

City of the Turks: Urban Encounters in Vidyāpati's *Kīrttilatā*

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**Abstract**

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This thesis study examines two main issues through a close examination of Vidyāpati Ṭhakura's 15th century Avahatṭha text, the *Kīrttilatā*. The first issue revolves around the interactions and encounters of Hindus and Muslims (here Turks). In contrast to previous readings of these interactions, I propose that their relationship was neither entirely ecumenical nor entirely conflictive. Instead, I seek to understand the conflict that does exist for its motivations. The Turks of the *Kīrttilatā* are first and foremost identified for their culture, behavior, and status, not their religion. For the second issue, I seek to highlight the unique perspective of this text to address the first issue. Vidyāpati wrote this text in a regional Apabhramśa (Avahatṭha) with many foreign loanwords, this text bridges the gap between the classical cosmopolitan and the parochial vernacular.

## **Acknowledgments**

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## **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to my parents Neville and Nanette Diamond.

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## Abbreviations

### Lexicographical Sources

- ApHK Kumāra, Nareśa. *Apabhraṃśa-Hindī kośa*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 1999.
- CPED Steingass, Francis Joseph, John Richardson, Charles Wilkins, and Francis Johnson. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature*. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1930.
- DUCH Platts, John T. *A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English*. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- OHED McGregor, R. S. *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- HGAp Tagare, Ganesh Vasudev. *Historical Grammar of Apabrahṃśa*. Delhi: Motilal Banarasisdass, 1948.
- HSS Dāsa, Śyāmasundara. *Hindī śabdasāgara*. Kāśī: Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabha, 1965.
- MW Monier-Williams, Monier, Ernst Leumann, and Carl Cappeller. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1899.

### Source Abbreviations

\*These abbreviations of Avahaṭṭha vocabulary citation are taken directly from the Apabhraṃśa-Hindī Kośa, and are only meant to be a helpful source, not a definitive list.

Bh	<i>Bhavisyattakahā</i>
DNM	<i>Deśī Nāma Mālā</i>
HV	Hemacandra's <i>Apabhraṃśa Vyākaraṇa</i>
J	<i>Jaṃbūsāmi Cariu</i>
Js	<i>Jasahara Cariu</i>
K	<i>Karakaṃḍa Cariu</i>
KL	<i>Kīrttilatā</i>
MP	<i>Mahāpurāṇa</i>
Ṇ	<i>Ṇayakumāra Cariu</i>
PC	<i>Pauma Cariu</i>
PG	<i>Prācīna Gurjara Kāvya Saṃgrah</i>
Pr.Pg.	<i>Prākṛta Paiṃgalam</i>
PSC	<i>Paumasiri Cariu (Dhahila)</i>
R	<i>Rāulavela</i>
SC	<i>Sukumāla Cariu</i>

### Grammar Notations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Abl	ablative
Abs	absolutive
Acc	accusative
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
Ap	Apabhraṃśa
Avh	Avahaṭṭha
B	Bengali
D	“Deśi śabda” (word of indigenous origin)



Dat	dative
EIA	Eastern Indo-Aryan
Fem	feminine
Gen	genitive
Imp	imperative
Inf	infinitive
Ind	indeclinable
Inst	instrumental
Int	interrogative
Loc	locative
Masc	masculine
MB	Middle Bengali
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
MSH	Modern Standard Hindi
NIA	New Indo-Aryan
Nom	nominative
Neut	neuter
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
Pkt	Prākṛit
Pl	plural
PP	past participle
Pr	pronoun
PresP	present participle
P	participle
SG	singular
Skt	Sam̐skṛta (Sanskrit)
Voc	vocative

## **Part I**

### Textual Analysis

## **Introduction**

The desire to clearly define the “Hindu” self, especially in opposition to a Muslim or foreign other, has become increasingly poignant in the modern Indian republic; however, this imperative and impulse extends far into the pre-modern period. This thesis will attempt to engage with this very issue. This thesis engages with two main academic fields. First and foremost, it will speak to issues of identity expression regarding “Hindu” and “Muslim” socio-religious groups, which is an increasingly popular field of study in contemporary religious studies scholarship. Second, I will attempt to reconcile the fields of historical and cultural studies and contribute to the study of vernacularism, cosmopolitanism, and language choice with regards to the transition period of literary production between late Middle Indo-Aryan and early New Indo-Aryan languages in pre-modern North India.

Scholarship regarding the relationship between “Hindus” and “Muslims,” as fraught as those two monikers are, has grabbed the attention of religious studies scholars (and others) since the colonial period. In recent scholarship, several noticeable trends have emerged. Having abandoned a Huntingtonian *Clash of Civilizations* model for intercultural interactions, recent scholarship has sought to understand pre-modern South Asian Hindu-Muslim encounters as either inter-communal ecumenicism or as a process of syncretization. The first model is usually built on literary evidence especially from the Mughal period. Recent edited volumes, like those from Vasudha Dalmia and Munis Faruqui<sup>1</sup>; David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence<sup>2</sup>; and

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<sup>1</sup> Vasudha Dalmia and Munis D. Faruqui, *Religious Interactions in Mughal India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>2</sup> David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence, *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).

Francesca Orsini and Samira Sheikh<sup>3</sup>, have contributed greatly to the fields of religious and literary studies. However, the vast majority of the contributed chapters speak from the privileged perspective of Islamicate/Persianate South Asia literature because of the sheer preponderance of Persian of Indo-Islamicate texts. It is difficult to judge commonality and interactivity when the literary evidence that has been put under the microscope is largely from one perspective. This thesis will add a new voice to this research, that of the region and the “Hindu”. Proponents of syncretism, like Tony Stewart and Richard Eaton, often look at end-products and the results of processes rather than the initial stages of the process of syncretization. This study will hopefully fill in the gap by looking at a very early text in which neither a distinctly syncretic nor distinctly conflictive message is expressed. Contributions made in art history and architectural studies have hit closer to the mark of this study and nicely tie in the two fields of this thesis, religious studies and historical vernacular studies. Richard Eaton and Phillip Wagoner’s recent work on architectural sites in the Deccan, expresses a perspective on inter-religious cultural interaction that resembles the essentials of this thesis. They express the interaction of two cosmopolises at work: the Sanskritic and the Persianate. With this thesis, I would like to add a small addendum to that theory. In addition to the large-scale perspectives of these two behemoths, in order to grasp a fuller and more detailed perspective of Hindu-Islamicate interaction and “encounters” during the pre-modern period, it is essential to consult small-scale, regional, and vernacular texts. This type of text uses the conventions and literary aspiration of the larger cosmopolitan languages while creating their own.

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<sup>3</sup> Francesca Orsini and Samira Sheikh, *After Timur Left: Culture and Circulation in Fifteenth-century North India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014).

The fifteenth century *Kīrttilatā* by Vidyāpati (c. 1358-1448), includes some of the earliest literary examples of clear “Hindu” self-representation and equal representation of “Turks” and other foreign ethno-cultural groups. This thesis is primarily an investigation into the nature of Vidyāpati’s representation of Hindus vis-à-vis “Turks.” It is clear from the language used by Vidyāpati in the *Kīrttilatā* and from the contextual description of other socio-cultural groups and their location, that Vidyāpati did not primarily identify the “Turks” as Muslims, nor did he define them in a polar relationship with Hindus. The “Turks,” and other Islamic social groups, are principally distinguished by their occupation, particular cultural behaviors, and social status.

The issues raised in the *Kīrttilatā* are multiple and far-reaching in their impact. However, for the purpose of this thesis, I have chosen to focus on two main fields of study that could possibly benefit most. First, the preponderance and ubiquity of the monikers “Hindu” and “Turk” in this text might lead one to read religious communalism into India’s pre-colonial past. The rethinking of Hindu and Muslim encounters in the early modern period is a subject over which much ink has been spilt in recent years. This study draws on past and current research that has been undertaken in this hot topic field. Much research in recent decades has taken great effort to prove that Hindu-Muslim encounters in the pre-modern period were either organic or syncretic, and that true animosity and communalism did not rear its ugly head until the British colonial period. The work of Tony K. Stewart<sup>4</sup>, Richard Eaton<sup>5</sup>, and Finbarr Flood<sup>6</sup> were particularly of use when trying to fit Vidyāpati’s voice into the sources used by contemporary scholars to study

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<sup>4</sup> Tony K. Stewart, “In Search of Equivalence: Conceiving Muslim-Hindu Encounter Through Translation Theory.” *History of Religions* 40 (2001): 260.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and “Hindu-Muslim” Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Hindu-Muslim interactions during the early medieval period. There have been a few scholars who have studied the *Kīrttilatā*. Peter Gaeffke, in a study on the inclusion of Muslims in Hindi Literature<sup>7</sup>, declares that the *Kīrttilatā* is one of the earliest (and only) “Hindu” sources to try to include Muslims in a classical mode of literary composition. Gaeffke states that there are separate Hindu and Muslim “quarters” that are described separately. This is incorrect. In my reading, the Hindus and Muslims are described in the city together. His study does not extend to other parts of the text that also describe Muslims, leaving his study incomplete. Following Gaeffke’s example, Philip Lutgendorf<sup>8</sup> goes a step further to remark on the differences of tone in Vidyāpati’s description of “Hindus” and “Turks.” Additionally, David Lorenzen<sup>9</sup> makes an effort to emphasize the importance of the *Kīrttilatā* in being one of the earliest texts that mention discrete “Hindu” and “Turk” socio-cultural groups. However, these three western scholars focus only on a short section of the entire text and therefore fail to take into other descriptions that Vidyāpati provides of the Turks, in court and on the battlefield. This study will fill this gap and will provide a fuller picture of what might be the most lengthy description of Hindu-Muslim interactions during the pre-Mughal period. The *Kīrttilatā* is uniquely suited for a study that addresses issues of Hindu-Muslim encounters in fifteenth century North India. It is one of the earliest examples of the terms Hindu and “Turk” being used in a seemingly modern usage. After careful reading it becomes clear that our contemporary prejudices, whether communal or ecumenical, are not pertinent to the world-view of Vidyāpati’s *Kīrttilatā*. A study of this text

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<sup>7</sup> Peter Gaeffke, “Muslims in the Hindi Literature.” *Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung* 4 (1977): 119-126.

<sup>8</sup> Philip Lutgendorf, “*Ayodhyā*: Utopia and Its Shadows in a Hindu Landscape.” *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 1 (1997): 19-54.

<sup>9</sup> David N. Lorenzen, “Defining Hinduism,” in *Defining Hinduism: A Reader*, ed. J.E. Llewellyn, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2005).

promises to contribute particular and rare information from the perspective of a Brahminically minded principality vis-à-vis broader cultural and political phenomena that swept across all of Northern and Eastern India during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This field will be addressed in part one of this thesis, the analysis.

This regional perspective concern lends itself to the analysis of my second field of study, that of vernacular regionalism versus vernacular cosmopolitanism. The *Kīrttilatā* presents an alternate vision of language identity, choice, and cosmopolitan exchange. If this study were about a Sanskrit or Persian source, it would represent a pan-Indian cosmopolitan perspective on the political and social currents of the same era. Instead, the fact that text was written in a highly innovative form of Avahatṭha, a late regional Apabhraṃśa, isolates the *Kīrttilatā* in a particular region and time. The audience of such a text would have been limited to those with an ability to read Avahatṭha in North-Eastern India. Straddling the boundary between Sanskrit and vernacular Maithili, both languages in which Vidyāpati also wrote, Avahatṭha was simultaneously exclusive and porous. It was a purely literary language, but because it did not retain the sacred restrictions of Sanskrit composition, it was able to adopt many foreign (especially Persian) words and describe scenes particular to the socio-political context of the fifteenth century in North-East India. The issues of language, cosmopolitanism and vernacularism are interspersed through the body of the analysis but are mainly addressed in part two of this thesis. For this field, I have obviously drawn on the thoughts and writings of Sheldon Pollock<sup>10</sup> and the reactions that have come about in the wake of his work. I do not seek to redefine Pollock's notion of what a

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<sup>10</sup> especially, Sheldon Pollock, "The Vernacular Cosmopolitan." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57 (1998): 6-37. & Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press: 2006).

cosmopolis is or functions as, but rather I seek to add an additional perspective, that of the region. Vernacular cosmopolises may simultaneously indulge in a grander vision of self representation through indulgence in “classical” literary norms, but it also indulges in esoteric exclusivity and the importance of defining the region vis-à-vis the nation.

This study has been organized into four sections. The preliminary chapter is a contextual history of the text. This includes a political history of Tirhut as it relates to the Jaunpur Sultānate (c. 1394-1479), a short biography of Vidyāpati, and description of the initial events that instigate the *Kīrttilatā*. During the main body of this study, I will structure the argument in parallel with Vidyāpati’s description of the cityscape of Jaunpur, from the outer wall, through the bustling bazaars, to the royal court, and out onto the battlefield. Initially, we will explore the outer limits of the city and the bazaars that Vidyāpati describes in lengthy detail. It is here that we initially encounter the Turks. Their “odd” language, behavior, and culinary preferences are the focus of Vidyāpati’s. However, the Turks are not the only objects of the author’s curiosity, courtesans, artisans, and other caste groups also feature prominently. Afterwards, we proceed further into the city and consider the mediating role of the city itself in Vidyāpati’s description of various socio-cultural groups. Lastly, I will take the Sultān as described in the *Kīrttilatā* to deconstruct assumptions of religion, authority, and identity. The Sultān is neither similar nor dissimilar to the Turks, he is elevated to demi-godhood. After this, I have included a short description of Avahatṭha, a description of the textual apparatus, and lastly a large excerpt of the *Kīrttilatā* along with my own translation.



## Historical Context

In the study of the late Sultānate period, especially in the court of the Sultānate of Jaunpur (c. 1394-1505 C.E.), historiographic studies have tended to rely on the Persian history and literature to understand the court and popular culture of the Shārqi dynasty. In doing so, a large swath of North India during this period is selectively viewed from one perspective; namely, that of the elite centralized groups in large cities like Jaunpur and Zafarabad. Here enters Vidyāpati Ṭhakūra, the court historian and poet of the small tributary state of Tirhut (alias Mithila or Tughluqabad). His several histories (Kīrttilatā, Kīrttipatākā, and Purusapariksā) relate the events of the Oinivara dynasty of Tirhut (c. 1353-1527 C.E.), to larger events happening much further afield in Jaunpur, Delhi, and Bengal.

In order to properly build a comprehensive picture of inter-cultural and inter-lingual interactions of the residents of Jaunpur and their Tirhuti subjects, it will be necessary to look at several layers of historiographic information and sources. It is also necessary to consider the limitations of this essay in order to concisely answer the various questions that have been raised. Since the foundations of the ruling family of Tirhut, owed their existence to the Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq and his successor Firoz Shah, it would be appropriate to include a brief account of the events of their advent. Though there are direct Persian-language sources through which to do this ('Āfif and Barnī's *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*), I have decided to forgo this level of analysis. Besides, the focus of this thesis is not a historiographic critique. It is in this panegyric text that we are given a detailed impression of the travels of the two princes of the Tirhuti royal family in Jaunpur

during the reign of Ibrahim Shah Shārqi (r. 1402-1440). I will focus specifically on the depictions of the cityscape of the city of Jaunpur, the plight of the two refugee princes, and Vidyāpati's description of the "Turks" and various other "foreign" groups within the city. The comparisons, conflicts, and reconciliations between Vidyāpati's patrons and the Jaunpur court reveal much about the ways in which identity for the Oinvāras, and presumably other similar Hindu courts, was based primarily on a regional basis, which was underlined by language choice.

### Vidyāpati

No other name evokes as much awe and reverence from the average Maithili-speaker as Vidyāpati. In fact, there are few other languages or bodies of literature in the subcontinent that occupy the linguistic and nationalistic aspirations of a community more than Vidyāpati; perhaps, with the exception of Rabindranath Tagore for Modern Bengali, there exist few historical literary figures like Vidyāpati who embody the cultural memory and linguistic aspirations of a community. Although Vidyāpati was certainly not the only Mithila native to write in Maithili, his name is synonymous with a shift from classical Sanskrit-oriented language and literary production, to the local vernacular. Vidyāpati is most well known for his lyric poetry in Maithili, which focused on the love of Radha and Krishna in Vrindavan. This body of poetry, later to be known as the *padāvalī*, went on to inspire the Bengali Vaiṣṇava's own production of devotional lyric poetry. Vidyāpati's other literary works in Sanskrit and Avahatṭha are little studied by scholars. Even in

Mithila, they are regarded as secondary to the poet's ethos of being a devotional court poet.

Vidyāpati's family seems to have been connected with both the Oinvara court and the preceding Karṇāta dynasty. Current Maithili scholars and the general public believe that Vidyāpati's clan originated somewhere in the Madhubani district of modern-day Bihar. The birth dates of Vidyāpati are discouragingly disparate. There are no reliable records that are given from Tirhut itself, but by collating the dates of composition of his historical texts (*Kīrttilatā* and *Kīrttipatāka*), we are at least able to say with confidence that he was born in the late fourteenth century C.E..

This study will focus on Vidyāpati's main Avahaṭṭha text, but it is helpful to mention the other texts in Sanskrit that were composed. One of Vidyāpati's most prominent compositions in Sanskrit was the *Bhūparikramā* (*Wanders about the Earth*). This text describes Balarāma's journey to "Janaka-Deśa" via various places of pilgrimage. Though it does mention large pilgrimage sites in greater India, the focus is on the holy places within Mithila. Mithila's status as a pure bastion of "Hindu" learning and culture was further emphasized by the focus and importance Vidyāpati gave to local pilgrimage sites. This text also provides useful information about the imagined geography of Tirhut during Vidyāpati's period.

One of the few texts that have been translated into English is the *Puruṣa-Parīkṣā* (*The Test of Manhood*). This text is a treatise on the ritual and social obligations for "being a man." These didactic stories for boys on the art of manhood are reminiscent of the *Hitopadeśa* in tone and purpose. It is also a window into the historical awareness of

the Tirhut court, as a chronology of the entire Sultānate period is given in brief. This text will come into this study in regards to its reflection of the author's notions of masculinity, power, and authority.

The *Likhanavalī* is a guide to writing personal and diplomatic correspondences with other rulers and allies. It includes a useful list of local rulers and important local political figures of the time.

The *Śaivasarvasvasāra* (A Complete Guide to Śaiva Ritual & Worship) is a guide to the proper ritual worship of Shiva. The *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* is a description of the journey of the river Ganges from Haridwar to Ganga Sagar in the Bay of Bengal. It describes the various pilgrimage sites along the river and the rituals to be performed there. It makes reference to the events of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Queen Visvāsdevi, the wife of King Padmasiṃha, commissioned these two Śaiva devotional texts.

Next is the philosophical text, the *Vibhāgasāra* (*Manual of Partition and Inheritance*). This seems to follow in the grand tradition of Maithili “nibandhākara-s,” or treatise writers, who commented upon every religious and societal tradition with heavy borrowings from *Nyāya* and *Navya-Nyāya* thought.

Scholars generally accept that the *Durgā-Bhakti-Tarangini* (*Waves of Devotion of Durgā*) was Vidyāpati's last commissioned work. It was written under the patronage of Queen Dhiramati Devi, wife of Narasiṃha Deva. This text was a guidebook written on the proper ritual performance of Durga worship. This text is mentioned in several Bengali works of the same nature, most prominently by Raghunanada (1520–1575 C.E.), which is still used as the guide for contemporary Durga Puja celebration and ritual worship.

## The Tughlaqs and Kāmeśvara Oinvāra

In order to get an accurate picture of the relationship between the Delhi Sultānate and certain indigenous localized suzerainties, I turn to the example of the restructuring of the Kingdom of Mithilā (Tirhut). This region of North Bihar girded in the south by the Gaṅgā, to the west by the river Gaṇḍaka in the west, to the east the Koṣi, and to the north by Himalayan foothills. This region has long been connected to the history of the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s Mithilā and the *Mahābhārata*'s Videha. The much later poets of Bengal and Orissa laud Mithilā as the historic stronghold of Sanskrit learning, religious scholarship, and artistic achievement. Whatever the reality of the deep history of Tirhut, during the late 14<sup>th</sup> century the long rooted Karmata dynasty (c. 1085-1325 C.E.) associated with the later period of the Pāla Empire (c. 750–1174 CE) was ousted by the new Sultān of Delhi, Ghīyāsuddīn Tughluq in 1325 C.E., attested to by Farishta in the *Basātinul-Ūns*. In the place of this Kṣatriya family, the Tughlaqs then enthroned the Oinvāra family of Brahmins. Over Tirhut, Hājī Ilyās Khān (1339-1358 C.E.) was appointed as Iqtadār, who would later become an independent ruler in Bengal and contest Bihar with the Tughlaqs. From the sources that I have explored, it is unclear as to whether the Oini Brahmins were already prominent, or if this political reshuffling was disruptive to the social structure of Tirhuti society. Whatever the case, it is clear that because this primacy of Brahmins in the political structure of Tirhuti administration, the types of culture and artistic endeavors patronized by the state were decidedly Sanskritic in nature. The greatest attestation of musicians, dramatists, and artists are actually found towards the end of the Oinvāra rule

in the early Mughal period (c. 1527), when the royal courts in Nepal take note of the skill and eminence of these artisans.

The relationship of this tributary dynasty to the Tughlaqs is not as straightforward as would be expected from a clan that owed their new status and power to them. This could be a result of the perennial problem of the prosperous, stable, and relatively hands-off rule of the later Sultāns, like Firoz Shah. However, I would argue that it primarily the new unpopular imposition of the *jizya* on Brahmins, that was legislated much earlier but had never been enforced, and the continual campaigns against Bengal that deprived Tirhut of resources and autonomy.

#### The Jaunpur Sultānate under Shams 'ud-din Ibrahim Shāh Shārqi

After the death of the Firoz Shāh Tughluq (c.1388), his descendants did not have an easy time controlling the largely pampered and accommodated local landholders and administrators of Firoz Shāh's court. One such upstart noble was Malik Sarwar Khwāja Jahān (r.1394-1399). Originally a eunuch military officer delegated a large section of the army of Muhammad Tughlaq and the Iqta of Avadh and Bihar; during the reign of Firoz Shāh he was made the Malik-us-Sharqi (Lord of the East). By the time his adopted sons Mubarak Shāh (r.1399-1402) and Ibrahim Shāh (r.1402-1440) come into power, they had entrenched themselves in their capital of Jaunpur under the title of Sultān-us-Sharq (Sultāns of the East). It was during the reign of the reign of Ibrahim Shāh that the two heroes of the *Kīrttilatā*, Kīrttisimha and Vīrasimha, along with the poet Vidyāpati go to Jaunpur to seek justice, but more on this later.

The power and cultural prowess of the Jaunpur Sultānate reached its zenith under Ibrahim Shah. This period was particularly known for the wealth of architecture and public building projects in and around Jaunpur and the patronage of Islamic learning and Sufi saints, a fact which is remarkably unaccounted for in the *Kīrttilatā*. As we will explore through the account of Vidyāpati in his trip to Jaunpur, the city seemed to be the embodiment of both Islamicate and Indic ideals. This is important if we are to consider the ways in which Vidyāpati voices the ways in which his patrons viewed the presence of such a city in relation to Tirhut. It is also probably due to the very recent past memories of the comparatively strict Sunni observances of Sharī'ah during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, that the rather ecumenical and inviting atmosphere of Ibrahim Shāh's Jaunpur would have seemed a welcome respite.

### Tirhut

In order to get a better idea about the perspective from which Vidyāpati is writing this account glorifying his patrons, which focuses rather heavily on the glorification of Ibrahim Shah, we need to understand his position within the Oinvāra court and the situation of Tirhut in general in relation to the socio-political events of the age. The geographic position of Tirhut between the powerful political forces based in the western Gangetic plain in Delhi and the prosperous region of Bengal made it liable to armies and traders marching back-and-forth across its borders. One of the primary cities of the Oinvāra's was Darbaṅgā, which seems to be based on the Dvāra (gate) + Baṅgā (Bengal).

The exploits of Ilyās Shāh and Firoz Shāh were just the first in a long history of Bihar being caught in the crossfire between the Delhi or Jaunpur Sultānates and Bengal.

Not infrequently did the rulers of Tirhut side with the occasionally independent rulers of Bengal. When the Rājā Kaṇsa (alias Rājā Ganeśa), who was originally a zamindār, gained ascendancy over the Ilyāsi Sultāns of Bengal (c.1386), the Oinvāra ruler Śivasimha was instigated to join the coup. Eventually, after having his power base in Tirhut attacked by the Jaunpuri forces, Śivasimha capitulated and the previously dethroned king Devasimha was reinstated with a great deal of financial support from the court of Ibrahim Shah between 1402-1403 C.E.. This support was filtered and shunted towards the support of the Sufi, Makdhun Shāh Sultān, who was in favor with Ibrahim Shah. These events are attested to in Mullā Taqia's *Mirat-ul-Asrār*.

Because Śivasimha is Vidyāpati's patron after his restoration and reconciliation with the Shārqiis, it is interesting to note how Vidyāpati is able to simultaneously praise the god-like figure of Ibrahim Shah and the rebellious Śivasimha in equal measure, though in different texts. It is only in the Kīrttipatakā, which focuses on the internal history of Tirhut, that Śivasimha is praised for his active role in domestic administration and military planning. He is given the epithets of Gauḍeśvara (Lord of Bengal) and Gajjaneśvara (Lord of Gajjana) for defeating the various Islamic rulers of Bengal at the side of Rājā Kaṇsa. In his later life, Śivasimha begins to take a more lenient approach towards the urban Muslim populations living in Darbhāṅgā and Hājipur. He eventually gave land grants to various sufi groups for the support of Khanaqahs. Popular memory tells us that it is because Śivasimha witnessed the miracles of an unspecified Sufi mystic,



he realized the error of his previous marauding ways in Bengal. Whatever the reality, it is important to note that later memory leans towards an ecumenical understanding of the Śivasimha's and the Shārqi's relationship.

Because Vidyāpati's ancestors had long been ministers to the kings of Tirhut, it was only natural that his professional life should be closely associated with the royal family whoever that might be. Vidyāpati found patronage under the young Śivasimha, though he also enjoyed popularity as a poet and court historian under various rulers from Kīrttisimha onwards. As a brahminical attendant to the court, of other Brahmins in this unique case, it was Vidyāpati's job to be both the court panegyrist and poet. Kīrttilatā represents a unique glimpse into the court of Ibrahim Shah and multiple social strata in Jaunpuri society.

### Narrative Summary

Like the majority of panegyric texts, the *Kīrttilatā* begins with a praise of the favored deities of the presiding dynasty. A tableau of Śiva, Pārvatī, and Gaṇeśa is followed by an invocation of blessings over his patron from the Goddess Sarasvatī (called *Bhārati*). He concludes this introductory passage in Sanskrit with a lament over the lack of discerning patrons of poetry during the degraded age of Kali, despite the taste for poetry amongst the people. Vidyāpati then dedicates his work to his patron Kīrttisimha, whom he praises as a connoisseur of poetry, rather than his standing as a king<sup>11</sup>.

Then, Vidyāpati mentions his reasons for using Avahaṭṭha rather than Sanskrit or Maithili. He begins framing his text with a set of questions and answers between a male bee (*br̥ṅga*) and

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<sup>11</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.1-1.5

his female partner (*bṛṅgī*). The *bṛṅga* continues to act as the primary narrator for the entire *Kīrttilatā*. Each *pallava* is distinguished by a rhetorical set of questions and answers between this pair, giving an insight in the moralistic structure that Vidyāpati might have envisioned. In the introductory *pallava*, this *prśnottara* begins with the *bṛṅgī* asking the *bṛṅga* what the most valuable quality is in the world<sup>12</sup> and who is a true hero<sup>13</sup>. The male bee ultimately answers that a true man is only deemed so by his innate manliness<sup>14</sup>. This feature is reminiscent of a bit of frame dialogue between Nārada and Vālmīki in the Rāmāyaṇa. The various specific qualities of “innate manliness” are described in relation to various heroic figures: Rāma because he slew Rāvaṇa by the strength of his arms, Bhagīratha because he saved humanity, and Paraśurāma because he destroyed the *kṣatriya*-s through ferocity<sup>15</sup>. As if to place his patron in this famous lineage of divine heroes, Vidyāpati praises his bravery in destroying his enemy in battle and his grace in sparing Aslāna’s life.

This seems to pique the interest of the female bee. She then says, “This story of the king will be enjoyable to hear. Oh Lord! Do not keep it secret. Of what lineage is this king and who is this Kīrttisīmha.”<sup>16</sup> This begins a discussion of the Oinī dynasty and its lineage. In light of research<sup>17</sup> that has revealed that the Oinī-s were a brahmin clan who replaced the previous Kaṇṇata dynasty, the following description of their family makes more sense. The Oinvaras are

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<sup>12</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.14

<sup>13</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.15-1.16

<sup>14</sup> “पुङ्सत्तणेन पुरिसो...”. Kīrttilatā 1.17

<sup>15</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.20

The parallel between Kīrttisīmha and Paraśurāma seems significant, as both are brahmin-warriors who bring justice to miscreant kṣatriyas (an Afghan warlord in this case).

<sup>16</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.21

<sup>17</sup> Radhakrishna Choudhary, *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut, 1206-1765, A.D.* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1970), 67-94.

praised for their knowledge of the Vedas and obscure philosophy, their understanding of divinity, and also their qualities of charity and bravery in battle. This combination of brahminical and *kṣatriya* qualities does not go unremarked upon by Vidyāpati, “The two are [rarely] gotten at once, a ruler/*kṣatriya* (*bhūbai*) and a brahmin (*bhūdeva*).”<sup>18</sup> This is a theme that we will see continued in the characterization of Kīrttiṣiṃha and Vīraṣiṃha.

A description of the lineage the Oinī-s is then given<sup>19</sup>, beginning with the first king of this dynasty, Rāja Kāmeśvara, though little is said about him<sup>20</sup>. His son, Bhogīśa Rāya, is then described for his beauty and splendor rivaling Indra. Most interesting is that Bhogīśa Rāya is mentioned to be a close friend of the Emperor Firūz Shāh<sup>21</sup>. His son was Gaṇeśa or Gaṇeśvara, who is lauded for his beauty and magnanimity in political science and jurisprudence<sup>22</sup>. Vidyāpati gives Gaṇeśa the title of Guru-King<sup>23</sup>. The eldest son of Gaṇeśa, “Mahārājādhirāja” Virasiṃha Deva is then described. He is called the Kālidāsa of poetry, the Arjuna in Battle, and Paraśurāma in his faithfulness to his vow. He is also mentioned to be a devotee of Śiva<sup>24</sup>, which is interesting for modern Maithilis who often equivocate on the religious affiliation of Vidyāpati and his patrons<sup>25</sup>. At the end of this first *pallava*, we finally are introduced to Rājā Kīrttiṣiṃha, the namesake of the *Kīrttilatā*. Of all the members of his lineage, he is praised most for his prowess

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<sup>18</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.22

<sup>19</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.22-24

<sup>20</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.23

<sup>21</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.24

<sup>22</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.25

<sup>23</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.25

<sup>24</sup> Kīrttilatā 1.27

<sup>25</sup> see, Śri Sudhīracandra Majumdār, *Bidyāpatira Śibagīta* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1962).

in battle against his enemies, for upholding *dharma*, and for defending the pride of his family. He is on balance, more *kṣatriya* than brahmin.

## **Chapter 1: Encounters and Conflict in the Bazaars**

With only a cursory reading, Vidyāpati's portrayal of the Turkish denizens of Jaunpur in the *Kīrttilatā* seems to reinforce the notion of enmity between Hindu and Muslims. I will first describe how this might be the case before criticizing such a common reading. First, there are several verses in the second *pallava* that describe quite violent and grotesque behavior on the part of the "Turks" directed towards the "Hindu" residents of Jaunpur. At closer examination the categories of "Turk" and "Hindu" are not employed by Vidyāpati in the same way as they would be currently. Turk seems to mean something more akin to a socio-ethnic class defined by their profession. The Turks are the Central Asian who camp on the outskirts of Jaunpur and who are employed by the military or who seek their own fortunes. "Hindu" seems to specifically mean the Brahmins of the city. Secondly, in the later sections of the *Kīrttilatā*, in the camps of Ibrahim Shah, we get a picture of the Turks as rapists and pillagers. This is tempered by equal criticism of the faults of the Hindu *rāyas* and various other caste groups involved in similar activities. Separation in this context of close-quarter dwelling, seems to be decided based on purity. I will discuss this issue in more detail shortly.

The first hint of foreign or Muslim presence in the city is in the descriptions of the market places and especially of food. This theme also continues in the rest of the *Kīrttilatā*. For instance, Vidyāpati singles out the fact that many of the market stalls contained onions and garlic, anathema to any good brahmin<sup>26</sup>. Vidyāpati then engages in

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<sup>26</sup> *Kīrttilatā* 2.39.

something we might colloquially describe as people-watching. He takes note of the various titled officers, merchants, and officials along with their behavior.

In the same breath, we get a description of the boisterous behavior of the Turks and along with their religious activities<sup>27</sup>. It is from the next verse that I get the distinct impression that the Turks represent a professional class of armed horsemen (perhaps cavalry). Here Vidyāpati extends the description of the Turks as those who simultaneously take the name of their Lord (*Khodā*) and deal in roughness and deception.

Taking the name of *Khodā* (the Lord) with zeal, [they] consume *bhang* with reeds<sup>28</sup>.  
[And] without reason they become enraged and their faces like heated copper-vessels.  
The Turks wander about the market on their Tukharan horses and demand the herd tax<sup>29</sup>.  
With closed eyes [as if in a stupor], they run about with spittle on their beards.  
Having exhausted all of the wine, they gawk at women and chase the slave girls.  
What should I say about their duplicitous<sup>30</sup> speech with their retainers in tow.<sup>31</sup>

Vidyāpati continues on for a few more verse describing similar scenes. The main criticism seems to be directed at the uncouth comportment of these working class foreign mercenaries.

Vidyāpati perseverates at length about the eating style and habits of these strangers. They eat meat, onions, and garlic, and drink wine and *bhang*. Much of this food ends up in their beards or tossed across the room. This seems to play into fears of contamination, impurity, and cross-cultural confusion in translating food practices. Afterwards, Vidyāpati mentions a few socio-

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<sup>27</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.41.

<sup>28</sup> गुग्गुलु - (MMW) 1. f. a kind of reed.

<sup>29</sup> Jha mentions this as a type of tax on herd animals. I could not find an attestation for this, but it makes sense in this context.

<sup>30</sup> फरीबी - CPED (P. فريب firīb, fireb, fareb, or farīb) 1. Deception, fraud, duplicity, trick, deceit, treachery, imposture, fallacy.

<sup>31</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.42

religious titles and groups<sup>32</sup> of other Muslim people within the city. He mentions the *Sayyids*, *Makhadums*, etc.. Implying perhaps that these groups and the Turks were socially mutually exclusive. They might have belonged to some larger meta-social group that remained unnamed (or unrecognized) by Vidyāpati and his Tirhuti patrons. It is, however, their occupations and titles that trump all other identifying monikers. Each group receives varying levels of incredulous attention in the *Kīrttilatā*, but avoids the hostile description that is specifically directed towards the Turks.

After this description of the pluralistic religious atmosphere of Jaunpur, we are given an account of the actions of some Turks. They are said to have intimidated the laborers of the market and forced brahmin boys into unclean occupations, like the transport of leather goods<sup>33</sup>. The violence continues:

The Brahmin's *tilaka* is rubbed off and his sacred thread breaks, and he is allowed to mount a horse.

They make liquor from paddy and break temples and build mosques.<sup>34</sup>

Remarkably, after such disturbing descriptions, the poet shifts tone and precedes the first laudatory verse about Ibrahim Shah.

Seeing the Turks, it looks as if the Hindus will be kicked out [of the area]  
Even so, they remain because of the strength of the Sultān, may he live forever.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Kīrttilatā 3.44.

<sup>33</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.47

<sup>34</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.48.

<sup>35</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.50.

Even as the Hindus are being threatened into retreat by the Turks, there is praise for the Sultān. It is difficult to understand whether this immediate switch in tone is an attempt by Vidyāpati to allay any fears of critique over the administration of the city or an understanding of the Sultān as belonging to a different social category altogether. I will elucidate this understanding as it proceeds in the third chapter of this thesis.

After Ibrahim Shah acquiesces to the request of Kīrttisimha to offer military aid in retaking Tirhut, the poet describes the various groups that comprise the Sultān's army. The Turks seem to be the focus of a sort of terrified awe on the part of Vidyāpati. They are the strong arm of the Sultān's military force; however, their activities between battle and in the camps seems to provoke a sense of morbid fascination.

They do not consider it a sin to slay cows or Brahmins.  
They enslave and brought with them the women of their enemies' cities.  
They burst into a joyful and uproarious laughter and then suddenly become angry.  
The voices of the young Turks [roar] in their hundreds and thousands.<sup>36</sup>

This Turkish comportment and violence contradicts regular brahminical behavioral sanctions, but their sheer ferocity is almost complimentary and mandatory for the occupational role they play. They are warriors, not in the sense of a *kṣatriya* or the saintly Kīrttisimha, but in the cruel and fearsome manner of other battlefield horrors, like demons or ghosts<sup>37</sup>. They are almost likened to hordes of ghosts and frightful creatures that surround and attend Śiva.

The frenzied Mongols do not understand a word.  
It is because of sheer belligerence that they fight on the battlefield.  
Some [even] dine on raw meat.

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<sup>36</sup> Kīrttilatā 4.24

<sup>37</sup> Kīrttilatā 4.55-58



Their eyes are made red with Kādambari wine.<sup>38</sup>

Here on the battlefield Vidyāpati is still concerned with the markers that distinguish the the “barbarian” Turks with his own brahmin and courtly milieu. The wine and meat then become signifiers of the ferocious, the uncouth, and the lowly. They are feared for acts of enslavement, pillaging, and ferocity in battle. They are perhaps equally reviled for their odd speech, eating habits, and foreign-ness, but they are not singled out because of their religious affiliation. In the fourth *pallava*, where most of the descriptions of the battle are located, we find equal notice and almost suspicion being cast of other more traditionally “Hindu” social groups.

In this regards, Vidyāpati describes a group of nomadic pastoralists called the Dhangars. This group, still in existence today, were cattle traders in Central and Western India. They led nomadic herds of cattle to regular patrons as well as to the armies of various rulers to sell off to supply the armies in leather, meat, and beasts of burden. There is a striking verse that describes the Dhangars following the main band of Ibrahim Shah’s army.

And countless *Dhangars* were seen going along [with the army].  
They<sup>39</sup> would say “Bismillah!” and eat the slain cattle.<sup>40</sup>

What is remarkable is that there is considerable ambiguity in the second half of the verse as to who is taking part in cow slaughter and meat consumption. I have chosen to express my translation to imply that the Dhangars sold the cattle to the Turks, as was their wont. According to modern census reports, the Dhangars are ninety-eight percent Hindu self-identifying. The fact

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<sup>38</sup> Kīrttilatā 4.22.

<sup>39</sup> It is unclear whether the Dhangars are partaking in cattle-slaughter and beef-eating from this verse.

<sup>40</sup> Kīrttilatā 4.25.

that the meat-eaters of the second line say “Bismillah” before beginning their meal, as is the custom of many Muslims, indicates that perhaps the group consuming the beef were other than the Dhangars. But as a scheduled tribe, modern notions of standard (brahminical) Hindu dietary practices (i.e. vegetarianism) would be inappropriate to consider as the standard during the pre-modern period. While there are a lot of historical layers to determine the religious proclivities of this interesting tribal group, for the purposes of this study we would be better served by noticing that, regardless of who is selling the meat and who is consuming it, Vidyāpati seems to indict both Turk and Dhangar in this non-brahminical and peculiar action.

Vidyāpati’s assessment of the Turks and the Sultān is split into two main types. The first type of observation revolves around his particular interest in social and personal behavior amongst other social groups (meat-eating, wine-drinking, bawdy behavior, etc.) and the second type seems to be a more abstract political criticism. Although their behaviors violates most norms of decent brahminical etiquette and social decorum, Vidyāpati almost expresses a vicarious admiration for the motivation and active nature of the Turks. They are able to provide and protect themselves while the fortunes of the Hindu nobility around them seems to crumble. Vidyāpati’s criticism is not limited to the Turks.

Vidyāpati never retreats from his initial reactions of shock and incredulity, but he never ends there. He seems to take the “extreme” behavior of the Turks and other unusual groups as a point of rhetorical emphasis. He calls out to the other “Hindu” nobles and bemoans their current pitiable state.

The Turks are a matter of curiosity and reserved judgement for Vidyāpati, and presumably his patrons. However, we must avoid reading these wine-drinking, boisterous, and

foreign warriors as solely “Muslims” or their actions as “Islamic”. It is better to contextualize their characterization with such texts as the *Kīrttilatā*. Vidyāpati’s preoccupation with their social habits, their manner of income, and their comparison with “Hindu” groups, indicates a nuanced understanding of this encounter on the part of the poet. There are several ways in which Vidyāpati’s understanding of his experiences during the events recounted in the *Kīrttilatā* can be understood through a nuanced reading of the text in its full context, not just isolated passages. First, one needs to understand space and what other players (social groups, individuals, sights and sounds, etc.) were present. The second is a case study of Sultān Ibrahim Shah. Ibrahim Shah is the most important “Muslim” character of the text, but he is not portrayed in an Islamic light. Instead, Ibrahim Shah is shown to be a virtuous monarch on par with the heroes and demigods of Epic and historical stories, as will be demonstrated in the following sections.

## **Chapter 2: The Mediating Role of Urban Space**

Vidyāpati's *Kīrttilatā* is an anomalous text in regards to its language, genre, and overall location within North Indian literary history. Most of the existing scholarship was produced in the mid twentieth century in the Hindi-speaking academy. These scholars, who have very carefully analyzed the structure and language of the text, were seeking an early text to anchor the ancient history of Hindi as a newly emergent language. They did not usually consider this text as part of a network of literary production in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that transcended region, religion, language, and genre. I propose that the congruences and divergences revealed in the comparison of the descriptions of the cities (*nagara-varṇana*) of the *Kīrttilatā* (c. 1402) with Maulana Daud's *Cāndāyan* (1379), can help illuminate much about the pedigree and aesthetic orientation of the mysterious *Kīrttilatā*. I will compare and contrast the language, style, and focus of Vidyāpati's description of Jaunpur and Daud's description of Govar. I will progress in the manner of both texts narrative progression from the outer walls of the city, to the markets and wares for sale in the bazaar, then finally to the residents of the city themselves. It will become evident that Vidyāpati is using his privilege as a Brahmin to critique and observe the "fallen" elements of Jaunpuri urban society. It is not just the Turks that face his ire, but the fallen Brahmins and courtesans as well. Though not an overwhelming feature of the *Kīrttilatā*, Vidyāpati's later works are exacting in the author's Brahminical observations and proscriptions.

In modern convention, Daud's text is said to be composed in "Avadhi", while Vidyāpati's text is in "Avahatṭha", a late eastern Apabrahmṣa. Although this may be the case, I do not wish to suggest that they belonged to a single and unified literary sphere of influence. Rather, both authors existed within a similar cultural and political climate to which both of their works speak.

Maulana Daud lived in Dalmau (near Raibareili) and Vidyāpati was as a courtier of Tirhut (North Bihar), although his text and *nagara-varṇana* is written about Jaunpur. There are a few reasons for the specific comparison of these two texts. First, the languages of both texts share a linguistic affinity. Avadhi, as an Eastern Hindi dialect, and Maithili, as a “Bihari” share a linguistic boundary and social space in the Eastern Gangetic Plain. They also are near contemporaries in terms of their composition dates. Lastly, they speak from inverse perspectives. Daud is a Sufi Muslim who worked to incorporate Indic scenery and stories to locate his *piramakahānī* in the Indian cultural landscape, while having the underlying intent of creating a Sufic tale to purify the nation. On the other hand, Vidyāpati is writing from the perspective of a Hindu courtier who is observing an Islamicate court. His text formally adheres to classical Indic literary standards, but breaks the long-held historical silence in mentioning the foreign others. The *Kīrttilatā*, despite being a brahminical observation of a “Turkish” city, remains a thoroughly Indian/Sanskritic text. Jaunpur, or popularly *Yavana-pūra*<sup>41</sup>, is described by Vidyāpati as the very embodiment of Indian urban beauty and power.

It would be helpful to note at the outset, that the *nagara-varṇana* passages occur at different places and in different contexts between both texts. Govar of the *Cāndāyana* is a purely fictional city. To the best of my knowledge, there has never been a claim for any contemporary Gangetic city being equated with Govar. It is my presupposition that Daud, being a resident of the eastern Dōāb, would have imagined a city similar to other cities of that region, including Jaunpur. Like many of the other Sufi writers of the *piramakahānī*-s, Daud wrote the *Cāndāyan* as a didactic

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<sup>41</sup> Skt. “City of the Barbarians/Foreigners”

and devotional tool. It has been argued by Aditya Behl<sup>42</sup> that this was an attempt by the vernacular sufi authors to both sanctify their new Indian home and to create appropriate sufi meanings and equivalences of Indian symbols and environments.

In contrast, the *Kīrttilatā* is understood as a more historically oriented text, though not as pure history. Vidyāpati wrote this text for his patrons, the Oinvara rulers of Tirhut, at the very beginning of his career and it has a very clear panegyric tone and is almost bardic in nature. It is my opinion that Vidyāpati sought to elevate this singular example of Avahatṭha literature to a near classical literary or cosmopolitan<sup>43</sup> status through a complicated variation between complicated prose language, not shy of Persian borrowings, and conventionally ostentatious Sanskrit prosody. The nature of both texts' *nagara-varṇana-s* is different. Daud's is to create a fantastical mental space in which the narrative of the *Cāndāyan* takes place. This *nagara-varṇana* takes place at the very beginning of the narrative. Vidyāpati's purpose is to create a semi-historical narrative in which to describe the grandeur and splendor of both his patrons and their host, Ibrahīm Shāh, as an act of praise. Vidyāpati spends much more time ruminating and describing the details of the city itself. It is much more grounded in reality with equal attention given to the various splendors of the city and to scenes which could be described as grotesque. It resonates much more with contemporary sensibilities regarding modern Indian cities. It also does not take place within a single episode of the text, but almost becomes a central theme dispersed throughout the text.

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<sup>42</sup> see Aditya Behl, *Love's Subtle Magic: An Indian Islamic Literary Tradition, 1379-1545* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>43</sup> see Pollock, Sheldon. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Both texts start the progression of the *nagara-varṇana* with the outer structures of the city, though the form of both differs. Govar is presented as an impenetrable fortress of moats and walls. This perhaps reflects the narrative's origin as a story of caste pride and conflict. The moat is the first part of the fortifications that is mentioned. It is described as reaching a depth of almost fifty-eight feet (50 *purusa*). This fantastical depth is made even more frightening by the addition of man-eating fish and crocodiles. It is described as a place of death and danger, enough to scare even a valiant host of heroes away:

The water in its green shade is frightful, if they catch a glimpse, they begin to tremble  
in their hearts like a leaf.  
Those who slip on the path of Yama (death), are eaten by the fish and crocodiles.  
[Even] if 21 kings come along, they can not overcome it.  
They themselves run away and leave behind their equipment right there at the moat<sup>44</sup>.

This is paired with a verse that describes the soaring heights of the ramparts and city walls of Govar. This description focuses on the defenses and impregnable nature of the city's walls. They are said to reach the height of 30 *purusa-s*<sup>45</sup>. There is a rather amusing statement made that were one to look up to the top of the wall, one's turban would fall off<sup>46</sup>. This of course is comical, but also hints at the shock and awe of any who sought to overtake the city. The implication is that their honor, bound in the Indian context with the symbol of the turban, would be in jeopardy.

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<sup>44</sup> Cādayan. 23.

Text from, Mataprasad Gupta, *Cādayana: Dāud-Viracita Prathama Hindi Sūfi Prema-Kāvya* (Agra: Prāmāṇika Prakāśana, 1967).; The translation is my own.

<sup>45</sup> 105 hands or nearly 38 feet.

<sup>46</sup> ऊपर हेर त खिसि पर पागा। Cādayan. 24

This contrasts with the more idyllic and sensually pleasing entrance our two Tirhuti princes make into Jaunpur in the *Kīrttilatā*. The water surrounding the city is not frightening but rather a source of sweet pleasure:

They (Kīrttisimha and Virasimha) saw a city girded by a beautiful body of water, that was like sugar cane juice.<sup>47</sup>

As they proceed onwards, the princes encounter beautiful gardens filled with fruit, flowers, and greenery which “made the city beautiful”<sup>48</sup>. The city is presented as a source of beauty and pleasure and refuge for the two princes who had experienced the murder of their father Gaṇeśvara, the dispossession of their homeland, and a difficult journey. It is important to remember that this is a new city, built almost entirely under the auspices of the rulers of the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur (r. 1394-1479). It was built with a Persianate architectural model and beautified by many large mosques and fortifications. Vidyāpati ornaments the city with Indian flora and poetic tropes. The flowers of the garden intoxicate the bees who are beguiled by the city’s beauty<sup>49</sup>.

Vidyāpati continues to describe more than just the outer limits of the city. Indeed, the outer walls are not mentioned at all. Instead, many beautiful houses are described for their staircases, lattices, and balconies. The streets are wide and extensive and are littered with various streams and ponds. The royal palaces is described as above the rest of the city and as decorated with golden spires<sup>50</sup>. This is not a walled city like Govar, but rather a grand capitol that exerts cultural

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<sup>47</sup> Kīrttilatā. 2.21

<sup>48</sup> पल्लविअ कुसुमिअ फलिअ उपवान, चूअ चम्पक सोहिआ। Kīrttilatā. 2.21

<sup>49</sup> मअरन्द-पान विमुद्ध महुअर, सद् मानस मोहिआ। Kīrttilatā. 2.21

<sup>50</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.22



and aesthetic power rather than a military might, which we later find to be possessed in the figure of the Sultān himself. This is an example of the ambiguity of gaze or perspective when discussing these two texts.

Both texts spend a considerable amount of time describing the markets of Govar and Jaunpur. The economic activity and burgeoning markets of both cities seem to be tied into the image that the respective writers wanted to project on both cities. Vidyāpati's Jaunpur seems to be a center of robust production, industry, and agricultural produce, whereas Daud's Govar is a city of spices and exotic goods that are particular to South Asia. As Kīrttisimha enters the markets of the Jaunpur in the *Kīrttilatā*, he is overwhelmed with the noise. The braziers are clanging away with the production of various metals, and the grain, gold, *paan*, and fish markets are so crowded that the noise from the feet of the market-goers sounds like crashing waves<sup>51</sup>. The markets seem to be a vast ocean of humanity<sup>52</sup>. In this chaos, Vidyāpati expresses some concern, or perhaps bewilderment, at the mixed nature of these market goers and the impropriety that results:

At midday, [the city] was strewn with oceans of wares. Everyone came to buy and sell goods from around the world.. The people grind together and run into one another, so much so, that the *tilak* of one rubs off on another and the earrings of good upstanding women break. The sacred thread of the Brahmins fell to the chest of *candala*-s and the breasts of the prostitutes crush the hearts of the renunciants.<sup>53</sup>

In the crowds and chaos of the market place, where great wares are produced for the wealth of the Sultān, the brahminical Vidyāpati notices that the *tilak* and sacred threads of the brahmins

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<sup>51</sup> Kīrttilatā. 2.26

<sup>52</sup> Kīrttilatā. 2.26

<sup>53</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.27

are being polluting by the *candala-s* and prostitutes of the city. This is the danger of the city as classically held by and for brahmins. It also betrays a typical Brahminical preoccupation with *varṇasaṃkara*, or mixing of the castes. The passage balances out the perspective that Vidyāpati was only critical in his observation of the barbaric Turks of the city.

In the markets of Daud's Govar, two main activities take place. Firstly, the selling of exotic goods that are specific and meaningful to an Indian environment and secondly, the performance of various "Hindu" stories by caste-based performance groups. The markets of Govar are stocked primarily with flowers, perfumes, *pān*, expensive foodstuffs, and luxury goods<sup>54</sup>. Govar, being an imagined city, needs not be portrayed as a centre of economic activity or Imperial power, rather it is beautified by the goods that make India unique. Vidyāpati was working entirely within an India-centric literary atmosphere, whereas Daud, although working in the vernacular, had access to a much more transregional literary perspective. By including very specific details that would have been familiar to any of his Hindavi-speaking audience members, he is conscientiously including India (and all its peculiarities) within his sufi worldview.

Daud describes the market-place performers in a similar light. His heroine, hero, and their families are portrayed as Hindus. It is natural then, that their city have some hint of "Hindu" religious activity or performance. Indeed we get such evidence in the very next verse:

The *Baruā-s* spoke of Rāma of the Rāmāyaṇa. The would sing and dance well.  
The *Bahurūpiya-s* wore many [fine] clothes. The young and old came along to look at them.  
They dressed as Radha and Krishna, [the Radha] put a earthen-pot on her head and [Krishna] would put lampblack on his body.

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<sup>54</sup> Cāndāyan, 27.

They sang songs and recited stories of praise (encomia). They danced to [their] tāla<sup>55</sup>. These different performing groups performed stories from the Rāmāyaṇa and the popular stories of Radha and Krishna. This description could indeed be about almost any North Indian marketplace in the medieval or modern eras. There is nothing to mark it as anything but an Indian city, and we should not expect otherwise from this Indian Sufi text, rooted in the subcontinent but very much part of the larger Sufi world.

Although the people of both Jaunpur and Govar have thus far been described in a general sense, both Vidyāpati and Daud eventually do describe the specific groups present in their respective cities; however, the groups included are perhaps the inverse of what one would conventionally expect. Daud describes in detail the various “Hindu” caste groups that were present in Govar<sup>56</sup>. He pays particular mention to the Brahmins and Vaiśyas, with only a perfunctory mention of the Kṣatriyas. My guess is that because the texts central figures are members of the feudatory ruling class, this focus on the Brahmins and traders/craftsmen is to complete a picture the population of the city with the other necessary caste members who will shortly disappear from the narrative. This is the only verse that explicitly describes the residents of Govar. This is perhaps because the focus of the text is the narrative adventure of Canda,

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<sup>55</sup> Cāndāyan, 28.

<sup>56</sup> Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Gvāla, Khaṇḍelvālas, and Agravālas dwelt there.

Tivārī-s, Pañcavāna-s, Dhākaḍa-s, Jośī-s, and Jajmānas [also] dwelt there.

The Gandhi-s, Banijāra-s (both merchant castes), Śrāvaka-s, and Paṃvāra-s, live there too.

The goldsmiths and scholars dwell there along with the nobility who came to live there.

There were [also] many Chauhan-Ṭhakurs live there. Who knows what the count of all of the people [who dwelt there].

In the alleys one would fall and be trodden upon, and could not wander about there.

[Even] if one were to dwell in Govara for twenty days, one would still get confused by all the [streets] bustling with people.

Cāndāyan 25.

whereas the focus of the Kīrttilatā is more on the imagery and descriptions themselves. The specific caste details that Daud describes of the Hindu residents of Govar are nowhere to be found in the Kīrttilatā. The Hindu residents of Jaunpur are given only two short lines of description by Vidyāpati:

There are/were many Brahmins and many Kayasths  
There were many clans of Rājputs and many different castes/communities settled  
together...<sup>57</sup>

Vidyāpati instead spends more effort describing two groups of people the would have perhaps marked Jaunpur as unique or particular for the Avahaṭṭha readership back in Tirhut - prostitutes and the Turks. Vidyāpati seems to be almost scandalized by the presence of the “women living in sin” in such a splendid city. However, the language is somewhat ambivalent. It is clear that he disapproves of their presence, but their beauty is the central focus of five full verses<sup>58</sup>. They beautify the city while also marking the urban as a center of impropriety and sin, at least for any conscientious brahmin. It is a standard feature of *nagara-varṇana* to include a description of the beautiful women of the city, such as in the *Cilappatikāram* by Ilāṅgo Aḍigala (c. 2nd-3rd cent. CE).

Vidyāpati then proceeds to discuss a group perhaps more pertinent to his narrative and more “peculiar” to Jaunpur - the Turks<sup>59</sup>. In the market, they are described as being surrounded by meat, garlic, and onions<sup>60</sup>, ubiquitous of the barbarians, but an anathema for any good

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<sup>57</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.31

<sup>58</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.31-36

<sup>59</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.37

<sup>60</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.39

brahmin. It is the following verse that gives us the inverse of Daud’s description of the various Hindu castes of Govar:

While buying lots of slaves,  
The Turks gave *salām* to one another.  
Wearing *khes*<sup>61</sup>, chain mail, and boots,  
The *Amir* (lords), *Valis* (viceroys), *sālār* (army-officers), and Khvājā-s went  
about.<sup>62</sup>

Vidyāpati describes the various groups of Turks<sup>63</sup>, in almost the same detail as Govar’s Hindu groups. It is almost a caricature of the foreign “invaders” that still persists, that of Central Asian Turks wearing boots and armor, busying themselves with the slave trade. Besides this description of their appearance and various groupings, Vidyāpati seems to have been familiar with their religious activity:

Drinking wine, saying “*abe be*” (contemptuous exclamation)  
Reciting the *qalīmā* [and] living according to the word of God.  
Shouting *qasīdā*-s and filling mosques  
And reading books, there are countless Turks.<sup>64</sup>

By comparing the texts description of the city (*nagara-varṇana*) of Jaunpur with the *Cāndāyan*’s description of Govar in this cursory way, I have attempted to posit that both texts exist within the same literary and cultural world of Sultānate North India. Though the *Cāndāyan* is a Sufī narrative with its own agenda and the *Kīrttilatā* is undeniably brahminical in its purview, they offer inverse perspectives on the ostensible demographic of the other. The

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<sup>61</sup> a coarse fabric

<sup>62</sup> *Kīrttilatā* 2.40

<sup>63</sup> We can assume that within the group of “turukka”-s, there were Iranians, Afghans, in addition to the obvious Central Asian Turks.

<sup>64</sup> *Kīrttilatā* 2.41

*Cāndāyan* does not Indianize sufi theology or dogma, but rather grounds Indian experience, environment, and sensual culture as a new sphere of influence within a larger “Sufi world”, that has cultural currency with both the broader Persianate and Islamicate worlds. Inversely, the *Kīrttilatā* seeks to explain the presence of non-Indic authority and ethnic groups in India, already centuries old, in its own brahminical terms. Vidyāpati retains his privilege as a brahmin to criticize the impure actions of the urban dwellers of the city, but this is not limited to the Turk. The prostitutes, the degraded brahmins, and the Turks, although living in splendor, are degraded by their impure environment and circumstances. Although this may not be the central concern of the text, it reveals much about the Tirhuti and more broadly the brahminical perspective of the Islamicate in India. Any further study of the *Kīrttilatā* and its socio-historical context will benefit greatly from such an understanding.

### **Chapter 3: The Sultān: The Righteous Ruler**

So far, we have seen clear distinctions between “Hindu” and “Turk” are delineated on the basis of behavior. However, these observations are of the nameless masses and average citizens of Jaunpur. When Vidyāpati turns his attentions to the other main characters of the *Kīrttilatā*, Aslāna and Ibrahim Shah, criticism and praise is reserved for their status, violation or upholding of *Dharma*, and conduct on the field of battle, not their choice of meal. The characterization of Kīrttisimha, Ibrahim Shah, and even Aslāna as either Hindu or Muslim heroes and monarchs betrays Vidyāpati’s inventive and nuanced use of language and social observation in favor of an overly simplistic understanding based the presence of the Hindu and Turk as monikers. That Hindu and Turk cannot be read simplistically is all the clearer when we include Vidyāpati’s thoughts in his much later Sanskrit text, the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* (*The Test for Man[liness]*), written under the patronage of Śivasimha sometime in the mid-fifteenth century CE. Unlike the *Kīrttilatā*, which is ostensibly set in real-time and space, the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* mutates historical reality into narrative time. Historical figures are mythologized not in the bardic fashion of the *Rasāu* traditions or even in a heroic fashion as in the Rāmāyaṇa or the Purāṇas, but rather as didactic narrative characters. George A. Grierson (1851-1941), whose translation of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* is the only existing complete English translation available<sup>65</sup>, cited this text as an example of Sanskrit narrative literature. He envisioned this text to be in the same tradition as the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Pancatantras*, and the various *Kathās*. Early East India Company officials included the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* as part of their Civil Service curriculum. It seemed to have struck a

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<sup>65</sup> George A. Grierson, *The Test of a Man, being the Purusha-parīkṣhā of Vidyâpati Ṭhakkura*. (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1935).

chord with colonial officials in the sense that it preserved many of the simple didactic tales of earlier narrative literatures and focused on issues of statecraft and morality, but did away with the “unreal” and “fable-like” aspects of the older texts which relied on animal tales, religion, and stock literary devices<sup>66</sup>. Even at this period, Vidyāpati was recognized for his innovation in using elements of standard genres but not being limited by them.

The *Puruṣaparīkṣā* is a collection of forty-four (or forty-two depending on how they are divided) stories framed by a simple yet recognizable narrative. For our purposes in comparing Vidyāpati’s distilled and crystalized vision of manliness and statecraft in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* and the more pragmatic and contextually specific characterizations of the “heroes” of the *Kīrttilatā*, there is no need to delve in to the specificities of each of the narratives. It is useful enough to discuss only the frame narrative and the inclusion Muslim historical figures who are eulogized thereafter. In this regard, I am heavily drawing upon the work of Sunil Kumar<sup>67</sup> and Pankaj Jha<sup>68</sup>, who both have rightly drawn attention to this important text.

In the frame story, a king called Pārāvara seeks a suitable match for his young daughter Padmāvatī. To further this goal he entreats a sage named “Subuddhi” (Good-minded) to tell him what kind of man he should find for his daughter. The sage begins by warning the king off choosing those suitors who have only the physical appearance of a man, or only superficially men (*puruṣākārāḥ*). This greatly confuses King Pārāvara who inquire what measure he should

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<sup>66</sup> Pankaj Kumar Jha, “Beyond the local and universal: Exclusionary strategies of expansive literary cultures in fifteenth century Mithila,” *Indian Economic & Social History Review* (2014): 12.

<sup>67</sup> Sunil Kumar. “Bandagī and Naukarī: Studying Transitions in Political Culture and Service under the North Indian Sultānates, Thirteenth-Sixteenth Centuries.” In *After Timur Left: Culture and Circulation in Fifteenth-Century North India*, edited by Francesca Orsini and Samira Sheikh. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014): 90-97.

<sup>68</sup> Jha, “Beyond the local and universal: Exclusionary strategies of expansive literary cultures in fifteenth century Mithila”.



apply as he continues to inspect the men (the *puruṣaparīkṣā*). Subuddhi then describes the three categories of real men: the heroes (*vīrāḥ*), the wise ones (*sudhiyaḥ*), and those skilled in a particular branch of knowledge or skill (*savidyāḥ*). All subsequent tales are illustrative examples of these categories. These categories represent a distilled and formalized theory of manhood that is informed to a great degree in its detail by Vidyāpati's earlier text, the *Kīrttilatā*. The categories of the hero and the wise ones are particularly poignant. In the various tales of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* it becomes clear that the *vīra* is emboldened by the wise and enacts their will in the realm of men. It is relevant to this project because it nicely encapsulates the relationship between Kīrttisimha and the Sultān Ibrahim Shah.

So he [the Sultān] is sagacious and you [Kīrttisimha] are full of virtue. He is very devout, you are pure; he is merciful and you have been dethroned; he desires victory and you are a great hero; he is a king and you a king-sage; He is a Sultān, the lord of the earth, and you are a prince. If you serve with one mind, then without a doubt some solution will be found.<sup>69</sup>

We see here that Vidyāpati is establishing a direct comparison between the figure of the Sultān and Kīrttisimha. Clearly, the Sultān is cast in a passive role as arbiter of wisdom, mercy, and the source of wish-fulfilment. Kīrttisimha is then cast as the agent of the Sultān's will. In serving this ideal man of type two (the *sudhiyaḥ*), the hero (*vīrāḥ*) is able to obtain his desires. In this case, if Kīrttisimha serves the will of Ibrahim Shah with the motive of retaking his homeland. During this passage, a clear distinction is made between “he/him” (*U*) and “you” (*Tum/Tohe*). While general positive virtues that can be said to be possessed of any worthy monarch, are ascribed to Ibrahim Shāh, certain terms are used only in reference to Kīrttisimha. The Sultān is described as “pious” (*sadhambha*) while Kīrttisimha alone is “pure” (*suddha*). This could be in reference to

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<sup>69</sup> Kīrttilatā 3.15.

the ritual superiority of Kīrttisīmha not only as a Hindu, but also as a Brahmin, while giving simultaneous due reverence to the Shāh. In this interesting simultaneous praise of both royal figures in unison and apposition, we see how they both fulfill the two distinct functions of an Indic ruler. Firstly, Ibrahim Shah is the kingmaker and Emperor (*Bādshāh*), he wields temporal authority and military might. In apposition, not opposition is Kīrttisīmha who is the Sage-King-Brāhmaṇa and prince. By separating these two non-conflicting roles between two figures, Vidyāpati manages to give a clear picture as to the way subsidiary Hindu monarchs could maintain their own royal prestige, while seeking the help, blessings, and favor of frequently transitory Islamicate kingdoms in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. In this fashion, the *Kīrttilatā* can be seen as a sort of prototype that would not be out of place amongst the other stories of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*. There is a sense of comfort and habit with which Vidyāpati casts both the “Hindu” prince and the foreign, Muslim Sultān alike, as “real men”. Religious affiliation is not the primary criterion upon which Vidyāpati arbitrates the status of a “true man” or a worthy character to study in his *Puruṣaparīkṣā*.

The stories include narrative tellings of the exploits of a surprising variety of historical figures. Vikramāditya, Ala-u-Din Khilji, Jaichand of Kannauj, and Muhammad Tughlaq are perhaps the most prominent of these historical characters who span the breadth of the Gangetic plain. In the tale of Muhammad Tughluq, two “Hindu” princes, Narasimhadeo of Mithila and Chachikadeo Chauhan are asked by the Sultān to defeat a rebellious local Muslim ruler. Vidyāpati calls this rebellious king “*Kāfira Rāja*” (the Infidel King). As Sunil Kumar notices, this represents a uniquely creative moment in Vidyāpati’s composition. The juxtaposition of the religiously-loaded Arabic term *kāfir* and the Indic term for a ruler, *rāja*, transgresses the

normative social and historical distinctions based on religion and ethnicity that one may expect. This creative assimilation of foreign language and social groups into Sanskritic literary reasoning is a unique contribution of Vidyāpati for the new age of cultural pluralism in the fifteenth century<sup>70</sup>.

The examples of masculinity in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* represent Vidyāpati's ideology of kingship and informs us of his understanding the political landscape of Northern India in the fifteenth century in which pluralism was the norm. The *Kīrttilatā* then represents a case study of this ideological position, wherein status and position override religious or ethnic identity. The figure of Ibrahim Shah, in his position as Sultān and as political superior to the tributary princes of Tirhut. In addition to describing the vibrancy of urban productive and artistic life during in Jaunpur, we are given a few very intriguing scenes in which both Ibrahim Shāh and other 'Turks' are mentioned. The general sense that Vidyāpati gives us in his comparisons is that Ibrahim Shāh is a god-king and protector of the universe and his Jaunpur is a '*devpura*', [city of the gods]:

There, the hall of assembly was above all<sup>71</sup> the [others of the] earth.  
There, the poor urgently brought their business, to the King.  
There, both enemies and friends, everyone, bow their heads [in reverence].  
There was much happiness, grace, and [appropriate] punishment.  
In that place, everyone came to know of the allotment of their own good or bad fortunes.  
This *Badshah* is above them all, and above him is found [only] the Creator.<sup>72</sup>

This puts Ibrahim in the position of the both the decider of fates and the divine intercessor through which all desires can be fulfilled and enacted upon. This is very much in accordance to

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<sup>70</sup> Sunil Kumar. "Bandagī and Naukarī: Studying Transitions in Political Culture and Service under the North Indian Sultānates, Thirteenth-Sixteenth Centuries," 93.

<sup>71</sup> सएल - ApHK - (Skt. सकल > Pkt. सयल) adj. 1. all, whole, complete.

<sup>72</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.56

the purpose the two princes had in seeking this Bādshāh's help. We are also given a composite picture of the populace of Jaunpur and the direct interactions of residents of different religions.

The houses of the Hindus and Muslims were mixed together, between them was some enmity.

In some places the call to prayer is heard and in other places the recitation of the Vedas.

In some places there is the halal slaughter of animals and in others ritual sacrifices.

There are both witch doctors and Khvājās.

Some people keep night-long fasts and some people observe the fast of Ramadan.<sup>73</sup>

It seems that since the founding of the city a few decades earlier, the Hindu and Muslim residents have integrated themselves in terms of residency and business. Vidyāpati gives us a clue that there was a tinge of conflict, but it is ambiguous. This however should not be taken as a modern form of communalism. Vidyāpati could be projecting his own region's more limited exposure to urban Islamic culture. Tirhut in its own esteem and in the view of surrounding regions was a center of Brahminical learning and purity. It saw itself as a pure bastion of classical culture. It could be a willful move towards self-aggrandizement in the face of "persecution", a sort of Brahminical advertising for Tirhut (i.e. such atrocities would never happen there). It could also be an oversimplification of socio-political competition amongst different social groups vying for power in a new administration. Whatever the case, this sort of distinction of Hindu and Muslim religious culture is only mentioned in one verse. In the verses that focus specifically on the royal court and the Sultān himself, there is a very distinct lack of reference to anything overtly

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<sup>73</sup> Kīrttilatā 2.46.

Islamic. The only distinguishing feature of the ‘foreigners’ at court is their ‘Turk’ eponym, the king too is excluded from even this moniker. There is never any direct reference to the Sultāns ethnicity or religion. If he is to be accepted by Vidyāpati and his patrons as the source of authority, he needs to be removed from all mundane classifications and given the sole identity of a sovereign. He is only the *Bādshāh*, King of kings.

Eventually, the princes present their case before Ibrahim Shah who flies into a terrifying fit of rage after hearing that a lowly warrior has usurped his tributary power in Tirhut. From Vidyāpati’s description, it is made out to be the king’s own natural sense of Dharma and justice that are so offended. The mark of any honorable king from whom you would seek refuge. This makes the act of subjugation on the part of the two Oinvāra princes more tolerable to the Maithili readership, who would have otherwise seen a contradiction in the overarching panegyric tones Vidyāpati’s text and the endless extolment of this ‘foreign’ king who would not have been able to read the Avahaṭṭha text. This speaks to issues of the cosmopolis versus the parochial/regional. This text might have had a function as a ceremonial panegyric text for the Jaunpuri royalty, but without any historical evidence we only have the ability to speculate on the circulation of the text after its production. A language like Avahaṭṭha, which is regionally inflected, could not have had the mass appeal of the vernacular or the cultural prestige of a cosmopolitan language like Sanskrit. Therefore the manner of portrayal of the Turks, the Sultān, and Aslāna, were all for the benefit of the Avahaṭṭha/Tirhuti audience.

## **Conclusion**

As has been demonstrated, the relationship and interactions between “Hindus” and “Muslims” in the pre-Mughal period is far more nuanced than previously thought. We cannot simplify their socio-cultural encounters as entirely combative. In the same measure, we also cannot describe their relationship as blissful ecumenicism. It is helpful to read pre-modern texts, like Vidyāpati’s *Kīrttilatā* for what the text actually says, not as an antidote or fuel for modern communal identities or violence. Vidyāpati tells us that there was violence, but never presented such violence as the will or exclusive activity of the “Muslim” other. Instead, he singles out the “Turk”, a socio-ethnic and occupational group, Aslāna (the antagonist), and the Sultān Ibrahim Shah as varying examples of Muslim ethical behavior. This might not have been Vidyāpati’s intention, but it is a noticeable feature of the text.

In the first main chapter, the violence and friction of the bustling bazaars and outskirts of the city of Jaunpur took our attention. We saw that Vidyāpati perseverated on the cultural habits that were at odds with his own Brahminical background. Similarly, he decried and lamented for the fallen Brahmins and women of the city, who have given up their *dharma* on their own, not out of coercion. The Sultān himself keeps the peace. This demonstrates that this text cannot be read as a narrative of Hindu-Muslim conflict exclusively, it is more about the mixing and understanding of foreign cultures from a Brahminical perspective.

In the second chapter, I sought to contextualize the city-scape (*nagara-varṇana*) of the *Kīrttilatā* with that of Maulana Daud’s *Candāyana*. I endeavored to show that both

texts speak about similar urbane landscapes and exist within the same literary matrix in pre-Mughal North India. Their perspectives are reversed. The *Kīrttilatā* speaks from region to nation, from Hindu to “Turk”; while the *Candāyana* speaks from the Islamicate/Sufi cosmopolis to the local, and from the “Islamic” to the Hindu/folk. This study is a useful tool for understanding why Vidyāpati expressed what he expressed about the denizens of Jaunpur and why he wrote such a text in the locally exclusive language of Avahatṭha.

In the last chapter, the character of the historical Sultān Ibrahim Shah, demonstrates another level of social differentiation that mattered to Vidyāpati more than religious affiliation, that of status and authority. In the *Kīrttilatā*, there were examples of praise and exaltation on the part of Vidyāpati and his patrons for the Islamic Sultān Ibrahim Shah. His prowess in battle and righteousness in rule elevated him above the crude Turks into near godhood. This new type of “foreign” authority was sublimated into the Indic imagination in texts like the *Kīrttilatā* and the *Puruṣaparīkṣa*.

This study represents only an initial foray in to the social analysis of this important text. It would contribute greatly to our understanding of North India during this time period if scholars from a variety of disciplines were to take this text under serious consideration. Students of linguistics would find it fascinating for its unique and adaptive language. Historians might find interesting corroborations from their historical research on Bihar. It is my hope that my translations and initial analysis will spark some interest in this neglected text.

## **Part II**

Text & Translation



## Structure

There is an overt pun (skt. श्लेष) included in the title of the text. *Kīrttilatā*, can be read two ways. It can be read as the “Vine (-latā) of Glory (Kīrtti-)” or as the “Tale of Kīrttisimha”. Each of the four sections of the text are then called “pallavas” or tender new leaves on that vine. The *Kīrttilatā*, at the largest scale, is divided into four pallavas. These sections are divided more or less equally, save for the first pallava, which does little more than offer a standard invocation to the gods, the heroes Kīrttisimha and Vīrasimha, and to Vidyāpati's patron Śivasimha. The first pallava also introduces the main characters: Kīrttisimha, Vīrasimha, Aslān, and Gaṇeśvara, and the events that lead to the two princes leaving for Jaunpur to seek the help of Ibrahim Shāh in retaking their kingdom from Aslān, who had murdered their father Gaṇeśvara. The second and third pallavas have a slightly more arbitrary arrangement and represent the central core of the narrative. The second is roughly the story of the departure of the two princes from Tirhut/Mithila, their journey to Jaunpur, their initial shock and awe at the mere sight of the city of Jaunpur, and their initial encounters and dismay with the local Turkic residents. The third pallava, being much shorter, largely consist of the reception of the two Maithili princes into the darbar of the Shārqi Sultān Ibrahim Shāh. Before meeting the king, they make a note about the culture of the court and the notable figures that are present. All of this contributes to a sense of awe and reverence once the two princes finally meet the Sultān himself. There is a brief exchange between the three about the state of affairs in Tirhut, but even in the text you can get a sense that the Bādshāh has other things on his mind. The affairs of this tiny "Hindu" kingdom are secondary to his more ambitious political

projects in regards to Bengal. However, at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth pallava, we are made to believe that the righteous Bādshāh, in order to maintain Dharma and political stability, agrees to muster the troops at once. The fourth pallava is mostly about the awe-inspiring and heroic forces of the Sultān that set forth with two princes and the retaking of Tirhut from the rogue Afghan warlord Aslāna. Because of their content, the second and third *pallavas* will be the focus of my analysis.

Below I have provided a table with the breakdown of verses, sections, and lines:

<i>Pallavas</i>	Verse Count	# of lines
1	29	105
2	49	261
3	32	162
4	51	258

### Manuscripts

Because of the design and scope of the Master's thesis project, I will not be able to make use of any primary manuscript of the Kīrttilatā. I am in the process of trying to request three microfilm copies of three manuscripts held by the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP). It would be helpful to get an idea of what they look like, why they were copied and patronized by the Malla Kings of Nepal, and if there are any discrepancies between the manuscript and edited editions. Below are the details of the three copies they have available.

Title/Reel#/Inventory#	<u>Kīrtilatā/A-376-21/35329</u>	<u>Kīrtilatā/B 16-1</u>	<u>Kīrtilatā/C 77-2(5)</u>
Script	<u>Newari</u>	Maithili	<u>Devanagari</u>
State	<u>complete</u>	?	?
Dimensions	23.3 x 8.8cm x 28 folios	28.5 x 4cm x 37 folios	24.2 x 6.6cm x 227 folios
Material	Paper?	Palm-leaf	Palm-leaf
Scribe	<u>Daivajña Nārāyaṇasinhā</u>	?	?
Date of Copying	NS 747	?	?
Date of Filming	05-07-1972	?	?
King	<u>Jayajājotimall</u> a	?	?
Place of Deposit	NAK	NAK	<u>Kesar</u>

## Editions

With that said, I will be relying on several printed and edited editions of the text, along with their respective Hindi, Sanskrit, and Bengali translations and commentaries. Most of the editors of these texts are historical linguists with a keen eye on the irregularity of manuscript editions. They mark clearly when there is a discrepancy between texts, how they came to their conclusions, and what sources they were looking at. For the purposes of the MA thesis, this level of textual surety will be adequate. Below is a list of the editions that I have consulted in chronological order:

1. Śrīharaprasāda Śāstrī, trans., *Kīrttilatā: Bāṅglā o Iṅgrājī Anuvāda Sameta*. Rṣikeśa Series 9, (Calcutta: Kalikātā Oriental Press, 1924)
2. Baburām Sakṣena, trans. *Kīrttilatā*. Granthamala Series 36. (Varanasi: Nagari Pracarini Sabha: 1964).
3. Vīrendra Śrīvāstava, trans., *Kīrttilatā*. (Pataṇā: Bihāra-Rāṣṭrabhāṣā-Parīṣad, 1983).
4. Śaśīnātha Jhā, trans., *Vidyāpati kṛt Kīrttilatā: Mūla Avahaṭṭha kāvya, sanskṛta chāyāvād, pāṭhabheda, hindī anuvāda evaṁ viśṛta bhūmikā sahita*, (Darbhanga: Ramana Press, 1997).

Three editions by and for Hindi language scholars, such as, Virendra Srivastav , Baburam Sakṣena, and Sasinath Jha. They all focus on the developments of language during this "proto-new Indo-Aryan" phase. Although all Hindi language editions, they come from very different places in the chronological and geographic history of Hindi language scholarship. Virendra Srivastav and Sasinath Jha were both Maithili scholars situated in Bihar. Their perspectives tell us much about the memory of Vidyāpati's non-poetic literary contributions to the formation of Maithili identity through literature. They all developed their perspectives through the Maithili language movement which still seeks to recognize Maithili as a separate language from Hindi.<sup>74</sup>

Baburam Saksena offers a top-down view of the Hindi Nationalist establishment and an air of authority when speaking of linguistic matters. As a non-Bihar based scholar, providing an edition sponsored by the Nāgari Pracāriniṁ Sabhā in Varanasi, his perspective tends to situate this text and its constituent historical narrative as part of a larger history of Indian and Hindi national literary heritage.

The Bengali edition of the *Kīrttilatā*, by Sriharaprasad Sastri, predates the others and does not differ significantly in its focus on the linguistic history of late Middle Indo-Aryan and "proto-New Indo-Aryan" languages, though perhaps situating Avahatṭha more squarely in the Bengali/Eastern Indo-Aryan group of languages. Sastri's introduction is highly engaging, in that he includes many anecdotes of s old Maithili scholars of speaking about Vidyāpati and his works. This is interesting for the fluid nature of

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<sup>74</sup> see, Paul R. Brass, "The Maithili Movement in North Bihar," in *Language, Religion, and Politics in North India*, Paul R. Brass (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 51-181.

Vidyāpati's language and its effect on later languages and their literary canons (especially Hindi and Bangla). He also provides a more critical biography of the poet, questioning his supposed lifespan of 150 years. Tucked away in the back of this edition, there is also a translation of the *Kīrttilatā* rendered into English prose. I have chosen to not read this text until after I have made a preliminary translation. By comparing these editions, not only for their scribal discrepancies, but for their different perspectives on language and narrative, I have created a well-rounded approach to creating my own translation of Vidyāpati's text.

For the text of my selected verses, I have chose to use the text as printed in Sasinatha Jha's 1997 Hindi language edition.<sup>75</sup> His perspective is a valuable mixture of all of the preceding translators and editors. His is the latest translation by far and has benefit greatly from the perspectives and efforts of all previous editions. He is a Maithili scholar from Bihar as well, and while he might be informed by the Maithili movement, he is of a later generation than the original language movement. He adds valuable linguistic insight from the homeland of this text and language. He has also provided valuable notes in Hindi and Sanskrit on each of the verse and prose portions.

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<sup>75</sup> Śaśīnātha Jhā, *Vidyāpati kṛt Kīrttilatā*.

### **General Structure of “Avahaṭṭha”**

Avahaṭṭha, the language of the Kīrttilatā, has been the primary area of interest for Hindi and Bengali linguists studying Middle and Early New Indo-Aryan languages. Avahaṭṭha has been described as a late period Magadhi Apabrahmśa. This however only gives a partial picture. The fluidity between Maithili and Avahaṭṭha is an important feature to consider to understand language identity and literary choice in Mithila. The liberal use of Perso-Arabic loanwords further complicates any sort of preconceived exclusivity within the literary exchange between Mithila and the various Sultānates. An analysis and consideration of the usages of language will be central to this study, while remaining ancillary to the subjects of cross-cultural encounters and urban literary landscapes. I have decided to retain the debate over language as an aspect of this project because Vidyāpati himself tells us why he chose to write in Avahaṭṭha:

Desila vayanā saba jana miṭṭha, te taisana jampau avahaṭṭha||13||

...Everyone finds their own country's language sweet; therefore I write in Avahaṭṭha.<sup>76</sup>

There is additional clue as to why Vidyāpati chooses to write his first sponsored composition in Avahaṭṭha as opposed to Sanskrit like his later work. There are a surprising number of Persian and Arabic loanwords to describe the activity of the Turks. It suggests a familiarity with the culture of the “Turks” and Muslims in general, but perhaps a linguistic reservation or limitation in appropriating them in Sanskrit. Therefore, the quasi-vernacular Apabrahmśa seems to be the

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<sup>76</sup> Kīrttilatā. 1.13

most appropriate vehicle to describe foreign people and concepts without violating the inviolate sanctity of Sanskrit.

Defining Avahaṭṭha is a difficult endeavor. It is variously described as simply Apabhraṃśa, an archaic form of Eastern vernaculars, or a particular literary flavor of late Middle Indo-Aryan. The first attestation of the word “Avahaṭṭha” is in Jyotirīśvara Ṭhakura’s *Varṇaratnākara* (c. 1326 CE). In this “Compendium of Descriptions”, there is described a list of six literary languages along with Sanskrit, Prakrit, Paisācī, and Śauraseni<sup>77</sup>. Avahaṭṭha is also mentioned by Varṇśīdhara in his *Prākṛta Paṇḍitām* (c. 9-10th cent. CE) and by Addahamāṇa (a.k.a. Abdurrahman) in the *Sandēśarāsaka* (c. 11th cent. CE). The formulae of the six languages (*ṣaṭbhāṣā*) appears elsewhere without explicitly mentioning Avahaṭṭha, but it is possible included with Apabhraṃśa. Many of the authors, like Vidyāpati and Addahamāṇa, who composed in Avahaṭṭha also composed in other Prakrits and Sanskrit. Avahaṭṭha has sometimes been identified as the Apabhraṃśa that immediately preceded and resulted in Maithili<sup>78</sup>. This would ignore the geographical distribution of other works described as written in the same language and the fact that authors like Vidyāpati wrote in both Avahaṭṭha and in Maithili. Although nothing definitive can be said about standard features of Avahaṭṭha, several common elements are noticeable. Here are my current first-hand observations:

1. The phonetic simplifications that were characteristic of early forms of Prakrit underwent more exaggerated simplifications.
2. Noun forms and their boundaries (vis-à-vis nominal compounds) in Avahaṭṭha became more static and well-defined. This is similar to the very clear nominal boundaries in New Indo-Aryan languages.

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<sup>77</sup> Śivaprasāda Simha, *Kīrttilatā aurā Avahaṭṭha Bhāṣā* (New Delhi: Vāṇī Prakāśana, 1955), 3.

<sup>78</sup> Bābūrāma Saksenā, *Kīrttilatā* (Kāśī: Nāgarī-Pracārīṇī Sabhā, 1964), 8.

3. The importance and usage of postpositions is noticeable in comparison to early forms of Prakrit, which relied on both postpositions and inflection. In addition, several distinctively Avahatṭha postpositions, some of which were later developed in NIA languages, came into use: सम, सरिसु, हुँतउ, द्वियउ, रेसि, लग्गि, तणि, महि, केर, उप्परि, etc.
4. An influx of new vocabulary from a variety of sources and through further standardization of Apabhraṃśa substantives led to diglossification and non-intelligibility between Avahatṭha and other Apabhraṃśas removed by geography and time.
5. The presence of *tatsama* words (direct Sanskrit loanwords) is clearly noticeable. Several scholars have put this down to the fact that a large portion of the Avahatṭha literary corpus was composed by Brahmins<sup>79</sup>.
6. Avahatṭha might represent the first example of a large number of foreign loanwords (mostly Persian) subsumed into a North Indian MIA language. Besides the expected phonetic transformations, writers in Avahatṭha use Perso-Arabic vocabulary in unique and innovative ways. For example, in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, Vidyāpati describes a rebellious Muslim character as *Kāfira Rāya*, or the “Infidel King”. A heavily loaded socio-religious Arabic word like *kāfir* is repurposed to have an equivalent meaning to “barbarian” (*yāvāna* or *mleccha*).
7. An additional set of suffixes with a variety of usages come into use that break traditional metric standards: -अ, -इ, -अल, -उल्ल, etc.
8. Short syllables are often lengthened and long syllables shortened. This reflects a progressional development from Prakrit/Apabhraṃśa, rather than any strict progression directly from Sanskrit.
9. Aspiration often reflects a previous consonant cluster.
10. Gemination might reflect a consonant cluster, but might also might be random.
11. The increased usage of prose in Apabhraṃśa and Avahatṭha demonstrates different syntactic and phrasal patterns than available in earlier Indo-Aryan languages.

## 1. Nouns

### 1.1 Cases

Avahatṭha retains the use of the case system in an almost artificial sense. The case markers straddle the line between independent post-positions, as is common in New Indo-Aryan languages, and agglutinative suffixes of earlier Prakrits and Sanskrit. Indeed, many recensions have broken the words and their case markers into separate units. All seven cases seem to be extant, though in different proportions.

<sup>79</sup> Shambhunath Pandey, *Apabhraṃśa Aura Avahatta: Ek Antaryātrā* (Delhi: Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1979), 42.



Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	-	आ
Accusative	- , जे (ए), हिं, कां	हि, कै
Instrumental	ऐं, जे, एन, ए, हि	एहिं, हि
Dative	काँ, कै, के, लागि, कारण	
Ablative	ते, सजो, तह, चाहि	
Genitive	क, करो, करि, करी, के, केर, केरा, करेओ, कइ, को, काँ, ह, र	केरा
Locative	- , ए, अँ, माँझ, हिं	

## 1.2 Pronominals

Pronominals are limited to certain “cases” in certain persons. This is largely because of the nature of the narrative text, privileging the third and first persons. These forms resemble those of Avadhi, Maithili, and sometimes Modern Standard Hindi.

1st Person	Singular	Plural
Nominative	मोजे, हजो, मो, मोरहुँ, महु	
Genitive	मझु, मज्झु, मुज्झ, मजे	अम्ह, अम्हह

2nd Person	Singular	Plural
Nominative	तोजे,	तोहिं,
Accusative	तोके, तुम्ह	तोहें, तुम्हें
Genitive	तुज्झु, तुज्झ	

3rd Person	Singular	Plural
Nominative	ओ,ता, से, सो	ओहु, ताहि
Accusative	तं	तान्हि, तौन, तेन्ने, तेन्हे
Genitive	ओकरा, तसु	तन्हिकरी, तासु

### **Demonstratives**

*Simple* - ई, एहि, एही, एहु

*Manner* - अइस, अइसो

*Amount* - एत्तिअ

*Location* - एत्ता, इथिहि,

### **Relatives**

*Nominative* - जे, जो

*Genitive* - जसु, जासु, जस्स

*“Instrumental”* - जमण, जओन (जौन), जेन्ने

*Locative* - जाहि

*Accusative/Oblique* - जं, जन्हि

### **Interrogatives**

कमन (1.6) , कओन, कमने, किमि, की, को, काई, केन, कइ, कोउ, कोए, काह, काहु, केउ, केबि, किछु, किच्छु, कस, कतेहु, कतहु, कत्त, कइसे

### **Reflexive**

अप्प, अप्पु, अपने, अपनेजो, अपनि, अपनेहुँ, आपे, आपुकरो

## **2.0 Verbal System**

The number of variations and examples are disproportionally in of the third person because of the nature of the narrative text. Aspect markers in the past and future tenses feature both eastern and western NIA variants.

### **2.1 Simple Present**

1<sup>st</sup> Person: -जो — करजो

-ओं — करों

2<sup>nd</sup> Person: -सि — करसि

-हि — करहि

3<sup>rd</sup> Person: -अ — कर

-अइ — करइ

-अए — करए

-अथि — करथि

-अहि (plural) — करहि

### **2.2 Past**

1<sup>st</sup> Person: गउँ, आएउँ

2<sup>nd</sup> Person: करिअउ, दिअउ

3<sup>rd</sup> Person: -इअ — लिहिअ

-ज्जिअ — लिज्जिअ

-अउ — हुअउ (हुअ), भउ

-एओ —

-उ — धरु, पसरु

-ईआ — चारीआ

-ल — भेल, मारल, हारल

### **2.3 Future**

\*The simple present is used for immediate future.

1<sup>st</sup> Person: -सइ — होसइ

-इह — करिह

-हइ — धरिहइ  
-ज्जिह — धरिज्जिह  
-त — लागत

#### 2.4 Imperative/Subjunctive

1<sup>st</sup> person: -जो — कहजो, सुनजो

2<sup>nd</sup> person: - कह, सुन

-हि — जाहि

-हु — कहहु,

-हिं — कहहिं

-ह — सज्जह

3<sup>rd</sup> person: -अउ — करउ, जाउ

#### 2.5 Auxiliary Verbs

This verb set is primarily derived from the Sanskrit roots, अस and भू. They are used infrequently outside of the prose (गद्य) passages and reflect Early Modern Maithili proclivities.

अछ, अछए, अच्छए, हो, हुअ, हुअउ, भा, भउ, रह

## **Kīrttilatā & Translation**

The text provided is that of the 1997 Jha edition.<sup>80</sup> I have not translated the entire *Kīrttilatā*. This is a selection of verses that best represent the overall narrative and the descriptions of people and places that were critical and central to this study. I have left out those verse which are repetitive, do not advance the narrative, or do not describe the characters and places that were necessary for this study. The translation is my own.

### **Pallava 1**

#### **Pallava 1.6**

[दोहा]

तिहुअन खेतहि काइं तसु कित्तिवल्लि पसरेइ ।

अक्खर खम्भारम्भ जउ मञ्चो बन्दि न देइ ॥६॥

How<sup>81</sup> will the vine of his<sup>82</sup> [Kīrttisimha] glory spread<sup>83</sup> in the three worlds<sup>84</sup>,  
When the stage is not built upon the foundational pillars<sup>85</sup> of [my] letters?

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<sup>80</sup> Śaśinātha Jhā, *Vidyāpati kṛt Kīrttilatā*.

<sup>81</sup> काइं — APHK = (MSH) कैसे (also cited in J. pp. 2, 14, 18)

<sup>82</sup> तसु - 3P.Gen.

<sup>83</sup> पसरेइ - Imp. with Sub. meaning. APHK = to spread (around) (Skt. >प्र+√सृ, (also cited in V. & N. 3, 8, 12,))

<sup>84</sup> तिहुअन — APHK. (skt. त्रिभूवन) 1. The three worlds.

<sup>85</sup> खम्ब - OHED 1. pillar.

### Pallava 1.7

तें मजे भणजो निरुढि कए जइसओ तइसओ कब्ब ।

खल खलत्तणें दूसिहइ सुअण पसंसइ सब्ब ॥२॥

For that reason, I recite<sup>86</sup>, having composed this praise<sup>87</sup>, though it is only mediocre poetry. The evil ones<sup>88</sup> will point out my faults just for a laugh<sup>89</sup>, the good<sup>90</sup> will all praise<sup>91</sup> me.

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<sup>86</sup> भणजो — ApHK - भण-, 1. to say.

<sup>87</sup> निरुढि — ApHK 1. fame, glory.

<sup>88</sup> दूसिहइ — ApHK. - root दूस (Skt. दूष् > Pkt. दूस) 1. the corrupted, the wicked, the downgraded.

<sup>89</sup> खलत्तणें — ApHK - 1. to play, Inf.; This seems to me to be a proto-oblique case (taking over the responsibility of the dative of purpose) (खेलने के लिए in MSH.) (KL and Pr.Pg.)

<sup>90</sup> सुअण — ApHK - (Skt. सुजन > Pkt. सुयण) 1. good, righteous person/people (Pr.Pg.)

<sup>91</sup> पसंसइ — ApHK (Skt. प्र+शंस) - 1. to praise.

### Pallava 1.8

सुअण पसंसइ कब्ब मझु, दुज्जन बोलइ मन्द।  
अवसओ विसहर विस वमइ, अमिअ विमुक्कइ चन्द॥८॥

The good will praise my<sup>92</sup> poetry and the wicked will call it base<sup>93</sup>,  
As surely as<sup>94</sup> the snake vomits poison and nectar<sup>95</sup> cascades<sup>96</sup> from the moon.

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<sup>92</sup> मझु — ApHK 1P.Gen.

<sup>93</sup> मन्द — ApHK. 1. adj. lazy, unlearned.

<sup>94</sup> अवसओ — ApHK. = (Skt. अवश्यम् > Pkt. अवसम्) 1. Of course, necessarily. (Pr.Pg. & Js.)

<sup>95</sup> अमिअ — ApHK. - (Skt. अमृत > Pkt. अमिय) 1. Nectar. (Pr.Pg. & K.)

<sup>96</sup> विमुक्कइ — ApHK - root विमंच- (Skt. वि+मुच) 1. to release.; lit. “The moon releases nectar”.

### **Pallava 1.9**

सज्जन चिन्तइ मनहि मने, मित्त करिअ सब कोए।  
वेर करन्ता मुज्झ जइ, दुज्जन वैरि न होए॥९॥

The gentleman thinks to himself that everyone should be made a friend.

“Even if someone were to make me [their] enemy, even then, [I] would not show enmity<sup>97</sup>”.

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<sup>97</sup> There is a bit of confusion here as to the who is showing enmity and to whom it is shown. I have taken the second line as an illustrative bit of direct speech and a didactic intrusion on part of the author.



### Pallava 1.10

बालचन्द्र बिज्जाबड् भासा, दुहु नहि लग्गइ दुज्जन हासा।  
ओ परमेसर सेहर सोहइ, ई णिच्चइ नाअर मन मोहइ॥१०॥

Both the crescent moon and the language of Vidyāpati<sup>98</sup> are untouched by the  
ridicule of the wicked.

For the moon attains beauty throned on the headdress<sup>99</sup> of the Śiva and Vidyāpati's  
language certainly<sup>100</sup> enchants the minds of the cosmopolitan person<sup>101</sup>.

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<sup>98</sup> बिज्जाबड् — ApHK. - Vidyāpati. “विज्जा” is elsewhere cited to be >Skt. विद्या (Pr.Pg.)

<sup>99</sup> सेहर — HSS सेहरा - 1. headdress.

<sup>100</sup> णिच्चइ — ApHK. 1. ind. adv. certainly.

<sup>101</sup> नाअर — ApHK. (Skt. नागर > Pkt. णागर > MSH. नागरिक) - 1. city-dweller.

### Pallava 1.11

का परबोधजो कमन मनावजो  
किमि नीरस मन रस लए लाबजो।  
जइ सुरसा होसइ मझु भासा,  
जो बुज्झिह सो करिह पसंसा॥११॥

In what manner ought I explain<sup>102</sup> and whom<sup>103</sup> should I convince<sup>104</sup>?  
How shall I bring<sup>105</sup> and fill with *rasa* a mind that is without *rasa*?  
If<sup>106</sup> my language will be of good *rasa*,  
Then those who will understand will praise [it].

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<sup>102</sup> परबोधजो — ApHK 1. to explain.

<sup>103</sup> कमन — ApHK 1. Who? (Pr.Pg.)

<sup>104</sup> मनावजो — Seems to be a causative subjunctive form; theoretically MSH “मनायें”.

<sup>105</sup> लाबजो — ApHK - “to cause to reach” (पहुँचाना), “to take to”.

<sup>106</sup> जइ — ApHK - (Skt. यदि) 1. ind. If. (KL, K, PrPG).

### Pallava 1.12

मुहअर बुज्झइ कुसुम रस, कब्बह सार छइल्ल।

सज्जनपर उअआर मन, दुज्जन नाम मइल्ल॥१२॥

[As] the bee grasps the flower's nectar (*rasa*), the connoisseur<sup>107</sup> [grasps] the essence<sup>108</sup> of poetry

A good person's mind is always engaged for the sake<sup>109</sup> of others; [whereas, even] the wicked person is out to soil one's name.

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<sup>107</sup> छइल्ल — ApHK (Skt. छविमत् > Pkt. छविल्ल); 1. adj. clever, intelligent, discerning (DNM, SC, HV). 1. urbane, connoisseur of poetry (काव्य-रसिक).

<sup>108</sup> सार — ApHK 1. truth, essence (Js).

<sup>109</sup> उअआर — ApHK (Skt. उपकार ) 1. essence.

### Pallava 1.13

[चउपई]

सक्कअ वाणी बहुअन भावइ, पाउअ रस कोइ मम्म न पावइ।  
देसिल वअना सव जन मिट्ठा, तें तैसन जम्पओ अवहट्ठा॥१३॥

Sanskrit<sup>110</sup> is to the liking<sup>111</sup> of the learned<sup>112</sup>; no one gets the subtleties of Prakrit.  
The speech of [one's] own country all find sweet; for that reason<sup>113</sup>, I will tell<sup>114</sup> this  
[tale] in Avahatṭha.

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<sup>110</sup> सक्कअ — ApHK (skt. संस्कृत > pkt. सक्कय) 1. Sanskrit language.

<sup>111</sup> भावइ — ApHK (skt. भाव्य् ) 1. to like, to appreciate, to feel. (K, J).

<sup>112</sup> Many of the Hindi translations seem to think that बहुअन is derived from बुद्धिजन and I chose to retain this meaning. Some chose the lectio faciliior, where बहु- means simply “many”.

<sup>113</sup> तें तैसन — ApHK - (Skt. ते) 1. pl.pr. they. 2. ind. For those reason, therefore (KL, R); ApHK. (Skt. तादृश् ) 1. like this [MSH = वैसा].

<sup>114</sup> जम्पओ — ApHK - (Skt. v. root जप् > जल्प् > Pkt. जंप) 1. to say, tell. (K, PrPg, KL).

## **Pallava 2**

### **Pallava 2.2**

[षट्पद छन्द]

लक्कण सेन नरेस लिहिअ जवे पक्ख बे।  
तं महुमासहि पढम पक्ख पञ्चमी कहिअ जे॥  
रज्ज - लुद्ध असलान बुद्धि विक्कम बेल हारल।  
पास बइसि विसवासि राए गएणेसर मारल॥  
मारन्त राए रण-रोल पडु मेइनि हा-हा सद् हुअ।  
सुरराए नअर नाअर रमणि वाम नअन पप्फुरिअ धुअ॥२॥

[Now the Bee says...]

It is written<sup>115</sup> that in the year *samvat* 252 after the passing of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena<sup>116</sup>,  
in the first *pakṣa* (*kṛṣṇa pakṣa*) of the month of Madhu (Caitra) and on the 5<sup>th</sup> day.  
Aslān, covetous of the Kingdom, defeating [the King] with cunning, might, and valor,  
sat near to the King and seated nearby in trust, killed [King] Gaṇesvara.  
Upon slaying the King, the battlefield<sup>117</sup> of the skilled<sup>118</sup> [warriors] was filled with roar and  
the wails of lamentation resounded<sup>119</sup>.  
The left eyes of the lovely women of Indra's capitol must<sup>120</sup> have trembled.

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<sup>115</sup> लिहिअ — HGAp: लिहिअ <—Skt. लिखित, n.D.Pl. — ApHK - v. root. लिह (Skt. लिख् > Pkt. लिह) to write P.Pt.

<sup>116</sup> There is considerable debate as to the authenticity and meaning of this dating system. The “Lakṣmaṇa Samvat” was never used by the Sena court in Bengal. Several Bengali scholars have postulated that this dating system was used in later centuries to denote a dating system beginning at the birth, accession, or death of Lakṣmaṇa Sena (c 1178-1206 AD). This is highly arbitrary and the arithmetic only vaguely matches. This is however an interesting connection between the author Vidyāpati, and the court poet of the Sena's Jayadeva. *see*, Rakhaldas Banerji. Bāṅgālāra Itihāsa. (Kalikātā: Nabahārata Pābaliśārsa, 1971).

<sup>117</sup> मेइनि — CPED (P. maidan). 1. field.

<sup>118</sup> पडु - ApHK (Skt. पटु) 1. skilled, clever, masterful.

<sup>119</sup> सद् — ApHK - (skt. शब्द् > pkt. सद्) 1. to cry out, to voice. (Pr.Pg., K.).

<sup>120</sup> धुअ - ApHK (Skt. ध्रुवम्) 1. ind. certainly, for sure.

### Pallava 2.3

ठाकुर ठक भए गेल<sup>121</sup> चोरें चप्परि घर लिज्जिअ<sup>3</sup>।  
दासैं गोसाजुनि गहिअ धम्म गए धन्ध निमज्जअ<sup>6</sup>॥  
खलैं सज्जन परिभविअ कोइ नहि होइ विचारक।  
जाति-अजाति विवाह अधम उत्तम काँ पारक॥  
अक्खर रस बुज्जनहार नहि, कइकुल भमि भिक्खारि भउ।  
तिरहुत्ति तिरोहित सब्ब गुणें, रा गणेश जवे सगग गउ ॥३॥

Thakurs became thugs and through coercion<sup>122</sup>, homes were taken.

The servants became<sup>123</sup> the masters of the house. Dharma disappeared and work/professions/trades have declined.

The wicked extinguished<sup>124</sup> the good-folk and not one ‘thinker’ was left.

There was marriage between *jāti* and *ajāti* (untouchable). Who is there to care for<sup>125</sup> [what difference] that remained between high and low.

There were none remaining who understood the *Belles-lettres* [lit. connoisseur of rasa]. The clan of poets<sup>126</sup> became roaming beggars.

When the King Gaṇesvara went to heaven, all the [good] qualities were hidden<sup>127</sup> from Tirhut.

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<sup>121</sup> गेल - simple past of ग-गे- (to go); functions like MSH गया in Eastern Indic languages for a sense of completion.

<sup>122</sup> चप्परि — ApHK. adv. (skt. चपल) to coerce; to subdue, to suppress, to press down (KL, Js.)

<sup>123</sup> गहिअ — ApHK. being askew, crooked.

I have chosen to translate this simply as “became”, it gives the appropriate information of servants becoming masters.

<sup>124</sup> परिभविअ — ApHK. (skt. परभूत > MSH. पराभूत किया) to be defeated (KL only)

<sup>125</sup> पारक - ApHK (skt. पराय) 1. the caretaker, the carer.

<sup>126</sup> कइकुल — ApHK (skt. कवि + कुल) group of poets (KL only); Jha and Saxena agree.

<sup>127</sup> तिरोहित — ApHK - 1. adj. hidden.; there is alliteration (अनुप्रास) here occurring within the word “Tirhut”. This is a *yamaha*, or doubling up of the same word with two meanings. This is creative etymology that recasts the name of the country to fit its circumstances.

## Pallava 2.4

(रड्डा छन्द)

राए बधिअउ सन्त हुआ रोस॥

लज्जाइअ निअ मनहि अस तुरुक्क असलान गुन्तइ।

मन्द करिअ हजो कम्म, धम्म सुमरि निअ सीस धुन्तइ॥

एहि दुन्तअ उद्धार के, पुण्ण न देख्खों आन।

रज्ज समप्पजो, पुणु करजो, कित्तिसिंह-सम्मान॥४॥

Having killed the King, rage gave way to peace.

Ashamed, the Turk Aslān thought to himself,

“I have done a bad deed.” He beat<sup>128</sup> his head considering *Dharma*,

“To repent for this misdeed<sup>129</sup> I see no good deed.

I should return the kingdom and honor Kirttisimha.”

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<sup>128</sup> धुन्नइ - ApHK (Skt. धू-) 1. to beat (with the palms).

<sup>129</sup> दुन्नअ - ApHK (Skt. दुर्नय) 1. bad/evil deed or action.

**Pallava 2.20**

तं खणे पेक्खिअ नअर सो, जोनापुर तसु नाम।  
लोअन केरा वल्लहा, लच्छी के विसराम॥२०॥

At that time, a city was seen and its name was Jaunpur.  
Lovely to the eye, [it was] the dwelling place of the Goddess of wealth.



## Pallava 2.21

[हरिगीतिका छन्दः]

पेक्खिअउ पट्टन चारु मेखल, जओन नीर पकारिअ।  
पासान कुट्टिम भीति भीतर, चूह उप्पर ढारिआ।।  
पल्लविअ कुसुमिअ फलिअ उपवान, चूअ चम्पक सोहिआ।  
मअरन्द-पान विमुद्ध महुअर, सद् मानस मोहिआ।।२१।।

They saw a city girded by a beautiful body of water, that was like sugar cane juice.

Inside the walls, the ground was [paved] with stone and smeared<sup>130</sup> with lime/whitewash.

By many gardens filled with greenery, flowers, and fruit, and mangos and jasmine trees, [the city] was made beautiful.

The bees were intoxicated from drinking nectar; their buzzing<sup>131</sup> beguiled the mind.

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<sup>130</sup> चूह — ApHK. 1. to throw; put.

<sup>131</sup> सद् - ApHK (Skt. शब्द) 1. sound, noise.

## Pallava 2.22

वकवार पोखरि बाँध साकम, नीक नीर-निकेतन।

आवट्ट वट्ट विवट्ट बट्टहिं भुलिओ बड्डिओ चेतना॥

सोपान तोरण, जन्त जोरण, जाल-गाओख खण्डिआ।

धअ धवल हर घर सहसे पेक्खिअ, कनअ कलसिंह मण्डिआ। २२॥

There were streams/fountains, ponds, dams/canals, bridges<sup>132</sup>, and many wonderful estates.

In the grand streets and lanes, branching left and right, even the clever forget [the way].

Staircases, archways, many machines, beautiful latticed houses, and balconies beautified the city.

Between the many hundreds and thousands of beautiful sparkling houses, flags<sup>133</sup> flew, and shone with golden ornaments that were beautiful.

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<sup>132</sup> साकम — ApHK. 1. a wooden bridge.

<sup>133</sup> धअ — ApHK. (skt. ध्वजा) 1. flag, banner.

### Pallava 2.23

थल-कमल पत्त-पमान नेत्तहि, मत्तकुञ्जर-गामिनी।  
चौहट्ट बट्ट पलट्टि हेरहि, सत्थ सत्थहि कामिनी॥  
कप्पूल कुडकुम गन्ध चामर, रअन कच्चन अम्बरा।  
बेवहार मुल्लहिँ वणिक विक्कण, कीनि आनहि बब्बरा ॥२३॥

There were many women with the gaits of elephants, that had large eyes like the petals of ground-lotuses.

They saw groups of lovely ladies seen on each and every corners, squares, and lanes.

Cloth, saffron, perfumes, yak-tail fans, jewels,

and traders traded for standard prices, foreigners<sup>134</sup> would transport [the goods].

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<sup>134</sup> बब्बरा — KAB =MSH बर्बर; barbarian

## Pallava 2.24

सम्मान, दान, विवाह, उच्छ्रव, गीअ नाटक कब्बही।  
आत्तिथ्य विनअ विवेक कौतुक, समय पेल्लिअ सब्बही।।  
पज्जटइ खेल्लइ हसइ हेरइ, सत्थ सत्थहि जाइआ।  
मातंग तुंग तुरंग ठट्ठहि, उबटि बट्ट न पाइआ।।२४।।

Everyone wasted their time in observing<sup>135</sup> courtesy, charity, marriage, festivals, music, theater, poetry,

hospitality, modesty<sup>136</sup>, clever games<sup>137</sup> and events.

They saw people wander<sup>138</sup> about, playing and laughing, as they walked along in groups.

The princes wandered around<sup>139</sup>, they could not find the [right] way<sup>140</sup> due to the tall elephants<sup>141</sup> and the team<sup>142</sup> of horses<sup>143</sup>.

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<sup>135</sup> पेल्लिअ — ApHK - P. Pt. v. root. पेल्ल (Skt. प्र+ईर्) 1. to labour in something without reward or achievement (attested in PrPg)

<sup>136</sup> विनअ — OHED (Skt. विनम्र) 1. modesty, humility.

<sup>137</sup> कौतुक — ApHK - m. n. gen. 1. recreation, games, enjoyment

<sup>138</sup> पज्जटइ — ApHK - v.3P. (Skt. पर्यटति) 1. to wander about

<sup>139</sup> उबटि — ApHK - P.Pt. (Skt. उद्धर्तय् > Pkt. उव्वट ) wandering around

<sup>140</sup> बट्ट — ApHK - m. n. 1. road, way

<sup>141</sup> मातंग — ApHK - मातंग - m. n. 1. elephant

<sup>142</sup> ठट्ठहि — ApHK - ठट्ठ - m. n. 1. flock, horde;

<sup>143</sup> तुरंग — OHED तुरंग - m. n. inst.1. horse

## Pallava 2.25 (Prose)

अवरु पुनु -

ताहि नगरन्हि करो परिठव ठवन्ते, शतसंख्य हाट-बाट भमन्ते। शाखानगर शृङ्गाटक आक्रीडन गोपुर  
वकहटी बलभी वीथी अटारी, ओवारी रहट घाट कौसीस प्राकार प्रभृति पुर-विन्यास-कथा कहजो का, जनि  
दोसरी अमरावतीक अवतार भा ॥२५॥

And furthermore,

The city was made<sup>144</sup> prestigious<sup>145</sup> by the hundreds [of people] wandering in the markets and byways. There were smaller neighborhoods<sup>146</sup>, crossroads<sup>147</sup>, gymnasia<sup>148</sup>, city gates, small shops<sup>149</sup>, rooftop gardens<sup>150</sup>, small huts<sup>151</sup>, water-wheels<sup>152</sup>, ghāt-s, parapets<sup>153</sup>, ramparts<sup>154</sup>, etc. How could I [adequately] describe how the city was arranged? It is as if it were the very [earthly] manifestation of the heavenly city of Amarāvātī.

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<sup>144</sup> ठवन्ते - ApHK - v. Pr.Pt. root. ठव. 1. to be established, to be situated (HV) present.

<sup>145</sup> परिठव - ApHK - neut. n. 1. prestige, dignity, status.

<sup>146</sup> शाखानगर - OHED - n. 1. satellite district, sub-unit, neighborhood.

<sup>147</sup> The is the gloss given by Jha.

<sup>148</sup> आक्रीडन - ApHK - masc. n. 1. (MSH = अखाड़ा) gymnasium.

<sup>149</sup> वकहटी - ApHK - fem. n. (Skt. वक्र+हट्टः) 1. small shops 2. money lending stall 3. bank.

<sup>150</sup> बलभी वीथी अटारी - Jha glosses “बलभी” as a small garden/courtyard built on a roof and अटारी as a palatial manor (MSH = अट्टालिका). Standard in Braj Bhāṣā - “rooftop garden”.

<sup>151</sup> ओवारी - ApHK - fem. n. (Skt. अपवरक) - small huts, homes (DNM).

<sup>152</sup> रहट - ApHK - masc. n. (Skt. अरघट्ट > Pkt. अरहट्ट) 1. Persian water wheel, tool for extracting water from a well (MP).

<sup>153</sup> कौसीस - ApHK - masc. n. (Skt. कपिशीर्ष > Pkt. कविसीस) 1. turret, parapet, tower.

<sup>154</sup> प्राकार - ApHK - masc. n. (Skt.) 1. rampart.

## Pallava 2.26

अबि अ,

हाट करेओ प्रथम प्रवेश, अष्टधातु-घटना टांकार, कैसेरी पसरौं कांस्य-क्रेंकार, प्रचुर - पौरजन - पद-  
सम्भार - सम्भिन्न, धतहठा-सोनहटा-पनहटा-पक्वान्नहटा-मछहटा करेओ, मुखरव-कथा कहन्ते होइअ झूठ,  
जनि गम्भीर-गुर्गुरावर्त्त-कल्लोल-कोलाहल कान भरन्ते मर्यादा छाड़ि महार्णव ऊठ ॥२६॥

This also<sup>155</sup>,

First, [the Princes] entered<sup>156</sup> the market, which was ringing<sup>157</sup> with the sound of the eight metals<sup>158</sup> [being made/struck] and the brazier<sup>159</sup> clanging away at the bronze work<sup>160</sup>, and was filled with the feet of many the residents<sup>161</sup> of the city, [They entered] the grain market<sup>162</sup>, the gold market, the pān market<sup>163</sup>, the sweets market<sup>164</sup>, and the fish market. The thunderous noise<sup>165</sup> from the people talking [seem to be] lies from their lips, like a great ocean<sup>166</sup> surging beyond its boundaries, filled the ears with the deep<sup>167</sup> sound of washing waves.

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<sup>155</sup> अबि अ - ApHK 1. Also, too.

<sup>156</sup> P.Pt. 3pl (MSH किये)

<sup>157</sup> टांकार - OHED - टंकार 1. f. twang, ringing sound.

<sup>158</sup> अष्टधातु - OHED - अष्ट - eight + धातु - f. 1. primary substance, element 2. ore, mineral, metal; Jha mentions gold, silver, bronze, etc.

<sup>159</sup> कैसेरी - OHED - कैसार 1. m. a mental engraver; ApHK - (कैसार) - a coppersmith, tinsmith, or brazier.

<sup>160</sup> कांस्य - OHED - (कांस्य Gen. of काँसा) 1. m. an alloy of copper and tin, or copper and zinc; bell-metal; brass; bronze.

<sup>161</sup> पौरजन - ApHK - (skt. पौरजन) - 1. town-dweller, city-dweller.

<sup>162</sup> धतहठा - Most Hindi translations render this as धान हाठ - "grain market"

<sup>163</sup> पनहटा - ApHK - 1. pān market.

<sup>164</sup> पक्वान्नहटा - ApHK - (skt. पक्वान्न + हट्ट) 1. sweets market.

<sup>165</sup> गुर्गुराव - ApHK - 1. m.n. a deep thunderous sound, roaring sound, , sound of elephants.

<sup>166</sup> महार्णव - ApHK - 1. a large ocean.

<sup>167</sup> कोलाहल - ApHK - 1. the voice/chirping of a bird. 2. m. zest, enthusiasm.

## Pallava 2.27

मध्याह्ने करी बेला सम्मद् साज, सकल पृथ्वीचक्र करेओ बस्तु बिकाए आए बाज। मानुस करी मीसि पीसि  
चर आँगे आँग उँगर। आनक तिलक आन काँ लाग, पात्रहु तह परस्त्रीक बलया भाँग। ब्राह्मणक यज्ञोपवीत  
चाण्डाल-हृदय लूर, वेश्यान्हि करो पयोधर जतीक हृदय चूर।।२७।।

At midday<sup>168</sup>, [the city] was strewn<sup>169</sup> with oceans of wares. Everyone came<sup>170</sup> to buy and sell goods from around the world. The people grind<sup>171</sup> together and run into one another<sup>172</sup>, so much so<sup>173</sup>, that the *tilak* of<sup>174</sup> one rubs off on another<sup>175</sup> and the earrings of other women<sup>176</sup> break. The sacred thread<sup>177</sup> of the Brahmins fell<sup>178</sup> to the chest of *candala*-s and the breasts of the prostitutes crush<sup>179</sup> the hearts of the renunciants<sup>180</sup>.

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<sup>168</sup> मध्याह्ने - ApHK. - masc. n. loc.- midday, middle of the day.

<sup>169</sup> सम्मद् - MMW - सम्+मृद् 1. pressure, rubbing, friction.

<sup>170</sup> बाज - ApHK - वाज (skt. वृज-) 1. to wander, go, arrive.

<sup>171</sup> पीसि - ApHK - v. root. पिस 1. to grind, crush 2. fig. to oppress, 4. colloq. to drudge, slave

<sup>172</sup> मीसि पीसि चर आँगे आँग उँगर - ApHK - glosses this sentence as “मनुष्यों के झुंड आपस में मिलकर टकराते थे”; under v. root. मीस.

<sup>173</sup> तह - ApHK - Adj. 1. in the way that, (MSH - वैसे) (R) 2. Where (MSH वहाँ) (SR) 3. In the manner that (तथा) (J).

<sup>174</sup> लाग - ApHK - 1. ind. (var. लागु) for the sake of. 2. root लाग-; to touch.

<sup>175</sup> आनक - ApHK - 1. adj. (Skt. अन्य > Pkt. अण्ण) another's; plus gen.ending.

<sup>176</sup> पात्रहु - ApHK 1. the company of a play (actors) i.e. ‘hero’ or protagonist of a play, heroine, dancers, etc. 2. vessels, goblets, bowls.

<sup>177</sup> यज्ञोपवीत - ApHK - masc. n. (Skt. जनेऊ) - the sacred brahmin's thread (cited to KL only)

<sup>178</sup> लूर - ApHK (Skt. लुठ > Pkt. लुड) 1. to be ruined, bankrupt, to fall 2. to be strongly attracted to.

<sup>179</sup> चूर - OHED - v. 3. to be incapacitated, distracted

<sup>180</sup> जतीक - ApHK - Gen.Sg. जती - masc. n. 1. sanyāsī, renunciant.

## Pallava 2.28

(बाली छन्द)

घने सञ्चर घोर हाथि । बहुत बापुर चूरि जाथि ।

आवर्त्त विवर्त्त रोल हो। नअर नहि नरसमुद्र ओ ॥२८॥

Many<sup>181</sup> horses and elephants wander about, [under which] many poor souls<sup>182</sup> get trampled.  
There was great tumult<sup>183</sup> in the coming and going<sup>184</sup>. It was not a city, but a sea of men.

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<sup>181</sup> घने - ApHK - 1. adj. many.

<sup>182</sup> बापुर - OHED - 1. adj. wretched, destitute.

<sup>183</sup> रोल - ApHK - 1. fighting, quarreling.

<sup>184</sup> आवर्त्त विवर्त्त - ApHK 1. coming and going.



## Pallava 2.29

(षट्पद छन्द)

बहुले भाँति वणिजार, हाट हिण्डए जवे आबथि।  
कने एके सबे विक्कणथि, सबे किछु किनइते पाबथि॥  
सब दिस पसर पसार, रूप जोबण गुणे आगरि।  
वाणिनि वीथी माँडि बइस, सए सहसहि नागरि॥  
सम्भाषणे किच्छु बेआज कइ, तासजो कहिनी सब्बे कह।  
बिक्कणइ बेसाहइ अप्पसुखे, डिट्टि कुतूहल लाभ रह॥२९॥

When the many different kinds of merchants and traders<sup>185</sup> arrive<sup>186</sup> at the market,  
They buy and sell [practically] everything in a moment, and also buy up everything.  
In every direction are spread out goods; true warehouses of beauty, youth, and qualities.  
The female “sellers”<sup>187</sup> sit on the city streets<sup>188</sup> and make them lovely<sup>189</sup> with many hundreds  
of thousands of women of the city.  
They make some excuse to talk<sup>190</sup>, in order to gossip with everybody.  
[People] sell<sup>191</sup> and buy<sup>192</sup> things for their own desire, [others] remain content with  
the spectacle<sup>193</sup> of it all.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> वणिजार - ApHK - masc. n. 1. merchant, trader, businessman. 2. बनजार, nomadic trader (KL, SS).

<sup>186</sup> हिण्डए - ApHK - (skt. हिण्ड > pkt. हिंड) 1. to go [along] (S, K, SR).

<sup>187</sup> वाणिनि - Many of the Hindi translations gloss this as “बनियाइन [बेचनेवाली] - female traders.

<sup>188</sup> वीथी - ApHK - fem.n. 1. city street, lane.

<sup>189</sup> माँडि - ApHK माँडी 1. decoration, adornment.

<sup>190</sup> सम्भाषणे - ApHK - neut. n. loc. 1. talking, speech.

<sup>191</sup> बिक्कणइ - ApHK (skt. विक्रीत) (MSH = बेचा हुआ) 1. adj. sold (J).

<sup>192</sup> बेसाहइ - ApHK 1. to take possession, account of.

<sup>193</sup> डिट्टि - ApHK - fem. n. (Skt. दृष्टि > Pkt. डिट्टी) 1. sight, scene.

## Pallava 2.30

(दोहा)

सब्वउँ कैँ वारिज-नयन, तरुणी हेरहि वंका।

चोरी पेम पिआरिओ, अपने दोस ससंक॥३०॥

The young girls look askance<sup>194</sup> at everyone with their lotus<sup>195</sup> eyes.

The lovers<sup>196</sup> doubt<sup>197</sup> this stolen love, blaming<sup>198</sup> themselves<sup>199</sup>.

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<sup>194</sup> हेरहि - ApHK - v. root. हेर 1. to see

<sup>195</sup> वारिज - OHED - (वारिज or रिज) v. root. रिज 1. to attract, entice, fascinate (KL, J).

<sup>196</sup> पिआरिओ - ApHK (skt. प्रियतरा) 1. beloved, lover.

<sup>197</sup> ससंक - ApHK - (skt. शंक > pkt. संका) 1. to doubt, to be suspicious 2. fem. n. fear, doubt.

<sup>198</sup> दोस - ApHK 1. half 2. anger 3. hatred 4. blame (DNM, PrPg).

<sup>199</sup> चोरी पेम - ApHK (Skt. सं+चौर्य+प्रेमन्) 1. hidden, secret love/desire 2. stolen love.; glossed as “चोरी से किया गया प्रेम, छिपा हुआ प्रेम”

## Pallava 2.31

(रड्डा छन्द)

बहुल बम्हण बहुल काअत्थ।।

राजपुत्त-कुल बहुल, बहुल जाति मिलि बसइ चप्परि।

सब्बे सुअन, सबे सधन, नअर राअ, सबे नअर उप्परि।।

जं सबे मन्दिर देहली, धनि पेक्खिअ सानन्द।

तसु केरा मुखमण्डलहि, घरे घरे उगगहि चन्द।।३१।।

There were many Brahmins and many Kayasths

There were many clans of Rājputs and many different castes were forced<sup>200</sup> to settled together.

All were gentlemen and all had wealth<sup>201</sup>. The king<sup>202</sup> of the city is above the entire town. All of the young women<sup>203</sup> in the doorways<sup>204</sup> of the houses were joyfully watched by the men.

Their faces<sup>205</sup> ascended<sup>206</sup> like moons in each and every house.

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<sup>200</sup> चप्परि - ApHK (Skt. चपल [seems erroneous] 1. चारों ओर four directions, everywhere. 2. tediously, restlessly 3. quickly ; KAB - forcibly.

<sup>201</sup> सधन - ApHK (skt. स+धन > Pkt. सधण) 1.adj. wealthy

<sup>202</sup> राअ - ApHK (Skt. राजन् > Pkt. राय) 1. king.; It is interesting to note that the Sultān is called “Raya” here.

<sup>203</sup> धनि - ApHK 1. young woman, wife

<sup>204</sup> देहली - ApHK 1. doorstep, in front of a house

<sup>205</sup> मुखमण्डलहि - ApHK 1. face.

<sup>206</sup> उगगहि - ApHK - v. root. उग (Skt. उत्+गम्) 1. to rise, ascend (KL, MP, PSC).

## Pallava 2.32 (Prose)

(गद्य)

एक हाट करेओ ओल, औकी हाट करेओ कोल। राजपथक सन्निधान सञ्चरन्ते अनेक देखिअ वेश्यान्हि करो निवास, जन्हि के निर्माणे विश्वकर्महु भेल बड़ प्रयास। अवरु बैचित्री कहजो का। जन्हि के केसधूप-धूम करी रेखा ध्रुवहु उप्पर जा। काहु काहु अइसनेजो संकत करे काजरे चान्द कलंक॥३२॥

From one beautiful<sup>207</sup> market, into<sup>208</sup> another<sup>209</sup> market. Along near the royal-way, they saw many dwelling places of prostitutes/courtesans which<sup>210</sup> were constructed through the efforts of Viśvakarma. What other wonders<sup>211</sup> should I mention? The line of smoke<sup>212</sup> from the incense [burning to scent the hair] went<sup>213</sup> above<sup>214</sup> even the north star<sup>215</sup>. Some<sup>216</sup> even think<sup>217</sup> that it might stain<sup>218</sup> the moon with soot<sup>219</sup>.

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<sup>207</sup> ओल - ApHK (skt. अतुल > pkt. अउल) 1. Beautiful, incomparable.

<sup>208</sup> कोल - ApHK - 1. adv/adj., interior, internal, internally.

<sup>209</sup> औकी - KLaAvBH- औका, 1. adj., other (MSH दूसरे).

<sup>210</sup> जन्हि - ApHK (Skt. येषां > Pkt. येसानं) 1. = MSH जिन्.

<sup>211</sup> बैचित्री - OHED विचित्र - adj. 1. variegated. 2. strange, unusual, peculiar. 3. wonderful, surprising.

<sup>212</sup> धूम - ApHK (skt. धूम > pkt. धुम्म) 1. smoke.

<sup>213</sup> जा - ApHK 1. जब, जो or ApHK - v. 1. to go.

<sup>214</sup> उप्पर - ApHK - ind. 1. above. (PrPg).

<sup>215</sup> ध्रुवहु - ApHK - adj. 1. for certain or ApHK - masc. 1. North Star.

<sup>216</sup> काहु काहु - ApHK - Pr 1. some, MSH = कोइ, किसी ने.

<sup>217</sup> अइसनेजो संकत करे - ApHK 1. doubt, uncertainty, fear.

<sup>218</sup> कलंक - ApHK 1. stain, mark, blemish. (DNM)

<sup>219</sup> काजरे - ApHK 1. soot, blackness.

### Pallava 2.33

(रड्डा छन्द)

लज्ज कित्तिम, कपट तारुन्ना।

धननिमित्ते धर पेम, लोभेँ विनअ, सोभागे कामन।

विनु सामि सिन्दुर, परामरिस परिचय अपामन।

जं गुणमन्ता अलहना, गौरव लहइ भुअंग।

वेसा-मन्दिर धुअ बसइ, धुत्तह रूअ अनंग॥३३॥

False<sup>220</sup> shyness, deceitful youth,

Falling<sup>221</sup> in “love” for the purpose<sup>222</sup> of gaining wealth; courtesy<sup>223</sup> out of greed<sup>224</sup>, their fortune<sup>225</sup> is in lust<sup>226</sup>.

Wearing the mark of a married woman, though no husband<sup>227</sup> is around, upon meeting them it is discernible that they are living in sin<sup>228</sup>.

Those<sup>229</sup> who are virtuous<sup>230</sup> gain nothing, only proud serpents<sup>231</sup> get<sup>232</sup> fame.

Cupid<sup>233</sup>, embodied in the the form of a knave, certainly takes up residency in these places of the prostitutes.

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<sup>220</sup> कित्तिम - ApHK - adj. 1. fake, feigned, constructed.

<sup>221</sup> धर - ApHK - v. 1. to get, hold, catch, carry.

<sup>222</sup> निमित्ते - OHED - nm. 1. cause, reason, factor.

<sup>223</sup> विनअ - OHED - m. 1. courtesy, refinement, mildness of manner. 2. modesty 3. meekness, humility.

<sup>224</sup> लोभेँ - ApHK - 1. greed.

<sup>225</sup> सोभागे - ApHK - masc. 1. good fortune. 2. married woman.

<sup>226</sup> कामन - KAB - 1. lust, desire, passion= MSH कामना.

<sup>227</sup> सामि - ApHK सामिअ - m. 1. husband. 2. lord, master.

<sup>228</sup> अपामन - ApHK (skt. अपावन) 1. impure 2. unholy.

<sup>229</sup> जं - ApHK 1. almost any relative pronoun.

<sup>230</sup> गुणमन्ता - KAB गुणवान् 1. person possessed of quality or virtue.

<sup>231</sup> भुअंग - ApHK 1. snake, serpent (PrPg).

<sup>232</sup> लहइ - ApHK (skt. get) 1. to get, obtain, procure (V).

<sup>233</sup> Jha - अनंक; HSS - adj. 1. without a body; m. 1. Kāmadeva. There is an play on the imagery of Kāmadeva, who has no body, but here is said to take the form of a *dhurta*.

## Pallava 2.34

(गद्य)

तान्हि वेश्यान्हि करो मुखमण्डन्ते अलकातिलका, पत्रावली खण्डन्ते, दिव्याम्बर पिन्धन्ते, उभारि-उभारि  
केसपास बन्धन्ते, सखिजन प्रेरन्ते, हसि हेरन्ते, सआनी, लानुमी, पातरी, पतोहरी, तरुणी, तरट्टी, वन्ही,  
विअक्खणी, परिहास-पेसली, सुन्दरी-सार्थ जवे दक्खिअ, तवे मन कर चारि पुरुषार्थहिं तेसराँ लागि तीनू  
उपेक्खिअ॥२४॥

Special cosmeticians<sup>234</sup> make the faces<sup>235</sup> of those prostitutes/courtesans beautiful<sup>3</sup>, [they] made<sup>4</sup> [elaborate] facial paintings<sup>236</sup>, wore<sup>237</sup> divinely beautiful clothing<sup>238</sup> and tying back their many burgeoning<sup>239</sup> locks of hair<sup>240</sup>. When [they] saw the group<sup>241</sup> of girls, who were egging on<sup>242</sup> their groups of companions and who noticed<sup>243</sup> them, they laughed<sup>244</sup>. They were clever<sup>245</sup>,

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<sup>234</sup> अलकातिलका - ApHK 1. a cosmetician specializing in making up the face.

<sup>235</sup> मण्डन्ते - ApHK - v. (= सजाती थीं) 1. to embellish, beautify, decorate, adorn, furnish, dress neatly.

<sup>236</sup> पत्रावली - ApHK - f. 1. a drawing, picture 2. a letter with drawings on it ("चित्रात्मक पत्र रचना").

<sup>237</sup> पिन्धन्ते - ApHK - v. 1. to wear.

<sup>238</sup> दिव्याम्बर - ApHK - m. 1. divine, brilliantly beautiful clothing (दिव्य वस्त्र).

<sup>239</sup> उभारि - OHED - m. 1. rising, swelling, plumpness, fullness (as of breasts); 2. prominence.

<sup>240</sup> केसपास - Jha - केशपास; ApHK - m. 1. ringlet, lock, tress of hair.

<sup>241</sup> सार्थ - ApHK m. 1. group.

<sup>242</sup> प्रेरन्ते - KAB = MSH प्रेरित करते हैं; OHED - v. 1. to inspire, prompt, motivate, induce.

<sup>243</sup> हेरन्ते - ApHK - v. हेर, हेरता 1. to see, notice.

<sup>244</sup> हसि - ApHK - v. (skt. हस्) 1. to laugh.

<sup>245</sup> सआनी - ApHK - adj. (Skt. सज्जन > Pkt. सयाण) 1. clever, smart.

lovely<sup>246</sup>, thin<sup>247</sup>, slender-waisted<sup>248</sup>, young, cheeky<sup>249</sup>, beautiful (of color)<sup>250</sup>, expert<sup>251</sup>, and deft<sup>252</sup> in ridicule<sup>253</sup>. Then, of the four *Puruṣārtha*-s (*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa*) of the mind, [the onlookers] abandoned<sup>254</sup> three for the sake of<sup>255</sup> the third<sup>256</sup>.

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<sup>246</sup> लानुमी - Jha - लोनुमी; KAB - = लोनुमी; ApHK - adv. 1. full of loveliness (लावण्यमयी).

<sup>247</sup> पातरी - ApHK - (Pkt. पतल) 1. sharp, thin.

<sup>248</sup> पतोहरी - ApHK (skt. पत्रोदरी) 1. thin of waist/stomach, slender waisted.

<sup>249</sup> तरट्टी - ApHK - f. 1. mature woman, 2. cheeky, insolent, impertinent, cheeky, outspoken, venturesome woman (PC).

<sup>250</sup> वन्ही - Jha - बेन्ही; ApHK - (skt. वर्णिनी) 1. beautiful ( in terms of color, tone).

<sup>251</sup> विअक्खणी - ApHK (skt. विचक्षण > pkt. विअक्खण) 1. expert, skilled woman.

<sup>252</sup> पेसली - ApHK पेसल 1. beautiful, enchanting. 2. skilled, deft, proficient.

<sup>253</sup> परिहास - ApHK परिहास - 1. ridicule, derision, mockery.

<sup>254</sup> उपेक्खिअ - ApHK v. 1. to neglect, ignore, brush aside.

<sup>255</sup> लागि - KAB = MSH लिए ; ApHK - लागी - ind. 1. for. 2. for the sake or name of.

<sup>256</sup> तेसरा - ApHK adj. 1. third.

### Pallava 2.35

तन्हिक केस कुसुम बस, जनि मान्यजनक लज्जावलम्बित मुखचन्द्र-चन्द्रिका करी अधओ गति देखि  
अन्धकार हस। नअनाञ्चल सञ्चारे भूलता भंग, जनि कज्जल कल्लोलिनी करी वीचीविवर्त्त बड़ी बड़ी सफरी  
तरंग। अतिसूक्ष्म सिन्दूर रेखा निन्दन्ते पाप, जनि पञ्चसर करो पहिल प्रताप। दोखे हीनि, माझ खीनि, रसिके  
आनलि जूआँ जीनि। पयोधर केर भारे भाँगए चाह, नेत्र करे तृतीयभागे तीनू भुवन साह। सँसरे बाज, राअन्हि  
छाज। काहु होअ अइसनी आस, कइसे लागत आँचर बतास। तान्हि करी कुटिल कटाक्षच्छटा सदरप कन्दर्प  
शरश्रेणी जओ नागरन्हि काँ मन गाड़, गोबोलि गमारन्हि छाड़ ॥३५॥

Flowers were placed in their hair and it seemed as if the moon's light was bent<sup>257</sup> in reverence<sup>258</sup>  
of respectable people<sup>259</sup> and to be a smile in the darkness. Because of the blinking of the  
eyelids<sup>260</sup>, their eyebrows<sup>261</sup> curved<sup>262</sup> and looked as if they were large fish<sup>263</sup> making waves  
[while jumping out of] a whirlpool<sup>264</sup> in the river<sup>265</sup> of kohl<sup>266</sup>. Their tiny lines of vermillion are  
insulting even to sin<sup>267</sup>, as if it were the first [sign] of Cupid's<sup>268</sup> power<sup>269</sup>. They are blameless<sup>270</sup>,

<sup>257</sup> अधओ + गति - ApHK (skt. अधोगति) 1. fall, downfall, degeneration.

<sup>258</sup> लज्ज - ApHK 1. shame, embarrassment ;ApHK - लज्जा - \*same; HSS - अवलम्बित - adj. 1. depending on, relying on, enjoying the support of

<sup>259</sup> मान्यजन Gen.; ApHK 1. civilized, courteous, gentle, decent person.

<sup>260</sup> नअन + आञ्चल; ApHK - (नयनांचल under भूलता) - 1. eyelid; ApHK - नअन (cited नअण in KL) - n. 1. eye(s).

<sup>261</sup> भूलता - ApHK (skt. भृकुटि) 1. eyebrow.

<sup>262</sup> भंग - ApHK 1. breaking, destruction. 2. bent.

<sup>263</sup> सफरी - ApHK f. 1. fish (PC).

<sup>264</sup> वीचीविवर्त्त - ApHK f. 1. whirlpool.

<sup>265</sup> कल्लोलिनी - ApHK f. 1. river.

<sup>266</sup> कज्जल - ApHK 1. kohl (collyrium).

<sup>267</sup> It is considered culturally inappropriate and ritually polluting for an unmarried woman, and women of ill-repute, to adorn themselves with vermillion in the parting of their hair.

<sup>268</sup> पञ्चसर - ApHK m. 1. Cupid.

<sup>269</sup> प्रताप - ApHK m. 1. पौरुष-पराक्रम = MSH; OHED - प्रताप - m. 1. energy, ardor, vigor, valor. 2. brilliance, majesty, glory, prowess, possession of rank or power.

<sup>270</sup> दोख - ApHK m. 1. fault. 2. bad quality. ; ApHK - हीन - adj. 1. without, lacking.



thin-waisted<sup>271</sup>. They earned<sup>272</sup> through being skillful in gambling games<sup>273</sup>. She will<sup>274</sup> be bent<sup>275</sup> from the weight<sup>276</sup> of her breasts. The [prostitutes] tame<sup>277</sup> the three worlds with third part of their eyes<sup>278</sup>. They sing<sup>279</sup> with melodious voices<sup>280</sup> adorn<sup>281</sup> the *rāga*-s<sup>282</sup>. Some<sup>283</sup> hope<sup>284</sup> such that<sup>285</sup> the ends of their dresses<sup>286</sup> would somehow be caught and blown up in the wind<sup>287</sup>. The beauty<sup>288</sup> of their crooked, sidelong glances seems like a line of arrows from vain<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> माझ - ApHK ind. 1. in the middle. 1. the middle, midst. 2. waist; ApHK - खीनि - (skt. क्षीण > pkt. खीण) adj. 1. slender, weak, emaciated (PG).

<sup>272</sup> आनिल - ApHK (skt. आ+ नी) - simple past 1. attained, got.

<sup>273</sup> जऑ - OHED m. 1. gambling, gambling game.

<sup>274</sup> चाह - ApHK 1. to want

<sup>275</sup> भँग - ApHK 1. to be bent.

<sup>276</sup> भार - ApHK m. 1. weight, heaviness.

<sup>277</sup> साह - ApHK 1. to tame, control, rule.

<sup>278</sup> Singh in KAB notes that these are the three visible parts of the eyeball: the pupil, the iris, and the whites of the eye; therefore, the third part is either the pupil or the white of the eyes, depending from where one counts.

<sup>279</sup> Jha takes बाज as बोलना, but I am taking as = MSH बजाना

<sup>280</sup> संसर - ApHK 1. melodious voice.

<sup>281</sup> छाज - ApHK. 1. to be well adorned, graceful; KAB - Singh takes this as MSH छा जाना: to cover, overwhelm, to shadow, to overspread. to dominate. This is the meaning that I have chosen.

<sup>282</sup> acc. pl. of राअ; KAB - Singh reads this as राग.

<sup>283</sup> काहु - ApHK pr. 1. किसी ने = MSH).

<sup>284</sup> आस - ApHK - f. 1. hope, wish (KL, J).

<sup>285</sup> अइसनी - ApHK - cited to अइस and अइसनओ - adj./adv. 1. in this/that way, ऐसा = MSH.

<sup>286</sup> आँचर - ApHK m. 1. the end of a garment, the end of a sari.

<sup>287</sup> बतास - ApHK f. 1. wind.; This is also a common EIA word.

<sup>288</sup> कटाक्ष - ApHK nf. 1. side-long glance, leer, taunt; छटा - OHED f. 1. beauty, splendor.

<sup>289</sup> सदर्प - HŚS adj. 1. conceited, vain.

Cupid<sup>290</sup> when they<sup>291</sup> enter into<sup>292</sup> the mind of a *rasika*<sup>293</sup>. They abandon the uncivilized/crude people<sup>294</sup>, who are fit to be called<sup>295</sup> cattle<sup>296</sup>.

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<sup>290</sup> कन्दर्प - OHED - m. 1. title of Cupid/Kāmadeva.

<sup>291</sup> जजो - ApHK ind. 1. because, for the reason that. 2. when.

<sup>292</sup> गड़ - ApHK 1. to enter, go into.; = MSH गड़ जाना.

<sup>293</sup> नागर - ApHK 1. a *rasika*.

<sup>294</sup> गमार - ApHK adj. 1. rustic, uncivilized, foolish.

<sup>295</sup> Both Jha and Singh (KAB) take this as छोड़ना.

<sup>296</sup> गोवोली - ApHK m. 1. a cowherd/protector (KL, HV).

Singh in KAB takes this as absolutive बोलकर plus a vocative article of speech, “गो” meaning cow or bullock.

### Pallava 2.36

(दोहा)

सब्बउँ नारि विअक्खणी, सब्बउँ सुस्थित लोक ।

सिरि इबराहिम साह गुणे, नहि चिन्ता, नहि शोक ॥ ३६॥

All of the women were experts<sup>297</sup>, and everyone was well-situated<sup>298</sup>.

Because of the qualities of “*Śrī*<sup>299</sup> *Ibarāhim Sāh*”, there was no neither worry nor grief.

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<sup>297</sup> विअक्खणी - ApHK - f. adj. 1. clever. or f. 1. expert.

<sup>298</sup> सुस्थित - ApHK - adj. 1. in a state of well-being, well-situated.

<sup>299</sup> Singh in KAB takes सिरि as श्री.

## Pallava 2.37

(चौपाई छन्द)

सबतहु हेरि सुहित होअ लोअण।

सबतहु मिलए सुठाम सुभोअण॥

खनएक मन दए सुनओ विअक्खण।

किछु बोलओ तुरुकाणओ लक्खण॥३७॥

Everywhere<sup>300</sup> one's eyes<sup>301</sup> looks<sup>302</sup> is pleasing<sup>303</sup>.

Everywhere one finds<sup>304</sup> beautiful places<sup>305</sup> and [bounteous] food<sup>306</sup>.

Listen<sup>307</sup> attentively<sup>308</sup> for a moment! Oh, intelligent one<sup>309</sup>!

I will describe some of the peculiarities<sup>310</sup> of the Turks.

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<sup>300</sup> सबतहुँ - ApHK ind. 1. everywhere.

<sup>301</sup> लोअण - ApHK (skt. लोचन) 1. eyes

<sup>302</sup> हेरि - ApHK - abs. of हेर - 1. having seen, noticed.

<sup>303</sup> सुहित - ApHK - adj. 1. happy, contented.

<sup>304</sup> मिलए - ApHK - v. root मिल 1. to meet.

<sup>305</sup> Jha glosses सुठाम as सुस्थान and this is the reading I take.

<sup>306</sup> Jha glosses सुभोअण as सुभोजन and this is the reading I take.

<sup>307</sup> Singh in KAB takes सुनओ as a 3p sg. imperative: "listen!"

<sup>308</sup> दए - Jha glosses this as abs. of "to give, put". This agrees with Bengali (another EIA language) usage of the past active participle in an absolute function (e.g. दिइए).

<sup>309</sup> Singh in KAB takes विअक्खण a vocative: "Oh Clever one, scholar, expert".

<sup>310</sup> लक्खण - ApHK- (skt. लक्षण) 1. specialty, particular qualities.

### Pallava 2.38

(भुजङ्गप्रयात छन्द)

तदो बे कुमारो पइठे बजारो।

जहीं लक्ख घोरा, मअङ्गा हजरो॥

कहीं चेटि-गन्दा, कहीं बाँदि-बन्दा।

कहीं दूर निक्कारिए हिन्दु मन्दा॥३८॥

After the two princes entered the market,

Where there were lakhs of horses and thousands of elephants.

There were soldiers and male and female slaves,

In some places, ruffians threw out slow-witted Hindus.

### Pallava 2.39

कहीं तत्थ कूजा तबेल्ला पसारा।  
कहीं तीर कम्माण दोक्कान-दारा॥  
सराफे सराफे भरे वेबि वाजू।  
तउल्लन्त हेरा लसूना-पेआजू॥३९॥

In some places there were earthenwares<sup>311</sup> and dish-wares<sup>312</sup> arranged out for sale.  
And in others, shop-sellers of bows and arrows.  
Both sides of the streets were full of money-changers.  
On the scales there were chili<sup>313</sup>, garlic, and onions.

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<sup>311</sup> कूजा - CPED - (P. كوزه kūza). 1. An earthen bottle with a long narrow neck for water.

<sup>312</sup> तबेल्ला - according to Jha this means earthenware dishes, etc.

<sup>313</sup> हेरा - CPED - 1. (P. حره hira) 1. Nightshade; which can include members of the capsicum family (chilies).

## Pallava 2.40

खरीदे खरीदे बहूतो गुलामो।  
तुरुक्के तुरुक्के अनेको सलामो॥  
बेसाहन्त खीसा पइज्जल्ल मोजा।  
भमे मीर वल्ली सइल्लार खोजा॥४०॥

While the buying of many slaves is going on<sup>314</sup>,  
The Turks give *salāms* to one another.  
Wearing course linen paddings<sup>315</sup>, chain mail, and boots,  
The *Amirs* (lords), *Valis* (viceroy), *sālārs* (army-officers), and Khvājās roam about.

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<sup>314</sup> I have made this ambiguous, either the slaves are doing the purchasing on behalf of their masters or the slaves are being bought themselves.

<sup>315</sup> खीसा - CPED (P. *khīs*) 1. a coarse linen counterpane.

## Pallava 2.41

अबे बे भणन्ता सराबा पिअन्ता।

कलीमा कहन्ता कलामे जिअन्ता॥

कसीदा कढ़न्ता मसीदा भरन्ता।

कितेबा पढ़न्ता तुरुक्का अनन्ता॥४१॥

Drinking wine, saying “*abe be*”<sup>316</sup>

Reciting the *qalīmā* and living according to its words.

Loudly reciting *qasīdā*-s and filling mosques,

And reading books — there are countless Turks.

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<sup>316</sup> contemptuous exclamation



## Pallava 2.42

अति गह सुमरु खोदाए खाए लेअ भांगक गुण्डा।  
बिनु कारणहि कोहाए वएन तातल तमकुण्डा।।  
तुरुक तोषारेहिं चलल हाट भमि हेडा चाहइ।  
आडी डीठि निहारि दबरि दोढ़ी थुक वाहइ।।  
सब्वस्स सराब खराब कए तकइत रामा बाँदि रम।  
अविवेक फरीबी कहजो का पाछा पएदा लेले भम।।४२।।

Taking the name of *Khodā* (the Lord) with zeal, [they] consume *bhang* with reeds<sup>317</sup>.  
[And] without reason they become enraged and their faces like heated copper-vessels.  
The Turks wander about the market on their Tukharan horses and demand the herd tax<sup>318</sup>.  
With closed eyes [as if in a stupor], they run about with spittle on their beards.  
Having exhausted all of the wine, they gawk at women and chase the slave girls.  
What to should I say about their duplicitous<sup>319</sup> speech with retainers in tow.

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<sup>317</sup> गुण्डा - (MMW) 1. f. a kind of reed.

<sup>318</sup> Jha mentions this as a type of tax on herd animals. I could not find an attestation for this, but it makes sense in this context.

<sup>319</sup> फरीबी - CPED (P. فريب *firīb*, fireb, fareb, or farīb) 1. Deception, fraud, duplicity, trick, deceit, treachery, imposture, fallacy.

## Pallava 2.43

जमण खाइ ले भाँग, भाँग रिसिआइ खाण हए।  
दौरि चीरि जिउ धरिअ समिण सालण अणए भणए॥  
पहिल नेवाला खाइ जाइ मुह भीतर जबहीं।  
खण एक चुप भए रहइ गारि गाडू दे तबहीं॥  
[पुनु] ताकी रहए तसु तीर लए बैताब मुक्दम बाँहि धए।  
जओ आनिअ आन कपूर सम तबहु पिआजु पिआजु पए॥४३॥

When [they] consume *bhāṅg*<sup>320</sup>, it emboldens<sup>321</sup> them to [take on the airs of a] *Ḳhān*<sup>322</sup>.  
Running about [indiscriminately] and giving blessings of long life, they wolf down fish stew  
(*samiṇa sālaṇa*).  
They are silent for [just] a moment when the first mouthful of food goes into their mouths,  
And then immediately start chugging water<sup>323</sup>, when it is given to them in a clay cup<sup>324</sup>.  
Taking their arrow[s] they stare intently, the leader<sup>325</sup> grabs them by the arm and sits  
them down.  
If some camphor-like food<sup>326</sup> is brought, then “Onions! Onions!” is heard.

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<sup>320</sup> There is a *yamaka* (homonym) here between *bhāṅg* (cannabis) and *bhang-* (to break [as in austerities or ritual]).

<sup>321</sup> रिसिआइ - ApHK - 1. ppp. having become angry, enraged.

<sup>322</sup> Alternate, खाण - ApHK 1. food, meal.

<sup>323</sup> गारि - ApHK - गारी 1. to drink. 2. to want.

<sup>324</sup> गाडू - ApHK 1. an ceramic/clay loṭā (cup).

<sup>325</sup> The *makdam* or *Mukhadum* appears again in the next verse.

<sup>326</sup> The meaning of “camphor-like food” is quite ambiguous. My best guess would be that it describes the aroma and billowing steam from prepared food dishes.

## Pallava 2.44

गीति-गरुवि जाखरी मत्त भए मतरुफ गावइ।  
चरख नाच तुरुकिनी आन किछु काहु न भावइ।।  
सइद सेरणी बिलह सब्बको जूठ सब्बे खा।  
दोआ दे दरबेस पाब नहि गारि पारि जा।।  
मखदूम नावाबइ दोम जजो हाथ ददस दस नारिओ।  
खुँदकारी हुक्कम कहजो को अपनेजो जोए परारि हो।।४४।।

The female singer<sup>327</sup> becomes wild, then sings songs without a care<sup>328</sup>.  
Nothing else pleases anyone [except] the Turkish [dancing girls] whirling around in tight  
pirouettes.

The *Sayyids*<sup>329</sup> share sweets<sup>330</sup> with everyone and share together the impure left-overs.  
The *Darvesh* give blessings but when they don't receive anything, they leave giving insults.  
The *Mukhadum*<sup>331</sup> moves his hand<sup>332</sup> like a *Dom* (sweeper) at many<sup>333</sup> [peoples'] doors.  
The *Khundakārī*<sup>334</sup> orders women<sup>335</sup> about whether they are his own or another's.

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<sup>327</sup> जाखरी is taken by Jha and Saxena as a singer, seemingly female with the /ī/ ending.

<sup>328</sup> मतरुफ - CPED (P. مترف mutraf) 1. Blest with affluence, and allowed to enjoy oneself without interruption; left to oneself and doing what one pleases; proud, haughty, acknowledging no superior;--mutrif, Headstrong in disobedience;--mutrif, mutarrif, (Riches) seducing and ruining a man; a bestower of the comforts of life.

<sup>329</sup> Title of those who claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad.

<sup>330</sup> सेरणी - Jha takes this as shīrīn; CPED (P. شیرین shirīn) 1. sweet, milk, candy, pastry.

<sup>331</sup> मखदूम - CPED (P. مخدوم makhdūm) 1. Served, waited on (by slaves or familiar spirits); a lord, master; the son of the house, the young gentleman, the heir; "a Muhammadan priest"; an abbot.

<sup>332</sup> It is unclear whether this gesture indicates the begging of alms or the bestowing of a blessing.

<sup>333</sup> lit. 10-12.

<sup>334</sup> खुँदकारी - CPED (P. خوندگار - khwand-kār, خوندگار khwand-gār) 1. The Turkish emperor; a king, lord.

<sup>335</sup> जोए - ApHK - (skt. युवति) 1. woman.

## Pallava 2.45

[वाली छन्द]

किञ्च

हिन्दू तुरके मिलल बास । एकक धम्म अओका उपहास॥

कतहु बाँग कतहु वेद । कतहु बिसमिल कतहु छेद॥४५॥

The houses of the Hindus and Turks were mixed together,

The *Dharma* of one, was [a matter of] ridicule for the other.

In some places the call to prayer<sup>336</sup> is heard and in other places the recitation of the Vedas.

In some places there is the halal slaughter/consumption of animals<sup>337</sup> and in others ritual sacrifices<sup>338</sup>.

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<sup>336</sup> बाँग - ApHK बाँग (P.) 1. the call to prayer (*namāz*); the *adhān*.

<sup>337</sup> I have inferred quite a deal from “बिसमिल” (Bismillah), the traditional Islamic supplication before eating or halal slaughter. Only this evocation is directly named in this verse, not the action.

<sup>338</sup> छेद - ApHK (skt. छेद) 1. sacrifice (usually animal).

## Pallava 2.46

कतहु ओझा कतहु खोजा । कतहु नक्त कतहु रोजा॥

कतहु तम्बारु कतहु कूजा । कतहु निमाज<sup>1</sup> कतहु पूजा॥४६॥

One [group] had their witch-doctors/healers and the other, their *khojās*.

Some people keep observations of astrology<sup>339</sup> and some people observe the fast of  
Ramadan (*roja*).

Here the metal water pots, there earthen water-cups,

In some places *namāz*, in others *pūjā*,

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<sup>339</sup> नक्त - ApHK (skt. नक्षत्र) 1. celebrations and ritual observations according to astrological guidelines.

## Pallava 2.47

कतहु तरुका बरकर । बाट जाइते बेगार धर।

धरि आनए बाभन बडुआ । मथौ चढ़ाबए गाइक चुडुआ॥४७॥

In some places the Turks forcefully press passersby into forced labor (*begār*).

Elsewhere they force a brahmin boy into labour to carry leather-goods<sup>340</sup>.

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<sup>340</sup> There is a high degree of ambiguity in this line and the translation is critical. “चुडुआ” can mean leather (MSH चमड़ा) as Jha takes it, or as the more obscene “cow genitals” as some have taken it.

चुडुआ - ApHK (D) 1. leather, skin, hide, membrane.

**Pallava 2.48**

फोट चाट जनौअ तोड़ । उपर चढ़ाबए चाह घोड़॥  
धोआउरि धाने मदिरा साँध । देउर भाँगि मसीद बाँध॥४८॥

The Brahmin's *tilaka* is rubbed off and and his sacred thread breaks, and he is allowed  
to mount a horse.

They make liquor from paddy and break temples and build mosques.

## Pallava 2.49

गोरि गोमठ पुरिल मही । पएरहु देमएक ठाम नहीं॥  
हिन्दु बोलि दुरहि निकार । छोटेओ तुरुका भभकी मार॥४९॥

The earth is full of cemeteries and domes<sup>341</sup> (*gumbad*),  
[So that] there is not enough space to place even a foot.  
Calling out, “Hindus!”, they chase them away.  
Even to the lowly of the Turks express their haughtiness [to these Hindus]<sup>342</sup>.

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<sup>341</sup> गोमठ - ApHK (P. गुम्बद, गुम्बज़) 1. the dome of a *dargāh* (sufi tomb/shrine); *maqbara*.

<sup>342</sup> This line is ambiguous. It is either the Turks calling out and harassing the Hindus, or the other way around. I have chose the former as the latter does not make sense contextually.



## Pallava 2.50

[दोहा]

हिन्दुहि गोदृओ गिलिअ हल । तुरुक देखि होअ भान॥  
अइसेओ जसु परतापे रह । चिरे जीबओ सुरुतान॥५०॥

Seeing the Turks, it looks as if the Hindus will be kicked out [of the area]  
Even so, they remain because of the strength of the Sultān, may he live forever.

## Pallava 2.51

हट्टहिँ हट्ट भमन्तओ दूअओ राजकुमार।  
दिट्ठि कुतूहल कज्ज रसे तो पइट्ट दरबार॥५१॥

The two princes, wandering from market to market, with their vision<sup>343</sup>.  
Excited<sup>344</sup> by the wonders they had seen, they entered the royal court to [accomplish] their  
task.<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> दिट्ठि - ApHK - (skt. दृष्टि). 1. vision, glade, view.

<sup>344</sup> Jha takes कज्ज रसे as “do to the eagerness of the task at hand”.

<sup>345</sup> कज्ज - ApHK - m. 1. work (काज = MSH).

## Pallava 2.52

(त्रिभङ्गी [पद्मावती] छन्दः)

लोअह सम्मद्दे बहु बिह बद्दे अम्बर मण्डल पूरीआ।

आबन्त तुलुक्का खाण मुलुक्का पअ भरे पत्थर चूरीआ।।

दुरुहन्ते आआ बड़ बड़ राआ दवलि दोआरिहिं वारीआ।

चाहन्ते ठाहर आबहि बाहर गालिम गणए न पारीआ।।५२।।

The whole sky is filled<sup>346</sup> with many kinds<sup>347</sup> of speech<sup>348</sup> and the hustle-bustle<sup>349</sup> of the people.<sup>350</sup>

As they were coming, the Turks, Khans, and Maliks<sup>351</sup> pulverized<sup>352</sup> stones with the weight<sup>353</sup> of their [booted] feet<sup>354</sup>.

[But] the great<sup>355</sup> kings, who had come from far away<sup>356</sup>, were barred<sup>357</sup> on the edge (threshold) of the entranceway<sup>358</sup>.

It could not be not counted how many young men<sup>359</sup> had come and gathered outside desiring a place [in the court].

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<sup>346</sup> पूरीआ - ApHK - 3p simple past of पूर - 1. to fill (J, PrPg, KL).

<sup>347</sup> बिह - ApHK (Skt. विध) 1. way, distinction, peculiarity, cause (J).

<sup>348</sup> बद्दे - Srivastava takes this as वाद्य - MSS - 1. speech. 2. instruments, sound.

<sup>349</sup> सम्मद्दे - ApHK - m. (loc.) 1. in or because of the crowd, hustle-bustle.

<sup>350</sup> लोअ - ApHK (Skt. लोक) m. 1. people.

<sup>351</sup> मुलुक्का - ApHK - Av derivative मुलुक्का is the plural of Arabic मुलिक.

<sup>352</sup> चूरीआ - ApHK - 3p simple past from चूर - 1. to grind to powder/dust, to pulverize (KL, N).

<sup>353</sup> भरे - ApHK - m. 1. weight, burden (KL).

<sup>354</sup> पअ - ApHK -(Skt. पद) mn. 1. foot, feet.

<sup>355</sup> वड़ वड़ - ApHK - adj. 1. large (J) or 2. many (KL)

<sup>356</sup> Both Jha and Singh (KAB) gloss दुरुहन्ते as “from afar”.

<sup>357</sup> वारीआ - ApHK - 3p simple past of वार - 1. to bar, forbid, stop (J)

<sup>358</sup> दोआर - ApHK -(here loc or acc. pl.) - (Skt. द्वार) n. 1. door, gateway, entrance

<sup>359</sup> गालिम - ApHK - pl. from Arabic गिलमान, m. 1. young men,

## Pallava 2.53

सब सइअदगारे वित्त विथारे थारे पुहवीपाला आबन्ता।  
दरबार बइठे दिवस भइठे बरिसहु भेट न पाबन्ता।।  
उत्तम परिवारा खाण उमारा महल मजेदे जाबन्ता।  
सुरतान सलामे लहिअ इनामे आपे रहि रहि आबन्ता।।५३।।

The prideful<sup>360</sup> [Hindu] Rājas<sup>361</sup> arrived and spread<sup>362</sup> wealth<sup>363</sup> among all the Sayyads<sup>364</sup>.  
Days pass<sup>365</sup> by sitting<sup>366</sup> in the court, yet they are not getting a meeting<sup>367</sup> [even after] a  
year<sup>368</sup>.  
[Only] the most important families, Khans, and honored people<sup>369</sup> went into the most  
important<sup>370</sup> [part] of the palace.  
Greeting the Sultān, they received gifts (*inām*), as they themselves<sup>371</sup> came forth to  
remain there [in the court].

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<sup>360</sup> थारे is missing from Jha but in Singh, Srivastava, and attested in ApHK; ApHK - थारे - m. from adj. 1. prideful, self-important person. 2. awe, overbearing, impressive

<sup>361</sup> पुहवीपाला - king(s); ApHK - पुहवी - (Skt. पृथिवी) f. 1. earth; OHED - पाला - m. 1. protection, shelter. 2. maintenance, charge; Singh (KAB) takes the traditional पुहवीपाला appellation to mean only Hindu and/or Rajput kings.

<sup>362</sup> वित्थार - ApHK - (Skt. विस्तार > Pkt. वित्थार) m. 1. expanse, spread, scattering.

<sup>363</sup> वित्त - ApHK - 1. wealth (PrPG) or adj. 1. long (DNM) or adj. 1. passed, gone-by (J).

<sup>364</sup> सइअदगारे - ApHK - m. 1. those addressed/called as Saiyad; this seems to be a locative form ending in /-e/.

<sup>365</sup> भइठे - ApHK - 3p simple present (intransitive) of भइठु - 1. to be wasted, to pass by.

<sup>366</sup> बइठे - ApHK - 3p simple present of बइठु - 1. to sit, be seated.

<sup>367</sup> भेट/भेट - ApHK - m. 1. meeting.

<sup>368</sup> बरिस - ApHK - mn. 1. a year.

<sup>369</sup> Jha and Singh (KAB) take उमारा as plural of उमरा: HŚS - m. 1. establish, respectable, honored people.

<sup>370</sup> मजेदे - ApHK - (from Arabic मजीद) adj. 1. best, important, respected, honored.

<sup>371</sup> आपें - ApHK - (Skt. अर्पण) m. 1. offering. OR a reflexive pronoun (= MSH आपने आप).

## Pallava 2.54

साअर गिरि अन्तर दीप दिमन्तर जासु निमित्ते जाईआ।  
सब्वओ बटुराणा राउत राणा तत्त्थि दुअरहि पाईआ।  
इअ रहहि गणन्ता विरुद भणन्ता भट्टा ठट्टा पेक्खीआ।  
आबन्ता जन्ता कज्ज करन्ता मानव कमने लेक्कीआ॥५४॥

For just that reason<sup>372</sup>, they came from over the seas, mountains, islands and places  
in-between.  
All of the Rājputs and Rāṇā-s gathered there at the entranceway.  
Here on the path, countless groups<sup>373</sup> of bards were seen, singing of [the Sultān's] fame/  
glory.  
Who could even make an account of all the people coming, going, and working?

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<sup>372</sup> निमित्ते - ApHK (Skt. निमित्तम्) 1. purpose, reason, goal.

<sup>373</sup> ठट्ट - ApHK (D थट्ट) 1. group, gathering.

## Pallava 2.55

तेलङ्गा बङ्गा चोल कलिङ्गा राआ पुत्ते मण्डीआ।  
निज भासा जम्पइ साहस कम्पइ जइ सूरु जइ पण्डीआ॥  
राउत्ता पुत्ता चलइ बहुत्ता अन्तरे पन्तरे सोहन्ता।  
संगाम सुहव्वा जनि गन्धव्वा रूँ पर मन मोहन्ता॥५५॥

[The court] was adorned and made beautiful<sup>374</sup> by the main sons of kings from Telaṅgā, Bengal, country of the Cola-s, and Kaliṅgā. They speak<sup>375</sup> their own languages. They trembled in fear<sup>376</sup>, whether<sup>377</sup> they were great heroes or scholars. The sons of the warriors<sup>378</sup> often when in and out from/into the inside to the populated places<sup>379</sup>, making it beautiful.<sup>380</sup> They were endowed with auspiciousness<sup>381</sup> from battle<sup>382</sup>, and their beauty<sup>383</sup>, like the *Gandharvas*<sup>384</sup>, enchanted the hearts of others.<sup>385</sup>

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<sup>374</sup> मण्डिअ - ApHK - (Skt. मण्डित > Pkt. मंडिअ) 1. adorned, beautified.

<sup>375</sup> जम्पइ - ApHK - v. root. जंप/जम्प - 3p simple present 1. say, speak, utter.

<sup>376</sup> साहस - ApHK - (Skt. साध्वस) n. 1. courage, bravery (J); m. 2. fear.

<sup>377</sup> जइ - ApHK - ind. 1. if (Skt. यदि); ind. 2. whether, either; or (MSH चाहे) (KL, J, K).

<sup>378</sup> राउत्ता - ApHK - (Skt. राजन + पुत्र > Pkt. राय + उत्त) m. 1. prince, son of a king.; ApHK राउत्ता + पुत्ता - (MSH रावतों के पुत्र) 1. sons of small kings (रावत), hero, warrior, army commander.

<sup>379</sup> Jha originally अन्तरे पन्तरे; A. आँतरे पाँतरे - वा.; ApHK - आँतरे - ind. (Skt. अन्तर्) 1. in between; ApHK - पाँतरे - (Skt. प्रान्तर) - m. 1. peoples place.

<sup>380</sup> सोहन्ता - ApHK - pres. part. of v. root सोह (Skt. शुभ्) 1. beautifying, making radiant, (K, KL).

<sup>381</sup> सुहव्वा - ApHK - (Skt. सुमव्य) adj. 1. endowed with good fortune (MSH सौभाग्ययुक्त).

<sup>382</sup> संगाम - ApHK - (Skt. संग्राम) - m. 1. war, battle, fighting.

<sup>383</sup> रूअ - ApHK - (Skt. रूप) m. 1. form, shape, likeness.

<sup>384</sup> गन्धव - ApHK - (Skt. गन्धर्व > Pkt. गंधव्व) m. 1. a Gandharva.

<sup>385</sup> पर - ApHK - (Skt. परम्) - adj. 1. of/to/by another.

## Pallava 2.56

(षट्पद छन्द)

ओहु खास-दरबार सएल महिमण्डल उप्परि।  
उत्थि अपन बेबहार, रंक ले राअहु चप्परि।।  
उत्थि सत्तु उथि मित्त उत्थि सिर नबइ सब्ब कइ।  
उत्थि साति परसाद उत्थि भए जाए भब्व कइ।।  
निअ भाग अभाग विभाग बल ओटमाहि जानिअ सब्बे गए।  
एहु पातिसाह सब उप्परहि तसु उप्परि करतार पए।।५६।।

There, the hall of assembly was above all<sup>386</sup> the [others of the] earth.  
In that place<sup>387</sup>, the poor<sup>388</sup> urgently<sup>389</sup> brought their business<sup>390</sup>, to the King.  
In that place, both enemies<sup>391</sup> and friends, everyone, bow<sup>392</sup> their heads [in reverence].  
In that place, there was much<sup>393</sup> happiness<sup>394</sup>, grace, and everything was made beautiful<sup>395</sup>.  
In that place<sup>396</sup>, everyone came to know<sup>397</sup> of the allotment of their own good or bad fortunes.  
This *Badshah* is above them all, and above him is found [only] the Creator.

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<sup>386</sup> सएल - ApHK - (Skt. सकल > Pkt. सयल) adj. 1. all, whole, complete.

<sup>387</sup> उत्थि - ApHK - (Skt. तत्र > Pkt. तत्थ) adv. 1. there.

<sup>388</sup> रंक - ApHK - adj. 1. poor, destitute (PrPG).

<sup>389</sup> चप्परि - ApHK - (Skt. चपल) - (MSH चपलता से) - adv. quickly, eagerly, with urgency, unsteadiness, or expediency.

<sup>390</sup> वेवहार - ApHK - (Skt. व्यवहार) m. 1. behavior, dealings, transaction. 2. business, trade, profession, job.

<sup>391</sup> सत्तु - ApHK - (Skt. शत्रु) m. 1. enemy.

<sup>392</sup> नवइ - ApHK - v. root नव - (Skt. प्रम (shouldn't it be नम् ?) > Pkt. णम, णव > Ap. नव, नवइ) 1. to bow, bend (especially in supplication/reverence).

<sup>393</sup> lit. "How much...?"

<sup>394</sup> साति - ApHK (Skt. सात) 1. happiness, joy.

<sup>395</sup> भब्व - ApHK भव्व 1. beauty.

<sup>396</sup> ओटमाहि - HSS - ओट में - adv. 1. on pretext, an excuse (बहाने से), secretly furtively; OHED - ओट - f. 1. cover, concealment. 2. adv./adj. covered; OR if the alternate reading by Singh is taken - "ओ ठामहि"; ApHK - ठाम - (Skt. स्थान > Pkt. ठाय, ठाम, ठाण) 1. place (KL, PrPg).

<sup>397</sup> जानिअ ApHK - जानिअ - from v. root जान (Skt. ज्ञा) 1. to know.

Singh - जानिअ.

## Pallava 2.57 (Prose)

(गद्य)

अहो अहो! आश्चर्य! ताहि दारखोलहि करो दवाल दरवाल<sup>3</sup>, औअलदर<sup>4</sup>, मेअनदर<sup>5</sup>, स्यालदर<sup>6</sup>, खासदर<sup>7</sup>, दारिगह<sup>8</sup>, बारिगह<sup>9</sup>, निमाजगह<sup>10</sup>, खोआरगह खोरमगह<sup>11</sup> करेओ विचित्त<sup>12</sup> चमत्कार देखन्ते सबे बोल भल, जनि अद्यपर्यन्त<sup>13</sup> विश्वकर्मा इथिहि<sup>14</sup> कार्य छल।।५७।।

Everyone was exclaiming, “Oh! Oh! Amazing, wonderful!” upon seeing the swords<sup>398</sup> [of the guards<sup>399</sup>] of the courtyard<sup>400</sup>, the first, second<sup>401</sup>, and third halls<sup>402</sup>, the special assembly hall<sup>403</sup>, the courtyard of assembly<sup>404</sup>, the water palaces<sup>405</sup>, the prayer hall<sup>406</sup>, the dining rooms<sup>407</sup>, and bedrooms, as if Viśvakarmā was still involved in the crafting/work here<sup>408</sup> even today<sup>409</sup>.

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<sup>398</sup> दवाल - ApHK - (P. - دوال) a 1. shining sword.

<sup>399</sup> दरवाल - ApHK - m. (Skt. द्वारपाल) 1. doorman, door guard.

<sup>400</sup> दारखोल - ApHK - n. 1. a chamber, area, courtyard.

<sup>401</sup> मेअन - ApHK - as मेअण - (P. - میان) ind. 1. inside 2. middle. ;Jha and Srivastava read -दर as द्वार.

Contextually, I am inclined to take this as दरबार.

<sup>402</sup> Shrivastav - सदर दारिगह; OHED - सदर - adj. 1. chief, principal, main

<sup>403</sup> खासदर is left out of Shrivastav.; If you were to take Jha at face value, this would be the “door to the palace”. When the खासदरबार is considered, this might be the most likely reading.

<sup>404</sup> दारिगह - ApHK - (P. - درگاه) masc. 1. “the large gathering field/courtyard inside a fort near the royal palace”.

<sup>405</sup> बारिगह - I have read this as वारि (Skt. = water) + गृह. This might be equivalent to the various structures built in/ around Mughal water gardens.

<sup>406</sup> निमाजगह - is taken as “निमाज + गृह” (lit. room for Islamic prayer) by Jha and Shrivastav

<sup>407</sup> खोआरगह खोरमगह - I could not find a dictionary citation of these two places, but both Jha and Shrivastav as the dining rooms (maybe kitchen?) [भोजनगृह] and bedrooms/chambers.

<sup>408</sup> इतिहि - ApHK - इत्थ/इत्थि - (Skt. अत्र > Pkt. इत्थ) ind. 1. here (PrPg, KL)

<sup>409</sup> अद्यपर्यन्त - taken as अद्य + पर्यन्त (MSH आज तक).



## Pallava 2.59 (Prose)

प्रमदन पुष्पवाटिका, कृत्रिमनदी क्रीडाशैल धारागृह यन्त्र-व्यजन शृङ्गारसंकेत माधवीमण्डप विश्रामचौरा  
चित्रशाली खट्वाहिण्डोल कुसुमशय्या प्रदीपमाणिक्य चन्द्रकान्तशिला चतु-स्सम-पल्लव करो परमार्थ पुच्छिहि  
सिआन, “ए वाप! अभ्यन्तर करी वार्ता के जान” ॥५९॥

There were intoxicating gardens of flowers, man-made streams<sup>410</sup>, artificial rock gardens<sup>411</sup>,  
rooms with fountains<sup>412</sup>, mechanical fans<sup>413</sup>, meeting places for lovers<sup>414</sup> in cooling bowers of  
Mādhavī trees<sup>415</sup>, benches for resting on<sup>416</sup>, picture galleries, reclining swings<sup>417</sup>, flower beds  
inlaid with shining with rubies and moonstones<sup>418</sup>. [They] asked the meaning of the four-fold<sup>419</sup>  
ponds<sup>420</sup> and all these things from those who know, “Hey, my gosh! How should one describe the  
inside of [the palace].”

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<sup>410</sup> कृत्रिम - HSS 1. false, fake.

<sup>411</sup> शैल संज्ञा पुं० [सं०] हल के एक भाग का नाम [को०] ।

<sup>412</sup> धारा - HSS 1. a contraption for pouring/releasing water.

I have taken this to mean a room (with गृह) for showering.

<sup>413</sup> व्यजन संज्ञा पुं० [सं०] १. हवा करने का पंखा

<sup>414</sup> संकेत - HSS “प्रेमी प्रेमिका के मिलने का पूर्वनिर्दिष्ट स्थान”

<sup>415</sup> मण्डप - HSS 1. a shaded place for people to take refuge from the sun.

<sup>416</sup> चौरा - OHED 1. a platform or plinth.

<sup>417</sup> खट्वा - HSS 1. bed, cot.

<sup>418</sup> माणिक्य - OHED 1. ruby, gem.

<sup>419</sup> Shrivastav takes as the Sanskritized चतःसम - (MMW) 1. of/having four symmetrical parts

<sup>420</sup> पल्लव - ApHK 1. small pond, tank.

## Pallava 2.60

(रङ्गा छन्द)

एम पेक्खिअ दूर दरखोल ॥

खन मुहुत्त विस्समिअ सिट्ठपदिक परिचअ पमानिअ ।

गुने अनुरञ्जिअ लोअ सब्ब महल को मम्म जानिअ ॥

सगुण सआना पुच्छिअउ तं पल्लविअउ आस ।

तो उअ सञ्जहि मज्झपुर विप्पघरहि करु वास ॥६०॥

Thus, they saw [many] doors<sup>421</sup> to [various] rooms in the distance.

They rested for a moment and confirmed<sup>422</sup> their identities with the foot soldiers<sup>423</sup>.

They impressed<sup>424</sup> everyone with their qualities and learned of the details<sup>425</sup> of the entire palace.

They inquired from men of quality and knowledge, and their hope blossomed<sup>426</sup>.

At the setting<sup>427</sup> of the sun<sup>428</sup>, they [went] to stay in the home of a Brahmin<sup>429</sup> in the middle of the town.

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<sup>421</sup> Perhaps द्वार + खोल/खोली - OHED. 1. a small room = the door to small rooms/chambers.

<sup>422</sup> प्रमाणिअ - ApHK 1. proved, certified, confirmed.

<sup>423</sup> सिट्ठ - ApHK 1. upstanding, righteous.; पदिक - ApHK 1. someone going by foot, foot soldier.

<sup>424</sup> अनुरंजिअ - ApHK 1. conciliated, diverted, entertained.

<sup>425</sup> मम्म - ApHK 1. essence, intention.

<sup>426</sup> पल्लविअउ - ApHK. 1. budding, flourishing, developing, spreading.

<sup>427</sup> उअ - ApHK 1. to grow, appear 2. to begin, set in

<sup>428</sup> सञ्जहि - ApHK (skt. संज्ञा) 1. sunset, dusk.

<sup>429</sup> विप्प - ApHK (skt. विप्र) 1. brahmin.

### Pallava 3.15

ओ विअक्खण तुम्हे गुणमन्त॥  
ओ सधम्म तोहँ सुद्ध ओहु सदअ तोहँ रज्जखण्डिअ।  
ओ जिगीसु तोहँ शूर, ओहु राअ तोहँ राअ-पण्डिअ॥  
पुहुवीपति सुरुतान ओ, तुम्हँ राअकुमार।  
एक्कचित्त जइ सेविअइ, धुअ होसइ परकार॥१५॥

He is wise and you are full of virtue.

He is righteous, you pure; he is merciful and you have been deprived of your rule.

He is desirous and you are a hero; he is King and you are [like] a royal-sage.

He is a Sultān, Lord of the Earth, and you are a prince.

If you serve single-mindedly, then a solution will be definitely be found.

## Pallava 4.2

[भृंगः कथयति]

कितिसिंह गुण हओ कहओ पेअसि अप्पहि कान ।

बिनु जने, बिनु धने, धन्धे<sup>430</sup> बिनु, जे चालिअ सुरुतान ॥२॥

[The male bee replies]

I will speak of the qualities of Kīrttisimha, lend me your ears.

Without men, without wealth, and without conflict [he managed] to move the Sultān.

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<sup>430</sup> धन्धे - ApHK (Skt. द्वन्द्व) 1. conflict, friction.

\*In the intervening verses, the armies of Ibrahim Shah march to battle. They make many stops and detours along the way and the beginning of this *pallava* includes the scenes of a frustrated Kīrttisimha sitting in the camps anxious to get his campaign underway, but all he can do is remark on the activities of the army and the people that are in it.

#### **Pallava 4.22**

मत्त मँगोल बोल नहि बुज्झइ ।  
खुन्दकार कारण रण जुज्झइ ॥  
काँचे माँसु कबहु कर भोअन।  
कादम्बरि रसे लोहित लोअन॥२२॥

The frenzied Mongols<sup>431</sup> do not understand a word.  
It is because of sheer belligerence<sup>432</sup> that they fight<sup>433</sup> on the battlefield.  
Some [even] dine on raw meat.  
Their eyes are made red<sup>434</sup> with Kādambari<sup>435</sup> wine.

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<sup>431</sup> मँगोल - Jha takes this as Mongols; Central Asians.

<sup>432</sup> खुंद - ApHK 1. to undermine, to be belligerent, 2. to investigate closely.

<sup>433</sup> जुज्झ - ApHK (skt. युद्ध) 1. to battle, fight.

<sup>434</sup> लोहित - ApHK लोहिअ 1. to redden, make with blood.

<sup>435</sup> कादम्बरि - ApHK 1. a particular kind of wine/alcohol.

#### Pallava 4.24

गो बम्भण बध दोस न मानथि  
परपुर नारि बन्दि कए आनथि ॥  
हस हरषैँ रुठु हो सहसहि ।  
तरुण तुरुक वाचा सए-सहसहि ॥२४॥

They do not consider it a sin to slay cows or Brahmins.

They enslave and brought with them<sup>436</sup> the women of their enemies' cities.

They burst into a joyful and uproarious laughter and then suddenly<sup>437</sup> become angry<sup>438</sup>.

The voices of the young Turks [roar] in their hundreds<sup>439</sup> and thousands.

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<sup>436</sup> आनथि - ApHK 1. past habitual, to take.

<sup>437</sup> सहसहि - ApHK सहस (skt. सहस्र) 1. one thousand OR 2. (skt. सहसा) adv. suddenly.

<sup>438</sup> रुठु - ApHK 1. to be angry, hostile.

<sup>439</sup> सए - ApHK 1. one hundred OR 2. (skt. स्वयम्) reflexive self.

#### Pallava 4.25

अरु कत धाँगड़ देखिअथि जाइते ।

गोरु मारि विसमिल कए खाइते ॥२४॥

And countless *Dhangars*<sup>440</sup> were seen going along [with the army].

They<sup>441</sup> would say “Bismillah!” and eat the slain cattle.

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<sup>440</sup> The Dhangars are a group of nomadic and pastoral castes in central and western India. The largest concentration is in the modern state of Maharashtra. They self-describe as having been instrumental to the operation of the Maratha armies. see. Sontheimer, G.D., 1975, ‘The Dhangars’, In L.S. Leshnik and G.D. Sontheimer, (eds.), *Nomads and pastoralists in South Asia*. Wiesbaden.

According to Jha, this means “strong warrior” in modern Maithili. He does not give an attestation.

<sup>441</sup> It is unclear whether the Dhangars are partaking in cattle-slaughter and beef-eating form this verse.

#### Pallava 4.28

लूटि अरजन, पेटे बए ।  
अन्याजे वृद्धि कन्दलैँ खए ॥  
न दीनाक दया, न सकताक डर ।  
न बासि सम्बर, न विआहि घर ॥२८॥

They profit<sup>442</sup> from looting, which fills their bellies.  
They excel through injustice<sup>443</sup> and in quarreling<sup>444</sup> they find destruction<sup>445</sup>.  
They have no empathy for the poor nor fear of the powerful.  
They do not settle down<sup>446</sup> with their provisions<sup>447</sup> nor did they establish marital homes.

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<sup>442</sup> अरजन - OHED (skt. अर्जन) 1. to earn, accumulate, to profit.

<sup>443</sup> I have taken this as derivative of अन्याय, injustice

<sup>444</sup> कंदल - ApHK 1. fighting, quarreling.

<sup>445</sup> खए - ApHK (skt. क्षय) 1. destruction.

<sup>446</sup> बासि - ApHK (root वास-) 1. to dwell 2. to adorn with संस्कार.

<sup>447</sup> सम्बर - ApHK 1. provisions for journeying/travel.



### Pallava 4.32

ता पाछें आबन्त हुअ, हिन्दूदल गमनेन ।  
राआ गणए न पारिअइ, राउत लेक्खिअ केन ॥३२॥

Behind them came along the procession of the Hindus.

There could be no counting of the *Rājas*, and for the *Rāutas* there could be no<sup>448</sup>  
accounting<sup>449</sup>.

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<sup>448</sup> केन - ApHK 1. MSH किस OR केम - ApHK 1. How? (MSH कैसे).

<sup>449</sup> लेक्खिअ - ApHK 1. to account for.

### Pallava 4.36

तुलुकन्हि के फौदैँ, हौदैँ हौदैँ, चप्परि चौदिस घूमी ।  
अओ ताक धरन्ते, कलह करन्ते, हिन्दू उतरथि भूमि ॥  
असपख एकचोई, गणिअ न होई, सरमाना ।  
वारिगह मण्डल, दिग आखण्डल पट्टन परिठम भाना ॥ ३६॥

The armies<sup>450</sup> and cavalries<sup>451</sup> of the Turks roamed in all directions.  
Keeping<sup>452</sup> a watchful gaze<sup>453</sup> [on] the Hindus, who were dispossessed<sup>454</sup> of their lands  
because of in-fighting<sup>455</sup>.  
Nearby<sup>456</sup>, the royal<sup>457</sup> encampment<sup>458</sup> is beyond measure.  
Much like the mass of clouds<sup>459</sup>, it was as<sup>460</sup> magnificent<sup>461</sup> as Indra's<sup>462</sup> capitol<sup>463</sup> city.

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<sup>450</sup> फौदैँ - ApHK फौद 1. a portion or section of an army.

<sup>451</sup> हौदै - ApHK 1. the cavalry mounted on elephants and camels.

<sup>452</sup> धरन्ते - ApHK धर 1. to put, place. 2. to keep.

<sup>453</sup> ताक - OHED 1. a look, glance. 2. watch, expectation.

<sup>454</sup> उतरथि - ApHK 1. to be thrown out.

<sup>455</sup> कलह - OHED 1. m. strife, quarrel. 2. adj. quarrelsome.; There is an alternate reading as offered by Jha. He suggests that "The Hindus, seeing the occasion, attack and descend on the battle field.". This reverses the force of the action.

<sup>456</sup> असपख - ApHK 1. adv. nearby (MSH आस-पास में).

<sup>457</sup> सरमाना - ApHK सरमाणा (P. ? شروان शरवान) 1. royal, of the king.

<sup>458</sup> एकचोई - ApHK एकच्चोई 1. the central supporting pole of a tent.  
This perhaps denotes an encampment in general.

<sup>459</sup> वारि - OHED 1. water.

<sup>460</sup> भाना - ApHK 1. to be approved of, to be liked. 2 to suit, fit.

<sup>461</sup> परिठम - ApHK 1. prestige, dignity, status. 2. establishment, installation.

<sup>462</sup> आखंडल - ApHK 1. Indra.

<sup>463</sup> पट्टन - ApHK 1. Capitol/main city.

#### Pallava 4.54

[रड्डा छन्द]

धम्म पेक्खइ अबरु सुरुतान ॥  
अन्तरिक्ख ओत्तरिअ, इन्द चन्द सुरसिद्ध चारण।  
विज्जाहरे णह भरिअ, वीर जुज्झ देखन्ते कारण ॥  
जहिँ जहिँ संघल सत्तुघल, तहिँ तहिँ पल तरवारि ।  
सोणिअ मज्जिअ मेइनी, कित्तिसिंह करु मारि ॥५४॥

Dharma and the Sultān [came] and saw [them].

The firmament<sup>464</sup> was filled to the brim<sup>465</sup> by Indra, Candra, the gods, Siddhas, and the wandering bards<sup>466</sup>.

The Vidyādhāras<sup>467</sup> filled the skies<sup>468</sup> to see the heroes battle<sup>469</sup>.

Wherever this [two] enemies<sup>470</sup> came together<sup>471</sup>, there the swords fell<sup>472</sup> together.

Blood<sup>473</sup> bathed<sup>474</sup> the Earth<sup>475</sup>, when Kīrttisimha thrust [his sword].

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<sup>464</sup> अन्तरिक्ख - ApHK 1. m. space; the space between the earth and the other planets.

<sup>465</sup> ओत्तरिअ - ApHK ओत्थअ 1. covered, concealed. OR ओत्थर 1. excitement, joy.

<sup>466</sup> चारण - HSS 1. nm. a wandering minstrel, bard; grazing; a sub-caste of Rajasthani Brahmins.

<sup>467</sup> विज्जा + हर - ApHK 1. a Vidyadhara.

<sup>468</sup> णह - ApHK (skt. नभस्) 1. sky.

<sup>469</sup> जुज्झ - ApHK (skt. युद्ध) 1. fight, battle.

<sup>470</sup> सत्तु + घल - Jha and Srivastava takes सत्तु as शत्रु (enemy).

<sup>471</sup> संघल - ApHK 1. to gather; come together.

<sup>472</sup> पल - ApHK (skt. पत) 1. to fall (down).

<sup>473</sup> सोणिअ - ApHK (skt. शोणित) 1. blood.

<sup>474</sup> मज्जिअ - ApHK 1. to bathe.

<sup>475</sup> मेइणि - ApHK 1. the earth.

**Pallava 4.64<sup>476</sup>**

[तोटक छन्द]

सब्वउ जन पेक्खइ जुज्झ तहा ।

महभारअ अज्जुन कन्न जहा ॥६४॥

Everyone gathered there and saw the battle,  
like [the battle] of Arjuna and Karṇa of the Mahābhārata.

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<sup>476</sup> I have only recorded and translated the second half of this verse.

#### Pallava 4.65

णं आहव माहव सम्भु करे ।  
बाणासुर जुञ्ज विवत्त भरे ॥  
महराअन्हि मल्लिके चप्पि लिऊ ।  
असलान निआनहि पिट्ठि दिऊ ॥६५॥

Just like<sup>477</sup> that battle<sup>478</sup> between Mādhava<sup>479</sup> (Krishna) and Śambhu,  
Which forced<sup>480</sup> Bāṇāsura<sup>481</sup> to turn<sup>482</sup> [and flee] in battle.  
The Mahārāja-s and the Maliks were crushed<sup>483</sup>,  
and Aslāna helplessly<sup>484</sup> turned his back.

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<sup>477</sup> णं - ApHK 1. like, similar to.

<sup>478</sup> आवह - ApHK (skt. सं+प्र+आहव) 1. battle, war, fight.

<sup>479</sup> माहव - ApHK 1. Mādhava. epithet of Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>480</sup> भरे - ApHK 1. weight, force, burden. \*taken adverbially here.

<sup>481</sup> Bāṇāsura, a devotee of Śiva, was spared his life in battle by Krishna. Similarly, Aslāna was spared his life by the merciful Kīrttiśimha.

<sup>482</sup> विवत्त - ApHK (skt. विवर्त) 1. turned, pivoted.

<sup>483</sup> चप्पि - ApHK चप्प - 1. to crush, trample.

<sup>484</sup> निआनहि - ApHK निआन 1. For, for the purpose of; or निदान 1. helplessly.

**Pallava 4.68**

[दोहा]

जइ धकेँ जीबसि जीव गए, जाहि जाहि असलान।

तिहुअण जगगइ कित्ति मझु, तुज्झ दिअउँ जिवदान ॥६८॥

Go! In whichever direction that you might live, Go! Go! Aslāna!

In the three worlds [there will be] my glory, for I have given you the boon of your life.

**Pallava 4.69**

जइ रण भग्गसि तइ तोजे काअर।  
अरु तोहि मारइ से पुनु काअर।।  
जाहि जाहि अनुसर गए साअर।  
एम पजम्पइ हसि बे नाअर।।६९।।

Since you ran away from battle, you are therefore a coward.  
And whoever would kill you would also be turned into a coward.  
Go! Go! be gone to the ocean!  
Thus proclaimed the heroes, laughing at him.

#### Pallava 4.70

तो पलटिअ जित्ति रण राए ।  
संखध्वलि उच्छलिअ, नित्त गीत वज्जान वज्जिअ ।  
चारि वेअ झंकरिअ, सुह मुहत्त अहिसेक किज्जिअ ॥  
बन्धव जन उच्छाह करु, तिरहुति पाइअ रूप ।  
पातिसाह जसु तिलक करु, कित्तिसिंह भउ भूप ॥७०॥

Then having won, [Kīrttisimha] turned away<sup>485</sup> from the battlefield and the kings.  
The sound of the conch resounded<sup>486</sup>. There was dance<sup>487</sup> and song, and the instruments<sup>488</sup>  
were played<sup>489</sup>.  
There was a powerful recitation<sup>490</sup> of the four Vedas and at the auspicious moment the  
coronation was<sup>491</sup> performed.  
Relations and the people were elated<sup>492</sup>, [for] Tirhut had her beauty [again].  
The one<sup>493</sup> who had received the *tilaka* (i.e. was crowned) by the emperor, he was  
Kīrttisimha

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<sup>485</sup> पलिटुअ - ApHK ppp. पलटु - 1. to return, turn about.

<sup>486</sup> उच्छलिअ - ApHK 1. to have risen up.

<sup>487</sup> नित्त - ApHK (skt. नृत्य) 1. dance.

<sup>488</sup> वज्जान - ApHK वज्जन (skt. वाद्य) 1. musical instrument.

<sup>489</sup> वज्जिअ - ApHK वज्ज- 1. to strike, be played (as in musical instruments).

<sup>490</sup> झंकरिअ - ApHK 1. to be jolted, blown/blasted (wind/sound). 1. adj. to be tempestuous.

<sup>491</sup> passive, was done.

<sup>492</sup> उच्छाह - ApHK (skt. उत्साह) 1. excitement, elation.

<sup>493</sup> जसु ApHK (skt. यस्य) 1. whose. OR जस 1. fame, glory.



## Appendix: *Cāndāyana* Verses & Translations

### २३. The Moat Surrounding Govar

जाइ देखि गोवर कइ खाई । पुरुस पचास कइ रे गहिराई ।  
तरहुत पथरहिं तस कइ बांधी । कतहुं न सूझइ आंतरु सांधी ।  
डुबुकी(कि) फिरे आछे पैराऊं । तिल एक नीर घटइ न(हि) काऊं ।  
नीर डरावन हरियर बानूं । झांखत हिए कांप तस पानूं ।  
जो खिसि परइ सो जमपंथ जाई । परतहिं मांछ मंगर तेहि खाई ।  
राइ बीसि एक जउ चलि आवहिं कैसहु लिएहुं न जाइ ।  
दइ कै (कइ) आपनु भागहिं साहन जाहिं गंवाइ ॥

(He) goes and sees the moat of Govar, which is 50 purasa-s deep (175 hands).  
The surface/bottom is built from stones, whose joining is invisible.  
Those who swim well return from from a dip, do not lessen the water one iota.  
The water in its green shade is frightful, if they catch a glimpse, they begin to  
tremble in their heart like a leaf.  
Those who fall in go on the path of Yama (death), for the fish and crocodiles consume them.  
[Even] if 20-1 kings come along, they can not overcome it.  
They themselves run away and leave behind their equipment right there at the moat.

## २४. The Fortifications of Govar

तेहु चाहि जो कोटु उचावा । कारु सेतु गढि पाथरु लावा ।  
पुरस (पुरस) तीस यक आहि उंचाई । हाथ बीस केरी चकराई ।  
कौसीसेहिं सब ईगुर लागा । ऊपर हेर त खिसि पर पागा ।  
तेल धार जइसि चिकनाई । ऊपर चांटी चरे (चड़ी) न जाई ।  
सगर देवसु चहुं दिसि फिरि आइय । सूरु आंथवइ ओर न पाइय ।  
बीस पवरि बीसउ जरि लोहे सोनेइं रसे किवार ।  
देवसहिं रहहिं पंवरिया राति भंवहिं कोटवार ॥

The walls were raised from there, [and] the artisans made the citadel of white cut stones .

It was 30 purasa-s (105 hands) in height and 20 purasa-s (70 hands) in width.

All of the ramparts were made of Cinnabar, and if one were to look up at them, one's turban would fall off.

The oiled edges were like grease (?), [thus] one would not ascend [without] make slow steps.

For the entire day [the sun] rotates around the walls of the city, and even at sunset you cannot find its limit.

There were 20 doors, all of whom were decorated with iron and the gates were overlain with gold.

The city guards would remain patrolling the gates and the city quarters [of the city] day and night.

## २५. Inhabitants of the City

बांभन खतरी बैस गोवारा । खांडरवा(र) अउ अगगरवारा ।  
बसहिं तिवारी अउ पंचवानां । धाकर जोसी अउ जजमानां ।  
बसहिं खंधाई अउ बनजारा । जाति सरावग अउर प(पं)वारा ।  
सोनीं बसहिं सुनार बिनानी । रावत लोग बसाए आनी ।  
ठाकुर बहुत बसहिं चौहानां । परजा पौनि गिनति को जानां ।  
बहुत चाप(पि) दरमरि उठ खोरिन्ह हींडि न जाइ ।  
बीस बार बस गोवरा मानुस चलत भुलाइ ॥

Brahmins, Kṣtriyas, Vaiśyas, Gvāla, Khaṇḍelvālas, and Agravālas dwelt there.

Tivārī-s, Pañcavāna-s, Dhākaḍa-s, Jośī-s, and Jajmānas [also] dwelt there.

The Gandhi-s, Banijāra-s (both merchant castes), Śrāvaka-s, and Paṁvāra-s, live there too.

The goldsmiths and scholars dwell there along with the nobility who came to live there.

There were [also] many Chauhan-Thakurs live there. Who knows what the count of all of the people [who dwelt there].

In the alleys one would fall and be trodden upon, and could not wander about there.

[Even] if one were to dwell in Govara for twenty days, one would still get confused by all the [streets<sup>494</sup>] bustling with people.

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<sup>494</sup> MP Gupta takes this reading

२६. Nobles of the Court of Rai Mihr

राइ कुरी कइ बइस अथाई । हम फुनि ठाढ भए तहां जाई ।  
अति बिदवांस पंडित ते पढे । रूपि बेरासि दइय के गढ़े ।  
अधरन लागइ पान चबाहीं । दांत ति मुख महि दीसहि नाहीं ।  
दान झूझ के बिरुद बोलावहि । भांटन्हि कापर घोर देवावहि ।  
हाथ खरग वैअरि सिर देही । बैरिन्ह ऊपरि बीरा लेहीं ।  
छत्तीस कुरी राजपुत भूजहि सासन गांउ ।  
देस के डांड आव महरइं कहं तिन्ह कुंवरनि के नांउ ॥

The noblemen sat down to meet [there], we went again and stood there.

They were scholars well read in the Veda-s, who were designated by fate [to dwell] in beauty and pleasure.

They chewed pān, which was always on their lips, their teeth were not visible in their mouths. For war and charity, bards were ordered to sing songs of praise, in return they were given clothing and horses.

They raised swords in their hands to take the heads of their enemies, [when] they resolved to attack them (mercenaries).

The Rajputs of thirty-six clans gained [various] villages by royal decree.

Those who were taxed in that country came to Mehr, through the name of these princes.

## २७. Markets of Perfumes and Goods

सून फूल हाटन्ह सब फूला । जिउ बिमोहि गा देखत भूला ।  
अगरु चंदनु सबु धरा बिकाई । कूंकूं परिमल सुगंध खंधाई ।  
बेनां अउरु कपूर सुहावा । मेद कस्तूरी महंक सनावा ।  
पान उडांगर (अडागर) सुरंग सोपारी । जैफर लौंग बिकाइ छुहारी ।  
दौनां मरुवा कुंद निवारी । गूंदे हार ति बेचहिं मारी ।  
खांड चिरउंजी दाख खुरुहरी बहुतइ लोग बेसाहिं ।  
हीर पवार सोन भल कापर जत चाहिय सब आहि ॥

The markets of flowers were in bloom and those who saw them were bewildered by pleasure.  
Aloe and sandalwood were in stock and sold [there]. Flowers, perfumes, and other good  
smelling things were piled up there.

Kuśa grass, pleasing camphor, musk, of which were drenched in good smell.  
There were whole pān and lovely colored betal-nuts. Nutmeg, cloves, and dates were sold too.  
Majoram/Rosemary, basil, jasmine, and date-palm flowers were strung into garlands by the  
gardeners and sold.

And many were bargaining over cane sugar, chirauli-nuts, raisins, “khurua-s” (hoofs).  
There were as much diamonds, coral, gold, and fine clothing as could be desired.

## २८. Performers in the Market

हाट छरहंटा पेखन होई । देखहिं निसरि मनुस अउ जोई ।  
बरुवा राम रमाइनु कहहीं । गावहिं गीत नांच भल करहीं ।  
बहुरूपी बहु भेस फिरावा । बार बूढ चलि देखइ आवा ।  
राधा कान्ह देस छद(chadmālī) ल्यावहिं । मटकि मूंड मसि देह चरावहिं ।  
गावहिं गीत औ (अउ) कहहिं पंवारा । नट नाचहिं अउ बाजहिं तारा ।  
भामनगारी कोड चरित हम देखा होइ अपार ।  
अंछ बधावा गोवर घरि घरि मंगराचार ॥

Many con-men were wheeling and dealing in the market, who would look at the men and women leaving (.

Barooa spoke of Rāma of the Rāmāyaṇa. They would sing and dance well.

Bahurupiya-s wore many [fine] clothes. The young and old came along to look at them. They dressed as Radha and Krishna, [the Radha] put a earthen-pot on her head and [the Krishna] would put lampblack on his body.

They sang songs and recited stories of praise (encomia). They danced to [their] tāla.

We seen countless of the characters playing their beguiling game.

Throughout Govar, “Badhāvā”<sup>495</sup> and many auspicious rituals were continually celebrated.

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<sup>495</sup> ritual gift giving to a new mother after childbirth; “Baby Shower”

## २९. Court of Rai Mihr

कहुउं महर सीह बारु बखांनी । बइठ सींह गढ़ि धरे बिनांनी ।  
बहुत बीर तिन्ह देखि पराहीं । हिएं लाग डर खेंदि न खाहीं ।  
देखत पवरि डीठि फिरि जाई । एक सूति सुतिहार उचाई ।  
ओपि रूप कइ पानीं ढारा । अस कइ महर दुवार संवारा ।  
सात लोह एकहिं औटाए । बजर केवार पंवरि गढ़ि लाए ।  
राति जु बइसइ चौकी कुंत खरग रह छाड़ि ।  
पाखर सहस साठ फिर जांटहि संचरि न जाइ ॥

I will describe the entrance-gate to [the court] of King Mehr, at which lions sit, kept there by the knowledgeable guard of the citadel.

Many brave warriors who saw them fled. They feared in their hearts so they ran, so they would not be eaten.

He/we? did not dally and proceeded through the portico. A “Sutradhāra”, with a thread (of measure) appeared.

He poured out silver liquid (water). The door of Mehr was attended to in this fashion.

Seven types of iron were alloyed together to form steel plating to protect the door.

At night, the check post was stocked with lances and swords.

Because of the 70,000 elephants and soldiers there, there wasn't even room for an ant to move.

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