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 Ṭḥakura’s 15th century Avahaṭṭha 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 Apabhraṃśa (Avahaṭṭha) 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.
# Table of Contents

Abbreviations………………………………………………………………………7

I. Introduction……………………………………………………………………11
   Historical Context………………………………………………………………17
   Vidyāpati……………………………………………………………………18
   The Tughlaqs and Kāmeśvara Oinvāra……………………………………21
   The Jaunpur Sultānate under Shams ‘ud-din Ibrahim Shāh Shārqi…………22
   Tirhut………………………………………………………………………..23
   Narrative Summary…………………………………………………………25

Chapter 1: Encounters and Conflict in the Bazaars……………………………………..29

Chapter 2: The Mediating Role of Urban Space……………………………………….36

Chapter 3: The Sultān: The Righteous Ruler……………………………………….47

Conclusion………………………………………………………………………54

II. Structure………………………………………………………………………..57

Manuscripts……………………………………………………………………..58

Editions…………………………………………………………………………59

General Structure of “Avahaṭṭha”………………………………………………62
   Nouns……………………………………………………………………….64
   Pronominals………………………………………………………………65
   Verbal System………………………………………………………………67

Text and Translation…………………………………………………………….69

Appendix: Cāndāyana Verses & Translations……………………………………137

Bibliography………………………………………………………………………144
Abbreviations

Lexicographical Sources


Source Abbreviations

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

Bh  Bhavisyattakahā
DNM  Deśī Nāma Mālā
HV  Hemacandra’s Apabhraṃśa Vyākaraṇa
J  Jaṃbūsāmi Cariu
Js  Jasahara Cariu
K  Karakaṃḍa Cariu
KL  Kīrttilatā
MP  Mahāpurāṇa
N  ṇayakumāra Cariu
PC  Pauma Cariu
PG  Prācīna Gurjara Kāvyā Samgraha
Pr.Pg.  Prākṛta Paiṅgalam
PSC  Paumasiri Cariu (Dhahila)
R  Rāulavela
SC  Sukumāla Cariu

Grammar Notations

1  first person
2  second person
3  third person
Abl  ablative
Abs  absolutive
Acc  accusative
Adj  adjective
Adv  adverb
Ap  Apabhramśa
Avh  Avahaṭṭha
B  Bengali
D  “Deśī śabda” (word of indigenous origin)
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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 Faruqui¹; David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence²; and

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Francesca Orsini and Samira Sheikh, 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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The fifteenth century Kīrtitilatā 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 Kīrtitilatā 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 Kīrtitilatā 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. Stewart4, Richard Eaton5, and Finbarr Flood6 were particularly of use when trying to fit Vidyāpati’s voice into the sources used by contemporary scholars to study

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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, 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 goes a step further to remark on the differences of tone in Vidyāpati’s description of “Hindus” and “Turks.” Additionally, David Lorenzen makes an effort to emphasis 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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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 Avahaṭṭha, a late regional Apabhramśa, 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 Avahaṭṭha in North-Eastern India. Straddling the boundary between Sanskrit and vernacular Maithili, both languages in which Vidyāpati also wrote, Avahaṭṭha 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\textsuperscript{10} 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

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 initials 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 Avahaṭṭha, a description of the textual apparatus, and lastly a large expert of the Kīrttilatā along with my own translation.
Historical Context

In the study of the late Sultanate period, especially in the court of the Sultanate 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 Purus aparikṣā) 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 (ʿĀfīf and Barnī's Tarikh-i Firoz Shahī), 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 Avahaṭṭha 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 *Gāṅgāväkyāvalī* 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 Padmasimha, 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 Narasimha 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 14th century the long rooted Karṇata 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, Ghīyāsuddin 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, Hāji 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 Darbāṅgā, 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 Shārqis, 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 Gauḍēśvara (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 Darbhaṅgā 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 Bhāratī). 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.\(^{11}\)

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 (*brṅga*) and

\(^{11}\) Kīrttilatā 1.1-1.5
his female partner (ṛṅgi). The ṛṅga continues to act as the primary narrator for the entire 
Kṛttilatā. 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 ṛṅgi asking the ṛṅga what the most 
valuable quality is in the world\textsuperscript{12} and who is a true hero\textsuperscript{13}. The male bee ultimately answers that a 
true man is only deemed so by his innate manliness\textsuperscript{14}. 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\textsuperscript{15}. 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 Kṛttisimha.”\textsuperscript{16} This begins a a discussion of the Oinī dynasty and its lineage. In light of 
research\textsuperscript{17} that has revealed that the Oinī-s were a brahmin clan who replaced the previous 
Karṇata dynasty, the following description of their family makes more sense. The Oinvaras are

\textsuperscript{12} Kṛttilatā 1.14
\textsuperscript{13} Kṛttilatā 1.15-1.16
\textsuperscript{14} “पुइसत्तणेन पुिरसो…”. Kṛttilatā 1.17
\textsuperscript{15} Kṛttilatā 1.20
The parallel between Kṛttisimha and Paraśurāma seems significant, as both are brahmin-warriors who bring justice 
to miscreant kṣatriyas (an Afghan warlord in this case).
\textsuperscript{16} Kṛttilatā 1.21
\textsuperscript{17} Radhakrishna Choudhary, History of Mulsim Rule in Tirhut, 1206-1765, A.D. (Varanasi: Chowkamba Sanskrit 
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 (bhūbaï) and a brahmin (bhūdeva).” This is a theme that we will see continued in the characterization of Kīrttisimha and Vīrasimha.

A description of the lineage the Oinī-s is then given, beginning with the first king of this dynasty, Rāja Kāmeśvara, though little is said about him. 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. His son was Gaṇeśa or Gaṇeśvara, who is lauded for his beauty and magnanimity in political science and jurisprudence. Vidyāpati gives Gaṇeśa the title of Guru-King. The eldest son of Gaṇeśa, “Mahārājādhirāja” Vīrasimha 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, which is interesting for modern Maithilis who often equivocate on the religious affiliation of Vidyāpati and his patrons. At the end of this first pallava, we finally are introduced to Rājā Kīrttisimha, the namesake of the Kīrttilatā. Of all the members of his lineage, he is praised most for his prowess.

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18 Kīrttilatā 1.22
19 Kīrttilatā 1.22-24
20 Kīrttilatā 1.23
21 Kīrttilatā 1.24
22 Kīrttilatā 1.25
23 Kīrttilatā 1.25
24 Kīrttilatā 1.27
in battle against his enemies, for upholding *dharma*, and for defending the pride of his family. He is on balance, more *ksatriya* 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. Vidyāpati then engages in

26 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. 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.
[And] without reason the become enraged and their faces like heated copper-vessels.
The Turks wander about the market on their Tukharan horses and demand the herd tax.
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 speech with their retainers in tow.

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-

27 Kārttilātā 2.41.
28 गुख - (MMW) 1. f. a kind of reed.
29 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.
30 फरीबी - CPED (P. fīrīb, fireb, fareb, or farīb) 1. Deception, fraud, duplicity, trick, deceit, treachery, imposture, fallacy.
31 Kārttilātā 2.42
religious titles and groups\textsuperscript{32} of other Muslim people within the city. He mentions the \textit{Sayyids}, \textit{Makhadums}, etc. Implying perhaps that these groups an the Turks were socially mutually exclusive. They might have belonged to some larger meta-social group that remained unnamed (or unrecognized) by Vidy\={a}pati 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 \textit{K\textit{\=i}rttilat\={a}}, 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\textsuperscript{33}. The violence continues:

The Brahmin’s \textit{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.\textsuperscript{34}

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 Sult\={a}n, may he live forever.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{K\textit{\=i}rttilat\={a}} 3.44.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{K\textit{\=i}rttilat\={a}} 2.47
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{K\textit{\=i}rttilat\={a}} 2.48.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{K\textit{\=i}rttilat\={a}} 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. 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.

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. They are almost likened to hordes of ghosts and frightful creatures that surround and attend Śiva.

36 Kīrttilatā 4.24
37 Kīrttilatā 4.55-58
Their eyes are made red with Kādambari wine.\(^{38}\)

Here on the battlefield Vidyāpati is still concerned with the markers that distinguish the the “barbarian” Turks with his own brahmin and courtly millieu. 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\(^{39}\) would say “Bismillah!” and eat the slain cattle.\(^{40}\)

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

\(^{38}\) Kīrtīlātā 4.22.  
\(^{39}\) It is unclear whether the Dhangars are partaking in cattle-slaughter and beef-eating form this verse.  
\(^{40}\) Kīrtīlātā 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 Sultan 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 Cândāyan (1379), can help illuminate much about the pedigree and aesthetic orientation of they 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 “Avahaṭṭha”, a late eastern Apabrahṃśa. 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 \textit{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, the speak from inverse perspectives. Daud is a Sufi Muslim who worked to incorporate Indic scenery and stories to locate his \textit{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 a Islamicate court. His text formally adheres to classical Indic literary standards, but breaks the long-held historical silence in mentioning the foreign others. The \textit{Kīrttilatā}, despite being a brahminical observation of a “Turkish” city, remains a thoroughly Indian/Sanskritic text. Jaunpur, or popularly \textit{Yavana-pūra}\textsuperscript{41}, 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 \textit{nagara-varṇana} passages occur at different places and in different contexts between both texts. Govar of the \textit{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 \textit{piramakahānī-s}, Daud wrote the \textit{Cāndāyan} as a didactic

\textsuperscript{41} Skt. “City of the Barbarians/Foreigners”
and devotional tool. It has been argued by Aditya Behl⁴² 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 Kirttilatā 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 Avahaṭṭha literature to a near classical literary or cosmopolitan⁴³ 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, Ibrāhīm 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.


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.\(^{44}\)

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 read the height of 30 *purusa*-s\(^ {45}\). 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\(^ {46}\). 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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\(^{45}\) 105 hands or nearly 38 feet.

\(^{46}\) ऊपर हेर त खिसि पर पागा। Cāndayan. 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.47

As they proceed onwards, the princes encounter beautiful gardens filled with fruit, flowers, and
greenery which “made the city beautiful”48. 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
Ganēśvara, 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 beauty49.

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 spires50. This is not a walled city like Govar, but rather a grand capitol that exerts cultural

47 Kīrttilatā 2.21
48 फल्लविंश कुमुमिंश फलिंश उपवान, चूंज चम्पक सोहिअ। Kīrttilatā 2.21
49 मजरस्ते-मान विमूढ्य महाउर, सहम मनस मोहिअ। Kīrttilatā 2.21
50 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 Kīrttisiriha 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. The markets seem to be a vast ocean of humanity. 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.

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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51 Kīrttilatā. 2.26
52 Kīrttilatā. 2.26
53 Kīrttiлатā 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 varṇasamkara, 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.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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54 Cāndāyan, 27.
They sang songs and recited stories of praise (encomia). They danced to [their] tāla. 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. He pays particular mention to the Brahmins and Vaiṣyas, 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,

55 Cândayan, 28.
56 Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiṣyas, Gvāla, Khaṇḍelvālas, and Agravālas dwelt there. Tīvāri-s, Paṅcavāna-s, Dhākaḍa-s, Joṣi-s, and Jajmānas [also] dwelt there. The Gandhi-s, Banijāra-s (both merchant castes), Śrāvaka-s, and Paṅvāra-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.

Cândayan 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…

Vidyāpati instead spends more effort describing two groups of people the would have perhaps marked Jaunpur as unique or particular for the Avahatṭha 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. 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 Ilāngo Adigala (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. In the market, they are described as being surrounded by meat, garlic, and onions, ubiquitous of the barbarians, but an anathema for any good
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\(^{61}\), chain mail, and boots,
    The Amir (lords), Valis (viceroys), sālār (army-officers), and Khvājā-s went about.\(^{62}\)

Vidyāpati describes the various groups of Turks\(^{63}\), 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.\(^{64}\)

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 Sufi 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

\(^{61}\) a coarse fabric

\(^{62}\) Kīrttilatā 2.40

\(^{63}\) We can assume that within the group of “turukka”-s, there were Iranians, Afghans, in addition to the obvious Central Asian Turks.

\(^{64}\) Kīrttilatā 2.41
Cāndāyan does not Indianize sufī theology or dogma, but rather grounds Indian experience, environment, and sensual culture as a new sphere of influence within a larger “Sufī 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 Sultan: 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 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 available65, 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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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. 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 and Pankaj Jha,
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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68 Jha, “Beyond the local and universal: Exclusionary strategies of expansive literary cultures in fifteenth century Mithila”.

48
apply as he continues to inspect the men (the puruṣaparīkṣā). Subuddhi then describes the three categories of real men: the heroes (vīraḥ), the wise ones (sudhiyaḥ), and those skilled in a particular branch of knowledge or skill (savidyaḥ). 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 Kṛttilatā. 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 Kṛttisimha and the Sultān Ibrahim Shah.

So he [the Sultān] is sagacious and you [Kṛttisimha] 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.69

We see here that Vidyāpati is establishing a direct comparison between the figure of the Sultān and Kṛttisimha. Clearly, the Sultān is cast in a passive role as arbiter of wisdom, mercy, and the source of wish-fulfilment. Kṛttisimha is then cast as the agent of the Sultān’s will. In serving this ideal man of type two (the sudhiyah), the hero (vīraḥ) is able to obtain his desires. In this case, if Kṛttisimha 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 Kṛttisimha. The Sultān is described as “pious” (sadhambha) while Kṛttisimha alone is “pure” (suddha). This could be in reference to

69 Kṛttilatā 3.15.
the ritual superiority of Kīrttisimha 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 Kīrttisimha 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 14th and 15th 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.  

The examples of masculinity in the Purusaparīkṣā 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 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.

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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70 Sunil Kumar. “Bandagī and Naukarī: Studying Transitions in Political Culture and Service under the North Indian Sultānates, Thirteenth-Sixteenth Centuries,” 93.

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

72 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.73

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 Islamicate culture. Tirhut in its own esteem and in the view of surrounding regions was a center of Brahminical learning and purity. It saw itself a 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 Tihut (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

73 Kārttiłatā 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 Avahattha.

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. र्लेष) 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 Śivasiṁha. 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 Aslānā. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pallavas</th>
<th>Verse Count</th>
<th># of lines</th>
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</thead>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>105</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>261</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>258</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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.
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:

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.  

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 Pracārnīnī 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 Avahaṭṭha more squarely in the Bengali/Eastern Indo-Aryan group of languages. Sastri's introduction is highly engaging, in that he includes many anecdotes of old Maithili scholars of speaking about Vidyāpati and his works. This is interesting for the fluid nature of

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.\(^{75}\) 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.

\(^{75}\) Šaśīnātha Jhā, Vidyāpati kṛt Kīrttilatā.
**General Structure of “Avahattha”**

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 vayaṇa saba jana miṭṭha, te taisana jampau avahaṭṭha||13||

…Everyone finds their own country's language sweet; therefore I write in Avahaṭṭa.76

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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76 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 Varnaratnākara (c. 1326 CE). In this “Compendium of Descriptions”, there is described a list of six literary languages along with Sanskrit, Prakrit, Paiśāci, and Śauraseni. Avahaṭṭha is also mentioned by Vaṁśīdhara in his Prākṛta Paingalam (c. 9-10th cent. CE) and by Addahamāṇa (a.k.a. Abdurrahman) in the Sandeśarāsaka (c. 11th cent. CE). The formulae of the six languages (ṣaṭbhasā) 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. 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.

78 Bābūrāma Saksenā, Kirttilatā (Kāśi: Nāgarī-Pracārini Sabha, 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 Avahaṭṭha postpositions, some of which were later developed in NIA languages, came into use: सम, ससिः, हुतउ, टिखउ, रसि, लगि, तणि, मधि, केर, उप्यरि, 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 Avahaṭṭha and other Apabhraṃśas removed by geography and time.

5. The presence of तत्सम words (direct Sanskrit loanwords) is clearly noticeable. Several scholars have put this down to the fact that a large portion of the Avahaṭṭha literary corpus was composed by Brahmins⁷⁹.

6. Avahaṭṭha 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 Avahaṭṭha 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” (yāvaṇa or mleccha).

7. An additional set of suffixes with a variety of usages come into use that break traditional metric standards: -अ, -ड़, -अल, -उँ, etc.

8. Short syllables are often lengthened and long syllables shortened. This reflects a progressional development from Prakrit/Apabraṃśa, 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 Apabraṃśa and Avahaṭṭha demonstrates different syntactic and phrasal patterns than available in earlier Indo-Aryan languages.

1. Nouns
1.1 Cases

Avahaṭṭha 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.

⁷⁹ Shambhunath Pandey, Apabhramśa Aura Avahatta: Ek Antaryātrā (Delhi: Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1979), 42.
1.2 Pronominals

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>आ</td>
<td>आ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>- , जे (ए), हिं, कां</td>
<td>हिं, कं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>एं , जे, एन, ए, हि</td>
<td>एहि, हि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>काँ, के, के, लांगि, काण</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ते, सजो, तह, चाहि</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>क, करो, करि, करी, के, केर, केरा, करेओ, कढ़, को, का, ह, र</td>
<td>केरा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>- , ए, अं, माँझ, हि</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1st Person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>मोञे, हञो, मो, मोरख, मख</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>मझु, मज़़ु, मुज़ज़्ज़ु, मज़े</td>
<td>अम्ह, अम्ह</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>ओ, ता, से, सो</td>
<td>ओह, ताहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>तं</td>
<td>ताहि, तौन, तेने, तेने</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>ओकरा, तसु</td>
<td>तन्हिकरी, तासु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Demonstratives**
- *Simple* - ई, एहि, एही, एहु
- *Manner* - अइस, अइसो
- *Amount* - एतिअ
- *Location* - एता, इथिहि,

**Relatives**
- *Nominative* - जे, जो
- *Genitive* - जसु, जासु, जसस
- “Instrumental” - जमण, जजोन (जौन), जेंत्रे
- *Locative* - जाहि
- *Accusative/Oblique* - जं, जनहि

**Interrogatives**
- क्‌मन (1.6), क्जोन, क्जमने, क्तिमि, की, को, काईँ, केन, कढ़, कोउ, कोए, काह, काहू, केउ, केबि, किङ्चँ, किङ्चह, कतेहु, कतहु, कत, कहसे

**Reflexive**
- अप्प, अप्पु, अपने, अपनेजो, अपनि, अपनेहुँ, आपे, आपुकरो
2.0 Verbal System

The number of variations and examples are disproportionately in 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

1st Person: -जो — कर्जो
   -ओं — करें

2nd Person: -सि — करसि
   -हि — करहि

3rd Person: -अ — कर
   -अइ — करइ
   -अए — करए
   -अधि — करधि
   -अहि (plural) — करहि

2.2 Past

1st Person: गउँ, आएउँ

2nd Person: करिउँ, दिउँ

3rd Person: -इउ — लिहिउ
   -जिउ — लिजिउ
   -उ — हुउउ (हुआ), भउ
   -एउ —
   -उ — परु, पसरु
   -ईउ — चारीउ
   -ल — भेल, मारल, हराल

2.3 Future

*The simple present is used for immediate future.

1st Person: -सइ — होउसइ
   -इह — करउह
2.4 Imperative/Subjunctive

1\textsuperscript{st} person: -\textit{जो} — कहजो, सुनजो

2\textsuperscript{nd} person: - कह, सुन
   -\textit{हि} — जाहि
   -\textit{इ} — कहइ, जाह
   -\textit{हि} — कहहि
   -\textit{ह} — सजजह

3\textsuperscript{rd} 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, अचछए, हो, हुअ, हुआउ, भा, भउ, रह
Kīrttilatā & Translation

The text provided is that of the 1997 Jha edition. 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

[भोह]  
तिहुजन खेतहि काई तसु कितिबलिल पसरेइ।  
अक्षर खम्भारम्भ जउ मथो बन्दि न देद।॥६॥

How will the vine of his [Kīrttisimha] glory spread in the three worlds, When the stage is not built upon the foundational pillars of [my] letters?

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80 Śaśinātha Jhā, Vidyāpati kṛt Kīrttilatā.

81 काई — ApHK = (MSH) कैसिसे (also cited in J. pp. 2, 14, 18)

82 तसु - 3P.Gen.

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

84 खम्भ - OHED 1. pillar.
Pallava 1.7

तेन मण्डे भण्डो निरूढिः कण जाधसो तहसो कव्व।
खल खलत्तं दूसिङ्ग गुणण पसंसइ सब्ब। ॥ २।।

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

\textsuperscript{86} भण्डो — ApHK भण-, 1. to say.
\textsuperscript{87} निरूढिः — ApHK 1. fame, glory.
\textsuperscript{88} दूसिङ्ग — ApHK. - root दूस (Skt. दूष्य > Pkt. दूस) 1. the corrupted, the wicked, the downgraded.
\textsuperscript{89} खेलने — 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.)
\textsuperscript{90} सुण — ApHK - (Skt. सुङ्ग > Pkt. सुङ्ग) 1. good, righteous person/people (Pr.Pg.)
\textsuperscript{91} पसंसइ — ApHK (Skt. प्र-शंस) - 1. to praise.
The good will praise my\textsuperscript{92} poetry and the wicked will call it base\textsuperscript{93},
As surely as\textsuperscript{94} the snake vomits poison and nectar\textsuperscript{95} cascades\textsuperscript{96} from the moon.

\textsuperscript{92} मझु — ApHK 1P.Gen.

\textsuperscript{93} मन्द — ApHK. 1. adj. lazy, unlearned.

\textsuperscript{94} अवसओ — ApHK. = (Skt. अवसर्यम् > Pkt. अवसरम्) 1. Of course, necessarily. (Pr.Pg. & Js.)

\textsuperscript{95} अमृत — ApHK. - (Skt. अमृत > Pkt. अमृत) 1. Nectar. (Pr.Pg. & K.)

\textsuperscript{96} विमुक्कइ — ApHK - root विमंच- (Skt. वि+मुच) 1. to release.; lit. “The moon releases nectar”.

71
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."97"
Pallava 1.10

बालचन्द बिज्जावांड भासा, दुख नहीं लगाई दुखजन हासा।
ओ परमेसर सेहर सोहइ, ई णिच्छड़ नाअर मन मोहइ। १०१।

Both the crescent moon and the language of Vidyāpati⁹⁸ are untouched by the ridicule of the wicked.
For the moon attains beauty throned on the headdress⁹⁹ of the Śiva and Vidyāpati’s language certainly¹⁰⁰ enchants the minds of the cosmopolitan person¹⁰¹.

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⁹⁸ बिज्जावांड — ApHK. - Vidyāpati. “बिज्जा” is elsewhere cited to be >Skt. विघ्ना (Pr.Pg.)
⁹⁹ सेहर — HSS सेहरा - 1. headdress.
¹⁰¹ नाअर — ApHK. (Skt. नागर > Pkt. णागर > MSH. नागरिक) - 1. city-dweller.
Pallava 1.11

का परवोधञो कमन मनावञो
    किमि नीरस मन रस लए लाबञो।
जइ सुरसा होसइ मझु भासा,
    जो बुजिस्य सो करिस पसंसा॥१॥

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

\textsuperscript{102} परवोधञो — ApHK 1. to explain.

\textsuperscript{103} कमन — ApHK 1. Who? (Pr.Pg.)

\textsuperscript{104} मनावञो — Seems to be a causative subjunctive form; theoretically MSH “मनायें”.

\textsuperscript{105} लाबञो — ApHK - “to cause to reach” (पहुँचाना), “to take to”.

\textsuperscript{106} जइ — ApHK - (Skt. यदि) 1. ind. If. (KL, K, PrPG).
As the bee grasps the flower’s nectar (*rasa*), the connoisseur\(^{107}\) [grasps] the essence\(^{108}\) of poetry

A good person’s mind is always engaged for the sake\(^{109}\) of others; [whereas, even] the wicked person is out to soil one’s name.

---

\(^{107}\) छिल्ल — ApHK (Skt. छिल्ल > Pkt. छिल्ल); 1. adj. clever, intelligent, discerning (DNM, SC, HV). 1. urbane, connoisseur of poetry (काव्य-रसिक).

\(^{108}\) सार — ApHK 1. truth, essence (Js).

\(^{109}\) उअआर — ApHK (Skt. उपकार ) 1. essence.
Sanskrit\textsuperscript{110} is to the liking\textsuperscript{111} of the learned\textsuperscript{112}; no one gets the subtleties of Prakrit. The speech of [one’s] own country all find sweet; for that reason\textsuperscript{113}, I will tell\textsuperscript{114} this [tale] in Avahāṭṭha.

\textsuperscript{110} सकक्र — ApHK (skt. संस्कृत > pkt. सकक्र) 1. Sanskrit language.

\textsuperscript{111} भावइ — ApHK (skt. भाव्य ) 1. to like, to appreciate, to feel. (K, J).

\textsuperscript{112} Many of the Hindi translations seem to think that बखमईछaईjaृैa.ौईaभtpमाैa is derived from बुखमईछaईjaृैa.ौईa.ज;पञो and I chose to retain this meaning. Some chose the lectio facilior, where बख- means simply “many”.

\textsuperscript{113} तैसन — ApHK - (Skt. ते) 1. pl.pr. they. 2. ind. For those reason, therefore (KL, R); ApHK. (Skt. ताद्रश्च ) 1. like this [MSH = दैसा].

\textsuperscript{114} जम्पजो — ApHK - (Skt. v. root जंप् > जल् > Pkt. जंप) 1. to say, tell. (K, PrPg, KL.)
Now the Bee says…

It is written that in the year samvat 252 after the passing of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena, in the first pakṣa (kṛṣṇa pakṣa) of the month of Madhu (Caitra) and on the 5th 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] Gaṇeṣvara.

Upon slaying the King, the battlefield of the skilled [warriors] was filled with roar and the wails of lamentation resounded.

The left eyes of the lovely women of Indra’s capitol must have trembled.
Thakurs became thugs and through coercion, homes were taken.
The servants became the masters of the house. Dharma disappeared and work/professions/trades have declined.
The wicked extinguished the good-folk and not one ‘thinker’ was left.
There was marriage between jāti and ajāti (untouchable). Who is there to care for [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 became roaming beggars.
When the King Gaṇesvara went to heaven, all the [good] qualities were hidden from Tirhuṭ.

121 गए - simple past of ग-गे (to go); functions like MSH गया in Eastern Indic languages for a sense of completion.
122 चपर - ApHK. adv. (skt. चपल) to coerce; to subdue, to suppress, to press down (KL, Js.)
123 गहिः - ApHK. being askew, crooked.
I have chosen to translate this simply as “became”, it gives the appropriate information of servants becoming masters.
124 पारक - ApHK (skt. पराय्य) 1. the caretaker, the carer.
125 पराय्य - ApHK (skt. परमुत् > MSH. पराय्यत किया) to be defeated (KL only)
126 कुल - ApHK (skt. कवि + कुल) group of poets (KL only); Jha and Saxena agree.
127 तिरहुत - ApHK - 1. adj. hidden.; there is alliteration (अनुपास) here occurring within the word “Tirhuṭ”. 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.
Having killed the King, rage gave way to peace. Ashamed, the Turk Aslān thought to himself, “I have done a bad deed.” He beat his head considering Dharma, “To repent for this misdeed I see no good deed. I should return the kingdom and honor Kirttisimha.”
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.
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\textsuperscript{130} 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\textsuperscript{131} beguiled the mind.

\textsuperscript{130} सल्लु — ApHK. 1. to throw; put.

\textsuperscript{131} सद — ApHK (Skt. शब्द) 1. sound, noise.
Pallava 2.22

वकबार पोखरि बॉंध साकम, नीक नीर-निकेतन।
आवें वें विवें वडें भुलिओ बढ़ियो चेतना॥
मोपान तोरण, जन्त जोरण, जाल-गाओख खण्डिआ।
धज धबल हर घर सहसे पेक्खिप्र, कनज कलसिंह मणिआ॥२॥

There were streams/fountains, ponds, dams/canals, bridges\textsuperscript{132}, 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\textsuperscript{133} flew, and shone with golden ornaments that were beautiful.

\textsuperscript{132} साकम — ApHK. 1. a wooden bridge.

\textsuperscript{133} धज — ApHK. (skt. धज) 1. flag, banner.
Pallava 2.23

काल-कमल पत्त-पमान नेतवहि, मत्तकुञ्जर-गामिनी।
चौहेल्ट बुट्ट फलहेल्ट हेरहि, सत्त सत्तवहि कामिनी।।
कप्पूल कुड़कुम गन्ध चामर, रतन कच्छ अम्बरा।
बेवहार मुल्लहिं वणिक विक्रण, 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, foreigners¹³⁴ would transport [the goods].

¹³⁴ बब्बरा — KAB =MSH बब्बरा; barbarian
Everyone wasted their time in observing courtesy, charity, marriage, festivals, music, theater, poetry, hospitality, modesty, clever games and events.

They saw people wander about, playing and laughing, as they walked along in groups.

The princes wandered around, they could not find the [right] way due to the tall elephants and the team of horses.

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135 पेल्लिङ्ग — ApHK - P. Pt. v. root. पेस्ल (Skt. प्रेष्य) l. to labour in something without reward or achievement (attested in PrPg)
136 विनाम — OHED (Skt. विनाम) l. modesty, humility.
137 कौतुक — ApHK - m. n. gen. l. recreation, games, enjoyment
138 पज्जटद — ApHK - v.3P. (Skt. पर्ज्जटद) l. to wander about
139 उद्धर्धि — ApHK - P.Pt. (Skt. उद्धर्धि > Pkt. उद्धर्ध) wandering around
140 बट्र — ApHK - m. n. l. road, way
141 मातंग — ApHK - मातंग - m. n. 1. elephant
142 ठठ्ठहि — ApHK - ठठ्ठ — m. n. 1. flock, horde;
143 तुंग — OHED तुंग - m. n. inst.1. horse
Pallava 2.25 (Prose)

अवरु पुरु -

ताहि नगरनि करो परिठव ठवन्ते, शतसत्स्व हाट-बाट भमन्ते। शाखानगर शाखगाटक आक्रोहन गोपुर
बकहटी बलभी बीथी अटारी, ओवारी रहट घाट कौसीस प्राकार प्रभृति पुर-विन्यास-कथा कहवो का, जनि
दौसरी अमरावतीक अवतार भा।।२५।।

And furthermore,

The city was made prestigious by the hundreds of people wandering in the markets and byways. There were smaller neighborhoods, crossroads, gymnasia, city gates, small shops, rooftop gardens, small huts, water-wheels, ghāt-s, parapets, ramparts, 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 Amarāvatī.

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144 ठवन्ते - ApHK - v. Pr.Pt. root. ठव. 1. to be established, to be situated (HV) present.
146 शाखानगर - OHED - n. 1. satellite district, sub-unit, neighborhood.
147 The is the gloss given by Jha.
149 बकहटी - ApHK - fem. n. (Skt. बक+हट्ठ:) 1. small shops 2. money lending stall 3. bank.
150 बलभी बीथी अटारी - Jha glosses “बलभी” as a small garden/courtyard built on a roof and “अटारी” as a palatial manor (MSH = अट्टलिका). Standard in Braj Bhāṣā - “rooftop garden”.
151 ओवारी - ApHK - fem. n. (Skt. अपवरक) - small huts, homes (DNM).
152 रहट - ApHK - masc. n. (Skt. अरहट्ठ > Pkt. अरहट्ठ) 1. Persian water wheel, tool for extracting water from a well (MP).
153 कौसीस - ApHK - masc. n. (Skt. कपिशोष्ष > Pkt. कपिशीस) 1. turret, parapet, tower.
154 प्राकार - ApHK - masc. n. (Skt.) 1. rampart.
This also,\(^{155}\)

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

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\(^{155}\) अबिअ - ApHK 1. Also, too.

\(^{156}\) P.Pt. 3pl (MSH किये)

\(^{157}\) टंकार - OHED - टंकार 1. f. twang, ringing sound.

\(^{158}\) अष्टधातु - OHED - अष्ट - eight + धातु - f. 1. primary substance, element 2. ore, mineral, metal; Jha mentions gold, silver, bronze, etc.

\(^{159}\) कैसेरी - OHED - कैसरी 1. m. a mental engraver; ApHK - (कैंसर) - a coppersmith, tinsmith, or brazier.

\(^{160}\) कौस्य - OHED - (कौस्य Gen. of कौसा) 1. m. an alloy of copper and tin, or copper and zinc; bell-metal; brass; bronze.

\(^{161}\) पौरजन - ApHK - (skt. पौरजन) - 1. town-dweller, city-dweller.

\(^{162}\) धतहठा - Most Hindi translations render this as धान हाठ - “grain hāṭā”

\(^{163}\) पनहटा - ApHK - 1. pān market.

\(^{164}\) पक्वान्हटा - ApHK - (skt. पक्वान्ह्न + हटा) 1. sweets market.

\(^{165}\) गुगुखन - ApHK - 1. m.n. a deep thunderous sound, roaring sound. , sound of elephants.

\(^{166}\) महाणख - ApHK - 1. a large ocean.

\(^{167}\) कोलाहल - ApHK - 1. the voice/chirping of a bird. 2. m. zest, enthusiasm.
At midday\(^{168}\), [the city] was strewn\(^{169}\) with oceans of wares. Everyone came\(^{170}\) to buy and sell goods from around the world. The people grind\(^{171}\) together and run into one another\(^{172}\), so much so\(^{173}\), that the *tilak* of\(^{174}\) one rubs off on another\(^{175}\) and the earrings of other women\(^{176}\) break. The sacred thread\(^{177}\) of the Brahmins fell\(^{178}\) to the chest of *candala*-s and the breasts of the prostitutes crush\(^{179}\) the hearts of the renunciants\(^{180}\).
Pallava 2.28

(बाली छन्द)

घने साबर घोर हाथि। बहुत बापुर चौरि जाथि।
आवर्त विवर्त रोल हो। नअर नहि नरसमुद्र ओ।॥२८॥

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

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181 घने - ApHK - 1. adj. many.
182 बापुर - OHED - 1. adj. wretched, destitute.
183 रोल - ApHK - 1. fighting, quarreling.
184 आवर्त विवर्त - ApHK 1. coming and going.
When the many different kinds of merchants and traders arrive 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” sit on the city streets and make them lovely with many hundreds of thousands of women of the city. They make some excuse to talk, in order to gossip with everybody. [People] sell and buy things for their own desire, [others] remain content with the spectacle of it all.

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185 विणजार - ApHK - masc. n. 1. merchant, trader, businessman. 2. बनजारा, nomadic trader (KL, SS).

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

187 वाणिज्य - Many of the Hindi translations gloss this as "बनिवालिन [बनिवाली]" - female traders.


189 मॉड़ी - ApHK मॉड़ी 1. decoration, adornment.

190 सम्भाषणे - ApHK - neut. n. loc. 1. talking, speech.

191 विक्रणइ - ApHK (skt. विक्रिया) (MSH = बेचा) 1. adj. sold (J).

192 बेसाहइ - ApHK 1. to take possession, account of.

193 विढ - ApHK - fem. n. (Skt. विढ > Pkt. विढ) 1. sight, scene.
Pallava 2.30

(दोहा)
सबबूझें के वारंज-नयन, तरणी हेरनि बंक।
चोरी पेम पिआरिओ, अपने दोस ससंक।३.०।।

The young girls look askance\(^{194}\) at everyone with their lotus\(^{195}\) eyes.
The lovers\(^{196}\) doubt\(^{197}\) this stolen love, blaming\(^{198}\) themselves\(^{199}\).

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\(^{194}\) हेरनि - ApHK - v. root. हे 1. to see

\(^{195}\) वारंज - OHED - (वारंज or रिज) v. root. रिज 1. to attract, entice, fascinate (KL, J).

\(^{196}\) पिआरिओ - ApHK (skt. प्रियतरा) 1. beloved, lover.

\(^{197}\) ससंक - ApHK - (skt. शंक > pkt. संक) 1. to doubt, to be suspicious 2. fem. n. fear, doubt.

\(^{198}\) दोस - ApHK 1. half 2. anger 3. hatred 4. blame (DNM, PrPg).

\(^{199}\) चोरी पेम - ApHK (Skt. सं+चौर्य+प्रेम ) 1. hidden, secret love/desire 2. stolen love.; glossed as “चोरी से किया गया प्रेम, छिपा हुआ प्रेम”
There were many Brahmins and many Kayasths
There were many clans of Rājputs and many different castes were forced to settled together.
All were gentlemen and all had wealth. The king of the city is above the entire town. All of the young women in the doorways of the houses were joyfully watched by the men. Their faces ascended like moons in each and every house.
Pallava 2.32 (Prose)

(राष्ट्र)
एक हाट करें ओल, ओकी हाट करें ओल। राजपथ सर्निधान सबूत अनेक देखिए बेश्यान्नि करो निवास, जन्ति के निर्माणों विवक्षकम्भु भेल बड़ प्रयास। अबर बैतिन्नि फटों का। जन्ति के बेघूप-धूम करी रेखा धुंधुलू उपर जा। काहु काहयु अदमेनों रंगत करे काजरे चार्नद क्लंक।३२१।

From one beautiful market, into another market. Along near the royal-way, they saw many dwelling places of prostitutes/courtesans which were constructed through the efforts of Viśvakarma. What other wonders should I mention? The line of smoke from the incense [burning to scent the hair] went above even the north star. Some even think that it might stain the moon with soot.

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208 ओल - ApHK 1. adv/adj., interior, internal, internally.
209 ओकी - KLaAvBH- ओका, 1. adj., other (MSH दूसरे).
210 जन्ति - ApHK (Skt. जेन्ति > Pkt. जेन्त) 1. = MSH जिन्.
211 बैतिन्नि - OHED विविन्न 1. variegated. 2. strange, unusual, peculiar. 3. wonderful, surprising.
212 धूम - ApHK (skt. धूम > pkt. धूम) 1. smoke.
213 जा - ApHK 1. जब, जो अर्थ अर्थ - v. 1. to go.
216 काहु काहयु - ApHK - Pr 1. some, MSH = कोई, किसी ने.
218 काजरे - ApHK 1. stain, mark, blemish. (DNM)
219 चार्नद - ApHK 1. soot, blackness.
Pallava 2.33
(रहुँ छ्रुँ छ्रुँ)
लज्ज किलिम, कपट ताहुन।।
धननिमित्ते धर रेम, लोमें विनञ्ज, सोभागे कामन।
बिनु सामी सिन्दुर, परामरिस परिचय अपामन।।
जै गुणमन्त्रा अलहुन, गीरव लहइ शुंतंग।
वेसा-मन्दिर धुँध बसइ, धुँध हुँध रूँध अनंग।।

False 220 shyness, deceitful youth,
Falling 221 in “love” for the purpose 222 of gaining wealth; courtesy 223 out of greed 224, their
fortune 225 is in lust 226.
Wearing the mark of a married woman, though no husband 227 is around, upon meeting them
it is discernible that they are living in sin 228.
Those 229 who are virtuous 230 gain nothing, only proud serpents 231 get 232 fame.
Cupid 233, embodied in the the form of a knave, certainly takes up residency in these
places of the prostitutes.

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220 किलिम - ApHK - adj. 1. fake, feigned, constructed.
221 धर - ApHK - v. 1. to get, hold, catch, carry.
222 विनिवे - OHED - nm. 1. cause, reason, factor.
223 विनम्र - OHED - m. 1. courtesy, refinement, mildness of manner. 2. modesty 3. meekness, humility.
225 सोभागे - ApHK - masc. 1. good fortune. 2. married woman.
226 कामन - KAB - 1. lust, desire, passion= MSH कामना.
227 सामी - ApHK सामिज् - m. 1. husband. 2. lord, master.
228 अपामन - ApHK (skt. अपावन) 1. impure 2. unholy.
229 जं - ApHK 1. almost any relative pronoun.
230 गुणमन्त्र - KAB गुणवान् - 1. person possessed of quality or virtue.
231 भुजा - ApHK 1. snake, serpent (PrPg).
232 लहइ - ApHK (skt. get)1. to get, obtain, procure (V).
233 जha - अनेक; 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.
Special cosmeticians\(^{234}\) make the faces\(^{235}\) of those prostitutes/courtesans beautiful\(^3\), [they] made\(^4\) [elaborate] facial paintings\(^{236}\), wore\(^{237}\) divinely beautiful clothing\(^{238}\) and tying back their many burgeoning\(^{239}\) locks of hair\(^{240}\). When [they] saw the group\(^{241}\) of girls, who were egging on\(^{242}\) their groups of companions and who noticed\(^{243}\) them, they laughed\(^{244}\). They were clever\(^{245}\),
lovely\textsuperscript{246}, thin\textsuperscript{247}, slender-waisted\textsuperscript{248}, young, cheeky\textsuperscript{249}, beautiful (of color)\textsuperscript{250}, expert\textsuperscript{251}, and
deft\textsuperscript{252} in ridicule\textsuperscript{253}. Then, of the four Puruṣārtha-s \textit{(dharma, artha, kāma, mokṣa)} of the mind,
[the onlookers] abandoned\textsuperscript{254} three for the sake of\textsuperscript{255} the third\textsuperscript{256}.
Flowers were placed in their hair and it seemed as if the moon’s light was bent in reverence of respectable people and to be a smile in the darkness. Because of the blinking of the eyelids, their eyebrows curved and looked as if they were large fish making waves while jumping out of a whirlpool in the river of kohl. Their tiny lines of vermillion are insulting even to sin, as if it were the first sign of Cupid’s power. They are blameless,

257 अधो + गति - आपहक (सक्त. अधोगति) 1. fall, downfall, degeneration.

258 लज्जा - आपहक 1. shame, embarrassment.; आपहक - लज्जा - *same; HSS - अवलम्बित - adj. 1. depending on, relying on, enjoying the support of

259 मानवजनन Gen.; आपहक 1. civilized, courteous, gentle, decent person.

260 नज़ान + आव्यूह; आपहक - (नज़ान चल under खंजाता) - 1. eyelid; आपहक - नज़ान (cited नज़ान in KL) - n. 1. eye(s).

261 खंजाता - आपहक (सक्त. भृकुटि) 1. eyebrow.

262 भंग - आपहक. 1. breaking, destruction. 2. bent.

263 सफरी - आपहक f. 1. fish (PC).

264 वीचीव्यूह - आपहक f. 1. whirlpool.

265 कल्लोलिनी - आपहक f. 1. river.

266 कोल्लन - आपहक 1. kohl (collyrium).

267 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.

268 पार्थाप - आपहक m. 1. Cupid.

269 प्रताप - आपहक m. 1. प्रताप पार्थाप = MSH; OHED - प्रताप - m. 1. energy, ardor, vigor, valor. 2. brilliance, majesty, glory, prowess, possession of rank or power.

270 दोखा - आपहक m. 1. fault. 2. bad quality.; आपहक - हीन - adj. 1. without, lacking.
thin-waisted\textsuperscript{271}. They earned\textsuperscript{272} through being skillful in gambling games\textsuperscript{273}. She will\textsuperscript{274} be bent\textsuperscript{275} from the weight\textsuperscript{276} of her breasts. The [prostitutes] tame\textsuperscript{277} the three worlds with third part of their eyes\textsuperscript{278}. They sing\textsuperscript{279} with melodious voices\textsuperscript{280} adorn\textsuperscript{281} the \textit{rāga}-s\textsuperscript{282}. Some\textsuperscript{283} hope\textsuperscript{284} such that\textsuperscript{285} the ends of their dresses\textsuperscript{286} would somehow be caught and blown up in the wind\textsuperscript{287}. The beauty\textsuperscript{288} of their crooked, sidelong glances seems like a line of arrows from vain\textsuperscript{289}.

\textsuperscript{271} माझा - ApHK ind. 1. in the middle. 1. the middle, midst. 2. waist; ApHK - खीणिः - (skt. खीण > pkt. खीण) adj. 1. slender, weak, emaciated (PG).

\textsuperscript{272} आनिल - ApHK (skt. आ+ नी) - simple past 1. attained, got.

\textsuperscript{273} जाँ - OHED m. 1. gambling, gambling game.

\textsuperscript{274} चाह - ApHK 1. to want

\textsuperscript{275} भांग - ApHK 1. to be bent.

\textsuperscript{276} भार - ApHK m. 1. weight, heaviness.

\textsuperscript{277} साह - ApHK 1. to tame, control, rule.

\textsuperscript{278} 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.

\textsuperscript{279} Jha takes बाज as बोलना, but I am taking as = MSH बजाना

\textsuperscript{280} सांसर - ApHK 1. melodious voice.

\textsuperscript{281} बा ज - 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.

\textsuperscript{282} acc. pl. of राँच; KAB - Singh reads this as रग.

\textsuperscript{283} काहु - ApHK pr. 1. किसी ने = MSH).

\textsuperscript{284} आस - ApHK - f. 1. hope, wish (KL, J).

\textsuperscript{285} आइसनी - ApHK - cited to आइस अइसनी - adj./adv. 1. in this/that way, ऐसा = MSH.

\textsuperscript{286} अईसर - ApHK m. 1. the end of a garment, the end of a sari.

\textsuperscript{287} बतास - ApHK f. 1. wind.; This is also a common EIA word.

\textsuperscript{288} कटाक्ष - ApHK nf. 1. side-long glance, leer, taunt; छटा - OHED f. 1. beauty, splendor.

\textsuperscript{289} सदापक्ष - HSS adj. 1. conceited, vain.
Cupid\(^{290}\) when they\(^{291}\) enter into\(^{292}\) the mind of a *rasika*\(^{293}\). They abandon the uncivilized/crude people\(^{294}\), who are fit to be called\(^{295}\) cattle\(^{296}\).
All of the women were experts\textsuperscript{297}, and everyone was well-situated\textsuperscript{298}. Because of the qualities of “Śrī\textsuperscript{299} Ibarāhim Sāḥ”, there was no neither worry nor grief.

\textsuperscript{297} विशिष्ट - ApHK - f. adj. 1. clever. or f. 1. expert.

\textsuperscript{298} सुस्थित - ApHK - adj. 1. in a state of well-being, well-situated.

\textsuperscript{299} Singh in KAB takes सिर as श्री.
Everywhere one’s eyes looks is pleasing. Everywhere one finds beautiful places and [bounteous] food. Listen attentively for a moment! Oh, intelligent one! I will describe some of the peculiarities of the Turks.

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301 लोङण - ApHK (skt. लोचन) 1. eyes
302 हेरि - ApHK - abs. of हेर - 1. having seen, noticed.
303 सुहित - ApHK - adj. 1. happy, contented.
304 मिलए - ApHK - v. root मिल 1. to meet.
305 Jha glosses सुठाम as सुस्थान and this is the reading I take.
306 Jha glosses सुभोजन as सुभोजन and this is the reading I take.
307 Singh in KAB takes सुनओ as a 3p sg. imperative: “listen!”
308 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. নিতে).
309 Singh in KAB takes विज्ञान a vocative: “Oh Clever one, scholar, expert”.
310 लक्ष्यण - ApHK- (skt. लक्षण) 1. specialty, particular qualities.
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.
In some places there were earthenwares\(^{311}\) and dish-wares\(^{312}\) 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\(^{313}\), garlic, and onions.
While the buying of many slaves is going on\textsuperscript{314},

The Turks give salāms to one another.

Wearing course linen paddings\textsuperscript{315}, chain mail, and boots,

The Amirs (lords), Valis (viceroy), sālārs (army-officers), and Khvājās roam about.

\textsuperscript{314} I have made this ambiguous, either the slaves are doing the purchasing on behalf of their masters or the slaves are being bought themselves.

\textsuperscript{315} खीसा - CPED (P. خیس Khīs) 1. a coarse linen counterpane.
Drinking wine, saying “abe be”\footnote{contemptuous exclamation}

Reciting the qalīmā and living according to its words.

Loudly reciting qasīdā-s and filling mosques,

And reading books — there are countless Turks.
Taking the name of Khodā (the Lord) with zeal, [they] consume bhang with reeds. [And] without reason the become enraged and their faces like heated copper-vessels. The Turks wander about the market on their Tukharan horses and demand the herd tax. 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 speech with retainers in tow.

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317 गुझा - (MMW) 1. f. a kind of reed.

318 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.

319 फरीबी - CPED (P. ﴿fɪrɪb, fireb, fareb, or farɪb﴿) 1. Deception, fraud, duplicity, trick, deceit, treachery, imposture, fallacy.
When [they] consume bhāṅg\textsuperscript{320}, it emboldens\textsuperscript{321} them to [take on the airs of a] Ḍẖāṅ\textsuperscript{322}.

Running about [indiscriminately] and giving blessings of long life, they wolf down fish stew
\textit{(sāmiṇa śālaṇa)}. They are silent for [just] a moment when the first mouthful of food goes into their mouths,

And then immediately start chugging water\textsuperscript{323}, when it is given to them in a clay cup\textsuperscript{324}. Taking their arrow[s] they stare intently, the leader\textsuperscript{325} grabs them by the arm and sits them down.

If some camphor-like food\textsuperscript{326} is brought, then “Onions! Onions!” is heard.

\textsuperscript{320} There is a \textit{yamaka} (homonym) here between \textit{bhāṅ} (cannabis) and \textit{bhāṅg} - (to break [as in austerities or ritual]).

\textsuperscript{321} धिनिआड़ - ApHK - 1. ppp. having become angry, enraged.

\textsuperscript{322} Alternate, खाण - ApHK 1. food, meal.

\textsuperscript{323} गारि - ApHK - गारी 1. to drink. 2. to want.

\textsuperscript{324} गाड - ApHK 1. an ceramic/clay lotā (cup).

\textsuperscript{325} The \textit{makdam} or \textit{Mukhadum} appears again in the next verse.

\textsuperscript{326} 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.
The female singer becomes wild, then sings songs without a care.
Nothing else pleases anyone [except] the Turkish [dancing girls] whirling around in tight piroettes.
The *Sayyids* share sweets 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* moves his hand like a *Dom* (sweeper) at many [peoples’] doors.
The *Khundakār* orders women about whether they are his own or another’s.

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

328 मतखूम - CPED (P. مترف mutraf) 1. Best 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.

329 Title of those who claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad.

330 सेरणी - Jha takes this as shīrīn; CPED (P. شیرین shirīn) 1. Sweet, milk, candy, pastry.

331 खुँदकारी - CPED (P. مختوم 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.

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

333 lit. 10-12.

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\(^{336}\) is heard and in other places the recitation of the Vedas.

In some places there is the halal slaughter/consumption of animals\(^{337}\) and in others ritual sacrifices\(^{338}\).

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\(^{336}\) बाँग - ApHK बाँग (P.) 1. the call to prayer (*namāz*); the *adhān*.

\(^{337}\) I have inferred quite a deal from “बिस्मिल्लह” (Bismillah), the traditional Islamic supplication before eating or halal slaughter. Only this evocation is directly named in this verse, not the action.

\(^{338}\) छेद - ApHK (skt. छेद) 1. sacrifice (usually animal).
Pallava 2.46

कतंहु ओझा कतंहु खोजा। कतंहु नकत कतंहु रोजा॥
कतंहु तम्बारः कतंहु कूजा। कतंहु निसाजः कतंहु पूजा॥४६॥

One [group] had their witch-doctors/healers and and the other, their khojās.
Some people keep observations of astrology\(^{339}\) 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,

\(^{339}\) नकत - ApHK (skt. नक्त) 1. celebrations and ritual observations according to astrological guidelines.
In some places the Turks forcefully press passersby into forced labor (begār).
Elsewhere they force a brahmin boy into labour to carry leather-goods.

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.

340 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.
Pallava 2.48

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.
The earth is full of cemeteries and domes\textsuperscript{341} (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]\textsuperscript{342}.

\textsuperscript{341} गोमठ - ApHK (P. गुमबद, गुमबज) 1. the dome of a dargāh (sufi tomb/shrine); maqbara.

\textsuperscript{342} 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 गोट्रों मिलिह हला । तुर्क देखि होह भाना।
अहसेओ जसु परतापे रह । चिरे जीवों सुरहाना।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.
The two princes, wandering from market to market, with their vision\textsuperscript{343}. Excited\textsuperscript{344} by the wonders they had seen, they entered the royal court to [accomplish] their task.\textsuperscript{345}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{343} दृष्टि - ApHK - (skt. दृष्टि ). 1. vision, glade, view.

\textsuperscript{344} Jha takes कर्जः रसे as “do to the eagerness of the task at hand”.

\textsuperscript{345} कर्जः - ApHK - m. 1. work (काज = MSH).
\end{flushleft}
The whole sky is filled with many kinds of speech and the hustle-bustle of the people. As they were coming, the Turks, Khans, and Maliks pulverized stones with the weight of their [booted] feet. [But] the great kings, who had come from far away, were barred on the edge (threshold) of the entranceway. It could not be not counted how many young men had come and gathered outside desiring a place [in the court].

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346 पूरीआ - ApHK - 3p simple past of पूर - 1. to fill (J, PrPg, KL).
347 बिः - ApHK (Skt. बिध) 1. way, distinction, peculiarity, cause (J).
348 बदे - Srivastava takes this as वाd - MSS - 1. speech. 2. instruments, sound.
349 समम्दे - ApHK - m. (loc.) 1. in or because of the crowd, hustle-bustle.
350 लो आ - ApHK (Skt. लोक) m. 1. people.
351 मुलुका - ApHK - Av derivative मुलुका is the plural of Arabic मुलिक.
352 चूरीआ - ApHK - 3p simple past from चूर - 1. to grind to powder/dust, to pulverize (KL, र).
353 भरे - ApHK - m. 1. weight, burden (KL).
354 पाः - ApHK -(Skt. पद) mn. 1. foot, feet.
355 बड़ बड़ - ApHK - adj. 1. large (J) or 2. many (KL)
356 Both Jha and Singh (KAB) gloss दुरते as “from afar”.
357 बारीआ - ApHK - 3p simple past of बार - 1. to bar, forbid, stop (J)
358 दोआर - ApHK -(here loc or acc. pl.) - (Skt. द्वार) n. 1. door, gateway, entrance
359 गाख - ApHK - pl. from Arabic गिलमान, m. 1. young men,
सब महादेवारे बिच बिचारे धारे पुख्वीपाला आबता।
दरबार बम्बे दिवस महादेव बरिसह मेहटा न पाबता।
उतम परिवारा खाण उमारा महल मजेदे जाबता।
मुरतान सलामे लहिय इनामे आपे रहि रहि आबता।५३ ||

The prideful\textsuperscript{360} [Hindu] Rājas\textsuperscript{361} arrived and spread\textsuperscript{362} wealth\textsuperscript{363} among all the Sayyads\textsuperscript{364}. Days pass\textsuperscript{365} by sitting\textsuperscript{366} in the court, yet they are not getting a meeting\textsuperscript{367} [even after] a year\textsuperscript{368}.

[Only] the most important families, Khans, and honored people\textsuperscript{369} went into the most important\textsuperscript{370} [part] of the palace.

Greeting the Sultān, they received gifts \((\textit{inām})\), as they themselves\textsuperscript{371} came forth to remain there [in the court].

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{360} 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
\item \textsuperscript{361} पुख्वीपाला - king(s); ApHK - पुख्वी - (Skt. पृख्व) f. 1. earth; OHED - पाला - m. 1. protection, shelter. 2. maintenance, charge; Singh (KAB) takes the traditional पुख्वीपाला appellation to mean only Hindu and/or Rajput kings.
\item \textsuperscript{362} विल्यारा - ApHK - (Skt. विल्यार > Pkt. विल्यार) m. 1 expanse, spread, scattering.
\item \textsuperscript{363} विल्य - ApHK - 1. wealth (PrPG) or adj. 1. long (DNM) or adj. 1. passed, gone-by (J).
\item \textsuperscript{364} सईअदगारे - ApHK - m. 1. those addressed/called as Saiyad; this seems to be a locative form ending in \(/-e/\).
\item \textsuperscript{365} बरहड़े - ApHK - 3p simple present (intransitive) of बरहड़ - 1. to be wasted, to pass by.
\item \textsuperscript{366} बरहड़े - ApHK - 3p simple present of बरहड़ - 1. to sit, be seated.
\item \textsuperscript{367} भेट - ApHK - m. 1. meeting.
\item \textsuperscript{368} बरिस - ApHK - mn. 1. a year.
\item \textsuperscript{369} Jha and Singh (KAB) take उमारा as plural of उमरा: HŚS - m. 1. establish, respectable, honored people.
\item \textsuperscript{370} मजेदे - ApHK - (from Arabic मजीद) adj. 1. best, important, respected, honored.
\item \textsuperscript{371} आपे - ApHK -(Skt. अर्पण) m. 1. offering. OR a reflexive pronoun (= MSH आपने आप).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Pallava 2.54

For just that reason\textsuperscript{372}, 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\textsuperscript{373} 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?

\textsuperscript{372} निमित्ते - ApHK (Skt. निमित्तम्) l. purpose, reason, goal.

\textsuperscript{373} ठठ - ApHK (D ठठ) l. group, gathering.
Pallava 2.55

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

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\(^{374}\) मण्डिद - ApHK - (Skt. मण्डित > Pkt. मण्डिध) 1. adorned, beautified.

\(^{375}\) जम्पइ - ApHK - v. root. जेंध/जम्प - 3p simple present 1. say, speak, utter.

\(^{376}\) साहस - ApHK - (Skt. साध्यस) n. 1. courage, bravery (J); m. 2. fear.

\(^{377}\) जइ - ApHK - ind. 1. if (Skt. यदि); ind. 2. whether, either; or (MSH चाहे) (KL, J, K).

\(^{378}\) राउ+ा - ApHK - (Skt. राजन + पु+ा > Pkt. राय + उ+ा) m. 1. prince, son of a king.; ApHK राजन + पुत्रा - (MSH राजतों के पुत्र) 1. sons of small kings (राजवंश), hero, warrior, army commander.

\(^{379}\) Jha originally अन्तरे पतः; A. अँतरे पतः - वा.; ApHK - अँतरे - ind. (Skt. अन्तर) 1. in between; ApHK - पतः - (Skt. पतर) m. 1. peoples place.

\(^{380}\) सोह्ना - ApHK - pres. part. of v. root सोह (Skt. शुभ) 1. beautifying, making radiant, (K, KL).

\(^{381}\) सुह्ना - ApHK - (Skt. सुभव) adj. 1. endowed with good fortune (MSH सौभाग्यवृक्ष).

\(^{382}\) संगाम - ApHK - (Skt. संग्राम) - m. 1. war, battle, fighting.

\(^{383}\) रुज - ApHK - (Skt. रूप) m. 1. form, shape, likeness.

\(^{384}\) गन्धव - ApHK - (Skt. गन्धर्व > Pkt. गंधव) m. 1. a Gandharva.

\(^{385}\) पर - ApHK - (Skt. पर) - adj. 1. of/to/by another.
Pallava 2.56

अद्र खास-दरवार सपूल महिमण्डल उपरि।
उत्थि अपन वेवहार, र्के ले रायधु चपपरि।।
उत्थि सतु उथि मिच उत्थि सिर नबह सच्च कह।
उत्थि साति परसाद उत्थि भए जाए भव्य कह।।
नित्र भग अभाग विभाग वल अोमाधि जानियः सबे गए।
एद्र पातिसाह सब उपरहि तसु उपरि करतार पए।५६।।

There, the hall of assembly was above all the others of the earth.
In that place, the poor urgently brought their business to the King.
In that place, both enemies and friends, everyone, bow their heads in reverence.
In that place, there was much happiness, grace, and everything was made beautiful.
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.

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386 सपूल - ApHK - (Skt. सकल > Pkt. सपूल) adj. 1. all, whole, complete.
387 उथि - ApHK - (Skt. तथ > Pkt. तथ) adv. 1. there.
388 र्के - ApHK - adj. 1. poor, destitute (PrPG).
389 चपपरि - ApHK - (Skt. चपल) - (MSH चपलता से) - adv. quickly, eagerly, with urgency, unsteadiness, or expediency.
390 वेवहार - ApHK - (Skt. व्यवहार) m. 1. behavior, dealings, transaction. 2. business, trade, profession, job.
391 सतु - ApHK - (Skt. सतु) m. 1. enemy.
392 नबह - ApHK - v. root नव - (Skt. ग्राम (shouldn’t it be गम् ?) > Pkt. गम, नव > Ap. नव, नबह) 1. to bow, bend (especially in supplication/reverence).
393 lit. “How much…?”
394 साति - ApHK (Skt. साति) 1. happiness, joy.
395 भव्य - ApHK भव्य 1. beauty.
396 अोमाधि - HSS - अोट में - adv. 1. on pretext, an excuse (बहाने से), secretly furtively; OHED - अोट - f. 1. cover, concealment. 2. adv./adj. covered; OR if the alternate reading by Singh is taken - “अो ठामहि”; ApHK - ठाम - (Skt. स्थान > Pkt. ठाम, ठाण, ठाण) 1. place (KL, PrPg).
397 जानियः - ApHK - जानियः - from v. root जान (Skt. जान) 1. to know.
Singh - जानियः.
Everyone was exclaiming, “Oh! Oh! Amazing, wonderful!” upon seeing the swords of the guards of the courtyard, the first, second, and third halls, the special assembly hall, the courtyard of assembly, the water palaces, the prayer hall, the dining rooms, and bedrooms, as if Viśvakarmā was still involved in the crafting/work here even today.

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398 द्वाल - ApHK - (P. - द्वाल) a 1. shining sword.
399 दरवाल - ApHK - m. (Skt. दरपाल) 1. doorman, door guard.
400 दारखोल - ApHK - n. 1. a chamber, area, courtyard.
401 मेञान - ApHK - as मेञाण - (P. - मेञाण) ind. 1. inside 2. middle; Jha and Srivastava read -दर as दर.

Contextually, I am inclined to take this as दरबार.

402 Shrivastav - सदर दारिगाड़ी; OHED - सदर - adj. 1. chief, principal, main
403 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 खासदरखाना is considered, this might be the most likely reading.
404 दारिगह - ApHK - (P. - दरगह) masc. 1. “the large gathering field/courtyard inside a fort near the royal palace”.
405 बारिगह - I have read this as बारिग (Skt. = water) + गृह. This might be equivalent to the various structures built in/around Mughal water gardens.
406 निमाजगह - is taken as “निमाज + गृह” (lit. room for Islamic prayer) by Jha and Shrivastav
407 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.
408 दिश्ति - ApHK - दिस्ति/दिश्य - (Skt. अव्र > Pkt. इत्य) ind. 1. here (PrPg, KL)
409 अव्ययपर्यंत - taken as अव्यय + पर्यंत (MSH आज तक).
There were intoxicating gardens of flowers, man-made streams, artificial rock gardens, rooms with fountains, mechanical fans, meeting places for lovers in cooling bowers of Mādhavī trees, benches for resting on, picture galleries, reclining swings, flower beds inlaid with shining with rubies and moonstones. [They] asked the meaning of the four-fold ponds and all these things from those who know, “Hey, my gosh! How should one describe the inside of [the palace].”

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410 कृत्रिम - HSS 1. false, fake.
411 शौल संजा पुं. [सं] हल के एक भाग का नाम [को]।
412 धारा - HSS 1. a contraption for pouring/releasing water.
413 व्यजन संजा पुं. [सं] १. हवा करने का पंखा
414 संकेत - HSS “प्रेमी प्रेमिका के मिलने का पूर्वनिदिष्ट स्थान”
415 पण्डप - HSS 1. a shaded place for people to take refuge from the sun.
416 चौरा - OHED 1. a platform or plinth.
417 खद्दा - HSS 1. bed, cot.
418 मािण - OHED 1. ruby, gem.
419 Shrivastav takes as the Sanskritized चतःसम - (MMW) 1. of/having four symmetrical parts.
420 पल्बल - ApHK 1. small pond, tank.
Thus, they saw [many] doors to [various] rooms in the distance. They rested for a moment and confirmed their identities with the foot soldiers. They impressed everyone with their qualities and learned of the details of the entire palace. They inquired from men of quality and knowledge, and their hope blossomed. At the setting of the sun, they [went] to stay in the home of a Brahmin in the middle of the town.

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421 Perhaps द्वार + खोल/खोली - OHED. 1. a small room = the door to small rooms/chambers.
422 प्रमाणित - ApHK 1. proved, certified, confirmed.
424 अनुरंकित - ApHK 1. conciliated, diverted, entertained.
425 माम - ApHK 1. essence, intention.
426 पल्लविवाद - ApHK. 1. budding, flourishing, developing, spreading.
427 उज्जैल - ApHK 1. to grow, appear 2. to begin, set in
428 संज्ञासु - ApHK (skt. संज्ञा) 1. sunset, dusk.
429 विष्णु - ApHK (skt. विष्णु) 1. brahmin.
Pallava 3.15

ओ विज्ञान तुम्हे सुन्दर। ओ सत्यम् तोहे सुद्ध ओहे सद्ध तोहे राज्यज्ञानिः।
ओ जिगीसु तोहे शुरु, ओहे राज्य तोहे राज्य-पण्डिः।
पुष्पनीपति मुरुतान ओ, तुम्हे राजकुमारः।
एक्कक्षित जड सेविंग, धुर त्योहस्म परकारः। 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.
[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.
*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 Kirttisimha 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**

मंगोल बोल नहीं बुझाई।
बुन्दकार कारण रण जुझाई।।
कौंचे मांसु कबड़ू कर भोजन।
कादमबरि रसे लोहित लोजन।।२२।।

The frenzied Mongols⁴³¹ do not understand a word.
It is because of sheer belligerence⁴³² that they fight⁴³³ on the battlefield.
Some [even] dine on raw meat.
Their eyes are made red⁴³⁴ with Kādambari⁴³⁵ wine.

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⁴³¹ मंगोल - Jha takes this as Mongols; Central Asians.
⁴³² खुंद - ApHK 1. to undermine, to be belligerent, 2. to investigate closely.
⁴³³ जुज्ज - ApHK (skt. युद्ध) 1. to battle, fight.
⁴³⁴ लोहित - ApHK लोहित 1. to redden, make with blood.
⁴³⁵ कादमबरि - ApHK 1. a particular kind of wine/alcohol.
Pallava 4.24

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.

436 आनाथि - ApHK 1. past habitual, to take.
437 सहसखि - ApHK सहस (skt. सहस) 1. one thousand OR 2. (skt. सहसा) adv. suddenly.
438 रुद्दु - ApHK 1. to be angry, hostile.
439 सए - ApHK 1. one hundred OR 2. (skt. स्वयम्) reflexive self.
And countless Dhanga\textsuperscript{440}rs were seen going along [with the army]. They\textsuperscript{441} would say “Bismillah!” and eat the slain cattle.

\textsuperscript{440} 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.

\textsuperscript{441} It is unclear whether the Dhangars are partaking in cattle-slaughter and beef-eating form this verse.
Pallava 4.28

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

\textsuperscript{442} अरजन - OHED (skt. अर्जन) 1. to earn, accumulate, to profit.

\textsuperscript{443} I have taken this as derivative of अन्याय, injustice

\textsuperscript{444} कंदल - ApHK 1. fighting, quarreling.

\textsuperscript{445} खए - ApHK (skt. श्रेय) 1. destruction.

\textsuperscript{446} बासि - ApHK (root वास)-1. to dwell 2. to adorn with संस्कार.

\textsuperscript{447} सम्बर - ApHK 1. provisions for journeying/travel.
Pallava 4.32

ता पाढ़ि, आवन्त हुआ, हिन्दूदल गमनेन।
राणा गणए न पारिढइ, राउत लेखिखच केन॥३॥

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\textsuperscript{448} accounting\textsuperscript{449}.


\textsuperscript{449} लेखिखच - ApHK 1. to account for.
The armies\(^{450}\) and cavalries\(^{451}\) of the Turks roamed in all directions. Keeping\(^{452}\) a watchful gaze\(^{453}\) [on] the Hindus, who were dispossessed\(^{454}\) of their lands because of in-fighting\(^{455}\).

Nearby\(^{456}\), the royal\(^{457}\) encampment\(^{458}\) is beyond measure. Much like the mass of clouds\(^{459}\), it was as\(^{460}\) magnificent\(^{461}\) as Indra’s\(^{462}\) capitol\(^{463}\) city.

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450 फौदें - ApHK फौद 1. a portion or section of an army.

451 हौदे - ApHK 1. the cavalry mounted on elephants and camels.

452 धरने - ApHK धर 1. to put, place. 2. to keep.

453 ताक - OHED 1. a look, glance. 2. watch, expectation.

454 उतरथि - ApHK 1. to be thrown out.

455 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.


457 सरमाना - ApHK सरमाणा (P. शरान शरवान) 1. royal, of the king.

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

459 वारिंग्गह मण्डन, दिग आकंडल पट्टन परिठम भाना।।३६।।

460 भाना - ApHK 1. to be approved of, to be liked. 2 to suit, fit.

461 परिठम - ApHK 1. prestige, dignity, status. 2. establishment, installation.

462 आखंडल - ApHK 1. Indra.

Dharma and the Sultân [came] and saw [them].
The firmament came by Indra, Candra, the gods, Siddhas, and the wandering bards.
The Vidyādhāras filled the skies to see the heroes battle.
Wherever this [two] enemies came together, there the swords fell together.
Blood bathed the Earth, when Kīrttisimha thrust [his sword].

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464 अन्तरिक्ष - ApHK 1. m. space; the space between the earth and the other planets.
465 अंतरिक्ष - ApHK अंतरिक्ष 1. covered, concealed. OR अंतरिक्ष 1. excitement, joy.
466 धर्म - HSS 1. nm. a wandering minstrel, bard; grazing; a sub-caste of Rajasthani Brahmins.
467 बिज्जा + हर - ApHK 1. a Vidyadhara.
468 छाह - ApHK (skt. नम्र) 1. sky.
469 जुंडा - ApHK (skt. युंड) 1. fight, battle.
470 सांधु + घल - Jha and Srivastava takes सांधु as शांधु (enemy).
471 संघल - ApHK 1. to gather; come together.
472 घल - ApHK (skt. घल) 1. to fall (down).
473 सोङिव - ApHK (skt. शोङिव) 1. blood.
474 मेलिज - ApHK 1. to bathe.
475 मेलिन - ApHK 1. the earth.
Everyone gathered there and saw the battle, like [the battle] of Arjuna and Karṇa of the Mahābhārata.

476 I have only recorded and translated the second half of this verse.
Pallava 4.65

Just like that battle between Mādhava (Krishna) and Śambhu, which forced Bāṇāsura to turn [and flee] in battle. The Mahārāja-s and the Maliks were crushed, and Aslāna helplessly turned his back.

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477 एं - ApHK 1. like, similar to.
478 आवह - ApHK (skt. एं+आहव) 1. battle, war, fight.
481 Bāṇāsura, a devotee of Śiva, was spared his life in battle by Krishna. Similarly, Aslāna was spared his life by the merciful Kīrttisīhā.
482 विवत्त - ApHK (skt. विवर्त) 1. turned, pivoted.
483 चषणि - ApHK चषण चषण 1. to crush, trample.
484 निजानिhibition - ApHK निजान 1. For, for the purpose of; or निदन 1. helplessly.
Pallava 4.68

[दोहा]

जइ धरे जीवसि जीव गए, जाहि जाहि असलान।
तिस्वरण जगह फिर हथू, तुझ्य दिवरें जिवदान।।६८।।

Go! In whichever direction that you might live, Go! Go! Asāna!
In the three worlds [there will be] my glory, for I have given you the boon of your life.
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 पलष्ट्र्क्त जिन्ति रण राय।
संख्येन उच्यरिणः, नित्त गीत वज्जान वज्जान।
चारि वेव झंकरिणः, सुहू महत्त अहिसेक किरिणः।
बरूङ्ग जन उच्यान कर, तिर्धुति पाइः रूप।
पातिसाह जसू तिलक कर, किरितिसिंह भन तृपु।"७०।"

Then having won, [Kīrttisimha] turned away\textsuperscript{485} from the battlefield and the kings. The sound of the conch resounded\textsuperscript{486}. There was dance\textsuperscript{487} and song, and the instruments\textsuperscript{488} were played\textsuperscript{489}. There was a powerful recitation\textsuperscript{490} of the four Vedas and at the auspicious moment the coronation was\textsuperscript{491} performed. Relations and the people were elated\textsuperscript{492}, [for] Tirhut had her beauty [again]. The one\textsuperscript{493} who had received the tilaka (i.e. was crowned) by the emperor, he was Kīrttisimha.

\textsuperscript{485} पलष्ट्र्क्त - ApHK ppp. पलष्ट्र्क्त - 1. to return, turn about.
\textsuperscript{486} उच्यरिणः - ApHK 1. to have risen up.
\textsuperscript{487} नित्त - ApHK (skt. नृत्त) 1. dance.
\textsuperscript{488} वज्जान - ApHK वज्जान (skt. वाय) 1. musical instrument.
\textsuperscript{489} वज्जान - ApHK वज्जान- 1. to strike, be played (as in musical instruments).
\textsuperscript{490} झंकरिणः - ApHK 1. to be jolted, blown/blasted (wind/sound). 1. adj. to be tempestuous.
\textsuperscript{491} passive, was done.
\textsuperscript{492} उच्यान - ApHK (skt. उच्यान) 1. excitement, elation.
\textsuperscript{493} जसू - ApHK (skt. जसू) 1. whose. OR जस 1. fame, glory.
Appendix: Cāndīyana Verses & Translations

23. The Moat Surrounding Govar

(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.
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.
Inhabitants of the City

Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Gvāla, Khaṇḍelvālas, and Agravālas dwelt there.

Tivārī-ś, Pañcavāna-ś, Dhākaḍa-ś, Jośi-ś, and Jajmānas [also] dwelt there.

The Gandhi-ś, Banijāra-ś (both merchant castes), Śrāvaka-ś, and Paṃvāra-ś, 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 [streets494] bustling with people.

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494 MP Gupta takes this reading
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.
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.
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. The 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”s⁴⁹⁵ and many auspicious rituals were continually celebrated.

⁴⁹⁵ ritual gift giving to a new mother after childbirth; “Baby Shower”
I will describe the entrance-gate to [the court] of King Mehr, at which lions sit, kept there by the knowledgable 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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