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A TRANSREGIONAL PERSIANATE LIBRARY: THE PRODUCTION AND CIRCULATION OF *TADHKIRA*S OF PERSIAN POETS IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

Abstract
The *tadhkira* (biographical anthology) represents one of the most prolific and prevalent categories of texts produced in Islamicate societies, yet few studies have sought to understand the larger processes that governed their production and circulation on a transregional basis. This article examines and maps the production, circulation, and citation networks of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets in the 18th and 19th centuries. It understands *tadhkira*s of Persian poets as a transregional library that served as a repository of accessible and circulating texts meant to be incorporated, reworked, and repackaged by a cadre of authors separated by space and time. By relying on a macroanalytical approach, quantifiable data, and digital mapping, this article highlights the overall construction of the transregional library itself, the impact of state disintegration and formation on its constitution, and the different ways authors on opposite ends of the Persianate world came to view this library by the end of the 19th century.

Keywords: Persianate literature; Persian poets; *tadhkira*

The *tadhkira* (biographical anthology; plural *tadhākir*; Pers: *tazkirih*, *tazkirih-hā*) of Persian poets has proved to be a valuable resource for charting a vast array of literary, social, cultural, and political phenomena across the early modern and modern Persianate world. Scholars have relied on *tadhkira*s of Persian poets to assess developments in poetic style and literary reception and used them to reconstruct communities, social networks, cultural memory, and (trans)national historiographies.[1] Fewer studies

[1] For example, see Paul E. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighani: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1998); Mana Kia, "Imagining Iran before Nationalism: Geocultural Meanings of Land in Azar's Atashkadeh," in *Rethinking Iranian Nationalism and Modernity*, eds. Kamran Scot Aghaie and Afshin Marashi (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 89–112; Kevin L. Schwartz, "Bazgasht-i Adabi (Literary Return) and Persianate Literary Culture in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Iran, India, and Afghanistan" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2014); Theodore S. Beers, "The Biography of Vahshi Bafqi (d. 991/1583) and the *Tazkera* Tradition," *Journal of Persianate Studies* 8, no. 2 (2015): 195–222; Rajeev Kinra, *Writing Self, Writing Empire: Chandar Bhan Brahman and*

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have utilized *tadhkira*s to ask questions about the larger processes that governed the production, proliferation, and circulation of the genre as a whole. Achieving such an aim requires pursuing elements of a macroanalytical approach based on "the systematic examination of data [and] quantifiable methodology," which *tadhkira*s are well equipped to provide.[2] A wealth of quantifiable data, such as the date and place of production, intertextual citations, and biographical information about authors, allows individual *tadhkira*s to be recorded, cataloged, and mapped in a systematic way. This method allows for a stronger basis to make claims about a collective genre and its attributes than may be gleaned by selective close readings of individual works. It does not mean the pursuit of a macroanalytical approach is akin to doing away with the method of close reading altogether, but that the two should be seen as complementary approaches. As Matthew Jockers in *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History* notes, "the macroscale perspective should inform our close readings of the individual texts by providing, if nothing else, a fuller sense of the literary-historical milieu in which a given book exists. It is through the application of both approaches that we reach a new and better-informed understanding of the primary materials."[3]

The word *tadhkira* comes from the Arabic root *dh-k-r* meaning "to recall" or "to remember." At its most fundamental level, a *tadhkira* may best be described as a prosopographical text seeking to "remember" certain individuals; in doing so the text establishes those individuals as a "class."[4] But as one of the most inventive and plentiful categories of texts produced in Islamicate societies, establishing a comprehensive definition of the *tadhkira* in a way that corrals its multilingualism, differential models of organization, subject matter, and varying authorial impulses can prove elusive. For this reason, this article approaches the large corpus of *tadhkira*s produced in the 18th and 19th centuries across Iran and South Asia as constituting a transregional library of texts.[5] Even absent an actual physical and central location housing these texts, relying on the metaphor of a transregional library provides a way to concretize a vast collection of *tadhkira*s and more adequately assess major trends in their production and circulation across space and time. Approaching these texts as part of a library allows for a shift from locating characteristics meant to define *tadhkira*s as a singular generic class, identifying elements common to them all, to a focus on their shared processes of production and circulation.

The first section details the makeup of the *tadhkira* library in the 18th and 19th centuries. It relates how state disintegration and formation, such as the breakup of the Mughal Empire in South Asia and the emergence of the Qajar dynasty in Iran, shaped major trends in *tadhkira* production. It argues that state disintegration and formation created new

the Cultural Persian State Secretary (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015); and Stefano Pellò, "Persian Poets on the Streets: The Lore of Indo-Persian Poetic Circles in Late Mughal India," in *Telling and Texts: Music, Literature, and Performance in North India*, eds. Francesca Orsini and Katherine Butler Schofield (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2015), 303–26.

[2] Matthew L. Jockers, *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 25.

[3] Ibid., 28.

[4] Chase F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), xxv.

[5] While "West Asia" may be a less politicized and more apt term to describe early modern *tadhkira* production in an area that includes contemporary Iran, I have opted to use "Iran" in this article as a way to best highlight the different modes and features of *tadhkira* production there vis-a-vis South Asia.

climates for *tadhkira* production and impacted methods of compilation, opportunities for patronage, and authorial motivations in the crafting of new works. In the 18th century, the rising importance in South Asia of poetic networks and noncourt assemblies played the most formative role in reshaping methods and practices of *tadhkira* production. As Mughal power waned and imperial networks broke down, compilers were further emboldened to record new and contemporary voices of poetry in operation beyond the imperial center. In the 19th century, the greatest factor (re)shaping the composition of the *tadhkira* library relates to the role played by the Qajar state. The Qajar royal court oversaw and managed *tadhkira* production as a state enterprise, creating an environment in which *tadhkira*s produced and circulating within their sovereign lands were valued above all else. In other words, the *tadhkira* library, with the bulk of texts produced in Qajar lands during this time, was being reconstituted to cohere with state aims. In 19th-century South Asia, *tadhkira* production was becoming increasingly confined to the courts of successor (and princely) states—the last official locations recognizing and utilizing Persian as a primary marker of elite literary status—but with less definitive results. The overall impact of both of these developments was the reconstruction of the *tadhkira* library in the 19th century around isolated pockets of state interest and power. Other plausible explanations for the rise in production of *tadhkira*s by Persian poets in the 19th century, such as the higher survivability rate of manuscripts in the 19th century or the proliferation of print technologies lowering the barriers to production and circulation of texts, are not borne out by the evidence. In the first case, *tadhkira* authors across the centuries were adamant about relying on the corpus of earlier produced texts in the composition of their own works, thus if an earlier period produced a greater volume of texts (whether those works are extant or nonextant today), *tadhkira* authors would have made note. In the second instance, print technologies in the 19th century, except for a few isolated instances that will be discussed, simply did not factor into the production or circulation of *tadhkira*s in the 19th century in any significant manner.

The second section turns to the intertextual relationships between *tadhkira*s by mapping their citations and highlights some of the methodological opportunities of this approach, such as the way citations can help explain how different authors viewed and accessed the *tadhkira* library across space and time.

The systematic assessment of the transregional library of *tadhkira*s for any time period requires quantifiable data that can be mapped and analyzed. The evidence used for this article comes from my own database of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets produced between the years 1200 and 1900. The database was constructed through the use of secondary sources (Ahmad Gulchin-i Maʿani's two-volume *History of Persian Tadhkiras*, Sayyid ʿAlirida Naqavi's *Persian Tadhkira Writing in India and Pakistan*, and C. A. Storey's *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*); manuscript catalogues (Charles Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* and Wladimir Ivanow's *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*); and individual *tadhkira*s appearing in manuscript, lithograph, and print.[6] In order for a text to be included in this database, it had to meet certain

[6] Ahmad Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha-yi Farsi*, 2 vols. (Tehran: Intisharat-i Kitabkhanih-yi Sanaʾi, 1984–85); Sayyid ʿAlirida Naqavi, *Tazkirih-Navisi dar Hind va Pakistan* (Tehran: ʿAli Akbar ʿIlmi,

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criteria. First, the text needed to appear in Persian and focus primarily on poets writing in Persian. Thus, *tadhkira*s written about Persian poets in another language (e.g., Urdu), *tadhkiras* in which the primary focus was non-poets, and *tadhkira*s primarily dedicated to non-Persian-writing poets (e.g., Urdu, Turkish, Arabic), even if the text itself appeared in Persian, were excluded. Second, each text (whether still extant or not) needed to have a recognizable title. Finally, each text needed to have either a reliable place or time of composition. One hundred eighty-eight texts met the above criteria, but only 144 had both reliable temporal and geographic data. It is these 144 texts that composed the set of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets discussed in this article.[7]

There are certainly limits to pursuing a macroanalytical approach solely devoted to the *tadhkira*s of Persian poets defined by the above criteria. The reliance on quantitative analysis can often militate against more faithfully situating a text in the many worlds of its creation. *Tadhkira*s were not produced in an environment where little else mattered save their relationship to other *tadhkira*s, but were instead part of a large, multifaceted, and multilingual world of histories, poetry collections, dictionaries, and other compendia. Likewise, *tadhkira* authors were not solely defined by their *tadhkira* writing, but also by their social and political experiences as poets, courtiers, bureaucrats, and secretaries. A macroanalytical approach cannot always account for these many nuances, as authors and texts are condensed to single data points to be counted as statistics, plotted on graphs, and geocoded on maps. Nonetheless, although this approach may too highly value the forest for the trees and too readily rely on a manufactured world limited to *tadhkira*s of Persian poets, the benefits to understanding how *tadhkira*s and their authors relate to one another across space and time, how *tadhkira* production intersects with larger social and political trends, and the presentation of new methodological opportunities for exploring transregional trends in textual production and circulation, outweigh these drawbacks.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE *TADHKIRA* LIBRARY IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

The 18th and 19th centuries witnessed an explosion of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets (see Figure 1). Of the 144 *tadhkira*s in my possession produced between the years 1200 and 1900, 123 (85%) were produced in the period from 1700 to 1900. Figure 2 reflects that the periods from 1725 to 1775 and 1800 to 1850 stand out as times of high *tadhkira* production and the expansion of the *tadhkira* library. To portray the geographic distribution of *tadhkira* production during this time, Maps 1 and 2 depict the locations of *tadhkira*s produced in the 18th and 19th centuries, respectively.

1964); C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, vol. 1, part 2 (London: Luzac & Company, 1972); Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols. with suppl. (London: British Museum, 1879–95); Wladimir Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1926).

[7] A list of the 144 *tadhkira*s (Appendix 1) as well as other appendices and resources related to this article, including copies of digital maps, can be viewed in the supplementary material section.

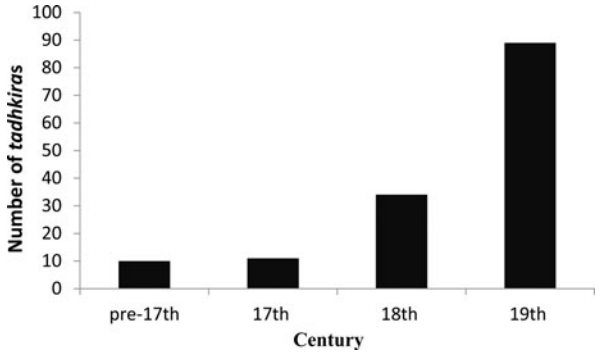

FIGURE 1. *Tadhkira* Production by Century, 1200–1900

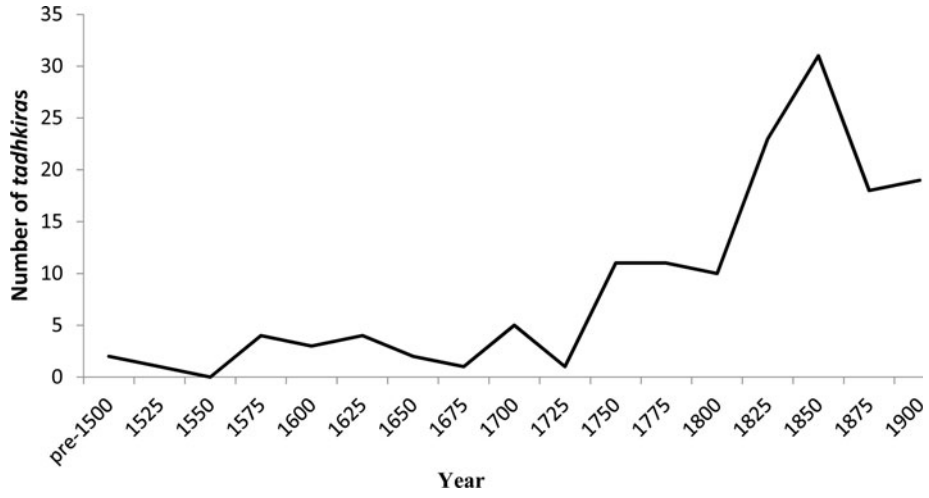

FIGURE 2. *Tadhkira* Production in Twenty-Five Year Increments, 1200–1900

THE 18TH CENTURY

The breakup of the Mughal (1526–1857) and Safavid (1501–1722) Empires, the formation of successor states in South Asia, and the continued flourishing of poetic assemblies all served as fertile ground for creating opportunities and inspiring increased *tadhkira* production from 1725 to 1775, with steady continuation over the following twenty-five years. Poetic assemblies and networks operating outside the direct control of courts served as a major venue for *tadhkira* production in South Asia during this time. Of course, Persian literary networks and assemblies (sing. majlis) featured heavily outside of courtly domains and imperial control prior to the 18th century.[8] The sprawling networks of

[8] On networks connecting the Mughal court and society in the 17th and 18th centuries, see, respectively: Corrine Lefevre, "The Court of ʿAbd-ur-Rahim Khan-i Khanan as a Bridge between Iranian and Indian Cultural Traditions," in *Culture and Circulation: Literature in Motion in Early Modern India*, eds. Thomas

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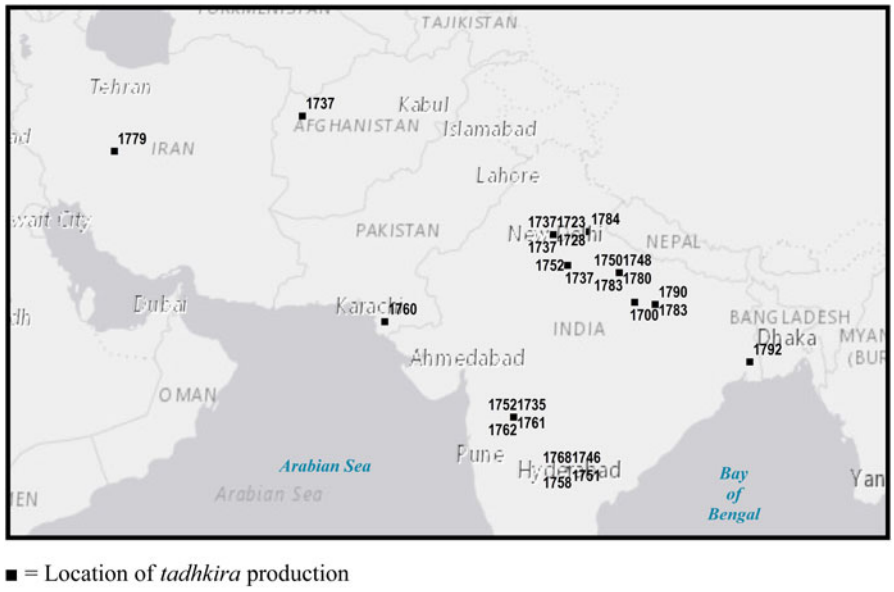


MAP 1. Locations of *Tadhkira* Production in the 18th Century
Note: The year of production refers to the year a *tadhkira* was completed in its final form–not when it was first composed–thereby accounting for later recensions of a given text.

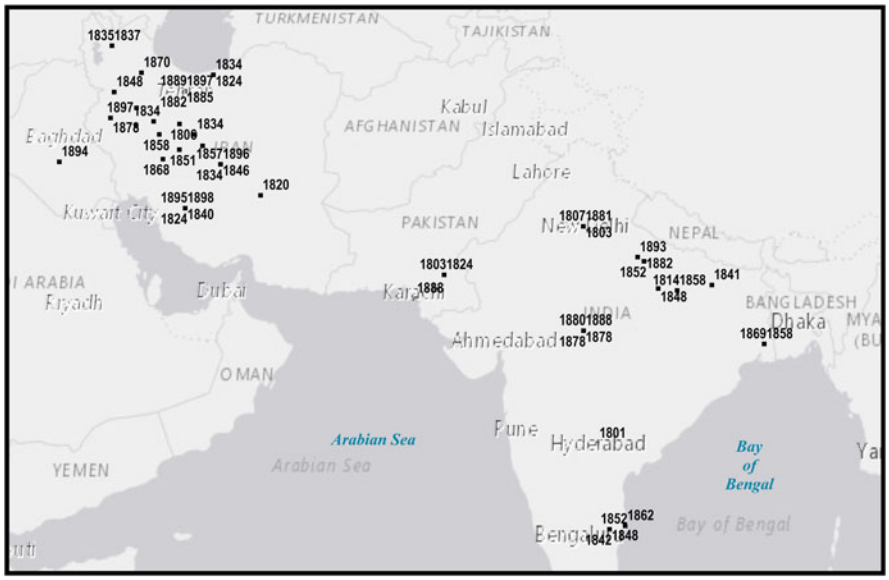
Mughal bureaucracy and the significance accorded to the Persian language as a marker of elite intellectual and literary status nurtured an active poetic culture in places like Lucknow, Agra, Lahore, and the Deccan as well as other cities and provinces. As Purnima Dhavan notes, already by the early decades of the 17th century, most Persian learners could be found "not in the rarified inner circle of the imperial court, but in much more eclectic settings all over the province and cities of the emperor."[9]

The political shocks of the 18th century, such as Nadir Shah's sacking of Delhi in 1739 and the weakening of the Mughal court, increased the importance of non-court-affiliated poetic assemblies and networks for motivating *tadhkira* compilation. As complex patronage networks began to break down and the rigid social system of the Mughals loosened, literati and artists left Delhi for other regional centers.[10] As the poet and *tadhkira* writer Muhammad Qiyam al-Din "Qa'im" Chandpuri (d. ca. 1790) described it, "in these days, due to the decay of empire, the string connecting imperial servants broke apart and

de Bruijn and Allison Busch (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 75–106; and Prashant Keshavmurthy, "Bidel's Portrait: Asceticism and Autobiography," *Philological Encounters* 1 (2015): 8.

[9] Purnima Dhavan, "Marking Boundaries and Building Bridges: Persian Scholarly Networks in Mughal Punjab," in *The Persianate World: The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca*, ed. Nile Green (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), 171.

[10] Sunil Sharma, "Fa'iz Dihlavi's Female-Centered Poems and the Representation of Public Life in Late Mughal Society," in *Affect, Emotion, and Subjectivity in Early Modern Muslim Empires: New Studies in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Art and Culture*, ed. Kishwar Rizvi (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 169.



■ = Location of *tadhkira* production

MAP 2. Locations of *Tadhkira* Production in the 19th Century
Note: The year of production refers to the year a *tadhkira* was completed in its final form–not when it was first composed–thereby accounting for later recensions of a given text.

everyone—like pearls—fell to the ground in humiliation, turning every which way" such that "willing or not, they preferred emigrating elsewhere to staying put [in Delhi]."[11]

Nonetheless, Delhi remained an important center for the arts, including the compilation of *tadhkira*s, during the 18th century. Several *tadhkira*s emerged from assemblies and in response to poetic conversations there, such as Mir ʿUzmat Allah "Bikhabar" Bilgrami's *Safinih-yi Bikhabar* (1728–29) and Mir Husayn Dust Muradabadi's *Tazkirih-yi Husayni* (1749–50).[12] Ghulam "Mushafi" Hamdani (d. ca. 1824–25), whose own house in Delhi served as a meeting place for poets, likewise gained inspiration for his *tadhkira* during a poetic assembly. The famed poet and intellectual Mirza Muhammad Hasan "Qatil" (d. ca. 1822) showed Mushafi a notebook on the poetry and prose of contemporary poets and requested he compose a *tadhkira* based on its contents.[13] The result was *ʿAqd-i Surayya* (Delhi, 1784–85), which focused on the lives of

[11] Muhammad Qiyam al-Din "Qaʾim" Chandpuri, *Tazkirih-yi Makhzan-i Nikat*, ed. Iqtida Hasan (Lahore: Majlis-i Tarraqi-yi Adab, 1966), 201.

[12] For *Safinih-yi Bikhabar*, see Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 708–9. For *Tazkirih-yi Husayni*, see introduction to *Tazkirih-yi Husayni* quoted in Naqavi, *Tazkirih-Navisi*, 318.

[13] Shaykh Ghulam Mushafi, *ʿAqd-i Surayya: bih Khatt-i az Mawlavi Khastih*, ed. Muhammad Sarvar Pakfar (Kabul: Majjalih-yi Khurasan, 1983–84), 3. On Qatil's life and intellectual activity, see Stefano Pellò, "A Linguistic Conversion: Mirza Muhammad Hasan Qatil and the Varieties of Persian (ca. 1790)," in *Borders: Itineraries on the Edges of Iran*, ed. Stefano Pellò (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari Digital Publishing, 2016), 203–40.

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poets in 18th-century South Asia. Toward the end of the century, a similar occurrence played out concerning the compilation of *Makhzan al-Gharaʾib* (Delhi, 1803–04). When the author Shaykh Aha ʿAli Hashimi sought to collate the verses he collected over the years into a simple notebook, Mirza Qatil once again directed his student to compile instead an alphabetized *tadhkira*.[14] This text, however, was more comprehensive than Mushafi's work of a quarter-century earlier: *Makhzan al-Gharaʾib* included notices of upwards of 3,000 ancient and later poets. Elsewhere, the role of poetic assemblies and networks in galvanizing *tadhkira* production was equally in play, as seen in the case of Qudratallah "Shawq" Gupamavi's *Takmilat al-Shuʿaraʾ Jam-i Jamshid* (ca. 1784–85) in Rampur. Having completed several years earlier a general history of rulers and dynasties up to the late 18th century, he was beseeched by friends to compose a work on the biographies of poets since his previous work was lacking in this regard.[15]

The fracturing of Mughal power not only amplified the importance of urban literary salons and societal gatherings as major venues for poetic production, but also instigated a greater tendency among some of the participants to record their activity, especially outside the imperial center. Shamsur Rahman Faruqi points out that the artistic and cultural achievements of the 18th century in Persian (and Rekhta) literary production can be traced to writers and intellectuals who, no longer bound by what was occurring in Delhi, "evinced a spirit of inquiry and independent thought, and preferred to gather information on their own."[16] Just as important as the seeking out of new opportunities was the desire to record newness in poetry and literary culture, a trend already becoming apparent in *tadhkira* writing in the last quarter of the 17th century. Indicative of this trend are the comments of Muhammad Afzal Sarkhush in the introduction to his *Kalimat al-Shuʿaraʾ* (Delhi, 1682), which would become one of the most-cited *tadhkira*s in the 18th century, that "there is little merit in going on copying from the works of each other [i.e., other *tadhkira* authors] and repeating things . . . the present age is full of writers who know how to deal with many-coloured images and fresh new concepts, it will not be inopportune to devote oneself to describe their lives and speak about the peculiarities of their poetical discourse."[17]

The rise of Mughal successor states, like the Asaf Jahi state (1724–1948) at Aurangabad (and Hyderabad) and the Awadh state (1732–1858) at Lucknow, served as emergent venues for Persian littérateurs to garner employment, participate in Persian literary activities, and record new poetic voices in new spaces. In both places, poetic assemblies and networks intersected with patronage prospects to create newfound opportunities for *tadhkira* authors. In the Deccan, the writer Mir Ghulam ʿAli Azad Bilgrami (d. 1786), himself the author of three *tadhkira*s of Persian poets (*Yad-i Bayda*, Allahabad, 1735–36; *Sarv-i Azad*, Aurangabad, 1752–53; and *Khizanih-yi ʿAmirih*, Aurangabad, 1762–63)

[14] Naqavi, *Tazkirih-Navisi*, 495–96.

[15] Ibid., 470.

[16] Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, "Urdu and Persian at Allahabad," September 2007, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00fwp/srf/txt_allahabad.html. The relationship between the flowering of literary activity and the breakdown of an imperial state is one that others have observed in the course of Islamic history. See Elias Muhanna, *The World in a Book: Al-Nuwayri and the Islamic Encyclopedic Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 16–19.

[17] Muhammad Afzal Sarkhush, *Kalimat al-Shuʿaraʾ*, ed. M. H. Mahvi Lakhnawi (Madras: 1951). Cited in Pellò, "Persian Poets on the Streets," 306 (his translation).

was a crucial figure in this regard. Azad connected a student and the future author of *Tazkirih-yi bi-Nazir* (Hyderabad, 1758–59) to the Nizami state and also helped the wayward traveler ʿAbd al-Hakim "Hakim" Lahuri conceptualize his biographical anthology *Mardum-i Didih* (Aurangabad, 1761–62).[18] The flurry of Persian poetic activity around the environs of the state at Hyderabad was such that it led Azad's contemporary Afdal Bayg Khan Qashqal Aurangabadi to shun compiling a *tadhkira* on ancient poets and instead focus his *Tuhfat al-Shuʿaraʾ* (Hyderabad, 1751–52) solely on contemporary poets in the Deccan.[19]

In Lucknow, poetic assemblies and networks played a crucial role in *tadhkira* production as well, at times intersecting with the Awadhi court. It was at a poetic assembly, for example, that a secretary to the Nawabi rulers, Maharajah Tikit Ray (d. 1800–01), scrutinized *Tadhkirat al-Muʿasirin* (Agra, 1752) of Hazin Lahiji and asked those present "if there is now someone who can organize a *tadhkira* in this manner?"[20] Muhan Laʿl "Anis" obliged by composing his *Anis al-Ahibba'* (Lucknow, 1783), focusing on the poetic network and pupils surrounding the famed Luckavi poet and instructor Muhammad Fakhir "Makin" (d. 1825–26). Such an example demonstrates how poetic assemblies not only inspired *tadhkira* production but also highly valued the recording of poetic networks operating outside of the court. The compilation of *Anis al-Ahibba'* was not the only case in which Maharajah Tikit Ray and Makin's poetic network came together to inspire a *tadhkira*: Tikit Ray also employed one of Makin's students, Bahgavan Das "Hindi," who composed *Hadiqih-yi Hindi* (Lucknow, 1785–86) and *Safinih-yi Hindi* (Lucknow, 1804–05) on Persian poets in South Asia throughout history and during contemporary times.[21] During this time, *tadhkira* production at Lucknow was further buttressed by the presence of East India Company (EIC) employees and an exiled Safavid prince, demonstrating the extent the compilation of *tadhkira*s could benefit from a new influx of patrons. The assistant resident at Lucknow, Richard Johnson, commissioned *Lubb-i Lubab* (Lucknow, 1780), while the exiled Safavid royal Sultan Muhammad Bahadur Khan Safavi (himself a pensioner of the EIC at Lucknow) commissioned *Tazkirih-yi Katib* (Lucknow, 1810).[22] Both texts were primarily selections (sing. *muntakhab*) of earlier *tadhkira*s, Valih Daghistani's *Riyad al-Shuʿaraʾ* (Delhi, 1748) and *Makhzan al-Gharaʾib* (Delhi, 1803–04), respectively, amended with new entries.[23] That these two *tadhkira*s, like the example of Hazin's *Tadkhirat al-Muʿasirin* noted above, should so directly inspire the production of *tadhkira*s a few decades later are indicative of the high level of *tadhkira* circulation in 18th-century South Asia.

[18] Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 194; vol. 2, 266.

[19] See introduction to *Tuhfat al-Shuʿaraʾ* quoted in Naqavi, *Tazkirih-Navisi*, 379.

[20] Muhan Laʿl "Anis", *Anis al-Ahibba'* (Berlin: Staatsbiliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz), 5, accessed 26 November 2018, http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001DD2700000000.

[21] See Naqavi, *Tazkirih-Navisi*, 500–11.

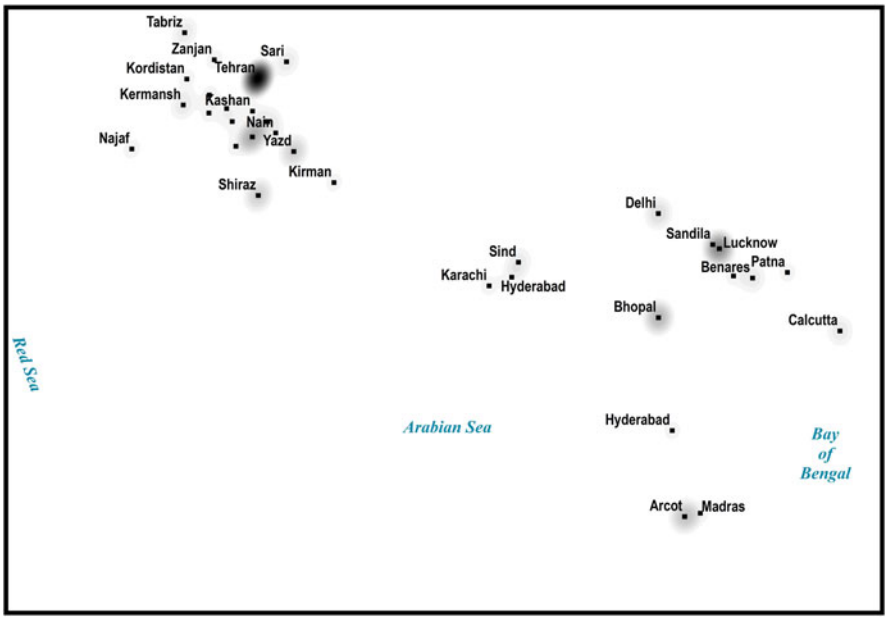
[22] Sultan Muhammad Bahadur Khan Safavi also wrote his own *tadhkira* entitled *Tuhfat al-Shuʿaraʾ* (Lucknow, 1801–02). See Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 160–67.

[23] *Riyad al-Shuʿaraʾ* was one of the most cited *tadhkira*s during the 18th and 19th centuries. See appendices 2 and 3 in the supplementary materials section.

THE 19TH CENTURY

In the 19th century, the most significant feature of *tadhkira* production was its relationship to the activities and aspirations of ruling states and courtly centers. Across Qajar Iran and the courts of Mughal successor or princely states in Arcot, Bhopal, and Lucknow, *tadhkira*s were commissioned by rulers and written by poets, state functionaries, and members of the royal elite. The high incidence of *tadhkira* production at courtly centers in Iran and South Asia throughout the 19th century is illustrated in Map 3. The map is calculated to depict the concentration (or density) of *tadhkira* production according to the temporal and spatial proximity of texts produced there. In Tehran, for example, one sees the highest concentration of production as it was a place that witnessed a significant number of *tadhkira*s produced during a short period of time. Likewise, other "hot-spots" of *tadhkira* production can be seen in Bhopal and Arcot. Although this macroanalytical approach displays that the *tadhkira* production connected to state courts represented the most significant trend in the 19th century, understanding what this reveals about the reconfiguration of the *tadhkira* library requires one to inspect how the content, production, and compilatory processes of these works may have intersected with state aims and larger trends in Persian literary culture.

In South Asia, the concentration of *tadhkira* production at the courts of Mughal successor and princely states demonstrates the continued ability of Persian littérateurs to find outlets for patronage more than a century after the breakup of the Mughal empire. But more importantly, the relationship between the production of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets and a regional or princely court indicates how the space for the production and



MAP 3. Density of *Tadhkira* Production in the 19th Century

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reception of the genre was narrowing from the previous century, a function of the changing status of Persian as a literary language on the subcontinent.

Poetic assemblies and networks of poets, at times intersecting with emergent state courts, not only reflected one of the most creative and intellectualized climates for the production of Persian poetry, but also fostered a welcoming atmosphere for authors wishing to record such activity in a *tadhkira* of Persian poets, as seen in the previous section. By the first decade of the 19th century, however, the literary climate for the production and reception of Persian had shifted significantly. Networks of poetic instruction were shifting away from Persian toward Urdu.[24] Genres like *tadhkira*s and poetic topoi like *shahr-āshūb* (city-disturber), once the primary domain of Persian, increasingly found expression in the ascending vernacular of Rekhtah-Urdu.[25]The political shocks of the previous century had also helped drive Rekhtah's dispersal and transmission to regional centers.[26] By the early 19th century a Persian-inflected form of Urdu was replacing Persian in elite circles as a new cosmopolitan vernacular,[27] and the remainder of the 19th century witnessed the gradual displacement of Persian by English, Urdu, and other regional languages.

While the narrative of the decline of Persian in 19th-century South Asia is vastly overstated, the rise of Rekhtah-Urdu as an increasingly acceptable and utilized medium for expression in poetry and prose was unquestionable. This does not mean that Urdu's rise in South Asia occurred in a linear or uniform fashion, or that Persian and Urdu were locked in a struggle for monolingual supremacy, directed by a romanticized, proto-nationalist vision of "one language, one people."[28] Quite the contrary: Persian and Urdu were intimately intertwined and continued to both compete with and complement one another across a variety of institutions, court settings, genres, and knowledge systems within a larger multilingual milieu.[29] But this also should not be taken to mean that the complex interrelationship between the two languages, or their relationships to other languages for that matter, mapped evenly across society. As Francesca Orsini reminds, multilingualism may have been structural to society during the "long 18th-century" in

[24] On the growing importance of Urdu poetic networks and master-student relationships during this time, see Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, "A Long History of Urdu Literary Culture, Part 1: Naming and Placing a Literary Culture," in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 850.

[25] For Urdu *tadhkira*s in the 18th century see Purnima Dhavan and Heidi Pauwels, "Controversies Surrounding the Reception of Vali 'Dakhani' (1665?–1707?) in Early Tazkirahs of Urdu Poets," *JRAS Series 3*, 25, no. 4 (2015), 625–46. For literary and linguistic transitions in *shahr-āshūb*, see Sunil Sharma, "The City of Beauties in Indo-Persian Poetic Landscape," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 2 (2004): 73–81.

[26] Dhavan and Pauwels, "Controversies," 629.

[27] Ibid., 625.

[28] For a longer discussion on the inaccuracy and problems of the decline narrative of Persian in South Asia see the section "South Asian Stagnation" in chapter 1 of Kevin L. Schwartz, *Remapping Persian Literary History, 1700–1900*, forthcoming.

[29] For example, see Gail Minault, "Delhi College and Urdu," *Annual of Urdu Studies* 14 (1999), 119–34; Ulrike Stark, "Politics, Public Issues and the Promotion of Urdu Literature: Avadh Akhbar, the First Urdu Daily in Northern India," *Annual of Urdu Studies* 18 (2003), 66–94; and Walter Hakala, *Negotiating Languages: Urdu, Hindi, and the Definition of Modern South Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

north India, but "it was not uniformly spread."[30] Greater attention, she cautions, must be paid to the particular configurations of language use and cultural practices among different groups, places, and genres, rather than falling into the trap of generalizations, such as the phenomenon of vernacularization or a theory of language substitution.[31]

The *tadhkira* of poets genre is a case in point. By the 1840s, over half of *tadhkira*s of Urdu poets were composed in a language other than Persian, whereas during the earlier part of the century the situation was entirely reversed, demonstrating that the proliferation of Urdu poetic practice was now being recorded, perhaps naturally so, in Urdu itself.[32] The literary career of Ghulam "Mushafi" Hamdani, discussed above, further illustrates this trend: he followed up his Persian-language *tadhkira* of Persian poets, *ʿAqd-i Surayya*, with a Persian-language *tadhkira* on Rekhtah/Urdu poets (*Tazkirih-yi Hindi*, 1794–95) ten years later, and another *tadhkira* in 1820–21 on both Urdu and Persian poets (*Tazkirih-yi Farsi*) with nearly all the extracts appearing in Urdu.[33] The *tadhkira* of poets genre appearing in Persian was narrowing.

At the same time as *tadhkira*s in Urdu began to appear with greater frequency and the courts of successor and princely states began to provide increased patronage opportunities for Urdu and other regional languages, these courts nonetheless continued to serve as enclaves for the production of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets.[34] Official courts at Lucknow, Arcot, and Hyderabad continued to offer patronage opportunities for Persian littérateurs during the first half of the century, as Persian still maintained relevance as a language of internal administration and of engagement with East India Company residencies.[35] In the 19th century, the production of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets increasingly came to be defined by the patronage practices and prerogatives of these courts, amid a shifting literary and linguistic environment. If 18th-century *tadhkira* production was defined by recording new poetic voices and breaking away from the imperial court at Delhi, the production of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets in the 19th century was defined by a retreat to the last and most prominent official spaces dedicated to maintaining the Persian language as central to an elite literary culture—the courts of successor and princely states. The results of *tadhkira* production at these courts, however, were varied.

Tadhkira production under the Nawabs of Arcot (1710–1855) focused primarily on the literary activities of the royal court, poets associated with it, and other littérateurs in

[30] Francesca Orsini, "Between Qasbas and Cities: Language Shifts and Literary Continuities in North India in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Comparative Studies of Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 39, no. 1 (2019), 69.

[31] Ibid., 69, 71.

[32] Frances Pritchett, "A Long History of Urdu Literary Culture, Part 2: Histories, Performances, and Masters," in *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 881.

[33] Storey, *Persian Literature*, vol. 1, part 2, 876.

[34] Barbara D. Metcalf, "Urdu in India in the 21st Century: A Historian's Perspective," *Social Scientist* 31, no. 5/6 (June 2003): 30.

[35] For the role of Persian at the Arcot court, see Kevin L. Schwartz, "The Curious Case of Carnatic: The Last Nawab of Arcot (d. 1855) and Persian Literary Culture," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 53, no. 4 (2016): 533–60. For the residencies, see Michael H. Fisher, *Indirect Rule in India: Residents and the Residency System, 1764–1858* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991). For Hyderabad, see Anwar Moazzam, "Urdu Insha: The Hyderabad Experiment, 1860–1948," in *Literacy in the Persian World: Writing and the Social Order*, eds. Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2012), 311–27.

the immediate surroundings.[36] As the political fortunes of the Arcot court—placed under the suzerainty of the British in the early part of the century—waned, cultural and literary activity took on increased importance. Works such as *Guldastih-yi Karnatik* (Arcot, 1832–33) and its supplement *Subh-i Vatan* (Arcot, 1842), composed under the name of Nawab Muhammad Ghaus Khan "Aʿzam" (d. 1855), focused on contemporary poets of Carnatic; *Isharat-i Binish* (Arcot, 1848–49) detailed the lives of poets in attendance at the aforementioned Nawab's exclusive literary society at the court. Other *tadhkira*s at Arcot, such as *Gulzar-i Aʿzam* (Arcot, 1852–53), remained invested in cataloging some of the contemporary literary debates at the court, indicating just how closely *tadhkira* production related to courtly activities in and around Arcot.

In Lucknow, the Awadhi state witnessed the compilation of several *tadhkira*s in the 1830s and 1840s, but patronage for authors of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets was proving more difficult. First, local poetic assemblies and networks no longer afforded authors inspiration for the compilation of works or provided the source material for their content. Second, already during the reign of Nawab Shujaʿ al-Dawlah (1753–1775) patronage opportunities become available for Urdu poets at the Awadhi court.[37] One of the causes leading to increased patronage opportunities for Urdu poets was political, as the new rulers of Awadh were skeptical of the old Persianized Mughal elite. Even though Shujaʿ al-Dawlah was himself a Persianized Mughal and the grandson of a migrant from Iran, Awadhi rulers began to rely on local, non-Persianized groups who were more inclined to bestow patronage on Urdu (rather than Persian) authors.[38]

By the mid-19th century, the Awadh court can only be credited with sponsoring *Hadaʾiq al-Shuʿaraʾ* (Lucknow, 1846), whose author entered the service of the Nawabs during the reign of Saʿadat ʿAli Khan II (1798–1814) and compiled his work at the court over the course of fifty years.[39] The other two authors composing works under the auspices of the court during this time only came to Lucknow as a final stop on itinerant travels across South Asia. For example, Rajah Ratan Singh "Zakhmi," author of *Anis al-ʿAshiqin* (Lucknow, 1829), traveled throughout South Asia, worked for a time for the EIC in Calcutta, and studied poetry under Mirza Qatil in Delhi before returning to his birthplace of Lucknow to enter the service of the Nawabs and complete his work.[40] Likewise, Muhammad Rida "Najm" Tabatabaʾi, author of *Naghmih-yi ʿAndalib* (Lucknow, 1845), left his birthplace of Patna and traveled to Bareilly, Delhi, and Nagpur in pursuit of employment before settling in Lucknow and dedicating his *Naghmih-yi ʿAndalib* to Nawab Wajid ʿAli Shah (r. 1847–1856).[41] Both authors' itinerant travels allowed them to connect with various patrons, employers, and poets across South Asia and provided source material for their works. Their experiences point to how certain patterns of *tadhkira* compilation, such as the pursuit of regional employment

[36] For *tadhkira* production at Arcot, see Schwartz, "Curious Case," 545–49.

[37] See *The Last Mushaʿirah of Delhi: A Translation into English of Farhatullah Baig's Modern Urdu Classic, Delhi ki Akhri Shamaʿ*, by Farhatullah Bayg, trans. Akhtar Qamber (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1979), 15; and Madhu Trivedi, *The Making of Awadh Culture* (Delhi: Primus Books, 2010), 91.

[38] Muhammad Aslam Syed, "How Could Urdu be the Envy of Persian (rashk-i Farsi)! The Role of Persian in South Asian Culture and Literature," in *Literacy in the Persian World*, Spooner and Hanaway, 299.

[39] Naqavi, *Tazkirih-Navisi*, 562.

[40] Ibid., 522–23.

[41] Ibid., 559.

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and poetic networks, could still benefit a few intrepid *tadhkira* authors writing in Persian in the mid-19th century. More importantly, it indicates why a regional court served as a logical final destination for completing a *tadhkira* of Persian poets: it was here that the elite and imperial stature of Persian was best preserved. It was the location most likely for an author to gain patronage, even if Persian's overall position was becoming increasingly precarious.

As for the Asaf Jahi state, although the court at Hyderabad during the first half of the 19th century continued to attract Persian littérateurs in search of employment, it was not such a hospitable place for *tadhkira* production. The only *tadhkira* produced under the auspices of the court was *Bustan-i Sukhan* (Hyderabad, 1807), a slim volume on the poets who produced poems (in Persian and Urdu) in praise of the Prime Minister Mir ʿAbd al-Qasim.[42] The only other *tadhkira* produced at Hyderabad during the 19th century was an equally slim volume on mystical poets composed at the turn of the century, entitled *Tazkirih-yi Nawbahar* (Hyderabad, 1801–02).[43] *Tadhkira* production at Hyderabad would confront difficult language politics later in the century: in the 1860s the language at court began to shift from Persian to Urdu; by 1884 the transition took full effect.[44] No longer benefiting from the presence of communities of Persian poets operating outside of the court, the courts at Lucknow and Hyderabad played a less decisive role in *tadhkira* production than they had even a quarter-century earlier.

Whereas the previous period witnessed a thriving of *tadhkira* production outside of courts and a close association with assemblies and networks of poets in South Asia, the first half of the 19th century saw *tadhkira* production reduced to courtly centers. By the end of the 19th century, the last princely court in South Asia to fully invest itself in the production of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets was that of Bhopal. As will be discussed in the next section, the approach of the Bhopal court to *tadhkira* production differed from that of the Arcot court, which chose to focus on the recording of local poets, and from the waning engagement in *tadhkira* production by the courts at Lucknow and Hyderabad. The princely state of Bhopal sought to produce a series of up-to-date and comprehensive *tadhkira*s to be distributed in print utilizing a wide range of different *tadhkira*s as source material.

But it was in Qajar Iran that one witnesses how the transregional library of *tadhkira*s was reconfigured as a result of state intervention, as can be seen on Map 2. Nowhere was the desire to record the activity and lives of local Persian poets as strong as in Qajar lands. Unlike the situation in South Asia, except perhaps for Arcot, the Qajar court attempted to redefine and localize the Persian *tadhkira* library with an overwhelming focus on *tadhkira*s featuring poets and poetic culture located squarely in the court's sovereign domains. From the early days of their reign, the Qajars invested themselves in reconstructing the library of *tadhkira*s. Serving as patrons, collectors, and composers, the ruling family helped churn the wheels of production and used the Qajar state bureaucracy to commission, collate, and compose works. The result was the transformation of a once decentralized library cutting across regions into one no less vast, but circumscribed to

[42] Mir Sayyid Muhammad, *Bustan-i Sukhan*, Salar Jung Museum Manuscript Collection, Hyderabad, India, Ar. m 103.

[43] Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 2, 406–7.

[44] Moazzam, "Urdu Insha," 312.

focus squarely on textual production in Qajar lands. Royals, elites, and government officials served as the primary patrons of *tadhkira* production; the work of poets located in Iran during the Qajar period—often that of the Qajar royal family itself—served as the primary focal point. There is no comparable occurrence to be found on any such scale under the Timurid (1307–1570), Safavid (1501–1722), or Durrani (1747–1826) dynasties. The desire of the Qajars to construct a newly formulated *tadhkira* library, with their own activities at the center, conforms to larger historiographical trends of the period, such as the writing of dynastic histories and other court-sponsored works.[45] By the century's end, the Qajars had succeeded in developing a vast network of *tadhkira*s and remaking the *tadhkira* library in their image.

Fath ʿAli Shah (r. 1797–1834) was well positioned to reconstruct the library of *tadhkira*s by drawing on literary networks in Isfahan prior to his reign. His association with Mirza ʿAbd al-Wahhab "Nashat" Isfahani (d. 1828–29), who would later travel with the future shah to Tehran and become a leading littérateur and literary critic at his court, helped establish a crucial link between a burgeoning poetic culture in post-Safavid Isfahan and the new ruling house.[46] Already by the first decade of his rule, Fath ʿAli Shah's connection with Nashat paid dividends. *Zinat al-Madaʾih* (Tehran, 1803–04) is an early *tadhkira* produced at this time praising the new Qajar shah. This particular *tadhkira* focused on many of the poets who were acquainted with Fath ʿAli Shah in Isfahan and associated with Nashat.[47] *Zinat al-Madaʾih*, as Naofumi Abe notes, served as the first of many attempts by the Qajar court to utilize *tadhkira* writing to place itself atop the Persian poetic tradition. The interest and initiative of Fath ʿAli Shah in projects of *tadhkira* writing was made abundantly clear in the work's preface.[48] A few years later, Mirza ʿAbd al-Baqi Isfahani (Nashat's cousin) composed *Madaʾih-i Husayniyyih* (Isfahan, 1807–08) in honor of Fath ʿAli Shah and his prime minister (*ṣadr-i aʿẓam*). The collection focused on poems praising the latter.[49]

These early *tadhkira*s bore some of the major hallmarks that would go on to define Qajar intervention in *tadhkira* composition and an ever-expanding network of production: dedication to a royal or government official, poems in praise of a particular individual, and, in the case of *Madaʾih-i Husayniyyih*, a primary focus on poets of a particular locale. Although not all *tadhkira*s of 19th-century Qajar Iran displayed these features, such texts nonetheless helped establish the definitive framework for the composition of *tadhkira*s and the Qajar desire to administer production that would soon proliferate throughout the country. Fath ʿAli Shah's many progeny, scattered as they were in various positions throughout the country, played a pivotal role in overseeing *tadhkira* production both during their father's reign and after. Their dispersal across the country resulted in the

[45] See Abbas Amanat, "Legend, Legitimacy and Making a National Narrative in the Historiography of Qajar Iran (1785–1925)," in *A History of Persian Literature*, vol. 10, Persian Historiography, ed. Charles Melville (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 292–366.

[46] On Nashat in Isfahan and Tehran, see Muhammad Shams Langarudi, *Maktab-i Bazgasht: Barrasi-i Shiʿr-i Dawrih-ha-yi Afshariyyih, Zandiyyih, Qajariyyih* (Tehran: Nashr-i Markaz-i Isfand, 1996), 87–89; and Yahya Aryanpur, *Az Saba ta Nima: Tarikh-i 150 Sal-i Adab-i Farsi*, 2 vols., 7th ed. (Tehran: Intisharat-i Zavvar, 2000), 29.

[47] See Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 687–94.

[48] Naofumi Abe, "The Politics of Poetics in Early Qajar Iran: Writing Royal-Commissioned *Tazkera*s at Fath ʿAli Shah's Court," *Journal of Persianate Studies* 10, no. 2 (2017): 144, 148.

[49] See Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 183–85.

establishment of an expansive space for production, beyond the major centers of Tehran and Isfahan, and served as a way to incorporate the poetry of locally based individuals of the "periphery" into the grander library schematic.

From Shiraz, Fath ʿAli Shah's son Husayn ʿAli Mirza Farmanfarma, the long-time governor of Fars, commissioned a work (*Tazkirih-yi Dilgusha*, Shiraz, ca. 1824–25) on the city's history, its celebrated figures (e.g., the poets Saʿdi and Hafiz), the poetry of the royal family, and other poets contemporary with the ruling monarch.[50] Around the same time, likely in Borujerd, the poet "Ashraf" composed *Lataʾif al-Madaʾih wa Zaraʾif al-Manaqib* (1822–23) dedicated to poets praising its governor Muhammad Taqi Mirza Hisam al-Saltana, the shah's seventh son.[51] In Tabaristan, Muhammad Kazim Mirza commissioned *Badayiʿ al-Afkar* (1824), arranged according to poetic form.[52] Closer to home in Tehran, the crown prince ʿAbbas Mirza (d. 1833) commissioned the prolific Qajar historian ʿAbd al-Razzaq Dunbuli (d. 1827–28) to pen *Nigaristan-i Dara* (1825–26) on the poets contemporary with Fath ʿAli Shah's reign.[53]

Even though these works range in thematic and temporal focus they indicate the way the geographically dispersed Qajar royal family invested itself in *tadhkira* production and helped shape the direction of its output. All of these works contained entries dedicated to the poetry of the royal family itself or to poets praising the royal family, or focused on Fath ʿAli Shah's literary contemporaries. Although the account presented here undoubtedly privileges the view from the Qajar court in Tehran and its efforts to harness *tadhkira* production for its own purposes, this emphasis should not be taken to mean that local *tadhkira*s were incapable of articulating regional attitudes and identities at the same time. For example, the insistence by the author of *Tazkirih-yi Dilgusha* to specifically include information on Shiraz's history, buildings, gardens, and celebrated poets, alongside entries on royal poets and the author's contemporaries, points to how Qajar-era *tadhkira*s could strive to incorporate information on regional identities, history, and community even while serving as a source for a larger state-centered *tadhkira* project.[54]

The Qajar court's dedication to commissioning *tadhkira*s, many of which would serve as sources for larger *tadhkira*s produced in Tehran itself, is the defining procedural element of the restructuring of the *tadhkira* library here. The Qajar royal family would go even a step further by composing their own works, an occurrence unmatched under previous dynasties like the Timurids or Safavids. Doing so created an additional vector that privileged contemporary, local, and oftentimes royal poetic composition over a larger regional and historical one. Once again the sons of Fath ʿAli Shah led the way, most prominent among them Mahmud Mirza (d. between 1854 and 1858).

Throughout his career Mahmud Mirza composed no less than four *tadhkira*s dedicated to recording the lives of contemporary and historical poets from Iran and beyond. But the overwhelming focus remained on those poets related to Fath ʿAli Shah's court and his

[50] Ibid., vol. 1, 225–38.

[51] Ibid., vol. 2, 105–9.

[52] Ibid., vol. 1. 83–85.

[53] Ibid., vol. 2, 393–401. Dunbuli was equally invested in the project of Qajar history writing. See Amanat, "Legend, Legitimacy," 299–303.

[54] For how local elites in Qajar Iran articulated regional identities in geographical writings, see James M. Gustafson, "Geographical Literature in the Nineteenth-Century Iran: Regional Identities and the Construction of Space," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 59, no. 5 (2016): 793–827.

time. His *Bayan-i Mahmud* (Tehran, 1824–25) focused on contemporary poets only, whereas *Gulshan-i Mahmud* (Tehran, 1834–35) exclusively focused on the notices and poetry of forty-eight sons of Fath ʿAli Shah and was commissioned by the monarch himself.[55] Another work, *Nuql-i Majlis* (Lorestan, 1825–26), recorded the poetry of the shah's harem and other female poets who praised him, in addition to historical notices of other prominent women poets throughout history.[56] As a member of the Qajar household, Mahmud Mirza was only unique on account of his prolific output. Several of his brothers composed *tadhkira*s during the reign of their father (and after his death), and the practice continued into the reign of Muhammad Shah (1834–48).[57]

Interestingly, a Qajar prince's falling out of favor with the royal family could result in a *tadhkira* with significantly broader horizons, as its author was no longer bound by the centralizing forces governing its compilation and singular focus on the poets of Qajar domains. The one-time governor of Kerman, Hulaku Mirza, fled for his safety from Qajar lands after Muhammad Shah attained the throne, first to Sistan in 1836 and then to Ottoman-controlled territory.[58] It was during these travels outside of Qajar domains that he eventually completed his *Kharabat* (1840–41). The work contained notices on Iranian, Arab, Afghan, Uzbek, and Hindu poets and examples of Turkish and Arabic poetry throughout history and during contemporary times.[59] He later created a redaction of the work, entitled *Mastabih-yi Kharab* (after 1840), while in Istanbul, that was focused exclusively on contemporary Persian, Indian, and Turkish poets writing in Persian and Turkish.[60] In the introduction to each *tadhkira*, Hulaku Mirza notes that his exile from Qajar lands and traveling with no companion who spoke his language motivated his writing.[61]

Members of the Qajar royal household were supported by ruling elites, the secretarial class, and unaffiliated authors who helped reconstitute and reconfigure the *tadhkira* library. From Sanandaj to Shiraz, works devoted to local and contemporary poets proliferated during the reigns of Fath ʿAli Shah and Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–96). Such works were guided by either a focus on a particular locale (e.g., Yazd) or devoted to praising a certain local patron. In the latter case, this almost always meant the lives recorded were local and contemporary. Isfahan in particular, due to its higher concentration of poets than most places, not only witnessed an outpouring of *tadhkira*s for poets

[55] For *Bayan-i Mahmud* see Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 137–49. For *Gulshan-i Mahmud* see Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 2, 65–67.

[56] See Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 2, 392–93.

[57] The texts composed by Mahmud Mirza's brothers were *Bazm-i Khaqan* by Sayf al-Dawla Sultan Muhammad bin Fath ʿAli Shah in 1829–30 (see Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 93–100); *Tazkirih-yi Khusravi* by Muhammad Quli Mirza bin Fath ʿAli Shah "Khusravi," ca. 1834 (see Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 221–22); and *Tazkirih-yi Khavar* by Haydar Quli Mirza bin Fath ʿAli Shah "Khavar" during the last quarter of the 19th century (see Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 219–20).

[58] Yahya Ahmadi Kirmani, *Tarikh-i Yahya: Salshumar-i Tarikh-i Iran va-Jihan az Khilqat-i ʿAlam ta Sal-i 1336 Hijri Qamari*, ed. Shams al-Din Najmi (Kirman: Danishgah-i Shahid Bahunar-i Kirman, 2007), 311. Many thanks to James Gustafson for helping me track down Hulaku Mirza's whereabouts during this time.

[59] See Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 482–512.

[60] Edgar Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1912), 332.

[61] Introduction to *Kharabat* quoted in Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 483–84; introduction to *Mastabih-yi Kharab* quoted in Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans*, 332.

competing for patronage but also ones specifically devoted to poets of nearby places, outside the urban core, such as Chahar Mahal and Bakhtiar (*Makhzan al-Durar*, 1868–69), and Zavareh (*Tuhfat al-Shuʿara*ʾ, late 19th century).[62]

This desire by the Qajar state to create and utilize a network of texts in support of dynastic aims can be seen in how the court of Fath ʿAli Shah compiled the definitive *tadhkira* of his reign, *Anjuman-i Khaqan* (Tehran, 1818–19). Eventually completed by Muhammad Fadil Khan Garrusi "Ravi," the work underwent several iterations before being completed. The task initially fell to Ahmad Bayg Gurgi "Akhtar," who worked on the first installment of the work under the title *Anjuman-i Ara* (Tehran, 1816–17) up until his death. Akhtar's brother extended the work for an additional two years until his own death, after which Garrusi brought it to fruition. In an effort to create this most complete account of the poets of his reign, Fath ʿAli Shah sought to ensure the inclusion of poets throughout his lands by commissioning texts devoted to poets on the periphery. He instructed the governor of Kerman, for example, to collect information on the poets there and envisioned the commissioned text to contribute to the larger work being produced in Tehran. The governor obliged and the result was Mirza ʿAbd al-Razzaq Gawhar Kirmani's *Shuʿara-yi Kirman* (Kerman, 1820–21).[63]

For the remainder of the 19th century, the growing library of *tadhkira*s of Qajar lands served as an accessible catalog for later authors to draw upon in compiling their works. These authors could now utilize recently completed local sources to create larger comprehensive ones dedicated to poets of Qajar lands, like *Anjuman-i Khaqan. Hadiqat al-Shuʿara*ʾ (Kermanshah, 1878–79), composed by Hajji Ahmad Ishik Aqasi Shirazi "Divan Baygi," represents a clear example of such a process at work. The author was able to construct his work by drawing on texts from the 1830s–1850s dedicated to the local poets of Kermanshah, Kurdistan, and Naiin and collating those works into his own. In this case, it is important to understand how administrative opportunities and bureaucratic pathways stretching throughout Qajar domains could afford an author the opportunity to access the library of *tadhkira*s. One need not simply sit at the court in Tehran and wait for texts arriving from the periphery to the core; one could excel by being on the move. Divan Baygi's own peregrinations through Shiraz, Khurasan, Isfahan, Yazd, and Tehran, while serving in administrative capacities to various elites, allowed him to come into contact with original local sources on a firsthand basis.[64]

CIRCULATION AND CITATION NETWORKS

One of the main features assisting the development and construction of the transregional *tadhkira* library over space and time was the manner by which texts served as a collection to be utilized for the crafting of new works. This compilatory practice of *tadhkira* authors, relying on a historically and geographically vast corpus of earlier texts as source material to be incorporated, reworked, and repackaged into new works—themselves to be used by future generations of scholars—gives force to the idea that these texts constituted an

[62] For *Makhzan al-durar*, see Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 2, 173–76. For *Tuhfat al-Shuʿara*ʾ, see Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 168.

[63] Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 742–44.

[64] Ibid., vol. 1, 439–57.

interconnected and continually developing library. The process of compilation that defined the production of Persian *tadhkira*s was not unique to the genre. Muhsin al-Musawi notes that the writing, rewriting, and commentary practices found in a wide range of medieval Arabic texts created a "library of works in the Islamic world [that] grew over centuries as part of a process of ongoing communication, emulation, explanation, gloss, debate, and counter-discourse."[65] Dictionaries, compendia, encyclopedias, and other voluminous works "map out a society and its individual scenes and lives across time, space, and cultures, and in so doing, they *redefine a library* as more than any particular books or private collections."[66] The *tadhkira* of Persian poets was equally adept at emboldening such a process and was as well equipped to elucidate how different conceptualizations of such a collective literary sphere shifted over space and time.[67]

While the utilization of earlier *tadhkira*s reflected the common practical need of the *tadhkira* author to compile the content of his own work, the practice of citing previous texts was less than uniform. A unified list of names of previous texts could appear in the introduction (*muqaddama*) or conclusion (*khātima*). Alternatively, reference to the title of a text could simply be made in an individual biographic entry as the source of a particular piece of information. *Tadhkira* authors did not always feel the need to state their sources directly, but instead remained content with incorporating, paraphrasing, rewriting, and copying from previous works—with or without attribution—for different reasons.

Tadhkira authors, for example, could borrow or copy from previous works without attribution in an effort to pass off the work as an originally conceived product, perhaps to yield easy prestige or financial remuneration from a patron. Texts moving across communities of authors in this manner, as Jason Scott-Warren has observed with regard to early modern England, "came under pressure and were explicitly or implicitly rewritten to serve new interests . . . [and] transformed in order to be put to entirely new uses."[68] Moreover, some authors even repackaged, modified, or abridged their own work under different titles as a low-cost way to attract the attention of a new patron or fulfill the desire to produce the most up-to-date compilation of a life's work. In one of the more extreme examples in this regard, Taqi Kashi continued to amend his *Khulasat al-Ashʿar wa Zubdat al-Afkar* (late 16th or early 17th century) multiple times, continually incorporating the lives and verse of more poets and updating each new version with his reflections on the seemingly never-ending process of *tadhkira* compilation.[69] Finally, after nearly thirty years, he decided to bar himself from "the door of Tazkirah-writing and end his troubles of authorship."[70]

[65] Muhsin J. al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters: Arabic Knowledge Construction* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 80.

[66] Ibid., 81 (italics mine).

[67] See Marcia Hermansen, "Imagining Space and Siting Collective Memory in South Asian Muslim Biographical Literature (*Tazkirahs*)," *Studies in Contemporary Islam* 4, no. 2 (2002): 1–21.

[68] Jason Scott-Warren, "Reconstructing Manuscripts Networks: The Textual Transactions of Sir Stephen Powle," in *Communities in Early Modern England*, eds. Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000), 33.

[69] N. Bland, "On the Earliest Persian Biography of Poets, by Muhammad Aufi, and on Some Other Works of the Class Called Tazkirat ul Shuara," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 9 (1847): 131.

[70] Ibid., 132.

The myriad ways in which *tadhkira* authors used, made reference to, engaged, and repackaged the vast corpus of previous texts, sometimes as a recognized continuation (*dhayl*), completion (*takmila*), or selection (*muntakhab*), constituted a crucial element in sustaining an ever-expanding transregional library. Again, this was a not a practice in any way unique to the compilation of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets or the 18th and 19th centuries. The Arabic biographical tradition during the classical and medieval periods privileged the use of formulaic styles, organizational models, investigative scope, and the desire to update previous works in an effort to create continuity among scholarly output and knowledge production across successive generations.[71] Encyclopedists in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, likewise, sought to reorganize, correct, and re-present material found in previous works to be placed alongside newer information.[72]

Citations—as intertextual links connecting multiple *tadhkira*s across space and time—may serve as an additional way to assess the constitution of the transregional library of *tadhkira*s as a whole. "Citation sites" or "citation moments," as Ronit Ricci has aptly put it, can facilitate the exploration of textual contact and exchange connecting peoples across vast geographic terrains and over centuries, in this case a community of *tadhkira* authors.[73] Whereas Ricci widens the perspective to consider networks of language and literature through citations of text (i.e., phrases of words) and matters of orthography, the focus here is on citations of texts (i.e., titles of *tadhkira*s). These citations found in *tadhkira*s can be divided into two types: those mentioned together as a compiled list in a *tadhkira*'s introduction or conclusion, and those to which individual references are made within the body of the *tadhkira* text itself. (The maps presented use both types of citations as data points.)

Cited texts should not necessarily be equated with sources utilized. However, even without the ability to establish a direct genealogical linkage between different texts as sources often do, the value of citations resides in the way they connote an authorial awareness of a body of texts—in this case, the library of *tadhkira*s. Whereas sources help establish the level of interconnectivity among texts of the *tadhkira* library, citations (while potentially being able to serve that function) are equipped to help establish how *tadhkira* authors conceptualized this library. Citations provide insight into a *tadhkira* author's textual purview through the mention of other texts. Assessing different authors' purviews by cataloging what texts across space and time were recorded allows for a comparative insight into how authors viewed their surrounding literary universe. In this way, citations may be best understood as a paratextual element of the *tadhkira*, serving to "surround it and extend it" and to establish its "presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption."[74] With the insight they provide into a text's purview, or the surrounding literary

[71] See Wadad al-Qadi, "Biographical Dictionaries as the Scholars' Alternative History of Muslim Community," in *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activity in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*, eds. Gerhard Endress and Abdou Filali-Ansrary (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 47–59.

[72] Maaike van Berkel, "Opening up a World of Knowledge: Mamluk Encyclopaedias and their Readers," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, eds. Jason König and Greg Woolf (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 362.

[73] Ronit Ricci, "Citing as a Site: Translation and Circulation in Muslim South and Southeast Asia," *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2012): 331.

[74] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*," trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.

world as "seen" by an author, citations may be best described as sites of sight: they demonstrate how authors viewed the catalog of texts comprising a transregional library.

Scholars in Islamic studies have used the presence of citations to help reconstruct the popularity, demand, and circulation of certain texts for a particular population at a given time, often across vast terrains. Maria Szuppe understands the citation lists of Central Asian *tadhkira*s as "a form of authoritative 'bibliography'" that indicates a text's popularity and expansion across the Persianate sphere.[75] In assessing several such lists, she concludes that "a standard group of particular texts appears, regardless of the date and place of composition of the *tadhkera*" to form "the core of the 'neo-classical' sources, and serve as universally authoritative references for *tadhkera* writing."[76]

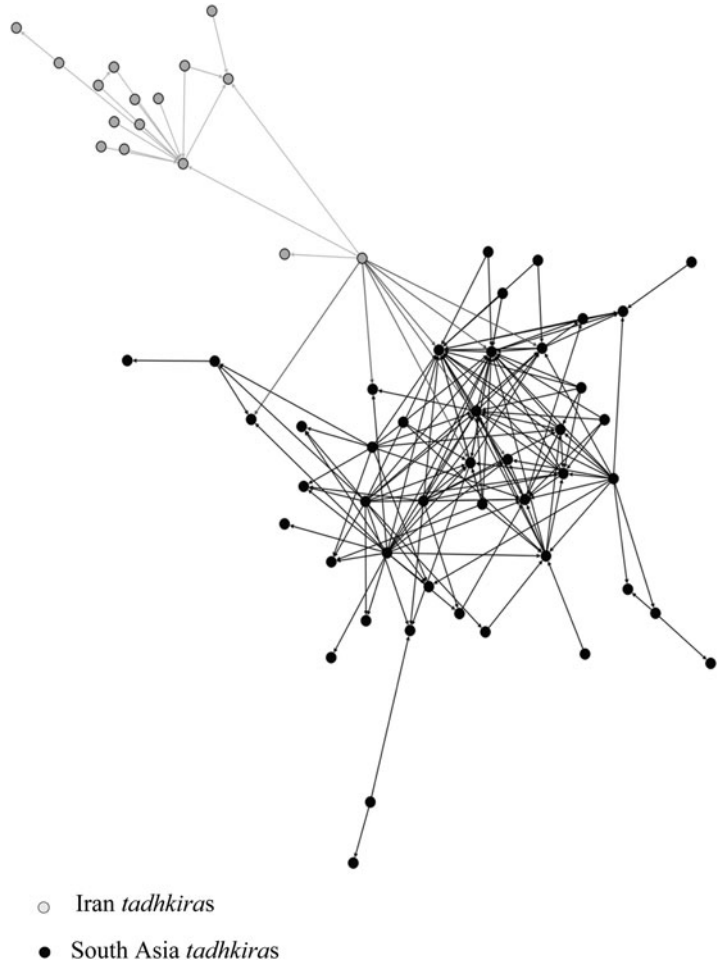
My purpose here is not to use citations to determine the popularity of a text for *tadhkira* authors. Rather, I am interested in using cited texts to understand how authors across space and time accessed and viewed the transregional library of *tadhkira*s in the 18th and 19th centuries and what this says about the labor practices of *tadhkira* production more generally. To what extent, for example, were *tadhkira* authors aware of other coeval *tadhkira*s in 18th-century South Asia, when production was most closely tied to poetic assemblies and networks? Were 19th-century *tadhkira* authors more or less inclined to cite texts produced within their sovereign borders during a time when state-sponsored production dominated? How was an author's knowledge of the transregional library of *tadhkira*s impacted by the labor practices of *tadhkira* production at different courts?

Map 4 depicts a citation network among *tadhkira*s produced in 18th- and 19th-century Iran and South Asia. As this network is meant to depict only the intertextual citations of *tadhkira*s during the 1700–1900 period, it does not include citations of *tadhkira*s produced in earlier centuries. Although space prohibits a full analysis of this network, it is presented here to visualize the manner in which 18th- and 19th-century *tadhkira*s were connected to one another through their use of citations. What the network demonstrates, on the broadest of levels, is that there was little cross-regional citation among *tadhkira*s of Iran and South Asia during this time. Moreover, it elucidates that the network connections between *tadhkira*s of South Asia were of a more decentralized nature than the interrelations among *tadhkira*s produced in Iran. Recognizing these general characteristics illuminates the manner in which *tadhkira*s produced in different places across the Persianate world displayed divergent purviews of the *tadhkira* library.

One way to explore how authors viewed the library of *tadhkira*s in distinctive ways is by comparing the citation lists of two coeval works produced in different locations. The example presented here relates to two 19th-century *tadhkira*s, *Majmaʿ al-Fusahaʾ* (Tehran, 1871) of Rida Quli Khan Hidayat (d. 1871) and Sayyid Nur al-Hasan Khan's *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* (Bhopal, 1875). These texts provide a rich ground for comparison: *Majmaʿ al-Fusahaʾ* and *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* were produced at nearly the same time, on opposite ends of the Persianate world, and contain two of the most voluminous lists of citations to be found in any 19th-century *tadhkira* (nineteen citations for *Majmaʿ*

[75] Maria Szuppe, "A Glorious Past and an Outstanding Present: Writing a Collection of Biographies in Late Persianate Central Asia," in *The Rhetoric of Biography: Narrating Lives in Persianate Societies*, ed. L. Marlow (Boston: ILEX Foundation, 2011), 61.

[76] Ibid., 65.



MAP 4. Intertextual Citations between *Tadhkiras* of Iran and South Asia in the 18th and 19th Centuries
Note: Arrows flow from the cited text (source) to the text doing the citing (target).

al-Fusahaʾ and twenty-six for *Nigaristan-i Sukhan*). Finally, each text offers its citations in the form of a comprehensive list found in either the introduction or conclusion.[77]

An appraisal of each text's citations reveals how each author distinctively viewed and accessed the library of *tadhkiras* as a function of the general labor practices of *tadhkira* production at their individual courts. The two works share seven citations, a list that includes some of the most often cited, well-known, and widely circulated *tadhkiras* of the medieval and early modern periods, such as *Lubab al-Albab* (Ucch, 1221), *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿaraʾ* (Herat, 1487), and *Haft Iqlim* (Delhi, 1593). The explicit shared citations of these historically and geographically distant texts by two late 19th-century

[77] For a full list and comparison of the texts cited by each *tadhkira* see Appendix 4 in the supplementary material section.

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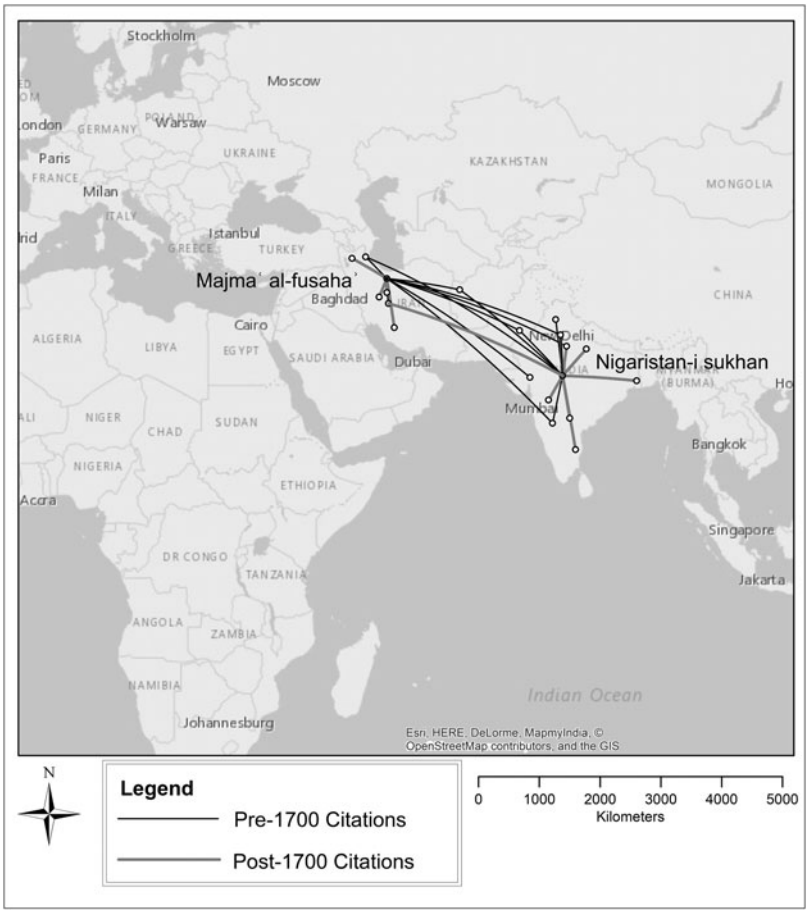

MAP 5. Citation Network of *Majma' al-Fusaha'* (1871) and *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* (1875)

*tadhkira*s of Tehran and Bhopal is itself testament to their revered status and longevity. If one wished to ascribe the status of "authoritative bibliography" to regularly recurring citations, then the three texts listed above would be viable candidates.

But the citation lists of these two 19th-century *tadhkira*s also diverge quite significantly, as they only contain one shared citation from the 200-year period preceding their compilation: the *Atishkadih* (Qom, 1779) of Azar Baygdili (d. 1781). More remarkably, save the shared citation to this single text, *Majma' al-Fusaha'* does not cite a single text composed outside of Qajar lands and *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* does not cite a single text outside of South Asia for the entirety of the 1700–1900 period. Map 5 demonstrates the divergent textual purviews of *Majma' al-Fusaha'* and *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* by connecting these texts to those they cited. The map illustrates the more restrictive geographic scope of citations of texts produced after 1700.

The stark contrast in how Hidayat and Nur al-Hasan Khan chose to view and utilize the library of *tadhkira*s was a consequence of their locations at different dynastic courts and what *tadhkira* production came to signify there. Attached to the Qajar court in Tehran, the

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diplomat and historian Hidayat was at the nexus of Qajar efforts seeking to bolster the dynasty's place in Persian and Iranian historiography.[78] The six-volume *Majmaʿ al-Fusahāʾ* was a major part of this project and signified a solidification of Qajar contributions to *tadhkira* production that warranted the use and recognition of contemporary sources from Qajar domains. As such, Hidayat's position at the Qajar court necessitated a textual purview that comprehensively accounted for poetry in Qajar lands and valued, above all else, the *tadhkira*s produced there. Among the texts cited by Hidayat are many of those *tadhkira*s produced in early Qajar times that were confined to local poetic output and meant to serve the bureaucratic pathways leading up to the court in Tehran. This centripetal flow of texts to the Qajar capital in Tehran may also help explain why Nur al-Hasan Khan did not cite any 19th-century *tadhkira*s from Iran: such texts were primarily intended to be accessed and distributed within Qajar territories, rather than outside of them. This was as true during the reign of Fath ʿAli Shah, as seen in the example of *Anjuman-i Ara*, as it was for the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, at least until the completion of *Majmaʿ al-Fusahāʾ*. This does not mean one should extrapolate from the inattention of *Majmaʿ al-Fusahāʾ* to *tadhkira*s outside of Qajar lands a similar lack of awareness by all Iranian *tadhkira* authors. Rather, it is meant to demonstrate how the textual purview and dominant labor practice of *tadhkira* production at the Qajar court can be gleaned from the citations of a central figure in Qajar-era *tadhkira* writing.

Nur al-Hasan Khan's *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* was equally affected by the attitudes and sensibilities governing *tadhkira* production of the Bhopal court. During the 1870s and 1880s, Bhopal witnessed the compilation of no less than six *tadhkira*s, earning it the distinction of the last major center of *tadhkira* production of Persian poets in 19th-century South Asia. The rich atmosphere of *tadhkira* production at Bhopal not only reflects how Persian was relevant for a princely state in the 19th century, but that the court remained connected to the larger world of Persian literary culture outside its sovereign domains: *tadhkira* production at Bhopal was defined by an ongoing process that sought to create the most comprehensive and up-to-date work by incorporating more and more source material from across South Asia. The extensive list of citations in *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* can thus be situated within the larger labor practices of *tadhkira* production at the Bhopal court, defined by a desire to comprehensively record poetic activity and thoroughly consider all available *tadhkira*s for this effort.

The ongoing effort in Bhopal to compile a comprehensive *tadhkira* through several updates is not readily apparent from the publication of the first *tadhkira* produced there, *Shamʿ-i Anjuman* (1875). In the introduction Siddiq Hasan Khan (d. 1890), who was husband to the ruling begum and father of Nur al-Hasan Khan, noted that recording the lives of all ancient, modern, and contemporary poets across Iran and South Asia was an impossible task.[79] Instead, one had to be selective, even if that still meant including entries on nearly 1,000 poets. But if the author of *Shamʿ-i Anjuman* was conscious of the limits to comprehensiveness, then this attitude changed rather quickly. Shortly after *Shamʿ-i Anjuman* went to press at the court-affiliated Matbaʿ-i Shahjahani, the author received material from contemporary poets in Bengal and Dhakka who submitted it for inclusion. As the information arrived too late, *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* was printed that

[78] See Amanat, "Legend, Legitimacy."

[79] Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khan, *Shamʿ-i Anjuman* (Bhopal: Matbaʿ-i Shahjahani, 1875), 15.

very same year as a completion (*takmila*) to *Shamʿ-i Anjuman* for the expressed purpose of adding this late-arriving material and information on other contemporary poets.[80]

The attentiveness of *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* to shaping itself as a more comprehensive and updated version of its predecessor was not restricted to the incorporation of new information. Unlike the earlier *Shamʿ-i Anjuman*, *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* now listed twenty-six *tadhkira*s "considered" during the time of the writing, often accompanied with a description of the author or the work itself.[81] Of particular note is Nur al-Hasan Khan's mention of how the advent of printing created "easy accessibility" (*sahl al- ḥuṣūl*) to texts such as Azar's *Atishkadih* (printed in Bombay in the 1860s), the only cited *tadhkira* produced in Iran between 1700 and 1900.[82] The reference not only indicates that print technology could now assist the compilation of a *tadhkira*, but again helps explain why *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* cited no *tadhkira*s of 19th-century Qajar Iran: few *tadhkira*s of 19th-century Qajar Iran were printed prior to the late 1870s. However, without additional empirical data detailing the circulation of printed *tadhkira*s in the 19th century, this explanation remains incomplete.[83]

Nigaristan-i Sukhan was succeeded by two other *tadhkira*s printed by the state's press: *Subh -i Gulshan* (1878), by another of Siddiq Hasan Khan's sons, and *Ruz-i Rawshan* (1880). Each text was constructed as a supplement to the *tadhkira*s preceding it and confirms the dual motivation to update the previous works: to include both notices on additional contemporary poets and *tadhkira*s not considered by the other previous authors. The author of *Subh -i Gulshan*, for example, explains in the introduction the benefit of consulting "new *tadhkira*s," like *Aftab ʿAlamtab* (Lucknow, 1852–53) and *Nishtar-i ʿIshq* (Lucknow, 1818), and "other rare letters" in his possession to create an updated work.[84] *Ruz-i Rawshan*, which culminated the court's effort to create an up-to-date and comprehensive *tadhkira* and featured entries on more than 2,400 poets, once again utilized newly accessible *tadhkira*s to do so. To help readers recognize the updated nature of his work, he marked the end of entries appearing in the earlier works with the letters *shīn*, *nūn*, or *ṣād* (i.e., the first letter of the title of the other Bhopali *tadhkira*s).[85] New entries, whether related to historical or contemporary poets, that did not appear in *Shamʿ-i Anjuman*, *Nigaristan-i Sukhan*, or *Subh-i Gulshan* were left unmarked. Not unlike the authors of the two *tadhkira*s preceding it, the author of *Ruz-i Rawshan* aspired to compile the most comprehensive and up-to-date *tadhkira* by incorporating newly available sources and entries on contemporary poets, in particular across South Asia.

A comparison of the citation lists of *Majmaʿ al-Fusahaʾ* and *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* reveals the divergent perceptions of the *tadhkira* library in the 19th century and how it was being differentially accessed by two authors on opposite ends of the Persianate

[80] Nur al-Hasan Khan ibn Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khan, *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* (Bhopal: Matbaʿ-i Shahjahani, 1875), 2.

[81] Ibid., 160–61.

[82] Ibid., 161.

[83] On the effect of print technology on Persian in North India, which at once attracted new readership for Persian materials but also gradually narrowed the type of material being read, see Zahra Shah, "Sustaining Authority in Persian Lithographer Books: Publishers and Printing in North India, c. 1835–57," *South Asian Studies* 33, no. 2 (2017): 137–48.

[84] ʿAli Hasan Khan ibn Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khan, *Tazkirih-yi Subh-i Gulshan* (Bhopal, Matbaʿ-i Shahjahani, 1878), 3.

[85] Introduction to *Ruz-i Rawshan* quoted in Gulchin-i Maʿani, *Tarikh-i Tazkirih-ha*, vol. 1, 640–41.

world. Whereas *Majmaʿ al-Fusahaʾ* emphasized recording poetic activity within Qajar lands, *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* sought to catalog activity across South Asia and well outside of the princely state's sovereign borders. These divergent approaches may be best understood as indicative of the different labor practices of *tadhkira* production at the Qajar and Bhopal courts.

CONCLUSION

This article has addressed the production and circulation of *tadhkira*s of Persian poets in the 18th and 19th centuries by employing a macroanalytical approach and utilizing quantifiable data. This was done to better grasp general trends in *tadhkira* production and circulation over space and time and their intersection with larger social and political phenomena, such as state disintegration and formation. Although the approach has limitations, it also presents new methodological opportunities for exploring textual production and circulation on a transregional basis over significant periods of time.

Although only one *tadhkira* of poets was produced in Iran during the 18th century (Azar's *Atishkadih*), the period represents the flowering of *tadhkira* production in South Asia. Following the breakup of the Mughal Empire, *tadhkira*s proliferated in different urban centers, drawing inspiration from poetic assemblies and networks. During the 19th century, Persian *tadhkira* production shifted to the domain of the state. In Iran, the Qajar court became heavily invested in *tadhkira* production to place Qajar poetic contributions at the center of Persian's literary universe. Rida Quli Khan Hidayat's *Majmaʿ al-Fusahaʾ* was in many ways the crowning achievement of this project. Not only did his work serve as the culminating text of Qajar efforts that began earlier in the century, his vision of the *tadhkira* library (as ascertained through his citations) reflected an attitude in line with this effort. In South Asia, courtly centers also played a major role in the production and commissioning of *tadhkira*s, but to a lesser degree than their Qajar counterparts and with varying results. In some places, language politics and the rise of Urdu created a less hospitable atmosphere for court-sponsored *tadhkira* production, and elsewhere, such as in Arcot, *tadhkira* production restricted itself to primarily recording the poets, literary debates, and assemblies of its court and immediate environs. The princely state of Bhopal, on the other hand, sought to produce the most comprehensive *tadhkira* possible by extensively drawing upon the library of *tadhkira*s to continually update a series of works. As seen in the citation list of *Nigaristan-i Sukhan* and in the two Bhopali *tadhkira*s that followed, there was an effort to look beyond the confines of Bhopal to access a more comprehensive library of texts.

Overall it may be said that these features of *tadhkira* production in the 19th-century Persianate world reflect the differentiated state of Persian literary culture in places like Iran and South Asia. In Iran, Persian literary culture was increasingly falling under the domain of the state and en route to being nationalized; in South Asia, Persian literary culture, as exhibited by the *tadhkira* of Persian poets genre, was still refashioning itself to elicit connections across a larger regional domain, but in a significantly less robust manner than had existed previously. At least in terms of the *tadhkira* of poets genre, the space for Persian literary representation was narrowing.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

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