

**GHANĪMAT KUNJĀHĪ–
A LEADING PERSIAN POET OF *SABK-I HINDĪ*
(with an article by A. Bausani)**

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Abstract

One of the leading poets of Indian style of Persian poetry, commonly called *Sabk-i hindī*, was Ghanīmat Kunjāhī who was born in a village near Gujarat (Pakistan) in the second half of the seventeenth century. A. Bausani (d. 1988), a renowned Italian orientalist contributed an important article on Ghanīmat Kunjāhī that was completely unknown to our scholars. Here, that very rare article has been reproduced in original alongwith some introductory remarks relating to its contents

Keywords:

Sufi, Persian, Sabk-i-Hindi, Mughal Period, A.Bausani, Urfi, Mysticism, Ghalib, Orientalist, Iranist

Muhammad Akram Ghanīmat, a Sufi-affiliated Persian poet and a descendant of a family of *muftīs*, who originates from Kunjāh, a small town some seven miles east of the historic city of Gujarat in the north-western Punjab (Pakistan). Nothing is known about his life and no authentic information is available to prove that he was governor of Lahore from 1695 to 1697, as is asserted by Hermann Ethé (cf. “Neupersische Literatur”, in: *Grundriss*, cited below, vol. II, p.251). He was in the service of Mukarram Khan at Gujarat. It is said that he died at the end of the 9th century A.H. (about 1690 A.D.). He was a disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Sālih, (d. 1072/1661) of the village of Sāda near Gujarat. He was also one of the few prominent figures of the time who was spiritually attached with Qādiriyyah. His *Diwān* (cited below) contains a long *qasida* of eighty-three verses in honour of Sh. ‘Abdul Qādir Gīlānī (d. 561/1166). His grave is situated in his native town of Kunjāh.

Ghanīmat’s works:

1. *Dīwān*. Ed. Ghulām Rabbānī ‘Aziz. Lahore 1958 (consists mainly of some 250 ghazals; a typical Indian style *dīwān* in the mood of Nāsir ‘Ali Sirhindī)

(For unpublished material to this text, see Sayyid Nūr Muhammad Qādirī’s articles (in Urdu), published in *Funūn* (Lahore), 20/5—6(1975), pp. 48-51 and in *Noqūsh* (Lahore), Annual Nr., June 1985)

For *Dīwān*’s mss. and printed editions, see *Collection*, cited below, pp. 380—386.

2. *Mathnawī Nairang-i ‘Ishq*. Ed. idem. Lahore 1962. (A bare text without introduction or explanation of editorial procedure). Cawnpur: Munshi Nawalkishore, 1885 (with the usual marginal commentary).

(Eighteenth-century, London School of Oriental and African Studies, MS 47653, dated 1145/1732—33, fol. 63 b—108 a; H. Ethé: *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the Indian Office Library*, 3 mss. (nos. 1649—51) including one of 1152/1739—40, another of 1169/1747, with another three listed in E. Sachau, *Catalogue*, pt. 1, nos. 1153-55, besides the abstract “written for Sir H. M. Elliot by Nayyir-i Rakhshān in Nov. and Dec. 1851” in ms. Or 1904, listed in Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian mss. in the British Museum*, vol. II, p. 1034.

For the mss. and printed editions of this *Mathnawī*, see *Collection*, cited below, pp. 381-389.

For its critical study, see:

Christopher Shackleton: “Persian Poetry and Qādirī Sufism in Later Mughal India. Ghanīmat Kunjāhī and his Mathnawī-yi Nayrang-i ‘Ishq”, (in: *The Heritage of Sufism. Late Classical Persianate Sufism*

(1501-1750). Eds. Leonard Lewisohn and David Morgan. Vol. III, Oxford: One World 1999, pp. 435-463).

3. *Mathnawi Gulzār-i Mahabbat*. Ed. ‘Ārif Nawshāhī. Gujarat (Pakistan), 2008 (pp. 128).

(see *Collection*, op. cit., pp. 302-326, 368-376; Sharīf Kunjāhī’s Urdu article in: *Funūn* (Lahore), vol. 17, nor. 4-5, Sept.—Oct. 1973)

4. *Ruq‘āt Ghanīmat Kunjāhī*. (13 Persian letters, ms. Shirāni Collection in the Punjab University Library, Lahore). Edited by Sharāfat Nawshāhī, published in *Sahīfa* (Lahore), 62 (Jan. 1973), pp. 1-13.

5. *Munāzara Gul-o-Nargis* (Persian prose).

Ed. Najm ar-Rashīd, in: *Safīna* (Persian Department, Punjab University, Lahore), vol. 2, nr. 1 (2004), pp. 58-63.

(Nos. 4 and 5 also available in: *Rasā’il Ghanīmat Kunjāhī*. Ed. ‘Ārif Nawshāhī.

6. *Sāqī-nameh*. (ms. in Ethé, op. cit., 1: 899-900)

The character of Ghanīmat Kunjāhī’s *Dīwān* as a whole is a blend of the Indian style’s features with more straightforward lyrical expression. His verses usually give an effective emotional expression to concepts of Sufism.

Contrary to his *Dīwān*, Ghanīmat is primarily remembered for his Persian *mathnawī* entitled *Nairang-i ‘Ishq* (Love’s Magic or The Charm of Love, 1685), as it was once one of the most popular of such Persian poems. Its attraction has also been seen as embracing both mysterious and controversial qualities. As detailed about its contents by Christopher Shackleton, a reputed British scholar of South Asia, nearly one-seventh of *Nairang-i ‘Ishq* is occupied by the eight sections of the prologue. The stunning beginning to the opening *hamd* boldly combines invocation with direct reference to the characters of the poem.

A supplementary invocation (*munājāt*) is followed by a panegyric addressed to the Holy Prophet (*na‘t*) describing his celestial journey or *mi‘rāj*. This leads a eulogy (*manqabat*) addressed to Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir Gilānī followed by a slightly more extended one to poet’s disciple Shah Sālih Muhammad. The final eulogy is a *madh* of the emperor Awrangzib. Next comes the introduction proper with an important section on love and the play between unreal love (*‘ishq-i majāzi*) and the real or Divine Love (*‘ishq-i haqīqī*) and its exemplification in the story of the gazelle hunted by Majnūn.

Then the story begins with formal praise of the land of Punjab and its beauties, and the birth there of the lovely Shāhid, orphaned in

childhood and sold to a group of dancers and artists. Shāhid's fame as a dancer reaches 'Azīz, the son of the governor of the city. He comes with his friends to watch a performance and ensnared in love with Shāhid's beauty. Fearful of the damage to public morality, the local police officer (*muhtasib*) intends to order Shāhid's expulsion, but when he is himself enraptured it falls to the judge to pronounce banishment, upon which 'Azīz intervenes to have this order too rescinded. Shāhid's performances resume, causing 'Azīz completely to lose his heart. He is quite unswayed by the reports on Shāhid's behavior prompted by his rivals. Eventually he removes Shāhid from his troupe and installs him in his own house. He spares no expense in the lavish furnishing of his beloved's new apartments.

Their happiness is ended when the matter is brought to the attention of 'Azīz's father, the governor, who orders Shāhid's expulsion but 'Azīz follows his beloved. Much distressed the father sends a messenger (*qāsid*) to beg 'Azīz to return. When his first overture proves ineffectual, he sends a return undertaking not to interfere and the lovers return. Concerned about his education, 'Azīz sends Shāhid to school to perfect his manners and culture, when all are devastated by Shāhid's beauty. In a remarkable passage, Ghanīmat himself then pays a visit to Shāhid's school.

Shāhid begs leave of 'Azīz for a home visit. In the guise of a messenger, 'Azīz then remains behind while Shāhid proceeds into open country. In pursuit of a stag, Shāhid comes upon a village and is struck by the sight of the village maidens at the well. He is particularly smitten by the lovely Wafā, daughter of a peasant, but that night the village is attacked by Afghan raiders who capture Shāhid and Wafā. Coming in search of Shāhid, 'Azīz discovers traces of the raid and get Shāhid freed. Shāhid then sends an old woman to Wafā to declare his love for her and set in motion arrangements for their marriage. The old woman reports how she has lured Wafā to a safe house. Shāhid and Wafā were united, and 'Azīz find relief from his distress at losing his lover in adoration of the divine Beloved.

In a brief conclusion, Ghanīmat proclaims his art, announcing that his poem has 1,500 verses, a figure that is the same as the *abjad* total of his name, and celebrating the date of its composition with a chronogram, which yields the figure 1096 (1685).

Most critical assessment of the poem has been chiefly preoccupied with the extent to which it is to be understood as the description of an actual homosexual affair. Furthermore, Prof. Aziz Ahmad rather unfavourably remarks that Ghanīmat's "narrative

verses, especially, reflect unmistakable signs of Mughal decadence” (cf. *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, 1969, p. 76) and that “the decadence of Mughal India seems to permeate the degenerate flavor of Ghanīmat Kunjāhī’s *Nairang-i ‘Ishq*” (cf. *Studies in Islamic Culture in the India Environment*, 1964, p. 227).

Sabk-i Hindī

Ghanīmat Kunjāhī’s creative talents were chiefly engaged in the competitive extension of the fresh artistic possibilities opened up by the newly fashionable “baroque” style of Persian poetry called the *Sabk-i Hindī* (Indian style or Indian school). The assumption underlying this geographical terminology is that the shifts of the centre of literary activity from one region to another, were paralleled by a stylistic development, particularly in poetry. Broadly speaking, this amounted to a gradual change from the rather simple and harmonious poetical idiom of earlier times to a much more intricate manner of writing.

The appellation “Indian style” was derived from the fact that the features usually associated with this style were most conspicuous in the works of poets and writers who were attached to Indian courts during the Mughal period.

Several attempts have been made to define the salient features of Indian style of Persian poetry. Shiblī Nu‘mānī (d. 1914) drew up a list of such distinctive traits (cf. *Shi‘r al-‘Ajam*, vol. 3). According to him, the prominence gained by the *ghazal* since the 13th century was of primary significance. An early new element was the addition of references to actual occurrences of an erotic nature to the usually abstract imagery of *ghazal* poetry. Another major trend is the conceptual complexity, affecting both imagery and themes. Shiblī’s observations were further developed by A. Bausani, who pointed out that the novelty of Indian style poetry was caused by the increasing disregard of the rule of harmonious and associative choice of images, which had disciplined the fantasy of the classical poet. The greater freedom resulted in the combination of rather incongruous images within the compass of a single verse as well as in a much greater density of expression. The intricate play of the imagination these poets allowed themselves went together with a pointed intellectualism. From the time of ‘Urfī (d. 1000/1591) onwards, philosophical themes became a common element added to the Persian *ghazal*, which was characterized already by its blend of anacreontism and mysticism. According to Bausani, the philosophical concepts expressed in this poetry were rather superficial because the main emphasis was put on

the witticism of the expression itself. A cerebral attitude can also be observed in the frequent use of infinitives and abstract terms in a semi-allegorical mode.

Among the linguistic innovations, the formation of new compounds, a predilection for constructions based on principles rather than on finite verbs, and the extension of the romantic spectrum of words are especially conspicuous (cf. W. Heinz, cited below). The syntax of the verse is not seldom unnatural, and this has become one of the most serious objections against the Indian style.

The *sabk-i hindī*, developed out of the 'Irāqī style and beginning with Amīr Khusrow, is noted for its intrinsic difficulties. The poets are no longer content with the traditional way of combining images and topics by following the classical rules of harmony of images (*mi'rāt-i nazīr*) and poetic explanation (*husn-i ta'līl*); rather, they fill the inherited rhetorical devices with fresh contents and thus attain surprising results. Images are broken into pieces and put back together like pictures of a kaleidoscope; abstract concepts are introduced, and the use of words in the infinitive (often even plurals of infinitives) is frequent. One finds a tendency to use proverbial sayings in the second half of a verse, but on the other hand, the poets tend to introduce items from daily life of India. The language of the streets crept into poetry and robbed it of its more elegant and musical diction. A. Bausani, who has presented us with one of the more comprehensive discussions of the *sabk-i hindī*, attributes the penetration of popular language into poetry to a "breakdown of formal harmony." He writes:

"One of the most important catalysts in the formation of the Indian style was its liberation from the influence of a critical environment. Such a liberation was possible on two grounds: one geographical, namely the transfer to India, where different social conditions and different tastes prevailed and where Persian was not the native tongue of many local poets; and the other social, namely the disinterest on the part of the Safavids in poetry, and the replacement at the court, in the sphere of spiritual influence, of the class of secretaries and literary men by that of the Shī'ite clergy, which had little or no particular taste for classical poetry."

(cf. *La Letteratura Persiana*, p. 294)

In Muslim India the language of poetry was chiefly Persian. The amount of Persian literature produced during the 16th, 17th and about the half of the 18th century is immense. No comparable amount of

literature is available from other periods of the same duration. The greater share of this writing is poetry, which gravitates heavily toward lyric poetry, with the *ghazal* as its outstanding form.

During these centuries, a huge exodus of Persian poets to the Indian courts commenced. A great many Persian talents left their country for India and the vast majority of them were well rewarded.

With Awrangzib ‘Ālamgīr’s ascension on the throne the whole scenario of the country changed. The emperor, whose attitude towards fine arts and worldly joys hardened in the course of time, disliked court historiography and panegyric poets, many of them went to other areas to sell their talents, or the poets twisted the complicated Indian style into even more eerie figures and cobweb-like forms to create a world of fantasy into which they could escape from the realities of life as that life became increasingly difficult. The emperor himself, fighting thirty years against the Deccan states, never returned to Delhi and the constant wars impoverished the empire. It is not surprising that with Awrangzib’s death (1707) the Mughal Empire broke up and the process of its disintegration began. In these tumultuous circumstances, a large number of poets in India writing in Persian, invented a world of their own and introduced a third major style of Persian poetry that is called Indian style (the other two being Khurasānī or Turkistānī and ‘Irāqī). Like many other leading contemporary poets Persian poets like Bedil, ‘Urfī, Nāsir ‘Alī Sirhindī etc. Ghanīmat Kunjāhī also fled into this new realm of romantic mystical poetry whose verses usually give an effective emotional expression to concepts of Sufī love by using the intellectual devise of the Indian style.

(In the beginning of his article on Ghanīmat (reproduced herewith), A. Bausani referred some sources about *sabk-i hindī* (f.n. 7)

Further information on the subject can be obtained from: Walter Heinz: *Der Indische Stil in der Persischen Literatur*. Wiesbaden 1973 (Bibliography, pp. 115-118); Shafī‘ī Kadkanī: “The Safavid Period (Indian Style)”, in: *History of Persian Literature from the Beginning of the Islamic Period to the Present Day*. Ed. by G. Morrison. Leiden 1981, pp. 145-165; Ehsan Yarshater: “The Indian Style: Progress or Decline”, in: idem, *Persian Literature*, pp. 249-288; *Maqālāt-i ‘Ābidī*. By Dr. Sayyid Amīr Hasan ‘Ābidī. Bhāgalpur 1991, “Ghālib awr Sabk-i Hind”, pp. 80-120; J. T. P. de Bruijn: “Sabk-i hindī”, in: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. VIII, Leiden 1995, pp. 683-685; Shamsur Rehman Faruqi: “The Stranza in the city: the Poetics of Sabk-i Hindī”, in: *Annual of Urdu Studies*, 19 (2004), pp. 1-93). Aziz

Ahmed: “The Formation of Sabk-i-Hindi”, in: *Iran and Islam*. In *Memory of V.Minorsky (1877-1966)*. Ed.by C.E.Bosworth. Edinburgh 1971, pp.1-9; A. Schimmel: “A Note on Poetic Imagery in the Sabk-i-Hindi”, in *Hakeem Abdul Hameed Felicitation Volume*. Presented to Hakeem Abdul Hameed on his 75th Birthday. Ed. Malik Ram. New Delhi 1981, pp.83-86.

Among European Orientalists and Iranists, A Bausani (1921-1988) was the only scholar who substantially contributed to the study of the origin, developemnt, distinctive characteristics and the leading poets of the *sabk-i hindī* of the Persian poetry. Not only in his histories of Persian literature and Pakistani literatures (both in Italian) but also in his penetrating and well-researched articles, he tried to trace some of the possible socio-political similarities between certain anomalous structures of the compound words in its poets and Sanskrit compounds and the frequent mention of objects, facts and realities of local Indian life.

From an array of such reputed Persian poets of Indian style, A. Bausani picked up Ghanīmat Kunjāhī and used his verses and especially his poem *Nairang-i ‘Ishq* as examples of this Indian style. He contributed an article on this Punjabi poet and that was published in a *Festschrift* presented to F. M. Pareja (1890-1983) under the title *Orientalia Hispanica, sive studia F. M. Pareja octogenario dictata* (ed. by J. M Barral, vol. I, Leiden: Brill, 1974, pp. 105-119).^{*} Unfortunately, no scholar of our country and abroad (for example Ch. Shackleton) has mentioned this most important study of Ghanīmat. For this reason, this article is being presented here in original with some introductory remarks.

For A. Bausani’s life and his other in-depth articles concerning the representative Persian poets of this *sabk-i hindī*, like Bedil, Ghālib etc., see my article, published in *Bāzyāft* (Urdu Department, Punjab University, Lahore), vol. 22 (2013).

References

(i) Urdu and Persian

Ghanīmat Kunjāhī (A selective collection of Urdu and Persian articles on his life and works; hereafter *Collection*). Edited by Dr. Najm ur-Rashīd and Dr. Muhammad Sābir, Gujarat (Pakistan), 2009).

This collection consists of the following four sections namely:

- I. Life and Poetry: (Articles by Sādiq Ali Dilāwari, pp. 17-38, 39-45; Ghulām Rabbāni ‘Azīz, pp. 46-80; Sh. Ikram ul-Haq, pp. 81-102; Gawhar Naushāhi, pp. 103-118; Sayyid ‘Sharafāt Naushāhi, pp. 171-186; Zuhūr ud-Din Ahmad, pp.187-206; Muhammad Zafar Khan, pp.207-220).

- II. Works: (Articles by M. ‘Abdullah Chaghatai, pp. 223-226; Sharīf Kunjāhī, pp. 227-233; Muhammad Zafar Khan, pp. 234-242; *ibid.*, pp. 243-265; Sayyid Nūr Muhammad Qādīri, pp. 266-272; Anwar Mas‘ūd, pp. 273-286; Muhammad Zafar Khan, pp. 287-301; ‘Ārif Nawshāhi, pp. 382-326).
- III. Selection: (Ghazaliyāt, pp. 329-346; Masnawi Nairang-i ‘Ishq, pp. 347-367; Masnawi Gulzār-i Ma‘abbat, pp. 368-376).
- IV. Bibliography: (On Ghanīmat Kunjāhī, pp. 379-400; Extracts from the *tazkirahs*, pp. 401-407).
 Nūr al-Hasan Ansārī: *Fārsi Adab ba Ahd-i Awrangzib*. Delhi: Indo-Persian Society, 1969, pp. 53-62; *Kitābshināsi Ghanīmat Kunjāhī*. By Shabānā Sharīf Malik. M. A. thesis (Persian), Punjab University, 2002, also in: *Collection*, op. cit., pp. 379-400; *Tashīh Sharh Mathnawī Ghanīmat*. (by Maqbūl Ahmad Gopāmwī). D. Kalīma Akhtar. M. A. thesis (Persian), Punjab University, 2005-2007; *Tashīh Sharh Lughāt wa Ishlahat Mathnawī Ghanīmat*. (by Mawlana Dost Muhammad). Ed. Sa‘dia Mushafa. M. A. thesis (Persian). Punjab University, 2005-2007; *Hunar wa Andeysha-i Ghanīmat Kunjāhī*. By Sarwat Jabīn. M. Phil. (Persian).

(ii) German and English:

Grundriss der iranischen Philologie. 1895-1908. Reprinted: Berlin/New York, 1974; D. N. Marshal: *Mughals in India*. London 1985, p. 151; Nabi Hadi: *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*. New Delhi 1995, p. 190; Sa‘īd Nafīsī, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. II, Leiden 1965, pp. 1006-1007; *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Ed. Ehsan Yarshater, art. by ‘Ārif Nawshāhi.

* Many years before, A. Bausani also confrifuted on article (in Italian) on this subject: “Contributo a una definizione dello “stilo inchiato” poesia persiana”, published in *Annali* (Naples), n.s vii (1985) pp.167-178, that focuses on some important aspects of Sabk-i-Hindi and deserves to be translated in English or Urdu.



INDIAN ELEMENTS IN THE INDO-PERSIAN POETRY:
THE STYLE OF ĠANĪMAT KUNĠĀHI *

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1. After the first pioneer work of scholars like Šibli Nu'mānī,¹ E. E. Bertels,² Maleko'l-šo'arā' Bahār,³ R. Šafaq,⁴ A. Mirzoev,⁵ J. Rypka⁶ and myself,⁷ the interest of students of Persian literary history in "Indian style" seems increasing. A recent article by W. Heinz⁸ sums up the most important points of the question of what Indian

* The present article has been read as a paper at the 28th international Congress of Orientalists held in Canberra from the 6th to the 12th January, 1971. I dedicate it to my dear friend Father F. M. Pareja in memory of the pleasant hours spent together (alas, many years ago!) at the Library of the "Accademia dei Lincei" in Rome, studying and discussing Qur'ān, Indian Islam, Urdū language and literature and talking *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis!*

¹ Šibli's treatment of Fiġānī's style, Šā'ib etc. is one of the first attempts at a stylistic history of Persian poetry in general and "Indian style" in particular. See ŠIBLI NU'MĀNĪ, *Ši'ru 'l-'aġam*, 'Aligāh ed., 3rd vol., pp. 27 ff.

² E. E. BERTELS, "K voprosu ob 'indijskom stile' v persidskoj poezii", in *Charisteria Orientalia*, Praha, 1956, pp. 56 ff.

³ MALEKO 'L-ŠO'ARĀ' BAHĀR, *Sabkšīnāsi*, Teheran, 1321/1942, 3 vols., 2nd ed.: 1337-38/1958-59. Id., *Ta'riḥ-i taṣavvur-i šī'r-i firsī*, Mašhad, 1334/1955.

⁴ R. ŠAFAQ, *Ta'riḥ-i adabiyāt-i Irān*, Teheran, 1321/1942, p. 375.

⁵ See especially A. MIRZOEV, *Sajido Nasafi i ego mesto v istorii tadžikskoj literatury*, Stalinabad, 1954, pp. 34-56.

⁶ J. RYPKA, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht, 1968, pp. 295 ff.

⁷ A. BAUSANI, "Contributo a una definizione dello 'stile indiano' della poesia persiana" in *Annali dell'Istit. Univ. Orientale di Napoli*, N.S., vol. VII, (1958), pp. 167 ff. This article has been included with additions (especially a discussion on the possible historical origins of Indian style) in my *La letteratura persiana*, Firenze/Milano, 1968 (2nd ed.), pp. 289 ff. See also A. BAUSANI, *Le letterature del Pakistan e la letteratura Afgana*, Firenze/Milano, 1968 (2nd ed.), pp. 45 ff. Further considerations on Indian Style can be found in my articles on one of the most outstanding of Indian style poets, Bēdil: A. BAUSANI, "Note su Mirzā Bēdil" in *Annali dell'Istit. Univ. Or. di Napoli*, N.S. VI (1957), "La natura in Bēdil", *ibid.*, N.S. XV (1965), "Bēdil and Ghālib", in *University Studies*, Karachi, II, 2 (1965), "Bēdil as a narrator", in *Yādnāme-ye J. Rypka*, Praha, 1967.

⁸ W. HEINZ, "Der indische Stil" in der persischer Dichtung", in *XVII. Deutscher*

style is, leaving apart the historical problems connected with its origins. His conclusions are that the so-called Indian style is “*eine konsequente Weiterentwicklung von Tendenzen, die in der persischen Dichtung bereits angelegt waren*” and “*eine genuin persische Erscheinung, die sich über das eigentlich iranische Gebiet hinaus verbreitete*” (p. 545). In my History of Persian Literature I tried to retrace some of the possible socio-political causes of the birth of Indian style. I do not need therefore to repeat here what I have written in the mentioned book and elsewhere.¹ I only remind one of my conclusions, that Indian style in its proper sense, i.e. with all its features, organically seen as a whole, is typical of the Persian poetry of Mughal India. I even hinted—in the same book²—at the striking similarity between certain anomalous structures of the compound words in certain Indian style poets and Sanskrit compounds. The frequent mention of objects, facts and *Realien* of local Indian life is obviously another important part of a study on the “Indian elements of Indo-Persian poetry”, but this has nothing specifically Indian structurally, being rather an aspect of that terminological enrichment typical of all Indian style, its Indianity remaining purely lexical (e.g. the mention of Indian fruits, dancers, *bhagatbāzān*, *yogīs*, words like *sannāsī*, *kačāhrī*, the curious description of the paštō language in Ġanīmat’s *Nairang-i ‘išq* etc.).

One of the Indian poets in which, I think, the presence of rather anomalous compound words and linguistic structures of Indian type is more striking, is the Panjabi poet Ġanīmat Kuṅḡāhī. I shall use therefore his verses and especially his *maṭnawī* poem *Nairang-i ‘išq*

Orientalistentag in Würzburg, Wiesbaden, 1969, 2nd vol., pp. 535 ff. This article does not seem to bring very new contributions to the problem. W. Heinz is however preparing a full thesis on this subject, that will certainly be an important addition to the literature on Indian style.

¹ Amongst these are: the change of social conditions in Iran due to the advent of the Šafawī dynasty that weakened the traditional class of the classical literary critics; the presence of a powerful court, in India, where Persian poets, living in a foreign *milieu*, were comparatively free from the tyranny of traditional Persian criticism; the fact that many Persian poets of India were not native speakers of Persian, etc. India and the Indian Mughal court were therefore powerful historical factors in the development (if not in the birth) of Indian style. Interesting new materials and suggestions on the birth and linguistic features of Indian style can be found in the article by D. WAHEED QURESHI, “The Indian Persian” in *Studies in Pakistani linguistics*, Lahore, 1965, pp. 39-65.

² Precisely in the first edition of my *Letteratura persiana*, Milan, 1960, p. 493.

as examples of this linguistic aspect of Indian style, that has been until now rather neglected by scholars.

2. Who was Ġanīmat Kunġāhī? Muḥammad Akram surnamed Kunġāhī from his birthplace, Kunġāh, a small village ca. 7 miles west of Guġrāt in Panjab, was born in an unprecisable date in the first half of the XVIIth century. He was a Sunnī and a mystic of the Qādiriyya order, passionately in love with the founder of his *ṭarīqa*, the Ġauṭ al-A'zam Shayḥ 'Abd al-Qādir Ġilānī (d. 1166). It is said that whenever the Saint's name was mentioned Ġanīmat prostrated himself on the ground. He did not travel much, apart from a sejour in Kashmir, Delhi and Lahore. In Lahore he fell seriously ill and, brought back to his native village, he died there probably in 1695. His works consist of a *dīwān*, chiefly composed of *ġazals*, and a *maṭnawī* of ca. 1500 *bayts* written in 1092 H. with the title *Nairang-i 'išq* (The Talisman of Love). Until recently Ġanīmat's works were available only in a lithographed Nawalkishore edition. In 1958 and 1962 the "Panjabi Adabi Academy" of Lahore published critical editions respectively of the *Dīwān* and the *Nairang-i 'išq*, in printed characters, due to Prof. Ġulām Rabbānī 'Azīz.¹ The *Dīwān* is the typical Indian style *dīwān* in the mood of Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī. The *Nairang-i 'išq* is one of the numerous descriptive-symbolical short *maṭnawīs* frequent at that time in India. A real event is narrated in such a way as to suggest symbolical implications (this is clearly stated in one of its first chapters): But, in spite of the extremely sophisticated style, elements of proto-realism emerge: descriptions of local customs, dancers etc. A beautiful youth (*Šāhid*) belonging to a band of dancers and actors (*bhagatbāzān*) arrives at a certain town in Panjab, and 'Azīz, the son of one of the rich men of that place, is fascinated by his beauty and falls in love with him. The prefect of police (*muḥtasīb*) expels from the town that band of dangerous mischief makers. 'Azīz sends a messenger to take back Šāhid, who accepts the protection of his lover and comes back to the city, leaving his troupe and accepting to live in a pavilion arranged for him. The father of 'Azīz tries to dissuade his son from that infatuation, but all his efforts are vain. So Šāhid is accepted also by 'Azīz's father as the companion of his son,

¹ *Dīwān-i ġanīmat* ed. by prof. Ġulām-i Rabbānī 'Azīz, Lahore, 1958; *Nairang-i 'išq, maṭnawī-yi Ġanīmat*, ed. by prof. Ġulām-i Rabbānī 'Azīz, Lahore 1962. These editions are not always perfect and in some cases I preferred the older Nawalkishore edition of *Nairang-i 'išq* (Cawnpore, 1874).

and is sent to school to perfection his manners and culture. At a certain moment Šāhid asks permission to leave and visit his native country. 'Azīz accepts his request but, after a while, full of nostalgia for his friend, leaves on his turn to reach him, taking the garb of a messenger (*qāṣid*). Meanwhile Šāhid goes hunting and, passing through a village, falls in love with the beautiful daughter of a peasant. The village is attacked and pillaged by barbarous Afghans (a curious description of the roughness and coarseness of Paštō language is included in the description).¹ The Afghans take away as prisoners both Šāhid and his beloved, the pretty Wafā. 'Azīz arrives just in time and organizes a punitive expedition against the town of the Afghans, freeing the two prisoners. The girl is brought back to her father's house, but, through the good offices of an old go-between, Šāhid succeeds in eluding the vigilance of her father and disappears with his beloved. The poor 'Azīz is terribly grieved at first, but then he finds solace abandoning the allegorical love ('*išq-i mağāzī*, i.e., love for a physical human being) for the real love ('*išq-i haqīqī*), the love of God.

Prof. Aziz Ahmad, one of the best present connoisseurs of Indo-Muslim civilization, passes on Ġanīmat a rather unfavourable judgement. He writes that his "narrative verses, especially, reflect unmistakable signs of Mughal decadence"² and that "the decadence of Mughal India seems to permeate the degenerate flavour of Ġanīmat Kunğāhī's *Nairang-i 'išq* with its sensuous moroseness and its overripe sentimentality".³ For what concerns us now, this judgement of decadence, sociologically true, renders Ġanīmat's style even more interesting: it is just in the periods of so-called decadence that certain single aspects and features of a culture (or a style) are better recognizable and analysable.

3. Ġanīmat's style, and especially that of *Nairang-i 'išq*, shows unmistakably "Indian" elements. The easiest way of retracing these

¹ This seems a sort of *topos* in Muslim Indian culture and strange stories on the roughness of Paštō are still current in India and Pakistan. Here are some verses ('Azīz edition, p. 43): "... a speech (*kalāmē*) like that of one having a tumour in his mouth, like the noise of dry straw cut by the sickle, a speech resembling a leathern vessel (*dabba*) full of pebbles agitated by the hands of a person in rage; a speech whose noise is like that of a saw on wood etc."

² AZIZ AHMAD, *An intellectual History of Islam in India*, Edinburgh, 1969, p. 76.

³ AZIZ AHMAD, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Oxford, 1964, p. 227.

elements is to look for them in the contents of his *matnawī*, where they must be *a priori* abundant, given the character of the poem itself, a purely Indian story of *bhagatbāzān*, happened in India and probably personally experienced by the Author. More difficult—and this is what we shall attempt to do—is to search for Indian linguistic elements in Ġanīmat's Persian language.

What is at first sight striking is the rather un-Persian aspect of certain compound words in Ġanīmat's *matnawī*. Here are some examples, classified according to a system that will be explained afterwards. (The figures put after the quotation in Persian refer to the pages of Prof. Ġulām Rabbānī 'Azīz's edition).¹

a) *Laylī-dar-āġōš* (1) "Layli-embracing" as an adjective of *ġabīn* (forehead): the forehead (of the lovers of God) becomes, as a consequence of prostrations, *Laylī-dar-āġōš*. This compound is quite possible in Persian, though not extremely common. But Ġanīmat is fond of lengthening this kind of compounds to unusual sizes, as in the following instance.

b) *adā-y-i* ² *ū hazārān-ġilva-bar-dōš*
nigāhī ³ *ū ram-i-āhū-dar-āġōš* (16)

This verse is part of the description of an Indian dancer. His gestures (*adā*) are *hazārān-ġilva-bar-dōš* "thousands-of-manifestations-on-their-back" i.e. "having on their backs thousands of manifestations of graceful beauty", and his glances are "embracing the timid glances of an entire flock of gazelles". One who knows the traditional classical Persian poetry will easily admit that it is impossible to find in poets of Iran such heavy compounds. But in the same description we find also verses like the following.

c) *nišastan šad-biyābān-ram-dar-āġōš*
sitādan bā-qiyāmat-dōš-bar-dōš (17)

The editor of the Nawalkishore text feels the necessity of adding a commentary: as the flocks of gazelles are generally wandering in the desert, here the expression "hundred deserts" (*šad biyābān*) means

¹ For what concerns the vowels we follow the Indian pronunciation of Persian, including the *yā-yi maġhūl* and *wāw-i maġhūl*, respectively expressed by *ē* and *ō*.

² I follow the Nawalkishore edition. 'Azīz's edition has the less probable *nidā*.

³ Both Nawalkishore and 'Azīz have *nigāhī ū*. Probably it should be *nigāh-i ū* (with long *izāfat*) as the metre of the poem is a kind of *hazaġ* → *u* — — —/ *u* — — —/ *u* — — —.

“many”.¹ The act of sitting (or rather crouching, squatting) of the dancer during his dance, is done with such a changing agility, that it has in itself “hundred deserts of gazelles”, i.e. the grace of numberless gazelles. The second hemistich means: “his act of standing up is (equivalent to) being shoulder-to-shoulder with Resurrection itself (that is the supreme, metaphysical act of standing up !). What astonishes us is not so much the complication of the poetical image, but the linguistic abnormality of compound-adjectives of this kind in Persian.

A similar type of *bahuvrīhi* compound complicated by the presence in it of a locative element, expressed by means of prepositions (*ba*, *dar* etc.) is also the following.

d) *aḡal-dar-āstīn-pinhān tufang-aš* (40): his rifle (*tufang-aš*) [was] *aḡal-dar-āstīn-pinhān*, i.e. “having death hidden in its sleeve”. It is also remarkable, here and elsewhere, the absence of the copulative verb (*ast* or *būd*) a proceeding quite common in Persian poetry but perhaps not to such a great extent as it is noticeable in Ġanīmat.

Another aspect of Ġanīmat’s compounds is that in which a substantivized infinitive plays an important role. As for instance:

e) *dīlī čūn qaṭra-labrīz-čakīdan*
dīlī čūn šu’la-sar-ḡōš-tapīdan (2)

“a heart like the dropping-overflowing-of-a-drop
a heart like the throbbing-boiling-of-a-flame”.

The dropping (*čakīdan*) and the throbbing (*tapīdan*) are here treated as substantive nouns (a process quite common in Indian style) but at the same time they are part of an amorphous compound word more similar to a Sanskrit pattern than to a purely Persian one.

Similarly, in the description of the blessed land of Panjab, Ġanīmat says:

f) *ba-ḡāk-aš sāya-yi parhā-yi bulbul*
ḡawāb-i yak-čaman-ḡandīdan-i gul (8)

That is: “In its earth the shadow of the wings of the nightingale [is] the apt response to the laughter of the rose”, a metaphor to indicate the freshness and pleasantness of the land of Panjab. But the concept “laughter of the rose” (common in Indian style and also partly in classical Persian poetry) is here expressed by means of the rather

¹ Nawalkishore edition, p. 30.

un-Persian compound word *yak-čaman-handīdan* “one [entire]-meadow-laughing” or “laughing entire meadows”, where “entire meadows” or “one entire meadow” is the expression of a hyperbolic quantity, similarly to the *šad-biyābān* of example c). The rose laughs (or smiles) for entire meadows, meadow being a sort of poetical measuring unit to weigh the smile of the rose!

Here is another similar instance, taken from the description (*sarāpā*) of Wafā, the peasant girl with whom Šāhid fell in love:

g) *qad-i ū az-qiyāmat-yak-qadam-pēš*
hīrām-aš hīzr-i-rāh-raftan-az-hwēš (42)

“her stature [was] one-foot-ahead-of-Resurrection, her undulating walk [was] the ecstatic swoon (*raftan az hwēš*, the act of going out of one’s self) of the Leader of the Way (*hīzr*, the mythical guide of travellers)”. The words *az qiyāmat yak qadam pēš* might be also interpreted as divided into two segments, *az-qiyāmat yak-qadam-pēš* i.e. *yak qadam* (one foot or step) *pēš az qiyāmat* (ahead of Resurrection), but also as a single compound predicate referring to *qad-i ū* (her stature), parallel to the long compound predicate of the second hemistich. In the second hemistich *Hīzr-i-rāh-raftan-az-hwēš* seems actually a single abnormal compound predicate.

Another typical structure of Ġanīmat’s compound words is that exemplified by the following verses. It consists in the use of a past participle with an active or passive meaning, incorporated into a group of words. This kind of use of the past participle is possible also in ordinary Persian,¹ but not common in long compounds: the editor of the Nawalkishore text is compelled often to give a commentary, dissolving the unusual compounds into ordinary Persian wording.

h) *nigār-i fitna-yi hwābīda-yi dahr*
balā-yi hāna-wīrān-karda-yi šahr (13)

This is a chain of epithets describing Šāhid:

“a beauty [like] a-sleeping-scandal-of the Universe
 a disaster having-destroyed-the-houses-of-the-town”.

The remarks of the editor of the Nawalkishore text to the second hemistich are worth of reproduction, to show how the structural abnormality of such compounds was felt even by connoisseurs of poetical Persian

¹ Only partly, however. See G. LAZARD, *Grammaire du persan contemporain*, Paris 1957, p. 160, par. 163.

style:¹ “In the second *mišra*’ (hemistich) there is a *tarkīb* (compound construction). One could interpret *balā* (disaster) as an epithet (of Šāhid) and *ḥāna-wīrān-karda-yi-šahr* as a second separate epithet, or the entire expression *balā-yi-ḥāna-wīrān-karda-yi-šahr* as a single epithet of Šāhid or *ḥāna-wīrān-karda-yi-šahr* as an adjective of *balā*”. In any case *ḥāna-wīrān-karda-yi-šahr* reminds one of similar Sanscrit compound words having *kṛta-* as an element (see below).

A seemingly identical example is:

- i) ‘*Azīz, ān sīna-ġārat-karda-yi-‘iṣq*
šikārī dar-kamand-āwurda-yi-‘iṣq (16)

But here the sense requires that the past participles *karda* and *āwurda* be interpreted as “passives” (such is also the interpretation of the editor of the Nawalkishore text, p. 27): “*Azīz*, that one-whose-bosom-had-been-pillaged-by love, a prey taken-in-the noose-of-Love”.

Again in the following verse an “active” sense of the past participle is required:

- j) *nihān dar ḥalwat-i ān rafta-az-dast*
hazārān-ḥāna-wīrān-karda-ī hast (24)

These are words of a spy who tells to the father of ‘*Azīz* that his son keeps his beloved Šāhid hidden in his house: “hidden in the intimate dwelling of that lost one (‘*Azīz*) there is one-having-destroyed-thousands-of-houses (Šāhid)”.

In the following verse we have again past participles in an “active” sense and moreover complicated by a dative form (in *-rā*) of the object:

- k) *dīl-i mādar ba-ġān-āwurda-yi ū*
pidar-rā ḥāna wīrān-karda-yi ū (51)

These are epithets referring to *Wafā*, the girl who fled from her house and family to rejoin Šāhid: “the heart of [her] mother [is] almost-killed-by her, to-[her]-father the house [is]-destroyed-by her”. Here the *izāfat* has an agentive character (translated by us with “by”). Compare the different use of the *izāfat* in the seemingly similar structure of verse h), second hemistich, where the logical subject is *balā* and the logical object is *šahr* (considering the house-destroying as a compound verb); here the logical subject is *ū* and the logical object is *dīl-i mādar*, though in both cases the past participles have “active” value.

¹ Nawalkishore ed., p. 22.

We have limited ourselves to the study of some of the compounds in Ġanīmat, those having a linguistically complicated or anomalous structure (and that seems to me a sort of speciality of Ġanīmat), leaving apart those that are complicated or anomalous only for what concerns their symbolical or conceptual interpretation, these latter being frequent in all Indian style poets.

The eleven examples of compound words that we have quoted could be divided into three groups: in group a-d) the abnormality seems to consist chiefly in the inclusion of entire prepositional expressions into a *bahuvrīhi* compound. In group e-g) what is remarkable is the use of substantivized infinitives as meaningful centres of the compound, in group h-k) the special use of past participle with either passive or active meaning.

Common to all groups seems to be a sort of ambiguity or unclearness due chiefly to the arbitrary nature of the poet's personal creation. He tries to create or experiment not only—as many Indian style poets—new metaphors but also new structural types of linguistic expression chiefly in the field of compound words. Persian, faithful in this to its Aryan tradition, allows—as Persian grammars generally say—an almost unlimited freedom for the creation of new compound words, but this freedom is limited by accepted usage. The strangest compounds mentioned in the best grammar of modern Persian, that by G. Lazard¹ are *Irān-bar-bād-deh* (“Iran-destroying” in the expression *mowāfa-qathā-ye šūm wa Irān-bar-bād-deh*, “*traités funestes et destructeurs de l'Iran*”) and the quasi-ironical long compound *šarḥ-e-ḥāl-e-ašḥāṣ-e-gomnām-newīs* “biographer of obscure personalities”. But their strangeness consists chiefly in their “size”, not in their structure, which remains purely Persian. Very aptly Lazard says that “cette formation (i.e. compounds made of a verbal root preceded by a complement) est extrêmement productive: on peut constituer librement des composés de ce type”, whereas the other types are more strictly bound to tradition and convention. Now it is just in the other types that Ġanīmat seems to exercise his experimental activity. In his attempts to enlarge this freedom where could Ġanīmat find examples to imitate? (To think of a purely personal creativeness seems far-fetched, given the general trend of Persian and Indian poetical art). Or—to put it in a slightly different way—why did Ġanīmat choose just the field of

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 273 ff. For a comparison with the language of classical and older Persian poetry, see G. LAZARD, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris, 1963.

compound-words to experiment new creations? Being given the Indian environment in which Ānīmat lived and the epoch in which he lived, it does not seem impossible to me to answer that his model must have been purely Indian, that is the structure of compounds in Indian vernaculars imitating Sanskrit composition.¹

4. What strikes one more in Sanskrit poetry of the *kāvya* style is just the presence of enormous compound epithets, of the different types of classical Sanskrit composition. I consider the Sanskrit composition techniques known to my readers, as it would be impossible here to repeat what can be easily found in any good Sanskrit grammar.² I limit myself to some examples, of a structural type as near as possible to the compounds used by Ānīmat, taking them chiefly from the very late *Kāvya*, the *Ītagavinda*.³ Concerning the group a-d) the Sanskrit composition type that seems nearer to it is that of a *bahuvrīhi* based on a *tatpuruṣa* with locative or instrumental implication.⁴ In group e-g) we find resemblances with the frequent instances of verbal nouns (especially in *-ana-*) included in compounds.⁵ The resemblances for what concerns the compounds of group h-k) are still more remarkable, as compound forms of this type, called by Monier Williams "relative forms of *karmadhāraya* or descriptive compounds" are very frequent in Sanskrit *kāvya*.⁶

Here follows—without any pretention of making Sanskrit philology—an analyzed stanza of the *Ītagovinda*, chapt. 5,⁷ in order to remind those who are not Sanskritists of the late *kāvya* style :

¹ Though, generally, modern Indo-Aryan languages do not use a composition technique so complicated as Sanskrit, and, in that case, only by imitation of Sanskrit *kāvya* models.

² A good summary of Sanskrit word-composition can be found in MONIER WILLIAMS, *A practical Grammar of the Sanskrit language*, Oxford, 1863^a, pp. 332 ff.

³ Written by Jayadeva in the XIIth century Bengal, and probably influenced in some aspects (rhyme etc.) by modern vernaculars. I do not know of any modern and good stylistic study on the *Ītagovinda*, whose style implies very interesting historical and structural problems.

⁴ See e.g. an epithet like the prakrit *maragaasūividham*, "pierced (*vidham*) by an emerald (*maraga*) needle (*sūi*)" referred to *mottiam* (pearl) in Hāla's *Gāhasattasāi*. (Quoted from S. K. CHATTERJI, *A Middle Indo-Aryan Reader*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 80).

⁵ E.g. *mlecchanivahanidhane kalayasi karavālam* (*Ītagov.* 1: "for ending all aliens the sword intended you hold", G. Keyt's translation, p. 17).

⁶ MONIER WILLIAMS, *op. cit.*, p. 332. For examples see here below.

⁷ I follow an Indian edition of the *Ītagovinda* with Hindi commentary by PAṆḌIT RĀJĀRĀM PĀTHAK, *Vārāṇasī*, s.d.

nāma/sametam *kṛta/saṅketam* *vādayate*
 name/accompanied-by having-done/appointment he-lets-speak
mṛdu/venum
 sweet/flute
bahu mznute *nanu* *te tanu/saṅgata/pavana/calitam*
 much he-estimates indeed the body/having touched/wind/moved-by
api renum
 even pollen
dhīra/samīre *Yamunā/tīre* *vasati vane*
 in-the-slow/breeze on-Y.'s/bank dwells in-the-forest
vanamālī
 the-with-branches-garlanded
gopī/pīna/payodhara/mardana/cañcala/kara/yuga/śālī
 shepherdess-swelling-breasts-to-crush-quick-hands-pair-having

In G. Keyt's free translation:¹

"Softly on his flute he plays, calling to the meeting place, naming it with notes
 and saying where;
 And the pollen by the breezes borne, the breezes which have been on you,
 that pollen in his sight has high esteem.
 He dwells, the garland wearer, in the forest by the Jamna, in the gentle breezes
 there,
 The swelling breasts of *gopī* girls who crushes ever with his restless hands".

Similarly to what is the case with Ġanīmat's compounds, one has to dissolve them, in translation, into entire sentences.

In the same *kāvya* we find, e.g., compounds of the third group (h-k) of our classification such as:

vigalītavasanam = "one whose garments (*vasana-*) are fallen" (*vigalīta*, intransitive past part.), *parihṛtaśāyanam* = "one having abandoned (*parihṛta-* a past participle here felt almost as an active) his bed (*śāyana-*)" and other long epithets including past participles like: *smarasamarocitaviracitaveśā* (*Ġītagov.*, ch. 7), a feminine adjective in -ā, "with garments (*veśa-*) arranged (*viracita-*) brilliantly according (*samarocita-*) the custom of Love (*smara*)", or *galitakusumadalavilulītakeśā*, another feminine adjective: "one with hair (*keśa-*) dishevelled (*vilulīta-*) having fallen [on it] (*galīta*) petals (*dala*) of flowers (*kusuma*)".

And many similar examples would be easy to find.

5. Various problems however remain open. First it could be asked:

¹ *Śrī Jayadeva's Ġīta-Govinda* Rendered from Sanskrit ... by G. Keyt, Bombay 1965 (2nd ed.).

were it not possible to think, also in this case, of a purely Persian attempt at “twisting upon itself”¹ without any Indian influence? And, secondly, how could Ġanīmat (and possibly other Indian style poets using similar compounds) know Sanskrit *kāvya* style?

The first question might be answered in the following way. The “twisting upon itself” of which some critics speak, refers basically to the imagery, not so much to the linguistic form in which it is expressed. Even when an “extremist” of Indian style like Bēdil says: *bar dāman-i ġism-i pāk taḡqīr ma-dōz*, “don’t sew contempt on the hem of the garment of the Pure Body” meaning “don’t despise body”,² or when he—as W. Heinz says³—creates new compound words as in:

čašmē agar mātīda-am z’īn bāġ bīrūn čīda-am

vaḡšat-kamān ḡwābīda-am čūn ġunča dāmān dar baġal

i.e. “if I rubbed my eye (with *kuḡl*, that sharpens the sight, i.e. if I woke up), I picked up [the hem of my garment] out of this garden; I slept in the ambush of fear (i.e. full of fear) like a flower-bud with the hem of my garden under my arm ...”.

The expressions are extremely sophisticated and the images so much twisted as to almost defy interpretation, but there is no deviation from the norm of Persian language. A compound like *vaḡšat-kamān* is quite possible and normal in Persian and *adabġāh*, another compound that W. Heinz quotes some lines before as a *neue Wortprägung* is so common that is registered in all Persian dictionaries.

But in the examples from Ġanīmat we, in some cases, are out of the accepted norm of Persian. And this happens—a fact which is quite important for our thesis—just in a maṡnawī descriptive of an “Indian” story, with “Indian” dancers as basic characters. The suspicion that Ġanīmat wanted to create an Indian atmosphere also linguistically can therefore be justified.

The second question is more difficult to answer, and would imply ample research in a field hitherto not much explored, at least by Western orientalists, i.e. the extent of the knowledge that Indian Muslims had of Indian non-Muslim culture.⁴ Comparatively much has

¹ The expression is due to the modern Persian writer Rašīd Yāsemī (*šī’r-i fārsī bar ḡud picīd sabk-i hindī šud*, “Persian poetry twisted upon itself and ‘Indian style’ was born”) quoted in BAUSANI, *Contributo*, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

² BAUSANI, *Contributo*, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

³ W. HEINZ, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

⁴ For a general orientation see the two already mentioned books by Aziz Ahmad, from which I take most of the informations listed here below.

been written on Indo-Muslim religious syncretism on a folkloric level,¹ rather less on the cultural contacts on higher social levels.

The century in which Ġanīmat lived (the XVIIth) is a century of remarkable Hindu-Muslim contacts and mutual influences. Many of the *kāyastha* Hindu caste of scribes, by the time of Akbar, had mastered Persian and from the XVIIth to the early XIXth century they enriched Persian literature written in India becoming specialists in diplomatic and official letter-writing (*inšā'*) a style that is distinguished by the most clumsy and long compound words.² At the Mughal court the Kashmiri *paṇḍits* (especially the Sapru clan) rose to become an influential element and some of them "combined Persian intellectualism with erudition in Sanskrit".³ In 1653-55 the Mughal prince Dārā Šikōh had translated the *Bhagavadgītā*—partly with the help of Hindu *paṇḍits*—from Sanskrit into Persian, not to mention his famous rendering of fifty-two *Upaniṣads* under the title of *Sirr-i Akbar* ("The Supreme Secret"). At the court of Akbar, Muslim patronage of Sanskrit learning reached its highest watermark. Some of the Hindu nobles in Akbar's court wrote in Sanskrit as well as Persian, like Rāḡā Manōhardās or Todar Mal, who translated the *Bhagavata Purāna* into Persian.⁴ It seems that among the Muslim nobles at the same court, 'Abdu 'l-Raḡīm Ḥān Ḥānān, Abu'l-Faẓl and Faiẓi knew some Sanskrit and translated from it, while others translated Sanskrit works with the help of Hindu *paṇḍits*. It is the time in which the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* and parts of the *Purānas* were rendered into Persian, and Faiẓi paraphrased the first two *parvanas* of the *Mahābhārata* into Persian verse.⁵ Even at the court of Awrangzēb the knowledge of Indian things was not lacking. It is for the son of

¹ I only mention two classical works: the *Qānūn-i Islām* by ĠA'FAR ŠARĪF - G. A. HERKLOTS for South India (New Ed. Oxford 1921) and W. CROOKE's *The popular religion and folk-lore of Northern India* (2nd ed., in two vols., 1896) for Northern India.

² See S. 'ABDULLĀH, *Ababīyāt-i fārsī-men Hinduwoṅ-kā ḡiṣṣa*, Delhi, 1942, p. 233; YUSUF HUSAIN, "Les Kāyasthas", in *Revue des Études Islamiques*, I (1927), quoted in A. AHMAD, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

³ See 'ABDULLĀH, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴ A complete Persian rendering of another *Purāna*, the *Matsya-purāna*, still in manuscript, was made as late as the end of the XVIIIth century. It has been studied by me in the article, A. BAUSANI, "Notizia di una traduzione persiana inedita del Matsya-purāna della fine del secolo XVIII", in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*. XXXI (1956), pp. 169 ff.

⁵ On these subjects see the Xth Chapter of A. AHMAD's *Studies in Islamic Culture* ..., *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.

Awrangzēb that Mirzā Muḥammad composed his *Tuḥfatul-Hind*, which includes also a complete grammar of the Braj Bhāṣā in Persian¹ and where the Author compare the rules of Sanskrit prosody with those of Arabic.

Of course these are only haphazard hints for further research, and I am well aware that, with these hints, I did not solve the problem of how, to which extent and exactly by which channels Ġanīmat might have known certain stylistic features of Sanskrit poetry. It is also possible that a general impression of twistedness and amorphousness was at that time connected with things Indian (or better *Hindu*)² and that, in order to create an "Indian atmosphere" of Hindu dancers, the attempt to imitate not real models but an impression of how these model should be, might have led to results by chance similar to those of a real stylistic imitation of Sanskrit patterns. This is an hypothesis not so strange or far-fetched as it may seem, because in this case the achievement of the final results (striking similarities between Sanskrit *kāvya*-compounds and certain Ġanīmat's compounds) was, in a way, helped by the common Aryan heritage of compound formation in both languages (Persian and Indo-Aryan).³

As a conclusion, it could be stated that the so-called "Indian style", though ultimately deriving from Persian *Şafawī* style, presents in India at least certain variants in which really Indian influences⁴ can be detected and that therefore its name is more justified than one may think; all the more that all Iranian "Indian style" poets passed at least part of their lives in India and that style found in India the most favourable opportunities for further developments, whereas it was completely, abandoned in Iran.

I am thankful to my learned colleague Miss Sukumari Bhattacharyi, Reader, Dept. of Sanskrit at Calcutta University, for the very interest-

¹ Unfortunately only a part, that concerning the Braj Bhāṣā grammar, has been edited.

² This impression of amorphousness and "abnormality" made by India on Muslims is very ancient. See A. Bausani, "L'India vista da due grandi personalità musulmane: Bābare Birūnī", in *Al-Birūnī Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 53 ff.

³ In spite of the different typology, neo-Persian preserved much ancient Aryan features in this field. Therefore, even if such compounds as those studied here are, in a way, at the limit, they do not completely break the Persian linguistic pattern, only they aim (perhaps, as we saw above, purposely) at giving an impression of enormity and amorphousness, felt as typical of Indian taste (see article mentioned in the preceding note).

⁴ Of course also in the lexical field.

ing suggestion made after hearing my paper. "The prose-works of Daṇḍin (*Dāśakumaracarita*), Subandhu (*Vāsavadattā*) and Bāṇa (*Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*)—she rightly remarked—are notorious for long compounds and *vakrokti* (oblique manner of expression). But it is not likely that they were translated into Persian and thus influenced Persian authors. The love poems in Sanskrit and Prakrit in the *pre-medieval* age did not contain very long compounds. I suggest that the dramas in Sanskrit and Prakrit between the VIIIth and XIth centuries influenced the Persian style. Dramas are acted on the stage and Persians must have watched the performances, and the sonorousness of the style both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit (in the *Śaurasenī* variety chiefly, but also in *Mahā-raṣṭrī*, the language of verses and songs) must have lingered with them. They imbibed this trait from the prose and verse of dramas and incorporated it in their writings".

I think that this suggestion might open a rewarding field for further research.

Rome, December 1970.