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Introduction

This work is an exploratory study of the commemoration of women in cultural spaces during the early colonial period in South Asia. Based on a reading of the rather neglected compendia of women writers composing verses in Urdu and Persian in the varied and multiple pasts of Hindustan,[1] it looks at memories of women's active participation in the literary spaces. Written in the nineteenth century, these compendia (*tazkira*s) written in Urdu were texts of memorialization, and reproduced memories of the freshness and depth that women poets brought to the literary culture. I read these texts as, following Pierre Nora, 'sites of memory' (*lieu de memoire*),[2] and the life stories and poetic compositions found therein indeed serve to remind us of women's participation

[1] This is how the Indian subcontinent is described in our *tazkira*s. In pre-colonial literature, the subcontinent is mentioned as Hindustan, and even as the colonial period saw its displacement with 'India', the idea of Hindustan persists in Persian and Urdu literary practices. Even as 'Hindustan' and 'India' are today understood as synonyms, they represented distinctly different social imaginaries. Hindustan represented a sociocultural space that was markedly diverse and polyvalent, and was shaped by the multiple conversations between the Indic and Persianate practices, belief systems, and arts and letters. 'India' was, on the other hand, a product of what Manan Ahmed describes as the 'colonial episteme', and represented a perception of South Asia as an exclusive, homogenous, and antagonistic cultural space. He describes the change as 'the loss of Hindustan and the invention of India'. Manan Ahmed Asif, *The Loss of Hindustan: The Invention of India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020).

[2] Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman (eds.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past, vol. 1: Conflicts and Divisions*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

in the 'literary public sphere'.[3] These texts are not acts of recollection, but exercises in construction crucially motivated by significant sociopolitical considerations, one of which was to push for women's literacy within an indigenous frame of reference and to dispel the picture of the culture in Hindustan, found in British imperial writings and policy initiatives, as marked by inertia and stasis, particularly in matters relating to the lives of women.

This study then contests the commonplace assumption that the literary public sphere in the colonial period was markedly homosocial and gender exclusive, and argues instead that female scholars actively participated in shaping the norms of aesthetics and literary expression, and introduced fresh signifiers and linguistic practices to apprehend their emotions, experiences, and world views. Based on a reading of the largely ignored *tazkira*s of women poets, I suggest here that their compositions could be seen as a form of, in the language of Foucault, 'erudite' knowledge in that they enriched the literary space, even as they evoked considerable anxieties, and stood in a paradoxical relationship with the dominant episteme, both reinforcing and challenging its cultural assumptions and truth-claims.[4] Women's poetry was neither antithetical nor excluded from the prevailing episteme and was in circulation in dispersed cultural spaces, such as

[3] By the 'literary public sphere', I mean the cultural spaces of inter-subjective communication in which social actors came together to institute literary norms and practices, and shared their emotions and experiences to reproduce their interior selves, and communicative subjectivities. Even as the literary public sphere was certainly facilitated by the development of print, the sphere was also enriched by the oral and performative traditions as well. Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Fredrick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989); Geoff Boucher, *Habermas and Literature: The Public Sphere and the Social Imaginary* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021). For an understanding of the South Asian literary public sphere, see Megan Eaton Robb, *Print and the Urdu Public: Muslims, Newspapers, and Urban Life in Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere, 1920–1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[4] In his study of the power/knowledge ensemble, Foucault refers to the contestations with the dominant episteme by 'subjugated' knowledges, and sees these knowledges as divided into 'erudite' and 'disqualified' forms of knowledges. 'Erudite' knowledges are a part of the dominant cultural relations, but are 'masked' by these relations. They reproduce the dominant knowledge forms, paradoxically by contesting and reinforcing the prevailing episteme. The 'disqualified' knowledges are positioned outside the epistemic field, and are excluded and disqualified from participation. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980); Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1989).

the salons of the courtesans, the marketplace, household assemblies, and literary meetings. Indeed, in memorializing their voices from such dispersed locations, the authors of women's *tazkira*s were undertaking a genealogical exercise of recovering the 'subjugated' and suppressed voices in literary culture. At the same time, we should be careful, and remain attentive, when reading their work, to their own elisions, exclusions, and silences as well.

Reading the Women's Biographical Compendia: Gender in the Literary Public Sphere

The *tazkira*s that we study here are written in Urdu and deal primarily with Urdu poets, but they include in their collection women poets writing in Persian as well. As it is, historians, literary critics, and specialists have largely chosen to ignore the literary biographical compendia, but when it comes to the *tazkira*s of women poets (*tazkira-i zanāna*), the indifference is even more conspicuous. This, of course, serves to facilitate the construction of the literary space as gender specific, marked by the near, if not total, exclusion of women, at least up until the early decades of the twentieth century, if not later. In ignoring women poets, modern literary critics are actually following an entrenched tradition, for the well-known literary *tazkira*s written in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries either fail to mention them or mention a bare handful among them in order to represent the literary space as gender exclusive, where the agency of women was of little significance.

Interestingly, in the contemporary literary tradition of compiling the life stories and poetic compositions of scholars, women – when not conspicuously absent – only make incidental presences; they are mentioned as a reluctant digression, and when compared with the other literary figures mentioned therein, they are a needle in the haystack. Let us take a couple of instances here. In the mid-eighteenth century, the famous Rekhta[5] poet Mir Taqi Mir wrote a *tazkira* of Rekhta poets, *Nikāt-ush-Shu'arā* (The Exquisiteness of Poets), and this was followed by Saiyad Fateh Ali Husaini Gardezi writing another compendium of poets, *Tazkira-i Rekhta Goyān* (Life Stories of Rekhta Conversationists). As early initiatives in compiling verses of poets writing in Urdu, these were indeed commendable efforts, and even as they differed in terms of narrative details, they were alike in excluding women and denying any space in their texts to the life stories and compositions

[5] Rekhta was the name given to the early form of the Urdu (and Hindi) language. A mixed dialect, Rekhta combined elements of Persian with Hindavi, and came to be known as Urdu later in the nineteenth century.

of women poets.[6] In the early decades of the nineteenth century, Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi authored another literary compendium of 'Hindi speaking poets' (*hindi-goyān*), *Tazkira-i Hindī*;[7] he does not mention any female poet in the main body of his text but felt constrained to add an appendix (*khātima*) to provide space to just five women poets: Dulhan Begum, Jina Begum, Guna Begum, Zeenat (nom de plume: Nazuk), and Moti.[8]

The biographical compendia of women poets that we study here challenge these representations, and in the process open up an archive of women's speech that has been ignored and largely forgotten in modern South Asian scholarship. While the women's *tazkira*s are certainly not without their own elisions and silences, they are crucial in drawing attention to the voices of literate women, and the force with which these voices were silenced from historical registers and social memories. The *tazkira*s that we study here awaken us to a deliberate act of historical silencing and provide a basis for the construction of a counter-memory, one in which women indeed had a remarkable presence in the literary culture. As texts of memorialization, the *tazkira*s of women poets resist the erasure of their voices and recover their speech, as it were, from the dark dungeons of damning silence.

It is argued here that women's poems should be read as a kind of life story, involving an effort at self-articulation, and an act of unveiling in a society that insisted on veiling them – their bodies and speech. The unveiled self was itself a construction, but its articulation in the language of poetry enabled women to represent their selfhood in polysemous terms and their gender within an intersectional framework. The women poets discussed in the nineteenth-century *tazkira-i zanāna* come from diverse social locations and did not experience or represent their gender in any uniform and undifferentiated terms. Gender was clearly entangled with class, caste and ritual status, and levels of privilege and marginalization, but the important point is that gender was articulated in

[6] Mir Taqi Mir, *Nikāt-ush-Shu'arā* (1751–52), ed. Mahmud Ilahi (Lucknow: Uttar Pradesh Urdu Academy, 1984); Saiyad Fateh Ali Husaini Gardezi, *Tazkira-i Rekhta Goyān* (1752–53), (New Delhi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Hind), 1933).

[7] Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi, *Tazkira-i Hindī* (1816–17), ed. Maulvi Abdul Haq (Delhi: Jamia Barqi Press, 1933).

[8] Mushafi, *Tazkira-i Hindī*, 279–82. Mushafi informs us that Moti was initially a courtesan, but an aristocrat, Mirza Ibrhim Beg, fell in love with her, and took her in his care, and she renounced her vocation to live with him in his household (Mushafi, *Tazkira-i Hindī*, 281–82).

ambiguous terms, within a frame of reference that transcended its entrapment within the male–female binaries. Gender was certainly 'a useful category'[9] but not the 'primary' experience through which these women wrote about their experiences, emotions, and aesthetic sensibilities.

Reading the poems found in the women's *tazkira*s, one realizes that their compositions enriched, but also contested the dominant literary norms and aesthetics. Of course, women's poetry functioned within the Persianate literary allusions, allegories, and figures of speech, but we find them experimenting with new forms of expression and aesthetics as well. Even as their literary forms were constrained by the standard conventions, they did engage in innovative methods of linguistic expression and succeeded in articulating new emotions, experiences, and sensibilities. Clearly, then, despite the constraints of language, women did speak![10] Of course, a speech-act is contingent on its reception – the act of listening – and if their speech was not heard, it would naturally be annihilated or pushed to the 'silenced margins'. Even as the dominant literary culture was largely dismissive of women's presence, there were, as we learn from our texts, alternate sites, inclusive and diverse, where their compositions were read and appreciated, recited and remembered. It is within these 'counter-spaces' that women poets adopted heterogeneous subject positions to relate their emotions and experiences, and enriched the dominant literary culture with their literary experiments and innovations.

Within these counter-spaces, literary connoisseurs and critics waxed eloquent on women's lyrical compositions and the efforts of the authors of women's *tazkira*s.

[9] Joan Wallach Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053–75; Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018 [revised edition]). For a critical assessment of her formulations, see Afsaneh Najmabadi, 'Beyond the Americas: Are Gender and Sexuality Useful Categories of Historical Analysis?' *Journal of Women's History* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 11–21; and Jeanne Boydston, 'Gender as a Question of Historical Analysis', *Gender and History* 20, no. 3 (November 2008): 558–83. Also see Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[10] The debate on the issue was initiated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in her influential piece: 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, 66–111 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). Also see Rosalind C. Morris (ed.), *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

Reviewing the *tazkira-i zanāna* of Durga Prashad Nadir[11] (discussed later), Shah Bahauddin Bashir described women's verses therein as 'the songs of the sweet-sounding parakeets' (*naghma-i tūtiyān-i khwush al-hān*).[12] Another scholar described the women's lyrics found in his *tazkira* as 'sweet mangoes':

> Look at the effects of mellifluous speech
> Each and every verse (in the compendia) is like a sweet mango.
>
> *Dekhnā shīrīn kalāmī ka asr*
> *Us kā har fuqrah hai goyā mīthā ām*[13]

For this study, I have focused on two contemporary *tazkira*s written in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first one is *Bahāristān-i Nāz* (The Blandishments of Spring; hereafter *BN*) written by a physician of local repute, Hakim Fasihuddin Ranj (1836–85); written in 1864, it is usually considered the first *tazkira* of women poets in South Asia.[14] Our second biographical compendium, briefly mentioned earlier, was authored by a petty scribe of the *kāyasth* community, Durga Prashad Nadir, and is entitled *Tazkirat-un Nisā* (Women's Life-Stories; hereafter *TN*); written in 1884, it is more detailed and includes several interesting entries that had evaded Ranj.[15] Writing in the same period, both authors borrowed from each other's work. Nadir had consulted *BN* before he set out to write his book, and Ranj, similarly, had taken notes from the other *tazkira*s that Nadir had written earlier and which were now incorporated in his much larger and more detailed *TN*. We will be discussing these texts later in the next chapter, but it needs to be mentioned here that these *tazkira*s were in conversation with each other, and that is my excuse for taking them together here. Their significance also comes from the fact that they were some of the earliest women's *tazkira*s to be written in Hindustan; they were clearly the

[11] Durga Prashad Nadir, *Tazkirat-un Nisā* (1884), ed. Rifaqat Ali Shahid (Lahore: Sang-i Mil Publications, 2016), p. 250 (hereafter *TN*). I have compared it with the 1884 edition, but, unless mentioned otherwise, the references are to the former. Durga Prashad Nadir, *Tazkirat-un Nisā* (Delhi: Akmal-ul Mutabi', 1884).

[12] Nadir, *TN*, 250.

[13] Nadir, *TN*, 252.

[14] Hakim Fasihuddin Ranj, *Bahāristān-i Nāz* (1882: third edition) (Lahore: Majlis-i Taraqqi-i Adab, 1965 [reprint]) (hereafter *BN*).

[15] Nadir, *TN*.

guiding posts and inspiration for other women's *tazkira*s that were written later in the period.[16]

The *tazkira*s are commemorative texts and seek to memorialize bodies, words, and spaces, and the interactions among them. In drawing connections between bodies and words, and their co-constitutive relations, most of them actually primarily focus on men; women are, as mentioned earlier, rarely ever mentioned in the large number of poetic compendia and works of literary criticism. Our *tazkira*s are perhaps the only clues we have for recovering the memorialization of women scholars in cultural spaces, but there is a bewildering diversity of such women in our texts. Ranj and Nadir broadly divide women poets into 'public women' (*bāzārī 'aurat*) and 'secluded women' (*pardah-nashīn 'aurat*), and these categories are further split into numerous others. Women poets come from a wide range of social positions, community and caste affiliations, and styles of living and experiences of lives. In fact, in these *tazkira*s there is a range of terms that serve to define and elaborate the 'public women': 'the pleasure-providing beloved' (*mahbuba-i farhat bakhsh*), 'the vendor of beauty in the marketplace' (*husn farosh-i bāzārī*),[17] and 'the alluring attractions of the market' (*hasīnān-i bāzārī*).[18] Among those described as 'public women' were the courtesans (*tawā'if*) who usually had their own salons (*kotha*s) or entertained the affluent urban elites with their dance and songs at the salons of their owners. Known as the authentic purveyors of cultural norms and values, they enjoyed a social respectability unavailable to those lower down the scale. These *tazkira*s refer to several among them whose connections with affluent and resourceful men enabled them to lead a lavish and extravagant lifestyle. One such courtesan, discussed in some detail by both Ranj and Nadir, was Mahlaqa Chanda, who had about 500 soldiers in her employ, and patronized a large number of poets. She was presumably the first woman to have a poetic compilation (*diwān*) of her own, but along with literary pursuits, she was equally invested in bodily exercises and wrestling (*warzish aur pahlwānī*), horse riding, and archery.[19]

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[16] See, for example, Abdul Hai's *tazkira* of women poets written in 1882: Maulvi Abdul Hai, *Tazkira-i Shamīm Sukhan* (Lucknow: Nawal Kishore, 1891 [reprint]). Also see Nasiruddin Hashmi, *Khwatīn-i Dakkan ki Urdu Khidmāt* (Hyderabad: Razzaqi Press, 1940).

[17] Nadir describes Farhat, a public performer, particularly skilled in vocal recitals, as a 'pleasure-providing beloved'; Ranj describes her as 'the vendor of beauty in the *bāzār*' (*TN*, 181; *BN*, 180).

[18] This is how Ranj describes Pari, a courtesan based in Calcutta; praising her literary skills, he says: 'There was no one like her when it came to the creative application of words (*chusti-e alfāz*) and binding the themes (*bandish-i muzāmīn*)'. (*BN*, 116–17).

[19] *TN*, 139–41; *BN*, 127–28.

Of course, not all 'public women' were quite as fortunate, and we come across a large number of poets who were prostitutes (*randī/kasbī/khāngī*), slave girls (*kanīz*) and concubines (*gharistān*), and singers and dancers performing on the streets, marketplaces, and at houses for families on special occasions, such as childbirth, circumcision, and marriage. While their 'origins' were banal, their life stories were not always unexceptional. Banno, to take an instance, was the concubine of Gulab Singh Ashufta, a *khatrī*[20] merchant based in Delhi, and such was his love for Banno that he could not bear her separation and killed himself; Banno followed him and died a mere six months after his death.[21] Some among them were particularly talented and were widely appreciated for their singing and dancing skills. About Sharfan, a public dancer (*raqāsa*) in Lucknow, it was said: 'The rattle of her *pānzeb*[22] bring the dead back to life.'[23] The range and diversity of poets who were termed as 'public women' was immense and reached down to some of the most deprived and marginalized sections of society. It included Kamman, a 'dark complexioned' (*sabzah rang*) poet who was found in the markets in Bharatpur selling *bhāng*[24] and composing and reciting verses while doing so; untrained in the subtleties of language, expectedly, Nadir thus describes her linguistic skills: 'She shocked most people with the crookedness of her language (*zila'-jugat*) and vulgar choice of words (*phadakpan*).'[25] With these strong reservations, interestingly, she still finds a place in cultural memory, and her verses are memorialized in the work of both Nadir and Ranj. The latter interestingly extends his approval for this poet by insistently pointing out that 'she had a pleasant disposition (*taba'-i mauzun*) and creative mind (*zahn rasāi'*)'.[26]

Among the poets described as 'secluded women', there is again immense diversity; seclusion was a crucial marker of difference, and women described thus usually came from elite social backgrounds, and included in this list were several imperial women as well. Among them were rulers such as Sultan Raziya,

[20] *Khatri* is a caste in northern India predominantly associated with mercantile activities.

[21] *TN*, 129–31.

[22] *Pānzeb* is a string of small bells that women wear around their ankles when dancing or as decorative ornament.

[23] *TN*, 166.

[24] *Bhāng* is a paste prepared from the leaves of marijuana, and served with milk (or water) as an intoxicating drink. It is also mixed with sweets and snacks which are served as delicacies on festive occasions.

[25] *TN*, 183.

[26] *BN*, 186.

who composed poems under the poetic name Shireen in the thirteenth century,[27] and queen consorts like Nur Jahan, who co-shared the perquisites of sovereignty with her spouse, emperor Jahangir (1605–27).[28] Women in the Mughal harem were quite well educated, and in both *BN* and *TN* their compositions are remembered to serve as inspiring examples for contemporary women; besides Nur Jahan, these *tazkira*s have entries on the daughter of Babur, Gulbadan Begum (c. 1523–1603),[29] Shahjahan's favourite daughter, Jahanara Begum (1614–81),[30] and Aurangzeb's daughter, Zebun Nisa (1638–1702), who composed poems under the pen name Makhfi.[31] Interestingly, while the Mughal imperial women

[27] *TN*, 79–80; *BN*, 157–58. Sultan Raziya (r. 1236–40) was the only female ruler in the Delhi Sultanate. She captured the throne by virtue of her political astuteness and military skills. In the sources of the period, her close association with an African Siddi slave, Yaqut, is presented as the chief reason for her downfall. The story is reiterated by Nadir, but is not mentioned in Ranj's *tazkira*. For details concerning her accession and tragic death, see Peter Jackson, 'Sultan Radiyya bint Iltutmish', in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, Piety*, ed. Gavin R. G. Hambly, 81–97 (New York: Palgrave, 1998); Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and Alyssa Gabbay, 'In Reality a Man: Sultan Iltutmish, His Daughter, Raziya, and Gender Ambiguity in Thirteenth Century Northern India', *Journal of Persianate Studies* 4, no. 1 (January 2011), 45–63.

[28] *BN*, 223–26; *TN*, 92–96. For details about her life and administrative acumen, see Ruby Lal, *Empress: The Astonishing Reign of Nur Jahan* (Gurgaon: Penguin Random House, 2018); and Ellison Banks Findly, *Nur Jahan: Empress of Mughal India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[29] Gulbadan Begum was quite a well-educated princess, and wrote an important historical account of the early phase of Mughal expansion in Hindustan, *Ahvāl-i Humāyunī*; authored by a woman, the account is exceptional in drawing attention to the political agency of imperial women, and the interconnections between the harem and the imperial court. See Ruby Lal, 'Historicizing the Harem: The Challenge of a Princess's Memoir', *Feminist Studies* 30, no. 3 (October 2004): 590–616; Ruby Lal, *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[30] *BN*, 126; *TN*, 75–76. Jahanara was an exceptionally talented scholar, and wrote several books and tracts on religious themes. For details about her life and work, see Afshan Bokhari, 'Gendered Landscapes: Jahan Ara Begum's (1614–1681) Patronage, Piety, and Self-Representation in Seventeenth Century Mughal India' (PhD dissertation, Universität Wien, 2009); Afshan Bokhari, 'Imperial Transgressions and Spiritual Investitures: A Begum's "Ascension" in Seventeenth Century Mughal India', *Journal of Persianate Studies* 4, no. 1 (January 2011): 86–108.

[31] *BN*, 199–200, 83–87. Also see her poetic compendium: *Diwān-i Makhfi* (Lucknow: Nawal Kishore, 1876).

are discussed in these *tazkira*s, so are their slaves, and the witty, poetic exchanges they had with them. One such poet was Amani, who was the 'specially chosen slave' (*kanīz-i khās bā-ikhtisās*) of Zebun Nisa, and both were, it seems, fond of testing each other's wit and sense of humour.[32]

Except for someone like Amani, these women associated with the Mughal imperial harem were quite well known, and, as we know from several European travellers' accounts, they were often discussed and 'constructed' (and 'reconstructed') in public spaces by ordinary subjects. That they were all poets is also well attested by Mughal sources of the period, and their verses, some genuine, others apocryphal, were recited in literary spaces, as a memorializing practice. Indeed, it is probable that the larger bulk of their verses mentioned in these *tazkira*s were latter-day constructions. The search for authentic verses or the effort to sift through and separate the 'genuine' from the 'apocryphal' compositions is actually a futile one. The important thing for us is to see how these women were remembered in literary spaces and, from the verses that were attributed to them, make a sense, however vague and imprecise, of popular perceptions of their subjectivity and agency. Memorializing Mughal women poets, as also those in the Sultanate period, in the nineteenth century, of course, had a political purpose and, as suggested earlier, was linked with the need to engage with – imbibe and repudiate – British imperial representations of India, and, more specifically, relocate the British project of women's reforms within an indigenous and broadly inclusive Persianate cultural world.

Among the contemporary poets discussed in the *tazkira*s, the pride of place belongs to the house of the deposed Awadh dynasty. They mention the last ruler of Awadh Wajid Ali Shah's wife-consort, Alam, who accompanied him to Calcutta in exile. She was a prolific poet and had her own *diwan*. In addition, she was also an accomplished sitar player.[33] Also mentioned in these women's *tazkira*s is one of his earlier wives, Mahbub, and the finely educated wives of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1748–97), in particular, Begum Jan Jani and Begum Dulhan Begum, who used her name, Dulhan, in her poetry.[34] The Awadh kingdom had been annexed by the British imperial powers in 1856, and in remembering their women poets and their generous patronage to men of arts and letters, there is a quiet sense of hurt and

[32] *TN*, 72–73; *BN*, 104.

[33] *BN*, 174; *TN*, 177–78.

[34] For the entries on Mahbub, see: *BN*, 206–07; *TN*, 191; for Begum Jan Jani, see *BN*, 121; *TN*, 137; and for details on Dulhan Begum, see *BN*, 141; *TN*, 149–50.