cane.

If I would use only spicy and bitter words, 3750
my graceful ink stand would become a container of salt.

However, by bringing sweetness into my images, 3751
I remind you of the lips and cheeks of that maiden.

So as the lovers while meeting all those delights, 3752
meditate about the real pleasure.

When the guests had eaten and were satisfied, 3753
their hands were washed and all were given pān of honor.

It was prepared only with the petal leaves of rare kef'orī 3754
from which roses and tulips sprouted.

They ate ten kinds of pān and their lips took on ten colors 3755
which made them more brilliant than emeralds and diamonds.

For many days hospitality had been extended 3756
when the day of the joining the lovers drew near.

Miniature #73 (23.7 × 15.8) and medallion “Picture of Sūrbal and 3757
the Music Assembly” (6 × 5.3)

On both sides rites and ceremonies 407
were readied which were miraculous for all that love.

Turmeric the color of saffron was piled on a tray for the halād

On it were leaves of gold like the sun.
Miniature #74 (21,1 x 15,7) and medallion "Picture of the Halad Ceremony" (1,7 x 5). p. 409

The crystal for the oil was like the North Star, the container of hinna made the Moon forlorn.

Miniature #75 (23,3 x 15,9) and medallion "Picture of Madmâlatî, Campâwati, and Sarîkâ" (6 x 5) p. 410

The world grew golden from the halad band, the face of the universe was cleansed with the oil.

Surely the dawn became red from the hinna, the sliver of the pale moon was filled with color.

To fill the courtyard with pearls the seven heavens brought forth bright stars.

Miniature #76 (18,6 x 16,2) and medallion "Picture of Manhar and Campâwati" (5,5 x 4,5) p. 411

All eyes were envious when they saw the presents,

"Miniature #77 (23 x 15,3) and medallion "Picture of the Ceremony of Sending the Presents" (1,7 x 5). p. 412

and piles of precious dowry were given.

Miniature #78 (22,8 x 15,1) and medallion "Picture of the Ceremony of Dowry Giving" (1,5 x 5) p. 413

Could Mercury have listed everything, it would have surpassed the wealth recorded in the seven heavens.

When the rites were completed in this manner, a splendid night came roving through the city.

O Lord, may beauteous things remain in the world for ever, and may the night be happy for our young friends!
Notes XXXVII

The wedding of Manhar and Madmālatī: Preparations for the wedding (3641): buildings (3644), decorations (3658), gathering of the guests (3671), musicians (3676), and courtesans dancing (3678). The meal starts (3701), pān of honor (3753). The wedding ceremony (3757), the halād ceremony (3758), sending the presents (3763).

3641 This and the following chapters give a splendid description of a royal Muslim marriage. Nearly all the ceremonies described are based on customs prevailing then, and even now, in India. In 1885 George A. Grierson noted that the "more strict and educated members" of the Muslim community conduct marriages according to the ṣarīṭa, i.e., without ceremonies of any kind but as a contractual affair (cf. abāt 3823ff.), after which the wife "goes to her husband and is settled for life." About the more elaborate ʿurfī marriages, which include all the elements described by Nusratī, Grierson wrote: They "are not so frequent as they used to be" and are in vogue especially "amongst the lower orders" (Bihar Peasant Life [Calcutta 1885], pp. 374-75). Comparing Nusratī's description with Grierson's and others', from geographically closer regions can make the reader aware of the power of Nusratī's imagination and the splendor of the courtly life of his time.

3642 damānā, a percussion instrument, see above b. 511n.

3645 menhdīyān, women's pavilion, from menhdī "woman."

3650 zuḥal, Saturn, was an-nahsu'āl-akbar ("The Great Ruin") for Arab astrologers. He spreads distress (b. 3969), his color is black (b. 3650), and musk is his perfume (b. 3841).

3651 muṣṭari, Jupiter, ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἀστήρ ("The Star of Jupiter") of the Greeks, retained his royal rank with the Arab astrologers. He is the dignified Judge of the Heavens (b. 282, b. 2194) and thus can assist the reciter of a marriage contract (b. 3824). His color is like sandalwood (b. 3651), and, therefore, sandalwood (paste) for cosmetic purposes is related to him (b. 3841); the China rose is compared with him (b. 4124).

cānd (from Skr. candra) or qamar (Arab.), the moon, consists of silver but its spots are green; from it comes a four-fold unguent (b. 3842).
mirâk, Mars, was an-nahsul'-asgar ("The Minor Misfortune") for the Arab astrologers. His color is red (b. 3126) and is compared with a ruby (b. 3123) and with vermillion in the parting of the hair of a lady (b. 3650). His flower is the throne rose (b. 4126).

zuhara, Venus, is the planet of the arts. She sings (b. 3677, b. 3805) and plays the cang (see b.511n.) fast(b. 1723). As a woman she is veiled (b. 3677). Her color is white like the dog rose, which is compared with her (b. 4142). Only the purest perfume comes from her.

'utârid, Mercury. The article "'utârid" by W. Hartner in Encyclopaedia of Islam I expressively denies that the name al-kâtib ("The Scribe") was ever known to Muslims east of the Nile. In b.274 Nusratî, however, calls Mercury sâton falak kâ dabîr (Secretary of the Seven Heavens), which is simply a translation of al kâtib. His color is blue, and a perfume is made from his turquoise form (b. 3844). His flower is the violet (b. 4125).

On the breath of Jesus, the Qur'ân, Sûratu'l-Ma'idati (V,113) says: "You makest out of clay, as it were, the figures of birds, by my leave, and you breathed into them and they became birds, with my leave" (see b. 173; other passages on Jesus in this text: abyât 828, 112, 1174, 2026, 2432, 2433, 3597).

tawâsî, a still undefined type of rug or carpet.

Ambergris, a "solid substance formed in the intestine of the sperm whale... When exposed to sun, air, and sea water, it hardens, fades, and develops a pleasant scent" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th ed. Micr. I). It was most probably introduced to India by Arab traders where it is attested from A.D. 200 as a costly perfume. After many fantastic explanations about its origin, the truth, already known to Marco Polo (Travels, A.D. 1298), appeared also in Indian writings. Cf. P.K. Gode, "History of Ambergris in India," in Gode, Studies in Indian Cultural History, vol. 1 (Hoshiarpur, 1961), pp. 9-14.

A. G. Grierson (cited above, note b. 3641, p. 379) noted that after the erection of the marriage canopy which is accompanied by singing and great gaiety, food is ritually prepared from rice, gram, mûng, eggplant, and pumpkins, and distributed on plates that are offered to the Prophet, Fâtimâ, the saints, and all the deceased members of the family one can remember. After this married women (but not those who are married twice or are
unchaste) of the neighborhood are invited to eat the offerings. This ceremony is called kandūri, a word that appears in b. 3730 (and other places) describing the whole banquet laid out in this chapter.


3676 mutri, a musician, cf. b. 511 n.

gīyāti, a female musician or singer.

3677 Venus is the planet of the arts, cf. b. 3653 n.

3679 According to the traditional doctrines of love (kāmasūtra) of the Hindus, padmāti women are the first of four classes of women. The Ānaṅgaraṅga by Kalyāṇa Malla (see below) lists padmāti (lotus) women, citrāti (variously talented), śāṅkhāti (conch) women, and hastāti (elephant) women. In the Rasikapriyā, the Brajbhāṣā poet Keśavadāsa, a contemporary of Nuṣratī, described Rādhā, the beloved of Krṣṇa, as a padmāti woman:

"When she speaks she smiles sweetly. It seems as if fragrant flowers would fall. Her flirting is mysterious. She is wise in all the arts of love. For her beauty I would sacrifice snake maidens, celestial nymphs, and singing girls. All the other women seem vulgar when placed against her. Keśavadāsa says, for her I would die. She is the darling of Braja. Brahma made her of one kind. So many (men) fly around her with their longings swayed like black bees. This child of Vṛṣabhānu [i.e. Rādhā] is as lovely as a campā bud."(23).

The much older Ānaṅgaraṅga by Kalyāṇa Malla (ed. Rāmcandra Jhā [Varāṇasī 1973]) describes the padmāti woman in the following manner:

"Her eyes are large like those of a fawn with red corners. Her face is like a full moon. Her breasts are full and erect. Her body is tender like the sīrīṣa flower [acacia sirissa]. She eats only little and she is faithful. Her vaginal flow during coitus is fragrant like a blossoming lotus. She is bashful and proud. She is of slender shape and of the color of gold or the campā flower. She is devoted to the worship of gods etc. Her vulva is like a
lotus in bloom. She talks softly and walks like a female swan [see on hans b. 2778]. She likes to wear always beautiful, clean clothes. She has three rows of hair on her belly. She likes to wear white clothes. Her neck is long, her nose is charming. Such a woman is called a padmānī woman." (12)

3685 sarmandal, drum, cf. b. 513.

pakhāwaj, drum, see b. 511 n.

tāl drum.

alāp, introductory part of a rāgā recital. See above b. 511n.

3690 humā, the bearded vulture (Gypaëtus barbatus aureus), is considered superior to all the birds. Whoever comes under his shadow, will become king. The humā likes the air of a royal court (b. 3592), courtly music attracts him, and he comes running to meet the king. A neglected royal garden makes him always grieve (b. 3318) Cf. also the Encyclopedia of Islam, new ed., vol. 3 (Leyden 1971) p. 572.

3695 qagnūs, a fabulous bird. Nusratī refers otherwise to it only because of its wonderful singing (b. 4075). For other fabulous birds, often treated like qagnūs as a phoenix, see ayyāt 1706 (fanqā), 3690 (humā), 205n. (sīmurū).

3698 cakor, from Skr. cakora, the Greek partridge (Alector chukar pallescens [H.] or Alector chukar chukar [G.]), is fabled to subsist on moonbeams.

3702 the tūbā tree grows in the Islamic paradise.

3705 za'frān, saffron. The dried, orange tips of the pistils of sānkesar (see b. 1729) or more common kesar, i.e. Crocus sattiva, give the yellow powder for seasoning and dying. The best quality of za'fran comes from Afghanistan.

qabūlt, rice and pulse boiled together.

sūsan, the iris, the lily (Pancratius).

3706 khuska, rice boiled plain without seasoning.

mogra, Arabian jasmine (Jasminum sambac var.).
3707 **khicrī**, a dish made of rice and split pulse (dāl) boiled together with ghee and spices.

3708 **čuğandar** (for Pers. čuğandar): red beets (*Beta vulgaris*).

**kanwāl**, lotus, from Skr. kamala (*Nymphaea nelmbo* or *n. alba*).

**qaliyaḥ**, boiled meat dressed with anything.

**nargis, lālah**, see abyat 1063 and 746.

3709 **kothmīr** (*Coriandrum sativum*).

**daūnā**, coriander (*Artemisia Indica*) or a kind of sweet marjoram (*Artemisia vulgaris*).

**nafnā** (from Arb. nafnā), mint (*Mentha sativa*).

**marwā**, *Artimesia vulgaris*, or *Ocimum pilorum*, or *Origanum marjorana*, cf. daūnā-marwā, see abyat 2732 and 4056 with notes.

3710 **kāk**, a sweetened cake or bread.

**gul-i cand**, the moonflower, a night blooming, convoloulaceous plant (*Calonyction aculeatum*).

**kumānc**, unleavened bread.

**gul āftāb**, the sunflower (*Helianthus annuus*), see b. 3303.

3711 **kadū**, the pumpkin (*Cucurbita lagenaria*).

**čačundā** (also *cicindā*), gourd (*Bela vulgaris*).

**tuwarī kī barī: tuwarī**, a kind of lentil (*Cajanus Indicus*). But Platts has also *turaī*, the cucurbitaceous plant. *barī* or *barā*, small lumps of pulse (ūrd or mūng), fried in oil or ghee, then dried in the sun and used as condiments (Platts, pp.152, 153).

**qabūlī**, see b. 3705

**dal** (for dāl), split pea

3712 **purālā**, a vegetable, the meaning is guessed.

**bijālā**, mentioned by Muhammad Husain Khan, p. 70, as *baigān*,
eggplant.

campā, the tree *Michelia champaca*.

3713 *soʿā*, dill (*Anethum graveolens*).

methī, fenugreek (*Trigonella fenum-graecum*).

3714 *sem*, horse bean.

kand, garlic (*Allium sativum*).

argand, marigold (?), see b. 4055

3715 For *khatlī*, see *Jālibī* (p. 168), s.v. *katle* "a sort of curry with chick peas and other vegetables. Its color is yellow."

dai (for *dāl*) see b. 3711.

ghol, purslane (*Portulaca oleracea*).

*guš-i zafrān*, a yellow rose, cf. *guš zafrān* (b. 3336).

3716 *burānī*, according to Platts (p. 174): "food made from the egg-plant, fried *brinjal* soaked in sour milk or tyre."

*yakhnī* (Arab.), gravy, stew, hash.

*lāwā*, the painted quail (*Perdicula erythrorhyncha* or *p. blewitti* [H.])

durrāj, a partridge (*Francolinus vulgaris*).

3718 *šorwā* (for *šorbā*), broth.

*badakh* (for Pers. *battakh*), the duck.

*murg*, the cock.

*murgān*, fowl.

*murgābī* (for Pers. *murg-i abī*), water fowl.

3719 *ghīAGO*, clarified butter, ghee.

*khīr*, "rice, parboiled in water, is again boiled in milk, with addition of sugar, and sometimes spices and kernels" (Platts, 885).
3720 šakkar pārah, sugar pieces, see b. 3725.

hešmī, not attested in the dictionaries, see also b. 3743.

3721 ablūj, according to Jalibī, also ablūc, and explained by him as misrī nābāt (Egyptian sugar; white, refined sugar, sugar-candy); M.H. Khan is wrong in describing it as gand (loaf sugar, also brown sugar, molasses, treacle).

pašmāk, "a sweetmeat which looks like a string of hemp" (Jālibī, 69). Cf. Platts (p. 678) s.v. san-sūtr : "a net made of hempen string."

3722 nābāt-i misrī, as above.

3723 šahad, honey.

ṣūjī kā halwā: ṣūjī, "wheaten flour in fine granules, flour ground from the heart of wheat, coarse-ground flour; semolina" (Platts, p. 695).

tāpnī for tāpni, the river Godhavērī.

3724 šīrā (for Pers. šīrah), syrup etc. (see Steingass, p. 774).

3725 samosasā (for Pers. samosah) "a kind of small pastry of minced meat of a triangular form" (Platts, p. 677).

šakkar pārā, cf. b. 3720.

3726 zalebī (Pers. zalībiya) "a sort of fritter or pancake" (Steingass, p. 620).

pirnī (from Pers. firnī) and palūda, puddings and gelatins; in Persian firnī is called birādar-i palūda, the "brother" of palūda.

3728 cepā, cf. Hindi cep, gum, the acrid resins of fruits.

re'orīyān, for rorā, brick.

battī, a sugar stick.

laddū, "a kind of sweetmeat (made of the meal of chick peas, or mūng, etc., with the addition of sugar and ghee, and sometimes rasped cocoa-nut kernel and pistachio nuts, and formed into the shape of large boluses or balls)" (Platts, p. 955).
kandūrī is the Dakkīnī word for a banquet, see above b. 3671.

muza'far, "tinctured with saffron, a kind of pilav, a kind of sweet beverage, made of water, flour, and honey" (Steingass, p. 1223).

gabūī, see b. 3705.

murgī ke sīne, chicken breast.

kadū, see b. 3711.

malītdā, "a cake made of pounded meal (or of flour), milk, butter, and sugar" (Platts, p. 1067).

se'g, long, stringy wheat noodles fried in ghee in the form of bird's nests.

sīwāl, green scam floating on stagnant water.

širkah (Pers.), vinegar.

panīr (Pers.), cheese.

kabāb, ground meat roasted.

ablūj, see b. 3721, "rose up to their neck."

jha'jar mem zalebī ke, for zalebī, see b. 3726.

for cempiyān (sg. cepā), ri'oriyān (or re'oriyan), and laddū see b. 3728,

battī, stick sugar, see b. 3728n.

andarsī, "a kind of sweetmeat made of rice and flour formed into balls, then fried in ghee and covered with sugar" (Platts, p. 90), cf. Hindi andrasā.

hešmī, see b. 3720.

pašmak, see b. 3721,

mīrcānī for mīrc, hot pepper (Capsicum frutescens).

The Water of Life for which Alexander went into Żulmāt (see b.
Alexander did not die in Zulmât (b. 3747), but in Babylon. However, in Zulmât he had to give up his dream to become immortal. Also in b. 2077 Nasrâtî refers to Alexander’s march into the Land of Darkness (Zulmât). One of the possible sources for the Islamic rendering of the Alexander story is the account in the Pseudo-Kallisthenes version (manuscript L, edited and translated into German by H. van Thiel [Darmstadt, 1983], 2.39): When Alexander reached the region where no sun was shining, he left his older soldiers and the women back and marched on with the rest of his army. Only one old man in disguise came along together with his two sons. When the army was about to lose its way, this old soldier came forward and said: Alexander should separate the mares from the foals and leave the foals back because the mothers would find the way back to their offspring. When after a long march Alexander felt hungry, he ordered his cook Andreas to wash a dried fish in a spring and cook it for him. But the fish came to life as soon as it touched the water. Andreas drank from the water but concealed this miracle from Alexander. Later Alexander was warned by two birds with human faces not to proceed further but march instead against India. The mares guided him back to the regions of light. Andreas, proud of his immortality, tried to make love to Alexander’s daughter Kale. When Alexander found it out, he banished her to the mountains but tried in vain to drown the immortal Andreas.

This or a similar version of this episode must have been in the Middle Persian accounts which formed the basis for Firdawsî’s and Niẓâmî’s narratives. In both these texts Alexander is accompanied by a guide, who in the Sikandar nâmah is called Khizr. Only Khizr finds the Water of Life and Alexander is turned back by Sarâfîl, the Angel of Death.

3748 Khizr drank from the Water of Life, is in possession of a small quantity of it, and can administer it to others. See b. 2078 and note.

3749 naišakar, sugar cane, see b. 1754 n.

3752 Even the enjoyment of the banquet is part of the larger Platonic ideas: the sweetness of the words of its description makes the reader think about the beauty of the heroine and the lover and the beloved, and while enjoying all these delicacies, will meditate about the eternal and only real delight (kain-i râhat).

3753 For pân, see b. 3673.
3754 **ke’orî**, Pandanus odoratissimus, see above b. 2731.

3755 "redder than emeralds and diamonds" (sic).

3758 **halâd** ceremony, i.e., the anointment of the bride with saffron (or turmeric) and hînñâ. The ceremonies of the wedding are realistically described and follow patterns that can be observed even today. In his *Marriage and Family in Mysore* (Bombay 1942), pp. 95-96, M. N. Srinivas notes the ritual use of turmeric (**halâd**) in non Brahmanal weddings. **sumângalî** (auspicious, i.e., married, women) rub turmeric on bride and bridegroom and both have to stay for five days in the "turmeric state." Then they are washed and a male of a status near to the caste of the headman brings the ornament box, containing twelve articles to the bride. Afterward the **kañkana** is tied. This is the same order of events described in this text. The **halâd** ceremony, called **gayê holûd**, is also an integral part of the marriage customs of the high castes in Bengal (See Lina Maria Fruzzetti, *Conch-Shells Bangles, Iron Bangles: An Analysis of Women, Marriage and Ritual in Bengali Society* [Phd. Diss. University of Minnesota, 1975], pp. 247-60). A.G. Grierson (op. cit., p. 379) says that during the anointment of the bride and the bridegroom yellow cloths are thrown over them and a piece of yellow cloth is tied to their arms. This tying of bands is called **kañgna bândhab** (see b. 399ff.). Srinivas goes on to describe Brahman marriages in Mysore: "The couple assume the **kañkana** to symbolize their entry into the ‘marriage state.’ Two strands, one woolen and the other cotton, are entwined together. A piece of turmeric, which has an odd number of branches, is tied to the string. And the string is tied to wrists of the pair" (p. 73). Non-Brahmans follow the same custom "plus an iron ring which is tied to the **kañkana** thread for prophylactic purposes— is tied round the wrists of the pair" (p. 96). (This seems to be a reference to **anûthiân**, or rings, in the next canto.) For this ceremony, see also Carl Gustav Diehl, *Instrument and Purpose* (Lund, '1956), p. 187.

3759 hînñâ, see above b. 1433 n.

3763 **barî** (presents) are sent to the house of the bride before the procession of the bridegroom arrives at her house. Grierson (op. cit. pp. 380-81) describes **barî** in the following manner: (1) dresses for the bride, (2) a chaplet for the bride, (3) some raw thread dyed with safflower, (4) some fragrant spices, (5) sweet scented oil, (6) a cone-shaped basket of bamboo containing cardamoms, sandalwood, musk, etc., (7) sweetmeats, (8) fruits, (9) spices [for Betel], (10) fifty-two gaily colored water pots
filled with rice, betel nuts, and mango leaves. Nusrati saw the exchange of barī and jahez (dowry) in other dimensions.

3764 Ṣūṭārid, Mercury, the heavenly secretary, see above b. 3653n.
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